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Politics of Prophecy in Java: A Mythological Narrative on Political Succession of Javanese Dynasties in Babad Tanah Jawi

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Abstract

This article is to figure out how Javanese power succession has archetypal structures and relational systems in *Babad Tanah Jawi*, representing that the past is prophetic prologomena for the future. Using Lévi-Strauss's structural anthropology of myth as a methodological approach, this study attempts to analyze the relational systems of successive power of Javanese characters (rulers) from pre-Majapahit to early Mataram in *Babad Tanah Jawi* and to interpret symbols of the prophetic divine during the periods of different Javanese reigns. This study has found that Javanese dynastic succession has been characterized by archetypal structures, in which the Javanese rulers commonly passed through identical phases of life-journeys, ranging from getting divination from fortune-teller (prophecy), getting out of the origins (exodus), to getting political recognition to be the next ruler (legitimacy). This system argues that the mythological prophecy in *Babad Tanah Jawi* is political because it prevails the logic of Javanese worldview (*weltanschauung*) and the precondition of mystical and political legitimacy for Javanese rulers. The narratives of prophetic symbols, in which the different Javanese rulers had been involved in similar forms and structures, also imply the political dimension of prophecy representing the power of their reigns.

Keywords: Babad Tanah Jawi; dynastic succession; politics of prophecy; structure of myths.

Abstrak

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui bagaimana suksesi kekuasaan raja-raja Jawa yang dikisahkan dalam *Babad Tanah Jawi* memiliki struktur arketip dan sistem relasional tertentu yang menunjukkan bahwa kejadian masa lalu merupakan prologomena profetik bagi kejadian masa depan. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan antropologi struktural mitosnya Lévi-Strauss, penelitian ini berusaha menganalisis sistem relasi dari suksesi kekuasaan Jawa sejak zaman pra-Majapahit hingga Mataram awal melalui tokoh-tokoh utama dalam *Babad Tanah Jawi* dan menafsirkan simbol-simbol nubuat selama periode kekuasaan Jawa yang berbeda-beda. Studi ini menemukan bahwa suksesi kerajaan Jawa memiliki arketip struktural yang mirip satu sama lain, di mana mereka umumnya melewati fase kehidupan yang hampir sama, mulai dari ramalan, eksodus, hingga legitimasi. Sistem inilah yang menjadi alasan mengapa mitologi nubuat dalam *Babad Tanah Jawi* bersifat politis, bukan hanya karena ia menampilkan logika pandangan dunia (*weltanschauung*) masyarakat Jawa, melainkan karena ia juga seringkali menjadi prasyarat bagi legitimasi mistis dan politis bagi para penguasa Jawa. Simbol-simbol profetik yang dialami oleh para penguasa Jawa dalam bentuk dan struktur yang sama juga memperlihatkan adanya dimensi politis dari nubuat tersebut sebagai representasi kekuasaan mereka.

Kata kunci: Babad Tanah Jawi; suksesi kerajaan; politik nubuatan; struktur mitos.

INTRODUCTION

This study assumes that *Babad Tanah Jawi* is a historical and prophetic text in which the mythological narratives have been embedded into the manuscript. The prophetic aspect is only possible if this study focused on patterns, archetypes, and relational systems between characters or between events in each episode of Javanese reigns. Since the genealogy of Javanese rulers is a primary characteristic of this text, its major episode is surely dynastic succession (Ras, 1987; Saddhono & Supeni, 2014). This paper will figure out how the dynastic succession, as described in *Babad Tanah Jawi*, has similar structural archetypes

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to argue that the past is prophetic prologomena for the future. This archetype is also the reason why the mythological prophecy in *Babad Tanah Jawi* is political, not only because it shows the logic of the structure of Javanese *weltanschauung* (Lévi-Strauss, 2005; Putra, 2001), but also because it indicates the function of the prophecy as mystical and political legitimacy for the successors (the future rulers) of Javanese dynasties (Carey, 2008; Day, 1997; Meij, 2014; Pohl, 1997).

Babad Tanah Jawi is a phenomenal and controversial manuscript, because—apart from *Pararaton* and *Negarakertagama*—it is the most widely used manuscript to explain the historical genealogy of Javanese kingdoms, meanwhile the number of its versions are incredible. In 1897, J. L. A. Brandes, who published the 1897 edition of *Pararaton*, explained that *Babad Tanah Jawi* contains the long-periodical history of Pajajaran, Majapahit, Demak, Pajang, Mataram, and Kartasura reigns (Brandes, 1920). According to Brandes, this text is the authoritative 'decree' that described the history of Java because it refers to the earlier texts of Modern Javanese wayang stories.

In 1913, Hosein Djajadiningrat, in his doctoral dissertation on the history of Banten, also paid great attention to *Babad Tanah Jawi*. For Djajadiningrat, *Babad Tanah Jawi* is not only a source of history, but also a source of prophecy about the future of Javanese events (Djajadiningrat, 1913). Although Djajadiningrat uses *Babad Tanah Jawi* as a literary source, its excessive use of historical sources puts it similar to Brandes. In 1954-1961, in his three monographic series, De Graaf also used *Babad Tanah Jawi* as a historical source. He argued that *Babad Tanah Jawi* is a Javanese historical text possibly used by Indonesian historians because the forebore of the text, Pangeran Adilangu II, is the descendant of Sunan Kalijaga, one of the greatest Muslim saints during the reign of Sultan Agung (De, 1954, 1958, 1961).

