

## A New Normal in the Past: Learn from Historical Events in Bagelen After the Java War (1825-1830)

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### ABSTRACT

The article analyzes the historical mental situation in Bagelen after the Javanese War, a situation similar to the 'new normal' era. This term was popular towards the end of the COVID-19 pandemic when everyone was forced to adapt to a situation created by a power relation context as the 'new normal' era. In the context of the post-Java War era, the contestants, both winners and losers, were both forced to adapt to the colonial socio-cultural and political forces of the 'cultuurstelsel' era as the 'new normal'. This study explains how both sides adapted to the new normal, following their respective historical and devotional duties. The victor sought to explain his moral responsibility by building political legitimacy and new hopes in the form of imaginings of an age of prosperity in Bagelen, while the loser sought to atone for defeat by building a new civilization outside Bagelen. As the winner, R.A.A. Cokronegoro wrote an autobiographical account of the Java War which became known as Babad Kedung Kebo as the political legitimacy capital to build the city of Purworejo. At the same time, as the loser Prince Diponegoro also wrote an autobiographical account of the Java War which became known as Babad Diponegoro. As for his followers, consisting of the Kyai and students, they went into a diaspora, leaving the Bagelen area to build the city of Purworejo.

**Keywords:** New Normal; Java War; Power Relation; adapted to survive; Moral Responsibility; Pesantren Civilization

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### INTRODUCTION

History in one way or another refers to past events that are continuously reminisced, re-interpreted, refined, forged, yet sometimes forgotten. Though not necessarily sufficient, history in this way can be a form of reconstruction of how human lives affect their pasts and then shift to the functional stage as part of a service to create human memories (Baddeley, 2013). From a deeper perspective, Wilhelm Dilthey sees that the essence of human life is the historical movement itself, he calls it the goal of history. Historical movement is defined as the work of a generation for its successors, the assimilation of individuals into a meaningful social relationship through serving. Dilthey even believes that history should be a part of the history of thoughts or ideas. History is another aspect of philosophy with contemporary relevance as a history of

ideas. Therefore, history should be treated not only as the resurrection of the past like what Leopold Von Ranke meant (1795-1886) but also as a means to understand life itself, in which there are philosophical systems attached to human consciousness (Dilthey, 2019). Only then the meaning of imperative human devotion to life can be found.

There are quite a lot of discussions with the theme of adaptation to face the new normal. (Rizaldi et al., 2021) and (MITHANI, 2020) respond to discuss crises after the Covid-19 pandemic, both interpret adaptation as a survival strategy to face a "new normal" situation, something that is not normal but conditioned as normal (Wahyudi et al., 2020). The community also deals with it in various ways, some use a spiritual approach (Amir et al., 2022), some others use a social approach. Business people try to maintain stakeholder trust as a strategy to deal with crises (Chanyasak et al., 2022), including by providing entrepreneurial assistance (Rahmi & Hapsari, 2021). In the tourism industry, adaptation is carried out to maintain the economic life of the community (Maharani & Mahalika, 2020) as tourism activists in Kaliurang Tourism Park do, they try to help each other (Mulyasari, 2023) and maximize self-efficiency (Peco-Torres et al., 2021). In the world of education, there are also many experiments on various new learning models (Rizaldi et al., 2021) changing learning models from a classroom environment to a distance learning model (Raharjo et al., 2021), or audiovisual virtual education (Sudirman et al., 2022). An interesting question is whether the new normal is new, or just a repetition of the old normal (Corpuz, 2021). This question becomes interesting concerning the idea of a new normal in the past. The new normal is not something completely new but already exists in the past. The people from the past have often adapted to face the new normal era in their respective times, not always related to pandemic problems, but also related to socio-political events such as war, and the Java War was one of them.

