

NEGOTIATING THE POST-TRUTH POWER OF PROPHECY: A SEQUEL OF PRINCE LOCAL IN THE OLD-ORDER – DIPANEGARA’S¹ GREAT JAVA WAR (1825-1830)

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“*Prophecy is the master key that unlocks the mystery of history.*”
Leroy E. Froom

This article is not to negotiate the arena of accepting one to another, *dichotomy between the body and soul*, but to see how acts of discipline put one in touch with realities, or a Reality, not discernible in mere ordinary life experience. Brown¹ added that ‘deepening a relation to that Reality by humanizing the world in which one lives is what life is all about’. At the same time this article is also to discuss how the negotiation of the eschatological vision of prince’s life is prophetically inclined.

It is by first giving respect to this classical Javanese *Babad Dipanegara* literature as one of the Indonesian cultural and spiritual heritage illuminating the way of how prince life deepened via this integrality; integration prince’s reality with a Reality is what matters within his leadership assistance. Respecting this local literary means to reveal the unforgettable Java War impetus that involved Islamic values being integrated into contemporary Javanese and Indonesian identity; besides, it is to particularly bring about the Javanese locals’ characteristic of their intangible culture that today nation’s development level recently requires – a sample of how prince’s heroic, spiritualistic trait had managed to cope with realities and above all, witnessed a Reality.

It is of important to note how this prophecy in the setting of Javanese culture be incorporated, depicted, administered through the embodiment of prince’s way of life, his noble philosophy, and his religious culmination. It is by discussing this classical Javanese literature – *macapat*²*Babad Dipanegara* that this prophecy be addressed itself to its most tendentious mystery.

The Starting Point: the Beginning of the Prophecy, its Semantics

That life is not circular is somehow debatable. It seems that there are always an age of insanity (*jaman edan*), terrible conditions, in every sides of the world triggering any enlightenment to come. The conditions of the South-central Javanese world as what Carey (2007: 47-49) stated for example, circa 1792-1825 –there showed some criminal backgrounds, from semi-criminal activities from the landless laborers (*numpang*), ‘social-bandits’ [as what Eric Hobsbawm used to call]: fighters for justice against their natural enemies – Chinese tollgate keepers (*bandar*) who snatched the peasant’s harvest in their own territory, to a good description

1 For the purpose of this article volume, the term ‘prince’ will be used to refer to the Prince Dipanegara.

2 *Macapat* is considered as part of classical Javanese literature written by Javanese author. It can be used as an accurate historical record (Ricklefs, 2008: 102)

of prince's henchman figure (*jago*) evoked respect of his presumed magical power and royal authorities.

Seeing the mentioned terrible conditions, the prophecy of an unexpected-coming of Ratu Adil (Just King)ⁱⁱ, the prince as the evidence, after several years to come, was a small yet significant sign that confirms prince's prophecy to locals in Java; if he had the reservation, how was he, a new-born child of sultanate family of Java, going to call the people of Java to have similar religious intention of his elders and to cause the Dutch and Dutch's apostates (Javanese who had allied themselves with the Dutch) much greater destruction than the Giyanti Wars (1746-1757) led by Sultan Mangkubumiⁱⁱⁱ? Who would listen to him? Initially, The Dutch and the other Javanese locals would think he was full of pride to presume such think^{iv}!

The prince, during his youth and early manhood at Tegalreja^v (as reported by J. W. Winter's description in Carey, 2007: 103-04), part of the court elite's education was rather hit-and-miss. Contrary to that, Carey continues that prince's family had been remarked with greater 'refinement' as compared to others in Yogya court in the Java War period. While taking formal *pasantren* (religious boarding school) at Tegalreja^{vi} besides studying Javanese-Islamic literature, there are amongst prince favorite Islamic works, the *Kitab Tuhfah*. It is a high-level work of literary Islamic doctrine, a Sufi ontology, talking about the 'seven grades of being' – to understand God must first understand 'self' and the surrounding nature. Likewise the Islamic theology and mysticism – *Usul* and *Tasawuf*. The prophet chronicles (*Serat Anbiya*) and *Tafsir*, a Qur'an exegesis are also accompanying his literary curriculum combined with didactic works on Islamic political philosophy, such as the *Sirat as Salatin* and the *Taj as-Salatin*.

