

## The Doctrine of The Devil in the Midst of Feudalism: A Literary Sociology of Raymond Williams in Serat Jiljalaha

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### ABSTRACT

Serat *Jiljalaha* is an anomalous 19th-century Javanese text written in *tembang macapat*, from *Dhandhanggula* to *Mijil*. It presents Kyai Jajalanat (King of Satan) from Mount Candisewu delivering immoral teachings on usury, adultery, opium, gambling, and robbery. Through value reversal and religious parody, *Jiljalaha* offers a sharp critique of the colonial-feudal order, exposing how *priyayi*, *ulama*, and the colonial government reproduced structural violence, exploitation, and immorality despite claiming moral authority. Using Raymond Williams' sociology of literature and a qualitative method based on the 1938 Yayasan Sastra Lestari transliteration, this study interprets the text through dominant, residual, and emergent cultures. It asks how *Jiljalaha* critiques dominant religious morality and how residual pre-Islamic Javanese elements and emergent satire expose social contradictions. The findings show that *Jiljalaha* is not merely a parody but a form of symbolic resistance that employs inversion as criticism. It reveals the performative morality of colonial power and the ethical crisis experienced by society, capturing the structure of feeling of 19th-century Java as an order in decline without a clear replacement. Sociologically, *Jiljalaha* emerges as a counter-lesson to conventional didactic *serat*.

**Keywords:** Dominant Culture, Literary Sociology, Raymond Williams, Residual Culture, Serat Jiljalaha

## INTRODUCTION

Javanese history has a long tradition of producing literary works in the form of teaching texts as moral and ethical guidelines for society. Old serats such as Serat Wulangreh by Pakubuwana IV, Serat Wedhatama by Mangkunegara IV, or Serat Sabdajati by R. Ng. Ranggawarsita, have become canons in Javanese Literature that teach manners and virtues as a path to harmony in life (Fuady, 2022). However, amid this righteous tradition, there is one unique Serat that stands out from the others: a Serat replete with teaching texts from the devil. Serat Jiljalaha is the work of Raden Riya Ranadiningrat, a teaching text written in Javanese script that contains life messages explicitly contradicting moral values such as debts with usury, adultery with neighbours wives, smoking opium, robbing, gambling, and even killing, all packaged in convincing spiritual rhetoric as the way to heaven.



Serat *Jiljalaha* has a unique aesthetic and subversive strategy. Starting with the title, this Serat has played with linguistics: *Jiljalaha*, when turned into *jajil ala*, means ignorance or a bad crime. The formal structure of this Serat follows the *tembang macapat* convention, containing eight *pupuh* from *Dhandhanggula* to *Mijil*, in *piwulang serats*, which are generally used to convey moral teachings (Pairin M. Basir & Marifatulloh, 2018). However, behind the seemingly moral packaging, this Serat contains a total inversion of the values that should be taught. The main character or spiritual teacher in Serat *Jiljalaha* is not a priest, but *Kyai Jajalanat*, who openly refers to himself as a resident of Mount *Candisewu* and a demon king. With a convincing rhetorical style, he advises his grandchildren, allegorically representing the reader, to live a hedonistic, amoral life as a manifestation of high virtue.

The historical context of the creation of Serat *Jiljalaha* is inseparable from the socio-politics of the Javanese people in the mid to late 19th century. This period was a transition marked by the increasing penetration of Dutch colonialism into the government structure, economic transformation, and the emergence of new social layers, such as *priyayi* groups oriented towards the colonial system, in the socio-economic dynamics of the 19th century (Hartatik, 2022). On the other hand, the emergence of the money economy and new capitalist practices, such as the rent system, the colonial-sponsored opium trade, and the tax bureaucracy, have eroded Javanese cultural values of welfare redistribution (Warren, 1995). Furthermore, during this period, Knight (2023) explained that, under colonial influence, the palaces that had been centers of spiritual and political authority increasingly lost their autonomy and became extensions of the colonial government. The *priyayi*, who are seen as the guardians of Javanese culture, are now heavily involved in the practice of corruption, nepotism, and exploitation of the people for personal gain (Geertz, 1960). This contradiction creates a kind of doubt in society: if the elites who are supposed to be role models actually act immorally, where is the real moral truth?, in the transformation of the colonial bureaucracy in Java in the nineteenth century influenced the production and distribution of Javanese literary works. With the increasing Dutch colonial intervention, the production of *catur sagatra* literature gradually shifted the function of the work from Serat *piwulang* to an arena to deconstruct colonial power and morality.

