

## Politics of Islam in Javanese Aesthetics: R. Ng. Yasadipura I's Poe(li)tical Imagination of Islam in Babad Tanah Jawi

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**Abstract:** This paper is to figure out R. Ng. Yasadipura I's poe(li)tical imagination of Islam in *Babad Tanah Jawi*. The 'politics' is defined not merely as instrumental utility, but intertwined with 'poetics', an aesthetic strategy which allegorically unveils an interpretation of the undecidability of Islam as central Islam or peripheral Islam, as Arabia Islam or Javanese Islam. Based on the biographical and structural approaches, this article attempts to analyze textual, ideological, and religious traces of this 18<sup>th</sup> century Javanese Muslim *bhujuangga* and its relation to the way he describes Islam in *Babad Tanah Jawi*. Yasadipura I is a political subject since he describes Islam not merely as a religious consensus, but also dissensus to other identities. This dissensus is partly a logical consequence of—using Jacques Rancière's term—Yasadipura I's 'class migration', ranging from Muslim student (*santri*) from Kedu, royal advisor (*menteri*) of Surakarta court, to prolific writer and translator of Hindu-Buddhist *kakawin* and Islamic Malay *suluk*.

**Keywords:** Babad Tanah Jawi; Islam; politics of aesthetics; R. Ng. Yasadipura I.

**Abstrak:** Artikel ini berusaha menggambarkan imajinasi poe(li)tis R. Ng. Yasadipura I tentang Islam dalam *Babad Tanah Jawi*. Politik di sini dipahami bukan sebagai instrumen kekuasaan, melainkan (berkaitan dengan) poetika, sejenis strategi estetika, yang secara alegoris berusaha menafsirkan ketidakmenentuan definitif Islam sebagai Islam 'pusat' dan Islam 'pinggiran', sebagai Islam 'Arab' dan Islam 'Jawa.' Dengan pendekatan biografis dan struktural, artikel ini berupaya menganalisis jejak-jejak tekstual, ideologis, dan religius dari seorang *poejuangga* Muslim Jawa abad 18 itu dan kaitannya dengan strategi estetik-politik yang ia jalankan secara tak sadar dalam mendeskripsikan Islam dalam *Babad Tanah Jawi*. Sebagai subjek 'politik', Yasadipura I menggambarkan Islam, bukan semata sebagai konsensus, melainkan suatu dissensus terhadap identitas-identitas lain. Dissensus ini, antara lain, disebabkan oleh—meminjam istilah Jacques Rancière—'migrasi kelas' Yasadipura I, yang berpindah-pindah dari seorang santri asal Kedu, penasehat Keraton Surakarta, hingga seorang pengarang dan penerjemah prolific berbagai naskah klasik, mulai dari *kakawin* Hindu Buddha hingga *suluk* Islam Melayu.

**Kata Kunci:** Babad Tanah Jawi; Islam; politics of aesthetics; R.Ng. Yasadipura I.

### 1. Introduction

There are a number of studies focusing on Javanese Islam based on classical manuscripts. Some Indonesian studies, including J. Zoetmulder's *Manunggaling Kawula Gusti, Pantheism and Monism in Javanese Suluk Literature* (1996), Soebardi's *Serat Cabolek* (1975), Simuh's *Wirid Hidayat Jati* (1983), and Marsono's *Lokajaya Manuscript* (2019) have an important role in researching Javanese Islam based on these 'religious' manuscripts. This fact figures out that the study of Islam and its relationship with Javanese religious culture has long been a concern of Indonesian, even foreign scholars (Bruinessen, 1994; Day, 1978; Ricklefs, 2014; Wain, 2021). Several studies, such as serial research series Riyadi (A.

Riyadi, 2016; M. I. Riyadi, 2012, 2013), Iswanto (2014), Maharsi (2018), Fanani (2018) are a few examples of manuscript-based researches that focused on the representation of Islam and Javanese history.

Unfortunately, these studies commonly focused on historical analysis of the syncretic relationship between Islam and Hindu-Buddha or between Islamic sufism and Javanese mysticism based on *tasawuf* manuscripts, *serat*, *primbon*, and *suluk*, while study on Islam based on ideological author has lack of attention. The lack of research on literary elements in *babad* is directly equivalent to the lack of studies on aesthetical aspects of such manuscripts. The Islamic life in chronicles is always examined within the historical framework of Islamization, in which 'war', 'invasion', and 'rebellion' became essential elements of historical narratives of Islamization in Java (Kartodirdjo, 1966; Kasdi, 2003; Muljana, 2005).