The contestation is continuously evident, since C. C. Berg has criticized the 'historical' approach of De Graaf and Djajadiningrat because they put *Babad Tanah Jawi* separately from the previous manuscripts, such as *Pararaton* and *Negarakertagama*. Berg argued that *Babad Tanah Jawi* is a 'continuation' of *Pararaton* which tells the story of Majapahit and Singasari (Berg, 1955, 1964). On the other sides, J. J. Ras has assumed that this contestation is not really assisting the rewriting of Javanese history because they ignore the internal testimony of the text. According to Ras, *Babad Tanah Jawi* is not about a prophecy of the genealogy of the future Javanese reigns, nor the continuation of *Pararaton*, but structurally has its own genealogy by tracing the descendants of Senapati to Prophet Adam (Ras, 1987).

Beyond this academic-historical dispute of *babad*, Nancy Florida has examined *Babad Jak Tingkir* written by a ruler of Kasunanan Surakarta, Sri Pakubuwana IV. According to Florida, this text, a nostalgic dream of a young king during his exile in Ambon in 1815 AD, aims to interrupt and challenge the dominant historical tradition (K. N. Florida, 1997; N. K. Florida, 1995b). The exile of Pakubuwana IV, the establishment of Demak Mosque which involved a dispute among Muslim saints, the emergence of Syeh Siti Jenar and Ki Ageng Pengging as peripheral characters preassume that the writing of this text is a critical prophecy to the dominant tradition of Javanese history (K. N. Florida, 1997; N. K. Florida, 1995a). Although Florida's study made a major contribution to this research, because it put *babad* firstly as a literary work, it does not highlight how this prophecy had a political dimension to the Javanese dynastic succession.

In terms of theoretical framework, a prophetic perspective is used to set a Javanese ruler's life history against the context of the future event (Day, 1997). Pangeran Dipanagara, Javanese and national hero, pious Javanese Muslim, and the leader of 'holy war' against the Dutch between 1825 and 1830 has been under prophetic prologomena of the turbulent events of the late 18th and early 19th century when the full force of European imperialism hit Indonesia Java's 'old order' and propelling the twin forces of Islam and Javanese national identity into a fatal confrontation with the Dutch (Carey, 2008). The prophetic aspect in

Babad Tanah Jawa is possible in which some Javanese rulers have been prologomena of the successive events of the future.

Meanwhile, the relational systems and structural archetypes of the Javanese dynastic succession imply that every human being possess ability to construct a structure (*structuring*) of the encountered symptoms (C. Nugroho & Ahimsa-Putra, 2016). Since *Babad Tanah Jawi* as system of symbol, it is possible to understand it through understanding its "structure." As in the linguistic phenomenon, a recipient will understand a message if she/he understands its structure (grammar). If *Babad Tanah Jawi* is a sentence, the event of dynastic succession is words of the sentence. Understanding the structure as a grammatical order in *Babad Tanah Jawi* is important to explore its meaning.

A theoretical concept to understand the structure of dynastic succession in *Babad Tanah Jawi* is Lévi-Strauss' structuralism. *Babad Tanah Jawi* is positioned as a 'language'. For Lévi-Strauss, language is similar to culture, since they are products of human activities (Lévi-Strauss, 2005; Putra, 2001). As a cultural product, *Babad Tanah Jawi* is a linguistic symptom, as a sentence or text. The whole discourse in *Babad Tanah Jawi* is a 'text.' The meaning of a text depends on the meaning of its parts and on the possible events that can replace it without rendering the whole text meaningless. The paradigmatic relation approach to this meaning is possible by connecting and comparing an event with its background or context.

The structural analysis is used to understand *Babad Tanah Jawi* through analyzing relational system of the characters and the events in this manuscript. This system will display the structural relationship between certain characters and events with the previous ones. Using the dynastic succession as a timeline scheme makes it possible to find out that some characters (Javanese rulers) have the shared pattern of their succession. This finding indicates archetypal patterns in the history of dynastic succession in Java. By understanding the system of structural relations of various figures and events, the meaning of Javanese succession as a myth is possible to understand. This myth represents not only Javanese collective beliefs, but also their linguistic systems. Related to *Babad Tanah Jawi*, the pattern of dynastic succession in Java indicates that this text is not only a historical, but also prophetic text. This article is to figure out the archetypal structures of dynastic succession in Java, in which the Javanese rulers commonly passed through the identical phases of life-journeys, ranging from prophecy, exodus, to legitimacy.

RESEARCH METHOD

To analyze the politics of prophecy in the Javanese dynastic succession in *Babad Tanah Jawi*, this study uses Lévi-Strauss structural approach to myth (Lévi-Strauss, 2005). This approach was chosen because its function is to obtain a relational system between one event and another or between one character and another. The object of the event is the dynastic succession from the reigns of pre-Majapahit to early Mataram, while the object of the character is the major figures (rulers) during these periods. There are two stages to analyze the politics of prophecy in *Babad Tanah Jawi*.

- 1) Analyzing the system of relations between one character and another during the dynastic succession.
- 2) Analyzing the formation of structural archetypes of the system, for example how the relation between one character and another during the dynastic succession represents a particular structure.
- 3) Identifying the meaning of the structure in relation to the politics of prophecy in the Javanese dynastic succession.

The data include primary and secondary sources. The primary source is literature whose main theme is related to the main issue of this study, Balai Pustaka version of *Babad Tanah Jawi* written by R. Ng. Yasadipura I. From 31 volumes of this text, only five volumes are selected, because they record the story of Javanese dynastic succession from pre-Majapahit to early Mataram. The selection of Yasadipura I version of *Babad Tanah Jawi*, apart from being 'authoritative' and 'final version' as stated by Wieringa, is also due to the fact that the version explains the more completed history of Javanese kingdoms than the later version of Meinsma's *babad* (Wieringa, 1999). Meanwhile, the secondary source consists of articles, books, and documents related to the politics of prophecy and *Babad Tanah Jawi*.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Archetypes of Javanese Ruler's Life: Prophecy, Exodus, and Legitimacy

This section is to describe the relational system among several characters, such as Dewa Wishnu, Raden Sesuruh, Siyung Winara, Bondan Kejawan, Ki Ageng Sela, Jaka Tingkir, Ki Ageng Mataram, Ki Gede Karang Lo, and Ki Mas Manca in the context of dynastic succession through the process of prophecy, exodus, and legitimacy. The structural analysis on these characters figures out that the phases of dynastic succession are similar to each other, and conversely, without going through them, they are not possible to be the successors of the previous rulers. Some of them go through exodus phases, such as exile and expulsion, then prophetic phases, such as predictions from fortune-tellers, astrologers, or saints, until pass through legitimacy phases, such as being the adopted son of kings or royal soldiers.

