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Juja-Makjuja as the Antichrist in a Javanese End-of-Time Narrative

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It's Gog and Magog, but not as we know it

My intention in this chapter is to discuss an intriguing Javanese narrative poem from the pre-modern colonial period, composed at the Central Javanese court of Surakarta, in which a terrifying figure called Juja-Makjuja plays a dominant role in an eschatological war at some unspecified time in the future. Students of Islamic literature will have no difficulty in recognizing the Arabic names Ya'jūj and Ma'jūj (also known as Yājūj (wa-)Mājūj) or 'Gog and Magog', but this Javanese depiction of Juja-Makjuja does not conform to the conventions of apocalyptic imagery in other parts of the Islamic world. For one, in contrast to received lore which distinguishes two forces of chaos, this Javanese story dwells on the theme of Juja-Makjuja as a single demonic 'Other,' being the Embodiment of Evil so to speak. Furthermore, Juja-Makjuja's portrayal as Jesus's grandson and a mix of other idiosyncratic narrative elements give this opaque Javanese writing an unmistakeably exotic feel, so that Islamologists of the prescriptive persuasion may call its 'Islamness' into question – mistakenly so, as I hope to show.

Sharing the sorry fate of the vast majority of pre-20th-century Javanese literature, this story too is still buried in manuscript collections, and has only been perfunctorily described for cataloguing purposes. In 1881, Johannes Gunning was the first academic to briefly touch on it in his Leiden doctoral thesis, stating that it entailed a 'curious story about the Prophet Ngisa' (Gunning 1881: XIII). After having provided some idea of its contents on the basis of his reading of the MS Cod. Or. 1795 kept in the Leiden University Library, he concluded that the narrative was 'far from preaching the orthodox creed.'[1] Apparently, 'orthodox' Islam (whatever that may be) counted as the real thing for Gunning. He had a low opinion of Javanese mystical texts: confessing that he often groped in the dark when

1 In fact, his judgement extended to all the poems contained in the Leiden MSS Cod. Or. 1795 and 1796, see Gunning (1881: XIV).

puzzled by unintelligible lines, he nonetheless opined that much of Javanese 'priestly' literature merely contained *onzinnig gebeuzel*, or 'senseless twaddle' (Gunning 1881: XV).

A decade later, when the first ever comprehensive catalogue of Javanese manuscripts appeared, its compiler Vreede (1892: 314-315) simply referred to Gunning. Somewhere in that same decade, however, the Javanologist Jan Brandes (1857-1905) in Batavia (present-day Jakarta) commissioned a (handwritten) copy of the Leiden MS Cod. Or. 1795, which after his death entered the collection of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences as part of the Brandes bequest, now housed in the National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta (Behrend 1998: 103). This four-volume copy, registered as Br 399a-d, was described by the Leiden-trained Javanese philologist Poerbatjaraka in one of his catalogues (Poerbatjaraka 1950: 139-151). The Leiden MS Cod. Or. 1795 was again described in Pigeaud's monumental *catalogue raisonné* of Javanese MSS in Dutch public collections, but Pigeaud devoted relatively few words to it, since Poerbatjaraka had already made an extensive summary of its contents (Pigeaud 1968: 27-28).

A preliminary question to ask is whether examining the poem on Juja-Makjuja is worth the effort. Not if we rely upon the judgement of Poerbatjaraka (1884-1964), arguably one of the most erudite and best informed experts on Javanese literature. In his rather lengthy synopsis, Poerbatjaraka did not conceal his deep annoyance with the tale. He lamented the 'monotony' of some of the poem's descriptions, and pointed to several 'mistakes' in an altogether 'confused' story. His final verdict was that "reading such allegorical fantasies or fantastic allegories is for me like observing an unpredictable lunatic."[2]

In this, Poerbatjaraka can be said to stand in a long academic tradition initiated by the 18th-century Enlightenment thinker Immanuel Kant of a 'rational crusade for truth' against 'mystagogues' (cf. Benjamin 1998: 15). Predictably perhaps, prophetic visions of Judgment Day and eschatological scenarios relating to the expectation of an impending end of the present order tend to provoke grumbling from sceptic rationalists. As Marina Benjamin (1998: 83) put it in her book on apocalyptic mythology, for some people, and not only those outside of learned circles, the fundamental question surrounding this kind of literature is "not about what sort of sense it makes, but about

2 "Lectuur van dergelijke allegorische fantasieën of fantastische allegorieën is voor mij als het observeren van een onberekenbare geesteszieke" (Poerbatjaraka 1950: 145).

whether it makes sense at all." Benjamin (1998: 39) speaks in this respect of a "tug of war between reason and mystagoguery." Poerbatjaraka's reduction of the story to the symptoms of a madman's biography is reminiscent of Kant's practice of pathologizing prognosticators. In the latter's 1766 *Träume eines Geistersehers* ('Dreams of a Spirit-Seer') he wrote: "Therefore, I do not at all blame the reader, if, instead of regarding the spirit-seers as half-dwellers in another world, he, without further ceremony, despatches them as candidates for the hospital, and thereby spares himself further investigation" (quoted in Kuehn 2002: 172).

In my opinion, however, Poerbatjaraka's problem of non-understanding has much to do with his personal mindset and the state of philology at that time. Not only did Poerbatjaraka have a rather low opinion of religion *per se*, his Orientalist 'golden-age-and-decline' perception of literary history deeply coloured his criticisms.[3] For example, it was his firm conviction that older texts that had been copied by scribes at the court of Surakarta – the very place where he himself was born and bred – were as a rule 'completely corrupted' (*geheel bedorven*).[4] Haunted by a quest for 'origins' and 'purity', a latter-day text such as the poem on Juja-Makjuja could not but disappoint an Orientalist connoisseur like Poerbatjaraka, who looked disdainfully at any 'post-Golden Age' creative reworking of pre-existing material through a poet's own imagination. Literary invention, in which elements from different sources were adapted, altered and arranged in a new order, was not seen as a demonstration of literary and rhetorical skill, but simply condemned as 'wrong'.

However, as I shall argue in this chapter, although the Javanese narrative poem on Juja-Makjuja may strike us as a tale full of sound and fury, it was certainly not told by an idiot, signifying nothing. To begin with, I offer an outline of the story, basing my reading on the Leiden MS Cod. Or. 1795. Next, I address the question of its textual location in this convolute manuscript, which is closely related to the problem of dating the narrative. Finally, I propose to read the text against the background of the traumatic experiences of Surakarta court circles with their Dutch overlords at the beginning of the 19th century.

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3 Cf. the 'psychogram' by De Graaf (1981: 9-12), esp. the concluding paragraphs.

4 Poerbatjaraka (1938:146) made this remark in connection with Leiden University Library Cod. Or. 1795 and 1796. I mention this because the poem on Juja-Makjuja is contained in Leiden Cod. Or. 1795.

I will suggest that Gunning's assertion about the low degree of 'Islamness' has no foundation.

