

Nine Saints of Java



By D.A. RINKES Translation by H.M. FROGER
Edited by ALIJAH GORDON Introduction by G.W. J. DREWES

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MALAYSIAN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

1996

DEDICATION

TO HIS HIGHNESS PRINCE SADRUDDIN AGA KHAN
without whose belief in the validity of our work and
practical support for it the Malaysian Sociological Research
Institute might never have been born. It was His Highness'
late father who remarked that the beauty of Islam is
revealed in this Wider Malaysian area where Islam won the
hearts and minds of men to establish itself without the
support of any foreign power or outside armed intervention.

To this historical truth would this work bear testimony.

and

TO MY MOTHER ERNA KREUDER GORDON
who will not now read this book, but without whose love I
could never have sustained what have often appeared as
long and barren years.

ALIJAH GORDON

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

THIS translation is but one of the results of an overall research project on Islam in Malaysia.

We should like to tell you how this project came into being. Many in Malaya had felt that Islam had had a pervasive influence, but little or nothing had been published on the subject. It was felt that no one individual was qualified to deal with all of the ramifications of Islam's impact, and, therefore, a group study was necessary.

This group was formed in 1957 under the guidance of Malaya's Grand Old Pandita, the late Pak Za'ba, Tan Sri Dr. Haji Zainal Abidin bin Ahmad. This effort brought forty-nine people together, all but a few of whom were Malaysians.

A Committee was formed to sponsor the project: the late Dr. Za'ba as Chairman, the late Nazir Mallal as Honorary Treasurer, this writer as Organiser and General Editor, the late Francis Thomas, then a Minister in the Singapore Government, and the late Gerald de Cruz (Haji Abdul Karim Abdullah), then Research Director of the ruling party in Singapore.

Public funds supported the work of finding those qualified, organizing and editing materials, and carrying out necessary translations. Those who gave their time, experience, money, and most of all their dedication, gave without it being possible to demonstrate that this endeavour would ever have a meaningful conclusion. To those scattered many belongs our gratitude.

After two years of work, the realization of the overwhelming need for further research into other aspects of the society was such that a blueprint of a permanent research institute was drawn up by Professor Fatimi and this writer. This conceptualization was shown to H. H. Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan on his visit to Singapore, and it was he who gave a minimal grant to enable us legally to establish the Malaysian Sociological Research Institute. The signatories to the Memorandum and Articles of Association were:

the late Tan Sri Dr. Haji Zainal Abidin bin Ahmad (ZA'BA),
the first Chairman;

Institute. They shall be responsible to the Institute for any research or studies which they shall embark upon, and the Institute shall retain all rights thereto including full copyright to all such works. Such studies do not necessarily mean a study or study course in a recognized Institution.

- (i) To foster and/or publish any work, in any language, the Institute deems of national value, and the Institute shall retain the copyright thereof.
- (j) To foster the use of Malay as the National Language in the additional publications of the Institute.
- (k) To disseminate the work of the Institute among the masses and to bring awareness to and encourage knowledge of its objects and its work.
- (l) For the purpose of carrying out the objects stated above to establish under the Institute a full research and reference library.
- (m) To receive, purchase, hire or build premises and all equipment necessary for publication in accordance with the objects set out above.
- (n) To receive, purchase, hire or build premises to house the Institute and/or lodge research workers in an atmosphere congenial to research.
- (o) To take such steps by personal or written appeals, public meetings or otherwise, as may from time to time be deemed expedient for the purpose of procuring contributions to the funds of the Institute in the shape of donations, annual subscription or otherwise.

We who formed this peoples' research organization did so with the conviction that the demonstrable need for self-critical social research would bring to this 'paper-institute' the necessary finance to support the work needed to be done. But this was not to be. We then convinced ourselves that if with no funding we nevertheless persevered and brought out published work that this would surely bring financial support. But this also was not to be. We struggled with practically no paid staff and no publication funding and produced our original research in books, *Intisari* (Research Journal of Wider Malaysia), *Benih* (*Seed*, our National Language Tabloid for secondary school students), and yet we couldn't solve the problem!

Pandita Za'ba had said, 'My people believe in buildings.' We had rejected this priority. We were proven wrong. In 1971, facing extinction, no longer with a piece of earth on which to squat, we stopped

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research project on Islam in Malaya was financially supported as a unit. Many gave, and it is not possible to isolate which contributions supported the translation, editing, annotating and typing that went into this work. Thus our gratitude must go to all who generously contributed to the total project of which this book forms a part. Their names are listed at the back of this volume.

For the work itself we must thank: Professor S. Q. Fatimi for requesting that Rinkes' work be translated into English; Mrs. H. M. (Jetti) Froger who, with a minimum of compensation, worked long and hard to translate the unusually difficult style of Rinkes' original and who then gave the Editor her time to check the translation against the original Dutch; Linda Tan Seng Huat, who gave up a vacation to checking and beginning the defining of terms; Mrs. G. W. Jameson, who with no compensation whatsoever reconstructed the literal and still awkward translation into a more readable English and who then, with the voluntary assistance of Mrs. G. Nihal Singh, checked the English version against the original Dutch; Dr. A. van Marle of the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, Amsterdam, who answered queries and recommended the modernization of spellings and the extension of Rinkes' cryptic notes, which was then done by the ever willing Lois Kieffaber; Anis bin Tairan of Teachers Training College, Singapore, who kindly assisted Miss Kieffaber; the Librarians, University of Singapore, and especially Beda Lim formerly of the University of Malaya Library for his assistance to Miss Kieffaber with her preliminary Bibliography; Lois Kieffaber, herself, for her constant loyalty to the work; Mrs. Ruth Daroesman, formerly of the Economic Research Centre, University of Singapore, for her willingness to answer further queries on the Dutch text; Dr. S. Nieuwolt, formerly of the Geography Department, University of Singapore, who patiently gave considerable time that the Editor might again check galley proofs of the translation against the original Dutch text; Dr. Amin Sweeney, who with his ever present smile, answered further questions on the translation; S. V. Perumal for his assistance to the Editor in the preparation of the Bibliography and the compilation of the Glossary of Terms; to the ever reliable Raymond Tan, who typed the Glossary of Terms, and Bibliography; to Professor Elmer H. Douglas, who kindly verified the 'Arabic found in the text; to Shakib G. T. Gunn for his willing assistance; Tan Choon Ghee, Penang artist, who from the very poor

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intelligible and responded to innumerable queries on the text. May God reward them, each and every one.

I would apologize for any and all failings that still exist. It was the words of the late sympathetic Professor C. Hooykaas in relation to another work: "don't let better be the enemy of good" that finally pushed me to finish the book despite my all too appropriate feelings of inadequacy.

ALIJAH GORDON

مَا لَا يُدْرِكُ كُلُّهُ

Mā lā yudraku kulluh,

لَا يُتْرَكُ كُلُّهُ

lā yutraku kulluh

That which is not attained completely,
is not to be left out completely.

EDITOR'S NOTE

This book is a translation of a series of six articles by D. A. Rinkes, entitled "De Heiligen van Java" (The Saints of Java), which appeared in Dutch in the Journal *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* during the years 1910–1913.

"De maqām van Sjech 'Abdoelmoehji", which appeared in Vol. 52 (1910), pp. 556–574, has become Chapter I, "The Makam of Shaikh Abdulmuhyi". The "Aanhangsel" (Appendix) to this article (pp. 575–589) follows Chapter VI.

"Seh Siti djenar voor de inquisitie" from Vol. 53 (1911), pp. 17–56, appears as Chapter II, "Seh Siti Jēnar Facing the Inquisition".

"Soenan Geseng", Vol. 53 (1911), pp. 269–293, appears as Chapter III, "Sunan Gēsēng". A postscript, "Toelichtingen en Verbeteringen" (Elucidations and Corrections), pp. 294–300, gave further information on the first two articles. That which pertains to the earlier article on Abdulmuhyi appears at the end of Chapter I, and that portion relevant to the second article has been incorporated into the footnotes of Chapter II.

"Ki Paṇḍan arang te Tembajat" from Vol. 53 (1911), pp. 435–510, has become Chapter IV, "Ki Paṇḍan Arang at Tembajat".

"Pangéran Panggoeng, zijne honden en het wajangspel" from Vol. 54 (1912), pp. 135–169, appears as Chapter V, "Pangeran Panggung: His Dogs and the Wayang".

"Het graf te Pamlatèn en de Hollandsche heerschappij", Vol. 55 (1913), pp. 1–41, appears as Chapter VI, "The Grave at Pamlatèn and the Dutch Rule".

In his fourth, fifth and sixth articles, Rinkes included extensive appendices of romanized Javanese texts. These have not been included; however, stencilled copies are available from the publisher, Malaysian Sociological Research Institute. A list of those texts is found as an appendix.

It must be remembered that Rinkes was writing for a rather select group, Dutch-reading scholars on Indonesia. He assumes on the part of

SKETCHES AND MAP

Adjoining Chapter I

- I The Masjid at Kampung Pamijahan (Saparwadi)
- II The Steps Up to the Grave of Shaikh Abdulmuhyi
- III The Entrance to Shaikh Abdulmuhyi's Grave
- IV Within the Enclosure Around Shaikh Abdulmuhyi's Grave

Adjoining Chapter IV

- V The Gapura Pěngrantungan at Sunan Těmbayat's Grave
 - VI The Gapura Panemut at Sunan Těmbayat's Grave
 - VII The Gapura Paměnchar at Sunan Těmbayat's Grave
(Original Photograph)
- Sketch Map of Těmbayat and Environs

The six sepia sketches were done by Penang artist Tan Choon Ghee from the plates in the Dutch original.

Introduction

D. A. RINKES :

A Note on His Life and Work

Douwe Adolf Rinkes was born at Joure, in the province of Friesland (Netherlands), on November 8, 1878. He was of true Frisian stock, both his father and his mother, Minke Minderts Hoekstra, being Frisian.

In the small town of Joure, the centre of the municipality of Haskerland, the Rinkes family had lived for generations. Jan Jans Rinkes, the great-grandfather of D. A. Rinkes, was a well-to-do corn-dealer. His son Inne Jans, D. A. Rinkes' grandfather, became burgomaster of Haskerland. In addition to a commercial spirit and administrative capacity, other talents showed in the family. The younger brother of grandfather Inne Jans, Simke Heerts Rinkes, was a Latinist of repute, who, after completing his study of the classics at the University of Leiden with a thesis on Cicero's *Oratio prima in Catilinam*, was nominated vice-principal of the grammar-school at Arnhem. His untimely death at the age of 36 put an end to a very promising career.

D. A. Rinkes' father, Jan Innes Rinkes, was again a man of business, but Douwe, the second son, who became the eldest child in a family of five after the death of the first-born at a tender age, did not follow in his father's footsteps. After attending the secondary school at Sneek, a small town near the Frisian lakes, famous as a yachting centre, he bade farewell to his native soil and moved to Wageningen to continue his studies at the School of Agriculture and Forestry. This school, established in 1874, afterwards (1917) developed into the present Agricultural University of Wageningen.

At the end of the two years' course, Rinkes passed the obligatory government examination in the colonial section of the school (1898) and was certificated in tropical agriculture. In the summer and autumn of that year, he did the last part of his military service as a sergeant in the reserve, and in February, 1899, he went to Java, on his own account, to try his fortune outside the Netherlands, like so many of his fellow-students. His first post in the Netherlands-Indies was that of assistant at

Professor of Javanese at Leiden, was in charge of instruction in Javanese. He was an eminent Javanist and the author of a still valuable synoptical work on the Javanese theatre and of several papers on Javanese literature and folklore, which bear testimony to his exact knowledge and scientific approach. He had an intimate knowledge of the Javanese world; his relations with it were manifold, and with the Javanese literati of the Central-Javanese principalities he maintained friendly intercourse. Small wonder that his lessons roused the interest of those of his pupils who were alive to the importance of a thorough knowledge and understanding of indigenous life and culture.

Dr. van Ronkel's specialization was Malay language and literature. His achievements in this field are well-known and need not be mentioned here. An exhaustive list of his publications was printed in *Bingkisan Budi*, the memorial volume offered to him on the occasion of his 80th birthday in 1950. During the time when Rinkes was among his audience, the teaching of Islamic law and institutions had also fallen to his task. A complete text of van Ronkel's lectures on these subjects during the years 1899-1904, comprising 475 pages in manuscript, is in the possession of the Oosters Instituut at Leiden. From these lectures, it is apparent that he treated the subjects in question in a comprehensive way. Moreover, the influence of Snouck Hurgronje, whose efforts had placed the study of Islamic law on a new footing and whose masterly work on the Achehnese had appeared a few years before, shows ever and anon. In the course of the lessons, Snouck Hurgronje's name would have come up frequently, and many a time the importance of his scientific work in the domain of Islamic studies would have been brought to the fore.

Bearing in mind van Ronkel's lifelong interest in Malay literature and the numerous collections of Malay manuscripts which he catalogued, one may be sure that in connection with the origin of Indonesian Islam, the source of many a literary work in Malay must have been dealt with. I possess a little duodecimo book, presented to me by Rinkes on his return to Europe in 1927. It is the Bibliothèque Nationale edition of Vaugelas' French translation of the *History of Alexander the Great* by Quintus Curtius, published in three parts, 1897-1902. On the fly-leaf it bears Rinkes' signature, with the addition 'O.I. ambtenaar, Buitenzorg', indicating that he must have acquired this book in 1905. It was a rather unlikely book to appeal to an ailing office-clerk, unless he had a special interest in the story of the great Alexander. Is it too hazardous a conjecture that it was his interest in the Malay version of the romance of Alexander that made him buy it? An interest provoked by van Ronkel's lessons in Malay literature?

At that time, Sanskrit and the cultural history of India were taught by Professor Speyer, who had filled the vacancy left by the retirement of H. Kern, the most prominent linguist in the Netherlands in the latter part of the 19th century. Speyer was the author of a book on Vedic and Sanskrit syntax, but he was also well-versed in Indian story-literature. He had published an English translation of the *Jātakamālā*, the 'garland of birth-stories' of the Buddha, and edited the text of the *Avadānaçataka*, a 'century of edifying tales' belonging to the Hinayāna. His interest in Indonesia was limited to the domain of archaeology; the sculptural rendering of Buddhist tales on various ancient monuments had drawn his attention towards the historical remains of Buddhism in Java.

In the preface to his thesis already quoted, Rinkes speaks very highly of Speyer's lucid style of teaching and his unflinching readiness to help. Speyer's almost paternal attitude towards his pupils must have impressed him deeply, as it did others, for he strikes a personal note and adds: "You were the first to render actual help, to alleviate my disadvantages, to spare your pupil all useless labour. I know that without your aid, I would not have succeeded; without your subtle cooperation, the courage to hold on would have failed me." Apparently, Speyer's friendliness served as an antidote to the despondency which from time to time must have come over him when, urged on by the strict demands of his other professor, Snouck Hurgronje, he passed in review the obstacles which he still had to surmount before reaching his goal. For, in contradistinction to Rinkes' attachment to Speyer, his relationship with Snouck Hurgronje, the professor of 'Arabic and Islamic studies, seems to have been of a different character. Rinkes professes his profound reverence for Snouck Hurgronje's immense learning; his heartfelt gratitude for the lavish way in which he imparted his knowledge; his deep respect for his painstaking accuracy. But it is evident that his awe of Snouck Hurgronje's powerful personality precluded warmer feelings. He was, however, not overawed to the extent that there was no place left for criticism, and he even vented this criticism in his thesis by observing of Snouck Hurgronje's method of teaching that "perhaps in some respects it might have been less discouraging, at least to me": a candid statement not comparing unfavourably with the unqualified eulogies in commendation of their professors which others deem obligatory on such occasions.

This sign of discontent does not alter the fact that Rinkes was fully aware of the valuable, even indispensable, assistance which Snouck Hurgronje had lent him in other respects. For instance, it was only by his influence with the Colonial Office that Rinkes' leave was extended

international renown — he had planned initially to travel in Indonesia for two years to pursue his aim of studying the significance of the Muslim faith in the lives of its adherents in a peripheral area of the Islamic world. But, instead of returning to Leiden where a professorship was awaiting him, he had entered the service of the then Netherlands Indies Government as Adviser for Arab and Islamic Affairs.⁴

It goes without saying that during the fifteen years of his official career in the Indies he had every opportunity of observing the religious behaviour of the population and, through his close association with religious circles, he became familiar with the intimate side of Indonesian devotional life, which is apt to escape the notice of the casual observer.

Now Snouck Hurgronje had always stressed that in Islam it is law and doctrine and mysticism together which constitute sacred learning. But his observation of Indonesian Islam and his research into its historical development had made it clear that as regards the importance of each of these components in religious life, the Indonesians had always valued right thinking far more highly than the fulfilment of the Law. In their opinion, however, right thinking was not so much thinking along the lines of scholastic theology as speculative philosophy about the Unique Being and its mysteries, as set forth in the writings of authors whose orthodoxy was open to question. Furthermore, the mystic fraternities, with their various ways of attaining unity with the Supreme Being, had for centuries occupied a large place in their religious education and practice. So mysticism, orthodox as well as heretical, had spread everywhere and, in its most popular form, had become a receptacle where degraded remnants of authentic mystic conceptions mingled with scraps of pre-Islamic lore and ancient magic.

This situation is clearly reflected in many of the manuscripts gathered by Snouck Hurgronje in Java and Sumatra. Being mostly of the type of note-books wherein pupils of religious teachers set down everything that had interested them in the course of the lessons received, they represent faithfully what kind of instruction was given and which subjects were commonly treated. Moreover, many a page of these manuscripts is filled with the customary *ṭarīqa* matter of litanies,

4. In this capacity, he wrote the bulk of his official recommendations, now published in three volumes as *Ambtelijke Adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje*, ed. by E. Gobée and C. Adriaanse (State Historical Publications, small series 33–35, The Hague, 1957–1965).

Finally, Rinkes discussed shortly the propagation of the Shaṭṭāriyya Ṭarīqa in Java, concluding with an outline of some of the subjects commonly dealt with in the Javanese note-books, which he had examined, primarily the doctrine of the Seven Grades (*martabat tujuh*), to the spread of which Muḥammad b. Faḍl Allāh al-Burhānpūrī's *Al-Tulḡa al-mursala ilā 'l-nabī* (written in 1590) seems to have contributed considerably.⁶

On examining afresh the *salasilahs* of the Shaṭṭāriyya Order, as given in the Javanese notebooks, Rinkes found ample confirmation of Snouck Hurgronje's statement that in many cases the Javanese had become acquainted with this Order through the intermediary of AbdurRa'uf. For AbdurRa'uf had imparted his knowledge to a certain Abdulmuhyi, who afterwards settled in the *kampung* of Saparwadi, now called Pamijahan, in the neighbourhood of Parakan Honje, to the south of Tasikmalaya (Preanger Regencies), and it is this Abdulmuhyi who figures as the first Javanese transmitter in many genealogical lists. His tomb at Pamijahan, on the slope of a hill outside the hamlet, is held in high veneration and attracts many pilgrims from Eastern Preanger. It is little wonder that the first item on Rinkes' scientific programme after his return to Java in January, 1910, was a visit to Pamijahan, which village could be easily reached from Batavia (Jakarta), where he had been appointed Javanese master at the selfsame 'Section B' of his early training. As a result of this visit, he wrote his first paper on the "Saints of Java" published in the *Tijdschrift* of the Batavia Society. Unlike the articles which followed, this one is based entirely on oral information gathered on the spot. It may be considered as a sequel to his doctoral dissertation and, at the same time, as an *hors d'oeuvre* to the series of papers which he had planned to write on the *Wali Sanga*, the 'Nine Saints' of Javanese tradition.

Most unfortunately, this series, after an auspicious start with the significant story of Seh Siti Jēnar, came to an abrupt end when only four out of the 'Nine Saints' had been dealt with.⁷ These saints are:

Seh Siti Jēnar, buried at Pamlaten, near Chërbon;
Sunan Gēsēng, the Saint of Kēḍu;

6. Cf. A. H. Johns, "Malay Sufism", in *JMBRAS*, Vol. XXX, Part 2 (Aug. 1957), and my remarks in *Bijdragen* [see Abbreviations], Vol. 115 (1959), p. 281-304.

7. It seems that a wide divergence of opinion with the editor of the *Tijdschrift* concerning the necessity of the long annexes, with illustrative fragments from Javanese manuscripts, was at the heart of Rinkes' decision to discontinue the series: a most regrettable decision, to which he clung even in later years when continuation would have been welcomed.

Therefore, it is a great pity that the series was interrupted before those *Walis* had been dealt with, who from various points of view are more interesting. Rinkes' idea of gathering oral tradition *in loco* and publishing the data collected in this way, together with those culled from printed sources and manuscripts — though excellent in itself — must have influenced the order of publication, since this order became dependent on his more or less haphazard visits to the tombs. Apparently, at that time, Rinkes had no occasion to visit the southern part of central Java, the domain of Sunan Kali Jaga, or the coastal area of Java, where the tombs of famous saints like Maulānā Maghribī, Sunan Giri, Sunan Ngampel and Sunan Bonang are situated, so that the discussion of these had to be postponed. In consequence, we cannot but say that Rinkes' papers on the Saints of Java, valuable though they are, are still far from constituting a Javanese hagiology. Nevertheless, by opening up a new field of inquiry, he showed himself to be a man of marked initiative, which entitles him to our gratitude, the more so because it can hardly be doubted that subjects like mysticism and saint worship did not appeal very strongly to his predominantly practical mind. The Frisians are said to be a ratiocinative race (*Frisia ratiocinatur*). Sensible, perhaps, of the justness of this characterisation, Rinkes acknowledged, in the preface to his thesis already quoted before, that "although we Frisians are by no means 'wooden-minded literalists',¹⁰ our soberness and inclination to pessimism do not predispose us particularly well to re-feeling the mystic emotions of other people, if these are couched in such mysterious jingles." Likewise, in his rendering of the miraculous stories about the Saints, from time to time, he cannot refrain from displaying his sceptical attitude, as if to stave off beforehand the imputation of believing himself the absurd things which only scientific interest brought him to relate.

After the publication of his last paper on the Saints, Rinkes published nothing of importance on Indonesian Islam or Indonesian literature. This is not so remarkable when one keeps in mind the gradual increase of his duties, both official and non-official. In the course of 1910, Rinkes, though remaining Javanese master at 'Section B', was appointed linguistic officer and seconded to the Adviser for

10. No doubt this expression was borrowed by Rinkes from D. B. Macdonald, who in his *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, p. 172, wrote of Ibn Karrām that we must see in him "one of those wooden-minded literalists for whom a metaphor is a ridiculous lie if it cannot be taken in its external meaning".

Brandes' descriptive catalogue of the Javanese, Balinese and Sasak manuscripts which had belonged to van der Tuuk and were bequeathed by him to the Leiden University Library.¹⁷ Rinkes undertook the thankless task of editing the fourth volume of van der Tuuk's *magnum opus*, so that in 1912, after an interval of eleven years since the publication of the third volume and eighteen years after the death of the author, this invaluable dictionary was at last complete. The other work had to wait until 1915, when the third volume appeared, and its publication was not completed until 1928, when Dr. Th. Pigeaud edited the fourth and last volume.

For at the beginning of 1912, Rinkes had been temporarily appointed Deputy Adviser for Native Affairs to assist Dr. Hazeu who, in addition to his Advisership, had been put in charge of the Department of Education. About a year and a half afterwards, Rinkes became Adviser, whereas Hazeu remained at the head of the Department of Education.

The post of Adviser was by no means a sinecure. It involved manifold and diverse duties, and what with the rise of the Sarekat Islam in the years 1910-1916 and the complications brought about by the First World War, Rinkes' term of office (1912-1916) was a very busy one.

It is beyond the scope of this short biographical note to go into his activities in his advisory capacity. Suffice it to say that in order to follow closely the development of the Sarekat Islam,¹⁸ he had to travel widely in Java. His findings were laid down in his reports to Governor-General Idenburg, and these reports were not without their influence upon his policy with regard to this popular movement.¹⁹ Since this policy was considered far too lenient by the majority of Europeans,

17. *Beschrijving der Javaansche, Balineesche en Sasaksche Handschriften*, (found in the estate of Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk and bequeathed by him to the Library of Leiden University) Vol. I, 1901; Vol. II, 1903.

18. Rinkes' view of this development was given in a short article by his hand in the Dutch weekly *De Amsterdammer*, Saturday, Oct. 14, 1916.

19. In Idenburg's secret cabinet-letter of July 2, 1913, No. 43/1 to the Minister for the Colonies, Rinkes' considerations are mentioned twice in a commendatory sense (*Bescheiden betreffende de vereeniging "Sarekat Islam"*, Batavia, 1913, pp. 72, 77). As to Snouck Hurgronje's judgment on Idenburg's policy towards the Sarekat Islam, see his *Verspreide Geschriften*, IV, II, p. 410.

A sketch of the genesis of the policy framed by Idenburg was given by (his grandson) F. L. Rutgers, *Idenburg en de Sarekat Islam in 1913*, Amsterdam, 1939; see also Robert van Niel, *The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite*. The Hague, 1960, pp. 95-7.

first chairman. For this specific kind of work, he had one or two clerks at his disposal, so that his Bureau was the centre of these educational activities. As mentioned before, this item of the Adviser's manifold duties had been assigned to Rinkes on his appointment to the Bureau in 1912. From this year onward, he had been chairman of the commission and had taken a very active part in its transactions.

At first, the commission had directed its attention to the editing of more or less generally known legends and tales and of literature which would stimulate the taste for reading. It had books by European authors translated into Indonesian languages and also encouraged persons who showed an inclination to write fiction or travelogues to try their hand at writing. Although, after about ten years of steady labour, a number of books had been published, and not less than 700 circulating libraries had been founded, it could not be denied that the commission had had to work in a very roundabout way. Moreover, the printing of the books had to be done by private printing offices, whereas the marketing had to take place through the intermediary of the government store of schoolbooks which, when all is said and done, could only be called a very inefficient and cumbersome way of book-producing and book-selling.

But now that Rinkes had become available to shoulder the work of Volkslectuur, exclusive of all other pursuits, the best expedient to concentrate and intensify the activities in this field was to transfer the authority and the prerogatives of the commission to an independent bureau under his direction. Equipped with a budget of its own, this bureau in due course could also take in hand the sale and administration of the Volkslectuur publications and, eventually, their printing at its own printing plant. Besides, it could attend to the task of regularly reviewing the Indonesian and Chinese-Malay²⁰ press, a task hitherto performed as best it could by the Bureau of Native Affairs.

With a scanty staff of lower personnel, Rinkes started on his way. But he was not born in a family of traders for nothing; he knew how to make the most of the public money allotted to this much-criticized institution, which constituted an entirely new effort in adult education. In a few years, he had gathered around him a competent staff of

20. In this context, 'Chinese-Malay press' means those newspapers which were edited by Chinese journalists on behalf of the Chinese population of Indonesia. These papers were written in the peculiar variety of the Malay language which is called Chinese-Malay by European Malay scholars; hence the name. These papers were a category apart; therefore: Indonesian and Chinese-Malay press (of Indonesia).

attentive audience at every village market, these vans penetrated into the interior, far outside the radius of activity covered by agents, and contributed a great deal to propagating the name of Balai Pustaka.

The best propaganda for Balai Pustaka, however, was the wide range of its publications. There was, in fact, something for everybody: editions of works belonging to ancient literature; translations from European fiction; manuals of vocational training; books on horticulture and fruit-growing, on infant care and education, on book-keeping and commerce; translations of acts and regulations intended for government servants, and so on. Considerable time and care must have been spent in contacting and stimulating prospective authors and translators and supervising their writings before publication could be taken in hand, but one also wonders at Rinkes' ingenuity in picking out new subjects every time. Though probably it was the other way round; whenever Rinkes happened to meet a man who could write on some subject with a certain competence, he collared him and prevailed upon him to take up the pen.

It goes without saying that by making use of the Malay language for the treatment of so many subjects never treated before by Indonesian authors, Balai Pustaka was helpful in the modernisation of this language. Moreover, the Malay periodicals published by Balai Pustaka, being read everywhere, contributed to the spread of the language throughout the archipelago.

Important, too, was that the Balai Pustaka was not averse to accepting tales and novels written in imitation of European models, but in which the scene was laid in an Indonesian environment. Since these novels usually dealt with problems of a social order, much discussed by the younger generation, some of them ran into several editions. Whatever their reception by the literati of those days, today they are considered the first specimens of modern style Indonesian fiction and, therefore, have found recognition even in circles which, from the very beginning, had looked askance at government-sponsored literature.

In 1920, after three years of strenuous work, Rinkes fell ill and was sent to Europe on sick-leave. His scientific work had long since come to a standstill, and when he returned to his post in 1922, he did not resume it. Gradually, he had drifted away from his fellow orientalists, though with the younger ones his contacts had, in fact, never been very close. Apparently, while attending to the interests of *Volkslectuur*, his inborn business instinct had developed at the cost of scientific research. Considering the end to which he put his knowledge and his experience, there is no reason to blame him for that. Balai Pustaka was always in

I

THE MAKAM OF SHAIKH ABDULMUHYI

Preach:
for by thy Lord's bounty
thou art neither soothsayer nor madman

Qur'ān, LII, 29

I

THE MAKAM OF SHAIKH ABDULMUHYI

AFTER much study of Oriental languages in Holland and with having had to gather relevant material from dry books and confusing manuscripts,¹ it is gratifying to obtain from the people, themselves, in Indonesia the raw materials for a scholarly document. First on my programme was a visit to Shaikh Abdulmuhyi's grave to search for further historical-hagiological data concerning his personality, etc.

The road to Saparwadi, where the grave lies, runs from Tasikmalaya past Sukaraja and Chibalong to Parakan Honje, which can be reached using a small cart or on horseback, and from there by a wide footpath for about two-and-a-half miles to the Kampung Pamijahan (Appendix Note 1), the name now used exclusively for Saparwadi, which can be found on the topographical map.²

Twice the Chi Pamijahan, a right-hand tributary of the Chi Langla, is passed, and the second time, the bridge over it is the immediate entrance to the *kampung*. On the left is the *masjid* (Sketch I) on top of which is a finial reputedly carved by Abdulmuhyi himself.³

On the main path, the Panĕmbahan Anom's house is on the left and that of the Panĕmbahan Sĕpuh on the right. Both are descendants of the Saint and act as guardians of the grave.

Then there is land by the river which has not yet been built upon, and, on the right, a bamboo bridge used when there are floods. About seventy metres further on, the shallow river-bed, with boulders rising from it near the waterfall, leads to the partly-cemented steps up to the

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1. Rinkes, *Abdoerraof van Singkel, Bijdrage tot de kennis van de mystiek op Sumatra en Java* ('Abd ur-Ra'uf of Singkel: Contribution to the Knowledge of Mysticism on Sumatra and Java) (cited as *Bijdr. Mystiek*), p. 95. [See Abbreviations.]
 2. Detail, *Priangan. De Preanger-Regentschappen onder het Nederlandsch Bestuur tot 1811* by Haan, de-, Frederik, Table XXX.
 3. The finial could not be brought down for a close view without considerably damaging the roof, and a climb to the roof-top did not seem advisable, although this would not have been considered disrespectful.

God the Highest, easy portions from *al-Qur'ān*, such as the *Fātiḥa*, (the first *Sūra*) and the *Sūra al-Ikhlāṣ* (the 112th *Sūra*) and others besides these two, while you are seated inside this tomb.⁷

On each side there are dedicatory inscriptions in yellow on blue backgrounds relating to the construction of the enclosure, those supervising it, and some local authorities (Appendix Note 2).

Inside, along the wall, is a covered gallery to protect visitors from rain, and where they may stay the night either to obtain Allah's mercy, by night vigils and the continuous reciting of appropriate formulae, and to transfer this merit to the Saint that his favour and his intercession might be gained, or to divine future events from the dreams they may have so near to his influence (Appendix Note 3).

One especially hopes to learn from these dreams whether the Saint is favourably disposed towards the request or wish for which one made the pilgrimage.

Shaikh Abdulmuhyi is what one might call an 'all round man'; he is not a holy man for particular purposes, who mainly helps on specific request, but he is one who gladly shows his interest in all daily needs and wants and who tries to alleviate everyone's difficulties.⁸ If a childless woman requests the Saint's mediation that she might acquire motherhood (Appendix Note 4), in her dream she might, for example, see a hen with chicks, showing that her wish will be granted.

A young *magang*⁹ might desire promotion; he would go to Pamijahan and near the grave, having made his request, would burn *mēnyan* [incense] and recite a set of formulae, then dream of a person carrying a *payung* [umbrella], or indeed that he climbs a ladder or a tree. This indicates that the Saint is favourably disposed towards him. A merchant desiring prosperity in commerce would consider himself fortunate if the Saint caused him to dream of shooting a deer while hunting.

To young men or women seeking suitable marriage partners, the Saint may indicate their future by a dream. If the moon falls into their

7. Ed. Note: we give here our own translation of the 'Arabic:

"This is the gate of the *maqām* (mausoleum) of ash-Shaykh al-Ḥaj Abd al-Muhyi, (situated) at Sagarwadi. When you enter it, first send your salutations to him (the deceased), then for God (i.e. to seek His pleasure) read from the *Qur'ān* what you can, for instance, *al-Fātiḥa*, *al-Ikhlāṣ*, etc. (Keep on reciting) as long as you are sitting in the *maqām* (mausoleum)."

8. The expression for this is *kabul* [*kabul*: approval, answer (of a prayer, request)] especially known as a law term. The request is called *ḥajat*, also *niat* (intention), *nadzar* (vow) and the like; pilgrimage to the holy place itself is called *jarah* from the 'Arabic *zijārah*.

9. Ed. Note: *magang*; candidate for a post in the civil administration who volunteers in an office while awaiting appointment.

quite perished are used as *mukēnah* (Sund., from the 'Arabic *miqna'ah*), or veils, by the female relatives of the Panēmbahan.

At the south of the main tomb are the enclosed graves of three of Shaikh Abdulmuhyi's wives and of one of his daughters, respectively,

Nyi Mas Ayu Patimah
Sēmbah Ayu Winangun
Sēmbah Ayu Tangga

and Sēmbah Bagus Muhyi Aldin Ajidin;

the three on the east side under separate roofs (Sketch IV) are respectively of his first wife Sēmbah Ayu Bakta, his daughter Dalēm Bojong¹⁴ and of Dalēm Wiradedaha or Dalēm Pamijahan;¹⁵ and the grave of Abdulmuhyi's son, Shaikh Haji Abdullah, is situated to the west of the main grave (Sketch IV) (see further).

The markers of these latter graves are of wood and consist of a frame of beams on which the tomb-poles rest and which have been somewhat shaped by a few deep indentations (Appendix Note 7). Between all these secondary graves one finds visitors seated, carefully burning incense and praying zealously; they hardly notice an impious European who would record these pious scenes with his camera.

The length of the whole grave enclosure, according to information supplied, is 21 metres square, whilst the Saint's tomb measures five metres by five metres 26 cm.

THE RELATIVES OF THE SHAIKH

I also visited the Panēmbahan Sēpuh, where the feats and acts of his ancestor were the main topic of conversation. After some enquiries, I gathered the following impressions, but am unable to guarantee their historical veracity. They originate, evidently, in the pious traditions still known to the present generation.

Mataram was given as the birthplace of the celebrated Shaikh, whose father was Kyai Shaikh Lēbe¹⁶ Warta Kusuma, a descendant

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14. During questioning about his family, the names were given to me somewhat differently (see below), and I shrink from further identification now as the informants left on the *Haj* [pilgrimage] to Makka some time ago.
 15. In history there are Regents of Sukapura known by that name (compare Dr. de Haan, *Priangan*, II, see index *voce* and literature there), who were connected with Pamijahan.
 16. Note the conjunction of titles.

Of his teachings I was merely told that he taught the *dikir Shattariah*^{25,26} and his best-known pupil is Bagus Nurjain of Chërbon. The year and the date of his death are not known.²⁷

A large gathering of visitors takes place on the tenth *Muharram*²⁸ ('*Ashura* day'),²⁹ as well as on the twelfth *Rabi' al-awwal*³⁰ (*Mulud*),³¹ so from the above data the time of his death cannot be determined.³²

THE TIGER-LEGEND AND THE 'MIRACLES'

Apart from the historical value of the above, legend has attached a number of widely believed but absurd stories to Abdulmuhyi's name. Well known is the tiger who pays homage near the grave at night, especially during the month of the *Mulud*, and afterwards is said to stand reverently in the adjoining wood for some time (Appendix Note 9).

Not everyone knows that this tiger is white and has three companions of a normal colour. These four animals were nursed by a grandchild-by-marriage of the Saint. A certain Kyai Budur of Chërbon saw this white tiger. Once in the *masjid*, while making his *ishā'-ṣalāt*³³ at dark, he saw nearby a form observing him. Calmly he finished his prayers and then noticed that it was a white tiger. Kyai Budur was speechless with fear until, after the prayers, he saw the animal steal away and vanish through the closed door.

