

SERAT CABOLEK, SUFISM BOOK OR IDEOLOGY DOCUMENTS OF JAVANESE PRIYAYI?

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Abstract

Many researches concern with the dialectic between Islam and tradition of Java. One of them is Soebardi studying Serat Cabolek, a manuscript that illustrated the dialectic between Islam and Javanese tradition in 18/19th century. Through philological studies Soebardi has produced a PhD thesis at The Australia National University (1967), and published in 1975 under title “The Book of Cabolek”. This book should be appreciated for having presented an important study on Islam and Java. Yet, it also needs to be studied more deeply through historical studies in order to obtain clearer information about the context. This article attempts to give a short review about the content of the book, and gives a critical explanation based on its socio-historical perspective. The result is that the story in Serat Cabolek is a construction of Javanese Priyayi on their history. It is an upscale historical document, to strengthen the king’s position as Panatagama.

Dialektika Islam dan tradisi Jawa menarik perhatian banyak peneliti. Salah satunya adalah Soebardi yang mengkaji Serat Cebolek, sebuah naskah yang dianggap menjadi gambaran dialektika Islam-Jawa abad 18/19 M. Melalui kajian filologis Soebardi menghasilkan karya disertasi di Australia National University tahun 1967, dan diterbitkan dengan judul “The Book of Cabolek” pada 1975. Buku ini patut diapresiasi karena telah menyajikan satu teks yang penting bagi studi Islam dan Jawa. Namun juga perlu ditelaah melalui penelusuran sejarah untuk memahami konteksnya agar informasi yang didapat lebih lengkap. Tulisan ini berusaha memberikan ikhtisar terhadap isi buku

tersebut dengan disertai penjelasan kritis berdasarkan perspektif sosio-historisnya. Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahwa kisah yang terdapat dalam Serat Cebolek merupakan konstruksi priyayi mengenai realitas sejarah. Serat ini adalah dokumen sejarah sosial kelas atas, sebagai simbol penegasan kepentingan raja sebagai panatagama.

Keywords: Serat Cabolek; Javanese Priyayi; Islam-Java

Introduction

The religious life of Javanese society is very interesting for researchers, political scientists, anthropologists and historians. Among them Geertz (1960: 160) presenting rich data about trichotomy of Javanese cultural roots: *abangan*, *santri*, and *priyayi*. Controversy arises, mainly due to the inclusion of *priyayi* into the “religion” element. Moreover, Hodgson (1997: 551) in *The Venture of Islam*, strongly argued “a major systematic error: influenced by the polemics of a certain school of modern Shari’ah minded Muslim, Geertz identifies Islam only with what that school of modernists happen to approve.” He also questioned Geertz’s methodological approach that tends to disregard historical processes.

Through the eyes of history, precisely Hodgson shows how the importance of sufism in the context of Islamic history in Java, including in the aristocratic environment, namely the Priyayi:

“...perhaps nowhere else in Islamdom did the earlier heroic legendary retain so active a religious valuation as in eastern Javanese aristocratic circles. When the Gentry adopted Islam, these traditions were woven into Sufism, which they enriched and endowed with a distinctively Javanese beauty” (Hodgson, 1997: 551).

A more positive view is given by the historian Azyumardi Azra showing the role of Sufi shaykhs in spreading Islam in the archipelago-including Java. Azra (2006: 119-147) explains that it was originally a syncretic-Sufism “by emphasizing continuity rather than change in local traditional belief and practices”. This condition is often considered contrary to the Shari’a. However, the later historical process shows the Neo-Sufi tendencies, that is an experiment to reconcile sufism with shariah.

The explanation of Ricklefs’ history is clearer. The presence of Islam to the land of Java in the early period did form a “mystic-synthesis”. The three pillars of the Islamic-Javanese mystic synthesis are: 1) the identification of Javanese as Muslim; 2) the implementation of five pillars of Islamic ritual life;

and 3) acceptance of the reality of local spirit forces such as Nyi Loro Ratu Kidul (Ricklefs, 2007: 6).

