Soebardi

Santri-religious elements as reflected in the Book of Tjentini

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SANTRI-RELIGIOUS ELEMENTS AS REFLECTED IN THE BOOK OF TJĚNTINI*

Introduction.

This article is intended as a preliminary examination of one aspect only of the so many exciting and interesting topics dealt with in the *Sĕrat Tjĕntĭni* (the Book of *Tjĕntĭni*), namely the role and teachings of Shaikh Among Raga, who is the most important of the four main characters in the book.

It should be mentioned firstly that the *Tjĕntĭni* material used for this article is based on the *Sĕrat Tjĕntĭni* published by the *Bataviaasch Genootschap* in four parts.¹ The story contained in this version is not complete, however. Therefore, for the purpose of this article use has also been made of Dr. Pigeaud's monograph, which contains a valuable summary not only of the contents of the published version of the *Tjĕntĭni*

* This article is based on a paper read at the 28th International Congress of Orientalists on January 12, 1971 in the Australian National University of Canberra, Australia.

I am very much indebted to Professor G. W. J. Drewes of the University of Leiden for reading and commenting on this article.

¹ The complete *Sĕrat Tjĕntĭni* consists of twelve volumes in manuscript form and contains 722 Cantos. Volumes I-IV (incl.) are known under the title *Sĕrat Tjabolang*, while volumes V-XII (incl.) have the title *Sĕrat Tjĕntĭni*. A part of the *Sĕrat Tjĕntĭni*, i.e. Volumes V-IX (incl.) was copied down in gold ink during the reign of Paku Buwana VII (1830-58 A.D.), and provided with a new Introductory Canto in *Ḑaḏaṅgula* metre consisting of 17 stanzas. In the introductory canto there occurred the chronogram: *Atata Rĕsi Amulang Djalma*, signifying the year 1775 A.J. (Anno Javanico) = 1846 A.D. With this new Introduction the five volume *Sĕrat Tjĕntĭni* formed a new whole and was then divided into eight volumes. It was presented as a gift from the court of Surakarta to the Leiden University Library. Thereafter the eight volume *Sĕrat Tjĕntĭni* was again copied down by the *Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* in Batavia and it was later published in Latin script by Ruygrok & Co. in 1912 in four parts with an introduction by R. M. A. Surjasuparta who later became Mangkunagara VII.

but also of the beginning and the continuation of the story, which are still unpublished.²

The published *Sĕrat Tjĕntĕni*, however, is not the original version. It is the result of rewriting, modification and extension carried out by a number of authors, presumably at the command of the Crown Prince of Surakarta, who later became Paku Buwana V (1820-3 A.D.). Each author was probably given the responsibility of writing on the topic with which he was most familiar.³ According to a Javanese tradition, there were three principal authors of the *Tjĕntĕni* book as published, namely: Kjahi Jasadipura II (the son of the first Pudjangga of Surakarta, R. Ng. Yasadipura I), Kjahi Ranggasutrasna, and Radĕn Ngabĕhi Sastradipura who changed his name to Ahmad Ilhar after a pilgrimage to Mecca.⁴

The original source of the *Sĕrat Tjĕntĕni* cannot be ascertained. It has been suggested that it stemmed either from the *Suluk Djatiswara* or from a mystic poem called *Suluk Tjĕntĕni*.⁵ In either case, there is no doubt that the *Sĕrat Tjĕntĕni* originally belonged to the *Suluk* literature. The kernel of the book is the elucidation and teaching of Javanese religious lore which aims at the attainment of 'The Perfection of Life' that is the union between Servant and the Lord. The elaboration and teaching of this esoteric knowledge take the form of a dialogue carried out between Shaikh Among Raga and the other three principal characters in the book.

With the presentation and teaching of Javanese secret knowledge as its core, the story is presented in the garb of the story of a wandering *santri* containing encyclopaedical passages dealing with such subjects as: topography, the arts, music, Javanese grammar, prosody, ethics,

² The summary is contained in the *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap (VBG)*, LXXII, A. C. Nix & Co., Bandung 1933.

³ See Poerbatjaraka, *Kepustakaan Djawa*, Penerbit Djambatan, 1952, pp. 178-9.

⁴ See Th. Pigeaud, *VBG*, LXXII, p. 2.

⁵ It is most likely that the published *Sĕrat Tjĕntĕni*, as it is also suggested by professor Poerbatjaraka, stemmed from the *Suluk Djatiswara*, because the theme of this story is very much similar to that of the *Sĕrat Tjĕntĕni*. The *Suluk Djatiswara* is older than the *Tjĕntĕni*. A version of the *Djatiswara* story contains the Javanese chronogram: *Djati Tunggal Swara Radja* signifying the year 1711 A.J., i.e. 1784 A.D. Thus it was written during the period of Paku Buwana III (1749-88 A.D.). See Poerbatjaraka, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-9. Cf. Th. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, Vol. I, p. 228. Dr. Pigeaud, however, made a suggestion that the kernel of the present *Tjĕntĕni* book was a mystic poem entitled: *Suluk Tjĕntĕni*. Further examination of this would be worthwhile. See Th. Pigeaud, *ibid.*, p. 229.

magic and eroticism.⁶ But what matters in this connection is that the present *Tjĕntĭni* book also includes an elaboration of religious elements derived from Islamic Law, Theology and Mysticism, and contains vivid and lively descriptions of Javanese customs and the Javanese way of life, especially with regard to the *pĕsantrĕn* community.

Shaikh Among Raga, as an Itinerant Shaikh.

Shaikh Among Raga, the most important of the four main characters of the present Book of *Tjĕntĭni*, is portrayed as a Javanese *sĕh* (*Shaikh*) descended from an aristocratic ruler of Giri, a cultural centre in the *Pasisir* (coastal) region of Java during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Shaikh Among Raga was forced to live as a wandering *santri*-master after losing all his relatives after the overthrow of his father's kingdom by Sultan Agung with the help of *Pangĕran Pĕkik* of Surabja. The journeyings of Shaikh Among Raga as a wandering *santri*-master described in the *Tjĕntĭni* may be divided into three parts: (1) his journey eastward from the village of Karang in Bantĕn, once a famous *pĕsantrĕn* centre in West Java, to the village of Wanamarta in East Java, where he met with a distinguished Javanese ascetic and religious scholar named Ki Baji Panurta⁷; (2) his stay at the great *pĕsantrĕn* of Wanamarta and study under Ki Baji Panurta, whose knowledge of religion he was later found to have surpassed, and whose beautiful daughter, Kĕn Tambang Raras, he was allowed to marry⁸; (3) his separation from his wife, Kĕn Tambang Raras, after having completed his task of imparting religious knowledge to her.⁹ In this last phase he continued his journey visiting various sacred places and caves in East Java and the southern part of Central Java where Javanese ascetics used to live in meditation. Finally he was charged with violating the *sharĭ'a* and propagating a heterodox mystical doctrine and sentenced to death by drowning in the Southern Ocean.

