

# Chapter 3: Manuscripts in Pamijahan: *Kakantun Karuhun*

## A. Introduction

*Kakantun*, in Sundanese, is a polite word to specify something that is left by someone who has special position in the speaker's perceptions. It may be used to signify action or culture from the past. *Karuhun* is a kinship term referring to predecessors at least two or three generations back and is often used in ritualised language. The Pamijahanese understand the meaning of *kakantun karuhun* as a reference for *tali paranti*, or custom, as well.

The manuscripts, or *naskah kuno*, in Pamijahan are mostly written in Sundanese and Javanese using *pegon*<sup>1</sup> script. This is clear evidence of a Javanese scholarly influence in the interior of Sunda. (For more on this see Chapters 4, 6 and 7.)

Philological research on Sundanese manuscripts found in the land of Sunda is just in its beginnings. Of course, there has been research on old Sundanese epics such as *Lutung Kasarung* and *Mundinglaya* (Pleyte 1910) conducted by Dutch orientalist. Continuing this task, local Sundanese scholars, in particular Ekadjati (1983), Atja (1969 and 1981) and Atja and Ayatrohaedi (1984/1985), have made preliminary inventories of manuscripts. It is due to their contributions that Sundanese scholars today have unprecedented access to their written heritage. In contrast to orientalist accounts of Sundanese and Javanese manuscripts, Professor Ekadjati and his colleagues have recorded diverse genres of Sundanese written material in the hands of local collectors, many of which are still in use within their communities. The living use of manuscripts adds a post-colonial dimension to a tradition whose place was once believed to be the sterile 'safety' of public library collections. For instance, many manuscripts dealing with the isolated Kampung Naga community (a mere 60 km. north-west of Pamijahan) and with Pamijahan itself have been taken away for study, not only by Dutch researchers but also by Indonesians. Their actions may well have been agreed to by the owners of the manuscripts, but today I believe there is room for scholars to discuss the functions and continuing significance of manuscripts in the communities from which they originate. We are well aware of the question: how can we study a manuscript when it is no longer in the possession of its true owners? The desecration of a ritual object by its removal from its environment is a real possibility. We need a new framework in philological studies, an 'ethno-philology' to provide a better understanding of both the artefact and the narrative it transmits as well as the functions of both in the view of the people who own the manuscript.

I now turn my attention to the manuscripts found in Pamijahan. They have not been previously described in any catalogue or scholarly study. As suggested in manuals of philological practice, it is important to make a preliminary note listing the manuscripts relating to Shaykh Abdul Muhyi that are held in various places. For this purpose I will refer to the Library of the Rijksuniversiteit in Leiden, the National Library of Indonesia (Perpustakaan Nasional) in Jakarta, as well as personal collections in West Java, particularly in and around Pamijahan. However, for further analysis I will only use the manuscripts found in Pamijahan.

The Library of the Rijksuniversiteit in Leiden holds at least 33 manuscripts mentioning the name of Abdul Muhyi. These manuscripts are Cod. Or. 7461, Cod. Or. 7265, Cod. Or. 7717, Cod. Or. 77176, Cod. Or. 7527, LOr 7412, Cod. Or. 7432, Cod. Or. 75333, Cod. Or. 7764, Cod. Or. 7721, Cod. Or. 7705, Cod. Or. 7526, Cod. Or. 7743, Cod. Or. 7857, Cod. Or. 7446, Cod. Or. 7414, Cod. Or. 7705, Cod. Or. 7486, Cod. Or. 7454 (Mal. 2225), Cod. Or. 7419, Cod. Or. 7455, Cod. Or. 7540, Cod. Or. 7465, Cod. Or. 2235, Cod. Or. 7708, Cod. Or. 6534, Cod. Or. 7432, Cod. Or. 7753, Cod. Or. 8634, Cod. Or. 7459, Cod. Or. 6461, Cod. Or. 6457b, LOr. 7689. These manuscripts contain both mystical doctrines and chronicles (Ekadjati 2000).

