Durga’s Mosque
The Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) was established as an autonomous organization in 1968. It is a regional centre dedicated to the study of socio-political, security and economic trends and developments in Southeast Asia and its wider geostrategic and economic environment.

The Institute’s research programmes are the Regional Economic Studies (RES, including ASEAN and APEC), Regional Strategic and Political Studies (RSPS), and Regional Social and Cultural Studies (RSCS).

ISEAS Publications, an established academic press, has issued more than 1,000 books and journals. It is the largest scholarly publisher of research about Southeast Asia from within the region. ISEAS Publications works with many other academic and trade publishers and distributors to disseminate important research and analyses from and about Southeast Asia to the rest of the world.
Durga’s Mosque

Cosmology, Conversion and Community in Central Javanese Islam

Stephen C. Headley
CONTENTS

List of Figures x
List of Tables xiv
Preface xv
Acknowledgements xix

Introduction: Cosmology, Conversion and Community in Javanese Islam 1
1. Javanese Islam in Monsoon Southeast Asia 1
2. The Sociology of a “Pluralistic” Cosmos 10
3. The Incorporation of Islam: The Umat a Transposable Landscape of Belief 19
4. A Javanese Individualism 35
5. The Morphologies of the Javanese Muslim Community 41
6. Structure of this Study 51

PART I: THE SOCIOLOGY AND PRACTICE OF RELIGION IN CENTRAL JAVA

1. Of Palaces and Placentas: The Praxis of Javanese Kindred 57
   1.1 Introduction 57
   1.2 Economic Change and Religious Identity 61
   1.3 Friends and Enemies: A Person’s Four “Foetus Siblings” 65
   1.4 Ancestors and Siblings: Two Foci of Kindred in Insular Southeast Asian Societies 71
   1.5 Javanese Kinship in its Austronesian Context 73
   1.6 Kinship and Ritual in Peasant Houses and Palaces 83
   1.7 The Idiom of Siblingship: “House Societies” and Worship Communities 85

2. The Village “Kingdom”: The Bed of Sri and the Realm of Sadana 98
   2.1 The Birth of a Javanese 99
   2.2 Building a House for a Family 102
   2.3 The Javanese House 105
   2.4 Childbirth and the Rice Harvest in the Myth of Sri: The First Social Level 109
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.5 Ritual Domestication of Hierarchy</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6 Conclusion</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Village Goddesses, Their Hierarchy and Clientele</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Introduction</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Sri in Javanese Kingship</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 Addressing Sri: Access and Hierarchy</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4 Assessing Sri: Access and Hierarchy</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5 Goddesses and the Circulation of Values: Past and Present</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Deterritorialization: The End of Peasant Livelihood</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 Historical Overview</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 Mangkunagaran Village Ordinance of 3 March 1855</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3 Pre-colonial Bondage</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4 Land Tenure after the Cultivation System (1830–70)</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5 Javanese Villages after Krismon (1997+)</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART II: RECONSTRUCTION OF LOCAL RELIGIOUS HISTORY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Village Muslim Lineages: Local Genealogies in the Forest “Guardian of Death”</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1 The Question of the Context: Javanese and Indian Islam</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 The “Genealogy of the Noble Ancestors of Kaliasa”</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3 Islamization, Koranic Schools, and Javanese Träh</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4 Holy Sites and Their Clientele</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5 “Worship Communities” and Lineages: A Comparative Perspective from Sulawesi to Sumatra, via Java</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6 Appendices: Genealogies Cited</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Village Maps for Royal Lineages: Paku Buwana VI in Durga’s Forest</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1 For the Blessing of the Goddess</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2 The Needs of a Hero</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3 Rewriting History</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4 Talking up “Political” History</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5 Meeting Durga</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6 Appendix: Recent Chronology of Texts on Paku Buwana VI</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PART III: INVOKING THE COSMOS, MAGNIFYING ALLAH: STRUCTURING A LANDSCAPE IN THE SEVENTEENTH TO NINETEENTH CENTURIES

