

Chapter Title: INTRODUCTION

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PART I: INTRODUCTION

THE MANUSCRIPT

The Javanese babad transliterated and translated here under the title, ‘An Account of the Outbreak of the Java War (1825-30)’ is contained in Codex Orientalis 2114 of the Leiden University Library collection of oriental manuscripts. This manuscript, which formed part of the private collection of Professor Taco Roorda (1801-1874), was bought from his heirs by the library in 1874 along with various other Javanese manuscripts mainly of Surakarta origin.⁵ It has a pencil note on the first page written in Roorda’s own handwriting describing it as the ‘Babad Dhiponogoro’ with his signature below it. On the next page, by way of an introduction, the babad copyist has put the title *Sérat Babadipun Dipanégaran* (Chronicle of Dipanagara). A.C. Vreede (1840-1908), in his catalogue of Javanese manuscripts in the Leiden collection,⁶ wrote that it consisted of a fragment of the history of Dipanagara written in the beautiful hand of the *carik* (scribes) of the Surakarta court. He noticed that it deviated completely from all the other Leiden manuscript versions of the *Babad Dipanagara*, the collection of Javanese chronicles dealing with the life and times of Dipanagara.⁷ The manuscript itself is only 52 folio-sized pages long and is written on high quality Netherlands-Indies import government paper in a fine black quadratic script with red and green rubrics at the start of the cantos and verses.⁸ It ends abruptly at the top of the fifty-second folio and it appears that another canto, with an unidentifiable metre, was meant to follow.

The origins of the manuscript are not clear, but it is possible that it was a fragment taken from a much longer court chronicle. The use of Dutch government paper points to the fact that it was a copy and on the title page, in the same hand, three other manuscripts are referred to which may have formed part of the same bundle.⁹ The date of the manuscript (see p. xvii) suggests that it might have been made for the gifted Javanese linguist, A.D. Cornets de Groot Jr. (1804-1829), who served in Surakarta first as an *élève voor de Javaansche Taal* (student in the Javanese language) (1819-23) and then as Secretary of the Residency (1823-27).¹⁰ It is known, for example, that he was on especially close terms with the Surakarta Patih (prime minister), Raden Adipati Sasradiningrat II (in office, 1812-1846), who lent him many Javanese manuscripts from the Surakarta kraton (court) for his language studies¹¹ and who may have been the patron under whose aegis this babad was written (see p. xx). But it is significant that there is no mention of a *Babad Dipanagara* amongst the Javanese and Malay manuscripts bought by the missionary scholar J.F.C. Gericke, from the estate of Adriaan David Cornets de Groot Jr. (1804-29), after the latter’s untimely death in the Netherlands in 1829.¹² Furthermore, if it had been retained by his heirs, it should have formed part of the A.D. Cornets de Groot family collection which was deposited in the Leiden University Library in 1871.¹³

A more likely explanation is that the babad was copied either for use in the Javanese Language Institute (*Instituut voor de Javaansche Taal*) which Gericke set up in the Sunan’s capital in 1832, or directly for Roorda himself after he had become Professor at the Delft

Royal Academy for engineers and colonial civil servants (*Rijksopleiding voor Ingenieurs en Ambtenaren*) in 1842.¹⁴ Both C.F. Winter Sr. (1800-1859), the official interpreter (*translateur*) of Javanese at the Surakarta Residency (in office, 1825-1859), and J.A. Wilkens (1813-1888), a student of Winter, were active in collecting Javanese manuscripts in Surakarta at this time and the copy could have been made on their orders. The manuscript could then have reached Roorda when the materials of the Surakarta Language Institute were sent to Delft after its closure in 1843 or dispatched directly to Roorda at a later date. Roorda's handwriting is the earliest to appear on the babad and materials for the study of Javanese were much in demand in Delft after the Royal Academy had just been opened.¹⁵ The three other manuscripts which were copied at the same time as the *Babad Dipanagara* can also be traced in Roorda's collection.¹⁶

Whatever were the origins of the babad, it does not appear that Roorda made any use of it during his lifetime, despite the fact that in 1860 he published a Dutch translation of a portion of another version of the *Babad Dipanagara* family of texts which deals with the outbreak of the Java War.¹⁷ The first person to make a brief summary of the contents of the present manuscript was Vreede in 1892 and it bears notes written by him in pencil in the margins as well as some corrections to the text.¹⁸ Since Vreede's survey, it has not been the subject of further study.

THE DATE OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The date given at the beginning of the manuscript, Kėmis Wagé, 19 Běsar, *taun* Bé, A.J. 1752, converts into Thursday, 4 August 1825. The scribe mentioned that he began writing at eleven o'clock at night on 3 August, which, according to Javanese reckoning would fix the date on the fourth. This is because the Javanese day changes at sunset and not at midnight as in western systems. If the latter was strictly adopted, the date should read Wednesday 3 August 1825, since the manuscript was begun at eleven p.m. on that day. This means that the composition of the babad was commenced exactly two weeks after the Dutch attack on Dipanagara's residence at Těgalrěja just outside Yogyakarta (Wednesday, 20 July 1825), an action which marked the start of the Java War. The chronicle was therefore written when Dipanagara's campaign against the Dutch and their allies in the Yogyakarta kraton was in its very earliest stages. Furthermore, the babad does not seem to have spanned a very long period. The latest date which can be identified in the episodes referred to in the text is Friday, 5 August. This was the day when the Yogyakarta official, Raden Tuměnggung Ranadiningrat, the former Yogya troop commander (*wědana gědbé prajurit*, in office, 1811-1816), was wounded in a skirmish with Dipanagara's forces in the streets of the Sultan's capital.¹⁹ The earliest incidents covered by the babad are those connected with the improvements to the minor roads around Yogyakarta which took place in late May and early June 1825, road construction schemes which caused Dipanagara's final break with the Dutch when they affected his lands and family gravesites at Těgalrěja.²⁰ Thus the text covers a time span of just over two months and deals in detail with the immediate developments leading up to the outbreak of the Java War, the Dutch reactions to these unexpected events and the first hostilities (see below p. xl-l).

If the date given in the babad is accepted as being genuine this would make it the oldest extant manuscript version of the *Babad Dipanagara* written by an immediate contemporary. Dipanagara's own autobiographical account, which he wrote in exile in Manado, was not begun to be composed until nearly fourteen months (20 May 1831) after the end of the Java War on 28 March 1830 (see below p.xxvi). Whereas the two other accounts written by participants in the events, Cakranagara's *Buku Kédbung Kébo* and Jayadiningrat's 'Sketches on the Java War, 1825-30' (*Schetsen over den oorlog van Java, 1825-30*) edited by the Dutch amateur historian, Jan Hageman Jcz (1817-1871), were not put together until 1842-43 and 1857 respectively (see below p. xxviii and p.xxxiv). It should be noted, however, that the dating of the present babad as it now stands is somewhat unusual. In particular, it is rare for an early nineteenth-century chronicle to have numerals and not Javanese chronograms (*candrasengkala*) to indicate the dates. Likewise, the inclusion of the Christian year, 1825, alongside the Javanese date reflects a certain degree of European influence on the manuscript's composition. This is further borne out by the spelling of many Dutch names with the *sastra swara* (letter), *fa*, and by the presence of a handful of Dutch words in the manuscript.²¹ The earliest period that dating from the Christian calendar was used in other Javanese manuscripts relating to Dipanagara was in 1876, when the first copy of Pangeran Suryanagara's (1822-ca. 1886) and Danurēja V's (pre-1847, Raden Tuménggung Gandakusuma, 1810-ca. 1885; in office, 1847-1879) court chronicle of the reigns of HB II (1792-1810/1811-12/1826-28), HB III (1812-1814), HB IV (1814-22) and HB V (1822-26/1828-55) was composed in Yogyakarta (see below p.xxx-xxxi). Before that time only chronograms and Javanese dates were employed. Perhaps the peculiarities of the present text in this respect are an indication of the greater Dutch influence on the *mores* of the Surakarta court when compared to those of Yogyakarta during the same period.²² They may also be connected with the fact that the manuscript was probably copied on the orders of the Dutch. But they do not necessarily mean that the dates given at the start of this babad should be rejected as unauthentic.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Neither the name of the patron who commissioned the work nor that of the scribe are mentioned in the babad, but Vreede's opinion that the script used in the text originates from Surakarta is undoubtedly correct. The same neat quadratic script was used on all official Surakarta correspondence dating from the period of Pakubuwana VI (1823-30), and it can be considered peculiar to the Sunan's court.²³ Unfortunately, this does not help us to locate the original author or patron of the work. Since the present manuscript was almost certainly a copy, it was probably transcribed by a court *carik* working on the orders of Cornets de Groot, Winter or Wilkens. After a study of the text, however, it seems possible to hazard the suggestion that the original babad was written under the patronage of Raden Adipati Sasradiningrat II. Besides the latter's interest in Javanese literature, he also wielded considerable influence in the Surakarta kraton at the time of the outbreak of the Java War by virtue of his position as an unofficial guardian of the young Sunan, Pakubuwana VI.²⁴ If Sasradiningrat was the patron of the babad, this would explain why so

much information concerning co-operation with Yogyakarta on road construction projects was included in the text and why the Yogyakarta Patih, Danurĕja IV (1813-1847), occupies such a central place in the narrative.²⁵

The office of the Surakarta prime minister could be expected to have maintained close contacts with Yogyakarta throughout this period. Indeed, there were many matters which had to be dealt with in common by both courts. Various legal, territorial and agrarian questions, which arose in the *nagara agung* (core regions of the realm), where Surakarta and Yogyakarta lands were completely mixed up at this time, were officially settled by the Patihis who met periodically at Klaten, midway between the courts. The two prime ministers also corresponded with each other over criminal cases, for it was common for criminals to seek refuge in the territories controlled by different princely states.²⁶ Moreover, apart from these official contacts, there were many clandestine links between the south-central Javanese kraton which sometimes involved the Patihis. Thus, in 1812, Sasradiningrat's predecessor, Raden Adipati Cakranagara (1810-12), played a leading role in maintaining the secret correspondence between the Sunan and the Sultan which eventually precipitated the British attack on Yogyakarta (19-20 June 1812). Indeed, it is interesting that the correspondence itself was largely instigated by Pakubuwana IV, because he wished to keep himself better informed on the viewpoints of his Yogyakarta rival.²⁷

Other members of the court communities also had their own back channels of communication. Mangkunĕgara II (pre-1821, Pangeran Prangwĕdono) of Surakarta (r. 1796-1835), an unswerving enemy of the Sultan, kept a close watch on the Yogyakarta court and apparently enjoyed relating malicious gossip about his opponent to the Surakarta Resident.²⁸ Personal relationships between princes at the different courts were likewise important. Some religious teachers counted members of both kratons amongst their pupils and this must have led to closer personal contacts between noblemen and officials in Yogyakarta and Surakarta at this time.²⁹ Occasionally, private visits were paid by noblemen to opposing courts: shortly before the Java War, for example, Pakubuwana VI's army commander, was reported to have made a clandestine, night call to one of the princes in the Yogya kraton,³⁰ and later Dipanagara recalled that he had made the acquaintance of two Surakarta *pangĕran* on the occasion of their visits to Yogyakarta.³¹ Meanwhile, a flow of unofficial messengers kept the links between the courts open. In 1812, *santri* (men of religion) from both kratons carried secret messages between the rulers, and, in 1815, at the time of the abortive Sepoy plot in south-central Java, members of the *gladhag* (porters' guilds) served as emissaries for Pakubuwana IV and the British-Indian soldiers in the Yogya and Surakarta garrisons.³²

The territorial situation in south-central Java was also more fluid before 1825 than it came to be after the Java War. This was because of the close juxtaposition of Surakarta, Yogyakarta and Mangkunĕgaran landholdings in the *nagara agung*, the central apanage areas of Mataram, Pajang and Kedu. In these regions, villages and tracts of land held by one court were often placed directly adjacent to *dĕsa* and areas controlled by another court. It was sometimes even the case that separate villages were divided between all three courts.³³ This gave rise to interesting situations, for Dutch officials resident in one court town would frequently get information about developments in an area ruled by another princely state, before their colleagues who were accredited to that state. Thus, in mid-July 1825, firm news

of Dipanagara's warlike intentions reached the Yogyakarta Resident, A.H. Smissaert, first by way of the Acting Surakarta Resident, Hendrik MacGillavry (1797-1835; in office, 1823-27, 1830-34), who reported a movement in a village belonging to Dipanagara near Surakarta in the Pajang area.³⁴ Later, during the Java War itself, many Surakarta *désa* were forced to make common cause with Dipanagara's supporters because they lay between Yogyakarta territory.³⁵

All these contacts, both official and unofficial, meant that the degree of accurate information concerning events in south-central Java was considerable at both courts in the early nineteenth century. Moreover, situations which were likely to prove difficult or politically dangerous were closely watched. In October 1823, when Raden Mas Sapèrdan's appointment as Sunan Pakubuwana VI threatened to throw Surakarta into confusion, Dipanagara related that people in Yogyakarta at the time were of the firm conviction that the appointment would give rise to a rebellion of the Surakarta princes against the Dutch colonial government.³⁶ Likewise, in July 1825, the Surakarta court seems to have been in close touch with the events which were taking place in Yogyakarta through the medium of religious teachers such as Kiai Maja (ca. 1792-1849). Indeed, many princes appear to have been on the verge of going over to Dipanagara before the prompt arrival of General Hendrik Merkus de Kock on 30 July reassured them that the Dutch were taking effective measures to contain the rebellion.³⁷ After the General's arrival, they probably continued to receive detailed reports about the early course of the fighting against Dipanagara from the Mangkunègaran and Kasunanan troop detachments which were sent to reinforce the Yogyakarta garrison in late July and operated in the Klaten area to keep the lines of communication between Surakarta and Yogyakarta open.³⁸ It is interesting in this respect that the first person to provide accurate information to the Dutch about Dipanagara's headquarters at Sèlarong was a cavalry captain (*ritmeester*) of the Mangkunègaran Legion who was captured by Dipanagara's forces in early August whilst on convoy duty between Surakarta and Yogyakarta.³⁹

In view of the above, it is not surprising that a Surakarta *pujangga* (court poet) should have been in a position to write a highly accurate account of the events surrounding the outbreak of the Java War in Yogyakarta. Moreover, if he had connections with Sasradiningrat, who occupied such an influential position in Surakarta at this time and who was directly involved with the dispatch of the Sunan's troops to Yogyakarta and Surakarta territories in the western *mancanagara* (Bagèlen), the amount of information available to him would have been all the greater. We shall see below how another member of the Surakarta Patih's staff, the future Raden Adipati Cakranagara I of Purworejo (in office, 1831-56), was also able to draw up a detailed and precise history of the same period on the basis of reports available to him in Surakarta and his own experiences on the battlefield (see below p.xxviii-xxx)

THE VIEWPOINT OF THE AUTHOR

Although there was very little sympathy in Surakarta for the person of Dipanagara, many people at the Sunan's court secretly supported his stand against the Dutch. Both courts had suffered equally from the sweeping territorial annexations by the European government during the period of Daendels (in office, 1808-11) and Raffles (in office, 1811-16), and from

the precipitate abolition of the land-rent in the princely states in May 1823. At the same time, the Dutch government's handling of the Jabarangkah and Karang Kobar annexations in January 1825 and its scarcely concealed territorial designs on the western *mancanagara* provinces of Bagelen and Banyumas had caused as much anxiety in Surakarta as in Yogyakarta.⁴⁰ The politics of the Sunan's court were never as overtly hostile to the Dutch as those pursued in Yogyakarta, but deep feelings of bitterness towards the colonial government always existed below the surface. Thus, whilst Surakarta afforded Dipanagara no direct assistance at the start of the hostilities and few of the Sunan's officials fought for the prince during the war itself, there is evidence that many Surakarta courtiers were privately pleased by his campaign against the Dutch. One of these silent admirers was Pakubuwana VI, who, emulating the policies of previous Surakarta rulers, planned to reap substantial political rewards from the disturbances in the Sultanate.⁴¹ This generally favourable attitude in Surakarta court circles towards Dipanagara's resolute anti-European stance is clearly reflected in the present babad. Thus, the author has evidently taken some relish in depicting the prince's humiliating treatment of Dutch officials (VII.22-24) and he has portrayed the latter as straw men totally dependant on the advice of their Javanese colleagues. In Yogyakarta, Surakarta and Semarang, the Residents are shown to defer completely to the political expertise of the local Javanese officials (IV.19-29; VI.4-8; VI.17-23; VI.32-36; VII.2-10; VIII.2-6; VIII.45-47; X.16-21; XII.9-17; XII.26-28). He also seems to have understood the nature of Dipanagara's enmity with various members of the Yogya court on the eve of the Java War. Figures with whom Dipanagara was particularly at variance, such as the Yogya army commander, Major Wiranagara (in office, 1816-28), and Paku Alam I (r. 1812-1829), are therefore described in a disparaging way as cowards and fops (V.32-34; VIII.49-50). Of the prince's antagonists, only Danurēja is cast in a positive light in the babad, an exception which may derive from Sasradiningrat's role in the composition of the text.⁴²

One of the most interesting features of the babad writer's portrayal of the main characters in his narrative, is the way in which he has almost instinctively compared them to figures in the Javanese wayang (shadow puppet theatre). Wiranagara, for example, the double-dealing commander of the Sultan's bodyguard, is brilliantly equated with Patih Arya Sangkuni, the devious adviser of the Kurawa faction in the *Mahabharata* cycle of wayang plays (VIII.50). Similarly, Dipanagara is likened in a critical way to the handsome but shallow Raden Samba, the son of Prabu Krėsna, ruler of Dwarawati (VIII.21 and see below p.260). Meanwhile, the Dutch officials, Smissaert and Chevallier, are depicted alternately as giants (*buta*) and clown-retainers (*panakawan*) (IV.8-12), two classifications which seem to have sprung readily to the minds of Javanese when dealing with the Dutch in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁴³ What makes these descriptions even more intriguing is that in some cases they clearly fitted the physical appearances of the historical figures concerned. Thus Smissaert, who was characterised in one European source as a 'small, fat and shy man', was portrayed by another contemporary observer as a 'fine, little Sancho [Panza]', the most archetypal *panakawan* figure in European literature!⁴⁴

The use of wayang imagery in the Javanese chronicles concerning Dipanagara can also be seen in Cakranagara's *Buku Kědhung Kěbo* and in Dipanagara's autobiographical babad (see below pp. xxvi-xxx). But, whereas in these two latter works, the imagery was evoked for specific purposes of spiritual and political legitimation, in this babad it has been used

mainly for dramatic effect.⁴⁵ Indeed, the work itself seems to have been conceived and written up in the manner of a *wayang wong* or *wayang topèng* performance with set scenes (*adègan*) and sharply delineated actors. Nowhere is this influence of the wayang on the artistic structure of the babad clearer than in the description of the Yogyakarta police corps (*Macanan*) as they prepared to set out for Tègalrèja (II.14). The description of their arrogant posture and twirled black moustaches distinctly recalls the appearance of the *gagab* (forceful) male dancers in Javanese dance dramas.⁴⁶ The battle scenes are also cast in a classical wayang manner: in the fight between the *Macanan* and Dipanagara's men at Tègalrèja, for example, the latter are shown to prevail over their undisciplined adversaries (II.12-17), in much the same fashion as the *satria* (warriors) conquer the flailing *buta* (giants) in the *prang kembang* episodes in the wayang.⁴⁷ Even the humoristic interludes (*banyolan*), which are an integral part of all wayang performances, are to be found in this babad. One of these is the scene when the defeated police official, Macan Laut, is deprived of his uniform by Dipanagara's bodyguards and starts to tremble from fear and farts continuously (III.20-25).⁴⁸

These artistic and theatrical effects in the present text undoubtedly reflect the great popularity of wayang performances at the Surakarta court in the early nineteenth century. One of Pakubuwana VI's favourite *banyolan*, for example was reported to have been rather similar to the one reproduced in this text.⁴⁹ But it was Pakubuwana VI's grandfather, Pakubuwana IV, who was particularly renowned as a great patron of the theatrical arts. Besides being an author of repute, he was also an accomplished dancer and puppeteer (*dbalang*).⁵⁰ During his reign, Javanese war dances, such as the shield-bow dance (*bèksa jèbèng*) and the fighting dance (*bèksa prawirèng*), as well as the masked dance performances (*wayang topèng*) from the Panji cycle appear to have been especially popular. On certain occasions, the Sunan himself would take part in dance performances with a few of his close relations and he kept troops of *prawirèng* and *topèng* dancers at court.⁵¹ *Wayang kulit* and *wayang klithik* (shadow theatre with wooden puppets depicting plays from the Damar Wulan cycle) were also frequently performed. The former was so well liked that the official wives of the Sunan used to play with diminutive gold and jewel encrusted wayang figures as a pastime.⁵² During an earlier period, when the Mataram rulers had been allowed to mint their own money, *wayang gèdhog* (shadow puppets of the Panji cycle) and *wayang klithik* figures had even appeared on their coinage.⁵³

Wayang was not only popular at the courts. In the countryside too, performances were extremely well frequented: areas like Kedu and Ledok were renowned for their shadow plays and the European administration derived a substantial income from the taxes paid on wayang performances in government controlled provinces.⁵⁴ In the Batavia-Bogor region, for example, *wayang wong* troupes were allowed to tour the countryside playing in local *pasar* and throughout Java performers and *dbalang* wandered from village to village giving wayang shows.⁵⁵ The latter, together with the *satria lèlana* (wandering noblemen), caused the Dutch authorities particular concern during periods of agrarian unrest, for they often emerged as local leaders.⁵⁶ The tales which they performed of adventurers who had raised themselves to princely status fired the imagination of the rural population, especially the *num pang* (unmarried landless labourers), who earned a marginal existence as porters on the roads or as unofficial bodyguards of prominent courtiers.⁵⁷ The great popularity of wayang at this time can be seen too in the number of proper names and toponyms which were based

on characters and places in the wayang.⁵⁸ At the same time, the use of Javanese orchestras (*gamelan*), which were played as an accompaniment to wayang performances, was also widespread. During the Java War, many chiefs who rallied to Dipanagara brought their own orchestras with them and select instruments, in particular the small cymbals (*béndhé*), drums (*tambur*) and gongs, were used during battle engagements to strengthen the morale of their troops.⁵⁹ A beautiful example of this mixture of music, dance and the martial arts can be found in a European eye-witness description of Dipanagara during his flight from Těgalrěja. This mentioned that the prince, who was dressed completely in white in the robes (*jubab* / tabard), turban and *baju kokok* (collarless white shirt with wooden buttons) worn by *santri* (students of religion) engaged in Holy War (*prang sabil*), was mounted on a prancing black horse with white fetlocks, looked as though he was dancing (*tandhak*) in the midst of his lance-bearing bodyguard.⁶⁰

Although the wayang imagery used in the babad was primarily included to heighten the dramatic effect of many of the scenes, it also provides the main clue to the author's assessment of Dipanagara's character. Thus, his choice of the wayang figure, Raden Samba, with whom to equate the prince, highlights his two main criticisms of Dipanagara: first the latter's close associations with the religious communities, and secondly the flaws in his character deriving from personal ambition (*pamrih*). As he is portrayed in the Javanese shadow theatre, Samba is on the one hand a quintessentially courtly figure who would be out of place in the company of rural *santri*, and, on the other hand, he is a *satRIA* (knight) without any spiritual power (*kasěktèn*). A handsome figure and a fine talker with a good eye for women, Samba is nevertheless a devious and shallow character in the shadow theatre. On one occasion in the wayang tales, he is able to acquire spiritual power by virtue of a magical tattoo on his hand given to him by a *pandhita* (sage). As long as the efficacy of this tattoo lasts, Samba enjoys a period of real power and is able to conquer hitherto invincible *rěksasa* (demons). But his glory is short lived. When the magical tattoo wears off, Samba returns to being his normal self again and his power is at an end.⁶¹ By comparing Dipanagara with Samba, the author has therefore clearly indicated his view of the prince's character and his chances against the Dutch. According to him, Dipanagara would prevail for a while through the potency of his magic arts such as the powers of invulnerability bestowed on his troops (VIII.15). But, as with Samba, his period of fame would be of short duration. His borrowed *kasěktèn* would eventually lose its efficacy and he would become an ordinary person again, no longer of any consequence against the Dutch.

Much the same attitude towards Dipanagara can be seen in Cakranagara's *Buku*, where Dipanagara is likened to Suyudana, head of the Kurawas, a great ruler and a fine warrior, yet fated to destroy himself and his house because of his overweening vanity, a flaw symbolized by the waringin leaf which covered a small part of his thigh when he was being bathed with the waters of *kasěktèn* (invulnerability) as a child and where, in the final battle of the Brother's War (*Bharatayuda*) in the Mahbharata, he would receive the fatal lance thrust which would kill him. In the same text, the author made it clear that, in his opinion, it was not the right time (*durung mangsa*) to drive the Dutch from Java and that Dipanagara's efforts were doomed to failure on account of his personal ambition (*pamrih*): a view which is still generally held today in Surakarta court circles.⁶² Needless to say the wayang figures which appear in Dipanagara's own autobiographical babad are very different, and it

seems that he consciously modelled himself on Arjuna, the third of the five Pandhawa brothers, who is renowned in the wayang for his physical beauty and great spiritual strength.⁶³

Just as the example of Samba was chosen by the babad writer to indicate his view of the prince's character, so the figure was also picked to stress Dipanagara's courtly origins and the incongruity of his connections with the *santri*. The author has thus taken pains to portray the prince in a noble environment. At the start of the babad, he is shown to live amongst his retainers at Těgalrěja and Sělarong in a style appropriate to his rank (I.16-17) and after the skirmish with Danurěja's men outside his residence, he is portrayed distributing largesse in a manner which would have been expected of a nobleman (IV.1-5). All these descriptions build up to the magnificent picture of Dipanagara before the fight with the Dutch at Těgalrěja, when he is compared directly with Samba (VIII.21). Shaded by a state umbrella (*payung*) and mounted on a superbly caparisoned horse, the prince is shown to take little direct part in the fighting apart from his brief (and probably fictitious) hand-to-hand conflict with Wiranagara (IX.19-25). Such an aloof position would again have been suitable for a person of high noble birth.⁶⁴ Furthermore, the babad writer found no difficulty in reconciling *satria* (knightly) and *santri* (religious) values by describing Dipanagara both as being dressed in the white raiments of the Holy War (*prang sabil*) and as having his symbol of princely authority, his *payung*, held over his head (VIII.16, 21). The author even went so far as to qualify the latter as a symbol of the Holy War (X.28), a remark which underlined the highly syncretic kraton approach to Islam in general.⁶⁵

The emphasis in the babad on Dipanagara as a Javanese aristocrat had the purpose of making his associations with the religious communities seem all the more incongruous. Thus, the phrase which the babad writer put into the mouth of Resident Smissaert undoubtedly sums up the highly critical attitude of many members of the Javanese courts towards the prince's *santri* connections:

II. 8. [...]

It is a sham, his giving himself over to religion

9. and often going away to perform asceticism.

He is hand in glove with the *santri*.

He has given up the sense of honour of the *satria*,

for he has accepted the sense of honour of the *santri*.

10. [...]

