

MYSTICAL DISCOURSE IN JAVA IN THE 18TH CENTURY NARRATED BY THE *BOOK OF CABOLEK*

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Abstract: *This article discusses the discourse of Sufism in the 18th century in Java as narrated by Serat Cabolek by Kiai Yasadipura I (1729-1803). This manuscript tells about the trial of Kiai Ahmad Mutamakin in front of the authorities of the Mataram Kingdom in Kartasura. This cleric from the village of Cabolek, Tuban, in the northern coast of Java was controversial and accused of spreading Ilmu Hak, namely wujudiyah Sufism, to commoners, even though his knowledge capacity was considered inadequate by the religious scholars (ulama) who opposed him. In that trial Kiai Mutamakin was found guilty, but later was granted pardon by King Pakubuwana II (1726-1749). The author of Serat Cabolek not only recorded the chronological details of Kiai Mutamakin's trial, more than that he also emphasized his stance on how the Javanese should direct their religious orientation. Yasadipura I, as a court poet with educational background of pesantren (Islamic boarding school), figured Ketib Anom as an ideal Javanese Muslim. This religious head officer from Kudus is a figure that perfectly described not just having in-depth knowledge of traditional Javanese mysticism, namely the mystical story of Dewaruci, but also mastering and carrying out the provisions of the Sharia in Islam.*

Keywords: *Tasawuf; Serat Cabolek; Yasadipura I; Kiai Ahmad Mutamakin*

Abstrak: Artikel ini membahas tentang diskursus tasawuf di Jawa abad ke-18 sebagaimana yang dinarasikan oleh Serat Cabolek karya Kiai Yasadipura I (1729-1803). Naskah ini bercerita tentang pengadilan terhadap Kiai Ahmad Mutamakin di hadapan otoritas Kerajaan Mataram di Kartasura. Ulama dari desa Cabolek, Tuban, di pesisir utara Jawa ini bersikap kontroversial dan dituduh menyebarkan Ilmu Hak, yaitu tasawuf yang bercorak wujudiah, kepada orang awam, meskipun kapasitas keilmuannya dianggap kurang memadai oleh para ulama yang menentanginya. Dalam pengadilan itu Kiai Mutamakin diputus bersalah, tetapi kemudian diberi pengampunan oleh Raja Pakubuwana II (1726-1749). Pengarang Serat Cabolek tidak hanya mencatat detail kronologis pengadilan Kiai Mutamakin, lebih dari itu ia juga menegaskan sikapnya tentang bagaimana orang Jawa harus mengarahkan orientasi keagamaannya. Yasadipura I, sebagai pujangga istana yang berlatar belakang pendidikan pesantren, menjadikan Ketib Anom sebagai figur ideal Muslim Jawa. Penghulu keraton asal Kudus ini adalah tokoh yang digambarkan tidak hanya memiliki pengetahuan mendalam tentang mistisisme tradisional Jawa, dalam bentuk cerita mistik Dewaruci, tetapi juga sekaligus menguasai dan pentingnya menjalankan ketentuan-ketentuan syariat dalam Islam.

Kata kunci: Tasawuf; Serat Cabolek; Yasadipura I; Kiai Ahmad Mutamakin

Introduction

Historians of Islam in Indonesia generally agree that since the 13th century Islam had been accepted in many places in Indonesia, including in Java. In Java, historical and archaeological evidences revealed that Islam had been embraced by the Javanese since the Majapahit era (founded in 1292 AD), and firstly developed along the northern coast of the land.

With the emergence of the Demak Kingdom in 1478, it became clear that Islam in Java had turned into a political force to be reckoned with. With the support of power, Islam could no longer be contained to its spread all over Java. However, the question still remains, how can Islam replace the Hindu-Buddhist religion and culture that has been rooted in Java for more than a thousand years? Why do Javanese people convert to Islam massively?

A.H. Johns put forward the theory that Sufism played a very important role in the process of conversion. Sufism is the most compromising part of Islamic doctrine, which can and willing to accommodate pre-Islamic Javanese worldviews. In terms of M.C. Ricklefs, Sufism has become a cultural bridge between Islam and Javanese culture. Therefore, the process of a large-scale conversion of the Javanese to Islam since the 15th century can be categorized as a process of “adhesion” rather than “conversion”. Adhesion is the transfer of religious beliefs and practices by not completely abandoning the old teachings. In the other words, in adhesion, what is

seen is continuity rather than change.¹

Although the process of Islamization in the archipelago has been going on for centuries, very little information about the early days of the process has been revealed. Only in the 16th century Islamic writings (literature) were found from Java. There are two manuscripts that are currently stored at the Leiden Bibliotek, the Netherlands. The first manuscript is in prose (*primbon*), the author was unknown, published for the first time by Gunning (1881), then by Kraemer (1921), and finally by Drewes (1954). Its contents do not show a systematic description, and most of them are descriptions of the three levels of religious life: shari'a, tariqat, and haqiqat.²

The second manuscript was published by Schrieke (1916). The author of the book is also unclear, and is known in academic world as "The Book of Bonang". Some suspect that this manuscript was written by Sunan Bonang, one of the Wali Sanga (Nine Saints) members; but Schrieke thought that the author was a priest from Tuban.³ This book contains warnings against the existence of heretical (heterodox) Sufi teachings, such as the teaching that God is "the One" as well as "the One who is not", or that the essence of God is eternal emptiness. All these heresies were rejected by the author.⁴

Later, another Javanese manuscript was found, which Drewes thought was older than the two texts above; written roughly in the period of transition from Hindu-Buddhist era to Islam in Java. The manuscript is still stored in a library in Ferrara, Italy.⁵ From a study of this and other manuscripts, Karel Steenbrink came to the opinion that Sufism which first developed in Java was moderate (orthodox) Sufism of the al-Ghazali's model, which emphasized the science of jurisprudence and the practice of carrying out religious orders, not the *Wahdat al-Wujud* school of Ibn 'Arabi and 'Abd al-Karim al-Jili.⁶

From the findings of the various texts above, it is clear that the Islamic discourse in Java that stood out from the start was the mystical genre (Sufism). Therefore, it is not surprising that the literature that was widely scattered in this environment, in the educational centers (*pesantren*) as well as in the court, comes from this genre. This genre is commonly referred as *suluk*. The type of this literature initially developed in *pesantren*, and slowly began to enter the heart of the court in the 17th century, when the Mataram Kingdom came into its peak of glory under King Sultan Agung (1613-1646). After that, the development of Sufism discourse in Java was unstoppable.

