

BANYUMAS 1571-1937

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ABSTRACT

Banyumas was not a village which grew to become a city, but built directly into a city in the sixteenth century by Adipati (regent) Mrapat. Banyumas as a new center of power was the binary opposition of the toponym Toyareka after its moving from Wirasaba. Back then, Banyumas was inhabited merely by its regents until the beginning of eighteenth century. The center was then moved again eastward to what it currently known as the old Banyumas and remained there until 1937. The Regent Sudjiman Mertadiredja Gandasubrata then moved the capital of both Banyumas Residency and Regency to Purwokerto, leaving Banyumas - once the biggest city in the residency, just as a capital of a kawedanan or kecamatan (municipality).

Keywords: Banyumas, history, residency

ABSTRAK

Banyumas bukanlah sebuah desa yang tumbuh menjadi kota, namun dibangun langsung ke sebuah kota pada abad keenam belas oleh Adapati (bupati) Mrapat. Banyumas sebagai pusat kekuatan baru adalah oposisi biner toponim Toyareka setelah pindah dari Wirasaba. Saat itu, Banyumas hanya dihuni oleh bupati sampai awal abad ke-19. Pusat itu kemudian dipindahkan kembali ke tempat yang sekarang dikenal sebagai Banyumas tua dan tetap di sana sampai tahun 1937. Bupati Sudjiman Mertadiredja Gandasubrata kemudian memindahkan ibu kota Karesidenan dan Kabupaten Banyumas ke Purwokerto, meninggalkan Banyumas - yang pernah menjadi kota terbesar di kediaman, sama seperti ibu kota kawedanan atau kecamatan (kotamadya).

Kata kunci: Banyumas, sejarah, karesidenan

INTRODUCTION

In the history of Banyumas, people would not find a village named Banyumas. Besides that, the name Banyumas was not also found among the *dhukuh*, *dusun*, or *grumbul* – all referring to a kind of sub-village – either in the Banyumas or its neighboring municipalities. This proves that the name Banyumas does not have the origin in the name of a village. Generally, a name of a city is derived from a name of a village, established by the forest clearers whom later were known to be the ancestors or *dhanyang* (Priyadi, 2011b: 125). The *dhanyang* of Banyumas at the time, as written in Kidung Reksawedha or Suluk Plencung was Kalanadhah (Tjakraningrat, 1979: 111). In the epic of mahabharata, Kalanadhah was the name of weapon handed over by Arjuna to Gatotkaca when the latter was about to marry Pregiwa. Kalanadhah had something to do with Kaladete, which was also a weapon belonging to Karna, which happened to be the name of a *dhanyang* in Dieng Plateau. When Arjuna and Karna were engaged in a combat the two weapons were mutually destroyed and returned back to where deities dwell (Priyadi, 2002: 234; Munandar & Danusubroto, 1958: 18).

Based on the folktale among Banyumas people, there were four *dhanyang*s of Banyumas, namely (put in the age order) Ubayun, Samparangin, Kalanadhah, and Tujung Seta or Natajiwa (Priyadi, 2010: 646). Tujung Seta was derived from wayang texts. Tujung Seta (white lotus) had something to do with the existence of Kutai Kingdom (van der Meulen, 1988: 55). There is a possibility that Tujung Seta was a figure from East Kalimantan. Tujung Seta or *tunjung putih* was mentioned in the inscription of Tuk Mas which originated from the seventh century. It was carved together with four *padma* (lotus) *flower* as a symbol of Hinduism a *cakra*, a *cangka*, scissors, a *kudi* (typical Banyumas machette), a *trisula*, and an axe (Sumadio et al, 1984: 98). The inscription is allegedly related to the Mataram Kingdom in central Java, which

was released prior to that of Canggal. The figure, therefore, was related to the period of Islam in one side and early Hindu of East Kalimantan (Kutai) on another side. In Mahabharata, the flower of *tunjung* (lotus) was the one that Drupadi was craving for when the Pandawa was in Mount Kelasa. The *tunjung* flower was a very beautiful flower and remained fragrant although it was not fresh anymore. Werkudara, one of Drupadi's husbands, got the flower in the Telaga (Lake of) Sugandika belonging to Dewa (deity) Kuwera (Saleh, 1978: 67, 71-72). The flower was used to describe the beauty of Drupadi's eyes (Lal, 1994: 498).

The folktale did not indeed provide the detailed information to the figures, the people of modern Banyumas are not familiar with their ancestors. Among the four figures, two are known to the people because of their graves. Kalanadhah, for example, is known because his grave is in the northwest of the Banyumas regent's official residence, whereas that Natajiwa is located in the village of Kedung Uter. Up to now, the graves of Ubayun and Samparangin have not been found yet although it is somewhere in the city of Banyumas, either the first or the second one.

