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

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Appendix I

Letter from the Notes of Mas Malang Yuda in Cod. Or. 7586

Introduction

The appendixes consist of three sections. The first is on the letter from Notes of Mas Malang Yuda; the second concerns the *Kitab Wali Kutub*, and the third focusses on the script of *Walikutuban* in present day Java composed by Mun'im DZ. The texts that are presented in the appendixes are followed by annotations and commentary in order to make sense of the lingual dimensions. For the sake of clarity and readability, I employ several symbols.

Lines numbers have been added for clarity. The line starting at zero which indicates the title of text and line one onwards represents the line numbers in the appendixes. The numbers are marked with square brackets [..].

The words that are at the end of line are sometimes separated by a hyphen (-) either to be in accordance with the Arabic writing conventions, or due to the limited space on the folio. For instance, the word *rĕrubane* is divided into two parts: *rĕrubane*- is at the end of line 44, whereas the *-ne* is placed on line 45 at the beginning.

The grapheme that probably should be in the text but are not, are marked with angle brackets <..>, e.g., *manu<ng>sa*, *ake<h>*. When I find an unfamiliar words, I mark it with an asterisk (*) to indicate an unknown or unattested word, e.g., *kawiskeita* keiyad**. When the texts are hard to read because they are corrupted or lacunous, I marked them with underscore following the word [.._..], e.g., *ngalu_*, and in translations with double slash also following the word//...//. When I proposed a hypothesised reading, I marked them in the transliteration with round brackets (...), e.g., *ngalu_(bur)*.

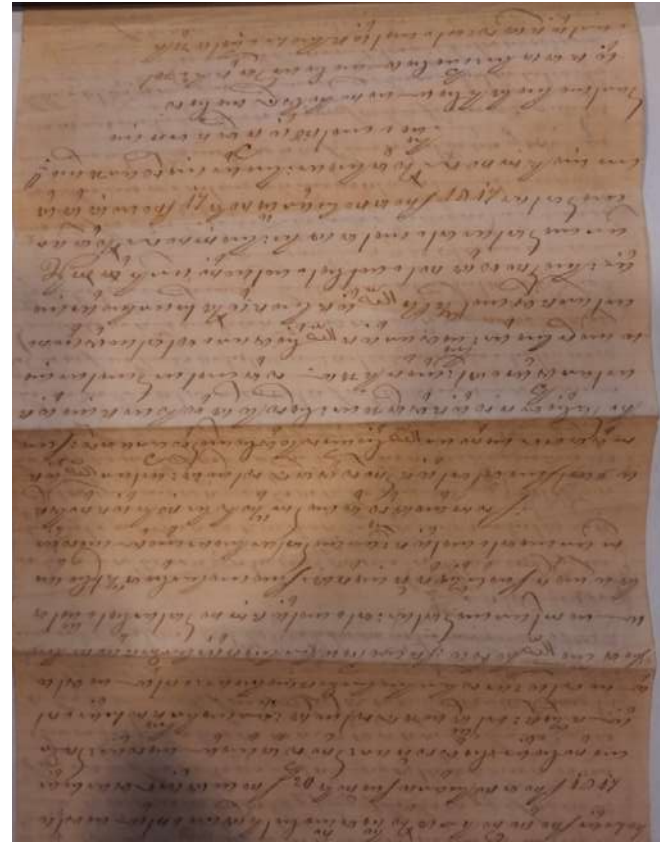
I have tried to preserve the original text, in which the historical values and linguistic idiosyncrasies are represented in the transliteration and translation as portrayed in the appendixes below.

As I have discussed in chapters two and three that the letter of Mas Malang Yuda was probably addressed to but never received by his son-in-law, Amir Anom, in Cahyana, Banyumas. In the sixty-nine-lines of his letter, Mas Malang Yuda told the story of his spiritual journey in his Banyumasan dialect in abstruseness. It is possible that this was the last letter he wrote. Being exiled to Buru, far away from his home, he seemed to feel weary. He passed away not long after writing the letter. In his letter, he requested some money from four subdistricts heads (*dĕmang*) that persistently supported him. Raden Ipo, was one of assistant *dĕmang* in Buitenzorg frequently mentioned in his letter.

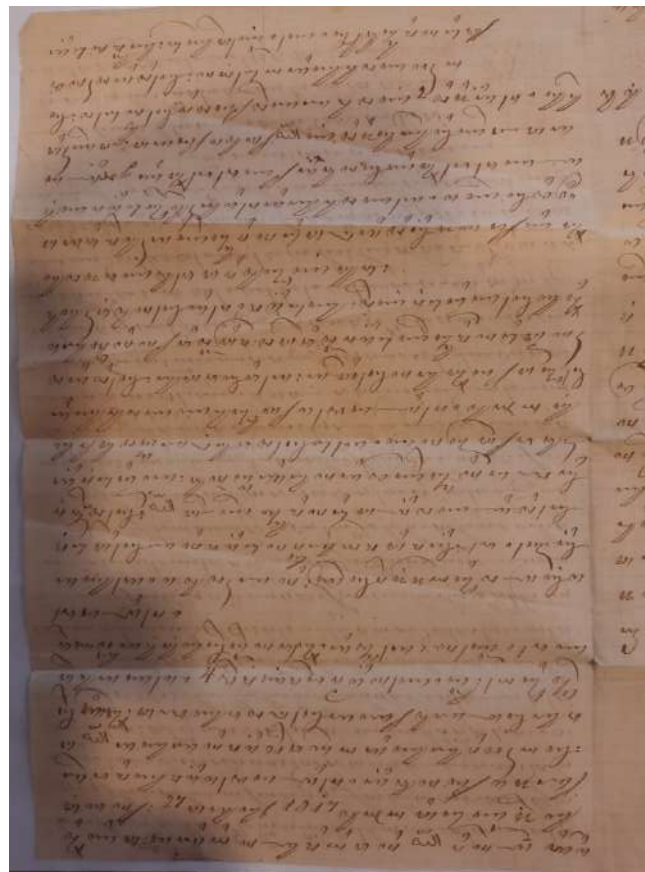
The original material was stored in Cod. Or. 7586, fl. 167r-168v. I also found a copy of the letter in Cod. Or. 7401 which was copied by unknown individual in fl. 12r-13v. The detailed letter in Cod. Or. 7586, fl. 167r-168v is translated as follows.

Text and Translation

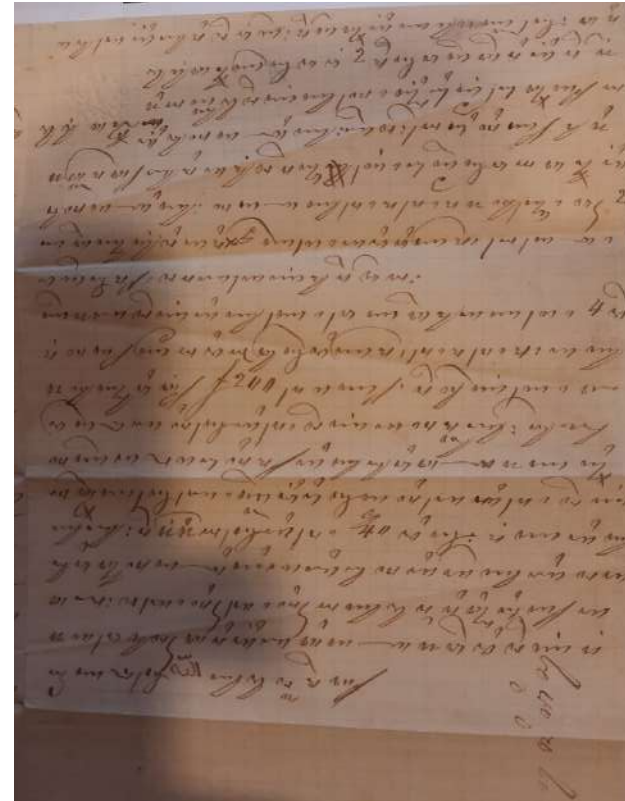
- [1] *Puji pandongaku maring kawe: sarta maring bo-*
my best wishes to you and also to
- [2] *jomu miwah anak-anakmu: utawa maring*
your wife, and your children
- [3] *sanak sedulur lan ana<k> putuku kabeh*
my relatives and all of my children and grandchildren
- [4] *kang padha mulihp maring lakonku*
who are oriented toward to my journey (or, supporting me on my journey)
- [5] *// kējaba sékang iku: aku wis tanpa layangmu kang ka-*
besides that, I have received your letter
- [6] *titil tanggal 17 wulan rabiyul awal 1817 aweb ka-*
which was written on 17 Rabiyyul Awal 1817 [17 November 1887] notifying
- [7] *bar wis tanpa layangk: utawa kawe aweb kabhar*
that you have also received my letter, and have informed me that
- [8] *Bupati Purbalingga gone goleti saluhk: ing*
the regent of Purbalingga was constantly finding fault in me
- [9] *kang iku bangêt tarimaku maring Allah pyambeke dermakabe**
for this I am most grateful to God//.....//
- [10] *lusi digawe coba duning Allah maring badanku: iku pérkara*
(I) am being tested by God please stop
- [11] *kang akeh ake wis aja mupikir tohidmu babe*
worrying about all those difficulties just ensure that your *tohid* (inner religious conviction)
- [12] *maring kang maha suci terusna: aja wédi maring supadlaning mahi-*
towards the Most Holy, please be continued; don't be afraid of God's creatures
- [13] *k: sebab masih kèna mirudan duning Allah balike padha wédiya*
because the creatures are controlled by the (power) of God, on the contrary, you must all fear
- [14] *maring Allah babe: tégès wédi salah maring dwevek ora*
only God, fear means to no longer care about our wrongs; no
- [15] *ménduli maring wulang usulhijab kawi kita kiyad**
concerned with the teachings of Usulhijab //.....//
- [16] *ing sak iki aku aweb kabhar: maring kawe kabhar ya-*
at this moment, I inform you that this information
- [17] *ki nempa wani bukak: tapi kang rép ditingin pérkara tu-*
I just got the courage to open information, but please keep this secret a matter, a matter of lord
- [18] *an gone aweb layang maring kawe: aweb kabhar yèn a-*
that I gave you a letter informing I
- [19] *ku lagi malihu ing pakuburan makam rasulu allah klawan:*
just went to the graveyard of the Prophet along with
- [20] *Raden Ipo: aku kang malihu kabhar dhuwur Raden I-*
Raden Ipo I come in to the body of Raden Ipo
- [21] *po ing ngalam kabur kabir*: tégès jagad gedhezméndièm ing*
at ngalam kabur kabir, which means a great world (macro-cosmos). It is buried
- [22] *remahzang sak iki wis mulih: bare sadina ing nalika*
on earth: at that moment, I went home and after one day on
- [23] *ing ngabad pahing tu<ng>gal 20 wulan rabiyul awal 1817*
Sunday Pahing 20 Rabiyyul Awal 1817AH [20 November 1887 AD]
- [24] *Raden Ipo katémme klawan gusti rahul Jalil ing ngalu_**
Raden Ipo met with the Lord of the greatness in Ngalu_



