COLLECTIVE MEMORY, SUFISM, AND ISLAMIC VALUES: The Living Traditions of Prince Diponegoro's Descendants

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Abstract: This study explores how Islamic values and Sufi traditions endure through the collective memory of Prince Diponegoro's descendants in contemporary Indonesia. Drawing on interpretive hermeneutics and narrative-historical ethnography, it analyses interviews, participant observation, family archives, and historical sources, including Babad Diponegoro. The findings reveal how tawhid, moral conduct, and sincerity are sustained through oral narratives, family traditions, and symbolic practices. These practices preserve Diponegoro's image as a satriya pinandhita, embodying both spiritual authority and political legitimacy. Sufism emerges not merely as a religious inheritance but as an ethical orientation that connects faith with social responsibility and personal integrity. Rituals such as nyadran and ngabekten provide meaningful settings in which religious teachings and historical memories are renewed across generations. Digital documentation and intergenerational engagement further enable these traditions to adapt to contemporary life. The study highlights the role of family memory in sustaining Sufi ethics, Islamic identity, and spiritual heritage amid social change.

Keywords: Collective Memory, Family Tradition, History and Identity, Prince Diponegoro, Sufism and Islamic Values.

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Introduction

Since the outbreak of the Java War in 1825–1830, Prince Diponegoro emerged as a key figure who combined royal legitimacy with popular orientation in resisting Dutch colonial domination.[1] The war was not merely an armed conflict but also a socio-political crisis that marked the transformation of Javanese society and the Yogyakarta monarchy.[2] The war became "one of the major changes in the world in the late 18th and early 19th centuries" in the Javanese context, with Diponegoro as the main actor confronting Dutch intervention and the collapse of the old order.[3] This established Diponegoro as a figure of historical significance that transcended the local realm, solidifying his position within both national and global discourse.[4]

Diponegoro's leadership is also relevant to people's military strategy and leadership.[5] The "total people's defense system" tactics applied by Diponegoro during the Java War placed great pressure on the Dutch East Indies government not only militarily, but also socially and economically.[6] Thus, Diponegoro's legacy lies not only in the outcomes of the war but also in his leadership model that integrated military, social, and religious aspects.[7] Such leadership provides a concrete foundation for his descendants' narratives in preserving the values of struggle, solidarity, and people's resilience.

The historical significance of Diponegoro is further reinforced through the study of the heroic values inherited by subsequent generations.[8] Values such as extraordinary courage, moral nobility, and modest living remain part of the legacy maintained by Diponegoro's descendants. The study shows that even as social contexts change, the core values championed by Diponegoro remain relevant as the moral identity of his descendants and the community connected to his legacy.[9]

Historical studies affirm that, viewed from a broader context, Diponegoro is also worthy of being regarded as a hero with international resonance. The Java War is seen as one of the pivotal moments in Indonesia's colonial history, influencing the nation's politics, culture, and economy.[10] By situating Diponegoro within a global framework, this research opens the possibility of comparing his spiritual legacy and moral values with those of other Islamic resistance figures worldwide.[11] Such an approach enriches the understanding that Islam and Sufism are not merely local phenomena but also possess cross-cultural dimensions shaped by the collective memory of descendants and family traditions.[12]

Prince Diponegoro is known not only as the military leader of the Java War (1825–1830) but also as a religious figure who made Islamic principles and Sufi practices the ethical foundation of his struggle.[13] Historical and philological studies of the *Babad Diponegoro* show that the religious dimension including prayer, contemplation, and moral paradigms rooted in the Javanese Sufi tradition became the main interpretive framework for his actions and the legitimacy he built before his followers.[14] Thus, examining the

relevance of Islamic values and Sufi elements in the memory of Diponegoro's descendants allows for tracing the continuity of moral values that connect the historical experience of struggle with the formation of family and community ethics in contemporary times.[15]

In the contemporary socio-religious context of Indonesia, recent studies position *tharîqah* (Sufi orders) as a significant source of social capital in strengthening community cohesion and promoting values of religious moderation.[16] Empirical findings indicate that *tharîqah* activities emphasizing *dzikr*, moral cultivation, and collective spiritual practices[17] can reproduce values such as solidarity, patience, and social responsibility, which are essential to the formation of public ethics.[18] These insights are particularly relevant in examining Islamic Values in the Collective Memory of Prince Diponegoro's Descendants, where inherited teachings are not merely preserved as historical narratives but are actively embodied in daily practices.[19] Within this framework, Sufism in the Memories of Prince Diponegoro's Descendants becomes a crucial dimension, as it reflects how spiritual doctrines rooted in *tauḥîd*, ascetic discipline, and moral integrity are internalized and reinterpreted across generations.[20] Family-based practices such as *ḥaul*, religious gatherings, and the preservation of heirlooms function not only as ritual expressions but also as mechanisms for sustaining collective memory and reinforcing Islamic identity within a genealogical continuum.[21]

Complex challenges in the modern era increasingly confront the transmission of Islamic values and Sufi practices across generations.[22] The acceleration of information globalization, shifting lifestyles among younger generations, and the growing secularization of religious practices in public spaces have contributed to a gradual weakening of traditional modes of value transmission.[23] This condition creates a critical gap between inherited spiritual traditions and contemporary forms of religiosity,[24] particularly among Generation Z and Alpha, who are more exposed to fragmented digital content than to sustained spiritual mentorship.[25] In this regard, the issue is not only one of preservation but also of how Sufi teachings can remain meaningful within rapidly changing socio-cultural contexts.[26] Recent studies on Islamic and Sufi education highlight adaptive strategies, including the integration of Sufi values into character education and the utilization of digital media for spiritual dissemination, as efforts to bridge this gap.[27]

In the context of Indonesia's social and cultural dynamics, the concept of collective memory plays a significant role in shaping social identity, historical consciousness, and intergenerational solidarity.[28] This matter is not only a form of remembrance of past events but also a social construct that shapes how society understands itself and its environment in the present.[29] Collective memory in Indonesia is largely shaped through history curricula and official state narratives[30] that determine the boundary between "remembered memory" and "forgotten memory."[31] This means that collective memory is never neutral but is the result of social, political, and cultural selection processes that

reflect the interests of certain groups.[32] In this context, families and local communities often act as counter-agents who preserve versions of history that are more authentic and personal compared to state narratives.[33]