⁶ For topographical descriptions of East Java and South Central Java, see especially: *Tjĕntĭni* III-IV, pp. 133 ff.; V-VI, pp. 5-86. For descriptions of Javanese verse and prosody, see especially: *Tjĕntĭni* III-IV, pp. 13-19. For Javanese music and dances, see: Vol. VII-VIII, pp. 13-16. For descriptions of Javanese ethics, see Vol. VII-VIII, Canto 225. For eroticism, see Vol. I-II, Canto 4, pp. 10-22, Canto 43, pp. 237-41; Vol. V-VI, Cantos: 164, 166, 167, 168 and 170; Vol. VII-VIII, Canto 204.

⁷ See *Tjĕntĭni* I-II, pp. 37-101.

⁸ For detailed descriptions of the Islamic ceremony of the marriage of Shaikh Among Raga with Tambang Raras, see *Tjĕntĭni* I-II, pp. 177-80.

⁹ See *Tjĕntĭni* III-IV, pp. 135 ff.

The journey in search of religious knowledge, which serves as a framework for the story of the *Tjĕntĕni*, was probably one of the most important features of early Islamic education in Java. The tradition of travelling for study, however, was already in existence during the pre-Islamic period, as is evident from pre-Islamic Javanese literature such as the *Wargasari* poem and the *Pararaton*.¹⁰ After the introduction of Islam into Java, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Javanese tradition of travelling for study continued to flourish, but in a different form caused by the emergence of a new class of Muslim scholars and divines spread all over Java, particularly in the north coastal region. Wandering *santris* went from one *pĕsantrĕn* to another in search of knowledge from a more celebrated master. That this tradition flourished was perhaps the result of cross-cultural fertilization with the Islamic tradition in which 'travel for study' was a principal feature of the classical educational system and contributed much to the unity of Islam.¹¹

This, then, is the background for the following discussion of the role of Shaikh Among Raga and his teachings, particularly those which concern Islamic elements of Javanese religious attitudes of life.

Shaikh Among Raga as Defender of the Shari'ah.

In the first and second stages of Shaikh Among Raga's journey the author (or authors) of the *Tjĕntĕni* placed a great deal of emphasis on the spiritual qualities of Shaikh Among Raga as a *shaikh*. His knowledge of the Islamic religion was described as much superior to that of Baji Panurta, Tambang Raras, or Djajĕngraga, who were all religious masters and highly respected by the *santri* community in the village of Wanamarta.¹²

Shaikh Among Raga was portrayed first of all as a religious scholar who was obedient and sincere in carrying out his religious duties as

¹⁰ See Th. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, Vol. I, p. 227.

¹¹ For an interesting discussion of the role of 'Travel for Study' in Muslim education, see Ahmad Shalaby, *History of Muslim Education*, Beirut: Dār al-Kashshāf, 1954, pp. 181 ff. Here Shalaby quotes the Prophet's Traditions: 'Obtaining knowledge will not be possible with bodily ease' and 'whoever sets out seeking knowledge will be walking in the path of God until he returns and whoever dies while travelling for learning will be regarded as a martyr.' Cf. Nancy Snider, *Mosque Education in Afghanistan*, *Muslim World*, Vol. LVIII, No. 1, 1968, p. 26.

¹² See *Tjĕntĕni* I-II, Canto 36, Stanzas: 43, 44 and 45.

required by Islamic law. In Wanamarta he was admired by the whole *santri* community because of his skill at performing prayer, at reciting the Holy Book and the Tradition of the Prophet, and because he had the bearing of a wise *imam*. Not only was he portrayed as a religious teacher who devoutly performed the five obligatory daily prayers, but also as an outstanding example to the *santris* for his observance of *sunnah* prayers and *dhikr*.¹³

At the same time he is depicted as a man who possessed a deep and extensive knowledge of Islamic teachings relating to the three principal sciences of Islam, namely: *Fikḥ* (Islamic Jurisprudence), *Uṣūl* (Islamic Theology), and *Taṣawwuf* (Mysticism).

In his discussion of religious matters with Ki Baji Panurta and his teachings to his wife Tambang Raras, Shaikh Among Raga touched upon subjects pertaining to all the sciences mentioned above. The presentation of each of these topics, however, was carried out in a very simple and unsystematic manner.

In his elucidation of religious teachings to Tambang Raras and her servant *Tjēntini*, Shaikh Among Raga referred several times to well-known text-books of Islamic Law, e.g., *Mukarar*, *Sudjak*, *Kitab Ibnu Kajar*, *Ilah*, *Sukbah*, and *Kitab Sittin*.

The book of *Mukarar*¹⁴ known in Ar. as: *al-Muḥarrar* ('The Carefully Edited Book'), is a *Fikḥ*-book widely used by the Shāfi'ites which was written by Abū 'l-Kāsim 'Abd-al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Rāfi'ī (d. 1226 A.D.). A converted adaptation of this book was made by Abū Zakaryā Yahyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawī (d. 1278 A.D.), and it is entitled: *Minhādj al-Ṭālibīn* ('Students' Guide'). This authoritative Shāfi'ite *Fikḥ*-book is known in Java as *Kitab Nawawi*.¹⁵

The *Sudjak*¹⁶ is also a *Fikḥ*-book, and is named after its author Kādī Abū Shudjā', the nickname of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Isfahānī (d. after 1196 A.D.). The Ar. title of the book is *al-Mukhtaṣar fī'l-Fikḥ 'alā Madhhab al-Imām al-Shāfi'ī* ('Compendium

¹³ See *Tjēntini* III-IV, pp. 102-3.

¹⁴ See *Tjēntini* III-IV, p. 117, stanza 196.

¹⁵ See C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur (GAL)*, I, p. 496. For an extensive and critical review of the *Minhādj al-Ṭālibīn* edited by L. W. C. Van den Berg, see Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften VI*, pp. 3-18. Cf. Th. W. Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche wet*, Leiden, 1930, p. 31, p. 374, and P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts (VHAM)*, 1957, p. 225.

