THE ELEMENTS OF BANYUMAS TRADITIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

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I. INTRODUCTION

The tradition of grand historic literature found in the Javanese community (cf. Kartodirdjo 1986: 409-410) also exists in Banyumas society, i.e. Babad Pasir and Babad Banyumas- both have a constant relation with the tradition of minor historic literatures like Babad Onje, Babad Purbalingga, Babad Kaligenteng, Babad Ajibarang, Babadipun Dusun Perdikan Gumelem, Babad Noesa Tembini (Priyadi 2002), Babad Ambal (Winarso 1941), Babad Kebumen (Soemodidjojo 1935a), or Babad Arungbinangan (Anjarmartana 1984), Babad Sruni (Soemodidjojo 1935b). Both scripts discuss that the two clans have the authority in Banyumas areas. Babad Pasir confirms the existence of Kadipaten Pasirluhur, which had a strong connection with Pajajaran Kingdom, and Babad Banyumas claims that Wirasaba Regency was a client of the Majapahit Kingdom, as its patron. This evidence indicates that Babad Pasir and Babad Banyumas are a kind of the historic literatures, or ancient literatures (ancient scripts), or they can be said as traditional historiographies.

This concept says that the ancient literary works, like babad, function as the cultural documents preserving all aspects of cultural life of the society in which the works were written (Soebadio 1991: 2). In fact, there is a cultural gap between the past and the present. The cultural shift makes the
existence of the ancient literary works rather ignored. Robson (1978:5) stated that many Indonesian people have not realized that within the ancient literary works, lay some important and priceless cultural values, as a spiritual heritage of Indonesian ancestors. The heritage is in the form of the vocabulary of thinking and ideas as the principal guidance in the living.

The unfamiliarity to their own culture is really experienced by Indonesian people. In such a situation, they try to seek for their own identity from the past. The study on babad scripts is important to explore the ancestral values that are still relevant to the present condition. The texts do contain the information of the past (the history), the socio-culture of the past society, and the values of the past (Chamamah-Soeratno 1994: 1-2).

This study applies the philology method for the object is an ancient document (Sulastin-Sutrisno, 1994: 65) covering six steps, those are (1) the listing of the script, (2) describing the script, (3) comparing the scripts, (4) selecting the scripts to be transliterated, (5) summarizing the script, and (6) transliterating the script (Djamaris, 1977: 23-24). The six steps are the philological works to take prior to the text analysis. This study is not aimed to publish a certain edition of the text and not to purify the texts, like that of the traditional philology, instead each version and the variation of text are acknowledged as the creativity of each writer of the text and each editor of the texts (Teeuw 1988: 270). The first step is to collect the scripts, especially those cataloged in the museum or the library. The script tracing in those institutions can be done by reviewing Katalog Induk Naskah-Naskah Nusantara, a catalog which has been widely published. The script of Babad Pasir is stored in the cultural institution of EFEO Bandung, and the script of Babad Banyumas is collected in the library of Museum Sono Budaya Yogyakarta, The National Library in Jakarta, and the Library of Faculty of Letters, University of Indonesia, and EFEO Bandung. The scripts of Leiden are not included in this research due to the financial reason. In addition, the researcher also seeks for the local scripts, which are more than those saved by those institutions. The original texts are, even, found in Banyumas areas, i.e. Purwokerto, Banyumas, Banjarnegara, and Purbalingga. The scripts found in other areas are only the re-written version. The texts of Babad Pasir are collected from the special areas of the past, kademenangan or perdikan, like Pasir Wetan, Pasir Kidul, and Pasir Kulon. Up to the writing of this article, no information says that Pasir Lor has the script of Babad Pasir. Babad Pasir texts are also found in Purwokerto areas, like in Taman Sari and Karanglewas Kidul.

The second step is to describe the physical condition of the texts, including the condition of the text, of the paper, of the watermark, the notes of the script content, and the main content of the script content. This is very helpful to identify the text’s uniqueness and content. Furthermore, in the third step, the research compared all the texts, aiming at classifying their contents to categorize their versions and variations. It is a part of criticizing the texts. This means that the researcher has recognized the strength and the weakness of each text. The fourth is to determine the texts to transliterate, and to summarize the content of the text, to grab the materials within as the fifth step. Finally, as the sixth step, all the texts selected are transliterated into Latin to make them easy to read and to criticize. The text criticism (internal critiques) is conducted to reveal the elements of Banyumas historiography. All the scripts of Babad Pasir and Babad Banyumas discussing the topics of Banyumas history were counted into concern. This is to make a sort of comparison on the historical facts of the ancient scripts to other resources (Ikram 1997:30; cf. Kartodirdjo 1982: 22, & Djajadiningrat 1995: 58-66). The differences among the texts are like some unique witnesses as
helpful hints to observe the elements of Banyumas’ traditional historiography. The differences are just the effect of interpretation process, and even they are the interpretation of another interpretation. The critical viewing on the differences does always apply in the process of criticism. The philological research contributes all the way to other science in leading the analysis of the aspect it concerns, like the philosophy, the literature, the history, the art, the anthropology and etc.

II. DISCUSSION

A. The Elements of Genealogy

_Babad Pasir_ and _Babad Banyumas_ contain two dominating elements, the genealogy and the narrative units. The genealogies contained in both are (1) the ancestral genealogy, (2) the basic genealogy, (3) the genealogy of successor, and (4) the branch genealogy. Each genealogy has its different function. The basic genealogy must exist in every text for it is the essence, and the ancestral genealogy was put on as the background, set for the legitimizing evidence by the writer or the re-writer. Other genealogies, the successor and the branch, are presented to match their legitimizing, because they are the successor and the branch of the basic genealogy.

They are some new emerging figures requiring the existence of the long settled names as the central narrative in the main genealogy. The branch and the successor are derived from the process of re-writing on the old scripts. The process of re-writing always results in the two genealogies. In the next future, it can be predicted that the sub-branch genealogy will reveal as the product of the continued process of re-writing.