The inference of Ricklefs (2007: 2) proves with descriptions of manuscripts and ancient manuscripts of Java that confirm the teaching of orthodox Islamic mysticism. However, they tend to use Javanese terms for crucial concepts which means accommodating Islam within Javanese society as well as assimilating the culture within local Islam (Sumbulah, 2012).

Here it is interesting to participate in studying the ancient Javanese manuscripts, especially related to the Javanese view of life concerning Islam. One of the most comprehensive philological works on the ancient Javanese literature is *The Book of Cabolek*. At first was a dissertation at the Australian National University in 1967, proposed by S. Soebardi. The publishing was done eight years later, precisely in 1975 by *Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal, Land En Volkenkunde* and The Hague Martinus Nijhoff.

This book should be appreciated for presenting a text that is important for the study of Islam and Java. However, this book needs to be reviewed and continued with further research. It is necessary to do a historical search to understand the context, not only the issue of religious debate, but also the social structure. The task of the philologist is not simply to present the text edition of a manuscript after searching the history of the text, but also to interpret the text (Robson 1994: 11-13). In addition, it shows the significance in the proper context in order to be well understood by the reader (Fathurahman, 2015). This paper seeks to give an overview to the content of the book. It defines a critical explanation based on a socio-historical perspective to enrich the treasures of Islamic and Javanese studies.

Overview of *Serat Cabolek* by S. Soebardi

Broadly speaking, the work of S. Soebardi consists of three parts. First, about the introduction of *Serat Cabolek*. Second, on transliteration of manuscripts into Latin letters and translations into English, notes and bibliography. Third, it contains four attachments. In his foreword, Soebardi explains that his main purpose is to provide a critical publication of the Javanese literary text, *Serat Cabolek*. For example, who the author is, when it was written, what its content is, the purpose of writing and so forth. Soebardi asserts that the main purpose of this work is to give a critical edition of a Javanese text –*Serat Cabolek*– together with an introduction, an English translation of the text, and notes (Soebardi, 1975: 7).

Author of *Serat Cabolek* and Other Works

None of the existing *Serat Cabolek* texts show the author's name. In addition, there is no real clue as to the author of the manuscript. However, it is generally known in the Javanese society (the manuscript) as the work of the Kraton Surakarta poet called as Raden Ngabehi Yasadipura I.

According to Soebardi, the most important clue as the author's identity of *Serat Cabolek* is a note given on the title page of printed version published by Van Dorp in 1885 A.D. The notes are as follows: "*Punika serat anggitanipun abdi dalem bujangga kraton ing nagari Surakarta Adiningrat, nalika panjenengan dalem ingkang Sinuwun Paku Buwana kaping sekawan*" ("This is a text written by the poets in the kingdom of Surakarta Adiningrat, then the ruler is Sinuwun Paku Buwana the fourth"). People know that Paku Buwana IV, also known as Sunan Bagus, became ruler of the Kingdom of Surakarta in 1788 A.D. *Tus Pajang* said that R. Ng. Yasadipura I served as a poet during the reign of Paku Buwana III (1749-1788 A.D.) and Paku Buwana IV (1788-1820 A.D.). Under Paku Buwana III, the "devotion" of Yasadipura I was highly valued by the king. He was given the task of overseeing all literary activities in the palace (Soebardi, 1975: 20).

Raden Ngabei Yasadipura Tus Pajang or better known as Yasadipura I was born in 1729 AD. He is a great poet of the *Kasunanan Surakarta* who lived in the early days of the establishment of the kingdom. His real name is Bagus Banjar, son of Tumenggung Padmanegara, Bupati of Pekalongan. His father is said to still be descendants of Sultan Hadiwijaya, King of Pajang. As a child Yasadipura I once studied at Kyai Honggomoyo, an ulema from Magelang village. Yasadipura I served as a poet during the reign of Pakubuwana III, and Pakubuwana IV. His residence was called Yasadipuran, which was later passed on to his son, who was titled Yasadipura II (Soebardi, 1975).

