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DIPANAGARA'S EARLY INSPIRATIONAL EXPERIENCE

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.

Sĕrat 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 1917.¹ 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.² This Dutch version, which seems to contain some inaccuracies, was employed by two commentators neither of whom knew Javanese, the great military

¹ Dipanagara, *Sĕrat Babad Dipanagaran* (2 vols; Soerakarta, 1917), vol. I, pp. 1-5. E. M. Uhlenbeck, *A Critical Survey of Studies on the Languages of Java and Madura* ('s-Gravenhage, 1964), p. 145, lists only the editions of 1908-09 and 1914. I am unable to say whether further editions followed the third. See also note 11 below.

² See KITLV MS H 589a, in H. J. de Graaf, *Catalogus van de Handschriften in Westerse Talen, toebehorende aan het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* ('s-Gravenhage, 1963), p. 109. On the identity of the translator, see P. J. F. Louw and E. S. de Klerck, *De Java-Oorlog van 1825-1830* (6 vols; 's Hage, 1894-1909), vol. I, p. 84, n. 1.

historian P. J. F. Louw³ and the later writer S. van Praag,⁴ in their discussions of Dipanagara. Dipanagara's religious views were also considered briefly in an article by J. M. van der Kroef.⁵ 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",⁶ 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,⁷ two elements which for Dipanagara himself were not in conflict.

³ In volume I of Louw and de Klerck, *Java-Oorlog*. Louw wrote volumes I to III, de Klerck volumes IV to VI.

⁴ *Onrust op Java: De Jeugd van Dipanegara, een Historisch-Litteraire Studie* (Amsterdam, 1947).

⁵ "Prince Diponegoro: Progenitor of Indonesian Nationalism," *Far Eastern Quarterly*, vol. 8, no. 4 (August, 1949), pp. 424-450; see especially p. 430.

⁶ Van Praag, *Onrust*, pp. 122-125.

⁷ See Muhammad Yamin, *Sedjarah Peperangan Dipanegara, Pahlawan Kemerdekaan Indonesia* (Djakarta, 1952), pp. 19, 23-25; Sagimun, *Pahlawan Dipanegara Berjuang (Bara Api Kemerdekaan Nan Tak Kundjung Padam)* (Djakarta, 1965), pp. 57-59.

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 1785,⁸ the time discussed would seem to be around 1805. Immediately after this section⁹ are mentioned the Ministry (residency) of P. Engelhard (1808, 1810-11)¹⁰ 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.¹¹

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 Agëng, Dipanagara withdrew to Tëgalrëdja, a princely residence in the rice-fields northwest of the court of Jogjakarta.¹² Upon Ratu Agëng's death Dipanagara took over Tëgalrëdja 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-

⁸ Louw, *Java-Oorlog*, vol. I, p. 89, n. 1.

⁹ *Babad Dipanagaran*, vol. I, pp. 5-6.

¹⁰ See G. P. Rouffaer, "Vorstenlanden", *Adatrechtbundels*, vol. 34, pp. 264-265.

¹¹ Van Praag, *Onrust*, pp. 116-122, and Louw, *Java-Oorlog*, vol. I, pp. 88-90, both describe a section of *Sërat 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 Tjakranëgara *babad* concerning Dipanagara (*Buku Këdung Këbo*; LOR 2163), translated in T. Roorda, "Verhaal van de Oorsprong en het Begin van de Opstand van Dipã-Nëgãrã, 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. Tëgalrëdja 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 Wiwāha*, known in its Modern Javanese version as *Minta Raga*.¹³ 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 *Sĕrat 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 Hamĕngkubuwana I (1749-92). The reigning Sultan Hamĕngkubuwana II was often at odds with his son, shortly to become Sultan Hamĕngkubuwana 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

¹³ Both *Buku Kĕdĕung Kĕbo* and *Sĕrat Babad Dipanagaran* mention the text *Ardjuna Widjaja* among the books studied by Dipanagara. See van Praag, *Onrust*, p. 196, corresponding to *Sĕrat 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 Wiwāha*/*Minta Raga* texts, and it is not possible to suggest that both Dipanagara and Tjakranĕgara would give the title *Ardjuna Widjaja* as a mistake for *Ardjuna Wiwāha*. There is no specific reference in either book to *Ardjuna Wiwāha* or *Minta Raga* so far as is known to the present writer.

a decline of moral standards as well.¹⁴ 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 *garëbbëgs*, the thrice-yearly court festivals in honor of Islamic holy days.¹⁵ (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.¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ 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 Ngabdurahkim (stanza 5). This is an Arabic name and title (Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahîm), but its significance is unclear. Why

¹⁴ See Louw, *Java-Oorlog*, vol. I, p. 21 ff.; C. Poensen, "Amangkū Buwânā II. (Sépuh). Ngajogyakartā's Tweede Sultan. (Naar Aanleiding van een Javaansch Handschrift)," *BKI*, vol. 58 (1905), pp. 73-343.