Consequently, the *babad* studies focusing on Javanese aesthetics in relation to *bhujangga*'s ideology have also lacked attention in the recent research of Javanese Islam (Margana, 2004). This situation is different from the *kawi*, since they are believed to have mainly contributed on the formation of the great Javanese culture. After the Java war, a kind of 'Islamophobia' emerged. The Dutch East Indies suddenly made a policy that *the high Javanese culture as the non-Islamic preserve of agreeable aristocrats* (N. K. Florida, 1997b).

Islam, therefore, not only had no place in the study of Javanese aesthetics, but was also deliberately kept away from the political and aesthetical structure of the palace (N. K. Florida, 1997a). Under the myth of 'high-quality literature' (*sastra adiluhung*), the 19<sup>th</sup> century designated a rebirth of Javanese masterpieces because the philologists have shifted back from Islamic texts to Javanese *kakawin* (Anderson, 2019; Pigeaud, 1967; Quinn, 1983). Meanwhile, behind the Surakarta palace, there is open door for Islam, since the Muslim *bhujangga* of Surakarta, such as R. Ng. Yasadipura I, R. Ng. Yasadipura II, R. Ng. Ronggawarsita, and R. Ng. Ranggasasmita are Javanese poets from *keluarga santri* (Islamic students family).

There are at least 3 (three)—using Rancière's term—'literary regimes' (Rancière, 2010) in the long discourses on the 18<sup>th</sup> century Javanese Islam, politics, and aesthetics. *First*, the emergence of the 'ethical regime' of colonial philology, which determine certain genres, such as *kakawin* and *hikayat*, as the only high-quality noble works of the Javanese palace and philosophy. *Second is the emergence of a 'representative regime' in which genres of babad only represent wars, invasion, and political intrigues, which differ from suluk and sufism books.* *Third*, the emergence of a 'political realism regime' which separates politics from aesthetics and, consequently, separates aesthetics from 'something-beyond-aesthetics'. These major regimes vaguely appeared in the historical tradition of palace authorship (*kepujanggaan istana*).

This research has contributed to contemporary interdisciplinary studies regarding Javanese Islam, politics, and aesthetics. In terms of a formal object, the novelty of this study lies not only in its attempt to describe R. Ng. Yasadipura I's aesthetic strategy describes Islam's position in the Babad Tanah Jawi, but also rethinks the 'conventional' definition of aesthetics and reinterprets it into a 'political' framework. In terms of material objects, the novelty of this study lies not only in its attempt to use *babad* as an object of research supposedly containing Islamic philosophical aspects that go beyond most recent studies of *babad* as historical objects, but also in its attempt to rethink its author's ideology as a 'political' subject.

## 2. Method

This study uses biographical and structural analysis of Yasadipura I's politics of aesthetics and his depiction of Islam in *Babad Tanah Jawi*. This study will describe—what Jacques Rancière said—a *class migration* (Rancière, 2013) of Yasadipura I's biographical journey with multiple roles, ranging from *santri* (Islamic student) to *menteri* (royal advisor). These multiple roles of Yasadipura I since Pakubuwana II to Pakubuwana IV have relational structures to his imagination of Islam as *dissensus* to the possible common definition of Islam as religious consensus. The dissensus is political, since it refers to an aesthetic strategy to describe Islam as fragmentary, symbolic, unstructured, ambivalent, and heterogeneous imagination (Fawaid, 2016). It explores the possibility of this 'ambivalent' Islam as *mimesis* as well as *mockery* against the established structure of common Islamic thought in *Babad Tanah*

*Jawi*. The data source is taken from the most authoritative version of *Babad Tanah Jawi*, i.e. Balai Pustaka version of *the manuscript* (Wieringa, 1999). However, the only volume I-IV was chosen due to limited space because these volumes cover at least the early genealogy of Javanese rulers from Lord Vishnu to Panembahan Senapati.

### 3. R.Ng. Yasadipura I's Multiple Identities: Politics of Class-Migration

Yasadipura I was born into a *santri* family. His parents are pious Muslims. His mother, Maryam, was son of a cleric, Kalipah Caripu. His father, Kiai Tumenggung Padmanegara, was the seventh generation of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Sultan of Pajang who was the great-grandson of Amangkurat I (King of Mataram, 1645-1677), also known as a *santri*. Padmagara left Java and went to Palembang to study Islam from a Muslim teacher Syeikh Jenal Ngabidin (Sarasumarta, Sastrawaluya, & Yasapuraya, 2012). On his return to Java, he was appointed as *Bupati Jaksa* (District Attorney) under Pakubuwana I, who is also known as author of *Serat Tekawardi*, a well-known Sufi *suluk*, with whom he also discussed the Javanese court affairs and writing of Javanese literature (N. K. Florida, 1997b).

