

# Genealogy of Demak Bintara Sultanate's Kings (1475-1554AD) According to the Nusantara Ulama Scripture

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## Abstract

The lineage (*nasab*) and religion of a king are two crucial factors in the study of a kingdom's history, which in this context is Nusantara. *Nasab* is a family bond based on the holistic aspect of blood relations. The Demak Bintara Sultanate (1475-1554 AD) is an Islamic kingdom established by Raden Fatah with the support of the Walisongo on Java Island. The Nusantara Ulama Scripture is a book written by Muslim scholars in Nusantara. This study used the historical research method involving various steps for compiling historical data. It consists of a set of principles that a historical researcher must adhere to when carrying out this type of study. There are four steps in this method, namely seeking sources (heuristics), selecting or sorting relevant data, interpretation of data and writing of the historiography. Results of the study highlighted the genealogy of the kings of Demak Bintara Sultanate (1475-1554 AD) based on the *babad* (chronicle), *serat* (letters), and oral narratives from members of society. The Syeh Anom manuscript provides information, especially regarding Raden Fatah's lineage, which differs from the general understanding. Findings of this study are significant to the public, considering that thus far, information regarding the relationships pertaining to the Demak Sultanate have been dominated by negative narratives, including the Wali. Therefore, the Syeh Anom manuscript can be used as a comparative source of information to previous sources.

**Key Words:** *Nasab*, Demak Bintara Sultanate, Nusantara Ulama Scripture, Java.



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## Introduction

Sources that provide information about the genealogy of the kings of Demak Bintara Sultanate (1475-1554 AD) are dominated by the *babad* (chronicles), *serat* (letter), and oral narratives from members of society. Narrative stories about the elites of the Demak Sultanate were passed down from predecessors, apart from folk art performances, such as *kethoprak*, *ludruk*, and theatrical performances.

Hence, based on several sources, such as *babad*, *serat*, and narratives from members of society, it can be presumed that Demak Bintara Sultanate was founded by Raden Fatah with the support of the Wali Songo in Java Island.<sup>1</sup> Raden Fatah's successor was Pati Yunus and according to one source, Pati Yunus was Raden Fatah's son, but another source considered him to be the son-in-law.<sup>2</sup> Pati Yunus died at a young age with no apparent heir(s) and was replaced by Raden Fatah's other son, Prince Trenggana, who was later succeeded by his eldest son, Raden Mu'min or Sunan Prawoto. Rumours among the locals at that time was that Sultan Trenggana's succession was marred by political intrigue, which led to a bloody conflict among court relatives. Prince Trenggana had an adversary in Raden Kikin or Seda Lepen. The story goes that in order to help his father ascend the throne, the young Mu'min disposed of his uncle.

Other sources concerning the Demak Sultanate were studied by foreign researchers, especially pertaining to the history of various Kings in Java-Nusantara during the post-Majapahit era. Thus, if observed closely, these studies also used *babad* and *serat* as their source of information.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, the *babad* and *serat* produced by the royal court were the primary sources of Javanese-Nusantara history since there was insufficient comparative data available. Denys Lombard had admitted in *Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya* that alternative sources of information regarding the Demak Sultanate should be further explored.<sup>4</sup> Based on the discussion above, this study believed that other sources must be explored and presented as comparative data. These literary works are crucial for reconstructing the nation's history, especially regarding the Demak Sultanate, which is still shrouded in mystery.

This study's exploration revealed that the *ulama* and *santri* had produced historical literary works containing record of past events. Unfortunately, these literary works have yet to be discovered by the public. Among the literature by the Nusantara Ulama that presents details of the genealogy of Demak Sultanate's kings is *Tarikh al-Auliya: Tarih Wali Sanga* (1372 H) by Kiai Bisyrri Musthofa Rembang. In this Arabic pegon script, the genealogy of Raden Fatah begins with the emergence of Prophet Adam *Alaihis Salam*.<sup>5</sup>

Next is the Arabic scripture by Kiai Abu al-Fadhal Tuban entitled *Ahla al-Musamarah fi Hikayat al-Auliya 'al-Asyrah* (1420 H). This scripture mentions that Raden Fatah married Sayidah Murtasimah (Sunan Ampel's daughter) and had five children, namely Prince Prabu, Raden Trenggana, Raden Bagus Seda Kali, Kanduruhan, and Sayidah Ratiyah.<sup>6</sup> Another resource is the Syeh Anom manuscript, which describes the complete genealogy of the Demak Sultanate's kings, as well as other information, such as Sunan Prawata being the son of Sunan Demak, and Sunan Demak being the son of Prince Seda Lepen and the grandson of Panembahan Palembang.<sup>7</sup> Following is the genealogy of the relatives of the Demak Sultanate based on the Syeh Anom manuscript.

Table 1: The Genealogy of the Kings of Demak

NO	NAME
01.	The Prophet Muhammad Rasulullah (p.b.u.h.)
02.	Raden Ayu Fatimah
03.	Hasan Husain
04.	Zainul Abidin
05.	Zainul Alim
06.	Zainul Kubra (Zainul Kabir)
07.	Zainul Hakim
08.	Syeh Jumadil Kubra
09.	Ibrahim Asmar
10.	Sunan Kutub
11.	Nyai Mas Kedaton
12.	Putri Ayu, married to Panembahan Palembang (R. Fatah)
13.	Prince Seda Lepen (R. Pati Yunus)
14.	Sunan Demak (Trenggana)
15.	Sunan Prawoto (R. Mu'min)
16.	Sunan Prawoto; had five children, namely Arya Pangiri; Prince of Kediri; Panembahan Prawoto; Ratu Mas Semangkin; Ratu Mas Prihatin

## Problem Statement

Denys Lombard (1938-1998), in his literary work entitled *Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya*, stated that there was a lack of documented evidence regarding the Demak Sultanate, while some historians believe that the Islamic Sultanate was founded by Raden Fatah and Wali Songo and they did not contribute much to the history of Nusantara.<sup>8</sup> They believe that Demak Sultanate's term in power did not last long and was not worthy of discussion.

Hermanus Johannes de Graaf (1899-1984), the Indonesian historian born in Rotterdam, Netherlands and Theodoor Gautier Thomas Pigeaud (1899-1988), an expert in Javanese literature born in Leipzig, Germany, both opined that the Damak Sultanate refers to the transition period from Majapahit to Mataram. De Graaf, in his book, *The Beginning of the Mataram Awakening: Period of the Senopati Reign* (2001), wrote a subtitle that read "Demak Interlude".

