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LOCAL ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS LEADERS IN ISLAMIZATION IN BANYUMAS

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Department of History Education, Universitas Muhammadiyah Purwokerto

ABSTRACT

In the writing of Islamic-history-themed local history, especially for the Islamic missionary, there is only a small number found, including in Banyumas. Oral tradition and historical sources in the folklore form are found abundantly in the Banyumas Residency in the form of local chronicles. Sheikh Jambu Karang and Prince Mahdum Husen were the oldest Islamic religious leaders who lived in the pre-Demak period or Sundanese kingdom, while Prince Wali Prakosa, Prince Mahdum Cahyana, Prince Mahdum Wali, Prince Senapati Mangkubumi I, and Wirakencana played their roles in Islamizing people in Demak era. Meanwhile, Ki Ageng Gumelem was the Islamic religious leader in the Mataram era. Local legitimacy stated that Sheikh Jambu Karang embraced Islam by a friend of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), named Prince Attasangin. Prince Wali Prakosa was legitimized as a local Islamic religious leader who participated in building the Great Mosque of Demak, even he was the maker of the Saka tatal. Prince Senapati Mangkubumi, according to the text of *Babad Pasir*, also helped in building the Great Mosque of Demak and Islamized residents in the inland of East Java and West Java.

Keywords: Islamic history, oral tradition, folklore, local Islamic religious leaders, legitimacy

ABSTRAK

Dalam penulisan sejarah lokal bertema sejarah Islam, khususnya bagi misionaris Islam, hanya ada sejumlah kecil yang ditemukan, termasuk di Banyumas. Tradisi lisan dan sumber sejarah dalam bentuk cerita rakyat banyak ditemukan di Kediaman Banyumas dalam bentuk kronik lokal. Sheikh Jambu Karang dan Pangeran Mahdum Husen adalah pemimpin agama Islam tertua yang hidup di masa pra-Demak atau kerajaan Sunda, sementara Pangeran Wali Prakosa, Pangeran Mahdum Cahyana, Pangeran Mahdum Wali, Pangeran Senapati Mangkubumi I, dan Wirakencana memainkan peran mereka dalam mengislamkan orang-orang di era Demak. Sementara itu, Ki Ageng Gumelem adalah pemimpin agama Islam di era Mataram. Legitimasi lokal menyatakan bahwa Syekh Jambu Karang memeluk Islam oleh seorang teman Nabi Muhammad SAW, bernama Pangeran Attasangin. Pangeran Wali Prakosa dilegitimasi sebagai pemimpin agama Islam setempat yang berpartisipasi dalam membangun Masjid Agung Demak, bahkan ia adalah pembuat Saka tatal. Pangeran Senapati Mangkubumi, menurut teks *Babad Pasir*, juga membantu membangun Masjid Agung Demak dan penduduk yang terislamisasi di pedalaman Jawa Timur dan Jawa Barat.

Kata kunci: Sejarah Islam, tradisi lisan, cerita rakyat, tokoh agama Islam setempat, legitimasi



INTRODUCTION

One of the most important things in historical research is the problem of the historical sources. The fact shows that local historical sources are limited. The limited sources are influenced by the existence of certain localities that rarely inherit artifacts and written historical sources or sometimes, those artifacts, written historical sources, and oral historical sources which become qualitative data (Priyadi, 2011: 74) do not reach to the hands of researchers today. This occurred because the maintenance of artifacts and written historical sources was less noticed so that these limited sources would diminish gradually. In the long run, the historical sources from certain locales will be very difficult to find, both locally and elsewhere. The lack of historical sources will be even more striking when it is focused on thematic historical writing which reveals certain themes so that serious challenges will be faced by local historians involved in thematic historical writing. In this context, the author views that the remaining folklore texts in certain locales are very important to fill the void of historical sources (Priyadi, 2012: 96).

Oral folklore, in the form of myths and legends, can provide a historical picture of a local even though the process requires carefulness and thoroughness of local historians because folklore is essentially classified as traditional historiographic work created by certain communities for a quite long time (Danandjaja 1984: 50; cf. Kartodirdjo 1982: 16-17; and Djajadiningrat 1995: 58-66). Therefore, folklore can be used as a source of historical writing of villages or certain local in Indonesia (Danandjaja 1985: 459-495). Like the other historical sources, folklore also experiences serious challenges because with the loss of folklore heirs, historical sources are increasingly scarce so that local historians would experience great difficulties in reconstructing the past (Priyadi, 2013: 117; 2014: 19). Thus, the writing of Islamic-history-themed local history can no longer be delayed.

The making of local history does

need to be encouraged so that every local appears in historical writing. The writing of local history will make great contribution to the history writing with a wider range of areas, namely national history. All this time, the national history was dominated by the role of *Wali Sanga* associated with the kingdom center in Demak (Salam 1960 & 1977; Hasyim 1974, 1977 & 1983; Sulendraningrat 1987). The role of local Islamic religious leaders was not accommodated in Islamic historical research. Or there is no clear relationship between the role of *Wali Sanga* and local Islamic religious leaders, which of course it can be suspected that there were networks among Islamic religious leaders in the past. Certain locales often claim that certain Islamic religious leader has an important role in Islamization by designating certain artifacts that legitimize it. Or conversely, at the local level, the role of Islamic religious leaders who exceeded the role of *Wali Sanga* in local sources was also emerged. It needs to be compromised with sources from other locales, so that interlocal relations will provide a comprehensive picture of the history. Finally, local history writing will fill the void of space that has been neglected (Priyadi, 2013: 14-15) so that national historical writing will create mutual understanding between locales that have similarities in the past. Therefore, the synergy of Islamic historiography in Banyumas as local historiography with other local historiography is expected to contribute to a more comprehensive national history writing (Priyadi, 2015b: 196).

