PANCASILA PLUS, PANCASILA MINUS

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A major focus of the political controversies of the first half of the 1980s was the position of Pancasila, the Five Principles that form the philosophical foundation of the Indonesian state. These principles were first defined by Sukarno in an extempore speech before the Investigating Committee for the Preparation of Independence on June 1, 1945. The five principles in the order they are given by Sukarno are:

1. Nationalism.
2. Internationalism.
3. Representation, mutual consultation and consensus.
4. Social justice.
5. Belief in the One God.

These five principles were subsequently written into the preamble to the Constitution, and after the change from Sukarno’s “Old Order” to Suharto’s “New Order” retained and indeed increased their significance as a focus of political debate. In March–April 1980 Suharto made two outspoken speeches in which he said, inter alia, that the Indonesian armed forces (ABRI) would never allow Pancasila and the Constitution of 1945 to be changed and if forced to they would take up arms. He referred to earlier armed challenges to constitutional rule and the established state ideology, not only Communist ones against which he had made common cause with Muslim groups and whose threat was frequently referred to in his political statements, but this time also Islamic ones. He also made a strong attack on the policies of the political parties, accusing them of promoting “Pancasila Plus”, that is, Pancasila plus another ideology as distinct from “pure” Pancasila. This accusation seemed to be aimed primarily at the Development Unity Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, generally known as the PPP). In reply K.H. Anwar of Nahdatul Ulama (one of the component

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1 The speech is translated in Feith and Castles 1970.
organisations making up the federal-style PPP) posed the question of whether in Pancasila democracy everyone had to be a “yes-man”. The Minister for Internal Affairs, Amir Machmud, responded with severe criticism of anyone who criticised government policy, questioning their loyalty to Pancasila.

Early in May, a response to the statements of the President and government came in the form of the “Petition of the 50”, which was signed by a number of prominent Indonesians. The petitioners deplored Suharto’s implication that polarisation was developing between people who stressed the imperishability of Pancasila and those who wanted to change it, perhaps causing social conflicts by doing so. They accused Suharto of incorrectly interpreting Pancasila so that it could be used to threaten his political opponents, saying that the founders of the Indonesian Republic had intended the Pancasila to be a uniting, not a divisive ideology. Thirdly, they saw in Suharto’s speeches a justification of a campaign by the authorities to paralyse systematically the 1945 Constitution using the Saptma Marga or the Soldier’s Oath as an excuse. They deplored Suharto’s invitation to the armed forces to take sides. Fifthly, they criticised the impression that Suharto had given that some people considered themselves personifications of the Pancasila so that any criticisms of them were to be regarded as criticisms of Pancasila itself. Finally they expressed their concern about Suharto’s statement that there were subversive and armed activities being prepared for the forthcoming elections.

The government in response suppressed reporting of this petition in Indonesia and subsequently withdrew all government facilities from the petitioners. In a speech commemorating the introduction by Sukarno of Pancasila, Sjarifuddin Zuhri joined the debate, claiming that the Muslims could not be labelled Pancasila-plus: after all ABRI also had the Saptma Marga as well as Pancasila. On June 10th Amir Machmud responded by saying that there were some people who “wanted to use Parliament for political manoeuvring”. This was the beginning of a prolonged and heated controversy, with the government insisting on the necessity for all political and other organisations to accept Pancasila as the “sole foundation” (azas tunggal). When in September 1984 the PPP finally did so, there were headlines proclaiming that the party had “abandoned Islam”.2

In all this, the Islamic parties were seen as trying to add something to a document which many scholars have seen as a defeat for Islam and a triumph for non-Islamic forces—hardly surprising considering that Sukarno’s speech was intended to counter the idea of Indonesia becoming an Islamic state. Yet I believe we miss important dimensions of Pancasila if we focus solely on the speech’s function as a strategic countering of Islamic claims to provide the sole ideological basis of the Indonesian state. If we look at the text of the speech, the first two principles are respectively the national unity of Indonesia and the principle of internationalism. Sukarno then goes on to say:

And now, what is the third principle? It is the principle of mufakat, unanimity, the principle of perwakilan, representation, the principle of permusyawaratan, deliberation among representatives. The Indonesian state shall not be a state for one group although that group be the wealthy. But we shall set up a state of “all for all”, “one for all, all for one”. I am convinced that an absolute condition for the strength of the Indonesian state is permusyawaratan/perwakilan.3

Here we have three concepts recruited from the Islamic world; and in the fourth of the five principles, social justice or keadilan sosial, another is added. At least two of these concepts, musyawarah and mufakat, had earlier been canvassed by Sukarno in the influential Muslim magazine Pandji Islam.4 In an article on the difference between fascism and the Indonesian approach, he wrote:

The Indonesian spirit is a spirit that, in keeping with traditional customs (consider Minangkabau or village meetings in Java), is a spirit fond of “mufakat” or consensus, and of “mushawarah” or deliberations, and which is taught by Islam too to be devoted to “mufakat” and “mushawarah”—“We amended the law of amni—We annul the law of death!—while the spirit of fascism is a spirit leaving everything to the will of just one man, to the spirit of “individualism”, the spirit of tyranny, the spirit of dictatorship!

