SASAK AND JAVANESE LITERATURE OF LOMBOK

Geoffrey E. Marrison
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GEOFFREY E. MARRISON

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Preface

This survey is based firstly on visits to Lombok, Indonesia, in 1981 and 1984, and on various visits to Leiden since 1981; but it is most substantially founded on three months’ work in the libraries of Leiden University, and of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, and in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde during 1990-1991, and on two months’ field studies in Lombok, October - November 1991. The visits to the Netherlands and Indonesia in 1990 and 1991 were funded by the British Academy, London, to whom I express my grateful thanks.

The first part of this research is the Catalogue of Javanese and Sasak texts (KITLV Or.508), (Marrison 1999) which is a collection of 506 Javanese texts of Sasak provenance, and Sasak literary texts, folk tales and reminiscences, in romanized typed transcripts from the legacy of Dr Christiaan Hooykaas (1902-1979).

The second part to be prepared is the survey, in which the Javanese texts of Sasak provenance are first considered as representing the older literature; then those in Sasak, which date approximately from the middle of the nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth. The sources discussed in the survey are the collections of manuscripts in Leiden and in Indonesia: the latter are to be found in the Museum Negeri Nusa Tenggara Barat, Mataram, Lombok; in the Gedong Kirtya, Singaraja, Bali; and in the National Library of Indonesia, Jakarta.

This survey provides the first general conspectus of the literature of the Sasak people of Lombok. Their earlier recorded literature, including the many tales of the Amir Hanwa’wil cycle associated with the Sasak shadow play, was in Javanese. It was only in the latter part of the nineteenth century that Sasak was used as a written literary medium: the sentiment of this literature related more directly to the community, though the structure of the poems and their metres followed established Javanese forms. Oral literature in Sasak no doubt had a much longer history, but it was not till the turn of the century that any of this material was written down. It is the large collection of folk tales and reminiscences, mostly collected in Lombok in 1940-1941 by Christiaan Hooykaas, and the many Sasak workers associated with him, which constitutes the largest and most important representation of this genre. This forms a corpus of modern Sasak prose which is of value both for linguistic studies, and also as a record of Sasak life and ideas in the first part
of the twentieth century. Since Indonesian independence, Sasak scholars have published studies and editions both of their traditional literature in Javanese and Sasak, and of the oral literature, both the prose tales, and popular poetry, and these sources have also been drawn on in the present study.

My work was made possible by the help and encouragement of many friends and colleagues in Indonesia, England and the Netherlands. I owe most to the late Dr Christiana Hooykaas, whose work in Bali and Lombok, and whose Lombok collection now in Leiden, provided me with the inspiration and materials for setting out on this quest. For my study project of 1990-1991, it was Dr Stuart Robson, then Lecturer in Javanese in the University of Leiden, and now Associate Professor of Asian Language Studies in Monash University, Clayton, Victoria, Australia, who proposed the work, in response to a suggestion made by Professor Dr Achadiati Ikram, Dean of the Faculty of Arts in the University of Indonesia, Jakarta. It was the British Academy, London, who through two generous grants made in 1990 and 1991, enabled me to bring the work to fruition.

For the transforming of this project from a study of documents into a live and more general appreciation of Sasak culture, I owe most to Sasak scholars who helped me on my way. Firstly, it has been my privilege to have the friendship over ten years of Lalu Gde Superman, of Bonjerak, Central Lombok, and of the Department of Education and Culture, Mataram, one of the leading and most productive scholars of Sasak at the present time. In my visits to Denpasar, I have been helped and encouraged by Drs Nazir Thoir of Suralaga, East Lombok, and of the Udayana University, Denpasar. Then I must say a special word of thanks to my teacher for Sasak, Lalu Muhammad, of Lendang Nangka, East Lombok, a graduate of the University of Mataram, and now a teacher of English at Montong Betok, SMP 2 Terara (Middle School), East Lombok. He not only instructed me in speaking Sasak, but also acted as guide and counsellor for journeys through villages of East Lombok, as well as to Mataram, Denpasar and Singaraja; and I am grateful to him and his family for the care and courtesy with which they looked after my personal needs through my stay with them in Lendang Nangka.

Among many other friends and colleagues who helped and advised me, I should mention Dr Nigel Phillips, Lecturer in Indonesian Languages, and now Head of the Department of South-East Asia and the Islands at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London; Professor V.T. King, Director, and Mr L.G. Hill and Dr M.J. Hitchcock, Lecturers, of the Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull; in the University of Leiden, Professor A. Tewe, Dr J. Noorderwijk and Dr K. Steenbrink, and at the University Library, Dr J.J. Witkam, and at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Drs Pieter ter Keurs, Curator for Insular South-East Asia. In Lombok, many people made me welcome and actively helped me, including Drs...
## Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AH</td>
<td>Amir Hanzah (used after a title to indicate that it is a part of the <em>Menak Amir Hanzah</em>, or <em>Amir Hanzah</em> cycle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brandes</td>
<td>Beschrijving der Javansche, Balinesche en Sanskriës handschriften aangetroffen in de nalatenschap van Dr. H.N. van der Tuuk (1901-1926)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPK</td>
<td>Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan (Department of Education and Culture, Indonesia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Engelenberg Collection of manuscripts from Lombok</td>
</tr>
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<td>J</td>
<td>Javanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JIAEA</td>
<td><em>Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia</em> (Singapore, 1847-1855; New Series, 1855-1863)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JMBRAS</td>
<td><em>Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</em> (Singapore, 1923-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSBRAS</td>
<td><em>Journal of the Singapore Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</em> (Singapore, 1878-1922)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juynboll</td>
<td><em>Supplement op den catalogus van de Javansche en Malinese handschriften der Leidse Universiteits-Bibliothek</em> (1907-11); <em>Supplement op den catalogus van de Soendaneesche handschriften, en catalogus van de Balinesische en Sanskriës handschriften der Leidse Universiteits-Bibliothek</em> (1912)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>Kirtiya Manuscript (formerly: Kirtiya Liefirnck - Van der Tuuk, Singaraja; now Gedong Kirtya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KITLV Or.</td>
<td>Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Oriental Manuscript</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KT</td>
<td>Koloniaal Tijdschrift (The Hague 1912-1940)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOr.</td>
<td>Leiden University Library, Oriental Manuscript</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MK</td>
<td>Mededeelingen van de Kirtiya Liefirnck - Van der Tuuk (Singaradja, Jogjakarta, 1929-1941)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM</td>
<td>Museum Negeri Nusa Tenggara Barat, Mataram, Lombok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poer I</td>
<td>Poerbatijara: <em>Beschrijving der handschriften: Menak</em> (1940)</td>
</tr>
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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1. Lombok: the island and its people

Lombok has an area of 4,668 km², and is comparable in size, and to some degree in land formation, with Bali. The Sunda volcanic chain runs through the northern part of the island, lower in the west, where the most important peak is Gunung Punikan, 1,490 m. In the centre of the range is the large bowl-shaped volcanic crater lake, Segara Anak, at a height of 2,008 m. The range culminates in Gunung Sangkaréang, 2,914 m to the north of the lake, and Gunung Renjani, 3,726 m, whose most recent eruptions were in 1884 and 1901. Further east is Gunung Nangi, 2,330 m. The mountains occupy nearly the whole of the northern part of the island, over a third of the total area. Round the north coast, there is an undulating strip with some villages, and a few populated valleys running back into the mountains where some of the steep mountain streams descend. Though this region is thinly populated, and mostly not fertile, it is important in the mythology and culture of the Sasak people, where some of its earliest traditions have been developed and preserved. The name Renjani derives from Anjana, a monkey princess, the mother of Hanuman, by Wayu, the god of the wind. Both the lake and the mountain have a prominent part in the mythology and devotion of the Sasak and of the Lombok Balinese.

The middle part of Lombok, where most of the population is concentrated, is a fertile and nearly level plain, 60 km from the west coast to the east and 30 km from north to south. It has productive volcanic soil, well watered in the west monsoon at the beginning of the year, with numerous mountain streams descending to the plain and then flowing either east or west to the sea. The watershed is a range of low hills, not much more than 30 m high, running south from below Segara Anak to the vicinity of Kopang and forming a boundary between the central and eastern administrative divisions of the island.

The southern part of Lombok has a range of hills running west to east from 200 to 400 m, dry and barren and the region is generally infertile. The southern coasts have cliffs alternating with sandy beaches, and here as on the other coasts there are many fishing villages.
The island is divided from Bali on the west by the deep Lombok Strait, which Alfred Wallace considered to be the boundary between the Asian and Australian continental regions. The flora of Lombok, however, is not greatly different from that of Bali, with its bamboo, palms, fig trees and various other tropical plants; only in the east, which is drier and more scrubby, are some Australian forms to be found. Lombok has no large wild mammals; nor is the mouse-deer found there, and the stories so widespread elsewhere in Indonesia are replaced by tales of the civet-cat, *jentil*. The long-tailed Hanuman monkey, called *golek*, also appears frequently in the folk-tales, as well as the sambar deer, *uang*, wild pigs, *babi*, and porcupine, *landek*. Domestic animals are the same as elsewhere in Indonesia, including cattle, more often used than buffaloes for ploughing, and a small good breed of horses, which are much used in the villages for drawing traps for hire (here called *lecek*), fowl, geese and ducks, the last being pastured in the paddy fields.

Wet rice is the principal crop, grown in irrigated ricefields, *bangket* (Indon. *sawah*), terraced, but not usually so steeply or so far up the mountain sides as in Bali, the central plain in Lombok being more continuous and open than in Bali. Dry fields cleared by felling the forest are called *nau* (Indon. *ladang*), and are used for growing rice, as well as tobacco, maize, vegetables and orchard trees. Dry open fields in the plain are called *tendedong*; and are used, as are the paddy fields, in the dry season, for growing tobacco, maize and vegetables. It is the *nau*, the forest clearing which is the place for adventure, as reflected in the literature, whether the participating characters are human or animal, rather than the paddy fields, which are on the whole too open for adventures or scandals readily to occur.

Among the early, non-absorbed people of Lombok, who retain their traditional religion and culture, are the small group of Boda in the western part of the island; there are also a few Kalang, with a background of that group in Java. The principal population are the Sasak, who number about 1.5 million, most of whom are to be found in the plain in the central and eastern divisions of Lombok. Many of their villages are very large, up to 20,000 people, but they maintain a rural and conservative life-style, and use the Sasak language in domestic life. They are Muslims, divided into two groups, the Waktu Telu, the older, traditional group, first converted by the Javanese, and mystical, syncretistic and non-orthodox in tendency, the chief carriers of the old Lombok-Majapahit culture; and the Waktu Lima, who by Indonesian standards are orthodox, who in the past confronted rather than compromised with the Hindu Balinese, and who provide most of the leaders in Sasak society. Nowadays, they are increasing in numbers and influence, while the Waktu Telu diminish. The Waktu Lima incline to puritanism, and to disown the older non-orthodox literature, and worldly arts and entertainments. At the present time, they are influenced by modern, fundamentalist Islam, and by the Muhammadiyah, who have schools in all the larger centres, promoting Islamic and Arabic studies.

The Sasak language is structurally close to Balinese and Sumbawanese, and there is also a physical resemblance between these peoples. However each island is different both in aspect and culture. The Sasak language in its literary form makes considerable use of vocabulary drawn from Javanese, Balinese, Malay and Arabic. The older literature of the Sasak is written in Javanese, and likewise draws many of its literary themes from these sources. Most texts in both languages are written in the Javanese *nuscapa* script, though six metres being in common use, which will be discussed later. Prose is not used in the written, imaginative literature. Most of the prose texts are either of a legal or a technical nature. Minor poetry in Sasak is mostly in the form of *lelaq* (Indon. *pentun*), proverbs and riddles, all of which are eloquent of Sasak sentiment. There is an extensive oral prose literature of folk-tales and reminiscences, which has been well recorded, and which forms a major genre, as well as a most important source of evidence for the modern Sasak language.

The Balinese of Lombok number between three and four hundred thousand, and the majority are to be found in West Lombok, especially in the conurbation Ampenan-Matoran-Cakranegara, which forms the capital, and in the surrounding district. Records of the Balinese coming to Lombok as adventurers and settlers go back at least to the sixteenth century; and after the invasions of the eighteenth century, they became rulers of the island from 1740 to 1894. Relations between the Hindu Balinese, and the Muslim Sasak of both persuasions were complex, subjugation, tension, accommodation and rebellion all featuring in the history. Chinese and Arabs came, especially to the coastal settlements and were variously involved in trade, capitalist ventures and affairs of religion.

Nothing is known of the early history of Lombok. However, by the fourteenth century, there is evidence of links with Java. In the *Nagarakartagama* of AD 1365 both Lombok and Sosok are mentioned as dependencies of Majapahit; this link is confirmed by traditions which have survived in Lombok itself. Various versions of the *Babai Lombok* speak of the ruler of Majapahit's sending his sons to East Java, Bali, Lombok and Sumbawa, with a new teaching. The people of the old village of Sembulan, in the mountains of northeast Lombok, claim to be descendants of the Javanese, and in their burial hill nearby, which is itself called Majapahit, it is said that a relative of the Javanese king lies entombed. Majapahit traditions have been preserved in Sasak culture, especially by the Waktu Telu. These include a generally Javanese style of village life, house building and agriculture, in music and in the arts, especially the *wayang lelang*, the Sasak shadow play, which derives from the East Javanese *wayang golek*, only the repertoire has been changed to accom-
moderate Islamic needs and preferences. In place names, official titles, and some survivals of Panji literature, Majapahit influences are to be discerned.

According to the Sasak, Islam was introduced into Lombok to Sunan Prapen, said to be a son, or perhaps a disciple, of Raden Paku, Sunan Giri, from Gresik, near Surabaya. He is said to have attempted to introduce Islam by force into Lombok, but only with partial success. According to the _Babul Lombok_, L.Or.6621, the women remained true to their old faith, and the ruler of Lombok, out of fear of this circumstance, removed his capital from the coast to Selaparang. Sunan Prapen continued his progress to Sumbawa and Bima, and then returned to Lombok to set a new campaign going, which met with greater success. H.J. de Graaf (1941:355-6) associates this mission with the military adventures of Sultan Trenggana of Demak, who ruled from 1521 to 1550 AD. In any case the link between Sasak Islam and the Gresik-Surabaya region of East Java appears well authenticated. A similar dependence of Madura on this region for the introduction of Islam there is reflected in certain aspects of the culture, and the Javanese Muslim literature current in that island, which can be paralleled in Lombok.

Another legend is of the mission of Pangeran Sanggupati, as given in the text bearing his name, K.10,087 (L.Or.10,338). He brought a mystic type of Islam from Java, and is reckoned by the Sasak as the founder of the Waktu Telu. De Graaf associates him with Bali, and an alleged Balinese conquest of Lombok in the early part of the seventeenth century, by the ruler of Gelgol. This connection, however, appears uncertain. The _Pangeran Sanggupati_ also mentions Islamic influences coming to Lombok from Kudus and Sumbawa. Yet another tale is Nur Sada, K.10,093 (= L.Or.10,343; and other ms.), which tells of Said Mu'min who had two sons, Nur Cahya and Nur Sada. The former followed the Waktu Lima, but never had any happiness; the latter followed the Waktu Telu, and never suffered any want, but was always blessed. The Malays were adherents of the Waktu Lima, but the people of Lombok from the beginning followed the Waktu Telu, which they claimed to be more in keeping with their own needs and temperament.

During the seventeenth century, Bali, Sumbawa and the Makassarese all intervened in the affairs of Lombok. These developments are discussed by De Graaf (1941:155-73). He brings together scattered references, many from the records of the Dutch East Indies Company, mostly referring to Dutch contacts with Bali, Sumbawa and Makassar, and only incidentally to Lombok, so the picture of the island is inferential and incomplete. This could probably be filled out from the Lombok _babul_; but the latter have not been edited or published, and contain no dates and only vague references to external affairs.

Early cultural centres included Bayan and Selabalun in the northern mountain region, Selaparang in the east, with its port of Labuan Lombok and ties with Sumbawa; Purwadadi in the southeast, and its successor, Sakra; and Pejanggig in the south central region, which was later replaced by Praya and Koripan. The first substantial Dutch contact was in 1674, when the Sasak Datu of Selaparang appealed for help against Bugis pirates, who had been expelled from Bima, and were raiding Lombok. In 1723, the Sumbawinese attacked Selaparang, and the Datu asked for help from the Balinese. In the end, the practice of the Sasak princes of appealing to the Balinese for help against internal or external enemies proved fatal to their cause.

In 1740, the Datu of Praya was besieged by his fellow-Sasak princes, and so sent for Balinese assistance, which was given by Ratu Godé Ngurah of Karangasem: but the latter put down Praya also, and therefore established Balinese authority throughout Lombok, which lasted till 1894. In 1764, the Sasak appealed to Sumbawa for help against the Balinese but this rising was put down, and in the following year, the Balinese occupied Sumbawa. From 1771 to 1786, the Dutch sent missions to the Balinese court at Mataram, to attempt to enforce trade monopolies, but little came of this.

