

Cockfighting in Javanese Muslim Society during the Nineteenth and the Early Twentieth Century

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Abstract: This study aims to analyze the thoughts of Javanese Muslims on cockfighting in the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. It has been a custom and culture since humans domesticated chickens. At first, it had a sacred connotation. It eventually devolved into a profane gamble. Although Islam banned animals fighting and gambling, the tradition continued during the Islamic era. This study examines (1) the reasons why Javanese Muslim culture enjoys cockfighting, (2) the forms of Javanese Muslim thought about cockfighting in Javanese manuscripts from the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, (3) its influence on colonial and royal rule in Java. Research showed that some thoughts normalized cockfighting and cockfight gambling, but some viewed the game as an evil deed during the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.

Keywords: Javanese Muslim, Cockfighting, Javanese manuscripts, Colonial Government

Introduction

Cockfighting is a culture found in various parts of the world. It was popular in Europe, Asia, and America from the sixteenth century to the twentieth century. It has been found in Greece since Themistocles (524–460 BCE). It was related to the activities of religious rituals and political institutions in Athens, Greece.¹ During

¹ Parikshit Chakraborty, "Social Impact of Cock Fight: The Study among the Santals," *Research Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 9, 4 (2018), p. 754; Eric

the Christian era, the Christian clergy opposed this tradition was. However, it continued to spread to Italy, Germany, Spain, and their colonies, including England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland.² Cockfighting is a symbol of the fighting spirit in Greek culture. The chicken is interpreted as a symbol of sexuality and masculinity. Therefore, the cockfighting ritual represents both military and sexual conquest.³

In India, Cockfighting is also practiced. The Harappa culture, which flourished in the Indus River Valley between 2500-2100 BCE, is credited with starting this custom. Since 1000 BCE, cockfighting has had religious significance for the people of the Indus River Valley. It developed in the West Bengal region of India. It was also popular in China, Persia, and other Eastern countries at the time.⁴ Cockfighting became an arena to protect territory and family pride since the rooster symbolized courage and resistance.⁵ Cockfighting has become universal that has spread throughout Southeast Asia, including the *Nusantara* (Indonesian archipelago).

This culture can be traced back to the Javanese domestication of chickens in *Nusantara*. Evidence of the domestication of chickens (*Gallus gallus*) is carved in the reliefs of Borobudur Temple.⁶ Reid recorded Hindu-Buddhist inscriptions in Java that described the religious culture of cockfighting, an essential part of temple feasts, ordinations, and pilgrimages. The blood of a rooster

Csapo, "Deep Ambivalence: Notes on a Greek Cockfight (Part I)," *Phoenix* 47, 1 (1993), p. 8.

² Parikshit Chakraborty, "Historic Cock Fight among the Santals: An Anthropological View," *Social Science & Humanities International* 2, 1 (2018), p. 14.

³ Csapo, "Deep Ambivalence, pp. 10-16.

⁴ Parikshit Chakraborty and Falguni Chakraborty, "Cock Fight: A Symbolic View of Social Status," *International Journal of Social Science* 6, 1 (2017), p. 39; Parikshit Chakraborty, "Cock Fight: The Flow of Blood," *The Asian Man, an International Journal* 13, 1 (2019), pp. 95-96; Parikshit Chakraborty and Falguni Chakraborty, "Social-Cultural Aspects of Cock Fight: A Study among the Santals of Foringdanga, Paschim Medinipur, West Bengal, India," *Imperial Journal of Interdisciplinary Research* 2, 10 (2016), p. 2116.

⁵ Chakraborty and Chakraborty, "Cock Fight: A Symbolic View of Social Status, p. 40.

⁶ Bambang Agus Suropto and Listia Pranowo, "Relief Jenis-Jenis Fauna Dan Setting Lingkungannya Pada Pahatan Dinding Candi Borobudur," *Manusia Dan Lingkungan* 8, 1 (2001), p. 41.

means a sacrifice to the gods. Cockfighting took place in certain villages, shrines, and festivals. The kingdoms in Java also held cockfighting as a royal prerogative, either for fertility rituals or ceremonies for success in war.⁷

Since the thirteenth century, Islamic political forces have grown. The Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms were in decline in the fifteenth century. Islam spread rapidly in Java. Islamic dynasties ruled over Java in the sixteenth century. New values and norms (Islam) influenced the cockfighting culture. Islamic religious dogmas prohibited cockfighting activities. In Islamic teachings, fighting animals is a terrible deed, and cockfighting is mainly used for gambling. The cockfighting was also detested by the British colonial authority since it was not in keeping with the British character.⁸

However, cockfighting remained a popular game in Java during the colonial era. Thomas Stamford Raffles in *The History of Java* recorded *ádub jágu* (cockfighting), a common game among ordinary people. The cockfighters add the spurs to make the game enjoyable.⁹ For a hedonistic society, the function of the cockfighting ritual has shifted to gambling. Gambling in Javanese is called *botoh*, while rooster in Javanese is called *sawung*. In the old Javanese language, *sawung* also refers to cockfighting. The Javanese people still use this word. Both *sawung* and *sabung* mean cockfighting. Even though cockfighting does not necessarily involve gambling, the definition of *sabung ayam* has been characterised as cockfighting gambling.

The social context of *botoh sawung* (cockfighting gambling) as a game of pleasure and gambling influenced the writing of Javanese manuscripts. Several manuscripts, including *Serat Centhini*, *Pranacitra (Rara Mendut)*, *Serat Tatacara*, and *Serat Adu Jago*, record the Javanese people's preference for cockfighting during the Islamic period.

⁷ Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680 (Volume One: The Lands below the Winds)* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 189.

⁸ Sophia Raffles, *Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1835), p. 333.

⁹ Thomas Stamford Raffles, *The History of Java* (London: Black Parbury and Allen Booksellers to the Hon, 1817), p. 249 and p. 349. In Sumatra, the culture of cockfighting was favored by the Minangkabau people, although the Padri (religionists) group disliked it in the 19th century.

Meanwhile, there are also regulatory texts regarding *botoh sawung* (cockfighting gambling), such as *Serat Angger Pradata Awal Kasultanan Yogyakarta* and *Pranatan Pulisi Tumrap Bāngsa Jawi ing Indiya Nèdèrlan, H. Buning, 1913 (Algemeene Politie Reglement voor de Inlanders in Nederlandsch-Indië)*. The texts reveal that cockfighting is popular among the Javanese, despite the fact that it is prohibited by religion and the government.

Therefore, this study examines cockfighting in Javanese Muslim society during the 19th and early 20th centuries C.E. Some of the problems discussed in this study are (1) the cause of the Javanese Muslim society enjoys cockfighting, (2) the forms of Javanese Muslim thought on cockfighting found in Javanese manuscripts during the 19th and early 20th centuries (3) the influence of cockfighting on the rules of the Colonial Government and the Kingdom of Java.

