

# Sufism Ethics in Javanese Aristocracy: A Historical Perspective

Muhammad Iqbal Birsyada<sup>a</sup>, <sup>a</sup>Universitas PGRI Yogyakarta, Jalan PGRI I, Sonosewu No. 117, Yogyakarta, 55182, Indonesia, Email: [iqbal@upy.ac.id](mailto:iqbal@upy.ac.id)

Sufism, in the Javanese tradition, has been practiced since the beginning of the XV and XVI centuries and was carried out by preachers from abroad. This tradition became stronger after the Islamization process by the Wali Songo who synthesized and adapted it between the ideas of Islam and the local culture. The implication of this action was more on the emergence of the synthesis of mystical Islamic patterns of teaching rather than on the Syariah of Islam. Mystification was the form of objectification that was carried out by the preachers so that they were able to articulate the values of internal Islam doctrines while considering the local wisdom as their external factors. Since then, the historical journey indicated that the objectification process and the internalization of the values of Sufism in this practice were not always conducted by the preachers, in this case, the santri, who originated in the pesantren tradition. The priyayi or the Javanese aristocrats were not less creative in constructing the idea of Sufism with the local wisdom values. In the XIX century, Mangkunegara IV was a Javanese aristocrat who was successful in constructing Sufism within Javanese patterns of society. The results of Sufism could be seen from some of the pieces of literature written by Mangkunegara IV. One of which was Serat Wedatama. The Sufi spirit of Mangkunegara IV could be seen from the teaching of catur sembah, which was rich in Javanese ascetic values. Meanwhile, the form of Javanese puritanism could be seen from the teaching of tri prakara, which were wiryo, arto, and winasis.

**Keywords:** *Sufism, ethics, Javanese, Aristocracy, Mangkunegara IV.*

## Introduction

The construction of Javanese Sufism thought could be easily seen in some classical Javanese literature like *Suluk Malangsumirang*, *Babad Tanah Jawi*, *Serat Wulang Reh*, *Serat Cebolek*, *Serat Wirid Hidayat Jati*, and *Serat Wedatama*. In *Babad Tanah Jawi* and *Wirid Hidayat Jati*, are examples of literature that was made by the writer to show a symbolic relationship

between Sufism traditional thought and *kejawen*. That is the thought of *Manunggaling Kawulo lan Gusti* (Being in the Unity with God) (Simuh, 1988; Resi, 2007; Birsyada, 2012; Birsyada, 2016). The values of symbolic Sufism appearing in *Babad Tanah Jawi* involved magical, sacred, and mystical elements (Resi, 2007). However, in classic literature such as *Babad Tanah Jawi*, there were indicators of the cycle of the Javanese life journey beginning from the immanent, existential, transcendent, essential and ending up with *Manunggaling Kawula lan Gusti* (Resi, 2010). In short, the tradition of Sufism was implemented and internalized in Nusantara, especially in Java, as the historical journey reflected the pattern of the synthesis of mystical Islam generated from the *tasawuf* teachings (Simuh, 1995; Azra, 2004).

Historically, the development of Sufism thought in Nusantara could not be separated from the influence of the Nusantara theologian network in the XVII and XVIII centuries who were able to reconstruct the unity between Islamic thought and the local values using the Islamization processor in the more specific term, santrization (Azra, 2004; Azra, 2013). Charismatic theologians who had the authority to interpret religious terms in Java mostly had a relationship with the network of the theologians in the Middle East. Some of those charismatic theologians had great influences and brought different Sufism practices. Therefore, they believed Islam thought and *tasawuf* thought could easily be internalized to their santris in and around Nusantara, including Java. The strength of individual charismatic theologians at that time became a fundamental and integrated part in the process of the internalization of Sufism values in Nusantara (Arip et al, 2012).

within relation to the previous explanation, Howell (2011) argued that Sufi tradition in the world was a Muslim community development based on Shariah practices. Meanwhile, Geertz (1971), stated that the idea of Sufism in Nusantara, especially in Java in the XV century, was promoted by Islamic theologian propaganda like *Wali Songo*, especially Sunan Kalijogo. The Javanese Sufism tradition then became the differentiator between Islamic patterns in Java and the Middle East, especially in Morocco. According to Steenbrink (2013), the relationship pattern between Islam and the other religious followers, such as Hindu-Buddhism in Java, had been developed since the Majapahit era and was harmonious. This pattern showed that the philosophy of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Many Fused as One) was well established (Steenbrink, 2013). Even in Bali, the *Subak* system depicted the tolerance between Hindus in Bali and Islam (Atmadja, 2010).

Based on the historic way, the development of Sufism in Java, according to some historians, was brought by spiritual teachers with Sufism patterns. Drewes (1983), for example, argued that those spiritual teachers opened religious schools and taught Islamic values and doctrines with esoteric patterns. These esoteric patterns then formed Javanese Sufism teaching doctrines in which those practices introduced mystical ideas (Geertz, 1971; Simuh, 2002).

Meanwhile, culturally, the Islamization process in Java was introduced by preachers like Wali Songo who in his practice used a lot of Sufism approaches adopted into Javanese culture ethics (Geertz, 1971; Birsyada, 2012; Birsyada, 2016). In short, it is in this process that Islam ideas had experienced *pribumisasi* (enculturation).