RESEARCH METHOD

The method used is the historical method which includes several steps, namely heuristic, criticism, interpretation, and historiography (Priyadi, 2011: 3). At the heuristic step, the researcher collected sources in the manuscripts which developed in Banyumas, namely two major traditions, *Babad Pasir* and *Babad Banyumas*. There were a number of small traditions that accompanied great traditions, such as *Babad Purbalingga*, *Babad Onje*, *Sejarah Ragasela* or

Babad Jambukarang. Besides, there were folklore and oral traditions that lived among the people who told the legend of the saints in Banyumas. All sources obtained have been checked through the procedure of criticism, both external and internal criticism. External criticism showed that all sources were authentic as local sources, while through internal criticism, namely through a comparison between sources, the credibility as a source that is not contaminated by outside sources and inter-source relations which mutually reinforced was obtained. The interpretation of the facts showed that there were two local Islamic religious leaders from Banyumas who were older than *Wali Sanga*, namely Sheikh Jambukarang and Prince Mahdum Kusen. There were four Islamic religious leaders who lived in the same era with *Wali Sanga*, namely Prince Wali Prakosa, Prince Mahdum Cahyana, Prince Senapati Mangkubumi I, and Patih Wirakencana (Prince Senapati Mangkubumi II), while there was an Islamic religious leader from the Mataram era, Ki Ageng Gumelem. The final step is historiography in the form of releasing local history writing in the period of Islamization in Java. Indonesia's National History in the Islamic period was dominated by the role of *Wali Sanga*, as pioneered by de Graaf and Pigeaud (1974 & 1985). The contribution of Banyumas' local history in the Islamic period will fill the void about local Islamic religious leaders who were not widely known by Indonesian people.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Sheikh Jambu Karang

The name of *Jambu Karang* is the name of a figure who is familiar to the people of *Perdikan Cahyana*. In short, *Cahyana* is identical with *Jambu Karang*. *Cariyosipun Redi Munggul* tradition reported that Prince Jambu Karang or Adipati Mendang (Munding-wangi) was the son of King Pajajaran Prabu Brawijaya Mahesa Tandremam. The name of Jambu Karang was derived from the name of Jambudipa Mountain or Karang Mountain (in Banten Residency). For he conducted meditation

in that place, Adipati Mendang was called by the name of Jambu Karang. After the death of his older brother, Mundingsari became the king of Pajajaran. The text above became the reference for the writing of the *Obyek Wisata Purbalingga dan Legendarinya* (Purbalingga's Tourism Places and Its Legend) book which was published by the Tourism Office (1992) of Level II Regional Regency of Purbalingga.

Sadjarah Padjadjaran Baboning Tjarjos saking Adipati Wira-dhentaha Boepati Prijangan Manon-djaja (The History of Padjajaran Baboning Tjarjos from Adipati Wira-dhentaha Boepati Prijangan Manon-djaja) tradition mentioned that Jambu Karang was the king of Pajajaran with a title of Prabu Linaga Karang or Prabu Jambudipa Lingga Karang. Jambudipa is included as Pajajaran region. Prabu Lingga Karang, in *Salasilah Padjadjaran tepangipoen kalijan Wirasaba Tojadjene* tradition, had two brothers, namely Sri Prabu Lingga-Ganggang or Prabu Susuk Tunggal who succeeded his brother in Pajajaran and Sri Prabu Lingga Larang who became the king of Keling. The three of them are the children of Prabu Lingga Wesi. There was a possibility that the name of Jambu Karang came from the name of Lingga Karang. Moreover, there was a flowing river in Cahyana named Karang River (Cikarang). A.M. Kartosoedirdjo (1941a; see Behrend 1990: 77-78), in his work entitled *Tjarjos Panembahan Lawet*, stated that there were two children of King Pajajaran Prabu Silihwangi who did not achieve moksha, namely Raden Liman Sunjaya and Pamuragil Raden. Raden Liman Sunjaya who meditated on Mount Jambudipa later changed his name to Prince Jambu Karang, while Raden Pamuragil replaced his brother to become the king of Pajajaran

In the text of *Sejarah Ragasela* (The History of Ragasela), Siyung Wanara had two children, namely Ajar Jambu Karang and Mas Pamuragil. Here, the name of Raden Liman Sunjaya was not known. Text flow of *Sejarah Ragasela* was the same with *Cariyosipun Redi Munggul*

text, although the characters were different.

In other works, *Diktat Riwayat Purbalingga*, A.M. Kartosedirdjo (1967) stated that Raden Liman Sujana was the younger brother of Raden Banyak Catra and Banyak Wide, and Raden Banyak Belabur's older brother. When he was going to meditate, Liman Sujana handed over the throne of Pajajaran to his younger brother, namely Raden Banyak Belabur. Hopefully, A.M. Kartosedirdjo is very familiar with *Babad Pasir* so that it connects Prince Jambu Karang (Liman Sunjaya or Liman Sujana) with the king of Pajajaran, Prabu Silihwangi. However, A.M. Kartosedirdjo displayed the name of Banyak Wide. This is unusual in *Babad Pasir* text. Banyak Wide in texts of West Java and Central Java chronicles is another name for Siyung Wanara.

What was written by Kartosedirdjo was referred by the following writers. For example, Tri Atmo (1984), in his work entitled *Babad dan Sejarah Purbalingga*. However, Tri Atmo gave the explanation that Raden Liman Sujana was Banyak Sasra's sibling (the father of Adipati Warga Utama II, founder of Banyumas). Apparently, Tri Atmo and Sasono (1993) changed his explanation concerning on Raden Liman Sujana in his work named *Mengenal Purbalingga*. Those two authors no longer mentioned that Liman Sujana was Banyak Sasra's siblings.

Probably, they were doubtful about Tri Atmo's previous works. Tri Atmo made a mistake in referring to the work of Kartosedirdjo, that is the name of Banyak Catra which was changed to Banyak Sasra. It may be possible that he was influenced by the text of the *Babad Banyumas* that he had known.

According to *Babad Banyumas Versi Raden Oemarmadi dan M. Koesnadi Poerbosewojo* (1964), the character of Sheikh Jambu Karang is likened to the figure of the postwar puppet mythology of Baratayuda, namely Prabu Darmakusuma or Yudhistira who could not achieve moksha. Sheikh Jambu Karang met with

Sunan Kalijaga. There, Sheikh Jambu Karang received a lecture from Sunan Kalijaga, so he died impeccably.