Nitihardjo (2001: 19-36) stated that Ubayun was an Empu (maestro) who had the ability to create the old prehistoric Javanese character, Ubayun means a man who is able from the beginning. Ubayun perceived the world as having square shape, so this was to have directions of east, south, west and north. Ubayun letters had square shape, represented a lid and corners of a box. The base of the box symbolized the earth, the lid the sky. The alphabet of Ubayun contained a teaching, which currently is known as the teaching of *sangkan paraning dumadi*, the knowledge of where we are from and heading to. Ubayun lived in 911 b.c., a contemporary of the legendary king named Prabu Gen-dayana from Dhahiyang Kingdom. Gen-dayana was also a creator of the alphabet of his time, so that Ubayun was punished because he was deemed a rival to him.

Gendrayana's letter was based on the Indian characters (Pallawa). The historical facts show that Pallawa alphabet dominated old inscriptions found in Java. The reason was that possibly the ruler at that time tended to influence themselves more with the foreign cultures than that of the indigenous one. Ubayun characters were later improved by an Empu Galihan who lived in the tenth century.

Samparangi also had the same fate as Ubayun. The people of Banyumas do not know anything about him. Samparangi was a legend from Pancurawis and used to be one of Diponegoro ranks under the command of Singadipa. After the Javanese war, he then became a fierce robber. His defeat and death were the origin of a toponym Teluk which meant surrender. In the present day in the village of Karang Dadap, Kalibagor Municipality, Banyumas, there is the grave of Samparangi, which is another name of Samparangi. Therefore, there needs to be the search for the oldest figures of Banyumas. Near the Pancuran Tujuh (the natural hot spring water), Baturaden, there is a grave of Kiai (saint) Samparangi. He was the follower of Sang Hyang (god) Ismaya.

Natajiwa has so far been deemed by Banyumas people as the personification of Sunan Kalijaga who was known to have Islamized Banyumas after Kaligajati (Langlangati). In the village of Dawuhan, for example, his trace was found, namely a stone facing the kiblat (the direction of Mecca) with marks of knees, tips of the feet, hands, and forehead. Besides, below the stone, the north of a river steep bank, there is a place for ablution. Not far from that, there is a site called Langgar Kambang, a small mosque (*langgar*) surrounded by a mass of water.

PRE-BANYUMAS SELARONG

In Banyumas, there is a legend of Kadipaten Selarong (Selarong Regency), which depicts the life in the sixteenth century when people had not been Islamized. Selarong is the name used before the name Banyumas was known. It came from the word *çaila* (mountain)

(Zoetmulder & Robson, 2000b: 1078) and *rong* (hole, space) (Mardiarsito, 1979: 479). Thus, Selarong is a space or a hole between mountain. The city of Selarong was surrounded by mountains, or one in the middle of hills. In Javanese concept, the position of Selarong is to be a *sangsang buwana* or *kawula katubing kala* (Priyadi, 2000: 124). Both concept means that people in that area are respected and loved by their neighbours, always trusted by others, and become the source of the goodness of the world (Priyadi, 2002). The almanac of *Betaljemur Adamakna* stated that a city surrounded by mountains is one of which the inhabitants are *kawula katubing kala* – having abundant of wealth (Tjakraningrat, 1980: 131), while *sangsang buwana* denotes a city which is situated higher than other places. A city is an entity and shows historical complexity because it has their own unique cultures and traditions (Kartodirdjo, 1982: 31, 152-153).

The Legend of Selarong tells about a Kadipaten (a regency) called Selarong ruled by an Adipati (a regent) named Arya Galagamba. Kadipaten Selarong suffered a very long drought and so many people were starving and lacking water. The regent went to meditate in slope of the Mount Slamet as recommended by Ajar Pamungkas from Pasirluhur. Meanwhile a sunan (saint) named Ampel, denoting his place of origin, had a disciple named Kaligajati. Kaligajati was instructed to Islamize the western part of Java Island, and for this purpose he was given a rattan club and a spear. Kalijaga asked for an advice from Sunan Kalijaga. The latter suggested him to Islamize all Selarong people.

In his meditation Adipati galagumbala received a clue that the disaster that implicated Selarong would end upon the arrival of an anonymous one. The Selarong had to be replaced with a new name based on event which was about to come (Soetarno, 1984: 36-37). Besides, the people of Selarong had also to change their clothes. Kaligajati used the alias of Langlangati. There was a negative reaction to the coming of Langlangati from Patih

(the day today caretaker) Dasabahu who arrested and imprisoned Langlanggati. As a result of his deed, Patih Dasabahu suffered from an illness. The Adipati asked for Laanglanggatis help to free Selarong from the disaster. Adipati Galagumbala, Galagamba, Patih Dasabahu and the officials of the regency converted to Islam. Langlanggati transfixing the spear to the ground in the Selarong square and not long after removed it and then the rain fell heavily. The people then shouted *banyu* – water – and *emas* – gold – as a sign of joy. The falling water had the value of gold, an appreciation toward water in time of drought. The cry brought a new name from Selarong, Banyumas (Koderi, 1991: 103). Then, the name Banyumas has an important meaning, showing gratitude for the end of a disaster. With this, it can be seen that in one hand the Islamization of Banyumas happened earlier than that of Pasirluhur, referring to the disciple of Sunan Ampel, as told in *Babad Pasir* (Kneberl, 1900; de Graaf, 1985: 73; de Graaf & Pigeaud, 1985: 47). On the other hand, in Pasirluhur, the elements of Hindu still remained, such as *pandita* (priest) (Prawiroatmojo, 1988: 4) or his assistants.