Though it is not known – how much influence prince's process of studying Islamic value (Islamic prophecy) and how much influence his closed-families-and-friends^{vii} had on his education during youth, it is quite effective for prince himself to understand how the world works (as he begins his soul-searching journey). Seeing what he stated in his autobiography, prince, in fact, understands the true meaning of a favor when he has experienced its nothingness. After being left by his mother suffering together, he learnt her mother 'strong' character (*kuwat*) and her 'unusual beautiful' (*luwih bagus*) into his later warfare.^{viii} At this point too, later when prince tried to be 'the *lelana-like-ness*' as his practical expression of *satria lelana*^{ix} ideal was during his wandering to the South coast in circa 1805.

The Melting Point: Between *Vita Contemplativa* and *Vita Activa*, the pragmatic life

It is by seeing God's acts in human heart^x that prince believes the power of prophecy through his interpretation, seeking for an affordable interval of solitude to purge himself of *pamrih* (to conceal personal motives, ambitions, and selfishness). The answer was, then determined by God through the shape of a Sunan Kalijaga (one of the apostle of Islam, *Wali Songo*) that in the coming years he would become a king (*ratu*); to be a king is to be responsible to all what comes than to be a mere *atheistic heroism*. Apparently, prince did not feel secure of what his decision to be made to what is coming (as a Ratu Adil to fight on the basis of the

Qur'an) in the beginning of the war, it is why prince summoned *ulama*³ who could help him judge well versed from the Qur'an^{xi}.

It is then, in the nature of things that Javanese-Muslim locals' common-perspective that is based upon such socio-religious principles will not meet with unanimous approval – nor does, for that matter, such an involvement in the decision for war against colonialists.

Before coming into any further conceptions, considering prince's response for his technical commander in warfare is worth thinking too. In January 1825, prince warned by Rahmanudin that large numbers of Dutch troops were used and prepared against the prince in Semarang. Questioning prince of not being afraid of suffering and death, Rahmanudin requested for clarification; prince smiled saying, "*kula kaki mapan remen yuda/ matiya becik ucape*"^{xii} Fighting for a martyr's death (*Shahid*) is not truly a death, but alive; God know. It is as what the prophecy has mentioned, (Qur'an, 2:154): "And do not say about those who are killed in the way of Allah, 'they are dead.' Rather, they are alive, but you perceive [it] not." This supernatural confirmation by acts of God in nature strengthens prince faith as it provides irrefutable proof of the specific direction that God is speaking to him^{xiii}. This brings him great encouragement and perseverance so he did not lose heart in the tie of waiting or even suffering for death.

Further said, prince's *jihad* mentality is mentioned in dK 119; Pangeran Bintara report to De Kock (August, 27, 1828) of what prince had said to the local chiefs at his Sambirata headquarters in Kulan Praga is in fact his highest-point of religious culmination that God only who owns death and live altogether.^{xiv} This is just a reflection to what prince is like, as a Javanese who has sworn his loyalty to the Javanese locals and to his belief-system, Islam; it is what he believed to be responsible for in the hereafter.^{xv} This momentum is also to discuss of an interpretation to what Kitch has (as he found Kaveny's book chief weakness) disagreed about Kaveny's point on "that prophetic must come from broad agreement."^{xvi} It is contrary to what prince had for his prophecy setting and administration.

For reason that this condition discusses is some Javanese locals' mind set or mentality in its day-by-day modus operandi which cannot bear to face the truth of the intertwined ideologies of conflict and value straight in their face^{xvii}. Thus it must camouflage, belittle, distort, and embellish the truth – the more so, the more they are combat-readily involved in the contest of war-politics, and particularly in those of religious sphere^{xviii}.

The Turning Point: Entangled Contestation: *Santri* or *Satria*⁴, *Sunan* or *Sultan*?

In prince's sequel as a technical commander in Java War, there dealt with the term, 'appropriation' – the appropriation of Qur'an prophecy to concrete situations in the light of doing prophecies in a contextual situation of a people and its challenges^{xix}. Furthermore, it is on the will of the Almighty that any challenges should be tested among the believers^{xx}.