- [25] *ing ngalam kulbur: ngaku tékkongkon nyawan bumi langit*
at the world in between, I summoned him to ask the earth and the sky
- [26] *dalah sahisine: layange yaiku pusaka cahya-*
and everything else inside: his letter was the heirloom of Cahyana
- [27] *na: sangelmune pisan sebah pusakang* 2 siji ing ponurpu-*
along with its knowledge, for some reasons two of heirlooms, first is the white light
- [28] *tih kátatahan* rasulu allah kang siji nurkuning kátadlaha*—*
which was made with chisel by the Prophet, the second one is the yellow light which was made
- [29] *n ing Muhammad kita dibekek ing wulan kita dibekek a-*
by our Prophet and in our month
- [30] *mmung kaparingan wéruh uripe iku pusaka ora kéné diri-*
I only know of the condition of those heirlooms which are cannot
- [31] *ta awi <|>* miruhakén bumi langit sahisine jagat kita*
to be told to (you) because knowing the earth and sky and everything inside of our world
- [32] *nusa Jawa kang diwe tapi Sundha kang tana-*
the island of Java is ours, but the island if Sunda is older
- [33] *mgub wangsulane Ipo maring aku: sékang pangandikane gusti*
the stubborn answer from Ipo to me: through conversation with God
- [34] *rahul jalil wis katrima: sarta wis kaparingakén bumi langit dalah*
Lord of the greatness who has received and handed over to the earth and sky and
- [35] *sahisine: utawa lewibezartine lahutan tandhane*
everything inside, or the rest of it means the ocean has given its sign
- [36] *iku pusaka kapundhut Raden Ipo supaya tung-*
that the heirloom was taken by Raden Ipo in order to wait for
- [37] *gu putusan bab pangawasane nganoka* landrut diwanth*
decision on the authority of /|..... /|with the court speaking
- [38] *ing pangandika: wulan rabiyyu labir dakeén bali nampani*
on his command: on Rabiyyul akhir month I summoned him to go back and accept
- [39] *pangawasane*: Allah téhél bumi langit ing sak isine*
his authority, God has made the earth and sky and all the contents inside
- [40] *mangertine bali maring ngalam kulbur ya mati maning wondening*
his understanding on going back to the world in between means to die again, however
- [41] *aku ora susah bulickirana pérjanggayan wis anang ra-*
I can easily find my way home because my appointment is already with
- [42] *den Ipo*
Raden Ipo
- [43] *wékasku umung tunggunén kélawan tohidbabe: lak kowe ka-*
my message to you is only to keep waiting for him with your *tabid*, and to meet
- [44] *témuha karo 4 démang kang madlèp maring lakonku: yen wis bé-*
four subdistrict heads who support toward to my journey: if (we are) in the right
- [45] *nér kita tanpa kumawasane baka subhana huwa-*
we deserve to receive the power from God, the Most Glorified and
- [46] *ta Allah aku bali maring séwarga yaiku bumi cahyana:*
the Most High, I will go back to the heaven, that it is to say, Cahyana
- [47] *bédhamiku maring raden Ipo ing wulan rajah*
my promise to Raden Ipo in the month of Rajab
- [48] *tanggal: 27 tahun 1817 supaya tindak kayéng gr-*
on the day of 27 1817 AJ [14 March 1888 AD] is to come to
- [49] *sti katasnabiyil umiyi wali Allah pul akhir*
our lord, the unlettered prophets, the saint of God on the last of the day



- [50] *rawube ing bumi sēwarga:mērmatta ing karsakkean:tapi*
his coming in the heaven land would repair its damage, but
- [51] *durung tamtu kerana cawang 2 mēnawa nēlēpi ing pējang-*
it is not certain to happen yet for two conditions (as long as) it fulfills
- [52] *jiyan kudu sēkang kulon dīwīng mangetan ya-*
the agreement, it has to be started from west to east
- [53] *durung tamtu ing wulan iku: bēsar: yēn ilik* miji-*
it is not certain to be at this month: Besar, if I unwilling to consider
- [54] *jat kramat bumi amung sapēnjagongan mēnawa ya tamtu ing*
the miracle of the holy of the earth, to only glimpse, if it is certain to be
- [55] *wulan iku: lan aku poma poma jaluk bocah 2*
that month: I respectfully request to my two kids
- [56] *katēk dunung si Amir Muhammad karo Adiwikrama yēn o*
please deliver (my message) to Amir Muhammad and Adiwikrama, if they
- [57] *ra gēlēm: sapababe kang mupērdhaya:*
are not willing to fulfil my request, or anyone who interferes with it
- [58] *kējaba sēkang iku kowe katēmuba karo 4 de-*
apart from that, you must meet with the four
- [59] *mang lan Kridha Dipatrūna Dikrama poma poma: aku*
subdistrict heads and Kridha Dipatrūna Dikrama I respectfully
- [60] *jaluk dūwit F 200 perak pērtu kanggo la-*
ask for 200 perak to welcome Ipo
- [61] *dran sabatine ipo sēkang alam kubur: ngumpu-*
after he returns from alam kubur: to bring together
- [62] *lakēn para ngalim iku dūwit aja kati-*
the Islamic scholars, the money should not
- [63] *la tēkane bok kedhingin mulihe Ipo sēkang*
be late prior to Ipo's arrival from
- [64] *kubur<r>: pējangjiyane Ipo 40 dina: mangka iku*
alam kubur: the Ipo's agreement is forty days, therefore
- [65] *dūwit wulan iki rabiyyu lahir aku bisaha*
the money for this month, Rabiyyu lahir, hopefully I could
- [66] *tampa: saulih olih ya kudu rēpit dīwīng a-*
receive it as much of it as possible, it must be sent quickly
- [67] *ju gawe susah tapi ing batin aja wēdi sēkang pang-*
please don't be sad and afraid in your heart with
- [68] *ngreksane Allah kudu slamēt*
The God's protection (you) must be safe
- [69] *punika puji nīsu<n>*
this is my wish.



Annotations and Commentary

[9] *pyamběke dermakabe*

This phrase likely refers to the attributes of God (*pyamběke*). However, I do not have a definitive answer as to what kind of attributes of God of Mas Malang Yuda is referring to. These attributes may refer to the god of help or service (*derma*). The God of help is plenty (*akeb*).

[15] *kawis kita kiyad*

This phrase is difficult to interpret. I propose two possible interpretations: (1) *kawis*<*tara*> *kita kiyad*, the teachings of *Usulbiyah* clearly (*kawistara*) make us strong (*kita kiyat*); or (2) <*pěr*>*kawis kita kiyad*, the teachings of *Usulbiyah* and the matters of our life (*pěrkanis kita*) able to be handled (*kiyat*).

[17-24] These lines likely describe the ecstatic personal mystical experiences of Mas Malang Yuda.

[21] *alam kubur*

Alam kubur was mentioned four times. All instances of the word literally translate to *alam* ‘world’ and *kubur* ‘grave’. This phrase probably refers to *alam barzakah*, the “isthmus or interfere, liminal state between spirituality and corporeality” (Sevea, 2020: 204). Therefore, I offer an interpretation of *alam kubur* as the world in between or intermundium; intermundia (pl).

[28] *kětataban* and *kětadhaban*

The word of *tatab* ‘chisel’ and *tadhab* ‘container for catching’ are in the passive voice with the prefix *kě-* and the suffix *-an*.

[37] *nganoka*

It might also be read as *nayaka landrat* ‘the leader of the court’.

[53-54] *ilik* mujijat kramat bumi amung sapěnjagongan*

The meaning of this phrase is quite difficult to interpret. *Mujijat kramat bumi* may refer to Cahyana or some kind of magic formula for travelling quickly around the Earth. Another possibility is because this phrase is followed by the word *amung sapěnjagongan* ‘only a glimpse’. However, I am not certain of the meaning of this subsequent phrase.

Appendix II

Kitab Wali Kutub

Introduction

As I have discussed in chapter four, the *Kitab Wali Kutub* is a book containing a manual of ritual how to perform the *Walikutuban*.

