

## MEMORY OF THE WORLD REGISTER

### **Babad Diponegoro or Autobiographical Chronicle of Prince Diponegoro (1785-1855). A Javanese nobleman, Indonesian national hero and pan-Islamist (Indonesia and The Netherlands)**

2012-49

#### **I SUMMARY**

The autobiographical chronicle of the Javanese nobleman, Indonesian national hero and Pan-Islamist, Prince Diponegoro (1785-1855) (literally 'The Light of the Country') of Yogyakarta – the **Babad Diponegoro** ('The Chronicle of Diponegoro') - written in exile in North Sulawesi (Celebes) in 1831-1832 - is the personal record of a key figure in modern Indonesian history. It is also perhaps the first ego-document (autobiography) in modern Javanese literature (see further **4.3 (e)**) and shows unusual sensitivity to local conditions and experiences. A Yogyakarta prince who lived through the troubled transition from Java's pre-1808 Old Order through the years of Marshal Herman Willem Daendels (1762-1818, in office, 1808-1811), Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781-1826, in office 1811-16), the returned Dutch administration (1816-26) of Governor-General G.A.G.Ph. van der Capellen (1778-1848, in office 1816-26), and the Java War (1825-30) to the high colonial period (1830-1942), Diponegoro's life encapsulated the paradoxes of the modern age of globalization caused by the twin political and industrial revolutions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Europe. A Javanese mystic inspired by the prophetic visions of Java's spirit guardians and the 'apostles' of Islam (*wali songo*) who had established the renewed Islamic faith in Java in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, he saw himself cast in the role of a Javanese 'Just King' (*Ratu Adil*) sent to restore the moral order in Java, an order based on a unique fusion of Javanese and Islamic beliefs. Diponegoro was a follower of the Satariyah and Naqsabandiyah *tarekat* (mystical brotherhoods) which linked him with the world of international Islam through the *ulama* networks spanning the Indian Ocean. He was also a great admirer of the Ottoman Empire which he knew about from the reports of returned Mekka pilgrims who had made the court-sponsored pilgrimages (haj) from south-central Java in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. He even consciously modeled his administrative and military organizations during the Java War on Ottoman practice in the *haraman* (holy cities of Mekka and Medina) (see further **4.3 (b)**).

Leader of the five-year struggle against the Dutch known as the Java War (1825-30), he rallied a uniquely broad cross-section of Javanese society against the colonial state, his 'holy war' (*prang sabil*) prefiguring in some respects the Indonesian nationalist movement of the early twentieth century with its fusion of Javanese national identity and Islam. This struggle also had international ramifications involving *inter alia* the United Kingdom and British India, whose sepoy troops from the Bengal Presidency Army were requested as reinforcements by the Dutch commander-in-chief in Java, Hendrik Merkus de Kock (1779-1845) in the second and third years of the war (1827-8) to help turn the tide of battle in the Dutch colony (NA, Ministerie van Kolonien 2923, Verbaal, 6-03-1827, Litt II). Diponegoro's own fate also became bound up with the July 1830 Revolution in France, which created a national monarchy under the citizen-king Louis-Philippe (reigned, 1830-48), and the post-24 August 1830 uprising in Brussels. This revolt of the Southern Netherlands (post-21 July 1831, Belgium) challenged the Dutch with the prospect of the outbreak of a war in Europe involving both

Britain and France. There was a fear in The Hague that the British would use their naval strength in the Indian Ocean to make an attack on the Netherlands East Indies, and capture Manado in Northern Sulawesi (Celebes), where Diponegoro was being held as an exile since his capture at Magelang at the end of the Java War (28 March 1830). The prospect that the British might use Diponegoro as a 'puppet ruler' and restore his former status as a Javanese-Islamic 'Just King' (Ratu Adil), forced the Dutch to move the prince south to the much stronger fortification of Makassar in the South Sulawesi (Celebes) in June 1833 (Carey 2007: 734-40). He would ultimately die in captivity there in January 1855.