The information described above shows that the figure of Jambu Karang became a legendary and mythological figure in Cahyana. The information also featured many versions, for example, Prince Jambu Karang's father was different, namely Prabu Brawijayahesa Tandremen, Prabu Lingga Wesi, Prabu Silihwangi, or Siyung Wanara. The difference was realized by other authors, Supanggih (1997) in his work entitled *Karangmoncol dan Perkembangannya*. This last book tried to explain the history of Islam in Karangmoncol District until the establishment of Al Muttaqien Mosque (the donation of the Amal Bhakti Muslim Pancasila Foundation).

In the research on *Ceritera Dipati Ukur Karya Sastra Sejarah Sunda*, Edi Suhardi Ekadjati (1982) found the existence of Sundanese scriptures, *Mangle Arum*, containing the text of *Ceritera Dipati Ukur versi Bandung*. The manuscript was written by Haji Harun Al Rasyid during the military occupation of Japan. The text of Bandung version was divided into two parts, namely the story of the ancestor Dipati Ukur and the story of Dipati Ukur itself. In the beginning of the text, it was written that in the past, in the area of Banyumas Residency, there was the kingdom of Jambu Karang which was located in Purbalingga. The king and his inhabitants were still Buddhists. Then, an Arabian nobleman named Syarif Abdurahman al-Qadri came to the Kingdom of Jambu Karang. There, many residents were interested in embracing Islam. King Sunan Jambu Karang disliked that Arabian nobleman who had Islamized the people so that they clashed each other using supernatural powers.

In short, Sunan Jambu Karang lost and embraced Islam and so did its people. Syarif Abdurahman was taken as son-in-law by Sunan Jambu Karang. After marriage, Syarif Abdurahman changed his name to Prince Atas Angin. The name was taken from its native land (Arab)

which is located above the equator. After Sunan Jambu Karang died, Prince Atas Angin replaced his position as the king.

Prince Atas Angin with his wife (daughter of Jambu Karang) had a son named Prince Cahya Luhur. Prince Cahya Luhur had a child named Prince Adi Cahyana. At that time, Prince Adipati Cahyana did not become a king because his domain was seized by the king of Mataram Panembahan Senapati. The son of Prince Adipati Cahyana who was still young, Wangsanata, was removed from Jambu Karang and entrusted to the Regent Ukur (*Adipati Ukur Agung*). Wangsanata was taken as a son-in-law by Adipati Ukur Agung and was married to Nyi Gedeng Ukur. After his father-in-law's death, Wangsanata became Adipati Ukur. This figure was often referred as a rebel. However, the Sundanese considered him as a hero. Therefore, *Mangle Arum* text, which is the text of the Bandung version of *Ceritera Dipati Ukur* recognized the kingdom of Jambu Karang with its king namely Sunan Jambu Karang.

Prince Mahdum Kusen

After Prince Atas Angin returned to Arab, his position was replaced by his eldest son, Prince Mahdum Kusen. Prince Mahdum Kusen intended to release Cahyana region whose inhabitants were Muslim from the power of the Pajajaran kingdom which was still non-Muslim or Hindu (other versions: Pasirluhur and Onje).

After hearing the intention of Prince Cahyana, the king of Pajajaran was very angry and sent a large number of soldier. *Maku-won* Pajajaran soldiers were on the west side of the Tambre River. Prince Mahdum Kusen sent spies to find out exactly how big the Pajajaran troops were. The reports received stated that there were a large number of enemy forces. According to the spies, if Cahyana is attacked by enemy soldiers, it is possible that Cahyana will be seriously damaged. However, after receiving that report, Prince Mahdum Kusen was not afraid. Prince Mahdum Kusen asked the help of Allah through his *hajatan* prayer and Braen performance to be

safe from the enemy attack. After offering *hajatan* prayer and playing *rebana* (*trebang Braen*) sound, thousands of bees came and attacked Pajajaran soldiers so that the enemy ran to the Cahyana Perdikan border. The appearance of the bees was followed by the arrival of the genie who would destroy the Pajajaran army. Finally, the enemy from Pajajaran could be withdrawn. As a warning, the area which became the beginning of the soldiers returning to Pajajaran was called Sungai Mulih.

Hajatan prayer conducted by Prince Mahdum Kusen was supported by Braen performance. Braen is a request made by women led by Nyai Rubiyah Bakti so that, until now, the leader of the Braen show was called Rubiyah. The one who will become Rubiyah has to be a special woman. She has to be from the descendants of Rubiyah Bakti. Thus, the leader of the show is hereditary like the power of the *demang*.

If the one who becomes Rubiyah is not a descendant of Rubiyah Bakti, then she cannot memorize the verses of Braen. The verses sung are not recorded in the script or book and are only memorized continuously. In this way, the verses of Braen can be categorized as an oral tradition. Moreover, there was a kind of prohibition that these verses should not be recorded because they are sacred according to the community, for example, *kasiku dening ingkang sumare*. However, the fact shows that the Braen verses today have been found in manuscripts written in Pegon Arabic letters. The textual symptom implies an interaction between the tradition of orality and the tradition of literacy. Indeed, the writing of Braen text was intended to preserve one of the existing oral traditions, so that the next generations in the future can recognize their ancestral heritage.

In its essence, Braen performance is very similar to *slawatan* (prayer's song) because it also uses a large tambourine (*rebana*) or *trebang* musical instrument (Behrend & Titik Pudjiastuti 1997a: 576). The number of the verses is quite a lot like *slawatan*. Some say that Braen has approximately 50 verses. However, the differ-

ence is that *sla-watan* text uses Arabic, while Braen uses mixed language which includes Javanese, Sundanese, Arabic, and Malay languages. The use of these four languages indicates that there was an external cultural influence towards the people in the Cahyana Perdikan area. Since the language used is mixed, the text is rather difficult for lay listeners to enjoy. However, if the text is carefully observed, then everyone can understand the content of the text.