The *KWK* has peculiar symbol. Symbol  is employed in two ways: as a sign of transition from Arabic language to Javanese language (code-switching), and as a symbol of a final description of a text. The symbol *ha* in the final description of a text is also considered as a common sign in classical Arabic text (*kitab al-turāth*). It normally occurs when the author of a classical Arabic text finishes his/her explanation in the last chapters, she/he writes *intabā*. It means my explanation has ended, which is commonly symbolized as هي. I rendered the *ha* symbol as (h). The example of code-switching is the word *rērubane* which is normally followed by symbol , or without any symbols. In lines 22-24, code-switching occurs from the Javanese to the Arabic, then back to the Javanese as I depicted them as follows:

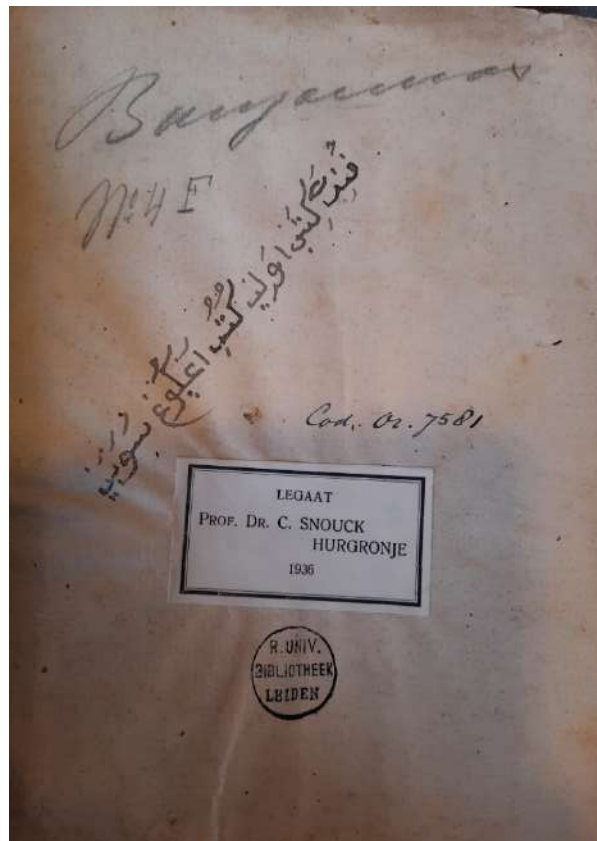
<i>iku kabeh lan para wali</i> <i>ingkang angarudha angidēring</i> <i>jagad iki rērubane (h) (h)</i>	<i>assalāmu ‘alaikum fī kuli awliyāi</i> <i>sitatun wa khamsīna shau lillah al-</i> <i>fātībah (h)</i>	<i>mangka nuli amaca</i> <i>fātībah</i>
Those saints and the saints who wheeled and revolved around the universe	by offering them as follows peace be upon you, the fifty- six hundred saints	I offer reciting al- fātīhah for you
Javanese Language	Arabic Language	Javanese Language

In the sentence above, the code-switching occurs from the Javanese to the Arabic to the Javanese again. The Javanese expression is stopped by the word *rērubane*, then it is continued by the Arabic expression and switched again to the Javanese expression started by the word *mangka*.

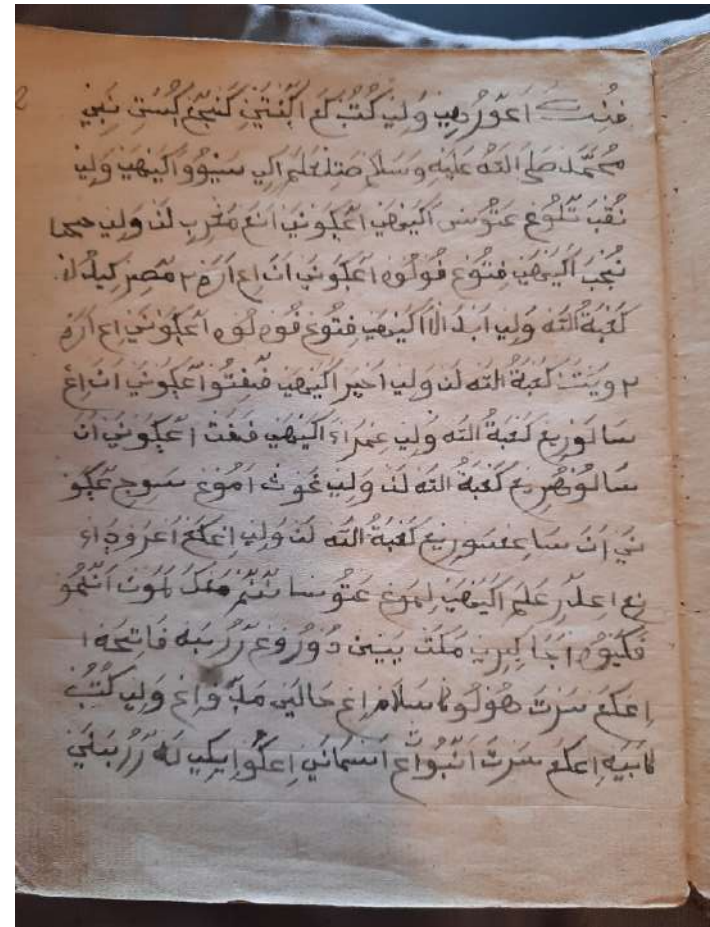
Text and Translation

*Punika Kitab Awali Kutub
anggunng sawabe*

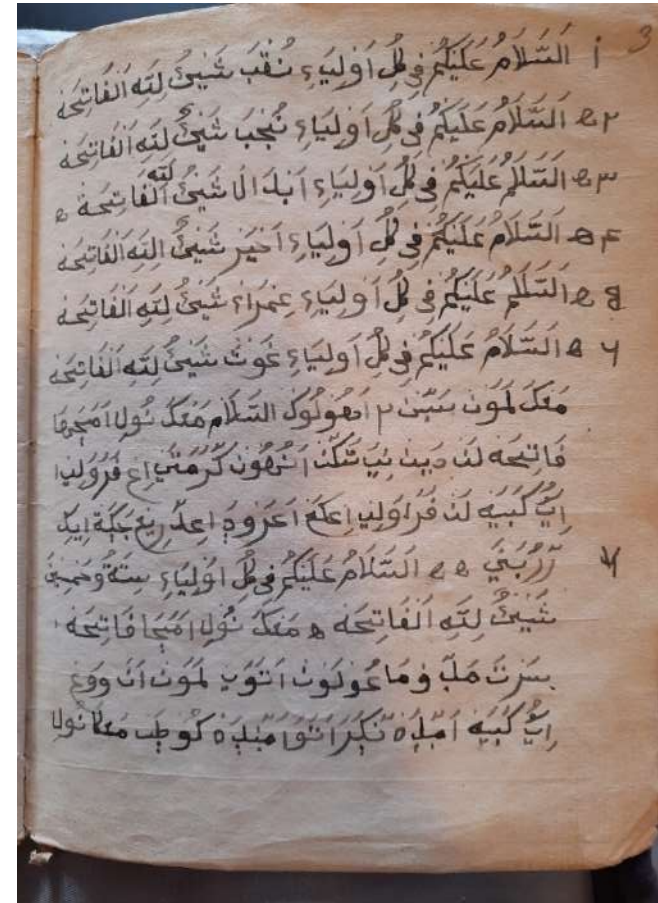
This is the book of the
Poles of the Saints
which its beneficence is
great/continuous.



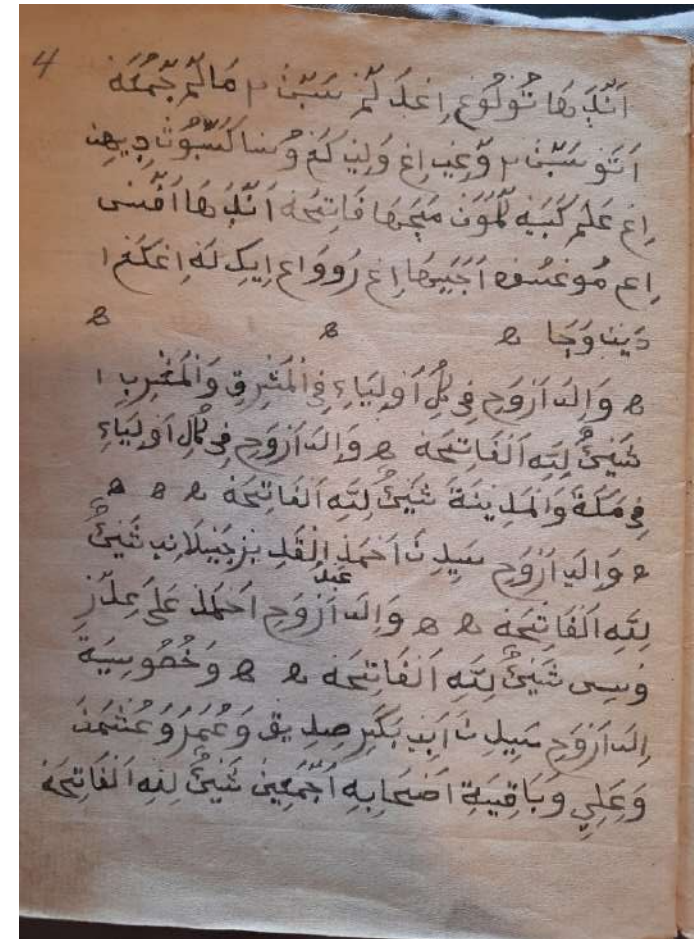
- [1.] *Punika angēnruhi Wali Kutub kang agēnteni Kanjēng Gusti Nabi*
This is to know the Poles of the Saints who succeeded the Prophet
- [2.] *Muhammad Sala Allah 'alaihi wasalam šatil'alami iki sewu akebe wali*
Muhammad peace be upon him these are one thousand in number of the saints
- [3.] *Nuqab tēlung ngatus akebe angēgoni anang Maghrib lan Wali* (Nujaba)
the Nuqab saints are three hundred in number, and are located in the region of Maghreb
- [4.] *Nujaba akebe pitung puluh angēgoni ana ing arah2 Mēsir kidul*
the Nujaba saints are seventy in number, and are located in the direction towards Egypt, the south
- [5.] *Ka'bah Allah Wali Abdal akebe pitung puluh angēgoni ana ing arah-*
of the Ka'ba the Abdal saints are seventy in number, and are located in the direction of the east of the Ka'ba
- [6.] *-2 wetan Ka'bah Allah lan Wali Akhyar akebe pēpitu angēgoni ana ing*
the Akhyar saints are seven in number, who resided to
- [7.] *sak loring Ka'bah Allah, Wali 'Imra' akebe papat angēgoni ana*
the north of the Ka'ba, the 'Imra' saints are four in number, who placed in
- [8.] *saluhuring Ka'bah Allah, lan Wali Ghawth amung sawiji ngēnggo-*
the above the Ka'ba and the Ghawth saint is the only one, who placed
- [9.] *-ni ana sak ngisore Ka'bah Allah lan Wali ingkang angērudha*
in the underneath the Ka'ba and the saints who wheeled
- [10.] *ning angidēri 'alam akebe limangatus nēnēm mangka lamon anēmu*
and rotated around the universe are fifty-six hundred in number, if you are faced
- [11.] *pakewuh aja giri makat yen durung rērubah fatihah*
problematic circumstances, don't hastily leave before you give an offering to them by reciting al-fatihah
- [12.] *ingkang sarta huluka salam ing hale madhēp ing Wali Kutub*
and greet them together with orient your face toward all the Wali Kutub
- [13.] *kabeh ingkang sarta anēbut ing asmane ingkang ikilab rērubane*
and mentioning their names, these are your offering to them