I shall deal with texts from outside the village first, since these were what I first encountered in the field. There are a number of manuscripts owned by private collectors who are mostly Shattariyyah followers or their heirs. Ekadjati (2000) reports that many Shattariyyah manuscripts have already been identified in various parts of West Java, but there are many others still awaiting description, not only in West Java but also in the farther provinces of Central and East Java. It is interesting to note, however, that the National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta holds only one manuscript associated with Shaykh Abdul Muhyi, namely SD 180 (Kossim 1974). This manuscript appears to have been vandalised; its binding is intact, but only one page of the text remains.

At the outset, it is important to make an inventory and a description of manuscripts associated with Pamijahan, both those which are kept in the village and those that are scattered through neighbouring areas. D.A. Rinkes (1909) has supplied us with preliminary information in manuscripts held in Tasikmalaya and Cirebon which reflect Pamijahan genealogies, but he has not given us an adequate description of those found in the village itself, nor does he offer any text edition of Javanised versions of Shattariyyah practice and belief. In response to this lacuna, I will now brief sketch the Shattariyyah teachings found in the Pamijahan manuscripts and in other manuscripts closely associated with Shaykh Abdul Muhyi.

During my fieldwork, I discovered seven works that could be characterised as historical chronicles (*babad*) or that relate to mystical orders and to Shattariyyah in particular. I surveyed five Shattariyyah texts (described below as mss. A, B,

C, D, and F), one Qadiriyyah text (ms. E), and two *babad* texts (mss. G, H). I believe there are other manuscripts in the hands of villagers which demand further research.

Certain individuals have inherited the role of custodians who preserve the chronicles (*babad*) and Sufi writings (*kitab tarekat*). These are Ajengan Satibi (85 years of age at the time of my fieldwork), Ajengan Endang (47), Pak Apap (65), and Pak Beben (35). In theory, these individuals have high status and may play an important role in the community, partly by virtue of their blood relationship with Shaykh Abdul Muhyi. Ajengan Endang, for example, is the brother of a recent custodian of Pamijahan, and Ajengan Satibi is the son of the immediately previous custodian. Both of these men are respected as *ajengan* and they are often invited by people from other villages to give lectures or to deliver sermons. Ajengan Endang is more popular than Ajengan Satibi, even though he is younger, because he is recognised as having *ilmu laduni*,<sup>2</sup> and his lectures quite often attract larger audiences. Pak Beben is formally recognised as a Shattariyyah leader because he holds both an *ijazah*, or religious license from a Shattariyyah master, and a certificate of recognition from the government.<sup>3</sup>

The *kitab tarekat* found in Pamijahan have three main features in common in terms of form and content. The first is an historical feature telling of the legitimization of the master. This is the genealogy or *silsilah*. The second is a practical aspect outlining methods of recitation and contemplation. The third is a more philosophical aspect under which are described the foundations of the metaphysical doctrine of the Shattariyyah referred to as 'The Seven Levels of Being', or the *martabat tujuh*.

Unfortunately, not all of the Pamijahan manuscripts are wholly legible. Some have been damaged or are incomplete, though comparison with manuscripts from neighbouring areas may turn up clues to missing or unclear contents. Let us now turn to a description of the manuscripts found in Pamijahan. To provide a further illustration of these texts, particularly of Shattariyyah manuscripts, I will include a manuscript from Limus Tilu which has been examined by Ekadjati.

In this part I use the form of description suggested by Professor Hooker (Hooker 1991:91) in her study of Malay manuscripts.

## A Shattariyyah Manuscript (ms. A)

This manuscript has not been described in any catalogue. It is in the Javanese language. There is no title, but the first sentence states "This is a *kitab* which tells about the genealogy of Shattariyyah" (*Utawi ikilah kitab ingdalem anyatakaken turunan-turunane dadalan Shattariyyah*).

Dating and place: There is no date but it is believed to have been written by the villagers or a forebear of Ajengan Endang.