According to A.M. Kartosoedirdjo (1941a), Braen performance group was all women who were married or mothers who consist of 5 to 12 people. Why does it have to be women who are involved in the performance? It needs an in-depth research. It is possible that Braen is a balance of prayer between women and men, especially Prince Mahdum Kusen with his *hajat* prayer.

Not every village of the 21 independent villages has Rubiyah Braen. The ancient history of civil servants in independent villages stated that Rubiyah Braen was only found in three villages, namely Granit, Tajug, and Rajawana. It seems that the appearance of Braen's art was preserved by the ancestors who lived in Pekiringan and Grantung. Therefore, it is natural that in *langgar* near the tomb of Prince Mahdum Cahyana in Suro, *trebang* as Braen musical instrument can be found. Actually, the verses of Braen contain three things, namely (1) a prayer to ask the help of Allah, (2) the history of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad as the best example of the behavior of Muslims in general, and (3) the journey of the human spirit after the death. On the other hand, some said that the verses of Braen also contained the cosmogonist myth, namely the history of the formation of this universe from the beginning to the end. Therefore, the people who hold Braen performance are mostly people who are in need or people who are suffering from grief because there are family members who have died. In the case of people who died, Braen *performing arts* were carried out at the time before the body was taken to the tomb and at night

after the body was buried.

In addition, as a warning for people who have died (7 days, 30 days, 100 days, 1000 days, 2000 days, and 3000 days), Braen is also carried out as a means of transfer rites. Apparently, the very religious community of Cahyana had also performed Braen on Islamic holidays, namely Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha, as well as the commemoration of the Birthday of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him).

If someone is going to organize Braen performance, then he/she has to make offerings in the form of green coconut milk, plantain, one *beruk* (traditional rice measurement) of rice, a chicken egg, 10 money, *sekar boreh*, and incense. According to the public belief, *trebang* musical instrument which will be played must be heated over a coconut coir which has been given incense so that it can ring. In addition, the organizer must also hold a salvation by serving *tumpeng kuwat*, *pecak kuthuk*, and others. Those who participated in the salvation were Braen's group itself. Rice and side dishes are brought to home. If it is not able to make offerings or to hold salvation because it is difficult to find *ubaram-pe*, then it can be served based on the ability of the organizer. Nowadays, the offerings are no longer a priority.

Prince Wali Prakosa

Prince Wali Prakosa is a historical figure because his name is listed in the charter of the Sultan of Demak which confirmed Cahyana as *peperdikane Allah*. Previous figures still lived in folk legend or traditional historiography. Prince Wali Prakosa is the son of Prince Mahdum Jamil, the grandson of Prince Mahdum Kusen, the great-grandson of Prince Atas Angin, and the great-great-grandson of Prince Jambu Karang. Prince Wali Prakosa is considered as one of sacred princes in Perdikan Cahyana whose the tomb is in Pekiringan village, Karangmoncol District, which is located behind the Pekiringan mosque. The decorative pattern of the mosque is similar to the ornamental pattern of the

Nursuleman Mosque in the old city of Banyumas and the mosque in Gumelem Village (Susukan District, Banjarnegara).

One day, Prince Wali Prakosa was advised by his brother Prince Mahdum Tores to go to Sultan of Demak, so that the land of Jiyana will not be taken over by someone else. Arriving in Demak, Prince Wali Prakosa was accepted by the Kyai Penghulu Khalipah Kusen. Prince Wali Prakosa, who was also called Kaum Pangala-san Kilen, asked for permission to face Sultan of Demak. When he was asked where he came from, Prince Wali Prakosa answered that he was from Jiyana Village. However, the Sultan of Demak did not know about Jiyana Village. What he knew was *Cahyana Karabal Minal Mukminin*. Then, the Sultan ordered the Kaum Pangalasan Kilen to islamize the population of his area. Furthermore, Prince Wali Prakosa received a charter from the Sultan of Demak which said:

Ingsoen naloerekake wasijat saking Mekah: Kagadhoeha marang Paman Mahdum Wali Prakosa ing Tjahjana. Moela soen gadhoehi noewala-ningsoen, sabab dheweke ngrewa-ngi ngelar agama Islam ing Noesa Djawa. Soen loeloesake ing ing pa-mardikane. Adja owah kaja adat kang woes kelakoe. Sing sapa ngo-wahana marang kagoenganing-soen boemi perdikan, ora soen we-nehi soeka chalal ing dunja toeme-ka ngacherat. Kena goetoeck-oellah lan be-bendoening Allah."

The text of the charter above is the version of A.M. Kartosoedirdjo (1941a). Thus, there are three versions of the text of the charter relating to Prince Wali Prakosa, namely (1) Hasselman's version, (2) Kademangan copy version, and (3) A.M. Kartosoedirdjo version. The last version is probably an oral tradition that still lives in the Perdikan Cahyana community. Since it is in oral form, it is possible to have text corruption. However, the final version of the text is essentially the same as the first and second versions (see Hasselman 1887: 84-85; cf. Priyadi 2001).

After the handover of the charter, Prince Wali Prakosa assisted in the construction of the Great Mosque of Demak. In the tradition, Prince Wali Prakosa was told to fulfill the request of the Sultan of Demak to complete the shortcoming of a *saka guru*. There, Prince Wali Prakosa was assisted by Sunan Kalijaga in making *saka tatal*. Hence, *saka tatal* which was known as the work of Sunan Kalijaga according to Javanese tradition has gotten a counter from the tradition of Cahyana (Syamlawi 1983: 27; de Graaf 1998: 169; cf. Slametmuljana 2005: 99). *Saka tatal* was the work of Prince Wali Prakosa. Sunan Kalijaga was only helping the work of Prince Wali Prakosa as it can be seen in the following text:

... Kacariyos Prince Kalijaga saweg tapa ing Giri Mlaka sidik paningalipun, lajeng jengkar. Sadinten sadalu saged dumugi ing Demak. Anjujug lenggah ing pacrabakan, pinanggih kaliyan Prince Wali Prakosa. Prince Kalijaga ataken, "Lho Si Anak napa sing dadi bubuhan andika?" Ki Mahdum Wali Pra-kosa mangsuli, "Kula kabubuhan saka satunggal." Prince Kalijaga mangsuli malih, "Heh Anak kula kang bakal ambantu anggrabahi sarta ngalus." Nunten Wali kakalih wau enggal tumpang nyambut damel, sami men-dhet tatal. Lajeng dipun gulinga-ken kaping sakawan insya Allah ta'ala iman tokhid ma'ripat Islam, tatal dados blabag, kaelus nunten dados balok.