¹⁶ See *Tjēntini* III-IV, p. 117, stanza 196.

of *Fikḥ*, according to the Shāfiʿī School of Law'), also known as *al-Takrīb fi'l-Fikḥ* ('The book of access to the Fikḥ').¹⁷

The *Kitab Ibnu Kadjar*¹⁸ mentioned here is the work of Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haiṭamī (d. 1565 A.D.), the Arabic title of which is *Tuḥfat al-Muhtādj* ('The Gift to the Needy'), and in Javanese it is also known as *Kitab Tuhpah*. It is one of the most authoritative commentaries on the *Kitab Nawawī*.¹⁹

The *Ilah*²⁰ is the corrupt Javanese title of the *Īdāḥ fi'l-Fikḥ* ('Elucidation of the Fikḥ') which, according to Voorhoeve, is an abridgement of a work called *al-Tabṣira fi'l-Fikḥ* ('The Enlightenment on Fikḥ'). Its author is not known. An incomplete copy of the *Īdāḥ* was one of the manuscripts which were brought to the Netherlands from Indonesia as curios at the end of the sixteenth century. The manuscript was owned by Jan Theunisz (c. 1610) and is now in the possession of the University of Amsterdam.²¹

The *Sukbah*²² is perhaps the same work as the Arabic *al-Shuhabāt fi'l-Mawāʿiz wa'l-ādāb min Ḥadīth Rasūl Allāh* ('Elaboration on Spiritual Counsel and Rules of Conduct from the Tradition of Allāh's Prophet'). The author of this work is Abū ʿAbd 'Allāh Muḥammad b. Salāma al-Ḳudāʾī (d. 1062).²³

As for the *Kitab Sittin*,²⁴ it is the same as the Ar. *al-Sittūn Masʾala fi'l-Fikḥ* ('Sixty Questions on Fikḥ'), written by Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zahīd al-Miṣrī (d. 1416 A.D.). It deals with the basic principles of the Creed, the pillars of Islam, and ritual purification.²⁵

In relation to Scholastic Theology (*ʿIlm al-Kalām*), Shaikh Among Raga mentions the following works: the *Sēmarakandī*, *Kitab Durat*, *Talmisan*, *Asanusi*, *Patakul Mubin*, *Bayan Tasdik*, *Sail* and *Djuahiru*.

¹⁷ See C. Brockelmann, *GAL*, Sup. I, p. 676. Cf. L. W. C. Van den Berg, *Het Mohammedaansche Godsdienstonderwijs op Java en Madoera en de daarbij gebruikte Arabische boeken*, *Tijdschrift Bataviaasch Genootschap (TBG)*, XXXI (1887), p. 531, and *VHAM*, p. 368.

¹⁸ See *Tjēntini* I-II, p. 204.

¹⁹ See C. Brockelmann, *GAL*, Sup. I, p. 680. See also Van den Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 532, and Th. W. Juynboll, *Handleiding*, 1930, p. 31.

²⁰ See *Tjēntini* III-IV, p. 117, stanza 196.

²¹ See *VHAM*, pp. 121-2. Cf. G. W. J. Drewes, *The Admonitions of Seh Bari*, *Bibliotheca Indonesica* 4, The Hague, 1969, pp. 1-2.

²² See *Tjēntini* III-IV, p. 117, stanza 196.

²³ See *VHAM*, p. 336.

²⁴ See *Tjēntini* III-IV, p. 117, stanza 196.

²⁵ See *VHAM*, p. 342. Also Van den Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 528, which contains a summary of the content of the *Kitab Sittin*.

The *Səmarakandī*²⁶ is the name of a work given after its author: Abū'l Laith Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm al-Samarḳandī (d. 983 A.D.). It is a Catechism on the six principles of Islamic faith and has been one of the most popular religious textbooks in Java since the introduction of Islam. The title of this work, however, is not known with certainty.²⁷ This is probably the work of al-Samarḳandī entitled *Bayān 'Aḳīdat al-Uṣūl* ('Explanation of the Principles of Theology'),²⁸ and is probably the one referred to by Mahmud Junus as the *Usul 6 Bis* ('The Six Pillars with *Bismillāhi 'r-rahmāni 'r-rahīm*').²⁹

The *Kitab Durat*³⁰ is the same as the Ar. *al-Durra* ('The Pearl'), which is also known as *Umm al-Barāhīn* ('The Mother of Proofs'). It is a handbook on Islamic theology which has been widely used for instruction in Javanese *pēsantrens*. The author is Abū 'Abd 'Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī al-Ḥasanī (d. 1486 A.D.). It is also known as *'Aḳā'id al-Sanūsī*.³¹

The *Kitab Talmisan*,³² also known in Java as *Kitab Tilmisani*, is a commentary written by 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm al-Tilimsānī (d. 1591 A.D.), on al-Sanūsī's *al-Durra*.³³ Another commentary on the *al-Durra* which may be mentioned in this context is the *Kitab Mopid*, in Ar. known as *al-Mufīd* ('The Useful Book'), written by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sulaimān al-Djazūlī (d. 1465 A.D.).³⁴

²⁶ See *Tjēntjini* III-IV, p. 117, stanza 196.

²⁷ The *Səmarakandī* has been published with translation and notes in Dutch by A. W. T. Juynboll in *Bijdragen Kon. Instituut (BKI)* 4, Vol. V (1881), pp. 215-31, pp. 267-84. See also Van den Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 537.

²⁸ See C. Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, p. 211; Sup. I, p. 348.

²⁹ See Mahmud Junus, *Sedjarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia*, Pustaka Mah-mudia, Djakarta, 1960, p. 192.

³⁰ See *Tjēntjini* I-II, p. 233, stanza 85.

³¹ The *Umm al-Barāhīn* is also known as *'Aḳīdat ahl al-Tauḥīd al-Ṣuḡhrā*. See C. Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, p. 323; Sup. II, p. 353. Cf. L. W. C. Van den Berg, *De Mohammedaansche Geestelijkheid en de Geestelijke Goederen op Java en Madoera*, *TBG*, XXVII (1882), p. 25. For descriptions of various Ar. Mss. of this work and its Commentaries, see *VHAM*, pp. 387-8. For an outline of the content of the *Umm al-Barāhīn*, see Van den Berg, *Het Mohammedaansche Godsdienstonderwijs*, *TBG*, XXXI (1887), pp. 539-41. The well-known textbook on Islamic theology in Malay entitled *Kitab Sīfat Dua-puluh* ('The Book on the Twenty Attributes') is based on al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-Barāhīn*. The Malay work was written by Sayid 'Uthmān b. 'Abd Allāh 'Aḳīl b. Yaḥyā, a celebrated *ulama* of Djakarta who died in 1914 A.D.

³² See *Tjēntjini* I-II, p. 233, stanza 85.

³³ See C. Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, p. 324. Cf. Van den Berg, 'Het Mohammedaansche Godsdienstonderwijs', *TBG*, XXXI (1887), p. 541, and *VHAM*, p. 387.

³⁴ See Van den Berg, *op. cit.*, pp. 542 ff.