Yasadipura I is considered the greatest poet of the 18th century on the island of Java. He produced a number of valuable literary works. His four most monumental works are adaptations of the famous literary works of Old Javanese. The work is *Serat Rama*, adaptation of *Kakawin Ramayana*; *Serat Bratayuda*, adaptation of *Kakawin Bharatayuddha*; *Serat Mintaraga*, adaptations of *Kakawin Arjuna Wiwaha*; *Serat Arjuna Sasrabahu*, adaptation of *Kakawin Arjuna Wijaya*. The four manuscripts above are modified in the form of a *macapat* poem with a new Javanese language (Soebardi, 1975). Some of the verses are still often pronounced as a mysticism by *dalang* or puppeteers in *wayang* staging until now.

Yasadipura I also wrote stories from Islam. He found his way to Java along with the introduction of Islam. These stories include *Serat Menat*, *Tajusalatin and Ambiya*. The story of Menak has grown in Java at least since the time of Sultan Agung Mataram (1613-1645 A.D.). It comes from the romance of Amir Hamzah in Malay (Soebardi, 1975). It used to be famous in Indonesian territory in the 16th century as a heroic work of Islamism. The stories are based on one historical figure, named Amir Hamzah. A Muslim hero and an uncle of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, who in the Menak story is known by (as) *Wong Agung Menak*.

Another work of Yasadipura I sourced from Islam is the *Serat Tajusalatin*. This work is a free adaptation of a work of the Malay version which seems to have come from Persian. This Malay version, known as the Crown of All Kings, was written in 1603 by Bukhary al-Jauhari (Bukhary of Djohor). The work contains moral teachings on the responsibilities of kings, high officials of the kingdom and the common people (Soebardi, 1975).

In addition, Yasadipura I also produces a careful historical document. Entitled *Babad Giyanti*, a document about the division of the Surakarta Kasunanan area in 1755, which marked the birth of the Kasultanan of Yogyakarta. This is the last work of Yasadipura I (Soebardi, 1975: 20-23).

Summary of the Edited Manuscript

Haji Amad Mutamakkin lived during the reign of Sunan Mangkurat IV (1719-1726) and his son, Paku Buwana II (1726-1749) in the village of Cabolek. He teaches the Natural Sciences to many people in the Tuban area, North coast of East Java. He does not care about the Shari'a. His behavior provokes hatred for Muslims in the Tuban region. He is seen by many as an enemy. Not only because he had broken the Law of the Prophet but also because he was considered disloyal to the king. Some ulema seek to advise Amad Mutamakkin of the destruction of Islamic law. Yet, he remained unchanged, unperturbed by the threat of punishment from the king. He went further by naming his dogs Abdul Kahhar and Kamaruddin (deceased), the name of the village headmen in Tuban.

Coastal ulema conferred together and decided to report Mutamakkin's behavior to King Kartasura. These coastal ulema distributed letters to ulema of Pajang, Mataram, Kedu, Bagelen and other areas, inviting them to participate in conveying allegations against Mutamakkin to the King. The ulema went to the royal capital led by ulema (*alim*) named Ketib Anom Kudus. However, at

this crucial moment, King Kartasura Sunan Mangkurat IV suddenly became ill and died. Hence the investigation into the Amad Mutamakkin case was postponed until the official appointment of Paku Buwana II as King Kartasura. The bupati in coastal, foreign and Kartasura agreed that Amad Mutamakkin should be sentenced to burn on the stake.

At this stage, an investigation into Mutamakkin case was entrusted (by the king) to Raden Demang Urawan. A bupati of jero who is still a close family to the king. He was summoned to the king and asked to explain the progress of the case investigation. He reported the best eleven ulema from coastal, Pajang, Bagelen and abroad to sit in a closed council. Nine of them support the king's ban on the religion of nature. Nevertheless Mutamakkin remained steadfast in his attitude, unwilling to retreat and ready to face the king's decision. He was followed by ulema from Kedung Cede, named Muhammad, who claimed to be God and was ready to carry out the death penalty with him.

