

STUDIA ISLAMIKA

INDONESIAN JOURNAL FOR ISLAMIC STUDIES

Volume I, Number 2, 1994



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STUDIA ISLAMIKA (ISSN 0215-0492) is a Journal published quarterly by *Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN, The State Institute for Islamic Studies)* Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, (STT DEPPEN No. 129/SK/DITJEN/PPG/STT/1976) and sponsored by the Department of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. It specializes in Indonesian Islamic studies, and is intended to communicate original researches and current issues on the subject. This journal warmly welcomes contributions from scholars of related disciplines. All articles published do not necessarily represent the views of the journal, or other institutions to which it is affiliated. They are solely the views of the authors.

A Javanese Response to Islamic Identity

Moh. Ardani, "Konsep Sembah dan Budi Luhur dalam Pemikiran Mangkunegara IV Surakarta Ditinjau dari Pandangan Islam" (PhD. Dissertation, IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, 1988).

Abstraksi: *Disertasi ini merupakan studi sejarah pemikiran Jawa abad 19. Fokus analisisnya berkisar pada pemikiran keagamaan dan etika (sembah dan budiluhur) yang terkandung dalam serat piwulang. Serat ini sendiri merupakan salah satu bagian dari ragam tulisan yang termuat dalam kitab Wedatama. Kitab ini ditulis Mangkunegara IV dari Surakarta, yang merupakan salah satu raja besar dari keraton Mangunegaran, Surakarta.*

Ajaran sembah menguraikan tata cara serta syarat-syarat melakukan kehidupan beragama. Sementara itu, ajaran budiluhur merupakan kumpulan nasehat-nasehat praktis mengenai tata cara bertingkah laku dalam kehidupan keluarga, sosial, dan negara. Penulis disertasi ini melihat, kedua ajaran ini sangat dekat dengan ajaran Islam. Menurut dia, ajaran sembah merupakan terjemahan dari konsep Islam mengenai 'ibâdah, sementara budiluhur tidak lain adalah penjabaran dari konsep akhlâq dalam Islam. Kesimpulan ini dirumuskan melalui kajian perbandingan antara isi serat piwulang dengan konsep-konsep tertentu yang ada dalam tradisi Islam.

Review atas tesis yang dikemukakan disertasi ini akan mengemukakan beberapa persoalan menyangkut isi, metodologi, serta kemungkinan lain yang baru sedikit disentuh oleh disertasi. Review ini juga berusaha memberikan bandingan antara kitab Wedatama dengan kitab-kitab lain sehubungan dengan karakter khusus yang dikandung Wedatama.

ملخص

هذا الموضوع يقدم ملخصا لاطروحة تقدم بها الدكتور أرداني للحصول على الدكتوراه وهي في تاريخ الفكر الجاوي في القرن التاسع عشر . وتركز الاطروحة بصفة خاصة على الفكر الديني والاخلاقي (سيمباه دان بودى لوهور) الذي تحتويه رسالة التعاليم التي هي جزء من أنماط الادب الموجود في كتاب "ويداتاما" لكتابه مانجكونيجارا الرابع وهو احد كبار ملوك البلاط الجاوي في سوراكارتا .

فتعاليم "سيمباه" تكشف عن حياة التدين ، مبادئها وشروطها، بينما تحتوى تعاليم بودى لوهور على مجموعة نصائح عملية فى سلوك الانسان فى حياته الاسرية والاجتماعية والسياسية . ويرى كاتب الاطروحة ان هذا الفكر الديني والاخلاقي مشابه لتعاليم الاسلام . فتعاليم "سيمباه" انما هى ترجمة للتصور الاسلامى للعبادة ، اما تعاليم "بودى لوهور" ليست الا تطبيقا للتصور الاسلامى للاخلاق الفاضلة . وقد توصل الكاتب الى هذا الاستنتاج عن طريق الدراسة المقارنة بين محتويات رسالة "ويداتاما" والتصورات المحددة الموجودة فى تعاليم الاسلام التقليدية .

فما تعرضه هذه الاطروحة يتناول بعض الامور المتعلقة بالجواهر والمنهج والاحتمالات الاخبرى التي قلما تخوض فيها الاطروحات الموجودة . وتحاول الاطروحة كذلك ان تعرض مقارنة بين رسالة ويداتاما وغيرها من المؤلفات ذات الصلة بالخصائص التي تحتويها الرسالة .