Scribe: -

Owner: Ajengan Endang Pamijahan, Tasikmalaya

Script: Pegon

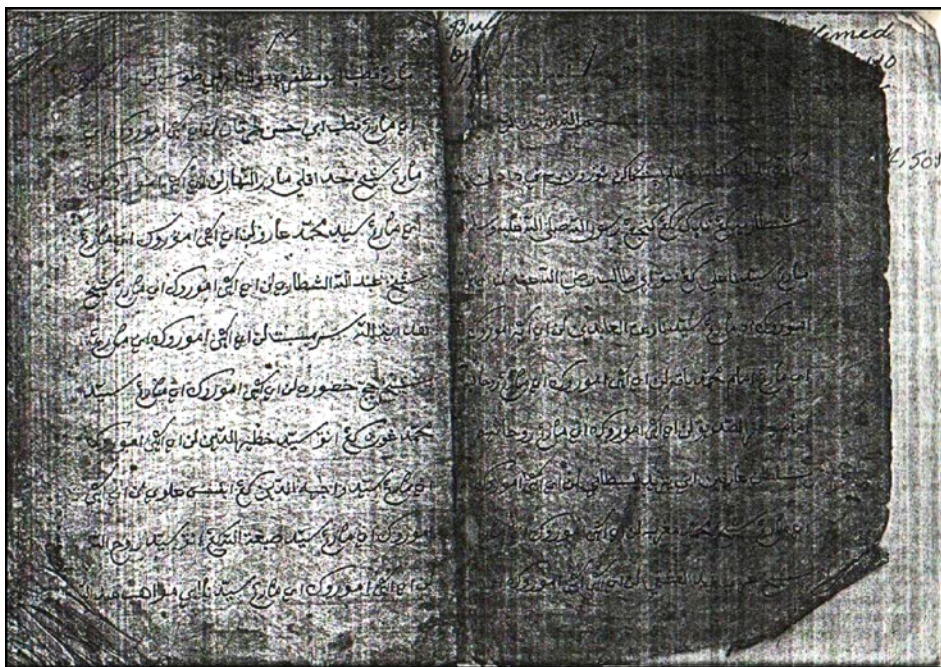
Dimensions: 29 cm x 21 cm

Paper: locally made paper or dluwang

Pages: 28

Lines per page: 10—11

Colour: brown



**Figure 2. Manuscript A**

**Comments:**

On the cover, which was probably added by the latest owner, there are some words written in Latin script which include "Lent to Memed: sugar, salt, tobacco, paper and ink. 1956", (*Memed hutang gula, uyah, bako, kertas, mangsi. 1956*) indicating the latest year in which the cover might have been added.

The manuscript is evidently a copy but there is no mention of the date when the copy might have been made. The original would have been composed long before the copy was made. *Ajengan* Endang said that the original text was written in the 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> century by one of his ancestors (*eyang*). According to *Ajengan* Endang it would have been copied three generations before his own time. He

further claims that this *kitab* was given to him by his father, Jabidi, whom he believes to have been the last Shattariyyah follower in Pamijahan to possess a traditonal letter of authorisation (*ijazah*).

On pages 7 and 8 of the manuscript, mystical diagrams illustrate the Shattariyyah doctrine of the Seven Levels of Being. The technical 'area of *dikir*' is also schematised on page 24. It shows how the *dikir* should be started and incorporated into the rhythm of breathing.

## A Shattariyyah Manuscript (ms. B)

Dating and place: There is no date, but the manuscript is believed to have been copied by villagers or ancestors of Mama Ajengan Satib

