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Prince Dipanagara's Pilgrim's Staff

Le Bâton de pèlerinage du Prince Dipanagara

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Prince Dipanagara's Pilgrim's Staff

Prince Dipanagara (1785-1855), a national hero of the Republic Indonesia, was the leader of the Java War (1825-1830). As a Javanese prince who took the title of *Ratu Adil* (Just King), he owned many weapons and other objects considered *pusaka* (sacred heirloom). Both during the War itself, when some were captured by Dutch commanders, and afterwards, when the prince's personal collection of *pusaka* weapons were distributed among his children, a number of the *pusaka* in his possession still remained and many would subsequently be dispersed in collections all over the world. One of these *pusaka* has only recently surfaced. For a long time it had remained with the descendants of Jean Chrétien Baud (1789-1859), a post-Java War Governor-General (in office 1834-1836), after an interim period (1833-1834). In 1834 Baud went on an inspection tour, with the purpose of affirming Dutch power on the island and to check that the recently imposed Cultivation System (*cultuurstelsel*) was working properly. Introduced by Baud's predecessor Johannes van den Bosch (in office 1830-1833) in 1830, this system required Javanese farmers reserve a part of their land for the cultivation of crops for export to Europe. It placed a heavy burden on the local Javanese population, but ensured enormous profits flowed into the Dutch state treasury.²

1. Former curator of South and Southeast Asian Art at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

2. My acknowledgements are in the first place due to Dr. Peter Carey for his wide-ranging changes, additions and suggestions for my paper, in which my analysis of Dipanagara's staff is now comfortably embedded. Harm Stevens, curator of the History

One of the stations on Baud's inspection tour was Yogyakarta. During his stay there (7-13 June 1834), Prince Natapraja (c.1806-1855) and other princes came to pay him their respects. At one of these meetings, Natapraja presented him with an unfamiliar object which used to belong to Dipanagara: a staff crowned by an iron disc (Figs. 1-4). At Baud's request, the Resident of Yogyakarta, Frans Gerardus Valck (in office 1831-1841), noted down the information Prince Natapraja provided him about the gift. The reason this note, dated 4 December 1834 (Appendix), was written about half a year later, is not clear. Today it is kept in the Baud private archive in the National Archives in The Hague. Valck was an experienced administrator, who had held a number of posts before his Yogya appointment. He was also interested in Javanese culture and history and had a good command of Malay.³

Natapraja, like Dipanagara, was a grandson of the second sultan, Hamengkubuwana II (r. 1792-1810, 1811-1812 and 1826-1828). More importantly, through his grandmother he was also descended from Sunan Kalijaga, one of the foremost *wali* (apostles of Islam) in south-central Java and particularly revered by the rulers of the Mataram dynasty. Despite his indifferent military record, his pedigree ensured Natapraja was seen to be endowed with spiritual power, which won him widespread popular respect. At the outbreak of the Java War, he had joined Dipanagara, but quite early defected to the Dutch side on 21 June 1827, bringing his large following with him. He was amply rewarded with land, titles, allowances and presents (amongst them a cellar full of Dutch gin) by the Dutch.⁴ The Dutch government regularly employed him as intermediary to win people to its side. Therefore, sometime after 11 August 1829, when one of the last pitched battles of the war was fought he might well have been the intermediary who helped an ordinary rank-and-file (*wong cilik*) follower of Dipanagara to return to the Dutch side bringing with him Dipanagara's staff. This anonymous follower had taken the staff with him during his flight from the battlefield when Dipanagara's forces had been soundly defeated in the confused end game of the Java War.⁵

Department of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, drew my attention to Dipanagara's staff, put at my disposal photographs of the staff and the walking-stick, and his constructive comments were of great help. My gratitude to Dr. Stuart Robson for his help in questions of Old and New Javanese, and to Dr. Ignatius Supriyanto of Leiden University, for providing valuable information about *pusaka* matters. Barend Blom, intern of the History Department of the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam 2015, kindly put his report on the available data on Dipanagara's staff at my disposal. Mark Loderichs made my one visit to the National Archives in The Hague very agreeable. Dr. Sadiyah Boonstra helped with some questions about the *wayang* theatre. Last but not least, much appreciation for Rosemary Robson who improved and embellished my English with understanding and knowledge.

3. Carey 2008, pp. XIV, 461, 690; Bloembergen and Eickhof 2013, pp. 93, 101, 102.

4. Blom 2015.

5. As suggested by Kraus and Carey 2015, pl. 7.28, p. 516.

On the 5 February 2015, the heirs of J.C. Baud handed the staff back to the Indonesian people, in the person of the then minister of Education and Culture, Anies Baswedan (in office 2014-2016). It has subsequently been placed in the Indonesian National Museum in Jakarta along with a number of other of Dipanagara's *pusaka*.

In this paper, I intend to investigate what type of staff it is and how it was used by Dipanagara. The staff itself and the note written by Resident Valck were central to my art-historical investigation. According to the information provided by Natapraja in Valck's note, Dipanagara carried the staff with him whenever he went on *tirakat* (pilgrimage) during the "troubles," an euphemism for the Java War, saying that it would ensure that all his wishes would be fulfilled by the Supreme Being (Appendix). By describing the staff, analysing its form, material and technique, comparing it to similar artefacts, and combining it with the information from the note, its function and provenance will become clearer. First, however, I want to analyse the significance of what the Javanese term "*tirakat*," in which the staff was said to have been used, meant to Dipanagara. In Valck's note, *tirakat* is explained as "pilgrimage" (Dutch: *bedevaart*), but applied to Dipanagara's actions this term should be viewed in its broader sense: encompassing not only a pilgrimage but also retreat for meditation and self-imposed ascetic hardships, preferably in holy sites like graveyards, or places created by nature.⁶ Hence I use the word *tirakat* in its broader sense. Performing *tirakat* was an essential aspect of the leadership style of Dipanagara as *Ratu Adil*.