THE PATH TO GOD

The poem is untitled in the MS, and my designation for it, 'poem on Juja-Makjuja,' is no more than shorthand to embrace a much larger narrative. In total, the story comprises twelve cantos (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Canto structure of the poem on Juja-Makjuja (Leiden Cod. Or. 1795)

Canto	Page	Verse Form	Stanzas	Initial Line
1	369	asmaradana	86	Brangtanira angawruhi
2	391	sinom	36	Kocapa kori punika
3	403	durma	26	Ki Luamah tangginas anulya ngerbat
4	409	dhandhanggula	14	Angsung pémut nenggih kang anulis
5	415	mijil	109	Dèwi Aruman tumurun aglis
6	439	pangkur	61	Asadat sarwi sulukan
7	456	maskumambang	61	Kawarnaa ingkang atengga ing kori
8	467	pocung	61	Tetaliné sarwa mas pinuncung luru
9	478	kinanthi	76	Kang angiring sang retnayu
10	498	durma	58	Yata Ngisa lèngsèr saking ngarsaning-wang
11	510	dhandhanggula	35	Yen angidhep marang jeneng mami
12	524	pangkur	50	Lintang tiba kadya udan

The narrative can be seen to be divided into three parts, viz. (1) an allegory concerning the four grades of the mystic path (cantos 1-4), (2) a story about the sickness of the Tree of Life (cantos 4-9), and (3) God's revelation to Muḥammad regarding the near future (cantos 9-12). It is only in the third and final part that Juja-Makjuja makes his appearance.

The first part, dealing with personifications of the fourfold path to God (*Sharī'a, Ṭarīqa, Ḥaqīqa* and *Ma'rifa*), is preceded by a prologue, in which it is clearly stated that the formal, ritual aspects of Islam should not be neglected along the journey. All Muslims are bound by obligations under *sarak* (from Arabic *shar'*) or 'the sacred law:'[5]

Sapa nora anglakoni	Who does not perform
iya paréntahing sarak	the obligations of religious law
nora jumeneng Islam	cannot be called Islamic.

At one point, viz. in canto 4:1, the poet even interrupts the story to make contact with the public, emphasizing once more the necessity of observing the five prescribed prayers:[6]

Asung pémut nenggih kang anulis	Verily, this writer gives a warning
marang sagung kang samya mamaca	to all those who are reciting
miwah kang miyarsa kabèh	and all those who are listening:
ing siyang lawan dalu	Neither by day nor by night
ing pangèstu aja gumingsir	should you refrain from the prayers.

These authorial admonitions are of great consequence for our interpretation of the story as a whole, in that they show that whatever differences from Middle Eastern Islam we may discern in this poem, there is no ground for *a priori* concluding, as is so often done, that Islam in Java, especially at its courts, was never more than a thin veneer.

The narrative begins as an allegory of ideas centring on what may be called a conflict about the division of labour. At first, the five *ṣalāt* or prescribed prayers are discontent with their position vis-à-vis two voluntary prayers (*witr*), and complain about the unclear division of

5 Leiden University Library Cod. Or. 1795, p. 369, canto 1:3. A similar exhortation to strictly follow the sharia can be found in the prologue of another poem in this ms on pp. 223-225, which is duly described by Poerbatjaraka (1950: 141) as 'Aansporing van de schrijver tot het stipt volgen van de Sarak'.

6 Leiden University Library Cod. Or. 1795, pp. 409-410.

roles. Ngisa or 'Night Prayer' (from Arabic *ṣalāt al-Ishā'*) even becomes enraged:[7]

kaé Ngisa saha sru mojar	Then Ngisa spoke loudly,
nedha tinata gawéné	and asked that their tasks be properly arranged,
andum karya wong lilima	distributing the work between the five persons.

Ki Sarèngat or 'The Honourable Sharīʿa,' who is the leader of the five prayers, will bring the dispute before God.[8] Other groups, too, are unsatisfied with their work situation. In accordance with the usual Javanese quadripartite division of the mystical path, the other leaders who have to act as advocates are Ki Tarékat ('The Honourable Ṭarīqa'), Ki Kakékat ('The Honourable Ḥaqīqa') and Ki Makripat ('The Honourable Maʿrifa'), respectively (see Figure 2 for an overview of the 'persons' involved in the legal argument).

Figure 2: Cast of Characters

Leader/Advocate	Complainants	Accused
Religious Law: Sarèngat (Sharī'a)	Five daily prescribed prayers: Luhur, Ngasar, Mahrib, Ngisa, Subuh	Two voluntary prayers: Minalwitri and Kawalwitri
Path: Tarékat (Ṭarīqa)	Ki Badan (Body), Ki Osik (Intuition), Ki Nyawa (Spirit), Ki Kalbu (Heart), Ki Budi (Mind), Ki Tepsila (Good Manners)	Consciousness and Resignation: Ki Èling and Ki Panarima
Reality: Kakékat (Ḥaqīqa)	The senses: Ki Paningal (Sight), Ki Pangucap (Speech), Ki Pengambu (Sense of Smell), Ki Pamirsa (Hearing)	Belief and Thoughts: Adhep and Idhep
Gnosis: Makripat (Ma'rifa)	Five souls: Ki Nyawa, Ki Atma, Ki Nukma, Ki Murcaya, Ki Cahya	Eternity and Declaration of the Oneness of God: Ki Langgeng and Ki Tokid (Ar. tawḥīd)

7 Leiden University Library Cod. Or. 1795, p. 372, canto 1:13.
8 The Javanese word *ki*, which I have rendered as 'the honourable', is a male title of respect.

This cast of characters raises many questions to which I have no ready answers. For example, why is Ki Nyawa ('soul, spirit, life') represented in both groups two and four? Or, why does group two consist of six 'persons' whereas group three, with the senses, only has four? Shouldn't all groups of complainants ideally have five members? What is Ki Pangucap or 'The Honourable Speech' doing in a section which is made up of the senses, commonly categorized as sight, smell, hearing, touch (missing here), and taste (also absent)?

However that may be, the advocates go to heaven in order to plead their cases before the throne of God. The four brothers Sarèngat, Tarékat, Kakékat and Makripat enter the celestial abode through different gateways that are guarded by personifications of the *napsu* (from Arabic *an-nafs*) or 'passions' (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: The grades in the mystic path and the corresponding passions

Sarèngat	Aluamah
Tarékat	Amarah
Kakékat	Suwiyah
Makripat	Mutmanah

This episode, of course, allegorises the mystic's movement on the path to God which, to use the words of Annemarie Schimmel (1975: 112), "consists of a constant struggle against the *nafs*, the 'soul' – the lower self, the base instincts, what we might render in the biblical sense as 'the flesh.'" Following Javanese usage, however, I prefer to use the term 'passion' for *napsu*. In Javanese philosophy the division in four different levels is well-known. *Napsu Aluamah* (from Ar. *nafs al-lawwāma*, 'the blaming soul; conscience') has the meaning of 'greedy desire' and is associated with selfishness. *Amarah* is the second *nafsu,* which means 'the desire that incites anger' (originating from Ar. *nafs al-ammāra*, 'the soul that incites to evil'). The etymology of the third passion, *Suwiyah,* which in other texts is also spelled *Supiyah,* is unclear, but it is generally understood as the lust that gives rise to amorousness, erotic desire and attraction to beauty.[9] Finally, the fourth passion, *Mutmanah*, coming from Arabic *nafs al-muṭma'inna*, 'the peaceful soul', is the desire to do good deeds and seek God.[10]

9 Soebardi (1975: 195) suggests two potential etymologies, viz. Ar. *sawiyya*, 'right, correct, even, harmonious, etc.' and Ar. *ṣafiyya*, 'clear, pure, serene', favouring the latter possibility.

