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International Journal of Religious Literature and Heritage

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CONTESTING DOUBLE GENEALOGY: REPRESENTING REBELLION AMBIGUITY IN *BABAD TANAH JAWI*

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Abstract

Since firstly written in 1612 until the “final version” in 1836, Babad Tanah Jawi had a special place among intellectual debates, partly, in regard with its “functions” as mythical genre, ancient prophecy, historical narrative of Java, genealogical prototype, and typical structure with previous texts. However, little attention was given to the fact that Mataram, largely depicted in Babad Tanah Jawi, is considered as having ‘problematic’ double genealogy, which partly resulted from a double familial lineage of Batara Guru and the Prophet Adam, and the synthetic power of Demak and Majapahit. This study attempts to depict a scholarly contestation of the double genealogy of Mataram and its implication on ambivalent narratives of rebellion in the text. Constructed as ex post facto in the universum of historical references, Babad Tanah Jawi seemingly takes its dual position in providing a subjectively constructed cosmology of Javanese characters and in attempting to objectively illustrate historical events. In some ways, it impacts on the way the text justified Javanese rulers by providing supernatural genesis of ancestors, and ‘purifying’ genealogical defects. The result is a distorted story of those who failed and succeeded to take over the Javanese kingdoms. The ambiguity lies on the way it has to maintain mythological genealogy of rebelling descendants and to perceive such rebellion as subversive.

Keywords: Babad Tanah Jawi, double genealogy, rebellion, ambiguity

Abstrak

Sejak ditulis pertama kali tahun 1612 hingga ‘versi final’ pada 1836, Babad Tanah Jawi selalu diperdebatkan terutama terkait dengan fungsinya sebagai genre, ramalan, narasi historis, prototip genealogis, dan struktur testimonial tentang sejarah Jawa. Akan tetapi, masih jarang studi tentang bagaimana Mataram, yang secara khusus digambarkan dalam Babad Tanah Jawi, dianggap memiliki genealogi ganda yang ‘problematis’ sebagai efek dari terpecahnya trah antara Batara Guru dan Nabi Adam, suatu keterpecahan yang merefleksikan Mataram sebagai sebuah kekuatan sinkretis antara Demak dan Majapahit. Studi ini berusaha menggambarkan kontestasi kesarjanaan tentang genealogi ganda kerajaan Mataram tersebut dan implikasinya terhadap narasi ambivalen pemberontakan dalam Babad Tanah Jawi. Dianggap sebagai fakta sejarah masa lampau yang sifatnya sistematis, Babad Tanah Jawi tampaknya juga mengambil sikap ganda ini dalam menggambarkan secara subjektif kosmologi Jawa di satu sisi dan peristiwa-peristiwa historis masa lampau secara objektif di sisi lain. Dalam beberapa derajat tertentu, sikap ini berpengaruh terhadap bagaimana teks tersebut menjustifikasi para penguasa Jawa dengan menyajikan genesis supranatural para leluhur, namun tetap berusaha menjaga kemurnian garis genealogis itu dari cacat-cacat sejarah. Hasilnya adalah distorsi cerita tentang mereka yang gagal dan sukses dalam mengambil-alih kerajaan-kerajaan Jawa. Ambiguitasnya terletak pada bagaimana teks ini mempertahankan genealogi mitologis dari para keturunan yang memberontak di satu sisi dan menganggap pemberontakan semacam itu sebagai sesuatu yang buruk di sisi lain.

Kata Kunci: *Babad Tanah Jawi, genealogi ganda, pemberontakan, ambiguitas*

Introduction

In 1478, the Majapahit Kingdom collapsed. It was the end of the Hindu dynasty and culture in Java. However, the so-called ‘end of Hindu-Java’ was not in its final stage. The Majapahit people went to Bali, when the Islamic rulers took over the Javanese dynasty. This happened on a large scale, so the ‘traditional’ culture of Hindu-Java could be regarded as changing into a ‘modern’ one. It is what we could encapsulate partly from N. J. Kroom’s *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* (1931: 567; cf. Ricklefs, 1972: 285).

De Casparis (1963: 124) and Berg (1955: 119-122) referred to the ‘modern’ Java to the period after-1500 when Majapahit fell. Different from Kroom, they assumed such modernity in terms of European colonialism in the 16th century, a period when the Portuguese first arrived in 1512 – 1850. Therefore, the post-Majapahit dynasty was regarded as an expansion of

European history into Java, an expansion which had an effect on the modernization of Java, similar to that of Europe.

