

# Chapter 6: Linking to the Wider Worlds of Sufism

## A. Introduction

Sufism, or *tasawwuf* prescribes not only ascetic rituals but also provides a model of social practice. As a social practice, it is in intensive contact with other branches of Sufism and with local traditions which impact upon its articulation. This can be seen in the development of various Sufi orders, or *tarekat*, in which divergent paths of development become salient features. Some Sufi orders, for example, have had to modify their teaching and organisation in order to be able to attract new followers and to gain political support from local authorities (Muhaimin 1995: 231; Zulkifli 1994: 232) while others have lost followers because they failed to reformulate their positions in a changing society.

One of the most important phenomena shaping the development of Sufi orders is the *silsilah* or the intellectual genealogy of Sufi masters. *Silsilah* are of special significance in providing the orders with cultural legitimacy and doctrinal authenticity. *Tarekat* have an international character. Through their *silsilah* they trace their origins and development across national and cultural boundaries as well as across time.

The role of the *silsilah* parallels that of the *isnad*, the chain of transmitters that authenticates a *hadith*, or tradition relating to the Prophet Muhammad. As in the Sufi orders, the authenticity of a *hadith* is established from its chain of transmitters going back to the Prophet Muhammad. Both the *silsilah* in Sufi orders and the *isnad* in *hadith* literature are regarded as foundations for the development of Islamic knowledge (Voll 1980: 246-73.). A *silsilah* characteristically involves a number of leading *ulama*, or Muslim scholars, in the transmission of a facet of Islam, specifically mystical knowledge. The line of transmission traces back to the *ulama* credited with founding the order. A *silsilah* therefore gives form to an intellectual community and plays a crucial role in the establishment and continuing cohesion of further intellectual networks, not only within Indonesia but also those linking Indonesian *ulama* with those of the Middle-East (Azra 1995).

Therefore, the *silsilah* plays a major role in determining the existence of a Sufi order. To some extent, it can also be seen as presenting an argument and an ideology, enabling the order to be socially accepted and religiously justified. The Shattariyyah tradition in Pamijahan is a good example of the dynamics of a particular Sufi tradition in Java, especially with regard to the role in it of a *silsilah*-based narrative centred on a Sufi master.

To date there has been no adequate description of the Shattariyyah tradition in West Java, particularly in Pamijahan, which has been a famous Shattariyyah centre from early times. The present study will contribute to our knowledge of the Indonesian Shattariyyah tradition in general, and this chapter will focus on the *silsilah* of the Shattariyyah in Pamijahan, exploring its implications for the village culture where, as has been outlined above, all kinds of narratives are subject to negotiation.

The veneration of *wali* is widespread in the Muslim world. I argue in this chapter that in Pamijahan the *silsilah* of the *wali* functions to perpetuate the teaching of the master and connects the valley of Safarwadi to the wider world of Sufism. It is important to emphasise that in the case of Pamijahan, the *silsilah* is used not only for tapping into the master's blessing, *barakah*, but also for framing and shaping social practice in the village.

## **B. The Roots of Shattariyyah**

On theological and sociological grounds, Sufism is a problematic concept in Islam. The pilgrimage to Mecca introduced the international character of the Islamic world into the Malay Archipelago.<sup>1</sup> In its early period in Indonesia, the Shattariyyah teaching reflected this international character. At its earliest stage, particularly in Sumatra, the influence of Meccan masters dominated the interpretation of all Islamic teachings, including those of Sufism. The best documented instance of this is the influence of al-Qushashi and Ibrahim al-Kurani on their Indonesian pupils in the 17<sup>th</sup> century within the interpretation of the doctrine of the the Seven Levels of Being (see below). All Indonesian Shattariyyah *silsilah* relating to Abd al-Rauf of Singkel, Aceh carry the names of these two men.

However, in other areas of the archipelago such as in Java, Sufism underwent various changes of direction that cannot be so completely or immediately attributed to international influences. The transmission of Sufism seems to have been made more complicated because the Javanese were more interested in practice than in theology or interpretation. For example, some followers of Shattariyyah in East Java believe that the order provides a means to acquire and exercise magic power. In some places in West Java, particularly in the area south of Bandung, there are communities claiming links to Abdul Muhyi which practise certain martial arts and cultivate alternative healing practices.

It is important here to recall the Dutch scholar Rinkes' findings about the Shattariyyah order and its links with Abd al-Rauf of Singkel in 17<sup>th</sup> century Aceh. Part of Rinkes' doctoral dissertation (Rinkes 1909, 160) examined the foundations of the Shattariyyah's metaphysical doctrine called the 'Seven Levels of Being' or *martabat tujuh*. Rinkes found that the Javanese Shattariyyah consisted of common general characteristics of the order, as well as elements

incorporated from various other parts of the world. He made the following points about its Javanese variant: first, disregarding possible inaccuracies on the part of Javanese writers, the Javanese language, like most other languages, does not lend itself to an exact rendering of notions from other languages (in this case, from the Arabic), especially if the author intended to re-express them in his own words. Second, the writing in Java, without being a direct imitation of some earlier version, does not express the scribes' thought, but only indicates which ideas they have absorbed. Third, because of the religious sentiments of the Javanese, which, according to Rinkes, might be said to be generally lacking in lively exchange of thought, one should not expect to find sharply outlined dogmas and can expect even less of their mystical speculations.

I agree with Rinkes, particularly in view of the facts of contemporary Pamijahan. Mystical speculation, lively debates on the Shattariyyah, and even the creation of new mystical texts are rare. Such phenomena have been influenced by a social dynamic in the village. The Pamijahanese could not maintain their mystical tradition properly because a number of their prominent Sufi leaders moved away to settle in other places, or have passed away. So the transmissions are halted. Furthermore, various external influences, such as the introduction of different *tarekat* and the increase in pilgrimage activities have modified their views on their ancestor's teachings. Nowadays it is hard to imagine Pamijahan from a perspective of 17<sup>th</sup> Sumatran Sufism, where the star of Sufism sparkled, and debates on mystical speculation were at their liveliest. However, the Shattariyyah followers in Pamijahan survive in a modest way, still important in village affairs. In this regard, the local manuscripts appear as short manuals of Sufism.