Entering the new normal after the COVID-19 pandemic, people need historical knowledge as a reference on how to adapt to certain changes. Historical knowledge is highly crucial, not only correlated with power but also linked to virtue which is the emergence of moral virtue or wisdom. Learning human perseverance from the past is learning the virtue of building consciousness that in dealing with changes, people do not need to hesitate or be careless. They just need to be flexible in any situation. This study attempts to analyze historical events in the form of service or dedication accomplished by subjects from the past, between the winner and the loser in a vast political constellation. What was done by the two parties can be seen as a form of consciousness pre-conditioned by a significant event called the War of Java, (1825-1830) that forced the community to adapt to a historical episode of the 'new normal' after the war. Peter Carey calls the Java War a tsunami (Carey, 2017), while Siti

Hidayati Amal labels it as “solidarity” (Amal, 2005) between Islam and Java. Both narrations conclude that the War of Java is the cause of mass human extermination due to the tsunami, while it also creates solidarity and dedication leading to a new civilization.

Before the end of the Java War, Bagelen had the status of *mancanegara* of twin Islamic Mataram authorities (*vorstenlanden*), namely the Kasunanan of Surakarta and The Kesultanan of Yogyakarta but, after the two rulers of *vorstenlanden* signed an agreement on June 1832, so Bagelen fell into the hands of the Dutch East Indies and was made into territory called Bagelen province and not long afterward its status was changed to Bagelen Residency (Ittihadiyah, 2024). The Bagelen depicted at that time represented a new normal era, after being separated from the authority of the Islamic Mataram Javanese Kings which was getting worse, then entering the colonial power in the Dutch East Indies which was no better.

To understand the phenomena from the last two centuries, this study tries to elaborate on the framework of power historical theory, which Michel Foucault (1926-1984) defines as something inseparable from knowledge (Foucault & Rajchman, 2023). In addition, this study also offers a correction note as historical knowledge is not only associated with power but also with creating virtue (Church, 2023). Following the perspective of Foucault, the idea of a “new normal” can be interpreted as normalizing power; a new way of habituation that is produced by a particular power relation to deal with abnormal situations to turn into something that seems normal. In this particular case, Foucault places power as a “power relation”, meaning that power exists when used by “the subject” to influence other “subjects” through knowledge which forms the relation among subjects (Foucault, 2020).

The Dutch East Indies Colonial Government and Regent Cokronegoro were subjects within one powerful relationship, each of whom influenced the other. On the other hand, Pangeran Diponegoro and religious figures in Islamic boarding schools (later called *pesantren*) were the other subjects as rivals out of their power relation. These relations needed reconfiguration as the war ended and offered the opportunities to form a new structure of “power relation”, in which the winning or the losing party had to deal with difficult options. However, they had to be able to adapt to their own new normal, particularly the defeated. With the historical knowledge and consciousness that they obtained during the pre-condition period (War of Java), they experienced a process that resulted in a virtue leading each party to acquire adaptation skills and create their own new normal.

## METHOD

The heuristic process of this research is obtained through desk research methods and oral history. Sources used include manuscripts, archives, books on theoretical concepts about knowledge, power, and consciousness, and historical studies related to the Java War. Manuscripts are obtained from the National Library, while archives are obtained from the National Archives of Indonesia (ANRI) collection. Most literature is obtained online through search engines for both journals and books via Publish or Perish (PoP). For locally-published books, I am sincerely grateful to Atas S. Danusubroto; a historian from Purworejo who wrote *R.A.A. Cokronagoro I; Bupati Pertama Purworejo*. Gratitude also goes to the late Oteng Suherman; a cultural figure from Purworejo, a retired high school teacher. He has confirmed data about the achievements of the Regent of Cokronegoro. The verbal history was gathered through a direct non-structured interview which was confirmed via WhatsApp. For the interview data, I am very grateful to Raden Yusuf Irianto, the descendant of Kiai Yunus Muhammad Irsyad, supporters of Purworejo Regent, R.A.A. Cokronegoro I. He has provided data on the *Silsilah Keluarga Dipodirjan*. Last but not least, I am very grateful to Kiai Asnawi; the 6<sup>th</sup> descendant of Kyai Abdullah Kastubo in the Pesantren Alang-alang Ombo, and Kyai Nasruddin; the 7<sup>th</sup> descendant of Kyai Luning in Santren, Luning Village. They have told the story of the role of Kiai Kastubo and Kiai Luning and the role of Pesantran after the Java War.

## FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

### Raden Adipati Aryo Cokronegoro and the Imagination of Purworejo

Bagelen after the Java War is an analogy of today's "new normal" due to the COVID-19 pandemic which displays a multidimensional impact and demands adaptations. The idea about the name of Purworejo back in the day can be concluded as a result of normalizing power created by the first regent, Cokronegoro, to face the new situation after the war. The ability possessed by the regent was the outcome of the knowledge production during his career in politics. He dedicated his life as *Mantri Gladag* under the rule of Kasunanan Surakarta Palace which successfully contributed to winning the Java War. At that time, he served as deputy commander (after January 1829, commander) of *hulptropen* (native reserve forces) of Surakarta Palace in Bagelen which led him to be the regent of Tanggung (1828-1830) (Carey, 2017; 196). The combination of knowledge and experience in feudal and colonial politics obtained during his devotion reflects the mentality of a regent with the capability of creating the structure of imagination and normalizing power. The long journey had brought Raden Ngabei Resodiwiryo, a servant in Kasunanan Surakarta, to become a regent – a new ruler with

the most crucial role in Bagelen after the war—named Raden Adipati Aryo Cokronegoro (Danusubroto, 2008).

Purworejo was an imagination of the emerging prosperity, which was intentionally created by the structure of new power relations to give hope to the civilians who experienced lethargy due to the prolonged war. Power relations at that time had given a space for the new regent, Cokronegoro, to reach his dreams through the imaginary idea of “Purworejo City” as a symbol of prosperity, a new period desired by each citizen who was in the middle of misery, with no sign when the suffering would end. They would just have started another harder round of forced working policy called *cultuurstelsel*. However, with the normalizing power constructed by the regent, the Bagelen community could be put under a condition as if they were entering a prosperous period. To pursue his dreams, R.A.A. Cokronegoro also adapted his new consciousness to various modern infrastructure development policies, one of which was the irrigation system called *Kedung Putri*, which was able to provide irrigation to most of the rice fields in Bagelen. The regent also constructed Margoyoso Street (a new street) connecting Purworejo and Magelang (Carey, 2017; 210) (Danusubroto, 2008; 8). Most importantly, he also founded a legacy of cultural memory in the form of a script known as *Babad Kedung Kebo*, the script of *Babad Diponegara* in his version (Tjakra Negara, 1866).

For Cokronegoro himself, the War of Java was a dilemmatic yet challenging event. The dilemma could be seen from his initial reluctance and rejection of the duty assigned by Sunan to directly confront Pangeran Diponegoro in Bagelen. Even though his deferred political situation and ambition probably became his consideration to accept the hard mission. In the script of *Babad Kedung Kebo*, he condemned Pangeran Diponegoro who had destroyed his birthplace (Carey, 2017; 147). As a man born in Bagelen in Bragolan Village, (Danusubroto, 2008; 34) (Carey, 2017; 142), he had a reason to refuse the act of Pangeran Diponegoro. From Bragolan Village, Raden Ngabei Resodiwiryo (his name before becoming Regent Cokronegoro) started his career as a *Mantri Gladag* (a position in a local kingdom system), inheriting his father’s position, Raden Ngabei Singowijoyo. Afterward, he got a promotion as a *Panewu Gladag* in 1815, but a dispute between him and the vice-regent caused him to get a demotion and go back to becoming a *Mantri Gladag*. This tragedy broke his heart making him decide to come back to his birthplace to practice self-contemplation as a way of spiritual cleansing to cure his broken heart (Carey, 2017; 41-43).

He got back his prolonged career which ended with his disappointment right before the War of Java ended. R. Ng. Resodiwiryo was mandated by Kasunanan Surakarta to escort Pangeran Kusumoyudo as a deputy commander of auxiliary troops

(*hulptropen*) in Bagelen (Danusubroto, 2008; 46). During his duty, he managed to defeat Diponegoro troops in Tanggung, the eastern side of the Bogowonto River. With this glory, Sunan appointed him as the regent of Tanggung under the new name of Raden Tumenggung Cokrojoyo in his new position. Starting here, he regained his opportunity to pursue the best position in his political career and power, and all of these were achieved after the war ended. Once Pangeran Diponegoro was declared lost in a negotiation, and the war was declared final, R. Ng. Resodiwiryo soon celebrated the glory and got ready to reach his new dream of becoming a new ruler as a part of the Dutch East Indies colonial power relation in Bagelen region. Since then, he paid off his old ambition of reaching the highest position in Kasunanan Surakarta Palace. R. Ng. Resodiwiryo was finally appointed as the regent of Purworejo (van Pabst, 1831) by the Dutch East Indies colonial government. He changed his name to Raden Adipati Aryo Cokronegoro shortly after coming up with the new normal idea of “Purworejo”, which meant the beginning of prosperity.

