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## THE GENESIS OF THE BABAD TANAH JAWI\*

### Origin and Function of the Javanese Court Chronicle

Exactly a century ago, in 1885, the linguist and archaeologist J. L. A. Brandes began with the study of indigenous sources for the reconstruction of the Javanese past. Because of his spade-work in this field he is now regarded as the father of Javanese historiographical studies as an academic discipline. As a government servant charged with the study of the Old Javanese language and of archaeology, Brandes was interested first and foremost in the history of the pre-Muslim past. When he began his studies, texts like the *Pararaton* and the *Nāgarakertāgama*, which we today regard as indispensable tools for the study of the Majapahit period in Javanese history, were not yet available, however. He himself was to discover them and make them accessible to an interested public by way of text editions (Brandes 1897<sup>1</sup>/1920<sup>2</sup>; 1904). The only sources which Brandes initially had at his disposal were texts belonging to the *Babad Tanah Jawi* tradition – a Modern Javanese tradition of much more recent date. The *Babad Tanah Jawi* is the official chronicle of the kingdom of Mataram, a realm which had its hey-day under Sultan Agung in the first half of the 17th century. As it is now one century since scholarly concern with Javanese history began with the study of precisely this text, and because of the present renewed interest in the potential contribution of indigenous sources of this type to the historiography of Indonesia, I would here draw attention to the problem of its genesis. The question of its birth also involves that of its function. It therefore has a certain relevance for particular problems of interpretation raised by the text, problems which should be solved before it can be used as a historical source.

The *Babad Tanah Jawi* has been discussed in detail by Brandes in his *Pararaton* edition of 1897. What he refers to as *Babad Tanah Jawi* here is the text that is commonly held to contain the history of the *kratons* of

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Pajajaran, Majapahit, Demak, Pajang, Mataram and Kartasura. In the Balai Pustaka edition it runs to almost 2400 pages (Brandes 1920:205-207; *Babad* 1939-1941). It begins with Adam and continues until the year 1745. Brandes assumed – probably on the authority of C. F. Winter's Surakarta informants (Winter 1848, no. 73) – that this text crystallized into its definitive form around the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century. We find this form reflected in all the available versions and fragments, and, since obviously deviating versions are absent, Brandes believed it to be 'an officially decreed and authorized version of the history of Java according to the views of a particular period' (Brandes 1920:207). This applies in the first place to the history of Java after the arrival of the Dutch, when the realm of Mataram was the dominant political power in Java. For the part dealing with the history of the period prior to 1600, however, there is a variety of sources available – according to Brandes – while in addition there are texts containing rather detailed quasi-historical descriptions of these earlier periods (Brandes 1920:208). By the former he means the extensive body of wayang stories that form part of Modern Javanese literature, while with the latter he is alluding to the texts belonging to the so-called *kanda* tradition. These *kanda* books contain summary outlines of wayang stories. These outlines are strung together in such a way as to provide a pseudo-historical account of events supposed to have taken place in Java in the distant past.

When he extended his study to the Pararaton – a text in Middle Javanese, which consequently belongs to an older tradition – Brandes was struck by the enormous difference between the picture of the Majapahit period given here and the history of this period as sketched in the texts belonging to the Modern Javanese tradition of which the *Babad Tanah Jawi* forms part. He recognized the former as being the more authentic, and tried to find an explanation for the curious character of the latter. The results of his investigations led him to define traditional Javanese literature as a huge body which on the one hand keeps losing certain of its component parts as a result of their no longer being handed down at a particular point in time, and on the other hand continues to grow as a consequence of repetition and the addition of newly created works. The *kanda* books with their pseudo-history in the form of strings of wayang stories he regarded as forming part of the *babad* tradition. This is correct insofar as there is, in fact, a demonstrable overlap between the two. For a number of *kanda* texts carry their story on into the historical period, and thus link up with the *babad* tradition. Brandes' contention was that such a *kanda* book might with equal right be termed a handbook of Javanese literature, or a *pepakem*, i.e. a manual for the Javanese theatre, or, alternatively, a *babad*. The remarkable thing about these *kanda* books is that they often contain a varied body of genealogical information, whereas dates are mostly missing.

