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DEWA RUCI AND THE LIGHT THAT IS MUHAMMAD
The Islamization of a Buddhist text in the
Yasadipuran version of the Book of Dewa
Ruci

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1 Introduction

This paper grows from research into what may be called the resacralization of the *Dewa Ruci* story, which I have been studying as it crosses religions. What I propose to do here is compare part of the Old Javanese *Dewa Ruci* poem published by Poerbatjaraka (1940) with part of the Modern Javanese poem usually ascribed to the Surakarta court poet R. Ng. Yasadipura I (1729–1803). The latter work is based on the former. I am interested in the changes made by the author, especially their religious dimensions. To form an idea of these changes I present a detailed comparison between the two texts. My aim here is thus basic and unambitious – though the task was far from easy, especially owing to my lack of conversancy with potentially relevant Islamic treatises. The analysis is preliminary and tentative, and I hope for feedback from the seminar participants who are more knowledgeable in the relevant fields. At a later stage of this research project I intend to discuss the making of the Yasadipuran version more extensively, and also to contextualize it in late eighteenth-century Surakarta and Java.

The Old Javanese poem as presented by Poerbatjaraka is based primarily on lontar BG 279 from the so-called Mērbabu collection, which belongs to the Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia. Poerbatjaraka found that the manuscript was heavily damaged (1940:9). Since then it has apparently gone missing (Kartika *et al.* 2002:202). Many manuscripts and printed versions exist of the rendition attributed to Yasadipura. I will refer to the “Yasadipuran text” and the “Yasadipuran author” because his authorship is uncertain (Ricklefs 1997). No critical edition is available. I have used Tanaya’s version (Tanaya 1979:14–18). It contains a date that corresponds to 14 November 1793 for the commencement of writing.¹

Poerbatjaraka’s text is incomplete at the end and it begins at a later point in the narrative than the Yasadipuran version. I have restricted my comparison to the part of the Yasadipuran text that contains Dewa Ruci’s teachings to Wrēkudara, ending where the Old Javanese text breaks off.

Poerbatjaraka identified the Old Javanese poem as the *babon* of the Yasadipuran version (1940:9, 41). He also suggested that the poem was Islamized (1940:32). It is remarkable, however, that this is hardly apparent in the idiom that the Yasadipuran author utilized. Nonetheless it is beyond doubt that the principal religious orientation of the resulting text was Islamic. How then, was the Old Javanese text Islamized in the process of rewriting? Did the Yasadipuran author follow a well-formed doctrine about the mystical experience from a Sufic source, which he then projected upon the Old Javanese *Dewa Ruci* text, reinterpreting it, modifying it, and expanding on it? If so, given that the author was working with an existing text

¹ See Arps 2000:84–85 for some further information on the dating of versions of the Yasadipuran version.

from another religious environment, which he was evidently intent to follow to a considerable extent, it is likely that it was unfeasible for him to project this Sufic doctrine perfectly onto it. Discrepancies are to be expected. Moreover it is conceivable that the Yasadipuran author was *playing* with both Islam and *agama buda*. He engaged in serious business, but as we shall see he did introduce some humour. And he was certainly creative. Or did the author put into words his personal mystical experience, which then was evidently framed in Islamic mystical notions but grounded on the Old Javanese *Dewa Ruci*? Or did he perhaps render someone else's account of a mystical experience of the latter kind? Or did he combine several approaches or use yet another approach? These questions are intriguing but very difficult to answer. No reliable contextual information is available about the writer and his environment, and not all possibly relevant Islamic texts that were available in the late eighteenth-century Surakarta are known and accessible, not to mention ideas that had not been put to paper. My conclusions can only take the form of a preliminary suggestion.

2 The narrative structure of the two texts

In order to facilitate analysis and discussion, I have segmented the Yasadipuran text into short passages based on shifts of thematization (not only within the dialogue but also in the text as a whole), formally supported by narrative and other discursive markers, alternation of dialogue and narration, and turns within the dialogue. Other divisions into pericopes are most certainly possible (there could be division on several levels), but that is not of acute importance here because the segmentation is meant primarily as a heuristic.

The following table gives a rough indication of the correspondence and divergence in narrative order and contents between the relevant parts of the two texts. A more detailed discussion is in the next section. A hyphen denotes absence of the relevant pericope in the place concerned. When two pericopes are side by side but the description of the contents differs, the equivalence is partial or disputable.

	The Yasadipuran text (Tanaya 1979:14–18)		The Old Javanese text (Poerbatjaraka 1940:20–28)
IV.17a–19d	Wrĕkudara finds Dewa Ruci and is addressed by him.	IV.1a–2d	(like the Yasadipuran text)
IV.19e–20g	Wrĕkudara is startled.	–	–
IV.21a–23b	Dewa Ruci says that there is nothing to be found here, Wrĕkudara does not know how to respond.	IV.3a–5a	(like the Yasadipuran text)
IV.23c–25f	Dewa Ruci gives Wrĕkudara's genealogy.	IV.5b–7d	(like the Yasadipuran text)
IV.25g–26e	Dewa Ruci demonstrates that he knows that Wrĕkudara was told by Druna to look for the limpid water of life here.	–	–

–	–	IV.8a–10d	Wrĕkudara asks the deity’s name (and gets an answer that is difficult to interpret in the MS).
IV.26f–29d	Dewa Ruci admonishes Wrĕkudara about the need to know the object of one’s quest in life.	IV.11a–12d	(like the Yasadipuran text)
IV.29e–30g	Wrĕkudara makes the <i>sĕmbah</i> and asks the deity’s name.	IV.13a–14d	Wrĕkudara is moved by the deity’s words.
IV.31a–32d	Wrĕkudara asks to be taught about the self.	IV.15a–16d	Wrĕkudara asks who the deity really is.
IV.32e–V.3b	Dewa Ruci tells Wrĕkudara to enter his body cavity through his left ear.	IV.17a–20c	(like the Yasadipuran text)
V.3c–4j	Wrĕkudara finds himself in a void and tells Dewa Ruci that he is disoriented.	IV.20d–23d	(like the Yasadipuran text)
V.5a–5j	Wrĕkudara finds himself before Dewa Ruci, sees a light, and can orient himself.	IV.24a	Wrĕkudara sees a light.
V.6a–6j	Dewa Ruci asks Wrĕkudara what he sees: all he sees now is four colours.	IV.24b–d	Dewa Ruci tells Wrĕkudara to observe the multicoloured light.
V.7a–8h	Dewa Ruci explains that the light is called Pancamaya.	IV.25a–26b	(like the Yasadipuran text)
V.8i–10c	Dewa Ruci explains that the four colours are the threats of the heart, which permeate the world.	IV.26c–27d	Four colours appear. Dewa Ruci says that they permeate the world and represent the threats of the heart.
		IV.28a–V.1d	One colour vanishes, leaving three. They are the threats to asceticism.
V.10d–13j	Dewa Ruci specifies the symbolism of the black, red, yellow, and white lights.	–	–
V.14a–j	Wrĕkudara longs even more for the absolute union.	V.2a–3a	One who is able to cast off the three can merge with the Void (the Immaterial).
–	–	V.3b–4d	Two colours remain. They symbolize various dualisms.
V.15a–17e	Wrĕkudara sees a single light composed of eight colours; Dewa Ruci explains that this is the true nature of the union.	V.5a–9d	(like the Yasadipuran text, but the light has many colours)

<p>V.17f–22h Wrĕkudara sees a figure resembling an ivory-coloured bee larva; Dewa Ruci explains that this is not the divine Essence that Wrĕkudara seeks, but the Pramana, which is given life by the Spirit.</p>	<p>V.10a–14d All forms in the world vanish; Dewa Ruci shows Wrĕkudara the life of the self as an ivory doll as small as a bee larva. He explains that this is not what Wrĕkudara seeks, but the Pramana, which is given life by the Spirit.</p>
<p>V.22i–24c Dewa Ruci explains that the Spirit can be encountered when the Pramana is gone, but He cannot be visualized.</p>	<p>V.15a–17d Dewa Ruci explains that the Spirit can be encountered when the Pramana is gone. He is formless.</p>

3 **The texts compared, pericope by pericope**

In the following I have normalized the spelling of the two texts.

IV.17a–19d: Wrĕkudara finds Dewa Ruci and is addressed by him

IV (Durma).17

Yata malih wuwusĕn sang Wrĕkudara
neng tĕngahing jaladri
sampun pinanggih
awarna rare bajang
pĕparab sang Dewa Ruci
lir rare dolan
ngandika tĕtanya ris

18

Heh ta Wrĕkudara apa karyanira
prapta ing kene iki
apa sĕdyanira
iya sĕpi kaliwat
tan ana kang sarwa bukti
myang sarwa boga
miwah busana sĕpi

19

Amung godhong aking iku lamun ana
tiba ing ngarsa mami
iku kang sunpangan
yen nora nana nora

It is evident that Yasadipuran author has based this passage on the Old Javanese text. The overall sense is the same, as is the division into a narrative portion thematizing Wrĕkudara's experience

followed by direct speech from Dewa Ruci addressing Wrĕkudara. A number of phrases or words in the Modern Javanese go back to the Old Javanese: *apa karyanira* (MoJ 18a) is a rendition of *mapa gatinta* (OJ 2a), and *sĕpi* (MoJ 18d) of *sunya* (OJ 2c), while *boga* (MoJ 18f) is retained from the source text (OJ 2c).