Memory is embedded in everyday practices through spaces, symbols, and rituals[34] that are transmitted across generations.[35] In traditional communities, spatial arrangements and cultural heritage reflect shared values, historical experiences, and social identities.[36] This demonstrates that memory is transmitted not only through oral and written narratives but also through lived experiences and material forms, including heirlooms, manuscripts, and cultural traditions.[37] Family heritage therefore serves as a tangible medium through which ancestral experiences, values, and meanings[38] are continuously reproduced and reinterpreted within changing social contexts.[39] Beyond preserving the past, these practices contribute to social cohesion and harmony within plural societies by strengthening solidarity, social connectedness, and intergenerational bonds.[40] Within extended families and historical lineages, particularly among the descendants of prominent historical figures, such practices provide an important framework for preserving ancestral narratives and transmitting moral values, exemplary conduct, and spiritual guidance to younger generations. [41]

In contemporary Indonesian society, the family is the smallest social unit that plays a strategic role in the transmission of values, history, and cultural identity.[42] The family is not only a biological institution but also an arena for the socialization of moral, spiritual, and historical values that are passed down through generations. In the context of Javanese tradition, the family often serves as the primary medium for maintaining the continuity of ancestral values through oral practices, rituals, and historically significant symbols.[43] This phenomenon shows that the family functions as a "living museum" that stores and transmits the collective memory of a community, including in the context of lineage or descendants of historical figures.[44]

The inheritance of values and memory within the family represents a concrete form of sustainable cultural continuity, particularly positioning family traditions as a central space for preserving collective memory and oral narratives as a primary medium for transmitting history between generations. Family communication serves as an effective mechanism for instilling social, cultural, and religious values that shape community identity, while also serving as a bridge between the past and the present through storytelling and everyday practices.[45] Through this intergenerational process, local wisdom and historical consciousness are continuously reproduced, even amid rapid social change.[46] In traditional Indonesian Muslim families, the transmission of religious values is further reinforced through exemplary conduct, advice, and daily spiritual practices, which not only strengthen religious identity but also sustain attachment to ancestral moral and cultural heritage.[47]

In traditional Indonesian Muslim families, the transmission of religious values is integral to the formation of social identity, with Islamic values internalized through exemplary behavior, advice, and spiritual reinforcement in daily routines.[48] This practice not only strengthens religious identity but also affirms the attachment to the moral and cultural heritage passed down by ancestors.[49] In the context of historical lineages such as the descendants of Prince Diponegoro, the same mechanism can help maintain the continuity of Islamic values, moral leadership, and the spirit of struggle that constitute the family's collective identity.[50]

In the rapid digital advancement, the family's role as a space for transmitting values and historical memory faces serious challenges, as modernization and global cultural exposure increasingly distance younger generations from their roots in local identity.[51] The rapid flow of fragmented, popular-culture-driven online content has also reshaped patterns of religiosity, placing pressure on traditional Islamic teachings, especially Sufi practices that require depth and continuity.[52] As a result, value transmission that once relied on face-to-face interaction, family rituals, and guidance from the ulama must now compete with instant modes of information consumption, which risk weakening spiritual depth.[53]

In addition, Sufi organizations and local religious institutions that once served as key networks for the transmission of values have undergone significant transformation.[54] While some remain adaptive and serve as bridges between tradition and modernity, many struggle to revitalize contemplative preaching methods for Generation Z and Alpha,[55] who are more accustomed to digital interaction.[56] This shift creates practical challenges in sustaining collective family memory, particularly in preserving practices such as *dzikr*, *tafakkur* and *haul*, as the social bonds supporting these traditions weaken.[57] At the same time, Islamic educational institutions face a curricular dilemma in integrating moral-Sufistic teachings into standardized and cognitively oriented systems.[58] Without systematic educational and documentation efforts, the Sufistic dimensions within the Diponegoro lineage risk gradual erosion among younger generations.[59]

The need to adapt inheritance methods has become urgent: a combination of manuscript documentation efforts, family archive digitalization, and the use of educationally packaged digital platforms can serve as mitigation strategies against the inheritance crisis; however, such strategies must be carried out participatively by involving elders, local ulama, and younger generations so that they are not merely technical but also maintain the spiritual nuance that forms the core of Sufism.[60] The implementation of this hybrid model has the potential to preserve Islamic and Sufi values within the collective memory of Diponegoro's descendants while positioning family traditions as a dynamic space that can respond to the challenges of modernity.[61]

The urgency of this research lies in the need to preserve Islamic spirituality embedded in local traditions amid an identity crisis and global modernization.[62] In the era of digital disruption, Sufi practices, which previously served as the foundation of ethics and social character, now face serious challenges in their intergenerational transmission.[63] Family traditions, as spaces for inheriting values that have long served as media for moral and spiritual internalization, are increasingly eroding due to shifting communication patterns and a more individualistic and pragmatic life orientation.[64] However, although studies on Sufism, collective memory, and Islamic values have grown considerably, previous research has generally examined these themes separately, with relatively limited attention given to how they interact within historical family lineages and lived family traditions, particularly among the descendants of Prince Diponegoro.[65]

Moreover, limited attention has been given to how oral narratives, ritual practices, and genealogical consciousness function as interconnected mechanisms for transmitting religious and historical values across generations. Addressing this gap, this study adopts an integrative perspective that situates Sufism, Islamic values, and collective memory within family traditions as a living space of historical and spiritual inheritance. Rather than viewing Sufism solely as a system of individual religiosity, the study demonstrates its role in shaping historical consciousness and collective identity through everyday family practices. By focusing on the descendants of Prince Diponegoro, this research also documents and reinterprets the ways in which Sufi-inspired Islamic spirituality is sustained and adapted within contemporary socio-cultural contexts.[66]

Building upon these concerns, this study formulates several research questions: (1) How are Islamic Values maintained within the Collective Memory of Prince Diponegoro's Descendants? (2) How is Sufism remembered in the Memories of Prince Diponegoro's Descendants? (3) How do Family Traditions function as a Space for Preserving Memory? (4) How do Oral Narratives enable the Passing of History Between Generations of Descendants? Addressing these questions is essential to understanding the continuity and transformation of religious and cultural values within the Diponegoro lineage. Therefore, this study proposes strategic approaches to mitigate the erosion of these values, including strengthening family-based cultural education, documenting oral histories and ritual practices, and integrating digital media as a platform for preserving and disseminating collective memory. Through these efforts, the preservation of Sufism and Islamic values can be sustained as a living tradition that remains relevant in contemporary society while reinforcing moral resilience, cultural identity, and historical continuity.