Although Rinkes's study has contributed much to our understanding of the development of the Shattariyyah in Java, Rinkes did not pay great attention to local practices, particularly those of Pamijahan, where around 1660-1715 the order was first introduced into West Java (Krauss 1995: 112). This is reflected in the manuscripts which Rinkes used. Although he visited Pamijahan in 1909, it was the Cirebon manuscripts which he consulted, rather than manuscripts then available in Pamijahan itself, even though he probably had seen manuscripts of Pamijahan origin in the collection made by his teacher, the great Islamologist C. Snouck Hurgronje. Some important manuscripts from Cirebon present a different *silsilah* from that of the manuscripts of Pamijahan. The Shattariyyah order in Cirebon, particularly as practised within the court, is socially exclusive. It is a palace order. Rinkes (Rinkes 1910) also does not inform us whether any manuscripts were extant, or if any mystical circles were active in Pamijahan at the time of his visit – leaving a gap in our knowledge of the history of the order there.

It is therefore all the more important to describe the *silsilah* of the Shattariyyah in contemporary Pamijahan, particularly in the light of the fact that the villagers

have transformed Pamijahan into one of the most famous pilgrimage sites in Java today.

Recent studies confirm that the *silsilah* is part of the intellectual network linking various scholars from different places in Indonesia. In his important historical study Azra (1992) identifies various interrelated figures influenced by the idea of neo-Sufism. According to Azra, neo-Sufism is an effort to reconcile mysticism, or *tasawwuf*, and law, or *shari'ah*. The *silsilah* of the Shattariyyah, particularly in Indonesia, is part of this process. Azra's work uses extensive primary sources written by the figures in the networks he studies. Nowadays, in several places in Java, including to some extent in Pamijahan, the order has been overwhelmed by other orders and has lost followers. Muhaimin (1995: 333) argues that the decline of the Shattariyyah in Cirebon is partly due to its complicated teaching. Other *tarekat* such as the Tjânîyyah, for example, have gained much popularity from propagating simpler doctrines. Pamijahan stands out as an exception. Even though the Shattariyyah is facing problems in other places in Java, the villagers of Pamijahan who claim a close genealogical connection with the master are steadfast in their attempts to perpetuate the tradition. Today a Shattariyyah congregation is held every week in a certain villager's house in Pamijahan (described in Chapter 8).

### C. The Shattariyyah Order in the World of Islam

The Shattariyyah tradition is largely shaped by a Transoxanian tradition of Central Asia, but over time it has also come under Indian and Arab influences (Trimingham 1998: 96-104). The tradition has also been 'domesticated' in Indonesia in order to meet local needs. In the Shattariyyah's *silsilah* we can sense these dynamics.

The *silsilah* is linked to Abu Yazid al-Ishqiyyah of Transoxania, who was influenced by Imam Jafar al-Sidiq (d. 146/763) and Abu Yazid al-Bistami (d. 260/874). Abu Yazid al-Ishqiyyah's order was known as the Ishqiyyah in Iran and the Bistamiyyah in Ottoman Turkey. The Ishqiyyah was popular in 15<sup>th</sup> century Central Asia. After the Qadiriyyah-Naqshabandiyyah order began to receive more attention in the same area, the Ishqiyyah's popularity decreased (Trimingham, 1998: 41). One of Abu Yazid's successors, Shah Abd Allah al-Shattar (d. 1428–9) who appears in the genealogy of Pamijahan manuscripts as the ninth master before Shaykh Abdul Muhyi, brought the order to more prosperous soil for his teachings, namely India. There, Shah Abd Allah became associated with the Shattariyyah, which had then become another name for 'Ishqiyyah (Rizvi 1983).

After 'Abd Allâh al-Shattar, the Shattariyyah was led by Shaykh Hidâyat Allâh Sarmat (the eighth predecessor), and Shaykh Hâjji Udârî (the seventh predecessor). The most important of 'Abd Allâh al-Shattar's successors was the

famous Muhammad Gawth of Gwalior (d. 1562–3). According to Rizvi (1983), he extended the popularity of the Shattariyyah among the local population by retranslating Yogi's manuscript, the *Amritkunda* and incorporating its practices into Shattariyyah *dikir* formulae. He was known as a Sufi who respected the followers of Hinduism. Furthermore, he was a writer of numerous mystical works. During his period the doctrine of the Shattariyyah was codified and strengthened, as may be seen in his work *Jawâhir al-Khamsah* (The Five Precious Things). Another factor which stimulated the Shattariyyah tradition was that its leaders were able to co-operate with the royal courts of North India. This can be seen in the period of the great Moghuls, Shâh Jahân and Aurangzeb. Shâh Jahân and Aurangzeb granted recognition to the order as one of the official orders of the empire (Rizvi 1983).

After Muhammad Gawth of Gwalior, the order was continued by Shaykh Wajih al-Dîn Gujarati (the fifth predecessor) (d. 1018/1609) who succeeded in promoting the Shattariyyah order throughout the Indian subcontinent (Rizvi 1983: 166). Its method of contemplation, which shows similarity with yogic practices, and the eccentric behaviour of its master, were important factors in the Shattariyyah's development in India. Furthermore, through Shaykh Wajih al-Din Gujarati's successor, Sultan Arifin Sibghat Allah b. Ruh Allah and Shaykh Ahmad al-Nashawi, the order spread to Mecca and Medina (Rizvi 1983). In the 17th century these two holy cities emerged as sanctuaries of various Sufi orders and became great centres of diffusion. It was through this line that Ahmad Qushashi, the immediate predecessor of Indonesian Shattariyyah, obtained his *silsilah*.

Even though some scholars have classified the Shattariyyah as a minor order in India (Rizvi 1983), it emerged as an important order in the Indonesian archipelago during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, particularly in Sumatra. Its followers became key players in local social transformations further afield. The king of Buton in Eastern Indonesia, for example, adopted the symbolism of the Seven Levels of Being to impose a hierarchical social order within his realm (Ikram 2001). In Ulakan, Minangkabau, the Shattariyyah imbued rebels with spiritual powers in their struggle against the Dutch (Steenbrink 1984). The same situation was also found in Java, where Shaykh Abdul Muhyi provided the prominent rebel Shaykh Yusuf of Sulawesi with accommodation and political sanctuary. Abdul Muhyi's followers also took up arms against the Dutch (Kraus 1995).

#### **D. The Shattariyyah *Silsilah* in Indonesia**

I shall now outline the setting of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the introduction of the Shattariyyah in Indonesia. In this period, Sufism and the *tarekat* were dominated by the North Sumatran school which followed the philosophy of Iban al-Arabi (d.1240) and was led by Hamzah Fansuri of Aceh. This was attacked as pantheistic

in a great controversy by contemporary opponents such as Nûr al-Dîn al-Raniri (Johns 1965).