Mutamakkin told Ragapita (king's servant) during his journey to Kartasura. He will be grateful if he is punished by the king and burned on poles by the ulema. Perhaps in this way, the smoke from his meat grill can be smelled as far as Arabia. Where he has studied in Yemen with a teacher named Shaykh Zain.

Demang Urawan also reported to the king that in his lodge, every night after the Maghrib prayer, Mutamakkin instead of sleeping, he read the Holy Bhima. After all, during his journey to Kartasura he had read the same book. Starting from the part where Bhima plunge into the sea, in search of the water of life. After hearing Urawan's report. The king decided not to approve of the decision taken by Patih and the ulema to execute Mutamakkin because his mystical knowledge is used for himself. He is not trying to create a chaos in Java as a whole. Therefore the king decided that Mutamakkin was not right to be executed. The king ordered Urawan to inform the king's decision and his displeasure with the patih, the ulema and also the bupati.

The next day Demang Urawan came to Patih Danureja's residence, who is waiting with the ulema and the bupati. In this assembly Urawan's power as the king's confidant of trust can not be underestimated. Everyone was trembled with fear after hearing the king's decision and his sense of disagreement. Only Ketib Anom Kudus showed his dissatisfaction.

Anom Kudus defends Patih Danureja by saying that he and other ulema will feel the king's displeasure. Because on behalf of them, Danureja handed over Mutamakkin case to the king. Urawan was delighted to see a brave ulema

with his beliefs and fully responsible for its actions. Demang Urawan then accused Anom Kudus which caused chaos and uproar among the ulema, "Reporting to Patih something that is not yet clear". Thus he has also caused anxiety within the State (Soebardi, 1975: 26-27).

According to Anom Kudus, Mutamakkin's behavioral mode must be stopped before he spread and gained many followers throughout Java. The king as a protector of religion must be careful not to do anything that violates the Prophet's Tradition. If he did, the king's glow would be dim and the royal authority of the universe would degenerate. Everyone was amazed at the courage and knowledge shown by Anom Kudus in response to Demang Urawan who realizes that he has been defeated. Then he returned to the palace to report it to the king.

Before completing his report, the king interrupted him. He announces that he will attend Friday prayers at the mosque and wants Patih Danureja to be notified. Therefore a *tarancang* (fence around) was prepared for him in the mosque. The King reminded again that Adipati Jayaningrat had mentioned the name Anom Kudus. The son-in-law of the Bupati of Kudus who is skilled as a drum player, as a puppet and Menak dancer. On that occasion, the king desired to invite Ketib Anom Kudus to play a performance. But he was prevented by Cakraningrat who declared it was inappropriate for the king to witness a puppet show that presents stories about the Prophet's relatives (Soebardi, 1975: 28-29).

Demang Urawan then describes the physical characteristics of Anom Kudus compared to Arya Seta's good looks, son of Wirata king. As well as his valor with *Pragalba*, the powerful giants of prominence in the puppet stories. Instead he describes Mutamakkin as a small, bad, unfortunate and coward. Urawan expressed his astonishment. God made a pilgrim from such a person. If he has never done the pilgrimage to Mecca, then he must be deserving of selling rice sticks (*damen*) or trading chicks.

Hearing these words of ridicule, the king tried to protect Mutamakkin. He said even though he is bad in appearance, as servant of God he is destined to have a pure heart. The king ordered Demang Urawan that Mutamakkin's offense was forgiven on the condition that he should not repeat his inappropriate deeds. No one may study the Science of Nature in the mosque. Whoever dares to undermine the king's rules will feel the death penalty.

Demang Urawan informed the king's command to forgive the offenses of the ulema, the bupati, Patih Danureja and all others present. He also

informed the king's message to convey his gratitude to the ulema, for having guarded their territory from deviation mystical threats. The king confirmed that Mutamakkin had actually sinned and betrayed him. Nevertheless, the king has decided to forgive him.

