



**Narrative Imagination of Islam in Nusantara: A Study on Islam in
*Babad Tanah Jawi and Babad Giyanti***

Achmad Fawaid

Universitas Nurul Jadid, Indonesia
E-mail: fawaidachmad@unuja.ac.id

Wening Udasmoro

Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia
E-mail: udasmoro@ugm.ac.id

Sri Margana

Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia
E-mail: s.margana@ugm.ac.id

Miftahul Huda

Universiteit Antwerpen, Belgia
E-mail: miftahul.huda@uantwerpen.be

Abstract

The lack of research on literary elements in "babad" is in line with the limited study of Islamic elements within this genre. This research aims to analyze the Javanese poets' depictions of Islam in "Babad Tanah Jawi" and "Babad Giyanti." The study operates under the assumption that "babad" as literary works can allegorically create a contested space where Islam interacts with other traditions. A qualitative paradigm with a comparative structural approach is employed in this study, focusing on the narratives that shape the author's understanding of Islam in the 18th century. The findings of this research reveal that the court poet's portrayal of Islam in "Babad Tanah Jawi" shares similarities with another work in the same genre, "Babad Giyanti." These commonalities encompass the utilization of Islamic verses in the "bhabuka" text and "asmaul husna," the depiction of "walisongo's" role, the practice of "tawajjuh," moral Islamic teachings, and the political positioning characterized by ambivalence and negotiation among different traditions.

Keywords: Narrative imagination, Islam, Babad Tanah Jawi, Babad Giyanti.

Introduction

Studies on Islam Java based on classical texts are various. Their studies focus on the connection between Islam and Java based on moral teaching, traditional prophecy (*primbon*), and religious pathways (*suluk*). Several Indonesian researchers have an important role in researching Javanese Islam based on these religious texts, including J. Zoetmulder's *Manunggaling Kawula Gusti, Pantheism and Monism in Javanese Suluk Literature* (1995),¹ Soebardi's *Serat Cabolek*,² Simuh's study of *Serat Wirid Hidayat Jati R.Ng. Ranggawarsita*,³ and Marsono's research on *Naskah Lokajaya*.⁴ This fact shows that the study of Islam and its relationship with Javanese religious culture has long been the attention of Indonesian and foreign scholars.⁵ Unfortunately, these researches focus more on the issue of Islamic Sufism among Javanese people.

Meanwhile, there is lack of researches on 'ideological imagination' of poets about Islam based on *babad*. Several studies, such as the research series

¹ Petrus Josephus Zoetmulder, *Pantheism and Monism in Javanese Suluk Literature: Islamic and Indian Mysticism in an Indonesian Setting*, vol. 24 (Koninklyk Instituut Voor Taal Land, 1995).

² S Soebardi, *The Book of Cabolèk: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, and Notes: A Contribution to the Study of the Javanese Mystical Tradition (Vol. 10)* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1975).

³ Mistik Islam Kejawen Raden Ngabehi Simuh, *Ranggawarsita: Suatu Studi Terhadap Serat Wirid Hidayat Jati*, (Yogyakarta: IAIN Sunan Kalijaga, 1983).

⁴ Marsono, *Akulturasi Islam Dalam Budaya Jawa: Analisis Semiotik Teks Lokajaya Dalam LOr. 11.629* (Gadjah Mada University Press, 2019).

⁵ Anthony Day, "Babad Kandha, Babad Kraton and Variation in Modern Javanese Literature," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land-En Volkenkunde* 4de Afl (1978): 433–50; Merle C Ricklefs, "Rediscovering Islam in Javanese History," *Studia Islamika* 21, no. 3 (2014): 397–418; Martin Van Bruinessen, "Najmuddin Al-Kubra, Jumadil Kubra and Jamaluddin al-Akbar: Traces of Kubrawiyya Influence in Early Indonesian Islam," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal, Land-En Volkenkunde*, no. 2de Afl (1994): 305–29; Alexander Wain, "The Kubrawī and Early Javanese Islam: Re-Assessing the Significance of a 16th-Century Kubrawī Silsila in the Sejarah Banten Ranté-Ranté," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 49, no. 143 (2021): 42–62.

Riyadi (2012, 2013, 2016),⁶ Iswanto (2014),⁷ Maharsi (2017),⁸ Fanani (2018)⁹ are a few examples of research in Indonesia regarding the representation of Islam and/or Javanese teachings in *babad*, although they are still limited to questioning the moralistic values of Javanese Islamic teachings. In fact, every religion in Indonesia has owned their *babads*, for example *Babad Blambangan*, *Babad Madura*, *Babad Cirebon*, *Babad Gresik*, *Babad Brebes*, and other *babad* outside Java, such as *Babad Lombok* and *Babad Bali*. Nevertheless, for socio-historical context of Javanese life in general, *Babad Tanah Jawi* is still considered as *major* because it summarizes almost all the historical events of the rule of the Javanese kings, especially in Surakarta. This shows that even though there is research on Javanese Islamic teachings using *babad* as object of study, this research is generally limited to questioning historical phenomena, the authenticity of manuscripts, or the genealogy of Javanese kings.

The above conditions are reasonable, because almost all researches on Islamization in Java generally uses *babad* as historical sources. The problem is that its reliability is often questioned.¹⁰ Many fictional, imaginative, magical, and mystical stories in *babad* has made this genre as not fulfilling scientific and academic historical elements. It is rarely to find literature using elements of fiction, imagination and myth as research objects, using *babad* as literary works, making this imagination as author's political strategy in negotiating with the socio-political reality. In fact, the chronicle is written in a complex poetic structure, arranged in *tembang* form, consisting of various *pupuh* with beautiful semantic structures.

The lack of research on literary elements in the chronicle is directly

⁶ M Irfan Riyadi, "Arah Perkembangan Ajaran Theosofi Islam Dalam Literatur Sastra Pujangga Jawa (Pendekatan Genealogi)," *Jurnal Dialogia, Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Sosial IAIN Ponorogo* 10, no. 2 (2012): 129–44; Muhammad Irfan Riyadi, "Kontroversi Theosofi Islam Jawa Dalam Manuskrip Kapujanggan," *Al-Tahrir: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 13, no. 1 (2013): 21–41; M Irfan Riyadi, "Tarekat Sebagai Organisasi Tasawuf (Melacak Peran Tarekat Dalam Perkembangan Dakwah Islamiyah)," *At-Taqaddum* 6, no. 2 (2016): 359–85.

⁷ Agus Iswanto, "Teologi Lingkungan Ranggawarsita: Kajian Terhadap Teks-Teks Zaman Edan," *AKADEMIKA* 19, no. 02 (2014): 186–186.

⁸ Maharsi Maharsi, "Potret Islam Di Kasultanan Yogyakarta Abad XVIII: Kajian Terhadap Penulis Naskah Babad Kraton," *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 15, no. 1 (2017): 59–80.

⁹ Ahwan Fanani and Ashabul Kahfi, "Gambaran Tokoh Walisongo Dalam Babad Tanah Jawi," *Sabda: Jurnal Kajian Kebudayaan* 14, no. 2 (n.d.): 158–75.

¹⁰ Andrew C S Peacock, *Islamisation: Comparative Perspectives from History* (Edinburgh University Press, 2017).

in line with the lack of study of Islamic elements in *babad*. Islamic life in *babad* is always examined within the framework of the history of Islamization, namely a framework of thought that using war, invasion, and rebellion as historical events of Islamic life in Java, especially in the royal palace.¹¹ Almost no research has been found that attempts to analyze Islamic phenomena in chronicles in the framework of aesthetic thinking, a dimension that places textual 'beauty' (meaning, sentences, diction, metaphors, schemes and themes) as an object of study to analyze contextual structures (reality, representation and ideology).