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25. Ed. Note: *dikir, dhikr*: 'remembrance' of Allāh, primarily by reciting His Names/Attributes with the purpose of obtaining an ecstatic or mystic experience. *Shattāriyya Tariqa*: mystic order; see Glossary.
 26. I should have liked to discuss in an appendix some mystic manuscripts obtained at Pamijahan, but have not had the time to study them fully. In *Javaansche Handschriften* (from now on abbreviated as Jav. Hss.) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (from now on abbreviated as Bat. Gen.) No. 455, p. 12, is a Sundanese fragment about the *seven martabat* [mystic doctrine of the 'seven grades'] and the attributes of God, which from the heading gives Shaikh Abdulmuhyi's opinions.
 27. Ed. Note: however, see footnote 20, which places him in the 17th Century.
 28. Ed. Note: *Muharram*, first month of the 'Arabic calendar.
 29. Ed. Note: '*Ashūra*', 10th *Muharram*, an optional fast-day; with the *Shī'a*, a day of mourning in commemoration of the death of Ḥusain, the grandson of Prophet Muḥammad, who was killed at Karbalā', 'Irāq in A.H. 60/A.D. 680.
 30. Ed. Note: *Rabi' al-awwal*, 3rd month of the 'Arabic calendar.
 31. Ed. Note: *Mawlid al-Nabī*, Birthday of Prophet Muḥammad.
 32. The date of death of a Saint is usually remembered because visitors like to pay homage to the grave on that day, but it is not a reliable indication especially as far as the old sanctuaries are concerned. Cf. Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* II, trans. Monahan, pp. 52-53.
 33. Ed. Note: *ṣalāt al-'ishā'*, evening prayer, approximately 8.30 p.m.

Another source, however, links Shaikh Abdulmuhyi with the local Saint Haji Mangsur (Maṣūr)⁴⁰ of Bantěn, who also went at the same time to Makka on Fridays, but through the air. Neither knew how to address the other, so it was decided that the first to arrive must greet the other as *Akang* (elder brother).

The following Friday, after breakfast, Abdulmuhyi thought there was still time for a few puffs, but evidently there was not, for the time thus spent caused him to lose the race through air and earth. As he emerged from the Zamzam Well in Makka, Haji Mangsur had already landed from the air and had seated himself amidst the faithful. Shaikh Abdulmuhyi was compelled to acknowledge him as his superior. From then onwards, he renounced the cursed habit which had so tricked him. He also forbade smoking to all his disciples (Appendix Note 11).

Consequently, to the present day, smoking is not allowed inside the boundary of Kampung Pamijahan. A row of bamboo chairs, *awi jajar*,⁴¹ near Parakan Honje and the waterfall near Panyalahan, indicate the limits of the area. This explains why the *sawung wakaf* and other rest-houses are outside the hamlet and above the waterfall, thus preventing visitors from unconsciously disobeying the ban and bringing trouble upon themselves.

Once, a thoughtless youth wanted to test the truth of the ban. He lit a cigarette and put it in the side of his mouth. Immediately, his face stiffened, and there he stood with a twisted mouth, unable to move his facial muscles. His friends, understanding the cause, went to the grave of the Saint and after fervent prayer and the burning of an extraordinary amount of *měnyan*, obtained pardon for the sinner. Another, who could not resist smoking, put his lit cigarette in a crack in the floor of the *masjid*. Each time he bowed to the ground, he took a puff, the smoke being wafted away through the crack. Suddenly, his lips were stuck firmly to the floor, and he had perforce to remain in this uneasy position until a friend could gain the Saint's forgiveness.

A longer stay in the region, under more favourable circumstances, would no doubt have provided further material from history and folklore, for these people talk endlessly of their Saint.

40. Worthy of further enquiry are some remarkable stories of this famous character (for example in Jav. Hss. Bat. Gen. No. 183). According to the Bantěnese notion [conception], he is the heir of the Sultan's house and those with whom the *Compagnie* [(Dutch) United East India Company] later made their contracts are sly deceivers and intruders. A statuette in the medal cabinet of the Bat. Gen. is called Haji Mangsur, and local visitors treat it with respect.

41. Ed. Note: *awi*, bamboo; *jajar*: line, row.

(Koran-shelves). Visiting this place was at times unpleasant owing to lingering smoke from the torches of many previous pilgrims; one gasped for breath and, if one's torch went out, stumbled back in the dark to the *Masjid* where there were always some flares alight.

It would be helpful if electric lighting were installed, but pending this I decided that on my next visit I would take an acetylene lamp, and the authorities were advised to provide some of these for visitors to hire. The cost could be amply covered, and the cave, with its stalactites and vaults, seen to advantage.

The passage to the *pangwadonan*, the abode of women, is so narrow that one can only get through by sliding down it (at several other places it is necessary to crouch). Opinion differed as to the exact meaning of the word *pangwadonan*, where during divine services formerly held in the cave, this space was thought to be reserved for women. Others declared that women wishing to spend the night there chose the *pangwadonan*, the men staying in the *Masjid*. Indeed, in the *Masjid*, we came across some men who had stayed there for two days and for one reason or another had imposed this evidently ancient pagan asceticism on themselves (Appendix Note 12). Again, others are of the opinion that this *pangwadonan* was the place where Abdulqadir, Abdulmuhyi, and Haji Mangsur sometimes met for discussions.

Fortunately, the end was in sight. The torches were almost burnt out, and daylight was greeted with joy.

I found this cave mentioned neither in Veth's *Java*, first edition, Vol. III, nor in Verbeek and Fennema, *Java*, nor indicated on the detailed topographical map. Thus, I much regretted that the airlessness inside had prevented me from obtaining complete information.

SĚMBAH KODRAT'S GRAVE

Near the cave is Kampung Panyalahan, in the vicinity of which SĚmbah (or as they say here, Eyang) Kodrat has her *makam*. She was married to Khatib⁴³ Muwahib, who lies next to her; their *makam* is on the upper edge of a small group of *sawahs* [irrigated rice-fields] and stands out well against the background of dark forest and the sloping rice-fields in front. The layout is similar to that of Abdulmuhyi's grave, only much simpler, yet neatly correct. But it offers, as far as I could

43. Ed. Note: *khatib* (*kĕtib*, *chatib*), religious official or layman who delivers sermon in the *masjid*; *masjid* official.

achieved by the appearance there of Abdulmuhyi, who by his personal influence (I think he contributed greatly to the Islamization of these remote areas) obtained adherence and veneration, and finally the transfer of holiness, at least partly to the Shaikh during his life and after his death, and the Islamising of the cave by some hagiographical anecdotes from the Saint's biography.⁴⁵ Nowadays, the cave is not considered holy in itself; its significance comes from its connection with the Shaikh, who lies buried in the vicinity, and from him does it derive its beneficial effects.

Sometimes one hears of such transitions. It is said that near the Desa Sangiang, in District Majalēngka, is a lake known to have been worshipped from of old. Later reports say that a Sunan Parung was buried nearby. Gradually, the veneration, which the lake alone enjoyed, was transferred to this pseudo-saint, until the lake retained only some sparse remnants of its former veneration, and this is achieved through stories such as that the Saint used to bathe in its waters. But the holiness of the place and its vicinity, and the gatherings of the faithful, have remained as of yore (Appendix Note 13).

ELUCIDATIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Sooner than I expected, I believe I have found a solution to the question of whether a son of Abdulmuhyi was really a *pēngulu* in Kartasura.

In *Cod. Or. Lugd.*⁴⁶ No. 2310 (see *Catalogus*⁴⁷ of Mr. Vreede, p. 382) is a list of all the Javanese Kings from earliest times, noting the time and duration of their reigns, as well as a summary of the most important officials of the reign and, in the Muslim era, a *pēngulu* is among them. This list may be mainly founded on fantasy as regards the older part, but the later statements seem reliable when checked with other historical sources.

As *pēngulu* under Paku Buwana II, a certain Mas Pēkih⁴⁸ Ibrahim is mentioned, who held this office at Kartasura for three years and for

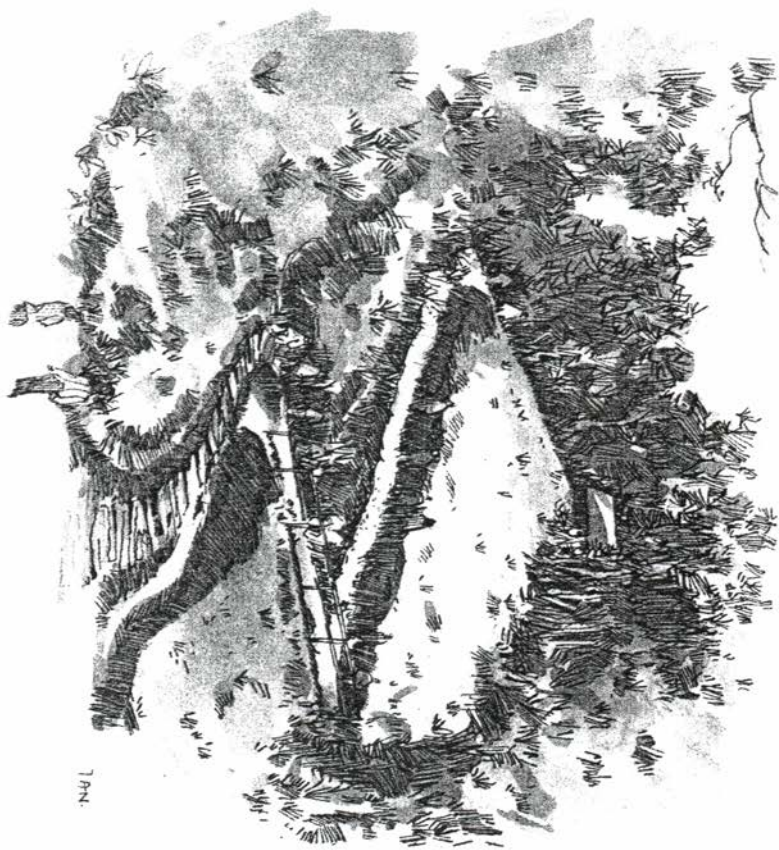
45. In the 'pre-Islāmic' period, Hinduizing of caves, etc. would have taken place in such a way. One example may be the (dilapidated) temple of Jēdung, north of Pēnangungan, which is noted in Veth, *Java*, I, 2nd edition, p. 200. ... "Jēdung seems to mean a cave, and the name will have been adopted from a natural cave south of the ruin." But investigation into this matter lies outside my field.

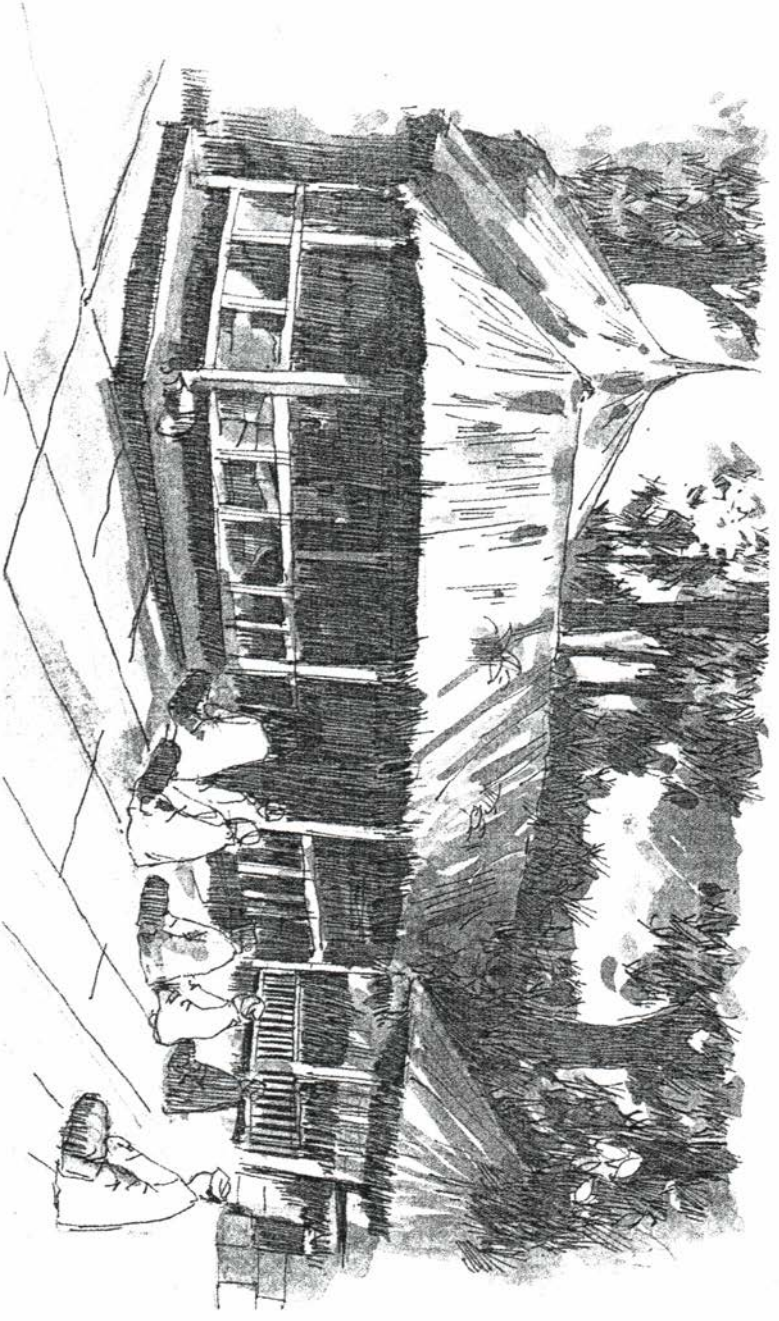
46. Ed. Note: *Codex Orientalis Lugdunensis* (Oriental Manuscripts, Leiden.)

47. Ed. Note: see *Biblio voce: Cat. Jav. Mad. Hss.*

48. So, *Pekik* (p. 6) is a misprint.

SKETCH II The Steps Up to the Grave of Shaikh Abdulmuhyi





SKETCH IV Within the Enclosure Around Shaikh Abdulmuhyi's Grave

II

SEH SITI JĒNAR FACING THE INQUISITION

*If ye do not recognize God,
at least recognize His signs.
I am that sign,
I am the Creative Truth ('Ana'l-Ḥaqq),
because through the Truth
I am truth eternally.*

*And I, though I am killed and crucified,
and though my hands and feet are cut off —
I do not recant.*

al-Ḥallāj ('crucified' A.D. 922)
Kitāb al-Tawāsīn

II

SEH SITI JĒNAR FACING THE INQUISITION

As well as the political meeting, even conspiracy, of the *Walis*¹ of Dĕmak, where it was decided to attack the kingdom of Majapait, a subject continually dealt with fairly extensively in the *Babads*,^{2,3} tradition relates that a theological meeting was also convened by those religious teachers of the past. (Sometimes more than one meeting is mentioned.)

It would be tempting, as well as important for the cultural history of Java, to essay an account of that meeting, because several nuances of the present, still 'native', mysticism found their spokesmen at this meeting. But tradition, practically the only source of information, gives varying versions of the matters discussed. Therefore, it seems to me desirable, pending a more detailed account which I shall give of the Synod of *Walis*, as it might be called,⁴ to mention at least one of its echoes among the present generation of which the final act, the trial of Seh Siti Jĕnar, has been handed down.



This version was found in Jav. Hss. Bat. Gen., No. 397,⁵ and I have tried to transcribe it⁶ and to give a (shortened) translation.

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1. Ed. Note: *Walī*: friend (of Allāh, *walī Allāh*) saint; *Walī Sanga*: the Nine Saints of Java to whom the Islāmisation of Java is attributed.
 2. See for instance *Babad Tanah Djawi*, ed. Meinsma, p. 46, and Veth, *Java*, first edition, II., pp. 193-4.
 3. Ed. Note: *Babad*: abbreviation of *Babad Tanah Djawi* or similar phrase, title of book on descent of rulers of Mataram; later appellative for 'book on the past' or 'description of historical facts'.
 4. I leave undecided whether or not it can be considered historical.
 5. p. 124a, from the seventh line from the bottom, to p. 130. According to the heading, this manuscript is by Hāji Lulla, a watchmaker at Sĕmarang and, as the first strophes say, started the 15th *Ruwah*, year *wawu* = 29 January, 1896. In the list of Jav. Hss. Bat. Gen. is this note: "200 pages × 2, folio fragment of a *Babad?* (Jaka Tingkir) (bought from the firm known as Widow Harmsen, November, 1900)".
Ed. Note: Prof. G. W. J. Drewes writes: *Ruwah* ('Arabic *arwāh*, spirits), name of the 8th month of the lunar year ('Arabic *Sha'bān*), because in this month people prepare a sacrificial meal (*kĕnduri*) for the spirits of the deceased; *wawu* ('Arabic *waw*, the name of a letter), indicates the seventh year of a *windu*. A *windu* is a cycle of eight years, all of them indicated by letters of the 'Arabic alphabet.

kaṭah kang tilar jumuah
 mēngkana jēng Sunan Giri
 kēlangkung rudityanira
 pakumpulan para wali
 pēpak aneng ing masjid
 jēng sunan ngandika arum
 paran ing karsanira
 sagunge kang para wali
 aprakara ia Ki Seh Siti Jēnar

dene samēngkono ia
 amulangken ngelmu gaib
 ninggal suratljumuah⁸
 lamun kinendēlna pasti
 tēmah nyuwongken masjid
 wong Jawa paḍa kēlayu
 ia ing ngelmu gampang
 umatur kang para wali
 yen aparēng prayogine tinimbal⁹

ingantēpan sēdyanira
 yen kenging kinen mantani¹⁰
 kēlamun botēn puruna
 kinisas¹¹ ukume iki
 sawab duk Kanjēng¹² Nabi
 gih wontēn lēpiyanipun
 anami Seh Mubarak
 kochap ing Kitab Nawawi
 pan kinisas ing ngarsane Rasulullah

-
8. Read *sun(n)atul-*. Ed. Note: *Sun(n)atul* is a correction of the text, which reads *suratul*; *sunnatuljumu'ah* means: the (customary) Friday prayer.
9. Read *tinimbalan*, according to R. M. Mangku Dimeja at Yogya. Ed. Note: Prof. G. W. J. Drewes writes: *tinimbalan* instead of *tinimbal*, because otherwise the line is one syllable short; moreover, *tinimbalan* is the correct form.
10. Read *mantuni* [to cease, to stop], according to R. M. Mangku Dimeja.
11. The manuscript has  *kinisas* from *kisas* = 'Arabic قصاص; see Juynboll, *op. cit.*, index voce *qiṣāṣ* [retaliation, punishment].
12. Throughout, the manuscript has: 

mung Allah ingkang ana
 Sunan Giri duk miarsi
 yata mesĕm wĕsana alon ngandika

eh sira karo balia
 Allah sun-undang sa-iki
 barĕnga lan lakunira
 tĕkaa ing ngarsa mami
 mentar duta kĕkalih
 datan kawurchiteng ngĕnu
 wus prapta wismanira
 Ki Seh Siti Jĕnar panggih
 yata matur wau duta kalihira

Allah sampean ngandikan
 dumatĕng jĕng Sunan Giri
 Seh Siti Jĕnar ngandika
 ingkang maujud sa-iki
 Siti Jĕnar kang linggih
 lah wis matura sireku
 duta kalih gya mentar
 tan kawarna aneng margi
 sampun prapta aneng ing Giri sĕmana

anĕmbah alon turira
 kaula sampun tinuding
 Seh Siti Jĕnar lingira
 Seh Siti Jĕnar kang linggih
 yata jĕng Sunan Giri
 pangandikanira arum
 karo sira balia
 matura ingkang prayogi
 Siti Jĕnar lawan Allah sun-prih tĕka

ia ana ngarsaningwang
 duta kalih mentar aglis
 prapta wisma Siti Jĕnar
 umatur sarwi wotsari
 dawuhnya Sunan Giri
 Seh Siti Jĕnar puniku
 lawan Allah katuran
 inggih dumatĕng ing Giri
 kanjĕng sunan pan inggih arsa papanggiha

gĕtih abang tanpa syara
 sĕkala ingkang rah abrit
 sumilak amalih pĕtak
 aḍikir gandanya wangi
 la ilaha ilalahi
 Muhammad Rasulolahu
 ḍikire kang ponang rah
 badan musna rah tan keksi
 yata nĕbda jĕng Sunan ing Kalijaga

dene lir patine setan
 badane musna tan keksi
 Seh Siti Jĕnar nyuwara
 mungguh wong urip puniki
 gugua ing lianing
 tokite maring Yang Agung
 sayĕkti akapiran
 nora prapta kang kinapti
 ia iku kabegalan aneng marga

yata Sunan Kalijaga
 sabat pitu den-ḍawuhi
 apa ta paḍa anuta
 marang gurunira sami
 kapitu aturneki
 tan wontĕn sulayanipun
 lajĕng sami kinisas
 layan musna pitu sami
 sami mesĕm sagung para wali sadaya

sami sokur ing Yang Sukma.

SITI JĚNAR REAFFIRMS HIS DOCTRINE AND IS BEHEADED

This I translate as follows:¹⁷

Dĕmak became more and more prosperous, and the Sultan's reign was known throughout Java. Sunan Giri was the religious leader. Many sought instruction in Knowledge from the *Walis*, but

17. Through the kindness of my respected teacher of Javanese, Dr. G. A. J. Hazeu, I have been able to correct some of the mistakes in this and the following translations.

Seh Siti Jĕnar said, "Know, both of you, that Siti Jĕnar *is* not,^{23,24} at present (only) Allah *is*; it is good, go, say this."

The emissaries departed, arrived at Giri, and spoke, "Lord, we were sent to call Siti Jĕnar. He replied, "Siti Jĕnar *is* not, only Allah *is*."

Sunan Giri smiled on hearing this and said gently, "You must both go back; I now send for Allah that He cometh with you here before me."²⁵

The emissaries went to Siti Jĕnar. The latter replied, "He who at present has Existence is Siti Jĕnar, who sits here. You must say this."

The two *kĕtibs* did so, and were ordered to bring Siti Jĕnar *and* Allah before Sunan Giri.

Seh Siti Jĕnar laughed on hearing this message, then accompanied the emissaries, who walked behind him along with seven of his disciples. Arriving at Giri, he greeted the *Walis* and was greeted; then they sat down.

Sunan Giri spoke, "How (is it) that you come not to perform the meritorious Friday service, striving to practise the Law of the Prophet and to increase the attendance at divine service?"

Seh Siti Jĕnar said, "There *is* no Friday, and there *is* no *masjid*, only Allah *is*, indeed. Nothing has Existence at present, save He."

Sunan Giri signalled to Sunan Kali Jaga, who then spoke, drawing his sword, "This object, what is it?"

Siti Jĕnar replied, "It is Allah, who is to be seen here." Quickly, his neck was severed by the sword. His head, cut off, fell to the ground; his body rolled on the earth, and red blood streamed out.

Sunan Kali Jaga spoke (mockingly), "So, Allah's blood is red; his body lies flat like the stem of a *pisang* [banana] tree."

Red blood gives no sound; suddenly the red blood became clear and changed into white blood; it spread a pleasing odour and '*dikired*';²⁶

"There is no God, save Allah,
Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah."

That was the *dikir* of that blood. The body disappeared, the blood was no longer to be seen.

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23. *Sĕpi* and *suwung* are apparently used in mystic manuscripts to indicate the 'Arabic معذور. For the translation of this and other terms into Dutch, I have tried as far as possible to follow the translations in *Bijdr. Mystiek*.
24. Ed. Note: *sĕpi*, quiet; lonely, destitute of; *suwung*, *ma'dūm*: void; both words are used as translations of 'Arabic non-existent, not being.
25. This reply is indeed not without humour.
26. From ذكْر; see *Bijdr. Mystiek*, index *voce dzikr*. Ed. Note: *dzikr*, 'remembrance' of Allāh (God) chiefly by reciting His Names/Attributes; purpose (apart from devotion) is to obtain an ecstatic or mystic experience.

In the same manuscript³² containing the above tradition, one finds how by coincidence, or rather by Allah's special dispensation and grace, he was actually admitted to the *Walis*. Slightly shortened, I now relate what is mentioned there:³³

After three years of travels in Arabia and Java, Seh Dara Putih^{34,35} arrived at the island of Upih³⁶ where he received a sign from the All-seeing:³⁷

"Everyone, who (also) eats of this *sēmangka* [watermelon], it is the will of the Immaterial that he shall become a great *Wali*."

The Seh returned to Java and arrived with the convert Raden Sahid, now Sunan Kali Jaga, at Ngampel Dĕnta, where one night the *Walis* gathered and expounded the *ilmu sĕjati* [genuine knowledge].³⁸ All eight *Walis* were together; the *sēmangka* was split into eight boat-shaped sections and quickly distributed. Yet one piece remained.

Seh Dara Putih said, "We lack one *Wali*, for there remains one piece of this *sēmangka*; go, search outside, perchance someone is there."

Sunan Kali Jaga went out and met at the gate one who gave his name as Siti Jĕnar. Directly he was led inside, and Seh Dara Putih spoke to him: "It is preordained by the Immaterial that you, my young friend,³⁹ have a right to this *sēmangka*. Eat it, for you make the number of the *Walis* complete."⁴⁰

32. No. 397, p. 88 ff. Elsewhere also there is talk of his conversion: "... Sayit Seh, who had to convert Siti Jĕnar ...", *Pararaton*, p. 196. [See Abbreviations.]
33. I omit the text itself, which does not offer any details.
34. According to *Meded. Zend. Gen.*, Vol. 13, p. 326, where Mr. Poensen reproduces the contents of an *Adji-Saka* story, Seh Dara Putih, a descendant of Kasah(?)³⁵... "will marry a daughter of the King of Blambangan ..." A younger brother of his is Seh Jumadil Kubra.
35. Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje suggests that if Kasah is no slip of the pen for Kasan, for instance, Prophet Muḥammad's Companion عكاشة بن محسن ['Ukkāshah bin Muḥsin] might be meant, (see Nawawī's *Tahdhīb al-asmā' wa'l-lughā*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 427), who is more often found in native stories as Ukasah, Akasah and Kasah.
36. Ed. Note: Pulau Upih: Javanese quarter of the old town of Malaka.
37. *Sasmīta pĕparingira Yang Manon*. Ed. Note: an indication (sign) given by the Seeing One (God).
38. About *sĕjati* see below p. 33, note 80. Ed. Note: *sĕjati*, real, true, essential.
39. *Ki bayi*. *Bayi* (infant) is a more customary form of address by a *Wali* to his pupils, besides *kakī*, *kulup*, and so on. According to R. M. Mangku Dimeja, *ki* in this connection is an abbreviation of *kaki*. By *bayi* is meant that the pupil, as opposed to the *guru* in knowledge, is as a baby opposed to an adult (or as a grain of sand compared to Mont Blanc, as a teacher at Primary School once assured me!).
Ed. Note: *Ki bayi*, reverend baby; *bayi*: baby; *kaki*, my dear (word of address); *kulup*, my boy (word of address): 'Arabic *qu'lf*, plur. *aqlaf*, uncircumcised (young boy).
40. *Gĕnĕping Wali*. Ed. Note: Completing the number of *Walis*.

lamat₂ kapiarsa, surasa paring wasita [dene ta charitakula lugu mung mēṭik pustaka, pamachakipun rinēngga ing kidung, kinanti sēkarira, pratelanya kasēbut (ing)- andap punika]:

wau kang murweng don luhung
 atilar wasita jati
 e manungsa sesa-sesa
 mungguh ing⁴⁵ jamaning pati
 ing reh pēpunting tekad⁴⁶
 santa-santosaning kapti

nora saking anon ngrungu
 riringa rēngēt siningit
 labēt asalin salaga
 salugune den-ugēmi
 yeka pangagēme raga
 suminggah ing sangga runggi

marmane sarak siningkur
 kērana angrurubēdi
 manggung karya was sumēlang
 ěmbuh-ěmbuh den-andēmi
 iku panganggone donya
 tēkeng pati nguchiwani

sajati-jatining ngelmu
 lungguhe chipta pribadi
 pustīnēn pangestinira
 ginēlēng dadi sawiji
 wijanging ngelmu jatmika
 neng kahanan ēnēng ēning

45. According to R. M. Mangku Dimeja, described by: *ing bab*.

46. According to R. M. Mangku Dimeja, in this line and the one following, *kēkēntēlaning sēdya* (*tekad* = *sēdya* according to this opinion) and line with *esti rēsiking pikajēngan* (with play upon the word *sēmedi*). These lines would thus mean *Mēnggahing pējah, kēkēntēlaning sēdya ing sēmedi kēdah rēsik, tēgēsipun botēn katunggilaken ing rēmbag sanes, pikajēngan wau ingkang sēntosa*, which the informant, himself, translates as "persevere, steadfastly and confidently, in order to be certain that it is but One."⁴⁷

47. Ed. Note: Prof. G. W. J. Drewes writes, *lēlungiding*: the edge of; *kēkēntēlaning sēdya*: the firmness of the intention; *esti rēsiking pikajēngan*: striving after pure intention; *Mēnggahing pējah* etc.: As to death, the firmness of the intention to mental concentration should be pure (free from side-intentions), that is to say that it should not be associated with other thoughts; the intention should be unshaken ...

The reason the Law is disregarded
 is that it is troublesome
 and causes continuous work, irresolution, restlessness,⁵³
 one knows not if one can rely on it.
 That Law is to be used (destined) for this world:
 should one come to death, then it fails.

The most Essential Knowledge
 is to be unflinching in the contemplation of the Self.
 Confirm your conception of it (concentrate on the idea of it),
 (then) one arrives at the certainty that it is One.
 The analysis of the esoteric Knowledge⁵⁴
 is in the Being, which is perfect Rest [or, devoid of all
 motion].”

THE 'EIGHTH WALI' — SOME DERIVATIONS OF HIS NAME

This is a knotty piece of text, due to the use of alliteration (*purwakanġi*), and I know that in translating it I have not always succeeded.⁵⁵ Similar parts of texts and manuscripts were passed over by former investigators, who restricted themselves to the epic and historical texts, which usually are considerably easier.

For a correct understanding of Siti Jĕnar's 'heresy' further clarification is desirable.

Given in a Javanese manuscript, *Sĕrat Wirid*,⁵⁶ are the doctrines of the Eight Walis after the death of Sunan Ngampel, during the first period of the era when the seat of the kingdom was established in

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53. Does not one think of Saint Augustine's statement, "*Irrequietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in Te ...*"? Ed. Note: "Our soul is restless till it rests in Thee ..."
54. The Knowledge, belonging to the self, compare Skr. *adhyaġmika*. Ed. Note: spiritual, psychical; inward.
55. I requested the help of a pair of local literary men to clear up the difficulties; although I have to praise their readiness to assist, the points which were not clear were not cleared by their information. Only continuous study and comparison can help us further at the moment.
56. *Sĕrat wirid anyariosakĕn wĕwĕjanganipun wali 8 bab kasampurnan* (Book of Higher Wisdom stating the doctrines of the eight Walis concerning spiritual perfection), published in Surakarta, 1908, and ascribed to Raden Ngabehi Rangga Warsita, p. 2. A similar list of these doctrines is in the *Niti Mani*, in the published edition, pt. 1, p. 137.

by posterity, meaning died at Kamuning, like his son Pangeran *Seda Krapyak*, so that one thinks rather of a place *Kajĕnar* = Kamuning.⁶⁸ (Grammatically these two words are not equivalent.) This last is confirmed by Raffles,⁶⁹ who mentions "1521 (*sic*). Death of Panambahan Senapati, at Jĕnar."

THE EIGHTH INSTRUCTION

Of this *Sasahidan* doctrine nothing more is said in the *Sĕrat Wirid*, but in the *Niti Mani*, mentioned before, it is treated in more detail. Its text runs:⁷⁰

... Wĕwĕjangan ingkang kaping wolu, dipunwastani sasaidan, awit pemĕjanganipun kinen anyaidi datĕng wahaning sanak-kita, inggih

68. The following elaboration re *kajĕnar* and *kamuning* was given by R. M. Mangku Dimeja. Such changes in sound are often found in metre for the convenience of the poet seeking good end-sounds. If *kuning* comes at the end of a line, and the metre needs an *a* as a last vowel, a synonym is inserted as a substitute, as in this case *jĕnar*. *Jatisari* sometimes becomes [*krama*] *Jatisantun*, *Jati sĕkar* [*krama* of] *Jati kĕmbang* [a kind of jati-wood]. At times, this exchange is coupled with verbal jugglery to obtain the right amount of syllables. For instance, *wong agĕng ing Mataram* [a high-born man from Mataram] (where Senapati might be meant) has seven syllables. Should eight be needed, perhaps in the first line of a *sinomstrophe*, one can paraphrase with *wong agung ing eksi ganda*, *eksi* = *mata*, and *ganda* = (*a*)*rum*, = *ram*, for *Mata-ram* or in case one needs a *u* ending-sound, also *Mata-rum*. [Ed. Note: Prof. G. W. J. Drewes writes, *Mataram* is split up into *mata* and *arum* (= *aram*); *mata* = *eksi* = *nayana* = eye; *arum* = *rum* = *ganda* = fragrant; odour; therefore, *Mataram* is interchangeable with *Eksi ganda* and *Nayana ganda*.] Should one [syllable] still be lacking, synonyms of the words already found can be used. Thus, *wong agung ing nayana ganda*, etc., (*nayana* = *eksi*). The reading and understanding of metre is thus akin to the solving of simple puzzles. We see that Javanese poetic art is in an artificial state and needs to be refreshed and guided into new channels; otherwise poetical standards will never be achieved.

Imitating these *tĕmbang*-finesses, some authors also write such expressions in prose to make their style more 'dignified'. So *Kajĕnar* is abbreviated from *Siti Jĕnar*, and *Sultan ing Banaran* (the first Sultan of Yogya) stands for *S. ing Kabanaran*.

69. Raffles, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

70. Taken from my copy mentioned above. In this edition this piece with significant alterations is in pt. II, p. 146 (Ch. 17). According to R. M. Mangku Dimeja, another *Niti Mani* wording starts at the corresponding place as follows: *pratelaning wĕwĕjangan ingkang kaping walu dipun wastani sasaidan, sampun anyĕbutakĕn makatĕn, ya sajatining kang aran Allah iku lingganingsun, kang ingaran rasul iku rasaningsun*, etc. Ed. Note: Prof. G. W. J. Drewes writes, an explanation of the eighth teaching called *sasaidan*; then one declares: He who is called Allāh is essentially my own Self; he who is called Apostle is my Inner Being.

stars, fire, wind, water, etc; everything may testify (give proof) that we (now, later?) acknowledge our willingness⁷⁷ to reside⁷⁸ in the Essence of the Lord, the Supreme-pure,⁷⁹ becoming the veritable⁸⁰ Attributes of Allah.

In the deductions⁸¹ handed down by the *paṇḍitas*⁸² when propagating extracts⁸³ from Holy Tradition, in the chapter on "knowledge of things divine", it says as follows: to procure...⁸⁴ all that which contributes to a firm belief, to wit deep reflection on the confession of Unity, which finally leads to that firm conviction,⁸⁵

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77. One of my informants takes *sampun* as *aja*, and so puts a denial in the sentence. This, however, seems unacceptable to me from the context, as well as on grammatical grounds. According to R. M. Mangku Dimeja, here *sampun* definitely means nothing other than *uwis*. Ed. Note: Prof. G. W. J. Drewes writes, *sampun* is *krama* (formal speech) for both *uwis* and *aja*, *Uwis*, *wis*, *wus* = already; *aja* forms vetatives (don't ...).
78. It is not clear what to make of *jumĕnĕng* which, however, I translate as reside. As in Malay (see *Bijdr. Mystiek*, p. 63), one sometimes finds in Javanese strange translations of 'Arabic expressions. "*Tĕka maring jumĕnĕng kiamat*" [till doomsday] apparently corresponds to the 'Arabic *حتى يقوم الساعة* i.e., until the Hour is come. Such twisted sentences and meanings attach themselves to the mind and later exercise their influence on the composition of more independent works, namely those which do not mean to approximate literally an 'Arabic text.
79. The apposition can also grammatically bear upon Being.
80. *Sĕjati* is often the reflection of the 'Arabic *يقين* [*yaqīn*]. *Ilmu sĕjati* [a firm knowledge] = *علم اليقين* [*'ilm al-yaqīn*] (see *Bijdr. Mystiek*, index voce, *kayu sĕjati* *شجرة اليقين* [*shajarat al-yaqīn*] etc., whilst *sajatine* is sometimes the translation of the 'Arabic *إن*. In another connection *ilmu sĕjati* (Dr. Hazeu in *Bijdragen*, 6th Series, Part VI [Vol. 50, 1898-9] p. 693) can mean "the knowledge (read: the power) to make it appear once more".
81. Ed. Note: *kias* (*qiyas* in 'Arabic), analogy, used as a method in Islāmic law; *paṇḍita*, learned man, a divine.
82. This term often indicates a third class of authorities in the text dealt with here. First class are the Prophets; second class, the *Walis*.
83. *Nukilan* for *tukilan*, which is to be found elsewhere? I would rather suggest a derivation of the Arabic stem *نقل*, transport, supply. Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje suggests that *nukilan* and *tukilan* (cf. *nikah* and *tikah* [marriage]) are probably from the past perfect tense. Ed. Note: *nukilan* and *tukilan*, copy, extract; from 'Arabic *naqlān*, it was transcribed.
84. I do not know how to treat the words *panĕtĕp santosa* for the time being. Elsewhere I found *panĕtĕp* = *إثبات* but also *aing nĕtĕpkĕun* [Sundanese] for *أشهد* [*ashhadu*: I affirm]. Ed. Note: *panĕtĕp*, sometimes translation of 'Arabic *ithbāt*, affirmation; elsewhere: that which reinforces; *panĕtĕp santosaning iman*, that which solidifies the belief.
85. 'Arabic: اعتقاد Javanese: ꦲꦠꦺꦕꦢ or ꦲꦠꦺꦕꦢꦏꦺꦢ . Ed. Note: *i'tikad* (*i'tiqād, tekad*), belief that a thing is so; firm acceptance.