As for the *Kitab Asanusi*,³⁵ it is the commentary written by al-Sanūsī himself on his al-Durra. The Ar. title of this commentary is *Tauḥīd ahl al-ʿirfān*.³⁶

The *Kitab Patakul Mubin*³⁷ is the same as the Arabic *Faṭḥ al-Mubīn* ('The Victory beyond Doubt'), which is a gloss on al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-Barāhīn*. According to Voorhoeve this commentary is anonymous.³⁸ Van den Berg, however, says that the author is Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Bādjurī, the *Shaikh al-Islām* of Cairo (d. 1276 A.H. = 1860 A.D.).³⁹

The *Bayan Tasdik*⁴⁰ is a work dealing with the fundamental tenets of the Islamic faith. The Ar. title of this anonymous work is *Bayān al-Taṣḍīq* ('Explanation of the Attestation').⁴¹

The *Sail*⁴² is the Javanese name of the Ar. catechism on Islamic theology entitled *Masā'il* ('Problems') written by Abū 'l-Laith al-Samarḳandī. This work is also known as *Bayān ʿAḳīdat al-Uṣūl* as mentioned above.⁴³

As for the *Djuahiru*,⁴⁴ it is difficult to identify its Ar. equivalent. Since this work is mentioned in the *Tjēntini* together with commentaries on the *Umm al-Barāhīn*, it is suggested here that it should be identified with a commentary on the *Umm al-Barāhīn*, entitled *al-Djawāhir al-Saniyya fī sharḥ al-Sanūsīyya* ('The Sparkling Jewels, being a Commentary of the Book of al-Sanūsī'), written by ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣughayyir Suwaidān (d. 1785 A.D.).⁴⁵

Apart from works related to *Fikḥ* and *al-Kalām*, authoritative com-

³⁵ See *Tjēntini* I-II, p. 233, stanza 85.

³⁶ See C. Brockelmann, *GAL*, Sup. II, p. 353. Cf. Van den Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 541.

³⁷ See *Tjēntini* I-II, p. 233, stanza 85.

³⁸ See *VHAM*, p. 388. Kraemer identifies *Faṭḥ al-Mubīn* with al-Rānirī's work entitled *Faṭḥ al-Mubīn ʿalā al-Mulḥidīna* ('The Victory beyond doubt over the Unbelievers'). See H. Kraemer, *Een Javaansche Primbon uit de Zestiende Eeuw*, Leiden, 1921, pp. 64-5. Kraemer's identification is too far-fetched, in my view, since al-Rānirī deals with the struggle against heterodox mysticism in Aceh, and it has no connection with the *Kitab Sanusi* and other *Fikḥ* books referred to in the *Tjēntini*.

³⁹ See Van den Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 544. According to Brockelmann, the author of the *Faṭḥ al-Mubīn* is ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Ibrāhīm al-Tilimsānī al-Mallālī (d. 1591 A.D.). See C. Brockelmann, *GAL*, Sup. II, p. 354.

⁴⁰ See *Tjēntini* III-IV, p. 117, stanza 196.

⁴¹ See *VHAM*, p. 48.

⁴² See *Tjēntini* III-IV, p. 117, stanza 196.

⁴³ See C. Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, p. 211; Sup. I, p. 348. Cf. *VHAM*, p. 44 and p. 198.

⁴⁴ See *Tjēntini* I-II, p. 233, stanza 73.

⁴⁵ See *VHAM*, p. 388.

mentaries on the *Kur'ān*, such as the *Tēpsir Baelaawi*⁴⁶ and the *Tēpsir Djalalēn*⁴⁷ are frequently mentioned in the *Tjēntini*. The *Tēpsir Baelaawi* is the work of the well known Shāfi'ite scholar: 'Abd 'Allāh b. 'Umar al-Baiḍāwī (d. 1286 A.D.).⁴⁸ The Ar. title of this exegesis is *Anwār al-Tanzīl wa Asrār al-Ta'wīl* ('The Lights of Revelation and the Secrets of Interpretation'). This *Tafsīr* has been, and still is, regarded by the Sunnite Muslims as the most authoritative *Kur'ān* exegesis. It is still widely used as a textbook in Islamic educational institutions all over Indonesia today.

The *Tēpsir Djalalēn* is in Ar. known as *Tafsīr al-Djalālāini* ('Commentary of the Two Djalāl's'), Djalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 1459 A.D.) and Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyutī (d. 1505 A.D.). This commentary is very concise and has been the most popular *tafsīr* in the *pēsantrens* of Java and Madura up to the present day.⁴⁹

Three important books on sufism mentioned in the *Tjēntini* are the *Hulumodīn*,⁵⁰ the *Adkia*⁵¹ and the *Kitab Insan Kamil*.⁵² The *Hulumodīn* is the corrupt Javanese title of the magnum opus of al-Ghazālī (d. 1111 A.D.), the *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* ('The Revival of the Religious Sciences').⁵³ The *Ihyā'* was already known as a reference work in a Javanese *Primbon* of sixteenth century Java.⁵⁴ Al-Ghazālī's teaching, particularly that which concerns Ethics propounded in his Third and Fourth Quarter of the *Ihyā'*, has been widely studied in the *pēsantrens*, and perhaps it was through the *pēsantrens* that al-Ghazālī's ethical teaching found its way into Javanese literature.⁵⁵ The importance of the ethical teachings of al-Ghazālī in Java is demonstrated by the existence of a Javanese-language abridgement of the Third

⁴⁶ See *Tjēntini* I-II, p. 99, stanza 10.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 99, stanza 10.

⁴⁸ Dr. Voorhoeve hesitatingly refers to the year of al-Baiḍāwī's death as: 1316 A.D. See *VHAM*, p. 16. Th. W. Juynboll, however, puts it in 1286 A.D. See Th. W. Juynboll, *Handleiding*, p. 361; Cf. M. Watt, *Islamic Philosophy*, p. 153.

⁴⁹ See Th. W. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 9, and Van den Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 554.

⁵⁰ See *Tjēntini* I-II, p. 233, stanza 73.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 233, stanza 73.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 233, stanza 78.

⁵³ For an analysis of *The Revival of the Religious Sciences*, see G. H. Bousquet, *Ihyā' 'Oulūm ed-Dīn ou Vivification des sciences de la foi*, Analyse et Index, Paris, 1955.

⁵⁴ See G. W. J. Drewes, *Een Javaanse Primbon*, pp. 21, 47, 57.