The construction of the Great Mosque of Demak was carried out by Islamic religious leaders at night, when the *lintang waluku* appeared. However, at dawn, the mosque building looked like it was *sirung* or *dhoyong* (not upright). The Islamic religious leaders were confused. Prince Wali Prakosa proposed, "... *Sami nunuwun ing Allah. Mangke kula dadosa palu, The Wali sanesipun dadosa gandhen.*" Those Islamic religious leaders prayed, while Prince Wali Prakosa took care of this, but the mosque remained unchanged. Then, Prince Wali Prakosa prayed, and those Islamic religious leaders agreed. The pray-

er of Prince Wali Prakosa was accepted by Allah and the mosque stood upright.

Tri Atmo and Sasono (1993) also noted that Islamic religious leaders were the ones who prayed first and Prince Wali Prakosa agreed. The mosque did not change. Then, it turned to Prince Wali Prakosa who prayed, and the Islamic religious leaders agreed. The prayer of Prince Wali Prakosa was accepted by Allah and the mosque stood upright. The name of Wali Prakosa was given by Sultan Trenggana (another version only mentioned: Sultan of Demak, without its name). Due to his prayers, the construction of the Great Mosque of Demak can run smoothly. Presumably, the second version was more acceptable than the first version. In the first version, it led to the understanding that the prayer granted by Alla is not a prayer from the Islamic religious leaders, but the prayer offered by Prince Wali Prakosa is. In addition, the name of the Pekiringan Village (supposed to be the border) also originated from the events of the construction of the mosque above. Since the prayer of Prince Wali Prakosa was accepted, it made him to be Sultan of *saklangkung andadosaken eringing penggalhipun, sarta sangsaya wewah asih dhumateng Ki Wali Prakosa*. The word *ering* above became Pakeringan.

Prince Wali Prakosa became a propagator of Islam in Cahyana Purbalingga area. Thus, he was included as an Islamic religious leader who played the role in the local level and received recognition from the Sultan of Demak. Prince Wali Prakosa had five sons, namely (1) Nyai Saratiman, (2) Kyai Penghulu Panunggangan, (3) Prince Estri (the wife of Prince Mahdum Cahyana), (4) Kyai Mas Pakiringan, and (5) Kyai Mas Akhir. Later, Prince Mahdum Cahyana replaced his father-in-law's position because the second son was *kareming maksiyatan*, and the fourth son was *kareming batal kharam*, while the fifth child became a friend of his brother-in-law. The grave of Prince Wali Prakosa was maintained by the income of four civilian villages, namely Pakeringan Lama, Pakeringan Anyar, Pakeringan Kauman,

and Pakeringan Bedhahan. Peter Carey (2017: 48) has mistakenly thought that Pekiringan was in Gombong. This happened because Carey had never done field research and his thought was only based on the manuscript he read. Local history researchers should go to the research field.

Prince Mahdum Cahyana

Santri Gudhig became a legendary in Cilacap Regency community. *Babad Noesa Tembini* told this story. However, Santri Gudhig in Cilacap was different with Santri Gudhig in Cahyana. Santri Gudhig from A. M. Kartosoedirdjo version (1941c) stated that the figure was the son of Sunan Kudus (another version: Prince Agiyana, Ampeldenta) who traveled with his older sister to Arab to perform the Hajj. Their journey has arrived in Cirebon. There, the princess became the wife of Kangjeng Sultan of Cirebon.

When going to have an intercourse, the princess smelled unclean odor from her husband's body, so that she pretends to leave to do something. The princess with his sibling secretly left Cirebon. Kangjeng Sultan ordered his soldier to look for the princess. The soldiers were not allowed to return to Cirebon if they fail to find the princess. Those two siblings traveled to the forest. Their skins and body were damaged. The brother was gotten a skin disease named *gu-dhigen*, so that it was called Santri Gudhig. Arriving at Cahyana, Santri Gudhig and his sister hid in the market near the seller of rice and betel nut because they saw the soldiers from Cirebon. The soldiers who had arrived at the edge of the Karang River returned to inspect the market. However, they did not get any results because their fugitives had gone into the forest. In the forest, the soldiers saw partridges that perched on tree branches. They thought that the princess and Santri Gudhig were not possible to go through the forest: Then, they returned to Cirebon. The princess and Santri Gudhig were safe because they hid in the trees where the jungle roosters were perched so they gave restrictions to their children and grandchild-

dren not to sell rice and betel nut as well as not to disturb partridges.

The restriction for selling rice and betel nut appeared because they were almost caught by Cirebon soldiers, while the restriction related to the partridges appeared because they were saved by the partridges which perched on the trees where they were hiding. Presumably, the second restriction is very similar to the restriction given by Raden Baribin. The event and the restriction were the same. Possibly, A.M. Kartosoedirdjo recognized *Babad Banyumas* text (Knebel 1901; Priyadi 1990; cf. Behrend & Titik Pudjiastuti 1997b: 796; Ekadjati & UU A. Darsa 1999: 211-212) or at least *Sejarah Wirasaba* text (Pigeaud 1967: 146; 1968: 374, 439 & 462). Santri Gudhig then continued his journey and arrived at Pekiringan. Santri Gudhig became a student of Prince Wali Prakosa. On Kliwon's Tuesday night, Santri Gudhig slept with other students in mosque. Prince, after reading Quran until late at night, he wanted to offer hajjat prayer in the mosque. However, he was surprised to see a burning flame above one of his students. Prince approached the student and cut the cloth slightly.

