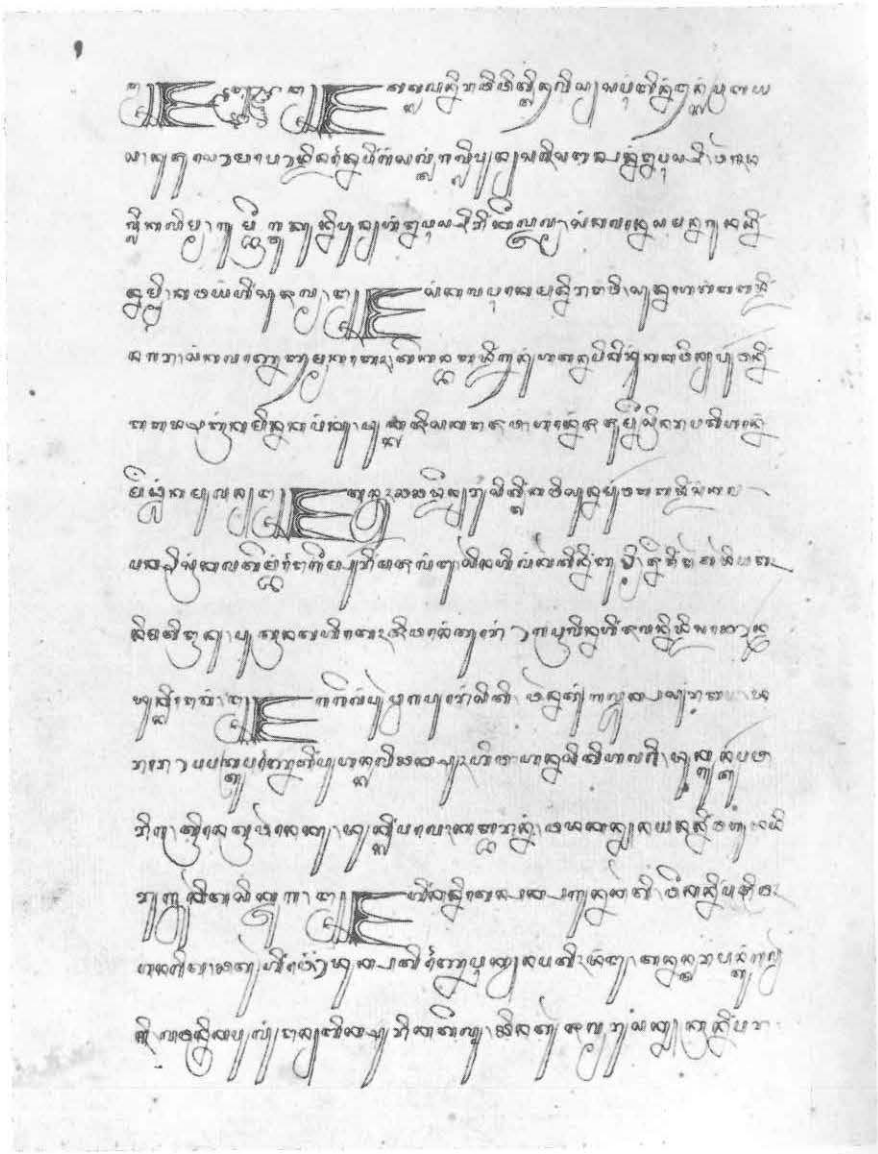


Babad ing Sangkala, f. 349v. Canto I:1–5. (*Courtesy India Office Library and Records*)

Modern Javanese Historical Tradition

A Study of an Original Kartasura Chronicle and Related Materials

by

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B: Java, Madura, and Bali
C: South Central Java

ABBREVIATIONS

AD	*Anno Domini*, the Christian era
AJ	*Anno Javanico*, The Javanese era
Batavia	As sender or recipient of a letter cited in the footnotes: Governor-General of the Dutch East India Company and Council of the Indies, Batavia
BEFEO	*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*
BKI	*Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*
BL	British Library (formerly British Museum), London
BTJ	W.L. Olthof (ed. and trans.). *Babad Tanah Djawi, in proza, Javaansche geschiedenis.* 2 vols. 's-Gravenhage, 1941
BTJ(BP)	Balai Pustaka. *Babad Tanah Jawi.* 31 vols. Batavia, 1939–41 (the Surakarta Major *Babad*)
DFT	Delft collection, Leiden University Library
dJ	J.K.J. de Jonge and M.L. van Deventer (eds.). *De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in Oost-Indië: Verzameling van onuitgegeven stukken uit het oud-koloniaal archief.* 16 vols. 's-Gravenhage, 1862–1909
H.XVII	The 'Heeren XVII', Directors of the Dutch East India Company, Amsterdam
IOL	India Office Library, London
KA . . . (OB . . .)	Used in citing documents from the Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague. 'KA' gives the number of the volume in the Koloniaal Archief series; 'OB' gives the year of the same volume in the series of Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren
KITLV	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden
LOr	Leiden University Library Oriental MS
NBS	Netherlands Bible Society collection, Leiden University Library
Ś	Śaka era
TBG	*Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde uitgegeven door het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*

VBG	*Verhandelingen van het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*
VKI	*Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*

INTRODUCTION

Modern Javanese historiography has been a subject of some debate for a considerable time. Two general schools of thought have emerged. One is represented by Professor C.C. Berg, who doubts the veracity of Javanese historical traditions and prefers to see these traditions as cultural phenomena to be understood within the context of the supernatural aspects of Javanese life. The other is represented most notably by Dr. H.J. de Graaf and Dr. Th.G.Th. Pigeaud, who tend to give a far greater presumption of factual accuracy to Javanese historical traditions. This book is not intended to settle the debate; its scope is very wide and, as with any such fundamental controversy, it is neither likely nor particularly desirable that all scholars should come to agreement. It will be clear from the discussion below, however, that this writer's views fall somewhere between the extremes of the argument. It is argued here that the Javanese chronicle studied in this volume and related Javanese materials show the existence of a strong tradition of accurate historical writing in the Mataram court at least until the later seventeenth century, but that thereafter, and particularly in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a notable decline of accuracy and increasing mythicization can be seen.

The debate on Modern Javanese historiography has been hampered by a shortage of published examples of Javanese chronicles. Much of it concerns the so-called Meinsma *Babad Tanah Jawi*, which is probably the least useful of the published texts for the kind of analysis it has been obliged to bear.[1] Most known Javanese chronicles are relatively recent in date. Until the discovery of the manuscript published here, no published or unpublished Javanese chronicle dating from before about AD 1770 was known.[2] Any analysis of the evolution of Javanese historiography was thus carried on in conditions approaching a documentary vacuum. The present book is therefore intended as a contribution to the study of Javanese historiography. The primary text upon which it is based

1 See M.C. Ricklefs, 'A consideration of three versions of the *Babad Tanah Djawi*, with excerpts on the fall of Madjapahit', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 35, pt. 2 (1972), pp. 285–315, especially pp. 286–9.

2 There are, of course, apparently historical texts in Old and Middle Javanese, all of which, however, exist only in later (mostly nineteenth century) copies.

is also an important historical source in its own right, and will be considered below as a source both for Javanese history and for Javanese historiography.

The manuscript edited and translated here is a *babad sangkala* (chronogram chronicle) numbered IOL Jav.36(B), in the India Office Library, London. There are many extant *babad sangkala* manuscripts; such texts give relatively succinct descriptions of events with chronograms (sets of words having numerical values) to date those events. The present manuscript of this genre is part of the collection of Javanese manuscripts made by Colin Mackenzie (1753?–1821) during his period of duty in Java from 1811 to 1813. It is untitled, but from the second line of Canto I:3 it appears that it may be called *Babad ing Sangkala* (Chronicle of the Chronograms). The manuscript was acquired at the British sack of the court of Yogyakarta in June 1812;[3] its existence was unknown until Professor D.E. Weatherbee discovered it while compiling a catalogue of part of Mackenzie's collection.[4] The chronogram at the beginning of the text uses a word which was later obsolete in Javanese chronograms,[5] and consequently Professor Weatherbee was unable to date the text and believed it to have been written sometime before AD 1769. Further study enabled the present writer to establish the date as AJ 1663/AD 1738. This date makes this manuscript the oldest surviving original copy of a Javanese chronicle so far known. Bound with this text is another much longer chronicle, IOL Jav. 36(A), which is undated but seems to be contemporaneous.[6] This text is discussed below as well.

The text of *Babad ing Sangkala* contains 253 stanzas (2177 lines) of Javanese verse and covers the period from AD 1478 to 1720. It is therefore large enough in size and covers a long enough period for significant conclusions to be drawn, without being too long to be a practical object for edition, translation, and publication. Because of the emphasis in the text upon the dating of events, one has a fairly tangible means of assessing the accuracy of its contents.

In 1972, this writer concluded that the text merited further study. Dr. S. Soebardi of the Australian National University agreed to help with the project, and a joint edition and translation were begun. Unfortunately, Dr. Soebardi did not have the opportunity to carry this work to completion. The present author is grateful to him for his work in transcribing and producing a rough translation of the first half of the text, but Dr. Soebardi bears no responsibility for the final version of the text and translation below.

The Commentary upon the text below may at times be of a rather specialist nature. It is presumed that readers are able to work with published Dutch

3 This event and its background are extensively described in P.B.R. Carey, 'Pangeran Dipanagara and the making of the Java War' (Unpublished D. Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1975), Ch. III.

4 Donald E. Weatherbee, 'An inventory of the Javanese paper manuscripts in the Mackenzie Collection, India Office Library, London, with a note on some additional Raffles MSS' (publication forthcoming).

5 See Appendix II.

6 See M.C. Ricklefs and P. Voorhoeve, *Indonesian manuscripts in Great Britain: A catalogue of manuscripts in Indonesian languages in British public collections* (Oxford, 1977), p. 62. On the dating of IOL Jav. 36(A), see pp. 165–6 below.

materials if they wish to follow some of the writer's arguments further. The Conclusions, however, are of a more general nature. Indeed, readers may find it useful to glance at the Conclusions to see the kinds of arguments which will be presented before studying the details in the Commentary. For the benefit of scholars whose acquaintance with the history of the Javanese is limited, a general Historical Background is provided.

Because of the problems of using three dating systems in this book (Ś, AJ, AD), most dates appear with the era indicated. In some sections, however, where the only years mentioned are AD, or where a year is accompanied by a month (January, February, etc.) showing that it can only be AD, this seemed unnecessary. Consequently, wherever a date appears without any indication of its era, it is AD. The Javanese dating system is a matter of considerable complexity. It is described in detail in Appendix I, with sufficient information to enable readers to check any of the present writer's date conversions. It is best to conceive of this system as a set of several indefinitely-repeating cycles, most of which are indivisible by one another, and which make the conjunction of elements upon any given day unique.

The author has, of course, had very considerable help from other scholars in preparing this book. Dr. Th.G.Th. Pigeaud and Prof. P.J. Zoetmulder, S.J., spent many hours in helping to improve the translation at several stages of revision, and both made invaluable comments upon the first draft of the entire book. Drs. Darusuprapta gave helpful advice on the transcription of the Javanese text. Prof. C.D. Cowan helped greatly in the revision of the first draft, and if the final version is at all intelligible to non-specialists it is largely due to his suggestions. Dr. H.J. de Graaf and Dr. P.B.R. Carey also provided much constructive criticism of the arguments in this volume. The present writer has sometimes rejected the advice he received, and some of those who have helped him would not wish it to seem as if they necessarily agree with his conclusions. Their help is gratefully acknowledged, but none of these friends bears any responsibility for the remaining inadequacies of this book. The publication of this volume has been made possible by the support of the Publications Committee of the School of Oriental and African Studies.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Java produced one of the major classical cultures of pre-modern Asia, but much of its history is poorly known. With few exceptions, the most important scholarly works on Javanese history have been published in Dutch, and the English-reading community is consequently even less aware of the history of Java than are those who read Dutch. The purpose of this Historical Background is to provide some basic framework of historical knowledge for those who wish to study the quite detailed arguments of this book, but lack a general background from which to begin.

The events studied in this book begin in the later fifteenth century. By that time the Hindu-Buddhist states of Java had already recorded their greatest achievements. For a millenium or so, Javanese aristocrats, courtiers, literati, and men of religion had been studying and adapting the fruits of Indian civilization. They created a culture which was truly their own: much inspired by Indian culture but nonetheless Javanese as well. They produced a great body of classical literature in Old Javanese, and a political tradition which sustained a series of major states of great sophistication. The last of these states was Majapahit, which was founded in 1292 and reached its height in the fourteenth century. Its fall is the first episode studied in this book. The history of these pre-Islamic states contains many gaps caused by the loss of evidence, but is nonetheless better known than the history of the fifteenth and sixteenth century kingdoms.

In ways which are still obscure, and may always remain so, the Islamic faith began to gain adherents among the Javanese while the Hindu-Buddhist state still prospered. The first clear evidence of Muslim Javanese survives from the area of Majapahit, and from the fourteenth century. But the detailed history of the spread of Islam is most obscure. It is clear in general terms that Islam spread from West to East through the Indonesian archipelago, generally following the main trading routes. By the end of the thirteenth century the northern part of Sumatra had Muslim rulers; in the fourteenth century evidence of indigenous Muslims was left in Trĕngganu (north-east Malaya) and East Java; in the fifteenth century the great Malay entrepot of Malacca became Islamized, and there were Muslims in Brunei, in several of the eastern islands of Indonesia, and in the southern Philippines.

The process of winning adherents to Islam was long and complicated and is still, indeed, under way. It had no clear origins, spread for no single reason which can now be ascertained, and followed no simple route of expansion. The progress of the new faith is to be likened more to the erratic streams and rivulets which follow a monsoon downpour than to a steadily-rolling ocean wave of religiosity. And like the green land on which the monsoons fall, after the water has flowed to the sea or been channelled by man for his agriculture, much of the religious environment remained fundamentally unchanged by Islam.

In Java, the version of Islam which spread from the fourteenth century onward was mystical. It was accommodated into the pre-Islamic religious heritage of Java, and produced a religious culture which Javanese considered to be Muslim but at its philosophical roots was more Hindu-Buddhist than anything else. This quasi-Islamic religious tradition became the dominant religion of Java, and remains so to the present. In the twentieth century a reform of Javanese Islam has made very considerable progress but still can claim only a minority standing. More to the point for the purposes of the present book, this quasi-Islamic tradition was dominant at the Javanese courts of the 'Islamic' period. In ostensibly Islamized court circles, the pre-Islamic cultural heritage retained great vitality. Muslim works were studied, but so were the pre-Islamic classics; the Prophet was honoured but no more than, and probably much less than, the non-Islamic cult of the Goddess of the Southern Ocean.

Javanese historical traditions describe a transmission of sovereignty, evidenced by supernatural events, from the last Hindu-Buddhist state at Majapahit to the first Islamized state at Dĕmak, a north coast trading city. What actually happened when Majapahit ceased to be the main central state of Java in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries is exceedingly obscure, and is discussed in some detail in the Commentary below. Whatever the true course of events, it was unquestionably more complicated than the later Javanese chronicles depicted it.

By the early sixteenth century the Hindu-Buddhist state in the interior no longer exercised hegemony over a series of substantial north coast trading states. These areas arose and prospered as essential links in the international Muslim-dominated trading chain which reached from the shores of the Mediterranean to the Moluccas of eastern Indonesia, the famous 'Spice Islands'. Within the archipelago, this trade was fuelled by bulk trade in Indian textiles and Javanese rice, and was largely carried on in ships crewed by Malays and Javanese.

The internal history of Java in the sixteenth century is largely unknown and probably unknowable. It seems reasonable to suppose that the century saw much confusion and warfare among petty states and the continuing adoption of Islam by the Javanese. Dĕmak seems to have enforced an extensive but temporary hegemony in the first half of the century. By the latter decades of the century, new power-bases were apparently created in the interior of Central Java, first at Pajang (in the area of Kartasura, and later Surakarta) and then at Mataram (in the area of Yogyakarta). The rise of Mataram as the end of the sixteenth century approached coincided with the appearance of the Dutch in the

archipelago. It is only because of the availability of Dutch records, for all their manifold problems, that Javanese history now begins to emerge from the obscurity of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The Dutch came in search of spices, as had the Portuguese nearly a century before them. But they came with better ships, better guns, better organization, and a healthier degree of sanguinary determination. They were to make an impact upon Java which the Portuguese had never made, and which no other European power was to have in South East Asia until the nineteenth century. Although the spices were primarily to be had in the Moluccas, the Dutch were drawn also to Java. Pepper was to be had in West Java, rice along the north coast, and the northwest coast of Java seemed to offer the 'rendezvous' which the Dutch sought, a safe and defensible site for their headquarters.

The first Dutch expeditions, from 1595 to 1602, are described as the 'wild voyages', open competition among various trading companies. In 1602, however, the United East India Company (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) was created. It was chartered by the Netherlands States-General as a quasi-sovereign body, with powers to enlist personnel, establish fortresses, wage war, and conclude treaties. In 1619 the Company conquered the West Javanese trading town of Jayakĕrta (Jakarta), renamed it Batavia, and made it the headquarters for the Company's far-flung trading operations in Asia. The Dutch were to govern there, except for interregnum rule by the British in the early nineteenth century and the Japanese in World War II, for 330 years. Now began the conversion of the Company from a sea-borne trading company to a territorial power based in Java.

The establishment of a territorial base in Java inexorably led the Dutch into involvement in Javanese affairs. Batavia must be defended and it must be fed, supplied with timber for ship-building, and so on. The city mushroomed in size as Chinese and Indonesians responded to the opportunities represented by this major centre of trade and settlement. Europeans were always a small minority among its population.

On balance, Dutch involvement in Java was to a great extent a catastrophe for all concerned, excepting individuals who made great (and usually illicit) fortunes, and modern historians. The economy of the Netherlands initially received some stimulus from Dutch expansion overseas. But the Company never made a profit from its multifarious commercial activities in Java, largely because the military costs incurred far exceeded commercial returns or the value of the products which were acquired. The catastrophe for the Javanese kingdom was perhaps even greater, as will be seen below. Only for present-day historians was Batavia a profitable enterprise, for the documents which flowed from the Dutch presence in Java are a rich and indispensable source for the history of the Javanese.

While the Dutch were establishing their headquarters in Batavia, the greatest Javanese empire since Majapahit was being forged from a base in Central Java. The Mataram dynasty was establishing what was probably the longest, most

powerful, and richest dynastic line in the history of Java. The rich rice-lands of the interior were being linked by force of arms to the prosperous trading states of the coast, an alliance of economic power which, had it succeeded, would probably never before have been equalled. But the price of this unification was to be enormous. Much of the coast was devastated in this warfare, rice cultivation was disrupted, and the loss of life can hardly be guessed. In the course of its conquests, Mataram probably devastated much of the fuits of victory.

Mataram is said in Javanese chronicles to have been founded by Ki Pamanahan (Kyai Agĕng Mataram); his son Panĕmbahan Senapati Ingalaga (d. ca. 1601) is described as the first of the great Mataram conquerers. The true unifier of the Mataram empire and its greatest ruler and general, however, was Senapati's grandson Sultan Agung (1613–46). In a series of campaigns he conquered the interior states to the east of Mataram as far as the 'Eastern Salient' (Balambangan) and the north coast states. By 1620 only the kingdom of Surabaya stood against him in the East. In the course of these campaigns minor disputes and more major clashes of arms occurred between Javanese and the Dutch who were attempting to acquire supplies on the coast. When the Dutch established Batavia in 1619, they became a hindrance to Agung's designs to rule all of Java. But for Agung, Surabaya had priority.

For five years (1620–5) Agung assaulted Surabaya in annual campaigns, finally damming the river Brantas and starving the fortified city into submission. These efforts were interrupted only in 1622 when Agung conquered Surabaya's ally Sukadana in Kalimantan (Borneo) and in 1624 when he took the island of Madura. In Madura he installed the princely line which after 1678 was to use the title Cakraningrat. When Surabaya fell in 1625, East Javanese resistance to Mataram was broken. The animosities, rival dynastic interests, and probable differences in economic structure between interior Mataram and its coastal conquests were suppressed by Agung's armies. They were not, however, abolished as factors in Javanese history. Coastal and East Javanese resistance to Central Javanese hegemony continued until the middle of the eighteenth century when the Dutch East India Company took control of these areas.

Sultan Agung's empire was created by force of arms, and held together by his apparent invincibility. But it was a fragile structure. What could most threaten it was a military defeat for Agung, and he was soon to suffer a major defeat. He turned his attention to Batavia, and in 1628–9 twice besieged it and twice failed. His armies failed to dam the river above Batavia, a tactic which had brought success at Surabaya, and the city withstood the Javanese assaults. Javanese losses were heavy. The second siege ended in a trail of dead men and buffaloes, abandoned carts, and a mounting mass of debris as the Mataram army disintegrated.

The myth of Agung's invincibility was destroyed. The Mataram empire was without its most important buttress, and cracks began to appear in the facade. Brutal campaigns crushed resistance in West Java in 1631–6. Even more dangerous (although more obscure) resistance seems also to have arisen in the

heart of the kingdom; Agung's response was apparently a massacre of the rebels, who had perhaps been led by mystical teachers. About 1636 Agung also conquered Giri, a centre of religious study and a refuge for more than one of Agung's defeated opponents.

The brutal and costly campaigns went on; Agung turned east and again raided the eastern coastal states and Balambangan. In 1635 his armies conquered Balambangan but were then driven out by Balinese forces; the same events occurred in 1636, but before being driven out Mataram devastated Balambangan. From 1636 to 1640 Mataram campaigns finally established control over the area. When Agung died early in 1646 his empire was reestablished, but it was a fragile construction basically held together by the threat of defeat and devastation.

What sort of a man Agung had been is hard to know. He was certainly intelligent, a great general, an astute manipulator of men, and a ruthless and brutal king. Dutch missions which met him in the 1620s described him as having a cruel countenance and a keen interest in learning about the new European factors in the Javanese environment. They say that he 'gazed about like a lion', a simile which seems the best summation of the man. He was the king, and what he ruled was a political jungle.

Agung's son and successor Amangkurat I (1646–77) was, like his father, an archetypal Javanese monarch. But whereas Agung was the archetype of the great conqueror, Amangkurat I was that of the tyrant. During his reign he attempted to centralize royal administration over the far-flung Mataram empire. But poor communications between widely-scattered centres of population, traditions of resistance to Mataram hegemony, differing economic interests between the inland monarchy and the coastal districts which sought their prosperity in international trade, and the very tyranny of the king, eventually brought the empire to ruin. Amangkurat I's attempt to unify the state split it asunder.

The most prominent administrative practice of the king was murder: murder of his opponents, his family-members, his officials. By such means he sought to centralize administrative control, to centralize finances through new taxation systems, and to destroy independent power centres and influential persons. The highpoint of this attempt was reached in the 1650s. But the king was defeated by basic principles of the Javanese political environment. A king could only construct armies, wage campaigns, and administer districts by depending upon a consensus of other powerful men who had direct control over population centres and avenues of communication. There were several ways in which support could be won, the most prominent being by a demonstration of martial success which made it unwise for sensible men not to climb aboard the imperial bandwagon. This had been Agung's means. But this support could not be won by murdering the men who could give it, or denying them the direct control over local resources which made it more worthwhile to support than to resist the monarchy. This was Amangkurat I's method. His tyranny led to a collapse of elite support; this led to the isolation of the monarchy, which meant an inability to raise any

sizeable army, to command it, or to entrust the command to anyone else; this led to favourable circumstances for local resistance to the monarchy to arise again. In the end the monarchy itself collapsed in the midst of the greatest rebellion of the seventeenth century.

Relations between Mataram and the Dutch initially improved in Amangkurat I's reign, but only served to exacerbate the internal tensions within the Javanese state. Dutch trade, especially in rice and timber, was centred on Japara and other north coastal ports. This probably brought increased profits to these coastal cities, and seems only to have increased the king's determination that these profits should be redirected to his exclusive benefit. When a series of measures failed to secure absolute royal domination over the wealth of the north coast, the king apparently decided instead to destroy the coast. The ports were closed to trade, then reopened, then closed again, and so on from 1652 to 1661. The king meanwhile increased his pressure upon the Company to observe a vassal relationship towards him, and to supply him with money. This idea of the Dutch as a source of cash was ultimately to bring a solution to the confused triangle of interests among the court, the coast, and the Company. From the 1670s to the 1740s a compromise would emerge in which the coast was joined to the Company in return for Dutch cash payments to the court: the court would have an income free from administrative problems, and the Dutch and the coast their trade free from royal interference.

But this compromise was not to emerge until after Amangkurat I had died. In the later years of his reign the coast was reduced to administrative and economic chaos, the court and the kingdom were sundered by intrigues and assassinations, and the king began to show signs of madness. The clouds of rebellion gathered. About 1670–71, the crown prince (later Amangkurat II) conspired against his father with a Central Javanese religious leader named Raden or Pangeran Kajoran, who introduced him to the Madurese prince Trunajaya. A conspiracy was sealed: Trunajaya would lead a rebellion and, upon its success, the crown prince would be installed as the new king.

Trunajaya's rebellion began as a local take-over in Madura in 1671. It was linked to the free-booting activities of Makasarese in Java by 1675, and then broke out in earnest as a rebellion of East Java and the eastern part of the north coast against the dynasty. In 1676 the main Mataram force, which the crown prince was obliged to command, was defeated at Gogodog (north-east Java) and the fate of Amangkurat I was sealed. Many Javanese dignitaries now abandoned their allegiance to the king, no doubt gratefully, and joined the rebellion. As Trunajaya marched towards ever more certain victory, he abandoned whatever dedication he may have had to the interests of the crown prince and took royal titles for himself. The crown prince seemed about to go down to defeat with his father, but a *deus ex machina* in the form of the Dutch East India Company was to reverse the pattern of events.

At the end of 1676, the Company concluded that its own interests would be best served by some form of intervention to support the Mataram dynasty.

Trunajaya's rebels had begun to seem anti-Dutch as well as anti-Mataram, so these two erstwhile enemies and fair-weather friends were now joined together against a common opposition. In February 1677 Amangkurat I and the Company agreed that the latter would provide military aid to the former, but the king would bear the whole cost of the war effort.

The Mataram-Company alliance initially aided only the rebels. It drove still more Javanese to prefer Trunajaya's side, and in mid-1677 they conquered the Mataram court. Amangkurat I fled northwest towards the coast but died before reaching it. His son, Trunajaya's onetime fellow-conspirator, became Amangkurat II (1677–1703) and promptly asked the Dutch to win back his kingdom for him. Trunajaya meanwhile took the Mataram treasury, by means of which the Dutch had hoped to be repaid for their military efforts, and withdrew to his headquarters at Kadhiri. Amangkurat II's brother Pangeran Pugĕr (later Pakubuwana I) then retook the Mataram court and gave himself royal titles.

Considerable confusion attended the first Dutch military campaign into the interior of Java, the defeat of Trunajaya, and the negotiations and conflict between Amangkurat II and Pangeran Pugĕr, who eventually submitted. But by the end of 1680 Trunajaya was dead, a new court was established at Kartasura (near present-day Surakarta), Pugĕr had been driven out of Mataram, and a new age in Javanese history had truly begun. The involvement of the Dutch had produced a fundamental distortion of Javanese political life: now a king who could not command sufficient Javanese support to remain upon the throne could nonetheless be kept in place by Dutch arms. The Dutch were quite incapable of controlling all of Java on behalf of the king, but they could prevent anyone else controlling it in his place.

The Dutch position now looked strong, but in fact was not. They were to receive regular shipments of rice, and were to have Samarang as security for the repayment of their costs. The incomes of the coastal ports were to go towards this repayment, and the Dutch were given a monopoly on the sale of opium and textiles in Java. But this strength was illusory for it ultimately depended upon Amangkurat II, and it was soon discovered that he was no friend of the Company. The rice was not shipped, the war costs were not repaid, the incomes of the ports were not turned over, Samarang was not ceded, and after the wars the Javanese were too impoverished to pay Dutch prices for opium and textiles. By 1685 the Company calculated that the king's debt stood at 1,540,000 *reals*, over five times the amount estimated to have been in the Mataram treasury when it was lost to Trunajaya. Dutch warehouses were meanwhile bursting with unsaleable opium and textiles. The cycle of increasing involvement in Java and the march towards bankruptcy had begun for the Company.

The fragility of the Dutch position was vividly illustrated in 1686, when the Dutch ambassador François Tack was sent to Kartasura to renegotiate the king's debt and to settle various other matters, including most notably to arrest Surapati. The latter was a Balinese adventurer who had risen from slavery in Batavia to become head of a robber-band, then briefly an officer in the Com-

pany's military service, and finally the deadly enemy of the Dutch. Of all the hatreds of the later seventeenth century, few had the intensity of that between the Company and Surapati. With the help of the king, Surapati attacked the Dutch at Kartasura and slew Tack and over seventy other Dutchmen. Nearly 250 remaining Dutchmen held out in their garrison post at the court for six weeks and were then allowed to withdraw to the coast. The Company's alliance with Amangkurat II that had begun in the Company's avarice and the king's need now ended in the king's duplicity and the Company's blood.

Because communications between the Dutch and the court hardly existed from 1686 to 1703, the later years of Amangkurat II's reign are rather obscure. He seems progressively to have lost control of his kingdom. Surapati carved out an independent empire in East Java; at the court, intrigues between the crown prince and his uncle Pangeran Pugĕr spread. The Dutch, too, persevered in the process of falling apart. Their military forces were weak, their administration corrupt and chaotic. From 1701 to 1704 it was not even clear who was Governor-General, as the intrigues of Batavia began to look rather like those of the Javanese court.

In November 1703, Amangkurat II died. His son succeeded as Amangkurat III (1703–8). But after a series of manoeuvres and incidents, in March 1704 Pangeran Pugĕr fled to the coast and asked the Dutch to recognize him as king. The Dutch had meanwhile become convinced that Amangkurat III was as much their enemy and even more Surapati's friend than his father had been. Cakraningrat II of Madura urged the Dutch to support Pugĕr; since he later showed no great deference to Pugĕr his support was perhaps motivated by the idea that Amangkurat III and Surapati stood in the way of his plans for a Madurese empire in East Java and the eastern part of the north coast. The Dutch were reassured by Cakraningrat II's assurances that Pugĕr had great support among the Javanese, but found that it took until 1705 to compel the coastal districts to demonstrate their affection. Several coastal districts asked to be freed of involvement in court politics by being made dependencies of the Company, but the Dutch were not yet ready to contemplate this. Finally, in August 1705 Pugĕr, now titled Susuhunan Pakubuwana I (1704–19), marched to Kartasura with an army of Madurese, coastal Javanese, and an ethnically-mixed Company force. Amangkurat III fled his court and went east to join with Surapati.

The main fighting now moved to the east of Java. These campaigns were deadly enough as military exercises, but the havoc worked by epidemic disease among the troops was even greater. The campaign of 1706 was a failure for the forces of Pakubuwana I and the Company, except that Surapati was killed. In 1707 they took Pasuruhan, however, and forced Amangkurat III and Surapati's sons to move to the mountains of Malang. Surapati's descendants held out in this area until the 1770s, but the defeated king had a less happy future. In 1708 Amangkurat III came to the Dutch to negotiate, was arrested, and ended his life in exile in Ceylon.

Pakubuwana I had to repay the Dutch for their assistance, of course. By a treaty of 1705, amplified in 1709, all of the dynasty's existing debts were

cancelled. They were replaced by a recognition of the boundaries of Batavia and cession to the Company of all of the West Javanese Priyangan highlands (which the Dutch rapidly developed for their new crop, coffee), as well as Cirĕbon, the eastern half of Madura, and Samarang. The Dutch could erect fortifications wherever they wished in Java, could buy unlimited quantities of rice, and retained their monopolies in opium and textiles. Furthermore, they were to be presented with over a thousand tons of rice (800 lasts) annually for 25 years, and were to have a garrison at the court the full costs of which were to be borne by the king. In 1709 further compulsory deliveries of rice, timber, indigo, and coffee were stipulated.

The Company was now moving from trying to cover its costs by demanding cash, to stipulating the compulsory delivery of tropical produce. A primitive prototype of the nineteenth-century Cultivation System (*cultuurstelsel*) was being created. The profits of this system in the nineteenth century depended upon exploiting the vast labour pool of the Javanese population. In the early eighteenth century, however, the population of Java was probably no more than one-eighth of what it was by 1890 (by when it was approximately 23 million). There was no more a surplus of labour than there was of cash and the Dutch conseqently did not get what the king signed over to them. By 1723 the rice deliveries were over eight years in arrears and the payments for garrison costs over nine years. The Company's finances were going rapidly downhill. It only made profits consistently outside Indonesia (especially in Japan, Surat, and Persia), and consistently incurred losses in its Indonesian operations, especially in Java. In the second and third decades of the eighteenth century, its revenues from Java covered less than 15 per cent of costs in some years. In the peaceful year 1724, the profit of the Javanese operations soared to a meagre 5 per cent (approximately).

The effect upon Java of this primitive Cultivation System was baleful. The Javanese villagers had little incentive to produce crops. The Company had a monopoly of purchase in most cases; the prices it paid, when indeed it paid them at all, were low and were often kept by Javanese officials for their own benefit. Heavy burdens in some areas led to mass emigration and left regional officials with demands for vast quantities of produce and too few subjects to grow them. The north coast was very badly deforested as timber was cut and not replanted. The poverty of the Javanese which first arose from war was now increased, and from 1705 Dutch trade in imported textiles was nearly dead. Only the smuggling trade with Arabs and other Europeans had any attraction for the Javanese. The political tensions always present in the Javanese state were also exacerbated. Pakubuwana I, sitting in his court in Kartasura, signed over to the Dutch vast quantities of produce and then told the officials of his outer districts to deliver them. Their reluctance to comply was not reduced by an apparent sense of the illegitimacy of the king.

The kingdom over which so much blood had been shed fell gently apart again. East Java refused to recognize Mataram authority; Madurese power expanded in the east; the Balinese moved into Balambangan; Surapati's family

governed Malang and surrounding areas; the north coast now saw ever more clearly that its salvation lay in complete reliance upon the Dutch Company.