Metre: *Gambuh*⁹²

Saměngko sěmbah kalbu
 yen lumintu yěkti dadi laku
 laku agung kagungane Odipati
 patitis tětěsing kawruh
 měruhi marang kang momong

sukchine tanpa banyu
 mung nyunyuda mring ardaning kalbu
 pambukane tata titi ngati-ati
 den-tětěp talaten atul
 tuladan marang waspaos

mring jatining pandulu
 panduking don dēdalan satuahu
 lamun lugu lěgutanira maligi
 lagehane tumalawung
 wěnganing alam kinaot

In translation⁹³ this would be:

Now about the worship of the inner man
 When performed unremittingly, it certainly will be pleasing to God
 a most godly work, dedicated to the Lord
 Exact and precise knowledge
 is to know Him who maintains (creation).

The purification (for this worship) is performed without water
 It merely consists in the continuous curbing of the appetites

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92. Ed. Note: *Gambuh*, name of a Javanese metre, possibly called so after the music which accompanied the *gambuh* dance, a type of chivalric dance, perhaps originally representing episodes taken from the story of Pañji. Pañji-stories are known in Java, Sumatra, Malaya and Cambodia. The central theme is that Pañji, bereaved of his beloved Angreni — who was murdered by his own mother — roams the country and gets involved in all kinds of adventures and love affairs. See R. M. Ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka, *Pañdji-verhalen onderling vergeleken*, Bibl. Jav. 9, Bandung, 1940; Dr. W. H. Rassers, *Pañji, The Cultural Hero*, The Hague, 1959.
93. Ed. Note: we are indebted to the ever helpful Prof. G. W. J. Drewes for his translation from the original Javanese. We requested this of Prof. Drewes as Dr. Rinkes stated in his footnote that he doubted the validity of his own translation.

punika apngaling rasul, dumunung ing kahanan kita, rasul punika asmaning Muḥammad, dumunung ing rahsah kita, Muḥammad punika sipating chahaya dumunung ing gēsang kita; sējatine gēsang kita punika dating Pangeran kang amaha-suchi sējati. Kayēktosanipun kasēbut ing dalēm daliling Kur'an. Mēnawi Pangeran kang mahasuchi punika kuasa mijilakēn gēsang saking pējah, wijiling pējah saking gēsang, inggih punika gēsang kita pribadi punika sayēkti awit saking pējah, ing wēkasan botēn kenging pējah. Dipunbasakakēn kayunpidaraeni,⁹⁹ tēgēsipun: gēsang ing kahanan kalih, wontēn ing alam sahir gēsang, wontēn ing alam kabir kita inggih gēsang, sērta botēn kasupen dat-kita kang amaha-agong; botēn kenging gingsir saking sifat kita kang elok, botēn kasamaran asma kita kang wisesa, botēn kakirangan apngal kita kang sēmpurna, dados pēpuntonipun ing tokid ingkang ambotos datēng i'tikad sēmpurnaning gēsang kita punika botēn wontēn karaos utawi botēn wontēn katingal punapa-punapa amung waluya sējati langgēng anglimputi ing alam sēdaya pēramilā botēn wontēn uwas-sumēlanging panggalih.

This may be translated:

... Perhaps the gradual ascent is through clear understanding, because the tenor of the above-mentioned Eighth Doctrine indicates:

What is called Lord (Pangeran) is (also) the Being of our life; what is called Muḥammad are the Attributes of our own Radiance, Light;¹⁰⁰ if the *Shahadat*,¹⁰¹ "*lā ilāha illā'llāh, Muḥammadan Rasūlu'llāh,*" is recited, it means: There is no god but Allah, Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah, but the deeper meaning is: what is called Allah are the Works of the Messenger, dwelling in our Being, Messenger is the name of Muḥammad, dwelling in our Mystery; Muḥammad is the Attribute of the Light, dwelling in our Life; our Life is in reality the Being of the Lord, verily the Supreme Pure.

The verification (the proof) is taken from the *Koran*. If the Lord has the power to create life from death (and death emanates from life), our own Life also originates from death; thus we are not susceptible to death. This is called *ḥayyun fī dāraini*,¹⁰² to be in two phases of Existence; in the (as) microcosm we live, in the (as) macrocosm we live also, and we remain conscious of our High Being; we are insusceptible to deviation from our miraculous¹⁰³ Attributes; our Name, the Mighty, is not hidden; our Works lack nothing, the Perfect.

99. حَيٌّ فِي الدَّارَيْنِ

100. 'Arabic نور [nūr: light].

101. Ed. Note: *Shahāda*, Muslim Confession of Faith as follows.

102. Ed. Note: *ḥayyun fī dāraini*, amphibious.

103. *Elok*, according to the dictionary, is the condition of something which is completely visible; further, strange, extraordinary.

Of his descent, we find nothing in the above information from Codex No. 397 concerning his becoming a *Wali*. He is represented therein as one who by coincidence, that is by Allah's Grace, as a passer-by, receives his religious conviction through a piece of watermelon.

Elsewhere more information is gained, as he is given the following genealogy:¹⁰⁵

1. The Apostle Muḥammad,
2. Fāṭimah,
3. Imām Kusen Sa'id,
4. Jĕnal Ngabidin,
5. Muḥammad Bakir,
6. Datuk Ngisa Tuwu, at Malaka,
7. Seh Datuk Salek,
8. Seh Lĕmah Bang.

The order of the latter three is probably right; one might find their names in Malay tradition, but in itself this would not prove very helpful. Their affiliation with Muḥammad Bakir is manifestly absurd.

According to another statement,¹⁰⁶ he (Siti Jĕnar) was a son of Sunan Gunung Jati, Abdul Jalil, by name. Zealously, he applied himself to the different Muslim sciences, especially to mysticism, and he became an apprentice of Sunan Ngampel Dĕnta. Due to his great love of study, he did not wish to marry. After his apprenticeship, he settled in Kĕḍiri, at Siti jĕnar.¹⁰⁷

105. Jav. Hss. Bat. Gen., No. 481 (*Babad Sunan Gunung Jati*), p. 102. In a genealogical register in No. 283 of the Collection of Dr. Brandes (*Notulen van de Algemeene en Bestuurs-vergaderingen van het Bat. Gen.* [from now on abbreviated *Not. Bat. Gen.*], 1906, Appendix I), the *Sajarah Saparwadi* (copy from a manuscript in the possession of Prof. C. Snouck Hurgronje) the same descent for Seh Lĕmah Abang is given, but between No. 5 and No. 6, Qadir Qĕlani (= 'Abd ul-Qādir al-Jilānī) [*d.* A.D. 1166] has been inserted. This, however, hardly serves to increase its credibility in European eyes!

In a *Babad Tjĕrbon* (No. 498 from the Collection of Dr. Brandes mentioned above) Lĕmahbang is called the incarnation of Datuk Kafi (p. 99).

These manuscripts demand separate discussion, and I restrict myself to the above.

106. According to a manuscript of Raden Ngabehi Sura Dipura (Surakarta) in possession of Dr. G. A. J. Hazeu, who kindly put it at my disposal.

107. wus putus sĕḍayanira
Raden Bagus Ngabduljalil anulya amit enggal
mring jĕng Sunan Ngampel gaḍing
pamit wus den lilani
Ngabduljalil mangkat sampun
datan kawarna marga
Kĕḍiri pan sampun prapti
aḍuḍukuh Duljalil neng Siti jĕnar...etc.

About Andaya Ningrat, information from a *Sĕrat Kanċa*¹¹⁴ is given

114. p. 197. It is strange that for the benefit of all who are vitally interested the learned author of the book did not define more clearly which *Sĕrat Kanċa* it was, for it contains remarkable data. [Ed. Note: *Sĕrat Kanċa*, a class of Javanese history-books (also called *Babad Tanah Djawi*), manuscripts of which are to be found in the Jakarta library (see *Jaarboek Kon. Bat. Gen.*, 1933, p. 293).]

Fortunately, it appears from *Not. Bat. Gen.*, 1904, p. cxlviii, that the report Appendix XVI B. is taken from the same manuscript as the synopsis in the *Pararaton*. From the minutes mentioned, p. 133, one learns that one is actually dealing with Jav. Hss. Bat. Gen., No. 7.

In Part V, p. 228, it appears that Seh Lĕmahbang does not designate his son, but a follower, as a helper in the fight against Majapait:

Seh Lĕmah bang wus a-urun
 sabat-nya kang dinama
 Japar Sidik ingkang nami
 ambĕkta sabat satus pancha
 etc.

Elsewhere also inaccuracies seem to have crept in. In *Pararaton*, p. 196, it is stated that Sunan Ngampel already had two children by his wife in Tuban, a daughter whose name is indicated as ... and a son Raden Said. Actually, Sunan Ngampel did not owe the children to the Tuban wife, but to the careless reading of the recorder, and the following is said (manner of writing modified according to modern usage):

Metre, Sri Nata

.....
 Sunan Ngampel sĕmana wus puputra
 patutan garwa ing Tuban
 Wilatikta ingkang nami
 Wilatikta putranira
 kakalih jalĕr lan estri
 kang sĕpuh pan pawestri
 ba(?)kal Sunan Ngampel agung*
 arinya apan priya
 maksih alit Raden Said
 Sunan Ngampel putranya sĕpuh wanodya
 Rara Maloko wĕstanya
 ari jalĕr ingkang nami
 Raden Bonang wĕstanira
 ari jalĕr apan malih
 etc.

*according to metre there is here a shortage of one syllable.

In other words, Sunan Ngampel had two children by his wife in Tuban, whose (family) name was Wilatikta. (Her father) Wilatikta had two children, a girl married to Sunan Ngampel, and a still young son, Raden Said.

Sunan Ngampel's eldest child was a girl named Rara Maloko; then came a son, Raden Bonang, then another son, etc.

How Dr. Brandes found the name Raden Unċakan, which follows in *Pararaton*, i.e., is not clear either. Undung is definitely said, as it is wherever that name occurs.

and Seh Among Raga are also supposed to have been put to death for the same reason.

In a *Sĕrat Suluk*¹²¹ are further remarks about this, which show that in pre-Islamic times some teacher would be said to have rendered himself guilty of revealing the greatest Mystery.¹²²

The hermit murmured:

The reason that Wisrawa, the *rĕsi*,¹²³ incurred the wrath of the Gods is because he brazenly opened the Screen,¹²⁴ as it were, passing himself off as the Godhead; this happened in ancient times ... Others did this in the period of the *Walis*; one by the name Seh Siti Jĕnar, during the reign of the second Sultan of Dĕmak; also Pangeran Panggung; and in the time of Mataram, a third, Seh Among Raga. All three had made so bold as to reveal the Face of the Godhead and to corrupt Worship, the Law of the Prophet-Messenger Muḥammad, the chosen one.¹²⁵ By the will¹²⁶ of the monarch, the three were executed: Seh Siti Jĕnar was beheaded, Pangeran Panggung was condemned to the stake, and the third, Seh Among Raga, was drowned in the red lotus-sea.¹²⁷ Unknown is (where they were) after the execution; I cannot fathom it ...!

121. *Sĕrat Suluk*, Raden Ngabehi Santa Sumarta, Sĕmarang, 1906, p. 148.

122. In *Drie Javaansche Heldendichten*, Amsterdam, 1845, p. 152, one finds brief mention of the occasion on which Wisrawa was so bold.

123. Ed. Note: *rĕsi* (*rĕshi*), sage, spiritual guide.

124. *Aling-aling*, other terms are *wĕrana*, *ḍiḍiḍi jalal* (with Javanese letters this is understandable; compare *Bijdr. Mystiek*, p. 119, note 5), *kijab* [*ḥijāb* حجاب; in Malay (*Ḥamzah Faṣṣūfī*), one likes to use *tirai*. By that is indicated the partition [screen] which, under normal circumstances, is supposed to exist between Allāh and man, the partition which only now and then is opened for the specially chosen; in those few moments they experience many remarkable things concerning the Divine Being. Apparently the *Qur'ān*, *Sūra* XLII: 51, where the *ḥijāb* between Allāh and man is treated, was the starting-point of such opinions. The word also (in the *Qur'ān* and elsewhere) indicates the partition between men and women conversing and between the damned and the blessed.

In mystic works that screen between Allāh and man is sometimes dealt with elaborately, and the different layers of which it consists are described, as well as the ways in which one can remove those layers, one by one.

125. *Kang sinĕtir* = المصطفى Ed. Note: al-muṣṭafā, the chosen one.

126. *Wiradat* = *irādat*; compare for instance *Niti Mani* (published edition) I, p. 118 (and elsewhere), where the expression: *kodrat-wiradat* is found, translated as *kuasa-kĕrsa*. Ed. Note: 'Arabic *irādat*, Jav. *wiradat*: will (subst.) Jav. *kĕrsa*; 'Arabic *qudrat*, Jav. *kodrat*: power, Jav. *kuasa*. Will and power are two of God's attributes.

127. *Kinĕlĕm laut tunjung brit*. This might mean a pond, but I prefer to consider it figuratively as fire. [Ed. Note: submerged in a sea of red lotuses.] According to R. M. Mangku Dimeja, a figurative expression for stabbing or cutting the throat, explained as follows: *katuwĕk utawi kagorok ngantos rahipun balabaran kados toya sĕgantĕn* (*saking kaṭahipun prasasat kados ngĕlĕmakĕn ingkang pinĕjahan*) i.e., cut the throat, so that the blood streams out like the waters of the sea, and the patient (*sic*), as it were, drowns in its flood.

EPILOGUE

Mr. C. M. Pleyte kindly drew my attention to his article¹³² about a legend from Bantěn concerning "Sultan Tanah Abang" (*tanah = lěmah*), and I give here (word for word) what is relevant so as not to damage the personal style of the author.

"In ancient times, there was a Sultan; Sultan Tanah Abang was his name. Vast was his domain and innumerable were his treasures, but he was far from happy for his title, realm and wealth were granted to him for exchanging an elephant's head for his own. He dared not appear anywhere out of shame and fear that all would know of his deformed shape. Also, if it should become known that he had the head of an elephant, poverty would be his lot. So he confined himself to his palace.

None had ever seen the King.

Months and years passed, and Sultan Tanah Abang remained always in the inner apartments of his palace¹³³ going out only at night.

As he grew older, the enforced secrecy oppressed him more and more.

Often, he was on the point of sharing his secret, but always the fear of his fellow man and anxiety about his future kept him silent.

One night, however, full of woe at his sad existence, he went out, and while he was wandering through the fields, his grief overcame him; he had to express it.

No one was to be seen, but a *sadagori* shrub grew in the vicinity. Carefully, he approached the plant, bent over, and whispered between the leaves:

Sultan Tanah Abang
*tulaleněn gadingěn.*¹³⁴

Relieved to have shared his grief, he returned and entered his palace cheerfully.

His forced imprisonment now weighed less heavily upon him; it was as if he had entered upon a new life.

The *sadagori* remained alone, but what miraculous power was in it? For behold, it started to flourish, and it grew to be a fathom high, a tree with a thick trunk.

And the farmers passing by wondered how a worthless *sadagori* could attain such size. None could say. So they sat around the tree for *mupakat* [consultation] and concluded that through Allah miraculous growth had been given to the plant. It must, therefore, be cherished until it should appear to be full-grown.

132. *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 26 January 1907, No. 46, p. 3.

133. Ed. Note: *kraton*, *kědaton*: royal palace, princely reign or dominion.

134. Sultan Tanah Abang has an elephant's trunk and tusks.

two versions or whether the similarity perhaps is not entirely fortuitous.

- The drum from a *sadagori* stem.¹³⁸ This shrub is "... an extraordinarily low-growing shrub ... often used to portray humility and backwardness".¹³⁹

Precisely because of the smallness of the plant, the people's fantasy created certain *sadagori* plants of such proportions that they could be used as drums. I also found such a drum made from the "Saligurie" plant, mentioned as regalia of Minangkabau.¹⁴⁰

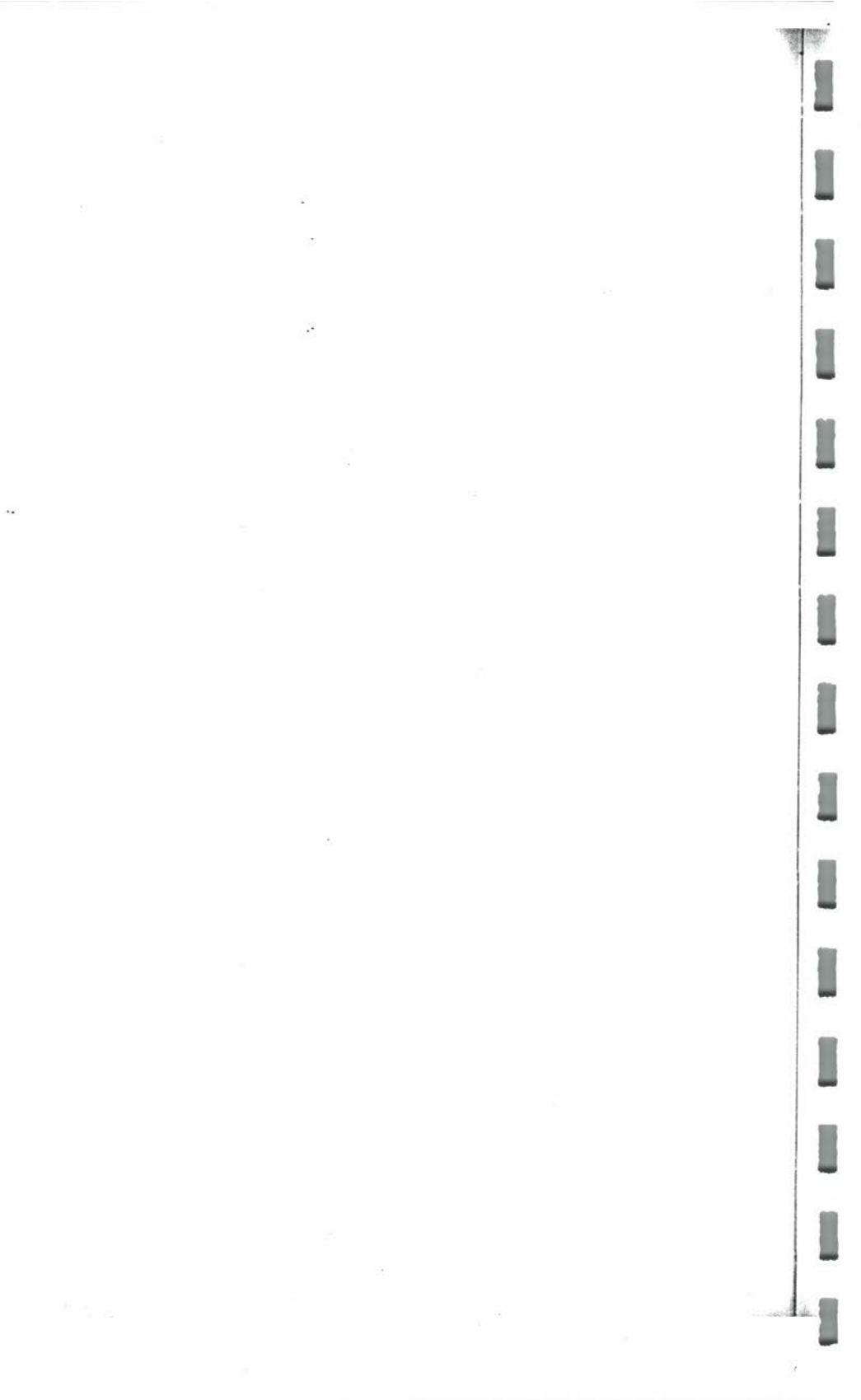
Further analysis of the above four components would be outside the framework of this essay.

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138. Filet, *Plantkundig Woordenboek voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, has only *sidagori*.

139. van der Tuuk, *Bataksch-Nederduitsch Woordenboek*, voce: *sibagoeri*, p. 364, second column.

140. *T. N. I.*, 2nd. year, I, p. 104.



After many years, the flower-stalks came out of the now full-grown aren-palms. Chakra Jaya went and tapped on them, pronouncing the formula:

lompong lompong
sing wadon digawa uwong, yakak³

Stalk, stalk

The (or my) wife has been carried off by (strange) people,
O Veritable!

He repeated this formula three times.⁴

Sunan Lepen (= Sunan Kali Jaga), passing by, heard him and said, "What a fine poem you recite; I would like to exchange it for one of my own."

Chakra Jaya asked, "How goes your poem; let me hear it." Talking thus, he remained high up in the tree (unaware he addressed such a great Saint).⁵ Said Sunan Kali Jaga, "My poem goes:

lakilah lakilēlah,
mukamadarrasulēlah"

and this he recited three times.

Chakra Jaya said, "It is good; may I have it?" Sunan Kali Jaga replied, "It is a bargain; I take your little poem, and you keep mine."

Having thus spoken, he went on his way. Chakra Jaya continued tapping, whilst using the little poem (the formula) given to him by Sunan Kali Jaga.⁶

Afterwards, the flower-stalks were cut off, causing the juice to flow like water from the spout of a tea-pot. Then he went to tell his parents-in-law that during his seclusion near the aren-plants they had grown tall

3. This last seems to stand for *يا حَقِّق*

Ed. Note: Ya Haqq, "Oh, Truth" or (Creative) Truth.

4. About the tapping of the palm and the ceremonies customary to it, I refer to the articles of J. Kreemer in *Meded. Zend. Gen.*, Vol. 26, and of C. M. Pleyte in *Bijdragen*, 7th Series, Part V [Vol. 59. 1906], pp. 591-615.

5. It is amusing that at first the story-teller has Chakra Jaya talking politely, but still somewhat informally, while later on he has him conversing with Sunan Kali Jaga in the most select terms. The expressive mimic art of the story-teller adds to the liveliness of the story.

6. Remarkable in this representation is the crafty way in which Sunan Kali Jaga taught the palm-tapper the *Shahadat* [Muslim Confession of Faith], and further that in the train of thought of the Javanese, words, formulae, and also knowledge, are more or less considered as concrete things, which one can exchange, give as a present, and of which one's own stock can decrease, for instance by teaching.

After wandering far, they arrived at the Desa Kali Alang, near Tirta, where they settled, raised crops and taught the country-people from the books *Sērat Karah*, *Turutan* and *Sittīn*.¹⁰ Because many pupils came to Kali Alang, especially from Tirta, a *masjid* was eventually built there.

Sunan Bonang summoned Sunan Gēsēng when they wanted to erect a *masjid* at Dēmak, but the harvesting and drying of the *padi* took much of his time, and he could not go. After the harvest, however, he went to Dēmak, but as soon as the *masjid* was built, he was permitted to return, as the *padi* was not yet dry.

On departing, Sunan Bonang gave him a broken piece of a pillar, telling him to keep hold of it until the initiative came from the wood itself.

As soon as he arrived back at Kali Alang, the piece "escaped" from him, and there he erected a small shed, where the pillar-fragment was used as a support for a water-butt, the contents of which served for ritual ablutions.¹¹ Once, a man came bringing a chicken as a sacrifice that he might soon be able to repay a debt; the meat he respectfully offered to the Sunan. Later, another came bringing some uncooked rice to offer in sacrifice that his sick child might recover. Based on these two precedents, a chicken and some rice are still demanded from people who come to sacrifice for the above purposes.

Soon afterwards, Sunan Gēsēng died and was buried, according to his instructions, on top of the hill Tirta; his wife soon followed him.

10. *Karah* may stand for قرآن, the Qur'an-recitation; the *Turutan* is a spelling-book for beginners, containing the alphabet, simple sound combinations and a few *Qur'an Sūras*; the *Sittīn*, containing 60 points in question, is an elementary work on *fiqh* [jurisprudence]. These are relatively recent, and it seemed as though they committed this anachronism only to forestall my inclination to enquire after possible mystic doctrines of Sunan Gēsēng. People do not always care to talk of this, because for some time those in authority and the clergy (*sic*) have been trying to stop the teaching of mysticism so that Islāmic orthodoxy would be furthered.

Ed. Note: *Sērat Karah* ('Arabic, *qirā'ah*, recital) is not the title of a book; perhaps 'spelling-book' would denote its meaning quite adequately; *Turutan* denotes the first book read by pupils of a religious teacher (*guru ngaji Qur'an*), after they have memorized the *Fātiḥa*. It comprises the 30th (last) part of the *Qur'an*, the *juz' 'ammā* (Jav. *ngamo*), named after the initial words of this part. Numerous editions. *Sittīn: Kitāb Sittīn Mas'alah* (The Book of the 60 Questions), a well-known compendium of Shāfi'i law by Abū'l-Abbās Aḥmad az-Zāhid (died 1416).

11. A piece of wood, which is supposed to be identical to that which Sunan Gēsēng brought, is still shown there. The little house has since been renewed many times, I was told, but the villagers or the faithful passers-by still go there from time to time to obtain *ayēr sēmbahyang*. Ed. Note: water used for the ablutions before performing the *sēmbahyang*: *sēmbah Yang*: to worship God, divine service.

pan chinoba mring jěng Sunan Kali
 nuju němbang winuruk parikan
 klimah loro parikane
 Chakrajaya anurut
 aparikan kalimah kalih
 enjing anitis gula
 dadi mas sedarum
 pitung tangkěp kaṭahira
 Chakrajaya anjumbul ataken ngelmi
 anuli puruhita

anggěguru mring jěng Sunan Kali
 pan tinanda ing katěmėnanya
 kinen kumurěp tapane
 laminya wus sětaun
 jěng susunan sigra niliki
 ḍatěng satěngah wana
 prapta prėnahipun
 genya tapa Chakrajaya
 ketukulan gėlagh lawan ri bėndil¹⁴
 anulya binabadan

para murid kang samya umiring
 mring jěng sunan kang tapa tan panggya
 kinen bėsmi babadane
 ingobong apan sampun
 ponang glagah wus sirna ěnting
 tėlās pinangan brama
 kang tapa tan keguh
 sandange kobar sėdaya
 Chakrajaya kewėdan kumurěp jěngking
 kanjěng sunan ngandika

Chakrajaya tangia sunprapti
 apa lali marang swaraningwang
 ngandika gėsěng gigire
 Chakrajaya awungu
 ngaras pada asėmu tangis
 ngandika kanjěng sunan

14. Correctly, *bandil*, a thorny bush; see Filet, *Plantkundig*, voce.

pangeran malih muwus
 gula ěmas pĕndĕmĕn nuli
 ing sela sasabana
 brahala ya iku
 lawan sira ya ngliwĕta
 ingsun luwe sakwarsa durung abukti
 mĕngko paĉa riaya

wusnya mojar lajĕng marang kali
 bĕkta panching arsa ngambil ulam
 angulon mring kali gĕĉe
 prapta ing kali sampun
 sĕsingĕdan denira manching
 nlĕsĕp ampingan wrĕksa
 malih kang winuwus
 ki jaka nusul ing rama
 marang kali anginjen sĕmune ajrih
 menek ampingan wrĕksa

ingkang rama wau duk ningali
 kaget mojar kaya kĕĉek sira
 nginjĕn wong sarwi mĕmenek
 mandi sĕbda sang wiku
 jaka Buĉug amalih warni
 warni kĕĉek bangkokan
 bĕĉes aranipun
 dene mĕksih mawi nyandang
 lawan mĕksih sagĕd nguchap tata jalmi
 nangis asambat rama

Pangran Gĕsĕng kendĕl genya manching
 nulya mantuk kang putra tut wuntat
 prapteng wisma ngandika lon
 wis mĕnĕnga nakingsun
 narimaa lamun pinĕsti
 sira anak-pandita
 salah rupanipun
 jĕr sira tan melu tapa
 karsaningwong sira kinen mangun tapi
 tunggunĕn gula ěmas

Satisfied to eat and sleep, he had no other needs or desires. When the tapping was finished, he recited his (tapping¹⁵) songs through the night and until morning. Nevertheless, his body was well nourished, and he glowed (with health), the sign of contented peaceful people.

Once, while he was reciting, Sunan Kali suggested he learn another song, the double Word.¹⁶ Chakra Jaya agreed, taking the two clauses as a song. Next day, he (again) allowed the sugar (juice) to drip, but it all turned into seven sets of golden sugar-cakes. Chakra Jaya joyously asked for instruction in the Knowledge, and so became a disciple of Sunan Kali. Now, he was required to prove his serious intention by practising *tapa* [asceticism] prostrate.

This *tapa* had already lasted a year. The Sunan now hurried to search for him in the depths of the forest. He arrived at the place where Chakra Jaya was practising his *tapa*; it appeared to be overgrown by *glagah*¹⁷ and *bandil*-thorns. The disciples with the Sunan started cutting down the overgrowth, but he who was practising *tapa* was not to be found.

Sunan Kali gave orders to burn all that had been cut down. Soon all was burnt, the *glagah* had disappeared, consumed in the fire. The *tapa*-practiser remained resolute, and his clothing was completely burnt. Chakra Jaya felt embarrassed,¹⁸ but stayed rigidly prostrate.

The Sunan said, "Stand up, Chakra Jaya, I am here; have you forgotten my voice?" He also said, "His back is scorched."

Chakra Jaya arose and with tears of joy kissed the feet of the Saint. The Sunan continued, "I accept you as a younger brother,¹⁹ and I change your name to Pangeran Gēsēng because although scorched by fire your obedience remained unchanged. Go now, and live at Lowanu, and your son must take his father's name.²⁰ Now, dear friend, return home quickly, remain steadfast in faith and attend

15. The line *lamun ia lawan ora* is not very clear to me in this connection, unless one assumes that the author meant to have the lonely tapper reciting that one small sentence all night. Ed. Note: Prof. G. W. J. Drewes writes that he does not know what is meant by these words.

16. Or 'the two clauses', the well-known expression for the Muslim Confession of Faith [*Shahāda*].

17. Ed. Note: *glagah*, a reed the height of sugar-cane.

18. He felt ashamed, now that his clothes were burnt.

19. *Re = ari = adi?*

20. *Nunggak sēmi*, like an old stem getting new shoots, the normal expression where, for example, a child takes over the name of the father or grandfather and is not, as is more customary, given a combination-name, drawn from those of his grandfathers.

speech²⁶ of the Saint, and (under its influence) Buḍug underwent a metamorphosis. He became a slim monkey, called *bēdes*, but was still clothed and could speak. He cried and called to his father beseechingly.

Pangeran Gēsēng stopped fishing and went home, followed by his son. There he murmured gently, "My boy, resign yourself; it is your destiny. You, the child of a *pandita*, are now misshapen, for you did not practise *tapa* with me. I now order you to practise it, to guard the golden sugar-cakes. To try to regain your human form, tap a palm, but if the liquid does not become gold, you shall not eat.²⁷ I give you the agnomen: Nila Sēraba. Now do what I have told you."

With respect, the son replied, "Father, I shall do thy will, that I may be redeemed."

The boy's mother wept bitterly with compassion for the child, but the Pangeran said, "Enough, my wife, let us hasten to Lowanu, as ordered by his honour, the Sunan. And you, my child, be of good heart; cultivate the forest and plant good things for the people to eat."

Again, respectfully, the son declared himself willing.

The Pangeran and his wife went to Lowanu and chose a clearing²⁸ where they dwelt a long time. Many people built houses there, and Lowanu became as prosperous as a central town, its charm captivating²⁹ all who passed that way.

A third version was supplied by friendly help from Bagēlen (Kēbumen), from where the Saint originated, according to all traditions.

26. There are numerous cases in the vernacular and other literatures in which some figure undergoes a metamorphosis or meets unpleasant circumstances of the most divergent nature because of a word spoken by a semi-god, a saint, or an ordinary person, whether deliberately or not, provided that it is spoken under certain conditions.

Hindu literature especially is rich in such events, so that one might think that a hero spends his existence from one curse (for it is this most of the time) to another. There is no real god or demon who has no curse, or something of that nature, and a fixed trait thereof is that the spoken word cannot be annulled directly, that sometimes one must devise all sorts of crafty *akals* [tricks, devices, ruses] and clever ideas partially to eliminate the results.

Thus it would have been easy to collect many parallels, even if only from the vernacular literature, to that mentioned in the text, but this in itself would be of no value, and further consideration of this matter would demand separate treatment.

27. So the monkey must refrain from eating until he is capable of changing sugar into gold with the power obtained through that *tapa*. Then he will be able to regain his human form. Ed. Note: *Sēraba* (Skr. *śravas*), sound, voice.

28. *Rēsik*, which amongst farmers is often found to mean weeded clean, cut (chopped) open.

29. *Kasmaran* [captivated], also indicating that the next canto is written in the metre *Asmaradana*. Ed. Note: *Asmaradana*, literally 'gift of love'.

side of the mountains in Jēpara. At night, he usually lay under large trees or in the undergrowth, but one night he could not find a suitable place. While searching, he saw a little lamp for the first time in his long wanderings. He walked rapidly towards it, with fear in his heart: there might be *jinn*³¹ or worse living there! Having drawn nearer, to his amazement he saw a *langgar* [small prayer-house] deep in the forest. In the *langgar*, he saw nine men seated (who appeared to be the nine principal Saints of Java), arguing about the Being [existence, state or condition] of the world, and like subjects.

Then, one of the people inside summarized the opinions: "According to our findings, we have the complete world spheres (so to say, in our hands and the Being of the world is knowable to us".³² It was Sunan Kali Jaga, the head of these *Walis*, who spoke.

Pak Jolang, who hid all this time in the darkness outside, heard this with interest and intended to draw more from the speaker, who surely should know the whereabouts of his water-buffaloes.

The *Walis* now went outside, one by one, and vanished as they passed the door, no one seeing where they went. Therefore, Pak Jolang posted himself behind the enclosure near the door, so that Sunan Kali Jaga might not escape him. He seized the emerging Saint by the feet and held him until he had obligingly indicated the trail of his water-buffaloes. If he went westwards, he would find his stray animals, for they were now grazing in a field to the west. Should this statement prove untrue, he could return to the *langgar* in the wood, easily recognisable by the four surrounding trees.

Immediately, as he prepared to act upon these directions, he saw that the Sunan, like the others, had vanished without a trace. About half-past six in the morning, while still going towards the west, he came to an open field and soon saw his animals grazing. With tears of joy, he took the halters, and the animals followed willingly.

But now he was completely lost. How could he find his way back after such wanderings in the mighty forests! It was as if the sun rose in the west, he was so confused. And what would he do at home after such a long absence? His wife and his neighbours already thought him dead;

31. Ed. Note: *jinn*, *ijtinān*, becoming concealed, hidden; certain class of beings that cannot be perceived with the senses; capable of appearing under different forms.

32. ... "Adapun dari pendapat kita, sakalian alan ini sudah-lah ada dalam gēnggaman kita, dan kita pun tahu juga kēadaan alam ini." [Parenthesis not closed as per Dr. Rinkes.]

Kali Jaga. The area in the neighbourhood of the *langgar* was allotted to him as his field of activity. The nearest settlement was the Dukuh [hamlet] Gēsēng, thus his name, Sunan Gēsēng.

Relics (*patilasan*) of the Saint are thought to have been preserved there near the Desa Buchu, in the District of Banjaran, near to Jēpara, and the *langgar* is still there in the shape of a *chandi*³³ "*rupa-nya bak ilmu.*"³⁴

These traditions are sufficient to characterise somewhat the legends associated with the name of Sunan Gēsēng. The last, which deviates completely, may be of local invention because of the weeping water-buffaloes (a not infrequent motif in Javanese stories). As the connection with Sunan Gēsēng seems fortuitous, we shall not consider it now.