Yasadipura I, like his father, was a *santri* in the original sense of the word, for he was also a *santri lelana*, a wandering Muslim student (N. K. Florida, 1997b, 1997a). At the 8-year-old, he was sent to Bagelen-Kedu to study Arabic and Javanese ethics at *pesantren* under the guidance of Kiai Honggamaya, a friend of his maternal grandfather. When Yasadipura I was immersed in religious and literary studies (Javanese, and apparently, also Islam), political events and rebellions occurred within Kartasura Palace. Pakubuwana II had to seek political asylum under Muslim teacher Kiai Ageng Imam Besari in Panaraga (N. K. Florida, 1997b; Sarasumarta et al., 2012).

After learning Islam at Kiai Honggomaya's *pesantren*, instead of returning to Pengging, Yasadipura I went to Panaraga, and was accepted as a royal servant. After Kartasura was captured with VOC's support, Yasadipura I continued to dig the aesthetical knowledge under the senior poet, Pangeran Wijil Kadilangu, a descendant of the most Javanese Muslim saint, Sunan Kalijaga. Prince Wijil was a famous poet who produced many *suluk* works and *sufi* songs, such as *Suluk Besi* and *Suluk saking Kitab Candra* (N. K. Florida, 1997b).

Taking part in the movement of Kartasura to Solo area, Yasadipura I was also a witness to the political events of *Perjanjian Giyanti*, and specifically wrote it in *Babad Giyanti*. During this political event, Yasadipura I no longer appeared as an ordinary *santri*, he turned into a political actor, to be an king's advisor. However, Yasadipura I's political role as *prajurit* did not necessarily keep away from his aesthetical role as *bhujangga*. Surely, the achievement of Yasadipura I's political career was inseparable from his background of study on Islam and *santri* family. Uniquely, he secretly incorporates elements of *santri* into his various manuscripts, ranging from *suluk* to *babad* (Fawaid, Udasmoro, & Margana, 2022).

The journey of *santri* Yasadipura I is similar to the religious journey of the figures he related to *santri* in *Babad Tanah Jawi*, such as Santri Giri and Santri Bonang (Yasadipura I, 1939b, pp. 43–45). Yasadipura I first studied Islamic values from his father, before finally continuing his journey of seeking Javanese Islam to Bagelan-Kedu. Santri Giri and Santri Bonang are also *santri lelana*, both of whom studied religion with their father, Sunan Ampel (where Santri Giri was an adopted son, while Santri Bonang was his biological son), before finally continuing their journey to seek Islamic knowledge to Mecca (although they are prohibited at the end and switched to studying Islam to Sheikh Wali Lanang in Malacca). Yasadipura I roles as a political advisor and Surakarta poet are similar to both *santri*-saints figures he described as having a political role as a religious advisor during Demak reign.

The elements of *santri* also appeared in his compositions of Malay manuscripts in form of poetry (*macapat*). He transformed the 16<sup>th</sup> century manuscript *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* into an epic *Serat Menak* (Soebardi, 1969). The 22<sup>nd</sup> title of *Serat Menak*, namely *Menak Jaminambar*, in addition to containing the historical narrative of Wong Agung's attack on Jaminambar Country, also contains moral teachings about monotheism, piety, and goodness (N. K. Florida, 2018; Mulyadi, 2020; Yasadipura I, 1936). An important aspect of the story is the use of the typical word of the Hindu-Buddhist tradition, *Hyang Agung*, when Raden Umarmaya advised Prince Kelan, son of Wong Agung: *Atata inglakuniral ayem ora*

*ana kang ngreregoni/ amung nenedheng Hyang Agung/ jinurunga raharja/... Meanwhile, the prophet of Islam, Ibrahim, is also mentioned in the text: .../ kula ingkang sampun anunggil agami/teka boten asowan// sami-sami agami Ibrahim/ ageng lan alit pantes asebal/ manggihi gusti tegese/.*

The use of divine words in Hindu-Buddhist tradition and the Islamic moral teachings for the future Javanese rulers are also found in *Babad Tanah Jawi*. Raden Umarmaya's advice to Prince Kelan was similar to Ki Juru Martani's advice to Panembahan Senapati when he intended to rebel against Pajang. Ki Juru's advice was not only moral teaching on respecting parents, and being polite to older people, but also using the word *Hyang Agung* to mention God's name (Yasadipura I, 1939e, p. 28). Likewise, Sunan Ampel's advice to Raden Patah was not only on moral values, respect for teachers, parents, and rulers, but also referred to *Hyang Suksma* to mention God's name (Yasadipura I, 1939b, p. 142). It figures out that *Babad Tanah Jawa* is not merely on Javanese war and invasion but also on mystical elements of Javanese Islam.