In the Pancasila as we know it today, the principle of humanitarianism or internationalism is qualified by the phrase “just and ethically founded” (adil dan beradab) in the latter term a further borrowing from the Muslim vocabulary.

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2 Useful summaries of political events are to be found in the Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs (Sydney University) for the relevant years.

3 Translation from Feith and Castles 1970:44.

4 In 1940: this article is reproduced in Sukarno 1964:589f.
1. Javanese Dual Tradition: Left and Right, Indic and Islamic

In this paper I would like to show that these concepts laid down in the Pancasila added radically new perspectives to Indonesian political thinking. I shall use a reading of work from the 1820s that provides a magisterial exposition of the old, dominant, sophisticated Javanese political tradition. This is the Sasa Sunu of the famous philosopher-poet Yasadipura II.5

This text deals with personal morality, in particular, the morals and manners appropriate for the priyayi, the administrative elite, and with political and social values. The two are not unrelated, since it is clear that the health of the polity is seen by Yasadipura II as resting primarily on the personal qualities of the upper class: in this respect his program of moral instruction resembles the old-fashioned moral education of the English elite. In the instructions he gives to the young priyayi that he addresses, the place of Islam appears to be a major one. He says in the strongest terms that one must observe the shariah, and condemns those mystics (ahlul hakekat) who say that nothing is forbidden—a reference to the heterodox but nevertheless widespread Sufi belief, represented by the mystic al-Ḥallāj and his Javanese counterpart Seh Siti Jénar,7 that for those who have reached the ultimate state of enlightenment (that of oneness with Reality, hakekat, from Arabic haqīqa), the prescriptions and prohibitions laid down by the Law for ordinary mortals are no longer binding. This seems a very orthodox position, especially when combined with the text's saturation with Arabic words. It would be easy to go through it picking these out, defining and using them as evidence of the preeminent position already achieved by Islam at this time. In one sense this would be valid, and in parts of the text a strongly Islamic posi-

5 Canto and stanza numbers and references are based on the printed text, which is the edition published in Yasadipura II 1980. Unfortunately, as is often the case in this otherwise valuable series of text editions, the manuscript on which it is based is not noted. The manuscript version transcribed by me is LOC 1806 from the Leiden University Library Oriental collection. This was clearly the same text as the printed one, though there were occasional differences in the number of stanzas per canto and variations in wording throughout. Of the two texts, the manuscript version had a greater number of corruptions.

6 Canto II, stanza 21.

7 Both of whom were put to death for allegedly spreading heretical teachings. For a brief account of the theological and political rationale for al-Ḥallāj's condemnation and execution in 931, see Macdonald 1926:183–86. On the condemnation of Siti Jénar see Soebardi 1975:33.

tion is indeed taken. Canto II, for instance, advises the young men who are addressed in the text to follow the shariah, to know sunah, fardu, waqib, batal, and kharam, and the Five Pillars; and to take care not to be kafir, fasik, or musyrik, i.e. infidels, heretics, or apostates. It also admonishes them against laughing at people performing the salat, and saying arak is halal, which struck this reader as perhaps a momentary descent from the elevated tone that distinguishes most of the text into the real world of youth.

In general, however, Islamic concepts are combined with or glossed by Javanese ones, and the overall framework seems clearly Javanese rather than Islamic. The exemplar works which the author advises his young audience to read are a mixture of Islamic and pre-Islamic works: the Nitypraja, Wu-langreh, Pranitsastra, and Old Javanese Ramayana, all works from or based on the Hindu-Javanese tradition with the exception of the Wu-langreh, which was written by Pakubuwana IV. Versions of the Pranitsastra were written in 1796 by Yasadipura I and in 1808 by Yasadipura II himself.11 In Canto V, Yasadipura II adds the Kisangul Ambiya (Qisas al-anbiya' or Stories of the Prophets: a Javanese version is attributed to Yasadipura I)12 and Kitab Insan Kamil (Book of the Perfect Man, i.e. a life of Muhammad, of which there are numerous Javanese versions) are commended for the instruction they provide on the manifold ways in which the devil tempts mankind. Like the recommended books, the personal examples cited are also mixed, ranging from the Prophet and Moses to exemplary figures from Javanese versions of Indic myths.

The commendation of restraint in food, drink, and sleeping, however, leads up to a eulogy of ṭapa (verse 14), a Sanskrit borrowing in one sense but nevertheless perhaps the most enduringly Javanese of spiritual values, showing the characteristic Javanese prizing of restraint and self-denial in all things, whether food, drink, or sleep, as a way of acquiring spiritual power. Yasadipura II writes: "He

8 Muslim canon law divides actions into five classes, i.e. obligatory, recommended, permitted/indifferent, disapproved, and forbidden. The terms fard and waqib are used for the first category; and haram for the last. Sunah is a term used for old custom or usage, which Muslims are counselled to follow in preference to innovation (ba'la). See Macdonald 1926:183–86. Batal is from the Arabic bātīl, meaning legally void. Arabic originals: kafir, fasik and musyrik.


