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JAVANESE POEMS DEALING WITH OR ATTRIBUTED TO THE SAINT OF BONAN

In a paper on the *Sĕrat Dĕrmaganḍul* published in vol. 122 (1966) of this journal I drew attention to the remarkable fact that in this work as well as in its source, the *Babad Kĕḍiri*, the saint of Bonan does not emerge unblemished. He is depicted as a rather high-handed mischief-maker who, moreover, was not averse to intriguing against the legitimate ruler of the country to procure the triumph of Islām in Java. His is the organizing brain behind the scenes which accomplishes the coalition of all Muslim forces under the leadership of Dĕmak and brings about the defeat of Majapait.

As far I know, nowhere else in Javanese literature is Sunan Bonan depicted so unfavourably and maybe one would not be far of the truth in surmising that this legend bears the stamp of local chauvinism. Sunan Bonan's residence is the district of Tuban on the N.E. coast of Java, whereas Sunan Kalijaga is above all the saint of the southern region of Central Java, where Kĕḍiri is situated. So it stands to reason that in a Kĕḍiri story, be it ever so critical of Islām, the consummation of its victory would fall to the lot of Sunan Kalijaga. For it is this *wali* who effects Brawijaya's almost miraculous change of heart; he knows how to make the new faith acceptable to the defeated king of Majapait and eventually convert him to Islām, despite the forceful opposition of the king's attendants. And small wonder, since his behaviour is in conformity with the Javanese ideal of polished and gentle deportment (*alus*) and contrasts sharply with the brusque and quarrelsome conduct of Sunan Bonan.

Looking for further traces of Sunan Bonan's activities I came upon quite a number of religious poems, the authorship of which is attributed to him. Sometimes his authorship looks unassailable, as at the end of the poem the author makes himself known by one of the names under which the saint of Bonan goes (unless this statement was added by a copyist). In other cases such evidence — whatever its value — is lacking and the only indication of authorship is to be found in the heading of

the poem, where it says: This is a poem handed down from or written by Susuhunan Bonan (*punika gita suluk . . . kan wasiyat S.B., or kan antuk S.B.*). In many cases it is difficult to decide whether statements of this kind are reliable or not; still, it is worthy of note that a certain number of *suluks* stand out from a partly anonymous mass of religious poetry by being linked to his name. In this connection it may be observed that the authorship of the prose work edited by B. J. O. Schrieke under the title of *Het Boek van Bonang*¹ has no more solid foundation, since it rests on a similar statement added to the end of the text.

Furthermore, apart from what is told about Sunan Bonan in the "Discussions of the Saints" (*Musawaratan para wali*) and in historical writings dealing with the period of the saints (*jaman kuwalen*), in which his voyage to Pase, the conversion of Raden Sa'id (later to become Sunan Kalijaga), and the trial of Seh Siti Jēnar are outstanding features, there are two *suluks* in which an episode from the life of the saint is narrated, viz. the *Suluk Wujil* and the *Suluk Kalipah*. Finally, beside the various spells attributed to him, specimens of which were given by Schrieke (thesis p. 64), there is an exorcist charm of which he is said to have been the author, the *Kidun Bonan*, in purpose not unlike the well-known *Kidun Rumēksa in Wēni* and likewise aiming at security from all kinds of evil.

In this paper, the chief purpose of which is to catalogue those *suluks* said to pertain to Sunan Bonan which have come to my knowledge so far, I shall begin with a discussion of the *Suluk Wujil*. This poem offers a good starting point as it has been edited and translated into Dutch by Dr. Poerbatjaraka. The reader will notice that among the *suluks* listed here there are a few that are not wholly unknown, as Professor Zoetmulder made use of a number of them in his thesis on pantheism and monism in Javanese mysticism. There, however, none of them was attributed to the saint of Bonan and, moreover, the fragments and texts printed by Professor Zoetmulder were taken from Mss. of comparatively recent dates, which sometimes show considerable divergencies from the texts which I had at my disposal. One of these, the *Suluk Kadrēsān*, I have printed and translated almost in full, not only on account of its contents but also to enable the reader to compare Zoetmulder's text with an older redaction of the same poem in order to form an idea of the liberties taken by Central-Javanese copyists when producing older materials.

¹ Thesis Leiden 1916.

My translation can only be a tentative one, as will be easily understood by all who are not new to the subject of Javanese religious and ethical literature. In this field a lot of preliminary philological work is still to be done. It is particularly desirable that comprehensive research into the literary genre represented by the *suluk*s should be taken in hand. It is pointless to write on the religion of Java without taking into account the store-house of religious utterances which the *suluk*-literature constitutes.²

It cannot be denied that hitherto the lack of up-to-date descriptive catalogues of the principal collections of Javanese manuscripts has proved a major handicap. It is, therefore, very pleasing that a new descriptive catalogue of the Javanese manuscripts in the library of the University of Leiden is in course of publication.³

Surveying these poems one is struck primarily by the similarity of much of their contents. The same subjects return again and again, as, for instance, the necessity of knowing the object of one's worship, which knowledge results from the right valuation of one's own being and the being of the Universe; the comparison of God to a puppet-master who directs the show of this world; the identity of *dalan*, puppets and spectators; inner worship as the supreme form of adoration; disdain and mistrust of outward religiosity and of the official representatives of religion, which feelings, however, do not imply contempt of the sacred Law; stress on purity of heart, so that the heart of the believer may become the abode of the Lord and His presence will show forth from it, etc.

² In Clifford Geertz's on the whole rather unsatisfactory and in my opinion much overrated book on "The Religion of Java" (Illinois, no date) there is neither direct nor indirect evidence that the author has acquainted himself with Javanese ethico-religious literature, although several writings belonging to this category stand in high regard with and are widely known among the Javanese. The Javanese emerge from his description as an almost illiterate people. Even in the chapter on the *santri* educational system, where the author mentions the use of religious schoolbooks, he has failed to note which books are in use beside the Qor'an. The only book that is mentioned (p. 189) is a book by "Ali Fikri", according to the author an "Islamic philosophy book" written by "a classical Arab writer". Most probably this "classical Arab writer" is 'Abdallāh al-Fikrī (1834-1890), who was the author of a well-known Egyptian schoolbook on ethics (*al-Fawā'id al-fikriyya li 'l-makātib al-miṣriyya*; see Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arab. Lit.* II: 474-'75; Suppl. II: 721-'22)!

³ The first volume has already appeared: *Codices Manuscripti - IX. Literature of Java. Catalogue raisonné of Javanese manuscripts in the library of the University of Leiden and other public collections in the Netherlands*, by Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud, Ph.D. Leiden. Vol. I, *Synopsis of Javanese Literature 900-1900 A.D.*, Leiden, 1967.

This uniformity of contents cannot have escaped the copyist of the Cērbon Ms. which I shall discuss presently; it even may have been the reason why these poems were collected into one volume and attributed to the same author. That this author was said to be Sunan Bonan is the more remarkable in view of the fact that in Central Java this tradition was lost.

In the *Suluk Kadrēsān* and the *Suluk Regol* there is evidence of a sound knowledge of Arabic grammar and Islamic dogmatics. Both these *suluks* deal with subjects that are also dealt with in the prose tract attributed to the saint of Bonan, viz. the meaning of the *shahāda* (§ I of Schrieke's text) and the meaning of Qor'ān 112: 3, *lām yalid wa-lām yūlad* (§ XV). Although in particular the *shahāda* is not an unusual subject in this kind of poetry it is possible that this coincidence is accounted for by prose tract and *suluks* having actually proceeded from the same pen. One could, however, also argue that the authorship of these *suluks* was attributed to Sunan Bonan on account of the resemblance their contents bear to some of the subject-matter dealt with in the prose tract.

SULUK WUJIL.

Like so many *suluks* the *Suluk Wujil* was drafted as a colloquy. It consists, in fact, of a number of colloquies, in most of which Sunan Bonan discourses on various religious subjects; first only with the dwarf Wujil, then with Wujil and the servant Ken Satpada, and finally with both these persons and Sek Malaya.

In the first part of the poem Wujil at his own request is given advanced religious instruction (str. 1-43). Then the saint sends his pupil to the servant Ken Satpada to summon her before him. Wujil and the servant exchange a few words. Ken Satpada apprises the saint of the fact that Sek Malaya is staying in the Paṭi area, where he is wandering about as a mummer.

Wujil is commissioned to find him and hand him a present and a letter. He carries out this order, finds Sek Malaya, and they engage in conversation (str. 44-65). After this Wujil returns to Sunan Bonan and reports on his encounter with Sek Malaya. After commenting on Sek Malaya's conduct the saint sends for a mirror. He questions Wujil and Ken Satpada on the essence of their reflections in this mirror and follows up Wujil's answer with a discourse on the Muslim creed (str. 66-88). In the evening a *wayan*-performance is organised, during which Sek Malaya arrives. He gives an account of his miraculous

voyage to Mecca (str. 89-96). A short interpretation of the *wayan*-play in Islamic terms concludes the poem (str. 97 — end).

The contents of these colloquies are as follows.

Wujil, a dwarf, complains to his teacher Sunan Bonan — who is called here Ratu Wahdat ⁴ — that after ten years of assiduous study he is still considered unworthy of initiation into esoteric wisdom. The saint rejects this reproach: he does not traffic in religious lore. People who do this may be compared to the treacherous heron who under a show of ascetism preyed on fishes, and to an egg, white outside but red inside.⁵

Nevertheless, he does not reject Wujil's appeal and begins his instruction.

First of all the saint warns Wujil against identifying himself with the true and only Being. Primarily, one should know the meaning of true devotion, that is to say that one should know its object. Otherwise it is comparable to shooting at birds haphazardly with a blow-pipe: the pellets fly about, but no bird is killed. Therefore, one should know firstly one's self as originating from the four elements, which are provided with the divine attributes coming under the headings of Power, Majesty, Beauty and Perfection, and secondly, the function of each of these elements.

The human body is like a cage in which a bird is housed. This insight is acquired in solitude and retirement from the world. Then one experiences the whole of creation as the result of God's active qualities (*sipat pakarya*, Arab. *ṣifāt al-af'āl*); as originating from His will and

⁴ Dr. Poerbatjaraka translates this name by "Prince Celibate" in conformity with the meaning of Jav. *wa(h)dat*, *wadat*, to live in celibacy. In the *Cabolan* I canto 72 a hermit on Mount Argapura is also called Sek Wahdat. Cf. *Tijdschr. Batav. Gen.* vol. LXXII (1932), p. 264.