Concerning the origin of Java, *Babad Tanah Jawi* (hereafter *BTJ*) provided a complicated story about the decline of (Hindu) Majapahit, the rise of (Islam) Demak, and the emergence of (syncretic) Mataram. This is known as a controversial but popular text among anthropologists, archeologists, and even religionists (beside *Pararaton* and *Nagarakertagama*) who are searching for the mystical or historical genealogy of Java's emperors. Thus scholarly questions arise. How does the historical framework of writing in *BTJ* develop? How does the scholarly contestation of double genealogy within this manuscript provide conclusions? How does this text tell about the historical events that influence the double familial lineage of Islam and Hindu?

Historical Evolution

A record from *Babad Tanah Djawi*, *Javaanse rijkskroniek*; W. L. Olthof's vertaling van de prozaversie van J. J. Meinsma lopende tot het jaar 1721 (the 2nd edition, Dordrecht: Foris, 1987; cf. Ras, 1992: 270; cf. Rummelink, 2002: 323; cf. Wieringa, 1999: 245) reported that composing *BTJ* had passed more than two centuries until it became the text we know today. For Ras the text was composed approximately in 1612 when Panembahan Seda ing Krapyak, the first ruler of Mataram Kingdom in Central Java, ordered a rewriting of *Babad Demak*. During Sultan Agung period (1613-1646), Pangeran Panjang Mas finished this Mataram *babad*, and it was used to secure the legitimacy of Sultan Agung. The following crisis brought this text into regularly edited work.

The large revision was first done after 1680 by Pangeran Adilangu I to provide legitimacy for Amangkurat II as the ruler of Kartasura Kraton. Pangeran Adilangu II continued the second revision after 1705 to give legitimacy for the coup d'état of Pangeran Puger (Pakubuwana I, 1705-1719). Pakuwubuwana II ordered a recomposition of the text during the period of his father (Amangkurat IV, 1719-1726). Pakubuwana III inserted a historical record of Pakubuwana II (1726-1749) establish his own edition. This was written by Carik Bajra, better known as Tumenggung Tirtawiguna. In 1788 the text was rewritten by Pakubuwana IV, who after his enthronement, dealt with serious political problems. The text was finally recognized as *Major Babad*.

However, after 1830, that text and Yasadipura I's *Babad Giyanti*, which provided a discussion of period 1746-1755, were rewritten by Yasadipura II under an order by Pakubuwana VII in 1836. The new text was used to give legitimacy for his position after exiling of Pakubuwana VI. Although *Major Babad* 1836 was regarded as merely a replica of *Major Babad* 1788, Wieringa (1999: 245) argued that this became the 'final version' of today's *BTJ*.

Table 1
Evolution of *Babad Tanah Jawi*

Period	Dynasti	Text	Carik	Interpolation
1612	Panembahan Seda ing Krapyak	<i>Babad Demak</i>	Panjang Mas/Anjang Mas?	
1613-1646	Sultan Agung	<i>Babad Demak</i>	Panjang Mas	
Crisis Period -> 1647 -> Rebellion to Amangkurat I				
1680	Amangkurat II	<i>Babad Tanah Jawi</i>	Pangeran Adilangu I	Kartasura Kraton
1705 - 1719	Pakubuwana I	<i>Babad Tanah Jawi</i>	Pangeran Adilangu II	Coup d'etat by Pangeran Puger (Pakubuwana I) to Amangkurat
1726 - 1749	Pakubuwana II	<i>Babad Tanah Jawi</i>	Pangeran Adilangu II	Amangkurat IV (Pakubuwana II's father)
1749 - 1788	Pakubuwana III	<i>Babad Tanah Jawi</i> (Lost?)	Carik Bajra (Tumenggung Tirtowiguno)	Pakubuwana II
1788 - 1820	Pakubuwana IV	<i>Major Babad Surakarta 1788</i>	Yasadipura I	
Serious Problems -> The Dutch Indies and English arrival in 1808-1811 -> Major Babad was personally stored for more than 50 years				
1830-1858	Pakubuwana VII	"Final Version" <i>Major Babad 1836</i>	Yasadipura II	Exiling of Pakubuwana VI to Ambon

Source: adapted from many sources.