10 The first was a Kawi-miring version, the second a Kawi-jarwa: see Poerbatjara 1957:148.

11 See Winter 1911:354.
who has great abilities, he who has supernatural power, and he who becomes a priyayi, all have their roots in tapa. Every great matter has its origins in tapa, which is followed by happiness. Even if one is very able, and even if one becomes a priyayi, if this does not originate in tapa it is riches from the devil.\textsuperscript{13} Even if the devil has the ability to confer supernatural power, the power one obtains from him lasts only a moment, and later one will be powerless against the wise and knowledgeable.

Tapa on its own can be translated as “penance” but is often elaborated into the compound tapa-brata, penance through self-mortification and abstinence.\textsuperscript{14} In the Susana Senu as in other Javanese works, tapa is frequently glossed as “death in life” (mati ana sariyong nguri), and the young priyayi are advised not to concern themselves about whether their life will be long or short: what should occupy their thoughts is to live as if they were dead.\textsuperscript{15} In another place\textsuperscript{16} tapa is coupled with tobat from the Arabic ta'eb (repentance) and the young priyayi are advised to prepare themselves for the fact that no-one remains in a high position forever and that they should meet this contingency with tobat and tapa, the most efficacious way to restore their rank.

We have seen above how Yasadipura’s language and his prescriptions for reading matter and personal exemplars show the duality of Java’s religious tradition. In Canto XI verses 17–19 (dealing with the duties of a Mantri in the ruler’s service) it is consciously formulated as consisting of a left and a right-hand branch. From the left side, a Mantri must know about Janaloka, Ngendraloka, and Guruloka: the first is the place of humans, and knowing about it means knowing the proper behaviour and activities of humans (tatakrampusapan, pahariyuning manungga). Ngendraloka is where Batara Endra has his kraton, and knowing Ngendraloka means knowing the tatamani panembahing desa (the proper arrangements for the veneration of the gods). The third, Guruloka, is the place of Batara Guru or Sang Hyang Prameshiti (Girinata), and knowing Guruloka means knowing the sëmbah mring Hyang Girinata (the act of homage paid to Hyang Girinata). From the right side a Mantri must know about sarengat (the Shariah), tarekat, and kakekat, the three stages of enlightenment for a Muslim who takes the path of joining a mystic order (tarekat) in order to attain knowledge of the ultimate Reality (kakekat or kakekat, Arabic haqqa). So it seems that the parallel is that observance of the Islamic Law (sarengat) belongs to the province of humans, the path of the tarekat raises one to the world of the Gods, and knowledge of ultimate Reality to that of the highest Godhead.

Elsewhere, Yasadipura says that one should take direction from a teacher and that both the “left” and the “right”, i.e. the Hinduized and Islamic traditions, can provide a good path for one.\textsuperscript{17} In the Javanese classificatory system, left is usually ranked higher than right: is Yasadipura II making a point about the relative ranking of the Indic and Islamic heritages of the Javanese by assigning the Indic to the left-hand side?

As is not uncommon in works devoted to the instruction of the young, much of the time the author is dealing with prohibitions. Canto II deals with the concept of endem, “intoxication”. There are numerous different sorts of endem, as follows. Firstly, strong drink is to be avoided because of its effect on behaviour, making the drinker over-confident and ill-mannered, turning his attention from God and his religion—and also because it means one destroys one’s own body. Also reprehensible is excess preoccupation with fine clothes, thinking oneself as exquisite as Arjuna or Panji (described as a common fault with young people who do not realise that true beauty is of the heart), as well as intoxication with pleasure and sleeping. Next comes intoxication by hava nafsu (passion) which drives one to unreasonable anger with others for the slightest offence; and intoxication through desiring something beyond all reason. It is interesting that whereas the Arabic word nafs means something equivalent to “soul”,\textsuperscript{18} in Java its derivatives nafsu and in common speech nésu have come to mean passion of an undesirable and baneful character, and in particular the passion of anger—yet another example of the dangers inherent in focusing on the Arabic word rather than on the Javanese concept that it expresses.

\textsuperscript{13} Stanzas 17–21.
\textsuperscript{14} It is used for the translation of this concept from the Greek philosophers; personal communication, Dr T. Street. The baneful effects of hava nafsu are also foregrounded in one of the works of the famous Raja Ali Haji of Riau (c. 1809–c. 1870), which particularly castigate the qualities of contentiousness, arrogance, stubbornness, and the desire for self-aggrandisement. See Andaya and Matheson 1979:108–128. The work in question is the Kitab Pengetahuan Babasa, see p. 118.

\textsuperscript{15} Canto VII, stanza 14.
\textsuperscript{16} See e.g. Rani 1957, section 25, where tapa and brata come at the top of the list of the Ten Best Things.
\textsuperscript{17} Canto I, stanza 10.
\textsuperscript{18} Canto XI, stanza 7f.
In the same Canto, stanza 24 speaks out against opium: it is not the man that consumes opium, but opium that consumes the man (dudu wong khang mangam apyun, apyun khang mangam jauna). It is an offence against the Shariah; however, it is permitted, according to the Kitab Suraheyan, to use a little opium in a fever medicine. Stanza 27 deals with gambling, also forbidden by the law, and together with opium-smoking the most usual reason that people take to crime, according to Yasadipura II. Stanza 28 advises against putting too much credence in the 30-uwku system, which is used to predict the future life of a new-born baby in detail, since believing in what is predicted causes our perceptions to alter and we really seem to perceive that it has come about. On the other hand, the sciences of mysticism, astronomy (jalak) and astrology (nujum) come from Arabia, where they were known as 'ilm al-falak and 'ilm al-tanjam respectively, and from the Prophet (and are therefore acceptable).