Observing, however, that the name of Cabolan's father is Seh Akadiyat; that in the *Cabolan* II canto 98 an anchorite on Mount Tidar near Magēlan goes by the name of Sek Wahidiyat and in Ms. Br. no 399 I (9) the name Ki Lulwadat (= *ahlu 'l-wahdat*) occurs (*Indon. Handschriften* p. 140), one may ask whether it is not far more probable that these names are taken from the terminology of the doctrine of the seven grades, so familiar to the Javanese. Cf. also *won ahli wadat* (Zoetmulder, *diss.* p. 116, str. 30), which words, in my opinion, do not mean: seekers after unity (Zoetmulder's translation), but "those conversant with (the secret of) *wahda*". As is well-known, *wahda* is the first grade in differentiation from Divine Unity to the multiformity of the cosmos. Therefore, to the *won ahli wadat* the real meaning of life is: One and not one (*tunggal tan tunggal jatinin urip*), as is said in the first line of the next strophe.

⁵ For these comparisons see *Bijdragen Kon. Inst.* vol. 122 (1966), p. 342, note 19.

perishable, but also God as the Imperishable. The last named knowledge is devotion; it is an exceptional favour, bestowed by the Lord.

God's Being is clearly different from human being (*pon nāta ananin Hyān anisih*). Whosoever has come to know His absolute transcendence is not licensed to dissolute behaviour; on the contrary, he restrains his appetites. True insight should go along with a virtuous life. With ignorant people the case is different, because in their limited view they do not recognize Him as omnipresent (*tanpa arah-arah*).⁶

On contemplating the world⁷ one sees clearly its real character. The difference between it and the divine Being is indissolubly connected with the fact that it has been created (*bedane tansen purbane*).

Furthermore one should know the value of speaking (outer worship) and of silence (inner devotion). The last named is one uninterrupted homage to the only Being, beside which human being is void (*sunya*). True devotion should be accompanied by true intention, the intention without words, that is. From time to time one may see people who do not know the true intention indulging in disorderly conduct and even coming to blows in the mosque.

Ratu Wahdat now sends for the female servant Ken Satpada who has just returned from Juana. She apprises him of Sek Malaya's wanderings as a mummer in the Paṭi area. Wujil is delegated to find him and hand him a letter and a present from the saint.

He finds the errant mummer and delivers his message. Sek Malaya reads the letter and inquires about its meaning, but Wujil cannot return an answer. After pondering on the contents of the letter Sek Malaya suggests that probably the saint has alluded to Sek Malaya's voyage to Mecca which was interrupted at Malacca owing to the intervention of Molana Maghribi, who satisfied him that "Mecca of the West" is nothing but a stone sanctuary built by the prophet Ibrahim.⁸ On his return, however, Wujil should feign complete ignorance of this suggestion of Sek Malaya's and only convey his respectful homage to the saint. Wujil carries out this instruction to the letter.

⁶ str. 24. *Anisih*, not *anen sih*, as Dr. Poerbatjaraka mistakenly amended. Cf. *Suluk Latri* (No 18 in the old Ms. from Cērbon) str. 7: ... *aninkah tininkah karsaninsun, tan kēna anisih, karsaku lan karsaneka*.

⁷ Text: *nakirah*. Properly speaking this is an Arabic grammatical term denoting an indefinite word. In Javanese religious poetry, however, it may also mean: the created world. For examples see Zoetmulder, diss. p. 359-361 and below pp. 215-216, 222-224.

⁸ The next three strophes (62-64), which contain an expatiation on the "mosque which hangs without hook" (*masjid gumantun tanpa cacanṭel*), are spurious, in my opinion.

Now the saint discloses the secret of Sek Malaya's wanderings: he is searching for his beloved son who has disappeared in a mysterious way. In the next strophes Sunan Bonan apparently hints at the fact that in doing so Sek Malaya furnishes proof that he is still attached to the world, whereas one of the acquirements of the accomplished gnostic is utter detachment, "being dead while still alive" (*mati sajronin urip*⁹).

Ken Satpada is ordered to bring a mirror. Firstly, she is told to take her stand before the mirror together with Wujil, so that it will reflect the images of both of them. Then each of them is told to do the same separately and to answer the question where the image of the other is to be found now. Ken Satpada is unable to find an answer to this question, but Wujil says: "As far as I, a blockhead, understand what you mean to say, it is this: 'There is a dyad (of being and non-being); the non-being of the reflection in the mirror is its being, and its being is non-being' ". This answer serves as a starting point for a discourse on the first part of the Muslim creed, which runs as follows (str. 85-87):

.....
La ilaha puniku
amot isbat kalawan nafi
jatine ana ora
iku tēgēsipun
Pañeran asipat ora
in orane sampun awit ananeki
ananeku nakirah
Nafi nakirah lan nafi jinis
mapan iku jinisiñ Pañeran
kan nafi ñateñ isbate
nafi lan isbat iku
nora pisah pan ora tuñgil
nafi kalawan isbat
nafi karonipun

The words *lā ilāha* (there is no god)
contain an *isbat* and a *nafi*;
they amount to being and non-being.
Such is their meaning.
To God non-being is attributed,
(but) in this non-being His Being takes its
It is (in) the indefinite word. [origin.
With *nafi nakirah* and *nafi jinis*,
since they pertain to the genus of the Lord,
nafi is essentially *isbat*.
Nafi and *isbat*
are neither apart nor one.
Nafi and *isbat*
are (at the same time) a twofold *nafi*,

⁹ A striking example of the abandonment of relatives is furnished by Ibrāhīm b. Adham, who while recognizing his son among the pilgrims at Mecca desisted from even speaking to him, saying, "This is a thing I have given up for the sake of God and I shall not go back on it" (*inna dhālika shay' taraknāhu li 'llāh fa-lā na'ūdū fihī*). (There are other versions of the story, e.g. Ibn cAsākir, *al-Ta'rikk al-kabir*, vol. II, p. 178 of the edition Rawḍat al-Sha'm, 1330 A.H.) The literature of Sufism abounds in sayings to the effect that beside the love of God there is no place left in the heart for any other love, as, for instance, the *ḥadīth qudsī*: O David! I have denied the love of others entrance to the hearts beside the love of Me (*Yā Dā'ūd! Ḥarramtu cālā 'l-qulūb an yadkhulāḥa ḥubbī wa-ḥubb ghairi*) and the saying attributed to Ḥusain b. cAlī: On no account can two loves live together in one heart (*Hayhāt! Lā yajtami-cu maḥabbatāni fi qalb wāḥid*). See further Mir Valiuddin, Love in its essence: the Sūfī approach, VIII, in: *Studies in Islam* (New Delhi) vol. III, No 2, April 1966, pp. 103, 104, 107.

On the meaning of *mati sajronin urip* see Zoetmulder, thesis p. 196.

nafi roro winalëran
 deniñ illa karone tan këna mañjin
 mariñ lapal illa 'llah.
 Hih ra Wujil kawruhana malih
 kañ isbat iku rëke den-ñata
 atuduh mariñ musbate
 dalil kalawan madlul
 iku rëke saminireki
 inkañ lapal illa 'llah
 musbat aranipun
 mutlak iku isimullah
 tan këna liyanëna Pañeran kalih
 añañ lapal illa 'llah.

but to this twofold *nafi* there is a limit.
 Owing to *illā* it cannot attain
 to the words *illā 'llāh*.
 Well then, Wujil, know also
 that you should consider the *isbat* as truly
 directing to *musbat*,
 as is the case
 with *dalil* and *madlul* (indication and
 The words *illā 'llāh* [indicated).
 are called *musbat* (that which is affirmed).
 It is absolute and its name is Allāh.
 Two gods cannot be excepted;
 (accordingly) the text says only *illā 'llāh*
 [(than Allāh).

In explanation of these rather cryptic verses it may be observed here that in Arabic grammar denials of the type *lā ilāha* are called *nafy al-jins*, denial of the genus. They consist of the negative particle *lā* immediately followed by an indefinite object without nunnation. This indefinite word is called *nakira*, which is the general term for the indefinite word.

The difficulty, however, is that in Javanese religious poetry of this kind we find not only *nakirah* but also *nafi nakirah*. The latter term is in need of explanation. Why — one may ask — was *nafi* added to *nakirah*?

Professor Zoetmulder (*diss.* p. 360) considers *nafi jinis* and *nafi nakirah* to be synonyms, but in view of the totally different explanations given to these terms I cannot concur in this opinion. Moreover, it is already apparent from a passage quoted by Zoetmulder himself from cod. or. Leiden No 1795, that *nafi nakirah* denotes only *ilāha*, not *Lā ilāha (lapal ilaha nafi nakirah)*. Probably the explanation is this: that *nafi jinis* was taken as denoting the negative particle only, and that, in analogy with this name, *nafi* was added to *nakirah* to denote or stress the indefinite, and therefore to a certain extent the negative character of the *nakirah* in comparison with the definite word¹⁰ coming after *illā* (but). One should keep in mind that in Javanese *nafi* denotes more than negation only; it is also: non-being. Therefore, in my opinion, what is meant by *nafi nakirah* is the *nakirah* seen from the aspect of its lack of definiteness. In this way the two words *lā* and *ilāha* could be styled two *nafi*.

On the other hand, the *nakirah* is also called *isbat*. This word likewise has come to denote something different from Arabic *iḥbāt*, affirmation, viz. covert hint, allusion; metaphorical expression. Obviously the *nakira*, besides being a *nafi*, was also considered an *isbat* on account of its alluding to the divinity of the exception that is to follow after *illā* (but), so that, while pronouncing the words *lā ilāha*, there is no god, one already knew that divinity was due to that which was going to be excepted. In so far His Being could be said (str. 85) to take its origin already in this non-being.

The second question that arises is this: how did (*nafi*) *nakirah* come to mean: the created world? It seems to me that the connecting link may have been the negative characteristic *tan këna winicara*, nothing can be said about it, which words I take as a paraphrase of Arabic *mubham*. For in Arabic grammar the "indefinite word" is accounted for as *mubham*, indicating something which is concealed, uncertain, unknown; an anonym. This word also occurs in the *suluks*; see, for instance, *Suluk Kadrësan* str. 23-24, where the classic paradigm from

¹⁰ Called *ma-rifa* in Arabic grammar.

Arabic grammar: There is no man in the house but Zaid, is discussed (Jav. *in dalēm griya norana won lanān rēke anin ki Jaed kan ana*). The author of this suluk remarks that the words *won lanān* indicate a *lanān mubāham*, whereas Ki Jaed is a *lanān ma'aripāt* (Arab. *ma'rifa*), a well-defined person. This may be compared with what is said in str. 6 of the same suluk, viz. *denin basa nakirah, nora mojud nora ma'dum, pan tan kēna winicara*, the word *nakirah* denotes that unto which neither Being nor non-being can be attributed; nothing can be said about it; and in str. 5, *tēgēsīn nafi nakirah, ana lawan pinurba, anane kēlawan tuduh, iku jatinin nakirah*; *nafi nakirah* means created being, it is a being (which exists) by order (of the Creator), that is what *nakirah* essentially is.