3Muslim scholar especially applied as a title to those learned in Islamic law (*fiqh*)

4 Warrior prince; member of the Yogyakarta ruling family

Ever once in a battlefield during the siege of Yogyakarta in early August 1825, the precaution of attaching religious scholars marching for war ruled by *ulama* and *sayyid*⁵ on prince's side ordered to lead the chanting of *dhikr*^{xxi}. Likewise, carrying the banners into battle by the prince's troops seen to have magical powers. Being blessed by *ulama*, all the decorations must be shaped with crescent moons and sentences from the Qur'an.^{xxii} But then, this being *santri* and *satria* was tested that this would be the flaw of this seemed in perfection of soul-searching journey: prince commitment to Islamic values or, otherwise the unusual product of *kraton* society. On this case, Carey^{xxiii} mentioned of a beautiful term – “prince was an ‘egg-saint’, a hypocrite *santri*, white outside but inside all yellow” and in the other references, *Buku Kedhung Kebo*, the mention was unequivocal^{xxiv}.

God put prince into real test^{xxv}; this is the moment when prince has an internal conflict with his elder religious advisor, Kyai Maja (see note, xvii). Unfortunately, carrying on the holy war and for that prince needed *santri* support, while helpful on the one hand, brought prince's identity as a prominent member of the Yogya royal house (see also *Babad Dipanegara* (Manado) III: 1888-9, XXVII (pucung) 12-5 or note xv). Thus, to conclude this is to say that the support given to the prince from *santri* and Javanese peasantry (as they were excluded from the new colonial order) was more important than the traditional foci of court loyalty and patronage.

To discuss about, in the earlier chapter of Carey's statement, ‘Dipanegara was no Islamic reformer’^{xxvi} is rather confusing for at the other pages mentioned that prince in terms of being discipline with this integration of realities and a Reality always put aside his position or status, for prophecy is another content that has a place, at glance, for thought-provoking. There was a deathbed scene moment when prince objected to the ‘arcane aspects of the magico-religious lore’^{xxvii} (Carey, 2007:406) being ministered in the special lustration ceremony to facilitate the exit of the life force of prince father; it is for not drawn from the Qur'an prophecies^{xxviii} (used as a prayer) instead. There was a moment too when prince as a commander of the holy war given the title of ‘he who fixes firm the Islamic religion’ by both Dutch and Javanese sources; “*Senapatining prang sabilollah ingkang anetepaken agami Islam*”^{xxix}.

It is simply to say, the faithful who by God prophecies is incorporated into God, is honorable in God's sight, and in his own way share prophecies, and to the best of his ability carry on the missions as part of his religious belief – an *au courant* religious-life. So, the position of the prince to God is within God himself should be trusted – not to negate who is the ‘Judge’?

The Retaining Point: Today's Generation's Challenge

It seems that this post-truth power of prophecy key issue has often been neglected in recent times in the light of (post) modern efforts of ‘doing heroic works’ of witnessing the Reality and in the (post) modern realities in Indonesia nationalism. This perspective, as this article is also expecting to, refers to what Williamson had on his important works on the role of the apocalypse in Scotland, that ‘prophetic future becomes persuasive’ and ‘history and concepts of changes become articulate and acquired importance, providing intelligibility that other ways of thinking

5 Descendants of the Prophet

no longer seemed to offer.’ (2008: 2) Moreover, Cook has seen a positive correlation towards prophecy of a canon of texts as a vehicle to be used as both purely natural and scientific means which is to verify the ‘history’; in this case is to verify the history of prince’s culmination of witnessing a Reality. The contract administration procedure for its verification is through Qur’an prophecy on (9:111): “Indeed, Allah hath purchased of the believers their persons and their goods [in return] is the garden (of Paradise). They fight in His cause, and slay and are slain: a promise binding on Him in truth, through the Torah, the Gospel, and the Qur’an; and who is more faithful to his covenant than Allah? Then rejoice in the bargain which ye have concluded: that is the achievement supreme”

Consequently, in light of the foregoing, this prince Javanese-Muslim-like attitude remains a big challenge for today’s Javanese locals humanitarian in any kinds of engagement. What if Indonesian nationalism is married with this prince’s discipline religious morality (by embodying the prophetic message) to achieve a more harmonious society in industry and humanity while maintaining its local and national identity? This value of religious morality can help shape Indonesia ideology as part of its national culture. The purpose of Indonesia national development is to achieve a more modernized society and the prophecy is to ensure for its goal. Of course the challenge will be more than ever be but who is then the happiest person to enjoy?”^{xxx}