As the request of Demang Urawan speaking on behalf of the king, Ketib Anom Kudus tells about those teaching the Science of Nature to the Javanese extensively in the past. First he speaks of Shaykh Siti Jenar who has been executed with a sword in Giri. Because of the same deeds, in the time of Demak, the Panggung Prince died on a pole. Again, during the Pajang period, Ki Bebeluk was executed by drowning. Under the first two Mataram rulers, Panembahan Senapati and Panembahan Krapyak, no one rivaled Sheikh Siti Jenar. However, in the time of Sultan Agung, Shaykh Amongraga was executed by drowning in the South Sea at Tunjungbang.

One afternoon Ketib Anom Kudus brought the Holy Bhima (Dewa Ruci) text to Urawan's house to be introduced to Mutamakkin. Ketib wanted to read the Holy Bhima because it contained the essence of the teachings that are owned by Mutamakkin. He began to read from the part where Werkudara tore the mountain to destroy his enemies, the giants. After a reading of only three stanzas, he begins to give an interpretation in a way that is full of charm. Urawan is full of admiration for Ketib's skill in interpreting what he reads (Soebardi, 1975: 30-31).

Ketib Anom Kudus began to read again, but started from the part where Bhima plunged into the sea to seek water of life. A section where Mutamakkin on another occasion likes to interpret it. However, on this occasion Mutamakkin rejected the challenge of Anom Kudus to give his interpretation. Because he feels inferior in the skills and position of Ketib, he said that Mutamakkin's mistake is because he has not read widely about religious descriptions. That is why he is easily misled by temptations of satan and his behavior is far from commendable. According to Ketib, the source of religion is contained in the Law of the Prophet Muhammad. Urawan asked Anom Kudus to continue the reading of Dewa Ruci. It starts from an important part of Dewa Ruci's advice on the perfection of life.

Basically his teaching concerns the relationship between humankind, God and the universe from the point of mysticism. The purpose of life for man is to attain eternal unity between Kawula and Gusti. To achieve this, man must be able to die while still alive. He must be able to extinguish all the desires that can poison life. Dewa Ruci emphasizes the importance for

humans to take care of the secrets of Nature Science in order to maintain vigilance and caution. That knowledge must be learned in all humility and fullness. Dewa Ruci concludes by telling Werkudara. All knowledge has been opened to him. Nothing else is hidden. Werkudara is very happy to realize that he has achieved and has a perfect understanding of the Absolute Reality.

After finished reading the story of Dewa Ruci, Anom Kudus asked Kiai Suranegara, Jayanegara and Salyarini to give their opinions on teaching from Dewa Ruci. None of the three dared to give it. Then Demang Urawan ordered Mutamakkin to give his opinion on the matter. he can't do it also and just bow his head to beg for forgiveness (Soebardi, 1975: 32-33).

Then, Anom Kudus mocked Mutamakkin and told him to return to Arabia to look for as many books as possible. He said that the Hajj actually had not read the book widely, but he was arrogant and proud. His desire to imitate the Prince Panggung who has become an embodiment of Suksma. Ketib tells Mutamakkin that man is forbidden to reject the Law of the Prophet and should not oppose the king. Because the king is the representative of the Prophet, who in turn becomes the representative of Almighty God.

Ketib warned Mutamakkin that he should hone his mind. In order to differentiate and choose between good and evil. Through his advice on good and evil. Ketib continues to give warnings that in order to serve God, man must hold fast to the Islamic Law. As found in the Qur'an and Hadith. Moral virtue can only be achieved through actions that are in harmony with Islamic Law. Keep the commandments of God and keep away from what He forbids. Hearing the analysis of Ketib, Raden Demang Urawan shed tears and deplored himself because as a child he did not study the Quran. He realized that a life without knowledge is a fruitless tree and results in a bad incarnation.