7. The Khandava Forest in India and Its Javanese Demon Queen 251
   7.1 The Burning of the Khandava Forest 253
   7.2 Durga's Veneration in Java: From Indian Myths to Javanese Iconography 255
   7.3 Indian and Javanese Forests from the Mahābhārata 258
   7.4 The Burning of the Forest and the Goddess' Victory over the Demon Buffalo 265
   7.5 A Sketch of the Iconography of Durga's Victory in India and Java 269

8. The Spearing of Durga's Buffalo 282
   8.1 Description of the Buffalo Sacrifice in the Māesa Lawung 287
   8.2 The Responsibilities of the Suranata: Sacrifice via Cosmogony 297
   8.3 Krendawahana as Seen by the Mangkunagaran 300
   8.4 The Abandoning of Offerings (Labuhan) in Durga's Forest 304
   8.5 The Mankunagaran Forest Tertre: Royal Ritual and Village Lore 309
   8.6 Levels and Landscapes in the Durga Cults 320

9. Invoking the Goddess Durga; Worshipping Allah 330
   9.1 The Corpus of the Mantra 330
   9.2 The Islamization of the Invocations to Durga 332
   9.3 Translation of the Wagon of Letters or Letters on the Chest Mantra 335
   9.4 The Dhalang's Goose Mantra and the New Pavilion Song 345
   9.5 Implicated Performance 353

10. The Javanization of Islamic Prayer; The Islamization of Javanese Prayer 360
    10.1 Muslim Prayer in the Sixteenth Century Java 360
    10.2 The Ascetic Landscape of Prayer in the Seventeenth Century 363
    10.3 Siti Jenar and the Heritage of Radical Monism 367
    10.4 The Analogy of Being in the Eighteenth Century 369
10.5 Worship and Self in the Nineteenth Century: The \textit{Wedhatama} 374

10.6 Islamization Treated as History 384

10.7 Salat as a Mirror of Allah's Society 389

11. Javanese Cosmologies and Muslim Cosmographies: An Encompassing Knowledge? 400

11.1 Introduction: Exploring the Javanese \textit{Manikmaya} 400

11.2 Sources for and Recensions of \textit{Manikmaya} 403

11.3 Wayang Cosmogonies 409

11.4 The Genre of Mythological Compendia 413

11.5 Conclusions 415

PART IV: COSMOLOGY, CONVERSION AND COMMUNITY IN CENTRAL JAVANESE ISLAM TODAY

12. Jihad in Java: An Islamic Appropriation of Individualism 425

12.1 The Fragmentation of the Javanese Muslim Community 427

12.2 A Muslim Community's Struggle (\textit{Jihad}) with Difference (\textit{Ikhtilaf}) 432

12.3 "\textit{Jihad} is the Solution" 435

12.4 What Is a Muslim Community (\textit{Umat})? 437

12.5 The \textit{Umat} Behind the \textit{Jihads} in Java 442


13.1 Introduction 453

13.2 Purification Ritual at Beteng Plaza 456

13.3 Cleansing of the Well of \textit{Mbah Meyek} in Bibis Kulon 462

13.4 Conclusions 469

14. The Social Reconstruction of Confidence: Community and Islam in Surakarta Today 474

14.1 The \textit{Umat}'s Appropriations of Modernity 474

14.2 A Jihad for Integrating Others into Javanese Social Morphology after 1998 476

14.3 Hierarchies of Values in Central Java Today 479

14.4 Law, Territory, and Autonomy 482

14.5 Muslims’ Religious Tolerance 487
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contents</th>
<th>ix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14.6 Rice Cones for Peace and Offerings to the Earth</td>
<td>494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.7 Good and Bad Maharaja: Collaborating in a Coronation</td>
<td>503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.8 Mockery and Social Reconstruction</td>
<td>506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Enclosing Cosmologies and Elective Citizenship</td>
<td>514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index</td>
<td>571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About the Author</td>
<td>605</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF FIGURES

1  The birthday of Muhammad (muladan) at the Great Mosque on the northern square (alun-alun) in Surakarta 26
2  Arrival of the offerings from the Susuhunan's palace to the front of the porch of the Great Mosque for the birthday of Muhammad (muladan) 27
3  Women selling snacks in front of the Great Mosque for this holy day 27
4  Ritual cleansing of the village of Krendawahana after the rice harvest (1974); Young men bring over their family's platters of food to be shared out. Each village fixed its own date according to the Javanese calendar, while the Muslim festivals have invariable dates deriving from urban calendars 28
5  After the ceremony, children bring home to their parents the shared remains 29

