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Dipanagaras early inspirational experience


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Pangeran Arja Dipanagara (ca. 1785-1855), the leader of the rebel armies in the Java War (1825-1830), was both a prince of the Jogjakarta royal house (the eldest son of Sultan Hamengkubuwana III) and a mystic. His mystical practices and the insights which they brought him were important in Dipanagara's view of himself, almost surely in the view which many of his supporters took towards him, and certainly in the estimations of him by later scholars. Several later writers have considered Dipanagara's religious views but their discussions have perhaps tended to obscure the issue. A reconsideration of Dipanagara's own description of the beginning of his career may shed some light in this obscurity.

*Sërat Babad Dipanagaran* was composed by Dipanagara after he was exiled to Menado in 1830. It was published in part by Albert Rusche & Co., Surakarta, in two volumes and at least three editions (1908-09, 1914, 1917). The text given at the end of this article is from the third edition of 1917. From this babad was produced a Dutch translation which was largely the work of Palmer van den Broek although some parts were translated also by others. It has never been published. This Dutch version, which seems to contain some inaccuracies, was employed by two commentators neither of whom knew Javanese, the great military


historian P. J. F. Louw and the later writer S. van Praag, in their discussions of Dipanagara. Dipanagara’s religious views were also considered briefly in an article by J. M. van der Kroef. Only the latter is in English, and it has necessarily received considerable attention from non-Dutch-reading students.

Each of these writers was limited by his dependence (directly or indirectly) upon the Palmer van den Broek translation for Dipanagara’s own viewpoint, and more particularly by a failure to place the contents of Dipanagara’s own story within their appropriate context. For example, each knew that the Javanese are Muslims. Hence their discussion of Dipanagara’s religious views was within the context of Islam. In discussing the same babad segment discussed here, for instance, van Praag rendered Dipanagara’s references to God as “Allah”, whereas in fact all of the references to God in this part of the babad are Sanskrit. That is not to suggest that Dipanagara was not a Muslim, which would raise an equally spurious issue. The point is that Dipanagara lived in a specific cultural environment and his views of such a fundamental matter as religion cannot be understood in isolation from their spatial, temporal, and cultural context. If one is to understand Dipanagara’s views, one’s first task must be to understand what were the traditions and beliefs which he inherited, rather than what were the beliefs of coreligionists living thousands of miles away. Such an approach to Dipanagara may leave one somewhat dissatisfied with Louw’s description of the prince’s “hallucinations”, with van Praag’s attempt to measure Dipanagara’s thinking by Islamic standards, and with van der Kroef’s description of him as a “purifier” of the Faith. Among Dipanagara’s main commentators, only the Indonesian writers Muhammad Yamin and Sagimun appear to have found no difficulty in reconciling the indigenous Javanese ideas and the Islamic elements in Dipanagara’s thinking, two elements which for Dipanagara himself were not in conflict.

3 In volume I of Louw and de Klerk, Java-Oorlog. Louw wrote volumes I to III, de Klerk volumes IV to VI.
4 Onrust op Java: De Jeugd van Dipanagara, een Historisch-Literaire Studie (Amsterdam, 1947).
6 Van Praag, Onrust, pp. 122-123.

Neither of these writers considers the religious question in much detail.
A full estimation of Dipanagara’s religious thinking must of course await a full study of his life and times. But for the moment, there may be profit in allowing Dipanagara himself to describe the early inspirational experience which determined for him the path he was to follow. A full text and translation of this episode will be found at the end of this article.

Dipanagara here describes a time when he was twenty years of age (stanza 5). Since he seems to have been born in late 1785, the time discussed would seem to be around 1805. Immediately after this section are mentioned the Ministry (residency) of P. Engelhard (1808, 1810-11) and the arrival of Governor-General H. W. Daendels (1808-11). Hence it seems these experiences occurred sometime ca. 1805-1808, still as much as two decades before the Java War. They are described as they were seen by Dipanagara shortly after his arrest and exile in 1830, looking back upon the beginning of his tale.

Dipanagara begins his story by immediately embracing the question of religion. It was there that everything began. Under the influence of his great-grandmother Ratu Ageng, Dipanagara withdrew to Tegalrejo, a princely residence in the rice-fields northwest of the court of Jogjakarta. Upon Ratu Ageng’s death Dipanagara took over Tegalrejo and deepened his religious studies. (Stanzas 1-2)

Van Praag mentioned Islamic precedents for a prince withdrawing from the court to pursue a religious life, but he might more appro-

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11 Van Praag, Onrust, pp. 116-122, and Louw, Java-Oorlog, vol. I, pp. 88-90, both describe a section of Sêrat Babad Dipanagaran which precedes that given here, covering Javanese history from the last king of Madjapahit to the period described here. This introductory section is not found in the published Rusche text, which begins with volume II of the Dipanagara manuscript, LOR 6547. The MS is dated at the beginning AD 1831-32 (AJ 1759). See Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, Literature of Java (The Hague & Leiden, 1967-70), vol. II, p. 392.

The experiences described here can be compared with a similar tale from the Tjakranêgara babad concerning Dipanagara (Buku Kêdung Kêbo; LOr 2163), translated in T. Roorda, “Verhaal van de Oorsprong en het Begin van de Opstand van Dipa-Negara, volgens een Javaansch Handschrift,” BKI, 2nd series, vol. 3 (1859), pp. 147-151.

Cf. also the more idiosyncratic study by P. H. van der Kemp, “Dipanegara, Eene Geschiedkundige Hamlettype,” BKI, vol. 46 (1896), p. 305: “Forests, mountains, caves, pious and religious persons: Those were the surroundings which he sought out by preference and by which his character was strengthened in its melancholic tendencies.”

12 See Louw, Java-Oorlog, plate III. Tegalrejo is now within the boundaries of the city of Jogjakarta.
priately have described the precedent of Ardjuna, one of the most important heroic figures in both Old and Modern Javanese literature and in the *wajang* theatre. He is the third of the Pandawa brothers, a warrior hero so refined that his beauty is like that of a princess. The example of this courageous, supernaturally powerful, but beautiful and sensitive hero may have been a particularly appropriate precedent, for Dipanagara's character seems on present evidence to have fitted (or to have been influenced by) such a model. And the experience described here, during which Dipanagara retired to practise asceticism, successfully overcame supernatural trials, and emerged purified for the coming battles, is similar to the manner in which Ardjuna prepares himself for battle in the *Ardjuna Wiwaha*, known in its Modern Javanese version as *Minta Raga*. Indeed, it will be seen that near the end of the episode discussed here, Dipanagara received the weapon of Ardjuna (stanzas 22, 25-26). Perhaps it should be suggested instead that Dipanagara retells his own story, consciously or unconsciously, on the basis of the Ardjuna story. But the tale here has sufficient internal coherence and consistency and moreover is so unusually condensed when compared with other such episodes in Javanese literature, that one is left with the feeling that Dipanagara recorded the story as he later remembered it actually to have been. This is, of course, an entirely subjective judgement. But if it is correct, one should speak of the influence of Ardjuna upon Dipanagara himself rather than of the influence of the Ardjuna story upon the structure of *Sërat Babad Dipanagaran*. In either case, the importance of the Ardjuna precedent seems clear.

