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Kjahi Raden Santri

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KJAHİ RADEN SANTRI

The question which I should like to address to readers concerns the historical identity of Kjahi Raden Santri. The following evidence relating to him was obtained in Java in 1964. Firstly, there is the oral tradition which was told by a certain Pak Sastradikrama (a retired school-master) of the *dukuh* Kalakendang, *desa* Ngawèn, near Muntilan (between Jogja and Magelang) in Central Java.

Kandjeng Kjahi Raden Santri, also known as Pangeran Singosari, was a younger brother of Sultan Agung, who had appointed him *adipati* of Pati (a district on the north coast). But Raden Santri did not wish to take up the position. He wished rather to follow a religious life, and therefore betook himself to Kalakendang, where he settled.

After a few months Sultan Agung came to Kalakendang seeking Raden Santri, but the latter would not acknowledge his authority, since Sultan Agung wore only ordinary clothes (at first the people did not recognize him). At their meeting Sultan Agung ordered Raden Santri to return. The latter protested that he did not wish to return, but wanted only to remain a *santri*. Sultan Agung said: "you must obey me and become *adipati* of Pati", but when Raden Santri refused, Sultan Agung said: "may our descendants up to seven generations have nothing to do with each other". Seeing that Raden Santri would not concur with his wishes, Sultan Agung then returned home, and Raden Santri became a *santri* there. He had no wife in Kalakendang, but had brought with him a daughter about ten years old called Njai Wajah, and there are many people in the district claiming descent from her. Raden Santri had the mosque situated south of Kalakendang moved to a position adjacent to his house, which he had located by a spring. Bricks from the foundation of the mosque still remain and are of large proportions (1½ times the usual size) and very solid, while the spring to the east of his house, which he used for his *wudhu*, still feeds bathing-places — one for men and one for women. Stones removed from nearby Tjandi Ngawèn have been placed on the bank. The timbers (*balungan*) of the mosque were dismantled and moved to the *desa* Kuntjèn (south of Gunung Sari, near Muntilan), where the mosque still stands.

After a few years in Kalakendang, Raden Santri moved to the *desa* Nggatak, which was called Nggatak Santri after him, and the mosque there was called Mesdjid Santrèn. From there he moved again to the *desa* Gunung Pring, at the foot of the hill of the same name (also near Muntilan). He died there, and was buried on top of the hill. His grave does not have a roof, for the people believe that he does not wish his grave to be roofed, because if it is given a roof the wind always blows it away.

All the remains connected with Raden Santri in Kalakendang (the sites of the house and mosque and the waterhole (*tjurug*)) are sacred (*angker*) and government officers, be they European or Indonesian, are forbidden by custom to enter the area. If they should dare to do so and thus break the prohibition, they may later be dismissed from their jobs, or even die. Numerous examples from the colonial period were quoted; however, the Sign of the Cross is effective protection for a Christian government officer. It is true to say that government officials still do not dare to enter this area. (A month before my visit a very poor *tani* had settled on the site of the mosque — there being no other space — and had erected a house against the local people's advice, and it was loudly predicted that he would die soon. He had no means of support.) The reason for these things lies in the power of Sultan Agung's pronouncement that Raden Santri should have nothing to do with him or his descendants (or, presumably, their representatives). As further evidence of this power, the freshwater shellfish (*sumpil*) found at this spring alone lack the point on the shell which is found on similar shellfish elsewhere. (Three specimens were produced from the water to demonstrate the claim. They looked quite normal and healthy except that the point was missing.) They were said to have been affected (*kesawaban*) by Sultan Agung's words spoken on the bank.

There is a tradition in the Kalakendang — Gunung Pring area, where descendants of Raden Santri are numerous, that at any given time there will always be someone amongst them whose behaviour is like that of a madman. At present a son of Kjahi Harun (see Genealogy), Gus Djaga, is regarded as being "mad", but it was explained that perhaps this was only an appearance, and that perhaps this strange behaviour was caused by his possession of some special knowledge or *ilmu*. It was thought that there might be a connection between this behaviour and a story told about Kjahi Krapjak III (see Genealogy): when he was out walking people would follow him, and if for instance he should help himself to a little of someone's rice along the way, then

this seller's produce would be quickly sold. (Either he thus conferred a blessing on the seller or his goods, or people sought good fortune by imitating his action.)