De Graaf focused significantly more on the discussion concerning the Islamic Mataram period, beginning with its early establishment, political intrigue, and the ambition of Senopati and his descendants to conquer areas along the northern coast of Java. He considered the Demak period to be less attractive compared to that of Mataram.

In contrast to de Graaf and Pigeaud, Lombard saw the Demak era as one of great significance since it was during this era that a social class revolution took place. Thus, this current study concluded that the Demak Sultanate had a significant impact on the social life of the people in Java-Nusantara.<sup>9</sup>

Therefore, it is vital not only to look at how long the sultans who claimed themselves to be descendants (family) of Raden Fatah were in power. Instead, the scope of their political diplomacy and the influence of the Demak Sultanate's reign at that time should also be considered. In short, history of the Demak Sultanate, especially its kings, needs to be clarified. This study examined the genealogy of Demak Bintara Sultanate's kings, which was initiated by the Wali Songo, as well as its influence on the people's understanding of Islamic history in Indonesia today.

## Research Questions

The research questions pertinent to this study are: *First*, what is the Ulama Nusantara's perspective on the narrative regarding the genealogy of Demak Bintara Sultanate's kings? *Second*, what is the relevance of the Ulama Nusantara's opinion regarding the narrative concerning the genealogy of Demak Bintara Sultanate's kings and Islamic history in Indonesia today and in the future?

## Research Objective

The objectives of this research are: *First*, to determine the Ulama Nusantara's perspective on the narrative regarding the genealogy of Demak Bintara Sultanate's kings. *Second*, to explore the relevance between Ulama Nusantara's opinion regarding the narrative concerning the genealogy of Demak Bintara Sultanate's kings and the Islamic history in Indonesia today and in the future.

## Literature Review

Historical researchers have reviewed the genealogy of Demak Bintara Sultanate's kings. Raden Fatah, the founder of the sultanate, was said to be the biological son of the last Majapahit ruler and rumoured to have blood relations with a nobility another country (China). Below is some literature regarding the Demak Bintara Sultanate's kings. This study did not intend to deny the existence of other academic works, which also reviewed the genealogy of Demak Bintara Sultanate's kings, even though they are not reviewed in this study.

First, it is mentioned in *Babad Tanah Djawi* that the last king of Majapahit entrusted his unborn baby to a nobleman in Palembang, which was later born and given the name Raden Fatah. Second, according to *Babad Pajang*, the king of Majapahit had a beautiful wife from a country in the north, which is China, and called the Princess of China. She was the daughter of a Chinese emperor and brought to Majapahit to be the king's consort (*garwa padmi*). The information in *Babad Pajang* was also found in *Babad Demak Pesisiran*. One mention was that one of the wives of the king of Majapahit was a beautiful princess from China and daughter of a Chinese emperor. Her beauty had won over Brawijaya, and he was madly in love with her. After their marriage, a child was born in 1455 AD and was named Raden Fatah. Third, Slamet Muljana, in his literary work entitled *Runtuhnya Kerajaan Hindu-Jawa dan Timbulnya Negara-*

*Negara Islam di Nusantara* (The Collapse of the Hindu-Javanese Kingdom and the Emergence of Islamic Countries in Nusantara), described the profiles of Demak Bintara Sultanate's kings, namely Raden Fatah, Adipati Unus, right up to Raden Trenggana. Muljana then managed to connect the lineage of the founders of the Demak Sultanate with certain individuals from China.<sup>10</sup>

This current study aimed to examine the genealogy and sequence of the Demak Bintara Sultanate's kings based on information found in the Ulama Nusantara's scriptures, such as the *Ahla al-Musamarah*, *Tarikhul Auliya*, and the Syeh Anom manuscript.

## Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

According to Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI), *silsilah* (genealogy) refers to the biological origins of a family in the form of a chart or lineage (descendants). In this study, genealogy is also intended to trace a person's lineage, either in a vertical direction (father etc.) or downward direction (children etc.). The Demak Bintara Sultanate was founded by Raden Fatah with the support of the Wali council (Wali Songo) in Java. This sultanate ruled in Java-Nusantara from 1475 to 1554 AD and symbolized the introduction of Islamic values to Nusantara. The Demak Sultanate continued with the Majapahit Kingdom (1294-1527 AD). The Ulama Nusantara's scriptures were Arabic-language literature or written using the Arabic script (*hijaiyah*) even though they used languages other than Arabic, such as Javanese (Arabic *pegon*), which were mainly the literary works of Nusantara scholars.

## Research Methodology

The historical research method involves the compiling of past historical events. It is intended to be a set of principles (rules) that a historical researcher must adhere to when carrying out the study.<sup>11</sup> There are four steps (processes) involved in this method, such as seeking resources (heuristics), selecting and sorting data, interpreting the data and documenting the history or historiography.

## Discussion

The discussion begins with a description of a noble descendant of the King of Majapahit named Raden Fatah and the emergence of his new kingdom, the Demak Bintara Sultanate. Raden Fatah was a descendant of King Brawijaya, who succeeded in establishing a new dynasty in the north coast of the Java Island.

Fatah's past relationship with the Majapahit palace was not in doubt. Hence, Fatah's new kingdom had succeeded the Wijaya Dynasty in Majapahit and inserted a new social and political order.

## The Origins and Lineage of Raden Fatah

According to *Babad Pajang*, the King of Majapahit had a beautiful wife from a country in the north (China). She was a princess and daughter of a Chinese emperor. She was brought to Majapahit to be the king's consort (*garwa padmi*).<sup>12</sup> Following are excerpts from *Babad Pajang*:

“...a beautiful princess from China was the daughter of a Chinese emperor. Her beauty had intoxicated Brawijaya, and he became madly in love with her”  
(*Babad Pajang*)

(“...Patut saking putri China,  
puniku pan garwa padmi,  
putrane prabu ing China,  
prameswari Majapahit...” - *Babad Pajang*).

The excerpt above was found in *Babad Demak Pesisiran*. One of the wives of the Majapahit king was a beautiful princess from China and she was the daughter of a Chinese emperor. He was madly in love with her.<sup>13</sup> *Babad Demak Pesisiran* reported:

“...from the marriage of King Brawijaya with a princess from China, a child was born, and when he grew up he was known.....” (*Babad Demak Pesisiran*)  
(“...Sang Prabu Brawijaya ing Majapahit  
garwa putri saking China langkung anyunipun  
Brawijaya Majalengka langkung tresna  
dateng puteri saking China singgih  
temahan dipun senggama...” - *Babad Demak Pesisiran*).