At dawn, all students who slept in the mosque were called by Prince and they were not allowed to change clothes. After being examined, it turned out that it was Santri Gudhig's cloth which was cut. The case of Santri Gudhig who slept in the mosque was the same as the case with Bagus Mangun or Jaka Kaiman who slept in the verandah of kadipaten Wirasaba. In the verandah, Bagus Mangun got a kind of miracle, which was the light that entered to his head. The event was seen by Sang Adipati Wira-saba Warga Utama I. Due to that miracle light, Mangun was taken as the son-in-law of Sang Adipati. The Cahyana tradition text was also the same with this story. Santri Gudhig was also taken as son-in-law after showing his intelligence to Prince Wali Prakosa through two events. First, Prince Wali Prakosa ordered his students to *ngemek* (=hold) fish in the Karang River. The student acted immediately so that their fish

caught were quite large. It was only Santri Gudhig who did not get any fish. When asked by Prince, Santri Gudhig answered, "*Kangjeng Kyai, anggén kawula boten angsal ulam babar pisan, mila sengaja boten ngupados. Sabab manawi kawula boten kléntu, dhawuh panjenengan namung kapurih ngemék. Mila sampun kawula éstokaken. Sedaya ulam ingkang kepranggul inggih la-jeng kula deméki, boten wonten ingkang kelungkungan.*"

Secondly, at another chance, Prince Wali Prakosa sent Santri Gudhig to guard the fields. Santri Gudhig went to the rice fields and meditated on the flames. Santri Gudhig was waiting for the rice fields from *matun* (weed control) until the harvest time arrived. Prince Wali Prakosa then visited the rice fields, but he was very disappointed because many rice plants were damaged because they were eaten by forest animals and birds. Angrily, Prince rebuked Santri Gudhig, "*Kepriyé oléhmung tunggu sawah, héh Santri Gudhig! Déné teka akééh karusakané mangkéné? Apa sira iya nggiringi utawa nggusah sato-sato kang padha dadi ama ?*" Santri Gudhig answered, "*Kados pundi Kangjeng Kyai, anggén kawula badhé nindhakaken ing-kang makaten, jer paduka na-mung paring dhawuh tunggwa sawah thok-thok, boten kaliyan nggusahi sato.*" Prince felt that he was often not right in giving orders. Then, Prince ordered him to harvest the rice next day. As it turned out, the yields were very good and exceeded the previous harvests, even the grain was large in the size.

Santri Gudhig was finally taken as son-in-law by Prince Wali Prakosa and replaced his father-in-law. He was married to Prince Estri (the third son) and used the name of Prince Mahdum Cahyana. Their marriage did not give birth any children. Prince Mahdum Cahyana was a rich Islamic religious leader. This can be seen from his mustaka gold at the top of his tomb at Suro. The items included *trebang*, copper cormorant, copper kettles, copper *kendhil*, a *gadhung* turban, a *wulung* turban, two pieces of *lurik* cloth, three *kluwung*, four *barong* cloths, and five *bengkung songketan*. In

addition, there was also a rice barn containing 100 *songgo*. If people take rice for seedlings, then they are obliged to pay back after the harvest, so that the contents of the barn are the same in number. *Perdikan* (independent) people who are close to Suro are not allowed to wear cloth which is similar to that of Prince Mahdum Cahyana.

Prince Makdum Wali, Prince Senapati Mangkubumi I, and Wirakencana

The figure named Banyak Belanak, according to the text of *Babad Pasir*, was a local Islamic religious leader who was very meritorious to Demak. He embraced Islam peacefully with his younger brother named Banyak Geleh (Wirakencana). Banyak Belanak islamized the area in the east of the Citarum River and some areas in East Java, and involved in constructing the Great Mosque of Demak, so that he was given the title of Prince Senapati Mangkubumi I by the Sultan of Demak with a reward in the form of bog region from Sindara-Sumbing to Karawang (de Graaf & Pigeaud 1985 : 47; Priyadi, 2008: 189-202). However, his successor, Thole apostatized and rebelled and he was attacked by Demak.

The Escape of Banyak Thole caused the Pasirluhur throne to be vacant. Patih Wirakencana who remained loyal to Demak and Islam was appointed by the Sultan of Demak to become the Adipati Pasirluhur with the same title as his brother, namely Prince Senapati Mangkubumi II (de Graaf 1985: 73-74). The new Adipati moved his capital city from Pasirluhur to Pasirbatang. Pasirluhur was located in the west of the Logawa River, while Pasirbatang was located in the east.

The transfer of the government center was a common symptom found in Indonesia's historical repertoire. The regulation was carried out because of the general perception that the old capital was no longer sacred. What was done by the Adipati Banyak Thole had defiled the reputation of his father who had striven in the way of Allah and contributed to his leader. The apostasy of Banyak Thole must be redeemed by the

invasion of Demak army expeditions (de Graaf & Pigeaud 1985: 64).

The damage of the city of Pasirluhur and the large number of casualties that have fallen as a result of the invasion of Demak forces made the old city to be abandoned. During the reign of Prince Senapati Mangkubumi II, the Demak cleric, named Prince Makedum Wali, died and was buried in Pasir Astana which was close to the hermitage of Abawang Gulagumantung, where he taught Islam to the inhabitants of Pasir, including Patih Wirakencana. The grave of this Islamic religious leader was guarded by a caretaker named Panembahan Pagut (son of Prince Prabuhara). The graves of Islamic religious leader or scholars were often used as the basis for the establishment of an administrative area. The area of *Perdikan* which was set by the Sultan of Trenggana was intended to keep the grave of Prince Makedum Wali.

Prince Senapati Mangkubumi II had thirty children, but only ten people were referred in the *Babad Pasir* text (Knebel 1900; compare Pigeaud 1968: 84 & 454; Ekadjati & UU A. Darsa 1999: 18-19), namely Prince Palangon (Pasirbatang), Dewi Sakethi (lived in Medang), Dewi Lungge (Maruyung). Also Dewi Sabara (Mount Wangi), Dewi Sangkuni (Dharmawangi), Dewi Sayuta (Wirasaba), Dewi Palumbungan (Ngayah), Nyi Wulanjar Kuning (Penyarang), Mas Junjung (Kawali), and Mas Tengiri (Imbanegara). According to *Te-dhakan Serat Joedanagaran* text, there was one additional person, namely Nyai Gedhe Banyak Sasra who was the mothers of Jaka Kaiman or Bagus Mangun (founder of Banyumas).