From the other versions, it is apparent that the legend of the 'scorched' Saint shows some characteristics also attributed to other Saints as, for example, the aspirant-Wali being overgrown by all kinds of forest plants while performing *tapa*. From a more detailed study of the stories concerning Sunan Kali Jaga, it becomes clear that the same is always told of him³⁵ with this one difference: that he can still escape without the forest having to be burned.

In Indian literature, also, examples are often found of hermits and similar people who know how to remain so still during the practice of asceticism that they become, as it were, one with nature. In the *Mahābhārata*,³⁶ a story is told of a hermit, Chyavana, who on a like occasion was nearly covered over by an ant-hill which, in turn, was overgrown by creepers.³⁷

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33. Ed. Note: *chandi*, commemorative stone structure, especially monument as residence of deceased ruler; (temple containing) *lingga*-shaped monumental column associated with royal ancestry cult.
34. What this last expression means I would not dare to say; guesses are easy, but I solicit the favour of the correct explanation. Ed. Note: Prof. G. W. J. Drewes has no suggestion to offer.
35. Now I refer only to *Pararaton*, p. 198.
36. *Vanaparva*, Chapter: "Tirthayātrā", 122. In the Calcutta edition (1834) I, p. 577 ff. Ed. Note: *Vanaparva*: "Book of the forest" is the name of the third book of the Indian epic *Mahābhārata* in which is narrated the life of the Pāṇḍawa brothers in the forest. Tirthayātrā is a chapter of the *Vanaparva*.
37. This episode is adopted by Stenzler, *Elementar-buch der Sanskrit-Sprache* (7th edn., Munich, 1902) p. 57 ff., among others. From the works cited therein, note 1, only *Çatapathabrāhmaṇa* could be compared here. Ed. Note: *Çatapathabrāhmaṇa* (The Tract of the Hundred Paths), a well-known Sanskrit religious work consisting of a hundred chapters.

that manuscript, called himself Ki Jagung [*jagung*: maize] while he owned an area under maize, and now bears the name Ki Deres. Seh Sarip Hidayat⁴⁰ changes *pinang*-fruit to gold through the powerful formula of the Muslim faith [*Shahāda*] which inspires respect and reflection in Ki Deres, after which he is ordered to come to be instructed by Sarip Hidayat at Gunung Jati.

Elsewhere in popular tradition, one finds the opinion that to be able to encircle a particular stone with one's arms brings good fortune. In the District Ponorogo is a stone post. He who can encircle it shall not want in the future.⁴¹ One would think that people with long arms and broad chests would have an advantage in such tests, but I was told that this is not the case. For such stones have the peculiarity of expanding or shrinking as is necessary, according to the favour Allah wishes to confer upon His creatures.⁴² The result is often that people with short arms may encompass it, whilst those with long arms cannot, and even children seem able to stand the test, whilst adults may fail. The fact is that some persons approach the stone with such awe that they stay at a distance during the test and, therefore, cannot succeed.

SOME LEGENDS WOVEN AROUND SUNAN GĚŠĚNG

Once having accepted a Sunan GĚšĚng around whom a legend has formed, composed of stories also current elsewhere, tradition connected other matters with his name, matters usually ascribed to 'the *Walis*'. According to statements in *Brāmartani*, No. 36, 7th September, 1882,⁴³ each of the different *Walis* is supposed to have composed one of the modern metres, of which *Mijil* is attributed to Sunan GĚšĚng.

Apart from the tradition that lives on at Tirta (see above p. 52), he is also mentioned elsewhere as assisting in the building of the *masjid* at

40. See above p. 65, note 38. Both forms, *Sarib* and *Sarip*, are to be found from the 'Arabic شريف [*Sharīf*].

41. *Bijdragen*, 5, VIII, pp. 65-6.

42. Something similar is told about the cave where Muḥammad and Abū Bakr are said to have hidden during the 'flight'. Credulous pilgrims on the *haj* are led there and told to creep through the narrow entrance to prove whether they are legitimate or not. Most cannot squeeze through, which according to Muslim law shows illegitimacy. [Ed. Note: This is not a law of Islām, while it may have been popular belief.] The pilgrim's size is of no account, for the opening widens for the legitimate and narrows so that even an infant could not enter if it were illegitimate for, according to popular belief, the hard stone is as soft clay in the hands of Him who has modelled All.

43. Reproduced by Mr. Poensen in *Meded. Zend. Gen.*, Vol. 53, p. 307.





MURTI SARIRA . . JLEKING RATU

In the middle, one piece of stone is missing, and the wording could not be checked completely; (the part for which the *Juru Kunchi* is responsible is in roman). This is evidently a *səngkala* [chronogram], which might correspond to 14 (?) 88.³ The gateway is said to be called *gapura səgara munchar*.⁴

To recover one's breath after the ascent, a pause is made in the stone shed called *bangsal jawi* (outer pavilion) [shown on the left in Sketch V], a resting-place for male visitors.

After washing one's feet at the entrance, where there is a water-barrel, one could enter the *gapura pəngrantungan*, shown in Sketch V. On the square behind this is the *bangsal ləbət* (inner pavilion), where women may rest.

Through the *gapura panemut*, in Sketch VI, and across a small square, is another gateway, *gapura pamənchar*, Sketch VII. However, direct access through the gates is barred by a low wall, so that to go through one must turn a corner, zigzag, as it were.

On the northeastern side of the *gapura panemut* is another *səngkala*, completely undamaged, reading thus:

WISAYA ANATA WISIKING RATU

In numerals this is 1555.⁵ On the southeastern side, the same year is in numerals, followed by the text *masa 4*, thus in the fourth *mangsa* (from about the 18th or 19th September to the 12th or 13th October, in

3. The names for body are usually = 8, but can also indicate 3. *Jlėk* was explained to me = *rupa* = 1, but a year (A.S.) 1188 appears to be unacceptable. Ed. Note: A.S.: according to the Saka (Çāka) era, which began in A.D. 78.

4. Ed. Note: Prof. G. W. J. Drewes has been good enough to offer the following possible meanings for the names of the various gateways:

gapura səgara munchar: gate of the irradiant sea
gapura pəngrantungan: suggest: *pəngərantungan*: 'gate where food is offered for sale to the pilgrims'

gapura panemut: suggest: *pangemut*: 'reminder'; 'that which calls to memory'

gapura pamənchar: *pamənchar* = 'that which spreads'; 'spreading'
gapura bale kənchar: *gañjur*? pike; *bale gañjur*, locality where the pikes are stored away, or (perhaps) where the *galagañjur*, the 'welcoming melody' of the *gamėlan* (Javanese orchestra) is played?

5. I am not quite sure about *wisik*.

buried, says pious legend, and also the *sahabats* (صحابة [companions]) Kyai Seh Sabuk Janur and Kali (قاضى [qāḍī]) Datuk, and then:

Pangeran Winang,
Kyai Malang Gati,
Kyai Banyu Biru,
Panĕmbahan Kabul and wife,
Kyai Panĕmbahan Masjid Wetan,
Kyai Panĕmbahan Sumigit¹¹ Wĕtan, etc.¹²

After the simple ceremonies connected with the visit to the grave, I went down again for a talk with Raden Masjid Wetan IV, the guardian of the grave. From him I learned that it is said Sunan Tĕmbayat was formerly Bupati of Sĕmarang under the name of Ki Panĕan Arang. Actually, it was King Bra Wijaya of Majapait, who a short time before was expelled by Muslim troops. After the fall of his Kingdom, he secretly left his palace and set out southwards, accompanied only by two servants: Sabda Palon and Pak Mĕlik, alias Naya Genggong. Arriving at the Desa Sawĕr, the King met Sunan Kali Jaga, who asked him why he had travelled so far.

The fact was he merely wanted to choose as his dwelling the abiding place of his fathers,¹³ where also was the Ratu Kidul, in those times called Dewi Wilutama.

Sunan Kali Jaga replied that that notion emanated from wrong premises, but the King thought otherwise. They disputed abstract subjects without result. Finally, however, the King complied with the wishes of the Saint. His two retainers declared each master right, for it was merely a matter of terminology, one calling a certain conception this, the other saying it was that; therefore, they did not differ in their opinion and that the new terminology of Sunan Kali Jaga suited the new age which had dawned.¹⁴

So the King set out for Sĕmarang. Sabda Palon went to ascertain Sunan Kali Jaga's intentions regarding their master: whether he would be reinstated. Sunan Kali, however, intended otherwise, saying that the

11. *Sumigit* seems a variant of *misigit* = *masjid*.

12. More will be given later about some of the people mentioned and their association with the Saint will be explained.

13. ... *baĕ makayangan nunggil kalian*, etc.

14. In Javanese tradition there are many stories concerning what may have happened to Bra Wijaya after the fall of Majapait. In some, he adopts Islām, usually after prolonged persuasion, with reasoning similar to that used by both his faithful *panakawans* (royal servants), as is given in the text. The frequency of such contemplations implies that many Javanese consider them valid. From one viewpoint, there is little difference between Hinduism in Java and the forms by which Islām found its acceptance, apart from terminology.

Then Sunan Kali Jaga left the *pěṇḍapa* and, by the intensive power of his mind (*nyipta*), procured a complete set of clean clothing and other requirements.¹⁶ When the servants announced that a rich and important man stood outside, the Adipati (the Regent is thus referred to at all times) came swiftly to meet him and led him, with due homage, to the most honoured place.

The new house was discussed, and whether there might still be anything left to criticise. Sunan Kali acknowledged its beauty, but thought such splendour had caused wickedness.¹⁷ Here also Ki Paṇḍan Arang failed to comprehend the subtle meaning. Remarking that the Regent would not live continuously in this house, the (apparently meddling) Sunan 'dissolved' the beautiful raiment, appeared once more in the previous shabby attire, and went his way. The Regent had not understood the allusions, and he merely looked upon the change as some conjuring trick.

Thus, Sunan Kali Jaga was forced to take stronger measures to bring about the Regent's repentance; so again he set out for Sěmarang now disguised as a beggar. At the time, the Regent was counting his money and sat facing the north. The beggar came from the north, and so a *benggol* (two-and-a-half-cents) was thrown to him. A little later, the Regent was facing east, whilst counting his money, and once more the beggar asked for alms. He received two cents. When the Regent turned to the south, he saw the beggar again and threw him a one-and-a-half-cent piece, and finally, facing west, he gave him another cent, but this he accompanied with impatient and angry words.

The Saint then said that he had not come to beg for worldly goods, which he lacked not, but rather he begged for the sound of a *běḍug*¹⁸ at Sěmarang. Then he seized a *pachul* [hoe] and threw a lump of earth onto the *pěṇḍapa*, but it changed into pure gold in the air. This he did three times.

Ki Paṇḍan Arang, seeing this, longed to receive instruction from the Sunan; he left his treasures with his wife as he, himself, hoped to accompany Sunan Kali on his journeys.

16. *Agěm-agěman kang sarwa endah.*

17. Evidently alluding to the fact that previously a shabbily-clad person was refused entrance.

18. In the Archipelago, the *běḍug* (drum) is beaten to indicate the time(s) for Muslim ritual prayer.

Coming near to Boyolali, the Nyi again lagged behind and called, "Ki, **baya wis lali**, *těka aninggal bae*", or "Have you forgotten me; you leave me so far behind?" And from this, the present place is also supposed to have derived its name.

KI PANDAN ARANG AT WĒDI

Thus Ki Pandan Arang on his journey of self-discipline came to the village of Wĕdi (about half-way between Klaten and Tĕmbayat) and entered the service of a certain Pak Tasik. His wife, Bok Tasik, sold rice for a living. He ordered Seh Domba and Seh Kewĕl to do *mĕrtapa* [practise asceticism] in the mountains and, taking the name Gus Slamĕt, he became the *mĕrbot* [a lower official] of the *masjid* there.

While Gus Slamĕt worked for Bok Tasik, the rice-seller, her trade was successful; everything sold well, a change from former times when business was slow.

But, one day, he could not fill the water-barrel near the *masjid* for he had too much work in the house. When the *kĕtib*s and the *modin*s [those who call the faithful to prayer] came to perform their ablutions, the barrel was empty, and they raged at the neglectful man. Hurriedly, he seized a *kranjang* [basket] instead of a pail to scoop up water. By the Will of the Highest, however, the water remained in the *kranjang*, not spilling out, and the *padasan* [water-container] was quickly full to overflowing. After this, the *masjid* staff had much respect for Gus Slamĕt, treating him with awe and affection.

On another occasion, at four o'clock in the morning, Bok Tasik, intending to cook rice, found none. Gus Slamĕt, sent to the road to wait for a passing vendor,²³ soon met one, carrying a *bagor* [palm-leaf basket] of rice on his head. He asked, "Friend, have you rice to sell?" Either fearing that he might be harmed in the dark or hoping for a better price at the market, the man replied evasively, "I have no rice, my load is sand." Arriving at the market, he opened his basket and saw that all was changed to sand (*wĕdi*), and so it is that this place is still called Wĕdi.

It happened once that Bok Tasik, wanting to cook rice, found there was not enough firewood. Angrily, she flew at her servant, "Rascal, there is no wood, and you stand there idly. Can I use your paws²⁴ for firewood?"

23. Namely on the way to the market. In Java, the market starts very early, and our rice-seller must have the wares ready in time.

24. "... *apa mĕngko yen adang, sing kanggo kayu chokormu?*" *Chokor* is claw, paw, and is very coarse if used of people.

KI AGĚNG V. THE AJAR

Among the obstinate was the *ajar* Prawira Sakti, later Kyai Agĕng Sumilir, who had settled on Gunung Gambar (south-southeast of Tĕmbayat).²⁹ For this reason, Ki Tĕmbayat frequently sent pupils to explain things to him, but without result, for if these people attempted to climb Gunung Gambar, a violent whirlwind (caused by the *ajar*) carried them away and dropped them at the feet of their master.

So Ki Agĕng took the matter into his own hands and on a propitious day set out southwards. At the mountain, he started to climb, but the hermit rained down boulders to crush him. He held them off easily, putting his clog (*gamparan*) against them. So it went, until he reached the top. The stones can still be seen, one above the other, known as *sela-anda* (staircase-stones).

Thus the adversaries met, and the *ajar* was ordered to embrace Islam. He replied that he was not willing unless he could be proven unable to match the (supernatural) skill of the Ki, who now asked, "And what skill have you?"³⁰

The *ajar* said, "See, I have a fast pigeon here. If you can follow it in its rapid flight, I will acknowledge your superiority!" Ki Agĕng agreed to the test, and the pigeon was set free after some pagan hocus-pocus. It flew off and disappeared. The Ki of Tĕmbayat, however, threw one of his *gamparans* after it. Before long, both fell to the ground, the pigeon dead.

The *ajar*, not accepting defeat, reasoned that the bird had lost, but not he, himself, so he now threw his *kĕtu* (head-dress) up. If the Ki could follow that, he would recognise his superiority. The head-dress went up and disappeared. Ki Agĕng threw his other *gamparan* into the sky, and soon both objects fell at the feet of the competitors, the *gamparan* on the *kĕtu*.³¹

Still the *ajar*, disregarding his promise, would not give in. He proposed to hide (*andĕlik*) and if the other could find him, it was agreed that he should be the winner. Suddenly, the *ajar*, made himself invisible and, under a large boulder, thought himself to be well-hidden. Not so, however, for the perspicacious Ki, who perceived him with his spiritual eye, dislodged the stone and dragged forth his adversary. The cave, still to be seen at Gunung Gambar, is in the hollow where the boulder had lain.

29. It belongs to the land of Mangkunĕgaran, but lies as an enclave within Yogya.

30. The gentlemen addressed each other rather impolitely in *ngoko*. Ed. Note: the *ngoko* form is the common language of the people, without polite forms of address.

31. This story, of which the previous one seems only a variant, is found in essence in the statements of Mr. Knebel in *Tijdschr. T. L. V.*, Vol. XXXIX (1897) pp. 118-127, concerning Seh Jambu Karang.

Sunan Dĕmak, who grumbled, "A new *Wali*, and yet so boastful!" He puts his *masjid* on a mountain top; he shouts the *azān*; and the lamps blaze forth. This must stop!"

Sunan Bayat, hearing this and acknowledging his unseemly behaviour, ordered four of his most faithful followers, Kyai Gagak Daka (Sabda Palon had adopted this name after his conversion), Kyai Daka Wana (formerly Pak Mĕlik), Seh Domba, and Kyai Kewĕl to move the building further down the hill, which was done without even the slightest damage.

Today, this *masjid* is situated in the village and is called the Masjid Gala. It has the unusual characteristic that the Friday Service may be held even if only four people are present, whereas elsewhere a minimum of forty local people is required. This was done to commemorate the pious ancestor, who so often performed the Service with only his four disciples.

The track made by the *masjid* when it was brought down the Jabalkat mountain is still visible.

They continued their pious lives, far from political disturbances, which caused emotional upsets elsewhere; and Sunan Kali Jaga came again to visit his old friend. Seh Domba and Kyai Kewĕl were busy scooping water into the barrel, but they had omitted to put in the plug, and the water merely drained out again. Sunan Kali, seeing that the plug was not in, quickly remedied this, and soon the container was full to overflowing. Even unto today, if in a drought the barrel is filled until it overflows, rain is sure to fall.³⁷ To drink water from this container — though never with a mug of European make, but from a *pisang* [banana] leaf or something of the kind — is considered to be beneficial.³⁸

Through this somewhat insignificant incident, Sunan Kali had had direct contact with both the deformed followers, and he asked Sunan Tĕmbayat, "Are those servants of yours truly a sheep and a snake, or are they people?"

37. In warmer climates people frequently supplicate for rain near the grave of a saint. Cf. Prof. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, Vol. II, pp. 312-3. The act mentioned here, however, is a customary conjuration of a completely animistic nature. About rain-conjuration, I refer to Dr. Hazeu's interesting article in *Tijdschr. T. L. V.*, Vol. XLVI (1903) p. 298 ff. The conjuration here is sympathetic in nature, see *ibid.*, p. 308.

38. Elsewhere in Java also there are *gĕntongs* [water-containers] enjoying some respect, for instance see van Hien, *De Javaansche Geestenwereld*, Vol. II (Sĕmarang, 1896) p. 17, about a similar object near Pachitan, which gives information concerning the trade to be chosen. According to *Darma Kanda*, No. 64 (19 June, 1911) Jav. section, p. 2, 1st column, there is also a holy *gĕntong* in Pachitan, Subdistrict Pringkuku, Desa Daḍapan, which bestows blessings in various ways.

So it happened that on the death of the following persons they also had to tarry as apparitions and were appointed to duties as follows: Sabuk Janur to protect the Jabalkat; Malang Gati, the place where he was buried; Japrusa, the mountain Ngadan; and Kyai and Nyai Gaḍung Mēlati to protect the Taman Well.

GENEALOGY OF SUNAN TĒMBAYAT

The above history with its commonplace Wali-miracles is not especially interesting and seems to have heterogeneous elements, but a genealogy of Sunan Tĕmbayat has been handed down. It is called *asal-silah*, a peculiar corruption of the 'Arabic سلسله [genealogy], which comes right down to the present guardian of the grave:

1. Sunan Tĕmbayat, *pĕputra* (begat)
2. Panĕmbahan Jiwa, *pĕputra*
3. Panĕmbahan Mĕnang Kabul, *pĕputra*
4. Panĕmbahan Masjid Wetan I, *pĕputra*
5. Panĕmbahan Masjid Wetan II, *pĕputra*
6. (a) Pangeran Sumĕnḍi Angga Kusuma, and
(b) Pangeran Sumĕnḍi Sidik, *pĕputra*
7. Pangeran Tabiyani, *pĕputra*
8. Pangeran Ngabdani, who was taken as son-in-law by the second Sultan of Yogya, *pĕputra*
9. Raden Ayu Tanḍa Nĕgara, *pĕputra*
10. Raden Mas Masjid Wetan III, *pĕputra*
11. Raden Masjid Wetan IV, the present guardian of the grave.⁴¹

The succession is secure for he already has three children, two sons and a daughter, some already grown and married.

Pangeran Jiwa is the son mentioned above as going from Sĕmarang to Tĕmbayat, who became an early cause of a Wali-achievement by his father. It is said that he was married to a daughter of Bĕḷara Katong of Panaraga who, according to the genealogy given here, was his niece. Of this more later.

About Pangeran Sumĕnḍi of Tĕmbayat, (it is not clear which one), there is a story in the Kĕḍiri area, given in *R. O. D.*, 1908, p. 159. As

41. Two *wakils*, Rana Suwirya and Imam Arya, help with his work, taking turns on 'duty'. The latter, wearing the *samir*, as do *priyayis* who attend the courts of living kings, was there during my visit. Ed. Note: *wakil*: deputy, agent, proxy; *samir*: kind of coloured shawl worn by a certain class of royal servants; *priyayi*: the nobility by office.

from his Majapait period. It was said to have been handed down from father to son, but subsequently to have disappeared. Shortly afterwards, a woman at Masaran sold a *kris*, which was recognised as the missing *pusaka*-weapon by the local *Dĕmang*,⁴⁶ who came from Tĕmbayat, and he purchased it to be held in trust at the grave. The weapon was received with every respect by the *priyayi*,⁴⁷ dressed in their official vestments, and was deposited at the grave, but before long it disappeared again. This is said to have happened about sixty years ago.

It seems that though this simple story could be true, it should not be considered as a Wali-miracle in which objects mysteriously vanish and appear, but that perhaps an unscrupulous guardian could be blamed.

SUNAN KALI JAGA CONVERTS KI PANĀN ARANG

I must now consider, from the written tradition at my disposal,⁴⁸ how much of the above is confirmed. In Jav. Hss. Bat. Gen., No. 575,⁴⁹ a story concerning Ki PanĀn Arang largely corresponds to that given above. A short report will suffice, but where differences in statements occur, it will be translated more fully.

Something else is discussed now; regarding Ki PanĀn Arang whose riches were ...;⁵⁰ he had many children and grandchildren, was rich in earthly goods and very selfish. All the merchants were in his debt. He disliked being idle for he was very strong. Always he was busy; being possessed of great wealth, he bought cheaply and sold with profit. Each day he went to the market, where he bought up the less-popular goods.

But Sunan Kali Jaga had sensed that this man was destined to become a sincere⁵¹ believer, only that the knowledge of the faith had not yet been revealed to him.

46. Ed. Note: *Dĕmang*, title of an official; see Glossary.

47. Ed. Note: *priyayi*, the nobility by office.

48. I was told that some manuscripts kept at the grave had been claimed many years ago by the *Pĕngulu* at Solo and then kept in the 'Pĕngulon'. Such arbitrary seizures frequently happened on Government land as well. Ed. Note: *pĕngulon*, office or house of the *pĕngulu*, literally headman, director.

49. p. 122 ff. (Stencilled copies of the text available from the Malaysian Sociological Research Institute).

50. *Pabean*, usually toll, toll-house. Here, according to some people, it means *pangungsen*, shelter, place of refuge.

51. *Satuhu* is an adverb, but in metre one must not be too particular.

request. The Adipati, thinking he dealt with an ordinary beggar, threw another *keteng* to him, but the strange fellow did not ask for money nor worldly goods; his only request was that at Sēmarang the *běḍug* would sound.

(Stanza 20) The rich man was angry; a *keteng* should not be despised, for so many *ketengs* make one *real*, and so many *real* make a *dirham*,⁵⁵ and of a surety he would not get any *dirham* from the *běḍug*.

But the Sunan admonished him, "Do not act in this way, Ki, for it will harm you on the Last Day. One must not desire to rule over worldly matters,⁵⁶ for idolaters shall not inherit heaven." In two other verses, he demonstrated the vanity of this temporary life and the beatitude of the Hereafter with "and if for example one digs in heaven, every spadeful becomes a golden nugget in the end."

The Adipati smiled at these words, thinking them boastful, "Come, old man, what do we know of heaven? If you knew, you would not be selling *alang-alang* nor asking for a *běḍug*; assuredly you would know you were in heaven."

"Now, if you prefer earthly treasures," was the reply, "I shall dig in my supplies, and you will at once receive a piece of gold." The Sunan took a *pachul* [hoe] and dug; at once a lump of solid gold was lifted by the *pachul*.

"Look! Gold from heaven I give you."

The Adipati examined it with surprise, but feared to accept the treasure. The lump was put back in its place and was straightaway earth again. This caused him to repent (stanza 30), to surrender himself to the master, body and soul (*jiwa raga*), to follow him everywhere, in illness or danger, and to ask for tuition regarding the Hereafter, for "neither the day nor the hour is known when one must die."

The Sunan was pleased to assist, but set four conditions to prove the seriousness of his intention:

Firstly, he must live piously, maintain the faith, convert the people of Sēmarang to Islam, keep *santris* [pupils in religion] and *kaum-personnel*,⁵⁷ establish *běḍugs* (here meaning *masjids*) and *langgars* [prayer-houses].

55. Ordinary rentier considerations, whereby half a penny becomes a million.

56. The text, which has *amangan donya* (stanza 21), lacks one syllable, and in connection with the last line of the stanza should be read *amangeran donya*.

57. Ed. Note: *kaum-personnel*: the personnel attached to a *masjid* (*pěngulu*; *kětib*, *modin*; *měrbot*) and living in the *masjid* quarter of a town (*kauman*).

(Canto 34) The Ki agreed, but warned her not to take valuables and advised that she wear a simple white garment. The Ki, himself, dressed completely in white, took up his travelling-pouch and holy staff; once again said farewell to his family, commending them to brotherly unity; and went on his way without followers. His wife walked behind him, but notwithstanding her husband's orders, she had jewels in her bamboo staff.

The story of the robbers follows (stanza 7 ff.), with the difference that there are *three* villains, after which Salah *tiga* is said to be named, whilst a fourth, Ki Sambang Dalan, too late to share in the plunder, runs after the Ki. Meanwhile, the latter had made his wife walk in front, as she had complained of neglect (*baya lali*, see p. 76). Then Ki Sambang Dalan, through metamorphosis, becomes a *domba* [sheep]; in this tradition Kyai Kewël makes no appearance.

With stanza 26 the company arrives at Tëmbayat and ascends the Jabalkat, where a small *masjid* and an empty *padasan* [earthenware pot containing water for ritual ablution] are found.

Then follows the story of filling the *padasan*, of which the spout is open, and Seh Domba regaining human form, given here as a literary piece not without merit (stanzas 27-35).

To alleviate the shortage of water, Sunan Kali Jaga, who appeared before this metamorphosis of Seh Domba, pressed his staff into the ground, and at once there was a well of crystal water,⁶² which now flows in all seasons of the year.⁶³

62. Frequently a motif in the tradition of many ethnic groups, especially of those in warm climates. In Java, it is Sunan Kali Jaga's staff which produces the miracle. In *Verhandeligen*, Vol. XXXIII (1868) p. 174, by inserting his staff [into the ground] a well sprang into being, but it has no appeal for the Sunan. In van Hoëvell, *Reis over Java, Madoera en Bali* (Amsterdam, 1849, Vol. I, p. 118), fire comes from the ground where the stick has entered. (See also Veth, *Java*, first edition, Vol. III, p. 515.)

Without that stick, a well comes into being through the power of Sunan Kali Jaga, as mentioned in *Tijdschr. T. L. V.*, Vol. XLV (1902) p. 491, also elsewhere and under different circumstances, as stated in *R. O. D.*, 1905, pp. 34-5.

Sometimes, the stick does not supply water, but grows into a tree, *Tijdschr. T. L. V.*, Vol. 45, p. 484 (with regard to the District Balapulang); the same is told of a tree in the Desa Pëndudutan, regency of Karang Anyar, also about the *waringin* [*Ficus benjamina*] at Pasar Gëde, Yogya, which, by dropping one of its branches, is supposed to warn if a member of the Javanese royalty is soon to die. The above examples are but a few among many; in almost every regency in Central Java can be found one or more places of veneration of the nature mentioned above.

63. *Katiga rëndëng amili*.

(portrayed as a bird) has no resting-place (to alight upon); searching in all directions, it flies ever on like a cloud tossed by the wind, finally pouring as rain and returning to the water masses to combine again with the material world.⁷⁰

"By rights, the immaterial (the soul) is not susceptible to death; it is eternal in this world and the Hereafter.

"Friend, when your time has been fulfilled, neglect not to continue with the *dikir*; be heedful of your own form (*rupa*). Above all, you must be familiar with mystic Knowledge, nevertheless it is difficult in the death agony(?). Many things are perceived, the (false) images of relatives, subordinates, the teacher, the Lord — all who would steal your Faith.⁷¹

"One sees the blissful Heaven, images calling themselves Angels, many as *bidadaris* [celestial damsels] with alluring shapes; then one sees a *masjid* suspended in the air, without a hook or so. Its veil is wondrous to behold, of red and yellow silk and of black and white silk.

That *masjid* is made of gold, with double doors of glass, which open and close of themselves.

Closed (obviously what is meant is opened) one sees it shining like the full moon, which sends out rays⁷² to the delicate clouds, while all the stars are present. This is to be seen in the hour of death, but, indeed, there is nothing (real); only the soul is (one *thinks* to find things thus). If on dying, one sees shapes and forms, these are hallucinations. Rightly, one sees (but there *is* nothing).

"What is seen can be black, red, yellow or white. The black and red represent your passions, the yellow indicates worldly desires, only the white is pure, this is the soul's (the immaterial's) appearance.

"When in the hour of death one flaming (centre) is seen, with eight colours,⁷³ that is called *prěmana*⁷⁴ [relates to carrier of (divine) Life].

That is in reality your (own) radiance, light, which is like an ivory puppet (*golek*); it is a light that glows and glitters and emits a radiance as of a *rainbow*. Such is the reflection of the immaterial soul, that which exercises the actual power, the soul of higher order(?). These are of the same descent as the Immaterial Godhead, the origin of mankind.

70. The cycle of water, from vapour to precipitation, etc., is a favourite symbol demonstrating *sěngsara* [suffering].

71. About the speculations concerning that which is seen in the hour of death, cf. *Bijdr. Mystiek*, p. 42 ff.

72. In the text it says *kasorotan*, but the clouds do not shine upon the moon.

73. The colour-spectrum comes to mind.

74. This word plays a not unimportant role in Javanese considerations of this nature. Later, I shall expand on the nuances of its meaning.

The purchase price consists not of gold, jewels, or precious things, but rather of inward devotion and vocation, true faith and not fearing to die; seldom does one come to the Lord(?).

"This my friend, Thou must carefully keep private. Talk not of it with others if they have not obtained grace (to understand such beliefs). And if Thou desirest to teach Thy children and theirs, (do it not) if it is not coupled with Higher Guidance.⁸⁰ For these are indications: it can be assumed from the behaviour and the tone of speaking, the countenance is so to say the *kĕbayan* (messenger)⁸¹ of the heart, therefore, it can serve as an indication.

"The Knowledge (which is treated here) compares⁸² with a grain of seed; the one who is taught is then the (sowing) field. If *kachang* [beans] or *kĕdĕlai* [soya beans] are strewn on bare stones, the grains will be exposed to rain and heat and will not germinate.⁸³ Thus also the Immaterial would be angered if tuition were given without evidence of grace. It is as if one (deliberately) took poison."

The former Dipati thanked him respectfully for all he had heard and understood; his heart was light and no doubts remained.⁸⁴

The Sunan went on, "Now, my dear friend, be of good heart, ordain the *Sarengat*, that is the great Screen.⁸⁵ I have spoken; remain in peace."

The Sunan then vanished, and the three were left.

80. *Widayat* for *hidayat*, see above p. 77, note 25.

81. One who conveys the remarks and orders of a master to his subordinates.

82. *Pinangka* naturally does not mean 'compare'. The beginning of this stanza, however, starts with a hypothetical sentence having more than one supposition, which in general can be joined by *mangka*. Now *mangka* and *pinangka* are related in other connections. Compare also the expression *kang minangka senapatine bala kae*, "who will 'serve as' general of that army".

83. Cf. Matthew 13:5-6.

84. One would wish in all circumstances to be able to say this along with the Saint. It must be acknowledged that the compiler sometimes explains these abstract matters surprisingly clearly and handles the Javanese with great variety, within the narrow limits of the metre. Indeed, the whole is not without some poetic charm.

85. Which gives the *profanum vulgus* something to do and keeps the higher Truths from them.

The opinion proclaimed here by Sunan Kali Jaga is still (either from conviction or for convenience) the usual excuse for Javanese of some standing to escape the reproach of half-heartedness in the fulfilment of their religious obligations. Performing *Sarengat* would hinder them in understanding the deeper core of mysticism and reaching a higher level than that of the masses!

regrets and trust your wares will sell well. And, Ki Tasik, I request you, along with your children and grandchildren, to come with me to Těmbayat."

The husband and wife agreed, and the Pangeran departed, accompanied by Ki Tasik and all his progeny. At Těmbayat, Ki Tasik received tuition concerning the institutions of the *Sarengat*, and he and his family were converted to Islam.

Eventually, Těmbayat became a large town. Many settled there, and among them were his Sěmarang relatives and all those eager for Knowledge.

Except for the interesting part regarding the teachings of Sunan Kali Jaga, this text, which originates from Yogya, substantially agrees with oral tradition⁹⁰ and the place where the Ki Panđan Arang stories are located.

KI PANĐAN ARANG AT TIRANG

The statements in the *Sěrat Kanđa*⁹¹ differ in a few respects, and I shall attempt to reproduce them now for the interest of the reader.

... We now speak of the island Tirang. He [who] was called Ki Panđan Arang: Sunan Bonang had indicated to him that place at Tirang Amper for him to break the ground. Thus, at this time (at the beginning of this story), many people had already joined him.⁹²

There was an *ajar*, Chitra Gati, living at Sěja Nila. His servant was a pretty virgin, whom the old man desired, but the girl would not consent, and she sought help from the other *ajars*. They dared not promise to aid her, however, for the *ajar* at Janila was their chief, so the girl went on to Pragota, and there the *ajar* asked why she came. It must be an important matter which brought her, as she carried a *lumpang* [mortar for pounding rice].⁹³

She told him the reason and asked his protection. The *ajar* said, "Even though you are my relative, I cannot help you. But if you seek refuge, take *the religion*. Nearby, to the east, lives a certain Panđan Arang, a religious teacher at Tirang Amper, who can protect you. He

90. A third statement, which gives the same main facts, although much more concisely, is to be found in "Javaansche Overleveringen" [Javanese Traditions], by C. F. Winter, Sr., in *Bijdragen*, 7th Series, Part I [Vol. 55, 1903], p. 437 ff.

91. Jav. Hss. Bat. Gen., No. 7, Vol. V, p. 237 ff., Canto 417, stanza 6 ff. The text is not included as with regard to the period of conversion, it will be published in its entirety in due course.

92. *Akatah tělukanira*.

93. The purpose of that *lumpang* is clarified on p. 98 below.

Kindly words made the *ajars* welcome, and they were amazed at the glory radiating from the Ki. They declared their wish to embrace Islam, but Chitra Gati insisted on measuring his strength against that of the Ki. He would throw his *kuḍi tērantang*⁹⁷ [perforated hatchet] high into the air, and Ki Paṅḍan Arang had to try to catch it. The latter replied that he could do so only if it were Allah's will, and on that condition he accepted the test.

Into the air flew the *kuḍi*, like a bird. Quickly, Paṅḍan Arang took his grass-cutting knife and hurled it high; it overtook the *kuḍi*, and now knife and *kuḍi* entered into a fight, watched with interest and awe by the *ajars*. Finally, the *kuḍi* broke in two, and the knife gained mastery. The onlookers cheered.

Chitra Gati, however, remained obstinate and now hurled his *kēṅḍi* [earthenware pitcher] high into the sky and made it spin, while still retaining the water.

"Equal that if you can," he challenged.

The adversary, taking his staff, caused it to touch the *kēṅḍi* high in the air, which then fell in pieces, but the water remained ...,⁹⁸ having still the shape of the *kēṅḍi*.⁹⁹ Those present were astonished; Chitra Gati submitted, and all were taught the *Shahadat*.

Then, Ki Paṅḍan Arang built a *pondok* on the beach, made dry when the girl had crossed the sea from the hermitage. Here, he settled with many *santris*, who were thankful for the abundance of fish present. The girl remained at Tirang, each day sending sustenance to the *pondok*. Gradually, many people settled there; the beach each year extending itself in a westward direction. Many mountain-people also settled there, adopted Islam, and became fishermen, enjoying abundant catches.¹⁰⁰

THE CONVERSION OF BĒTARA KATONG

In continuance of the above, I mention here a story which, in the *Sērat Kanda* concerned, immediately follows the preceding one¹⁰¹ and of which some local indications, if somewhat vague, bring us nearer to a hypothesis.

97. About *kuḍi*, especially *tērantang*, see the interesting statements of Dr. Hazeu in *Tijdschr. T. L. V.*, Vol. XLVII (1904) p. 402 ff. Ed. Note: *kuḍi tērantang*, small perforated hatchet used as a weapon by saints and holy men.

