

24. For background to post-mediaeval reactions against over-reliance on traditional textual authorities, see R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (ed. T.M. Knox), Clarendon, Oxford, 1946, p.69 et seq.
25. Husserl, op. cit., sect. 62.

**Origins of the Hindu Renaissance in Java:
Monism in the Early Writings of W. Hardjanto Pradjapangarsa**

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Movements to revitalize Indic religious traditions to meet the challenge of Western culture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are by now well documented for India, Sri Lanka, Japan, and mainland Southeast Asia.¹ Less well known are the movements to reform the Hindu and Buddhist traditions of Java and Bali along 'modernist' lines towards the end of the period of Dutch occupation and since independence (1949) under the banner of the Indonesian state. Like India and other Asian nations where traditions of Indian origin have for long been a part of the fabric of village and court life, Indonesians in rescuing their Indic heritage from the rubbish-heap of outmoded customs have in some instances chosen to emphasize ritual, moral codes and belief (on the Protestant and orthodox Islamic models) and in other cases have chosen to emphasize the occult and mystical aspects of their heritage. The Balinese-based Hindu Council (Parisada Hindu Dharma) exemplifies Indonesian Indic reform that pushes to the fore exoteric traditions. In contrast the Javanese Hindu organization Sadhar Mapan, founded in 1971 in Surakarta, Central Java, by W. Hardjanto Pradjapangarsa, elevated Javanese mystical traditions to the position of greatest importance. The evolution of this variant of Javanese Hinduism through the founder's early pre-Hindu writings forms the subject of this study.

My approach to reconstructing the evolution of this variant will be to present schematically the 'argument' which runs through Hardjanto's pre-Hindu writings. I will show that basic to his argument and explicitly stated was a distinction between monistic and dualistic religious systems. Scholars use the term 'monism' in a variety of ways, but common to the various usages is the notion that there is but a single reality. In contrast, 'dualistic' ontologies see reality as consisting of two fundamentally different qualities (e.g., mind vs. matter, spirit vs. matter, or, as with the Indonesian dualists alluded to here, Creator Spirit vs. created spiritual beings). Hardjanto presented his system as monistic and sought to convince his readership of the absolute superiority of that system. Knowing that he advocated monism helps us to understand his rejection at the beginning of his career in the 1950s of 'Islam Jawa' ('Javanese Islam'),² the religion with which his teachers identified. It also helps us to understand his later affiliation

in 1967 with an explicitly Hindu organization, the Hindu Council centered in Bali. The analysis further reveals that the kind of monism he advocated was distinctive in promoting mystical practice as a means to realizing the verity of monism, and also in exalting attempts to acquire supernatural powers. In this we can see the seed of his later (1971) split with the more prosaic Hindu Council and of the formation of an independent yoga-oriented Hindu organization in Java.

Background

Javanese mysticism — a blend of indigenous ecstatic cults, Hindu and Buddhist mysticism and, since the sixteenth century, Sufism — has found in recent times other vehicles of expression than a Hindu organization. In the later colonial period and with fresh vigor in the early Republican period (from 1950-1965) numerous mystical movements consolidated around the teachings of individual gurus. Many of these distanced themselves from Islam because of growing orthodox rejection of mysticism but did not identify their teachings exclusively with any one other world religion. Hardjanto was a teacher in this eclectic and independent style before the change of government in 1965 from the Old (Sukarno) Order to the New (Suharto) Order.

Under the Old Order orthodox Muslims and Christians branded these independent movements disparagingly as 'new religions' (*agama baru*) and agitated to have them brought back into the fold of their 'mother' traditions. This agitation culminated in 1965 with legislation that recognized six official Indonesian religions: Islam, Protestantism and Catholicism (named separately in the legislation), Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism. In the tumult that followed the attempted coup of September 30, 1965, identification with a recognized religion, and hence with non-communist political streams became highly desirable, if not essential. Many independent mystical groups were banned, while others joined larger Hindu or Buddhist organizations and still others survived by emphasizing the links of individual members with orthodox Islam or with the Christian churches.³ It was under these circumstances that Hardjanto brought his following under the umbrella of the Bali-based Hindu Council.

Whilst there was undoubtedly political opportunism involved in the affiliation of many mystical circles with the Hindu and Buddhist groups, bases of genuine compatibility between them cannot be denied. This becomes evident in the analysis of Hardjanto's early writings where his vigorous assertion of monism as well as acknowledgement of (among others) Hindu deities foreshadows his later move into the Hindu camp. The Balinese Hindu Council, in which he initially sought membership for his following in 1967 was still working to consolidate its doctrine at that time, but it was already monistic and continued to develop along those lines. Where the Javanese leader and the Balinese organization disagreed was on the desirability of

acknowledging yoga as an element in Hindu teachings. Refusal of the Balinese organization to give more than slighting mention of the practice, together with personal disagreements, led to Hardjanto's formation of the independent Hindu organization Sadhar Mapan in 1971. The Buddhist organizations of Indonesia also developed a basically monistic presentation of their tradition in this period and attracted many Javanese mystics because of the emphasis they placed on meditation, yet the strong non-theistic bent of many Indonesian Buddhists closely linked with the Theravadin school made their tradition a less attractive option for Hardjanto.

Data and Presentation

I first met Bapak Hardjanto in 1971 in connection with my research on the revival of Hinduism in Java. He was at the time chairman of the Hindu Council in the Residency of Surakarta, centred in Solo, the city of his birth and famous font of many mystical movements. Very shortly thereafter (later in 1971) the split with the Hindu Council took place. I was thus in a position to review documents concerned with the formation of the new yoga-oriented sect, Sadhan Mapan, as well as to copy documents from the Surakarta branch of the Hindu Council and most of his pre-Hindu writings. In addition to reviewing documents I was able to observe the functioning of the Hindu organizations and the rituals associated with them. It was immediately apparent that the informal aspects of the organization and most of the ritual performed by the Hindus centred in Solo differed from Hindu practice elsewhere in Java and interviews with 'old timers' revealed that the Solonese practices had their roots in Hardjanto's pre-Hindu activities. Thus I have some basis upon which to comment on how the teachings recorded in writing were incorporated into practice some years before my actual acquaintance with the group and their move into Hinduism. This I regard as important, as in his writings he places so much more emphasis on practice than on belief or theory.

The discussion of Hardjanto's pre-Hindu period writings thus begins with a description of the corpus and of the institutional setting from which it emerged. There follows a summary of the basic argument which I have abstracted from that corpus. It will be seen that the line of argument that runs through the pre-Hindu writings is essentially the same as that presented in his Hindu-period writings (see Howell 1976:228-231; 251-256), however, the terms in which the argument was couched differed in some important respects in the two periods. After the outline of the basic argument a detailed explication of the terms in which the argument was stated in the pre-Hindu period is offered. Many features of the basic argument and even many of the terms used in that argument demonstrate a remarkable continuity of his thought with Javanese mysticism of the distant past. Other features of the argument and other terms introduced into it

demonstrate the process of cultural invention which goes on in every community but is especially evident amongst Indonesian religious groups struggling to meet the threats and opportunities presented by post-Independence social and political changes. After an explication of the argument I comment upon the implementation of the teachings by his students in their religious practice.

The Corpus and Its Institutional Setting

Hardjanto composed his first written position statement in 1953 after performing a forty day 'tapa'⁴ (a period of ascetic deprivation and meditation) at his retreat on Nusupan. (Nusupan is a small island in the Solo river at the site of the old and now almost deserted city harbour of Surakarta.) He had by then made that site his principal residence. He had completed his own apprenticeships to a series of gurus in the 'Islam Jawa' tradition, his apprenticeship involving as was usual residence at his teachers' *pesantrens* (private homes expanded to provide accommodation for students of religion). Significantly his first statement, entitled 'A Spiritual Message of Indonesia to the World', was written in defiance of the authority of his last teacher in order to remove the identification of his spiritual system with Islam. The teacher, whom he styled 'the last of the Walis' (Muslim saints of Java) had wished to protect the Islamic identity of his teachings.