Scholarly Contestation

Brandes: BTJ as “genre”

In 1885, linguist and anthropologist J. L. A. Brandes attempted to track the original sources of reconstruction of ancient Java. Often referred to as “ancient Java”, *Pararaton* and *Nagarakertagama* became prime sources, and were considered more authentic. However, at the time, both of them were not available. They became accessible due to the intense work of Brandes (1897/1920 and 1904). The only manuscript he had was *BTJ*, which was later considered controversial since it contained mythical aspects.

In fact, Brandes described *BTJ* as having more details in his *Pararaton* edition 1897. Such *BTJ* was a text which generally told the historical events of Pajajaran, Majapahit, Demak, Pajang, Mataram, and Kartasura. Balai Pustaka published it with more than 2500 pages. For Brandes, this text took its form in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. At the time and after reviewing a few different *BTJs* he was encouraged to finally assume that it should be the ‘official and authoritative decree’ of history of Java for a certain period (Brandes, 1920: 207). By certain period, it meant a part of the stories about Java after Dutch arrived, a time when Mataram was the only dominant political power in Java. The story was regarded as ‘authentic’ and ‘authoritative’ since it referred to the more weighted puppet tales of modern Java. However, in regards to the story before 1600, *BTJ* certainly told semi-historical events, because more was taken from the *Kanda*, a text consisting of extracted puppet tales.

During his extended study into *Pararaton*, Brandes was surprised by reading the *Pararaton* (even though it only consisted of 32 pages and 1126 stanzas) which offered a period of Majapahit that was different from what was recorded in the *BTJ*. For Brandes, *Pararaton* is more authentic than *BTJ*, because the former successfully explored the characters and provided more details (about *Ken Arok*, for instance). Brandes came to a conclusion: The tradition of ancient Javanese literature is a tradition which missed some important elements due to its incomplete composition on one side, and its continuous interpolation with additional information on the other side. The conclusion—according to J. J. Ras (1987: 344)—was reasonable since *BTJ*, in the form of *babad*, referred much to *kanda*, a text of puppet stories, or *papakem*, a ‘cookbook’ for Javanese storytellers or singers. Consequently, the genealogy of Javanese rulers is well informed, but less analyzed regarding its historical dates.

Kanda is usually used as a guide-note by ancient Javanese storytellers. The content is not merely a list of synonyms and composition of macapat lyrics, but also includes certain characters with their biographies and genealogies, and short synopsis of the earlier puppet stories. The text could be called a pseudo-historical manuscript, that finally takes its ‘historical’ form in *babad*. From such a position, Brandes ultimately argued that *BTJ*, associated with a kind of *Naskah Kanda Raja-Raja Jawa*, is a “genre” under its own terms, consisting of ‘fictive’ and ‘mythical’ history related to a story of the past events.

Djajadiningrat: BTJ as prophecy

Brandes’ successor, who also thoroughly examined *babad*, is Hoesein Djajadiningrat. In his doctoral dissertation, *Critische Beschouwing van de Sadjarah Banten* (1913), Djajadiningrat discussed the history of Banten by often referring to *BTJ*. He did not excerpt a grand theory about *babad* as genre, but attempted to elaborate on *BTJ*’s contribution to the history of ancient Java. For him, *BTJ* consisted of prophecy or prediction on a situation in the future time, particularly after Plered Kingdom’s downfall in 1677.

He argued that *BTJ* was written to justify ‘power abuse’ that would occur in the future. Such deviation certainly referred to Trunojoyo’s rebellion against Amangkurat I and his successful to break down of Plered in 1677. It indicated that Trunojoyo’s rebellion, for Djajadiningrat, was an unjustified action since it was against the most honored Javanese ruler.

If Brandes considered *BTJ* as a genre, Djajadiningrat regarded it as a system of prophecy. It is not surprising since according to his analysis *BTJ* was a canon version that referred to Pangeran Adilangu II on the date 1690 to 1718. This version was made possible and used to explain historical events after 1690, but it did not provide a story of historical events before that period. Brandes and Djajadiningrat recored some similarities as they agreed on the date of *BTJ*, i.e. before 1600, the early half of seventeenth century.

De Graaf: BTJ as surabayaana babad

In his monographic serials (1954, 1958, and 1961), De Graaf attempted to analyze the *BTJ* by using a different approach from Djajadiningrat. Although De Graaf constructed a theoretical framework based on Djajadiningrat’s work, the main goal of his monograph was conceptualized in the question: How could *BTJ* be a functional historical document of Java

for Indonesian historians? This approach possibly identified him as the first historian to use an Indonesian based historical experiment. For De Graaf, *BTJ* was a text written to meet a need of successive periods in the history of Java. Consequently, the *BTJ* was continuously adapted, since its description of Java was always being revisited.