He mixes with the scum of the nation

[and] is arrogant enough to invite battle,

But these *santri*, what do they amount to?⁶⁶

In the view of the babad writer and of numerous others in the south-central Javanese kraton, Dipanagara had not been loyal to his caste. He had thrown over his obligations as a Javanese nobleman and had demeaned himself by associating with the *santri*, most of whom were drawn from a rural background and had a very different social status from the courtly elite. The same attitude towards Dipanagara can be seen in Cakranagara's *Buku*⁶⁷ and even aristocrats who fought for the prince, such as Ali Basah Sěntot Prawiradirja (ca. 1808-1855), maintained a critical view of the religious leaders who served under Dipanagara. Sěntot's viewpoint was later epitomised by Dipanagara when he remarked that the young nobleman

could ‘neither read nor write and from his earliest childhood had shown a violent dislike for Dipanagara’s intention to educate him for the position of a ‘priest’ [sic, *santri*].’⁶⁸ Indeed, Dipanagara and his family were to some extent unique amongst their kraton contemporaries at this time because of the depth of their devotion to Islam and their numerous links with leading religious teachers and mystics.⁶⁹ We shall see below (p. xliii-xliv) how this situation can be traced to Dipanagara’s rather unusual upbringing at Těgalrěja, some distance away from the Yogya court. Many of Dipanagara’s *santri* associates later rallied to him at the start of the Java War (V.1-15) and they were of considerable use in organising a following for Dipanagara at the village level. But their support eventually proved a liability to him. Irreconcilable tensions developed between the prince’s kraton and *santri* supporters over questions of landholdings, military tactics, the treatment of prisoners and the role of religion in areas controlled by Dipanagara.⁷⁰ These difficulties, which effectively split Dipanagara’s followers, hastened the prince’s defeat at the hands of the Dutch, especially after Kiai Maja’s defection in November 1828. The comments in this babad thus afford a useful insight into the deep-seated suspicion of the religious communities in Javanese court circles and the impossibility of any lasting alliance between the two mutually antagonistic groups.

Besides his attack on Dipanagara’s relationship with the religious communities, the author also contrived to introduce a histrionic note into his portrayal of Dipanagara as an aristocrat turned religious leader. In various passages, it seems that, with conscious irony, he was casting the Yogya prince in the role of a latter-day Prophet Muhammad. Thus, Dipanagara’s insistence that he wished to be driven away from the capital (Yogyakarta) and his demands of pledges of loyalty from his followers (I.18-19), read as a burlesque of the Prophet’s famous *hijrah* (flight) of the year 622 from Mecca to Medina. The same is true of the prince’s decision to embark on the Holy War (*prang sabil*) against the Europeans and the Chinese in Java, which he is depicted as announcing in high-flown rhetoric (V.1-6) and which seemed to emulate The Prophet Muhammad’s own declaration of the *jihād* on the unbelievers in Mecca.⁷¹ The historical example of the founder of Islam may have been used by the babad writer to offset what he viewed as absurdly histrionic gestures of Dipanagara’s part and to attack yet again the pretensions of the *santri*.

Finally, it should be noted that the viewpoint of the author is throughout that of a Surakarta official and his attitude towards Yogyakarta is coloured by the long-standing rivalry between the two courts. Thus, the author has incorporated various small illusions into his text to highlight the fact that, in his estimation, Surakarta was the senior court in south-central Java and took precedence over Yogyakarta. During the discussions in the babad about road building projects in the *nagara agung*, for example, Surakarta is referred to pointedly as a *nagari* (state) as opposed to Yogyakarta which is dismissed as a mere *kutha* (town) (VI.6). In the same scene, Danurěja, the Yogya Patih, is also made to allude to his Surakarta colleague as ‘*Kang Mas Adipatya*’ (‘my Elder Brother Adipati’), another recognition of Surakarta seniority (VI.20-21). Meanwhile, Danurěja’s initiative in the matter of road construction is shown by the babad writer to have been grounded on an incorrect understanding of previous *adat* (custom) (VI.4-7), so once again Yogyakarta is made to appear at a disadvantage.

In conclusion, the author’s attitude in the babad with regard to Dipanagara, Yogyakarta and the Dutch can be characterised as a highly critical one. Although he evinced some

sympathy for Dipanagara's stand against the European government, this sympathy was tempered by an unequivocal disapproval of the prince's *santri* connections and a censorious view of the prince's own character. Above all, he questioned Dipanagara's personal motives, and, by comparing him with Samba, predicted his ultimate defeat at the hands of the Dutch. The author's account is thus steeped in the prejudices and assumptions of a member of the Surakarta court, a viewpoint which can be seen most clearly in his attitude towards the religious communities (*santri*) and his constant disparagement of the neighbouring court of Yogyakarta. This critical approach, combined with the highly contemporary nature and historical accuracy of the babad, makes it an invaluable source for students of this period. In particular, it is a useful text to set beside Dipanagara's own autobiographical babad, which gives his personal justification for his actions; the Yogyakarta kraton chronicle, which espouses the viewpoint of the Sultan's court, and the *Buku Kédhung Kébo*, which was written under the aegis of one of Dipanagara's most formidable provincial adversaries: Cakranagara I of Purworejo (1779-1862). The existence of these four Javanese chronicle traditions concerning Dipanagara and the Java War, provides historians with a unique opportunity to produce a balanced appraisal of the historiography of the period.

THE OTHER JAVANESE HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS

Dipanagara's Autobiographical Chronicle: *Babad Dipanagara*

The most important of the four main chronicle traditions is the one written under Dipanagara's orders in Manado during the first part of his exile in Sulawesi (1830-33). According to the dates given in the text, his account, usually known as the *Babad Dipanagara*, was composed in just under nine months (8 Bésar, A.J. 1758-1 Ramélan, A.J. 1759; 20 May 1831-3 February 1832).⁷² In slightly over 1,000 folio-sized pages, it covers the history of Java from the fall of Majapahit in the late fifteenth century to the peace of Giyanti (1755) (one third of the work), and the period of Dipanagara's own life and times from his birth in 1785 down to his exile in Manado in 1830. No original manuscript of this babad is now extant, but in 1866-67 the Dutch scholar, A.B. Cohen Stuart (1825-1876), made a series of copies of the manuscript owned by Dipanagara's descendants who were living in Makassar.⁷³ This family manuscript may well have been the original, as it was written in *pégon* (Javanese written in Arabic letters), a script which was widely used amongst the more self consciously religious circles in Java and by Dipanagara himself.⁷⁴ But there is no means of checking its authenticity as it has now apparently been lost.⁷⁵ The first copy made by Cohen Stuart, also in *pégon* script, and various other copies in Javanese script are, however, in the collection of the Perpustakaan Nasional (Indonesian National Library) in Jakarta. Unfortunately, the *pégon* copy, which is probably the most accurate for purposes of historical research, has been allowed to deteriorate so badly that many pages are now illegible and its use for students is at present strictly limited.⁷⁶ The copy which is referred to in the present study is one in Javanese script which is now in the Leiden University Library and classified as LOr 6547 a-d. This four-volume quarto transcription of the *Babad Dipanagara* is from the collection of Professor G.A.J. Hazeu (1870-1929), who served for two periods (1904-1912, 1916-

1920) as Adviser for Native Affairs (*Adviseur voor Inlandsche Zaken*). It closely resembles one of the copies in Javanese script in the Perpustakaan Nasional collection. The text of the Rusche edition of the last two thirds of Dipanagara's babad, first printed in Surakarta in 1908-1909, also seems to have been based on a similar manuscript.⁷⁷

According to Dipanagara, the idea of writing such an autobiographical account was first suggested to him by the Resident of Manado, D.F.W. Pietermaat (1790-1848; in office, 1827-1831), who had asked him about the reasons for his exile. The prince undertook to write the history of his life and times after he had made the Resident promise that he would deliver a letter to King Willem I of the Netherlands (r. 1813-40) requesting permission for him to make the pilgrimage to Mecca (*haj*).⁷⁸ Despite this intriguing insight into the genesis of Dipanagara's babad, the fashion in which it was actually written down is still unclear. It is unlikely that Dipanagara himself was responsible for penning the work, for, although he was a fascinating talker, he wrote Javanese very badly.⁷⁹ Moreover, the only surviving manuscripts from his hand are in prose and not in Javanese *těmbang* (verse).⁸⁰ Instead, it is possible that Dipanagara may have sketched the outlines of his chronicle orally or in prose and then given it to an amanuensis to convert into *těmbang*. This seems to have been the technique which was used later by Cakranagara when he commissioned the *Buku Kědbung Kěbo* in the early 1840s and many other contemporary Javanese babads were composed in a similar fashion at this time.⁸¹ Dipanagara had with him in his entourage in Manado one of his brothers-in-law named Tuměnggung Dipawiyana, who apparently wrote Javanese fluently in both *pěgon* and Javanese script, and later (August 1830) a scribe, Tirtadirana (Tirtadrana), was sent from Kiai Maja's community in Kampung Jawa Tondano to help the prince, as well as a someone described as a 'santri', Wangsatruno (Satruno), who was tasked with supporting Dipanagara in his religious duties. So, any of these three men might have been in a position to turn Dipanagara's babad into *tembang* and produce the final *pěgon* version.⁸² But there is nothing in the Dutch sources to confirm this and the Resident of Manado made no mention in his official letters of any literary activities on Dipanagara's part.⁸³

Although there is very little firm information about the background to the composition of Dipanagara's autobiography, its importance as an historical source has long been recognised. The Dutch military historian, Pieter J.F. Louw (1856-1924), who drew on the babad extensively for his history of the Java War, wrote that 'unhesitatingly we would attribute such a high historical value to the babad of Dipanagara, that any history of the Java War could undoubtedly be branded as highly incomplete if it had not used the babad as a source'.⁸⁴ Louw made use of Dutch and Malay translations of the original manuscript which are often faulty,⁸⁵ and his main interest in the babad was in order to check the details of military engagements, in which field the account is perhaps the least accurate. But, even after detailed comparison with the available Dutch military reports, Louw still accorded the babad his highest praise: 'his [Dipanagara's] account is as far as we can judge an ingenious one and can on most points not only [...] sustain the control of European sources but [...] it gives more than these'.⁸⁶ It is the opinion of the present writer that the babad is most useful for checking the details concerning the history of Yogyakarta before the Java War and Dipanagara's own activities in Těgalrěja. Louw's historical appraisal of the work is therefore amply justified for this period and perhaps also for Dipanagara's view of events

during the Java War itself. It cannot, however, in any sense be designated an ‘ingenuous’ source, for Dipanagara’s prejudices and assumptions are clearly marked in the *babad*. In the political alignments in the Yogyakarta kraton, for example, Dipanagara supported his father (the future Sultan Hamengkubuwana III) against the party of Pangeran Natakusuma (1764-1829; later Paku Alam I, r. 1812-29) and even against the followers of the second Sultan. The account thus reflects Dipanagara’s highly personal and partisan view of the Sultan’s court.

Cakranagara’s Family Chronicle: *Buku Kědhung Kěbo*

The second most important group of Javanese accounts about the period of Dipanagara, which are sometimes referred to loosely as ‘*Babad Dipanagara*’, are the various recensions of the *Buku Kědhung Kěbo* (‘Kedhung Kebo Chronicle’). Kědhung Kěbo (‘buffaloes’ watering hole’) was the picturesque local name for the settlement on the Bagawanta river (Bagělen) which was after 26 February 1831 known by the more dignified toponym Purworejo (‘the beginning of prosperity’). The original manuscript of the *Buku* was written under the orders of Raden Adipati Cakranagara I (1779-1862; in office, 1831-1856), the first bupati of Purworejo after the Dutch annexation of the area in 1830.⁸⁷ Cakranagara came from a family of prominent *kiai* (country gentlemen) or *kuwu* (village head) in the eastern area of Bagělen and served for a time as *mantri* (post-1815, *panèwu*) *gladhag*, an official in charge of the porters’ guild in Surakarta before the outbreak of the Java War. His name at this time was Mas Ngabehi Rěsadiwirya and the first mention of him in the sources is in 1810, when, as a junior *priyayi Kěpatihan* (an official of the Patih’s office in Surakarta), he was sent to Ampèl near Boyolali to investigate an irrigation dispute.⁸⁸ It is unlikely that he knew Dipanagara before the Java War, although there is an unsubstantiated oral account that the two men studied *kěbatinan* (Javanese spiritual disciplines) together under the same *guru tasawuf* (teacher of Islamic mysticism) – possibly Kiai Taptojani (died 1828) – at Mělangi to the northwest of Yogya.⁸⁹ At the start of the war itself, on 23 August 1825, Cakranagara was ordered to return to Bagělen as second-in-command (*wakil komandan*) of a detachment of Surakarta troops. His duties there were initially those of a guide to the local Dutch commander, Colonel J.B. Cleerens, but he later made himself useful in military matters and in January 1829 he replaced his Surakarta superior, Pangeran Kusumayuda. His exploits in the fighting against Dipanagara’s forces in the area earned him the position of bupati (district administrator) first of Tanggung (1828-30) and then of the newly created *kabupaten* (administrative area) of Purworejo (pre-1831, Brěngkělan) at the end of the war. In many ways he was typical of the ‘new men’, mostly provincial gentry, who were favoured by the Dutch in 1830 over the heads of the old court grandees like Pangeran Kusumayuda who had hitherto administered the outlying areas in the name of the south-central Javanese rulers. As a ‘new man’, Cakranagara felt the need to justify his rapid rise to prominence, so, amongst other things—like the building of an impressive residence with the second largest *alun-alun* (great square to the north of the *kabupaten*) after Ngawi in Java—he commissioned the *Buku* to illustrate his career in the service of the Sunan and the Dutch. The account of his life and times was also designed to serve as a foundation charter for his family, three of whom succeeded him as bupati in Purworejo until 1919 when his great-grandson,

Cakranagara IV (in office, 1907-1919) was forcibly retired.⁹⁰ Most of the work concerns his activities in Bagèlen during the Java War and the history of the Purworejo *kabupaten* after 1830 (until ca. 1840),⁹¹ but nine introductory cantos are included which deal with Dipanagara and the events in Yogyakarta between 1812 and 1825. As a piece of literature, the *Buku* is not fine, since it is written in coarse provincial Javanese and incorporates many Malay words and idioms, which are used especially in the conversations between Dutch and Javanese officials depicted in the text. It cannot thus be compared in terms of literary style with the polished cadences of the kraton babads or even with the dignified simplicity of Dipanagara's autobiographical chronicle.

Cakranagara's position as an official of the Surakarta *képatihan* in the years before the Java War, meant that he probably had access to a considerable amount of information concerning political developments in Yogyakarta during the 1812-25 period. His colourful account of the fighting in the early weeks of the war, when he himself was still in the Sunan's capital, could likewise have been based on the reports which came back to Surakarta from the members of the Sunan's forces who served in Yogyakarta (see above p.xx). But the *Buku*'s insights into Dipanagara's character and motives are so detailed, that there is some doubt about how much Cakranagara himself contributed to the early passages concerning the prince and his circle at Těgalrěja. Apart from the tenuous oral tradition of a *pěsantren* (religious school) and *kěbatinan* contact with Dipanagara as pupils of the same *guru tasawuf*, there is no other evidence to suggest that Cakranagara had any direct knowledge of the latter's life in Yogyakarta before the war. By a close comparative study of the introductions to the various manuscripts, however, it is possible to conclude that another author may have had a hand in the composition of the early cantos. This second author has been identified as Basah Abdullatif Kerta Pěngalasan (ca. 1795-post-1866), a junior kraton official in Kulon Progo (Yogya) prior to 1825, who later became a prominent local army commander (*Basah*) of Dipanagara's forces in eastern Bagèlen in 1828-1829 as the Java War was drawing to a close. He appears to have been an intimate associate of the prince and was placed in charge of one of his elite bodyguard regiments which was recruited largely from *santri*. It seems certain that Pěngalasan was in a position to acquire close personal knowledge about Dipanagara and his circle of advisers both before and during the Java War. Indeed, there is a strong possibility that he supplied Cakranagara with most of the details for the early cantos, whereas Cakranagara himself provided the material for the second part of the *Buku* which concerns his campaigns in Bagèlen. The work thus represents an interesting example of co-operation between a redoubtable enemy of Dipanagara (Cakranagara), and a warm supporter and confidant of the prince (Pěngalasan).⁹²

The earliest available manuscript of the *Buku* is LOr 2163 of the Leiden University Library which was completed in 1842-43.⁹³ A Dutch translation of the introductory cantos which deal with the background to the war and the outbreak of Dipanagara's rebellion has already been referred to (see above p.xvii and p.lix note 17). This was published as long ago as 1860, but it cannot be regarded as anything more than a general summary of the text. Moreover, since the publication did not include a text edition of the original MS (LOr 2163), its use as an historical source is limited. For the purposes of the present study, the original Leiden manuscript has been used in conjunction with another manuscript copy of the *Buku* from the collection of the Koninklijk Instituut (Leiden). This MS, classified as

KITLV Or. 13, was the subject of an unpublished M.A. Thesis by an Australian National University (ANU) graduate student in 1971. The latter gives a full transliteration of the first nine cantos and a summary in English which greatly facilitates the historian's task.⁹⁴ Although the Koninklijk Instituut version dates from 1866, the differences with LOr 2163 are very slight and both manuscripts can be used together as comparative accounts.

The Yogyakarta Court Chronicles concerning Dipanagara: *Babad Ngayogyakarta*

The third main group of babads concerning the life and times of Dipanagara are those which were written at the Yogyakarta court in the late nineteenth century. In terms of historical importance, these should probably be placed in fourth place after Dipanagara's autobiographical babad, the *Buku* and the Surakarta kraton version edited in the present study, since they are the least contemporary. But they nevertheless contain a considerable amount of information and give a unique account of events from the point of view of the Yogya court. Various manuscript copies of this Yogyakarta chronicle tradition still survive. One can be found in the Widyabudaya manuscript collection of the Yogya kraton classified as Widyabudaya A. 62 (*Babad Dipanagaran*), which appears to be a copy made in 1906.⁹⁵ There are also other manuscript copies in the Sonobudoyo Museum Library (Yogyakarta), entered as SB A. 135 (*Babad Ngayogyakarta*, vol. I), SB A. 136 (*Babad Ngayogyakarta*, vol. II) and SB A. 144 (*Babad Ngayogyakarta*, vol. III), which cover the period from the accession of the second Sultan (2 April 1792) to the appointment of Raden Adipati Danuręja V in February 1847.⁹⁶ As these latter manuscripts were more readily available to the present writer than that in the Yogyakarta court collection, they have been used here, although a few references have been made to the Widyabudaya text for purposes of comparison.

The principal author of the *Babad Ngayogyakarta* was Pangeran Suryanagara (1822-ca. 1886), a son of Sultan Hamęngkubuwana IV (r. 1814-22) by the daughter of a court *dhalang*, Kiai Dhalang Jiwatęnaya, who was the leading *wayang kulit* puppeteer of his time in Yogyakarta.⁹⁷ Perhaps Suryanagara inherited some of his grandfather's artistic skills, for he later became a well-known court poet (*pujangga-Dalęm*) in Yogyakarta and won a government gold medal in 1875 for Javanese literature.⁹⁸ He married into the Paku Alam family and maintained close contacts with Dutch military and scientific circles in Jakarta, being himself an honorary Lieutenant-Colonel of the Dutch General Staff and a corresponding member of the Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap (Royal Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences). Suryanagara helped to develop a distinct Yogyakarta literary style, which used a literary idiom containing many *kawi* (Old Javanese) words unknown in Surakarta texts.⁹⁹ His main interest was in the history of the Yogya courts (the Sultanate and Pakualaman) and he also acquired a reputation for expertise in constructing chronogram lists (*babad sęngkala*), although the latter has been called into question by a recent study of *sęngkala* texts.¹⁰⁰ The unique feature of Suryanagara's *Babad Ngayogyakarta* volumes is that they include transcripts of official Dutch and Javanese letters from the period of the Java War some of which were taken from Jan Hageman's history published in 1856.¹⁰¹ Suryanagara's work thus reflects a combination, which was

extremely rare in Javanese literary compositions, in that it was based on both European and Javanese sources.

Suryanagara was helped in writing the final volume, which covers the period from 1826 to 1847, by Danurēja V, Patih of Yogyakarta (1847-79), who drew on his own experiences of the Java War period to amplify the former's researches. Danurēja V, who was then known as Ali Basah Mahmud Gandakusuma, served Dipanagara throughout the war as one of his most trusted army commanders and remained loyal to him to the end. Thus, as was the case with Pěngalasan and Cakranagara, Danurēja was in a position to offer his co-author many personal insights into Dipanagara's behaviour during the war which enhance the human quality of Suryanagara's work. Similarly, for the first volume of the trilogy, dealing with the years 1792-1816, Suryanagara appears to have had access to interesting private sources in the library of the Pakualaman. Indeed, this first volume bears a very close resemblance to the prose version of the babad attributed to Paku Alam I, known as the *Babad Batawi*, which was later used by Carel Poensen (1836-1919) for his study of the reign of Sultan Haměngkubuwana II.¹⁰² This latter babad mainly concerns the events in Yogyakarta before the appointment of Paku Alam I on 22 June 1812, and is written from a highly partisan viewpoint. By virtue of his marriage into the Paku Alam family, it is likely that Suryanagara was able to use an original manuscript (*babon*) of Paku Alam's chronicle which he recast in a more flowery literary idiom. Suryanagara's babad in turn, probably served as the source for the prose version used by Poensen, which represents a much later recension of the Paku Alam account.¹⁰³

Apart from the insights provided by Danurēja V and the biases taken over from the Paku Alam babad, the main theme which runs through Suryanagara's *Babad Ngayogyakarta* is that of the survival and continuation of the Sultan's court through a troubled period of war and rebellion. The events which led up to the Java War are dealt with scrupulously, but much stress is laid on specifically kraton events such as marriages, deaths, court ceremonies, the visits of Dutch dignitaries and the like. It is perhaps in the context of these happenings at the Yogyakarta kraton, that the historian can find new light to shed on the figure of Dipanagara, for he is seen not as a central actor scheming a revolt as in the *Buku* or the present Surakarta text, nor as an incorruptible paragon as in the autobiography, but rather as just one of the many *pangéran* at the Yogyakarta court at this time. Thus he is glimpsed as a rather dour figure reading the *kitab* (Islamic texts) at the Friday services (*Salat Jumu'wah*) in the Great Mosque (Mesjid Agěng) of Yogyakarta, as a senior prince riding out to meet Governor-General Van der Capellen (in office, 1816-26) at Karangjati in August 1819, and as a member of the Yogyakarta expedition sent out to help crush Pangeran Dipasana's revolt in February 1822.¹⁰⁴ No really new facts are given about the causes of the Java War, but Suryanagara's babad is particularly strong on the events which shook the Yogya court at the time: the troubles over the ending of the land-rent in May 1823, the influence of wandering *dhukun* (mystics; magicians) and the quarrel over a kraton *pusaka* (regalia).¹⁰⁵ Throughout the babad, the reader has the impression that he is firmly based in Yogyakarta and that, although Dipanagara is often mentioned, the events at Těgalrēja and the fighting which followed are explained from the viewpoint of the Sultan's court. The *Babad Ngayogyakarta* is therefore a most useful foil to the other Javanese historical accounts.

The Minor Javanese Accounts

The Chronicle of the Seizure of Yogyakarta: Babad Bédhab ing Ngayogyakarta

Prominent amongst the minor Javanese accounts, which do not fall into the category of the Dipanagara babads and which have been referred to in the present study, is the *Babad Bédhab ing Ngayogyakarta* ('the Chronicle of the Fall of Yogyakarta'). This babad recounts the events surrounding the attack on the Yogyakarta kraton by the British on 19-20 June 1812 and affairs in the sultanate up to 13 May 1816, when the young ruler, Sultan Hamengkubuwana IV, married a daughter of Danurēja II. The original draft of this babad, which bears the title *Sérat Babad Ngèngrèng kaping kalih* (lit.: second draft of the chronicle') forms part of the John Crawfurd collection in the British Library (London) and is written on *dluwang* (Javanese treebark paper). It seems likely that this unfinished draft was taken back to England by Crawfurd when he left Java in October 1816 after he had overseen the withdrawal of the last British-Indian troops following the restoration of Dutch authority on the island on 19 August.¹⁰⁶ A copy of the British Library manuscript is in the Leiden University Library classified LOr 2045. Although the latter represents a more polished version of the text, it has been bowdlerised and is incomplete, so all references will be to the British Library text, recently been published by Peter Carey (1992).¹⁰⁷

The author of the babad is not mentioned in the text, but it seems to have been written at the behest of Pangeran Panular (ca. 1772-1826), an uncle of Sultan Hamengkubuwana III (1812-14). Panular, who features prominently in the babad, was a staunch supporter of the third Sultan and a leading figure in the *karajan* or *kanoman* party at court. This party, which was made up of those Yogya *pangéran* and officials who adhered to the cause of Hamengkubuwana III and his son, Hamengkubuwana IV, was opposed to the followers of the banished second Sultan, who were known as the *kasepuhan* party, the partisans of the old Sultan (Sultan Sepuh). The chronicle strongly represents the views of the former group and thus affords an insight into the party rivalries which were to bedevil court politics in Yogyakarta until the 1850s.¹⁰⁸ Like Suryanagara's *Babad Ngayogyakarta*, the *Babad Bédhab* is very much a court text which deals in detail with minor kraton events and ceremonies. Dipanagara is often mentioned as a young prince closely associated with his father, the third Sultan, and the babad provides an interesting background against which to assess his activities during this period. Of particular use, as far as historians are concerned, is that this is one of the rare non-ex post facto (i.e., post-Java War) accounts of the prince so we know how his Javanese contemporaries saw him. Equally useful is the fact that many of the opening verses of the cantos are dated, and that the cantos themselves bear the impression of having been written up at different stages throughout the reign of the third Sultan and the beginning of that of his successor. These dates range from 7 Jumadilakir A.J. 1739 (19 June 1812) to 15 Jumadilakir A.J. 1743 (13 May 1816). Although the manuscript begins and ends abruptly, it has something of the nature of a court diary and can be said to constitute a highly contemporaneous source for the history of developments in Yogyakarta during a crucial period before the Java War.



Coloured drawing of Dipanagara in exile in Sulawesi reading a text on Islamic mysticism (*tasawuf*) accompanied by his official wife, Raden Ayu Rétningstih (ca. 1810-85). At his feet sits one of his sons (Pangéran Ali Basah) who is either having a vision of a Javanese spirit or is being admonished by Dipanagara's dwarf-like intimate retainer (*panakawan*), Bantéhngwarèng (ca. 1810-58), who served as tutor to Dipanagara's children born in exile in Sulawesi. The sketch was probably made in West Java in the late 19th century. Original in Leiden Codex Orientalis 7398 (Snouck Hurgronje collection). Photograph courtesy of the Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden (UBL).

Dipanaganara's Makassar Notebooks: *Sejarah Ratu Tanah Jawa* and *Hikayat Tanah Jawa*

Another important minor source for this period are the notebooks on Javanese history, legends and Islam which were written by Pangeran Dipanaganara in Makassar and which are now owned by his descendants.¹⁰⁹ The notebooks are in *pégon* script and written on Netherlands-Indies government paper cut into small octavo sized sheets probably for economy. The first of these bears the date 5 Dulkijah A.J. 1765 (24 January 1838) and it is likely that both were written or dictated by Dipanaganara about the same time.¹¹⁰ This was a period when Dipanaganara was placed in rather strict confinement in Fort Rotterdam in Makassar because of the contents of some of his letters to Java. But he was still allowed to have writing materials and books.¹¹¹

Both the notebooks are in prose and not *těmbang* (verse) and were composed in a curious Javanese style with many Arabic words and phrases. They may have been intended as reading material for Dipanaganara's children born in exile, two of whom were just reaching boyhood at that time.¹¹² The first book (175 pages), entitled *Sějarah Ratu Tanah Jawa* (History of the Rulers of Java), deals with the history of Java and Javanese legends from Adam to the fall of Majapahit in the late fifteenth century and the coming of Islam. It thus appears to be a prelude to the historical survey at the beginning of Dipanaganara's autobiography. But whereas the latter follows a strictly chronological order, the first Makassar notebook is written in an anecdotal fashion with many digressions on diverse topics such as the wayang, legendary heroes and holy sites. It is as though Dipanaganara had set down on paper a series of lengthy conversations for the entertainment of his family.