In line with the previous studies, Sulanam (2013), explained that Sufism traditions and Islamic mysticism in Nusantara were mostly influenced by the *tareqatism* from the Middle East like Syatariyah, Syadzaliyah, Qadariyah, Sammaniyah, Khalwatiyyah, and Naqsabandiyyah. However, the Sufism tradition in Java in the XV century was dominated by Javanese mystic teachings. Wali Songo engaged in acculturation, combining the *tasawuf* approach with local traditions. For example, like Sunan Kalijogo who practiced *topo*, people were encouraged by *laku* which means *tafakkur* and *i'tikaf* to get closer to God. Preaching strategies which were conducted also used local cultural approaches such as using *wayang* (puppets) and *tembang jawa* (Javanese songs).

In the XIX century, the process of the internalization of Sufism values was done by the theologians, *kijaji* using literatures or *kitab-kitab kuning* (yellow books) that were made for that purpose. In 1884 in Mecca, the books written by Middle Eastern theologians in the Arabic language began to be widely printed and published. Some of the books were printed in the Malay language. The development of book printing became part of the inseparable internalization of the Islamic renewal process using literature tradition. The development of literature was then followed by the theologians from Java who wrote *tasawuf* themes. Sunarwoto (2008), for example, studied the influence of the thought of Syakh Abd-al Hamid Kudus in Javanese traditional pesantren (Islamic boarding schools).

According to Sunarwoto (2008), Syakh Abd-al Hamid (1863-1915) wrote at least 20 books in Arabic as the handbook for the *santris* in Mecca among others about *ushul fiqh*, ethics, *tasawuf*, *fiqh*, Arabic poetry, and hagiography. The books written by Syakh Abd-Al Hamid are still used as the references by the pesantrens with traditional *salafi* patterns in Java. In addition to developing networks with the theologians in Java, Syakh Abd-al Hamid Kudus also developed networks with some theologians and *santri* in Middle Eastern areas. Middle Eastern *santris* and theologians' networks were developed by Syakg Abd-al Hamid Kudus among others such as the theologians of Hijaz and Hadramaut. Sikh Abd-al Hamid became the follower of Sammaniyyah congregation.

A similar studies with Sunarto were also conducted by Sokheh (2011), In'amuhazzidin (2012), and Aziz (2013), who studied the internalization of the Sufism values process with books written by Kiai Saleh Darat Semarang (1820-1903) in the Javanese language with Oregon Arabic letters. The works of Kiai Saleh Darat Semarang, which consisted of 14 books including one with a *tasawuf* theme, titled *Al-Hikam*. This bookh was the summary of one-

third of the book *Al-Hikam*, written by Ibn Atho'ilaj and Munjiyat which was the quotation of the abstract of *ihya'ulumuddin imam Al-Ghazali* chapter III and IV. The *tasawuf* books from Kiai Saleh Darat became the references for *salaf* pesantrens in Java until now. Referring to *tasawuf* works by Kiai Saleh Darat, it can be concluded that *tasawuf* tradition, which he introduced, was generated from the thought of Imam Al-Ghazali and Ibn Atho'ilah. Kiai Saleh was included to be the follower of Sufism that emphasized the obedience to God and refused the philosophical Sufism. Meanwhile, the Sufism tradition introduced was practical Sufism called *Sunni-amali*.

### Javanese Priyayi Culture

Culturally, in the Javanese royal tradition, there has been an agreed practice that says that ancestry or royal families would be confirmed by the tradition as *priyayi* or in Hindu-Buddhist tradition as *Ksatria* (Kartodirjo et al, 1987). This attribute implies that it was very much inappropriate if someone who had this title, especially those from the royal family, changed the profession to become a trader or farmer which apparently would degrade their nobility. This custom was when a *priyayi*, as a royal elite, decided to be a preacher like a *santri* because this activity was far from the social role of Javanese *priyayi*.

Kuntowijoyo (1991) explained that the developing Javanese *priyayi* culture was a patron and client culture, which was a confirmed relationship between a master and his servant. *Priyayi* in the Javanese power tradition took the position of suprastructure with *kawula* and *abdi dalem* as its structure. However, in the XVII and XVIII centuries, the position of Javanese *priyayi* was cornered because of the factors of religiopolitical power. This position caused the noble *priyayi* elite, especially Kasunanan Surakarta, to have to face the grassroots power and the power of the theologian and the pesantren along the Javanese north coast (Joebagio, 2012). Finally, the Geger Pacinan incident caused Pakubuwono II to divide the area with the Dutch colonials and the side of Kasultanan Yogyakarta then ended with Giyanti agreement (Ricklefs, 1974; Remelink, 1990; Joebagio, 2015). This incident reached the peak in Diponegoro war when the position of Javanese elite *priyayi* and their relatives was defeated by the grassroot movement in which the *santri*, *priyayi* and *abangan* collaborated to attack the power of the colonial and its allies.