However, both Hamzah and his opponents often quoted Ibn al-'Arabî's pantheistic teaching regarding the nature of creation: that there is no separation between inner and outer worlds. Agreement was never reached on exactly how God manifests Himself in the world. Hamzah Fansuri's work explains that the phenomenal world is the external manifestation (*tajallî*) of the Ultimate Reality. In Hamzah Fansuri we read

La ilaha il-Allah itu kesudahan kata  
Tauhid marifat semata-mata  
Hapuskan hendak sekalian perkara  
Hamba dan Tuhan tiada berbeda (Alisjahbana 1961: 76)

La ilaha il-Allah is the final word  
The way, nought but the Unity of God  
Banish other matters from within your heart  
Servant and Lord are not apart.

The poem in its entirety expounds a system which is generally designated by the term 'The Unity of Being' (*wahdat al-wujûd*). In Hamzah Fansuri's view, the world is an outpouring of God's love. Borrowing Anne-Marie Schimmel's image, the relation between Creator and creation is like that between water and ice, the same essence, a unity, but evident in different modes of manifestation (Schimmel 1994, 1986).

Hamzah's follower, Shams al-Dîn of Pasai (d. 1630) developed this idea but for the first time in Sumatran Sufi practice, he adopted the concept of the 'Seven Levels of Being' from *al-Tuhfah al-Mursala ila ruh al-nabi*, or *The Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet*. Johns, in his critical textual edition of the *Tuhfah*, argues that the understanding of the 'Seven Levels of Being' in the Sumatran Sufi's work is more systematic than that expounded by Shams al-Din's predecessors (Johns 1965). The 'Seven Levels of Being' is a cosmology which explains the relation between the Absolute and the relative. The concept resembles that of Ibn al-'Arabî in thso far as the relative is an outward manifestation of the Absolute (al-Attas 1966). The main advantage of Ibn al-'Arabî's concept, which was adopted by Shattriyyah, is that the notion of levels supplies a metaphor which appears to solve the philosophical problems of the relation between the Absolute and the relative, or the One and many-ness.

However, such a solution can and does only appear on a metaphorical level. The difficulty with it for scripturalist or legalist is that mystical expressions applying unconventional metaphors such as 'I am God', or 'Servant and Lord are not apart' are simply unacceptable (Schimmel 1994).

Thus, the 'Seven Levels of Being' had to be interpreted in different ways. Certain Sumatran Sufis, such as Shams al-Dîn al-Samatrânî, interpreted the doctrine in the above heterodox terms but Nûr al-Dîn al-Raniri of Gujerat and 'Abd al-Raûf al-Singkel comprehended it in other more orthodox ways.

Nûr al-Dîn al-Raniri, like Hamzah, applied the metaphor of light and its shadow (*zill*) to describe the relationship between God and His creation. According to him, the world is God's shadow ('*wujud makhluk itu terang dan benderang yang jadi ia daripada nur wujud Allah*') (Christomy 1986:64). Both Hamzah and al-Raniri subscribe to the same assumption about reality. In their terms, reality is the shadow of the Ultimate. The big differences between them lie in their interpretation of 'shadow'. For Hamzah, the shadow is the logical consequence of the light. It is not created but projected. On the other hand, al-Raniri assumes that the shadow is *created* by the Ultimate.

In this 'catechismus' al-Raniri asserts that

Jika demikianlah ditamsilkan segala ahli Sufi akan Haq Ta'la dengan makhluk, bahwasanya wujud Haq Ta'la itu sekali-kali tiada wujud Allah. Seperti kata jâbib al-Insân al-Kâmâl....Maka jika ada engkau itu Haq Ta'la, maka tiada engkau itu engkau, tetapi Haq Ta'la itu engkau, maka tiadalah Haq Ta'la itu Haq Ta'la tetapi engkau itu engkau jua. Maka nyata daripada kata ini sekali-kali wujud Haq Ta'la itu tiada jadi wujud makhluk dan wujud makhluk itu sekali-kali tiada jadi wujud wujud (Hill al-Zill, see also Christomy 1986: 64).

If the Sufi compares Haq Ta'la with human beings, indeed there is no parallel between wujud Haq Ta'la and God. This is explained by the master of al-Insân al-Kâmil...If you have the quality of Haq Ta'la you will not exist as men, but you will become the Haq Ta'la. Haq Ta'la is Haq Ta'la but you are man (not Him). The meaning of this word is that wujud Haq Ta'la is never embodied in mankind and mankind is not the manifestation of wujud Haq Ta'la.

According to al-Raniri the ultimate reality, the *wujud Haq Ta'la* has never become manifest in mankind, nor has creation, or the *wujud makhluk*, ever become manifest in the divine ultimate reality.

Bahwasanya Hakikat Allah itu sekali-kali tiada harus dikata akan dia berpindah kepada hakikat makhluk itu dan hakikat makhluk itu sekali-kali tiada harus dikata akan dia berpindah kepada hakikat Allah. (Hill al-Zill)

Now of the Essence (Allah) it should not be said that it is embodied in creation and of creation it should never be said that it is embodied in the Essence (Allah).

These differences escalated into an open polemic and political friction among the patrons of the respective masters, dividing even the Acehnese sultans among themselves, with their respective supporters. This conflict between the followers of Nûr al-Dîn al-Raniri and Hamzah Fansuri is well known. Al-Raniri argued that Sultan Iskandar Muda (ruled 1607-1636) should make a decree, or *fatwâ* against Hamzah and Shams al-Dîn regarding the *wahdat al-wujûd*. It was forthcoming. Al-Raniri tried to modify Ibn al-'Arabî's teaching to a more orthodox accommodation. However, his position was perhaps more political than mystical. He was ready to support any palace policies which were in accord with orthodoxy. For instance, he advised that all old manuscripts which did not carry at their head the habitual formulaic opening of Islam: 'In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful...' should be burned. He also persuaded the Sultan to ban the teaching of the *wahdat al-wujûd*. However, after his royal patron died, al-Raniri ran into political difficulties. The next Sultan, Iskandar al-Thani (ruled 1636-1641) held views different from those of al-Raniri and as a consequence al-Raniri's position deteriorated. He fled back to Gujarat. The more moderate *qâdî*, 'Abd al-Raûf al-Singkel was appointed in his place.