Tirakat of the future Ratu Adil

Dipanagara, the eldest son of Yogya's third sultan, Hamengkubuwana III (1812-1814), by an unofficial wife, was raised principally by his pious great-grandmother, Ratu Ageng (c.1732-1803), on her Tegalreja estate located an hour's journey by foot to the north-west of the Yogyakarta *kraton* (royal palace). Ratu Ageng was the proponent at the Yogya court at this time of the Sufi-influenced Islam based on the Shattariya *tarekat* (mystical brotherhood). Under the influence of his great-grandmother, Dipanagara became a member of the Shattariya *tarekat* and had no problem acknowledging the powers of the spirit world of Java.⁷ When he was about twenty years of age, in the second half of 1805, as a young adult he set off on an extended pilgrimage to complete his education. He assumed a new name, Ngabdurahim (Arabic: Abd al-Rahim), and journeyed southwards into the landscape strewn with sites sacred to the Mataram dynasty of which he was a scion, where he practised *tirakat*. He

6. Koentjaraningrat 1990, pp. 372-375. Also in Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity staffs are used for pilgrimage to sacred places, which likewise implied meditation etc., as well as walking.

7. Ricklefs 2006, pp. 195-220.

visited a number of these sites, seeking contact with their spiritual beings. His ascetic exercises enabled him to receive messages from the Upper World.

Among Dipanagara's closest role models was the *wali*, Sunan Kalijaga. Like all *wali*, he was both a temporal and spiritual leader, the ideal type of Javanese ruler for Dipanagara. Kalijaga appeared to him in the Song Kamal cave south of Yogyakarta, and prophesied he would become a king (*ratu*). Another role model was Dipanagara's ancestor, Sultan Agung (r. 1613-1646), who he believed had successfully combined Javanese-Islamic spiritual and temporal leadership. He meditated at his gravesite at Imagiri for several days. Farther south, on Java's Indian Ocean coast, Dipanagara meditated in the Gua Langsé cave associated with the fabled spirit of the Southern Ocean, Ratu Kidul, Queen of the spirit underworld, and consort of the sovereigns of the central Javanese *kraton*. Her appearance to him proved to the prince that he was in a direct line of spiritual descent from his royal ancestors. Afterwards Dipanagara proceeded along the southern coast to Parangkusuma. There, a disembodied voice, most likely that of Sunan Kalijaga, predicted to him the forthcoming "beginning of the ruin of the land of Java" within three years. This prediction was almost certainly associated with the arrival of Marshall Herman Willem Daendels to be Governor-General (1808-1811) on 6 January 1808. His appointment led to a succession of events which spelt disaster for the south-central Javanese courts. The most damaging was the storming and plundering of the Yogyakarta court on 20 June 1812 by the British Indian army acting on the orders of Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781-1826; in office 1811-1816). The same voice instructed him to change his name to Ngabdulkamit (Arabic: Abd al-Hamid) and urged him to return home. Significantly, he would stick to this name throughout all subsequent divergent phases of his life. It is probably a reference to the Ottoman sultan of this name (r. 1773-1787), who revived the claim of his line to the authority of caliph, the protector of Muslims worldwide. Moreover, in Javanese legend the Ottoman sultan, known as "Sultan Ngrum," was the king who had organized the civilization and peopling of Java. Finally the voice told Dipanagara that he would be given a sign. This materialized in the form of the arrow-head Kyai Sarutama, presented to him in a lightning flash which pierced the stone serving as his pillow. This receipt of a divine weapon as a reward for asceticism made a significant analogy with Arjuna, the third of the Pandawa brothers, a hero from the *wayang* (shadow puppet) theatre, and yet another lifelong example to Dipanagara.

On the way home Dipanagara lingered at the holy black meditation stone *Sela Gilang* at Lipura in the Pandag district at which his ancestor Prince Senapati (reigned c. 1574-1601) had received a prophesy that he would become king of Java and he did indeed become the founder of the Mataram dynasty.⁸ Back at Tegalorejo,

8. Data for this paragraph are borrowed from Ricklefs 1974, and Carey 2008, Chapter IV, Pilgrimage to the south coast.

Dipanagara felt spiritually strengthened and more secure about his place in Java's future. *Tirakat* had been and would remain a regular feature of his life.

The years leading up to the outbreak of the Java War were turbulent. The colonial government changed within eight years (1808-1816) from Dutch to French to British and back again to Dutch. It adopted another, much more interventional style. Its measures had unfavourable repercussions on the court and the population, generating poverty and unrest. The eruption of Mount Merapi on 28 December 1822 was seen as a portent. According to the prophecies attributed to Prabu Jayabhaya, the twelfth-century king of Kediri, the advent of the *Ratu Adil* was at hand and his arrival would be preceded by natural events, such as lightning and earthquakes. His reign would begin with the purging warfare and bloodshed needed before a new moral order could be established.

Intrigues, sexual misdemeanours and the widespread irreligiousness of the Yogyakarta court led to an estrangement from it of Dipanagara, who had recently been appointed as a guardian of his nephew, the infant Sultan Hamengkubuwana V (1822-1826; 1828-1855). This ended in a complete break in early 1824. During these years Dipanagara frequently retreated to familiar holy sites. He received a series of dreams and visions delineating his role in the coming conflict. On 19 May 1824, he had a vision of being summoned from Selarong to meet the *Ratu Adil*, who was standing on top of Gunung Rasamuni to the west of Yogyakarta, dressed like the Sultan of Ngrum. His message to Dipanagara was that he now had the authorization to lead the *Ratu Adil's* armies in his purging war in Java. During Ramadan of 1825, retiring to the Gua Secang cave for meditation, Dipanagara heard a voice addressing him using a series of high titles. In a dream on 16 May 1825, eight men appeared standing around a pond on the Tegelrejo estate, reading out from a letter the same series of Dipanagara's titles, among which was the *Ratu Adil's* title of Erucakra. After its perusal, the letter was thrown into the pond and the eight *wali wudhar* (leaders who combined spiritual and worldly functions) vanished as smoke evaporates.

The Java war began on 20 July 1825 when the Dutch failed to arrest Dipanagara at his Tegelreja estate. Dipanagara, his uncle and a group of followers escaped and settled at Selarong near the meditation cave. There, on 15 August 1825, Dipanagara assumed the *Ratu Adil* title of Sultan Erucakra and other significant designations.⁹

During the Java War Dipanagara protected his troops by providing them with amulets (*jimat*). He himself was also believed to be a *jimat* and invulnerable. When he was present on the battlefield, he kept himself surrounded by his bodyguard and was also protected by two pikes, one of which was Kangjeng

9. Data for this paragraph are borrowed from Carey 2008, Chapter X, Waiting for the "Just King": the road to war in south-central Java, 1822-1825, and Ricklefs 2006, Chapter 7, The Mystic Synthesis. Serat Centhini and Prince Dipanagara.



