

Cultural Politics of Javanese Authority in the 19th Century

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Abstract

This study aimed to reveal the historical construction of cultural politics of Javanese authority through *Serat Baron Sakendher* (SBS) in the 19th century. SBS manuscript was used as a means of negotiation by the Javanese King on the colonial power resistance that was politically absolute in controlling Java. Stories of Baron Sakendher were presented in the Javanese domain and became a part of *Babad Tanah Jawi*—which was named the centre of Javanese authority hegemony. Historically, Baron Sakendher was a stranger in the contestation of Javanese figures. This study applied the historical philology theory and Gramsci's hegemony. Text analyses were done from the point of view of the author, *panedhak* (rewriter), the location where the manuscript was created, and the author(s) who initiated the manuscript. The results point out that the post-war 1830 Javanese SBS script has an essential position concerning the cultural politics of Javanese rulers and colonialism. The concept of *mangku*, in a spiritual sense, is used as a strategy to conquer without hostility and war. The king's order wrote the SBS script with the approval of the Dutch Resident. The songs and performances of traditional shadow puppetry by Baron Sakendher created a common sense for the Colonial position in Java. Amid *babad* (Javanese historical texts), the SBS script was used to reduce conflict through a cultural approach that could strengthen the king's authority over the Javanese people. It was also beneficial for political negotiations with the Dutch.

Keywords: Serat Baron Sakendher, Cultural politics, Javanese authority

INTRODUCTION

The creation of *babad* (Javanese historical texts) was massively done during the period of Hamengkubuwono V (HB V) in Yogyakarta and Pakubuwono VII (PB VII) in Surakarta. Both proposed similar strategies in terms of manuscript writing tradition. Through writers at the palace, both produced new texts and rewrote old existing stories (Margana, 2004). The script was created as a legitimacy

narrative discourse for power negotiations over colonial resistance after the war in Java, resulting in absolute political victory (Sudewa, 1989; Riyadi, 2002).

Babad Tanah Jawi, once rewritten, was a manuscript that partly took sources from Buddhist-Hindu stories that were verbally attached to Javanese people (Ras, 2014). The texts, *kakawin* and *kandha*, were adapted into *macapat* songs and prose, which were characteristics of the literary production in the Islamic Mataram era. During its development, the writing of the *Babad Tanah Jawi* was

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added with new stories (Day, 1978). Old stories deemed unnecessary or harmful to power were removed from the script (Florida, 2003). New stories were also created according to the political needs of postwar Java (Margana, 2010). Among them, *Serat Baron Sakendher* (SBS) took part. The SBS text narrates the arrival of a foreigner (Baron Sakendher) to Java who originally wanted to control the territory. However, due to his defeat in terms of supernatural powers to Panembahan Senopati, he ended up serving in Mataram and his descendants traded in Java.

The writing of *Babad Tanah Jawi*, equipped with the interrupting or secondary story of *Baron Sakendher*, had only been found in manuscripts written after the Javanese war (1830). At that time, political conditions tended to be stable, but colonial resistance to Javanese rulers was intensifying. The narrative of the Javanese nobility as descendants of blue blood, who specifically had a higher degree to lead appropriately—based on the babad, was the king's hegemony through the text by presenting genealogy and supernatural powers. Baron Sakendher is a foreigner from a wealthy merchant caste who can rule many countries. These two contexts are highlighted in the narrative of the cultural hegemony of Javanese power through poets as enforcers of the power patrons.

Not all SBS manuscripts written after the 1830 Java war include the names of the authors, copyists, and initiators and the year of writing. Its creation place becomes essential to reveal in the study. The initiator and the place where the script was written allow

us to know how the vortex of power played an essential role in the birth of the script. Culturally, the authority played a role in giving birth to a script which was able to shape the understanding of indigenous peoples and, at the same time, be accepted by the Dutch Colonials who were lowered in terms of class—that is, from the highest to the servant level.

Previous studies related to *Babad Tanah Jawi* were conducted by Day (1978), Ricklefs (1979), and Remmelink (2022). According to a study by Day (1978), *babad* elaborates on the mind and needs of the chronicles of the royal power. This can be seen in the expansion and deletion of stories in each version set by palaces. Ricklefs (1979) has a different point of view. He focuses more on events in changing eras. Ricklefs emphasizes the tradition of writing history in the palace, which is in line with the development of the literary tradition. *Babad* is a convergence of literary traditions and historical events in Javanese rule. Meanwhile, Remmelink's research, just published in 2022, examines *Babad Tanah Jawi* from *The Revised Prose Version of C.F. Winter Sr. (KITLV Or 8)*. He describes the genealogy of Javanese authority's power from two lineages, Islam (Adam) and Hinduism (Gods), who were eventually united in the blood of rulers.