In the chronicles of Selaparang an undated incident typifies Sasak-Balinese relationships: this is the account of the Sasak prince, Sandubaya, and his beautiful wife, Lala Saruni, which according to Goris's account in his dictionary, describes the treachery of the Balinese towards the old princes of Sembulan. All the village was invited to a feast at Peken Semaya, halfway between Sembulan and Sapit. The people came unarmed; there was music and dancing, but then the chiefs were taken prisoners by the Balinese and brought to Cakranegara. Later they were released, but being ashamed to return to Sembulan, were installed at Wanasaba and Dasa Lekong. The occasion for all this was the desire of the Balinese ruler for the beautiful Lala Saruni. A more romantic account is given in the _Balad Selaparang_, K.10,076. One day, Sandubaya and his wife visited the Raja of Lombok, who saw that Lala Saruni was very beautiful, fell madly in love with her, and sought some stratagem to possess her. Not long after, Sandubaya was hunting in the woods and was killed. His horse, all bloody, ran home, and Lala Saruni followed him to where her husband lay; she buried her husband and killed the horse there. The Raja of Lombok wanted to take Lala Saruni back to his palace but she requested that she should first bathe at the bay of Baris. There they saw a lotus flower floating in the sea; he slipped and fell into a faint; she hurried down to the water and was immediately drawn by the lotus into the midst of the sea.
In 1815, nearly the whole of Lombok was covered with ash from the eruption of the volcano on Sumbawa, Gunung Tambora. According to Crawfurd, writing in 1856,

"This was felt with great severity at the time and long after, the depth of ashes which fell having varied [...] from one to two feet in depth. This not only destroyed the growing crops, but for some years prevented the sowing of corn, and the result was famine, disease, and the cutting off of much of the population."

(Crawfurd 1856:220.)

In 1826, there was a rebellion of the Sasad against the Balinese Raja. Den Suryajaya, although not a noble, led the people of Saka to resist; the uprising lasted from July to November. The Raja of Lombok had demanded that the noble young women of Saka should come to his palace, where he would make his choice from among them. Suryajaya persuaded Komaladewa Mas Panji of Saka and the surrounding villages to join him. An engagement in which Mas Panji was injured by the Balinese frightened some of the Sasad away, but they resumed the fight. Then some Sumbawanese appeared on the east coast, but were dissuaded from joining the fight, as the outcome seemed uncertain. During a rest period, in which Mas Panji attended a cockfight, the Balinese attacked again. Suryajaya was killed and Mas Panji was struck by a bullet, and took no further part in the fighting. Then the Raja of Lombok fired the mosque in Saka, and Mas Panji and his wife were brought as prisoners to Cakranegara.

During 1839-40, dynastic quarrels among the petty Balinese kingdoms of western Lombok, resulted in the emergence of Karangasem Singosari, based on Cakranegara, as the sole remaining power in the island. In 1843, a new Dutch treaty with the Balinese ruler excluded other white nations from Lombok, provided regulations for dealing with wrecks, salvage and the protection of trade and included a Dutch undertaking not to interfere with the internal administration of the island.

In 1855, Raja Ratu Ketut Ngurah Karangasem succeeded to the throne as a young man. In the same year, three Sasad Hajis, returning from their pilgrimage to Mecca, were put to death by the Balinese. This resulted in a major rebellion at Praya, which was put down with much severity. The Sasad were made to surrender their arms; Balinese officials were appointed to enforce the order, and the people were forbidden to visit the mosques. These oppressions were later alleviated through the influence of Ma Raja, a Sasak consort of the Balinese Raja and her chief assistant and adviser, an Arab named Said Abdullah, whose help the ruler needed to conduct his overseas trade.

The amelioration of the lot of the Sasad however appears to have been qualified, for in 1856, four hundred Sasad families left Lombok and sought refuge in Sumbawa. There were further Sasad revolts in 1871 and 1884. The last stage of their struggle against the Balinese began in 1891, when the state of Mengwi in Bali attempted to gain possession of part of Giana, then under the rule of Kungkung. The ruler of Mengwi asked for assistance from Karangasem, which responded by sending 500 auxiliaries from Lombok. The Dewa Agung of Kungkung refused them passage through his dominions, and they were repulsed and suffered severely from lack of food and care. New reinforcements were demanded from Lombok, but the Sasad were tired of repression and rose in revolt, beginning at Praya. The Sasad forced their way to Kediri in west Lombok, but the Balinese Raja sent for help from Karangasem, Bali, and a force of 1,500 men crossed to Lombok, laying waste to the country and taking 300 Sasad prisoners.

At the end of 1891, seven Sasad chiefs assembled at Kopang in central Lombok, and drew up a letter addressed to the Dutch Resident in Bali, setting out their grievances. These included onerous taxation, forced labour, confiscation of property, the enslavement of their young men, the humiliation of their young women, and the deliberate murder of Sasad who had not helped the Balinese in putting down the rebellion. The Sasad asked for Dutch help, but it was not till 1893 that a positive response was made. An expeditionary force was sent from Java under Generals J.A. Vetter and P.H. van Ham, which landed at Ampenan. This was at first unsuccessful, and van Ham was killed. A second force was then sent, which stormed the Cakranegara palace. The Balinese Raja surrendered to the Dutch, and was exiled. Many of the Balinese, including some of the princes, marched out in a puputan, straight into the fire of the Dutch, and were killed. This marked the end of Balinese rule in Lombok, which was replaced immediately by Dutch military rule, and then by a regime under Dutch armed police, and finally by a colonial civil administration based in Bali.

Under the Dutch, the administration was in three divisions: West Lombok, which included the capital, Mataram, and where the majority of the Balinese were to be found, Central Lombok with headquarters at Praya, and East Lombok based upon Selong, which two divisions were inhabited chiefly by the Sasad. Praya and Selong were developed in Dutch times, with government offices, educational institutions, banking and trade, and the private residences of officials. With Mataram, these are the only real towns in Lombok, though some of the villages are very large, with extensive trading and transport facilities. Under the Dutch, Lombok became part of the Residency of Bali and Lombok, whose capital was Singaraja. One consequence of this is that the Gedong Kirtya Manuscripts Library at Singaraja continues till now to have important collections of manuscripts and transcripts from Lombok, including much Sasad material. Lombok continued under Bali during the Japanese occupation of 1942-45. After Indonesia became independent, Lombok has been separated from Bali and adminis-
tered with the island of Sumbawa as the province of Nusa Tenggara Barat, with headquarters at Mataram.

2. The development of studies of Lombok and the Sasak

The first systematic description of Lombok was made by the Swiss naturalist, Heinrich Zollinger (1822-1859), who worked in Java and Bali from 1841 to 1848. During that time he was sent by the Dutch East Indies Government to some of the eastern islands of Indonesia, including Lombok and Sumbawa. His extensive account of Lombok was published (Zollinger 1846).

Alfred Russell Wallace (1823-1913) visited Lombok in 1856, and did his natural history collecting at Labuan Tereng, in the vicinity of the modern ferry port of Lembar, at the northern end of the south-west peninsula, and at Ampenan, at Kopang in central Lombok, and at Gunung Sari, north of Mataram. His researches in the island led him to the conclusion that the continental divide between Asia and Australia ran between Bali and Lombok.

Rutger van Eck (1842-1901), who was a missionary in Bali from 1864 to 1875, published a long article on Lombok in the *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (TBG) (1875). This views Lombok from the prospect of Bali, as is evidenced by two texts he describes. The first is known as Siar Sasak or Goguritan Jambé Negara, a Balinese romantic poem in macapat metres. A youth of Gianyar fell in love with a girl who was desired by the Raja, so the young man and woman eloped to Lombok. On the strand at Ampenan, the Balinese Raja of Lombok desired her, so the youth fled to Sumbawa, where he was befriended by the ruler, Datu Mesir, who commandeered a fleet of Dutch and Bugis ships to go to Ampenan to avenge the deed. The Raja submitted without fighting, restored Jambé Negara's bride and entertained the Dutch with dancing girls and the Bugis with a feast (see L.O.R.366; Lalù Mesir ruled in Sumbawa in 1837). According to Van Eck, the other text describes the introduction of Islam into Java and Lombok according to the Balinese. The story is in fact the traditional account of the origin of the Kalang, close to the text of L.O.R.4250, *Keto Mundar*, which tells a girl who, while weaving, dropped her shuttle which was retrieved by a dog, who subsequently married her, by whom she had a child, Mantri Moder, who in this tale is reckoned the ancestor of the Sasak Muslims. The association by the Balinese of this story with the Sasak is clearly a deliberate calumny.

The study of the Javanese literature of the Sasak people, as well as the Sasak language and literature was begun by H. N. van der Tuuk (1824-1894). In 1879, he visited the Raja of Lombok in Mataram, and there collected manuscripts in Javanese, Balinese and Sasak. He studied these and put them under contribution in his *Katu-Balineesch-Nederlandsch woordenboek*, which also contains several thousand Sasak entries and references. Goris in his dictionary pays tribute to this work as a major source for his own. Van der Tuuk's manuscripts came by legacy to the Leiden University Library in 1896. The Sasak titles were six poems in macapat metres and a few minor items. Undoubtedly there were by this time many more Sasak texts, but Mataram was probably not the place to find them. In his dealing with the Javanese literature of the Sasak, his links with Karangasem in Bali were also of importance as a source of materials. The catalogues of Brandes, Juynboll and Pigoua do not always make clear the provenance of the Javanese Muslim items in the Van der Tuuk collection, and undoubtedly more came from Lombok than those whose origin is so specified in the descriptions.

The Dutch expedition to Lombok in 1894 is described by Captain Wouter Cool (1896). There is an English translation, *With the Dutch in the East* (1934). In his introduction, he is dependent on earlier writers on Lombok, and is particular about the Balinese, and usually vague about the Sasak. During the campaign of 1894, the library of palm-leaf manuscripts of the Puri of Cakranegara was acquired when the palace was captured. These were first sent to Batavia, and then to the Leiden University Library in 1906. The collection contained Javanese, Balinese and a few Sasak texts. The Sasak and Javanese Muslim works in this collection are described in the present volume.

J.L.A. Brandes (1857-1905) catalogued the Van der Tuuk collection in Batavia before it was sent to the Netherlands. This work was published in parts from 1901, being completed after his death with the help of D.A. Rinkes, R. Wirawangsa and T.G. Th. Pigoua. Of special importance is his inclusion of extensive excerpts from the texts in the original scripts, so providing access to parts of Sasak texts for the first time. H.H. Juynboll prepared a series of catalogues of the Javanese and other literatures in the Leiden University Library. These included descriptions of manuscripts in the Van der Tuuk and Lombok (Cakranegara Palace) collections, 1907-1912, but on different principles to those of Brandes, so that the two catalogues to some degree complement one another. Juynboll also compiled Volume VII of the catalogues of Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden - Bali and Lombok, 1912, which besides the descriptions of objects, also includes some of the manuscripts from Lombok.

F.A. Liefvink (1853-1927), with long connections with Java and Bali, was the first Resident of the newly-formed Residency of Bali and Lombok from 1896 to 1901. He was especially concerned to understand the Balinese administration of Lombok and its traditional legal systems, and published *De landvereenigingen der Balische vorsten van Lombok* in two volumes in 1915. *Adatrechtbandel XV* (1918) also includes material from Lombok, mostly Balinese legislation and cases, with little reference to Sasak concepts of customary law.
A.J.N. Engelenberg had taken part in the campaign of 1894 as a civil officer. In 1894 he was sent to the east coast of Lombok, where he established himself at Téros, near Selong. He later served with the Dutch administration in Central and East Lombok, where he became a legend among the Sasak.

Cool (1934:361), says: 'Controller Engelenberg was especially appointed to supervise the East Coast and make the chiefs understand the real need of the new measures for the restoration of law and order, and his instructions were most stringent concerning the traffic in men and the old laws of vasalage. The improvement of the roads and the irrigation system also claimed a considerable share of his attention.' He made an important collection of manuscripts from Lombok, including texts and documents in Sasak, Balinese, Javanese, Malay, and Arabic, which was acquired by the Bataviaasch Genootschap in 1906. This collection is valuable as on the whole giving a wider representation of texts from Lombok than those assembled by Van der Tuuk, and providing a greater degree of certainty of provenance. Among the Javanese works, it contains a number of Amir Hamzah texts, mostly of Lombok origin, and related to the Sasak shadow play. These are described in detail in the catalogues of Poerbatjaraaka (1940, 1950). Among the Sasak texts are titles, such as the famous romance Titur Mongëh, unknown to Van der Tuuk, and a first small collection of folk-tales.

J.C. van Eerde served in Bali and Lombok from 1901 to 1913, and published articles on the Boda and Kalang of Lombok, on customs relating to the rice culture of the island and other subjects. He edited two Panji texts in Sasak in macapit metres, transcribing them into Roman script and publishing them in the Bijdrag den tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (1906, 1913), the first integral Sasak texts to be printed. They were Cilinuqo, also called Datu Daha and Megatis, closely related to the Malay Syarq Ken Tambahun and the Javanese Panji Angreni; and the Titur Mongëh, of more recent composition, the story of the Monkey Prince, with a plot like that of Cinderella.

Valuable work was done by A.W.L. Vogelesang, who in 1922 and 1923 published a number of articles on Sasak customs, including mythological and historical texts, on the beliefs of the Waktu Telu, and on Sasak proverbs. He was only a short time in Lombok, from which he was obliged to withdraw because of ill health. He was perhaps the most sensitive and well-informed writer on Sasak life up to his own time. One of his sources was an account of Waktu Telu customs recorded in romanized Malay, with line drawings by the author, Guru Mustiaji, a Waktu Telu teacher from Korlëko Leniëng near Sakra, who was involved in an eschatological movement in East Lombok. The original text is in the Leiden University Library, manuscript L.Or.6235.

In 1928, Laloe Mesir, Manteri Guru at Pringgabaya, published Anatjaraka dengan si kajen boqeroe menans, akoara si melohoe te' goemëi Sasak, with a Malay subtitle: Gaiet hor lahuu dan brooref Sasak. This was a textbook on the Sasak script, that is the rounded form of the Javanese script (usually called Balinese), with adaptations to the phonology of Sasak. It is, apart from the excerpts from Sasak texts in Brandes's catalogue of the Van der Tuuk Collection, apparently the only book of Sasak published in the script, and should be useful for verifying the texts of Sasak palm leaf manuscripts.

L.C. Heyting who was Controller of Central Lombok, at Praya, assembled Lombok materials now in the collections in Jakarta, Singaraja and Leiden. He prepared a list of palm-leaf manuscripts reported to be in the possession of villagers of Central Lombok, and a similar one was drawn up for East Lombok. This was done in connection with the setting up of the Kirtya Liefrink-Van der Tuuk at Singaraja in 1928 (now known as the Gedong Kirtiya). The lists provide information about more than four hundred manuscripts in Javanese and Sasak, which on analysis reveal the overwhelming importance of the various Amir Hamzah texts, the romance Puspekarna (from the Malay Hikayat Daleraputra), Jawar Suh, the Islamic poem Yasup on the life of Joseph, and Yazid, on the martyrdom of Hasan and Husain, the mystic pilgrimage tale, jatirawu, and the divination book Kitâb Sundari. All these are in Javanese. Of the poems in Sasak, the most frequently mentioned manuscripts were of the Indarjaya (a version of the Malay tale Syabi Mandari), Titur Mongëh and Cilinuqo. Many of the titles listed probably represent manuscripts later collected by the Gedong Kirtiya, and then transcribed into Roman script in type-script, of which copies are in many cases also to be found in the Leiden collections. Heyting's own small collection of manuscripts from Lombok was presented to the University of Leiden Library in 1965. He also prepared Sasak word lists which were later put under contribution by Goris in his Sasak dictionary.

Roelof Goris (1895-1965) spent most of his career in Bali, and was particularly interested in the Kirtya from its beginnings in 1928; in 1932, he was appointed scientific adviser to this institution, which was charged with the collecting of kontar (palm-leaf manuscripts), not only from Bali, but also from Lombok; in his own writings he includes Sasak culture, religious law and ritual, literature art and antiquities. In fulfilment of his aims, he visited Lombok to collect manuscripts, and compiled the Bekannt Sasaksch-Nederlandsch woordenboek (1938). This continues to be the single most important tool for the study of the Sasak language and literature. But it now requires revision, both to conform to the modern Indonesian spelling, and also to extend the vocabulary. He wrote a most valuable article, 'Aanteekeningen over Oost-Lombok' (1936) on some of the mountain communities, in which he also gave a description of the wayang lembang, the Sasak shadow play, and nagi or niubaj, holy cloths or stoles.

Goris also worked closely with the French scholar of Islam, G.H. Bous-
Hooykaas and his assistants applied these methods not only to Balinese materials, but also to Sasak texts from Lombok. The Sasak members of his editorial team were Laloe Sjeekoer, Laloe Danillah, Laloe Darwasih, Laloe Moeheammad Arifin and Laloe Togok. From 1940 onwards, he was also organizing the collection of Sasak folk-tales. This was largely serviced by schoolmasters in Lombok, but the most important informant and provider of tales and reminiscences was Mamiq Mezyam, who had been juratulins or village secretary of Suradadi, East Lombok. Other main contributors were Mamiq Singgih of Gering, West Lombok; Haji Muhammad Said, headmaster of the school at Mantang, Central Lombok; Haji Muhammad Nawawi, headmaster from Mangkung, Central Lombok, and Lulu Ooq of Praya. In 1948, Hooykaas published a collection of sixteen Sasak folk-tales selected from the collection, and provided them with a Dutch translation. In 1979, his own copies of the collection of transcriptions of Sasak and Sasak-Javanese texts came as a legacy to the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde in Leiden, where they are registered as Or.508, and include 506 items, the largest collection of Sasak and related literature in Europe. Among these is a specially important document, Or.508/10552, Picenkal Sasak, which is a compendium of short descriptions in Sasak of 66 of the most important texts in the collection, made by the Sasak assistants of Hooykaas.