By the time described by Dipanagara, the court of Jogjakarta was in some considerable disarray, torn by intrigues among the many sons and grandsons of Sultan Hamengkubuwana I (1749-92). The reigning Sultan Hamengkubuwana II was often at odds with his son, shortly to become Sultan Hamengkubuwana III upon the deposition of his father in 1810 and again in 1812. Many princes and high court officials were involved in these and other intrigues, which apparently contributed to

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13 Both *Buku Kèdung Kèbo* and *Sërat Babad Dipanagaran* mention the text *Ardjuna Widjaja* among the books studied by Dipanagara. See van Praag, *Onrust*, p. 196, corresponding to *Sërat Babad Dipanagaran*, vol. I, p. 95; and Roorda, “Verhaal”, pp. 157, 159-160, also in van Praag, *Onrust*, pp. 184, 186. The *Ardjuna Widjaja* story is, however, quite different from that of the *Ardjuna Wiwaha/Minta Raga* texts, and it is not possible to suggest that both Dipanagara and Tjakranégara would give the title *Ardjuna Widjaja* as a mistake for *Ardjuna Wiwaha*. There is no specific reference in either book to *Ardjuna Wiwaha* or *Minta Raga* so far as is known to the present writer.
a decline of moral standards as well. The precise nature and extent of these problems will not be ascertained until greater research is carried out on the Dutch and Javanese sources for this period. But it is clear that Dipanagara pictures himself as having withdrawn as much as possible from the corrupting influences of court. His only regular appearances were, he says, at the garëbëgs, the thrice-yearly court festivals in honor of Islamic holy days. (Stanza 3)

The absence of any prince, particularly that of the eldest son of the Crown Prince, was a destabilizing factor in court affairs. Regular appearance at court of the many princes and high officials was a means of demonstrating the support and recognition enjoyed by the reigning monarch. It contributed to the stability of the monarch’s reign by also reinforcing the glorious display which was an essential prop of Javanese royal authority. Withdrawal from the court meant in effect a withdrawal of recognition, and the anger which Dipanagara says his father and grandfather directed at him is hardly surprising. Indeed, Dipanagara seems to call his withdrawal a “great sin”, although whether this is precisely what he refers to is not entirely clear in the text. But ever deeper did he plunge into his religious studies. (Stanzas 3-4)

He now took a second name. When at court he retained the use of the name Pangeran Dipanagara, but when he travelled elsewhere he called himself Seh Ngabdûrahkim (stanza 5). This is an Arabic name and title (Shaykh cAbd al-Rahîm), but its significance is unclear. Why

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15 The three garëbëgs are Garëbëg Mulud in celebration of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad, Garëbëg Puasa to celebrate the end of the fasting-month, and Garëbëg Bësar in commemoration of Abraham’s willingness to sacrifice Isaac and of the pilgrimage to Mecca. See J. Groneman, De Garëbëg’s te Ngajogyâkarta (’s-Gravenhage, 1895); Soedjono Tirtokoesoema, De Garëbëgs in het Sultanaat Jogjakarta (Jogjakarta, 1931).


17 The Palmer van den Broek translation suggests a different understanding of the reference to sin (dosa) in stanza 4, so that it refers not to Dipanagara’s absence from the court but to his attendance at the garëbëgs. The first four lines are therefore rendered, “Hoezeer ’t hem ook tegen de borst stuitte, dat hij zich nu en dan met wereldsche zaken moest bemoeien, zoo deed hij dit toch uit vrees voor zijn grootvader en zijn vader.” See Louw, Java-Oorlog, vol. I, p. 91; van Praag, Onrust, pp. 118-119. The present writer prefers to regard the “sin” as being the absence from court, which was certainly a major offense in Javanese royal politics. But it is unwise to be dogmatic in such matters.
Dipanagara chose (or was given) this particular name rather than some other is unknown to this writer. That the name is Arabic is a reflection of the fact that his religion was Islam. But it is important to remember that this was the Islam of the Javanese court circles in which he was raised and of the rural pésantrens (schools of religion) where he now studied. The traditions of both were mystical and there is no reason to believe that they had yet been influenced by the more puritanical schools of Islam already appearing in the Near East.¹⁸

Dipanagara says that he took up the life of a mendicant, striving to overcome by religious exercises the weakness which led him to fall to the temptations of women.¹⁹ He set off incognito, visiting mosques and religious schools. He mixed with the lower orders of society and practised asceticism, seeking to free himself from the clinging to worldly things which prevents enlightenment. (Stanzas 6-8)

A familiar figure in Javanese literature is the student of religion who travels from one teacher to another, at each stage progressing to deeper insight or overcoming greater trials. Dipanagara says that he, too, had learned enough from the teachers at the religious schools. He set off, but not for another school. He now left the world of men and travelled into the rough countryside. To further his ascetic exercises, in the fasting-month Ramëlan (Ramaḏān) he sought out a cave, arriving at Song Kamal, a cave in the Djëdjéran district south of Jogjakarta midway on the road to the royal graves at Imagiri.²⁰ There he was

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¹⁸ There is no evidence to support the cautious suggestion by M. L. van Deventer that there may have been Wahhabī influence in Surakarta in 1790; see J. K. J. de Jonge and M. L. van Deventer (eds.), De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost-Indië (16 vols; 's-Gravenhage, 1862-1909), vol. XII, pp. xix-xxii. This problem will be considered in a study of the reign of Sultan Hamëngkubuwana I now being completed by the present writer. The question here is a doctrinal one. This is quite a different issue from that of the extent to which being a Muslim was part of the Javanese sense of cultural identity, which may have been increasing over this period. On this latter question, see Soebardi, “Santri-Religious Elements as Reflected in the Book of Tjëntini,” BKI, vol. 127, no. 3 (1971), pp. 348-349; and M. C. Ricklefs, “A Consideration of Three Versions of the Babad Tanah Djiawi, with Excerpts on the Fall of Madjapahit,” Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, vol. 35, pt. 2 (1972), p. 295.

¹⁹ According to the Resident of Menado, where Dipanagara lived in exile after 1830, the prince’s greatest topic of conversation was women, “of whom he appears to be a great lover”; cited in Louw, Java-Oorlog, vol. I, p. 151.

²⁰ The reading given in the Rusche edition of Sërat Babad Dipanagaran, vol. I, p. 2, is Sor Kamal. In Louw, Java-Oorlog, vol. I, p. 92, and van Praag, Onrust, p. 122, the reading is Sung/Song Kamal, this presumably being based on the Palmer van den Broek translation. Confusion between the lajar (sor)
tested, but Dipanagara's ascetic control enabled him to withstand these unnamed trials from God. He had reached a new stage of purity. (Stanzas 8-10)

The visiting of holy sites is an established practice in Java. There live malevolent and benevolent spirits whose powers can affect directly the life of the pilgrim. Song Kamal is the first of a dozen sites described by Dipanagara on this journey, the outcome of which was to be his investiture as the future king. They all seem to be located between Jogjakarta and the Indian Ocean, in the area known historically as Mataram, bounded on its northern and southern extremities by the two main geographical and spiritual landmarks of Central Java, Mount Mërapi and the abode of the Goddess of the Southern Ocean.21 The precise significance of these sites is therefore of interest, but it has not been possible to locate or to explain all of them adequately. Several are, however, well-known and the general significance of this experience can be clarified.

At Song Kamal Dipanagara experienced the first of several visitations. Having surmounted the trials, he was suddenly confronted by a man who shone like the full moon. He was called Hjang Djatimulja but was in fact Sunan Kalidjaga (stanzas 10-11). Kalidjaga was one of the nine walis (apostles) of Islam in Java, according to court tradition, and he had also played a particularly important role in the history of the foundation of the Mataram dynasty. It was he, according to the babad stories, who had convinced the Sultan of Padjang in the late sixteenth century to surrender Mataram to Ki Pamanahan, the ancestor of the

and the tjëtjak (song) in the manuscript probably accounts for these different readings. Which is correct is difficult to say, but Song Kamal is probably the better reading. Both Louw and van Praag (following Louw) identify Song Kamal as a cave in the Djëdjëran district, but Louw wrongly says this is in the Kalasan area, whereas it is south of Kuña Gëde. The reading Sor is retained in the text below as it appears in the Rusche edition.

Some of the sites mentioned by Dipanagara were also on the itinerary of Susuhunan Amangkurat IV in 1724; see H. J. de Graaf, "De Reis van Mangku-Rat IV naar Mataram," Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, vol. 83, no. 4 (1949), pp. 340-369.