Several studies related to cockfighting serve as a literature review in this study. Some of Chakraborty's ethnographic studies are a good example.¹⁰ He examined the culture of cockfighting in India that emerged since humans domesticated chickens. However, he did not examine the Muslim society's view on this tradition. Then, Anderson analyzed the concept of cockfighting masculinity in Thailand.¹¹ Marvin analyzed cockfighting as a symbol of masculinity in Spain.¹² Walker and Meijer studied evidence of cockfighting in Medieval and Post-medieval Norway.¹³ Sykes examined the speciality of roosters and the culture of cockfighting in Europe,

¹⁰ Chakraborty, "Social Impact of Cock Fight: The Study among the Santals; Chakraborty, "Historic Cock Fight among the Santals: An Anthropological View; Chakraborty and Chakraborty, "Social-Cultural Aspects of Cock Fight; Chakraborty and Chakraborty, "Cock Fight: A Symbolic View of Social Status; Chakraborty, "Cock Fight: The Flow of Blood."

¹¹ Wann Wibulswasdi Anderson, "Beyond The Cockfight: Masculinity and the Thai Dove-Cooing Contest," *Manusya: Journal of Humanities* 8, 3 (2005), p. 86.

¹² Garry Marvin, "The Cockfight in Andalusia, Spain: Images of the Truly Male," *Anthropological Quarterly* 57, 2 (1984), p. 60.

¹³ Samuel J. Walker and Hanneke J.M. Meijer, "More than Food; Evidence for Different Breeds and Cockfighting in Gallus Gallus Bones from Medieval and Post-Medieval Norway," *Quaternary International* (2020), pp. 1-10.

especially in Roman Britain.¹⁴ Meanwhile, O'Donnel and Smith criticized the research conducted by Geertz on the cockfighting tradition in Bali.¹⁵

These studies did not examine Javanese Muslim thoughts on cockfighting or cockfighting gambling. The number of Research done on the thoughts of Javanese Muslims about *botoh sawung* is very limited. Therefore, this research deserves to be conducted to fill the void of intellectual historiography about Javanese Muslim thought on cockfighting from the nineteenth century to the early twentieth centuries.

This research is arranged by collecting data sources, conducting internal and external criticism, interpreting the data, and compiling the interpretation results in an empirical narrative. It uses data in the form of text in Javanese manuscripts on cockfighting and *botoh sawung*. This study used a history of thought or intellectual approach to examine the thoughts of the Javanese Muslim society about cockfighting followed by gambling.

The study of thought history is a part of an attempt to understand the human experience. This approach is used to examine how people in the past understand ideas, thoughts, arguments, beliefs, assumptions, attitudes, and preoccupations that shaped the intellectual life of society. Intellectual history aims to analyze selected texts in depth.¹⁶ In this study, intellectual history is used to analyze texts about *botoh sawung* in the thought of the Javanese Muslim society during the nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

Tracing the Genealogy of Cockfighting

Chicken (*Gallus*) are a type of bird that can be domesticated or live in the wild. Chickens have a unique value for the people of

¹⁴ Naomi Sykes, "A Social Perspective on the Introduction of Exotic Animals: The Case of the Chicken," *World Archaeology* 44, 1 (2012), p. 158.

¹⁵ Philip Smith, "The Balinese Cockfight Decoded: Reflections on Geertz, the Strong Program and Structuralism," *Cultural Sociology* 2, 2 (2008), pp. 169–186; Casey O'Donnell, "On Balinese Cockfights: Deeply Extending Play," *Games and Culture* 9, 6 (2014), pp. 406–16.

¹⁶ Stefan Collini, "What Is Intellectual History...?," Juliet Gardiner (ed.), *What Is History Today?* (Hampshire and London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1988), p. 105.

Nusantara. In some rituals, chicken is used as an offering. The people of Sumba (East Nusa Tenggara) interpret chickens as sacrifices for rituals.¹⁷ The people of Sumbawa (West Nusa Tenggara) use chicken as an offering at a Megalithic site. The ritual of slaughtering chickens is carried out before the planting season, around November.

Meanwhile, Balinese people usually sacrifice chickens in the *Shiva Tattwa Purana* ritual (the ancient story of Siva's essence) as birth to death rituals. The tradition of cockfighting for rituals in Bali is called *Tajen*.¹⁸ Cockfighting has the meaning of death, virility, anger, pride, loss, and virtue among the Balinese.¹⁹ The blood drops symbolize a plea for humanity to avoid harm.

The chicken is a significant animal in religious life not only for Sumbanese, Sumbawanese, and Balinese, but also for the Javanese. The proof is the temple reliefs on Java which show the figure of a rooster, such as the relief of a chicken at Borobudur Temple,²⁰ the rooster medallion relief at Panataran Temple (12nd – 15th century),²¹ and the rooster medallion at Kidal Temple, Malang (13th century).²² The reliefs of cockfighting in Rimbi Temple.

The rooster medallion is not only a temple ornament but also a symbol of life because the rooster always crows at sunrise and is beneficial for human life as livestock. The medallion is a sign of strength and courage. The chicken has a mystical connotation in the Javanese Hindu-Buddhist culture since it is often frequently used as a sacrificial animal in rituals. The rooster is not only

¹⁷ Dennys Pradita, "Pemikiran Konservasi Burung Di Indonesia Tahun 1894 Sampai 1970an: Dari Kesadaran Kultural Ke Kesadaran Lingkungan" Unpublished Master Thesis, Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta (2020), p. 68.

¹⁸ Clifford Geertz, "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight," *Daedalus* 101, 1 (1972), pp. 1-37.

¹⁹ Smith, "The Balinese Cockfight Decoded," p. 174.

²⁰ Surti and Pranowo, "Relief Jenis-jenis Fauna dan Setting Lingkungannya," p. 41.

²¹ Ranang Agung Sugihartono and Handriyotopo, *Transisi: Wayang, Relief, Dan Animasi* (Surakarta: ISI Press, 2017), p. 9.

²² Ulfatun Nafi'ah et.al., "Perancangan Motif Batik dengan Inspirasi Relief Ornamen Candi Kidal sebagai Pengembangan Corak Batik Desa Kidal," *Jurnal Praksis Dan Dedikasi Sosial* 1, 2 (2018), p. 114.

worshipped or sacrificed in rituals but is also participated in cockfighting as part of sacred ceremonies.