¹⁵ The three *garëbbëgs* are *Garëbbëg Mulud* in celebration of the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad, *Garëbbëg Puasa* to celebrate the end of the fasting-month, and *Garëbbëg Bësar* in commemoration of Abraham's willingness to sacrifice Isaac and of the pilgrimage to Mecca. See J. Groneman, *De Garëbbëg's te Ngajogyakartā* ('s-Gravenhage, 1895); Soedjono Tirtokoesoema, *De Garebegs in het Sultanaat Jogjakarta* (Jogjakarta, 1931).

¹⁶ See Soemarsaid Moertono, *State and Statecraft in Old Java: A Study of the Later Mataram Period, 16th to 19th Century* (Ithaca, 1963), p. 61 ff.

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 *garëbbëgs*. 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.

Dipanaganara 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 *pěsantrėns* (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

Dipanaganara 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. Dipanaganara 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 *Ramėlan* (*Ramađān*) he sought out a cave, arriving at *Song Kamal*, a cave in the *Djėdjėran* district south of *Jogjakarta* midway on the road to the royal graves at *Imagiri*.²⁰ There he was

¹⁸ There is no evidence to support the cautious suggestion by M. L. van Deventer that there may have been *Wahhābi* 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-Indiė* (16 vols; 's-Gravenhage, 1862-1909), vol. XII, pp. xix-xxii. This problem will be considered in a study of the reign of Sultan *Hamėngkubuwana 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 *Tjėntini*," *BKI*, vol. 127, no. 3 (1971), pp. 348-349; and M. C. Ricklefs, "A Consideration of Three Versions of the *Babad Tanah Djawi*, 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 Dipanaganara 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 *Sėrat 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 Mērapī 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 *tjētjak* (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 Djēdjēran district, but Louw wrongly says this is in the Kalasan area, whereas it is south of Kuṭa Gēde. The reading *Sor* is retained in the text below as it appears in the Rusche edition.

²¹ 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. Mērapī and the Goddess of the Southern Ocean still exert a great influence on the lives of many living in the Mataram area. When Mt. Mērapī 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 *gamēlan*-music coming from the molten lava and that they had learned in dreams that Mt. Mērapī 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 Hamengkubuwana I and the Dutch shortly before the peaceful partition of Java in 1755 suggest that Hamengkubuwana I and his advisors understood the Pamanahan story to be a story of division and the precedent for the partition of 1755.²² 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 Hamengkubuwana I a *kris* named Kjai Kopek, said to have been the weapon of Sunan Kalidjaga. This *kris* came to be honored as one of the three *pusaka agěng* (great regalia) of the Sultanate of Jogjakarta.²³ 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.²⁴

²² 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 Hamengkubuwana 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.

²³ LOr 2191, *Babad Mangkubumi*, pp. 41-42; Jasadipura, *Babad Gijanti* (21 vols; Batavia, 1937-39), vol. XVIII, p. 13; Groneman, *Garěbėg's*, pp. 55, 59; see also the Dagregister of Nicolaas Hartingh, 26 Feb. 1755, partially cited in P. J. F. Louw, *De Derde Javaansche Successie-Oorlog (1746-1755)* ('s-Hage, 1889), p. 121, mentioning the *kris*.

²⁴ 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 *Nāgarakěrtāgama*, 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 C. C. Berg, *Herkomst, Vorm en Functie der Middelljavaanse 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 *Nāgarakěrtāgama* 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 Panĕmbahan Senapati 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 *Nāgarakērtāgama* 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 Bharāḍa tradition might have been known to the Javanese of Dipanagara's time, or indeed whether it was known to them at all. The *Nāgarakērtāgama* 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 Bharāḍa, in a place the name of which reminds one specifically of the old division story of the time of Bharāḍa.