This research aims to analyze Javanese poets' imaginations about Islam in *the Babad Tanah Jawi* and *Babad Giyanti*. This research will show that in the two chronicles written by Yasadipura I, Islam contributed greatly in forming the main substance in the process of Javanese cultural revival. Instead of considering *kakawin* as the pinnacle of Javanese literature, it is important to ensure that court culture is far from the influence of Pasisir Islam as perceived in colonial philology. *Babad* as literary works also help create a sustainable connection between Islam and Javanese culture. Islam, commonly mentioed in *suluk* and *babad*, provides the basis for values and ethics for building the Javanese cultural system. In fact, even in the chronicles, the relationship between Islam and other traditions is described as very complex, subtle, and often shows the role of this religion, through the saints, as the center of consolidation between Hindu-Buddhist traditions and Javanese society in court cultural politics.

Method

This study uses a qualitative paradigm with a structural approach.¹² The structure is based on narratives of author's imagination of Islam in *babad*, focusing on study of the ways the author builds, proceeds, recognizes his imagination of Islam. This study uses comparative study of two important works of Yasadipura I in similar genres, *Babad Tanah Jawi* and

¹¹ Sartono Kartodirdjo, *The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888* (Brill, 1966); Aminuddin Kasdi, *Perlawanan Penguasa Madura Atas Hegemoni Jawa: Relasi Pusat-Daerah Pada Periode Akhir Mataram, 1726-1745* (Jendela, 2003); Slamet Muljana, *Runtuhnya Kerajaan Hindu-Jawa Dan Timbulnya Negara-Negara Islam Di Nusantara* (LKis Pelangi Aksara, 2005).

¹² Faruk, *Pengantar Sosiologi Sastra: Dari Strukturalisme Genetik Sampai Post-Modernisme* (Pustaka Pelajar, 1999); Fadlil Munawwar Manshur, "Kajian Teori Formalisme Dan Strukturalisme," *SASDAYA: Gadjah Mada Journal of Humanities* 3, no. 1 (2019): 79–93.

Babad Giyanti.

This study uses primary and secondary sources. Primary sources is *Babad Tanah Jawi* version of Balai Pustaka in the form of *tembang macapat*. *Babad Tanah Jawi* was chosen under some considerations, because the authorship of this text was 'problematic'. However, the researcher finally used the opinion of most other researchers who stated that the most final and authoritative version of this text was the *Major Babad version* written by Yasadipura.¹³ Another factor is more eclectic, because - even though it was written from the Surakarta tradition - this *babad* is the major of many *babad* of Javanese history from pre-Majapahit to Surakarta, and it will provide a much more holistic spectrum of events than the other *babads*.

Meanwhile, secondary sources are *Babad Giyanti* and *Tus Pajang*, as well as several scientific articles in national and international journals relating to *Babad Tanah Jawi* and/or Yasadipura I. *Babad Giyanti* was chosen because it is one of the manuscripts most believed to be the work of Yasadipura I, while *Tus Pajang* is a biography of Yasadipura I written by his descendants. It means that *Babad Giyanti* is a witness to documents tracing the authorship of Yasadipura I which he experienced directly during his life, while *Tus Pajang* is a witness to documents tracing the life of Yasadipura I which were written directly by the descendants of this Javanese poet. Dialogue with *Babad Tanah Jawi* with two witnesses to this document is a necessity to strengthen the arguments built in this research.

Islam, Yasadipura I, Santri Family

In a suluk written in 1815, one of the grandsons of Yasadipura I remembered his grandfather.

"Ingsun weruh nalika kalane dalu, yen tan tatamuwan, sakendeling nganggut-anggut, nora nana malih ingkang tiningalan, amung suluk kalawan tasawub dipun"

(I observed at night, if there are no guests, after finishing the composition, He saw nothing else, Only suluk and books of Sufism)

¹³ J Ras, "The Genesis of the Babad Tanah Jawi: Origin and Function of the Javanese Court Chronicle," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land-En Volkenkunde* 2, no. 3de Afl (1987): 343–56; Merle Calvin Ricklefs, "A Consideration of Three Versions of the Babad Tanah Djawi with Excerpts on the Fall of Madjapahit," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 35, no. 2 (1973): 285–315; E P Wieringa, "An Old Text Brought to Life Again", *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land-En Volkenkunde* 155, no. 2 (1999): 251–251.

Ranggasasmita, *Suluk Martabat Sanga*, 72-73.¹⁴

Yasadipura I (1729-1803), as Soebardi wrote, was prolific: wrote many manuscripts, known not only as a poet, but also as a historian, mystic, and religious teacher at the same time.¹⁵ Even though the literary works and the date of birth which are associated to the name of Yasadipura I became historical issue until today,¹⁶ he was known to inherit many famous manuscripts, influencing on the formation of Surakarta royal literature. "If there are two names that deserve to be called the most meritorious in the development of Javanese literature in the early period of Surakarta, then Yasadipura I and II are the people, father and son," wrote Poerbatjaraka.¹⁷ Pigeaud also mentioned both of them as leaders in the development of Javanese literature in Surakarta at the end of the 18th and 19th centuries. Yasadipura I is also praised as one of the most famous royal poets in the history of modern Javanese literature.¹⁸ Explaining Javanese literature in that period without involving Yasadipura I is like a big sin in the history of traditional Javanese writing.

Yasadipura I was born from a santri family. His parents are pious Muslims. His mother, Maryam, was the daughter of a Muslim scholar named Kalipah Caripu. His father, Kiai Tumenggung Padmanegara, was the seventh generation Sultan of Pajang in the 16th century who was the great-grandson of King Amangkurat I (King of Mataram, 1645-1677), also known as a santri, a student of Islam. Padmagara dared to leave Java, heading to Palembang in South Sumatra, to learn Islamic knowledge from a Sufi sheikh, Jenal Ngabidin.¹⁹ When he returned to Java, he was appointed as Regent Jaksa under Pakubuwana I, and was also known as the author of *Serat*

¹⁴ Nancy K Florida, *Writing the Past, Inscribing the Future* (Duke University Press, 1995).

¹⁵ Soebardi, *The Book of Cabolèk: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, and Notes: A Contribution to the Study of the Javanese Mystical Tradition (Vol. 10)*.

¹⁶ Merle Calvin Ricklefs, "The Yasadipura Problem. Bijdragen Tot de Taal," *Land-En Volkenkunde* 2de Afl (1997): 273–83.

¹⁷ Poerbatjaraka Poerbatjaraka, *Kepustakaan Djawi* (Djakarta: Djambatan, 1964), p. 129.

¹⁸ Merle Calvin Ricklefs, *Jogjakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi, 1749-1792: A History of the Division of Java (Vol. 1)* (USA: Oxford University Press, 1974).

¹⁹ R Sasrasumarta, R Sastrawaluya, and Y Yasapuraya, *Tus Pajang: Pangetan Lalampahanipun Swargi Raden Ngabei Yasadipura I, Abdi-Dalem Kaliwon Pujongga Ing Surakarta Adiningrat* (Surakarta: Yayasan Sastra Lestari/Boedi Oetoma, 2012).

Tekawardi, a famous Sufi work (*suluk*), in which he also discussed the problems of the state of the Javanese court as well as the writing of Javanese literature.²⁰

It figures out that Yasadipura I was part of the santri family. He, like his father, was a santri in the original sense of the word, for he was also a “santri lelana,” a wandering student of the Islamic religion.²¹ As explained at the beginning, at the age of 8, he was sent to the village of Bagelen-Kedu to study Arabic and Javanese letters at the Islamic boarding school of Kyai Honggomaya, a friend of his maternal grandfather. When Yasadipura I santri was immersed in religious and literary studies (Javanese, and apparently, also Arabic), political events and rebellions occurred in the Kartasura court, to the point that Pakubuwana II had to seek political asylum in Panaraga, from the Islamic teacher Kiai Ageng Imam Besari.²²

After studying under Kyai Honggomaya’s guidance, instead of returning to Pengging, Yasadipura I went to Panaraga, and was accepted as a royal servant there. After Kartasura was captured with the help of the VOC, Yasadipura I continued to hone his knowledge with a senior court poet named Pangeran Wijil Kadilangu, a descendant of the Islamic guardian of Java, Sunan Kalijaga. Prince Wijil himself was a famous poet who produced many *Suluk* works and Sufi songs, such as *Suluk Besi* and *Suluk Saking Buku Candra*.²³

Taking part in the move of the Kartasura court to the Solo area, Yasadipura I was also a witness to the political events of the Giyanti Agreement. He wrote about this event specifically in *Babad Giyanti*. In this political event, Yasadipura I no longer appeared as an ordinary Islamic student, he turned into a political actor, trusted to be the king's advisor. However, Yasadipura I’s practical political role in the Surakarta did not necessarily had his symbolic political role as royal poet. It must also be acknowledged that the achievements of Yasadipura I’s political career is

²⁰ Nancy Florida, “Writing Traditions in Colonial Java: The Question of Islam,” *Cultures of Scholarship*, 1997, 187–217.