Similarly there is another tradition to the effect that among the descendants of Raden Santri around Kalakendang there will always be a man with an excessively enlarged scrotum (*kontol*). (Presumably this is a type of elephantiasis; perhaps it has something to do with the fact that Raden Santri did not wish to become *adipati*, and did not marry again.)

It is quite possible that there are further oral traditions about Raden Santri current in the area which I did not record. Kept at his grave, however, is a document in Arabic characters setting out his and his descendants' genealogy. It was probably compiled by the *lurah* of Gunung Pring; the source of the information is not acknowledged. It reads as follows (translated from the Javanese):

KANGDJENG KJAH I RADEN SANTRI GENEALOGY OF KJAH I RADEN SANTRI

1. Brawidjaja of Madjapait V.
 2. Raden Pundan (*Bondan?*) Kedjawan or Kjahi Ageng Tarub II.
 3. Kjahi Ageng Ketas Pendawa.
 4. Kjahi Ageng Séla.
 5. Kjahi Ageng Enis (*Ngenis?*).
 6. Kjahi Ageng Pamanahan or Kjahi Ageng Mataram.
 7. Kjahi Raden Santri or Pangèran Singosari Mataram
(buried in the cemetery at Gunung Pring, Muntilan. Also called Raden Mas Ketompé).
 8. Njai Raden Sahid, the wife of Raden Sahid
(buried in the village of Mutihan, *ketjamatan* Ngluar).
 9. Kjahi Charis
(buried in the large cemetery in the *dukuh* Seberang, *desa* Gunung Pring, Muntilan).
 10. Kjahi Krapjak I
(buried in the cemetery to the west of Mesdjid Santrèn. Gunung Pring, Muntilan).
 11. Kjahi Krapjak II
(buried in the *dukuh* Bandjaran, Kali Bawang, Djokjakarta).
 12. Kjahi Krapjak III or Kjahi Kamal-Uddin
(buried in the cemetery at Gunung Pring, Muntilan).
 13. Kjahi Harun
(buried in the cemetery at Gunung Pring, Muntilan).
- NOTE: Kjahi Krapjak III is said to have died about 100 years ago, Kjahi Harun about 40 years ago, and Njai Harun only one year ago.

It is interesting to observe that details of place of burial are carefully given for Raden Santri and his descendants; for this reason I am inclined to think that these persons most probably actually existed. However, by allowing approximately four generations per century, it is

not possible to arrive at a date of death for Raden Santri any earlier than the middle of the eighteenth century, that is, about one century too late for him to have been a contemporary of Sultan Agung. It should be borne in mind, of course, that Sultan Agung is a figure who looms comparatively large in the minds of the people of Central Java. A glance at the Babad Tanah Djawi (ed. Olthof, 1941) confirms the descent of Raden Santri's ancestors — there is even the suspicion that the compiler may have been relying on the Babad, but no definite conclusion that way can be drawn. Raden Santri himself is mentioned in the Babad as the third son of Ki Pamanahan, founder of Mataram II (B.T.Dj.: 46 (48); 63 (65)). Raden Tompé is listed as the fourth son, although the Genealogy above gives Ketompé as an alias of Raden Santri. Raden Santri is mentioned again when his *elder brother* Sénapati receives an elevation of title (96 (100)); he himself receives the title Pangèran Singasari. This is in A.D. 1588. He is recorded as having a son, Pangèran Blitar (116 (121)) in about 1613. The *adipati* of Pati, Pragola I, who was related to the Mataram House, rebelled in 1600, and was defeated by Sénapati, and died shortly before the latter's death in 1601. This may have been the occasion on which Raden Santri was requested to take over the *adipati*-ship, but I can find no record of this. Pragola I was succeeded by his son Pragola II, who rebelled against Sultan Agung in 1624 and was defeated in 1627. It seems that later governors were *tumenggung*'s. Pangeran Singasari is mentioned in the Serat Kanda as accompanying Panembahan Séda-in-Krapjak against Demak (1602-05). Thus it is not impossible that the Kalakendang story represents an independent tradition based on some historical fact not recorded in the sources available for our examination. Its existence, nevertheless, points to a need for further investigation.

