OLD JAVANESE CHARTERS

RE-EDITED AND TRANSLATED

 $\mathbf{B}\mathbf{Y}$

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In 1952 the Royal Library bought from Mrs. Nørgaard of Klampenborg ten copper-plates with engraved inscriptions in Old Javanese. They form the largest collection of their kind in Europe outside The Netherlands.

The existence of this collection in Denmark has been known for a long time. About the year 1897 Professor Kern of Leiden made transcriptions of two plates from rubbings which he received from Professor Vilhelm Thomsen. They were published afterwards in O.J.O. (No. XXIV)¹.

The International Congress of Orientalists held in Brussels in 1938 gave me the opportunity to contact Dr. K. Wulff for information about Old Javanese copper plates in Denmark. This led to a lenghty correspondence between Professor B. J. O. Schrieke of Amsterdam, Professor Th. Thomsen of the National Museum and Mrs. Nørgaard at Klampenborg, the owner of the plates. Probably in the course of that correspondence the name 'Klampenborg plates' for the collection came into use.

Mrs. Norgaard graciously allowed the ten plates to be sent to the Colonial Institute (now called the Tropical Institute) of Amsterdam in order to enable me to study them. They were translated into Dutch and annotated together with nine plates of the same kind belonging to the Völkermuseum at Frankfurt am Main. Subsequently the nineteen plates were published as a doctor's thesis under the title: Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden in Duitsche en Deensche verzamelingen, Leiden 1941.²

Mrs. Nørgaard could only give the following information about the origin of the plates: They were bought by Mr. Nørgaard from Baroness Dahlerup, who received them from a relative, who bought them in Java from a European family. That happened probably some time within the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

The present edition of the 'Klampenborg plates' with an English translation is made up from the above-mentioned doctor's thesis. It seemed superfluous, however, to include all the philological notes and historical commentaries of the Dutch original. The following remarks on Old Javanese charters should be sufficient to give the interested reader an idea of the importance of the collections of the Royal Library, Copenhagen.

Hindu-Javanese history covers a period of about twelve centuries, from c. A.D. 400 to c. A.D. 1500. The sources of our knowledge on that period are sources originating from abroad: Chinese, Indo-Chinese, Indian, Arabic and European records, and sources originating from Indonesia: Old Javanese inscriptions, Old Javanese manuscripts, Hindu-Javanese architecture and other archaeological remains.³

The inscriptions are the most authentic documents. Many Old Javanese inscriptions are dated. But the very oldest inscriptions found in Indonesia are in Sanskrit, and they are undated. It appears from the type of the script that they originated from about the fifth century A.D. The earliest Old Malay inscriptions (on stone), found in South Sumatra, are dated between A.D. 682 and 686. The oldest dated inscription from Java (A.D. 732, stone of Canggal, Central Java) still is

in Sanskrit. After that year until the end of the Hindu-Javanese period most inscriptions are in Old Javanese.

The characters used in the inscriptions are of the types known as pre-Nagari and Pallawa, both of Indian origin. The pre-Nagari script appears to have been used within narrow limits of time and space, but the Pallawa script was widely known. It developed in Indonesia into several still existing sub-types, such as the Javanese, Balinese, Sundanese, Batak, Lampung and Buginese alphabets.

The oldest inscriptions found in Indonesia are engraved on stone slabs, but a considerable number of Old Javanese inscriptions are on copper or bronze plates (see the illustrations of the 'Klampenborg plates'). The material seems to be seldom pure copper or brass. There is a considerable variation in the alloy.

As a rule an Old Javanese charter consisted of more than one plate. The plates were arranged in the same manner as the leaves of a palmleaf manuscript (see the illustrations, Plate 18ff.), but they were not provided with holes for a string to pass through to keep them together. That is the reason why many Old Javanese copper-plate inscriptions are incomplete. A set of ten or more plates could easily lose one or more plates in the course of time. The Klampenborg collection did not escape this fate: among the ten plates there is only one complete text.

The vast majority of inscriptions are praçāsti or deeds of land grants, favours (anugraha) done by the king or a member of the nobility to an individual person or a community (e.g. wanua, a monastery or a sanctuary, a village of blacksmiths or of merchants etc.). Such an anugraha or grant entitled the grantee to revenues or part of the revenues originally due to the grantor, viz.

the king or nobleman. In other words, the institute of anugraha could only be exercised by the king or a nobleman, in fact by those who had the disposal of revenues and statute labour of the wanuas under their jurisdiction (watěk). The land assigned to the grantee was demarcated (susuk) and declared to be a sima swatantra or autonomous free estate.⁴

When reading Old Javanese charters of this kind, we do not find great difference in composition between *praçāsti* dating from the end of the ninth century and those of a later date. However, it appears that, besides differing from the older charters as regards details, the later ones show a tendency to prolixity in the successive sections. These sections are in general the following:

- (1) The date of issue: the year of the Çaka era, the month, the day of the week (usually not only of the Javanese calendar, but also of the Hindu calendar) and, in the charters of later date, further astronomical data.
- (2) The name of the grantor who ordered the rights to be transferred, namely the revenues (drwya haji lit. the lord's possessions) and the statute labour (bwat haji, i.e. "the labour to be done for the lord").
- (3) The description of the *sima swatantra* "autonomous land": area, boundaries, etc.
- (4) The *sambandha*, "reasons" why the person or the community was favoured. These reasons are sometimes of great historical importance.
- (5) A detailed summing up of the various privileges. In this section we find the long list of persons who were "no longer allowed to enter the sima," the free estate. These were the manilala drwya haji "persons who 'strive' after the lord's property". What exactly this term covers is not clear. They formed a dis-

ported by the king or a nobleman. Apparently amongst them were tax-collectors, slaves and several persons not belonging to a community, foreigners from overseas: Khmers, Cholas and others. Mentioned also are various trades and crafts partly exempt from payments in kind.

- (6) A summing up of all the persons who had participated in the drawing up of the *anugra-ha*, and who had been remunerated for their work.
- (7) The imprecatory formula with elaborate ceremonies pronounced against all who in the future might act against the rules formulated in the charter.
- (8) Sometimes a charter concludes with the description of feasts, meals, dancing and gambling to celebrate the occasion.

Some praçāsti were reissued after some time during the Hindu-Javanese period. They are comparable with amended deeds. Of course they too were mostly legal documents. These copies are certainly not forgeries. The original might have been lost or have become partly illegible. Another reason could be that the government had undergone changes. The copyist mostly did not conceal the fact that he copied and amended a still valid praçāsti. He would use the script of his own time. Such a copy begins with mentioning the name of the grantor and the date of the original charter. The contents and the language are old-fashioned in a degree.

An unmistakable copy is King Balitung's praçāsti in OLD JAV 1–5 (see Plates 1–8). The original charter was issued by Çrī Mahārāja, Lord of (Rakai) Watukura, Prince Balitung in the Çaka year 824 (A.D. 902), as is stated at the beginning. It was reissued in Çaka 1270 (A.D. 1348) as is mentioned at the end of the praçāsti.