This article will present the Sufism discourse that developed in Java, especially in the Mataram court, in the 18th century. This century is

politically remembered by the Javanese as the “dark age”. However, by Ricklefs, this century is precisely called the century of Islamic glory in the Mataram Kingdom. From the second half of the 18th century to the 19th century, the court became the center of Islamizing force,⁷ as well as the basis of the revival (*Renaissance*) of the Javanese literature).⁸ During this period, famous court poets emerged, including Kiai Yasadipura I and his son, Yasadipura II, and his great-grandson, R. Ng. Ranggawarsita.

In this period of revival of Javanese literature, the mystical genre of literature also emerged. One of the most well-known of this genre is Yasadipura I's *Serat Cabolek*. This treatise is very interesting, because the author has firmly taken his religious standing, that is accepting Islamic law as a guide for the outward behavior of the Javanese people, but also stressing the importance of Javanese mysticism, as told in the saga of Dewaruci, as the substance of the religious life of the Javanese.

From the brief description above, there are several questions that deserve to be asked: What is the position of Sufism in religious discourse in the 18th century Mataram court? What is the pattern of Sufism that developed at that time? What is the contribution of *Serat Cabolek* in religious discourse – especially Sufism – for the development of religious life in Java?

Islam and the 18th Century Mataram Court

Four decades of the early 18th century, the capital of Mataram Kingdom was in Kartasura, west of the current city of Solo. Initially this kingdom build the capital in Kotagede, then moved to Karta, then to Plered, after that it moved again to Kartasura. During this turbulent Kartasura period, five kings reigned: Amangkurat II (1680-1703), Amangkurat III (1703), Pakubuwana I (1704-1719), Amangkurat IV (1719-1726), and Pakubuwana II (1726-1749). In 1745, the capital of Mataram Kingdom again moved, to the east, which was later named Surakarta.

Kartasura court only lasted for about 65 years (1680-1745). This court became the last Mataram court to be united. After that, during the reign of King Pakubuwana III (1749-1788), in 1755, the Mataram Kingdom was permanently divided into Surakarta and Yogyakarta. As illustrated in various sources, from Java as well as the Netherlands, the Kartasura period was the most turbulent period (*gègèr*) in Mataram's political history. According to Sartono Kartodirdjo, the political factor that has latently disrupted the stability of the kingdom is the issue of replacement of the royal throne. The history of the Mataram Kingdom looks like a cycle of court revolutions.⁹

The royal internal problems above were exacerbated by the involvement of the VOC (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie), a Dutch trading partnership, into the political turmoil surrounding the court. The entry of the VOC plunged Mataram further into instability, full of intrigue among court relatives, and gave rise to resistance groups, both from within the court circle itself and from the outside. The kings who ruled in Kartasura practically reckoned their political authority on the help of the VOC. In fact, this assistance had to be paid dearly in the form of a very large concession, namely the surrendering of the kingdom's strategic assets, including the ports along the northern coast of Java.

Despite the large concessions, the VOC's involvement in various conflicts and wars in Java caused its financial condition to be sharply declined. In addition, their internal performance is also getting worse due to rampant corrupt practices. Therefore, there was no other way for the VOC but to pressure the kings of Kartasura to keep their promises and pay their debts. As a result, the people, who are mostly farmers, have become victims. They had to work harder, because some of the kingdom's debt to the VOC had to be paid in metric tons of rice, in a relatively long time. Finally, the king was increasingly abandoned by his people.

In the 1740s a dramatic event occurred, that was a riot carried out by the Chinese (Gègèr Pacinan) which later caused the Kartasura court to be heavily damaged. The Chinese riot against the VOC was actually the result of a similar incident in Batavia. With riots breaking out in the heart of the royal capital, all around Java was in violent turmoil. The people moved everywhere to carry out a holy war (*perang sabil*) against the Dutch VOC.¹⁰ Initially, the VOC was under pressure. But, in a short time later, the VOC troops could be consolidated and turn to attack the posts, including the king's court, which had been controlled by the rebels. Having been smirched by the rebels' feet, not long after, Pakubuwana II, the last king in Kartasura, took the initiative to move the court to Solo (Surakarta).

Instead of the new palace bringing peace, what happened was a long tiring upheaval. From 1746 to 1755 there were rebellions and wars between the court nobles. In this frantic state, Pakubuwana II fell ill and later died in 1749. He was succeeded by his son, Raden Suryadi, entitled Pakubuwana III. It was during the Pakubuwana III period that peace negotiations took place between the warring parties by using the VOC as an intermediary. On February 13, 1755 an agreement was signed at Giyanti, in which the VOC recognized Mangkubumi,

the king's uncle, as ruler of half of the Mataram area with the title Sultan Hamengkubuwana I. After the Giyanti Agreement many nobles returned to the court, except Mas Said, who still continued to rebel. This prince was finally successfully invited to the negotiating table. Through the Salatiga Agreement (1757), Mas Said received a distribution of power and territory taken from the parts of Surakarta, and officially adopted the title Pangeran Adipati Mangkunegara I.

After decades of being busy with intrigue and war, finally the political factions of Mataram descent realized the need for peaceful coexistence between them. Since then, they have carried out diplomacy through marriages between court relatives. So the political situation is relatively stable. Because the two kingdoms were both under Dutch patronage, practically their space for political maneuvering – let alone the military – was becoming impossible. The power of the two kingdoms, *de facto*, only remained around the court walls. Therefore, after enjoying the peace period after the Giyanti and Salatiga Agreements, the energy of competition and contestation between kingdoms was then transferred to the literary field. From here emerged a new era commonly referred as the Javanese literary renaissance.