The second book (245 pages), which bears the title *Hikayat Tanah Jawa* (Chronicle of Java), is undated and incomplete. Some of its pages have also been severely damaged by damp and insects. The introduction states explicitly that it was composed by Dipanaganara, who referred to himself by the titles he adopted during the Java War (Sultan Ngabdul Hamid Erucakra Kabirul Mu'minin Sayyidin Panatagama Kalifat Rasulullah).¹¹³ The contents largely concern Dipanaganara's disquisitions on Islam, his own religious experiences, *Sufi* prayers used by the *Naqshbandiyya* and *Shattariyya* mystical brotherhoods (*tarěkat*) and various meditation techniques. Diagrams (*da'erah*) for the arrangement of Arabic words and breathing exercises during prayer are included as well as local Javanese *ngělmũ* (mystical traditions). The whole book is slightly reminiscent of a Javanese *primbon* (divining manual).

For the purposes of the present study, the books have only been referred to occasionally for they contain few passages of immediate historical relevance. But they nevertheless constitute an invaluable source, on a more general level, for an understanding of Dipanaganara's historical perspective and his religious outlook. As regards the latter, despite an impressive display of quotations from the *Qur'ān*, Dipanaganara appears as more of a typical Javanese mystic and *Sufi* than as an orthodox Muslim reformer.¹¹⁴ The use of *dhikr* (short prayers for the glorification of *Allah* which are repeated in ritual order) and the *ojrat* form of meditation¹¹⁵ assume considerable importance in Dipanaganara's view. The second Makassar notebook thus provides a rich collection of documentation for anyone wishing to understand the context of Javanese Islam in the early nineteenth century.

Malay Language Sources: Jayadiningrat's 'Sketches on the Java War'

One of the few Malay sources for this period is the series of notes made by the bupati of Karanganyar (Kĕbumen, Bagĕlen), Raden Adipati Jayadiningrat (in office, 1832-1864) in the 1850s. These notes were later entitled 'Sketches on the Java War' (*Schetsen over den oorlog van Java*) by the Dutch historian, Jan Hageman (1817-71), who added extensive annotations to the text. The original manuscript is in the Indonesian National Library collection in Jakarta and is classified as Malay (ML) MS. no. 97.¹¹⁶ It was completed on 2 February 1857 and runs to 114 folio-sized pages. The text is written in common Market Malay (*pasar Maleis*), the *lingua franca* used by Europeans and Indonesians in the nineteenth century and has many Javanese expressions. The author, a son of the Yogyakarta prince, Pangeran Murdaningrat (pre-1825, Mertosono, killed in an ambush at Lengkong in Sleman on 30 July 1826), and a grandson of Sultan Hamĕngkubuwana II, took part in the Java War on the side of Dipanagara and was wounded. In 1829, when the war was as good as lost for Dipanagara, Jayadiningrat went over to the Dutch and, after a brief period as a local tax official, he was appointed as bupati of Karanganyar by the Dutch government in 1832.¹¹⁷ His account of the war is haphazard, but he gives a fascinating picture of the social and economic pressures in the princely territories before the outbreak of the Java War.¹¹⁸ In particular, his figures on taxation and the examples of corruption by Chinese tax-farmers add a new dimension to the material available on this subject in the Dutch sources. Jayadiningrat's account appears to have been prompted by Hageman, who travelled extensively in south-central Java between 1842 and 1854 to collect material for his book on the Java War.¹¹⁹ According to Louw,¹²⁰ Jayadiningrat waited until the death of Danurĕja IV in 1849 before writing his work because of his intensely bitter feelings against the Yogya Patih whose actions had done so much, in his view, to precipitate the war. By the time the work was complete, Dipanagara had also died in Makassar (8 January 1855), and Jayadiningrat felt that he could express himself with less restraint. Despite its outspokenness, however, Jayadiningrat's account is highly personal and idiosyncratic. It is also marred as a piece of literature by the vulgar Malay idiom used in the text.

Prophetic Literature: Texts concerning the Jayabaya Prophecies and Messianic (*Ratu Adil*) Expectations

The prophecies of the legendary twelfth-century King of Kediri, Prabu Jayabaya (r. ca. 1135-ca. 1157), are of particular importance for the history of the Dipanagara period.¹²¹ Chiliastic hopes of a *Ratu Adil* (Just Ruler) who would arise after a period of moral decline, have been prominent at various periods in Javanese history, but they seem to have exercised a particular hold on the imagination of the south-central Javanese population in the years immediately preceding the Java War. There is evidence in most of the babad sources and in some European accounts that Dipanagara and his contemporaries were aware of the Jayabaya prophecies as well as their relevance for the troubled times in which they lived.¹²² Dipanagara's assumption of the title *Ērucakra*, which is one of the names of the *Ratu Adil*, at Sĕlarong on 15 August 1825 (1 Sura, Wawu, A.J. 1753) clearly indicates that he saw himself as fulfilling the role of the Just King.¹²³ For the purposes of the present study various contemporary Javanese accounts of the Jayabaya prophecies have been selected to illustrate the extent of popular messianic expectations before

the Java War. The most important early nineteenth century work dealing with the *pralambang*, as the prophecies were known, is the *Sĕrat Cabolang* which was probably completed in Surakarta in 1815.¹²⁴ There is also a fragment of a babad in the collection of the Netherlands Bible Society (on loan to the Leiden University Library), classified as NBS no. 37, bearing the title, *Rĕrĕpĕn Babad Dipanagaran* (lyrical chronicle concerning Dipanagara) which discusses the relationship between the Jayabaya prophecies and the history of the Dipanagara period.¹²⁵ The fragment bears the date A.J. 1742 (1814), which is probably erroneous as it was in all likelihood written after the Java War as an *ex post facto* account. Finally, there are two commentaries on the prophecies and translations in Dutch and Malay which date from this period and were prepared for the information of Dutch officials and military officers.¹²⁶

Javanese and Malay Letters

In order to round off this survey of the Javanese historical materials relating to the Java War period, mention must be made of the few collections of Javanese letters which have survived from these years and which have been referred to in the present study. Some of Dipanagara's letters and orders written during the war are in the H.M. de Kock private collection of the Algemeen Rijksarchief (post-2002, Nationaal Archief) in The Hague. The letters in this collection mainly constitute intercepted correspondence between Dipanagara and his commanders, reports of Dutch spies, and official communications sent by Dipanagara and other leaders to De Kock. Most of these documents are copies, but there are a few originals bearing the *pĕgon* seal of Dipanagara.¹²⁷ Various transcripts of Javanese letters referring to the prince can also be found in the copies of Suryanagara's *Babad Ngayogyakarta* mentioned above (see above p.xxx) They are of doubtful originality, however, and it seems that Hageman, who was the source of much of the correspondence used by Suryanagara, merely had access to Dutch copies of the Javanese originals for his published work.¹²⁸ Other original letters from this period can be found in portfolios LOr 2167 and LOr 2168 of Leiden University Library. These appear to have been collected by the missionary scholar, J.F.C. Gericke, between 1827 and 1842 and some were later used by Roorda for his published collection of Javanese letters and charters which appeared in 1845.¹²⁹ Further publications of letters written by Dipanagara and his associates were made by Louw, De Klerck and J.J. de Hollander.¹³⁰ Meanwhile, some of the correspondence between members of the Javanese kratons at this time can be found in the two Leiden portfolios and in the private secretarial archive of the Sunan in the Surakarta kraton, known as the Sasana Wilapa.¹³¹ These usually concern rather dry official matters, but they sometimes provide information which is lacking in the other Javanese accounts.

THE EUROPEAN SOURCES

The Residency Letters

The sources in European languages (mainly Dutch and English) for this period are extensive and provide detailed evidence which can be used to check the Javanese accounts. The

most important category of European language source materials are the Residency letters and reports which were sent back by the Residents in south-central Java to the colonial government in Jakarta.¹³² Although some of these letters have been lost or destroyed, the Indonesian National Archives (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, ANRI) in Jakarta contain reasonably complete collections of Residency correspondence from Yogyakarta and Surakarta for the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (up to 1832) and for the Government of Java's Northeast coast until May 1808.¹³³ The Yogyakarta Residency collection has been used most extensively for the purposes of the present study. The only period for which this collection is disappointingly fragmentary is for the five years of British rule in Java (1811-16), but this gap can be covered by additional sources in the India Office Library (London) as well as the three bundles of letters (Dj.Br. 28-30) collected by the *lands-archivaris* (colonial state archivist), Frederik de Haan (1863-1938; in office, 1905-22), when he was collecting his archival materials for his article on the Personalia of the British Interregnum.¹³⁴ Furthermore, the Dutch scholar of the principalities, G.P. Rouffaer (1860-1928), made copious notes on the Residency archives in Surakarta and Yogyakarta during his study tour in south-central Java in 1888-1889 and these notes can be used to amplify the other sources.¹³⁵ Additional letters and reports pertaining to the administrations of H.G. Nahuys van Burgst, Resident of Yogyakarta (in office, 1816-22), and A.H. Smislaert, Resident of Yogyakarta (in office, 1823-25) can also be found in the Leiden University Library and in the archive of the Ministry of the Colonies in The Hague which is now lodged in the Nationaal Archief (pre-2002, Algemeen Rijksarchief) in The Hague.¹³⁶ Both these collections contain documents which are not in the Jakarta archives. Of particular importance for the history of the outbreak of the Java War in 1825 are the letters in the H.M. de Kock private collection of the Rijksarchief. Amongst these papers, for example, is most of the correspondence between the Residents in south-central Java, Governor-General Van der Capellen (in office, 1816-26) and the Dutch army commander, General De Kock, dealing with developments in the area during the first crucial months of the war.¹³⁷ These letters have hitherto been little researched, for, although both Louw and De Klerck made use of De Kock's official correspondence in the erstwhile archives of the Dutch General Staff of the Nederlandsch Oost-Indische Leger (NOIL) in Bandung for their history of the Java War, they did not have access to De Kock's private papers which were only deposited in the Hague archives in 1905.¹³⁸

Final Memoranda: *Memorie van Overgave*

The detailed reports on affairs and personalities in an administrative area drawn up by an outgoing Resident for his successor, known under the general title of *Memorie van Overgave* (final administrative reports) also form a very useful source for the history of developments in south-central Java in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Four full-length *Memorie* of Residents who served in Yogyakarta before 1808, namely those of J.M. van Rhijn (1786), W.H. van IJsseldijk (1798), J.G. van den Berg (1803) and Matthijs Waterloo (1808), are still extant in the Jakarta archives and in Holland.¹³⁹ The very rich private collection of Nicolaus Engelhard (1761-1831), Governor of Java's Northeast Coast (in office, 1801-1808), which is currently in the Nationaal Archief, likewise contains some important final memo-

randa which touch on the south-central Javanese courts: namely the *Memorie* of the immensely corrupt, Johan Frederik van Reede tot de Parkeler (1801), and Engelhard (1808) on the N.E. coast, and that of J.G. van den Berg (1806) on Surakarta.¹⁴⁰ Additional copies of these reports by the S marang Governors, including that of P.G. van Overstraten (1796), can be found in the archive of Java's Northeast coast (Java's Noord Oost Kust) in Jakarta.¹⁴¹ After the abolition of the S marang governorship on 13 May 1808, probably on the orders of Daendels, no further *Memorie* encompassing the same degree of detail were written, but both Pieter Engelhard (Resident of Yogyakarta, February-November 1808/October 1810-November 1811) and John Crawford (Resident of Yogyakarta, 1811-1813/1814/1816) made notes on the Residency archives and left a succinct survey of prominent court personalities for their successors.¹⁴² After the restoration of Dutch authority on Java in 1816, the practice of writing detailed *Memorie* was allowed to lapse completely, but the degree of expertise and knowledge of local conditions on the part of Dutch Residents in south-central Java still remained reasonably accurate. This can be seen in the prolific reports on the background of the Java War and the data on the Residencies compiled in the 1820s.¹⁴³

Diaries of Events in Yogyakarta, July-September 1825

Two important diaries describing events in Yogyakarta after the outbreak of the Java War have survived. The first was written by the Assistant-Resident of Yogyakarta, P.F.H. Chevallier (in office, 1823-25), and is entitled 'Dag-Register van den Assistent-Resident van Djokjokarta inhoudende aantekeningen nopens het gebeurde van den 16 Julij tot en met 5 Augustus 1825' (Diary of the Assistant-Resident of Yogyakarta containing notes on the events from 16 July up to and including 5 August 1825).¹⁴⁴ The second was drawn up by the Belgian landscape artist and architect, Antoine Auguste Joseph Payen (1792-1853), who had travelled to Yogyakarta in June 1825 to oversee building repairs to the Resident's house and had been trapped in the Sultan's capital by the outbreak of the Java War and the subsequent siege of the city by Dipanagara's troops (20 July-20 September 1825). This latter account, which was composed in a unique French style with many Dutch and Flemish expressions, is entitled simply 'Voyage   Djokja-Karta, 1825' (Journey to Yogyakarta, 1825) and covers the period from 27 June to 29 September.¹⁴⁵ Both these diaries are of considerable help for the purposes of the present study, and the day-to-day reports which they contain can be used to check the details in the babad. They are also highly critical of the incompetence of the senior Dutch officials and military officers in Yogyakarta at the time, especially the Resident, A.H. Smissaert, whose actions did much to heighten the sense of disquiet and anxiety amongst the European inhabitants.¹⁴⁶

Many of the sources cited above refer to Dipanagara in some detail, but certain European language documents provide a particularly intimate view of the prince. The most interesting of these is the journal of Second Lieutenant Julius Heinrich Knoerle (1795-1833), born in Luxemburg, a Prussian German officer of the Netherlands-Indies army who served as an Adjutant of Governor-General J. van den Bosch (in office, 1830-34) and accompanied Dipanagara on his journey into exile in Manado (3 May-12 June 1830).¹⁴⁷ A part of this journal has been published and an extract included as an appendix to the fifth volume of De Klerck's history of the Java War.¹⁴⁸ A similar account of the prince was

kept by Major (post-1853, Lt-General) Francois Victor Henri Antoine ridder de Stuers (1792-1881) when he escorted Dipanagara from Magělang to Batavia (28 March-9 April 1830) and this has been published in full by De Klerck.¹⁴⁹ Both these journals suffer from the fact that their authors could not speak Javanese fluently and had to communicate with Dipanagara mainly through interpreters.¹⁵⁰ Another document which gives a brief view of Dipanagara during the period of the Java War is the account of the fluent Javanese speaker, Lieutenant Paulus Daniel Portier (ca. 1800-44), a Eurasian military officer from a Surakarta Indo family, who had served as Inspector of Birds' Nest Rocks at Rongkob in Gunung Kidul before the war. Captured by Dipanagara's forces in Pacitan in mid-1826, he wrote a remarkable report on his two-month (August-September 1826) captivity at Dipanagara's Kulon Progo base which gives a unique insight into Dipanagara's style of leadership and the atmosphere of his Kulon Progo headquarters during the second year of the war.¹⁵¹

Official Decisions of the Governor-General

Amongst the more important official sources available to historians are the decisions of the Governor-General (*besluiten van den Gouverneur-Generaal*) in Council (*in raad*) (i.e., in the presence of the Council of the Indies, *Raad van Indië*) and out of Council (*buiten raad*). The minutes of these decisions provide interesting information on administration and policy during the years 1816-25. Full indexes (*klappers*) are available in the archive of the Ministry of the Colonies (Nationaal Archief) for the period 1819-25, when affairs concerning the principalities were listed under the twin headings of *onlusten* (disturbances) and *inlanders* (natives)! There are also a handful of secret decisions (*geheim besluiten*) of the Governor-General both in and out of Council which concern crucial matters such as the appointment of new rulers and succession problems in the princely states.¹⁵² It should be noted that the same decisions can be found in the archive of the Algemene Secretarie (General Secretariat of the Governor-General) in the Arsip Nasional (Jakarta), and that these are more complete than the records in the Hague since they contain extensive appendices (*bijlagen*). The latter usually consist of official correspondence or reports from Dutch Residents and Javanese bupati which had served as the basis for a particular decision and which were not sent back to the Hague. They are a source of great interest for historical research because they give details of original documents which are lacking in the formal *besluiten* in the Ministry of the Colonies archive.¹⁵³

For the earlier period of the British interregnum (1811-16), the collection of Java Factory Records in the India Office Library (post-1982, British Library, London) contains the main decisions taken by the government in Jakarta.¹⁵⁴ Finally, for the Java War years, the routine decisions of the Governor-General can be supplemented by the voluminous materials in the *Geheim en Kabinets Archief* (Secret and Cabinet Archive) of the Ministry of the Colonies archive in the Dutch National Archives (Nationaal Archief) in the Hague. This comprises a complete collection of political decisions taken by the Governor-General, together with other relevant papers and reports, which were referred to the King and the Minister of the Colonies in the Netherlands. Dutch translations of Javanese letters and detailed memoranda by junior officials can sometimes be found in the bundles.¹⁵⁵

The Published Sources

The published sources which deal with this period are scattered and incomplete. Both M.L. van Deventer and P.H. van der Kemp made an attempt to continue the sixteen-volume J.K.J. de Jonge and Van Deventer series up to 1820, but the documents published by them are arranged haphazardly and afford a rather patchy overview of the years after 1811.¹⁵⁶ Van der Kemp's publication of the letters of Mr. H.J. van de Graaff (1782-1827; in office, 1820-26), a leading economic adviser of Governor-General Van der Capellen (in office, 1816-26), is an exception, however, and gives a useful insight into colonial government policies in the 1816-26 period.¹⁵⁷ During the Java War years, the official government gazette, the *Bataviasche* (post-January 1828, *Javasche*) *Courant* published most of the main official war reports and these can be used to amplify the descriptions of the campaigns given in Louw and De Klerck.¹⁵⁸ Many of these official reports were later republished by Nahuys van Burgst in his four-volume collection of documents on the Java War, which is a crucial source for the 1825-30 period.¹⁵⁹ There are few published Javanese sources of relevance for the early nineteenth century. The Rusche edition of the *Babad Dipanagara* has already been referred to above (see above p.xxvii). Another useful published source is Soeripto's doctoral dissertation, *Ontwikkelingsgang der Vorstenlandsche Wetboeken* (Leiden: Eduard IJdo, 1929), which provides much information on the progress of Javanese law codification in Yogyakarta and Surakarta during these years from the Giyanti Settlement (13 February 1755) to the outbreak of the Java War (20 July 1825). Other published sources are listed in the bibliography.

ORTHOGRAPHY AND TRANSLITERATION

The spelling of Javanese names and words in the present study follows the usage of the early nineteenth century wherever possible. Quotations from Javanese sources are spelt as in the original even when this involves forms which are no longer standard. In a few instances, plurals of Javanese words have been formed by adding the English 's' or 'es'. All Javanese terms appearing in the Introduction and the notes to the text have been placed in italics except for those which have been used frequently such as *babad*, *kraton*, *wayang*, *Patih* and *bupati*. Explanations in English and Indonesian Malay of the Javanese words can be found in the glossaries. The only significant departure from the orthographic standards used here is the name of the city of Yogyakarta. The latter form corresponds with current usage. *Ngayogyakarta Adiningrat* (Yogyakarta First in the World) would be the correct formal style in early nineteenth century usage. But the current spelling has been adopted here for the sake of simplicity.

The system of transliteration for modern Javanese follows the system proposed by the Congress of the Lembaga Bahasa Nasional (National Language Institute) in Yogyakarta in January 1973. Thus, *tja* becomes *ca*, *da* becomes *dha*, *dja* becomes *ja*, *ja* becomes *ya*, *nja* becomes *nya*, *ta* becomes *tha*, and only the taling (é/è) is indicated. This system of transliteration provides for greater facility as far as publication is concerned, although the use of *dha* and *tha* raise problems with the aspirated *dha* and *tha* which are used in Old Javanese and Sanskrit. Nevertheless, as the above system has now been officially adopted for

Javanese language books and newspapers, the present author has considered it better to follow current practice.

Quotations from other languages (Old Javanese, Sanskrit, Arabic) also follow currently acceptable systems of transliteration. Malay passages and Javanese texts written in *pégon* are transliterated according to the system for Javanese.

Finally, as far as the text edition of the Javanese manuscript is concerned, corrections to the Javanese and to the metre have been incorporated directly into the text and the form in the manuscript reproduced in the notes. Capital letters are rarely used in the MS, but they have been added in the present transliteration wherever applicable.

THE DATING SYSTEMS

Three systems of dating are used in this study. The Javanese lunar era from 1633, which is classified as the Javanese era (*Anno Javano*: A.J.). The Islamic *Anno Hijrae* (A.H.) beginning in 622, which was sometimes used at the courts and amongst the religious communities, and finally the Christian era (A.D.). Whenever a date is given without an indication of the era (A.H. or A.J.) readers can assume that it is a date from the Christian calendar. A table of conversions from A.H., A.J. and A.D. can be found in *Encyclopaedia van Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. V (Supplement) ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff / Leiden: Brill, 1927), pp. 65-79 (*sub*: 'Tijdrekening'). It cannot be stressed too highly that as the Javanese thought in terms of the Javanese era (A.J.), and some members of the more self-consciously Islamic communities (including Dipanagara) thought in terms of the *Anno Hijrae*, these latter systems assume paramount importance for the Javanese view of history.

DIPANAGARA AND THE JAVA WAR: AN HISTORICAL SKETCH¹⁶⁰

Although the immediate causes of the Java War are reasonably well known and are dealt with in detail in the present babad, the long-term economic and social origins of the conflict have been hitherto ignored. These must be sought in the structure of government and society in the princely states at the turn of the nineteenth century. At that time the core regions of the principalities were economically prosperous, but burdened with an uneven taxation system, poor administration, indifferent infrastructure and widespread banditry. Foreign observers, who commented on Javanese agrarian conditions were most forcibly struck by the following interrelated phenomena: the rapidly burgeoning population, the opening up of new ricefields (*sawah*), the existence of a class of large peasant proprietors (*wong sikep*), the numerous landless labourers (*num pang*), the evidence of considerable local trade and the debilitating effects of the complex landholding arrangements in the core apange areas (*nagara agung*).¹⁶¹

Accurate population statistics are not available for this region until the late nineteenth century, but, on the basis of the number of *cacab* (households) recorded in the late eighteenth century land registers, it is possible to stipulate a minimum annual population growth of around one per cent for the period 1755-1805. During these fifty years the pop-

ulation of the principalities grew from 905,000 to about 1.4 million and accounted for nearly a third of the total number of inhabitants in Java.¹⁶² The increase in the core regions was probably much greater, however, for there was a net outflow of population to the Dutch-ruled *pasisir* (north coast areas), where the annual growth rate was of the order of five per cent.¹⁶³ This outflow was not accounted for in the land registers. The latter were also based on incomplete information regarding the size of landholdings, which local officials and farmers consistently under-estimated to the royal surveyors (*abdi-Dalēm priksa dbusun*) in order to avoid taxation.¹⁶⁴ Demographers have not paid much attention to this period, but it is likely that the steady expansion during these years laid the foundation for Java's demographic explosion in the nineteenth century when the population quadrupled between 1830 and 1900 to around 26 million.¹⁶⁵

The reasons for the population growth in south-central Java in the late eighteenth century were fourfold. First, apart from isolated local disturbances and the British military operations in Java in August-September 1811 and against Yogya on 19-20 June 1812, the area enjoyed seventy years of unbroken peace between the time of the Giyanti treaty (13 February 1755) and the outbreak of the Java War (20 July 1825). This was the first long period of tranquillity in Java for many centuries. Secondly, there were no large-scale epidemics until cholera reached the island from India in April 1821. The most serious endemic disease at this time was smallpox, which caused particular deprivations amongst the young, hence its Javanese nickname *lara bocah* ('the children's ailment'), but which never reached epidemic proportions because of the scattered nature of the population.¹⁶⁶ Thirdly, the rural inhabitants of Java married young: the men at around sixteen and the women at between thirteen and fourteen. This was because marriage had distinct financial advantages. Women were generally recognised as being more dexterous than men in money matters and they would usually make an important contribution to the household budget by their business and marketing activities.¹⁶⁷ Children also played a vital role in the Javanese peasant economy. Most cultivators would raise a family of between eight and ten children, half of whom would survive into adolescence. These would usually start work at the age of eight: the boys being taught the rudiments of agriculture and the girls being given instructions in spinning and weaving. The latter would also take part in the transplanting and harvesting of rice.¹⁶⁸ Thus a large family was a distinct advantage to a *sikep* (peasant 'landowner') cultivator who had opened more land for agriculture than he could cultivate on his own account. Fourthly, the existence of adequate food supplies and the balanced diet of families in rural areas created a suitable environment for demographic growth by increasing local resistance to disease. European officials of the time commented on the generally healthy condition of the peasantry, and, until the 1820s, most farmers were able to enjoy a mainly rice diet.¹⁶⁹ It was only in the years immediately preceding the Java War, that widespread droughts and harvest failures occurred in the south-central Javanese principalities. These led to local famines, forcing peasants to depend on less nutritious secondary crops such as maize and cassava, as well as wild tubers and leaves; and it was precisely during this period of scarcity that the devastating cholera epidemic of April-June 1821 occurred. But in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century such times of dearth were rare.¹⁷⁰

The rapid opening up of new ricefields in south-central Java and the construction of extensive irrigation systems mirrored the steady demographic growth. In 1804, one Dutch

official reported that the increase in rice production was visible everywhere in the central regions: ‘one has only to direct one’s eyes to the lands which now produce rice’, he wrote, ‘and which twenty years ago were still waste and uncultivated’.¹⁷¹ According to him, the amount of *sawah* in the area around Yogyakarta had increased by 25 percent within a decade (1796-1806), much of this increase being due to the construction of dams and irrigation ditches on the various estates and core apanage lands owned by the Yogya rulers.¹⁷² These royal initiatives were paralleled in other regions by the exertions of local farmers.¹⁷³ By 1836, nine tenths of the available agricultural land in Mataram (the main province of Yogyakarta) was under cultivation, two thirds of which was *sawah*.¹⁷⁴ There even appears to have been pressure on land in some areas. In Kedu, for example, Crawford noted in 1812 that greater use was being made of dry crop fields (*tegal*) in the poorly irrigated central plain and that mountain rice (*gogo*) was being cultivated at ever higher reaches of the volcanic foothills surrounding the province.¹⁷⁵ In the south of the region there was a report in 1824 that local farmers had ploughed up a main road and planted it in many places, so great was the level of land hunger.¹⁷⁶

Apart from the rulers, who were viewed as the ‘overlords’ of all the territory in the princely states, the main beneficiaries of this rapid extension of irrigated riceland in south-central Java were the small class of ‘landowning’ peasants known as the *wong sikep* (lit.: ‘users of the land’). These were descendants of the original founding families (*cikal-bakal*) of a village who had a stake in the *sawah* owned in common by the community. The village heads (*lurah*) and local tax collectors (*bekel*) were usually drawn from this group. They also bore the full weight of the land-rent (*pajég*) and corvée requirements demanded by the rulers and the apanage holders (members of the Sultan’s family and high officials), who were given usufruct of land in the central districts. Below the *sikep* were the *ngindhung*, who owned their own house and yard but had no share in the village ricefields, and the *numpang*, unmarried strangers, who lived in the compound of the *sikep* and performed agricultural and corvée services for him.¹⁷⁷ This latter group approximated most closely to a class of landless peasants in Java at this time. Unlike the *ngindhung*, who could sometimes improve their social position by marrying into *sikep* families, the *numpang* had very little chance of raising their status unless they left the village completely and opened up new lands elsewhere. But such opportunities were becoming increasingly rare after 1800. Some did try to break out of the cycle of rural servitude by taking employment as porters (*batur*) on the main trade routes or by entering the service of influential noblemen at the courts. Others joined the numerous bands of robbers and vagabonds who roamed the Javanese countryside. The majority, however, remained in the villages where they were used by the ‘landowning’ peasants for the construction of new ricefields.¹⁷⁸ These individually developed lands (*tanah yasa*) were the mainstay of the *sikep*’s wealth, for, unlike the common village *sawah* or the other ‘heirloom lands’ (*tanah pusaka*) handed down by the founding families, they were akin to private property. Moreover, the tax burdens on these lands were often light or non-existent until the early nineteenth century, for the royal cadasters were seldom revised to take account of changes in land use at the village level of which more shortly.¹⁷⁹

In many rural areas, the *sikep* seem to have exercised substantial local influence by virtue of their extensive rights over land and their control over large numbers of unmarried labourers (*numpang*). This situation was clearly recognised in Bagèlen by a Dutch scholar who commented on the quasi ‘patron-client’ system prevailing in the province before the

Java War.¹⁸⁰ Similarly in Kedu, Crawford noted that each *sikép* laboured the lands, for which he paid land-rent to the ruler, to his own advantage, shared very little property in common and only gathered together in village associations to have some mutual security in a deeply insecure countryside. ‘Cultivators who live next door to each other’, he wrote, ‘can be as distant and unconnected as if they lived twenty miles apart’.¹⁸¹ The support of these ‘independent’ farmers were of great importance for Dipanagara during the Java War. On the one hand, they supplied the taxes needed by the prince to prosecute the war, and, on the other hand, their local influence over the *numpang* ensured the recruitment of soldiers and porters for Dipanagara’s commanders. The control of the rural population far more than the conquest of territory was thus the most crucial issue during the Java War, just as it had always been throughout Javanese history. Dipanagara appears to have recognised this at an early stage in the hostilities. In 1826, for example, a village official who had come over to the Dutch, reported that Dipanagara appeared to be acting in a manner expected of a Javanese ‘Just King’ (*Ratu Adil*). He had made promises everywhere in country areas that if he gained victory he would only demand a maximum of four Spanish dollars (£300 Sterling in 2019 values) on a *jung* of land, regardless of whether the latter was ‘fat or thin’ (i.e., fertile or infertile).¹⁸² The same attempt to secure popular support can be seen in Dipanagara’s instructions to the provincial heads appointed by his commanders during the war. These prohibited changes in the existing irrigation systems or demands for additional taxes and instructed that any plundered goods should be returned to the owners on pain of punishment.¹⁸³ The threats were sometimes enforced: in 1829, one of Sěntot’s officials was flogged on Dipanagara’s orders for demanding more taxes than he was allowed.¹⁸⁴ But, by this time, the prince’s local following was already on the wane. The Dutch system of small fortified outposts (*benteng stelsel*), begun in 1826, which guarded areas in the plains recently ‘pacified’ by Dutch troops, had started to have an effect. Not only did they restrict the movement of Dipanagara’s supporters, but the rural population also appear to have left the areas nominally under the prince’s control to set up their *pasar* (markets) in the safety of the *benteng*. Thus, the money which Dipanagara’s officials raised from the *pasar*, the market tax, which was their principle source of revenue, steadily dwindled and there were less resources available for the war effort.¹⁸⁵ By September 1829 organised resistance to the Dutch in the fertile rice plains of south-central Java was effectively at an end. Only a few commanders continued to hold out in the hills until Dipanagara’s capture at Magělang on 28 March 1830, but without support from the rural communities their efforts were futile.