1. The Ancestral Genealogy

The ancestral genealogies we find in the texts of _Babad Pasir_ and of _Babad Banyumas_ are different to each other. The texts of _Babad Banyumas_ generally cite the genealogy of Majapahit, for the descendants of Majapahit kings were highly respected by the Javanese society. It is not so surprised that the texts written in Java always referred to the legendary Majapahit king, Prabu Brawijaya. This is like the phenomenon in Sundanese who always mentioned Prabu Siliwangi as their genealogical reference.

However, the Mertadiredjan version was not so satisfied with the fact. It seems that the Mertadiredjan version writer viewed that the citation of Majapahit kings was a cliché. It is the reason why the writer composed a different text, by including the left-hand genealogy-better known as _sejarah pangiwa_ (left-hand history). Normally, the composition of Javanese script always includes _sejarah panengen_ (the right-hand history).

_Sejarah Pangiwa_ is a genealogy starting from Adam coming from the gods, the figures of Bharatayudha myth, the kings of Kediri kingdom, the kings of Pajajaran kingdom, and the kings of Majapahit kingdom, followed by the main genealogy. _Sejarah Panengen_ is a genealogy opened with Adam, and going down to other prophets. The Mertadiredjan and other _Babad Banyumas_ texts, in general, do not cite _sejarah panengen_. _Sejarah Pangiwa_ presented by the Mertadiredjan is rather different from that of _Babad Tanah Jawi_ text, as shown in the Table below.
### Table 1. Sejarah Pangiwa (The Left-hand History).

| Generation | Mertadiredjan version | Babad Tanah Jawi |
|------------|------------------------|------------------|
| 1.         | Nabi Adam              | Adam             |
| 2.         | Sang Hyang Esis        | Sis              |
| 3.         | Hyang Nurchaya         | Nurcahya         |
| 4.         | Hyang Nurasu           | Nurrasa          |
| 5.         | Sang Hyang Wenang      | Wenang           |
| 6.         | Sang Hyang Tunggal     | Tunggal          |
| 7.         | Sang Hyang Guru        | Guru             |
| 8.         | Sang Hyang Brama       | Brama            |
| 9.         | Bramani                | Bramani          |
| 10.        | Estridusta             | Tritusta         |
| 11.        | Wariganem              | Parikenan        |
| 12.        | Raden Manongs sa       | Manumanasa       |
| 13.        | Sakutrem               | Sakutrem         |
| 14.        | Bagawan Sakri          | Sakri            |
| 15.        | Bagawan Palasara       | Palasara         |
| 16.        | Bagawan Abyasa         | Abiasa           |
| 17.        | Pandudewana ta         | Pandu            |
| 18.        | Arjuna                 | Arjuna           |
| 19.        | Abimanyu               | Abimanyu         |
| 20.        | Parikesit              | Parikesit        |
| 21.        | **Gendrayana**         | **Udayana**      |
|            | **Gendrayana**         |                  |
| 22.        | Jayabaya               | Jayabaya         |
| 23.        | Jayamijaya             | Jayamijaya       |
| 24.        | Jayamisena             | Jayamisena       |
| 25.        | Kusumawicitra          | Kusumawicitra    |
| 26.        | **Pancandriya**        | **Citasoma**     |
|            | **Pancandriya**        |                  |
| Generation | Mertadiredjan version | Babad Tanah Jawi |
|------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| 27.        | Kalawisesa            | Anglingdriya     |
| 28.        | Selacala              | Suwalacala       |
| 29.        | Dewatacengkar         | --               |
| 30.        | Sri Mapunggung        | Mahapunggung     |
| 31.        | Kandiawa              | Kandiawan        |
| 32.        | Resi Getayu           | Resi Gentayu     |
| 33.        | Lembuluhur            | Lembu Amiluhur   |
| 34.        | Panji Asmarabangun    | Panji            |
| 35.        | Laleyen               | Kuda Lalean      |
| 36.        | Mundingsari           | Banjaransari     |
| 37.        | Mundingwangi          | Mundingwangi     |
| 38.        | Silihwangi            | Pamekas          |
| 39.        | Jaka Suruh            | Sesuruh          |
| 40.        | Brakumara             | Prabu Anom       |
|            |                       | Adaningkung      |
|            |                       | Ayam Wuruk       |
|            |                       | Lembu Amisani    |
|            |                       | Bra Tanjung      |
| 41.        | a. Ardiwijaya         | b. Raden Putra   |
|            |                       | Brawijaya        |

The comparison proves that there are six figures left, i.e. Udayana (before Gendrayana), Citrasoma (before Pancandriya), Banjaransari (before Mundingsari) and some kings of Majapahit like Adaningkung, Ayam Wuruk, Lembu Amisani, and Bra Tanjung (after Jaka Suruh). There is some kind of re-identification to some figures, like Kalawisesa identified with Anglingdriya, Brakumara with Prabu Anom, and Ardiwijaya with Brawijaya.

The disharmony between the Mertadiredjan and Babad Tanah Jawi is not so important in the mind of writer or the copy writer. The point is the Mertadiredjan needs a reason to legitimate by presenting the left-hand history which is related to Raden Putra as the descendants of Majapahit kings. Essentially, the left-hand history is an additional legitimacy to that of ancestral genealogy, which so far tends to incline to the Majapahit kings, as it is seen in Table 2 below.
Table 2. Genealogy of Majapahit

| Generation | Name |
|------------|------|
| 41.        | Raden Putra (suami Dewi Pamekas, Pajajaran) |
| 42.        | a. Raden Keduhu =Marga Utama  
b. Banyak Sasra  
c. Banyak Kumara  
d. Rara Ngaisah |
| 43.        | a. Warga Utama I  
b. Kiai Toyareka  
c. Bagus Suwarna  
d. Ki Serangpati  
Warga Utama II =Adipati Mrapat |

Table 2 above shows the genealogy of Majapahit is associated with another familial tree, i.e. a lady descended from Pajajaran kings, Dewi Pamekas. The marriage of Raden Putra to Dewi Pamekas has always been so prominent in all Babad Banyumas text. The relation of Majapahit and Pajajaran is used to legitimate the figure of the story, coming from the two most important kingdoms in Java. The mix descendants are obviously not the local origin of Banyumas. This, then, leads the writers or the copy writers to make them localized through the local dynasty of Wirasaba in Banyumas. In the mind of Banyumas people, Wirasaba is so important as it is the regency of Majapahit territory. The genealogy of regents of Wirasaba is seen in many different ways by the Babad Banyumas texts. Raden Keduhu (Kedu or Ketuhu) belonging to the local family of Wirasaba in Banyumas is the mix descendant of Majapahit and Pajajaran, who are then followed by other mix blood regents, as indicated on Table 3. The inclusion of Majapahit descendants to Wirasaba makes the locals excluded, though they still have an in-law relation or as the fostered children.