²¹ Florida; Irfan Afifi, *Jawa-Islam Di Masa Kolonial: Suluk, Santri, and Pujangga Jawa* (Yogyakarta: Buku Langgar, 2020).

²² Florida, “Writing Traditions in Colonial Java: The Question of Islam”; Sasrasumarta, Sastrawaluya, and Yasapuraya, *Tus Pajang: Pangetan Lalampahanipun Swargi Raden Ngabei Yasadipura I, Abdi-Dalem Kaliwon Pujangga Ing Surakarta Adiningrat*.

²³ Florida, “Writing Traditions in Colonial Java: The Question of Islam.”

inseparable from his involvement in studying Islamic religious knowledge of Surakarta court.

Even though he was a royal advisor, Yasadipura I recognized his own identity as a *santri*. His works throughout 3 periods of the Surakarta kingdom included not only compositions from classical Hindu-Buddhist *kawi* works, but also Islamic *suluk* works. It argues that he had special knowledge of this religion. Yasadipura I's 'religious' journey figures out that a *santri* is not only dealing with religious knowledge, but also involved with various levels of life, including politics and literature. Uniquely, Yasadipura I has not only a practical political role as a royal advisor, but also a symbolic political role as a *santri*-poet. The elements of his identity as *santri* are embedded into his various manuscripts, ranging from *suluk* to *babad*.

Bhabuka Text and Asmaul Husna in Babad

Yasadipura I was not unaware of the possibility of strong Islamic elements in his work, because he was a court poet from a *santri* family. As a student poet, he had certain knowledge of Islam, and this can be traced from these two manuscripts. This section will emphasize this position by comparing it with other works of Yasadipura I, namely *Babad Giyanti*.

The opening of *Babad Giyanti* already figures out the author's position similar to what he showed in the opening of *Babad Tanah Jawi*. Both refer to the esoteric dimension within the verses of the Koran. If the opening structure of *Babad Tanah Jawi* is relevant to the structure of QS Al-Baqarah [2]: 213 and some of the attributes of Allah in *Asmaul Husna*, the semiotic structure in the opening stanzas of *Babad Giyanti* is also very relevant to the meaning structure of QS Al-Baqarah [2]: 269 and *Asmaul Husna*.

In *Babad Tanah Jawi*, the names and attributes of God in the first stanza of the opening text,²⁴ even sequentially, with some attributes in the 20 obligatory attributes of God, for example *Hyang Kaeksi* as *Wujud, kang amurwa sipat purba* (the ancient attribute) as *Qidam, kang nitah amêmatah* (the commandment) is relevant to the attribute of Allah *Mutakalliman* (the All-Speaking), *the one who divides all the contents of the earth* (who divides all the contents of the earth) is relevant to the attribute of *Qudrat* (the Almighty) and *Iradat* (the All-willing), and *kang asih mring rahsanya ngasihi* (who loves

²⁴ Radèn Nabèhi Yasadipura I, *Babad Tanah Jawi (Jilid 1): Nyariyosakên Sajarah Wiwit Saking Nabi Adam Dumugi Para Dewa, Lajêng Para Ratu Ing Tanah Jawi Wiwit Saking Bathara Brama Sarta Bathara Wisnu Dumugi Nagari Pajajaran, Tuwin Madêgipun Nagari Majapait*, vol. 1 (Batawi Sèntrem: Bale Pustaka, 1939), stanza 1.

to be loved) is relevant and sequential with the attributes of *Rahman* and *Rahim* (Much Merciful) in the reading of *the Basmalah*. In fact, the semiotic structure in the following verses is also relevant to QS Al-Baqarah [2]: 213.

In *Babad Giyanti*, the opening verse of *Mamanise tyas rēsēp migati | Ing pangulah mring reh karsarjanan* (Sweet if the heart enjoys success | In carrying out all forms of scholarship) (BG, 1[1], Dhandhanggula, Stanza 1)²⁵ refers to the verse of the Koran, *He gives accuracy in speaking and acting to the servants He wills. And whoever is given this means that he has been given a lot of goodness. And no one can learn from the verses of Allah except those who have perfect intelligence* (QS Al-Baqarah [2]: 265). The term *scholarship* in the opening of *Babad Giyanti* is relevant to *wisdom* in QS Al-Baqarah which is generally understood as the ability to speak and act (*al-hikmah* has the derivative subject *judge*, meaning a person who has wisdom). The words *Sinung tēngran budi mumpuni* (Given the mark of a qualified mind) are also relevant to the next stanza in *ulul albab* (a person of perfect intelligence, a virtuous person). This means that people who have wisdom and scholarship are *ulul albab* (or *main people* in Javanese tradition) who has perfect intelligence, wisdom, nobility, and accuracy in thinking and acting.

The next stanza stated that the one who gives *tēngran budi mumpuni* is *Dera Sang Amurwengrat*, the Creator of Nature, like a shining light for all the whole earth (*seperti ratna yang menyoroti / semua pelosok dunya, seperti sang surya*) (BG, 1[1], Dhandhanggula, Stanza 1)²⁶ which is also relevant to the next sentence in QS Al-Baqarah: 265 states that the one who gives wisdom to the *ulul albab* is *Allah*, that *Allah is the light that gives guidance to those He wills* (QS Al-Baqarah [2]: 265). *Allah*, in the Islamic tradition, is also often associated with (having the attribute of) *light*, as stated in another verse: *As for the Essence of Allah, Glory be to Him, so He resides on His great Throne, while His two lights are outer and inner which rise and illuminated until it penetrated Her hijab* (QS Ar-Ra'd [13]: 28). All *pelosok dunya* (corners of the world) are none other than manifested in the conception of *the Throne* in the Islamic tradition, meaning the maternal and eternal world.

The last stanza in the opening of *Babad Giyanti* describes the Creator of Nature is *Nyunyunari niskara sesining bumi | Kang nyata lan kang samar* (Explains all the whole earth | What is real and what is vague) (BG, 1[1],

²⁵ Radèn Nabèhi Yasadipura I, *Babad Giyanti (Jilid I)*, vol. I (Batawi Sèntrêm: Bale Pustaka, 1937), stanza 1.

²⁶ Yasadipura I, stanza 1.

Dhandhanggula, Stanza 1).²⁷ The words *real* and *vague*, in Islamic tradition, are referred to as *zahir* and *inner*. These two terms are manifestations of Allah's substance (as stated in QS Ar-Ra'd [13]: 28) which are also part of the 20 attributes of Allah (*asmaul husna*). Because the essence of Allah is *Zahir* and *Batin*, He also knows all matters in these two aspects, as stated in QS Al-Hadid (57): 03, *He is the Beginning, the End, the Zahir and the Batin; and He is All-Knowing of everything*.