In 1949-50, Dr. Andries Tjoeuw spent a year in Lombok surveying Sasak dialects, and published the results in Dialect-atlas of Lombok (1951) and Lombok; Een dialect-geografische studie (1958). He also produced a number of other articles on Sasak culture, including one on the Bahad Sakra (1953a). In 1966, he deposited on loan to the Leiden University Library his collection of romanized transcripts of manuscripts in Javanese and Sasak from Lombok. Th.G.Th. Pigeaud, in his *Literature of Java*, Catalogue raisonné of javanese manus-
also published *Kamus Sasak-Indonesia*, by Nazir Thoir of Suralagia, East Lombok, the leading Sasak scholar of the Udayana University, Denpasar, Bali, with an advisory team, in 1985. Nazir Thoir was also the principal Sasak contributor to *Sasra lisan Sasak*, a survey of Sasak oral literature, published in Denpasar in 1984 as part of a project on oral literatures of Indonesia, and published by the Department of Education and Culture (Soedj, Thoir et al. 1984). More recently, catalogues and studies of some of the manuscript materials in the Museum at Mataram have been published, including *Kaidh naskah tongtong koleksi Museum Negeri Nusa Tenggara Barat 1977-78* (Mataram 1991b), and *Burega rampai kaltipan naskah lamad an aspek pengelakawannya* (Mataram 1991a). The latter includes excerpts in the Sasak-Javanese script, transliterations, Indonesian translations and critical commentary.

Over the past two decades, there has been a growing interest in Lombok studies amongst Western scholars. Many have been concerned with agrarian and anthropological topics, or with the Balinese community in West Lombok, but others have a direct bearing on the study of Sasak culture. Among the latter are: Tilman Seeass et al., *The music of Lombok* (1976); Albert Polak, *Traditie en tuivspill in een Sasakse boerengezenschap* (1978), based on fieldwork at Tanjung on the northwest coast of Lombok, and including a substantial treatment of Sasak terminology; Sven Cederroth, *Some contemporaneous trends in Lombok theatre* (1979), which deals with the performance of the Cupak-Grantang play at Bayan; A. Leemann, *Glaubensgemeinschaften auf Lombok* (1974); and T.E. Behrend, *The Serat Jatiswara* (1967), which includes evidence from Lombok as well as from Java.

3. Antecedents and origins of the literature of the Sasak

The earliest formal literature of the Sasak was written in Javanese. In the course of their history, three stages in their use of this language can be discerned. Firstly, they imported works of Javanese tradition, such as the Panji stories, and later poems of Islamic content from the Pasir or north coast of Java of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as romantic poems, such as the earlier texts of the *Amir Hamzah* cycle, which were of Islamic background, but without theological content. Secondly, there was an adaptation of this Javanese literary tradition, by which local recensions and versions of texts were developed in Lombok; and thirdly, there was the writing of original texts in Javanese in Lombok, such as some of the later Amir Hamzah stories. Besides this, Javanese was used for secular and technical purposes both before and during the period of Balinese rule, in manuals relating to medicine, magic and the calendar, and in prose for legal documents. It was only towards the middle of the nineteenth century that there is any evidence of the use of Sasak for written literature.

The Javanese literature of the Sasak includes Islamic didactic and devotional texts, including some *suhuk*, stories of the pre-Islamic prophets, the Prophet Muhammad, and later Islamic heroes, especially Amir Hamzah as the principal character in the Sasak shadow theatre; other romances mostly of mixed Islamic and Hindu content, and the earliest of the Lombok *babad*. There is a close link between this Javanese literature and the customs and culture of the Waktu Telu, who over the centuries were foremost in preserving the old Sasak tradition with its appeal to Majappahit origins especially in music, dancing, the visual arts and festivals, as well as the court of local sultans and organized visiting of their tombs. The Waktu Lima, the orthodox Muslims, came later to Lombok, and repudiated much of this syncretistic culture, evincing a puritanical rejection of old customs as being worldly and incompatible with Islamic principles. This process has continued to the present time, and has among other things, resulted in considerable destruction of old manuscripts, giving preference to Arabic teachings and orthodox books in modern Indonesian.

There are a number of difficulties in making an assessment of the extent, character and present-day influence of the Javanese literary heritage of the Sasak people. From the point of view of European collections and scholarship, this is treated as an appadance to the mainstream of Javanese literature, without a recognised corpus of works. In Lombok itself, the chances of time, the professed attitude of the Waktu Lima, and the general desuetude of Javanese studies have militated against the preservation or cultivation of this literature. This however does not detract from its importance, since it embodies a major part of the historical tradition of Lombok, as well as explaining and influencing present-day Sasak culture. This is true not only of the Waktu Telu, but also of the Waktu Lima, even if not openly avowed.

Formal literature in Sasak, though not extensive, owes a great deal to Javanese influence, in subject matter, presentation, versification and vocabulary. There are a number of poems, especially those relating to Muslim spirituality, which are written partly in Sasak and partly in Javanese. There are others wholly in Sasak, some Islamic, others of romantic and secular content, as well as historic poems or *babad*, all composed in Javanese *macapat* metres, of which only six are in common use in Lombok, either for Javanese or Sasak works. These are *asinaranda, dangdang gulat, duwma*, *nus kumantang, pangkur* and *simor*. This limitation of metric forms may help in determining whether a Javanese poem is imported or indigenous. The Sasak tradition differs in this respect from the Balinese which employs a greater variety of metres and has shown more inventiveness in making verse forms. Sasak and Sasak-Javanese texts are sometimes criticized in the catalogues for irregularities in their verses. This is because the compilers have used Javanese theoretical standards as canons, and have not reckoned with the Sasak modifica-
tions of rhyme and length of line, nor for the conventions used to meet the exigencies of metre such as the alternation of duwjadi/duwja, perau/prau and so on, the choice of simple or affixed forms to fit the verse, and the presence or absence of reduplications, not always faithfully rendered in transcription.

The use of palm leaves for writing, and the script in which the texts were inscribed, were imported from Java. As far as their external characteristics are concerned, such manuscripts, from the north coast of Java, Madura, Blambangan, Bali and Lombok have more in common with one another than they have with the conventions of modern printed Javanese. Because the majority were obtained in Bali, the script, which is a rounded form of Javanese, is commonly called Balinese. Hence Sasak manuscripts are described in the catalogue as being in the Balinese script, and quite often as badly written too. This is misleading, because Sasak writing derives directly from Javanese and not mediately through Balinese, and because the qualities of writing in a Sasak manuscript should be judged by Sasak conventions, and not by Balinese. As compared with the latter, Sasak writing is often slightly more slanting and angular, and tends to be smaller than the Balinese. These characteristics can sometimes help to determine the provenance of a manuscript. However, there is more than one style used by the Sasak, and this subject needs further investigation. What is in fact required is a systematic analysis of the paleography of the Javanese script as used in palm leaves in all the regions from Java to Lombok, beginning with manuscripts whose date and provenance is known, recording regional variations in the style of the script and in spelling conventions, which might help to determine date and place of origin of other manuscripts which do not themselves include this critical information. Widely distributed texts, such as the Yusup, Amir Hanza, Renggenis and Jatisura could be used for such a study, and the results would almost certainly amend the alleged date and provenance of many manuscripts as they are now described in the catalogues. Examples of such palm leaf manuscripts are illustrated and described by Figaud in his *Literature of Java* (1971, vol. 3) and in his *Catalogue of Indonesian manuscripts* (1977, part 2) of the Royal Library, Copenhagen. Valuable as these are, they do not answer these critical questions, and they also show that the differences among the manuscripts of the various regions are of a subtlety as to require much closer examination and analysis before definitive answers can be given.

Though the Sasak-Javanese and Sasak literatures have the common features of script and writing materials, as well as metre and some similarities of subject matter, Sasak literature cannot be judged by such comparisons alone. In the Sasak language there is an important, extensive and live oral tradition, which in subject, treatment and sentiment is much closer to the realities of present-day Sasak life, albeit conservative and rural in its character. It is popular and not court literature, generally secular, and its content may be of didactic, social or erotic import.

The *pontun*, known by the Sasak as *leloko*, is used much as in Malay. Some such verses are interspersed for singing in performances of the *tetur manag* and other texts, and are commonly bandsied flirtatiously at dance parties. They provide the lyrics for the modern popular *cikak* music ensembles. *Lawa* or *tandak* are used to serenade a girl; *kuyun* is described by Laloe Djaja as song and dance used during the sowing or harvesting of padi. *Sesenggak* and *pinja-panja* are riddles, which may be in verse, or in racy prose, as are Sasak proverbs, such as those recorded by Vogelsang in *Sasakische spreke woorden en zegswijzen* (1922b). The value of all these is that they are largely free from the Javanisms of the artificial poetry, and convey more directly the characteristic sentiments of the Sasak people.

Of greatest importance are the *cerita*, or folk-tales of village life, and animal fables, and the *tutun*, a term which is applied both to stories and to reminiscences, and perhaps might be rendered as 'an account'. A few were collected by Engelenberg, but the greatest corpus was those assembled by Christiaan Hooykaas with his team of helpers in 1940, which have been followed later by further collections made by Sasak researchers. In the Hooykaas collection, besides the stories, there are many reminiscences of individual characters or events of recent times, some going back to the end of the period of Balinese rule in Lombok. Foremost of the informants was Mamiq Meréyam of Suradadi. He reproduced many folk-tales, but even more personal reminiscences, some of which read like summaries of court cases. He was an enthusiastic observer of the human comedy, a gospip, and one who relished a salty tale. His tales and those of other lesser lights illustrate village life and Sasak character, and provide an extensive source for the study of modern spoken Sasak.
CHAPTER II

Javanese texts of Sasak provenance

1. Romantic poems

It seems probable that at one time some Hindu-Javanese poems were known to the Sasak. Engelenberg’s collection, which was mostly from East Lombok, contains manuscripts of Angling Darna (E.20), Ranjava (E.26), Panji Jaya-langkara (E.27) and Pantri (E.47). Pigeraud in his Literature of Java (1967, I:211-2), speaks of Javanese-Balinese and Javanese-Sasak Islamic romances. He says: ‘Probably most of them were written in Lombok, in Muslim communities, existing since the seventeenth century, and in the eighteenth century coming under the influence of Javanese-Balinese literature’. Under this designation, he names Labu Darna, Labang Kara, Siput Imam Aking, Puspakarna, Gajah Kramuda, Basteng Raga and Ambar Kau. Of these only Puspakarna, Basteng Raga and Labang Kara are well attested as having been current among the Sasak. There is a slight doubt about Labu Darna, the story of this king, after whose death, his son Jayeng Sekar and daughter Smara Ratih were threatened by the patih. At one point the prophet Kiliir (Khidr) restored Jayang Sekar to life. Otherwise the story appears to be more likely of Balinese origin, as the presence of legak (disembodied spirits) and the name Smara Ratih suggest; so too, the use among others of gnuanti and mijil metres, suggests Balinese and not Sasak practice (see Van der Tuuk manuscripts L.Or.3665 and 3688; Brandes 1903, II:102-4; Juyboll 1911:107-8).

Among the Sasak, the most popular of these romantic tales in macapal verse was the Puspakarna, a Javanese version, apparently composed in Lombok, and not current in Java, of the well-known Malay tale, Hikayat Indraputera. In the list of manuscripts recorded from Central and East Lombok in 1928 (L.Or.11.075/4), there are 34 citations of the Puspakarna, the most frequently mentioned of all the texts. There are eight recorded copies in the Gedong Kirtya, Singaraja, and five in the Museum Nusa Tenggara Barat in Mataram, some of which may be from those in the 1928 list. There are three recensions conveniently available in Leiden: L.Or.3683, in 16 cantos with 517 stanzas; Teew 1, with 17 cantos, 497 stanzas, and KITLV Or.508/ K.10189, in 18 cantos with 462 stanzas. The Malay Hikajat Indraputera is discussed and described by Winstedt (1920:145-6, 1922:46-55). The Malay text was
Ki Mong Raga was the son of a Tigress, and his younger friend, Ki Banteng Raga was the son of a cow, who had conceived by drinking pure water from a mountain. The two ate their mothers, and had many adventures, eventually reaching the magic realms of Aserak and Merak. (Here again there are echoes of the Amir Hamzah tales). Through their patience and skill, and because of their mutual co-operation while sharing in various misfortunes, Ki Mong Raga succeeded in becoming king of Daha, and Banteng Raga king of Keling, where he adopted the name of Datu Balang Kesembar. The story contains some Muslim didactic passages.

Labang Kara, also called Wananemra is the story of the son of a widow, who with supernatural assistance overcame difficulties and strove against kings. K.10.092 (L.Or.10.342) is a romanized transliteration of a palm-leaf manuscript collected, like the previous items, from Selong in East Lombok in 1940. The poem is in 9 cantos and 516 stanzas; there is a summary in the Piècédêk Sasak. There are other copies in Singaraja, Leiden and Amsterdam.

Labang Kara was sent to earth by the will of God, and lived with his widowed mother, Ni Rangda Ring Sanga at Sukadana. Now in Wanasari (Wananemra), there was a king who one night dreamt that he had kept company with the bidawari Supraba. He sent his minister, the Gusi Fatih, to search for her; when he reached Sukadana, he chanced upon Labang Kara, who expressed his willingness to undertake this errand. On the road he met a raksasa, who gave him instructions how to open the gates of heaven. Labang Kara changed his name to Masa Kerata Jagat. He ascended to heaven, and following the raksasa's instructions, each of the seven gates swung back just enough to allow him to pass.

Labang Kara found Supraba and persuaded her to accompany him back to earth, transported in a golden chest; when the king opened it, he approached her gently, but she did not want to marry him. The king was angry, and ordered Labang Kara to return to heaven with a retinue of two hundred. However, they stopped on their way at Sukadana, and Labang Kara married Supraba there. All the two hundred were loyal to them, and raised Labang Kara to be Datu of Sukadana; one of them he appointed to be his minister, with the title of Laksamana.

The Datu of Wanasari now wanted to kill Labang Kara, and by means of a ring in the mouth of a bird, a tiger, and a red lotus flower from the middle of a lake, directed all his magic powers against him. When these failed, he mobilized his army to attack Sukadana: but even with the help of his brothers, Datu Madanda and Datu Maga, he could not prevail, and Labang Kara defeated him.

There is a village, Sukadana, on the north coast of Lombok, close to Bayan, and another near Terara in East Lombok. (The Sanskrit sukhamaya = comfort and riches.) Supraba, the chief of the nymphs of Indra's heaven, is...
mentioned in the Mahabharata, and has a major role in the Arjuna-aravaha. The tiger and red lotus suggest Tantric Buddhist antecedents for this theme, as perhaps also does the mention of Magada (= Magadha), the home of Buddhism in India.

The next three tales are described by Pigeaud (1967, I:219-23) as Islamic romances from the North Coast districts of East Java and Madura. They do not differ in general character from those already described, except that they had a currency in the eastern Pasair of Java and Madura, and an Islamic milieu, with some Persi-Arabic elements in names and situations, but little real Muslim content, either in attitude or teaching.

One of these romantic tales in macapat verse is the Ahmad Muhammad, also known as Anum, Ki Anum and Kiah, and tells the adventures of two brothers, who acquired magic power by eating the head and heart of a bird. There is a sequel, concerning Raden Ermaya, the son of Ahmad, and his search for his father. In the libraries of Jakarta and Leiden, there are about sixty manuscripts of this text in Javanese, as well as others in other Indonesian languages, notably Malay, which has probably the oldest version as a prose hikayat, as Van Ronkel believed, from its allusions to fifteenth century Malacca (see Winstedt 1939:54). There is evidence of variation and adaptation of the story as it spread eastwards. L.Oc.1985 (1) is a codex from East Java, written in 1834 AD, summarized by Vrede (1892:205-7). L.Oc.4015 is a tenggalar version in denung metre from Bungkalan, Buleleng, Bali, and the story is the subject in Bali of a gambuh performance (see De Zoete and Spies 1938:291-2).

Of the many manuscripts from Lombok, three may be noted as of special importance. These are L.Oc.3673 (2) from the Van der Tuuk collection, a palm-leaf manuscript of 207 folios, with 35 cantos, including the Ermaya sequel; L.Oc.4016, a codex of 80 pages copied from a lontar of 133 folios from Mataram in Lombok, with 38 cantos and treated by Brandes (1901, I:31-3) as the standard for describing this text; and the closely similar Jakarta lontar 703, described by Poerbatjaraka (1956:128-9). These three might provide the basis for a published edition of the Lombok recension. Van der Tuuk (in Brandes 1901, I:31), has an interesting discussion on versions of the Ahmad Muhammad. He considered that there were two macapat and one tengahlan in Bali, and another macapat recension in Lombok, and believed that the story came from Java to Lombok and thence to Bali. He went on to note that at the singaksang or major offering at the temple of Lingsar in West Lombok, during the annual festival of adalan, it was this poem which was sung.

The story of Ahmad Muhammad in the Javanese version from Lombok is as follows: a widow had two sons, Ahmad and Muhammad. She bought them a bird as a pet; now a visiting ship's captain dreamt that whoever ate the heart of the bird would become a king, and he who ate the head would be a minister.

He met their mother, and persuaded her to kill the bird and roast it. But before the captain himself could partake of it, the two boys, unaware that it was their own pet, consumed it. Ahmad eating the head and Muhammad the heart. The captain was angry, but the boys defended themselves with krises which they obtained from an ascetic named Sheikh Jagong. They set out on a journey, and one day, while they slept, a white elephant sent by Siti Baghad, Queen of Egypt, to seek a ruler, came upon them, and took Muhammad up into his howdah. When Ahmad awoke, he followed the elephant's tracks, till he came to a widow's house in Syria. She adopted him, and betrothed her daughter Ni Rara Sumacak, to him.

