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 Mĕrbabu 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

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 not 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Yasadipuran text (Tanaya 1979:14–18)</th>
<th>The Old Javanese text (Poerbatjaraka 1940:20–28)</th>
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<td>IV.17a–19d Wrĕkudara finds Dewa Ruci and is addressed by him.</td>
<td>IV.1a–2d (like the Yasadipuran text)</td>
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<td>IV.26f–29d</td>
<td>Dewa Ruci admonishes Wrĕkudara about the need to know the object of one’s quest in life.</td>
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<td>IV.29e–30g</td>
<td>Wrĕkudara makes the sêmbah and asks the deity’s name.</td>
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<td>IV.31a–32d</td>
<td>Wrĕkudara asks to be taught about the self.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.32e–V.3b</td>
<td>Dewa Ruci tells Wrĕkudara to enter his body cavity through his left ear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.3c–4j</td>
<td>Wrĕkudara finds himself in a void and tells Dewa Ruci that he is disoriented.</td>
</tr>
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<td>V.5a–5j</td>
<td>Wrĕkudara finds himself before Dewa Ruci, sees a light, and can orient himself.</td>
</tr>
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<td>V.6a–6j</td>
<td>Dewa Ruci asks Wrĕkudara what he sees: all he sees now is four colours.</td>
</tr>
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<td>V.7a–8h</td>
<td>Dewa Ruci explains that the light is called Pancamaya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.8i–10c</td>
<td>Dewa Ruci explains that the four colours are the threats of the heart, which permeate the world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.10d–13j</td>
<td>Dewa Ruci specifies the symbolism of the black, red, yellow, and white lights.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.14a–j</td>
<td>Wrĕkudara longs even more for the absolute union.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.15a–17e</td>
<td>Wrĕkudara sees a single light composed of eight colours; Dewa Ruci explains that this is the true nature of the union.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.8a–10d</td>
<td>Wrĕkudara asks the deity’s name (and gets an answer that is difficult to interpret in the MS).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.11a–12d</td>
<td>(like the Yasadipuran text)</td>
</tr>
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<td>IV.13a–14d</td>
<td>Wrĕkudara is moved by the deity’s words.</td>
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<td>IV.15a–16d</td>
<td>Wrĕkudara asks who the deity really is.</td>
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<td>(like the Yasadipuran text)</td>
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<td>IV.20d–23d</td>
<td>(like the Yasadipuran text)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.24a</td>
<td>Wrĕkudara sees a light.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.24b–d</td>
<td>Dewa Ruci tells Wrĕkudara to observe the multicoloured light.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.25a–26b</td>
<td>(like the Yasadipuran text)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.26c–27d</td>
<td>Four colours appear. Dewa Ruci says that they permeate the world and represent the threats of the heart.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.28a–V.1d</td>
<td>One colour vanishes, leaving three. They are the threats to asceticism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.2a–3a</td>
<td>One who is able to cast off the three can merge with the Void (the Immaterial).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.2b–4d</td>
<td>Two colours remain. They symbolize various dualisms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.5a–9d</td>
<td>(like the Yasadipuran text, but the light has many colours)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 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.

### 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.

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

### V.15a–17d
Dewa Ruci explains that the Spirit can be encountered when the Pramana is gone. He is formless.

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### 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 pinanggihan 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 atapēl alit ing wayah
tunggal-tunggal (ta) sira datanpa rowang
i(ku) tunggal sing katēmu paḍ a tunggal

2
Bagya ta kita Bima mapa gatinta
lumawad ing ulun ma(r)dika kasyasih
nusa sunya tanpa mangghih pala boga
sumurupa ing Sunya mintarēng rajya²

IV.19e–20g: Wrĕkudara is startled

nggarjita tyasnya miyarsi
Sang Wrĕkudara
ngunun denny a ningali

20
Dene bajang neng samodra tanpa rowang
cilik amēnthik-mēnthik
iki ta wong apa
gēdhē jē nthikingwang
ing pangucape kumaki
ladak kumēthak

² MS: binteng 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 ētoh pĕjah
sayĕkti tan prapta iki
ing kene mpan
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 wĕruhē 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 iḍĕp 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). 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 unlikeness 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 iḍĕp 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 Wrĕkudara’s genealogy

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

24
Saking Brama wite ingkang para nata
iya bapakireki
turun saking Brama
mĕncarkĕn para nata
dene ibunira Kunthi
kang duwe tĕdhak
iya sang Wisnumurti

25
Mung patutan tĕlu lawan bapakira
Yudhisthira pangarsi
panĕnggake sira
panĕngah Dananjaya
kang loro patute Madrim
jangkĕp 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 brahmanarĕsi 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 Budatatwarĕsi
kita wetbetira⁴ Sang Hyang Caturmuka

⁴ MS: betbat.
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).