Thus, the first stanzas in *Babad Giyanti* are indeed very difficult to understand, as Ricklefs 'complained' and 'praised' in one of his articles.²⁸ However, by referring to the background of Yasadipura I's life as a *santri*-poet and the semiotic structure of his other works of the same genre, such as *Babad Tanah Jawi*, we will find the intersection of the poet's esoteric contact with Islam and how he represents it in aesthetic ways in every opening of his work. At least, based on structural analysis, the world view of Yasadipura I expressed through the *mangal* text is apparently no different from the story structure in several surahs of the Koran.

Walisono and Tawajjuh Practice in Babad

Yasadipura I's imagination on the role of Islam in *Babad Giyanti* is also not much different from the role of Islam as told in *Babad Tanah Jawi*. The difference is, during the period of Demak's rule, the nine saints (*walisono*) had significant role as the center of consolidation, because at that time power was still concentrated in one or two kingdoms. However, during the period of the Mataram, when Islam had become the religion of the rulers, every institution who claimed to be the most legitimate recipient of the kedaton's revelations has carried out its consolidation. It is not surprising that during this period, the role of Islam has not been centralized, but had diffused across various levels of power. In this kind of political power structure of the Mataram, Islam actually appears more symbolically in the advice and discourses of *pandhita*, *kiai*, and *katibs*, as well as in several suluk works of the rulers.

Babad Tanah Jawi has provided internal testimony about the role of Islam in the political structure of the court, starting from symbolic politics, recognition politics, reconciliation politics, to legitimacy politics. *Walisono*

²⁷ Yasadipura I, stanza 1.

²⁸ Merle Calvin Ricklefs, "Babad Giyanti: Sumber Sejarah Dan Karya Agung Sastra Jawa," *Jumantara: Jurnal Manuskrip Nusantara* 5, no. 2 (2014): 11–25.

had played these roles and had contributed greatly on the formation of the royal culture as well known today. For example, during the Pajang period, the role of Islam was present in three important moments: the submission of the Adipati Pajang to Sunan Kalijaga when he was asked to serve Demak (BTJ, 3[21], Asmaradhana, Stanza 40-42)²⁹; Adipati Pajang's submission to Sunan Kudus when he met Arya Panangsang (BTJ, 4[27], Dhandhanggula, Stanza 40-45)³⁰; the submission of the Adipati Pajang to Sunan Giri when he was baptized as Sultan (BTJ, 4[32], Dhandhanggula, Stanza 81).³¹ It highlights that even though it has an important role in royal political events, Islam, which is represented by *Walisongo*, remains outside the structure of the court. They are on the outskirts (*marginal*), but have influence on the center (*center*). This is also the reason why Islam in the Pajang, Demak, and Mataram periods was in a *sak-madya position*, playing a harmonizing role in the palace political culture which was still fragmentary at that time.

Uniquely, the narrative about Islam in political culture of the court in *Babad Tanah Jawi* seems to provide a prediction of what will later be told in *Babad Giyanti*. It is true that there were no internal guardians within court of Pakubuwana II at that time, but this prophetic dimension was brought by the *pandhita*, *kiai*, or elders generally outside the palace walls, or even by courtiers who were ambivalent about the court political policies. .

This situation is easily found, for example, when Mangkubumi asked for the opinion of Wirasetika, one of the elders regarding the request of Governor General van Imhoff on the lease of land at the coast of Java to Pakubuwana II. Wirasetika mentions the word *tawajjuh* twice in his advice, *sabuk solok dèn anggêpa sami | kalawan sabuk cindhe jalamprang | wong kang darbe picis sêtèng | nganggêp reyjal sapuluh | dèn tuwajjuh anrus ing batin | anon mungsuh sanambang | ciptanên mung satus | santosaning tekadira | lamun ora kumêdhèp yêkti sinung sih | nugrahaning Hyang Suksma* (The solok belt is considered the same as the jalamprang cinde belt. Those who have 5 gold coins are considered 10 reals. Be humble, look inside, see a thousand enemies, consider them a hundred. Strengthen your determination, if you

²⁹ Radèn Nabèhi Yasadipura I, *Babad Tanah Jawi (Jilid 3): Nyariyosakèn Risakipun Nagari Majapait Lan Adègipun Karajan Islam Ing Dêmak, Tuwin Lairipun Jaka Tingkir Dumugi Suwitaniipun Dhatêng Sultan Dêmak*, vol. 3 (Batawi Sèntrem: Bale Pustaka, 1939), stanza 40-42.

³⁰ Radèn Nabèhi Yasadipura I, *Babad Tanah Jawi (Jilid 4): Nyariyosakèn Risakipun Nagari Dêmak, Madègipun Karaton Ing Pajang, Tuwin Rêjanipun Bumi Ing Mataram*, vol. 4 (Batawi Sèntrem: Bale Pustaka, 1939), stanza 40-45.

³¹ Yasadipura I, stanza 81.

are not afraid, you will be overflowing with the love and grace of God Almighty) (BG, 1[5], Dhandhanggula, Stanza 11).³² He continued, again by referring to the word *tawajjuh*, *lamun tēmên ora kêna gingsir | cêndhak dawwa yèku wus tinitah | ing manusa mung antêpe | puji minôngka paju | panglêpasing papa prihatin | budi kang sinêmbadan | anjajah tuwajuh | tan kumêdhèp barang karya | sakaryane dèdana dinadak dadi | pusaka pangawasa* (If it really doesn't change, short or long, that is what has been determined. Humans are only steady in prayer as a guide to release suffering. A humble mind, steady and not afraid to do all work. All work becomes a handle for the ruler) (BG, 1[5], Dhandhanggula, Stanza 14).³³

The two interpretations are important in terms of Wirasetika's statement. Firstly, this statement reminds of what was told in *Babad Tanah Jawi*, for example, when Sunan Bonang asked *Hyang Suksma* for guidance in resolving the saints' dispute regarding the direction of the Qibla of the Demak Mosque. In *Babad Tanah Jawi*, Sunan Bonang was ultimately chosen as the guardian who made the king's heirloom the Pasopati keris from fern vines and Kiyai Gondhil's robe from the Rasulullah's shawl (BTJ, 3[18], Dhandhanggula, Stanza 23, 39).³⁴ Meanwhile, in *Babad Giyanti*, Wirasetika was later chosen as Mangkubumi's mainstay senapati who also proclaimed Amangkurat IV's son as Sultan of Yogyakarta with the title *Kangjeng Sultan Hamengku Buwana Senapati Ingalaga Ngabdurrahman Sayidin Panatagama Kalipatollah ingkang jumeneng kapingsepisan ing Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat*.³⁵ As a result of this advice, Mangkubumi became increasingly convinced that Pakubuwana II's political policies needed to be opposed because he was too obedient to the Dutch. It figures out how important their position was as royal advisors who determined the future and political decisions taken by the future king at that time.

Second, the statement implies the author's knowledge of Islam and how this religion is represented in *Babad Giyanti*. The word *tawajjuh* appears twice in the statement. In the Islamic tradition, *tawajjuh*, derived from the word *jasaa* (facing), is known as one of the *suluk* of the Naqsyabandiyah

³² Yasadipura I, *Babad Giyanti (Jilid I)*, stanza 11.

³³ Yasadipura I, stanza 14.

³⁴ Yasadipura I, *Babad Tanah Jawi (Jilid 3): Nyariyosakên Risakipun Nagari Majapaït Lan Adêgipun Karajan Islam Ing Dêmak, Tuwin Lairipun Jaka Tingkir Dumugi Suwitanipun Dhatêng Sultan Dêmak*, stanza 23, 39.