Reality presentation was built in the text between the palace and the rulers—the writing patrons. In the context of power, Javanese kings established discourse for the community to negotiate with colonials through the manuscript. Ricklefs (1978) and Day (1979) approach the same object but find different and mutually reinforcing

conclusions. Both studies, however, have not yet discussed how, when and where *Babad Tanah Jawi* was written and who initiated the manuscript. The elaboration of the *SBS* manuscript, which is part of the *Babad Tanah Jawi*, has also not yet been argued. It is strongly suspected that *SBS* stories were not involved as the study object.

Some scholars have conducted studies on *SBS*. They are Stuart (1855), Tashadi, et al. (1993), Prasetya (2009), Okai (2019), and (Widodo 2021). A study by Stuart (1855) provides information on the knowledge, morality, thoughts, and life orientations of the Javanese as the indigenous people. Stuart interprets the *SBS* text as a peaceful path to the same goal. Conquest is not violent but extends a hand of friendship. Submission is not a form of politeness arising from the self-awareness of someone who feels others. Unfortunately, this research has the drawback of not explicitly presenting the colonial position within Javanese authority circles. Meanwhile, Tashadi (1993) examined code S-220, leading to the Javanese cultural values in the text. This study reveals other texts that are part of the manuscript. The legendary stories of the Javanese kings and saints are the first part. The description of the changing times and the arrival of new beliefs, namely the transition from Hinduism and the arrival of Islam through the northern coast of Java, is an important finding from this study. Tashadi's research needs to explicitly provide an analysis regarding the space and time of writing texts; therefore, this study seeks to fill this gap.

Furthermore, Okai (2019) translates the Javanese version of Baron

Sakendher's Spanish Folklore into Indonesian, accompanied by a genealogy of Baron Sakendher. The link between Baron Sakendher and the genealogy of the King of Pajajaran was incorporated there. The character Murjangkung who conquers Batavia in the *SBS* story, is the Javanese name of J. P. Coen—whose mother in the *SBS* story is named Tanuraga. He is named a descendant of the King of Pajajaran. The genealogy also narrates the blood ties between the Dutch and Javanese as brothers. Tashadi's research (1993) found a correlation between the authoritative Dutch and the Javanese descended from Pajajaran. The withdrawal of Baron Sakendher's lineage from the female line is essential to reveal the colonial position in the Javanese ruling circle. The Mataram authority is drawn from the male line of Majapahit, while the Dutch, through Baron Sukmul, married Tanuraga from the female line. This is not a coincidence but a storyline created to place the Dutch in a lower class in Javanese genealogy instead.

Widodo (2021) researched *Serat Baron Sakendher* as a means of the Javanese king's negotiation with the colonial in the 19th century. This study provides information on how Javanese poets created Baron Sakendher to get accepted by ordinary Javanese people logically—with some mystical sense simultaneously. At that time, the colonial influence that began to enter the writing spectrum of Javanese literature needed some adjustment. Accordingly, Margana (2004) explains that Javanese poets live under the shadow of two forces with different styles and characters. According to Suwondo (1997), Javanese

scriptwriters worked to maintain the king's authority as a political patron under colonial rule. The scriptwriting centre was not only in the palace but in the duchy where the crown prince of the future king lived to educate the young king's obedience and partiality to the colonial. In addition to partiality, the views and directions of future policies in cooperation with the Dutch were studied through the scripts and monitoring of colonial spies.

Such political conditions made scriptwriters at the palace (*pujangganing praja*) choose a safe position by uniting the king's will and, at the same time, directives from the colonialists through several invisible hands. Based on the literature review, no previous studies on SBS have explicitly presented political and cultural information on scriptwriting associated with the Javanese power vortex in the 19th century. Therefore, this study seeks to fill in the gaps regarding the writer and reader of the text in different writing spaces and times about *Babad Tanah Jawi*. The novelty lies in the study's objective to elaborate the traces of the SBS manuscript development as an archive in *babad*, which talks about the cultural negotiations of the Javanese kings to face Dutch colonialism.

METHODS

This study applied historical philology and Gramsci's hegemony to reveal the phenomenon of SBS writing within the chronicle frame. The history of scriptwriting in the context of power, including its location and time, is essential to negotiate with the colonials. *Panedhak* (the rewriter), the initiator, and

the year in which the manuscript was written informed the conditions or political situation of the era. Gramsci's hegemony was used to dissect the narrative of truth carried out by the authorities. Hegemony is not a relationship of domination by using power but rather a relationship of an agreement by applying political and ideological leadership (Gramsci, 1971). Manuscript data with author identity, initiator, and year of writing were classified to find more details about the political power upheaval that occurred when the text was created. Manuscripts with no identities and years of writing were categorized as exceptional works. In addition, the text was verified by indicating the selected source. The text data presented in this paper has undergone rigorous classification, analysis, and explanation testing procedures.