OLD JAV 6-8 (see Plates 9-13) constitute a royal proclamation (ujar haji) addressed to "all the inhabitants of the free estate Watukura''. Remarkable are the four akşara (mmi ta na ni) written upside down, rather clearly visible, at the right-hand bottom corner of OLD JAV 8 recto. With exactly the same syllables the actual text of the same plate starts, — of course at the left-hand top corner. — The reason could have been that the engraver had to make a correction or that he changed his mind for one reason or another and so began all over again. Another possibility might be that this proclamation was engraved over an older, (partly) obliterated inscription. In this case it is a palimpsest, viz. an epigraph of which the original inscription was purposely erased to make room for another text.

OLD JAV 9 (see Plate 14) is such a palimpsest,⁵ an original inscription, one side badly obliterated or perhaps purposely erased and the other side containing five lines of the end of a *praçāsti* in favour of the merchants' community (*baṇi-grama*) of Watukura.

OLD JAV 10 (see Plates 15–16) is a clear, well preserved inscription. The number 11 engraved on one side is an indication that it is a relatively small fragment of an elaborate charter. This plate contains only part of the paragraph dealing with the boundaries, presumably of a free estate. Neither place names nor personal names are mentioned. For this reason I think a translation is unnecessary. A transcription is sufficient.

The 'Klampenborg plates' seem to be the remnants of a collection of inscriptions which were reissued or in preparation to be reissued as a result of the administrative revision of old charters ordered by the Majapahit Court in the heyday of the kingdom in the fourteenth century, and referred to in the Nāgara Kṛtāgama (canto 73,

stanza 2; see the commentary in "Java in the XIVth Century", vol. IV, 1962, p. 219ff.)⁶.

From the contents of the 'Klampenborg plates' some conclusions may be drawn. All charters or parts of charters — except OLD JAV 10 — mention Watukura, a territory in Central Java from which king Balitung's family originated. King Balitung was *Raka* of Watukura. The data provided by his charter of A.D. 902 (OLD JAV 1–5) are most interesting in this respect. This charter deals with king Balitung's *dharma paṇasthulan*, his ancestral shrine or dynastic sanctuary. It was situated at Watukura, which was an old administrative territory.

I offer as a hypothesis that Raka was a title belonging to prominent members of the landed gentry. The Raka had emerged, probably already in pre-Hindu times, from the ranks of the Rama (lit. "father"), the elders of autochthonous wanua (territories, villages, districts). This was a consequence of the development of rice cultivation on irrigated fields (sawah). For an appropriate distribution of irrigation water a ruler was necessary. He was called Raka (lit. "elder brother", viz. of the elders of the wanua). It was during the Hindu-Javanese period that such a prominent member of the landed gentry could find opportunities to extend his domains and thereby gain the title of Mahārāja. Such a Mahārāja was Balitung.

It seems plausible that Balitung, after becoming supreme ruler of extensive domains, took steps in A.D. 902 to ensure the maintenance of his dynastic sanctuary and the observance of the sacral rites and ceremonies in honour of his ancestors. This was arranged in the usual way, by setting apart for that end part of the tribute of the *Rama* of Watukura, of which he was the *Raka*. Thus the *Rama* of Watukura were made responsible for

the maintenance of the sanctuary. "They all were concerned with the God of the sanctuary of Watukura" (OLD JAV 3 recto).

From the last plate of the charter (OLD JAV 5), however, it appears that four and a half century later, in A.D. 1348, it was thought necessary to reissue king Balitung's *praçāsti*. Why? Perhaps because the ravages of time had made the original charter partly illegible, but more likely for a much more important reason.

The Watukura charter (OLD JAV 6-8), as is said before, is a royal proclamation (ujar haji), according to which the "free estate of Watukura", including everything in that area, being exempt from certain tribute, "shall cease to be a "supporting", hantulan district and a "royal possession", to be in future "completely autonomous". In other words, this is a modification of the legal status of the elders of Watukura, as had been fixed by the then ruler king Balitung in A.D. 902. In OLD JAV 4 recto it is stated that a specified number of communities (Babadan, Matapanas, etc.) were "supports", under the jurisdiction (watěk hantulan) of the sanctuary of the Raka of Watukura.

Now the question arises which of the two provisions was eventually valid, that of the charter of king Balitung of A.D. 902, confirmed in A.D. 1348 (OLD JAV 1-5) or that of the charter of Watukura (OLD JAV 6-8). In other words, was the latter charter issued before or after A.D. 1348? The absence of a date in this charter makes it difficult to answer the question. A reason to believe the Watukura charter to be older than A.D. 1348 is given in the following lines.

"The land of Janggala" (bhūmi Jangala) of OLD JAV 8 recto, of which the inhabitants of Watukura always deserved well, does not help to solve the problem. Likewise the Çrī Mahārāja

mentioned eight times gives us no clue, because we are not told who is meant by this king: whether it was Balitung or another prince. In this connection it is noteworthy that it is not certain whether the seal with the "volume of water" (OLD JAV 7 verso) did in fact belong to King Balitung, as has hitherto been maintained. That conclusion was made when this side of the plate (OLD JAV 7) was transcribed by H. Kern together with OLD JAV 1, on which we find Balitung's name and full title. But, as we know now, these plates belong to two different charters.

I hazard the following solution: The charter of King Balitung (OLD JAV 1-5) of A.D. 902 with the addition of A.D. 1348 gives evidence that it was a legal document. The Watukura charter (OLD JAV 6-8) however is — uncommon for a praçāsti — not dated and the name of the ruler is not mentioned. Only the petitioners are recorded: "the inhabitants of the free estate of Watukura". Besides the fact that two essential parts of an authentic deed are missing in this praçāsti, another feature of the text makes its status as a legal document dubious, namely, the mentioning of a seal. Seals belong to charters of a much later date than that of Balitung. A seal is never mentioned in the latter's authentic charters. In the Watukura charter, however, we read "... the most sacred royal order provided with the seal bearing the volume of water . . . " (OLD JAV 7). Whatever is meant by "volume of water" or "mass of water", a ruler using this particular seal is not known from the available Old Javanese charters.

It seems clear to me that the Watukura charter (OLD JAV 6–8) is a falsification. It appears that it is a counterfeit made in imitation of some old inscription which possibly dated from the Kadiri period (ca. 1050–1220 A.D.).