Scribe: -

Owner: Mama Ajengan Satibi, Pamijahan, Tasikmalaya

Script: Pegon

Dimension: 21 x 29 cm

Paper: locally made paper or *dluwang*

Pages: 9-71 = 62

Lines per page: 10

Colour: black and brown

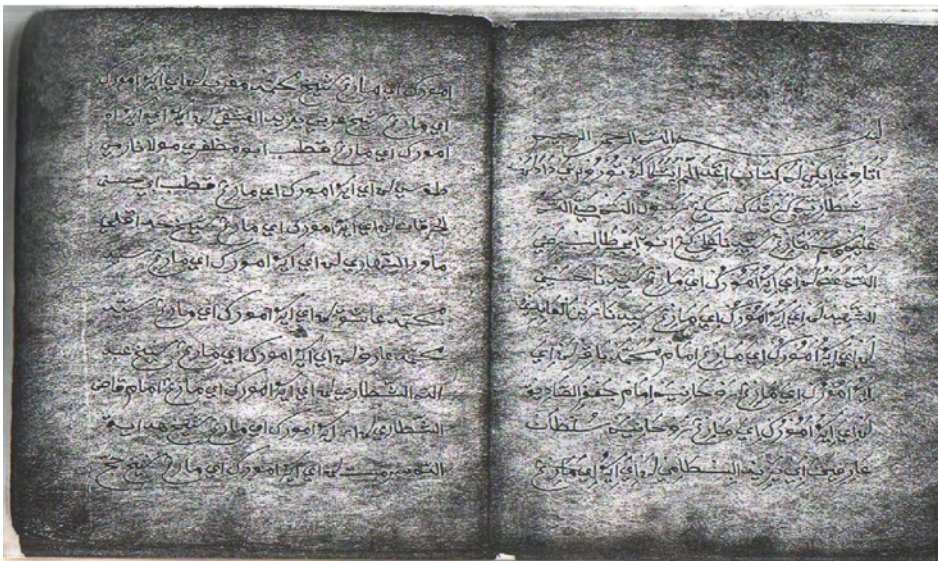


Figure 3. Manuscript B

Comments:

On the first page, the name of the current owner is written: Satibi of Pamijahan. According to Satibi, he inherited the manuscript from his grandfather. Ajengan Endang often borrows it. The first to ninth pages comprise a collection of favourite prayers assembled over generations, quite separate from the Shattariyyah content. This manuscript is therefore a collation of texts.

The Shattariyyah *kitab* itself is in Javanese. It begins with a line of transmission beginning from Muhammad and ending with Shaykh Abdul Muhyi of Safarwadi and his sons. (pp. 9-10). Interestingly, in this *silsilah* section, after the name of Muhyi's son, there is an unfinished sentence which reads "The son Kiahi Mas Nida Muhammad Muhyi in the village of Karang and in Safarwadi and he taught..." (*Kang putra kiahhi Mas Nida Muhammad Muhyi ing Karang desane lan ing Safarwadi padukuhane lan ia iku amuruk maring...*) The empty space at the end of this sentence is to be used by other followers who have obtained the *ijazah* and who are allowed to inscribe their names there. This raises the possibility that this manuscript was copied from manuscripts dating from the period of Kiahi Mas Nida Muhammad Muhyi, who is believed to have lived some time in the late 18th or early 19<sup>th</sup> century as the grandson of Muhyi.<sup>4</sup>

On page 13, in bold letters, there is the phrase "There is no God but Allah" (*la ilaha illa l-lahu*) and the Sufi interpretation of this testimony to instruct the disciples. The doctrine of the Shattariyyah begins on page 14 with:

"In the name of God the Compassionate and Merciful... this is the reality of God at the level of His mysteriousness. We tell of the time of emptiness before the universe had been created."

Bismi l-lah r-rahman r-rahim, punika martabat Allah Ta'ala tatkala ingdalem ghoib sang karihin cinaritaken tatkala awang-awang uwung-uwung bumi langit durung ana.

A full diagram portraying the metaphysical doctrine of the Shattariyyah is given on page 14 and the way Shattariyyah chant (*dikir*) should be performed is set out on pages 50, 52, and 55.

## **A Shattariyyah Manuscript (ms. C)**

This manuscript is also not described in any catalogue.

Dating and place: There is no date but it is believed to have been written by an ancestor of Abdullah Apap in Pamijahan.