Raden Riya Ranadiningrat is a courtier of the Yogyakarta palace as well as a fiscal position directly related to legal and tax affairs. His position within the bureaucratic structure provides a unique perspective on how power operates, how morality is produced, and how ordinary people become victims of the colonial system. It is in this context that Serat *Jiljalaha* is read not as a text that naively teaches evil, but as a sharp criticism of the hypocrisy of the existing socio-political system.

Despite a significant history, academic research on Serat *Jiljalaha* remains very limited, both in quantity and in depth of theoretical analysis. In terms of philological studies, *Jiljalaha* manuscripts are spread across various libraries in Indonesia: the collection of Reksapustaka Mangkunegaran (Ms-J(1) and Ms-J(2)), the Lawang Historical collection of the Gadjah Mada University Library (Serat *Jiljalaha*: G.C.T. Van Dorp an Co, 1895), several collections in the University of Indonesia Library (Serat *Jiljalaha* CI.14-KS 66; BKL.1101-LL 14; BKL.0276-CI 5; S.S. Serat *Lokapala* and Serat *Jiljalaha*

BKL.1053-SJ 72), as well as Khastara National Library (Br. 272) (Widyastuti, 2012). There is also Serat Jiljalaha, which has been transliterated by the Yayasan Sastra Lestari and is contained in Serat Warna Warni, published by Almanack H. Buning, and signed by Warsadiningrat (Prajapangrawit) on April 8, 1938. This research uses Serat Jiljalaha, which the Sustainable Literature Foundation has transliterated.

The first academic study to highlight Serat Jiljalaha was conducted by Widyastuti (1987) in her thesis entitled *Serat Jiljalaha: A Review of the Content and Its Relation to Surah al-Zalzalah*. Widyastuti, in the book *Serat Jiljalaha: The Teachings of Ijajil* (Widyastuti, 2012), concludes that this Serat presents the reversal of moral values as a strategy for committing despicable acts, and that this relationship is linked to accountability as contained in QS Al-Zalzalah. However, the study does not situate the text within the socio-political context of the 19th-century Javanese palace but instead focuses on the moral-religious aspect.

The sociology of Literature, particularly through the theoretical framework developed by Raymond Williams, offers a productive analytical tool for understanding texts such as Serat Jiljalaha. Williams (1977), in his work *Marxism and Literature*, proposed the concepts of dominant, residual, and emergent culture as tools for understanding the dynamics of culture in society. Dominant culture refers to values, practices, and meanings supported by hegemonic power and deemed true. In the history of Java during the 19th-century colonial period, this dominant culture included aristocratic feudalism with a social hierarchy, Islamic morality legitimised by religious elites, and the Dutch colonial system with a modern bureaucracy (Adhi Dwipayana & Sidi Artajaya, 2018). In Williams' (1977) terminology, residual culture is a past culture that remains active in the contemporary cultural process, although it is not dominant in the Javanese context. It includes pre-Islamic mysticism traditions, such as syncretic spiritual practices and cosmological concepts about the microcosm-macrocosm relationship (Izadi Asli et al., 2025). Emergent culture, a new culture that emerges in response to contradictions in the dominant system (Williams, 1977), has not been fully institutionalised and remains marginal or subversive, yet it has the potential to challenge the existing dominant culture (Anoegrajekti, 2010).