In 1717 war broke out. A regional rebellion based on Surabaya soon involved Madurese and Balinese as well. By 1718 the major population centres around Madiun, lying in the next major river valley to the east of Kartasura, openly rebelled. When the king sent his son Dipanagara to subdue them, he rebelled as well. In 1719 Pakubuwana I died, and yet another rebellion was launched by his sons Purbaya and Blitar against their brother Amangkurat IV. The chaos was as complete as ever. The dynasty's hopes for stable rule and the Company's for profit proved to be as insubstantial as the dawn mist over the rice fields. It is in the midst of these wars that the *Babad ing Sangkala* text studied below breaks off.

The reign of Amangkurat IV (1719–26) deserves little attention here. By 1723 loyal Javanese and Dutch arms had defeated, killed, or captured the most important rebels, at the usual cost to both the Company and the Javanese. The king observed a greater obsequiousness towards the Company than his predecessors, being even more dependent than they upon Dutch support. By 1726 the king was very ill, Madura was refusing to recognize him, and war again seemed imminent. Amid rumours that he had been poisoned, Amangkurat IV died and was succeeded by Pakubuwana II, the greatest catastrophe of them all. It was in his reign that the *Babad ing Sangkala* manuscript was written.

Pakubuwana II (1726–49) was the last king to reign in Kartasura. In his reign the collapse into chaos of the Javanese state was completed. The Company also reached the conclusions it had been attempting to avoid since 1677: that its interests lay only in the north coastal districts and that it was folly to try to impose stability by guaranteeing the positions of monarchs who had insufficient Javanese support to stand on their own.

A major renegotiation of the treaty relationship between the Company and Pakubuwana II was completed in 1733. Arrears in payment under previous arrangements were rescheduled and the king promised enormous payments in cash and rice to settle the dynasty's debt. But only ten years later it was estimated that the total cash equivalent of the arrears under the new arrangements had reached 2,000,000 *reals*. In the mid-1730s, the Company's revenues from Java covered just over 10 per cent of its costs there.

The court was a spider's web of intrigue, into which the Company was inevitably drawn. Several of the most influential court conspirators ended up being exiled by the Company. By 1738 Madura had again withdrawn recognition of the king and asked to be placed under Dutch sovereignty. The Dutch continued to press the king to fulfill his contractual obligations to them, he pressed his subjects to comply, and they progressively questioned the wisdom of supporting him as king. Substantial population movements seem to have taken place as Javanese villagers attempted to escape exactions laid upon them, and brigandage spread.

In 1740 a massacre of the Chinese residents of Batavia broke out. Probably

about 10,000 Chinese were killed; those who escaped the holocaust joined together into an army which overran the Dutch coastal posts at Rĕmbang and Juwana and very nearly took their headquarters at Samarang. This 'Chinese War' (1740–3) spelled the end of the unhappy Dutch-Javanese relationship which had grown up since 1704. Anti-Dutch and anti-Kartasura Javanese soon joined in the war and the Madurese grasped the opportunity for intervention. The court itself wavered, and in 1741 the Dutch garrison there was attacked; all those who refused to accept conversion to Islam were killed.

The convoluted military and political events of the 1740s need not be described in detail here. In June 1742 Kartasura was conquered by the Chinese and the Javanese who fought with them. Pakubuwana II fled into the arms of the Company, who accepted this reconversion to friendship on several conditions, most notably that the whole of the coast would be placed under the Company's jurisdiction. The Dutch were militarily unable to do more than defend their precarious position at Samarang, however, and it was the Madurese who defeated the Javanese rebels. In December 1742 Cakraningrat IV of Madura conquered Kartasura: the Madurese attempt to take control of the Javanese state which had begun seventy years before had at last succeeded. But because the Madurese felt that their future lay also in alliance with the Dutch, Cakraningrat IV allowed Pakubuwana II (whom he would have preferred to see executed) to return to the court. The 'Chinese War' now became the 'Madurese War' (1743–5), which ended in defeat for Cakraningrat IV and his Surabayan and Balinese allies. Cakraningrat IV fled to Banjarmasin, where he was captured and thence exiled to the Cape of Good Hope.

The years from 1743 to 1746 were a period of major transition. Three particularly important developments took place. First, the Dutch took control over all of Madura, Balambangan, Surabaya, Rĕmbang, Japara, the other lesser ports, and a strip of land running the whole length of the coast. From these territories they demanded agricultural deliveries, especially rice, which were more than 1900 per cent increased over the original demands from those areas in 1709. Instead of demanding cash from the Javanese monarch, the Dutch now paid the court 20,000 *reals* annually as rent for the coast. The Dutch were now irretrievably locked to the north coast, but the potential profits of this were soon destroyed by yet more war. Second, Pakubuwana II abandoned the battered court of Kartasura in 1745 and established his new court at Surakarta, which still stands. And finally, the last great war of the eighteenth century began in 1746 when the king's brother Pangeran Mangkubumi rebelled.

In 1749 Mangkubumi was proclaimed ruler by his followers, and by 1755 the Dutch recognized that although they could prevent the final defeat of the king in Surakarta (by then Pakubuwana III, 1749–88) they could not put down the rebellions. They and Surakarta recognized Mangkubumi as Sultan Hamĕngkubuwana I (1749–92), and Central Java was partitioned between Surakarta and Mangkubumi's new kingdom of Yogyakarta. By 1757 the last major rebel had been accommodated. The Dutch thereafter concentrated their activities upon

the north coast and their impending bankruptcy. Central Java enjoyed what was almost certainly the longest period of generally peaceful conditions (1757–1825) since the fall of Majapahit.

The texts which are compared with *Babad ing Sangkala* in the historiographical discussions below were written in the years after the mid-eighteenth century. From ca. 1755 to 1808, in Yogyakarta there was a restoration of the Javanese state, relatively free of European or non-Javanese Indonesian intervention. There were, however, great and fundamental problems in this period, which have been considered in this writer's study *Jogjakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi*. From 1808 to 1825 renewed European intervention and the Javanese monarchs themselves again brought the state to catastrophe, and the attempted restoration of the pre-1808 order represented by the Java War (1825–30) was defeated by European arms. After 1830 Central Java became, for the first time in its history, truly a colonial territory. Massive exploitation of its agricultural and labour resources was imposed, and for the first time the Dutch saw a profit. Indeed, the Dutch domestic economy was floated upon the returns from Java. The history of the Javanese people in this period has been very little studied, but seems to be dominated by the tragedies of poverty for the villagers and corruption (financial and otherwise) for their elites.

What the effects may have been of the turbulent history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries upon Javanese culture and perceptions of the past is one of the concerns of the Commentary and Conclusions below. In the Commentary it is seen that the *Babad ing Sangkala* manuscript of 1738 is an important historical source, with a remarkably high degree of accuracy, but that the later eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth century manuscripts show a significant decline in the Javanese historical tradition. In the Conclusions it is suggested that there may also have been a loss of the classical Old Javanese literary heritage in this period. Some previously-held views about the history of Javanese literature seem therefore to stand in need of reconsideration and revision. In particular, one of the most fundamental ideas of Javanese cultural history, that there was a Literary Renaissance in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is shown to be unproved and, on the evidence considered in this study, unlikely to have occurred.

INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXT AND TRANSLATION

This text and translation are not furnished with the extensive notes customary in philological editions of texts. This is partly because it deals with only one manuscript, so that the question of variant readings does not arise. A few translation points are, however, discussed in the notes to the Commentary. It is normal in studies of Javanese verse for scholars to disagree with one another's translations, and there will undoubtedly be objections to some of the translations below. There are usages found in this text which seem unusual by later standards but which seem to have been normal in Javanese in AD 1738; the translation of these has naturally caused some difficulty. The analysis of the text, however, depends largely on the relationship between events and dates, and objections to details of the translation are not likely to alter this relationship.

Emendations to the text are based either upon the text itself (e.g. the order of dates or the requirements of the metre) or in a few cases upon parallel passages in the manuscripts LOr 4097 and NBS 87 (xiii) (see Appendix III). In particular, the missing words in Canto I:7 and the missing lines in Canto I:72 and Canto IV:38 have been restored on the basis of the parallel passages in LOr 4097/NBS 87 (xiii). Where lines are missing elsewhere, the LOr 4097/NBS 87 (xiii) text was of no help. *Babad ing Sangkala* is misbound; the order of the text is restored here, the original foliation being noted in the margins of the text.

Anything added to the text of the manuscript is enclosed in square brackets; e.g. *Ja[wa]* means that *wa* is omitted in the manuscript. Anything found in the text which should be omitted for a correct reading (often because of the metre) is enclosed in parentheses; e.g. *jalma(h)* means that *jalma* is correct but an erroneous final *h* has been written in the manuscript. Folio-divisions in the manuscript are indicated by /.

The transcription system is that proposed by the Lĕmbaga Bahasa in Yogyakarta in 1973, with the addition of *ĕ* to indicate /ə/ (*pĕpĕt*). Consonants have the value they have in English (approximately) except for *c* which represents English 'ch' as in 'chair'. The characters formerly written *ḍ* and *ṭ* are now written as *dh* and *th*.

In the translation, chronograms are translated (necessarily rather freely in some cases) like the rest of the text, but are placed in quotation marks so that

readers can identify them. Chronograms are converted to Javanese dates and Javanese dates to the Western calendar within square brackets. The elements of a Javanese date within such brackets are those which are consistent and correct (which is not, of course, to say that the date is historically accurate). Thus, in Canto I:48 is found a date in which the *mangsa* is apparently wrong; consequently the *mangsa* is omitted from the square brackets.

TEXT

Canto I [Dhandhanggula]

1. tatkalanira wiwit tinulis *f. 349 v.*
sarĕng binangun kang Prabayasa
nuju Soma-Pon dinane
ping gangsal tanggalipun
sasi Saban pan anglĕrĕsi
warsa Dal ing Kalima
Gumbrĕg wukunipun
anglĕrĕsi ringkĕl Jalma
sangkalane samana gunaning nami
kawayang ing sujalma

2. sangkala rĕke manira ngawi
sun aetang Babad ing Nagara
Sangkalane Buma [*sic; i.e.* bumi] kabeh
tĕkan Babad ing Gunung
atanapi kidung kakawin
purwaning Babad Sabrang
ka[ng] minaka pangkung [*sic; i.e.* panggung]
duk Khaji Saka ngajawa
aneng Ja[wa] jumnĕng Sri Narapati
aneng Mĕdhang Kamulan

TRANSLATION

Canto I

1. When [this work] was written
it was at the same time as the Prabayasa was reconstructed.
The day was Monday-Pon,
the date was the fifth,
indeed the month was Saban,
the year was Dal, the [*mangsa* was] Kalima,
the *wuku* was Gumbrĕg,
which happened to be the *ringkĕl* Jalma;
the chronogram then was 'the excellent qualities of names
were played upon the screen by men' [5 Saban, *mangsa* Kalima, *wuku* Gumbrĕg, Dal AJ 1663/17–18 Nov. 1738].

2. The chronograms which I have composed
I list: [those in] the 'Chronicle of the Kingdom',
'The Chronograms of all the Lands',
and the 'Chronicle of the Mountains',
and in *kidungs* and *kakawins*,
and in the beginning of the 'Overseas Chronicle'
in which the stage-setting was regarded as
the time when Aji Saka came to Java;
in Java he became ruler
in Mĕdhang Kamulan.

3. tan wruh cacadĕn rungsit ing kawi
sun amurwa Babad ing Sangkala
paksi srangkala tĕmbange
gĕmpur ing Majalangu
sirna ilang kartining bumi
jnĕng ing Arta Dirya
bahni mati ngranu
putra Nata Iteh Jiwa
neng turongga pralina ing jalanidi
sacondra duk ingetang

4. Gagĕlang purwa gapureng siti
warna tunggal duk pa-Surabaya
dara ro papat rupane
ing Puhan kali[h] caksuh
i[ng] wahana siti alagi
duk guntur pa-Wariga
tri netra warneku
duk ing Paleh kabaranang
wadakanya nayananing waudadi
rug wukir tasik juga

5. ing Kaniten pakpa [*sic; i.e.* paksa] guna karti
wĕkaning Pathi wahana gita
catur ing wong duk patine
Rĕkyana Patih dangu
tan antara pan tunggal warsi
lawan ri Kapulungan
biksu rika tĕlu
cinatur jalma rusaknya
kraning para / satriya kasangeng api *f. 350 r.*
wus rinumpakeng surat

3. I am ignorant, so let there be criticism, of the hazards of literary language.
I begin the 'Chronicle of the Chronograms'
in Dhandhanggula metre.
The destruction of Majapahit was
when 'disappeared, gone, was the prosperity of the world' [Ś 1400/Mar.1478–Feb.1479].
The reign of Arta Dirya
was when 'the fire was extinguished in water, and
the son' [Ś 1403/Mar.1481–Feb.1482] of the king Iteh Jiwa [Toh Jiwa?]
'upon a horse, died in the sea
in one month' [Ś 1407/Mar.1485–Feb.1486]; thus was [the chronogram] calculated.

4. In Gagĕlang, it began when 'the gateway on earth
had one appearance' [Ś 1419/Mar.1497–Feb.1498]. The affair of Surabaya was
when 'two doves had four appearances' [Ś 1421/Mar.1499–Feb.1500].
In Puhan, 'the two magicians
went their way upon the earth' [Ś 1422/Mar.1500–Feb.1501]. Just then
when the affair of Wariga broke out [?]
'three eyes were of that colour' [Ś 1423/Mar.1501–Feb.1502].
When Paleh [Paloh?] was burned
there was 'knowledge of the countenance of the sea' [Ś (1)423/Mar.1501–Feb. 1502];
mountains collapsed, there was nought but sea.

5. In Kaniten, 'force was cleverly used
by the son' [Ś 1432/Mar.1510–Feb.1511] of Pathi. 'By means of song
spoke the people' [Ś 14(3?)4/Mar.1512–Feb.1513] when died
the former Patih.
Not long thereafter, in the same year
as the affair of Kapulungan,
'there were three monks;
discussed by people' [Ś 1437/Mar.1515–Feb.1516] was their [its?] destruction.
The reason the warriors were roasted [to death]
is described in the book.

6. duk kala Panjĕr wiwara gni
wedang patadan [*sic; i.e.* patala lan] patinira
sira Brahlit syah patine
wus rinumpakeng kidung
duk ing kina kajor ing rupit
wulan warna sagara
wong pajadha ketung
suku papat catur buja
klas [*sic; i.e.* tĕlas] para satriya ingkang winarni
warna tasik patala

7. duk [ingosak-asik] ing Kadhiri
guwa jaladri wedang patala
tunggal ing Rengĕl taune
ri Kapulungan iku
tunggal kala tamu anati
kala ing Guwawarna
rinumpaka iku
ing Sande pjah ing yaksa
kapat juga ing Gagĕlang wong kawisik
sapakaryaning jalma

8. paksa wisaya warnaning jalmi
sakandhihe Madhangkungan ika
kawon ing Paleh lawase
guwa Pandhaweng ranu
bumi Surabaya ping kalih
anggas oyag ing barat
kapaten sitangsu
duk ing Pasĕdhahan kalah
mati kanĕm kacatur gĕlang ing bumi
duk kalah Panarukan

6. When Panjĕr [fell], 'the entrance was afire from
the hot water from the centre of the earth' [Ś 1439/Mar.1517–Feb.1518]; then died
Brahlit; destroyed he died;
it is described in the poem
when in the past he was assailed by difficulties.
'The moon looked like the sea;
the people' [Ś 1441/Mar.1519–Feb.1520] who had been conquered were calculated,
'the four feet, four hands' [2442; i.e. Ś 1442/Mar.1520–Feb.1521].
Now is told of the warriors
'looking like the sea in the centre of the earth' [Ś 1(4)44/Mar.1522–Feb.1523].

7. When [they were roughly shaken] in Kadhiri,
in 'the cave in the sea was hot water from the centre of the earth' [Ś 1449/Mar.1527–Feb.1528].
In the same year was [the affair of] Rengĕl
and of Kapulungan,
at the same time when guests were in order,
when [occurred the affair of] Guwawarna,
described it is;
in Sande was 'the death of the demon
four in one' [Ś 1450/Mar.1528–Feb.1529]. In Gagĕlang 'people received revelations
about all the actions of men' [Ś 1451/Mar.1529–Feb.1530].

8. 'Compelled to evil were all kinds of men' [Ś 1452/Mar.1530–Feb.1531]
after Madhangkungan submitted.
[They were] defeated in Paleh [Paloh?] as long as
'the cave of the Pandhawa was on the water;
in the land' [Ś 1459/Mar.1537–Feb.1538] of Surabaya for the second time
'dead trees shook in the wind
and the moon was extinguished' [10566; ? i.e. Ś 1460/Mar.1538–Feb.1539].
When Pasuruhan was defeated
'all six died and were discussed throughout the land' [Ś 1460/Mar.1538–Feb.1539].
When Panarukan was defeated

9. panĕmbahe sang winayeng karti
putra ing Lamongan ing Balitar
ing Wirasaba taune
tunggal katiga iku
kapat rasa ing waudadi
lawan ing Pananggungan
purwa yaksa rĕtu
ing ernawa sasadara
duk kawone Maměnang rasa karĕng ing
dirya dados ing wulan

10. ing Siguruh biksu kaněm tasik
juga duk bĕdhah / ing Balambangan *f. 350 v.*
naga něm kapat rupane
lan duk prang ing Siguruh
milya gĕsang [*sic; i.e.* gĕsĕng?] Balangbangan lwir
gajah nĕněm rineka
jalma ing Japan duk
kabakar kasangeng rasa
kapat juga ing Japan duk sirna bumi
dirya dados ing wulan

11. duk Rajeng Prawata neng Kadhiri
wong amaca pakartining tunggal
taman pungkuran dadine
parĕk sukuning gunung
ernawa ler tunggal anuli
duk katunon ing Daha
icale Sang Prabu
Prawata asirah tiga
wukir kapat tunggal prang pa-Tabon gĕsing
muni sagara rura [*sic; i.e.* rupa]

9. 'obeisance was paid by those who were clever in their doings;
the sons' [Ś 1462/Mar.1540–Feb.1541] of Lamongan, Blitar,
and Wirasaba [submitted] in the year
which was the same, these three,
when there were 'four tastes in the sea' [Ś (1)464/Mar.1542–Feb.1543].
The attack upon Pananggungan
began when 'the demon disturbed
the sea of the moon' [Ś 1465/Mar.1543–Feb.1544].
Maměnang was defeated when 'perceived, heard and
seen was the coming into being of the moon' [Ś 1466/Mar.1544–Feb.1545].

10. In Siguruh there were 'six monks, and the seas were
one' [Ś 1467/Mar.1545–Feb.1546]. When Balambangan fell
[there were] 'six serpents, with four appearances' [Ś 1468/Mar.1546–Feb. 1547].
And during the battle of Siguruh
Balambangan also went up in flames, like
'six elephants made to appear
like human beings' [Ś 1468/Mar.1546–Feb.1547]. When Japan
was burned, 'roasted, felt
the four as one' [Ś 1469/Mar.1547–Feb.1548]. In Japan then 'disappeared the world and
visible was the coming into being of the moon' [1410; mistake for Ś 1470/Mar. 1548–Feb.1549].

11. When the king of Prawata was in Kadhiri
'men read of the making of oneness' [Ś 1471/Mar.1549–Feb.1550].
The park in the rear was completed
close to 'the foot of the mountain,
the sea to the north, united' [Ś 1472/Mar.1550–Feb.1551].
When Daha [Kadhiri] was burned down
and disappeared His Majesty
of Prawata, 'the units were three,
the four mountains became one' [Ś 1473/Mar.1551–Feb.1552]. The affair of Tabon was when 'burning
sounded, like the sea' [Ś 1473/Mar.1551–Feb.1552].

12. tunggal warsa prang pa-Surawarih
meh mauta kuda warna condra
duk ing Wanasrama prange
Jipang yaksa kapitu
ing naga rasa sintarĕsmi
duk guntur Banyupindhah
wraksa yagi gunung
papat iku tunggal warsa
pa-Balora Balega rĕke rusak ing
astha buda pat juga

13. ical Dipatine wong Kadhiri
duk padha mapan wong mati Sĕlam
tansah lepra [*sic; i.e.* lodra] ya ginawe
tunggal kala kinĕpung
ing Mamĕnang ing kuna dening
sakeh wong mati Sĕlam
lodra gatra catur
juga lĕsah ing Kanityan
mahas ing Pranaraga tunggal sawarni [*sic; i.e.* sawarsi]
Pinanji Pranaraga

14. duk bĕdhah Wirasaba kariyin
tanpantara windu agung prapta
sirna ilang tata raje
duk bĕdhah pira iku
ing Kadhiri ingarsa dening
wadya ing Pasĕdhahan
angĕkĕb ing dalu
bumi sirna / tata tunggal *f. 351 r.*
Pcalrandhu duk nĕnggih kala kinardi
katon tan panca tunggal

12. In the same year was the battle of Surawarih [Surabaya?],
when almost 'on fire [?], the horse was the colour of the moon' [Ś 1473/Mar.1551–Feb.1552],
and when was the battle in Wanasrama [Wanakrama?].
In Jipang, [the battle was] when 'the demons seven
upon the serpent felt like the moon' [16875; mistake for Ś 1475/Mar.1553–Feb.1554].
When erupted [the affair of] Banyupindhah,
'the trees shook upon the mountains
four; in the same' [14776; either Ś 1476/Mar.1554–Feb.1555 or Ś 1477/Mar.1555–Feb.1556] year
were the battles of Blora and Balega; they were destroyed when
'the eight holy men were now but four' [Ś 1478/Mar.1556–Feb.1557].

13. The Adipati of the people of Kadhiri disappeared
when those who were to die for Islam were ready.
'Constantly furious acted they,
just like' [Ś 1499/Mar.1577–Feb.1578] when they were besieged
in Mamĕnang of old by
all those who died as Muslims.
'Furiously, the forms were four
only' [Ś 1499/Mar.1577–Feb.1578] when Kaniten became too weak
and went to Panaraga; in the same year
Panaraga was placed under the authority of a Panji [?].

14. Wirasaba had fallen, then.
Not long thereafter, the great era came,
when 'disappeared, gone, was the order of the state' [Ś 1500/Mar.1578–Feb.1579],
a short time after the fall [of Wirasaba].
Kadhiri was the object of
the troops of Pasuruhan,
who surrounded it by night
when 'the earth disappeared, and order as well' [Ś 1501/Mar.1579–Feb.1580].
When this was also done to Pĕcalrandhu [*probably* Tĕgalrandhu]
they 'looked not like five, but rather one' [Ś 1503/Mar.1581–Feb.1582].

15. duk Sultan Pajang ingestren Aji
ing Acala mantri lunga monca
bumi duk palindhu gĕdhe
obah sirna margeku
angleng Pajang rusak kariyin
songa nirna tinata
jalma kalanipun
rusake nagara Dĕmak
salungane bopati [ti] lar nagari
angambang ing samodra

16. sirnaning jalma aglar ing siti
nagara Daha kalane rusak
Senapati kapĕndhĕte
paksa jalma nateku
tunggal warsa nora aganti
duk kaboyong in Jipang
prang in Kalidhadhung
ing Madiyun Pranaraga
Pasuruwan kaya jalma glar ing siti
bĕdhahe Jagaraga

17. duk ambangun kitha bata putih
guntur ing jalma tibaning condra
sarĕng pa-Utrĕ pĕrange
pan tunggal warsanipun
magut aprang pa-Jatisari
sawara reng buntala
wisayaning purun
tata jalma naga rupa [*sic; i.e.* naga rupa tata jalma]
Wa(r)nakarta Barangkas guwaning bumi
mina glar dening jalma

15. When the Sultan of Pajang was invested by the ruler
of Giri, 'the *mantris* went to the outer
lands' [Ś 1503/Mar.1581–Feb.1582]. At the time of a great earthquake
'in commotion, the roads disappeared' [Ś 1506/Mar.1584–Feb.1585].
Seeking refuge [?], Pajang was destroyed first,
when 'nine disappeared, arranged
by men' [Ś 1509/Mar.1587–Feb.1588]. When
the kingdom of Dĕmak was destroyed,
after the king had left the kingdom
drifting on the sea,

16. then 'disappeared the men dispersed upon the ground' [Ś 1510/Mar.1588–Feb.1589].
When the kingdom of Kadhiri was destroyed,
the Senapati [of Kadhiri] was taken,
'the king absolutely determined to be a man' [Ś 1512/Mar.1590–Feb.1591].
In that very same year
Jipang was looted,
and there was war in Kalidhadhung,
in Madiun, Panaraga,
and in Pasuruhan. 'Like people dispersed upon the ground' [Ś 1513/Mar.1591–Feb.1592]
was the fall of Jagaraga.

17. When the fortress-wall of white brick was constructed,
there was 'a thundering among men and the moon fell' [Ś 1517/Mar.1595–Feb.1596].
When there was war in Utĕr,
in the same year
a battle was mounted in the Jatisari war,
when 'upon the earth sounded
the evil of the defiant' [Ś 1517/Mar.1595–Feb.1596].
When 'serpents took the form of men' [Ś 1518/Mar.1596–Feb.1597]
[was the battle of] Wanakarta. [The battle of] Barangkas was when 'in the cave in the earth
the fish were dispersed by men' [Ś 1519/Mar.1597–Feb.1598].

18. miyang anglurug marang ing Tubin
pucang tirisan tĕlas tinoran [*sic; i.e.* tinĕgoran]
duk amondhok sakidule
Macapura ginĕmpur
ing Katon[g] an datan aganti
sirna padha wijaya [*sic; i.e.* wisaya]
jalma kalanipun
ambangun kitha ing Pajang
tunggal warsa wong Pajang sami agilir
atugur marang Jipang

19. miyang anglurug Tuban ping kalih
sarĕng bĕdhahe ing Kalinyamat
jalma sikara margane *f. 351 v.*
bumi Japan kinĕpung
wun [*sic; i.e.* wus] korugan lalaren malih
duk maring Pasĕdhahan
mĕdal ing Siguruh
paksa wisaya sikara [*sic; i.e.* paksa sikara wisaya]
jalma kala pjahe Dipati Srĕpin
sinudukan ing kajang

20. kala seda Panĕmbahan Syargi
ing Kajĕnar pan anunggal warsa
purwa sata sawiyose
milaning wong ngaudud
gni kalih tumibeng siti
Dipati Pugĕr lagya
ing sakesahipun
ingalih marang ing Dĕmak
wus jumnĕng sataun antara malih
grahana ing raditya

21. winarna paksa tinata wani
miyang anglurug marang ing Dĕmak
wong Mataram kĕrig kabeh
Cĕngkalan wus ginĕmpur
marga kalih tinata wani
duk prang ing Kalilanang
milaning acampuh
karĕngĕn paksa wisaya
jalma kala duk prangira ing Papathi
sarĕng campuh ing bala

18. They marched against and attacked Tuban;
the areca and coconut palms were cut down
when they established temporary residences to the south.
Macapura [Macanpura, Majapura?] was destroyed
at the same time as Katongan,
when 'disappeared equally the evil
of men' [Ś 1520/Mar.1598–Feb.1599]. When
was constructed the fortification of Pajang
was the year when the people of Pajang in turns
took up post at Jipang,

19. and when they marched against and attacked Tuban for the second time,
at the same time as the fall of Kalinyamat,
when 'men were violent upon the roads
of the earth' [Ś 1521/Mar.1599–Feb.1600]. Japan was besieged
and the moat was filled in again.
When they marched to Pasuruhan
they passed through Siguruh;
'compelled to violence and evil
were men' [Ś 1522/Mar.1600–Feb.1601]. When Dipati Srĕpin died
stabbed upon his pillow [*or*, in Kajang],

20. it was when died the late Panĕmbahan [Senapati Ingalaga]
in the Yellow [Pavilion]. Now, in the same year
was the first tobacco; when it had appeared
was the beginning of people smoking,
and 'two fires fell upon the earth' [Ś 1523/Mar.1601–Feb.1602].
Dipati Pugĕr then,
after he had departed,
was transferred to Dĕmak;
after he had held his post for one year
there was a solar eclipse.

21. 'Tell how, compulsively, organized boldly' [Ś 1524/Mar.1602–Feb.1603],
they marched against and attacked Dĕmak;
the people of Mataram were all called up.
Cĕngkalan was destroyed.
When 'two roads were organized boldly' [Ś 1525/Mar.1603–Feb.1604]
was the battle of Kalilanang,
when the fighting began.
'Heard was the compulsion towards evil
of men' [Ś 1526/Mar.1604–Feb.1605] when was the battle of Pathi,
when the troops met in battle.

22. Dipati Pugrĕ sah ing nagari
saking Dĕmak sakula-santana
Gunung Kĕmbar rubuh kabeh
kalanira binangun
sasagaran kang sinanggumi
songa paksa wisaya
jalma kesahipun
Dipati ing Jagaraga
sirna guna wisaya kalaning wani
jumnĕng Martalaya

23. duk bĕdhah wĕkasaning Kadhiri
jalma lina marganing satunggal
ing Surabaya milane
ingiyangan karuwun
Martalaya dadi pangirid
mĕtu marga Lamongan
anabrang ing Lamus
winarna kala wisaya
jal[m]a kala pa-Grĕsik pawaka [*sic; i.e.* pawana] gni
minardining sujalma

24. miyang anglurug pinaju kalih
kala bĕ/dhahe nagari Malang *f. 352 r.*
prang Pa[n]daka ing sarĕnge
pan tunggal warsanipun
naga [*sic; i.e.* gana] guna wisaya wani
duk marang Wirasaba
ing sabĕdhahipun
kuda kaya tata jalma
pa-Siwalan naga tiga margeng wani
pjah Dipati Japan

22. Dipati Pugĕr left the kingdom,
leaving Dĕmak with all his family and relatives.
'The mountain of Kĕmbar collapsed entirely' [Ś 1527/Mar.1605–Feb.1606]
when the construction of
waterworks was undertaken [?].
'Nine were the compulsions and evils
of men' [Ś 1529/Mar.1607–Feb.1608] when departed
the Adipati of Jagaraga.
'The potency of evil disappeared when dared' [Ś 1530/Mar.1608–Feb.1609]
Martalaya to arise,

23. when Kadhiri fell for the last time.
'People died and thus became one' [Ś 1531/Mar.1609–Feb.1610]
in Surabaya when it began
to be attacked;
Martalaya was the commander;
they took the road of Lamongan,
and crossed at Lamus.
'Described, when evil
were men' [1584; mistake for Ś 1534/Mar.1612–Feb.1613] was the affair of Grĕsik. When 'winds of fire
were fed [?] by men' [Ś 1(5?)35/Mar.1613–Feb.1614],

24. they marched against and attacked, driving a wedge between [the enemy at Grĕsik] for a second time.
When fell the kingdom of Malang
was at the same time as the battle at [the river] Andaka;
now, the same was the year,
when 'the clouds excelled in evil and courage' [Ś 1536/Mar.1614–Feb.1615].
When they went to Wirasaba,
upon its fall,
'horses appeared like men' [Ś 1537/Mar.1615–Feb.1616].
The affair of Siwalan was when 'three serpents took the path of defiance' [Ś 1538/Mar.1616–Feb.1617].
The Adipati of Japan died;

25. suwung Japan jro kitha sami
kari katiga tinata tunggal
sarĕng pa-Lasĕm bĕdhahe
pan tunggal warsanipun
naga tiga Pandhaweng wani
duk Sultan ing Mataram
ing sakraminipun
ing Pathi guwa katiga
limang condra Pasuruwan bĕdhah kari
pan tunggal warsanira

26. Dipati Martalaya giningsir
guwa gĕni buta iku tunggal
kocap ing Pajang pĕrange
nir tasik buta iku
bumi kala wong Pajang kĕndhih
lunga tilar nagara
Adipatinipun
angungsi ing Giri Liman
ing Mataram angalih mring Karta singgih
nir tasik buta tunggal

27. ing Pringgabaya bĕdhah awingwrin
nir sagara ponca bumi kocap
duk bĕdhah Tuban lamine
wulan sagara bayu
bumi kala wong Tuban kandhih
lunga tilar nagara
Adipatinipun
angungsi ing Giri Liman
baitanya Indrajala dening kari
kakĕlĕm ing samodra

25. all was empty within the city of Japan,
'three remained, arranged like one' [Ś 1538/Mar.1616–Feb.1617].
At the same time was the fall of Lasĕm;
now, the year was the same,
when 'three serpents were Pandhawas in bravery' [Ś 1538/Mar.1616–Feb. 1617].
When the Sultan of Mataram
had married
in Pathi, 'three were the caves;
after five months' [Ś 1539/Mar.1617–Feb.1618] Pasuruhan was left defeated.
Now, in the same year

26. when Adipati Martalaya was removed,
when 'the cave turned entirely to fire' [Ś 1539/Mar.1617–Feb.1618],
was told of the war in Pajang.
When 'disappeared, turned into sea,
was the earth' [Ś 1540/Mar.1618–Feb.1619], the people of Pajang were defeated;
they left their land.
Their Adipati
sought refuge in Giri Liman.
In Mataram, they moved [the court] to Karta, indeed,
when 'disappearing, all was turned to sea' [Ś 1540/Mar.1618–Feb.1619].

27. Pringgabaya fell in fear,
when 'disappeared the sea and the five lands' [Ś 1540/Mar.1618–Feb.1619]. Tell now
of the fall of Tuban, when
'the moon was upon the sea, the winds
upon the earth' [Ś 1541/Mar.1619–Feb.1620]. The people of Tuban were defeated
and left their land.
Their Adipati
sought refuge in Giri Liman,
but his ship, Indrajala [the net of Indra], was left
and was sunk in the ocean.