These could not actually be the same sites, since the Bharāḍa story refers to East Java while the Kalidjaga story concerns Central Java. It is interesting, however, that the name of the temple in the Bharāḍa story is Kamal-Paṇḍak (*Nāg.* 67:3). Both Kamal and Paṇḍak are also known in Mataram. Kamal is the name of Dipanagara's cave south of Jogjakarta and Paṇḍak 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-Paṇḍak) 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 *Nāgarakērtāgama* and the name of the cave Song Kamal may perhaps be coincidence, as may the similarity between the roles of Kalidjaga and Bharāḍa. It may also be coincidence that Kalidjaga and Bharāḍa accomplish important acts concerning the unity of the realm by the rather unusual process of pouring water. Bharāḍa'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 25) 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 Bharāḍa 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.²⁵ 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.²⁶ 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)²⁷ He then departed, as he had departed from Senapati after instructing him to build the wall.²⁸ 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

²⁵ Olthof, *Babad Tanah Djawi*, text pp. 79-80, trans. pp. 82-83; Balai Pustaka, *Babad Tanah Djawi*, vol. V, pp. 36-38.

²⁶ This view will be argued in the present writer's study of the reign of Sultan Hamengkubuwana 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*, "begeleidende 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 Hamengkubuwana V, *Sĕrat 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 Běngkung. Běngkung was almost certainly the *balumbang* (pond) Běngkung 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 Běngkung, 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 riněngga ing gambar-gambar sarta kar; II: Djuměněngipun Tjungkup ing Pasarejan Kuća Gěde* (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 Těgalarum, Těgal), Amangkurat III (1703-08; buried in Ceylon), Pakubuwana II (1726-49; buried at Lawijan, Surakarta); Pakubuwana VI (1823-30; buried in Ambon), and Haměngkubuwana II (1792-1810, 1811-12, 1826-28; buried at Pasar Gěde, Jogjakarta); see Prawirawinarsa and Djajengpranata, *Babad Alit*, pp. 23-24. Agung's predecessors Senapati and Paněmbahan Seda ing Krapjak are buried at Pasar Gěde.

who presumably looked most unprincipally 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.³¹ 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 Potrabajēm) 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 Lalēmbut* (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.³² 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 "Gēnawati".³³ Another version of the *Kidung Lalēmbut* probably from later in the nineteenth century lists the spirit of Siluman as "Gēnukwatu".³⁴ In a manuscript

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

³² This version of the *Kidung Lalēmbut* forms the final canto (XV, ff. 146 r.-149 v.) of BM add MS 12289, *Sērat Sakonḍar*, a version of the Baron Sakender story. As a part of the collection of John Crawfurd, this MS can be no later than 1816 in date, when Crawfurd 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 Crawfurd 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, *Sērat Sakonḍar*, f. 148 r. (Canto XV: 13).

³⁴ LOr 4000 (2), *Kidung Lalēmbut*, published in J. Brandes, *Beschrijving der Javaansche, Balineesche en Sasaksche Handschriften aangetroffen in de Natelenschap 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 Ngěsam. He is shown the location of the medicine by the queen of the spirits, named Gěnawati.³⁵ If Dipanagara knew Siluman to be the place of the spirit Gěnawati, which is probable on the evidence of the Jogjakarta manuscript of the *Kidung Lalěmbut*, and if he understood Gěnawati 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, Kangdjěng Ratu Kidul, Goddess of the Southern Ocean. Perhaps Gěnawati 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 Mantjangan, 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* Tjěmara Tunggal) had promised Raden Susuruh, the future founder of Madjapahit, that she would serve him and all his descendants who ruled

³⁵ LOr 1798, *Asmara Supi*. A summary of the text appears in A. C. Vreede, *Catalogus van de Javaansche en Madoereesche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek* (Leiden, 1892), pp. 189-193.

south of Mt. Měrapı and north of Mantjıgan (*i.e.* in Mataram).³⁶ During Mataram times she had become the wife of Senapati, of Sultan Agung, and apparently of Sultan Haměngkubuwana I. She is believed still to advise the present Sultan of Jogjakarta, S.D.I.S. Kg. Sultan Haměngkubuwana IX.³⁷ 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.³⁸ 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 Kusuma³⁹ 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; Olthof, *Babad Tanah Djawi*, text pp. 16-17, trans. pp. 16-17; Josua van Iperen, "Begin van eene Javaansche Historie, genaamd, Sadjara Radja Djawa," *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, vol. 3 (1781), pp. 125-130.

These stories differ slightly in detail, but the identity of Tjěmara 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.

³⁷ On Senapati, see H. J. de Graaf, *De Regering van Panembahan Sėnapati Ingalaga* ('s-Gravenhage, 1954), p. 76; on Sultan Agung, see *idem*, *De Regering van Sultan Agung, Vorst van Mataram, 1613-1645, en die van zijn Voorganger Panembahan Sėda-ing-Krapjak* ('s-Gravenhage, 1958), p. 104. The evidence concerning Haměngkubuwana I will be considered in the present writer's study of his reign. On the present Sultan, see Selo Soemardjan, *Social Changes in Jogjakarta* (Ithaca, 1962), p. 18.