Many of the holy sites are still important today, and the powers of Mt. Mërapi and the Goddess of the Southern Ocean still exert a great influence on the lives of many living in the Mataram area. When Mt. Mërapi erupted violently in early 1969, Jogjakarta newspapers published without comment the stories of villagers living on the slopes of the mountain, who said that they had heard gamëlan-music coming from the molten lava and that they had learned in dreams that Mt. Mërapi desired to marry the Goddess of the Southern Ocean.
Mataram dynasty. Thus, the stories which were known to Dipanagara and his contemporaries pictured Kalidjaga as the agent of the division of Java. Whether there is any historical foundation for this story is a problem for the history of the sixteenth century, but it is not directly relevant to what was believed in later centuries. The records of the negotiations between Sultan Hamëngkubuwana I and the Dutch shortly before the peaceful partition of Java in 1755 suggest that Hamëngkubuwana I and his advisors understood the Pamanahan story to be a story of division and the precedent for the partition of 1755. After the peaceful division of 1755, at the only formal meeting which took place between the two rulers (at Djatisari) Susuhunan Pakubuwana III presented to Sultan Hamëngkubuwana I a kris named Kjai Koepk, said to have been the weapon of Sunan Kalidjaga. This kris came to be honored as one of the three pusaka ageng (great regalia) of the Sultanate of Jogjakarta. In Javanese thinking, the presence of this kris at the formal division of 1755 was virtually equivalent to the presence of Kalidjaga himself. It seems clear that, whoever Kalidjaga may really have been, by the eighteenth century he had come to be regarded in court circles as the agent of division as well as an important figure in the history of Islam in Java.

For the Kalidjaga story, see W. L. Olthof (ed. & trans.), Babad Tanah Djawi, In Proza, Javaansche Geschiedenis (2 vols; ’s-Gravenhage, 1941), text pp. 53-63, trans. pp. 55-65; Balai Pustaka, Babad Tanah Djawi (31 vols; Batawi Centrum, 1939-41), vol. IV, pp. 31-56; BM add MS 12320, Babad Kraton, ff. 93 r.-102 v.

For Hamëngkubuwana I’s references to the previous division between Padjang and Mataram, see the Dagregister of Nicolaas Hartingh, 18 Sept 1754 ff., in de Jonge and van Deventer, Opkomst, vol. X, pp. 290, 293.


Kalidjaga’s role as the “priestly” agent of the division of the kingdom was rather similar to that of Mpu Bharada in the Old-Javanese text Nāgarakértigama, written in 1365. The story is in canto 68. See the edition by Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, Java in the 14th Century: A Study in Cultural History (5 vols; The Hague, 1960-63). See also G. C. Berg, Herkomst, Vorm en Functie der Middeljavaanse Rijksdelingstheorie (Amsterdam, 1953), pp. 36-37 et seq.

Bharada divided the kingdom into two by marking the boundaries with water as he flew through the air. This story in the Nāgarakértigama is introduced as the story of a kamal (tamarind) tree, which was so high that it caught the gown of the flying Bharada and brought him to earth, where he put down his water-jar. Bharada cursed the kamal tree, causing it to
The sixteenth-century division under Kalidjaga's auspices, as it was pictured in the later court babads, had later come to an end. Kalidjaga had overseen the partition between the Sultan of Padjang and Ki Pamanahan of Mataram, but Pamanahan's son PanémbarSenapati was to reunify the kingdom, and in those events Kalidjaga also played a role. After Senapati had visited the Goddess of the Southern Ocean he returned to land and encountered Kalidjaga there. Kalidjaga advised Senapati to build a wall around his court. To mark the site of this wall,

become small. The people, it is said, feared this kamal tree and therefore a religious foundation was established there so that Java might again become one. Thus, the kamal of the Nāgarakértāgama was the site where the partition of Java had been completed and where its reunification must begin. As is the case with the Kalidjaga story, this is of course not a question of what may actually have happened but of what court circles recorded or believed had happened.

It is unclear in what form or in how much detail the Old-Javanese Bharada tradition might have been known to the Javanese of Dipanagara's time, or indeed whether it was known to them at all. The Nāgarakértāgama is known only from a single manuscript discovered in Lombok and no Modern Javanese text is known. But it is of interest that at the beginning of a journey to several holy sites, Dipanagara encountered Kalidjaga in a cave called Song Kamal, which means the kamal cave or kamal shelter. Thus, Dipanagara encountered Kalidjaga, whose role has similarities with that of Bharada, in a place the name of which reminds one specifically of the old division story of the time of Bharada.

These could not actually be the same sites, since the Bharada story refers to East Java while the Kalidjaga story concerns Central Java. It is interesting, however, that the name of the temple in the Bharada story is Kamal-Pandak (Nāg. 67: 3). Both Kamal and Pandak are also known in Mataram. Kamal is the name of Dipanagara's cave south of Jogjakarta and Pandak is the district in which the holy stone Sela Gilang (discussed below) is found. Because Sela Gilang was the place where Senapati learned he was to become king, and whence he went on to win hegemony from Padjang, it could be seen (like Kamal-Pandak) as the site from which the reunification of the realm began. But it would probably be unwise to assign too much importance to such similarities among toponyms.

The emphasis on the kamal tree in the Nāgarakértāgama and the name of the cave Song Kamal may perhaps be coincidence, as may the similarity between the roles of Kalidjaga and Bharada. It may also be coincidence that Kalidjaga and Bharada accomplish important acts concerning the unity of the realm by the rather unusual process of pouring water. Bharada's line of water divided the realm. Kalidjaga's circle of water to mark the site of Senapati's wall (discussed below; see the sources in note 23) was later seen as one of the first steps towards the reunification of the realm under Mataram hegemony. This treble coincidence seems difficult to ignore, and leads one to wonder whether some version of the Bharada story was known to the authors of the Babad Tanah Djawi stories about Kalidjaga, and to Dipanagara. Whatever the case, that Kalidjaga had come to be seen as a figure who was particularly important in the division of Java seems clear from court babad tradition, and from the events surrounding the partition of 1755.
he took a coconut-shell filled with water and poured the water in a circle. Then he departed. The building of this wall was the first major step towards Mataram's victory over Padjang and the reunification of Java under the new dynasty, according to the court traditions available to Dipanagara. Kalidjaga did not reappear in Mataram dynastic history until his kris exchanged hands at the next formal partition of the realm in 1755.

Now Kalidjaga, the agent of the division and the advisor to the reunifier of Java, had come also to Dipanagara in Song Kamal. To understand this merely as the appearance of a holy figure from the history of Javanese Islam would be to underestimate the significance of Kalidjaga's special role in dividing the kingdom. The permanence of the division of Central Java had been the most important political issue in Java after the partition in the middle of the eighteenth century. The eighteenth-century rulers had managed to regularize the situation and to accept the division as permanent. But that need not have prevented the issue of division from having a prominence in Dipanagara's mind. Kalidjaga told him, "It has been determined by God that in the future you shall become King". (Stanza 11)

He then departed, as he had departed from Senapati after instructing him to build the wall. Kalidjaga's prophecy perhaps meant for Dipanagara not only that he would become King, which seems clear, but also that he would end the division at which Kalidjaga (in his kris) had presided in 1755, just as Senapati had ended the division at which Kalidjaga had presided in the sixteenth century. It is unlikely that Dipanagara would not have been reminded of the stories about the sixteenth century when Kalidjaga

26 This view will be argued in the present writer's study of the reign of Sultan Hamëngkubuwana I.
27 The Palmer van den Broek translation reads the phrase referring to the king in the last line of stanza 11 as ratu iring-iring, "begleidende vorst", and hence, "Vorsten voogd"; see Louw, Java-Oorlog, vol. I, p. 92; van Praag, Onrust, p. 123. This seems to be a mistake. In any case, rendering ratu iring-iring as “royal guardian, regent" would be somewhat speculative. Later, when Dipanagara actually became one of the regents for the infant Sultan Hamëngkubuwana V, Sêrat Babad Dipanagaran (vol. I, pp. 90-91) uses the usual expression wakil.

Dr. Pigeaud has informed the present writer that ratu ngerang-erang appears to be a cryptic expression or allusion belonging to royalty, meaning literally the king who is like an erang-erang (a side-screen or partition). It may perhaps allude to the royal function of protector.
28 See the sources cited in note 25 above.
appeared, or that he would have failed to understand him as the agent of partition in which role the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century babads cast him. The identity and history of the pusaka kris Kjai Kopek would undoubtedly have been known to the son of the Crown Prince, and would also have associated Kalidjaga in his mind with the act of partition.