Although defeated, arrested and exiled by the Dutch at a 'peace conference', Diponegoro's name lived on. After Indonesia's independence in August 1945, he became the country's first national hero (*pahlawan nasional*) (10 November 1973), and inspiration for political associations and institutions as diverse as the Indonesian Communist Party (Partai Komunis Indonesia / PKI), which had his portrait on the wall of their headquarters in Madiun in the early 1920s, the State University of Semarang (which changed its name from Universitas Semarang to Universitas Diponegoro under President Sukarno's urging in October 1960) and the Central Java Army Division (Divisi Diponegoro).

## **2. DETAILS OF THE NOMINATORS**

### **2.1 Names**

The Indonesian National Library (Perpustakaan Nasional Indonesia) and the Royal Institute for Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV) in Leiden/Jakarta.

### **2.2 Relationship to the documentary heritage nominated**

The Indonesian National Library has worked closely with the Indonesian National Committee for UNESCO (Komisi Nasional Indonesia untuk UNESCO), which is the coordinating body for the Indonesian UNESCO Memory of the World program, and the Indonesian Academy of Sciences (Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia/LIPI). It has been closely advised by the British biographer of Diponegoro (Dr Peter Carey), currently resident in Indonesia, the keeper of Javanese manuscripts at the Indonesian National Library (Drs Nindyo Nugroho) and the Director of the Royal Institute for Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV) in Leiden, Prof Dr G.J. Oostindie. On the basis of this advice, it has decided that the original copy of the Babad Diponegoro and the complete manuscript of the Dutch translation, should be nominated to be included in the MoW register as part of the cultural heritage of the nation. These manuscripts, which are held by the National Library of Indonesia and the Library of the KITLV in Leiden can be categorized as a rare collection because they are the most authentic surviving texts of the prince's autobiography. The Babad Diponegoro in its Javanese original and the Dutch translation, along with other invaluable manuscripts, are worth preserving for study, research and dissemination. Some parts contain important materials beneficial for intellectual capacity building, especially for an understanding of Javanese culture, for the present as well as the future, not only for Indonesia but for the wider Asia-Pacific region and beyond.

### **2.3 Contact persons**

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## 3. Identity and Description of the Documentary Heritage

### 3.1 Name and identification details of the items being nominated

**Name:** **(1) Babad Diponegoro and (2) Dutch Translation**  
The manuscript, which is currently deposited in the Indonesian National Library (Accession Number KBG282), was copied from the original held by Diponegoro's surviving family in Makassar, which itself was written between 20 May 1831 and 5 February 1832. The copy was made on the orders of the scholar of Old Javanese literature and honorary member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences (Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen), A.B. Cohen Stuart (1825-1876), in 1865-1866. This copy runs to 1,151 manuscript pages in *pégon* script (Javanese written in Arabic characters) and text in the Javanese *tembang macapat* (verse) literary genre (for a full description, see Appendix I). The Dutch translation in the KITLV Library in Leiden (Accession Number DH 589, donated 1937) runs to 520 pages and was prepared under the supervision of the Bataviaasch Genootschap in Batavia (post-1942, Jakarta) initially by Cohen Stuart and subsequently by the scholar of Modern Javanese and Madurese, Willem Palmer van den Broek (1823-1881) (for a full description,

see  
Appendix II).

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## 3.2 Description

### 3.2.1 Description and history of the manuscript

The *pégon* script text of Diponegoro's chronicle, which is currently kept in the Indonesian National Library (Perpustakaan Nasional) in Jakarta, constitutes the sole version of this manuscript which survives in the original script in which it was written in 1831-1832 (Notulen 1878:13, 35). Kept as a family heirloom by the prince's family after his death in Fort Rotterdam in Makassar on 8 January

1855, it was copied under the orders of the Dutch scholar and honorary member of the Batavian (post-1910, Royal Batavian) Society of Arts and Sciences ([Koninklijk] Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen), A.B. Cohen Stuart (1825-1876), in the mid-1860s. Cohen Stuart had the intention of preparing a Dutch translation, the text being considered both by himself and his fellow Batavian Society board members 'hard to over-estimate' (*moeielijk te overschatten*) in terms of its value for historical criticism and an understanding of the 'way of thinking and historical assumptions of the Javanese' (Notulen, 1877:91), a judgment later endorsed by the Dutch military historian of the Java War, P.J.F. Louw (1859-1924) (1892:151). The Dutch translation was subsequently revised under the direction of the Dutch scholar of Javanese and Madurese, Willem Palmer van den Broek (1823-81), but was of uneven quality because of the many translators used and the inability of the Batavian Society to identify a single competent scholar of Javanese prepared to take on such a massive literary task (Notulen 1877:89-95). Meanwhile, the original text, from which this copy was made, was subsequently returned to Diponegoro's family in Makassar (Notulen 1877:94) and is now no longer extant. The family does, however, possess other later writings by the prince on Javanese history and Islamic mysticism, for example the so-called Makassar manuscripts (Carey 2007:744-5).