Following the end of the drought, it was arranged that Langlanggati married the daughter of Adipati Galagumbala, Retna Ciptawati. Langlanggati accepted on a condition that he would become the successor of his father in law as the regent of Banyumas. Langlanggati preferred to live as a hermit along with Ki Galagamba. Langlanggati also made a miracle in Dawuhan with transfixing his spear on the ground, bringing about fertility to the area. In Dawuhan there is a toponym called Kalibening. Langlanggati was then called *Panembahan Kalibening* or *Mbah Kalibening*. The name Klaibening is still known with Ki Galagamba who was also then called Panembahan Glagahamba or Alangamba. The title Panembahan denotes to a cleric who possess high level of spirituality and seniority based on age or hereditary or lineage (Ismail, 1997: 62).

At the end of Pajang era, around 1578, as written by Rijkloff van Goens

that Java was divided into 14 provinces, one of which was Banyumas. It was also written that Banyumas was the official territory for Pangeran Silarong (Prince Silarong) (Kasdi, 2003: 160-161). According to de Graaf (1986: 86-87 & 264-265; 1987a: 34 & 37), Pangeran Silarong was a relative of Sultan Agung. De Graaf further (1987 b: 30 & 33) states that Pangeran Silarong was the son of Panembahan Krapyak from the second wife, Lungayu, who came from Ponorogo. Pangeran Silarong was assassinated by Sunan Amangkurat I, because of his poison game. The death of pangeran Silarong was written in the Javanese year of 1591 or 1668 in *Babad Momana* (the history of Momana) while the information from Jepara, dated December 26th 1669, stated that the assassination had just taken place (de Graaf, 1987 b: 25).

That shows that Pangeran Silarong, who was the son of Panembahan Krapyak, was not the one who had the territorial authority in Banyumas. Pangeran Silarong mentioned that the ruler of Banyumas province might have been Adi Warga Utama II or Adipati Mrapat because his rule coincided with the end of Pajang. The title of *pangeran* for the ruler of Silarong was similar with the title *raja kecil* (lesser king) of Banyumas for Kanjeng Pangeran Aria Mertadiredja III, as given by people of West Aceh because with the help of Pangeran Mertadiredja, Tengku Putih, who had been punished by the Dutch colonial government and had to live in exile in Nusakambangan island, could live in Banyumas instead. Tengku Putih was then requested to teach Islam to the children and grandchildren of Pangeran Mertadiredja III. The help of the Pangeran gave remained in the memory of West Acehnese (Priyadi, 2010: 555-556). After his death, Tengku Putih was buried in the present day Kejawar village, the Banyumas Municipality.

The title *pangeran* means *tuan* or Lord, (Prawiro atmodjo, 1989: 56). Therefore, Pangeran Silarong was *Yang Dipertuan* (He Who was made Lord) in Silarong. The *pangeran* should be high nobility

of a kingdom, and he had to be chosen by those who close to the Sultan of Pajang. However, in reality the Sultan of Pajang had neither son nor relative with the title of Pangeran Silarong. Pangeran Silarong who ruled over Banyumas was not other than Adipati Mrapat, The nama Banyumas was not much known among dignitaries in Pajang, but they were only familiar with Silarong. The term of Banyumas was used as a territory under the rule of Pangeran Silarong.

BANYUMAS VERSUS TOYAREKA

The name of Banyumas might have been the antithesis of Toyareka or to be more precise Banyumas was the binary opposition of Toyareka, which is Toyareka as the thesis and Banyumas as the antithesis. The synthesis was Adipati Warga Utama II, namely Adipati Mrapat.

The name of Banyumas was allegedly thought the result of the assassination of Adipati Warga Utama I in the village of Bener due to the slander by Toyareka. Toyareka became important because he was the one who made a fake report to the Sultan of Pajang on a woman from Wirasaba who was presented as booty. Toyareka said that the woman was the wife of the Demang named Toyareka. The woman was indeed a former daughter in law of Toyareka. Due to the disharmony of the marriage, the father of the woman, Adipati Warga Utama I arranged a divorced for the couple. It turned out that the woman was still virgin and was then presented to Sultan of Pajang as a *pelarlara* (a Serimpi dancer who could be taken as concubine for the king). The Sultan of Pajang did not make necessary inquiry upon the report and punished Adipati Warga Utama I with the death penalty, for which he regretted. Adipati Warga Utama I was indeed innocent, that was why the village of his assassination was named '*Bener*' (right). The Sultan then summoned the sons of the Adipati who mostly rejected for his fear of receiving similar punishment as their father had. Moreover, only the son in law named Bagus Mangun was willing to fulfill the invi-

tation on the condition that no one of his brother in law would envy, and he should be appointed as the successor of his father in law.