At the same time the creative contribution from the Yasadipuran author is obvious as well. The Modern Javanese rendition is longer than that of the exemplar, given that the Yasadipuran author has left alone part of the Old Javanese: lines 1d and 2d have no equivalent in the Modern Javanese text. The style of the Modern Javanese can be characterized as lively and graphic, and it contains more details than the Old Javanese. A nice example is MoJ 19a–d, about the dry leaves that form Dewa Ruci’s diet, which also can be read as slightly humorous in tone. It is noteworthy that in the Yasadipuran text (MoJ 17e) the name of the little man – a name that marks his divine status – is disclosed to the reader at once, though Wrĕkudara does not know it yet: he will ask for it later. In the Old Javanese his status is not revealed yet, let alone his name. Against the background of the readers’ and listeners’ awareness of this little person’s divine status, Wrĕkudara’s initially sceptical and derisive reaction in the pericopes that follow, as well as his eventual realization what sort of figure he has met, could have a powerful dramatic effect.

IV.1

Yeka garjita manah sang Bayusuta
manon ri sang atapĕl alit ing wayah
tunggal-tunggal (ta) sira datanpa rowang
i(ku) tunggal sing katĕmu paḍ a tunggal

2

Bagya ta kita Bima mapa gatinta
lumawad ing ulun ma(r)dika kasyasih
nusa sunya tanpa manggih pala boga
sumurupa ing Sunya mintarĕng rajya²

IV.19e–20g: Wrĕkudara is startled

nggarjita tyasnya miyarsi
Sang Wrĕkudara
ngungun dennya ningali

20

Dene bajang neng samodra tanpa rowang
cilik amĕnthik-mĕnthik
iki ta wong apa
gĕdhe jĕjĕnthikingwang
ing pangucapĕ kumaki
ladak kumĕthak

²

MS: bintang racya.

dening tapa pribadi

This passage, describing Wrĕkudara's psychological reaction to Dewa Ruci, has no counterpart in the Old Javanese, with the exception of *tanpa rowang* (MoJ 20a) which is held over, as it were, from OJ 1c. The passage has a playful and graphic style, like earlier, characterized for instance by such expressive words as *bajang*, *amĕnthik-mĕnthik*, *kumaki*, and *kumĕthak*. Like the mention of Dewa Ruci's name and status in the previous passage, this passage will help to make Wrĕkudara's eventual deference later on especially dramatic.

IV.21a–23b: Dewa Ruci says that there is nothing to be found here, Wrĕkudara does not know how to respond

21

Lan maninge Wrĕkudara ingkang prapta
iya ing kene iki
akeh pancabaya
yen nora ětoħ pĕjah
sayĕkti tan prapta iki
ing kene mapan
sakalir sarwa mamring

22

Nora urup lan ciptamu paripaksa
nora angeman pati
sabda kaluhuran
kene masa anaa
kewran sang Wrĕkudareki
sĕsaurira
dene tan wruh ing gati

23

Dadya alon turira Sang Wrĕkudara
masa borong Sang Yogi

The general sense of the Modern Javanese pericope is again the same as in the Old Javanese. The question what Wrekudara is seeking (OJ 3a), which Dewa Ruci had posed earlier as well (OJ 2a), is not repeated in the Yasadipuran text, but *gatinta* is reflected in Yasadipuran *ingkang prapta* (21a). There are other words and phrases in the Old Javanese as well which the Yasadipuran author retained, indeed in the same order as in the original and often though not always with the same sense: *akeh pancabaya* (MoJ 21c) is based on *akeh baya* (OJ 3b), *sabda kaluhuran / kene masa anaa* (MoJ 22c–d) is based – with a change in meaning – on *pilih ana sabda di* (OJ 3d), *kewran sang Wrĕkudareki* (MoJ 22e) on *kepwan twasira sang Ardanareswari* (OJ 4b), and – here too the meaning is different although the wording is partly the same – *dene tan wruh ing gati* (MoJ 22g) on *denira-n malit wĕruhĕ gatinira* (OJ 4c). There are also less clearcut parallels, like *Dadya alon turira Sang Wrĕkudara* (MoJ 23a) which corresponds to *Ling Gandarwaraja ri*

sang Jinarĕsi (OJ 5a). But in the Yasadipuran text this introduces the sentence *masa borong Sang Yogi* spoken by Wrĕkudara, which is absent in the Old Javanese, while in the Old Javanse it refers back to the preceding sentence *pilih iĕp ujaring len* (OJ 4d), which is not taken over in the Modern Javanese.

As to the resacralization aspect of the adaptation, on the surface there is no hint of specifically Islamic notions here. Nonetheless the emphasis the Yasadipuran author put on Wrĕkudara's contempt for death – based on the Old Javanese in OJ 3c but reiterated in the adaptation (MoJ 21d and 22a–b) – will have had a special resonance for readers and listeners familiar with certain Sufic discussions of the love for God (*birai*). In a pre-mid-seventeenth century Javanese translation of the Malay treatise *Sharāb al-‘āshiqīn* ‘The beverage of the lovers’ by Hamzah Fansuri (fl. second half of the sixteenth century) it is stated that “‘alamating birahi iku ora wĕdi mati; lamon awĕdi mati, ora birahi arane, karana wong birahi iku angarĕp-arĕp ing pati [...]” (Drewes and Brakel 1986:240). In an earlier passage of the Modern Javanese *Dewa Ruci* it was told that when Wrĕkudara had almost been killed by the sea serpent the Almighty took note of the endeavour of Wrĕkudara – called *kang amamrih* ‘the striver’ – and that the limpid water which Wrĕkudara is seeking “tangeh manggiha / yen tan nugraha yĕkti” (Tanaya 1979:12). This will have had a similar resonance for these readers: “kang birahi iku ora kĕna ginawe anging kalawan anugĕrahing Allah ta‘ala” (Drewes and Brakel 1986:240).³ Although the word *birai* itself will not make its appearance until stanza V.14h of the Modern Javanese text, Wrĕkudara is indirectly being characterized here as loving God, longing for God.

The rewriting of the Old Javanese text here also involved a subtle modification in narrative build-up, and the import of this was religious as well. By having Dewa Ruci express the unlikelihood that in this place Wrĕkudara will find what has been on his mind (MoJ 22a) – namely *toya ingkang nucekake / maring sariranipun*, as it is called in the opening stanza of the Yasadipuran text (see Tanaya 1979:1) – or any noble, valuable words (*sabda kaluhuran*; MoJ 22c), the Yasadipuran author did two things. Firstly, he began to reveal to Wrĕkudara that Dewa Ruci is not just a little man practising asceticism (as in MoJ 20a, 20g). Secondly and paradoxically, he set up the expectation that this meeting will provide Wrĕkudara with the object of his quest. The first of these is also present in the Old Javanese (OJ 4c–d), the second is not.

3

Mapa teki gatinta kasih-arĕp
akeh baya ing pasir tan sinangsaya
titah jiwa tanpa ngiman-iman urip
pilih ana sabda di pinrih ing manah

4

Nahan lingira sang maha(r)dika ring rat
kepwan twasira sang Ardanareswari
denira-n malit wĕruhĕ gatinira
sojarira pilih iĕp ujaring len

³

See al-Attas 1970:325 for the Malay source of this quotation and the previous one.

IV.23c–25f: Dewa Ruci gives Wrėkudara’s genealogy

Sang Wiku lingira
 iya pan sira uga
 bebete Sang Hyang Pramesthi
 Hyang Girinata
 turase pan sayėkti

24

Saking Brama wite ingkang para nata
 iya bapakireki
 turun saking Brama
 mēncarkēn para nata
 dene ibunira Kunthi
 kang duwe tēdhak
 iya sang Wisnumurti

25

Mung patutan tēlu lawan bapakira
 Yudhisthira pangarsi
 panėnggake sira
 panėngah Dananjaya
 kang loro patute Madrim
 jangkėp Pandhawa

The Yasadipuran author continued to work from the Old Javanese, retaining some parts of the wording and translating other parts. Though he skipped one verse line (OJ 6c) – a line that can indeed be considered redundant because its meaning overlaps with that of OJ 7d – he did make his rendition somewhat longer and more detailed than the source text. With what was probably a change in meaning he rendered the words *brahmanarəsi sabuwah* (OJ 5d) as *saking Brama wite* (MoJ 24a), whereby he seems to have read *sabuwah* as ‘to have as fruits’. (Poerbatjaraka stated that he was unable to make sense of *sabuwah*.) The Old Javanese manuscript’s reading of the end of this line, probably *paranta*, amended by Poerbatjaraka into *pa(nga)ranta* (or *parananta*), was recognized by the Yasadipuran author as *para nata*. The Yasadipuran author elaborated on his interpretation of OJ 5d when he named Wisnu as Kunthi’s divine ancestor (MoJ 24e–g).

wangwang mojar Sang Hyang Budatatwarəsi
 kita wetbetira⁴ Sang Hyang Caturmuka

⁴ MS: betbat.

brahmanarēsi sabuwah pa(nga)ranta⁵

6

Lawan i (pi)tamu Paṇ ḍ u Paṇ ḍ awêng rat
sangkêng ibunta sang Patah wêka tiga
aḍ inika Madrin maha siwi kalih
binangnya ibu juga saking yayahta

7

Kita tri putraning Pêtah tana ana len
jyest a⁶ raja Yudist ira kita madya
pamuruju Danañjaya saktining prang
mwang Nakula⁷ Sadewa wêkaning Madrin

The next passage in the Old Javanese (OJ 8a–10d), in which Wrĕkudara asks the deity's name and receives an answer the last part of which is very opaque (at least in the manuscript used by Poerbatjaraka), was disregarded by the Yasadipuran author at this point of his rendition. He partly used it later, after the deity's teachings about the need to know the object of one's quest in life. It will be discussed there (under MoJ IV.29e–30g).