Siti Baghad sent emissaries, who found Ahmad and brought him to Egypt, and she fell in love with him. However, she tricked him by feeding him with sengkam (fried cakes), and he vomited the bird's head; she ate it and gained its magic power, ordered Ahmad to leave. He wandered away into the forest, where he met a band of three Jinn, whom he tricked into letting him have a betel pouch and a stockling which were endowed with magic power, and enabled him to fly. He first visited his adoptive mother and Rara Sumacak, and then flew back to the palace unobserved, and got the bird's head back from Siti Baghad. After a reconciliation, she invited him to sport with her on the island of Majakti, and again deprived him of the bird's head, and left him and flew home.

Ahmad thought he would die, and buried himself up to the neck. Now a pair of parakeets were perching on a kastuba tree nearby. From a branch of this tree which had magic powers, the female made a horse which could fly. Ahmad struggled up, seized the bough which had become a horse and flew straight to the bed of Siti Baghad. She was angry, and tried unsuccessfully to put him to death. Ahmad again left her, and this time set out with Umar Maya to Aserak, the land of the Jinn, ruled over by Dëwi Kuraïsin. (This episode is borrowed from the Amir Hamzah cycle.) Ahmad married Putri Soya, the princess of the Jinn. Meanwhile, Siti Baghad was abducted by the king of Abyssinia; but she was rescued by Ahmad and brought back to her father. Then she was seized by a raksasa, but was again rescued by Ahmad, who this time married her. Now Muhammad had meanwhile been made king of Egypt. Ahmad met his brother again, and the two both ruled in Egypt, sharing the land between them.

In the sequel, which occupies cantos 29 to 38 of the longer manuscripts, Ermaya, who was Ahmad's son by Putri Soya, when only three years old, set out to seek for his father. In the course of his wanderings, he surprised a nymph, a bidadari, and stole her clothes while she was bathing, and only restored them to her when she promised to help him in his quest.

Jowarsah is the story of the rivalry of two brothers: the younger, Jowarsah, lost, and after many adventures, regained his kingdom. This story was one
of the most popular in Lombok; in the 1928 list, 22 manuscripts are mentioned. It was also current in Bali, and originated in Java, where the story appears also to have been known as a wayang gedog played under the name of the heroine, Srih (Sinarih) Wulan (L.Or.10,666, no. 27). L.Or.1827 is a Javanese code of 1812 AD with 10 cantos and 560 stanzas; there is a summary in Vredel’s catalogue (1892:202-5). L.Or.4219 is from Bali and has 18 cantos, while the two best attested texts from Lombok, K.10,096 from Selong in 18 cantos and 262 stanzas and Teteu 2, from Kombang Kuning nearby, has 22 cantos and 480 stanzas. Both of these employ all the six regular wayang metres favoured by the Sasak, and no others: asamandana, dawang gila, durna, mas kumanjang, pangkur and sinon. One of the distinctions of the Javanese, Balinese and Sasak manuscripts of this Javanese poem is in the choice of metres. In the sixth canto, L.Or.1827 from Java uses miji, L.Or.4219 has gunitu, while both manuscripts from Lombok use mas kumanjang, a Sasak preference, and a frequent indicator of Lombok provenance.

There is a long summary of K.10,096 in the Picendel Sasak, which may be rendered as follows:

King Sahalasah had two sons who succeeded him, dividing the land between them. The younger, Jowarsah, wished for the good of his people, but the elder, Bahantan Sahalasah, anxious for power, urged Jowarsah to go away. So Jowarsah left and dwelt with a widow, whom he helped with her farm, and married her daughter, Sinarih Wulan. He went back to visit his mother, but while he was away, Sinarih Wulan was abducted and brought to the court of Maldadah, where the ruler was overcome by her beauty. She, however, remained faithful to Jowarsah, who, when he heard of her fate, gained admittance to her in the guise of a brother. Jowarsah killed the king of Maldadah while the latter was drunk at a feast. He fled to the place where the dead king’s brother was doing penance; taking Sinarih Wulan with him. The brother killed Jowarsah, and then rode with his body to Maldadah; Sinarih Wulan borrowed his sword and slew him, and then returned to Jowarsah’s body.

Sinarih Wulan now called upon the archangel Gabriel in the form of a serpent and Michael as a dragon; they fought, but the serpent revived the dragon with medicine from the bark of the tapsir tree (tapsir = a commentary on the Quran – a mystic meaning is implied here). With this bark, Sinarih Wulan revived Jowarsah, but while they were crossing a river, the boatman midstream threw Jowarsah overboard, and took his wife to the country of Béalsiyah. Sinarih Wulan now adopted a man’s dress. The king asked her to revive his dead daughter, which she did with the tapsir bark, so the princess Sinarih Wulan was given her as a wife and she received half of the kingdom. She now made a picture of her brother, who had been dressed as a woman. Sinarih Wulan commanded that whoever went at being shown the picture should be brought to her. Jowarsah, who had become sick from his experience with the boatman, did see the picture and was brought to the palace, where he was looked after and recovered his health. One day, Sinarih Wulan summoned him; they exchanged clothes and he recognised his wife. Jowarsah further married the princess who had been revived by Sinarih Wulan, and in time he succeeded as the ruler of Béalsiyah.

There is an appendix to this story, which is included in the latter cantos of Teteu 2, as well as in L.Or.1827.

Some years later, Jowarsah returned to Sahalasah as he heard that his brother was sick. He handed over the kingdom to Jowarsah. Meanwhile, the surviving brother of the king of Maldadah had succeeded as king. He set out to attack Jowarsah, who in the end was defeated. He remembered a kulanu, a magic diamond he had received from Gabriel, and used this to save his troops. Gabriel, as a naga, came to Jowarsah’s aid, and defeated the king of Maldadah. Jowarsah had a beautiful daughter, Dëwi Rata Mirah (Princess Ruby), who fell sick in her fifteenth year. She could only be cured by calling in a certain Ki Nakhoda Mali, who had gained magic powers while doing penance.

Jaka Pratika is the story of the son of a poor widow, who after all sorts of adventures, married the daughter of the king of Egypt. It is widespread in the Javanese and Malay regions, the Malay prose version being known as the Hikayat Dewa Mando. In Javanese, the story is also known as Pratuka and Priabu Leuana. There is also the Javanese Dewa Mendo (L.O.2297), which neither Vreede nor Puigaud have connected with the Jaka Pratika (L.O.2017/122) in their catalogues. From Lombok, I have so far only been able to trace one copy, L.O.11,025, an incomplete palm-leaf manuscript presented to the Leiden University Library by L.C. Heyting. In the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden there is a crudely drawn, but lively illustrated roll of the Jaka Pratika, in eighteen scenes in two registers (no. 37/567, Juyboll 1918:201-6), suggesting a link with the wayang tradition.

The story runs as follows:

Ratna Gumidar (or Ratna Kumala), the daughter of Muslim, king of Egypt, dreamt of a four-headed elephant. His minister, sent to find this beast, came upon Jaka Pratika, the son of a poor widow. He was drawing just such an animal, which seemed to be a sign to engage him on this quest. They set out with a servant called Jugi, meeting the wise sheikh Pulunggana, who directed them to Puser Bumi and prophesied that Jaka Pratika would become king of Egypt. On the way, they overcame two female buka and learnt that the elephant would be found on Pulau Kencana, guarded by a danam or giant. Next they met a ship’s captain, who was pursued by robbers, and rescued him. Then Jaka Pratika met a Chinese princess who had dreamt of him, though her father had promised her to an ugly suitor. Jaka Pratika overcame
his rival and took the princess. In Paser Bumi, he captured the white elephant, placed it in a magic glass (capu mantik) and brought it to Egypt and offered it to the Egyptian princess. Then her father made a further demand, for a flower with a golden bud and a silver calyx, which Jaka Prataka gained with the help of Princess Ambar Sari, whom he married. In the end he received Princess Ratna Gumbal as his bride, and became ruler of Egypt as Prabu Anom. Kélana Jaya Purusa, king of the dervishes, tried to seize the beautiful princess, but the Emperor of China came to the aid of Jaka Prataka. The dervish kingdom was subdued and became Muslim.

2. Amir Hamzah texts and the Sasak shadow play

The most extensive body of Javanese texts which have been current among the Sasak is the Amir Hamzah cycle, a romanticized story of Hamzah ibn Abu Muttalib, a Companion of the Prophet, a brave soldier, especially at the Battle of Badr in 624 AD, who was killed in the Battle of Uhud in 625 AD. In Persia, his story was combined with distant memories and legends of the Arab conquest of the countries of the Middle East from 633 to 640 AD, which in this cycle were attributed to him. The Romance of Amir Hamzah was vastly extended, with little reference to real history, but full of his conquests in love and war, and of fantastic adventures with jinn, magicians and magic animals. It was in this form that the Persian story came to India and thence to the Malay and Javanese world, where it was received with enthusiasm, as representative in popular and romantic form of the inevitable triumph of Islam, and was later also embroidered, both by additions to the main story, and by many new stories about the characters of the original tale, or about their descendants. Ph.S. van Konkel's doctoral thesis, *De roman van Amir Hamza* (1895) compared the Persian versions with those current in Indonesia, especially the Malay *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*, which is a long work in 91 chapters, an arrangement unique in Malay, following the *datain*, or divisions of a recension of the Persian original. The Malay version is in prose, but has influenced the Javanese version in *macapat* verse.

The earliest available complete version in Javanese is the *Ménak Kartasura* (National Library, Jakarta manuscript BG 613), a folio volume of 1,188 pages, in 145 cantos, written in 1715 AD. An extensive Dutch summary of this is given by Poerbatjaraka (1940-9-33). At the beginning of the nineteenth century, a version of the *Ménak Amir Hamzah* was one of the products of the literary renaissance headed by Yasadipura I and II of the court of Surakarta. This version incorporated some stories which are not to be found in the Persian version, nor indeed in that of Kartasura. A copy of the *Ménak* of Yasadipura, originally in eleven manuscript volumes, made in 1832 AD is in the Leiden University Library at L.Ot.1787. There is a long Dutch summary in Vrede's catalogue (1892:36-60). The work was printed and published in Semarang in eight volumes 1883-89. It was republished in a Volkskeurtr/Balai Pusaka edition in the present century, in 24 volumes, each provided with a traditional or arbitrary title for the various episodes, which are useful for comparison with other versions, especially those like the Lombok recension, which are only known in manuscript form, and for which no complete or ordered text exists. There is also a valuable discussion by Pigencud in his *Literature of Java* (1967, 122:7, 242-3), but this leaves several problems unresolved, especially with relation to the Lombok cycle.

Both the Kartasura and Yasadipura versions of the *Ménak Amir Hamzah* were preceded by earlier Javanese texts written on the northern Pasisir, probably from the sixteenth century onwards. These texts exist as manuscripts, many on palm-leaf, which have been described in the catalogs of manuscript collections, but have not been collated or edited. They are of importance for the study of the Lombok texts, because it is these, rather than later versions which are their foundation. The old versions are not known in one continuous manuscript, but in sections or episodes of varying length, and it is in this form they were current on the North Java coast, Eastern Java, Madura and Lombok. The printed editions of *Ménak Amir Hamzah* texts from Java may have influenced some of the later versions of the Javanese texts in Lombok or their performance in the *wayang*. This may underlie the statement of Cederroth (1979:4), 'the versions of Serat Ménak which are known in Lombok are written down in seven books and generally referred to as Serat Ménak one to seven respectively' (compare the Semarang edition). The special importance of the Amir Hamzah story in Lombok, and the development of so many new stories there was due to the fact that it became practically the sole source of the repertoire of the Sasak shadow play, known as the *wayang lembong* or *wayang Sasak*. A consideration of its history and mode of presentation is necessary if both the substance and significance of the corpus of Amir Hamzah stories in Javanese, but current among the Sasak, or originally composed by them, is to be understood. The use of the shadow play to popularize Islam in Lombok, especially through its most popular romantic hero, served not only a missionary purpose, but later, during the period of Hindu-Balinese rule in Lombok, 1740-1894 AD, as a focus of Sasak patriotism, and a means of maintaining the morale of the community, with the underlying message of the ultimate triumph of Islam.

Cederroth (1979:2) suggests that the *wayang kulit* was brought to Lombok in the fifteenth century, that is late in the time of Majapahit. This would accord with the form of the puppets as now known, as they are the same, or slightly modified from those of the *wayang gana*, which originated in East Java and has survived on a small scale there. The repertoire of the *wayang*
geleg is drawn from the Panji stories. The distinguishing features of the puppets are the swept-back Majapahit hairstyle, the kris which is shown prominently worn at the back, and the colourful, often flowered, costumes which are nevertheless simpler than those used in the wayang purwa. There are distinctive panakawas, of whom the chief, Bancak, has a prominent bulbous nose, and is naked except for a loin-cloth; while he has a junior associate, Doyok, who has a small nose, heavy bristly chin, protuberant fish-like mouth and wears a fancy cap. The accompanying gamelan is tuned to the pelog scale, in contrast to the wayang purwa, for which the sléndro is used. Most of these features are reproduced in the Sasak shadow play, and it seems likely that when it was first brought to Lombok it was used to show Panji stories also. There are remains of a Panji tradition in Lombok, in some stories, and in personal and place names; and the pelog scale is used by the gamelan accompanying the Sasak shadow play.

With the spread of Islam, the wayang geleg type puppets were used for the Amir Hamzah stories. The same puppets were used, only the names were changed. Panji has a black head, with long swept-back hair, bare upper body, which is white and a dodot or ceremonial batik wrap with a rounded train, and a kris at his back. Exactly the same figure is used for Amir Hamzah, except nowadays, unlike Panji, he has no neck and arm ornaments, and the handle of his kris is covered by a sash. Princess Candra Kirana, the beloved of Panji Sepuh, is like Dewi Munigarin, the wife of Amir Hamzah, with long flowing hair down to below the waist. Bancak, as Panji's servant, is like Umar Maya, the faithful companion of Amir Hamzah, and Doyok like Umar Madi. There are some later influences from the Balinese wayang, so that although Doyok is undoubtedly the original for the figure of Umar Madi, he is approximated nowadays to the gross fat figure of the Balinese Twalén. The accompanying gamelan has been shown by Seebass to be similar to the gambuh orchestra of Bali. For the Sasak shadow play, two drums, kendang, two single pot-gongs, kajar (tromong) and Kempul, a pair of flutes, saling, large and small, a rebeck or rattle, consisting of a kind of small cymbals, the lower parts on a wooden block, the upper on sticks, and a large hanging gong; with sometimes also a kelengang, or row of pot-gongs tuned to the pelog mode and a rebab (fiddle) are used. The dalang is a Sasak Muslim; but there are some Balinese dalang who play the wayang Sasak, and there is a Balinese following for the wayang Sasak among the Balinese both of Lombok and in East Bali. The noble figures speak Javanese, but the coarse characters, and the clowns or pandjemen speak Sasak. The Amir Hamzah stories themselves are in Javanese in macapat metres, but at least one, the most popular, the Ronggonés, has also been rendered into modern Sasak verse. The dalang's summaries and manuals appear also to have been in Javanese. One such is the Kalangan Bawuan Ambura, K.10.548, which is a summary in Javanese prose of an Amir Hamzah ranting or subsidiary tale.

Laloe Djaja in Kessasateran dan tatakesanusa Sasak (1957) gives the Javanese texts for the rituals used by the dalang at the opening of a wayang lelong performance. In essence these are Hindu, with small adaptations for a Muslim context. They are similar in structure and purpose to those recorded by Hooykaas in Kuna and Kala for Bali (Hooykaas 1973:112-23). They consist of the aksana, or prayer for forgiveness when enacting a play, kumkumara, consecration of scented water for blessing, and kabor or opening ritual, in which the ganungan is introduced and the scene set. As they now exist, the greater part of these texts must either have come down from pre-Muslim times in Lombok, or else have been influenced by the forms used by the Balinese.

Laloe Djaja's text of the aksana begins with a reference to Sang Hyang Manon, the all-seeing God who descended to earth, but continues: 'As for the pure religion [of Islam] and the heathen religion [agauna kapar, from the Arabic kuf = infidel], whoever supports the pure religion is like a flower of victory: but whoever supports the heathen religion is like a friend of the devil and Satan (Kala Sétan) (Laloe Djaja 1957:10-1). Then follow references to battles, and the wonders of nature, and the love of Wong Ménak (Amir Hamzah) for Kelan Suwara, crossing nine rivers and leaping at the behest of Manutu (the storm god). The blessing of the kumkumara mentions the ingredients: kamias, turmeric, gegeran, from gara = sandalwood, and wayang = ironwood (Mesua ferrea). This last was among Hindus sacred to Kamadeva, the god of love, and is used in India for the preparation of attar or sacred water. The kabor begins with a symbolic interpretation of the kelayon or gunungan, with reference to rays like those of the sun, the music of the goddess Durga, and comparing the kelayon to the great tree of Watu Gunung. This ritual concludes with references to magic animals, and to the seven called penalikan, like the seven seers in the Hindu sources mentioned by Hooykaas (1973:122-3).

In the Engelenberg collection in Jakarta, there is a Javanese text, E.65, entitled Puparian dalang, which is described as 'instructions for the dalang at the commencement of a wayang performance', and so may be compared with Laloe Djaja's text.