Table 3. The Comparasion of Adipati Wirasaba

| No. | Versi Mertadiredjan | Versi Danurejan Gancaran | Versi Banjarnegra | Versi Wirjaatmadjan |
|-----|---------------------|--------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| 1.  | Paguwan I           | Wirahudaya                | --               | Adipati Paguwan     |
|     |                     |                          |                  | = Wira Utama I      |
| 2.  | --                  | Ketuhu                   | Raden Kedu       | Raden Ketuhu        |
|     |                     | = Wira Utama I           | = Adipati Wira Utama | = Wira Utama II    |
| 3.  | Adipati Urang       | Raden Urang               | Adipati Urang    | Adipati Urang       |
|     |                     | = Wira Utama II          |                 | =Wira Utama III     |
| 4.  | Bagus Rawin         | Jaka Surawin             | Adipati Surawin  | Adipati Surawin     |
|     | = Paguwan II        |                          |                  |                     |
Table 3 basically states that there are two perceptions on the existence of Wirasaba. First, Wirasaba has a local regent, i.e. Paguwan I (Mertadiredjan version) or Wirahudaya (Danurejan Gancaran version), or Adipati Paguwan or Wira Utama I (Wirjaatmadjan version); Second, it has no local regent, and Raden Keduhu, as it is said in Banjarnegara version, is the pioneer of Wirasaba. Again, there are two versions of how Raden Keduhu (Ketuhu) or Kedu appears in the genealogy. First, the mix descendant of Majapahit-Pajajaran is put on the fifth after Raden Rawin or Paguwan II (Mertadiredjan version). Keduhu is said to be the fostered son of Paguwan II. The second position of Wirasaba regent is blank, and excludes the position of Jaka Tambangan or Sura Utama. It is the reason why Sura Utama is not found in Mertadiredjan version. Second, Raden Kedu or Ketuhu married to the daughter of Wirahudaya or Adipati Paguwan or Wira Utama I. It, then, raises Jaka Tambangan or Sura Utama in the fifth position. Sura Utama is presented to build the relation of Wirasaba to Pasirluhur (Pasirbatang) because he is the in law of Adipati Banyak Besi. Banyak Besi is the son of Banyak Rama and the brother of Banyak Kesumba. Banyak Belanak, a son of Banyak Kesumba, married to Dewi Lung Ayu, a daughter of Banyak Besi. Dewi Lung Ayu is the older sister of Dewi Lungge, the wife of Jaka Tambangan or Sura Utama. Thus, the Babad Banyumas text relates its ancestral genealogy to the Babad Pasir text.

The Babad Pasir text doesn’t show any left-hand history. The tembang text of Knebel version just mentions the pioneer, Arya Bangah. The kinship of Adipati Pasirluhur within is not completely described; it is just a sort of fragments. It relates Pasirluhur with Galuh, as a means for legitimacy. The regents of Pasirluhur are called as the kings of Galuh. The figures of 2-5, like those cited in Babad Pasir of the Fragment version and the genealogy of Pasir Wetan are not mentioned. There are two possibilities for the fact. First, the writer or the copier of Knebel version doesn’t know those four figures. Second, the four are introduced and created to synchronize the genealogy, that Ciptarasa is mentioned as the seventh descendant. The seventh descendant is significant here, for the Javanese mind the seventh. Babad Banyumas of Danurejan Gancaran version describes in detail the genealogy to nineteenth descendant, as it is told by juru kunci of Pasirluhur to Prince Harya Juru.
Table 4. Genealogy of Adipati Pasirluhur

| Generation | Knebel Version  | Fragment Version | Silsilah Pasir Wetan Version |
|------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| 1.         | Arya Bangah     | Arya Bangah = Panular | Aria Panukar                |
| 2.         | Dewa Gung       | Dewa Rangka Agung |                            |
| 3.         | Agung Dewa      | Dewa Manda Rangka |                            |
| 4.         | Carang Rahang   | Dewa Cirung Rangka |                            |
| 5.         | Hami Daha       | Dewa Cirung Gandul |                            |
| 6.         | Kandha Daha     | Kandha Daha      | Kandha Daha                  |
| 7.         | Dewi Ciptarasa  | Dewi Ciptarasa   | Ciptarasa                    |

Table 4 introduces some new names for the readers of Knebel version, especially those included in Fragment version and genealogy version of Pasir Wetan. The Fragment version mentions two similar names written in different order. The name of 4 will remind Carang Andul, the followers of Banyak Thole. Number 5 shows a familial name similar to Kandha Daha. Daha is the name of village in Kediri. The genealogy version of Pasir Wetan also indicates the name with similar items, i.e. 2, 3, and 4. The name of Rangka, like Daha, is adopted in sequent. The similar items here functions as the reminder as it is often found in the spoken tradition or folklores. Another item is Cirung, to relate it with the forementioned, but it is not associated with the names mentioned after it, like Kandha Daha as it is in the fragment version. The appearance of local names proves that Babad Pasir doesn’t create any legitimacy like that of Babad Banyumas. Babad Pasir tends to have a sort of local pride, for they claimed as an independent kingdom; they were not a colony of Pajajaran, nor Majapahit. This claim is a pride for them. It, then, adds a new important kingdom in Java, other than Majapahit and Pajajaran, i.e. Pasirluhur (Galuh).