Picture 1. Rooster Medallion at Penataran Temple



Source: <https://telusuri.id/cara-candi-penataran-mengawetkan-hewan/>
(accessed on 14 August 2021)

The tradition of cockfighting is known as *adu jago* or *ngaben sawung* (*sabung*). According to Reid, the cockfighting ritual spread throughout the mainland of Southeast Asia.²³ Each region has different roots or meanings for cockfighting and it evolves over time. Reid picks up a common thread regarding cockfighting in Southeast Asia. Every feast day in Southeast Asia, it is frequently held as a show and spectacle in public places such as markets or other crowded centers.²⁴

²³ Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*, p. 6.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

Meanwhile, in ancient Java, cockfighting was practiced in specific communities, sacred places, and festivals. The court nobles held cockfights exclusively for fertility rituals and ceremonies for success in war.²⁵ Therefore, cockfighting had the nature of ritual and pleasure simultaneously. Perhaps in ancient Java, the pleasure of cockfighting was wrapped in religious discourse.

The story of cockfighting in ancient Java was also found in *Serat Pararaton*. The manuscript, rewritten in 1912, told the story of King Singasari, who was killed during a cockfight. King Anusapati was a king who liked cockfighting. The king sent an exceptional servant to take care of the rooster and train his domestic rooster to be outstanding fighting cocks. Because the roosters were so enormous, the cock keeper was overwhelmed when it came to selecting and preparing the rooster.

“King Anusapati gave orders to the caretaker of the royal rooster. The caretaker took the rooster for a long time because he had to choose the best fighting cock. After taking, (the rooster) was pitted; alternately, the iron stuck in the chicken’s leg targeting everywhere. The cockfighting went lively. The king enjoyed according to his heart’s desire. The cockfighting made him complacent. Unknowingly, Sang Panji Tohjaya immediately pulled the weapon (*keris*) made by Mpu Gandring.”²⁶

According to the manuscript, cockfighting was a pleasure and a spectacle for the life journey in ancient times. The king was said to be complacent when cockfighting. The king’s rooster was an attraction for the people; thus, he was careless. When all were mesmerized by the show, a *keris* (traditional Javanese dagger) pierced the king’s skin. King Anusapati died immediately. This story was passed down orally and in writing from generation to generation.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 189.

²⁶ The original version in Javanese says: “*Sang Narendra Anusapati dhanubnya, mring abdi gadhub pitik, kinèn uméndhêta, sawung adon sajuga, wus inéndhêt gya tinandbing, samya binolang, pyambak tajine mranti. Rame tarungira sawung sakaliban, sang nata lenèng galih, kasalamur loknya, datan mani nglagewa, Sang Panji Tohjaya aglis, narik curiga, yasanya Émpu Gandring...*” See R.M. Mangkudimedja, *Serat Pararaton* (Jakarta: Proyek Penerbitan Buku Sastra Indonesia dan Daerah, 1979), pp. 69–70.

Serat Pararaton became a royal reading in Bali after the Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms in Java fell. The *Pararaton* manuscript had undergone a process of copying and translation since it was found by J.L.A. Brandes in the 1890s. The manuscript was also translated into Javanese. In Javanese terms, the process of copying the manuscript is called *mutrani*. According to several stories of the Hindu-Buddhist period, there were noble groups who had a penchant for *sawung*.

Another inscription mentioning the existence of cockfighting in Java is the *Taji* Inscription. It was discovered in Ponorogo and is thought to have been written in 901 CE. *Sawung* or *manawung karung hayam* held at the *Sima* establishment ceremony. The cockfighting was made more exciting by the presence of dance, food, and drinks.²⁷

“... Playing, dancing, competing with wild boars and roosters, *Tanda Rakryan*, wanted to make jokes to make the village officials happy after *Tanda Rakryan* gathered to dance for four around. It represents a warning from the ruler to its citizens always to be careful and alert when having fun in cockfighting gambling.”²⁸

An inscription mentioning cockfighting gambling is contained in the Leran inscription. The inscription emphasises the importance of vigilance in cockfighting because it is prone to cheating. It represents a warning from the kingdom to its citizens always to be careful and alert when having fun in cockfighting gambling in the old Javanese era.

“People struggle with all bets with big prizes in gambling games regulated by gambling controllers must be watched carefully. They also cheat in the cockfighting game, either without or using spurs in a cockfighting place in case it can be a month of misfortune. Thus, it causes a loss of honor. Step back from the crowd, play *gending* (traditional percussion music), take a breath, walk around, then row carrying a *wajon*,

²⁷ Jan Wisseman Christie, *Register of the Inscriptions of Java 732-1060 A.D. (The Inscriptions of Mataram)* (1999), p. 209.

²⁸ The original version in Javanese says: “...*masino manigel manawun karun hayam. kapua mahyun tanda rakryan maguyuguywan umarsukbawwak nikanan rama i sampun tanda rakryan masawunan manigal ikanan rama kabaih molih.*”

and cover the poles with a covering cloth like a *nagapuspa* (a kind of tree, *Mesua Roxburghii*).”²⁹

Therefore, cockfighting gambling needs to be regulated by the government. Several ancient inscriptions attested to the role of rulers in regulating gambling. According to some ancient inscriptions, a royal official (*Mangilala drnya haji*) took care of gambling. *Wangwang Bangen* (746 Śaka), *Kuti* (762 Śaka), *Gandakuti* (964 Śaka), *Talan* (1058 Śaka), and *Waringin Pitu* (1369 Śaka) inscriptions mention *juru judi* (overseer of gambling). *Juru judi* acts as leaders, heads, and overseers within the kingdom that collects gambling taxes. The inscriptions of *Biluluk IV*, *Pabuharan*, *Wabaru I*, *Padlegan*, and *Lordaru* (1245 Śaka) mention the *tuba judi* (head of gambling) profession. Their job is the same as that of a *juru judi*.

The *Pabuharan*, *Kuti*, *Gandakuti*, *Pupus* (1022 Saka), *Lordaru*, and *Wangwang Bangen* inscriptions mention the *malandan* profession whose job is to oversee and arrange the gambling. *Malandan* took a ten percent stake in a cockfighting or gambling. There is also a *lea* profession which is an assistant gambling supervisor. Cockfighting gambling regulators are called *lebëleb*. The profession of *lebëleb* was often written with the profession of *malandan* and *lea*. The three professions are interrelated and important in gambling. There is a *taji* profession that makes and installs sharp weapons in chicken legs for cockfighting. *Taji* can also collect taxes on sharp weapon installations.³⁰ This reality shows that cockfighting and gambling contain power relations.