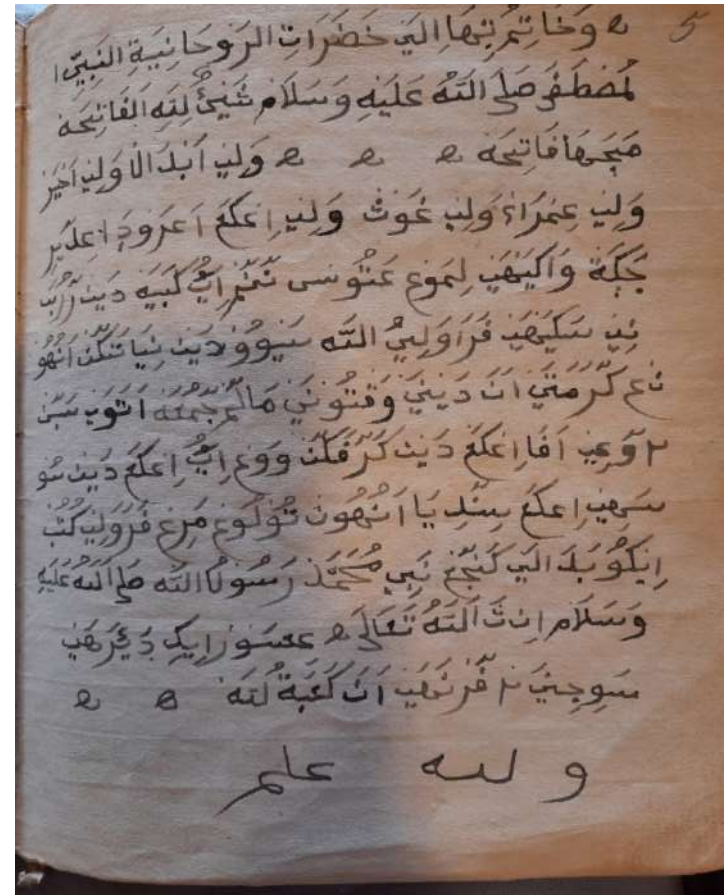
- [14.] 1. assalāmu ‘alaikum fī kuli awliyāi Nuqaba shaiu lillah al-fātiḥah
peace be upon you Nuqaba saints, may Allah be with you: al-fātiḥah
- [15.] 2. assalāmu ‘alaikum fī kuli awliyāi Nujaba shaiu lillah al-fātiḥah
peace be upon you Nujaba saints, may Allah be with you: al-fātiḥah
- [16.] 3. assalāmu ‘alaikum fī kuli awliyāi Abdal shaiu lillah al-fātiḥah
peace be upon you Abdal saints, may Allah be with you: al-fātiḥah
- [17.] 4. assalāmu ‘alaikum fī kuli awliyāi Akhyar shaiu lillah al-fātiḥah
peace be upon you Akhyar saints, may Allah be with you: al-fātiḥah
- [18.] 5. assalāmu ‘alaikum fī kuli awliyāi ‘Imrā’ shaiu lillah al-fātiḥah
peace be upon you ‘Imrā’ saints, may Allah be with you: al-fātiḥah
- [19.] 6. assalāmu ‘alaikum fī kuli awliyāi Ghawth shaiu lillah al-fātiḥah
peace be upon you Ghawth saints, may Allah be with you: al-fātiḥah
- [20.] *mangka lamon sabēn2 abuluk assalām, mangka nuli amacaba*
if you are saying salutation every time, and then reciting
- [21.] *fātiḥah lan den niyataken anuhumi kēramate ing para Wali*
al-fātiḥah for them, intended to obtain the beneficence of all the *Wali Kutub*
- [22.] *iku kabeh lan para wali ingkang angarudha angidēring jagad iki*
and the saints who wheeled and revolved around the universe
- [23.] *rērubane (h) (h) assalāmu ‘alaikum fī kuli awliyā’i sitatun wa khamsīna*
these are your offering to them: peace be upon you, the fifty-six hundred saints,
- [24.] *shau lillah al-fātiḥah (h) mangka nuli amaca fātiḥah*
may Allah be with you: al-fātiḥah, henceforth recite al-fātiḥah for them
- [25.] *sarta madhēp mangulon atawi lamon ana wong*
with orient your body to the west, or if all
- [26.] *iku kabeh ambēdbah nēgara atawa ambēdbah kutha mangka nuli*
persons who intend to the breaking through the bastion of the city walls and then

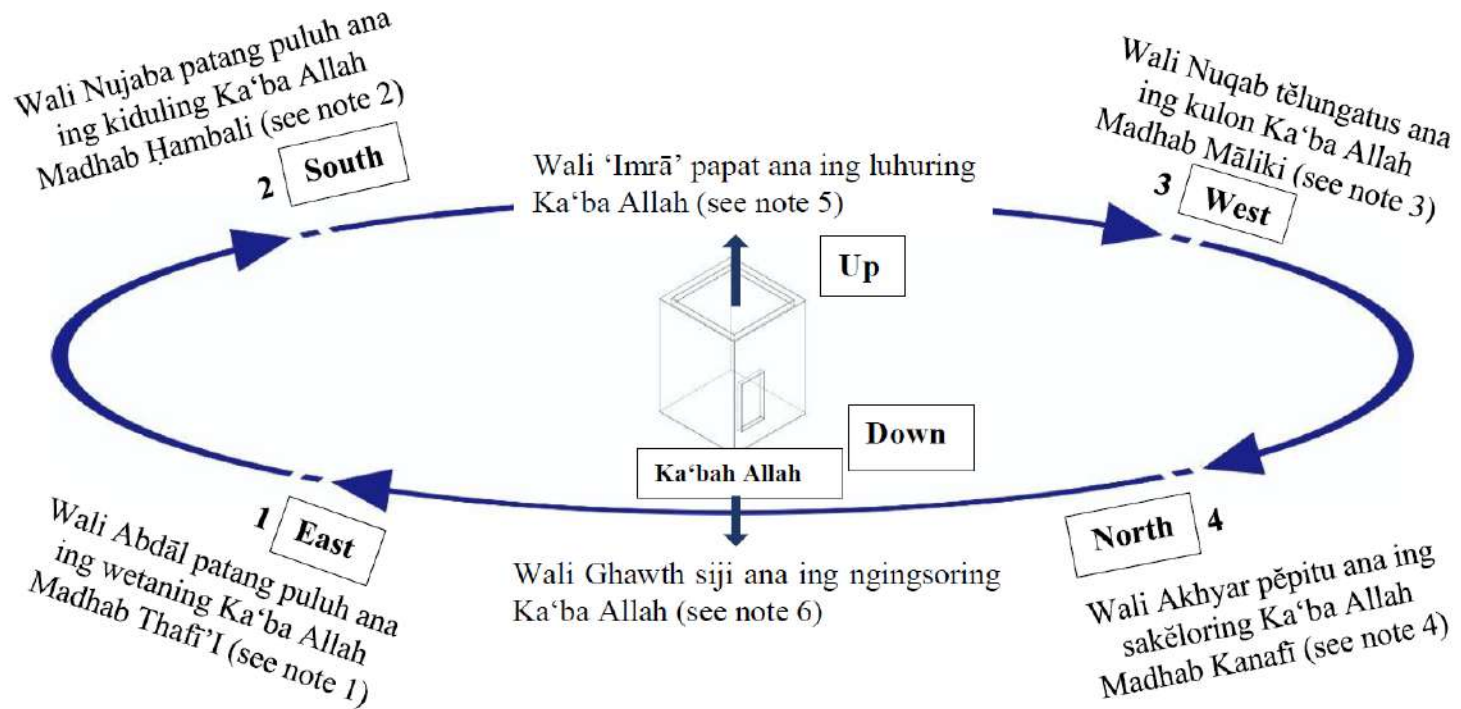


- [27.] *anēdhaba tulung ing dalēm sabēn2 malēm Jēmuah*
asking for help in every Thursday night
- [28.] *atau sabēn2 wēngi ing Wali kang wus kasēbut dhibin*
or every night, to the saints who are mentioned earlier
- [29.] *ing 'alam kabeh kēlawan macaba fātīhah anēdhaba apēs*
at the entire world by reciting al-fātīhah, asking for help powerless
- [30.] *ing mungsuh ajayaba ing rowang ikilah ingkang*
to their enemies, and companions become victors these are following below
- [31.] *den waca (h) (h) (h)*
should be recited:
- [32.] *wa ilā arwaḥi fi kuli awliyāi fī al-mashriqi wa al-maghribi*
to the presence upon the spirits of saints who reside in Mashriq and Maghreb regions
- [33.] *shau lillah al-fātīhah (h) wa ilā arwaḥi fi kuli awliyāi*
may Allah be with you: al-fātīhah, to the presence of the spirits of saints
- [34.] *fi Makata wa al-Madinata shau lillah al-fātīhah (h) (h) (h)*
who reside at Mecca and Madina. May Allah be with you: al-fātīhah
- [35.] *wa ilā arwaḥi sayidina Aḥmad 'Abdu al-Qadīr Jailāni shau*
to the presence of the spirits of Aḥmad 'Abdu al-Qadīr Jailāni
- [36.] *lillah al-fātīhah (h) (h) wa ilā arwaḥi Aḥmad 'Alī Idēr*
may Allah be with you: al-fātīhah to the presence upon the spirit of Aḥmad Ali Idēr
- [37.] *waṣī shau lillah al-fātīhah (h) (h) wa khususiyata*
may Allah be with you: al-fātīhah, more specially for
- [38.] *ilā arwaḥi sayidina Abī Bakar Sidīq wa 'Umara wa 'Uthmana*
to the presence of the spirits of Abī Bakar Sidīq, 'Umar, 'Uthman,
- [39.] *wa 'Alī wabā qiyati Aṣḥābihi ajēm'īna shau lillah al-fātīhah (h)*
'Alī, and all of the brethren of the prophets, may Allah be with you: al-fātīhah