1.1  Upper Solo River basin (Central Java) 64
1.2  The Help received from the four older brothers. The life companions suffering from neglect and closely watching the "me" in his state of contented mind (lega-prana) 67
1.3  Man's ambiguous relations with his demiurges 70
1.4  Relationship of genitors and progenitors 81

2.1  Layout of a house in Central Java 106
2.2  Statues of Sri and Sadana in a pick-up truck going to a wedding 107
2.3  Kala and his army of convulsion-bearing animals 114
2.4  Potential incest provoking reduplication 115

3.1  The palace microcosm 141
3.2  Recursive encompassment 143
3.3  Recursive inclusion 143
3.4  Network of encompassment and protection available 154
List of Figures

3.5 The articulation of the inclusive relationships between Durga, Sri and ratu Lara Kidul’s three palaces (Krendawahana, Surakarta and the Southern Ocean) 155
3.6 Portrait of Raden Tanaya 159
4.1 Western Enterprises in the Principalities 168
4.2 Selling cooking pots in Kaliasa on market day 170
4.3 Selling fried tofu in Kaliasa on market day 171
4.4 Bringing home rice harvest in June 1974 before the introduction of mechanical threshing and electrical hulling 172
4.5 Danuri (seventy years old in 1974 and very alert), elder (mancakaki) of Krendawahana, was often consulted for his knowledge of ritual. His son Slamet Sujaka made a prosperous career teaching Islam catechism in Tawan Manggu (Karanganyar), while his wife taught grade school in Krendawahana 173
4.6 Damsiri (fifty-eight years old in 1974), small landholder owning a quarter of a hectare of poor quality sawah (rice field) 174
5.1 Map of Krendawahana/Kaliasa region 202
5.2 Kyai Digdo in the graveyard of kyai haji Muhammad Korib (alias Murtojo) in 1974 202
5.3 The grave of kyai haji Muhammad Korib (alias Murtojo) 203
5.4 The minaret of the Jamek Mosque (completed in 1995) in Jaga Patèn, north of the Cemara River near Kaliasa 203
5.5 The soye stone on which Abdul Jalal I would have meditated in the middle of the Cemara River 208
5.6 Kyai Haji Abdullah Usman, from the Kauman in Surakarta and co-ordinator of the construction of the minaret, in front of the original early nineteenth century doors of Jamek Mosque. Usman gave the author his last copy of the genealogy of the Nitimenggolo trah in Kaliasa 209
5.7 Original pulpit (mimbar) of the Jamek Mosque in the Jaga Patèn “forest” 211

6.1 Imagined portrait of Paku Buwana VI, proclaimed national hero in 1964. He is known as the Awakening of Ascetical Powers or Bangun Tapa, which is traditionally what he is said to have been doing when he was arrested by the Dutch on the south coast of Java on 6 June 1830 231
7.1 Stone bas-relief of Durga’s victory over the titan buffalo Mahisha in the Mahishasuramardanī mandapa of the temple complex (seventh to eighth centuries) at Mahabalipuram 267

7.2 Three contemporary concrete painted statues of Durga’s victory over the titan buffalo Mahisha atop modern temples in the environs of Pondicherry 268

7.3 Processional plastic statues of Durga’s victory over Mahisha stored in the eaves of a temple staircase between outings 269

8.1 The famous Sinagari dynasty (thirteenth century: East Java) statue of the victory of Durga over the titan buffalo Mahisha. Now located in the Rijksvolkenkunde Museum in Leiden 283

8.2 Durgâmahishāmardanī (slayer of Mashisha) from the north cellar of the main temple of Prambanan (ninth century), Central Java. The sculpture may be of a later date 284

8.3 Durgâmahishāmardanī (slayer of Mashisha) from the Radyapustaka Museum, Surakarta, Central Java 284

8.4 Wayang sketch of Durga 285

8.5 Decorated sacrificial buffalo in 1996 287

8.6 Procession of the Maesa Lawung offerings in 1996 from the Mangkunagaran Palace to Durga’s tertre (pundhèn) in Krendawahan 288