Cockfighting is more than just a form of entertainment; it is a political discourse built by the authorities to show their strength. Therefore, the nobles always competed to have the best fighting cock. The ownership of fighting cocks became a symbol of social status among the nobility. Of course, the king’s fighting cock must be the strongest. The king’s charisma was at stake through his

²⁹ The original version in Javanese says: “...*sama sanak anlanakna salwiranin. totohan. mahadinita. judi. papariban. gawur. sabawasanya. mubah. anadwa sawun a tajya tajyana. satajyanya. sawulananya dainya. tlas nin puja pwa. mundurawanya ramyana. agdin gendina. awaywa waywana. mideren banjar. pamikulakna wajon. sawadahanya. anulesana pikulan sabulesanya. makadi nagapuspa...*”

³⁰ Shafrina Fauzia, “Sabung Ayam di Jawa dan Bali dalam Data Prasasti,” *Prajnaparamita Jurnal Museum Nasional* (2018), p. 98

fighting cock. It caused a sentiment among the royal elite. After the ownership of fighting cocks became a prestige, the meaning of cockfighting changed. At first, cockfighting was used to replace war. Cockfighting has resulted in fights throughout its history. This incident often happened after cockfighting had become gambling. Owning a fighting cock became economically valuable because it used bets.

Picture 2. Illustration of cockfighting in Java c. 1596 CE



Source: Atlas of Mutual Heritage, <https://data.collectienederland.nl> (accessed on 14 August 2021).

Cockfighting is a way for court officials or relatives to express their masculinity and channel their hobbies. It provides an overview or common thread regarding the concept of satisfaction or pleasure for Javanese men. Some satisfaction or symbols of perfection in Javanese men are *wanita* (woman), *wisma* (house), *turangga* (horse), *curiga* (kris), and *kukila* (bird). *Kukila* or bird refers to *klangenan* (pleasure) which has a deep meaning in Javanese thought. For Javanese men, *klangenan* can be a chirping bird or a fighting animal. It provides satisfaction or masculinity values for the owners.³¹ Cockfighting in Javanese society did not only refer to a hobby but

³¹ Dennys Pradita, "Mitologi Sampai Perdagangan: Status, Peran, dan Makna Burung dalam Masyarakat Jawa dari Zaman Kolonial Hingga Milenial," Pramana Yuda (ed.), *Konferensi Peneliti dan Pemerhati Burung (KPBB) IV Semarang* (2018), pp. 388-402.

also prestige for the owners. The owner felt “manly” because they had a reliable fighting animal and pride.

However, gambling is a harmful act according to the *Purwadbigama* state *totoban pranidan totoban tan prani*. It indicates moral teaching that humans should avoid gambling because it will bring misery. Cockfighting gambling remained popular through the centuries, the aspects of fun, entertainment, and politics behind it dominated more than the teachings of wisdom.

Cockfighting in Javanese Muslims’ Thought

Islam developed rapidly during sixteenth-century in Java. The Kingdom of Demak and Mataram (Islam) had an essential role in the Islamization of Java. Sufism influenced both Demak and Mataram. Islamic mysticism or Sufism became the dominant sect in Java. This sect was quickly accepted because pre-Islamic mystics still influenced Javanese society.³²

The Javanese accepted the five pillars of Islam but still adhered to customs and mystical traditions. Therefore, Ricklefs used the term ‘mystic synthesis to describe this reality.³³ The term *Kejawen* (Javanism) and Islamic-Javanese syncretism is quite problematic. Boogert criticized this conceptualization because syncretic was a complicated term.³⁴ Acri and Meyer also disputed the conceptualization of Javanism as part of the influence of the Hindu-Buddhist system.³⁵

According to some researchers, Javanese Islam was separated from pure Islam (*kaffah*). Geertz called Javanese Muslims, *abangan* Islam, are different from Islam *putihan* (*santri*).³⁶ Hefner chose the

³² Merle C. Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis in Java: A History of Islamization from the Fourteenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Norwalk: EastBridge, 2006), pp. 5, 20.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

³⁴ Jochem van den Boogert, “Rethinking Javanese Islam Towards New Descriptions of the Javanese Traditions,” Ph.D Dissertation, Universiteit Leiden (2015), p. 353.

³⁵ Andrea Acri and Verena Meyer, “Indic-Islamic Encounters in Javanese and Malay Mystical Literatures,” *Indonesia and the Malay World* 47, 139 (2019), p. 280.

³⁶ Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), p. 5.

term *abanganism*.³⁷ Koentjaraningrat gave the term specifically *agami Jawi* (Javanese religion).³⁸ Woodward used the term *Muslim Kejawen*.³⁹ Beatty chose *Javanism* as a term to distinguish between Javanist mysticism and the practice of Islam.⁴⁰

These researchers negate the fact that the adherents of Javanese Islam were Islam itself. They classified the belief systems and customs of the Javanese Muslim society through the perspective of orientalism. There were no Muslims in Java. The Javanese people practiced Islam which was reflected in their culture. Javanese people professed and practiced Islamic teachings while preserving their cultural traditions. Religion and culture were no longer divided and contrasted in Javanese Muslim society.

Cockfighting is one of the problematic Javanese traditions when it comes to the interaction between religion and culture. Cockfighting is a popular pastime among Javanese. Islam, on the other hand, is a religion that rejects animal fighting. During the nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries, Javanese Muslim groups in rural and urban regions loved cockfighting. Javanese poets recorded their thoughts on cockfighting in texts written between the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries.

Serat Centhini is one of the manuscripts documenting cockfighting as a favorite of the Javanese Muslim society. It was composed by Kanjeng Gusti Pangeran Adipati Anom Amangkunagara III (Sunan Paku Buwana V) in 1814 CE. In *Serat Centhini* (Suluk Tambangraras), the poem of Dhandhanggula *canto* 618 tells of a wedding celebration. The celebration was marked by the teaching Islamic natural studies. The event was enlivened up in

³⁷ Robert W. Hefner, "Where Have Athe Abangan Gone? Religionization and the Decline of Nonstandard Islam in Contemporary Indonesia," Michel Picard and Rémy Madinier (eds), *The Politics of Religion in Indonesia: Syncretism, Orthodoxy, and Religious Contention in Java and Bali* (London & New York: Routledge, 2011), p. 72.

³⁸ Koentjaraningrat, *Kebudayaan Jawa* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1994), p. 312.

³⁹ Mark Woodward, *Java, Indonesia, and Islam* (London & New York: Springer Dordrecht Heidelberg, 2011), p. 115.

⁴⁰ Andrew Beatty, *Varieties of Javanese Religion: An Anthropological Account* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 158.

the afternoon with cock and quail fighting. The evening's festivities included *tayub* dancers (*ronggeng*).⁴¹

The narration in stanzas 84 and 85 tells of a wedding party enlivened by a lively cock and quail fighting. In the next stanza, cock and quail fights were followed by *botohan* (gambling).