The version presently in the National Library, which bears the accession number KBG [Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap] 282, is the most authentic surviving manuscript. Considering the environmental circumstances, it is only natural that the original of the Babad Diponegoro has not survived the tropical climate of Indonesia. This is even more the case when we take into account the extraordinarily unfavourable conditions in which the authograph was kept in Manado and Makassar

for over 30 years since its original inception. René Teygeler's seminal publication *Preservation of Archives in Tropical Climates: An Annotated Bibliography* (Paris: International Council on Archives, 2001), identifies the specific problems encountered when dealing with the preservation of archival materials in tropical countries:

'In general, the high tropical temperatures (and relative humidities) play a major role in accelerating the rate of chemical and biological processes as well as providing a conducive atmosphere for the multiplication of tropical insects' (Teygeler 2001:18)

In other words, in tropical countries it is normal for manuscripts to 'die young' and quite abnormal to survive. Of course, all this has been known for a long time by colonial archivists and librarians, as well as by indigenous authors and their readers. It is the reason why right from the start the routine of copying manuscripts came into existence. Copying manuscripts is, of course, a laborious activity and as a rule only the most valuable ones – like the Babad Diponegoro – were copied. Usually in order to survive in a tropical climate, a manuscript had to be copied every 20-30 years.

The events of the Java War, and the conflicted loyalties it generated for the Javanese elite, provoked a veritable *babad* (chronicle, memoir) writing industry. Subsequent to Prince Diponegoro's writing of his chronicle, a number of protagonists on both the Dutch and Javanese sides - as well as official court-poets based in the Yogyakarta and Surakarta (including the minor Pakualaman and Mangkunegaran courts) - penned their own versions to justify their political decisions (Carey 1974, 1981). Since these subsequent chronicles and memoirs are also sometimes confusingly referred to as 'Babad Diponegoro', the question might arise as to whether there are not one but many versions of the same literary work? This question can be easily answered. There is only **one** such text, namely, the original written by Prince Diponegoro himself in exile in Manado in 1831-1832, and only **one** authentic surviving version of the same, namely the *pégon* script version in the Indonesian National Library, which was verified as a direct copy of the original by the Dutch scholar of Old Javanese, A.B. Cohen Stuart, and his colleagues who served on the governing board of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences in the 1860s; and those who worked under Willem Palmer van den Broek in preparing the unique Dutch translation (Notulen 1877:89-95).

Subsequently, Javanese script (*aksara Jawa*) versions of the Babad Diponegoro were made. The first of these (Indonesian National Library accession number KBG 283 a-b) was also transcribed in Batavia (Jakarta) at almost the same time as the *pégon* original. Later, an edited version of this Javanese script text, which omits the whole historical section dealing with the history of Java from the fourteenth-century kingdom of Majapahit to Diponegoro's birth in 1785, was published in Javanese characters by the leading Dutch East Indies publishing house Albert Rusche & Co of Surakarta (Rusche 1908-9; Second edition 1917). This has long been out of print. More recently, the Museum and History Department of the Jakarta Special Capital Region (Daerah Khusus Ibukota/DKI), as well as the Government of Indonesia's Department of Education and Culture and the Indonesian local historian, Amen Budiman (1940-97), have prepared Indonesian translations and romanised Javanese versions of parts of this Javanese character text. But the first only deals with Batavia and is only available in stencil (Sudibjo 1969), while the second was only issued in a limited edition and gives no indication as to the origins of the Javanese text used (Ambaristi and Lasman Marduwiyoto 1983). Furthermore, only one volume of Budiman's translation – covering cantos XIV to XX in the original – namely, the period of Diponegoro's childhood at Tegalrejo (1793-1805) to the outbreak of the Java War in July 1825 - was ever published (Budiman 1980).