The intention of writing a dissertation is to provide its readers with a comprehensive analysis of intricate data. Although it is imperative, providing a coherent analysis is not an easy task. From the beginning, the author is faced with the obscure and baffling phenomena of the item being studied. Having gathered the data, he is forced to decide how this data should be constructed. In the final step, writing, he is also obliged to consider his target readers to whom his writing is devoted. Forgetting one of these considerations will result in the failure of the whole work.

Such problems are likely to be faced by all writers, unexceptionally the author of the dissertation, *Konsep Sembah dan Budiluhur dalam Pemikiran Mangkunegara IV Surakarta Ditinjau dari Pandangan Islam* (An Islamic Investigation of the Concepts of Worship and Ethics of Mangkunegara IV of Surakarta). However, this dissertation seems to carry more burdens in solving these problems than others. The over-burdening of this dissertation relates to at least three main items. The first is concerned with the risks of choosing the topic of study; the second, the method involved in the analysis of the data; and the third, the intention of the author in writing the whole material as a coherent analysis. These three problems relate to each other and become the burden of the whole process of writing.

The dissertation of *Konsep Sembah dan Budiluhur* centers around the analysis of religious and ethical thoughts contained in the book *Wedatama*. This book is a historical text of nineteenth century Javanese culture written by a Javanese king (See especially chapter I).¹ He, Mangkunegara IV, is known as one of the greatest figures in the history of Javanese kingdoms. He was in power during the second half of the nineteenth century. Under his hand, the kingdom of Mangkunegaran enlarged its influence over the other older and larger Javanese kingdoms of Kasunanan and Kasultanan. As historical records indicate, the Mangkunegara kingdom was established in 1757 as a result of an internal conflict between the army commander of the Kasunanan kingdom and the king. After violent rebellion, the king was forced to have entitled the commander with an appanage, which later becomes an independent kingdom. This becomes known as Mangkunegaran, its king being called Mangkunegara.

Mangkunegara IV was the fourth king of the Mangkunegaran kingdom. As it was just a small power over-shadowed by the two bigger kingdoms, it was a challenge for Mangkunegara IV to maintain its independence. Historical records note that he not only made the kingdom independent but also gained power over the two kingdoms. Through a series of cooperation with the Dutch colonial power, Mangkunegara IV was able on the one hand to empower his position and on the other hand to strengthen his kingdom. On the basis of this cooperation, the always continuously threatening neighboring kingdoms were domesticated and economic as well as political facilities can be generated from the rich Dutch colonial.² This political success was one of Mangkunegara IV's most distinctive achievements recorded in the history of Javanese kingdoms.

The dissertation, however, does not deal with the distinctive political achievements of Mangkunegara IV. Instead it focuses on another side of Mangkunegara IV as an intellectual or thinker, for he was also one of the prominent figures in the history of Javanese culture and thought. He was a contemporary of the well-known Javanese philosopher Ranggawarsita of the Kasunanan kingdom. His period is regarded by G.J.W. Drewes as the *renaissance* of modern Javanese letters, which commenced from around the eighteenth century.³ During these centuries, Javanese society produced highly valuable works on literature, religion, philosophy, politics and so forth. By the time of the death of Mangkunegara IV, the Javanese cultural *renaissance* had reached its end and after that Javanese society no longer produced monumental work comparable to those produced at the time of the *renaissance*.

The *Wedatama* consists of writings on many themes: religion, politics, marriage and other topics. *Wedatama* is written in the form of a poem and is regarded as the advice of a king to his people. The dissertation itself does not deal with the whole of the teachings contained in the book, it confines the investigation to two aspects: the religious and social ethics codified in the *Serat Piwulang*. The teaching of religion is found in Mangkunegara IV's writing of *sembah*, which in general formulizes the means and meaning of the relationship between man and God. Meanwhile, the teaching of social ethics is covered in his *budiluhur* work, which literally means "refined behavior". This teaching is quite

general and normative, such as is found in other normative teachings on social ethics.