98. *Inggang tirta maksih sundul bae*, of which the word *sundul* is not very clear in this connection.

99. Evidently like water in a frozen and cracked water decanter!

100. This episode ends with Canto 418, stanza 17.

101. Canto 418, stanza 18.

Panaraga, where Sunan Bonang had ordered him to convert to Islam Bětara Katong, who should now be present. He was told he had already been converted of his own free will.

"Thanks be to Allah!" Seh Wali Lanang exclaimed (stanza 20), and with hands and eyes lifted heavenward, he prayed for the neophyte.

Together they ate their meal, then Paṇḍan Arang invited his guest, Wali Lanang, to stay to arrange matters of religion and to teach the people *Koran* recitation. Further to the east, there was a suitable but as yet unnamed place for him on the beach. Wali Lanang accepted, and learning that the settlement of Ki Paṇḍan Arang had no name either, he called it Sēmarang and prophesied that later it would be populous and powerful and would even become a stone-walled city.

Having agreed, they dispersed and started to develop the area. Seh Wali Lanang made a canal to the sea to allow for accretion to raise the level of the land. The settlement was called Kali Gawe (Lepen Daměł), the Canal. Many people joined him and lived there.

One day, Ki Paṇḍan Arang sat talking to Bětara Katong. He said: "My friend, I give you this advice, go to the west and develop a piece of land where you see a *wungu* tree leaning towards the river-bank.¹⁰³ Later, there will be a town, not very large, (but nevertheless) as extensive as the distance over which beatings on a padi-pounder can be heard."

Ki Katong went, taking his youngest daughter with him (Canto 420). He saw the *wungu* tree on a river-bank and there built a house and gathered the people together, laying out *těgals* [dry, non-irrigated fields] and *sawahs*. The new settlement became widely known.

Then came one from Bagělen craving tuition of Ki Katong. He received the name Ki Prawita and studied earnestly. He became the son-in-law of his teacher, and thus the father of the landlords of Lepen Tangi.¹⁰⁴

It is also related (in a rambling way) that at Děmak hereditary succession took place, the son succeeding his father in reigning with the title Paněmbahan, and then that at a meeting of the notables he bestowed the title Pangeran upon his *son* Paṇḍan Arang, and upon his *uncle* (*paman*) Ki Katong, the title of Sunan Katong, delighting all who were there. The Ceremony concluded with a meal in the *masjid*.¹⁰⁵

103. *Dayong* for *doyong*? Ed. Note: *wungu*, Lat.: *Lagerstroemia*.

104. *Tangi* is in this connection a foolish variant of *wungu*, accepted to meet the demands of the metre.

105. Here with Canto 420, stanza 10, this episode is closed.

Soon, the (new) Dipati went to Sunan Kali Jaga and kissed his feet. The Sunan said, "Welcome, young friend, what brings you here?"

"I come to inform you that I have succeeded my father and have been appointed Dipati Mangku Bumi," was the answer.

The Sunan offered thanks to Allah, blessed him and counselled him to rule devoutly and justly. The Patih was assigned to assist his brother in all things and to obey him, after which they returned to assume office (stanza 23).

The history of this Dipati Mangku Bumi is continued (Canto 427, stanza 22) as follows:

Let us speak now of the Dipati of Sĕmarang, Mangku Bumi, who wished to offer clothing and money to his teacher, Sunan Kali Jaga. The servant bearing the gifts arrived at Adi Langu, where the Sunan was digging in his garden, and he was ordered to lay the present down and to convey thanks to the Dipati. In return, the Sunan gave the man a spadeful of earth, which he had just lifted.

The messenger departed somewhat surprised to receive only a lump of earth in return for so valuable a present. He went back to his master at Dĕmak, and when the little basket was opened in which the earth had been carried, they found that the contents had turned to gold. Shown in this way the vanity of worldly things, the Dipati resolved to retire to seclude himself for contemplation of the Hereafter. His brother, Raden Kĕtip, he charged with administration at Sĕmarang, and he took leave of the King, who knew of and sanctioned his plans. After having obtained Sunan Kali Jaga's permission, he journeyed southwards with his two wives, settling at Tĕmbayat.

Having obtained the Grace of God, he became a *Wali*, honoured by many. His family-line is subsequently traced from Tĕmbayat.

This change in the administration of Sĕmarang took place in 1434 (*rasa guna rasaningrat*)¹⁰⁹ (stanza 41).

WHO WAS PANDAN ARANG?

Regarding the above, we must now consider the identity of Pandan Arang. When the *Juru Kunchi* alleged he was Bra Wijaya of Majapait, not only his quaint adventures, but also Bhre Pandan Salas III came to mind.

The *Pararaton*¹¹⁰ relates of him that he "*sah saking kĕḍaton*", which Dr. Brandes translates as "he left the *kraton*". The expression might also be taken in a less material way, but that is not relevant here. In the *Pararaton* nothing further is given, and oral tradition is unreliable

109. *Rasa* is usually six, but the year 1636 absolutely does not fit here.

110. *Op. cit.*, p. 32, respectively p. 172.

called Sabrang Lor,¹¹⁷ and a Sabrang Kulon is also mentioned. It seems obvious now to say the Raden Trënggana, the third son according to most statements, is Sabrang Wetan, but the aforementioned statements (p. 99) concerning the relation of Panḍan Arang's mother to Trënggana say he is not likely to be Panḍan Arang's father. Of Trënggana it is also stated¹¹⁸ that a daughter of his marries, and later divorces, Pangeran Made Panḍan.

A legend concerning the descent of this Saint of Tëmbayat is found in Raffles:¹¹⁹ "... the village Tumpait, situated near Karbo Suru, ... the tomb of the Pangeran of that name, who was descended from Abdallah, the *eldest* son of Raden Patah", whilst earlier (*ibid.*, p.135) a Raden Abdala is mentioned as son of Raden Patah.

So in this tradition it is beyond doubt that by Sabrang Wetan, Pangeran Surya = Sabrang Lor is meant; also the exchange may have been introduced for the sake of metre, for the Canto concerned is in *Asmaradana*, which demands *a* as a last vowel in the second line of the verse, for the sake of which *Lor* could have been replaced by *Wetan*.

Although only Javanese tradition is available regarding this matter, there is no objection to accepting as valid the substance of the above, apart from a few absurdities, such as a young scion of the house of Dëmak, to whom Sëmarang is assigned as a dependency, perhaps as a reward for courage or discretion, contributing greatly to the development and conversion there. Then later, he, or more likely his son,¹²⁰ grows weary of a life of ease at the court and the (relative) civilisation of Dëmak, and so he sets out for the pagan interior to devote his life to pious service and conversion, more rewarding than a worldly existence as head of a flourishing area. Whether this fact may be ascribed to Sunan Kali Jaga's persuasive power will not be considered here, because of the miracles connected with his appearance.

The traditions given do not always agree, even on important points, but neither are there definite contradictions, and Raffles' observation corresponds exactly to the story in the *Sërat Kanḍa*. It's just that the

117. For instance, in *Bijdragen*, 6th Series, Part VI [Vol. 50, 1899], p. 141, note, and in the above mentioned *Sajarah-dalëm*, p. 209 and elsewhere.

118. *Sajarah-dalëm*, p. 241.

119. *History of Java*, 2nd edn., Vol. II, p. 158. It's a discredit to those who worked in the Netherlands on Javanese and other languages that they never made any effort to publicise further the unpublished manuscripts of Raffles on Javanese philological matters as had been done in the preliminary notes of Cohen Stuart and Keyzer some 50 to 60 years ago.

120. See p. 103 below concerning the grave of one Panḍan Arang at Sëmarang. [n.120 placed in text as per Dr. Rinkes.]

settlement, as appears from the name *Chandi*, to the southeast on the hilly landscape now indicated by that name. The site of the present 'old town' was then still under sea or impassable mud.

In the era of religious transition, the hill in front could still be regarded more or less as *pulo*, island. Perhaps one of the Sēmarang river tributaries passed south of it, which seems to be indicated by *Tirang Amper* (I).¹²⁴ Land accretion had, however, already progressed so far that one could already settle to the north of it, at the site of the present-day city (thus it is not "only the Dutch who prefer to live in the mud"). Gradually this accretion went still further, as also with so many other sites on the north coast of Java, until the present-day situation was reached.

*SPECULATIONS ON KI PANĀN ARANG'S WITHDRAWAL
TO TĒMBAYAT*

One wonders why *Ki Pandan Arang* (or his son, *Dipati Mangku Bumi*) chose *Tĕmbayat* for his withdrawal from the world to practise "mission work among the pagans" after he tired of life among his fishermen in the mud village. This matter, however, must be considered in connection with the surrounding venerated places: *Kajoran*, *Jimbun*, *Banyu Biru* and others, and there seems no decisive information yet. Later, there may be an opportunity to return to this extraordinary matter and to publish more positive statements about it.

It should be remembered that although the tradition in connection with the above does not sound improbable, too much historical value should not be attached to it. Reports other than Javanese tradition, be it only one, are indispensable for an appropriate check on such stories.

It is worth mentioning, as these stories show, that after Islam had become politically supreme by violent means and after a conversion-raid (or probably several), further conversion to Islam took place (*vide Sĕrat Kanda*, No. 7) in much the same way as happened in the early Middle Ages when Christianity spread in Western Europe. Centres were created in the West as monks settled the reclaimed land, and the neighbouring people were attracted, imbibing a higher civilisation in the material field as well. So also in Java, groups led by some honoured teacher pioneered in the founding of places, some of which flourished and still exist today.

124. I could not find this name on the map, so this identification is somewhat of a supposition.

Below the extract from the *Babad*¹²⁸ is reproduced.

... Large stones fell in numbers; volcanic lava reached the Kali Opak; the droning sound of (falling) rocks (was as if) they were saying:

"Come, comrades, big and small, you are called to march against the enemy at Prambanan, the Sultan of Pajang, whom you must fight and in one night defeat."¹²⁹

There was consternation among Sultan Pajang and his chiefs as the mud rose higher and higher and thrust against the bivouac. (Even) the officers fled; each tried to save himself, for it seemed that the Hour of Resurrection had come. Falling stones endangered the *pasanggrahan* [rest-house].¹³⁰ They cried, "It would be foolish to march against the stones and the mud."

Sultan Pajang's people had gone. All close relatives disappeared; cravenly, they abandoned the field.¹³¹ Then Sultan Pajang mounted an elephant and also withdrew to Tēmbayat to kiss the foot of the grave¹³² in homage.

The door was firmly locked and could not be opened with the key. So the Sultan paid his homage outside, and then said: "Guardian, why cannot the door of the tomb be opened?"

The Keeper-of-the-Key answered respectfully, "Providence does not permit Your Majesty to retain your rank. The sign of this is that the Watcher¹³³ has rejected you. The dead are closer to the Immaterial [than you are]. The light of royalty (a halo purported to

128. According to the text in verse of Jav. Hss. Bat. Gen., No. 120, p. 497 ff. (Stencilled copies of this text available from the Malaysian Sociological Research Institute.) This manuscript contains 154 Cantos, of which the opening lines accord with those mentioned by Dr. Brandes in his "Register op de proza-omzetting van de Babad Tanah Djawi", p. 1, which because of the wording, he assumed to be the original of the prose-text. As was his habit, Dr. Brandes gives no further clarification concerning the source, but Dr. Hazeu and I came across the notes after his death, and I give below the specifications of the manuscripts concerned:

Cantos 1-154 are in Jav. Hss. Bat. Gen., No. 120.

Cantos 102-207 are in the Collection of Brandes, No. 28.

Cantos 182-251 are in the Collection of Brandes, No. 37.

Cantos 229-287 are in *Babad Pēchina* (Sēmarang, 1874).

The end of the text in Winter (Meinsma) corresponds with Canto 226.

129. Tradition has it that the *lēmbuts* (ghosts) under Ratu Kidul and also the eruption of Mēraji, prayed for by Senapati to the Goddess of the Southern Ocean and by his Patih to the Mountain Spirit, forced the troops of Pajang to retreat.

130. The roof was over-loaded, *kawēratān*?

131. Actually it says 'they had surrendered with the lances tied into bundles'. So the author presents the fight against the eruption like a fight against a human enemy.

132. *Astana* = *maqām*, abode, a name customary for holy graves. *Astana* is often abbreviated to *sētana*, which sometimes is written as *sēntana* and in that form must not be confused with *sēntana*, next of kin of the king.

133. Supposedly, the 'guardian-spirit' of the grave has been meant..

... Juru Taman was not found. Thereupon, the Sultan went outside the circular wall to look for him, searching everywhere, but never finding him.

The King became increasingly melancholic, but he forced himself to greater spiritual effort for the purification of his Worship (*puja*).

After this *puja* had penetrated to his heart, and from the heart to the primary visual faculty,¹³⁹ forthwith the (human) sight of the Sultan failed, but he had not yet received the opening of perceptive powers of Perfection.¹⁴⁰ During this time, he sat on the *kajar*,¹⁴¹ facing towards Makka.

A human figure then became visible, standing before the King. It resembled a middle-aged *priyayi*, had a kindly face, and wore a most beautiful garment. He (or the garment) shone all around, glowing like the bright moon when it is unobscured by rain-clouds or (even) by light feathery clouds.

On seeing the Sultan,¹⁴² he spoke kindly, bowing, but without undue reverence,¹⁴³ then smiled and spoke winningly, "Sire, Thou hast now an encounter with my Dignity. I saw Thy concern whilst Thou wast nicely seated on the *kajar* absorbed in meditation. Now I wish to give you some (important) information, for a King should not fail in his duty. You were much concerned as to the end (of Your difficulties), for You were confident of Your power over the invisibles, that other race.¹⁴⁴ The Will of Allah forbids this, therefore Your will was repealed.¹⁴⁵ (Thou hast) not believed in, hast had no faith in the power of the innermost, of the spiritual forces, the Essence, which created the world(?)."

The Sultan was disturbed;¹⁴⁶ he was extraordinarily astonished, as if his heart was shaken, but recovering, he besought the Godhead.

139. *Iksa*, for *aksi*, evidently for the *metre*.

140. It seems that although normal human vision was precluded by his unconsciousness, the organ of internal perception, which takes over in exactly this situation, had not yet started to function.

141. According to information received, a wooden or stone seat in front of a Javanese house. The *kajar* is said to be used by the older generation. The word may be from the 'Arabic حجر 'stone'.

142. Grammatically, 'Sultan' can also be the subject, but it seems to be less acceptable because of the context.

143. So it was no 'abdi' [slave, servant], for otherwise he would not have dared address the master with other than signs of extreme submission.

144. Notwithstanding many inquiries, I could not place the word *wran*. Ed. Note: Jav. *wran* means 'men', 'people'.

145. According to R. M. Mangku Dimeja, *katambĕtan* means here 'to be mistaken', so 'You were mistaken in not believing in', etc.

146. *Nirbāva* (Skr.).

have been put in order, for the family were not able do so in a fitting manner.¹⁵¹

Others say that the meeting took place with a descendant of Sunan Bayat, the Pangeran who would cause Enlightenment.¹⁵²

Others again maintain that it was Sunan Kali Jaga, and some would even call the Apparition a radiance of the mystery of the Illustrious (i.e. Allah).

When all was clear to the Sultan, and he understood that he could soon be home by placing himself in the sleeve of the Apparition, he did so and to his wonderous gratitude was back in the *kraton* at Mataram¹⁵³ almost immediately. The wives and concubines were amazed that the King suddenly appeared, not knowing from whence he came, and they rushed to be first to make the *sěmbah* and to hold his feet.

After this come remarks on the happy reunion (stanza 10 ff.), followed by a number of statements concerning Juru Taman, who tried to enter the ladies' quarters professing that he sought the Sultan but, as some would maintain, really on quite a different quest. As this has only indirect bearing upon our subject, I omit a translation.

Stanzas 16 and 17 describe the King, sitting in audience the next morning and saying (stanza 18),

"Patih Singa Ranu, I appoint you to rebuild the grave of the late Sunan Těmbayat, the Saint. Ring a high stone-wall around it; in doing this, use your own judgement. I trust you to make it beautiful.

"I will supply stones from Mataram, and they shall be carried neither by (pack) horses nor coolies. To transport the stones, place suitable¹⁵⁴ people in the *sila* position, as in the *wayang*,¹⁵⁵ from Mataram to Bayat in a line, to hand the stones on from one to the next. Spare not the numbers, if need be call up even 300,000 men."¹⁵⁶

151. In this sentence two lines of thought seem to have been compressed to meet the demands of the *těmbang*; firstly, the opinion that the Sultan had the grave built up as compensation for the help rendered; secondly, another opinion, namely that he started to do it himself as the *ahli waris* [the heirs] were not capable of doing so. Otherwise, the third line of stanza 4 does not fit well, nor are the last two lines quite to the point.

152. According to Raden Ng. Sura Dipura, *boranya* contains the root of *obor* and should be explained as *pađang*. Others put it as = *wara*, i.e., *pitutur*, *piwulang*.

153. Stanzas 6 and especially 7 are cumbersome and not free of repetition.

154. The prefix *su* of *sujalma* actually has no meaning here.

155. *Tirik-jirik* = *jějěr unđa usuk*.

156. The distance between Těmbayat and the Mataram of Sultan Agung can be estimated as about 40 kilometres, following the plain and allowing for curves in the road. Let us assume a distance of 50 km.; then 50,000 men, 1 metre apart, would have been needed. This may have been possible on a royal whim, but is not very likely. Similar stories come from other parts of the Archipelago, notably Sumatra, where such a measure [by a King] would have been impossible because of the [low] density of population, both then and now.

ordered to clean the King's pistol. When he examined the barrel, it suddenly went off and hit his eye. Realising defeat, he decamped.

The Sultan, moreover, received instruction in the Knowledge, especially in the power to move instantly anywhere by means of the formula "*aji pawĕling*";¹⁶³ gratefully, he offered his kingdom to the guardian of the grave, but the latter refused, saying that such was not according to the Predestination. He only asked for effectual repairs to the tombs, which were then carried out.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

These traditions concerning the relationship of Sultan Agung with the grave at Tĕmbayat are still relatively recent and sound highly acceptable, apart from the usual absurdities. Besides, they find confirmation from a reliable source in a statement in the *Dagh-Register*,¹⁶⁴ as follows: "that the ruler of Mataram personally set out for a place called Tambaijat to make a sacrifice there, and that on leaving he gave the order to assemble 50,000 men: 40,000 to be sent to *Batavia* and 10,000 to *Balimboan*, with the command to wait for his return from Tambaijat and then for each army to leave for its destination. ..."

The *Dagh-Register* is totally reliable, though how far the "certain slave" told the truth is difficult to check, but in connection with the information above from the Javanese side, it seems not too daring to accept the main points as historical fact.¹⁶⁵

As such may be mentioned that the Sultan certainly showed more than the usual honour to the grave in the course of 1633,¹⁶⁶ as he had

163. Ed. Note: *aji pawĕling*, Prof. G. W. J. Drewes writes: *wĕling* is a kind of viper. I think *aji pawĕling* is the same as *aji wĕling*, an incantation which makes the *naga bumi* (serpent of the earth) appear (and probably presses it into one's service).

164. *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India* (from now on cited as *Dagh-Register*) Anno 1631-1634 [Daily Record kept at the Batavia Castle A.D. 1631-1634.] The Hague, 1898, p. 185, entry for 29 May, 1633.

165. It is good and useful to criticise the sources at one's disposal, but it must remain healthy criticism and not degenerate into a pathological spirit of doubt, which seized the historiographers for a long time, especially concerning statements in the *Babads*.

166. In Raffles, 2nd edn., Vol. II, p. 259, one finds "1562. The Sultan removes to Tumbayat" ... etc. It could be of great importance if the "Traditions and Records of the Javans", from which come this and the other dates, could be used more fully. No conclusion, however, should be drawn from this bare statement, as not everything in the list is equally correct, and the dates of several events have been altered by some years. See also the next note.

The *Babad Nitik* says that Sultan Agung had recently been in Bantěn to assert his authority over the King, when he came in contact with the Apparition, thought to be Sunan Bayat.

Oral tradition has it that he was then in Blambangan.

According to the *Dagh-Register*, he wanted to send troops against Batavia and Blambangan after his 'sacrifice' at Těmbayat.

Various rumours of the Mataram war preparations against Batavia or Bantěn, or perhaps both, are found in the *Dagh-Register* in the years following the siege of Batavia; moreover, from the letters sub XXVIII and XXIX included in de Jonge,¹⁷⁰ it is evident that before more drastic action against Blambangan in 1638, there were skirmishes, or they were expected, for which Mataram required regular troops.

Thus the Sultan's visit to Těmbayat in 1633¹⁷¹ has the character of a *zijārah*, here meaning the invoking of the Saint's intercession with Allah for the successful execution of a plan. The intended expeditions, however, were either not performed or were without noticeable consequence, and the visit which resulted in the redemption of a promise could hardly have caused the no doubt costly erection and repairs to the grave[-site] which were evidently done.

Statements about the Saint's tuition of the Sultan are enveloped in miracles, so that as historical data they are of little value (unless, as is assumed, the episode was also meant as a *pralambang* [veiled indication of future events]).

I shall assume that the restoration of Těmbayat was an attempt by the King to surround himself with pious splendour and to gain the sympathy of the 'papists' in future matters of war. It was evident to him, after failing against Batavia [in 1628 and 1629], that he could never send another armed force there.

It is remarkable that the change in the Javanese calendar¹⁷² took place in that same year, [A.S.] 1555. Whether this fact and the rebuilding of Těmbayat are directly connected cannot be established now, but it is interesting that the dates of the two events coincide.

170. *De opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in Oost-Indië*, Vol. V(II), Amsterdam and the Hague, 1870, p. 201 ff.

171. The statement was recorded in the *Dagh-Register* at the end of May. The conveyor would have needed some weeks (full of adventure) for his escape. So this visit would have been in April or early May, 1633, probably in the month of *Shawwāl*, A.S. 1554 (8th July 1633 = 1 *Muharram* A.S. 1555), during which month people like to visit the graves even today.

172. Viz., the official change. In *Tijdschr. T. L. V.*, Vol. XXXII (1889) p. 356, it is evident that the 'Arabic calendar was already in use earlier.

He stayed there for seven days; then Paněmbahan Purbaya of Yogya helped him, so that he might appear at Mataram (Yogya) in a way commensurate with his birth.

If Těmbayat was thought of as some sort of haven, safe from persecution, because the prince had been there for seven days, none of the information supports this, so it is not worth more than passing mention.

Translation of the episode from the Javanese text¹⁷⁷ seems unnecessary here. It is in plain narrative style, and the contents are sufficiently apparent from the above.

Shortly after the preceding episode, the other party thinks it necessary to punish Těmbayat. The story runs:¹⁷⁸

... The King gave Ki Toh Jaya a lance with gold fittings, having silver and gold trappings, and also 200 *real* and ordered him to go, accompanied by Ki Arya Kudus, to deliver a letter to the Amral and Ki Dipati Danu Rěja and Mangku Praja, who were at Marěbung. There, he was complimented on being favoured by the King.

At this time, Těmbayat still resisted, clinging to the Paněmbahan's (Purbaya's) side.¹⁷⁹ So Ki Toh Jaya and Raden Nata Wijaya were commanded to subdue it.

The people of Těmbayat put up stiff resistance, for the Pangerans,¹⁸⁰ themselves, took part in the battle. Toh Jaya dismounted and led his men in the attack, causing the enemy to flee to the mountains, whilst their comrades¹⁸¹ fired their light artillery at the attackers.

The King's favourite and confidant, Raden Danu Paya, now prepared to attack Pangeran Wangsa Dria (the chief of Těmbayat). Toh Jaya gained ground, was shot at by the light artillery, but did not

177. [Stencilled copies of the Javanese available from the Malaysian Sociological Research Institute.] On page 106, note 128 above, one finds the reason why a piece was chosen from No. 37 of the Brandes Collection.

178. Also from manuscript No. 37, Collection of Brandes. [Stencilled copies of the text available from the Malaysian Sociological Research Institute.] I have translated it into Dutch [here in English] somewhat freely and have shortened it more than usual, as it unnecessarily takes too much time to follow the text in all of its ramifications, and in these happenings the general fact is more important than the single detail. This also applies to the next piece from the *Babad Pěchina*.

179. Regarding the connection of this episode with the previous one and general events, I refer to the ordinary history books such as Veth, *Java*, 1st edn., Vol. II, pp. 445-7, or 2nd edn., Vol. II, p. 123.

180. i.e., the descendants of Sunan Bayat.

181. In *sarowangipun*, the suffix - *ipun* may refer to Toh Jaya's companions. But in view of what follows, this seems less probable.

For some time, Raden Pěngulu had not been trustworthy and, in seclusion at Plumbungan, had gathered somewhat regular forces for, after the defeat near Ranđu Kori, he had a mind to oppose and assault the Dutch.

Some four hundred people, religious teachers, their pupils and subordinates, and others who had come from Těmbayat, were gathered at Plumbungan.

Raden Pěngulu awaited the coming of Pangeran Prang Wědana, without whom he feared to descend to the plain. He, therefore, asked Pangeran Pamot to go to request his elder brother to come to the mountains (stanza 30) to speak to him on the matter and then to go back with him. He (Raden Pěngulu) undertook to fight the *kafirs*, with Pangeran Prang Wědana in command of the troops, for it befitted a prince to be the first to win back sovereignty.

So Pangeran Pamot with his servants went back to Sěněng and related to the King his adventures (omitting, evidently, what Raden Pěngulu had said).

That night, he went to his *pondok* and woke his elder brother to head the troop at Plumbungan.

The brother decided to go, and before dawn the brothers set out (Canto 56) unobserved, but left a letter for the King describing their purpose.

On reading it, the King thought, "Numerous though my men be, they are mostly Chinese.¹⁸⁴ It is daring of my brother to take on so many when he has so few men; were there two like him (I) would be equal to the difficulties."

The King then proceeded further east and came to Kaduwang, whilst Pangeran Bumi Nata awaited Prang Wědana, no matter whether the latter won or lost.

Meanwhile, Prang Wědana had arrived at Plumbungan with his men and met Raden Pěngulu, and they discussed going to the rescue of Těmbayat. The armed men were ready.

Then the Pangeran said, "Well, old friend, so you want to wage war?"

Raden Pěngulu replied respectfully, "It is my wish to subdue the people of Těmbayat (stanza 10). Wangsa Dipa is there now; we must attack him first. When the country-folk are overcome, let us march against the Company at Ranđu Kori. I shall lead the battle; Your Honour has only to witness it."

184. Evidently, over one thousand men were with him, but three-quarters were Indonesian Chinese who, though having certain fine qualities, were not distinguished for heroism in battle.

perishing with him. The Těmatese, on the other hand, lost only four men. This happened in the year 166(?)8.¹⁸⁶

When Pangeran Prang Wědana saw Raden Pěngulu fall, he and his seven followers fled eastwards, without stopping.

After the battle, the Company troops retired to Ranđu Kori, and the Javanese went to Těmbayat and set it burning.

CONCLUSION

In these three events, Těmbayat always sided with the party opposing the one who, in our opinion,¹⁸⁷ was the legitimate King, i.e., the King appointed or supported by the Dutch.

It would, however, be unfair to conclude that it was, or had been, a hotbed of malcontents hostile to European penetration.

In the first place, they merely took sides in a civil war (it was mainly that) with the party which was theirs by tradition, education, and also partly by geographical position, i.e., the more nationally-orientated group. For even if its leaders were not strictly honourable, the unbiased on-looker can sympathise with their patriotic feelings.

Secondly, it would be incorrect at that time — and even more so today — to characterise those groups rebelling against European influence as positively hostile.

Past governments are often reviled, but it could not be foreseen that that influence would have had such an infinitely beneficial effect in Java. It would serve no purpose here to speculate on delicate political affairs of yesterday or today, but I must stress that by relating these

186. A reflection of this episode can evidently be traced in the Dutch sources found in de Jonge, vol. IX, p. 430: "...it occurred that after dispelling the rebels from the Mattaram (*sic*), a new agitator in the region, Raden Panoeloe was chosen as Emperor by some superstitious local pagans. He intended to proceed to Cartasoera [Kartasura] with his forces, but [Baron von] Hohendorff marched against him with 450 men, and after a stubborn defence, he and many of his people perished. Thus, he disappeared as quickly as he came."

This information is in a letter dated 31st December, 1743. Before that, it was observed (*ibid.*, p. 429) that on the 3rd of June, Hohendorff dispelled the rebels of Cadersanan and Ranđulawan(g) = Ranđu Kori.

So the battle with Raden Pěngulu took place in the interim, corresponding apparently to the Javanese year 1668. The syllable *as* in the *sěngkala* may be an abbreviation of *asta* = eight, while *nuju* then must be six (unless the *sěngkala* is wrong). The other two words are clear.

187. Ed. Note: the opinion of the colonial government.

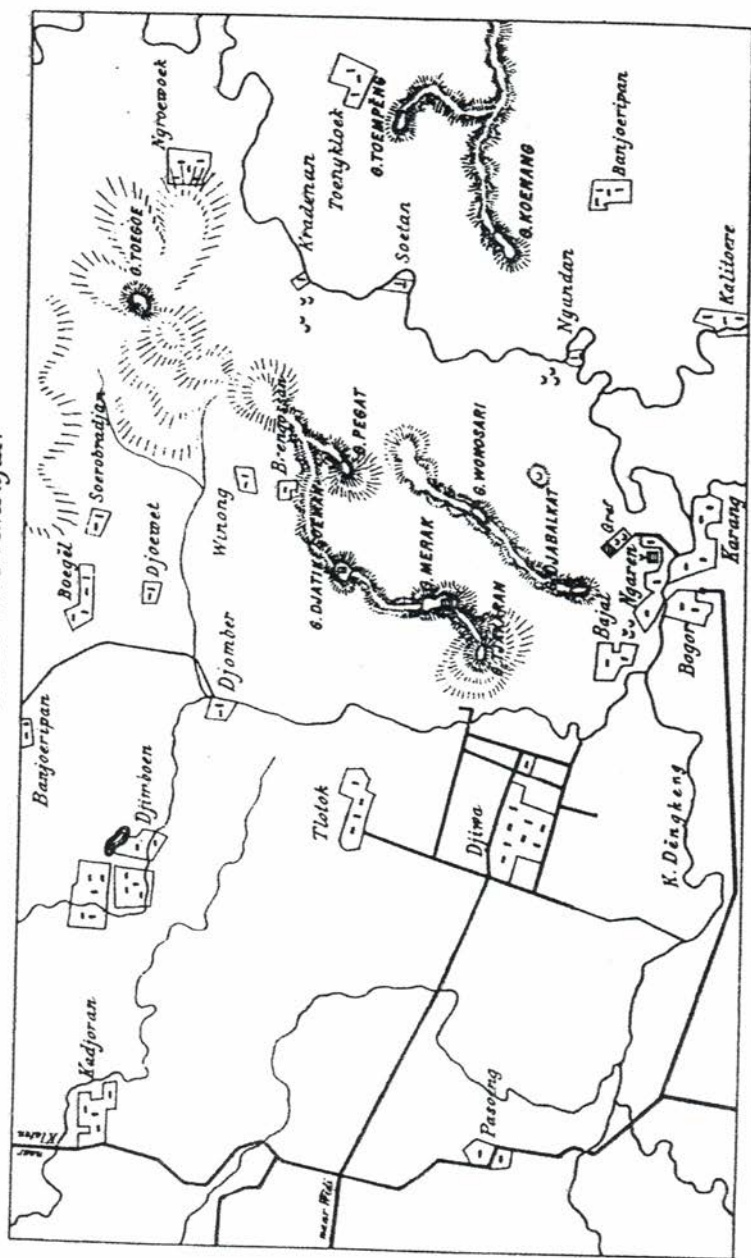




724.

SKETCH VI The Gapura Panemut at Sunan Tēmbayat's Grave

Situatie-schets van Tembajat.



Schaal 1:50000.

Sketch Map of Tembajat and Environs

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identified themselves as the occupants of the grave and declared they had come to succour the sick man. The latter, so he relates, then felt himself taken by the feet, lifted, and hung with his head down. After that the old man holding him shook him violently and swung him to and fro, whereat he naturally felt most uneasy, until something like a black shadow fell from him and rapidly disappeared.

He was then laid on his couch, and both apparitions suddenly vanished. From that moment he felt better and gradually became stronger; when he had completely recovered, he devoted himself to the service of the grave, where, although he is not of the family of the Saint, he has carried out the duty of Keeper-of-the-Key for the past thirty years.

It seems unnecessary to go into detail about these somewhat lugubrious dream stories which I heard. In general, the information corresponds fairly well to that compiled before.⁵

According to local tradition, Kyai or Ęmbah Panggung, a son of Sunan Bonang, was instructed to teach religion at Tęgal. As the place where he established himself was swampy, he had a *panggung* built, that is a hut or a platform on stilts; thus is he called Sunan Panggung.

Outside the small building over the grave, here as elsewhere indicated by the term *chungkub*, are two more graves, one on each side, with gravestones at the normal human distance, where Sunan Panggung's two dogs, Iman and Tokid, lie buried. More about this below.

People still come to pay homage to the deceased, especially on *Kęmis Wage* and *Juma'at Kliwon*, when the night is spent near the grave to gain fulfilment of human desires and wishes.

It is said that the grave-building was completely burnt down some forty years ago and that the manuscript of Sunan Panggung, the *Suluk Malang Sumirang*, which was either the original or at least a very old copy, was lost in the fire. Other written data on the life and work of the Saint were also lost, so that nothing is now remembered. Also near the grave is a small well, about one and a half metres deep, used formerly to administer severe oaths. For those who dared to drink the (completely harmless) water of this well, their fate was favourably decided; so it was said.

Finally, I was shown a '*patilasan*' [remnant of the past] of Sunan Kali Jaga: a few stones with the roots of a young fig tree growing 'round them, which seemed not to offer anything remarkable.

5. See Appendix Note 3.

Two *napsus* [passions] had already disappeared; he had caused *luamah*¹¹ [greed] and *amarah*¹² [anger] to emerge from within himself. These had the form of dogs, one black and one red; the black dog, the *luamah* was named Iman (*Faith*) while the red one, *amarah*, was named Tokid (the *Unity*).

Wherever he went, they accompanied him and could not be separated from him. They followed him into the *masjid* at the Friday Service and sat behind their master to learn the Law.¹³

This behaviour was censured by many; the head-Walis assembled in the exalted presence of the Sultan to discuss Pangeran Panggung.

Sunan Bonang said, "Sire, what is your wish concerning Your brother, Pangeran Panggung? His way of teaching the Law clashes with social order. He is defiled by his dogs, Iman and Tokid, which he takes with him to the *masjid*. The Law will lose authority; if rigorous action is not taken, it will lead to ruin of the social and Divine institutions."

When the Scholars of the Law had approved, the King said benevolently, "If this is true, what judgement shall be pronounced?"

Sunan Bonang answered, "The sentence is that he should be burned."

The others were unanimous, "Sunan Bonang judges rightly."

Thus the King maintained Divine Law; it was as if his brotherly love had evaporated. Calmly he said, "Patih, hurry now, prepare the pyre."

The Patih replied, "At your service." The King again spoke, "*Gandek* [royal messenger], send at once for my brother Panggung. The Divine Law summons him."

The messenger ran to Ranđu Sanga, where he found the Pangeran feeding his dogs. Afterwards, he bathed them and caressed them (on their skin).

The *gandek* said quickly,¹⁴ "I am sent by your brother, the King. Your Honour is invited, according to the Law, to come to the capital; leave at once for Dêmak."

11. Ed. Note: *luamah*, (Jav.) covetous; derived from the 'Arabic: *al-nafs al-lawwāma* (*Qur'ān*, *Sūra* LXXV:2) literally: 'the soul which reproaches or upbraids'.

12. Ed. Note: *amarah*, *napsu amarah*, from the 'Arabic: *al-nafs al-ammāra bi'l-sū'*: the (appetitive) soul which urges to evil; understood as Javanese (*amarah*: anger).

13. The first line of stanza 18 may have to be grammatically understood in a different way, but for the normal course of the story it is quite irrelevant.

14. It is conspicuous how often the author uses the words *swift*, *fast*, *quick*, in season and out (and in other Javanese stories it is the same). For the episode, speed is not always necessary, and in many instances the insertions concerned can be considered as stop-gaps for the metre.

fire) by fighting in it. Even more so Pangeran Panggung, truly he cannot be hurt (on the pyre)."

The King said mildly, "Brother, it does not fulfil our wishes unless you do it yourself."

Pangeran Panggung replied, "It is best that I, myself, enter the fire; but, brother, I ask for ink and paper. I shall write the conditions (the means¹⁷) for reaching the Hereafter."