Prince Senapati Mangkubumi II died and was buried in the same grave with Prince Makedum Wali. This happened because there was an agreement between the two of them who stated that if Patih Wirakencana was serious in studying and obeying the religion of Islam, then if he died he would be buried in the same grave with Prince Makedum Wali in Pasir Astana..

After the death of Prince Senapati Mangkubumi II, Pasir was led by Prince Palangon who was living in the same peri-

od as the Pajang Sultanate. At that time, the Pasir area was reduced dramatically by the Sultan of Pajang from 8000 *dhomas* to 8 *nambang*. Prince Pasir was disappointed with the Sultan of Pajang, so that in Mulud month, he was unwilling to come to Pajang for some reason. Patih Anglungbayang, as a representative of Prince Pasir was rejected by the Sultan of Pajang. The Sultan requested that the son of Prince Pasir must represent his father. However, the Prince Pasir only sent four of his nephews to Pajang, namely Jaka Sule (son of Dewi Sakethi), Jaka Gumingsir (son of Dewi Lungge), Jaka Bilung (son of Dewi Sabara), and Jaka Gambuh (son of Dewi Sangkuni). Those four people were well received by the Sultan as the representative of the Prince Pasir.

The delegation of these four people as the representative was a way of how Prince Pasir evaded his obligations. Prince Pasir did not send his son, Prince Langkap to Pajang because he was afraid that his son would be a hostage to always obey to his superiors. In ancient times, young sons of *adipati* had to be sent to the palace as a guarantee that their parents would not rebel against the king.

The decision of Prince Pasir caused the most widespread consequences in the future because the four nephews demanded to be given area or land so that they would become *Nga-behi Lor, Kidul, Kulon, dan Wetan*.. This division of land was the beginning of the disintegration of Pasir. Prince Langkap, the son of Palangon, did not get a share of his father's full land. Therefore, he gone to Pajang by sitting under a twin-banyan tree in the square. This method in the past was very common as an act of protest or asking for justice to the king.

The complaint from Prince Langkap towards the Sultan of Pajang did not get any satisfying results because he only obtained a narrow regional heritage and became unemployed. When Panembatran Seda Krapyak became the ruler, Prince Langkap was called to Mataram. Prince Langkap's status as a manager of Perdikan area was restored by the king of Mataram

(Priyadi, 2019: 52-54). The recovery was to honor the jihad of Prince Makedum Wali and Prince Senapati Mangkubumi I and II in the spread of Islam. In addition, the king of Mataram was afraid to change the decision of Pasir's *Perdikan* status from the Sultan of Demak (see de Wolff van Westerrode 1901).

For anyone who dare to change the status of Perdikan will experience bad consequences, even for the king who does it. The decree concerning on the status of Perdikan was usually accompanied by the fact which stated that for those who dare to change, it will get a curse from Allah and the Islamic religious leaders, and live in misery both in the world and in hereafter. Such a tradition was also found in inscriptions originating from the Hindu-Buddhist era. Apparently, the king of Mataram was aware of the old tradition, so that he restored the status of *Perdikan*. Since the Sultan of Pajang had the courage to change the status, the Pajang Sultanate did not rule for long and experienced disintegration. In the Islamic era, the area of *Perdikan* was functioned as a means to (1) maintain the grave of the Islamic religious leaders (leaders and scholars), (2) maintain the building of ancient mosques, and (3) revive and build Islamic boarding schools. Most of Perdikan areas in Banyumas area were more conspicuous towards the maintenance of the grave of the Islamic religious leaders and scholars, 41 areas of Perdikan areas. This number was the top three after Bagelen (69) and Madiun (51) (Steenbrink 1984: 168).

Ki Ageng Gumelem

In 1568-1582, Sultan Hadiwijaya was the ruler in Pajang. At that time, there was a descendant of the Adipati Pasirluhur named Raden Wirakusuma. He is the son of Prince Langkap, or grandson of Prince Perlangon and Dewi Sawendra. Dewi Sawendra is the daughter of Kiai Gede Banyak Sayuta. Banyak Sayuta is the son of Prince Senapati Mangkubumi I, Adipati Pasirluhur. Thus, they are all still descendants of the kings of Pajajaran as mentioned in the *Babadipun Dusun Perdi-*

kan Gumelem (cf. Kartosoedirdjo 1941b) or *Sajarah Gumelem* text (Behrend & Titik Pudjiastuti 1997a: 596).

Raden Wirakusuma was then well known as Kiai Ageng Khasanbesari who went from Pasirluhur to the southeast with his wife Nyai Taluki. Nyai Taluki is the daughter of Kiai Ageng Benca who lived and was buried in Rome (Gombong, Karanganyar). Furthermore, Kiai Ageng Benca is the son of Kiai Ageng Sihabudin who was taken by Kiai Ageng Sela to be by his son-in-law. Nyai Ageng Benca is the son of Kiai Ageng Jakariya who is also the son-in-law of Kiai Ageng Sela. Hence, Nyai Taluki is the great-granddaughter of Kiai Ageng Sela, both from the father and mother (Priyadi, 2015a: 46).

When Kiai Ageng Khasanbesari arrived in Wirasaba area and was to the north of Mount Kendeng, or to the northwest of Mount Wuluh, he saw a plain drained by a clear river so that he was interested in living in that area. He opened the forest and built a place to live to spread Islam. In the long run, many people around the area came to join in expanding the area by clearing the forests. They built dwellings, managed paddy fields and non-irrigated dry field, and gardens so that the area has developed into a prosperous area because it produced fruits, crops, and tubers. Since the area was a fertile area and what was planted grew well, Kiai Ageng Khasanbesari gave a name to the area by Gumelem. The name of Gumelem was taken from the name of a tool to take drinking water from the river, which is *nggelem*. *Nggelem* is a tool made from coconut shells which are also covered by coconut shells. *Nggelem* has three holes to insert the rope in the triangle position so that the instrument is balanced when the three strings are put together as hangers that can be placed in a certain place. There are so many *nggelem* which are hanged, and they are used as a tool for storing ready-to-cook drinking water supplies.