8.7 Severed buffalo head 289

8.8 Two abdi dalem from the palace of Paku Buwana XII addressing the assembly at foot of Durga’s tertre 289

8.9 Four abdi dalem at the base of pundhèn praying 290

8.10 Woman reaching towards effigy of human sacrifice (bekakak) 290

9.1 Diagram by destination/recipient of the propositions 343

11.1 Cosmological table (used in the contemporary Tedjokusuman school of kanuragan, Yogyakarta) 406

12.1 Director of El Mukmin (Ngruki) Foundation praying at an inter-religious forum (RUU Kerukunan Umat Beragama) at the Pondok Pesantren Al-Muayyad Windan, Surakarta, on 9 September 2003. Kyai Haji Dian Nafi’ is behind the microphone 431
### List of Figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>The burning of Beteng Plaza on 14 May 1998</td>
<td>457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>Order of procession in the Bibis Kulon Purification</td>
<td>464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>Long March for Peace, 2000</td>
<td>495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>Palace officials (<em>abdi dalem kraton</em>) praying at the gathering of Rice Cone for Peace Meeting at the Pagelaran (Mangkunagaran Palace, Solo) in 2001</td>
<td>496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>Paku Buwana XII cutting the rice cone for peace at the Pagelaran (Mangkunagaran Palace, Solo) in 2001</td>
<td>496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>Poster for peace at Surakarta during the Iraq War, 2003</td>
<td>497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>Triangulation and fractioning of Javanese custom</td>
<td>519</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF TABLES

1.1 Groups of cognatic descendants  72
1.2 Comparison of selected social features of several western Austronesian societies  74
1.3 Categories of Javanese and Baduy hierarchy  82
1.4 Contrasts between peasant and kingly kinship practices  84
1.5 House and sibling in Ara (Bugis)  85
2.1 Colour co-ordinates in house building  103
2.2 Offerings for the construction of a Javanese peasant’s house  104
3.1 Episodic table of Sri and Sadana’s descent to earth  137
3.2 Left/right oppositions  148
3.3 Malevolent metamorphoses  158
8.1 Prayers for the Maésa Lawung from the Surakarta palaces  298
8.2 Protective songs from Wiryapanitra (1937/1979) and Probohardjono (1965)  299
15.1 An Islamic morphology of Durga’s mosque  533
What’s in the *umma*? The *umma* is not a congregation (*jama‘a*, Arabic; *jemaah*, Indonesian)\(^1\) of a given mosque, but the entire community of faithful. For the word *umma* (Ind. Jav. *umat*) there can be no translation into English, only a paraphrase for an attempted definition. Can an *umma* be localized, that is to say, does it have boundaries, whether ethno-linguistic, national, or otherwise? Can we write a book, for instance, about the Javanese *umma* as a vector for the introduction of individualism in Java? There certainly is an *umma* in Java, but clearly it is not only made up of Javanese. Recently, the leader (*penghulu*) of the largest mosque in Surakarta (Central Java) came from the eastern island of Sumbawa, and no one found this unusual. Indeed, the *umma* is cosmopolitan. Does this mean that the *umma* is as ethnically varied as the entire Indonesian archipelago? Should we include in it the Muslims of Malaysia, Sulu (the Philippines), and Petani (southern Thailand)? If one begins to think in terms of a transnational virtual *umma*, it often becomes so vague, that locality disappears as a pertinent marker of identity. In this study, we are committed to describing the development of the *umma* of a given area, Kaliasa. Central Java is the historic heartland of the island and our focus precludes a broader comparative perspective.