Although some of Dipanagara’s success as a leader in the early stages of the war can be ascribed to his astute use of popular messianic hopes regarding the coming of a ‘Just King’, other factors facilitated his efforts. Prominent amongst these was Dipanagara’s own reputation as a careful administrator of his own lands in Yogya before 1825, which made him the richest *pangěran* in Yogya, and his ability in getting on with the common people.¹⁸⁶ As Willem van Hogendorp pointed out:

A special characteristic about Dipanagara in the view of the Javanese, who are always extremely exalted and distant in their dealings between superiors and inferiors, is that he consorts as easily with the common man as with the great ones and because of this he has made himself much loved everywhere.¹⁸⁷

This aptitude for mixing with all classes of Javanese society, which was a central part of Dipanagara's personal charisma, can be traced back to his childhood and upbringing at Tëgalrëja, his great-grandmother's estate just outside Yogyakarta.¹⁸⁸ According to the description in his babad, he lived there in the midst of a rice farming community and associated freely with visiting rural *santri*.¹⁸⁹

XIV.51. [...]

Tëgalrëja became extremely prosperous
for many people came to visit.
All sought food
(and) the *santri* sought (religious) knowledge.
There was much devotion and prayer,
moreover there were also farmers.

He appears to have been deeply influenced by his great-grandmother, Ratu Agëng, *née* Mas Roro Juwati (ca. 1732-1803), to whom he was entrusted as a baby in arms. A devout and strong-willed woman, she was the daughter of a famous country *kiai* (religious teacher) from Sragen near Surakarta,¹⁹⁰ and apparently delighted in farming and carrying out her religious duties.¹⁹¹ Moreover, unlike many members of the courtly elite, she did not eschew trade.¹⁹² Towards the end of her life, she became especially scathing of the pretensions of her son, the second Sultan, whom she is supposed to have addressed in the following terms on her deathbed (17 October 1803):

'Sultan! The path which I have to lay aside is difficult, and now I feel that I am no more than the ordinary people. My son, be conscious of that and do not believe that after your death you are anything more than a common coolie (*batu*). So live accordingly!'¹⁹³

Dipanagara thus grew up under the guidance of a remarkable lady and in a unique environment which brought him into contact with a wide range of different people. He was also personally endowed with the qualities of leadership: in Knoerle's words, 'the Pangeran [...] appeared as a noble (and) [...] proud man, gifted with intelligence, a strongly enterprising character and a penetrating judgement, such as is rarely found amongst high-placed Javanese'. These impressions were echoed by many other Europeans with whom Dipanagara came into contact.¹⁹⁴

Quite apart from Dipanagara's personal attributes as a leader, the existence of widespread rural discontent on the eve of the Java War, made it much easier for him to appeal for popular support. Responsibility for creating this agrarian unrest was due as much to the actions of the south-central Javanese rulers themselves as to the demands of the European administrations after 1808. In Yogyakarta, one of the earliest measures to have profound effects in the countryside was the second Sultan's *pancas* revision of 1802, whereby the size of the units of land (*jung*) in his dominions was diminished whilst the tax and corvée obligations on each *jung* remained at the old level.¹⁹⁵ The aim of this fiscal expedient was to tap some of the new wealth in the countryside represented by the extensive new ricefields opened up by farmers in the late eighteenth century. But, since the measure was not based on a revised cadastral survey (the last had taken place in 1773-4) and the Sultan did not dispose of enough village surveyors (*abdi-Dalëm priksa dbusun*), it fell unevenly on fertile



Lithograph of Dipanagara and his followers entering a prepared encampment at Mètèsih, an island in the Progo river just below the old Residency House at Magélang, during the 'peace conference' with the Dutch at the end of the Java War (8-28 March 1830). Reproduced from F.V.H.A. Ridder de Stuers, *Mémoires sur la guerre de l'île de Java de 1825 à 1830* (Leyde: Luchtmans, 1833), Atlas, Plate 12. Photograph courtesy of the Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden (UBL).

and infertile areas. Furthermore, it tended to sharpen the inherent differences in the tax burdens on individual *jung*, which were already fixed in a most haphazard fashion by the apantage holders and the sovereign. In the lands around Nanggulan in the Kulon Progo area, for example, which were administered directly by the Dutch government between 1833 and 1851, surveyors later found huge discrepancies both in the size of the *jung* and in the amount of land-rent (*pajëg*) levied on each *jung*, with no obvious connection being made between the population density, the fertility of the soil and the level of *pajëg* payments.¹⁹⁶ These imbalances probably helped to encourage the internal migrations of cultivators away from areas of high taxation to those regions where the burdens were lighter. But ultimately, the tax-paying peasants or *sikëp* had to bear the brunt of the fiscal discrepancies for all the sovereign's new revenue demands were passed on to them by the apantage holders. Those who had profited most from the construction of additional *sawah*, thus found many of their gains cancelled out by the heavier tax burdens. Although the individual reactions of the *sikëp* at the time are not recorded, it is certain that much of Dipanagara's rural support later came from 'landowning' peasants who saw him as a liberator from fiscal oppression. Indeed, if any one single issue should be pointed out as having prepared the ground for the Java War in terms of securing the prince the allegiance of the peasant 'landholding' class in Yogyakarta, it would be this ill-considered *pancas* revision by the second Sultan in 1802.

The administration of the tollgates (*bandar*) in the princely territories was another factor which gravely exacerbated agrarian discontent before 1825. Although historians have usually laid the blame for the deleterious effects of the *bandar* at the door of the post-1812 British and Dutch colonial governments, the origins of many of the most oppressive features of the tollgate system can be traced back to the Javanese rulers themselves.¹⁹⁷ According to Crawford, no customs' duties had been levied on internal trade in the principalities prior to 1755, when Sultan Hamëngkubuwana I (r. 1749-92) signed the first tax farm lease of the *bandar* with the Head of the Chinese community (*Kapitan Cina*) in Yogya.¹⁹⁸ The original tollgates grew up after the mid-eighteenth century at wayside resting places (*pësanggrahan*) situated a day's journey apart on the main trade routes. These were frequented by Chinese merchants, some of whom bought the right from the *Kapitan Cina* to levy a small toll from other travellers for looking after their belongings overnight. Gradually a fully-fledged *bandar* was established run by Chinese tollgate keepers, often with a local market attached. Then, as the Chinese became more familiar with the surrounding countryside and greater pressure was put on them to pay higher tax farm rents, smaller posts (*rangkab*) were set up in adjacent country lanes. Until, just before the outbreak of the Java War, there was a tollgate at 'the entrance of nearly every village and hamlet in south-central Java'.¹⁹⁹

The rate of proliferation of the tollgates can be gauged from the level of the tax farm at various stages between 1755 and 1825. This tripled during the first Sultan's reign, specifically between 1755 and 1792. By 1811, a year before the *bandar* and *pasar* were taken over by the British colonial government, the farm stood at four times the original sum.²⁰⁰ Some of the increase reflected the intensification of commercial activity in the principalities, but even before 1811, Dutch officials were giving warnings that the tollgates were interfering with trade. The quantity of bulk goods, especially rice and salt, traded along the Solo river (Bëngawan), a major trade artery, between Surakarta and Grësik was already declining in

1796²⁰¹ and the *gědbong těmbakau* (tobacco warehouses) in Těmanggung, northern Kedu, which levied customs' duties on the export of Kedu tobacco to the north coast, were hampering the vital commerce in this key cash crop, a major source of income for the local peasantry.²⁰² Most serious of all, the tollgates in the core regions (*nagara agung*) had led to an increase in the price of foodstuffs in many areas. This was particularly the case in Yogyakarta which was dependant on rice imports from southern Kedu to feed its population.²⁰³ Times of dearth and high rice prices, such as occurred during the 1820-25 period, thus made the Yogya area much more susceptible to agrarian unrest than a region like Surakarta, which could supply itself from its own hinterland and could access foodstuffs which were more cheaply and abundantly available.²⁰⁴

After 1816, the effects of the tollgates became much worse. The restored Dutch government was in desperate financial straits and needed every scrap of additional revenue. Thus, the toll farm in Yogya, which had remained approximately unchanged under the last four years of the British interregnum (August 1812-August 1816), was tripled by 1824. At the same time, the sales of opium through Chinese tax farmers increased fivefold partly because of the greater facility of imports from Bengal after the lifting of the British naval blockade of the archipelago following their successful conquest of Java in August-September in 1811.²⁰⁵ The effects of these increases in terms of human suffering in the principalities were considerable. Farmers could not even journey to a local market without passing through a tollgate or customs post and the percentage levied on common goods such as fruit and vegetables was nearly always high because there were no fixed duties on the produce of *pěkarangan* (orchards).²⁰⁶ Attempts to evade the tollgates were usually unavailing, for the Chinese *bandar* kept spies on cross-country routes and exercised the right to impound a farmers' goods or buffaloes in the event of nonpayment.²⁰⁷ They also frequently maintained their own 'private armies' who were used both for protection and for exacting retribution on recalcitrant villagers. In July 1825, for example, Payen came across a group of about a hundred armed men led by three or four Chinese who were setting out from the major tollgate at Kalasan to the east of Yogya to attack a neighbouring *děsa* whose inhabitants had refused toll payments.²⁰⁸ In the Madiun area, where the *bandar* were particularly oppressive, such cases of assault on local villages were frequent and there were reports that tollgate keepers' dogs had torn Javanese farmers to death.²⁰⁹

As the burden of the tollgates grew worse, so the level of internal trade continued to decline and the situation in the countryside became ever more critical. Between 1821 and 1825, when a succession of droughts wiped out crops in south-central Java, the number of fatal attacks on *bandar* increased and many tollgates were burnt to the ground.²¹⁰ Indeed, in nearly all cases of agrarian unrest at this time, the Chinese were the first objects of popular vengeance. Thus in 1822, during the revolt of Dipanagara's crippled uncle, Pangeran Dipasana (born ca. 1778), Chinese merchants were besieged in their houses in Bagělen, and between July and September 1825, whole Chinese communities were put to the sword by Dipanagara's followers in Central and East Java: 'everywhere', wrote the Belgian architect-painter, Payen, 'the Chinese are massacred, neither women nor children are spared (*partout les Chinois sont massacrés on épargne ni femmes ni enfants*).'²¹¹

The amount of localised violence in rural areas before the Java War shaped popular attitudes to armed conflict.²¹² In many ways Java at this time was still a society geared for

warfare and military endeavour. The south-central Javanese rulers continued to demand armed levies from their apange holders, and full reviews of troops were held on state occasions such as the *Garébégs* or at times of crisis such as Raffles' attack on Yogyakarta in 1812.²¹³ Villages were required to maintain their own stocks of armaments, and cultivators were usually well versed in the handling of traditional Javanese weapons such as clubs, pikes and slings (*bandhil*).²¹⁴ Women were also trained in military skills. At the courts, both rulers had their own female bodyguards, the 'Amazon corps', who were recruited from the daughters of provincial officials, and some of the female dances (*Bédhaya* and *Sėrimpi*) were based on fighting movements.²¹⁵ This expertise in military matters at all levels of Javanese society later proved of immense value to Dipanagara during the Java War. Thus, a Dutch officer described how villagers would often leave their fields and fall on a mobile column which had been worsted in a battle with Dipanagara's forces, and there is evidence that women fought as active combatants.²¹⁶ At the time of the siege of Yogyakarta in August 1825, the body of a woman dressed in male fighting costume was found amongst the slain,²¹⁷ and at least two wives of Javanese noblemen who rallied to Dipanagara emerged as army commanders. One of these, Raden Ayu Yudakusuma of Munėng, a daughter of the second Sultan, apparently led the attack on the Chinese community at Ngawi in September 1825, and when she eventually submitted to the Dutch with her family in 1828, it was noticed that, like other supporters of Dipanagara, she had shaved her head as a pledge for the Holy War (*prang sabil*).²¹⁸

Besides the support afforded Dipanagara by the rural communities and women, there were other important groups who ensured the prince a widespread following. Prominent amongst these were his own family relations from the Yogya kraton and a large number of high officials of the Sultanate who brought over their own retainers.²¹⁹ Both these groups had suffered substantial losses in landholdings due to the sweeping annexations of territory in south-central Java by the European government after 1812. At the same time, the introduction of a putative European estate economy in the principalities between 1816 and 1823, together with the hasty cancellation of estate leases in the latter year, which involved large cash indemnities to the planters, had also played a part in impoverishing the nobility and the leading officials.²²⁰ For many, Dipanagara's rebellion seemed to offer an opportunity to recoup some of their losses and to make good marriages with members of his family. The prince clearly encouraged these hopes by attempting to create an alternative administration and the semblance of a new kraton. Thus, he bestowed royal titles on close family members and used many of the administrative ranks which had earlier been employed in the Sultanate. In most cases, the incumbents of these posts created by Dipanagara stemmed from families who had served the Yogya Sultans in a similar capacity.²²¹ Many of the Yogya elite on Dipanagara's side were also rather young: the average age of the fifteen Yogya princes who joined him was 34 as opposed to the average age of 50 of the fourteen other Yogya *pangėran* who remained in the kraton. Those appointed as commanders (*Basab*, *Dullab*) by Dipanagara were even younger: Sėntot was a senior commander at eighteen and there were others in their early twenties.²²² Youthful qualities were valued by Dipanagara. In his words, 'bravery was less met with in old men than in persons of a young age'. The younger scions of Yogya families were also those who had suffered most from the impoverishment of the kraton

community before 1825.²²³ It was only when it became evident that Dipanagara would not succeed in establishing himself and would be defeated by the Dutch, that the kraton elite reluctantly began to abandon his cause.²²⁴

Another interesting feature of Dipanagara's relationship with his family and court supporters is that he permitted the latter a considerable degree of independent action in outlying regions. The Java War, therefore, took on the aspect of a series of provincial uprisings loosely co-ordinated and controlled by Dipanagara and his advisers who remained mainly in the Mataram area of south-central Java. This aspect is clearly brought out in the present babad where the prince is described dispatching letters to his supporters outside Yogyakarta and summoning allies such as Pangeran Sérang II (ca. 1794-1852) and Tumenggung Kértadirja, the former bupati of Kérja (Masaran) in Sukowati (in office, 1812-21), a close relative (cousin) of Dipanagara's guardian, Ratu Agéng, to receive their commands at Sèlarong.²²⁵ On the whole, however, the proxy campaigns waged against the Dutch in the north coast areas and the eastern outlying provinces were short-lived: by the end of 1825 both Sérang and Kértadirja had been defeated on the north coast and in East Java respectively and the region only became a theatre of war again for a short period in December 1827-March 1828 during the three-month north coast campaign of Dipanagara's brother-in-law, R.T. Sasradilaga.²²⁶ The western *mancanagara* areas, on the other hand, proved much more constant in providing support for Dipanagara, and even in the last years of the war, when the prince's military position was desperate, he was still able to find temporary bases and hideouts in Bagélen, Ledok and Banyumas.²²⁷

This discrepancy between the reactions to Dipanagara's rebellion in the eastern and western outlying provinces of the sultanate was largely determined by historical factors. Whereas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the states to the west of the Mataram heartland had been absorbed peacefully into the south-central Javanese polity, the provinces around Madiun and further to the east had only recognised Mataram's authority after prolonged warfare.²²⁸ Even in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the eastern *mancanagara* retained a measure of hostility and independence from the south-central Javanese rulers. The first Sultan, for example, tried to ensure the loyalty of the region by appointing his most trusted army commander, Raden Ronggo Prawiradirja as the senior administrator (bupati wedana) in Madiun (in office, ca. 1760-84).²²⁹ But the distance from Yogya meant that the local officials had considerable freedom of action. Thus, Ronggo's grandson, the third bupati wedana, governed as a virtually independent ruler from his fortified stronghold at Maospati and his revolt in November-December 1810, which ended in his death, was directed as much against the Yogya court as against the Dutch.²³⁰

The courts tried to exploit the region mercilessly. Onerous *blanbhong* (forestry) services were demanded from the local population in the teak woods and for three to four months every year until 1812, large numbers of labourers from the eastern provinces were retained in the capitals to work on royal building projects.²³¹ The level of taxation and services was also high and it is significant that, unlike the central and western districts, the population of the eastern *mancanagara* was declining during this period and rich agricultural lands were deserted.²³² The inhabitants of the area therefore had little cause to offer support for Dipanagara's rebellion which they probably viewed as an internal quarrel of the south-central Javanese states.

Throughout Java, however, Dipanagara's struggle against the Dutch had an appeal which previous dynastic campaigns in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had lacked. This was because his rebellion took on many of the aspects of a Holy War (*prang sabil*) against the 'heathen' (*kafir*) European colonists and the 'apostate' (*murtad*) Javanese who afforded them assistance.²³³ In 1827, the Dutch Minister of the Colonies, C. Th. Elout (1767-1841; in office, 1824-29), drew the Dutch king's attention to the fact that the influence of religion had played a crucial role in the course of the fighting. In nearly every battle, groups of *ulama* (religious scholars), dressed in their distinctive white turbans and tabards, had taken part, and their exhortations had served to stiffen the resolve of Dipanagara's other troops. Dutch commanders in the field even felt constrained to counteract these influences by attaching *ulama* to their own mobile columns, who chanted *dhikr* (incantations from the *Qur'an*) before their men went into battle. They also included prominent religious figures, often Arab *Sayyid* (descendants of the Prophet), in the various abortive peace negotiations with Dipanagara in the hopes that this would enhance their influence.²³⁴ It was precisely the pronounced religious character of the war which caused Elout to reject the suggestion made by some Dutch officials that the hostilities should be terminated by recognising Dipanagara as an independent prince. In Elout's opinion, the prince's claim to be recognised as a *ratu paneteg panatagama* (a royal protector of religion) and his close association with the religious communities made the Java War unique in the annals of modern Javanese history. The religious factor alone set it completely apart from the dynastic struggles of previous periods.²³⁵

A rough survey of the available Javanese and Dutch source materials indicates that there were about 186 'men of religion' who afforded Dipanagara help at some stage during the Java War. Many of these derived from the religious hierarchy in Yogyakarta and from the *pradikan* (tax free) villages and religious schools in the Mataram area. Another large group was brought over by Kiai Maja when he joined Dipanagara early in the war. These included members of Maja's extensive family as well as many of his students (*santri*) who had attended his *pésantren* in the Pajang area to the west of Surakarta. Amongst those whose titles can be clearly identified were 108 *kiai*, 31 *haji* (returned Mecca pilgrims), 15 *Syeh* (Islamic scholars), twelve religious officials and four religious teachers (*kiai guru*) from Mataram, Kedu and Bagelen.²³⁶

Why did these men fight for Dipanagara? In the first place because the religious communities had suffered the same economic and social constraints as their contemporaries in the court towns and the countryside. Many *ulama*, especially those settled in the *pradikan* villages, engaged in farming and local trade and had been affected by the agrarian crisis of 1821-25. Others depended for their livelihood on court pensions which had contracted severely over the same period.²³⁷ The Java War thus seemed to offer them the chance to improve their social and economic position. Dipanagara's leadership was particularly important in this respect for he had maintained close associations with the religious communities from his youth and appeared to be aiming to establish a state in which they would enjoy more political power than they were permitted either under the Dutch or under the south-central Javanese rulers. Kiai Maja's role as Dipanagara's principal religious and political adviser between 1825-28 also assured the *santri* a key position in the prince's administration. Thus, religious scholars were chosen principally for the elite bodyguard regiments and some were given control of lands and villages in areas loyal to Dipanagara.²³⁸

Additional factors influenced the religious communities in the years immediately preceding the Java War. First, the attitude of Christian Europeans, especially government civilian and military personnel, towards Muslim Javanese appears to have been disdainful and insulting.²³⁹ Second, government actions against respected religious teachers in south-central Java, aroused considerable local resentment.²⁴⁰ Third, and perhaps most important, the legal reforms introduced by Raffles in 1812 and continued by succeeding Dutch Governor-Generals, were viewed by *santri* and even by the court elite as an unjustifiable infringement of the sovereignty of Javanese-Islamic law.²⁴¹ The combination of these three factors helped to reinforce a sense of common identity in the face of what the religious communities undoubtedly saw as persecution' on the part of the European government. This was doubly dangerous since it occurred at a time when closer relations with the heartland of the Islamic world in Arabia, through pilgrimage and Arab immigration into Indonesia, were imbuing Javanese Muslims with a greater sense of the power and glory of international Islam.²⁴²

Dipanagara's declared intention of 'raising up the high state of the Islamic religion in Java' (*mangun luburipun agami Islam ing Tanah Jawa sadaya*), which was probably prompted by Kiai Maja, epitomised the hopes of some Javanese at this time for a return to the exercise of Javanese-Islamic law based on the precepts of the *Qur'ān* and other legal commentaries.²⁴³ On a wider level, Dipanagara's endeavours were directly concerned with Javanese political independence and cultural autonomy. Hence his insistence in 1830 that the Dutch should return to their eighteenth century position as traders on the north coast and should not involve themselves with the internal political affairs of the princely states.²⁴⁴ Hence too his emphasis that European or Eurasian prisoners like Paulus Daniel Portier should adopt Javanese dress and that they should use Javanese (preferably *krama* or High Javanese), rather than Malay, in all their conversations.²⁴⁵ In many ways Dipanagara was a conservative, deeply concerned with the cultural integrity of Java. He also made a genuine attempt to bind very disparate elements of Javanese society to his cause and in this sense, he was probably the first 'nationalist' leader in modern Javanese history. But there were many internal contradictions about his style of leadership and his attempt to embody the aspirations of the rural communities, the kraton elite and the *santri*.²⁴⁶ Ultimately, there was bound to be a conflict of interest between the various groups, especially between the nobility and the 'men of religion'. Indeed, it is a measure of the depth of the social and economic discontent in Java at this time and the strength of cultural and religious fervour that the alliance was able to hold together for so long.

With Dipanagara's defeat an era in Javanese history closed. The self-confidence of the religious communities was shaken, Europe replaced Arabia as the dominant foreign influence on Java and the political independence of the south-central Javanese kingdoms came to an end. When Java eventually gained its liberty again in the twentieth century it was to be as a central part of a united Indonesia, a country which had shared the common experience of Dutch colonial rule and in which Indonesian rather than Javanese was to be the national language. In a sense then Dipanagara's failure permitted the emergence of a wider Indonesian polity, although the problems of social division and economic distress which he attempted to resolve are as immediate as ever.

SYNOPSIS OF THE TEXT

Canto I

The text opens with a description of the situation in Yogyakarta after the accession of the child Sultan, Hamengkubuwana V, on 20 December 1822. The appointment of the fifth Sultan's guardians is referred to and these are wrongly designated as his great uncle Pangeran Mangkubumi, his uncle Pangeran Dipanagara, the Yogya Patih, Raden Adipati Danurēja IV and the Dutch Resident, A.H. Smissaert (v.1-5). The difficulties amongst the guardians are then described and the babad writer relates that both Mangkubumi and Dipanagara were very rarely consulted on important matters of state. A brief account of the wilful and corrupt administration of the Patih and other Yogya officials follows. The writer relates how Dipanagara was profoundly disturbed by these developments and built a *pěsanggrahan* (pavilion) for himself at Těgalrēja where he often withdrew to meditate. The prince's pilgrimages to Mancingan on the south coast and his visits to other holy places in the Mataram area are also mentioned (v.6-12). Then follows a long description of Dipanagara's estate at Sělarong in the limestone hills to the south-west of Yogyakarta and the prince's improvements to the area around the cave of Sěcang, which he used as a retreat. A list of the plants and shrubs grown by Dipanagara on his estate are mentioned as well as his custom of retiring there often with his family and retainers (v.13-16). The scene shifts again to Těgalrēja where Dipanagara is depicted telling his supporters about his deep dissatisfaction concerning recent developments in the capital. Open rebellion against the Dutch and their supporters in the Yogya court is discussed and Dipanagara makes a direct appeal for help during the coming conflict (v.17-21). Dipanagara's scribes are then summoned and the prince orders them to write letters to incite the disgruntled elements in Yogyakarta: the *kěcu* (robbers), prematurely dismissed administrators (*bupati dbongkol*) and other embittered officials (v.22-24). At the same time, Resident Smissaert is depicted holding a meeting with his Dutch and Javanese administrative colleagues in which the question of improving some of the side roads around the Sultan's capital is discussed. One of these is planned to cross straight through the middle of Dipanagara's estate at Těgalrēja and markers are duly placed across the prince's territory along the trace of the new road. When this happens Dipanagara is absent at Sělarong (v.25-26).