The reissuing of king Balitung's charter (OLD) JAV 1-5) of A.D. 902 may have been ordered by the Court of Majapahit in A.D. 1348 because the Court was aware of the existence of the Watukura charter, which was not recognized as a valid legal instrument. It was held that the old rights of the sanctuary of Watukura be confirmed and that the legal status of watěk hantulan, "support", of the communities of Babadan etc. be continued as it had been fixed by king Balitung in A.D. 902. As the priests and their families who officiated in the sacred precincts of the sanctuary were economically dependent upon the services of the local rama, without this confirmation the sacerdotal community (ruled by an ordained abbot, who may have claimed to be descended from king Balitung himself) might have gone to ruin. This would have been detrimental to the Majapahit king's interests, for his royal authority in the country was in part based upon the sacerdotal communities who lived in his states. It is a fact that Watukura is mentioned (as a kasugatan kabajradaran akrama, a domain of the thunderbolt bearing Tantric clergy observing the custom of marriage) in the Nāgara Kṛtāgama, the panegyric of king Hayam Wuruk of Majapahit dated A.D. 1365, in canto 77, stanza 3. In "Java in the XIVth Century", vol. IV, 1962, p. 237, Rouffaer's hypothesis on the location of Watukura (in the district of Pacitan in Central Java) is mentioned.

The fact that the old sanctuary of Watukura was registered in A.D. 1365 is a confirmation of the hypothesis that the reissue of A.D. 1348 (still in the period of the Regency, before king Hayam Wuruk ascended the throne in A.D. 1350) was connected with the Majapahit Court's concern for old charters. If this hypothesis is accepted as valid it follows that the undated Watukura charter (OLD JAV 6-8) is older than A.D. 1348.

The Banigrama charter (OLD JAV 9), of which only the last five lines are legible, may be an original inscription. The script is of the same type as that of inscriptions of king Balitung's time.

Taking the above particularities of the three charters into consideration, we may conclude that all the plates originated from a place where they were revised at the command of the king of Majapahit in the 14th century. The Baṇigrama charter probably was in a stage of the process of copying.

In any case it is no mere coincidence that all these charters have now become part of one and the same collection.

It is impossible to say whether OLD JAV 10 of this collection should be included in the same verdict, because this eleventh plate — number 11 written on it indicates that it belonged to an unusually detailed charter of at least twelve, presumably more plates — contains only a description of boundaries.

¶¹) Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden. Nagelaten transcripties van wijlen Dr. J. L. A. Brandes. Uitgegeven door Dr. N. J. Krom, Verhandelingen Bataviaasch Genootschap 60, 1912. - Hereafter: O. J. O. 2) Owing to war circumstances this thesis was stencilled. It will be referred to hereafter as F. H. van Naerssen, thesis 1941. 3) Cf. F. H. van Naerssen, Ancient Javanese recording of the past: Arts. The Journal of the Sydney University Arts Association, 5, 1968, pp. 30-46. 4) Cf. F. H. van Naerssen, Some aspects of the Hindu-Javanese kraton, The Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia, 2, 1963, pp. 14-19. 5) Cf. O. K. Nordstrand and C. Gerli, Some experiments in reproducing a partially obliterated inscription on an Old-Javanese copper-plate in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 113, Leiden 1957. 6) Nägarakrtāgama, Canto 73, 2. and cf. canto 62, 1. in: Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, Java in the 14th century, (5 volumes) The Hague 1960-1963. 7) The meaning of Old-Javanese dharma is "religious" foundation". It consisted of a sanctuary, with its personel: priests etc., and assets such as property: land,

livestock, slaves etc. It had corporate capacity. That is, it could take part in legal transactions. So the sanctuary or the foundation appears as a kind of "divine household". Cf. Gordon Childe, What happened in History, *Penguin Books*, *Australia*, 1965, pp. 16, 17, and F. H. van Naerssen, Tribute to the God and Tribute to the King. [This article is a contribution to a volume published in honour of Professor D. G. E. Hall: *Southeast Asian History and Historiography*, ed. by C. D. Cowan and O. W. Wolters, Ithaca, Cornell Univ. Press, 1976].

Charter of King Balitung.

OLD JAV 1-5 (K 1-5).

This charter, dated Çaka 824 (A.D. 902), is incomplete. It consists of five copper plates. They are numbered: 1 (OLD JAV 1), 2 (OLD JAV 2), 3 (OLD JAV 3), 5 (OLD JAV 4), and the last plate without a number (OLD JAV 5). Plate 4 is missing and so is the continuation of 5 (OLD JAV 4) on one or more plates.

In this charter the text of plate 1, written on one side only, is continued on plate 2, recto, then on plate 2 verso, etc. The last plate — like plate 1 — is also written on one side only.

Each plate contains five lines, except the last plate, which has two lines. This is the end of the whole charter.

The fine and clearly legible writing dates from the fourteenth centuary. All the plates are of one size, viz 9.3×31.1 cm. (See Plates 1–8).

Some anachronisms found in the text show beyond doubt that the copyist of the Çaka year 1270 did not have the original charter of the Çaka year 824 at his disposal, but had to copy a document made at the time of King Wawa or King Sindok (about the middle of the tenth century).

OLD JAV 1 verso (Plate 1):

1. // o // swasti çakā warṣātītā, 824, çrawaṇamāsa, tithi, pañcadaçi çuklapaksa, pā, pa, aŋ, wāra,

- 2. madaŋkuṅan, saptakāraṇa wiṣṭi, pūrwwasādhānakṣatra, çiwayoga, tatkāla mahārāja rake watukura
- 3. dyaḥ balituŋ, çrī içwarakeṣawotsawatuŋga, maweḥ panīma, mā, kā 1, i rāmanta i watukura, parṇṇah
- 4. dharmma paṅasthūlan ri sira, aŋkĕn purṇnama niŋ bhadrawāda, kabhaktyana de rāmanta i watu kura, kunĕṅ ikaŋ sawa
- 5. ḥ, gagā, rĕnĕk, kĕbuan, ya tikā mijilakna pirak, mā 1, ing sa-rahi, duwan babadan, mā 3,

Translation:

Hail to Ye; 824 çaka years have passed. In the month of çrawaṇa. On the fifteenth day of the shining half-moon. Pāniron, Paiŋ, Aŋgarawāra. Maḍaŋkuṇan. Seventh Kāraṇa. Position of the moon: Pūrwasādha. Declination: çiwa.¹

This is the time when His Majesty Içwarakeṣawot-sawatungga, Mahārāja, Lord of Watukura, Prince Balitung, bestowed upon the village elders of Watukura a demarcation fee of 1 mā kā for the place of his (i.e. Balitung's) ancestral foundation.² It is to be worshipped by the village elders of Watukura every full moon of the month of Bhādrapada; in addition the irrigated rice fields, the dry rice fields, the wet rice fields, and the gardens, they are to contribute the sum of 1 mā in silver per head. The duwan (community) of Babadan is to contribute 3 $m\bar{a}$;

OLD JAV 2 recto (Plate 2):