Actually, the use of literature as a tool of political legitimacy¹¹ in Java has been known since ancient times. And in the context of Mataram it has developed since the reign of Sultan Agung. Perhaps, because Sultan Agung failed to expel the VOC from Batavia in 1628 and 1629, and he was afraid that his authority would decline in the eyes of the people, he sought authority in the cultural area. Given its strategic function in giving legitimacy to the position of a king, this literary writing tradition continued to develop, even though the kingdom was in constant turmoil. The historical memory of the Javanese, it must be admitted, is largely dominated by knowledge of 17th century Java under Sultan Agung and the 19th century during the Dutch colonial period. Both periods were marked by a peaceful atmosphere in the court environment, and the impact of peace is believed to radiate throughout the land of Java. Meanwhile, in the 18th century, let's say, starting from the founding of the Kartasura court until the beginning of the literary renaissance in Surakarta and Yogyakarta, due to the chaotic socio-political conditions, the authority of the court was waning. Therefore the Javanese think that the 18th century is the 'dark age'. However, as evidenced by Ricklefs in his book *The Seen and the Unseen World in Java*, under these conditions,

Javanese culture experienced very rapid development.¹²

The tradition in the Javanese culture does not recognize a drastic changes. Everything undergoes a transformation slowly and so subtly, that it does not cause a disturbance in their communal life. The representation of the Javanese view that continues to undergo transformation is the concept of the nature of the king. In the agrarian kingdoms in Java, this concept developed on the basis of the awareness of the close relationship between the order of the universe (macrocosm) and the human kingdom (microcosm). In the Javanese-Hindu view, the human world is represented by the kingdom, and the king is the incarnation of one of the gods. Because of his position at the center of the kingdom, he symbolizes the king-god at the center of the universe. So the king has an obligation to maintain the harmony of the cosmos by imitating the order of the universe in his kingdom.¹³

The consequence of the above view is that the king is considered to have *kasektèn* (magic power), and his supernatural powers are believed to radiate to all corners of the kingdom. Therefore, the people believe that the stability, security, and prosperity of a country can be maintained by maintaining the balance of the sacred power. So it is the duty of the king to try to increase his supernatural powers by means of meditation, as well as carrying out various religious rites and ceremonies. Therefore, the concept of the king as the incarnation of a god allows a king to establish his royal government on the basis of the religious beliefs of his people.¹⁴ Although, at the individual level, it is actually also believed that each person can achieve mystical union with the forces of the universe, but at the level of the state and society, only the king can be the mediator for the unity between the macrocosm and microcosm.¹⁵

The view of the king –and also his relationship with the people–above underwent a transformation in the Islamic era with the inclusion of Sufism elements in it. As seen in the works of Ratu Pakubuwana, the grandmother of Pakubuwana II, the concept of the king-god inherited from the Hindu era metamorphosed into the concept of a Sufi-king. Sufism teaching which recognizes the direct relationship of man with God becomes the basis of religious legitimacy for the power of a king, especially to strengthen the supernatural claims of the king. This is what happened in the Mataram court in the 18th century.¹⁶ So, although the religious belief in Java has nominally changed, the basic views in it are relatively unchanged. For kings and kingdoms, the main function of

religion, including Islam, is as a source of supernatural energy.

The end of the 18th century is also recorded as a period of revival of Javanese literature. Pigeaud, the author of *Literature of Java*, named this period that continued into the 19th century as the “Renaissance of classical literature at the Courts of Central Java.”¹⁷ Through the poets who received full support from the authorities, various works were born. Some of which were compositions and translations of old literary works, which generally came from India. These literary works are the source of stories in wayang performances which are very popular in the Javanese society. The synergy between literary works which are basically elitist in nature and very populist wayang performances makes the dissemination of values and traditions among Javanese people very effective. Through wayang, they can find answers to solve the problems of life; and in every aspect of wayang plays, there are hidden moral messages and advices.¹⁸

The destruction of the life and maritime civilization of the Javanese along the north coast, due to VOC domination, caused a change in the orientation and way of life of the Javanese towards a more homogeneous direction, namely a return to their original agrarian character. The court, as a center of reproduction of the values, seems to be able to make the best use of this situation by building a new cultural orientation that syncretizes pre-Islamic cultural heritage with agrarian nuances with Islamic culture. Throughout the 18th century Islamic culture has become a reality – especially in rural areas – which cannot be denied and avoided.

In his well-known study of *suluk* literature in Java, Zoetmulder found that these literary works were also syncretic, seeking to combine Islamic teachings, Islamic law, and Islamic literary traditions with Hindu-Buddhist theological concepts of the creation of nature, mortality, life after death (eschatology), and human relationship with God.¹⁹ This literary type was also adopted by the poets of the Mataram court and incorporated into Javanese literature during the late 18th century renaissance, as reflected in *Serat Centhini* and *Serat Cabolek*. Regarding this, Koentjaraningrat said:

“Islamic religious syncretism did not only develop in Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) in rural areas, but also in the center of the Mataram Kingdom, where its development was intentional, as a cultural strategy launched by the poets and scholars of the court to establish good relations with the growing Islamic power that increasing bigger. The

poet Yasadipura I from the Mataram court in Surakarta under the reigns of Sunan Pakubuwana III (1749-1788) and later Sunan Pakubuwana IV (1788-1820), was one of the poets who supported the cultural strategy launched from the late 18th century to the early 19th century.”²⁰

Yasadipura I and the *Book of Cabolek*

Kiai Yasadipura I (1729-1803) lived from the Kartasura period until the transition to Surakarta. He served in the court since the days of Pakubuwana II (1726-1749), Pakubuwana III (1749-1788), until Pakubuwana IV (1788-1820). He witnessed several important events in the Mataram Kingdom, from the Chinese riots, the destruction of the Kartasura court, the court removal to Surakarta, until the peace agreements between nobles were reached in Giyanti (1755) and Salatiga (1757).

One of the most complete biographies of Yasadipura I is the *Tus Pajang* book.²¹ This book was written in 1939 by three people – R. Sastrasumarta, R. Sastrawaluya, and R. Ng. Yasapuraya—in Javanese language and letters.²² The writers are members of the Yasadipuran breed. Another book that also provides a description of the life story of Yasadipura I is the work of Poerbatjaraka (1884-1964) entitled *Kepustakaan Jawa*. Co-written with Tardjan Hadidjaja, this book was published in two languages –Javanese and Indonesian– simultaneously for the first time in 1952. According to Ricklefs, it is very possible that the source of information accessed by Poerbatjaraka came from Winter’s work entitled *Javaansche Zamenspraken*, which was published in Leiden in 1911, and the *Tus Pajang* book.²³ While the writers of *Tus Pajang* are very doubtful they have access to Winter’s works.