Canto II

On his return to Těgalrēja, Dipanagara notices that a new road has been staked out. He ascertains from the captain of his bodyguard (*Lurab Kapědhak*) that the markers have been placed by an orderly from Danurēja's office and two Dutch road overseers. Whereupon, he orders his estate workers (*Magěrsari*) and bodyguards (*Kapědhak*) to tear out the markers. News of this action reaches the Assistant-Resident of Yogya, P.F.H. Chevallier, and he reports at once to Smissaert who falls into a towering rage and gives vent to his feelings about Dipanagara (v.1-6). Amongst other things, he inveighs against the prince's contacts with the religious communities (*santri*) and his neglect of his responsibilities as a guardian of the young Sultan. In conclusion, he orders Chevallier to send out the *Macanan*, Danurēja's police officials, to Těgalrēja to replace the markers in their former

positions (v.7-11). The Assistant-Resident complies and the *Macanan* corps are described as they set out for Dipanagara's residence (v.12-16). Once at Těgalrěja, they immediately begin replacing the torn-out markers. Their actions are reported to Dipanagara who instructs the *Magěrsari* and *Kapědbhak* to rip out the markers again from behind the group of *Macanan* and to resist them if attacked (v.17-20).

Canto III

This they proceed to do, but they are noticed by the two Dutch road overseers attached to the *Macanan* work party who inform the head (*lurah*) of the corps, Macan Sěmbawa. The latter tells his men not to use their weapons but to beat off Dipanagara's followers with staves and clubs. The *Macanan* are then depicted making these weapons and one member, Macan Laut, thinks about the booty he plans to seize in battle (v.1-8). A fight between the *Macanan* and Dipanagara's men then takes place which is portrayed in very stylised terms. The better training and discipline of the *Magěrsari* and *Kapědbhak* gives them the upper hand (v.9-17). The police officials, meanwhile, begin to have the worst of the battle and many lie crippled on the ground. Their *Lurah*, Macan Sěmbawa, comes forward as a picked champion to defy Dipanagara's men, but, at this point, the babad writer appears to confuse him with Macan Laut who, far from seizing any booty, is himself stripped bare and humiliated by Dipanagara's supporters (v. 18-25).

Canto IV

Dipanagara, who had been watching the fight from an adjoining hillock and had hugely enjoyed seeing the discomfiture of the *Macanan*, gives out rewards to his followers (v.1-5). The defeated *Macanan* and the Dutch road overseers beat a hasty retreat to the Yogyakarta Residency building. There the overseers relate the events at Těgalrěja to the Resident and his Assistant, who become so besides themselves with rage that they are depicted in their wrath like *kasar* (unrefined) characters in the wayang theatre (v.6-12). Danurěja is summoned to the Residency and he orders one of his *mantri* (junior officials) to escort the *Macanan* back to his residence (the *kěpatihan*) (v.13-14). Smissaert once again convenes a meeting of all the senior Dutch and Javanese officials in the capital to decide what further measures should be taken against Dipanagara. Smissaert and Chevallier counsel harsh measures against the prince, but Danureja advances a more moderate and cautious policy. He suggests that co-operation and support from Surakarta should be elicited under the pretext of co-operation over road building projects in the two kingdoms. If Dipanagara then persists in his obstinate attitude, in Danureja's opinion, he will be faced by the combined opposition of the two courts, Surakarta and Yogyakarta (v.15-25). All the other officials present applaud Danurěja's suggestion and a letter is drawn up for the Surakarta Patih (v.26-29).

Canto V

Once again the scene shifts to Těgalrěja where Dipanagara is described taking counsel with his religious advisers who had come to his residence to deliberate on the right time for the

Holy War (*prang sabil*) to be waged and the Just King (*Ratu Adil*) proclaimed (v.1-8). At the same time, the religious leaders promise Dipanagara support from the religious communities in the tax free (*pradikan*) areas in Pajang, amongst them the extensive family of Kiai Maja. Dipanagara expresses his thanks for these pledges of support and the religious advisers withdraw (v.9-15). Dipanagara's uncle, Pangeran Mangkubumi, then appears at Těgalrěja accompanied by two of his relations. He enquires why his nephew has opposed the construction of a road across his estate. Dipanagara answers in an arrogant fashion, berating the actions of Danurěja, Wiranagara, and the Dutch officials (v.16-22). Mangkubumi concludes his visit in a non-committal fashion hinting that support might be forthcoming for Dipanagara from his relations at court and from the palace guard (v.22-26). After his uncle's departure, Dipanagara goes out to visit Pangeran Paku Alam, the influential independent prince in Yogyakarta, who had earlier functioned as regent during the minority of the fourth Sultan. Dipanagara appeals to him to support his plans for rebellion in view of the catastrophic breakdown of honest government in Yogya. But Paku Alam demurs, citing his special position as a prince owing allegiance to the European government (v.27-35). Dipanagara then proceeds to the Yogya court to ask his stepmother, Ratu Ibu, for two *pusaka* (heirloom) weapons in order that he could take them to Těgalrěja to clean them ceremonially (*siram*) and thus heighten his resolve for the coming conflict (v.36-37). When this request has been granted, Dipanagara returns to his residence and orders his scribes to draw up letters summoning his allies, namely his family relations and loyal officials, to be in a state of military preparedness and to take up battle positions around Yogya (v.38-43). In Yogyakarta, Pangeran Mangkubumi and other relations of Dipanagara plan to go over to the prince once the Holy War has been proclaimed (v.44-45).

Canto VI

The arrival of Danurěja's messengers at Surakarta is described and his letter about co-operation over road building projects in the principalities is delivered. After perusing the letter, the Surakarta Prime Minister, Sasradiningrat II, rejects the idea of co-operation because of the lack of provision for it in previous custom (*adat*) (v.1-7). The Acting Surakarta Resident, Hendrik MacGillavry, concurs and Sasradiningrat gives orders to the Surakarta officials and workmen to undertake the construction of roads to the north of Yogyakarta but not in places administered directly by the Sultanate. A letter to this effect is drafted and sent to Yogyakarta (v.8-13). On its arrival, Smissaert instructs Danurěja to take the appropriate action. Yogya officials and road overseers are then sent out in the direction of Magělang and to the west of the capital (v.14-15). The discussion about Dipanagara and his opposition to the road construction at Těgalrěja is resumed. Once again Danurěja is shown advancing moderate and sensible advice. He suggests that the prince should be summoned to the Residency in order to discuss the road building issue. Amidst scenes of conviviality the meeting breaks up and on Monday 18 July 1825 the officials convene again at the Residency (v.16-26). Two office orderlies from the *kěpatihan* are dispatched to Těgalrěja in order to summon Dipanagara, but he refuses to comply (v.27-31). Danurěja continues to counsel moderation and patience, as well as advising the dispatch of further messengers to invite the prince to come to Yogya. The following day, the officials meet again at the Resi-

dency, but, although Dipanagara has by now received four separate summonses, he still refuses to come. Pangeran Mangkubumi is instructed to go to Těgalrěja to win over his nephew, the prince (v.32-36).

Canto VII

After Mangkubumi's departure, the Dutch and Javanese officials await his return impatiently and view his long absence with concern. Danureja urges them to be patient and to convene again the following morning in order to discuss the dispatch of an expeditionary force to Těgalrěja, in case Mangkubumi did not return (v.1-4). The following morning, Smisaert and Chevallier canvass opinions about the right course of action to be taken and Danurěja urges that a clear response should be obtained from Dipanagara. Thereupon, Sindunagara, a high court official and two Dutch orderlies are dispatched to Těgalrěja to take Smisaert's final message (v.5-11). The scene changes to Dipanagara's residence where the prince is described entertaining his uncle, Mangkubumi, and two other relations. Mangkubumi warns his nephew that if he does not comply with Smisaert's request and go to the Residency, his estate will be attacked. Perceiving Dipanagara's weak military position, Mangkubumi advises him strongly against any resistance which might bring him into conflict with the Yogya court and the Dutch. He cites various examples from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Javanese history to support his argument, but Dipanagara replies in a cold, succinct fashion, dismissing his uncle's warnings and leaving everything to the Almighty (v.12-18). Shortly afterwards, Sindunagara and the two Dutch orderlies arrive at Těgalrěja and humbly present Smisaert's final letter to Dipanagara. The latter then waves aside the Resident's request in a haughty speech full of insulting expressions. Sindunagara and his companions depart amazed and dumbfounded (v.19-26).

Canto VIII

Once Smisaert has been informed about the prince's reply, he immediately plans to take charge in person of the expedition against Těgalrěja. Danurěja, however, urges that a more appropriate leader should be chosen. The commander of the palace guard, Wiranagara, is dispatched to parade the court regiments in preparation for the expedition (v.1-7). The Javanese troops are then described as they set out for Těgalrěja alongside the Dutch soldiers commanded by Chevallier. One of the regimental commanders, Surabraja, is particularly singled out for his swashbuckling appearance (v.8-12). At Těgalrěja, Dipanagara rallies his forces in preparation for the expected Dutch attack. Arms are distributed and the womenfolk, children and older retainers are sent away to Sělarong. Dipanagara's followers are drawn up in battle formation. The prince himself is portrayed in a courtly fashion like the wayang character, Samba, but wearing the apparel of the Holy War (a turban, and long white tabard). His horses are paraded in front of him (v.13-22). The scene changes to the soldiers of the palace guard commanded by Wiranagara, who are taking part in the expedition against Těgalrěja. Some of these troops are described deliberating amongst themselves as to the justice of attacking Dipanagara. The regimental commander,

Surabaja and other Javanese officers, concur with their sentiments and decide to express their doubts to Wiranagara (v.23-28). The latter is approached and questioned about the true reason for the attack on Těgalrěja. The officers even threaten insubordination if Wiranagara does not give a satisfactory answer. Hearing this, Wiranagara falls into a rage and uses threats towards Surabaja. A fight nearly breaks out and the officers fire on Wiranagara with their pistols as he gallops away (v.29-38). Seeing him flee, the officers chide him about being a descendant of the famous seventeenth-century Balinese adventurer, Untung Surapati, and about having sold his services to the Dutch. The officers then decide to go over to Dipanagara who receives them well and places them in his battle formation (v.39-43). Meanwhile, Wiranagara arrives at the Yogya Residency to report the circumstances of his flight. Danurěja advises the Resident to send Wiranagara back to Těgalrěja with another high Yogya official, Ranadiningrat, at the head of auxiliary expedition (v.44-48). The new force is organised. When it marches out to Těgalrěja, the bystanders on the road remark deprecatingly about Wiranagara comparing him to the treacherous wayang character, Patih Sangkuni. Eventually Wiranagara and Ranadiningrat catch up with the main body of Dutch troops under Chevallier and the latter makes arrangements for the attack on Těgalrěja. A pitched battle is engaged with Dipanagara's men (v.49-54). Dipanagara's supporters are initially defeated, but, when the prince orders Surabaja and the palace guard to counter-attack, these fight so effectively that they repulse Chevallier's forces with loss of life (v.55-61).

Canto IX

Seeing this, Chevallier decides to use his artillery which completely demoralises Surabaja and his men. They retreat and huddle before Dipanagara, who berates them as cowards unworthy to fight in the Holy War. This speech humiliates them into mounting another counter-attack which again inflicts serious losses on Chevallier's force. In reply, Chevallier fires another artillery volley and Surabaja is shot to pieces. Dipanagara and his troops decide to flee and they slip out of a side gate at Těgalrěja as the war alarms sound (v.1-11). They head for Sělarong via a circuitous route to the west. In the meantime, Ranadiningrat and Wiranagara lie in wait for them on the road. Dipanagara, aware that an ambush is intended, prepares to meet them and announces his wish to engage Wiranagara alone in single combat. He draws his *pusaka kris* (stabbing dagger), a family heirloom, and battle is joined. Eventually Dipanagara meets Wiranagara in hand to hand combat, but although he lunges at him with his *kris*, the dagger misses its mark and instead lops off the ears of Wiranagara's horse (v.20-24). Wiranagara then makes good his escape along the river Winonga and Ranadiningrat takes charge of the fighting. He is wounded as Dipanagara's forces withdraw to Sělarong (v.25-30). Ranadiningrat and Wiranagara report back to Chevallier at Těgalrěja (v.31-32).

Canto X

Chevallier decides to send out spies to ascertain where Dipanagara and his followers have gone. The spies go as far as Bantul to the south of Yogya where they learn from the local

inhabitants that the prince has regrouped his forces at Sĕlarong (v.1-6). They report back to Chevallier who draws up a letter for Smissaert. Tĕgalrĕja is plundered and burnt by Chevallier's men as the Dutch and Javanese expeditionary force withdraws to Yogya. In Yogya, Smissaert is told of the events at Tĕgalrĕja at a meeting which is attended by the senior Dutch and Javanese officials (v.7-12). Paku Alam is also present accompanied by most of his personal standing army ('Corps'). Inevitably Smissaert falls into a rage, but once again Danurĕja counsels moderation and suggests that, rather than send out an immediate expedition against Sĕlarong, messengers should be dispatched to Surakarta and Batavia to inform the relevant authorities about recent events (v.13-20). Letters are written and dispatched by fast couriers. The scene changes to Sĕlarong where Dipanagara is described ordering his scribes to write letters to his sympathisers on the north coast and in other areas in Central and East Java asking them to take part in the Holy War. Pangeran Sĕrang, an independent prince from the north coast area, and Tumĕnggung Kĕrtadirja, a dismissed bupati from the Sukowati region, are appointed as army commanders in their respective areas (v.21-30). The bestowal of these commands at Sĕlarong is described and various supporters of Dipanagara are raised in rank. Dipanagara changes his name to that of *Panĕmbahan Tuwan Sĕh Ngabdulkamid* and a loyal religious supporter, Kiai Taptajani, is placed in charge of Dipanagara's followers from the religious communities (v.31-35). Battle orders are drawn up for Dipanagara's commanders in distant areas and petty tradesmen are instructed not to sell their wares in Yogyakarta so that there will be a dearth of foodstuffs in the capital. Numerous other army commanders are also portrayed taking up positions in villages around the capital (v.36-38).

Canto XI

The village levies who rallied to Dipanagara are described. The babad writer refers to these by the deprecating term of *brandbal* (freebooters). Inside Yogyakarta, fires are started by Dipanagara's supporters, many buildings are burned and a heavy pall of smoke covers the town (v.1-6). Meanwhile, Smissaert's messenger arrives in Surakarta. The Solo Patih, Sasradiningrat, and the Resident, MacGillavry, are informed of the tragic turn of events in Yogya (v.7-12). The Surakarta court officials are then instructed by the Patih to assemble at the meeting place (*pasĕban*) on the northern great square (*alun-alun*) before the Surakarta court. Two senior officials are delegated to go into the kraton to inform the ruler, Sunan Pakubuwana VI, about the developments. The latter thanks them in a succinct fashion (v.13-16). MacGillavry then writes a covering letter to Smissaert's reports and the whole bundle is sealed and sent on to Sĕmarang and Batavia (Jakarta) (v.24-25). Simultaneously, Lieutenant Portier, a military adjutant of the Residency, is detailed to go to the mountainous southern province of Gunung Kidul to bring in two recalcitrant Yogyakarta and Surakarta officials. At the same time, Sasradiningrat arranges for guards to be placed around Surakarta (v.26-29).

Canto XII

Three days later, Lieutenant Portier returns bringing the two Gunung Kidul officials who are put in prison. In Sĕmarang, the Resident, H.J. Domis, receives the bundle of letters and

reports sent on by MacGillavry (v.1-4). He calls a meeting of his Residency council who all peruse the letters. Domis then asks the bupati of Sĕmarang, Raden Adipati Aria Cakranagara, about the measures which should be adopted to ensure security in the Sĕmarang area. Cakranagara suggests that the boundaries of the Residency should be patrolled and that travel passes should be issued to everyone circulating in the area. He concludes by adding a penetrating analysis of the very different characters of Dipanagara and Mangkubumi (v.5-16). Domis is impressed by the bupati's arrangements and the letters are sent on to Batavia by fast courier (v.17-21). In Yogyakarta, meanwhile, Smissaert is described holding an audience with the Yogyakarta bupati. All the Dutch officials present feel uneasy about their own personal responsibility for the current state of affairs. Danurĕja refuses to offer any further advice to Smissaert until the messengers have returned from Batavia (v.22-28). Smissaert then decides to administer an oath of loyalty to the Yogya officials, who are invited to the Residency office for this purpose (v.29-30).

NOTES

1. An exception to this is Ann Kumar's translation of certain key passages in the autobiographical version of the *Babad Dipanagara* in an article entitled, 'Dipanagara (1787?-1855)', *Indonesia*, no. 13 (April 1972), pp. 69-118. It is of only limited use for research, however, because (i) it is not based on an original MS., but on the later Rusche publication of the *Babad Dipanagara* (Surakarta, 1917); (ii) no transliteration of the Javanese text is given alongside the English translation, (iii) the English translation itself has many errors especially with regard to proper names and toponyms. For a fuller discussion of Kumar's article and a more accurate translation of the early part of Dipanagara's babad, see M.C. Ricklefs, 'Dipanagara's Early Inspirational Experience', *BKI*, vol. 130 (1974), pp. 227-258. For a discussion of the Babad Dipanagara texts in general see P.B.R. Carey, 'Javanese Histories of Dipanagara: The Buku Kédhung Kébo, its authorship and historical importance', *BKI*, vol. 130 (1974), pp. 259-288.
2. P.B.R. Carey, 'Pangeran Dipanagara and the Making of the Java War: Yogyakarta History, 1785-1825', D. Phil. Thesis (Oxford, 1975), vol. II.
3. See M.C. Ricklefs, *Modern Javanese Historical Tradition: A Study of an Original Kartasura Chronicle and Related Materials* (London, 1978), where arguments are put forward for the decline in the historical accuracy of the *babad sengkala* (chronogram) genre and the transmission of older traditions, but not babads dealing with contemporary events (see especially p. 208).
4. The first part of the present editor's thesis, which deals with historical developments in Yogyakarta (1785-1825), was in the process of being prepared for publication as a *Verhandeligen* volume of the Koninklijk Instituut (Leiden) when this babad was first published (1981). It was later published as *The Power of Prophecy: Prince Dipanagara and the End of an Old Order in Java, 1785-1855* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007).
5. Th.G.Th. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java: Catalogue Raisonné of Javanese Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and other public collections in the Netherlands* (henceforth: *Literature of Java*), vol. II (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1968), p. 8.
6. A.C. Vreede, *Catalogus van de Javaansche en Madoereesche Handschriften der Leidse Universiteits-Bibliotheek* (Leiden: Brill, 1892), p. 143.
7. *Ibid.*; and see Carey, 'Javanese Histories', *passim*.
8. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, vol. II, p. 69.
9. The three other copies referred to are the *Sérat Séwaka*, *Sérat Nitipraja* and *Sérat Surti* (sic) (*Niti Sruti*), alongside the latter the copyist has written *nanging dèrèng sah* ('but this has not been corrected yet').
10. See E.M. Uhlenbeck, *A Critical Survey of Studies on the Languages of Java and Madura* (The Hague: Nijhoff 1964), pp. 44-45; F.G.P. Jaquet, 'Gids van in Nederland aanwezige bronnen betreffende de Geschiedenis van Azië en Oceanië, 1796-1949', vol. IV, mimeograph (Leiden: Koninklijk Instituut, 1971), p. 3.
11. See KB, Collectie Cornets de Groot no. IXe, pt. 2, p. 33, A.D. Cornets de Groot Jr. (Surakarta) to A.D. Cornets de Groot Sr. (Gresik), 14 Jan. 1820, where he mentioned

- that he often visited Sasradiningrat with whom he spoke Malay. The Surakarta Patih was about 45 years old in 1820 and was ‘one of the most civilised and knowledgeable Javanese in Surakarta’. He knew much about Javanese history and lent Cornets de Groot many babads for his language studies. On their relationship see further, P.J.F. Louw, *De Java-Oorlog van 1825-30*, vol. III (henceforth: Louw, *Java-oorlog*) (Batavia & ‘s-Hage: Nijhoff / Landsdrukkerij, 1904), p. 6, pp. 11-12. On Sasradiningrat, see further IOL, Map Room MS. 24, Capt. G.P. Baker, ‘Memoir of a Survey in the Native Princes’ Dominions in Java’, 25 Nov. 1816, p. 92, who characterised the Patih as ‘a man of learning and talents, but indolent [...]’. A *Sĕrat Kandha* text written under the patronage (*yasa*) of Sasradiningrat II can be found in the India Office Library (London), see M.C. Ricklefs and P. Voorhoeve, *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain. A Catalogue of Manuscripts in Indonesian Languages in British Public Collections* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 70-71 (IOL Jav. 86).
12. See Baud, no. 291, M.J. Chevallier (Surakarta) to J.C. Baud (Batavia/Bogor), 30 June 1831, including ‘Lyst der door wylen den heer A.D. Cornets de Groot nagelaten Javaansche en Maleische werken’, n.d., which contained 51 Javanese MSS. and 30 Malay MSS. Amongst the former are nine works on Javanese history but none specifically entitled *Babad Dipanagara*.
 13. See Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, vol. II, pp. 52-65. Many of Cornets de Groot’s MSS. can, however, be found scattered through other collections such as the Delft and Roorda collections of the Leiden University Library.
 14. See Uhlenbeck, *Critical Survey*, pp. 46-47; H. Kraemer, ‘Het Instituut voor de Javaansche Taal te Soerakarta. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de studie van het Javaansch’, *Djāwā*, jrg. 12 (1932), pp. 272-5.
 15. Uhlenbeck, *Critical Survey*, pp. 45-47.
 16. These seem to be the ones in LOr 2166, pts. 3 and 6-7, see Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, vol. II, p. 78.
 17. This was a translation in Dutch of the first part of the *Buku Kĕdbung Kĕbo* dealing with the period 1812-25, see Taco Roorda, ‘Verhaal van de Oorsprong en het Begin van de Opstand van Dipānĕgārā’, *BKI*, new series vol. IV, pt. 3 (1860), pp. 137-227. The MS. used by Roorda was LOr 2163, see further Carey, ‘Javanese Histories’, p. 261.
 18. Vreede, *Catalogus*, pp. 143-5.
 19. This event was wrongly placed by the babad writer during the fighting around Tĕgal-rĕja, see notes 179 and 194 of the babad.
 20. See note 42 of the babad.
 21. See note 48 of the babad. According to Pigeaud, Sultan Hamĕngkubuwana VII of Yogyakarta (r. 1877-1920) used to make a point of addressing Dutchmen whose names began with a ‘P’ by using the *sastra swara fa*’ rather than ‘*pa*’ since this was regarded as being more correct in the Javanese estimation. Thus, a Dutchman with the name of ‘Polen’, for example, would be addressed as ‘Folen’, Interview with Th.G. Th. Pigeaud, Leiden, July 1973.
 22. This is a very wide topic is discussed at greater length in Carey, ‘Core and Periphery: The Pasisir Origins of Central Javanese “High Court” Culture’, in Bernhard Dahm (ed), *Regions and Regional Development in the Malay World* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz,

- 1992), pp. 91-104. One example of the difference can be seen in the styles of dress. Thus, the Surakarta princes were quicker to adopt European military uniforms and official dress than their colleagues in Yogyakarta. The Solo Crown Prince (the future PB V, r. 1820-1823) apparently always wore European dress when he visited the Residency and both PB IV and PB VI had the habit of making tours outside the court to the royal retreats accompanied by a numerous escort all clad in well tailored European outfits (*montering stukken*). In Yogyakarta, however, HB IV's love of his Dutch Major-General's uniform and his attempt to wear it during *Garebeg* ceremonies created a scandal in court circles and it was not until the 1840s that the such sartorial habits began to be viewed more favourably, see vAE (*aanwinsten*, 1900) no. 239, J.G. van den Berg, 'Copia Memorie op het Hoff van Souracarta [...]', Aug. 1806; AN, *BGG*, 3 March 1839 no. 3, advice of H.G. Nahuys van Burgst in *Commissoriaal*, no. 1251, 8 Oct. 1838; J.W. Winter, 'Beknopte Beschrijving van het Hof Soerakarta in 1824', *BKI*, vol. 54 (1902), p. 42; and J.F.W. van Nes, 'Verhandeling over de waarschijnlijkeoorzaken, die aanleiding tot de onlusten van 1825 en de volgende jaren in de vorstenlanden gegeven hebben', *TNI*, vol. 6 (1844), p. 164.
23. See the letters in the Sasana Wilapa (the Sunan's private secretarial archive in the Surakarta court), esp. SW 79, Pakubuwana VI (Surakarta) to R.M. Purwadiningrat (Surakarta), 24 Jumadilakir, A.J. 1753 (3 Feb. 1826); and SW 84, *Id.* to Raden Arya Cakrawinata (Surakarta), 14 Siyam, A.J. 1753 (22 April 1826), where this type of script is clearly visible.
 24. See MvK 4207, A.M.Th. de Salis, 'Pro Memorie over de Javasche Vorstenlanden', 11 Oct. 1828, no. 208 L, *geheim*, who mentioned that PB VI was an erstwhile pupil of Sasradiningrat II and had been attached to his staff as a *panakawan* (intimate retainer). Dipanagara later remarked that PB VI 'was handed over immediately after his birth to the then greatly respected Patih of Solo, Sasradiningrat II [...] who was later able to accomplish [his] appointment as Sunan [...]', vdB 391, J.H. Knoerle, 'Aanteekeningen gehouden door den 2^e Luit' Knoerle [...] betreffende de dagelyksche verkeering van dien officier met den Prins van Djocjakarta, Diepo Negoro, gedurende eene reis van Batavia naar Manado, het exil van den genoemden Prins', Manado, 20 June 1830 (henceforth: Knoerle, 'Journal'), pp. 27-28. PB VI was the son of PB V by an unofficial wife, a daughter of the exiled Surakarta Patih, Sasradiningrat I (in office, 1770-1782), see Padmasusastra, *Sejarah Dalem pangiwa lan panengen* (Semarang-Surabaya: Van Dorp, 1902), p. 155. The important family connections between PB V, PB VI and the Sasradiningrats is discussed in more detail in the present author's, *Power of Prophecy*, pp. 555-61.
 25. See esp. notes 94 and 97 of the babad.
 26. See the agreements between the Patih listed in bundle 42(ii) of the Yogyakarta Residency archive in the Arsip Nasional described in P.B.R. Carey, 'The Residency Archive of Yogyakarta', *Indonesia*, no. 25 (April 1978), p. 142; and see further G.P. Rouffaer, 'Vorstenlanden', article in *Encyclopaedia van Nederlandsch-Indië* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff / Leiden: Brill, 1905), vol. IV, pp. 637-43.
 27. English translations and a few Javanese copies of this correspondence are in IOL MSS Eur. F. 148/24, 'Copies of Original Javanese Correspondence from Sooracarta', (1811-12);

- see further Ricklefs and Voorhoeve, *Indonesian Manuscripts*, p. 58; the genesis of the contact is mentioned in pt. G, no. 23, 'Information given to Mr [Harman Warner sic] Muntinghe by Raden Tjokro Negoro, the late Prime Minister of Surakarta', n.d.
28. Dj.Br. 23, J.A. van Braam (Surakarta) to H.W. Daendels (Batavia/Bogor), 23 Aug. 1808; A.P. Büchler, 'Soerakarta wóór 63 jaren', *TNI*, 17 jrg. (1888), vol. 2, p. 8.
 29. See note 110 of the babad concerning Kiai Maja who had both Solo and Yogya noblemen amongst his pupils; AvJ, M. Waterloo (Yogyakarta) to B.F. von Liebeherr (Surakarta), 18 Feb. 1807, mentioned that a Solo prince, P. Natapura (Abdul Arifin), was studying with the Yogya *Pěngulu*; and see Carey, 'Javanese Histories', pp. 272-3, on the education of Dipanagara and his supposed contact with Cakranagara before the Java War.
 30. Dj.Br. 53, A.H. Smissaert (Yogyakarta) to Hendrik MacGillavry (Surakarta), 1 Jan. 1824, reported the arrival by night of Pangeran Mělayakusuma, captain of the Sunan's bodyguard, to visit Pangeran Pamot, a Yogyakarta prince who was notorious for his gambling and contacts with bandits.
 31. E.S. de Klerck, *De Java-Oorlog van 1825-30*, vol. V (Batavia & 's-Hage: Nijhoff/Landsdrukkerij, 1908) (henceforth: De Klerck, *Java-oorlog*), p. 746.
 32. See P.B.R. Carey, 'The Sepoy Conspiracy of 1815 in Java', *BKI*, vol. 133 (1977), p. 300 and n. 46.
 33. See AvJ, A.H. Smissaert (Yogyakarta) to G.A.G.Ph. van der Capellen (Batavia/Bogor), 19 April 1823, who reported on the difficulties of making an accurate statistical survey of the Yogyakarta Residency because of the close juxtaposition of land owned by all three courts. On this see further Rouffaer, 'Vorstenlanden', p. 624.
 34. NvB Port. 9, pt. 2, H. MacGillavry (Surakarta) to A.H. Smissaert Yogyakarta, 16 Jul. 1825; *Id.* to P.F.H. Chevallier (Yogyakarta), 19 July 1825. The text of the last letter is printed in full in Louw, *Java-oorlog*, vol. I, p. 252. The end of the letter reads:

'[...] in the *pasars* (markets) here the news is circulating that it will come to *prang* [war] in Yogya, that the common people have hidden all their goods (and) that the prime minister of Yogya has climbed [Mt.] Merapi to make a pledge for this *prang* etc, these *merae nugae* [idle gossip] are for your information only. Farewell, H. MacGillavry.'
 35. See P.H. van der Kemp, 'Brieven van den Gouverneur-Generaal Van der Capellen over Dipanagara's Opstand zoomede eene wederlegging van den Minister Elout', *BKI*, 6th series, vol. 2 (1896), pp. 544-546.
 36. Knoerle, 'Journal', p. 28.
 37. See note 241 of the babad.
 38. On the Surakarta troops in Yogyakarta at this time see Louw, *Java-oorlog*, vol. I, pp. 268-9 and A.A.J. Payen, 'Voyage à Djocja-Karta, 1825' (MS. deposited in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, subsequently published as *Voyage à Djocja-Karta en 1825; The outbreak of the Java War as seen by a painter* (Peter Carey ed.; Paris: Association Archipel, 1988), entry of 7 Aug. 1825, where he mentioned that 150 men of the Sunan's bodyguard were encamped on the northern *alun-alun* in Yogya.