Lord Vishnu, at the beginning of the opening stanzas, was predicted to be a counterweight to Islam in Mecca. After his 'scandal' with Batara Guru's concubine, Nyai Medang, he was expelled from Suralaya, descended to Earth, imprisoned in *Beringin Tujuh*. Not long after, Prabu Watugunung destroyed Suralaya, wanted to take all the nymphs. Batara Guru was confused, and on Hyang Narada's advice, Lord Vishnu was appointed a special soldier to kill Prabu Watugunung. The mission was completed, and Lord Vishnu was finally known as the God of Spirit, his descendants ruled in the eight directions of the wind (Yasadipura I, 1939a, Pupuh I Dhandhanggula, 1-6).

Raden Sesuruh is son of Pajajaran's queen. After being expelled from Pajajaran by his brother from Pajajaran's concubine, Siyung Winara, he went to Kaligunting and was cared by Nyai Randa. Because of Siyung Winara's threat, Nyai Randa asked Raden Sesuruh to leave Kaligunting to go to the Kendeng mountain. In the mountain, he met a powerful ascetic Ki Ajar Camara Tunggal. Ki Ajar predicted that he would later become the king of Java, his descendants would rule over the kingdom based in Pemantingan. Ki Ajar asked Raden Sesuruh to go East until he found a forest with a maja tree bearing bitter fruit, then he was asked to build a hamlet. With Pajajaran entourage, he also had an exodus until he found the tree. He built a hamlet called Majapahit, until he succeeded in defeating Pajajaran and ruled the Majapahit kingdom (Yasadipura I, 1939a, Pupuh 6 Dhandhanggula, 8-9).

Siyung Winara is son of Pajajaran's concubine. Once upon a time, an ascetic Ki Ajar Campaka predicted that King of Pajajaran would be defeated by his concubine's son. Not long after, the concubine became pregnant, and gave birth to a handsome son. Remembering Ki Ajar's prophecy, the King carried the baby to Kali Karawang, and Nyai Buyut found him. He was cared and raised, named Siyung Winara. At the young-old, he secretly entered Pajajaran Palace, he attacked and bullied all the Pajajaran soldiers. Seeing this ability, the king adopted him without having known that he is his son. Later, Siyung Winara replaced his father's position as King of Pajajaran (Yasadipura I, 1939a, Pupuh 8 Mijil, 9-10).

Bondan Kejawan is son of Brawijaya's concubine Puteri Wandan Kuning. When he was born, a royal astrologer predicted him to be the successor of Brawijaya. Worried about the prophecy, Brawijaya called Ki Buyut Masahar and asked to take care of the baby, then killed him when he was eight years old. However, until getting that age, Nyai Buyut forbade Ki Buyut to kill him. He also grew into a handsome young man. He secretly entered the Majapahit Palace, beat Ki Sekardelima's gong, when soldiers attacked him, he could easily beat them. Seeing this ability, he was adopted by the king. Later, the descendants of Bondan Kejawan will become the pioneers of the Mataram Kingdom (Yasadipura I, 1939b, Pupuh 11 Dhandhanggula, 172-190).

Raden Patah is son of Brawijaya's concubine Putri Cina. While still in his mother's womb, he was 'subtly' expelled by Brawijaya, entrusted to Arya Damar to take care him until he became an adult. When he grew up, he was predicted by Arya Damar that he would defeat King of Majapahit. For fear of his great responsibility as king, he also had an exodus, leaving Palembang, imprisoned in the forest. He was then found by another brother, Raden Husen, and asked to serve Majapahit. He was appointed as Adipati Bintara, and he managed to return to Majapahit to defeat Brawijaya, becoming King of Demak (Yasadipura I, 1939c, Pupuh 11 Dhandhanggula, 198-205).

Ki Ageng Sela, son of Ki Getas Pandawa, a Brawijaya descendent from his concubine Puteri Wandan Kuning, has the power to catch sunshine. He is the first teacher of Mas Krebet who had a dream about him becoming the future king of Java. He once wanted to become a soldier of Demak, but King of Demak rejected him, because he turned his face when he was splashed with blood after defeating him. He was also expelled from Demak. One upon time, he kidnapped a wife of a puppeteer Ki Bicak and took his property, perhaps it also became a habit of Mas Krebet when he became King of Demak, liking women and taking them as wives, because his life is similar to life of his teacher, Ki Ageng Sela. Ki Ageng Sela was indeed a respected elder in Sela Village, but no one ever predicted him to rule over the land of Java. However, he is still the ancestor of the Mataram Kingdom (Yasadipura I, 1939c, Pupuh 25 Megatruh, 48-49).

Jaka Tingkir is a great-grandson of Brawijaya's wife Puteri Campa. Ki Ageng Sela predicted him to gain supernatural powers as a soldier. He asked him to serve Demak. In Demak, Jaka Tingkir caught crocodiles and tigers in the forest, jumped over a river with his back to them. Knowing this ability, he was appointed as a soldier of Demak. However, during the royal duel, he killed the most respective Demak soldier, namely Dadungawuk. Jaka Tingkir was expelled from Demak. In Tingkir Village, he met Sunan Kalijaga who predicted that he would become king of Java. After successfully fighting Danu buffalo, he was forgiven and appointed into a royal soldier. In the future, Jaka Tingkir will become the new ruler of Java, domiciled in Pajang (Yasadipura I, 1939c, Pupuh 22 Gambuh, 22-25).