10 For an extensive discussion of the *napsu* in Javanese mysticism, see Hadiwijono (1967), passim.

Sarèngat is the first to tread the path to God, but moving very slowly he only arrives in heaven after his brothers have arrived. Angered that his brothers were quicker and that they have received better gifts, Sarèngat gives Aluamah a secret sign to get hold of their portion. Aluamah attacks the three brothers of Sarèngat, trying to get their presents. Great upheaval ensues before God's throne, and the three other gatekeepers rush inside to overpower Aluamah. Outside the throne hall, the followers of the four brothers attack Aluamah, and finally the latter can be arrested. After he has shown remorse, he is kept under surveillance by the five *ṣalāt*.

Up to this point, the narrative is not very different from other Sufi explications of spiritual progression. It will come as no surprise to readers conversant with Sufi tropes to read, for instance, that Makripat was the first to reach God's throne, whereas slow-paced Sarèngat was the last. Makripat is the most humbly dressed of the four brothers, and is after all the highest and noblest of the four relatives/stages. This expression of the idea of onward movement towards God is part of the stock repertoire of Javanese poets and mystics. Perhaps the notion of growing affinity is nowhere more poignantly put into words than in a risqué comparison to the love of a man for a beautiful woman, which the 19th-century messianic preacher Malang Yuda once jotted in his personal notebook:[11]

Sarèngat is the initial stage when a man falls in love on account of hear-say.[12]
Tarékat is the next stage when he gets to know her personally. The rumours appear to be true, and his amorousness increases.
Kakékat is the third stage when he is enthralled by her beauty, and her every wish is his command.
Makripat is the last stage when the moment has finally come of 'making love' (*apulang-yun*), which is described in the orgasmic terms 'beyond feelings, when nothing is to be seen' (*tan ana rasa rumasa, tan ana ingkang kadulu*).

Imaginative descriptions of the four stages of the path can also be found in other parts of the Islamic world, and need not concern us here. Structurally, the depiction of the upward motion is a typical tale

11 I found this comparison in Leiden University Library Cod. Or. 11.663, p. 7, which contains Hendrik Kraemer's notes on MS Malang Yuda A3. On Malang Yuda and his teachings, see Drewes (1925), passim.
12 The text has *pawarta*, that is, 'news, message; rumour.'

of heavenly ascension (equally a staple in Islamic literatures, based on the archetypical *mi'rāj* or heavenly journey of the Prophet Muḥammad), "with all the classic elements of passing through the heavens, seeing the angels, and reaching the throne of God" (Ernst 1998: 133). The poet continues the trope of the ascent to heaven in the second part of the narrative.

ANGELIC EXPERIENCES

After the episode in which Aluamah runs amok, attention is suddenly drawn to a miraculous tree called Sanggabuwana which is guarded by Princess Dèwi Aruman. This second part of the narrative, too, is rather difficult to comprehend in all its details, but if we concentrate on the main issues the basic idea will become clear. The term *sanggabuwana*, meaning 'Buttress of the Cosmos,' has various connotations in Java, but in Surakarta it happens to be the name of the royal meditation tower, in which the king had his encounters with his spirit-consort Nyai Lara Kidul, the Queen of the Southern Ocean.[13] The tower as well as the tree of the same name can be regarded as a connector to the Other World. The tree Sanggabuwana is the Tree of Life, uniting the Upperworld with the Underworld, having its roots deep in the Underworld and reaching with its tip into heaven. This Tree of Life, however, is very ill, and Princess Dèwi Aruman does not know what to do about it. God has promised her that if she looks after Sanggabuwana well, she will become the 'Queen of Heaven' (*dadi ratuning swarga wanudya punika*), but now the tree is starting to die.[14]

The princess's role as keeper of the Tree of Life may be better understood if we note that Aruman is also the name of the angel of death in some Javanese stories. Reading the Islamic imagery in this second part in conjunction with other Javano-Islamic writings has the advantage that this literature can be perceived through the imaginative eyes of a contemporary reader. The angel Aruman, commonly described as 'fine' or 'with a beautiful fair skin', has the task of ordering the dead bodies in the grave to write down all their deeds. To the predictable remark of every corpse that he or she does not have any writing utensils, Aruman's standard reply is that he or she can use

13 Sanggabuwana is *inter alia* also the name given to the standard of the *wayang* (shadow play) screen, see Rassers (1982: 48). For other meanings, see the dictionary of Gericke and Roorda (1901, vol. I: 900 under *sangga)*.

14 Leiden University Library Cod. Or. 1795, p. 413.

the shroud as paper, saliva as ink, and a finger as the reed pen.[15] According to Muslim tradition literature, the angel of death, generally identified with ʿIzrāʾīl (called Azrael in Western literature), keeps a roll on mankind, but does not know when each person will die. An individual's death is signalled by a leaf on which the person's name is written falling from the tree beneath God's throne. The angel of death then reads the name and has the task of separating that person's soul from his or her body.[16]

The central notion toward which the poem is working seems to be the idea that the end of time is near. Is the imminent death of the Tree of Life not a gloomy foreboding of the extinction of all life on earth?[17] Ki Sarèngat talks with his sister Sarpiningrat (perhaps from Arabic *Sārafīn*, 'Seraphim,' while the Javanese ending means 'of the world') about how to treat the tree, but he does not have a solution, and refers to Ki Tarékat, who appears to be no wiser. Finally, due to the intervention of Ki Makripat (in canto 6) the tree can indeed be cured.

The rest of canto 6 is taken up by conversations between Ki Makripat and the 'angelic' ladies Sarpiningrat and Aruman (beginning on p. 452). I agree with Poerbatjaraka (1950: 144) that the contents of the deliberations are very obscure, but as far as I can understand it, the main point is that Ni Aruman wishes to be informed of the will of God, upon which Ki Makripat advises her to go through the 'nine-tiered heaven' (*swarga kang tundha sanga*) in order to enter God's presence.[18] Put differently, she longs for divine knowledge or *maʿrifa.* The scenery (which Poerbatjaraka's résumé entirely ignores) is pregnant with symbolism: the cryptic dialogues take place on Mt ʿArafāt (*gunung Ngarpat*), that is, the hill east of Mecca, also known to pilgrims as *Jabal ar-Raḥmāt* or 'Mountain of Mercy.'[19] In Sufi discourse the name ʿArafāt is considered as a derivation of the root ʿ-

15 Van der Tuuk (1897:124 under Aruman) gives rather long citations from mss. In other stories this role is fulfilled by Kariman, see Van der Tuuk (1899:109) with excerpts from Malay texts. Ultimately, these names of course go back to Ar. Kirām al-Kātibīn (lit. 'the Noble Writers'), that is, the two angels who have to record every person's good and evil acts.