2. The Basic Genealogy

The basic genealogy is the core genealogy having the main character as its center. It is known as a dynasty genealogy, either the Pasirluhur dynasty (Babad Pasir text) or Banyumas dynasty (Babad Banyumas text). Pasirluhur dynasty has six generations, ranging from Banyak Catra to Banyak Thole or ten children of Banyak Geleh (six generations). Banyak Catra who was mentioned in the dynasty genealogy was actually an outsider married to Dewi Ciptarasa. Furthermore, the descendants of Pajajaran were more dominant, especially those of Banyak Catra (Pasirluhur), and Banyak Ngampar (Dayeuhluhur) who had mingled into Pasirluhur by the marriage among the children, and added with the descendant of Pajajaran king, Banyak Belabur.
Table 5. The Genealogy of Pasirluhur Dynasty

| Generation | Name                                      |
|------------|-------------------------------------------|
| 7.         | Banyak Catra (suami Dewi Ciptarasa)       |
| 8.         | Banyak Wiratha                            |
| 9.         | Banyak Rama                               |
| 10.        | Banyak Kesumba                            |
| 11.        | a. Banyak Belanak                         |
|            | = Pangeran Senapati Mangkubumi I          |
|            | b. Banyak Geleh = Wirakencana             |
|            | = Pangeran Senapati Mangkubumi II         |
| 12.        | a. Banyak Thole                           |
|            | b. Banyak Sayuta                          |
|            | 10 orang anak                             |

Banyak Wiratha was married to Dewi Rantansari, a daughter of Adipati Banyak Ngampar I. From the marriage, they had a son, Banyak Rama, who was then married to Dewi Kurenta, a daughter of Adipati Banyak Ngampar II, or the granddaughter of Banyak Ngampar I. Banyak Kesumba was married to the daughter of Banyak Belabur, who was also known as Prabu Siliwangi II. She was Dewi Rara Kasiyan. Table 6 may explain the genealogy of Pajajaran.

Table 6. The Genealogy of Banyak Belabur

| Generation | Name                                      |
|------------|-------------------------------------------|
| 1.         | Prabu Silihwangi I (ayah Banyak Catra)    |
| 2.         | Prabu Silihwangi II (Banyak Belabur)      |
| 3.         | Prabu Gurugantangan I                     |
| 4.         | Prabu Gurugantangan II                    |
| 5.         | Dewi Rara Kasiyan                         |

The marriage of Banyak Kesumba and Dewi Rara Kasiyan descended two sons, who were later known as the actors spreading Islam teaching in Pasirluhur. They were entitled Pangeran Senapati Mangkubumi I (Banyak Belanak) and Pangeran Senapati Mangkubumi II (Banyak Geleh or Patih Wirakencana). Banyak Thole was the son of Banyak Belanak who was an apostate, converting to Hindu Budha. Due to his deed, He was attacked by Demak, and vanished from the throne of Pasirluhur. Then, the power was taken over by Banyak Geleh or Patih Wirakencana, after whom the genealogy of Pasirluhur was contained with the descendants of Wirakencana or Pangeran Senapati Mangkubumi II.
The basic genealogy of Babad Banyumas text covers 9 generations, starting from Bagus Mangun or Adipati Warga Utama II or Adipati Mrapat to Tumenggung Yudanegara V. Almost all Babad Banyumas texts contain the basic genealogy since it has the dynasty genealogy of Banyumas. The Banyumas dynasty was just the extension of the genealogy of Adipati Wirasaba. Bagus Mangun was the second generation of Raden Putra, after Raden Keduhu, who came into the family of adipati Wirasaba. Bagus Mangun, who was formerly just a soldier, became adipati Wirasaba, after he was married to the daughter of Adipati Warga Utama I. Later, Adipati Warga Utama I was killed in the case of Toyareka slander. His brothers in law seemed to have no courage to come before the king of Pajang. Thanks to his brave to go there, Bagus Mangun was appointed to succeed his father-in-law, entitled Adipati Warga Utama II. His policy to divide the territory into four regions of Wirasaba made him well-known as Adipati Mrapat. Another policy he made was to move the capital of Wirasaba from the northern part of Serayu River to the southern and western areas, now it is known as Banyumas. Hence, Adipati Warga Utama II or Adipati Mrapat was acknowledged to be the dynasty founder, and his name was enlisted in the basic genealogy and became the origins of new period. The Wirasaba period came to its end, and then it started with Banyumas Period, as shown in Table 7.

**Table 7. The Genealogy of Banyumas Dynasty**

| Generation | Name |
|------------|------|
| 43.        | Bagus Mangun = Adipati Warga Utama II = Adipati Mrapat |
| 44.        | Ngabehi Janah I |
| 45.        | Ngabehi Mertasura = Ngabehi Janah II |
| 46.        | Tumenggung Mertayuda I |
| 47.        | Tumenggung Mertayuda II = Tumenggung Mertanegara = Tumenggung Yudanegara I = Tumenggung Seda Masjid = Tumenggung Kokum = Tumenggung Todhan |
| 48.        | Tumenggung Yudanegara II = Tumenggung Seda Pendapa |
| 49.        | Tumenggung Yudanegara III = KRA Danuredja I |
| 50.        | Tumenggung Yudanegara IV |
| 51.        | Tumenggung Yudanegara V = Yudanegara Pamungkas |

The Banyumas period showed the rise and the fall of the second and the third residence in the beginning of Mataram throne. Hence, they were just entitled ngabehi. However, then, starting from Mertayuda I to Yudanegara V, the residences of Banyumas were entitled ‘tumenggung,’ since they were assigned by the Mataram to control the client overseas area. Among the six honored residences, the five are named Yudanegara. Tumenggung Mertayuda I is the first assignee, succeeded by Tumenggung Yudanegara I, he was also known as Tumenggung Mertayuda II. Yudanegara I has many titles after his death: Tumenggung Seda Masjid, or Tumenggung Kokum, or Tumenggung...
Todhan for he was executed by the law as his wife from the palace charged him. Yudanegara was convicted to be negligent to the aunt of the king. His poor fate also fell to his son, Yudanegara II who was threatened with a dead punishment for his betray in the incident of Geger Pacina (Pacine Chaos). The son of Yudanegara II, Bima Kunting who was then named Panji Gandakusuma by the kind, and lately entitled Yudanegara III, was the Banyumas residence having a bright political track. He was appointed by Sultan Hamengku Buwono I as an inner ambassador of Kasultanan Yogyakarta after Guyanti Agreement 1755. He was entitled Kangjeng Raden Adipati Danureja I. He was appreciated to be a successful inner ambassador who can put the interest of the king and the Dutch company in balance.