Anom Kudus continued his advice on the existence of various dangers man face in his life. Then how to overcome all that. Through his lecture, he repeatedly stated that man should always be vigilant, to be careful and devoted faithfully to Almighty God. All actions and deeds are in accordance with the teachings of Islamic Law. After that Ketib Anom Kudus connect it with the story of Suluk Malang Sumirang. Javanese tradition is widely known as the work of Prince Panggung, a pantheist. This is the story that ended *Serat Cabolek* (Soebardi, 1975: 34-35).

Significance of *Serat Cabolek* and the Story of Dewa Ruci

Soebardi concludes that *Serat Cabolek* is “a document portraying the tension in Javanese religious life resulting from contact with Islam” (Soebardi, 1975: 52). Documents depicting the tension of Javanese religious life due to the coming of Islamic teachings. The tension exists between Orthodox ulema who support the implementation of sharia. People reject the form of formal sharia-law but prioritize aspects of Javanese mysticism.

Yasadipura I views the Shari’a as a container, not as the contents of the spiritual life. Shari’a is essential as a guide that is central to human outward life, but more important is the spiritual content. The ultimate goal of the human spiritual life is to know ‘from where’ and ‘where’ life is. In other words, it is to know himself that in reality is a manifestation of God. For Yasadipura I the greatest contribution to humanity in the quest for life perfectness, namely: the teachings of Dewa Ruci. It provides answers to the problem of ‘from where’ and ‘where’ of human existence. From the perspective of Javanese tradition, the change of the container by declaring itself a Muslim who upholds that the Shariah creates no obstacles. Provided that the person maintains his Javanese belief in his efforts to achieve ma’rifat, which in Javanese is called “*pamoring kawula Gusti*” (unity between the Servant and God).

This attitude of reconciling these two conflicting schools of religion has become a very important theme. It became famous through literature since the time of Yasadipura I in 18th century, such as *Suluk Cabolek* and *Dewa Ruci*. This may be an important clue of the extreme consciousness among the Javanese court poets. It is related to the decline in power (authority) Kraton Surakarta. In addition, the need to pay attention to the growing influence of orthodox Muslim people outside the palace became a reality in the late 18th century (Soebardi, 1975: 53).

Hence, this is a Priyayi-Java cultural attitude strategy that emphasizes harmony. Efforts to “soften Islam” are perceived to be a threat to the survival of the Javanese court tradition.

Critical Review for The Book of Cabolek: A Socio-Historical Perspective

1. Controversy About *Serat Cabolek* Writer

Historian Merle C. Ricklefs criticizes the existence of traditional historiography of *Serat Cabolek*. One of his criticisms is related to the author of the *Serat Suluk* (the religion) of the Javanese community—which has been

considered as manuscript by Yasadipura I, the first Kraton Surakarta poet (Bizawi, 2002: 116). Soebardi revealed in *The Book of Cabolek*, that *Serat Cabolek* is popular as the work of R. Ng. Yasadipura I (1729-1809 AD). But Ricklefs (2007: 4-5) doubt this conclusion, because the lifetime of Yasadipura I who was born in 1729 AD in the era of Pakubuwono II ruled in 1726-1749 AD, still a teenager. It is possible that Yasadipura I is merely a recount of history that has been constructed by others. In this case, the considered author is Queen Pakubuwana who was very intelligent, especially in the context of making the Kraton as the center of Islam with a strategy of combining Mystic-Islam (Sufism) with Mystic-Java

As a court poet, Yasadipura I is obliged to write down what his lord has commanded. It makes sense if Queen Pakubuwana is the successor of Sultan Agung Mataram who aims to harmonize the religion of Islam with the values of Java through court poets (Ricklefs, 2007: 4-5). In this case, the position of court poets is as a “bridge” between the palace and the people, not the ideology of the compilation (Soebardi, 1975). In other words, the owner of the idea is Queen Pakubuwana, while the author of the book is Yasadipura I.

