DIPANAGARA (1787?-1855)

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Dipanagara is too well known to students of Indonesian history to need introduction. Yet in spite of the amount of attention he has received, a certain cloud of ambiguity seems to hang about the man and his motives. Thus, de Klerck, who completed Louw's work *De Java-oorlog* has written: "Dipa Negara had counted upon his accession. He was therefore bitterly disappointed, and as disappointment is often synonymous with shame in the minds of natives, it sometimes leads to despair and even to crime. This was to be the case with Dipa Negara. . . ." Elsewhere, however, de Klerck has claimed: "There is not a stitch of evidence to prove his dissatisfaction with the course of events, nor did he make any appeal to the Government. He seemed to have a real preference for a life of retirement, in which he could devote himself to meditation." This inconsistency is perhaps an extreme example, but it does illustrate well the lack of any definitive interpretation of this period and its personalities. But answering the unresolved questions will be a formidable task in view of the enormous amount of material to be examined. The quantity of Dutch-language material is evident from Louw's magnum opus, and the number of Javanese works dealing with the events of the period can be seen in Pigeaud's *Literature of Java*. Louw does use both Javanese and Dutch material, but a more detailed comparison of the differences between the main Javanese accounts would certainly be interesting.

The two best-known Javanese accounts of the period are the so-called *Buku Ke dung Kebo*, written by the Regent of Purwaredja, Tjakranagara, who fought on the side of the Dutch government against Dipanagara in the Java War, and Dipanagara's own account, written in Menado (Minahassa) during his exile. Louw uses this autobiographical *Babad Dipanagara*, sections of which he translates in their entirety, with other passages paraphrased and parts he regards as unimportant omitted. He also makes occasional references to the *Buku Ke dung Kedo* (which he refers to as the *Babad Tjakranagara*).

3. Ibid., p. 157.
The extract translated here is from the autobiographical Babad Dipanagara, for which I have used a text printed (in the Javanese script) by Albert Rusche of Surakarta in 1917.\(^7\) It is obviously very close to the text paraphrased by Louw, and I have found his work very useful. Most of the differences between these texts are minor but some are significant: for example, in Louw's text Dipanagara's father is shown to favor the succession of his younger son, while in the printed text this preference is not clear.\(^8\)

Probably the greatest difficulty in understanding the events described in this extract is that our interpretation of Dipanagara's motives and reactions is dependent upon the interpretation of a series of prior events, which in turn hinges upon some rather disputable factors—sometimes upon text readings, and sometimes upon the implications which may be read into the text. For example, Louw sees in Dipanagara's description of the conflict between his father and his grandfather indications that Dipanagara himself was attempting to manipulate the course of events to ensure his own succession. However, not everyone would agree with this interpretation, and Louw's rationalization of Dipanagara's attitude at successive stages,\(^9\) based on considerations of Javanese adat, is not entirely convincing. Nor is it only the Javanese sources which present difficulties. One of the most important factors in assessing Dipanagara's motives is the promise said to have been made to him by Raffles, and this remains problematic because of the lack of concrete evidence.\(^10\)

A brief résumé of the main events of Dipanagara's life before the events described in the extract may be useful. In about 1787, the grandson of the first Sultan of Jogjakarta, Amangkubuwana I (Sultan Swargi) had a son by a wife of lower rank. This son, Dipanagara, was largely brought up under the care of his great-grandmother, the Sultan's wife, who bore the title Ratu Ageng. When his grandfather, Amangkubuwana II (Sultan Sepuh), succeeded to the throne in 1792, the Ratu Ageng and Dipanagara lived at Tegalredja, northwest of Jogjakarta in the Magelang region. Here, under the Ratu Ageng's guidance Dipanagara first became seriously concerned with religion, a concern which was to remain with him and acquire a mystical character. In 1810, Amangkubuwana II incurred the disfavor of Daendels (Governor-General of Java, 1808-1811) to such an extent that he was deposed in favor of his son, Amangkubuwana III (Kangdjeng Radja), Dipanagara's father. When, however, the Dutch government lost Java to the English, Amangkubuwana II took the opportunity to resume the reins of government, and in fact went so far as to have his Patih, Danuredja (II), put to death for having countenanced this deposition. Dipanagara's father remained heir-apparent, but Amangkubuwana II hoped to replace him in this position by a more favored son, Mangkudiningrat. This gives some indication of the atmosphere of Jogjakarta at the time of Raffles' arrival on December 27, 1811. Raffles accepted Amangkubuwana II's resumption

\(^7\) It was apparently first printed in 1909. [Ibid.], II, p. 392.

\(^8\) Cf. Louw, De Java-oorlog, I, p. 103 and Babad Diponagoro, (Surakarta: Albert Rusche, 1917), I, p. 27.


\(^10\) See footnote 52 of the translated text.
of the throne, and a treaty was concluded between Jogjakarta and the
British government. The treaty, however, was soon broken, and in
June 1812 General Gillespie marched on the kraton. Amangkubuwana II
was deposed for the second time and exiled to Penang. Dipanagara's
father was restored.

In November 1814, Amangkubuwana III died. He was succeeded not
by his elder son, Dipanagara, but by the thirteen year-old Mas Ambjah,
whose mother was the Sultan's queen. He became Sultan Amangkubuwana IV
(Sultan Djarot). This succession was in accordance with established
custom: in the Babad, Dipanagara says that the English (specifically
"Djan Kerapet," that is, the Resident of Jogjakarta, John Crawfurd)
had offered to make him heir-apparent when they restored his father,
but that he refused on account of Mas Ambjah's stronger claim. However, there is enough evidence to suggest that Dipanagara had been
promised the throne if his brother died while still a minor or after
having conducted himself improperly.

Amangkubuwana IV did in fact die while still a minor in 1822; however, he was succeeded not by Dipanagara but by his three year-
old son, under a Regency council, of which Dipanagara was a member.
The explanation usually given for this succession is that the restored
Dutch government was ignorant of any promise made during the British
interregnum, as well they might have been, since both Dipanagara and
a Dutch contemporary assert that the relevant document was burnt by
those whose interests ran counter to his. It appears, however, that
Dipanagara, himself, could have made no effort to inform the Dutch of
this promise.

Three years later Dipanagara broke completely with the government
of Jogjakarta and the Java War began.

The Text

The following extract consists of a short piece on his youthful
religious life (pp. 1-5 of the printed text) and a much longer section
covering the period from the accession to the throne of Amangkubuwana IV
up until the opening scene of the war (pp. 79-112 of the printed text).
The intervening passage, though interesting, has been omitted because
of its length. It describes the following events:

the arrival of Daendels at Jogjakarta (p. 6);
the revolt of Radèn Rangga Prawiradirdja of Madiun (to p. 10);
Daendels' replacement of Amangkubuwana II (Sultan Sepuh) by
by his son (Kangdjeng Radja) (p. 11);
the arrival of Raffles and defeat of the Dutch under Janssens
(p. 12);
the execution of the Patih, Danuredja (II), on the orders of
Sultan Sepuh (p. 13);
the abdication of Kangdjeng Radja, on the advice of his son
Dipanagara, in favor of Sultan Sepuh (pp. 19-22);
further moves against Dipanagara's father (p. 24);
negotiations with the English Resident, John Crawfurd, on his
behalf (p. 28);

Raffles' arrival at Jogjakarta (p. 29);
Sultan Sepuh's decision to seek an alliance with Surakarta against the English (p. 32);
Raffles' decision to depose Sepuh and replace him by Kangdjeng Radja (p. 37);
Dipanagara's refusal to become his father's heir-apparent, on account of the prior claim of his younger half-brother, Mas Ambjah (p. 38);
the signing of the agreements with Raffles (pp. 41-42);
the English attack on the kraton (pp. 43-49);
the installation of Kangdjeng Radja as Sultan, with Mas Ambjah as Crown Prince (p. 53);
the marriage of Dipanagara, which took place five years after the above events and forms rather a nice vignette (pp. 63-75);
the death of the Sultan, leaving Dipanagara to care for Mas Ambjah, who is to succeed (pp. 76-77);
the circumcision and marriage of the young Sultan (Amangkubuwana IV), the account of the former presenting an interesting sidelight on the Resident's life at Jogjakarta (p. 79).

Note on the Translation

I have tried to present a translation as close as possible to the original and have generally followed the Javanese original line for line. I have noted any places where the order of the lines has been altered. Amplifications necessary for the sense appear in square brackets, and I apologize for the plethora of these; poetry, and especially poetry where the metric requirements concerning the number of syllables per line are strictly observed, is rarely as explicit as prose. Footnotes, especially in the numbers found here, impose something of a burden on the attention of the reader. Nevertheless, he is asked to refer to them, since otherwise the text can be hard to follow; for instance, the title Ratu Ageng was borne by three different women during the period covered by the extract. The Javanese original is written in the third person, which quite commonly replaces the first person in tembang verse, and I have retained this in the translation.

THE TEXT IN TRANSLATION

p. 1 Let the meter of this first part be Sinom,¹ serving our purpose of honoring the work written by the Noblest of Men, famed throughout the land of Java, that is the exalted Prince Dipanagara, now departed,

¹. This work is written in tembang matjapat, and Sinom is one of its meters. It is considered appropriate for describing scenes of youth because of its association with nom (young).
recording his own story,
beginning from the time when he began to give himself up to
the practice of religion.

We tell of his great-grandmother,
the Ratu Ageng.
She lived at Tegalredja\(^2\)
and after the death of his great-grandfather\(^3\)
she remained at that place.
The Prince grew ever more devoted
to matters of religion,
and it was his wish to protect
all his servants and followers, so that their hearts might be
at ease.

It seems it was the will of God
that Prince Dipanagara
desired only to join
his great-grandmother
in devotion to religion,
and so he came to be at variance
with his grandfather, the Sultan,\(^4\)
and seldom visited the capital,
except at the Garebeg\(^5\) celebrations, when his presence was
required.