Due to his interest in positioning *BTS* as ‘historical source of Indonesia’, De Graaf tracked the versions older than the *BTJ*. For De Graaf, the so-called *babad* and *kanda* began with the period of Surabaya saints, Sunan Ampel, or Raden Rahmat. Those who played important roles in political and religious incidents during the 16th century (a time before the *BTJ* was written) were loyal adherents of Sunan Ampel. It was based on a prediction that one of Sunan Ampel’s disciples was certainly an author of that Mataram *babad* (*BTJ*).

De Graaf thought about the ‘missing’ period among Surabaya traditions. This ‘lost’ period was recorded in Central Java tradition by Pangeran Pekik, a son of the last Surabaya ruler, who after the city’s downfall in 1625, was instructed by Mataram to marry Sultan Agung’s sister. Based on historical data that De Graaf acquired from a 17th century Dutch report, he assumed that an author of that Mataram *babad* was the first Muslim saint in the Sultan Agung empire: Sunan Kalijaga, was allegedly an ancestor of Pangeran Adilangu II. Concerning this data, De Graaf became convinced that the *BTJ* was written during the period between 1641 until 1645, the last periods of Sultan Agung’s triumph, after receiving his well earned title as ‘sultan.’

Berg: BTJ as historical prototype

C. C. Berg, in his article serials published in the journal *Indonesië* (1955 and 1957), based his analytical framework on De Graaf’s and Djajadiningrat’s accounts and argued that the *BTJ* was written during Sultan Agung triumph. However, Berg criticized De Graaf and Djajadiningrat’s historical approaches, in which the former confirmed a kind of ‘cultural break’ between the rise of Islam and collapse of Majapahit, while the later agreed with *BTJ* as prototype of Surabayaan *babad*.

For Berg, Brandes did not recognize the fact that *BTJ* was based on *Pararaton* in representing the past events. *BTJ* should be a continuation of *Pararaton* in telling Majapahit vis-à-vis Singasari. *BTJ* should also be a manuscript about Mataram vis-à-vis the previous kingdom. For Berg there

was no 'break', but rather a 'continuation.' Berg also disagreed with Djajadiningrat in terms of the prototypical nature of the *BTJ* as Surabayaan *babad* since new cultural elements are always create by different phenomenon stemming from the last cultural events.

Berg stood firm on his own position, while he critically scrutinized both historians, by arguing that the *BTJ* was a 'prototype'. As a prototype, the *BTJ* must have been a continuation and differentiation. Berg considered the *Pararaton* and *Nagarakertagama* as original models of the *BTJ*. By analyzing the genealogical structure of the *BTJ*, Berg asserted that it was not Panembahan Senapati, but rather Sultan Agung who deserved legitimacy as the founder of the Mataram dynasty. It should not be allowed to reposition *BTJ* as a testimony of the past events. Conversely, *BTJ* should be considered to be a magical instrument of literature, created by an Islamic saint, who by writing it, he continued a civilized tradition begun long centuries ago.

J. J. Ras: BTJ as structure of historical testimony

J. J. Ras (1987: 348) took a different path and argued that theoretical the previously discussed debates would lead to a deadlock. For him, it was preferable to consider the traditions of modern Java derived from the *BTJ* in terms of the internal testimony of the text, and through the additional data from the current condition of kraton where the text was written.

There are some atypical things between *BTJ* and the other *babads*, not only in their sizes, but also in their structures. *BTJ* may be compared to other Malay texts, including *Sejarah Melayu*, *Hikayat Banjar*, *Salasilah Kutai*, or Java manuscripts in mid-centuries, such as *Pararaton*. These texts usually present two figures: men and women, representing the mythical ancestors of certain kingdoms. *Pararaton*, for instance, narrates a story of Ken Arok and Ken Dedes. Arok is considered not merely a descendant of Brahma, as God of Fire in Java, but also as manifestation of earth, Batara Guru, or Shiwa. Dedes is the daughter of Mahayana, always practicing mediation in the temple. She has a luminous womb. She is *ardhanariswari*, a women half-Shiwa, half-Durga (God with half-man and half-woman face). Whoever married Dedes would become the emperor of the world. Arok and Dedes are the origins of the Majapahit dynasty.