The marriage between King Brawijaya and the Chinese Princess led to the birth of Raden Fatah in 1455AD. Since he was a mix of Majapahit-Chinese, Fatah also had another name, Jin Bun. Fatah grew up to become the Prince of Majapahit, who would continue his father's dynasty, the last Prabu Brawijaya, by first establishing a new dynasty called the Demak Bintara Sultanate.

According to Kiai Bisyrri Musthofa, the King of Majapahit's (Brawijaya; Kertawijaya) son, who was born to a Chinese princess and later married Arya Damar Palembang, was named Hasan, while his brother was named Husain.<sup>14</sup> The name Fatah (derived from the word 'al-Fath' meaning 'opener') was more of a nickname after he succeeded in opening a new territory (kingdom/ sultanate), namely the Gelagah forest. This area saw the first establishment of a Muslim community in Java (Abu al-Fadhal, Ahla al-Musamarah fi Hikayat al-Auliya 'al-'Asyrah, 1420 pg: 4). Besides appearing in *babad* and *serat* literature, it was also well-known in the Javanese community (especially the *santri*) that Raden Fatah was the biological son of King Brawijaya or Ranggawijaya, who was the last ruler of the Majapahit Kingdom. Nevertheless, the public only knew about Majapahit and Brawijaya as its king; therefore almost every major event during the Majapahit reign was associated with King Brawijaya.

Another view was that Raden Fatah was Kertabumi's son, the King of Majapahit who ruled from 1474-1478. Kertabumi was indeed the last king of Majapahit because the Demak Sultanate was established after that. With the emergence of the Demak Kingdom, Majapahit became sub-servient to the Demak Sultanate; hence, the ruler was a confidant of Raden Fatah.<sup>15</sup> Therefore, Fatah's mother, the Chinese Princess, differed from the previously described Princess Campa. Thus, King Brawijaya's wives came from the Campa imperial family, while some came from mainland China. All the wives were Muslims, and their offsprings were raised in the Islamic tradition (*santri*).

Table2: The Genealogy of Raden Fatah

1	Prophet Adam	21	Parikesit
2	Raden Nur Cahya	22	Hudayana
3	Sang Hyang Nur Rasa	23	Jayaderma
4	Sang Hyang Wenang	24	Jaya Amijaya
5	Sang Hyang Wening	25	Gendrayana
6	Sang Hyang Tunggal	26	Sumawicitra
7	Sang Hyang Guru	27	Citrasuma
8	Wisnu	28	Pancadriya
9	Srigati	29	Sila Jalu
10	Hyang Trustili	30	Serima Punggung
11	Marikena	31	Gandiawan
12	Raden Manawasa	32	Resi Gentayu
13	Raden Sutapa	33	Raden Lembu Amiluhur Jenggala
14	Raden Seketrem	34	Raden Tebu
15	Raden Saheri	35	Rawis Rengga Jenggala
16	Pulasara	36	Raden Laliyan
17	Habiwasa	37	Raden Mundisari Pajajaran
18	Pandu Astina	38	Prabu Mundiwangi Pajajaran
19	Arjuna	39	Raden Suruh
20	Angkawijaya	40	The Last Barawijaya (Kertawijaya) married Princess of China
41	Raden Fatah or Hasan, married Sayidah Murtasimah, the youngest daughter of Sunan Ampeldenta		

Source: Bisri Musthofa, in *Tarikh al-Auliya: Tarikh Wali Sanga* (1372 H)

## **Jin bun was Cared for by Arya Damar since Birth to Adolescence**

It was said that a beautiful daughter of a Chinese emperor had married King Brawijaya, the last ruler of Majapahit. Soon after coming to Majapahit she became pregnant. At a relatively early stage of the pregnancy, for reasons unknown, King Brawijaya ordered Arya Damar, the Duke of Palembang, to take care and guard her. King Brawijaya had instructed Jaka Dilah, a.k.a. Arya Damar, "Don't touch her until the child is born. After that, the responsibility is on you." King Brawijaya's wife gave birth to a handsome baby boy who was cared for by Arya Damar's family. This child grew up in the care of the Duke of Palembang, who was also a close relative of the King of Majapahit. Some locals believed that Arya Damar was Raden Fatah's older brother, who later became his stepfather<sup>16</sup>

However, Slamet Muljana concluded that Arya Damar's father was Hyang Wisesa, or Wikramawardana, who was none other than Kusumawardhani's husband. In addition to having a wife, Hayam Wuruk (Kusumawardhani), Hyang Wisesa also married a Chinese princess. Thus, Arya Damar was also the son of the king of Majapahit, who married a Chinese princess. However, Arya Damar's mother and father were not Fatah's parents (the baby Brawijaya entrusted him).<sup>17</sup> The choice of the name 'Fatah' for the newborn baby has also become a topic of discussion amongst some Muslim historians. The name 'Fatah' has been linked with the word 'al-Fath', which means 'opener'. Furthermore, the word 'al-Fath' also connotes a 'grand plan' or a 'dream to open a new area', namely the Gelagah Forest in this context. This area later became the centre of the royal government built by the Muslims in Java. Therefore, the word 'al-Fath' also has a broader influence in the establishment of the Islamic kingdom called the Demak Bintara Sultanate. Did King Brawijaya plan this with the help of his son, Arya Damar, or did it all happen by chance?

The name 'Fatah' also refers to the seventh Ottoman ruler. Sultan Mehmed II was widely known as Muhammad Al Fatih (Sultan Mehmet Fatih), who reigned from 1444 to 1446 and from 1451 to 1481. He earned the nickname 'al-Fatih' or 'The Conqueror' after capturing Constantinople in 1453, which also ended the history of the Byzantine Empire. In 1474, Mehmed sent his troops to Shkodra but they failed but he led an army again to besiege Shkodra in 1478-1479. Venice, on the other hand, held on to the city until it was handed over to the Ottomans according to the Treaty of Constantinople (1479) as a condition for ending the war.

According to Slamet Muljana, the name given to King Brawijaya's child, who was entrusted to Arya Damar, was Jin Bun (Chinese). After becoming a sultan in Demak, he obtained the title Panembahan Jimbun. According to *Babad Tanah Djawi*, Fatah's name was Senopati Jimbun.<sup>18</sup> Another view was that his name was Hasan, while his younger brother, born to a Chinese princess and Arya Damar, was named Husain. However, King Brawijaya's decision to hastily entrust his unborn child to Arya Damar, to be brought to an area relatively far from the centre of the Majapahit kingdom, is a fact that should not be ignored. Arya Damar received a mandate from King Brawijaya to take care of the Majapahit prince from the time of his birth until approaching adulthood. Was this King Brawijaya's way of providing an opportunity for his children to grow up in a Muslim tradition?