SBS Manuscripts

SBS manuscripts were found on the track of 26 catalogues. They are saved in Surakarta, Yogyakarta, Jakarta, and Leiden (Netherlands). In Surakarta, the manuscripts are at the Radyapustaka Museum, Reksopustoko Mangkunegaran, and Sonopustoko of Surakarta Palace. Meanwhile, they are saved in Yogyakarta at Sonobudoyo Museum and Pura Pakualaman. The manuscripts are at the National Library and the University of Indonesia in Jakarta. Manuscripts existing abroad are only at the University of Leiden. Of the 26 manuscripts traced through catalogue searches and readings, not all have author identity, year of writing, place of writing, and initiator.

Of the 26 SBS manuscripts, five include the names of the copyists. They are S-220 (Harjasukarta), S-28 (Dyan Prawira Susastra), Br-452 (R. M. Sastrasumarta and S. Dibyasudira), RP-10 (Ki Nitipusara), and Lor-2046 (Soegiarto). In addition, they are in the form of a *name code* (in manggala, all are written at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Manuscripts written in the early to mid-19th century do not include the author's name. Writing scripts is political because the authors need to protect themselves culturally if there is a change in power and the next ruler is not in line with the previous one. The author did not include his name, especially in *babad*, because the feudal political situation still needed to be established when there was a change of power through succession. It frequently happened that the next ruler suppressed all groups supporting the previous authority.

Manuscript S-28 was written by Dyan Prawira Susastra—entitled *Babad Tanah Jawi: Adam Dumugi Pajang*. The author is a royal courtier in the Duchy of Pakualaman, Yogyakarta. It tells about the Prophet Adam to the Kingdom of Pajang. Historical chronicles (mixed with legends) of Java range from the genealogy of Prophet Adam to the gods than the kings in Java—up to the coronation of Sultan Hadiwijaya (Joko Tingkir) in Pajang (16th century). Sang Hyang Wisnu became the king of Medangkamulan State with the title Prabu Satmata defeating Prabu Watugunung from the Kingdom of Gilingwesi. The following story is about the origin of the King of Pajajaran, the origin of King Baron Sakedher, and King

Sukmul from Spain, who came to Java. Furthermore, it tells the story of the King in Majapahit, the trustees and kings in Demak Bintoro, and the reign of King Jaka Tingkir, who ruled in Pajang.

The author Dyan Prawira Susastra was a punakawan servant in the Duchy of Pakualam. The ruler of Pakualam once had an interest in spreading the story of *Baron Sakendher* within the surrounding domain. The Duchy of Pura Pakualaman was very submissive and obedient to the Dutch in running the government. He even placed the Dutch position culturally. Baron Sakendher, as a character, is juxtaposed with Javanese mystic figures and rulers. The author placed the story of SBS in the Javanese power vortex genealogically.

Meanwhile, the manuscript LOr-2046 was written by Soegiarto on the initiative of Col. Cornes de Groot (1871). This text is saved as a collection of the Leiden University Library. The story begins with Prophet Adam, Watu Gunung, Banjaransari, to Baron Sakendher. Its ending tells about the war between Mataram and Trunajaya from Madura. This text has much in common with the Major Chronicle, cod. 1786. The manuscript is dated 1749 AJ, i.e. 1827 AD, written at the Yogyakarta Resident's House. As information, page 99 has a Dutch symbol. The first line shows Soegiarto's work. Col. Cornes de Groot, 1871. This Dutch officer was an adviser to the Dutch East Indies, specializing in native affairs. Data from the Girardet catalogue convey that Col. Korne ordered many local manuscripts to be re-copied. It is strongly suspected that the instruction aimed to study the character and behaviour of indigenous people

through the texts and works of Javanese writers, especially those related to the chronicle of power hegemony. The person who ordered the manuscript was an advisor to the Dutch East Indies on indigenous affairs who socialized a lot and absorbed local knowledge to subdue the native people (Weiringa, 1999).

Manuscript S-34, the collection of the Sonobudoyo Museum, was written by Carik Dyan Ranawirya on the initiative of HB VI. Its title is *Babad Tanah Jawi: Watu Gunung dumugi Sultan Agung*. The form is a *macapat* (Javanese particular song). The text tells the story of the history of genealogy mixed with mystical legends of the Javanese kingdom, starting with the story of the Prophet Adam to Sultan Agung in Mataram. The story begins with the history of the kings in Java from the genealogy of the Prophet Adam. The *mangiwa*¹ the line is told *tedhak-tumedhak*², from one generation to others—which eventually stops on Sultan Agung Hanyakrakusuma, the King of Mataram. The highlighted stories are the process of the kingdom's founding and the kings' struggles from the Kingdoms of Galuh, Pajajaran, Majapahit, Demak, Pajang, and Mataram. After the story of Prophet Adam continues with the story of King Banjaransari becoming King in Galuh to the story of the Islamic Mataram King: Sultan Agung Hanyakrakusuma. The Mataram story ends with Arya Suratani

conquering East Java and continues with the story of King Watugunung in the State of Gilingwesi and the story of Baron Sakendher, Baron Sekeber, and Baron Sugmul from Spain (Florida, 1993).