- [40.] wa khātimu tiha, ila haḍrāti al-rawḥāniyati al-nabiyyī
the last, to the presence of the Prophet Muḥammad
- [41.] al-Muṣṭafa ṣalā allahu ‘alaihi wasalām shau lillah al-fātiḥah
the chosen one peace and blessings of Allah be upon him. May Allah be with you: al-fātiḥah
- [42.] macaha fātiḥah (h) (h) (h) *Wali Abdāl Wali Akhyar*
and then recite al-fātiḥah: (for) the Abdāl saints, the Akhyar saints,
- [43.] *Wali ‘Imra’ Wali Ghawth wali ingkang angērudba angidēri*
the ‘Imra’ saints, the Ghawth saints, who wheeled and revolved
- [44.] *jagad wakebe limangatus nēnēm iku kabeh den rēnuba-*
at the entire world, their number are five hundred and six, all of them should be offer
- [45.] *-ni sakebe para Waliyu Allah sewu den niyatakēn anuhu-*
(by reciting *fātiḥah*), all of the saints, their number are one thousands, the intention to
- [46.] *nang kēramate ana dene waqtune malēm Jēmu‘ah atawa sabēn*
perform the ritual is getting beneficence, time to perform it is every Thursday night or
- [47.] *2 wēngi apa ingkang den karēpaken wong iku ingkang den su-*
every night, what he/she wants will come true
- [48.] *-sabi ingkang sinēdya anubuni tulung maring para wali kutub*
or what he/she grieves will be gone because of their help of the Poles of the Saints
- [49.] *iku badale Kanjēng Nabi Muḥammad Rasulu Allah Ṣalā Allahu ‘Alaihi*
they are the substitute of the Prophet Muhammad peace be upon him
- [50.] *Wasalām Intsa Allah taāla (h) ngingsor iki daerube*
if Allah will. The following below is circle of (the Poles of the Saints)
- [51.] *samiji2ne pērnabe ana Ka‘bah Allah. (h) (h).*
at certain areas where Ka‘ba Allah (the house of God) is the center
- [52.] *Wallahu ‘Alam*
and God knows best what is correct





Annotations and Commentary

[0] The *Wali Kutub* have been translated in English as the Axial Saints by Florida (1995; 2018; 2021). She apparently followed in Trimmingham's footsteps (1971:163-165). However, in English axis and pole are to be situated in different contexts. Axis refers to "the imaginary straight line about which a body (e.g. the earth or other planet) rotates; the prolongation of that of the earth on which the heavens appear to revolve", while the end of the axis is called poles (see *Oxford English Dictionary: the definitive records of English language*). A current book that discusses the sainthood concepts, including the *Qutb* concept, translates *Qutb* as a Pole. The translation of *Qutb* as Pole is also followed by Morrissey (2020:83), and Ebstein (2014:110). In the field of Islamic philosophy and theology, the word *qutb* is equivalent to Pole, and it has become a received term. Therefore, I render *Wali Kutub* as the Poles of the Saints.

Anggung has base-form *gung* with prefix aN-, or variant spelling of *agung*. The common expressions are *agung* and *ageng* (*kerama*, honorific or respectful form). Gericke and Roorda (1901:16) also entered *anggung* under the base-word *agung*. Perhaps *anggung* is a Javanese archaic expression as explained by Zoetmulder (1982:518) *angöñ* or *ginöñ* "make much of": be constantly occupied with (engaged in, given to), devote os. to practise (assiduously), exercise, cultivate, take constant care of, foster". However, the prefix *ang-* + *agung* (base) = *anggung* is not commonly used in Javanese daily expressions. *Anggung* means steady or continue. The meaning of the title above, therefore, has two reading alternatives: (1) this is the *Wali Kutub* book which its beneficence is absolutely great, or (2) this is the *Wali Kutub* book which its beneficence is continuous.

The *Wali Kutub* is preceded by an *alif*. Thus, the title can be read as *Awali Kutub*. However, it is unknown why an *alif* was added there. It probably occurs due to scribal error. From all of the texts I have examined, I have not found an addition of the *alif* to the word or phrases that refer to the *Wali Kutub* in the entire text of the KWK.

[1] *Angwëruhi* is derived from transitive verb *wërub*, which means to know, to see, to recognise. It also has noun *kanrub* 'knowledge or science'. The prefix *ang-* + *wërub* (base) + suffix *-i* = *angwëruhi* in the context above means to introduce the Poles of the Saints.

[2] *şatil'alami* is an expression to praise the Prophet Muhammad. However, using *şatil'alami* after *Şala Allah alaibi wasalam* is not common in Islamic text and tradition.

[11] *Giri* belongs to polysemy, but in this context it means frightful or terrifying. *Makat* originally comes from based-word *mangkat* 'to leave or to depart'. When *aja giri* and *ma(ng)kat* combined into a negative phrase in the context above means please don't hastily leave.

[12] *hale* probably is derived from *ḥāl* (حال) clause (circumstantial accusative) in Arabic language. It is used to indicate a state or event occurring at the same time as the state or event mentioned in the main clause (simultaneous condition) (Fischer, 2002:196). The canonical example of the *ḥāl* clause is “Zaid come to me riding” (جاء زيد راكبا) in which the word of *rākibān* ‘riding’ is the *ḥāl* as it describes the coming of Zaid. The logical construction of the *ḥāl* also occurs in the KWK as expressed below.

mangka lamun anĕmu pakewuh aja giri makat yen durung rĕrubah fātīḥah ingkang sarta huluka salam ing hale madhĕp ing Wali Kutub.

mangka lamun anĕmu pakewuh is the main clause, whereas *aja giri makat yen durung rĕrubah fātīḥah ingkang sarta huluka salam ing hale madhĕp ing Wali Kutub* is the sub-clause. The sentence above shows a sequence of the *ḥāl* construction that is absorbed from the logic of Arabic grammar. Three actions are done simultaneously: reciting *al-fātīḥah*, stating Islamic greetings, and orienting to the *Wali Kutub*. Interesting to note here that the conjunction *ingkang* is well-known in Javanese syntax construction. However, *hale* in *ing hale madhĕp ing Wali Kutub* indicates that the sequence of actions is absorbed from the Arabic logical grammar. Many years ago, Ronkel (1899) also paid attention on this phenomenon in Malay language as discussed in his article, “on the influence of Arabic syntax on Malay syntax” (*Over de invloed der Arabische syntaxis op de Maleische*). This peculiar Javanese expression is interesting to look closely in the future.

[11-12] *Rĕruba* or *rubā* means to offer something for others in order to get the hope of rewards (Roorda, 1901:918), or *panweweh kanggo golek pamrih* (Poerwadarminta, 1939:75). I have discussed it in chapter four.

[26] *Ambĕḍḥab* has based-form *bĕḍḥab* ‘break through or rip open’. The prefix *am-* + *bĕḍḥab* make it becomes a transitive verb form. The *ambĕḍḥab* the is followed by the *kutha* ‘town’ and *nĕgara* ‘country’. These expressions mean breaking through the bastion of city walls, or breaking through the bastion of the enemies.

[32-33] *Arwab* (spirit) in plural form should be written *Arwābi* (أرواح). However, the text does not mention a sign of a long plural vowel.

In order to understand the illustration of circle or territories (*daerah*) of the *Wali Kutub*, I have made specific annotation for interpreting the school of thought within Islamic jurisprudence (*madhḥab*) in Sunni orthodoxy as portrayed in the illustration above as follows.

1. The eastern region is the territory of Abdāl saints’ who are forty in number. They are considered the guarding spirits of the Shāfi‘ī school of

Islamic law. The Shāfiʿī school is derived from the teachings of Muḥammad Ibn Idrīs al- Shāfiʿī (c.767-820).

2. The southern region is the territory of Nuḡaba saints' who are forty in number. They are considered the guarding spirits of the Ḥanbālī school of Islamic law. The Ḥanbālī school is based on the teaching of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (c.780-855).
3. The western region is territory of Nuḡaba saints' who are three hundred in number. They are considered the guarding spirits of the Mālīkī school of Islamic law. The Mālīkī school of thought is derived from Mālīk ibn Anas (c.715-795). He was a Muslim jurist who played a significant role in formulating early Islamic legal doctrines.
4. The northern region is territory of Akhyar saints' who are seven in number. They are considered the guarding spirits of the Ḥanafī school of Islamic law. The Ḥanafī school of thought is derived from the teaching of Abu Ḥanīfah (c.700-767). He was one of the Sunni jurists and theologians.
5. Above the Ka'ba is the territory of 'Imrā' saints who are four in number.
6. Underneath the Ka'ba is the territory of Ghawth saint who is only one in number.

I have discussed it extensively in chapter four.

Appendix III

The Script of *Wirid Walikutuban*

Introduction

As I have mentioned in chapter six, the script of *Walikutuban* was composed by Abdul Mun'im DZ. It has been distributed through all of the branches of the NU. I obtained this script in 2019 when I attended a PKPNU training in Malang, East Java. The script is written in Indonesian with Arabic Perso-Arabic (*pegon*) and Roman scripts. On behalf of Abdul Mun'im DZ, one of the instructors handed over the script of *Walikutuban* to the committee members of the PKPNU. The committee members of the organization of PKPNU normally copied and circulated the script to the participants at the end of the intensive trainings before the oath of allegiance (*bai'a*) ceremony. The script consists of four sections: (1) the aim of performing the *Walikutuban*; (2) the guidelines for performing the *Walikutuban*; (3) the chain transmission of the *Walikutuban*; (4) the warning note informing about the precarious conditions and the strong recommendation to perform the *Walikutuban*, especially at the end of the PKPNU trainings before the *bai'a*.