The text was comparable to the *BTJ*. This text also included a 'sacred marriage' like Arok-Dedes in *Pararaton*, but it was not in the beginning of the text. Such a marriage was certainly between Panembahan Senapati (the

first king of Mataram), representing the God of Shiwa, and Ratu Kidul (a ruler of the South Sea), representing the God of Durga. The story was illustrated through no more than 83 stanzas, it was narrated that Senapati met with Ratu Kidul in Parangtritis, and made love in the South Sea during a three day period. When Senapati went back to Kota Gede, Ratu Kidul declared that Senapati and his followers will be emperor of Java. She promised to send armed forces whenever they were needed.

However, for Ras (1987: 348), there are some structural discrepancies between *Pararaton* and *BTJ*. *Pararaton* began the story with two ancestors of Majapahit, followed by a genealogy of relationships between a mystical ruler of the kingdom and the next rulers. Conversely, in *BTJ*, instead of tracking a genealogy of rulers in the future, its story began with the genealogy of Senapati's descendants until Prophet Adam. Consequently, *BTJ* successfully demythologized Senapati who married Ratu Kidul. Senapati was described as no more than a human. What makes him possible to be 'mystic' was the disclosure that Ratu Kidul always married every ruler of the Mataram kingdom. This mystical relation between monarchy and the supernatural has been renewed until today.

Double Genealogy

The stated problem becomes how does *BTJ* resolve the problematic double genealogy linking Batara Guru and the Prophet Adam because they are linked as descendants of the Mataram Kingdom? To answer the question, it is important to track the historiography of the *BTJ* through the complex relationship between Majapahit and Mataram, and between Demak and Mataram, thus the effect of such relationships create the ambiguity in some historical cases of the Mataram kingdom.

BTJ: Majapahit and Mataram

BTJ is a compilation of short historical stories of Pajajaran, Majapahit, Demak, Pajang, and Mataram. The relationship between the *BTJ* and Majapahit was actually built from a story about the daughter of Pajajaran, namely Cemara Tunggal, who rebelled against the kingdom because she would not marry Joko Suruh, the prince of Pajajaran. Cemara Tunggal was Joko Suruh's aunt. When Cemara withdrew to meditate on Kumbang Mountain, she met with Raden Sesuruh (Raden Wijaya), who asked her to go to the East and build a kingdom namely Majapahit.

Cemara promised to marry everyone who became a king of Majaphit. Allegedly, the last emperor of Majapahit had asked for his astrologers to

predict the future of his kingdom: Will the ruler still be a descendant of Majapahit? They had a vision that after three generations, Majapahit would be taken over by another kingdom, and that kingdom would be based in Mataram. From this prophecy, the story of Raden Bondan Kejawan appeared; he was the prince who allegedly developed the relationship between Majapahit and Mataram.

BTJ: Pajang and Mataram

After providing the story of Cemara Tunggal, *BTJ* searched for a genealogical relationship between Mataram and the last emperors of Majapahit, and with Jaka Tingkar, or Sultan Adiwijaya, the son-in-law of the last ruler of Demak (Sultan Trenggana), who after 1546 became a king in Pajang kingdom, near Surakarta. It was Jaka Tingkir who played an important role in determining the future of the Senapati kingdom and its legatees. An important question is considered: How did the *BTJ* build a connection between the rise of Islam (Demak and Pajang) and the mystical figure Ratu Kidul?

In *Babad Sengkalaning Momana*, it is recited that in 1612 Panembahan Seda ing Krapyak asked Panjang Mas to write the *Babad Demak*, a text which provided the original basis for *BTJ*. Meanwhile, in *Serat Sastra Miruda*, Panembahan Seda asked a puppeteer from Kedu, Kyai Anjang Mas, to write the *Babad Demak*. What was the relationship like between Panjang Mas and Kyai Anjang Mas? Kyai Anjang Mas was a puppeteer for the Sultan Demak. His tomb, under the name “Kyai Mulya Lebdajiwa”, is located behind the tomb of Sultan Agung. In a document stored in Leiden University (L.U.B., *Cod. Or.* 10.845), the tomb of Kyai Anjang Mas or Kyai Mulya Lebdajiwa, it was noted that Ledajiwa was a friend of Panjang Mas. Lebdajiwa married Rara Juwita, the daughter of Panjang Mas. After having a ritual of purification (*ruwat*) for Ratu Kidul in Demak Kraton, its offerings changed into gold. Keraton allowed Lebdajiwa to keep them, but he did not want to do that, and returned the gold to Keraton. For this kindness, Keraton gave him the title “Anjang Mas”, meaning ‘owner of golden rack.’