³⁵ Els Bogaerts, "The Installation of Prince Mangkubumi Performing Javanese History," *Wacana* 17, no. 3 (2017): 473–505.

order which means 'facing the Qibla or the Creator' (Lizzio, 2007; Nasrudin, 2021).³⁶ Apart from accommodating Arabic Islamic vocabulary, Wirasetika's statement also uses the word *tumus* from the Javanese tradition and *Hyang Suksma* from the Hindu-Buddhist tradition. The word *tumus* means 'to fall down' or 'submit'. *Hyang Suksma* means the Most Powerful God, has been used since the 9th-15th centuries, proven to appear in texts, such as *Udyogaparwa*, *Uttarakanda*, *Wrhaspatitattwa*, and *Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan*.³⁷ The same negotiation also appears many times in *the Babad Tanah Jawi*, for example, when Sunan Bonang actually used the term *Hyang Suksma* in the Hindu-Buddhist tradition to ask for guidance and then he made a Kyai Gondhil heirloom (a heirloom made from the Prophet's war cloth and sewn with pronunciations *illallah* (for 40 days of *ngaluwat* by Sunan Kalijaga) (BTJ, 3[18], Dhandhanggula, Stanza 23-24).³⁸ The naming of the heirloom as *Kyai*, and several other heirlooms in this text, and making it for 40 days with the pronunciation *illallah* also shows the author's acceptance of Javanese culture on the one hand and Islamic traditions on the other.

Manunggaling Kawula Gusti and Moral Islamic Teaching in Babad

In addition to *tawajjuh*, there is another concept of Javanese Islamic mysticism that is mentioned twice in *Babad Giyanti*, namely *manunggaling kawula gusti*. First, it appeared in Wirasetika's advice to Mangkubumi who was disappointed to see that Pakubuwana II and the Dutch reduced his land in Sukowati, *yèn wus tunggal dèn maksih kêkalih | kêkalihe gusti lan kawula* (If we have united, there are still two of us, namely my lord and my wife) (BG, 1[5], Dhandhanggula, Stanza 19).³⁹ Second, it appeared in the advice of Adirasa and Adiasa to Mangkunagara in Matesih Village during his escape from Pakubuwana II's troops, *yèn wus nunggal dèn maksih | kêkalih kêkalihe*

³⁶ Ken Lizzio, "Ritual and Charisma in Naqshbandi Sufi Mysticism," *Anpere. Net* 1 (2007): 37–37; Nasrudin Nasrudin, "Suluk as Social Piety: Phenomenological Studies at the Naqsabandiyah Khalidiyah Sufi Order In Sokaraja Banyumas," *IBDA: Jurnal Kajian Islam Dan Budaya* 19, no. 2 (2021).

³⁷ Marsono Marsono, "Akulturasi Penyebutan Konsepsi Tuhan Pada Teks Sastra Suluk," *Jumantara: Jurnal Manuskrip Nusantara* 2, no. 1 (2011): 9–30; Petrus Josephus Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan; A Survey of Old Javanese Literature*, vol. 16 (Martinus Nijhoff, 1974); Zoetmulder, *Pantheism and Monism in Javanese Suluk Literature: Islamic and Indian Mysticism in an Indonesian Setting*.

³⁸ Yasadipura I, *Babad Tanah Jawi (Jilid 3): Nyariyosakên Risakipun Nagari Majapaït Lan Adêgipun Karajan Islam Ing Dêmak, Tuwin Lairipun Jaka Tingkir Dumugi Suwitanipun Dhatêng Sultan Dêmak*, stanza 23-24.

³⁹ Yasadipura I, *Babad Giyanti (Jilid I)*, stanza 19.

gusti | lan kawulanipun (If they are united, there are still two, the other is the Lord and his servant) (BG, 2[18], Mijil, Stanza 28).⁴⁰ Regarding the concept *manunggaling kawula gusti* (the unity of the servant and God) and its relationship with Islamic Sufism, it seems that it does not need to be explained further because many studies have explored this concept.⁴¹

What this study would like to argue is that similar advice actually also appears in *Babad Tanah Jawi*. At that time, the ancestors of Mangkubumi and Mangkunagara, namely Panembahan Senapati, got advice from Sunan Kalijaga when they wanted to build Kotagede Mataram, *hèh Ki Senapati ing Matawis | aywa ngandêlakên yèn arosa | téguh sêkti digdayane | tumamèng sagaragung | kadya ngambah dharatan siti | dadya ujub myang riya | kibir wastanipun | tan wênang yèn lampahana | wali mukmin andohakên pangabêkti | pamor gusti kawula ||* (hey Ki Senapati in Matawis | don't rely on strength | he is strong in his power | he is in the vast ocean | he is like invading the mainland | he is proud of his name | he does not have the right to do that | the guardian of the faithful, keep away from devotion | my God unites) (BTJ, 5[36], Dhandhanggula, Stanza 3-10).⁴² In fact, in their advice to Mangkunagara, Adirasa and Adisana mentioned the name of Raden Mas Said's ancestor, namely Panembahan Senapati, as *wong agung sêsotyanying bumi ingkang ambawani rat Jawa sawêgung* (a great person who is the jewel of the world who carries the entire Javanese world) (BG, 2[18], Mijil, Stanza 12).⁴³

In Sunan Kalijaga's advice to Panembahan Sanapati above, there are the terms *riya'* and *takabur*, these two terms are also mentioned in Adirasa and Adisana's advice to Mangkunagara, *milanipun paduka ing mangkin |*

⁴⁰ Radèn Nabèhi Yasadipura I, *Babad Giyanti (Jilid II)*, vol. II (Batawi Sènrêm: Bale Pustaka, 1937), stanza 28.

⁴¹ Niels Mulder, *Mistisisme Jawa* (Lkis Pelangi Aksara, 2001); Ahmad Yuzki Faridian Nawafi, "Titik Temu Mistisisme Islam Dan Mistisisme Jawa; Studi Analitis Terhadap Persinggungan Ajaran Tasawuf Dan Kejawen," *Jurnal Intelektual: Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Studi Keislaman* 10, no. 2 (2020): 242–54; Simuh, *Sufisme Jawa: Transformasi Tasawuf Islam Ke Mistik Jawa* (Yayasan Bentang Budaya, 1995); Afrizal El-Adzim Syahputra, "Sufisme Dalam Hindu Dan Islam," *Jurnal Ilmiah Spiritualis: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam Dan Tasawuf* 4, no. 1 (2018): 14–27; Lailatuzz Zuhriyah, "Kosmologi Islam Kasultanan Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat," *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf Dan Pemikiran Islam* 3, no. 1 (2013): 90–116.

⁴² Radèn Nabèhi Yasadipura I, *Babad Tanah Jawi (Jilid 5): Panembahan Senapati Tata-Tata Ngayati Sêdyanipun Murih Sagêdipun Mêngkoni Tanah Jawi*, vol. 5 (Batawi Sènrêm: Bale Pustaka, 1939), stanza 3-10.

⁴³ Yasadipura I, *Babad Giyanti (Jilid II)*, stanza 12.

aprang t mah r mpon | karisakan sawadyabalane | wit paduka ujub riya kibir | amb k g dhag-g dhig | adigung gumunggunng | (That's why your majesty is now always crushed, his army is destroyed, because your majesty is boastful and arrogant. He has a character that stands out, arrogantly shows off his greatness) (BG, 2[18], Mijil, Stanza 5).⁴⁴ The diction of *riya'*, *takabbur*, and *istighfar*, delivered by Sunan Kalijaga to Panembahan Senapati, comes from the Arabic language and becomes the most important part of Islamic teachings. *Riya'* (megalomaniac) and *takabbur* (arrogance) are two of the various reprehensible traits, and one of the ways to remove them is *beristighfar* (asking God for forgiveness). In the text above, the structure of the advice is the same, both Senapati and Mangkunagara are asked not to rely solely on their own strength, only to rely on *saktian* (supernatural power), *aji* (magical spell), and *keperwiraan* (manhood), but also on the strength of the universe and God. Regardless of the accuracy of this advice, these dictions, repeated in two different texts, figure out not only the strong intertextuality between *Babad Giyanti* and *Babad Tanah Jawi* in describing Islam, but also the author's familiarity with the basic teachings of the religious tradition.