Fig. 1 - Kangjeng Kyai Cakra of Dipanagara with its wooden cap alongside, National Museum of Indonesia, Jakarta, photograph Rijksmuseum Amsterdam

Kyai Rondhan (His Highness Sir Night Watchman) carried on either side of him all the time.¹⁰ He usually remained at some distance from the actual fighting. His contribution to the war was more elevated, namely *tirakat*. Dipanagara's primary aim was the resurgence of the Islamic religion in Java and the reinstatement of the authority of Muslim law.¹¹

The form of the staff

The staff (Fig. 1) consists of a wooden shaft crowned with a sharp-edged disc and a curling decoration flanking its long neck sheathed in silver (Fig. 2). This finial (Fig. 3) is made of iron decorated with a pattern (*pamor*) wrought of iron and nickel. The disc is decked with a wooden cap (Fig. 1). A piece of paper is pasted onto the wooden cap and several words written on it can still be discerned. Probably Baud, or one of his heirs, attached it to the staff as a reminder of what the object was. The staff ends in a short metal tube, open at the lower end (Fig. 4). Obviously, the lowest part has been lost, and originally the staff was longer. The total height now is one hundred and forty centimetres. In Valck's Dutch note, it is referred to as a "*stok*," English "stick." In the nineteenth century the wooden shaft of a Javanese state lance and the handle of a sunshade were both also called *stok*.¹² But a walking-stick was, and still is, called a stick, in Dutch as well as in English. Nowadays "staff," sounds more solemn, and therefore

I have preferred to use it. The note adds that the iron part of the staff has the model of what the Javanese call *cakra*, from which it derives its name; *Cakra* means the Sun (Appendix).¹³

10. It was captured by Major A.V. Michiels of the 11th Mobile Column during an ambush of Dipanagara's party by Manadonese troops on the early morning of 11 November 1829. For the subsequent history of this weapon, see Van Beurden 2017, pp. 146-147. Kind information by Peter Carey.

11. Carey 1981, p. XLVI.

12. See the album with black ink drawings of *kris* and lances, Yogyakarta, dating to c.1850; UB Leiden, inv. no. KITLV D Or. 40, no. 224; *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië* vol. III, p. 90.

13. Interestingly, the word "*cakra*" indicating Wisnu's core attribute, is Sanskrit and



Fig. 2 - The joint of the finial with the wooden shaft, detail of fig. 1, photograph Rijksmuseum Amsterdam



Fig. 3 - The finial, detail of fig. 1, photograph Rijksmuseum Amsterdam



Fig. 4 - The lower tip, detail of fig. 1, photograph Rijksmuseum Amsterdam

The cap which covered the iron finial when it was carried away by Dipanagara's servant as the battle was lost, indicates it was not in use at that time – on the analogy that a lance finial with its cover and a *kris* in its sheath is at rest (see below). Moreover, eyewitnesses who saw Dipanagara in action as the *Ratu Adil* do not mention the staff. One was the Belgian Lieutenant J.N. de Thierry, commander of the cavalry detachment during the unsuccessful Dutch-Javanese attack on Tegalrejo on 20 July 1825, starting off the Java War, who gave his fellow countryman, the artist Antoine Payen (1792-1853) an eye-witness report of Dipanagara's escape. Another was that given by the Dutch inspector of birds' nests cliffs at Rongkob on the south coast, Paulus Portier, taken prisoner and held in Dipanagara's camp, who observed him riding in royal splendour clad in full state regalia.¹⁴ At least these reports do not contradict the staff's use exclusively during Dipanagara's meditation retreats in search of the Supreme Being, as mentioned in Valck's note.

It is highly unusual to carry any accoutrement on *tirakat*, except a walking-stick. Was the staff a special kind of walking-stick used to religious professionals like the *wali* to lend them support during their peregrinations? As befitted their ascetic status, they were generally made of simple materials, such as a tree branch or a bamboo cane and left undecorated. Two types of walking-stick exist in Java: a short stick, the *teken*, and a long one especially for "priests," the *cis* or *ecis*.¹⁵ These walking sticks are also called pilgrims' staffs. On 1 July 1828 a "priestly staff" (Dutch: *priesterstaf*) was seized by the Dutch from Dipanagara's son and namesake Dipanagara II, and in early August 1829 a priestly staff with a refined silver ferrule was captured from a small party of rebels.¹⁶ These were probably *cis* which belonged to members of Dipanagara's elite regiments. Several of his elite regiments were specified as 'priestly' bodyguards of the sultan who went over to Dipanagara.¹⁷ One particular example of such a *cis* is the Kyai Tongkat Cis, an important Cirebon court *pusaka* (Fig. 5). It is a pilgrim's staff believed to have belonged to the *wali* Sunan Gunung Jati. It is a long, straight wooden stick with a gilded round knob at the top.¹⁸ In Javanese folk tales the *wali* not only walk

is maintained in Old and New Javanese, as well as in Indonesian. In the same way the core attribute of Siwa, "trisula" (Fig. 7, third from the left), is Sanskrit and is maintained throughout these cultural historical phases.

14. Carey 1988, pp. 50-51; Portier [1826], p. 21; Carey 2008, p. 631.

15. I learned of the existence of the two types of sticks from Mohammad 2016. See also Draeger 1992, pp. 72-73 and Gericke and Roorda 1901, vol. 1, p. 639, "priesterstaf," from Old Javanese meaning stick, prop, support, and p. 275, probably a loan word.

16. Carey 2008, p. 116, note 66 and Weitzel 1853, vol. II, pp. 446-447.

17. Carey 1981, p. 259, note 105.

18. Mohammad 2016; the photograph borrowed with thanks from Dr. Hélène Njoto. The lower tip of this staff consists of what looks like an iron scoop or shepherd's crook.



Fig. 5 - Kangjeng Kyai Tongkat Cis held by Pak Adnan, caretaker of the Great Mosque of Cirebon, Sang Cipta Rasa, photograph H el ene Njoto, 7 July 2015

with them, but also use them to perform miracles, or their sticks do this at their behest.¹⁹ Nineteenth-century divines such as Kyai Maja (?1792-1849), Dipanagara's principal religious advisor in the initial stages of the war who wore priestly garb,²⁰ used a European walking-stick. European walking-sticks were known at the Surakarta court from at least 1739 onwards, as appears from Pakubuwono II's European outfit which included a walking-stick with a silver knob used during his royal progress in September-October of that year.²¹ Probably, a European walking-stick (Fig. 6) was part of a Javanese gentleman's town outfit besides being an attribute of the clerics connected to the courts.²² The European sticks also come in two sizes, both with a rounded top so that it can be swung smoothly in the palm of the hand. The short type sometimes has a handle placed crosswise at the top making leaning on it easier during walking. Both types have a metal lower tip.