We must assume – Brandes argues – that these books originally derived from what must have been a handbook for poets (Brandes 1920:209), a handbook containing not only examples of metrical compositions and lists of synonyms, but in the long run also genealogical and biographical information about particular persons, along with outlines of their mutual relationships, as well as brief synopses of earlier texts and wayang stories. With the arrangement of the gradually increasing contents of these books in some kind of logical sequence, a sort of pseudo-history books came about. By adding stories about more recent events, this pseudo-history was brought more up to date, ultimately resulting in what is currently referred to as a *babad*. What all this boils down to, then, is that Brandes considered the *babads*, at any rate those belonging to the Babad Tanah Jawi tradition and comparable texts, as a kind of *kanda* books, in which the purely fictitious history of the mythical past is followed by stories about events taking place in historical times.

Brandes' successor in the study of the *babad* literature was Hoessein Djajadiningrat. In his Ph.D. thesis concerning the Sejarah Banten (Djajadiningrat 1913), he gave ample attention to the Babad Tanah Jawi. His merit was that he tried to unravel the genesis of the Babad Tanah Jawi without resorting to a general theory concerning the genre to which this book is, rightly or wrongly, believed to belong. He observed that the part of the text dealing with the earliest period of the realm of Mataram contains predictions of events and situations which were to take place much later, namely after the fall of the kraton of Plèrèd in 1677. This imparted to these stories a special relevance for those parts of the text that deal with this much later period. It was the function of these predictions to provide a justification for dynastic irregularities occurring at a much later point in history. The implication of this is that it will be possible to determine the time of writing of particular passages on the basis of their purport. What in Brandes' view had been a more or less chaotic process of uncontrolled growth thus was reduced by Djajadiningrat to a more or less orderly process of writing and rewriting of a historical account on the basis of a particular formula. In this connection it should be noted, however, that Djajadiningrat did not go back any further in his reconstruction of the genesis of the Babad Tanah Jawi than the canonized version attributed to Pangéran Adilangu II, which dates from the period of 1690 to 1718. He was able to determine what had happened to the text after 1690, but it remained uncertain what had happened prior to that. And so it is that we find Djajadiningrat concurring with Brandes' theory (Hoessein Djajadiningrat 1913:306) where the beginning of the Babad, dealing with the period prior to 1600, is concerned. On the basis of a comparison with the Sejarah Banten, Djajadiningrat finally concluded that the outline of the earlier history of Java

given here is an old one and must date back to at least the first half of the 17th century.

The first historian to make extensive use of the Babad Tanah Jawi as a source for research on actual historical processes was H. J. de Graaf. He demonstrated in a series of valuable monographs how such Javanese sources may profitably be used, thus becoming the first historian to successfully experiment with an Indonesia-centric approach in historiography (De Graaf 1954, 1958 and 1961). In his inaugural lecture as external lecturer in modern Indonesian history at Leiden (De Graaf 1953) he expounded his view on the genesis of the Javanese court chronicle.

Linking up with Djajadiningrat's theory, De Graaf observed that the Babad Tanah Jawi had for a long time been a text that had to satisfy certain needs felt at successive points in history, and for this reason had been repeatedly revised. The implication of this is that the most recent parts of the text have been least subject to adaptation, whereas the passages dealing with the earliest history have been most frequently revised, and thus have become furthest removed from historical truth. It is obvious, therefore, that if we wish to determine the changes of form to which the text has been subject we will have to look for older variants of the text. As these do not appear to exist, there is nothing we can do but turn to the Serat Kanda as the nearest object of comparison.