With this theoretical awareness, this study aims to provide a critical reading of Serat Jiljalaha to reveal how this text participated in the ideological contestation of its time. Specifically, this study seeks to answer two main questions: first, how are the dominant cultural values of feudalism, Islamic morality, and the colonial system criticised in the text? Second, how are traces of pre-Islamic Javanese residual culture and satirical elements as emergent culture used to dismantle the contradictions that dominated society at that time?

This research aims to contribute not only to the study of Javanese literature but also to a broader understanding of how Literature functions as a field of ideological contestation in a society undergoing drastic social transformation. By applying Williams framework to Serat Jiljalaha, this study aims to show that the approach of literary sociology does not reduce texts to mere reflections of social realities,

but allows us to understand the dialectical complexity between texts and the socio-historical contexts that shape social consciousness and practice.

## **METHOD**

This research uses a qualitative method, drawing on Raymond Williams' approach to literary sociology. The primary data of the research is the text of *Serat Jiljalaha* by Raden Riya Ranadinigrat, which has been transliterated by Yayasan Sastra Lestari and is contained in *Serat Warna Warni*, published by H. Buning (1938). The selection of this transliterated manuscript is based on its readability and accessibility as an object of scientific study, as well as a representation of the copying tradition that has taken place in the Javanese textual network. Furthermore, the English translation accompanied by Javanese quotes is translated by the author for analysis purposes. The translation process prioritizes semantic equality by preserving the symbolic meaning in the text.

Data collection was carried out through literature studies, including hermeneutical readings of texts, tracing the historical-social context of 19th-century Java, and studies of relevant secondary Literature, both in the form of scientific journal articles, academic books, and dissertations. Historical and sociological sources are used to establish an interpretive context for the text.

Data analysis uses three main conceptual categories from Raymond Williams (1977), namely: (1) dominant culture values and practices supported by hegemonic power; (2) residual culture of past cultural elements that are still active in contemporary discourse; and (3) emergent culture of new cultural elements that are subversive to the dominant order (Williams, 1977). These three categories are applied dialectically to examine how *Serat Jiljalaha* represents, critiques, and utilises each of these cultural formations. In addition to Williams's framework, the analysis also draws on supporting concepts such as Bakhtin's carnival (1984), Homi K. Bhabha's colonial ambivalence (1994), and James C. Scott's hidden transcript (1985) to aid the reading of symbolic resistance strategies in texts.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **Dominant Culture**

The dominant culture in Java in the 19th century was a complex combination of aristocratic feudal values, Islamic morality, and the Dutch colonial system, increasingly rooted in the socio-political structure of society (Siti Fadira Masbait & Triwahana, 2025). These three elements form a hegemonic structure that defines what is considered appropriate or noble in a society, a hegemony that in Gramsci's (2020) terminology, operates through ideological consensus produced in various cultural institutions (Langman, 2015). *Serat Jiljalaha* uniquely represents this dominant culture: it presents paradoxical texts that are explicitly visible in the narrative, but in an inverted frame that exposes the cracks hidden in a seemingly solid hegemony.

In the opening of *Serat Jiljalaha*, *Pupuh Dhandhanggula* opens with a typical formula of traditional *piwulang Serats*, as seen in the following quote.

*Kasrengkara pinurweng sastradi / awit ingkang asma sang pandhita / jajalanat sang kinaot / kang manggyan aneng gunung / candhisewu saha ngratoni / sakehe para setan / tanapi lelembut / samya olah pangawikan / nadyan jalma kang nedya tenajul ngelmi / samya sowan sang tapa // (Ranadiningrat, 1920: 4)*

**Translation:**

Misfortune is set forth in this writing / beginning with the one called the sage / Jajalanat is his name / who dwells upon Mount Candhisewu and reigns there / over all the demons / as well as the spirits / all study sacred knowledge / even those who seek to attain mystical learning / all come to pay homage to the ascetic.