19. Rinkes 1911.

20. Dark green tabard (*kabaya*) and white turban, Carey 2008 p. 631. His staff is kept in the National Museum of Indonesia, see Gids 1917, no. 21, (*Wandelstok met zilveren knop, afkomstig van Kjai Kadja den medestander van Dipa Negara.*)

21. Ricklefs 1998, p. 232.

22. The walking-stick Dipanagara flung on the ground during his exile in Manado, creating a local earthquake, see Carey 2008, p. 116, note 66, p. 585, note 230, p. 727, was a European walking-stick (cf. Fig. 5), not the subject of the present paper.



Fig. 6 - Walking-stick made of rattan with silver knob of European model, L. 135 cm., 18th cent. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam inv. NG-1994-70, photograph Rijksmuseum Amsterdam

As Valck's note explains that Dipanagara's staff was to be used for *tirakat*, the staff has to be a *cis*, a priestly or pilgrim's staff. However, as far the present author's is aware, a *cis* does not have a proper name, nor has any crowned with a *pamor* iron finial ever been seen or heard of.²³ Moreover, the serious risk of injuring either walking pilgrim's hands or head with the sharp edged iron disc could only have been avoided by having it raised far above the head. Its original height therefore must have been considerably more – perhaps as much as half a metre – than the usual c.1.40 metres of a *cis* and the length of the staff in its present state. Dipanagara's staff was a *cis*, a priestly or pilgrim's staff, but of an unusual, and probably a unique type. Instead of a knob at the top, its length was considerably extended and it was crowned by a solar disc from which it took its proper name, Cakra.²⁴ In this last mentioned part, it resembles Javanese state lances (*tombak*) of the courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta. Comparison with them will reveal more about the properties of the staff.

Comparison of the staff with Javanese state lances (*tombak*)

Javanese state lances have a wooden shaft, a finial of patterned iron (*pamor*), a protective cover for the finial made of painted and carved wood which follows the shape of the finial (Figs 7 and 8).²⁵ Their height can reach over three metres, and its lower end is tipped with metal.²⁶ The cover of

23. David van Duuren, until July 2011 curator at the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam, and expert on *kris*, had never seen a similar staff. Nor is it found in specialized publications like Van Zonneveld 2001, and Voskuil 1929.

24. The description in Valck's note could be interpreted as the staff with an iron handle, Carey 2008, p. 116. As the staff can now be examined, clearly the iron is a finial and not a handle.

25. For others, see Museum of World Cultures, Amsterdam and Leiden, inv. TM-1322-111, TM-A-1555; Voskuil 1929, p. 23.

26. Juynboll 1916, pp. 205-213.



Fig. 7 - State lance finial with its cover alongside, Java, Yogyakarta, 19th century, Museum van Wereldculturen, inv. TM-A-1360

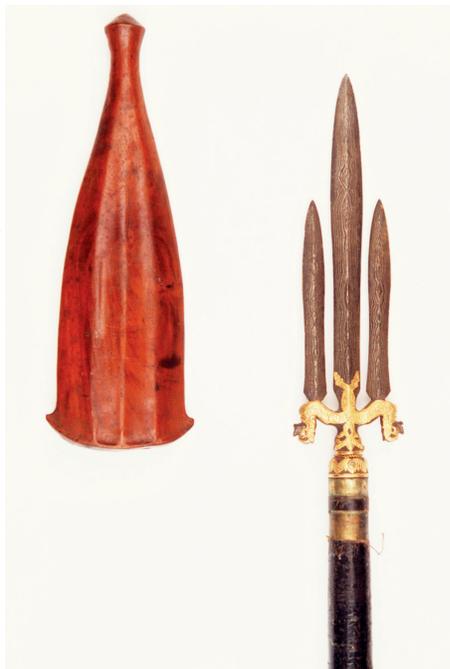


Fig. 8 - State lance finial with its cover alongside, Java, Yogyakarta, 19th century, Museum van Wereldculturen, inv. RV-704-3

the iron parts of all *pusaka* weapons is an essential item, as it seals in the magic power and renders it inactive. The lances are used only on special occasions, particularly the three annual Javanese Islamic festivals, *Garebeg Besar* commemorating Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his son and the pilgrimage to Mecca, *Garebeg Mulud* celebrating the birth of the Prophet, and *Garebeg Puasa*, celebrating the end of the fasting month, at which they are carried in front of the ruler's procession. All *pusaka* weapons have a proper name borrowed from the model of their finial, whether it be the blade of a kris, a lance finial, or the present staff's disc, and all are entitled to the honorary title *Kangjeng Kyahi* (His Highness Sir).²⁷

27. Groneman 1895; Jasper and Pirngadi 1930; Knebel 1898, p. 250.

Documentation about Javanese state lances has only been available since the nineteenth and twentieth century; initially in drawings made at Javanese courts on behalf of Dutch officials, later in photographs. The earliest of which I know is a book containing drawings of sunshades (*payung*) – another item of great importance in court protocol – and lance finials made at the court of Yogyakarta in 1817.²⁸ Between about 1840 and 1850 two more books of drawings became available for inspection.²⁹ The proper names of the lances in Javanese script, as well as a transcription or a Dutch translation in Latin script, are written next to the drawings. As they became popular, they went through several editions.³⁰ Around the same time, lances or their finials also began to be collected by Europeans.³¹ In the 1880s the Javanese Kassian Cephias (1845-1912), photographer to the court of Yogyakarta (c.1871-1912), produced a set of four photographs showing eighteen state lance finials.³² The lances are numbered in the negatives to refer to the names which were written down somewhere, but, regrettably, cannot be traced. Another contemporaneous³³ photograph by Cephias featuring twelve state lances was published by the Yogyakarta court physician Isaac Groneman (1832-1912)³⁴ in his book on Yogyakarta court festivals (Fig. 9).³⁵ Groneman has meticulously provided the proper names of the lances shown in the book.

28. Presented to King William III of the Netherlands (r. 1849-1890), Koninklijke Verzamelingen, The Hague, Collectie Oosterse Handschriften, inv. G013-08. On the first page is written in pencil “AJ 1745 = AD 1817.” AJ 1745 = AD 11 Nov. 1817-31 Oct. 1818, which probably refers to the date of manufacture of the album. A drawing of Prince Dipanagara’s parasol is also included. This could only have been done before his uprising in 1825.