³⁸ Olthof, *Babad Tanah Djawi*, text p. 79, trans. p. 82; Balai Pustaka, *Babad Tanah Djawi*, vol. V, p. 36.

³⁹ See Louw, *Java-Oorlog*, vol. I, p. 93, n. 1.

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.⁴⁰ This event is referred to in Javanese history as "the fall of Jogjakarta" (*bĕdah Ngajogjakarta*),⁴¹ 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-Ḥamīd*. As with the earlier name Ngabdurahkim, the meaning of this choice is not entirely clear. But it is possible to suggest what the name may have signified. *ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd* 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.⁴² But *ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd* I's tentative pretensions to the Caliphate could easily have been reported by Javanese *hadjis* 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 *Rūm*, 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

⁴⁰ On this event, see H. D. Levyssohn Norman, *De Britsche Heerschappij over Java en Onderhoorigheden (1811-1816)* ('s-Gravenhage, 1857), pp. 70-72; M. L. van Deventer, *Het Nederlandsch Gezag over Java en Onderhoorigheden sedert 1811*, vol. I: 1811-1820 ('s-Gravenhage, 1891), pp. xv-xvii.

⁴¹ There are several MSS of the text called *Babad Bĕdah Ngajogjakarta*. See Pigeaud, *Literature*, vol. I, p. 167.

⁴² See Thomas W. Arnold, *The Caliphate* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 164-166, 173; Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age* (London, 1970), p. 106.

appears as the king who ordered the civilizing and peopling of Java.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 1813.⁴⁴ In this text the *Adji Saka* traditions are interwoven with the legends of the *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.⁴⁵

This Jogjakarta *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 (*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 (*timbang*, literally "counter-balance") of Mecca and the

⁴³ See the various MSS listed under "Rum" in the index (vol. III) of Pigeaud, *Literature*.

⁴⁴ BM add MS 12308, A note on f. 2 r., at the beginning of the MS, reads: Punika srĕrat babad, wiwit suwung ing Tanah Djawi dumugi babaripun Kandjĕng Panĕmbahan Purubaja, jasa Mangkubumen ing Ngajodjakarta Adiningrat, sinĕngkalan nir samodra 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 Hamĕngkubuwana II and an uncle to Dipanagara. Later Mangkubumi was co-regent with Dipanagara over the infant Sultan Hamĕngkubuwana 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, *Java-Oorlog*, vol. I, pp. 90, 127-128, 146-147; vol. V, p. 404.

⁴⁵ BM add MS 12308, f. 3 v., Canto I (*Dandanggula*):

10. Atmadjanja Kangdjĕng Sri Bupati/ Sjela Mahendra baĕ mĕngku rat/ anurunkĕn para Katong/ ing rat Djawi sĕdarum/ tĕkap Narpa Padjang Matawis/ mangkja Sang Narpa Putra/ ginaib Ngjang Agung/ dereng mongsa amĕngku rat/ mila kĕati Narpa Putra anru brangti/ amangun kasutapan

11. barang tapa pan wus denlampahi/ mantĕp tjipta neng Guwa Tĕrusan/ tan mongang ing lĕan tingale/ nanging Jang Sukma Luhur/ pan wus sirna ananing dasih/ sih ing Jang lir sudama/ ing surja tan djumbuh/ sapandulon lawan arka/ arka kilĕm sudama tan dadi rawi/ iku sĕmbah utama

12. katarima ing Dewa kang Luwih/ Narpa Putra wus angraga sukma/ wus andadya satjiptane/ tjiptanireng tumuwuh/ priprajangan lĕlĕmbat mjang djim/ miwah saisi ning rat/ ngawula sĕdarum/ . . .

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

capital of all the lands east of Persia.⁴⁶ 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. Mērapī 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 (Muḥammad) and the king of Java, and to submit to the authority of the queen who rules in the Southern Ocean, *i.e.* Kangdjēng 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.⁴⁷ Sultan Ngrum then sent a new expedition

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

13. / sigēḡen kang kotjapa/ Kangdjēng Sultan ing Ngrum/ Narpa amisesa ing rat/ Nalendra gung ing sabrang tan aminguni/ Radjeng Radja sadunja.