These lines illustrate the shift of meaning from 'indefinite word' to 'created being'. On account of the contingency of the latter neither Being nor non-being can be attributed to it; it is *mubāham* = (*nafi*) *nakirah*, or, as it says in str. 8, *sakaṭahin dumadi, inaran nafi nakirah*, all of creation is called *nafi nakirah*.

In the meanwhile evening has closed in. A *wayan*-performance is given in which an episode from the beginning of the Bratayuda is played, to wit the mission of Krēsna to the court of the Korawa with the instruction to reclaim half of the realm for the Pēṇḍawa. During the performance Sek Malaya arrives. He pays his respects to the saint and tells about his voyage to Mecca and of his passing the seas of salt, sand and fire to arrive there.

After the play is finished the saint asks Sek Malaya to give an interpretation of it in Islamic terms. Sek Malaya is unable to do this, whereupon Sunan Bonān himself explains that the Pēṇḍawa and the Korawa represent *nafi* and *isbat* in their contest for the *musbat*. In further comment he cites some of the paradoxes so frequently met with in the suluks, as: the heart of an open bamboo pipe (*atinin wuluh wurwan*) and the back of a pellet (*gigirin punlu*). These paradoxes hint at the unity of opposites which is the only way in which Allāh can be known, as was clearly formulated by al-Kharrāz (died 286/899).¹¹ Professor Zoetmulder, quoting several examples of such paradoxes from Javanese literature (thesis p. 322 sqq.) as, for instance, the master who is a bondsman; the bondsman who is a master; the lamp which burns without a wick, etc. has rightly observed that in the suluk literature their purport is to illustrate the possibility of man's unification with the Supreme Being.

The suluk Wujil has been edited and translated by Dr. Poerbatjaraka, in *Djāwā* vol. XVIII (1938) pp. 145-181. The Javanese text published

¹¹ Quoted by Ibn al-ʿArabī in the paragraph on Idrīs in his *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam: Allāh taʿālā lā yuʿrafu illā bi-jamʿihi baina 'l-aḍḍād fi 'l-ḥukm calaihi biha* (ed. ʿAfifi, Cairo 1946, p. 77).

there was taken from Ms. Bat. Gen. No 54, of which Cod. or. Leiden 8620 is a copy. In the Alphabetical List of the Jav. Mss. in the possession of the (late) Batavia Society¹² this Ms. is registered as Doelil (Soeloek), after the name used by Professor Vreede in his Catalogue of the Javanese Mss. in Leiden (p. 320) to denote a more recent version of the same text. After further consideration, however, Dr. Poerbatjaraka considered the use of this name just as inexplicable as the name itself, as the person who gets tuition from Sunan Bonan goes by the name Wujil. In str. 2 of the poem he is said to hail from Majapahit, where he had been in the service of the king as an *aměñ-aměñan*. The explanation of Wujil as "a person with protruding eyes" was afterwards retracted by Dr. Poerbatjaraka (*op. cit.* p. 175) and replaced by the far likelier explanation of being another form of *wujěl*, *bujěl*, with the meaning of "dwarf". It is a well known fact that deformed people and dwarfs, being considered objects of pleasure (*aměñ-aměñan*), belonged to the princely suite and even fell to the court by royal prerogative.

Dr. Poerbatjaraka believed the contents of this suluk to be a secret doctrine of Sunan Bonan's, or, anyway, a secret doctrine intended for the initiates and professed in the time of Sultan Agun of Mataram, whereas the doctrine contained in the text edited by B. Schrieke would be the orthodox doctrine expounded at public lectures. But it would appear to me that there is not sufficient reason for contrasting so sharply the contents of the suluk with those of Schrieke's text.¹³

Dr. Poerbatjaraka's dating this so called "secret doctrine" from about the time of Sultan Agun is based upon the date 1529 of the Çaka era (1607 A.D.), which is to be found in strophe 91 of the poem. The context, however, in which this date occurs is far from clear and the text could well be corrupt in this place, as Dr. Poerbatjaraka himself had observed. But as further arguments in favour of a relatively early age of this suluk he adduced: the shape of the script; the paper used; the language and the occurrence of one strophe in an Old Javanese metre (*açvalalita*), though in counterfeit Old Javanese. Since the knowledge of Old Javanese prosody had completely disappeared in later times, this would indicate a rather remote time of origin. Finally he drew attention to the fact that the initial line of the poem bears a striking likeness to "Middle Javanese", comparing it with the initial words of the Calon Aran, the Pararaton and the text edited by B. Schrieke. One may

¹² *Jaarboek Kon. Batav. Genootschap* 1933, p. 308.

¹³ *Het boek van Bonang*, thesis Leiden 1916.

surmise that it was especially this resemblance which made him date this *suluk* from what he called the "period of transition".

Now this is a rather vague definition, and Dr. Poerbatjaraka was well aware of this vagueness, as in the introduction to his edition of the *Calon Arañ*¹⁴ he himself had pointed out that in the then state of our knowledge of the Javanese language it was very difficult to demarcate Old, Middle and Modern Javanese. His dating of the *Suluk Wujil*, however, might prompt the thought that this poem in particular was to be considered a very old specimen of *suluk* poetry and occupied a place apart from other poems of the kind. This, however, is not the case.

The editor has justly remarked that the MS. of the *Suluk Wujil* is of Cĕrbon origin. About this there can be no doubt. It belongs to the religious works of an early period of modern Javanese literature, the so-called Pasisir literature, fountainhead of many a product of Central-Javanese literary activity. Many other specimens of the kind are contained in the old manuscript from Cĕrbon to which I have drawn attention already in a short paper in *Orientalia Neerlandica*, Leiden 1948, pp. 431-442.

Curiously enough this old manuscript in the Jakarta collection, though mentioned twice in the catalogue of Indonesian manuscripts compiled by Poerbatjaraka, Voorhoeve and Hooykaas,¹⁵ was not described there. It contains 39 separate poems among which is a *Suluk Sidabranti*, attributed to Pañeran Adiwijaya (No 18). This *suluk* (13 str. *ḍandaṅgula*) begins with the words *Warnanĕn rĕke kañ Sidabranti* and ends with the chronogram *rasa pañinalin jati tunggal* = 1126, or A.D. 1714. Another poem (No 35), without title and comprising 17 str. *Masku-mambañ*, begins with the words *Dan warnanĕn wurusih malim awansit*. These beginnings tally exactly with the opening line of the *Suluk Wujil*, *Dan warnanĕn sira ta pun Wujil*. Here follows the story of *Wujil*.

Furthermore, this old manuscript contains a number of poems which begin in exactly the same way as Schrieke's text, the *Calon Arañ* and the *Pararaton*, quoted by Dr. Poerbatjaraka in support of his supposition. As, for instance, No 10, the *Gita pitutur jati*, 26 str. *Mijil*, which begins *Ywantĕn carita pitutur jati*, and No 12, the well-known *Suluk Bĕsi*,¹⁶ 39 str. *ḍandaṅgula*, which, after four introductory strophes, begins with the words *Ywantĕn carita Bĕsi alingih*. Both these poems

¹⁴ *Bijdragen Kon. Inst.* vol. 82 (1926), p. 110.

¹⁵ *Indonesische Handschriften*, Bandung 1950, pp. 166 sub 3° and 170 sub p. 143.

¹⁶ Vide Zoetmulder, thesis pp. 324-328.

are undated. From the chronogram of the Suluk Sidabrañti, however, one may infer that still in the 18th century the opening words *Dan warnanèn* . . . were in use in poetry of this kind. Therefore they cannot be adduced as a decisive argument in favour of dating the Suluk Wujil from a period earlier than that.

SULUK KALIPAH.

The Suluk Wujil is not one of those suluks of which the authorship is attributed to Sunan Bonañ himself. It is one of those texts which tell about the activities of the saint and the tuition he gave to others, mostly his fellow-*walis* as, for instance, Sunan Kalijaga.¹⁷

Another suluk dealing with Sunan Bonañ is the SULUK KALIPAH, which Dr. Poerbatjaraka has also dated from the "period of transition". Apparently without noticing that this wali Kalipasmara, according to str. 12 and 13 of the poem, is no other than Sunan Bonañ, he summarized its contents as follows: "The *wali* Kalipasmara converts a Hindoo *ajar* and his retinue to Islam, after the well-known contest".¹⁸

This story of Sunan Bonañ's miraculous powers is also told in the Sêrat Kanda canto 410, where one reads how the saint while taking action against the heathen *ajars* in the neighbourhood of Tuban, converted the *ajar* Blacak Nilo of the desa Bandon to Islām by surpassing him in magic art.¹⁹ Just as elsewhere, conversions of this kind are a common feature of Indonesian "lives of the saints". The same story is told of Hasanuddin who introduced Islām into Bantën and converted the *ajar* Pucuk Umun of Mount Pulasari near Pandeglañ to Islām²⁰; of Ki Pandan Arañ and the *ajar* Prawira Sakti of Mount Gambar, S.S.E. of Tëmbayat,²¹ and outside the religious sphere, of Rënganis and Ambarawati.²²

As to the different names by which Sunan Bonañ is known in Javanese literature: according to the story of his interrupted pilgrimage

¹⁷ Explanation of the Fātiḥa etc. to Sunan Kalijaga, Cod. or. Leiden No 7543 (9). Tuition given to Sunan Kalijaga on board ship, overheard by a worm, later to become Seh Siti Jënar, *Tijdschrift Bat. Gen.* vol. LV (1913), pp. 255 sqq.; he summons Sunan Gëšëñ to Dëmak, *ibidem* vol. LIII (1911), p. 273, etc.

¹⁸ *Jaarboek Kon. Batav. Gen.* 1933, p. 316; *Indon. Handschriften*, Bandung 1950, p. 167 sub 16.

¹⁹ Brandes, *Pararaton*², pp. 228, 229; see also Van Hoëvell, *Reis over Java*, 1849, Vol. I, p. 142.

²⁰ Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschriften*, vol. VI, p. 288.

²¹ *Tijdschrift Batav. Gen.* vol. LIII (1911), pp. 447-448, 473.