After Kalidjaga had disappeared, Dipanagara says he went again across the countryside, greatly distracted by contemplation of the love of God, perplexed within his heart. He arrived at Bëngkung. Bëngkung was almost certainly the balumbang (pond) Bëngkung at the top of the great stairway at the royal graves at Imagiri.29

The Imagiri gravesite lies on a hill on the left of the Opak river about midway between Jogjakarta and the South Coast. It was begun by Sultan Agung (1613-45), whose grave stands at the top of the hill. Below and on both sides of the long stairway lie the graves of most of his successors30 and of many members of the royal house. At the foot of the stairway, some 230 feet below the summit, stands the mosque (Pa)Djimatan. The Imagiri complex is one of the most powerful royal holy sites in Central Java and of course had a particular significance for a prince who might expect one day to lie there himself. At the time of the experiences described here, Dipanagara could not have known that he would end in a lonely grave in Makasar.

Dipanagara says he spent seven days (in meditation) at Bëngkung, then went to observe the Friday worship at the mosque of Imagiri, that is, at the Djimatan mosque at the foot of the stairs. There he worshipped and shared a meal (“paid . . . honor with all that they possessed”) with the guardians of the keys (djuru kuntji), who watch over the royal graves and by virtue of this share to some extent in the spiritual awe accorded to the site itself. They were amazed to see Dipanagara,

29 Prawirawinarsa and Djajengpranata, I: Babad Alit, mawi rinëngga ing gambargambar sarta kar; II: Djumënëngipun Tjungkup ing Pasarejan Kuja Gêde (Weltevreden, 1921), photo A.5 between pp. 6-7. A useful map of Imagiri is to be found in ibid., between pp. 4-5.

For a description of Imagiri, see P. J. Veth, Java, Geographisch, Ethnologisch, Historisch (3 vols; Haarlem, 1875-82), vol. III, pp. 638-639.

30 The only successors to Agung not buried at Imagiri are Amangkurat I (1645-77; buried at Tëgalalarum, Tëgal), Amangkurat III (1703-08; buried in Ceylon), Pakubuwana II (1726-49; buried at Lawijan, Surakarta); Pakubuwana VI (1823-30; buried in Ambon), and Hamëngkubuwana II (1792-1810, 1811-12, 1826-28; buried at Pasar Gêde, Jogjakarta); see Prawirawinarsa and Djsjenengpranata, Babad Alit, pp. 23-24. Agung’s predecessors Senapati and Panëmbahan Seda ing Krapjak are buried at Pasar Gêde.
who presumably looked most unprincely after his religious studies, ascetic exertions, and rough travelling. (Stanzas 13-15)

Dipanagara now went to two caves, Siluman and Sagala-gala, neither of whose locations is known to this writer. They must, however, lie to the south of Imagiri, for Dipanagara says he followed the river (Opak) and then (presumably when the river swings westward near Potrabajem) went into the mountains, eventually arriving at Guwa Langse, a well-known site on the South Coast. The second cave, Sagala-gala, where Dipanagara says he slept two nights, is completely unknown to this writer. But the first place, Siluman, figures in other texts as well. (Stanzas 15-16)

In two versions of the Kidung Lalémbut (Song of the Spirits) the place Siluman appears. One of these was probably written in the Jogjakarta court between about 1808 and 1812, and in any case is no later than 1816 in date. Thus, it is probably from the same court and from about the same time as Dipanagara in the episode described here. Here is found a list of the spirits of Java and the places they occupied. In “Seluman” (Siluman) is found a spirit called “Gênewatì”. Another version of the Kidung Lalémbut probably from later in the nineteenth century lists the spirit of Siluman as “Gênuwatu”. In a manuscript

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31 Either of these might be the Guwa ing Tjërmin mentioned in Prawirawinara and Djajenggranata, Babad Alit, pp. 38-39, where Dipanagara is said to have passed on his way to Guwa Langse.

32 This version of the Kidung Lalémbut forms the final canto (XV, ff. 146 r.-149 v.) of BM add MS 12289, Sèrat Sakondar, a version of the Baron Sakender story. As a part of the collection of John Crawford, this MS can be no later than 1816 in date, when Crawford left Java. “French and English troops” appear in the story, and thus it probably dates from after the arrival of Daendels in 1808 (the Javanese knew of English troops before Raffles’ time). Unlike the MSS of which Crawford commissioned copies, this MS is on Javanese paper and is in a rough hand, which suggests it may have been among the MSS taken from the Jogjakarta kraton in the sack of 1812. The appearance and handwriting are similar to BM add MS 12303, which was certainly taken by British forces from the kraton. Special characters are used for nga and e which are not found in other MSS but which are similar in construction to special characters adopted in other Jogjakarta kraton MSS. Several cantos of BM add MS 12289 appear to be identical with LOr 6185 and Netherlands Bible Society MS 158 (in Leiden University Library), both of which are Jogjakarta MSS. On these various MSS, see Pigeaud, Literature; and M. C. Ricklefs, “An Inventory of the Javanese Manuscript Collection in the British Museum,” BKI, vol. 125, no. 2 (1969), pp. 241-262.

33 BM add MS 12289, Sèrat Sakondar, f. 148 r. (Canto XV: 13).

34 LOr 4000 (2), Kidung Lalémbut, published in J. Brandes, Beschrijving der Jawaansche, Balineesche en Sasakische Handschriften aangetroffen in de Natatenschap van Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk (4 vols; Batavia, 1901-26), vol. II, pp. 56-58. Siluman occurs in stanza 13, p. 57.
of the Asmara Supi story written in Surakarta in 1833, the alas (forest) Siluman appears as the place where is to be found the medicine sought by Asmara Supi to cure the princess of Ngësam. He is shown the location of the medicine by the queen of the spirits, named Gênawati. If Dipanagara knew Siluman to be the place of the spirit Gênawati, which is probable on the evidence of the Jogjakarta manuscript of the Kidung Lalëmbut, and if he understood Gênawati of Siluman to be the queen of the spirits, which is possible on the evidence of the rather later Surakarta Asmara Supi, then his ascetic exercises as he went from cave to cave towards the South Coast may have had a single specific goal: to encounter the greatest of the spiritual forces in Central Java, the queen of the spirits, Kangdjëng Ratu Kidul, Goddess of the Southern Ocean. Perhaps Gênawati should, like other major female spirits in Java, be seen as an aspect or manifestation of the central deity, Ratu Kidul.

In neither Siluman nor Sagala-gala did Dipanagara experience any visitations. He then went directly to Guwa Langse, a cave southeast of Mantjingen, near the South Coast of Java, which is famous even today as the cave where Ratu Kidul may appear. He practised asceticism in Guwa Langse, such that the phenomenal world disappeared from his site and he entered a trance. He thus achieved the ultimate meditative state in which mental functions cease while the motionless body continues merely to maintain life. The mind is freed and nothing is known or knowable for subject and object no longer exist: a state which "cannot be described". (Stanzas 17-18)

In Guwa Langse the Goddess of the Southern Ocean came to Dipanagara, but his meditative trance was so complete that he was unaware of her presence. Ratu Kidul, the most beautiful of goddesses, the princess who rules all the spirits of Java, knew that Dipanagara was beyond her reach. Thus she promised that when the time had arrived she would come to him. (Stanza 19)

Ratu Kidul's promise would have meant something quite specific to a prince familiar with Mataram historical traditions. According to the babad stories, Ratu Kidul (in the guise of the adjar Tjêmara Tunggal) had promised Radën Susuruh, the future founder of Madjapahit, that she would serve him and all his descendants who ruled

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south of Mt. Mërapi and north of Mantjingan (i.e. in Mataram). During Mataram times she had become the wife of Senapati, of Sultan Agung, and apparently of Sultan Hamëngkubuwana I. She is believed still to advise the present Sultan of Jogjakarta, S.D.I.S. Kg. Sultan Hamëngkubuwana IX. She was the wife and ally of the great rulers of Java. Her aid went not to arbitrarily-selected princes or ascetics, but to kings. Her promise to Dipanagara was therefore a major step in his investiture as the future king. The Goddess, withdrawing because she knew even she could not penetrate his meditative emptiness, promised to Dipanagara the aid which she promised only to kings. Dipanagara heard her promise but saw nothing in his trance. She had already gone when he returned from his meditations to the sentient world. The next morning he left Guwa Langse and went down to the shore itself. Parang Tritis, which is on the shore of the Indian Ocean, is in effect the site from which one sets out to go to the Goddess’ underwater court. It was there that Senapati met Sunan Kalidjaga upon returning from the Goddess. And it is there that the annual Labuhan ceremony is still carried out by the court of Jogjakarta, in which the Sultan’s offerings are presented to the Goddess. At Parang Tritis and the site nearby called Parang Kusuma Dipanagara says he bathed and then slept. (Stanza 20)