### 3.2.2 Contents of the text

The 1,151-folio chronicle composed in 1830-31 in rhyming Javanese verse (*macapat*) by the Yogyakarta prince, Prince Diponegoro (literally: 'The Light of the Country') (1785-1855), who was the son of the third Sultan of Yogyakarta, Hamengkubuwana III (reigned 1812-1814), by an

unofficial wife, Radèn Ayu Mangkorowati. He led the Java War (1825-1830) against the Dutch and is now one of modern Indonesia's foremost national heroes (*pahlawan nasional*). Written at the beginning of his exile (1830-1855) on the Indonesian island of Sulawesi (Celebes), it was composed in *pégon* script (Javanese written in unvocalised Arabic letters – a script favoured by the more devout Muslim community in Java) and completed in just under nine months (20 May 1831 – 2 February 1832) with the help of a Javanese amanuensis or scribe whose identity is still unclear (see the discussion in Appendix V note 36).

The first third of the chronicle gives an account of the history of Java from the fourteenth-century heyday of the Majapahit empire in East Java through to the foundation and zenith of the central Javanese Mataram kingdom under Panembahan Sénapati (reigned, 1575-1601) and Sultan Agung (reigned, 1613-1646), and ends with the Dutch-brokered political division of south-central Java between Sultan Mangkubumi's (reigned, 1749-1792) newly established Yogyakarta and Sunan Pakubuwana III's (reigned, 1749-88) Mataram successor state of Surakarta (13 February 1755).

The last two-thirds of the text contains Diponegoro's autobiography proper beginning with his birth in the Yogyakarta *kraton* (court) on 11 November 1785 and his adoption at the age of seven in 1793 by his great-grandmother, Ratu Ageng, the widow of the first sultan of Yogyakarta. The chronicle describes his upbringing on her estate at Tegalreja some three kilometers to the west of the sultan's capital where he was taught to mix with the local farming communities and engage in ascetic and meditative practices while receiving his education as a devout Muslim from local *ulama* (religious scholars). The young prince's spiritually significant pilgrimage to the south coast of Java in *circa* 1805

– a form of *rite de passage* marking his passage to full adulthood as a young nobleman – is also discussed along with his meetings with the spirit guardians of Java, one of whom the legendary fifteenth-century apostle of Islam in south-central Java, Sunan Kalijogo, warned him of Java's imminent 'destruction' and his subsequent role as a defender of Javanese values ('*you alone are the means, but that not for long, only to be counted amongst the ancestors!*'). He was also given explicit warning by Sunan Kalijaga to reject all British attempts to appoint him as Crown Prince, a warning which gives the lie to later Dutch historiographical attempts to portray his struggle as a result of thwarted political ambitions (Carey 2007:150-1, 324-7). The text then gives a brief account of the dramatic events of the governorships of Marshal Herman Willem Daendels (1808-1811) and Thomas Stamford Raffles (British interregnum) (1811-1816) when the Yogyakarta court was humiliated and plundered first by Daendels (December 1810/January 1811) and then by the British (20 June 1812). The brief reign of Diponegoro's father, Hamengkubuwana III (1812-1814), is also described as well as the political challenges of the minority reigns of the boy sultan, Hamengkubuwana IV (1814-1822), and his infant successor, Hamengkubuwana V (1822-1826 / 1828-1855). The negative impact of the returned Dutch colonial regime (post-1818, 'Netherlands Indies') is reflected in various ways in Diponegoro's babad. Amongst these his description of the first Dutch Resident, H.G. Nahuys van Burgst (in office, 1816-22), who merely enjoyed 'eating, drinking and the spreading of Dutch ways', and his rejection of Van Burgst's land-rent policy which involved leasing land from Yogyakarta nobles. The attempts by the Dutch to restore their financial position through the use of Chinese-run tollgates are also noted in the chronicle and amplify what we know from other sources, for example the official Residency reports, about the widespread suffering and discontent of the Javanese peasantry in the run-up to the Java War (Nahuys van Burgst 1826). The babad likewise describes the prince's inner turmoil and his preparation as a spiritual and religious leader through his pre-war visions of the Javanese 'Just King' (*Ratu Adil*) and the 'apostles' (*wali*) who had spread Islam in Java in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The immediate *casus belli* of the Java War is described in the babad's account of the demarcation of a public highway through the prince's estate by Dutch-appointed officials in Yogya in mid-July 1825. Following the outbreak of the Java War on 20 July 1825, the text gives a detailed description of