His two successors experienced the similar things as Yudanegara I and II. Yudanegara IV was said to have a conspiracy with Banten and Cirebon, and protected Bugis troop, and finally he was fired. Yudanegara was also fired for he was proved to act against the king, he wanted to be the king of Banyumas, and freed from Kasunanan Surakarta. There are two basic reasons for the fire of Yudanegara V. He was fired by the king, considering the recommendation of Sir Thomas Raffles who said that the position of Banyumas regent, as the assignee of the king, was a threat for the Britain colony. In addition, Yudanegara V was regarded to act against the honor of the king since he dared to grow the heringin tree in the Banyumas square, just like that of the palace.

The fire of Yudanegara V terminated the career of Banyumas regent—this means the end of Banyumas dynasty. Since then, Banyumas was divided into two regions, led by two different wedana bupati, Kasepuhan and Kanoman. Kasepuhan is the outsider official, Cakrawedana, as the son-in-law of Yudanegara IV and Ngabehi Pasir Natawijaya II, and Kanoman is the descendant of Banyumas dynasty, Mertadiredja I, whose genealogy was shown in table 8 as the successor genealogy.

3. The Successor Genealogy

The successor genealogy in the Banyumas text was opened with Tumenggung Yudanegara III, entitled KRA Danureja I. He was known as a father with great descendants. One of his sons is Raden Ngabehi Mertawijaya, whose authority is Singosari and stayed in Kedhungrandhu, Patikraja. He had a bad luck. As he sailed in Bengawan Sala, his boat went upside down, and he was shunken. He was, then, buried in Astana Redi Bendungan, the special grave for adipati and regents of Banyumas, located in Dawuhan village (now it is the sub-district of Banyumas). The son of Ngabehi Mertawijaya, later entitled as Mertadiredja, is one of the successors of Tumenggung Yudanegara V. This, then, makes the successor genealogy in the Babad Banyumas text is named as Mertadiredjan genealogy as shown in the table 8.

Table 8. Mertadiredjan Genealogy

| Generation | Name                                                                   |
|------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 49.        | Tumenggung Yudanegara III = KRA Danureja I                             |
| 50.        | Raden Ngabehi Mertawijaya (Kedhungrandhu, Patikraja)                   |
| 51.        | Kangjeng Raden Adipati Mertadiredja I = Bratadiningrat                 |
There were five regents of Banyumas from the Ngabehi Mertawijaya clan in times of Kasunanan Surakarta, the colonial Dutch, and the Independence. Mertadiredja I was the wedana bupati Kanoman in the transition time of Kasunanan Surakarta to the Dutch colonialism. After the Dipanegara war, Banyumas was under Dutch colonial rule. At the time Mertadiredja I died and was succeeded by Mertadiredja II, and then went to Mertadiredja III. The later two officials were entitled as princes by the Dutch colonial, the same title was also bestowed to Gandasubrata. Mertadiredja II was known as the founder of Purwokerto town, that he was the first regent of Purwokerto. Mertadiredja III was the second regent of Purwokerto, who was then assigned to be the regent of Banyumas in 1879, to replace Cakrawedana, i.e. Kangjeng Raden Adipati Cakranegara who resigned after his dispute with Banyumas Residence. Gandasubrata had a pangeran title, but he was not named as Mertadiredja IV. Babad Banyumas texts do not give any explanation of why the fourth regent did not have the name of Mertadiredja tradition as the name of the new dynasty as the legendary Yudanegara. However, the son of Gandasubrata applied his own name attached with his father and grand, Sudjiman Mertadiredja Gandasubrata. Sudjiman was the Banyumas regent for the three eras since 1933, i.e. the era of Dutch, the era of Japan, and the era of Independence. He went down from his position in 1950. After the Indonesia Independence, the regent of Banyumas position was not determined by the clan. The system of dynasty or wangsa kerta did no longer work.

The successor genealogy in the Babad Pasir text started with Banyak Geleh or Patih Wirakencana, later entitled with Pangeran Senapati Mangkubumi II. Banyak Geleh or Patih Wirakencana was the official replacing Banyak Thole, terminating the tradition of Banyak Catra clan with the end of Banyak Thole career. The incident of Banyak Thole replacement was mentioned as the result of betrayal done by Wirakencana to his own nephew. The appearance of Wirakencana was similar to that of Mertadiredja I as the case in Babad Banyumas text, though Mertadiredja I obviously did not betray his uncle’s son. The offspring of Wirakencana were more dominant in Babad Pasir text, and that of Banyak Thole was taken aside. Babad Pasir text started giving a detail of its genealogy by posing the Mangkubumen clan, since it listed the sons of Pangeran Senapati Mangkubumi II (see at Table 9). Mangkubumen genealogy began with mentioning 10 children of Pangeran Senapati Mangkubumi II, including Dewi Sakethi, Dewi Lungge, Dewi Sambara, Dewi Sengkuni, and Pangeran Palangon. These five were described with their descendants, while the descendants of the rest were not mentioned. However, it was just the descendants of Dewi Sakethi and Pangeran Palangon who were accounted to be, which then the successor genealogy of Babad Pasir text was enlisted with the three grandchildren of Pangeran Senapati Mangkubumi II, i.e. Jaka Sule, Pangeran Langkap, and Dewi Karangsari, as the origins of the branch genealogy.