In general, the opening of Serat Jiljalaha follows the conventions of other noble Serats such as Serat Wulangreh, which usually begins with an invocation of a spiritual figure or king as a source of wisdom and transcendence (Ni'am, 2024). The use of the word Sang Pandhita (Pastor) creates the expectation of a text that conveys noble teachings in the Javanese piwulang tradition. However, the priest in this text is actually Kyai Jajalanat, the king of demons who is placed on Mount Candisewu. The choice of the name Jajalanat, which is phonetically reminiscent of the Arabic words *jahl* (ignorance) or *jahil* (ignorant, uncivilised), is not a mere coincidence but a deliberate linguistic arrangement that reverses the moral hierarchy (Widyastuti, 1987).

This reversal strategy works like what Bakhtin (1984) calls carnivalesque, a mode of representation in which social hierarchies and values are temporarily reversed to expose the contradictions hidden within them (Lachmann et al., 1988). In carnival, the low is raised, and the high is lowered, or the holy is desecrated, and the profane is sanctified (Ni'am, 2024). By making the devil, or the devil as a moral teacher, Serat Jiljalaha carnivalizes the discourse of teaching, exposing that if the noble teachings of the feudal elite only produce exploitative practices, then what is the difference between those teachings and the teachings of satan? This rhetorical question is not explicitly answered in the text, but that is where the power of criticism lies: by letting the reader draw their own conclusions.

The most explicit representation of the dominant culture is seen in the Pupuh Mijil, particularly in the verses that describe the ritual of execution as a form of glory that one can attain. The text states in Pupuh Mijil 11:

*iyo kono nggonira wong sigid / amengkeb keprabon / abusana sarwa seta kabeh / wastra baju dhestharira muslim / sumping gajah uling / tinon lengut-lengut // (Ranadiningrat, 1920: 43)*

**Translation:**

There is where the devout people are / assuming the manner of royalty / clothed entirely in white / their garments, clothes, and headcloth are Muslim / wearing *gajah uling* ear ornaments / seen swaying to and fro.

In this stanza, the ritual of execution of the death penalty carried out by the colonial government is depicted, where the convict is glorified in a traditional ceremony full of theatrical splendour before being executed in front of the masses (Anderson, 2015). This ritual is not just a legal process, but a spectacle of power that Foucault (1977) calls a demonstration of sovereignty through a condemned body. Ironically, in *Serat Jiljalaha*, the text actually presents the execution as the culmination of Kyai Jajalanat's noble teachings, as if the way to heaven is by killing and being sentenced to death by the colonial state.

More sarcastically, the text states that the convict will speak to the *Risidhen ring/den jajari kumpni kana kering* (talking to the resident, escorted by the left-right company) as if proximity to colonial power is seen as honour, even in the context of punishment. This representation sharply exposes how deeply colonial values have been internalized among the Javanese elite (Jones, 1993). This is like what Homi K. Bhabha (1994) calls the ambivalence of the desire and the hatred of the colonial subject towards the colonial, the desire to be equal to the colonial, as well as the awareness of the impossibility of such similarity (Bhabha, 1994). By presenting this ambivalence in a hyperbolic, absurd form, the text exposes the depth of the epistemic colonisation that has taken hold in the consciousness of the colonial subject.

The dominant feudal culture is also represented by an obsession with social status and material appearances, markers of hierarchy. In *Pupuh Kinanthi on 6*, the text gives very detailed instructions on how a *priyayi* should dress up when going to gamble:

*lan aja sok kongsi bluwus / nganggoa sing becil-becik / karo kretepmu barleyan / aja kongsi jeri-keri / lan nganggoa erloji mas / karsete sing nganggo akik // (Ranadiningrat, 1920: 36)*

**Translation:**

And do not ever appear shabby / wear only the finest things / with your splendid attire / never be timid or hesitant / and wear a gold watch / with a ring set with agate.