Now the final visitation occurred, this time laying bare the apocalyptic events which awaited Dipanagara. A disembodied voice prophesied the fall of Jogjakarta in three years time, the beginning of the destruction of Java. This prophecy referred not to the outbreak of the Java

36 BM add MS 12320, Babad Kraton, ff. 45 v.-48 r.; Balai Pustaka, Babad Tanah Djawi, vol. I, pp. 58-66; Oltøf, Babad Tanah Djawi, text pp. 16-17, trans. pp. 16-17; Josua van Iperen, “Begin van eene Javansche Historie, genaamd, Sadjaradja Djawa,” Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genoot-schap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, vol. 3 (1781), pp. 125-130. These stories differ slightly in detail, but the identity of Tjëmara Tunggal as Ratu Kidul is clear: She is the Padjadjaran princess who has magical powers, who can be male or female, young or old, and who is the queen of the spirits.


War (1825), but to the capture of the court of Jogjakarta by British Indian forces under Raffles in 1812, when Sultan Hamengkubuwana II was deposed and exiled in favor of his son (Dipanagara's father) Hamengkubuwana III. This event is referred to in Javanese history as "the fall of Jogjakarta" (bêdah Ngajogjakarta), and was the only time in Javanese history when a European force conquered a Javanese court. The mention of an interval of three years means the description apparently still refers to events roughly ca. 1809. Dipanagara was further told that he was to be the means by which God would proceed to destroy Java. (Stanzas 21-22)

Dipanagara says he was given a new name: Ngabdulkamit, derived from the Arabic, ʿAbd al-Ḥāmīd. As with the earlier name Ngabdurrahkim, the meaning of this choice is not entirely clear. But it is possible to suggest what the name may have signified. ʿAbd al-Ḥāmīd I was the name of the Ottoman Sultan from 1774 to 1789 and his reign may have been of much greater interest to the Javanese than those of other Ottoman rulers. In ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I's reign the Ottoman ruler for the first time tentatively claimed the authority of the Caliph, the protector of all Muslims wherever they might reside. This was largely a diplomatic posture adopted in response to Catherine II of Russia's claim to be the protectress of Orthodox Christians living within the Ottoman Empire, and the claim was not seriously pursued by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I's successors until the 1860s and 1870s. But ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I's tentative pretensions to the Caliphate could easily have been reported by Javanese ḥadjis returning from the Mecca Pilgrimage. This claim to a universal authority might have appealed to Javanese aristocrats, who had little if any contact with, or knowledge of, individual Ottoman Sultans, but who were very interested in the institution of the Ottoman Sultanate and precisely in its role as a powerful universal authority. The Sultan Ngrum (from Arabic Rûm, Byzantium, hence: Constantinople, Turkey, the Ottoman Sultanate) was a major figure in Javanese mythical literature. In several Javanese texts associated with the Adji Saka tales and the messianic Djajabaja prophecies, Sultan Ngrum

41 There are several MSS of the text called Babad Bêdah Ngajogjakarta. See Pigeaud, Literature, vol. I, p. 167.
appears as the king who ordered the civilizing and peopling of Java.\textsuperscript{43}

The traditions concerning Sultan Ngrum were known and studied in Jogjakarta court circles in Dipanagara's time. This is confirmed by a Jogjakarta manuscript completed in 1813.\textsuperscript{44} In this text the \textit{Adji Saka} traditions are interwoven with the legends of the \textit{Babad Tanah Djawi}. The text begins with Adam and Eve (Umi Kawa), proceeds to Wisnu, who was the first ruler of Java, and carries the story to the mythical kingdoms of Ngastina and Purwatjarita. But then Java was destroyed and for seven hundred years lay desolate. During this time the son of Sjela Mahendra, who was destined to rule the world and to be the ancestor of all the kings of Java down to Padjang and Mataram, was "kept secret by God" and practised asceticism in a cave, like Dipanagara himself and so many other heroes of Javanese legend and history. He had no other object in his vision but God and the phenomenal world disappeared; all the spirits submitted to him.\textsuperscript{45}

This Jogjakarta \textit{babad} now tells of Sultan Ngrum, the ruler of all the world, the king of all kings of the world. In his sleep a revelation from God (\textit{wahju}) came to him: "Java has become a deep forest; let people be planted there!" It was the wish of God that Java be made the equivalent (\textit{timbang}, literally "counter-balance") of Mecca and the

\textsuperscript{43} See the various MSS listed under "Rum" in the index (vol. III) of Pigeaud, \textit{Literature}.

\textsuperscript{44} BM add MS 12308. A note on f. 2 r., at the beginning of the MS, reads: Punika srërat babad, wiwit s从中境 ing Tanah Djawi dumugi babaripun Kandjëng Panëmbahan Purubaja, jasa Mangkubumen ing Ngajodjakarta Adiningrat, sinëngkalan nir samodra i(i)ng mawan ing rat, 1-7-4-0 [AD 1813].

This note indicates that the MS was written in the residence of Pangeran Mangkubumi, a son of Sultan Hamëngkubuwana II and an uncle to Dipanagara. Later Mangkubumi was co-regent with Dipanagara over the infant Sultan Hamëngkubuwana V (at the start of his first reign, 1822-26). In 1825 he joined and became one of the leading figures in Dipanagara's rebellion, until September, 1829, when he surrendered. See Louw, \textit{Java-Oorlog}, vol. I, pp. 90, 127-128, 146-147; vol. V, p. 404.

\textsuperscript{45} BM add MS 12308, f. 3 v., Canto I (Dandanggula):


11. barang tapa pan wus denlampahi/ mantëp tjipta neng Guwa Tërusan/ tan mongang ing ljan tingale/ nanging Jang Sukma Luhur/ pan wus sirna ananing dashi/ sîh ing Jang lir sudama/ ing surja tan djumbuh/ sapandulon lawan arka/ arka kélèm sudama tan dadi rawi/ iku sëmbah utama

12. katarima ing Dewa kang Luwih/ Narpa Putra wus anraga sukma/ wus andadya satjiptane/ tjiptaniireng tumuwwuh/ priprajangan lëlëmbat mjang djim/ miwah saisi ning rat/ ngawula sëdarum/ ....

For the system of romanization used here, see note 63 below.
Sultan Ngrum then sent an expedition to populate the island of Java. But this expedition met horrible resistance from the spirits and forces of nature. As the Southern Ocean roared and Mt. Mërapi thundered, the Ngrum expedition was destroyed almost to a man. A second expedition met a similar fate. Sultan Ngrum then assembled his religious advisors and asked them to pray to God for a charm (djimat tumbal) to defeat the power of the evil spirits of Java. The charm was received, was buried in a number of places across Java and in Bali, and the power of the spirits was brought under control. They were ordered by a voice sent from God to fear the Prophet (Muhammad) and the king of Java, and to submit to the authority of the queen who rules in the Southern Ocean, i.e., Kangdjëng Ratu Kidul. But, said the voice, when the final age of unrest arrives, when women forget shame, when nobles are faithless and men dishonor their parents, when there is neither law nor justice, when religion is forgotten — in other words, when an age arrives such as Dipanagara apparently believed his to be — then the spirits are again to move among men. Sultan Ngrum then sent a new expedition

46 *Ibid.*, f. 3 v., Canto I (Dandanggula):

13. ... sigêgên kang kotjapa/ Kangdjêng Sultan ing Ngrum/ Narpa amisesa ing rat/ Nalendra gung ing sabrang tan aminguni/ Radjeng Radja sadunjah.


For the system of romanization used here, see note 63 below.