He was then appointed as Adipati of Wirasaba with a title Adipati Warga Utama II. He was then moved the center of administration to place close to the village of Kejawar. Kejawar was an important toponym before Banyumas was established and was identical with Kiai Mranggi Semu. In Banyumas, the village of Binangun exactly, there was a toponym of Wanasepi as the grave site of Nyai (the wife of Kiai) Maranggi Putri. Wanasepi was the place of Nini Sa, who was the spiritual mentor of the princes, spent the rest of her life (Gandasubrata, 2009: 71). The village of Binangun with its Wanasepi was prophesied as the future of Banyumas as a great market.

Moving to a new place was believed to avoid further conflict with Toyareka or the possibility of another conflict. If he had not, there might have been revenge to Toyareka side. The *babad* did not mention what punishment was inflicted to Toyareka. In the spoken tradition, Demang of Toyareka and his son disappeared and his grave was not known.

Toyareka means water which had been processed and regarded as not pure anymore, referring to the slander he made which had caused the killing of Adipati Warga Utama I. To avoid similar thing again, the center of Wirasaba was move to another place, so moving to a new place was deemed similar with that of the hegira from a bad to better situation. There were two realities in Wirasaba, the first being the conflict between Wirasaba against Toyareka and the offspring of the Adipati who did not succeed the father. The new Adipati then was divided Wirasaba into four division and handed over each of them to the three brother in law, as a sign of altruism (Priyadi, 2001a).

Moving to Banyumas showed the intention to purify the dirty of Toyareka. Banyumas means pure and brilliant water. Toyareka had to be abandoned to avoid future conflict. Wirasaba had to be left

behind for the better new location. Banyumas was the opposite of Toyareka. Toyareka belonged to the past. Adipati Warga Utama II did not require to be extend to the conflict between Toyareka and Wirasaba. The choice of Banyumas indicated a holy desire to have a new glorious future. Adipati Warga Utama II was the new seed succeeding Adipati Warga Utama I (Priyadi, 2001c: 46) which later brought new fruits, the dynasty of Banyumas.

THE FIRST BANYUMAS

Banyumas which was built by Adipati Mrapat in 1571 was believed to cover the area surrounded by Pasinggangan river in the south, Banyumas river in the southeast and north, and Perwaton river in the west. That was based on the sites of the graves which indicated an old neighbourhood, such as the grave of Panembahan Pengging (Pajangese neighbourhood, the grave of Kaleng, the grave of Jagawasa (at the west gate) Depok (a temporary residence), the grave of Tembaga (with wood as the sign) and Gedung Agung (the residence of the Adipati). Gedung Agung situated in the north of the square faced south and was aligned with Pohon tembaga, which was located in the south of Pasinggangan river. Based on the spoken tradition, the two sites were linked by a path passing the square. The square spanned from the east to the west, on the south of which lied a road running straight from the east to the west. The road met with other roads which ran from the north to the south on the west side of the square. The corner where the road met in the southwest was connected with a road to the village Dawuhan, which later became the cemetery of the members of Banyumas regents. Based of Danurejan text the cemetery was called *Astana Redi Bendungan*. Banyumas was typical sixteenth century city or before and similar to those of Majapahit, as done by Slametmuljana (2006: 269) The first Banyumas was not a typical Islamic Mataram city.

To the present day, first Banyumas city is located in the village of Kalisube

and Pekunden. Five Regents had lived there, namely Adipati Mrapat (Adipati Warga Utama II), Ngabehi Janah I, Ngabehi Janah II (Ngabehi Kaligathuk or Ngabehi Kaligethuk), Tumenggung Mertayuda I, and Tumenggung Yudanegara I (Tumenggung Mertayuda II, or Tumenggung Mertanegara or Tumenggung Seda Masjid or Tumenggung Todhan, or Tumenggung Kokum).

Ngabehi Janah II created a toponym of Kaligathuk or Kaligethuk during his recluse as hermit begging to God for the fate of his descendants. During his rule, Banyumas experience a reduction of its territory from 4000 *karya* to 1000 *karya*. The meeting of two rivers was believed to have a magical, or sacred meaning (Soeratman, 1989: 19). Kaligathuk or Kaligethuk was the meeting of Banyumas and Perwaton river. Kaligathuk was located in the west of Banyumas. The effort to make the direction of the northwest sacred was continued by Yudanegara II in the second Banyumas. The direction is the qibla, one used by Ngabehi II in his prayer for his future descendants. Ngabehi Janah II was believed to have built the grave of Adipati Mrapat in Dawuhan, on the gravestone of which was written *mukaning paningal retuningbumi*, which shows the Saka year of 1529 or 1607 (Priyadi, 2001b: 48). The year can be used to make a back count. 1607 was the start of the construction of Adipati Mrapat II's grave. That was based on the second observation of *çraddha* (sadran) ceremony. *Çraddha* was a ceremony commemorating the twelfth year anniversary of some's death. Adipati Mrapat died in 1582 and his *çraddha* was observed in 1594, while Ngabehi Janah I died in 1595 and his *çraddha* was held in 1607. So, within twenty five years (1582-1607) there were *çraddhas* held by Ngabehi Janah II for his father and grandfather. In the second commemoration, Ngabehi Janah II built two graves to honour his ancestors. The engraving on the Adipati Mrapat's gravestone was an important historical record to trace the past. It seemed that Ngabehi Janah II's prayer was answered with the appointment of his