Scribe: -

Owner: Abdullah Apap, Pamijahan-Tasikmalaya

Script: Pegon

Dimension: 32 x 20 cm

Paper: book paper

Pages: 40

Lines per page: 1 = 13, 2--40 = 14

Colour: black, almost illegible

Comments:

Raden Abdullah Apap is a retired primary school teacher and a member of the local Sundanese aristocracy. By insisting on the use of his title, *Raden*, he affirms his linkage to the old aristocratic house of Sukapura, Tasikmalaya. He is author of the first book of *Sejarah Perjuangan Shaykh Abdul Muhyi* (The History of Shaykh Abdul Muhyi's Mission) published in Pamijahan. The book concerns the mission, or *perjuangan*, of Muhyi based on this manuscript and on oral sources collected from his family. However, he admitted to me that he is not capable of reading and interpreting the *kitab* properly, although he is aware that its contents derive from the teachings of Abdul Muhyi.

## A Shattariyyah Manuscript (ms. D)

Scribe: Muhammad Akna

Dating and place:

Owner: Muhammad Akna

Script: Pegon

Dimension: 33 cm x 21 cm

Paper: book paper

Pages: 40

Lines per page: page 1 = 13 lines, pages 2-40 = 14 lines

Colour: brown

Comments:

This manuscript contains seven fragments of text. The first talks about jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and includes instructions on correct practice of *salat* prayer. The second tells about the essence of the confession of faith (*syahadat*), the third describes Sufi teaching, the fourth presents the Shattariyyah *silsilah*, the fifth section schematises the main points of Shattariyyah doctrine, and the sixth and seventh describe *dikir* ritual and the categories of student, or *murid*.

Unlike manuscripts A, B and C, this manuscript uses both the Sundanese and Javanese language. For example, the manuscript describes the essence of *syahadat* in Javanese. "This is the essence of the *syahadat* *Asyhadu an la...* that is to say,

the radiation of *syahadat* merges into the Oneness." (*Punika jatining syahadat Asyhadu an la tegese gempuring syahadat lenyeping tunggal.*)

Sundanese appears instead of Javanese in the third part of the text which tells about the teaching of *tasawwuf*. "The third *kitab* tells about *ilmu tassawuf*" (*Ari kitab anu katilu mertelakeun ilmu tassawuf. Kanyahokeun...*). In other places, it switches between Javanese and Sundanese, particularly in the section recording the *silsilah* of the Shattariyyah. "This is the genealogy of Shattariyyah starting from God's Emissary." (*Punika nganyataken turunan nana perjalanan tarekat Shattariyyah anu kawit ti Kangjeng Rasulullah*). The same pattern is also used in elaborating the *dikir* recitation, which it says is derived from the great-grandson of Shaykh Abdul Muhyi, Kiai Bagus Hijaya. The text here reads: "This is an invocation of Kiahi Bagus Hijaya or Kiai Bagus Haji Irfan, the son of Kiai Bagus Nida Muhiddin. After the invocation..." (*Punika wiridna Kiai Bagus Hijaya atawa Kiahi Bagus Haji Irfan puterana Kiahi Bagus Nida Muhiddin. Sanggeus dikir...*). Such patterns are probably influenced by the manuscript's use in the community. In contemporary Pamijahan, Sundanese texts are often cited in sermons. Indeed the Javanese text may not be intended for use in a communal teaching session at all but rather as a source or reference for the leader (*guru*), or the adherents of the order, the *ikhwan* who want to develop their knowledge.