Those responsible for a domestication of Ibn 'Arabî's teaching in Indonesia were the Meccan masters al-Qushashi and al-Kurânî, and their pupil 'Abd al-Raûf Singkel. Al-Qushashi was famous as a leader of Jawi students from the Indonesian archipelago in Mecca during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. He had links with a number of mystical orders but in Indonesia he was best known as a Shattariyyah master. He obtained his *silsilah* from Sibghat Allâh and was moreover a close friend of the writer of the above-mentioned *Tuhfah*, Muhammad Ibn Fadl Allâh al-Burhânîpûrî. Both were students of the popular Indian master of the Shattariyyah, Wajîh al-Dîn of Gwalior. Al-Qushashi made a deliberate choice to teach Shattariyyah mysticism to his Jawi students. Through his discipline the metaphysical doctrines of the *martabat tujuh* were transmitted to Indonesia as part of heterodoxy, becoming the trademark of the Shattariyyah. In other words, the speculative view on the process of creation was adjusted to the legalistic view for the *fuqaha* (Bruinessen 1994:1-23).

Among al-Qushâshî's students was 'Abd al-Raûf al-Singkel who in turn was the master of Shaykh Abdul Muhyi of Safarwadi. 'Abd al-Raûf differed in several respects from his colleagues in Aceh. He did not condemn his predecessors as heretics, or *kâfir billah*, as al-Raniri had not hesitated to do. 'Abd al-Raûf's response to the quarrel between al-Raniri and Hamzah's followers was moderate. He probably was not called upon to make a statement regarding Hamzah's teaching for the royal court because, according to him, it is not incumbent upon any Muslim to name another Muslim as an unbeliever, or *kâfir*. 'It is dangerous to accuse another of *kufir*, of unbelief. If you do so and it is true, why waste words on it, and if it is untrue, the accusation will turn back upon yourself'



(Johns 1965: 60). It must be taken into account, however, that these tendencies occurred as part of a general shift in the archipelago in the 17<sup>th</sup> century for legalists and mystics to be reconciled.

In sum, 17<sup>th</sup> century Indonesia was characterised by various mystical contests as a result of international infusions of *tarekat* brought back from Mecca by returned pilgrims. The emergence and decline of a certain order was much influenced, for example, by the fluctuating tendency to combine Sufism with Islamic law, *sharī'ah*. Thus, the attempt was made for every pantheistic element in *tarekat*, including in Shattariyyah, to be reshaped in accordance with more orthodox features.

## E. The Shattariyyah *Silsilah* in West Java

There is evidence that the Shattariyyah *silsilah* in Java follows two main lines. The first can be traced back to Cirebon on the north coast. According to Muhaimin (1995:333-336) the Cirebon chain reaches back to Shaykh Ahmad bin Qaras al-Sanawî. Al-Sanawî was the father of al-Qushâshî who taught Abdul Muhyi's teacher, 'Abd al-Raûf al-Singkel. Shaykh Ahmad bin Qaras al-Sanawî in turn taught Shaykh 'Âlam al-Rabbânî who in turn taught Shaykh Hatib Qabat al-Islam who in turn taught Shaykh 'Abd al-Waqâb who in turn taught Shaykh Imam Tarbiyi who in turn taught Tuan Shaykh 'Abd Allâh bin 'Abd al-Qahhâr who in turn taught Tuan Haji Muhammad Mu'tasin who in turn taught Shaykh Imam Qâdir Îmân Hidâyat bin Yahyâ who in turn taught Sayyid Shaykh Muhammad Arifudin who in turn taught Raden Muhammad Nûr Allâh Habîb al-Dîn *ingkang apilenggih ing Nagari Cirebon, Kanoman ing Dalem kaprabonan*, ("who sat on the *kanoman* or junior throne of Cirebon") (Muhaimin 1995:333).

The second tradition, attributed to Shaykh Abdul Muhyi of Safarwadi, is a more popular one, at least in West Java, than the Cirebon tradition. This is a clear indication that Pamijahan was an important place in Java for the transmission of the Shattariyyah. This present study focuses on the Pamijahan branch.

## F. Shaykh Abdul Muhyi

A number manuscripts, local narratives, and Dutch reports (de Haan 1910:462) provide convincing evidence of Abdul Muhyi's role in spreading the Shattariyyah order in West Java. However, the sources are not reliable regarding when and how exactly he learned the Shattariyyah method in Aceh and Mecca, or when he returned to Gresik in Central Java, and why he moved from there to West Java (refer to Chapter 4).

The Prophet Muhammad  
Imam Ali  
Amir al-Muminin Husein  
Zainal al-abdidin

Imam Muhammad Baqir  
 Ruhaniyah Imam Jafar al-Sadiq  
 Shaykh Ruhainyah Sultan al-Arifin: Shaykh Abdu Yazid al-Bastami  
 Shaykh Muhammad al-Magribi  
 Shaykh Arabi Yazid al-Isqhi  
 Shaykh al\_muzafar Turki al-Tusi  
 Qutub Abu al-hasan al-Kharqani  
 Shaykh Hudaqly  
 Shaykh Muhammad Ashiq  
 Shaykh Muhammad Arif  
 Shaykh Abd Allah Shattari  
 Imam Qadi Shattari  
 Shaykh Hidayat Allah Sarmat  
 Shaykh Haji Hudur  
 Shaykh Muhammad al-Gawth  
 Shaykh Wajih al-din Alwi  
 Sultan Arifin Sayyid Sifat Allah  
 Ahmad al-Qushashi b. Muhammad Madani . Ahmad al-Nashawi  
 Shaykh Abd al-Rauf  
 Shaykh Abdul Muhyi

Figure 16. The Spiritual Genealogy (*silsilah*) of Tarekat Shattariyyah at Pamijahan

Rinkes was the first European scholar to concern himself with the Shattariyyah in Java. In 1909, while finishing his dissertation on 'Abd al-Raûf of Singkel, Rinkes travelled to Java (Rinkes 1909). His mission was to trace the Shattariyyah order and investigate the nature of the sacred sites associated with the *wali sanga*, the nine saints who reputedly first propagated Islam there. The journey resulted in a series of articles collectively titled *De Heiligen van Java* (The Saints of Java) which appeared in the *Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (Journal of the Batavia Society for Arts and Sciences) between 1910 and 1913.<sup>2</sup> Even though he faced some difficulties in ascertaining certain historical data, his studies do provide insights into the concept of the *wali sanga* in contemporary Java. Now, in traditional Javanese historiography, Shaykh Abdul Muhyi is never identified as one of the *wali sanga*, living as he did at least one century after them. It is curious then that Rinkes' studies open with a description of the tomb of Shaykh Abdul Muhyi, the founder of the Shattariyyah in West Java. Rinkes gives us no clue as to why he took up the episode of Shaykh Abdul Muhyi first. In his further failure to provide clues about when and how the Shattariyyah came to Pamijahan, Rinkes overlooks one of the most important aspects of any account of the order's relationship to its shrines, the written evidence.