## Raden Fatah Went to Ampeldenta until His Marriage

It was said that not long after giving birth to King Brawijaya's son (Fatah), Adipati Arya Damar married the Chinese princess. The marriage between Arya Damar and the Chinese Princess saw the birth of a child named Husain. Thus, Raden Fatah had a half-brother from the same mother. Raden Fatah and his younger half-brother, Raden Husain, made plans to go to Ampeldenta to learn from Sayid Rahmat or Sunan Ampel. They discussed this wish with their father, Arya Damar. After obtaining permission, the two of them left Palembang for Ampeldenta and they were finally able to face Sayid Rahmat.

"Who are you, and why do you want to see me", asked Sayid Rahmat.

Fatah replied: "My name is Fatah, son of Brawijaya. And this is my half-brother. His name is Raden Husain, son of Arya Damar, the Duke in Palembang. We both want to serve and learn the religion from you".<sup>19</sup>

In the final days of Majapahit rule, the Ampeldenta Islamic education centre had become a destination for students from the surrounding islands in Nusantara. The young Fatah stayed with some of Sayid Rahmat's students, who had come to learn about Islam from Sayid Rahmat. They were Raden Paku, son of Maulana Ishaq who later became the famous Sunan Giri, Sayid Qasim, son of Sayid Rahmat and later became the renowned Sunan Derajat, Sayid Abdul Jalil, son of Sayid Abdul Qadir Maulana Ishaq who later became the famous Sheikh Siti Jenar, Sayid Amir Husain, son of Haji Usman who was the son of Sayid Rajapandita, who was none other than Sunan Ampel's nephew, Sayid Amir al-Haj, son of Sayid Usman al-Haj who later became Sunan Kudus, Raden Said, son of Raden Syahid (Sunan Kalijaga) who later became known as Sunan Muria, and Amir Hamzah, son of Sayid Muhsin. Among all of them, Sayid Qasim was chosen as the leader of Sunan Ampel's group of students.

Young Fatah was gifted with the acumen to easily grasp religious knowledge. He grew up to be pious and excelled in religious knowledge, such as *shari'ah*, *tariqat*, to *harikat*. Besides studying religion, Fatah also got acquainted with his extended family in Majapahit because the distance between Majapahit and Ampeldenta was relatively closer than Palembang, his homeland.

Fatah lived in Ampel for a long time, and his relationship with Sayid Rahmat grew closer. Finally, Sayid Rahmat got Fatah married to his youngest daughter, Sayidah Murtasimah (Abu al-Fadhal, 1420 pg: 28). Thus, Fatah's relationship with Sayid Rahmat was not limited to teacher-student but also as an extended family. After Fatah got married, his half-brother Raden Husain sought permission to go before him and visit King Brawijaya in Majapahit. King Brawijaya also played a role in uniting Sayid Rahmat and Fatah as King Brawijaya was Sayid Rahmat's uncle. Meanwhile, Fatah was King Brawijaya's biological son; thus, Rahmat and Fatah were cousins. Raden Fatah's marriage to Sayidah Murtasimah witnessed the birth of five children, namely Prince Prabu, Raden Trenggana, Raden Bagus Seda Kali, Kanduruhan, and Sayidah Ratiyah.<sup>20</sup>

Conversely, this study also found that the woman Raden Fatah married was the granddaughter of Sunan Ampel (Syeh Anom Sidakarsa Manuscript, 1171 H). However, it was

clear that Raden Fatah and Sunan Ampel had very close kinship relations as teacher-student and son-in-law or grandson-in-law. Based on the information above, it is apparent that Raden Fatah had a direct lineage (*nasab*) with the kings of Majapahit. His initial desire was to become a follower of Islam, and a religious scholar or *ulama*. Thus, because of the encouragement and direction of the spiritual teachers (Wali) and the support of his father, King Brawijaya, Fatah toiled the long journey to become a sultan in Java.

Therefore, the assumption that Raden Fatah had the ambition to become a king, even to the point of opposing his parents, must be corrected. When considering the principles of the traditional *santri*, which emphasises a high degree of obedience to the religious teacher, and forbids revolting against the legitimate rulers, it seems highly unlikely that Fatah would have confronted his father.

## The Scientific-Based Geneology of the Kings of Demak was Connected to Sunan Ampel

Maulana Ishaq, the brother of Sayid Ibrahim al-Asmar, had one day visited Java with the exact reason for his visit being unknown. However, he might have known or at least heard that his two nephews were in Majapahit.

Another possibility could be that Maulana Ishaq did not know the whereabouts of Ibrahim al-Asmar's children in Majapahit. The decision by Sayid Rahmat and Sayid Ali al-Murtadha to stay in Majapahit came unexpectedly after being directed to do so by King Brawijaya. However, after hearing Maulana Ishaq's explanation, Raden Rahmat knew that the guest who had come was his uncle (his father's brother, Ibrahim al-Asmar).

One exciting incident was when Maulana Ishaq bestowed Raden Rahmat the title '*sunan maqdam*'. He was given the title '*sunan*' because he was the first *imam* or Islamic religious leader in Java, whereas, '*maqdam*' was bestowed because he was the first person in Java who embraced Islam. Hence, '*sunan maqdam*' refers to the first person in Java who embraced Islam and became an imam.<sup>21</sup> Awarding of the title 'Sunan Maqdam' emphasizes the critical role played by Sunan Ampel, especially in the development of Islam in Nusantara during Majapahit's days of final glory.

Maulana Ishaq's arrival at the Ampeldenta Islamic boarding school was described in *Serat Centhini*, including his trip to Blambangan. He later married the daughter of the King of Blambangan. *Serat Centhini* proclaimed:

“Pancasudanya Satria's authority is Fire, Windu Adi, the seventh victim of the massacre in the year 1742 J, or 1815 AD. beginning with the song of the palace of Majalengka, Sri Brawijaya Pamungkas who dominates. There is a Wali from the state of Jeddah.

(*Pancasudaning Satriya, wibawa lakuning gêni, windu Adi Mangsa Sapta, sangkala angkaning warsi, Paksa suci sabda ji, rikang pinurwa ing kidung, duk kraton Majalêngka, Sri Brawijaya mungkasi, wontên maolana sangking nagri Juddah.*)

Named Syech Wali Lanang, his journey to Java was to go to Ngampeldenta. He met with the Maharesi, to exchange knowledge and convey Sharia knowledge propagated by the Rasul (Prophet Muhammad), but soon after he moved to the southeast, towards the state of Blambangan.

*(Panêngran Sèh Walilanang, praptanira tanah Jawi, kang jinujung Ngampèldênta, pinanggih sang maha rêsi, araraosan ngèlmi, sarak sarengat Jêng Rasul, nanging tan ngantya lama, linggar saking Ngampèlgadhing, ngidul ngetan anjog nagri Balambangan”)* (Serat Centhini).

