Soebardi
Santri-religious elements as reflected in the Book of Tjentini


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

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 Sërat Tjèntini (the Book of Tjèntini), namely the role and teachings of Shaïkh Among Raga, who is the most important of the four main characters in the book.

It should be mentioned firstly that the Tjèntini material used for this article is based on the Sërat Tjèntini published by the Bataviaasch Genootschap in four parts. 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 Tjèntini

* 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 Sërat Tjèntini consists of twelve volumes in manuscript form and contains 722 Cantos. Volumes I-IV (incl.) are known under the title Sërat Tjabolang, while volumes V-XII (incl.) have the title Sërat Tjèntini. A part of the Sërat Tjèntini, 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 Dhandanggula metre consisting of 17 stanzas. In the introductory canto there occurred the chronogram: Atata Rësi Amulang Djalma, signifying the year 1775 A.J. (Anno Javanico) = 1846 A.D. With this new Introduction the five volume Sërat Tjèntini 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 Sërat Tjèntini 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but also of the beginning and the continuation of the story, which are still unpublished.²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 Sërat Tjëntini, 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 Tjëntini book as published, namely: Kjahi Jasadipura II (the son of the first Pudjangga of Surakarta, R. Ng. Yasadipura I), Kjahi Ranggasutrasna, and Radèn Ngabèhi Sastradipura who changed his name to Ahmad Ilhar after a pilgrimage to Mecca.⁴

The original source of the Sërat Tjëntini cannot be ascertained. It has been suggested that it stemmed either from the Suluk Djsatiswara or from a mystic poem called Suluk Tjëntini.⁵ In either case, there is no doubt that the Sërat Tjëntini 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.
⁴ See Th. Pigeaud, VBG, LXXII, p. 2.
⁵ It is most likely that the published Sërat Tjëntini, as it is also suggested by professor Poerbatjaraka, stemmed from the Suluk Djsatiswara, because the theme of this story is very much similar to that of the Sërat Tjëntini. The Suluk Djsatiswara is older than the Tjëntini. A version of the Djsatiswara story contains the Javanese chronogram: Djiati 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 Tjëntini book was a mystic poem entitled: Suluk Tjëntini. Further examination of this would be worthwhile. See Th. Pigeaud, ibid., p. 229.
magie and eroticism. But what matters in this connection is that the present Tjèntini 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 pësantrèn community.

Shaikh Among Raga, as an Itinerant Shaikh.

Shaikh Among Raga, the most important of the four main characters of the present Book of Tjèntini, is portrayed as a Javanese sèh (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 Pangéran Pëkik of Surabja. The journeyings of Shaikh Among Raga as a wandering santri-master described in the Tjèntini may be divided into three parts: (1) his journey eastward from the village of Karang in Bantën, once a famous pësantrèn 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 Panurta; (2) his stay at the great pësantrèn of Wanamarta and study under Ki Baji Panurta, whose knowledge of religion he was later found to have surpassed, and whose beautiful daughter, Kèn Tambang Raras, he was allowed to marry; (3) his separation from his wife, Kèn Tambang Raras, after having completed his task of imparting religious knowledge to her. 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 sharī'a and propagating a heterodox mystical doctrine and sentenced to death by drowning in the Southern Ocean.


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

9 See Tjèntini III-IV, pp. 135 ff.
The journey in search of religious knowledge, which serves as a framework for the story of the *Tjêntini*, 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 *pësantrèn* 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'a.*

In the first and second stages of Shaikh Among Raga’s journey the author (or authors) of the *Tjêntini* 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 Djajèngraga, who were all religious masters and highly respected by the *smtri* 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

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\(^{12}\) See *Tjêntini* 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.\textsuperscript{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: Fikh (Islamic Jurisprudence), Usul (Islamic Theology), and Tashawwuf (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 Tjêntini, 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\textsuperscript{14} known in Ar. as: al-Muhammad (‘The Carefully Edited Book’), is a Fikh-book widely used by the Shafi‘ites which was written by Abû ‘l-Kâsim ‘Abd-al-Karîm b. Muḥammad al-Râfi‘î (d. 1226 A.D.). A converted adaptation of this book was made by Abû Zakaryâ Yahyâ b. Shara‘ al-Nawawî (d. 1278 A.D.), and it is entitled: Minhâdj al-Talibîn (‘Students’ Guide’). This authoritative Shafi‘ite Fikh-book is known in Java as Kitab Nawawi.\textsuperscript{15}