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 Rĕsi; 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 ĕning
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.

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 ngango-anggo ugi
yen durung wruha
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 Wrĕkudara 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 (asmāʾ al-ḥusnā in Arabic) are recited in Sufic dhikr and contemplated (Schimmel 1994:120–121). The names (Asmāʾ) of God, alongside His Essence, Attributes, and Works (Dhāt, Ṣifāt, Afʿāl), 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 sinėmbah (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

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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 lampah\(^{16}\)
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 puhajêng
wineh laiçung den-siç ᕏرمز mas tanpa una
wineh timah den-siç ᕏرمز salaka mangan
riwêd-bawa ing amet saduning pinet

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

Wrĕkudara duk miyarsi

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\(^{15}\) 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.
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 sēmbah, 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. 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 kasatwikan sawang sela kawahan (ing) guntur magĕng

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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.
The Yasadipuran author went on to describe how Wrĕkudara 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 (Prijohotoeto 1934:168) – is derived from the Old Javanese sang Pa(ra)mabudêng 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)mabudêng 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 Wrĕkudara, 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 wara matutur
kapuha manah Sri Gadawastatmaja
dening patjak ak mwang alit wěruh ing sira
nahan lingira takwan wasta sang rēsi

9

Sapa aranta putra ci(li) matapa
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 wuruh.
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 makatēna
pun patik anuhan sīn
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 warangka
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. 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–

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24 Tanaya’s text reads warana, but this is probably an error for warangka or warangkan. In the corresponding place, Prijohetomo’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.
I do not know whether it has extra-Islamic roots.

15
Somya wuwus Wrĕkodara mandra malon
towin ulun (ĕn)di26 kahinanku ring rat
sopanangku lumampah tĕkĕng jaladri
cawuh Drona purohitangku mangutus

16
Towin ulun (sa)nyasa wruh (i) jatinta
yen (a)tuhu yen arusit yen asadu27
den kadi jatining ź uhung tan kawaran
wacananta28 den paď ang tanpa sings(inga)n

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

26 According to Poerbatjaraka, *di* might also be read as *dadi*.
27 MS: aswadu.
28 MS: wacantant.
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, jënthik masa sêdhênga, 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 Tûḥfa (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 tuşṭ a Hyang Janardana
denira ayun wêruh ing kasat(wi)kan
krama kinon amaŋjinga garba denta29
tuşṭ a saha guyu Baywatmaja jëngër

18

Ĕndi unggwanku masukê garba (ma)lit
apan alo Bima pangawak parwata30
giriraja tan paḍ a rikê tuwuḥku31
tuwin umasṭ iku pangawak tan sama

19

Sampun mawacana ta sang Bayusuta
dadi mojar sang pañḍ ya32 kon amasuka
ĕndi gënging giri mwang Iwaning buwana

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29 MS: dinta.
30 MS: prawatta.
31 MS: ri tluguku.
32 MS: paja.
V.3c–4j: Wrĕkudara finds himself in a void and tells Dewa Ruci that he is disoriented

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-‘ārifū gharaqa fi 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’rifat 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 luruh, 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 Hadijdaja 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.
V.5a–5j: Wrĕkudara finds himself before Dewa Ruci, sees a light, and can orient himself

Byar katingal ngadhĕp Dewa Ruci
Wrĕkudara 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. Wrĕkudara 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

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35 MS: denya.
36 MS: awharaning.
texts Wrĕkudara 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 Wrĕkudara’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: “rabīṭah [...] 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 Wrĕkudara 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-Tulḥa al-mursala ilā rūḥ al-nabī ‘The Gift addressed to the spirit of the Prophet’. This Arabic treatise by Muḥammad ibn Faḍlallah (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 Tulḥa “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 Tulḥa 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 Tulḥa 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: tiningalan lawan kalbi, BA]
in the form of a vision,
when strong mental [striving]
produces its form.
It is by strong mental [striving]
moreover 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

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 a 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).