According to *Serat Centhini*, Maulana Ishaq was also known as Sheikh Wali Lanang and he came from Jeddah (Saudi Arabia) to Ampeldenta. Majapahit at that time was ruled by the last Sri Brawijaya king. In Ampelgading (another name for Ampeldenta), he met a charismatic figure (the great sage), who was none other than Sunan Ampel.

Sunan Ampel's leadership and character was well-received and became a reference for Muslim immigrants from various regions, including those outside Nusantara. This is evident when three Yemenis, namely Sayid Muhsin, Sayid Ahmad, and Caliph Husayn, came to the Ampeldenta Islamic boarding school. Their purpose for travelling to Java was to meet Sunan Ampel and seek Islamic knowledge. Like Sunan Ampel, these three people were related by blood to the Prophet Muhammad.

In the end, Sunan Ampel's relationship with these three Yemenis grew closer. In addition to being accepted as students, they established familial relations through marriage. Sayid Ahmad was married to Sunan Ampel's daughter, Sayidah Hafshah.

What about the other religious and political figures from Nusantara? Almost all the Wali and princes who played an essential role at the end of the Majapahit Kingdom's reign, the transition period, and until the establishment of the Demak Sultanate, had all tutored under Sunan Ampel.<sup>22</sup> Among the famous religious and political figures in Nusantara who tutored under Sayid Rahmat were:

1. Raden Paku, son of Maulana Ishaq, accompanied by a noblewoman who took care of him, Nyai Gede Tanda, daughter of Sayid Rajapandita, had come to Ampeldenta. Later, Raden Paku was known as Sunan Giri.
2. Sayid Ibrahim, son of Sunan Ampel, married Dewi Irah. He was later known as Sunan Bonang.
3. Sayid Qasim, son of Sayid Rahmat, married Sayidah Sufiyah, daughter of Sayid Abdul Qadir (Sunan Gunungjati). Later known as Sunan Derajat. Thus, Sunan Ampel had a parent-in-law relationship with Sunan Gunungjati.
4. Sayid Abdul Jalil, son of Sayid Abdul Qadir, son of Maulana Ishaq. He was later known as Sheikh Siti Jenar and settled in an area called Lemah Abang.
5. Sayid Amir Husain, son of Haji Usman (Sunan Mayuran), son of Sayid Rajapandita and the nephew of Sunan Ampel.
6. Sayid Amir al-Haj (Sunan Kudus), son of Sayid Usman al-Haj (Sunan Ngudung), son of Sayid Rajapandita.

7. Raden Said, son of Raden Syahid (Sunan Kalijaga). Later, Raden Said was famously known as Sunan Muria.
8. Amir Hamzah, son of Sayid Muhsin (married to Sayidah Mutmainnah, daughter of Sunan Ampel).
9. Raden Fatah, son of King Brawijaya, later married Sunan Ampel's youngest daughter, Sayidah Murtasimah.
10. Raden Husain, son of Arya Damar or Raden Fatah's half-brother from the mother's side.

Based on the information above, it is clear that Raden Rahmat, popularly known as Sunan Ampel, was the first Muslim to settle in Nusantara during the last days of the Majapahit reign. Sunan Ampel had become a destination for Muslim immigrants who stopped-over or wished to settle in the Majapahit region.

Sunan Ampel had from the beginning produced prospective Muslim leaders (ulama; Wali) in Java. Almost all of the Wali in Java had studied at the Ngampelgading Islamic boarding school (Ngampeldenta), including the first king of the Demak Bintara Sultanate. Upon further examination, these Wali in Java, who were students of Sunan Ampel, also had blood relations with their teacher. *Wallahu a'lam.*

## **Genealogy of the Kings of Demak according to the *Syeh Anom Sidakarsa* Manuscript**

This study also met a Kiai in Kebumen, Central Java, who kept manuscripts dating back hundreds of years (handwritten). The manuscripts contain elements of Islamic education, especially discussions on the topic of monotheism (theology). In addition, it also contained a history of Islam, history of the kings in Java, and genealogy of the Demak Bintara Sultanate's kings, whose lineage goes back to the times of Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h). The Kiai said that he received the legacy of the monographs that were handed down from generation to generation from his ancestors who shared the lineage of Syeh Anom Sidakarsa. The monographs were also the work, or at least the teachings, of Syeh Anom received from the Walisongo in Java. This study thanked the holder of the Syeh Anom Manuscript, who was kind enough to reveal this valuable manuscript for further scrutiny and review. Kiai Muhyiddin revealed a book in which the colour of the pages had become yellowish-brown. One of the pages indicated that the document was written in 1177 H. (1763 AD) and another possibly in 1277 H (1863 AD).

This manuscript was written in Arabic Pegon and immediately drew the attention of this study. Thus far, old records about the social, political, and cultural life of the Javanese people, especially those written by poets from the Solo and Yogyakarta courts, were written in Javanese characters (*ha na ca ra ka*). Syeh Anom's manuscript was written in Arabic Pegon. This manuscript was similar to *Babad Diponegoro* (1833 AD), whereby the original manuscript was also written in Arabic Pegon. It contained a typical autobiography of Prince Diponegoro and was declared by UNESCO as a Memory of the World on June 21, 2013. Syeh Anom was the grandson of Sunan Prawata or Prince Hadi Mu'min, the fourth king of the Demak Bintara Sultanate (r. 1546-1547 AD). Hence, Syeh Anom was also a descendant of the founder of the

Demak Bintara Sultanate, Raden Fatah (r. 1475-1518). This study refers to Syeh Anom Sidakarsa's manuscript as the Syeh Anom manuscript.

Information circulating among the community presumed Sunan Prawata to be the Sultan of Demak Bintara, who bore a political 'karma'. He was said to be the king of the Demak Bintara Sultanate who caused the eventual decline of the dynasty. This finally led to the relocation of the administrative capital of the earliest Islamic sultanate on Java to the inland in Pajang (now Surakarta) after 1554 AD.

Sunan Prawata was also described as a prince who had ignited the 'fire of enmity' in his own palace. Eventually, the community came to know the Demak Bintara dynasty as one portraying a history of princes who severely lacked a chivalrous character. The kings of Demak were described as being greedy, while their successors were said to be incompetent in managing the country. Others were labelled as arrogant and greedy rulers and some were rumoured to be immoral and despicable nobles. Syeh Anom's manuscript provides information, especially regarding the genealogy of Raden Fatah's lineage, which differs from the general understanding. This revelation should be made common knowledge, considering that the news thus far about the kinship relations of the Demak Sultanate has been dominated by a single narrative. Even the Wali were not spared from the negative portrayal. Emergence of the Syeh Anom manuscript can be used as comparative source of information to previous sources.