The 'Spiritual Message' was written in quite reasonable English, a language which Hardjanto had learned primarily through reading (having had no systematic instruction in the subject during his brief career at school). It included a brief biographical note, explaining how he came to his present discipline and desire to write, together with a lengthy explication of his spiritual philosophy. This piece was followed in the same year by a proposal to found a kind of university for 'metaphysics' or spiritual studies and practice. Entitled 'Principles of a Sapta-Gama Super Institute as the Centre of a World Society', the proposal was sent to UNESCO headquarters in hopes of receiving funding.

Between 1954 and 1956 essays by Hardjanto appeared as publications of the Akademi Metaphisica Surakarta, which he founded together with Dr R. Paryana Suryadipura, and in the *Kenang-kenangan Konggres [sic] Kebatinan Indonesia Ke-I dan Ke-II* (1955 and 1956). The short-lived Akademi, which organized talks by a variety of spiritualists in the community, was housed at one of Hardjanto's family's residences near the *kraton* (palace) of the Susuhunan. Despite his Akademi-related duties in the city, however, he continued to reside and perform his *tapas* at the Nusupan retreat. There he began to attract to himself a number of apprentices (*cantrik*) as well as a fluctuating pool of visitors wishing some kind of help from the supernatural through his agency (Howell 1976:26-40).

During the late fifties he continued his publication campaign

whilst practicing as a guru on Nusupan. In 1958 he became in a small way a cause-célèbre on both fronts. Through his connection with his brother, Professor Hardjono of the law faculty of Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, Hardjanto received an invitation to deliver a speech there. This forum he used to push one of his favourite themes, the need for a spiritual (i.e. mystic) education for university students. The speech attracted attention from high quarters as it touched in passing on the inadequacy of the Sukarno government's approach to social problems. Back at Nusupan the pace also quickened, as several people reported seeing 'wahyu' (supernatural lights)⁵ descend upon the island in front of his retreat. The matter, reported in the papers, intensified interest in his tutelage, to the point that the boatmen servicing the island reported conveying around a thousand people a day while others waded across the shallow waters to the island (*Republik [Jakarta]* July 8, 1958:3). To manage the volume of visitors the guru and his close associates formed and registered with the government an organization called the 'Officers for the Development of Nusupan Graves' (Pengurus Pemangunan Makam Nusupan). A brochure they produced together with Hardjanto, called *Ziarah ke Nusupan (Pilgrimage to Nusupan, 1958)* provides useful information on their activities and objectives.

In the early sixties the Nusupan activities were closed down by the government due to suspicions of subversion. Hardjanto then re-established his practice (his *pertapaan*) at a series of other locations in the Surakarta area, and finally returned to the city in 1964. There he set up a small tea and curio shop on the main road from which he distributed a new spate of spiritual literature, whilst conducting his regular practice from the family home near the kraton (Howell 1976:41-42).

From 1967 he wrote as the Chairman of the Hindu Council of Surakarta (*Ketua Parisada Hindu Dharma Keresidenan Surakarta*). This was a role he assumed in response to the need for a new religious identity on the part of his clients and others whose commitment to mysticism and/or Javanese customary rites did not permit them to nominate Islam as their choice among the recognised (and now obligatory) religious affiliations. Significantly Hardjanto himself did not become a Hindu. His personal reservations foreshadowed his later withdrawal from the Hindu Council and establishment in 1971 of the independent Hindu organization, Sadhar Mapan, mentioned earlier. This organization rapidly lost support amongst local Hindus, leaving the new organization functioning with only a few subdistrict branches. From this time he wrote more and more frequently as an individual mystic, rather than as a Hindu leader, and drew support largely through traditionally-styled tutelary relationships. Sadhar Mapan is, nonetheless, still recognised as a Hindu organization by the Director General of Hinduism and Buddhism in the Ministry of religion and the affiliation enables him to act in some contexts as a Hindu leader. Presently his clientele, although not numerous, includes some very wealthy and well-connected individuals.

From these remarks it can be seen that throughout his career he has maintained traditional patterns of tutelary relationships on the model of his guru's *pesantrens*, at the same time that he has functioned as an author and organizer bent on adapting his teachings to the 'modern world'.

The Argument in Outline

We are now in a position to review the approach to religious activity that Hardjanto has advocated in his writings. The terms in which his argument on this subject was couched have changed in the Hindu period, as have the organizational means with which he has tried to make his religious ideas available to the general public. There is, nonetheless, a consistent argument (in the sense of a set of related and recurrent themes) in his writings over his entire career and this is what I would like to summarize here to provide a framework for a subsequent detailed examination of the changing terms of his discourse.

The main points in his argument, as I see them, are as follows:

- (i) Religion should be a matter of practice rather than belief. This practice is a set of meditational and ascetic techniques.
- (ii) Through such mystical practice (yoga) is revealed the *identity* of the human soul with God.
- (iii) This is experienced on another level of reality. That this other reality is really real is scientifically verifiable because:
 - (a) anyone can observe it by applying the techniques he describes, i.e., by experimentation; and
 - (b) nuclear physicists using different methods have also discovered this world that is very different from the world of everyday experience.
- (iv) Because through mystical practice one uncovers one's divine nature, powers flow from that practice. Those powers can be colossal, as are the powers unleashed by nuclear physicists.
- (v) However, mystical practice is superior to nuclear physics because its powers can be greater and because it brings the practitioner more than mere perception of another level of reality: it brings a sense of oneness with all of that reality. So only mystical practice can overcome humanity's sense of isolation and loneliness.
- (vi) Mystical practice is politically important to Indonesia because:

- (a) it provides the experience of oneness that alone can stifle disruptive interest-group (party) politics;
- (b) as the only plausible form of religion for modern (Western educated) people it provides the only sure defense against secularism and communism;
- (c) it is the true basis of the Panca Sila's *keTuhanan*⁶ and source of national power;
- (d) it is the original religion of Indonesia, and a creation of the indigenous people (not an import); furthermore,
- (e) it made possible the glorious achievements of the ancient East Javanese kingdoms and will be the basis of Indoensia's prophesized return to glory as a centre of a new world order.
- (vii) The new world order will be initiated by a new avatar.
- (vii) In order for Indonesia to play its destined role in establishing the new order new institutions for the spread of mystical learning must be established in Surakarta.

Explication of the Argument in the Early Writings (1953-1965)

In discussing the terms in which the argument is set out I would like to focus on just three of these points that are most crucial to Hardjanto's monism: these are points (i), that religion should be a matter of mystical practice; (ii) that realization of identity with God is the aim of that practice; and (iv) that realizing one's divine nature releases the powers of God to the adept. Points (i) and (iv) are common both to monistic and dualistic forms of mysticism, however attitudes and emphases in these two areas differ in the two orientations. Indonesian dualists, we find, insist upon accompanying the 'techniques of ecstasy' with ritual and prayerful devotions recognizing the superiority and 'otherness' of their Creator God, whereas Indonesian monists supplicate deities considered ultimately as aspects of themselves, only to enlist their support in achieving higher realizations. Dualists are ambivalent towards the powers of God, insisting always that they are gifts of grace from the Almighty to his otherwise helpless creation, whereas monists look forward to assuming powers as part of their own true nature as this is progressively realized (see Howell 1976:60-72).