14. mangkja Gusti Allah jun midjeni/ nagri Djawa kang kinarja marga/ Sultan ing Ngrum dalu sare/ pan katurunan wahju/ nagri Djawa dadi wana writ/ kenanēmana djalma/ karsa ning Jang Agung/ nungsjeku timbang ing Mēkah/ karatone wetan Ngadjam tanah Djawi/ kilen djan tanah sabrang.

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 (Ḍaṇḍanggula):

36. sira besuk kang angēbajani/ Putri Sri Galuh Nata wanudya/ Sēgara Kidul kutane/ iku ratu lēlēmbut/ nanging mēngko misih ginaib/ nulja binagi papan/ [the places of the spirits are then listed]

37. / nging besuk jen ana djalma/ ngēndi-ēndi kang denambah djana wani/ age paḍa lungaha

38. poma-poma djana wor lan djalmi/ dene besuk ana wangēn ingwang/ Djaman Akir antarane/ dahuru bumi mingkup/ suda-longe wong kangēn mari/ wong wadon lali wirang/ wong garoh amuput/ prentah tan kēna nugēman/ wong prajaji dora akeh tjidreng djangdji/ nak lali wani bapa

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

40. Eh lēlēmbut den paḍa nastiti/ wus ginaib amēnggon sɖaja/

Cf. J. A. B. Wiselius, "Djāḡā Bāḡā, zijn Leven en Profietieën," *BKI*, 3rd series, vol. 7 (1872), pp. 185-186.

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.⁴⁸ 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 ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I, who at that time was the only Ottoman ruler actually to have claimed a universal authority similar to that ascribed by Javanese texts to Sultan Ngrum? During his rebellion, Dipanagara took titles such as *Sultan Ngabdulkamit Erutjakra Sajidin Panatagama Kalifat Rasululah Sain*, and *Sultan Ngabdulkamid Erutjakra Kabirulmukminina Kalifatul Rasululah Hamengkubuwana Senapati Ingalaga Sabilulah 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 (*Kabirulmukminina*), Caliph of the Prophet of God, Hamengkubuwana, Commander in Holy War (*Senapati Ingalaga Sabilulah*) in Java."⁴⁹ Both titles use

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 Sākā. Oude fabelachtige Geschiedenis van Java, van de Regering van Vorst Sinjoela te Galoeh tot aan de Stichting van Mādja-Pait, door Vorst Soesoeroeh* (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 Pigeaud, *Literature*, vol. I, p. 142.

⁴⁹ See Louw, *Java-Oorlog*, vol. I, p. 136; A. B. Cohen Stuart, "Eroe Tjakra", *BKI*, 3rd series, vol. 7 (1872), p. 286; T. Roorda (ed.), *Javaansch Brievenboek, 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 *aṭ-ṭānī*, "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 ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd the first, for Dipanagara may have meant to call himself Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd "the second".

Erutjakra, the name of the *Ratu Adil*, the Javanese messianic "Just King".⁵⁰ 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) *Hamengkubuwana Senapati Ingalaga*.⁵¹ But whence *Ngabdulkamit*? Dipanagara's choice of this title above all others as the first (*i.e.* as his name, as Hamengkubuwana 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 Ardjuna. The importance of Ardjuna 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.⁵² Shortly after this section of *Sĕrat Babad Dipanagaran*, Dipanagara's father the Crown Prince is indeed called *Pangeran Dipati*.⁵³ But the proper title for the Crown Prince was

⁵⁰ See Wiselius, "Djġġġ Bġġġ", pp. 212-213, n. 27; Cohen Stuart, "Eroe Tjakra", pp. 285-288.

Dr. Pigeaud has suggested that the term *Erutjakra* derives from the *Wairocana Buddha*; see his article "Erucakra-Vairocana", in *India Antiqua. A Volume of Oriental Studies, presented by his Friends and Pupils to Jean Philippe Vogel on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of his Doctorate* (Leiden, 1947), pp. 270-273.

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

⁵² Louw, *Java-Oorlog*, vol. I, p. 93; van Praag, *Onrust*, pp. 124-125.

⁵³ *Sĕrat Babad Dipanagaran*, vol. I, p. 7 (Canto I: 36):

..../ mangkana ingkang winarni/ Kangdjġġ Pangeran Dipatya/ ingkang putra dentimbali/ Pangran Dipanagari/ sampun prapta ngarsanipun/ Kangdjġġ Pangran Dipatya/

See also *ibid.*, p. 89.