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

7

Angandika Dewa Suksma Suci
ingkang dhaingin sira anon cahya
gumawang tan wurh arane
Pancamaya puniku

37 MS: paņja makson.
sajatine ing tyas sayĕkti
pangarĕping sarira
tĕgĕse tyas iku
ingaranan mukasifat
kang anuntun marang sifat kang linuwih
kang sajatining sifat

8

Mangka tinula\textsuperscript{38} aywa lumaris
awasēna sira aywa samar
kawasaning tyas ēmpane
tingaling tyas puniku
anêngēri 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.\textsuperscript{39} The description of its significance is based in part on the exemplar: \textit{sajatine ing tyas} (MoJ 7e) from \textit{jatining driya} (OJ 25a) and \textit{pangarĕping sarira} (MoJ 7f) from \textit{mukaning sarira} (OJ 25b). But subsequently the Pancamaya is represented in ostensibly Islamic terms. The concept of \textit{sifat} (Arabic ṣifā, 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 \textit{sĕrat Cĕnthini} (which admittedly was written at least two decades after the Yasadipuran \textit{Dewa Ruci}, but made extensive use of existing texts) the servant’s seven \textit{sifat} are listed (Zoetmulder 1995:118). They are the stages of emanation that are also known from the \textit{Tuḥfa}, which culminate in the perfect man (\textit{insān kāmil}). Perhaps when the Yasadipuran text states that the heart is 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,\textsuperscript{38}

\textsuperscript{38} Tanaya’s text reads tinulak, but this is probably an error for tinula. In the corresponding place, Prijohoehtomo’s text has tinula (1938:170).

\textsuperscript{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 *Tulṣa*. 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 agĕlh dadalan⁴⁰ marĕng gomuka
dadya angĕlĕmi⁴¹ 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 irĕng kuning putih
iku durgamaning tyas

9

Pan isine jagad amĕpĕki
iya ati kang tĕlung prakara
pamurunge laku dene
kang bisa pisah iku
yakti bisa amor ing gaib
iku mungsuhe tapa
ati kang tĕtĕlu
irĕng abang kuning samya
angadhangi cipta karsa kang lĕstari
pamoring Suksma Mulya

10

Lamun nora kawilĕt ing katri
yĕkti sida simaning sarira
lĕstari ing panunggale

⁴⁰ MS: anagĕlĕn.
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, are not represented in the Yasadipuran text.

\[ rĕp \text{ ksana}^{43} \text{ ilang jagat catur yan tinon} \]
\[ \text{ling Gandarwaraja takwan ing sang wiku} \]

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 anêng 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.

\[ 27 \]
\[ \text{Mojar sang panḍ ya}^{44} \text{ ika sang kasih-arĕp} \]
\[ \text{catur warna iku pangisining jagat} \]
\[ \text{ana seta ana rakta pita}^{45} \text{ krĕsna} \]
\[ \text{iku warnani kadurgamaning ati}^{46} \]

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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: warnanina gdurmaning ati.
Ilang tunggal prabanika yan tri katon
ika rakwa durgama mēpēki-ng sarat
piŋ d a kadi kantaka kēna i rika
suci mulya kang tan kakēnan ing sadya

V.1
Sri Kuntisuta winarah, yan tiga musuhing\textsuperscript{47} tapa
karanya tan tēkan i don, sang ataki-taki (n) lampah
paroking tiga winuwus, tanpa pasah anēng 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

\textsuperscript{47} MS: tigasmuwing.
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-Šāwīyya* ‘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**

**13**

Amung iku kang bisa nampani ing sasmita sajatinining rupa nampani nugraha nggone ingkang bisa tumanjuk kang lĕstari pamoring kapti iku mungsuhi tĕtiga tur samya gung-agung balane ingkang tĕtiga kang aputih tanpa rowang amung siji mila anggung kasoran

**14**

Lamun bisa iya nĕmbadani marang sĕsukĕr tĕlung prakara sida ing kono pamore tanpa tuduh puniku ing pamore kawula Gusti Wrĕkudara miyarsa sĕngkut pamrihipun sangsaya birainira iya marang kahuwusaning ngaurip sampurnanining 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 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.