16 For a succinct description of the angel of death within the Sunni tradition, see Smith and Haddad (1981: 34-37).

17 For a brief discussion of the tree motif in apocalyptic literature in general, denoting movements in time (in either forwards or backwards directions), see e.g. Amanat (2002: 6-7).

18 *Ni* is a female honorific corresponding to the male title ki. The expression 'nine-tiered heaven' is used in Leiden University Library Cod. Or. 1795, p. 455.

19 Mountain symbolism in any case plays a large role here, but a discussion of this aspect is beyond the scope of this essay. For example, Poerbatjaraka (1950: 144) also omits the detail that when Sarpiningrat and Aruman implore the help of Ki Tarékat, the latter is located on Jabal Kat or 'Mt Kat' (perhaps an abbreviation of *tékad*, 'determination, resolve,' see Gericke and Roorda 1901, vol. I: 458 under *kat*).

r-f-, that is, 'to know' in an intuitive or gnostic sense, and hence equated with *ma'rifa*. A major focal point for the *ḥajj*, 'Arafāt is also the place where both God's distance and nearness are believed to be most acutely felt.[20]

Here Mt 'Arafāt serves as the best available metaphor for the pilgrimage. It is from this location where Sarpiningrat and Aruman undertake their vertical pilgrimage, ascending to the divine presence. The tale of their passing through the different heavens is rather long and rich in details – 'very monotonous,' according to Poerbatjaraka (1950: 144). The poet clearly revels in name-dropping, using such outlandish terms as *Wahadiyat* to denote a certain heaven, *Salukat* for a celestial gate or *Jurumiyat* for one of the angels.[21] The changeover between the second and third part occurs suddenly in canto 9:3, in which the narrator, after giving a panoramic overview of heavenly luminosity, shifts the focus to God and Muḥammad:

3. *Sarwa éndah warnanipun*	Everything looked beautiful,
sakèhé isining swargi	the complete contents of heaven.
samya winangun sadaya	Everything there
padhang sumirat lir thathit	was dazzlingly bright, flashing like lightning.
wau kang lenggah winarna	Let us tell about those who are sitting,
kang wonten ing makmur kadim	those who are located in the eternal abode.[22]

God's Revelation to Muḥammad

In the next stanza the dialogue between God and Muḥammad begins, which fills the rest of the story:

4. *Allah timbalanipun*	God spoke

20 For a fuller discussion of these connotations of 'Arafât in the context of a Malay mystical poem, see Wieringa (2005:394-396).

21 *Wahadiyat* could perhaps stand for Ar. *wahidiyya*, which is a technical term in the emanation doctrine of seven stages of being, see Zoetmulder (1994: 106-108), but this grade is normally rendered *wakidiyat* in Javanese. *Salukat* has a number of meanings: it may denote different musical instruments, but is also a certain pin in the edge of a roof, see Gericke and Roorda (1901, vol. I: 828-829). *Jurumiyat* could perhaps be interpreted as 'the Observer' (from *juru*, 'person who performs a certain job' and *miyat*, 'to see, look at'). Other Arabic-sounding names are e.g. the heavens Murdawiyat and Rumawiyat, the gates Jaléka and Handariyah, the angels Rèhwan, Jabariyah, and Jahnam.

22 The word *makmur*, which does not occur in Javanese dictionaries, is borrowed from Arabic (*al-ma'mūr*).

dhateng ing nabi kekasih	to His beloved Prophet:
(...)	(...)

The poet devotes no more words on Sarpiningrat and Aruman, he concentrates on the divine description of future events, which is in fact a revelation of God, who wants to prepare Muḥammad for his task of taking over the Prophet Ngisa's rule in Asia (*jagat Ngasiya* or 'the Asian world,' as it is called in canto 9:5). Upon Muḥammad's question about what the Prophet Ngisa (from Arabic ʿĪsā or Jesus Christ) looks like, God gives the following answer (canto 9:16-17):

16. (...)	(...)
mangka Allah ngandika rum	Then God spoke sweetly:
Muhkamad tanya ing mami	"Muḥammad, you asked me
ing warnané Nabi Ngisa	about the appearance of the Prophet Ngisa:
datan ana madhani	he is incomparable.
yèn ngadeg mèh sundhul ngakasa	When he stands, he almost reaches the sky.
yèn petak lir gelap muni	When he screams, his voice is like a thunderclap."

17. (...)	(...)
yèn dhèhèm obah kang bumi	"When he coughs, the earth is in turmoil.
yèn waing lir gelap sasra	When he sneezes, it is like a t housand thunderclaps.
yèn segu genjot kang bumi	When he hiccups, the world shakes."

God explains to Muḥammad that Ngisa had indulged in earthly pleasures and completely forgotten about God, even imagining that he was God himself (canto 9:25):

25. *Banget laliné maringsun*	He no longer thought about me at all.
malah ngaku jeneng mami	He even claimed that he was me,
angaku purba-wisésa	claiming omnipotence,
mangka susumbaré iki	and he even boasted
tan ana amadhanana	that he was incomparable
ing jagad Ngasiya iki	in the Asian world.

God points out to Muḥammad that only He is the Almighty. He is the Pancreator, creating everyone and everything, including Ngisa. God wanted Ngisa to repent his boasting and therefore He sent a flood to devastate Asia. Everyone was drowned, but Ngisa could save himself in a ship. His son Panahan tried to get away by climbing to the top of Mt Qāf (called *jabal kap ardi*, canto 9:45). He refuses, however, to board Ngisa's ship, who thereupon does not want to acknowledge him as his son anymore. The deluge covers the mountain, and Panahan is swept away in the floodwaters. Ngisa asks God for forgiveness for the sin of having passed himself off as God. After confessing the Oneness of God (*tokid*, from Arabic *tawḥīd*), God forgives him and immediately restores Asia to its former state, allowing Ngisa to return there.

In this episode we easily recognise a creative retelling of the Quranic story of Nūḥ or Noah and the Flood.[23] Panahan can be identified as Kan'ān, who according to Quran commentators was a son of Nūh. In spite of the latter's pressing appeal, this son refused to take refuge in the Ark and thus lost his life in the Flood with the unbelievers. In all probability the poet must have thought of Mt Qāf, the world-encircling mountain in Islamic cosmology, as the site of this father-son drama, but the Javanese public may have understood the expression *jabal kap ardi* in a more local meaning. In Javanese storytelling 'Jabal Kap' is also the name of a legendary country of spirits. Also known as *wukir* ('mountain') Kap or Kab, and *ardi* ('mountain') Ekap, it is the realm of a white figure categorized as *danawa* or *buta*, that is, 'demon, giant.'[24] Etymologically, the word 'Kap' goes back to Dutch *Kaap*, that is to say, the Cape of Good Hope, a former Dutch colony in South Africa, which was used by the 'white ogres' as a place of banishment until it came under the control of the British in the early 19th century.