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i R. McAfee Brown. 1998. *Spirituality and liberation. Overcoming the Great fallacy*. London, 26-27

ii There are controversies among the writers, Carey (2007: 69) on prince's birth date (11 November 1785, in the month of *Sura* referring Javanese chronology) just before the sunrise means that the Java War leader's birth was especially auspicious indicating new kingdoms and new historical cycles begin (it is being interestingly compared to the Indonesia's first president birth-day quoting Adams 1965: 17 that 'We Javanese believe that one born at the moment of sunrise is pre-destined,...'). Carey added that in prince's birth-day (*Jumungah Wage* referring to modern-day Javanese almanac literature, in Tanojo's description, 1966: 31) indicates his great fluency and power of speech, generosity of heart, and the character of a sage. Carey analysis continued on the Arabic year (AH 1200) the prince was born indicated that the Javanese Ratu Adil (Just King) would appear, but to Drewes (1925: 167) it is due to the location of West Java and the year of late nineteenth-century if it has to refer to the particular recension of the Jayabaya prophecies; and to Ricklefs (2006: 92) that although the prophecies were traditionally ascribed to Jayabaya, a real twelfth-century king, he may have had nothing to do with them. These prophetic events do not only take place within the confine of a few *prophetic-type* environment; take for example the time Muslim prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was born; it was not before the sunrise.

iii A prophecy that would only the Almighty know the outcome (Carey, 1974a: 30-1; Babad Dipanegara (Manado) II: 114, XIV (sinom)): "*Kanjeng Ibu ingkang bekta/prapta ngarsaning Sang Aji/pinarak Prabayeksa/ pan ajeng iling-ilingi/ Jeng Sultan ngandika ris/ ,...Pan iku luwih lan ingwang/ rusake Walondo benjing/ wekasan Walahu Alam.*" It is similar to Sultan Agung prediction during prince babyhood, that the Dutch would rule for 300 years in Java, and although one of his descendants would rise against them, he would also be defeated. A message that was passed along prince mother from the Sultan was predicted in Babad Dipanegara (Manado) II: 125, XIV (sinom) 80: "*tan ana malih-malih/ nanging sira srananipun/ mapan iku tan dawa/ nanging kinarya leluri/ Ngabdulkamit wus poma sira mulya*" (Carey, 2007: 151). Due to the short passage available, the name Ngabdulkamit attached to prince is not discussed widely in this article (see Carey, 2007: 153)

iv This prophecy is rather a sad story telling that prince will not endure the fight against the Dutch. This prophetic context seems almost certain foretold earlier ascribed to the great seventeenth-century ruler of Mataram, Sultan Agung (reigned 1613-1646) that after his death (in February 1646), the Dutch would rule in Java for 300 years and anyone who fight against it from the Mataram descendant will for sure defeated easily. (Carey, 2007: 71)

v The environment the prince lived was dominated already with religious discussion and mixed with *santri* surrounding area.

vi This setting place, Tegalreja, is a place of many visitors, when many sought for food, *santri* sought religious knowledge, much devotion and prayer. *Babad Dipanegara* (Manado) II:116, XIV (Sinom) 50-1. "*Tegalreja/ mapan kathah tiyag prapti/ samya angungsi tedhi/ ingkang santri ngungsi ngelmu/ langkung rame ngibadah/ punapa dene wong tani*"

vii Prince had learnt life and its necessities as a Javanese Muslim from his grandfather, Sultan Mangkubumi – the first sultan. He also gained from his great-grandmother at her estate of Tegalreja to had prince gift for his sensitivity and intuition for the reading of character through facial expression – *ngelmu firasat* (until his age of eighteen) (Carey, 2007: 70-2). Also, for reasons the practice of 'lending' children to older relatives had not been unusual in Javanese society; it is to merely ensure a better education (Geertz 1961: 36-41)

viii Babad Dipanegara (Manado) II: 240, XVIII.154 (on Mangkarawati's appearance and character), In Carey, 2007: 73. They have been attached together while her capture and hiding in a village in Adikarta, sharing vicissitudes of war and after the war between 1825-1829.

ix This theme of *satria lelana* was inspired by the popular Javanese romance – *Jaya Lengkara Wulan* (one part of prince's private collection). The text deals with diverse aspects of statecraft in the form of a tale of a young prince wandering through Java meeting many masters of secular, religious, and arcane lore (Carey, 2007: 105).