The Sudjak\textsuperscript{16} is also a Fikh-book, and is named after its author Kâdi Abû Shudjâ‘, the nickname of Ahmad b. al-Hasan b. Ahmad al-Isfahânî (d. after 1196 A.D.). The Ar. title of the book is al-Mukhtasar fi‘l-Fikh (alâ Madhhab al-Imâm al-Shafi‘î) (‘Compendium

\textsuperscript{13}See Tjêntini III-IV, pp. 102-3.
\textsuperscript{14}See Tjêntini III-IV, p. 117, stanza 196.
\textsuperscript{15}See C. Brockelmann, Geschichtliche der Arabischen Litteratur (GAL), I, p. 496. For an extensive and critical review of the Minhâdj al-Talibîn 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 Mohamme-
\textsuperscript{16}See Tjêntini III-IV, p. 117, stanza 196.
of Fikh, according to the Shafi‘i School of Law’), also known as al-Takrib fil-Fikh (‘The book of access to the Fikh’).  

The Kitab Ibnu Kadjar mentioned here is the work of Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitami (d. 1565 A.D.), the Arabic title of which is Tuhfat al-Muhtad al-Mutahajj (‘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 Nawawi.  

The Ilah is the corrupt Javanese title of the Idah fil-Fikh (‘Elucidation of the Fikh’) which, according to Voorhoeve, is an abridgement of a work called al-Tabṣira fil-Fikh (‘The Enlightenment on Fikh’). Its author is not known. An incomplete copy of the Ilah 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.  

The Sukbah is perhaps the same work as the Arabic al-Shuhabat fil-Mawāṣṣa wa‘l-ādāb min Ḥadith Rasūl Allāh (‘Elaboration on Spiritual Counsel and Rules of Conduct from the Tradition of Allah’s Prophet’). The author of this work is Abū ʿAbd ‘Allāh Muḥammad b. Salāma al-Ḵudā‘i (d. 1062).  

As for the Kitab Sittin, it is the same as the Ar. al-Sittün Maṣ’a‘la fil-Fikh (‘Sixty Questions on Fikh’), written by Abū al-ʿAbbās Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Zahīd al-Miṣrī (d. 1416 A.D.). It deals with the basic principles of the Creed, the pillars of Islam, and ritual purification.  

In relation to Scholastic Theology (‘Ilm al-Kalām), Shaikh Among Raga mentions the following works: the Sīmarakandi, Kitab Durat, Talmisan, Asanusi, Patakul Mubin, Bayan Tasdik, Sīl and Djuahiru.

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18 See Tjëntini I-II, p. 204  
20 See Tjëntini III-IV, p. 117, stanza 196.  
22 See Tjëntini III-IV, p. 117, stanza 196.  
23 See VHAM, p. 336.  
24 See Tjëntini 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 *Sëmarakandi* is the name of a work given after its author: Abü‘l Laith Muhammad b. Abî Naṣr b. Ibrāhîm al-Samarkandî (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. This is probably the work of al-Samarkandî entitled *Bayân ‘Akīdat al-Usûl* (‘Explanation of the Principles of Theology’), and is probably the one referred to by Mahmud Junus as the *Usul 6 Bis* (‘The Six Pillars with Bismillâhi ‘r-raḥmânî ‘r-raḥîmî’).

The *Kitab Durat*, also known as *Umm al-Barâhin* (‘The Mother of Proofs’). It is a handbook on Islamic theology which has been widely used for instruction in Javanese *pësantrèns*. The author is Abû ‘Abd ‘Allâh Muḥammad b. Yûsuf al-Sanûsî al-Ḥasanî (d. 1486 A.D.). It is also known as *’Aḍā‘īd al-Sanûsî*.