There are few written sources referring to the existence of Shaykh Abdul Muhyi. The oldest manuscript found in Pamijahan only states his genealogy. Nor is there any dating associated with him in this chronicle. Kraus (1995), the only contemporary scholar to pay attention to the figure of Abdul Muhyi, examines the existence of the Shaykh from a primarily historical point of view. Based on his research employing Dutch sources, Kraus concludes:

The first cluster of Indonesian ulama we know about, the wali songo, stand between myth and history. The next group, the famous Acehnese scholars and mystics, Hamzah Fansuri, Shamsuddin of Pasai, ar-Raniri, and Abdur Ra'uf, as well as the Maccasarese Shaykh Yusuf are historical persons..... Abdul Muhyi of Pamijahan somehow stood between these two groups. We know that he was a student of Abdur Ra'uf, but we have no written evidence of his thought and we had no historical proof of his existence. (Krauss, 1995:28).

Krauss relies on secondary sources in claiming that Shaykh Abdul Muhyi must have lived during the period of 'Abd al-Ra'ûf, Shaykh Yusûf and the local Sundanese figure of the Bupati of Sukapura (see Chapter 4). Even accepting Krauss' arguments, we still need additional sources to bring this figure "down to earth". In other words, as long as the original works written by Abdul Muhyi himself have not been found, he stands as half-myth and half-history. Nevertheless, Krauss speculates that the Shaykh lived between 1640 and 1715. In support of this he refers to Dutch sources which identify the Shaykh as a "hajj from Carang" and friend of the famous rebel, Shaykh Yusuf (1626–1699).<sup>3</sup> Krauss further claims that Shaykh Yusuf wrote a manuscript dedicated to Shaykh Abdul Muhyi. Finally, he cites sources from a local authority in Tasikmalaya (Sukapura) mentioning the Shaykh's existence. So given these facts, Shaykh Abdul Muhyi emerges as a real man, but one clouded by the absence of works clearly in his own hand.

It is interesting to note that Krauss assumes that every *wali* like the Shaykh must have bequeathed written material yet to be located. Of course, we should receive this statement with care, since various factors influence the tradition of writing in Java. A collection of manuscripts can disappear not only because of adverse political factors but also because of mere climatic conditions.

According to villagers of Pamijahan, there are external factors why original works written by their ancestor cannot be found. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century many *kiai* came home from the *hâjj* and were unable to set up their own lodges in urban areas. Some of them retreated to remote areas of the countryside. Colonial control of the *hâjj* network was very strong, particularly after Dutch troops were able to capture the northern port sultanates of Banten and Cirebon and later most of the interior of the Priangan. Some *kiai*, including Shaykh Abdul Muhyi, were recognized as supporters of rebellion. In such circumstances, it is feasible that

Abdul Muhyi might have transmitted his teachings not through written texts, as did Hamzah Fansuri and Nûr al-Dîn al-Raniri but through practical exemplary behaviour. It is important to consider Abdul Muhyi's teaching method within traditional institutions such as those in which *ulama* and *ajengan* deliver their teachings through oral discourse and practical applications. (Dhofier 1980:55) It is also easily possible to imagine how very difficult it must have been for Abdul Muhyi to introduce his teachings in a written form in the remote and backward setting of Pamijahan in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Certain areas of the interior of West Java have experienced long periods of war and rebellion. A great number of cultural artefacts were destroyed or taken away to other places. During the 1960s for example, when Islamic separatism threatened the Tasikmalaya area, a number of Hindu relics and other pre-Islamic artefacts were deliberately destroyed. Many statues in West Java lost their important identifying points of iconography such as heads or hands. One of my informants in the field recited similar stories regarding various artefacts associated with Shaykh Abdul Muhyi. According to him, in the period close to the *wali*'s lifetime not only manuscripts, amulets and magically charged daggers (*kris*) were lost but a sacred mosque containing various manuscripts relating to the Shaykh was also burned.

We should also consider that there were periods when the Shattariyyah teachings were probably abandoned by adherents under pressure from the spread of other popular *tarekat* such as the Naqshbandiyyah, Qâdiriyyah, Tijâniyyah and Idrîsiyyah. Mama Ajengan Satibi, a descendant of Shaykh Abdul Muhyi explained to me that he had manuscripts conveying the Shaykh's teaching which he had never read, because he was not a follower of the Shattariyyah, the very Sufi order introduced to area by his ancestor.

Written materials can decay in a short time due to the unfriendly tropical climate, while the method of collection and storage of manuscripts by villagers leaves much to be desired. Accordingly, the apparent lack of the Shaykh's own works does not necessarily put his existence into question.

I found almost thirty manuscripts from various places in Java recognising Abdul Muhyi as a Shattariyyah master (see Chapter 3). Most of these manuscripts had been copied by his followers. According to the family of the Shaykh in Pamijahan, his pupils often made copies of mystical works after he had initiated them as disciples. These pupils also put their own names in the *silsilah* after the master's name. This custom is consistently mentioned in Shattariyyah manuscripts dedicated to the Shaykh. In fact, according to the villagers, a Shattariyyah manuscript which does not provide a *silsilah* in its opening is not to be recognized as genuine.