Then, manuscript S-220, a collection of the Yogyakarta Historical Study Center, was written by Harjasukarta. Baron Sakendher's story consists of 16 stanzas of *macapat* songs. Author identity, place, and year of writing are so minimal. Without a royal title from the palace, it can be assumed that Harjasukarta was an ordinary person who liked to write scripts. From this narrative, information is added that SBS was not only developed and written inside the palace fort; it could also be created outside the fort and some in the usual places, namely people's homes. Cokrokusuman is an area outside the palace bull. This manuscript has a complete identity, unlike most Javanese manuscripts whose author is anonymous. Seeing this identity, the writer is certainly no longer a palace servant but someone who knows western education or learns from westerners in writing the identity of the work.

Then, manuscript RP-10 from the Radyapustaka Surakarta collection was written by Ki Nitipusara. Its title is *Serat Baron Sakendher*. This manuscript begins with the following *asmarandana pupuh; sujarah ingkang ginupit, tedhake manon manongsa, sangking ing guwa wijile, tan kandheg dalu lan syang, lampah amerdagang, lama-lama pencar agung, arosa umadeg nata*. This text is similar to manuscript Lor-6265 which is in the collection of Leiden University. It tells

¹ *Mangiwa* is a term commonly applied to the Javanese kings' lineage from Majapahit to Islamic Mataram—which can be traced to the gods in the stories of Hindu-Buddhist Bairawa. Meanwhile, *manengen* is a lineage from Prophet Adam (Supriyanto, 2015, pp. 186-202).

² *tedhak-tumedhak* is a story that is rewritten over and over again by different people with a similar story. Re-writing scripts, including adding useful ones, is natural in the Javanese world, especially the palace. It is also common for writers in the library to write on the orders of other people who order manuscripts or write out of respect for their lord (Florida, 2003, pp. 30-60).

the history of the Kingdoms of Medhangkamulan, Baron Sakendher, and Majapahit. According to the *Catalog of Javanese Literature and Surakarta Manuscripts Volume-3*, the History of Java in the Middle Ages lasted until the end of the Majapahit period. The Kingdoms of Medhangkamulan, Jenggala, Galuh, Pajajaran, and Majapahit (including the history of Islamization in Java) went along with the history of Tarub and present-day Batavia (Jakarta). The narration opens with a story during the reign of King Daniswara from Medhangkamulan and ends with the story of Jaka Tarub. Baron Sakendher and Baron Sukmul are considered the legendary ancestors of European power in Java.

Apart from the preceding five manuscripts, 21 have no author identity, year of writing, and initiator. They are divided into two categories, namely 1) complete manuscripts without identity and 2) manuscripts containing summaries of others, as well as SBS manuscripts whose writing is unified. The fifteen unidentified manuscripts are five hundred to one thousand pages in length. This proves the seriousness of the scriptwriter even though he did not include his name officially. As *panedhak* (rewriter), the author did not only copy and moved the writing but also changed the *macapat metrum* (patterns) from the source text to a new script to uphold the king of Java. From the changes in the *macapat* patterns, the author had to create a new language and diction to conform to the standard rules.

The copyist incorporated the identity contained in the initial stanza of the manuscript, namely: *ingkang nama Ki*

Nitipusara lagya umur sangalikul taun, wulan robingul awal taun be. There is "rablingul akir be" with no sengkalan (word arrangement with values or year calculation). Based on its writing style, it can be surmised that the text was written in 1832 J (1902 AD), similar to the prevalent style at the court of Pakubuwana X around the turn of the 20th century. In these texts, Baron Sakendher (Netherlands) is positioned not as an enemy as in the Java war. The Dutch are put as traders descended from Mataram servants. The author's identity provides information that the SBS script was written by servants who fully contributed their energy and thoughts to the king. The figure of Baron Sakendher is compared to historical figures and Javanese mystical legends. Such a process is part of the Javanization of foreign names. Most of the 26 manuscripts examined needed to stand alone in their writing. They were written together with other *babad* stories that the Javanese believe to be true.