Arjun Appadurai (1996, ch. 8) pointed out that ethnographers have long been occupied with studying how local subjects are produced by particular rites of passage. But the “local” *umma* in Central Java has become over time, since 1660, less and less preoccupied with incarnating locality, with taking over the social space and clientele of older “Javanese” deities like Durga. In the course of eighteenth century, this network of mosques spread from city to city and then out into the countryside once royal patronage became a burden as much as an advantage. The urban mosques and rural Koranic schools, began to realize that their teachers who had studied in Medina and Mecca and their faithful who had done the *h.ajj* (Ind. *haj*), were much less motivated in incarnating local identity than in propagating a renewed vision of what it meant to be a Muslim based on contacts with currents of Muslim thinking in the Middle East. The recent flood of Muslim publication from Yogyakarta (LKiS) and Bandung (Mizan) indicates that this interest is on the increase. Paradoxically while these ongoing connections to Middle Eastern Muslim thought in all its diversity is still being strengthened, Javanese Islam remains
very Javanese. Though increasingly sophisticated in its understanding of contemporary Muslim reflection throughout the world, the \textit{umma} in Java may not be made up only of Javanese, it nonetheless remains very self-reflective and Javanese.

Let me give an example of the applicability of one kind of Middle Eastern Muslim thinking. Following the Gulf War in May 1991 (Talal Assad 1993, ch. 6), a debate in Saudi Arabia began with an open letter to King Fahd from a hundred of ‘ulama–claiming that the “rights of the individual and society” were not being guaranteed. Since this criticism (\textit{nasiba}) dealt with issues affecting the entire “local” Saudi \textit{umma}, it could be made public. The juridical precedent of Ibn Taymiyya (1263–1328) was cited as a justification of this effort to hold the king accountable as a moral person in the public domain. As al’Za’ayr, a well-known Saudi preacher and lecturer on moral and political criticism (\textit{nasiba}; Assad 1993, pp. 214–23) had been saying, the virtuous Muslim is not judged on what he believes, but on how he lives in that moral space (\textit{umma}) which links all those who are bound to Allah. “The first foundation of independence for the \textit{umma} is to know that it is indissolubly bound to God.” This requires not blind obedience but self-evaluation. “If one doesn’t secure one’s own independent thinking the \textit{umma} is made into an appendage of others. And if that happens, the \textit{umma}’s essence (\textit{huwiyya}) and its independence disappear together.” This view helps us to understand that the social space of the \textit{umma} is indeed a “singular plural”. Based on the monadic character of Allah to whom all submit unconditionally, the \textit{umma} is inconceivable without this focus, but this community is realized by personal piety and a common religious life of individual Muslims. This kind of pious lifestyle has been transposed to Java for centuries now. Recently it has again been applied in \textit{da’wa} campaigns to “purify” rural Islam of its Javaneseness, and in urban contexts to criticize the government of the Indonesian Republic for its corruption and irresponsibility towards its people. If Muslim religion is as much about virtue than about credos, it is because lacking virtue, no practical reasoning can be undertaken by a Muslim. For as Za’ayr shows, the \textit{umma}’s piety is deployed not in a secular social space but in a divine and eternal religious and civil space where Muslim criticism, punishment, and power have their place.

This book provides one explanation of how Islam in Java stayed Javanese for so long and how now (2004) it has rejuvenated itself, changing in the light of “purer” Muslim models and a renewed Muslim fervour, at the same time as splintering into political factions as post-colonial independence offered it the possibility, not only to deploy its moral authority, but also to gain and exercise power. All this is deliberately seen from the locality of a rural area
north of the city of Surakarta, where one can perceive how the holism of Javanese cosmology was lost and then sought after anew as the urban fibre of Surakarta began to tear apart under the Soeharto dictatorship in the 1980s. Reinventions of lost cosmologies are rarely successful, but they do reveal on the part of those who rediscover them a degree of self-understanding. Those Javanese Muslims whose lives have been jeopardized by the unfulfilled promises of democracy are an ethnic majority; they are not the worst off among the ethnic components of what was supposed to become a republic. Society as a project of modernity in Indonesia is now being called into question using such concepts as society without the state (masyarakat tanpa negara). Just as the attributes of religion are seen as too visible, too liable to political manipulation (vote Muslim!), so too are the pretensions of popular representation seen to be an illusion in an ongoing crisis where downscaling, using the local resources of the neighbourhood to protect one’s family against state terror is envisioned at the local level as more viable than the large scale networks of a governance that are manipulated top to bottom.