Even though he was forced
to incur such a great sin\(^6\)
out of fear of this grandfather
and of his father,\(^7\)
yet in his own heart
he thought only of his religion.
Now at Tegalredja,
during the reign of his grandfather,
there were many who strictly observed the commandments of
their religion\(^8\).

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2. The text has "Tegalardja" throughout, but I have used the more com-
mon orthography.

3. Sultan Amangkubuwana I (Sultan Swargi), the first Sultan of
Jogjakarta.

4. Sultan Amangkubuwana II, usually called Sultan Sepuh.

5. There are three Garebeg celebrations: the Garebeg Mulud, on the
twelfth day of the third lunar, commemorating Mohammad's birth and
death; the Garebeg on the tenth day of Sawal, celebrating the end
of the fast and sometimes called Lebaran Puwasa; and the Garebeg of
the tenth day of the twelfth month (that is, the month of the
pilgrimage).

6. Attendance at the Garebeg celebrations would not, of course, itself
be a sin; presumably the reference is to the accompanying festiv-
ities and their taint of worldliness.

7. His father was the son of Sultan Sepuh and was the Crown Prince.

8. The text reads ibadah (to be strict in the performance of one's
religious obligations, in particular of the commandment to
perform five daily prayers).
and many who performed asceticism.
The Prince
changed his name when he journeyed through the countryside,
calling himself Sheik Ngabdurahkim. At the capital
he was "Prince Dipanagara," so he had two names.
At that time he had reached his twentieth year.

His only pleasure
was in leading the life of a fakir,
and he was constantly mindful,
both day and night,
of how little time we have in this world,
and so his heart served the First of Souls.
But his human character was an impediment,
and he was often tempted by women.

Whenever he was mindful
of the purpose of our creation
he would journey through the countryside visiting the mosques.
There he would be one with the multitude of the santri,
and lead a life of great asceticism.
He went in disguise, so that it was seldom that anyone knew him.

If he was recognized by the teacher of the santri
Sheik Ngabdurahkim would leave, for he desired only
to be one of the ordinary santri, one of the poor and lowly
at the mosque schools, and so he went from one to another.
When he did not want to be at the mosque schools he would go to the jungles,
to the mountains and ravines, cliffs and caves, or sometimes follow the coastline.
During the fast month he would sit in a deserted cave.
Now we tell that it was beneath a tamarind tree, where Sheik Ngabdurahkim was sitting in a lonely cave.
When midnight had passed God sent him a trial.

9. The two lines are reversed in the translation.
10. The Javanese form of the Arabic Abdu'l-Rahîm.
11. The text reads purbaning Suksma (that is, God).
Apparitions in a multitude of shapes
came to try him.
Now Sheik Ngabdurahkim
was not distracted from his concentration
and his inner gaze was still upon the All-Disposer.
The apparitions disappeared
and then came
someone who stood before him,
a man with a radiance like that of the full moon.

His name was Hjang Dja'timulja,\(^{12}\)
and he was Sunan Kali\(^{13}\) in reality.
Sheik Ngabdurahkim looked at him in amazement.\(^{14}\)
He said quietly:
"Oh Ngabdurahkim,
God has determined
that in time to come
you will be a king." He gave this warning and disappeared
from sight.

After the disappearance of the revered Pandita
Ngabdurahkim was left uneasy
and exceedingly amazed,
so that he did not continue with his devotions,
leaving that place in the morning.
He went straight to the mountains,
thinking nothing of the dangers around him.
He had no concern for his physical body
thinking only of God's love.

He went deep into the jungle,
climbed mountains and descended into ravines.
He journeyed to no destination,
being exceedingly perplexed of heart.
When he had travelled far,
he slept wherever he might be.
He arrived at Bengkung,\(^{15}\)
Sheik Ngabdurahkim,
and stopped there for seven days.

Sheik Ngabdurahkim went down
to the mosque at Imagiri,\(^{16}\)
wishing to join in the Friday prayer.
He happened to arrive at the same time

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12. Louw refers to him as Hjang Djatisukma.

13. Sunan Kali-Djaga, one of the wali of Java, and associated
    with the founding of the realm of Mataram.

14. Two lines condensed into one.

15. Bengkung may be a place name, but it is not to be found in Ch.
    F. H. Dumont, Aardrijkskundig Woordenboek van Nederlandsch Oost-
    Indië (Rotterdam: Nijgh & Van Ditmar's, 1917). Louw's text has:
    "He arrived at a cave..."

16. The place of the royal burial ground, in the mountains south of
    Jogjakarta.
as the *djuru kuntjì*,\(^1^7\)
who were all coming to the prayer.
They were startled to see
their lord, and were rendered speechless.
Then they crowded around him and made their greetings.

After the Friday prayer
all the *djuru kuntjì*
paid honor to him by making offerings
of whatever they were able to give.
He slept one night
in the Djimatan mosque
and in the morning he left.
Sheik Ngabdurahkim set out
following the river and then went up into the mountains.

He came to a cave, a place of spirits,
and slept there for one night.
In the morning he set out
following the interior of the mountain.
Then he arrived,
Sheik Ngabdurahkim,
at a cave called Sagala-gala.
He went inside,
and slept two nights there.

On the next morning he set out
up the steep mountain,
intending to go to a cave called Langsê,
heedless of difficulties before him.
He travelled until he reached
the cave called Langsê,
and there Sheik Ngabdurahkim
stayed to perform asceticism.
He was in the cave for about half a month,
seeking after enlightenment.
The visible world vanished from his sight:
Sheik Ngabdurahkim
only took care for the Life\(^1^8\) [within him],
and the Life took care for him.
He had returned to the Life
which is such
that it cannot be described.
Let us tell of her whose palace was beneath the sea:

Ratu Kidul\(^1^9\) appeared
before Sheik Ngabdurahkim.
All was light and clear in the cave,

\(^{17}\) A retainer in charge of the upkeep of royal or holy graves.

\(^{18}\) The text reads *kang urip*, probably the Javanese equivalent of the Arabic *al-Hayy* (the Living One), one of the attributes of God.

\(^{19}\) Usually called Njai Rara (Loro) Kidul, the queen of the south sea. In the Babad Tanah Djawi she is said to have entered into a sort of union with Senapati and also with Sultan Agung. See W. Olthof, ed., *Poenika Serat Babad Tanah Djawi, Wiwit saking Nabi Adam doemoegi ing Taoen 1647* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1941), p. 78.
that Sheik Ngabdurahkim
was as one dead to the world,
and could not be tempted.
So she spoke to give a promise
that she would return in the future when the time came.

Sheik Ngabdurahkim
heard what she said, though he saw nothing;
then she disappeared.
Now Sheik Ngabdurahkim
released his inner gaze
which returned to the light.\(^{20}\)
In the morning he went down
to Parangtaritis.
Then he bathed in the sea and slept at Parangkusuma.\(^{21}\)

He was sunk in meditation, leaning against a stone,
half dozing, when he heard
a voice which spoke thus:
"O Sheik Ngabdurahkim,
change your name.
You are now Ngabdulkamit.\(^{22}\)
Further, I say,
in three years will come a time
of great disturbances in Jogjakarta

It is the will of God
that the beginning of the disturbances in the land of Java
will be in three years.
And it is determined that you\(^{23}\)
will play the chief part.
I give this sign
to you, Ngabdurahkim,
it is the arrow Sarotama.\(^{24}\) Wear it.

And again I say
to you, Ngabdulkamit,
take care:
for if in future you fail,
your father will not succeed [to the throne].
But I tell you,
Ngabdulkamit,
you must refuse to be made
the heir-apparent by the Dutch,\(^{25}\)

20. The text reads Bongsa rijahipun, possibly from the Arabic diya.
21. According to Louw (De Java-oorlog, I, p. 93) Parangtaritis and
Parangkusuma are situated close together, to the south of Mantjingan.
22. From the Arabic 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd.
23. Two lines condensed into one.
24. From the Sanskrit carottama (best of arrows). According to J.F.C.
Gericke and T. Roorda, Javaansch-Nederlandsch handwoordenboek,
2 vols. (Amsterdam: J. Müller, 1901) this is the name of an arrow
of Ardjuna.
25. This term is misleading; the author means Europeans in general, and
in this case it is the English who are involved.
for God has determined that this would be a sin. But as for your father, Ngabdulkamit, watch over his succession to the throne, for there is nothing else which can be a means to this but you only. He will not reign for long, but will be the ancestor [of Sultans]. Ngabdulkamit, you must return home.

Ngabdulkamit woke with a start. He looked around but all was clear, there was no one speaking to him. Then, high up in the clouds, something flashed like lightning, and fell in front of him. It was Ki Sarotama. When it had found its mark in the stone, he took it up at once. Day broke, and Sheik Ngabdulkamit set out, carrying Ki Sarotama in his girdle. He followed the water meadows, and stopped at the river mouth for a little while, before setting out again. He came to Lipura and on a shining stone he slept overnight. In the morning he set out again until he reached the Setjang cave. Here the Prince stopped, and slept the night. In the morning he continued his journey, back to Tegalredja. When he arrived there, he dressed. Ki Sarotama he made into a dagger. Now the subject of the story changes: in Jogjakarta there was much talk.

[The reign of Sultan Amangkubuwana IV, Dipanagara's younger half-brother. The meter is Kinanti.]

p. 79 It was the will of God that the Sultan should be exceedingly sinful, though when his elder brother was present he feared his anger. The English were replaced by the Dutch: the [new] Resident's name was Néis [Nahuys].

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27. Dumont, Aardrijkskundig Woordenboek, lists three places with this name: one near Kuṭaradja, one near Purwaredja, and one near Tjangkrep (all in Keđu).
His pleasure was in eating and drinking and making merry in the Dutch fashion. All the Sultan's relatives of the younger generation followed his example, heedless of the prohibitions of their religion.

Then "Collectors" were appointed, but without the knowledge of Prince Dipanagara. As for their maintenance, they got money from all the subjects of the realm.

The Collectors' job was to help the Patih. The matter had been discussed with Nahuys, who had given his approval and asked that it be authorized with the Sultan's own seal.