“Both sliced through the will, battling the cock without disappointment. The fighting cock was skilled at gripping, making the match fun, looking without being burdensome, and not dull. The muscles and bones hit vital points and airways without loosening the spirit already in your grip. Angling Derma and Ki Amat Supi pitted the rooster, explaining its superiority and belittling the others. Even with the noble, they did not talk to each other during the match, but they were enlivened by placing bets on the two roosters in the arena, namely Modang and Dyan Bei Wiryabrata's rooster, namely Gramang. I was just a little bit hopeful about having fun.”⁴²

The enthusiasm of cockfighting is described in the above tale by village officials and religious (Islamic) leaders. Cockfighting was one of their favorite games. They also gambled. The story in stanza 104 illustrates the value of cockfighting gambling pleasure, which influenced the subject's rationality. According to the story, both Jayengresmi and Jayengraga were Sunan Giri's descendants. Cockfighting was one of their favorite pastimes. The narration

⁴¹ Kangjêng Gusti Pangeran Adipati Anom Amêngkunagara III (Ingkang Sinuhun Pakubuwana V), *Serat Centhini* (Yogyakarta: Yayasan Centhini, 1992). Dhandhanggula, canto 618, stanzas 84-85.

⁴² The original version in Javanese says: “(91) *Wong kalih kang liningan mangarsi, anandhing sawung datan kucing, prigél nekém pambobote, kinarya nandhing mathuk, liring mathuk datan ngéboti, tan kadhib ing sausap, otot balungipun, myang gring-warase tan inang, pangiringing napas tan irir mélédi, wus anèng tékémira; (92) Angling Dërma lan Ki Amat Supi, panandhingirèng sata satata, mèdharakèn pigunane, panglamakira rampung, sinaoskèn mring pra priyayi, tan wus sama ababag, rinamèkkèn sampun, botob kakalih turira, kang punika sampun (ng)gèn-kawula nandhing, sawung-dalèm pun Modang; (93) Lan sawungnya putranta Dyan Bèi, Wiryabrata kang abrit pun Gramang, kang samya dinadosake, Ke Kidang mèsèm muwus, si Lim Dërma bae (m)botobi, mring jagoku si Modang, ya wus pitayèng sun, nak Dyan Bèi Wiryabrata, kèkèdlikan kenala pangajèngnèki, sapantèsing kasukan.” Kangjêng Gusti Pangeran Adipati Anom Amêngkunagara III (Ingkang Sinuhun Pakubuwana V), *Serat Centhini* (Yogyakarta: Yayasan Centhini, 1992). Dhandhanggula, canto 618, stanzas 91-93.*

discusses the thrill of betting as long as one does not have a clear mind. It indicates that the script has discussed the harmful effects of cockfighting gambling. Someone who could explain the nature of Islam participated in *botob sawung* because it was pleasant. They must have been aware of Islam's prohibitions on animal fighting and gambling.

Despite the fact that they were aware of the law prohibiting animal fighting and gambling, they continued to hold cockfights. This story reflects the views of the Javanese Muslim society on the non-contradictory relationship between religion and tradition. They continue to follow Islamic religious practices while simultaneously engage in worldly pleasures. According to Javanese Muslims, sacred and profane demands can be satisfied in a balanced way.

In addition to *Serat Centhini*, *Serat Pranacitra* contains Javanese Muslim thoughts on *botob sawung*. This manuscript was composed based on a manuscript written during Sunan Paku Buwana V in the nineteenth century. During Sunan Pakubuwana VII, this was disclosed.⁴³ This manuscript is still contemporary with *Serat Centhini* even though it is set in the seventeenth century Mataram era. The original manuscript was taken from Surakarta, stored at *Koninklijke Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* No. 163, and spreaded by Bale Pustaka in the 1932.

The story of the fighting is told in the poem *Dhandhanggula* Canto 1, stanzas 42-43. This section discusses about Ki Tumenggung Wiraguna, who wanted to end the fighting match because he thought about Rara Mendut, his idol girl, even though cockfighting was Ki Tumenggung Wiraguna's pleasure. The following narration proves that cockfighting was Ki Tumenggung Tirtawiguna's favorite.

“Those who gathered in front of the gamblers brought the roosters. Furthermore, the noble, *rangga*, *demang*, and *ngabei* brought their best-prided roosters. Everything was complete, Kyai Tumenggung said to Mas Patih Wirakandha to compete immediately. Patih answered. Then, he informed the gamblers. Let us go there, together to compete with their prided cock! The gamblers said to have a match soon, but nothing matched

⁴³ Balai Pustaka Serie No. 449, *Pranacitra (Rara Mendut): Babon Saking Surakarta* (Batawi Sêntrêm: Bale Pustaka, 1932), p. 169.

up yet. The match was smooth. Ki Tumenggung said subtly that each cockfight is too ordinary. It is like a lion in a fight. Will they collide with each other? It is easy to win. It had not been too long; those fighting cocks, all of whom looked surprised, saw Pranacitra, who had just arrived. The gamblers were all amazed.”⁴⁴

Gambuh poem, canto 6, stanzas 3 to 125, tells about the pleasure of playing *botob sawung*. The spectators placed bets on the nobles’ fighting cocks. The story represents *botob sawung* was commonly performed by Javanese aristocrats and was enjoyed by the people as an exciting spectacle. As an exciting game, cockfighting was prepared very seriously.

Serat Adu Jago proves the seriousness of cockfighting. This manuscript was written by Ki Mangunprawira (Pseudonym, Ki Ajar Panitra) in 1939. *Serat Adu Jago* contains knowledge about the origin of cockfighting, equipment for cockfighting, selection of location for cockfighting, suitable forms of fighting cock, movements when pitted, good fighting cocks from origin, good egg selection, maintenance of fighting cock, and terms of rooster based on their age.

Seriousness is shown by the construction of knowledge about the rules for producing quality fighting cocks. Owners of fighting cocks must treat them with respect, providing the highest quality food, choosing the best brooders, and determining superior eggs. Every morning, the owner must bathe and wipe the fighting cock. Every fighting cock’s behavior must be observed; even the mating process of fighting cocks is explained by the writer of *Serat Adu Jago* in detail.