Related to the concept of endêm, is that of pakarêman, which might be translated as “infatuation” or “attachment”. These include love of wealth (karêm dunya), whose baneful consequences are illustrated in the story of the kauum desa Ki Nurngali, a friendless man who tried to “dam up” his wealth, against the advice of the Panitisästra, and ended up by being killed for it. The fact that the person chosen to exemplify the dangers of not allowing wealth to flow freely is a village Muslim official is consonant with the frequent depiction in Javanese texts of santri as stingy. In another work, the Wetara Keras, Yasadipura II again condemns love of money, which is only permissible if it is used to finance the state or the army or given to the poor and deserving—again regarding money as something that should not be “dammed up”.

Canto V adds sabeng wanadri or samodra, (making trips to the forest

19 Although the second part of the title of this book (kitab) seems to be Arabic bayân, exposition or commentary, the compound Suraheyan is not an Arabic construction. I am not sure which work is meant; one guess might be the Bayân al-sirr (see Kumar 1985:65) but this is a compendium relating to mysticism, and it seems more likely that some other commentary, relating to practice, is meant here.  

20 The uwku calendar is an indigenous Javanese calendar that was used for everyday purposes such as determining market days, but also for predicting the fate of individuals according to their date of birth. For the latter purpose it is still, like Western astrology, quite popular.

21 The term used is ilâduni, presumably a contraction of 'ilm ilâduni knowledge imparted directly by God through mystic intuition, a Sufi concept.

22 Canto III, stanza 32.

23 See e.g. Drewes 1978:37.

24 Canto III stanzas 6–25.

25 This is a story centring on the characters Koja Jajahan and a king, intended to provide lessons on statecraft. It seems that Yasadipura regards it principally as a source of instruction on manners, however.
by the story of Moses who while on a journey with the umma prayed for food from heaven on condition that no one should criticise it: when some did presume to say that there was one defect, in that there were plenty of side-dishes but no fresh vegetables, it all disappeared into the heavens again. When your wife serves you food at home, do not wolf it down or criticise it if it is not to your taste—a few tactful words afterwards about what you like are enough. Don't regard cooking as a trivial matter—it is our link to life. Do not be gluttonous, or you will die young. Be moderate in everything. Carrying out tapa for the whole of your life brings many benefits. Do not get into the habit of having an early morning meal, this will darken your heart and dull your wits. If you eat until you are sated, you will be irritable and sleepy, your sharpness of mind will be dulled. Eating to satiety is only appropriate for those who do heavy work such as lifting and ploughing—such people are described as bangsa badan (physical people)—not for priyayi who have to use their minds and hearts: they are the bangsa ati (spiritual people).

Sleeping, going out, staying in. Canto VII gives detailed prescriptions on these matters, laying down the proportion of the day it is right to spend sleeping (eight hours in total) and explaining how Allah descends in the last third of the night (linggir wéngi)—a Muslim belief, not an older Javanese one—at which time one should, if possible, wake up. Earnest prayers (salat kajat) at linggir wéngi of malam Jumungah (the eve of Friday) will be granted. Yasadipura II points out the bad effects of sleeping when the sun is up, or taking too long an afternoon sleep except occasionally when one is very tired. The direction in which one should sleep is towards the west, the kiblat (qibla), like a dead man, and sleeping towards another direction has a baneful effect on one’s livelihood, friendship, or health.

Receiving guests (Canto VIII). Standards of reception required for everyday acquaintances and for guests from afar differ: the former may be idle callers who disturb one’s official work, the latter must be well received, even if you have to pawn your ceremonial lance to provide refreshments, for this is the adat of all Javanese. If you receive a visitor who is of superior rank, you must receive him with due ceremony and sit before him in the proper fashion, with bowed head and hands resting in your lap, speaking softly, and taking care not to appear above yourself. The old must be well received, but those who are old and wise must receive superior distinction. If a fakir comes and asks something from you, give it without delay if you have it—in this way you will not cut off God's mercy, for our livelihood has its origins with God. Envos must be shown the same distinction and honour as their masters when they visit you. If you have to give a message to an envoy, make it as short as possible so that no confusion will arise.

Speech (Canto IX). This section begins with an injunction to avoid tékabur/kibir (overweening conceit) yub (the desire to impress), riya (the desire for praise and prominence), sumungah (boastfulness), duraka (speaking ill of others) and dora (lying)—note the complex range of Javanese, Sanskrit, and Arabic terms for the faults of mankind. By speaking ill of others you add their sins to your own; by lying you darken your heart: it is as if your house was in darkness and you had no lamps to light it and guard your possessions. In addition, lying will make your rank (darejat) decline and you will sink to the lowest station. Don't criticise people, don't speak without a reason, don't tell jokes or pointless or irrelevant stories, or speak for the sake of speaking, don't be given to joking (sésébranan) which will destroy the gracious and winning modesty and reserve (kajatmikan) you should have and also wipe out your store of tapa brata, causing a decline in your rank. Good-Fortune (Kí Bégia) will desert you and Ill-Luck (Kí Cilaka) be with you day and night.