1. Religious Action and Ontology

In describing the development of Hardjanto's teachings in his pre-Hindu period we may take together the first two points of his argument, since what is considered desirable religious action (point i) is inevitably linked with one's conception of the ultimate nature of reality (point ii). He tackles the nature of ultimate reality right at the outset of his philosophical tract, his 'Spiritual Message of Indonesia to the World' (1953). We find it to be an unambiguously monistic conception. Thus he states as the first of a set of 'psycho-philosophical principles':

I am the Absolute Life; God is the Absolute Life; I am God. (Aku iki Urip; Allah iku Urip; Aku iki Allah.) This I is the supercosmic essence (Hardjanto 1953:4).

The 'I' here is each individual person, not Hardjanto writing in the first person. If we are to adopt the terminology of anthropologists' kinship charts, we could gloss the 'I' with the term 'ego'. However, this could be misleading since writers on mysticism generally use the term 'ego' to refer to the identity that people in ordinary waking consciousness attribute to themselves - a self-seeking, body-defined self, as contrasted to an inner, True Self revealed in the process of meditation. It is that True Self, or in Javanese mystical terminology, the *Ingsum*, to which Hardjanto is referring when he uses the term 'I' in this context. So the assertion is that the True Self (of each of us) is God.

Students of Javanese mysticism will recognize this viewpoint as one long held by heterodox, or as I have termed them elsewhere, 'radical' Sufi mystics (Howell 1976:63-71). The position is radical not in the political sense but in the sense that it is extreme and challenging to a more moderate Sufi position (such as described, for example, by Drewes 1968). The more moderate Sufi position, which under pressure of Islamic scholasticism has become, I believe, the only position still held by Indonesian Sufis, allows the possibility through ecstatic techniques of 'union' of the human soul with God but not the realization of their 'identity'.

The 'psycho-physical principles' of the 'Spiritual Message' (1953:4) proceed from the assertion of the identity of the human soul with God to an explication of the spiritual essences of our being which derive from God. Using familiar Javanese imagery Hardjanto speaks of a 'microcosmos' of human being as contrasted to the 'macrocosmos', the greater spiritual universe. The microcosmos of human being is portrayed as a conjunction of 'polar' aspects of the macrocosmos. The macrocosmos is called by the name of the Hindu-Javanese deity of wayang fame, 'Hyang Tunggal' (The One Great God), whilst its 'negative' aspect and vital force of the senses is called 'Hyang Suksma'. Its 'positive' polar aspect and vital force of the 'body mechanism' is called 'Hyang Vidhi'.

We can gain some appreciation of the meanings connected with the concepts of the two vital forces, 'Hyang Suksma' and 'Hyang Vidhi',

by enquiring into the etimologies of the words 'suksma' and 'Vidhi'. 'Suksma' is an Old Javanese word meaning 'small', 'supernatural' or 'etherial'. A variant of the word 'sukma' is found in Javanese, meaning 'soul' or 'life'. The root also appears in the Javanese word 'panukma' meaning reincarnation. The Old Javanese 'suksma' appears to be derived from the Sanskrit 'sukshma', meaning one of the three aspects of fundamental substance, namely the subtle or intangible aspect which is not evident to the sense. 'Vidhi' appears to be a cognate of the Javanese 'widi' meaning 'true' or 'correct', and of the Old Javanese 'widhi' meaning 'law', 'regulation', 'ways', 'fate' or 'God'. The Sanskrit 'vidhi' from which it appears to derive, means 'law'.

The 'principles' then assert (Hardjanto 1953:4) that this spiritual reality of human being can be experienced and the identity of the human soul with God realized through a certain kind of 'psychological praxis'. Thus the sixth of the principles reads, 'The aim . . . is to reach God's consciousness by means of temporarily . . . ruling [out] the effects of the psychological drifts and para-psychological essence from the consciousness' (ibid:4). Just how to do this is clarified to some extent later on in the discussion in the 'Spiritual Message' of breathing techniques and necessary attitudes. As for breathing techniques he urges their 'correction' rather than 'control', avoiding the holding of the breath at any point and endeavouring to draw the breath from the 'underbelly' or low in the abdomen (ibid:12). His description of correct attitudes is based with acknowledgement upon the Serat Wedatama and the Sopanalaya (ibid:12-14).

The discussion in the 'Spiritual Message' on 'psychological praxis' concludes with the idea that it must replace 'belief' as the cornerstone of religious activity (1953:15). This is urged upon all religions. Thus he writes:

Bare belief must be replaced by the introspection act [meditation] in the footsteps of [the] prophets, avatars and *sujanas* [adepts]. Up till now the weapon of religion [has been] only belief and dogma. A belief is not a compensation of [source of fulfilment for?] the spiritual I. The spiritual I must find its compensation [fulfilment?] in the spiritual truth. This spiritual truth can only be revealed by the act of introspection. It is time for every religion to create an introspection-system in the footsteps of its founder (1953a:16).

It is worthwhile noting here that these comments on 'praxis' are offered to all religious groups. He has not yet assumed the role of championing a certain religion or religions by virtue of their superiority in the yoga field.

Whereas the 'Spiritual Message' provided a detailed description of human spiritual being and only briefly touched upon the macrocosmos, his later pre-Hindu writings provide us with many references to the extra-personal, supramundane world. The booklet *Ziarah ke Nusupan* (Pilgrimage to Nusupan, 1958) in particular is

rich with references to supernatural beings. However, since the book was addressed to visitors to his retreat who by their coming demonstrated some degree of shared understanding concerning the supernatural, no attempt was made in the booklet to provide a systematic cosmology or philosophical explanation as to the ultimate nature of the beings mentioned. We are not told, for example, what relationship the beings have to 'Hyang Tunggal' of the 'Spiritual Message'. What is provided is a report on which spirits one could 'meet' at Nusupan and what they 'said' to Hardjanto when he met them. As the site of his retreat on Nusupan was an ancient graveyard, the regular attractions to the spot aside from the guru himself were three spirits of distinguished generals of VOC days whose bodies were buried there: R.T. Puspanagara (an ancestor of Hardjanto), R.T. Puspakusuma, and T. Djajanagara. These had been joined at the time of writing of the *Ziarah* booklet by a spirit embodied in the *wahyu* whose descent caused such a stir in May 1958, one Embah Djugo (Grandfather Djugo), a regular resident of Gunung Kawi. Whereas short biographies were provided for the three generals, no biographical details were supplied for Embah Djugo. His legend is vague and seems to fit him into the category of Javanese ascetics who purportedly live hundreds of years, or who die at a normal advanced age but decide to stay resident as a spirit in a locality where they feel they can be of help to their descendants.

In addition to the above mentioned spirits, whom your average Central Javanese pilgrim would be pleased but not too surprised to be able to contact at the one spot, Hardjanto claimed in his booklet to be able to contact directly 'the whole company of supernatural powers (*sidha*) who have control over the coming new world order: prophets (*nabi*), gods (*dhewa*), angels (*bidadari*), devils (*jin*), local place spirits (*danhayang*), adepts (*sujana*), distinguished poets (*pujangga*), 'Pillars of the Universe' (*Chosul Alam*), and national heroes (*negarawan dan pahlawan*) (Hardjanto 1958:11).⁷ Note his willingness to approach beings both of a Hindu-Javanese background (the *dhewas* and the *danhayang*s) and of a Semitic background (the *nabis*, *bidadaris*, *jins* and *Chosul Alams*).

Several of those whose 'messages' he reported were named individually. For present purposes we may simply note that those so named were (1) gods from the Hindu Javanese tradition (Bathara Guru, commonly identified with Shiva; Sri Bathara Wishnu Murti, and Ba Perada) and (2) famous western generals (Julius Ceasar, Alexander the Great, Scipio and Napoleon).