⁵⁵ See H. Djajadiningrat, 'Islam in Indonesia', in: Kenneth W. Morgan (ed.), *Islam, the Straight Path*, New York, 1958, p. 397.

and the Fourth Quarter of the *Ihyā'*, known as *Sērat Mundjijāt*.⁵⁶

The *Adkia* is the same work as the Ar. *Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā' ilā Ṭarīq al-Auliyyā'* ('Intelligent People's Guide to the Path of the Saints'), which was written by Zain al-Dīn 'Alī al-Malaibārī (d. 1522 A.D.).⁵⁷

The *Kitab Insan Kamil* here is none other than the work of the famous 'Abd al-Karīm b. Ibrāhīm al-Djīlī (between 1406-1417 A.D.), the Ar. title of which is *al-Insān al-Kāmil fī ma'rifa al-Awākhir wa'l-Awā'il* ('The Man Perfect in Knowledge of the Last and First Things'). A copy of this work, with an interlinear translation in Javanese, was found in Bantēn (West Java).⁵⁸

It was necessary to identify each of the above listed works dealing with Islamic Law, Theology and Mysticism referred to in the Book of *Tjēntini* in order to show clearly that the titles of those works were not just the invention of the authors of the *Tjēntini*, but that each of them referred to a real work. It is interesting to note that copies of the above-mentioned Islamic works were found in Java and almost everyone of them contain notes or an interlinear translation in Javanese. A great number of the copies of these works were written on Javanese paper⁵⁹ (Jav. *dluwang gēndong*): There is strong reason to believe that those works were not only known, but had been widely studied in the *pēsantrens* by the time the *Tjēntini* was written in about the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The making of an interlinear translation of, and notes on, a religious textbook was an essential part of the curriculum of advanced religious instruction in the *pēsantrens*. It could only be carried out by advanced *santris* who had completed years of basic study in Qur'ān reading (*hidjā'iyah* and *tadjiwīd*), the Pillars of the Faith (*Rukun Iman*), ritual obligations (*'ibādah*), and in the study of the Arabic language.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ This abridgement was originally made by Kjahī Muhammad Salēh of Sēmarang in Javanese prose and written in Arabic script. In 1936 a kjahī named Hardjadarsana of Purwakerta edited this abridgement in modern Javanese verse and published it under the title: *Punika Sērat Mundjijāt. Inggih sērat pambirating wawatakan kita ingkang awon sadasa, ladjēng abusana wawatakan ingkang sae ugi sadasa*. No publisher is mentioned.

⁵⁷ See C. Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, p. 287. Van den Berg mentions the name of the *Adkia's* author as Zain al-Dīn al-Ma'barī, who died in ± 1508 A.D. See Van den Berg, *op. cit.*, pp. 551-2.

⁵⁸ See C. Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, p. 264; Sup. II, p. 283. See also *VHAM*, p. 130, and R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, C.U.P., 1967, p. 81.

⁵⁹ See all footnotes referring to *VHAM* above.

⁶⁰ For a brief discussion of the structure and content of traditional Islamic education in Indonesia, especially in West-Sumatra and Java before the year 1900, see: Mahmud Junus, *Sedjarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia*, pp. 28-44, pp. 195-200.

Thus the introduction of Islamic elements into the Book of *Tjëntini*, as described above, could be interpreted as an indication of the intention of its authors to stress the importance of the *sharīʿa* as prescribed by the Holy Book and the Tradition of the Prophet, for Shaikh Among Raga was presented as a religious teacher who highly valued the *sharīʿa*.

The *sharīʿa*, however, is only the first step on the path towards God for Shaikh Among Raga. In giving instruction to his wife, Kèn Tambang Raras, Shaikh Among Raga says that *sarèngat* (*sharīʿa*) together with *tarékat* (*ṭarīqa*), constitutes the vessel of everything (*wadah sakalir*), whereas *hakékat* (*ḥaḳīka*) and *makripat* (*maʿrifat*) are the *widji nugraha* ('Seed of Grace'). According to him, if the seed is not deposited in a good container, certainly the Grace will not prosper. He wishes man to be ever vigilant, calm, and not arrogant on account of his mystical knowledge. The *sharīʿa* must be adhered to firmly and never abandoned.⁶¹

Here we see a Javanese presentation of the essential interdependence of the four stages of orthodox mysticism in which the *sharīʿa* and *ṭarīqa* are compared to the container (*wadah*), and the *ḥaḳīka* and *maʿrifat* to the Seed of Grace (*widji nugraha*). The *wadah* and *widji* are inseparable, both must remain in harmony, one depends on the other. This harmony is indispensable in the search of the Perfect Life (*kasidan*). Shaikh Among Raga stresses repeatedly that, in order to achieve the Perfect Life and the Perfect Death, one should firmly hold to the principles of life (*ugěr-ugěring agěsang*), which consist of *sarèngat*, *tarékat*, *kakékat*, and *makripat*.⁶² The pinnacle of the knowledge of *sharīʿa*, according to Shaikh Among Raga, is the *niyya* (intention) to perform the *ʿibādah* (ritual obligations); the pinnacle of the knowledge of *ṭarīqa* is the achievement of absolute faith; the

⁶¹ *Sěrat Tjěntini* I-II, Canto 41 (p. 196),

Stanza 26: 'jwa pépéka kang djatmika ngělmi/ djatmikaning ělmu iku sarak/ ija sarèngat jěktiné/ lawan tarékatipun/ pan minangka wadah sěkalir./ Dėning ělmu hakékat/ lan makripatipun/ minangka widji nugraha/ widji jèn tan tumaněm wěwadah bějĳik/ bungĳik nugrahanira./

Stanza 27: Mulané jaji dèn-ngati-ati/ sarèngatira kudu sěntosa/ asarěh akěh pėdahé/ ajwa langar ing ngělmu/ jèn kaprětjět ambilahėni/ murungĳėn kasidan.// (transliteration is mine).

⁶² *Sěrat Tjěntini* III-IV, p. 83,

Stanza 8: 'ugěr-ugěring agěsang/ kang patitis maring ělmi/ sarèngat lawan tarékat/ kakékat makripat jaji/ kudu-kudu ngawruhi/ ngělmi sěkawan puniku./ Jėku sampurnanira/ ing pudji kělawan pati/ ngělmi papat pětėn pupusé kěwala./

pinnacle of the *ḥaḳīka* is the determination to know the manifestation (of God); and the pinnacle of the knowledge of *maʿrifā* is the necessity for gnosis and intoxication (of Union) without neglect.⁶³

The treatment of the four stages of the path towards the Perfect Life in the Book of *Tjēntini* is not, however, a new element in Javanese literature. In the Javanese *Primbon*⁶⁴ which dates from the sixteenth century, the problem of the three stages of mystical life already found an important place. In this *Primbon* we find a concise but systematic description of each of the three mystical stages; *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīka*, and *ḥaḳīka*, and of the manner in which each of these stages could be achieved successfully by referring to the *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* as a source of authority. It is firmly stated in the *Primbon* that 'people who say that the *sharīʿa* is different from *ḥaḳīka*, or that the exoteric knowledge (*ilmu dair*) is different from the esoteric knowledge (*ilmu batin*), are infidels'. The *sharīʿa* is regarded as the highest good for those who view from far away, whereas the *ḥaḳīka* is the highest good for those who view from close proximity. The passage further quotes a saying from the Tradition of the Prophet: 'The *sharīʿa* is my speech, the *ṭarīka* is my actions and the *ḥaḳīka* is the pinnacle of my actions'. The reason why the three concepts, *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīka* and *ḥaḳīka*, are compared with the three actions of the Prophet, is because the *sharīʿa* gives instruction about matters concerning the internal life (*batin*), and the *ḥaḳīka* about matters concerning the secret of the secret life (*batining batin*).⁶⁵