### **Kitab Istiqal Tarekat Qadiriyyah-Naqhsabandiyyah (ms. E)**

Scribe: Idoh of Kebon Manggu, Cibalanarik, Sukaraja, Tasikmalaya

Dating and place: date unknown. Sukaraja, Tasikmalaya

Owner: Idoh, Kebon Manggu, Cibalanarik, Sukaraja, Tasikmalaya

Script: Pegon

Dimension: 24 cm x 17 cm and 20 cm x 15 cm

Paper: HVS

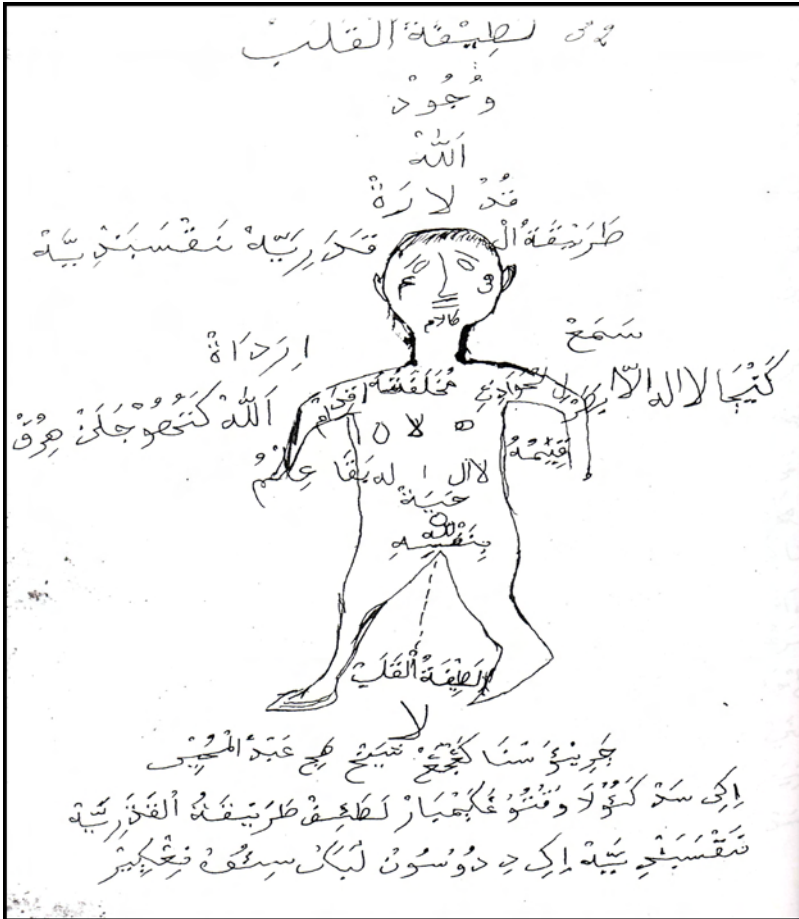
Pages: 84 pp

Lines per page: 14

Colour: brown

#### **Comments:**

According to the villagers, this work is called *Kitab Istiqal Thariqah Qadiriyyah Naqshabandiyyah* (The Book of the Way of the *Tarekat* of the Qadiriyyah and the Naqshabandiyyah) and was "copied" from an old manuscript written by Shaykh Abdul Muhyi himself.



**Figure 4. A page from Kitab Istiqal Tarekat Qadiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah**

The opening colophon reads:

"This is the Kitab Istiqal Tarekat Qadiriyyah Naqshabandiyyah. The copying was begun on Monday in the month of Jumadil Awal, coinciding with the day of Kliwon on the second day of Jumadil Awal, 1390 Hijrah. This coincides with July 6, 1970. It was finished on Saturday, 5pm, the 21st day of Jumadil Awal, 1390 which coincides with July 25, 1970."

Ieu Kitab Istiqal Thariqah Qadiriyyah Naqshabandiyyah ngawitan diturun dina dinten Senen bulang Jumadil Awal meneran dina Kaliwon tanggal 2 Jumadil awwal 1390 Hijrah meneran tanggal genep Juli 1970 MaShaykhi tamatna diturun dina dinten Sabtu jam 5.00 sore ping 21 Jumadil awwal 1390 Hijrah meneran tanggal 25 Juli 1970 Masehi.

Comments:

Initially I heard about this manuscript from a custodian of the sacred site at Panyalahan, but at that time, he could not show it to me. According to him, a colleague had taken it away. The custodian of Panyalahan subsequently lost contact with the manuscript following his colleague's death and he could no longer trace where the it was.