son named Mertayuda I as *tumenggung* (one level lower than Adipati) by the King of Mataram. Mertayuda I was given full authority to hold garebeg ceremony in Banyumas, namely Garebeg Pasa and Garebeg Besar, whereas for Gerebeg Mulud, he himself had to come to the capital of Mataram to present booty. The tradition left no trace in the present Banyumas. What left is even Garebeg Mulud, during the rule of Tumenggung Mertayuda I reached its heyday in its first capital. However, further development of Banyumas was not mentioned in the available *babads*. It is possible that Mertayuda I built Kebond Dalem (the Regent's Garden) along with the mosque in what now is called karang Amal, which near Serayu river.

Yudanegara then inherited Banyumas from Mertayuda I. According to the elderly, during the Dutch colonial time, the width of Serayu river back then was a half that of the present day. The river has suffered from a bad erosion in the southern bank, so that the old cemetery in Pekunden, for example, which used to be in middle of Serayu, had shifted one hundred meters southward. Kebon Dalem in spoken history was the resort for Sunan Amangkurat I. He was in Banyumas from July 6th – 8th when Mataram fell (Priyadi, 2011a: 11; de Graaf, 1987b: 199; Van Groenendael, 1987: 111). He died in Pasiraman and his heir did not want to succeed his father. Prince Adipati Anom even wanted to go for haj in Mecca. He asked the regent of Tegal to find ship for that purpose. He waited in Banyumas Mosque (Djajadiningrat, 1983: 231) which was believed to be located in Kebon Dalem. When staying in the mosque, he saw a child come and enter his nose. In addition, seven moons broke through his chest and the mosque was seen as it was split radiating a brilliant light (Olthof, 1941: 174; Suputro, 1959: 45-46). That inspired him to seize the power in Mataram from Trunajaya. In Kebon Dalem, there was a site called Panembahan Jeneng. The site represented his ambition to become the King of Mataram. *Babad Tanah Jawi* told

wrote that he declared himself king of Mataram with the title *Susuhunan Amangkurat Senapati ing Alaga Ngabdur Rahman Sayidin Panatagama*. The Mosque mentioned in *Babad Tanah Jawi* was definitely not Mosque Nur Sulaiman, but one belonging to the regency which was situated in first Banyumas. At present, the area of Kebon Dalem to the west is called Karang Kamal.

The last Banyumas regent to inhabit the first Banyumas was Yudanegara I. Yudanegara I (Mertayuda II) was punished by Pakubuwana I and got a posthumous name Tumenggung Kokum. A city whose inhabitant got bad luck was regarded not to be sacred and holly anymore. So Yudanegara II did not intend to domicile there. Then he left it and cause it to become only as *pedusunan*, which was a division of a village, and is now called Karang Kamal, due to the fact that a type of Turmarine tree, Kamal, was dominant in that village. But actually the name appears only lately. Karang Kamal as the center of the regency was mentioned many times in texts of *new babad* and in the form *ganca-ran* (prose). Karang Kamal has Banyumas river as the border in the south and, in the south of the river lies Kalisube, the first site of Banyumas city. Karang Kamal lies within the village of Kalisube.

The moving of the capital, old buildings were not taken care of or they might have been demolished. In Gumelem, there were four *umpaks*, the pedestal of the main pillars of the regency hall built during Adpati Mrapat era. Based on mouth-mouth tale of the inhabitants, after the old city was abandoned by Yudanegara II, the four *umpaks* were taken to Gumelem, two of them were used to build gate by local people. Gumelem had marital relationship with Banyumas. Ngagehi Janah I was the son in law of Ki Ageng Gumelem because he married the latter's daughter Rara Warsiki (Priyadi, 2002: 42)

THE SECOND BANYUMAS

Tumenggung Yudanegara II moved to the capital of Banyumas from the meeting of

Banyumas river and Pasinggangan river eastward, a place called Geger Duren in *Babad Banyumas*, located in the west of *dukuh* (a division of a village) Menganti. There are two guides used and written in *babad texts*, namely Geger Duren and Menganti. Geger here means mountain ridge (Zoetmulder & Robson, 2000a: 284). Thus, Geger Duren literally means a mountain ridge which contains a lot of thorn. It might have been that Geger Duren indicates an elevated ground or it might have been a *sitinggil*, *siti* (land) *inggil* (high or elevated). People who dwell in *sitinggil* faces a lot of challenges, such as rebellion, having many responsibilities to their subjects. The inhabitants of Geger Duren were leaders. Geger Duren in Wirjaatmadjan texts were a farm planted with gaga rice (*pagagen*). It is located in the east of Menganti, or to be precise to the southern direction.