The relationship of these multifarious and multi-ethnic entities to Hyang Tunggal he later made the subject of a schematic chart, entitled 'Creating the Sapta-Gama World' (Hardjanto 1964a). The chart presented a hierarchy of complexly interrelated spiritual being, the pinnacle of which was the transcendent aspect of God in three degrees of remoteness: The Absolute was identified as 'Parama-Tatwa'; Parama-Tatwa is first manifest as 'Hyang Tunggal' and then takes

on the form of the 'Tri-Murti', i.e., 'Brahma', 'Vishnu' and 'Shiva'. The Hindu-Javanese terms for the two higher aspects of Being were provided with Buddhist glosses, 'Adhi Buddha' and 'Dhyaani Buddha' respectively. Deriving from the transcendent deity is the realm of 'Hyang Akasa' (also glossed 'Angkasa' and 'Ether'). This aspect of Being consists both of the Hindu-Javanese elemental deities 'Hyang Bayu' ('Wind God'), 'Hyang Brama' ('Fire God'), 'Hyang Baruna' ('Water God'), 'Hyang Antaboga Pertiwi' ('Earth Goddess'), and 'Bathara Indra' who was equated with the Christian St. Michael and was shown as the director of heaven ('Suryalaya', 'Suarga'). Also emanating from the Transcendent Being is 'Hyang Manu', the universal law giver. He was shown to have numerous agents, including 'Maharaja Indra' (glossed 'Jupiter') and Christ, together with the aforementioned 'Pillars of the Universe' or 'Chosul Alam'. The Chosul Alam are both legendary figures like Bima and historical figures like Alexander The Great. The other aspects of Being pictured on the chart were:

- (1) the 'Bodhi-Sattvas' or Avatars (figuring, among others, Hyang Kalki, Sri Krishna, the Imam Madhi, Maharsi Viyasa, Hanuman and Kuan Yin);
- (2) Semar (Java's head guardian spirit) and his sons as spiritual advisors of the UN;
- (3) the '16,000 Trimarga [Yoga] Experts';
- (4) the '40 Arahats';
- (5) the '9999 Wanita Utama' (Ideal Women); and
- (6) the Sapta Gama Super Institute itself.

While the cosmology is quite catholic in its attempt to incorporate identities from diverse religious sources, its underlying structure is Hindu-Buddhist. This can be seen especially in the three-fold aspect of the Transcendent Being, which has parallels in ancient Javanese Hindu and Buddhist texts. The ancient Javanese Shaivite system, for example, spoke of three manifestations of the Absolute (*niskala*, *skala niskala* and *sakala*); the ancient Javanese Buddhist system similarly included three realms of being (Dharmakaya, Sambhogakaya and Nirmanakaya) (Hadiwiyono 1967:67). This three-fold schema appeared more clearly in an English language essay written by Hardjanto in the same year, his 'Ramayana According to the Madhya-Langka Tradition'. There he referred to the 'Unmanifested', the 'Universal Being' and 'Its Triple Manifestation'. Thus he observed, 'The Unmanifested can never be reached except via the Universal Being. Identity with the Universal Being can never be accomplished except via Its Triple Manifestation as Manifesting-Preserving-Transforming Principles with the media [mediation?] of the Eight Lords [lesser deities]' (1964:6). Note that this reference also demonstrates the monistic relationship between the adept and the Divine, the former seeking to 'accomplish identity' with the Latter.

The primacy of Hindu cosmological thinking in his approach

at this time is also illustrated in a chant that was printed on the reverse side of the chart. There Narayana (Vishnu as High God) was celebrated as, 'Every direction in the physical universe, Every direction in the spiritual universe, Bathara Kala, Kalki Avatar, Ra, Buddha, Mochamad, Logos, Anima Mundi, Fernana Akerna, Allah, Amaterasu, Ain-Soph, and Tao' (Hardjanto 1946b:2). Narayana, in other words, is That from which all being proceeds. He then equated the Trimurti (Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva) manifestation of Narayana with 'Roschul, Mochamad, Allah' in Islam and 'The Holy Ghost, God the Son, God the Father' in Christianity (ibid:2). Once more, he reached out to as many traditions as he could and showed them to be misconstrued portrayals of his, basically Hindu-Javanese, Truth.

Just as Hardjanto's early sixties writings produced for the first time both a detailed and systematic account of the spiritual reality to be sought by adepts, those writings also provided the first detailed and systematic programme for the practice that was to be the means for realizing spiritual truth. That programme was printed, together with the celebration of Narayana, on the cosmological chart. In the same year (1964) the programme was reprinted on the wrappers for the incense he sold at his tea shop.

The programme clearly related to his 1953 discussion of the spiritual nature of human being, wherein he argued that people are a conjoining of the forces he called 'Nyava' and 'Suksma'. Thus the first two parts of the programme (the 'Marga Waspadha' and the 'Marga Waskitha') set out seven steps each for the realization of, respectively, 'Kesadaran Nyava' (Nyava Consciousness) and 'Kesadaran Suksma' (Suksma Consciousness). The steps in each case began with the regulation of breathing, and proceeded to 'mantra' or short verbal formulae 'according to one's own religion', and specific visualization practices. The steps then culminated in a realization in the form of a vision. The third part of the programme, the 'Marga Witjaksana' aimed at achieving 'Kesadaran Atma' (Atma Consciousness), once again with the help of one's choice of mantra and the manipulation of the attention. As with the first two parts a particular vision was specified as the sign of accomplishment of the practice.

The fruit of the practice he referred to as 'Kesadaran Trimarga' (Three-fold Path Consciousness). Lest the reader not appreciate immediately where God came in to all of this, he explicitly raised the issue, answering that the consciousness achieved was consciousness of God. He added that there was, indeed, no other way to know God. Thus he wrote:

Where is God (*Tuhan*) that is the climax of Wisdom? The answer is: God is the Substance that brings the vital stream of life to Marga-Waspadha, Marga Waskitha and Marga Witjaksana. It is absolutely impossible to reach the consciousness of God . . . by neglecting . . . these three Margas . . . (Hardjanto 1964a:2).

This point was clarified further in his introduction to the Trimarga

programme as printed on the incense wrapper (Hardjanto 1946c:1). 'Trimarga', he wrote, 'is Narayana manifested'. Thus God, referred to earlier simply by the non-specific Indonesian language term *Tuhan*, here is identified as Narayana (Vishnu as High God).

Yet further explication of Trimarga practice was given in the Ramayana essay referred to earlier. On this occasion, in addition to offering further clarification of 'Nyava' (the 'Life of the Instincts') and Suksma (the 'Life of the Emotions') (Hardjanto 1964b:8), he introduces for the first time the concept of 'yoga' to refer to his 'psychological praxis'. Thus he asserts that 'Yogamaya' or the set of practices aimed at achieving God-realization and its powers, is 'the central theme of the Ramayana' (ibid:2).

Supernatural Powers in the Early Writings

In explaining this last assertion, that 'yogamaya is the central theme of the Ramayana', we necessarily enter into a discussion of the issue of supernatural powers and their place in religious activity. Hardjanto's view of the 'central theme' of the Ramayana was that it was concerned precisely with the practice of yoga *in order to acquire* supernatural power and exercise it justly in the mundane world. Further, he argued, this practice was an indigenous product of the Indonesian peoples. Western scholars, he said, had mistakenly construed Indonesians as 'culture beggars' who merely passively received from India a tale about that country (home of Prince Rama) and Sri Langka (home of Rama's opponent, the giant king Ravana) (ibid:2). Actually, he said, the tale concerns India and 'Langka-Dhvipa', a now largely submerged continent of which the Indonesian islands as well as far flung islands to the west and east are remnants. Indonesia ('Madhya Lanska'), as the centre of the ancient civilization of that continent, produced the body of knowledge called 'yogamaya', the way of god realization. Prince Rama, he asserted, demonstrated the use of yogamaya, with its attendant powers to conquer evil Ravana.