The Regent Cokronegoro also established a new relation structure with subjects of important power in Bagelen. Not only did he establish relations with the Dutch East Indies colonial government but also recruited some religious figures from among Pangeran Diponegoro supporters to change relations together with the regent to support the new governmental system. Kyai Badaruddin was accommodated as the chief of Bagelen as well as the advisor of the Regent Cokronegoro while Haji Ngiso was appointed as the advisor of Sentot Prawirodirjo (the former commander-in-chief of Pangeran Diponegoro) and his troops formed by the government in Ungaran (Carey, 2017; 86). An Arab-Javanese figure named Sayyid Kasan Munadi (Sayyid Husain Al-Ba’abud), who was the son-in-law of Hamengku Buwono II, had established a relationship with Cokronegoro earlier. Two daughters from his first wife—Bendoro Raden Ayu Citrosari; the daughter of one of the wives of Hamengku Buwono II--, were recorded as the daughter-in-law of Regent Cokronegoro (Amal, 2005).

Other than building relationships through marriage, Cokronegoro also restructured regions and built a new topography. He merged the Tanggung region with Kedungkebo and Brengkelan to become Purworejo City (Ittihadiyah, 2020). The three regions were the important knots of the old power. Tanggung was the name of a district supporting Pangeran Diponegoro before being defeated by Cokronegoro, Kedungkebo was a former Islamic boarding school area before transforming into a Dutch military army camp, while Brengkelan was a district once led by Raden Mas Haryo Madyokusumo (Sayyid Ibrahim Ba’abud, the son of Sayyid Kasan Munadi, the grandson of HB II), a loyal supporter of Pangeran Diponegoro, and it later turns into the administrative center of Purworejo City. The merge of the three regions has

deleted an old collective memory and shaped a new collective memory of Purworejo society which used to have a more colonial vibe. Another essential act carried out within the new normal period was writing a script now known as *Babad Kedung Kebo*, another version of the Java War, of which the content is the antithesis of an autobiography of Pangeran Diponegoro; *Serat Babad Diponegoro*.

### **Pangeran Diponegoro and the Autobiography of *Serat Babad Diponegoro***

The subjects who lost the war would adapt to their new normal situation in their new places. The pivotal subject of the Java War, Pangeran Diponegoro, had also adapted to his new consciousness in his exile. Within a relatively limited space of his quarantine room, he wrote the script of *Babad Diponegoro* (autobiography) (Diponegoro, n.d.) Quite contrary to Cokronegoro, Diponegoro saw the Java War as a means of protecting the dignity of his family and Javanese in general and upholding his religious view (Islam) as the Prophet's religion (Bizawie, 2019; 106). Departing from two different cultural backgrounds of being a royal member of Kraton, as well as a *santri* – a student at a Muslim school, Pangeran Diponegoro had developed a character of “*ksatria-santri*” or “knight-student”. These different cultures and consciousness have brought the two significant subjects of the Java War to oppose each other since both departed from contrasting cultures and backgrounds. Pangeran Diponegoro was a royal member who was sick of the political development among the royals, which he considered to be full of intrigues. For that reason, he chose to leave the palace, which he felt sickening, to live with his great-grandmother at Tegalrejo. In his eyes, the political sovereignty of Kraton had lost its dignity ever since they let the officials of the Dutch East Indies colonial government massively and aggressively intervene in the political development inside Kraton Yogyakarta. Cokronegoro, on the other hand, was a servant who put his loyalty to his political patron, Kasunanan Surakarta (Danusubroto, 2008; 34). He gained trust that finally led him to the highest achievement, far surpassing his original expectations. He became a regent under the Dutch East Indies colonial government for a region called Purworejo.