Since speech is an activity involving other people of different kinds and conditions, Yasadipura II goes on to give the guidelines the young priyayi should observe. When conversing in a large gathering do not be the first to speak and do not hasten to draw the discussion to a conclusion: this should be left to the most senior person. Observe the Yudanagara. Even when speaking with those whose rank is higher than yours, you must weigh their utterances so as to decide whether they come from the evil passions and devils (hawa néphpu kalawen ébho), from the angels or from Adam: what is inspired by the first group

26 Stanza 28–29.
27 Linggir wéngi is one of the traditional Javanese divisions of the night, usually given as from midnight or 1 a.m. to 3 a.m., but sometimes as from 2 a.m. to 6 a.m.
28 See above n. 25.
must be rejected, that which comes from either of the last two is equally good. Lastly, he gives advice on how to respond if your Monarch (gusti) asks your opinion: answer according to your knowledge, and give examples. If your Monarch should be of an opinion which will lead to his shame, it is your duty to prevent this happening: to be an accomplice in reprehensible deeds is not true service, and those who think that it is do not truly love their Monarch and are simply desirous of praise and vainglorious (yen gustinira arsa/pikir ingkang nempah/sanadyan tumibeng nista/tumurunga malyu anut anglabali/eyea mingga ing api'ta/yeka duwu pasuwitan kaki/pan sayketing wong asucita/ingkang mangkana pikir/pikir suwatan iku/wetume tan ngeman ing gusti/amung mbura aleman/anjurung kambilhingkang).

1.1 Perspectives on Society

The Sasana Sunu does not use a word that could be considered an equivalent of this concept, focusing instead on the moral formation of the elite. But it seems to me that there is an emergent conceptualisation of society as something broader than the ruler-subject relationship; and certainly ethnographic material from this period provides striking evidence of the complex organisation of Javanese regional society and the formidable socialisation of the Javanese.29 Canto X, in laying down the proper behaviour for young priyayi as they receive appointments, provides some insights on how society was perceived to be organised, and, to a lesser extent, on how it really operated. It begins by advising the young men not to complain if they are appointed to a low post such as a village békél.30 If that is their lot, they must master the requirements of the job, set out under the headings sagama, satata, and satau. Saguna means knowing all about the farmer’s equipment: harrow, plough, sickle, crowbar, different types of axes and hoes, adzes and choppers, as well as about livestock. They must also work diligently in the fields, and not relax their efforts; when they have a good harvest they must surrender the correct amount to their superior as tax when it is due. If their land is taken away from them they must not resist and fight.31 Yasadipura II says that if the young men behave in this way they will be despised and cut off from the priyayi class. Satata means knowing the ways of the farmers, providing the santri with rice-fields, and not taking any part of the zakat and fitrah.32 They should also appoint as a kabayan33 someone who is strong and of good character.34 They should build a fence around the village and be hospitable to visitors. Satau means maintaining the adat of the villages of the area35—and not setting up your own adat. They should not allow bad people to gather in their area; and should govern the common people (lit. little people, Wong cilik) in such a way that they know what they are doing. If there is a thief among them, forgive him, but if he does not stop his evil-doing drive him away so that he does not contaminate others. Set up a mosque and see that everyone goes there on Fridays;36 If the population is strong in ibadah (observance of the rules of Islam) there will be few who fall into evils such as

29 See Kumar 1996 ch. 3.
30 Court-based appanage holders left the administration of the populations assigned to them in the hands of local tax-collectors called békél who gathered the landrent (pajig) and some other taxes, of which they received a percentage. For the most part they were from the upper echelon of village society and on the lowest rung of the hierarchy of officials under the appanage system: see diagram in Carey 1986:69.
31 Carey notes that on the replacement of the appanage holder in the royal capital, an all too frequent occurrence usually entailing the appointment of a new békél, it often happened that the current békél would abscond with the cash advances from the cultivators or refuse point blank to make way for the new appointee. This was the most frequent cause of the numerous “village wars” (prang deo) which plagued the countryside of south-central Java at this time and which one Dutch traveller referred to as being almost a daily occurrence in the years immediately preceding the Java war (Carey 1986:76).
32 Paying zakat (zakat) is one of the five pillars of the faith, and there are precise specifications about the types of property subject to zakat and the rate to be paid. The zakat money is used for the poor, slaves, debtors, travellers, and those in the service of God. Fitrah (fitra) is a charitable contribution usually of about a jumah of rice made by every member of the mosque congregation at the end of the fasting month, for the purpose of allowing the poor to celebrate the great annual festival at the end of the fast. It is also known as zakat badan to distinguish it from the true zakat levied on property. Participation by priyayi in the collection and particularly in determining the distribution of these religious contributions opened opportunities for misappropriation, and there were occasions when members of the santri community complained that officials had acted improperly in this way. See Kumar 1996:44.
33 An official in the village government.
34 Here the printed text reads “who does not smoke opium” instead of “of good character”.
35 Referred to as the muncapat/muncalima, four-seats and five-seats, since villages were traditionally conceptualised in groups of four, at the compass points, around a centre. This four-five compass classification is very old and is depicted in textile patterns, and correlated with colours and the five days of the market week.
36 Note the assumption in this passage that the rural areas to which the priyayi would be posted could be assumed not to have mosques.
gambling and opium-smoking. Remember that poverty is the root of crime. Once again, there is an emphasis on what we would term the social benefits of a strong religious commitment among the village population.