47 *Ibid.*, ff. 3 v.-5 v. The final instruction to the spirits is as follows: ff. 5 r.-5 v., Canto I (Dandanggula):

36. sira besuk kang angëbajani/ Putri Sri Galuh Nata wanudya/ Sëgara Kidul kutane/ iku ratu lëlëmbut/ nanging mëngko misih ginaib/ nulja binagi papan/ ... [the places of the spirits are then listed] ...

37. .../ nging besuk jen ana djalma/ ngëndi-ëndi kang denambah djana wani/ age pada lungaha

38. poma-poma djana wor lan djalmi/ dene besuk ana wangëng ingwang/ Djaman Akir antarane/ dahuru bumi mingkup/ suda-longe wong kangen mari/ wong wadon lali wirang/wong garoh amuput/ pretah tan këna ngugëman/ wong prajaji dora akeh tjidreng diangdji/ nak lali wani bapa

39. bijangane nora denwëdeni/ kang atuwa lali anak kaðang/ btjik ing wong aneng lambe/ adoh agamanipun/ oranana kukum lan ngadil/ kang dadi kira-kira/ melik wong denrëbut/ iku wora lan manusia/ didahuru kijanat tulah kang prapti/ adja gawe maksijat

40. Eh lëlëmbut den pada nastiti/ wus ginaib amënggon sdaja/ ... 


For the system of romanization used here, see note 63 below.
to Java which succeeded in settling the island, the settlers being buried in
the "long graves" which are still in the twentieth century shown to visitors
to Java and Bali. The Jogjakarta babad then goes on to the story of Adji
Saka, the text of which is very close to that published by C. F. Winter,
Sr. Adji Saka became king of Java, but for only three years.

Sultan Ngrum was thus a powerful mythical ruler of the far western
regions who was responsible for the peopling of Java, for the subduing
of the spirits, for some of the earliest episodes of Javanese history. It
was he who brought order and civilization to the island when it was
laid waste and dominated by demons. In being given the name
Ngabdulkamit, was Dipanagara perhaps assuming the role of Sultan
\(^{c}\)Abd al-Hamïd I, who at that time was the only Ottoman ruler actually
to have claimed a universal authority similar to that ascribed by Javan-
ese texts to Sultan Ngrum? During his rebellion, Dipanagara took
titles such as Sultan Ngabdulkamit Erutjakra Sajidin Panatagama
Kalifat Rasululah Sain, and Sultan Ngabdulkamid Erutjakra Kabirul-
mukminina Kalifatul Rasululah Hamêngkubuwana Senapati Ingalaga
Sabululah ing Tanah Djawa. The precise meaning of such royal titles
is often unclear. These used by Dipanagara may be taken roughly as,
respectively, “Sultan Ngabdulkamit, the Just King (Erutjakra), Lord
of the Faith (Sajidin), Regulator of Religion (Panatagama), Caliph of
the Prophet of God (Kalifat Rasululah), Sain (?)” and “Sultan
Ngabdulkamid, the Just King, First among Believers (Kabirulmukmi-
nina), Caliph of the Prophet of God, Hamêngkubuwana, Commander
in Holy War (Senapati Ingalaga Sabululah) in Java.”

48 BM add MS 12308, f. 5 v. et seq. There is a close relationship between
the Adji Saka story in this Jogjakarta MS (especially Canto I: 44 ff.) and
the story as told at the beginning of C. F. Winter, Sr., J. J. B. Gaal, and T. Roorda
(eds.), Het Boek Adji Sâkâ. Oude fabelachtige Geschiedenis van Java, van
de Regering van Vorst Sindoela te Galoeh tot aan de Stichting van Mândjâ-
Pait, door Vorst Soesoerioeh (Amsterdam, 1857). Clearly the Adji Saka story
was known in detail to Mataram courtiers. This may have implications for
Dr. Pigeaud’s classification of the Adji Saka tales as “Pasisir culture”; see

BKI, 3rd series, vol. 7 (1872), p. 286; T. Roorda (ed.), Javaansch Brieven-
boek, naar Handschriften uitgegeven (3rd ed.; ed. A. C. Vreede; Leiden,
1904), p. 211.

In the first of these titles, the meaning of the last word sain is unclear.
Dr. Pigeaud has suggested to the present writer that this may be a corruption
of the Arabic at-tani, “the second” (which in Javanese should have been sani
rather than sain). If this is correct, it may strengthen the suggestion that the
name Ngabdulkamit derives from that of Sultan \(^{c}\)Abd al-Hamid the first, for
Dipanagara may have meant to call himself Sultan \(^{c}\)Abd al-Hamid “the second”.

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Erutjakra, the name of the Ratu Adil, the Javanese messianic “Just King”.

The first employs a version of part of the titles of the Sultans of Jogjakarta, Sajidin Panatagama Kalifatulah, and the second employs another part of those titles (including the Sultans’ name) Hamëngkubuwana Senapati Ingalaga. But whence Ngabdulkamit? Dipanagara’s choice of this title above all others as the first (i.e. as his name, as Hamëngkubuwana is the name of the Jogjakarta Sultans and Pakubuwana that of the Surakarta Susuhunans) suggests that he must have regarded it as particularly significant among royal titles. The most likely suggestion is that he was calling himself after Sultan Ngrum. If so, he was associating himself thereby with one of the greatest mythical figures in the Javanese thought-world.

The voice speaking to Dipanagara as he lay on the shore of the Indian Ocean said that he was to be the means to the destruction of Java. As a sign of this, he was sent the arrow Sarotama (stanza 22), which shortly thereafter came from the sky like a flash of lightning and pierced the stone upon which Dipanagara had slept (stanza 25). Sarotama was the magical arrow of the hero Arjuna. The importance of Arjuna as an inspiration for Dipanagara was discussed above.

Dipanagara was warned to guard his conduct in the future and not to allow himself to be made Pangeran Dipati by the Dutch (stanzas 23-24). The sense of stanza 23 is somewhat obscure, and the title Pangeran Dipati poses some problems. The Palmer van den Broek translation, as it appears in Louw and van Praag, understands this as the title of the Crown Prince. Shortly after this section of Sërat Babad Dipanagaran, Dipanagara’s father the Crown Prince is indeed called Pangeran Dipati. But the proper title for the Crown Prince was


51 The full title of the Jogjakarta Sultans was Sultan Hamëngkubuwana Senapati Ingalaga Ngabdurahman Sajidin Panatagama Kalifatulah.


See also ibid., p. 89.
Pangeran Adipati Anom. Pangeran Adipati was the title for the Princes Mangkunégara, the subsidiary princes of Surakarta, who also sometimes added Arja to their titles. After 1813, Pangeran Adipati was also to become the title of the subsidiary princes of Jogjakarta, beginning with Dipanagara’s great-uncle Pakualam I (1813-29).

It is most probable that the voice was warning Dipanagara not to be made Crown Prince by the Europeans. But it is also possible, although perhaps less so, that it was admonishing him against being set up as an independent prince, like Mankunégara in Surakarta and like Pakualam I who, in connection with the events surrounding the fall of Jogjakarta in 1812, was to be made an independent prince in Jogjakarta. In other words, perhaps he was being admonished not to participate in further subdivision of the Javanese state. In any case, he was told to “watch over” his father when he became Sultan Hamëngkubuwana III (1810-11, 1812-14) as a result of the fall of Jogjakarta and the exile of Hamëngkubuwana II (stanza 24).

Dipanagara was to be “the means, but that not for long, only to be counted amongst the ancestors”. (Stanza 24) The meaning of this phrase is obscure. Possibly it meant that Hamëngkubuwana III’s reign was to be short, as indeed it was. But the intention was more probably that Dipanagara was to be “the means” to the “destruction of Java”, the subject with which the voice initiated its instructions to him. In that case, the prophecy meant that he would only fulfill this role a short time in order to cause the purifying devastation which must precede the age of the just rule. The messianic prophecies of the Pralambang Djajabaja conclude with just such a final episode. After a series of ages of justice and chaos, Java is finally to be oppressed by foreign rulers. Then the ruler of Ngrum will send a force to drive the oppressors from Java. All the foreigners will be killed and the line of Javanese rulers restored, but for a short period of three years the leader of the Ngrum expedition (the patih) will rule in Java in order to reestablish order.