DISCUSSION

26 SBS manuscripts narrate colonial traders descended from Mataram servants. The story begins with a wealthy merchant in Bukit Karbin who does not have a son. Based on an order in his dream, he met a holy man on Argapura Hill. It was predicted that one day, among the children born from him, one would become king. After the merchant's wife became pregnant and all were sons, only one wife had not yet given birth. At that time, a miracle appeared from within the womb. The baby (Baron Sakendher) whispered to his mother that he would be born on a good

day. His birth was accompanied by a miracle that was accompanied by shells and swords. He could also speak from the womb.

When Baron Sakendher was still a teenager, he managed to kill a giant, unmasked Begawan Mintuna, and get the water of life. He travelled west to Spain. On the way there, he met three blood brothers. The three helped his way and protected him against enemies. Baron Sakendher was appointed a *senopati* (commander) for the King of Spain's son-in-law. He was given the task of leading the merchants. Baron Sakendher conquered Sinipraba and his two brothers from Nusatembini, leading to his crown as the King of Spain. His older brother Baron Sukmul eventually became a *patih* (governor) in Spain. Baron Sakendher became king in place of his father-in-law. He brought all his siblings and parents from Bukit Karbin to Spain.

After getting the throne, Baron Sakendher sook for a new place to trade to Java, and the position of king of Spain was handed over to his brother Baron Sukmul. Arriving in Java, crossing over the hills of Giri (Imogiri), he suddenly fell and unfortunately could not fly. He repeatedly rose and then fell again. Finally, he took an oath of allegiance to serve the king of Java, namely Panembahan Senopati in Mataram. In service, Baron Sakendher turned into *Laweyan Putih*. Baron Sakendher then transformed into *Kebo Kemale*. Garuda transformed into *Manglar Mango*. Baron Sakendher's riding horse changes form into a *Sapi Gumarang*. The four served in Mataram.

Sometime after, Baron Sukmul followed him to Java with a trading fleet, soldiers, and supplies. He landed on Batavia Beach and traded. He asked for land on the coast of Batavia as wide as a buffalo skin for accommodation. The Prince of Jakarta gave the land in exchange for a gift requested by Baron Sukmul. Baron Sukmul's presence was also followed by his other brothers to trade.

Baron Sakendher's manuscript is part of the Javanese scripts that discuss modern colonialism. They are narrated as traders who serve instead of colonialists who oppress and exploit indigenous people (Creese, 2009). The narrative of colonialism changed in the early 19th century along with the industrial revolution in Europe—although it just developed manual script writing in Java. The media was used to provide an overview of the new face of colonialism in the whole archipelago. This narrative text was developed in order even though the reality was the opposite; the colonials extorted people at the hands of indigenous authorities (Florida, 2012).

There are 13 *SBS* manuscripts which include the year of writing. Those with author identity (mainly the name) are sourced from manuscript code 25 A of the Reksapustoko Mangkunegaran Surakarta collection, written in 1827 AD at Loji of Yogyakarta Residency. Regarding the year of writing, this manuscript was written when the war of Java was still ongoing. The Dutch Resident, through the skilled hands of native writers, prepared the *SBS* for negotiation with the indigenous people to change colonial images in the future.

Incorporating *SBS* into *Babad Tanah Jawi* was a breakthrough in reducing the post-war conflict between the Dutch and the Javanese.

Manuscript 25 A was passed down on behalf of the King's order (PB 7th and HB 5th) through palace writers. The text was involved in *Babad Tanah Jawi*. Both Kings included *SBS* in their respective *babad* with several compositions and additions to stories based on needs. Pakualam and Mangkunegaran wrote the same story for the needs of their respective duchies. Colonial official Dr G.A.J. Hazeu ordered to write a look-alike script without changing the *pupuh* to the Lor-2046 script. Col. Cornes de Grot ordered the script to be written for NBS 158.

Based on our research, in addition to ordering *SBS*, Hazeu instructed the writing of *Kawruh Asalipun Ringgit Sarta Gêgêpokanipun Kalihan Agami ing Jaman Kina* (knowledge of the origins of traditional shadow puppetry and religion in the classical era). After the Java war was over, the Dutch were acknowledged to get the victory. The territory formerly along the northern coast of Java became inland with the addition of the outer palace area, which was annexed by the Dutch after the Klaten Agreement (1830). After the war, the writing of *Babad Tanah Jawi* as the master text of *Baron Sakendher* increased. In Yogyakarta, typically during the reign of Hamengkubuwono 5th, more than ten manuscripts were found in catalogue searches. The production continued until 1877, namely scripts S-28, S-32, and S-34. The manuscript is now in the collection of the Sonobudoyo Museum.