Essentially, the Javanese tradition much emphasized the kinship and family tree relationships (Soekanto, 2004; Koentjaraningrat, 2007). Even the kinship relationship between *priyayi* and the royal family could be tightened when it happened in the centre of royal elite as the core of micro and macro cosmos (Soeratman, 1989). To show this greatness, the palace and its ornaments were made in such a way that revealed this greatness and luxury (Pamberton, 2003). This prestige was preceded with a set of public ritual ceremonies such as *Sedekah Bumi* and *Gerebeg Maulud* (Woodward, 2004).

Culturally, *priyayi* in Javanese power tradition had a high bargaining power position in terms of its status and roles in the government. It was even higher for *priyayi nduwuran* who had a direct role with the royal family (Kartodirjo et al, 1987). This prestige could be seen from how *priyayi* and regents implemented the king and colonial government policy in taking taxes (Suhartono, 1989; Wasino, 2008). At that time, the position of Javanese *priyayi* was in the circle of power, but in the XIX century they only received the rental yields from their *tanah lungguh* or the apanage from the private company and the Dutch government (Wasino, 2008).

Javanese *priyayi* was also identified with the white-collar workers and their detailed code of conduct (Soeratman, 1989). Whereas in the XVII and XVIII centuries, the presence of Javanese *priyayi*, which received the highest position in the royal court, was no more than a part of the Dutch colonial government domination (Joebagio, 2012). Politically, *priyayi* was the most important part in Javanese power to support the power of the king based upon *sentana*, *abdi dalem*, and *kawula* (Kuntowoyo, 2006). It had been the Javanese faith tradition that the role of Javanese *priyayi* was to instruct and master while *kawula* and laypeople were the ones instructed (Wasino, 2006). Therefore, when there was a noble family who decided to be other than the master at that time, it could be considered taboo because they broke the Javanese power tradition. In short, the Javanese leadership model confirmed the relationship between the king and his followers as a patron and client or a master and servant relationship.

While this tradition had been confirmed over a long time, socio-culturally, there were changes made by Mangkunegara IV by breaking this tradition through modernization. This included adopting modern Western culture which was considered good to be processed following the Javanese values by the policies that he enacted (Sarwanto, 2001; Siswokartono, 2006; Wasino, 2008; Wasino, 2012; Birsyada et al, 2016). The implication of these acts was the economic condition of *praja* Mangkunegaran which was getting better when the Dutch government system and administration were adopted. The rational-legal leadership model shown by *praja* Mangkunegaran gave a positive effect to the *praja* economic development, although the negative effect of robbery and prostitution increased (Wasino, 2012). In short, the impact of westernization had penetrated to all *praja* Mangkunegaran government aspects.

The rational acts by Mangkunegara IV which were influenced by modernization and westernization could be seen from his perspective that someone who was considered noble *priyayi* or even the king was not merely a ruler, but also a businessman as (Wasino, 2008; Wasino, 2014). In his opinion, becoming a king and at the same time as being a businessman would not degrade his becoming a noble (Mangkunegara IV, 1926). Additionally, the ethics of Javanese puritanism was practiced by Mangkunegara IV through *piwulang tri prakara*, that is *wirya*, *arta* and *winasis* or nobleness, welfare, and knowledge in which one of them

should be owned by every human being. This thought was included in the song of *Sinom Serat Wedatama* by Mangkunegara IV as follows:

Bonggankan tan merlokena,  
*None is needed*  
Mungguh ugering ngaurip,  
*In the dynamics of life*  
Uripe lan tri prakara,  
*Living based on three aspects*  
Wirya arta tri winasis,  
*Position, wealth, third is knowledge*  
Kalamun kongsi sepi,  
*If life does not have none of them*  
Saka wilangan tetelu,  
*From those all of the three*  
Telas tilasing jati aking,  
*Life is like dry teak leaves*  
Temah papa papariman ngulandara,  
*Languish, poor without aims*  
(Birsyada et al, 217).

The construction of the verse of *Sinom* song previously could be interpreted that human beings should be based on the livelihood itself. Living is based on three aspects: nobleness (wirya), welfare (arta) and knowledge (winasis). If someone did not have at least one of them, they would miss the essence of becoming human. Finally, like a withered tree leaf, they would become a beggar and homeless (Jatmiko, 2005). In short, the unity among nobleness, wealth, and knowledge is the spirit of Javanese puritanism that should be reached by every human being.

### **Religious Construction of Mangkunegara IV**

Mangkunegara IV was educated in Islam since he was a child by his grandparent Mangkunegara II. When he was 10, he was handed to Pangeran Rio, his cousin, who later became Mangkunegara III by his grandparent Mangkunegara II. Pangeran Ria was assigned to teach Sudiro (the nickname of Mangkunegara IV) writing, reading, and various types of arts and culture as well as other pieces of knowledge. Mangkunegara IV learned from Mangkunegara III for approximately five full years (Ardani, 1995). During this process, Mangkunegara enjoyed learning and going deep into religious knowledge, and he learned from theologians until he knew about the rules of hajj. In this case, his heart was encouraged by his anxiety about the life after death (Jatmiko, 2005).