To choose the topics of the *sembah* and *budiluhur* for a dissertation is a breakthrough in Indonesian intellectual discourses. Until recently, writings on this topic were dominated by Dutch scholars, who were historically and politically greatly concerned with indigenous Indonesian thought. Meanwhile, a thorough exploration was not undertaken by indigenous intellectuals until Indonesia gained its independence. Of course it is to be expected that the position of the author of this dissertation, which is different from that of the Dutch scholars, will provide another insight into the way of looking at Javanese culture. Such an expectation is reasonable, even though the author seems unable to avoid relying on sources written by Dutch intellectuals.

The expectation of a distinct insight from an indigenous view could be affirmed as the dissertation itself particularly focuses on religious and ethical thoughts. There are some similarities between the author of the dissertation and the author of the *Wedatama*. The first similarity is that they are both Muslims, while the second is that they have similar cultural roots, i.e. Javanese traditions. The position of the author of the dissertation is therefore favorable for understanding the phenomena of a Javanese view of Islam and of being Muslim. As Javanese society constitutes one of the remotest Muslim societies in the world, it can be assumed that it may offer a different view of Islam. As a consequence, in order to understand this view of Islam, one is not only required to master the knowledge of Islam as a religion, but also of Javanese culture as a specific entity.

Sufism and Javanese Mysticism

Although the necessary tools for understanding the *Wedatama* seem to be possessed by the author, the construction of his understanding is not without problems. To start from the same point is important, but it is not the only matter of importance. Such a standpoint has also to be accompanied by a critical evaluation which enables a researcher to distinguish himself from the initial object. If this critical evaluation cannot be maintained, the author will easily be absorbed into a form of extreme

"nativism". He will lose his opportunity to construct a comprehensive system of explanation because of his emotional involvement in the object of study. He will also be forced to hold a particular understanding, which he himself cannot control, because he has taken a stance beforehand. As a result, the analysis will be a mere repetition of the object and does not form a coherent whole.

In general, the whole dissertation is divided into two sections. The first part deals with the thought of Mangkunegara IV, which consists of the *sembah* and *budilubur*, while the second is concerned with the Islamic concepts of worship (*'ibâdah*) and ethics (*akhlâq*). The relationship between these two sections is rather obscure, since the first one is neither the condition nor the continuation of the other. One appears to stand alone and does not correlate to the following topics. If the latter is connected, it serves as a comparison or a justification of the first. The same problem also occurs in the first section of the dissertation. The relationship between the teachings of the *sembah* and *budilubur* do not always concur with each other and some points even contradict each other. Without a sufficient analysis, the whole description is difficult to understand.

In discovering the meaning of the text, the author uses certain Islamic texts as his tool of comparison. This method proves its strength in the understanding of the concept of *sembah*, since it has much in common with a well-known Islamic mystical concept found in the Islamic tradition. The teaching of *sembah* is described as a series of religious journeys towards the union with God. The teaching is divided into four main stages, each of which constitutes a different level and quality of religious understanding. The four kinds of *sembah* consist of *sembah raga*, *sembah cipta*, *sembah jiwa* and *sembah rasa*. Such stages of religious journeys are common in the Islamic tradition, in which the usual terms employed are *sharî'ah*, *tariqah*, *haqîqah* and *ma`rifah*. Although the author does not juxtapose these two models of mystical journeys, he still tends to explain the first in terms of the latter. His rejection is simply based on the fact that the latter is more religiously sophisticated than the first model.

Sembah literally means the way of conducting a relationship with God. Therefore, the four kinds of *sembah* describe different stages in conducting this relationship. *Sembah raga*, physical worship, is said to be undertaken continuously five times a day by

using water as the means of purification. The dissertation states that the insistence on physical obedience means daily prayer which should be conducted continuously five times a day by using water as the means of ablution (p. 69). The so-called *sembah raga* emphasizes the physical and legal aspects of religion. It forms the foundation for the next religious journey of *sembah cipta*. *Sembah cipta* is also called *sembah kalbu* or worship by the heart, which emphasizes the control of carnal desires. It is explained that the role of water as a means of purification is not utilized in this kind of *sembah*. The purification of the *sembah cipta* is manifested by serious and consistent efforts to gain religious consciousness through ascetism or self-control against lust or passion. This is a higher degree of religious training compared to the former *sembah*, which only focuses on the physical aspects of discipline. The author equates this *sembah* with al Ghazâlî's theory of *tahârah* (p. 87),⁴ which involves eliminating all inappropriate behaviors and sin from the mind, body and heart.