8

Nahan wuwusira sang wara⁸ matutur
kapuhan manah Sri Gadawastatmaja
dening paṇ ḍ ak mwang alit wêruh ing sira⁹
nahan lingira takwan wasta sang rēsi

9

Sapa aranta putra ci(li) matapa¹⁰
aneng madyaning jaladi tanpa siring
sojar sang tapa sang Dewa Ruci ngulun
dening iḍ ěp apaḍ ang wruhku Hyang rusit¹¹

10

Mapan wiku datan wruha ri ngaranya
ĕnĕngira kadi watu kinabaktyan
towin wruh osikira sang ĕnĕng-ĕning¹²

⁵ According to Poerbatjaraka, the MS's *paranta* could also be corrected into *parananta*.

⁶ MS: *jesma*.

⁷ MS: *ma nakula*.

⁸ MS B: *wuwus sang wyang ta wara*.

⁹ MS A: *pandawkanya wruh*.

¹⁰ MS A: *patra cina matpa*; B: *patra sinamang tapa*,

¹¹ MS A: *paḍang rutu Hyang Rēsi*; B: *ratu*.

¹² MS B: *towin tan wruh osikira kang awani*.

IV.25g–26e: Dewa Ruci demonstrates that he knows that Wrĕkudara was told by Druna to look for the limpid water of life here

praptamu kene iki

26

Iya Dhangyang Druna akon ngulatana
banyurip tirta ěning
iku gurunira
pituduh maring sira
iku kang sira lakoni

These six verse lines of the Yasadipuran text, continuing Dewa Ruci's speech to Wrĕkudara, are not found in the present part of the Old Javanese. Content-wise they do resemble a short passage further on (OJ 15c–d), which, however, is uttered by Wrĕkudara and in a different context.

It is obviously impossible to establish with certainty why the Yasadipuran author wrote these lines here, but it can be observed that they provide a suitable trigger for Dewa Ruci's admonition in MoJ 26f–29d about the need to know the object of one's quest in life. The Old Javanese contains the same admonition (OJ 10d–12d). Here it is triggered by a series of verse lines in which knowing, not knowing, and not yet knowing feature prominently (OJ 9d–10d). But as noted above these lines are difficult to interpret, and this may have been a reason for the Yasadipuran author to leave them alone. In other words, the Yasadipuran author needed another trigger for the admonition and found inspiration in OJ 15c–d.

15

[...]

sopanangku lumampah tĕkĕng jaladri
cawuh Drona purohitangku mangutus

IV.26f–29d: Dewa Ruci admonishes Wrĕkudara about the need to know the object of one's quest in life

mulane Bapa
angel pratingkah urip

27

Aywa lunga yen tan wruh ingkang pinaran
lan aja mangan iki
lamun nora wruha
arane kang pinangan
aywa nganggo-anggo ugi
yen durung wruha

arane busaneki

28

Ing wēruhe tētakon bisane ika
lawan tētiron nēnggih
dadi lan tumandang
mangkono ing ngagēsang
ana jugul saking wukir
arsa tuku mas
mring kēmasan denwehi

29

Lancang¹³ kuning denanggēp kancana mulya
mangkono ing ngabēkti
yen durung waskitha
prēnahe kang sinēmbah

The Yasadipuran author now returned to the Old Javanese text where he had left it earlier. He allowed himself to be led by it to a considerable extent, although he did make changes.

The admonitions are not identical, even if the correspondence – also syntactic – is striking. The innovations are small but significant. The Yasadipuran author added the word *aran* ‘name’ twice (MoJ 27d and g). This is by no means an exclusively Islamic notion. For instance, later in the Old Javanese text there will be mention of the names (*aran*) of the visions that Wrēkudara gets to see (as in OJ V.6b, 13a). Nonetheless, while not exclusively Islamic, the concept of name is central in Islamic piety and mysticism. The most beautiful names of God (*asmā’ al-ḥusnā* in Arabic) are recited in Sufic *dhikr* and contemplated (Schimmel 1994:120–121). The names (*Asmā’*) of God, alongside His Essence, Attributes, and Works (*Dhāt, Ṣifāt, Af’āl*), are a beloved topic of discussion in mystical treatises, also in Javanese (see Drewes 1969, Johns 1965, Zoetmulder 1995). On the surface in the Yasadipuran text the names here are those of worldly matters: food (MoJ 27d) and clothes (MoJ 27g). But it transpires that they are part of an extended metaphor, and the denotation of the metaphor is *kang sinēmbah* (MoJ 29d). Deviating from his Old Javanese source, then, and in accordance with Sufic devotional practice, the Yasadipuran author suggested that it is crucial to know the name (or names, as the Javanese of course allows for singular as well as plural) of the object of one’s worship, of God.

The Yasadipuran author concluded the extended metaphor with the maxim, absent in the Old Javanese, that in life one gets to know by asking, learns to do by imitating, and becomes proficient by doing (MoJ 28a–d). Given the denotation of the preceding metaphor, this refers to religious devotion. This is, therefore, advice to seek instruction on the intellectual dimensions of the worship of God (including his Names),¹⁴ to practise that worship like others, and to do this

¹³ Tanaya’s text has *lanyung*, evidently a misprint.

¹⁴ Further on in the Yasadipuran text it is mentioned that under certain conditions it is possible to achieve mystical union without instruction (see the discussion of MoJ V.14a–j below). This, however, concerns a different sphere of religious practice.

frequently in order to become competent. I would like to suggest that, coupled with the overall tenet of the *Dewa Ruci* as the story of Wrĕkudara’s quest for enlightenment and the point made above about names (and other points discussed below), this is an indication that *tarekat* – the institutional context par excellence for the study and practice of Islamic mystical devotion – was in the background when the Yasadipuran author rewrote the Old Javanese text.¹⁵

The mini-parable of the fool wanting to buy gold (and silver) is in the Old Javanese, but the Yasadipuran author rendered it more concise and focused, and thus perhaps stronger. He also added the information that the fool came from the mountains (MoJ 28e), while the goldsmiths’ quarter (*kĕmasan*) was presumably in a town. The last lines of the Modern Javanese passage (MoJ 29b–d) bear a marked resemblance, also verbal, to the corresponding Old Javanese (OJ 11d, preceding the parable, and 12d, following it). Both present a message of the parable as applied to the religious quest. But in the Modern Javanese the message explicitly concerns the location of the worshipped (*prĕnahe kang sinĕmbah*). This mention of location may have been induced by the references to travel in both the extended metaphor (MoJ 27a) and the parable (28e–g), and of course it is in accordance with the *Dewa Ruci* story overall, which tells of Wrĕkudara’s adventures in several places as he seeks the purifying water. It is suggestive, moreover, that several core Arabic terms referring to mystical practice are related to travel. Mysticism is called *sulūk* (literally ‘wandering, travelling’), a practitioner is a *sālik* (‘wayfarer’), and *ṭarīqa* (Javanese *tarekat*) means ‘path, road’ (see for instance Schimmel 1975:98).

10

[...]

rehning urip turung wruh tunggaling pati

11

Aywa lumampah yen turung wruh ing lampah¹⁶
 aywa metmet yan tan wruh rasaning pinet
 aywa mangan yan turung wruh ing bojana
 aywa nĕmbah yan turung wruh ing sinĕmbah

12

Ana jugul atuku mas ing puhajĕng
 wineh lañcung den-siḍ ĕp mas tanpa una
 wineh timah den-siḍ ĕp salaka mangan
 riwĕd-bawa ing amet saduning pinet

IV.29e–30g: Wrĕkudara makes the sĕmbah and asks the deity’s name

Wrĕkudara duk miyarsi

¹⁵ It could also refer to the communal performance of the *ṣalāt*, but this seems less pertinent to the story of a mystical quest, and the names of God do not play the same central role in the *ṣalāt* as in Sufic devotional practice.

¹⁶ MS A: awan.

ndhĕku nor raga
dene Sang Wiku sidik

30

Sarta sila santika andikanira
Sang Wrĕkudara met sih
anuhun jinatyan
sintĕn ta nama tuwan
dene neng ngriki pribadi
Sang Marbudyeng Rat
ya ingsun Dewa Ruci

In the later shadow puppetry tradition, and perhaps also at the time of the writing of the Yasadipuran text, this is a memorable and dramatic moment in the story. After initial scepticism (which, as I have tried to show, was accentuated in the Yasadipuran text by narrative means), Wrĕkudara humbles himself before Dewa Ruci, makes the *sĕmbah*, and henceforth addresses him in the courteous register of Javanese – one of the extremely rare occasions where Wrĕkudara humbles himself before anyone at all. This event is described in the Yasadipuran text (MoJ 29e–30b) and reflected in the polite word choice of the address (MoJ 30c–e, with words like *anuhun* not *njaluk* or *nĕdha* or *nĕdhi*, *sintĕn* as opposed to *sapa*, *nama* as opposed to *aran*, *ngriki* as opposed to *ing kene*). On the other hand the Old Javanese, part of which seems to have inspired the Yasadipuran version, focuses on Wrĕkudara’s amazement but does not describe his posture or demonstrate any particular politeness in his subsequent words. Parts of the Old Javanese, such as OJ 13d and 14d, were definitely disregarded by the Yasadipuran author.

This reverence and obeisance does not necessarily imply that in the Yasadipuran text, Dewa Ruci is God. He has preternatural and even divine qualities, but the fact that he goes on to teach Wrĕkudara about how to achieve the mystical union with God, who, Dewa Ruci says, cannot be visualized (*inter alia* in Tanaya 1979:18), suggests that he himself is not God.¹⁷ Moreover he is referred to with the epithet *Sang Wiku* (MoJ IV.23c, 29g, V.5b, 5i), while *wiku* is a synonym of *pandhita* ‘learned man, scholar (in spiritual matters)’. In the Old Javanese text, on the other hand, Dewa Ruci is the Buddha or Hyang Wisesa (see Poerbatjaraka 1940:32), who decides to appear to Wrĕkudara in human form (Poerbatjaraka 1940:18). This is not related in the Yasadipuran text (compare Tanaya 1979:12, 14).