Method

This study employs a qualitative approach with an interpretative hermeneutic paradigm to understand the meaning of Islamic and Sufi values within the collective memory of Pangeran Diponegoro's descendants. This approach is chosen because the research focuses on interpreting the symbolic, spiritual, and historical meanings embedded in family practices and narratives, which cannot be measured quantitatively.[67] The type of research used is narrative-historical ethnography, emphasizing the exploration of family traditions, religious rituals, and historical artifacts as forms of value transmission. The research was conducted by selecting informants through purposive sampling and developing them through snowball sampling, including direct descendants of Pangeran Diponegoro from several generations, administrators of descendant communities, and family archive curators.[68]

Data collection was carried out through in-depth interviews, participant observation, and documentation studies. The interviews were conducted using semi-structured guides to explore the meaning of Islamic values and Sufi practices in family life. Meanwhile, secondary data were obtained from the academic literature, previous research findings, and historical documents, including *Babad Diponegoro*, colonial archives, and family records. The collected data were then transcribed, coded, and analyzed using thematic analysis techniques,[69] with main categories including Islamic values (*tauḥîd*, morality, and sincerity), Sufi practices (*dzikr*, asceticism, contemplation), and forms of collective memory (narratives, rituals, artifacts).

Data analysis followed a systematic coding procedure involving three stages: initial coding to identify meaningful statements and recurring concepts, focused coding to group related codes into broader categories, and thematic interpretation to develop patterns related to Islamic values, Sufi practices, family traditions, and intergenerational transmission. Data collection and analysis were conducted iteratively, with saturation considered to have been reached when successive interviews and observations generated no substantially new codes, categories, or interpretations relevant to the research questions. The credibility of the findings was strengthened through triangulation across interviews, participant observations, family archives, and historical texts, as well as member checking with selected informants to confirm the accuracy of interpretations. In addition, peer discussion and repeated comparison between empirical data and historical sources were conducted to enhance the dependability and confirmability of the interpretations.[70]

The findings of this study are expected to explain how Islamic values are constructed and maintained in the collective memory of Prince Diponegoro's descendants, and how Sufism is remembered and transmitted across generations. This research also highlights the role of family traditions as a space for preserving values and collective memory, as

well as the function of oral narratives in transmitting history and identity. Overall, these elements form a dynamic system of cultural and spiritual inheritance that remains relevant amid the challenges of modernity and globalization.[71]

Results and Discussion

Islamic Values in the Collective Memory of Prince Diponegoro's Descendants

The *Babad Ngayogyakarta Hamengku Buwana IV Dumugi* V (SB 169), 27. *Pangkur* no. 6, contains a description depicting the greatness of Prince Diponegoro as a figure possessing not only political legitimacy but also spiritual legitimacy. The text reads:

"*Jhìng Pangran Dipanagara, Putra Nata krajan jumìnìng wakil, Kundhang kasudigbyanipun, Satriya pinandhita, Paramarta Pangran ing Serang sabyantu, estu trahing Waliyolah, saya suyute gung jalmi*."[72]

Semantically, this phrase affirms Diponegoro as "the son of a king who became the representative of the kingdom, renowned for his supernatural powers, a knight and a scholar, a descendant of the saints who were respected by many." The phrase *"Satriya pinandhita"* carries profound meaning in Javanese cosmology: someone who can harmonize the worldly dimension (politics, power, and social responsibility) with the spiritual dimension (piety, wisdom, and devotion to God).

In a historical context, the text not only glorifies Diponegoro as a war hero but also solidifies his position as a religious and moral leader of the Javanese nation, who practiced Islamic values with a moderate Javanese spirit. The phrase *"estu trahing Waliyolah"* indicates that Diponegoro is seen as a descendant of the Waliyullah, symbolically conveying that his struggle was not merely political but a moral and spiritual jihad to uphold justice and truth. The ideal Javanese leader always has dual spiritual and genealogical legitimacy, which strengthens his influence in society.[73]

The Babad Ngayogyakarta serves not only as a historiographical source but also as an ideological text that represents the Javanese worldview regarding the ideal leader. The figure of Diponegoro in the text reflects the ethics of prophetic leadership, in which power is not interpreted as a tool of domination but rather as a means of devotion to the people and to God. This view remains alive in the collective memory of the Diponegoro clan, who continue to emulate the moral, spiritual, and national values inherited from their ancestors.

Since childhood, Raden Mas Mustahar the nickname of Prince Diponegoro, received a strong character education under the guidance of Gusti Kanjeng Ratu (GKR) Hageng, a scholarly and religious woman who played a significant role in shaping his personality. During his education, GKR Hageng used the Prophet Muhammad, Sultan Agung Hanyokrokusumo, and Sultan Hamengku Buwono I as role models for RM Mustahar, emulating the values of Islamic spirituality, political wisdom, moral courage, and

visionary leadership. These three figures became moral and intellectual references that united in forming Diponegoro's character, especially in terms of religious deepening, critical thinking, anti-colonial attitudes, managerial skills, and public communication skills which would later become the foundation of his struggle in the Java War (1825–1830).

Gusti Kanjeng Ratu (GKR) Hageng decided to leave the palace, which at the time was full of intrigue and political conflict; she chose a spiritual and social path different from that of most palace nobles. Together with her great-grandson, Raden Mas Mustahar, later known as Prince Diponegoro, GKR Hageng settled in *nDalem* Tegalrejo, Yogyakarta, which later developed into a center for moral, religious, and independence development of the people. It was here that she founded a simple Islamic boarding school, developed community agriculture, and made Tegalrejo a spiritual center of Javanese Islam rooted in Sufi values and social ethics. This calm and religious environment became a holistic educational space for RM Mustahar to forge a spirit of leadership, social sensitivity, and a spirit of patriotism combined with Islamic teachings and Javanese customary norms.

Not only emphasizing spiritual and moral aspects, but also building a tradition of classical literacy as a means of developing RM Mustahar's intellectuality. He provides various classical literary and philosophical works full of moral and leadership values, such as *Fatah al-Muluk (Victory of Kings), Hakik al-Mudin, Nasihat al-Muluk (Moral Lessons of Kings), Serat Gondokusumo (Angling Driyo), Serat Menak Amir Hamza, Serat Manikmoyo, Bhoma Kawya, and Arjuna Wiwaha.* These manuscripts are not merely entertaining reading, but serve as ethical and spiritual guidelines for future leaders, teaching about the balance between power, responsibility, and justice.

Growing up outside the palace environment helped shape RM Mustahar's character, becoming independent, assertive, and people-oriented. Unlike other palace nobles who lived in luxury and observed court protocol, he chose a spiritual and moral path, living simply *(prasaja)*, diligently praying, and forging close relationships with the *'ulamâ'*, *kyai*, and *santri* (Islamic students) in the Tegalrejo region. This ascetic lifestyle made him a figure of integrity and deeply rooted in Islamic values and local Javanese wisdom, combining Sufism, social ethics, and a spirit of nationalism.