Pangeran Adipati Anom. *Pangeran Adipati* was the title for the Princes Mangkunegara, the subsidiary princes of Surakarta, who also sometimes added *Arja* to their titles.⁵⁴ 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).⁵⁵

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 Mankunegara 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 Hamengkubuwana III (1810-11, 1812-14) as a result of the fall of Jogjakarta and the exile of Hamengkubuwana 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 Hamengkubuwana III's reign was to be short, as indeed it was.⁵⁶ 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.

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 Mangkunegara I (1757-95) from a document of 1790 (in *Arsip Nasional*, Djakarta, Java's Noord-Oost Kust 162, "Bijlagen 1790") gives his titles as *Kangdjeng Pangeran Adipati Hamengkunegara Senapati Ingajuda*.

⁵⁵ Rouffaer, "Vorstenlanden", p. 268.

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. Hamengkubuwana III ruled from 1810 to 1811, and again from 1812 to 1814.

Then he will depart with his army.⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁸ 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.⁵⁹ 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.⁶⁰ Today Jogjakarta literati still speak of the striking of holy *kris*-blades there. The following night Dipanagara slept at Guwa Sětjang, a cave near Kali Bědog, south of Jogjakarta near Bantul. It was later to become his main strongpoint during the Java War.⁶¹ He then arrived home at Těgalrědja 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

⁵⁷ Wiselius, "Djājā Bājā", pp. 190-191.

⁵⁸ In both BM add MS 12289, *Sěrat Sakondar*, ff. 146 v.-147 r., and LOr 4000 (2), *Kidung Lalěmbut* (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 Sakěndhěr, een Javaansch Verhaal* (Batavia, 1850), text p. 98, trans. pp. 94-95; BM add MS 12289, *Sěrat Sakondar*, f. 131 r.

In Olthof's edition of the prose *Babad Tanah Djawi*, the stone is called "sela gěgilang" 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.

⁶¹ See Louw, *Java-Oorlog*, vol. I, pp. 435-437, and plates VII and VIII.

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 temporal 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 (Bĕngkung/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 (Ngabdulkamit) 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 Statecraft*, pp. 14-26.

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 Ardjuna?

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 *Sĕrat 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

Sĕrat Babad Dipanagaran (2 vols; Soerakarta, 1917), vol. I, pp. 1-5.

TEXT⁶³

TRANSLATION

CANTO I (Sinom):

CANTO I:

1. ron kamal mongka bubuka

1. The name of the meter Sinom.

The opening:

baku ning sĕdya ngluluri
kakarangan ing Nararja
kang kontap satanah Djawi
je ka ta Sang Wirasti
Pangran Dipanagara nung
denira sampun srĕdĕa
mengĕti lakjan pribadi
wiwit kerĕmira ring reh ing agama

The main concern is to follow
the writing of the king
famous in all of Java,
indeed Sang Wirasti,⁶⁴
the excellent Pangeran Dipanagara,
in his desire
to record his own adventures,
beginning with his absorption in all the
things of religion.

2. ĕerek ejang-bujutira
Djĕng Ratu Agĕng winarni
ĕĕĕkah ing Tĕgalardja
surud ing bujut lĕstari

2. Accompanying his great-grandmother
Kangdjĕng Ratu Agĕng, it is told,
he settled in the hamlet Tĕgalrĕdja.
Upon the death of his great-grandmother
he retained

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

still Tĕgalrĕdja.
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*, *é* and *è* become *e*, *e* (*pĕpĕt*) becomes *ĕ*.

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-Sĕti (Sĕkti): "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. baja wus karsa ning Suksma
Pangeran Dipanagari
kédah mumuri kang ejang-
bujut mapan karsaneki
karēm marang agami
dadya sulaja puniku
lan kang ejang Djěng Sultan

dadya awis sowaneki
mung garēbēg punika kang mēsti
ana

4. suprandene kédah mēksa
ngalap dosa agěng iki
saking djrih datěng kang ejang

tanapi datěng sudarmi

nanging ing tyas pribadi
mung agami karēmipun
mangkana Těgalardja
langkung duk kang ejang swargi

kang ibadah tanapi katah ing
tijang

5. miwah ingkang wawangunan
sadaja apan wus salin
Kangdjěng Pangran namanira
lamun alalana iki
něnggih Seh Ngabdurahkim
kalamun aneng pradja gung
Pangran Dipanagara
dadya anama kakalih
ingkang juswa sampun kalih dasa
warsa

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 Kangdjěng Sultan
[Haměnkubuwana II]
and rare were his attendances at audience;
only at the *Garēbēgs* was he certain to be
present.