Ki Ageng Pamanahan is a descendant of the sixth generation of Brawijaya from his concubine Putri Wandan Kuning. He also had an exodus shortly after collaborating with Ki Juru Martani, Ki Panjawi, and Raden Ngabei, to kill Arya Panangsang. He had an exodus because Adipati Pajang delayed giving him Mataram land. He went from Pajang to Bang Lampir Village, and he met Sunan Kalijaga who predicted that he would become ruler of Java. When Sunan Giri baptised Adipati Pajang to be Sultan Pajang, he predicted Ki Ageng Pamanahan to be the future ruler of Java. After the death of Sultan Trenggana and its impact on the prolonged conflict between Demak-Jipang and Demak-Prawata, Mataram became a fertile land, and later the descendants of Ki Ageng Pamanahan would be rulers of Mataram (Yasadipura I, 1939d, Pupuh 32 Dhandhanggula, 1-16).

Ki Gede Karang Lo is a *lurah* in Taji Village who served as a servant for Ki Ageng Pamanahan during his journey to Mataram. In that village, Ki Ageng was entertained and fed. Suddenly, Sunan Kalijaga

appeared, giving advice to Ki Ageng, and at the same time asking Ki Gede Karang Lo to accompany him to Mataram. Sunan Kalijaga predicted that Ki Gede Karang Lo would only become a servant, not a king. There are no stories about exile, expulsion, or exodus of Ki Gede Karang Lo, nor about his baptism into a king. However, Ki Gede Karang Lo is still listed as a loyal figure who assisted Ki Ageng in building Kota Gede Mataram, as well as contributing to the succession of Mataram after eventually marrying Ratu Pembayun, daughter of Panembahan Senapati (Yasadipura I, 1939d, Pupuh 32 Dhandhanggula, 31-35).

Ki Mas Manca is the fifth generation of Brawijaya from his concubine Puteri Wandan Kuning. His story is similar to Ki Gede Karang Lo. When Jaka Tingkir led to fight with Sultan of Demak in Prawata, Ki Banyubiru asked Mas Manca to be his bodyguard and servant. Mas Manca was adopted as Ki Banyubiru's son, but he was predicted to only be a bodyguard and servant for him. There are no stories about exile or exodus of Mas Manca. Furthermore, Mas Manca in his old age was recorded as a loyal servant of King of Pajang, given the title Tumenggung Mancanagara, and sent with Prince Banawa and Adipati Tuban to inquire about Senapati's loyalty to Pajang (Yasadipura I, 1939e, Pupuh 34 Dhandhanggula, 20-25).

Based on the above description of the political dynastic succession, some figures such as Dewa Wisnu (DW), Raden Sesuruh (RS), Siyung Winara (SW), Bondan Kejawan (BK), Ki Ageng Sela (US), Jaka Tingkir (JT), Ki Ageng Mataram (AM), Ki Gede Karang Lo (GK), and Ki Mas Manca (MM) have mythological archetype of their life journeys as table 1.

Table 1. Mythological Archetype of Life Journeys of the Javanese Rulers

Rulers	PROPHECY		EXODUS			LEGITIMACY				
DW	Predicted by	Batara Guru	Become	Counterweight to Islam in Macca	Exodus to	Beringin Tujuh	Appointed to	Soldier	Result	God of Spirits
RS		Ki Ajar Camara Tunggal		King of Java		Forest		The adopted son of Nyai Randa		King of Majapahit
SW		Ki Ajar Campaka		Defeating King of Pajajaran		River		Pajajaran soldier		King of Pajajaran
RP		Arya Damar		Defeating King of Majapahit		Palem bang		The adopted son of Arya Damar		King of Demak
BK		Necromancer		Brawijaya's replacement		-		Son of Brawijaya		Ancestor of Mataram
US		-		-		Sela Village		-		Ancestor of Mataram
JT		Sunan Kalijaga		King of java		Tingkir Village		Son of Raden Patah		King of Pajang
AM		Sunan Giri Prapen		King of java		Bang Lampir Village		Pajang soldier		King of Mataram
NO		Sunan Kalijaga		Ki Ageng Mataram's servant		-		-		Servant
MM		Ki Banyubiru		Jaka Tingkir's bodyguard		-		-		Bodyguard

Table 1 displays the fact that prophecy is seemingly a preconditional necessity for the political succession of Javanese kingdoms (Carey, 2008). They are commonly predicted to be the future rulers of Java. It is a reason that *Babad Tanah Jawi* was written as a prophecy on the future of the Javanese kingdom, especially Mataram. Lord Vishnu is predicted to be a counterweight to Islam in Mecca, Siyung Winara is predicted to be the king of Pajajaran, Bondan Kejawan is predicted to be the successor of the post-Majapahit Javanese kingdom, Jaka Tingkir is predicted to be the king of Java, Ki Ageng Mataram is also predicted in front of the Javanese dukes to rule over the Java. Ki Gede Karang Lo and Ki Mas Manca were

predicted 'even though' only as the king's bodyguards. Only one character, namely Ki Ageng Sela, did not get a prophecy, but the structure of story about this Majapahit ancestor represents the prophecy of the birth of a great king from his descendants.