In our present state of knowledge, it is not yet possible to give definitive, or even a satisfactory account of the cycle of Amir Hamzah stories which have been current in Lombok. There is no complete version of the main story. As for the subsidiary tales, some were imported from Java, but many more were invented in Lombok, and in many of these, though the names of the principal characters are changed, the plots run along similar predictable lines, with numerous amorous adventures, and the defeat by Amir Hamzah, or his successors, of every infidel kingdom in the name of Islam. A few of the plots show more variety and invention, and in Lombok some of the newer
stories are remarkable not so much for heroic prowess, as for the rehearsal of stupendous wonders, where the powers of dragons, jinn and magicians are to the fore.

Among those collections where the provenance of Amir Hamzah manuscripts from Lombok is unambiguous, some lack distinguishing titles, so there is no way of knowing from existing records what sections of the story are represented. Such is the case with many of the lontar in the Gedong Kirtya collection in Singaraja, where eleven manuscripts are simply listed as Amir, and there are no copies or transcripts of these available in the Leiden collection. The best basis for establishing a Lombok corpus is the Engelberg Collection, for which extensive descriptions of most of the manuscripts were made by Poerbatjaraka in his catalogue, Mēnak (1940), and Indonesische handschriften (Poerbatjaraka, Voorhoeve and Hooykaas 1950), where the main texts are described by contents, first lines of cantos, and where possible, by reference to the corresponding portions of the Mēnak Kartasara (Jakarta BC 613). The Katalog naskah lontar of the Museum Negeri Nusa Tenggara Barat, published in 1991, contains long descriptions of 17 lontar containing 13 Amir Hamzah stories, while the lists of 1928 in L.O.R.11,075/4, whose information is confined to titles and villages of origin, lists many more.

It will also be convenient to compare the Lombok manuscripts of the main story with the late complete version, the Mēnak of Yosadipura, by reference to the 24 sections published by the Balai Pustaka, and summarized by Reswidi (1941:7-9), which in the following notes are cited as B.1-24. For convenience of reference, we begin by setting out very briefly the titles and contents of the parts, as follows:

B.1. Mēnak Sarēhas (Kawitan): Sarēhas was king of Madain; the prophet Khādr predicted the birth of Amir Hamzah and his wonderful life. Kobad Sah succeeded his father, Sarēhas, and Bētal Jamur pitīk. Nuriśwan followed as king of Madain, and had Baktak as a second pitīk.

B.2. Mēnak Latē (Kawitan II): Abdul Muttalib had a son, Amir Hamzah, and Bētal Jamur a son called Umar Mayar; the two boys were brought up together. Amir Hamzah was looked on as superhuman. He conquered Maktal; Umar Madi, king of Kokarib in Arabia, subjected himself to Amir Hamzah. Nuriśwan invited Amir Hamzah to Madain. His daughter, Muninggar, fell in love with Amir Hamzah, who left Madain with the princess enclosed in a chest. In Sri Lanka (Serandil), Reden Lamdaur grew up as a hero, and as king of that island sent a challenge to Nuriśwan, who in his turn offered the hand of Muninggar to whoever could overcome him.

B.3. Mēnak Serandil: Amir Hamzah was sent by Nuriśwan to subdue Lamdaur, and he was converted and became doughty lieutenant of Amir Hamzah, who was splendidly received by Nuriśwan on his return to Madain, but Baktak urged Nuriśwan against the proposed wedding.

B.4. Mēnak Sulbah (Yuan): Nuriśwan sent Amir Hamzah to Greece, as the ruler had refused tribute, and was killed by his nephew Taptanus, who became a companion of Amir Hamzah, and helped him to subdue Constantinople. Then the ruler of Egypt paid overdue tribute, but urged by Baktak, took Amir Hamzah by treachery and held him prisoner on the island of Sulbah; but he later escaped. Nuriśwan promised Jobin, king of Kaos, the hand of Muninggar in marriage. Amir Hamzah marched against Madain.

B.5. Mēnak Ngajerak (Ajerak, Azerak = Mēnak Jabal Kap): Amir Hamzah defended Medina against the attacks of devils. As a reward for help, the king of the land of the jinn gave Amir Hamzah the crown and sceptre of Solomon, and the hand of his daughter, Ismaya, princess of Ngajerak. Meanwhile, Umar Maya brought Princess Muninggar secretly to the land of Katijah, and Amir Hamzah fell out of love with Princess Ismaya, who was jealous. Amir Hamzah received a wonderful flying horse, Askar Duwian, as a steed. Nuriśwan and Jobin besieged Katijah, but Amir Hamzah raised the siege.

B.6. Mēnak Demis: Nuriśwan fled to Demis (Damascus). The attack on Katijah was renewed. In Egypt, Amir Hamzah had had a natural son, Maryunani, who was now eighteen years old and set out to help his father. Maryunani took a daughter of Jobin to wife, ruled in Kaos, but Amir Hamzah displaced him.


B.8. Mēnak Kuristam: Amir Hamzah conquered the state of Kuristam and set up a defensive city at Kuparman. (In Lombok, this episode is called Balīk Bahan.)

B.9. Mēnak Biraja: Amir Hamzah fought against Aspendriya, king of Biraja, and the people were converted to Islam. A younger sister of Jobin of Kaos, in love with Maryunani, attacked Kaos.

B.10. Mēnak Kānin: Ahmad Hamzah was deceived by Bahan, king of Kuristam, and received a sword wound from him above the ear. He was taken by a villager to Sahsiar, where he was looked after till he recovered.

B.11. Mēnak Gandrug: Amir Hamzah came to Kaos. Jobin wounded Princess Muninggar. Amir Hamzah cut him down; but Muninggar died. He grieved over his beloved wife, and her body was brought to Mecca for burial.

B.12. Mēnak Kanjan: The Arab army assembled against Nuriśwan and
Kanjun, king of Parangakik. Amir Hamzah was imprisoned by Kanjun in an iron cage. When he was freed, he married the princesses of Parangakik and Karsinah. Meanwhile, efforts were made to capture Marpinjum, daughter of Nuriswan as another wife for Amir Hamzah.

B.13 Mênak Kandabumi: Amir Hamzah married Princess Marpinjum, the younger sister of Munigarim at Kuparman. Kandabumi was attacked by the pathi of Kemar, who entered into an alliance with Nuriswan.

B.14 Mênak Kwoari: Amir Hamzah attacked Kwoari, with the help of the princes of Kebar and Kandabumi.

B.15 Mênak Pracinan: The Chinese princess, Adininggar, dreamt of Amir Hamzah. Amir Hamzah, with Tapatanus, defeated Kémari, who was converted to Islam. The Chinese princess offered herself to Nuriswan, to provoke a fight with Amir Hamzah, as she hoped he would win her, but he got wind of the plot and remained indifferent to her. Amir Hamzah came to Kélan, and married the princess, daughter of Kaleswara. The Chinese princess challenged Kaleswara, but died from wounds. Nuriswan went secretly to China.

B.16 Mênak Malebari: Amir Hamzah went to China to find Nuriswan, and found him in a distressed state. Amir Hamzah's son, Jayusman, was married to the princess of Malebari. Amir Hamzah arranged for Nuriswan to be brought back to Madain. The Princess of Kaleswara died in childbirth. Her son, Radén Iman Suwangsa (Repatajua), went to the land of the jinn. He has an important part in the later stories, and when he grew up, joined in a war against the state of Kusnia, and Amir Hamzah recognised his son.

B.17 Mênak Purvakanda: Amir Hamzah attacked the state of Purvakanda, where Nuriswan was also in the battle. Purvakanda sent a challenge to Amir Hamzah by birds, who in his turn came with an army, partly of animals, to face Nuriswan. A magician blinded Amir Hamzah and his troops, but the prophet Khidr miraculously cured him. Nuriswan fled.

B.18 Mênak Kustup: All the generals of Amir Hamzah's army fought against the state of Kustup, whose princess was taken prisoner and married to Amir Hamzah. Nuriswan and Madain go over to Islam.

B.19 Mênak Kalakodrat: The pathi Baktak tried to involve the land of Kalakodrat against Amir Hamzah, by a letter, which was intercepted by Umari Maya. The latter penetrated the court of Nuriswan in the guise of a cook, slew Baktak, cut him up and made a broth of him. These who ate the dish were immediately sick, including Nuriswan, who died. Radén Iman was installed as his successor in Madain. King Salsal of Kalakodrat sought occasion against Amir Hamzah; the people were cannibals. Amir Hamzah fought against them and they were converted to Islam.

B.20 Mênak Sorangan (Kulonggê): Amir Hamzah attacked Sorangan, but many Arab leaders were defeated, and Rustam, Amir Hamzah's son by Marpinjum was killed. Kulanggê, king of Rokam fought against the Arabs, but was defeated and converted to Islam.

B.21 Mênak Jamintoran: The king of Kelan came to Jamintoran, which since the time of Alexander the Great, followed the religion of Abraham. The king of Kelan was offered the daughter of the king of Jamintoran, Princess Julu Sulasikin, but he refused her, but he helped her father to suppress a rebellion. Amir Hamzah sent Umari Maya to find the king of Kelan. On his way, he came to the land of Jamintambar, whose king had proclaimed himself to be God.

B.22 Mênak Jamintambar: Iman, king of Madain, had called upon Jamintambar to help kill Amir Hamzah. Umari Maya brought an army against him, and was received with acclaim in Jamintoran, whose king, in alliance with Amir Hamzah, attacked Jamintambar. The blasphemous king, Rubius Samawati, was defeated and became a subject of Amir Hamzah.

B.23 Mênak Talsamatta: This is an appendix, which does not appear in the Mênak Yasaipura. Amir Hamzah attacked the states of Mukabuni, Pilandani and Talsamatta. He then returned to Mecca and was reunited with the Prophet Muhammad.

B.24 Mênak Lakañ: This is another appendix, with an echo of the historic battle of Ulud. The Prophet Muhammad was at enmity with the kings of Lakañ and Jenggi. Amir Hamzah, weakened in the fight, came to his death. Princess Kurainin, of Ngajerak, the land of the jinn, married Ali and bore him a son, Muhammad Hanapiah, who became king of Ngajerak. (The end of Amir Hamzah's life is treated differently in Lombok, and will be dealt with under the title Janggenggê.)

In what follows, the Lombok manuscripts dealing with the main Amir Hamzah story will be described, with particular reference to those which contain longer parts of the account. Cross-references to the Balai Pustaka edition will be given, but it will be noted that many of the names and details in the Lombok recension differ from that text.

In the Lombok tradition, the Kaawat Amir, that is the beginning of the Amir Hamzah story, contains an account of the events leading up to the birth of the hero, the various leading characters are introduced, and the affairs of Madain, the Sasanian capital on the Euphrates, whose king, Nuriswan (Yez-
diged III) was the chief opponent of Amir Hamzah in this romance. It goes on to give an account of Amir Hamzah's youth and early exploits, till his falling in love with Munigarim (Muninggar), daughter of Nursiwian. This corresponds approximately with the contents of Islai Pustaka B.1-2, and in the Ménék Kartasara with cantos 1-16 (see Poerbatjaraka 1940:9-12).

There are many manuscripts from Lombok of the Kauntan Amir: the 1928 list in L.Or.11.075/4 mentions twelve. In the Van der Tuink collection, L.Or.3594 is a palm leaf manuscript of 109 folios in 12 cantos, of which L.Or.4023 is a codex copy described by Juynboll (1911:14-5), L.Or.5043 is a fine palm leaf manuscript of 175 folios from the Lombok (Cakranagara Palace) collection, with edges stained red, and the first part, containing the Kauntan also has gilded leaf patterns on the edges. The second part of this manuscript takes the story into the third part of the Amir, B.3, Ménék Selandir, where Amir Hamzah subdues the Sinahalese prince, Alamdaur. Engelbergen E.59 is evidently the one described by Poerbatjaraka, without number (1940:34), and Jakarta Lontar BG 1092 is similar (1940:35). Mataram Museum T.205/VII/91 is a palm leaf manuscript of 296 folios (see Mataram 1991:676). The Lombok recension evidently represents an East Javanese tradition, as this part of the poem contains cantos in some macapat metres which are no longer generally current in Lombok, such as in L.Or.3594, cantos 5 in negatrul, and cantos 6 in an obsolete metre, lambang, with the stanza formula 8a, 8c, 8e, 8e, 8a, 8c, 8a.

The next part, B.3 of the Amir Hamzah romance is Raja Selandir. In the 1928 list there are three manuscripts noted. Both Lalee Dja and Spitzing note that this story is specially popular in the shadow play, not only among the Sasak, but also with the Balinese. Alamdaur, the son of the king of Selandir (Sri Lanka) was a wonderful child, but kept prisoner 25 years by a rival, till he was rescued by princess Prabandari, whom he married, became king, and sent a threat of war to Nursiwian. Alamdaur is represented in the usang as a large figure, with a hairy face and chin, fierce round red eyes, a grinning mouth, baring his teeth, and wields a mada, a huge club which is decorated like a mace.

B.4, Ménék Subah is known in Lombok as Yuwun. There are seven manuscripts noted in the 1928 list, while in the Engelbergen collection, E.6 is a small lontar of 57 folios, containing the beginning of the episode, and E.7 contains almost the whole, and is in a small manuscript of 190 folios, with 14 cantos (see Poerbatjaraka 1940:41-2). This part deals with Amir Hamzah's conquest of Greece, Constantinople and Egypt, and his imprisonment on the island of Subah.

Part 5, jabal Kap approximates to B.5 Ménék Ngajerdak. Up to this point, the story has been concerned with the struggles between Muslims and infidels, the intrigues which went with them, and the conquests of Amir Hamzah in love and war. Now a new element is introduced: the world of spirits and magic, of supernatural animals and wonderful works, which are very much part, not only of the texts, but also of the shadow play. Ngajerdak stands for the Persi-Arabic Azaq, the Blue River, an affluent of the upper Euphrates, while jabal Kap (jabal Qaf) is applied to the Elburz, in the Caucasus Mountains.

However, in the Amir Hamzah, Ngajerdak is the name of the magic country inhabited by the jinn, giants and ogres, while jabal Kap are the mountains which encircle the earth, and are made of emerald, which gives an azure hue to the sky. The usang Sasak collection in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden has a splendid array of jinn and dètya or ogres, constructed in half-profile, with two round red eyes, gaping mouths, pointed teeth and straggling hair.

The 1928 list mentions two manuscripts of this section; Kertiya K.470 (L.Or.14,890) is another, while Engelbergen manuscript E.9 is described by Poerbatjaraka (1940:42-4). This is a palm-leaf manuscript of 129 folios, with the story in 22 cantos macapat. Bapir, king of Ngajerdak, was driven out of his kingdom by the dètya Imprit, king of the jinn of Jabal Kap. Hamzah came to their help and killed Imprit. In gratitude, the king gave Amir Hamzah the crown of Solomon and a golden whip, and Hamzah returned to Mecca in a palanquin drawn through the air. Bapir gave his daughter, Princess Asma, to Hamzah to wife, by whom they had a daughter, Déwi Kora-rin. By the shore of a lake where nymphs were bathing, one of them had a son, a magic flying horse, Sekar Duwiyian, which Hamzah took for his steed. He then went to search for his wife, Munigarim, having marvellous adventures on the way, and rescued her. Meanwhile, Nursiwian and Jobin came to besiege Ketarih where Munigarim had been hidden. Amir Hamzah fought against them and they fled to Danascus. B.6, Ménék Domés, on Damascus, does not seem to be represented separately in any of the collections of Lombok manuscripts.

In the next section, equivalent to B.7, Ménék Kaos, Amir Hamzah went to Madain to marry Déwi Munigarim. She had a son, called Kobad Saréyan after his ancestors. Jobin, king of Kaos, asked Nursiwian to come to Kuristan, whose king, Bahman, had undertaken to kill Amir Hamzah.

In Lombok, the story called Balik Bahman corresponds approximately to B.8, Ménék Kuristan and B.9 Ménék Bivai. Apart from manuscripts of these parts, there is a longer Lombok manuscript, Engelbergen E.19, a lontar of 159 ff., in 20 cantos taking in these sections, together with what follows, equivalent to B.10 Ménék Kanin, B.11 Ménék Candradung and B.12 Ménék Kanir. This corresponds to Ménék Kartasara 59.43 to 78-end. Poerbatjaraka (1940) gives the content briefly: Amir Hamzah raised his son, Kobad Saréyan, to the throne of Kaos. Baktak set out to compass Amir Hamzah's death. He wrote to the king of Absi, who immediately surrounded Mecca. Amir Hamzah
went to Mecca, freed the city, and after siding with the king of Abisi, sent him away, in the course of which the latter abducted Narswihan to his kingdom. Amir Hamzah remained in Mecca, and on the behest of Baktab, king of Buhran, rebelled against Kobaad Sareyan. Engenberg manuscript E.38, of 112 folios and 14 cantos covers much of the same ground. E.19 follows with Amir Hamzah's adventures in Kaos. Jraman asked Amir Hamzah's help to rescue his father, Narswihan, from Raja Abisi, but on his way, Hamzah fell into a pool of poisoned mud. Hearing this, and thinking that Hamzah was dead, Raja Abisi freed Narswihan, and the two went to Kaos. Munigurim, hearing that his son was dead, came to Kaos disguised as a man and entered into single combat with Jraman. Amir Hamzah killed Jraman and Munigurin died of her wounds. Later, Amir Hamzah went to war with the king of Parangakik, who captured him and imprisoned him in an iron cage, from which he was freed by compliant princesses, and married one of them.