x See Carey (2007: 131-132), this time prince began his very crucial stage of his life as a wandering to legitimize his actions by contacts with his departed ancestors and the spiritual guardians of Java (*tirakat*). It said in prince's *Babad Dipanegara* (Manado) II: 121, XIV.66-7: "*lamun sira ing benjing/ dadi ratu ngiring-iring nuli musna.*" That prince will be tested as a king but 'failed' whose loyalty and support is loss (see end-note x). Through this, prince believes over God power on his heart, Qur'an (33: 11) say: "there we the believers (their heart) sorely tried, and shaken with a mighty shock." For in this moment too, prince studied his special interest in works on Muslim jurisprudence, such as *Taqrib*, *Usil*, *Nahwu*, and *Tafsir* (Carey, 2007: 104); all these helped understand prince about Qur'an meaning and witnessing prophecies. At the very same time, when he began to enter a deep meditative trance, he was tested by by Ratu Kidul offering for his armies' more men and more powerful one, but then prince managed to make Ratu Kidul realized that 'he could not be tempted'. See *Babad Dipanegara* (Manado) III: 92-4, XXV (Pangkur) 63-70: "*Sirnanipun lanatolah/ kanjeng sultan mapan ngandika aris/ kawula tan nedha tulung/ inggih mring [sama-sama]/ yen agami aming pitulung Hyang Agung/ kanjeng ratu nulya musna*" (in Carey, 2007: 146)

xi This feeling insecure led prince to have *ulama* to give him the necessary advice at the beginning of the war at his headquarters at Selarong. (Carey, 2007: 104). This act is truly a wise, seeing that there is Hadith (tradition of the prophet) saying: "if any affairs are not handled by the experts then wait for the destruction" (Buhari: 6015) and what the Qur'an promises to those persons are (9: 20): "The ones who have believed, emigrated and striven in the cause of Allah with their wealth and their lives are greater in rank in the sight of Allah. And it is those who are the attainers [of success]."

xii *Babad Dipanegara* (Manado), II: 323-3, XX (Dhandhanggula), 64. That prince duty to prepare for a martyr's death (*shahid*) for a forthcoming holy war is clear, stating: "Grandfather, I will take pleasure in war: death [in battle] is good" (Carey, 2007: 595)

xiii It is to remember how prince expressed his life philosophy to Kyai Rahmanudin that 'men must undergo great trials to achieve God's grace and that life itself is a constant preparation for cosmic responsibility' (Carey, 2007: 578). At the same time, what is said has a good correlative-meaning with Javanese historian Soemarsaid Moertono (1976: 16) about prince's attitude as what recent Javanese locals still believe that everything in eternity has been fixed by the Almighty: "*wis pesthine, wis dadi pepesthen, wis dadi karsane Gusti Ingkang Maha Kuwasa*" (in Carey, 2007: 578-9). The term *wali wudhar* (temporal and spiritual office) was to confirm of prince being a latter-day *wali* or priest-king in Java (Carey, 2007: 133), all in all he is a 'God's tool on earth'. It is such an understanding that brought prince peace in this life as God wishes on earth for him only; the foretold tragedy: 'You alone are the means but that not for long, only to be counted among the ancestors' (see note iii)

xiv "You must realize that the paths to Heaven and Hell are open: those of you who go over to the European will go to Hell, while those of you who die waging war against them will attain to Heaven", (Carey, 2007: 595-7). At the same time Bintara added, that if anyone who made a deal with European would suffer too much pain.

xv His strong belief is reflected in the prophecy saying, (Qur'an, 2:28): "How can you disbelieve in Allah when you were lifeless and He brought you to life; then He will cause you to die, then He will bring you [back] to life, and then to Him you will be returned."

xvi Kitch, Jhon. (2016, July 04). Review of the book *Prophecy without Contempt: Religious Discourse in the Public Sphere*. By Cathleen Kaveny. Vol. 9, Issue 4, pp. 895-897. Seeing to the condition of joining in an outright warfare, prince believe inside of his belief mentality to fight for a martyr's death; the prophecy is not from the board decision but from inside of one being prophesized. It is to question how to administrate prophetic revelation; it is by God Himself the confirmation of the prophecies. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S175504831600050X>

xvii In the beginning of the war, lacking confidence in the *ulama* whom he had met and studied to discussed the war-plans, prince invited Kyai Maja and another much older Pajang-based *ulama*, Kyai Kuwaron to join him as his elder religious advisers, a decision that later activated many intricacies among his local supporters (Carey, 2007: 104). And the two conditions that made Kyai Maja made up his mind when he was intercepted at Babadan are to surrender or fight. His