After I had been six months in the village, I received information that a retired army officer, Pak Syafii, now held the manuscript. Pak Syafii was a man of influence in the community, not just because he was a custodian reputedly with supernatural powers, but also because he was a retired Major. Through the efforts of an intermediary, he finally permitted me to view the manuscript and made a copy of it. This small incident is interesting for the light it throws on the preservation of manuscripts in Pamijahan. Traditionally, it is the site custodians (*kuncen*) who must keep, or at least monitor the whereabouts of sacred texts dedicated to their village and their ancestors. However, because of tensions among the main families of the village, each has felt more secure safekeeping his own manuscripts and not reporting them to the custodians.

This *kitab*, as far as I know, is quite different from other Pamijahan manuscripts, or indeed manuscripts from other places. It incorporates various Sufi texts. Its title indicates two well-known schools, the Qadiriyyah and the Naqshabandiyyah, which are indeed traditionally linked.

However, in the introduction, the scribe also talks eclectically of other *tarekat*, namely the Shattariyyah, Asrariyyah, Anfasiyyah and Muhammadiyyah. There is no information as to why the scribe chose to limit her title in the way she did, without mentioning the Shattariyyah and other orders. It seems to me that Ms. Idoh, the scribe and owner of the manuscript, may have thought that Shaykh Abdul Muhyi was also a follower the Qadiriyyah---Naqshabandiyyah movement.

In the matter of the *silsilah*, the confusion goes further. First, we would expect Ms. Idoh, who confesses to be the wife of a follower of Sufism, to identify herself according to the protocol of the *tarekat* by positioning herself within the *silsilah*. This she has not done.

Furthermore, the manuscript does not provide us with a *silsilah* which might be compared to other manuscripts of Pamijahan as mentioned above. What is given is a hybrid version. For example, Abdul Muhyi is inserted into the *silsilah* of both the Naqshabandiyyah and the Shattariyyah. On page 75 of the text, this genealogy of Abdul Muhyi is presented, but the scribe has confused the genealogy of Sufism with the genealogy of the Shaykh's family. This can be seen, in the following fragment

...puputra Shaykh Abd al-Qadir al-Jaelani Baghdadi, puputra Shaykh Abd al-Jabar, puputra Shaykh Abd al-Rauf Waliyullah Kuala Aceh, guruna Shaykh Haji Abdul Muhyi Waliyullah Safaril Wadi Pamijahan.

This fragment erroneously states that Shaykh Abd al-Rauf of 17<sup>th</sup> century Aceh, the master of Shaykh Abdul Muhyi, is the grandson of the famous Sufi of Baghdad, Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jailaini (b. 1077). Furthermore, the author uses the words 'had a child' (*apuputra*) which is also discordant, since Abd al-Rauf was not the natural son of Abd al-Jabar. Their relationship was one of precedence in the line of teachers.

We know that Abd al-Rauf appears in various *silsilah*, one of which is that of the Qadiriyyah, but there is no evidence that Abdul Muhyi was ever a follower of Qadiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah. Thus, as long as there are no other manuscripts with a title or contents resembling this *kitab*, we cannot decide whether Muhyi also practised Sufi disciplines other than the Shattariyyah.

Although this *kitab* has obvious weaknesses in terms of its *silsilah*, its explanation of the nature of Shattariyyah doctrine is important. The whole idea of the Seven Levels of Being resembles other Pamijahan manuscripts, but this *kitab* has its own style when explaining the relations between a view of cosmology, the seven *martabats* and the *salat* rituals.

## A Shattariyyah Manuscript (ms. F)

Scribe:

Dating and place:

Owner: Enok Sariah Yatmikasari, Limus Tilu, Cikajang, Garut

Script: Pegon

Dimension: 19 x 26,5 cm; 15 x 23,5 cm

Paper: HVS

Pages: 81 pp

Lines per page: 14

Colour: black

Comments:

To a certain extent, this manuscript resembles other Pamijahan manuscripts in terms of its contents. However, it has more detail and examples when it comes to the doctrine of the Seven Levels of Being. The manuscript has been transcribed into Latin characters by Edi S. Ekadjati.<sup>5</sup> According to Edi, Kiayi Haji Muhyidin wrote the manuscript before 1821. If this information is true, it is likely that this *kitab* preserves the original teachings of Abdul Muhyi. The doctrine of the seven