The fortune-teller who had a prophecy on the future political succession could be anyone, and Figure 1 shows the similarity of the fortune teller's characteristics; he/she could be a necromancer, a magician, an ascetic, or even a saint. They have similar supernatural abilities, possessing prophetic powers and predicting the future. However, a fortune-teller seemed to come from the future, Ki Ajar Camara Tunggal, a powerful ascetic who predicted that Raden Sesuruh would become King of Java and his descendants would rule in Pamantingan. It is said that Ki Ajar Camara Tunggal was once a beautiful woman, a daughter of King of Pajajaran, and she ruled the South Sea. The characteristics of Ki Ajar and his predictions about Pamantingan, are similar to the characteristics of Ratu Kidul, the ruler of South Seas in the reign of Panembahan Senapati. They have prophetic power to predict the future ruler.

Raden Sesuruh was predicted by Ki Ajar Camara Tunggal to rule over the land of Java, Siyung Winara was predicted by a hermit Ki Ageng Campaka, Bondan Kejawan was predicted by anonymous astrologer, Ki Mas Manca was predicted by magician Ki Banyubiru, while Jaka Tingkir, Ki Ageng Mataram, and Ki Gede Karang Lo were predicted by Sunan Kalijaga and Sunan Giri Prapen. The fortune tellers are usually marginal in the royal structure, but their presences are central to determining its future. The belief in this prophecy has made some kings, including Brawijaya, have to be willing to 'throw away' his baby, Bondan Kejawan, to order Ki Buyut Masahar to kill him at the age of 8 years. The King of Pajajaran who believed in Ki Ajar Campaka's prophecy carried Siyung Winara to Kali Karawang before Ki Buyut has found him.

However, before these prophecies became the truth, the future rulers needed to go through a post-prophetic journey. The journey is like a temptation, such as boycotts, expulsions, even exile. The exile is possibly defined as an 'exodus' (or in Arabic term, *hijrah*), movement from one place to another, before finally getting a total victory (Drieënhuizen & Sysling, 2018; Margana, 2019). Lord Vishnu had an exodus from Suralaya to Beringin Tujuh before returning to Suralaya and successfully defeating Watugunung. Siyung Winara had an exodus from Pajajaran to Karawang before finally defeating and taking over King of Pajajaran's throne. Raden Patah had an exodus from Palembang to Surabaya, until he returned to Majapahit to conquer Brawijaya. Jaka Tingkir made an exodus from Demak, to Tingkir, than to Banyubiru, and then back to Prawata before finally defeating Sultan of Demak, R. Trenggono. Ki Ageng Mataram had an exodus from Pajang to Bang Lampir Village, then to Mataram, before finally involved with *Three Musketers of Mataram* to defeat Arya Panangsang and his son, Raden Ngabei, returned to Pajang to defeat Adipati Pajang. These exodus occurred in various ways, ranging from expulsion, exile, baby banishment, to political intrigue of killing.

After successfully passing exodus, they would get political legitimacy to have a higher degree, such as becoming an adopted son of a king or a royal soldier. Lord Vishnu, together with his son Srigati, after his exile to Beringin Tujuh, was finally summoned by Batara Guru to be a special soldier to defeat Prabu Watugunung. Siyung Winara, after banished away to Kali Karawang, then served as Pajajaran blacksmith, hitted the Sekardelima gong to defeat all the royal guards, was finally appointed as Pajajaran soldier. Bondan Kejawan, after entrusted to Ki Buyut Masahar to kill him at the age of 8, was finally appointed as adopted son of Brawijaya. Jaka Tingkir, after being expelled to Sela Village, was finally appointed as son of Raden Patah. Ki Ageng Pamanahan, after his exodus to Bang Lampir due to Adipati Pajang's delaying in giving him a Mataram land, met Sunan Kalijaga who appointed him to be ruler of Mataram.

In the end, their prophecies came true. Except for Ki Ageng Sela, all of the above figures finally became Javanese rulers. Lord Vishnu, who is predicted to be counterweight to Islam in Mecca, eventually became God of Spirit with his descendants ruling over the eight directions of the Earth. Ki Ajar Campaka predicted that King of Pajajaran would be defeated by his concubine's son, and finally the child really replaced him as a king. Long before his birth, Bondan Kejawan was predicted by a fortune-teller that a new kingdom will rule over in Mataram after three descendants of Brawijaya from his wife, Nyai Medang, and that was the descendants of Bondan Kejawan, namely Ki Ageng Pamanahan and his son Panembahan Senapati. Mas Kretet had often been predicted, among other, by Ki Ageng Sela and Sunan Kalijaga to have supernatural powers as soldiers and would rule over the land of Java, and in the end he did become King of Pajang. During the appointment of the Sultan of Pajang in front of the Javanese dukes, Sunan Giri Prapen predicted that Ki Ageng Pamanahan would rule over the land of Java, and he would eventually become the ruler of Mataram.

The above arguments depict that these figures have gone through archetypal structures of prophetic phase. However, not all of them have passed through exodus and legitimacy, such as Bondan Kejawan, Ki Ageng Sela, Ki Mas Manca, and Ki Gede Karang Lo, and they never had absolute control over a certain dynastic territory, except as a village head, duke, bodyguard, or servant of the king. The rest, such as Lord Vishnu, Siyung Winara, Jaka Tingkir, and Ki Ageng Pamanahan, managed to be kings: God of Spirits, King of Pajajaran, King of Pajang, and King of Mataram. It is possible to argue that exodus and legitimacy seem to be a precondition of the successor of Javanese kingdom. They will not have political legitimacy as rulers without passing through them, even though the royal astrologers and fortune-tellers have predicted their futures.

Therefore, the Javanese dynastic succession involved a certain archetype: prophecy – exile/exodus – legitimacy. Prophecy is possibly defined as a source of supernatural power (macrocosm), while exodus is the initial phase for territorial ownership (microcosm), and having these phases means having an initial legitimacy as a Javanese ruler (Carey, 2008). Not merely Javanese kings, one of the greatest Muslim saints, Sunan Giri Prapen, also went through these phases. Before born, he was predicted to defeat Blambangan. After his born, he was drifted into the Ocean, and was found by Nyai Samboja. He also had an exodus to Ampel and Malacca, studied Islam with Sunan Ampel and Syeh Wali Lanang, before eventually becoming one of the most respected Muslim saints in Java (Yasadipura I, 1939b, Pupuh 11 Dhandhanggula, 35-36).