Colonial historical records also reinforce this image by Willem van Hogendorp's[74] account states that Diponegoro was widely known as a figure beloved by all groups, respected by both friends and foes, and revered for his steadfast faith and sincerity in his struggle. This pious and resilient character, forged through spiritual upbringing and life experiences outside the palace, would later make Diponegoro not only a military warrior but also a moral leader and a symbol of religious resistance against colonialism.

The formation of Diponegoro's personality in Tegalrejo took place through a syncretism of Islamic education, Javanese ethics, and classical intellectual traditions, which produced a religious, intelligent, and socially minded individual. With a religious environment and direct guidance from GKR Hageng, RM Mustahar grew into a *satriya*

pinandhita figure or a knowledgeable and pious leader with the hope of one day playing a major role in the national struggle. To strengthen this view, it can be seen that the descendants *(Trah)* of the Diponegoro lineage still consider *nDalem* Tegalrejo a historical symbol and a collective spiritual space that marks the beginning of the formation of Prince Diponegoro's prophetic and nationalistic character.

The *Trah* Diponegoro views the leadership of *Bendara Pangeran Harya (BPH)* Diponegoro as an ideal synthesis of profound Islamic spirituality and passionate nationalism. In this perspective, Diponegoro is understood not only as a war leader or political figure, but also as a prophetic leader, who made religious values, especially the principle of *Tauḥîd*, the foundation of his struggle and moral orientation. The value of Tauhid, which affirms the oneness and power of Allah SWT. shaped Diponegoro's character, who firmly rejected oppression, injustice, and all forms of colonial domination, as they contradicted the principles of universal humanity in Islamic teachings. This is manifested in his visual symbols, such as the white robe ageman and white turban, which he wore when leading troops in the Java War (1825–1830). This attire was not merely outward attributes, but symbols of spirituality and the sanctity of his struggle, signifying that Diponegoro's resistance was based on moral jihad, not merely political ambition.

The tradition of wearing white ageman has older historical roots in the genealogical line of Mataram. When Prince Mangkubumi, Diponegoro's great-grandfather, who would later be titled Sultan Hamengku Buwono I, held a diplomatic meeting on September 18, 1754, with the VOC Governor for North Java, Nicholas Hartingh, in Perdaganganan, Grobogan, he also wore all-white clothing, consisting of a white robe, a Javanese-patterned jarik cloth, two keris, and a cleric's headgear wrapped in fine linen with gold thread stitching. According to M.C. Ricklefs,[75] the clothing is not only a representation of Javanese culture, but also the spiritual identity of the Islamic court, which signifies the fusion of political power and religious piety. Thus, it can be concluded that the white ageman became a genealogical and ideological symbol in the Mataram family leadership tradition, which was passed down from generation to generation until the time of Diponegoro.

For the modern-day Diponegoro clan, the white ageman symbol is still interpreted as a sign of spirituality and the moral legitimacy of leadership. It reflects the values of simplicity, honesty, and moral courage that are at the core of BPH Diponegoro's leadership character. In their view, clothing is not merely a marker of social status, but a manifestation of religious ethics, where every leader's actions must reflect purity of intention and responsibility to the truth. Thus, the strength of Diponegoro's leadership lies in his ability to combine Islamic spiritual values with a spirit of nationalism, which to this day serves as a moral and ideological inspiration for his descendants in preserving the collective memory of the hero's struggle.

In the oral tradition of the Diponegoro descendants *(Trah)*, the noble values inherited from *Bendara Pangeran Harya (BPH)* Diponegoro remain alive and are preserved through the advice and moral teachings passed down through generations. One particularly meaningful expression comes from RM. Diponegoro Anom (RM. Muhammad Ngarip/RM. Ontowiryo II/RM. Ontowiryo Anem/RM. Diponegoro II/RM. Abdul Madjid), who emphasized three main principles of the Mataram people's character,[76]

"Wataké wong Mentaram (...) telung prakara (...): Kang dhingin bisa simpen, Kapindho gelem mbuwang, Kaping telu kenceng agamané."

This means, "The people of Mataram (Yogyakarta) have three characteristics: first, they are able to control their emotions, second, they are generous, and third, they are steadfast in their religion (Islam)." This advice is not merely an ethnographic description but also a formulation of the ethics of life for Javanese-Muslim society, which places spirituality at the moral and social foundation. In the context of leadership, this teaching emphasizes that true power and wisdom must stem from self-restraint *(simpen),* generosity *(mbuwang)*, and steadfast faith *(kenceng agamané)*.

This advice also reflects the continuity of values inherited from the time of Sultan Hamengku Buwono I, Diponegoro's ancestor, who was known as a just and religious leader despite living in a political situation full of suffering, as quoted in the song excerpt,

"*Niki adaté sok dadi becik, Sinuwun Suwarga mawon kadospundi, Ngluwihi saking gerah, Nanging kenceng agamané, Katrima dadi nurunaké (sapriki)*".[77]

It reinforces and confirms the previous view of the character of the Mataram people who are "able to control their feelings, generous, and steadfast in their religion." This phrase makes it clear that these three main characteristics are not only moral ideals, but have truly become a noble tradition passed down from generation to generation within the Mataram kingdom, especially within the Diponegoro *Trah*. The verse emphasizes that religious steadfastness (*kenceng agamané*) is the core of a true Mataram person's personality. Even when facing suffering and life's pressures *(ngluwihi saking gerah)*, a leader like Sinuwun (Sultan Hamengku Buwono I) remains steadfast in his faith and spiritual values. This steadfastness is then accepted as a noble legacy *(katrima dadi nurunaké),* and is strongly passed down to his descendants such as BPH Diponegoro and RM Dipoanom.

"Ngluwihi saking gerah, nanging kenceng agamané"[78]

The meaning of remaining steadfast in one's religion, despite suffering, is a form of spiritual affirmation that steadfastness of faith is the most valuable legacy passed down from generation to generation. This teaching also reflects the Islamic ethos of the Mataram people, fused with the Javanese philosophy of balance between feeling, action, and faith. Javanese morality is inseparable from the principles of Islamic religiosity, which emphasize inner harmony and patience.