13

Nahan wacana sing maha(r)dika ring rat
kepwan manahira-ng Ardanareswari
dening wuwusika ibĕk kasatwikan¹⁸
sawang sela kawahan (ing) guntur magĕng

¹⁷ This may be different in other renditions of the *Dewa Ruci* story. In the *wayang kulit*, for instance, Dewa Ruci is often represented as the divine aspect of Wrĕkudara. Even his puppet is a miniature of Wrĕkudara with some iconographic characteristics of a god.

¹⁸ MS: kasantikan.

14

Manggih gatinira Baywatmaja kumĕl¹⁹
denta wĕruh basa kang ginĕsĕng i jro
engĕt warah sang kaka tuhu(ning) kata
asoka Wrĕkodara sira²⁰ mararĕm

The Yasadipuran author went on to describe how Wrĕkodara asked the deity's name (MoJ 30c–e). As noted above, in the Old Javanese this happened earlier (in OJ 8d–9b). There are no obvious verbal correspondences between the two versions, but the semantic structure of the question is the same in both: what is your name, [given that] you are here all alone? The reply is identical: Dewa Ruci. (This is not as trivial as it may seem. This figure goes under different names in different versions of the story.)

The Yasadipuran text identifies the speaker as Sang Marbudyeng Rat, an epithet used again in MoJ V.16a. Poerbatjaraka (1940:32) has noted that this appellation – with the variant Sang Marbudeng Rat in another redaction of the Modern Javanese text (Prijoetomo 1934:168) – is derived from the Old Javanese *sang Pa(ra)mabudĕng rat* 'the highest Buddha in the world', and that it is the only one of Dewa Ruci's Buddhist epithets that is retained in the Modern Javanese. *Sang Pa(ra)mabudĕng rat*, however, occurs many stanzas further down in the exemplar (OJ V.10b). I would suggest that the use of Sang Marbudyeng Rat at this particular point in the Yasadipuran text, namely where Dewa Ruci introduces himself to Wrĕkodara, is meaningful, and that although the form derives from the Old Javanese, its meaning should be sought elsewhere. The morphological base that the Modern Javanese reader was supposed to recognize in *marbudyeng* or *marbudeng* in the Modern Javanese is probably *budi* 'intelligence, discernment, character' rather than *buda* ('Buddha', 'Hindu-Javanese'), and therefore *marbud(y)eng rat* could be interpreted as 'to enlighten *or* instruct the world'. In an Islamic context this is what has been achieved by one historical figure in particular: the Prophet Muhammad.

8

Nahan wuwusira sang wara²¹ matutur
kapuhan manah Sri Gadawastatmaja
dening paᅇ ᅇ ak mwang alit wĕruh ing sira²²
nahan lingira takwan wasta sang rĕsi

9

Sapa aranta putra ci(li) matapa²³
aneng madyaning jaladi tanpa siring
sojar sang tapa sang Dewa Ruci ngulun

¹⁹ According to Poerbatjara, this is where MS B ends.

²⁰ MS: asoka dara tira.

²¹ MS B: wuwus sang wyang ta wara.

²² MS A: pandawkanya wruh.

²³ MS A: patra cina matpa; B: patra sinamang tapa,

IV.31a–32d: Wrĕkudara asks to be taught about the self

31

Matur alon Pukulun yen makatĕna
pun patik anuhun sih
kula inggih datan
wruh puruiteng badan
sasat sato wana inggih
tan mantra-mantra
waspadeng badan suci

32

Langkung mudha punggung cinacad ing jagad
kesi-esi ing bumi
angganing curiga
ulun tanpa warangka²⁴
wacana kang tanpa siring

The Yasadipuran author seems to have resumed his adaptation of the Old Javanese text at the place where he left it earlier for his brief excursion to OJ 8a–9c. But the correspondence between the Yasadipuran text and the exemplar is modest. There is semantic and verbal equivalence in the first line of both (MoJ 31a and OJ 15a). Perhaps *purohitangku* in OJ 15d is reflected in the *puruiteng* of MoJ 31d. (OJ 15c–d has been discussed above as well because it has inspired MoJ 25g–26e.) The meaning of MoJ 32a–b matches that of OJ 15b. Finally, although the sense of the text is very different, in MoJ 32c–e the Yasadipuran author took over several words from the Old Javanese (OJ 16c–d).

The Modern Javanese contains a number of phrases that are interesting in the context of the *Dewa Ruci*'s religious transformation. Wrĕkudara says that he does not know how to study about the self (*datan / wruh puruiteng badan*, MoJ 31c–d) and has no insight at all in the pure self (*tan mantra-mantra / waspadeng badan suci*; MoJ 31f–g). As noted earlier, the notion of finding the water that would purify his self was mentioned in the opening stanza of the poem as the task Wrĕkudara got from his teacher Druna. This was in a part of the Modern Javanese poem for which no Old Javanese counterpart is known, but nonetheless it does not seem to be Sufic. The word *suci* does not even occur in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Javanese mystical works published by Drewes (1969) and Johns (1965), while it is certainly a theme in Hindu-Buddhist religiosity.²⁵ Wrĕkudara's comparison of himself to a dagger lacking a sheath (MoJ 32c–d) alludes to the metaphorical characterization of the mystical union as *curiga manjing warangka, warangka manjing curiga* 'the dagger enters the sheath, the sheath enters the dagger'. This is a Javanese image, familiar from the Islamic mystical *suluk* literature (see Zoetmulder 1995:206–

²⁴ Tanaya's text reads *warana*, but this is probably an error for *warangka* or *warangkan*. In the corresponding place, Prijohoetomo's text has *wrangkan* (1938:168), which suits the *curiga* much better than *warana*.

²⁵ It does occur in Javanese translations of Hamzah Fansuri's Malay writings, as in Drewes and Brakel 1986:233.

207). I do not know whether it has extra-Islamic roots.

15

Somya wuwus Wrėkodara mandra malon
towin ulun (ėn)di²⁶ kahinanku ring rat
sopanangku lumampah tėkėng jaladri
cawuh Drona purohitangku mangutus

16

Towin ulun (sa)nyasa wruh (i) jatinta
yen (a)tuhu yen arusit yen asadu²⁷
den kadi jatining ċ uhung tan kawaran
wacananta²⁸ den paċ ang tanpa sings(inga)n

IV.32e–V.3b: Dewa Ruci tells Wrėkudara to enter his body cavity through his left ear

yata ngandika
manis Sang Dewa Ruci

V (Dhandhanggula).1

Lah ta mara Wrėkudara aglis
umanjinga guwa garbaningwang
kagyat miyarsa wuwuse
Wrėkudara gumuyu
pan angguguk turira aris
dene Paduka bajang
kawula gėng luhur
inggih pangawak parbata
saking pundi margine kawula manjing
jėnthik masa sėdhėnga

2

Dewa Ruci angandika malih
gėdhe ģndi sira lawan jagad
kabeh iki saisine
kalawan gunungipun
samodrane alase sami
tan sėsak lumėbua
mring jro garbaningsun
Wrėkudara duk miyarsa

²⁶ According to Poerbatjaraka, *di* might also be read as *dadi*.

²⁷ MS: aswadu.

²⁸ MS: wacantan.

esmu ajrih kuměl sandika turneki
mengleng sang Ruci Dewa

3

Iki dalan talingan-ngong kering
Wrĕkudara manjing sigra-sigra

Like in earlier passages such as MoJ 17a–19d, the Yasadipuran text is heavily indebted to the Old Javanese. The general sense is retained and several words derive from the source text, although the Yasadipuran version is more detailed and includes some particularly expressive wordings, both in the description and in the dialogue: *angguguk*, *jĕnthik masa sĕdhĕnga*, *mengleng*. Related to this is the inclusion of graphic imagery: Wrĕkudara’s little finger and also the fact that the entire world, including its mountains, oceans, and forests, can be contained in Dewa Ruci’s body cavity. Where the process of resacralization is concerned the Yasadipuran author did not introduce aspects that I can recognize as Islamic, or remove or modify aspects that could be read as non- or un-Islamic, such as the idea that the body of a man, however wise and special, can encompass the world and creation. But in fact there is one particular man in Islam who has been described in terms not unlike these. Again, this is the Prophet. According to an influential Sufic treatise, the *Tuĥfa* (which I will revisit below), Muhammad has declared “Every thing of creation / comes from the light that is myself” (Johns 1965:65).

The Old Javanese exemplar, then, provided the author with sufficient basic material to give this pericope an Islamic orientation.

17

Ling Bimasena tuṣṭ a Hyang Janardana
denira ayun wĕruh ing kasat(wi)kan
krama kinon amañjinga garba denta²⁹
tuṣṭ a saha guyu Baywatmaja jĕngĕr

18

Ĕndi unggwanku masukĕ garba (ma)lit
apan alo Bima pangawak parwata³⁰
giriraja tan paḍ a rikĕ tuwuhku³¹
tuwin umasṭ iku pangawak tan sama

19

Sampun mawacana ta sang Bayusuta
dadi mojar sang paḥ ḍ ya³² kon amasuka
ĕndi gĕnging giri mwaning buwana

²⁹ MS: dinta.

³⁰ MS: prawatta.

³¹ MS: ri tluguku.