De Graaf observed that both the *babad* and the *kanda* tradition assign a dominant position to the *wali* or 'saint' of Surabaya, Sunan Ngampel, alias Radèn Rahmat. All personages playing a role of any importance on the political and religious scene of the early 16th century had once been his disciples. In addition we find the traditions concerning the latter days of Majapahit, too, bearing a strong Surabayan character. De Graaf supposed that this narrative material must have derived from a now lost Surabayan history and must have found its way to the Central Javanese tradition via Pangéran Pekik, the son of the last ruler of Surabaya, who after the fall of that city in 1625 was summoned to Mataram and married to a sister of Sultan Agung. Basing himself on information contained in 17th-century Dutch reports, De Graaf is inclined to look for the author of the Mataram *babad* in its earliest form among prominent Muslim clerics at the court of Sultan Agung. The figure then almost automatically coming to the fore as a likely forebear of this first *babad*-writer is that of Sunan Kalijaga, the ancestor of Pangéran Adilangu II, because of the dominant role assigned to this saint in the Babad's oldest core. As the time in which the Babad first took shape De Graaf indicates the period between 1641 and 1645, hence the latter years of the reign of Sultan Agung, after his acquisition of the title of 'sultan'.

De Graaf's theory provoked fundamental criticism from C. C. Berg,

which is set forth in a series of articles published in the journal *Indonesië* (Berg 1955, 1957). In fact, Berg had published on related subjects prior to that (Berg 1938, 1951). Like Djajadiningrat and De Graaf, Berg believed that the core of the Babad Tanah Jawi took shape during the reign of Sultan Agung. But he contested their view, which followed in Brandes' footsteps, that the advent of Islam and subsequent fall of Majapahit caused a break in the cultural development of Java. Berg denied that there had been a bloody religious war which caused the fall of Majapahit and, together with it, the destruction of the Old Javanese literary heritage. Brandes did not recognize the fact – Berg argued – that the Babad Tanah Jawi is based on the Pararaton as regards its representation of the remote past, and posited instead a discontinuity in Javanese historiography. Berg assumed that Sultan Agung's court poet, as a younger colleague of the Majapahit court poet Prapanca, wrote the Babad Tanah Jawi by reference to a Middle Javanese tradition and compiled it basically from Middle Javanese materials. In Central Java a story concerning the rulers of Singhasari and Majapahit had survived, together with the notion that for a dynastic history the so-called 'two-house structure' is typical. The implication of this is that the Babad Tanah Jawi placed the royal house of Mataram in a specific relation vis-à-vis an older lineage, and that this relation, as far as its characteristic details are concerned, resembles the relation in which the Pararaton places the royal house of Majapahit vis-à-vis that of Singhasari. This principle plus other material handed down by tradition were used by Sultan Agung's court poet, as a practitioner of literary magic, to lay a magic foundation for a prosperous reign. Consequently the form of the Babad Tanah Jawi is determined by Sultan Agung's interests. What Berg objects to in Brandes' theory is that it has the Babad Tanah Jawi spring from an inadequate allogeneous prototype, namely a supposed hand-book for poets. De Graaf, on the other hand, assumes the existence of an adequate prototype, a Surabayan chronicle. But hereby he fails to realize that a new cultural element always requires the previous existence of an allogeneous phenomenon. Berg indicates the combination Nāgarakertāgama-Pararaton as the original model for the Babad Tanah Jawi. As a prototype it is both allogeneous and adequate. He further expresses the opinion that it can be proved from the structure of the genealogy contained in the Babad Tanah Jawi that in the 17th century not Panembahan Sénapati but Sultan Agung was regarded as the founder of the Mataram dynasty. We should not view the Babad Tanah Jawi as a book that was meant to give a survey of past events in Java. It appears much rather to have been an instrument of literary magic, created by a priest who by writing it was continuing an age-old tradition.