Hardjanto construed Rama as a 'prince-hermit', suggesting that he was making the best of his exile by practicing asceticism for spiritual purposes. Realizing his god-nature, Rama (actually an incarnation of Vishnu) was then able to command the powers 'symbolically embodied' in the goddess Shri Radha (ibid:2). This goddess, he explained, herself commands the powers or *shaktis* of the Trimurti, as represented in the forms of their consorts, Saraswati, Lakshmi and Parwati (ibid:2). In this way Rama gained access to the powers of the universe to destroy his opponent and demonstrate yogamaya to the world. Rama, he asserted, then taught his yogamaya doctrine to Vibhisana, who was made king of Langka in Ravana's place (ibid:2). Hardjanto, considering the Indonesian people to be the 'true descendants of Vibhisana', claimed that the Ramayana was a direct inheritance from their own ancestor (ibid:5).

A closer look at how Rama was supposed to have acquired

supernatural powers helps to clarify Hardjanto's cosmology. The details of Rama's yogamaya, he asserted, were recorded in a poem, the *Asta Brata*, used for the instruction of kings in the old Javanese courts. He quoted at length and translated passages dealing with the prince-adept's acquisition of the powers of the Hindu-Javanese elemental deities (Indra, Yama, Surya, Candra, Bayu, Kuwera, Baruna and Agni). Into the passage, interestingly, he interpolated phrases that suggested that the adept must realize higher deities (as he puts it, 'attain identification with the Trinity Lord Himself') before he could attempt to control the 'Eight Lords' (the elemental deities) (ibid:3). Thus the following passage is presented:

Lawan sira kinonaken katwanga,
Apan han bhathara munngwi [sic] sira;
Wwalung hyang apupul ryyawak sang prabhu,
Dumeh sire maha prabhawasama.
'Hyang Indra Yama Surya Candranila,
Kuwera Barunagni nahan wwalu;
Sira ta maka angga sang bhupati,
Matang niran inisthi Asthabrata.

And it is given the following translation:

After this he is ordered to become king, Because the Trinity Lord is in him, (Including as Its . . . consequence) The Eight . . . Lords . . . assembled within the body of the king. Due to this fact, he has supreme (cosmic and social) power incomparable.

'Indra (the Lord of Rain), Yama (the Lord of Death), Suryya (the Lord of the Sun), Candra (the Lord of the Moon), Bayu (the Lord of the Air), Kuwera (the Lord of Prosperity), Baruna (the Lord of the Sea), Agni (the Lord of Fire), really these Eight Lords,

Are constituting the eightfold body of the king (thus nine with his [Self, who is the incarnation of the Trinity Lord),

Just because of that, always apply this eightfold realization (in your practical state affairs) (ibid:3).

Hardjanto acknowledged that he was taking liberties in his translation on the matter of the 'Trinity Lord', but he insisted that a narrowly academic approach to the task would miss the true meaning that a Javanese adept would certainly see in the passage (ibid:3). Expanding the real meaning behind the passage he explained that with 'Trinity Lord' (Trimurti) identification comes 'transcend(ance) . . . (of the) . . . instinctive, emotional and rational faculties' which allows the adept to submit his will to a higher purpose (ibid:7). Without that the adept is in danger of using the powers of the 'Eight Lords' for selfish purposes with dire social consequences (ibid:7).

Furthermore, with Trimurti identification come the powers of one of those Lords, Shiva. These 'Eight Super Human Powers or Siddhis' he lists as follows:

1. the power of becoming as small as the infinitesimal (Animan)
2. the power of increasing in size at will (Mahiman)
3. the power of neutralizing the effect of gravitation (Lagiman)
4. the power of fascination (Vashita)
5. the power of suppressing any desire (Kama-Vasayita)
6. the power of irresistible will-power (Pra'Kamya)
7. the power of getting to any place instantly (Prapti) and
8. the power of attaining supremacy (Ishita)⁸ (ibid:4).

He concluded, 'These now are the siddhis of Shiva, the application of several of which is clearly and fully demonstrated by the Ramayana' (ibid:4).

The Ramayana essay's discussion of the goals of the adept reinforces the picture sketched from other sources on Hardjanto's cosmology. The divine is a hierarchy of spiritual being, the higher reaches of which consist of a tripartite manifestation of the Absolute. Here that 'Trinity Lord' is presented as the Hindu Trimurti, presumably because the essay deals with a Hindu Javanese tradition, the Ramayana. That the supernatural beings described are related to one another as orders of manifestation of one all-pervading essence in a monistically conceived universe is evident from his insistence, as in earlier documents, that the spiritual Self of a human being can identify with the divine in all its orders of manifestation.

Further, and I see this as an integral part of the Javanese monistic standpoint, the gods are realized plainly for the purpose of acquiring their powers. This is a position that is, I think, especially objectionable to Indonesian mystics in the dualist Sufi tradition. The classical Sufi dualist of pre-modern times felt constrained to continually acknowledge his dependence as the Created upon his Creator, One whose powers he enjoyed only through the kindly disposition of the Creator to offer those gifts of grace. It would be heinously presumptuous within that framework to set out to acquire the powers of the Creator.

I suggest that the Dutch social contacts of the Javanese bureaucratic elite in the late colonial period discouraged those highly influential bearers of Java's mystical traditions from professing an interest in powers at all, be they gifts of grace or otherwise. Magical powers, indeed any transpersonal phenomena, were likely to be branded superstitions and put aside like another (to the Victorian mind) indecent focus of older Javanese religious interest, sex (cf. Anderson 1977:28). At any rate in my own contacts with genteel, Dutch-educated mystics I have found that peace of mind (*ketenteraman*) and health are the goals readily avowed, whereas the exercise of powers is a subject of great interest but not claimed as a primary goal for oneself.

Hardjanto was sensitive to a similar attitude toward magical powers in English language writing on Hinduism, and he protested against it in the Ramayana essay. Thus in this context one of his favourite authors, R. Guenon, came in for blame as well as praise:

The reading of R. Guenon is indeed a must for Oriental Orientalists, as far as he has achieved great success in correcting the distorted vision . . . of [his] teachers, the Western Orientalists. . . . What, however, needs second consideration is his looking down on the acquisition of the Siddhis (Supernatural Powers) as something unworthy, though in this he is loyal to his Indian commentators (ibid:6).

This view, that he later on characterized as involving the belief that the siddhis are mere 'superadditions' or 'accidental' results, not a [necessary] consequence of divine realization' (ibid:6), he considered pernicious. Only by witnessing the use of the siddhis by a master, he argued, could ordinary people know the true intimate of the Divine:

This mentality [which disparages the siddhis] gives birth to the tragic fact, that . . . the border-line between theory and practice becomes vague . . . and in its place . . . [a] fertile ground [is created] for charlatanism to flourish. For the layman it becomes very difficult indeed to know Jesus among the Pharisees. What should remain of Jesus if we should rob him of all his miracles? The sacrificial spirit of man should not have been known through the thousands of cases of martyrdom! (ibid:6).

So, he claims, it is actually the 'duty' of adepts 'to prove the existence of God' by demonstrating the siddhis (ibid:6).