The movement of Banyumas city to Geger Duren was because the earlier location was deemed not sacred anymore due to the fact that it had ever been ruled by Saradenta-Saradenti during the rein of Tumenggung Yudanegara I (1650-1715). The two figures were followers of Untung Surapati, who were left in Banyumas under the supervision of Ki Bunjaladriya (de Graaf, 1989: 32). In Tembelang, lies the grave of Eyang Driya as the trace of Untung Surapati's subordinates. In addition, Yudanegara moved the city because the Yudanegara was being punished by the death penalty in 1715 by Pakubuwana I (1704-1719). The punishment was because Yudanegara employed a squad of foreign mercenary (Remmelink, 2002: 45). Based on the spoken tradition of Banyumas people, the death penalty was because his concubine had never been given a turn. Yudanegara was posthumously named Tumenggung Seda Masjid, or Tumenggung Todhan or Tumenggung Kokum. The third reason for the death penalty was the existence of Tumenggung Suradipura from Kartasura as the regent of Banyumas between 1715-1727 as an interlude. Furthermore, Suradipura rebelled to Pakubuwana II (1726-1749) that in early

June 1727, he had to resign. Yudanegara was then officially declared as the regent of Banyumas in July 1727. VOC reported the event of rebellion as taking place on July 2nd 1727 (Remmelink, 2002: 45 & 359). Possibly, July 2nd 1727 was the beginning of Yudanegara's rein as the regent of Banyumas. Yudanegara had to remain in the old city.

Yudanegara seemed to prefer the site between two rivers flowing westward, bordering area with clear water with the one which was dirtier water as the center of government. The south area of the southern river (nearing the swamps) tended to have dirty water, especially during the dry season and so did the north area of the northern river (nearing Serayu river). Because the south area of the two river was vast swamp, draining was done by building *susukan* (canal) which later was called Kali Gawe. It was not meant for irrigation as was thought by Gandasubrata (2009: 28). The canal caused the flow of Banyumas river to be cut off because the flow was diverted to Kali Gawe and the river was running to the west and became dry and slowly covered flat with the dirt. Two flows of river were also cut. Water from the east ended up in Kali Gawe too. In 1970 s or before, when Banyumas river often overflow, the two streams were used as a spillway to Kali Gawe. Therefore, Kali Gawe had cut three rivers which flowed to the west and the southwest.

Stories from the older generation told that Kali Gawe used to be straight, so that the bridge in the south could be seen from the north or vice versa. Due to erosion it became winding. That can be seen in the village of Pekunden in the west and Saudagaran in the east. Efforts to make straight again 1960s had been done but failed. The draining of the swamp had created a toponym *Tembelang*, which means the disappearance of *embel* (mud) and the emergence of fertile paddy field. There was a text which related to Tembelang and Banyumas. The word Banyumas came to being because water in the Tembelang swamp was glowing like gold due to the sun rays. This information was

anachronistic because the occurrence was not accurate. The word Banyumas did not appear during the reign of Yudanegara III, but Adipati Marapat. Therefore, the event must have been earlier than it should have been.

The new capital chosen by Yudanegara II seemed to occupy an ancient site. Sumur Mas (Golden Well) which, according to a legend, was located in Kadipaten Selarong square, was closed and a ditch was made to drain the water. On the site of the well, the official residence of the Banyumas regent was built and the well was beneath the northwest room. Tumenggung Yudanegara II created a symbol to indicate the sacredness which was always a place in the northwestern direction. The other symbol were the main pillars of the Pendapa Si Panji (Si Panji Regential hall) and the grave of Ki Kalanadhah in the Pojok Beteng (citadel corner). Both were located in the northwest. The city center of Selarong is believed to face the north because Mount Slamet was the point of reference of Selarong people during the Hindu era. It is no wonder that there is the toponym of Menganti in the north. Yudanegara II directed the city center to the south with a square imitating the style of Javanese kraton in Mataram. The word Menganti might have come from the name of building Sri Manganti, which was always located near the King's palace (Adrisijanti, 2000: 76), functioning as a venue where royal dignitaries appeared before the King or where visiting guests were received in a wedding ceremony (Hendro G., 2001: 76)

Yudanegara II named the hall Pendapa Si Panji after the name of his son Panji Gandakusuma. The name was a gift from the King of Mataram, Amangkurat IV or Amangkurat Jawi (1719-1726), to Bremara (Yudanegara childhood's name) or his other name Mertawijaya. The gift was due to Yudanegara's son beautiful voice when reciting *Serat Wiwaha Jarwa* (Poem entitled *Wiwaha Jarwa*). Pendapa Si Panji is Yudanegara II's great masterpiece. The existence of the pendapa was written by several texts anachronistically

since it was related to the construction of the city during Adipati Mrapat's reign.