Yasadipura I's other mystical work is *Serat Tajussalatin*, a Javanese composition from the 16<sup>th</sup> century Malay *Hikayat Mahkota Segala Radja-Radja*. This text, which became one of the mandatory reading texts for Javanese kings (Soebardi, 1969), quotes several verses of the Koran to present moral teachings about the perfection of life and the relationship between the servant and God. *Rungunen ujing dalil // faman yakmal misqala da // ratin khaeran yarahi // mangkana ingkang arti // sing sapa wonge puniku // akarya kabecikan // saklaring semut amesthi // yen pinanggih ngamale benjang ngakirat // Kalawan ta malih waman // yakmal misqala daratin // saran yarahu punika // tegese sapa nglakoni // karya ngamal tan becik // nadyan sakelare semut // pesthi ngamal kang ala pinanggih binjing ing akir.*

This text quotes QS Al-Zalzalah (99): 7-8 about every people will be rewarded hereafter. However, since this text uses *macapat*, which has to be synchronous with *guru swara*, some endings of the stanzas are indeed changed, such as *yarahu* become *yarahi*. The Arabic term *zarrah* (small seeds) is difficult to find its Javanese equivalent, so he modified it with *ant hair*; ant animals are small, so their fur (Sumiyardana, 2014). This modification indicates not only textual, but also cultural negotiation between Islam in Arab and Islam in Java.

In *Babad Tanah Jawi*, quotations from the Koran verses above are considerable, although the verses are not explicitly mentioned. The structure of the opening stanzas of the text is similar to the structure of QS Al-Baqarah [2]: 213, narrating some similarities between writing of the manuscript and revelation of the holy book Koran. The stanzas first describe the psychological condition of humans as *kang tyas rujit karêjête* (heart is in doubt), then Hyang Kaeksi sends *môngka manggala dinuta* (leader of messengers) to give *dipèng rat wuryaningrate* (light on earth or good prophecy) and *môngka pangèngêt amèmèngêti* (remembrance of remembering or warning), this manuscript as *muktamate carita punika* (comprehensiveness of this story) was revealed for giving *warana ris nayakèng bumi* (guidance on earth), for those who have had disagreements to fight for heirloom *Kalimasada*. Therefore, Hyang Kaeksi sent instructions in the form of *revelations* to whoever he wanted to the path of *rahayu* (salvation)(Yasadipura I, 1939a, pp. 1–8). The process of transforming Al-Quran verses into Javanese *macapat* poetry or modification of Arabic Islamic scholarship into the world of Javanese scholarship argues that Yasadipura I has succeeded in carrying out religious migration through transformation of the *babad* genre which was originally known as a historical text into a mystical text.

Some of his sufism works include *Suluk Seh Malaya* and *Suluk Dewaruci*. *Suluk Dewaruci*'s work is included in the 1724 AJ book *Pesinden Bedaja* (1796 AD) and is one of the oldest versions of *macapat* of the four versions (Poerbatjaraka version, *Nawarutji* version, Yasadipura version, and *Bimasutji* R. Tajono version) (Soebardi, 1969). This text contains Javanese Islamic mysticism, most importantly, Bima's spiritual quest to seek God. The moral teaching of this search is *manunggaling kawula gusti*, knowing God is only possible by knowing oneself (Setiawan, Maulani, & Busro, 2020). In Yasadipura I's version of *Suluk Dewaruci*, many mystical terms from Islamic tradition are replaced with the Hindu-Buddhist divine terms from *kakawin* tradition. *Tan Anya* and *Sunya* are replaced by the Arabic terms, *unseen*, hidden or non-existent; the word *dzat*, essence, in the Arabic tradition and being a key term in Islamic mysticism, is also often found in the *suluk*. In fact, in *Suluk Seh Malaya*, the role of Druna, Bima's teacher, is played by Sunan Bonang, one of the most important saints in the early Islamic tradition. Bima was

succeeded by Sunan Kalijaga, also a famous Muslim wali, who was a disciple of Sunan Bonang. Sunan Bonang asked Sunan Kalijaga to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. In the middle of the journey at sea, he met, not Dewaruci, but Prophet Khidr. Prophet Khidr said that the pilgrimage to Mecca is idolatry, because the real Mecca is in the heart. Similar to the story of Dewaruci, Sunan Kalijaga was also asked to enter the ears of Prophet Khidir, and then he received advice such as the advice given to Bima (Johns, 1966).