Meanwhile, although not having perfect knowledge in religious study, the young Mangkunegara IV had been called to serve the government. Although, because he was busy to perform his duties, he sometimes missed his prayers. Mangkunegara IV finally on some occasion prayed *jama*. The motivation of Mangkunegara IV in deepening Islam, yet at the same time he was simultaneously causing worry about his life after death as reflected in *Serat Wedatama* as follows:

Nanging enak ngupa boga,  
*The most exhilarating is in fact earning a living*  
Rehne ta tinitah langip,  
*Especially in this mortal life*  
Apata suwiteng Nata,  
*Anyone wants to be a public servant?*  
Tani tanapi agrami,  
*Or anyone want to be a farmer?*  
Mangkono mungguh mami,  
*That is my point of view*  
Padune wong dahat cubluk,  
*But in fact I am not smart*  
Durung wruh cara Arab,  
*I haven't known Arab ordinance models*  
Jawaku bae tan ngenting,  
*My Javanese understanding is not yet complete*  
Parandene paripaksa mulang putra.  
*With that condition I had bravery to teach kids*  
Saking duk maksih taruna,  
*Since still young*  
Sadhela wus anglakoni,  
*Not that long had been able to implement*  
Aberag marang agama,  
*Keen in implementing the religion*  
Maguru anggering kaji,  
*Learning from kijaji*  
Sawadine tyas mami,  
*Like me*  
Banget wedine ing mbesuk,  
*Being afraid of the life after death*  
Pranatan ngakir jaman,  
*At the end of the world*

Tan tutug keselak ngabdi,  
*Not having enough knowledge have soon served*  
Nora kober sembahyang tya tinimbangan,  
*Not yet having a chance to pray have been called by the king*  
Abrubah bawur tyas ingwang,  
*Becoming confused deep down in my heart*  
Lir kiyamat saben ari,  
*Like doomsday every day*  
Bot Allah apa Gusti,  
*Heavy in God or heavy on the king*  
Tambah tambah solahingsun,  
*Asking everywhere about my attitude*  
Lawas lawas nggraita,  
*Finally I am thinking*  
Rehne ta suat priyayi,  
*Am I really the descendant of priyayi*  
Yen mamriha dadi kaum temah nistha,  
*If having the ambition to be contemptible*  
Tuwin ketip suragama,  
*For example to be a kothib in mosques*  
Pan ingsun nora winaris,  
*From the very beginning I don't have talent*  
Angur baya ngantepana,  
*Better to be keen*  
Pranatan wajibing urip,  
*Laws of religion*  
Lampahan angluluri,  
*The history of life*  
Kuna kumunanira,  
*Past life*  
Kongsi tumekeng samangkin,  
*Until now*  
Kikisane tan lyan amung ngupa boga.  
*No other words than earning for a living*  
(Birsyada et al, 2017).

Based on the previous explanation, it is clear that Mangkunegara IV's interest in the knowledge of religion was strong. In this case, God's call had been in his heart so deep for so long. Mangkunegara IV as a Muslim had known the nature of the life of a human being was weak with complaints in walking life, and by nature, the strength of human beings was from

God, Allah (SWT). The religious construction of Mangkunegara IV explained that human beings, because they had received gifts and blessing from God, could reach happiness. This sentiment is appropriate with what is explained in the Qur'an letter Al Balad: 4.

The anxiety of Mangkunegara IV about life after death became the sign that his personality felt afraid that when he died, he didn't have faith because he didn't have many struggles in his life and his faith in the religion was not yet perfect. This imperfection became one of the reasons driving his duties to serve the government. Every day that Mangkunegara IV was afraid that his earthly life neglected his eternal life after death. What Mangkunegara IV thought about was summarized in the Qur'an letter Ali-Imran: 185 and QS. Al-Baqarah: 214.

This previous anxiety seemed common in the Muslim people who were learning Islamic teachings. Because from deep down in the heart full of the Islam values this view had been deeply rooted. *Serat Wedatama* taught as follows:

Mingkar mingkuring angkara,  
*Twist and turn in language literature*  
Akarana karenan mardhi siwi,  
*The way to educate children*  
Sinawoeng resmining kidoeng,  
*Teaching children with songs*  
Sinoeba sinoekarta,  
*Is done with love,*  
Mrih kretarta pakartining ngelmoe loehoeng,  
*So that the noble knowledge is absorbed*  
Kang toemrap neng tanah Djawa,  
*Which is appropriate in Java*  
Agama ageming adji  
*Religion as lifeline*  
(Birsyada et al, 2017).

Meaning: *Serat Wedatama* teaches humans to be able to control the emotion. Therefore, human beings are away from greedy lust because related to teaching children with verses and songs, the way is decorated to embody the directed noble knowledge. In Java what is most essential in religion is the lifeline. The verses in that song reflect the Javanese asceticism constructed by Mangkunegara IV concerning controlling the emotions and greedy lust.

## Sufism Thought

Sufism thought was attached to the works of Mangkunegara IV, one ne of them was *Serat Wedatama*. The thought of Mangkunegara IV in developing the basic economy of production, if seen closely, was related to the perception towards religious thought. In regard to this point, Ardani (1988) found that the religious thought of Mangkunegara IV was influenced by the spiritual tenets of Sufism rooted in Islam values which had been adapted into Javanese values.