Yasadipura next lays down the right way to serve at the capital (nagara) for those who are appointed there. They must be diligent (tabiri, a word that occurs frequently in this type of discussion). If they have not yet been granted rice-fields (as appanage lands), they should not reveal a desire for them but reconcile themselves to living in the pasewanan. They should be humble in their dealings with their fellow priyayi, and be very attentive to the instructions of their superiors, outwardly and inwardly. They must remember that the Monarch is the representative of God, and that he will be just to his subordinates. Towards one’s fellows in service one should not be too quick to criticise, and one should sincerely commiserate with them when they incur their master’s anger: one day it may be your turn, and your companions in service are like your brothers (in such a situation).

Yasadipura then deals with the rank-order of those to whom one owes the deepest respect (in Javanese, those who are sinembah, i.e. receive the act of homage). First is the ruler; second your parents; third your parents-in-law; fourth your guru; and fifth your older brothers. Mantri must pay this respect to Tumen-gungs, and Tumen-gungs in turn to those of the blood royal (santana). With this last, unelaborated statement Yasadipura II brings us up against one of the central principles of Javanese society: the concept that descent, or to use the old-fashioned term blood, was of central importance in the formation of a man, and that royal blood conferred a social rank higher than any other—and in fact sprang from spiritual pre-eminence. The ruler’s close relatives, the santana, rank above those who have risen to high rank, that of Mantri and Tumen-gung, in the service of the

37 I.e. from gambling and opium-smoking?
38 The pasewanan is a pendapa (pavilion) in the palace forecourt, used for audiences. The implication is probably that one should be prepared to put in time at court, perhaps as a lowly mangon.
39 The gloss given for “just” is forgiving, long-suffering, benevolent, indicating the reliance on an outstanding ruler to see justice done which is also evident in the messianic movements centring around the installation of a Just King (Ratu Adil). In the many Javanese discussions on kingship, kings are traditionally classified as low, middling, and outstanding (nisfa, madhya, and atama), a classification that goes back to Sanskrit texts from the Old Javanese period.
40 A legal proof, in this case one of the texts from the Qur’an or Hadith in which Muhammad exhorts his followers to obedience to him and to those in authority over them. An example is sura 4:59, which reads: “You who believe! Obey God, obey the Messenger (Muhammad), and those in authority among you!”
41 I owe this insight, among many others, to Dr S. Supomo.
the santri’s the earnest application of the farmer, and the careful calculation of the merchant.

Canto XI deals with the responsibilities of high officials, Mantri and Bupati, and the highest of all, the Patih, and their all-important relationship with the Monarch. When speaking of the Patih Yasadipura II uses the well-known Javanese trope of the kris and the sheath: the Patih, the sheath, must follow the shape of the kris, the Monarch; and if the kris fits well into its sheath, the state will be safe from all evils and the sharpness of the kris will not be in evidence.

Cantos XII–XIII deal with the question of what causes a decline in one’s rank, and the flight of one’s wahyu, the last a concept of absolute centrality to the Sasana Sunu which will be defined below. The first cause of a decline in rank Yasadipura describes is taking food from the mouths of the poor (the wong cilik), who have so little and whose life is so hard. It seems to me that in its emphasis on the treatment due to fakir who visit one, in the emphasis on seeing that the zakat and fiath reach their proper destination (see above), and in this statement about one’s moral responsibility to the poor, we see how Islam has reinforced the strong Javanese sense of responsibility to those below one, rather than the equally strong Javanese emphasis on responsibility, of a different kind, to those above one in the social hierarchy.

Following the hawaning ati (passions of the heart) instead of wajib (duty) will certainly have a bad effect on one’s wahyu. Building an excessively large and fine house is another thing that can only cause a decline in one’s fortunes. Stories from both the left (pangieva) and the right (panengen) traditions prove this: the strong and wealthy danawa (demons of the Mahabhârata stories depicted in wayang) and the Arabian kings who constructed palaces rivalling heaven all came to bad ends. If you do your work well you will get real praise from your Monarch, whereas even if you have a fine house, if your work is behind-hand and full of mistakes you will certainly arouse his anger. Yasadipura II lists the signs that a man’s wahyu is about to leave him: if he is repeatedly warned not to do something, but nevertheless goes ahead and does it, or if he wrongs or mistreats someone despite attempts to restrain him. Here wahyu is described as being like the soul, very pure and, if one could see it, like a clear light, shining like the moon. “Small wahyu” (wahyu alit) is like a clear star. If it is asked to be party to a bad deed, it becomes disturbed and angry, and then appears dull and dirty. It will certainly flee else-

where, since there is no lack of places for it to perch. It will seek a heart that is pure and wise, fortunate and sage, for there it will be cared for. To keep your wahyu is difficult, but becomes easier with practice. You must be watchful and mindful, remembering God and his commands, doing good in the world. You must reduce your eating and sleeping, in order to obtain rank. Be familiar with Javanese and Arabic literature. Know the Islamic Law, and the established adat and customs. Be steadfast without anxiety. Associate with those who may not be clever but are charitable to the poor and needy (pekir miskin). Good deeds are a part of a shining wahyu, the sign of God’s love.