29. Drawings of lance finials and *kris* at the court of Surakarta at the behest of the Susuhunan Pakubuwana VII (r. 28 July 1796–10 May 1858) for V.W.N. van Net, Vice-President van de Raad van Nederlandsch-Indië, UB Leiden, inv. KITLVD Or. 39. Possibly this should be J.F. Walraven van Nes, Acting-Resident of Yogyakarta (1827-1830). The second drawing collection at the court of Yogyakarta, UB Leiden, inv. KITLV, D Or. 40.

30. Museum of World Cultures, Leiden, inv. RV-1098-1, purchased August 1896, and inv. RV-03-421.

31. In 1867 W.F. von Schierbrandt (1817-1888) donated a number of state lances he collected with the help of Heinrich Count von Ranzow, Assistant-Resident of Yogyakarta (in office 1868-1873) while in the service of the Dutch East Indies army to the Ethnological Museum in Dresden, see Martin 1999; Meyer und Uhle 1885, pl. 5, Figs. 4-9, pl. 6, Figs. 1-5, pl. 7, Figs 1-2.

32. UB Leiden, inv. nos. KITLV, 106559, 106560, 106561, 106562.

33. The preface (Een woord vooraf) is dated “12 November 1888”; p. 56 “Jogjakarta, October 1884.”

34. Knaap 1999, pp. 7-8.

35. Groneman 1895, pl. IX.



Fig. 9 - Twelve state lances, photograph Kassian Cephas, Yogyakarta, c.1885, printed in Groneman 1895, pl. IX, Museum of World Cultures, inv. RV-A142-01-009

From left to right:

1. Sangut (Long legged bird),
2. Garudaesmi (Double Garuda)
3. Trisula (Trident of Siwa)
4. Cempuling (Harpoon)
5. Regular pike without a name
6. Nracabala (Weapon of Batara Guru)
7. Cundamani (Weapon of the buta Ongsatama)
8. Payal (Weapon of Batara Guru)
9. Cakra (Throwing Disk of Krisna)
10. Angkus (Elephant hook of the sultan of Pajang)
11. Tanggal (Moon sickle)
12. Pecruksili (Wild duck swallowing a fish)

Dipanagara's staff, even in its original length, was much shorter than a state lance; the joint of the finial with the shaft (Figs. 2 and 9) has been made using a different technique and the cap is undecorated (Fig. 1). As for the lower part (Fig. 4), we can only guess, but it would certainly have had a longer wooden shaft, possibly ending in a metal point. Otherwise, the wooden shaft, the *pamor* finial, the wooden finial cap, and most importantly, its name derived from the model of the finial, the staff has in common with the state lances. This comparison indicates that the staff was to hold up the disc emblem and

was used only on special occasions. When it was in use, the protective cover was removed and the *pamor* iron sharp-edged solar disc would have been on display. Congruent with Natapraja's information in Valck's note, the special occasion of its use was Dipangara's *tirakat* during the Java War. As he went on *tirakat* silently and completely alone, or with only one or two of his intimate retainers (*panakawan*),³⁶ it seems logical that the staff would have been seen in use only by a close circle of friends. Perhaps it functioned in a private, spiritual sphere solely for the Supreme Being, as a counterpart to his gold state parasol (*payung*) carried in his absence by retainers in the open, temporal sphere for all Javanese inhabitants to see.³⁷

The finial Cakra signifying the Sun

Carrying emblems of a worldly or spiritual authority at the front of processions, into battle or at festivals is a worldwide and ancient custom. One Javanese fashion, stemming from the Hindu-Buddhist period, is to mount emblems pertaining to the highest leader reproduced in metal on ceremonial lances. For instance, the two core attributes of the Hindu God Wisnu, the wheel-shaped throwing disc (*cakra*) and the conch shell (*sankha*), are the emblems borne on the standards of the army of Prince Rama, an incarnation of Wisnu and acting on his behalf, in a *Ramayana* episode depicted on the wall of the East Javanese temple Candi Panataran dating to c.1350.³⁸ Several of these types of finials cast in bronze have been recovered. As far as can be determined, they are the emblems of Hindu Gods, the Nawadewata (Nine Deities of the Eight Directions of Space and the Centre),³⁹ the Five Pandawa brothers,⁴⁰ and possibly others. In the course of the fifteenth century, the bronze used for the manufacture of these lance finials was replaced by iron, a metal already used for weapons and tools. The tall representation of a blacksmith's forge carved in stone from the fifteenth-century Candi Sukuh on Mount Lawu shows that lance finials were included in the blacksmith's repertoire at that

36. Carey 2008, p. 116.

37. Carey 2008, p. 586.

38. Stutterheim 1925, pl. 187.

39. One bronze hoard probably dating to the thirteenth century contains several emblems of the *Nawadewata*: Rudra's incense burner (*dhupa*) of the South-east, Brahma's staff or club (*danda*) of the South, Maheswara's drum (*damaru*) of the South-west, Wisnu's wheel (*cakra*) of the North, all of which now kept in the National Museum of Indonesia, see Crucq 1930, pp. 286-288, pls. 34-35; Bernet Kempers 1959, pl. 267; Fontein 1990, pl. 90. Mahadewa's snake (*nagapasa*) finials of the West have also been discovered, Fontein 1990, no. 95, Lerner and Kossak 1991, no. 178. For the names of the *Nawadewata*: Soekmono 1995, p. 96; depictions of the emblems on the lotus petals carved on the coping stone of Candi Ngrimbi in the National Museum of Indonesia, OD photo 11282.

40. Bima's club has a characteristic shape, Fontein 1990, no. 97.

time.⁴¹ The smith is forging a *kris*, the dagger which had already acquired cult status by this period. Other iron objects he has also wrought are displayed on the rear wall. Among them can be recognized the lance finials Mahadewa's snake, Maheswara's hourglass-shaped drum and the club of Bima, one of the Pandawa brothers.

For several centuries hereafter any documentation is lacking, but there are a few exceptions: a richly decorated state lance acquired in 1647 for the Kunstkammer of Ole Worms in Copenhagen,⁴² and a Javanese lance and a lance finial purchased in 1722 by Friedrich August II (1670-1733), Elector of Saxony and King of Poland.⁴³ Carefully preserved as precious rarities far beyond their tropical land of origin created the circumstances which allowed their wooden components to be preserved.