In Abrahamic religious tradition, this archetype is no longer uncommon. The arrival of the sacred prophets of the three religions (Islam, Christianity, Jewish) is a prophecy for the revelation of holy books. The holy books narrated this prophecy in messianic and eschatological stories and commonly related it to the last apostle. The exile, baptism, and exodus also became drama in the stories of the prophetic journey of Mohammad, Jesus, and Moses. The stylistic narrative of holy book is also found in *babad* in which it contains an eschatological stories of the birth of the Messiah, *Ratu Adil*, savior at the end of a kingdom from a descendant of a king (Margana, 2019). During the arrival of Ratu Adil, they have passed through archetypal journeys, ranging from prophecy, exile, exodus, before finally getting political legitimacy as Javanese rulers.

The Politics of Prophecy: From Mystical to Political Legitimacy

As explained in the previous section, the relational system among Javanese rulers that reveals the archetypal structures of their life-journeys argued that prophecy has not merely mystical, but also political impact on the dynastic succession in Java (Carey, 2008; Pohl, 1997). This section strengthens the argument of political dimension of prophecy by describing the relational system among several figures, such as

Raden Sesuruh, Raden Patah, Jaka Tingkir, Ki Ageng Pamanahan Sunan Kalijaga, and Sunan Bonang. The politics of prophecy is partly found in the use of *wangsit* (prophetic instruction) and *pusaka* (heirloom) during the Javanese dynastic succession. The mythological analysis on these figures indicates that the dynastic succession commonly resulted from the acquisition of *wangsit* and *pusaka*. Both are symbols of the Javanese kindoms, demonstrating physical and supernatural power-transition.

Raden Sesuruh, after being defeated by Siyung Winara, went to Gunung Kombang and met an ascetic Ki Ajar Camara Tunggal. The magic hermit already knew the purpose of Raden Susuruh's arrival, predicting that one day he would rule over the land of Java. Ki Ajar asked Raden Susuruh to have exodus to Singasari in eastward, untill he found a wilderness with maja bitter tree in which he ruled to build a palace (Yasadipura I, 1939a, Pupuh 7 Pangkur, 28-30).

Raden Patah, during his study of Islam in Ngampeldenta, was asked by Sunan Ampel to marry his grandson, Nyai Gede Maloka. After getting married, they need clear away the forest and asked for Sunan Ampel's guidance. Sunan Ampel asked them to go to the East, if they found a forest with a fragrant reed (*gelagah berbau harum*), they built their settlements. They followed Sunan Ampel's guidance, arrived at Bintara forest, and found the reed. In Bintara, they managed settlements, mosques, community, and prosperity (Yasadipura I, 1939b, Pupuh 11 Dhandhanggula, 169).

Mas Krebet, a young Jaka Tingkir, was advised by his aunt (*uwak*) to study with a Muslim believer, Ki Ageng Sela. Friday night, Ki Ageng Sela dreamed that Mas Krebet was cutting down the forest, pulling banyan trees with his right hand, and dragging woods with his left hand. Next day, he asked if Mas Krebet had any strange dream. Mas Krebet said that he had dreamed he made shaking of Telamaya Mountain after eating the dropped moon. Surely, Ki Ageng Sela was amazed, and he believed that Mas Krebet would had a destiny to be a Javanese ruler (Yasadipura I, 1939c, Pupuh 21 Asmaradhana, 21).

Ki Ageng Mataram, after his meditation in Gunung Kidul, met the best friend, Ki Ageng Giring, a nira seeker. While looking for nira, Ki Ageng Giring heard a magical voice from a coconut tree, "whoever drinks this coconut water, his descendants will later become great kings of Java." Ki Ageng Giring brought it to his house, and he advised his wife not to let anyone drink the water. Ki Ageng Giring went to the forest, looking for wood. Ki Ageng Pamanahan came to Ki Ageng Giring's house, seeing a coconut on the stove, because he was thirsty, he immediately drank it. Ki Ageng Giring came from the forest, surprised that the coconut water was gone (Yasadipura I, 1939d, Pupuh 32 Dhandhanggula, 39-45).

Panembahan Senapati, after successfully escaping from the rebellious Ki Bocor who planned to kill him, went straight to have a meditation on a rock at Lipura, until he fell asleep. Ki Juru, his uncle as well as his advisor, did not sleep well with a bad feeling. He went to Lipura, waking up Senapati. Suddenly a shining coconut-sized-star circling above Senapati. The star voiced that Senapati's meditation was acceptable and would become the king of Java, but in the last generation, his kingdom will be divided into some territories (Yasadipura I, 1939e, Pupuh 34 Dhandhanggula, 53-75).

Sunan Kalijaga, or Syeh Malaya, arrived late when the Muslim saints almost finished the building of Demak Mosque. At that time, Muslim saints have disputed who was the first *imam* at Demak Mosque. Suddenly, something fell into the middle of them: the package of Mohammad's shaw covered in prayer rug. Sunan Bonang threw the package up, and it fell onto Sunan Kalijaga. Seh Malaya was finally appointed as *imam*. Sunan Kalijaga had meditation for 40 days, sewing goatskin into a cloth, Antakusumo. Each stitch of the sewing needle is undertaken by reading *lailaha*, then each retraction of the sewing needle was following *illallah*. Sunan Kalijaga said that the cloth would be used as a royal vest for Javanese rulers (Yasadipura I, 1939c, Pupuh 18 Dhandhanggula, 23-26).