Text

- [1] *Wirid Walikutuban*
 [2] *wirid ini lazimnya diamalkan saat mempunyai hajat tertentu dan menghadapi bahaya baik yang mengancam diri sendiri, masyarakat maupun negara*
 [3] *bismillāhi al-rahman al-rahīm*
 [4] *taḥnawna ila Allah...4X*
 [5] *ila ḥadrati al-nabi'i al-mustafa Muhammad ṣallallah alaihi wasalam...al-fatīḥah..*
 [6] *wa ila ḥadrati azwajibi wa duriyatibi wahl baytibi wa jam'i ikhwanibi mi al-anbiyai wa al-mursalina wa uulu al-'azmi min al-rusul wa jam'i al-malaikat al-muqarrabina wa ila ḥadrati nabi'i Allah al-Khiḍr baḥā bin Malkān fi al-baḥri wa nabi'i Allah Iyās fi al-ardhi wa nabi'i Allah Idris fi al-samā' 'alaibim al-ṣalatu wa salām...al-fatīḥah...*
 [7] *tsuma ila ḥadrati jam'i al-'aṣābat wa al-'abi'ina wa ṭabi'ina wa man taba'bum bi ihsani ila yawmi al-dini wa jam'i al-awliya' wa 'ulama' wa al-suhada'i wa al-ṣalihinā khususan al-sheikh 'Abdu al-Qadir al-Jailani radiyyaallah 'anhum...al-fatīḥah...*
 [8] *tsuma ila ḥadrati jam'i al-awliya' fi baladi Indonesiya wa bilakhasi jam'i sunan2 wali sanga ajmai'n...al-fatīḥah...*
 [9] *tsuma ila ḥadrati jam'i masyayikhina wa masyayikh masyayikhina wa mu'alimina wa muajizina khususan ila ḥadrati al-sheikh Dalbar Watu Congol Magelang al-Sheikh Marzuqi Romliy Girilaya, Yogyakarta wa ila ḥadrati al-sheikh 'Abd al-Ḥamid 'Utsman Kajoran Magelang radiyyaallah 'anhum...al-fatīḥah...*
 [10] *wa ila ḥadrati muasisiy nahdhati al-ulamāi ḥadrati al-sheikh Kyabi Hasyim Ayyari, al-sheikh Kyabi Wahab Hasbullah al-sheikh Kyabi Bisri Syansuri...al-fatīḥah...*
 [11] *menghadap qiblat as-salamu 'alaikum ya awliya Allah..Nuqaba'.ya Nuqaba' 3X... aghisuna 3X... al-fatīḥah... menghadap selatan as-salamu 'alaikum ya awliya Allah..Nuqaba'.ya Nuqaba' 3X... aghisuna 3X... al-fatīḥah... menghadap timur as-salamu 'alaikum ya awliya Allah..Abdal..ya Abdal 3X... aghisuna 3X... al-fatīḥah... menghadap utara as-salamu 'alaikum ya awliya Allah..Akhyar..ya Akbar 3X... aghisuna 3X... al-fatīḥah...*



menghadap atas

as-salamu 'alaikum ya awliya Allah.. 'Imra'.ya 'Imra' 3X... aghisunā 3X... al-fatihah...

menghadap bawah

as-salamu 'alaikum ya awliya Allah..Ghawts..ya Ghawts 3X... aghisunā 3X... al-fatihah...

memutar kesemua arah (3X)

as-salamu 'alaikum ya awliya Allah..Rijal Allah..ya Rijal Allah 3X... aghisunā 3X... al-fatihah...

kembali menghadap qiblat

[12] dilanjutkan membaca

adzan...1X (bersama)

iqamat...1X (bersama)

surah Qura'is...9X

ayat al-kursi surat al-ikhlas al-muawidatun ...1X

rabbanā atina min ladunka rahmat wa hayi'lanā min amrinā rasyadā...1X

rabbanā atina fi al-dunyā ḥasanah wa fi al-akhirati ḥasanah waqinā 'adāba al-nār
1X

[13] al-du'a'

allahuma kafi Muhammadin, wabarakaṭi Muhammadin, wakaramaṭi Muhammadin,
wasināki Muhammadin, birahmatika ya arḥama al-rahimin, Allahu latifin, Allahu hafidun,
allahu qadimin, allahu qadirin, azaliyin, hayin, qayumun, layanām

[14] 'ibada allah rijalallah...aghitsunā lijalallah

wakunū 'awnānallillah... 'asā nakhlā bifadhlillah

wayā aqṭab wayaanjab...wayā sadāt wayā aḥbab

wantum ya unṭil al-bab...ta'lan' wansurullillah

[15] Amalan ini diijazahkan oleh K.H. Abdul Hamid Utman kepada tiga putranya:

(1) K.H. Amin Kajoran, (2) K.H. Baqoh Kajoran, dan (3) K.H. Gumilang Kajoran.

Kemudian, ketiganya mengijazahkan kepada para instruktur dan kader PKPNU lainnya dalam ijabah kubro yang diselenggarakan di Kajoran Magelang (2014),

Petanahan-Kebumen, Tebo-Jambi, dan di Gunung Lawu-Solo (2017).

Kemudian diijazahkan kembali secara khusus kepada peserta PKPNU lanjutan 1

di Kajoran pada 5-6 Jumadil Awal 1440 H/ 11-13 Januari 2019 M.

Dan diijazahkan pula oleh K.H. Zabidi bin K.H. Marzuqi di Goa Selarong 24 Jumadil Akhir 1440 H/ 31 Maret 2019.

Beliau-beliau mengizinkan wirid ini untuk diamalkan dalam setiap PKPNU atau dalam kegiatan lainnya.

[16] mengingat semakin pentingnya keadaan maka wirid ini diamalkan dalam setiap menjelang ba'at PKPNU

[17] Al-faqir H. Abdul Mun'im DZ (Koordinator Nasional PKPNU).

مَقْدَفَاتُ الْإِنْسَانِ

أَسْلَامٌ عَلَيْكُمْ يَا أَوْلِيَاءَ اللَّهِ ... عَمْرَأَةً ... يَا عَمْرَأَةً ... ۳۳ ... أَعْيُونًا ۳۳ ... الْفَاتِحَةَ ...

مَقْدَفَاتُ بَارَاءَةٍ

أَسْلَامٌ عَلَيْكُمْ يَا أَوْلِيَاءَ اللَّهِ ... عَمْرَأَةً ... يَا عَمْرَأَةً ... ۳۳ ... أَعْيُونًا ۳۳ ... الْفَاتِحَةَ ...

مُسَوِّتَاتُ كَسْمَا أَرَاءَةً (۳۳)

أَسْلَامٌ عَلَيْكُمْ يَا أَوْلِيَاءَ اللَّهِ ... رَجَالُ اللَّهِ ... يَا رَجَالَ اللَّهِ ۳۳ ... أَعْيُونًا ۳۳ ... الْفَاتِحَةَ ...

كَيْسَالِي مَقْدَفَاتُ نَبَلَةٍ

وَيَا لِحُورِ كَسْمَا

أَذَانٌ ... ۱۴ (bersama)	إِقَامَةٌ ... ۱۴ (bersama)	سُورَةُ قُرْآنِي ... ۱۴
لَبَّيْكَ يَا كَرِيمُ، سُورَةُ الْإِحْلَاصِ، الْمُتَعَذِّدِينَ ... ۱۴	رَبَّنَا هَبْ لَنَا مِنْ لَدُنْكَ رَحْمَةً وَتَعَرَّفْنَا لَكَ مِنْ أَمْرِنَا رَبَّنَا ... ۱۴	
رَبَّنَا هَبْ لَنَا فِي الدُّنْيَا حَسَنَةً وَفِي الْآخِرَةِ حَسَنَةً وَقِنَا عَذَابَ النَّارِ ... ۱۴		

الدَّعَاءُ

اللَّهُمَّ كَافِي مُحَمَّدٍ وَبَرَكَةِ مُحَمَّدٍ وَكَرَمَةِ مُحَمَّدٍ وَسَوَالِ مُحَمَّدٍ وَبَرَكَتِكَ يَا أَرْحَمَ الرَّاحِمِينَ ...

اللَّهُ لَبَّيْكَ، اللَّهُ حَقِيْقَةُ، اللَّهُ لَبَّيْكَ، اللَّهُ لَبَّيْكَ، أَرَاكَ حَيَّ قَبِيْمٌ لَا يَمُوتُ ...

عِبَادَ اللَّهِ رَجَالَ اللَّهِ ... أَعْيُونًا لِأَخِي اللَّهِ وَكُونُوا عَوْنًا لِلَّهِ ... عَنِّي تَخَلَّى يَقْضِي اللَّهُ	وَيَا أَقْطَابَ وَيَا أَهْلَابَ ... وَيَا سَادَاتِ وَيَا أَحْبَابَ وَأَنْتُمْ يَا أُولِي الْأَنْبَابِ ... قَعَالُوا وَالْمُسْرُوا لِلَّهِ
--	---

Amalan ini diijazahkan oleh K.H. Abdul Hamid bin Utman Kajoran kepada ketiga putranya: (1) K.H. Amin Kajoran, (2) K.H. Baqoh Kajoran, dan (3) K.H. Gumilang Kajoran.

Kemudian, ketiganya mengijazahkan kepada para instruktur dan kader PKPNU lainnya dalam ijabah kubro yang diselenggarakan di Kajoran-Magelang (2014), Petanahan-Kebumen, Tebo-Jambi, dan di Gunung Lawu-Solo (2017). Kemudian diijazahkan kembali secara khusus kepada peserta PKPNU Lanjutan I, di Kajoran pada 5-6 Jumadil Awal 1440 H/11-13 Januari 2019 M. Dan diijazahkan pula oleh K.H. Zabidi bin K.H. Marzuqi di Goa Selarong 24 Jumadil Akhir 1440 H/31 Maret 2019 M. Beliau-beliau mengizinkan wirid ini untuk diamalkan dalam setiap PKPNU atau dalam kegiatan lainnya.

Mengingat semakin pentingnya keadaan maka wirid ini diamalkan dalam setiap menjelang ba'at PKPNU.