Pendapa Si Panji was connected by Balai Malang to the main house, which was equipped with *pringgitan*. The roof had two gutters. There were windows on the right and left side of the *pringgitan*. The structure of *pendapa* was against what had avoided by his ancestor, namely Warga Utama II, so that several ones were done to assassinate him (Brotodiredjo & Ngatidjo Darmosuwondo, 1969: 36). Si Panji was later become a myth after *Blabur Banyumas* (a great Banyumas-flood) on February 21st-23rd, 1861. The myth became intense when the capital of Banyumas moved to Purwokerto in 1937.

Besides Pendapa Si Panji, Yudanegara II also built a regential mosque, but it was not written in the texts of *babad*. In the tradition of Javanese kingdom, the construction of a palace was followed by building of a mosque. There is no written record about the mosque Nur Sulaiman, Banyumas. What clear is that the building does not use bricks but wood or bamboo. The mosque is believed to have been built after 1727. The period between Yudanegara II and Yudanegara V (1727-1743) did not touch the mosque. The very possible period of the construction of the mosque is 1727-1743 (bdk. Gandasubrata, 2009: 80), namely during the reign of Yudanegara. Information about the mosque renovation appeared 76 six years after 1813, namely 1889 when Mertadiredja III became the regent of Banyumas. Mertadiredja was indeed very religious as the follower of Naksabandiyah sect, besides he himself being a *hafiz*, someone who memorized the holy Qur'an.

Yudanegara II was ordered by Paku Buwana II to incite the people of Cirebon and Priangan to fight christian people (Lombard, 2000b: 62). In the eyes of Banjarnegara people, Yudanegara II did not have patriotism because he escaped the battle in VOC fort, Kartasura on July 20th 1741. Yudanegara II returned to Banyumas. He did not have the same idea with the king, Pakubuwana II (1726-

1749), who supported the Chinese rebels. According to Crey (1986b: 26), as a king Pakubuwana II was not capable to govern and stupid. His mind and action always created blunder, which led to the fall of the kingdom to the rebels in June 1742. Meanwhile, Ngabehi Mangunyuda who was a *kliwon* in Banjarnegara was hit dead with a rifle butt by a VOC soldier (Kasdi, 2003: 402-403). His death brought him a name Mangunyuda Seda Loji – Mangunyuda who died at VOC fortress during *Geger Pacina* (Chinese Rebellion).

Due to his escape from the VOC fortress, Yudanegara was regarded to oppose the King. Yudanegara II was given strong warning and threatened with death penalty. He got the information through a courier sent by his son. Yudanegara got so frightened that he died in Pendapa Si Panji that he built. His death created a controversy. Some said it was due to heart attack because of the fear of death sentence. Other said that he drank sleeping pill too much to relieve the fear. He was also said to be poisoned by someone on the king's order. (Priyadi, 2010: 613) Yudanegara II died in 1743 and got a posthumous name Tumenggung Seda Pendapa.

Yudanegara II was succeeded by Reksapraja (1743-1749) who was the toppled and replaced by the son of Yudanegara II, Yudanegara II (1749-1755). Because their reins coincided with the war, these two regents did not do anything to the city of Banyumas. After the war Yudanegara III was appointed patih (day-to-day care taker) for the Yogyakarta Sultanate with a title K.R.A. Danureja I (13 February 1755 -19 August 1799), as the competitor of Kasunan Surakarta (Surakarta Kingdom). Carey (2010a: 115; 2012c: 919) made an error by writing that Yudanegara II as the regent of Banjarnegara in Banyumas instead of regent of Banyumas. Yudanegara IV (1755-1780) got the same as his grandfather and great grandfather. He was stripped off his position because he was suspected of becoming liaison between Kasultanan Yogyakarta and Cirebon and Banten (Ricklefs, 2002: 237). Besides, Yudanegara IV was suspected of rebelling

because he had a Bugis squad in Banyumas (Priyadi, 2010: 615). North of Serayu river, there is a grave which was said as the toponym of Bugisan. Possibly, it was where Bugis troops lived.