Sunan Bonang, after being involved in building Demak Mosque, summoned a Sedayu dagger expert, Ki Sura, to make a *keris* from his spear. Ki Sura made a *sengkalet*-styled-*keris*. However, Sunan Bonang was not pleased, and he asked him to make another *keris*. Ki Sura made a *pasopati*-styled-*keris*. However, Sunan Bonang still doesn't like it. Sunan Bonang made a meditation in Pancagrama forest, and he saw a teak stump overgrown with fern vines in the middle. He took the teak stump, then made it into *pasikepan* for the two *keris*. The *pasikepan* was given the name *tunggak sinemi* which would be used by the kings of Java (Yasadipura I, 1939c, Pupuh 18 Dhandhanggula, 27-52).

Based on the above description of the political dynastic succession, some figures such as Raden Sesuruh (RS), Raden Patah (RP), Jaka Tingkir (JT), Ki Ageng Pamanahan (AP), Panembahan Senapati (PS), Sunan Kalijaga (SK), and Sunan Bonang (SB) have similar archetype of their prophecies.

Table 2. Mythological Archetype of Mystical Prophecy of the Javanese Rulers

Rulers	PROPHECY			POLITICAL POSITION		
RS	divine	Ki Ajar's prophecy	object	Maja fruit	result	King of Majapahit
RP		Sunan Ampel's prophecy		Glagah tree		King of Demak
JT		Dream		Banyan tree and moon		King of Pajang
AP		Unseen voice		Coconut		King of Early Matara
PS		Unseen voice		Coconut-sized light		King of Mataram
SK		Sky		Prophet's shaw and rug		King's Heirloom
SB		Hunch		Teak stump and fern vines		King's Heirloom

Table 2 figures out that *wangsit* became a precondition of mystical legitimacy in political succession of Javanese rulers (Lestari, 2020; Mulder, 2001). The figures, such as Raden Sesuruh, Raden Patah, Jaka Tingkir, Ki Ageng Pamanahan, to Panembahan Senapati obtained *wangsit* before actually appointed as the real king. In addition to the Javanese kings, the Muslim saints also received *wangsit*. However, they are not successors of Javanese rulers, but providers of their heirlooms (*pusaka*). Sunan Kalijaga received a prophetic instruction (*wangsit*) in the form of Mohamad's sacred scarf and prayer mat during the debate of the first *imam* at Demak Mosque, then he sewed them for the king's heirloom. Sunan Bonang had *wangsit* in the form of an intuition of *pasikepan keris* made of teak wood and fern vines during his meditation in the Pancagrama forest, and the *keris* was also presented as a king's heirloom.

Uniquely, the prophetic divine (*wangsit*) as mystical legitimacy often resolved psychological uncertainty and political dispute among Javanese rulers. On Friday night Ki Ageng Sela dreamed that Mas Krebet was cutting down the forest, he pulled the banyan trees with his right hand and dragged forest woods with the left hand. At the time, Ki Ageng Sela felt doubtful. Next day, Mas Krebet told his dream that he had eaten the dropped moon and made the shaking of Telamaya Mountain. At that time, Ki Ageng Sela believed that Mas Krebet, a son of Ki Kebo Kenanga, would become ruler of Java.

It also occurred to Ki Ageng Giring. After knowing that Ki Ageng Pamanahan was drinking coconut water, he was surprised and disappointed, but he finally believed that Pamanahan and his descendants would be ruler of Java. Moreover, Ki Ageng Giring asked for a political distribution of Mataram to his own descendants.

After Sultan Pajang's murder to Raden Pabelan, a nephew of Panembahan Senapati, he had been challenged a war in Prambanan. After Bende Si Bicak was beaten at Brambanan, he heard that Gunung Kidul rumbled, roared, emitted fire. Sultan Pajang was suddenly surprised and doubtful. Adipati Tuban had convinced him to continue to fight with Senapati, but he believed that these microcosmic catastrophes signed the end of his reign, the prophetic light (*cahaya nurbuat*) has moved to Mataram. This narrative shows the way *wangsit* has influenced on Sultan Pajang's conviction of his power downfall.

The prophetic divine's influence on the political decision-making also occurred during Muslim saint's dispute of the first *imam* at Demak Mosque. At that time, after Demak's conquest to Majapahit, Muslim saints built Demak Mosque. Suddenly, a luminous bundle fell down from the sky, a Prophet's prayer rug wrapped in shawl. Sunan Bonang threw the bundle, and it fell into Sunan Kalijaga. The debate was over, and Sunan Kalijaga was the chosen *imam* at Demak Mosque.

Apart from its 'intermediary' in political dispute and conviction of Javanese rulers, the prophetic divine (*wangsit*) also became a mystical symbol of their powers. This divine appeared in various forms, usually in the form of fruit or trees, a typical object of worship in Javanese Hindu tradition. However, it could be the intermediary of dreams or hunches of astrologers, fortune-tellers, holy people, or Muslim saints. Their dreams are commonly necessary to have an exodus or clearing away certain areas with some mystical objects. The prophetic divine also appeared in hidden voices or—more radically—the suddenly-dropped-object from the sky.

Ki Ajar Camara Tunggal asked Raden Sesuruh to had an exodus and clear away the forest with a bitter maja tree. This tree is possibly interpreted as majesty and wisdom. In Hindu tradition, the maja tree is considered as incarnation of Lord Shiva. (Ramadhan, 2020) The glorification of tree is similar to the story of Sidharta Gautama with the Bodhi Tree. In Buddhism, the tree is a shelter for an ascetic Gautama to achieve perfection. The Bodhi Tree is perceived as a symbol of the majesty and wisdom of the Buddha.