Al-faqir H. Abdul Mun'im DZ
(Koordinator Nasional PKPNU)

Translation and Commentary

[1] the title of script is the *Wirid Walikutuban*.

In the context of Javanese Muslims, there are several words frequently used together to refer to an Islamic devotional text and how it is performed congregationally or solitarily. The words include *ḥizb* (pl. *aḥzāb*), *wird* (pl. *awrād*), *rātib* (pl. *rawatib*), and *dhikr* (pl. *adhkār*), which are commonly considered among Muslims to all be synonymous. The term *dhikr* (pl. *adhkār*) literally means remember or recollect and is the generic name for a spiritual devotional practice that is performed by Muslims in daily lives. *Dhikr* is either a set of liturgical devotions that are performed through mentioning or invoking a name in Arabic basic syntax, or it is a fixed formulaic expression which usually is taken from Quranic verses (Cf. Padwick, 1961:13; Gardet, 2012). The *dhikr* is either uttered out loudly (*jālī*) or in silently (*khafī*). These devotional texts for remembering God have been developed in several *tarekats*, as can be observed from devotional texts composed by the leaders (*sheikh*) of Sufi brotherhood. A collection of devotional texts is called *aḥzāb* which literally means band or group. A composition of *dhikr* by the great Sufi saints has flourished immensely since the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (648-922/1250-1517) (Bauer, 2005:106; McGregor, 2013:201). Subsequently, *aḥzāb* texts have been institutionalized and canonized within Sufi paths that emerged in Medieval Egypt during the formative period (McGregor, 2004:31-35). Thenceforth, *aḥzāb* texts were likely brought to Southeast Asia by the Islamic preachers who spread Islamic mysticism over the Southeast Asia island in the sixteenth century.

The performers of *aḥzāb* were originally affiliated with certain *tarekat* after the pupils of *tarekats* were given authorization (*ijazāh*) issued by their spiritual masters (*sheikh*). McGregor (2013:201) has classified *aḥzāb* as “supererogatory petitionary prayer compositions”. Due to the central position of *aḥzāb* among the Sufi paths, each *tarekat* has a *ḥizb* formula which is performed collectively by its members either in Islamic boarding schools (*pěsantren*), at Sufi shrines, or privately in their own homes. The litany of the sea (*ḥizb baḥr*) and the invocation for inviting unseen help (*ḥizb naṣr*) as composed by Abū al-Hasan al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258) as the founder of Shādhilīyyah path (Mackeen, 1971:486) are well known works among the members of Shādhilīyyah Sufi path. These *aḥzāb* are recited by the members of the Shādhilīyyah *tarekat* after one of the five-times obligatory daily prayers (*ṣalat*). The most suitable time to recite *ḥizb baḥr*, for instance, is after the morning prayer (*ṣubḥ*) (McGregor, 1997:263).

In addition to *ḥizb*, there is the *rātib* which is a prayer book comprised of a collection of Quranic verses, an admiration of Allah and the Prophet, and an invocation “which the authors claim to have been recommended by the Prophet

in some of his sayings” (Abdullah, 2009:51). The compositions of *ḥizb* (pl. *aḥzāb*) and *rātib* (pl. *ramātib*) to share some resemblances. Both are mostly composed from an excerpts of Qur’anic verses and several disconnected letters (*al-muqat‘āt*). The reading of the *rātib* in the Malay world was first introduced by Hadhrami migrants (sing. *ḥabīb*, pl. *ḥabāib*), who often claimed to be descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. *Rātib* authorship is often attributed to Hadhrami Islamic preachers, such as *Rātib al-Ḥaddād*, *Rātib al-‘Aṭṭas*, *Rātib al-Kāf*. Compilations of *rātib* books have been published by ritual groups (*majlis taklim* or *majlis dzikir*¹⁶²) and are normally written in the Arabic script. These devotional texts that are performed at certain times during the days are called *wird*. Performing of *aḥzāb* texts was much more developed in Java than performing *rātib* (pl. *ramātib*). Along with the increasing number of Hadhrami descendants who have become Islamic preachers, the *rātib* (pl. *ramātib*) performances are gradually increasing in contemporary Java.

The litany of the sea (*ḥizb baḥr*) and the invocation inviting invisible help (*ḥizb naṣr*) are the most popular *ḥizb*¹⁶³ texts among the NU members and are recited whenever they have specific goals they want to achieve. This means that these texts are also widely available and easily accessible for non-followers of *tarekats*. Both texts along with other *aḥzāb* texts are circulated widely among NU members. For example, a printed edition of the book of *ḥizb mustajab* (a compilation of efficacious prayers) by Talhis (n.d.) is widely circulated among NU members.

The term *wird* (pl. *awrād*) refers to set of supererogatory personal devotions performed at specific times, usually at least once during the day or at night (Deny, 2024). I also found a different usage of the *wird* in *Sērat Wirid Hidayat Jati* which carries a sense of mystical knowledge. However, the term of *wird* is seldomly used by NU members when they perform the *Walikutuban*,

[2] the *Walikutuban* is usually performed for specific purposes, for instance, in the face of precarious situations threatening oneself or the society or country (see chapter 5 through 7).

[3] in the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate

[4] may Allah accepts our repentance

The meaning of *tāibunna ila Allah* is similar to the expression of seeking God’s forgiveness (*istighfār*). It stems from the word *tāba* ‘to repent, to return’ or *tawba* ‘repentance’. I witnessed participants performing the song of seeking God’s

¹⁶² *Majlis* (pl. *majalis*) is the noun form of the verb *jalasa* ‘to sit down’ or by extension ‘to sit’, “to hold a session” (Gilliot, 2012). When the word *majlis* is combined with *dhikr*, the meaning is a session in which a charismatic cleric is giving his admonitions. An extensive study on the *Majlis Dzikir* ritual groups in East Java was done by Zamhari (2010).

¹⁶³ There are many texts in Leiden Library containing *Ḥizb baḥr*, namely Or. 1335 (8), Or. 1547, and also *Ḥizb Al-Yamani* Or. 7038, Or. 8781.

forgiveness when I participated in the *Walikutuban* in Depok, in 2021 before the ritual begin. The format of the song normally alternates between the song of supplication (or several other songs of prayers) and the song of blessings for the Prophet Muḥammad (*ṣalawatan*) which both were vocalized in either Javanese or Arabic or mix of Javanese and Arabic. This song, popularly known as *singiran* or *sy'iran*, is a promotion of didactic moralistic character (Wieringa, 2006:90-96). The song was quite new and I had not heard it before attending this ritual in Depok. The lyrics are as follows:

astaghfirullah al-‘aẓīm

I seek forgiveness from Allah, the Almighty

astaghfirullah al-‘aẓīm

I seek forgiveness from Allah, the Almighty

astaghfirullah al-‘aẓīm innalaba ghafurabim

I seek forgiveness from Allah, the Almighty. And indeed, Allah is forgiving and merciful.

Allah, Allah, kula nyuwun ngapura

Allah, I ask for forgiveness from you.

Gusti Allah kula nyuwun ngapura

O my Lord, I ask for forgiveness

sĕkathabe dosa kula

for all my sins

dosa ingkang agĕng kang kĕlawan ingkang alit

the big sins and also the small ones'

boten wonten ingkang sagĕd ngapura

no one can grant forgiveness

boten wonten ingkang sagĕd ngapura

no one can grant forgiveness

liyane kang maha agung

except the Almighty one

sing ngratoni sĕkathabe para ratu

who governs all the kings

iya iku Allah asmane

indeed His name is Allah

iya iku Allah asmane

indeed His name is Allah

[5] to the presence of the Prophet Muhammad, peace and blessings of Allah be upon him...recite *al-fātiḥah*...

[6] to the presence of his wives, his kin, his descendants, and the people of his distinguished household, and all of his brothers, prophets, messengers, selected prophets, and angels near to Allah's throne. To the presence of the Prophet Khidīr Balyā bin Malkān in the sea, and the Prophet Ilyās on earth, and the Prophet Idrīs in the sky, peace and blessings of Allah be upon them...recite *al-fātiḥah*...

[7] next, to the presence of the brethren of the prophets, his forefathers, the successors and the successors of the successors, and goodness be with them up to the day of judgement, the saints, the clerics, the martyrs, the pious ones, especially for Sheikh Abd al-Qādir al-Jailāni. May Allah be with them...recite *al-fātiḥah*...

[8] next, to the presence of the saints of Islam in Indonesia, especially the Nine of saints (*Wali Sanga*) recite *al-fātiḥah*...

[9] next, to the presence of our sheikhs, our gurus of our teachers who issued the authority for performing the *Walikutuban*, especially: Sheikh Dalhār from the district of Watu Congol in Magelang, Sheikh Marzuqī Ramlī from the hamlet of Girilaya at Yogyakarta, and Sheikh Abd al-Ḥamid Usman from the district of Kajoran at Magelang...recite *al-fātiḥah*...

[10] to the presence of the founding fathers of Nahdhatul Ulama: Kyai Hāsyim Asy'ari, Kyai Bisri Sansurī, and Kyai Wahab Hasbullah...recite *al-fātiḥah*...

Points [5] to [10] are about seeking a way to contact God through the prophets and the Saints. This ritual for mentioning the names of the prophets and the saints is widely known as *tawasulan* by Javanese Muslims. It comes from the Arabic word *wasīla* (N) which is used twice in the Quran (5:34 and 17:57) and means "seeking means of access to God" (Padwick, 1961:37-38). The invocation ritual of calling the figures who are considered mediators (*wasilah*) between the devotees and God is commonly performed by Javanese Muslims. It is performed at grave visits and in other ritual settings such as *slametan*, a ritual meals, and ritual gatherings to recite 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d.561/1166)'s book hagiography, which is known as *manakiban* (Millie, 2008:107, 2009:101). The *tawassul* is popular in Java, according to Millie (2008:107), because "the invocation is easily applicable for diverse settings while retaining its basic syntax". The prayer of mediation is commonly performed by Javanese Muslims in several rituals, for instance in *tablīl*, an activity of reading some selected verses of the Quran. Normally, the *yāsīn* chapter and phrase *lā ilāha illā llāh (tablīl)* are uttered in order to commemorate

one's ancestors or recently deceased loved ones. The flexibility and multivocality contained in the *tawassul* ritual allow the practitioners to adapt the formula of the *tawassul* to multiple rituals' settings. The *tawassul* has also become a core ritual in several *tarekats*. Most Sufi rituals are started by performing the *tawassul*. Through the prophets and the saints, the devotees' supplication and devotional rituals will reach the throne of God.