B.13, Mênak Kandahani tells the story of Amir Hamzah's marriage to Marpinjam, and the hero's defeat of Samsir, king of Kuvari; it appears not to be separately noticed among the Lombok manuscripts.

Engenberg manuscript E.13 is a palm leaf of 203 folios, in 44 cantos, and begins with the dream of the Princess of China, Adninggar that she had fallen in love with Amir Hamzah, and covers the story as in B.14, Mênak Kusari, B.15, Mênak Prapwaar and B.16, Mênak Matihari. The princess came by ship to Kuvari, to continue to Jojana, hoping to meet Amir Hamzah there.

Amir Hamzah disdained her; to provoke him, she offered herself to Narswihan. The Chinese princess eventually came to Kelen, where for spite she challenged Kaléwsara, but died of wounds in the ensuing fight with that princess, who subsequently became a wife to Amir Hamzah. He later pursued Narswihan to China. The earlier part of these stories is to be found in the Van der Tuuk manuscript, L.Or.3798, a palm-leaf of 90 folios, and 20 cantos, and others are mentioned in the 1928 list. The tale is popular in the shadow theatre, and the Chinese princess is sometimes represented with a quiver of arrows over her shoulder, and she has extraordinary adventures in China and Central Asia.

B.17, Mênak Purwakanada, tells how its king, Pingadi, supported by Narswihan, sent a challenge by birds to Amir Hamzah, who in his turn advanced with an army, mostly of animals. Then the magician, Masrakangkim, blindfolded Amir Hamzah and his followers, till his womenfolk came to their aid, bringing Nabi Ildr (the prophet Khidir), who miraculously cured him. Narswihan and his pathi, Baktab fled. Seebass et al. (1976:37), mentions this episode as one of the plays of the wayang Sasak; and the Leiden puppet collection contains a splendid figure of Masrakangkim (4762/7), with his goatee beard, long-sleeved yellow-flowered costume and a turban with many folds and a flowing end. The puppet of Nabi Ildr (4762/8) is clad in royal garb, with a diamand and red hemispherical crown, a blue-flowered upper garment, and an orange dhoti, and a kris sticking prominently in his girdle at his rear.

B.18, Mênak Kustup does not appear to be attested from Lombok sources. It deals with the capture of the king of Kustup, Ambar and his daughter.

The next four sections, which form the last part of the Amir Hamzah saga in the main tradition of Java and Lombok, are included in Engenberg E.25, a most important palm leaf manuscript of 536 folios, of which the first part contains the conclusion of the Amir Hamzah story in 64 cantos, and the second contains the Rengganis sequel, to be discussed later below. E.25. A corresponds to B.19, Mênak Kalakodar, B.20 Mênak Sorangan, B.21 Mênak Jaminionton and B.22, Mênak Jamalnihar. In B.19, Mênak Kalakodar, Narswihan's pathi, Baktab, planned treachery. He wrote a letter to Salsal, king of Kalakodar, but this was intercepted by Umar Maya, who penetrated the court of Narswihan in the guise of a cook. He attacked Baktab, cut him up, made a broth of him, and those who ate the flesh were immediately sick. Narswihan was one victim, and died. His son, Jraman, succeeded him in Madain, and joined the people of Kalakodar, who were cannibals, in attacking Amir Hamzah; he in his turn opposed them and his ally, Kulanggê, king of Rokam. The besieged Jraman, who, according to the cannibalism of Kalakodar, repented and obtained forgiveness. Salsal was defeated and converted and his allies went to Sorangan.

B.20, Mênak Sorangan is known in Lombok as Gulanggê. Amir Hamzah fought against Sorangan, but in the battle, many Arab leaders were defeated. Sa'd bin Umar of Kaos was ambushed and brought to Rokam, whose king, Gulanggê gave him the opportunity to engage with his champion in single combat, and defeated him. Gulanggê then fought against the Arabs; Amir Hamzah sent Umar Maya to negotiate, but failed. Gulanggê fought with Amir Hamzah, was defeated and converted to Islam.

B.21, Mênak Jaminionton is represented from Lombok not only by Engenberg E.25, but also by the first part of Van der Tuuk Ms. L.Or.3688, a palm-leaf manuscript of 125 folios, and 23 cantos, as well as E.54 and L.Or.3628. The king of Kelen lost his way and came to the land of Jaminionton (Zamin Turan = Transoxania), where the king offered him his daughter, Princess Julu Sulakini. She fell in love with him, but he refused her, which offended her father, who threatened him with death. Meanwhile, a rebellion against Jaminionton took place, which the king of Kelen suppressed, and he was reconciled with the family. Meanwhile, Amir Hamzah sent Umar Maya to find the king of Kelen. On his way, he came to the kingdom of Jamalnihar, whose king, Rabin Ramawati had proclaimed himself God. By contrast, Jaminionton had, since the time of Alexander the Great, followed the religion of Abraham, so was not really heathen at all.

B.22, Mênak Jamalnihar is represented by three manuscripts in the 1928
list, as well as by the latter parts of Engelenberg E.25 A, and L.Or.3628, Jamunambar is in Persian  Zamn Ambar, a place in Khurasan; the king who had made himself God may perhaps be a reference to the existence of Buddhism in those parts. Imam, ruler of Madain, had called upon Jamunambar to help kill Amir Hamzah, but Amir Hamzah sent Umar Maya and an army against him. Umar Maya succeeded, and was received with acclaim in Jamitonar, whose king, in alliance with Amir Hamzah, attacked Jamunambar. King Rabiya Samanwati was defeated and became a subject of Amir Hamzah. This is the end of the main sequence of the Amir Hamzah story, showing how he had universal success in love and war, all in the name of Islam.

The Balai Pustaka edition contains two further parts, which are not included in the Mekan of Yasadipura, but form an appendix, giving the end of Amir Hamzah’s life. They are sometimes included in the Life of the Prophet Muhammad in its Javanese rendering. B.23 Mekan Talsamat tells how Amir Hamzah attacked that state (compare L.Or.6621, Balai Lombok, canto 5), after which he returned to Mecca and was reunited with the Prophet Muhammad. B.24, Mekan Lalak is a romanticized account of the Battle of Uhud. The Prophet Muhammad was at enmity with the kings of Lakat and Jinggi. Amir Hamzah was weakened in the fight and killed. His daughter, Dewi Kurasin was married to Ali, and bore a son Muhammad Hanafiah, who became king of Ngajirak. This leads on to the independent story of Muhammad Hanafiah.

In Lombok, the end of Amir Hamzah’s life is treated rather differently, in the text known as Jungengga. The 1928 list mentions six copies of this, and Engelenberg manuscript E.3 of this text is described at length by Poerbatjaraka (1940:81-3). This is a palm-leaf manuscript of 134 folios, with 13 cantos. Mekan Dipa, the son of Batara Guru ruled over Jungengga; he was powerful, brave and could fly. Hamzah set out with his companions for Madain, to remind the ruler of his subjection. On the way, they did penance on a hill, and Allah appeared to Amir Hamzah. Meanwhile, the archangel Gabriel gave Mekan Dipa’s father a cup, a vessel containing two heavenly nymphs and the water of life, to present to Amir Hamzah. He, however, took it to his son, the king of Jungengga, whose daughters guarded the cup by placing it in a chest. At night the king, full of curiosity, came and opened the chest, and the two nymphs came out, and he fell in love with them. He wanted to return them to the chest, but that was only possible by seeking a golden deer. The archangel Gabriel was angry that his commission had been flouted, and cursed the palace of Jungengga to become a wilderness. Out of shame, the king’s father committed suicide. One of the nymphs, assuming the form of Amir Hamzah, fought against Jungengga, but then disappeared. The king, finding his father dead, and apparently murdered by Amir Hamzah, prepared for war. At this time, Naib Illir (Khidir) appeared to Amir Hamzah, warning him of the incident of the cup, and the advance of the king of Jungengga upon him. Amir Hamzah is captured while meditating and brought to Jungengga, where the princesses swoon at his handsome. Gagak-wesi, one of the Raisasa in the service of the king of Jungengga, overpowers Amir Hamzah and kills him. His followers invade Jungengga and there is a mighty battle.

The Lombok Javanese texts, as well as the Sasak shadow plays, contain many new stories, for which no Persian or Malay originals are known. Some of these were composed in Java and brought to Lombok. Such is the well-loved tale of Rengganis, a daughter of the king of Jamitonar, who fell in love with Repatmaj, one of the sons of Amir Hamzah. This story came from Eastern Java, and indeed opened on Mount Argapura: both in sentiment and incident it is more Javanese than Middle Eastern. More such stories were invented in Lombok: these were no longer echoes of Persian romantic history, but are tales of an indigenous or Indian type placed in an Islamic setting. In them, we meet such characters as Antaboga, one of the Hindu Nagas, or serpent, kings; and Gajah Druwa, the elephant-headed king. In these Lombok tales, the cosmology is like that of the Sasak balad, mixed Indonesian, animistic, Hindu and Muslim, drawing on the floating legends of the region.

It seems likely that one source of these tales was the previously favoured Panji cycle associated with the wayang gedog and probably forming the original repertoire of the wayang Sasak; however, such a possibility needs to be determined by further investigation. In the ensuing treatment, an attempt has been made to group the tales: first those in which Amir Hamzah has the main part; then those referring to Rengganis and Repatmaj; thereafter the Dulang Mas cycle, and those tales which have to do with the second generation after Amir Hamzah. As these tales have been developed independently, however, they cannot be placed in an obvious and unambiguous sequence.

The critical method of Poerbatjaraka (1940:38) provides guidance:

Whenever a separate Mekan story can be referred to an episode in the Mekan Karasana (Jakarta Lontar BG 613), then we can be certain that it belongs to the main trunk of the Mekan. If this is not the case, we can confidently group the tales, which we shall call Mekan ranting (branch) stories, to which also the Rengganis tales and the Prabu Lara belong. Concerning the branch tales, something will be said in the introduction thereto; the summary of the Mekan Karasana is given below: up to canto 136 (of a total of 145), it more or less follows the Malay Hikayat Amir Hamzah. The last part of the Mekan Karasana (cantos 137-145) contains mostly doubts of preceding episodes, which were apparently added by a Javanese writer.

The Prabu Lara, the story of the Maiden Queens, was popular in Java. Poerbatjaraka (1940:38) tells of its being performed by street singers in Surakarta in his youth, and describes the tale from the Jakarta manuscript BG
Amir Hamzah dreamt of the sword Kangkam, the property of two sister queens who ruled over Nusantara. The sword was magic, and made them mighty; they would only marry those who could overcome them in fight, but none dared challenge them. Amir Hamzah sent Umar Maya, accompanied by Umar Madi to try to get the sword. Umar Maya, in disguise as a princess, gained admittance to the elder queen, Prabu Maldewa, and tricked her into giving it to him, revealing his identity as he escaped. On the way home, Umar Maya and Umar Madi used the sword to get fruit from a jambu tree, but were overtaken by the queen, who regained the weapon. Amir Hamzah now decided to set out in quest of the sword himself; he took his captains to fight against Nusantara, and summoned his daughter, the jinn princess Dewi Kuraisin. Amir Hamzah’s champions came to fight with Queen Maldewa, but when they saw her, they fell in love with her, but were then struck down by the sword. This happened to Amir Hamzah’s son himself, Iman Swangga, the ruler of Kélan. Then Dewi Kuraisin flew through the air and came to the queen’s palace, and the two royal women engaged in single combat. Two sons of Iman Swangga, Gangga Mina and Gangga Patti came to Nusantara looking for their father. They had a magic stone, jinamula, by which they overcame Prabu Maldewa, obtained the sword Kangkam and brought it back to Amir Hamzah. Iman Swangga is another name for Repatmaja.

There are various stories known as Amir Berjii, Banghari and Barbari. One of these, L.O:3782 has already been described as part of the main sequence. Two other branch stories are popular in Lombok. In 1928 there are 26 copies of the Banghari listed, though which tales they include is not stated. One of these stories has as a major character the giant crow, Gagak Rejasa. This is called Amir Berjii A by Van der Tuuk, and is represented in the Van der Tuuk collection by L.O:3689, a palm-leaf manuscript of 117 folios, in 14 cantos. Similar to this is Jakarta BG I (o) 746, of 97 folios, in 15 cantos (Poerbatjara 1940:90-3). Sangké, king of Kubuk, tried to kill Amir Hamzah with the help of the crow, Gagak Rejasa. Amir Hamzah came with his new wife, Taluki Parang, to a desert place, where he met a guru, whose daughter Lasmiring Puri fell in love with him, but he refused her. The guru sent Amir Hamzah to find an ass doing penance in the sea, and meanwhile attempted to seduce Taluki Parang, but she took refuge with Lasmiring Puri. Meanwhile, Umar Maya, while taking the elephant Somadin to Sri Lanka, dreamt of Amir Hamzah’s predicament: he came to rescue him, fought the guru and they took the two women back to Mecca. Later, Amir Hamzah was captured by Gagak Rejasa, but with the help of a widow, Umar Maya freed him. Amir
Mecca. Hamzah was brought to the court of Singalaya. Umar Maya, Umar Madi and Rengganis set out to rescue him, but were themselves captured. In the end, Dewi Kuraisin dreamt of her father’s plight and came to help. Princess Ciptarasara freed Amir Hamzah, and in the subsequent fighting, the king of Singalaya was killed.

Swawanda is the subject of Engelenberg Ms. E.33. This tells of Dewi Kuraisin’s fight with Jbrub Swawanda, till he is defeated by her.

Uludanta is represented by Jakarta BG lontar 776 (Poerbahtaraka 1940:87-90), a palm-leaf manuscript in 68 folios, and 11 cantos, and by the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, Amsterdam, AdKF T 1382/2 (Pigeaud 1966, I.11:55), and by one example mentioned in the 1928 list. A crow, a heron and duck were pursued by wasps. They were rescued by two patih of Uludanta. Out of gratitude the birds agreed to do service for Uludanta by stealing the three wives of Amir Hamzah, Munigaram, Taluki Parang and Lasmining Puri, while they slept by Hamzah’s side. Amir Hamzah set out with an army. He sent the king of Yemen to Kula for help, but Kula turned against him and was supported by the birds. Two of Hamzah’s sons were killed. Umar Maya was sent to get the elephant, Samidin, who found the king of Yemen weeping over the dead bodies of Hamzah’s sons; he placed the corpses in his sack. On the way back to Mecca, Umar Maya was captured, but the king of Yemen, on his elephant, joined the fighting where Uludanta, king of Andara-injum was besieging the city. Amir Hamzah was ensnared by an arrow with a chain and brought to the island of Kuningan. Here he was met by the bidadari Supraba who freed him and healed his wounds. She then went to Uludanta, who tried to seduce her: but she resisted him, and quelled him with a poisoned betel-liquid, and flew away with his jinnat. The elephant Samidin found Umar Maya and freed him, and then went to find the jinnat on a mountain top. The battle continued, and Amir Hamzah’s wives were freed. He then went to meet Uludanta in single combat: but in the end the elephant trampled him to death, and Amir Hamzah and the victors held a feast.

We now come to the Rengganis cycle, in which the principal characters are the princess Dewi Rengganis, daughter of the wise man, Sek Kurus; and Repatmajah, Amir Hamzah’s son, kind of Kelan by princess Keleneswara. The story is of East Javanese origin, and follows on from the Jamintoran Jamitornar episodes of the main Amir Hamzah tale. This connection is verified by the make-up of Engelenberg Ms. E.25, the first part of which, folios 1-315, contains the end of the main story, while folios 316-536, a total of 221 folios of this palm-leaf manuscript, tell the Rengganis story in 45 cantos; this became extremely popular in East Java, Madura, Bali and Lombok. A manuscript, Jakarta BG 26 from Pasuruan, East Java is a folio codex of 416 pages in 56 cantos, of which cantos 1-40 parallel cantos 1-30 of E.25 B, but the ending is different (Poerbahtaraka 1950.9-10).

Several manuscripts of the Javanese text are noted as being of Madurese provenance (L.Or.10.1035, and Jakarta manuscripts Brandes 260, Brandes 5464, BG lontar 865 and 1.9); while there are also renderings of the Rengganis in the Madurese language (L.Or.4875, 4876, 4921). In Bali, to judge from the summary given by De Zoete and Spies (1938:289-90), there is a somewhat modified version of the story in nine scenes, which is given as a gambuh drama. In Lombok, the 1928 list, L.Or.11.075/4, notes 27 manuscripts, and there are four more in the Engelenberg collection. Also in Lombok, there is a Senak version of the Rengganis, the only one of the Amir Hamzah tales which has been so translated (E.141, K.10.303).

The Surakarta version of the Rengganis, L.Or.1870, was copied in 1820 AD. This is a codex of 946 pages, containing the whole story: there is an extensive summary given by Vrede (1892:65-8). Engelenberg Ms. E.25 B is a lontar of 221 folios with 45 cantos and comes from Lombok. Though it was copied in 1880 AD, it represents an earlier version, going back to the Javanese Passir, perhaps of the eighteenth century. It is described in detail by Poerbahtaraka (1950:2-8), and contains the whole of the first part, cantos 1-30, as well as the second, known as Kendari Berayang, cantos 31-45: but it concludes before the marriage of Repatmajah and Dewi Rengganis. Brandes, in his catalogue of the Van der Tuuk manuscripts, classifies the examples there as Rengganis A, B and C, according to script (A = Arabic; B = Balinese; C = Javanese): this however is misleading, as though the texts do differ considerably, they also show substantial interrelationships; while on the other hand, there are other manuscripts which show further variations. It seems best therefore to outline the main incidents of the story, recognising that clarification of difficulties and differences will need to await more manuscripts for collation.