⁴⁴ The original version in Javanese says: “*Inggang andhèr nèng ngayun, pra botob samya ambékta sawung, myang priyayi rāngga démang lan ngabèi, ambékta bombonganipun, sawung ingkang mws pitados. Sampun pépak sadarum, angandika kiyai tuménggung, mring Mas Patih Wirakāndha kinèn tandhing, patih sandika turipun, nulya undhang mring pra botob. Lab sawawi ing ngriku, sami tinandhing bombonganipun, para botob sandika nulya anandhing, nging dèrèng wontèn kang atbuk, panandhinge samya reyon. Ki tuménggung nglingnya rum, padha kapikèn anandhing sawung, singa ingkang kaot wis jamaking tandhing, payo kono goprak-gaprak, méngko gampang arèbut tob. Dèrèng pantara dangu, ingkang samya tètandhingan sawung, ya ta Pranacitra ingkang lagya prapti, kagyat sadaya kang dulu, cingak sagung para botob.*” Balai Pustaka Serie No. 449, *Pranacitra (Rara Méndut)*.

Newly hatched chicks receive particular behavior from the caretaker or the owner. The rooster must be prayed for with the mantra “*lincak gagak welung bingung*” for seven times. For the cock, the mantra recited is “*lincak gagak welung bingung*” seven times. For the hen, the spell recited is “*Si dhendheng, si wangkeng, keng kurungkeng, dbek keng, urat kenceng, sira wangkeng, ati wanuh.*”⁴⁵

The spells contain the hope that the chick can be a fighting cock and the hen can produce many superior eggs. After nine months of age, fighting cocks must be carefully cared for and separated from other roosters: “... The rooster that will be pitted, from the age of nine months must begin to be cared for, caged alone, may not be combined in a rooster cage, each rooster must be caged individually.”⁴⁶

In the next section, the manuscript provides knowledge on caring for fighting cocks. It must be removed from time to time in order to be pleasant. If the rooster is not affected by *naga kalolos* (losing power), it should not commonly mate with the hen or fight with other roosters. The fighting cock is also kept for mating; thus, the rooster does not get *bileng* disease which causes the body to become fat and lose courage when fighting.⁴⁷

Serat Adu Jago also explains the location of the cockfight, the movements of the spectators, and the amount of gambling money during the game. This manuscript states that cockfighting was a popular pastime among the nobles and commoners. The nobles constantly chewed betel during the game. The game of *botob sawung* attracted people’s attention; therefore, the cockfighting arena was always crowded. Some of them peeked between the chairs of the nobles to see *botob sawung*. They enjoyed *botob sawung* because humans are creatures who play games (*homo ludens*).

⁴⁵ Ki Mangunprawira, *Serat Adu Jago* (Yogyakarta: Panti Boedaja, 1939), pp. 14-16.

⁴⁶ The original version in Javanese says: “*Sawoeng ingkang dipoen gadhang badhe kaaben, poenika oemoer 9 boelan, sampoen winit dipoengolawentab, dipoen sengkeri pijambak, mboten dipoen tunggilaken wonten ing kandhang ajam, sengkeran satoenggal sawoeng satoenggal.*” Ibid., p. 24.

⁴⁷ Mangunprawira, *Serat Adu Jago*, p. 26.

According to Huizinga, playing is one of the human instincts, as long as it is older than culture.⁴⁸ The game is not only enjoyable, but it also has a spiritual component.⁴⁹ Huizinga explained some essential factors in playing both individual and communal such as contests, shows, exhibitions, challenges, preening, presenting oneself, pretending, and binding rules.⁵⁰ In this case, *botob sawung* is a game that allows each player to distinguish himself or their group. Every player *Botob sawung* is bound by a set of rules which the gambler must follow. These rules make the game more exciting and even turn it into a place to celebrate the Javanese people's hedonism.

Cockfighting: Its Influence on the Rules of the Colonial and the Javanese Government

Cockfighting has been a topic of debate among scholars for a long time. The prohibition of cockfighting is contained in the Hadith History of Abu Dawud and At-Tarmidhi from the companions of Ibn Abbas RA. In Islamic law, the Al-Qur'an is the highest hierarchy. The following hierarchy is Hadith, Ijma', and Qiyas.⁵¹ The issue of fighting animals is not mentioned in the verses of the Al-Qur'an. The Al-Qur'an describes several types of lawful animals to use, consume, and ride. The Al-Qur'an also mentions the human obligation to love animals. The obligation is interpreted as a prohibition on harming animals. What is prohibited by the Qur'an is gambling. In Al-Ma'idah verse 91, it is explained that gambling is an act that prevents the remembrance of Allah and prayer. Therefore, the element of gambling in cockfighting is prohibited by Islam. Nevertheless, cockfighting is still popular among Javanese Muslims.

⁴⁸ Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (London, Boston, & Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1949), p. 1.

⁴⁹ Stef Aupers, "Spiritual Play: Encountering the Sacred in World of Warcraft," Valerie Frissen et.al (eds), *Homo Ludens 2.0: Play, Media, and Identity* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), p. 75.

⁵⁰ Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture*, p. 47.

⁵¹ Muhammad Khalid Masud, "Shehu Usuman and Fodio's Restatement of the Doctrine of Hijrah," *Islamic Studies* 25, 1 (1986), pp. 65-67.

This reality implies that cockfighting has experienced a shift in meaning since Islam became part of the Javanese people's lives. Cockfighting is not practiced as a sacrificial ritual is in Islam. The Muslim community "obediently" interpreted the cockfighting ritual as a legacy of the local belief system that was not under Islamic teachings during the Islamic period. Other Javanese Muslim communities interpret cockfighting as part of a tradition—those who preserve the tradition of cockfighting interpret cockfighting as a symbol of solidarity. Building solidarity is still in line with Islamic teachings. Thus, they felt they had not committed a violation. Cockfighting was also considered to have educational values by the Javanese people who preserved the game. They assumed it was an ancestral tradition that did not conflict with Islam. Throughout the nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries, the Javanese Muslim community regarded cockfighting as merely a spectacle and entertainment.

At that time, cockfighting games contained elements of spectacle and entertainment that always attracted gamblers. The Javanese Muslim society often participated in cockfighting, which contained gambling, because it was more pleasant than ordinary. In addition, cockfighting became an outlet for the severe burden of life brought on by the colonial government's exploitation. For the nobility, cockfighting gambling was a way to forget the economic and political pressures of the colonial government. They believed that winning cockfighting bets could solve financial issues in a short time. Gambling cockfighting could fill the spare time of the unemployed nobles due to the intervention of colonial policies against the indigenous government.

Cockfighting always draws a large crowd to watch and place bets, making prone to chaos. In the minds of the *santri* community, *Botob sawung* undermines *aqidah* for Javanese Muslims. In *Serat Tatacara* written by Ki Padmasusastra, there is a dialogue between nobles who discusses the pleasantness of playing cockfighting. His interlocutor is a nobleman named Mandangjaplak.