| Generation | Name                                    |
|------------|------------------------------------------|
| 52.        | Kangjeng Pangeran Aria Mertadiredja II   |
| 53.        | Kangjeng Pangeran Aria Mertadiredja III  |
| 54.        | Kangjeng Pangeran Aria Gandasubrata      |
| 56.        | Kangjeng Raden Adipati Sudjiman Mertadiredja Gandasubrata |
The Elements Of Banyumas Traditional Historiography (Sugeng Priyadi)

Table 9. Mangkubumen Genealogy

| Generation | Name |
|------------|------|
| 11.        | Banyak Geleh = Wirakencana = Pangeran Senapati Mangkubumi II |
| 12.        | a. Dewi Sa-kethi |
|            | b. Dewi Lung-ge |
|            | c. Dewi Sambara |
|            | d. Dewi Seng-kuni |
|            | e. Dewi Sayuta |
|            | f. Dewi Palumbungan |
|            | g. Wu-lanjar Ku-ning |
|            | h. Pangeran Palangan |
|            | i. Mas Jung-jung |
|            | j. Mas Tengiri |
| 13. Jaka Sule | a. Jaka Guming-sir |
|             | b. Jaka Bojong |
|             | Jaka Bilung |
|             | Jaka Gambuh |
| 13. Jaka Sule | a. Pangeran Langkap |
|             | b. Dewi Karangsari |
|             | c. Wandhan Kuning |
|             | d. Wandhan Tepas |
|             | e. Wandhan Sari |
|             | f. Sekar Wulan |
|             | g. Sekar Nuli |

4. The Branch Genealogy

Table 10, 11, and 12 show the branch genealogy contained in Babad Pasir text. As mentioned before, the branch genealogy started with Jaka Sule, Pangeran Langkap, and Dewi Karangsari. The genealogy of Jaka Sule (Table 10) describes his descendants, Demang Singaperbangsa I and Ngabehi Singaperbangsa II, who were well-known in West Java. Kiai Singaperbangsa, with his 2.000 followers from Pasir and Wirasaba, in the time of Sunan Amangkurat I, was moved to Karawang in 1652 (Wiriatmadja 2002: 13; cf. Sukardja 2001: 6-12). This fact made the Sundanese noble say that he was still the descendant of Singaperbangsa. The line of Singaperbangsa in Pasir gave Ngabehi Pasir, Natawijaya I and II, who were related to KRA Cakrawedana—he was wedana bupati of Kasepuhan Banyumas who was married to Mas Ajeng Pasir, who was, in the branch genealogy, named as Ngabehi Cakradirja (KRA Cakranegara I). Another line is Nayapatra (I and II) who raises a problem since Nayapatra in the Banyumas history was mentioned in another genealogy, and known as the warrior in the incident of Dipanegara War.

Table 10. The Branch Genealogy of Jaka Sule

| Generation | Name |
|------------|------|
| 13.        | Jaka Sule |
| 14.        | Kiai Ngabehi Kambangan |
Table 11 below shows a detail description of the branch genealogy of Pangeran Langkap, having a close connection with Maryan I, II, and III, and Table 12 describes the branch genealogy of Dewi Karangsari, having a relation with Kiai Nurhakim and Demang Nurahman. The branch genealogy of Babas Pasir text is the standard genealogy, provided that it always appears in the Babad Pasir text of verse version (Knebel version).

Table 11. The Branch Genealogy of Pangeran Langkap

| Generation | Name |
|------------|------|
| 13.        | Pangeran Langkap |
| 14.        | Kenthol Purwakusuma (Panembahan Kaloran) |
| 15.        | a. Kenthol Purwadita | b. Nyai Prenadita |
| 16.        | Kenthol Purwanangga | Nyai Prayaguna |
| 17.        | Kenthol Purwadi-wangsa = Maryan I | a. Nyai Wisadriya | b. Nyai Praya-driya | c. Kiai Praya-menggala | d. Kiai Praya-dimerta | e. Nyai Cadi-praya | f. Nyai Dita-lek-sana | g. Nyai Wangsawedana |

| Generation | Name |
|------------|------|
| 15.        | Kiai Wangsacitra | Ngabehi Janah | Bagus Ragil = Demang Nayapatra I |
| 16.        | Kiai Ngabehi Natanegara | a. Demang Nayapatra II | b. Kenthol Sutanaya = Demang Singaperbangsa I |
| 17.        | Ngabehi Nayadita | Ngabehi Natawijaya I |
| 18.        | Nyai Kertabangsa | Ngabehi Singaperbangsa II = Kiai Manten |
| 19.        | Kiai Demang Natawijaya I | Ngabehi Natawijaya II |
| 20.        | Demang Bangsawijaya | Mas Ajeng Pasir |
| 21.        | Kiai Demang Natawijaya II | Ngabehi Cakradirja = Raden Adipati Cakranegara I |
Table 12. The Branch Genealogy of Dewi Karangsari

| Generation | Name              | Name          |
|------------|-------------------|---------------|
| 13.        | Dewi Karangsari   |               |
| 14.        | Mertawecana       |               |
| 15.        | a. Prayawangsa    | b. Mertanaya  |
| 16.        | Nyai Sutarudin    | Kiai Talabudin|
| 17.        | Kiai Sutawigata   | Nyai Nurahman |
| 18.        | Kiai Nayantaka    | Kiai Nurhakim|
| 19.        | Kiai Pramusita    | a. Kiai DemangNurahman | b. Nyai Kurnapi | c. Nyai Samsiyah |