In *Tus Pajang* it is stated that Yasadipura I, genealogically, is a descendant of Sultan Adiwijaya (1568-1586), the founder of the Pajang Kingdom. Yasadipura was the son of Raden Tumenggung Arya Padmanegara, a regent (*abdi dalem bupati jaksa*) in Pengging during the reign of Pakubuwana I (1704-1719 AD). He was born in the village of Pengging on Friday-Paing in the month of Sapar in the year Jimakir (1654 AJ or 1729 AD).²⁴

Yasadipura’s initial name is Bagus Banjar, and his nickname is Jaka Subuh, because he was born at dawn (subuh). When he was eight years old, he was sent to a pesantren in Kedu under the guidance of Kiai Anggamaya.²⁵ At a relatively young age, Bagus Banjar has shown extraordinary talent in religious studies and literature. By his teacher he

was also taught the sciences of *kanuragan*. After studying for about five years, he has mastered the outer and inner sciences, such as Javanese and Arabic literature, polite behavior and manners, humility, meditation (*tapa-brata*), prayer, self-control, and moderation.²⁶

At the age of 14, Bagus Banjar finished his studies at pesantren. He then began a career in the Kartasura court as a soldier under the reign of Pakubuwana II (1726-1749). When the court moved to Surakarta, his name had changed to Yasadipura. In accordance with his talent in literature, he was appointed to be secretary of the king under the guidance of Prince Wijil.²⁷ At the same time, he also won the trust of a *pujangga taruna* (young poet). As a court poet, Yasadipura was primarily tasked with restoring and reconstructing ancient Javanese literary treasures. Yasadipura succeeded in rewriting various ancient Javanese books into modern Javanese language with extraordinary skill. He also directed his attention to Islamic and historical works. These historical works of Yasadipura provided invaluable information in the study of the history of the Mataram Kingdom throughout the 18th century. Yasadipura died in Surakarta on March 14, 1803.²⁸ He was buried in his birthplace, Pengging, and his grave is still sanctified by the people to this day. His position as a court poet was replaced by his son, Yasadipura II (Raden Tumenggung Sastranegara).

Yasadipura I left a legacy of works that are still popular today. The language he used in his writings greatly influenced the development of the Javanese language in the Surakarta court, which is still the standard of this era. As a prolific author, Yasadipura I was an intellectual with many faces: poet, historian, religious teacher, and mystic (Sufi). From three important sources on Yasadipura I and his works, namely Winter, *Tus Pajang*, and Poerbatjaraka, Ricklefs has made a very critical note. From a comparative analysis of the three books, Ricklefs expressed his doubts about several works that have been mentioned as the work of Yasadipura I. Only a few of these works cannot be doubted and were actually written by Yasadipura I.²⁹

In Winter's work, seven works refer to Yasadipura I as the author, that are *Tajusalatin*, *Iskandar*, *Panji Angreni*, *Babad Paliyan Nagari (Giyanti)*, *Sewaka*, *Anbiya*, and *Menak*. Meanwhile, *Tus Pajang* mentions five definitive works and additional information "maybe there are many more of his other works".³⁰ The five works are *Babad Giyanti*, *Bratayuda*, *Babad Prayut*, *Cabolek*, and *Pesindhèn Bedaya*.

While in the *Kepustakaan Jawa*, Poerbatjaraka mentions at most 12 works: *Tajusalatin*, *Babad Giyanti*, *Anbiya*, *Menak*, *Bratayuda*, *Babad Prayut*, *Cabolek*, *Arjunawiwaha* (jarwa), *Rama* (jarwa), *Panitisastra* (kawi miring), *Dewa Ruci* (jarwa), and *Babad Pakepung*. However, Poerbatjaraka notes that it is very difficult to distinguish between the works of Yasadipura I and Yasadipura II, because both of them are often work together.³¹

As a scribe for the history of the court, apart from writing the monumental *Babad Giyanti*, Yasadipura I was also alleged to have written a controversial work entitled *Serat Cabolek*. This book, which had been thoroughly researched by Soebardi, includes what Ricklefs' doubt as the original work of Yasadipura I. Ricklefs' doubt were based more on the detail and accuracy of the contents described in this manuscript. The contents of *Serat Cabolek* are generally records of the events that occurred in 1731 in Kartasura, namely the trial of Kiai Ahmad Mutamakin. At that time Yasadipura, born 1729, was only about two years old. Meanwhile, after the horrendous incident, the Kartasura court was in a constant chaos, even until it was finally moved to Surakarta. Because of this, Ricklefs doubted that the *Serat Cabolek* manuscript was written sometime in the 1740s or 1750s, the years after the chaos.³²

Ideal Figure of Javanese Muslim

Serat Cabolek is a religious literary work that displays the thoughts as well as the religious style of the Javanese people, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries. In *Serat Cabolek*, Yasadipura I essentially presents an ongoing debate between the Sufis and the Shari'a scholars.³³

The book, which was written in Javanese *macapat* poetry, tells the story of two main characters: Haji Ahmad Mutamakin and Ketib Anom Kudus. These two figures became representatives of two opposing citadels, namely the Sufism side in Ahmad Mutamakin and the Shari'a side in Ketib Anom.³⁴ However, as seen in the text of *Serat Cabolek*, Yasadipura I as the author clearly takes side and makes Ketib Anom the protagonist and hero in the story.

It is said that during the Kartasura's Mataram Kingdom there was an uproar that started from Cabolek, the name of a village in Tuban, on the north coast of East Java. Cabolek is the village where Haji Ahmad Mutamakin, a Sufi scholar, lives and teaches the *Ilmu Hak* (science of

reality, *kasunyatan*). Mutamakin was accused of spreading teachings that allowed his followers to leave the Shari'a. As a result, there were protests from the ulama of Tuban and the northern coast of Java, because these teachings were considered a danger to Islam in general.