³² MS: paja.

sa-bubur-sah mandra kawēt katon dengku

20

Aywa kaḍ at kita umañjingêng ulun
wi reh karna kerī sopananta masuk
rĕp malĕbu³³ maring garba tatar angel

V.3c–4j: Wrĕkudara finds himself in a void and tells Dewa Ruci that he is disoriented

wus prapta ing jro garbane
andulu samodra gung
tanpa tĕpi nglangut lumaris
ngliyĕk adoh katingal
Dewa Ruci nguwuh
heh apa katon ing sira
dyan umatur Sang Seni inggih atĕbih
tan wontĕn katingalan

4

Awang-awang kang kula lampahi
uwung-uwung tĕbih tan kantĕnan
ulun saparan-parane
tan mulat ing lor kidul
wetan kilen botĕn udani
ngandhap ing nginggul ngarsa
kalawan ing pungkur
kawula botĕn uninga
langkung bingung ngandika Sang Dewa Ruci
aja maras tyasira

Although the Yasadipuran text is based on the Old Javanese, with the usual verbal correspondences which need not be detailed here, the Modern Javanese author made some departures from his source. Most striking is the fact that he described the disorientation of Wrĕkudara floating in the void as the inability to perceive the four cardinal points of the compass, as well as top (or up) and bottom (or down) and front and back (MoJ 4d–g). This suggests not only that the void lacked celestial objects but also that Wrĕkudara was no longer aware of his body and experienced only vision and hearing. In the Old Javanese, on the other hand, reference is made only to points of the compass, and in fact to the four intercardinal in addition to the four cardinal points (OJ 23b–d). This is in line with Hindu-Buddhist-Javanese cosmological classification and does not necessarily imply loss of corporeality.

Now such a loss of bodily awareness, and particularly of individual vision, associated with being submerged in an ocean, is described as a stage in the process of mystical unification according to

³³

MS: makibi.

early Javanese Sufism. I quote Drewes's translation from a sixteenth-century manuscript. Discussing God as the subject and object of vision, the teacher Seh Bari says to his pupils:

Once I walked [*lumampah*, which could also be interpreted as 'moved' (BA)] in the field of faith and by virtue of God's mercy and grace I could see my own doings. After I had walked [*lumampah*] in the field of faith I proceeded to the field of *tawḥīd* [God's unity]. Then I did not see my own doings but I beheld only the Being of Allāh. After I had walked [*lumampah*] in the field of *tawḥīd* I proceeded to the field of (mystical) knowledge [*ma'arifat*]. My own being had vanished, neither did I see the Lord. This means that because my vision had become concentrated, my own sight had vanished into the one and only sight, and what was seen was He who is the eternal subject and object of His own sight.

Seh Bari said: It is like the voyage of the mystic: *al-'ārifu gharaqa fī baḥri 'l-'adam*, the mystic is swallowed up in the sea of non-being. (Drewes 1969:95–97; see also the discussion in Drewes 1969:21)

It is difficult to dispel the impression that the experience described here for Wrĕkudara was inspired by a conception or experience like Seh Bari's moving through the field of *tawḥīd*. Wrĕkudara does not see the Being of God, but as he floats in a sky (*awang-awang*) or void (*uwung-uwung*) in which the only discernable entity is a distant Dewa Ruci, he has lost all awareness of his own body and position. Moreover the void is first of all described as a vast shoreless ocean (*samodra gung / tanpa tĕpi* in MoJ 3d–e). In the above quotation an ocean represents non-being. In a section on the *ma'arifat* stage of the mystical path in the Javanese translation of Hamzah Fansuri's treatise referred to earlier, God is compared to a shoreless and endless ocean:

Allah ta'ala iku tanpa wangĕnan, tan kahuwus, tan ing sor, tan ing luhur, tan kiwa, tan tĕngĕn, tan ing arĕp, tan ing wuri, tĕgĕse: sira Pangeran wujud hĕsa, ora jihat nĕnĕm, angganing sagara tanpa tĕpi tan ana kahuwus-huwusan. (Drewes and Brakel 1986:233)³⁴

The ocean and the mystic's loss of corporeality also feature in the *suluk Sukarsa* (dating from the beginning of the seventeenth century or earlier according to Pigeaud 1967:86), which describes the mystical experience of a certain Ki Sukarsa as he moves through the *sĕgara ma'ripat*, where he becomes unaware of his body and there is no inside or outside, and he has lost his sight (Poerbatjaraka and Tardjan Hadidjaja 1952:100–101).

To be sure, in the *Dewa Ruci* the ocean was retained from the Old Javanese (OJ 20d), as was the sky (OJ 22a), but the Yasadipuran author adapted it to kindred ideas from Islamic mysticism.

prapteng dalĕm non arnawa tanpa tĕpi

³⁴ Compare the Malay text in al-Attas 1970:311.

21

Pira ta suweni lampah (sa)pandurat
lëyëp lëngit lëpas adoh tingalira
nihan wacana (sang) rësi suksma takwan
mapa katon denyu³⁵ l(um)ampah kapanggih

22

Ling Bima awang-awang prënahku mangke
mapa kari warah arane³⁶ sang wiku
dadi ð ěð ět tan pantara tiningalan
kepwan sira satinon ambëk aputëk

23

Ndan sang wiku mapa kari kang ađ apët
tan purwa tan daksina iđ ěpku mangke
tan pracima utara gëneya byabya
tan neriti ersanya daryaku pilih

V.5a–5j: Wrëkudara finds himself before Dewa Ruci, sees a light, and can orient himself

5

Byar katingal ngadhëp Dewa Ruci
Wrëkudara Sang Wiku kawangwang
umancur katon cahyane
nolih wruh ing lor kidul
wetan kulon sampun kaeksi
ing nginggil miwah ngandhap
pan sampun kadulu
lawan umiyat baskara
eca tyase miwah Sang Wiku kaeksi
aneng jagad walikan

Making one Old Javanese verse line into a full Dhandhanggula stanza, the Yasadipuran author greatly elaborated on the exemplar in this passage. Wrëkudara does not merely see a bright light like in the source text, but also regains his sense of direction and consciousness of his bodily orientation, feels comfortable, and is face to face with Dewa Ruci (within Dewa Ruci's body, that is), who emits a radiance. The (or a) sun is visible, and the space is called an (or the) 'inverted world'.

There are further noteworthy analogies here with accounts of Sufic mystical experience. In both

³⁵ MS: denya.

³⁶ MS: awharaning.

texts Wĕrkudara is represented as a seeker of mystical union. We have seen that the Yasadipuran rendition contains strong indications that his status was conceived in Sufic terms, and, as noted, certain features of the text suggest that *tarekat* devotional practice inspired its account of Wĕrkudara's encounter with Dewa Ruci. Dewa Ruci is called *Sang Wiku*. The word *wiku* is a synonym of *pandhita*, while in early Javanese Islamic treatises *pandhita* is the common rendition of Arabic *'ālim* (plural *'ulamā'*) 'learned man, scholar (in spiritual matters)'. Now, according to Van Bruinessen, the prominent *tarekat* Naqsyabandiyah which spread in Islamic Indonesia in the seventeenth century employs a spiritual technique called *rābiṭa murshid* or '(establishing) a mental bond with the spiritual guide' as a prelude to *dhikr*. Van Bruinessen writes: "*rabithah* [...] selalu mencakup penghadiran (*visualization*) sang *mursyid* oleh *murid*, dan membayangkan hubungan yang sedang dijalin dengan sang *mursyid*, seringkali dalam bentuk seberkas cahaya yang memancar dari sang *mursyid*" (Van Bruinessen 1992:83). Lines 5b–c of the Yasadipuran *Dewa Ruci* can be translated as 'Wĕrkudara observed the learned man / and saw his shining radiance'.

We can go further. It has been noted before that the figure of Dewa Ruci as represented in the Yasadipuran text exhibits some similarities with the prophet Muhammad (and much less with God Himself). Continuing this line of interpretation, I suggest that what Wĕrkudara undergoes here and in the pericopes that follow can also be construed as the experience sometimes called *tajallī* in Arabic. According to Van Bruinessen (1994:317) this is "a well-known Sufi technical term, usually rendered as 'theophany' or 'self-manifestation of God'". But in certain contemporary *tarekat* in Indonesia (and probably elsewhere in the world as well), the term is also used to refer to a visionary experience induced by meditational techniques, in which "spiritual progress is reflected in the different colours perceived" (Van Bruinessen 1994:315). Van Bruinessen gives a short account of this *tajallī* experience, according to this sect "the esoteric dimension of all Muslim worship", on the basis of an early twentieth-century Sundanese text and interviews with practitioners (1994:314–318). Van Bruinessen observes that the *ma'rifa* of the sect, as represented in the Sundanese treatise, is "the direct encounter with the *nūr Muḥammad*, that is, the four coloured lights" (1994:317).

Now, as Van Bruinessen also notes (1994:317), there are earlier texts in Javanese which relate *tajallī* to the Prophet as well, and in particular to the *nūr Muḥammad*, the light of Muhammad or the light that is Muhammad. A prominent one is *al-Tuḥfa al-mursala ilā rūḥ al-nabī* 'The Gift addressed to the spirit of the Prophet'. This Arabic treatise by Muḥammad ibn Faḍli'llāh (died 1620) was rendered in Javanese verse in the seventeenth or eighteenth century. It characterizes the mystical path according to the doctrine of *martabat pitu*, the seven grades of being. According to Johns, who edited and translated the Javanese text, the *Tuḥfa* "is almost certainly the source of the framework of the seven grades of being, which became the characteristic and almost universally accepted pattern of Sufi speculation throughout the area [Sumatra and Java]" (Johns 1965:8). In the *Tuḥfa* the Prophet is called *wiwitan tajali* (1965:60), and "all realities / [are] assembled in the Light that is Muḥammad" (1965:61). The light of Muhammad encompasses all grades of being (Johns 1965:61).