- 1. i matapanas, mā sū 1, mā 4, payaman, mā, sū 1, mā 4, buhara suwul, mā 5, buhara uṇḍuḥ, mā 3,
- 2. buhara thaḥ, mā 5, buhara hoya, mā 5, buhara pananten, mā 2, bareŋ, mā 10, muaŋ paŋrāga ska
- 3. r, mā, ku 2, bras, ku 1, riŋ sa lawaŋ, muwaḥ mā, ku 1, bras, ku 1, riŋ sa lawaŋ, kāryya panaman pūrṇnama niŋ
- 4. jyeṣṭa, muwaḥ mā, ku 1, bras, ku 1, riŋ sa lawaŋ, pūrṇnama niŋ cetra, muaṅ ikaŋ rawi galuḥ i babadan,
- 5. maweḥ limba limban, dulanan, akṣeṇya i bhaṭāra dharmma muaŋ bukakuṇḍur, pakna pamūjā rāma

Translation:

Matapanas is to contribute 1 $m\bar{a}$ $s\bar{u}$, 4 $m\bar{a}$; Payaman 1 $m\bar{a}$ $s\bar{u}$, 4 $m\bar{a}$; Buhara Suwul 5 $m\bar{a}$; Buhara Uṇḍuh 3 $m\bar{a}$; Buhara Tĕngah 5 $m\bar{a}$; Buhara Hoya 5 $m\bar{a}$; Buhara Panganten 2 $m\bar{a}$; Bareng 10 $m\bar{a}$; also the floral-tribute (lit. making of flowerbaskets) (is to be paid) 2 $m\bar{a}$ ku and unpolished rice to the value of 1 ku per household (literally: 'per door') and moreover 1 $m\bar{a}$ ku

and unpolished rice to the value of 1 ku per household for the Panaman festival on the day of the full moon in the month of Jyaiṣṭa. Further $1 m\bar{a} ku$ and unpolished rice to the value of 1 ku per household on the day of the full moon in the month of Caitra.

Further, the *rawi galuh* (the jewel-radiant sun?) of Babadan is to give wooden buckets, salvers, the *akṣenya* (the two eyes?) of the god of the foundation, besides his head ornament. These constitute the offerings of the village elders

OLD JAV 2 verso (Plate 3):

- 1. nta i bhaṭāra dharmma, çeṣanya, maraha i saŋ karmmanya, mamūjā, upakalpa, dewakarmma, anapū, dewadāsa,
- 2. pasiŋhir, sahana saŋ karmma kummit bhaṭāra makadṛwya ya, muaŋ gaway bhūṣaṇa de rāmanta, bāhurākṣa, kira
- 3. t bāhu, bukaçrī, pakna ri bhaṭāra dharmma, muaŋ paŋguhaniŋ tahil, sū 3, mā 14, ku 2, mijil riṅ açuji-māsa,
- 4. muwaḥ sū 3, mā 14, ku 2, mijil riŋ cetra, rāma i rikaŋ kāla, tumarima ikaŋ mās panīma, winkas saŋ
- 5. druma rāma ni widdha, tuha kalaŋ saŋ jāti rāma ni santa, gusti saŋ jātu karāman i çruta, parujar si dhari si dūta, wa

Translation:

to the god of the foundation. The remains (of the offerings) shall belong to the persons who take part in the work: those who officiate at the offerings, at the (upakalpa?) sacred functions, those who sweep (the temple ground), the servants of the temple, the pasinghir, all the people of merit who guard the god. They shall have (the remains). Moreover, (the remains) are to be used for the festive garments to be made by the village elders, viz. rings for the upper arm and the forearm and ornaments provided with the Cri symbol in honour of the god of the foundation.

The assessment of the *tahil* (tax) (totalling): $3 s\bar{u}$, $14 m\bar{a}$, 2 ku shall be available in the month of Açwayuj, and also $3 s\bar{u}$, $14 m\bar{a}$, 2 ku in the month of Caitra. The village elders who received the demarcation fee were at that time: the *winěkas* (the commissioned person) sang Druma, father of Widdha; the *tuha* Kalang (the head of the Kalangs) sang Jāti, father of Santa; the *gusti* sang Jātu, father of Çruta; the *parujar* (the spokesmen) si Dhari, si Dūta;

OLD JAV 3 recto (Plate 4):

- 1. riga si teja, dāridra, rāmānamarata saŋ gariyan saŋ subhara saŋ windawa, nāhan kweḥ ni rāmanta i watuku
- 2. ra, tumarima ikanāŋ mās panīma saŋke haji, muaŋ milu sumusuk ikanāŋ dharmma, ika ta kabeḥ kapwa byapā
- 3. ra i bhaṭāra dharmma i watukura, ya tika tan katamana de saŋ maṅilala dṛwya haji, mīçra paramīçra, wulu wulu
- 4. prakāra, kriŋ, paḍĕmapuy, kula pamgĕt, wadīhati, makudur, tawan, kula paŋkur, pagaran, kawur hyaŋ,
- 5. taji, tapahaji, airhaji, malandan, lca, lab lab, manimpiki, tuhālup, tuhadagan, maguñjai, manrumbai

Translation:

the wariga (the astrologer) si Teja, Dāridra (the poor one?), the rāmānamarata sang Gariyan, sang Subhara, sang Windawa. This is the number of village elders of Watukura who received from the Prince the money ("gold") for the foundation of the sanctuary, and who were also among the persons to demarcate the holy foundation. All of them are concerned with the God of the foundation of Watukura.

(This holy estate) must not be entered by the tax-collectors³ of the Prince; all the mīçra para mīçra (outsiders), various wulu-wulu (persons belonging to the lower classes, artisans, etc.), viz. the kring, paděm apuy, the group of pamgěts, the wadihati, the makudur (the two last-mentioned groups comprising officials who pronounce the curse at the end of a foundation ceremony), tawan, the group of pangkurs, pagaran, kawur hyang, taji, tapa haji, air haji, malandang, lěca, labělab (textile-dyers), manimpiki (joiners), tuhālup, tuha dagang (senior merchants), maguñjai, mangrumbai,

OLD JAV 3 verso (Plate 5):

- 1. watu tajěm, salwit, pakalaŋkang, guñjan, tuṇḍan, salaran, piniŋlai, kataŋgaran, pamṛṣi, hulu
- 2. n haji, paranakan, rāma jātaka, wiharaswami, parmmasan, pamasaŋ, awuran, urutan, ḍampulan, siŋkpa
- 3. n, puluŋ paḍi, mapaḍahi, walyan, widu maṅiduŋ, kecaka, tarimba, tapukan, mabika, wargga i dalĕm,
- 4. paṇḍe mās, tāmra, kaŋsa, wsi, ḍaḍap, amaraŋgi, uṇḍahagi, atwiḥ, amahat, amanantĕn, aṅu
- 5. ge, agiliŋan, aṅulaŋ, joroŋ, kuñjalan, tĕtĕpan, ityewamādi, pāt ika lwirnya, muwaḥ wnaŋ sama