G. The Successors

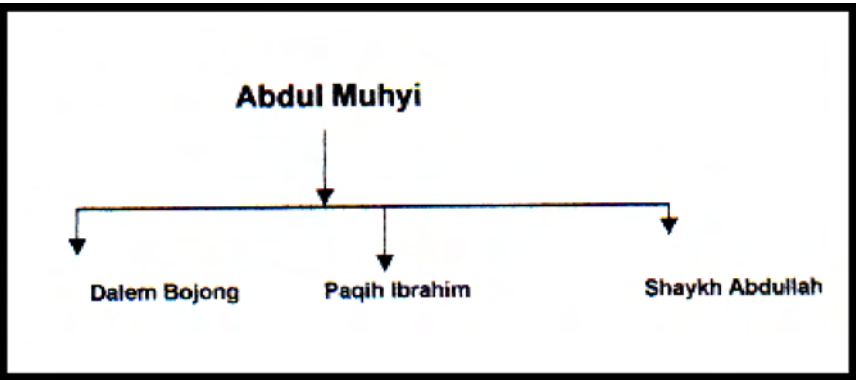


Figure 17. Shaykh Abdul Muhyi's direct successors

Abdul Muhyi’s successors were very important in transforming Pamijahan into a centre of the Shattariyyah in the Priangan of West Java. From there the order spread to other regions of Java. Most Shattariyyah manuscripts from Pamijahan agree that after Abdul Muhyi died the Shattariyyah was spread by his sons by his first wife. Their names were Shaykh *Haji* Abdullah, *Sembah Dalem* Bojong and *Emas* Paqih Ibrahim. A note on each of them is necessary here.

a. Paqih Ibrahim<sup>4</sup>

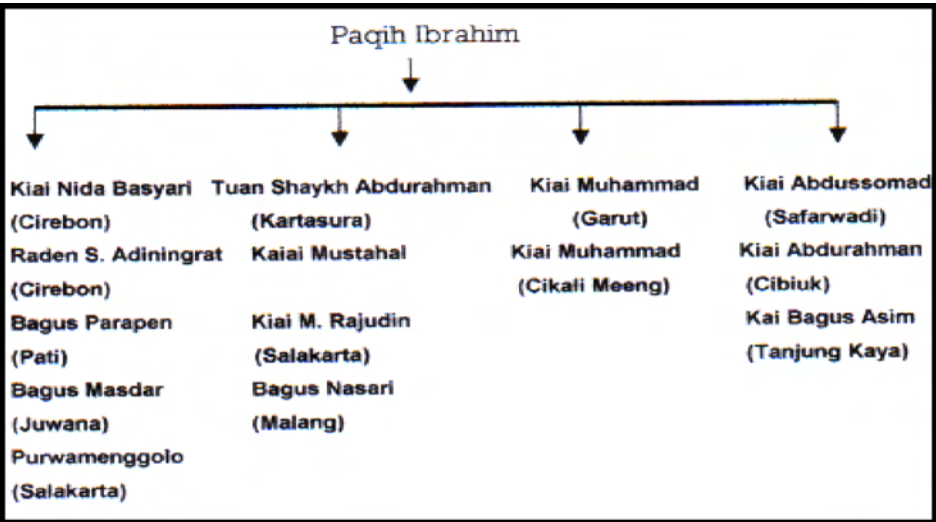
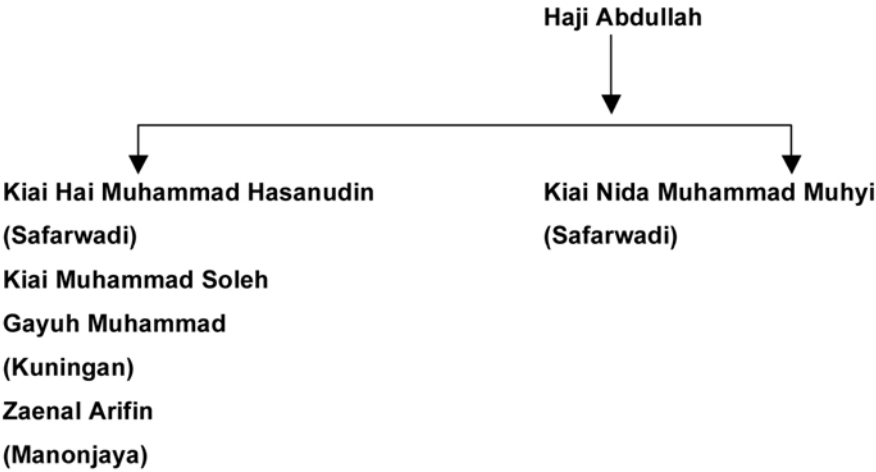


Figure 18. Paqih Ibrahim’s descendants

There is no known source in Pamijahan regarding Paqih Ibrahim’s life. The *Babad Tanah Jawi* indicates that there was a *penghulu* from Karang who taught Islam in Kartasura (personal communication, Professor Merle Ricklefs, 1997).

This might have been Paqih Ibrahim. Rinkes (1996) however doubts this possibility but does not provide reasons for his doubt. However, if we trace back the *silsilah* of the Shattariyyah from Central and East Java we often come across mention of a son of Abdul Muhyi named Paqih Ibrahim. There is evidence that he settled in the north coast area and there propagated the Shattariyyah. Local narratives in Pamijahan also note that, unlike Abdul Muhyi’s other sons, only Paqih Ibrahim lies buried outside the village. As suggested above, it is possible that during his lifetime he made contact with Kartasura. The Shattariyyah manuscripts from Kartasura (Leiden Cod. Or. 7486b, and Cod. Or. 7446) support this possibility. In these manuscripts Paqih Ibrahim delivered Shattariyyah initiation to one Tuan Shaykh ‘Abd al-Rahmân from Kartasura, who in turn taught Kiai Muar Ibnu Syahid, who in turn taught Kiai Muar Ibn Syahid or Kiai Mustahal, who in turn taught Kiai Muhammad Rajudin from Salakarta Adiningrat, who taught Bagus Nasari Malang, who finally taught Purwamenggolo from Pamukan, Salakarta Adiningrat. Furthermore, some manuscripts indicate that Emas Paqih Ibrahim not only had followers from his own village and neighbouring villages but also from as far away as Cirebon and Garut. Indeed, according to Ricklefs (p.c. 1997), Paqih Ibrahim was reported to have collaborated with rebels in the court of Kartasura and then was exiled to Jakarta.

**b. Haji Abdullah**



**Figure 19. Haji Abdullah’s descendants**

Most manuscripts which I found in Pamijahan during my field work narrate Haji Abdullah's *silsilah*. Through his line, the Shattariyyah *silsilah* is linked to the *Penghulu* of Bandung, who in turn taught Haji Abdullah bin Abdul Malik who lived at Pulau Rusa in Trengganu, who then taught Lebai Bidin son of Ahmad, an Acehnese (see also Al-Attas 1963, 29).