Over the last thirty years, so many Javanese have taken of their time to help me understand their language and culture that I could not acknowledge or thank them all here. The earliest contacts I had in 1973 with the village of Krendawahana, the stepping off point in the upper Solo river basin of the volume, was with radèn Sastrodiwiryo who was its lurah (mayor) until the early 1980s. In October 2003, his family was still surviving, barely, as was that of the elderly modin (muezzin), Amah Achiar, who lives directly behind the widow of Sastrodiwiryo. The economic crisis of 1997 had left deep wounds, despite what the macro economic surveys say about current recovery. Radèn Tanaya, an almanac writer and literati living modestly in the shadow of the Dutch fort Vastenburg, introduced me in 1973 to the Javanese use of corresponding sets of classifications and the mythology that deploys these networks of categorical relations. Many literati at the Reksapustaka, the Mangkunagaran palace library in Surakarta some fifteen kilometres to the south of the village of Krendawahana, helped me locate and read the descriptions of this palace’s Maesa Lawung offerings at the tertre of the goddess Durga in that village. Friends in Surakarta lodged me with their families and helped me to transcribe recordings and translate texts that proved difficult for me. Cornelios Reismartono, Yeremia Prasetyo Yidi Modorumpoko, Yustina Ramtina Wulandari, and Stephanos Siagalaksana were my assistants in gathering and analysing the materials for Chapters 12, 13, and 14. Without their help the work would have taken much more time and would not have been as interesting. Kyai Haji Dian Nafi, director of the Windan (Makam Haji, Kartasura) branch of the
al-Muayyad (Mangukuyudan) Koranic school (pondok pesantren), as well as his collaborators, introduced me to many other Muslims in the Surakarta area who helped me to understand how they analysed sociologically the current situation using their Muslim values.

In Europe over the years, I have received much encouragement and criticism from anthropologists, historians, and philologists interested in Java. These friends not only took a professional interest in my writing, but also helped me believe in the conclusion of a project that at times seemed too ambitious an undertaking. I am deeply aware of how much support I received from Ben Arps, Andrew Beatty, Tim Behrend, Valdimir Braginsky, Clara Brakel, Peter Carey, Robert Hefner, Frans Huskens, Charles Macdonald, Jan Mrazek, David Parkin, Merle Ricklefs, and Jessica Rose. Since 1998 I have received a great deal of support from the ERASME (CNRS, Paris), from its members Cécile Barraud and André Itéanu, and especially from Daniel de Coppet (+2002) who supported my overall approach to Java as an instance of a hybrid holistic society.

The support of Triena Ong, Managing Editor and Head of the Publications Unit, and Rahilah Yusuf, Production Editor, of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) in Singapore have made the completion of the manuscript a professional and a pleasurable experience.

On a more personal note, the presence of my wife, to whom this book is dedicated, and my children, both in Java (where my daughter was born) and later in France as they waited for me to return from a dozen sojourns in the Solo area, always gave me the assurance that I was not struggling on alone.

**Notes**

1. Spelling conventions of foreign words in Indonesian and Javanese are not fixed.
   The first time a term is used in this book, we have tried to give its Arabic or Indonesian/Javanese spellings in parentheses. When an Indonesian or Javanese author uses a term in his native language or cites a foreign term we have tried to adopt the spelling he or she used if this is recognizable. Abbreviations: Ar. (Arabic); Ind. (Indonesian); Jav. (Javanese); San. (Sanskrit).

2. Javanese titles. Some are capitalized (Ki Dhalang XXXX) as if they were the proper name and others are lower-cased and in italics (ki dhalang XXX). We need to flag this ambiguity; the Javanese practice (to leave them capitalized as if they were part of the proper name, which any Javanese know they aren’t) is confusing to the non-Javanese.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book, long in its gestation, is the result of many years of research. Certain ideas have been treated partially in the author’s previously published articles, published in French or in English, listed below. Chapters 6, 10, and 13 are revised versions of these previously published articles.


Ch. 8: “The Ritual Lancing of Durga’s Buffalo in Surakarta and the Offering in the Kendowahono Forest of Its Blood”. In Between People and Statistics. Essays on Modern Indonesian History presented