However, as written in the text, it seems that Haji Mutamakin did not care about the response of the ulama. In fact, he was even more desperate to harass them. One form of abuse of this controversial figure is that he named his two dogs Abdul Kahhar and Kamaruddin, just like the names of the penghulu and ketib in the Tuban area. So there was a commotion that forced the Tuban clerics to report Mutamakin's actions to the king in Kartasura. At that time the royal throne was occupied by Amangkurat IV (1719-1726). This group of scholars departed for the royal capital in the Central Java region led by Ketib Anom Kudus.

After arriving in Kartasura, the scholars complained about Mutamakin's behavior to Patih Danureja. They proposed that the person concerned be brought to justice because they were deemed to have spread heretical teachings. Through these royal officials, the scholars also petitioned King Amangkurat IV. Unfortunately, before this matter was decided, the king died. So the case was adjourned for a while until a new king was appointed.

The new king who was appointed was Pakubuwana II, the son of Amangkurat IV. When he first occupied the throne, this king was still 16 years old. Therefore, he was guided by those closest to him, namely his grandmother named Ratu Pakubuwana, Demang Urawan later Prince Purbaya, and Patih Danureja. This young king apparently did not agree with the opinion of the scholars. He rejected their petition, and delegated the matter and decision to Demang Urawan. This last figure then plays a role in conveying decisions and bridging communication between the ulama and the king.

When King Pakubuwana II's decision was conveyed to the scholars through Demang Urawan, none of the scholars gave a response or comment. Until then, Ketib Anom Kudus, the leader of the ulama delegation, appeared bravely to defend his opinion. He said that the ulama's petition was true and that Ahmad Mutamakin deserved to the death penalty. Ketib Anom's opinion was then conveyed back to the king by Demang Urawan. However, the king remained firm with his stance and decision. Even the king gave an excuse that Mutamakin's teachings were only for himself, and were not taught to others, so it

would not be too dangerous.

The next day, Demang Urawan conveyed the king's decree and the reasons for it to the scholars. However, again Ketib Anom appeared to protest the decision. He then put forward a historical argument that in previous epoch figures like Ahmad Mutamakin had been sentenced to death. Ketib Anom mentions the names of Sheikh Siti Jenar who was sentenced to death during the Giri Kingdom, Ki Panggung who was sentenced to be burned by the Sultan of Demak, Ki Bebeluk who was drowned in a river during the Pajang period, and Sheikh Among Raga who was sentenced to death by drowning in the sea on the orders of the greatest Mataram's king Sultan Agung (1613-1645).

Through quite a heated debate, finally King Pakubuwana II made a decision by forgiving the two warring citadels, namely Ahmad Mutamakin and Ketib Anom Kudus. Ketib Anom, despite his status as a plaintiff, he was still found guilty for daring to question and oppose the king's decision. After the king's pardon descended, and the trial was declared complete and disbanded, it was announced that the king was pleased to pray Friday with the scholars in the mosque.

The story up to the dissolution of the trial against Ahmad Mutamakin was the first part of *Serat Cabolek*. The second part, commonly referred as the "Dewaruci episode", is no less important than the first one. This section tells about the personal intellectual debate between Ahmad Mutamakin and Ketib Anom Kudus. Although, in fact, in the text it is not clearly narrated what and how Ahmad Mutamakin's religious views and teachings actually are. He is only described as an old man,³⁵ unattractive in appearance, studying with Shaykh Zain in Yemen, and stuttering when it comes to explaining the true science he has learned. Only one thing that was considered as an advantage, namely Mutamakin had been performed the pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*).

As mentioned above, Haji Ahmad Mutamakin is known as a Sufi cleric who teaches the concept of *wahdat al-wujud*, like the previous Javanese Sufis who were martyred as a result of the teachings they brought. In his confession, as recorded in *Serat Cabolek*, Ahmad Mutamakin learned the essence of knowledge from a prominent cleric in Yemen, namely Shaykh Zain. According to him, what he learned in Yemen is the same as what is in the mysticism of Dewaruci's story. However, when pursued further about the science of reality and Dewaruci's mysticism, there was no adequate information from Mutamakin's mouth.

Mutamakin's silence in the assembly (*majlis*) which was attended by the ulama at Demang Urawan's house immediately became a stage for Ketib Anom Kudus to show his abilities. Ketib Anom asked his rival to read Dewaruci's text and explain its contents. It is clear that *Serat Cabolek* provides a very contrasting and unbalanced narrative to the two characters. On the one hand, Ketib Anom Kudus is described as very fluent in reading and deciphering the meaning contained in the Dewaruci story text. On the other hand, Haji Mutamakin is shown as someone who does not have sufficient knowledge to be able to properly understand the mystical teachings in the story. In fact, because of his incompetence, Haji Mutamakin finally admitted to giving up and apologized to Demang Urawan. On the other hand, in order to find out that his opponent was not moving, Ketib Anom confidently said that it was better for Mutamakin to return to Yemen to study Sufism in depth.

There is something interesting in the story of the cleric from the village of Cabolek above. Kuntowijoyo, in his *Paradigma Islam*, mentioned that the story of Haji Mutamakin, although this might be a historical story, but this story can also be a reconstruction of the court's interests in religious life *vis a vis* the santri.³⁶ In the other words, the construction of this story had been modified in such a way to make it appear that the court party – in this case represented by Ketib Anom Kudus, whose name it bears, it is clear that he is the royal official – is the highest authority in all matters in the religious field. Haji Mutamakin is the personification and representation of the people, who despite having high knowledge – in *Serat Cabolek* he was described as a Sufi cleric – still must be placed as the people, and therefore must submit to the power of the king. However, it is really interesting to study why, unlike Mutamakin's predecessors that were told to have been sentenced to death for their mystical doctrines, this cleric from Cabolek did not experience the same thing?

Jajat Burhanuddin, by relating to the trend of neo-sufism in the Malay-Nusantara world which had become common in the 17th century, gave a quite interesting interpretation. If in the previous period heterodox Sufism was not allowed to develop in the community – as reported by the execution of Sufi adherents of this doctrine – then the pardon granted by King Pakubuwana II to Ahmad Mutamakin implied a new development of Islam in the Kartasura court environment.