This passage from the sixteenth century *Primbon* has clearly shown the importance of the three stages in mystical life and the interdependent relationship between one stage and another. It is emphasized that one stage should not be regarded as different from another. It is also explained in this passage that the exoteric knowledge, that is the *sharīʿa*, should only be taught to exoteric people (*ahlul dair*), and the esoteric knowledge, which is the *ṭarīka* and the *ḥaḳīka*, should only be taught to esoteric people (*ahlul batin*). Indeed, if the esoteric knowledge is

⁶³ *Ibid.*, stanza 9: 'Pupusé ngèlmi sarèngat/ niat kudu anglakoni/ pupusé ngèlmu tarékat/ kudu kusus angjèktèni/ pupusing kakékati/ kudu têmèn sarta tuhu/ njatakèn kènjatahan/ pupusing makripat jaji/ kudu maklum sarta sukur tan pépéka.'// (transliteration is mine).

The word *maklum* in the last line is translated as 'gnosis', and *sukur* is translated as 'intoxication (of Union)' = Ar. *sukruʾl-djamʿ*.

⁶⁴ See G. W. J. Drewes, *Een Javaanse Primbon*, pp. 47-53.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 50 and p. 52.

taught to exoteric people, they will be unable to understand it because they are not suitable for it.⁶⁶

The spirit of the teaching concerning the three stages of mystical life as propounded in this *Primbon* is the same as that propagated by Shaikh Among Raga. Both teachings stress the interdependence of the four stages of the mystical path, and that each stage is essential to the other. In the *Primbon*, however, we find a distinction between the *sharī'a* as the exoteric knowledge, and the *ṭarīqa* together with the *ḥakīka* as the esoteric knowledge. Shaikh Among Raga, however, compares the *sharī'a* and the *ṭarīqa* to the *wadah*, and the *ḥakīka* and *ma'rifa* to the *widji* (seed) of Grace.

It is interesting to note that the problem of the four stages of the mystical path was discussed at length by Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī of 16th century Aceh, particularly in his book the *Sharāb al-ʿAshīkīn* ('The Drink of Lovers') in which he states his formal orthodox attitude as a pantheistic mystic, which is that the *sharī'a* must always be upheld. Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī also taught that the four stages are interdependent, and in his *Sharāb al-ʿAshīkīn* he illustrates the connection between them by way of interesting metaphors such as:

'He who fences himself with the *sharī'a* will never be tempted by the devil. Whoever leaves this enclosure of the *sharī'a* will certainly be tempted by the devil. Whoever thinks that the *sharī'a* is of little importance, or whoever despises it, he becomes an infidel — we take refuge in God from him, — because the *sharī'a* is not distinct from the *ṭarīqa*, the *ṭarīqa* is not distinct from the *ḥakīka*, and the *ḥakīka* is not distinct from the *ma'rifa*: it is like unto a boat: the *sharī'a* is the keel, the *ṭarīqa* is the deck, the *ḥakīka* is the cargo and *ma'rifa* is the profit. If the keel is thrown away, the ship certainly will sink, and if the boat sinks, the merchandise and its capital are irretrievably lost, and according to the Law this is harmful.'⁶⁷

In another work by the same autor, the *Asrār al-ʿArīfīn* ('The Secret of the Gnostics'), is again found an interesting metaphor illustrating the interdependence of these four stages of the mystical path. He says:

'It is like a coconut with its outer skin (the husk), its shell, its flesh, and its oil; the *sharī'a* is like the outer skin (the husk), the *ṭarīqa* is like the shell, the *ḥakīka* is like the flesh, the *ma'rifa* is like the oil. With these four, man is perfect according to the Law. If one of these is missing, he is no longer perfect. If the coconut is planted without its outer skin, it certainly will not grow, and eventually it will be destroyed. Thus God demands that man, in order to be perfect, must not separate the *sharī'a*,

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁶⁷ J. Doorenbos, *De Geschriften van Hamzah Pansuri*, Leiden 1933, p. 179; cf. Syed Muhammad Naguib al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī*, Kuala Lumpur 1970, p. 419.

the *ṭarīka*, *ḥaḳīka* and *maʿrifa* from each other. If any one leaves aside the *sharīʿa*, according to the Law he will go astray.'⁶⁸

Just as Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī believed that the *sharīʿa* was important and forms an integral part of the four stages of the mystical path, so the same belief can be found in Javanese religious texts from the sixteenth century on, especially in the *Primbon* mentioned above and in the Book of *Tjĕntĭni* where it is propagated by means of Shaikh Among Raga.

Shaikh Among Raga as a Javanese pantheist.

In the foregoing an examination has been made of elements from the Book of *Tjĕntĭni* which are related to orthodox and legalistic Islam. When the works referred to in the *Tjĕntĭni* are identified, it is apparent that they all belong to Sunnite Islam, and it has been suggested that they had already been widely studied in Java by the time of the writing of the *Tjĕntĭni*. In introducing Islamic elements into the present *Tjĕntĭni* book, the author (or authors) clearly seeks to emphasize the importance of the *sharīʿa*, as the external guide for religious life. At the same time the author (or authors) lays great stress on the necessity of following the four paths of the *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīka*, *ḥaḳīka* and *maʿrifa* in mystical life.

The question now arises as to whether this observation would warrant us drawing the conclusion that the author of the *Tjĕntĭni* is in sympathy with the orthodox and legalistic view of Islam.

My answer to this question is in the affirmative, and this conclusion is different from the opinion expressed by Dr. Pigeaud and Professor Drewes concerning the *Tjĕntĭni*.

Dr. Pigeaud, in the Introduction of his Monograph which provides a valuable summary of the contents of the present *Tjĕntĭni* book, says the following:

'From this, one would seem justified in concluding that the authors, in addition to the intention of presenting encyclopaedic descriptions of Java and Javanese science, also wish to take sides with the old in the eternal struggle between the old and the new in the religious field; to side with the old-fashioned Javanese speculations (*makripāt*) against the more orthodox profession of Islam with absolute obedience to the Law (*sharīʿa*).'⁶⁹

Dr. Pigeaud's opinion quoted above is similar to that expressed by Professor Drewes who, in discussing the *Sĕrat Dĕrmagandĕl*, says:

'Moreover, in the struggle between the inherited religious concepts and Muslim orthodoxy, it (the *Sĕrat Dĕrmagandĕl*) sided with those who clung

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 174. Cf. Kraemer, *Een Javaansche Primbon*, p. 207; cf. Syed Muhammad Naguib al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fanṣūrī*, p. 413.