This was given. Now we tell that all the Sultan's relatives of mature years, and all the Dipati of the realm of Jogjakarta, were perturbed, and having discussed the matter, informed Prince Dipanagara. The Prince was greatly surprised, and set out for Jogjakarta. He arrived at the kraton where he met the Sultan's mother. The Prince asked politely:

"About this matter, how is it that I have not been told? 28 It will be a vexation to all the people."

The Ratu Ibu said sweetly: 29 "I did not know that. When the matter was discussed, I asked and was told that you had already been informed."

The Prince asked politely:

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28. Two lines condensed into one.

29. It should be noted that words like aris (gently) and arum (sweetly) are frequently used to fill the requirements of the meter and have little semantic force.
"Where is the Sultan?"

The Ratu Ibu said:
"He is in the bangsal panggung." 30

The Prince then went to find him.
When he came upon the Sultan,
the Prince said politely:

"Sultan, the reason I have come
is to ask you31 about something.
I have heard
that you have appointed Collectors.
What is this?"
The Sultan said softly:

"It was on the advice of Danuredja32
and Wiranagara,
as there are too few envoys.
As for their task,
it is to collect all the moneys
from the panjumpleng33 tax.

I asked them both
if they had informed you,34
and they said that you had already agreed."
The Prince said:
"That is certainly an absolute falsehood.

Sultan, in case you don't know,
in my opinion
this is a piece of absolute villainy
which will certainly lead
to trouble
in the future

for the common people.
And what is the salary
of the Collectors, and how many of them are there?
And for their daily meetings
what buildings do they use?"
The Sovereign said politely:

30. A tower of some sort. According to Louw (De Java-oorlog, I, p. 122) it was one of the watchtowers of the kraton, although he was unable to discover if there had ever been such a tower at Jogjakarta.

31. The word used is sira. This is significant because this would be the word used by a ruler to his subject, and not vice versa, which cast some light on the nature of the relationship between the two brothers.

32. Danuredja [III], the Patih.

33. A tax levied either per djung (measure of land) or per door (of house).

34. Two lines condensed into one. Here the word used for "you" is paduka, so that the Sultan addresses his elder half-brother as if the latter were a reigning monarch.
"Their salary comes directly from the tax moneys, and each of them receives sixty [guilders]. The headmen receive one hundred and fifty. In number they are forty, plus two more. Those two are the headmen. They gather at Danuredja's residence and when the messengers have all gone out, they take over their duties.

At the appointed times, it is their duty to go out to the villages and collect the panjumpleng tax."

The Prince said politely with a smile:
"What I said was no lie! Now another thing, Sultan. If they don't quite ruin the country, I shall thank the gunung."

In the time of our late father I asked that all the gunung should be dismissed, on account of the burden they are to the common people. I proposed to substitute the corvee services and the money from the tolls in all the ports. I think this should be more than enough so that there will be no shortage of resources.

As for the government of the villages [I asked] that it should return to the arrangements existing in the reign of our great-grandfather. Our revered father agreed to this, but fixed a future time for its implementation, that is, after one year had elapsed. This was to fill [the state coffers] since the finances were quite depleted. Before the time had elapsed, our revered father passed away.

And now you actually intend to increase the burden on the villagers. What are you about?"

The Sultan said politely:
"It has already been done. My seal is on the letter which will give the instructions to the villages."

35. A sort of police official with some judiciary powers (for levying fines, etc.).

36. Sultan Amangkubuwana I.

37. Two lines condensed into one.
"Well, Sultan, you ask for it back
if it has not yet gone out.
Summon Wiranagara."
The Sultan immediately
sent his summons,
and Wiranagara arrived before him.
The Sultan said:
"Major, what is this,
you said before that you had already informed
my beloved elder brother, and that he had consented.
Now I incur his anger!"
Wiranagara bowed his head,
unable to find words.
Then [the Sultan] spoke again:
"Now I want the letter back
and the Collectors will not be appointed."
Wiranagara said:
"I am afraid that the letter has already gone through
and there is the Resident..."
The Sultan was embarrassed
and remained silent.
The Prince became angry
and said to his younger brother:
"Enough, Sultan, you must choose between me,
one man alone,
and these two. What is your choice?
If you choose these two
let the letter go out.
If you choose me,
ask for it back.
As for your Resident,
if he is angry,
have no part in it.
If you choose these two
I don't say that I am better,
but I will have nothing to do with it.
Wiranagara said:
"How can it be withdrawn?
The command has already been given,
and according to the book called
Nasihat ul-Muluk once the king has spoken
it cannot be rescinded."
The Prince listened
to Wiranagara's submission

38. Wiranagara bore the hybrid title of Radèn Major. He is also sometimes referred to as Tumenggung, a Javanese title with military connotations.

and his wrath was aroused.
He pulled both his ears,
and kicked him, shouting:
"Well, Mukidin!"  
You want to give us a lesson.
You are hiding behind your Book,
and you know better than anyone--
the rest of us know nothing,
and you are the only judge of good and evil!"

The Prince [now] spoke
to the Sultan: "I want to know the truth.
You tell me
who thought of this.
If it were you, yourself,
that would be according to the Tables of Destiny;  
if it were on the advice of someone else,
thен it can certainly be changed,
and as devil's work I will not allow it."

The Sultan said quietly:
"It originated with two people,
Danuredja and Wiranagara.
I asked them,
and they said
that they had already informed you.
So I believed them,
and gave my permission."
Tumenggung Wiranagara bowed his head.

The Prince said:
"It is quite clear
that this is the invention of a devil.
What was said about the Book is so much idle talk."
The Sultan said softly:
"Now tell again,
Major, to my beloved elder brother--
if you still dare--
the matter of this Book. I would like to hear you!"

Major Wiranagara
could find nothing to say.
The Sultan spoke:
"It is decided that I shall ask [for the letter] back,
and the Collectors will be dismissed.
You may leave."
Major Wiranagara
withdrew from the chamber with a sembah.

p. 83 The Sultan said to his elder brother:

40. According to Louw (De Java-oorlog, I, p. 123) this was Wiranagara's
name as a child.

41. Lokilmahpul, from the Arabic Lawh Mahfuẓ, the table on which
everything is written as it is predetermined to happen.

42. To make a sembah is to place the palms of the hands together and
hold them before one's face with the thumbs at the level of the
nose, while bowing forwards. This is done to signify great respect
for the person concerned.
"Let us retire, dear brother, and take our meal in the kraton."
They went together, and sat down inside the yellow building.
The Ratu Ibu joined them, together with Ratu Kantjana. Then they asked that the meal be brought, and Njai Rija served them.
The Ratu Ibu asked sweetly:

"What has happened, Sultan, in the matter of the Collectors?"
The Sultan said: "It is now settled that we will not continue with it."
The Ratu smiled, and said: "Sultan, I tell you the truth: the one who reigns in Jogjakarta is really your elder brother Prince Dipanagara.

Indeed, Sultan, this was settled by your father quite some time ago, when he was still the heir-apparent. He said to me: 'Raden Aju, I tell you, don't hold high hopes for your son, for my heart is set upon his elder brother.' And I said that I would follow his wishes."

The Sultan seemed embarrassed, for there were other people present to hear this. He said: "There is no need to tell me this. I already know it, for my revered father gave the same message to me, indeed." The Prince smiled and said gently: "Ratu Ibu, you are like a child, with a secret to tell, so that everyone knows it."
Ratu Kantjana smiled. When they had finished the meal, they took their leave. The Prince retired to Tegalredja. After some considerable time has passed the Ratu Ageng fell seriously ill.

43. The Ratu Ibu was, as seen above, the Sultan's mother. Ratu Kantjana was his wife.

44. This title was born at this time by the mother of Amangkubuwana III, that is, by Dipanagara's grandmother.
This happened in the fast month, when all the sons and grandsons of the royal family were holding their watch at the kraton, together with the ulama. The Penghulu asked [the Ratu Ageng] to break her fast, but she refused to do so. It seemed as if she had decided that when bakda came she would find her rest.

The Sultan said to his elder brother: "What shall we do tomorrow about the Garebeg procession?"

The prince said gently: "Do not change the arrangements I myself, together with Ratu Bendara and Ratu Angger will keep watch over grandmother. You all go in the Garebeg procession.

Mangkubumi, you make audience in the morning."

The Sultan said gently: "But if it happens that I am not present . . . ?"

The Prince said: "God knows of the future, but it seems to me, that our grandmother is waiting until all her sons and grandsons are present."

Thus it was done. It was God's will that the death of the Ratu Ageng took place after the Garebeg procession. Her sons and grandsons had already come, as well as the Penghulu. All the ulama had gathered there too. She was laid to rest at Djimatan with her son.

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45. The celebrations of the first of Sawal, after the fast month.

46. Ratu Angger was Ratu Kantjana's mother. I am not sure who Ratu Bendara was.

47. Dipanagara's uncle (brother of Amangkubuwana III). He joined Dipanagara in his uprising.

48. The royal burial place at Imagiri.
We tell of the Sultan.
It happened that he had the desire to see
his elder brother again,
and so he sought him at Selieradja.\(^49\)
It happened that at the time
of the arrival of the Sultan,
who had missed his elder brother greatly,
the Prince himself
was bathing in a pool where the water\(^50\) flowed.

He was amusing himself by watching the goldfish
on the shining stones.
The Sultan arrived
and helped him to choose [the best].
Two other princes
accompanied their brother\(^51\) [the Sultan].
They were the princes Surjabrangta
and Surjawidjaja.
It was the will of God that the Prince [Dipanagara] should be moved to place complete trust
in his younger brother [the Sultan].
The Prince said:
"Come, Sultan, let us move,
and sit inside."
The Sultan went with him,
accompanied by his brothers
Pangéran Surjabrangta
and Pangéran Surjawidjaja.

The Prince said,
smiling at his younger brother:
"Sultan, I tell you,
all the agreements,
from the English period,
are still with me,
and not in the kraton.
There you will find only the contracts
and the agreement about the state finances.