39. See Louw, *Java-oorlog*, vol. I, pp. 261-3; and H.F. Aukes, *Het Legioen van Mangkoe Nagoro* (Bandung: Nix & Co, 1935), pp. 79-81.
40. See P.B.R. Carey, 'The origins of the Java War (1825-30)', *EHR*, vol. XCI, no. CCCLVIII (Jan. 1976), pp. 58-9, pp. 72-3; and P.H. van der Kemp, 'De Economische Oorzaken van den Java-Oorlog van 1825-30', *BKI*, vol. 47 (1897), pp. 16-38.
41. For a brief discussion of this Surakarta policy, see Carey, 'Sepoy Conspiracy', pp. 298-9; and Carey, *Power of Prophecy*, pp. 415-28.
42. See note 97 of the babad and above pp. xviii-xix of the Introduction.
43. See notes 86-89 of the babad; for other references to the Dutch as *buta*, see W. Palmer van den Broek (ed.), 'Geschiedenis van het Vorstenhuis Madoera uit het Javaansch vertaald', *TBG*, vol. 20 (1873), p. 487, p. 535 where the red-haired and one-eyed Belgian officer, Major Bernard Sollewijn (1785-1864), and General Hendrik Merkus de Kock (1779-1845), are both described in this fashion, the latter being compared to Dasamuka, King of Ngalingka.
44. H. Graaf van Hogendorp (ed.), *Willem van Hogendorp in Nederlandsch-Indië, 1825-30* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1913), p. 143 and Payen, *Voyage à Djocja-Karta en 1825*, entry of 20 Sept. 1825 where he gave the following description of the plump Yogya Resident as he set off at the rear of the Dutch troops to meet the relief column commanded by De Kock: '[...] Monsieur le Résident les suivit à cheval avec un joli petit sabre, qui lui donnait la figure d'un joli petit Sancho, au gros bon sens près [...]'. On the figure of Sancho Panza, the rustic squire in Cervantes Saavedra's satirical romance, *Don Quixote de la Mancha* (published in two parts in 1605 and 1615), see Sir Paul Harvey (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 233, p. 694.
45. For a discussion of the role of the wayang in the *Buku Kédbung Kébo* and Dipanagara's autobiographical babad, see P.B.R. Carey, 'The Cultural Ecology of Early Nineteenth Century Java: Pangeran Dipanagara, a case study', Occasional Paper no. 24 (Institute of S.E. Asian Studies, Singapore), Dec. 1974, *passim*, and *Id.*, 'Lambang Wayang dalam tiga naskah Babad Dipanagara', *Masyarakat Indonesia*, V.1 (June, 1978), pp. 45-66.
46. See Claire Holt, *Art in Indonesia: Continuities and Change* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1967), pp. 159-162 and see below VIII.11 for a similar description of the Yogyakarta officer, Lurah Surabaja, as he sets out for Těgalrěja.
47. See K.G.P.A.A. Mangkoenagoro VII, 'Over de Wajang-Koelit (Poerwa) in het Algemeen en over de daarin voorkomende Symbolische en Mystieke elementen', *Djāwā*, jrg. 19 (1933), p. 87; the scene is also more popularly known as the *prang bambang* (the fight of the young *satria*).
48. On the *banyolan*, see Claire Holt, *Art in Indonesia*, sub: panakawan.
49. An anonymous English traveler, who visited the Surakarta kraton in August 1828, gave the following description of PB VI's favourite *banyolan*:

'[...] the Sunan's water spaniel, which carried letters and slippers in its mouth, was afterwards ordered to undress one of the attendants which he did very regularly, growling and worrying him and taking every article of clothing from him separately and laying them at his master's feet. At a signal afterwards he carried them

back to the owner who had taken refuge behind one of the wooden pillars of the *pëndhapa* in *grand deshabillé* [a state of great undress] [...].’

See Anon. (signed A.H.P.), ‘Journal of an excursion to the Native Provinces of Java in the Year 1828 During the War with Dipo Negoro’, *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia* (Singapore), vol. 9 (1854), p. 90.

50. See J. Hageman, Jcz., *Geschiedenis van den Oorlog op Java van 1825 tot 1830* (Batavia, 1856), p. 24, who mentioned that PB IV acquired his nickname ‘Bagus’ because of his beautiful, dancer’s figure, see AN, Java NOK 47, J.F. van Reede tot de Parkeler, ‘Memorie voor Den Wel. Edele Gestrengen Heer Nicolaus Engelhard [...] aankomende Gouverneur en Directeur van Java’s Noord Oost Kust [...]’, Aug. 1801, f.8, referred to PB IV’s favourite pastimes as horse riding, watching wayang and reading Javanese babads; on his accomplishments as an author of didactic works such as the *Wulang Rêh*, *Wulang Sunu* and *Wulang-Dalêm*, see R.M. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, *Kapustakan Djawi* (Jakarta: Jambatan, 1954), pp. 154-5. He may also have been the author of a collection of wayang plays, see Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, vol. II, p. 74 (LOr 2137).
51. See Winter, ‘Beknopte Beschrijving’, p. 41 who also mentioned the *béksa Panji tuwa*, *béksa Panji nom* (dances from the Panji cycle); *béksa lawung gèdhé*, *béksa lawung cilik* (lance dances), and *béksa gèlas* (glass/drinking dance). His description of PB IV’s dancers is as follows:

‘[...] he also had *prawirèng* and *topèng* performances [carried out] by handsome, chosen young men, who were especially beautifully attired (and) decked out with gold and jewels. But, in view of the fact that most of these *topèng* dancers were seducers, who could make women fall in love with them and abduct them through their flirtatious poses (*cocquette houding*) and gestures, he (PB IV) had them all dismissed, this *topèng* being a sort of theatre performance, in which various old tales of the *Panjis* [sic] [noblemen] and the *Ratu Sabrang* [the overseas queen] are enacted by forty people who are all, except for the clowns and musicians, masked.’

PB IV’s own participation in the *béksa jèbèng* (bow-shield) dance, which he would perform with three prominent princes of the Solo court, is mentioned in *Ibid.* In July 1807, on the occasion of the celebration of the appointment of Louis Bonaparte as King of Holland, PB IV is described as having danced the *béksa prawirèng* with his brother, P. Mangkubumi, and brothers-in-law, Raden Adipati Danuningrat and P. Cakrakusuma, to the accompaniment of some particularly beautiful *gamèlan* music at the Surakarta Residency, see S. Br. 55, B.F. von Liebeherr (Surakarta) to N. Engelhard (Sèmarang), 9 Jul. 1807.

There is no mention of *wayang wong* performances at the Sunan’s court at this time and it appears to have been more popular in Yogyakarta, see J. Groneman, *In den Kedaton te Jogjakarta: Oepatjara, Ampilan en Tooneeldansen* (Leiden: Brill, 1888), p. 19; and the articles of B.J.O. Schrieke and Th. Pigeaud, ‘Wayang Wong’, *Djâwâ*, vol. 9 (1929), pp. 5-6 and pp. 7-13. This particular dance drama reached a peak of development during the reign of Sultan Hamèngkubuwana V of Yogyakarta (1822-26

/ 1828-55), see Dr. Br. 18, J.F.W. van Nes, ‘Karakterschets van den tegenwoordigen Sultan (HB V) van Djocjocarta en zijnen broeder den waarnemend kroonprins, Pangeran Adipatti Mangkoeboemi (the future HB VI)’, 30 April 1847, who wrote that HB V:

‘[...] occupies himself much with *wayang orang* and gives a performance once a year in which 160 or more actors take part all dressed in proper costume. He is the only ruler in Java who has such a *wayang orang*’.

52. Winter, ‘Beknopte Beschrijving’, p.41, p.53; see also Carey, ‘Cultural Ecology’, p. 10 for reference to wayang tales being read by ladies at the Yogya court in 1824.
53. See E. Netscher and J.A. van der Chijs, ‘De munten van Nederlandsch-Indië, beschreven en afgebeeld’, *VBG*, vol. 31 (1864), p. 141. The *wayang gèdbog* figures appeared on gold *dirhams* and the *wayang klithik* on the silver.
54. Schneither 92, ‘Statistieke der Residentie Kadoe’ (1822), on the *income* which the European government derived from wayangs which was partially used to maintain the Dutch naval college (post-1812, military academy) in Sêmarang (1782-1826), see F.C. van Oosten, ‘“Hear Instruction and be wise”: The history of the naval college on Java in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth century’, *Mariner’s Mirror* (London) vol. 55 (1969), p. 257; IOL G. 21 (Java Public Consultations) vol. 26, W.J. Cranssen (Batavia) to Raffles (Batavia/Bogor), 22 Dec. 1814; S.Br. 89¹, ‘Speciale voorwaarden waarop de wajangs in Residentiën Batavia en Buitenzorg voor den jare 1824 zullen worden verpacht’, n.d.
55. Ibid.; Th.G.Th. Pigeaud, *Javaanse Volksvertoningen: Bijdrage tot de beschrijving van land en volk* (Batavia: Volkslectuur, 1938), p. 35 ff.
56. See Louw, *Java-oorlog*, vol. I, p. 26; Onghokham, ‘The Residency of Madiun: Pryayi and Peasant in the Nineteenth Century’, Ph.D. Thesis (Yale University, 1975), pp.68-9 (see bibliography p.335 for newly published Indonesian translation).
57. Ibid.; Carey, ‘Cultural Ecology’, p. 10, and see below p.xlii and p.xlvi.
58. The following are a few examples amongst the many wayang names which occur in European and Javanese sources during this period: (i) *proper names*: Dêmang Ponca Setyaki of Sirisik (Kulon Progo) (1830); Mas Ayu Limbuk, an unofficial wife of HB II in Ambon (1816); Lurah Dasamuka and Lurah Bimamuka, officials of the Yogya kraton (1820) (Louw, *Java-oorlog*, vol. I, p. 594); Basah Sêngkuni, a *panakawan* of one of DN’s army commanders; ‘pun Semar’, one of the latter’s horses; Dasamuka and Durgananda, two of Raden Ronggo’s army commanders in November 1810; Nala Garêng, a Yogya counterfeiter (1821). (ii) *toponyms*: Kutha Bima, a robber’s hide-out in Dayeuh Luhur (Banyumas) (1808); Kampong Pringgodani, a quarter in Yogyakarta (1823); Désa Pandhawa, one of DN’s headquarters during the Java War; Guwa Sigala-gala, a cave visited by DN near Yogya (1806).
59. Dj. Br. 19ⁱⁱ, F.V.H.A. de Stuers (?), ‘Inleiding tot de geschiedenis van den Oorlog op Java’, p. 7, and see notes 182 and 187 of the babad.
60. See note 187 of the babad.
61. Pak Hardjowirogo, *Sedjarah Wajang Purwa* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1965), pp. 110-111.

62. Carey, 'Cultural Ecology', pp. 37-46; Interview with K.R.M.T. Sanyoto Soetopo, Wakil Ketua Dinas Urusan Mangkunegaran, June 1977.
63. Ibid., pp. 12-37. In his babad (LOr 6547 b, XV. 55, p. 146) Dipanagara also described how his father, the third Sultan, once compared him to Gathotkaca, the flying son of Bima: XV (Asmaradana) 55. [...] / *sirèku pan amung juga / sanadyan akulita / tèm-baga wěsi kang balung / otot kawat sungsum gala*. For a similar description of Gathotkaca see Hardjowirogo, p. 137.
64. On the *priyayi* (aristocratic) virtues of refinement, aloofness and control in the exercise of power see B.R.O'G. Anderson, 'The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture', in Claire Holt (ed.), *Culture and Politics in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972), esp. pp. 38-43.
65. For a discussion of this syncretic viewpoint see G.W.J. Drewes, 'The Struggle between Javanism and Islam as Illustrated by the Serat Dermagandul', *BKI*, vol. 122 (1966) no. 3, *passim*.
66. See note 54 of the babad and II.8-10 of the text.
67. See note 54 of the babad.
68. Knoerle, 'Journal', p. 40; the rivalry between Dipanagara's supporters from the court and the religious communities can be explored further in Carey, *Power of Prophecy*, pp.626-39.
69. In his autobiographical babad, Dipanagara referred to the lack of religious devotion amongst the inhabitants of Yogya in the early nineteenth century:

LOr 6547 b, XIV (Sinom), p. 118:

56. [...]

All the people in Yogya also,
from the highest to the lowest rarely followed the Truth.

56. [...]

*kabèh wong Ngayogya sami
agěng-alit awis ingkang lampah nyata*

70. A glimpse of some of these tensions can be gained from Kiai Maja's remarks to Captain Johan Jacob Roes (1805-40) after his capture, see *Jav. Cour.*, no. 144, 2 Dec. 1828, Capt. J.J. Roes (Klaten) to H.G. Nahuys van Burgst (Surakarta), 16 Nov. 1828):

'The first proposal which won me over to waging war was that Dipanagara promised me the restoration of our [Islamic] religion. Believing this I joined forces whole-heartedly with him, but later I discovered that this was not [his] real aim as he swiftly began setting up and organising a kraton. I made representations against this, which he took very much amiss, so much so that we exchanged bitter words. Since that time, I was in disagreement with Dipanagara [...].'

See also Dipanagara's criticism of his *santri* advisers in De Klerck, *Java-oorlog*, vol. V, p. 742; Carey, 'Cultural Ecology', pp. 19-22; and Carey, *Power of Prophecy*, pp.629-639, which deals with Dipanagara's quarrel with Kiai Maja.

71. See Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs, from the Earliest Times to the Present* (London, 1970), pp. 116-118 and note 30 of the babad.
72. The dates are given at the beginning and the end of Dipanagara's babad, see LOr 6547 a, p. 3: I (Mijil):

9. *Kang kinarya wiwitaning géndbing / Éjrab kang kinaot / Kangjěng Nabi Muhamad samangko / purwa Měkah ing Madinah mangkin / ing Éjrab samangkin / sèwu kalib-atuš // 10. Kawan-dasa wolu mangkyèki / sangkalannya mangko / paning Jawa lumrabé wong akèh / sèwu pitung-atuš sèkět iki / sanga langkungnèki / windu Sěngarèku // 11. Pun Kulawu Alip kang lumaris / Jé taunnya mangko / mapan Kaji ing wulan tanggalé / kaping wolu Jumungah nujoni / [...].*

It should be noted that Dipanagara or his scribe has made a mistake here. The A.H. should read 1247, and the A.J. 1758. The Javanese year *taun Jé* (A.J. 1758; 1830/31), is, however, correct. The date at the end of the text reads as follows, LOr 6547 d, XLIII (Maskumambang), p. 429:

335. [...] / *tamaté sèrat punika // 336. Apan sami taun Dal nging wulannèki / Ramlan tanggalira / sapisan Jumungah wanci / bakda lubur ingkang dina // 337. Apan maksih anèng jroning kitha iki / Měnadho punika / [...].*

73. See R.M. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, 'Lijst der Javaansche Handschriften in de boekerij van het Kon. Bat. Genootschap', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (1933), p. 290; Proyek Inventarisasi dan Dokumentasi Kebudayaan Nasional, *Katalogus Koleksi Naskah Kitab Babad Museum Pusat Dep. P. & K.* (Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan, 1973), pp. 18-21. The first copy in *pégon* script made by Cohen Stuart's scribe, Raden Abdul Samsi, presumably at the General Secretariat (Algemene Secretarie) in Bogor in 1865-66 is classified as BG 282 and runs to 1151 folio-sized pages. It constitutes the sole version of this manuscript which survives in the original script in which it was written on Dipanagara's orders in 1831-1832 (*Notulen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap* [henceforth: *NBG*] vol. XVI [June 1878], p. 13, 35). BG 283 is the earliest copy in Javanese script. On the original MS. owned by Dipanagara's descendants in Makassar, see A.B. Cohen Stuart, 'Eroe Tjakra', *BKI*, 3rd series vol. 7 (1872), p. 285 and *NBG*, vol. XV (June 1877), p. 94.
74. See below p.xxxv and notes 122 and 208 of the babad.
75. Interview with R.M. Jusuf Dipanagara and R. Saleh Dipanagara, Makassar, Sept. 1972. For a discussion of the *pégon* manuscripts which were once owned by Dipanagara's family in Makassar, see below p.xxxiii and note 209 below.
76. The oxidisation of the iron in the ink has blurred the writing on many of the pages and made the paper extremely brittle. At least one third of the manuscript is now illegible. A microfilm copy was planned in 1976, but no steps have been taken to restore this MS. The assertion, in the 1973 Museum Pusat (post-1979, Perpustakaan Nasional) catalogue (*Katalogus*, p. 20) that the MS. is in 'good condition' is totally without foundation.

77. See Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, vol. II, p. 392; Poerbatjaraka, 'Lijst', p. 290 (entry Br. 149); Carey, 'Javanese Histories', p. 260; Pangeran Arya Dipanagara, *Sĕrat Babad Dipanagaran karanganipun swargi Kangjĕng Pangĕran Arya Dipanagara piyambak nyariosakĕn wiwit kĕrĕmipun dhatĕng agami Islam tuwin dadosing prang agĕng ngantos dumiginipun kakĕndhangakĕn dhatĕng Mĕnadhu*, 2 vols. (Soerakarta: Albert Rusche & Co., 1908-1909). The Rusche edition was republished in 1914 and 1917. An Indonesian translation of Dipanagara's babad, prepared by Drs. Amen Budiman (1940-ca. 1990) of Sĕmarang and based on one of the MS. in the Museum Pusat (post-1979, Perpustakaan Nasional), was due to appear in six volumes in 1980-86 when the first edition of the present work was being written, but only one volume, covering cantos XIV to XX in the original, namely Dipanagara's childhood at Tĕgalrĕja (1793-1803) and the outbreak of the Java War in July 1825, was ever published (Budiman [ed.], *Babad Dipanegara*. Sĕmarang: Tanjung Sari, 1980).
78. See LOr 6547 d, XLIII (Maskumambang), pp. 427-8:

322. [...] Resident Pietermaat

323. inquired of the Sultan:

"What is the reason Your Highness came here?" Smiling the Sultan [Dipanagara] said:

324. "Ah, Resident, if you ask me, promise me; can you deliver this letter to the King of the Netherlands?"

325. If you promise it, I will indeed tell you the reason why I came to Manado. If you cannot promise, then it is in vain

326. that I tell you the real facts." The Resident gave his pledge. Then he was given the tale from the beginning

327. until the arrival in the end in Manado. Resident Pietermaat, when he heard the truth, became extremely ashamed

328. because of the perfidy of his countrymen, how they had been able to end the war in such a treacherous fashion. We talk no more of this.

322. [...] *Rĕsidhĕn Pitĕrmat ika*

323. *nuwun priksa dhumatĕng Sri Narapati / punapa kang sabab / Paduka rawuh ing ngriki / mĕsĕm ngandika Nalĕndra*

324. *hĕh Rĕsidhĕn lamun takon ingsun jangji / apa sira bisa / nĕkakakĕ layangnĕki / marang ing Raja Wĕlonda*

325. *lamun saguh ya sira ingsun tuturi / marma ingsun prapta / iya ing Mĕnadhu iki / yĕn tan saguh tanpa karya*

326. *ingsun awĕb kabar yĕkti mring sirĕki / Rĕsidhĕn pan sagah / anulya dipunparing / s(ĕ)rat malah duk wiwitan*

327. *ngantos prapta wĕkasan Mĕnadhu iki / Rĕsidhĕn Pitĕrmat / sarĕng mirsa yĕktosnĕki / dadya sangĕt isinira*

328. *sabab dĕnĕ bangsanira cidra sami / panuju sagĕda / kĕndĕl aprang cidra iki / mĕngkana wus tan winarna / [...].*

(*MS. 'tuturi'. I have followed Rusche (ed.), *Serat Babad Dipanagaran*, vol. II, p. 267).

Resident Pietermaat later mentioned that Dipanagara was indeed hoping that a Dutch officer, whom he had befriended in Java, namely Captain (post-1837, Colonel) Johan Jacob Roeps (1805-1840) would arrive in Manado with a sailing ship to take him to Mecca. But, despite vague Dutch promises, the plan was never permitted, see AN *BGG ir*, 2 Jul. 1831 no. 15, D.F.W. Pietermaat (Manado) to Johannes van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 22 April 1831; and Carey, 'Cultural Ecology', p. 29. In the same letter, the Resident made no mention of any babad written by Dipanagara.

79. See J.J. de Hollander, 'Twee Brieven van Dipå Negårå', *BKI*, 4th series vol. I (1877), p. 192; E.B. Kielstra, 'Een en Ander omtrent Dipõ Negoro', *De Gids*, vol. 2 (June 1885), p. 409; Knoerle, 'Journal', p. 10; *Id.*, 'Extract uit de gehouden Aanteekeningen gedurende mijne reis naar Manado', *De Oosterling*, vol. 2 (1835), p. 172, Knoerle (Surabaya) to J. van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor) 9 Jul. 1830, in which he noted:

'The Pangeran's mode of speech is unusually inaccurate and particularly unmannerly, but the meaning of his discourse and his ideas in themselves are rich, powerful and very clear. [...] During the first days of our journey Dipanagara had assured me that he could not write; later [he] told me that he wrote Javanese very defectively.'

80. See below p.xxxiii.
81. See Carey, 'Javanese Histories', p. 283 and below p.xxviii-xxx.
82. Knoerle, 'Journal', p. 10; AN *BGG ir*, 2 Jul. 1831 no. 15, Pietermaat (Manado) to Johannes van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 22 April 1831. The scribe sent out to join Dipanagara, named Tirtadirana, had been a head *Děmang* in Grabag, Northern Kedu, before the Java War but had been dismissed for corrupt practices. He later formed part of Kiai Maja's following when the latter submitted to the Dutch in 1828 and was afterwards employed as a Dutch spy, see Dj. Br. 17, J.I. van Sevenhoven (Yogyakarta) to J. van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 22 April 1831; *Jav. Cour.*, no. 148, 11 Dec. 1828. Both Tuměnggung Dipawiyana and Tirtadirana later found great difficulties in living with Dipanagara and the former was allowed to return to Java with his wife in August 1832, see AN *BGG ir*, 23 Oct. 1832 no. 8. By the time Dipanagara was transferred to Makassar in 1833, Tirtadirana was also no longer in his entourage. On Wangsatruna (Satruna), see Carey, *Power of Prophecy*, p.638, 733, 818.
83. See AN *BGG ir*, 2 Jul. 1831 no. 15, Pietermaat (Manado) to Johannes van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 22 April 1831.
84. Louw, *Java-oorlog*, vol. I, p. 84.
85. See Louw, *Java-oorlog*, vol. II, p. 345 n. 1. The Dutch translation used by Louw was BG 246 (completed 1878) and the Malay translation BG 314 (completed 1893), on these see Poerbatjaraka, 'Lijst', p. 290; Museum Pusat, *Katalogus*, pp. 20-21. For a description of the chaotic background of the Dutch translation which was prepared by numerous hands under the supervision of Cohen Stuart, see S. van Praag, *Onrust op Java. De Jeugd van Dipanegara. Een Historisch-Literaire Studie* (Amsterdam: Nederlandsche Keurboekerij, 1947), pp. 20-23 and *NBG*, vol. XV (5 June 1877), pp. 89-95.
86. Louw, *Java-oorlog*, vol. I, p. 148.
87. See Carey, 'Javanese Histories', *passim*; Heather Sutherland, 'Notes on Java's Regent Families', part. II, *Indonesia*, no. 17 (April 1974), pp. 4-5.