4. Nevertheless he was forced
to commit this great sin ⁶⁵
out of fear of his grandfather
[Haměnkubuwana II]
as well as of his father
[later Haměnkubuwana III].
But, in his own heart,
only in religion was he absorbed.
In Těgalrědja, 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
Kangdjěng 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.

⁶⁵ See note 17 above.

6. namung pëkir karëmanja

wau ingkang denlampahi
mangkana tjiptaning drija
ing sijang kalawan ratri
sapira neng dunjeki

dadya karëm ing tyasipun
marang Purba Ning Suksma
nanging sipat ngaral maksih
asring kenging ginoda datëng
wanodya

7. jen kala engët tyasira
marang wëkasan dumadi
nulja kesah alalana
andjadjah sagung ing masdjid
apan nunggal lan santri
kang katah-katah puniku
langkung amati raga
angagëm kang sarwa gaib
marmanira awis kang djanma
uninga

8. lamun iku kadëngangan
dumatëng guru ning santri

Seh Durahkim nulja kesah
namung kang denkarëmëni
tunggal lan santri alit

lan kang samja nistānipun

lamun neng pamondokan
marmanipun ngalih-ngalih
jen wus bosën pasantren 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 Ngabdurahkim 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,

trēkaḍang urut pasisir
 kalamun wulan Ramēlan
 ngudjalat guwa kang sēpi
 mangkana kang winarni
 aneng Sor Kamal panudju
 Seh Durahkim punika
 lēnggah neng djro guwa sēpi
 lingsir dalu tjoba ning Hjang
 nulja prapta

10. kalangkung awarna-warna
 tjoba ingkang anḍatēngi
 Seh Ngabdurahkim samana
 wus tan darbe tingal kalih
 namung marang Hjang Widḍi
 tjoba wus musna sadarum
 nulja ana kang prapta
 djumēnēng ngarsanireki
 djanma prija tjahjanja sawang
 purnama

11. awasta Hjang Djatimulja
 sajēktinja Sunan Kali
 Seh Ngabdurahkim samana
 tjēnggēng denira ningali
 nulja ngandika aris

eh Ngabdurahkim sireku
 wus pinastī Hjang Suksma
 lamun sira iku bendjing
 dadi Ratu Ngerang-erang nuli
 musna

sometimes following along the coast.
 In the month Ramēlan
 he feverishly sought out [?] a lonely cave.
 Now, it is told,
 just in Song Kamal ⁶⁶
 was Seh Ngabdurahkim,
 sitting within the lonely cave.
 After midnight, trials there came from
 God.

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).
 All the trials had disappeared
 when there arrived,
 standing before him,
 a man who shone like the full moon,

11. named Hjang Djatimulja, ⁶⁷
 in reality Sunan Kali (djaga).
 Seh Ngabdurahkim then
 stared, full of amazement.
 Thereupon (Hjang Djatimulja) spoke
 sweetly,
 "Heh, you, Ngabdurahkim,
 it has been determined by God
 that in the future you
 shall become King (*Ratu Ngerang-
 erang*)."⁶⁸ Then he disappeared.

⁶⁶ See note 20 above.

⁶⁷ "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.

⁶⁸ See note 27 above.

12. samusnanja Sang Pandita

pungun-pungun Ngabdurahkim
kalangkung gëgëtunira
dene tan ngantos ngabëkti

endjing nulja lumaris
lampahnja andjudjur gunung
tan ngetang pringga baja
sarira wus tan katolih
kang kaesti amung sihira Hjang
Suksma

13. nusup-nusup lampahira
muḍun djurang munggh ngardi
tan ana ingkang sinëdya
langkung wujung ing tyasneki
lamun sajah lumaris
sare sagen-ënggenipun
samana sampun prapta
ing Bëngkung Seh Ngabdurahkim
ladjeng kendël ngantos angsal
pitung dina

14. Seh Ngabdurahkim was tēḍak
dumatëng masjid Magiri
pan arsa salat Djumungah
apanudju samja prapti
sagung kang djuru kuntji
pan arsa salat sadarum
kagjat samja tumingal
tanpa ngling mring Gustineki
pan kumrubut samja tur salam
sadaja

15. sabakdanira Djumungah
sagung ingkang djuru kuntji
apan samja ladjeng kurmat
ing sagaḍah-ḡaḡahneki

12. After the departure of the Holy
Teacher,

troubled was Ngabdurahkim,
exceeding his amazement,
such that he neglected to pay honor (to
Hjang Djabatulja).

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.

dadya njare sawēngi
 neng masjid Djimatan iku
 endjing anulja pangkat
 Seh Ngabdurahkim lumaris
 turut lepen ika ladjēng mungguh
 ngarga

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.