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49. From the text it is clear that this was another residence of Dipanagara's, close to Tegalredja. Louw's text reads Batu-ardja throughout.

50. The text actually has tigan but since none of the meanings of this word are at all appropriate, I have supposed it to be a corruption of toja.

51. The text first says that the Sultan was their elder brother, then that he was their younger brother. In fact, according to de Klerck's table (De Java-oorlog, VI, p. 467) Surjawidjaja was older than the Sultan and Surjabrangta younger.
But all the special provisions,\textsuperscript{52}
are still here.
Now I am worried
that if you and I should die\textsuperscript{53}
it seems certain
that quarrels will spring up
among our sons,
unless God protects them.

So this is my present wish:
I will give the document
to you, Sultan.
But, Sultan, I entrust it to the care
of all your children.
If I should die,
I leave things in your hands, Sultan."
The Sultan
agreed to this, and the Prince said

to the Princes Surjabrangta
and Surjawidjaja:
"You both go
and ask for the agreement.
My wife will give it to you."
The two princes withdrew with a semblah
from the presence of their brothers.
They returned immediately,
and gave the document to Prince Dipanagara,

who took it, and said:
"Sultan, you should know
that this document was written
by General Raffles\textsuperscript{54} himself.
The Javanese on the other side
was written by [Se] tjadiningrat.\textsuperscript{55}
Enough, you take it.
But I must impress upon you
that this is the one thing I am anxious to preserve."

\textsuperscript{52} Neither here nor in any other place does Dipanagara explain what these special provisions were. Louw, however, is of the opinion that they related to the succession of the throne and connects this document with one described by Van Lawick van Pabst, in which Dipanagara was promised that he should succeed to the throne in the event of his half-brother, the Sultan, dying while still a minor or conducted himself improperly. The chief difference between the two accounts is that while Dipanagara says that the document in question was written by Raffles, Van Lawick van Pabst says that it was written by Dipanagara's father (Amangkubuwana III). Both writers, however, agree that the document was burnt by those whose interests conflicted with Dipanagara's. See Louw, De Java-oorlog, I, pp. 115-125.

\textsuperscript{53} Two lines condensed into one.

\textsuperscript{54} Raffles was of course not a general. The title probably results from the usage of djendral to translate the Dutch Gouverneur-General. Djendral is however also used for military generals, for instance Djendral Glèspi (General Gillespie).

\textsuperscript{55} This was the title granted to the Kapitan Tjina, Djing Sing, who had served Dipanagara's father in the negotiations with the British.
The Sultan said that he understood, and was exceedingly grateful [for this trust]. The document was handed over to the Sultan, who took it with a glad heart. The Sultan afterwards asked leave to return to the capital. This was granted, and he left Sélaradja, carrying the letter on his own person.

We do not describe his journey: he arrived at the kraton. Now it was the will of God that before much time had passed the Sultan fell prey to the schemes, of devils, who led him astray. The document he had been given he now burnt, an evil deed, [thinking] if this is still in existence who knows what may happen?

It seems that it was God's predetermination that the Sultan easily accepted evil counsel. And so the document was burnt. By God's will, it happened that only a short time after his burning of the document the Sultan died at his appointed time.

The cause of his death, however, was not an illness which grew from slight [to fatal]. He had been out on a pleasure trip and had come to a stop, and what did cause his death was the food offered by the Patih [Danuredja]. He was drinking djangan when he began to cough and hiccough. He fell to the ground and died immediately.

His body swelled up all at once. There was great commotion in Jogjakarta, and everyone was shocked at the news. Dipanagara arrived, but his brother was already dead. And all the royal relatives, men and women, gathered there. There was a noise like thunder from the lamentation, because of all the women in the palace.

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56. Two lines condensed into one.

57. A soup-like dish, eaten as an accompaniment to rice.

58. Literally, "his elder brother."
All the officials gathered there in their full complement. The Penghulu and his companions asked that the body should be washed, but the Secretary, Ibu [D'Abo], did not agree to this, and asked them to wait, while he sent a messenger after the Resident. The Resident's name was Baron Silwis [de Salis]

and he happened to be away at Sala. [The Secretary] ordered that the proceedings should wait while they went after [the Resident]. The Prince looked upon the body of his brother and determined that it must be washed. This was done, and afterwards [the body] was laid to rest in the Prabajasa. 59

A day and a night passed; Baron de Salis had still not arrived. The next morning the body was placed in the coffin. 60

Again the Secretary objected, but he was overruled again by the Prince. Now that the body was in the coffin, watch was kept over it in the bangsal. At eleven o'clock Baron de Salis arrived.

Then the order was given to carry the coffin [in procession]. The Ratu Ageng made a strong representation, but she was told that it was not possible that her desire should be fulfilled. Baron de Salis went arm-in-arm with Prince Dipanagara. When they reached the southern alun-alun they all returned to the palace, all the distant relatives and the sons of the royal house. The Resident, de Salis, said politely:

59. The entrance hall of the kraton.

60. The text has tinimbalan (summoned), an error for tinabélan.

61. This title had now passed to the mother of the dead Sultan (Amangkubuwana IV). She had formerly been called the Ratu Ibu. We are not told what she so strongly requested, but the implication seems to be that she wanted her own grandson to succeed to the throne and was told that this was not possible since the Resident favored Dipanagara.
"Prince Dipanagara,
do not return home,
but remain and keep watch in the palace."
The Prince replied politely:
"I do not wish to do so. I will return home when you do so.

p. 89 Let the Secretary
and Ditri [Dietre] alone
stay and keep watch in the palace
with Kjai Mangkubumi."
Baron de Salis agreed,
and the assembly dispersed.
All the royal relatives
kept watch over the Sultan's coffin,
and the Prince returned to Tegalredja.

All the royal relatives
then went to Djimatan,
where the Sultan was buried.
His tomb was quickly made,
apart from the one where his father lay.
Now we tell
that the Sultan had left
nine children:
but we list only his sons.

[The first] was called Radèn Mas Mènol
and he was three years old.
Nevertheless he had been given
the title of Pangèran Dipati, although some time later
he had not yet been installed in that position.
His younger brother was Radèn Mas Geṭot,
and then there were Radèn Mas Mursadà,
and Radèn Mas Maw-dan. So there were four boys

and five girls.
Now we tell
of Pangèran Dipanagara.
He was often invited
to the Residency,
but he seldom accepted.
And, moreover, whenever
the Resident visited the palace,
he asked the Prince to come with him. But he rarely did so.

And the Resident often tried to determine
the Prince's exact age.
Whenever he felt the desire to do so
he would ask him to the Residency.
The Resident made every effort

63. The title borne by the Crown Prince. Louw translates that he had only been promised this title.
64. Louw's text reads Mangun.
to win his heart,
and often asked [the Prince]
to sit down with him:
the Resident would wait on him himself.

In talking to him, Baron de Salis asked many questions about Tegalredja and Sélaradja. Pangéran Mangkubumi understood the direction of things, and set out for Tegalredja. There he met the Prince, inside the Sélaradja house.

Pangéran [Mangkubumi] said: "My boy, I do not quite understand Baron de Salis' intentions. He is much drawn, to you, my boy. I think that in his heart he is waiting to find out your hopes. If you will be first say so." Pangéran [Dipanagara] said: "That would be quite easy. [But] I absolutely refuse to take such a path. If I had been so inclined, I would already, before this lapse of time, have spoken of the promises." Pangéran [Mangkubumi] said to his nephew: "My boy, I am exceedingly worried that another may be [proposed for the throne]. What should I do?" Pangéran [Dipanagara] said, smiling: "Indeed, I am thankful if they want to depart from the agreement. It is better thus: it will avoid trouble. I place my trust in God's protection."

Pangéran [Mangkubumi] returned to the capital. About a week later, Radén Mas Ménol was raised to the throne, succeeding his late father,

65. These two lines are reversed in the translation.
66. Two lines condensed into one.
67. Literally, "his son," a confusing usage.
68. Literally, "his son."
though with a regency council. Those appointed were Pangéran Mangkubumi and Pangéran Arja Dipanagara, together with Ratu Kantjana and the Ratu Ageng. Prince [Dipanagara] was quite unwilling, but was compelled to accept the position. Because of this he felt greatly shamed and was unable to face his fellow men. Such was his state of mind that when his kampuh was torn as he mounted into the carriage, he did not see this, and trod on it. The Secretary was with him, and he felt as if he had received a mortal blow. They came to the Residency and the contract was read. Radën Mas Ménol shrieked, with all his force, saying: "No! I don't want to!"

but the Resident insisted upon his accession and so did the Ratu Ageng. When they returned [from the Residency] [the new Sultan] sat on the sittinggil for a moment, and then they all went in to the kraton, and sat down in one of the balé. Baron de Salis gave the contract to Pangéran [Dipanagara], but he did not want it. When asked to read it out he was unable to do so. When his signature was requested he said that he was unable to write. Asked for his sign [he said]: "I do not have my seal with me."

Paku Alam smiled at this. Pangéran Dipanagara was more shamed than ever, feeling that he had become a laughingstock.

69. This is an article of attire formerly worn by male persons of rank at court and also sometimes by bridegrooms. It is a length of cloth draped over trousers.

70. The text has djandji, which I have taken for an error for lodji.

71. The treaty between the new Sultan, represented by the Regency council, and the Dutch government.

72. The name of a square walled terrace with lattice work and door in front outside the entrance to the princely residence. Here the ruler would sit on major festival days to be seen by this subjects.

73. One of the pavilions in the kraton.

74. The ruler of a small principality created out of Jogjakarta by the British in 1812.
So all the business
was taken in hand
by Pangéran Mangkubumi,
with the consent of the Resident.
Afterwards the gathering dispersed.
Now we tell
of Pangéran Dipanagara
who returned to Tegalredja.
After his arrival there he became exceedingly melancholy,

thinking only of his shame,
that he had been so little regarded,
as to be made stand-in for a mere boy.
If he had only been asked!
Now he was put on a level
with an obsequious person
selling his services for a living.
"Was ever anyone in such a situation?
One must have too great a desire for life [to live on so]."