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54 Rouffaer, “Vorstenlanden”, p. 267. Before the mid-nineteenth century the use of the titles Adipati and Arja was somewhat confused, as will be seen in Rouffaer’s discussion. An impression of the seal of Mangkunégara I (1757-95) from a document of 1790 (in Arsip Nasional, Djakarta, Java’s Noord-Oost Kust 162, “Bijlagen 1790”) gives his titles as Kangdjëng Pangeran Adipati Hamëngkunégara Senapati Ingajuda.


56 This is apparently the reading of the Palmer van den Broek translation; see Louw, Java-Oorlog, vol. I, p. 93; van Praag, Onrust, p. 124. Hamëngkubuwana III ruled from 1810 to 1811, and again from 1812 to 1814.
Then he will depart with his army. It may be this sort of scenario of destruction which the voice prophesied to Dipanagara.

After receiving the magic arrow Sarotama, Dipanagara set off for home on the instruction of the voice from God (stanza 25). The prophecies and visitations he had experienced together signified clearly that the result of his ascetic exercises and self-purification had been his election by God to be the king who would purge Java of its ills.

Dipanagara says he made two more overnight stops, after pausing briefly at a place called Sawangan. The first was at Lipura, a village in the Pandak district south of Jogjakarta. This is the well-known site of the holy black stone Sela Gilang. It was there in the late sixteenth century that a falling star was believed to have descended to Senapati as he slept, announcing that it was God’s will that he should become king of Java. In 1778, Dipanagara’s grandfather Sultan Hamengkubuwana II, then still Crown Prince, had also made a progress to Sela Gilang at a time when he and his father, the first Sultan, were at odds. Today Jogjakarta literati still speak of the striking of holy kris-blades there. The following night Dipanagara slept at Guwa Sëtjang, a cave near Kali Bêdog, south of Jogjakarta near Bantul. It was later to become his main stronghold during the Java War. He then arrived home at Tëgalrêdja and apparently provided the arrow Sarotama with a scabbard and hilt. (Stanzas 26-27) Dipanagara’s babad then turns to a description of the developments in Jogjakarta which were to lead to his rebellion in 1825.

When placed within the context of Javanese court culture the specific significance of this inspirational experience at the start of Dipanagara’s...

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58 In both BM add MS 12289, Sërat Sakondar, ff. 146 v.-147 r., and LOr 4000 (2), Kidung Lalëmbut (in Brandes, Beschrijving, vol. II, p. 57), is found a toponym Sawangan, the spirit of that place being “Si Sandung”, whose significance is unknown to the present writer.
59 The story of Senapati and the falling star at Sela Gilang (Lipura) is told in both Babad Tanah Djawi and in the Baron Sakender stories. See Olthof, Babad Tanah Djawi, text pp. 75-76, trans. pp. 78-79; Balai Pustaka, Babad Tanah Djawi, vol. V, pp. 20-21; A. B. Cohen Stuart (ed. & trans.), Geschiedenis van Baron Sakêndhêr, een Javaansch Verhaal (Batavia, 1850), text p. 98, trans. pp. 94-95; BM add MS 12289, Sërat Sakondar, f. 131 r.

In Olthof’s edition of the prose Babad Tanah Djawi, the stone is called “sela gêgilang” and “sela kumlasa”, which are translated as “een glanzende steen” and “een platte steen”. It would have been more correct to treat these as proper names for the stone Sela Gilang.
60 The trip is described in LOr 2191, Babad Mangkubumi, pp. 460-461.
career becomes clear. From religious dedication he had proceeded to
divine election as the future king. To the modern observer this may
perhaps seem a confusion of two relatively distinct spheres of human
activity, religion and politics. But in the thinking of a Javanese prince
there could have been no sense of inconsistency.

The kawula-gusti (servant-lord) relationship expressed the central
principle of Javanese court philosophy in both religion and politics.62
The kawula and gusti were at the same time the subject and his tem-
poral lord, and Man and God. The ideal kawula-gusti relationship in
both cases was the same: a union in which distinctions cease. Kawula
and gusti are ultimately one, whatever the practical distinctions which
must be observed in daily affairs. Thus, when Dipanagara says that the
object of his religious endeavor was to "safeguard all (his) subjects"
(stanza 2), he means not only those kawula who were his subjects as
a prince ruling an appanage and later as a rebel king, but also all
kawula (including himself) whose lord is God. The ideal ruler was not
only at one with his people but also, with his people, at one with
God. Hence it was entirely consistent that Dipanagara's asceticism and
religious studies should lead to his election as the future Sultan
Ngabdulkamit, the king who would purge Java of injustice. Between
politics and religion, between temporal and eternal, microcosm and
macrocosm, no distinction was ultimately meaningful.

The ideas which lay behind Dipanagara's experiences at the caves
and holy sites of Mataram were clearly those of a prince knowledgeable
in the traditions of the Javanese court. Particularly prominent were sites
associated with the Mataram dynasty (Bøngkung/Imagiri/Djimatan),
and especially those connected with Senapati (Lipura/Sela Gilang) and
the attendant themes of the unity or division of the realm (Kalidjaga)
and of the power of the Goddess of the Southern Ocean (Siluman?,
Guwa Langse, Parang Tritis). Ideas concerning Sultan Ngrum (Ngab-
dulkamit) were probably important. And the example of Ardjuna seems
also to have been prominent.

These ideas have required extensive explication here only because
they are now so little known, both to Westerners and to all but a few
Javanese scholars and those still living within the classical life of the
courts or near the holy sites themselves. To Dipanagara the places and
characters he mentions would have had immediate signification, such
as a Westerner might find, say, in the name of Bethlehem.

62 The kawula-gusti relationship is discussed in detail in Moertono, State and
Dipanagara's religious inspiration cannot, of course, be fully clarified on the basis of these 27 stanzas of verse. But these are particularly crucial stanzas. In Dipanagara's view, it was with the events described here that his famous and terrible career began. Readers may decide for themselves to what extent it is evidence of the vitality of a great cultural tradition, a commentary on the limitations of a courtly culture, or merely a reflection of the rapidity with which circumstances had changed, that one of the greatest figures of Javanese and Indonesian history should apparently have approached quite untraditional problems with such thoroughly traditional ideas. Could the economic and political changes brought about by Daendels, Raffles, and van der Capellen find precedents in the story of Arjuna?

POSTSCRIPT

Since the completion of this essay, an article has appeared by Dr. Ann Kumar entitled “Dipanagara (1787?-1855)” in Indonesia, no. 13 (April, 1972), pp. 69-118. Dr. Kumar provides a lengthy translation from the same edition of Sërat Babad Dipanagaran as that used here, including (pp. 72-78) the same 27 stanzas translated and discussed in this essay. The present translation differs from Dr. Kumar's at several points, some of which are minor matters of expression, but others of which are important. The most obvious difference is in the matter of toponyms. The present writer believes that the translation given here more accurately renders the original text. He has little doubt that Song Kamal (stanza 9), Siluman (stanza 16), Sawangan (stanza 26), and Sela Gilang (stanza 26) are toponyms. Readers can compare other differences between Dr. Kumar's translation and that given in this article with the Javanese text, which is also given here.

ABBREVIATIONS

BKI Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (van Nederlandsch-Indië)
BM British Museum, London
LOr Leiden University Oriental manuscript
Appendix


TEXT

CANTO I (Sinom):

1. ron kamal mongka bubuka
baku ning sèdya nguluri
kakarangan ing Nararja
kang kontap satanah Djawi
je ka ta Sang Wirasti
Pangeran Dipanagara nung
denira sampun srëdda
mengëti lakjan pribadi
wiwit kerëmira ring reh ing agama

TRANSLATION

CANTO I:

1. The name of the meter Sinom.
The opening:
The main concern is to follow
the writing of the king
famous in all of Java,
indeed Sang Wirasti, the excellent Pangeran Dipanagara,
in his desire
to record his own adventures,
begging with his absorption in all the
things of religion.