Although there is no perfect match between the grades of being described in the *Tuḥfa* and the stages of Wĕrkudara's mystical experience, further suggestive similarities do occur. Some extracts from Johns's translation:

the meaning of the grade of Spirits [the fourth grade, BA]:
it is a body the being of which is subtle.
It is not susceptible to the senses
or the eyes of the head,
even with the eye of the heart
a form cannot be devised for it.

(Johns 1965:65)

This seems appropriate as another description of Wrĕkudara's state in the previous pericope.
Then the fifth and sixth grades:

The grade of ideas [the fifth, BA]
is a type of being
the being of which is composite;
it is subtle, and not liable
to compression or sundering
it does not have parts
and is not visible to the eyes,

[but] it is seen with [the eye] of the heart [Javanese: *tingalan lawan kalbi*, BA]
in the form of a vision,
when strong mental [striving]
produces its form.
It is by strong mental [striving]
together with [proper] guidance
that the Ideas become visible.

The sixth is the corporeal grade
and the being of this is liable
to compression and sundering.
It is dense, composite,
has extension in space
and is liable to division.

(Johns 1965:65–67)

Taken together these grades resemble Wrĕkudara's present condition.

V.6a–6j: Dewa Ruci asks Wrĕkudara what he sees: all he sees now is four colours**6**

Dewa Ruci Suksma angling malih
 aywa lumaku andĕdulua
 apa katon ing dheweke
 Wrĕkudara umatur
 wontĕn warni kawan prakawis
 katingal ing kawula
 sadaya kang wau
 sampun botĕn katingalan
 amung kawan prakawis ingkang kaeksi
 irĕng bang kuning pĕthak

There follows a departure in narrative structure from the Old Javanese, and it is somewhat complicated and puzzling. In the Old Javanese, Dewa Ruci tells Wrĕkudara to observe the light, which is multicoloured and as vast as an ocean. In the Yasadipuran text, Wrĕkudara is told to look as well, but in addition he is asked to say what he sees. It is four colours, while everything else (presumably the points of the compass and the sun, and perhaps Dewa Ruci himself as well) has disappeared. Here the Yasadipuran author takes an advance, so to speak, on the Old Javanese, because the four colours will appear there too, but only in OJ 26c and 27b. In the next passage of the Yasadipuran text what is discussed is not the four colours but again the bright shining light mentioned earlier in MoJ 5. The author takes a thematic step back there. Why was that desirable? Why did the Yasadipuran author have Wrĕkudara notice the four colours before discussing the Pancamaya which has meanwhile vanished, and not after like in his source text? If the reason was a different understanding of the Old Javanese, I cannot find a basis for one. I am unable to offer an explanation (and suggestions are welcome).

sang paṅ ḍ ya kon³⁷ wawasĕn ika sang wiku
 kadi sĕnen warna-warna wawasĕnta
 sa-arnawa sing rupa tan winangĕran

V.7a–8h: Dewa Ruci explains that the light is called Pancamaya**7**

Angandika Dewa Suksma Suci
 ingkang dhingin sira anon cahya
 gumawang tan wruh arane
 Pancamaya puniku

³⁷

MS: pañja makson.

sajatine ing tyas sayĕkti
pangarĕping sarira
tĕgĕse tyas iku
ingaranan mukasifat
kang anuntun marang sifat kang linuwih
kang sajatining sifat

8

Mangka tinula³⁸ aywa lumaris
awasĕna sira aywa samar
kawasaning tyas ĕmpane
tingaling tyas puniku
anĕngĕri maring sajati
enak Sang Wrĕkudara
amiyarsa wuwus
lagya medĕm tyas sumringah

In the Yasadipuran text, Dewa Ruci now returns to the bright light which Wrĕkudara saw earlier, while in the Old Javanese there has been no mention yet of the four lights (there has been no advance thematization of them) so the theme remains the multicoloured light as vast as an ocean.

Like in the Old Javanese the light is called Pancamaya.³⁹ The description of its significance is based in part on the exemplar: *sajatine ing tyas* (MoJ 7e) from *jatining driya* (OJ 25a) and *pangarĕping sarira* (MoJ 7f) from *mukaning sarira* (OJ 25b). But subsequently the Pancamaya is represented in ostensibly Islamic terms. The concept of *sifat* (Arabic *ṣifa*, plural *ṣifāt*) (MoJ 7h–j) features extremely prominently in mystical speculations, although this is usually in respect of God, as God’s Attributes. Here it concerns the human being, albeit in relation to his striving for union with God.

It is difficult to pinpoint a particular text or doctrine by which the Yasadipuran author may have been inspired here. One possibility is the idea that, on one level, God has Essence while the servant, the human being, has attributes (Zoetmulder 1995:138). In the *sĕrat Cĕnthini* (which admittedly was written at least two decades after the Yasadipuran *Dewa Ruci*, but made extensive use of existing texts) the servant’s seven *sifat* are listed (Zoetmulder 1995:118). They are the stages of emanation that are also known from the *Tuĥfa*, which culminate in the perfect man (*insān kāmīl*). Perhaps when the Yasadipuran text states that the heart is the guide of the attributes (MoJ 7i), this is meant to say that it is the heart that enables one to attain perfection by progressing through the seven grades of being. The reference to the sight of the heart which can show one the absolute (MoJ 8d–e) reminds one of the experience of the fifth grade, that of ideas,

³⁸ Tanaya’s text reads *tinulak*, but this is probably an error for *tinula*. In the corresponding place, Prijohoetomo’s text has *tinula* (1938:170).

³⁹ Poerbatjaraka 1940:47–48 discusses the Pañcamaya and similar concepts in Old Javanese texts and devotes some space to the relationship between the four colours and the Pañcamaya, but this is not very relevant to my present concern.

as described in the *Tuhfa*. It is “is not visible to the eyes, / [but] it is seen with [the eye] of the heart” (Javanese: *tingalan lawan kalbi*) (see the translation in the section on MoJ V.5a–5j above).

The characterization of the Pañcamaya in OJ 25c–d was not taken over, perhaps because with the different interpretation of Pancamaya, it was out of place. Dewa Ruci’s instruction to consider the Pancamaya’s power was retained, with certain similar wordings but also some elaboration (MoJ 8a–e, OJ 26a–b).

25

Wiku suci mawarah jatining driya
pañcamaya nga(ra)n mukaning sarira
yan agělèh dadalan⁴⁰ marêng gomuka
dadya angělèmi⁴¹ mareng tasik agni

26

Aywa lupa ring rupa wawas warna(nya)
aywa samar ing tingal kawruhing ati

V.8i–10c: Dewa Ruci explains that the four colours are the threats of the heart, which permeate the world

dene ingkang abang irèng kuning putih
iku durgamaning tyas

9

Pan isine jagad amèpèki
iya ati kang tēlung prakara
pamurunge laku dene
kang bisa pisah iku
yakti bisa amor ing gaib
iku mungsuhe tapa
ati kang tētēlu
irèng abang kuning samya
angadhangī cipta karsa kang lēstari
pamoring Suksma Mulya

10

Lamun nora kawilēt ing katri
yēkti sida sirnaning sarira
lēstari ing panunggale

⁴⁰ MS: anagělèn.

⁴¹ MS: dadya nga mi.

In the Old Javanese, the Pañcamaya (*panca* = ‘five’) was the first of a series of radiances of decreasing multiplicity; it is followed by radiances having four, three, two, and one colour. The series is concluded with the disappearance of all forms. In the Yasadipuran version, not all parts of this series are retained. OJ 26.c–d, which introduce the fourfold light,⁴² are not represented in the Yasadipuran text.

rĕp ksana⁴³ ilang jagat catur yan tinon
ling Gandarwaraja takwan ing sang wiku

Subsequently the Yasadipuran text has the same outline and much of the same contents as the exemplar, including similar or identical word choice. But the Yasadipuran author was selective. In the Old Javanese one of the colours vanishes, yielding three colours (OJ 28a). This is part of the gradual, serial, reduction of the number of lights in that text. In the Yasadipuran version the same three colours are thematized first, but the fourth does not disappear and is thematized later on (in MoJ 12h–13j). This will be discussed in the next section.

The Yasadipuran author did not represent OJ 27a; the same change of speaker is in the Modern Javanese as well but it is not formally marked there. Nor did he take over lines 28c–d, which indeed seem to be inappropriate in the diegesis that he has been building in his text. After all, the striver for mystical union must ideally be granted an ardent desire (*birai*), while the Old Javanese states that the person without desire is pure and eminent (OJ 28d).

Especially in MoJ 9i–10c the Yasadipuran author introduced notions without Old Javanese counterparts into his version, using words and phrases lacking in the source. In summary, he stated that one must release oneself from the three threats of the heart in order that the mystical union (*panunggal*), characterized as the vanishing of the self or body (*sirnaning sarira*, while the Old Javanese reads *tanpa pasah anĕng raga*, which Poerbatjaraka interprets as ‘are inseparable from the body’), can be permanent (*lĕstari*). This is the idea and will (*cipta karsa*) of the mystic. I do not know whether these notions are typically Islamic.

27

Mojar sang paᅇ ᅇ ya⁴⁴ ika sang kasih-arĕp
catur warna iku pangisining jagat
ana seta ana rakta pita⁴⁵ krĕsna
iku warnani kadurgamaning ati⁴⁶

⁴² Poerbatjaraka’s translation of 26c is unlikely. He interpreted it as the conclusion of Dewa Ruci’s speech: ‘Als gij dit doet, dan verdwijnt de vierledige wereld opeens’ (1940:24). It is more likely a narration: ‘All of a sudden it [the Pañcamaya] had vanished and the fourfold world became visible.’

⁴³ MS: kanasan.

⁴⁴ MS: paja.

⁴⁵ MS: pida.