Islam between Ambivalence and Negotiation in Babad

However, the identity of Islam is always problematic and ambivalent for Yasadipura I, because it is a religion that continues to negotiate with its original tradition in Arab lands as well as other traditions, such as Hindu-Buddhist and Dutch. For example, Yasadipura I's imagination towards Islam in Arabia not only appeared in the advice of Muslim priests and saints, but also appeared in war tactics. When Mangkubumi attacked Surakarta, cleverly Adipati Jayakartika at Surakarta looked for the tail of the enemy line. When the enemy moved to the east he infiltrated to the west, then turned east again behind the enemy lines. The enemy thought it was his friend who was following, then they attacked from behind (*wus awor lan bajag inthil | baturing m ngsah | kang samya dharat wuri*) (BG, 1[10], Durma, Stanza 30).⁴⁵ It is also similar situation that Mangkubumi team when avoiding the Dutch attack. Tumenggung Surajaya also did guerrilla tactics, his team was 70 people. When being chased by the Singaranu and Kompeni forces, they suddenly disappeared and appeared from behind (*duk samana binujung dening barisipun Singaranu palayune anggub d j bul ing wuri*) (BG,

⁴⁴ Yasadipura I, stanza 5.

⁴⁵ Yasadipura I, *Babad Giyanti (Jilid I)*, stanza 30.

2[15], Gambuh, Stanza 9).⁴⁶

This guerrilla tactic has actually been around for a long time in Islamic history. In the Battle of Uhud, the Muslim troops had actually won the war, but they ignored the Prophet's command to be patient. Finally, the Quraish infidel troops, at that time led by Amr ibn Ash, attacked the Muslim troops who were thirsty for the spoils of war, forgetting the Prophet's orders. Finally, Amr ibn Ash's cavalry managed to counterattack the Muslim troops from behind and caused the Muslim troops to suffer defeat.⁴⁷ It argues that Yasadipura I was trying to negotiate the imagination of the war in Jawi land with the war in Arab land. Descriptions of Islamic history, wars and prophecies still color the narrative of royal succession written by Yasadipura I in his works.

Apart from negotiating with Arabic traditions, Islam for Yasadipura I also negotiated with Hindu-Buddhist and Dutch traditions. In the process of *boyong kedaton*, Kartasura's move to Solo, Pakubuwana II held a festive celebration. It is said, among other things, that he invited the Muslim preachers to pray for the safety of the kingdom, asked the soldiers to plant banyan trees on the south and north sides of the court, and instructed to salute them with cannons. *Ki pangulu ngulama lan kêtib | sigra donga wilujênging praja | jêng sri nata dhawuhake | nanêm waringin kurung | wringin | ri sampuning tinanêm kang wringin | kinurmatan drèl maryêm sanjata* (King Pengulu, Ulama, and Khatib immediately offered prayers for the safety of the country. Kanjeng Raja gave the order to plant the Ringin Kurung tree. When the banyan tree was planted, it was marked by a salute with a cannon shot) (BG, 1[1], Dhandhanggula, Stanza 54 & 55).⁴⁸ The prayers of the clerics, the bracketed banyan tree, and the cannon fire are symbols of three different traditions (Islamic, Hindu-Buddhist, and Dutch). This is not the right space to explain how these symbols are interpreted, since explanations of them are already discussed in much of the literature.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Yasadipura I, *Babad Giyanti (Jilid II)*, stanza 9.

⁴⁷ Ibnu Katsir, "Qishash Al-Anbiya", Terj." M. Abdul Ghafar, Jakarta: Pustaka Azzam, 2007.

⁴⁸ Yasadipura I, *Babad Giyanti (Jilid I)*, Stanza 54-55.

⁴⁹ Ahmad Adib and Kundharu Saddhono, "Paradigma Budaya Islam-Jawa Dalam Gerebeg Maulud Kraton Surakarta," *Al Qalam* 35, no. 2 (2018): 271–96; Ainun Haerda Diandini, Ahmad Mujib, and Choeroni Choeroni, "Akulturasi Islam Dan Budaya Jawa Pada Masa Kekuasaan Sultan Agung Di Kerajaan Mataram Islam," *Prosiding Konstelasi Ilmiah Mahasiswa Unissula (KIMU) Klaster Humanoira*, 2022; Siti Nurlaili Muhadiyatiningih and Siti Fathonah, "Dimensi Estetika Dan Identitas Budaya Dalam Bangunan Keraton

It also implies a fact that similar negotiations have actually been described in *Babad Tanah Jawi*. One example is a figure named Makdum Brahim Asmara, a Muslim cleric from Samarkand who is said to have influenced the process of Islamization of Sunan Ampel's ancestral land. The name Makdum Brahim Asmara itself consists of three words from three different origins (Arabic *makdum* means 'the respected', Indian *brahim* or *brahma* means 'the dignitary', and Javanese *asmara* or *asmoro* means 'the love') (BTJ, 1[2], Dhandhanggula, Stanza 47-48).⁵⁰ Based on the name, it is already known how negotiations between Islam and other traditions work. Another example in *Babad Tanah Jawi* is how Muslim saints often use divine concepts from other religious traditions, for example when Makdum Ibrahim Asmara invited King Campa to convert to Islam by referring to the name Hyang Widi, when Raden Patah begged Hyang Suksma to be given the power to lead the kingdom. NCOs, or when Sunan Ampel, Sunan Bonang, and Sunan Kalijaga mentioned these Hindu-Buddhist gods several times in their advice to (future) kings .

Negotiation also appeared in the king's trust in astrologers, prophetic behavior, and Islamic teachings. *Babad Giyanti* told that one time Pakubuwana II wanted to move the ruined Kartasura palace to another village. He also trusted the prediction about the new village to the astrologer Tumenggung Anggawangsa (*pra nujum Jawa rêmbage mupakat Dyan Tumênggung Ônggawôngsa*) (BG, 1[1], Dhandhanggula, Stanza 27).⁵¹ Initially, Kadipala Village was chosen on the advice of Governor Hohendorff, but based on their predictions, Sala Village is better even though it is full of swamps. They also tried to find another village, and proposed Sanasewu Village. However, according to Tumenggung Anggawangsa's calculations, Desa Salah is still better. According to them, if Sanasewu is elected, the former center of the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom, it is feared that the Hindu-Buddhist tradition will re-emerge in Surakarta (*saking petang ulun yèn wontên wetan bangawan tiyang Jawi badhe wangsul Buda malih tansah tukar lan rowang*) (BG, 1[1], Dhandhanggula, Stanza 31).⁵² Pakubuwana II finally

Surakarta," *FIKRAH* 8, no. 1 (2020): 73–98; Hari Pratikno, "Etnomatematika Pada Bregada Prajurit Keraton Yogyakarta," 2018.

⁵⁰ Yasadipura I, *Babad Tanah Jawi (Jilid I): Nyariyosakên Sajarah Wiwit Saking Nabi Adam Dumugi Para Dewa, Lajêng Para Ratu Ing Tanah Jawi Wiwit Saking Bathara Brama Sarta Bathara Wisnu Dumugi Nagari Pajajaran, Tuwin Madêgipun Nagari Majapait*, stanza 47-48.

⁵¹ Yasadipura I, *Babad Giyanti (Jilid I)*, stanza 27.

⁵² Yasadipura I, stanza 31.

agreed to their predictions.