Quoting Soebardi, Jajat wrote that the king's pardon for Ahmad Mutamakin's understanding and behavior was a reflection of the ongoing religious conditions in society, especially in the inner circle of the court. Soebardi noted that there had been a new orientation in religious life, namely that Islamic law was seen as an important part of their religious practice, in addition to the teachings of Sufism, as long as it did not disturb the order and social order of the community.³⁷ The king's actions, which pardoned Ahmad Mutamakin and Ketib Anom Kudus, in several respects, represented the neo-sufism school which had indeed developed in the archipelago since the 17th century.

The personification of neo-sufism in Java stands out in the figure of Ketib Anom Kudus. By Yasadipura I, the author of *Serat Cabolek*, this cleric from the north coast of Java was made a hero who won the battle of discourse that was developing at that time. The Cabolek text describes Ketib Anom as a figure who emphasizes reconciliation and harmonization between Sufism and Shari'a. He is a scholar who has very deep knowledge of Sufism or traditional mysticism that has been deeply entrenched in Javanese culture – as reflected by his ability to decipher the meaning of Dewaruci stories – but at the same time he is also narrated as a person who is very obedient to the teachings of Islam that have been determined in the law.³⁸

In short, in *Serat Cabolek*, Ketib Anom Kudus is presented not only as the winner of the debate between himself and Ahmad Mutamakin, but also as the ideal figure of a Javanese Muslim. A figure who is well versed in the teachings of traditional mysticism on the one hand, and on the other hand carries out the provisions of the Shari'a in Islamic teachings.

The Book of *Cabolek* and The Book of *Dewaruci*

Including an important part of *Serat Cabolek* is the "Dewaruci episode". In the *Serat Cabolek* studied by Soebardi, the Dewaruci episode is found in Pupuh VIII starting from verse 14 to verse 78. After this episode, starting from Canto (Pupuh) IX to Canto XI --the last canto-- *Serat Cabolek* contains an explanation of Dewaruci's mysticism as well as religious teachings given by Ketib Anom Kudus in the last meeting. Included in the assembly was Haji Mutamakin.

The Dewaruci episodes in *Serat Cabolek* have similarities, almost word for word, to the texts in *Serat Dewaruci*. As mentioned above, Yasadipura I was believed to have also composed Dewaruci's story among the

compositions of ancient Javanese texts into the new Javanese language. In Yasadipura I's *Serat Dewaruci* that published by the Nusantara Literature Department, Faculty of Letters, Gadjah Mada University Yogyakarta, the part of Dewaruci's story in *Serat Cabolek* reappears in Canto V from verse 1 to verse 55, which is the final part of the book. This UGM manuscript is entitled *Serat Dewaruci Jarwa Sekar Macapat Gubahanipun R. Ng. Yasadipura I* (*Serat Dewaruci, the poetry of the macapat song by R. Ng. Yasadipura I*).

At first, the academic world acknowledged that Dewaruci's text came from the Nawaruci story manuscript which was researched by Prijohoetomo in a dissertation defended in Utrecht, the Netherlands, in 1934. However, in 1940, Poerbatjaraka published a manuscript which, according to him, was from the era of Middle-Javanese literature (between 1292-1520). The manuscript with a poetic language structure, in the form of an old-style *macapat* song, is entitled *Dewa Roetji*.³⁹ However, in Poerbatjaraka's point of view, the stories of Dewaruci and Nawaruci which written in Kawi Miring language, both in the form of poetry and in prose, seem to be derivatives or copies of the older version, which is in the form of ancient poetry, and is written in a simple story.⁴⁰

According to Seno Sastroamidjojo, appreciation for Dewaruci's play (*lakon*) has been known since the time of the Mataram Kingdom in Kartasura.⁴¹ Public interest in the story of Dewaruci during the Kartasura era was very large. Many new compositions are derived from the original ones. The derivatives are also derived then with additions or subtractions as necessary according to the taste of the composer. Purwadi, quoting Marsono, noted that there were 29 variations of manuscripts containing Dewaruci's story, and 19 of them were in the collection of the Leiden University Library in the Netherlands. Besides in the Netherlands, the Dewaruci or Bimasuci manuscripts are also stored in the Radya Pustaka Surakarta Library, the Yogyakarta Sana Budaya Museum, and the Jakarta National Library.⁴²

Dewaruci's story found its form as it is known today thanks to the touch of Yasadipura I's hands. Apparently, because this story is already quite popular in the community, Yasadipura I had written it many times on various occasions. The first time the story of Bima's meeting with Dewaruci appeared in *Serat Cabolek*. In the treatise that says Kiai Ahmad Mutamakim, who is considered a deviant from the teachings of Islamic law because he teaches this mystical science, Dewaruci's story appears incomplete. What appears is only the final part, which is the core part, namely the meeting between Bima and Dewaruci in the middle of the sea

followed by sermons by Dewaruci which are full of mystical teachings. Subsequently, in 1793 and 1803 Yasadipura I wrote a more complete version of the Bimasuci story, which he probably added himself, especially the part at the beginning of the story. According to Adhikara, the first work (1793) was written in the *macapat* meter (tap), and the second (1803) was written in the ancient Javanese meter.⁴³ From the Yasadipura's version of the Dewaruci story, various versions of the same story were born, of course with different styles and languages, but substantially are the same in content. Yasadipura himself named his work as *Serat Dewaruci* or *Serat Bimasuci*.

In the world of wayang, Dewaruci's play is actually one of the plays that are considered sacred to be performed. However, along with the times, the sacred nuances seem to be decreasing. Even with the development of technology, people can access these stories through various media, ranging from books, comics, puppet shows on television, video cassettes, video compact discs, to social media.