A careful survey of the documentation of nineteenth-century lance finials indicates the range of their designs seem to be unrestricted.⁴⁴ They represent weapons of all kind, imaginary and ancestral, also animal heads biting onto a vertical dagger blade, and much more besides. Nevertheless, this wide repertoire of ancient emblems is still recognizable: the snake (*naga*), the wheel (*cakra*), the trident (*trisula*),⁴⁵ the *cakra*, the wheel-shaped throwing disc of Wisnu now the Sun God, the Payal of Batara Guru, the Angkus, the elephant-steering hook used by the Sultan of Pajang⁴⁶, and Bima's club, Gada Lukita.⁴⁷ The elaborate series of lance finial designs contributed to grand courtly spectacles, characteristic of Javanese sovereignty. The consistency of certain designs down the centuries can be explained by the fact that the Javanese rulers in the Hindu-Buddhist and in the Islamic periods, counted the Hindu deities and the Pandawa's in one of the two ancestral lines, namely: the left-hand genealogy in which rulers trace their ancestry back to the Prophet Adam

41. Fontein 1990, no. 33.

42. Gundestrup 1991, vol. I, pp. 24-25. This lance was probably taken as booty by a Dutchman during the war against Sultan Agung in 1628-1629, and sold on the European art market. For the sieges of Batavia in 1628 and 1629, see Ricklefs 2001, pp. 52-53.

43. On the Leipziger Messe from a Dutch dealer, see Meyer and Uhle 1885, pl. 5, nos. 2-3.

44. "Dergelijke lansen worden niet alleen verzonden door den wapensmid, zij komen voort uit de gedachten van vorsten en voornamen die het sierwapen, hetwelk gemaakt moet worden, bewaren als een kostbaar erfstuk, dat geluk aanbrengt in het huis, waarin het eerbiedig verzorgd wordt. Die ontwerpen zijn de uitingen van symbolieke overpeinzingen, ...", Jasper and Pirngadi 1930, p. 223.

45. Jessup 1990, fig. 7 left, no. 11; fig. 8 left, no. 13; fig. 48 no. 16.

46. Or is this actually a re-identification of the emblem of Sankara, the deity of the North-west? Groneman 1895, pl. IX, nos. 8-10.

47. Koninklijke Verzamelingen, The Hague inv. G013-08, no 56.

via the last king of Majapahit, Brawijaya VII.⁴⁸ Naturally, Islamic ancestors are also included. Some of the finials are the emblems pertaining to the divine ancestors, who used these to legitimate their rule in Java.

No disc called ‘Cakra meaning the Sun’ has been found among this extensive collection of lance finials.⁴⁹ Proof of its existence was supplied only in the twentieth century in an enumeration of over fifty proper names of lances, in which the Cakra is recorded in the variations the Radiant Sun Disc (*Cakra Baswara*) and Radiant Moon Disc (*Cakra Basonta*).⁵⁰ Of course, it could have existed earlier, but was certainly not yet part of the regular lance finial repertoire. The solar disc of Dipanagara’s staff must be traced through another application; perhaps the decoration on some gravestones in Trowulan and Troloya in East Java, dating to the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, or on wooden pulpits (*mimbar*) of some early Javanese mosques, for example, that of Sunan Ampel in Surabaya;⁵¹ or perhaps the banners of some of the Yogyakarta Sultan’s bodyguard regiments.⁵² The finial of Dipanagara’s staff must represent the emblem of the Supreme Authority he served, namely: the *Ratu Adil*. As no emblem of the *Ratu Adil* had been handed down, it was hereby introduced as such.

The *Ratu Adil*’s title “Erucakra,” which Dipanagara assumed at the beginning of the Java War,⁵³ does contain the familiar designation ‘cakra’ of Wisnu’s

48. In the right-hand genealogy the rulers are descended from the Prophet Muhammad and the Nine Wali, Koentjaraningrat 1990, pp. 39, 330, 448; Schrieke 1957, pp. 9-13; for the earliest instance, see Van der Molen 2010, p. 393.

49. Cakra has a look-alike: On a photo by Cephass taken about 1885 showing six state lances (UB Leiden, inv. KITLV 106559), the second from the left is crowned by a disc. A vertical ridge has been applied in the centre of the disc. Hence it is not a proper disc. Regrettably its name is unknown. In a book with drawings of lance finials compiled in Yogyakarta in about 1850 (UB Leiden, inv. KITLV D Or. 40, no. 223), one finial looks like a disc. Its name written next to the drawing is Bargowastro, a weapon of Werkodara (Bima). Another representation of the Bargowastro, in a book with drawings of parasols and lance finials with their names written along the drawings (Koninklijke Verzamelingen, The Hague, inv. G013-08, 1817, no. 59), it is shaped differently rather resembling the spades of playing cards. Apparently, although Werkodara’s weapon is sometimes represented resembling a disc it can also have a different shape.

50. Regrettably without illustrations, Jasper and Pirngadi 1930, p. 222.

51. Montana 1985, pp. 722-738. My gratitude to Johanna Leyfeldt for translating the relevant passages. Ricklefs, 2001, pp. 5-6.

52. The Jagakarya: a red banner with a central white disc, and the Abdi-Dalem Bugis: a black banner with white corners and central disc, Carey 1992, p. 400, note 8a and p. 402, note 10a.

53. 15 August 1825, Carey 2008, p. 580, 672; Carey 2015, consulted online on 20 July 2017.

attribute.⁵⁴ This Hindu god, as well as the solar disc, stem from the Hindu-Buddhist period, but their close association dates from the Islamic period. Influenced by Islamic ideas from both East and West Asia, the Javanese cosmos changed radically.⁵⁵ Wisnu became a Sun God bearing the *cakra* not only in its traditional wheel-shape, but also in its solar and lunar disc variants, and the prophesy of the immanence of the *Ratu Adil* bearing the *Erucakra* title emerged. Hence it can be seen that the *Ratu Adil* became the Javanese Islamic version of the immanency aspect of the Hindu god Wisnu, combined with messianic ideas from the Near East. One characteristic of this god in the Hindu-Buddhist period was that he came down to earth whenever an evil power threatened to win domination. Earlier he had already been incarnated in earthly forms several times, for instance, as the Princes Krishna and Rama forced to live under an unjust regime. By conquering the bad king, he restored prosperous and peaceful rule. One final incarnation on Earth, is still awaited.⁵⁶ To restore just Islamic rule after a period of chaos is precisely the task a *Ratu Adil* has to accomplish. The Solar Disc *Cakra* is a fitting choice for *Ratu Adil*'s emblem.⁵⁷

Provenance of the staff

According to Prince Natapraja's information recorded in Valek's note, the staff had been made about two hundred years ago by a sultan of Demak and hence he must have been its creator. During troubles in his kingdom it fell into the hands of an ordinary Javanese man. Then, after a long succession of anonymous, common owners, it finally was presented to Dipanagara, again by an anonymous Javanese commoner about ten years before the outbreak of the Java War (Appendix).