28. ampĕlĕm adi kang sinambami [*sic; i.e.* sinambumi]
ingalihakĕn dhatĕng ing Karta
apan tunggal sangkalane
suku pat buta iku
tunggal warsa Dipati Pathi
aseba ing Mataram
asagraha iku
netra warna buta tunggal
kawarnaha putra Giri ing Matawis
sinung jnĕng ing Tuban *f. 352 v.*

29. lilima tunggal sangkalaneki
lawan Dipatine ing Palembang
atur sĕnuk ing Sang Katong
karapyak astha [*sic; i.e.* asta] walu
kang kaprĕnahakĕn ing Dĕmi
Dipati ing Patoman
ing sapjahipun
sarĕng lan pa-Singasĕkar
sakesahe Mataram sangkalaneki
tasik buta sadara

30. dyan purwaning akarya bĕdhil
duk ing Kartasura berawana
warna sagara tatane
bumi Madura ketung
kala rusak dening Matawis
sarĕng ing Surabaya
ing sapjahipun
Tumĕnggung Sujanapura
pan karĕngya winarna anata wani
Tumĕnggung Sumabrata

31. pasowan Karta Siniti-inggil
tunggal warsa lan ing Surabaya
Dipati sah ing kuthane
pan tunggal warsanipun
Kangjĕng Sultan dhatĕng Samanggi
kuda awarna yaksa
ing sasasinipun
angalih dhatĕng Kĕmbangan
sarĕng lawan sasalad agĕng anĕng[gih]
kathah wong kabĕndana

28. The beautiful mango trees which were provided with a piece of land [?]
were moved to Karta.
The chronogram was the same [for all these events]:
'four feet had the demon' [Ś 1542/Mar.1620–Feb.1621].
In the same year the Adipati of Pathi
paid obeisance in Mataram
with his wife,
'his eyes appearing like a demon's' [Ś 1542/Mar.1620–Feb.1621].
Tell now of the prince of Giri [who was living] in Mataram,
who was given the government of Tuban

29. —for these five [events, including the preceding one], one is the chronogram—
and the Adipati of Palembang
presented a tapir to His Majesty,
[which was placed in] a game-enclosure of eight *asta* [i.e. two fathoms]
which was located at Dĕmi;
the Adipati of Patoman
had died;
and at the same time was the affair of [Pangeran] Singasari,
upon his departure from Mataram, the 'chronogram [for all these] was:
he was turned into sea with his wives' [Ś 154(3?)/Mar.1621–Feb.1622].

30. They began to make cannon
when in Kartasura [i.e. Karta] there was a great roaring
and 'like the sea was the order of
the world' [Ś 1544/Mar.1622–Feb.1623]. Madura, it is calculated
when it was destroyed by Mataram, was
at the same time as in Surabaya
after the death of
Tumĕnggung Sujanapura,
'heard, described, ordering boldly' [Ś 1546/Mar.1624–Feb.1625]
was Tumĕnggung Sumabrata.

31. The great square at Karta was given a Siti Inggil,
in the same year when in Surabaya
the Adipati left the city;
also in the same year
the Sultan went to Samanggi [Sala],
when 'the horse looked like a demon;
and in the same month' [Ś 1547/Mar.1625–Feb.1626]
was the move to Kĕmbangan
and there were great epidemics, indeed;
many people were caught.

32. bujongga adi anata bumi
Madurarĕja kalane lunga
saking Mataram milane
rusak ing Patha [*sic; i.e.* Pathi] ketung
songa marna marganing wani
Pangeran Surabaya
ing pamarĕkipun
aseba dhatĕng Mataram
tanpa sare gumuling aneng ing siti
sarĕng lan pa-Jakarta

33. saiyange Jakarta ping kalih
kĕrig kabeh mantri ing Mataram
Adipati miyang kabeh
anggawa bĕdhil agung *f. 353 r.*
pun Subrastha lan pun Satomi
jalma sami atata
tunggal warsanipun
ambangun ing Girilaya
rinarĕngga pakuburan pramesyari
astana rinarĕngga

34. saĕntase Walonda Samawis
saĕntase dhatĕng ing Mataram
Walonda roro kathahe
papat kalasinipun
paksa marga wisaya wani
nora[n] tara sawarsa
ing sarusakipun
akeh wong kĕna bĕncana
wong sakidul ing Wĕdhi sami umanjing
aguru ing Sek Bungas

35. sadh[at] ĕnge Kapitan Joharsih
wong Pratokal mĕntas ing Japara
atur sĕnuk ing Sang Katong
dhatĕng kakapanipun
sagagragan dhatĕng anitih
kaya buta tinata
jalma kalanipun
Pratokal duk pinanggiyan
inguwaran sakathahe dadot bathik
kang sewakeng ing Sultan

32. 'The poet outstanding arranged the world' [Ś 1548/Mar.1626–Feb.1627]
when Madurarĕja departed
from Mataram. The beginning of
the destruction of Pathi was calculated
when 'nine described the ways of the courageous' [Ś 1549/Mar.1627–Feb. 1628].
Pangeran Surabaya
appeared
to pay obeisance in Mataram;
'without sleep, he lay upon the ground' [Ś 1550/Mar.1628–Feb.1629];
at the same time was the affair of Jakarta.

33. After the attack on Jakarta, for a second time
all the *mantris* of Mataram were called up;
the Adipatis all marched out,
taking with them the great guns
Subrastha and Satomi,
'the people were all arranged;
the same' [Ś 1551/Mar.1629–Feb.1630] year
in Girilaya was constructed
and embellished the grave of the queen;
the mausoleum was embellished.

34. After the Dutch had landed at Samarang,
after landing they went to Mataram;
the Dutch were two in number,
with four sailors,
'forcing their way, evil and defiant' [Ś 1552/Mar.1630–Feb.1631].
Not a year later,
after the destruction,
many people suffering adversities,
the people to the south of Wĕdhi all became
disciples of Shaikh Bungas.

35. After the arrival of Captain Joharsih [Jorge d'Acunha?],
the Portugese landed at Japara,
presenting a tapir to His Majesty,
with its saddle
and all the appurtenances for riding upon it,
'made to look like a demon by
men' [Ś 1553/Mar.1631–Feb.1632]. When
the Portugese were received
it was made known that all must appear in *bathik* court attire
who paid obeisance to the Sultan.

36. kesah anglurug Ukur agipih
warna Pandhawa tataning jalma
duk kabĕsmi dalĕm gĕdhe
ing Karta duk karuwun
pan akatheh [*sic; i.e.* akathah] wong dalĕm mati
kadhaton kala kobar
akeh wong malayu
buta Pandhawa tinata
tunggal Dipati Surabaya anangkil
aseba ing Mataram

37. kala Pangeran Arya Matawis
akrama tuk putri Surabaya
. . .
baris kĕrigan asru
ing Kacĕmbing atata jurit
warsa lĕbu samana
obah marganipun
tinata wong duk / pa-Tambak *f. 353 v.*
pupungkuran sawetan pasowan adi
pan tunggal warsanira

38. sarusakipun ing Giri Esthi
pandhita sama anata jalma
sarĕng lan ing dalĕm gĕdhe
ing Karta kang katunu
apan tunggal sangkalaneki
Panĕmbahan Carĕbon
asewakeng iku
Mataram dhatĕng Sang Nata
madya sami tinata jalma kang linggih
marmane tinulisan

36. [Mataram] marched in haste against Ukur;
'looking like the Pandhawas was the order of men' [Ś 1554/Mar.1632–Feb. 1633].
When the great *dalĕm* [within the court] was burned
in Karta, then
many people of the court died.
When the palace burned
many people fled,
when 'demons and Pandhawas were arranged;
the same' [Ś-AJ 1555/Mar.–7 July 1633, 8 July 1633–26 June 1634] [year was it] when the Adipati of Surabaya paid
obeisance in Mataram,

37. and when Pangeran Arya Mataram [later Amangkurat I]
received in marriage the princess of Surabaya.
. . . [*the third line is missing*]
The troops were called up urgently;
in Kacĕmbing they were prepared for battle.
Then fell ash-rain;
'shifted were the roads
made by men' [AJ 1556/27 June 1634–16 June 1635]. Then was the affair of Tambak,
to the rear, at the east of the great square;
now, in the same year

38. upon the destruction of Giri Esthi [Giri Liman],
'the holy teachers arranged men' [AJ 1557/17 June 1635–4 June 1636],
at the same time as the great *dalĕm*
in Karta was burned;
now, the same was the chronogram
when the Panĕmbahan of Cirĕbon
paid obeisance
in Mataram to the king;
'in the centre were arranged the people' [AJ 1558/5 June 1636–24 May 1637], seated,
in order for them to be recorded.

39. mantri Mataram lagya paparing
mantri sadaya atompa dana
Bupati Kandhaga-lante
Arya lawan Tumĕnggung
Pangalasan lawan Paminggir
tĕkan jawi kawratan
Kapĕdhak tan kantun
tĕkaning patinggi desa
wrata kabeh pasisir moncanagari
samya atampi dana

40. pakĕlun agĕng moncanagari
wong bang wetan sami pinundhutan
mring Sang Nata sakaryane
winilang ingkang kantun
pinuk sara tataning jalmi
duk bĕdhah Balambangan
pun Kĕmbar anungkul
suka tyasira Sang Nata
jalma obah marganing wong dadi abdi
dening Jĕng Sri Narendra

41. Sang Nata maring Tambayat uning
sadhatĕnge pan ora antara
lumbung agung kabĕsmine
pan tunggal warsanipun
katon obah tataning jalmi
guntur gunung adiksa
wong mati pan agung
sami kenyut kali Praga
awor ladhu geger ing wong sami ngili
satĕpis wiringira

39. The *mantris* of Mataram were given gifts,
all the *mantris* received presents,
the Bupatis Kandhaga-lante,
the Aryas and Tumĕnggungs,
the Pangalasans and Paminggirs,
even the outer [officials] equally;
the Kapĕdhak people were not left out,
even the village heads,
all were equal; [those of] the coasts and the outer lands
equally received gifts.

40. There was a great commotion in the outer lands,
as from the people of the east was demanded
by the king all their labour;
counted were those who remained behind,
and 'severed was the strength [?] and the order of men' [AJ 155(9?)/25 May 1637–14 May 1638].
When Balambangan fell,
Kĕmbar submitted
and pleased was the heart of the king;
'the person [Kĕmbar] moved, and this was the reason that he' [AJ 1561/4 May 1639–21 Apr. 1640] was made his subject
by His Majesty the king.

41. The king went to Tambayat to see.
Not long after his arrival,
the great rice-storehouse caught fire.
Now, this was in the same year when
'seen were movements in the order of the people' [AJ 1563/12 Apr. 1641–31 Mar.1642]
as the mountain Adiksa [*or*, near the village Dĕksa?] erupted.
Those who died were many,
swept away by the river Praga
which was mixed with [volcanic] mud; in commotion the people fled
as far as the border areas.

42. Kangjĕng Susunan ingestren aji
saking Mĕkah ing karatonira
Ki / Aji kala dhatĕnge *f. 354 r.*
Pangeran Adilangu
pamarĕke tumut ngestreni
taun Jimakir ika
Dulkaidah iku
Susunan jumnĕng Sultan
mantri obah anata wong sanagari
agĕng pamujinira

43. mantri karĕngĕn marga wong estri
Arya Suronggamarta duk lunga
ing Dĕmak ika prĕnahe
Pangeran Carbon rawuh
tan a[n] tara wong Prĕnggi prapti
aseba ing Mataram
pinapag ing ĕnu
bĕdhil wĕsi duk kinarya
mantri nĕnĕm anata wong sanagari
warsa roro sa[ng] kala

44. adining rata [*sic; i.e.* rasa] marganing jalmi
Adipati Polembang [*sic*] sewaka
dhatĕng Mataram praptane
Ki Aji antukipun
kabandana Jakarta nĕnggih
tunggal kala kaetang
duta Banjar rawuh
aseba dhatĕng Mataram
buta nĕnĕm marganing wong akeh mati
pakĕlun duk samana

42. His Majesty the Susuhunan was invested by a *haji*
who came from Mecca to his court.
When Ki Haji arrived,
Pangeran Adilangu
approached [the royal presence] to join in the investiture.
The year then was Jimakir [mistake for Alip?],
and [the month was] Dulkaidah
when the Susuhunan became Sultan;
'the *mantris* moved to arrange the people' [Dulkaidah, Alip AJ 1563/1 Feb.–2 Mar.1642] of all the kingdom,
and great was their veneration.

43. 'The *mantri* was heard upon the road by the women' [AJ 1563/12 Apr. 1641–31 Mar.1642]
as Arya Suronggamarta set off [for Mataram];
Dĕmak was his place.
Pangeran Cirĕbon arrived
and not long thereafter a European came
to pay obeisance in Mataram;
he was met upon the road
when metal cannon were prepared;
'six *mantris* arranged the people' [AJ 1563/12 Apr.1641–31 Mar.1642] of all the kingdom.
The chronogram for the next year [?] was

44. 'the excellence of feeling is the way of men' [AJ 1564/1 Apr.1642–21 Mar. 1643]:
the Adipati of Palembang came to pay obeisance;
in Mataram he arrived.
On his return journey Ki Haji
was captured at Jakarta, indeed,
calculated at the same time [i.e. AJ 1564/1 Apr.1642–21 Mar.1643];
and emissaries from Banjar[masin] arrived
to pay obeisance in Mataram.
'The demons six were the reason that of the people' [AJ 1565/22 Mar.1643–9 Mar.1644] many died;
there was agitation then.

45. saya kathah wawĕlĕk inguni
mantri Mataram kathah palastra
Kaparĕk pjah keh longe
wong jaba agring agung
pan atusan sadina mati
taun Jimawal ika
tunggal warsanipun
Pangeran Balitar seda
para gusti sadalĕm gĕdhe keh mati
pan tunggal candranira

46. sami karĕngĕn anata bumi
wong Mataram nambut sasagaran
Palered kala ginawe
ya ta kĕrigan asru
karya bĕdhil pun Gunturgĕni
gĕndhing pandhe kĕrigan
kang anambut iku
lir singa lodra tandangnya
pan karĕngnya obahe tataning jalmi
marmane sinangkala *f. 354 v.*

47. Kangjĕng Sultan kala narimani
wong Kapĕdhak kidul tinariman
kang bela waja [*sic; i.e.* pacak?] kalene
pan tunggal warsanipun
panambute bata Magiri
pandhita nĕm anata
jalma nulya sampun
nora antara sawarsa
Kangjĕng Sultan matuk kramatullah singgih
ri pandhawa [*sic; i.e.* pandhapa] sedanya

45. Ever more were the afflictions of the plague then;
of the *mantris* of Mataram many died;
the Kapĕdhak people died, their numbers were much reduced;
the outer people suffered great sickness;
now, hundreds each day died.
The year was Jimawal [AJ 1565/22 Mar.1643–9 Mar.1644],
in the same year
when Pangeran Blitar passed away;
of the aristocrats in the great *dalĕm* many died.
Now, the same was the chronogram,

46. 'together they were known for their governing of the earth' [AJ 1565/22 Mar.1643–9 Mar.1644],
when the people of Mataram undertook the construction of waterworks
at Plered. When these were built
then the people were called up hastily
to make the gun Gunturgĕni.
Gamĕlan-makers and smiths were called up;
it was they who worked,
like angry lions in their actions.
Now, 'heard were the movements in the order of the people' [AJ 1566/10 Mar. 1644–26 Feb.1645];
such was the reason for the chronogram.

47. When His Majesty the Sultan gave wives to
the southern Kapĕdhak people, they were gratefully accepted
by those who helped in the work [?] on the channels [at Plered].
Now, in the same year
the construction in brick of Imagiri was taken in hand,
when 'the teachers six arranged
the people' [AJ 1567/27 Feb.1645–16 Feb.1646]. Then,
not a year later,
the Sultan returned to the Mercy of God, indeed;
in the pavilion did he die.

48. tanpantara kang putra gĕnteni
Prabu Anom ika mring Mataram
abagus anom wayahe
Rĕbo-Manis kaetung
naga obah marganing wani
tanggal padlikur Safar
wawu [*sic; i.e.* wau] Be Kapitu
Kurantil dangu wukunya
tanpantara kasukan ing Poncaniti
ngrampog bantheng lan warak

49. tunggal warsa [pan] nora aganti
Kangjĕng Susunan kesah cangkrama
datĕng [*sic*] Bangawan prĕnahe
pan sagraha puniku
tunggal lawan para Bopati
mantri kĕrig sadaya
saha (a)bala pĕnuh
wong Kaparĕk kĕrig rama
laku baris swaraning bala ngajrihi
angrok syaraning kuda

50. madya karĕngeng tataning bumi
amasanggrahan ing Jagabaya
atata parang [*sic; i.e.* pĕrang] lampahe
krĕcik ing watang putung
angrok lawan syaraning bĕdhil
Tumĕnggung ing Mataram
matur ing Sang Prabu
Susunan Ratu kawula
dika mantuk wontĕn duta Raja Bali
angambang ing samodra

48. Not long thereafter his son succeeded;
Prabu Anom [Amangkurat I] came to Mataram,
handsome and young in age,
on Wednesday-Lĕgi, it is calculated,
when 'serpents moved on the way of courage',
on the twenty-fourth of Safar,
in the year Be, the *mangsa* Kapitu [mistake for Kasanga or Kasĕpuluh?],
when the *wuku* was Kurantil [Wednesday-Lĕgi, 24 Safar, *wuku* Kurantil, Be AJ 1568/11 Apr.1646].
Not long thereafter entertainments were held in the Poncaniti:
buffalo and rhinoceros were set against spear-men.

49. In the very same year
His Majesty the Susuhunan went on a pleasure-trip
to Bangawan [the river Sala?], this was the place,
accompanied by his wife
together with the Bupatis;
the *mantris* were all called up
along with troops in great numbers;
the Kapĕdhak people were called up to dance.
Marching on, the sound of the troops struck fear;
thunderous was the sound of the horses.

50. When 'moderately was heard the order of the world' [AJ 1568/17 Feb. 1646–5 Feb.1647]
they stayed temporarily at Jagabaya.
[As if] preparing for war they went;
broken lances rattled
and thunderous was the sound of the guns.
The Tumĕnggung of Mataram
said to the king,
'Susuhunan, my lord, your servant
will return home, for there is an emissary from the king of Bali
at sea.'

51. angandika Sang Nata ngajrihi
asmu runtik asowareng bala
adana tangara age
ing pasanggraha/n umung *f. 358 r.*
awurahan wong sanagari
dyan sami asewaka
mantri ingkang agung
pĕpĕk kang para santana
pasanggrahan syaraning bala ngajrihi
aglis bubar Sang Nata

52. saking kadhaton amĕpĕk baris
wong Kapĕdhĕk ramya awurahan
tĕtĕg abarung lan bĕndhe
Ki Bicak munya ngungkung
apuyĕngan kawula jawi
mantri samya garjita
pĕpĕk ngalun-alun
Tumĕnggung Mataram kesah
ajĕnĕngi pasisir amagut jurit
babaya neng Japara

53. Tumĕnggung Wiraguna dharati
adana dina punggawanira
wrata kabeh punggawane
busana abra murub
Balangbangan atata baris
Tumĕnggung S(a)maradana
munggeng keringipun
Randhĕgan munggeng ing kanan
Pulangjiwa ing wuri wus amiranti
ngayun ma[n] canagara

54. acampuh yuda arame jurit
ing Batapura denira aprang
wong Bali pan akeh longe
aprang enjinganipun
pamĕdhakan kang wong ajurit
sakondur ing ayuda
angarega sampun
amondhok aneng Bangawan
bala kabeh wiwara karĕngĕn margi
candrane kang ayuda

51. The king spoke frighteningly,
apparently incensed he spoke to the troops,
'Give the signal immediately!'
Within the temporary residence it was noisy
with the confusion of the people of all the kingdom.
Immediately paid obeisance all
the great *mantris*,
and all assembled were the royal relatives.
Within the temporary residence, the sound of the troops was frightening.
Then departed the king speedily.

52. From the palace, assembled were the troops,
the Kapĕdhak people noisily confused;
drums were struck, joined by cymbals.
[The gong] Ki Bicak was sounded, loudly reverberating;
in commotion were the outer subjects;
the *mantris* all rejoiced,
assembled together on the great square.
The Tumĕnggung of Mataram set off
to take charge of the [north] coast in going to war,
for there was danger in Japara.

53. Tumĕnggung Wiraguna offered his services
and gave throughout the day gifts to his officials;
equal were all his officials,
their attire glistening and sparkling.
Balambangan was prepared for war:
Tumĕnggung Asmaradana
was positioned on the left,
Randhĕgan on the right;
Pulangjiwa in the rear had all the necessities [of war];
in the van were the people of the outer lands.

54. Battle was engaged and furious was the fighting;
at Batapura was the war.
Of the Balinese many were lost.
In the battle the following morning
close together were the warriors.
After their return from the battle
they were in a commotion
and at Bangawan camped
all the troops. 'Through the doors was heard [the noise on the] road;
this is the chronogram' [AJ 1569/6 Feb.1647–25 Jan.1648] for the war.

55. kocap malih kang miyos i[ng] jurit
sarĕng prapta kang mĕtu samodra
acampuh rame pĕrange
wong Bali sirna larut
i[ng] dharatan tan ana kari
mawah [*sic; i.e.* miwah] jurit samodra
suh sirna malayu
mundur sikĕp ing Mataram
bala rusa[k] asakitan kathah masi
angere kathah pjah

56. Ki Tumĕnggung Wiraguna lalis
binandhusa ing / sela atumpang *f. 358 v.*
wus prapta Winongan age
aglis nulya sinambut
Ki Ngabei Manggora mati
Ngabei Singandaka
wus seda tan kantun
Wongsayuda cinuriga
Margantaka Singantaka sampun mati
kang kari awuyungan

57. nora rĕna Sang Nata ngawaki
arsa amaguta ing ayuda
wangsul ing Garompol dene
pan tunggal warsanipun
duk ambangun Kartasura di
Tumĕnggung Danupaya
wus seda marga gung
wada[na] nĕnĕm anata
tunggal warsya Susunan Karta gumingsir
salor wetan ing Karta

55. We tell again of those who went to war:
they arrived at the same time as those who came by sea;
fiercely was the battle engaged.
The people of Bali were destroyed, driven away;
on land none of them remained,
and the warriors at sea
were destroyed, disappeared, and fled.
The Mataram levies retreated,
the army destroyed by sickness; there were many who died.
Going about like beggars, many died.

56. Ki Tumĕnggung Wiraguna died
and was placed in a coffin upon piled-up stones [*or*, a coffin of stone at Tumpang].
Then they arrived speedily at Winongan
and were thereupon held;
Ki Ngabei Manggora died;
Ngabei Singandaka
had died; nor escaped
Wongsayuda, who was stabbed to death;
Margantaka and Singantaka had also died;
those who remained were in confusion.

57. As the king wished not to take part himself,
to join in the war,
he returned to Garompol.
Now, this was in the same year
when was constructed Kartasura the beautiful [the court of Plered]
and when Tumĕnggung Danupaya
died upon the main road,
when 'the Wadanas six arranged;
in the same' [AJ 1569/6 Feb.1647–25 Jan.1648] year the Susuhunan of Karta moved
to the north-east of Karta.

58. taun Wawu sasine angalih
Dumadilawal lagi apindhah
rong condra ing panambute
pagrĕ bata binangun
bata abang ringgite putih
Tumĕnggung Pasingsingan
ika wus kasambut
Agrayuda arsa bela
wus arakit kulambi kĕre alapis
angamuk lwir aldaka [*sic*]

59. awane Raden Arya Matawis
sahab bala mantri awurahan
garjita ngampah karsane
aglis anulya mĕtu
Adipati Amangkubumi
asuwareng ing bala
wong Mataram magut
wong Kadanupayan bubar
Raden Arya prajurit lagaweng pati
pjah Dipati Sampang

60. gegere wong [ing] Mataram kadi
apuyĕngan lir patra kanginan
agĕng alit pangungune
adhuh katuwon ingsun
kawlas arsa gustiku singgih
sirna pandhiteng marga
jalma(h) sah ing laku
lyir surĕm tejaning praja
udanya drĕs Sang Nata tansah anging[g]it
anata ingkang bala

61. masjid Palered kala kinardi
sasi pandhita anata jalma
sasi Muhara/m kalane *f. 359r.*
Kapundhung patinipun
Martawongsa dadi pangirid
taun Jimakir Kasa
tan antara iku
Jĕng Susunan kala nikah
angsal Putri Karanon tunggal sawarsi
Arya Urawan pjah

58. In the year Wawu he moved, in the month
Dumadilawal he moved [Jumadilawal, Wawu AJ 1569/4 June–3 July 1647];
for two months this work was carried on.
Brick walls were constructed:
the bricks were red, the cornices white.
Tumĕnggung Pasingsingan
had been killed
and Agrayuda wished to share his lot;
he was prepared with a coat of mail
and ran amuck like a wild buffalo.

59. Upon the passionate desire of Raden Arya Mataram
the troops and *mantris* assembled in a commotion,
thinking to themselves that they must restrain their wishes.
Quickly then they came out;
Adipati Mangkubumi
spoke to the troops,
the people of Mataram attacked,
and the people of Danupaya were dispersed.
Raden Arya [Mataram] was a warrior without fear of death.
The Adipati of Sampang was killed.

60. The commotion of the people of Mataram was like
the confusion of leaves blown in the wind;
great and small were alarmed:
'Alas! We grieve
for our pitiable lord, indeed!'
When 'disappeared the teachers upon the road,
men' [AJ 1570/26 Jan.1648–14 Jan.1649] departed from the [rightful] path.
As if dimmed was the lustre of the kingdom;
rain fell heavily; the king constantly cherished a grim hatred
and ordered the troops.

61. The mosque of Plered was constructed in
'the month when the teachers arranged men',
the month Muharam it was then [Muharam, AJ 1571/15 Jan.–13 Feb.1649].
When [the lord of] Kapundhung was killed
Martawongsa was the commander,
the year was Jimakir, [the *mangsa* was] Kasa [*mangsa* Kasa, Jimakir AJ 1570/
July–Aug.1648, or ? mistake for Alip AJ 1571/July–Aug.1649].
Not long thereafter
His Majesty the Susuhunan married
the princess of Kranon, in the same year
when Arya Urawan died.

62. tunggal warsa pan ora aganti
Kangjĕng Susunan kesah cangkrama
wong Mataram kĕrig kabeh
sambi sagraha sampun
atunggalan garbong anitih
ramya asukan-sukan
manjangan binuru
sangsam mangirup sadaya
kang irĕngan masisir denya miranti
balengor wangsul marga

63. ing Jimakir Kartatalis mati
sinudukan jroning Sokasona
angurĕbi ing lampite
pan tunggal warsanipun
pan wong Kalang ngandikan ngalih
umah sabrang ing toya
Alip ta(ng)unipun
Garompol denya asana
tunggal warsya randhu ingugrĕran jati
tunggalan [*sic; i.e.* tunggangan] nata jalma

64. roro pandhita anata jalmi
mantri agung nguwaran wayua
sawarnane prayayine
sami kinen awayuh
miwah mantri moncanagari
lan pasisir sadaya
Kaparĕk tan kantun
tĕkaning patinggi desa
wrata kabeh pateplok tan kĕna gingsir
rondha anered dhudha

62. In the same year, unchanged,
His Majesty the Susuhunan made a pleasure-trip.
The people of Mataram were all called up.
He was accompanied by his wife,
together in an enclosed coach.
Great was their enjoyment;
deer were hunted,
the stags all being captured;
wild boar went to the sides to prepare themselves
with red lips, and then returned upon their way.

63. In the year Jimakir [Jimakir AJ 1570/26 Jan.1648–14 Jan.1649, or ? mistake for Alip AJ 1571/15 Jan.1649–3 Jan.1650] Kartatalis died,
stabbed to death inside the Sokasana,
doubling over upon his rattan mat.
Now it was in the same year when
the Kalang people were ordered to move
their homes across the river,
in the year Alip [AJ 1571/15 Jan.1649–3 Jan.1650]
—in Garompol was their place—
the same year when the kapok-trees [at the court] were given props of 'teak,
and a riding-animal arranged men' [AJ 1571/15 Jan.1649–3 Jan.1650].

64. When 'two teachers arranged men' [AJ 1572/4 Jan.–24 Dec.1650],
the great *mantris* were told to take more than one wife.
Every one of the officials
was also ordered to take more than one wife;
and also the *mantris* of the outer lands
and of all the coastal regions,
and the Kapĕdhak people were not omitted,
down to the village heads;
it was the same with all of them. Women in search of protectors could not be escaped:
widows dragged along widowers.

65. tunggil Sitinggil kala kinardi
padha pandhita sami (sami) anendra
sarĕng nambut botrawine
tambuku [*sic; i.e.* tambaknya] sarĕngipun
tunggal warsya nora aganti
ngĕlar karapyak wetan
Damarjati sampun
am[b]ĕthek pasisir lagya
wong Mataram anambut gĕbyog Sitinggil
tunggal warsane ngetang

66. Dipati Carbon seba Matawis
ngatura/kĕn pjah-gĕsangira *f. 359 v.*
Dipati Jambi sarĕnge
marĕk Sang Nata iku
wong Walonda sarĕnge prapti
ngaturi bĕdhil papat
wong Polembang [*sic*] rawuh
matur yen ratune pjah
wong Mataram ang(l)alar ing Damarjati
nuli ngalih karapyak

67. aglis anambut karapyak nuli
sarĕng an[am]but garagol wetan
kang mujur ngidul prĕnahe
taun He mangsanipun
waneh bubar awangsul malih
mantri anata jalma
tunggal warsyanipun
ambĕndung ing lepen Umpak
Wanujaya ginaragol tunggal warsi
kĕrig baris rancahan

65. In the same year the Siti Inggil was built, when
'the teachers together slept' [5572; i.e. AJ 1572/4 Jan.–24 Dec.1650].
At the same time the pond was under construction,
with its dam at the same time.
In the same year, unchanged,
the eastern game-enclosure was extended:
Damarjati had
been fenced around the edges.
The people of Mataram took in hand the wooden wainscot of the Siti Inggil.
The same year it was, calculated,

66. when the Adipati of Cirĕbon paid obeisance in Mataram,
offering his life or death,
at the same time as the Adipati of Jambi
approached the ruler.
The Dutch arrived at the same time,
offering four guns.
The people of Palembang arrived,
saying that their king had died.
The people of Mataram extended [the site at] Damarjati
and then moved the game-enclosure.

67. Immediately they set to work on the game-enclosure then,
at the same time as they set to work on the eastern palisade
which stretched to the south; this was its place.
It was the year Ehe [AJ 1572/4 Jan.–24 Dec.1650, or ? mistake for Jimawal
AJ 1573/25 Dec.1650–13 Dec.1651] then;
some of the people dispersed and returned home again
when 'the *mantris* arranged the people,
in the same' [1153; i.e. AJ 1573/25 Dec.1650–13 Dec.1651] year
when they dammed the river Opak.
Wanujaya was palisaded in the same year;
the troops took up position in the mud.

68. sikĕp-dalĕm abaris kariyin
pasoan kidul sampun atata
sakehi Kapĕdhĕk kabeh
pasoan ler wong Kaum
mantra [*sic; i.e.* mantri] Gĕdhong lan wong Magiri
nulya milu tatambak
Kapĕdhĕk pan tumut
dadining sagara yasa
kaya gunung tataning wong nambut kardi
sarĕng mĕjahi liman

69. laminya baris satĕngah sasi
Saptu dinane denya luwaran
tinata baris lampahe
mantri gung kang karuwun
wong Bumija kang magrĕsari
tinata lampahira
kaping tiganipun
sikĕp-dalĕm kang lumampah
Gĕdhong Kapĕdhak (ang) amĕkasi ing wuri
taun Jimawal ketang

70. adining pandhita nata bumi
bangun bata Masjid Agung ika
ing taun Je duk mangsane
mantri kathah linayu
kala [*sic; i.e.* bala] watang adhasthar sami
kala angambil macan
tunggil warsanipun
bĕdhil ngungĕlakĕn pĕcah
ing pasowan kidul binuntu kang kori
warna tataning jalma

68. The royal levies took up position first;
on the southern square were they all arranged,
all the Kapĕdhak people.
On the northern square were the people of Islam,
the Gĕdhong *mantris* and the people of Imagiri.
Then they joined in the construction of the dam;
the Kapĕdhak people also joined
in making the artificial lake (Sagara Yasa).
'Like a mountain was the order of the people' [AJ 1573/25 Dec.1650–13 Dec. 1651] who undertook the work,
and at the same time killed an elephant.

69. The length of their service was half a month;
Saturday was the day when they were released.
Arranged in rows they went,
the great *mantris* first,
with the Bumija people, their subjects,
arranged they went.
Third were
the royal levies, who went.
The Gĕdhong and Kapĕdhak people were the last, in the rear,
in the year Jimawal [AJ 1573/25 Dec.1650–13 Dec.1651] it was calculated.

70. When 'the excellence of the teachers arranged the earth' [AJ 1574/14 Dec. 1651–1 Dec.1652],
constructed of brick was the Great Mosque then.
It was in the year Je [AJ 1574/14 Dec.1651–1 Dec.1652] when
the common *mantris* were given bannered lances,
the lance-bearers all with head-scarves,
when they took tigers [upon their lances].
In the same year
a gun was fired and burst
and on the southern square the gates were closed,
when 'colourful was the order of men' [154; i.e. AJ 1574/14 Dec.1651–1 Dec. 1652].

71. tan antara grĕbong angsana di *f. 360 r.*
sinambut dening wong sa-Mataram
Dumadilawal sasine
tunggal sasine ngetung
daměl kori ing Kaliajir
kalanipun binubar [*sic; i.e.* binabar]
awarna pinatut
sarĕnge bĕnĕr dadalan
marga agung lan marga ing Kaliajir
nulya anambut bangsal

72. analini witana Sitinggil
sarĕng Walonda seba Mataram
[pan akeh atur-ature]
sarĕng akarya lumbung
gangsal [k]ehe kang sinambumi
lan [nam]but lepen Umpak
ngalih ngetan sampun
toya ing ardi marganya
wong Mataram anuli anambut kardi
rancahan sinusukan

73. sasi Muhkaram taun Dal singgih
Pangeran Mas kinen angaliya
dalĕm saler Pĕkĕn Gĕdhe
wong Mataram kang nambut
udanya drĕs rahina wĕngi
Kali Sĕmanggi bĕna
sudama kumukus
dina Had tanggal ping lima
sasi Safar wisaya Sang Nata jalmi
ratu ibu sedanya

71. Not long thereafter an enclosed coach of beautiful *angsana*-wood
was worked upon by all the people of Mataram;
Dumadilawal was the month [Jumadilawal, AJ 1574/10 Apr.–9 May 1652].
The same month was calculated
when was made the gate of Kaliajir.
When it was completed
with colours made suitable,
at the same time straight were the roads,
the main road and the road of Kaliajir.
Then a hall was constructed

72. to replace the pavilion on the Siti Inggil.
At the same time the Dutch paid obeisance to Mataram,
[offering many gifts.]
And at the same time rice-storehouses were built,
five in number, provided with pieces of land [?].
Then they set to work on the river Opak
which had shifted to the east.
'The water from the mountains was the reason
that the people' [AJ 1574/14 Dec.1651–1 Dec.1652] of Mataram set to work;
in the mud, canals were built.