## Syeh Anom's Relationship with the Kings of Demak

It is stated in *Babad Tanah Djawi* (L. Van Rijckevorsel, 1925) that Sunan Prawata was the son of Sultan Trenggana, the third king of the Demak Bintara Sultanate. The previous king was Sultan Pati Yunus (r. 1518-1521 AD), Trenggana's eldest brother. Sunan Prawata was the crown prince of Sultan Trenggana, who later replaced his father's reign. Thus, Sunan Prawata was the fourth king of the Demak Sultanate. Sunan Prawata's first name was Prince Mu'min or Raden Mu'min. *Serat Centhini*, or *Suluk Tambangraras* (1814 AD), addressed him as Sultan Hadi *kang ngedaton in nagari Demak* (Sultan Hadi, the King of Demak Bintara). Meanwhile, people in Prawoto (now Pati) referred to him as Raden Bagus Hadi Mu'min, a.k.a Sunan Prawata.

Sunan Prawata's reign was reportedly very short as it only lasted three years; although some say it lasted only a year and blemished with internal conflict. However, historical research reports concluded that Sunan Prawata played a role in strengthening the naval forces of the Demak Sultanate since the time of Sultan Pati Yunus or even earlier (Slamet Muljana, 2007). When his father, Sultan Trenggana, explored the Java Island, he was the one who guarded the capital from potential attacks by adversaries. This means that as a future king, Raden Mu'min had been prepared from an early age. However, it was said that Prince Mu'min preferred to become a *mandita*, a pious person who teaches Islamic religious knowledge. That is why he was better known as a *sunan* (Sunan Prawata; Susuhunan ing Prawata) rather than a *sultan* (Sultan Prawata, the King of Demak). Sunan Prawata was also said to dislike his position as a formal leader (king), what more being involved in politics. This was one of the reasons that led to the decline of Demak Bintara.

Besides, Prince Anom was the grandson of Sunan Prawata and both shared a lineage with the founder of the Demak Bintara Sultanate. While Sunan Prawata was the third

descendant of Raden Fatah, Prince Anom was the sixth descendant. Prince Anom's father was Prince Sudarma, the son of Prince Kediri (Wirasoma; Wirasmara), while Prince Kediri was the son of Sunan Prawata. Socio-political developments in Java at the time Prince Anom born had led to his growing up outside the palace. His desire was to pursue Islamic religious knowledge and become an *ulama*, which was similar to what his grandfather, Sunan Prawata, also desired.

According to Syeh Anom's manuscript, the young Prince Anom went to Mecca and studied under several *Syeh* (*masyayekh* or famous religious scholars). Upon his return from the Prophet's birthplace, he held the title of *Syeh* and became a religious leader in the Sidakarsa area (now Kebumen).

## Genealogy of the Sultans and Conflicts in the Palace

According to *babad*, *serat*, and common local knowledge, the Demak Bintara Sultanate was founded by Raden Fatah with the support of the Wali Songo. His successor was Pati Yunus, his son, while another source claimed that he was his son-in-law. Pati Yunus died at a young age, had no children, and was replaced by another of Raden Fatah's sons, Trenggana.

Many have said that the king's succession was filled with political intrigue, which led to a bloody conflict among the relatives. Prince Trenggana had an adversary in Raden Kikin or Seda Lepen. Hence, in order to help his father ascend the throne, the young Mu'min disposed of his uncle. However, the Syeh Anom manuscript provides a different perspective. It depicts that Sunan Prawata was the son of Sunan Demak, Sunan Demak was the son of Prince Seda Lepen, and Prince Seda Lepen was the son of Panembahan Palembang. In *Ahla al-Musamarah*, written by Kiai Abu al-Fadhal, it mentions that Sunan Demak was the title given to Raden Fatah. Thus, according to Syeh Anom's manuscript, Sunan Prawoto is the grandson of Prince Seda Lepen. The following is a complete genealogy of the ancestors of Demak Bintara Sultanate's kings based on the Syeh Anom manuscript:

Table 2: Genealogy of Kanjeng Sunan Prawoto Based on the *Syeh Anom Sidakrsa* Manuscript

NO	NAME
01.	Prophet Muhammad Rasulullah
02.	Raden Ayu Fatimah
03.	Hasan Husain
04.	Zainul Abidin
05.	Zainul Alim
06.	Zainul Kubra (Zainul Kabir)
07.	Zainul Hakim
08.	Syeh Jumadil Kubra
09.	Ibrahim Asmar
10.	Sunan Kutub
11.	Nyai Mas Kedaton
12.	Putri Ayu; who was married to Panembahan Palembang

13. Pangeran Seda Lepen
  14. Sunan Demak
  15. Sunan Prawoto
  16. Sunan Prawoto, who had five children:  
Arya Pangiri; Prince of Kediri; Panembahan Prawoto;  
Ratu Mas Semangkin; Queen Mas Concerned
  17. Prince of Kediri; had a son named Prince Sudarma
  18. Prince Sudarman; a son named Prince Anom or later well  
known as Sheikh Anom
- 

The Table above clearly shows that Prince Seda Lepen had a direct lineage from Sunan Prawata, namely a relationship between grandfather and grandson. This differs from the information found in *Babad Tanah Djawi* and accepted as common knowledge, which indicates that Sunan Prawata as the one who disposed of Seda Lepen.

### **The Importance of Compiling Historical Narratives of Historical and Political Figures**

This study was interested in re-evaluating historical literature whose narratives neglect the reasoning and perspective of the historical and political figures. Hence, this study wishes to express its gratitude to Dr Muhammad Zain from the Ministry of Religion in the Republic of Indonesia who has sincere interests in issues related to Islamic history in Nusantara, India and China. This study also found inaccuracies in the portrayal of the lives of previous Indonesian Islamic scholars and therefore the reason for re-evaluating these historical chronicles. The Demak Bintara Sultanate was under the directive of the Wali Songo, which held strict Islamic values. There was a bond of mutual respect and compassion between them, like that between a teacher and student or a parent and his/her children. In this context, every policy, especially concerning the people, must be subjected to the advice and fatwa of the Wali Songo. Conversely, the Demak Bintara Sultanate was a continuation of the Majapahit dynasty. The unfinished business of the Majapahit dynasty was handed down to the Demak Bintara Sultanate. Moreover, the Demak Bintara Sultanate faced new challenges with the arrival of foreigners who wanted to usurp wealth from Nusantara. Thus far, Demak Bintara had a challenging task, namely to organize, fix, and defend its territory, which entailed a precise strategy and tedious efforts to accomplish that feat. In fact, the Portuguese soldiers never actually breached the fortifications of the Demak palace.