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 waranining praba
sang Taskaratmaja takwan, mapa he\textsuperscript{48} yen kalih
tinon
iku rupaning wisesa, lawan kang winisesêng rat

4
Iku rasaning\textsuperscript{49} buwana, lawan kang angrasani rat
ana ngka\textsuperscript{50} rasa jalwestri, rasaning iya lan dudu
titahnya cale-cinale, mbêk suka\textsuperscript{51} ngucap ingucap
karaning jana utama, tan rêna 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 wêwolu kang warna
Sang Wrĕkudara ature
punapa namanipun
urub siji wolu kang warni
pundi ingkang sanyata
rupa kang satuhu
wontên kadi rêna muncar
wontên kadi maya-maya angebati
wontên abra markata

16
Marbudyeng Rat Dewa Ruci angling
iya iku kajatening tunggal
saliring warna têgêse
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

\textsuperscript{48} MS: mapa hop.
\textsuperscript{49} MS: rasya.
\textsuperscript{50} MS: anika.
\textsuperscript{51} MS: biksuka.
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 gĕdhe 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 asta “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
Tĕlas pawarah sang Jina-, rêsi ri sang Bayusuta rĕp tunggal salila (ma)bra, lĕnglĕng manahi sang tumon

dening warna akeh katon, ling Gandarwaraja takwan

ri (sang) Adibudarĕsi

6
Apa si sang katingalan, pratunggal akeh tiningal warahĕn ulun aranya, den tunggal apatuduhan ēndi kang makara-kara, tatwanikang marakata ana kadi ratna muñcar, kadi gilapnikang maya

52 MS: tino.
53 Even in its amended form, this verse line is eight syllables short.
54 MS: ēda.
55 MS: gilapnata.
7
Êndi kajatining wĕnang, kang tan salah tiningalan
akeh warna katingalan, kang ëndi jatining tinon
ling Bayusuta matërêh, Sang Hyang Budarsi
mawarah

iku kajatining tunggal, salwiring warnânêng sira

8
Towin warnanikang jagat, sêk kagarba\(^{56}\) ring
sarira
purwa geneya daksina, neriti pracima byabya
utara ersanya madya, iku pamrëdining bawa
sweta rakta pita krësna, ika warnaning buwana

9
Asta-soḍ êm (asta-)mantra, pamrëdining asta-
reka\(^{57}\)
salwirning suksmânêng sira, towin atunggalan
sana
anane ana ri kita, ananta ana ri kana
datan waneh sangkanira, tunggal kang akrëti sarat

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\(^{56}\) MS: sêkargaba.
\(^{57}\) 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 kabe hiku
saliring reka tan ana
kinumpulkën aneng rupa kang sawiji
tan kakung tan wanodya

18
Kadya tawon gumana puniki
kang asawang putran-putran dënta
lah payo dulunën kuwe
Wrĕkudara andulu
ingkang kadya pĕputran gadhing
cahya mancur kumilat
tumeja ngênguwung
punapa inggih punika
warnaning Dat kang pinrih dipun ulati
kang sajatining rupa

19
Anauri aris Dewa Ruci
iku dudu ingkang sira sêdyaa
kang mumpuni ambĕk kabe h
tan këna sira dulu
tanpa rupa datanpa warni
tan gatra tan satmata
iya tanpa dunung
mung dumunung mring kang awas
mung sasmita aneng ing jagad ngebëki
dinumuk datan ana

20
Dene iku kang sira tingali
kang asawang pĕputran mutyara
ingkang kumilat cahyane
angkara-kara murub
pan Pramana arane nênggih
uripe kang sarira
Pramana puniku
tunggal aneng ing sarira
nanging datan milu sungkawa prihatin
ĕnggone aneng raga

21
Datan milu mangan turu nĕnggih
iya nora milu lara lapa
yen iku pisah ĕnggone
raga kari ngalumpruk
yĕkti lungkrah badan sireki
ya iku kang kawasa
nandhang rahasipun
inguripan dening Suksma
iya iku sinung sih anandhang urip
ingakĕn rahasining Dat