In *Babad Tanah Jawi*, belief in predictions and prophetic signs in choosing the royal city is not under the sun, the Muslims saints have exemplified it. For example, when Panembahan Senapati met Sunan Kalijaga in Parangtritis, who advised him on the teachings of Sufism, the saint made a flow of water. He also asked Senapati to follow where the fountain was, so that's where he made a city, later called Kotagede Mataram (BTJ, 5[36], Dhandhanggula, Stanza 10).⁵³ Long before that, when Raden Patah studied with Sunan Ampel, the guardian asked him to build a hamlet in a forest in which there were fragrant reeds in the Bintara area. In the future, that hamlet will stand the great kingdom of Demak (BTJ, 2[11], Dhandhanggula, Stanza 169-171).⁵⁴ During the Pajajaran period, when Raden Sesuruh carried out his post-expulsion exodus from Pajajaran, he met the fortuneteller Ki Ajar on Mount Kombang. Ki Ajar asked Raden Sesuruh to go west, until he found maja trees bearing bitter fruit, cut down the forest, and build a hamlet. Later, from that hamlet stood the great kingdom of Majapahit (BTJ, 1[8], Mijil, Stanza 23-25).⁵⁵

The story above figures out that Islam has been described as *resilient* with other religious traditions. If not careful, this flexibility will be seen as inconsistency, even a religious contradiction. In the Western world view, for example Paul Stange (1990)⁵⁶ and Robert Wessing (2010),⁵⁷ the behavior of Raden Sesuruh, Raden Patah, Panembahan Senapati, and even Pakubuwana II would be considered inconsistent. They refer this kind of behavior to a not purely Islamic practice, the *Javanese are not fundamentally Muslim, that only the purists deserve the label*.⁵⁸ or *belief in sorcery is deeply grained in East Java*,

⁵³ Yasadipura I, *Babad Tanah Jawi (Jilid 5): Panembahan Senapati Tata-Tata Ngayati Sêdyanipun Murih Sagêdipun Mêngkoni Tanah Jawi*, stanza 10.

⁵⁴ Radèn Nabèhi Yasadipura I, *Babad Tanah Jawi (Jilid 2): Nyariyosakên Nagari Majapait Wiwit Dhatêngipun Agami Islam Tuwin Lairipun Radèn Bondhan Kajawan Lan Jaka Tarub*, vol. 2 (Batavi Sèntrem: Bale Pustaka, 1939), 169-171.

⁵⁵ Yasadipura I, *Babad Tanah Jawi (Jilid 1): Nyariyosakên Sajarah Wiwit Saking Nabi Adam Dumugi Para Dewa, Lajêng Para Ratu Ing Tanah Jawi Wiwit Saking Bathara Brama Sarta Bathara Wisnu Dumugi Nagari Pajajaran, Tuwin Madêgipun Nagari Majapait*, stanza 23-25.

⁵⁶ Paul Stange, "Javanism as Text or Praxis," vol. 6 (Anthropological forum, Taylor & Francis, 1990), 237-55.

⁵⁷ Robert Wessing, "Porous Boundaries: Addressing Calamities in East Java, Indonesia," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land-En Volkenkunde/Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 166, no. 1 (2010): 49-82.

⁵⁸ Stange, "Javanism as Text or Praxis," p. 252.

adherence to Islam notwithstanding.⁵⁹ The problematic terms are *although* and *not actually Muslim*, because both actually show a tension between belief in pre-Islamic traditions on the one hand and acceptance of Islamic teachings on the other. In fact, practical belief in both must be understood as a cultural negotiation, not as a conflict between traditions. It seems that Yasadipura I wanted to present Islam in Java within the framework of this cultural negotiation. For Yasadipura I, Islam in Java continues to negotiate with other different traditions; he dialogues and often contests with it, showing the high flexibility of this religion towards other cultures.

Conclusion

This article has yielded several significant findings. It reveals that the court poet's portrayal of Islam in "Babad Tanah Jawi" shares common elements with another work within the same genre, "Babad Giyanti." These similarities encompass the presence of Islamic verses in the "*bhabuka*" text, references to "*asmaul husna*," the role of "*walisongo*," the practice of "*tawajjuh*," the dissemination of moral Islamic teachings, and the presence of ambivalence and negotiation. This imaginative exploration emphasizes that the aesthetic appeal of "Babad Tanah Jawi" is not solely derived from its textual beauty but also from the poet's creative imagination. Yasadipura I's interpretation of Islam serves a dual purpose: an aesthetic one, as it conveys meaningful advice from figures such as "*wiku*," "*wali*," "*pandhita*," and even "*ahli nujum*"; and a political one, as it contains critiques of colonial assumptions about Islam.

This negotiation becomes evident in the way the text continually presents Islam in contestation with other traditions, oscillating between harmonization and disharmonization, continuity, and discontinuity. It is demonstrated through intertextuality with discourses from various traditions without falling into specific classifications. Simultaneously, it forms a distinct discourse that transcends theoretical conceptualizations of Javanese Islam. The implication of this research is a recommendation that Yasadipura I's portrayal of Islam is conveyed through the allegorical strategy of "*sasmita*," akin to other "*babad*" texts. It is at this juncture that Yasadipura I seizes an opportunity to offer a symbolic critique of colonial power relations through an aesthetic strategy known as "pseudo-politics"

⁵⁹ Wessing, "Porous Boundaries: Addressing Calamities in East Java, Indonesia," p. 60

(politik semu). It is highly recommended for future studies to analyze the relationship between the author's allegorical strategy in "babad" and its politics of "pasemon" in describing Islam on one hand and critiquing colonial power on the other.

References

- Adib, Ahmad, and Kundharu Saddhono. "Paradigma Budaya Islam-Jawa Dalam Gerebeg Maulud Kraton Surakarta." *Al Qalam* 35, no. 2. 2018.
- Afifi, Irfan. *Jawa-Islam Di Masa Kolonial: Suluk, Santri, and Pujangga Jawa*. Yogyakarta: Buku Langgar, 2020.
- Bogaerts, Els. "The Installation of Prince Mangkubumi Performing Javanese History." *Wacana* 17, no. 3. 2017.
- Day, Anthony. "Babad Kandha, Babad Kraton and Variation in Modern Javanese Literature." *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land-En Volkenkunde* 4de Afl. 1978.
- Diandini, Ainun Haerda, Ahmad Mujib, and Choeroni Choeroni. "Akulturasi Islam Dan Budaya Jawa Pada Masa Kekuasaan Sultan Agung Di Kerajaan Mataram Islam." *Prosiding Konstelasi Ilmiah Mahasiswa Unissula (KIMU) Klaster Humanoira*, 2022.
- Fanani, Ahwan, and Ashabul Kahfi. "Gambaran Tokoh Walisongo dalam Babad Tanah Jawi." *Sabda: Jurnal Kajian Kebudayaan* 14, no. 2. (n.d.).
- Faruk. *Pengantar Sosiologi Sastra: Dari Strukturalisme Genetik Sampai Post-Modernisme*. Pustaka Pelajar. 1999.
- Florida, Nancy. "Writing Traditions in Colonial Java: The Question of Islam." *Cultures of Scholarship*, 1997.
- Florida, Nancy K. *Writing the Past, Inscribing the Future*. Duke University Press, 1995.
- Iswanto, Agus. "Teologi Lingkungan Ranggawarsita: Kajian Terhadap Teks-Teks Zaman Edan." *AKADEMIKA* 19, no. 02. 2014.
- Kartodirdjo, Sartono. *The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888*. Brill, 1966.
- Kasdi, Aminuddin. *Perlawanan Penguasa Madura Atas Hegemoni Jawa: Relasi Pusat-Daerah Pada Periode Akhir Mataram, 1726-1745*. Jendela, 2003.