At once the King ordered ink and paper; the Patih made up the fire, and Pangeran Panggung bade adieu to the King and to the head-Walis, to whom he *salaamed*. The Scholars returned the greeting, shaking his hand. The Pangeran then seized a bench¹⁸ and placed it in the fire. It flamed up; the Pangeran threw himself into it, and the dogs followed him.

Now, amidst the flames, he composed an excellent manual (*suluk*¹⁹), called *Malang Sumirang*, which was an extract (*nukilan*) of the book *Dakapanaulpana*.²⁰

The Pangeran then died, (and) the flames went out.

After the fire was extinguished, the Patih saw a manuscript which he offered to the King, who took it and withdrew to his palace...²¹

A tradition which is fairly similar is found in the *Sĕrat Chabolek*,²² already mentioned, and information sometimes identical is found in *Babad Pajajaran*.²³ Both these earlier editions are, however, somewhat shorter and sometimes differ in detail.

17. One cannot know from the Javanese *اشارة* whether one is dealing with the 'Arabic *اشارة* or *شرط*.'
18. The word *pukulun* in this line gives rather a strange impression; evidently, it is a stop-gap to get the full number of syllables and the desired end-sound at the same time. Something like a propositive sentence must have been in the author's mind.
19. Ed. Note: *suluk*, religious poem: see Glossary.
20. The last five syllables would correspond to *فناء الفناء* [*fanā' al-fanā'*, the annihilation of annihilation] whereby the *hamzah* would have been changed into *واو* due to a slip of the pen. The first two syllables would then be *دقة* [*daqat*] or something like this. But then *فناء* would not remain in the nominative, and besides such a book is not known (see C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, Felber, Weimar, 1898-1902). Most Javanese students use the first words of the text as the name of their books, rather than the real title. Ed. Note: Prof. G. W. J. Drewes writes: 'Arabic *daqqa* or *diqqa* do not make sense in this context. If — as suggested by Dr. Rinkes — *dakapanaulpana* are the initial words of a book, then they could be a corruption of the 'Arabic *dhāqa fanā' al-fanā'*, 'he has tasted the annihilation of annihilation'.
21. Canto 422, stanza 15.
22. See p. 125, note 7 above. [Stencilled copies of the text available from the Malaysian Sociological Research Institute.]
23. *Sĕmarang*, 1885, Vol. 1, p. 180 ff. [Stencilled copies of the text available from the Malaysian Sociological Research Institute.]

[Javenese orchestra] and the declamation were also heard there very clearly.²⁹ This became the custom, according to the wishes of the nine *Walis*, and it was discussed (it was considered correct).³⁰

Now, spoke Sunan Kali Jaga...³¹ to the King of Dĕmak, "Young friend, you must know that the *wayang* is indeed a (reflected) image of (the) One, so to speak: the image of the Law. The *wayang* represents all humanity; the *dalang* [person who manipulates the puppets and recites the text behind the screen] corresponds to Allah, Creator of the universe. I called the *wayang* an image of the Law, because it is clear that the condition of *wayang* totally differs from that of *dalang*. Each of these two is on its own, whilst the *wayang* figures cannot move of their own accord, but depend on the will of the *dalang*. Thus, also the Creatures can only act by the Will of the Lord, the Highest, He who manipulates the world.

"Thus, in this phase one is completely absorbed (submerged) in the Works; the position is one of Separation; the Law is indeed, young man, the concern, the occupation of the heart,³² (as is the case) when one sees the *wayang* performed."

(Stanza 13) "The image now of the *TARIKAT* [mystics 'path' to the Real]³³ is the *barongan*³⁴ play. Here, the player and the character are the same, but (that fact) is still hidden. The whole body is disguised by a kind of sack, which serves as an ornamentation.³⁵ Man

29. *Ayan* could be derived from اعيان (?). See *Bijdr. Mystiek*, index voce.

30. Performing the *wayang* seems to have been meant as a *pasĕmon* [allusion] for a certain mystic doctrine, which was then approved by the *Walis* (?).

31. According to Raden Ng. Sura Dipura, *padalĕman* means *panjĕnĕngan*.

32. Evidently, the meaning is that the person at this stage is still occupied with many things, is still anxious about the incidentals of daily life, and in his heart he still allows passion to prevail.

33. Ed. Note: *tarikāt* ('Ar. *ṭarīqa*, (pl) *ṭurūq*), 'way', the mystics 'path' to the Real; 'path' of purity; mystic order; (see also *maqāmāt* in Glossary).

34. Ed. Note: *barongan*, a kind of mummery given by people wearing grotesque *barong* masks; *barong*: mask representing mythological monster, one of chief exponents of dexter or 'white' magic.

35. Maybe lines 2 and 3 of stanza 14 (*sic*) could better be understood as follows: ... just as the attire of the body is one with the person wearing it (the master of the body). In the parallel places *angga* is given instead of *rangga*; thus it might be better to substitute *angga* here as well.

Prophet; the Unity with the Immaterial is still thinly veiled. This is called *Shoghul Muḥammadiyah*⁴¹. Not more than a single breath (*sahusan*) (?),⁴² hardly anything, is lacking to complete the effort of unifying oneself with the Deity; one is submerged in the Attributes, the position is the Unification of the Unification, i.e., the Real Unification, *one* in acting, *one* in will, as long as one lives, *one* in involuntary⁴³ action, *one* in hearing, *one* in seeing, *one* in speaking; that is (indeed) 'united', therefore, it is called *hakikat*, that is to say (*jar*) turned into reality; that which is called servant has the Attributes of Allah.

(Stanza 22) "Finally, the image of the *MA'RIFAT* [gnosis]⁴⁴ is the *ronggeng*.⁴⁵ Here also the player and the character are the same, unadorned, without any veil, as a limb of the body.⁴⁶ The Dissolution is in the Godhead, the High; no (longer) two bodies, already one completely; the state of that man who is (as it were) the embodiment (?) of God. One is submerged in the Being, which of

41. The word *Muhammad* in this connection naturally has nothing to do with the Arab Prophet; it represents a mystic idea, not explained in detail here. It appears that *al-Insān al-Kāmil* (see above sub *tarikāt*) and *Muḥammadiyah* were exchanged by the author.

Ed. Note: Muḥyī ud-Dīn ibn 'Arabī, (d. 1240), one of the foremost mystics' interpretation of these *Ṣūfī* concepts is given in Arberry, *Sufism*, pp. 100-101:

The creative, animating and rational principle of the Universe, or the First Intellect, is the Reality (Idea) of Muḥammad (*al-Ḥaqīqat al-Muḥammadiyah*), also called the Reality of Realities (*Ḥaqīqat al-ḥaqā'iq*); this principle finds its fullest manifestation in the Perfect Man (*al-Insān al-Kāmil*).

Each prophet is a Logos of God; the Logos is Muḥammad, the "head" of the hierarchy of prophets. All these individual logoi are united in the Reality of Muḥammad.

The Perfect Man is a miniature of Reality; he is the microcosm, in whom are reflected all the perfect attributes of the macrocosm. Just as the Reality of Muḥammad was the *creative principle* of the Universe, so the Perfect Man was the *cause* of the Universe, being the epiphany of God's desire to be known; for only the Perfect Man knows God, loves God, and is loved by God. For Man alone the world was made.

42. Sura Dipura explains this as follow: *tēgēsipun sanapas, sēbab hos punika suara kēdēling napas; kajēngipun sami kalian tēmbung sakēdēping netra*. Ed. Note: Prof. G. W. J. Drewes writes: The explanation given by Sura Dipura means: One breath (inhalation), as *hos* is the sound of breathing; (therefore) it is a synonym of *sakēdēping netra* (the twinkling of an eye).

43. From *ngawur*, doing something blindly? Maybe the explanation of *wur* by *wruh* is to be preferred (cf. the first line of stanza 7), so that one should read: *tunggal pangawruh spn.*, one in knowledge, etc.

44. Ed. Note: *ma'rifat* ('Ar. *ma'rifah*), gnosis; mystic wisdom, the highest knowledge, intuition of the Godhead; see also *maqāmāt* in Glossary.

45. Ed. Note: *ronggeng*, female singer-dancer.

46. These last few words seem to have been added irrelevantly, as a matter of routine.

flattered; praises do not exist for them; they feel no bitterness if defamed and ridiculed; a family, a house, they covet not.

"When such a one dies, the sign (of his practising (*ma'rifat*) is that the corpse disappears; it migrates⁵³ with the soul, which can be likened to a bird which flies away with cage and all.

"So it was when the Prophet Idris died; he took with him his mortal remains, disappearing completely. His corpse could (no more) be seen.

"All four ways are unfailingly right. If these excellent four are rejected, all (else) leads one astray.⁵⁴

"Young friend, absorb this intimate teaching.

(Stanza 42) Then the King of Dĕmak, eager for the teaching of Sunan Kali Jaga,⁵⁵ drafted a text after the model of a *wayang* play, the *Bima Suchi*,⁵⁶ dealing with Unification with the Deity.⁵⁷ The *Walis* all knew that their younger colleague Kali Jaga was noted for his many (strange) actions, a *Wali...* of Righteousness,⁵⁸ (an example) to imitate, to make visible a secret sin (?).

The saying *pinter aling-aling bodoh* means that an excellent man is hidden behind (the appearance of) a common soldier [the clever one hides behind a screen of feigned stupidity].

This was also the case with Pangeran Panggung; he had the appearance of a rogue,⁵⁹ was violent in everything he did, his hair was long, his moustache was (twisted) like a flash of lightning, the casing of the sheath of his *kris* rattled, his manners were boisterous, he swung his thighs⁶⁰ like the *gambuhs*⁶¹ (dancers) parading, his lips were (red)⁶² as those of the *bĕdaya*⁶³ dance performers.

53. *Milung*, evidently = *milu ing*.

54. Note in this piece some similarity with what is told about the four *ācramas* of the Brahmins.

55. Perhaps it would be preferable to consider *loba* as Sundanese [many]; the sentence would then read: After much teaching by Sunan Kali Jaga, etc.

56. Or a writing dealing with the adventures of Bima Suchi ... Regarding this writing, see *Cat. Jav. Mad. Hss.* of Mr. Vreede, pp. 248 ff. and 321, and the *Supplement op den Catalogus*, II, of Dr. H. H. Juynboll, p. 8.

57. According to Raden Ng. Sura Dipura, *amatuanan* would be *amartuan*: to consider oneself, to feel like *tuan*; to identify oneself with the Lord.

58. ستور العدالة Ed. Note: Prof. Elmer H. Douglas suggests سطور, meaning something that is straight, whereas ستور means a covering of some kind.

59. The Sanskrit word *durjana* has become in Sundanese *jurjana*, and *jurdana* became *juru dana*. *Juru* is the word which indicates professions which are superior to the category of artisan (*tukang*). In the opinion of the 'speechmaking community', *dana* in this connection connotes committing roguery.

60. In this way *edek* was explained to me.

61. Ed. Note: *gambuh*, type of chivalric dance perhaps originally representing episodes taken from the story of Pañji, see Glossary.

62. According to the opinion of Raden Ng. Sura Dipura.

63. Ed. Note: *bĕdaya*, Javanese court-dancer.

Confession of Faith for that purpose. At Pajajaran, he was *dalang pantun*,⁶⁷ at Majapait *dalang wayang*, and thus in both regions he converted many to Islam.

The second piece⁶⁸ contains similar information concerning his appearance as *dalang barongan* at Těgal, under the name of Ki Běnguk. There again he 'performed' the Confession of Faith. On that occasion, the wife of one Ki Gaba fell deeply in love⁶⁹ with him, and her husband beat the *dalang* so that he rolled on the ground grievously hurt, without, however, making any complaint.

When he recovered, he went to the house of Ki Gaba and handed the latter a number of gold coins in requital. Ki Gaba was surprised at this Wali-deed and expressed this in these words (stanza 11):

"What now! Evil has been done to one who returns it with good.⁷⁰ Such a person is (indeed) like the sandalwood tree, which when cut gives forth a pleasing scent..."

Then suddenly Ki Běnguk disappeared, while Ki Gaba, realising he had wronged a great *Wali*, searched for him, leaving hearth and home (stanza 16).

Meanwhile, Ki Běnguk (Sunan Kali Jaga), under the name of Kuměndung, had made an appearance as *dalang topeng* at Prabalingga, where he also performed the *Shahadat* [Confession of Faith].

After several miracle-adventures not dealt with here, he went to a cave to practise *tapa*, but a complaint reached the King of Majapait that he had approached the wife of a certain Ki Uněhan of Japan†, although in truth it was not he but an evil spirit impersonating him.

In court, the evidence against him was overwhelming; only a *spotted dog* tried to confirm the alibi of the Sunan by declaring that the hermit had not left the mountains (stanza 49). Nevertheless, the judges declared him guilty and sentenced him to the stake. As the fire flared

67. Ed. Note: *dalang pantun*, person who directs the recitation of the *pantun* (quatrain with inner assonance); *dalang wayang*, puppeteer, narrator and manipulator of *wayang* (shadow play); *dalang barongan*, person who directs the performance of the *barongan* (mummery given by people wearing grotesque *barong* masks); *dalang topeng*, person who directs the performance of the *topeng* (mask) play.

68. According to Jav. Hss., No. 75 of the Brandes Collection, Vol. II, pp. 1-10. [Stencilled copies of the text available from the Malaysian Sociological Research Institute.]

69. *Kedanan* may stand for *birahi* [*běrahi*], usually meaning to be in (mystic) ecstasy.

70. It is perhaps superfluous to refer to the Sermon on the Mount, Matthew 5: 39 and 44.

† Ed. Note: medieval name of the region of Majapait.

Comparisons with other matters of common knowledge are not rare. A few pieces in Malay may illustrate this:⁷⁵

kětahui oleh-mu sěkalian handai
běr-tanya kapada guru yang pandai
sungguh pun banyak kain těrkedai
běr-lain₂an kasa dan chindai

fakir mēnchitěrankan suatu pěndapat
tatkala mēnchari ilmu ma'rifat
ada kapada suatu těmpat
sa-pohon kayu chabang-nya ěmpat

kayu-nya tinggi bukan kěpalang
buah-nya banyak tiada těrbilang
warna-nya indah amat chēměrlang
unggas pun banyak běr-ulang₂

ada pun ibarat fakir yang hina
sa-pohon kayu banyak-lah ma'na
jikalau pohon-nya tiada sěmpurna
chabang dan dahan lagi běrguna

jikalau sěmpurna pohon-nya itu
chabang dan daun těrhimpun di-situ⁷⁶
daun dan buah-nya di-sana-lah těrtěntu
baik-lah fikir kita di-situ

baik-lah kita mēněrima
kapada pohon-nya ia-lah sama upama⁷⁷
daun dan buah-nya tiada-lah sama
masing₂-lah děngan-nya nama

75. According to *Bat. Gen. Mal. Hss.*, No. 83, p. 6, line 8 ff. See Abbreviations: *Cat. Mal. Hss.* of Dr. Ph. S. van Ronkel, p. 362.

76. One would be inclined to read *satu*, but there is a *ɔ* before the letter س which would then be meaningless, although it seems to be necessary for the metre (although lines with 10 syllables are also found).

77. So it says. One should read *sa-upama*.

Fasal Pada Menyatakan Hukum Belayar

Ada pun bëlayar itu tiga bahagi: *përtama* ia dalam dunia, maka këpala modal-nya akal dan harta⁷⁹ dan bërani, dan laba-nya (dan) dosa-(nya)⁸⁰ dan më(nyë)sal dan tangis; *këdua bagi* bëlayar kapada jalan akhirat, maka këpala modal-nya iman dan tã'at dan dzikir, dan laba-nya shorga dan sëgala isi-nya; *këtiga bagi* bëlayar ia kapada Allah ta'ālā, kembali kapada Allah, maka këpala modal (dan) wasiat, dan laba-nya bërtemu dëngan Allah dan mënghadap Allah. Maka bëlayar kapada Allah itu ënam përkara, përtama përahu, këdua tali, këtiga këmudi, kë-ëmpat sauh, këlima layar, kë-ënam pëdoman iman dan tã'at dan...⁸¹ dari bandar itu Padang Maḥshar, dan saudagar yang mëmbëli dagangan itu Allah, dan wakil saudagar itu malaikat. Maka amal shari'at itu sapërti përahu, dan amal tarikat itu sapërti sauh, dan amal hakikat itu sapërti tali, dan amal ma'rifat itu sapërti pëdoman, dan yakin itu sapërti këmudi, dan i'tikad itu sapërti mu'alim, dan taufan itu sapërti malak al-mawt, dan laut itu sapërti kubor, dan Munkar wa-Nakir itu sapërti ikan bësar dan yu dalam laut itu.

Translated this would be:

*Chapter About the Basic Conditions for
Making Business Trips Overseas*

These are of three kinds: first, (the voyage) in this World — the original capital is 'commercial spirit' and Money and Courage, and the profit is Sin and Remorse and Bewailing; second, the voyage to the Hereafter — the original capital is Faith and Obedience (to God) and *Dikir*, the profit is Paradise and all it means; in the third place, the voyage to God, meaning *back* to God — the capital is the Testament (?), and the profit is the Encounter with God and the Appearance in His presence.

For this voyage, six things are necessary: firstly, a ship; secondly, rigging; in the third place, a rudder; in the fourth place, the anchor; fifth, the sails; sixth, the compass (being) Faith and Obedience and...; the harbour is the Plain of Collection, and the Trader, purchasing the merchandise, is God, and His executives are the Angels.

79. Of course, one would also be able to read *arti*, clearness of conception.

80. The copyist is evidently somewhat confused here.

81. Here there is a word نَسَاكُونْ Ed. Note: Dr. Amin Sweeney suggests *pesakaan*, derived from *pesakalpusaka* and meaning 'inherited property' or 'heirloom'.

one wanting to pound with his fists. His legs stood as if ready to kick, his lips curled menacingly like one rushing at his enemy in blind rage.⁸⁷ His eyes rolled wildly; it was fearsome how glitteringly⁸⁸ they stared angrily,⁸⁹ like a furious bull looking for an adversary.⁹⁰

In Těgal, this created a commotion. Then said Sunan Jati, "Inform Sunan Kali Jaga how it is with his son now in the hour of his death."

The men from Těgal swiftly went to look for Sunan Kali Jaga. For forty days, they seek him everywhere;⁹¹ then they find him and respectfully inform of his son's death agony. His condition is extremely bad, and no one in Těgal dare approach him.⁹² They all fear that he may pursue and harm them.⁹³ All avoid him, and those who pass him on the road run wildly away.

The Sunan spoke, "Is your story true? I shall go forthwith to see."⁹⁴ When he had come (at that place), he saw his son and said, "Maybe it is right that he should (but) die."

As the dying man was being addressed, death came to him;⁹⁵ (the body) lay with arms crossed on the chest; how good (did it seem thus); the eyes closed; his body seemed (as it were) to have but one leg.⁹⁶ His corpse was clean and beautiful and shed a clear lustre.

And so the prophecy of his saintly father was fulfilled. The corpse of Sunan Panggung was duly cared for and then was interred.

Finally, Raffles also mentions a "Sunan Tanggung (or Těgal)" in a list of the eight principal *Walis*,⁹⁷ which he probably took from the Dutch translation of the *Babad*⁹⁸ in which the identical names are

87. *Lağane* seems to be more or less an expletive.

88. *Drilap-drilap*, maybe = *lirap-lirap*.

89. *Andik* would be used to mean red; of eyes, bloodshot, consequently, in violent rage or fury.

90. *Kroda garandaka* is translated somewhat more freely as a furious bull. *Angēmria* I have understood as a lengthening (because of the *těmbang*) of *mamrih(a)*, to endeavour, to seek.

91. *Nguběs-nguběs*, evidently = *ngubrěs-ngubrěs*.

92. The change from indirect speech to direct speech is to be noticed.

93. *Ngudag-ngudag* is Sundanese, but is said also to be found in the Surabaya dialect.

94. *Suněd děngok* seems to be a lengthening of *sunděngok* as required by the metre.

95. Evidently this is intended to mean that the spoken word of the Sunan had that effect through his (magic) power.

96. ... *asuku alin* in which *alin* would be *tunggal*. The meaning should be that the legs were rigidly placed one against the other.

97. *History of Java*, *op. cit.*, 2nd edn., Vol. II, p. 135.

98. *Jav. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, No. 540, Vol. I, p. 328. Apart from the printer's error, Raffles has also made a mistake in the year in which the *Děmak masjid* was built. He gives 1390, while his Dutch source correctly gives 1429 [1479].

In this connection, I note that according to the *Sajarah-dalēm*,¹⁰¹ a wife of Raden Patah is called Ratu Panggung, being a daughter of Sunan Ngampel Dēnta.

In local tradition, he is a son of Sunan Bonang, whereas the *Babad Tjërbon* calls Sunan Kali Jaga his father. In another tradition from Chërbon,¹⁰² we meet a Kyai Panggung as son of Pangeran Drajat. This could be deliberate, for later traditionalists might have hesitated to associate such a heretic with the faithful family of the first Muslim Kings in Java and, therefore, might have chosen other parentage for him. Even if this happened in other cases, in this case it is not probable, for Pangeran Panggung is always a *Wali*, and as such is not judged by human standards but by a *Wali*-standard, and one would not have gained by belittling one of the two or three most renowned Saints.

These variations seem to show deliberate blurring of tradition later on and perhaps ignorance of this tradition further towards the West, in this case at Chërbon.

These, being traditions, contain many inaccuracies, and I think without further data it is best to suppose that he was really a brother of Raden Trënggana, who may have wished to put this co-pretender out of the way in a manner considered just by all.

According to Canto 424, stanza 14, of the *Sërat Kanḍa*, Pangeran Panggung left a daughter, who married a son of Panḍan Arang.¹⁰³

His dogs are now presented to us as a materialisation of two evil inclinations in man. The Javanese often held such opinions; at Pamanchingan, on the south coast near Yogyakarta, I was also told (apart from a completely different tradition) of a Saint there, Seh Bëla-bëlu, who was said to have been the *napsu* (passion) of Seh Maulana Maghribi, who is also buried there.

In the *Sërat Kanḍa*, No. 7, Canto 427, stanzas 12-13, somebody's [*napsu*] '*luamah*'¹⁰⁴ is a *cat* that is fed in the presence of the *walis* and is then swallowed (again).

Little is said about the dogs of Pangeran Panggung, of their being bathed, their names, or that they go to the *masjid*, or that the fire does not harm them. Data is as yet too scanty for a hypothesis.

101. Sëmarang, 1902, p. 209 ff., and p. 229.

102. Jav. Hss., No. 114, Collection of Cohen Stuart, pp. 77-8; cf. Jav. Hss. Bat. Gen., No. 462, p. 43 stating: ... "*Pangeran Benang boyo adarbe putra. Pangeran Kadarajat. kang somah awasta Nyai Mantën, sampun adarbe putra sèkawan ... kang waruju awasta Kyai Seh Nuruddin, kang aran Kyai Panggung ...*"

103. Raden Kaji garwaneki
putranya Pangeran Panggung.

104. Ed. Note: *luamah*, see note 11, p. 126 above.

judgements applied to later generations, for if one considered abominable the deeds of those later to be canonised in Java (as in the case of the four royal descendants), they might not have been described at all or, if described, extenuating circumstances could have been put forward.

It is known that the Javanese do not so greatly abhor dogs, as do many of Islam's peoples, and so this association is not especially hateful.

In the story of Pangeran Panggung it seems acceptable to consider the dogs as allegorical evidence of his heresies,¹⁰⁷ knowing that he is supposed to have pronounced deviating opinions in the domain of *iman* and *tokid*, (توحيد وإيمان). Details in the above story contain enigmas difficult to solve, and during my enquiry into the nature of the deviations, information regarding Pangeran Panggung's doctrines was scanty and not directly connected with the subjects mentioned.

One piece of information is a fragment in No. 303 of Jav. Hss. Bat. Gen.¹⁰⁸ of which the translation is:¹⁰⁹

3. *This is an article by Sunan Panggung:*

The confusing scriptures consulted are interminably discussed, the contents, the doctrines are extensively treated, *lapal*¹¹⁰ and *ma'na* have been considered, the right and the wrong are dealt with.

The sign that one knows not is that one does things (slavishly),¹¹¹ ashamed to ask, one appears confident of having understood, but in reality (however) such is not the case.

More and more obviously, such a person's ignorance increases; he is bound by convention to what is lawful and compulsory, he performs *sěmbahyang*¹¹² unceasingly, while that (very) thing is the

107. See Chapter II, p. 45, note 128 above.

108. p. 35 ff. [Stencilled copies of the text are available from the Malaysian Sociological Research Institute.] This piece and the piece mentioned next are in the name of Panggung, but one does not find the slightest indication of which Panggung it was, nor on what basis the tradition ascribes such statements to him.

109. All that is observed on p. 129, note 26 also applies here; the following piece is in Chěrbon dialect, the second one apparently quite fragmentary, and I do not take any responsibility for these translations.

110. Ed. Note: *lafal* (*lapal*), 'pronunciation', 'word', 'expression', in contradistinction to *ma'nā*, 'meaning'; Malay: *erti*.

111. Clearly, the ritual doings, the *Sarengat*, concerning the specifications of which there has been so much written controversy, as is also noted below. *Titipane* in stanzas 3 and 5 seems to mean the same.

112. Ed. Note: *sěmbahyang*: *sěmbah Yang*: to worship God.

*Napas*¹¹⁷ means the microcosmos, the active (action-) principle of the body so (which means) that one sees, speaks, hears, smells, (actually, seeing, speaking, hearing, smelling), so that is the spirit, to which is added the quality of Will(ing) and what now is called the spirit of Grace, (but) that is also wrong(?)

The (following) is the Perfect way, which is called the Soul (the ethereal part) of the body. In the body is the Soul, in the Soul is the *Rupa*, in the *Rupa* is the Light, in that is the Will, in that is the Lord, in that is Life; therein what praises, that is the Being of Allah.

The Will. Will (desire) means inclination, having love, whose meaning is what is called absolute Being, is that Being of God..., that is also wrong (namely) his Knowledge.

Allah the Most High has built a sanctuary in the breast of man,^{118,119} in the breast is the *budi*, in that the heart (*jantung*), in that *napas*, in that again the jewel (*manikam*), in that perfect feeling, in that the heart called *puad*; that is the heart of Light, the heart of the soul (or the ethereal heart) that is the perfect *rupa*, the attribute of God, that is the unity of all the life of all creatures. This was taught by all *Walis*.

Napas means Gabriel, Gabriel means the Messenger of God, that is what speaks and says: Allah. Internally *Ilolah*, externally Muḥammad; there is a secret in the soul which is in relation to the spirit; the white heart is *rohani*, which flames like a fire, a fire without smoke, the spirit which is in relation to the Merciful.

117. These and the following terms such as *nupus*, *roh ilapi* and many others, are discussed in *Bijdr. Mystiek*, see index *voce*. Apart from that, one must always bear in mind that the names for various ordinary Muslim affairs in these and similar pieces are for the most part to be understood in a completely different mystic sense than in orthodox literature.

Ed. Note: The definitions of terms in these two paragraphs are by the kindness of Prof. G. W. J. Drewes. *Napas*: breath; *rupa*: form; by the 'perfect *rupa*' is probably meant: Allāh's attribute of *Kamāl*: Perfection; *budi*: the organ of apperception in the spiritual field; *jantung*: anatomical heart; *puad*: 'Arabic of *fu'ād*: heart; *Ilolah*: 'Arabic *illā 'llāh*, taken from the first words of the shorter Muslim creed: *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh*: There is no God save Allāh; *rohani*: spiritual.

118. Similar contemplations appear in *Niti Mani*, pt. I, pp. 130, 134, but are more detailed and systematic.

119. Ed. Note: Prof. G. W. J. Drewes writes: about the sanctuary erected by Allāh in the breast of man see: Schrieke, *Het boek van Bonang*, pp. 60-3, 74-5; Kraemer, *Een Javaansche Primbon uit de zestiende eeuw*, pp. 97-105.





Stories exist according to which the present oppression is the consequence of past injustice or stupidity, as a result of a prophecy which becomes reality. In Javanese literature, these motifs have often formed the basic structure of such stories; peripheral circumstances taken from current opinions and local historical events lend local colour to a motif and give the story an indigenous stamp.

The motif might be imported from elsewhere or originate in the fertile minds of the story-tellers in Java; for instance, the idea that victim and avenger are one and the same person. This could only be credited in countries where belief in reincarnation and everything associated with it exists. Owing to this belief, the prophecy concerning revenge is usually announced after death by a voice heard from the air, that of the slain person, in fact, after his soul has left his body.

An example of this is the story of the Ajar Salokantara of Blambangan² whom Pangeran Silarong killed and who, after the disappearance of his body,³ is heard thus:

"Silarong, you caused my death though I was innocent, but my revenge will come; I shall have reincarnation in the future king, he who will bear a scar on his left shoulder,⁴ and then I shall have you killed."

Often the 'prophecy' comes from the course of history, where the victims of violence prophesy the coming of the Dutch (*kěbo bule* = white buffaloes), who by their mastery over the unjust tyrants will avenge the innocent.⁵

Such prophecies are sometimes not dependent on the idea of an avenging justice; in some traditions it is pointed out that the Senapati when building the *kuṭa bachingah*⁶ used first red stones (bricks), then laid white ones. Owing to this unwitting stupidity, his descendants lost

2. Already cited in Chapter II, p. 24, note 28 above.

3. Cf. Chapter V, p. 134 above.

4. There may be an allusion in the Javanese expression *getek baune kang kiwa*; the same applies to the name Salokantara.

5. This theme is, for example, the basis of the 'historical' novel *Madjapahit* by Gramberg. Further, one finds this notation in *Meded. Zend. Gen.*, Vol. 35, p. 107.

"The indigenous people speak of a prophecy by Shaikh Běla-bělu while he was being put to death.

"Remember, and inculcate this in Your children and grandchildren, that one day a king from abroad will rule over Java; he will be characterized by white skin and blue eyes."

At Pamanchingan lies buried one Seh Běla-bělu, of whom a completely different legend is told at that place, itself.

6. Ed. Note: *kuṭa*, town; *bachingah*: variegated, of various colours; *Kuṭa Bachingah* is the name of a former Javanese *kraton*, built from red and white stones; see also *Tijdschrift Bat. Gen.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 417.

growing in the deep shade around it, and then stuck in the ground it would grow and thrive without further care.

The grave is on a kind of elevation, along with those of two *sahabats* [companions], so it is said. It was under heavy foliage, not covered nor walled-in like the graves of the Dutch, it was emphasised (pp. 155–6 below).

As far as I could judge, it showed nothing remarkable.

On the derivation of the name Pamlaten, I was told the story, which also occurs in the *Babad Tjërbon*,¹⁰ that seven days after the death and burial with appropriate ritual of Seh Lēmah Abang, the *Walis* who had returned were curious and had the grave opened, whereupon, instead of the corpse, they found only two *mēlaṭi* [jasmine] buds.

It may be that the place was called Pamlaten long before, as *mēlaṭi* shrubs were prolific there, and that the legend¹¹ was so localised because of the name.

According to Chěrbon versions of his execution, Siti Jēnar, after his death, pronounced more than the innocent admonition given in the Central Javanese tradition.¹²

He appeared meek towards his heresy-hunting executioners, but he made some prophecies which amounted to curses, in which the Dutch, *his descendants*, would reign over the land and the people dealt with in these traditions.

If we look at the text in Jav. Hss. Bat. Gen. No. 515,¹³ then it appears that Seh Siti Jēnar must have said:¹⁴

10. pp. 21 and 120 ff. of the edition cited above.

11. Conformable stories are also to be found elsewhere, e.g., in the Chinese-Javanese story of Sam Pik Ing Tēh, see Juynboll, *Supplement-Catalogus*, II, p. 110, or *Tijdschr. T. L. V.*, Vol. XLV (1902) note on p. 265, where it is stated that two butterflies come from an opened grave. Naturally, it cannot be determined whether the conformity is not purely coincidental.

12. Chapter II, p 24 above.

13. p. 74 ff. [Stencilled copies of this text available from the Malaysian Sociological Research Institute.]

14. Canto 38, stanza 17 ff. That which preceded — the objections of the *Walis* against his doctrine, having the offender called up for the meeting and his evasive answers — as well as that which happened at the meeting, itself, are treated in a conformable way, although with many deviations in detail. This has already been stated (Chapter II, p. 22 ff. above), with a Central Javanese tradition as a source. The representation which is published here is, however, given in a more anecdotal way and not without literary merit, so that for this merit alone publication is very valuable.

the dividing line of the Lord; I opened the Screen, the protection of the King; let there be no difference inwardly or outwardly."²²

The Eight Walis went home to reflect upon these matters. Seven days later, it pleased them to visit the grave to observe the remains of the man who had called himself Allah.

The grave was opened, and they saw that the corpse had disappeared; there were only two *mĕlaṭi* buds, giving forth a flaming glow.

After this the grave was always called *Astana Pamlaṭen*.²³

THE RATU MANDAPA

It is told that the soul of Seh Lĕmah Abang, from its concealment, once gazed (down) upon the woman who had performed *tapa* under the tendrils of the *sirih* plant. This was the Ratu Mandapa purifying herself, she who had previously obeyed the command of the Ajar Sukarsa(i) and who had at the moment (of this story) been practising her *tapa* for twenty-five years.

It happened that the soul of Seh Lĕmah Abang licked a withered *sirih* leaf, which then dropped near the Ratu Mandapa.

Thus the princess remembered the Ajar's saying that should a withered leaf drop on (you), you must eat it.

After eating the leaf, she became pregnant. At once she told all to Ajar Sukarsa who, much pleased, said "My child, this is the result. If you give birth²⁴ to a daughter, name her Princess Tanduran

22. i.e., let this fact, for which I found death, viz., making the highest Mystery outwardly known, be evident from the external shape of my grave.

The grave of Sunan Ngampel at Surabaya may not be covered either. Cf. *Wali Sana* [Teachings of the Walis], II, Canto 1, stanza 3, (a manuscript, which I obtained from Blora and Solo and which seems to have been compiled by Rangga Warsita). [Ed. Note: Prof. G. W. J. Drewes writes: A manuscript which contains Rangga Warsita's *Walisana* is in the Jakarta library. See *Jaarboek (Yearbook) Kon. Batav. Gen.*, 1933, p. 372 (*Warahing idajat djati*).]

(Sunan Ngampel speaks thus in the hour of death):

.....
3. aywa binaturan inggil
pan sawĕtara kewala
aywa sinungan pĕpayon
ingkang para putra wayah
ngestokakĕn pitungkas
.....

23. Ed. Note: *Pamlaṭen* means place of *mĕlaṭi* (trees or flowers); so *Astana Pamlaṭen* is the grave where the *mĕlaṭi* flowers were found.

24. This sentence seems elliptical, but it may be best to translate it as a conditional sentence.

This Princess was she who brought forth²⁹ the Dutch, the successors to power³⁰ over Java. Hence, they are stationed by Allah at Bogor or at Batavia, as a symbol that Pajajaran would (again) be supreme.

This is proof of the Righteousness of God, who gives to each his just portion. There shall be no misunderstanding over the portion, for one can (safely) leave it to the Creator of the world...

The same manuscript³¹ tells who this Ratu Mandapa was. I translate:

(According to this tradition, Sunan Gunung Jati brought her husband, Puchuk Umum, to Islam. Ratu Mandapa, a Princess of Pajajaran, resists conversion and flees from her husband) ...

Regarding the Princess Ratu Mandapa, always she went through thick and thin ... She was worried, for her husband had embraced Islam and had joined the eminent Saint. She neither ate nor slept, but beseeched the Gods to grant her a child to take *revenge*³² on him, the one who had caused the King to be driven away.

Hurriedly, the Princess left and took service with the Ajar Sukarsa(i), who dwelt on the mountain Padang.

The Ajar already knew of her troubles and told her to fast under a *pinang* tree, around which grew a *sirih* tendril. She was also told³³ that should a *sirih* leaf drop into her lap, she must eat it, in order to be shown how her descendants might take revenge. "Even if during several *windus*, my child, no dry leaf falls into your lap (you may not leave ...), for when you have eaten, you will, without any man entering unto you, be granted pregnancy.³⁴

"You will bear a girl and must name her Nyi Tanduran Gagang. She will be beautiful as a *hour*, but she will remain undesired; no man

29. *Naslakakĕn*, evidently from the 'Arabic stem نسل [*nasl*: descendant].

30. Probably *ka(u)wasa* is used intentionally here as it also denotes 'plenary power given to an attorney'.

31. Jav. Hss. Bat. Gen., No. 481, p. 89. [Stencilled copies of the text available from the Malaysian Sociological Research Institute.] The entire Manuscript No. 515 is the continuation of No. 481. They were separated by an inattentive binder, and that is why they have separate numbers.

32. The requital meted out by the Dutch to those Javanese in power was twofold:

- (a) for killing Siti Jĕnar;
- (b) for ousting the pre-Muslim Kings.