His heart was as if quite broken.
Pangéran Dipanagara
then entered the sleeping apartment,
intending to take his life.
The visible world vanished from his sight,
and only his shame remained with him.
Now Sang Kusuma75
was anxious at heart, seeing
her husband,76 whose innermost feelings she could not fathom.

"What secret does he bear,
that he is so melancholy?"77
thus she thought,
with an uneasy mind.
And so Sang Retna followed him
into the sleeping apartment.
There she saw that her husband
was about to take his life.
She fell at his feet, and with overflowing tears

said brokenly:
"Dear husband, I cannot bear to remain after you!"
With her head on his breast [she said]:
"Let me die first!
How can I remain after you!"
By the will of God
the Prince's gaze
returned to the light
when he heard the tearful words of Sang Kusuma.

75. Sang Kusuma, Sang Retna and Sang Dyah are poetic terms for a lady of rank and beauty.

76. Literally, "her elder brother." "Elder brother" and "younger sister" are forms of address commonly used between husband and wife.

77. These two lines are reversed in the translation.
He looked once more outside himself, and gently taking hold of his wife, he set her on his lap, saying: "Enough, do not weep, Lady! Your servant will not take his life." Sang Dyah said gently: "What has so deeply affected you that you wish to take leave of the world, my lord?"

The Prince said: "My ruby, my mistress, fair one, light of all Java! I shall tell you the truth: I am ashamed to live longer in this world, I am a man good for nothing: I have been made stand-in for a baby. It seems that I am no longer considered a rational being.

They make merry of me like a man of low repute, and I am held exceedingly cheap. Had I wished to be ruler I would have been so long ago, and now I am his regent. I have come so low that I am greatly shamed: I have been raised to the office of nursemaid." Sang Retna smiled and said gently:

"I beg your forgiveness in the greatest measure for your servant. It is not possible, my lord, that you have become unmindful of the best path to the world which is yet hidden from us. It is not thus. In earlier times, my lord, you spoke of the best path. I still remember this.

This is my resolve in case I should be left behind [by your] going to the eternal world. I pray that I may go first, for I could not bear to see you go, and remain behind.78 Truly, I have prayed to the Lord of All Things.79

78. Two lines condensed into one.

79. From the Arabic Rabb al-(ālamīn(a).
and implored the blessing
and intercession of the Prophet
Muhammad, the Chosen One,
that when we depart this world for a holier one
I may not be second.
And as for the way thither,
it is excellent and broad,
and it depends upon God's decree.
Between haste and patience we can make but one choice.

Still the best
is patience.
Many indeed are its stories.
And let us increase the number of our works, truly.
If it is allowed,
and with God's help,
it is my purpose
to serve to the end
as your handmaid, my lord.

My lord, you wanted to end things yourself,
not allowing the judgment of the Almighty.
But how can it be otherwise?
What remains to us is most excellent:
in truth, shame in this world,
if we do not swerve from our purpose,
becomes good works, for which we shall be recompensed.
And it is sure that the trials sent by the Almighty
all spring from His love and bounty.

The reason I dare to speak truly
is that it was from you, my lord,
that I learnt this.
I implore your pardon
if I have too far forgotten myself."
When the Prince heard
the words of his wife
he smiled, and it was as if his sorrow were wiped away.

The Prince embraced his wife
and said gently:
"Oh my ruby, my mistress,
who art like a finely chiselled diamond,
and sent down from heaven
out of the bounty of the Lord!
Jewel among the women
of all the land of Java!
I cannot describe my feelings.

Truly, you know right,
and your servant is greatly in error.
Faith is like the sun;
the human heart is like the wind;
and the trials we experience from evil schemes
are like unto clouds.
Our corporeal existence
may be likened unto the earth:
if no rain falls

80. Two lines condensed into one.
how will they grow,
all the seeds which are in the earth?
Your good deeds
are like a seed,
from which in this corporeal existence
we can grow in faith.
The third part is the human heart.
These together form one whole,
completed by our acceptance [of whatever is God-given].

The significance of acceptance
is that it brings about the growth of the seeds.
If it is not thus
our life is in vain.
Of all men in this world
most favored of all
are those who are greatly tried,
for this is bounty indeed.
If they are able to meet [their trials], this is the proof
of God's love.

If they are not able to do so,
it is as if all the seeds
are not able to grow;
and so our human life is fruitless.
It would be better to die
as a baby, unknown and unreckoned.
The best things
are four, in one unity:
works, [mystical] knowledge [of God], the knower, and the
Known.

It has happened that I
have been given God's bounty:
because of you I have been made mindful that this is a trial
I must undergo,
when I had almost strayed from the right path."
We speak no more of this,
but tell of Jogjakarta.
Prince Mangkubumi was still
being pressed for the seal of his nephew.

81. Thus the simile is: The heart is like the earth, the good deed
like a seed, and acceptance of whatever God gives is like the
rain.

82. The text gives the "four things" as ngamal, ngelmu, ngamal,
maklum, but this seems an error, perhaps for ngamal, ngelmu,
ngalim, maklum. Ngamal (works) and ngelmu (esoteric knowledge)
are often represented as complementary, and we also find the
trinity ngelmu - ngalim - maklum: esoteric knowledge, the
knower, and the Known, that is, God.

83. Two lines are condensed into one.
Baron de Salis did not accept the three seals\textsuperscript{84} that were there, but demanded the full complement, insisting on the fourth. He said: "If that one is not there these three [are useless]. The only one that we must have is that of Prince Dipanagara.

The other three are in the nature of witnesses. If we do not have that single seal then we cannot collect the moneys\textsuperscript{85} from the tolls. I will certainly not allow it." So Pangeran Mangkubumi was pressed by three people of high rank\textsuperscript{86} because there was no money for the state's expenses.\textsuperscript{87} So Pangeran Mangkubumi set out to Tegalredja. Now we tell that it happened that the Prince [Dipanagara] was sitting inside the balé kentjur.\textsuperscript{88} He had asked for the Ardjuna Widjaja to be read to him,\textsuperscript{89} as a way of easing his rended heart. He was attended by two retainers. Wirjadikusuma was the name of one, and Sastrawinangun [was the other]. Pangeran Mangkubumi on arriving [at Tegalredja] then went straight on to Sèlaradja, and when he met [his nephew] they sat down together in the balé kentjur. Pangeran [Mangkubumi] said:

\textsuperscript{84} The three seals would be those of Mangkubumi, Ratu Kantjana, and the Ratu Ageng.

\textsuperscript{85} The text has duwé, which I have read as an error for duwit.

\textsuperscript{86} That is, Baron de Salis and the two Ratu.

\textsuperscript{87} The text has sabab tan saged balaka, which I have read as an error for sabab tan saged balandja.

\textsuperscript{88} A pendapa situated in a churchyard or near a mosque.

\textsuperscript{89} The story of the battle between Ardjuna and Dasamuka, taken from the Uttararakaṇḍa and put into Javanese poetry by Mpu Tantular (Madjapahit period). See R. M. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, Kapustakan Djawi (Djakarta: Djambatan, 1952), p. 40. These two lines are reversed in the translation.
"My boy, the reason that I have come
is to inform you of the difficulty affecting the state.
The moneys from the tolls
cannot be commanded by myself and the Ratu Ageng90
together with
Ratu Kantjana, whose seal makes three;
I must ask for your seal.
What is more, I have incurred the anger
of the Resident. What is your wish now?"

Pangeran Dipanagara
seemed moved to inner wrath.
"It is for this reason that I
did not wish to become a regent.
I am like a hired man,
and am in the position of selling my name.
For the whole time since it was made
I have used this seal
only three times,

and that was in cases of murder.
Pangeran Mangkubumi
said gently:
"What shall they do,
your relatives,
and the soldiery too,
who are all paid from these moneys?
They will certainly be in difficulties
if the money from the tolls does not come in."

Pangeran Dipanagara
was torn two ways in his mind.
Then he bowed before
the shame that had come to him,
though he felt as if his very heart was burnt.
He smiled and said politely:
"Kjai,91 I will do what you ask,
but I take you to witness
that after this is done I cast away my seal,

and so I no longer bear the name
of Dipanagara,
but am to be called Ngabduklamit."
Pangeran Mangkubumi
said with apparent fear:
"Indeed, whatever you wish:
who would dare to oppose you?"
[The Prince] asked for his seal, and when it was brought
he gave it to his uncle92

90. Literally, "your elder sister."
91. This title can be used for any older man of some standing and
does not necessarily carry any religious connotations.
92. Literally, "his father."
saying:
"Remember this, Kjai, if it is a matter of money I will not be brought into it again."
Pangéran Mangkubumi said softly:
"Well, my boy, I think that this sign from you [will be sufficient]."
Then he asked leave to return. We say no more of him.

The Prince's heart was ever more strongly afflicted by burning pain. To ease it, he went to the house of his younger brother, Pangéran Surjabrangta, whose son was to be circumcised. When he had supervised the ceremony, the Prince slept there overnight. His sleeping place was in the grounds of the house, together with the women-folk. Throughout the night he had no desire for sleep, and played chess.93 His partner was Radén Aju Danukusuma, the elder.94 In the morning the Prince returned to Tegalredja, and his wife met him on the verandah. He embraced her, who resembled Supraba,95 and brought her into the sleeping apartment. The Prince then fell asleep, and slept through the hours of prayer and of food, all day and into the night. Sang Retna did not dare to wake him, but simply kept watch. Then, in the middle of the night a sign of the wrath of God descended.

Mount Merapi burst into flames which seemed to reach to heaven itself. Jogjakarta seemed full of it; the sky turned into fire. The noise was frightful, thundering and roaring. The fires danced, and everyone was filled with fear, and earnestly96 looked for a place of shelter.