88. Dj. Br. 27, Kiai Moh. Jayiman (Ampel) to Raden Adipati Danurĕja II (Yogyakarta), 13 Ruwah, A.J. 1737 (13 Sept. 1810).
89. See Carey, 'Javanese Histories', p. 272, the *guru* in question was not Kiai Maja, whom Dipanagara only met shortly before the Java War in the period of Nahuys van Burgst's period as Yogya Resident (1816-22), but a Yogya teacher (*guru agĕng*), named Kiai Taptajani, of the *pĕsantren* of Mĕlangi, who had ... fled to Surakarta in June 1805.
90. See Carey, 'Cultural Ecology', pp. 6-7, 37-46; Sutherland, 'Notes on Java's Regent Families', part. II, p. 5.
91. One of the last events to be described in the *Buku* (LOR 2163, XLIX. 10, p. 617) is the Amad Slĕman revolt in the Kulon Progo area in Feb. 1840, see Sartono Kartodirdjo (ed.), *Ikhtisar Keadaan Politik Hindia-Belanda Tabun 1839-1848* (Jakarta: Arsip Nasional, 1973), pp. 56-7. There is also a diary of events which occurred in Bagĕlen between 1834 and 1860, commissioned by Cakranagara I in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, see Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, *Javanese and Balinese Manuscripts and some codices written in related idioms spoken in Java and Bali. Descriptive Catalogue* (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, vol. 31. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975), p. 233 (Berlin SB. Ms. or. fol. 568). A transliterated copy of this text is in the Koninklijk Instituut Library (Leiden).
92. For a fuller discussion of this thesis, see Carey, 'Javanese Histories', *passim*.
93. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, vol. II, p. 78; Carey, 'Javanese Histories', p. 269.
94. Geoffrey Forrester, 'The Java War: Some Javanese Aspects', unpublished M.A. Thesis, Australian National University (Canberra), 1971, and on the text itself, see Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, vol. II, p. 825.
95. See Mudjanattistomo, *Katalogus Manuskrip Kraton Jogjakarta* (Jogjakarta: Lembaga Bahasa Nasional, 1971), p. 9.
96. Transliterated copies of these three volumes together with critical introductions, summaries in Indonesian and indexes are in the Koninklijk Instituut (Leiden), see Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, vol. IV (Leiden, 1980), p. 252.
97. R.W. Dwidjosoegondo and R.S. Adisoetrisno, *Serat Dharah inggih 'Seseboetan Raden'* (Kediri: Tan Khoen Swie, 1941), p. 105.
98. See Dj.Br.5, A.J.B. Wattendorff, 'Algemeen Verslag der Residentie Djokjokarta over den jare 1875', March 1876, which also mentioned that Suryanagara 'was one of the most lettered Javanese in Yogyakarta'. See further Behrend, 'The Writings of K.P.H. Suryanagara', pp.388-415.
99. See Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, vol. I, p. 169.
100. See Ricklefs, *Modern Javanese Historical Tradition*, p. 200, p. 262.
101. Thus the introduction to the Yogya text (Widyabudaya MS. A.62, p. 1) states that Danurĕja V borrowed one of Hageman's works, perhaps his history of the Java War (*Geschiedenis van het Oorlog op Java van 1825 tot 1830*. Batavia: Lange, 1856), from the Bataviaasch Genootschap (now Perpustakaan Nasional) Library:

[...] *Dyan Dipati Danurja Ridĕr kang kadran ing pakumpulanĕ nĕng Ratpĕnindyagung, gunawing nitik duk nguni, nindita Kantor Bĕsar sing Gĕdbong*

Musiyum, yumanaa antuk karangan, nguni sri crita Dipanagaran kausti emrung Welandi angka 1825, kaprastawa: pranyata dumugi, gya kinarang déning Lidirèng Rat, raning Tuwan Agèmandhé, yèkti Jawi tinèmbung, byakta wontèn nagri Batawi, warana tanpa sékar, karènan kang antuk, tètèp Rahadyan Dipatya.

- Transcripts of the same letters can be found in LOr 8552 a-c, see Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, vol. II, p. 480 and Soegiarto list of first lines LOr 10.867 D.
102. See C. Poensen, 'Amāngku Buwānā II (Sěpuh). Ngayogyakarta's Tweede Sultan. (Naar Aanleiding van een Javaansch Handschrift)', *BKI*, vol. 58 (1905), pp. 73-346. The MS. used by Poensen, LOr 5765, has been discussed by M.C. Ricklefs in his article, 'On the Authorship of Leiden Cod. Or. 2191, Babad Mangkubumi', *BKI*, vol. 127 (1971), p. 265. The authorship of the *Babad Batawi* was attributed to Paku Alam I (r. 1812-1829) by Ki Hadjar Dewantara, see his *Beoefening van Letteren en Kunst in het Pakoe-Alamsche Geslacht* (Djokja: H. Buning, 1931), pp. 13-14. It describes the events leading up to Paku Alam I's and his son, R.T. Natadiningrat's (later Paku Alam II, r. 1830-1858), imprisonment under Daendels in Cirebon (January-15 May 1811) and their subsequent exile in Batavia and Surabaya under Janssens (16 May-18 September) and Raffles until December 1811, hence the title of the work (on these events see Poensen, Amāngku Buwānā II (Sěpuh), pp. 221-271). Dewantara's assertion is plausible for it is known that Paku Alam I was a *littérateur* of distinction and that many writing materials were found amongst his baggage in Cirebon, see Dj. Br. 39, P. Engelhard (Yogyakarta) to Danurēja II (Yogyakarta), 5 May 1811.
 103. See Ricklefs, 'Authorship', p. 265. The fact that the Poensen text is in prose strongly suggests that it is a later copy. On Javanese prose babads written for 'foreign consumption', see Ricklefs, 'Javanese Sources in the Writing of Modern Javanese History', in C.D. Cowan and O.W. Wolters (eds.), *Southeast Asian History and Historiography. Essays Presented to D.G.E. Hall* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1976), pp. 343-4.
 104. SB A. 136 (*Babad Ngayogyakarta*, vol. II) IV.6-7, p. 15; XIII.16, p. 57; XXVIII. 20-25, pp. 104-5.
 105. *Ibid.*, XXXVIII.7-16, pp. 155-6; XVII. 33-XVIII.36, pp. 72-6.
 106. See Ricklefs and Voorhoeve, *Catalogue*, p. 51 (Add. 12330). Crawford made a final visit to Yogya on 1 October 1816 to inventorise British property remaining in the Residency, see Dj. Br. 41, Crawford (Semarang) to Nahuys van Burgst (Yogyakarta), 28 Sept. 1816.
 107. See Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, vol. II, p. 63. An example of bowlderisation can be seen in the Leiden text's substitution of the word 'plunder' (*jinarah*) for the word 'rape' (*jinamah*) used in the British Library text in the description of the treatment of court ladies in the kratons of Plered and Kartasura by Trunajaya and the Chinese in 1677 and 1742 respectively (see LOr 2045, IX.15, p. 96; BL Add. 12330, IX.15, f. 35r). There are various other MSS. of the *Babad Bědbah* in existence; four are in the Surakarta court library (52/ha/P; 209/na/H; 213/na/H; 55/tja/H), the middle two referring to a two-volume Surakarta version. There is a three-volume recension in the Perpustakaan Nasional collection entitled *Babad Inggris* (classified as BG [=Bataviaasch

- Genootschap] 591 a-c) as well as a copy of the Leiden MS. classified as Br. 426 (see Poerbatjaraka, 'Lijst', p. 290, p. 292). Romanized copies of the same Leiden MS., which were made under the direction of Dr. Pigeaud in Surakarta in December 1930, are in the Library of the Fakultas Sastra (Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta, *Gebonden Afschrift* no. 29) and in the Library of the Koninklijk Instituut (Leiden), see Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, vol. IV, p. 253. Finally, there are also printed versions of the Babad Bedhah. The first is probably based on one of the Surakarta MSS. edited by R.Ng. Suradipura, *Babad Bédhahipun Kératon Négari ing Ngayogyakarta* (Weltevreden: Commissie voor de Volkslectuur, 1913). The second is the edition of BL Add MS 12330 by Peter Carey (ed.), *The British in Java, 1811-1816; A Javanese Account* (Oxford: OUP for the British Academy, 1992).
108. On the background to this rivalry see Louw, *De Java-oorlog*, vol. I, pp. 31-42 and *Id.*, 'Crawfurd door Dipanegara Toegelicht', in P.J. Veth, *Feestbundel* (full citation in the bibliography), pp. 36-37. The Yogya Resident, A.H.W. de Kock (in office, 1848-51), was still commenting on the antagonisms between the two parties in 1851, see Dj. Br. 19^o, 'Memorie van Overgave', 17 May 1851.
 109. Before July 1991, when the MSS were given to the municipality of Makassar, they were in the possession of the late R.M. Jusuf Dipanagara and R. Saleh Dipanagara, joint *jurukunci makam* Dipanagara, of Jl. Irian no. 86, Makassar. In 2000, the house where they lived, originally built by the Dutch for Dipanagara's widow after his death on 8 January 1855, was destroyed following its sale to a local shop owner. Photographic copies of the MSS. and transliterations of the text are in Fort Rotterdam library (Makassar) and the University Libraries of Leiden and Canberra (ANU), see Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, vol. IV, p. 199.
 110. Makassar MS. Book I, p. 175 '[...] *ikilah tamat duk nurun buku Sejarah Ratu Jawa ing malem Rebo, wanci jam sanga, wulan kaping gangsal, ing sasi Dulkaidah, taun Jim, Hijratul Nabi s.a.w. sèwu kalib-atus sèket tiga Hijrah, Jawi sèwu pitung-atus sawidak lima, tinulis ing Makassar.*' The Javanese month Dulkaidah could be Dulkangidah or Dulkijab, but only the latter fits the date.
 111. Dipanagara was moved to Fort Rotterdam (Makassar) from Manado between 20 June and 11 July 1833 in the greatest secrecy because the Dutch government feared the British would declare war on Holland in connection with the Belgian revolt (1830-31) and the Dutch king's unwillingness to recognize Belgian sovereignty (he only recognized the existence of Belgium *de jure* in 1840), capture Dutch bases outside Java as they had done in 1795-99 period, and use Dipanagara as a puppet ruler. Makassar was considered safer than Manado because in the event of war Dipanagara could be moved into the hinterland to Maros, Bulukumba or Bonthain. The Governor-General, Baron Jean Chrétien Baud (in office, 1833-36), even suggested that Dipanagara should be sent to Holland where he could be kept more safely in the royal castles of Woerden or Loevestein, but the idea was rejected by King Willem I (r. 1813-1840), see ARA *BGG ir*, 8 March 1833 no. 2; GKA, *Exb.* 28 Jul. 1834 no. 177 k; *BGG ir geheim*, 13 Oct. 1834. In 1836, letters written by Dipanagara to Col. Jan Baptist Cleerens (who had negotiated with him in mid-Feb. 1830 and had given him an undertaking that he would be allowed to return to Banyumas if the Magëlang peace conference failed)

- and to the guardians of HB V (about the marriage of one of his daughters, Raden Ajëng Impun) were intercepted by the Dutch government. These were considered supercilious and treacherous in tone, and a decision was taken to send many of the prince's followers to Ambon, leaving him only the company of his close family, see ARA *BGG ir geheim*, 15 March 1837 no. G; Sagimun, *Pahlawan Dipanagara Berdjuang* (Jakarta, 1965), pp. 348-55. On the books and writing materials used by Dipanagara, see ARA *BGG br*, 25 Oct. 1844 no. 6; *BGG geheim*, 24 Jan. 1848 no. 23.
112. The two eldest of the seven children born to Dipanagara in exile, R.M. Kindar (later P. Abdurrahman, 1832-82) and R.M. Sarkumo (1834-49), were six and four years old at the time. On later provisions made by Dipanagara for his children which involved the copying of various texts from the Sunan's library in Surakarta (*Sérat Angrèni*, *Sérat Purwa dumugi Bratayuda*, *Sérat Manikmaya*, *Sérat Asmara Supi* and *Sérat Gandakusuma*), see ARA *BGG br*, 25 Oct. 1844 no. 6.
 113. Makassar MS. Book II, p.1, '[...] *Hikayat Tanah Jawa: anapun bazba hikayat risalah maring ingkang Sinuhun Kangjeng Sultan Ngabdul Hamid Érucakra Kabirul Mukminin Panatagama Kalifat Rosulullah s.m. ing Tanah Jawa.*' For a discussion of this title see note 218 of the babad.
 114. Communication of Professor G.W.J. Drewes, 4 Feb. 1974, who kindly read through the two notebooks.
 115. *Ojrat* meditation involves long periods of silent meditation interspersed with rapid repetition of prayers and exhortations such as '*Allahu Akbar* (God is Most Great!)', see GR, vol. I, p. 148.
 116. See Ph.S. van Ronkel, 'Catalogus der Maleische Handschriften in het Museum van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen', *VBG*, vol. LVII (1909), p. 287.
 117. On Jayadiningrat's career, see Heather Sutherland, 'Notes on Java's Regent Families', part II, p. 5; Louw, *Java-oorlog*, vol. II, p. 293 n. 2; AN *BGG geheim*, 13 Feb. 1847 La H, J.F.W. van Nes (Yogyakarta) to Governor-General J.J. Rochussen (Batavia/Bogor), 9 Sept. 1846, where Jayadiningrat's name was put forward as a possible replacement for Danurèja IV on the latter's retirement in 1847.
 118. See the examples quoted in Louw, *Java-oorlog*, vol. I, pp. 85-89.
 119. Van Ronkel, Catalogus, p. 287; J. Hageman Jcz., *Geschiedenis van den Oorlog op Java van 1825 tot 1830* (Batavia: Lange, 1856), *passim*.
 120. Louw, *Java-oorlog*, vol. I, p. 85.
 121. The literature on the Jayabaya Prophecies is extensive, see esp. G.W.J. Drewes, *Drie Javaansche Goeroe's: Hun Leven, Onderricht en Messiasprediking* (Leiden: Eduard IJdo, 1925); and J.A.B. Wiselius, 'Djâja Bâja, zijn leven en profetieën', *BKI*, 3rd series vol. 19 (1872), pp. 172-217. The importance of the prophecies in connection with the history of Dipanagara is discussed in A.B. Cohen Stuart, 'Eroe Tjakra', pp. 285-88; J. Brandes, 'lets over een ouderen Dipanagara in verband met een prototype van de voorspellingen van Jayabaya', *TBG*, vol. 32 (1889), pp. 268-430; Carey, 'Cultural Ecology', *passim*; and M.C. Ricklefs, 'Dipanagara's Early Inspirational Experience', pp. 245-7.
 122. Dipanagara mentioned the history of Jayabaya in his Makassar MSS. Book I, pp. 132-40, and the prophecies themselves are dealt with in a babad which belonged to Dipanaga-

ra's uncle, Mangkubumi, and which is now in the British Library, see Ricklefs and Voorhoeve, *Catalogue*, p. 48 (*sub*: BL Add. 12308 [B] and Ricklefs, 'Early Inspirational Experience', pp. 242-4. A report by a Dutch contemporary on the belief in the prophecies in south-central Java can be found in Dj. Br. 9B, Hendrik MacGillavry, 'Nota omtrent den Staat der Javasche Vorstenlanden', Surakarta, 13 May 1826, where he mentioned that:

'At the courts a prophecy exists from a certain [...] ruler Jayabaya that [...] a Javanese kraton cannot stand for longer than a hundred years. The rulers, courtiers, scholars and men of religion all have a deep respect and belief in this prophecy and are of the firm opinion that the term of the Yogyakarta court has been fulfilled and that of Surakarta will soon be ended. They are all the more confirmed in this conviction because, so they say, the prophecies have never failed [...].'

On this belief in a hundred-year cycle see further Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, pp. 176-186.

123. See below note 108 of the babad.
124. For further details see Pigeaud, 'De Serat Tjabolang en de Serat Tjentini. Inhoudsopgave bewerkt door Dr. Th. Pigeaud', *VBG*, vol. 72 (1933), pt. 2, pp. 1-89. The relevant passages in this work referring to the prophecies were found by the present author in an MS. of the *Sĕrat Cĕntbini* in the Reksapustaka Library of the Mangkunĕgaran (Surakarta), vol. III, pp. 1790-1806; vol. IV, pp. 1807-1825.
125. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, vol. II, p. 720.
126. There are two extant translations by contemporaries in Dutch and Malay: KITLV H 486, J.W. Winter (trans.), 'Verbeterde Djoijo Boijo. Translaat Javaansche Vertelling [...]', Surakarta, 29 April 1812, and ARA dK 166, 'Nota houdende inlichtingen over het boek Djaja Baja', n.d. (ca. 1828-29).
127. See Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, vol. IV, p. 212; and notes 122 and 208 of the babad.
128. See above n. 101 and below note 139 of the babad.
129. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, vol. II, pp. 78-9; Taco Roorda, *Javaansche brieven* (full citation in the bibliography), esp. letters nos. 11-12, 22, 24, 30, 34-40.
130. De Hollander, 'Twee Brieven van Dipĕ Nĕgĕrĕ', pp. 192-6; Louw, *Java-oorlog*, vol. I, pp. 727-9; vol. II, pp. 685-87; De Klerck, *Java-oorlog*, vol. V, p. 737.
131. Copies of these letters were kindly provided for the present author by Dr. Suwito Santoso (1927-present) of the Australian National University (Canberra).
132. See Carey, 'The Residency Archive of Yogyakarta', *passim*; and *Id.*, 'The Importance of the Residency Archives in the Arsip Nasional (Jakarta) for the Study of Indonesian History', *Itinerario* (Leiden), no. 1 (1979) pp. 57-63.
133. Carey, 'Residency Archive', pp. 115-126. After 1755 there were usually two Residents at the south-central Javanese courts: an *Eerste* (First) and a *Tweede* (Second) Resident. The latter's functions were largely ceremonial, see Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, pp. 365-70. Most of the Residents' correspondence in the eighteenth century went through the Governor of Java's N.E. Coast at Sĕmarang until this post was abolished by Daendels on 13 May 1808. After that date they corresponded directly with Batavia. Hence the archive of Java's N.E. Coast (*Java Noord Oost Kust*) is a major source for

- the history of south-central Java before 1808. Shortly after he abolished the Sĕmarang-based Northeast Coast Government, Daendels gave the title of 'Minister' to the First Residents as being more in keeping with their new status as direct representatives of King Louis Bonaparte (Lodewijk I) of Holland (r. 1806-10) (see below note 9 of the babad). This title was abrogated by Raffles in mid-November 1811 when Alexander Adams and John Crawfurd took up their posts as the first British Residents of Surakarta and Yogyakarta respectively.
134. See Carey, 'Residency Archive', pp. 119-20; Carey, *Power of Prophecy*, p.303 note 155; and F. de Haan, 'Personalia der Periode van het Engelsch Bestuur over Java, 1811-1816', *BKI*, vol.92 (1935), pp.477-681. On the sources in the India Office Library, see John Bastin, *Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles. With an Account of the Raffles-Minto Manuscript Collection Presented to the India Office Library on 17 July 1969 by the Malaysia-Singapore Commercial Association* (Liverpool: Malaysia-Singapore Commercial Association, 1969), p. 18 (*sub*: IOL MSS. Eur. F 148/21-25).
 135. See Carey, 'Residency Archive', p. 121, p. 125, p. 150. Some of Rouffaer's notes are in the Library of the Koninklijk Instituut (Leiden), see KITLV H 698 a-b, G.P. Rouffaer, 'Diverse aantekeningen uit het Gewone (niet-geheime) Residentie-Archief te Soerakarta [en] te Jogjakarta (Vorstenlanden, 1888-89)'; see further H.J. de Graaf, *Catalogus* (full reference in the bibliography), p. 26.
 136. See J.J.F. Wap, 'Bronnen voor taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Neerlandsch Indië', *BKI*, vol. 11 (1864), pp. 179-191 (on the Nahuys van Burgst archive). The letters of Smissaert have not been catalogued, but a number can be found in ARA MvK 4132 pt. 6, 'Missiven van den Heer Smissaert en Bylagen', and in vAE (Van Alphen-Engelhard private collection, *aanwinsten* 1941) no. VIII, pt. 28, 'Stukken betreffende het ontslag van A.H. Smissaert als Resident te Djokjakarta 1828-9, met retroacta'. On the latter collection see further P.H. van der Kemp, 'Dipanegara, Eene Geschiedkundige Hamlettype', *BKI*, vol. 46 (1896), pp. 295-6.
 137. See F.G.P. Jaquet, 'Guide to the Sources in the Netherlands concerning the history of the Netherlands-Indies/Indonesia, 1816-1942', vol. II, mimeograph (Leiden: Koninklijk Instituut, 1970), pp. 46-7; *Verslag omtrent 's-Rijks Oude Archieven* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1905), pp. 57-77 (esp. folders 180-184).
 138. See Louw, *Java-oorlog*, vol. I, p. 429, p. 480 and p. 494 n. 1. Some of the documents consulted by Louw for the three volumes of his history of the Java War are listed in his private papers in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Royal Library) in The Hague, *sub*: 76 D 33-36.
 139. See Carey, 'Residency Archive', p. 139, (*sub*: no. 21); dK 140-5, 'Copie-Memoriën van overgave van verschillende residenten te Djokjakarta aan hun opvolger', contains the *Memorie van Overgave* of Yogya Residents for the years 1773 (Jan Lapro), 1786 (Matthijs van Rhijn), 1798 (*bis*) (W.H. van IJsseldijk), 1803 (J.G. van den Berg) and 1808 (M. Waterloo); see also KITLV H 97 pts. 7-8, which contains the *MvOs* of Van IJsseldijk (1798) and Van den Berg (1803), and IOL Mack. Pr. 21 pt. 2 which has an English translation of Van den Berg's *Memorie* (1803).
 140. See vAE (*aanwinsten*, 1900) nos. 191-2, 239, 255.
 141. See AN Java NOK nos. 1 and 68 (both copies of the *MvO* of J.G. van Overstraten, 1796); and NOK 47, P.F. van Reede tot de Parkeler (1801).

142. Dj. Br. 24, P. Engelhard (Yogyakarta) to L.W. Meijer (Batavia/Bogor), 18 Nov. 1811; IOL Mack. Pr. 21, pt. 2, 'State of the Court of Djocjocarta by Mr. [John] Crawford', 6 Dec. 1811; NvB Port. 5, pt. 5, J. Crawford (Yogyakarta) to H.G. Nahuys van Burgst (Yogyakarta), 9 Aug. 1816.
143. On the reports written by Dutch officials during the Java War, see Carey, 'Residency Archive', pp. 131-2 (*sub*: no. 8); KITLV H 414, E.S. de Klerck, 'Politieke bescheiden betreffende den Java-Oorlog' (1910); Van der Kemp, 'Hamlettype', pp. 290-6 and Louw, *Java-oorlog*, vol. II, p. 412 n. 1; vol. III, pp. 135-8. The Residency reports based on materials gathered in 1821-22, which were finally completed in 1836, are in dossiers 3054-3056 of the Ministry of the Colonies archive (MvK, Nationaal Archief), see further the bibliography.
144. See Wap, 'Bronnen', p. 186 (NvB Port. 9, pt. 2).
145. This journal together with other papers of A.A.J. Payen are deposited in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (now Museum voor Volkenkunde), Steenstraat 1, Leiden. I am grateful to the late Dr H.J. de Graaf (1899-1984) for bringing my attention to these materials and for giving me a typed copy of the journal.
146. See note 257 of the babad.
147. See above note 24 for a full citation of Knoerle's journal, a copy of which is in the Johannes van den Bosch private collection of the Rijksarchief (no. 391). Knoerle, a lawyer by training, who had entered Dutch Indies military service on 10 August 1824, was born in Luxemburg on 29 Sept. 1795 of Prussian-born German parents, and was later murdered by the local chiefs of Bengkulu in July 1833 whilst serving as Assistant-Resident of Bengkulu (South Sumatra) for having purloined government famine relief funds, see MvK 3094, 'Stamboek' no. D532; De Klerck, *Java-oorlog*, vol. V, p. 604; and Sartono Kartodirdjo (ed.), *Laporan Politik Tahun 1837*, p. 99.
148. De Klerck, *Java-oorlog*, vol. V, Bijlage XXXVII, pp. 747-51, and see Section B of the Bibliography of the present volume for a reference to the parts of Knoerle's journal which have been published in *De Oosterling*.
149. De Klerck, *Java-oorlog*, vol. V, Bijlage XXXVI, pp. 741-6, 'Aanteekeningen gehouden door den Majoor Adjudant De Stuers bij het overbrengen van den gearresteerden Hoofdmiteling Prins Diepo Negoro van Magelang naar Batavia', 9 April 1830.
150. De Stuers only spoke Malay and communicated with Dipanagara largely through the army interpreter for Javanese, Captain Roeps. Knoerle knew some Javanese (see MvK 3195, N. Engelhard [Batavia] to C.Th. Elout [The Hague], 30 Sept. 1828 and Van der Kemp, 'Hamlettype', pp. 290-1), but he also made use of his Javanese servant, Sagareja, to translate Dipanagara's conversations, see Knoerle, 'Journal', p. 14.
151. KITLV H 263, P.D. Portier, 'Verklaring [...] houdende een verhaal van zijn gevangenschap bij de mitelingen', (? Sept. 1826). See further note 244 of the babad.
152. See Jaquet, 'Guide', vol. II, p. 11 and the bibliography (primary sources) on pp.323-6.
153. See the discussion of this in Carey, 'The Importance of the Residency Archives', pp. 51-63.
154. See *List of Factory Records of the late East India Company preserved in the Record Department of the India Office, London* (London: India Office, 1897), pp. 35-8.
155. See Jaquet, 'Guide', vol. II, p. 6; and p.335 on Mark Loderichs' PhD thesis on the Java War.

156. See M.L. van Deventer (ed.), *Het Nederlandsch Gezag over Java en Onderhoorigheden sedert 1881. Vol. i: 1881-1820* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1891) and on the numerous articles and books containing source materials published by Van der Kemp, see W.Ph. Coolhaas, *A Critical Survey of Studies on Dutch Colonial History* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1960), pp. 90-3.
157. P.H. van der Kemp, 'Brieven van en aan Mr. H.J. van de Graaff, 1816-1826; eene bijdrage tot de kennis der Oost-Indische bestuurstoestanden onder de regeering van G.A.G.P. baron Van der Capellen', *VBG*, vol. 52 (1901), *passim*.
158. On the use of the *Couranten* as a source for the Java War period, see Louw, *Java-oorlog*, vol. II, p. 225; Van der Kemp, 'Brieven van den Gouverneur-Generaal Van der Capellen over Dipanagara's Opstand', *BKI*, vol. 46 (1896), p. 557. The change of name from *Bataviasche* to *Javasche Courant* at the beginning of 1828 reflected the greater involvement of the Dutch in the administration and politics of Java as a result of the Java War, see further *Jav. Cour.* no. 3, 5 Jan. 1828.
159. H.G. Nahuys van Burgst, *Verzameling van officiële rapporten betreffende den Oorlog op Java in de jaren 1825-30*, 4 vols. (Deventer: Ballot, 1835-6) and see Van der Kemp, 'Brieven van den Gouverneur-Generaal', p.557.
160. Unless otherwise indicated all references in the following historical sketch are taken from the present author's *Power of Prophecy*. Those readers who are unclear as to the political background of the Java War are directed to Carey, 'The origins of the Java War (1825-30)' (1976; full bibliographical reference p.329).
161. Dj. Br. 86, M. Waterloo (Yogyakarta) to N. Engelhard (Sĕmarang), 28 Feb. 1806; Mack. Pr. 21, pt. 7, J. Crawford, 'Remarks on the nature and condition of landed tenures under the Native Government of Java' (henceforth: 'Landed tenures'), 17 May 1813, pp. 215-66; Raffles, *HJ*, vol. I, *passim*.
162. See Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, pp. 159-160; Hageman, 'Geschied- en Aardrijkskundig Overzicht van Java', p. 267; the figures are from Dj. Br. 86, M. Waterloo (Yogyakarta) to N. Engelhard (Sĕmarang), 18 Feb. 1806, and compare well with those cited in Raffles, *HJ*, vol. I, p. 62 facing; vol. II, p. 288 facing.
163. Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, p. 160.
164. See BL Add. 14397 (Javanese land lists, Crawford coll.), f. 62r, Order of HB II to R. Adip. Danurĕja II, n.d. (ca. 1800).
165. For a general review of Javanese demography during this period see A. Peper, 'Population growth in Java in the 19th century: A new interpretation', *Population Studies*, vol. 24 no.1 (March 1970), pp. 71-84, who advances dubious theoretical figures for Java's demographic growth in 1800, and Widjojo Nitisastro, *Population Trends in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1970), pp. 1-26.
166. Mack. Pr. 21, pt. 4, 'Sultan's Country by Mr. Crawford in 1812. Observations on the Nature and Resources of the Territories under the authority of the Sultan of Mataram' (henceforth: 'Sultan's Country'), n.d., p. 146; *Idem.*, *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands & Adjacent Countries* (Kuala Lumpur: OUP, 1971), pp. 120-121 (*sub*: 'Diseases'). On the slow progress of smallpox vaccination in Java, which was introduced in 1804 but did not really begin to have an effect on a wider scale until after the Java War (1825-30), see Bram Peper, *Pertumbuhan Penduduk Jawa* (Jakarta, 1975), pp. 49-70.