The third kind of *sembah* is *sembah jiwa* or worship by the soul. Compared to the previous types of *sembah*, *sembah jiwa* is a higher stage of religious journey. It demands the capability of an adherent to unify the reality of the self (*microcosm*) and the reality of the universe (*macrocosm*). The means of purification is not water nor control of carnal desires, but remembering the presence of God in this earthly life (*dhikr*). One has to remember the existence of the self and the continuous presence of God in one's life at all times. In so doing, one has to do *dhikr* in order to reach a certain condition in which the consciousness of the self as a distinct reality fuses to the ultimate reality. One who has successfully reached this level is assumed to have passed the previous stages of *sembah*. According to the author, such a condition is called annihilation (*fanâ'*), one of the most important stages in the mystical journeys (pp. 113-8).

The condition of annihilation, it is stated, cannot be separated from the following condition of *baqâ'*, in which man as the servant of God experiences a mystical union in the realm of the Master, God. The condition of *baqâ'* constitutes the final *sembah* teaching, that of *sembah rasa* or worship by feeling. According to the *Wedatama*, he who has achieved such an experience deserves the secret knowledge of the reality of existence. Such a mystical union,

however, cannot be understood as a kind of monism, in which the existences of man and God fuse together.⁵ The *Wedatama* itself warns that in this union, the existence of man is still distinct from that of God. The meaning of union is rather one's achievement of receiving a blessing from God as a result of one's struggle to always be close with Him. Rather than an existential union, the *Wedatama* seems to view the union as a mystical experience.

Based on this comparative method, it is evident that the teaching of *sembah* very much resembles the four stages of the Islamic mystical journeys. It can be assumed that the teaching of *sembah* is a replica of that which is found in the Islamic tradition. The *sembah* doctrine also constitutes an explanation of the stages of religious qualities. It draws the features of those qualities and shows the way, requirements and techniques for the achievement of such goals. It is likely that such a religious theory is not unusual among the Javanese. Other Javanese texts written prior to and after the *Wedatama*, such as *Cabolèk*, *Centhini*, or *Hidayat Jati*,⁶ also show the same inclination. The difference between the *Wedatama* and these other books is that the first tends to adopt the *akhlâqî* model of mystical Islam, while the latter follows the *falsafî* model of a mystical path. The fundamental difference between these two models lies in the meaning of the final stage of *ma`rifah* or *sembah rasa* in the *Wedatama* version. According to the *akhlâqî* model, which come before the *Wedatama*, *ma`rifah* does not mean the condition of an existential union between God and man, while the *falsafî* model insists that the union means the fusing existence between the Master and the servant. However, these two mystical concepts both have their roots in the works of Ibn `Arabi.⁷

Unfortunately, the dissertation does not explore in any detail the content of the *Wedatama* in relation to other books. It merely insists that the teaching of the *sembah* of Mangkunegara IV is different from other Javanese religious texts. For instance, it does not question of why the teaching of *Wedatama* is different from other Javanese texts. Why does *Wedatama* adopt the *akhlâqî* model of mystical Islam and not the *falsafî* one adopted by other Javanese books. Above all, what is the meaning of the *Wedatama* in the Javanese context? To answer such questions one needs to proceed the analysis beyond a comparative method. Such answers can only be found by placing the *Wedatama* in the context of the whole

system of Javanese culture, especially that which correlates to the religious domain. The following analysis attempts to provide some possibilities regarding the place of *Wedatama* in Javanese religious thought.

Religion in Javanese Culture

Except for the teachings of the *sembah*, all the contents of the *Wedatama* are formulized in everyday language. In comparison with other books, *Wedatama* is easier to understand even if it is read by common people. The fact that the contents are written in the form of a poem and are arranged in terms of a song (*tembang*), makes it easier for people to memorize and transfer the initial knowledge to others. This might be why its contents are more popular than the contents of other Javanese texts. However, since the contents are practical the relationship between one idea and others is not easy to investigate. It often appears that each form of teaching stands apart from the others. Within the teachings of *sembah*, for instance, the book places ascetism as a necessary condition for gaining knowledge and enabling one to become closer to God. God is described as the final and highest reality towards whom all aims of life should be directed. Meanwhile, the teachings of the *budiluhur* indicate a contrasting view on different matters. It explains how the positions of society, state and king are higher than religious institutions. Moreover, social interest, personal status, state and king are given top priority above anything else.