The *Kitab Talmisan*, also known in Java as *Kitab Tilmisani*, is a commentary written by ‘Abd Allâh Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Ibrâhîm al-Tilimsânî (d. 1591 A.D.), on al-Sanûsî’s *al-Durra*. Another commentary on the *al-Durra* which may be mentioned in this context is the *Kitab Mopîd*, in Ar. known as *al-Muṣîd* (‘The Useful Book’), written by Abû ‘Abd Allâh Muḥammad b. Sulaimân al-Djazûlî (d. 1465 A.D.).

26 See *Tjëntini* III-IV, p. 117, stanza 196.
30 See *Tjëntini* I-II, p. 233, stanza 85.
As for the *Kitab Asanusi*, it is the commentary written by al-Sanûsî himself on his *al-Durra*. The Ar. title of this commentary is *Tauhîd ahl al-sîrfân*. The *Kitab Patakul Mubin* is the same as the Arabic *Fath al-Mubîn* ('The Victory beyond Doubt'), which is a gloss on al-Sanûsî's *Umm al-Barâhîn*. According to Voorhoeve this commentary is anonymous. Van den Berg, however, says that the author is Ibrâhîm b. Muhammad al-Bâdjuri, the Shaikh al-Islâm of Cairo (d. 1276 A.H. = 1860 A.D.).

The *Bayân Tasdik* is a work dealing with the fundamental tenets of the Islamic faith. The Ar. title of this anonymous work is *Bayân al-Tasdîk* ('Explanation of the Attestation').

The *Sail* is the Javanese name of the Ar. catechism on Islamic theology entitled *Masâ'il* ('Problems') written by Abû 'l-Laith al-Sanarkandi. This work is also known as *Bayân 'Akhîdat al-Uṣûl* as mentioned above.

As for the *Djuahiru*, it is difficult to identify its Ar. equivalent. Since this work is mentioned in the *Tjënîni* together with commentaries on the *Umm al-Barâhîn*, it is suggested here that it should be identified with a commentary on the *Umm al-Barâhîn*, entitled *Djawâhir al-Saniyya fi sharh al-Sanûsîyya* ('The Sparkling Jewels, being a Commentary of the Book of al-Sanûsî'), written by 'Abd Allâh al-Šughayyir Suwaidân (d. 1785 A.D.).

Apart from works related to *Fiqh* and *al-Kalâm*, authoritative com-

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35 See *Tjënîni* I-II, p. 233, stanza 85.
37 See *Tjënîni* I-II, p. 233, stanza 85.
38 See *VHAM*, p. 388. Kraemer identifies *Fath al-Mubin* with al-Râñîri's work entitled *Fath al-Mubîn ca'allâ al-Mulḥidîna* ('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-Râñîri deals with the struggle against heterodox mysticism in Aceh, and it has no connection with the *Kitab Sanusi* and other *Fîh* books referred to in the *Tjënîni*.
40 See *Tjënîni* III-IV, p. 117, stanza 196.
41 See *VHAM*, p. 48.
42 See *Tjënîni* III-IV, p. 117, stanza 196.
44 See *Tjënîni* I-II, p. 233, stanza 73.
45 See *VHAM*, p. 388.
mentaries on the Kur’ān, such as the Tēpsir Baelawi \(^{48}\) and the Tēpsir Djalalèn \(^{47}\) are frequently mentioned in the Tjēntini. The Tēpsir Baelawi is the work of the well-known Shafi’ite scholar: ʿAbd ʿAllah b. ʿUmar al-Baidawī (d. 1286 A.D.).\(^{49}\) The Ar. title of this exegesis is Anwār al-Tanzil 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 Djalalèn is in Ar. known as Tafsīr al-Djalalainī (‘Commentary of the Two Djalal’s’), Djalāl al-Dīn al-Mahallī (d. 1459 A.D.) and Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505 A.D.). This commentary is very concise and has been the most popular tafsīr in the pēsantrèns of Java and Madura up to the present day.\(^{49}\)

Three important books on sufism mentioned in the Tjēntini are the Hulumodin,\(^{50}\) the Adkia,\(^{51}\) and the Kitab Insan Kamil.\(^{52}\) The Hulumodin is the corrupt Javanese title of the magnum opus of al-Ghazālī (d. 1111 A.D.), the Iḥyāʿ Ulūm al-Dīn (‘The Revival of the Religious Sciences’).\(^{53}\) The Iḥyāʿ 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 Iḥyāʿ, has been widely studied in the pēsantrèns, and perhaps it was through the pēsantrèns 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 Quarter.