For the adept the powers also play an essential teaching role. Thus he remarked that:

Robbing this Triple Manifestation [the Trimurti] of these Eight Lords [i.e., of their powers over nature] is as impossible and illogical, [and] therefore [as] false, as robbing the sun of its sunshine or fire of its warmth. . . . These Siddhis have always to form the proof SUI GENERIS that one is on the right track! Let this be the objective guidance for all those who are struggling to become genuine metaphysicians! (ibid:6).

The idea that God-realization necessarily involved the acquisition of divine powers and that the adept should shamelessly seek those powers is present in the earliest of Hardjanto's writings. In the 'biographical note' with which he prefaced his 'Spiritual Message' of 1953 he acknowledged that the demonstration of supernatural powers had affected his own conversion from materialism to the spiritual and he presented that path to his readership so that they might join in safeguarding humankind by supernatural means from the destructive products of Western science. Thus he wrote, 'though deeply hidden there are in man super-cosmic forces [which] if fully unveiled . . . are able to disvalidate even the deadly effect of the atomic bomb . . .' (1953:3). In support of this view he introduced his own translation of a passage from the *Nitisastra*:

. . . by purifying his consciousness [the adept] reflects the Trinity-Life [the Trimurti] and is able to utilize the . . . faculties of God; he can command and transform the cosmic elements. 'Sura-sudira jayanikanang rat, syuh-brastha tkapning ulah Dharmastuti . . .'. The translation of which is . . . 'The most powerful cosmic forces . . . are reduced to nothing . . . if confronted with the super-cosmic forces which are the consequences of that state of consciousness which is called: Dharmastuti' (ibid:11).

This very practical interest in mysticism is evidenced in an address written by Hardjanto and a colleague for the national congress on mysticism held in Surakarta in 1956 (Hardjanto and Darsono 1955-56). The authors proposed the foundation of an 'Occult Powers Mobilization Council' (*Dewan Mobilisasi Daja-daja Gaib*) that was to co-ordinate activities of departments operating in a wide variety of areas ranging from education, politics, natural disasters, health, psychology, science, information and world peace. The departments (other than Education, Science and Information) were to undertake direct intervention through supernatural means in human problems. Thus the Natural Disasters Department was to stop volcanic eruptions, 'correct' weather patterns that threaten human life and combat disease (ibid:104). The Health Department was to launch a programme of 'Psychosomatic Hygiene' and establish hospitals in which cures would be affected using occult powers. The Peace Department, for its part, was to mobilize adepts around the world for a massive campaign to alter the spiritual atmosphere of the earth, projecting and magnifying peaceful vibrations. 'Foreign Affairs' had a similar task, in that it was to build up international linkages amongst spiritualists (ibid:104).

In the area of education Hardjanto and Darsono proposed the founding of a rather unusual sort of 'university' concerned not only with the development of 'intelligence' (*Intelligensia*) and 'The Intellect' (*Intelek*), but also with feelings ('*Hati*'; '*Perasaan*') and the mind as a spiritual faculty ('*Budhi*'). In this last area, which was their chief concern, they avowed interest in fostering a variety of qualities: creativity (*kriasi*); tranquility (*ketenteraman*); wisdom (*kebidjaksanaan*); vigilance (*kewaspadaan*); . . . and last but not least (if one can judge from the general tenor of the proposal) supernatural power (*kesaktian*) (ibid:100).

The above discussion focuses on Hardjanto's interest in supernatural powers as the fruits of yogic practice: the individual's spiritual progress was said to be marked by the acquisition of *kesaktian* or the *siddhis*, and these were to be used by the adept for the benefit of humanity. He had another interest in supernatural powers, however. This was their embodiment in a saviour or avatar who would radically transform the world in which we live, initiating an order of peace and prosperity. This theme, like the more general argument concerning

powers, was sounded in his earliest writings and has been echoed in his later work through to the present day. Thus the 'Spiritual Message' mentions that, 'the great religious movements have been expecting the coming of a prophet or avatar' (1953:29) and mentions the Christ, the Imam-Madhi, and the Kalki Avatar; it also discussed at some length the predictions of the nineteenth century Javanese court poet Ronggowarsito.

The Nusupan guide book (Hardjanto 1958) enters into the subject much more dramatically in an article that recounts addresses on the subject to Hardjanto by a company of distinguished spirits. These deities, supposed to have gathered about Hardjanto following the descent of the *wahyu*, urged him to prepare the community for the coming of an avatar and the founding of a new world order centered in Surakarta. The first of these rather sensational messages was reportedly delivered by the nine Chosul Alam as follows:

The region of Surakarta-Hadiningrat is the chosen place for the birth of a civilized race that will be capable of ruling the world! (Hardjanto 1958:12).

The Chosul Alam were then followed by no less a figure than the god Shiva ('Hyang Siwah'), who reinforced the first message:

The distinguished Vishnu will have to make up his own mind, but as for me, I and the whole company of spirits that are sheltered by The Great One [Hyang Wening-Hyang Wenang] are unconditionally behind you (ibid:12).

Vishnu (Sri Bathara Wishnumurti) then presented himself, we are told, and spoke:

This is the place in which I will incarnate to carry out my duty [*dharma*] [of establishing] a World at One. Happy will be those who on meeting me are able to recognize me amongst the rabble! Unfortunate are those who knowing me fail to acknowledge me! Every government that works for my One World will be fostered; those that oppose me will be destroyed. Such is the wish of the One Lord [Hyang Tunggal] [expressed] through me (ibid:12).

That the avatar would be the embodiment of supernatural powers through which the new spiritual order would be established is made explicit in the prophecy Hardjanto printed his Ramayana essays:

- a. Bathara Ismaya [a form of Java's guardian spirit, Semar] and Bathara Vishnu as Kalki-Avatar will be reincarnated simultaneously with the eruption of Mt Merapi.
- b. The developing of Spiritual Science (agama = science; buddhi = spiritual) by Bathara Vishnu as World-Teacher, capable of preserving World Peace, by way of His All-Pervading Unitary Power.

- c. In this way, the own identity of the Madhya-Langka [Indonesian] people is rediscovered: Buddhi (the spiritual faculty of man) enables man to know the existence of the Omnipotent God, who can be reflected by man, His Image. God will live through the Unitary Man, capable only of unitary action (Hardjanto 1958:1, italics added).

Thus the Kalki Avatar is to use Vishnu's power to awaken the spiritual faculties of humanity and to preserve peace.

The importance of the powers of the avatar was stressed even more forcefully in the commentary following on from the prophecy:

... even the Supreme Lord Himself has promised to come down as low as the earth as Kalki Avatar, in order to solve the ever-growing problems of the atomic age with its cosmos-annihilating challenge. Should we be deprived of the Siddhis, nothing of Him should remain except empty talking like ordinary mortals! (ibid:6).

The supernatural powers, in short, must be seen as a feature of paramount importance to Hardjanto, not only in his programme for spiritual education but in his hopes for messianic social transformation.

Practice in Practice

As Hardjanto made so much in his writings of mystical practice as opposed to 'mere' belief, I think it is appropriate to conclude with a discussion of his practice and direct (i.e., oral, person-to-person) teaching of mysticism. As I said, I met him for the first time in 1971, so I did not observe his pre-Hindu practice. I did, however, get to know several of his students who had been with him since the mid-1950s and some associates who had known him considerably longer. Also the *Ziarah ke Nusupan* booklet and the newspaper report on the descent of the *wahyu* both contain contemporary descriptions of activities at his 1950s Nusupan retreat. The 'Ramayana' essay (1964) also contains a reminiscence of the Nusupan days. Finally, the 'incense wrapper' prints directions for a ceremony that has been performed regularly since the early sixties, and I have frequently seen it performed.