In canto 10, God tells Muḥammad that Panahan had a son in the east, called Juja-Makjuja, who not only had the same demonic appearance as his grandfather Ngisa, but also repeated the latter's sin by posing as God. On God's orders the angel (!) Dulkarnèn tied him up with a hundred ropes, but Juja-Makjuja liberated himself using his

23 Poerbatjaraka (1950: 145), apparently not too well-versed in the Quran, writes that the poet has confused Christ with Moses here.

24 This legendary kingdom occurs in the Javanese story *Asmarasupi*. A summary of its plot (based on Leiden University Library Cod. Or. 1798) can be found in Vreede (1892: 189-194). My reading of this text is based on another MS, viz. PB B. 42 of the Museum Sonobudoyo in Yogyakarta (described under project number L 49 in Behrend 1990: 243), where the expressions *sang danawa putih* (canto 2: 26) and *si buta putih* (canto 2: 30) are used.

tongue. Eventually, he was put in chains that he could not lick away completely, due to the prayers of the faithful. Here echoes from the Dhū'l-Qarnayn tradition, that is, a series of motifs belonging to the *Sīrat al-Iskandar* or 'Biography of Alexander,' are clearly discernible.[25] Javanese versions of the story of Alexander from the court of Surakarta end with the episode of Sultan Iskandar's building an iron wall to keep out Gog and Magog, but, as he warns his followers, this barricade will fall when the Day of Judgement is near, because it will be licked by the sharp tongue of Makjuja (Ricklefs 1998: 51-52; 97).

The motif of the 'Wall against Gog and Magog', which has given rise to a wide range of interpretations in literature from all over the world, has found a remarkable expression in Javanese belles-lettres in that the two malevolent peoples have been merged into a single demonic 'Other.' Juja-Makjuja is an avatar of al-Dajjāl or the Antichrist. In the Javanese system of classification, both apocalyptic figures, whose coming is one of the Signs of the Hour, belong to the same category: marked by physical deformity, they are monsters located at the extreme margins of the known world, conceptualising the boundaries of human norms. It is not known when and where this transformation first emerged, but in the 19th century the term Juja-Makjuja or Jujamajuja was already an established name for a devil who would be killed by the Prophet Ngisa at the end of times (Gericke and Roorda 1901, vol. II: 416).

Juja-Makjuja appears, for example, as 'king of the devils' (*ratuné iblis*) in a story about Aji Saka, which circulated during the 19th century on Java's North Coast. Aji Saka is the legendary culture hero from whom the Javanese are said to have received their first civilization, including writing and the calendar. The name Aji Saka means 'King Saka', from Sanskrit *śaka*, that is, the Śaka era. He travels to Arabia, meeting the 'king of devils' on the way.[26] Juja-Makjuja's demonic appearance is described in the following terms:[27]

25 The term 'Dhū'l-Qarnayn tradition' was coined and discussed by Doufikar-Aerts (2003: 3.1, 118 et sq.). For Javanese versions (dating from the 18th century) of the so-called *Carita Iskandar* or 'Story of Iskandar', see Ricklefs (1998: 51-52; 97). The specific historical background of the 1729 version is discussed in Wieringa (2000: 177-206). Another important source for the 'Dhū'l-Qarnayn tradition' is the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbīyâ'*, known in Javanese under such titles as *Serat Anbiya*, 'Book of the Prophets,' *Tapel Adam*, 'Formation of Adam,' and *Carita Satus*, 'Hundred Tales [about the Prophets].'

26 For a brief discussion of the Aji Saka legend, see Gonda (1998: 78). References to his appearance in Javanese manuscript literature can be found in the index of Pigeaud's catalogue under 'Aji Saka' (Pigeaud 1970: 165-166).

27 Leiden University Library Cod. Or. 5789a, p. 17; canto 5:4-5 in the verse form *Sinom*. Poensen (1869: 196) gives a slightly different translation of this fragment. Contrary to what one might expect,

(...)	(...)
dedegé ageng aluhur	He was of broad and tall stature.
aran Juja-Makjuja	His name was Juja-Makjuja.
siyung ngisor garit langit	His lower fangs scratched the sky,
siyungipun kang luhur anggarit lemah	while his upper fangs scratched the earth.
Nétrané lir surya kembar	His eyes were like twin suns.
rémanya *agi<m>bal bu<n>tit*	His frizzy hair was in wild tangles.
swarané lir galap ngampar	His voice was like rattling thunderclap.
angagem gada medèni`	He was armed with a terrifying club,
anganggo kreré wesi	wearing steel chain mail.
(...)	(...)

This portrayal is remarkably close to that of Ngisa and his grandson in the poem on Juja-Makjuja under discussion (cited above).

God further informs Muḥammad that, at the birth of his grandson, Ngisa had vowed that Juja-Makjuja would one day succeed him in Asia, but God orders Muḥammad to rule there instead. God reassures Muḥammad by saying that He has repeatedly made it clear to Ngisa that Muḥammad would be his successor. Juja-Makjuja, however, has the ability to change his form (young and old, little and large, etc.), so that many people are misled by his appearance. But, as God reveals to Muḥammad in canto 11, Juja-Makjuja and his cohorts will surely end in hell. God instructs Muḥammad in all kinds of esoteric knowledge, so that the Prophet feels well-prepared to take up his task. He receives weapons such as a forked pike (*canggah*) and a trident with the awe-inspiring name of 'The Face Hitter' (*Si Pamener Muka*), in addition to a sceptre and throne as royal regalia. All inhabitants of Asia, however, still follow Juja-Makjuja. As Juja-Makjuja is close to breaking his chains, an iron fort is made in the country Jaminambar to keep him

Juja-Makjuja is cast in this North Coast story as a benevolent mentor, conferring supernatural powers on Aji Saka and imparting esoteric knowledge to him. Juja-Makjuja only plays a supporting role, quickly disappearing from the scene as suddenly as he had appeared. See Pigeaud (1968: 343) for a synopsis of the story.

imprisoned.[28] Asia is in ruins: mountains have collapsed and seas have dried up.

In the final canto, which begins with the line 'stars are falling like the rain' (*lintang tiba kadya udan*), God continues his depiction of the cosmic upheaval. Asia is now waste and void, and only Mecca and Medina have been spared. Then God decides to send four 'messengers' to earth to fight Juja-Makjuja, viz. Ngali Salipin, Sadarkawat Ibrahim, Umar Kilir, and Dulkarnèn.[29] Juja-Makjuja flees to the East, and perforce withdraws to a fort which is floating in the sky, called Ima-ima(n)taka.[30] The revelation concludes with God's warning to Muḥammad that when the latter arrives in Asia, Juja-Makjuja will disguise himself as Abu Sokyan.[31] In the form of a religious student (*santri*) Abu Sokyan will pretend to attend Islamic education in Mecca, but in reality he will attempt to bring down Muḥammad by committing treason.