In *Babad Tanah Jawi*, the idea of *manunggaling kawula gusti* also appears several times. Khidr's prohibition to Sunan Bonang to go Mecca is similar to Syekh Wali Lanang's prohibition to Sunan Bonang and Sunan Giri's journey to Mecca from Ngampeldenta. The structural narrative of Sunan Ampel's advice to Raden Patah is also similar to *Suluk Dewaruci*. Brawijaya asked Raden Patah to return to Majapahit. In the middle of the journey, he met Sunan Ampel who taught him *syariah*, *tarekat*, *makrifat*, and *hakikat*. In the dialogue between Sunan Ampel and Raden Patah, the mystical terms in the Islamic tradition, such as *laelatul kadri* and *heart*, are mentioned, but on the other hand several important terms in the Hindu-Buddhist tradition, such as *maha pandhita*, *Imunira sajati*, and *rasa sajati*, are also found. Bima's journey to seek God in the middle of the ocean is similar to Raden Patah's statement that he is like *layangan putus di sembarang tempat, berselimut merak, menyusu kijang menjangan* (a kite breaking up everywhere, covered in a peacock, sucking a deer). Sunan Ampel also stated that the center of the universe is not in Mecca, but in heart (*suksmaning sarira ya sarining | ring buwana swabawanya*) (Yasadipura I, 1939b, pp. 138–148). This narrative emphasizes Yasadipura I's aesthetic strategy to classify this historical text into Sufistic text and his class-migration from merely *prajurit* to *mistikus*.

Uniquely, his idea of mysticism was not always related to religious rituals, but also to poetic activities. Poetry, for Yasadipura I, was also a mystical activity. In *Serat Cabolek*, he spoke consciously not only the morals of Javanese rulers, the problem of Islamic orthodoxy, the issue of Sufi mysticism, and the tradition of *Kawi* literature, but also the essence of 'genuine reading' of the text as a Sufistic activity. *Punapa malih rasaning kawi / Bima Suci kalawan Wiwaha / Pan sami keh sasmitane / Ngenting rasane ngelmu / Yen patitis mardikani / Kadyangga kawi Rama / Punika tesawup* (As for the meaning of the taste of Kawi / Bima Suci and Arjuna Wiwaha / Iya sasmita, which has a lot / noble meaning, the sense of knowledge / if interpreted correctly and deeply / like Kawi Rama / This is Sufism) (N. K. Florida, 1997b). In *Suluk Martabat Sanga*, Yasadipura I's grandson also testified about his grandfather. *Ingsun weruh, nalika kalane dalu / Yen tan tatamuwan / Sekendelining nganggit-anggit / Nora nana malih ingkan tiningalan / Amung suluk, kalawan tasawufi pun* (I see it at night / if there are no guests / when resting from writing / there is nothing else to read / apart from suluk and Sufism works) (N. Florida, 1995).

The dimension of Islamic Sufism also appears in the opening stanzas of *Babad Tanah Jawi*. Yasadipura I praises God by using terms similar to several names in *Asmaul Husna* (the 20 obligatory attributes of God in Islamic tradition). *Hyang Kaeksi* in the second lyric means *Maha Wujud* (the Omnipresent), associated with the first of the successive 20 attributes of Allah, *Wujud*, in Islamic tradition. The following term, *kang amurwa sipat purba* (the most beginning from the beginning) is similar to the second attribute of Allah, *Qidam* (the Most Eternity). The third term, *kang nitah amêmatah* (the Most Commander) are relevant to the nature of Allah *Mutakalliman* (the Most Commander), and *kang ambagi sagala isining bumi* (the Almighty who rules bowels of Earth) are relevant to *Qudrat* (the Omnipotent) and *Iradat* (the Prepotent). The term *kang asih mring rahsanya ngasihi* (who loves to love) is relevant sequentially to *Rahman* (the Most Compassionate) and *Rahim* (the Most Merciful) in *Basmalah* (Yasadipura I, 1939a, pp. 1–8). These equivalences argue that *Babad Tanah Jawi* is not merely historical, but also a mystical work, since it contains elements of Javanese and Islamic mysticism. The mystical dimension also figures out his class migration from ideological category of Hindu-Buddhist and Islamic authorship to the negotiation in-between-two.

#### 4. Dissensus as Poe(li)tical Imagination: Islam between *Mimesis* and *Mockery*

The class-migration of Yasadipura I's ideology, as explained above, further demonstrates his aesthetic strategy of dissensus to the dominant identity of Islam in Arabian peninsula. Dissensus is understood as criticism of a certain regime by voicing other alternatives (Rancière, 2010). One

alternative criticism of this regime is mimesis, imitation. Mimesis is considered as a dissensus strategy, because mimesis—according to Auerbach—is essentially not just an imitation, but a mockery of the imitated (Auerbach & Said, 2014). The description of Islam in *Babad Tanah Jawi* presents Yasadipura I's dissensus through the politics of 'mimetic' Islam against the dominant identity of Islam in the Arabian peninsula. This mimesis works on two levels: semantic mimesis and ideological mimesis. At the semantic level, the imitation of Arab Islam appears in adaptation, modification, and transformation of some Arabic terms into Javanese ones. At the ideological level, the imitation appears in various Islamic events, characters, and storylines in Java which imitated events, characters, and stories in Arabic tradition. However, these two layers of mimesis work with a similar teleology: imitating and mocking Arabian Islam, while creating another alternative of Javanese Islam. The politics of Islam as mimesis is considered as dissensus, because it presents Arabian Islam in a double face to delay the common-sense of its function and meaning.