The core of his written instructions for yoga practice was a set of meditational techniques. These involved breath control and control of mental activity, including exclusion of random projections and the substitution of specific visualizations. Techniques of this sort appeared in all but one essay in the 1953-65 period that offered instructions on practice (1953, 1944-46, 1964b). The exception was the Nusupan booklet (1958). That booklet was written for a somewhat different audience than the other essays: its audience was mainly Javanese and Indonesian Chinese of varied educational backgrounds,

whereas the other writings were for a more cosmopolitan Indonesian audience (even in some cases an international audience) of rather high educational attainments.

The Nusupan booklet did not actually prescribe meditational techniques as such at all. What it did do was announce that instruction was offered by the master and his assistants in certain kinds of ascetic practices:

For those who are absolutely determined, refusing to retreat from their goal of meeting all the Souls [Arwah] as quickly as possible, GUIDANCE in Three Paths is offered:

1. Only eat white rice and clear water for fourteen days,
2. Submerge oneself [up to the neck] in water beginning at midnight until three in the morning every night for forty days, and
3. Stay awake not sleeping a wink for four days and nights (Hardjanto 1958:7).

These ascetic practices were all part of the standard repertoire of Javanese mystics. The only indication that there was something special offered in the area of technique was the assurance given that the method was 'scientifically' based:

When you make pilgrimages to holy places [*tempat keramat*, actually places where souls or other supernatural powers are sought] generally [your actions are] based on faith [*kepercayaan*] alone, whereas people who come to Nusupan can tread an Experimentally Scientific Path (ibid:7,10).

The contrast between other methods based on faith and his 'scientific' method was made even more forcefully elsewhere in the booklet:

The FACTOR of FAITH [*KEPERCAYAAN*] is here ERASED COMPLETELY!!!! to be replaced by INSTRUCTION that is EXPERIMENTALLY SCIENTIFIC. Indeed the MYSTICAL knowledge disseminated from NUSUPAN is in COMPLETE OPPOSITION to all other [non-scientific] mystical schools, whether they be disguised as RELIGION (*Agama*) or [simply present themselves as] spiritual knowledge [*ilmu*]!! (ibid:2)

What the scientific technique was, was not made clear in the booklet. Presumably it was the meditational practices described in his other writings and discussed above.

What is interesting to me in these passages on 'guidance' offered at Nusupan is the admission that quite traditional techniques of asceticism were indeed a part of the master's instructions to adepts. This corrects the impression one might get from reading his other more up-market essays that perhaps he had pruned the old repertoire of Javanese mystical practices of elements that might appear 'superstitious'. In any event, the very same ascetic techniques mentioned in the booklet are today practiced by Hardjanto's students, and those of his students who date back to the 1950s report using such practices all along.

There is also evidence that another element of traditional Javanese mystical practice, the making of offerings to deities, was a part of his method despite the fact that both his strict Muslim and Christian contemporaries were wont to label such goings on as 'superstitions' too. This evidence comes from the incense wrapper whereupon was printed, in addition to the Trimarga yoga method, instructions for performing an 'Apocalyptic Ceremony Recognising Buddha P[rotector o.f] N[ations]' (Hardjanto 1964c:1). The instructions directed 'the head of the family/group' to entone a particular chant while the others 'prayed' silently, and detailed a set of six offerings to be prepared for the ceremony. The chant in Sanskrit addressed a bevy of deities, both Hindu and Mahayanist in character. The offerings were composed of elements used in standard Javanese life crisis rituals, but arranged in novel combinations. From the description the ceremony is clearly the one still performed on Hardjanto's *selapan*, i.e., his Javanese 'birthday' celebrated every thirty-five days on the conjunction of his days of birth in the seven day week (Rabu, Jav., or Buda, O.J.) and five day week (Pon, Jav.). The title of the ceremony thus can be seen to contain a reference to this occasion, as the suggested acronym for 'Buddha Protector of Nations' is Buddha Pon.

On the occasions when I have seen this ceremony performed there were no periods explicitly provided for meditation. However, an 'inner circle' would stay up the rest of the night on which the ceremony was held doing meditation in or near a small shrine room adjacent to the hall where the main ceremony was performed. They might also sleep in that area. Clearly the ceremony was part of the mystical practice of those people. It seems reasonable that this was the case in the 1960s when the ceremony was begun in its present form.

It also seems reasonable to infer that other ritual practices carried out by Hardjanto and his students today have always been a part of his yogic path. Thus most of the observable religious activities of his students today consist of visits to and sometimes prolonged stays at holy places (*tempat keramat*) where the adept sets out offerings of flowers, water and incense to the spirits of the place. Usually some feat of asceticism is undertaken in conjunction with such a pilgrimage. This kind of activity is, of course, very popular in Java and is often done simply to gain a favor (such as success in love or advancement in one's profession). In the case of Hardjanto's students, however, the favors they seek are assistance from the spirits in unveiling their own spiritual natures. Marks of success in the endeavour are visions of the helper spirits and accomplishment of the goals of the practices undertaken.

On the basis of this evidence, then, we can say that actual practice in Hardjanto's pre-Hindu tutelary system consisted of three basic elements: meditation, asceticism, and ritual. Only the first of these, what he called his 'Trimarga', did he put forward routinely as his scientific system.

Whether or not his students in his pre-Hindu period considered that they attained the powers that their teacher considered so important cannot be determined. That he considered himself master of those powers is clear from his reminiscence in the Ramayana essay:

About more than eight years ago . . . I was happy as a prodigal child ever could be. I lived in a bamboo cottage with rotting bamboo pillars at the riverside of an island [Nusupan]. I enjoyed the reputation of an accomplished hermit, which was based upon the facts that nature elements became friendly toward the island ever since I had arrived: My yard was never inundated; heavy storms did not destroy my cottage; I was surrounded by close friends, from all layers of the society, who were earnest seekers for Eternal Truth. Occasionally I could produce sufficient food for them out of a handful of rice. Being not yet able to protect their own interest, I was their spiritual refuge. Those who were tobacco planters, needing soft rain at 16 o'clock in the afternoon, got their wish fulfilled; those who were soldiers were safe; those troubled by school exams, passed, etc., etc. Within a hectic society, I could form a harmonious, peaceful society of friends myself.

Then, in one full-moon night, a sudden change took place. Out of beyond the condition of my daily Atma-Consciousness, appearing like lightning stars in the Universal, Lightning Light, I found myself surrounded by the Spirits of former avatars, prophets and sujanas. The Omnipresent Voice gave me the duty to pave the way for the Coming of the Supreme Lord . . . (1964a:6-7).

Conclusion

It is clear that monism has been a central feature of Hardjanto's early writings. He advocated mystical practices aimed at opening up to the adept direct experience of a Divine Being that was at once transcendent and also immanent in humanity. Further, he encouraged the adept to shamelessly seek powers as expectable and desirable outcomes of their spiritual quests. He himself claimed to exercise such powers and professed to use them to prepare the world for the avatar of a new world order. Such a position would not have been uncommon among practicing mystics of his day, but it is not one that was usually acknowledged openly, much less forcefully, before educated cosmopolitan audiences. Dualistic positions were and are the standard fare of the mystical pamphleteers, organizers and conference goers. The situation in this regard is very much the same today.

In examining the terms in which Hardjanto's argument was set out in his early writings, I found that the structure and much of the terms of his cosmology were of Hindu-Javanese origin. Thus he spoke of the human being as a microcosm of the Divine, and pictured that

Divine Being as becoming manifest in several gradations. As for the appellations of the divine manifestations, he used names of both Hindu and Buddhist origin as well as supplying glosses from other religious traditions, including the rejected tradition of his last guru, Islam. Nonetheless Hindu identities predominated, and in the last of his writings of the period the Hindu god Narayana was put forward as the Transcendent Being. Moreover, the primary identity of the avatar Hardjanto professed to be preparing for throughout his early writings was the Kalki Avatar of Vishnu who was expected to work together with Hyang Ismaya/Semar of the Hindu Javanese wayang tradition.