THE LITERARY CONTEXT AND THE PROBLEM OF DATING

This third part of the narrative is by far the most complicated. Who, for example, was intended by the treacherous Abu Sokyan? Does he represent someone from the time of the author? If, however, Abu Sokyan is to be identified with Abū Sufyān (b. Ḥarb) – perhaps only appearing here under another name due to a simple scribal error – the narrator would appear to have been turning the clock back at the end of his futuristic tale: the villain Abū Sufyān, the real leader of the aristocratic party in Mecca hostile to Muḥammad, is known as one of the Prophet's toughest enemies, but he died in the seventh century

28 The Javanized toponym Jaminambar is composed of two elements, viz. the Persian word zamīn ('region, country') and the name
(al-)'Anbar, hence simply denoting the al-'Anbar province, but in 19th-century Javanese literature it was not recognized as such anymore, and merely designated a far-away infidel place, see Van der Tuuk (1912: 412 under *jamin*; 413 under *jaminambar*, and 618 under *mungkarun*). Incidentally, Van der Tuuk (1901: 13) mentions an episode in another narrative which shows remarkable parallels with the story on Juja-Makjuja. According to Van der Tuuk, in a story belonging to the immense body of works surrounding Amir Hamza, there is a king of Jaminambar called Saésalam who poses as God. This figure even has a hell and a heaven complete with angels.

29 According to canto 12:4, four persons were sent: 'as for My messengers who are descended, there are four of them' (*déné utusaningwang kang tumurun sakawan kongkonaningsun*).

30 Canto 12:36. Poerbatjaraka (1950: 145) has tacitly corrected the spelling into Ima-imantaka. In classical Javanese poetic language the words *ima* and *imantaka* are synonyms for 'cloud, mist, fog', but Ima-imantaka is the name of a fabulous country in Javanese literature, being the residence or mountain of the giant king Niwata Kawaca (Gericke and Roorda 1901, vol. I: 160 under *ima*).

31 Poerbatjaraka (1950: 145) erroneously has Abu Sokya (in his older spelling 'Aboe Sokja').

CE.[32] But then, assuming that somehow Abū Sufyān is intended here, it is probably more likely that we are dealing in this case with 'the Sufyānī', that is, a descendant of Abū Sufyān who figures in both Sunni and Shiite apocalyptic prophecies as the rival and opponent of the Mahdī, but who is ultimately (of course) defeated by him. According to some traditionists, the name of the Sufyānī is 'Urwa b. Muḥammad and his *kunya* Abū 'Utba. However, the material on the apocalyptic Sufyānī figure is particularly rich and by no means clear-cut.[33]

Theoretically, a possible approach at decoding the text would be to attempt to read history through the apocalyptic material. However, Poerbatjaraka's verdict on its incomprehensibility (cited above in the introduction), flowing from the pen of an eminent scholar with rare intimate knowledge of the Surakarta court, may serve as a reminder that allusions to contemporaneous events or persons are practically untraceable. What can we say about the time of the text's composition?

In any case the latest possible date for the poem is the year 1836. The text was copied in that year, together with many other poems, in a work of two bulky volumes totalling 967 pages (vol. 1: pp. 1-477; vol. 2: pp. 478-967). The manuscript, now registered as Cod. Or. 1795 in the Leiden University Library, was originally part of the 'Delft Collection' consisting of codices which were copied in the 1830s and 1840s at the court of Surakarta under the supervision of the government translator, Carel Frederik Winter (1799-1859), to serve as teaching and reading material for aspiring colonial civil servants at the Royal Academy in Delft. A considerable number of MSS were copied in neat Surakarta palace script, which came to fill the shelves in Delft in an impressive series of stout leather-bound volumes. When the Delft institute closed in 1864, and the education of East Indian officials was transferred to Leiden, the so-called Delft collection was incorporated in its entirety in the Leiden University Library.[34]

The opening stanza of the first text provides important information about the genesis of the manuscript:[35]

32 Renard (1999: 47, 128-129) briefly discusses Abū Sufyān on the basis of a famous Swahili poem, the 'Epic of Abd ar-Rahman and Sufyan.'

33 For a general discussion of al-Sufyānī, see Madelung (2004: 754-756). On the internet many fanciful accounts can be found, see e.g. http://www.inter-islam.org/faith/mahdi1.htm

34 In total, the Delft collection comprises the MSS Cod. Or. 1786-1838, 1841, 1843-1874, and 1875-1882 (Vreede 1892: v).

35 University Library Leiden Cod. Or. 1795, volume I, p. 1.

Ri sedhengnya wasita ginupit	When this instruction was composed, when
wasita duk sinawung serkara	it was expressed in the verse form 'Sugar Crow',
Buda Cemengan parengé	it was at Wednesday, the market-day Legi,
wulan ping sangalikur	the twenty-ninth of the month,
sasi Sawal ing taun Alip	the month was Sawal in the year Alip,
narengi wuku Sungsang	coinciding with the *wuku* Sungsang,
sengkalanya ngétung	the year calculated in the chronogram was
bahning rasa giri tunggal	'the fire of the sensation is like a mountain, like a single one.'
kang pinangka bubukanireng palupi	As opening of the underlying text [36] functioned
Suluk Purwaduksina	the Suluk Purwaduksina.

As is not uncommon in Javanese manuscript literature, the calendrical details involved in dating the manuscript are rather extensive, but there is no need to discuss all of its arithmetic intricacies here. Suffice it to say that the four chronogram words are unproblematic, viz. *bahni* or 'fire' (3), *rasa* or 'sensation; feeling' (6), *giri* or 'mountain' (7), and *tunggal* 'one and the same' (1), which yield the year 1763 *Anno Javanico*. The Javanese date can be converted to 17 February 1836 CE.

Not only the first text, but the major part of the codex consists of so-called *suluk*s, that is, poems on mystical Islamic themes. The compiler of the bundle does not explain the selection or arrangement of the texts.[37] There is rarely an attempt to link the different texts together, as is done for example in the final stanza of the *Suluk Purwaduksina* where we find the following announcement of the second *suluk* in this 'reader':[38]

36 For the meaning of the term *palupi* as 'original' or 'older, underlying text' (in the sense of ***Vorlage***), see Wieringa (1999: 252).

37 For the seemingly 'haphazard' nature of *suluk* anthologies, see Wieringa (1993: 362-373).

38 University Library Leiden Cod. Or. 1795, volume I, p. 27.

Titi tamat kandhané kang tulis	The writing of this story is finished,
caritanèki Purwaduksina	that is, the story of Purwaduksina.
amung iku wekasané	This is its end,
wonten malih sumambung	but it will be continued
suluk kang layan rinipta malih	in the form of another suluk.
nanging dèn-raosena	You should, however, reflect upon
caritaning suluk	the story of the *suluk*.
sampun pijer amemaca	Don't just thoughtlessly recite it,
rasakena rasané kang dèn-rasani	but reflect upon the deeper meaning that is discussed.
yèn tan wruh pagurokna	If you don't understand it, consult a guru.