Translation:

watu tajěm, salwit, pakalangkang, guñjan, tuṇḍan, salaran, pininglai, katanggaran, pamṛṣi, hulun haji (the lord's slaves), paranakan (half-castes; children born of marriages of persons belonging to different castes or to different races), rāma jātaka, wihara swami (chiefs of temples), parmmasan, pamasang, awuran (sowers), urutan (planters of seedlings), dampulan, singkepan (the two last-mentioned groups engaged in agriculture), pulung padi (harvesters), mapadahi (drummers), walyan (sorcerers), widu mangidung (ballad-singers), kecaka (kicaka-dancers), tarimba (tarimba-dancers), tapukan (mask-dancers), mabika, warga i dalĕm (court officials), pande mās, tāmra, kangsa, wsi (the four last-mentioned persons being, respectively, gold-, copper-, brass-, and blacksmiths), dadap (wrought-iron workers), amaranggi (dyers of ornamental garments), uṇḍahagi (carpenters), atwih, amahat (engravers), amanantěn, anguge, agilingan, angulang, jorong, kuñjalan, tětěpan, etc. comprising four categories. Moreover is empowered [the rest must have followed on a missing plate '4']

OLD JAV 4 recto (Plate 6):

- 1. babadan, matapanas, payaman, buhara suwul, buhara uṇḍuḥ, buhara thaḥ, buhara hoya, buhara pa
- 2. nanten, baren, watěk antulan, i dharmma hajī watukura, tumut krama san hanen kon patiḥ wahuta rāma ka
- 3. bayan, muaŋ rāma tpi siriŋ kabeḥ, matuha manwām laki laki wadwan kaniṣṭa maddhya mottama, kapwa ma
- 4. naḍaḥ tan hana kantuna rīn irusan kla kla ambĕl ambĕl, kasyan, lĕt lĕt, bhaṇḍa kaṇḍi paliḍwa parisukha
- 5. san amanan, tahu lan wagalan haryyas kuluban sunda rumbah ityewamādi, tan hana kakuran, manka

Translation:

Babadan, Matapanas, Payaman, Buhara Suwul, Buhara Uṇḍuh, Buhara Tĕngah, Buhara Hoya, Buhara Panganten, Bareng, all "supports" under the jurisdiction⁴ of the Lord of Watukura.

The following persons attended according to the order of precedence (or: according to existing customary rules): the patih, wahuta rāma kabayan and all the elders of the border villages, old men, young men, men and women, of the lower, the middle, and the upper classes of society. They were all entertained. Nobody was passed over (or: nothing was lacking):

cooked food, various kinds of farinaceous food: kasyan, lět-lět, bhaṇḍa kaṇḍi palidwa. All the guests highly enjoyed: tahu (Chinese farinaceous food made of green peas), wagalan (a dish made of freshwater fish?), haryyas (a kind of banana), kuluban (steamed vegetables), suṇḍa (edible roots), rumbaḥ, etc. Nothing was lacking. The same applied to harang-harang (roasted,

OLD JAV 4 verso (Plate 7):

- 1. na taŋ haraŋ haraŋ, ḍeŋ kakap, kaḍiwas, taṅiri, hnus, huraŋ, biluŋ luŋ prakāra, paripūrṇna ikā kabeḥ,
- 2. pāṇa siddhu mastawa kiñca kilaŋ twak paripūrṇna ikā kabeḥ, mataṅ yan tan parāryyan saŋ manaḍaha-kĕn tahapa
- 3. n, matan ya n wijah sira kabeh, muan men men, si patinhalan, mabañol, si patibañcil, muan si bari
- 4. pacěh, atapukan, si giran hyasěn, matěkapakěn sira kabeh, dinmakan kupan, 2, sowan sowan, i tlas nira ka
- 5. beh manadah, mandiri san makudur wadihati patih pramukha, kapu⁵ maněmbah i sāraharah çrī mahārā-ja, muan ra

Translation:

fried, and baked dishes), deng (spiced and dried slices of meat), kakap, kadiwas, tangiri (three kinds of fish still known under the same names), cuttle-fish, shrimps, and all kinds of (fried) skins of oxen. There was an abundance of everything. And then there were beverages: rum, distilled beverages, syrup, mead, wine (fermented drinks), and there was also a profusion of all this. Because they just did not stop regaling themselves with the drinks, all of them were merry.

Patinghalan (a surname, literally: actor) recited something; Patibañcil and Baripacĕh performed a dramatic dance. Girang hyasĕn(?) performed a mask dance; all acted at the same time. Each one was rewarded with two *kupang*.

When at last all had finished eating and drinking, the makudur, the wadihati, and the patih, the most distinguised persons present rose in their places and together made a sembah in the direction of His Majesty the King (demonstrating their respect by bowing in a certain way). Besides [continued on one or more missing plates]

OLD JAV 5 (Plate 8):

- 1. tiŋkaḥ samya hajī watukura, // o //, iŋ çaka, 1270, aṣādhā māsa, tīthi, ekadaçi çuklapakṣa, pā, wa,
- 2. ca, wāra, juluŋ, // o //,

Translation:

conditions within the Lord of Watukura's domain. In the Çaka year 1270. In the month of āṣāḍhā. On the eleventh of the shining half-moon. Pan. Ca. Julung⁶.

¶ ¹) The 27th (?) of July A.D. 902. – Cf. L. Ch. Damais Études d'épigraphie Indonésienne III, Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient XLVI, 1952, pp. 44, 45, no. 71. ²) Cf. note 7 to the Introduction. ³) manilala drwya haji, cf. for references F. H. van Naerssen, Thesis 1941. ⁴) See the Introduction. Hantulan, "support" may be related to modern Javanese antol: a bamboo stick used as a springy support in the frame of a Javanese bamboo bedstead. Malay mengantul means: to rebound. The meaning of watĕk in this connection is: belonging to the category of (cf. "Java XIVth Cent.", vol. V, 1963, Glossary, p. 299). ⁵) Read: kapua. ⁶) The 7th of July 1348. – Cf. L. Ch. Damais l.c. pp. 76, 77, no. 185.

Watukura charter

OLD JAV 6-8 (K 6-8).

A complete charter without date consisting of three copper plates, numbered 1, 2, and 3. Each side has five lines of clearly legible writing. The last line of plate 3 verso is in length less than one third of the other lines of this plate.

All the plates are of one size, viz. 9.2×29 cm. (See Plates 9–13).