The teaching of *Sembah Catur* from Mangkunegara IV, for example, theoretically and philosophically was influenced by the values of Javanese Sufism, especially the teaching of *Manunggaling Kaluwa lan Gusti*. The spiritual energy of the teaching of *Sembah Catur* became the spirit of Mangkunegara IV as the king in developing social and economic management in his kingdom (Sulistyo, 2015). The previous thought could be explained in *Serat Wedatama* in the *Gambuh* song as follows:

Samengko ingsun tutur,  
*Now I will speak up*  
Sembah catur supaya lumuntur,  
*The teaching of four obeisances so that it is accepted*  
Dhidhin raga, cipta, jiwa rasa, kaki,  
*Body, thought, soul, feeling, my child*  
Ing kono lamun tinemu,  
*There when you have met*  
Tandha nugrahaning Manon  
*The sign you have got the blessing from God*  
Sembah raga punika,  
*Body sembah is*  
Pakartine asarana saking warih,  
*The way to clean with wudhu water*  
Kang wus lumrah limang wektu,  
*That is commonly done five times*  
Wantu wataking weweton  
*Without guidance, worship is forbidden* (Birsyada et al, 2017).

Meaning: according to Mangkunegara IV, there were four systematic ways in implementing religion regularly: *sembah raga*, *sembah cipta*, *sembah jiwa* and *sembah rasa*. With those *catur sembah* if someone could achieve the closest level to God, undoubtedly, they would receive the blessings from God. *Sembah raga* is the beginning for someone who is going to walk. This *sembah* is indicated by cleaning himself with water which is directed with five

times shalat every day. *Sembah raga* is obligatory and to be continuously applied for life. Characters of practices should be obeyed. Without obeying the requirements and pillars, the *sembah* is not eligible (Kadir & Ariffin, 2019).

The thought of Mangkunegara IV about *sembah raga* could be interpreted that, in practicing the religion, someone should follow the formality values existing systematically in Islam which is called Syari-at. Five times shalat in a day is a part of God's instruction and the way to engage in worship begins with wudhu. In short, as a Muslim, Mangkunegara IV practiced the rules of worshipping (*sembah*) appropriate with the rules and practices in Islam that had been determined by Islamic Shariah law.

According to Mangkunegara IV, *sembah* that was not rooted on the rules and Islamic shari'a, was not eligible. In Islam, the rules of worshipping had been well managed in either Al-Qur'an or Hadith. Syari'at was the practice and the way to God. The first was done regularly, and second thoroughly. The result was refreshing the body. Healthy people, their muscles, flesh, skin, and bones influenced the blood and this practice resulted in a peaceful heart. Peaceful hearts diminished chaotic thought. This sentiment is well explained by Mangkunegara in *Wedatama* as follows:

Lir sarengat iku,  
*Syari'at*  
Kena uga inganaran laku,  
*Can be understood as practices*  
Dingin ajeg kapindhone ataberi,  
*The first is consistency and second is persevering prayer*  
Pakolehe putraningsung,  
*Take advantage my child*  
Nyenyeget badan mrih kaot,  
*This will make the body healthy*  
Wong seger badanipun,  
*The person whose body is healthy*  
Otot daging kulit balung sungsum,  
*The muscles, flesh, skin, and bone marrow*  
Tumrah ing rah memarah antenging ati,  
*Can make our heart peaceful*  
Antening ati nunungku,  
*My heart is sure*  
Angruwat ruweding batos.  
*Can relieve the thought*  
(Birsyada et al, 2017)

The second is *Sembah Kalbu*. *Sembah Kalbu* according to Mangkunegara IV the purification was not water, but only controlling the emotion in the heart. It began with always having a good attitude, careful and honest. This sentiment was seen in Mangkunegara IV in *Wedatama* as follows.

Samengko sembah kalbu,  
*Now what I want to explain is sembah hati*  
Yen lumintu uga dadi laku,  
*Beside being implemented and having become practices*  
Laku agung kang kagungan Narapati,  
*The great deed which is based on intention*  
Patitis tetesing kawruh,  
*Appropriate in the knowledge*  
Meruhi marang kang momong,  
*Knowing who guides*  
Sucine tanpa banyu,  
*It is sacred without water*  
Mung nyunyuda mring hardaning kalbu,  
*Only reducing the emotion*  
Pambukane tata titi ngati-ati,  
*The deed was full of thought*  
Atetep telate atul,  
*Consistent, that is ok to be late*  
Tuladha marang waspaos,  
*Examples of being careful*  
Mring jatining pandulu,  
*To the truth view*  
Panduk ing ndon dedalan satuhu,  
*Meeting at the street which is real*  
Lamun lugu legutaning reh maligi,  
*If simple is special*  
Lageane tumalawung,  
*The deed is heavy*  
Wenganing alam kinaot,  
*Open to the supernatural nature*  
Yen wus kambah kadyeku,  
*If it has been done that way*  
Sarat sareh saniskareng laku,  
*All of the requirements are direct practices*

Kalakone saka eneng ening eling,  
*Can be done because remember, heartily and confident*  
Ilaning rasa tumlawung,  
*Laziness disappears*  
Kono adiling Hyang Manon  
*How fair God is*  
(Birsyada et al, 2017).