- Katsir, Ibnu. "Qishash Al-Anbiya', Terj." M. Abdul Ghafar, Jakarta: Pustaka Azzam, 2007.
- Lizzio, Ken. "Ritual and Charisma in Naqshbandi Sufi Mysticism." *Anpere. Net* 1. 2007.
- Maharsi, Maharsi. "Potret Islam Di Kasultanan Yogyakarta Abad XVIII: Kajian Terhadap Penulis Naskah Babad Kraton." *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 15, no. 1. 2017.
- Manshur, Fadlil Munawwar. "Kajian Teori Formalisme Dan Strukturalisme." *SASDAYA: Gadjah Mada Journal of Humanities* 3, no. 1. 2019.
- Marsono. *Akulturası Islam Dalam Budaya Jawa: Analisis Semiotik Teks Lokajaya Dalam LOr. 11.629*. Gadjah Mada University Press, 2019.
- Marsono, Marsono. "Akulturası Penyebutan Konsepsi Tuhan Pada Teks Sastra Suluk." *Jumantara: Jurnal Manuskrip Nusantara* 2, no. 1 (2011).
- Muhadiyatiningih, Siti Nurlaili, and Siti Fathonah. "Dimensi Estetika Dan Identitas Budaya Dalam Bangunan Keraton Surakarta." *FIKRAH* 8, no. 1. 2020.
- Mulder, Niels. *Mistisisme Jawa*. LKIS Pelangi Aksara, 2001.
- Muljana, Slamet. *Runtuhnya Kerajaan Hindu-Jawa Dan Timbulnya Negara-Negara Islam Di Nusantara*. LKiS Pelangi Aksara, 2005.
- Nasrudin, Nasrudin. "Suluk as Social Piety: Phenomenological Studies at the Naqsabandiyah Khalidiyah Sufi Order in Sokaraja Banyumas." *IBDA: Jurnal Kajian Islam Dan Budaya* 19, no. 2. 2021.
- Nawafi, Ahmad Yuzki Faridian. "Titik Temu Mistisisme Islam Dan Mistisisme Jawa; Studi Analitis Terhadap Persinggungan Ajaran Tasawuf Dan Kejawen." *Jurnal Intelektual: Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Studi Keislaman* 10, no. 2. 2020.
- Peacock, Andrew C S. *Islamisation: Comparative Perspectives from History*. Edinburgh University Press, 2017.
- Poerbatjaraka, Poerbatjaraka. *Kepustakaan Djawi*. Djakarta: Djambatan, 1964.
- Pratikno, Hari. "Etnomatematika Pada Bregada Prajurit Keraton Yogyakarta," 2018.
- Ras, J. "The Genesis of the Babad Tanah Jawi: Origin and Function of the Javanese Court Chronicle." *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land-En Volkenkunde* 2, no. 3de Afl. 1987.
- Ricklefs, Merle C. "Rediscovering Islam in Javanese History." *Studia Islamika* 21, no. 3. 2014.
- Ricklefs, Merle Calvin. "A Consideration of Three Versions of the Babad

- Tanah Djawi with Excerpts on the Fall of Madjapahit." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 35, no. 2. 1973.
- . "Babad Giyanti: Sumber Sejarah Dan Karya Agung Sastra Jawa." *Jumantara: Jurnal Manuskrip Nusantara* 5, no. 2. 2014.
- . *Jogjakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi, 1749-1792: A History of the Division of Java (Vol. 1)*. USA: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- . "The Yasadipura Problem. Bijdragen Tot de Taal." *Land-En Volkenkunde* 2de Afl. 1997.
- Riyadi, M Irfan. "Arah Perkembangan Ajaran Theosofi Islam Dalam Literatur Sastra Pujangga Jawa (Pendekatan Genealogi)." *Jurnal Dialogia, Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Sosial IAIN Ponorogo* 10, no. 2. 2012.
- . "Tarekat Sebagai Organisasi Tasawuf (Melacak Peran Tarekat Dalam Perkembangan Dakwah Islamiyah)." *At-Taqaddum* 6, no. 2. 2016.
- Riyadi, Muhammad Irfan. "Kontroversi Theosofi Islam Jawa Dalam Manuskrip Kapujanggan." *Al-Tahrir: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 13, no. 1. 2013.
- Sasrasumarta, R, R Sastrawaluya, and Y Yasapuraya. *Tus Pajang: Pangetan Lalampahanipun Swargi Raden Ngabei Yasadipura I, Abdi-Dalem Kaliwon Pujongga Ing Surakarta Adiningrat*. Surakarta: Yayasan Sastra Lestari/Boedi Oetoma, 2012.
- Simuh. *Sufisme Jawa: Transformasi Tasawuf Islam Ke Mistik Jawa*. Yayasan Bentang Budaya, 1995.
- Simuh, Mistik Islam Kejawen Raden Ngabehi. "Ranggawarsita: Suatu Studi Terhadap Serat Wirid Hidayat Jati." *Yogyakarta: IAIN Sunan Kalijaga*, 1983.
- Soebardi, S. *The Book of Cabolèk: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, and Notes: A Contribution to the Study of the Javanese Mystical Tradition (Vol. 10)*. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1975.
- Stange, Paul. "Javanism as Text or Praxis," 6:237–55. Taylor & Francis, 1990.
- Syahputra, Afrizal El-Adzim. "Sufisme Dalam Hindu Dan Islam." *Jurnal Ilmiah Spiritualis: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam Dan Tasawuf* 4, no. 1 (2018).
- Van Bruinessen, Martin. "Najmuddin Al-Kubra, Jumadil Kubra and Jamaluddin al-Akbar: Traces of Kubrawiyya Influence in Early Indonesian Islam." *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land-En Volkenkunde*, no. 2de Afl. 1994.
- Wain, Alexander. "The Kubrawī and Early Javanese Islam: Re-Assessing the

- Significance of a 16th-Century Kubrawī Silsila in the Sejarah Banten Ranté-Ranté." *Indonesia and the Malay World* 49, no. 143. 2021.
- Wessing, Robert. "Porous Boundaries: Addressing Calamities in East Java, Indonesia." *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land-En Volkenkunde/Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 166, no. 1. 2010.
- Wieringa, E P. "An Old Text Brought to Life Again", *Bijdragen Tot de Taal.* *Land-En Volkenkunde* 155, no. 2. 1999.
- Yasadipura I, Radèn Nabèhi. *Babad Giyanti (Jilid I)*. Vol. I. Batawi Sèntchèm: Bale Pustaka, 1937.
- — —. *Babad Giyanti (Jilid II)*. Vol. II. Batawi Sèntchèm: Bale Pustaka, 1937.
- — —. *Babad Tanah Jawi (Jilid 1): Nyariyosakèn Sajarah Wiwit Saking Nabi Adam Dumugi Para Dewa, Lajèng Para Ratu Ing Tanah Jawi Wiwit Saking Bathara Brama Sarta Bathara Wisnu Dumugi Nagari Pajajaran, Tuwin Madègipun Nagari Majapait*. Vol. 1. Batawi Sèntchèm: Bale Pustaka, 1939.
- — —. *Babad Tanah Jawi (Jilid 2): Nyariyosakèn Nagari Majapait Wiwit Dhatèngipun Agami Islam Tuwin Lairipun Radèn Bondhan Kajawan Lan Jaka Tarub*. Vol. 2. Batawi Sèntchèm: Bale Pustaka, 1939.
- — —. *Babad Tanah Jawi (Jilid 3): Nyariyosakèn Risakipun Nagari Majapait Lan Adègipun Karajan Islam Ing Dèmak, Tuwin Lairipun Jaka Tingkir Dumugi Suwitanipun Dhatèng Sultan Dèmak*. Vol. 3. Batawi Sèntchèm: Bale Pustaka, 1939.
- — —. *Babad Tanah Jawi (Jilid 4): Nyariyosakèn Risakipun Nagari Dèmak, Madègipun Karaton Ing Pajang, Tuwin Rêjanipun Bumi Ing Mataram*. Vol. 4. Batawi Sèntchèm: Bale Pustaka, 1939.
- — —. *Babad Tanah Jawi (Jilid 5): Panèmbahan Senapati Tata-Tata Ngayati Sèdyanipun Murih Sagèdipun Mèngkoni Tanah Jawi*. Vol. 5. Batawi Sèntchèm: Bale Pustaka, 1939.
- Zoetmulder, Petrus Josephus. *Kalangwan; A Survey of Old Javanese Literature*. Vol. 16. Martinus Nijhoff, 1974.
- — —. *Pantheism and Monism in Javanese Suluk Literature: Islamic and Indian Mysticism in an Indonesian Setting*. Vol. 24. Koninklyk Instituut Voor Taal Land, 1995.
- Zuhriyah, Lailatuzz. "Kosmologi Islam Kasultanan Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat." *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf Dan Pemikiran Islam* 3, no. 1. 2013.