²² *Indon. Handschriften*, Bandung 1950, p. 6, canto 34, 35.

to Mecca he was given the name of *Ākrawati* when staying at Pase with his teacher Molana Maghribi.²³ B. Schrieke (*thesis* p. 57) has drawn attention to the fact that, besides *Ākrakusuma* or *Ākrawati*, the saint is also called *Makhдум Ibrahim* and *Ibrahim b. Rahmat*. Furthermore, in Cod. or. Leiden No 7459, a Cērbon MS. of more recent date, it is stated (p. 55): *Suhunan Bonāi iya Makhдум Ibrahim iya Khalipah Samar(a) iya Prabu Cakrawati*. From these names one may infer that the proper name of Sunan Bonāi was *Ibrahim Asmara*; that as a cleric of repute he was called *Makhдум Ibrahim*, and as a *qāḍī* and director of a Friday-mosque in a provincial town, *Khalipah Asmara*.²⁴

The author of two *suluk*s in the old Cērbon manuscript introduces himself by the name *Ibrahim Asmara*, while possibly still another poem is to be attributed to the same author. These *suluk*s are: the *Suluk Kadrēsān* (No 5); a poem without a title (No 33), and the *Suluk Regol* (No 11).

SULUK KADRĒSAN.

The *SULUK KADRĒSAN*, 33 str. *Asmaradana*, is also found in MS. Bat. Gen. No 194, while a corrupt version of it is contained in cod. or. Leiden No 1796, a MS. from Solo. The latter version, called *Suluk Nasmara*, was edited and translated by Professor Zoetmulder.²⁵

Summarizing its contents in *Indonesische Handschriften* ²⁶ Dr. Poerbatjaraka says only that it deals with the subject of *nafi* and *isbat* in the same vein as *Suluk Wujil* str. 85-87, and that the author makes himself known by the name of *Ibrahim Sēsma* (*Asmara*?). Actually this *suluk* is nothing but an elaborate discussion of the meaning of these

²³ This story is already found in Raffles's *History of Java*² vol. II, p. 130, where *Ākrawati* has been corrupted to *Anyak Kraswati*!

²⁴ In the *Babad Tanah Jawi* *Ibrahim Asmara* is the name of Sunan Bonāi's grandfather. On the title of *khalipah* (Arabic *khalifa*), see Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften* vol. II, p. 117, note 2. In Western Java the functionary who is called *naib* in Central and Eastern Java, goes by the name of *kalipa* (*loc. cit.* vol. IV 1, p. 93). See also R. A. Kern, *Javaansche Rechtsbedeeling*, in this journal, vol. 83 (1927), pp. 337-'38.

²⁵ *Thesis*, pp. 95-99. The name *Suluk Nasmara* gives rise to the question whether the Solo copyist could have renamed this *suluk* after the name of the author. Or has he, rightly or wrongly, read *katrēsnan* = *asmara* in stead of *kadrēsān*, which word is, in fact, difficult to explain in this context.

²⁶ *op. cit.* p. 165.

terms and their application, starting from the first part of the Muslim creed. It is worthy of note that in connection with this the *wayan*-play of Krěsna's mission to the court of the Korawa is mentioned (str. 27). One wonders whether the author of the Suluk Wujil was cognizant of the Suluk Kadrěsan and made use of it in composing his anecdotic story of Sunan Bonan and the dwarf, rounding it off quite adroitly with the performance of this play at the end of the day. It would appear to me that the resemblance between these two suluks is too striking to be fortuitous.

Since the version edited by Professor Zoetmulder diverges in many places from our text of the Suluk Kadrěsan, the relevant part of this text follows here, together with a translation.

<p>4. Pañrěñėnėnsun inuni
in wrėtanira sañ mulya
añatakėn in jatine
tafsiriñ <i>nafi isbat</i>
kañ satuhune nora
<i>nafi jinis</i> aranipun
kapiñgo <i>nafi nakirah</i></p>	<p>4. Once I heard
the words of the venerable one
in explanation of the essential
meaning of <i>nafi</i> and <i>isbat</i>.
That which in truth does not exist
is called <i>nafi jinis</i>.
Secondly there is <i>nafi nakirah</i>.</p>
<p>5. Tėgėsiñ kañ <i>nafi jinis</i>
sajati-jatiniñ ora
mapan tan ana anane
tėgėsiñ <i>nafi nakirah</i>
ana lawan pipurba
arane (r. anane) kalawan tuduh
iku jatiniñ <i>nakirah</i></p>	<p>5. <i>Nafi jinis</i> denotes
that which verily does not exist,
as non-being is its being.
<i>Nafi nakirah</i> denotes
that which exists by creation.
It exists by order (of the Creator).
That is what <i>nakirah</i> essentially is.</p>
<p>6. Kañ ibarat <i>nafi jinis</i>
atuduh in đawakira
mapan tan-ana đeweke
yogya sama nawruhana
deniñ basa <i>nakirah</i>
nora mojud nora ma'dum

pan tan kėna winicara.</p> | <p>6. That which is alluded to by <i>nafi jinis</i>
refers to itself,
as non-being is its essence.
One should know this.
As to the word <i>nakirah</i>, this denotes
that unto which neither Being nor non-being
[can be attributed].
Nothing can be said about it.</p> |
| <p>7. Aniñ ta malih sireki
sampun ora amicara
in roro iku arahe
iku inaranan ora
jen tan anaa pisan
iku inaranan suwun
lėyėp datanpa tėmahan.</p> | <p>7. Nevertheless, you
must consider
the meaning of both (words).
Well then! Non-being is said
of things which cannot exist at all,
and that is called void
which disappears without having any effect.</p> |

8. Sakatahin dumadi
inaran *nafi nakirah*
atuduh anane dewek
pan dudu anane dawak
nafi jinis inaran
tan ana amamaḍeku
lawan sifatin pañeran.
8. All created things
are called *nafi nakirah*.
That which refers to its own being only
as its being is (merely) non-being,
is called *nafi jinis*.
It is not equivalent to
the Being attributed to the Lord.
9. Karone iku pan *nafi*
kalawan tēgēsīn *illa*
illa iku wawalēre
nafi jinis lan *nakirah*
wiwinalēra *illa*
nafi roro aywa kumpul
lan *isbat*in pañeran.
9. Both of them (*nafi jinis* and *nafi nakirah*)
are *nafi*. As to the meaning of *illā*,
illā constitutes their boundary.
Nafi jinis and *nakirah*
have to be limited by *illā*,
so that they cannot mix with (pertain to)
the *isbat* of the Lord.
10. Yen tan awalēra malih
nafi roro lan *isbat*
yakti akumpul karone
karane sinēlan *illa*
tanpa weh yan awora
tēgēsīn *illa* 'llah iku
yen *isbat* *kalamiyah*.
10. Should there be no boundary
between both of the *nafi* and *isbat*,
they certainly would mix.
The reason why they are separated by *illā*
is that they should not mix.
The meaning of *illā* 'llāh is
a verbal *isbat*.
11. Tēgēsīn *mahiyah* teki
isbatēna balaka
narani arane dewek
lan *isbat* *ma'arifat*
aneñ anane dawak
sampune ujar puniku
añiñ Pañeran kañ ana.
11. The meaning of *mahiyah* is
mention it downright
by calling it by its own name.
Isbat *ma'arifat* means:
It is in its own being.
The outcome of these words is
that only the Lord is.
12. Wontēn kapañgih iñ tulis
lamon roro sifatin yañ
sampun tan wikan tatane
tuhu sifatin pañeran
nafi lawan *isbat*
sakiñ kitabilirumuj (?)
Pañeran asifat nora.
12. In some books one finds
that God's attributes are in two categories.
You should know how matters stand.
Nafi and *isbat* are indeed
applicable to the attributes of the Lord.
According to the *Kitāb al-Rumūz*(?)
the Lord has negative attributes.
13. Sifatin yañ *nafineki*
nora johan nora 'aral
mapan tan ana makame
ananiñ yañ tanpa zaman
iku kañ aran ora
nafi jinis aranipun
dudu pañeran kañ ana.
13. These negative attributes of the Lord
are that He is neither substrate nor accidents,
as He is not confined to a place and
His Being is not limited by time.
In this respect the negative may be used.
But what is called *nafi jinis*
does not apply to the Lord.
14. Kañ aran *nafi hakiki*
mazaziku iñ pañeran
johan 'aral makam rēke
zaman kañ inaran ora
rehe añiñ Pañeran
siñ añorakēna kufur
iku iñ patañ madahab.
14. Real and metaphorical *nafi*
with regard to the Lord
mean that substrate, accidents, place
and time are negated,
since only the Lord is.
Whosoever denies this is an infidel
according to the four schools.

15. *Isbatin* yañ *hakiki*
iku *sifat subutiyah*
hayun alimun sakehe
mazaziku in pañeran
kañ ajal lawan abad
ananiñ asiya iku
sabab mañka kañataan.
16. Mañkana ananireki
inñaran wujud aba'ad
sakiñ Pañeran anane
oranira pan saki(n) yañ
tan aneñ ðawakira
tègèsiñ aba'ad iku
deniñ ana lawan ora.
17. Mañkana kañ *nafi jinis*
tan kinaranan aba'ad
deniñ tan ana anane
kunèñ anane Pañeran
dudu wujud aba'ad
tan aba'ad anane ku
tan kaworan deniñ ora.
18. Mañkana ananireki
dudu *nafi* tan *isbat*
karone iku deweke
yogya sama ñawruhana
deniñ basa *nakirah*
nora mojud nora ma'dum
pan tan kèna winicara.
19. Anin ta malih sireki
sampun ora amicara
in roro iku arahe
lamon wasiliñ wicara
ananiñ kañ *nakirah*
ananiñ yañ mahaluhur
iku arah kañ sampurna.
20. Sampun ta sira misingih.
mapan iku sabdaniñ yañ
den-wikan in patitise
kapiñ kalih ananira
tan aneñ ðawakira
datira ðawak pan suwun
sapisan-pisan tan ana.
21. Mapan kajatinireki
anane pada lan ora
pan pakone kañ agawe
duk pinasiliyan tiñal
ya ta iku kuwasa
anin ali lan andulu
katon kañ aduwe tiñal.
15. The real *isbat* of God
are the latent attributes.
(Attributes like) living and knowing
all are metaphorical with regard to the Lord
who is from and to all eternity.
By the existence of the Universe
they have become apparent.
16. Therefore, the existence of the universe
is called: secondary being.
Its existence derives from the Lord,
as its non-existence is (also) dependent
In itself the universe is not. [on Him.
'Secondary' means:
It is and is not (at the same time).
17. Therefore, *nafi jinis*
is not called secondary,
since it does not exist at all.
Nor is the Being of the Lord
secondary being.
It is not,
because it is not mixed with non-being.
18. Therefore, His Being
is neither (merely) *nafi* nor (merely) *isbat*.
He comprises both.
One should know this.
As to the word *nakirah*,
(it means) neither being nor non-being,
as nothing can be said about it.
19. You should, however,
speak about
the meaning of both terms.
Should the outcome be
that the existence of *nakirah*
is (dependent on) the Being of the Most
this would be the correct meaning. [High,
20. Having realized this,
as it is a word of God,
then strive to understand it clearly.
Secondly, your existence
has no being of its own,
since your essence is voidness.
It has no being altogether.
21. For essentially
it amounts to non-being,
as it was created by His (God's) order.
On change of vision
one is able
to see and observe,
whereby that which is seen is He who sees.