It is obvious that scholarly reflection on the problem of the genesis of the Babad Tanah Jawi at quite an early stage got into an impasse as a result

of an excess of theory being built on too narrow a base of factual information. To my mind it will only be possible to get out of this impasse if we are prepared to try and understand the Modern Javanese *kraton* tradition reflected in the Babad Tanah Jawi by using the internal testimony of the text itself, supplemented with data drawn from the very *kraton* milieu in which that text came into being.

When we compare the Babad Tanah Jawi with other Indonesian court chronicles, we cannot fail to be struck by the atypical character of this Modern Javanese chronicle, not only as regards size but also on the point of structure (Ras 1986a:260-264). It is atypical not only in relation to Malay texts like the *Sejarah Melayu*, *Hikayat Banjar*, *Salasilah Kutai*, and so on, but also vis-à-vis a Middle Javanese text like the *Pararaton*, the court chronicle of Majapahit. Texts of this type normally begin with a myth of origin of which a man and woman representing the mythical ancestors of the dynasty are the key figures (Ras 1968:81-99; Ras 1986b:186, 192). The male founder of the dynasty is frequently depicted as a representative of the upper world. He is united with a woman representing the nether world. The latter may be either the earth, whose womb is regarded as the source of all food and other natural resources, or the primeval waters and hence the underworld, associated with the realm of the spirits. In the *Pararaton* this ancestral couple is formed by Kèn Angrok and Kèn Dēdes. Angrok was begotten by Brahma, who in Java is the god of fire and who, in addition, often figures as king-maker. But Angrok is also called a manifestation on earth of Baṭara Guru, the Javanese Śiva. Dēdes is the daughter of a Mahāyāna monk who practises asceticism in a cemetery. She has a luminous womb. According to the text a woman like this is an *ardhanārīśvarī*, that is, the female half of a united Śiva-Durgā couple (represented as 'the Lord who is half male half female', Holt 1967:80-81). The man who marries such a woman will become ruler of the world. This couple is the origin of the royal house of Majapahit (Brandes 1920:14 and 58).

The curious thing is that we do indeed come across a formally similar representation in the Babad Tanah Jawi, but not at its beginning. The sacred marriage here is that between Panembahan Sēnapati, the first ruler of the house of Mataram, and Ratu Kidul, the goddess of the Southern Sea. The author relates in no fewer than 83 stanzas how Sēnapati has an encounter at Parang Tritis, on the south coast of Java, with the patroness of the Southern Sea, who is also the ruler of all the spirits and demons, and follows her to her submarine palace to enjoy the raptures of love with her for three days. When Sēnapati returns to Kuṭa Gedé, Ratu Kidul declares that he and his progeny will be rulers of Java and promises that she will come to his aid with her spirit army whenever he asks her to. That this episode has not simply landed up in the Babad by mere chance but constitutes a key motif is apparent from the fact that

Ratu Kidul also figures at the beginning of the text, namely as the ascetic Cemara Tunggal, in reality a maiden princess from Pajajaran (West Java). She appears here to Radèn Susuruh, who figures in the Babad as the founder of the realm of Majapahit, and announces that she will settle in Pamantingan and recognize him as overlord. Whoever becomes sovereign of the whole of Java will marry her. At the end of the interview she bids him proceed to Singhasari (*Babad* I:56 ff.). Further on in the text there is mention once more of Ratu Kidul and her special relation with the rulers of Mataram, namely in connection with Sultan Agung's encounter with her and the subjection of the spirits of Java to this king (*Babad* X:26 ff.).