This is the most extensive definition of the central concept of wahyu and those who have it provided by Yasadipura II. In Javanese literature, kings are generally depicted as the principal vehicles of wahyu. A Javanese Babad dealing with the Chinese War that began in 1740 tells how when Mangkunegara I was born the reigning king’s wahyu moved from him to Mangkunegara’s mother, so that the baby was born with a special glow, and many interpreted this to mean that he would become a great leader in war: we saw above this understanding of wahyu as a physical manifestation of light (a star, a ball of light) in the Sasana Sunu. Although the word is from the Arabic wahy and means “revelation” it has become naturalised in Java to such an extent that there is a popular wayang lakon centring on the struggle between the Pandawas and Korawas for the wahyu, which underlines its association with royalty, legitimisation and the right to power already suggested by the story about the birth of Mangkunegara I. As the concept is presented in Yadadipura’s Sasana Sunu, it appears not as an exclusive attribute of prophets or the ruler but as a quality which all members of the elite can aspire to possess, and which has a sort of Indic, karma-like quality in that it is increased or decreased by good or bad deeds. In other words, the Javanese governing class has appropriated (not to say pirated) and redefined a term which in the rest of the Muslim world is identified with the Prophets (nabi, from Arabic singular nabi, plural anbiya’) and above all with Muhammad and the revelations made to him by God and recorded in the Qur’ân. They were not content to claim the lesser...
form of illumination (ilham—Arabic ilhām) possessed by the wali (saints, friends of God—Arabic singular wali, plural awliyāʾ), but put themselves into the category of the Prophets, so much nearer to God.  

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Islam has, therefore, a prominent but by no means exclusive position in the moral formation of the Javanese elite as laid down by Yasadipura II in this work. This is clear from the status given to the Left-hand tradition, the Hindu-Javanese, alongside the Right-hand, the Islamic, and the great prominence given to the practice of penance (tapā), the cultivation of death-in-life, from this Left-hand tradition. It will also be noted that Islamic concepts such as adīl (ʿadīl) and wasyū (wāshiy) have been reinterpreted in such a way as to make them consistent with, and supportive of, the hierarchical structure of Javanese society, organised beneath the high centre of the king.

Apart from recognising the Left-hand or Hindu-Javanese tradition as being equally as important as the Islamic one, Yasadipura II puts great value on Javanese-ness. He repeatedly advises that Java’s adat should be maintained, not changed, and that the young priyayi should not invent their own adat. He is, however, aware that certain important parts of Javanese adat, are actually contrary to Islam. Thus Canto XII, verses 22–32, counsels against an idolatrous deification or anthropomorphism of krises, using material from both the Left- and Right-hand traditions. The point made is that the power of krises is only an external one (wasiyāt lair) as is evident from the cases of Siyung Wanara of Pajajaran in the Babad story66 and Aswataama and the magic weapon Cundamanik.67 It is much better to have inner spiritual power (wasiyāt ait), as in the case of Sunan Giri, the wali who

55 See Macdonald 1926:281.
56 Siyung Wanara (later title, Aya Banyak Widi) was the son of a ruler of Pajajaran whose father attempted to put him to death as a baby because of the prediction of a holy man the father had unrighteously murdered. Siyung Wanara became a kris-smith (pande) of great supernatural power and imprisoned his father in an iron cage, subsequently becoming king of Pajajaran himself. The most accessible version of the Babad story is found in the edition of the Meinsma version by Olthof 1941:13–17.
57 The story of Aswataama (Sanskrit Aśvatthāmā) occurs in the Bhāratayudhā section of the Mahābhārata. In it, Aswataama seeks to defeat the God Śrīsena (Sanskrit Kṛṣṇa) and the Pandawa (Pandava), who have come to take his magic jewel, by loosing the world-shaking fire-arrow Brahmāśirah. Śrīsena counters this weapon with one of his own, the Sīrāṃṣyani, and so Aswataama has to surrender his jewel and is punished with 1,000 years torment and disgrace for loosing this dreadful weapon: See Supomo 1995: Canto 51, 157f. and 251f.

when his state was attacked by the heathen forces of Majapahit threw down the pen he was using, which thereupon changed into a kris that on its own put the Majapahit army to flight. The veneration of the supernatural potency of krises deplored by Yasadipura II is still by no means a thing of the past in Javanese society today. Stanza 33 says that, according to a prohibition of the ancestors, the gamelān should not be used at the mamanu (wedding) ceremony, and in fact the gamelān is prohibited by our religion (i.e. Islam). However, it is allowed (according to established custom) at the tētakan or khitanan (circumcision) and tēngkēban (seven-month ceremony for pregnant women) and in fact, though rather ostentatious, is in common use, especially among the king’s courtiers. If you are in this position, when the gamelān begins to play you should say a prayer to God and to the ancestors who have made the prohibition, asking their forgiveness and permission to listen to the gamelān; and six days or a week beforehand you should make an offering in a secluded spot asking for a sign that your request is granted.