93. The text reads tjatur, from the Sanskrit caturangga.
94. Two lines condensed into one.
95. The name of a particularly beautiful widadari (heavenly nymph).
96. The text reads ting kuṇandang (affected by great longing), foreshadowing the next meter, Ḍandanggula.
They fled seeking shelter scarcely knowing what they did: the sky was now completely dark. Now we tell that it happened that the Prince did not wake, but slept sweetly. Sang Retna did not know what she should do: she feared to leave him, in case he should be killed and yet she hardly dared to wake her husband. So she just kept watch over him.

Sang Kusuma detemined to watch over her husband, in case he should be killed. Her only thought was to share his fate: in truth, she did not intend to be left behind. We say no more of this. Sang Retna had a servant who was very light-headed, and knew no proper respect. Her name was Bok Buwang.

Looking at the sky, she became very afraid, and when she heard the noise she lost control of herself and simply screamed. The other servants all joined in, while their master and mistress still remained inside the sleeping apartment. Now we tell that when the Prince heard the noise of all the servants screaming he woke with a start.

When he saw his wife sitting at his feet, the Prince asked: "What is happening, little one?" She said gently: "I don't really know, I have not been outside." Then the Prince went out, hand in hand with Sang Retna. When they came out into the square in front of the house they looked at the sky and the burning mountain, and the shifting earth.

The Prince smiled, and spoke to all the servants, [saying] various things [to calm them]. Afterwards the Prince took Sang Retna and brought her back to the sleeping apartment, where he had his wish.

97. Two lines condensed into one.
Afterwards the prince asked leave
of Sang Retna, to go to Selaradja.
Now the scene of the story shifts
to Jogjakarta.
Great was the commotion there.
The Ratu Ageng
was exceedingly distracted
and could only cry for help
to Pangeran Dipanagara.
Every time she heard someone arrive
in haste, she thought
that it was the Prince arriving,
and afterwards she felt much disappointed.
The Secretary, D'Abo,
and Pangeran Mangkubumi,
Dietri, and the Patih [Danuredja],
as well as the Major
and Baron de Salis, were not there:
they had left [on a journey]. Now we relate
that the state of crisis lasted three days.

Let us tell of him whose sorrow was great,
the Prince, at Selaradja.
His feelings cannot be described,
that in this world
one misfortune had followed upon the other.
What is now related
took place
in the year Dal.99
The date was . . .100 and it was the fast month,
on the twenty-first day.

The Prince was in a cave;
it was the Setjang cave.
Every year during the fast month
it was the Prince's habit101
to sit inside this cave,
without leaving it at all.
Now it happened

98. Presumably Wiranagara.

99. This is the fifth year of the eight-year windu cycle.

100. Although the number of syllables required for the meter is complete, it seems that the text once contained a date now missing. What remains is the windu year (Dal); the date of the month (the twenty-first of Ramadan, although Louw's text gives the twenty-seventh); and the two words sirah tanggal. Of these sirah (head) could be part of a chronogram (sengkala), with the value "1." Tanggal means "date," unless it is read as tunggal, which would also have the value "1." In any case, at least two more words would be needed for a complete chronogram. Louw's text has a complete date, 1751 (Çaka), (1829 A.D.) and therefore cannot be correct. Louw, De Java-oorlog, I, p. 130.

101. Two lines condensed into one.
that he was sitting on a shining stone
which was called "Ngambar Maja."\footnote{That is, "radiating light."}

Such was his pleasure,
to make this cave his home.
There was a pond containing a spring
which sputtered, like a lake
rising up in a well.
An enclosed widara\footnote{According to F. S. A. de Clercq, Nieuw Plantkundig Woordenboek
voor Nederlandsch Indie (Amsterdam: J. H. de Bussy, 1909), p. 34
Widara is a tree with edible fruit, \textit{Zizyphus jujuba}, the "jujube tree."} tree
was of his audience hall
the door. The tree was easy to climb.
The Prince seemed to sleep, his eyes half-closed.

Then there was

a man who came to him,
accompanied by a wind.
He stood before him,
and his clothes
were like those of a hadji.
The Prince was astonished,
and said politely:
"I have not met you before:
where do you come from?" The one asked answered:
"I have no dwelling.

I come here because I have been sent to summon you."
The Prince said:
"What is the name of he who sent you,
and where is his home?"
The man said softly:
"Indeed, he has no home.
All the people of Java
are his dwelling.
He is called the Ratu Adil\footnote{The Ratu Adil (Just King) is the central figure in Javanese
messianism. Here, however, he has been given a strongly
Islamic character.}
and it was he who sent me
to summon you, in truth.
You will find him
on the summit of a mountain.
From where we are
the mountain lies in a southeasterly direction,
and its name is Rasamuni.
But you must meet him alone.\footnote{Two lines condensed into one.}
The Prince set out at once, accompanied
by the man who had come to summon him.
It was the will of God
that the Prince should follow him without question.
In a short time they came
to the foot of the mountain,
and the messenger disappeared from sight.
Now we tell
that the Ratu Adil
was standing on the summit of the mountain,
and his radiance outrivalled that of the Majestic Sun,\(^{106}\)
which for long shone but palely.

The Prince could not
look upon the face
of the Ratu Adil, whose radiance
outshone that of the lordly Sun.
The Prince
looked only at his clothes, and saw\(^{107}\)
that he wore a green turban,
and a silk \(djubah\),\(^{108}\)
silk trousers, and a red sash.\(^{109}\)
He stood facing northwest,
at the summit of the mountain,
on a shining stone which was quite bald.
He cast no shadow,
and there was no grass:
the ground was as clean as if it had been swept.

The Prince below him
looked upwards.
He stood facing southeast.
The Ratu Adil said gently:
"Oh Ngabdulkamit!
The reason I have summoned you
is that you must lead all my soldiers
in the conquest of Java.
If anyone should ask you\(^{110}\)
for your mandate, it is the Koran.
Let them seek there."
Ngabdulkamit said:
"I ask pardon, I am not able to wage war,
nor can I bear

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106. The text reads: Sang Hjang Pradongga-pati, Sang Hjang Arka.
107. These two lines are reversed in the translation.
108. A long Arab robe with wide sleeves.
109. The text reads sabi, which may refer to the Malay sebai.
110. Two lines condensed into one.
Moreover, once formerly, I have undertaken such a commission, and been found wanting by my fellow men."

The Ratu Adil said:
"It is not possible [for you to refuse], for it is God's will that it shall happen thus in Java, and the one who shall have the chief role is you. There is no other choice."

When he had finished speaking there was a loud crack as if a stone had been thrown at a shovel, and he disappeared.

It is impossible to describe the Prince's feelings, as he stood on the mountaintop.

He remained standing as before facing northwest. The Prince was exceedingly amazed and felt a burden in his breast. Fireflies made points of light, and he was startled to see betjak-betjik and putut birds, and small bats, which shrieked. The sea flamed and there was a thundering noise, like a rumbling of a volcano. The Prince descended from the summit and looked around him.

We say no more of this event: afterwards the Prince returned directly to Tegalredja.

p. 101 Now we tell that many were the disturbances in Jogjakarta, and the state was set in confusion. We tell of the Penghulu

111. The text actually has aningali dumateng papatih (to see Patih), an error for aningali dumateng papat.  

112. This refers to the time of the English attack on the Jogjakarta-kraton when Dipanagara was his father's Sénapati (p. 43 of the printed text).

113. Two lines condensed into one.

114. Three lines condensed into one.

115. I have been unable to locate betjak-betjik in a dictionary. Louw does not translate this passage.
who had come to quarrel with the Patih.
Baron de Salis had been replaced
by Semitsa [Smissaert],
and the Secretary
had also been replaced;
Suwallijé [Chevallier]
was the name of the new incumbent.
To return to the Patih,
and the Penghulu:
their quarrel became worse.

During the fast month, the Penghulu
moved his house to Tegalredja:
he descended upon Sélaradjá
with his baggage train.
He arrived at the audience hall
and then occupied the house
of Mas Kartadjaja.
The Prince did not know of this,
for he had gone to the Setjang cave again.
After some time had passed,
the Penghulu was sought out again,
but he did not wish to return.
Then he was replaced
by a Ketib,116 who was raised to his office.
The Ketib's name was Ketib Anom.
The Prince [Dipanagara] was asked
for his permission but would not give it.117

Now we tell of another thing.
It happened that one night the Ratu Ageng had a dream,
and heard a voice [which said]:
"Ratu Ageng, Ratu Kantjana
must marry a Wali Wuďar118
whose dwelling is northwest of this place.
If this is not done,
Java will be devastated
and your life will be forfeit."
It happened thus

116. From the Arabic klia^ib. There would be several Ketib to assist
the Penghulu in the execution of his duties.

117. According to Louw (De Java-oorlog, I, p. 132) the matter of this
appointment is not mentioned in the European sources but figures
prominently in the Javanese accounts.

118. In Javanese, the word wali has three main meanings: 1) the
guardian of a minor; 2) the person whose consent is necessary for
the marriage of a girl or woman (i.e., her father, grandfather,
brother, or uncle); and 3) specifically the first preachers of
Islam on Java, usually numbered at nine (wali sanga), which in-
clude such figures as Sunan Kali-Djaga, Sunan Giři, Sunan
Bonang, and Sunan Gunung Djati. These three meanings are derived
from the Arabic wall. Wuďar (uďar) has the meaning of "loose,
open, released." For the possible interpretations of wali
wuďar, see below.
three times, and the voice spoke always the same words. The Ratu Ageng was exceedingly afraid.

As the voice had spoken so many times, and was always the same, the Ratu Ageng sent for Pangéran Mangkubumi. When he had come to the kraton and met the Ratu, she said politely: "Prince, what will you have me do? I have heard a voice, when I was sleeping, and it has happened three times, and was always the same.

[The voice says] that Ratu Kantjana must be married to Pangéran Dipanagara, and if this is not done Java will be brought to ruin and my days in this world will be ended. What is the right thing for me to do? I leave it to your judgment."

Pangéran Mangkubumi smiled, and said gently: "Indeed, it would be most fitting if he is willing. If he is not willing it will be most shameful. Who would dare to compel him?"