Since the early opening story of Lord Vishnu, the Muslim prophet Adam is described as having a relationship with Javanese rulers and one of the most prominent Hindu deities, Lord Vishnu, who was sent as a counterweight to Islam in Mecca (Yasadipura I, 1939a, p. 8). This text also describes *Nurcahya* as son of *Sis*, who is missing in the prophetic stories (*qishash al-anbiya'*) in Islamic tradition. This narrative is not only a semantic, but also political issue. It presents a dissensus against the representative regime of dominant *qishash al-anbiya'* in the Islamic tradition. By using *Nurcahya* or *Sayyidina Anwar* (descendant of *Sis* from the genie *Dewi Dlajah*) rather than *Sayyidina Anwas* (descendant of *Sis* from the human *Dewi Mulat*) who is more famous in the prophetic tradition, this text seems to figure out that Javanese rulers from *Nurcahya*'s descendants have position as important as prophetic rulers in the Islamic tradition. The ascension of Lord Vishnu with Hyang Narada to Suralaya is also similar to the prophetic event of *Isra' Mi'raj* in Islamic tradition. They also crossed *wot ogal-agil* bridge (Yasadipura I, 1939a, p. 1), a bridge split in seven hairs, similar to *shiratal mustaqim* bridge in Islamic tradition.

The politics of dissensus goes to appear when *Babad Tanah Jawi* tells Pajajaran ruler's meeting with a powerful fortune teller Ki Ajar Campaka. Ki ajar predicted that he would be killed by the son of his concubine. He was surprised and did not accept that prediction. He mentioned Prophet Adam, and considered that all his ancestors until Prophet Adam never killed his own father (Yasadipura I, 1939a, p. 34). In the end, he was actually killed by his son, who later became the last successor of Pajajaran, Siyung Winara. Many centuries before this event, a similar conflict had arisen when Prophet *Sis* also had a concubine of the genie *Dewi Dlajah*. However, his son namely, *Nurcahya* alias *Sayyidina Anwar*, are not included in the prophetic stories of Islam (*qishash al-anbiya'*) (Katsir, 2007), perhaps because the descendants from the genie or devils are flawed in the Islamic prophetic tradition. The presence of Prophet Adam in the dialogue between Raja Pajajaran and Siyung Winara is mimesis of previous conflicts, but it is also mockery of power struggles in the name of religion. This text figures out Yasadipura I's strategy in showing the position of Islam as a parody as well as irony in the vortex of the conflict. On the one hand he parodies Islam as the ancestor of Javanese rulers, but on the other hand he also ironically satirizes Islam as a means of propaganda and power struggle.

The dissensus of Islam re-emerged in narrative of Raden Sesuruh's journey in search for an ascetic Ki Ajar Camara Tunggal. This text describes an epiphanic moment when Raden Sesuruh climbed to a hill after being expelled from Pajajaran to meet a powerful ascetic Ki Ajar Camara Tunggal. He saw the light in a Cemara tree (Fir) on the hill, where Ki Ajar's hermitage was, then they had a dialogue like a dialogue between a servant and a god (Yasadipura I, 1939a, pp. 9–10). This story is similar to the story of Prophet Moses in seeking the existence of God after being expelled by Egyptian ruler Pharaoh. In his escape, when he was almost in despair, he saw a fire in a thorn tree above the sacred valley of Thuwa on the hill of Thursina, Baitul Maqdis, Palestine. However, this mimesis has a double meaning. This story not only imitated the structure of sending Moses as a prophet, but also mocked the establishment of its prophetic procession in the Islamic tradition. The sending of Moses as a prophet was a sacred event, while the sending of Raden Sesuruh was a profane event. If Moses story involved God, while Sesuruh story presented human. If Moses was sent as a prophet, then Sesuruh was sent as a ruler.