⁶⁹ Th. Pigeaud, *VBG*, LXXII, p. 5. The English rendering is mine.

to the time-honoured Javanese speculations on man and his place in the universe as against the legalist view of Islam, *just as the Tjēntini books did.*⁷⁰ (Italics are mine.)

In Indonesia too, the Book of *Tjēntini* has long been regarded as belonging to a Javanese literary genre which reflects a strong tendency towards anti-orthodox Islam.⁷¹

How can one explain these two differing views concerning the nature of the Book of *Tjēntini*, the one as suggested by myself in this article and the other as expressed by Dr. Pigeaud and Professor Drewes? What makes these views so different while the book dealt with is the same?

Before attempting to answer this, attention should once more be drawn to the significance of the part played by Shaikh Among Raga in the present *Tjēntini* book. There is a striking contrast between the role of Shaikh Among Raga during his journey to the great *pēsantren* of Wanamarta, which ended in his happy marriage with Kèn Tambang Raras, and his role after leaving his wife and travelling through many parts of East Java and the southern part of Central Java. His journey through this area was portrayed as a 'pilgrimage' to various holy places and hermitages in mountain-caves where Javanese ascetics used to perform meditation.⁷²

Shaikh Among Raga, on the last stage of his journey, was not pictured as a devout religious scholar who was saying prayers, reciting the *Kur'ān*, and preaching absolute obedience to the Islamic *shari'a*. On the contrary, he was pictured as a Javanese ascetic who was searching for magical power⁷³ and planning to take revenge on the king of Mataram, Sultan Agung, for the defeat of his father and of Giri. In fact Shaikh Among Raga became a Javanese heretic who destroyed and violated the religion and Law of the Prophet Muhammad.

⁷⁰ G. W. J. Drewes, 'The Struggle between Javanism and Islam as illustrated by the *Sērat Dērmagandul*', *BKI*, 122, no. 3, p. 21.

⁷¹ H. B. Jassin, for example, regards the *Tjēntini* together with the *Gaṭolotjo* and the *Darmagandul* as more 'dangerous' than the '*Langit Makin Mendung*' story by Ki Pandjikusmin. See H. B. Jassin, *Heboh Sastra 1968*, Gunung Agung, 1970, p. 54. Ki Pandjikusmin's story published by Jassin in *Sastra*, Vol. VI, no. 8, 1968, has caused an uproar and anger among groups of people from the Indonesian Muslim community who considered '*Langit Makin Mendung*' as a blasphemous story, and accused the author of insulting Islam and the Muslim community. Jassin in his *Heboh Sastra 1968* denies this accusation.

⁷² See *Tjēntini* III-IV, pp. 135 ff.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 143, stanza 70: '*Jata wau kang manēkung/ nēng putjaking rēdi Gēnding/ pan wus kawan dasa dina/ sira ki Sēh Among Ragi/ minggu tan kēna ngandika/ ljan angling nging-pudji dikir//*

Stanza 71: *dēnira kasud ambuntu/ amrih babaring kēdjatin/ pinulang pē-*

He was described as a pantheist who proclaimed himself as God. Because of his heretic belief, he was condemned to death by drowning in the Southern Ocean and this was carried out by Tumenggung Wiraguna on the orders of Sultan Agung.⁷⁴

Thus in the latter part of the present *Tjēntini* book, Shaikh Among Raga was given a role quite contrary to that he is described as playing in the earlier part of his journey. Shaikh Among Raga's role as a mystic who propagated the 'Science of Reality' and was finally punished by the death-sentence, is very similar to that of Shaikh Siti Djēnar and of Sunan Panggung, two well-known characters in the Javanese mystical tradition. Like Shaikh Among Raga, they, too, were punished for propagating a heterodox mystical doctrine amongst the uninitiated public.⁷⁵

lěnging dria/ datan nadah tan aguling/ gugulung ing kalěnglěngan/ minta luar ing alangip.'// etc.

Ibid., p. 152, stanza 4 (last line):/ *Sěh Mong Raga mulat lulut kawilěta.*//

Stanza 5: *'lumalat marang langgatan/ tabět labětning budarsi/ amēmaha ing pauman/ amēpēd dēnira mupid/ nēng pamělěngan tjandi/ tjandi Tjēndana ranipun/ sira Sěh Among Raga/ mirungga rěngganing tjandi/ atjětjandang nēgēs karsaning Hjang Suksma.'//*

⁷⁴ See Th. Pigeaud, *VBG*, LXXII, p. 56.

⁷⁵ The popularity of the *Siti Djēnar* tradition is evident in the *Book of Tjabolèk* which contains a passage concerning the story of Sěh Siti Djēnar, Pangeran Panggung, Ki Běbėluk and Sěh Among Raga, who were all sentenced to death because of revealing 'The Science of Reality' (*ngělmū kak*). The relevant passage reads as follows:

Stanza 4: 'Then uncle, relate (to us)/ a story from Java,/ was there ever in the past/ during the reign of kings/ of Dēmak, Pajang (and) Mataram,/ anyone punished for revealing esoteric knowledge?'// Mas Kětib Anom replied: 'When I was small, it came to my knowledge/ that this indeed happened once in each of these (kingdoms).//

Stanza 5: The one punished in the city of Giri/ was Shaikh Siti Jēnar who was/ sentenced to death by the sword.// In the past during the period of Dēmak/ it was Pangeran Panggung/ who was sentenced to death by fire.// As for the period of Pajang/ Ki Běbėluk was drowned,/ fire and water had the same effect.//

Stanza 6: As for the kingdom of Mataram/ (during the reign) of Panēm-bahan Senapati/ and Panēm-bahan Karapyak/ no one underwent (such punishment).// (But) later, (during the reign) of (Senapati's) grandson/ the honourable Sultan Agung,/ a man was sentenced to death,/ he repudiated the Law/ and because of this, Sultan Muhammad of Mataram became angry.//

Stanza 7: (The offender) was thrown into the ocean at Tuñjungbang,/ he was a man from a Mañcanagara area/ the village of Wirasaba/ the hamlet of Wanamarta/ the son-in-law/ of Kyahi Bayi Panurta.// He was the husband of Tambang Raras/ and the master of fiai Cēntini,/ (he was) *Shaikh* Among Raga who had opened the veil.//

See Soebardi, *The Book of Cabolèk*, unpublished doctoral dissertation A.N.U., 1967, pp. 455-6.