### **Conclusion**

The historical chronicles whose narratives neglect the reasoning and perspective of the respective historical figures require a re-evaluation because there are some inaccurate depictions of their lives. This could have happened because the historical researchers lacked the knowledge and cultural understanding of the nation they studied. The Demak Bintara Sultanate was under the directive of the Wali Songo, which held strict Islamic values. There

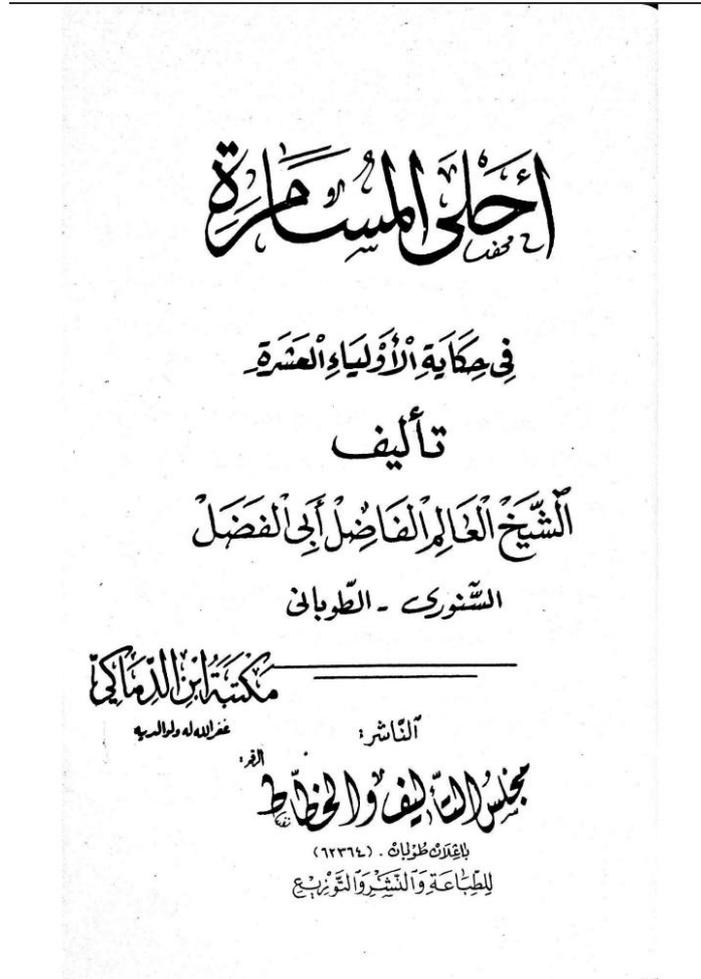
was a bond of mutual respect and compassion between them, like that between a teacher and student or a parent and his/her children. In this context, every policy, especially concerning the people, must be subjected to the advice and fatwa of the Wali Songo. At the same time, the Demak Bintara Sultanate was a continuation of the Majapahit dynasty, and it would continue the unfinished endeavours of the dynasty. The Demak Bintara Sultanate also faced other challenges with the arrival of foreigners who wanted to usurp the riches of Nusantara. Therefore, the Demak Bintara Sultanate had complex tasks to perform, such as to organize, establish and defend the territory, which required a precise strategy and tedious efforts. In fact, the Portuguese soldiers never actually breached the fortifications of the Demak palace. Conversely, Raden Fatah had a direct lineage (*nasab*) with the Majapahit kings. His initial desire was to become a follower of Islam and a religious scholar or *ulama*. The encouragement and direction given by the spiritual teachers (Wali) and his father's support, King Brawijaya, had paved the arduous journey for Fatah to eventually become a sultan in Java. Thus, the misguided assumption that Raden Fatah had the ambition to become a king, even to the point of having an altercation with his parents, must be corrected. Moreover, when considering the teachings of the traditional *santri*, which generally advocates a high-level of allegiance to their *guru* and forbids any altercation with the legitimate authority, it seems very unlikely that there was an altercation between Fatah and his father. Therefore, tracing the lineage of the Demak Bintara Sultanate's kings could eventually reveal the social and political background of the Islamic kingdom in Java, which can pose as primary data for creating an accurate narrative regarding Islam in Nusantara.