Two *Baron Sakendher* manuscripts were written in the form of a *ringgit* pattern. They are a collection of Sonobudoyo Museum (Code W-28) and Surakarta Palace (S-174). Both contain the story of *Baron Sakendher* as part of the *ringgit* standard script. These two texts were not written as a *macapat* song but for the basis of shadow puppetry. Manuscripts not written in *macapat* form ease the master into interpreting the story by switching from the script to an all-night shadow puppetry performance.

The *pakem ringgit* and *babad* manuscripts are combinations formed by the Colonials and the Javanese rulers to subdue the hearts of the indigenous people. The Chronicle manuscript, which contains the story of *Baron Sakendher*, was used for chanting inside and outside the palace-fortress during certain cultural events and processions. This *kidung* indirectly gives the people and servants an understanding of the position and stance of *Baron Sakendher* as a Dutch and colonial ancestor who took over Java. They were descendants of Mataram servants who traded and made the Javanese prosperous by becoming buyers of spices and other products produced by the Javanese.

Pakem ringgit scripts were presented in *wayang kulit* performances by palace puppeteers. They presented that performance as the main show in the 19th century. These two instruments, *kidungan* and *ringgit*, become a complementary combination. Through their hearing, they were treated to the *kidung* of *Baron Sakendher* in the chronicle. Through *wayang kulit*, they presented spectacular performances.

These two ways created a shared sense regarding the colonial position in Java.

The initiator writing of *SBS* between the colonialists and the Javanese king had the same interests, namely hegemony of power in the eyes of the people and peace with the colonials. Manuscripts produced by the author with the direction of the king as the colonialists used the initiator as a political tool for the resistance that occurred. For the Javanese king, the story of *Baron Sakendher* aimed to maintain the authority of the people even though his territory and power were decreasing. *SBS* writing was a political tool for colonial resistance in each kingdom, with certain adjustments in each region. In the eyes of the people, the king must appear authoritative. The palace writer combined it with the *Babad Tanah Jawi*, hoping that macapatan listeners would accept this story at the palace, which would later come out through royal courtiers. Through the script, the Dutch studied and simultaneously explored the character of the Javanese people, who were very difficult to conquer with war.

The domination relationship hegemony using an agreement as political and ideological leadership of the Netherlands and the Javanese King placed the *SBS* for the Javanese as a relationship of consent without coercion to the people. *SBS* was used for cultural conquest. The initiator of the *SBS* manuscript, Col. Rinkes, Dr Hazeu, Susuhunan Pakubuwana 7th, Resident of Yogyakarta 1827 (Jonkheer Anthonie Hendrik Smissaert and Pakubuwono 5th). Dr Hazeu initiated the writing of the *Babad Tanah Jawi* with *SBS* stories from three versions—Yogyakarta, Surakarta

and Pesisiran. This manuscript later became the collection of Leiden University through the Algemene Sekretari (AS). The manuscript is in the collection of Leiden University with the code LOr 6483 and LOr 6562. Manuscript Lor 6483. This manuscript is a copy of the *Babad Tanah Jawi* KBG no. 120, copied at the request of Dr Hazeu, with handwritten evidence on the manuscript. Manuscripts with codes 6601, 6603 and NBS 158, *Babad Mataram* Yogyakarta. Manuscript LOr 6562 copy of code KBG Brandes no. 87 (*Babad*)-3'' Brandes, see Poerbatjaraka, 1933, p. 29: *Babad Kartasura* copied at the request of Dr Hazeu. Hazeu was a colonial adviser on native affairs who ordered many classic manuscripts in Java and various places with different authors. The US was an institution that oversaw the deepening of the language and culture of the indigenous people. These tasks include copying manuscripts (Rukmi, 1993). The beginning of the *SBS* in the two Lor scripts was taken from different script sources. The scriptwriter, *panedhak*, did not include himself in this writing.

Rewriting *SBS* with different story sources was strongly suspected as a means to study the character of indigenous peoples as well as create an expansion of the narrative. The Javanese king ordered the court clerk to write the *SBS* in the *Babad Tanah Jawi* to quell the turmoil at the lower levels of postwar Java. Javanese kings who submitted politically to the colonialists must create hegemony to reduce horizontal hostility conflicts. Through genealogical stories, the people were indoctrinated with the spirit of feeling like brothers and partners, not enemies. The narration of

friends and relatives must be echoed through the text periodically. This can be seen in the timeline of writing which was done continuously.

Power takes a dominant role in writing *babad* (Graff, 1958). Not only one generation of power, but until the ruler changed, the SBS was still being rewritten. From the beginning, the Dutch Colonial manuscript became the starting point for the story of *Baron Sakendher*, which was included in the vortex of the *Babad Tanah Jawi*. Hegemony by agreement using political and ideological leadership (Gramsci, 1971). In this regard, the SBS, with the mission of subjugating the natives, was created to limit and subdue them without violence by the centre of power. Through the story, the reader was directed to agree on the story that was read with immersion through the *rasa* approach to the *macapat* song. As a literary work, *babads* are not read in silence. The chanter reads the script automatically by humming. *Babad* was often read at communal gatherings where participants took turns or *nembang* from parts of the text (Florida, 2003; Margana, 2004). Apart from the continuous process of copying texts, *mengidung* (chanting) was an effective way of spreading these texts (Remmelink, 2022).