Diponegoro's five-year struggle against the Dutch and their Javanese allies. This includes the prince's continuing visions and his establishment of an alternative theocratic government based on the example of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century priest-kings of Giri and Demak. Committed to raising up the 'high state of the Islamic religion throughout Java' (*mangun luhur agami Islam wonten ing Tanah Jawa sedaya*), the babad shows how Diponegoro evinced a particular interest and admiration for the political and military organization of the Ottoman-Turkish empire, especially its famed Janissary corps, an interest reflected in the prince's own order of battle and his granting of Ottoman-Turkish military titles (Ali Pasha, Dullah etc) to his key commanders. The text thus affords an insight into the Javanese understanding of the role of the worldwide Muslim religious *umamah* (community of Believers) at a time of Western colonial expansion in the Middle East, the universalist values of Islam as a world religion, and its specific role as a guarantor of the moral order in Java, an order which - for Diponegoro - also encompassed specific Javanese pre-Islamic – Hindu-Buddhist and animist - beliefs. The babad ends with a blow-by-blow account of the prince's treacherous arrest by the Dutch at the Magelang 'peace conference' on 28 March 1830- treachery acknowledged both by the son of the Dutch king, Prince Hendrik de Zeevaarder (1820-1879), and the Dutch commander-in-chief, Lieutenant-General Hendrik Merkus de Kock (1779-1845) who described this action as '*onedel en oneerlijk*' (ignoble and dishonest). He then gives a brief description of his journey into exile by carriage and steamboat via Semarang (29 March-5 April 1830) to the colonial capital, Batavia (8 April-3 May 1830), and his exile voyage to Manado in North Sulawesi on a Dutch naval corvette (sloop-of-war), Pollux, from 4 May-10 June 1830. Finally, the origins of the writing of his chronicle are described in a somewhat fanciful account of Diponegoro's conversation with the Dutch Resident of Manado, D.F.W. Pietermaat (in office, 1827-1831), and the latter's promise that he would forward a letter to the King of the Netherlands, Willem I (reigned, 1813-1840), requesting permission for the prince to undertake the *haj* (pilgrimage) to Mecca, in return for a full description of Diponegoro's life and times (see further Appendix V).

#### **4. Justification for Inclusion / Assessment against Criteria**

##### **4.1 Authenticity**

Babad Diponegoro's authenticity is verifiable from the records of the Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences, in particular the reports of A.B. Cohen Stuart and his fellow Batavian Society board members. They oversaw the copying of the prince's original manuscript in the period after Diponegoro's death on 8 January 1855 and subsequently ensured that their manuscript copies were placed in the Society's collection, from whence they have now been bequeathed to the Indonesian National Library (Notulen 1878: 13, 35).

##### **4.2 World significance, uniqueness and irreplaceability**

The significance of the heritage resides first in its (a) authorship and genre (an ego-document or autobiography), (b) historical context, (c) its importance as a testimony to Java's vanished pre-colonial order and culture, and (d) its value for humanity, subjects which are dealt with more fully in Appendix V. It is a unique and irreplaceable text because there are no other known *pégon* script copies of the original manuscript extant. It could also be seen as the first autobiography in Modern Javanese literature (see **4.3 (e)**), and exemplifies the truth of Edmund Burke's (1729-1797) dictum that history is '**a pact between the dead, the living and the yet unborn**'. The Babad Diponegoro documents the following as aspects of Javanese culture, religion and history:

##### **(a) Political Leadership**

The role and responsibilities of the Javanese 'Just King' (*Ratu Adil*) in guaranteeing the happiness and welfare of his subjects at a time of extraordinary change caused by the twin political and

industrial revolutions in Europe and new colonial order in Java (see further the Appendix V); and the importance of combining spiritual and temporal authority in the person of the ruler (see further **3.2.2**). Diponegoro's upbringing enabled him to appeal to very diverse communities including the world of the courts, the villages, the *pesantren* (Islamic religious boarding schools in Java) and those involved in trade and long-distance commerce (including Arabs and Chinese).