The teachings of the *budiluhur* cover advice on personal, family and ethical affairs. On the one hand, the teaching is universal and on the other it reflects a Javanese view on its topics. As normative advice, the work advocates universal values such as honesty, bravery, harmony, tolerance, humbleness and so on. These characteristics form the ideal basic layer for personal as well as social lives. Despite this, as a Javanese cultural reflection, the work also has certain specifications. From a sociological point of view, the role of society as a decisive agent of norms seems to be dominant in the Javanese culture. The position of individuals is shaped and determined by the existence of society. According to the book, all kinds of social interests have to be prioritized at the

expense of individuals. This concept is described in terms of ideal and non-ideal patterns of behavior contained in the book. Apart from universal values, the book, for example, maintains that an ideal behavior is basically one which is intended to preserve social harmony through the admiration of public interests. Contrary to the ideal, the book describes non-ideal norms by featuring their characteristics such as selfishness, egoism and intolerant (pp. 178-187).

These standards are also applied to the religious modes of behavior. The book evidently notes its dissimilarity to people who publicly teach the doctrine of secret knowledge (*ngelmu bathin*). This kind of knowledge is regarded as more appropriate to be taught to those who already possess a higher religious understanding and is not to be taught to laymen (p. 81).⁸ The latter do not possess any foundation of understanding of such knowledge so the work can only confuse them. On other occasions, the book also criticizes the tendency of some legal-minded people who are portrayed as only showing off their devotion without understanding the real essence of religion. These kind of people are considered to act on the basis of their own interests, without attention to the interests of others (p. 172). Therefore the existence of society not only determines individuals behavior but also creates a set of public ethics.

Apart from social considerations, state interests seem to play an important role in organizing individual as well as social lives. In his advice to state officials and the army, Mangkunegara IV emphasizes the need for every citizen to be ready to sacrifice or to put aside their own interests in order to fulfill the duty from their state. The state is regarded as an institution that provides and maintains individuals by fulfilling all their demands. The existence of individuals and society means nothing without protection from the state. In return, therefore, people have to work for the state in order to repay this debt (pp. 218-9).⁹

The book also describes how state officials and the army should work in order to fulfill their duties. The important thing to bear in mind, it states, is that all officials have to obey their superiors and do what they order. This advice is based on the understanding that superiors are the apparatus of the state and the king. However, the intention of this advice not only pertains to the

mechanism of work in the Javanese kingdom, but also reflects the king's own position. Since the king occupies the highest position in the state hierarchy, he himself is then the representative of the state. The king is not determined by the state, because he is the state and what comes from him will be officially recognized as in the state's interests (pp. 229-30). The terms "state" and "king" in the book are therefore interchangeable. The juxtaposition of the king and the state clearly indicates the power of the king over the life of his people.

His power was not only restricted in social and political affairs, it also embraced religious life. As it is said, the king was the *khalifah* (vicegerent) of God, who is responsible for the salvation of his people. Such a theory was common to Javanese politics since the kingdom of Mataram, in which the use of the term *khalifatullah* (the vicegerent of God) as the title of the king was introduced by the king Sultan Agung.¹⁰ He was permitted by the authority of Mecca to use this title and thereafter the title of *khalifatullah* (*khalifah Allâh*) was used by his successors. The title indicates that the king occupies the highest position in religious matters. He represents the power of God among his people. Although the Javanese king also establishes a special position for religious officials, in practice he still holds the highest position in the religious hierarchy. This means that the position of 'ulamâ' in Javanese culture is subordinated by the position of the king. By definition, the Javanese king constitutes the highest religious power, individual as well as in social matters.