pretence looked like it is on his own free will to join the Dutch (Carey, 2007: 637-8). It is what had been reported that Kyai Maja had a contradicted character, self-opinionated and intractable character (Carey, 1981a: 262 note 110)

xviii The fact that an internal ‘open conflict’ happened when prince lost its battle at Gawok accusing Kyai Maja (his religious advisor) and his family having recklessly pressed the attack on Sunan’s capital to further their own interest. This condition appears to have widened among the two’s leaders. *Babad Dipanegara* (Manado) III: 1888-9, XXVII (pucung) 12-5: “*Kyai Maja dendukani/ pan nanging ya kendel sakedhap kewala. 15. Sabab Pajang pan sampun radin sadarum/ nanging kantun Sala/ lawan ing Kalitan iki, ...*” (Carey, 2007: 634-5).

xix Similar to the Qur’an say (29: 2): “Do men think that they will be left alone saying, ‘we believe,’ and that they will not be tested?” it is what prince categorized of the three waging of holy war (Carey, 2007: xvi): *wong Islam* (Muslim believers), *Kapir laknatullah* (European misbelievers accursed by Allah), and *kapir murtad* (Javanese who had allied themselves with the European). The test Qur’an refers to is the life in this world whether to stay as the believers or the disbelievers.

xx See Ayah Qur’an (23: 62) – “On no soul do We place a burden greater that it can bear: before Us is a record which clearly shows the truth, ...” and (21: 35) – “Every soul shall have a taste of death; and We test you by evil and by good by way of trial. To Us must ye return”

xxi See Carey, 1987: 278 note 19; Chapter X

xxii Booms 1911: 34; Chapter IV (in Carey, 2007: 628)

xxiii On the authorship of the text, see Carey (1981a: xvii-xix).

xxiv See Carey, 1974b:259-84: The santri cannot govern the state, for that is the character of the santri. They seek themselves. They cannot wield political authority for their minds are narrow. Very different is the charisma of a king (in Carey, 2007: 631)

xxv The answer to this contestation had, in fact, already been answered earlier by the prince. Prince had witnessed of his firmness of his heart about the status as a prince (*sultan*), copying Shakespeare – ‘what’s in a name’. After his capture at Magelang (28 March 1830), prince made a remark to Major F.V.H.A. stating that whether he wished to be raised to the sultanate, but he did not wish to take upon himself that status for too many worldly preoccupations were attached to it. It is reflected to in *Babad Dipanegara* (Manado) II:191, XVI (pangkur) 78-80: “*padha sesenana mami. Menawi lali ta ingwang/ pan sun karya eling ugering ati/ aja tan kinarya ingsun/ iya Pangran Dipatya/ nadyan silih sun banjur kinarya ratu/ lamun karya kanjeng rama/ utawa Jeng eyang mami. Sun dhewe mapan tan nedya/ tobat marang Pangeran Inkgang Luwih/ pira lawas neng donyeku/ tan wurung mapan dosa*” (Carey, 2007: 325). There again mentioned earlier too in *Babad Dipanegara* (Manado) II:118, XIV (sinom) 49. showing that prince already in his firmness not to follow his closed-family relation he described as ‘incorrigible sinners.’ : “*katiga samya nemira/ dene karsanya Sang Aji/ pan langkung saking kang rama/ tanapi punggawa katri/ maksiyat carob sami/ kalawan agamanipun/ Ki Pangulu mengkana/ kabeh lan wong Ngayogya sami/ ageng-alit awis ingkang lampah nyata*” (Carey, 2007: 82)

xxvi See Carey’s statement on page xvi, *the Power of Prophecy*. 2007.

xxvii Carey, 2007: 406, as taken from the author of the “Chronicle of the fall of Yogyakarta”

xxviii To have a further discussion on the ideology of Syncretism on Javanese Muslim, see eko kusumo’s unpublished thesis: “*Sinkretisme Islam-Jawa: Studi tentang Konstruksi Jama’ah Islam Jawa terhadap Budaya Sinkretis di Masjid Sunan Ampel, Surabaya*”

xxix Carey, 1981a: 241 note 30

xxxIt is only to those who 'stopped his breath' but, did not stop his reward (in the here after). For further understanding, read these Qur'an ayahs: (Al-Imron: 195), (An-Nahl: 97), (Faathir: 10), and (Maryam:76)