Quoting Soebardi's view, there are four groups of versions of the Dewaruci story. The first is the Poerbatjaraka's version, which was written in the Middle Java era using ancient Javanese songs. Second, the version that uses prose, written in the Middle Javanese language, is known as the Nawaruci story. Third, the version of Yasadipura I which is written in modern Javanese in the form of the *macapat* song. Fourth, are those written in prose using modern Javanese, including Raden Tanoyo's works using Latin letters. Also included in this category is the Yasadipura I version of the text written in Indonesian, as published by the Yogyakarta PPK Department.⁴⁴

From the study and research of the Yasadipura I's version of Dewaruci's text, it seems that Ricklefs' doubts can be answered that *Serat Cabolek* is the work of this prominent court poet. *First*, there are doubts because the Mutamakin trial took time in 1931, while Yasadipura I was only two years old at that time. The description of the event in *Serat Cabolek* is indeed very vivid, detailed, and interesting, as if the author witnessed and experienced it himself. However, what should not be forgotten, Yasadipura I lived at a time when many witnesses of the incident were still alive,⁴⁵ so with his imagination he was able to narrate the incident well. Of course we can't imagine it like today, where real time technology already exists. *Second*, perhaps when Yasadipura I started composing *Serat Cabolek* there were already materials or references about the event. It is common, and has even become a tradition, that the writing of a work in Java, whether in the form of *suluk*, *serat*, *babad*, and *primbon* is done not only by one

person, but by many people. Not only by those who are one generation, it could be even cross generations. For example, the writing of *Babad Tanah Jawi*, *Serat Centhini*, and others. There is a version of *Serat Cabolek* which tells the story of Kiai Ahmad Rifai Kalisalak, a cleric who opposed the Dutch colonialists who lived in the 19th century. This version clearly could not have been written by Yasadipura I, but it is certainly an extension of his work. *Third*, Ricklefs never expressed his objections or doubts that *Serat Dewaruci* was one of Yasadipura I's works. This view is different from several works attributed to the poet. *Fourth*, the text of the Dewaruci's episode in *Serat Cabolek* has the same word for word up to almost 100 percent with the text in *Serat Dewaruci*. That is, in today's academic language, the author is like doing self-plagiarism or plagiarizing his own work. The author must be the same person, none other than Yasadipura I.

Conclusion

Historically, the Islamic intellectual discourse that developed in the archipelago, including in Java, has never been separated from the large flow of the discourse that occurred in the center of Islam in the Middle East. Since the 17th century, in the Malay-Nusantara world, the discourse of neo-sufism has developed, not least in Java (inland), which at that time was undergoing massive Islamization in the territory of the Mataram Kingdom.

From the literature circulating in Java, it can be seen that the Sufis who embrace the doctrine of Wujudiyah cannot be fully accepted by the authorities. They are told of being persecuted, even executed, in various ways. However, in the 18th century, at the discretion of the rulers, Sufism was accepted with more open arms. The contents of the *Serat Cabolek* manuscript can serve as evidence and arguments for these new developments.

Wujudiyah Sufism can be accepted – through the narrative of forgiveness stories against Haji Ahmad Mutamakin – as long as this kind of Sufism is only used for the fulfillment of personal spirituality and is not disseminated to other people (the laity). However, firmly and openly, the author of *Serat Cabolek* proposed Ketib Anom as an ideal figure of Javanese Muslim. This head of the court from Kudus was a character narrated as having in-depth knowledge of traditional Javanese mysticism, namely the mystical Dewaruci story, but also at the same time mastering and implementing the provisions of the Sharia in Islam.

Endnotes

1. See Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Global dan Lokal Islam Nusantara* (Bandung: Mizan, 2002), 20.
2. Harun Hadiwijono, *Kebatinan Islam Abad XVI* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1985), 7-8.
3. Hadiwijono, *Kebatinan Islam*, 12.
4. Hadiwijono, *Kebatinan Islam*, 12.
5. G.W.J. Drewes, *An Early Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1978), 1-3.
6. Karel A. Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad ke-19* (Jakarta: BulanBintang, 1984), 173-174.
7. M.C. Ricklefs, "Islam and the Reign of Pakubuwana II (1726-1749)," in Peter G. Riddell and Tony Street (eds.), *Islam: Essays on Scripture, Thought, and Society* (Leiden-New York-Koln: Brill, 1997), 237.
8. Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, v. 1 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967), 7-9, 235-238.
9. Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Pengantar Sejarah Indonesia Baru: 1500-1900 Dari Emporium Sampai Imperium*, v. I (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1993), 228.
10. Kartodirdjo, *Pengantar Sejarah Indonesia*, 225.
11. This literary work that became a tool of political legitimacy, by C.C. Berg, referred as "literary magic." The main purpose of writing this work is to increase the meaning of the glory and magic of the king or ruler. The selection of materials and the preparation of the book is intended to achieve this goal. So that as a historical source it cannot be used as a guide, although it is not entirely useless, especially regarding the recent past. The need for a proper magical interpretation justifies the actions of the court poet to omit or change events in the past at will. See Sumarsaid Moertono, *Negara dan Usaha Bina-Negara di Jawa Masa Lampau, Studi tentang Masa Mataram II Abad XVI sampai XIX* (Jakarta: Indonesian Obor Foundation, 1985), 14; G. Moedjanto, *Konsep Kekuasaan Jawa: Penerapannya oleh Raja-raja Mataram* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1987), 34.
12. See M.C. Ricklefs, *The Seen and the Unseen Worlds in Java, 1726-1749: History, Literature and Islam in the Court of Pakubuwana II* (Honolulu: Allen & Unwin and University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), especially in chapter two, "Ratu Pakubuwana's three magic books from the time of Sultan Agung, 1729-1730". Also See Jajat Burhanuddin, "Wacana Baru Islam-Jawa," in *Studia Islamika*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1998, p. 188-192.
13. Koentjaraningrat, *Kebudayaan Jawa* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1984), 40.
14. Koentjaraningrat, *Kebudayaan Jawa*, p. 41,
15. Selo Soemardjan, "The Kraton in the Javanese Social Structure," in Haryati Soebadio and Carine A. du Marchie Sarvaas. *Dynamics of Indonesian History* (Amsterdam-New York-Oxford: North Holland Publishing Company, 1978), 227.
16. Burhanuddin, "Wacana Baru Islam-Jawa," ph. 193.
17. Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, v. 1 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967), 7-9, 235-238.
18. See Boediardjo, "Wayang: Aspirations of the Javanese," in Haryati Soebadio and Carine A. du Marchie Sarvaas, *Dynamics of Indonesian History* (Amsterdam-New York-Oxford: North Holland Publishing Company, 1978), 100. There have been many books and writings that discuss various aspects of wayang, for example P.J. Zoetmulder, "The Wajang as a Philosophical Theme," *Indonesia* 12, 1971; R. Hardjowirogo, *Sedjarah Wajang Purwa* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1952); Benedict R.O.G. Anderson, *Mythology and Tolerance of the Javanese* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1965); Moebirman, *Wayang Purwa the Shadow Play of Indonesia* (Jakarta: Yayasan Pelita Wisata, 1973).
19. Zoetmulder's in-depth study was contained in his dissertation (1935). This dissertation had been published and translated into Indonesian entitled *Manunggaling Kawula Gusti:*