The copy further explained that a friend of Lebdajiwa, who became his father-in-law, Panjang Mas, was a son of Kyai Jurukiting Nataningrat, an attorney in the Mataram Kingdom. Jurukiting was the son of Kyai Jurumartani, whose the name was frequently mentioned in the *BTJ*, as uncle and advisor to Panembahan Senapati. In another source (Van Groenendael, 1985: 95; cf. Ras, 1987: 354), it was told that in addition to

receiving the title as *carik*, Panjang Mas was also known as religious advisor or *mufti* Mandika. He was also a poet and a specialist in Islamic law. This dual function garnered relevance in the historical references by Mataram and Kartasura.

BTJ: Demak and Mataram

In regards to *Babad Demak*, an issue should be questioned: Why was Mataram interested in writing the Babad Demak? The text was discovered recently, in 1981, at Gresik. The editor, Suripan Sadi Hutomo, gave the title *Babad Demak Pasisiran*. The content is about the genealogy of Java's nobility in Pantura (Pantai Laut Utara / North Sea) from Cirebon to Surabaya, and about an attempted to coup against the Hindu Majapahit kingdom. This battle was under the command of Raden Patah, who latter became known as 'Sunan Demak.'

Coming back to the main issue of this paper, it is noted that at this period there was a double genealogy: descendants from Prophet Muhammad (or Demak) and descendants from Batara Guru (or Majapahit). Raden Patah was certainly Sunan Demak, but he could not be an emperor without tracking his genealogy to the Majapahit dynasty, which also was linked to the lineage of Batara Guru. However, since Sunan Demak lived in a new cultural landscape, where Islam was widely accepted, he could not treat Batara Guru as god. The way out was to track his own genealogy back to the first man, Prophet Adam. That was the reason Senapati ing Krapyak was interested in documenting *Babad Demak*. Consequently, a genealogical basis of Mataram was divided into the double genealogy. For guardsman of Sunan Kalijaga's tomb at Kadilangu, two kilometers from Demak, *Babad Demak* was the most authoritative text.

However, the double familial lineage brought about an issue regarding the ambiguity of Mataram in an attempt to build reconciliation between those who had a conflict at kraton. The dual purposes for writing the BTJ were to provide the legitimacy for certain emperors, and to build the genealogical account of the ancestors ranging from the gods back to the mythical figures. Thus, the *BTJ* offered a shortcut in exposing some 'scandals', either religious or political, among those who sought to rebel or insist to preserve a status of power. The question now becomes: How did the BTJ provide a testimony of the rebellion and the recent 'scandals'?

Double Structure

An ideal historiography is certainly a historiography integrating available sources into a diachronic narrative. Regarding the history of Java, De Graaf/Ricklefs thoughts might be the most consistent endeavors to achieve such a goal. The main problem within their approaches was the double structure of the sources. The narration of 'real situation' and historical transformation from generation to generation is commonly retrieved from VOC archives, while Javanese sources are treated as secondary constructs, as mere reflections of that transformation on the Javanese cosmology. It is almost impossible to overcome this double structure.

Kumar (1984: 225) attempted to go beyond this issue by providing a short description of the power structure in the Mataram Kingdom. Kumar based his commentary on the Javanese records that are probably unique: Mangkunegaran's diaries. His study pointed out that it is important to carefully use secondary constructs and an *ex post facto*, like *babad*, when examining Javanese cosmology. The cosmology is more diverse, and often more compliance with VOC archives rather than *babad*. However, I disagree with Kumar's position due to its use of Mangkunegaran's diary, because such documentary notes, like *babad* or *kanda*, are not self-handled written texts from Mangkunegara, but from *carik* or *dalang* too (Kasdi, 2003: 69).

In fact, De Graaf/Ricklefs' approach is legitimate, but it will be more definite if *babad* texts are used as primary sources, and consequently VOC archives are repositioned as secondary ones to reelaborate what *babad* should recite. *Babad* is important not only as storage of facts and viewpoints that are probably missing in VOC archives, but also as its own source. However, *babad* does not stand alone. As a text, *babad* is a part of literary tradition and follows its conventions. Although VOC archives could not directly designate such convention, they are possible to illustrate the context of 'real world' where *babad* was written and from what *babad* was told. Thus, they could be functional in exposing *babad*'s literary structures.