22. Sakatahiñ kañ dumadi
muhal yan anaa dawak
badane lawan fiawane
iku minangka paesan
in sifat jamalullah
batiniñ manusa iku
mapan kinarya tuladan.
23. Ujare kañ aniñali
ki Jaed in dalēm griya
norana woñ lanan rēke
aniñ ki Jaed kañ ana
ujare kañ tuminal
sadērah paniñalipun
dudu ki Jaed kañ ora.
24. Karane paniñal iki
kañ ora lan anakirah

lanan mubaham arane
dudu satuhuniñ lanan
inikañ lanan mahiyat
aniñ ki Jaed kadulu
mapan lanan ma'arifat.
27. Uni insun aniñali
in wayane ki ki dalan
duk Darmawañsa akonkon
in Krēsna mariñ Nāstina
kinen anjabēl pura
Korawa sata tan pasuñ
suka pējahēn payudan.
28. Pacēhinsun aniñali
in polahe sañ awayan
sakehe anane dēwek
kañ akon lan kañ winēkas
kañ paraniñ konkonan
datan lyana kañ kadulu
aniñ ujare ki dalan.
29. Pan tan ana bedane ki
kañ amujya lan pamujya
karone anane dēwek
pan tan kēna pisahēna
ananiñ saniskara
in mañke lawan in dañu
ya ananiñ kañ in kuna.
30. Inikañ rasa aniñali
dipun sami amicara
kalingihana yaktine
takenakēna den-ñata
sampun amuhun warta
den-wikan in wuwusipun
aja sira nañkah-añka(h).
22. No creature
can exist of itself.
Its body and soul
are a mirror which reflects
Allāh's attributes of perfection,
as the inward man
was modelled after these.
23. He who sees
Zaid in the house, says:
There is no man there
but Zaid.
Seeing him there
though only by a glimpse, he says:
It is not Zaid who is not there.
24. On account of this view
he whose presence is denied and who is
[indicated by the *nakirah*,
is called an indefinable man.
It is not a real man,
whereas individuality may only be attributed
to Zaid who was seen,
for he is a well-defined person.
27. Once I saw
a *wayan*-performance by a *dalan*,
namely, the episode of Darmawañsa
Krēsna to Nāstina [delegating
in order to claim the town for the Pēñdawa.
The hundred Korawa would not comply with
they preferred to die in battle. [this claim;
28. All of my attention was focussed
on the actions of the performer.
It was all his doings:
he who issued and he who received orders,
and the aim of the mission.
Nothing was to be seen
but (what sprang from) the words of the
[*dalan*.
29. For there is no difference
between worshipper and worship:
both are He alone,
as the being of the universe
cannot be divided.
Now and in eternity
it is what it has been from of old.
30. You must speak together
about the profound meaning of seeing.
Put this into practice in full earnest.
Ask for elucidation,
Don't be content with (mere) words
but try to understand what was said.
Don't vacillate.

<p>31. Anin ta malih sireki
sampun korup in wilapa
kewala iku dumahwe
animbalakĕn carita-
nira kañ mahamulya
arsa añalini pupuh
atĕmbañ asmaradana.</p> <p>32. Mañkana inkañ anulis
anama Ibraismara
kaya inuguñ polahe
datan añliriñ kainan
kadi edan inumbar
kan ora-ora den-wuwus
saya ñlayuñ brañtiniñwañ.</p> <p>33. Cumantaka milweñ ñawi
suka cacadĕn in para
deniñ wañ kaya añaame
marmanya añapus gita
deniñ añaña wrĕta
tan kuwasa nimpĕn wuwus
dadyatĕmah paguywan.</p> | <p>31. Furthermore,
let not my writing confuse you!
For only to convey as a busy-body
the teachings of
the venerable one
I wanted to change the metre
and write verses in <i>asmaradana</i>.</p> <p>32. The author's name
is Ibrahim Asmara.
He behaves like a spoiled person,
heedless of his own deficiencies.
He is like a madman set free
and talks nonsense.
My love is steadily on the increase.</p> <p>33. Making bold to poetize
I give universal cause of complaint,
as I am so to say harping on the same string.
The reason why I am writing poetry
is, that after having been informed of
I cannot keep silence about it [something
and so become a laughing stock.</p> |
|--|---|

On the above I would offer the following remarks.

Between str. 10 and 11 there seems to be a lacune. Str. 10 ends with the unfamiliar word *kalamiyah* (Arab. *kalāmiyya*, verbal), which one would expect to be explained in the next strophe. This, however, begins with: The meaning of *mahiyah* is, though this word was not used before. It is, therefore, a likely guess that at least one strophe which contained the explanation of *kalāmiyya* and ended with *mahiyah* is lacking.

The explanation of *mahiyah* is correct, as Arabic *māhiyya* means: quiddity; that which answers the question: What is it?; the distinctive peculiarity of a thing.

As regards str. 13-14 it may be observed that on comparison with the corresponding strophes of Professor Zoetmulder's text the corrupt state of the latter is obvious. The initial mistake made by a copyist apparently was that he misread *aral* (Arab. *arad*), accidens, as *awal* (Arab. *awwal*), first. In this way "substrate and accidens" became "prime substance" (*johar awal*), and a clear statement taken from orthodox dogmatics became thoroughly muddled.

The *ṣifāt subūtiyyah* (Arab. *ṣifāt thubūtiyya*) mentioned in str. 15 make up one of the categories into which Allāh's attributes are divided. In the Suluk Regol, which will be dealt with later, they are mentioned together with the *ṣifāt al-ṣalb*, the privative attributes, and the *ṣifāt al-fiʿl* (or *aḥāl*), the active qualities. *Ṣifāt al-ṣalb* are those attributes by which Allāh's transcendency is accentuated, as He is denied beginning, end, similarity to anything created, dependency on something else, and plurality. The *ṣifāt al-aḥāl*, as, for instance, *khalq*, bringing into existence, *iḥyāʾ*, bringing to life, *raḥq*, sustaining, bear on creation.

Still another category is that of the *ṣifāt maʿnawiyya*, qualities derived from ideas, as, for instance, living, knowing etc. (str. 15). Albeit that even in the Qorʾān these qualities are denoted by names which are also used of human qualities, these names are only similes, as actually Allāh lives without soul, hears without ears, speaks without articulated speech etc.. Each of the seven *ṣifāt maʿnawiyya* derives from one of the *ṣifāt al-maʿānī*, attributes denoting abstract

ideas as life, knowledge etc., which describe certain aspects of Allāh's Being. These are the attributes properly speaking; they are from all eternity implied in Allāh's Essence and, therefore, are said to be in a state of latency (*thubūt*).

Now the notions of substrate, accidens, place and time are denied with regard to Allāh in the real as well as in a metaphorical sense. With *isbat*, however, the case is different. Real *isbat* obtains with regard to those attributes which are in a state of latency, whereas metaphorical *isbat* obtains with regard to those attributes which have to be taken in a metaphorical sense as, for instance, living, knowing etc.. The necessity of both categories becomes apparent from the existence of creation.

Aba'ad seems to be Arab. *ab'ad*, more remote; less obvious, improbable; inferior, and so, perhaps, used here in the sense of 'secondary', 'derived'. Zoetmulder translated it by 'works', but I fail to see how such a well-known word as *ap'ēnal* (Arab. *af'āl*) could have been so badly misspelt.

SULUK REGOL.

The SULUK REGOL is written in the same metre as the Suluk Kadrēsan and comprises an equal number of strophes, while its contents may be considered a sequel to it and the last strophe of both poems is identical. These similarities give rise to the supposition that both suluks have proceeded from the same pen.

The name of the poem derives from str. 13, where the word *lam* (not) of Qor'ān 112:3, *lam yalid wa-lam yūlad*, He begets not and is not begotten, is compared to a gate (*regol*) which debars the entrance to that which lies behind it.

Allāh's *ṣifāt al-ma'ānī* (life, knowledge etc.) are summed up and the categories of *thubūt*, *ṣalb* and *af'āl* are mentioned. The meaning of the terms *tashbīh* and *tanzīh*, immanence and transcendence, when applied to Allāh's attributes, is explained.²⁷

In connection with this all that happens in the world is compared to a *wayan*-performance, which may be seen in different ways. Some people see it as a play originating from (*sakin*) the *ḍalan*; others as accompanied by (*sarta lan*) the *ḍalan*; still others as revealing the existence of the *ḍalan* who speaks in praise of his own achievements, while again others note the unity of *ḍalan*, *wayan* and spectator.

²⁷ One should bear in mind that *tashbīh* and *tanzīh* are not used here in the same sense as in orthodox dogmatics but as applied by the sufis. So, for instance, in Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, chapters on Noah and Elijah, these aspects of Allāh's attributes are discussed, starting from Qor'ān 42:11, *Laisa ka-mithlihi shai' wa-huwa al-samīʿ al-baṣīr*, Nothing is like a likeness of Him and He is the hearing, the seeing. In the first half of this verse Allāh's *tanzīh* is taught, whereas the words: He is the hearing, the seeing, denote that He hears and sees in all who hear and see (*Fuṣūṣ*, ed. ʿAfīfī, Cairo 1946, pp. 70, 182). Explained in this way the verse may be quoted in support of this conception of Allāh's *tanzīh* and *tashbīh*.

POEM NO 33

In the unnamed POEM NO 33 of the ancient ms. from Cërbon the author makes himself known as Ibrahim Asmara (str. 21), while in the heading it is ascribed to Susuhunan Bonañ (*punika gita suluk kañ wasiyat Susuhunan Bonañ*). It comprises 25 strophes in Pucuñ and describes the amazement of a man who, while roaming about, meets with an expert mummer and observes how time and again the mummer changes his mask and appears in a different character. This is, of course, an allusion to the One and Only Being which shows in a variety of forms. The conclusion is contained in str. 18: Whosoever has come to know the mummer, has reached perfection; he has reached the goal (*siñsapa kañ woni unina in kañ anapuk, wus amaradika, woni iku sampun tēken don*).