Table 13 contains the branch genealogy of Gandasubratan clan which developed in the process of copy of the Babad Banyumas text, which then results in the texts containing some sub-branch genealogies, especially the part of version of the new family in the Babad Banyumas text. The sub-branch genealogy has not appeared in the process of copying of the Babad Pasir text. The copying of Babad Pasir text still hurdled in the Kamandaka story as the legend of the stream areas of Logawa-Mengaji-Serayu in which it was so popular that the development of genealogy was not found in Babad Pasir text. This phenomenon is possibly caused by the fact that the Babad Pasir text was more sacral for the Banyumas society in general, or especially for those in the stream area of Logawa-Mengaji-Serayu. While Babad Banyumas text was always copied and added with new genealogies, because they were still straight descendants of Banyumas regent as mentioned in the basic genealogy, the successor genealogy and the branch genealogy.
Table 13. The Branch Genealogy of Gandasubratan

| Generation | Name                      |
|------------|---------------------------|
| 54.        | Kangjeng Pangeran Aria Gandasubrata |
| 56.        | KRAA Sujijimin, R. Mr. Sudirman, R. Sudjirin, R. Sudjono, RA Sudjinah, RA Sudjijah, R. Mr. Sudarman, R. Sudjaman |
| 57.        | Keluarga Besar Gandasubrata |

B. The Element of Narrative Unit

Another text element is the narrative unit. The dominant narrative unit in the Babad Pasir text and Babad Banyumas text is the relation of patron-client. There are two kinds of the relation. The first is the patron-client relation between Pajajaran and Pasirluhur and between Nusakambangan and Pajajaran and the second is the patron-client relation between Pasirluhur and the 25 local states in Central Java and West Java. It was claimed that Pajajaran, Pasirluhur, and Nusakambangan coming from the same spring. Pasirluhur is the descendant of Arya Bangah, Pajajaran is that of Siyung Wanara, and Nusakambangan is that of Mundingsari. This makes the relation among the three is put in the same level, though in fact, Nusakambangan was from the older generation, as shown in Table 14.

Table 14. The Genealogy of Pajajaran to Nusakambangan

| Generation | Name           | Kingdom        |
|------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1.         | Mundingsari    | Pajajaran      |
| 2.         | Prabu Wugaiyang| Nusakambangan  |
| 3.         | Prabu Gaiyang  |                |
| 4.         | Prabu Batulampang |            |
| 5.         | Prabu Pulebahas |                |

Due to its similar root, Pajajaran was a patron for Pasirluhur and Nusakambangan. It makes Nusakambangan was easily defeated by Pajajaran. Pasirluhur, in Babad Pasir text, was always claimed to be an independent kingdom. But, the relation of patron-client is impossible to be released from the origins of Pasirluhur. In addition to its parallel level to Pajajaran, Pasirluhur was the client for Pajajaran, and the marriage of Banyak Catra to Dewi Ciptarasa is an honor for Pasirluhur, seeing the fact that all other children-in law of Pasirluhur were the local authorities in the Central Java and West Java.

The local authorities to be the in-laws of Adipati Kandha Daha were essentially the clients of Pasirluhur, including Banyak Catra from Pajajaran. Pasirluhur with its 25 local states built a patron-
client relation, trying to be a concentrate unity (see at Table 15), by which Pasirluhur positioned itself as an independent kingdom standing in the same level with Pajajaran. In addition to the patron-client relation between Pajajaran and Pasirluhur and that between Pasirluhur and 25 local states, there was a parallel relation in the local level with its surrounding areas as mancapat, which gradually became a part of Pasirluhur. Basically, the mancapat concept depicts the uniting same-level relation, making up a concentrate unity. Thus, mancapat developed into a wider concentrate unity, i.e. 25 local states by the marriage to 25 daughters of Adipati Kandha Daha.

| Table 15. The Patron-Client Relation of Pasirluhur and 25 Local States |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| 20. Kuningan                        | 21. Imbanegara                        | 22. Limbangan                        |
| 19. Kerawang                        | 18. Maruyung                          | 17. Sumedhang                        |
| 16. Losekar                         | 15. Kewangsul                         | 14. Ngayah                           |
| 13. Daha                            | 12. Kawisinggil                       | 11. Petanahan                        |
| 10. Ngambal                         | 9. Wedhi                              | 8. Pituruh                           |
| Pasirluhur Kandha Daha              | Mancapat                              |                                    |
| 1. Taruntung                        | 1. Cukangak                          |                                    |
| 2. Bentar                           | 2. Bongas                             |                                    |
| 3. Penyarang                        | 3. Bonjok                             |                                    |
|                                    | 4. Maresi                             |                                    |
|                                    | 5. Lewihbuaya                         |                                    |
|                                    | 6. Selamanik                          |                                    |

The patron-client relation changed as Islam came into Java and two great kingdoms of Hindu-Buddha, Majapahit and Pajajaran, fell down. There came Demak kingdom as the new central. The patron-client relation between Demak and Pasirluhur showed the golden age of Pasirluhur, since it did not fall down as Majapahit and Pajajaran. Pasirluhur accepted Islam, and Pasirluhur was a regency as a part of Demak kingdom. Pasirluhur survived well, with a different status. Demak gave an honor to Pasirluhur by entitling Pangeran Senapati Mangkubumi to two brothers Banyak Belanak and Banyak Geleh. When Demak collapsed, Pasirluhur came to its lowestpoint in Pajang era. Pasirluhur, with its 8,000 dhomas (8,000 x 800 = 6,400,000), shrunk into 8 nambangs (8 x 1,000 = 8,000).

The shrink of his territory led the strike of Pangeran Palangon to come before the king of Pajang. He just sent his vice, Anglungbayang. His representative was not accepted by the king. The king demanded the son of Pangeran Palangon, Pangeran Langkap, to represent his father. Pangeran Palangon, finally, ordered his four nephews to come to Pajang, considering that his son was only a child. His four nephews, Jaka Sule, Jaka Gumingsir, Jaka Bilung, and Jaka Gambuh, were well-accepted by the king. However, they claimed their parts in Pasir area, soon they went back home. Later, Pangeran Langkap took his turn to claim his right on the land. His effort just went to failure.
during the Pajang era because of his father’s rebel, but it was paid well in Mataram time. The patron-client relation between Pasir and Mataram and Kasunanan Surakarta proved that Pasir was the autonomous area preserving the tradition of Demak, after it was canceled out by Pajang (see table 16).