Such a meticulous description of the attributes used by gold watches, diamond belts reveals how *priyayi* identity in colonial societies relied heavily on symbols of luxury, mostly in the form of imported goods (Geertz, 1960). Social status is no longer determined by spiritual wisdom or contributions to society's well-being, but rather by the ability to consume and display luxury goods that signify access to the colonial economy (Setiadi et al., 2022). Pierre Bourdieu, 2016 refers to this as the distinction of using cultural and material consumption to distinguish oneself from the lower classes and maintain social hierarchy. For the *priyayi* class, the use of luxury attributes is a way to negotiate their ambivalence, in the colonial environment displaying luxury symbolizes culture prestige access to power, bureaucratic status, and colonial cultural closeness. However, placing these attributes in the *Jiljalaha* the text implicitly criticises the reduction of complex Javanese aristocratic values to vulgar materialism under colonial influence.

Furthermore, the instruction includes an economic dimension that reflects the penetration of the capitalist system into daily life. The text says: “*Sarupiyah manak telung dhuwit / sadinane iku kang utama*” (one rupiah with interest of three dollars, per day is the main one). This is an explicit reference to the practice of renting money at high interest rates, one of the ways of capital accumulation in the colonial economy (Smith, 2024). This rent system, although formally prohibited in Islamic law as *riba*, is practised by many Javanese elites who have access to capital. By teaching rents as part of wisdom, *Serat Jiljalaha* exposes the hypocrisy of Islamic morality claimed by the elite: they condemn usury in religious rhetoric, but in practice are the main perpetrators of a loan shark system that exploits the small people (Hartatik, 2022).

Islamic morality is also the target of equally sharp criticism. In *Pupuh Asmarandhana* on 16, the text presents a kind of philosophical debate about the comparison between a devout worshipper and an opium smoker:

*wong kang dhemen laku santri / dina-dina nembah mring hyang / kae rak gadhangan dheyos / mulane aja sok cerak / yen krungu sing sok donga / endhasmu rak banjur ngelu / terkadhang sira kantaka // (Ranadiningrat, 1920: 17)*

**Translation:**

He who delights in the ways of the *santri* / day after day worshipping the Divine / that is but empty fancy / therefore do not draw near / whenever you hear one praying / your head will soon ache / and at times you may be afflicted.

This provocative representation depicts pious people as *gadhangan dheyos* (prospective statues), a metaphor for something frozen and inanimate. This criticism is not directed at Islam as a religion, but at religious formalism that reduces spirituality to an empty ritual without ethical substance. In the study of religion in Java, there is a constant tension between salafi-oriented *santri* Islam and *abangan* Islam, which is more syncretic and oriented towards social ethics (Zaimah et al., 2024) (Robi'atul Adawiyah et al., 2023). *Serat Jiljalaha*, by making fun of *santri* as potential statues, placed itself in the tradition of *abangan* criticism of *santri*, albeit in a much more radical and subversive way.

The most subversive in the critique of Islamic morality is how the text uses religious terminology to describe actions that are explicitly forbidden in Islamic teachings. In *Pupuh Asmarandhana*, adultery with a neighbour's wife is referred to as “*sejatining sidekah, dana rasa tegesipun*” (true alms, giving a sense of firmness). The use of the word *sidekah*, which means voluntary giving to help others, to describe adultery is an epistemological criticism that Jacques Derrida (2020) calls deconstruction: the sign system in religious language lacks a stable relationship to the meaning it is supposed to refer to (Derrida, 2020). Similarly, in *Pupuh Asmarandhana* on 13, the use of the concept of *sabil* or martyrdom to describe death due to venereal diseases is a deliberate blasphemy:

*Malah yen satriya luwih / nek wia manteo tekadira / bungah tumekaning nglayon / bisa mati*

*babahan / nggoning bedhang wanudya / dadya sabil patenipun / yah iku ya wong jlagedhang*  
// (Ranadiningrat, 1920: 16-17)

**Translation:**

Even more so if you are a warrior / if such is truly your resolve / rejoice even unto death / to die in the embrace / in the place of a woman's thighs / then your death becomes *sabil* / indeed, that is the way of the banana blossom.