167. Raffles, *HJ*, vol. I, p. 70, p. 109, p. 353; Crawford, 'Sultan's Country', p. 149.
168. Winter, 'Beknopte Beschrijving', p. 49.
169. Raffles, *HJ*, vol. I, p. 69, p. 99; Crawford, 'Landed Tenures', p. 237; Winter, 'Beknopte Beschrijving', pp. 46-7.
170. Dj. Br. 51c, R.C.N. d'Abo (Yogyakarta) to Dir. of Finances (Batavia/Bogor), 26 June 1821; Winter, 'Beknopte Beschrijving', p. 49; Raffles, *HJ*, vol. I, p. 122.
171. AvJ, M. Waterloo (Yogyakarta) to N. Engelhard (Sĕmarang), 29 Dec. 1804; Dj. Br. 38, *Id. to Id.*, 31 Jan. 1804 and see further Crawford, 'Sultan's Country', p. 146.
172. Dj. Br. 86, M. Waterloo (Yogyakarta) to N. Engelhard (Sĕmarang), 28 Feb. 1806.
173. *Ibid.*; Louw, *Java-oorlog*, vol. I, pp. 242-3; Mack. Pr. 21, pt. 8, 'Report upon the District of Cadoe by Mr Crawford', 15 Nov. 1812 (henceforth: Crawford, 'Report on Cadoe'), pp. 272-3.
174. MvK 3055, 'Statistieke Beschrijving der Residentie Djokjokarta' (1836).
175. Crawford, 'Report on Cadoe', p. 274, p. 278; *Id.*, 'Sultan's Country', p. 71, p. 148, where he observed that 'a traveller could journey over a hundred miles in [south-central] Java without encountering an uncultivated spot'.
176. Dj. Br. 81, A.H. Smissaert (Yogyakarta) to R. Adip. Danurĕja IV (Yogyakarta), 20 Aug. 1824.
177. S. Br. 2a, 'Statistieke Beschrijving der Residentie Soerakarta' (1832); Onghokham, 'Residency of Madiun', p. 167 ff.
178. Dj. Br. 86, M. Waterloo (Yogyakarta) to N. Engelhard (Sĕmarang), 28 Feb. 1806; Crawford, 'Report on Cadoe', p. 283; Onghokham, 'Residency of Madiun', pp. 169-70.
179. Dj. Br. 38, M. Waterloo (Yogyakarta) to N. Engelhard (Sĕmarang), 31 Jan. 1804; Crawford, 'Report on Cadoe', p. 296; Rouffaer, 'Vorstenlanden', p. 618.
180. M.H.J. Kollmann, 'Bagelen onder het Bestuur van Soerakarta en Djokjokarta', *TBG*, vol. 14 (1864), p. 368.
181. Crawford, 'Landed tenures', p. 221; Raffles, *HJ*, vol. I, p. 146, and on the security situation in southern Kedu, which seems to have been so bad that many villages were enclosed by stone walls, see Dj. Br. 19ⁱⁱ, F.V.H.A. de Stuers (?), 'Inleiding tot de geschiedenis van den Oorlog op Java', n.d., pp. 2-4.
182. Louw, *Java-oorlog*, vol. II, pp. 502-3; see for comparison the passage in the *Sĕrat Cabolang* dealing with the taxes raised by the 'Just Ruler':
Reksapustaka MS. vol. IV, II (Girisa), p. 1813:

*6. Bumi sakjung pajĕgira / amung sadinar sawarsa / sawah sĕwu pamĕtunya
suwang ing dalĕm sadina / wus rĕsik nir apa-apa / marmanĕ wong cilik samya
ayĕm / ĕnakĕ tyasira / dĕnĕ murah sandhang-tĕdba.*

183. Bat. *Cour.* no. 18, 12 April 1827; KITLV H 598, J.I. van Sevenhoven, 'Nota handelende over de wijze [...] de Vorstenlanden van Java in te lijven', 1830; and see dK 119, Report of P. Aria Bintara', 27 Aug. 1828, which mentioned that Dipanagara's brother, P. Adinagara, had commuted all the taxes in the Kretek area to the south of Yogy because the people were so impoverished.
184. *Jav. Cour.* no. 67, 6 June 1829-

185. Dj. Br. 9B, Report of R.T. Panca-Atmaja, Yogyakarta, 12 Sura A.J. 1757 (13 Jul. 1829); Dj. Br. 58, J.F.W. van Nes (Yogyakarta) to Commissarissen ter regeling der vorstenlanden (Surakarta), 30 April 1830, estimated that Dipanagara derived about f. 3,000 per month from the taxes on *pasar* in the area between the Progo and Bagawanta rivers; see also Dj. Br. 8, Anon., ‘Aanmerkingen op de Nota van den Heer [Pieter Herbert van] Lawick van Pabst’, 24 Feb. 1830, who mentioned that during the war the Dutch authorities had tried to encourage the flow of population to areas controlled by them by offering Javanese farmers free ploughs, buffaloes and seeds.
186. See below notes 20 and 27 of the babad and Dj. Br. 18, J.I. van Sevenhoven, ‘Nota over de Landverhuringen aan particulieren in de Vorsten Landen op Java’, 16 March 1837, who noted that Dipanagara was one of the richest and most prosperous princes in south-central Java, and that his wealth helped to finance the early stages of the war.
187. H. Graaf van Hogendorp, *Willem van Hogendorp in Nederlandsch-Indië, 1825-1830*, p. 154.
188. Dipanagara was born in the Yogya kraton on 8 Sura A.J. 1712 (11 Nov. 1785) (see LOr 6547 [*Babad Dipanagara*] b, XIV. 44, p. 114) to an unofficial wife (*garwa paminggir*) of the Yogya Crown Prince (later HB III), Raden Ayu Mangkarawati (ca. 1770-1852). Dipanagara had been entrusted since birth to his great-grandmother, Ratu Agëng, by his great-grandfather, Hamëngkubuwana I, who had foretold his destiny as someone who would cause more damage to the Dutch than he had done during the Giyanti Wars (1746-1755) but that only The Almighty knew the outcome (*wékasan Wallahu Alam*). Ratu Agëng left the court shortly after her husband’s death on 24 March 1792 to open out new lands bequeathed to her by her own mother, Niai Agëng Derpayuda, to the northwest of Yogya, and, when her Tëgalrëja estate was finished later that year, Dipanagara was taken away from the court to live with her. The practice of adopting children (*mupu anak*) of other family members is common in Java (see Hildred Geertz, *The Javanese Family; A study of kinship and socialization* [New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961], pp. 36-41) and it is certain that Ratu Agëng took her foster mother’s duties very seriously, bringing up her charge in the Sufi-Islamic teachings of the Shattariyah *tarëkat* (mystical brotherhood), of which she was the leading exponent in Yogya at that time. Dipanagara’s own serious character also appears to have fitted him for religious study, see further Ricklefs, ‘Early Inspirational Experience’, *passim*.
189. LOr 6547 (*Babad Dipanagara*) b, XIV (Sinom), p. 116,

51. [...] *langkung kërta Tëgalrëja / mapan kathbah tiyang prapti / samya angungsi tédhi / ingkang santri ngungsi ngèlmu / langkung ramé ngibadah / punapa déné wong tani.*

190. On Ratu Agëng Tëgalrëja’s ancestry (she was a daughter of a famous early 18th-century *kiai* from Sragèn, Kiai Agëng Dërpayuda), see K.R.T. Mandoyokusumo, *Serat Raja Putra Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat* (Ngayogyakarta: Museum Karaton, 1976), p. 11; Panti Budaya (Museum Sonobudoyo, Yogyakarta) MS. B. 30, *Salasilah Kadanoerejan*, pp. 125-7; and on the threats which accompanied orders given to Dipanagara as a child see below n. 145 of the babad.

191. LOr 6547 (*Babad Dipanagara*) b, XIV (Sinom), p. 116.

50. [...] /*Kangjeng Ratu winarni / pan tétanèn rēmēnipun / sinambi lan ngibadah / kinarya namur puniki / lampahira gèn brongta marang Yang Suksma.*

192. See BL Add. MS: 12341 (Letters and land grants, Crawford coll.), f. 205r-206r, R. Adip. Mangkupraja (Surakarta) to R. Adip. Danurēja II (Yogyakarta), 5 Dulkangidah A.J. 1728 (9 March 1802) reporting on investigations into the murder of the Ratu Agěng's trading factor Ng. Mertaleksana.
193. Dj. Br. 49, M. Waterloo (Yogyakarta) to N. Engelhard (Sěmarang), 28 Oct. 1803.
194. J.H. Knoerle (Surabaya) to J. van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 9 July 1830, in Knoerle, 'Extract uit de gehoudene Aanteekeningen', p. 171 and see further Van den Bosch's remarks about Dipanagara in a letter to the Minister of the Colonies, 14 March 1830 (Van der Kemp, 'Hamlettype', p. 416);

'[...] it appears all too clearly that only a narrow-minded person like Smissaert could have misjudged such a man. Our officers who have associated with him much [in Magělang] over the past few days, speak with praise about his intelligence and frank character and General de Kock completely shares that opinion [...].'

195. See Rouffaer, 'Vorstenlanden', p. 593, who characterised the measure as the equivalent of a debasement of the currency, with land in the place of money.
196. Dj. Br. 3, 'Algemeen Verslag (Yogyakarta)' (1846) which mentioned that some *jung* in sparsely populated areas of Nanggulan were 100 times the size of ordinary government *jungs* of 2,000 square Rhineland roods (1 Rhineland rood = 3.767 meters), whereas some were much smaller than government *jung*. The *pajěg* payments ranged from f. 2,000 per *jung* to f. 25. On Nanggulan, see further Dj. Br. 82, 'Stukken betrekkelijk het aan het Gouvernement overgegaane land Nanggulon [sic, Nanggulan] gelegen bewesten de rivier Progo over 1833-1846', 4 vols.
197. See Van der Kemp, 'Economische Oorzaken', pp. 42-8.
198. Crawford, 'Sultan's Country', p. 133.
199. S. Br. 170, J.I. van Sevenhoven, H. MacGillavry and A.H. Smissaert (Commissioners for the Enquiry into the Administration of the Principalities) (Yogyakarta/Surakarta) to G.A.G.Ph. van der Capellen (Batavia/Bogor), 24 Oct. 1824; a map showing the placement of some of the older tollgates in south-central Java can be found in *Idem.*, 'Figuratieve Schets' (1802).
200. Dj. Br. 86, M. Waterloo (Yogyakarta) to N. Engelhard (Sěmarang), 19 Jan. 1805; the original tax farm rent (in 1755) was 16,000 *ronde reaalen* (1 r.r. = f.2.80), by 1792 (HB I's death) it stood at 46,000 r.r. and by 1811 it had reached 62,000 r.r.
201. Java NOK 1, P.G. van Overstraten, 'Memorie met derzelve Bylaagen tot naricht voor den Heer Johan Frederik Baron van Reede tot de Parkeler aankomend Gouverneur en Directeur van Java's Noord Oost Kust [...]', 13 Oct. 1796.

202. Java NOK 47, J.F. van Reede tot de Parkeler, 'Memorie voor Den Wel. Edele Gestrenge Heer Nicolaus Engelhard [...]', Aug. 1801; Crawford, Report on Cadoe', pp. 275-8, pp. 285-7.
203. AvJ, M. Waterloo (Yogyakarta) to N. Engelhard (Sĕmarang), 29 Dec. 1804; Afdeling Statistiek, *De Residentie Kadoe*, p. 89.
204. The average price of rice in Surakarta appears to have been around f. 3.40 per *pikul* (1 *pikul* = 61.761 kilograms) before 1812 as opposed to an average of f.4.50 per *pikul* in Yogya, see Appendix X 'Rice prices in Yogyakarta (1804-1826) and throughout Java (1817-25)' in Carey, *Power of Prophecy*, pp. 811-12. Rice prices at the main market in Kedu (*pasar* Payaman) were around f.3.00-3.25 during the same period, see AvJ, M. Waterloo (Yogyakarta) to N. Engelhard (Sĕmarang), 29 Dec. 1804.
205. On the tollgate returns 1812-24, see Carey, 'Origins', p. 65 n. 3; and *Power of Prophecy*, pp.830-36 (Appendix XV, 'Revenue returns from the tollgate, opium and other tax farms in Yogyakarta, 1808-1825'). The value of opium sales rose from f. 66,000 in 1814 to f. 360,000 in 1824, Dj. Br. 29, John Deans (Sĕmarang) to Col. John Eales (Yogyakarta), 1 June. 1814; S. Br. 170, List of Yogya Revenue Returns, 1816-24; and see further J.J. Hasselman, 'Nota omtrent het opium pacht op Java en Madoera', *Handelingen en Geschriften van het Indisch Genootschap*, vol. V (1858), pp. 18-37, pp. 107-80.
206. AvJ, G.A.G.Ph. van der Capellen (Batavia/Bogor) to A.H. Smissaert (Yogyakarta), 9 May 1824; KITLV H 503, J.I. Sevenhoven, 'Aanteekeningen', pp. 70-71.
207. S. Br. 170, Commissioners to Van der Capellen, 24 Oct. 1824; KITLV H 503, J.I. van Sevenhoven, 'Aanteekeningen', pp. 70-77; Crawford, 'Report on Cadoe', p. 281.
208. Payen, *Voyage à Djocja-Karta en 1825*, entry of 9 July 1825.
209. Ibid., entry of 8 July 1825; KITLV H 395, P.F.H. Chevallier, 'Rapport van den Assistent-Resident Chevallier over de werking der tolpoorten, n.a.v. een ingekomen klacht tegen de Chinees Tan Tjoe Hong', n.d. (ca. June 1824).
210. See Carey, 'Origins', p. 67.
211. Ibid., p. 65; Payen, *Voyage à Djocja-Karta en 1825*, entry of 10 Aug. 1825 and see below n. 106 of the babad.
212. The numerous *prang désa* ('village wars') were another factor encouraging a warlike mentality in the Javanese countryside at this time. In part these rural clashes were the outcome of territorial disputes between the subjects of the various courts in the highly fragmented central districts (*nagara agung*). But a much more common reason were disputes over *bĕkĕl* posts (tax collectors' offices), which would arise when apanage holders (who appointed their own tax collectors) were changed, see Büchler, 'Soerakarta vóór 63 jaren', p. 3; C.E. van Kesteren, 'Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van den Java-oorlog', *De Indische Gids*, 9 jrg. vol. 2 (1887), pp. 1268-9 and arts. 80-82, 89 of the *Angger Gunung* (Police Code) of 1840 (stipulating that no 'village wars' were allowed to take place without the permission of the Patih and the Resident!) in AN BGG, 17 Feb. 1841 no. 16.
213. See BL Add. MS. 12341 (Letters and land grants, Crawford coll.), f. 31r-34v, Order of HB II, 6 Rabinulakir A.J. 1735 (1 June 1808); BL Add. MS. 12342, f. 277r-278v, Yogya troop strengths for *Garĕbĕg Mulud* A.J. 1701 (12 May 1775); f. 279v-280v, Ibid. (26 Dec. 1772); f. 281r-283r, Ibid. for *Garĕbĕg Puasa* A.J. 1699 (Jan.-Feb. 1774).

214. Raffles, *HJ*, vol. I, p. 295; Dj. Br. 19^{II}, F.V.H.A. de Stuers (?), 'Inleiding tot de Geschiedenis van den Oorlog op Java', p. 9.
215. Panitya-Peringatan Kota Jogjakarta 200 tahun, *Kota Jogjakarta 200 Tahun, 7 Oktober 1756-7 Oktober 1956* (Jogjakarta, 1956), p. 116; Van Kesteren, 'Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van den Java-oorlog', p. 1275; KITLV H 788 (Verzameling van documenten, meest brieven aan Jos. Donatiën Boutet, particulier te Jogjakarta), note on the Surakarta court in 1821, passage dealing with the Sunan (PB V's) 'Amazon corps':
- '[...] forty women were seated in a row immediately below the throne and were literally armed to the teeth: besides a belt with a *kris* attached, each one held a sabre or a musket in her hand [...] I must admit they were a remarkable bodyguard.'
216. Dj. Br. 19^{II}, De Stuers (?), 'Inleiding', pp. 9-10; Dj. Br. 17, J.I. van Sevenhoven (? Surakarta) to J. van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 16 Feb. 1831 (on the role of women in the Java War).
217. Dj. Br. 7, Col. F.D. Cochijs (Surakarta) to H.M. de Kock (Surakarta), 3 Aug. 1825.
218. Louw, *Java-oorlog*, vol. III, p. 510, pp. 514-5; Dj. Br. 17, J.I. van Sevenhoven (? Surakarta) to J. van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 16 Feb. 1831; dK 183, A.D. Cornets de Groot Jr. (Surakarta) to H.M. de Kock (Yogyakarta), 26 Sept. 1825. On the practice of Dipanagara's followers to shave their heads during the war see n. 79 of the babad; and on Raden Ayu Sérang (1760-1855), another prominent female army commander, see n. 205 of the babad.
219. See Carey, *Power of Prophecy*, pp. 795-806 (Appendix VIII). Of the Yogyakarta princes (*pangéran*) who were alive at the outbreak of the Java War, 15 out of 28 joined Dipanagara, whereas 41 out of the 88 known senior officials rallied to him at some stage during the war.
220. See Carey, 'Origins', pp. 62-4, pp. 69-70.
221. See above n. 70; on the royal titles given to Dipanagara's female relations see dK 221, 'Bekendmaking van titels aan verschillende vrouwen verleend', n.d.; a member of the Danurĕjan family became DN's Patih; a son of the Yogya magistrate (*Jaksa*), Kiai Nitipraja became DN's chief magistrate; a descendant of the Yogya *Pĕngulu*, Pĕkih Ibrahim (in office, ca. 1755-98), became DN's *Pĕngulu* and Sĕntot, great-grandson of HB I's famous army-commander, RT Wirosentiko / Raden Ronggo Prawiradirja I (died 1784), known as the *gĕgĕdhubug* (champion) of Sukowati, became DN's *Senapati* (commander-in-chief) with the Turkish Ottoman derived title 'Ali Basah' ('The High Pasha'), see Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, p. 87; LOr 6547 (*Babad Dipanagara*) d, XXXII. 52-7, pp. 9-10; XXXV. 28-9, p. 110.
222. The dates of birth of the Yogya princes can be found in Carey, *Power of Prophecy*, pp.795-806 (Appendix VIII, 'List of princes (*pangéran*) and senior officials (*priyayi*) of the Yogya kraton showing landholdings and pensions, 1808-1820, and allegiance during the Java War'); Knoerle, 'Journal', p. 18.
223. Knoerle, 'Journal', p. 18; LOr 11089 (1) *Lelampahanipoen Kangdjeng Pangeran Arja Djoeroe*, p. 4 (on the difficulties suffered by Sĕntot and his companions in 1825) and for a study of the *pemuda* (youth) in politics and war during a later period, see

- B.R.O'G. Anderson, *Java in a Time of Revolution, Occupation and Resistance, 1944-1946* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1972).
224. The first serious defection occurred in June 1827 when Pangeran Adipati Natapraja (ca. 1800-1854) and Pangeran Sérang II (ca. 1794-1852) went over to the Dutch, see Muhammad Yamin, *Dipanegara*, p. 123.
225. See below notes 122, 205-6 of the babad.
226. See Louw, *Java-oorlog*, vol. I, Chap. XIV and vol. III, Chaps. VI-IX, on Raden Tumenggung Sasradilaga's campaign in Rajegwesi (Jipang) and Rembang between 7 December 1827 and early March 1828.
227. Dipanegara's own view of the fighting capacity of the various regions is succinctly summarised in his conversation with Major de Stuers, see De Klerck, *Java-oorlog*, vol. V, p.743:
- [...] the people of Madiun are good in resisting a first attack and they acquit themselves well, but afterwards they are not much use. The people of Pajang are also brave, but likewise for a short space of time. The people from Bagélen are better, but they must be able to fight in their own area; if they are outside it, they collapse quickly. But the men from Mataram are the best of all; they fight well, they persevere and they know how to withstand the hardships of war.'
228. See H.J. de Graaf and Th.G.Th. Pigeaud, 'De Eerste Moslimse Vorstendommen op Java: Studiën over de Staatkundige Geschiedenis van de 15de en 16de Eeuw', *VKI*, vol. 69 ('s-Hage: Nijhoff, 1974), p. 116.
229. See Balé Poestaka, *Babad Gijanti. Pratélan Namaning Tijang lan Panggénan* (Batavia, 1939), p. 14 sub: 'Gata'.
230. See Poensen, 'Sultan Amāngku Buwānā II (Sěpuh)', pp. 189-222.
231. NvB Port. 22, pt. 4, Nahuys van Burgst, 'Montjonegorosche Djocjokartasche landen' (1822); Anon (signed J.L.V = Jonkheer L. Vitalis), 'Bijdrage tot de kennis der residentie Madioen', *TNI*, 17e jrg. vol. 2 (1855), pp. 2-3.
232. Crawford, 'Landed tenures', p. 220 where he drew attention to the distinction made in the eastern provinces between *cacab gēsang* (inhabited *cacab*) and *cacab pėjah* (uninhabited *cacab*), Mack. Pr. 21, pt. 9, Lt. G.R. Pemberton, 'Report on Djiepan', 1 April 1813, pp. 335-6 (on the widespread depopulation of Jipang due to poor government and bandit raids).
233. See Carey, 'Cultural Ecology', pp. 27-37; the term '*murtad*' ('apostate') is used in the *Babad Dipanagara*, LOr 6547c. XXVIII, 118, p. 177, and in many other places in the same text.
234. MvK 4194, GKA no. 46k, C.Th. Elout (The Hague) to King Willem I (The Hague/Brussels), 19 March 1827; Dj. Br. 6, P.H. van Lawick van Pabst, 'Nota ter betoogen der gelijkmatigheid van den oorlog van den jare 1746 met dien van den tegenwoordigen tijd', 5 Nov. 1828, f. 9r; Louw, *Java-oorlog*, vol. III, p. 248 ff., p. 293, p. 384, pp. 514-5; De Klerck, *Java-oorlog*, vol. V, pp. 584-5.
235. MvK 4194, GKA no. 46k, Elout (The Hague) to King Willem I (The Hague/Brussels), 19 March 1827; Carey, 'Cultural Ecology', p. 29.

236. Details taken from Carey, *Power of Prophecy*, Appendix VIIIb, 'List of Kiais, Hajis and religious officials associated with Dipanagara'.
237. Before the colonial government's take over of the tollgates and markets in 1812, certain *pradikan* villages had been exempt from tollgate dues and market taxes, see KITLV H 696g (Rouffaer papers), trans. of the 'Gold Farm Letter', 1 Sawal A.J. 1734 (2 Dec. 1807). It is not certain whether this privilege continued after 1812, but if it did then the religious communities may have been shielded to some extent from the harsher aspects of the tollgate and market tax farms. For references to religious scholars and *haji* who received pensions from the Yogya court in ca. 1820, see Louw, *Java-oorlog*, vol. I, p. 592. The total pensions to court *santri* and members of the 'priestly' bodyguard regiments had declined from Sp.D. 833 in 1814 to Sp. D. 416 in 1820, comparative figures from Dj. Br. 29, Capt. R.C. Garnham, 'Statement of Annual Expenditure in the Cratton by the late Sultan Hamangkubwana the 3rd', 1 Dec. 1814 and Louw, *Java-oorlog*, vol. I, p. 592.
238. On Dipanagara's elite regiments see A.S.H. Booms, *Eenige bladzijden*, p. 34. Two special corps which provided a lifeguard for Dipanagara were the *Jayèngan* commanded by Pèngalasan (see above pp.xxviii-xxx) and the *Suryagama* commanded by Haji Hasan, see further Louw, *Java-oorlog*, vol. II, pp. 502-3. Various relations and followers of Kiai Maja were appointed as administrative officials in the Pajang area during the war, see Knoerle, 'Journal', pp. 24-5.
239. See Knoerle, 'Journal', pp. 14-15; something of the religious communities' sense of outrage can be seen in Dipanagara's remark:

'That no matter who should be given preference between Jesus and Muhammad, the spirit of patient endurance was to be found more in the *Qur'ân* than in [...] (Christian) [...] works. Muslims had included much of the teachings of Jesus in the *Qur'ân* [...] [and] they also considered Jesus a man chosen by God [and] born from the breath of the Almighty. [But] [...] Christians on the other hand soiled the Divine Sending of Muhammad with contumely and sought to show the Prophet as an impostor.'

240. See Knoerle, 'Journal', pp. 4-5, where Dipanagara inveighed against the Dutch arrest of an aged and revered religious teacher, Kiai Murma Wijaya (ca. 1755-1824); see also Nahuys van Burgst's boast about the success of his 'strong arm' tactics in arresting an *ulama* whilst he was giving a lesson in his *pèsantren*, NvB, Port. 9, pt. 3, 'Onlusten op Java', Maastricht, Feb. 1826.
241. See article 8 of Raffles' treaties with the Sultan and the Sunan in Aug. 1812 in Van Deventer, *Nederlandsch Gezag*, p. 323, p. 329 which stipulated that all cases between subjects of the independent princes and those born outside the principalities (including Europeans and foreign Asiatics) should be tried in colonial Government courts; for a full description of the workings of the judiciary during Raffles' period, see Major W. Thorn, *Memoir of the Conquest of Java* (London: Egerton, 1815), pp. 226-31 and for the regulations concerning the Residents' courts set up by Raffles in 1814 which replaced the old *landraden* (Landdrost's courts), see Raffles, *HJ*, vol. II, Appendix D. The introduction of the jury system by Raffles and the use of 'Government' law (i.e.,

Dutch law, Roman law and the Statutes passed in Batavia and in the States-General having application to Indonesia) is discussed in IOL, Java Factory Records G. 21/67, Raffles (Batavia/Bogor) to the Chairman of the East India Company (London), 19 March 1812, and see further n. 12 of the babad.

Dipanagara later remarked that ‘the [European] authority in Java was a great misfortune for the Javanese people, because they had been taken away from the Holy Law of The Prophet and had been subjected to European laws’ (Knoerle, ‘Journal’, p. 30); and on another occasion he mentioned that every *ulama* in Java who could read the *Qur’ān* was deeply disturbed by the abolition of the penalties of Islamic law in criminal cases, GKA, 20 Sept. 1830 no. 58k, Van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor) to P. Merkus (Batavia), 19 April 1830.

242. See C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Arabie en Oost-Indië* (Leiden, 1907), pp. 19-20; L.W.C. van der Berg, *Le Hadhramaut et les Colonies Arabes dans L’Archipel Indien* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1886), p. 111 (on the beginnings of mass immigration into Java by Arabs from the Hadhramaut in the late 18th century).
243. See n. 30 of the babad.
244. See Carey, ‘Javanese Histories’, pp. 287-288.
245. On Dipanagara’s treatment of European prisoners see KITLV H 263, P.D. Portier, ‘Verklaring [...] houdende een verhaal van zijn gevangenschap bij de muitelingen’, n.d. (? Sept 1826); Carey, ‘Javanese Histories’, p. 275 n. 32 and Payen, *Voyage à Djocja-Karta en 1825*, entry of 13 Sept. 1825, on a captured Dutch dragoon who had been forced to wear Javanese clothes.

One example of this is Dipanagara’s admiration of Sultan Agung (r. 1613-46) whom he described as a ‘spiritual man who did as I did travelling around everywhere [on local pilgrimages]’ and as ‘a great Islamic ruler who had established the five pillars of Islam’, see Carey ‘Cultural Ecology’, p. 17. Yet it was precisely Agung who was the first Mataram ruler to effectively curb the power of the spiritual rulers of Giri (in 1635) and was the most energetic proponent of centralisation. He was thus hardly the sort of ruler who would have appealed to the south-central Javanese religious communities.