This interconnectedness is evident in the figure of RM. Dipoanom, the eldest son of BPH Diponegoro, inherited not only his father's blood and fame but also the spiritual depth and wisdom of Javanese-Islamic philosophy. Through direct education from Diponegoro and religious environments such as Islamic boarding schools *(pesantren)*, *'ulamâ'* (Islamic scholars), and life experiences during the Java War (1825–1830), RM. Dipoanom grew into a morally and intellectually mature figure. The adage "the apple doesn't fall far from the tree" finds relevance in this context, given RM's personality. Dipoanom reflects the continuity of values and spiritual integrity that has been deeply embedded in the Diponegoro *Trah*.

Thus, the teachings passed down through the advice of RM Diponegoro are not only a form of preserving the family's collective memory, but also an articulation of the moral identity of the Mataram-Islamic community. It serves as a cultural code that binds the genealogical and spiritual bonds between ancestors and descendants, making Islam and Javaneseness the two main pillars in preserving Diponegoro's ethical and spiritual legacy to the present day.

These findings are consistent with Halbwachs' concept of the social frameworks of memory, which emphasizes that remembrance is shaped and sustained through social groups, particularly family, religion, and other forms of social interaction.[79] In the context of the Diponegoro lineage, family functions as an important framework through which Islamic values, moral teachings, and historical narratives are continuously interpreted and transmitted across generations. The descendants' preservation of the *satriya pinandhita* ideal, the values of *tauḥîd*, *kenceng agamané*, and the symbolic meaning of *ageman* demonstrates that the past is not merely remembered but reconstructed through contemporary family practices and genealogical relationships. This finding extends Halbwachs' perspective by showing that family-based remembrance is sustained not only through narratives but also through religious teachings, cultural symbols, and everyday practices that connect historical experience with contemporary identity.

Sufism in the Memories of Prince Diponegoro's Descendants

As the eldest son of Sultan Hamengkubuwono III and the *garwa ampeyan* Raden Ayu Mangkorowati, Bendara Pangeran Harya (BPH) Diponegoro was not only known as an influential nobleman within the social structure of the Yogyakarta Palace, but also as a figure possessing profound spirituality and religious knowledge. From a young age, he placed great emphasis on Islamic teachings, particularly regarding the purification of faith and the implementation of the values of monotheism in daily life. His religious views made BPH Diponegoro not merely a political figure, but also a cleric with moral authority within his community.

BPH Diponegoro's adherence to Islamic teachings was evident in his attitudes and actions, which were consistent with sharia principles. On numerous occasions, he

demonstrated firmness in rejecting any form of behavior deemed contrary to religious norms. One incident that reflected this was his firm opposition to the deviant behavior of BPH Demangtanpanangkil, the younger brother of Sultan Hamengkubuwono II, while accompanying Sultan Hamengkubuwono III, who was seriously ill. This attitude demonstrated BPH Diponegoro's commitment to upholding moral purity and honor within the Kingdom.[80]

BPH Diponegoro's actions were not merely an act of individual courage but rather a reflection of a worldview based on the values of monotheism. He made religion the primary guideline in his decision-making, even when confronted by fellow nobles. This demonstrates that BPH Diponegoro's struggle was not merely political or military, but also possessed strong moral and spiritual dimensions. Thus, his figure can be understood as a representation of a religious leader and a national champion who upheld Islamic values amid the socio-political dynamics of the Yogyakarta Palace.[81]

As a figure known for his steadfast faith and deep understanding of Islamic teachings, BPH Diponegoro demonstrated moral and spiritual concern for the state of the Yogyakarta Palace government. One example of his concern was when he advised Sultan Hamengkubuwono IV not to be easily influenced by the misleading words of a shaman named Ki Taslim. The shaman spread the belief that anyone who held the heirloom keris Kanjeng Kyai Wisasabintulu would receive a revelation of the royal throne, or supreme power in the Palace. According to BPH Diponegoro, this mystical view has the potential to mislead faith because it places heirlooms in a sacred position, seemingly endowed with divine power.[82]

BPH Diponegoro's critical stance towards these beliefs demonstrates his efforts to uphold the purity of monotheism within the palace. He emphasized that the legitimacy of power is not the result of the power of sacred objects, but entirely the will and destiny of Allah SWT. Through his advice to Sultan Hamengkubuwono IV, BPH Diponegoro strove to ensure that the palace administration remained grounded in rational Islamic values and free from the influence of superstition. Thus, these actions reflected BPH Diponegoro's crucial role as a spiritual guide and guardian of morality within the Yogyakarta nobility.

Based on these two incidents, it can be concluded that BPH Diponegoro was a figure with a strong commitment to the purity of Islamic faith. He consistently avoided all forms of practices that led to polytheism, idolatry, or mystical beliefs that contradicted the values of monotheism.

"BPH Diponegoro was known for his strict adherence to Islamic teachings. He rejected all forms of practices considered deviant, including belief in sacred objects believed to possess supernatural powers." (Interview, 2025)

This statement reinforces the view that for BPH Diponegoro, true faith lies not in supernatural powers, but rather in complete submission to the will of Allah SWT. Prince

Diponegoro's struggle was not merely military in nature, but also reflected a strong ideological effort grounded in Islamic teachings to inspire the spirit of *jihâd* and the moral consciousness of the Javanese people.[83] Thus, his religious and moral attitudes became an important foundation in upholding Islamic values within the Yogyakarta Palace.

These findings can be understood through Chittick's perspective on Sufi spirituality, which emphasizes the purification and transformation of the human soul as a central dimension of the Sufi path.[84] From this perspective, the descendants' recollection of Diponegoro's rejection of beliefs in sacred objects and his commitment to tawhid indicate that spirituality was expressed through ethical discipline and the purification of faith rather than through supernatural claims. His emphasis on religious commitment, moral conduct, and submission to God also reflects the Sufi understanding of spiritual transformation as a process that shapes both inner character and outward behavior. Thus, Sufism in the memory of Diponegoro's descendants can be interpreted not simply as a set of mystical practices, but as an ethical framework through which faith, self-discipline, and moral responsibility are connected to everyday life.

Family Traditions as a Space for Preserving Memory

In his struggle, BPH Diponegoro upheld a spirit of national purification rooted in the archipelago's cultural and spiritual values . He emphasized the importance of restoring national identity by preserving local cultures steeped in moral and religious values. For BPH Diponegoro, colonialism not only oppressed politically and economically but also eroded the cultural identity of the Javanese people. Therefore, his struggle was not solely military in nature but also ideological, an effort to revive national consciousness grounded in the noble values and pure teachings of Islam. Family plays a vital role as an important space for preserving cultural memory and traditional values; through narratives, rituals, and intergenerational practices, it becomes a primary medium for communities to sustain moral identity and collective history.[85]

BPH Diponegoro's concern for the socio-cultural conditions of the time was profound. He observed that Western influence brought by colonialism had changed people's lifestyles, weakened religious values, and replaced local traditions with a lifestyle considered hedonistic and materialistic. In his view, this moral decline posed a serious threat to the sustainability of the nation's civilization. Therefore, BPH Diponegoro sought to re-establish religious values, ethics, and traditional wisdom as the foundation for developing a sovereign and dignified national character.