73. In the month Muharam of the year Dal [Muharam, Dal AJ 1575/2–31 Dec. 1652], indeed,
Pangeran Mas [the crown prince] was ordered to move
his residence to the north of Pasar Gĕdhe;
it was the people of Mataram who did the work.
The rain fell heavily by day and night;
the river Samanggi [Sala] flooded,
and there was a comet.
On Sunday the fifth
of the month Safar, when 'evil was the person of the king' [Sunday, 5 Safar, AJ 1575/5 Jan.1653],
the queen mother passed away.

74. marganing pandhita samir sasi
Pangeran Mas kalanipun sunat
Rabiyulawal sasine
ing Rĕbo dinanipun
kawanwĕlas tanggale malih
taun Dal mongsa Kapat
Sinta wukunipun
Dipati ing Sokadana
asewaka ing Prabu rajeng Matawis
babata Karadenan

75. karĕngeng pandhita nata jalmi
lumbung agung sinamběr ing gĕlap
tunggal wong Siyĕn [*sic; i.e.* Siyĕm] sebane
atur surat Sang Prabu
sinangkraman tinampan aglis
ngĕnakĕn pracalita
ya ta lindhu agung
lawan grahana raditya
tunggal warsa lintang kumukus anuli
kra/pyak Kranon ginĕlar *f. 360 v.*

76. karya Prabayak[sa] sinambumi
pandhita pipitu sami condra
paparing sangsam sarĕnge
pitung ewu gungipun
tanpantara Walonda prapti
atur kuda Sang Nata
pun Kabobang iku
apangiring bau warna
wong pasisir pinĕpĕk reyale sami
Sawal Wawu taunya

74. 'This was the reason that the teachers wore the shawl of the moon'
when Pangeran Mas [the crown prince] was circumcised;
Rabiyulawal was the month,
Wednesday the day,
the fourteenth the date then,
in the year Dal, the *mangsa* Kapat [mistake for Kawolu?],
Sinta was the *wuku* [Wednesday, 14 Rabingulawal, *wuku* Sinta, Dal AJ 1575/12 Feb.1653].
The Adipati of Sukadana
paid obeisance to the ruler of Mataram,
and the Karadenan was given a wall of brick.

75. 'Heard by the teachers arranging men' [AJ 1576/22 Nov.1653–10 Nov. 1654]
was the great rice-storehouse as it was struck by lightning.
At the same time the people of Siam paid obeisance,
presenting a letter to the king;
they were entertained and promptly received.
Then lightning struck;
indeed, there was a great earthquake
and an eclipse of the sun.
In the same year there was a comet. Then
the game-enclosure of Kranon was laid out

76. and a Prabayasa was built on the same piece of land [?],
when 'the teachers seven were like the moon' [AJ 1577/11 Nov. 1654–30 Oct. 1655];
at the same time stags were provided [by the king],
seven thousand in number.
Not long thereafter the Dutch arrived,
offering a horse to the king:
Kĕbobang [the red buffalo] it was,
accompanied by various gifts [?].
From the people of the coast was collected their *reals*,
in Sawal, of the year Wawu,

77. dina Had tanggal pat-bĕlas singgih
Panĕmbahan Purubaya seda
Muharam Jimakir rĕke
pan tunggal warsanipun
Ki Tumĕnggung Mataram lalis
bujongga pitu nata
tunggal sasinipun
Pangeran Dipati ika
pangalihe adalĕm Karanon singgih
pan tunggal warsyanira

78. bujongga pitu anata jalmi
Dipati Sampang sapjahira
nora aganti sasine
dukane Sang Ngaulun
datĕng [*sic*] ingkang paman tan sipi
tinundhung sinang[sar] a
sanak-dharanipun
Pangeran Silarong kesah
linungakĕn dhatĕng Waladana singgih
saanak-dharanira

79. kala Pangeran Dipati krami
ingkang putra Dĕmang Mangunjaya
wiwara Sang Nata wonge
ing Dulkaidah ketung
ngrampog liman ing Poncaniti
taun Alip samana
Sabdagati ngamuk
ing alun-alun busĕkan
Angabei ing Kajĕnar angemasi
Tamenggita kabranan

77. on Sunday [mistake for Tuesday?] the fourteenth [Tuesday, 14 Sawal, Wawu AJ 1577/17 Aug.1655], indeed.
Panĕmbahan Purubaya passed away
in Muharam [of the year] Jimakir [Muharam, Jimakir AJ 1578/31 Oct.–29 Nov.1655].
Now, the same was the year
when Ki Tumĕnggung Mataram died,
when 'the poets seven arranged;
the same' [AJ 1578/31 Oct.1655–19 Oct.1656] was the month
when Pangeran Adipati [the crown prince]
moved to take up residence at Kranon, indeed.
Now, the same was the year

78. when 'the poets seven arranged men' [AJ 1578/31 Oct.1655–19 Oct. 1656],
after the death of the Adipati of Sampang;
in the same month
the wrath of His Majesty
towards his uncle was limitless.
He was expelled, made wretched,
with all his children and wives.
Pangeran Silarong left,
ordered to go to Waladana, indeed,
with all his children and wives.

79. When Pangeran Adipati [the crown prince] married
the daughter of Dĕmang Mangunjaya,
'the gateway of the king was his people' [AJ 1579/20 Oct.1656–8 Oct.1657].
In the month Dulkaidah [11 Aug.–9 Sept.1657], it was calculated,
an elephant was set against spear-men in the Poncaniti.
The year was Alip [AJ 1579/20 Oct.1656–8 Oct.1657] then
when Sabdagati ran amuck;
in the great square there was an exceeding commotion.
The Ngabei of Jĕnar was killed
and Tamenggita was wounded.

80. Masjid Agung kala denampeni
ri (sa)sanga pandhita sami condra
Nirdakarti ing pjahe
ing jro masjid genipun
gilang-gilang kunarpa kari
kagum geger wurahan
cingak samya dulu
anake sarĕng palastra
Nayagati mati sandhap ing Sitinggi/l *f. 361 r.*
jisime gilang-gilang

81. sarĕng pa-Mĕdhong wong wetan prapti
Arya Pamot mati Pasĕdhahan
kacitra kamuk patine
wong ing jro kitha sampun
binoyongan dhatĕng Matawis
sewu kurĕn binakta
kĕbo sapinipun
saraja-kaya binakta
wiwarani[ng] pandhita anata jalmi
taun He mangsanira

82. pipitu mantri jinungjung linggih
taun Ehe Raden Kandhuruwan
giningsir saking purane
sirna pandhita bayu
tunggal warsa ganta [*sic; i.e.* ganti] nĕm sasi
Pangeran Surapringga
ing sasedanipun
sirna sarira tinata
ratu sakta [*sic; i.e.* sakti] nora amawi piranti
sakeh ing pringgabaya

80. When the Great Mosque was fenced in
'nine teachers were like the moon' [AJ 1579/20 Oct.1656–8 Oct.1657].
Nirdakarti died:
inside the mosque he was,
his body left neglected.
Amazed, exceedingly tumultuous, confused
and astonished were all those who saw.
His son died at the same time:
Nayagati died below the Siti Inggil,
his body neglected.

81. During the affair of Mĕdhong, the people from the east[ern part of Java] came;
and Arya Pamot died in Pasuruhan.
It is told his death was caused by someone running amuck.
The inhabitants of the city
were transported to Mataram;
thousands of couples were moved out,
buffaloes, cows,
and all the cattle were taken along,
through 'the gateway of the teachers who arranged men' [AJ 1579/20 Oct. 1656–8 Oct.1657].
In the year Ehe, the *mangsa*

82. Kapitu [Jan.–Feb.1658], *mantris* were promoted.
In this year Ehe, Raden Kandhuruwan
was removed from the palace,
when 'the teacher disappeared in the wind;
in the same' [1570; mistake for Ehe AJ 1580/9 Oct.1657–28 Sept.1658] year, six months later,
Pangeran Surabaya
died and thereafter
'disappeared his body, arranged by
the king' [AJ 1580/9 Oct.1657–28 Sept.1658], magically powerful, without using any apparatus
against all the dangers.

83. ing Jimawal Wongsarĕja mati
pinĕjahan jroning Sokasana
angurĕbi kamantrene
pan tunggal warsanipun
sakathahe santana sami
pinatĕdhanan reyal
salĕksa gungipun
satunggal bujongga nata
wong Mataram nguwaran picis tambagi
pan sampun tinulisan

84. paksa bujongga anata jalmi
Dipati Mangkubumi dinukan
tinundhung saking purane
putri-dalĕm kang kantun
raden pasaliran tut wuri
dakokna ing Loserang
atunggua iku
astanane Martalaya
sing adulu waspanira adrĕs mijil
taun He [*sic; i.e.* Je] mangsanira

85. kalih bujongga asamir sasi
taun Ĕje Wirajaya lunga
tĕkan sakula-wargane
Pranaraga genipun
tanpantara nulya / giningsir *f. 361 v.*
Pasĕdhahan genira
sarĕng kesahipun
Tumĕnggung Sagnyanapura [*sic*]
Raden Tondha winisaya datan ganti
Pangeran Pugĕr seda

83. In [the year] Jimawal [AJ 1581/29 Sept.1658–17 Sept.1659]
Wongsarĕja died,
put to death inside the Sokasana,
doubling over upon the *kamantren*.
In the same year
all the relatives [of the king]
were given *reals*,
ten thousand in amount.
When 'one was the poet of the king,
the people' [AJ 1581/29 Sept.1658–17 Sept.1659] of Mataram were told [to use] small copper coins;
now, they [the royal relatives] had been recorded.

84. When 'with compulsion the poet arranged men' [AJ 1582/18 Sept.1659–5 Sept.1660]
Adipati Mangkubumi fell into disgrace [with the king]
and was expelled from the palace;
the royal princess remained behind
but his aristocratic concubines followed him,
to be placed at Loserang,
to stay there
at the mausoleum of Martalaya.
Those who saw were greatly moved to tears.
In the year Je, in the *mangsa*

85. 'Kalih, the poet wore the shawl of the moon' [*mangsa* Kalih, Je AJ 1582/ Aug.–Sept.1660].
In this year Je [AJ 1582/18 Sept.1659–5 Sept.1660], Wirajaya left
accompanied by his wife and family;
Panaraga was their place [to live].
Not long thereafter he was removed
to Pasuruhan.
At the same time left
Tumĕnggung Sajanapura.
Raden Tondha was snared at the same time
as Pangeran Pugĕr died.

86. taun Ĕdal wong agung Matawis
sami tinoya-rata sadaya
miwah wong Kaparĕk kabeh
wong Gĕdhong datan kantun
sami tampi pasiyan gusti
pan tunggal warsanira
ing sadhatĕngipun
Pangeran Giri sewaka
ing Mataram mantri bujongga pan sami
tunggal candrane ika

87. Tumĕnggung Asmaradana lalis
pinĕjahan sarĕnge patambak
angurĕbi ing lampite
paksa sarira bayu
wong Mataram anambut kardi
gegere awurahan
cingak samya dulu
anake aganti pjah
sinudukan aneng sandhap ing Sitinggil
garjita kang tumingal

88. tan antara Natarnawa mati
pinĕjahan Ngadilangu genya
kaya bujongga margane
tunggal Dal taunipun
wong pasisir anambut kardi
miwah moncanagara
Kapĕdhak pan tumut
kĕrigan bala Mataram
lan wong Gĕdhong Gunung Pĕgat densusuki
kaetang sangkalanya

86. In the year Dal [AJ 1583/6 Sept.1660–26 Aug.1661], the dignitaries of Mataram
all had to take the water-oath
along with all the Kapĕdhak people;
the Gĕdhong people were not omitted.
All were subjected to the tyranny of their lord.
Now, in the same year
arrived
Pangeran Giri to pay obeisance
in Mataram. 'The officials and poets together
were one' [AJ 1583/6 Sept.1660–26 Aug.1661] was the chronogram then.

87. Tumĕnggung Asmaradana died,
killed at the same time as a dam was constructed,
doubling over upon the rattan mat
'forcibly, his body [thrown to the] winds
by the people' [1582; ? mistake for AJ 1583/6 Sept.1660–26 Aug.1661] of Mataram, doing it
in a noisy commotion;
in amazement they observed.
Then it was his son's turn to die,
stabbed beneath the Siti Inggil;
reflective were those who saw.

88. Not long thereafter Nata Ernawa died,
killed in Adilangu,
'like a poet's was his way;
in the same' [AJ 1583/6 Sept.1660–26 Aug.1661] year Dal [AJ 1583],
the people of the coast set to work
along with [the people of] the outer lands,
the Kapĕdhak people also accompanying them;
called up were the troops of Mataram
together with the Gĕdhong people; Gunung Pĕgat was given a canal.
Calculated was the chronogram

89. ambangun tambak ing Jaha singgih
atĕngĕran Umbul kang kinarya
samantri-mantrine kabeh
taun Be Kapatipun
mantri sari anata bumi
Kartanagara lunga
ing sarayatipun
tunggal warsa Suranata
wus giningsir tambak bĕdhah ari wĕngi
gegere awurahan

90. lir jong / milir sarah lumbung keli *f. 362 r.*
pantun kanyut kadi gunung sĕkar
alembak karaton kilen
pagrĕ bata katĕmpuh
kidul-kilen ika kapering
Rongga Sĕcawacana
kanyut mati ngranu
Adipati Tĕpasana
nitih sarah kandhĕg aneng ngarsa moni [*sic; i.e.* nguni?]
garwa nangis sadaya

91. Dipati Tĕpasana giningsir
sanak-dhara sakula-santana
sah saking purane age
aglis sinedan sampun
ingastana aneng Kacĕmbing
warna bujongga nata
tunggal warsanipun
Pri[ng] galaya sampun lunga
Tĕpengsara Dĕmang Jĕnggala wus mati
Ngabei Pra[ng] madana

89. when a dam was constructed in Jaha, indeed;
those [officials] with the title of Umbul it was who did it
with all their *mantris*,
in the year Be [mistake for Dal?], the *mangsa* Kapat,
when 'the *mantris*' essence governed the earth' [*mangsa* Kapat, Dal AJ 1583/Oct.–Nov.1660].
Kartanagara left
with all his dependents.
In the same year Suranata
was removed. The dam burst in the night
and there was a noisy commotion;

90. rubbish and rice-storehouses were swept away, like [Chinese] junks;
rice-plants were swept away like flower-mountains [*gunungan*].
It washed through the western part of the court
and rushed against the brick walls
on the south-west corner.
Rongga Sĕcawacana
was swept away and died in the water.
Adipati Tĕpasana
was riding upon rubbish and came to a stop in the presence [of the king] then;
his wives all wept.

91. Adipati Tĕpasana was removed,
accompanied by his family, dependents, and relatives;
he left the palace speedily
and then was quickly killed
and buried in a mausoleum at Kacĕmbing,
when 'the appearance of the poet and the king were
the same' [AJ 1584/27 Aug.1661–15 Aug.1662] as the year when
Pringgalaya had left
and Tĕpengsara, the Dĕmang of Jĕnggala, had died.
Ngabei Prangmadana

92. Nyai Sugiyan seda tan ganti
Pangran Carĕbon seba Mataram
adi madya tata wonge
tunggal warsane ketung
lumrah yatra tambaga sami
lunga Dipati Sampang
sanak-dharanipun
ing Karoya genya nata
tan antara anuli ngandikan malih
mantuka puranira

93. taun Wawu Martalaya mati
pinĕjahan aneng Pagĕlaran
sarĕng mati lan mantune
warna sarira bayu
rupa ganti taune nuli
randhu alas ngambilan
tĕngah ngalun-alun
nulya amajĕng witana
Sri Manganti buta sinanjata sa(n)mi
kaetang sangkalanya

94. wong Mataram pinundhutan sami
gĕbyog agung pan ora antara
lintang kumukus sarĕnge
kalawan grĕring agung
gunung muni rora [*sic; i.e.* nora] (ha) aganti
Mas Piji ingka[ng] seda
tunggal war/sanipun *f. 362 v.*
ing taun Alip samana
rasaning bujongga anata ing jalmi
Arya Asmaradana

92. and Nyai Sugiyan died at the same time.
Pangeran Cirĕbon paid obeisance to Mataram;
'excellent and mediocre, arranged were the people' [AJ 1584/27 Aug.1661–15 Aug.1662].
The same year, it is calculated,
copper coins were put into general use
and the Adipati of Sampang left
with his wife and family;
in Karoya he arranged affairs.
Not long thereafter, he was told again
to return to the palace.

93. In the year Wawu [mistake for Be?] Martalaya died,
killed on the Pagĕlaran,
dying at the same time as his son-in-law,
when 'the appearance of the bodies was like the wind's
appearance' [Be AJ 1584/29 Aug.1661–15 Aug.1662]. Then changed the year
and wild kapok-trees were taken out
of the centre of the great square.
Then was roofed the pavilion
Sri Manganti; 'the demons were all shot' [555; mistake for AJ 1585/16 Aug. 1662–4 Aug.1663],
so was the chronogram calculated;

94. from the people of Mataram was demanded
[the timber for the] large wooden wainscot. Now, not long thereafter
there was a comet, at the same time
as a great epidemic,
and the [volcanic] mountains sounded. Unchanged [was the year when]
it was Mas Piji who died,
the same was the year,
in the year Alip [mistake for Jimakir?] then,
when 'the feelings of the poets arranged men' [Jimakir AJ 1586/5 Aug.1663–24 July 1664],
[as had died] Arya Asmaradana [*also the name of the following metre*].

Canto II [Asmaradana]

1. ḳala Pangeran Dipati
giningsir aneng Lipura
ing Buda-M[an] is dinane
kala ing sasi Muhkaram
tanggal ping kalih Kasa
kaetang sangkalanipun
rasa bujongga tinata

2. apan ta anunggil warsi
Raden Danurĕksa kesah
aneng ing Dĕmak ĕnggene
nuli ngandikan wangsula
Jurangjĕro genira
ya ta ganti sedanipun
ratu estri duk samana

3. Dite-Wage anglĕrĕsi
Jimawal ing sasi Safar
naga sarira butane
i[ng] jalma sinukmeng basa
[pan tunggal warsanira]
ya ta duk giningsiripun
sira Ka [*sic; i.e.* Ki] Wiramanggala

4. Ki Wirajaya giningsir
kalawan Ki Prayasuta
lan Kartijaya rowange
lan Ngabei Yudabongsa
bujongga walu nata
ing jalma sangkalanipun
wong Mataram babarisan

5. pan aneng ing Poncaniti
laminira pitung dina
Prabaya[sa] ginĕmpure
pabĕndung kali Minonga [*sic*]
jinĕnĕngan Sang Nata
wiwara bujongga wau
anata jalma ing tambak

Canto II

1. When Pangeran Adipati [the crown prince]
was removed to Lipura,
the day was Wednesday-Lĕgi [mistake for Monday-Paing?]
in the month Muharam,
the date the second, the *mangsa* Kasa;
the chronogram was calculated
'the feelings of the poets were arranged;

2. now, the same' [Monday-Paing, 2 Muharam, *mangsa* Kasa, AJ 1586/6 Aug. 1663] was the year
when Raden Danurĕksa set off;
in Dĕmak was his place;
then he was told to return
to be in Jurangjĕro.
Now we change [the subject] : the death of
the royal wife (Ratu Estri) was when

3. it was Sunday-Wage, indeed,
in the year Jimawal [mistake for Ehe?], in the month Safar, when
'the serpent's body was the demon
of men' [Sunday-Wage, (25) Safar, Ehe AJ 1588/6 Sept. 1665], incarnated in words.
[Now, the same was the year]
when was removed
Ki Wiramanggala

4. and when Ki Wirajaya was removed
together with Ki Prayasuta
and Kartijaya his comrade
and Ngabei Yudabongsa;
'the poets eight arranged
men' [AJ 1588/14 July 1665–3 July 1666] was the chronogram.
The people of Mataram took up positions

5. in the Poncaniti
for as long as seven days.
The Prabayasa was demolished
and the river Winanga was dammed
under the supervision of the king,
when 'at the doorway the poet, then,
arranged the men' [AJ 1589/4 July 1666–22 June 1667] at the dam.

6. kala Sang Nata cangkrami
kĕrigan bala Mataram
ya ta rawuh ing Kabaron
deh ing guwa pan tinata
ing jalma duk samana
tan alami nuli kondur
masanggrahan Kasundawan

7. Pangeran Silarong lalis
iya aneng Waladana *f. 363 r.*
nocapa [*sic; i.e.* kocapa] ing dintĕn Sĕnen
ing Pa[n]caniti wurahan
Ganjur lan Jagataka
Martapura sarĕngipun
kacĕkĕl sah ing Mataram

8. Kajawan denya mĕjahi
tunggal wadana tinata
ing sujalma sangkalane
sarĕng Sri Narendra duka
Pangeran Purubaya
samana ingkang ingutus
kang kinen amĕjahana

9. wau dumatĕng [*sic*] kang rayi
Pangeran Wiramanggala
wus kaetang sangkalane
kalih gapura tinata
ing jalma duk samana
apan tunggal taunipun
Kapĕdhak ing jro pinĕpak

10. wau aneng ing Sitinggil
Dipati Madiyun prapta
sarĕng kinĕjepan kabeh
Kapĕdhĕk sarĕng nyuriga
kunarpa gilang-gilang
kalanipun Raden Putu
giningsir saking Mataram

6. When the king went on a pleasure-trip,
called up were the troops of Mataram.
Now, he arrived in Kabaron,
'and then in the cave arranged
were the people' [AJ 1590/23 June 1667–10 June 1668] at that time.
Not long thereafter he returned home,
taking up temporary residence at Kasundawan.

7. Pangeran Silarong died,
indeed, in Waladana.
Now, be it told, on Monday
there was a commotion in the Poncaniti.
Ganjur and Jagataka
along with Martapura
were captured; they left Mataram

8. and in Kajawan were they killed.
'One was the face put on
by men' [AJ 1591/11 June 1668–31 May 1669] was the chronogram
when the king was angry.
Pangeran Purubaya
it was who was sent out then,
who was sent to kill

9. his younger brother
Pangeran Wiramanggala;
calculated is the chronogram:
'two were the gateways arranged by
men' [AJ 1592/1 June 1669–20 May 1670] then.
Now, the same was the year
when the Kapĕdhak people were all assembled within [the court].

10. Now, upon the Siti Inggil
the Adipati of Madiun arrived,
and thereupon winked at were all
the Kapĕdhak people who then attacked him with their *krises*;
his body was left neglected.
When Raden Putu
was removed from Mataram,

11. langkung dening kawlas asih
linabuh aneng Tunjungbang
sarĕng Sang Nata gingsire
asilih karatonira
mring Magira [*sic; i.e.* Magiri] Sang Nata
kinarya silih kaprabun
Pangeran ing Singasĕkar

12. Ki Mangunnagara prapti
asidhupuh aneng ngarsa
ngaturkĕn pati-uripe
Ki Prabu Anom kang kocap
pinarĕk Sita [*sic; i.e.* Siti] Bĕntar
warnane lir Nabi Yusup
Kapĕdhĕk suyud sadaya

13. katon gapura asamir
ing sasi kala samana
nora antara sarĕnge
natkalane obat kobar
kang kĕmit tutumpĕsan
apan sarĕng praptanipun
Walonda seba Mata/ram *f. 363 v.*

14. ngaturi kuda sarakit
sarĕng Wiradika pjah
anglĕrĕsi dina Sĕnen
pinĕjahan Sokasana
sarĕng lan anakira
jisimira pan linabuh
samana ing lepen Umpak

15. kay trus asamir sasi
pan sarĕng palara-lara
ing jawi apan pateplok
pan ajrih kalĕbeng pura
tunggil sangkalanira
kala padudon ing kayun
Jĕng Pangeran Adipatya

11. exceedingly pitiable was he,
thrown into the sea at Tunjungbang.
At the same time the king stepped aside
and turned over the royal dignity;
to Imagiri the king went,
and he who was made his replacement as king
was Pangeran Singasari.

12. Ki Mangunnagara arrived
and seated himself most humbly in the presence,
submitting his life or death [to the ruler].
The young king now is told of,
as he sat in state upon the Siti Inggil,
his appearance like that of the Prophet Joseph;
the Kapĕdhak people all submitted.

13. 'There appeared a gateway wrapped
in the moon' [AJ 1593/21 May 1670–9 May 1671] then.
Not long thereafter
was it when the gunpowder caught fire,
the watchmen all perishing.
Now, at the same time arrived
the Dutch to pay obeisance to Mataram,

14. offering a pair of horses.
When Wiradika died
the day, indeed, was Monday;
he was killed in the Sokasana
together with his son:
their bodies were thrown
then into the river Opak.

15. 'As if continuously wrapped in the moon' [AJ 1593/21 May 1670–9 May 1671]
then, there was a maiden old enough to become a concubine;
outside, the women in search of protectors
feared to enter the palace.
The same was the chronogram
when there was a conflict of desires
between Pangeran Adipati [the crown prince]

16. lan Pangeran Singasari
dening dhustha kang pralaya
Rahaden Dhobras sedane
pinardata ing pasoan
malah katur Sang Nata
kandhap Pangran Singasantun
punggawane tinĕtĕkan

17. prapta jalajat ing bumi
beda-beda kang sangara
gunung Marapi gunture
bĕlah bĕntar kang prawata
apan udan pawaka
warna muka buta purun
sangkalane pan ingetang

18. tatkala ing taun Alip
wiwit tibaning sangara
kala Muharam sasine
tan antara wartanira
obah wong ing Mataram
ing Dĕmung kancikan musuh
wong Bugil [*sic; i.e.* Bugis] la[n] wong Makasar

19. apan akanthi wong Bali
limang atus kathahira
ya ta pinapag yudane
wong Mataram pan kĕrigan
miwah ma[n] canagara
tiyang ing pasisir tumut
balane tanpa wilangan

20. buta sasonga asamir
wanine wong ing Mataram
kadar pira ing mungsuhe
ing Dĕmung sampun kakĕpang
malah jangkĕp sawarsa
denira apĕ/rang cucuh *f. 364 r.*
ing Dĕmung tan kaunggahan

16. and Pangeran Singasari,
because of the wretch who died,
Raden Dhobras. His death
was brought before a law tribunal on the great square,
and was even submitted to the king [Amangkurat I].
Pangeran Singasari lost [the case]
and hacked to pieces were his officials.

17. Then came omens upon the earth;
various were the calamities:
Mount Mĕrapi thundered,
the mountain splitting apart,
and then fell a rain of fire;
'the colour of the faces was that of courageous demons' [AJ 1594/10 May 1671–28 Apr.1672],
so was the chronogram calculated.

18. Then in the year Alip
the calamity began to come,
when the month was Muharam [Muharam, Alip AJ 1595/29 Apr.–28 May 1672].
Not long thereafter the news
caused commotion among the people of Mataram:
Dĕmung had been entered by enemies,
the Buginese and the Makasarese,

19. accompanied by the Balinese;
five hundred was their number.
Now, they were met in battle,
the people of Mataram called up
with those of the outer lands,
the people of the coast accompanying,
the troops innumerable.

20. 'The demons nine wore as a shawl
the courage' [AJ 1595/29 Apr.1672–17 Apr.1673] of the people of Mataram.
But what could they do against the enemy?
Dĕmung was already surrounded.
Even for a full year
they fought furiously
at Dĕmung, but [the walls] were not climbed.

21. bubar titiyang Matawis
tan ana ngĕntasi karya
pĕndhĕk warsa ing wartine
Sumĕnĕp lawan Madura
sami balik sadaya
Garĕsik Surabayeku
sami tumut Trunajaya

22. angrĕs titiyang Matawis
miwah ingkang para putra
lawan para mantri kabeh
rasa sasonga winayang
ing jalma wong Mataram
tan darbe kawanenipun
saya adrĕs ingkang warta

23. titiyang Madura singgih
samana sampun anabrang
wong Mataram dadan kabeh
kĕrigan wong sanagara
mantri lawan punggawa
dening ta pangiridipun
sira Pangeran Purbaya

24. para putra datan kari
para prajurit Mataram
sami ilang kasĕktene
miwah ingkang para putra
manahe lir wanodya
tan darbe kawanen kawus
sampun karsaning Pangeran

25. ya ta tiba ni[ng] prajangji
sasi Mulud malĕm Ahad
anglĕrĕsi taun Ĕbeh [*sic*]
kala tanggal ping walulas
Sang Nata tilar pura
putra sadaya pan tumut
tanapi mantri punggawa

21. The people of Mataram set off,
nothing having come of their efforts.
A year later, it is said,
Sumĕnĕp and [western] Madura
both rebelled, all;
Grĕsik and Surabaya,
all followed Trunajaya.

22. Deeply disturbed were the people of Mataram
along with the princes
and all the *mantris*.
When 'six feelings were played upon the screen
by men' [1696; mistake for AJ 1596/18 Apr.1673–7 Apr.1674], the people of Mataram
had no courage;
ever more pressing was the news.

23. The people of Madura, indeed,
had then crossed over [to Java].
The people of Mataram prepared themselves all;
the people of all the kingdom were called up,
the *mantris* and officials.
Now, the commander
was Pangeran Purbaya

24. and the princes remained not behind.
The soldiers of Mataram
all lost their supernatural power;
and the princes,
their hearts were like women's,
having no courage, terrified.
It was the wish of God.

25. Then came the promised time:
the month was Mulud, the eve of Sunday [mistake for Friday?],
indeed the year was Be,
when the date was eighteen.
The ruler left the capital behind,
the princes all accompanying
with the *mantris* and officials.

26. gegere kalaning wĕngi
wisma tĕlas ingobongan
kadi Kiyamat gegere
sirna ilang rasaning rat
bĕdhahe ing Mataram
Kangjĕng Susunan andarung
lalose saking Mataram

27. kala aneng [Tĕ] gal Wangi
sedanipun Jĕng Susunan
kang putra sampun gumantos
Kangjĕng Susunan Mangkurat
wadya / suyud dadaya [*sic; i.e.* sadaya] *f. 364 v.*
bubar saking Tĕgil Arum
anglangkungi Pakalongan

28. Jĕpara sinĕdya galih
sampun abala Walonda
wong Koja lan tiyang Ambon
wus bubar saking Japara
Susunan Amangkurat
Kadhiri ingkang jinujug
ambĕdhahi Trunajaya

29. jalma sirna ngrasa wani
kala ing Kadhiri bĕdhah
Pangeran ing Kajorane
giningsir marang ing Sonya
kalih sirna winayang
wong Kamangkuratan purun
duk pjahe Trunajaya

30. ing Payak denya ngĕmasi
Sunan dhatĕng Suraprinngga
kala pa-Kĕprĕ pĕrange
bĕdhahe ing Giri Liman
sumĕdya Sabilolah
sikara widik karĕtu
wanine wong ing Mataram

26. During the night there was uproar
and the houses were all set afire;
like the Judgement Day was the uproar.
'Disappeared, gone, was the feeling of the world' [Friday, 18 Mulud, Be AJ 1600/21 May 1677]
when fell Mataram.
On and on went the Susuhunaṅ's
flight from Mataram;

27. when he was at Tĕgal Wangi
the Susuhunan passed away.
His son then succeeded
as Susuhunan Amangkurat [II].
All the troops paid submission
and they departed from Tĕgal Wangi,
passing by Pĕkalongan.

28. Japara was the goal in their hearts,
already garrisoned by the Dutch,
Muslim foreigners, and Ambonese.
Then had departed from Japara
Susuhunan Amangkurat,
Kadhiri his destination,
to destroy Trunajaya.

29. 'Men were destroyed, feeling courageous' [AJ 1601/23 Feb.1678–11 Feb. 1679]
when Kadhiri fell.
The Pangeran of Kajoran
fled to Sonya.
'Two disappeared, played upon the screen by
the people' [AJ 1602/12 Feb.1679–1 Feb.1680] of Amangkurat, daring,
when Trunajaya died;

30. in Payak was he killed.
The Susuhunan went to Surabaya
when there was fighting in Kĕpĕr.
Giri Liman fell,
intending Holy War,
when 'violence on high was destroyed by
the courage of the people' [AJ 1602/12 Feb.1679–1 Feb.1680] of Mataram.

31. wus bubar Sri Narapati
lumampah dhatĕng ing Pajang
Kartasura kadhatone
Sang Nata anjabĕl pura
dhumatĕng ing Mataram
tan emut lamon sadulur
atĕmah(b)an papĕrangan

32. kang rayi maksih ngukuhi
Pangeran asor kang yuda
ya ta lalos mring Pagĕlen [*sic*]
ya ta Susunan Mangkurat
wangsul mring Kartasura
lir ngambara ngrasa purun
Raja Namrud madĕg Nata

33. Ki Sindurĕja pan ru[n]tik
tanapi Dipati Ngrawan
sigra linurugan age
ing Salinga wus kakĕpang
pĕrangira kasoran
Kangjĕng Pangeran anungkul
mring kang raka saha bala

34. ing Salinga wus kabĕsmi
warna gagana winayang
ing jalma ika sarĕnge
wong Jahor kalane prapta *f. 365 r.*
kalawan wong Palembang
atur liman i[ng] Sang Prabu
buta sirna ngrasa tunggal

35. apan ta anunggil warsi
wong Gunung Kidul tumĕdhak
ing Karangasĕm ĕnggene
Kalesan tĕmpuh ing yuda
mungsuh tumpĕs sadaya
larut datan ana kantun
apan ta anunggil warsa

31. Then the ruler departed
and went to Pajang;
Kartasura was his court.
The ruler demanded back the capital
from Mataram;
thinking not [of their obligations] as brothers,
in the end it came to war.