\(^{50}\) See Th. W. Juynboll, op. cit., p. 9, and Van den Berg, op. cit., p. 554.
\(^{51}\) See Tjēntini I-II, p. 233, stanza 73.
\(^{52}\) See Tjēntini I-II, p. 233, stanza 78.
\(^{54}\) See G. W. J. Drewes, Een Javaanse Primbon, pp. 21, 47, 57.
and the Fourth Quarter of the *Ihya*, known as *Sêrat Mundjijat*.  

The *Adkia* is the same work as the Ar. *Hidayat al-Adhkiya* ila *Tarîk al-Auliya* ('Intelligent People’s Guide to the Path of the Saints’), which was written by Zain al-Dîn cAlî al-Malaibari (d. 1522 A.D.).  

The *Kitab Insan Kamil* here is none other than the work of the famous cAbd al-Karîm b. İbrahim al-Djîli (between 1406-1417 A.D.), the Ar. title of which is *al-Insân al-Kamil fi ma’rifat al-Awâkhir wa’l-Awâ’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 Bantên (West Java).

It was necessary to identify each of the above listed works dealing with Islamic Law, Theology and Mysticism referred to in the Book of *Tjëntini* in order to show clearly that the titles of those works were not just the invention of the authors of the *Tjëntini*, 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 paper (Jav. dluwang gëndong). There is strong reason to believe that those works were not only known, but had been widely studied in the pësantrèns by the time the *Tjëntini* 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 pësantrèns. It could only be carried out by advanced santris who had completed years of basic study in Kur’an reading (hidja’iyah and tadjwid), the Pillars of the Faith (Rukun Iman), ritual obligations (cîbadah), and in the study of the Arabic language.

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58 This abridgement was originally made by Kjahi Muhammad Salèh of Sëmarang in Javanese prose and written in Arabic script. In 1936 a kjahi named Hardjadarsana of Purwakerta edited this abridgement in modern Javanese verse and published it under the title: *Punika Sêrat Mundjijat. Inggih sêrat pambirating wawatakan kita ingkang awon sadasa, ladjêng abusana wawatakan ingkang sae ugi sadasa*. No publisher is mentioned.


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 shari'ā 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 shari'ā.

The shari'ā, however, is only the first step on the path towards God for Shaikh Among Raga. In giving instruction to his wife, Kèn Tam-bang Raras, Shaikh Among Raga says that sarèngat (shari'ā) together with tarèkat (tari'ka), constitutes the vessel of everything (wadah sakalir), whereas hakêkat (hakîka) and makripat (ma'rija) 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 shari'ā 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 shari'ā and tari'ka are compared to the container (wadah), and the hakîka and ma'rija 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 (ugër-ugëring agësang), which consist of sarèngat, tarèkat, kakêkat, and makripat.62 The pinnacle of the knowledge of shari'ā, according to Shaikh Among Raga, is the niyya (intention) to perform the 'ibadah (ritual obligations); the pinnacle of the knowledge of tari'ka is the achievement of absolute faith; the

61 Sërat Tjëntini I-II, Canto 41 (p. 196),

Stanza 26: ‘jwa pépéka kang djatnika ngèlmi/ djatmikaning èlmu iku sarak/ ija sarèngat jëktiné/ lawan tarèkatipun/ pan minangka wadah sélkalir.//
Dënìng èlmu hakêkat/ lan makripatipun/ minangka widji nugraha/ widji jën tan tumanèm ntwadah bètjìk/ bungkik nugrahanira.//

Stanza 27: Mulané jaji dën-ngati-atì/ sarèngatira kudu sëntosa/ asarèh akèh pèdahè/ ajwa langar ing ngèlmu/ jën kaprètjèt ambilahèni/ murungkën kasi dan. ........../// (transliteration is mine).