33. The text is in direct speech.

34. This manner of conception, perhaps quite accidentally, has some conformity with the notions/ideas current in the West, which have given rise to the dogma of the Immaculate Conception.

2nd column. Compare also the story in *Catalogus Sund. en Bal.*, ed. H. H. Juynboll (Leiden, 1912) p. 55.

In a Javanese story about the revolt of Raden Mas Said during the reign of Paku Buwana II, titled *Sĕrat Kulapratama* by Raden Marta Arjana (Batavia, 1912, p. 12), a girl is mentioned whose clothing became loosened during her sleep, and it was seen that her pubic region glowed like fire. Fortunately, however, this did not impede coition.

Whether any relationship exists between these stories and others which deal with girls becoming pregnant³⁸ through fire cannot be determined here.

CHĒRBON TRADITION

Similar wordings are found in other *Babads Tjĕrbon*,³⁹ but not in all. No. 546 of the Jav. Hss. Bat. Gen. has a significantly deviating version, which is briefly given hereunder.⁴⁰

38. See Frazer, *Lectures on the Early History of Kingship*, pp. 218–219, for some examples, including quotations from the texts concerned.

39. In Jav. Hss. Bat. Gen., No. 470, p. 54 ff., Canto 15, stanzas 1–8; p. 90, Canto 27, stanzas 4–10; p. 97, Canto 28, stanzas 29–35; and p. 99 ff., Canto 29, stanzas 11–21; consequently completely broken up. Similar to this manuscript are No. 77, Jav. Hss. Bat. Gen., No. 93 of the Collection of Dr. Cohen Stuart and No. 69 of the Collection of Dr. Brandes.

A beautifully-styled reproduction is to be found in No. 75, Collection of Dr. Brandes, Vol. III, Canto 74, pp. 97–108, of which the course of events is almost identical with the piece translated on pp. 155–156. In this piece the following lines (p. 103) are remarkable:

16.

layone jĕng Shaikh Lĕmabang
tĕka ngandika ya age sun-ĕnteni
mungpung lawang sawarga

17. lagi mĕnga yata nuli kasiak
.

One of the pupils of the Saint heard of his death and left the goats he was tending. He went to meet the funeral procession, declaring that he wanted to follow the Master in death (*bela*). Then the corpse spoke, "Quickly then, I shall wait a little while longer, while the gate of heaven is still open; so let it happen now." (*?siak* is not quite clear in this connection). Thereupon, a servant killed the faithful follower. This wording is not cynical mockery by the talented and serious author Abdulqahhar. It is rather an expression of naive conceptions, also found in European medieval literature. These naive conceptions sometimes create a melancholy stir (amidst the dry narratives of absurd events) and, fleetingly, they give the literature charm.

40. [Stencilled copies of the text available from the Malaysian Sociological Research Institute.]

Muḥammad, and then Rasulullah.⁴⁷ Here, Seh Katim astutely invited Allah, or whomever Seh Lēmabang impersonated at the moment.

The Seh tried to seize the persevering and irritating messenger, but he rushed away to tell his Master the story.

Then the master sent seven *Walis* and their pupils in marching order (stanza 13). Seh Lēmabang, however, adopted a seven-fold form. These 'persons' sat awaiting the guests, and when they entered, food was served.⁴⁸ The *chipta* [concentration] of some *Walis*, however, caused the food to change to stone, *walang sangit* [rice pest, an evil-smelling insect], and water, and the house became a (small) mountain.

It was hoped to confound the obstinate Seh with this show of power, but still he persistently refused to comply with Sunan Jati's wishes. There ensued a hand-to-hand struggle between the *Walis* and the seven forms of Seh Lēmabang. The particular feats of each, and the methods used are described; the *Walis* were forced to withdraw (stanza 26).

Then Sunan Jati sent for Sunan Kali Jaga (here called Raka Brangsang), who was alone at his house, and ordered him to bring Seh Lēmabang, but, if he would not come, he must be beheaded, and his head brought (stanza 30).

(Canto 62) Seh Lēmabang sensed the approach of evil and enveloped himself in white from top to toe, placed *ilasih* [sweet basil] flowers behind his ears, and thus dedicated himself to a martyr's death (stanza 2).⁴⁹ He dwelt on the mountain Giri-awas, in the district Sukapura.

When Sunan Kali met Seh Lēmabang, after some formalities and talk, they fought. They fought exactly as did the pagan *ajars*, according to Javanese and other stories of the Jaman Buda [pre-Islamic period].⁵⁰

47. As is known, a philosophical idea is indicated by this term. Among mystics, this idea is other than the idea which is covered by Muḥammad. See Chapter II, pp. 34 and 37 above. Ed. Note: Prof. G. W. J. Drewes writes, Muḥammad (or Nūr Muḥammad, the prophetic Light) is the cosmic principle from which the universe evolves. *Rasūlullāh* is not the historical Muḥammad, but the 'Perfect Man' (*al-Insān al-Kāmil*), the apogee of creation.

48. Until now, one cannot enter a Javanese house without food or drink being served, no matter how little is consumed; such is their hospitality.

49. The literary detail in stanzas 4-5 is interesting. In these stanzas, Seh Lēmabang speaks to his own body encouragingly; this is completely in accordance with the current mystic conceptions concerning the body and bodily death.

50. One can compare, for example, Chapter IV, pp. 78-79 and p. 96 above, and various fights in the "Damar Wulan"† romance, *Verhandeligen*, Vol. XXX, pt. 2 (1857). †Ed. Note: Damar Wulan is the hero of the old Javanese romance of the same name, which describes his assumption of the rulership of Majapait as Bra Wijaya II. There is also a well-known *wayang* version of the romance.

In due time, she gave birth to a girl, called Nyi Rara Panas, who was later sold to the Dutch (stanza 28).

Meanwhile, Seh Lēmahbang was harassed by the entire army, but was unharmed, and the *prajurits* {warriors} complained of this to the Sunan.

Sunan Kali Jaga then reminded Sunan Jati of the encounter with the *taksaka* [a big snake] on the mountain Jambini.⁵⁵

(Suddenly) Sunan Jati became invisible and performed an extra *salāt* high in the air, whereupon the snake appeared, from whose mouth the Sunan provided himself with a *kris*.⁵⁶ With this object, Siti Jēnar was eventually put to death (stanza 34).

Then followed the mocking at his death, which is like the death "of the devil", and at his blood, which in turn became red and white and yellow and black.⁵⁷ Next, there was the arrival of a pupil, who was mockingly called "Kanjēng Nabi"⁵⁸ (because Siti Jēnar posed as Allah), and who was then killed.

The corpses then had to be carried to the *masjid*, but even the *Walis*, let alone the people, were unable to do so. Only Sunan Kali Jaga⁵⁹ could lift the corpse (stanza 40). The dead man begged him to be gentle in lifting him, for the hasty handling was painful.

The lugubrious incident did not upset Sunan Kali Jaga, who (not unjustly) considered that the dead should remain silent, and later (stanza 45) he expressed himself accordingly when the corpse complained of the heat from the customary incense-burning. These incidents seem not to lack in cynical humour.

The ritual was performed, but then the corpse refused to be taken to the burial-place until Sunan Purba joined the procession.

Finally, he refused to be buried at Gunung Jati, but marked a place north of Dērmaya (stanza 51) for his grave and that of the *panakawan*.⁶⁰

55. This episode is to be found in the text of No. 546, Jav. Hss. Bat. Gen., pp. 42-43. In some other redactions it is lacking.

56. This *kris*, called *kanta naga* (i.e. having the form of a snake), the origin of which is given in varying ways, often appears in the traditions concerning Sunan Jati.

57. About the role which these colours play in mystic superstition (*sic*), see e.g. *Bijdr. Mystiek*, index *voce*.

58. Ed. Note: *Kanjēng*: form of address or reference for Javanese nobility of high rank; *Nabi*: Prophet.

59. This Saint interferes with most things in the Chērbon tradition and also, though less so, in the Central Javanese tradition, so that he obscures the glory of Sunan Jati.

60. Ed. Note: *panakawan*, royal servant, especially of a hero in Javanese drama.

Těmbayat, Pangeran Giri Gajah, Pangeran Majagung, Pangeran Kaos (Kaji), and Pangeran Palembang.

Then Siti Jěnar explains his views.

After some remarks by Seh Maulana [Maghribi], Siti Jěnar started to dissolve by his own will. He was seen in the door of the Heaven of Mercy (stanza 33), glorious like the Sun.

Sunan Giri begged a material token, and Siti Jěnar offered him his cloak to serve as a screen (*wěrana*).⁶⁸

The cloak was detached from the door (?), whereupon it took the form of Siti Jěnar and remained in the position of prayer (with crossed arms), without saying a word.

Sunan Giri complained that Siti Jěnar who had agreed to go to Heaven, body and all, had left his body on earth. Therefore, Seh Maulana drew his sword to execute the sentence on the body of 'Siti Jěnar', but struck nothing, as with a shadow.⁶⁹

Then follows the mockery concerning not allowing himself to be wounded, and then, respectively, the wound being bloodless, and the colour of the blood, etc.

Then Seh Maulana took a white dog, beheaded it, and dressed it in a *běběd* [loin-cloth] and a *kopiah* [skull-cap] (stanza 43). The gathering at the *sěrambi* [front portal to the *masjid*], where the corpse of the dog was taken, was told that this was Siti Jěnar, who was sentenced to death by the *Walis* and whose corpse became that of a dog.

A disciple, Lonṭang Asmara, heard about this. He was tending goats. Deserting the animals, he ran towards the *Walis*. He also was put to death by Seh Maulana, and his corpse disappeared to the bystanders' amazement.

Then the dog was burned, and a voice was heard prophesying (p.152 above) the revenge by the King of Mataram who bears a scar on his shoulder. We also find here that Siti Jěnar is the son of Panḍita Bungsu of Sěrandil (Ceylon) who, through his father's curse, was exiled as a worm to Krěnda Wahana.⁷⁰ The mercy of the Spiritual restored his human form.

This is entirely new, but is not discussed further in the text. In the same manuscript, where the Siti Jěnar episode is treated again with some deviations, further statements are found needing a more detailed discussion.

68. See Chapter II, p. 44, note 124, above.

69. ... *kadya měḍang wawayangan*.

70. *Babad Tanah Djawi*, Purwarēja, Java.

added practical speculations on the results of resistance to the King of Dĕmak (Canto 43, stanza 1 ff.) and the desirability of facing reality. He was not as pompous as the actual *Walis*, his expressions being the language of common sense; he concluded by saying that... he who desires to be perfect in the Hereafter must first practise virtue in this world.⁷³

Ki Pringga Baya mockingly agreed with Seh Domba and said that he might keep to his virtuous pedestrian doctrine, but he, himself, held a different opinion on supernatural matters.

Pangeran Bayat [Panĉan Arang] (stanza 18) reverted to the subject of going back to Dĕmak with them, but Siti Jĕnar rejected this, whereupon, by Sunan Kali Jaga's order, Pangeran Bayat interrogated him on four mystic questions (stanza 22-23).

Siti Jĕnar called these questions juvenile enigmas, and he had them answered by his pupil Ki Bisana. This takes twenty verses and an intermission (end of Canto 43). Consternation was caused in both hearers, who pondered on how much the Master must know if the pupil could answer such difficult questions. Bashfully, they retired, and it was with difficulty that Pangeran Tĕmbayat stopped Seh Domba from asking Siti Jĕnar for tuition.

They recounted the events to the *Walis* at Dĕmak (Canto 44, stanza 10 ff.), and the speaker advised them to extinguish a (smouldering) fire, if possible, before the flames flared too high (stanza 13).

On Sunan Kali Jaga's advice, a Great Meeting was convened of the King with his Patih, Pĕngulu and Jaksa, with the Army, the *Walis* and the Ulama.⁷⁴ The latter venerated the *Walis* (stanza 18).

Sunan Bonang informed the King of the objections against Siti Jĕnar. The Sultan immediately agreed and wanted to set his

73. Stanza 6: wong hyun sae wontĕn ngrika
kĕdah sae wontĕn ngrika

i.e., one must not omit one's human duties in real life because of pride in one's success with metaphysical contemplations.

One feels inclined to declare that this part contains a very meritorious and consistent character portrayal of Siti Jĕnar, the haughty mystic (my subjective judgement about him is to be found below); of Pangeran Bayat, the orthodox Muslim, who, however, can very well hear and stand the opinions of others without becoming vehement as Sunan Kali Jaga was wont to do; and of Seh Domba, the more realistic man of simpler talents, who in the end nevertheless allowed himself to be swept away by the beauty of mysticism.

74. Ed. Note: *Patih*: 'chief minister', 'vizier', chief adviser to a ruler; helps to form many titles such as *adipati*, *bupati*, *senapati*. *Pĕngulu*: *pangulu* (Jav.), *panghulu* (Sund.), *pangòlò* (Madur.), literally 'headman', 'director', used in Indonesia as the name for secular and religious chief administrators; on the islands of Java and Madura, the name of a *masjid* official, namely the chief in his area. *Jaksa*: 'supervisor'; on Java, especially member of judiciary; in modern usage, prosecuting attorney. '*Ulamā*': pl. (sing. '*ālim*') learned men, particularly in the Muslim sciences of the traditions and the Sacred Law.

Argument started about the Perfection of Death (stanza 58 ff.) and other mystic topics, while Sunan Ngudung once again formulated clearly the objections which had arisen against Siti Jēnar's actions (Canto 45, stanza 12 ff.). Sunan Kali Jaga, impatient, wanted to stop this discussion (stanza 16), but Sunan Bonang continued the argument, and finally Sunan Gēsēng (Chakra Jaya) was almost won over⁸⁰ to the views of Siti Jēnar, but at the right moment Sunan Kali Jaga prevented this by a furious glance (stanza 35).⁸¹

By his will-power and self-seclusion (Canto 46, stanza 1 ff.), Siti Jēnar laid down his life, and his corpse was carefully enwrapped. The four intimate students said by way of mouth of Ki Bisana that they wished to accompany the Master; then they too died by mystic will-power.

Sunan Bonang returned their corpses to their families; appointed Sunan Kali Jaga to teach the villagers the correct ('Arab) Islam (stanza 8), and he and his colleagues, reciting the litany of the dead, returned to Dēmak with the corpse of Siti Jēnar. The corpse was placed in the *masjid* for the funeral the next day (it was now *maghrib* [sunset]) (stanza 15).

Even after having performed the '*ishā'*-*ṣalāt* [evening prayer], people did not leave the *masjid*, but engaged in pious recitations; then all of a sudden the building was filled with the pleasant scent of musk and *patchouli*,⁸² which emanated from Siti Jēnar. Seh Maulana [Maghribi] sent everyone away except the *Walis* and had the door closed. Then the top of the coffin was lifted, and he saw a glorious halo surrounding the corpse. Now, he thought it advisable to bury this corpse under the *pangimaman*, with the head towards the West⁸³ and to put a dog in the coffin lest the *kramats*, which would undoubtedly emanate from the grave, lead others to evil.⁸⁴ The other *Walis* agreed; they dug a hole at the appointed place. Sunan Kudus brought a pariah dog with *reddish* stripes, which was placed in the coffin (stanza 24).

80. Cf. Chapter III, p. 67 above where it is stated that Sunan Gēsēng taught the same subject as Siti Jēnar.

81. ... *mring Ki Gēsēng sarwanedrandik = sarwa netra andik*.

82. Ed. Note: *patchouli*, Tamil: *patchai elai* or 'green leaf'; species: *Pogostemon cablin*; odoriferous plant which yields an essential oil from which scent is derived; penetrating perfume made from this plant.

83. ... *mujur ngulon*. Thus not as prescribed with the head to the North and the face turned towards Makka.

84. By burying the corpse under the *pangimaman*, this place, and consequently the *masjid* as well, will obtain the honour of the *kramat* phenomena. Ed. Note: *pangimaman*, the niche in the *masjid* which indicates the *qibla*, direction of the *Ka'ba* at Makka which one must face when praying.

men unceasingly perform religious service, day and night; breathing out is homage, breathing in is *ṣalāt* [ritual prayer] ..." (stanzas 6-7).

He uttered other passionate and heretical (from an orthodox point of view) blasphemies, saying that in this world one is dead, only beginning to live in the Hereafter (stanza 14), until the others thought it necessary to stop the wordy torrent, and Sunan Ngampel asked him (slightly mockingly):

"Tell me, Lonṭang, what do you hope for now that your Master has returned to the sphere of life, and you are still here as one who is 'dead'?" (stanza 16).

This apt remark caused Ki Lonṭang to say that he was willing to go 'home', which was easy for a pupil of Siti Jēnar, and that after the latter's return, he desired to follow him in 'life'.⁸⁸ But he wanted to leave an admonition for the faithful concerning the following three points:

(1) Do not deceive, without using forethought,⁸⁹ lest you be mocked at later on (!).

(2) Destroy not ancient objects, such as *lontar*⁹⁰-manuscripts, inscribed stones, etc. (stanza 20).

(3) "Be rid of this *masjid*; destroy it by fire, if you can decide to do so. I pity your posterity, who otherwise will be completely absorbed in the *dikir* of *Kulhu*..."⁹¹ (stanza 21).

Lastly, he said that he now desired to follow his Master and also that the *Walis* be allowed to exchange (his corpse) for that of any lizard,

88. With great skill, the author strained common parlance and let Ki Lonṭang (and other over-reactive types) speak in linguistic accordance with his metaphysical views.

89. *apus*
kang ninggal duga wētara ...

90. Ed. Note: *lontar*, type of palm (*Borassus flabelliformis*); leaf or leaves of *lontar* used as material on which to write; manuscript(s) copied on *lontar* leaves.

91. The speaker seemingly means that if his advice is not followed (the advice is indeed flouted; that is probably why the author uses the verb *aja* in points 1 and 2, and the adhortative *bok mēnawa* in point 3), the Javanese will fall entirely into the Muslim lip-service of *dzikr* and *ṣalāt* and into other aberrations, as in stanza 22 ff; and, on the other hand, they will neglect the abstruse meditation on the Essence of things.

Kulhu is the common name of the 112th *Sūra* of the *Qur'ān*, which is popular in mystic recitations, but which is often recited after the *Fātiḥa* during the *ṣalāt*.

Ed. Note: *dikir*; *dzikr*: see above Chapter II, p. 23, Ed. Note 26. *Kulhu* refers to the opening words of *Sūra* CXII: *Sūra Ikhlās*.

92. A kind of marten, which is especially known as a lover of coffee-beans. The *luak* eats only the best full-ripe coffee-berries. The beans are deposited again by the animal and produce a sought-after drink, because they are exclusively from ripe berries and have not undergone any fermentation (in the usual sense).

they were not being spied upon, and Sunan Bonang mused, "If one discloses the Great Mystery of the Supreme Being in the hearing of an animal, it immediately becomes human by the Omnipotence of the Merciful."

As he spoke, they heard a human voice saying that he had heard the symbolism revealed, and that he could now speak with human voice, but that he still retained his animal form. This was a worm who had been hidden in the clay used to stop the leak and thus, all precautions notwithstanding, he was present during the Revelation of the deepest Truth.

At Sunan Bonang's behest, he turned from worm into man and received the name of Seh Lĕmah Abang.

Meanwhile day had dawned, and the interesting group, miraculously increased by one member, returned to land to perform the *ṣubuh-ṣalāt* [prayer before sunrise]; Sunan Bonang was the leader [of the congregation], the other two represented the community.

Sunan Bonang, astonished at Sunan Kali Jaga's intelligence, declared his wish to be taught by him, for he considered Sunan Kali Jaga to be one of the chosen few in this special field. Truly, it is strange if the buffalo drinks from the calf, and the Kyai reverts to being a pupil, but if grace has been obtained, and the opening of the heart, all other considerations vanish.

Sunan Kalijaga yielded to his teacher's wish, and, embracing him, he imparted the Higher Wisdom to the old man.

They realised that the day was Friday, so Sunan Bonang proposed to go quickly to Makka to attend the weekly congregation. Seh Siti Jĕnar was told to remain behind for he was not yet *patitis* [unified with the Divine Spirit] and would, therefore, hinder the others (in their rapid journey westwards).

To Sunan Bonang's dismay, however, Siti Jĕnar explained that not only was he capable of going to Makka, but anywhere, which caused some consternation to Sunan Bonang.

The *Walis* drew themselves up (this was described in some detail), looked at the points of their noses and were at once in Makka where, surprisingly, Siti Jĕnar welcomed the other two.

The *Walis* (the others also had arrived) were instructed by the Prophet to build a *masjid* in Java...

I am inclined to see here a fabrication by the *ulama* to belittle the parentage of Siti Jĕnar and to lower him before his disciples, and the same with the feigned metamorphosis of his corpse.

Therefore, it is surprising to find in the detailed excerpts mentioned above some elements which compare with the episodes of the execution of al-Ḥallāj [d. A.D. 922] in the various legends, which are now being studied by an accomplished French scholar.

A direct point of contact is the pronouncement of Siti Jēnar after his death: *Analkak*⁹⁶ for 'Ana'l-Ḥaqq (انا الحق) I am the [Creative] Truth, the passage which is known to be attributed to al-Ḥallāj and which has given rise to manifold comment.⁹⁷

Further, one comes across the two-fold story of the substitution, as in the story of al-Ḥallāj⁹⁸ (and in the story of the crucifixion of Jesus, according to certain sects).

Firstly, it is stated that not Siti Jēnar, himself, but his cloak (p. 166 above), taking human form, undergoes earthly execution. Secondly, there is the malicious exchange with the corpse of a dog, found in variation in the legends.

Remarkable also is the statement⁹⁹ in a modern legend current with the Yazīdī concerning the impregnation of al-Ḥallāj's sister, which resembles what was told of Ratu Mandapa, no matter how indigenous the latter (legend) may seem.

Selon les Yézīdī's: lorsque l'Esprit quitta le *shaykh* Manṣūr al Ḥallāj, au moment où le Roi de Bagdad le faisait mettre à mort, l'Esprit erra sur les eaux. Or, voici que la soeur d'al Ḥallāj arrivait, portant sa jarre, pour l'emplier d'eau au fleuve. Et, lorsqu'elle l'emplit de l'eau du Tigre, l'Esprit, sans qu'elle s'en aperçût, entra

96. Canto 38, stanzas 2-3 [stencilled copies of the text available from MSRI]. The comparison with a wounded worm may be an allusion to the former form of the Saint which, however, is not mentioned in this redaction.

97. About the meaning of this, there is a discussion by Louis Massignon, with German soundness and French clarity, in *Der Islam*, Vol. III, Part 3., p. 248 ff., with a complete bibliography.

As far as I know, this pronouncement is also found in indigenous mystic literature in the works of Ḥamzah Faṅṣūrī, e.g. in a manuscript: *Mystiek*, mostly from Ḥamzah Faṅṣūrī, in the possession of Prof. C. Snouck Hurgronje, p. 109 and p. 115, without, however, mentioning al-Ḥallāj, himself.

98. Consult also the (provisional) study about this martyr by the aforementioned L. Massignon in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, Vol. 63 (1911) p. 195 ff. See especially what is stated on p. 198.

"Cette... forme de la légende de la substitution est bien suggestive. Un homme, qui se disait Dieu et qui, crucifié, se trouve être en réalité un âne ou quelque chose d'approchant, — c'est déjà l'étrange insulte mise en circulation après la crucifixion du Golgotha ..." i

Ed. Transl.: This ... form of the legend of substitution is very suggestive. A man, who professes himself to be God and who, crucified, turns out to be a donkey or something similar — this is the strange defamation circulated after the crucifixion at Golgotha ...

99. *Ibid.*, p. 206.

heart to deceive the *profanum vulgus* with plausible ritual and a diluted metaphysical extract and to restrict the Higher Truths to a circle of the chosen.

But in the more detailed stories from Chërbon, he seems a sympathetic character, an honest, bright and still somewhat naive personality, who dared to reason logically and who upheld the extreme inference of his theses. Rather, he accepted them cheerfully, in a quixotic way. It cannot be denied that he had a certain nobility of mind, apparent from his cool, sometimes childlike haughtiness, and the same applied to his intimate pupils. I also mention Ki Lonṭang (see above p. 171), who would not deny his conscience for earthly position.

Siti Jënar's doctrines sometimes deviate in the various legends, but here and there one is involuntarily reminded of certain major features of Nominalism,¹⁰¹ although Roscelin was sensible when the knife was put to his throat.

Only in some writings, when complaining at the rough handling of his corpse (pp. 155 and 164 above), does his character seem somewhat different. One would like to see in these later interpolations by poetical scribes who, in additions which may be valuable in themselves, show that they do not grasp the unity of characterisation.

Meanwhile, intimate judgment of indigenous literature is still premature and, therefore, the aforementioned should only be considered as completely subjective, entirely provisional observations to testify to my interest in this area of study and not as hypotheses scientifically based on a number of objective facts.

EPILOGUE

With reference to the aforementioned statements concerning Ratu Mandapa and the Ajar Sukarsa(i), Mr. C. M. Pleyte was kind and interested enough to give me an extract of a *Babad Galuh* in Sundanese,¹⁰² which deals with this same tradition. The pregnancy comes about in a way analogous to the above, p. 159, note 37. The marriages with the three kings, especially with the King of Mataram are, according to

101. In so far as the available literature enables me to judge.

102. This *Babad Galuh* is extensively treated by Mr. Pleyte, himself. Ed. Note: "De Patapaän Adjar Soeka Rësi, anders gezegd de kluizenarij op den Goenoeng Padang. Tweede bijdrage tot de kennis van het oude Soenda" (The Patapaan Ajar Suka Rësi, the Hermitage on Mount Padang: Second Contribution to the Knowledge of Early Sunda), *Tijdschr. T. L. V.*, Vol. LV (1913) pp. 281-428. [Stencilled copies of an extract available from the Malaysian Sociological Research Institute.]



(b) *iyeu nu kuloneun lawang* (i.e., to the west of the entrance):

Tatkala ngadamël iyeu pagër maqām zamān wadanana di Karang Raden Rangga Nata Jibja, madali salaka, Panëmbahanana Raden Ĥaji Abdurrahman. Nu ngapalaeunana Raden Ĥaji Abdullah, na'ib Karang. Tukang tembokna: 1e. Irnasan, 2e. Sastra, 3e. Tabu, orang Mangunrëja. Ĥaji Umar.

So the walled enclosure is recent and testifies to the increasing interest in grave visits over the years.

Note 3 (ref. p. 3)

It is not peculiar to Muslims to sleep near a holy place that one might dream and thereby know the future. Compare Kruijt's *Het Animisme in den Indischen Archipel* (The Hague, 1906) pp. 72-3, 511, and Frazer's *Totemism and Exogamy* (London, 1910) Vol. II, p. 210. Frazer quotes from the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 31, p. 199:

Many a young man goes out to sleep on the grave of some distinguished person, or in a wild and lonely spot, ... hoping that a guardian spirit will come to him in his dreams...

With what extraordinary intentions one sometimes sleeps near a holy grave is apparent from *Babad Tanah Djawi*, p. 481: "... *anuntën wontën kapenakanipun Sang Prabu ... anama Raden Mas Punta, punika adadagan wontën ing astana (= maqām) Tëgal Arum, sumëja ngraman*"... i.e., a cousin of the King passed the night at the foot of the grave at Tëgal Arum (of S. Mangku Rat) for he wanted to start a *revolt*. But the King was warned; he had the young man arrested and executed. Similar events seem to have occurred before as well as after the one referred to here.

Animistic concepts concerning dreams have only been superficially overlaid by more recently adopted religions. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 215 (note 2 on p. 214) tells that the camphor spirit appears to the camphor collectors in dreams to lead them in the right direction (cf. Kruijt, *Animisme*, p. 504 ff. about other tree spirits); but elsewhere, the Messenger of God appears (*Sëjarah Mëlayu*, ed. Shellabear, pp. 68 and 88) or at least a *ħaji* (Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 8), whilst Malay Saints also appear sometimes (*ibid.*, p. 70). Indeed, one may meet all manner of things in dreams, even the spirits of children yet unborn (Kruijt, *Animisme*, p. 8). Sometimes such a dream-apparition causes disappointment: Bezemer (*Volksdichtung aus Indonesien*, p. 272) quotes a story of a princess who had five heavenly visitations in her dream and merely gave birth to an egg.

Obtaining a child through mediation of a *guru* sometimes has unfortunate results. In the *Bijdragen*, 5th Series, Part VII [Vol. 41, 1892], p. 245 ff., we are told of a child obtained in such a way who grew up to be a glutton.

It is evident also from literature that pilgrimages and vows for the blessings of parenthood are frequent amongst Oriental peoples. According to Muslim tradition, even the great Akbar undertook a long journey on foot for this purpose (Garcin de Tassy, *Mémoire sur les particularités de la religion Musulmane dans l'Inde*, p. 61 ff.).

Note 5 (ref. p. 4)

This information (namely that someone in his dream sees the moon falling into his lap as a sign that the request for a spouse has been granted) seems somewhat strange. In other native stories a dream in which the moon falls into the lap of a woman is the sign that she is pregnant or will be pregnant and will bear an exceptional child, for instance, ["Hikajat] *Hang Toeah*", p. 1, [in Niemann], (*Bloemlezing uit Maleische Geschriften* [Anthology from Malay Manuscripts], vol. 1. In *Not. Bat. Gen.*, 1904, p. cxlii (from a Dutch *Babad* translation), a man and a woman dream that he gets a sun and she a moon in their laps; *Tjoeng Wanara*, p. xii and p. 109 (edition of C. M. Pleyte in *Verhandelingen*, LVIII, pt. 2); *Hikajat Oendakan* [*Oenda'an*] *Penoerat*, p. 28 in C. Spat's *Maleische Taal* [Malay Language], (Breda, 1904) II.

... *Maka baginda pun bėrmimpi bėrmungut bulan jatoh ka-ribaun baginda; lalu di-ambil-nya sėraya di-bėrikan kapada pėrmaisuri. Maka lalu di-ambil-nya oleh pėrmaisuri lalu di-kandong-nya sėrta di-bungkus-nya dėngan kain.*

And then:

... *Tėrlalu baik sėkali erti mimpi kakanda itu, alamat kakanda bėroleh putėra laki-laki yang baik paras-nya itu.*

In other words, a king dreams that the moon falls into his lap; he takes it and gives it to his wife, who wraps it in a cloth. This dream is said to mean that they will have a handsome son. (In the literature of the Archipelago, comparisons of a beautiful face with the (full) moon are known to be numerous.)

Meanwhile we find, *ibid.*, p. 32: "... *sakėtika itu maka ia pun bėrmimpi kajatohan bulan diribaun-nya, lalu di-makan-nya bulan itu tiada habis,*" explained on p. 34 thus:

"*Baik-lah sangat erti-nya mimpi tuanku itu tiada habis, alamat tuanku bėroleh istėri yang baik paras-nya; sadikit-nya tuanku makan bulan itu tiada habis, alamat tuanku bėroleh kėsukaran ...*", which means that someone dreams that the moon falls into his lap, that he

Note 6 (ref. p.4)

The right address to ask for favour in thefts and robbery is also indicated, and it is a holy place: Gunung Kromong in Chërbon, where all who want to become rich in a dishonest way are said to go.

This sounds slanderous, but according to Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje, among others, there is a mountain in Bantën where people go, it is said, to sell their souls to the Devil in exchange for earthly wealth.

Gunung Kromong is in the District of Palimanan, west of Chërbon (*Lijst van de voornaamste aardrijkskundige namen in den Nederlandsch-Indischen Archipel*) [Weltevreden, 1923], *voce* Kromong.

Note 7 (ref. p. 5)

Concerning the Malay Peninsula, W. W. Skeat in *Malay Magic*, p. 405, observes that the *nishans* [gravestones] are made round for a man and flat for a woman, one at the head of the grave [*rantau kapala*] and one in the middle [over the waist] (*rantau pinggang*), about three feet apart. For a Saint, however, they are five or six feet apart, one at the head, the other at the feet, "and it is said to be the saint, himself, who moves them."

A small piece of white cloth is tied to the top of the *nishan* as a sign of recent bereavement.

At Pamijahan, they knew nothing of the posthumous transfer of the tombstones by the deceased.

On the Island of Java, a distinction is made between the gravestones for a man and for a woman, but there are a number of variations and the distinction is not always consistently observed.

Note 8 (ref. p.6)

This genealogical register was given as follows:

1. Kanjeng Nabī Muḥammad ṣalla'llahu, etc.,
2. Sittina Faṭimah,
3. Saidina Ḥusain,
4. Saidina Zain al-'Ābidin,
5. Saidina Zain al-'Ālam,
6. Saidina Zain al-Kubra,
7. Saidina Zain al-Ḥusain,
8. Saidina Shaykh Jumadil Kubra,
9. Maulānā Ishāq alias Shaykh Wali Lanang,
10. Kanjeng Sinuhun Giri Kēḍaton, *nu di sērēt sabēlah tēpi*,
11. K. S. Giri Kēḍaton, *maqāmna di Grēsik* [his tomb is at Grēsik],
12. K. Pangeran Giri Laya, *atawa* [or] Pangeran Seda Lautan,

In a story of Chinese origin, mutations into (white) tigers are also found. (See Vreede, *Cat. Jav. Mad. Hss.*, pp. 220 and 222.)

Sometimes, all the dead are transformed into tigers, see *Tijdschr. T. L. V.*, Vol. 34 (1891) p. 170 ff., or only those of a certain village, C. M. Pleyte in *Tijdschr. T. L. V.*, Vol. LII (1910) p. 137 ff.; expanding on this would lead me to the question of 'were-tigers', which would take me too far from the subject.

Often, a (white) tiger is the mount of a Saint or a special person, for instance, *Tijdschr. T. L. V.*, Vol. 37 (1894) p. 335, where a certain Tawang Alun meets a white tiger, uses the animal as a mount and founds Machan Putih [white tiger]. Such opinions are also found outside the Netherlands Indies, as in Garcin de Tassy's *Mémoire sur les particularités de la religion Musulmane dans l'Inde*, 2nd edn., p. 24: "... Les tigres et les léopards sont considérés, autant par les Hindous, que par les musulmans, comme étant la propriété des pirs [Saints]; aussi les naturels du pays ne sympathisent pas avec les Européens pour la chasse du tigre ..." ⁶

Remarkable in this connection are pictures 7 bottom and 21 bottom from Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, where the tiger is represented as Pārvati's mount; picture 18, where Mahādeva and Pārvati sit on a tiger skin; picture 20, where Pārvati has a *vyāghra* (= tiger) behind her, as Siva has the *nandī* [bull]. See also picture 24, Nos. 1 and 2, and picture 33 of Durga (= Pārvati) and picture 58, where Krishna is associated with a tiger, whilst picture 96 represents a Saint on a tiger.

Elsewhere, the lion is represented as the mount of Saints, for example in Duncan B. Macdonald's *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam* (Chicago, 1909), pp. 270-1, where a saint is stroking the head of a lion, and this dangerous animal is wagging its tail; *ibid.*, further examples are that *Walis* come to no harm from lions. *Ibid.*, p. 272, reference is made to some parallels of the same phenomenon among other peoples and, *inter alios*, Saint Francis is mentioned, which seems less acceptable. As a rule, the Saints were the most familiar with the wild animals of the territory, and of Saint Francis it is told that he converted a particularly large and ferocious wolf which, whilst wagging its tail, put its right front paw in the hand of the Saint as a sign of devotion (See Chapter XXI of *Fioretti di San Francesco* [Little Flowers of St. Francis]: "Dal santissimo miracolo che fece San Francesco, quando convertì il ferocissimo lupo d'Agobio").

6. Ed. transl.: "Tigers and leopards are considered by Hindus, as well as by Muslims, as being the property of the Saints: the natives of the country are not sympathetic to the Europeans because of their tiger-hunting."

animal concerned, has been lost. By some tale, as mentioned above about unpleasant experiences of a progenitor after eating such meat, an acceptable rationalization for the ban was given to the descendants.

In certain families, the meat of, for instance, white buffaloes or of the *alu-alu* [barracuda] is banned (C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, Vol. I, p. 51); elsewhere some families may not eat the meat of deer nor chickens' heads, etc. (Examples in *Tijdschr. T. L. V.*, Vol. XXVII (1882) p. 99 ff.)

Besides regulations concerning animals, there are also some concerning the eating of plants, see *Babad Tanah Djawi*, p. 77, where Ki Agëng Sela forbids the use of *waluh* [a kind of pumpkin] by his descendants; (the same in *Djoeroe Martani* [(The Messenger) name of one of the earliest Javanese newspapers], 1867, No. 30).

As with Pamijahan's ban on smoking, horses with short manes may not be ridden in war by certain families, owing to experiences which are considered historical (*Babad Tanah Djawi*, p. 101), nor a bay horse (*ibid.*, p. 192); for others, the use of a *kris* is forbidden (*ibid.*, p. 43); or the descendants of a certain family may not be called *Raden* or *Mas*; may not sit in a sedan chair (*ibid.*, p. 114) nor even pass certain places (*ibid.*, p. 124).