2. derek ejang-bujutira
Djëng Ratu Agëng winarni
dëdëkah ing Tëgalardja
surud ing bujut lëstari

2. Accompanying his great-grandmother
Kangdjëng Ratu Agëng, it is told,
he settled in the hamlet Tëgalrëdja.
Upon the death of his great-grandmother
he retained
still Tëgalrëdja.

neng Tëgalardja maksih
Pangeran sangsaja mungkul
marang reh ing agama
kang sinëdyarsa ngajomi
sadaja ning kawula kang tyas
rahardja

The Pangeran was ever more devoted
to the things of religion:
that which he desired was to safeguard
all (his) subjects whose hearts were of
good will.

63 The system of romanization used here is based upon that in Th. Pigeaud, Javaans-Nederlands Handwoordenboek (Groningen & Batavia, [1938]), with the following exceptions: oe here becomes u, ê and è become e, e (pëpët) becomes ê.

Dr. Pigeaud has kindly offered several very helpful suggestions concerning the translation and discussion of this text, which are gratefully acknowledged. Of course, he bears no responsibility for any remaining inaccuracies in either translation or discussion.

64 Unclear. Perhaps from Sang Wira-Sëti (Sëkti): “the honored outstanding hero” or “the honored hero of supernatural powers”; or a mistake for Sang Wiradi (Wira-adi): “the honored beautiful hero”, which is a common epithet in the wajang.
3. It was apparently the wish of God that Pangeran Dipanagara must follow his great-grandmother, for it was his wish to be absorbed in religion. Thus developed conflict with his grandfather Kangdjëng Sultan [Hamêngkubuwana II] and rare were his attendances at audience; only at the Garêbëgs was he certain to be present.

4. Nevertheless he was forced to commit this great sin out of fear of his grandfather [Hamêngkubuwana II] as well as of his father [later Hamêngkubuwana III]. But, in his own heart, only in religion was he absorbed. In Têgalrêdja, then, greater than in the days of his late [great-]grandmother was the observance of religion as well as the abundance of people.

5. and of buildings, all. Now, changed was Kangdjëng Pangeran’s name. When travelling about, indeed, it was Seh Ngabdurahkim; when in the capital city [Jogjakarta] (it was) Pangeran Dipanagara. Thus two were his names; his age had already reached twenty years.

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65 See note 17 above.
6. namung pêkir karêmanja
wau ingkang denlampahi
mangkana tjiptaning drija
ing sijang kalawan ratri
sapira neng dunjeki
dadya karêm ing tyasipun
marang Purba Ning Suksma
nanging sipat ngaral maksih
aspera neng ginoça datêng
wanodya

7. jen kala engêt tyasira
marang wëkasan dumadi
nulja kesah alalana
andjadjah sagung ing masdjid
apan nunggal lan santri
kang kaçah-kaçah puniku
langkung amati raga
angagêm kang sarwa gaib
marmanira avis kang djanma
uninga

8. lamun iku kadêngangan
dumatêng guru ning santri
Seh Durahkim nulja kesah
namung kang denkarêmêni
tunggal lan santri alit
lan kang samja nisânipun
lamun neng pamonôкан
marmanipun ngalih-ngalih
jen wus bošên päsantren ngalih
mring wana

9. gunung djurang parang guwa

6. To live only as a mendicant was his
desire,
that was what he did.
Now, the reflection in his heart
in daytime and at night
was: however numerous were the goods of
the world,
that which his heart desired
was The First, The Pure, The Spirit.
But he had impeding qualities:
often he could be tempted by women.

7. When he considered in his heart
the final end of Creation,
he then set off travelling,
visiting all the mosques,
uniting with the students of religion
who were commoners.
Exceeding was his practice of asceticism,
his attire altogether secretive,
therefore rarely was there a person who
knew (him).

8. If it [his identity] was discovered
by a teacher among the students of
religion,
Seh Ngabdurehkim then set off.
All that he desired
was to unite with the lesser students of
religion
and those who were of the same common
order
when in the religious schools.
Therefore he often changed locations.
When he had had enough of the religious
schools, he went to the forests,

9. the mountains, ravines, crags, and
caves,
sometimes following along the coast.

10. Exceeding the varieties of trials which came to Seh Ngabdurahkim then. But he had not two aims in view, only towards God (did he look).

11. named Hjang Djatimulja, in reality Sunan Kali(djaga).

98 See note 27 above.

97 “The exalted true god.” Netherlands Bible Society MS 169 (in the Leiden University Library; see Pigeaud, Literature, vol. II, p. 748), which appears to contain Jogjakarta court materials from ca. 1831, includes (no. 6) prose moralistic lessons delivered by a tapa (ascetic) named Djatimulja.

96 See note 20 above.
12. After the departure of the Holy Teacher, troubled was Ngabdurahkim, exceeding his amazement, such that he neglected to pay honor (to Hjang Djatimulja).

In the morning he set forth, going directly up the mountain, thinking not of the dangers, regarding not his body, thinking only of the Love of God.

13. Penetrating (the forests) he went, descending ravines, climbing mountains, thinking of nothing, exceedingly perplexed within his heart. When he grew tired of travelling he slept wherever he was. He arrived then at Bëngkung, Seh Ngabdurahkim, and there stayed as long as seven days.

14. Seh Ngabdurahkim now descended to the mosque of Imagiri, desiring to carry out the Friday worship. Just then arrived all the guardians of the keys, intending to worship, all. Startled, they observed together, without speaking, their lord. Rushing up to him they offered their greetings, all.

15. After the completion of the Friday worship all of the guardians of the keys together paid him honor with all that they possessed.
Thus he slept one night
in the mosque of Djimatan.
In the morning then departed
Seh Ngabdurahkim upon his way,
following the river, then ascending the
mountains.

When he had arrived,
Seh Ngabdurahkim,
in the cave Sagala-gala,
he entered
and for two nights slept in Sagala-gala.

Thinking not of the dangers,
he arrived then
at Guwa Langse in his travels.
Thereupon Seh Ngabdurahkim
practised asceticism there
about half a month in the cave,

striving to purify his desires.
Already had disappeared all that is to be
seen.
To Seh Ngabdurahkim then
there remained only the maintenance of
life,
life maintaining the self,
the self returning to Ufe,
a life which, it seems,
cannot be described.
Tell now of she who rules in the sea:

19. Kangdjëng Ratu Kidul arrived before Seh Ngabdurahkim, and it grew bright within the cave. But Kangdjëng Ratu Kidul knew already that Seh Ngabdurahkim was then empty in his thoughts and could not be tempted. Thus did she promise that when the time had arrived, (she) would come (to him).

20. But Seh Ngabdurahkim heard without seeing. Ratu Kidul disappeared. Seh Ngabdurahkim then was freed in his seeing, returned was his eyesight. In the morning he went down to Parang Tritis and then bathed and slept at Parang Kusuma.

21. Fallen into a religious meditation, he leaned against a stone and slumbered, when he heard a voice, thus: “Heh, Seh Ngabdurahkim, change your name; Ngabdulkamit are you. And furthermore, I instruct you, it is three years before the destruction of the city of Jogjakarta, for it is the wish of God to begin the destruction of the Land of Java; indeed it is three years. As for you, in the future,
23. "And moreover, my final command to you Ngabdulkamit, absolutely must you take care. If in the future you should fail, your father will not succeed. But my final command, Ngabdulkamit, to you: Be not willing to be made Pangeran Dipati by the Dutch, Walonda.

24. "for that is definitely sinful. But your father, Ngabdulkamit, watch over in his becoming king. There is no other, you alone are the means, but that not for long, only to be counted amongst the ancestors. Ngabdulkamit, farewell, you must return home."

25. Arising, clear of sight, there was no one who spoke. Then, lifting his eyes to the heavens, there was a flash of light like lightning, coming down before him, piercing the stone. Indeed, it was Ki Sarotama. It was quickly taken up and at the break of day Seh Ngabdulkamit set forth,
26. with Ki Sarotama put into his waistband.
He went along the coast, stopping at Sawangan a short time, then travelling on.
He arrived at Lipura, at Sela Gilang, and slept one night, then in the morning again set forth. Arriving at Guwa Sëtjang, Kangdjëng Pangeran halted.

27. and slept one night there.
In the morning, again he set out, returning to Tëgalrëdja.
When he had arrived, then was splendidly attired Ki Sarotama, made to look like a small dagger.