Str. 3-16 of this suluk are quoted from Cod. or. Leiden 1796 pp. 420-422 and translated by Professor Zoetmulder (*thesis* pp. 304-306). No mention is made of the name of the author. This text, though showing quite a number of variant readings, does not diverge in meaning.

Beside the five suluks discussed above there are another ten which deserve mentioning, viz. the numbers 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 23, 25, 38, 39 of the ancient Cërbon manuscript and the Suluk Wrëgul. All of these are ascribed to the saint of Bonañ.

No 13. SULUK BĚNTUR.

Metre: Wiraniron, 43 strophes.

Běntur, gěntur means completed, finished. In this suluk it refers to the coming to the end of one's path of life as well as to the attaining of supreme insight, in company of which (Jav. *arowan*) man may face death. The ultimate testimony of this insight is the *sadat daim kaim*, the uninterrupted and permanent testimony without words, when every motion of man's physical being is considered as proclaiming God's uniqueness.

Salt which falls into the sea and disappears may not be said to have become sea; neither is it reduced to voidness (*suwun*). In the same way man when attaining *fana* is not absorbed into the absolute divine Being. His highest attainment is *fana roh ilapi*, which means to say that he comes to see the transitoriness of all forms and phenomena, which insight is the complement of his vision of Allāh as the Eternal and Permanent One. In short, he fully realizes the truth of the words of

Qor'ān 28:88, where it says that every thing is perishable but He.²⁸

This is illustrated by the similes (*pasěmon*) of the gold noble (*srěpin*, Arab. *ashrafī*) which on melting looses its form while the gold remains, and the sea and its waves. Therefore, the real act of faith (*sahadat*), which is a grace granted by the Lord, is that one knows oneself to act in unison with Him (*sapakarya*). Then there is neither *kāfir* nor *muslim*, neither servant nor lord. It can be said of this perfect man that he lives without soul — which in orthodox dogmatics is taught of Allāh, the Living One, *al-Ḥayy* — as Allāh has said to His apostle: "Your being is My Being; you are I; your attributes are Mine; your essence is Mine".

There are three *sahadat*: the first (*mutawilah*, Arab. *muta'awwila*); the middlemost (*mutawasitah*, Arab. *mutawassita*), and the last (*mutairah*, Arab. *muta'akhhira*), respectively of the prophets, saints and believers. The first of these testimonies was borne when Allāh, as is related in the Qor'ān, ch. 7:172, made the unborn generations of men bear witness against their own souls by asking: "Am I not your Lord", and they answered: "Verily, Allāh is the Lord who is venerated by all creation" (a paraphrase of Arab. *balā shahidnā*, we bear witness!).

With these three *sahadat* other numbers of three are combined, as: writing tablet, writing and tablet filled with writing; glass, contents and glass with contents. When the glass is completely clean, its contents will show while the glass itself is invisible. In the same way the heart of the believer, which is the abode of the Lord, will show forth His presence when it is completely serene. In this state of serenity there is no duality left; what is seen is He who sees.

No 15. SULUK KAN PIPIRIHAN SUSUHUNAN BONAĦ.

Metre: Wirāñron, 10 strophes.

As the name indicates (*pipirihan* = allusion), this suluk is a satirical poem, directed against those people who play the saint and whose lives are taken up by outward religiosity and a show of learning, but who do not know God.

No 18. GITA SULUK LATRI.

Metre: Wirāñron, 16 strophes.

Waiting for the coming of the Beloved in the night the lover becomes

²⁸ Jav. *sakehin prakara luluh ajur, brasta sirna tistis, anin kan nora rusak, kaananin jati suksma*; Arab. *kull shai' hālik illā wajhahu*.

more and more filled with love and when He appears forgets everything beside Him in complete surrender to His will. In short, he is as flotsam floating on the waves of the boundless sea.²⁹

No 19. GITA SULUK LIŅLUŅ.

Metre: Dandaṅgula, 16 strophes.

A fragment of this suluk is to be found in Ms. Bat. Gen. No 383 (= Cod. or. Leiden No 8592).³⁰ Or, more precisely, in this Ms. str. 1, 2, 3 of the short Suluk Tuhu LiŅluŅ, which consists of only 5 strophes, correspond to a certain extent with str. 2, 1, 3 of the Gita Suluk LiŅluŅ, while the 4th str. may be compared with str. 9. Str. 5, however, has no counterpart in the Gita Suluk LiŅluŅ. These five strophes are ascribed to Sunan PaṅguŅ.

As was rightly observed by Dr. Poerbatjaraka this poem breathes the same spirit as the Suluk MalaŅ SumiraŅ, which is universally ascribed to Sunan PaṅguŅ.³¹ Nevertheless, the copyist who inserted both poems in the ancient Cērbon manuscript had no scruples about ascribing the Gita Suluk LiŅluŅ to a different author.

Just as No 15, this suluk is directed against people who keep scrupulously to the Law, make fasting, charity, *jakat* and *pitrah* their idols and by having a cartload of books display their learning. All theological learning, however, is fleeting; it may even become a screen which prevents a person from acquiring the right vision. So one should not apply for instruction to *kētib*, *pēnulu*, *modin* or *kalipah* (all of them mosque officials), nor to libertines (*pasek*, Arab. *fāsiq*), for it is impertinent to bid defiance to the rules of the Law. On the contrary, one should scrupulously fulfil one's religious duties, as man himself is He who ordains and he who receives orders. This unity is comparable to the unity of fire and smoke. If you want to be initiated into this kind of knowledge, then ask for explanations from a person who is well-versed in it. But do not be alarmed at what he will tell you, for that only amounts to phrases and sounds. He who has penetrated the heart of this matter keeps silence about it.

²⁹ Cf. Zoetmulder, thesis p. 315.

³⁰ *Indon. Handschriften* p. 166.

³¹ On the Suluk MalaŅ SumiraŅ see: *Indon. Handschriften* pp. 149, 165, 166, 170; R. Ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka, *Pandjiverhalen onderling vergeleken*, Bibl. Jav. No 9, Bandoeng 1940, p. 349 and note 1 to this; *Jaarboek Kon. Bat. Gen.* 1933, p. 323; *Djāwā* vol. VII (1927), p. 97-109.

No 20. GITA SULUK.

Metre: Mas kumamban, 25 strophes.

This is a lyrical poem which speaks of the raptures of being overwhelmed by the love of God, which floods the heart like a rising sea or burns in it like a blazing fire. It winds up with the well-known apophthegm "The heart of the believer is the abode of the Lord" (*qalb al-mu'min bait Allāh*).

The heart has to be serene like a bright glass bowl which shows its contents but is invisible itself.

No 23. WASIYAT SUSUHUNAN BONAĦ.

Metre: Kulante, 21 strophes.

Notwithstanding God's immanence in the universe He escapes our observation just as the presence of cream in milk is imperceptible to the eye.³² Breath constitutes the tie between man and life (*tatalinġn urip*); whosoever gives up breath, dies. Real life, however, is the return to the One and Only Being which is not subject to decease and death.

No 25. GITA SULUK SĦ AEWUH.

Metre: Raġeh, 24 strophes.

The first strophes of this suluk offer a good example of the rhetorical figure called *purwakanġi basa* or *wiwilġtan* in Javanese and restricted *yamaka* in Sanskrit ars poetica, viz. the repetition of the last word(s) of a line or a synonym of it at the beginning of the next line.

*Sġ aewuh nora kaya ġn lumaku
ġn atapa depun amrih kasidane
kasidane nora pati ti(ni)nali
yan tumġnal den kadulu sarirane
sarirane natanġn yan suksma kaot
sampurnane nora mulat ġn wawaneh
yan mulata ġn wawaneh yakti sasar
sasar aguġ apuware tibeġ papa
aġgurayan tan antuk jatġnġn lampah.*

Exert yourself to the utmost in austerities;
in ascetism strive after perfection,
(but) let not perfection be your only aim.

Looking for it you should look upon yourself
you yourself are a manifestation of the Lord supreme
the best is not to look upon anything else.

³² Cf. Zoetmulder, thesis p. 221: (*saġ pġrmana ġn sarira*) *upamaneki, kaġ meġnak muġgeġ puwan*. Professor Zoetmulder has erroneously translated *meġnak* by 'curds'.

Looking upon anything else you will go astray
 terribly astray you will end in failure
 groping about you will miss the real aim of your austerities.

True insight is only attainable by following the instructions of a spiritual guide. Then one will learn to discern the voidness of all oppositions. Life and death, wisdom and stupidity, wealth and poverty, good and evil, they are all one when seen as manifestations of God's will, just as in a *wayan*-play the duality of puppet and puppet-master is unreal, since it is the *dalan* who presides over the whole performance.

Once one has acquired this insight the meeting with Him who makes everything move becomes the highest aim in life. The duality of "bird" and "cage" is to be dissolved, for otherwise one has not yet passed the stage of *shirk* (polytheism).

No 38. GITA SULUK JĒBĒŃ.

Metre: Dandaṅgula, 22 strophes.

A Suluk Jĕbĕŋ is also contained (No 19) in Ms. Bat. Gen. No 383 (= Cod. or. Leiden No 8592) and in Cod. or. Leiden 1796 and 3945,³³ but in comparison with our text these copies show many divergencies. Not only do they often have different wordings but also the order of the strophes is not the same. Str. 6, 17 and 22 of Ms. Bat. Gen. No 383 (19) are lacking in the Cĕrbon Ms.; on the other hand the latter has one strophe (20) which is lacking in the other Mss.. The order of the strophes is as follows: Ms. Cĕrbon str. 1-19 = Ms. Bat. Gen. str. 1-5, 10-16, 18-21, 7-9; Ms. Cĕrbon str. 21, 22 = Ms. Bat. Gen. 23, 24.

Cod. or. Leiden 3945 (5) is the Ms. described by Brandes in his catalogue of the Mss. belonging to the bequest of Dr. Van der Tuuk.³⁴ Brandes printed the first and the last six strophes of this version (in Balinese characters). None of the initial strophes bears any likeness to the other versions mentioned above. The concluding strophes correspond to a certain extent with Ms. Cĕrbon str. 18, 19, 17, 10, 9, 6 and Ms. Bat. Gen. str. 8, 9, 6/7, 14, 13, 10. As will be obvious from this haphazard order of the strophes, the contents of the poem show little coherence. It begins with the maxim, repeated again and again in the suluks, that in order to see God man should look upon himself, as man is God's substitute (*lĭlirone*, Arab. *khalīfa*), His counterpart (*kĕmbar*), almost like Him in view (*meh jumbuh dinulu*). The unity of man and

³³ Cf. *Indon. Handschriften* p. 167; Vreede, *Cat.* p. 316; Juynboll, *Suppl. cat.* p. 50.