The Ratu said softly: "What shall I do then, Prince? I shall certainly die and Jogjakarta be ruined."

The Prince said gently: "If you agree, I will send my wife to him. If he has no objection, it will be easily done, and if he objects, there will be no shame in it, for it will seem as if it were only a joke. I fear him greatly."

The Ratu Ageng said quietly: "Indeed, who would dare [to compel him]."

Then Pangéran Mangkubumi sent for his wife, Radèn Aju Sepuh, for Radèn Aju Sepuh was one person who dared to make jokes.

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119. Two lines condensed into one.
120. Two lines condensed into one.
121. Two lines condensed into one.
with the Prince.
Her husband explained what had happened\(^\text{122}\)
and she set out for Tegalredja. When she arrived,
it happened that the Prince

was sitting with his wife.
Radèn Aju Sepuh smiled, and said:
"Let us suppose
that your wife
should be given a pair,
of the same age
and beauty.
They would be like Ratih\(^\text{123}\) and Supraba.
How I should like to see it!"
The Prince smiled

p. 103 and immediately embraced the one who had been likened to Ratih,
drawing her close to him.
He said, smiling:
"My ruby, she is talking in her sleep,
for she sleeps sitting up."
Radèn Aju Sepuh, hearing this,
cast him a surly glance,
and said crossly:
"What you say is most annoying!
I sit here [talking to you] and you say I am asleep!"
The Prince said gently:
"Where will you find the like
of my dear mistress,
God's bounty
sent down from heaven,
jewel among the women
of the land of Java,
who has come down to Tegalredja
and been bestowed upon me.
It is a lie to say

that there is any woman her equal!"
Radèn Aju Sepuh said crossly:
"You are making me more and more angry!
I am going home."
Then she returned [to the kraton] and we tell no more of her.
Now we tell
that the Prince happened
to go down to the kraton.
In the company of Pangèran Mangkubumi
he was sitting in the *bangsal kantjana*\(^\text{124}\)

\(^{122}\) Two lines condensed into one.
\(^{123}\) Ratih is the wife of Kàma.
\(^{124}\) The gold balé. I am not sure what part of the kraton this would have been.
together with the Ratu Ageng.
The Prince asked their leave
to go to the eastern kraton
to see Ratu Emas, who had a slight illness.
When the Prince had gone
the Ratu Ageng
and Pangéran Mangkubumi
discussed the problem of the dream.

"When he returns,
I would like you to tell him
all about the dream.
Perhaps then
he will have pity on the realm.
I have already sent
my wife,
Raden Aju Sepuh, who went to meet him.
But he only made fun of her."¹²⁷

Not long afterwards the Prince returned,
and the three of them sat down together.
The Ratu Ageng spoke to him
about the dream
which had given her an anxious heart.
When it was all told,
the Prince said gently:
"It seems to me, indeed,
that this is only a trial.
If it is truly a warning

and it comes again in the future,
you should say that the voice must come
to me."
The Ratu Ageng said gently:
"So be it: I have told you,
and whether you follow it or not,
I have unburdened the commission placed upon me."¹²⁸

The Prince was inwardly disturbed
about the significance of "Wali Wuđar;"
he did not show this, but smiled, and asked
his uncle: "Kjai, what is the meaning
of Wali Wuđar?"
Pangéran Mangkubumi
smiled, and said sweetly:
"The interpretation of 'Wali Wuđar'
is: one who fails as a Wali."
Pangéran Dipanagara,
hearing this, was increasingly disturbed,
feeling shamed before God.

¹²⁵. The text has "ingkang ibu / Ratu Emas," which is to say that
in age and nature of relationship she was like a mother to him.

¹²⁶. The last four lines of this stanza have been reduced to three.

¹²⁷. Two lines condensed into one.

¹²⁸. Two lines condensed into one.
After this they took leave of one another, and the Prince returned to Tegalredja. When he arrived there, he did not even call at the house, but went on to Sélaradja, feeling greatly shamed before God. He entered the building there and for three days he did not ask for the Koran to be read nor did he come out onto the verandah. The Penghulu understood [that something had happened]
guessing that the Prince was greatly troubled. So the Penghulu sought audience with him. It happened that the Prince was sitting in front of the building, on a shining stone, which was sheltered by a kumuning tree and ringed by a moat. He was on an island planted with banyan trees, and ornamental plants of many kinds.

In front of the house a large pond curved round. Its water was clear, and it held many fishes of different kinds. By the door there was a sirih garden. The Penghulu said sweetly: "My lord, what is the reason I see you so sorrowful?"

"Ki Penghulu, I am greatly shamed before the Almighty." He explained the whole matter of the Ratu Ageng's dream, and its interpretation by Pangeran Mangkubumi, which was the cause of his sorrow. The Penghulu smiled, and said:

"The real interpretation of 'Wali Wuđar' is otherwise: it means a Wali who has two offices for God has given to him power to administer justice. That is its significance.

To give an example:

129. According to de Clercq (Nieuw Plantkundig Woordenboek, p. 285) this is Murraya exotica, a tree with beautiful white flowers which are worn by women in their hair. Its yellow wood is used for carving.

130. The text reads kori. Louw's translation reads "aan de linkerzijde" (kēri).
among the 124,000 Nabi\textsuperscript{131} those who may be called 'wudar' are only six. These give expression to God's will, and are Nabi Adam, Nabi Nuh, Nabi Ibrahim, and fourthly Nabi Musa; then Nabi Ngisa. The sixth and last is Nabi Muhammad.\textsuperscript{132} To give examples from Java of 'Wali Wuḍar,' they are Sunan Giri,\textsuperscript{133} and your ancestor, Sultan Agung,\textsuperscript{134} for these held a double office, and were beloved of God. As for you yourself, my lord, God knows what He shall will for you in the future."

The Prince recalled the time when he had met the Ratu Adil. He thought to himself:
"So it is already fixed: I cannot avoid it."
But he did not say this aloud, but only smiled, and said gently:
"Praise be to God.

In this world, men have nothing to do but wait till they be given some great task."
The Penghulu said:
"Indeed, my lord, if we are equal to it, that is the most excellent thing, a boon indeed."
The Prince said:
"Let us pray to the Almighty that it will come to a good conclusion."

\textsuperscript{131} This is an extraordinarily large figure. Surah VI (84-87) of the Koran lists only 18 Nabi and elsewhere the number is given as 20.

\textsuperscript{132} The English names for these six are: Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad.

\textsuperscript{133} In the Babad Tanah Djawi story of the conquest of Madjapahit by Raděn Pātah, later Sēnapati Djimbun of Demak (Olthof, Poenika Serat Babad Tanah Djawi, p. 29f.), Sunan Giri is said to have reigned for 40 days before Sēnapati Djimbun's accession "to remove all traces of an infidel ruler" (the last king of Madjapahit). Thus he had wielded temporal power.

\textsuperscript{134} Sunan of Mataram (1613-1646). He obtained the title of Sultan from Mecca and introduced the Muslim calendar (in its peculiar Javanese form). He is not, however, usually listed among the Javanese wali, and his reign was after the djaman kawalèn (the age of the apostles of Islam).
We say no more of this:

The Prince's heart was restored, and he prayed with an undivided mind. In the morning the Prince would come out onto the verandah and join the Penghulu in reciting the Koran. Now it happened that during the fast month the Prince went away to the Setjang cave.

And to lighten his mood he would wander through the gardens by the cave. Now it happened that the Prince was once sitting beneath a banyan tree. It was after the midday prayer, and the garden where he sat was called Modar. He heard a voice, distant but clear [which said]: "Oh Ngabdulkamit!

Receive now a title from the Lord of all things! You will be Sultan Ngabdulkamit, Erutjakra, Sajidin, Panatagama of Java, Caliph of the Prophet of God—blessing and peace be upon him!" Then the voice was heard no more. After the sunset prayer, the Prince returned to the Setjang cave.

When the trawah prayers were finished, the Prince emerged and sat on a shining stone. To the right and to the left he was attended by two retainers: Putut Lawa and Putut Gurit; Botjak-butjik and Suradana. Muhjidin and Wirjasemit were still in the kitchen.

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135. The text reads darus Kuran, done in this case as part of the observance of the fast month. These two lines are reversed in the translation.

136. Louw's text has Modang (De Java-oorlog, I, p. 136).

137. Louw gives Brandes' interpretation of Erutjakra as "jewel of the world" (éra being a kawi form of sosotya and tjakra derived from the Sanskrit cakra). Sajidin is from the Arabic Sayyid ("lord," used for the descendants of Muhammad). Panatagama means "regulator of religion." Sajidin and Panatagama were part of the title of Sēnapati, founder of Mataram according to the Babad Tanah Djawi account, and are still used in the title of the Sunan of Solo.

138. Prayers held in the fast month after the ngisa prayer in the early part of the night.
It was the twenty-seventh day [of the fast month], and the year was Bê.\textsuperscript{139} When they had eaten, the Prince went to sleep on the shining stone. The two Putut kept watch, but in a while they both fell asleep at his feet. Now the Prince dreamt that he was not at the cave, but at Sêlaradja,

sitting on the shining stone, on the island of the banyans.

Then all at once eight men came, wearing turbans with the end hanging behind. The first of them bore a letter which he held aloft in both hands. The Prince looked, then went to meet them, saluting them, awestruck, for the radiance of the eight was like that of the full moon.

The Prince stood before them in respectful greeting, but they did not heed him, going straight to the pond. The Prince followed. They stood on the edge, five on the east and three on the south. The Prince joined those on the south, making four. Then all of them moved towards the north.

Those on the east stood facing westwards. The one who bore the letter was in front, and the others on either side. Then he read out the letter, and the sound was the same as the voice of the proclamation.\textsuperscript{140} It said: "This is His Highness Sultan Ngabdulkamit Erutjakra, Sajidin, Panatagama Caliph of the Prophet of God over the land of Java."

[The other seven] answered together: "On him be peace!"\textsuperscript{141} The one who had read the letter reprimanded them:

\textsuperscript{139} The sixth year of the windu cycle.