The orientation of earthly life in the concept of *budiluhur* contradicts that of the concept of *sembah*. While the latter prioritizes spiritual and religious lives, the former tends to value the position of the king and the state as the ultimate devotion of life. The last notion is common to the Javanese concept of power, which in a way is constrained in the face of certain religious orientations. Such constraints are not alien in the history of Islam in Indonesia and are even expressed by the *Wedatama* itself. In his advice on religious obligation, Mangkunegara IV notes:

If you force yourself to come along
with the Prophet's deeds
O son, too far your step

you will not stand on that
 as you are a Javanese
 a little is enough
 not because of pride
 you strive to follow all rules
 should you be able to do it, you will indeed be blessed (p.
 174).¹¹

The insistence on the Javanese identity reveals a reserve to the legal-oriented model of religious belief. This notion is also evident in his own confession of his religious life. He says that when he was a teenager, he studied religion with the 'ulamâ' for many years. He was greatly concerned to practice religious knowledge even before he entered his duty. However, every time he wished to pursue his religious obligations, his duty made it impossible so that he left daily prayers in order to prioritize his duty. This confession provides an example of how Javanese culture causes religion to be adjusted to fit the whole system of values. Religion does not constitute an all determining values; instead it is undermined by the power of the king, as expressed by the *Wedatama* that "religion is the amulet of the king".¹² Within the Javanese cosmological view, the king is not only a Master of his people, but he also represents the power of God among them. This concept very much resembles the concept of king and kingdom in the Hindu tradition.¹³ This concept indicates a mystical inclination in the Javanese idea of power and it is possible that because of this the mystical aspects of Islam are better-suited than the legal aspects of this religion.

Older Javanese texts indicate that the coming of Islam to Java was not without conflict. In particular in terms of religious orientation, Javanese texts and popular legends represent a conflict between what might be called Javanese mystic and legal oriented Islam.¹⁴ This conflict is often portrayed in the form of tragedy and satire. The text of *Suluk Malang Sumirang* tells the story of Sunan Punggung who holds mystical views and is punished by being burned to death. The book of *Centhini* tells the same story about Shaykh Among Raga who was drowned in the South Ocean as his death penalty. Meanwhile, the book of *Cabolèk* cynically narrates the shortcomings of Haji Mutamakin, an adherent of mystical

knowledge, in comparison with Ketib Anom, a follower of legal-oriented Islam.

In all these stories the victims are the adherents of, in Javanese terms, *ngelmu bathin* (secret knowledge). This knowledge basically refers to the science of the existential union between man and God as the real essence of religion. It does not acknowledge the legal aspects of Islam as the true science of religion and even at times neglects the legal rules of Islam. It seems that in Javanese history, and also in the history of Islam, this kind of knowledge always conflicts with the legal oriented knowledge. However, these texts do not blame such knowledge to be practiced; the important point for the Javanese people to bear in mind is that it is only appropriate to be held by people of knowledge, including the king himself.

In the Islamic tradition, the conflict between mystical and legal oriented Islam finds its reconciliation in the works of al Ghazâlî in the so-called concept of *tasawwuf akhlâqî*. His works acknowledge the importance of both the mystical and the legal aspects of Islam. The legal aspects are viewed as the conditions for gaining spiritual experience. The latter is considered to be the higher and advanced quality of religious experience. As a consequence, one has to master and practice the legal aspects of Islam first before arriving at mystical understanding. Different from the teachings of existential union, al Ghazâlî's theory still differentiates the existence of man from God, thus the religious legal obligation can be affirmed.

The book *Wedatama* adopts this model of mystical views. It may be intended as a form of reconciliation of the conflict between mystical union doctrine and legal teaching that has been so acute in Javanese society. The fact that the book was written later than other influential Javanese texts further implies this hypothesis. On the one hand the book acknowledges the existence of a legal oriented Islam and on the other hand it also affirms the Javanese mystical style. As historical records show, during the second half of nineteenth century, many Javanese went to *hajj* (pilgrimage) and these *hajj* returnees showed a strong tendency towards the legal aspects of Islam. It is likely that during this time the position of Muslim in Java was becoming stronger. In this context, the *Wedatama* may also be a kind of compromise towards Islamic political power. Seen from this angle, the different religious notion of the *Wedatama* covered to other Javanese texts is understandable.

Moreover, the internal conflict of orientation within the book itself is also reasonable.

Is the *Wedatama* an Islamic teaching?