### **(b) Javanese national awakening and the challenge of globalisation**

The Babad Diponegoro chronicles in great detail the concern of Diponegoro and his senior commanders for the preservation of Javanese culture and language in the face of Western encroachments and the establishment of the new colonial order in the shape of the post-January 1818 Netherlands East Indies state. Diponegoro insisted on the use of the Javanese language, specifically 'High Javanese' (*kromo inggil*), and the adoption of Javanese dress, by Dutch POWs. But he combined these culturally specific demands with a broad and practical analysis of Javanese-Dutch relations, indicating through his peace plenipotentiaries in 1829-30 before the Magelang Conference (when he was arrested by the Dutch) that he was prepared to offer the Dutch colonialists three options: (1) that they could embrace Islam, in which case their administrative or military positions would be enhanced; (2) they could return to their own country in which case relations between the Javanese and the Dutch would remain as brothers and friends; or finally(3) if they wished to remain in Java, they would be required to restrict themselves to residence in two cities on the North Coast of Java – namely, Batavia, the colonial capital, and Semarang, the former seat of the Government of Java's Northeast Coast. There they would be offered the chance to continue to conduct trading and commercial relations with the Javanese provided that they paid the going international market prices for Javanese products – in particular cash crops like indigo, coffee, sugar etc - and also paid the right rents for any land on which they resided or built their trading posts. Diponegoro's vision looked to a globalised future in which the archipelago would be part of an international network of trade and capital flows.

Diponegoro's defeat in 1830 paved the way for the introduction of Johannes van den Bosch's 'Cultivation System' (1830-77), whereby Javanese products were bought by the Dutch colonial state at low fixed prices and then sold on world markets at international rates, a system which netted the Dutch state 832 million guilders (equivalent to USD75 billion in today's money) thus easing the country's transition to a modern industrialized economy. Post-Java War developments thus underscored the validity of Diponegoro's concerns for a state of fair trade and economic exchange between the Javanese and the Dutch colonial power which he had articulated through his peace plenipotentiaries in 1829-30.

### **(c) Respect for religion as part of the wider 'moral order' of society**

The Babad Diponegoro explores the role of the 'Just King' (*Ratu Adil*) as the guardian of the moral order of society, and guarantor of respect for the place of Islam in Javanese society. It also foregrounds the universalist values of Islam as a world religion while acknowledging the role of other religions and belief systems, in particular the important influence of the ancestors and spiritual guardians/deities of Java. It is a key document for understanding the syncretic synthesis which lies at the heart of Javanese Islam.

### **(d) Relations with the Middle East and the Ottoman Empire**

The Panislamist policies which the Ottoman Empire adopted during the reign of Abdülhamid II (1871-1909) and onwards have been a rather popular topic for the scholars studying late Ottoman history as well as those studying the political developments in the wider Islamic world during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The available literature focuses on the Ottoman aspect of the phenomenon and neglects the role of Southeast Asians' - rulers and people - demand for



Ottoman Empire's intervention against the European colonial presence and expansion in the region. Documents from Diponegoro's senior commanders, like Ali Basah Pengalasan (letter of 12 December 1829, see Carey 1974: 287-88), who negotiated with the Dutch in 1829-30, reflect a particular Javanese perception of the position and role of the Ottoman Sultan as Caliph. They thus form part of a wider collection of documents including letters and testimonies which made their way to the Ottoman chancery during the diplomatic contacts that predated the rule of Abdülhamid II such as: the letter of the Ruler of Kedah requesting Ottoman Aid (1824-25); documents relating to the Acehese Embassy to Istanbul (1849-52); documents relating to Ali b. Ja'far's (Emir of Riau) request to become an Ottoman subject (1857); documents related to the request of a Dutchman called Hymans for appointment as Ottoman Consul in Semarang (1865); the petition of the Sultan of Jambi to the Ottoman Sultan (1858); the petitions of the ruler of Aceh for Ottoman protection (1869). It is apparent that the initiatives, to which these documents are related, predate Ottoman Pan-Islamist policies while the rhetoric employed in these documents all contain elements of Pan-Islamist policies.