Nevertheless, the author agrees that Yasadipura I (and his son, Yasadipura II) plays an important role as a figure who bridges the traditions of pre-Islamic literature and the development of literary Java afterwards (Islamic era). His work attracted the attention of Javanese literary observers because at that time the Javanese people had embraced Islam. Both re-compose Javanese-Hindu literature composed back into New Javanese literary works. When Javanese society had embraced Islam, Javanese literary that in nature of Javanese-Hindu literature was re-composed into New Javanese literary works as well as a new creation of *piwulang* literature.

In *Serat Cabolek*, Yasadipura I has skillfully and intelligently used the common motifs in Javanese literary tradition. The opposition occurs between pantheistic Javanese mysticism and orthodox Islam, the true Islam. In describing this motif, Yasadipura I has tried to play the role of al Ghazali (Soebardi, 1975: 52). It presents a harmonization between two religious (religious) groups in Javanese society by creating a pattern picture someone who takes the shari’a, as ordered by the Quran and Hadith and rejects the teachings of Nature Science to the common people (Soebardi, 1975: 45).

This contradiction is indeed a problem that arose among the ulema of the Nusantara, including Java, in the 17th - 18th century AD. For example the great influence of ulema contestation from Aceh, between Hamzah Fansuri

with Al Raniri (Al Attas, 1970: 65). Little difference, if in Java the conflict arises between sufism and sharia, then in Aceh the opposition arises between sufism with science *kalam (mutakallimun)* (Al Attas, 1970: 31-65).

In *Serat Cabolek*, Mutamakkin is placed in a line with another famous story from Java at the beginning of Islam's development: Sheikh Siti Jenar, Ki Ageng Pengging, Sunan Panggung and Amongraga (Azra, 2006: 129). They are known as followers of Sufism who are prosecuted by the powerful. Some even are told to be burned alive. Perhaps it is an echo of a more compelling and alluring story in the history of Islam in the Middle East. The story of Husain ibn al-Hallaj who died around 922. This is what Azra affirmed that the strongest opposition to mystic-philosophical in Java is perhaps represented by the Wali Sanga, legendary first preachers of Islam in Java in the fifteenth century, who condemned Syaikh Siti Jenar to death (Azra, 2006: 129).

2. *Serat Cabolek* as Document of Java Priyayi Ideology

Clearly, the contextual approach to Soebardi's study of *Serat Cabolek* tends to be neglected. This approach, especially of socio-cultural history and politics, can be used to check the underlying context of a script or composed text. In this context, *Serat Cabolek* will not be photographed only as a tension between shari'a and the mystical aspect of Java due to contact with Islam. In fact, there are irregularities in the script. The story where Sheikh Siti Jenar, Sunan Panggung, Ki Bebeluk and Amongraga were put to death is difficult to understand if associated with the Javanese royal environment. It is imperative that any man be put to death by a sword, burned alive and drowned (Simuh, 1998: 29). In general, the palace is a protector and developer of a tradition that is imbued with unity of Gusti people.

This is what is called ambivalence (Bizawi, 2007: 111). Mutamakkin is considered wrong by other ulema because he teaches the science of nature to the general public and thereby disturbs the public order. The ulema, with the initiative of Ketib Anom Kudus, complained to the king that his teachings were forbidden and he was executed. Yet, originally the king Pakubuwana did not grant the decision made by Patih and the ulema to execute the ulema of Cabolek. His use of the mystical knowledge is for oneself. He did not try to change the view of Java as a whole. It even impresses how the author of this text is not only very proficient, but also very fond of Javanese symbolism with its puppet traditions. However, in the same section there is a warning of the need for obedience to Islamic law based on the Quran and Hadith.

Serat Cabolek is less convincing when referred to as the diametric opponent of the mystical teachings of Mutamakkin. However, *Serat Cabolek* is insulting ulema from the Tuban and Pati areas. Stunned by the figure of Ketib Anom Kudus whose authority is felt even in the text. Obviously, this story shows that, there is 'textual politics' in the text.