16. prapta ing Guwa Siluman
 ladjēng anjare sawēngi
 endjingnja nulja lumampah
 nut irah-irah [arah-arah?] ing
 ardi
 samana sampun prapti
 Seh Ngabdurahkim puniku
 Guwa Sagala-gala
 anulja dipunlēbēti
 kalih dalu njare neng Sagala-gala

16. He arrived at the cave Siluman
 and slept one night,
 in the morning then setting off,
 following the range [?] of the mountains.

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

17. endjing anulja lumampah
 ladjēng andēdēr kang wukir
 Guwa Langse kang sinēdja
 dirgama wus tan kaesti
 samana sampun prapti
 Guwa Langse lampahipun
 Seh Ngabdurahkim nulja
 nengriku amati ragi
 awatara neng guwa satēngah
 tjondra

17. In the morning he set off
 going right up the mountains,
 Guwa Langse his goal.
 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,

18. ngēningakēn ingkang tjipta
 wus sirna sagung kaeksi

Seh Ngabdurahkim samana
 mung kantun rumēkseng urip

urip rumēkseng ċiri
 ċiri wangsul urip sampun
 kang urip kaja-kaja
 sampun tan kēna winarni

18. 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 life,
 a life which, it seems,
 cannot be described.

kawarnaha ingkang ngaḍaton
samodra

19. Djěng Ratu Kidul was prapta
neng ngarsa Seh Ngabdurahkim
mapan paḍang djro ning guwa
ninging Djěng Ratu wus udani
lamun Seh Ngabdurahkim
lagi suwung tjiptanipun
datan kenging ginoda
dadya umatur ubanggi
lamun bendjing tēkeng mongsa
bade prapta

20. nanging Seh Ngabdurahkim
mijarsa datan ningali
Ratu Kidul sampun musna
mangkana Seh Ngabdurahkim
wus utjul tingalneki
mantuk bongsarijahipun
endjing nulja tumēḍak
ḍumatěng Parang Taritis
ladjěng siram anjare Parang
Kusuma

21. pitēkur sesenden sela
lajap-lajap duk mijarsi
suwara mapan mangkana
eh hja ta Seh Ngabdurahkim
ngaliha araneke
Ngabdulkamit ta sireku
lan maneh ingsun warah
kurang tělung taun iki
ing bubahe ija nagara Ngajogja

22. apan wus karsa ning Suksma
wiwit bubrah Tanah Djawi
ija iku tělung warsa
lamun sira iku bendjing

Tell now of she who rules in the sea:

19. Kangdjěng Ratu Kidul arrived
before Seh Ngabdurahkim,
and it grew bright within the cave.
But Kangdjěng 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,

22. "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,

apan ija pinasṭi
dadi lalakon ing besuk

it is indeed determined
(that you shall) carry this out in the
future.

ingsun aweh pratondha
marang sira Ngabdurahkim
panah Sarotama iki siranggowa

I give a sign
to you, Ngabdurahkim:
use this arrow Sarotama.

23. lan maneh wēwēkas ingwang
lawan sira Ngabdulkamit
lah poma sira denjitna
lamun luput iku bendjing
ramanira tan dadi
ananging ta wēkas ingsun
Ngabdulkamit mring sira
jwa gēlēm sira kinardi
ja Pangeran Dipati marang
Walonda

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,

24. mapan wus pasti duraka
nanging ta ramanireki
Ngabdulkamit djaganana
ēnggone djumēnēng Adji
tan ana malih-malih
mung sira sarananipun
mapan iku tan dawa
namung kinarja luluri
Ngabdulkamit wus poma sira
muliha

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. bjar wungu padang tingalnja
tan ana djanma kang angling
ladjēng tumēngeng gagana
wontēn tjumlorot lir taṭit
tiba ngarsanireki
tumantjēb ing sela iku
nēnggih Ki Sarotama
sigra pinundut tumuli
bjar rahina Seh Ngabdulkamit
lumampah

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. kinandut Ki Sarotama

pan ladjëng urut gigisik
 kendël ana ing Sawangan
 sakëdap nulja lumaris
 prapta Lipura iki
 ing Sela Gilang puniku
 njare sadulu nulja
 endjing pan ladjëng lumaris
 prapteng Guwa Sëtjang kendël
 Djëng Pangeran

27. anjare sadalu ika
 endjing pan ladjëng lumaris
 kondur marang Tëgalardja
 samana pan sampun prapti
 ladjëng denbusanani
 Ki Sarotama puniku
 rineka tjundrik ika

....

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.

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