Beside Bugis squad, Chinese communities had already been in Banyumas before 1762. It was indicated by the existence of four Chinese brothers, namely Tek Lion, Tek Bhe, Tek Ho, and Tek Biau. Tek Lion (the father of Tan Jing Sing) became a Chinese Captain in Kedu. Tek Bhe became an entrepreneur in Semarang. Tek Ho lived in Banyumas and in 1762 moved to Yogyakarta as successful businessman and Chinese Captain. Iek Biau converted to Islam and became the regent of Semarang and was named Tumenggung Reksonegoro I. Tek Ho's offspring married that of Tek Lion's. After the death of his father, Tan Jing Sing replaced him the Captain in Kedu in 1793. When his father in law grew old, Tan Jing Sing was requested to replace him as a Chinese Captain in Yogyakarta in 1803 (Werdayo, 1990: 5). The position of Chinese Captain in Kedu was filled by Tan Jing Sing's brother, Tan Ting Sing (Carey, 1986b: 38)

There is also a story of a Chinese gold jewelry trader in Banyumas who lived at the end of the eighteenth century, Sian Liong. He had a successor named Po Jan. Po Jan married Kwi Nio. The couple were the co-parent in law of Tan Jing Sing. Tan Jing Sing was appointed regent of Yogyakarta by Sultan Hamengku Buwana III with the title Raden Tumenggung Secodiningrat (Werdayo, 1990: 71-76; Setyautama, 2008: 348-349). Tan Jing Sing was genuine Javane and the grandson of Kanjeng Raden Adipati Danureja I. He was the son of Demang Kalibeber, Wonosobo who married the daughter of the Banyumas regent, Yudanegara III (1749-1755), namely Raden Ayu Patrawijaya. When the baby Tan Jing Sing was born in 1769, the father had died six months before. Tek Liong took care of the baby and was then brought to a *klenteng* (worshipping place for Kong Hu Cu followers) in Semarang and was prophesied by a *bhiksu* (buddhist

priest) that he would later become a great person. It was suggested that the baby not use the family name Oei Tek Liong, but Tan Sin Hong instead, a Chinese from Semarang. The baby was then named Tan Sin Jing and the son of Tan Sin Hong was named Tan Tek Sing (Werdoyo, 1990: 1-2). Tan Jin Sing died in May 1831 in a very saddening condition, because he was torn among identities, as Yogyanese say, he was no more a Chinese, never Dutch nor Javanese (Carey, 1986b: 60-610).

The sacking of Yudanegara IV had caused his son not to be able to immediately replace his father's position. His successor was from Mangkunegara, Toyakusuma (1780-1786). Toyakusuma was then sacked because he ran away from Banyumas after being threatened by a rebel from Sigaluh named Gendong Lotong. Toyakusuma was succeeded by a son of Yudanegara IV, namely Yudanegara V. The latter was also sacked because he planted a *beringin kurung* (a banian tree with fence around) or *beringin kembar* (twin banian tree) in Banyumas square. *Beringin kurung* is a symbol of royal power. The bravery of Yudanegara to plant *beringin kurung* was seen as a rebellion or *mirong kampung jingga*, because it was as he had wanted to position himself as equal with the king of Surakarta, Paku Buwana IV (1788-1820). *Babad Banyumas* his planting of the banian tree as an indication that he had wanted to become the Sultan of Banyumas, and ceded from Kasunanan Surakarta (Knebel, 1901). In the period between 1900-1950, it was a common practice to have a banian tree in the square in Central Java regencies (Pijper, 1984: 18). Carey (1986a: 117-118 & 141) said that the sacking of Yudanegara V was done by the British colonial government because based on a report from Lieutenant E. Taylor to Raffles (December 18th 1815) he was involved in a conspiracy with the rebelling Sepoy. He was deemed as the blackest figure by the British Resident in Surakarta, major Jeremiah Johnson (Carey, 2012a: 25). So here, there are differences on who sacked Yudanegara V. Information from folktales said that it was

Pakubuwana who terminated the existence of Yudanegara dynasti. This was in opposition with the information from external source with the role Raffles as the extension of the British government in Java 1815. The statement that Raffles had a great concern over Yudanegara was proved by the fact that Yudanegara V was a regent of Kasunanan Surakarta, especially Paku Buwana IV, relied heavily on, in facing the possibility of war between the British and Kasunanan which was supported by Sepoy people. Yudanegara, on Paku Buwana's order, had strangle Mangkupraja (the patih of Surakarta, July 7th – April 5th 1804) to death. Mangku Praja II was exiled to Ayah because he had a conspiracy with Raden Ranga Prawirodirdjo from Madiun. Here, Carey (2012b: 920) wrote a fact which needed correcting, namely Surakarta Regent in Banyumas instead of the regent of Banyumas under the Kasunanan Surakarta.

CONCLUSION

The city appears in a historical stage not as a development of a village, but from a forest clearance followed immediately with the construction of a city resulting in the absence of a village named Banyumas in the topography. The word Banyumas was derived from the name of a river which flowed in the city as a replacement of the name Selarong. The first Banyumas was built in the meeting of Banyumas river and Pasinggangan river. The first Banyumas was the center of the reins from Adipati Mrapat to Tumenggung Yudanegara I. Tumenggung Yudanegara II left it because he deemed that it was not be sacred anymore. It was the second Banyumas that is known as the the old Banyumas because it was used by regents from Tumenggung Yudanegara II in 1727 to Sudjiman Mertadiredja Gandasubrata in 1937.

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