It is quite clear that Ratu Kidul as ruler of the realm of the spirits is a representation of Śiva's spouse Durgā, while Sénapati, in consequence of his marriage to her, is placed in the position of Śiva (Baṭara Guru), similarly to Angrok in the Pararaton. There is a structural discrepancy here, however. A striking difference with other Indonesian court chronicles, including the Pararaton, is that the story here does not begin with the episode of the sacred marriage, to be continued with a genealogy linking the mythical founder of the dynasty to later rulers. On the contrary, the story begins with a lengthy genealogy tracing Sénapati's descent to Adam via the rulers of Majapahit. As a result, Panembahan Sénapati is virtually 'demythologized' in his quality as Ratu Kidul's bridegroom. By virtue of his pedigree he becomes an ordinary person of flesh and blood. The motif of the mythical founder of the dynasty and his supernatural bride from whose primeval union their descendants derive their right to rule has been substituted here by Ratu Kidul's permanent marriage to all the successive rulers who were to reign over the whole of Java. The relationship between the ruling monarchs, from Sénapati onwards, and their supernatural bride is one which needs to be continually renewed.

These two structural discrepancies in the story indicate that Sénapati's genealogy and the myth of his sacred marriage to Ratu Kidul constitute two formerly disparate elements. As both the line of descent and the myth of Ratu Kidul occupy a functionally central position in the Babad, because in combination they confirm Sénapati's right to dominion over Java, our conclusion must be that they are also fundamental in the problem of the genesis of the Babad Tanah Jawi. It is important to observe in this connection that the permanent relation between Sénapati's descendants and Ratu Kidul is not a mere narrative motif of the Babad. It is well-known that a special ritual has been performed from of old on the beach at Parang Tritis, to the south of Yogyakarta. Hereby certain objects are cast into the sea as offerings (*labuhan*) to Ratu Kidul (L.U.B., Cod.Or. 10.845; De Graaf and Pigeaud 1974:222-223). As tradition has it, this ritual offering has been performed as long as the *kraton* of Mataram has existed, and is repeated each time a new ruler



ascends the throne and each time a ruler is united in marriage with his queen. It also takes place whenever a prince is raised to the status of Pangéran Adipati Anom, i.e. crown prince, and when such a prince marries. Allegedly this ritual was initiated at the time of Panembahan Sénapati. However, the year in which this is supposed to have happened, A.J. 1540 (= A.D. 1618), does not accord with this claim, because it coincides with the reign of Sultan Agung. According to the Babad Sengkalaning Momana (KITLV, Cod.Or. 257), a table of dates of Yogyakarta origin, this is the year in which Sultan Agung moved into his new *kraton* in Karta, while his mother stayed on in the old *kraton* at Kuṭa Gedé. In any case it is clear that the ritual concerned is an ancient one. That the spiritual lords of Adilangu also felt an affinity for the ritual of Ratu Kidul is apparent from a story told about their ancestor Sunan Kalijaga. In the Babad Tanah Jawi we read that this saint, before taking part in the building of the famous mosque of Demak in A.J. 1401 (= A.D. 1479), first went on a pilgrimage to Pamantingan, near Parang Tritis (*Babad* III:15; De Graaf and Pigeaud 1974:30-33). There is question here of an interesting relationship between myth and rite which should not be passed over in silence.

The part of the text preceding the episode of Ratu Kidul includes the so-called *babads* or 'histories' of Pajajaran, Majapahit and Demak and most of the history of Pajang. In reality, however, these are not genuine histories dealing with historical events. The so-called Babad Pajajaran amounts to little more than a long genealogy running from Adam, via the kings of Astina, Keḍiri, Pengging, Mendang Kamulan, Jenggala and Pajajaran, to the dynasty of Majapahit. This part covers no more than about 60 pages in the Balai Pustaka Edition (*Babad* I:7-66). Only in two places is this genealogy interrupted by narrative passages. The first of these marks the beginning of the Babad and contains the tale of Watu Gunung. This is a *ruwat* story, i.e. a symbolic story intended for exorcistic purposes, in this particular case that of putting an end to a disturbance of the cosmic order on the boundary between two eras (Ras 1986a:260-264). The second marks the end of what might be called 'the wayang genealogy'. It contains the Javanese version of a Sundanese myth about a personage called Siyung Wanara, here represented as lord of the smiths, who seizes the sovereignty of the realm of Pajajaran in West Java (Ras 1986a:265-267; for a Sundanese version of the story see Pleyte 1910).