32. The younger brother [Pangeran Pugĕr] still stood firm,
but Pangeran [Pugĕr] lost the battle
and fled to Bagĕlen.
Then Susuhunan Amangkurat
returned to Kartasura.
'As if flying in the sky, feeling courageous' [AJ 1603/2 Feb.1680–20 Jan. 1681],
Raja Namrud rose up as king.

33. Ki Sindurĕja was incensed,
as was Adipati Ngurawan.
Immediately marched against was
Salinga; it was besieged,
the war was lost,
and Pangeran [Pugĕr] submitted
to his elder brother with his army;

34. Salinga was burned.
'The appearance of the heavens was played upon the screen
by men' [AJ 1604/21 Jan.1681–10 Jan.1682] then.
When the people of Johor arrived
with the people of Palembang,
offering elephants to the king,
'the demon disappeared, feeling as one' [AJ 1605/11 Jan.–30 Dec.1682].

35. In that same year
the people of Gunung Kidul descended:
in Karangasĕm was their position.
Kalesan was attacked in battle
and the enemy were destroyed, all;
they fled, none remained behind.
Now, the year was the same when

36. wong Wukir tumĕdhak malih
ing Wanglu denya ayuda
apan ta nunggil taune
Sri Narendra arsa krama
lan putri Giri Liman
sangkalane was kaetung
rasa gagana winayang

37. ing jalma kala anĕnggih
apan ta anunggal warsa
kala grahana srangenge
pĕtĕng jaman Kartasura
gunung gugur kawayang
ing jalma pan sarĕngipun
kala supit Raden Ĕmas

38. nora antara akardi
urung-urung ing Mataram
kang sa[ng] sa(ng)m giniring kabeh
dhumatĕng ing Kartasura
kalane Pĕtak pjah
ing Surapati karuwun
naga sirna ngrasa tunggal

39. duta Jahor ingkang prapti
atur surat ing Sang Nata
sarĕng kadhaton ginĕbyog
pan sarĕng pa-Taruwongsa
ngadu aprang tandhingan
apan aneng alun-alun
sami kinen salang tumbak

40. kala ing taun Jimakir
trus sirna kawayang jalma
pun Onggapatra patine
ganti warsa patinira
Kabalen Wongsanata
sirnaning jalma arĕtu
obahe wong Kartasura

36. the people of Gunung [Kidul] descended again
and did battle at Wanglu;
this was in the same year when
the ruler wished to marry
with the princess of Giri Liman;
the chronogram was calculated,
'like the heavens, played upon the screen

37. by men' [AJ 1606/31 Dec.1682–19 Dec.1683], indeed.
In the same year
there was a solar eclipse.
Dark was the age of Kartasura.
'The mountains collapsed, played upon the screen
by men' [AJ 1607/20 Dec.1683–8 Dec.1684] when
a Raden Mas (a young prince) was circumcised.

38. Shortly thereafter were made
'chutes' in Mataram:
the stags were driven all
to Kartasura.
When [François] Tack was killed
by Surapati then,
'the serpent disappeared, feeling as one' [AJ 1608/9 Dec.1684–27 Nov.1685].

39. Ambassadors from Johor arrived,
presenting a letter to the ruler,
when the court was given wooden wainscoting.
At the same time was the affair of Taruwongsa;
they were made to battle each other
upon the great square,
set to fight in turns with pikes.

40. In the year Jimakir,
'straightaway disappearing, played upon the screen by men' [AJ 1609/28 Nov. 1685–16 Nov.1686],
Onggapatra died.
The next year was the death of
the Balinese Wongsanata,
when 'the destruction of the man caused uproar
in the movements of the people' [16610; i.e. AJ 1610/17 Nov.1686–6 Nov. 1687] of Kartasura.

41. apan ta anunggal warsi
kala pjahe Ermaya
sikaraning wong obahe *f. 365 v.*
natkalane [*sic*] kabongira
Masigit Kartasura
kang Prabayasa winangun
apan ta anunggal warsa

42. pangadĕge kang Masigit
miwah kala dun [*sic; i.e.* duk] pa-Carat
wus kaetang sangkalane
mantri siji ngoyan [*sic; i.e.* ngoyag] jagat
kala Sunan cangkrama
mring Pamancingan karuwun
warnaning jalma winayang

Canto III [Pangkur]

Puh Pangkur

1. apan ta anunggil warna [*sic; i.e.* warsa]
duk ing Gĕnthong samana denlurugi
wong pasisir apan tumut
miwah moncanagara
wong ing Kartasura samana pan matuk
duk ing Gĕnthong tinuguran
Pandhawa jalma anami

2. ing paksa [*sic; i.e.* paksi] jangkĕp sawarsa
duk Kamuning Ki Sontayuda mati
ardi satunggal arĕtu
obah wong Kartasura
ganti warsa anuli pa-Dhadhungawuk
naga satunggal winayang
ing jalma nora aganti

41. Now, in the same year
when died Ermaya,
'the violence in men was in movement' [AJ (1)612/26 Oct.1688–15 Oct.1689]
when caught fire
the mosque of Kartasura.
The Prabayasa was reconstructed
in the same year

42. when was erected the mosque
and when was the affair of Carat;
the chronogram was calculated,
'one official shook the world' [AJ 1613/16 Oct.1689–4 Oct.1690].
When the Susuhunan went on a pleasure-trip
to Pamancingan,
'the appearance of man was played upon the screen' [AJ (1)614/5 Oct.1690–23 Sept.1691].

Canto III

Metre: *Pangkur*

1. It was in the same year
when Gĕnthong was marched against.
The people of the coast followed,
with the people of the outer lands.
The people of Kartasura then returned home.
When Gĕnthong had been occupied
'the Pandawas were named by men

2. after birds' [AJ 1615/24 Sept.1691–12 Sept.1692], when the year was complete.
When in Kamuning Ki Sontayuda died
'the one mountain caused uproar
in the movements of the people' [16617; i.e. AJ 1617/2 Sept.1693–21 Aug. 1694] of Kartasura.
The next year, then, was the affair of Dhadhungawuk,
'one serpent played upon the screen
by men' [AJ 1618/22 Aug.1694–11 Aug.1695]. Unchanged

3. titiyang ing Balambangan
pan ambahak amampang ing ajurit
samana pan mĕtu kidul
andalani Lodhaya
wong Kadhiri sami tinumpĕs sadarum
dening wong ing Balangngangan [*sic; i.e.* Balangbangan]
tinumpĕsan jalu estri

4. apan gapura satunggal
pan inganggas sujalma padha wani
Pasĕdhahan kalanipun
apan ta linurugan
ing wong Balangbangan pinĕthuk kang mungsuh
Pacabeyan babarisan
arame kang punang jurit

5. patinipun Macansura
wong B(a)langbangan tumpĕs tan ana kari
wong sewu tan ana mantuk
. . .
Karta/sura samana ingkang winuwus *f. 366 r.*
kala wiwit pagrĕ bata
sangkalanira winarni

6. sirnaning netra agana
ing sujalma ya ta aganti warsi
Panaraga bĕdhahipun
bayongane akatha[h]
apan sarĕng samana pan[am]butipun
Sitinggil binata pĕthak
apan sujalma kakalih

7. obahe siti ing Pajang
pan samana iya anunggal warsi
Raden Sukra pjahipun
dosane lambang sĕkar
lan Pangeran Adipati garwanipun
apan ta anunggal warsa
kala grĕrahe Sang Aji

3. [was the year when] the people of Balambangan
plundered, vicious in war;
then they took the southern route
passing through Lodhaya;
the people of Kadhiri were all destroyed
by the people of Balambangan,
slaughtered male and female.

4. Now, 'one gateway
was bound around by men' [AJ 1619/12 Aug.1695–30 July 1696], equally courageous,
when Pasuruhan
was attacked
by the people of Balambangan; met were the enemy
drawn up at Pacabeyan;
furious was the battle.

5. Macansura [sic; i.e. Macanpura?] died
and the people of Balambangan were destroyed; none remained.
Of a thousand people there were none who returned home.
. . . [*the fourth line is missing*]
Kartasura now will be told of,
when the brick wall was begun
the chronogram, it is said, was

6. 'disappeared the clouds from the eyes
of men' [AJ 1620/31 July 1696–20 July 1697]. The next year
Panaraga fell and
many [of its people] were taken away as booty.
In the same year was taken in hand
the construction of the Siti Inggil in white brick.
Now, 'two people

7. moved in the land' [AJ 1621/21 July 1697–9 July 1698] of Pajang,
and in the same year
Raden Sukra died,
his sin that he indulged himself in love
with the wife of the crown prince.
Now it was in the same year
when the ruler was ill,

8. anuju ingkang sampeyan
pan sawarsa datan kĕna tinangkil
sarĕng saras Sang Aprabu
ya ta nuli pa-Carat
pan arame denya prang asareh amuk
tutumpĕsan wong sakraman
paksa sikara bah bumi

9. ya ta nuli pa-Caruban
Raden Mangunrana wadya(ne) keh mati
kaparag ing Gunung Lawu
ya ta utusan prapta
lamon Jaladriya samana wus lampus
wong Kartasura kĕrigan
ingkang a[ma] pag i[ng] jurit

10. sira Raden Sindurĕja
Pamagĕtan pan binĕdhah ing Bali
Jaladriya pan anjujuk
dhatĕng ing Panaraga
mantri galih [*sic; i.e.* kalih] apan ta angrasa purun
samana atunggil warsi [*sic*]
kalane angabĕn jalmi

11. pan Tĕka lawan Janala
apan sampruh [*sic; i.e.* sampyuh] kalih sarĕng ngĕmasi
apan wau sarĕngipun
supite Ra/den Ĕmas *f. 366 v.*
putra kalih katiga lan Raden Ayu
warna kakalih karasa
ing jalma pan anglĕrĕsi

12. krama Raden Sumaningrat
pan ginandhok kidul dalĕme singgih
anuli kalĕbon pandung
wurahan sanagara
tan antara nuli kacĕkĕl kang pandung
pun Kandhĕg wus pinĕjahan
warna buja obah bumi

8. his feet magically afflicted;
for a year he could not hold court.
When the ruler was healed
then was the affair of Carat.
Now furious was the battle; when the running amuck had calmed down,
destroyed were all the rebels,
'the force of violence moving upon the earth' [AJ 1622/10 July 1698–28 June 1699].

9. Then occurred the affair of Caruban:
of Raden Mangunrana's troops many died,
attacked at Mount Lawu.
Then the message arrived
that Jaladriya had died.
The people of Kartasura were called up;
he who went to war

10. was Raden Sindurĕja.
Now, Magĕtan was conquered by Bali.
Jaladriya then went
to Panaraga;
'the two *mantris* felt courageous' [AJ 1623/29 June 1699–18 June 1700].
Then it was in the same year
when men were set to fight,

11. Tĕka and Janala;
both at the same time died.
Now, at the same time as this was
the circumcision of the Raden Mases (young princes),
two sons, the third a Raden Ayu (a young princess).
'Two appearances were felt
by men' [AJ 1624/19 June 1700–7 June 1701], exactly,

12. when the wife of Raden Sumaningrat
was put in the side-room on the south of his residence, indeed,
which then was entered by a thief.
Confused was all the capital.
Shortly thereafter the thief was captured:
Kandhĕg was put to death.
'The appearance of arms moved the world' [AJ 1624/19 June 1700–7 June 1701]

13. kala Sang Nata cangkrama
(mring) Pamancingan lawan bala pasisir
datan aganti sataun
Sri Narendra putusan
munggah aji marang Mĕkah tunggilipun
kala Sang Nata cangkrama
iya marang Sĕkarlampir

14. apan anggaragol macam [*sic; i.e.* macan]
pan kabrĕngos [*sic; i.e.* kabrongos] wau kang angĕmasi
buta kakalih arĕtu
(ing) jalmane kang pralaya
kala Raden Sindurja ing sedanipun
dadine Ki Wiraguna
papatih lĕbĕt inguni

15. pan Pangeran Adipatya
ingkang sinung parentah mantri (ing) jawi
rasa kakalih arĕtu
jalma kala pa-Kincang
tan aganti apan ta anunggil taun
Dipati Orawan [*sic*] pjah
noranana anggĕnteni

16. dening tan adarbe putra
mila ginantung ya ta wau anuli
dhusunipun pinartĕ(ng)lu
Wirarĕja saduman
kang saduman Wirasastra kang agadhuh
kang saduman Wiraguna
saksana aganti warsi

17. seda Susunan Mangkurat
pan pinĕtĕk aneng ing Imagiri
natkala ing malĕm Sĕptu
Kaliwon rangkĕpira
bada trawe kala tanggal tigalikur
Dumadilakir sasinya
anglĕrĕsi taun Alif

13. when the king went on a pleasure-trip
to Pamancingan with the troops from the coast.
Not yet in the following year
the ruler sent envoys
to go on the pilgrimage [on his behalf] to Mecca, at the same time
as the ruler went on a pleasure-trip,
indeed, to Kĕmbang Lampir.

14. Now, into a game-enclosure were put tigers;
those which had been singed [in order to make them fight] were those that killed,
'the two demons ravaging
the man' [AJ 1625/8 June 1701–27 May 1702] who died.
When Raden Sindurĕja passed away,
this led to Ki Wiraguna becoming
inner Patih then.

15. Now, it was Pangeran Adipati [the crown prince] who
was given authority over the outer *mantris*;
'two feelings caused uproar
among the people' [AJ 1626/28 May 1702–17 May 1703]. The affair of Kincang was
in the very same year when
Adipati Ngurawan died
without a replacement,

16. for he had no sons.
Therefore [his post] was suspended, and then
his villages were divided into three:
Wirarĕja got one part,
another part Wirasastra received as his fief,
and one part went to Wiraguna.
Then the year changed.

17. Susuhunan Amangkurat [II] passed away
and was buried at Imagiri,
on the eve of Saturday,
Kliwon the other [day-name],
after the hour of the night-time service, the date twenty-three [mistake for twenty-two?],
Jumadilakir the month,
just in the year Alip,

18. pandhita kalih umangsad [*sic*] *f. 367r.*
aneng siti ngungun wong sanagari
ya ta gumanti kang sunu
Pangeran Adipatya
madĕg Ratu neng Kartasura amĕngku
Rahaden Suryakusuma
samana nula [*sic*] ambalik

19. angadĕg aneng ing Wawar
arsa ngandhih kaprabone Narpati
wong [ing] Pagĕlen sumuyud
ajujuluk Susunan
Waliolah Panatagama amĕngku
angrĕbut kitha Ma[ta]ram
sawadyanira abaris

20. wong Kartasura kĕrigan
[a]pan anglurug aprang aneng Sarig
ya ta anuli kaburu
Raden Suryakusuma
mring Pagĕlen balane pan sampun mawut
kacĕkĕl aneng Losĕkar
sanak-rabine tan kari

21. wau kang kari ing wuntat
Pangran Pugĕr wau denbabĕtheki
kempe(s)d [*sic; i.e.* kembet] solahe kang sunu
ya ta wau kawarta
Raden Suryakusuma kacĕkĕl sampun
Pangran Pugĕr linuwaran
Pangeran pan sampun malih

22. sarta kinen angaliya
awismaha apan kinen mĕdhĕki
parĕka ing alun-alun
taksih sakit kang manah
Pangran Pugĕr anuli lalos ing dalu
lampahira mring Samarang
angungsi dhatĕng Walandi

18. when 'two wise men went forth
upon the earth' [Saturday-Kliwon, 22 Jumadilakir, Alip AJ 1627/3 Nov.1703].
Dismayed were the people of all the kingdom.
Now, he was replaced by his son
the crown prince,
becoming king [Amangkurat III] in Kartasura, governing.
Raden Suryakusuma
then rebelled

19. and arose in Wawar,
intending to oust the royal authority of the king.
The people of Bagĕlen submitted to him
and he took the title of Susuhunan
Waliolah Panatagama, governing.
He conquered the city of Mataram;
all the troops took up station.

20. The people of Kartasura were called up
and marched to war at Sarig.
Then he was pursued,
Raden Suryakusuma,
to Bagĕlen; his troops had scattered.
He was captured at Losari,
his family and wives not left behind.

21. Now, he who was left behind,
Pangeran Pugĕr, was imprisoned,
implicated in the actions of his son.
Then it was reported
that Raden Suryakusuma had been captured
and Pangeran Pugĕr was set free.
The Pangeran [was told] not to let it happen again,

22. and was ordered to move
house, was ordered to move to near-
by the great square.
Still sick was his heart.
Pangeran Pugĕr then secretly made off in the night
and went to Samarang,
seeking refuge with the Dutch.

23. sangkalane sang pandhita
sinikara apan angrasa wani
saksana aganti taun
wong Gunung Kidul mampang
binoyongan wau sanak-rabinipun
naga ka/kalih inganggas *f. 367 v.*
ing jalma pan anglĕrĕsi

24. Rahaden Sudira prapta
kapanjara apan angsal sawarsi
ya ta ingapura sampun
pan kinulawisuda
sarta kapatĕdhak wau tiyang satus
kawarnaha ing Samarang
wau kang ngungsi Walandi

25. Pangeran Pugĕr samana
angsal karya wus jumnĕng Narpati
pasisir kilen kang suyud
wiwitane Tatĕgal
wong pasisir wetan wau kang sumuyud
Sumĕnĕp lawan Madura
ing Surabaya Garĕsik

26. ing Dĕmak kang maksih bongga
linurugan dening wong ing Samawis
ing Dĕmak pan sampun gĕmpur
kang baris ing Ungaran
Jayaningrat prajurit sugih tur purun
angrasa datan kawawa
dening baris ing Samawis

27. Walanda tanpa wilangan
pan wong Sabrang dening awarni-warni
dadya angrĕs manahipun
Dipati Jayaningrat
pan adawdan [*sic*] wau sanakrenipun [*sic*] [*i.e.* pan adandan wau sanak-rabinipun]
sanggup mĕtoni ing yuda
bubare kalane wĕngi

23. The chronogram was 'the holy teacher
suffered violence, but felt courageous' [16277; i.e. AJ 1627/18 May 1703–5 May 1704].
Then changed the year.
The people of Gunung Kidul resisted:
they were taken away as booty with their families and wives,
'the two serpents bound around
by men' [AJ 1628/6 May 1704–25 Apr.1705], exactly.

24. Raden Sudira [Suryakusuma] arrived
and was imprisoned. After a year
then he was forgiven,
raised in rank
and given one hundred people.
Now is told of Samarang
and of him who had fled to the Dutch.

25. Pangeran Pugĕr then
succeeded in his efforts and became king [Pakubuwana I].
The western coast submitted,
beginning with Tĕgal.
Of the people of the eastern coast, those who submitted
were Sumĕnĕp and Madura,
Surabaya and Grĕsik.

26. Dĕmak, which still resisted,
was marched upon by the people of Samarang;
Dĕmak was destroyed.
The troops at Ungaran [were under]
Jayaningrat, a warrior rich and courageous,
who felt he was not strong enough,
for the troops of Samarang had

27. Dutchmen without number
and people from abroad of all kinds.
Thus disturbed was the heart
of Adipati Jayaningrat:
now, prepared with his family,
promising [his people] to go to war,
he departed in the night

28. laju dhatĕng ing Samarang
balanira gegeripun tan sipi
sampun bubar barisipun
angrĕs wong Kartasura
dina Kĕmis tibaning prajangjinipun
Sang Nata atilar pura
ing sasi Dumadilakir

29. kala ing taun Jimawal
p(a)ra mantri tan ana mati sawiji
sampun karsaning Yang Agung
bĕdhahe Kartasura
pan mangetan lampahira Sang Aprabu
ingkang sinĕdya ing ma/nah *f. 357r.*
ingungsi pun Surapati

30. sirnaning mantri winayang
ing sujalma rusake kang nagari
ya ta aganti sadalu
Walonda praptanira
ing Kartasura apan kapanggih suwung
Su[su]nan ngadhatonira
tunggil aganti sawĕngi

31. pan ajujuluk Susunan
Pakubuwana suyud kang p(a)ra mantri
ya ta kawarnaha wau
kang atilar nagara
pan [*sic; i.e.* tan] cinandhak samana nora kasusul
purugira mring Kaduwang
apan ta kendĕl sasasi

32. ya ta alaju mangetan
tinut wuntat wau dening Walandi
ing Pranaraga jinujug
bantu saking bang wetan
Surapati wau kang aturi bantu
wong Bali lan wong Makasar
kanthi wong ma[n]canagari

28. and went over to Samarang.
His troops were in an exceeding commotion;
then the troops dispersed
and disturbed were the people of Kartasura.
On Thursday came the promised time:
the king [Amangkurat III] left the capital behind,
in the month Jumadilakir [mistake for Jumadilawal],

29. in the year Jimawal [Thursday, (20) Jumadilawal, Jimawal AJ 1629/10 Sept.1705];
of the *mantris* there was not one who died.
It was the wish of God
that Kartasura should fall.
Now, to the east went the king,
the intention in his heart
to seek refuge with Surapati.

30. 'The destruction of the *mantris* was played upon the screen
by men' [AJ 1630; mistake for AJ 1629/26 Apr.1705–14 Apr.1706] when the kingdom was destroyed.
The following day [11 Sept.1705]
the Dutch arrived
in Kartasura and found it empty.
The Susuhunan [Pakubuwana I] occupied the royal residence
then, and the next day [12 Sept.1705]

31. he was named Susuhunan
Pakubuwana [I]. The *mantris* submitted.
Now is told of
him who left the capital [Amangkurat III].
He was not captured then; he was not pursued.
His course was to Kaduwang,
where he stopped for a month.

32. Then he went further east,
followed from behind by the Dutch.
Panaraga was his destination,
aid from the east;
Surapati it was who offered aid,
the Balinese and Makasarese
accompanied by the people of the outer lands.

33. kapanggih ing Panaraga
pangiride prasami mantri Bali
Ngahei [*sic; i.e.* Ngabei] Ĕler kang sĕpuh
dening ingkang taruna
kakasihe iya Ki Ngabei Kidul
sami prawira ing yuda
kalihe kĕdah apamit

34. kĕdah arsa lumajuwa
Kartasura arsa rinĕbat (ing) jurit
ya ta anuli lumaju
ya ta Sri Naranata
pan tinilar sawetaning Gunung Lawu
ingaminan ing Sang Nata
karsane titiyang Bali

35. ya ta dhatĕng Pamanggaran
Kartasura Walandane akĕrdhik [*sic; i.e.* akĕrjik]
ingkang amapag prang cucuh
pan Pangeran ing Sampang
lawan Surabaya Adipatinipun
nagari ing Kartasura
eca denira bibiting

36. Kabalen ing Pasĕdhahan
akukuwu ing Pamanggara/n (a)lami *f. 357 v.*
wong Bali padha katungkul
padha ngambil jarahan
dyan pinapag samana ing pĕrangipun
dening titiyang Madura
wong Bali kantun akĕrit

37. kasoran ing pĕrangira
pan kaburu wong Bali nora (a)nolih
kongsi tĕka Gunung Lawu
ing Madiyun wus prapta
ingkang lalos ika kapanggih Madiyun
ya ta nuli ingaturan
mangetan dhatĕng Kadhiri

33. They met in Panaraga,
their leaders all Balinese *mantris*.
Ngabei Ler was the elder,
and the younger
was named Ngabei Kidul,
both courageous in battle.
Both felt that they had to take leave,

34. that they had to go forth,
wishing to fight Kartasura in war.
Then they went forth.
Now, the king [Amangkurat III]
they left behind to the east of Mount Lawu.
Blessed by the king
was the desire of the Balinese.

35. Then they went to Manggaran;
the Kartasura Dutch caviled.
Those who went into the furious battle
were the Pangeran of Sampang
and the Adipati of Surabaya.
The capital of Kartasura,
tranquilly did they fortify it.

36. The Balinese of Pasuruhan
had long been established in Manggaran.
The Balinese were preoccupied
with taking booty;
suddenly they were met in battle
by the people of Madura
and the Balinese were the lesser.

37. They lost the battle
and pursued were the Balinese, not turning their heads
until they reached Mount Lawu.
They arrived in Madiun;
he who had fled [Amangkurat III] was met in Madiun.
Then he was advised
to go east to Kadhiri.

38. pan angsal satĕngah mongsa
rupaning mantri kawayang (ing) sujalma
sarĕng ing katiganipun
anuli linurugan
Pangran Purubaya pangirid ing laku
abaris ingĕmbat-ĕmbat
dening titiyang Walandi

39. dhumatĕng ing Pasĕdahan
pan akanthi wau tiyang pasisir
arame pĕrang lan Wangsul
tan tulung-tinulungan
pan ing Bangil denya prang ramya prang pupuh
Walonda akathah pjah
aprang kalawan wong Bali

40. titiyang ing Surabaya
noranana wau kang angĕmasi
mila dadi cacadipun
titiyang Pasĕdhahan
langkung kandĕl bitinge apan akukuh
ya ta titiyang Walonda
aluhur kang balowarti

41. Kumpni samya anglanggar
bĕdhil maryĕm gumat lan gutuk-api
dening kadi gunung gugur
Surapati kawratan
ing Kumpni kawalahĕn [*sic*] manahipun
bitinge sampun kancikan
dening kang bala Kumpni

42. Ki Surapati prawira
nora pasah binĕdhil sakeh (ing) mimis
Ki Surapati inga/muk *f. 355 r.*
binĕdhil ing mimis mas
nora pasah nanging babalunge rĕmpu
Surapati karepotan
sampun mundur kang ajurit

38. Now, after half a month,
'the appearance of the *mantri* was played upon the screen by men' [AJ 1631/
4 Apr.1707–23 Mar.1708].
During the dry season
they [the Balinese] were marched against.
Pangeran Purbaya was the leader of affairs;
the troops were drilled
by the Dutch.

39. They went to Pasuruhan
accompanied by the coastal people.
Furious was the battle with the Balinese;
there was no mutual help [between the Dutch and their allies].
In Bangil did they fight; furious was the battle.
Of the Dutch many died
in battle with the Balinese.

40. Of the people of Surabaya
there were none who died;
for this were they blamed.
The people of Pasuruhan
were exceedingly trustworthy, their fortifications firm.
Now, the Dutch,
high were their encircling fortifications.

41. The Company together attacked;
the guns, cannon, grenades, and bombs
were like a mountain tumbling down.
For Surapati too much
was the Company, not strong enough his heart.
His fortress was entered
by the troops of the Company.

42. Surapati the courageous
suffered no effect when he was shot by all the musket balls.
Surapati was assailed frenziedly
and was shot by a golden ball;
he was not wounded, but the bone was shattered.
Surapati was in difficulty.
His troops retreated.

43. Walonda akathah pjah
sakalangkung sami angrĕs ing galih
Kumĕndur pan sampun kondur
samaya pĕndhak warsa
binalenan ing Kumpni karsanipun
apan ta ĕlĕt sapasar
Surapati nuli mati

44. ya ta wau kawarnaha
kang aneng Kandhiri [*sic*] (sampun) miarsa warti
Surapati arsa maju
ya ta tiyang bang wetan
bala kilen pan pinapagakĕn sampun
Ki Ngabei Katawĕngan
ingkang dadi senapati

45. acampuh ingkang ayuda
pira kehe wau (ti)tiyang Kadhiri
kasoran sapolahipun
dening wong Kartasura
wong Kadhiri dadya kawon pĕrangipun
yen aja lĕta bangawan
kancikan ingkang nagari

46. saksana utusan prapta
saking Surabaya ngatur(i) udani
yen Kumpni sampun mundur
sangking ing Pasĕdhahan
Pangran Purubaya ingaturan mundur
ya ta bala Kartasura
mantuk saking ing Kadhiri

47. dhumatĕng ing Kartasura
kawarnaha wau ingkang angili
angsal dadina [*sic; i.e.* sadina] dyan wangsul
marang Kadhiri si(n)gra
tĕtĕp malih [sarta] ing sabalanipun
kawarnaha Pasĕdhahan
sapjahe Surapati

43. Of the Dutch many died;
greatly were they disturbed in their hearts.
The Commander [Govert Cnoll] returned home
and promised that in a year
the Company would return; this was his wish.
Now, after five days
Surapati then died.

44. Now is told that
those in Kadhiri heard the news
that Surapati wished to go forth.
Now, the people of the east
attacked the troops of the west.
Ki Ngabei Katawĕngan
was the commander [of the troops of Amangkurat III].

45. Engaged was the battle.
How many were the people of Kadhiri,
but defeated were all their actions
by the people of Kartasura;
thus the people of Kadhiri lost the battle.
Had there not been a river between them
their capital would have been entered.

46. Then arrived emissaries
from Surabaya, making known
that the Company had retreated
from Pasuruhan.
Pangeran Purbaya was ordered to retreat,
and the troops of Kartasura
went home from Kadhiri

47. to Kartasura.
Now is told of him who fled [Amangkurat III]:
a day later he returned immediately
to Kadhiri quickly,
firm again with all his troops.
Now is told of Pasuruhan:
after the death of Surapati

48. ya ta wau putranira
ingkang sĕpuh pan sampun anggĕnteni
dening ta kakasihipun
sira Wiranĕgara
Ki Dipati panjnĕnga/ne arusuh *f. 355 v.*
ĕndi margane arĕsah
sakathahe para bibi

49. titilare ingkang rama
para garwa tanapi para sĕlir
sadaya dipunparugul
dening Ki Adipatya
sadya [*sic; i.e.* dadya] ical ing wau kasĕktenipun
apan ta ĕlĕt sawarsa
nulya linurugan malih

50. anglĕrĕsi taun Ĕdal
tuwan Amral pangirid ing Walandi
pan datan kadi karuwun
ing wau lampahira
wong pasisir sami kĕrigan sadarum
winĕdalan ing tĕngahan
ingka[ng] dados senapati

51. singgih Pangeran Purbaya
(prapta) ing Kadhiri tan ana anglawani
kawarnaha Sang Aprabu
manahe kagegeran
ingaturan angili dhatĕng ing Dhungul
sinaosan pasanggrahan
saksana mangkat tumuli

52. mangidul miyos ing Malang
saha b(d)ala datan ana kang kari
kawar[na] ha kang anglurug
gĕmbĕl dados satunggal
prapta Wirasaba tan ana pakewuh
kandhĕg aneng Gunung Carat
pangarsane densalini

48. his son
who was eldest had succeeded him;
now, his name
was Wiranĕgara,
Ki Adipati. In disorder was his government;
wherever he went there was trouble.
All his father's women

49. who were left behind by his father,
the wives as well as the concubines,
all were dishonoured
by Ki Adipati;
therefore his supernatural powers disappeared.
Now, after a year
then again were they marched against.

50. Just in the year Dal [AJ 1631/4 Apr.1707–23 Mar.1708]
the 'Admiral' [Herman de Wilde] was the leader of the Dutch.
Now, not like before
was his route.
The people of the coast were all called up
and they passed through the interior;
he who was the commander

51. indeed was Pangeran Purbaya.
Arriving in Kadhiri, there were none who resisted them.
Now is told of the ruler [Amangkurat III]:
his heart was in commotion
and he was advised to flee to Dhungul;
prepared was a residence [for him].
Immediately then he set off

52. going south, passing through Malang
with his troops; none stayed behind.
Now is told of those who marched to war:
they joined and became one
and arrived in Wirasaba without difficulty.
Stopping at Mount Carat,
their leader was replaced:

53. Dipati ing Surabaya
sinilihkĕn ingkang dados pangarsi
pa[n] dadi andĕl ing kewuh
Arya Sajanapura [*sic*]
nandhang grĕrah langkung dening sakitipun
mondhok aneng Pananggungan
saya kasangĕt kang sakit

54. amit ma[n]tuk mring Japara
tan alami anulya angĕmasi
kawarnaha kang anglurug
prapta ing Pasĕdhahan
gĕng ing baris kadi gunung alalaku
ya ta wau kawarna
Sang Prabu ingkang angili

55. kalawan sabalanira
apandum(i) pakewĕd kang dipunungsi *f. 356 r.*
kasaru wau kang rawuh
putra ing Pasuruwan
pan lilima sami prawira ing kewuh
ambĕkta bala sanambang
sami prayatna ing westhi

56. umatur ing Sri Narendra
apan arsa ambokong ing Walandi
katujon ing Sang Aprabu
anulya ingidenan
ya ta aken dumatĕng [*sic*] ing putranipun
Pangeran Amangkuningrat
ingkang anitihi baris

57. apan ta miyos ing Antang
wus karuri dening ingkang Walandi
tinĕmpuh saking ing luhur
aneng ing Wirasaba
pan arame denira apĕrang cucuh
Walandi akathah pjah
tanapi titiyang Jawi

53. Adipati Surabaya
was named to become leader
and became the one trusted in troubles.
Arya Sajanapura
suffered from illness; great was his sickness;
staying at Pananggungan,
ever more serious was the sickness.

54. He took leave to return to Japara
and not long thereafter then died.
Now is told of those marching to war:
they arrived in Pasuruhan,
the multitude of the troops like a mountain on the march.
Now is told of
the king who fled [Amangkurat III]

55. with all his troops.
Awkward his predicament in seeking a refuge,
he was suddenly disturbed by those who arrived:
the princes of Pasuruhan,
five, all courageous in difficulty,
having a thousand troops,
all prudent in troubles.

56. They said to the king
that they wished to attack the Dutch from the rear;
this was agreed to by the king,
allowed then [by him].
He sent them to his son
Pangeran Mangkuningrat,
who commanded the troops.

57. Now, they passed through Antang,
but they were deceived by the Dutch
and were attacked from above
at Wirasaba.
Now, furious was the battle;
of the Dutch many died
as well as of the Javanese.