The "made by a Demak sultan" should of course be understood as "commissioned by." The sultan is not mentioned by name. In Javanese historiography Demak is the first Islamic realm in Java and successor to the last Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of Majapahit (1293-1527). The history of this period is very uncertain. Demak came into existence in the last quarter of the

54. The meaning of this title is not completely clear. Cohen Stuart suggests the Arabic *khair* meaning "good, morally or physically" for the first part of the word, see Cohen Stuart 1872, which has been adopted by Gericke and Roorda in their *Woordenboek*, vol. 1, p. 47.

55. The association of the sun disc with the ruler is frequently found in the cultures of West Asia, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam* New Edition, vol. IX, Leiden 1997, s.v. *shams* in art, pp. 294-295.

56. Renou and Filliozat 1947, pp. 503-512. In the Islamic period, the God Wisnu creates order after chaos and is often portrayed as the first king of Java; Koentjaraningrat 1990, pp. 332-333. In Dipanagara's *babad*, Wisnu in his seventh incarnation as a world ruler is bearing the *cakra* (solar discus), Carey 2008, pp. 403, 585.

57. Already suggested by Peter Carey 2008, p. 116.

fifteenth century and was conquered around 1588 by Senapati of Mataram.⁵⁸ If we assume that the commissioner of the staff was the last sultan who ruled until about 1588, about two and a quarter centuries (about 200 years according to the note) of the preservation and handing over the staff must have been carried out by a series of low-born Javanese before it reached Dipanagara in about 1815. In actual fact, this is highly unlikely, as the wood of the shaft and cap would have long since perished in tropical Java, and the *pamor* disc would not have survived the centuries without a flaw. The fact is that caretaking of *pamor* iron needs special, intensive treatment.⁵⁹ Also, it seems strange that a *pusaka* of such an elevated origin did not attract greater attention from any would-be or actual Javanese ruler at an earlier date. Moreover, there is not a single object in Indonesia which can be said definitively to hail from the Demak sultanate. The Yogyakarta state lance with the name “Angkus,” the elephant steering hook of the Sultan of Pajang, photographed in the 1880s (Fig. 9), third from the right, was probably not actually believed to date to the Pajang period in the late sixteenth century, but was viewed as a visual commemoration of one of the Yogyakarta sultan’s Islamic ancestors.⁶⁰ Only a similar staff with secure date of manufacture would prove a Demak period origin for Dipanagara’s staff. It is within the bounds of reason that Dipanagara received only the iron disc and restored the wooden shaft and cap. The metal alloy of the ring (Fig. 1) and the tube around its present lower tip (Fig. 4) were probably still unknown in Java in the sixteenth century. In other words, the given provenance seems untrustworthy. The information was provided by Prince Natapraja, who did it in good faith and had no reason to lie about it. The point is that in nineteenth-century Javanese mindset it is true.⁶¹

Dipanagara owned many *pusaka* to which he was very attached.⁶² So much so, that his devotion created a basis for the breakdown of his relations with his principal religious advisor, Kyai Maja.⁶³ The ownership of *pusaka* is a Javanese means of legitimation in which length of a chain of inheritance

58. Ricklefs 2001, pp. 41-43, 45, 46, 49.

59. Poeroebaja 2003, pp. 249-254; Anonymous 1862.

60. The dating of wooden lions of some early Muslim mausoleums and a tree trunk carved like a holy mountain to the ‘early Islamic period’ remains uncertain, see Njoto 2018 and 2014.

61. Expressed more explicitly: the rule that the origin of a ruler’s *pusaka* was ancient, elevated and, in this case, Islamic, are qualities hard to prove for a *pusaka* turned up in the early nineteenth century, and is too good to be true for an (art) historian. Therefore this is the only piece of information provided by Natapraja which the present author mistrusts. For Dipanagara, Natapraja and their fellow-believers, however, it was a reality. Natapraja was a reliable informant.

62. Carey 2008, p. 124 and Appendix XI.

63. Carey 2008, pp. 631-635.

and provenance are important.⁶⁴ Among the Javanese aristocracy lineage goes back in a long line from the Mataram dynasty via Pajang and Demak to the Hindu Majapahit dynasty.⁶⁵ As Dipanagara's ancestry was that of the sultans of Yogyakarta, the *pusaka* of his ancestry were widely well-known in Java. Dipanagara was naturally well-acquainted with his high birth and illustrious family tree.⁶⁶ Therefore, any *pusaka* newly acquired by him, would not only have been required to have been a possession of an early ancestor, but would also have necessitated a deviation from the regular inheritance route and therefore an unusual succession of nameless lower-class Javanese was invented. A sultan of the first Islamic kingdom in Java would have been the ideal patron for the prospective ruler of a revived Islamic Javanese empire. Taking Dipanagara's character into account, we can assume that he made sure he had received ancestral authorization through meditation. In my opinion, Natapraja's information recorded in Valck's note reproduces Dipanagara's respectful attitude towards the pilgrim's staff Cakra, which makes it a *pusaka*, and therefore I call it a *pusaka*.

From a twenty-first century art historical perspective, however, there is no proof of Natapraja's assertion. Therefore here I feel compelled to present some counter-arguments. The sultans of Demak did not use the Erucakra title. What use would the staff have been to one of them? The earlier Prince Dipanagara (active 1718-1723), son of king Pakubuwana I (r. 1704-1719) of Kartasura, who also adopted the title Erucakra,⁶⁷ did not own the staff, as it was then putatively in the hands of common Javanese. He might have owned a similar staff but there is no record of this. So, the relationship between the Erucakra title and the staff Cakra applies only to Prince Dipanagara of the Java War. Also, it is uncertain if the *cakra* variant of solar disc was in existence in the Demak period and, if it was, whether it was then wrought as an iron emblem.