Slightly different from Bizawi (2002) who calls Mutamakkin as Neo-Sufi. The characteristics of Mutamakkin's tasawuf can not necessarily be positioned in the categorization of Sunni tasawwuf and tasawuf falsafi. It can't be automatically included in the puritanical neo-sufi category (Gusmian, 2013). However, the characteristics of his Sufism are both eclectic and confirmative of Sunni mysticism and philosophy. He accommodated Javanese traditions and local wisdom. He also absorbed the vibrant spirit of his tarekat teacher, Sheikh Zain al-Yamani. In this context, the heretic allegations addressed to him are more political. Part of the genealogical clan battles involved: the traditional orthodox-political Sunan Kudus clan and the traditional Jaka Tingkir and respect local traditions (Gusmian, 2017: 20-23).

Thus, *Serat Cabolek* seems to be more than a book on mysticism. It not only gives a kind of review about the intellectual history of his time but also reveals many things about the life of the palace, the nobility and the ulama. *Serat Cabolek* is a high-end social history document (Kuntowijoyo 1990: 67).

The priyayi at the end of the 18th and 19th centuries had a world view of nobility which is evident from the symbolic world they created for themselves. The symbolic world also includes a picture of the dissident ulema during the period. The story in *Serat Cabolek* is a priyayi construction of historical reality that clearly reflects the priyayi ideology (Kuntowijoyo 1990: 70).

In other words, *Serat Cabolek* is a document on the ideology of the Javanese priyayi. Regardless of the story of religious debate, *Serat Cabolek* must be understood as a symbol of affirming the interests of the king as panatagama (regulators of social, cultural, political and religious issues). The nobles and ulema of that era supported it. Therefore, the developed version and discourse are the interests and perspectives of the Kraton and King as rulers (Gusmian, 2013: 57-90).

The development of Islamic librarian Kejawen-including *Serat Cabolek* in Mataram era supported by the palace class. In the view of the Javanese priyayi at the time, politics was the highest value. Therefore, all the activities of the writers of the writers of both arts and religions are directed to support the political (king) interests. The application of religious issues is adapted

and directed to the greatness of the kingdom and the sanctity of the king (Simuh, 1998: 33).

The construction of Priyayi-Javanese ideology was very important and urgent at that time, the 18th century, and the more crucial in the 19th century AD. The kingdom of Java was experiencing a crisis of socio-cultural values. The value crisis was caused by the inclusion of elements of Western civilization to the Javanese royal palaces at the beginning of the nineteenth century as a result of the increasingly intensive association of nobles with the Europeans (Kartodirdjo, 1987: 16). As a result, crisis emerged in the life of the nobility. Traditional norms and values shifted and eroded. Thus, in 18th century the priyayi concerned with the coming of new norms of Islamic teachings. Moreover, in 19th century the crisis hit the palace with westernization influence.

In this context, both anxiety and crisis encourage the court poets (including Yasadipura I) to solve the problem by writing the seras (books) that contain moral education. Even the king himself co-wrote, like Sunan Pakubuwana IV (1788-1820). The books are supposed to be the guidance of life. It aims to preserve the norms and values inherited from the ancestors, at least to avoid any changes which may reduce the dignity of the palace. The court poets composed articles derived from ancient writings of moral education.

Conclusion

Serat Cabolek is not a guide book undergoing mysticism (Sufism). It is precisely a document made by Javanese priyayi to confirm the position of kings as *panatagama* (religious leader) and positions of ulema and priyayi who support the king. Therefore it is not surprising that the discourse that he developed is full of the interests of the Kingdom and the King as the ruler.

The story in *Serat Cabolek* was written according to the priyayi's construction of historical reality. It can not be separated from the fact that all the activities of the writers in the field of art and religion is always with the support of the palace. So that many products of thought and literature produced were formed in accordance with the perspective of the palace in order to maintain the 'sanctity' of the king's politics. Especially at that time the kingdom of Java is experiencing a crisis of socio-cultural values due to the entry of foreign elements to the palace.

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