Meaning: This step is the level of *sembah cipta* in Islam called *Tarekat* level. The thought is the self-king should honour and obey God. At this level, the aim is cleaning the heart from all anger. If the thought has been able to defeat anger therefore thought or heart will be clean. Human beings, in order not to get bored, should always be alert. If a good person is always alert and tries to do good and be careful, therefore they will be open to another world. If they are at this level, one should learn to be patient in all his deeds. It can be achieved by being calm but also aware. If the doubt diminishes, it is the fairness of God that is revealed.

The third level is *sembah Jiwa* as it is explained in the verse *Wedatama* as follows:

Samengko kang tinutur,  
*Now what we are going to discuss*  
Sembah katri kang sayekti katur,  
*The teaching of the third sembah which is in fact*  
Mring Hyang Sukma sukmanen saari ari,  
*To be with God any time*  
Arahen dipun kacakup,  
*Its purpose has been listed*  
Sembahing jiwa sutengong.  
*That is sembah jiwa*  
Sayekti luwih perlu,  
*Must be more important*  
Inganaran pepuntoning laku,  
*The requirement is willing to put into practice*  
Kalakuwan tumprap kang bngsaning batin,  
*His deed is appropriate with his heart*  
Sucine lan awas emut,  
*Becoming sacred by being alert and always remember God*  
Mring alaming lama maot.  
*To the natural death* (Birsyada et al, 2017).

Meaning: the third *sembah* will now be discussed, which is directed to Sukma, being put into practice every time. This *sembah* is *sembah jiwa* of someone reaching to *Gusti Allah*. This *sembah jiwa* in Islam is called *hakekat* level. This *sembah* can be reached when someone who has been able to go beyond *sembah raga* and *sembah kalbu*. This *sembah jiwa* is the core of *sembah* teaching. Therefore, this *sembah jiwa* is the peak of human steps to God. The level of this *sembah* is not influenced by the worldly interests anymore. What is in the heart is only being alert and mindful of God and always remember that Allah is the greatest and divine source of all things in the world.

The fourth level is *Sembah Rasa*. Mangkunegara IV explained *sembah rasa* in *Wedhatama* as follows.

Samengko ingsun tutur,  
*Now I advise*  
Gantya *sembah* ingkang kaping catur,  
*The fourth sembah*  
Sembarh rasa karasa wosing dumadi,  
*Semba rasa feels to what is happening*  
Dadine wis tanpa tuduh,  
*So without being skeptical*  
Mung kalawan kasing batos  
*Only to the inner heart* (Birsyada et al, 2017).

The fourth *sembah*, or *Sembah Rasa* feels the essence of all of life. It is formed without direction, only by tranquillity.

The translation of the verse of *Wedatama* for what is called "*Rasa*" is neither what is felt by the tongue of human beings nor what is felt sad and happy as it is publicly understood by humans. However, what is meant by "*Raos-Djati*" has a soft feeling that cannot be felt by everyone. "*Raos-Djati*" in this case means that "*Rasa*" of the human being can understand the history of himself and the essence of his life because he has got the blessing from God. A person who has reached this spiritual level does not need knowledge or direction from anyone else because this person has got the guidance directly from God. This feeling is then called *maqam* level or "*Makrifat*".

The thought of *Sembah Raga*, *Cipta*, *Jiwa*, and *Rasa* indicated that Mangkunegara V had been able to reach the fullness of *sembah* or *maqam makrifat*. If he had not been able to implement it, he must not have been able to describe that knowledge deeply and thoroughly about the ethics of *catur sembah*. Mangkunegara IV criticized people who considered themselves to have achieved the level of *hakikat*, even more *makrifat* (*sembah rasa*) saying to

have seen the light of God, opening the world and saying to get the sign from God without evidence.

Kalamun durung lugu,  
*If not yet able to go beyond*  
Aja pisan wani ngaku aku,  
*Don't try to claim*  
Antuk siku kang mengkono iku kaki,  
*Will get the troops, my child*  
Kena ugo wenang muluk,  
*It can be heavier*  
Kalamun wus padha melok  
*If it is protected by feeling*

Meloke ujar iku,  
*The expectation is*  
Yen wus ilang sumelanging kalbu,  
*If the anxiety disappears*  
Amung kandel kumandel marang ing takdir,  
*It is enough to believe in faith*  
Iku den awas den imut,  
*It is the one that needs to be considered and remembered*  
Den memet yen arsa momot  
*Be honest to be successful* (Birsyada et al, 2017).

This means is if you have not experienced it yet, never claim that you have. Only say if you know the fact. The fact that is said confidently only inspires faith. Be aware and remember to be thorough if you want to cope. To implement this advice, someone needs to be tranquil and steadfast, patient and *tawakkal*; *ikhlas* in his heart, willing to accept anything, having the heart of *pandita* who can be trusted, understanding the end of life, always forgive others, avoids bad deeds, and anger so that he knows the good and bad. Those are the signs of the human heart that opens the hindrance or uncovers the gap between humans and God, the ones that could see and holds the secret that is in the heart (Jatmiko, 2005).