### c. Dalem Bojong

Another of Abdul Muhyi's sons, Dalem Bojong, had followers mainly from his own village, Nagara, in Sukapura, from Mandala, and from Bandung, and Garut. The current followers of the Shattariyyah in the village of Machmud in Bandung connect their *silsilah* to Dalem Bojong. According to a manuscript from Pamijahan (discussed below) Dalem Bojong provided the authorisation, or *ijazah* of the order to Kiai Mas Hijaya from whom Kiai Mas Haji Abdul Daud in turn obtained authorisation. After that Kiai Mas Haji Abdul Daud of Pamijahan taught Mas Haji Hanan who later authorised Muhammad Akna of Pamijahan. Beben Muhammad Dabas, Muhammad Akna's son, has now taken up his family's Shattariyyah tradition and is perpetuating it in Pamijahan (see below).

It is important to note here that besides these three famous sons of Abdul Muhyi who are recognised, after Abdul Muhyi himself, as initial propagators of Shattariyyah, there is another name which is also significant. Ekadjati explains that in a manuscript found in Limus Tilu, Garut, there is reported to be another son who propagated Shattariyyah, a certain Kiai Haji Abdul Muhyidin. The appearance of his name contradicts information in Rinkes' study and in local narratives, none of which mentions that Abdul Muhyi had a son named Kiai Haji Abdul Muhyidin. If the name is correct, then in full it should read Kiai Haji Mas Nida (Muhammad) Abdul Muhyi or Kiai Bagus Muhammad Abdul Muhyidin, who, according to the Pamijahan manuscripts, was the son of Dalem Bojong and a grandson of Shaykh Abdul Muhyi. Local manuscripts also state:

....lan iya iku amuruk maring Shaykh Hajji Abdul Muhyi / ing karang desane lan ing Safawardi padukuhane lan / iya iku amuruk iya maring Kang Putra Shaykh Hajji 'Abd / al-lah hing Karang desane lan ing Safawardi padukuhane lan / iya iku amuruk ia maring Kang Putu Kiahi Mas Nida Muhammad Abdul Muhyi ing Karang desane lan ing Safawardi padukuhane ...

....and he taught Shaykh Hajji Abdul Muhyi / in the village of Safawardi, Karang, and he in turn taught his son, Shaykh Hajji Abd / al-lah in the village of Safawardi, Karang and / he in turn taught Abdul Muhyi's grandson, Kiahi Mas Nida Muhammad Abdul Muhyi in the village of Safawardi, Karang and in Safarwadi....

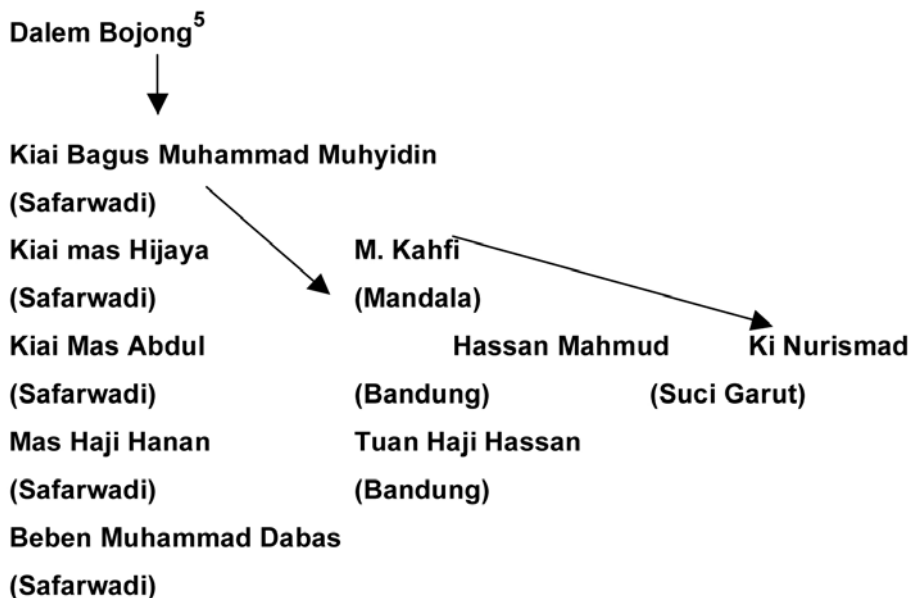


Figure 20. Dalem Bojong's<sup>5</sup> descendants

#### d. Beben Muhammad Dabas

Beben Muhammad Dabas is the current leader of the Shattariyyah in Pamijahan. He derived his Shattariyyah *silsilah* from his father, Haji Muhammad Akna, who was known by villagers as a practitioner of the Shattariyyah. He told me: "My father, Muhammad Akna, died in 1982. He said to me that I should carry on the Shattariyyah in this village." Before he was initiated by his father, Beben spent time in a *pasantren* school in Pekalongan on the north coast of Central Java. His family was surprised by his ability to study and to lead a *tarekat* because the Beben they knew as a child had been a naughty boy. After spending time in the *pasantren*, he returned to Pamijahan and established a new Shattariyyah chapter, registering his association with the Attourney General of Tasikmalaya on April 4, 1991.

Some prominent members of Shaykh Abdul Muhyi's family consider Beben Muhammad Dabas to be too young to be the leader of the Shattariyyah in the village. The most prominent custodian of Pamijahan and the owner of several Shattariyyah manuscripts, Ajengan Endang expressed an opinion representative of such attitudes. He explained that theoretically it is very difficult to obtain an *ijâzah* in the Shattariyyah order because its teaching is the *wali*'s own and can be fully comprehended only by those of *wali*-like stature. Thus, says Ajengan Endang, there are only a few people in contemporary West Java able to practise the Shattariyyah properly. For his part, Beben himself seems to reject such



criticism. In his view, as long as one has the true *niat*, or intention to learn the Shattariyyah, one can receive an *ijazah* from a master. It does not matter if the conferrer or the recipient of the *ijazah* is still young.

Beben's *silsilah*, which he obtained from his father, is legitimate, not only from the requirements of the *tarekat* but also from the government's point of view. His full claims to legitimacy, however, are more complex than this.

By hereditary privilege, Beben is connected to his father, once recognised as the foremost local figure in the practice of Shattariyyah. Beben has also made use of a manuscript, apparently collected by his family, to confirm his status as a legitimate master. In this manuscript, he has added his own name to the Shattariyyah *silsilah*. Evidently, he did this after a period of study under one Ajengan Sukawangi of Singaparna, the *murshid* or most authoritative Shattariyyah master in the district, who initiated him into the order and bestowed the *ijazah* on him. It should be carefully noted, however, that the way Beben Muhammad Dabas inserted his name into the *silsilah* after that of his father is ambiguous. Traditionally, he should have listed his name after that of Ajengan Sukawangi, his initiator into the Shattariyyah practice.