62 Sërat Tjëntini III-IV, p. 83,

Stanza 8: ‘ugër-ugëring agësang/ kang patitis maring èlmi/ sarèngat lawan tarèkat/ kakêkat makripat jaji/ kudu-kudu ngawruhi/ ngèlmi sèkawan puniku.//
Jèku sampurnanira/ ing pudji këlawan pati/ ngèlmi papit pètèn pupusé kéwala.//
pinnacle of the ḥakīḳa is the determination to know the manifestation (of God); and the pinnacle of the knowledge of ma'rīfa 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 Tjentini 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; shari'a, tarīka, and ḥakīḳa, and of the manner in which each of these stages could be achieved successfully by referring to the Ihya' 'Ulum al-Dīn as a source of authority. It is firmly stated in the Primbon that 'people who say that the shari'a is different from ḥakīḳa, or that the exoteric knowledge (ilmu dair) is different from the esoteric knowledge (ilmu batin), are infidels'. The shari'a is regarded as the highest good for those who view from far away, whereas the ḥakīḳa is the highest good for those who view from close proximity. The passage further quotes a saying from the Tradition of the Prophet: 'The shari'a is my speech, the tarīka is my actions and the ḥakīḳa is the pinnacle of my actions'. The reason why the three concepts, shari'a, tarīka and ḥakīḳa, are compared with the three actions of the Prophet, is because the shari'a gives instruction about matters concerning the internal life (batin), and the ḥakīḳa 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 shari'a, should only be taught to exoteric people (ahlul dair), and the esoteric knowledge, which is the tarīka and the ḥakīḳa, should only be taught to esoteric people (ahlul batin). Indeed, if the esoteric knowledge is

63 Ibid., stanza 9: 'Pupusé ngèlmi sarèngat/ niat kudu anglakomi/ pupusé ngèlmu tarèkat/ kudu kusus angjékteni/ pupusé ngèlmu tarèkat/ kudu tèmên sarta tuhu/ njatakén kënjarahan/ pupusé ngèlmu tarèkat/ kudu kusus angjékteni/ pupusé ngèlmu sarèngat/ maklum sarta sukur tan pépêka.'/ (transliteration is mine).

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

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.\textsuperscript{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 shari\textsuperscript{c}a as the exoteric knowledge, and the tar\text{i}ka together with the ha\text{k}\text{i}ka as the esoteric knowledge. Shaikh Among Raga, however, compares the shari\textsuperscript{c}a and the tar\text{i}ka to the wa\text{d}ah, and the ha\text{k}\text{i}ka and ma\text{r}i\text{f}a to the w\text{i}d\text{j}i (seed) of Grace.

It is interesting to note that the problem of the four stages of the mystical path was discussed at length by Hamzah Fan\text{s}\text{u}r\text{i} of 16th century Aceh, particularly in his book the \textit{Sharab al-\text{c}\text{\textashikin} (\textquote{The Drink of Lovers}) in which he states his formal orthodox attitude as a pantheistic mystic, which is that the shari\textsuperscript{c}a must always be upheld. Hamzah Fan\text{s}\text{u}r\text{i} also taught that the four stages are interdependent, and in his \textit{Sharab al-\text{c}\text{\textashikin} he illustrates the connection between them by way of interesting metaphors such as:

\begin{quote}
He who fences himself with the shari\textsuperscript{c}a will never be tempted by the devil. Whoever leaves this enclosure of the shari\textsuperscript{c}a will certainly be tempted by the devil. Whoever thinks that the shari\textsuperscript{c}a is of little importance, or whoever despises it, he becomes an infidel — we take refuge in God from him, — because the shari\textsuperscript{c}a is not distinct from the tar\text{i}ka, the tar\text{i}ka is not distinct from the ha\text{k}\text{i}ka, and the ha\text{k}\text{i}ka is not distinct from the ma\text{r}i\text{f}a: it is like unto a boat: the shari\textsuperscript{c}a is the keel, the tar\text{i}ka is the deck, the ha\text{k}\text{i}ka is the cargo and ma\text{r}i\text{f}a 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.\textsuperscript{67}
\end{quote}