After returning from the Panaraga Islamic Boarding School, one of the nobles reported his son had stopped playing *botob sawung*. His son became a devout worship student who read the *Alquran* every day and enjoyed reciting the *Alquran* in the *langgar* (prayer

room); he went Sastrajendra to study Javanese literature. As a *santri*, the nobleman's son studied nature, *keokrat*, and the science of *falaq*.⁵² Through this conversation, Padmasusastra wanted to message that playing *botob sawung* was an evil deed. *Botob sawung* was like opium, making players want to keep betting despite losing and running out of property.

Padmasusastra's message about the negative impact of *ngabotohan* (gambling) was also conveyed in *Serat Madubasa*. He said: The drunkenness person who likes to gamble, when he has lost of control, his world is like being destroyed. He loses his love for his wife and children, his property runs out, and he likes lying to his family.⁵³

The preceding description shows two Javanese Muslims' thoughts against cockfighting and *botob sawung*. To begin with, cockfighting and *botob sawung* are consider a tradition and a source of joy in Javanese Muslim philosophy. Second, cockfighting and *botob sawung* are considered undesirable practices that are antithetical to religious teachings and self-destructive in Javanese Muslim philosophy.

Cockfighting was often seen as a cause of poverty among Javanese Muslims. Therefore, the Sultanate of Yogyakarta, one of the kingdoms in Java, established regulations to regulate the gambling of animal fights, including cockfighting. According to *Serat Angger Pradata Awal*, Quail, and candlenut fighting were permitted at the district level and above. However, the use of spurs was prohibited by the Sultan of Yogyakarta. *Serat Angger Pradata Chapter 40* explains this regulation.

“In the case of gamble people, I allow for the regent degree and above, who hold competitions and pit quail or hazelnut. However, be careful. People fight if someone makes a case; if someone is injured or dies, punish the person who made the

⁵² Ki Padmasusastra, *Serat Tatacara: Ngadat Sarta Kalakawanipun Têtiyang Jawi, Ingkang Taksih Lumèngkèt Dhatêng Gugon-Tuhon* (Semarang: H. A. Benyamin, 1893), p. 216.

⁵³The original version in Javanese says: “*éndèming wong dhémèn ngabotohan, yèn kalah rupak jagade, sirna katrésnaning marang anak bojone, dibalejèdi nganti balindhis, suwe-suwe mrèmèn angapus-apus marang sanak sadulure.*” Ki Padmasusastra, *Layang Madubasa* (Surakarta: Budi Utama, 1912), p. 4.

gamble. Give a fine of fifty *real*. If the heirs do not accept it for dead or injured people, proceed with the lawsuit to the civil law... Gambling against each other, I do not allow, such as pitting roosters with spurs, pitting crickets. It was the Duke of Danureja who set the punishment. The person who founded the gamble earlier, you will be fined twenty-five *real*. If you don't get a fine, you can whip a hundred times. As for those who come to gambling, you are fined ten *real* each. You can whip it fifty times if you don't get a fine.”⁵⁴

The law guarantees the safety of the quail and candlenut fighting games for nobles with the regent and above rank. The consideration was that the finances of the regent and the rank of nobility above him were more secure than those of low-ranking nobles. Ordinary people were prohibited from participating in gambling because it interferes with the finances of less qualified people. Therefore, the kingdom arranged that only nobles were allowed to gamble on certain animals.

If a dispute causes the victim to be injured or die, the suspect is subject to a fine. Those who do not pay the fine will be subjected to corporal punishment until they are expelled to *Lodaya* (forest) or *Ayah* (area). Gambling that was not permitted was cockfighting with spurs and the cricket fight. Violators would be fined or caned. There were types of gambling that were allowed and prohibited by the Sultan.

Regarding cockfighting, *Angger-angger Pradata Awal* did not regulate the usual cockfighting game. That is, the law allows ordinary cockfighting and quail and candlenut fighting. The

⁵⁴ The original version in Javanese says: “*Mungguh wong bebotohan. Ingkang ingsun lilani, bipati sakpandhuvur, ingkang ngadegake ngajago, lan angadu gemak. Utawa ngadu kemiri. Nanging iku denresaa, kang becik becik. Menawa ana wong agawe prakara, dene yen nganti ana prakara, wong tetukaran. Ana kang tatu utawa mati, kang amatrapana, marang wong kang ngadegake bebotohan iku mau, sira dbendhaa sekēt reyāl. Dene wong kang mati utawa tatu, iku mau, yen ali warise ingkang tatu utawa mati, iku ora tarima, mulura gugate, marang pradata... Ana dene wong ngébotohan. Kang ura ingsun lilani, kaya ta dhadhu kēplek, kecek, gimēr, sakpēpadhane, ngébotohan ngadu adu kang ura ingsun lilani, kayata ngadu jago tajen, ngadu jangkrik. Iku si Adipati Danurēja, ingkang anatrappna. Wong kang ngadegake bebotohan mau, sira dbendhaa selawe reyāl. Yen nora metu dbendhane sira gitika, kaping satus. Dene wong kang nglurug ngébotohan. Sira dbendhaa nyēpuluh reyāl. Yen nora metu dbendhane sira gitika kaping sekēt.*” Sultan Hamengku Buwana, *Serat Angger Pradata Awal* (P.B.A 196) (Yogyakarta: Perpustakaan Museum Negeri Sanabudaya, 1865).

prohibition only applied to cockfighting with spurs as a form of gambling. *Taji* (spurs) is a weapon made of metal that is often used in cockfighting. The use of spurs can be fatal for the rooster; it can even injure and kill the owner. In addition, the gambling game of cockfighting with spurs made gamblers fall into poverty because it is more pleasant to bet when cocks kill each other than in ordinary cockfighting. Presumably, this reality was the basis for considering the prohibition of gambling on spurred cockfighting.

If the Sultanate of Yogyakarta forbade cockfighting with spurs, the Dutch East Indies colonial government forbade cockfighting held in public places without permission. In *Pranatan Pulisi Tumrap Bāngsa Jawi ing Indiya Nèderlan* Chapter 2, the Dutch colonial government imposed a fine of less than sixteen rupiahs and not more than twenty-five rupiahs for committing the following offenses.