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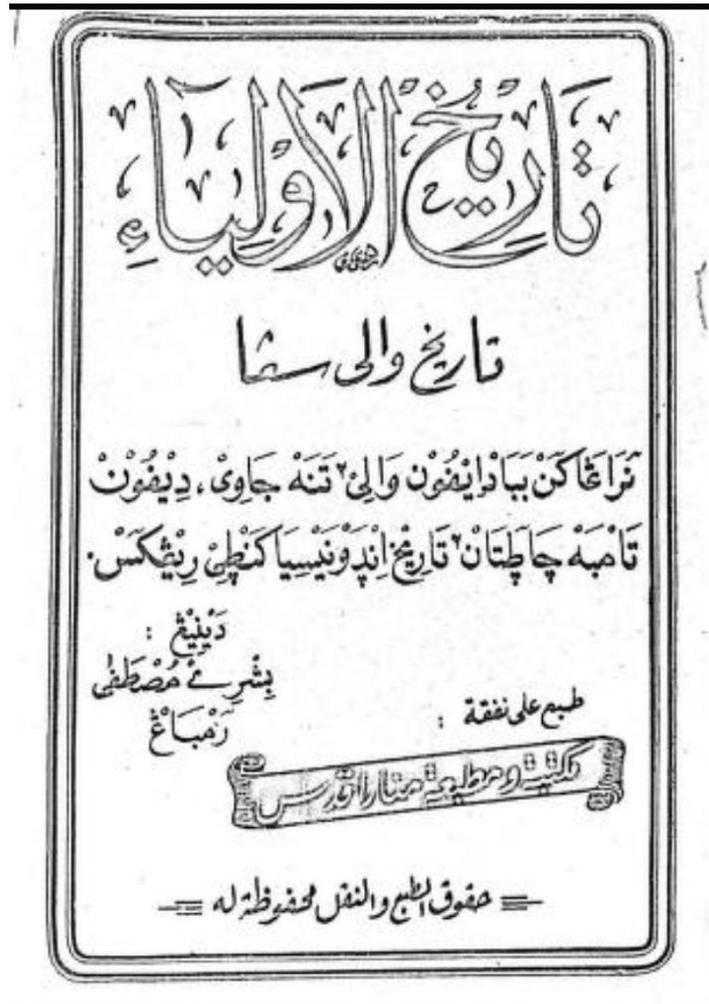
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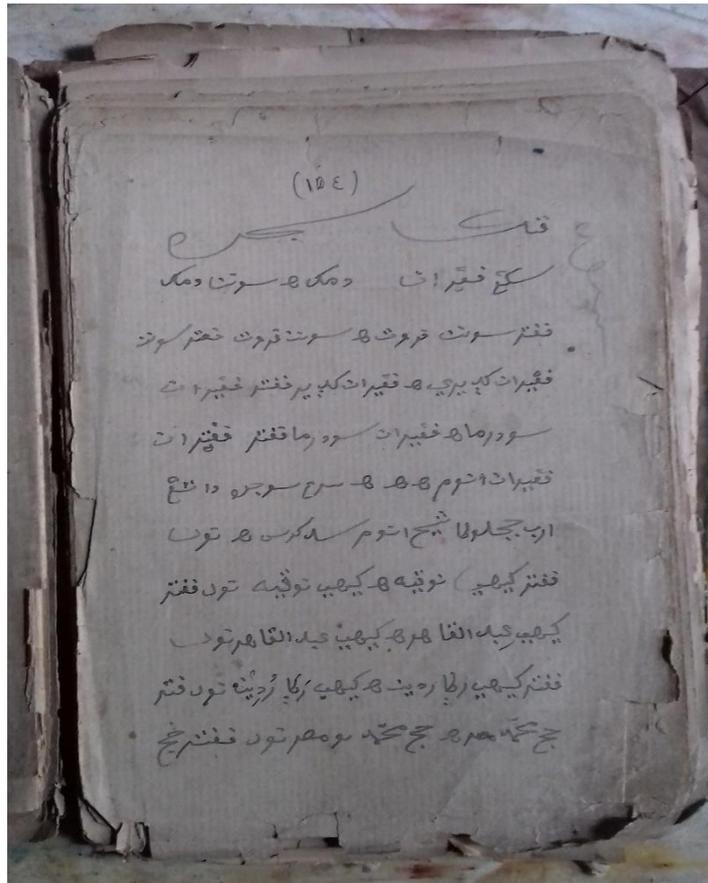
A. Photo Gallery



The Ahla al-Musamarah Scripture by Kiai Abu al-Fadhal (1420 H)  
(Photo collection by Ali Romdhoni, June 2019)



The *Tarikh al-Auliya: Tarikh of Walisanga* Scripture by Kiai Bisyr Musthofa (1372 H)  
(Photo collection by Ali Romdhoni, June 2019)



*The Syeh Anom Sidakarsa Manuscript*  
(Photo collection by Ali Romdhoni, June, 2019)

### Nota Hujung

<sup>1</sup> *Babad Jaka Tingkir: Babad Pajang*, translated by Moelyono Sastronaryatmo (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional RI dan Balai Pustaka (2011) , p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Jalan Raya Pos, Jalan Daendels*, (Jakarta: Lentera Dipantara, 2005), p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> H. J. de Graaf, *Awal Kebangkitan Mataram: Masa Pemerintahan Senopati* (Jakarta: Pustaka Grafitipers 2001), p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> Denys Lombard, *Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya jilid 2*, (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2005), p. 52.

<sup>5</sup> Bisyrri Musthofa, *Tarikh al-Auliya: Tarikh Wali sanga* (Kudus: Penerbit Menara Kudus, 1372 H), p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Abu al-Fadhal, *Ahla al-Musamarah fi Hikayat al-Auliya' al-'Asyrah* (Rembang: Darul Ghuraba Ma'had al-Anwar, 1420 H), p. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Ali Romdhoni, "Manuskrip Syeh Anom dan Jejak Pengaruh Kesultanan Demak", in <https://alif.id/read/al/manuskrip-syeh-anom-dan-jejak-pengaruh-kesultanan-demak-b221431p/>

<sup>8</sup> Denys Lombard, *Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya jilid 2*, (2005), p. 56.

<sup>9</sup> Ali Romdhoni, "Kitab Salokantara: Harmoni Khazanah Hindu-Jawa dan Ajaran Islam pada Masa Kesultanan Demak", in <https://www.nusantarainstitute.com/kitab-salokantara-harmoni-khazanah-hindu-jawa-dan-ajaran-islam-pada-masa-kesultanan-demak/>.

<sup>10</sup> Slamet Muljana, *Runtuhnya Kerajaan Hindu-Jawa dan Timbulnya Negara-Negara Islam di Nusantara* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2007), p. 88.

<sup>11</sup> Aam Abdillah, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah*, (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2012), p. 29.

<sup>12</sup> *Babad Jaka Tingkir: Babad Pajang*, translated by Moelyono Sastronaryatmo (2011), p. 162.

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- <sup>13</sup> *Babad Demak Pesisiran*, Research in Language and Literature Babad Demak Pesisiran by Suripan Sadi Hutomo, *et.al.*, (Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1984), p. 101.
- <sup>14</sup> Bisyri Musthofa, *Tarikh al-Auliya: Tarikh Wali sanga* (1372 H), p. 3.
- <sup>15</sup> Slamet Muljana, *Runtuhnya Kerajaan Hindu-Jawa dan Timbulnya Negara-Negara Islam di Nusantara* (2007), p. 33.
- <sup>16</sup> Abu al-Fadhal, *Ahla al-Musamarah fi Hikayat al-Auliya' al-'Asyrah* (1420 H), p. 4.
- <sup>17</sup> Slamet Muljana, *Runtuhnya Kerajaan Hindu-Jawa dan Timbulnya Negara-Negara Islam di Nusantara* (2007), p. 87.
- <sup>18</sup> Slamet Muljana, *Runtuhnya Kerajaan Hindu-Jawa dan Timbulnya Negara-Negara Islam di Nusantara* (2007), p. 87.
- <sup>19</sup> Abu al-Fadhal, *Ahla al-Musamarah fi Hikayat al-Auliya' al-'Asyrah* (1420 H), p. 27.
- <sup>20</sup> Abu al-Fadhal, *Ahla al-Musamarah fi Hikayat al-Auliya' al-'Asyrah* (1420 H), p. 30.
- <sup>21</sup> Abu al-Fadhal, *Ahla al-Musamarah fi Hikayat al-Auliya' al-'Asyrah* (1420 H), hlm. 16.
- <sup>22</sup> Abu al-Fadhal, *Ahla al-Musamarah fi Hikayat al-Auliya' al-'Asyrah* (1420 H), p. 16.