58. datan kandhĕg lampahira
kang Kumpni ngungsĕd Sri Narapati
warnanĕn kang aprang cucuh
Dipati Pasĕdhahan
Surapati pan sampun anandhang tatu
saksa[na] anuli pjah
Atdipati [*sic*] Surapati

59. kawarnaha Sri Narendra
kang angili langkung sĕkĕl ing galih
dening amiarsa tutur
Ki Surapati pjah
Sri Narendra arsa tĕdhak saking gunung
mĕdal kilen Sri Narendra
kang bala sama angiring

60. apan wĕkasan ing lampah
milanipun (dra) Sri Narendra jnĕngi
arsa wruh ing pĕrangipun
ya ta lĕt tigang dina
ingkang mĕsah ing wau anuli rawuh
bitinge pan liniwatan
mĕdal aneng Sidagiri

61. arame campuh ing yuda
pan Walonda prasamya ambĕdhili
mariyĕm kinarya agung
kalawan kalataka
pan arame denira apĕrang cucuh
tiyang Madura ing ka/nan *f. 356 v.*
saha bala angĕmbuli

62. titiyang ing Surabaya
wau ingkang dadi pangawat kering
wor [*sic; i.e.* wong] Ka[rta]sura ing pungkur
titiyang Pasĕdhahan
tan kawawi anadhahi pĕrangipun
kawon tiyang Pasĕdhahan
lumayu sisaning mati

58. Without ceasing they went on,
the Company pursuing the king.
Now is told of those in the furious battle:
the Adipati of Pasuruhan,
Surapati [II; i.e. Wiranagara], had already suffered a wound;
then died
Adipati Surapati [II].

59. Tell now of the king
who fled [Amangkurat III]. Exceedingly worried was his heart,
for he heard the news
that Ki Surapati [II] had died.
The king wished to come down from the mountains.
To the west went the king,
his troops also following.

60. Now, this was his final journey.
Therefore the king was present,
wishing to observe the war.
Now, after three days
the enemy arrived,
by-passing the fortress,
taking the route through Sidagiri.

61. Furiously they met in battle.
Now, the Dutch together firing
the cannon which were made large
as well as the small [Javanese] cannon,
furious was the battle.
The people of Madura on the right
with their troops joined in.

62. The people of Surabaya
were those who formed the left flank,
the people of Kartasura in the rear.
The people of Pasuruhan
were not strong enough to resist in battle;
defeated were the people of Pasuruhan.
Those who escaped death fled,

63. angungsi dhatĕng ing Malang
tiyang Pasĕdhahan langkung (dening) agiris
kuthane sampun ginĕmpur
ya ta tiyang Walonda
wus lalaji aneng Gĕmbong prĕnahipun
bubar saking Pasĕdhahan
anglangkungi i[ng] Kadhiri

64. Mangkuyuda ingkang pjah
sadhereke Ki Dipati Kadhiri
tiyang Kartasura kĕbut
sami matuk sadaya
kawarnaha samana ta Sang Aprabu
kang ngili dhatĕng ing Malang
pinarag dening gagĕring

65. wantu dede sasabanya
gĕring sore esuk anuli mati
apan tanbuh kathahipun
kang pjah neng Dhungulan
ya ta ngĕrĕs manahira Sang Aprabu
mĕdhun dhatĕng ing Balitar
waras sakarining mati

66. sabĕdhahe Pasuruwan
Sri Narendra tanbuh kang dipunungsi
samana arsa anungkul
banpuk [*sic: probably* biluk] dhatĕng Walonda
Sri Narendra ya ta aputusan sampun
pan sarwi [ak]intun sĕrat
Kumĕndur suka ing galih

67. biluke pan tinampanan
Sri [Na]rendra sigra tĕdhak tumuli
kĕna ing bujuk Lumayu
sangkalane kaetang
mantri tiga nganggas angrasa purun
binakta dhatĕng Jakarta
babarkatan datan kari

63. seeking refuge in Malang.
The people of Pasuruhan, exceedingly were they afraid;
their city was already destroyed.
Now, the Dutch
had established fortresses, at Gĕmbong their place.
They set out from Pasuruhan
and passed by Kadhiri.

64. Mangkuyuda it was who died,
the brother of Ki Adipati of Kadhiri.
The people of Kartasura departed
and together they all returned home.
Now is told of the king
who fled to Malang [Amangkurat III]:
[his people] were attacked by a sickness

65. the nature of which was not like the usual:
those who fell sick in the afternoon, the next morning died.
It is not known how many
there were who died at Dhungulan.
Now, pierced was the heart of the king.
He went down to Blitar
and healed were all those who had escaped death.

66. After the fall of Pasuruhan
the king knew not where he could flee.
Then he wished to submit,
to go over to the Dutch.
The king sent emissaries
and sent a letter;
the Commander [Govert Cnoll] was pleased in his heart.

67. His going over was accepted;
the king immediately set off then,
and became the victim of 'Malay deceit',
the chronogram is calculated,
'three *mantris* bound him round and felt courageous' [16633; i.e. AJ 1633/13 Mar.1709–1 Mar.1710].
He was taken to Jakarta;
the *pusakas* were not left behind.

68. titiyang ing Kartasura
pan lumintu denira anglurugi
dhatĕng ing Malang jinujug
bĕkti [*sic: probably* bĕkta] tiyang Walonda *f. 368 r.*
Pangeran Balitar pangirid ing laku
biluke tiyang bang wetan
tan ana lawan ing jurit

69. taun Be kala samana
Surapati dhatĕng Lumajang singgih
Ngabei Ĕlor kang lampus
tri tiga mongsa jalma
sakalangkung sukanira Sang Aprabu
den [*sic*] kang putra bangkak [*sic; i.e.* bungkak] karya
kalangkung binoja-krami

70. apan ta anunggal warsa
wau Kyai Dipati (ing) Surabanggi
pati uripe jinaluk
dening tiyang Walonda
tinurutan wau dening Sang Aprabu
awasana ingandikan
denira Sri Narapati

71. sapraptane Kamandhungan
kinĕjepan mantri sarĕng nuduki
pan sampun tumĕkeng lampus
kunarpa gilang-gilang
risaksana anuli aganti taun
warna tiga rasa tunggal
ingkang rayi anggĕnteni

72. Ki Arya Jayapuspita
kakasihe misuwur sanagari
Ki(n) Jangrana arinipun
nanging maksih karasa
dening ingkang raka wau pjahipun
dening ta datanpa dosa
mila sakite kang galih

68. The people of Kartasura,
now, uninterrupted was their campaign.
To Malang they went
taking along Dutchmen;
Pangeran Blitar was the leader of affairs.
The people of the east came over:
there were none who opposed in war.

69. The year Be [AJ 1632/24 Mar.1708–12 Mar.1709] it was when
Surapati [III] went to Lumajang, indeed.
Ngabei Lor it was who died:
'three, three, are the seasons of man' [AJ 1633; mistake for Be AJ 1632/24 Mar. 1708–12 Mar.1709].
Exceedingly great was the pleasure of the king [Pakubuwana I]
that his son was successful in his efforts;
great were the festivities.

70. Now, in the same year
then, the Kyai Adipati of Surabaya:
his life and death were demanded
by the Dutch.
This was agreed to by the king.
In the end he was summoned
by the king;

71. as soon as he arrived in the Kamandhungan,
the *mantris* were winked at and stabbed him
and then he died;
his body was left neglected.
Then changed the year.
'They appeared as three but felt as one' [AJ 1634/2 Mar.1710–19 Feb.1711]:
his [Adipati Surabaya's] younger brothers replaced him:

72. Ki Arya Jayapuspita,
a name famous throughout the kingdom,
and Ki Jangrana [III] his younger brother.
But still sad were they
at their elder brother's death,
for he had been without sin.
Thus sick were their hearts.

73. Tumĕnggung Kartanagara
taun Wawu ingutus dhatĕng Batawi
apan tunggal warsanipun
Susunan acangkrama
marang Pamancingan sagraha Sang Prabu
kalawan kang para wadya
akasukan Sri Bupati

74. ya ta wau kawarnaha
kang ingutus dhatĕng Jakarta prapti
mangkana sangkalanipun
gĕni tiga gawayang [*sic; i.e.* kawayang]
ing sujalma apan ta atunggal taun
kala dhawuh kang parentah *f. 368 v.*
papatih dados kakalih

75. kang bumi antuk-antukan
kang panumping samana matuk panumping
bumi gĕdhe apan matuk
tan kĕna kasiliban
sami mantuk sagolongane karuwun
samana wong Kartasura
manah[e] lir dhangdhang gĕndhis

Canto IV [Dhandhanggula]

1. luwang Karta Mataram kinardi
wong panumping mantuk panumpingnya
bumi gĕdhe mulih gedhe
sampun paparonipun
tan antara pun Dana balik
angadĕg Ngenta-enta
kacĕkĕl ing Budhur
punaginira Sang Nata
jen kacĕkĕl pun Dana dipunsuduki
ngĕdom titiyang katha

73. Tumĕnggung Kartanagara
in the year Wawu [AJ 1633/13 Mar.1709–1 Mar.1710] was sent to Batavia.
Now, in the same year
the Susuhunan went on a pleasure-trip
to Pamancingan, with all the wives of the king
and with his retinue;
the king revelled.

74. Now it is told that
he who was sent to Jakarta [Kartanagara] arrived;
then was the chronogram,
'three fires were played upon the screen
by men' [AJ 1633/13 Mar.1709–1 Mar.1710]. Now, in the same year
was it when was given the command
that the Patihs should become two,

75. each receiving territories.
The Panumping [people] returned to Panumping;
the Bumi-gĕdhe [people] returned.
No deception was allowed;
all returned to their former groups.
Then the people of Kartasura,
their hearts were like 'sugar crows' [*the name of the following metre*].

Canto IV

1. The precedent of [the court of] Karta in Mataram was followed:
the Panumping people returned to Panumping;
the Bumi-gĕdhe [people] returned to [Bumi-]gĕdhe;
now finished was the division.
Shortly thereafter Dana rebelled,
arising in Ngenta-enta.
He was seized at [Bara]budhur.
It was the vow of the king
that, if seized, Dana would be stabbed [to death]
with needles by the commoners.

2. nuli Ki Pacukilan ambalik
linurugan kabakta kang sirah
sarĕng kalawan anake
warna titiga rĕtu
sami tompi ganjaran singgih
taun Alif samana
Kiyai Tumĕnggung
Kartanagara dinukan
sasi Sura marga [ka] tuturan singgih
lawan wong Kapurbayan

3. dening pjah titiyang satunggil
nĕdha ukum pan bocah satunggal
sampun tinugĕl gulune
datan aganti taun
pacotira dados papatih
Tumĕnggung Cakrajaya
ika kang tinuduh
aparentah wong sajawa
duk samana papatih dados satunggil
ing jro kalawan jaba

4. tatani[ng] mantri rebos [*sic*] satunggil
kala pangadĕg(e) kang Prabayasa
tigang wulan i[ng] dadine
apan aganti taun
duk kabangun ing Siti Inggil
gĕbyo/g wancak-sujinya *f. 369 r.*
taune kaetung
rasa titiga winayang
tunggil warsa duk ingutus mring Batawi
Tumĕnggung Cakrajaya

5. ing Jimawal Sang Nata cangkrami
mring Mataram duk amasanggrahan
sakilene Ardi Bangkel
ardi titiga rĕtu
tunggil warsa nora aganti
Kyai Kartanagara
duk kinen anglurug
pambalike wong Winongan
duk samana Jadita dipunsuduki
marga ing Pasĕdhahan

2. Then Ki Pacukilan rebelled;
he was marched against and taken was his head,
along with his children's;
'three appearances causing uproar' [AJ (1)634/2 Mar.1710–19 Feb.1711],
they all received their promised reward, indeed.
The year Alip [AJ 1635/20 Feb.1711–8 Feb.1712] it was when
Kyai Tumĕnggung
Kartanagara fell from favour,
in the month Sura [20 Feb.–21 Mar.1711], because there was a story told
by the people of [Pangeran] Purbaya

3. that one person had died;
they demanded justice for this one person
whose neck had been severed.
In the same year
[Kartanagara] was fired as Patih.
Tumĕnggung Cakrajaya
it was who was indicated
to govern the people of all Java;
at that time the Patihs became one,
the inner as well as the outer.

4. 'The order of the *mantris* . . . [?] one' [AJ 1(6)35/20 Feb.1711–8 Feb. 1712]
when the Prabayasa was re-erected,
three months in the constructing.
Now, in the next year
was it when was rebuilt on the Siti Inggil
the wooden wainscoting and trellis-work;
the year was calculated:
'three feelings were played upon the screen;
in the same' [AJ 1636/9 Feb.1712–28 Jan.1713] year was sent to Batavia
Tumĕnggung Cakrajaya.

5. In Jimawal the king made a pleasure-trip
to Mataram; when he took temporary residence
to the west of Ardi Bangkel,
'the three mountains in uproar;
in the same' [Jimawal AJ 1637/29 Jan.1713–17 Jan.1714] year, unchanged,
Kyai Kartanagara
was sent to war
against the rebellion of the people of Winongan.
When Jadita was stabbed [to death]
because [of the events] in Pasuruhan,

6. taun Ĕje pan ayasa malih
pasanggrahan duk pinagrĕ bata
Kartawinata wastane
Prabayasa ingusung
ingkang aneng Garjitawati
Kiyai Kandhuruwan
pangirid ing laku
naga titiga winayang
tunggal warsa Wiracana angĕmasi
anakira gumantya

7. anglurahi Gĕdhong kang sapalih
Ki Jawirya lan Ronggapramana
tan antara ing taune
warsa Dal duk kaetung
duk angukup kuluk Sang Aji
apan anunggal warsa
duk pakramanipun
Kangjĕng Raden Ayu Wulan
angsal Raden Damar [a] pan sarĕng gĕring
sapasar nuntĕn waras

8. ragoning mantri karĕngeng bumi
duk anguku[p] [ku]luk Sri Narendra
antara tigang sasine
parasira Sang (A)prabu
ing Soma-Pon ing wayah enjing
tanggale ping sadasa
Ramĕlan kang tangsu
ing Wugu ing taun Ĕdal
sarĕng paras tangara pun Gunturgĕni
ping tiga sarĕng paras

6. the year was Je [AJ 1638/18 Jan.1714–6 Jan.1715]. Then was constructed anew
the temporary residence [in Mataram], when it was given ramparts of brick;
Kartawinata was its name;
the Prabayasa was transported
which had been at Garjitawati;
Kyai Kandhuruwan
was the leader of affairs.
'Three serpents were played upon the screen
in the same' [AJ 1638/18 Jan.1714–6 Jan.1715] year when Wiracana died;
his sons replaced him,

7. each heading a half of the Gĕdhong people,
Ki Jawirya and Ronggapramana.
Not long thereafter, in the year
Dal [AJ 1639/7 Jan.–27 Dec.1715] it was calculated,
the king wore a [braided or silk] sash and fez.
Now, in the same year
was the marriage
of Kangjĕng Raden Ayu Wulan
to Raden Damar, just when she was sick;
five days later she then recovered.

8. 'The obstacle of the *mantri* was heard in the earth' [AJ 1639/7 Jan.–27 Dec.1715]
when the king wore a sash and fez.
After three months
shaved was the king,
on Monday-Pon, in the morning,
the date the tenth,
Ramĕlan the month
in [the *wuku*] Wugu, the year Dal [Monday-Pon, *wuku* Wugu, 10 Ramĕlan, Dal AJ 1639/9 Sept.1715].
When he was shaved, [the cannon] Gunturgĕni sounded
three times, when he was shaved.

9. duk waringin kurung densalini
sarĕng binungkar ing sasi Sapar
nora antara warsane
kala pajawuh awu *f. 369 v.*
tanpa warna obah ing jalmi
duk Susunan cangkrama
mring Gadhing karuwun
duk jawuh awu samana
sasi Rĕjĕb sarĕng pamĕjah ing sasi
taun Be dina Soma

10. rĕngkaning Jawa pan amimiti
Jayapuspita ing Surabaya
emut pjahe kakange
tan aseba samulud
dening (a)jrih luwange kariyin
anulya ingutusan
mantri kang lumaku
Ki Tumĕnggung Sumabrata
rewangipun mantri karakĕt ing puri
wasta Dira [*sic; i.e.* Wira] mĕnggala

11. lampahira sinongga ing krami
dening Ki Arya Jayapuspita
sanggup aseba ature
bumi awarna rĕtu
tunggal warsa nora aganti
pun Panji Surabaya
kang mimiti laku
ing Garĕsik ingunggahan
winĕdalan ing wau saking ing Giri
sawulan datan kangkat

9. When the fenced *waringin* trees were changed
and were taken out, it was in the month Sapar [AJ 1640/27 Jan.–24 Feb. 1716].
Not a year later
there was an ash-rain;
without appearance were the movements of men' [AJ 1640/28 Dec.1715–15 Dec.1716]
when the Susuhunan made a pleasure-trip
to Gadhing then.
Then fell the rain of ash,
in the month Rĕjĕb, when also the moon was extinguished,
in the year Be, on Monday [Monday, (29) Rĕjĕb, Be AJ 1640/20 July 1716].

10. The destruction of Java then began.
Jayapuspita of Surabaya
bore in mind the death of his elder brother
and did not pay court at any [Garĕbĕg] Mulud,
for he feared this precedent.
Then were sent
mantris; those who went were
Ki Tumĕnggung Sumabrata
and his companion a *mantri* closely connected to the court
named Wiramĕnggala.

11. In their dealing, they were fobbed off
by Ki Arya Jayapuspita,
who promised to pay court, he said,
when 'the world appears in uproar;
in the same' [AJ 1641/16 Dec.1716–4 Dec.1717] year, unchanged,
Panji [Surengrana of] Surabaya
it was who began the events
by advancing against Grĕsik,
coming from Giri,
but for a month he could do nothing.

12. nulya Kuměndur mring Surabanggi
tinakonan Ki Jayapuspita
dening Ki Panji polahe
(Ki Riya) Ki Riya tan angaku
saking awonipun pun Panji
Kuměndur tĕka mĕnggah
was(p)ana pinatut
biting Garĕsik binubrah
nulya mantu[k] [Ku]mĕndur dhatĕng Samawis
pun Panji kang kocapa

13. angambil sraya kawula Bali
ing Garĕsik winĕton sagara
Dewa Kaloran wastane
wong Garĕsik katungkul
bĕdhah/ira nagri Garĕsik *f. 370 r.*
angungsi ing Walonda
tan aganti taun
Surabaya linurugan
ing Kuměndur sarta kang bala Kumpni
kithane binĕdhilan

14. paksa ayoga obah ing bumi
wong Kartasura sigra lumampah
duk ing Kadhiri bĕdhahe
dening kawula Wangsul
Kartayuda ingkang nindhihi
pun Panji wontĕn Jipang
sarta bĕdhahipun
miwah bĕdhahe ing Tuban
awasana wong Kartasura akĕrig
malah tĕkeng Sapanjang

15. dadya angĕpung ing Surabanggi
wong Kartasura kalah tan mangan
ingkang pjah tanbuh kehe
dhingin pjah ing mungsuh
kaping kalih nora abukti
Ki Tumĕnggung ing Jipang
ika lagi rawuh
langkung winani ing yuda
awasana ingunggahan tĕngah wĕngi
dening wong Surabaya

12. Then the Commander [J.F. Gobius] went to Surabaya
and inquired of Ki Jayapuspita
about Ki Panji [Surengrana's] actions.
Ki Arya [Jayapuspita] did not acknowledge
the fault of Panji;
the Commander was speechless.
In the end, put in order again
was the fortification at Grĕsik which had been broken up.
Then the Commander returned home to Samarang.
Panji [Surengrana] now is told of:

13. he took auxiliary forces of Balinese;
at Grĕsik they arrived by sea;
the name [of their commander was] Dewa Kaloran [the Lord of the North, i.e. Buleleng].
The people of Grĕsik were taken by surprise
and the city of Grĕsik fell;
they fled to the Dutch.
In the same year,
Surabaya was attacked
by the Commander and the troops of the Company;
the citadel was fired upon.

14. 'The force of *yoga* moved the world' [AJ 1642/5 Dec.1717–24 Nov.1718]
and the people of Kartasura quickly set forth,
when Kadhiri fell
to the Balinese;
Kartayuda it was who led them.
Panji [Surengrana] was in Jipang
when it fell,
and when fell Tuban.
Finally the people of Kartasura were called up
and got even as far as Sapanjang.

15. Thus they surrounded Surabaya.
The people of Kartasura lost; they did not eat
and of those who died the numbers are unknown;
first they were killed by the enemy
and second they had no food.
Ki Tumĕnggung [Surawijaya] of Jipang
arrived just then,
exceedingly courageous in battle.
In the end he was advanced against in the middle of the night
by the people of Surabaya.

16. sarĕng mara lamon mĕsah prapti
sarĕng tumandang wus kapasangan
saking wantĕre manahe
tan kobĕr dening tulup
nanging noranana nĕdhasi
saking mandining upas
lawan takdiripun
bangun siyang mundur ngrana
aneng dalĕm Surawijaya ngĕmasi
angrĕs wong Kartasura

17. tan aganti wayah tĕngah wĕngi
bubarira mantri Kartasura
marang Garĕsik undure
kathah punggawa kantun
sakathahe moncanagari
wetan balik sadaya
pan kinon tut pungkur
nu[tu] ti wong Kartasura
kathah pjah sapraptanira Garĕsik *f. 370 v.*
mantuk mayos [*sic; i.e.* miyos] Samarang

18. kalih warsa lamine ing jurit
Walonda mungsuh wong Surabaya
pan akathah papĕjahe
mantri ingkang kasambut
Kyai Wiranagara Tĕgil
mungsuhe ingkang pjah
Jangrana linuhung
Kumpni ingkang pralaya
van der Lele lutnan Bandhĕm pan wong Bali
punika kang kawilang

19. malah kaparĕk kapanggih biting
prajurit Kumpni nulya prapta
Amral Britman kakasihe
tuhu prajurit luhung
tanah sabrang kasusra luwih
mangkana Surabaya
srayane wus rawuh
Raja Bali Dewa Mona
duk samana dadi apĕs juriteki
angandĕlakĕn sraya

16. When he saw [?] that the enemy had arrived
he went into action, and was trapped.
Because of the courage of his heart
he was not concerned about the blow-pipe.
Although there was nothing which could wound him,
because of the strength of the [magic] poison
and because it was his fate,
the following day he retreated from the battle-field.
Within his residence Surawijaya died.
Disturbed were the people of Kartasura.

17. That same evening, in the middle of the night,
departed the *mantris* of Kartasura;
to Grĕsik they retreated.
Many officials remained behind;
all those from the outer lands
of the east all rebelled.
Now, they were ordered to follow behind,
to follow the people of Kartasura,
many of whom died. Upon arriving at Grĕsik
they went home, passing through Samarang.

18. Two years long was the war,
the Dutch opposing the people of Surabaya.
Now, many were there who died.
A *mantri* who was killed
was Kyai Wiranagara of Tĕgal.
Among the enemy died
Jangrana [IV; formerly Kartayuda], the exalted.
Among the Company those who died
were [Stephan] van der Lely and Lieutenant Bandhĕm the Balinese.
These it was who were counted [among the dead],

19. indeed, found near-by the [enemy] fortress [at Surabaya].
A warrior of the Company then arrived,
'Admiral' [Hans Frederik] Bergman his name,
indeed a warrior exalted
of the land overseas, exceedingly famed.
Then in Surabaya
auxiliary forces had arrived,
the Balinese king Dewa Mona;
at that time weak were their troops,
forced to rely upon these auxiliary forces.

20. tan antara bĕdhah kuthaneki
Wong Surabaya mring Wanakrama
sampun akukuh bitinge
dipuncoba pinurug
ing Walonda nyanane kanji
wong Surabaya mĕdal
Walonda denamuk
ya ta tumpĕs sabragada
Amral Britman tan denidhĕp ujarneki
matuk dhatĕng Jakarta

21. hnĕngĕ[na] kocapa Sang Aji
sadhatĕnge kang saking Sapanjang
langkung Sang Nata angrĕse
kalih awarna rĕtu
tunggal warsa Kapitan wali
duk Pangeran Purbaya
samana jinaluk
kalonge kang gagadhahan
lan adarbe mariyĕm pundhutĕn aglis
lan kori bubutulan

22. tan antara saking wetan prapti *f. 371 r.*
Pranaraga Madiyun Magĕtan
Jagaraga pambalike
ing Kaduwang kaburu
Sri Narendra angandikani
Pangran Dipanagara
pangirid ing laku
atugur ing Jagaraga
putra anem Pangeran Balitar singgih
atugur ing Kaduwang

23. anuju rĕke taun Jimakir
sangkalane kalih adhi rasa
tunggal iku sangkalane
kala dhatĕng Madiyun
pambalike Pangeran nĕnggih
Pangran Dipanagara
arsa madĕg Ratu
wasana ayun-ayunan
lan kang rayi Pangeran Balitar nĕnggih
ana ing Panaraga

20. Not long thereafter fell the citadel;
the people of Surabaya went to Wanakrama.
Already firm was their fortress [in Wanakrama].
An attempt was made to approach it
by the Dutch, thinking [that the Surabayans] would be frightened away.
The Surabaya troops came out
and ran amuck among the Dutch;
indeed, destroyed was one brigade.
'Admiral' Bergman's words were not respected
and he returned to Jakarta.

21. Now is told of the king [Pakubuwana I].
After the arrival of those from Sapanjang,
greater was the king's disquiet;
'two appeared in uproar
in the same' [AJ 1642/5 Dec.1717–24 Nov.1718] year when Captain
[Bergman] returned,
and when of Pangeran Purbaya
it was demanded
that his appanage be reduced;
the cannon he possessed was demanded immediately,
and the back door [of the court leading to his residence was to be sealed up].

22. Not long thereafter from the east arrived
the Panaraga, Madiun, Magĕtan,
and Jagaraga rebels;
to Kaduwang were driven [the king's forces].
The king told
Pangeran Dipanagara
as the leader of affairs
to take up post in Jagaraga.
His youngest son Pangeran Blitar, indeed,
was to take up post in Kaduwang.

23. It was then the year Jimakir,
the chronogram 'the two younger brothers felt
as one' [Jimakir AJ 1642/5 Dec.1717–24 Nov.1718]. That was the chronogram
when in Madiun
occurred the rebellion of the Pangeran, indeed:
Pangeran Dipanagara
wished to become king.
Finally he conspired
with his younger brother Pangeran Blitar, indeed,
who was in Panaraga.

24. nulya kapirsa warta(ne) inguni
ing Surabaya yen sampun bĕdhah
samana egar manahe
Dipanagara lampus
lali sanak myang rama kalih
jumnĕng Erucakra
amungsuh sadulur
pan sampun aganti warsa
taun Alif pjahipun tuwan Sayid
wontĕn ing Kartasura

25. rĕngkaning Jawa pan amimiti
sedaning Sayid pan sinanjata
saking Sang Nata karsane
kathah ingkang amuwus
gagĕtune dening ngĕmasi
antara pitung dina
grĕrah Sang Ngaulun
Pangran Balitar ngandikan
wontĕn Tamban [g?] tan antara nuli prapti
Susunan nuntĕn seda

26. mantri sakawan angrasa tunggil
putra kang sĕpuh jumnĕng nata
dening kang rayi kalihe *f. 371 v.*
kang anem manahipun
kĕdah arsa jumnĕng Aji
angĕndhih ingkang raka
andina ama[ng] gung
adana dadar-dadar[an]
sakathahe para Ratu angrĕmbugi
angrĕbata kadhatyan

24. Then they heard the news, told previously,
that Surabaya had fallen.
Then lighthearted
was Dipanagara towards death;
he thought no more of either his brothers or father.
He arose as Erucakra
and became the enemy of his brothers.
Now changed was the year.
In the year Alip [AJ 1643/25 Nov.1718–13 Nov.1719] was the death of Tuwan Sayid
in Kartasura.

25. The destruction of Java now began
with the death of the Sayid, for he was shot
upon the wish of the king.
There were many who said
that they were shocked that he was killed.
Three days later
the king fell ill.
Pangeran Blitar was told
in Tambang [?]. Shortly thereafter he arrived [in Kartasura].
The king then died.

26. 'The four *mantris* felt as one' [AJ 1643/25 Nov.1718–13 Nov.1719]
and his eldest son became king [Amangkurat IV].
But as for his two younger brothers:
the youngest [Pangeran Blitar] in his heart
had to wish to become king,
to drive out his elder brother.
The whole day continuously
he gave out gifts [to win people over].
All of the Ratus advised
him to conquer the court.

27. miwah sakeh ing para Kumpni
pan asanggup nora munasika
karĕpe padha sanake
muwah kang para kaum
atanapi kang para aji
sami (a)rĕmbag sadaya
marmanira puru[n]
anuju ing sasi Arwah
dina Sĕptu tanggal walulas anĕnggih
sarĕng ing bĕdhu[g] tiga

28. lampahira tan mĕdal ing klo(r)ji
lajĕng ngilen masigit ingambah
pasoan gĕdhong jujuge
datan nyana ing kalbu
yen Kumpni(ng) ingkang nadhahi
dening ubayanira
nora milu-milu
ingkang dinamĕl pangarsa
sarĕng prapta ing iringan ing Sitinggil
muni bĕdhil Walonda

29. awasana pangarsane kĕni
ingkang aran pun Sĕcadirana
pun Kartabasa kalihe
sabature lumayu
pan kapĕthuk wetan Sitinggil
ya ta Pangran Balitar
wruh pangajĕng lampus
pan angĕrĕs manahira
kawibuwan kagunturan gutuk api
ya ta mundur lo[n]-lonan

30. miyos ing alun-alun marĕngi
bĕdhil Sitinggil mungĕl sadaya
lyir gĕlap sewu syarane
andarung la/mpahipun *f. 372 r.*
ingkang raka dipuntangisi
Pangeran Purubaya
emĕng manahipun
arsa pinupu arinya
ingkang raka kang dadi paran ing ati
dadya mupus ing manah

27. And all of the Company
promised not to disturb
the will of the family
and of the religious people
and of the *hajis*.
Together they all advised;
therefore did he dare.
In the month Ruwah,
on Saturday, the date the eighteenth [mistake for Saturday, 5 Ruwah, AJ 1643/
24 June 1719], indeed,
at the time of three drum-beats [before first light]

28. he set out, not passing by the Dutch fortress;
he went west and through the mosque,
the audience-buildings his goal.
He did not suspect within his heart
that it would be the Company who would oppose him,
because of their agreement
not to take part.
They who were made the leaders
arrived at the side of the Siti Inggil,
when sounded the guns of the Dutch.

29. In the end the leader was hit
whose name was Sĕcadirana,
and Kartabasa also.
All of their servants fled
and were met to the east of the Siti Inggil.
Now, Pangeran Blitar
knew that his leaders had died;
now, the piercing of his heart
was increased by the explosions of the bombs.
Thus he retreated slowly.

30. He appeared on the great square just as
the guns on the Siti Inggil all sounded,
like a thousand thunderbolts the sound.
On and on he went;
from his elder brother he sought solace.
Pangeran Purbaya,
worried was his heart,
wishing to go along with his younger brother
[but] his elder brother [Amangkurat IV] the goal of his heart [as well];
thus he was at his wits' end.

31. mnĕnga yayi aja [a]nangis
ingsung angrewangi marang sira
payo lunga saking kene
raose atiningsun
lamon sira prapta Matawis
kariya(n) nora kathah
mantri punggawa gung
pan bubar padha sadina
ing pasowan kidul kang dipun(lin)ampiri
malah amadung lawang

32. Kaparĕk kidul kang tĕngga kori
lawang winadung biluk sadaya
dadya kandhĕg ing lĕbune
dening Kumpni rawuh
saking i[ng] jro sarĕng bĕdhili
ya ta larut sadaya
lampahe andarung
rawuh sireng [*sic*] ing Mataram
pan ing Kartawinata kang denanciki
pan yasane kang rama

33. winastanan kitha Kartasari
wong Kartasura jabĕl sadaya
mung kantun wong Kadipaten
pira ing laminipun
ga[ng] sal wulan aneng Matawis
nuli aganti warsa
taun He kapetung
catur papat rasa tunggal
Amral Britman lampahe ngangkat Matawis
Sanasewu pinapag

34. ing Taji biting dhatĕng ing wukir
kang ana kidul Pangran Purbaya
Pangran Balitar kang ĕler
dadya Kumpni rawuh
ing Tangkilan [*sic; i.e.* Tangkisan] kandhĕg kang jurit *f. 372 v.*
Kumpni wus satata
sarĕng dulu mungsuh
Kumpni pan sarĕng mara
kalĕrĕsan Pangeran Balitar singgih
katrajang ing Walonda

31. [Pangeran Purbaya said,] 'Be still, younger brother, do not weep.
I shall accompany you.
Come, let us go from here.
It is the feeling of my heart
that if you reach Mataram,
even if some remain behind [in Kartasura] they will not be many
mantris or high officials.'
Now, they left together the same day;
the great square to the south they passed on their way;
they even hacked away at the door.

32. The southern Kapĕdhak people who guarded the door,
when the door was hacked at, changed sides all.
Thus it came to a stand-still in the open space.
But then the Company arrived
from within, firing,
and they all fled;
running on and on
they arrived in Mataram.
Now, it was in Kartawinata that they entered,
the construction of their father.

33. The fortress was renamed Kartasari.
They claimed all the people of Kartasura;
there remained only the people of the [former] crown prince's residence.
How long was it,
five months in Mataram;
then changed the year.
The year Ehe it was, calculated;
'the four, four, felt as one' [Ehe AJ 1644/14 Nov.1719–2 Nov.1720].
'Admiral' Bergman set off for Mataram;
in Sanasewu was he met.

34. In Taji was a fortification reaching to the mountains.
He who was to the south was Pangeran Purbaya;
Pangeran Blitar it was to the north.
Then the Company arrived;
in Tangkisan stopped the troops.
The Company was already in order;
when they saw the enemy
the Company approached.
It happened to be Pangeran Blitar, indeed,
who was attacked by the Dutch.