*martabats* in this *kitab* is close to that expounded in manuscripts C and D. However, there is no explanation about *silsilah*. According to villagers, Kiayi Haji Muhyidin is a grandson of Shaykh Abdul Muhyi (see Chapter 6)

### ***Babad Pamijahan (Ms. G)***

Scribe:

Dating and place:

Owner: Ajengan Endang

Script: Pegon

Dimension: 33 cm x 21 cm

Paper: European paper

Pages: 34

Lines per page: page 1 = 12 lines, pages 2-32 = 14 lines

Colour: dark brown

#### **Comments:**

This manuscript is damaged on almost every page of the first half and is difficult to read. There is a clue in the paper of the second part however, which indicates the origin of the material: the trading name of '*M. van Dorp & Co., Batavia*'. This indicates that the paper was made in Europe during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The paper is similar to that of Ms Sd. 211 held in the National Library of Indonesia, Jakarta. The text does not reveal the scribe or any other information regarding the origin of a first owner or collector. The current owner says that the manuscript was bequeathed to him by his ancestors. However, I speculate that the paper comes from the time of Snouck Hurgronje in the late decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Snouck had contacted some of Muhyi's descendants in Manonjaya and Mangunreja, Tasikmalaya, in his search for Islamic materials. A manuscript now held in Leiden University Library (Cod. Or. 7708) tells this story. In his search for manuscripts and ordering of copies he provided European paper to a number of scribes. This paper could have been the van Dorp paper on which this manuscript is written.

The manuscript was later translated into Sundanese by the previous *kuncen*, Zainal Mustopa (Ms. H) below.

### ***Babad Pamijahan (Ms. H)***

Scribe: Zainal Mustopa

Dating and place: 1977

Owner: Ajengan Endang

Script: Latin and Pegon

Dimension: 33 cm x 21 cm

Paper: book paper

Pages: 52

Lines per page: 28-30

Colour: white

Comments:

The scribe clearly states that this is a copy of the *Babad Pamijahan*. The text claims that the

Babad Pamijahan was translated from Perimbon Kuno, an older reference work, by Zainal Mustopa Bin Muhammad Jabidi".

Babad Pamijahan disalin saking perimbon kuno dening Zainal Mustopa Bin Muhammad Jabidi (Babad Pamijahan, 1)

Manuscript H contains a chronicle, a contemporary genealogy of the scribe, and some Arabic formulaic chants. The manuscript seems to have been used as a manual by the chief custodian. The chronicle is used in this volume for further analysis (see Chapter 4). The historical sequence is complete and the text is more legible than Ms G. Furthermore, similar to the case of Ms. G, it is important that the person of the scribe and owner of this manuscript was a prominent figure in Pamijahan. Equally important was the social purpose to which it was put as a reference for the villagers' identity.

## Conclusion

The manuscripts both confirm the importance of Shaykh Abdul Muhyi in his own time and are witnesses to his continuing significance in the imagination of the Pamijahanese. I believe there are other manuscripts preserved in the village and surrounding areas, as well as those lying unidentified in major manuscript collections. For my present purposes, however, I have limited my discussion to the living use of manuscripts in Pamijahan.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Pegon* is the term for Arabic script used to write the Sundanese and Javanese languages.

<sup>2</sup> *Ilmu laduni* is spiritual knowledge which allows some one to go beyond a material boundary. Pamijahanese mention that Haji Endang is able to preach sermons in two places at the same time. This is possible, they say, because his mastery of *ilmu laduni* allows him to appear at the same time in different places.

<sup>3</sup> The *ijazah* is a letter of authorization given by a Sufi master. Whoever possesses such an *ijazah* is eligible to lead *dikir*, or the recitation of selected verses from the Qur'an, and to establish a new branch of the order. The issue of Pak Beben's status as a Shattariyyah leader is taken up in detail in Chapter 6

<sup>4</sup> Information provided by Beben Muhammad Dabas, 1997

<sup>5</sup> Edi Ekadjati et. al. (1984), unpublished research report.