What had been written by Mangkunegara IV at the verses, especially at the level of *sembah rasa*, is related to the explanation of Qur'an the letter of An-Nuur verses 35-37. Meanwhile, the idea of *sabar*, *tawakkal*, *ikhlas*, forgiving others, being trustworthy and avoiding bad attitudes are parts of the ways to get the light from God. The Qur'an itself explains in the letter of Ali Imran verses 133-134. The essence of *sembah catur* has been explained in Qur'an the letter of Adzariyaat verse 56 and the letter of Al-Faatihah verse 5.

## Conclusions

This study resulted in eight findings as follows. First, the finding in the article is in line with Simuh's argument (1995) which explained that the tradition of Sufism in Nusantara had experienced new synthesis in which Javanese Sufism is one of its variants. Second, the practice of Sufism was not only carried out by Islamic theologians and santri, but Sufism was also practiced by Javanese elite *priyayi* in this case done by Mangkunegara IV. Third, the construction of Javanese Sufism practiced by Mangkunegara IV consisted of four levels, those were: *Sembah Raga*, *Sembah Cipta*, *Sembah Jiwa*, and *Sembah Rasa*. Fourth, this article refutes Azra's (2013) idea said that states that Islamization in Nusantara, especially in Java, had experienced what was called santrization. This study revealed that Sufism in Java was done by Javanese *priyayi* so that Sufism experienced what was called priyanization. Fifth, this study is consistent with Resi's ideas (2010) which state that the Javanese Islamic logical pattern revealed the cycle of human life from imminent, existential, transcendent, essential and to Manunggaling Kawulo lan Gusti. This thought could especially be seen in the teaching of *Catur Sembah* of Mangkunegara IV. Sixth, this study was in line with Howell's (2001) notion which said that Sufism tradition in the world was the development of Syariah based Muslim teachings. In Java, this tradition had experienced pribumisasi (localization) that became Javanese Sufism. Seventh, the findings in this article are in line with Woodward (2004) who explained that Javanese Islamic practices tended to be what is called syncretism with syari'ah of Islam. Eighth, this study is in agreement with Ardhani's argument (1988) which said that the religious thought of Mangkunegara IV. This was influenced by the Javanese spiritual Sufism which is rooted in Islamic values that had been adapted into Javanese values. The construction of *Catur Sembah* and *Triprakara* by Mangkunegara IV were the syntheses of the thought of Javanese Sufism with Javanese values and Islamic teaching.

## REFERENCES

- Ardani, Moh. (1988). *Konsep Sembah Dan Budi Luhur Dalam Pemikiran Mangkunegara IV Surakarta Ditinjau Dari Pandangan Islam (Suatu Studi Mengenai Serat- Serat Piwulang)*. Disertasi. IAIN Jakarta. Tidak diterbitkan.
- Ardani, Moh. (1995). *Pemikiran KGPAA Mangkunegoro IV*. Semarang: Dahara Prize.
- Arip, M. A. S. M., Jais, S. M., Benu, A., Zakaria, M. S., Zahariman, N. H., & Ishak, N. (2012). Construction, Validity and Reliability of the Inventory of Basic Religious Knowledge (IBRK). *Asian Journal of Assessment in Teaching and Learning*, 2, 86-94.
- Atmadja, Nengah Bawa. (2010). *Genealogi Keruntuhan Majapahit*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Aziz, Munawir. (2013). *Produksi Wacana Syiar Islam dalam Kitab Pegon Kiai Saleh Darat Semarang dan Kiai Bisri Musthofa Rembang*. *Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ke Islaman Afkaruna* edisi Volume 9 Nomor 2 Juli-Desember.
- Azra, Azyumardi. (2004). *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII: Akar Pembaharuan Islam Indonesia*. Jakarta: Prenada Media.
- Azra, Azyumardi. (2004). Islamisasi Jawa : book Review. *Jurnal Studia Islamika* volume 20. No.1 p. 169-177.
- Birsyada, Muhammad Iqbal. (2012). *Peristiwa Konflik Pecahnya Keluarga Di Kerajaan Demak Dalam Persepsi Penulis Babad*. Tesis UNNES. Tidak diterbitkan.
- Birsyada et al. (2016). *Pemikiran Kewirausahaan Keluarga Mangkunegaran*. *Jurnal Paramita Jurusan Sejarah Universitas Negeri Semarang* volume 26, nomor 2.
- Birsyada et al. (2016). *Bisnis Keluarga Mangkunegaran*. *Jurnal Sosial Keagamaan. UIN Walisongo Semarang* volume 24 nomor 1.
- Birsyada, Muhammad Iqbal. (2016). *Islamisasi di Jawa: Konflik Kekuasaan di Demak*. Yogyakarta: Calpulis.
- Birsyada et al. (2017). The Business Ethics of Royal Family: Mangkunegara IV, Sufism and Economy in Java. *International Journal of Applied Business and Economic Research*, volume 15 number 7.