Moreover, although Dipanagara of Java War fame did not personally employ a blacksmith (*empu*), he must have had access to several. He was, for instance, alerted to the arrival of a joint Dutch-Javanese expedition preparing to take him by surprise on his estate at Tegalreja, which became the *casus belli* for the Java War, by blacksmiths in Yogyakarta.⁶⁸ The dagger Kyai Sarutama which he received from above in c.1805, he had melted down with two other *pusaka*: a pike, Kyai Barutuba, and a *kris*, Kyai Abijaya, to make his principal *pusaka* dagger, Kangjeng Kyai Bandayuda (His Highness Sir

64. Koentjaraningrat 1990, pp. 344, 156-157; Kalff 1923; Ricklefs 1985, pp. 601-630.

65. Ricklefs 1978, p. 161 and 2001, p. 42.

66. Carey 2008, p. 109. In his own *Babad* written in Menado, the first one-third is devoted to the history of Java from the fall of Majapahit in c.1527 up to the Treaty of Giyanti in 1755. Carey 1981, p. XXIV.

67. Ricklefs 2001, p. 113.

68. Carey 2008, p. 601.

Duelling without Weapons).⁶⁹ Blacksmiths were certainly employed at the Javanese courts.⁷⁰ Regents (*bupati*) also maintained smiths on their estates.⁷¹ The making of *pusaka* weapons was their principal business. For instance, after the desecration of the Yogyakarta court by the British in 1812, the princes had new *kris* and other weapons made.⁷² Lacking any embellishment of gold, diamonds or carving of the cap, the staff is simple, not courtly. Blacksmiths were also available in the outer regions (*mancanagara*) of Yogyakarta to do the job for him.

The occasion of the acquisition of the staff is not completely clear. Natapraja was not particular about dates, so it could have been earlier or later than 1815, but before the Java War. The occasion which ushered in a drastic alteration to his place at court, the unexpected death of Dipanagara's father, the third Sultan, on 3 November 1814, might have been the reason. His minor half-brother (born 1804) came to the throne and a small group of family members and court officials seized control of the court. Their views about court life and how the sultanate should be ruled were totally opposed to those of Dipanagara. His privileged access to power in Yogyakarta as principal advisor to his father had lasted only a brief period and he might have been feeling isolated and insecure about his future.⁷³ Nevertheless, ever since his pilgrimage in c.1805, he had been aware of his future destiny as a Javanese ruler, if only for a very short time.

Conclusion

Pilgrim's staffs were probably familiar to Dipanagara. Not only the semi-mythical *wali*, but also members of the sultan's bodyguard regiments were equipped with them. As *tirakat* had been part of his life from his childhood, he might have had one himself. In about 1805 he was told by the Upper World that he would become king of Java; later rumours of the arrival of the *Ratu Adil* were heard and, in about 1815, Dipanagara saw that the time was ripe to search for *Ratu Adil* insignia. The idea of a special type of staff to be carried by the *Ratu Adil* took root. This became a combination of a reduced version of the Javanese state lance (*tombak*), and an extended version of the pilgrim's staff (*cis*). The finial had to be a motif signifying the *Ratu Adil*, the Supreme Authority. But none existed. The *cakra*, the solar disc, an attribute of the Sun God Wisnu who traditionally descends to restore just rule in the island of Java, was considered the most appropriate. As an essential accoutrement of a sultan of the first Islamic kingdom in Java it was a very apposite model.

69. Carey 2008, p. 814.

70. Carey, and Hoadley 2000, pp. 30-31, 119, 166-167, 219, 289, 338, 382.

71. Jasper and Mas Pirngadi 1930, p. 156.

72. Carey 2008, p. 365.

73. Information kindly provided by Peter Carey.

The first sight of Dipanagara's staff after its public presentation in 2015 was confusing: it was not known that the lower end had been lost during the war and the upper end had been added to its design. A circuitous route of investigation was necessary to reconstruct its original, meaningful form. Originally, visible to almost nobody, its *pamor* disc towering above the pilgrim's head, it would have occasionally flashed in the tropical sunlight. Dipanagara never referred to it. It did not work. The staff was and will remain one of a kind.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

BKI = Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië = Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia
 KITLV = Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde = Royal Institute of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia
 OD = Oudheidkundige Dienst = (former) Archaeological Service of the Dutch East Indies
 TBG = Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap = (former) Journal of the Batavian Society
 UB = Universiteits Bibliotheek = Leiden University Library

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Bespreking van de Waar
volgens het van Sapo Nigora
den mij ontvanger was
Dangerau notte Pasija

Leidy. 1834

Nota.

Het is nu van den Heer heeft het satuen
dat de Savaan Sekre noemen, en daar een draagt
hij ook dien naam; Sekre beteekent, de Sen.

Derzelve is, nu ongeveer 200 Saun gelden,
door eenen Vorst van Semak vervaardigd, en van
dien Vorst afkomstig.

Bij gelegenheid van eenige ontlasten in het
Semakisch rijk, is hij in handen gekomen van
eenen geringen Savaan, en vervolgens van de een
hand in de andere, tot dat derzelve uiteindelijk, na
giffing 10 Saun van de Ontlasten op Sava, den
Stingerang Djoro Nigoro, almede door eenen
gingen Savaan, ten geschenken is gegeven.

(Wanneer

Appendix

English translation of the note with the information by Prince Natapraja, taken down by Resident Valck dated 4 Dec. 1834.

Note

The iron of the staff is in the model the Javanese call Cakra (Tjokro), and it is from this it takes its name. Cakra (Tjokro) means the Sun.

The same, now about 200 years ago, was made by a ruler of Demak, and originates from this ruler.

When past troubles (*onlusten*) erupted in the Demak realm, it fell into the hands of an ordinary Javanese person (*wong cilik*), and passed from one hand to another, until finally, at a guess 10 years before the troubles in Java (the Java War), the same was presented to Prince Dipanagara (Dipo Nogoro) again by an ordinary Javanese.

When Prince Dipanagara (Dipo Nogoro) went on pilgrimage to holy places Tirakat (Tirokat) in the time of the troubles, he carried this staff, saying by means of the same to have all his wishes granted by the Superior Being.

When Prince Dipanagara was defeated in one of the battles in the closing stages of the troubles, one of his servants fled taking the said staff, and came to submit himself to Prince Adipati Natapraja (Noto Prodjo), who had already chosen the side of the government by then. On this occasion he presented the aforesaid staff to curry his favor. Since then it has remained in possession of the Prince (Natapraja), who on the occasion of the presence of His Excellency the Governor-General *ad interim* at this place, has presented it to him as a token of his esteem.