The writing of the SBS, if traced based on the place of writing of the script, was found in Manggala. There are fourteen of the twenty-six manuscripts, including the place of writing. Ten manuscripts were written in Yogyakarta and four in Surakarta. The manuscript, now abroad, was most likely written at the Algemene Secretari Batavia—now Jakarta. The scriptwriters in the classical

Javanese period were highly respected and valued for their position. In addition to people considered rare with position and social status in the palace, they need to have a respectable place. That was because few people could write and read well. The author was then given the title of *pujangga* (poet). The title was for the person who led and supervised the writer at the king's direction (Margana, 2004). The author or *ingkang akarya sastra* can be called *panulis* or *panyerat*. Being a writer, especially in the Javanese palace, had several detailed terms used. In writing in Java there are terms *panganggit*, *pangiket*, *panyerat*, and *panedhak*. Through the experts possessed by the king, the colonial subtly subdued the Javanese people by acting as the initiator of the manuscript. These terms correlated with the results of the work produced (Florida, 2003).

Panganggit (copyeditor) copies not only the duplicate of existing text. *Pujangga* (poet) reiterates it in the current context and language so the reader can understand it. Many SBS manuscripts were written not just by copying but through the *nganggit* (editing) process. The story structure proves this. For example, manuscripts written at the Yogyakarta palace have a different composition in *pupuh macapat* from the ones written at the Surakarta and Mangkunegaran palaces. This was because copying meant adapting the manuscript to the needs of each palace.

Then, *pangiket* (binder) binds the original form into a new *metrum*. In its development, SBS texts have different compositions of *macapat* songs. According to the ruler's needs, there are additional stories on a literary

masterpiece (Ricklefs, 1979). Existing manuscripts are “tied” again through the desired *macapat metrum*. The binding process did come from not only the same form of text but also different types of *metrum*. For example, the Central Javanese *metrum* to *macapat* or the old Javanese *metrum kidung* to *macapat*. SBS manuscripts have different *pupuh* in the manuscript. Manuscript S-29 collection of Sonobudoyo has a different *metrum* from manuscript 173 NA (collection of Surakarta Palace). These two manuscripts have different *metrum* arrangements and different story narrations. Manuscript 173 builds an additional narrative, namely the story of Murjukung, who conquered Batavia City from the Prince of Jakarta. The story of manuscript S-29 stops at Baron Sukmul obtaining a fief on the coast of Batavia to live and trade on the coast.

Panyerat (writer) is someone who produces original writings. Inspiration is the birth of ideas from various events in his time (Margana, 2004). Manuscripts written under the request (*dhawuh*) of the ruling king usually followed the palace's ambitions and needs. Texts were written due to the importance of teachings and order (Florida, 2003). Manuscript 25 A, which is included in *Babad Tanah Jawi*, becomes part of the *babad*.

Furthermore, *panedhak* is simply a rewriter who does existing works. The goals are various, for instance, 1) the desire to possess the manuscript, 2) the request of other people, and 3) the needs of the political situation to reproduce certain manuscripts so that more reciters can read them. The difference between *panedhak* and *panganggit* lies in the results of their works. *Panedhak* keeps the same

language, form, and *metrum* used in the text. If a difference occurs due to an unintentional error, it becomes a scriptorium study (Florida, 2003). For example, several *panedhak* of SBS manuscript 25 A are Br 97, KBG 120, and S 29. These three authors successfully rewrote the script well because they did not change the *metrum* or *macapat* order (Widiati et al., 2018).

The year and place of writing of the script have a long period in the scriptwriting process for SBS. Writing began in 1827 AD, namely manuscript 25 A, written at the Loji Residency of Yogyakarta, until the last year, 1925, manuscript BR 452. A span of one century, the SBS script was written by Javanese writers on the initiative of the Javanese king and Dutch colonialism. The writing of the script at the Yogyakarta Residency Loji was the command centre of the colonial power. The oldest manuscript originates from a loji but with the manuscript title *Babad Tanah Jawi*. The presence of the SBS script amid Javanese stories had a significant role for the Dutch in spreading stories to change people's views on colonialism.