The *Walikutuban* also starts with the *tawassul* ritual. The *imām* of the *Walikutuban* performs the *tawassul* ritual by mentioning figures from the early history of Islam in the Arabic peninsula and Indonesia in order to obtain their blessings. The leader utters the *tawassulan* in Arabic and performed it from memory. These figures were considered the mediators (*wasilah*) between the devotees and God. The *imām* guides the participants in performing the *tawassul* ritual by reciting the basic syntax as reflected in points five to ten. The figures mentioned by the *imām* of the ritual all belong to the early history of Islam, first and foremost, the Prophet Muhammad and his companions. They also mentioned three prophets who are believed to each have a mystical territory in three areas: the Prophet Khidir Balyā bin Malkān who has mystical supremacy within the sea, the Prophet Ilyās who has mystical supremacy over the earth, and the Prophet Idrīs who has mystical supremacy over the sky. In addition to those three prophets, the *imām* also mentions the *Wali Sanga*, the saints of Java who are perceived as Islamic preachers in the northern coastal area of Java in the fifteenth century.

The *imām* also mentions figures (three gurus) who issued (*mū'ajizīn*) the authority who are believed to hold the chains of transmission of the *Walikutuban* in present-day Java: Sheikh Dalhār from the Watu Congol district of Magelang, Sheikh Marzuqī Romlī from the Girilaya district of Yogyakarta, and Sheikh Abd al-Ḥamid 'Usman from the Kajoran district of Magelang. These figures play a significant role in preserving the *Walikutuban* in the present-day (see chapter six). The *imām* then mentions the founding fathers of Nahdhatul Ulama: Kyai Hāsylim Asy'ari, Kyai Bisri Sansurī, and Wahab Hasbullah. The *imām* on some occasions have improvised during the ritual by adding local mystical figures who were considered guarding spirits (*dhanyang*) of the local areas and the ancestors (*cikal bakal*)¹⁶⁴ of the village that the ritual was performed in. I also observed an *imām* mentioning Sultan Agung Hanyakrakusuma, the King of the Mataram kingdom in seventeenth-century Java, and Raden Patah, the leader of the Demak Islamic sultanate in fifteenth-century Java. In a nutshell, the historical and mystical figures in Java, who were mentioned hierarchically at the beginning of the *Walikutuban* are considered to be mediators between the participants and God. In *Walikutuban*

¹⁶⁴ See Chambert-Loir (2002:132-133).

rituals, the participants believed that through these mediators, they would obtain blessings and help.

[11] facing the west (*qiblat*)
 peace be upon you O the Nuqabā' saint... three times
 facing south
 peace be upon you O the Nujabā' saint... three times
 facing east
 peace be upon you O the Abdāl' saint... three times
 facing north;
 peace be upon you O the Akhyār saint... three times
 facing the sky;
 peace be upon you O the Imrā' saint... three times
 facing the earth;
 peace be upon you O the Ghawṣ saint... three times
 facing the cardinal points
 peace be upon you O the Rijāl Allah saint... three times

I have discussed the body orientation of the participants in chapter seven.

[12] Continuation of the reciting of several prayers
 performing an Islamic call to public prayer (*adḥān*)
 the second call to public prayer (*iqāmat*)
 chapter 106 (*surah Quraish*)
 chapter 2 verse 255 renowned as *ayat al-kursī* 'throne verse' is recited one time.
 chapter 112 (*surah al-ikhlās*) is recited one time.
 chapter 113 (*surah al-falaq*) is recited one time, and
 chapter 114 (*surah al-nās*) is recited one time as well.

The last two chapters of the Quran (113 and 114) are popularly known as *al-muawidatāin* 'verses of shelter'.

chapter 18 (*al-Kahf*) verse 10: "Our Lord! give us mercy from Thy presence, and shape for us right conduct in our plight" (Pickhtall, 1953:213).

chapter 2 (*al-Baqarah*) verse 201: "Our Lord! Give unto us in the world that which is good and in the Hereafter that which is good, and guard us from doom of Fire" (Pickhtall, 1953:51).

[13] the prayers

O Lord, the Prophet Muhammad is enough for us, because of his blessings, his dignity, his tenacity, please give us your blessings, and admit us into your mercy. You are the most merciful of those who show mercy. Allah is the subtle one, the preserver, the pioneer, the most powerful, the everlasting, the ever-living, the watchful (sleepless).

Points [12]-[13] contain several prayers that are recited by the devotees respectively. The participants start to recite them after they finish rotating their bodies to the seven cardinal points. Most of prayers are taken from Quran.

[14] *'ibāda allah rijālallah*

aghithunā liqīlallah

O the servants of God, O the Poles of the Saints
please come and help us for the sake of God

wakunū 'awnānallah

'asā nakhdā bifadhlillah

your presence is needed to help us,
may our goals be achieved by the blessing of God

'ala al-kaḥf salātnallah

'ala al-syāfī salāmullah

may God be sufficient for us (because of) the blessing of God
all diseases will be gone

bimūhyi al-dīni kbaliṣnā

min al-balwāi yā allah

O the pole of the saints, Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jailani please come and help us,
(save us) from our precariousness O my God

wayā aqṭāb wayāanjab

wayā sadāt wayā aḥbab

O the Poles of the Saints, the nobles

O lords, O lovers of God

wantum yā unilil al-bab

ta'law̄ manṣurūlillah

you are the cleverest men

please come and help us

sāalnakum sāalnakum

walizūlfā rajawnakum

I am asking for help from you
 because of your closeness to the throne of God
waftamrin qaṣadnākum
fasyuddū ‘aẓmakumlillāh
 in our troubling circumstances
 I am asking for help from you, for the help of God

fayārabi bisādātī
taḥaqaqlī isyārātī
 O my God because of your saints
 your help is becoming true
‘asā ta’tī biyyarātī
wayaṣṣun waqtunalillāh
 may our happiness will come
 our time to welcome you has arrived
bikaṣyfi al-ḥujbi an ‘ainī
waraf ‘i al-bainī min baynī
 because my eyes are opened
 and because the barriers are removed
waṭamsi al-kaifi wa al-ainī
binuwri al-wajbi yāallāh
 because of the barrier between me and you,
 because of the light from your face, my God
ṣalatu allāhi mawlanā
‘alā man bi al-hudā jāna
 may the blessing of God be upon him (Muḥammad)
 who guided us in the right path
waman bi al-ḥaqi awlanā
ṣyafī’ al-khalqī ‘inda Allāh
 he who entrusted us with his true teachings
 all the mediators for all human beings in throne of God.

After several supplications are recited by the participants, the *Walikutuban* is ended by singing the *Qaṣidah Rijālallāh* or *Qaṣidah ‘Ibādallāh* (a song for the friends of God). Participants performed the *qaṣidah* from memory since it is a widely known among the members of the NU. Owing to the central position of the Poles of the Saints, in invoking their help, the names of the *Wali Kutub* are often mentioned in the lines of the *qaṣidah*. The *qaṣidah* lines are conventionally divided into a half-lines form, where their written forms are separated when a word crosses into the caesura. The first of the two half-lines rhyme corresponds to the

rhyme of another line. The same rhyme is used throughout the rest of the poem, but only remain in the second half-lines. The *qasidah*¹⁶⁵ composition closely follows the metrical pattern of Arabic poetry (*baḥar*) and the science of Arabic prosody (*al-ʿilmu al-ʿarud*) (Maling, 1973:9-10). Numerous Poles of the Saints's names are found in this *qasidah*. They are *Aqtāb* (Poles), *Anjāb* (nobles), *sādat* (lords), *abbāb* (the lovers of God), and *unwī al-bāb* (the cleverest). By invoking the names in chanting the *qasidah*, the devotees hope to relieve their problematic circumstances and to make their goals come true.

[15] The authorization for performing the *Walikutuban* was issued by K.H. Abdul Hamid to his three sons (1) K.H. Amin Kajoran, (2) K.H. Baqoh Kajoran, and (3) K.H. Gumilang Kajoran. They then gave the authorization to perform the ritual to the instructors of the PKPNU and the other cadre organizations in the NU who were involved in the massive authorization program which was held in Kajoran-Magelang (in 2014), in Petanahan-Kebumen, in Tebo-Jambi, and in the area of Lawu mountain in Solo (in 2017). They then gave the authorization to perform the ritual specifically to the advanced of the participants at PKPNU training in Kajoran, Magelang on 5-6 Jumadil Awal 1440 AH/11-13 January 2019 AD.

K.H. Zabidi bin K.H. Marzuqi also gave the authorization to perform the ritual to the instructors of the PKPNU and the cadres of the NU at Goa Selarong on 24 Jumadil Akhir 1440 AH/31 March 2019 AD. They also gave permission to perform the ritual in every single subsequent PKPNU training. For more information on the transmission of *Walikutuban* see chapter six.

[16] Concerning on the precarious situation (the NU being under threats), the *Walikutuban* ritual should be performed at the oath of allegiance for the new initiates of the NU.
I have extensively discussed the perception of the NU being under threats in chapter five.

[17] At the end of the script of the *Wirid Walikutuban*, the signature of K.H. Abdul Mun'im DZ is written in blue ink.

¹⁶⁵ The characteristic of the Arabic poetic form is monorhymed ode which is well-known as *Qasidah* Spel (1989:216). It may also contain a combination of different thematic poetic units (e.g. *Wasf* (descriptive poetry or descriptive sections of a *qasidah*), *madīḥ* the panegrical section of *qasidah*). Sumi (2004) gave attention to the *Qasidah* elements in the Western perspective. Even though the participants did not know well the poetic convention element of *Qasidah*, they can performed it properly in unison.

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