1.2 Kingship

A central pillar of Yasadipura II’s program of instruction is his strong support for a hierarchical, king-centric polity, where subjects seek salvation by serving (ngawuinde) their king, which is for them a religious observance. In this all-pervasive hierarchy, the highest rank is determined by blood descent, with the ruler at the very top, followed by those of royal blood, the santana, followed by the four estates of society, of which that of priyayi is higher than those of sudagar, santri, and tami. These differences of rank, as well as the very important internal differentiation among different ranks of priyayi, are marked in every detail of speech, dress, and deportment. The Arabic terms drājat (daraja) and kurnat (karāma) are mustered for support and legitimisation of this hierarchy, and the supreme spiritual value is serving the ruler. As far as this last is concerned, in Canto IV stanzas 35–9 Yasadipura II says that carrying out your allotted tasks in the service of the Monarch can be compared to prayer (performance of the five daily prayers—Indonesian salat, Arabic ʿṣalāt); your Monarch is the true Kahfīf—a sentiment that puts serving the ruler on a par with serving God. By contrast, Islamic political philosophers generally stress—while enjoining the obedience of his subjects to the king—the king’s subordination to the Law in this life and subjection to
divine judgement in the next. Indeed, it is not infrequent to find statements that the pious man should not associate with courts or serve kings. In an Islamic work on kingship, the *Taj us-Salatin*—the Javanese version of which is attributed to Yasadipura I and which would therefore have been well known to Yasadipura II—the king is depicted as personally responsible on the day of judgement for any hardship or oppression his subjects suffer. If he does not serve them well, the pains of hell are his reward. In this text the exemplary stories of good kings portray them as spending their nights going around their realm disguised in common clothes, finding out the sufferings of the least in the kingdom and carrying on their own shoulders sacks of food for the unfortunate. Though from pre-Islamic times Javanese works on kingship lay great stress on the king's responsibility for the material welfare of his subjects, neglect of which will lead to his downfall (whereas in the Islamic text it imperils his *salvation*), going around the kingdom in rags like a coolie hardly seems congruous with the Javanese ideal of royal dignity and aloofness.

Thus at this period Javanese kings retained their old central position and derived from Islam both confirmation of their martial role and the light of prophecy (*ahlis), by appropriation. As we have seen, the hope for and dispensation of justice is also appropriated to kings.

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Contrasting *Pancasila* with the *Sasana Sunu*, we can see that old concepts have disappeared and new ones have taken their place; and that even though Arabic words are used in both cases, there has been a quantum shift in the conceptualisation of the political order as a whole. Somewhere between the time of Yasadipura II and 1945, Islam has helped to bring about a revolution in Indonesian social and political thought, introducing a whole swathe of new concepts. These concepts relate to the collegial and the procedural, rather than to the hierarchical, personal, and patronial. Also, these new concepts flowed from Islam into the mainstream of political thinking at a time that is rightly regarded as the darkest part of the colonial night for Islam, a time of political impotence.

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48 See e.g. Lambton 1981:285.
49 See Winter 1911:352.
50 See the 7th chapter of this work, of which three editions are fairly accessible, i.e. Bukhari 1966; Jusuf 1979; and Bokhari 1878.
51 Dealt with in another of Yasadipura II's works, the *Wisara Kèsas*.
52 *Wisaka* was also the cognomen of one of the Sunans of Surakarta.
Leiderschap. However, the special status of royal blood and the division of society into estates have disappeared (unless one takes the functional groups of the New Order as a descendant of the latter). Another bridge between the world of Yasadipura II and that of Sukarno is in the value placed on justice, but the former sees justice as a function of royal benevolence, whereas though Sukarno does refer to the old belief in the Ratu Adil, the Just King, he reinterprets this as a search for social justice based on economic equality.

Thus, it seems that if one may not have Pancasila plus Islamic concepts, Pancasila minus Islamic concepts would have some very large holes in it. It is notable that the Pancasila contains almost nothing in the way of terms derived from European languages, with the exception of the adjective sosial (and I would not be at all surprised if this owes its presence simply to the awkwardness of an adjectival form of masyarakat). Of course it would be naive to assume that because there are no Dutch- or English-derived words, there is no influence of Western thought. But neither should we assume that the Arabic terms are used only as the best available translations of Western concepts.

Early in this century, Tjokroaminoto's Islam dan Sosialisme assessed the political ideals of Islam in terms of how far they conformed to the western formula of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity: it is time now, surely, to look at Islam in its own terms. A fuller study than has been possible in a paper of this length would look at the way in which the terms discussed here were used in other Islamic societies, not in order to impose a sort of Arabic essentialism on their specifically Indonesian usage and context, but to develop some comparisons that might be illuminating. Even more importantly, it should look at the history of the usage of these terms in the Indonesian media over the period between Yasadipura II and Sukarno. This would involve inter alia a better knowledge of the Islamic presses that developed in 19th-century Java, as well as the leading role of Islam in popular education.

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53 I owe this suggestion to Dr Ian Proudfoot.