Shaikh Siti Djënar, who in the *Siti Djënar story*⁷⁶ was associated with the old kingdom of Giri, promulgated a heterodox mystical doctrine which centred on a recognition of the identity of man with God (as the absolute Reality). When he appeared before the assembly of Javanese *wali's*, he was asked by Sunan Giri why he never came to the Friday prayer as was required by the prescripts of the Law of Muhammad. He answered saying that in reality there was no such thing as Friday, there was no mosque, only God exists. Nothing exists but God.⁷⁷ Shaikh Siti Djënar was put to death by the sword, because he revealed the secrets of the esoteric knowledge to the uninitiated public.⁷⁸

If the execution of Shaikh Siti Djënar was placed in the period of the kingdom of Giri, Sunan Panggung, who was burnt to death because he violated the *shari'a*, was associated with the kingdom of Dëmak.⁷⁹

The role of Shaikh Among Raga as a heretic mystic described in the latter part of the present *Tjëntini* book, in my view is inherited from the basic concept of the original *Tjëntini* book, which was written to portray Shaikh Among Raga as following in the tradition of Shaikh Siti Djënar. Shaikh Among Raga, however, was associated with the Kingdom of Mataram. By writing the story of Shaikh Among Raga and placing it in the period of Sultan Agung, its author presumably wanted to preserve continuity with the Shaikh Siti Djënar tradition of Giri. Shaikh Siti Djënar, Sunan Panggung and Shaikh Among Raga were all executed at the king's command because they sinned by repudiating the Law of Muhammad.⁸⁰

In several versions of the story of *Siti Djënar*, one can detect the

⁷⁶ The story of Shaikh Siti Djënar has become a nucleus for many legends which are found in many *Babad*. Rinkes has published the last part of a version of the *Siti Djënar* story contained in Jav. Ms. B.G. No. 397 in his 'De Heiligen van Java II', *TBG* LIII, pp. 18-24. Today there are three versions of the *Siti Djënar* story available locally printed in Javanese. These are:

(1) *Sërat Siti Djënar* written by M. Ng. Mangunwidjaja and published by Widya Pustaka in 1917, in Jav. script. (2) *Sërat Siti Djënar*, written by Raden Sastrawidjaja and published by Kulawarga Bratakesawa (1958) in Roman script. (3) *Sërat Siti Djënar*, known as the work of Kangdjëng Sunan Giri, and published by Tan Khoen Swie, in Jav. script, Kediri (1930), 4th ed.

⁷⁷ See Rinkes, 'De Heiligen van Java II', *TBG* LIII, p. 26.

⁷⁸ Cf. Kraemer, *Een Javaansche Primbon*, p. 73. For a lucid discussion of Sëh Siti Djënar's Mystical Doctrine, see Professor Zoetmulder's *Pantheïsme en Monïsme in de Javaansche Suluk Litteratuur*, 1935, pp. 339-53.

⁷⁹ See Soebardi, *The Book of Cabolëk*, p. 455.

⁸⁰ See Rinkes, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-1.

sympathy the writers felt for him and his teachings. Indeed Shaikh Siti Djënar is considered a martyr by many Javanese mystics. Sunan Panggung who, according to the Javanese hagiology, was the author of the *Suluk Malang Sumirang*, was implicitly praised as an ecstatic mystic who did not obey any law.⁸¹

In the original *Tjëntini* book, Shaikh Among Raga was intended to be the Shaikh Siti Djënar of Mataram who had the courage to die for his beliefs and it is because of this time-honoured Siti Djënar tradition that the book has become known in Indonesia as being anti orthodox Islam. Scholars who studied the *Tjëntini* tended to concentrate on examining the heterodox teachings of Shaikh Among Raga. It is therefore not surprising and quite understandable that Dr. Pigeaud as well as Professor Drewes came to the conclusion that 'the author of the *Tjëntini* was against the legalist view of Islam'.

This conclusion, in my opinion, is one-sided because it appears to be based only on an interpretation of the original role of Shaikh Among Raga as a heretic mystic. In the present *Tjëntini* book, however, Shaikh Among Raga is given a double role. In the earlier part of the book, he is made into a firm defender of the *shari'a*, who lives his outer life in strict conformity with the Law, and, as has been shown earlier in this article, by thus introducing Islamic elements into this *Tjëntini* book, the author clearly wished to demonstrate his sympathy with orthodox and legalistic Islam.

This new role of Shaikh Among Raga as a defender of the *shari'a*, in my view, is to be attributed to the later authors of the *Tjëntini* who, as mentioned earlier, had to rewrite the book at the very beginning of the nineteenth century on the order of the Crown Prince. It was at that time that religious elements deriving from orthodox Islam were incorporated into the Book of *Tjëntini*, most likely by the Radèn Ngabèhi Sastradipura who, as mentioned above, had made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

The introduction of religious elements from orthodox Islam into the present *Tjëntini* book is to me an indication of the intention of the author to demonstrate the sympathy of the court towards orthodox and legalistic Islam. The court's attitude towards the *shari'a* must be understood in the context of Javanese tradition. The *shari'a*, as already shown above, was regarded as merely a cover or a container (*wadah*)

⁸¹ Cf. G. W. J. Drewes, 'Het Document uit den Brandstapel', *Djawa*, 1927, no. 2, p. 97.

which remained outside the system of belief and was not its essence. From the traditional Javanese point of view, changing the *wadah* (container) by professing oneself a Muslim who firmly upheld the *shari'a*, presented no obstacle, provided the person concerned maintained his Javanese belief in the attainment of the 'makripat', which is the Javanese '*pamoring Kawula Gusti*' (the union between Servant and the Lord), as propagated by Shaikh Among Raga in the latter part of the *Tjěntini*.

Thus in the present Book of *Tjěntini* we see the presentation of Shaikh Among Raga as the symbol of an aristocratic Shaikh who adopted a syncretic religious life as a result of the conciliation and harmonization of two religious currents in Javanese society, i.e. traditional Javanese mysticism as propagated by Shaikh Siti Djénar and Sunan Panggung, and orthodox legalistic Islam. This attitude of the conciliation and harmonization of two conflicting religious currents has been the most important and popular theme of the mystical *kraton*-literature since the time of Yasadipura I in the second part of the 18th century, such as the *Sěrat Tjabolèk* and the *Sěrat Déwa Rutji*. It is perhaps a significant indication of the extreme awareness among the Javanese court-poets of the increasing decline of power of the Surakarta kingdom and of the necessity to take account of the growing influence of Muslim orthodoxy outside the court which became a reality at the end of the eighteenth century.

One could perhaps also interpret the Javanese attitude of conciliation as an effort to domesticate Islam which was felt to be a threat to the continuity of the Javanese tradition of the court. From the opposite point of view one could regard this conciliatory attitude as a result of the ever growing infiltration of orthodox Islam into the declining court-tradition.

Faculty of Asian Studies
The Australian National University

SOEBARDI