“Chapter establishing an arena for cock or cricket fighting. Number 10, if the government has not permitted it to set up cock and cricket fighting arenas on roads or major roads and in other places, many people can access them. The government threatened to kill all the roosters and crickets. Note Number 10: Since ancient times, the Javanese have enjoyed cock and cricket fighting accompanied by gambling. Moreover, the government has long ordered strict regulations to abolish gambling because it can cause poverty or misery, the regulation is stipulated in the *Staatsblad* of 1817, number 8, and until now, it applies as stated in the police regulation sheet in Surabaya, chapter 29, and in chapter 48, in the chapter regulation sheet for people who have regional culture located west of the *Cimanok* River. In the case of government efforts, this chapter of the case also includes advantages. Since the prohibition of people playing bats and crickets in their fences and houses is the same as playing cards in their homes, they cannot be categorized as government guards. Prevent people from gambling in the house only if gambling can cause damage to the peace of the country.”⁵⁵

⁵⁵ The original version in Javanese says: “*Bab angadégake kalangan ngadu jago, utawa ngadu jangkrik. Angka 10, manawa durung kalilan ing parentah, angadégake kalangan jago lan ngadu jangkrik, ana ing ratan utawa ing dalan gédhe lan ing panggonan liyane kang kaambah ing ngakèh. Dene jago lan jangkrik mau padha kaanggrak katur ing parentah sarta*

The regulation shows that the colonial government viewed cockfighting gambling as a game that made people miserable and contributed to poverty. The colonial government also banned the game of fighting in one's own home. All acts of cockfighting gambling were considered to be detrimental to the peace of the country. The contents of the regulation can be interpreted that the regulations regarding cockfighting gambling were made based on experiences. The colonial government considered and assessed that cockfighting gambling had the potential to trigger a riot. Even the colonial government used a historical approach to look at the preferences of the Javanese people that were detrimental to themselves, society, and the state since ancient times.

The influence of cockfighting gambling has prompted the Javanese royal government and the colonial government to enact legal regulations. Both the Sultanate of Yogyakarta's government and the colonial government enacted legal restrictions to keep the country at peace. However, this regulation can be interpreted as a way to maintain the exclusivity of the cockfighting gambling game. The regulations regarding cockfighting gambling include a power dynamic, allowing only the most powerful nobles play this game.

Cockfighting had become a symbol of hedonism despite the fact that it was regulated. It has a peculiarity, namely a pleasurable experience.⁵⁶ It focuses on the fulfillment of pleasure and

banjur dipatèni kabèh. Katêrangan Angka 10. Wiwit ing jaman kuna bangsa Jawa iku padha karènan angadu jago lan jangkerik kalawan totohan, apamanèh paprentahan nus lawas andhawubake pranatan kèncêng amurib sirmaning ngabotohan mau, awit bisa andadèkake kamlaratan utawa sangsara liyane, mungguh pranatan iku kapacak ing layang sètatsèblad taun 1817 angka 8, lan saprene tansah katindakake kaya kang kasébut ing layang pranataning pulisi ing Surabaya bab ping 29, lan ing bab ping 48, ing layang pranatan bab wong andarbèni kabudayan bumi kaprènah sakulone kali Cimanok. Mungguh pangudine paprentahan bab prakara iki saantara uga kalèbu kaduk. Awit énggone anglarang wong angadu jago lan jangkerik ana sajéroning cèpuri lan omah dhené pépadhane kaya wong dolanan kèrtu ana ing sajroning omah, mula kang iku uga ora kalèbu dadi pangrèksane paprentahan. Amalangi wo ngabotohan ana sajéroning omah, kajaba yèn énggone ngabotohan mau bisa dadi jalaran angrusakake tata tèntréming nagara. Pranatan Pulisi Tumrap Bangsa Jawi Ing Indiya Nèderlan (Almanak 1913, H. Buning, 1913), pp. 50–51. Available online at <https://www.sastra.org/arsip-dan-sejarah/hukum-dan-pemerintahan/1736-pranatan-pulisi-tumrap-bangsa-jawi-ing-indiya-nederlan-h-buning-1913-1509> (accessed on 14 August 2021).

⁵⁶ Ruut Veenhoven, "Hedonism and Happiness," *Journal of Happiness Studies* 4 (2003), p. 437.

satisfaction.⁵⁷ It is associated with the ideology and behavior of the Javanese elite. Therefore, the hedonism of the Javanese nobility was always related to power. Power is the strength or authority to influence thoughts and behavior as the wishes of the power owner.⁵⁸ Power is coercive but it is not felt.

The ambition to gain prestige or authority has an impact on power.⁵⁹ Therefore, the actors and nobility exploited cockfighting to obtain power from the crowd. The players also desired to achieve prestige from their fellow nobles. Moreover, cockfighting symbolized masculinity and bravery for the noble who participated. Cockfighting was used to subjugate political competitors as a sign of virility.

Conclusion

Cockfighting has been a Javanese custom since ancient times. Initially, it had a sacred value. In its development, secular values dominated. Profane values strengthened because it was followed by gambling. This change occurred in the Javanese Muslim community when the teachings of Islam forbade *botoh sawung* (gambling cockfighting). Cockfighting gambling is popular among the Javanese Muslim community since it is a pleasurable experience, especially when one of the roosters die. The curiosity about the toughness of the noble's rooster became the next pull factor. Humans, after all, have the instinct to play (*homo ludens*). Therefore, *botoh sawung*, which was prohibited by religion, has become a top-rated game among Javanese Muslims.

The text *Serat Centhini*, *Serat Pranacitra*, *Serat Adu Jago*, and *Serat Tatacara* contains the views of the Javanese Muslim community on cockfighting. These texts represent the pleasures of Javanese elite nobles, as Islamic leaders, who play *botoh sawung*. Moreover, some

⁵⁷ Masha Ksendzova et.al., "The Portrait of a Hedonist: The Personality and Ethics behind the Value and Maladaptive Pursuit of Pleasure," *Personality and Individual Differences* 79 (2015), pp. 68–74; Chris Heathwood, "Desire Satisfactionism and Hedonism," *Philosophical Studies* 128 (2006), pp. 539–63.

⁵⁸ S.F. Marbun, "Pemerintah Berdasarkan Otoritas dan Kekuasaan," *Jurnal Hukum* (1996), pp. 30–34.

⁵⁹ Robert Bierstedt, "An Analysis of Social Power," *American Sociological Review*, 15, 6 (1950), pp. 732–33.

religious leaders play *botoh sawung* in *Serat Centhini*. These stories represent *botoh sawung* as a symbol of prestige among the aristocratic elite. In addition, *botoh sawung* becomes a symbol of the owner's masculinity and an arena for spreading power to subdue the political opponents of the rooster owner. The winning rooster could increase the authority of the owner. On the other hand, a defeat could cause the rooster owner's authority to decline.

However, *Serat Tatakara* considered that *botoh sawung* was a lousy game. The pleasures of Javanese Muslims playing *botoh sawung* influenced the legal policies of both the Javanese kingdom and the colonial government. The Sultanate of Yogyakarta made the initial *angger pradata* which regulates cockfighting gambling. Meanwhile, the colonial government issued prohibitions on gambling cockfighting in public and private places without permission.[]

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