A passage that is relevant for the later part of the Babad dealing with Mataram is that featuring the earlier mentioned ascetic Cemara Tunggal as first manifestation of Ratu Kidul. She is represented here as a princess of Pajajaran who has been banished from the court because of her refusal to marry. Her covenant with the ousted crown-prince of Pajajaran who becomes the founder of the dynasty of Majapahit is the prototype of the

agreement to be concluded by her with Sénapati as founder of the dynasty of Mataram. This is made explicit by the announcement of her removal to Pamantingan. How much the would-be history of Majapahit following this also remains oriented to the foundation of the much later realm of Mataram appears from the passage in which the last ruler of Majapahit asks his astrologers and soothsayers whether anyone of his own line will succeed him as king of Majapahit (*Babad* II:41). The reply is that after three more scions of the house of Meḍang (i.e., the oldest dynasty of Java) shall have been king, another sovereign will rise to power, who will subdue the whole of Java. He will have his capital elsewhere, however, and reside in Mataram. Then, after this signal, there follows the story of Radèn Bondan Kejawan, the prince allegedly forming the link between the dynasties of Mataram and Majapahit.

This is followed by a long section, approx. 280 pages long, claiming to relate the history of Demak and Pajang. In actual fact it is a hotchpotch of legendary tales about persons said to have played a prominent part on the political and religious scene in the period of religious transition in the 15th and 16th centuries. Aside from the origin and activities of the *walis*, i.e., the 'saints' who were prominent religious teachers, these stories deal with a number of persons who allegedly had genealogical links with the ruling house of Majapahit, and further with the rise of Demak as a new centre of political power and the fall of the *kraton* of Majapahit. Especially important among these are the legendary tales concerning the figures who together constitute the genealogical link between the last ruler of Majapahit and the dynasty of Mataram, and their relation to Jaka Tingkir, alias Sultan Adiwijaya, the son-in-law of the last king of Demak, who after 1546 seized the supreme power and for a number of years had his residence in the *kraton* of Pajang, near present-day Surakarta (for details see De Graaf and Pigeaud 1974:206-219). All these tales prepare the reader for the future kingship of Sénapati and his descendants.

The question that now arises is how it was possible for this fabric of pseudo-historical tales about the rise of Islam to be interwoven with the utterly heathen element represented by the figure of Ratu Kidul. A clue is provided by a statement in the Babad Sengkalaning Momana. According to this table of dates, the king of Mataram, Panembahan Séda ing Krapyak, in A.D. 1612 gave instructions for the Babad Demak to be put in order. The person who executed this command was the *carik* Panjang Mas.

By itself this information is not really decisive. It requires confirmation from other sources, as well as further clarification. The presence in the *Serat Sastra Miruda*, a Surakarta manual for *ḍalangs*, of a piece of information linking up with this is therefore important (Kusumadilaga 1930:15 ff.). Here we are informed that Panembahan Séda ing Krapyak appointed a *ḍalang* from Keḍu to a position in the *kraton* to execute his

orders with respect to the wayang theatre. The name of this *dalang*, we are told further on in the text, was Kyai Anjang Mas. One of the changes implemented in this period was that *ruwat* rituals, hence rituals conducted for exorcistic purposes, ceased to be held in combination with *wayang bebèr* performances, i.e., performances in which the various scenes are depicted on scrolls. Henceforth *wayang kulit* performances, i.e. performances with leather puppets, were to be used for these purposes. One may now ask what was the connection between this *dalang* Anjang Mas from the *Serat Sastra Miruda* and the *carik* Panjang Mas from the Babad Sengkalaning Momana.