35. samya adu dhadha denya jurit
Kumpni binĕdhil kalataka
sapisan ilang tatane
wong Mataram anggrĕgut
kang sinapan sewu barĕngi
kadi ta gĕlap sasra
wong Mataram mawur
pan lumayu sowang-sowang
ingkang wadya samana manahe giris
mimis lir kadi udan

36. Panĕmbahan Purbaya nulungi
majĕng mangaler campuh i[ng] yuda
apanggih sami purune
sarĕng parĕk kang mungsuh
kang sinapan sewu barĕngi
bubar wong Purubaya
sasisaning lampus
arĕbat kang anak garwa
pan sakĕdhap dhatĕng kitha Kartasari
sadalu nulya bubar

37. saking jrihira dhatĕng Walandi
nulya ngili dhatĕng parimana
tuwan Amral ing lampahe
mongka Kyai Pangulu
pinĕjahan ing Kartasari
Prabayasa ingubar
lawan Kangjĕng Ratu
Mangkurat ingkang binĕkta
mring Walonda sakeh ing bala Kumpni
wangsul mring Kartasura

38. kang koca[pa] Jĕng Pangeran kalih
amiarsa yen Amral wis bubar
marang Kartasura gene
akathah katala[n]jur *f. 373 r.*
ambabajag sabrang Paragi
tan nyana yen tinilar
sadaya kacakup
pinĕjahan Pamĕrĕsan
Pangeran kalih sampun ajĕjĕg malih
[sawetan ing Bacingah]

35. Hand-to-hand was the battle;
the Company was fired upon with small cannon
and the order disappeared altogether.
The people of Mataram were fanatical;
the thousand muskets fired together
like a thousand thunderbolts.
The people of Mataram were scattered round about;
they ran away one by one.
The troops, then, their hearts were fearful,
the musket balls falling like rain.

36. Panĕmbahan Purbaya came to their assistance,
marching to the north, joining in the battle.
They met, and equal was their courage
as the enemy approached.
The thousand muskets fired together;
the people of Purbaya dispersed,
all those who escaped death,
to save their children and wives.
Now, for a short time they went to the fortress of Kartasari;
the next day they then departed.

37. Out of fear of the Dutch
then they fled to the borders.
The 'Admiral' did this:
now it was that Kyai Pangulu
was killed in Kartasari,
the Prabayasa burned down.
And Kangjĕng Ratu
Amangkurat was taken
by the Dutch; all the troops of the Company
returned to Kartasura.

38. Now is told of the two Pangerans
who heard that the 'Admiral' had departed
for Kartasura.
Many [of Amangkurat IV's people] went so far as to
commit robberies across the Praga;
not suspecting that they had been deserted [by the Company troops],
all were overpowered
and killed in Pamĕrĕsan.
The two Pangerans arose again
[to the east of Bacingah].

39. wong Kartasura bungah prihatin
bungahe dening Mataram bĕdhah
ing[kang] dadi ing sĕkĕle
dereng sampurna mundur
kang ingutus atugur malih
Pangeran Mangkubumya
kang aneng Marĕbung
kapanggih wus akukutha
prajurite kang aneng Marĕbung singgih
kang aran Jayabadra

40. miyos Kĕdhu kang mantri pasisir
jĕjĕnĕnge Ki Arya Mandura
ingkang ana ing Bagĕlen
mantri wadana sewu
Kandhuruwan Jayasudargi
kang alit tak [*sic*] kaetang
Mataram kakĕpung
lamine satĕngah warsa
ing Marĕbung Pangeran Purubayeki
ingkang mungsuh Walonda

41. sapambĕdhil tĕbihe kang biting
ingurugan mariyĕm gurnada
wong kidul prasami angleng
saking kagĕngĕn mungsuh
wong pasisir mĕdal ing wuri
ing dalu denya musna
kang ngĕpung tan wĕruh
tan matuk dhatĕng Mataram
lajĕng ngetan Pangeran denya angungsi
kandhĕg ing Pamagĕtan

39. The people of Kartasura were happy and worried:
happy because Mataram had fallen;
that which caused worry
was that the [enemy's] retreat was not yet complete.
He who was sent out to take up post again
was Pangeran Mangkubumi.
They who were at Marĕbung
were found to be already fortified;
the warrior who was at Marĕbung, indeed,
was named Jayabadra.

40. Passing through Kĕdhu came *mantris* from the coast,
their leader Ki Arya Mandura.
Those who were in Bagĕlen
were the Mantris Wadana Sewu
[named] Kandhuruwan and Jayasudarga;
the lesser ones are not described.
Mataram was surrounded
for as long as one-half year.
In Marĕbung it was Pangeran Purbaya
who opposed the Dutch.

41. The fortifications were at a distance of one gun-shot away [from the Dutch],
as if buried by the cannon and grenades.
The people of the south kept the watch.
Because they were outnumbered by the enemy,
the people from the coast who appeared in the rear,
at night they disappeared.
Those who were surrounding were unaware of this.
They did not return to Mataram
but to the east the Pangerans [Purbaya and Blitar] took flight,
stopping in Magĕtan.

42. ing Madiyun kang dipunanciki
kawarnaha / wau Amral Britman *f. 373 v.*
dhatĕng Japara lampahe
ya ta Kyai Tumĕnggung
Cakrajaya denkungkung laji
tan lama linuwaran
kawarnaha ngĕnu
Pangeran Arya Mataram
sangkalane buta warna rasa tunggil
. . . .

[*after assorted scribblings, an unfinished note:*]
pun[i]ka atu[r] bĕkti kawula Raden Tumĕnggung Pakuni[ng]rat ka. . . .

42. In Madiun they established themselves.
Now is told of 'Admiral' Bergman:
to Japara he went.
Now, Kyai Tumĕnggung
Cakrajaya was imprisoned in the Dutch fortress;
not long thereafter he was set free.
Now is told of
Pangeran Arya Mataram,
the chronogram 'the demon's appearance felt as one' [AJ 1645/3 Nov.1720–22 Oct.1721]
. . . [*the last line is missing*].

With this I, Raden Tumĕnggung Pakuningrat, offer homage . . . .

COMMENTARY

I: The Date and Provenance of the MS (Canto I:1)

In the first stanza the author dates his *Babad ing Sangkala*, and presents the first of many problems in this text: there is an internal inconsistency in the days of the weeks. On Monday and Tuesday of the week in question, the combinations of seven-, six-, and five-day week days were Monday-Pon-Tungle and Tuesday-Wage-Jalma (more commonly called Ariyang). But the author apparently gives Monday-Pon-Jalma, which is not possibly correct. The date, 5 Saban, does not determine absolutely whether it is the five- and seven-day week days which are wrong or the six-day week day, since there is some uncertainty about the number of days in the months of the year AJ 1663.

It is clear that from the mid-eighteenth century AD (AJ 1675) a Dal-year such as AJ 1663 was regarded as a normal year of 354 days rather than a leap-year of 355 days, but with abnormal days in some months.[1] If this was also the case in AJ 1663 then 5 Saban would have been Monday-Pon-Tungle (17 Nov. 1738). But if, as seems considerably more likely, a Dal-year at that time was regarded as a conventional leap-year,[2] then 5 Saban was Tuesday-Wage-Jalma (18 Nov. 1738). The other elements in the date (*wuku* Gumbrĕg, *mangsa* Kalima, Dal AJ 1663) are correct and would be the same for either of the two days in question.

Something is wrong and this error, which may seem to be an abstruse point of small interest, has great implications. Is there a copyist's error here? In other words, is this a later copy and not the original text of AJ 1663/AD 1738? If so, much of the historiographical argument which will be based upon this text

1. See [G.P. Rouffaer], 'Tijdrekening', *Encyclopaedia van Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. V (Supplement) ('s-Gravenhage, 1927), p. 408. See also Appendix I below.

2. If this was not the case, AJ 1664 would have begun upon Friday-Paing 10 Apr. 1739 rather than Saturday-Pon 11 Apr. 1739 as it does in the standard conversion tables. It should also be noted that the date given in Canto I:74 (Wednesday, 14 Rabingulawal, Dal AJ 1575) has the correct day of the week only if Dal was then treated as a conventional leap-year. If the post-AJ 1675 system had been used the day would have been Thursday. Similarly, the day in Canto IV:8 (Monday-Pon, 10 Ramĕlan, Dal AJ 1639) is correct only if Dal was a conventional leap-year.

is suspect, for the text represents a recension later than AD 1738, and there is little chance of knowing precisely how much later. How could an author in a society which gave so much attention to its complex system of chronology, the basis of divination, and especially an author whose text is largely a chronological exercise itself, have mistaken the days of the week upon which he began his own text before he had composed eight lines? This seems so difficult to imagine that one inclines towards the conclusion that this must be a later copy, with a copyist's mistake at the very beginning.

It seems, however, that this is the original manuscript of AD 1738, despite the presence of this error. There are several arguments for this conclusion. The first is metrical: the third line in the metre Dhandhanggula must have eight syllables and end with the vowel *e* (or exceptionally *u* or *o*), and the eighth line must have eight syllables and end with the vowel *a*. A copyist could not simply have written *Soma-Pon* (Monday-Pon) rather than *Slasa-Wage* (Tuesday-Wage), which has one or, if read as *Sĕlasa*, two extra syllables: he would have had to make up the extra syllables to fit metrical requirements. So one must assume that the original manuscript read something like *Sĕlasa-Wage dinane*, which a copyist misread (be it noted, only three lines into his task) as *nuju Soma-Pon dinane*. While such an error is possible, it seems improbable. Or if, as seems less likely, the mistake is in the eighth line, one must assume a complete rewriting of the line, since the 'correct' version *anglĕrĕsi ringkĕl Tungle* would end with the wrong vowel, although having the right number of syllables. Thus, to assume a copyist's error in the first stanza requires an assumption of a rather remarkable degree of sloppiness.

There are also important technical arguments to support the view that this manuscript is the original. The paper upon which it is written was manufactured at the Egmond mill in the Netherlands in 1733[3] and its paleography is consistent with the date AJ 1663/AD 1738.[4]

3. Dutch paper, watermarked 'LVG'. An investigation of the paper by the India Office revealed that it was manufactured at the Egmond mill in 1733 (communication of 30 Dec. 1975). Such paper was imported by the Dutch East India Company, and was used by Javanese as a preferred writing material when it was available.

4. Javanese paleography is a subject still much in need of study. I have compared IOL Jav. 36 (B) with the following examples of Kartasura paleography;

Museum Pusat MS KBG 613, *Sĕrat Menak* dated AJ 1639 (AD 1715), the property of a wife of Pakubuwana I.

LOr 6249, letter of Amangkurat IV to Governor-General de Haan, AJ 1650 (AD 1725).

Arsip Nasional Solo 52, no. 8, *Sĕrat Pemut* of Pakubuwana II to F.J. Coijett, AD 1733.

Berlin Staatsbibliothek MS Or. fol. 402, a collection of texts written in Kartasura in AJ 1661 (AD 1737) (this MS is discussed and one of its texts published in Appendix II below).

There is a general similarity between all these examples and IOL Jav. 36 (B), which confirms the latter's general antiquity. The *Sĕrat Pemut* of AD 1733, which is from the same reign as IOL Jav. 36 (B), can be said to have substantially the same paleography, including such distinctive features as the *layar* which rises to the left rather than the right (the *layar* rising to the right is found in the present MS as well). The paleography of IOL Jav. 36 (B) and the *Sĕrat Pemut* are quite different from later styles, and are readily distinguished from both the cursive and quadratic styles of the court of Yogyakarta, where IOL Jav. 36

If it is accepted that the apparent mistake in the date is the author's own, however, how can it be explained? One can only suggest that the hour when he began his work may hold the key. If one assumes that the author began writing at around sunset, then because the Javanese day changes at this point and not at midnight as in Western systems, the author was writing at the border-line between Monday-Pon-Tungle (17 Nov. 1738) and Tuesday-Wage-Jalma (18 Nov. 1738). One must assume that as he wrote, the author correctly changed the six-day week day to the following day (Jalma), but did not change the five- and seven-day week days. If (as seems less likely) 5 Saban fell upon Monday-Pon, he also failed to change the date. It seems more likely, however, that he began to write at about sunset on Monday-Pon-Tungle, 4 Saban (17 Nov. 1738) and, observing the time, dated his work 5 Saban (18 Nov. 1738) and correctly wrote Jalma, but wrongly maintained Monday-Pon rather than Tuesday-Wage. Thus, he may have begun writing in the evening of 17 Nov. 1738, as the day changed, and for this reason the date in the translation is given as 17–18 Nov. 1738.

There is one further possible meaning of the date at the beginning, but it solves no problems. It has been assumed here that the *ringkĕl* Jalma is the day of the six-day week (*paringkĕlan*) more commonly known as Ariyang, for which Jalma is a correct alternative name. It may be, however, that it actually refers to a different system known as *ringkĕl ing wuku*. Each of these *ringkĕls* is seven days long and corresponds to a *wuku* of seven days. The Javanese text suggests that this may, indeed, be what the author intended. In this system, however, wuku Gumbrĕg is the *ringkĕl ing wuku* called Godhong, not Jalma. Thus, even if this refers to the *ringkĕl ing wuku*, a mistake would still exist.[5] The only defence of the author's apparent mistake in dating his own text is that the Javanese chronological system was so inordinately complex that perhaps even literati were capable of error.

The author mentions one other important fact in this first stanza, that he wrote his text at the same time as the Prabayasa was reconstructed. The Prabayasa contains the private royal apartments in the court. Thus, this reference supports the impression created by the whole of *Babad ing Sangkala*, that it was written within the court circles of Kartasura. The subject matter of the whole

(B) was found. Berlin Staatsbibliothek MS Or. fol. 402, the closest MS in time to IOL Jav. 36 (B), in fact differs in having a more quadratic script and in tending to begin *aksaras* near the upper line of the character whereas IOL Jav. 36 (B) tends to start the first stroke low and to rise to the upper line. Nonetheless, the two MSS have very similar paleography, and in the Berlin MS the *layar* rising to the left is also found.

Berlin Staatsbibliothek MS Schoemann II.18 is a *Jatiswara* romance written in AH 1150 (AD 1737–8) which appears probably to be from the north-east coast of Java rather than the court; its paleography shares a general similarity with the Kartasura MSS but differs in several details; see Theodore G.Th. Pigeaud, *Javanese and Balinese manuscripts and some codices written in related idioms spoken in Java and Bali: Descriptive catalogue* (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, vol. 31; Wiesbaden, 1975), p. 131 and plate 18.

5. The dating system is discussed in Appendix I below. On the six-day week and the *ringkĕl ing wuku*, see pp. 225 and 227.

chronicle is court history; its viewpoint is that of a courtier. The manuscript was subsequently acquired by the British at the sack of the court of Yogyakarta in 1812, where apparently it had been among the few Kartasura heirlooms still preserved in court circles after the chaos of the 1740s and 1750s. The paleography of the manuscript is also consistent with a court provenance, as is the use of expensive European paper, but since little is known about non-court paleography or the distribution of European paper in this period this is not strong evidence. Nonetheless, it seems reasonably certain that this chronicle derives from the court of Kartasura rather than from some outlying region.

II: The Author of the MS and his Literary Culture (Canto I:2)

The writer of *Babad ing Sangkala* is unnamed and unknown. The scribbled note at the end of the manuscript (f. 373v.) is probably in the same hand as the text, but it is impossible to be sure. This suggests that the writer may have been Raden Tumĕnggung Pakuningrat. But this note might also have been made by a scribe or official in the service of Pakuningrat who was apparently practising here the salutation of a letter to be sent in his master's name. It is not clear who this Pakuningrat was. He was almost certainly not the son of Amangkurat III (1703–8) of that name, who was a Pangeran (prince) and thus higher than a Raden Tumĕnggung. He was also known as Mangkuningrat, and appears under this name in Canto III:56 of *Babad ing Sangkala*. This gentleman surrendered with his father to the Dutch in 1708 and was sent with him in exile to Ceylon.[6] Amangkurat III died in Ceylon in 1734, and in 1737 his sons were allowed by Pakubuwana II to return to Java. But Mangkuningrat (or Pakuningrat) was thereupon given the name Pangeran Tĕpasana, by which name he was known at the time this manuscript was written in 1738.[7]

The title Raden Tumĕnggung suggests that the Pakuningrat associated with *Babad ing Sangkala* must have been a person of high position in the court, but his name does not appear in this writer's notes from published and archival Dutch sources on the court of Kartasura. He may, however, appear in due course among Javanese materials. In any case, it remains unclear whether this note at the end of the manuscript was written by Pakuningrat or by a scribe

6. G. Cnoll to Batavia, 24 July 1708, in KA 1656 (OB 1709); Batavia to H.XVII, 25 Nov. 1708, in dJ VIII, p. 148. See also *BTJ*, text p. 297, trans. p. 309; J. Brandes, 'Register op de proza-omzetting van de Babad Tanah Jawi (uitgave van 1874)', *VBG*, vol. 51, pt. 4 (1900), p. 89. On the equivalence of the names Paku- and Mangku-, see M.C. Ricklefs, *Jogjakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi, 1749–1792: A history of the division of Java* (London, 1974), pp. 78–9, p. 92 n. 70.

7. Batavia to H. XVII, 7 Mar. 1734, in dJ IX, p. 209; *idem*, 25 Jan. 1738, in dJ IX, p. 273. Tĕpasana subsequently opposed Pakubuwana II, and was put to death at Kartasura in 1742; one of his sons was Raden Mas Garĕndi (Sunan Kuning), who as a youth was proclaimed as the head of the rebel forces during the Chinese war of the 1740s, and was exiled to Ceylon in 1743; see Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, pp. 123–4.

or official in his service, and whether the person who wrote this note was necessarily the author of the manuscript.

Whoever the author of *Babad ing Sangkala* may have been, in the second stanza he claims to be a scholar of some consequence. The books he claims to have worked with are no longer known, at least by the titles he gives to them, except for 'The Overseas Chronicle' which is clearly a version of the well-known Aji Saka story.[8] His skill in dealing with chronograms is amply demonstrated in this text, for most of them successfully meet three requirements: they give the desired numerical value, they fit the metre of the poem, and they also make sense as a part of the story (although in some cases the connection between the chronogram words and the event is unclear simply because little or nothing is known about the event).

The author's claim to have worked with *kakawin* texts is of particular interest, for it seems to imply that the composition of Old Javanese works was still known at the court at this time. Most scholars would be inclined to treat this claim with some scepticism, given the extent to which later Javanese writers seem to have been ignorant of Old Javanese. The history of Old Javanese literature in Java during the Islamic period is extremely obscure. Most Old Javanese works are known only in copies preserved in Bali or Lombok. There are, however, several manuscripts in Old Javanese of the *kakawins Rāmāyaṇa, Bhārata-yuddha*, and *Arjunawiwāha* which seem certainly to have been written in Central Java in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[9] Other Old Javanese manuscripts exist which may be from Java in this period, but which are undated or whose provenance is uncertain; several Old Javanese texts with Modern Javanese glosses or translations are certainly from Suměněp (Madura) rather than Java. Texts must also have survived of the *kakawins Arjunawijaya, Bhomakāwya*, and *Dharmaśūnya*, of which Modern Javanese versions exist.[10] Those few manuscripts which seem fairly certainly to be from late eighteenth- or

8. This is known in several MS versions, and in the text published in C.F. Winter, Sr., J.J.B. Gaal, and T. Roorda (eds.), *Het boek Adji-Såkå: Oude fabelachtige geschiedenis van Java van de regering van vorst Sinḍoelå te Galoeh tot aan de Stichting van Madja-Pait door vorst Soesoeroeh* (Amsterdam, 1857). On MSS found in Dutch collections, see Th.G.Th. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java: Catalogue raisonné of Javanese manuscripts in the library of the University of Leiden and other public collections in the Netherlands* (3 vols.; The Hague and Leiden, 1967–70). On MSS in German collections, see *idem, Javanese and Balinese manuscripts.* On MSS in British collections, see Ricklefs and Voorhoeve, *Manuscripts.* On the Jakarta MSS, see Poerbatjaraka, 'Lijst der Javaansche handschriften in de boekerij van het Kon. Bat. Genootschap', *Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen Jaarboek 1933* (Bandoeng, [1933]), p. 282.

9. See the MSS LOr 1788, LOr 1790, LOr 1857, NBS 109, and NBS 121 in Pigeaud, *Literature*, vol. II.

10. On the various Old Javanese classics and their modern versions, see Pigeaud, *Literature*, and P.J. Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan: A survey of Old Javanese literature* (The Hague, 1974). The relationships between these older and newer versions still require much further study; valuable observations are found in Darusuprapto, 'Titik-titik hubungan pada tjerita Ardjunasasrabau-Rama-Mahabarata-Pandji-Damarwulan-Menak dalam chazanah kesastraan Djawa', *Buletin Fakultas Sastra dan Kebudajaan*, no. 1 (1969), pp. 61–70.

early nineteenth-century Java derive from the collections of the Netherlands Bible Society and the Koninklijke Akademie in Delft. Both of these institutions were committed to language study, and the question therefore arises whether these manuscripts were copied in Central Java under the direction of the early Dutch scholars of Javanese. If this was the case, the manuscripts would not necessarily demonstrate that Old Javanese literature was known or studied by Javanese literati without such external stimulus. At least one of these manuscripts (LOr 1788) specifically says that C.F. Winter Sr. supervised the copying.

The extent to which Old Javanese literature was actively studied at the Central Javanese courts by the later eighteenth century is therefore uncertain. Further investigation of all Old Javanese manuscripts which appear to have been written in Java might yield a clearer picture. It seems probable, however, that very few literati understood Old Javanese works, and that perhaps it was Dutch stimulus which produced some of these Central Javanese manuscripts. By the middle years of the nineteenth century, knowledge of Old Javanese seems to have been quite lost in Javanese literary circles. Old Javanese literature continued to be transmitted and studied only in Bali and Lombok.

But in *Babad ing Sangkala*, the author claims that he worked with *kakawins* or, as the text seems to say, that he composed chronograms for *kakawins*. Does this mean that Old Javanese literature was still a living part of the culture of the Javanese court in 1738, as it is in Bali and Lombok even today?[11] The answer to this question cannot be known with much certainty, given the rarity of Javanese manuscripts from before the later eighteenth century. One very important older manuscript has, however, survived, and it suggests a facility in court circles with Old Javanese literature which was perhaps unknown in later times.

In November 1716, Pangeran Adipati Dipanagara, a son of Susuhunan Pakubuwana I, copied out a text of the didactic Old Javanese *kakawin* entitled *Dharmaśūnya*.[12] The text is the same as that found in other *Dharmaśūnya* manu-

11. See S. O. Robson, 'The Kawi classics in Bali', *BKI*, vol. 128, nos. 2–3 (1972), pp. 308–29.

12. NBS 95, *Darma Sunya Kĕling*. See Pigeaud, *Literature*, vol. II, p. 739; a photograph, excerpt, and translation are to be found in *ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 32, 71–2. Pigeaud wrongly says that Dipanagara was the son of Amangkurat IV, which is based on Juynboll's erroneous reading of the colophon of the MS (See H.H. Juynboll, *Supplement op den catalogus van de Javaansche en Madoereesche handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek* [2 vols.; Leiden, 1907–11], vol. I, p. 165). The relevant part of the colophon (NBS 95, pp. 73–4) reads as follows:

Iti kakawin Darmaśunya Kĕling samakta, tlas tinular sinurat jĕng ira Pangeran Dipati Dipanagara, ingkang putra Kangjĕng Susunan amangku rat Jawa, Susunan Pakubuwana Senapati ning Alaga . . . .

Thus the king's name is Pakubuwana (I); the phrase *amangku rat Jawa* (misread by Juynboll as *Mangkurat Jawa*) means only 'who governs all of Java'; Susuhunan Amangkurat IV, who was known as Mangkurat Jawa, did not come to the throne until 1719.

Dipanagara was the prince who rebelled in 1718; see Canto IV:21–3 above and p. 196 below.

NBS 95 is dated Tuesday-Lĕgi (Anggara-Manis), 23 Dulkaidah, *wuku* Wayang, Be, *sirṇṇa ning sagara mangsa ning bhumi* (AJ 1640). There is an error here in the date: 23 Dulkaidah was Monday-Kliwon. If the date is emended to 24, all elements are then internally consistent: Tuesday-Lĕgi, 24 Dulkaidah, *wuku* Wayang, Be, AJ 1640 (10 Nov. 1716).

scripts originating from Bali, although more study would be needed to determine the extent and nature of any scribal errors.[13] *Dharmaśūnya* is a distinctly minor classic when compared with other Old Javanese works, and Poerbatjaraka found it a 'boring and tedious read'.[14] Its message appears to be conventional Old Javanese Siva-Buddhist mysticism. The important fact for the present study is simply that in 1716 a senior prince of the court had access to, and was able to produce a copy of, such a work. Sixty years later, for a prince to do this would have been quite inconceivable and even among littérateurs of the court such skills had almost disappeared. In 1815 Yasadipura II produced a version of the same text in Modern Javanese verse, which was published (with many printing errors) in Batavia by the Theosophist 'Pakĕmpalan Widya-Pustaka' in 1921. Poerbatjaraka poured scorn on this Modern Javanese version for its manifestly poor understanding of the Old Javanese original and for its general obscurity.[15]

It would be unwise to place too much reliance on this *Dharmaśūnya* manuscript as evidence for the active study of Old Javanese in Kartasura times. Perhaps Dipanagara's interest and skills in Old Javanese were unusual even in his own time. But the statement by the author of *Babad ing Sangkala* that he, too, had worked with Old Javanese literature suggests that Dipanagara may not have been unique. There is also an aspect of the language of *Babad ing Sangkala* which suggests that the literary culture of 1738 was closer to that of Old Javanese times than was that of later periods.

It is customary to speak of three kinds of Javanese: Old Javanese, Middle Javanese, and Modern Javanese (the last often called simply Javanese). But it is sometimes difficult to see how Middle Javanese texts differ fundamentally from the literary idiom of eighteenth-century Modern Javanese court culture, especially that of Yogyakarta, except that the former have no Arabic vocabulary items. Recently Professor Zoetmulder has adopted the absence or presence of Arabic loan-words as what he calls a 'practical, if somewhat superficial' definition of the difference between Middle and Modern Javanese. All manuscripts which by this definition are Middle Javanese originate from Bali rather than Java, so far as is known.[16] This has led some scholars to feel that Middle Javanese may be a misnomer, implying as it does a mid-point in the development

13. I have briefly compared the text of NBS 95 with the summary of *Dharmaśūnya* in Poerbatjaraka, 'Kakawin Dharmacunya: Voorloopig bewerkt, inhoudende korte inleiding, tekst-vaststelling en gedeeltelijke vertaling' (unpublished MS LOr 10,850 [5]). This summary is based upon the Museum Pusat *lontar* MSS KBG 48, 188, and 135 (see Poerbatjaraka, 'Lijst', p. 303). Poerbatjaraka's summary was never published, but parts of it are used in the discussion of *Dharmaśūnya* in his *Kapustakan Djawi* (Djakarta, 1964), pp. 51–3. The beginning and end of *Dharmaśūnya* are quoted in Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan*, p. 487.

14. Poerbatjaraka, 'Dharmacunya', p. [ii].

15. Poerbatjaraka, *Kapustakan Djawi*, pp. 138–40.

16. Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan*, pp. 29, 31 (quotation from p. 31).

of the language from Old to Modern Javanese. Rather, a feeling has grown that Middle Javanese is more properly seen as a form of Modern Javanese (or simply Javanese) used as a literary language in Bali where, given the absence of Muslim influence, it acquired no Arabic loan-words. In other words, this is seen as a regional variant of Javanese, not a stage in its historical development. Consequently the term Javano-Balinese has found some acceptance,[17] although 'Balino-Javanese' would seem to be rather closer to what is meant.

Thus, the existence of Arabic loan-words is a major determinant of whether a text is in Middle Javanese (Javano-Balinese) or Modern Javanese. *Babad ing Sangkala* contains Arabic loan-words, but they are largely restricted to technical terms specifically connected with Islam. Aside from such instances, indeed even including them, Arabic loan-words are very few. Since the present writer is neither expert nor under normal circumstances very interested in etymology, he asked the judgement of Professor Zoetmulder on this question. Professor Zoetmulder felt the use of Arabic words here to be so rare that he briefly considered whether it was necessary to include the vocabulary of this manuscript in his forthcoming dictionary of Old and Middle Javanese, which will be based upon those materials which lie on the other side of the dividing line imposed by Arabic loan-words.

Modern Javanese court literature does not usually show as much Arabic as Sanskrit vocabulary-borrowing. And certainly when compared with other Indonesian languages with substantial bodies of literature, the number of Arabic words in Javanese is relatively small except in specifically religious literature. Nonetheless, loan-words from Arabic are so rare in *Babad ing Sangkala* even by Javanese standards that it is not unreasonable to suggest that its author's literary culture may have been more aware of pre-Islamic Javanese language and culture than was that of later authors. When this is combined with the fact that in 1716 Pangeran Dipanagara was able to produce a copy of the Old Javanese *Dharmaśūnya*, it is clear that the author's claim to have worked with *kakawins* need not be rejected as an empty boast.

This is not to suggest, however, that Kartasura court culture was necessarily less self-consciously Muslim than that of successor courts. Indeed, this writer suspects that the feeling that they were Muslims may have mattered rather more among Kartasura courtiers than among those of Surakarta and Yogyakarta, the successor courts after the mid-eighteenth century. Among the few original Kartasura manuscripts to have survived are several Muslim religious texts. The suggestion here is rather that perhaps in this Islamized court, pre-Islamic literary

17. This term, or a variant of it, is used in Pigeaud, *Literature*, and *idem, Javanese and Balinese manuscripts*. See especially Pigeaud's defense of the term in *Literature*, vol. I, p. 12.
See also Peter John Worsley (ed. and trans.), *Babad Buleleng: A Balinese dynastic genealogy* ('s-Gravenhage, 1972), p. 94. A recent defense of the term 'Middle Javanese' is to be found in S.O. Robson (ed. and trans.), *Wangbang Wideya: A Javanese Pañji romance* (The Hague, 1971), p. 8. 'Middle Javanese' is retained as a term in the most recent edition of such a text: G.W.J. Drewes (ed. and trans.), *The romance of king Aṅliṅ Darma in Javanese literature* (The Hague, 1975).

traditions were also more alive and better known than in later courts. This writer leaves it to his philogical colleagues to consider whether in all this there are also grounds for maintaining the term Middle Javanese.

But is it reasonable to suggest that from the time of the *Babad ing Sangkala* manuscript of 1738 to the time when most other Modern Javanese manuscripts begin to appear, after ca. 1775, there was such a major change in literary culture that links with Old Javanese literature were greatly attenuated? This writer feels such a suggestion is reasonable. The whole of the Kartasura period (1680–1745) was turbulent, with almost constant warfare. Many cultural treasures were lost in this period, including most notably the whole collection of royal regalia (*pusaka*), which disappeared in 1705.[18]

Many manuscripts must have been lost as well, especially at times when the court fell to conquerers. Deaths among learned courtiers and interruptions in the education and apprenticeship of younger literati may have been considerable. After the final fall of Kartasura in 1742, warfare was constant among the court elite for twelve years, ending finally in the division of Java between the courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta. Much must have been lost; many died. It is not unreasonable to suppose that a part, and possible a substantial part, of a literary culture was lost and died in the same period. There is further evidence that there was a self-conscious 'new age' in literature after ca. 1775, by which time the writers and copyists of this new literature were a generation away from the culture of Kartasura.[19] All of these factors will be more fully considered in the Conclusions below.

When all of this somewhat circumstantial evidence is considered, nothing is definitely proved. But there is at least a possibility that poets of the Kartasura court were still competent to deal with Old Javanese literature. This competence may have been lost by the later eighteenth century. This has considerable implications for the conventional view of Javanese literary history, which will be discussed in the Conclusions below.

III: The Fall of Majapahit and the Successor States (Canto I:3–13)

In the third stanza, after a conventional disclaimer of the skills of which he boasted in the previous stanza, the author begins the chonicle itself. Over the whole of *Babad ing Sangkala* hangs a question: is it reliable history? In later sections, various forms of external data can be used to check the contents of the text, with results which usually confirm that it seems to be quite accurate, and sometimes remarkably so. But in this section on the history of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries AD, there is very little reliable evidence available as a control upon the text.

18. This extraordinary episode will be more fully discussed in a general history of the Kartasura period which I hope to write. See also H.J. de Graaf, *Geschiedenis van Indonesië* ('s-Gravenhage, 1949), pp. 239–40.

19. Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, pp. 219–26.

This period has always been a problem for students of Javanese history. Because it encompasses the period during which many Javanese apparently ceased to be Hindus and Buddhists and became instead Muslims, scholars have felt obliged to adopt some view about what may have happened. The result has been a set of theories about the conversion process or the history of new Muslim states which have been for the greater part pure speculation unsupported by historical evidence and even, in some cases, seemingly contradicted by such fragmentary evidence as does exist.[20] Recently two scholars have attempted to bring some greater rigour into the history of this period. Dr. H.J. de Graaf and Dr. Th.G.Th. Pigeaud have brought together their unrivalled knowledge of Dutch, Portuguese, and Javanese sources in a set of 'studies of the political history of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries'. While some further progress on individual aspects of their subject is possible, particularly through greater attention to the fragmentary epigraphic evidence which survives, this book will remain the standard reference on this period for a very long time.[21] Indeed, it shows clearly how little certainty is possible in the history of this period, and the stage of inquiry represented by de Graaf and Pigeaud's work may never be much surpassed.

There is therefore little likelihood of controlling the evidence presented in this section of *Babad ing Sangkala*. It is the oldest extant dated chronicle so far known, and consequently where it disagrees with the Javanese materials used by de Graaf and Pigeaud, all of which are later versions, one may feel inclined to prefer the story told in this manuscript. But it is still about two centuries later than the events described here, and it cannot be shown to be a reliable source on this period. The fact that later sections may prove to be accurate proves nothing about this section. One can only deal in probabilities: if any events described in this section can be shown to be accurate or inaccurate, there arises a certain probability concerning other events in the same section. It is, however, almost impossible to assess the accuracy of any of these obscure events.

The first event here is the fall of Majapahit in Ś 1400 (Mar. 1478–Feb. 1479). This date is commonly found in later manuscripts[22] and its role in the schematic

20. For example, extraordinarily little attention has been given to the gravestones of Trawulan and Tralaya, which provide evidence for the presence at the court of Majapahit in the fourteenth century of elite Javanese Muslims. See L.-Ch. Damais, 'Études javanaises, I: Les tombes musulmanes datées de Trålåjå', *BEFEO*, vol. 48 (1957), pp. 353–415; *idem*, 'L'Epigraphie musulmane dans le Sud-Est Asiatique', *ibid.*, vol. 54 (1968), pp. 572–4.