OLD JAV 6 verso (Plate 9):

- 1. // o // ujar haji kmitananikaŋ warggā sīma i watukura sa pañjiŋ thāni kabeḥ, makā
- 2. di ŋ kabayan, makamuka ikaṅ apañji kāla jaya, sambandha, gati wargga sīma i
- 3. watukura, an humatur aněmbahi pāduka çrī mahā-rāja, makasopana i
- 4. ka mapañji kālajaya, makanaryyama i rakryan kanuruhan mapañji siŋhā
- 5. di, lāwan rakryan mapatiḥ mapañji tansaḥ, aŋhyaṅ i ka susuk sīmā ni

Translation:

(This is) the Lord's command to be observed by the inhabitants of the free estate of Watukura, including everything in that area, first and foremost the *kabayan*,

the most distinguished official is the *Pañji* Kālajaya. The reason why the inhabitants of the district of Watukura most humbly approached His Majesty the King with the *Pañji* Kālajaya as spokesman and the *rakryan kanuruhan*, the *Pañji* Singhādi and the *rakryan patiḥ Pañji* Tansah as *naryyama* (literally "supreme commanders"), with the urgent request that the demarcated free estate

OLD JAV 7 recto (Plate 10):

- 1. kan i watu kura sa panjin thāni, mantena wisaya hantulan, tan padrwya hajya, mwan mantenā
- 2. tahila paṅaṣṭāŋgi, an sīma swatantra lpas ta pwa, pāduka çrī mahārāja pwa sira ta
- 3. n wnaŋ tan wawa rĕnĕḥ ri paŋhyaŋ nikaṅ apañji kālajaya, makanimitta n kato
- 4. n kapagiḥ ni kabhaktin wargga sīma makamuka ikaṅ apañji kālajaya i pāduka
- 5. çrī mahārāja, mwaŋ kadharmmotsahan rakryan kanuruhan, lāwan kasiṅha

Translation:

of Watukura, including everything in that area, may cease to be a hantulan ("support") district and a royal possession and may cease paying the eightfold tahil tax, because actually it is an autonomous² free estate. Now His Majesty the King was not unwilling to listen³ to the Pañji Kālajaya's request, on account of the well-known unwavering loyalty of the inhabitants of the district, first and foremost on the part of the Pañji Kālajaya, to His Majesty the King and on account of the rakryan kanuruhan's integrity, and

OLD JAV 7 verso (Plate 11):

- 1. parākraman rakryan apatiņ, mamrihakēn i pāduka çrī mahārāja, malaŋnya n inu
- 2. bhaya sanmata paŋhyaŋ wargga sīma, makamuka ikaṅ apañji kālajaya, de pāduka çrī
- 3. mahārāja, an makacihna wargga sīma wineḥ makmitana saŋ hyaṅ ajñā haji tinaṇḍa jalasamū
- 4. halañcana, mratisubaddhakna pagĕḥ nyānugraha pāduka çrī mahārāja i wargga sīma i wa
- 5. tu kura, an kewala susuk sīma swatantra lpas ta pwa ikaṅ i watu kura, ta

Translation:

the "lion heroism" of the *rakryan patih*, putting himself entirely at the service of His Majesty the King. This is the reason why the request of the inhabitants of the district, the most distinguished of whom is the

Pañji Kālajaya, has been most graciously considered by his Majesty the King, so that the inhabitants of the free estate, in token hereof, have been given this most sacred royal document to keep, after it has been provided with the seal bearing "the volume of water" as a distinctive mark that His Majesty the King's favour has irrevocably been bestowed on the inhabitants of the free estate of Watukura; viz. that the demarcated free estate – that of Watukura – shall in every respect be autonomous free,⁴

OLD JAV 8 recto (Plate 12):

- 1. n kādgadgana de niŋ wineḥ hantulan mne hlam tka ri dlāha niŋ dlāha, mwang mantĕnā tahi
- 2. la paṅaṣṭāŋgī, an kewala sīma swalantra lpas kapwekaṅ i watu kura, phalaçrama nikaŋ
- 3. wargga sīma i watu kura, an susṭubhakti sāri sāyyā⁵ niddhākĕn sapaŋḍawuḥ sāra
- 4. pāduka çrī mahārāja, nuniweņ ri hilanan i kalĕŋ-kāniŋ bhūmi jaŋgala, sangkṣe
- 5. panya kapagéhaknanikan wargga sīma i watu kura la pwa sarasa san hyan ājñā haji

Translation:

that (Watukura) shall not be sued (for payment) by those who were given hanlulan ("support"), in our time as well as in the past until the remotest future; and they shall cease paying the eightfold tahil tax, since in every respect it is an autonomous, free estate, that of Watukura. This is the reward for the devotion shown on the part of the inhabitants of the free estate of Watukura since in faithful devotion they complied every day with His Majesty the King's orders (sara?), and because they prevented any disgrace being brought upon the land of Janggala. In brief: the (rights of the) inhabitants of the free estate of Watukura are confirmed according to the quintessence of the most sacred royal document

OLD JAV 8 verso (Plate 13):

- 1. kmitana nikaŋ wargga sīma i watu kura sapañjiŋ thāni, mne hlĕm tkāri dlāha niŋ dlāha
- 2., wkas kara samgĕt laŋka mapañji jalādi, kunaŋ ri sḍĕnganya n hana ṅulahu
- 3. laha anugraha pāduka çrī mahārāja i rikaŋ wargga sīma i watu kura, knana
- 4. ya daṇḍa saha panṅaḥ, i wruha nikaŋ wargga sīma i watu kura amagĕhakna tan
- 5. siga siguna, //o//.

Translation:

to be kept by the inhabitants of the free estate of Watukura with everything in that area, at present as well as in the past until the remotest future. He who has been entrusted with the making (of this charter) is the *samgĕt* Langka Pañji Jalādi.

Further: If anybody should act contrary to the favour bestowed upon the inhabitants of the free esate of Watukura by His Majesty the King, he shall be liable to the saha paněngah punishment. This should be known by the inhabitants of the free estate of Watukura. They should uphold (this decision) without hesitation.

¶ 1) Or: "to be kept by". 2) lĕpas is an Old Javanese explanation of the preceding Sanskrit word swatantra. 3) I am not certain of the translation of: "tan wnang tan wawa rĕnĕh". 4) See note 2. 5) Read: sāri sāryya.

Banigrama charter,

OLD JAV 9 (K 9).

Fragment without date. This plate — which has a text on one side only — is the end of a charter. Originally it consisted of more than one plate. From the legible part of this first line, especially from the words analana sāgara, anujura sāgara (if he crosses the ocean, he will be drowned in the ocean), we may conclude that it forms the end of the section containing the curse called down upon all who act against the rules formulated in the charter (cf. the Introduction). The plate bears no number, and the faint traces of script on the other side suggest that it is a palimpsest.

The plate measures 10.4×33.9 cm. (See Plate 14).