As a Javanese nobleman deeply rooted in Islamic values, BPH Diponegoro was known for integrating Islamic identity with local cultural wisdom. He did not reject Javanese traditions, but rather placed them within the framework of Islamic teachings

that emphasize spiritual and moral meaning. In his view, Javanese customs and traditions should not be abandoned, as long as they did not conflict with the principles of monotheism and noble morals. This perspective made BPH Diponegoro a figure who maintained a balance between Islam and Javaneseness, two elements that mutually enriched the Javanese identity.

One form of preserving these cultural values is evident in the *nyadran* tradition, a ritual commonly performed by Javanese people before the holy month of Ramadan. This tradition involves visiting the graves of ancestors, accompanied by prayers and almsgiving to commemorate their contributions. From a Javanese cosmological perspective, nyadran holds profound spiritual significance, strengthening the relationship between humans, nature, and the Creator. This tradition reflects respect for ancestors while strengthening the values of family and mutual cooperation within society.

BPH Diponegoro himself practiced the *nyadran* tradition not merely as a cultural routine, but as a form of spiritual practice and self-care. He frequently made pilgrimages to the graves of his ancestors, particularly the Tombs of the Kings of Mataram in Kotagede and Imogiri, Yogyakarta. He also made pilgrimages in his daily life as a form of self-reflection and a reminder of life's transience. As the month of Sya'bân, or *Ruwah* in the Javanese calendar, approaches, the intensity of his pilgrimages increases, as this month is believed to be the best time to pray for the spirits of ancestors.

In addition to *nyadran*, the *ngabekten* or *sungkeman* tradition is also an important part of the social and spiritual life of Javanese people, including within the Diponegoro BPH community. This tradition is usually performed after the *'îd al-Fithr* prayer in the month of *Syawwâl*. During this ceremony, a person kneels and kisses the hands of their parents or elders as a form of respect, apology, and recognition of their services. *Ngabekten* symbolizes deep social and spiritual awareness, reflecting the values of humility, compassion, and respect for family hierarchy.

The *ngabekten* tradition has deep roots in the culture of the Islamic Mataram Palace, including the Kasunanan Surakarta and the Yogyakarta Sultanate. BPH Diponegoro views this tradition as a concrete manifestation of Islamic teachings regarding kinship and respect for parents. Thus, both *nyadran* and *ngabekten* are not merely cultural rituals, but manifestations of Islamic values internalized in Javanese society. Through the practice of these two traditions, BPH Diponegoro demonstrated that Islam and Javanese culture can coexist harmoniously, forming a noble spiritual and social identity.

The essence of the *ngabekten* or *sungkeman* tradition is an expression of apology and respect from a child, younger sibling, or subordinate to a parent, elder, or superior. This tradition represents a hierarchical relationship imbued with respect, affection, and sincerity. In practice, the Mataram clan typically begins the procession with a *"ndodok"* gesture, which involves squatting toward the person being honored, then kneeling and

kissing their knee or foot. This gesture is not merely a physical symbol, but also carries a profound spiritual meaning: an affirmation of humility, a willingness to introspect, and respect for the values of humanity and ancestral wisdom.

As part of the Yogyakarta Palace family, BPH Diponegoro also performed the sungkeman tradition after each Eid prayer. For him, this tradition not only served as a form of respect for parents and elders but also as a means of strengthening family ties within the palace. The procession demonstrates how Islamic values and Javanese customs blend to form a meaningful social code of conduct. In the context of BPH Diponegoro's life, *sungkeman* is a real manifestation of the Islamic teachings about *birrul wâlidain* devotion to parents which is expressed through cultural symbols and rituals.

To this day, the noble values inherited from BPH Diponegoro are still preserved by his descendants. The Diponegoro diaspora, spread across various regions, even outside Java, still practices the nyadran and ngabekten traditions with full awareness of their historical and spiritual significance. Although many of them have married non-Javanese or live in modern urban areas, respect for their ancestors and the spirit of family remain intact. These traditions serve as a reminder of unbroken cultural roots and a symbol of the continuity of moral values passed down across generations.

The preservation of traditions by BPH Diponegoro's descendants demonstrates that Javanese cultural values, combined with Islamic teachings, remain strongly relevant in modern society. Through the practices of nyadran and sungkeman, they not only preserve their ancestral heritage but also affirm their spiritual and social identity as part of a civilized Javanese-Islamic civilization. Thus, these traditions serve as a bridge between the past and the present, a form of cultural continuity that emphasizes the importance of adherence to moral values, respect, and togetherness in community life.

These findings can be interpreted through Assmann's concept of cultural memory, which emphasizes that societies preserve and transmit meaningful knowledge through symbolic forms, rituals, and repeated cultural practices.[86] In the Diponegoro lineage, traditions such as *nyadran* and *ngabekten* function as cultural practices through which religious values, respect for ancestors, family relationships, and Javanese-Islamic identity are continuously reproduced across generations. Their significance therefore extends beyond ritual performance, as participation in these traditions enables younger generations to encounter and reinterpret ancestral values within contemporary family life. This finding demonstrates that family traditions operate as a living mechanism of cultural transmission, connecting historical experience with present identity while allowing inherited values to remain meaningful amid social change.

Oral Narratives and the Passing of History Between Generations Descendants

In the *Babad Diponegoro*, *Pupuh* I, *Mijil* No. 3, BPH Diponegoro expresses his profound inner thoughts about his life journey and spiritual struggles. In this canto, he writes,

"Lara wirang pan wus sun lakoni, Nging panuwun ingong, Ingkang kari lan kang dhingin kabeh, Kaluwarga kang ngestokaken yekti, Mring agama Nabi, oleha pitulung,"[87]

which has meaning

"I have gone through shame, but my request, both now and in the past, is for the family to seriously carry out the teachings of the religion of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. Hopefully, they will receive the help of Allah SWT."

This expression reflects the sincerity, regret and steadfastness of BPH Diponegoro's faith in facing the suffering he has experienced throughout his life.