⁴⁶ MS: warnaninga gdurmaning ati.

28

Ilang tunggal prabanika yan tri katon
ika rakwa durgama mēpēki-ng sarat
piṇ ḍ a kadi kantaka kēna i rika
suci mulya kang tan kakēnan ing sadya

V.1

Sri Kuntisuta winarah, yan tiga musuh⁴⁷ tapa
karanya tan tēkan i don, sang ataki-taki (n) lampah
paroking tiga winuwus, tanpa pasah anêng raga
yan tan kawilēt ing tiga, prasida mor ing Tan Ana

V.10d–13j: Dewa Ruci specifies the symbolism of the black, red, yellow, and white lights

poma den awas emut
durgama kang mungging ing ati
pangwasane wēruha
wiji-wijinipun
kang irēng luwih prakosa
panggawene kasrēngēn sabarang runtik
andadra ngambra-ambra

11

Iya iku ati kang ngadhangi
ambuntoni marang kabēcikan
kang irēng iku gawene
dene kang abang iku
iya tuduh nēpsu tan bēcik
sakehing pēpenganan
mētū saking iku
panasten panasbaranan
ambuntoni marang ati ingkang eling
marang ing kawaspadan

12

Dene iya kang arupa kuning
pangwasane nanggulang sabarang
cipta kang bēcik dadine
panggawe amrih tulus
ati kuning ingkang ngadhangi

⁴⁷

MS: tigasmuhing.

mung panggawe pangrusak
binanjur jinurung
mung kang putih iku nyata
ati antěng mung suci tan ika iki
prawira ing kaharjan

13

Amung iku kang bisa nampani
ing sasmita sajatining rupa
nampani nugraha nggone
ingkang bisa tumanduk
kang lěstari pamoring kapti
iku mungsuh tětiga
tur samya gung-agung
balane ingkang tětiga
kang aputih tanpa rowang amung siji
mila anggung kasoran

This passage is not based on the Old Javanese. Although it carefully avoids the pertinent Islamic terminology, it describes the four colours as human passions (*nafs*). These four are widespread topics in mystical texts in Javanese and Malay (Braginsky 2004:278, 667, 723). Three of them are Quranic (Schimmel 1994:184) while the fourth appears to be an Indonesian innovation (Van Bruinessen 1994:316, Poerbatjaraka 1940:48).

I cannot identify a particular textual source for the ideas expressed here. The passions are *al-nafs al-'ammāra* 'the soul that incites to evil', which is here identified with the colour black, *al-nafs al-lawwāma* 'conscience, the repenting soul', which seems to be the red colour, *al-nafs al-ṣāwiyya* 'the withering[?] soul' or *al-nafs al-ṣāfiyya* 'the pure[?] soul', which is yellow (this is the passion added to the Quranic threesome in Indonesia), and finally the while colour, *al-nafs al-muṭmainna* 'the soul at peace'.

V.14a–j: Wrěkudara longs even more for the absolute union

14

Lamun bisa iya němbadani
marang sěsukěr tělung prakara
sida ing kono pamore
tanpa tuduh puniku
ing pamore kawula Gusti
Wrěkudara miyarsa
sěngkut pamrihipun
sangsaya birainira
iya marang kahuwusaning ngaurip
sampurnaning panunggal

While the Yasadipuran author did use elements from the Old Javanese here, he went his own way to a considerable extent. He represented the contents of OJ 2b and 2c in MoJ 14a–b and those of OJ 2d, quite literally, in MoJ 14c, but whereas the Old Javanese appears to state that the mystic’s unification is ostensible (*patuduhan*, according to Poerbatjaraka’s interpretation of OJ 2d: ‘Hij is werkelijk één geworden met het Ledige, en zijn vereeniging is aanwijsbaar’ [1940:24]), the Yasadipuran author stated that if one is able to resist the three hindrances, unification can be achieved without instruction (*tanpa tuduh*, MoJ 14d). Teaching being unnecessary for this is in fact an idea that is reemphasized further on in the Yasadipuran text, in a passage for which no Old Javanese original is known (V.34f–g in Tanaya 1979:20).

Line 14e of the Modern Javanese cites a key phrase in Javanese mysticism: *pamore kawula Gusti*. While the servant is not mentioned in the Old Javanese, the joining (*[a]mor*) and God, here referred to as *Sang Sunya*, are (OJ 2d). In fact *mor* has been used before with the same sense (MoJ 9e: *amor ing gaib*, MoJ 9j: *pamoring Suksma Mulya*, MoJ 13e: *pamoring kapti*, MoJ 14c: *pamore*). It was also used before in the source text: OJ V.1d: *moring Tan Ana*.

Lines 14f–j of the Modern Javanese are not based on the Old Javanese. They finally introduce a key term in Javanese Sufism, *birai*, the equivalent of Arabic ‘*ishq* ‘love’ and ‘*āshiq* ‘lover’ – for and of God, respectively (Zoetmulder 1995:82–83). Although Wrĕkudara’s love or longing, now even greater than before, is not said to be for God Himself but rather for the completion of life, the perfect or absolute union (with Him), the difference is probably negligible.

2

Tiga uriping buwana, pamrĕdining jagat kabeh
tan sah wini-winigĕnan, kang apasah la(wa)n tiga
sira sang tan kĕneng tiga, datan salah iĕ ĕpira
prasida mor ing Sang Sunya, paworira patuduhan

3

Sampun mawarah rasaning, tiga wigĕnaning tapa

Where the Yasadipuran text describes Wrĕkudara’s growing passion, in the Old Javanese text, instead, one colour vanishes from the radiance, so that only two remain (OJ 3b–4d). The text treats the meaning of this duality: it represents various complementary contrasts, first of all that of the ruler and the ruled. The Yasadipuran author did not adopt this idea or any of the wordings. If he took it as a reference to God and man, this is not surprising given that it made God visible and because it endorsed duality. Later the Modern Javanese text will stress that God cannot be represented (for instance in 19c–f and 23c) and that the idea of duality is mistaken (Tanaya 1979:20, Arps 2000:115).

ilang rupanikang tunggal, rwa kari warnaning
praba

sang Taskaratmaja takwan, mapa he⁴⁸ yen kalih
tinon
iku rupaning wisesa, lawan kang winisesêng rat

4

Iku rasaning⁴⁹ buwana, lawan kang angrasani rat
ana ngka⁵⁰ rasa jalwestri, rasaning iya lan dudu
titahnya cale-cinale, mbĕk suka⁵¹ ngucap ingucap
karaning jana utama, tan rĕna adara-daran

V.15a–17e: Wrĕkudara sees a single light composed of eight colours; Dewa Ruci explains that this is the true nature of the union

15

Sirna patang prakara na malih
urub siji wĕwolu kang warna
Sang Wrĕkudara ature
punapa namanipun
urub siji wolu kang warni
pundi ingkang sanyata
rupa kang satuhu
wontĕn kadi rĕtna muncar
wontĕn kadi maya-maya angebati
wontĕn abra markata

16

Marbudyeng Rat Dewa Ruci angling
iya iku kajatening tunggal
saliring warna tĕgĕse
iya na ing sireku
tuwin iya isining bumi
ginambar angganira
lawan jagad agung
jagad cilik tan prabeda
purwa ana lor kidul kulon puniki
wetan ing dhuwur ngandhap

⁴⁸ MS: mapa hop.

⁴⁹ MS: rasya.

⁵⁰ MS: anika.

⁵¹ MS: biksuka.

17

Miwah abang irěng kuning putih
iya panguripe ing buwana
jagad cilik jagad gědhe
pan padha isinipun
tinimbangkěn ing sira iki

The Yasadipuran author relied heavily on the exemplar in this passage and he presented a remarkably similar doctrine (if that is the right word). He used the Old Javanese in treating the multicoloured light as a representation of the true nature of the mystical union (*kajatening tunggal* in MoJ 16b, from *kajatining tunggal* in OJ 7d), and as a representation of the identity of microcosm and macrocosm. The terms *jagad agung* or *jagad gědhe* and *jagad cilik* (MoJ 16g–h, 17c) are only in the Yasadipuran text, but the idea is the same in the exemplar.

A curious difference is that in the Yasadipuran text the light is explicitly described as eight-coloured (MoJ 15b and 15d), while in the Old Javanese it is repeatedly said to be multicoloured (OJ 5c, 6a, 7b) but no number seems to be specified. Why then eight? Eight is not the sum of the previously mentioned colours, nor those of the points of the compass, zenith and nadir, and the four threats of the heart. The number may derive from another, perhaps Islamic, source unknown to me, or it could be based on a certain reading of the Old Javanese after all. The morpheme *asta* in line 9a, which Poerbatjakara interpreted as *asta* as ‘hand’, may have been recognized by the Yasadipuran author as *asṭa* ‘eight’. The fact that he did not take over the mention of certain obviously Hindu-Buddhist ritual acts in this line (OJ 9a) in his Islamized text is not surprising.

5

Tělas pawarah sang Jina-, rěsi ri sang Bayusuta
rěp tunggal salila (ma)bra, lěnglěng manahi sang
tumon⁵²
dening warna akeh katon, ling Gandarwaraja
takwan
ri (sang) Adibudarěsi⁵³

6

Apa si sang katingalan, pratunggal akeh tiningal
warahěn ulun aranya, den tunggal apatuduhan
ěndi⁵⁴ kang makara-kara, tatwanikang marakata
ana kadi ratna muñcar, kadi gilapnikang⁵⁵ maya

⁵² MS: tino.

⁵³ Even in its amended form, this verse line is eight syllables short.

⁵⁴ MS: ěda.

⁵⁵ MS: gilapnata.