Unfortunately, the *BTJ* we use today is the *Meinsma BTJ*, a puppet summary of *Major Babad*, whereas the later could provide not only genealogy, but also historical background. *Major Babad* also enables us to track some missing parts of historical events in *Meinsma*, some parts that were written by Carik Bajra or Tumenggung Tirtowiguno. Carik Bajra

was an important figure, who witnessed that history, and contributed to Pakubuwana II, particularly in searching for the preferable vacant land in a district where a new kingdom, namely Surakarta, would be built after Geger Pecinan in October 1740. In short, since the beginning, Carik Bajra played an important role during that period, and although Bajra's text is missing, its traces in the current version could be sufficient to reveal Javanese cosmology at that time and comparable with Dutch sources.

Rebellion Ambiguity

The *BTJ* experienced some revisions to maintain the legitimacy for emperors of Java. It was composed in line with great historical transformations. The most crucial one was rebellion. One of main functions of the *BTJ*—like other *babads*—was to determine the authoritative power of emperors through their ancestors. The *BTJ* was to determine, but not always to affirm. Being a king is an affirmation, and was given support from supernatural aspects, such as *andaru* or *wahyu* (revelation), or from earthly aspects, such as genealogical lineage (from queen, wife, or concubine). The distortion of facts was possibly to purify a ruler's genealogy, but the ruler's authority was definitely a fact. What needed justification was the act of rebellion, or more precisely a 'successful' rebellion. The rebellion was crucial due to its position in agitating the core system of the kingdom, and that is why some rebels have special places in the *babad* stories. The main problem is that in the ideological context of *babad*, every rebellion was condemned.

No wonder that some rebels, like Trunojoyo, were described as 'plunderer' (*pembajak*), 'pig' (*celeng*), 'stunned' (*lali*), 'carrion' (*bangkai*), and others (such terms are frequently mentioned in the *BTJ*, [Olthof, 2012: 354, 390, 405, 414]). Moreover, it was recited that after Trunojoyo was besieged in the pit of the mountain, he was then paraded and welcomed as if he was 'a winner'. Trunojoyo was finally executed. His heart was cut into small parts like as cube. Amangkurat asked all the people and officials to eat the pieces. Even Trunojoyo's head was decapitated and made into a doormat that the king's wives and concubines stepped on (also in Olthof, 2012: 356, 419, 420).

Fortunately, most rebellion were not successful. However, in terms of the *BTJ*, how does the writer elaborate a 'successful' rebellion, as in the case of Pangeran Mangkubumi's rebellion which eventually effected the building of the Yogyakarta Kraton, and especially when Pakubuwana insisted on regarding himself as holding 'a status from heaven'? The

Meinsma BTJ does not tell how in 1755 Mataram was broken in half: Kesunanan Surakarta and Kesultanan Yogyakarta. The *Major Babad* certainly provided an explanation about this episode. According to Supomo (1980: 567-568), regarding Pangeran Mangkubumi's rebellion, the *Major Babad* described it as something understood.

Mangkubumi, for instance, was described as the most loyal and trusted counselor of Mataram ruler. After dealing with some injustices—because of the usual political intrigues that a king does not recognize—and doing contemplation, and suddenly getting a divine sign from his spiritual teacher or God, he began to rebel. However, this was welcomed and tended to be understood by a ruler. It is simply guessed that the writer of the *BTJ* has provided an elegant or even supernatural way out that situation.

A structure of ambiguity exists within the *BTJ* in illustrating successful and failed rebellions. This phenomenon is reasonable, because it usually involves those who have familial lineage or relatives with a king. Moreover, the king often was married to a daughter (if one existed) from the rebelling relatives. A prince (*putra mahkota*), born from such a familial relation, should have no defects; he should be genealogically clean and pure. Another consideration is that the *BTJ* would be read by descendants of the historical figures, and it would certainly be difficult for them to accept a 'wicked' narrative about their ancestors.

Ambiguity in *Sabda Raja*: Who Rebels?

This is also possibly used as a starting point to examine the current condition of the Yogyakarta Kraton. April 30th, 2015, Sultan Hamengkubowo X declared a *sabda raja* (king's commandment). It was controversial among kraton families and Yogyakarta people since the content fundamentally reformed the most important points of the *paugeran* (the highest rule of Yogyakarta), such as dispelling *assalamualaikum*, abolishing title *khalifatullah*, changing *Buwono* (earth) into *Bawono* (universe), and changing *sedasa* (ten in bahasa Java) into *sepuluh* (ten in bahasa Indonesia). The Sultan appointed Gusti Pembayun, his daughter, to be a ruler of Mataram. This policy was certainly regarded as breaking *Undang-Undang Keistimewaan Pasal 1 Ayat 18*, partly consisting of an obligation to fulfill a form about education, career, brother/sister, wife, children. It means that, in line with patriarchal system of Kraton, the successor of ruler must be a man.