Yasadipura I also uses dissensus strategy in story of the assassination of Patih Wahan by Ujung Sabata, the codename of King Prabu Anom. At that time, Ujung Sabata mentioned two important terms in the Islamic tradition, *sorga* and *kiai* (Yasadipura I, 1939a, pp. 35, 37), but these two terms were used to mock his political opponent, Patih Wahan, and to incite Prabu Anom to kill his father's confidant. Ujung Sabata's statement to Prabu Anom that it was better for Patih Wahan to go with Raden Sesuruh to ascend to heaven (*yèn suwawi karsa | pun patih abelaa | dhatêng rama sri bupati | ang sala swarga | patine pun apatih | |*) is an allegorical metaphor for how sacred terms are used for power struggle purposes. In addition to *sorga*, Ujung Sabata also mentions the term *kiai* referring to Kiai Jangkung Pacar as a *keris* to kill Patih Wahan and at the same time also mentions the name of Hindu god, Hyang Rawi, to say goodbye to Prabu Anom (*... ingkang wasta dhuwung Kyai | Jangkungpacar | iki wrangkakna aglis | maring kapatihan | ya ta Ujungsabata | atur sêmbah nulya amit | mêdal ing jaba | wus sumurup hyang rawi*). In addition to showing the negotiations between Islam and Hinduism, this story also figures out the dissensus of Islam's double face. On the one hand, *sorga* and *kiai* are imitation (*mimesis*) of the common terms in Islam, but on the other hand both are *mockery* of the initial function which is identical with holiness but finally used for power struggle.

Yasadipura I played a politics of dissensus when Brawijaya married the daughter of Campa, a descendant of Muslim ruler and when Brawijaya permitted Sunan Ampel to spread Islam in Ampeldenta (Yasadipura I, 1939b, p. 153). It is said that Brawijaya does not force its citizens to embrace Islam or any religion. There is no compulsion in religion. This narrative designates Yasadipura I's affective attitude towards this religion. However, before this episode, there is a story about the war between Majapahit and Giri Kedaton. The Brawijaya troops were repulsed several times by Sunan Giri's magic of turning his pen into a dagger. In the second war, the Brawijaya troops were also repulsed by emergence of bees from the tomb of Sunan Giri (Yasadipura I, 1939b, pp. 20–21). The most crucial aspect of this story is how Islam is described with multiple faces. On the one hand this religion was acceptable as a new religion in Majapahit, but on the other hand it was described as having no concrete powers other than the 'magic' (or miracle?) of the daggers (*keris*) and bees (*lebah*).

After the period of Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms, the politics of Islamic mimesis was described in the story of Muslim nine saints (*walisongo*) with their respective political strategies. The conquest of Majapahit under Raden Patah with 10,000 Muslims troops coming from the four cardinal directions was mimesis of the conquest of Mecca under Prophet Muhammad with 10,000 Muslim troops coming from similar directions. Raden Patah is a derivation from the Arabic term, Al-Fatih or Al-Fathu (meaning 'conqueror'), also imitates the famous Mecca liberation procession, *Fathu Makkah* (Berutu, 2019; Sudrajat, 2018). However, after this liberation event, Sunan Giri took over Majapahit for 40 days, before finally inaugurating Raden Patah as the first Muslim ruler in Demak (Yasadipura I, 1939c, pp. 17, 19). Mimesis also appeared in the story of the construction of Demak Mosque as the center of Islamic civilization in Java. This mosque is mimesis for the Ka'bah as the center of Islamic power in Mecca. However, during the construction procession of this mosque, the Muslim nine-saints had a dispute on direction of *kiblat* (direction to Ka'bah) and *mihrab* (place of *imam* prayer), before finally being resolved by Sunan Kalijaga through supernatural events of the fall of the Prophet's shawl and rug (Yasadipura I, 1939c, pp. 1–7).

The stories of liberation of Majapahit and construction of Demak Mosque designate that Islam is portrayed as 'political' mimesis to similar events in Arab. This mimesis creates a double meaning: as an imitation as well as a mockery. The liberation of Majapahit is an imitation as well as a mockery of the liberation of Mecca, because it was Sunan Giri, not Raden Patah, who was appointed ruler for 40 days of purification in Majapahit. Sunan Giri's appointment seems to indicate that Raden Patah as *umara'* has not been fully 'trusted' to be leader of the transition of power without the legitimacy of saints as *ulama'*, an event that did not occur during the time of the Prophet Muhammad. This narrative figures out that Islam in Java is a religion as a result of negotiation between *umara'* (profane leaders) and *ulama'* (religious leaders). This negotiation was finally resolved through *Senapati Jimbun Ngabdurahman Panembahan Palembang Sayidin Panatagama* given to Raden Patah after establishing Demak. This title



represents the adoption of Islamic and Hindu traditions, as well as the transformation of Javanese and Arabic languages.