We might say, then, that these early writings of the period before Hardjanto became a leader of explicitly Hindu organizations were *implicitly* Hindu, even Vaisnavite, in a loose sense. The aim of the writings was not, however, to claim an identity with a particular 'world religion'. To the contrary, the aim was to subsume within an explicitly Javanese mystical 'science' as many as possible religious identities, major and minor, from all parts of the world. As Anderson (1977:27) observed, such an impulse to incorporate the expanding world of Javanese experience into the time-honoured Java-centric world view has been much in evidence among mystics since Independence.

In view of later developments in his writing it is also interesting to note that the clear identification of mystical practices with 'yoga' was only beginning to emerge in the last writings of his early period. Further no reference was made to kundalini yoga and the cakras which received much attention in his Hindu period writings and which definitely were part of ancient Shaivaite practice in Java as well as having parallels in pre-modern Javanese Sufi practice.

These remarks summarize the continuity which can be seen in Hardjanto's pre-Hindu writings with the Javanese past, particularly with the ancient tradition of radically monistic mysticism. Yet the summary of his argument reveals as much invention as continuity with the past. Interestingly the novelties in his advocacy of Javanese mysticism, prompted as they were by an expressly acknowledged need to adapt the tradition to 'the modern world', show some remarkable parallels to Indian restatements of Hinduism stimulated, as in Indonesia, by colonial contacts with Western religion, science, education and bureaucratic organization. Students of the Indian Hindu renaissance would hear a familiar ring, for example, in Hardjanto's concern to establish his teachings as 'scientific' and to explicitly counter charges that he was propagating 'supersitions'. Indian parallels are to be found in the early Brahma Samaj that rejected the literal truth of the Vedas and the use of images as foci for worship in order to rid Hinduism of its 'idolatry', and also in the latter day Brahma Samaj in Keshub Candra Sen's 'Laws of Life' that guided the membership to profess: 'My Creed is the science of God which enlighteneth all' (Farquhar 1967:73). Svami Dayananda Sarasvati, whilst taking the opposite view of Vedic authority, similarly affirmed the compatibility

of religions and scientific thought, asserting that the Vedas 'contained all truth, including the ideas of modern science' (Embree 1972:300; Sharma 1981).

Also familiar to the student of Indian religious reform would be the linkage of the defence of Hinduism as rational and scientific with attempts to foster national pride and forward national self-determination. Swami Dayananda and Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan are just a few of the most illustrious to make such connections, though many others of varying stature pursued such a line. Similarly, Hardjanto's idea that problems that threaten the modern world can be solved through the application of Hindu-inspired spirituality sounds as a distant echo to Radhakrishnan's claim that the 'religion of the spirit' would 'enable the world to attain perfection, solving its profoundest problems' (Minor 1981:306). Even Hardjanto's drive to recast the tutelage of mystics — once secretive, highly personalized and smallscale — into the mold of modern universities, with the grander scale, greater social respectability and popular accessibility associated with them, finds its parallels in the 'universities' of the Transcendental Meditation movement and other sixties-plus generation Hinduisms.

Still another feature common to Hardjanto's writings and to the Indian Hindu reform movements (as well as to the numerous other Javanese 'new religions' of the 1950s and 60s) is their willingness to assimilate elements from other religions. This openness, sometimes less charitably referred to a 'eclecticism' (Bharati 1971:71) was a feature of religious life in both India and Indonesia from ancient times, although the justifications for it have changed in recent times (ibid:83-84) and the liberality with which it is applied has increased considerably, to the extent that the Vedanta Society could declare that 'all religions are true' (Farquhar 1967:203) and the present-day Indian intelligentsia are often heard asserting that Hinduism 'embraces every religion' (Bharati 1971:83).

Some other features of modern Hindu reform in India that are new to the tradition there or represent new emphases find parallels in Hardjanto's movement that are not innovative in the Javanese context. These features include the universalism of the teachings and the emphasis on the derivation of lesser deities from a single transcendent deity. These features in Hardjanto's theology clearly originate from the Islamic influence of his teachers' tradition, although some reinforcement from Christian thinking in his environment might also be a factor. (In modern India, as is well understood, Christian influence was a major factor in promoting universalism and emphasis upon 'The Absolute' in preference to its numerous manifestations.)

Yet in one respect Hardjanto's reformulation of Javanese mysticism for modern people differs very strikingly from the mainstream of the Indian reform movement: this is in the attitude the practitioner is urged to adopt toward the Divine. Whereas in India Christian influence stimulated interest in Hindu traditions of a personal and loving God, giving new popularity especially to old *bhakti* practices,

in Hardjanto's early (and later) writings the love aspect of God is absent. His claim that realization of the identity of the soul with the Transcendent Being brings a sense of 'oneness' which overcomes loneliness is not elaborated into a doctrine of loving submission to God's will and delight in His favours. Rather, the yogi is supposed to undertake the conquest of the powers of the Divine through the exercise of his human will. Whereas for Svami Sivananda, for example, Radha is the very image of love of the Divine, for Hardjanto she is the key to Its powers. Whereas for Sathya Sai Baba God's love is the ultimate object of spiritual striving and 'miracles' merely draw humanity close enough to feel Its supreme blessing, for Hardjanto the powers themselves are the ultimate objects of striving. And whereas for Keshub Candra Sen Jesus was a moral hero and teacher of forgiveness, for Hardjanto He was a master magician. It follows that the new interest amongst Indian Hindus of the renaissance in charitable works inspired by the concept of a loving God did not find parallels in the teachings of this Javanese master of the occult. Rather the good of the world was to be won through that ancient Javanese technique: the infusion of order and prosperity into the realm of people from the realm of the gods through the adept's exercise of a phenomenal will.

Notes

1. See, for example, Baird, Farquhar and Spencer.
2. 'Islam Jawa' was the name Javanese syncretists sometimes gave to the kind of Islam they practiced before the 1965 legislation on religion obliged them to choose one of six named religions (see text below) and strengthened the orthodox Muslims in their campaign to discourage the identification of local rituals and saint cults with Islam.
3. For more detail on recent Indonesian religious history, including the history of other reform movements identified as Hindu, Buddhist and mystical (*kebatinan*), see Howell 1982.
4. *Tapas*, or feats of asceticism, are techniques for exercising the will and enhancing meditative concentration in order to bend fate in accordance with some worldly or spiritual desire. Seclusion, or relinquishment of companionship and the accustomed distractions it brings, is the basic element in the performance of *tapa* (although lesser abstinences may be performed without it). Seclusion may be partial or absolute (for a period of time) and may be intensified by other deprivations. In the instance cited the partial seclusion of the island became full seclusion in one of the grave enclosures on the site and probably other abstinences were practices, as described later in the text.

5. *Wahyu* in the Javanese tradition is a manifestation of divine favour or election, most significant in designating the rightful ruler, but also evident around spiritually powerful people not destined to head the state.
6. The Panca Sila (Five Pillars) are a statement of basic principles upon which the Constitution of the country rests. *Ketuhanan* ('belief in God' or 'Godliness') is the first of the five principles. Interpretations of *Ketuhanan* vary considerably amongst Indonesians, as do attitudes towards the Panca Sila itself (see, for example Howell 1982:500).
7. The source of this quotation is actually a speech delivered to the Third Congress on Mysticism in Jakarta in 1958. The text was reprinted in the *Ziarah* booklet.
8. No source was cited, but he clearly follows the standard English language sources on the subject.

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