In Javanese Islamic tradition, death in defence of religion or truth is considered noble martyrdom (Mawardi et al., 2025). By attributing this status to death from sexual diseases, the *Jiljalaha* text radically deconstructs the concept of sublime sacrifice. Furthermore, the phrase *mati babahan / gonong bedhang wanudya* (death in prostitution) can also be read as a satire against rulers who are famous for their sexual excesses. Thus, *Serat Jiljalaha* exposes that in colonial reality, concepts of nobility, such as sacrifice, have lost their meaning: sexual exploitation in the patronage system is made heroic, while those who genuinely fight for justice are condemned as rebels (Margana, 2019).

**Residual Culture**

Although *Serat Jiljalaha* is a satirical *Serat* that explicitly criticises feudal-colonial dominant values, it does not completely break away from the residual traces of pre-Islamic and precolonial Javanese culture. Residual culture, in Williams' (1977) terminology, is an element of past cultural formations that remains active in contemporary cultural processes, although it no longer dominates public discourse. In the context of 19th-century colonial Java, this residual culture includes the tradition of syncretic mysticism, belief in spirit beings and supernatural forces, cosmological concepts of microcosm-macrocosm relationships, as well as symbolic language from the Hindu-Buddhist period that is still used even though its original theological meaning has changed or blurred (Acri, 2019). In *Serat Jiljalaha*, these residual traces are actively mobilised for critical purposes, sometimes to reinforce criticism of the dominant culture, sometimes to expose internal contradictions within the residual culture itself.

The figure of *Kyai Jajalanat* itself represents the Javanese tradition of belief in spirit creatures that inhabit wild places, such as mountains, caves, or forests. Mount *Candisewu*, although fictitious, refers to the tradition of ascetics or recluses who retreat to the mountain to obtain revelation, rooted in the Javanese Hindu-Buddhist period, when the mountain was considered a link to the world of gods (Acri, 2019). *Serat Jiljalaha* inverts this spiritual figure: instead of giving holy teachings that bring enlightenment, *Jiljalaha* actually gives immoral teachings that bring destruction. By placing the devil in the position usually occupied by the priest or rector, the text conveys a profound message: in a world turned upside down, there is no longer a substantial difference between the noble teachings and those of the devil. This reversal is reminiscent of *wayang* performances, in which giant or blind figures often possess their own wisdom that critiques the hypocrisy of gods or knights (Joya, 2022).

The concept of heaven in Serat Jiljalaha also shows a hybridity between Islamic, Hindu-Buddhist, and local interpretations. Pupuh Dhandhanggula on 21 mentioned that the followers of the teachings of Kyai Jajalanat would reach heaven:

*Sapa wonge kang nora kepingin / iya iku wong munggah suwarga / nor ana suwarga maneh / kejabane ta besuk / lamun sira tumekeng pati / tamtu ginanjar suwarga / aneng watu lumbung / ika rak katon suwarga / yen wus antuk pitulunge Hyang ijajil / byar jleg katon suwarga //* (Ranadiningrat, 1920: 10)

**Translation:**

Who is there that does not desire it / that is, one who ascends to heaven / and there is no other heaven besides it / except that which is to come / when you reach your death / surely you will be rewarded with heaven / upon the stone granary / there heaven becomes visible / when the help of *Hyang Ijajil* has been obtained / suddenly heaven appears.

The phrase *aneng watu lumbung* (inside the barn stone) is a very ambiguous and multivalent reference. Literally, *Watu Lumbung* can refer to Lumbung Temple, one of the small temples in the Prambanan Temple complex, which in local tradition is often associated with a sacred place (Saputri & Munira, 2025). However, literally, "barn stone" simply means a stone warehouse that is not sacred at all, just a utilitarian building. This linguistic ambiguity creates a parody effect and a critique: the paradise promised by noble teachings turns out to be nothing more than a metaphorical stone storehouse for the emptiness of the transcendental promises offered by religious and political authorities.