After this intermezzo, the text continues with the *Suluk Suryalaga,* which is cast in the same verse form 'Sugar Crow' (*Dhandhanggula*).

The Jesuit priest Petrus Zoetmulder (1906-1995) is hitherto the only scholar to have made extensive use of the Leiden MS Cod. Or. 1795. In his 1935 Leiden doctoral thesis this MS, together with the undated Cod. Or. 1796, which is clearly a companion volume, provided the main sources for his analysis of what he called 'pantheism and monism in Javanese *suluk* literature' (Zoetmulder 1935). Considered to be still the most important book-length analysis of this literary genre, it has been translated into Indonesian (Zoetmulder 1990) and English (Zoetmulder 1995). One of its major flaws, however, is the learned theologian's ahistorical and essentializing approach to *suluks*, ignoring historical development and specific contexts in favour of emphasizing 'timeless' mystical ideas which are evaluated against non-Javanese standards.

The texts in the Leiden MS Cod. Or. 1795 (continued in its 'supplement' Cod. Or. 1796) display a bewildering array of religious ideas and perspectives – a point to which Zoetmulder (1995: xiv-xvii) in the introduction of his study immediately draws attention. In one passage, Zoetmulder (1995: xv) duly remarks, we are reminded of the mystic ecstasy of al-Hallāj, in another passage the doctrine of emanation is stressed. Plowing through the 967 pages, we find *inter alia* the relatively old *Suluk Wujil*, that is, a poem of Ceribon origin (on Java's North Coast), in which Sunan Bonang (one of the nine apostles of Islam in Java) has a number of colloquies on various

esoteric subjects, including the eponymous Wujil, a dwarf. The high-quality discussions in the *Suluk Wujil* involve such complicated issues as 'being and non-being,' which are dealt with in a technical language derived from Arabic.[39] On the other hand, there are also such outrageous texts as the *Suluk Lebé Lonthang*, in which the eponymous *lebé* ('village mosque official') Lonthang behaves like a madman, mocking the sharia and all moral norms.[40]

It may well be, then, as Zoetmulder (1995: 309) has claimed, that the Surakarta compiler wanted to cover the whole gamut of *suluk* literature, though I think that Zoetmulder's pronouncement that we find here 'what is most representative of the best of Javanese mysticism' is exaggerated. In my opinion, the anthologist merely selected those mystical texts that happened to be available in the court collections. All texts in Leiden Cod. Or. 1795 are anonymous (as is usual in Javanese manuscript literature), with the exception of two relatively short poems by a local composer. In both poems, in a nearly identical prologue of five stanzas, its author introduces himself as Ki Mas Suryarini alias Mas Sumawardaya from the Mangkubumèn quarter in Surakarta.[41] His first poem, beginning with the line "In the verse form 'Sugar Crow' the poem is composed" (*Peksi serkara riniptèng kawi*), is about the last days of the ill-stricken Prophet Muḥammad before his death. This subject gives rise to a discussion of the indications of death, but also of the soul's journey through the different spheres. The second poem, beginning with the line "The signal to this writing is like honey" (*Kadya madu sasmitaning tulis*), alluding to the verse form 'Sugar Crow,' is a melange of concepts that are employed in mystical discourse, such as speculations about letter mysticism and the ubiquitous dyad of 'being and non-being' (*nafi-isbat*).

39 The *Suluk Wujil* has attracted the attention of a number of scholars, see e.g. Poerbatjaraka (1938), Zoetmulder (1935) and Drewes (1968: 212-220). A few years ago, a scholarly edition appeared in Indonesia, viz. Widyastuti (2001).

40 This poem is discussed in Zoetmulder (1935: 264-272; 1995: 230- 238), but, typically for his time and profession, leaving out its 'obscene' lines, without which in my opinion the interpretation is severely hampered. See Wieringa (2001: 129-146) for a complete translation and accompanying analysis.

41 In the fourth stanza of his first poem he mentions his place of residence: 'At the time when the composition of this song was begun / it was in Mangkubumèn in the city of Surakarta' (*Duk pinurwa gitaning kintaki / Mangkubumèn nagri Surakarta*), Leiden Cod. Or. 1795, p. 734. The same information is repeated literally in the fourth stanza of the second poem, but in the sixth stanza of the latter poem he mentions his name: 'The author is Ki Mas Suryarini / alias Mas Sumawardaya / who lives in Mangkubumèn (*Kang amurwa Ki Mas Suryarini / gih punika Mas Sumawardaya / dumunung ing Mangkubumèn*), Leiden Cod. Or. 1795, p. 808.

According to Poerbatjaraka (1950: 149), the first poem can be dated around 1800. He may have based this conclusion on its prologue, in which the poet mentions the poems *Asthabrata* ('The Eight Ways of Life') and the *Wulang Rèh* ('Teachings on Right Conduct') as his sources of inspiration. Both didactic works are classics in Javanese literature, but whereas there are too many versions of the *Asthabrata* to allow for the fixing of a certain date (cf. Weatherbee 1994:414-415), the *Wulang Rèh* is ascribed to the Surakarta king Pakubuwana IV (reg. 1788-1820), and can be exactly dated, viz. 4 February 1809 (Florida 1993: 185).

It is tempting to see in Ki Mas Suryarini alias Mas Sumawardaya the author of the poem on Juja-Makjuja. The themes of his poems, dealing with ascension and mystical terminology, show some similarity with the poem on Juja-Makjuja (at least with its first and second parts). Concrete proof of his authorship is, however, lacking: the poem on Juja-Makjuja does not mention the name of its writer and, as far as I have been able to ascertain, the technique of *sandi asma* or 'hidden name, cryptogram' is not used.[42] The year 1809, however, is in my opinion the earliest possible date of the underlying manuscript (*Vorlage*) of Leiden Cod. Or. 1795.

THE BARBARIC DUTCH

Although there are no obvious references to historically datable events, the third, eschatological part of the poem on Juja-Makjuja can be regarded, I think, as a veritable mirror of the historical situation at the beginning of the 19th century as seen from the perspective of a Surakarta courtier. In the period between the years 1809 and 1836, when this story was probably first put on paper, the Surakarta court was suffering a considerable loss of power due to the Dutch imperialist encroachment on Javanese state and society. Leaving aside the *histoire événementielle* of those years, which anyway is too full of events to be recounted in a few words, a brief look at the overall picture may help us to understand what was happening at that time.

After the VOC or 'Dutch East India Company' was formally dissolved on 1 January 1800, the early 19th century witnessed a new phase of Dutch overseas ambitions. A new process set in, which the historian Peter Carey (1976: 52) has summed up in the following

42 For more information on *sandi asma*, see the very informative article of Slamet Riyadi (1989: 27-43).

terms: "the change from the 'trading' era of the Dutch East India Company, when contacts with the central Javanese kingdoms had had the nature of ambassadorial links, to the 'colonial' period when the kingdoms occupied a subordinate position to the Dutch." In retrospect, the so-called Java War, which gripped the island between 1825-1830, proved to be the last stand of the Javanese aristocracy. After 1830, the Dutch were securely in control of Java, pulling the strings of power well into the mid-20th century.