Many more such examples could be added, but it is as yet difficult to say how each of the cases of so-called ancestor-*prasapa* [prohibition] could be explained.

Note 12 (ref. p. 11)

In Javanese literature and tradition, a number of caves are mentioned in which kings (or gods) and hermits live; it is unnecessary to consider adoption from elsewhere owing to the nature of the representation, etc.

One may consider as typically Javanese the legends concerning the connection of Nyai Lara Kidul [Ratu Kidul] with several caves, especially those east of Pamanchingan on Java's south coast. In other cases, there is not such a striking assortment, and with the few examples which I mention here from literature, I have not concerned myself with origins.

As, for instance, the Tërusan Cave into which royal children go to practise asceticism and experience many adventures, repeatedly mentioned in the history of *Adji-Saka*; see for example Gaal and Roorda, p. 21 ff., 85 ff., 247, 282, where popular imagination has portrayed a large city inside the mountain. (The idea that inside a mountain there is a town, occupied or not, and some cave leading to it, is frequently found also in the West, see Bezemer's *Volksdichtung aus Indonesien*, p. 291, and compare the Tannhäuser-Frederick Barbarossa-

*Orden. Häufiger freilich errichtet er seine Tekjes bei Heiligengräbern, die sich schon eines gewissen Rufes erfreuten und nimmt diese Heiligen allmählich für sich in Anspruch."*⁸

Editor's translation:

As a result of the great importance of the grave-cult with the *Bektāshiyya*,⁸ the fortuitous place of death of one of their Babas becomes significant to the Order. But more often, he chooses to put up his *tekkiye*⁹ near the graves of Saints who already enjoy a certain reputation, and gradually he appropriates this holy man's fame to himself.

November, 1910

8. Ed. Note: *Bektāshiyya*, Anatolian (since before 1336) and Balkan *Ṭarīqa* (Muslim mystic order); Albanian branch autonomous since 1922; centre at Akçé Hisār.

9. Ed. Note: *tekkiye*, Turkish for 'monastery'; *ribāt*, *zāwiya* in 'Arabic; *khanqa* in Persian.

Chapter V (Pangeran Pangging: His Dogs and the Wayang)

Appendix Number	Title of Appendix	Source	Reference to original Dutch text in v. 54	Reference to footnote in our transl. text	MSRI stencilled copy sheet reference
I	Sĕrat Chabolek	Sĕmarang, 1886, p. 44 ff.	170-174	7; 22	42-44
II	Babad Pajajaran	Sĕmarang, 1885, Part I, p. 180 ff.	175-177	23	45-46
III	Babad Chĕrbon	Collection: Brandes, No. 75, Part II, p. 240 ff.	178-184	25	47-50
IIIA	Babad Chĕrbon	Collection: Brandes, No. 75, Part II, pp. 1-10	185-193	68	51-55
IIIB	Sultak aja tungkul (Wayang)	Jav. Hss. Bat. Gen. No. 383, p. 87	194-196	73	56-57
IV	Babad Chĕrbon	Collection: Brandes, No. 75, Part III, p. 59 ff.	197-199	86	58-59
V	Babad Chĕrbon	Collection: Brandes, No. 75, Part I, p. 63 ff.	200-202	105	60-61
VI	Jav. Hss.	Bat. Gen. No. 383, p. 35 ff.	203-204	108	62
VII	Jav. Hss.	Bat. Gen. No. 60, p. 32 (Collection: Cohen Stuart, No. 49, p. 22).	205-206	115	63

Chapter VI (The Grave at Pamliem and the Dutch Rule)

Appendix Number	Title of Appendix	Source	Reference to original Dutch Text in v. 55	Reference to footnote in our transl. text.	MSRI stencilled copy sheet reference
I	Jav. Hss.	Bat. Gen. No. 515, p. 74 ff.	42-56	13	64-76
II	Jav. Hss.	Bat. Gen. No. 481, p. 89	57-58	31	77-78
III	Jav. Hss.	Bat. Gen. No. 546, p. 146 ff.	59-88	40	79-103
IV	Jav. Hss.	Bat. Gen. No. 575, p. 185 ff.	89-101	62	104-113
IVA	Babad Tanah Jawi (from Purwarċja)	Collection: Rinkes, p. 163 ff.	102-105	64; 67	114-116
V	Babad Tanah Jawi (from Purwarċja)	Collection: Rinkes, p. 201 ff.	106-191	71	117-188
VI	Babad Galuh (excerpts)	Collection: Pleyte, No. 101	192-200	102	189-196

The Admonitions of Seh Bari, A 16th Century Muslim Text attributed to the Saint Bonan, re-edited and translated, with an Introduction, *Bibliotheca Indonesica*, 4 (M. Nijhoff, The Hague, 1969).

Directions for Travellers on the Mystic Path: Zakariyya' al-Ansari's Kitab Fath al-Rahman and its Indonesian Adaptations with an appendix on Palembang manuscripts and authors (M. Nijhoff, The Hague, 1977).

An Early Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics (M. Nijhoff, The Hague, 1978).

Hikajat Potjut Muhamat: an Achehnese Epic. Ed. and transl. by G. W. J. Drewes (M. Nijhoff, The Hague, 1979).

*Papers on various subjects in scientific journals
and collective works, as for instance:*

- "Het Document uit de brandstapel" (The document from the pyre, being the Suluk Malang Sumirang, introduction, text and translation), *Djâwâ*, VII (1927) 97-109.
- "The Influence of Western Civilisation on the Languages of the East-Indian Archipelago", *The Effect of Western Civilisation on Native Civilisation in the Malay Archipelago*, ed. B. Schrieke (Kolff, Weltevreden, 1928) 126-157.
- "Verboden Rijkdom" (Forbidden Wealth), A contribution to the knowledge of Javanese folklore, *Djâwâ*, IX (1929) 22-33.
- "Sjamsi Tabriz in de Javaansche Hagiographie" (Shams-i Tabriz in Javanese hagiography), *Tijdschrift Bat. Gen.*, LXX (1930) 267-330.
- "De hīla in het geding" (Controversy about the lawfulness of legal devices), *Gedenkboek 25jarig bestaan rechtswetenschappelijk onderwijs in Indonesië* (Memorial volume 25th anniversary Faculty of Law in Indonesia) (Wolters, Groningen-Jakarta, 1949).
- "Autobiografieën van Indonesiers" (Indonesian autobiographies), *Bijdragen Memorial Volume*, 107 (1951) 226-264.
- "De Herkomst van NurudDin ar-Raniri (The place of origin of NurudDin arRaniri), *Bijdragen*, 111 (1955) 137-151.
- "Indonesia: Mysticism and Activism", *Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization*, ed. G. E. von Grunebaum (Chicago, 1955) 284-310.
- "Snouck Hurgronje and the Study of Islam", *Bijdragen*, 113 (1957) 1-15.
- "The struggle between Javanism and Islam as illustrated by the Sĕrat Dĕrmaganĕdul", *Bijdragen*, 122, 3 (1966) 309-365.
- "Javanese Poems dealing with or attributed to the Saint of Bonan", *Bijdragen*, 124, 2 (1968) 209-240.
- "New Light on the Coming of Islam to Indonesia", *Bijdragen*, 124, 4 (1968) 433-459.

<i>anakkak</i> ('ana'l-ḥaqq)	"I am (Creative) Truth"; "I am the Reality"; one of the <i>shathīyyāt</i> or 'utterances' of the famous al-Ḥallāj of Baghdād for which he was horribly executed ('crucified') in A.H. 309/A.D. 922; the sayings attributed to Siti Jēnar parallel this statement of al-Ḥallāj
<i>andēl</i>	confidence, to believe
<i>andēlik</i>	to hide
<i>anīya</i>	I-ness
<i>arak</i>	rice-wine
<i>aren</i>	<i>Arenga saccharifera</i> ; sugar-palm
<i>arya</i>	originally 'Aryan', then 'man of high caste'; on Java, title for high-ranking officials
A.S.	according to the Saka (Çāka) era, which began in A.D. 78
<i>asal-silah</i>	see: <i>silsilah</i>
'Ashūrā'	10th Muḥarram, an optional fast-day; with the Shī'a, a day of mourning in commemoration of the death of Ḥusayn, the grandson of Prophet Muḥammad, who was killed at Karbalā', 'Irāq, in A.H. 61/A.D. 680
<i>asmaradana</i>	name of a Javanese metre, literally: 'gift of love'
<i>astana</i> (<i>istana</i> , <i>sētana</i> , <i>sentana</i>)	royal palace, abode; see also: <i>makam</i>
<i>awi</i>	bamboo
<i>a'yān thābita</i>	archetypal ideas existing in God's knowledge, which externalise themselves in creation
<i>ayer</i> (<i>air</i>)	water
<i>ayer sēmbahyang</i>	water used for ablutions before performing the <i>sēmbahyang</i> ; <i>sēmbah Yang</i> : to worship God; divine service
<i>ayu</i>	title of noble married woman
<i>āzan</i> (<i>ādhan</i>)	<i>muezzin's</i> call to prayer

B

<i>babad</i>	Javanese text written in chronicle form; abbreviation of <i>Babad Tanah Djawi</i> (<i>Jawi</i>) or similar phrase, title of book on descent of rulers of Mataram; later, appellative for 'book on the past' or 'description of historical facts'
<i>bader</i>	sweet-water fish
<i>bagor</i>	coarse weave of palm-leaves; basket
<i>balabak</i>	name of a metre, original meaning unknown
<i>bale</i> (<i>balai</i>)	hall (in palace); pavilion
<i>bandīl</i>	a thorny bush; Jav. <i>bandīl</i> also means: sling
<i>bangsal</i>	pavilion
<i>baqā'</i>	everlastingness, eternity
<i>barang</i>	mask representing mythological monster, one of the chief exponents of dexter or 'white' magic
<i>barongan</i>	a kind of mummery given by people wearing grotesque <i>barang</i> masks

<i>dalang pantun</i>	person who directs the recitation of <i>pantun</i>
<i>dalang topeng</i>	person who directs the performance of the <i>topeng</i> play
<i>dalang wayang</i>	person who is the puppeteer, narrator and manipulator of the <i>wayang</i> ; in Jav. mystic literature, sometimes explicitly likened to God, the Creator who is yet One with his Creation
<i>Damar Wulan</i>	the hero of the old Javanese romance of the same name, which describes his assumption to the rulership of Majapait as Bra Wijaya II; there is also a well-known <i>wayang</i> version of the romance
<i>dēmang</i>	title of official on Java and Sumatra; in eighteenth century, especially one acting as local representative in the apanage of a noble residing at court
<i>dērham (dirham)</i>	a small 'Arab coin
<i>desa</i>	country (as opposed to <i>nĕgara</i>); hamlet
<i>dikir (dzikr, dhikr)</i>	'remembrance' of Allāh primarily by reciting the Names/Attributes of Allāh; purpose of the <i>dzikr</i> (apart from devotion) is to attain an ecstatic or mystic experience
<i>dipati</i>	abbreviated form of <i>adipati</i> , q.v.
<i>domba</i>	sheep
<i>donya (dunya)</i>	world; worldly, earthly
<i>duit</i>	cent; coin; money
<i>ḍukuh</i>	hamlet
<i>durjana</i>	evildoer, criminal; evil, bad

F

<i>fanā'</i>	'annihilation', 'dissolution' in God; the passing away of consciousness in mystic union; doctrine first taught by Abū Yazid al-Bisṭāmī (A.H. 261/A.D. 875)
<i>Fāṭiḥa</i>	'opener' of the <i>Qur'ān</i> , i.e. the first <i>Sūra</i> or Chapter
<i>fikh (fiqh)</i>	jurisprudence

G

<i>gaga</i>	dry rice-field
<i>gaiḥ</i>	see: <i>ghaib</i>
<i>gajah</i>	elephant
<i>galĕngan</i>	small bunds in rice-fields
<i>gambuh</i>	type of chivalric dance, perhaps originally representing episodes taken from the story of Pañji; see: Pañji stories; also the name of a Javanese metre, perhaps called so after the music which accompanied the dance
<i>gamĕlan</i>	Javanese orchestra, consisting almost entirely of percussion instruments
<i>gamparan</i>	wooden clogs
<i>ganḍek</i>	(pair of) royal messengers
<i>Ganesha</i>	a god in the Hindu-Javanese pantheon represented as having a human form with an elephant's head; son of Siva and Pārvati

with his descent from God and ending in his ascent back to God; this is the doctrine of the 'Perfect Man': *al-Insān al-Kāmil*; this 'return' has definite 'stages' or 'stations' (*maqāmat*; sing. *maqām*, *makam*), concluding in the realisation of being one with God; see: *fanā'* and *wahdat al-wujūd*

<i>'ishā'</i> - <i>ṣalāt</i>	evening prayer, approximately 8.30 p.m.
<i>istana</i>	see: <i>astana</i>
<i>i'tikad</i> (<i>tekad</i> , <i>i'tiqād</i>)	belief that a thing is so; firm acceptance

J

<i>jabarūt</i>	power; sometimes defined as the highest of the successive worlds of creation (<i>alam al-mulk</i>), of the angels (<i>alam malakut</i>) and of omnipotence (<i>alam al-jabarūt</i>)
<i>jagung</i>	corn, maize; great millet
<i>jajar</i>	line, row
<i>jaksa</i>	'supervisor', on Java especially member of judiciary; in modern usage, prosecuting attorney
<i>jaman</i>	period, age, era
<i>jaman buda</i>	pre-Islāmic or Hindu-Javanese period
<i>jaman kuwalēn</i>	era of the saints
<i>jantung</i>	heart
<i>jarah</i>	see: <i>zījārah</i>
<i>jinn</i>	derived from <i>janna</i> : he covered or concealed or hid or protected; certain class of beings that cannot be perceived with the senses; origin said to be fire
<i>Juma'at</i> (<i>al-jamā'a</i>)	day of 'general assembly': Friday
<i>Juma'at Kliwon</i>	Friday <i>Kliwon</i> : a Friday, which at the same time is <i>Kliwon</i> , one of the days in the Javanese market-week, which consists of five days: <i>Lēgi</i> , <i>Paing</i> , <i>Pon</i> , <i>Wage</i> , <i>Kliwon</i> , the full meanings of which are unknown
<i>jurū</i>	expert, keeper
<i>jurū kunchi</i>	keeper-of-the-key, caretaker

K

<i>Ka'ba</i>	the palladium of Islām, situated almost in the centre of the great <i>masjid</i> in Makka; name is connected with cube-like appearance of the building
<i>kabul</i>	approval, answer (of a prayer, request)
<i>kachang</i>	peanuts, beans
<i>kafir</i> (<i>kapir</i> ; <i>kāfir</i>)	'concealing God's blessings'; 'ungrateful to God'; 'unbeliever'
<i>kakang</i>	see: <i>akang</i>
<i>kali</i>	river; time
<i>kampung</i>	village
<i>kandēlan</i>	the metal covering of a creese-sheath
<i>kanjēng nabi</i>	<i>kanjēng</i> (<i>kangjēng</i>) (Jav.): form of address or reference for Javanese nobility of high rank; <i>nabi</i> : prophet

<i>krama</i>	formal style; and see: <i>K.I.</i>
<i>krama inggil</i>	see: <i>K.I.</i>
<i>kramat (kĕramat)</i>	see: <i>karāma</i>
<i>kranjang</i>	basket
<i>kraton (kĕdaton)</i>	princely reign or dominion; royal palace
<i>kris</i>	creese, dagger; often considered to possess supernatural powers
<i>kuḍi</i>	a chopper
<i>kuḍi tĕrantāng</i>	small perforated hatchet or chopper used as a weapon by saints and holy men
<i>kujang</i>	a variety of iron chopper with crooked blade
<i>Kulhu</i>	refers to opening words of the 112th <i>Sūra</i> of the <i>Qur'ān</i>
<i>kuṭa bachingah</i>	<i>kuṭa</i> : town, city; <i>bachingah</i> : variegated, of various colours; <i>kuṭa bachingah</i> : name of former Javanese <i>kraton</i> built of red and white stones
<i>kuwuk</i>	wild cat (living in the woods)
<i>kyai (ki)</i>	'senior', article prefixed to names or titles of officials or persons of rank; appellation for an independent religious teacher; venerated scholar, teacher of Islām; a religious preceptor; appellation followed by name of something which is considered a sacred relic (a creese, lance, old cannon); form of reference for tiger (in superstitious awe and veneration)

L

<i>lafal (lapal)</i>	pronunciation; word, expression (in contradistinction to <i>ma'nā</i> : meaning)
<i>Lā ilāha illā 'llāh</i>	there is no god save Allāh
<i>lali</i>	to forget, to think no more of, to be insensible to; to swoon; to have lost consciousness
<i>langgar</i>	village prayer-house; a small prayer-house built where there are less than the required 40 persons for congregational prayer in a <i>masjid</i> ; not used for Friday prayers
<i>Lĕbaran</i>	' <i>Id ul-Fiṭr</i> ': day ending the fasting month of <i>Ramaḍan</i> , thus 1st <i>Shawwāl</i>
<i>lĕlĕmbut</i>	ghost, spirit
<i>lĕmĕs</i>	Sundanese formal language
<i>lingga</i>	phallus, especially as attribute or symbol of Siva; hence phallic-shaped monument erected in honour of Siva to promote fertility and prosperity
<i>lontar</i>	type of palm (<i>Borassus flabelliformis</i>); leaf or leaves of <i>lontar</i> used as material on which to write; manuscript(s) copied on <i>lontar</i> leaves
<i>luak (luwak)</i>	palm-civet
<i>luamah</i>	covetous; derived from the 'Ar.: <i>al-nafs al-lawwāma</i> (<i>Qur'ān</i> , <i>Sūra LXXV:2</i>); literally: the soul which reproaches or upbraids; greed
<i>lumpang</i>	mortar (for pounding rice)

<i>měnantu (mantu)</i>	son or daughter-in-law
<i>měnyan</i>	incense; benzoin
<i>měrbot</i>	a lower <i>masjid</i> official (a sexton, who cleans the building, takes care of the water supply for ablutions, etc.)
<i>měrtapa</i>	to practise asceticism
<i>mesan</i>	gravestone
<i>mijah</i>	is said of fishes: to swim against the current in order to reach the inundated rice-fields and to spawn there
<i>mijil</i>	to come out; name of a Javanese metre
<i>modin</i>	<i>muezzin</i> : one who calls the faithful to prayer
<i>mrayang</i> (<i>mrayangyang</i>)	to exist as a ghost
<i>mubarak</i>	blessed
<i>Muḥarram</i>	the first month of the Muslim year
<i>muja</i>	to worship; to sacrifice
<i>mukěnah</i>	woman's veil; Sund.: praying-veil; from 'Ar. <i>miqnā</i>
<i>Mulud (Maulid, Maulud,</i> <i>Mawlid)</i>	birthday of Prophet Muḥammad
<i>Munkar and Nakir</i>	Munkar and Nakir, the two angels charged with the questioning (<i>su'āl</i>) of the dead in the grave
<i>mupakat (muapakat,</i> <i>muafakat)</i>	consensus, agreement by consultation; discussion, deliberation
<i>murīd (gandūz)</i>	novice; pupil, student

N

<i>nabi</i>	prophet
<i>Nakir</i>	see: <i>Munkar</i>
<i>naktu gaib (ghaib)</i>	unseen central point; the first beginning of <i>ta'ayyun</i> , determination in the Absolute Being
<i>napas (nafas)</i>	breath
<i>napsu</i>	passion, desire, lust
<i>napsu amarah</i>	see: <i>amarah</i>
<i>nāsūt</i>	'stage' of humanity; see: <i>maqāmāt</i>
<i>nawala wisesa</i>	writ; origin of <i>nawala</i> uncertain; <i>wisesa</i> (Skr.): supreme power or authority; an authoritative disposition; a document granting authority
<i>nayaka</i>	minister (of state); adviser to the king
<i>nazar (nadzar, nadar)</i>	vow, promise
<i>nesan (nisan)</i>	gravestone
<i>ngabehi</i>	'commander', title of official, usually military
<i>ngampel (ampel)</i>	bamboo
<i>ngoko</i>	(form), the common language of the people, without polite forms of address
<i>niat (niyyat, nīya)</i>	intention; acts of ceremonial law must be preceded by a declaration of intent, <i>nīya</i> : to be valid

<i>paseban</i>	place where royal servants gather for service (<i>seba</i> : to present one's self for service)
<i>pašēmon</i>	allusion
<i>patchouli</i>	Tamil <i>patchai elai</i> or 'green leaf'; species: <i>Pogostemon cablin</i> ; odoriferous plant which yields an essential oil from which scent is derived; penetrating perfume made from this plant
<i>patih (pateh)</i>	'chief minister', 'vizier', chief adviser to a ruler; helps to form many titles such as <i>adipati</i> , <i>bupati</i> , <i>senapati</i>
<i>patilasan</i>	relic; remnant of the past; ruins
<i>patitis</i>	see: <i>hulul</i>
<i>payung</i>	umbrella
<i>pěđati</i>	ox-cart
<i>pěđoman</i>	compass; orientation; manual
<i>pegon</i>	Javanese written in 'Arabic script
<i>pěņđapa</i>	front veranda, porch; hall, vestibule
<i>pěņgulon</i>	office or house of the <i>pěņgulu</i>
<i>pěņgulu</i>	<i>pangulu</i> (Jav.); <i>panghulu</i> (Sund.); <i>pangölö</i> (Madur.); literally: headman, director, used as name for secular and religious chief administrators; in islands of Java and Madura, name of a <i>masjid</i> official, namely the chief in his area
<i>pěputra (putra)</i>	child; son; <i>K.I.</i> of <i>anak</i>
<i>pikul</i>	unit of weight equal to 100 <i>katis</i> or 60 kg.
<i>pinang</i>	areca nut(s)
<i>pinggang</i>	waist; loins
<i>pinter aling-aling bodoh</i>	the clever one hides behind a screen of feigned stupidity
<i>pisang</i>	banana
<i>ponđok</i>	hut; Islāmic school built as a collection of 'huts'; where the students live, work and study (' <i>Ar. funduk</i> : inn; Sund. <i>mondok</i> : take quarters for the night)
<i>prabayěksa (prabayasa)</i>	royal residence
<i>prabu</i>	'ruler', in early Java usually supreme ruler, 'emperor', as distinguished from <i>ratu</i>
<i>prajurit</i>	soldier, warrior; heroic
<i>pralambang</i>	indirect reference, allusion; mysterious prophecies; Jav. counterpart of ' <i>Ar. kutub al-malāhīm</i> '; veiled indication of future events, especially political events, changes of governmental power, etc.
<i>prasapa</i>	prohibition; curse
<i>prěmana</i>	a complex concept in Javanese mysticism relating to the carrier of (divine) Life
<i>primbon</i>	vade-mecum; note-book or manual of various contents, often of a religious character
<i>priyayi</i>	the nobility by office
<i>puad (fu'ād)</i>	heart
<i>puasa (Ramađan)</i>	Muslim fasting month
<i>puja</i>	to pay homage; worship; adore
<i>pulau</i>	island

<i>sālik</i>	traveller on the mystic path; see: <i>maqāmāt, sulūk</i>
<i>samir</i>	a kind of coloured shawl worn by a certain class of royal servants
<i>sana (çāsana)</i>	teaching(s)
<i>santri</i>	theological student; in Java, also a person who 'practises' his religion
<i>Sarengat</i>	see: <i>Sharī'a</i>
<i>sasahidan</i>	<i>shahid</i> from the 'Ar. <i>shahīd</i> , meaning martyr, who seals his belief with his 'death' or alternatively <i>shāhid</i> : 'Ar. 'witness'; Prof. G. W. J. Drewes writes: the phase <i>ilmu sasahidan</i> (the doctrine attributed to Siti Jēnar) probably implies that Shaykh Siti Jēnar testified to the Unity of God and Man and, because of this profession of Unity, died a martyr
<i>sawah</i>	irrigated rice-field
<i>sawung</i>	used by Dr. Rinkes as a small house without a division in rooms; in Javanese <i>sawung</i> means: cock; champion; candidate
<i>sēdia</i>	ready; prepared
<i>sējjarah (sējjarah, sadjarah)</i>	<i>shajara</i> , 'Ar. 'tree', thus 'pedigree', hence 'story about the past'
<i>sēkti</i>	endowed with supernatural powers
<i>sela-anda</i>	staircase-stones
<i>sělaseh</i>	basil; <i>bunga sělaseh</i> is the flower of the sweet basil
<i>sēmangka</i>	watermelon
<i>sēmbah</i>	gesture of reverence, homage or obeisance, made by raising hands to forehead, closed as in Christian prayer, with fingertips touching; act of worship
<i>sēmbahyang</i>	<i>sēmbah Yang</i> : to worship God; divine service
<i>senapati</i>	commander-in-chief
<i>sēngkala (sangkala, sēngakala)</i>	chronogram
<i>sēngsara</i>	suffering, misery, torment, agony; torture
<i>sēntosa (santosa)</i>	quiet; safe
<i>sēraba</i>	sound; voice
<i>sērabai (surabi, sērabi)</i>	pancake; commonly, <i>sērabi</i>
<i>sērambi</i>	porch, vestibule of a <i>masjid</i> for purpose of holding court on religious matters or of gathering together to study the <i>Qur'ān</i> ; (religious) court
<i>sērat (surat)</i>	thing written; letter; book; (Jav.) fibre
<i>Sha'bān</i>	eighth month of the 'Arabic calendar
<i>Shahadat (Shahāda)</i>	Muslim Profession of Faith: <i>Ashhadu an lā ilāha illā 'llāh</i> I testify that there is no god save Allāh <i>wa ashhadu anna Muḥammadan Rasūlu 'llāh</i> and I testify that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God

<i>sunan</i>	abbreviated form of <i>susuhunan</i> , q.v.; honorific before names of the nine <i>walis</i> , q.v.
<i>sūra(h)</i>	a chapter of the Holy <i>Qur'ān</i>
<i>susuhunan</i>	'he who is held in high esteem', the venerated one; 'His Majesty'; title of rulers of Mataram from 1624 onwards; after partition of 1755, title of rulers of Surakarta; abbreviated form <i>sunan</i> used as honorific before names of the nine <i>walis</i> , q.v.

T

<i>tabir mimpi</i>	'Ar. <i>ta'bīr</i> : interpretation (especially of dreams)
<i>tahlil</i>	the recital of litanies containing the Muslim Creed, see: <i>shahādat</i>
<i>tajallī</i>	mystic illumination
<i>tanah (lēmah)</i>	earth, soil, land; territory
<i>tapa</i>	asceticism
<i>tapa lali</i>	this form of <i>tapa</i> unknown to Dr. Rinkes and to Prof. G. W. J. Drewes; <i>tapa</i> : asceticism; <i>lali</i> : to forget, become insensitive to pain or emotion, to become anaesthetised; oblivion
<i>tarikāt (tarekat, tarīqa, pl. turūq)</i>	'way', the mystic's 'path' to the Real; 'path' of purity; see: <i>maqāmāt</i> ; mystic order
<i>tauhid (tokid, tawhīd)</i>	asserting the oneness of Allāh
<i>tēgal</i>	dry, non-irrigated field
<i>tekad</i>	see: <i>i'tikad</i>
<i>tēmbang</i>	metre; sung or recited Javanese poetry
<i>tētēngēr</i>	mark; gravestone
<i>tirai</i>	curtain, partition; ('Ar.) <i>hijāb</i> : 'partition' between God and Man, lifted (or opened) only for the chosen; see: <i>Qur'ān: Sūra XLII: 51</i> ; for mystics, 'all that veils the end'
<i>tlasih</i>	sweet basil (<i>Ocimum basilicum</i>); <i>tēlas sih</i> : gone is the love
<i>topeng</i>	mask
<i>tuduh</i>	indication; correction; (<i>di-tuduhi dalane</i> : to be shown the way)
<i>tukang</i>	artisan
<i>tumpang</i>	placed one on top of the other; also said of the multiple roofs of <i>meru</i> (temple structure in shape of multiple-roofed pagoda, usually representing the divine mountain Mahameru)
<i>tumpēng</i>	a cone of steamed rice
<i>tutunggul</i>	gravestones, according to Dr. Rinkes; in Jav. <i>tutunggul</i> means: first, foremost; ensign, standard

U

' <i>ulamā</i> '	pl. of ' <i>alīm</i> ', one who possesses the quality of ' <i>ilm</i> ', knowledge, learning, science in the widest sense, and in a high degree; ' <i>ilm</i> ', in first instance, knowledge of traditions and of resultant canon law and theology
<i>upih (upeh)</i>	leaf-sheath of <i>pinang</i> ; the old Javanese quarter of Malaka (Mēlaka)

<i>wēḍi</i>	sand
<i>wērana</i>	screen
<i>widadari (bidadari)</i>	celestial damsel
<i>windu</i>	a cycle of eight years in Muslim Javanese calendrical reckoning; see: <i>Be</i>
<i>wirid</i>	'Ar. <i>wirid</i> ; originally: part, fragment of the <i>Qur'ān</i> , as recited on fixed times by day or by night as devotion apart from the five daily prayers; in Javanese also: esoteric doctrine, higher wisdom; secret doctrine
<i>wong</i>	man; people
<i>wudu (wuḍū')</i>	minor ritual ablution before prayers
<i>wujūd</i>	existence, being; substance; for mystics, the real Being of God
<i>wujūdiyya</i>	(the adepts of) the doctrine of <i>wahdat al-wujūd</i> , q.v.
<i>wuluh gaḍing</i>	ivory bamboo; the common bamboo (<i>Bambusa vulgaris</i>)

Y

<i>yakin (yaqīn)</i>	positive knowledge
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Z

<i>zakāt</i>	the alms-tax, one of the principal obligations of Islām
<i>zaman (jaman)</i>	period, epoch, time
<i>zamzam</i>	the sacred well of Makka, also called the well of Ismā'il
<i>zāwiya (ribāṭ)</i>	monastery
<i>zijārah (jarah)</i>	visit, in the religious sense; the visit to a holy place or to the tomb of a saint, especially to Prophet Muḥammad's tomb in the <i>masjid</i> at al-Madīna

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- Geschiedenis* "Algemeene geschiedenis van Java", see Hageman.
- Jav. char.* Javanese characters.
- Jav. Hss. Bat. Gen.* *Javaansche Handschriften* (Javanese Manuscripts) in the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. (Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences).
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“Mystiek” (Mysticism)

by Hamzah Pansoeri (Hamzah Fansūrī)

University of Leiden Library, Snouck Hurgronje Collection, probably No. 66 = Cod. Or. Leiden No. 7291. A microfilm of this Ms. is in the Kuala Lumpur Collection; see Joseph Howard, *Malay MSS. in the University of Kuala Lumpur Library*, p. 83, microfilm 226.

“Niti Mani”

(Drafted by Raden Mas Adipati Arya Suganda, Regent of Pasuruhan?)

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University of Leiden Library, Snouck Hurgronje Collection, possibly No. 22; now Cod. Or. Leiden No. 7540.

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See *Jaarboek, Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (Yearbook Batavia Society) 1933, p. 323, where three MSS of this story are mentioned. Text and Dutch translation in *Djĕwĕ*, VII (1927).

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From Blora and Solo

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Perhaps identical with MS Bat. Gen. no. 571, see *Jaarboek*, 1933, p. 372 (*Warahing idayat jati*).

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Attributed to Mangku Nĕgara IV, but composed by R. M. Ng. Wirya Kusuma.

Well-known; several editions; Text and Dutch transl. by P. J. Zoetmulder in *Djĕwĕ*, XXI (1941) 182–198.

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Gives one tradition concerning Seh Lěmah Abang.

Jav. Hss. Bat. Gen. No. 575, ibid., p. 289
Stanza II: Refer to episode of Nyi Tanduran Gagang's flaming womb.
Refer also to passage giving further explanation of the Seh Lěmah
Abang tradition related in No. 546.

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Jav. Hss. Br. No. 37, ibid., p. 293 (Babad Tanah Jawi).

Jav. Hss. Br. No. 75, ibid., p. 294 (Babad Chěrbon)
Part II: Written in about 1820 by Abdulqahar.

Jav. Hss. Br. No. 75, ibid., p. 294 (Babad Chěrbon)
Part III: Text refers to one tradition of Princess Gagang.

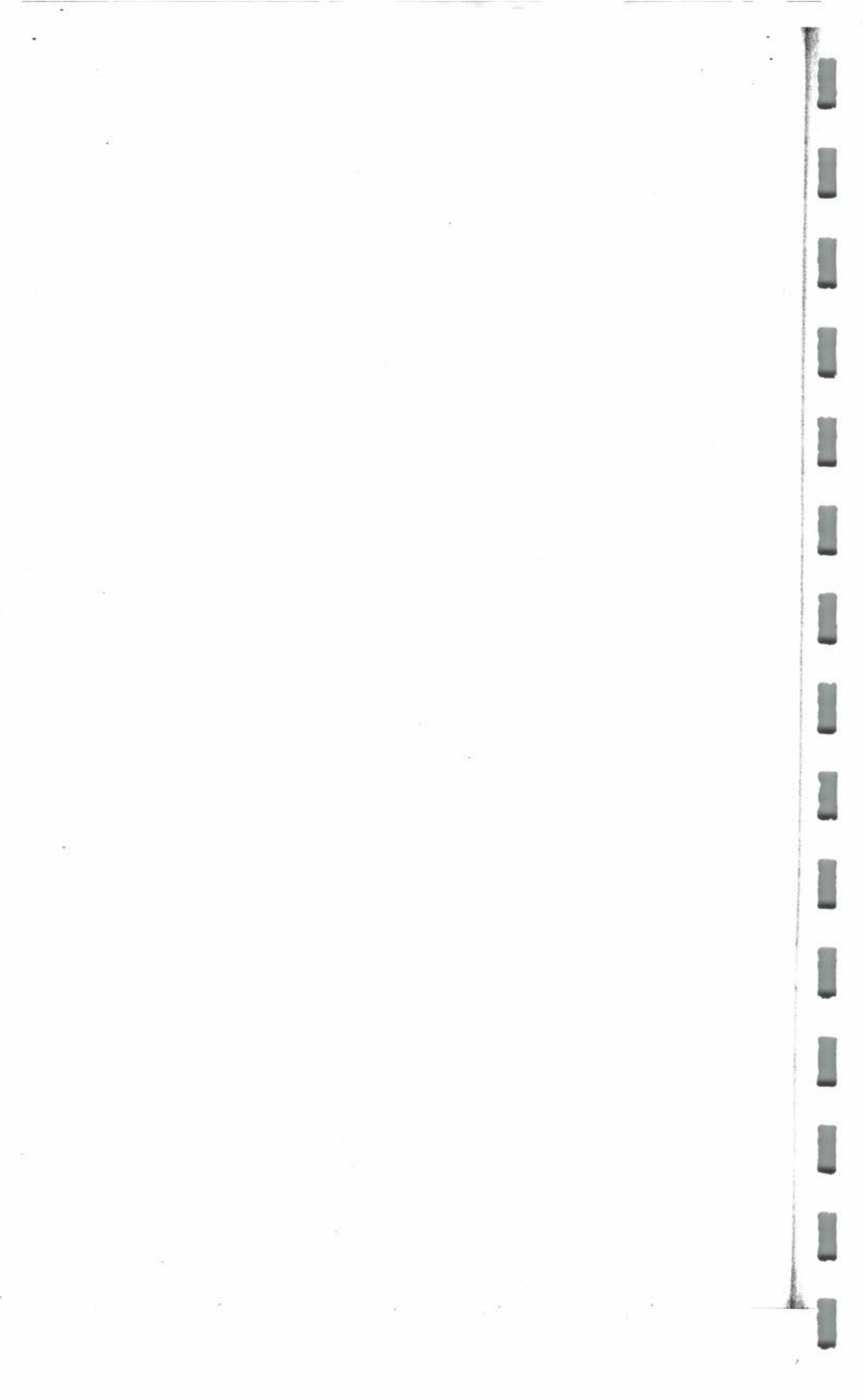
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Another episode of the flaming womb.

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 1st: Cek Ko-Po "Rodim Sr.",
 Badruddin/Kamaruddin, d. c. 1504; possibly the legendary Patah, Raden; sometimes called Jimbun (Jin Bun);
 2nd: Sabrang Lor, Panēmbahan/Surya, Pangeran/"Rodim Jr."/"Cu-cu/Sumangsang, probably son of the 1st ruler;
 3rd: Trēnggana, Raden, b. 1483, d. 1546, r. c. 1505–18, 1521–46; probably son of the 1st ruler and brother of the 2nd; sometimes called Jimbun (Jin Bun);
 Interregnum: Unus/Yunus, Pate, of Jēpara; also identified as Yat Sun; r. 1518–21, d. 1521; married to Trēnggana's sister;
 4th: Prawata, r. c. 1546–61.
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