In Engelenberg Ms. E.25 B, cantos 1-30 contain the first half of the Rengganis story; this breaking point can also be recognised from other manuscripts from Lombok. Cantos 1-8 describe the meeting of the hero and heroine. Dewi Rengganis, daughter of Sek Kurus, former king of Jaminter (Jamitornar), was brought up in a hermitage on Mount Angapura. She could fly, like a butterfly, and her food was of flowers, and her drink was of honey. One day she chanced to come into the garden of Repatmajah, king of Kelan, a son of Amir Hamzah. The two met, and fell in love, but Rengganis insisted that before marrying her, he should first marry Kadar Manik, daughter of the king of Mukadam, as well as some other princesses. Meanwhile, Repatmajah neglected his own wife Jui Sulasakin, princess of Jamitornar, and this was a cause of concern for his father. Dewi Rengganis took Repatmajah through the air to her own dwelling. This further disturbed Amir Hamzah, who sent Umar Maya to search for his son.

Cantos 9-21 tell the story of princess Kadar Manik, and the war between Mukadam and Amir Hamzah which ensued on her account. Nursiwon was
at Mukadam to arrange for the marriage of his son, Irman, to princess Kadar Manik, but she did not want him. Meanwhile, Umar Maya, searching for Repatmaja, had reached Mukadam, but the king, warned by his magician, Majusi, had Umar Maya apprehended, and caused him to be thrown into a poisoned well. Děwi Rengganis came with Repatmaja to Mukadam, and by deception, Repatmaja was introduced to Kadar Manik, who fell in love with him. Concern for Repatmaja, and a rumour of Umar Maya’s death in Mukadam, induced Amir Hamzah to set out with a force, while Mukadam prepared to oppose him with an army of mechanical soldiers, brought to life by Majusi. Repatmaja and Rengganis rescued Umar Maya from the poisoned well, and they rejoined Amir Hamzah and his army. Then Umar Maya and Rengganis encompassed the death of Majusi by a stratagem.

Cantos 22–30 of the Rengganis tell how Widaninggar, princess of China, intervened in the war in Mukadam. She came to avenge the death of her sister, princess Adaninggar, who had been killed by Repatmaja’s mother, Kéleswara. Umar Maya’s magic bag was stolen and brought to Widaninggar; she managed to worst Děwi Rengganis, who retired ashamed to her father’s hermitage. However she returned with Děwi Kuraisin to renew the attack; the Chinese princess was defeated, and Amir Hamzah subdued Mukadam.

The sequel, in cantos 31–45, tells of the war between Amir Hamzah and Kendit Berayung, king of Nusantara. This part of the story is also found separately in several manuscripts. After the defeat of Mukadam, Nusriwan took refuge with Kendit Berayung, who had a sister, princess Ambarawati. Amir Hamzah came to attack Nusantara, and there ensued a single combat between him and Kendit Berayung. Děwi Rengganis came to Mukadam, and persuaded Ambarawati to become a consort of Repatmaja, and flew back with her to Kélan. Kendit Berayung, hearing of the disappearance of his sister, prepared for further war against Amir Hamzah. The latter was wounded in battle, but Rengganis came, and flew back to her father to get medicine for him. Kendit Berayung dreamt of success, but was anticipated by Amir Hamzah, who was now restored to health; Kendit Berayung was killed in the subsequent fighting, and Nusriwan fled. Nusantara surrendered, and went over to Islam. Amir Hamzah’s victorious army returned to Mecca, while Repatmaja, who had rejoined the fighting, went back to his palace in the conquered Mukadam.

At this point E.25 B breaks off; however, L. Or.1870 continues the story. Umar Maya now went to Angapura, to arrange for the wedding of Děwi Rengganis and Repatmaja. Asmayawati and Děwi Kuraisin came from Ngajerak with wedding presents, and the marriage was celebrated. Infiidel jinn came to avenge Nusantara, and poison the wells of the Arabsians. However, with help from Ngajerak, the jinn were slain. Nusantara was attacked by Bégnananda, and his pathi, Barat Ketiwa, defeated Umar Maya in magic; but Bégnananda was defeated by Amir Hamzah.
leaf manuscript of 106 folios, from the old village of Sëlaparang, East Lombok, copied in 1905 AD. (Pigeaud 1968, II:350-1; L. Or.7225 is a romanized copy made by J. Soegiarto.) L.Or.13622 is a romanized fragment from Jero Ujung, Karangasem, East Bali (Pigeaud 1980, IV:140). The Gedong Kirtya has copies at K.1350, and K.10,002. Tewu 4A is a copy made from a palm-leaf manuscript of 104 folios, from Jeriwaru in East Lombok. It has 24 cantos. This is the story of the Elephant King. Spitzing (1981:199) has the silhouette of a fine puppet of Gajah Duma (notted by him as a dëga raja). He has the form of a kerau king, with a large round eye, a diadem and flowing hair, but is distinguished by his curling tusks and trunk.

Gajah Duma, king of Banyu Uring had a daughter, Drumawati. Antaboga, the ruler of the Nagas of the lower regions, had a granddaughter, Merta Sutawati; and Durongkala, the tiger-headed king, had a daughter Imbarawati. All of these became wives of Repatmaja, son of Amir Hamzah. Nabi Ilir (the prophet Khidir) also takes part in this tale.

Indragiri is known to me only by one imperfect copy, K.10,050. This is a typescript originally of 93 folios, of which folios 43-84 are missing, in the library of the KITLV. The original manuscript is in the Gedong Kirtya, Bali, and there is a long summary in the Pècemak Saok, K.10,552. The surviving part of the typescript has 19 + 5 cantos so the original may have had about 45 cantos.

Princess Dëwi Manik Sari, daughter of Raja Salahandar Indragiri, dreamt of Raden Repatmaja, and fell in love with him; but there was war between Arabia and Indragiri, in which the latter was defeated through the will of Dëwi Kuraisin. In the war, Amir Hamzah was seized, but escaped and came to the garden of Raja Kemat Jabah of Murbakalam, where he met two of the raja's daughters. There was now war between the Arabs and Murbakalam, which was defeated. Shortly afterwards, the king and his two daughters, who were pregnant, were allowed to return to their country. They bore two sons, but as the raja did not want Amir Hamzah for a father-in-law, he proposed that they should be killed in the forest. However they were rescued, and Kemat Jabah was brought to Amir Hamzah and put to death. When the boys grew up, Amir Hamzah sent them to rule over Murbakalam.

Wilobang is mentioned in the 1928 list, L.O.R.11,075/4, where 9 manuscripts are to be found. Van der Tuuk notes that this story was popular in Lombok, but unknown in Java. L.O.R.3663 is a palm-leaf manuscript in 30 cantos (see Pigeaud 1968, II:125; Juyuboll 191:26-8, with an extensive Dutch summary; Brandes 1901, 164-6. L.O.R.4035 is a codex copy and L.O.R.10,622 is a romanized transcript by J. Soegiarto). The Engelingberg manuscript E.50, called Kretap Sari was copied by Pe Made of Batu Kumbung, West Lombok, near Narmada. It is a palm-leaf manuscript of 67 folios, and 15 cantos, a variant version. It is described by Poerbatjaraka (Poerbatjaraka, Voorhoeve and Hooykaas 1950:78-80), where it is wrongly numbered E.160.

Benu Serkap, king of Wilobang, asked for the hand of Dëwi Rengganis, which was naturally refused, so he set out for war against Repatmaja. Repatmaja was thrown down in the battle and fell through the earth to the underworld, the abode of Antaboga, king of the Nagas or serpents where he married two of his daughters, by whom he had two sons, Suryapati and Suryanata. The army of Wilobang besieged Mecca, and Amir Hamzah was sore pressed, but Nabi Ilir (Khidir) came to his aid, for Amir Hamzah and Umar Maya had been swallowed by Benu Serkap. Suryanata and Suryapati came and killed Benu Serkap, and restored Amir Hamzah and Umar Maya to life. Bintulu, king of Haip, came to seek vengeance for the death of Benu Serkap, and at first the Arabs had the worst of it. Repatmaja was sent to Jabal Kap. Here Bintulu declared his love for Dëwi Rengganis, but she beat him with a flower she had been given by Antaboga, and he died. Repatmaja, and the other princes who had been lost were found again. King Darungkala, with an army of infidel jinn came to exact vengeance for the death of Bintulu, but Amir Hamzah, helped by his daughter Dëwi Kuraisin, resisted them.

Dulang Mas comprises another cycle of later Amir Hamzah stories popular in Lombok. There are a number of versions, which vary considerably one from another, and also episodes of these which occur as separate manuscripts in Lombok. L.O.R.4037 is a paper manuscript of 51 folios, and 12 cantos. It is called by Brandes Dulang Mas or Lokayanti, version A (see Pigeaud 1968, II: 186; Juyuboll 191:29-31, with a long Dutch summary; Brandes 1901, 168-70).

Irmam, son of Nursiwan, was to marry princess Andanigrat, daughter of Lokayanti, king of Dulang Mas. She refused him, but fell in love with Amir Hamzah's grandson, Badiul Saman, who had arrived with wedding presents. Baklak the path of Nursiwan, urged him to send the presents back to Amir Hamzah. He accepted them and banished the boy, who went to Kianlawara. Nursiwan demanded the extradition of Badiul Saman, but Amir Hamzah, now regretting the boy's absence, sent a challenge to Nursiwan, whereupon Lokayanti attacked. Meanwhile, Candrawati, princess of Mesir Sorangan was abducted by a rakasi; her brother, Pancosurya, went to look for her. Murdengkara, king of Uneng, came to request her hand for his brother, Diliwih, king of Sayarata. The rakasi attacked Sayarata. Badiul Saman came to the cave where Candrawati was held, killed the rakasi, and took her back to Mesir Sorangan. Murdengkara now asked for the hand of Candrawati for his brother; meanwhile, Pancosurya arrived and fought with him. Then a poor man found the body of the rakasi and himself claimed to have killed her, and Diliwih proposed that the princess should be given to him. While Murdengkara was fighting Mesir Sorangan, Badiul Saman and Umar Madi, disguised as giants and assuming the names of Kreda Balaka and Bregu Dombra,
defeated Murdengkara and handed him over to the king of Mesir Sorangan. Dilewih came to help his brother, but Badui Saman killed him. Murdengkara was freed and sent to Madain to inform Nursiwian. On the way he met Umar Maya, who had been looking for Badui Saman. They too adopted giant forms (d Accounts), and on their return to Mesir Sorangan, revealed themselves, and the identity of Kredap Salaka and Bregu Dombrat. Badui Saman, now revealed in his true form, was married to princess Candrawati.

L.Or.3007 is a palm-leaflet manuscript of 28 folios. It is called by Brandes Dulang Mas B - Kedasalada. It in fact belongs to the same recension as the previous manuscript, but contains only the last episode, approximating to cantos 10-11 of L.Or.4037. In the 1928 list, three copies of Kabar Salaka are noted, which are also probably of the same episode.

Engelenberg manuscript E.29 is a palm-leaflet manuscript of 94 folios, and 18 cantos, and is a variant of the Dulang Mas. This is described by Poerbojitra (1940:67). The story begins with the defeat by Amir Hamzah of Lokayanti, king of Dulang Mas. Then the king of Yemen saw a beautiful girl, with whom he fell in love and obtained from her father. By her he had a son, Megayaksa who succeeded his father as king of Ambaramadaya when he grew up. He had a patih called Suradinala, and a beautiful daughter, Widarsah. Now Nursiwian was distressed because of the failure of his plan for his son, Irman, to marry the daughter of Lokayanti, and his being drawn into a war with Amir Hamzah. Repatmajah had been abducted while asleep by Suradinala, so Amir Hamzah set out to rescue him by attacking Dulang Mas. His daughter, Dewi Kurnaiin came to help him. After a successful campaign, Repatmajah was rescued and married Widarsah, the daughter of Megayaksa.

This leads on to a new story, contained in this manuscript, of Bandarkala. Widarsah had two sons: the older, Taru Janaka, had an elephant’s head; the younger, Bandarkala, became king of Mongkarapang, and wanted his elephant-brother to become his mount. The latter wavered, but was pursued, and sought sanctuary with Amir Hamzah in Mecca.

There are several manuscripts which contain parts of this version. E.35 is similar, in a palm-leaflet manuscript of 95 folios, and 17 cantos. E.51, which is entitled Megayaksa contains cantos 5-9 only, and there is another copy of this mentioned in the 1928 list. The Bandarkala episode is also represented by 6 manuscripts in the 1928 list.

L.Or.4038 contains another long version of the Dulang Mas, and is called Dulang Mas C by Brandes (see Pigage 1968, II:186; Juynboll 1911:32, with a short Dutch summary; Brandes 1901, E71-3, no. 89). This is a paper codex of 268 pages, with the text in p Genç, that is Arabic script, in 43 cantos. Notwithstanding the Arabic script, it appears to be based on a Lombok version, and is closely paralleled by Engelenberg manuscript E.46, 143 folios, in 38 cantos. It appears to be independent of the other versions, as it differs in the arrangement of cantos and incipits, as well as in the names of the principal characters, though some of the incidents are the same. According to Juynboll (1911), pp. 1-120 contain the main Dulang Mas. The sequel is contained in pp. 121-61. Amir Hamzah did not succeed in subduing Lokayanti, king of Dulang Mas himself, but in the end, Umar Maya managed to do so, by putting on the head of a giant called Pagulang Jagad. After this, Nursiwian fled, while Pancasuria married princess Adaningrat. Umar Maya tried in vain to convert Lokayanti to Islam. This sequel is in fact a version of the Kedal Salaka episode, with many of the names changed.

L.Or.4038 continues at pp. 162-268 with a version of the story of Kendit Berayung, which Juynboll compares for contents with L.Or.4033; however the cantos and incipits differ from that manuscript. In L.Or.4038, this episode begins by telling how Nursiwian summoned Kendit Berayung, the king of Nusantara, to help against the Arabs, but ends abruptly before the conflict between Amir Hamzah and Kendit Berayung had taken place.

The Museum Negri Nusa Tenggara Barat, Mataram, has a number of palm-leaflet manuscripts of Amir Hamzah stories, mostly rantiing tales of the Renggans stage, which are not recorded elsewhere, but are described in the Kalah big naskah lontar (Mataram 1991b). These include Badik Walam (T.187/ VII-91), which tells how Repatmajah, with his son, Badik Walam, went hunting, and the young man was in constant danger in the forests. On the instruction of Nabi Ilir, he became a servant of Raja Sidlaralam in the land of Jarahan, where he married Princess Dyah Koncanawati. Then there was a war between the Arabs and the kingdom of Jarahan. This is apparently a tale about Badis-Saman (Compare Jakarta Br.531 in Poerbojitra, Voorhoeve and Hooykaas 1950:13-6). Another from the same cycle is Banas Suraya (T.102/VII-91), in which Princess Teja Manik, daughter of Kalamondra, king of Banas Suraya, fell in love with Repatmajah. Kabar Melayu (T.232/ VII-91) is similar. It tells how Princess Dewi Gambar Musti, the daughter of king Kabar Melayu went in disguise to Arabia as a merchant. She kidnapped Repatmajah, and abducted him. Amir Hamzah, who was practising ascetism with Umar Maya on a mountain, was disturbed from his meditation, and they went to search for Repatmajah. They fought against Kabar Melayu, who in the end surrendered to Amir Hamzah. Kadafi Dawa (T.197/VII-91) tells how that ruler tried, with the help of his minister, Dajal Napiah, to subdue Mecca, but being subdued by Amir Hamzah himself, became a Muslim.

From this survey, it will be seen how the story of Amir Hamzah was varied and extended, first in Java and then in Lombok, in the interests of an ever widening repertoire for the wayang hindeng, the Sesak shadow play. Already in the Persian version, the historical figure of the Companion of the Prophet had been left far behind in favour of a romantic universal warrior, of whom the stories proliferated, and to whom was attributed the subjugation
of much of the Middle East in the early days of Islam. This cycle of tales became popular through the Malay prose translation, and then through the Javanese poetic versions of the north coast of Java from the seventeenth century, whence they travelled eastward to Madura and Lombok.

In Lombok we find new stories, some of them developing fantastic themes, others no more than old plots with only the names of characters and places changed, and with the same puppets used in the shadow play, but with different names. What we have to do is to see characters and stock situations, which were drawn not only from Islamic, but also from Hindu and indigenous sources, often made apparent by the free use of Sanskritic names. All this body of material was appropriated to the Amir Hamzah tale, without reference to real Islamic history, but simply to authenticate its use for a Muslim audience. It is clear that in Lombok there was a liking for magic and fantasy, which had long preceded the advent of Islam, and continued in later times with but minimal modification. Besides, the shadow theatre was the stuff that dreams are made of, and the unbounded possibilities of the wayang screen were exploited to respond to the imagination and delight of the Sasak audience.

3. Islamic romances and legendary history

This section deals with narrative poems in Javanese in wayang metres which introduce incidents and characters from the Qur’an, from the life of the Prophet Muhammad and the history of his successors. The most substantial of these texts are called Anbiya (Lives of the Prophets, from the Arabic nabi, a prophet, plural anbiya). This is a generic title as the actual contents of individual texts vary considerably. They often include accounts of God’s creation of the universe and of Adam and Eve, the Old Testament patriarchs, prophets and kings (who are called nabi following the manner of the Qur’an), such as Iskr (Enoc), Noah, Abraham, Joseph, Moses, David and Solomon, as well as Jesus; there are stories of predecessors of the Prophet, such as Alexander the Great (called Iskandar zul-Karnain — Alexander of the two horns), and of the life of the Prophet Muhammad himself, his family, his companions and his successors. In some texts, stories concerning the missionaries who brought Islam to Java and Lombok are included, but these will be considered later under the historical poems. It should be noted here, however, that an important aspect of such texts is the implied continuity of the sacred history of Islam as included in the Qur’an and traditions with that of the conversion of Indonesian countries to the religion of the Prophet.