- Drewes. (1983). *Indonesia; mistisme dan Aktiwisme*. “ Dalam G.F. Grunebeum ed., *Islam Kesatuan dalam Keragaman*. (E.N. Yahya Penerjemah). Jakarta: yayasan Obor Indonesia. Halaman 352-356.
- Howell, D. J. (2001). Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic Revival. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 60, 3 (2001), pp.701-729.
- In'amuhazzidin, M. (2012). *Pemikiran Sufistik Muhammad Shaleh Al Samarani*. Jurnal Walisongo Volume 20 nomor 2, November.
- Joebagio, H. (2012). Elite Tradisional Dalam Pergumulan Sistem Religio Political Power. Jurnal Paramita Unnes edisi volume 22 nomor 2 Juli. Halaman 131-248.
- Jatmiko, A. (2005). *Tafsir Ajaran Serat Wedhatama*. Yogyakarta: Pura Pustaka.
- Kadir, N. L. A., & Ariffin, S. (2019). Do You Mean What I Mean? Cultural Factors and Vocabulary Knowledge. *Asian Journal of Assessment in Teaching and Learning*, 4, 1-18.
- Kartodirdjo et al. (1987). *Perkembangan Peradaban Priyayi*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press. hlm. 7.
- Koentjaraningrat. (2007). *Manusia dan Kebudayaan di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Djambatan.
- Kuntowijoyo. (1991). *Paradigma Islam Intepretasi Untuk Aksi*. Bandung: MIZAN.
- Kuntowijoyo, 2006. *Budaya dan Masyarakat*. Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana.
- Mangkunegara IV. (1926). *Serat Wedatama Cetakan Pertama*. Kediri: Tan Khoen Swie.
- Pamberton, J. (2003). *Jawa: On The Subject of Java*. Yogyakarta: Mata Bangsa.
- Rommelink, W. G. J. (1990). *Emperor Pakubuwana II, Priyayi & Company And The Chinese War*. Perpustakaan Arsip Nasional
- Resi, M. (2007). *Babad Kraton Analisis Simbolisme Struktural Upaya Untuk Memahami Konsep Berpikir Jawa Islam*. Desertasi: UIN Sunan Kalijaga.
- Simuh. (1988). *Mistik Islam Kejawen Raden Ngabehi Ronggowarsito: Suatu Studi Terhadap Serat Wirid Hidayat Jati*. Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia.
- Simuh. (1995). *Sufisme Jawa*. Yogyakarta: Bentang.



- Simuh. (2002). *Sufisme Jawa Transformasi Tasawuf Islam Ke Mistik Jawa*. Yogyakarta: Bentang Budaya.
- Siswokartono, S. W. E. (2006). *Sri Mangkunegaran IV Sebagai Penguasa dan Pujangga (1853-1881)*. Yogyakarta: UGM. Tesis. Tidak diterbitkan.
- Soekanto, S. (2004). *Sosiologi Keluarga*. Jakarta: PT. Rineka Cipta.
- Soekanto, S. (2012). *Sosiologi Suatu Pengantar*. Jakarta : Rajawali Pers.
- Soeratman, D. (1989). *Kehidupan Dunia Kraton Surakarta 1830-1839*. Jogjakarta: Taman Siswa.
- Soeratman, D. (1989). *Kehidupan Dunia Kraton Surakarta 1830-1839*. Yogyakarta: Disertasi UGM. Tidak diterbitkan
- Sokheh, M. (2011). *Tradisi Intelektual Ulama Jawa: Sejarah Sosial Intelektual Pemikiran Keislaman Kiai Shaleh Darat*. Jurnal Paramita Universitas Negeri Semarang Vol. 21 No. 2 – Juli.
- Steenbrink, K. (2013). *Buddhism in Muslim Indonesia*. Jurnal Studia Islamika: Indonesian Journal For Islamic Studies. Volume 20. Nomor 1.
- Suhartono. (1989). *Apanage Dan Bekel Perubahan Sosial Di Pedesaan Surakarta (1830-1920)*. Yogyakarta: Disertasi UGM. tidak diterbitkan.
- Sulanam. (2013). From “Sufi Order Ritual” To Indonesia Islam. *Journal Of Indonesian Islam volume 7 numer 1 June* . IAIN Sunan Ampel. The Institute For The Study of Religion and Society and The Post Graduate Program (PPS) , The State Instute For Islamic Studies IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya Indonesia.
- Sulistyo, E. T. (2015). *The Implicature Of Tembang Gambuh In Serat Wedhatama And Its Significance For The Society*. Jurnal Humaniora edisi Volume 27 Nomor 1, Februari. UGM. Halaman 96-106.
- Sunarwoto, S. (2008). *The Influences of The Meccan Education on the Pesantren Tradition with Special Reference to Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Kudus*. Studia Islamica, Volume 5. Nomor 3.
- Wasino. (2008). *Kapitalisme Bumi Putra: Perubahan Masyarakat Mangkunegaran*. Yogyakarta: LkiS.



Wasino. (2012). *Modernisasi Pemerintahan Praja Mangkunegaran Surakarta*. Jurnal Paramita volume 12 nomer 1, Januari.

Wasino, 2014. *Modernisasi Di Jantung Budaya Jawa Mangkunegaran 1896-1944*. Jakarta: Kompas.

Woodward, M. R. (2004). *Islam Jawa Kesalehan Normatif Versus Kebatinan*. Yogyakarta: LKiS.