The writing place was in the palace environment or in *pecarikan* or where the poets were. This was because the writing was related to the existence of paper. In the 17th century, those who could afford to buy paper were the royal families who were in contact with the colonial colonizers. The development of Javanese script in writing since the palace cooperated with the Dutch increased because there were more and more European papers in the palace. The paper trade in inland Java since

Amangkurat 2nd came to power began to develop (Ras, 2014). Sasana Pustaka, in the palace, became the centre for writing texts ordered by kings and nobles.

The dissemination of manuscripts in the post-war period of Java also occurred within and outside the palace. Now the manuscripts are in the palace and the manuscript storage centres in Jakarta and Leiden University. The vortex of power is very interested in the existence of SBS scripts for various purposes, which are directly shown in the visuals and other missions for negotiation. Manuscripts were used as bargaining tools and solutions to problems in the palace environment and the Javanese people. By the end of the Java War in 1830, the Dutch perception of them as invaders and enemies who had to be fought was changed through the production of manuscripts with a new face as servants of the King of Mataram and traders who became connectors for spices and other commodity products.

The initiator, copyist, year of writing, and place of writing of the SBS script show how the role of the vortex of power determines the birth of the script. As a non-singular text in the story narrative, the previous and subsequent texts were also written from *babad* scripts that the Javanese people commonly knew. From this writing, the Dutch understood that Javanese might not be in physical strength but in the softness of its culture (Kusumastuti, 2022). The presentation of the SBS story is an escape from exploring the strategy performed by the Dutch to subdue Java both physically and mentally. If the Javanese were only subdued physically through

war, it was possible that later they would rebel again with new powers (Kurniawan, 2017). On the outer side of the SBS script, the narrative of Diponegoro's defeat in the Java war was described as an almighty destiny as well as the trigger for the birth of Indonesia in the future. This is recorded in the prediction of the closing poet Ngabehi Ranggawarsita. In the future, Indonesia's territory would become the former Dutch East Indies colony, not the former Javanese kingdoms.

Manuscript Readers

Readers of the Javanese script reporting the manuscript contents were in the palace and *njaban benteng* (outside the palace). Inside the palace, courtiers who were skilled in literature and singing performed it by singing. Manuscripts written are not only finished at the end of the text, but the end of writing is the beginning of the reading process. The script reading was performed by people who were good at reading and were comfortable being listened to by *abdi dalem* (courtiers) and palace guards. Besides being good at reading, he also needed expertise in singing *Sekar macapat*. The reader must understand the type of *tembang* used by the author in the text (Florida, 2003). From this reading, several things could be obtained. If it is a soldier on guard, reading scripts until late at night is used for *cagak elek* 'so you do not get sleepy'. For nobles, he only needed an outline of the story for inspiration or reference. Other parties who benefitted from reading in the palace were the workers who returned to their respective homes when they had finished their work. The people in this

palace were the first to read texts outside the palace.

The reading of manuscripts outside the palace, apart from in Islamic boarding schools and learning centres, is also carried out in residents' homes on a pilgrimage. In addition, something is recited in the *kidungan bayen macapat* when a child is born. Macapatan is when *pupak puser* (the umbilical cord is removed) where family and relatives rock the child. After the new sneezing, the baby finished cradling in turns. It is for time for children to know the outside world. The *melekan* procession is designated by the family for *macapatan* (Panuntun, 2021).

This reading process is the culmination function of the SBS as a part of the doctrine in *Babad Tanah Jawi*, emphasizing the Dutch Colonial presence as traders—in line with the manggala script expressed by the chanter. The nobility needs a basic line of thought, and the people in the process of *cagak elek* achieve the scriptwriting objective. Servants who have completed their duties will return to their homes and surroundings (Suharjo, 2018). This benefit is what the colonial wants to obtain directly, namely when the courtiers return to society. They proclaim what they read inside the palace to their neighbours and friends. They also sing regularly outside (Waluyo, 2022).

CONCLUSION

The results show that most SBS manuscripts written in the 19th do not include author identity. It slightly changed at the beginning of the 20th century as some authors attached their names to the script body. *Panedhak*

(rewriter) of the SBS script was not a poet but a palace writer under the superiors, namely the representatives of the king and the Dutch colonials. Both used *panyerat* (writer), *panedhak* (rewriter), and *panganggit* (copyeditor) to create a new paradigm regarding colonialism. A cultural approach is explored to find the weak point of the Javanese people's strength, namely obedience to the king. The year of writing the script, which varies from one script to another, indicates that the script's production was carried out over a long period. The scriptwriting was done in Surakarta, Yogyakarta, Pakualam, and outside the palace—but still in its surrounding. The massive period of scriptwriting is after the war of Java. This finding reveals that the SBS text has a significant position concerning the colonialism of the Javanese authority circle. The concept of *mangku* as a strategy to conquer and make peace with circumstances without using violence and hostility was commonly implemented back then.

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