The shame *(lara wirang)* mentioned by BPH Diponegoro was not a form of despair, but rather a moral and spiritual reflection on the great trials he faced. As a leader of the struggle, he suffered defeat in the Java War (1825–1830), which ended with the Dutch's betrayal during negotiations in Magelang on March 28, 1830. After his capture, BPH Diponegoro was exiled to Manado and then to Makassar, where he remained until his death. In this context, "shame" can be interpreted as regret for the suffering of the people and the destruction caused by the war, but also as a form of self-reflection for a warrior who remains submissive to the will of Allah SWT.

The message in the pupuh reflects BPH Diponegoro's views on the importance of steadfast faith and the transmission of Islamic values to his descendants. He advised his family to remain steadfast in practicing Islam, despite his own dark times. The prayer that his family always follows the path of the Prophet Muhammad's religion confirms that BPH Diponegoro's struggle was not only physical and political, but also spiritual. He wants to ensure that the values of faith, patience, and moral fortitude remain a guideline for the next generation.

Thus, *Pupuh* I, *Mijil* No. 3 in the *Babad Diponegoro* not only records historical events but also depicts the humanity of a hero struggling amidst suffering and sincerity. Through this work, BPH Diponegoro left an invaluable legacy: that defeat and suffering are not the end but rather the path to spiritual enlightenment. The implicit moral message serves as a reminder that a leader's true struggle lies in maintaining faith, integrity, and passing on noble values to the next generation.

The phrase *"L'histoire se répète,"* or "history will repeat itself," illustrates the philosophical view that events in human life tend to repeat themselves in different forms and contexts. BPH Diponegoro understood this historical cycle as part of God's natural law that applies

to humanity's journey. In facing various crises, whether political, moral, economic, social, cultural, or defense and security, he emphasized the importance of spiritual steadfastness as the primary bulwark. This view shows BPH Diponegoro's historical and religious awareness that the strength of a nation is determined not only by power and material progress but also by the faith and morality that form the basis of its people's behavior.

Through the message immortalized in the *Babad Diponegoro*, he bequeathed a mandate to his descendants to always "*ngestokaken yekti mring agama Nabi*" and earnestly practice the teachings of Islam by adhering firmly to the Qur'an, *Al-Hadîts*, and *ijtima' 'ulamâ'* as a guide to life. This message is not merely spiritual advice but also a reflection of the worldview of a leader who combines Islamic values and national awareness. BPH Diponegoro wanted his future generations not to be caught up in the currents of change that can shake faith and morals, but to remain adhering to the principles of truth and justice as taught by the Prophet Muhammad SAW. Thus, his legacy of thought remains relevant as a guide to navigating the dynamics of life across various eras.

Hadîts of the Prophet Muhammad SAW which reads, [88]

فقد رواه مسلم في صحيحه من حديث جابر بن عبد الله رضي الله تعالى عنهما أن النبي صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قال :تركت فيكم ما لن تضلوا بعده إن اعتصمتم به؛ كتاب الله .ورواه الحاكم من حديث ابن عباس رضي الله تعالى عنهما عن النبي صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أنه قال :يا أيها الناس؛ إني قد تركت فيكم ما إن اعتصمتم به فلن تضلوا أبداً، كتاب الله، وسنة نبيه

Imam Muslim narrated in his "*Shahîh*" book from Jabir bin Abdullah (may Allah be pleased with both of them), that the Prophet (peace be upon him) said: "I have left among you something that if you stick to it, you will not go astray after my death: the Book of Allah (Al-Qur'an) (Hadîts narrated by Muslim)." Al-Hakim also narrated it from Ibn Abbas (may Allah be pleased with both of them) from the Prophet (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him), who said: "O people, I have left among you something that if you stick to it, you will never go astray: the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of His Prophet (Hadîts narrated by Al-Hakim).

This message from the Prophet Muhammad SAW emphasizes that salvation, both in this world and in the hereafter, can be achieved only through adherence to the Quran and *Sunnah*. Prince Diponegoro's struggle in the Java War had a strong religious and ideological dimension, through which he mobilized public support via Islamic preaching and framed resistance to colonialism as part of social and spiritual purification based on Islamic teachings.[89] In the historical context of the nation's struggle, this teaching finds relevance in the figure of BPH Diponegoro, who made Islamic values the primary guideline for every action and decision, both spiritually and politically.

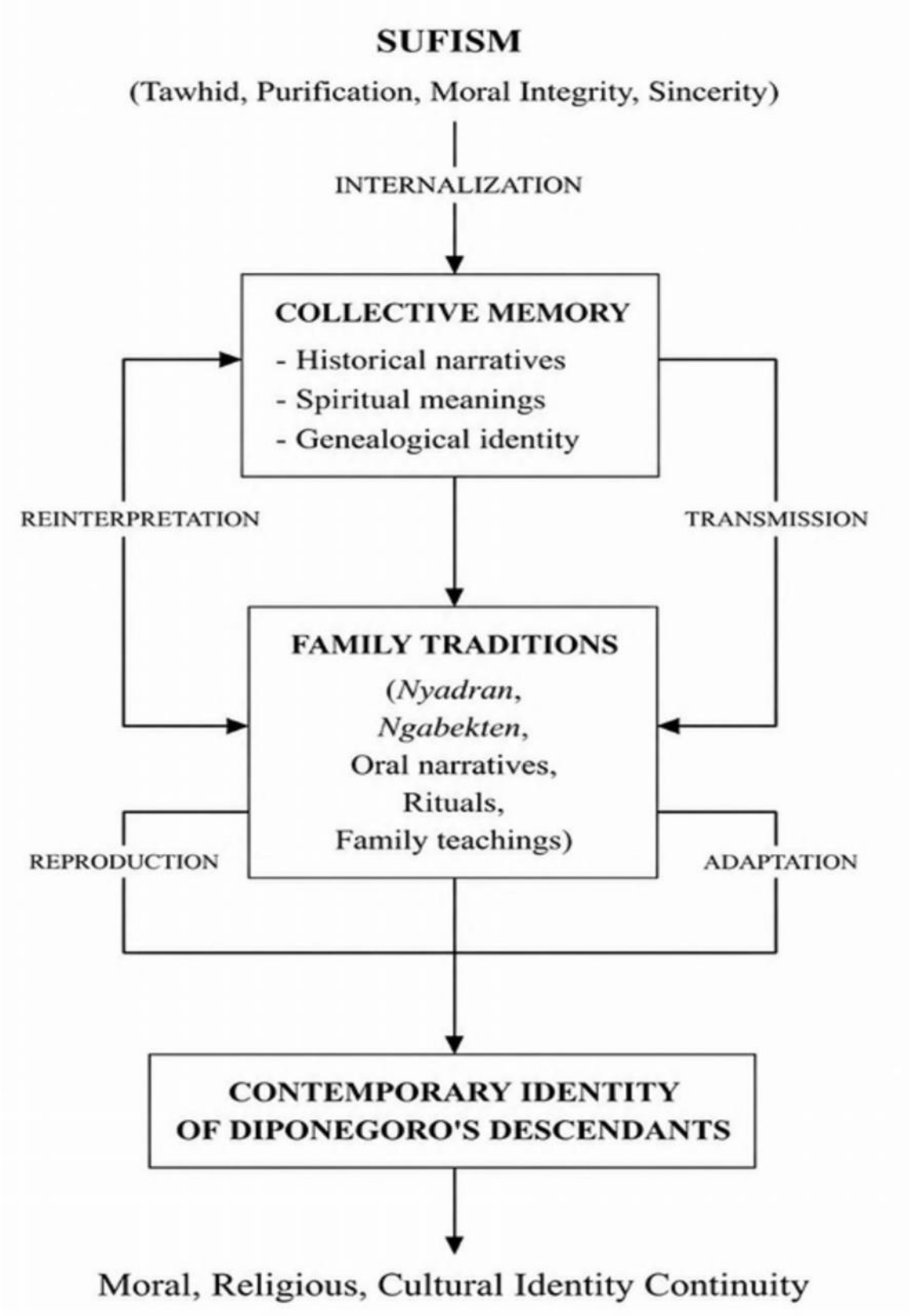
BPH Diponegoro interpreted this teaching not only as an individual religious obligation but also as a moral guideline for leadership and the fight for truth. In every step of his struggle against Dutch colonialism, he always strove to adhere to Islamic principles. At BPH Diponegoro, physical struggle without a foundation of faith would yield only meaningless results. Therefore, he relied on the Quran and Hadîts as sources of spiritual strength and ethical guidelines for his struggle. This is reflected in his various strategic decisions, which were always imbued with moral considerations and the values of justice as taught by the Prophet Muhammad SAW.