³⁴ *Beschrijving ... nalatenschap Van der Tuuk* pt. 3, Batavia 1915, pp. 130-132.

God is like the unity of brick and clay, of echo and sound. They resemble each other like the *cěmpěḍak*- and the jack-tree (*nañka*)³⁵; like the *sukun*- and the *kaotan*-tree³⁶; like the flowers of the *kalak* and the *kěnaña*.³⁷ The manifestation of the *suksma* in the body may be compared to a fire which can only be observed as embers, light, heat and smoke. Likewise, the secret of the unity of God and man is difficult to understand. One does not become a past-master overnight but has to go slowly, just as an apprentice-*ḍalan* is not immediately allowed to operate beyond the first part of a performance (*lwir aringit amumucukū*).

The strophes of Cod. or. Leiden 1796 which correspond to str. 18, 19 of our text are quoted by Professor Zoetmulder (*thesis* pp. 398-399) in explanation of *Sěrat Cěntini* canto 155 str. 7-9, which form part of the tuition given by Ragayuni to Jayenrěsmi and Jayenraga in his hermitage on the summit of mount Kalěnlěnan. Although canto 155 of the S. Cěntini is in Pañkur and our text in Ḍaṇḍaṅgula, the wording of the strophes of the S. Cěntini is almost the same as that of our text, so that it seems a valid supposition that the author of the S. Cěntini was cognizant of the Suluk Jěbeñ. The strophes in question deal with the three degrees of *sěmbahyañ* (*salat tunḍa tiga*). The *salat* is comparable to a mountain stream which flows to the sea. Many people halt at the mouth of the river, but the real *salat* is performed in the deep sea, whither only a few venture to proceed. All motions of the body carried out when performing the *salat* are as (useless as) stirring the water in a *dandañ* (cooking pot for rice). (?)

NO 39. GITA SULUK KAÑ WASIYAT SUSUHUNAN BONAñ.

Metre: Ḍaṇḍaṅgula, 17 strophes.

One's life should not be taken up entirely by eating and sleeping. Neither should outward appearance of religiosity be the object of one's first consideration. Even the austerities practised by anchorites in forests and caves are useless when these ascetics are ignorant of the

³⁵ Owing to the great resemblance these trees bear to one another, these names are not always clearly distinguished; *vide* De Clercq-Greshoff, *Nieuw Plantkundig Wdbk. voor Ned.-Indië*, Amsterdam 1909, p. 176. *Cěmpěḍak* is *Artocarpus Champeden*; *nañka* is *Artocarpus integra*. For descriptions and pictures see J. J. Ochse, *Indische Groenten*, Balai Poestaka 1931, pp. 485-487; 489-491.

³⁶ *Sukun* is the seedless variety of the breadfruit-tree (*Artocarpus communis*); the variety with seeds is called *kěluwih*; *vide* Ochse, *op. cit.* pp. 487-489. *Kaotan* is synonymous with *kěluwih*, as *kaot* = superior = *luwih*.

³⁷ According to Gericke-Roorda, *Jav.-Ned. Handwdbk.*, *kalak* is the name of the wild *kěnaña*.

gist of the matter. Furthermore, when one confines oneself to what is found in books and pays attention only to the outside world while disregarding one's own self, one certainly is not on the right road.

For that which is found in books is only of a metaphorical character; its true meaning can only be understood by right tuition. This is not an easy matter; it is like making the points of thorns meet (Jav. *lwir anadu pucukin ri*). He who is ignorant of the object of his worship is as a blind man in a wood: he will certainly go astray, tread on thorns and eventually tumble into a ravine. The principal thing in religious life is to know the relation between God and man. A show of religiosity, so often a symptom of hypocrisy, is utterly reprehensible.

SULUK WRĚGUL.

Metre: *Dandaṅgula*, 37 strophes.

The last suluk I shall deal with here is the Suluk WrĚgul, Ms. Bat. Gen. No 383 (2), the contents of which were summarized by Dr. Poerbatjaraka in *Indon. Handschriften* (p. 166). The following analysis is somewhat more detailed.

A black monkey (*lutun*) jeers at an otter (*wrĚgul*), because this animal is always busy looking for food, as though God had not ordained the livelihood of every creature long before! Nay, He even provides for the worm inside a stone!³⁸ Apparently the otter was a wordly-minded animal, completely devoid of trust in God's providence!

³⁸ On the worm inside a stone or jewel, c.q. the serpent inside a rock, see H. T. Damsté, *Hikajat Kisah Oelat*, in this journal vol. 104 (1948), pp. 515-539; vol. 109 (1953), pp. 164-167; Dr P. Voorhoeve, *ibidem* vol. 113 (1957), p. 102.

It is evident that in the legend about Moses to which Ritter, *Das meer der seele*, p. 214, refers (which also occurs in the Malay version of the story of Ibrahim b. Adham and was found by Dr Voorhoeve in a Malay Ms. cod. or. Leiden 1625) as well as in the legend about Muḥammad and Abu Jahl of the Achehnese Hikayat Kisah Ulat, the well-known literary motive of the clairvoyance and acumen of the blind was utilised for the purpose of edification. In the mediaeval Italian story referred to by Dr Voorhoeve and in the Achehnese story inserted in Van Langen, *Handleiding Atj. taal* pp. 109-113, the original motive of the *baṣīra* by which the blind are indemnified for their loss of eyesight, is still the only one. But in the legends about Moses and Muḥammad what is of primary importance is not the fact that by their prophetic clear-sightedness these men discover animal life in a stone, but rather the miraculous providence of God by which the enclosed animals acquired what was due to them, irrespective of their abode. The Hikayat Kisah Ulat, in which the part of the blind man has fallen to Muḥammad, still shows both aspects: Muḥammad's acute discernment prevents Abu Jahl from purchasing a worthless jewel, but the worm that came to light from the smashed stone proclaims Allāh's greatness and Muḥammad's pre-eminent position as well as the providence of the Lord who all the 3300 years of its stay in the stone never forgot to feed it.

The otter puts him in his place by observing that a show of religiosity and trustfulness is often deceptive, and that even behind self-mortification gross egoism may be lurking, as was the case with the treacherous heron which actually was preying on the fishes in the marsh.³⁹ For, observing the actions of *panditas*, *jaksas*, *dukuns*, and *gurus*, one could not fail to notice that all of these tried to get ample remuneration for their services.

Indignant at the insult offered to these honourable persons the monkey calls in the assistance of his fellow-monkeys in order to punish the otter for its impertinence. They cannot, however, get hold of the otter, as it plunges into the water and escapes. The monkeys can only retire to the forest.

A cuckoo (*tuhu*) seated on a tree has seen all that happened. It addresses the otter and relates how all its life it has tried to live according to God's will. Nevertheless, it was not satisfied, as it was constantly harassed by the fear of having found no favour in the eyes of the Lord. Therefore, it applied to the otter for instruction.

The otter begins its tuition by saying that it was fundamental to know the object of one's worship. Following the example of Arjuna one should concentrate one's attention on the essential without being disturbed by temptation or visitation.⁴⁰ Supreme worship was to keep one's eyes fixed upon the object of worship and to see Him as the *ḍalan* who presides over all that happens on the stage of the world. Then one could not refrain from desiring to revert to the state of not-being (*lagine duk nora*).

Now a light dawned upon the cuckoo, "as when one lights a taper" and he was continually mindful of his teacher's words. The otter further exhorts him to remember always that he was created and that his situation was comparable to that of the various letters, which in the ink-well were still one.⁴¹

In the meantime evening has begun and a *wayan*-performance is organised. The attention of the cuckoo is arrested only by the *ḍalan* and his skilled handling of the puppets, not by the motions of these.

³⁹ Reference to the well-known Indian tale of the treacherous heron; cf. this journal vol. 122 (1966), p. 342 note 19.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Arjunawiwaha* ed. by Dr. Poerbatjaraka in this journal vol. 82 (1926), pp. 198, 199 (canto IV).

⁴¹ This comparison occurs i.a. in the Javanese adaptation of Muḥ. b. Faḍlullāh al-Burhānpūrī's *Tuhfa*. Cf. Zoetmulder, thesis p. 110, str. 23 (taken from cod. or. Leiden 1795) and A. H. Johns, *The Gift addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet*, Canberra 1965, p. 44, str. 29.

KIDUŃ BONAŃ. (Cod. or. Leiden 7920)

Metre: Durma, 7 strophes.

The manuscript from which this KiduŃ was taken belongs to the Snouck Hurgronje-collection. It was acquired at Tasik Malaya, in the eastern part of the Preanger Regencies (W. Java).

<p>1. Ana kiduŃ kiduŃe PaŃeran
ara namun na sakit [BonaŃ
tėkane siŃ sabraŃ
rupane araŃ abaŃ
kapunah iŃ rasul muji
paŃakit ilaŃ
kari waluya jati</p>	<p>1. There is an incantation by our Lord of
Should a plague rage [BonaŃ
coming from overseas
and looking like a red-hot coal,
it will be destroyed by prayer of the Apostle;
illness will vanish;
one will again be safe and sound.</p>
<p>2. kapayuŃan iŃ luhur ńaras
aŃirnakėŃ paksi [bale baŃ
kaŃ tėka miŃ sabraŃ
walaŃ lėlėmbiŃ kuŃkaŃ
tikus celen uti-uti
lolođoh walaŃ
sakeŃ ama sumiŃkir</p>	<p>2. Sheltered on high by the Throne and the red
he destroys the birds [pavilion,
that come from overseas,
the locusts, bugs and frogs,
the mice, boars and worms,
root-rot and crickets;
all insects and pests will withdraw.</p>
<p>3. Pagėr wetan Jabrail nulak
sakehe iŃkaŃ maŃđi [baruwaŃ
leleŃek tutukaŃ
rujėk wėwėrjiŃ miŃmaŃ ⁴²
kapunah iŃ puji tasbik
bruwaŃ aiyaŃ
pađa adoh tan wani</p>	<p>3. At the eastern fence Jabrail averts bears
and all dangerous animals,
..... and sloths.
Worms that make your head reel are crushed,
destroyed by prayer and praise of the Lord.
Fearful bears
keep at a distance, cowardly.</p>
<p>4. Pagėr kidul Mikail anulak
iŃ lara sakėti [biŃbaŃ
sėŃkėl windu bėŃaŃ
mėmėsus ubaŃ-ubaŃ
lara roga pađa ńalik
ėŃėk apulaŃ
iŃ gėnahira lami</p>	<p>4. At the southern fence Mikail averts the
of innumerable diseases, [the sorrow
troubles,, syphilis
and twirling around (dizziness).
Disease and illness fall back,
sickness retreats
to its former place.</p>
<p>5. Pagėr kulon Nijrail anulak
guna tragńiana wėri [saŃyaŃ
tėluh kuŃaŃ-kuŃaŃ
đeşti lan japa mantra
suwaŃgi mula kabalik
maŃiŃ guriyaŃ-
ira iŃ biru tasik</p>	<p>5. At the western fence Izrail averts the spirits
and the magic spells cast by evil people,
witchcraft and wicked spirits,
charms and incantations,
..... that is why they are driven back
to their abode(?)
in the blue sea.</p>
<p>6. Pagėr lor Israpil nulak kala
iŃ kala Kalasėkti [ńađaŃ
pėjuh wuruŃ kama
lalis lan kamamaŃ gėrah
oyod miŃmaŃ tali rawi
ambintaŃ kala
tėluh alas sumiŃkir</p>	<p>6. At the northern fence Israfil averts death,
waiting for the evil spirit Kalasėkti.
Impotence
passes away and the fiery <i>kamamaŃ</i>,
stumbling-roots and drooping lianes;
malevolent ghosts move on
and the spirits of the forest withdraw.</p>