In another work by the same author, the \textit{Asrar al-\text{c}\text{\textarifin} (\textquote{The Secret of the Gnostics}), is again found an interesting metaphor illustrating the interdependence of these four stages of the mystical path. He says:

\begin{quote}
It is like a coconut with its outer skin (the husk), its shell, its flesh, and its oil; the shari\textsuperscript{c}a is like the outer skin (the husk), the tar\text{i}ka is like the shell, the ha\text{k}\text{i}ka is like the flesh, the ma\text{r}i\text{f}a 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 shari\textsuperscript{c}a,
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{66} Ibid., p. 52.
Just as Ḥamzah Fānsūrī believed that the sharī'a 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 Tjëntini 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 Tjëntini which are related to orthodox and legalistic Islam. When the works referred to in the Tjëntini 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 Tjëntini. In introducing Islamic elements into the present Tjëntini book, the author (or authors) clearly seeks to emphasize the importance of the sharī'a, 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 sharī'a, tariqa, ḥaqqīa and mārifīa in mystical life.

The question now arises as to whether this observation would warrant us drawing the conclusion that the author of the Tjëntini 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 Tjëntini.

Dr. Pigeaud, in the Introduction of his Monograph which provides a valuable summary of the contents of the present Tjëntini 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 (makripat) against the more orthodox profession of Islam with absolute obedience to the Law (sharī'a).' 69

Dr. Pigeaud’s opinion quoted above is similar to that expressed by Professor Drewes who, in discussing the Sèrat Dërmagandul, says:

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

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 Tjëntini books did.\(^{10}\) (Italics are mine.)

In Indonesia too, the Book of Tjëntini has long been regarded as belonging to a Javanese literary genre which reflects a strong tendency towards anti-orthodox Islam.\(^{11}\)

How can one explain these two differing views concerning the nature of the Book of Tjëntini, 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 Tjëntini book. There is a striking contrast between the role of Shaikh Among Raga during his journey to the great pësantrèn 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'ân, and preaching absolute obedience to the Islamic shari'â. On the contrary, he was pictured as a Javanese ascetic who was searching for magical power\(^{73}\) 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.

\(^{10}\) G. W. J. Drewes, 'The Struggle between Javanism and Islam as illustrated by the Sërat Dërmagandul', BKI, 122, no. 3, p. 21.

\(^{11}\) H. B. Jassin, for example, regards the Tjëntini together with the Gatolotjo 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 Tjëntini III-IV, pp. 135 ff.

\(^{73}\) Ibid., p. 143, stanza 70: 'Jata wau kang manêkung/ nèng putjaking rédi Gënding/ pan wus kawan dasa dina/ sira ki Sèh Among Ragi/ minggu tan këna ngandika/ lian angling nging pudji dikir//

Stanza 71: dènira kasud ambuntu/ amrih babaring kédjatin/ pinulang pê-
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 Tjentini 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 Djënar 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 initiated public.75

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

75 The popularity of the Siti Djënar tradition is evident in the Book of Tjabolèk which contains a passage concerning the story of Sèh Siti Djënar, Pangeran Panggung, Ki Bëbelük and Sèh Among Raga, who were all sentenced to death because of revealing ‘The Science of Reality’ (ngélmu 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 Dëmak, Pajang (and) Mataram,/ anyone punished for revealing esoteric knowledge?’// Mas Këtib Anótn 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 Jënar who was/ sentenced to death by the sword./ In the past during the period of Dëmak/ it was Pangeran Panggung/ who was sentenced to death by fire./ As for the period of Pajang/ Ki Bëbelük was drowned,/ fire and water had the same effect./

Stanza 6: As for the kingdom of Mataram/ (during the reign) of Panëmbahan Senapati/ and Panëmbahan 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 Tunjungbang,/ he was a man from a Mancanagara 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 nai Cëntini,/ (he was) Shaikh Among Raga who had opened the veil.’//

Shaikh Siti Djënar, who in the *Siti Djënar story* 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 precepts 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. Shaikh Siti Djënar was put to death by the sword, because he revealed the secrets of the esoteric knowledge to the uninitiated public.

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'at*, was associated with the kingdom of Dëmak.

The rôle 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.

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

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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:


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.\(^1\)

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 Raden 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).

which remained outside the system of belief and was not its essence. From the traditional Javanese point of view, changing the *wudah* (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 *Tjëntini*.

Thus in the present Book of *Tjëntini* 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 Djënar 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 *Sërat Tjabolèk* and the *Sërat 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.

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