Unlike Raden Sesuruh, Raden Patah was asked by Sunan Ampel to clear the forest with a fragrant reed tree. The reed is apparently antithesis of the maja tree. If the later bears bitter fruit with extraordinary strength of branches, then the former is just like brittle grass, smooth, but with extraordinary strength of roots. With the strength of its roots and the softness of its stalks, this tree, which is similar to the combination of rice and cotton, is a symbol of strength, equality, and friendliness, as a representation of Demak kingdom, to be strong but still nurturing equal, and friendly to the common people.

Ki Ageng Sela asked Jaka Tingkir to be servant of Demak after he had previously dreamed of him carrying banyan tree in his right and carrying forest woods in his left. It is coupled with Jaka Tingkir's own dream that he swallowed the moon and made the shaking of Telamaya. The banyan tree, moon, and Telamaya are symbols of strength, magic, superiority, and majesty. The banyan tree, for example, has long been used as a symbol of strength and a source of supernatural powers. There is always a banyan tree in almost all Javanese palaces, commonly used for *pepe* (meditation for waiting for the divine instruction) (Lestariningsih, 2016). The strength of its roots and the breadth of its leaves are symbols of territorial unity.

Meanwhile, Ki Ageng Pamanahan and Panembahan Senapati, the ancestors of Mataram, had prophetic divine in the form of mysterious voices. These voices were different, but the prophetic object was the same: a coconut. Ki Ageng Mataram drank Ki Ageng Giring's coconut water after previously hearing a mysterious voice, while Panembahan Senapati also heard the magical voice of a coconut-sized light after his meditation in Lipura. The coconut fruit is a symbol of benefit for all people; small in shape, but huge in benefits, for medicine, food, drink, and daily needs. Mataram is imagined as having the power

of a coconut (tree); although small and limited, it still provides the widest possible benefit to the people. The mysterious voice also represents that *wangsit* is a symbol of mystery, either the beginning and the end of power (Mohamad, 1993, 1996; Mohamad & McGlynn, 2006).

The prophetic divine could be a particular object dropped from the sky, as occurred during the debate among Muslim saints on the first *imam* at Demak Mosque. The Prophet's shawl and prayer rug were suddenly dropped the midst of them, then they were thrown up and fell into Sunan Kalijaga. The shawl and rug are symbols of prostration and protection (Kusno, 2003). The Muslim saints brought Islam to Java with the similar vision. Islam became a source of submission, but the submission has double meaning. It is not merely a religious symbol of worship, but also a political symbol of subjugating territory.

The shawl and rug also represent a negotiation between Islam and Java. Sunan Kalijaga had to sew them to be used as Javanese heirlooms. It implies that the prophetic Islam is not taken for granted in Java. It must first be modified, 'sewn', embroidered into Antakusumo vest to be a suitable heirloom for Javanese rulers. The modification of heirloom is necessary, because Javanese rulers are different from Mecca leaders who had accustomed to wear scarves and mats. Furthermore, the shawl and rug had more symbolic meaning of power rather than just the clothes.

Another prophetic object is teak stump (*tunggak jati*) and fern tendrils (*salur pakis*). Sunan Bonang crafted them into *pasikepan* of two *keris*, *pasopati* and *sengkalet*, as Javanese heirlooms. Teak stumps and fern vines are two symbols with two different philosophies. Teak stumps are known to be strong and beautiful, while fern vines are smooth and soft. Both imply that power must strike a balance between strength and tenderness. (K. D. Nugroho & Darmojo, 2019) Because of these strenghts, they need *pasikepan*, a cover or algae, as an equalizer for strength and virility of two *keris*. This algae, *tunggak semi*, and two *keris*, *pasopati* and *sengkalet*, represent a Javanese wisdom of power: to develop strength, magic, and glory (*keris*) to deal with the mysterious future (*tunggak semi*) without being ripped from their roots and ancestors (*tunggak jati* and *salur pakis*).

The future Javanese rulers, as explained before, need a prophetic divine before getting political legitimacy of the real king. This prophecy is a symbol of mystical and political power, since it possibly intermediated political dispute in the royal family circle. (Frankel, 1984; Pohl, 1997) That is why the Javanese kings, beside having an authority of political instruction, also had *sabda raja* (royal proclamation) which no one could deny (Bakir & Fawaid, 2017; Fawaid, 2015; Fawaid et al., 2019, 2022; Sumarlam, 2016). This prophecy is also often a symbol of a power succession. Almost all Javanese rulers always get the prophetic divine before being the successor of the previous ones.

CONCLUSION

² *Babad Tanah Jawi* is a prophetic text which contains prophecy of the future Javanese kingdom. Although prophetic narratives are different, their archetypal structures are similar. This similarity laid on the patterns of relational systems of the Javanese rulers. It figures out that past events are prophetic prologomena of the future. These events ranged from the life-journey of Javanese rulers to the politics of Javanese prophetic divine (*wangsit*) and heirloom (*pusaka*).

³ In terms of life-journey of Javanese rulers, the prophetic structure is based on the fact that the stylistic narrative of *Babad Tanah Jawi* is like a holy book, because it contains eschatological narratives of the birth of Messiah, *Ratu Adil*, savior at the end of a kingdom from a descendant of the king. During the process of becoming *Ratu Adil*, the archetypal structures between different Javanese rulers are similar: they passed through exodus, before finally being the legitimated rulers of Java.

In the symbolic politics of *wangsit*, its prophetic structure is based on the fact that Javanese rulers need the prophetic powers of a mystic, a holy person, astrologer, even a Muslim saint. However, this prophecy is not merely a symbol of supernatural, but also political power which possibly intermediates the political dispute in the royal family circle.

This study has contributed on rethinking idea of prophecy beyond their conventional definition into the terms of politics during Javanese dynastic succession periods. The implication of this study is a fact that prophecy is political, since it functions as a condition for the succession of royal politics on the one hand and as a characteristic of *Babad Tanah Jawi* which contains a repeated patterns (structure) of political succession from the previous dynasties to the future ones.

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