The *dalang* Anjang Mas must have played quite an important part at the court of Mataram. This is testified by the fact that he was buried in the royal cemetery of Imagiri. His grave, lying diagonally behind that of Sultan Agung, is labelled as the grave of Kyai Mulya Lebdajiwa, alias Kyai Anjang Mas, the *dalang* of Sultan Agung. It is to this oldest known Mataram court *dalang* that the well-known Surakarta court *dalang* Ki Reditanaya traces back his descent. A copy of his detailed genealogy, in which the burial places and apanage rights of his ancestors are also registered, is kept in the Leiden University Library (L.U.B., Cod.Or. 10.845). There is more information still to be found in this document, however. It also mentions that Lebdajiwa was a friend of Pangéran Panjang Mas, and that the latter gave him his daughter, Rara Juwita, known in the wayang tradition as Nyai Anjang Mas, in marriage. It further says that Lebdajiwa acquired the epithet Anjang Mas after a purification ritual (*ruwat*) in the *kraton* addressed to Ratu Kidul. When the wayang performance was over, the rack on which the offerings were placed appeared to be of gold. According to an ancient custom the *dalang* is allowed to keep the offerings after a performance. Kyai Lebdajiwa, however, took the gold rack to the *kraton*, because he did not feel that it rightfully belonged to him. In reward the king promoted him to the position of head of all the other *dalangs* attached to the *kraton* and granted him the right to levy a kind of entertainment tax on all wayang performers, mask-dancers and public dancing-girls in Mataram from then on. He moreover had the epithet Kyai Anjang Mas, meaning 'lord of the golden rack', bestowed on him in consequence of this incident.

The document also has more to say about Lebdajiwa's friend and father-in-law, Pangéran Panjang Mas. He was the son of Kyai Jurukiñg Nataningrat, who was attached to the *kraton* of Mataram as a *jaksa*, that is, a member of the court of judicature. Kyai Jurukiñg is known to us from the Babad Tanah Jawi. He was a son of Kyai Jurumartani, who is repeatedly mentioned in the Babad as the uncle and counsellor of Panembahan Sénapati. The function of *carik*, that is, 'clerk' or 'secretary', is a quite logical one for the son of a *jaksa*. A *carik* was both a secretary and a poet. Another source informs us that this Pangéran Panjang Mas was also known by the name of *mufti* Mandika (Van

Groenendaal 1982:95). This means that, besides being a poet, he was a specialist in Muslim canon law (*mufti*), which represents a combination of functions that is also encountered in the later history of Mataram and Kartasura.

That Sultan Agung's predecessor on the throne should have ordered this relative of his to rewrite the Babad Demak and so to create the beginning of his own dynastic chronicle is quite natural. That the relation between Ratu Kidul and the ruling kings of Mataram should likewise be given a place in the new version of this Babad is equally natural. This relation with Ratu Kidul or Nyai Rara Kidul was the *raison d'être* of a regularly recurring ceremony organized by the *kraton*, while the *dalang* in charge of the exorcistic rites had close ties with the poet. The interests of the royal patron himself were involved as well, for that matter. It is more than likely that this sacrificial rite in honour of Ratu Kidul was older, as a tradition, than the realm of Mataram. The Indian Ocean off the south coast of Java is extremely dangerous and claims a number of human lives every year. At the same time it constitutes a protective barrier by making the coast difficult of access to shipping. The true age of the Ratu Kidul rite was probably not a serious problem for the writer of the Babad or for his patron, however.

A question which remains to be answered here is why the king of Mataram should have attached so much importance to the Babad Demak that the relevant piece of information ended up in the Babad Momana. Next one may ask what this 'proto-Babad Demak' can have looked like and why it had to be rewritten. And finally one would like to know how this text came to the ruler's notice.