By studying these two opposing historical figures, we see a historical drama of a position switch or role switch between two associates with different social strata. However, there was a presupposition saying that both Diponegoro and Cokronegoro had previously met when they studied under Kyai Taptojani's guidance, an influential Islamic teacher who was also the head of *pradikan* at Mlangi (Carey, 2017; 147). This assumption emerged because Cokronegoro would address Pangeran Diponegoro by “Yayi Mas Ontowiryo”, which meant “Dinda”. This endearing address indicated a close relationship, as if how an older brother addressed his younger brother (Carey, 2017; 147). Despite that, their intimacy never united them in the same consciousness.

Contrary enough, history had placed them into two opposing positions, to which they required adaptation to a new condition. As the winner, Cokronegoro had an opportunity to build his palace in his new power relation at Purworejo during the new normal era after the Java War. On the other hand, as the loser, Pangeran Diponegoro lost any power and was to live in exile for the rest of his life. He had lost his political influence and was stripped of the new power relation in Java, while Cokronegoro, with the power now in his grasp, became the first regent of Purworejo, the capital of the new residency of Bagelen.

In the new normal period after the War of Java, Pangeran Diponegoro was a defeated leader who had to accept his fate to be exiled to Ambon and later moved to Makassar. In his new place, Pangeran Diponegoro should adapt to his current status as a prisoner of war who lived in isolation with limited access. Nonetheless, even within the limited space of his isolation room, Pangeran Diponegoro, who had lost his power, was able to adapt to his new normal circumstances. Diponegoro considered Fort Rotterdam a place to redefine his new normal period, where he wrote his autobiography, *Serat Babad Diponegoro* (Diponegoro, n.d.) After his defeat, Pangeran Diponegoro adjusted himself to his current situation by writing an autobiography, along with his other writings, in his new normal period. Similar to Cokronegoro, Diponegoro also used writing as a form of adaptation to changes; an actualization of consciousness that impacts the history and the power that brings lessons to humans about changes and adaptation. When he wrote his autobiography, Pangeran Diponegoro never expected that his autobiography becomes one of the Memories of the World heritages, alongside Babad Kedung Kebo, which was written by Cokronegoro; an adaptation version written by the winning side, two centuries after the war. Both autobiographies are the heritage of the world that can be learned by future generations who have also been dealing with new normal challenges. The two opposite historical figures are significant to be analyzed as a part of mental-historical facts about a new normal period, which also happens today.

### **Diaspora of Kyai and Islamic Boarding School (*Pesantren*)**

After the War of Java, the Kyai-based *pesantren* were marginalized from the new power in Bagelen. Contrary to chief-kyai (kyai-penghulu/kaum), who were accommodated with authority and were given functional positions as religious advisors for some regions under the new residency. Considering Bagelen's situation, which was no longer conducive, many *pesantren*-based kyai who supported Pangeran Diponegoro chose to leave Bagelen's main territory. They then spread to the eastern regions, either via coastal route or inland route. They built a new social network and even *pesantren* there (Milal Bizawie, 2019; 106). They redefine Islamic



civilization through humanism and constructing a consciousness path without using violence through da'wah and education for Islamic communities.

Through the southern route, they passed along the coast of Pacitan, Kediri, and Trenggalek, and continued the journey to Malang and Blitar. Meanwhile, through the inland route, they traveled via unpopulated and deserted regions as a result of lengthy wars on the eastern side of Java (*Oosthoek*), which was abandoned since the Trunajaya rebellion in 1676 until the War of Java (Carey, 2021). As the supporters of Pangeran Diponegoro, the '*ksatria-santri*' chose to stay away from the new power circle and decided to adapt to their new normal situation, where they redeveloped *pesantren* civilization. Their historical remains can still be traced from old mosques and graves, which still exist now, such as Kanjengan complex in Kajen, Margoyoso, Pati, Central Java, at the western side of Pasarean Sheikh Mutamakkin, an Islamic teacher at the early 18th century. In front of the cemetery, there were two sapodilla trees that were assumed to be a symbol associated with the Diponegoro Troops (Bizawie, 2019; 38). The sapodilla tree symbolization was taken from the Prophet's hadith, as narrated by Anas bin Malik, "*sawwu shufufakum*", which meant 'straighten the rows' (Bizawie, 2019: 36).