To recapitulate, Beben argues that his father *bequeathed* him the Shattariyyah, and that it is by virtue of this fact that it is legitimate for him to continue the tradition. He also made the Shattariyyah oath of allegiance to the order, *talqin* before the Ajengan Sukawangi in the traditional way. Finally, Beben has listed his *tarekat* officially in the office of the Attorney General and this is the third source of his legitimisation.

Official, "political" recognition of Dabas' *tarekat* community has come from the local Attorney General's office (*kejaksaan*) in Tasikmalaya. It is somewhat odd that a Sufi *tarekat* should be registered with the government, as if it were a *kebatinan*, or spiritualist group. In a certificate given by the *Sekretariat Umum Team PAKEM*, Beben Muhammad Dabas is recognised as the leader, *pimpinan* of the group. The main objective of his group, which is written on the certificate, is to develop Islamic instruction through the teaching of right religion, *tauhid* in order to gain personal peace in this world and in the hereafter (*'mengembangkan ajaran Islam melalui ajaran Tauhid demi tercapainya bahagia dunia dan akherat'*). The government certificate of authorisation also states that the source of the *tarekat* is "teaching based on Al-Qurân, Hadîth, Ijmâ' ulama and Qiyâs" – all orthodox principles. Perhaps the most important feature of the certificate can be seen under its Point 6, in which it confirms the history of the order. The brief history goes as follows:

"Sejarah singkatnya, bahwa saya menerima ajaran tarekat ini dari ayahanda bernama Muhammad Akna dan Beliau menerima ajaran ini dari Mas H. Hanan ke-29. Beliau dan K. Mas H. Abdul Daud ke-28 Beliau dari K. Mas Hijaya ke-27. Beliau dari Shaykh Abdulloh dan Bagus

Muhammad Abdul Muhyidin Pamijahan ke-26. Beliau dari Shaykh Haji Abdul Muhyi Safarwadi Pamijahan ke-25. Dari Shaykh Hamzah Pansuri Singgil ke-24. Dari Shaykh Abdur Rouf ke-23. Dari Shaykh Ahmad bin Muhammad Madinah (Shaykh Qossin) ke-22. Dari Shaykh Abi Muwahib Abdullah Ahmad ke-21. Dari Shaykh Sibgatullah ke-20. Dari Shaykh Wajihudin al-Alnawi ke-19. Dari Shaykh Muhammad Gaos dan putra Khotimudin ke-18. Dari Shaykh Husuri ke-17. Dari Shaykh Hidayatulloh Sarmat ke-16. Dari Shaykh qodi Satori ke-15. Dari Shaykh Abdullah Shatori ke-14. Dari Shaykh A'rif ke-13. Dari Shaykh Muhammad Asik ke-12. Dari Shaykh Maula Nahari ke-11. Dari Shaykh Hasana Harqoni ke-10. Dari Shaykh Rumli Tari tusi ke-9. Dari Shaykh Qutub Mudofar ke-8. Dari Shaykh Arobi Yazidi istri ke-7. Dari Shaykh Muhammad Magribi ke-6. Dari Shaykh Abdi Yazid Bustami ke-5. Jafarus Sodiq ke-4. Dari Shaykh Imam Muhammad Bakir ke-3. Dari Shaykh Jenal Abidin ke-2. Hasan Husen R.A. dan dari Sayidin Ali bin Abi Tholib K. W. beliau dari K. Nabi Muhammad S.A.W.

Beben's blood relationship with the *wali* through his father, his *silsilah*, and government approval for his group act as significant proofs to some villagers that Beben Muhammad Dabas is indeed a legitimate Shattariyyah leader.

## H. Conclusion

The Shattariyyah emerged as part of an expansion worldwide of Sufi orders in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. A dynamic network of various important orders characterises this period. In Indonesia, the order gained followers not only in Sumatra but also in Java. Shaykh Abdul Muhyi emerged as a prominent figure in Java after 'Abd al-Ra'ûf al-Singkel. It is through his *silsilah* that followers in various places in Central and East Java also derive their intellectual chain.

The Shattariyyah *tarekat*, like any other *tarekat*, experienced fluctuations in its development. In Pamijahan and in other parts of Java, Shattariyyah followers were overwhelmed by other, later *tarekat*. These fluctuations have often been a consequence of the influences absorbed by pilgrims while undertaking the *hâjj*.

Beben Muhammad Dabas claims that his Shattariyyah still survives in the village of Pamijahan, and therefore the *silsilah* of the Shattariyyah in Pamijahan constitutes a true *silsilah*. The contemporary Pamijahanese see this *tarekat* genealogy not only in terms of Sufism but also as an instrument of legitimation for all the families in Pamijahan who claim to be related to Abdul Muhyi. All Pamijahanese claim that they have inherited the characteristics of Abdul Muhyi's Sufism. Thus, the *silsilah* is not only used to legitimate Beben Muhammad Dabas' Sufi group but also serves as an embedded identity for the Pamijahanese.

The various *silsilah* also come forth as a major means of continuing the cult of the *wali*. People believe that by reciting a particular formulaic chant, which is dedicated to the names listed in the *silsilah*, they will obtain their saint's blessing, *barakah*.

What I have outlined above locates Pamijahan as an important place - and the events of its history as important events - in the story of Sufism in Indonesia, particularly in West Java. It also provides a simple but telling example of the fact that, as Azra (1995) has described so effectively, examining the genealogy of a Sufi order helps to reveal the network of clerics and *ulama* scholars behind the Sufi phenomenon.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> For a comprehensive study of this transmission, see Azra 1994

<sup>2</sup> Rinkes' articles have recently been collected and translated into English under the title *The Nine Saints of Java* (Rinkes 1996)

<sup>3</sup> In an article on Shaykh Yusuf, G.W.J. Drewes refers to a passage in the *Babad Cerbon* indicating that Yusuf sought refuge from the Dutch in the village of Karang (probably modern Pamijahan) around the time that Shaykh Abdul Muhyi is thought to have been living there. (Drewes 83-84).

<sup>4</sup> For other sources on Paqih Ibrahim see also mss. Cod. Or. 7486b, 7446, 7455, and 7443 in Leiden University Library

<sup>5</sup> See also Mss. 793b, 7433, 7486, 7455, 7397b in Leiden Library,