When it is established that, chronologically, Pan-Islamist sentiments in South East Asia predate any Ottoman policies in that direction the question arises of whether these sentiments and initiatives might have had any impact on the formation of Ottoman Pan-Islamism? The Babad Diponegoro gives special attention to the role of the Hadramis and Arabs from the Red Sea Coast (Jeddah) who might have functioned as a conveyor of these Southeast Asian sentiments to the Ottoman court through their familial ties with the Sayyids who lived in Hijaz and Istanbul. In short, the babad forms part of a wider Southeast Asian demand for Ottoman Pan-Islamist policies which may have been one of the factors in instigating the formation of these policies by the end of the nineteenth century.

#### **(e) Social justice and good governance**

The autobiography exemplifies the ideal of the relationship between ruler and ruled, and the way that this should be arranged to guarantee their joint interests. The Babad Diponegoro is unique for its time in the way it stresses the basic ideas of good governance as exemplified by Diponegoro's management of his own estates and lands before the Java War and his role as a *Ratu Adil* during the war itself. For example, there is a strong rejection of the principle of what in Indonesia would later be known as *dwifungsi* – formulated during the period of Guided Democracy (1958-66) - namely the dual role of the army as military professionals and civilian administrators (Carey 2007:650) as well as insistence on the key role of Javanese-Islamic law in guaranteeing social order through the civil and criminal courts (Carey 2007:387). Diponegoro also specifically rejected any suggestion by the British that he should be made Crown Prince (*Prince Adipati*) at the time of his father's appointment as sultan in June 1812 (see above 3.2.2). The babad's basic ideas of good governance, orderly succession, tolerance and the universalist values of Islam are especially valuable for today's Indonesia and for the modern world in general. The human values which underpin the babad are today more necessary than ever and serve as an antidote to every form of religious and ideological intolerance and fundamentalism.

#### **(f) Concept of hijrah (purposeful journey or flight)**

The chronicle develops the Islamic concept of '*hijrah*' (purposeful journey or flight), which reflects the historical *hijrah* of The Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina in 622, and explores the capacity of human beings to move on and create new worlds despite the near total destruction of their previous social existences (see further Appendix V). Prominent in Diponegoro's autobiography are his descriptions of: (1) his *hijrah* from Tegalreja to Selarong on the night of 20/21 July 1825 – curtain-raiser to the Java War, his five-year struggle with the Dutch and his role as Ratu Adil; and (2) his arrest by General de Kock at Magelang on 28 March 1830 when he began his life as a prisoner and exile, his position as Ratu Adil exchanged for two 'miserable, hot rooms' first in Fort New Amsterdam (Manado) and then in Fort Rotterdam (Makassar) (Wassing-Visser 1995:246). This is what might be called the 'flight from the physical to the intellectual' as the prince moved from the

physical realm of the Java War to the intellectual sphere of authorship and the meditative and artistic domain of *daérah* (mystical diagram) drawing and the copying of the *Qur 'ān* which marked his early years in exile (Taylor 2003:235). Those who observed these transitions spoke of the prince's 'unchanging indifference, resignation or submission,' emotions which Diponegoro himself described more poetically in his babad as being like 'gold carried along by water' (*lir mas kintaring toya*) (Carey 2007:687-8). The more restrictive the outer physical space which the prince inhabited, the more spacious his inner realm seemingly became. The sheer scale of his literary outpouring in Manado and Makassar bears witness to this fact. The sixteen-year-old son of the Dutch king, Willem II (reigned, 1840-1848), who visited the prince in Fort Rotterdam in Makassar in March 1837, described him as still 'full of fire' (Wassing-Visser 1995:245). Here there are similarities to others such as Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948), whose physical world was also frequently contracted down to a prison cell only to find the blossoming of a new inner creativity transforming his jail into an ashram (place of spiritual retreat). In his chronicle, the fruits of Diponegoro's asceticism can be seen in his appreciation of the arts and of nature, as well as his skill in reading character and personal relationships from the study of human faces (*ilmu firasat*). The chronicle depicts Diponegoro's wisdom as that of a simple man, cognisant of complexity yet utterly direct. Janus-faced, he also looked forward as well as back: acknowledging the modern world, while remaining at heart deeply conservative, the paradox of his life shaped by the extraordinary times through which he lived. There are interesting parallels here with Diponegoro's great Algerian contemporary, Sheikh 'Abd al-Qādir al Jazā'irī (1808-1883), the Algerian Islamic scholar, Sufi, and political and military leader, who headed up the struggle against the July 1830 French invasion of Algeria between 1832 and 1847, and was subsequently exiled to France (1847-1852).