\textsuperscript{140} The text reads undang. Louw's text has moudang, so that the line reads: "... as the voice at Mocjar," which makes better sense.

\textsuperscript{141} The text reads ngalaihisalamu from the Arabic alai-his-satam (this is said after the name of a Nabi other than Muhammad).
"That is not the right response!"
Those he had reprimanded asked:
"What is it then, Panembahan?"
and he replied:
"You have created a point of difference
by your response, my young friends!
But let that be:
the only response is the Takbir."\(^{142}\)
Then all eight of them
recited the Takbir together,
joined by the Prince.\(^{143}\)
After this the letter
was let fall into the pond. It sank into the water
and disappeared from sight.

The eight men vanished
from where they had been standing,
like smoke, without trace.
The Prince
was left standing alone.
When it was [almost] morning,
the Prince was awoken
by Puṭut Lawa,
and they took the saur meal\(^{144}\) and made the dawn
prayer together.
We say no more of this.

Afterwards [the Prince] returned to Tegalredja.
We tell of what happened
after he arrived at Selaradja.\(^{145}\)
The Penghulu had heard
that the Prince
was sought by the Dutch.\(^{146}\)
The news came from Semarang and was quite clear.
So the Penghulu
sought an audience at Selaradja
with the Prince, who happened to be sitting
on the shining stone.
The Penghulu said:
"My lord, I have received
news from Semarang
about which there is no doubt.
They want you,

\(^{142}\) The recital of the Arabic formula, Allāhu Akbar (God is Great).

\(^{143}\) Two lines condensed into one.

\(^{144}\) The meal during the fast month taken in the last watches of
the night before day breaks.

\(^{145}\) These two lines are reversed in the translation.

\(^{146}\) Two lines condensed into one.
and already large numbers of soldiers have arrived in Semarang.  

What will you do if it happens as I have heard?" The Prince smiled, and answered: "What would be the right thing to do? I have done no wrong. If what you say is true, then heaven will be most welcome to me, and I shall seek a way thither. Moreover, do you not remember the dream of the Ratu Ageng? Perhaps this is the explanation of it--it was you who interpreted it for me before. In truth, I have committed no sin, but if men intend to wrong me I am not afraid." The Penghulu said, with bowed head and overflowing tears:  

"You are right, if the revelation is fulfilled. I believe that God's will shall be done, but let it not be by war." The Prince said: "What is the right thing to do?" The Penghulu said gently: "My lord, if the news is indeed correct it is best that you suffer all the ill treatment that the Dutch intend for you, as did your grandfather, Sultan Sepuh, in former times, in order that there should be no devastation. But should God decree that you are not free to choose which way you will take

147. Here the text is far from explicit. Why should the Dutch have been after E istance? Certainly his conduct had exhibited nothing of that fidelity usually expected from their Javanese allies: he had disallowed the appointment of the Collectors, favored by the Resident, and later had strongly objected to putting his seal on a financial document on the grounds that this was merely "selling his name." It is interesting to note that the news of the intentions of the Dutch is said here to have come before the building of the road, usually cited as the immediate cause of the war (see e.g., F. W. Stapel, Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch Indie [Amsterdam: J. M. Meulenhoff, 1930], p. 265; de Klerk, History of the Netherlands East Indies, II, p. 163).

148. Two lines condensed into one.

149. Two lines condensed into one.

150. Amangkubuwana II. The text has Sinuhun Sepuh, but the rulers of Jogjakarta are usually referred to by their title of Sultan.
I should not be deterred
by the fear of suffering or death,
but remain with you.
But if the way is war
I cannot help you, for I am an old man.
Yet how could I leave you alone?"

The Prince smiled, and said quietly:
"I prefer the way of war,
for to die thus gives us good fame."
The Penghulu said:
"If that is your wish, my lord,
I ask your leave to depart,
for I cannot bear to see it.
I will make the pilgrimage to Mecca."
The Prince smiled and said gently:
"That is most fitting,
and I am glad of it. Let us make an agreement:
when you arrive in Mecca,
you must not return [after the pilgrimage],
but remain there the rest of your days.
When I am successful,
tell the news there.
And seek for me
the prayers of all the Iman,
that I may obtain the intercession of the Prophet,
and the favor of Allah\textsuperscript{151}
to strengthen me in waging war on the infidels.
And fervent be your prayers
as you bow before the Ka'bah
beseech the Lord
that all may go well, and Java
serve the true religion.
Kjai, if indeed
we are aided by God,
you may speedily return!"
The Penghulu said:

"Be it as you say. I ask your beneficial thoughts
that I may be enabled to reach
the holy Ka'bah."
The Prince said sweetly:
"Indeed, you have all my good wishes
that it may be permitted
of God, who is Great."
We tell no more of this:
Kjai Rahmanudin\textsuperscript{152} took his leave
of all those of high rank

\textsuperscript{151}. This is one of the few places where the author uses the Arabic word for God. More commonly used are Jang Suksma (the Soul), Jang Widi (The All-Disposer), and Jang Purba (The First).

\textsuperscript{152}. From the Arabic Rahmān ul-Dīn. This is the Penghulu's name.
and set out to Semarang. No more is said of the Penghulu. At Tegalredja, the Prince was exceedingly melancholy,\textsuperscript{153} for he had heard news which was to him as if the very sky had fallen But he resolved that he would not flinch, taking refuge in God alone.

So all his melancholy vanished and he looked forward to death. And Sang Retna too had determined that she would share her husband's lot, from the beginning to the end. Now it happened that the beginning was thus: the Tegalredja region was staked out, and [the Prince] not notified. The intention was to make a highway.

Thus was it God's will that the devastation of Java should be caused by this. Now we tell that the Prince remained inside the building at Sélaradja. It happened one day that after the midday prayer the Prince went out and visited the rice fields outside Sélaradja. These fields were called Muntru\textsuperscript{154} and there was a place to sit at the edge, encircled by a pond. He sat beneath the shade of a soka tree,\textsuperscript{155} attended by Ki Soban. At that time the Prince was forty-two\textsuperscript{156} years old.\textsuperscript{157}

\textsuperscript{153} Two lines condensed into one.

\textsuperscript{154} Louw's text has Mantra (De Java-oorlog, I, p. 138).

\textsuperscript{155} According to de Clercq (p. 261), this is \textit{Ixora coccinea}, the redflowered "flame tree of the woods."

\textsuperscript{156} This does not agree with statements of Dipanagara's age given earlier in the text.

\textsuperscript{157} Two lines condensed into one.
He was startled to see
a crowd of people,
and asked quietly:
"Soban, why is there such a crowd?" 158
Soban said with a sembah:
"They have all come
to construct a highway,
having been sent by the Patih
three days since.

It seems that Tegalredja is finished, my lord,
for the making of this highway.

They are going to divide it into six--
it has already been staked out.
The Prince's anger knew no bounds
when he heard what Ki Soban said, 159
and he at once sent Brandjang Kawat
to fetch his Patih,
Mas Ngabèi Mangunardja.

Mangunardja arrived shortly afterwards,
and the Prince said:
"Mangunardja,
tell me about this highway,
that it has happened in this manner!"
Mangunardja said with a sembah:
"Your servant dares not say [what has happened], 160
for he was not informed, my lord. 161"

Indeed, I heard the news
from your peasants,
but I have not been notified,
and so I dare not say."
The Prince spoke again:
"If that is so,
send them away,
and if you cannot, pull up [the stakes]."
Mangunardja said that he would do so and withdrew.

Afterwards he met
the [Jogjakarta] Patih's man,
and told him to withdraw the laborers.
He answered that he dared not, for fear of the Resident, 162
so then Mangunardja
ordered his men to pull out
all the stakes--
north, south, east, and west,
they were all pulled out.

Then Radèn Brangtakusuma, whom the [Jogjakarta] Patih had sent

158. Two lines condensed into one.
159. Two lines condensed into one.
160. Two lines condensed into one.
161. Two lines condensed into one.
162. Two lines condensed into one.
arrived together with some village headmen, and the ganèk\textsuperscript{163} Dutawidjaja, bringing stakes and rakes. Their krisses were seized by the village people of Timpêjan;\textsuperscript{164} Radèn Brangtakusuma was not able to escape. Then they were all chased off, and they returned to inform the Patih, who was angered,

and ordered that the road be closed\textsuperscript{165} at Djagalan. This was the road to Jogjakarta. When this became known p. 112 [the Prince] ordered that it be opened again. When the men left after reopening the road, it was again blocked off. This happened three times: first the road would be opened, and then blocked again. The Prince was told that they kept on blocking the road. [Mangunardja said:] "What shall I do, my lord? It is at night that they block the road, during the day they do not dare, for we keep watch. But as soon as we go home it is blocked again." This angered the Prince: "If it be so, Mangunardja, it seems there is now no going back."

\textsuperscript{163} A kraton messenger, usually a person of some rank.

\textsuperscript{164} Timpêjan and Djagalan are not listed in Dumont's Aardrijkskundig Woordenboek.

\textsuperscript{165} On the matter of the blocking of the road, Louw (De Java-oorlog, I, p. 139) cites a Chevallier's report that repair work on the Jogjakarta road had proceeded up to the boundary of Dipanagara's estate, and concludes that the road had been closed off while this work was in process. Here, however, it appears as the casus belli; presumably the implication is that the road had been closed by the Dutch in order to trap and take Dipanagara. (Louw comments: "Hoe dikwijls zagen wij niet een voorwendsel aangrijpen om tot een oorlog te geraken, die veel diepere oorzaken had. Alles had Dipanegara tot opstand aangezet, eindelijk gaf hij zich aan zijn noodlot over.") What, above all, distinguishes Dipanagara's opstand from previous ones is that it is not a war of succession. This is clear not only from Dipanagara's own statements (as his speech to the Penghulu) but also from the logistics of the situation; as a Regent he enjoyed as much power as he would have had on the throne, and the limits of his freedom were not set by the six year-old Sultan.