Table 16. The Patron-Client Relation of Pasirluhur after Islam Era

| No. | Patron | Client          |
|-----|--------|-----------------|
| 1.  | Demak  | Pasirluhur      |
| 2.  | Pajang |                 |
| 3.  | Mataram|                 |
| 4.  | Kasunanan Surakarta |     |

Babad Banyumas text describes a long line of patron-client relation from Majapahit to Kasunanan Surakarta. This was broken into two lines. The first is in the period of Wirasaba. Wirasaba, as a part of Majapahit, is always mentioned as Paguhan, Paguwan, or Paguwon. Wirasaba, like Pasirluhur, was also the client of Demak. However, the role of Adipati Wirasaba was not prominent like Banyak Belanak and Banyak Geleh. Wirasaba did not get any religious embassy (wali) as Pasir got, that Wirasaba does not show any indication to relate with Demak. In Pasir, people knew Pangeran Mardum Wali sent by Sultan Demak to teach Islam for the people of Pasir. This fact is proved by the grave of wali in Pasir. Pasir was the autonomous area which was responsible to care the grave. Pajang period was a transition period from Wirasaba to Banyumas. The death of Adipati Warga Utama I, who was assassinated in Bener village on Saturday Pahing, was the disaster terminating the existence of Wirasaba clan. Bagus Mangun, entitled Adipati Warga Utama II, transferred his central to Banyumas. The Wirasaba period was replaced by Banyumas period—Banyumas was the Western overseas area of Mataram and Kasunanan Surakarta (see Table 17).

Table 17. The Patron-Client Relation in the Periods of Wirasaba and Banyumas

| No. | Patron  | Client      |
|-----|---------|-------------|
| 1.  | Majapahit | Wirasaba   |
| 2.  | Demak   |             |
| 3.  | Pajang  |             |
| 4.  | Mataram | Banyumas    |
| 5.  | Kasunanan Surakarta |     |
In addition to the patron-client relation, the texts of Babad Pasir and Babad Banyumas make their legitimacies in their own way. Babad Pasir text claims its legitimacy on Banyak Catra in the position or the middle between Prabu Siliwangi (the descendant of Siyung Wanara) and Adipati Kandha Daha (the descendant of Arya Bangah)—the descendants of the great kings known for other culture (Sundanese). Babad texts in West Java composed their genealogy by enlisting Prabu Siliwangi as their reference. Here, Babad Pasir also does the same. In one side, Banyak Catra became adipati Pasir. In another, he was legitimated as the in-law of Kandha Daha. Thus, Siyung Wanara and Arya Bangah were applied to be a legitimacy for the combination of Pasirluhur-Pajajaran. That is the reason why the adipati of Pasir, after Banyak Catra, used the name of ‘Banyak.’

The legitimacy of Babad Banyumas text was related its connection to the left-hand history (the descendants of Prophet Adam, the off-springs of God, the descendants of figures in Bharatayudha mythology, the kings of Kediri-Pajajaran-Majapahit), asserted by the descendants of Majapahit (Raden Putra or Raden Baribin) and the descendants of Pajajaran (Dewi Pamekas), the in-laws of adipati Wirasaba (Warga Utama I), the grandson of Adipati Pasirbatang (Pangeran Senapati Mangkubumi II), and the fostered son of Ki Tolih. The legitimacy for Bagus Mangun in Babad Banyumas text is more complex and complete than that for Banyak Catra in Babad Pasir text. The purpose of the complex legitimacy for Bagus Mangun is to make a firm position, considering the wide area of Banyumas as a new central point, i.e. Karasidenan Banyumas and some vicinity. The legitimacy for Pasirluhur is more legendary for the legendary areas. The areas ranging from Sindara-Sumbing to Kerawang are the legendary areas, while Banyumas regions along the Serayu River are more obvious and historical.

III. CONCLUSION

The elements of Banyumas historiography contain the genealogy and the narrative units. The genealogies in the Babad Pasir and Babad Banyumas texts cover (1) the ancestral genealogy, (2) the basic genealogy, (3) the successor genealogy, and (4) the branch genealogy. The ancestral genealogy in Babad Banyumas text puts the left-hand history and the Majapahit genealogy in the prominent position, and combines Majapahit to Pajajaran. The phenomenon of mingling the descendant of Majapahit to Pajajaran is very general in the Babad Banyumas text. Babad Pasir text is dominated by local genealogy ranging from Arya Bangah to Ciptarasa (seven generations). Ciptarasa was married to Banyak Catra from Pajajaran. Here, the text puts the unifying point between the descendant of Arya Bangah (Galuh = Pasirluhur) and the descendant of Siyung Wanara (Pajajaran) into prominent. The basic genealogy of Babad Pasir text covers six generations (Banyak Catra to Banyak Thole), while Babad Banyumas text enlists nine generations. The basic genealogy always exists in the two texts. The successor genealogy in Babad Banyumas text was created for there is a shift of power from the descendant of Yudanegara V to the descendant of Ngabehi Mertawijaya. The similar is also the case in Babad Pasir text. Banyak Thole was replaced by his own uncle, and the successor genealogy contains the genealogy of Pangeran Senapati Mangkubumi II to his grandchildren, who then became the root of the branch genealogy, i.e. Jaka Sule, Pangeran Langkap, and Dewi Karangsari, making up three branch genealogies. The branch genealogy of Babad Pasir text does not create a new family version like that of Babad Banyumas.
The prominent branch genealogy of *Babad Banyumas* was the genealogy of Gandasubratan, written by the new families, which then resulted in the new versions of *Babad Banyumas* with their new family versions.

The dominant narrative unit in the texts is the patron-client relation and the legitimacy for the dynasty. Pasirluhur took Pajajaran as the patron, but it was a patron for 25 local states, of which leaders were the in-laws of Adipati Kandha Daha. In the Islam period and after, Pasirluhur was the client for Demak, Pajang, Mataram, and Kasunanan Surakarta. Babad Banyumas text illustrates two periods, i.e. the period of Wirasaba and the period of Banyumas. In the Period of Wirasaba, it had Majapahit, Demak, and Pajang as the patrons. In the period of Banyumas, its patrons were Pajang, Mataram, and Kasunanan Surakarta.

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