OLD JAV 9 (Plate 14):

- 1. nula wlan, wtan ma-ya rama mga-rus, analana sāgara, anujura sāgara, lwir nya luputa riŋ pakuda ikan banigrama rin wa
- 2. tukura, pahaliman, tahiran, pawidu, salwir nihabāya OLD JAV 10 recto (Plate 15): kunan ri sdahanya n hanā hulahulahā muŋkil muŋkilāŋrudḍā raṣa kmi

- 3. tan banigrama, yan brahmāṇa, kṣatriyā, weṣya, sudra, anak tāni, sakawwananya, sapapā niŋ mahāpataka kāsuktya de
- 4. nikāŋ maŋrudḍā kmitan baṇigrama mataṇḍa balituņ, samaņkā rasa çrī mahārāja, i wruha baņigrama pagöha tan
- 5. sigan siguna //://.

Translation:

[We cannot construe the words of the first line so that they make sense]

... if he crosses over the occan, he will be drowned in the ocean. The merchants' community of Watukura is granted immunity against elephant-keepers, tangiran, minstrels, and all abhaya. If anybody acts contrary to or offends or turns against the rules laid down under the privileges granted to this community of merchants, whether a Brāhmaṇa, a Kṣatriya, a Vaiçya, a Cudra, a farmer and all his descendants, all the misery of great disasters will be met with by any person who acts contrary to the charter of the merchants' community, which (document) bears Balitung's mark. These are the considerations of His Majesty the King. Be it noted that the rights of the community of merchants have been beyond all doubt legally secured.

 \P^{-1}) Instead of kasuktya – unknown to me – possibly something like kapangguhanya (Cf. O.J.O. XXIII, 7, or CV III, b, 12) should be read.

Siku Lalawa boundaries charter.

OLD JAV 10 (K 10).

Fragment without date. This plate has writing on both sides and is numbered 11. Evidently it belongs to an elaborate charter originally comprising at least 12 plates. It deals entirely with section 3 mentioned in the Introduction: the boundaries of a demarcated area.

The fine and clearly legible writing is from the fourteenth century.

The size is 11×34.5 cm. (See Plates 15–16).

1. nan, midör anulwan anidul atūt pagör, asidaktan lāwan halanan, muwaḥ manidul umnör tkeŋ sikula

- 2. lawāmluk aṅulwan, pañjaŋ nya, ḍpa, 30, blaḥ, muwaḥ maṅidul saŋkeŋ sikulalawālihan galĕŋ lāwan hala
- 3. nan, midör anulwan akalihan galĕŋ lāwan halanan, midör anidul akalihan galĕŋ lāwan halanan du
- 4. dug tken agneya, watös kulumpan kinatigan lāwan halanan kidul taratap, manulwan sanke
- 5. agneya, anikulalawā, pañjaŋ nya, ḍpa, 27, midör aṅidul saŋke sikulalawākalihan galĕŋ lāwa
- 6. n taratap, dudug maṅidul atūt piŋgir ni kubwan asidaktan lāwan taratap, muwaḥ aṅulwan akalihan
- 7. galěŋ lāwan taratap, muwaḥ midör aṅidul anikulalawā, pañjaŋnya, ḍpa, 19, midör aṅulwan saŋkeŋ siku
- 8. lalawākalihan galĕŋ lāwan taratap, midör aṅidul anikulalawā, pañjaŋ nya, ḍpa, 26, akalihan

OLD JAV 10 verso (Plate 16):

1. galěn lāwan taratap, midör anulwan sanken sikulalawākalihan galěn lāwan taratap, dudug manu

- 2. lwan makahīṇan piŋgir niŋ kali wetan, muwaḥ midör aṇidul piŋgir niŋ kali wetan, akalihan galĕŋ lāwa
- 3. n taratap, andölés anidul sanken kali dudug tken galén agön kinalihan lāwan taratap midör anu
- 4. lwan sanken galĕn agön watös kinalihan lāwan tara-tap, andölĕs aṅulwan atūt galĕn agön kinalihan
- 5. lāwan ūṣa, midör aṅidul saŋkeŋ galĕŋ agöŋ kinalihan lāwan ūṣa, muwaḥ midör aṅetan andölĕs makahī
- 6. nan piŋgir niŋ lwaḥ kulwan, anidul atūt piŋgir niŋ lwaḥ kulwan anikulalawā, pañjaŋ nya, ḍpa, 49, midör anu
- 7. lwan saŋkeŋ sikulalawātūt piŋgir tan padrawya lwaḥ saŋ hyaŋ dharmma, midör aṅalor saŋke piŋgir niŋ lwaḥ a
- 8. nikulalawā, pañjaŋ nya, ḍpa, 13, akalihan galĕŋ lāwan taratap, aṅulwan saŋkeŋ sikulalawā.

CATALOGUE OF INDONESIAN MANUSCRIPTS

PART 2

OLD JAVANESE CHARTERS

JAVANESE, MALAY AND LAMPUNG MANUSCRIPTS

MADS LANGE'S BALINESE LETTERS

AND

OFFICIAL LETTERS IN INDONESIAN LANGUAGES

BY

F. H. van NAERSSEN†
TH. G. TH. PIGEAUD

AND

P. VOORHOEVE

THE ROYAL LIBRARY
COPENHAGEN 1977

Plate 1. King Balitung's charter, OLD JAV 1 verso.

กรอร์บุรัษใหญ่ เขาเลี้ยง เล่าบากไปแบบเลี้ยล่ยเป็นเม่กใส่เมาเม็กสีผมกับ หรือ เมื่อในเน็กสีผมกับ หรือ เมื่อในเน็กสีผมกับ หรือ เมื่อในเล่า เมื่อในเล้า เม็นเล้า เ

Plate 2. King Balitung's charter. OLD JAV 2 recto.

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Plate 1. King Balitung's charter, OLD JAV 3 recto.

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Plate 5. King Balitung's charter, OLD JAV 3 verso.

Plate 7. King Balitung's charter. OLD JAV 4 verso.