If we look backward, *pesantren*-based kyai, who are nowadays commonly known as *wali* or *Sunan*, have been actively moving to other regions to establish *pesantren* cultures as part of civil society. The Islamic boarding school education was formerly initiated by Sunan Ampel in Surabaya (Darban, 2004). They even pioneered the birth of the first Islamic kingdom on Java Island. Unsurprisingly, in its initial establishment, the ulema or kyai was the holder of royal political authority. However, along with the political changes and development and the growing intervention of VOC toward Islamic royal palaces in Java. The role of the ulema started to waver, particularly after the power center shifted from the coastal area to the inland. Moreover, when dealing with the power shift, the ulema began to develop their new civilization to adjust to a new normal situation. Their movement was no longer within the center of power as they reconstructed their culture in rural areas, and *pesantren* was the form of the center of civilization that they established outside the Kraton environment.

The War of Java had indeed separated the supporters of Diponegoro, yet, within the internal parties of *pesantren*, the kyai themselves would still maintain their good relationship (*silaturahmi*) even when they should walk through different paths. The majority of *pesantren*-based-kyai preferred leaving Bagelen and moving to another region, but the others would rather stay in Bagelen. However, not many of them who stayed chose to maintain the boarding school, presumably because many students also decided to move to other regions to avoid the pursuit by the colonial government.

Those who preferred staying in Bagelen had to adjust to a new normal situation with a more moderate attitude because it was an inevitable reality. We can still discover their past existence in the pesantren villages in Purworejo, such as Luning, Alang-alang Ombo, Bulus, Solotiyang, and Maron. However, no boarding schools remain in Alang-alang Ombo and Luning nowadays, except the mere names of the pesantren in Alang-alang Ombo and Santren Region in Luning. The name of the two regions indicates that pesantren were established there in the past.

On the other hand, Bulus Village is still quite well-identified with *pesantren*, because we can still find an existing Islamic boarding school named Al-Iman there. People around *Pesantren* consider it the oldest boarding school in Purworejo, which was established by Kyai Ahmad Alim widely known as Mbah Ngalim Bulus (Damanhuri, 1967), but after the war, it was managed by the descendants of Kyai Kasan Munadi named Sayyid Husain Ba'abud, the former loyal supporter of Pangeran Diponegoro, who later became a father-in-law to one of the children of Regent Cokronegoro. Meanwhile, in Solotiyang, a *pesantren* was also established by Kyai Ahmad Zainal Abidin known as Kyai Zainul Alim, son of Kyai Ahmad Alim Bulus. Unfortunately, the boarding school has no longer developed recently. However, another *pesantren* in the Maron Region is still operating now, which is known by the name of Pesantren Al-Anwar; a salafiyya-based boarding school, which was established by Kyai Muhammad Alim, also a son of Kyai Ahmad Alim Bulus. Until now, Pesantren Al-Anwar has been teaching *Tarekat Shattariyah* (Shattariya Tariqah), one of the distinctive characteristics of the boarding schools that supported Pangeran Diponegoro. Then, from Maron, Kyai Muhammad Alim moved to the north side, to Greges Village at Temanggung Regency, until the rest of his life (Ittihadiyah, 2022).

Those villages are the historical monuments that recorded the history of Islamic boarding school developments during the post-war period. Unfortunately, most of the remaining descendants have limited collective memory of their villages. According to Kyai Asnawi, (Ittihadiyah, 2019) (the 7<sup>th</sup> descendant of Kyai Abdullah Kastubo in Alang-Alang Ombo Village) right in front of Luning and Alang-Alang Ombo mosques, there was a sapodilla tree – a symbol of Shattariyya boarding school, which supported the Java War. However, those trees were cut down due to safety reasons. The trees have been too old and can endanger the people who pass under them during strong wind or heavy rain. However, only mosques and old graves can be found in those two *pesantren*-based villages nowadays. Behind the Alang-Alang Ombo mosque, there are the graves of Kyai Nur Muhammad and Kyai Abdullah Kastubo. Meanwhile, on the rear side of the Luning mosque, there are graves of Kyai Luning (Kyai Guru Muhyiddin ar-Rofi'i), his wife, and his other relatives.