Few Anbiya texts are comprehensive; some are concerned with a single hero, such as the Yusuf, the story of Joseph, or the Carita Nabi, also called Carita Rasul, the life of the Prophet Muhammad. Some Anbiya texts are ent-
king. The beautiful young queen Jaleka (Zulaihkha) became enamoured of him and tried to seduce him: but when he refused, she accused him falsely. She summoned all her women friends, and gave each an orange and a knife. When Joseph was brought in, they were so enraptured, that instead of peeling the fruit, they cut their fingers. Joseph was imprisoned, not so much, it was said, because of the accusation, but to keep him from distracting the palace women. In prison, Joseph was joined by the king's butler and doorkeeper, and he interpreted their dreams. When the king had a dream he could not remember, Joseph was sent for, and he explained the king's dream of seven cows, and of seven leaves, as predicting a famine of seven years. The king then released Joseph and made him king of Egypt.

Some Javanese versions finish here, but others continue the story with Joseph's brothers coming to seek food in Egypt, his enquiries after Benjamin, the coming of Jacob and his family to Egypt, the death of Jacob and of Joseph, and the vision of Moses, who was to bring Joseph's body to Jerusalem. Many of the copies of the Yusuf are in 12 or 13 cantos, and end when Joseph was made king. In Banyuwangi there is a well-established tradition of reciting the Yusuf through the night, with specified rituals at certain points of the story. In Lombok, to judge by the openings of the cantos of various manuscripts, the same pansion version is in use and is recited, but is usually in 16 or more cantos, taking the story to the incident of Jacob's being cured of blindness by the use of a sacred cloth before his departure for Egypt. This is the case with Tieuw 3 (see Pigouads 1968, II:819), a romanized transcript of a palm-leaf manuscript, of 152 folios, and 16 cantos, which closely resembles L.Or.4867, which is a copy on paper of a manuscript, not specified, from the Bataviaasch Genootschap, dated 1771 AD. The popularity of the story in Lombok may be judged from the fact that in the 1928 list, L.Or.11,075/4, 17 copies are noted, while several other palm-leaf manuscripts from Lombok are recorded, such as Gedong Kirtya, Singaraja, K.10,021 and K.10,060, KITLV Or.298 and Amsterdam AdKIT 29/76.

In the Islamic literature of Lombok, as elsewhere, the life of the Prophet Muhammad is dealt with in three ways. Firstly, there are sections of comprehensive Anbiya texts devoted to him; secondly there are biographies of the Prophet, including the legendary Kertanah and the more orthodox Carita Nabi or Carita Rasul; and thirdly there are miraculous incidents in the life of the Prophet. These last are in character and detail similar to such stories in Malay, which were perhaps composed in the sixteenth century and described by R.O. Winstedt (1939:69-72) as Tales of the Prophet. These legends belong to the realm of popular piety and are of doubtfully orthodox.

The form in which the story of the Prophet Muhammad was best known in Lombok was Kertanah; this text is referred to in Java and elsewhere as Patniah Syami or Siti Salannah. The kernel of the story goes back to an Arabic source. In the Sirat Rasul Allah, the life of the Prophet Muhammad by Ishaq (d. 767 AD), there is an account of a woman who, while visiting the Ka‘bah at Mecca, offered herself to Abdullah, but he was dissuaded by his father, Abdul Muttalib, who had arranged for his marriage to Aminah, the daughter of an aristocratic family. Abdullah again met the woman, who declared that when she had first seen him, there was a blaze of light between his eyes (see Guillaume 195568-9; this is a translation of Ishaq’s Sirah). The Persian Shaw versions of this story were much developed, with the central character, Siti Salannah, represented as a princess from Syami (Syria), who had desired to become the mother of the Prophet, and had seen the mystic light which had encouraged her in this. The story is also connected with the Malay Hikayat Nur Muhammad, which goes back to Persian and Arabic sources (see Winstedt 1939:69). Much of the subject matter is also to be found in the Malay Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah, but for the main part of the latter, the Lombok Javanese manuscripts have a separate text, Yezil.

One of the manuscripts of the Kertanah is Mataram NTB Museum Ms.046, described in Bunga ramai kalipun naskah lama (Mataram 1991a:26) (my translation):

‘A palm leaf manuscript of 130 folios written by Ye Nurmatj of the village of Karang Bajul (now known as Karang Bua, near Pagan). It tells of Ahmad, or Muhammad, the son of Abdullah, and grandson of Abdul Muttalib, who was later known as the Prophet or Apostle Muhammad. The word Kertanah is said to derive from kerta ing tanah – he who brings the law to the world.

The story opens with Abdullah’s meeting with Siti Salannah, a princess of Syria. Afterwards, Abdullah met and married Aminah, who gave birth to a son, Kertanah. Misfortune pursued Kertanah, for his father died before he was born, and his mother died in childbirth, so he was left an orphan, to be looked after by his grandfather, Abdul Muttalib. Following Arab custom, he was suckled by a nurse called Jarash from Nafiath. As he grew up he showed signs of his fitness to become the Apostle of God. Among other things, the skin from a cucumber plant which he played with, he planted and it grew into a date-palm. Kertanah became the leader of his group of 44 playmates. His quality of leadership became evident, exceeding that of grown-ups.

When he was grown, Kertanah was sent to his uncle, Abu Jalar, for religious instruction. A controversy between the two was established at his first lesson, when Abu Jalar taught him the belief of the Prophet Moses. Kertanah countered this with a credal statement in which he declared himself to be a prophet, with the name Muhammad. Abu Jalar reported this incident to the king, who was astonished to hear of it.

In the narrative which follows, it is related how Muhammad was challenged to authenticate his apostleship by bringing down the moon (compare Qur’an, Surahs 17.94, 54.1). This story in the life of the Prophet Muhammad is known in Malay as Kaisah Bilaun Bileh. The story of Kertanah further recounts the love of Muhammad for Khadijah, who came from Medina.”
Another manuscript of the Kertasah from Lombok is wrongly labelled Nabi Mera, as the story of the mi'raj, the Prophet's ascent to heaven is not included. This is the Van der Tuuk manuscript, L.Ot:3793, a lorant of 88 folios, in 20 cantos. Cantos 1-16 closely follow Matarom NTB Ms.046, including at Canto 15 the story of Muhammad's restoring to wholeness the king of Mecca's daughter, who had been born without hands or feet, and Canto 16, Muhammad's meeting with Khadijah. Cantos 17-20 contain an appendix, of the war between Muhammad and Mardaman. Jakarta lontar BG 774, with the transcript Brandes 504, is a similar manuscript, with opening verses in sinom in Sasak. Cantos 2-14 are close in verse form and content with the corresponding ones of L.Ot:3793, but Canto 15 differs, and cantos 16-18 contain a different appendix of the story of the Jewish enquirer Samud who disputed with Muhammad, putting to him difficult questions from the Torah. There is a longer version of the Samud story from Lombok at L.Ot: 4001/1, in eight cantos. The Javanese tale is itself derived from the Malay Kitab Sarbi Masu'adah, investigated by G.F. Pijper in his thesis Het boek der duizend vragen (1924), with excerpts from L.Ot:4001/1. Engelsenberg Ms. E.16 is an incomplete text of the Kertasah, following BG 774 up to Canto 9 only, and having Canto 6 in mas kumanangi (a typical Lombok feature) instead of griya = lamfang of BG 774. E.16 is a palm-leaf manuscript in 84 folios, and takes the story as far as Janashis becoming nurse to Kertasah. The 1928 list, L.Ot:11,075/4 notices six manuscripts of the Kertasah.

In the Van der Tuuk collection, there is a palm-leaf manuscript, L.Ot:3690 of 160 folios in the Balinese script, in 53 cantos. This is described as Carita Rasul or Kadis (Hadith = Tradition). It contains a Javanese story said to be translated from Persian and transmitted by way of Aceh, Minangkabau, Martapura in Borneo and Sumbawa. Though it is not specified as a Lombok text, it has some affinity with L.Ot:3793 described above, beginning with the story of how the Prophet Muhammad split the moon and brought it down to earth, and continuing with his wars against unbelievers.

Two Anbiya manuscripts from Lombok continue the story after the Prophet's death. L.Ot:6228, a palm-leaf manuscript of 188 folios, from the Koran collection, is described by Pigoued (1968, II:350):

'Hikayat Rasul, history, in verse, of the Prophet Muhammad and his descendants and successors, his daughter Fatimah, his son-in-law Ali, who conquers Kasri (Basra?), his grand-sons Hasan (who is murdered) and Husen, who has a quarrel with Yasil. The end is abrupt. The text is written (copied p. 1b) in Titiyone, Gubuk Sunggil. The idiom is Javanese-Balinese, mixed with many Malay words (dengan, tampak). Probably the Javanese Hikayat Rasul is an adaptation of a Malay original. The Javanese spelling is bad. The script is Balinese, but, especially at the end, rather cramped, Lombok style.'

This description is somewhat confusing, but it appears to be a Javanese text of Lombok provenance; the place of writing has not been located, but gubuk in Sasak is used for a ward in a village. No other version of this particular Hikayat Rasul is mentioned in the collections, except possibly Engelsenberg manuscript E.39, also described in the 1907 list as Hikayat Rasul, but by Poerbatjaraka simply as Anbiya. This is a palm-leaf manuscript of 212 folios in 71 cantos which he describes extensively in Indonesische handschriften (Poerbatjaraka, Voorhoeve and Hooykaas 1950:48-59). He says (p. 48, my translation):

'The story, in local verse form, gives an account of the adventures of the Caliphs after the death of Muhammad: Abu Bakar, Umar, Usman, and Ali; thereafter the deaths of Hasan and Husen and the fighting of the surviving sons of Ali against king Yazid. The story ends with the defeat of Yazid's army under Marwan Akin (and hence, apparently, before the death of Yazid himself). The language is mostly spoken Javanese, but there are also many Malay passages, especially in the dialogues. The discussion between Ali's groom, and an old woman who urges him to murder Ali, appears to be in Sasak. I have never up to now found such a story in Javanese literature. To judge from the idiom, there must have been a strong linguistic and literary change come about between the Matarom of Sultan Agung and the Muslim Sasak.'

The story of Yazid (Yazid) is also contained in ten manuscripts in the 1928 list, L.Ot:11,075/4, where the title Yajid is used; but this title does not appear to be current in the literature of Java itself. These manuscripts may well be related to the two described above; their subject is also part of the content of the Malay Hikayat Muhammad Hrnafiah. In Lombok, the prominence of this theme may be connected with Muharram observances, which suggest in former times some links with Shia Islam from India or Persia. In Islamic history, Yazid, the son of Muawiyia, was the second Caliph of the Umayyad house, ruling in Damascus from 679 to 683 AD, and celebrated as the opponent of Hussain (see Madurese Ms. L.Ot:6863(2), in Juyembol 1907:73-4, Yaji Calado).

Paras Nabi or Nabi Catur, on the Prophet's shawing, is an apocryphal episode, rejected by the orthodox, but it was nevertheless popular throughout Indonesia as an amulet. Winstedt (1939:71) describes the Malay version:

'When he [the Prophet] returned from the war with Mahdi [...] the word of Allah was brought to the Prophet by Jibrail [Gabriel], ordering him to be shaved [...]. Then Jibrail went to paradise and bade Ridwan, the angel that keeps the gate, open unto him and he fetched a shining leaf and called the hours (tidakuri) who came down, and caught each a hair of the Prophet, so that not one of the 126,666 hairs fell to earth but each was bound on the right arm of a houtr for an amulet. And Allah said to the Prophet: 'Who so cherishes this story, he shall be safe from all danger and from the questions of Munkar and Nakir in the grave.'"
In Lombok, as in Java, this story was widespread, and usually occurred in manuscripts with other short devotional pieces. Of the five Lombok copies I have seen, the versions vary, having two, five or six cantos. These include L.Or.3945(16), K.10.005(2), K.10.006(2) and K.10.045, an integral text, containing only this text, in five cantos. L.Or.3191 is a very small palm-leaf manuscript, 14 x 3 cm, containing Nabi parus and also kidung rumeksa ing aeng (Protection in the night). The colophon states that it belonged to the Hindu Balinese ruler of Lombok, Anak Agung Gedeh Ngurah, and that it was written in Kutaraja in Saka 1814 (1892 A.D.), and that it had been used by him as an amulet during the hostilities with the Dutch at that time, and had been recovered from the Cakranegara palace.

The Nabi Mikra (Arabic mi’ra’j) is a poetic account of the Night Journey of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Jerusalem and thence to heaven. Its origin is from the Qur’an, Surah 17.1: ‘Glory to him who journeyed by night with his servant from the Sacred Mosque to the Furthest Mosque, around which we have bestowed blessing, that we might show him some of our signs; verily he is one who hears and sees’. In Muslim tradition, this was elaborated into a circumstantial account of the journey, which the Prophet achieved mounted on a winged animal, Buraq, whose every stride carried it as far as the eye could reach. He was accompanied by Gabriel to Jerusalem, where he joined in prayer with Abraham, Moses and Jesus, and ascended through the seven heavens.

Among the Javanese manuscripts of the Nabi Mikra in the Leiden University Library, the only one certainly from Lombok is L.Or.5039, a lontar of 50 folios. It is described by Pigeaud (1968, II:256) as: ‘Muhammad’s Ascension to Heaven, [...] ending with the tale of the adventures in the water [...]’. The copy was made in Saka 2685 = 1763 AD, and came from the Lombok (Cakranegara Palace) collection. In Indonesia, the festival of the Mi’raj is celebrated on 27 Rajab; but it is not observed by the Waktu Telo.

The story of Dajjal is an Islamic tale of an encounter with the Antichrist. The Museum NTB Mataram has a palm-leaf manuscript, no. 3589, of 91 folios, which is described and extensively excerpted in Bunga rampai (Mataram 1991a:27). In the land of Puser Bumi, the people were peaceful and prosperous, devoted in worship and way of life, following the precepts of Islam. This aroused the envy of Raja Hulgesmat of Moga Cangung, who, with his ministers, Dajjal and Berhala, went to consult the angel of hell, Jabiniah, who was sent by God to test the people of Puser Bumi. They were overcome by Dajjal and turned into pigs, and many Sheikhs and Sayyids were forced to wander. However, in the end, truth triumphed, and troops of angels came to destroy Dajjal and all his idols. The angels were led by Hilaamayat, who is reckoned to be like Jesus or perhaps the Imam Mahdi. In the end the people of Puser Bumi are brought to heaven by Hilaamayat. The general trend of the story is to represent the condition of the world at the last day, as depicted in the Kabar Kiamat, which will be discussed in the next section.

Among narrative poems which have a place in the earlier history of Islam in Lombok, the most important and favourite is the Jatiswara, described by Pigeaud as a vibrant student romance, containing passages about aspects of Muslim teaching. He says:

‘In the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, vibrant students roaming about the country in search of knowledge and adventures were a feature of Javanese society. [...] They provide valuable information on the social background of the authors of well-known texts on mysticism. The mystic songs, sukaku, [...], which occupy an important place in Javanese religious literature, are repeatedly mentioned [...].

In some cases (e.g. Jatiswara), the hero’s foreign origin (Palembang of a Cempa family) is mentioned in the text. Clownish personages, resembling panakawans appear [...].

Jatiswara’s wanderings are explained as endeavours to find the whereabouts of his brother Sajati, who had disappeared.’ (Pigeaud 1967, I:227-8.)

It should be added that the content is well supplied with erotic episodes, which no doubt ensured the continuing popularity of this work.

The Jatiswara has been the subject of a special study by T.E. Behrend: The Serial Jatiswara: Structure and change in a Javanese poem, 1690-1930 (1987). In the course of his analysis, he recognised seven recensions, estimated to have been composed between 1600 and 1840 AD, based upon the examination of 46 manuscripts. Of these, 21 represent the earliest recension, A, which was probably composed on the East Javanese pasisir, but is nowadays almost only to be met in Lombok. This version is composed entirely in the danga dang gula metre, but is divided into cantos. Of the others, recension D of c. 1750 AD is in 6 cantos in various macapat metres, and is discussed by Poerbatjaraka (Poerbatjaraka, Voorhoeve and Hooykaas 1958:111-21), and recension E of Surakarta, 1790, of 26 cantos and 225 stanzas, is described by Vrede (1892: 327-30, L.Or.2306). In his analysis of the various recensions, Behrend identified 37 episodes, of which E has 22 and A, with the key manuscript L.Or.3688 from the Van der Tuuk collection, has 15 episodes, including 11 in common with E. L.Or.3608 is a palm-leaf manuscript of 151 folios, of 1,052 stanzas.

In the Lombok recension, the content is as follows: Jatiswara and Sajati were brothers, great-grandsons of the king of Champa, who set out for Java as maulana. However, Sajati left home mysteriously, and Jatiswara, abandoning his wife, went to seek his brother. On his wanderings, he lodged with various people, first meeting a farmer, Saimbang, with whose daughters he fell in love. However, he moved on, and in a garden met the daughter of Ki Wasiraga, who tried to seduce him. Here, as elsewhere in the poem, some mystical questions were discussed, but much more attention was given to