The spiritual and moral legacy left by BPH Diponegoro later became a guide for his descendants, known as the Diponegoro Clan. Stories about his heroism, simplicity, and steadfast faith are continuously preserved and passed down from generation to generation. Within the Diponegoro family, the values of struggle, sincerity, and devotion to religion and nation remain highly valued as core elements of their identity. This tradition is a concrete manifestation of the inheritance of Islamic values, not merely symbolic but also put into practice in daily life.

Thus, the teachings inherited from the Prophet Muhammad SAW. and implemented by BPH Diponegoro form a spiritual continuity between sacred texts and practical life. His exemplary conduct is concrete evidence that true leadership stems from obedience to the Prophet's revelation and guidance. Through this combination of faith, courage, and wisdom, BPH Diponegoro is remembered not only as a national hero but also as a religious figure who used the Qur'an and Sunnah as the foundation for his struggle and the formation of national character.[90]

The conceptual model positions Sufism, Islamic values, family traditions, and collective memory as interconnected and mutually reinforcing elements in the preservation of Prince Diponegoro's spiritual and cultural legacy. Drawing on Halbwachs' social frameworks of memory, collective memory is understood as being constructed and maintained within social groups, particularly the family, while Assmann's concept of cultural memory explains how rituals, symbols, narratives, and cultural practices enable inherited meanings to persist across generations. Within this framework, Sufism provides the spiritual and ethical foundation, including *tawhid*, sincerity, self-discipline, and moral integrity; these values are internalized and practiced through family traditions such as *nyadran*, *ngabekten*, oral narratives, and genealogical teachings. These practices subsequently sustain and reproduce collective memory, which is continuously reinterpreted according to contemporary circumstances. Thus, the model emphasizes a dynamic and reciprocal relationship in which Sufism informs family traditions, family traditions reproduce collective memory, and collective memory reinforces the continuity of Sufi-inspired Islamic values and the cultural identity of Diponegoro's descendants.

Figure 1. Conceptual Model of Sufism, Family Traditions, and Collective Memory



Source: Authors' conceptualization based on the research findings.

Conclusion

This study concludes that Islamic values within the collective memory of the descendants of Prince Diponegoro are not merely preserved as historical legacies but are continuously reproduced through family narratives, cultural symbols, and everyday practices. Diponegoro is understood as a *satriya pinandhita* figure who integrates political and spiritual legitimacy, in which the values of *tauḥîd*, morality, and prophetic leadership form the core of his descendants' collective identity. His early education, the religious environment of Tegalrejo, and the influence of exemplary Islamic and Javanese figures shaped a character that is devout, modest, and people-oriented traits that remain embedded in the historical consciousness of the Diponegoro lineage today.

From the perspective of Sufism, this study affirms that the spiritual teachings inherited from Diponegoro are rooted in the purification of faith and the rejection of practices that contradict the principle of *tauḥîd*. His critical stance toward excessive mystical beliefs reflects a form of Sufism that is ethical and rational rather than unbounded in its syncretism. These values have been transmitted to his descendants as guiding principles that emphasize sincerity, steadfast faith, and moral integrity. Thus, Sufism in this context functions not only as an individual spiritual practice but also as an ethical framework shaping social orientation and leadership within the family.

Furthermore, family traditions and oral narratives serve as primary spaces for preserving collective memory and transmitting history across generations. Practices such as *nyadran* and *ngabekten* are not merely cultural rituals but also mechanisms for internalizing Islamic values and reinforcing a sustained Javanese-Islamic identity. Narratives preserved through works such as Babad Diponegoro, along with oral family traditions, play a crucial role in maintaining the continuity of spiritual, moral, and historical values. Overall, this study highlights that the sustainability of Islamic and Sufi values within the Diponegoro lineage depends on the family's ability to manage traditions, reproduce meanings, and adapt modes of transmission to modern challenges without losing their essential spiritual substance.

This research offers both theoretical and practical contributions to the study of Javanese Sufism, Islamic values, and collective memory within the lineage of Prince Diponegoro. Theoretically, it contributes an integrative perspective by showing how Sufi values are reproduced through family traditions, oral narratives, symbolic practices, and intergenerational communication, thereby positioning family traditions as an active mechanism through which religious meaning and historical consciousness are continuously constructed. This perspective extends existing discussions of Sufism and memory by connecting spiritual values with everyday family practices rather than treating them as separate domains. However, the study is limited by its focus on the descendants of Prince Diponegoro and the qualitative interpretation of their experiences, which may

limit the transferability of the findings to other historical lineages or communities. Practically, the findings highlight the importance of documenting oral narratives, strengthening intergenerational engagement, and adapting cultural transmission through relevant media to sustain spiritual and cultural continuity amid modernization.

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