## CONCLUSION

The War of Java was the causal factor in the appearance of a new normal within the Bagelen community, requiring all subjects to adjust to the changes. However, the war itself was the outcome of a series of diplomatic processes between Pangeran Diponegoro and the government of the Dutch East Indies colonial. Over time was finally won by the colonizers, with the help of Raden Ngabei Resodiwiryono, the first regent of Purworejo under the title of Raden Adipati Aryo Cokronegoro. Meanwhile, as the defeated side, Pangeran Diponegoro and the pesantren-based kyai had to accept the consequence, that is, to be banished from the region. The two primary local subjects of the Java War had testified that their acts were a form of devotion towards life. The script of *Babad Diponegoro* and *Babad Kedung Kebo* has become mental facts. That was about Diponegoro's and Cokronegoro's thoughts about the series of events that they had undergone throughout the war until the early stage of the new normal in Bagelen in the aftermath of the war.

In dealing with the new normal situation in the post-war period, both sides were adapting. The winner created a new normal called "stabilization" to secure the path of their newly emerging power, while the loser created their new normal situation to survive and sustain their existence in the future. On the one hand, to ensure political stability and safety in Bagelen, Cokronegoro I had taken two pivotal decisions. First, as a symbol of a "new normal," to recall collective cultural memories of past prosperity. Second, Cokronegoro I had also intentionally left another legacy in cultural memory through the writing of *Babad Kedung Kebo*. The manuscript both clarifies and legitimizes his choice to oppose Diponegoro – the then respectful and widely-supported figure.

On the other hand, Pangeran Diponegoro also felt the need to explain his loss while adapting to his "new normal" during his "quarantine" in a narrow room at Fort Rotterdam, Makassar. Not quite different from Cokronegoro, Pangeran Diponegoro also wrote down his thoughts in an autobiography later called *Serat Babad Diponegoro*. In this piece of writing, he clarifies and confirms his defeat. There he mentioned that he was responsible for the loss over the war that he had led for 5 years and that he accepted it as fate, despite the embarrassment and deep pain. *Babad Diponegoro* and *Babad Kedung Kebo* can be seen as a dialogue between two pivotal figures about the Java War. Both manuscripts were later acknowledged as world heritage after two centuries.

Besides Diponegoro and Cokronegoro, the pesantren-based kyai was another significant subject who successfully adjusted to their new normal situation. They are being marginalized under the new power in Bagelen. *Pesantren* might seem to fall

apart, but in fact, the downfall was only in terms of infrastructures, which were mostly damaged after being abandoned in the aftermath of the prolonged war. After the war, the kyai consistently devoted their life to society with their unchanged political attitude, which had become their choice for a long time. They opted for establishing an alternative civilization outside the circle of the elites, whose legitimacy was beyond their control. During the critical period, they spread to another region (diaspora), searching for new places to rebuild their civilization. History has recorded that, in every change, *pesantren* will always be autonomous and dynamic. The track record of ulama or *wali* can still be traced from the moment they started pioneering the first Islamic boarding school, long before the war of Java. Even before the establishment of the Islamic kingdoms in Java, which is inseparable from the role of ulama or *pesantren-based-kyai* who were commonly addressed as *wali* or *Sunan*. For the ulama, moving to different places (diaspora) was not a new thing because, in the past, when Islam spread throughout the rural areas, it was also closely related to the role of the royal ulama who established *pesantren* in villages. That is the form of devotion of the *pesantren-based-kyai*; establishing an alternative civilization outside the elite circle, particularly during hard times. Finally, we can learn that the abnormal situation during the Java War (1825-1830) provides a historical lesson that change is inevitable, but we must adapt to it and survive in the flow of change.

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### COMPETING INTEREST STATEMENT

The Author declares that this article is totally free from any conflict of interest regarding the data collection, analysis, and publication process in general.

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