Unsurprisingly, the Surakarta courtier who penned the poem of Juja-Makjuja viewed the Dutch usurpers as a completely alien, intrusive element, whose presence was throwing the existing order into disarray. As John Renard (1999: 129) has written in his thematic survey of pan-Islamic literature, "[p]erhaps no story symbolizes the fear of the outsider better than that of Iskandar's building the wall to contain Gog and Magog. In this instance, the villain is a hybrid of the fearsome unknown and the malevolent foreigner whose expansionist proclivities must be checked. Gog and Magog bear the additional heavy burden of eschatological doom-terror, for their appearance on the scene signals the victory of chaos over cosmic order."

There can be no doubt that Juja-Makjuja represents the barbarian Dutch colonial administration here. The classification of European officials as 'demonic ogres' (known in Javanese as *buta, reksasa* and *denawa*) can also be found in other contemporaneous Javanese accounts.[43] In *wayang* (shadow play) stories, such despicable creatures are the stock adversaries of the noble protagonist, but as any Javanese person knows, although these brutes may possess supernatural powers, they are in the end always defeated by the refined hero. This structural pattern forms the template for much of traditional Javanese story-telling, and is quite naturally used in the poem on Juja-Makjuja.

The 'othering' or 'occidentalising' device, by which the Dutch are defined as distinct from the Javanese, consists of caricaturing the 'Other' on the basis of a different religious affiliation. The poem sketches a war for civilization within a religious framework. Perhaps the enigmatic episode about the Prophet Ngisa and the Flood allegorizes the successive phases of European interference in Javanese

43 For some examples, see Carey (1981: XX, LVI n. 43, 98-99, and 255 n. 86); Carey (1992: 429 n. 144). See also Ras (1992: 298-300) for a description of Javanese views on the boorish Dutch. I have already drawn attention, above, to the *Asmarasupi* story with its veiled references to the Dutch Cape colony.

affairs. A possible hypothesis would be that the Prophet Ngisa stands for the pre-19th-century era when the Dutch East India Company ruled the waves in Asia, and increasingly extended its grip on Javanese state and society. The arrogant, God-like behaviour of Ngisa (= VOC) was divinely punished by way of a deluge, which in this reading could be regarded as representing the spectacular downfall of the VOC, and perhaps the temporary ousting of the Dutch regime during the so-called British Interregnum (1811-1816) as well. As the latter term already indicates, the Dutch were to come back with a vengeance – the time when Juja-Makjuja was to take over. But the poem also clarifies that pious Muslims may be assured that this terrifying figure will eventually be overcome by the Prophet Muḥammad, and thrust down into hell, as God has promised.

The so-called relative deprivation theory seems to be helpful in understanding the prime motive for producing this text. The trauma of sudden transition caused by the aggressive intrusion of an alien culture, which rendered the Javanese elite increasingly powerless, created severe feelings of deprivation and discontent among the royal entourage.[44] One can argue, however, about the depth of the poet's *Naherwartung*. Was this writer an apocalyptic, who expected that the time of the Last Judgement was imminent? Despite the political and anti-colonial grievances, and the economic disadvantages which probably lie at the root of the poem on Juja-Makjuja, it is difficult to imagine its writer as a revolutionary, millenarian preacher. Included in an anthology of mystical texts, I am inclined to think that the author adhered to the 'quietist' tradition, and that the authorial intention was primarily didactic-moralistic, wishing to admonish coreligionists to better their ways during the short time-span still allotted to them. The importance which the poet attaches to following sharia principles also seems to point in this direction.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The poem on Juja-Makjuja challenges the prevailing essentializing views of the lack of 'Islamness' of the Javanese courts. It is a truism to state that Javanese Islam differs from the Muslim cultures of the Middle East, Africa, and India. Paucity of reliable data makes it difficult, if not impossible, to reconstruct the history of the

44 On the application of the theory of relative deprivation to apocalyptic texts and its problems, see e.g. Wilson (2002: 58-60).

Islamization process in Java. The oldest known Muslim tombstone was found in Leran (west of Surabaya, East Java) and is dated 475 AH/1082 CE, but it is unclear whether the deceased was Javanese. The scanty evidence which we have points to a relatively late start of significant Javanese conversions, possibly beginning somewhere between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Over the following centuries, Islam would become the island's dominant religion, and in terms of population numbers the Javanese are nowadays the second largest ethnic group after the Arabs in the Islamic world.[45]

As Islam was a late entrant on Java, the issue of persisting influences by the preceding Indian religions (Hinduism and Buddhism) and the even older indigenous cults has often been debated, but never resolved. Western social scientists, plagued by problems of how to define Islam, generally tend to diminish the significance of Javanese self-identification as Muslims.[46] Anthropologists have even audaciously labelled Islam in Java as 'Javanese religion,' thereby emphasizing the local character of Javanese beliefs and practices, which are thought to be very different from 'pure' Islam in the so-called heartlands. For example, Clifford Geertz's classic study of 1960 is called *The Religion of Java*, while Andrew Beatty's 1999 account speaks of *Variants of Javanese Religion*. Conversely, Mark Woodward (1989) has forcefully argued that the so-called Javanese religion, in both its popular and mystical variants, is basically Muslim and not Hindu or Hindu-Buddhist, but in his fervour he has pushed this view to the extreme.[47]

However, when we try to figure out the meaning of a 'literary' text such as the narrative poem about Juja-Makjuja, the concepts and methods of these social theorists do not provide us with interpretative tools for a better understanding. The debate on whether the unifying factor in 'Javanese religion' is Islam (Woodward's hypothesis) or Java (as Geertz claimed) is irrelevant for an understanding of the text under consideration. The main thrust of the poem could be summed up by the credo 'to be a Javanese is to be a Muslim'.

My hypothesis is that we should view the role of religion in this poem under the heading of cultural defence. Islam acted as a guarantor of ethnic identity vis-à-vis Dutch colonialism. Put simply, in the

45 For a good introduction to the history of Islam in Java as an on-going process, see Ricklefs (1979: 100-128).

46 For critical overviews, see e.g. Roff (1985: 7-34) and Lukens-Bull (1999: 1-21).

47 For a critical review, see Van Bruinessen (1991: 347-349). See further Van Bruinessen (1999: 46-63) for a general discussion of the global and local in Indonesian Islam.

colonial situation at the beginning of the 19th century, in which the Javanese found themselves under the rule of an external force, their religious identity as Muslims was a way of asserting ethnic pride. Islam was synonymous with Javanese culture and identity as against the Christian Others whom Muslims like to call 'polytheists,' because they associate Jesus with God. Juja-Makjuja's remarkable identification with Christianity should in my opinion be seen against this specific background. His portrayal as the grandson of Jesus, who repeats the latter's heinous sin of imagining that he was God himself, clearly serves a polemical purpose. The poem, then, laid claim to what the sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920) once called 'ethnic honour,' that is, the sense of 'the excellence of one's own customs and the inferiority of alien ones' (quoted in Bruce 1997: 96).

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