It is interesting to note in this connection that an unquestionably old version of the Babad Demak was found not long ago in Gresik, approx. 15 km north-west of Surabaya. This Babad Demak Pesisiran, as it was named by its editor, Suripan Sadi Hutomo, is a most noteworthy text (Suripan et al. 1981/82). Actually, it is nothing other than a systematic register of the nobility of Java's north coast from Cirebon to Surabaya in the period of religious transition. It features an extensive double genealogy with such wide ramifications as to include anyone playing a role on the political and religious scene of those days. This part is followed by an account of the holy war against the heathen king of Majapahit. This war was fought under the command of Radèn Patah, here referred to as 'Sunan Demak'. It is through this story that the text provides legitimation for the usurpation of power by the first king of Demak. But even in this part the narrative is clearly subservient to the genealogy.

In this period there were two sources of nobility. The first was descent from the Prophet Muhammad, and the second descent from the kings of Majapahit. It goes almost without saying that the Muslim nobility, most of them of foreign provenance, traced its descents from the Prophet. Radèn Patah, however, could only be legitimate ruler of Java if he could

trace his descent to the kings of Majapahit. As the latter were regarded as worldly manifestations of the Supreme Being, their genealogy could not but go back to Baṭara Guru. A connection with the genealogy of the heroes of the Pandawa cycle of the *wayang purwa* was obvious, therefore, as was the fact that in the new cultural context it was impossible for Baṭara Guru to be a god: he had to descend from the Prophet Adam as the first man.

Because of its wealth of genealogical details, this text offers the members of a 'new nobility' some ideal opportunities of tracing their descent to real or fictitious ancestors forming part of the 'old nobility'. The only thing a Mataram editor of this material needed to do was to delete those details which he considered superfluous or undesirable and to add some extra narration here and there in order to draw a fuller picture of persons in whom he was especially interested. Furthermore, a new chapter concerning the Pajang period had to be added, with the official version of Sênapati's origins and his actions as first king of Mataram worked into it.

If the Babad Demak mentioned in the Babad Momana was a book like this Babad Demak Pesisiran from Gresik, it immediately becomes clear why Panembahan Séda ing Krapyak took such a great interest in it. Appropriately adapted, this text provided the necessary basis for the creation of a court chronicle for Mataram which might serve as patent of nobility for his line, as a charter from which his descendants might derive the right to rule. This also explains why the year in which this work was initiated was given a special mention in the table of dates.

When we ask next who else had interests involved in this text besides the king and might have possessed a copy which they might offer him, the first persons to be considered naturally are the guardians of Sunan Kalijaga's holy grave in Kadilangu, at a distance of 2 km from Demak, who moreover had such close links with the large mosque of that town. For them, too, this document was a patent of nobility.

The origin and function of the Babad Tanah Jawi are indissolubly tied up with the form and history of the text. The book owes its chronicle-like character to its framework as an annotated genealogy of the kings of Mataram and those surrounding them. As a sacred covenant between the ruling king, his people and the upper world (Ras 1986a:254-257), it was a text that needed to be regularly adjusted and brought up to date. Careful analysis enables us to reconstruct the development of the Babad and to appropriately interpret the information it offers.

Scholarly research is seldom conducted in isolation. One makes use, consciously or unconsciously, of the work of predecessors and contemporaries. This holds equally true for the view of the genesis of the Babad Tanah Jawi presented here. Building on the work of others, I have tried,

by also considering some hitherto neglected data, to advance the debate one small step further.

There is one more thing to which attention should be drawn in this connection. This is the absolute indispensability of printed versions of the principal *babad* and *kanda* texts. To date these texts still lie buried in our collections in the form of manuscripts or, insofar as they have ever been published at all, are accessible to only a few. Only when they will have been made more readily accessible to scholars and laymen alike will their custodians and the philologists have acquitted themselves of their duty towards Indonesian society and international scholarship.

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## ABBREVIATIONS USED

Cod.Or.	Codex Orientalis.
KITLV	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden.
's-Hage	's-Gravenhage.
L.U.B.	Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek.
VBG	Verhandeling van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.