Gumelem people lived in harmony and prosperity because Kiai Ageng Khasanbesari, as a leader, always acted

fairly. In addition, the residents always respected the authority of the Khasanbesari's husband and wife relationship. They were called by the residents as Kiai Ageng Gumelem and Nyai Ageng Gumelem. For the local people, Kiai Ageng Gumelem was likened to a small king in Gumelem Village. This is due to the fact that people do not lack both clothing and food. Kiai Ageng Gumelem is also a humble and wise person, and he does not like to demonstrate his supernatural powers, so that he is loved by his people.

Finally, Ki Ageng Gumelem successfully managed to build a large and beautiful mosque, and it was better than the surrounding villages had. Many people who came from outside Gumelem took part in Friday prayers at the mosque. Many residents around Gumelem came to study Islam to Kiai Ageng Gumelem.

Kiai Ageng Khasanbesari or Kiai Ageng Gumelem have had four children. The first child used his father's given name, Raden Wirakusuma which then it was changed to Kiai Ageng Wirakusuma II. The second child, Raden Wirareja, who was called Kiai Ageng Wirareja, who replaced his father's position in Gumelem Village, which later brought down the *demandang* in Gumelem. The third child, Rara Warsiki who was taken as the wife of Adipati Janah I (son of Adipati Warga Utama II). Adipati Warga Utama II was the seventh Adipati Wirasaba or the first regent of Banyumas after moving to Banyumas (Priyadi, 2018: 31-32). Later, Adipati Janah became the second regent of Banyumas. The descendants of Rara Warsiki and Adipati Janah I are known as Yudanegaran, Kanduruwan, and Kandanurejan in the Yogyakarta Palace. The fourth child, Rara Denok or Rara Kuning died when she was young.

The local legend above links the genealogy of Adipati Pasirluhur in Banyumas (the descendants of the kings of Galuh) and the kings of Pajajaran in Sunda (through Raden Banyak Catra, son of Prabu Siliwangi) (Priyadi, 2016: 107). In addition, this legend also, at the local level, connected with the pioneers of the

kings of Mataram. Kiai Ageng Khasanbesari was still a relative of the king of Mataram, Panembahan Senapati. The story stated that a good and fair leader will always be loved by its people. An authoritative leader is a humble leader who is not arrogant and does not like to show strength and supernatural power.

CONCLUSION

Local Islamic religious leaders in Banyumas Residency played a role in Islamization with their own unique characters. Sheikh Jambu Karang had a very delegated role, so that it is identical to Ardi Lawet or Mount Lawet. He was categorized as the oldest Javanese Islamic religious leader who was directly Islamized by one of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) named Prince Atas Angin. Sheikh Jambu Karang was a pre-Demak Islamic religious leaders according to the point of view of Banyumas local. Prince Mahdum Kusen played a role in the liberation of Cahyana from the Pajajaran or Sunda kingdom with a depiction which was similar to Sunan Giri. Prince Mahdum Kusen was related to the birth of Braen arts. Prince Wali Prakosa was known in the charter of the Sultan of Demak so that he can be categorized as a historical figure. Prince Wali Prakosa, according to the local view of Banyumas, has contributed to the establishment of the Great Mosque of Demak. Prince Mahdum Cahyana was identical with a local Islamic religious leader who has a rice barn in Suro. Prince Makedum Wali served as the opening of Islamization in Pasirluhur which was continued by Prince Senapati Mangkubumi I who participated in Islamizing the people in the land of East Priyangan and parts of East Java. Prince Senapati Mangkubumi I was also like Prince Wali Prakosa because he was also involved in the establishment of the Great Mosque of Demak. Prince Senapati Mangkubumi II played a role in preserving Islam in Pasir when Adipati Banyak Thole conducted apostasy. Ki Ageng Gumelem who Islamized the Gumelem area, had a merit to the king of Mataram,

Panembahan Senapati, because he succeeded in presenting Ganjur and Sodor heirlooms.

Almost most of the perdikan villages in the Banyumas Residency have the obligation to maintain the graves of Islamic religious leaders. There were 13 perdikan villages (now there is 4 villages) in Karangmoncol District which were obliged to maintain the graves of Prince Wali Prakosa (in Pekiringan), Prince Mahdum Cahyana (in Grantung), Haji Datuk (in Tajug), and Prince Mahdum Kusen (in Rajawana) namely (1) Grantung Andhap, (2) Grantung Kidul, (3) Grantung Gerang, (4) Grantung Lemah Abang, (5) Grantung Kauman, (6) Pekiringan Kauman, (7) Pekiringan Lama, (8) Pekiringan Anyar, (9) Pekiringan Bedhahan, (10) Tajug Lor, (11) Tajug Kidul, (12) Rajawana Lor, and (13) Rajawana Kidul, while 8 other *perdikan* villages in Rembang District, namely (1) Makam Wadhas, (2) Makam Bantal, (3) Makam Tengah, (4) Makam Dhuwur, (5) Makam Selatan, (6) Makam Jurang, (7) Makam Tambang, and (8) Makam Kamal were obliged to maintain the grave of Sheikh Jambu Karang. Perdikan Pasir which was famous for Pasir Astana which included 4 villages, namely (1) Pasir Wetan, (2) Pasir Kidul, (3) Pasir Kulon, and (4) Pasir Lor were obliged to maintain the graves of Prince Makedum Wali, Prince Senapati Mangkubumi I, and Prince Senapati Mangkubumi II. According to the text of the *Babad Pasir*, Prince Makedum Wali and Prince Senapati Mangkubumi II were buried in one grave. Meanwhile, Gumelem Village was obliged to maintain the grave of Ki Ageng Gumelem.

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