It will be seen that the Genealogy as given must lack about five generations, if it is to reach back to Sénapati and Sultan Agung's time. But there are six generations mentioned between Raden Santri and Kjahi Harun; this is one short of the seven said to have been given by Sultan Agung as the duration of the spell placed on Kalakendang. It is suggested, therefore, that a number of generations have been deliberately omitted in order to avoid disturbing the prevailing state of affairs in Kalakendang. While the seven generations can be shown not to have elapsed — by means of a holy document — the spell must continue to exercise its influence over the life of Kalakendang. This may have relevance to the conception of Javanese historiography developed by Professor C. C. Berg.

Gunung Pring is situated about two kilometres west of Muntilan. It is not far from Ngawèn, and from the top Barabudur is visible, but not Mendut. The hill is used as a cemetery, and from its appearance has been used as such for a long time. At the summit lie the graves of Raden Santri, Kjahi Krapjak III, Kjahi Harun and many others, known and unknown. On top are a number of large trees, open shelters where visitors recite the Koran and pray, and the graves, the more important of which are supplied with roofs, with the exception of that of Raden Santri, which was restored in 1957. Many people come here to pray for favours and to discharge vows. The atmosphere is cool and quiet. It occurred to me to wonder what brought Raden Santri to Kalakendang, near the foot of Gunung Pring, and not to some other place. Did it have a previous history of religious fervour?

I enquired why it was that the story of Raden Santri had survived, and was told that a story would continue to live if associated with an object or place endowed with the ability to bring about miracles (*mu'djizat*). Raden Santri's grave, the spring, and so on are good examples of this, as they are repositories of his magical power. Stories therefore continue to circulate among the people about him, whereas the nearby Tjanđi Ngawèn which has no power to work miracles has no traditions relating to it, it seems, despite its great age. Raden Santri has assumed the status of a culture hero for the people of this small area, and the way in which his life continues to affect the social and cultural life of today would seem to place his story in the realm of mythology, in the sense employed by Malinowski. Gunung Pring is indeed a *santri* district; statistically it has a much larger number of *ponđok pesantrèn*, *langgar*, and *mesdjid* than surrounding areas. This impression of devout adherence to Islam is borne out in the widespread popular observance of the Fast. This tradition stems from Raden Santri.

Comments on the historical identity which Raden Santri may have had would be welcome. Others will certainly be in a better position than I to clarify this question.

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Postscript

The foregoing article was submitted by the editorial board to Dr. Pigeaud in Leiden who was kind enough to make the following comments:

"In my opinion, this district of old was a sacred region — pre-Islam, even perhaps 'primeval native'. The pre-Islamic sanctuaries and the Islamic holy graves, each in their respective periods, are expressions of religious fear of this region. The tradition concerning the tabu, in the form of Sultan Agung's curse, on representatives of secular authority, occurs more often. The tradition must be related to the well-known passage in Old-Javanese charters which refers to the prohibition applying to the *mangilala dĕrwya haji* = the collectors of the lord's due, of setting foot in certain regions. (See: Java in the XIVth Century, Vol. IV. p. 421, et seq.) I think this was also a pronouncement of a tabu.

Were data available about the situation in this district at the time when it was governed by the Javanese kings (*kaputihan desa?*), then these things would become clearer. In my view, the member of the princely family of Mataram withdrew, and made himself independent of his powerful blood kinsman, into a region that from olden times was sacred. Compare: "Kajoran", a study by Dr. de Graaf.

It is also my view that the tradition relating to the man with the long *kontol* = scrotum, can be explained against this background. This is probably an old sign of a being endowed with supernatural potency; perhaps originally the Spirit (*danyang*) of the district."