- Pantheisme dan Monisme dalam Sastra Suluk Jawa* (Jakarta: KITLV-LIPI-Gramedia, 1990); see also Koentjaraningrat, *Kebudayaan Jawa*, 316-317.
20. Koentjaraningrat, *Kebudayaan Jawa*, 317.
 21. This book became Soebardi's main source of writing, both in the journal *Indonesia* (1969) published by Cornell University, Ithaca, United States of America, as well as in his dissertation which was later published as *The Book of Cabolek* by Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, Netherlands (1975).
 22. This book was republished in 1986 by the Indonesian and Regional Literature Book Publishing Project, Ministry of Education and Culture, with the title *Tus Pajang, Penget lan Lelampahanipun Swargi R. Ng. Jasadipura I*.
 23. See M.C. Ricklefs, "The Yasadipura Problem," *BKI* 153-II, 1997, 274.
 24. Soebardi, "Raden Ngabehi Yasadipura I," 82. Regarding Yasadipura's birthday, Ricklefs made a very interesting critical note, which doubted the accuracy of the information mentioned in the *Tus Pajang* book. Look, M.C. Ricklefs, "The Yasadipura Problem," 274.
 25. Ricklefs wrote that the initiative to send Bagus Banjar to a pesantren in Kedu came from Kiai Anggamaya. See Ricklefs, "The Yasadipura Problem," 274.
 26. Ricklefs, "The Yasadipura Problem," 275.
 27. Soebardi, "Raden Ngabehi Jasadipura I," 82.
 28. Soebardi, "Raden Ngabehi Jasadipura I," 84. Like the date of his birth, Ricklefs also found an inaccuracy in the mention of Yasadipura's death year. According to Ricklefs, the year of Yasadipura's death should have been Wawu 1729 TJ. See Ricklefs, "The Yasadipura Problem," 275.
 29. Ricklefs, "The Yasadipura Problem," 276-282.
 30. In *Tus Pajang* it is stated, "*bok-manawi taksih kathah malih panunggilanipun serat-serat damelan Yasadipura I, namung dumugi sapriki taksih kasilep, dereng konangan ing akathah*" (There may be many more treatises written by Yasadipura I, but so far they have not been found and known to the audience). See Ricklefs, "The Yasadipura Problem," 277; also S. Margana, *Pujangga Jawa dan Bayang-bayang Kolonial* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2004), 151.
 31. Poerbatjaraka and Tardjan Hadidjaja, *Kepustakaan Jawa* (Jakarta: Djambatan, 1957), 150-151.
 32. Ricklefs, "The Yasadipura Problem," 280; Margana, *Pujangga Jawa*, 150.
 33. Jajat Burhanuddin, "Tradisi Keilmuan dan Intelektual," in Taufik Abdullah (ed.), *Ensiklopedi Tematik Dunia Islam: Islam di Asia Tenggara* (Jakarta: Ichtar Baru-van Hoeve, 2002), 167.
 34. Words or terms of Tasawuf or Sufism and Sufi are not found in the *Cabolek* text at all. Likewise in other texts from Java. the term commonly used is Ilmu Hak or Ilmu Hakikat. Both actually have the same meaning as Sufism, which is different from Shari'a.
 35. Zainul Milal Bizawie, a researcher on Kiai Ahmad Mutamakin, believes that this figure died around the 1740s at the age of 90. If this assumption is correct, then when the court events in Kartasura took place in 1731, Kiai Mutamakin was already over 80 years old. See Zainul Milal Bizawie, *Perlawanan Kultural Agama Rakyat, Pemikiran dan Paham Keagamaan Syekh Ahmad al-Mutamakkin dalam Pergumulan Islam dan Tradisi* (Yogyakarta: Samha-Keris Foundation, 2002), 109. Using the Kajen Text and the book *Arsy al-Muwahhidin* which is believed to be the work of Kiai Mutamakin as sources, Zainul Milal provides an overview of this charismatic cleric from the north coast of Java that is completely different from that narrated in *Serat Cabolek*.
 36. See Kuntowijoyo, "Serat Cebilek dan Mitos Pembangkangan Islam: Melacak Asal-usul Ketegangan antara Islam dan Birokrasi" in *Paradigma Islam* (Bandung: Mizan, 1991), 123-130.
 37. Burhanuddin, "Tradisi Keilmuan dan Intelektual," 169-170.

38. Burhanuddin, "Tradisi Keilmuan dan Intelektual," 170.
39. Poerbatjaraka's manuscript of "Dewa Roetji" published by a magazine, or rather a kind of journal, *Java XX*, 1940.
40. See Th. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, vol. I, 200.
41. See A. Seno Sastroamidjojo, *Tjeritera Dewa Rutji dengan Arti Filsafatnya* (Jakarta: Kinta, 1967), 2. Perhaps what Sastroamidjojo meant by the popularity of Dewaruci's story during the Kartasura era was the inclusion of a fragment of Bima's meeting with Dewaruci in *Serat Cabolek*. *Serat Cabolek*, as mentioned above, is a treatise that describes the trial of Kiai Ahmad Mutamakkin who was accused of teaching heterodox Sufism to the commoners. The historical setting of this court occurred when Pakubuwana II reigned in Kartasura. Although deemed guilty, Mutamakkin was released, because he received pardon from the king.
42. Purwadi, *Penghayatan Keagamaan Orang Jawa: Refleksi atas Religiositas Serat Bima-suci* (Yogyakarta: Media Pressindo, 2002), 15.
43. Adhikara, *Unio Mystica Bima* (Bandung: Penerbit ITB, 1984), 7a.
44. Soebardi, "Raden Ngabehi Jasadipura I," 88-89.
45. See also, S. Margana, *Pujangga Jawa*, 152.

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