In Pupuh Megatruh on 9, the text presents a kind of philosophical discussion that is reminiscent of the suluk tradition or Javanese mystical poetry:

*Mikir jagad dhedharatan tuwin laut / ngisor bumi dhuwur langit / padha kandhas samya guyub / lan lakuning sang Hyang rawi / poma aja kongsi coblong //* (Ranadiningrat, 1920: 26)

**Translation:**

Thinking upon the world, the lands and the seas / beneath the earth and above the sky / all are united in harmony / and the course of the Divine Sun / beware lest it be broken.

This cosmological language is lower than the earth, and the language of the *hyang rawi* echoes the tradition of texts such as Serat Centhini or Serat Gatholoco, where spiritual search is described as contemplation of the cosmos and an attempt to understand the unity between the microcosm (the human self) and the macrocosm (the universe) (Rizqita Ghina Fawziya Nurherizza & Saptono, 2024). However, the context of this talk is that of drunken opium smokers not ascetic spiritual seekers. By placing mystical language in such a profane context, the text profanes spiritual discourse: the highest spiritual attainment is now the talk of a drunkard. This ambivalence reflects the complexity of residual

cultural positions: on the one hand it provides symbolism for resistance and irony, on the other hand it can be a trap that isolates the subject from real collective political action and plunges it into destructive escapism (Lijster, 2020).

The use of mantras in the text shows how residual culture is mobilised for a very pragmatic, profane purpose. In Pupuh Sinom verse 12, the text teaches the use of the use or knowledge of pellets:

*Karo becik saradana / guna pangasihana kaki / wis tamtu yen banjur bablas / gelis tompa layang buslit / lakune among mutih / pitung dina bae rampung / ngelmune tampanana / mara kaki tak wuruki / sun amatak ajiku si jaran goyang // (Ranadiningrat, 1920: 23)*

### **Translation:**

It is also beneficial as a means of love enchantment, my child / It is certain that it will surely succeed / Quickly perform the *layang buslit* ritual / Its practice is simply observing a *mutih* fast / In only seven days it will be completed / Receive this knowledge well / Come here, my child, and I shall instruct you / In my sacred mantra known as *Jaran Goyang*.

The *jaran goyang* mantra, which in the Javanese tradition is considered to have supernatural power because it contains sacred words passed down from generation to generation by spiritual teachers (Suroso et al., 2023). In the context of Serat Jiljalaha, is reduced to manipulation to conquer others' wills. Contemporary anthropological studies show that practices such as witchcraft, gossip, sabotage, and other forms of symbolic resistance are strategies used by subordinate groups to maintain their dignity and agency in situations where open resistance is impossible without severe consequences (Setiadi et al., 2022). The *guna-guna* is what Scott calls a hidden transcript of resistance discourse that operates outside the ruler's view and provides space for subordinate groups to imagine and express the desire to reverse existing power relations (Massoumi & Morgan, 2024).

## **CONCLUSION**

This study shows that Serat Jiljalaha cannot be read reductively as a teaching text that promotes immoral behaviour, but rather as a complex satirical text. By reading Raymond Williams's literary sociology, this study confirms that Serat Jiljalaha reverses the values that underpin the hegemony of feudalism and religious morality. The dominant culture through the figure of Kyai Jajalanat shows how noble teachings often produce rent-seeking practices, sexual exploitation, state violence, and worship formalism that are presented hyperbolically and upside down to capture colonial internalisation in the consciousness of the Javanese elite. Meanwhile, the residual culture in Serat Jiljalaha mobilises pre-Islamic Javanese cosmology, syncretic mysticism, demonic figures, mantras, and symbolic language as aesthetic and epistemic sources for critique. The residual element gives rise to ambivalence: on the one hand, it provides symbolism for resistance and irony; on the other, it is exposed as a degraded, commodified spiritual form in a colonial context. Theoretically, this research reinforces the relevance

of Raymond Williams' literary sociology in interpreting satirical and paradoxical texts. In the end, Serat Jiljalaha emerged as a literary medium that reflected the moral and ideological crisis of Javanese society during the period of transformation.

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