22
Yeku sinandhangkĕn ing sireki
nanging kadya simbar neng kĕkaywan
ananing raga ĕnggone
uriping Pramaneku
inguripan ing Suksma Jati
misesa ing sarira
Pramana puniku
yen mati milu kalĕswan

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 Wrĕkudara 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 Muhammad, Muhammad’s soul. In the Tuḥfa it is stated that “Before creation came into being / the Spirit of the apostle already was, / its form radiantely 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 Wrĕkudara 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 Wrĕkudara is first described as being amazed by the figure and then asked to say what he sees, which he does (OJ 11a–12c).
Wrękudara’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 urip ing 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 Banten 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, salwiring reka tan ana
tinonakēn uripira, de sang Pa(ra)mabudêng rat
winarnakēn sira wahya, sawang putra-putran danta
sa-malimuka gumana, tan kakung sira tan istrī

11

Sang Samiranatanaya, jēngĕr jiwa tinonakēn
dinēlēng sangsaya lēŋlēng, lēyĕp lēngit alēpīra
lwir murcita sira mēnēng, wetni lēyĕp tininggalan
lingīra sang pāṇī d ī yā⁵⁸ takwan, apa ri katingalira

---

⁵⁸ MS: *panja*. 
12
Sang Pawanatmaja\textsuperscript{59} muwus, atakwan sang
Jinarĕsi
sawulatku arja kila, sawang putra-putra kara
[...].\textsuperscript{60} lĕngit lĕyĕp katingalan
tan iku sang ingulatan, iku uriping sarira

13
Pramana iku aranya, tan milu suka dukĕng rat
tanpa ma(ngan tan)pa turu, (tan milu lara mwang
lapa)\textsuperscript{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, sinaṭ ḍ angakĕn ing sira
saksat simbar munggwing kaywan, anane ana ri
kita
tan milu tusṭ 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
tuho tunggal pinangka
jinaten puniku
umatur Sang Wrĕkudara
inggaṁ pundi warnine ingkang sayĕkti

\textsuperscript{59} MS: Pasatmaja.
\textsuperscript{60} Poerbatjaraka notes that the leaf is crumbled here. Eight syllables are missing.
\textsuperscript{61} Poerbatjaraka does not state where he got this emendation from. Perhaps it is from the Yasadipuran text,
which reads \textit{iya nora milu lara lapa} in the corresponding place (Tanaya 1979:18).
In the very beginning of this passage (MoJ 22i–23d) the Yasadipuran author continued to rely on the Old Javanese (OJ 15a–b) both as regards sense and as regards wording. He did insert the additional statement that the life of the Spirit is beyond representation (MoJ 23c), but this general idea is suggested further on in the Old Javanese (in OJ 16d: tanpa rupa iḍêpira, wĕkasing Suksma Wisesa, and in lines 17b–d).

From line 23e onwards the Yasadipuran author went his own way. It cannot even be established whether he had access to this part of the Old Javanese at all.

15
Ilang suksmaning sarira, uriping Suksma
kapanggih
kadi gila kara-kara, lwir rasa anêng kamumu
imbuh lêŋlêŋ tingalira, dening sĕnên marakata
Sri Werocana mawarah, anta uriping Pramana

16
Aneng kita dudu kita, aneng waneh dudu waneh
salwire gumêlar ing rat, paḍa sinandanganira
warna-warna (yan) warnanên, apan ora tinonakên
tanpa rupa iḍêpira, wĕkasing Suksma Wisesa
ing sinadya-sadya ana

17
Towin warna aneng sira, kadi warnaning sinĕmbah
urip tan ingurip sira, amanusa tanpa warna
tan kagarba têka ri heng, tan kawêngku ing sarira
duranira tanpa warah, aparêk tanpa gaṭ ikan

18
Nimittanira manusa, aturu tan tulus pêjah
lunganira Hyang Pramana, lwir paratra kang sarira
karananira tan matya, Hyang Antakara ring raga

---

62 This stanza seems to be metrically irregular. There is a fifth verse line, which however is only eight syllables long.
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 Wrěkudara achieves enlightenment. The last of the seven stages of being in the Ṭuḥfa is that of the perfect human being (insân kâmil). After his meeting with Dewa Ruci has ended, Wrěkudara 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 Šufism 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.

Bibliography


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63 MS: hopananya.
Indonesia.