A similar intrigue described in the *BTJ* occurred, particularly during the succession process in Yogyakarta Kraton. The problem was not the Sultan's preference to whether to appoint his daughter as his successor or not, but most importantly how kraton the intrigues took place (or deliberately designed?) to 'purify' a genealogical lineage. The Sultan's brothers and sisters recognized it, and this was the reason they rejected *sabda raja*, because it could be potentially be a kind of defect in the history of Yogyakarta Kraton. They pretended to distance themselves from the *sabda raja*, not because of their disappointment about the Sultan's power abuse, but primarily it was their attempt to keep the Keraton's genealogy clean, pure, and avoid such a violation. They did not wish to find a fact that their generation would consider subversive policies of kraton.

However, the Sultan's claim that the *sabda raja* was a part of God's commandment has also clarified what happened in the past and as described within the *BTJ*. Sometimes a ruler has to use such 'supernatural' aspects to reinforce his/her authority. The Sultan's policy in appointing Pembayun has some support from academicians because of his attempt to keep Yogyakarta more opened and inclusive, and his choice to claim it as supernatural *wahyu* that precisely maintained a purification of the genealogical lineage. The supernatural reason was probably the most secure reason of self-defense, not merely because of his obligation in claiming it, but most importantly because of his attempt to indirectly reduce a potential defect from such a policy.

The appointment of Pembayun, therefore, was not necessarily related to whether she was man or woman, but related to her father's claim in maintaining supernatural aspects behind *sabda raja*. The Sultan prohibited all people, including his family members, to talk about Pembayun or succession (*Tempo*, "Sabda untuk Pembayun", Mei/2015). By this prohibition, the Sultan insisted on a stance that his family or people who questioned the policy were simply regarded as rebels not merely against the Sultan as the highest ruler of Yogyakarta, but also against God as the most ultimate one of the universe. This is exactly what I considered from the beginning about the effect of the double logic of succession. A question arises: Was the appointment of Pembayun possibly regarded as purely an inclusive policy of the Sultan for Yogyakarta, or was it no more than other past successors used to purify mythological genealogy of the rebelling descendants while understanding such rebellions were subversive?

Closure

In short, the *Meinsma BTJ* was based on *Babad Demak* and *Major Babad*. This is the most recited, but ‘problematic’ and ‘controversial’ summary due to its short description (that implies a reduction of many parts available in larger versions) and its limitation in providing a historical period until 1647, i.e. when Amangkurat I relocated Mataram city to Plered as a result of Pangerat Alit’s rebellion. This summary was also retrieved from *Balai Pustaka BTJ* 1939-1941, which included only the first 9 volumes (a story of the period until 1745, a relocation of Mataram to Surakarta) from the whole 18 volumes.

Under Ricklefs and De Graaf’s study, the *BTJ* was treated as the historical source about Java’s history. Meanwhile, Berg pointed out that the *BTJ* is a prototype of *Pararaton* and *Nagarakertagama* since they have similarities in terms of structure and characters. Ras, conversely, considered the *BTJ* to be a prototype and historical elaboration of the history of Java. It could be verified not merely on its similar structure with *Pararaton*’s, but also, and just as important, on its depiction of the historical relationship between Mataram and the previous kingdoms.

However, their studies are commonly based on giving a priority to VOC archives rather than the *BTJ* as a secondary one. It effects the way the *BTJ* has an insufficient bargaining position vis-à-vis VOC archives. The double structure in the *BTJ* is also a contributing factor for such a position and one that philologists should probably strongly consider. This structure also has effected the way the *BTJ* describes failed and successful rebellions. The ambiguity lies in its position to maintain myths and genealogical lineage of rebelling descendants of the rulers on one side, and to treat such rebellions as unjustified actions on the other side. []

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Nama Majalah : Heritage of Nusantara: International Journal of Religious Literature and Heritage
ISSN : 2303-243X
Redaksi : Center for Research and Development of Religious Literature and Heritage,
Ministry of Religious Affairs of The Republic of Indonesia,
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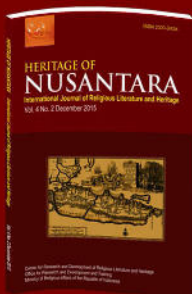
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ISSN 2303-243X