7. Lelemek ěsor walunġunaniġ 7. Spread under me the cast-off skin of
 naga paměluk bumi [saġyaġ the serpent that encircles the earth
 anulak muriyaġ⁴³ averts fever.
 mudidi(ġ)⁴⁴ pada wěġkaġ All chills vanish.
 apikukuh lěmbu kuniġ My support is the yellow bull
 kaġ anġuġulaġ⁴⁵ that thrusts its head into
 bale ġaras tumawiġ.⁴⁶ the pavilion of the Throne on high.

July 1967.

G. W. J. DREWES

⁴² *minmaġ* = to cause giddiness. *Oyod minmaġ* (str. 6) is a root which causes giddiness when one steps over it (and so makes one stumble).

⁴³ = *mriyaġ*.

⁴⁴ = *mběġidiġ*.

⁴⁵ ? Perhaps *anġoġosaġ* is meant.

⁴⁶ *Metri causa* for *tumawaġ*. The yellow bull whose head reaches into the sky makes one think of the *sapi gumaraġ*, a mythical being which in the *wayaġ* is the mount of Baġara Guru and is also mentioned in myths about the origin of the rice and in texts on augury; and of Lěmbu Amiluhur, a mythical ancestor, mentioned in Eastern Javanese Paġji-stories. *Vide*: Pigeaud, *Jav. Volksvertoningen* § 392; *Feestbundel Kon. Batav. Gen. 1778-1928*, II: 280, 284; Hidding, *Nġi Pohatġi Sangġang Sri*, thesis Leiden 1929, ch. 1.

ANNEX I

*On the metres Wirairon, Raŋgeh and Kulante.*1. *Wirairon*.

In Harjawiraga's *Paṭokan*⁴⁷ the scheme of this metre is given as follows: 8 i, 8 o, 10 u, 6 i, 7 a, 8 a, but according to Van der Tuuk⁴⁸ it is: 8 i, 8 o, 6 a, 10 i, 7 a, 8 a, and according to the *Sĕrat Cĕntini*, canto 48 str. 199: 8 i, 8 o, 6 a, 4 u, 6 i, 7 a, 8 a.

From these statements one may infer that the first and the last two lines are constant, whereas there is uncertainty concerning the 16 syllables between them:

Paṭokan: 10 u, 6 i;

Van der Tuuk: 6 a, 10 i;

S. Cĕntini: 6 a, 4 u, 6 i.

This explains why the vowel of the 10th syllable of this group (in the ancient Cĕrbon Ms. the final vowel of the 3^d line) is not always the same; besides u one finds also a, ĕ, i and e.

2. *Raŋgeh*.

The usual name of this metre seems to be *raŋsaŋ*; see, for instance, *Indon. Handschriften* p. 165 ad Ms. Bat. Gen. No 194 (4). A metre of this name is also mentioned in Winter's *Jav. Zamen spraken* I: 324, No 13 of the *tĕŋahan* metres, but it is questionable whether the same metre is meant or perhaps the (*kuswa*) *raŋsaŋ*, which according to the *Sĕrat Cĕntini*, canto 48 str. 201, 202 has the following scheme: 6 u, 6 a, 6 a, 8 u, 8 u, 8 i, 7 i, 8 u.

In our Ms. the *raŋgeh* consists of three lines of 12 syllables each, with a variable final vowel. Sometimes the final vowel is a in all of the three lines, as is the case in the 3rd strophe quoted here. Then it does not differ from the *lonṭaŋ* mentioned by Winter as No 4 of the *tĕŋahan* metres, as the *lonṭaŋ* consists of 3 lines of 12 syllables each, with a as final vowel.

In this connection it may be remarked that the Suluk Kakaŋ Duḍa (Ms. Bat. Gen. No 194) is listed as written in *raŋsaŋ*, whereas the same suluk in Ms. Bat. Gen. No 401 is said to be written in *lonṭaŋ*; in Ms. Bat. Gen. No 383 (4) in *ladraŋ*,⁴⁹ and in our Cĕrbon Ms. (27) in *raŋgeh*. All these names seem to denote the same metre, however.

3. *Kulante*.

The metres dealt with above are not *tĕŋahan* metres; they are, in fact, rare or ancient *macapat* metres which have, more or less, fallen into disuse.

The *kulante*, however, shows the variation of metre within one canto which according to Pigeaud⁵⁰ seems to be characteristic of XVIIth and XVIIIth century Javanese *macapat* poetry composed at the Balinese courts, but is hardly ever found in Javanese literature that originated in Java proper. It is, therefore, worthy of note that this peculiarity occurs in a Cĕrbon *suluk*.

⁴⁷ *Paṭokaniŋ nĕkarakĕn*, Balai Poestaka 1926, p. 15.

⁴⁸ *Kawi-Balin.-Ned. Wdbk.* s.v. kuswa III.

⁴⁹ *Indon. Handschriften*, pp. 163, 165, 166.

⁵⁰ See the paragraph on Javanese Macapat Prosody in his *Literature of Java* vol. I, Leiden, 1967, pp. 20-23.

The distribution of the two metres which alternate in the 21 strophes of the poem is as follows: 5 A, 1 B, 2 A, 2 B, 2 A, 2 B, 2 A, 2 B, 3 A. So we have a proöemium consisting of 5 strophes in the same metre (A), followed by one strophe in a different metre (B); then three times 2 A, 2 B, and finally 3 strophes in A.

The scheme of the first metre (A) offers no difficulties. It is: 6 e, 6 e, 8 a, 8 i, 8 u, 8 e, 8 i, 10 e.

With the second metre the situation is less clear. Many years ago Dr. Brandes⁵¹ remarked that with the so-called *těňahan* metres it is difficult to fix the exact number of the syllables in a line, because in the old Mss. which contain this kind of poetry the lines of a strophe are not separated by any punctuation mark. In the transcription of the ancient Cěrbon Ms. which I have at my disposal the lines are separated, but it is quite possible that this separation was made by the copyist. From the varying number of the syllables of the first four lines, however, one is inclined to infer that this separation, which may or may not be that of the original Ms., was clear to neither of the two copyists. What is clear is that the lines 1 and 2, as well as 3 and 4, taken together always number 12 syllables (6-6; 7-5; 5-7), and that the final vowel of the 12 syllables of lines 1 and 2 is always i, of lines 3 and 4 always a, whereas the final vowel of lines 1 and 3 is variable.

Obviously the beginning of a strophe originally consisted of two times twelve syllables which could be subdivided in various ways, just as the lines of a strophe in a *macapat* metre may be subdivided by the application of *pěđotan*. Afterwards, when the refinement of using two different metres within one canto had fallen into disuse and exact knowledge of these metres was lost, the *pěđotan* about the middle of these long lines could have been considered as dividing two lines, which would explain the varying length of these lines.

The remaining four lines do not offer any difficulties, so that the original scheme may have been: 12 i, 12 a, 8 a, 8 i, 10 e.

⁵¹ *Notulen Batav. Genootschap* vol. XXXVII (1899), p. XLIII.

ANNEX II

Suluk Wujil.

1. (beginning): Ndan warnaněn sira ta pun Wujil.
2. (first line of last strophe): mareneya yayi den-agělis.

Suluk Kalipah.

1. Kadya arka nělěhi pratiwi.
2. Ajar iku ta badane uwis garin.

Suluk Kadrěsan (No 5).

1. Kadrěsan isun aňawi.
2. Cumantaka milweň ħawi.

Suluk Regol (No 11).

1. Isun amimityamuji.
2. Cumantaka milweň ħawi.

Poem (No 33).

1. Lamyan ketuň raganiňwan saya mucuň.
2. Mapan ananiňwan pađa lawan suwuň.

Suluk Běntur (No 13).

1. Yen mati kalawan puji.
2. Dat mutlak mahasuci.

Suluk Pipirinan (No 15).

1. Ana paksa aňawruhi.
2. Asěmbahyan tan wriň wadi.

Suluk Latri (No 18).

1. In latri adan alingih.
2. Siňsapa rěkyanrasani.

Suluk Linluň (No 19).

1. Saya linluň deniň tan wriň wiști.
2. Aja geger deniň wuwus kaki.

Suluk (unnamed, No 20).

1. Aňuň maňu kapiraňu amon rasmi
2. Mapan wěnaň kawula tuňgal lan gusti.

Suluk (nameless, No 23).

1. Mađaň sira međen
2. Awasna maňke.

Suluk Siň aewuh (No 25).

1. Siň aewuh nora kaya in lumaku.
2. Ayun ħata jěneňe jati sampurna.

Suluk Jěbeň (No 38).

1. Amon braňti in raga priyatin.
2. Kaň woň maňkana akasap iki.

Suluk (nameless, No 39).

1. Paksa widĥa milwanutur kawi.
2. Wěkasiň murad inkaň awadi.

Suluk Wrěgul (Ms. Bat. Gen. No 383 (2) = Cod. or. Leiden No 8592).

1. Wragul yen kaetaň raga mami.
2. Saya ketaň yen isun mikiri.

Suluk wějaň sampurnaniň sěmbahyan tuwin sěmbah puji (Cod. or. Leiden No 7543 (9)).

- Z. 1. Asmarandana 16 str.
 1. Jěň Sunan Kali gěň kiňkin.
 2. Yen wus wruh sira sajati.
 Z. 2. Pucuň 19 str.
 1. Roh ilapi tēgěse jisim puniku.
 2. Marmanipun wus dadya satuňgal...(?)