7

Ĕndi kajatining wĕnang, kang tan salah tiningalan
akeh warna katingalan, kang ĕndi jatining tinon
ling Bayusuta matĕrĕh, Sang Hyang Budarsi
mawarah

iku kajatining tunggal, salwiring warnĕnĕng sira

8

Towin warnanikang jagat, sĕk kagarba⁵⁶ ring
sarira
purwa geneya daksina, neriti pracima byabya
utara ersanya madya, iku pamrĕdining bawa
sweta rakta pita krĕsna, ika warnaning buwana

9

Asta-soḍ ĕm (asta-)mantra, pamrĕdining asta-
reka⁵⁷
salwirning suksmĕnĕng sira, towin atunggalan
sana
anane ana ri kita, ananta ana ri kana
datan waneh sangkanira, tunggal kang akrĕti sarat

⁵⁶

MS: sĕkargaba.

⁵⁷

MS: asma-reka *or* aswa-reka.

V.17f–22h: Wrĕkudara sees a figure resembling an ivory-coloured bee larva; Dewa Ruci explains that this is not the divine Essence that Wrĕkudara seeks, but the Pramana, which is given life by the Spirit

yen ilang warnaning kang
jagad kabeh iku
saliring reka tan ana
kinumpulkĕn aneng rupa kang sawiji
tan kakung tan wanodya

18

Kadya tawon gumana puniki
kang asawang putran-putran dĕnta
lah payo dulunĕn kuwe
Wrĕkudara andulu
ingkang kadya pĕputran gadhing
cahya mancur kumilat
tumeja ngĕnguwung
punapa inggih punika
warnaning Dat kang pinrih dipun ulati
kang sajatining rupa

19

Anauri aris Dewa Ruci
iku dudu ingkang sira sĕdya
kang mumpuni ambĕk kabeh
tan kĕna sira dulu
tanpa rupa datanpa warni
tan gatra tan satmata
iya tanpa dunung
mung dumunung mring kang awas
mung sasmita aneng ing jagad ngebĕki
dinumuk datan ana

20

Dene iku kang sira tingali
kang asawang pĕputran mutyara
ingkang kumilat cahyane
angkara-kara murub
pan Pramana arane nĕnggih
uripe kang sarira
Pramana puniku
tunggal aneng ing sarira

nanging datan milu sungkawa prihatin
ěnggone aneng raga

21

Datan milu mangan turu něnggih
iya nora milu lara lapa
yen iku pisah ěnggone
raga kari ngalumpruk
yěkti lungkrah badan sireki
ya iku kang kawasa
nandhang rahsanipun
inguripan dening Suksma
iya iku sinung sih anandhang urip
ingakěn rahsaning Dat

22

Yeku sinandhangkěn ing sireki
nanging kadya simbar neng kěkaywan
ananing raga ěnggone
uriping Pramaneku
inguripan ing Suksma Jati
misesa ing sarira
Pramana puniku
yen mati milu kalěswan

In the beginning of this pericope the Yasadipuran author adopted wordings from his source, but he changed the sense. Whereas at this point in the Old Javanese story, in conclusion to the serial reduction of the number of radiances all forms in the world vanish (OJ 10a) whereupon Dewa Ruci shows Wrěkudara the life of the self in the form of an ivory doll as small as a bee larva, neither male nor female (OJ 10b–d), in the Yasadipuran text Dewa Ruci says that if all forms in the world (presumably the macrocosm which is also the microcosm) vanish and are concentrated in a single form, then this resembles an ivory doll, neither male nor female, in the shape of a bee larva (MoJ 17f–18b). It is possible that the ivory-coloured figure, which emitted a radiance (MoJ 18f–g and 20c–d, OJ 12b and later also 15b), was reinterpreted as a representation of the *rūḥ Muḥammad*, Muhammad’s soul. In the *Tuḥfa* it is stated that “Before creation came into being / the Spirit of the apostle already was, / its form radiantly shining” and that, in the Prophet’s words, “Every thing of creation / comes from the light that is myself, / the manifestation of created things” (Johns 1965:65). The Modern Javanese version of the *Dewa Ruci* describes the reverse process, in a hypothetical mood (*if*).

In Yasadipuran text Wrěkudara is told to look at the figure, and he describes what he sees (MoJ 18c–g). This is a free rendition of the Old Javanese, where Wrěkudara is first described as being amazed by the figure and then asked to say what he sees, which he does (OJ 11a–12c).

Wrĕkudara’s question in lines 18h–j of the Modern Javanese is an innovation. It is noteworthy that *Dat* (Arabic *Dhāt*) in 18j is one of the very few explicitly Islamic theological terms employed in the Yasadipuran text. As mentioned before, God’s Essence is frequently discussed in Islamic mystical treatises. For Dewa Ruci’s reply in the next stanza the Yasadipuran author returned to the exemplar. What he did was expand considerably on a single hemistich, *tan iku sang ingulatan* (OJ 12d). He made it into an entire stanza (MoJ 19). The idea expressed here, that God, or God’s Essence, cannot be seen and is placeless and immaterial is commonplace in mystical theory (see for instance Drewes 1969:59).

The Pramana (Old Javanese *pramāṇa* ‘right measure, authority, controlling power’), as this shape is called, is characterized in the Yasadipuran text as *uripe kang sarira* (MoJ 20f) just like in the Old Javanese (*iku uriping sarira* in OJ 12d). Its subsequent description in the Modern Javanese text (MoJ 20h–22h and further) is founded on the exemplar and often utilizes the same wordings (OJ 13a–14d and further). Alongside a number of repetitions which are not matched by repetitions in the Old Javanese, the Modern Javanese contains two revealing additions as well. MoJ 21f–g states about the Pramana that “it is capable / of undergoing the secret” (or the innermost self of God, as in Johns 1965:67) and MoJ 21i says that “it is allowed to undergo life, / recognized as the secret (or innermost self) of the Essence”. It seems to me that the Pramana was reinterpreted as equivalent to the human soul (*rūḥ*). In Hamid’s account of the concepts and teachings of Syekh Yusuf al-Makassari (1626–1699), who taught Naqsyabandiyah doctrines in Bantĕn but is especially known as a teacher of the Khalwatiyah (Van Bruinessen 1994:34–46), the relation between *rūḥ* and body is described in terms that are strikingly similar to those found in lines 20g–21e of the Modern Javanese (Hamid 1994:193–194). Although Hamid gives the impression that his account is based on Yusuf’s writings, it is likely that much of it derives from interviews with contemporary teachers from the *tarekat* Khalwatiyah in South Sulawesi. It is therefore not certain that conceptions like this circulated in Indonesia centuries ago.

10

ilang rupanikang jagat, salwirning reka tan ana
tinonakĕn uripira, de sang Pa(ra)mabudĕng rat
winarnakĕn sira wahya, sawang putra-putran danta
sa-malimuka gumana, tan kakung sira tan istri

11

Sang Samiranatanaya, jĕngĕr jiwa tinonakĕn
dinĕlĕng sangsaya lĕnglĕng, lĕyĕp lĕngit alĕpira
Iwir murcita sira mĕnĕng, wetni lĕyĕp tiningalan
lingira sang paṇ ḍ ya⁵⁸ takwan, apa ri katingalira

12

Sang Pawanatmaja⁵⁹ muwus, atakwan sang
Jinarēsi
sawulatku arja kila, sawang putra-putra kara
[...],⁶⁰ lēngit lēyēp katingalan
tan iku sang ingulatan, iku uriping sarira

13

Pramana iku aranya, tan milu suka dukêng rat
tanpa ma(ngan tan)pa turu, (tan milu lara mawang
lapa)⁶¹
yan apisah lawan raga, awak drawa tanpa sesa
sing ulah-ulahing angga, kawisesa ing Pramana

14

Tuwin uriping Pramana, sinung urip dening
Suksma
inguripan paḍ a Suksma, sinaḥ ḍ angakēn ing sira
saksat simbar mungging kaywan, anane ana ri
kita
tan milu tuṣṭ a bañcana, yen mati milu kalusya

V.22i–24c: Dewa Ruci explains that the Spirit can be encountered when the Pramana is gone, but He cannot be visualized

lamun ilang suksmaning sarira nuli
uriping Suksma ana

23

Sirna iku iya kang pinanggih
uriping Suksma ingkang sanyata
kaliwat tan upamane
lir rahsaning kamumu
kang Pramana amratandhani
tuhu tunggal pinangka
jinaten puniku
umatur Sang Wrēkudara
inggih pundi warnine ingkang sayēkti

⁵⁹ MS: Pasatmaja.

⁶⁰ Poerbatjaraka notes that the leaf is crumbled here. Eight syllables are missing.

⁶¹ Poerbatjaraka does not state where he got this emendation from. Perhaps it is from the Yasadipuran text, which reads *iya nora milu lara lapa* in the corresponding place (Tanaya 1979:18).

This passage concludes the incomplete Old Javanese manuscript that Poerbatjaraka used for his edition. It is possible, but not certain, that the same applied to the manuscript or manuscripts consulted by the Yasadipuran author. The Yasadipuran text now proceeds to describe how Wrĕkudara achieves enlightenment. The last of the seven stages of being in the *Tuhfa* is that of the perfect human being (*insān kāmil*). After his meeting with Dewa Ruci has ended, Wrĕkudara is described in terms that match such a condition.

4 Conclusion

When I began the research for this paper, I hoped to find a single Islamic text or perhaps the oeuvre of one writer that could have inspired the Yasadipuran author. What I have come up with, however, is a miscellany of ideas and images from various sources. They do have Sufism in common, particularly devotional practice and mystical doctrine and exercise in *tarekat* contexts. If this was indeed the background of the Islamization of the Old Javanese poem, it is likely that the author got some of his inspiration from his own religious experience.

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MS: hopananya.

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