The dissertation does not attempt to investigate these possibilities. It prefers to compare each teaching with the doctrines found in the Islamic tradition. The second part of the dissertation sets out the meaning of worship (*'ibâdah*) in Islam, which is divided into two kinds. The first is called pure worship (*'ibâdah mahdah*) such as daily prayer (*salâh*), fasting in the month of Ramadân (*sawm*), the giving of alms (*zakât*) and pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*). The second category of *'ibâdah* covers every behavior of Muslim conducted within Islamic laws (*shari'ah*). In his analysis the author describes the connection between pure worship (*'ibâdah mahdah*) and social ethics (*akhlâq*). According to his point of view, Islamic concepts maintain that although the *'ibâdah* constitutes the relationship between God and mankind, it also has certain implications for people's behavior and moral consciousness.

The author goes on to explain the relationship between *'ibâdah mahdah* and the building of people's characters. He states that the activity of *salâh* will bring people to a condition of peace, brotherhood and tolerance. It also strengthens feelings of contention, and purifies thoughts and deeds of sin. The giving of alms is also said to train one to be generous, contented, equal and warmly-hearted. Meanwhile, by conducting pilgrimage, one will also be trained to always maintain one's self from negative behaviors as this is the requirement for the pilgrim to become blessed (pp. 367-77). This description clearly constitutes the ideal side of *'ibâdah*, which is not always necessarily undertaken in that way. The reality can also reveal the different effects of *'ibâdah mahdah* which do not concur with what the author believes.

In the conclusion the author declares that *'ibâdah* and *akhlâq* are the essence of Islamic teachings. The first sets out the relationship between man and God, while the latter details the relationship between fellow human beings. Finally, the author concludes that the teaching of *sembah* in the *Wedatama* is the translation of *'ibâdah* in the Islamic tradition, while the teaching of *budiluhur* is similar to that of the teaching of *akhlâq* in Islam. This

conclusion can at least help to reveal the intention of the author in writing his dissertation. It seems that he prefers to compare the contents of the book with certain Islamic teachings rather than understand the book as a manifestation of a Javanese religious historical text. This intention however, seems to cause some unexpected consequences within the analysis of the book.

The most obvious consequence, which may not be intentional on the part of author, is that he has been forced to merely rephrase the contents of the book in the light of his own understanding of Islam. At almost every description of the text, he loosely uncovers its meaning by using particular concepts from the tradition of Islam, which historically and culturally are indirectly related to the text. He appears to neglect other relevant texts that might provide clues to gain a deeper understanding and enable him to reconstruct the whole of the contents. In spite of this, the author is also unable to represent the diversity of Islamic concepts concerned with *'ibâdah* and *akhlâq*. He merely takes for granted certain opinions in the Islamic tradition and regards these opinions as if they represent the real Islam. Judging the opinions contained in the *Wedatama* as Islamic seems hard to prove, since the Javanese nuance and identity are left uncovered. One needs to specify the meaning of "Islamic" as well as to uncover the meaning of certain practices in order to be able to compare or judge these practices. This is not an easy task since the history of Islam itself has produced diverse understanding of the meaning of Islam.

In terms of information, however, this dissertation is worth investigating. It represents a different voice of Islam in the midst of the domination of Middle Eastern-centered models of Islamic thought. The position of Javanese Muslims, which has yet to be drawn into the Muslim world map, is represented by the voice of a Javanese Muslim himself. The author's ability to gather data is excellent, since this data is spread throughout libraries in the world and are often found in personal collections. His patience is further affirmed by the fact that he has proved his capability to translate and convey this data, which is written in nineteenth century language and style, into the present context. For its readers, data on the characteristics of Javanese religious thought presented in this dissertation has to be invaluable. This description may provide an example of the situation of Islam in an area where other systems of

cultural and religious knowledge are also strongly influential. For the Javanese themselves, and for Indonesians in general, this dissertation may act as a self-representation and also as a self-affirmation for being Muslim. ❁

Endnotes:

1. There is a disagreement concerning the author of the book. Some people are of the opinion that the author of the *Wedatama* was not only Mangkunegara IV. This opinion is based on comparisons between the *Wedatama* and other works written by him. Most of Mangkunegara IV's works, it said, consist of practical knowledge, while the content of the *Wedatama* is more philosophical. However, the author of the dissertation prefers to compare the book with other Javanese religious texts, the contents of the *Wedatama* being very different from the contents of these texts such as *Hidayat Jati*, *Centhini*, or *Cabolèk*. Based on his research and hence this dissertation, he proves that the *Wedatama* was written by Mangkunegara IV.
2. Mangkunegara IV was the only Javanese king who received facilities from the Dutch colonial power in order to create his own army regiment. This regiment was the strongest armed force in the Javanese kingdoms at the time and was often used by the Dutch to face rebellions by the indigenous. In economic terms, Mangkunegara IV also enjoying close cooperation with the Dutch, whereby he was able to introduce a modern system of plantations, particularly sugar plantations. For these reasons, although the Mangkunegaran kingdom was not the largest in Java, it was the strongest and most prosperous kingdom.
3. See Simuh, *Mistik Islam Kejawen Raden Ngabehi Ranggawarsita*, (Jakarta: UI Press, 1988), p. 25.
4. *Tabârah* itself means cleansing. Al Ghazâlî's theory of *tabârah* describes stages of attaining a state of cleanliness. The author equates the second and third stages of *tabârah* in al Ghazâlî's theory with the concept of *sembah cipta* in the *Wedatama*.
5. On Javanese monism and pantheism, see P.J. Zoetmulder, *Manunggaling Kawulo Gusti*, (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1991).
6. The book of *Cabolèk* is connected to Yasadipura I as its author, although some opinions also point to Yasadipura II as its author. For more detail information, see Soebardi *The Book of Cabolèk*, (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975). *Hidayat Jati* is one of Ranggawarsita's works consisting of *suluk* (songs) about Javanese Islamic mysticism. Meanwhile, *Centhini* is believed to be the most valuable work on the topic; it was written by Yasadipura II, Ranggasutrasna and Sastradipura, and is regarded as an encyclopedia of Javanese mystical knowledge. See Simuh, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
7. The author uses the terms "sunni model" and "philosophical model" of mystical Islam to distinguish the different orientations in the *Wedatama* and other Javanese texts. However, the usage of these terms is not appropriate,

since the "sunni model" could be philosophical and vice versa. Moreover, since the two theories of religious journeys originate in the works of Ibn `Arabî, both models are sunnis, because Ibn `Arabî himself was a sunni. The common opposite to the term "sunni" in Islamic studies is "shi`ah".

8. The Javanese text says,
*Ing nguni-uni durung
 sinarawung wulang kang sinerung
 lagi iki bangsa kas ngetokken anggít
 mintokken kawignyanipun
 saréngaté élok-élok.*
 (In the past,
 no secret knowledge was publicly taught.
 It is only recently that people showed off their talent
 proclaiming an unusual shari`ah).
9. The text says,
*Marma den sumurup sira
 mring sih kamulening gusti
 benjang yen tunuduh sira
 lumawan ngdoni jurit
 yeku karyanta yekti
 pangudangireng gustimu
 kono aja pepeka
 den madep marang sawiji
 nanging cipta sedyakna males mring praja.*
 (You should acknowledge
 the generosity of the king
 if you are obliged to come to a war
 the real duty of yours
 the wish of your king
 do not be careless
 bear in mind
 you are repaying your debt to the state).
10. Simuh, *op. cit.*, p. 13. Regarding the relationship between the king and the `ulamâ', see Peter Carey, "Satria and Santri" in T. Ibrahim Alfian et al. (ed), *Dari Babad dan Hikayat sampai Sejarah Kritis*, (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1987).
11. The original Javanese text is as follows,
*Lamun sira paksa nulad
 tuladaning Kanjeng Nabi
 o, nggèr kadoban panjangkah
 watekè tan betah kaki
 réhnè ta sira Jawi
 setitik bae wus cukup
 aywa guru aleman
 nélad kas ngeblegi pekih
 lamun pangkuh pangangkah yekti karahmat.*
12. "Agama ageming aji". The translation of the phrase follows Simuh's, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

13. See for example the work of Clifford Geertz, *Negara: The Theater State in Nineteenth-Century Bali*, (Princeton: University Press, 1980), especially the chapter on "Political Definition: The Source of Order".
14. An anthropological study of the conflict of the cultural orientations of Javanese society can be found in the work of Clifford Geertz, *Religion of Java*, (Glencoe: Free Press, 1960). For different information about the conflict and integration of Javanese religious orientations, see Mark Woodward, *Islam in Java*, (Tucson: Arizona University Press, 1989).

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