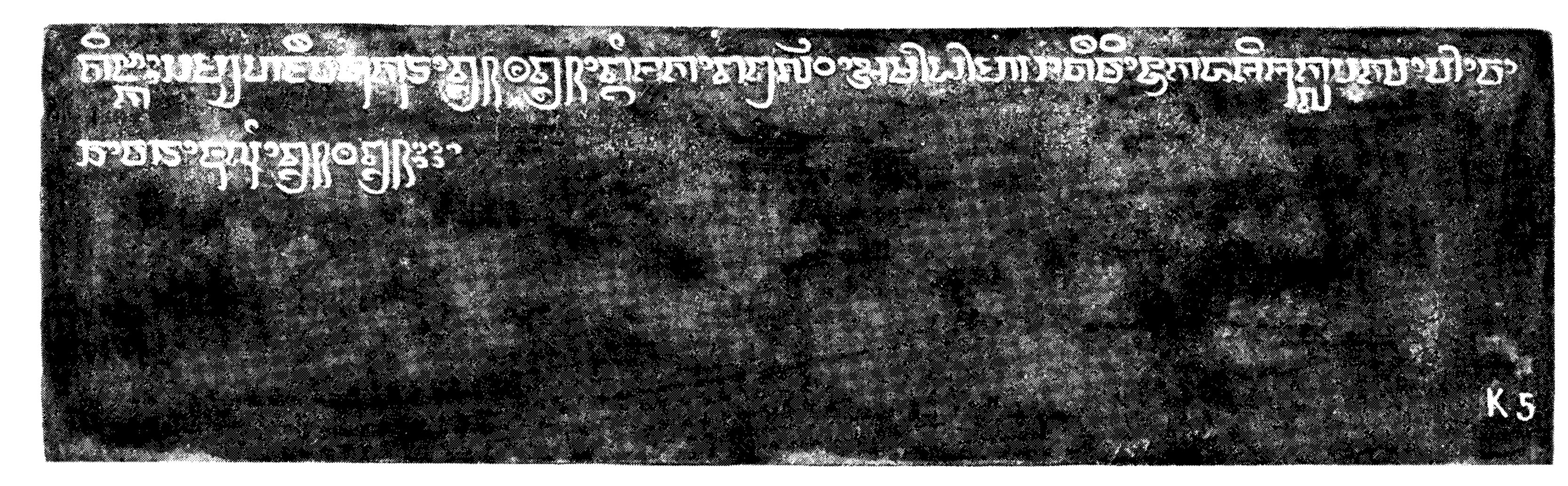


Plate 8. King Balitung's charter. OLD JAV 5.

Plate 9. Watu Kura charter, OLD JAV 6 verso.

កំពុចគាត់ មេខាត្តិទាំតិ មេត្តិកធិបយៀបក្ខេលត្ប ១ ត្រូវបានប្រជាធិប្រវិទ្ធា ត្រូវបានបង្ហើញ អេត្តិបានប្រវាគ្គ ស្គ្រាស់ ស្គ្

Plate 10. Watu Kura charter, OLD JAV 7 recto.

Plate 11. Watu Kura charter. OLD JAV 7 verso.

ក្សាត្តត្រូវត្រីខុងមានស្រាត្តសម្បាញមាននិង្គ្លាប់កិត្តាប់ខេត្តិតិត្រាប់កិត្ត សប្បធម៌ខ្លាំ អក្សរកាន់សំរើមហុសនេះប្រាត្តសម្បាញកាស់ខ្លួនគ្នាកាទរបស់ខ្លួនកំពុំ គេការ ក្នុងស្បីទី នេះ ទីហិសនៈកិត្តក្រុងចំបន់ ប្រាទី បាតុការក្នុងស្បីទី នេះ ទីហិសនៈកិត្តក្នុងកិត្តិនិត្ត ស្វារបត្ត ប្រាស់ពីសំរាត់ និងសាទាំងការ នេះ ក្នុងសំរាត់ និងសំរប់ ទៅទៅមានិទី មិនកើតខែវិបិទខ្លួនគ្រង់ត្រូវ ប្រចាំងកើតរប៉ាន់ព្រឹប្បិន្នាំ ខ្លួនក្រុង ខ្លួន ខ

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់ ទោបស្លានម៉ា នៅរៀបប្រខាន២នា ខ្លួំមុខ សមា ស្រាវាខានានា ប្រទានប្រទាន ប្រធាន ប្រធាន ប្រធាន ប្រធាន ប្រធាន ប្រធាន ប្រធានប្រធាន ប្រធាន ប្តី ប្រធាន ប្តិសិស្តិសិស្ត ប្រធាន ប្រធាន ប្រធាន ប្រធាន ប្រធាន ប្រធាន ប្រធាន ប្

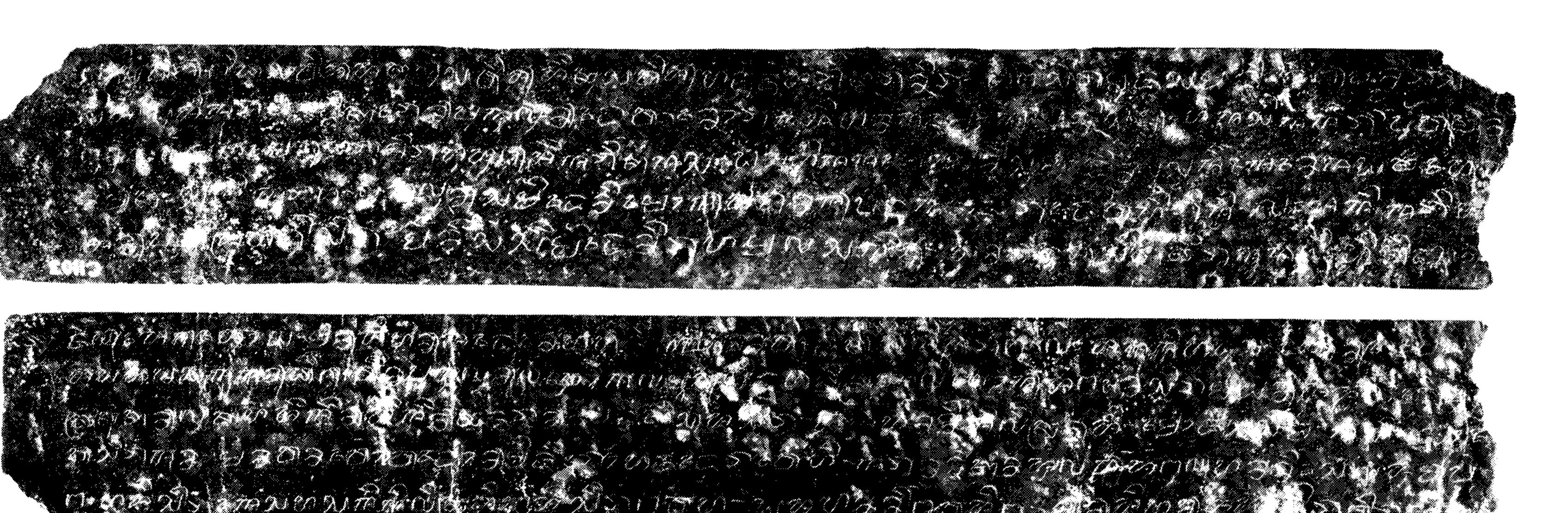


Plate 13. Watu Kura charter, OLD JAV 8 verso,

Plate 14. Baṇigrama charter. OLD JAV 9.

Plate 15. Siku Lalawa boundaries charter. OLD JAV 10 recto.

Plate 16. Siku Lalawa boundaries charter. OLD JAV 10 verso.

Plate 17. Pre-Islamic mythological tale. JAV 1.

CATALOGUE OF INDONESIAN MANUSCRIPTS

PART 2

OLD JAVANESE CHARTERS

JAVANESE, MALAY AND LAMPUNG MANUSCRIPTS

MADS LANGE'S BALINESE LETTERS

AND

OFFICIAL LETTERS IN INDONESIAN LANGUAGES

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