#### **4.3 Criteria of (a) time, (b) place, (c) people, (d) subject and theme, and (e) form and style**

##### **(a) Time**

The chronicle was composed in Manado between 20 May 1831 and 5 February 1832, principally as a record for the education of Diponegoro's children born in exile in Sulawesi (Manado, 1830-1833 and Makassar, 1833-1855). But it is much more than just a family memoir (see below).

##### **(b) Place**

The location is south-central Java, in particular the sultanate of Yogyakarta and its Mataram heartland. The chronicle provides a unique spiritual topography of this area describing the places which Diponegoro visited on pilgrimage (Carey 2007:130 Map 3) and the key religious schools and centres of Islamic law where he may have studied (Carey 2007:785 Map 8). With the outbreak of the Java War in July 1825, the babad also refers to a large number of other places in central and east Java which were involved in the five-year conflict (Carey 2007:xxv-xxix, Maps of central and east Java)

##### **(c) People**

The Javanese of south-central Java.

##### **(d) Subject and theme**

In its closely packed 1,150 pages, the prince distilled the values, traditions, historical record and culture of south-central Java before that culture was overwhelmed by the impact of early-nineteenth-century European colonialism. The *Babad Diponegoro* can be described a Javanese cultural 'Noah's Ark' – a single-handed attempt to preserve for posterity the values of pre-colonial south-central Java through the medium of a vivid and politically significant autobiography. This account is all the more startling for having been written from memory and without notes in the

confines of Fort New Amsterdam in Manado, Diponegoro's initial exile quarters in Sulawesi (1830-33) with only the help of a Javanese amanuensis (scribe) to render the prince's thoughts in flowing Javanese verse (*macapat*).

**(e) Form and style**

Javanese *macapat* verse. The chronicle consists of 43 cantos with a total number of 17,265 lines. Although formally the Babad Diponegoro followed the traditional Modern Javanese *macapat* metre, in content and style it is something new – namely an autobiography – perhaps the first in Modern Javanese literature and comparable in importance to Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir (Munshi Abdullah's) (1796-1854) near-contemporaneous *Hikayat Abdullah* in Malay literature.\* In terms of the times which followed it remained unique in its subject matter.

[\*Written between 1840 and 1843, and first published in *jawi* script at the Mission Press in Singapore in 1849, it has since come out in multiple modern editions, Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir 1970]

**4.4 Are there issues of rarity, integrity, threat and management that relate to this nomination?**

The main threat seems to be the disappearing knowledge of both the Javanese script – in particular the *pégon* character script – in which the Babad Diponegoro has been written and the *macapat* (verse) literary genre in which it has been composed. In addition, the most important source for understanding the lexicon, the Javanese-Dutch dictionary composed by J.F.C. Gericke and Taco Roorda (Gericke and Roorda 1901), explains all items in nineteenth-century Dutch, which is not so accessible for present-day Indonesians.

Although preservation conditions in Indonesian public collections are poor to very poor due mainly to the lack of financial support and the hot and humid climate, the situation in the National Library, where the *pégon* copy of the Babad Diponegoro is now housed, is amongst the best in the country. The main threat to the text is due to the previous poor conditions under which the manuscript was preserved to 1987 when it formed part of the National Museum collection and when the main damage through ink corrosion and lack of conservation of the original Dutch paper occurred (see further 8 below). Given that the *pégon* script version in the Indonesian National Library is in a seriously decayed condition, its selection as a MoW manuscript would facilitate its urgent restoration.