The construction of the Demak Mosque is also *mimesis* as well as *mockery* of Ka'bah as center of Islamic civilization and worship. The construction of Demak Mosque and the dispute among Muslim saints on its *mihrab* and *kiblat* figures out that on the one hand the Mosque is *mimesis* of Ka'bah, because it represents the highest hierarchy of Islamic power in Java. On the other hand, it is also a *mockery* of the hierarchy of Mecca as the center of Islamic civilization, because in the process of building there were negotiations, compromises, and even refusals on whether *kiblat* should be directed to Ka'bah or not and where *mihrab* should be accordingly placed. The completion of this process, together with the previous story on liberation of Majapahit, is a political dissensus to present Islam as liminal space between Arabic and Javanese tradition.

Yasadipura I also carried out a mimetic dissensus strategy in the stories of Sunan Kudus's political involvement with Demak and Ki Ageng Pengging's political rejection to Demak. It is well known that Sunan Kudus was a somewhat 'controversial' Muslim saint; he had devised a tactic with Arya Panangsang to get rid of Sunan Prawata, Prince Kalinyamat, and even Sultan Pajang (Yasadipura I, 1939d, pp. 5–8, 16–21, 23–28); he is also described as having killed Ki Ageng Pengging, the father of Adipati Pajang, because of his refusal to surrender under Demak (Yasadipura I, 1939c, pp. 27–28). On the other hand, Pengging's rejection to Demak as a representative of the Islamic kingdom also became a *mockery* for the central Islamic hierarchy in Java. This rejection is an anticlimax to Islam's double face; between periphery Islam and central Islam in Java. The Pengging resistance is a peripheral resistance against central Islam represented by Sunan Kudus.

The dissensus of Islam also emerged in the story of meeting between Adipati Pajang and Arya Panangsang. At first Sunan Kudus and Arya Panangsang planned to kill Adipati Pajang by inviting him to Jipang to study *ilmu rasa*, but when they got to Jipang, Sunan Kudus did nothing, instead scolding the two rulers like school children (Yasadipura I, 1939d, pp. 40, 61). Adipati Pajang's expectation to learn *ilmu rasa* as invited by Sunan Kudus is a *mimesis* of Islamic moral teachings about the obligation of learning religious knowledge and the obedience of a student to his teacher's orders. However, this order is also a *mockery* of the Islamic teachings itself, because it was used for political tactics to kill Adipati Pajang. Although this assassination has failed, because Sunan Kudus suddenly lectured both of them. This attitude had two meanings: he did not want to tarnish Islam as a peace-loving religion, but he also could not deny a fact that Islam was effectively used as an instrument of political propaganda (for example, by using *ilmu rasa* as an excuse to invite Adipati Pajang).

The story of a dispute over Mataram fief between Ki Ageng Pamanahan and Adipati Pajang which was eventually mediated by Sunan Kalijaga (Yasadipura I, 1939d, p. 78) on the one hand and the story of construction of Kotagede Mataram by Panembahan Senapati which was inserted with the moral teachings also by Sunan Kalijaga (Yasadipura I, 1939d, p. 3) on the other hand, also shows the aesthetic strategy of Yasadipura I in describing the Islamic dissensus through mock politics and ridicule. What Sunan Kalijaga did is similar to when Sunan Ampel advised on *syariat*, *makrifat*, *tarekat*, and *hakikat* to Raden Patah in their first meeting (Yasadipura I, 1939b, pp. 142–143) on the one hand, then he was also involved in giving 'political blessing' to Raden Patah as the first Islamic ruler in Java (Yasadipura I, 1939c, pp. 14–15) on the other hand, represents a fact that boundary between Islam as a religious consensus and Islam as political dissensus is difficult to distinguish.

## 5. Conclusion

The class-migration of Yasadipura I, ranging from a poet, historian, religious teacher, to a mystic, during Pakubuwana II to Pakubuwana IV impacts on his poe(li)tical imagination on Islam in *Babad Tanah Jawi*. His biographical journey in *Tus Pajang* has symbolic relevance to several events, characters, and his poetic strategies in the *Babad Tanah Jawi*. He is a mystic in a broad sense, adopting Hindu-Buddhist, Javanese, and Islamic traditions. In *Babad Tanah Jawi*, Javanese mystical dimensions, Hindu-Buddhist divinity terms, to Islamic Sufism traditions are found in various narratives, indicating that Yasadipura I succeeded in moving from one particular class to another.



This manuscript also represents its author's poetical strategy in describing Islam as mimesis as well as mockery of Islam in Arabian peninsula. This text put Islam in dialogical negotiation between Arabic tradition as the center and Javanese tradition as the periphery. Instead of having a negative connotation, this 'dual' image of Islam represents the mimetic politics of this religion as a dissensus to the established religious and political regimes of Islam in Arab, since he lived in the Javanese tradition, far from its central tradition in Mecca.

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