21. H.J. de Graaf and Th.G.Th. Pigeaud, 'De eerste Moslimse vorstendommen op Java: Studiën over de staatkundige geschiedenis van de 15de en 16de eeuw', *VKI*, vol. 69 (1974). Pigeaud and de Graaf do not take account of the Muslim gravestones mentioned in note 20 above, nor of the post-Ś 1400 Hindu inscriptions mentioned in note 27 below.

22. *Babad Kraton* (BL Add. MS 12320), f. 74 v. (but with a mistake in the chronogram; see Ricklefs, 'Consideration', pp. 303, 314 n.22); BL Add. MS 12323 (B), f 33 v.; BL Add. MS 12325 (C), f. 44 v.; *Babad Sangkalaning Momana*, p. 234; NBS 87 (xiii), p. 258; LOr 4097, p. 7 (printed in J. Brandes, *Beschrijving der Javaansche, Balineesche en Sasaksche handschriften aangetroffen in de nalatenschap van Dr. H.N. van der Tuuk* [4 vols.; Batavia, 1901–26], vol. I, p. 145); LOr 2144 (2), p. 12; LOr 2003 (11), p. 291; LOr 8578, p. 213; LOr 7699, f. 117 v.; DFT S 240/280–101, p. 1; NBS 184 (1), p. 10; NBS 135 (3), p. 12.

Some MSS give the date Ś 1403 for the fall of Majapahit: LOr 1859 (2), f. 3 v.; LOr 2144 (12), p. 64; LOr 2000 (2), p. 75; LOr 7699, f. 66 v.; KITLV Or. 262 (12), p. 67.

view of the cycle of centuries which is found in later texts has been discussed elsewhere.[23] De Graaf and Pigeaud reject this date and propose that Majapahit fell ca. AD 1527.[24] They are probably right to conclude that the last Hindu-Buddhist kingdom fell at about this time, but are they right to conclude that the kingdom which fell was located at Majapahit? In AD 1512–15, Tomé Pires wrote that the 'heathen' (i.e. non-Muslim) kingdom in the interior of Java was located at 'Dayo', 'Daya', or 'Daha',[25] all of which are clearly meant to be Daha, another name for Kadhiri. De Graaf and Pigeaud argue that this name may arise from the ascendancy of a Kadhiri branch of the royal family which still, however, ruled at Majapahit.[26] This is, of course, quite possible.

Another interpretation of late-fifteenth-century Majapahit history has been suggested on the basis of Old Javanese inscriptions written in Ś 1408 (AD 1486).[27] These are the only contemporaneous evidence from this period and consequently deserve careful study. Krom, and others who have followed his views, believed that these inscriptions demonstrated that a Hindu dynasty named Girindrawarddhana was perhaps located at Kadhiri, and that this Kadhiri dynasty had conquered Majapahit sometime before the date of the inscriptions.[28] Such a view would be consistent with Tomé Pires' statement that in AD 1512–15 the king was in Kadhiri. Dr. Noorduyn has, however, recently cast great doubt upon this interpretation. By restudying the inscriptions themselves he has shown that Krom's reading of the stones has some serious errors which have led to erroneous interpretations. That there had been a war against Majapahit before Ś 1408/AD 1486 is clear, for the efforts of one Śrī Brahmaraja in this war are praised. But Noorduyn believes that the king in these inscriptions, whose name was Girindrawarddhana Raṇawijaya, was a king of the legitimate Majapahit dynasty, and that the war against Majapahit perhaps represents the reconquest of the court by the dynasty, after it had previously been lost to unidentified enemies. This reconquest and restoration had therefore occurred by Ś 1408/AD 1486, and Nooduyn argues that comparison with the story in the *Pararaton* suggests that this reconquest occurred between AD 1468 and 1478. Girindrawarddhana Raṇawijaya was, therefore, neither the conqueror of Majapahit nor

23. Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, pp. 176–8.

24. 'Vorstendommen', pp. 53–6.

25. Armando Cortesão (ed. and trans.), *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires and the book of Francisco Rodrigues* (2 vols.; London, 1944), vol. I, pp. 175, 190–1.

26. 'Vorstendommen', p. 253 n. 40.

27. OJO 91–95 in N.J. Krom (ed.), 'Oud-Javaansche oorkonden: Nagelaten transscripties door wijlen Dr. J.L.A. Brandes', *VBG*, vol. 60 (1913), pp. 212–26. Dr. Noorduyn's corrections of Krom's readings are to be found in his unpublished papers listed in note 29 below.

28. N.J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche geschiedenis* (2nd. ed.; 's-Gravenhage, 1931), pp. 449–51.

the founder of a new dynasty; he was instead a king of the restored Majapahit dynasty. And there is no good reason to associate him with Kadhiri.[29]

Noorduyn's interpretation of this evidence is necessarily speculative. Several questions are not, and cannot be, resolved, and the merits of the *Pararaton* text as a source require further investigation. The following events seem, however, probably to have occurred. (1) Prior to Ś 1408/AD 1486 a war had resulted in the conquest of Majapahit; who the conquerers were is unclear but it seems probable that the Majapahit dynasty had already been restored by that time. In any case, this conquest did not result in the establishment of a Muslim state, for a Hindu king ruled in Ś 1408/AD 1486. (2) As late as Tomé Pires' time (AD 1512–15) the central dynasty was still not Muslim, but the court had apparently been moved to Kadhiri.

Babad ing Sangkala's version of these events is hardly very clear. But its dating of the 'destruction' of Majapahit in Ś 1400/AD 1478–9 is not ruled out, if one accepts that there was a war or were wars in which the capital was conquered before Ś 1408/AD 1486. It does not say, as later manuscripts always say or at least imply,[30] that it was Muslims who conquered the state. And it does say in Canto I:7 (as do many later texts) that Kadhiri fell in Ś 1449 (AD 1527–8), the year which de Graaf and Pigeaud suggest for the fall of the Hindu-Buddhist state. Whether or not the dynasty then ruling in Kadhiri was the dynasty of Majapahit is not certain, but in either case the story as told in *Babad ing Sangkala* may be correct. It is of further interest that *Babad ing Sangkala* says someone named Arta Dirya reigned after the fall of Majapahit, apparently from Ś 1403 to Ś 1407 (AD 1481–6). Tomé Pires reported that the non-Muslim 'viceroy of Java, and its chief captain, is called *Guste Pate*' but that his predecessor was called (or, a former name of this Guste Pate was) *Pate Amdura* or *Andura*.[31] If *Amdura* or *Andura* is meant to be *Arta Dirya*, then *Babad ing Sangkala* may find some further confirmation in Tomé Pires. This can, however, only be the most tentative of suggestions.

Little is proved by this, of course. In general, the analysis of the whole of this section of *Babad ing Sangkala* can proceed no further than this sort of conundrum. But it is possible to compare the version here with later texts, which

29. J. Noorduyn, 'Majapahit in de 15de eeuw' (unpublished lecture given before the Oosters Genootschap, Leiden, 17 Sept. 1976); *idem*, 'Preliminary report on archaeological research conducted in West and East Java in June, July and August 1976'; (Leiden, 4 Oct. 1976; unpublished). I am very grateful to Dr. Noorduyn for giving me copies of these papers and permission to cite them.

The text and a Dutch translation of the *Pararaton* are to be found in J.L.A. Brandes (ed. and trans.), 'Pararaton (Ken Arok) of het boek der koningen van Tumapël en van Majapahit' (2nd. ed.; ed. N.J. Krom), *VBG*, vol. 62 (1920).

30. See the MSS listed in note 22 above. Since Majapahit is said in these MSS to have been replaced by a Sultanate of Dĕmak, the conquest is clearly implied to have been carried out by Muslims even when this is not explicitly stated. See also the versions of these events in the texts translated in Ricklefs, 'Consideration'.

31. Cortesão, *Suma Oriental*, vol. I, p. 175.

may shed some light on the evolution of Javanese historiography, if not of history.

Later manuscripts all say that after the fall of Majapahit in Ś 1400/AD 1478–9, the mantle of authority fell upon the first Muslim ruler of Java, the Sultan of Dĕmak. His investiture as Sultan is usually assigned to Ś 1403 (AD 1481–2),[32] another date which fits a stylized chronological pattern.[33] It is sometimes said that for a period of forty days after the fall of Majapahit, Sunan Giri (one of the nine *walis*, the semi-legendary apostles of Islam in Java) ruled to purify the island of pre-Muslim remnants.[34]

Babad ing Sangkala has none of this. As was pointed out above, in Ś 1403 (AD 1481–2) someone named Arta Dirya ruled, apparently until Ś 1407 (AD 1485–6). In the Gericke and van der Tuuk manuscripts which represent later versions of the Kartasura historical tradition found here, this name is read as Arta Daya.[35] This immediately reminds one, rather uncomfortably since it introduces a new range of possible complications, of Pires' reference to a king in 'Daya' or 'Dayo'.[36] But it is likely that these later scribes were themselves trying to make sense of the name Dirya and decided to emend it to Daya, meaning presumably Daha/Kadhiri. Whoever the author of *Babad ing Sangkala* thought Arta Dirya to have been, he did not apparently think that he was a Sultan of Dĕmak.[37] Indeed, Dĕmak or its other name Bintara are not mentioned

32. BL Add. MS 12323 (B), f. 33 v.; BL Add. MS 12325 (C), f. 44 v.; *Babad Sangkalaning Momana*, p. 234; NBS 87 (xiii), p. 258; LOr 4097, p. 7 (see Brandes, *Beschrijving*, vol. I, p. 145); LOr 1859 (1), p. 1; LOr 1859 (2), f. 3 v.; LOr 2144 (12), p. 64; LOr 2000 (2), p. 75; LOr 7699, ff. 66 v., 118 v.; DFT S 240/280–101, p. 1; KITLV Or. 14, p. 2; KITLV Or. 262 (12), p. 67.

Some MSS give Ś 1401 for this event (sometimes instead of, sometimes as well as 1403): LOr 2003 (11), p. 291; NBS 184 (1), p. 10; NBS 135 (3), p. 12; DFT S 240/280–34, p. 1; BL Add. MS 12325 (C), f. 44 v.; *Babad Sangkalaning Momana*, p. 234.

On *Babad Sangkalaning Momana* and the BL MSS, see Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, p. 179 n. 15.

33. See Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, pp. 178–9.

34. Krom and Berg have suggested that this role played by Giri may be an Islamized legend deriving from what they believed to be the succession of a Girindrawarddhana dynasty. Dr. Noorduyn's recent work on the Girindrawarddhana inscriptions (cited in note 29 above) clearly calls for some modification of this suggestion. See Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche geschiedenis*, p. 451; C.C. Berg, 'Māyā's hemelvaart in het Javaanse Buddhisme', *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, new series vol. 74, nos. 1–2 (1969), p. 376 n. 102.

The Sunan Giri story can be found in *BTJ*, text p. 30, trans. p. 31; *BTJ(BP)*, vol. III, p. 13. It is not found in *Babad Kraton*.

35. See Appendix III on these two MSS. The reference here is to NBS 87 (xiii), p. 258; LOr 4097, pp. 7–8 (see Brandes, *Beschrijving*, vol. I, p. 145); this passage is quoted on p. 246 below.

36. See p. 158 above.

37. Nor did the scribes of the later Gericke and van der Tuuk MSS think so, for they interposed *Dipati Bintara nagri Dĕmak* (i.e. the first ruler of Dĕmak) between the fall of Majapahit and this 'Arta Daya' and dated both Dipati Bintara and Arta Daya in Ś 1403; this part of these texts is quoted in Appendix III, p. 246 below.

at all in this section of the manuscript. Because the form of the earlier parts of this text is so concise, many things may be left out. It would be unreasonable to argue that some event mentioned in a later text cannot have happened, or was not previously a part of the historical tradition, solely on the grounds that it is not mentioned in this, the oldest, manuscript. But Dĕmak would seem to be a rather special case. According to later Javanese traditions this kingdom was the direct successor of Majapahit as the sovereign power and the first Muslim state of Java. There is established in the later texts a clear line of legitimate succession from Majapahit to Dĕmak, thence through Pajang to Mataram.

The omission of the Sultans of Dĕmak from *Babad ing Sangkala* is quite unexpected, and may seem to be of great significance. Professor Berg has long argued that in the *babads* Dĕmak plays a role required by dynastic politico-religious myth, and that historians are consequently wrong to accept this role as historical.[38] Indeed, early sixteenth-century Portuguese sources confirm that Dĕmak was a major port but do not confirm that it was a Sultanate.[39] At first sight *Babad ing Sangkala* seems to offer evidence that as late as 1738 Javanese historical tradition had not introduced the Sultanate of Dĕmak. This is, however, not so. In 1678 Amangkurat II mentioned in passing that 'in the olden times when the Javanese were still heathens, a certain Sultan of Dĕmak was very desirous of power and aspired after the government of Majapahit . . . [and] in a short time he became the master of Majapahit'.[40] Thus, the tradition that a Sultan of Dĕmak was the conquerer of Majapahit is at least as old as 1678. Why, then, was it omitted from *Babad ing Sangkala* sixty years later? Perhaps the historical tradition by the 1730s had not yet given Dĕmak the prominence which it was later to have. But perhaps its omission, remarkable as it is, merely reflects an idiosyncratic selection of historical stories by the author of this part of *Babad ing Sangkala*. In any case, one important point is established by this discussion: it is hazardous in the extreme to base any arguments about Javanese historiography on what happens not to be mentioned in a given text. And this is especially so in texts as concise as *Babad ing Sangkala*. Further examples where episodes are left out of *Babad ing Sangkala* which were clearly part of the

38. C.C. Berg, 'Het rijk van de vijfvoudige Buddha', *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, new series vol. 69, no. 1 (1962), pp. 237, 276–7; *idem*, 'Māyā's hemelvaart', pp. 26, 138–9, 144, 206. Prof. Berg has been kind enough to discuss this question with me on several occasions.

39. See de Graaf and Pigeaud, 'Vorstendommen', pp. 35–43. Dr. de Graaf considered the question of the ascription of the title of Sultan to rulers of Dĕmak in his 'Titels en namen van Javaanse vorsten en groten uit de 16e en 17e eeuw', *BKI*, vol. 109 (1953), pp. 66–7. Here it appears that the first European source to give them the title of Sultan was that of Hendrik van der Horst (ca. 1710). De Graaf's discovery in Hurdt's journal (1678) of the reference by Amangkurat II to a Sultan of Dĕmak (see note 40 below) has now shown the use of this title in fact to be older than 1710.

40. H.J. de Graaf (ed.), *De expeditie van Anthonio Hurdt, Raad van Indië, als Admiraal en Superintendent naar de binnenlanden van Java, Sept.–Dec. 1678, volgens het journaal van Johan Jurgen Briel, Secretaris* ('s-Gravenhage, 1971), p. 90. I am extremely grateful to Dr. de Graaf for bringing this crucial passage to my attention.

historical tradition in 1738 will be seen below. Why there is no Sultan of Dĕmak in *Babad ing Sangkala* must remain a mystery.

There are further points at which this section of *Babad ing Sangkala* differs from parallel parts in later manuscripts. The battles and wars listed here may be readily compared with similar dates extracted from later texts in de Graaf and Pigeaud's *Eerste Moslimse vorstendommen.* They often differ, but often by only a year or two. Given the absence of contemporaneous documentation except for the Portuguese, whose information is incomplete and sometimes suspect, there is little likelihood of reaching any firm conclusions about the historicity of these wars. Nor can all the places listed here be readily identified.[41] It would be reasonable to presume that these wars were meant to record the military progress of Islam. But this cannot be shown to be so, and indeed it is not until Canto I:13 that one side of a battle is clearly identified as Muslim.

There is one particular event not in *Babad ing Sangkala* but found in some later eighteenth- and nineteenth-century texts which deserves notice. In Ś 1471 (AD 1549–50) these later texts describe an event of crucial importance for the origins of the Mataram dynasty. Then, it is said, Ki Pamanahan, the founder of the Mataram dynasty, assisted in the killing of Arya Panangsang upon the wish of the Sultan of Pajang (who, according to these texts, was the successor to the Sultans of Dĕmak). As a reward, he was given the land of Mataram.[42] This event, too, can be seen to fit an idealized cycle of centuries,[43] and like the Sultans of Dĕmak is not mentioned in *Babad ing Sangkala.* For Ś 1471 in this manuscript there is only mention of the king of Prawata, who was then in Kadhiri. It is not even clear who this may have been. Prawata (mountain) is a synonym of Giri. There thus arise three possible identities for this king of Prawata: (1) Sunan Prawata (?AD 1546–?)[44] who was supposedly the fourth ruler of Dĕmak (but what would bring him to Kadhiri and why should he be the only Dĕmak ruler to appear in the text?), (2) Sunan Giri (one of the nine *walis*), which is the explanation imposed by the scribes of the van der Tuuk and Gericke manuscripts who

41. It should, however, be noted that Tomé Pires' place-name 'Canjtam' probably derives from the place Kaniten in this MS (Canto I:5, 13) and not from Gĕndhing as suggested in de Graaf and Pigeaud, 'Vorstendommen', pp. 187–8. De Graaf and Pigeaud, however, believe that Kaniten was in the area of Magĕtan (*ibid.*, pp. 229, 296 n. 251), whereas Pires' description suggests that Canjtam should lie farther east.

42. *Babad Kraton*, ff. 93r.–102v.; *BTJ*, trans pp. 55–65, text pp. 53–63; *BTJ(BP)*, vol. IV, pp. 31–56.
It should be noted that several nineteenth-century MSS date the promise of Mataram to, or its occupation by, Pamanahan (Kyai Agĕng Mataram) in Ś 1531 (AD 1609–10): LOr 6401(1), p. 2; NBS 184(1), p. 10; DFT S 240/280–34, p. 1; LOr 7699, f. 67r.; KITLV Or. 14, p. 2; KITLV Or 262(12), p. 66. *Babad Sangkalaning Momana*, p. 241, dates the death of Panangsang in Ś 1504 (AD 1582–3) and the grant of Mataram to Pamanahan in Ś 1505 (AD 1583–4).

43. Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, pp. 75–6 n. 19. See also Appendix IV below.

44. De Graaf and Pigeaud, 'Vorstendommen', pp. 74–8.

at this point give *Rajeng Giri*,[45] or (3) the remnants of the last Hindu-Buddhist rulers in the interior of Java if they bore the name Girindrawarddhana.[46] But, as with the Sultans of Dĕmak, the omission of this Pamanahan episode may merely reflect an idiosyncratic selection of episodes by the author of *Babad ing Sangkala.*

Before leaving this section, it should be pointed out that there occurs in Canto I:8 the first of several occasions in this text when natural phenomena can be used as a control. The chronogram clearly refers to a lunar eclipse, and goes to such lengths to do so that an error results. The year is clearly intended to be Ś 1460 (Mar. 1538–Feb. 1539). On the night of 6–7 Nov. 1538 there was indeed a partial lunar eclipse over Central Java, reaching its greatest extent at just after midnight.[47] Unfortunately, lunar eclipses prove little. Unlike solar eclipses, they occur frequently and are visible over vast areas of the earth's surface. In the first half of the sixteenth century AD, forty lunar eclipses were visible over Java, twenty-one of which were total. In only seventeen years in the first half of the century was no lunar eclipse visible in Java. Thus, any reference to a lunar eclipse has a two-to-one chance of mentioning a year when one actually occurred. In this case, the eclipse in question was in fact a minor one. Therefore little is proved, but more important conclusions will emerge below with regard to solar eclipses.

IV: Pajang and Senapati Ingalaga (Canto I:14–20)

Babad ing Sangkala now moves to a most important section, one which gives rise to important historiographical conclusions. Here is the story of the emergence of the two new powers of Central Java: Pajang, in the present-day Surakarta area, and Mataram, in the present-day area of Yogyakarta. The central courts of Java were all to be located in one of these two areas until the mid-eighteenth century AD, after which the kingdom was divided and there were courts in both. The rule of the single king of Pajang and the transition to the rulers of Mataram were episodes much emphasized by later writers of Mataram dynasty court chronicles.

In Canto I:14 the battles described in previous stanzas are continued, culminating in the fall of Wirasaba (in the area of present-day Maja Agung, in the Brantas valley) in Ś 1500 (AD 1578–9). Later chronicles sometimes placed the demise of the Dĕmak dynasty in this year, thereby fitting into an apparently

45. NBS 87 (xiii), p. 259; LOr 4097, p. 9.

46. See pp. 158–9 above.

47. Lunar no. 4241 in Theodor Ritter von Oppolzer, *Canon of eclipses (Canon der Finsternisse)* (trans. Owen Gingerich; preface by Donald H. Menzel and Owen Gingerich; New York, 1962). The greatest extent of this eclipse occurred at + 113 longitude; Kartasura is at + 111 longitude.

stylized pattern of dynastic change at the turning of the centuries.[48] It has already been noted, however, that Dĕmak plays no role in *Babad ing Sangkala*, until in Canto I:15 it joins the series of states defeated in battle. It is clear nonetheless that this author regarded the turn of the century as a significant point, for he refers to the coming of the 'great era' (*windu agung*).

The Sultan of Pajang receives his investiture in Ś 1503 (AD 1581–2) in Canto I:15. This is the first date in this text since the fall of Majapahit in Ś 1400/AD 1478–9 to fit the later stylized chronological patterns.[49] The actual history of Pajang is very obscure, and there are no contemporaneous sources whatsoever, whether indigenous or foreign.[50] Whether this date is or is not correct cannot be known; it can only be shown that another element in the stylized chronologies is as old as AD 1738.

From Canto I:15 to I:19 the wars continue. These were presumably meant to be the wars by which the founders of the Mataram dynasty began to expand their power. This is not, however, made explicit here. Indeed, the name Mataram is not mentioned until Canto I:21. Nor is the first prominent figure in Mataram historical tradition, Ki Pamanahan or Kyai Agĕng Mataram, mentioned here. And this man's son, in later texts consistently called Panĕmbahan Senapati Ingalaga, appears here only when his death is recorded in Canto I:20, and there he is called the Panĕmbahan who died in the Yellow Pavilion.[51]

The absence of Pamanahan, and the brief mention of the death of Senapati under another name, raises issues similar to those concerning the absence of the Dĕmak Sultanate discussed above. It might at first seem as if *Babad ing Sangkala* shows the traditions about the founders of the Mataram dynasty to have taken the form in which they are known from later texts only after 1738. And this

48. *Babad Sangkalaning Momana*, p. 240 (see Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, p. 179 n. 16); LOr 2144 (2), p. 12; LOr 2003(11), p. 291; LOr 6401(1), p. 2; NBS 184(1), p. 10; NBS 135(3), p. 12.

Some MSS give Ś 1503 for the death of the last ruler of Dĕmak: LOr 1859(1), p. 2; LOr 1859(2), f. 4 r.; LOr 2144(12), p. 65; LOr 2000(2), p. 75; LOr 7699, f. 67 r.; DFT S 240/280–34, p. 1; KITLV Or. 14, p. 2; KITLV Or. 262(12), p. 67. BL Add. MS 12325(C), f. 45 r., gives Ś 1504.

On the location of Wirasaba, see H.J. de Graaf, 'De regering van Sultan Agung, vorst van Mataram 1613–1645, en die van zijn voorganger Panembahan Séda-ing-Krapjak 1601–1613', *VKI*, vol. 23 (1958), p. 34.

49. See Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, p. 179. The date is also found in the following MSS: *BTJ*, text p. 68, trans. p. 70; *BTJ(BP)*, vol. IV, p. 71; BL Add. MS 12323(B), f. 34 r.; *Babad Sangkalaning Momana*, p. 241; LOr 1859(1), p. 2; LOr 1859(2), f. 4 r.; LOr 2144(2), p. 12; LOr 2144 (12), p. 65; LOr 2000(2), p. 75; LOr 7699, f. 67r.; DFT S 240/280–101, p. 1; NBS 184(1), p. 10; NBS 135(3), p. 12; LOr 4097, p. 11; NBS 87(xiii), p. 260; DFT S 240/280–34, p. 1; KITLV Or. 14, p. 2; KITLV Or. 262(12), p. 67.

LOr 2003(11), p. 292, gives Ś 1500. LOr 8578, p. 215, gives Ś 1474.

50. See de Graaf and Pigeaud, 'Vorstendommen', p. 208. See also de Graaf's discussion of the somewhat doubtful information about Paniaõ (Pajang?) given by Diego de Couto, in H.J. de Graaf, 'De regering van Panembahan Sénapatï Ingalaga', *VKI*, vol. 13 (1954), pp. 67–8.

51. This translation of *Kaj*ĕ*nar* is discussed on p. 168 below.

would seem to support Professor Berg's arguments that these stories are mythical, but to cast doubt on his view that they were composed in the time of Sultan Agung (1613–46).[52] In the case of the Dĕmak Sultanate, a chance comment by Amangkurat II, recorded in a Dutch journal of 1678, shows the traditions to have existed long before 1738 even though they are omitted from *Babad ing Sangkala*. Similarly, the stories about Pamanahan and Senapati can be shown to have existed in 1738, notwithstanding their omission from *Babad ing Sangkala*. In this case the evidence is another manuscript which appears to be contemporaneous with and perhaps even by the same hand as *Babad ing Sangkala*. This manuscript shows that *Babad ing Sangkala* does not necessarily reflect the contents of larger *babad* texts, and that much later versions have sometimes maintained very old textual traditions.

The crucial document here is a large but incomplete *babad* text, IOL Jav. 36 (A), found in the same volumes as the *Babad ing Sangkala* text. This larger manuscript is a fragmentary text of the *Babad Mataram* or *Babad Tanah Jawi* tradition; it contains 348 folios and ends with the fall of Mataram in AJ 1600/AD 1677–8. It is not possible to say precisely at what point in the tradition the text begins, since it is misbound. This writer has not read all of the manuscript and consequently cannot say definitely what is the earliest episode among its jumbled pages, or whether there are substantial gaps within the text. There is no sign of the beginning of the text. The earliest episode in the surviving fragment, so far as is known to this writer, contains the story of Kyai Agĕng Mataram, followed by the career of Senapati Ingalaga and subsequent Mataram history.

The two volumes of IOL Jav. 36 containing this full *babad* fragment and *Babad ing Sangkala* were bound (or rebound) in Calcutta in 1815,[53] so the question arises whether they were originally bound together when Mackenzie acquired them. Since the large *babad* has lost its introductory passages and breaks off at the end without a conclusion (as if the scribe simply tired of his task or was interrupted), there is no date for its composition. A technical comparison of the two texts in IOL Jav. 36, however, indicates that it is reasonable to assume that they are contemporaneous, and indeed possibly by the same scribe. The same Dutch paper, manufactured at the Egmond mill in 1733, is used throughout both texts. At ×20 magnification, the surface of the paper markings and the ink application (taking into account the type of pen used, the pressure, and stylistic features of the hand) are identical. Chemical analysis shows that the paper and inks are identical. Furthermore, the paleography of the two texts is identical, even to using the same decorative motifs at the beginnings of stanzas.[54]

52. See C.C. Berg, 'Twee nieuwe publicaties betreffende de geschiedenis en de geschiedschrijving van Mataram', *Indonesië*, vol. 8 (1955), pp. 103, 107–14; *idem*, 'Kraton-bouw in de wildernis', *ibid.*, vol. 10, no. 6 (1957), pp. 515–17. This argument appears in several other of Berg's publications.

53. Note on f. 2r.: 'Bound by Mr. Ferris January 1815'. By this time Mackenzie (the owner of the MS) was back in Calcutta. The endpapers are English, watermarked 'W & T Chandler 1809'; the body of the MS is on Dutch paper, as noted above (p. 149 note 3).

54 I am grateful to the India Office for carrying out an analysis of the MS (communication

It is therefore reasonable to assume that the two texts are contemporaneous, and even that it was probably the same scribe who wrote both. So this larger *babad* is an important test of the degree to which *Babad ing Sangkala* is a reliable guide to the contents of larger *babad* texts of the same antiquity. And it throws light upon the question of whether *babad sangkala* texts in general should be regarded as a literary genre distinct from full *babad* texts.

A comparison of *Babad ing Sangkala* and the full *babad* on the foundations of Mataram reveals substantial differences. It shows again the dangers of making deductions about the Javanese historical tradition in general from what is omitted in the abbreviated style of *Babad ing Sangkala*. The stories not found in *Babad ing Sangkala* about Kyai Agĕng Mataram and Panĕmbahan Senapati Ingalaga are found in their entirety in the larger *babad* text of IOL Jav. 36 (A).[55] Furthermore, there seems to be no substantial difference between this larger text and that of the Major Surakarta *Babad* of AD 1836. The text does, however, differ from the *Babad Kraton* manuscript of AD 1777–8, which is in general briefer than either the earlier manuscript of ca. AD 1738 or the later one of AD 1836.[56]

From this comparison follow four conclusions of general relevance to the study of Javanese historiography. First, *babad sangkala* manuscripts may be unreliable as guides to the contents of full *babads* because of the substantially more abbreviated style of the former. Second, a relatively recent text such as the Major Surakarta *Babad* of AD 1836 may have sections which, for all practical purposes, can be said not to have changed for at least a century (although of course such sections cannot be identified unless one has an older manuscript available for comparison). Third, relatively older texts such as *Babad Kraton* of

55. IOL Jav. 36(A), ff. 17r.–v.: death of Kyai Agĕng Mataram, dated *lunga trus angalor iku* (Ś 1490/AD 1568–9). *Ibid.*, ff. 6 r. et seqq. tells the story of Senapati. His death is described on ff. 135v.–136r., and is dated *kaya ron tinata nabi* (Ś 1523/AD 1601–2). Between ff. 6 and 136 there are several misbound sections (e.g. a part of the Kyai Agĕng Mataram story again appears on f. 68).

It is worth noting that the date Ś 1490/AD 1568–9 for the death of Kyai Agĕng Mataram (and consequently for the accession of Senapati) is not found in later MSS, which commonly date this event Ś 1535 (AD 1613–14), this being in fact the year of Sultan Agung's accession. See *Babad Kraton*, f. 110r.; *BTJ(BP)*, vol. IV, pp. 76–7; *BTJ*, text p. 70, trans. p. 72; BL Add. MS 12323(B), f. 34r.; LOr 1859(1), p. 2; LOr 1859(2), f. 4r.; LOr 2144(2), p. 12; LOr 2144(12), p. 65; LOr 2000(2), p. 76; LOr 6401(1), pp. 2–3; LOr 7699, f. 67r; DFT S 240/280–34, p. 1 (this MS also gives S 1540); KITLV Or. 14, p. 3; see also Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, p. 12; *Babad Sangkalaning Momana*, p. 241, gives Ś 1507 (AD 1585–6) for the death of Kyai Agĕng Mataram. Ś 1540 is given for the accession of Senapati in LOr 7699, f. 120r.; DFT S 240/280–101, p. 1; and DFT S 240/280–34, p. 1 (this text also gives Ś 1535).

56. On the Major Surakarta *Babad* and *Babad Kraton*, see Ricklefs, 'Consideration', pp. 289–90. I have not made a word-for-word comparison of the whole of the Senapati story in *BTJ(BP)* with IOL Jav. 36(A). The stories seem, however, to be the same, and wherever the texts were compared they proved to be identical, except for some minor variations in wording. There are other points where *Babad Kraton*, *BTJ(BP)*, and IOL Jav. 36(A) all represent the same tradition (e.g. see Appendix IV) and places where *Babad Kraton* and *BTJ(BP)* both represent a tradition different from that of IOL Jav. 36(A) (e.g. see p. 184 note 140 below).

AD 1777–8, the contents of which differ from later texts, do not necessarily contain a version of history which is actually older. Fourth, and consequent upon the second and third conclusions, it cannot be assumed that the development of a particular episode can be reconstructed by arranging manuscripts containing that episode solely according to the date of their composition.[57]

It may be worth pointing out another conclusion which might seem appropriate to some, but which does not arise here. Previous generations of Dutch scholarship tended to regard Surakarta as the standard for all things Javanese. Followers of this viewpoint would conclude simply that the Surakarta Major *Babad* represents the older historical tradition (if it does, which cannot be proved, since this part of *Babad Kraton* could equally represent a tradition still older than that of the India Office text) because it was Surakarta which inherited the legacies, including the books, of Kartasura, whereas the new court of Yogyakarta did not. This conclusion can be discarded by recalling that the crucial document, IOL Jav. 36, was found at the conquest of Yogyakarta in AD 1812. So Kartasura books did exist in Yogyakarta, even though the man who wrote *Babad Kraton* in that court did not follow the tradition contained in this Kartasura text for the episodes considered here. At other points, *Babad Kraton* does in fact follow the tradition of the larger *babad* of IOL Jav. 36 (A); an example of this is to be found in Appendix IV below.

The death of Panĕmbahan Senapati Ingalaga in Canto I:20 requires further comment. The posthumous appelation *seda ing Kajĕnar* was apparently the most common form of reference for Senapati until the later eighteenth century AD. Dr. de Graaf's list of European references from Rijklof van Goens (1655) to T.S. Raffles (1817) shows that *seda ing Kajĕnar* was exclusively used by Europeans (whose sources were of course native Javanese) until the 1760s, after which time 'Senapati' was used.[58] He suggests also that the Senapati title does not appear in Javanese sources until after 1750.[59] In his study of Senapati's reign, de Graaf concludes that *seda ing Kajĕnar* must mean that Senapati died

57. In other words, I regard a part of the historiographical argument about the story of the fall of Majapahit in Ricklefs, 'Consideration', to have insufficient documentary foundation. A far larger number of MSS with a far greater range in age would need to be analyzed. It is true that the Meinsma *babad* cannot be regarded as a primary historical source ('Consideration', p. 293), that none of the texts analyzed there are of great value as sources for the fall of Majapahit (*ibid.*, p. 294), and that they are important sources for the point of view of their authors and/or patrons (*ibid.*). But it cannot be argued that these texts can show 'a growing consciousness of Islam as a part of the Javanese identity over the period 1777–1836' (*ibid.*, p. 295). This may have been so, but the texts considered there cannot show it to have been so. It is unfortunate that IOL Jav. 36(A) does not contain the Majapahit story. If, for instance, this story were found in that MS and if it, too, proved to be the same as the Surakarta Major *Babad* version, then quite important conclusions might arise concerning the apparently dissenting outlook of the Yogyakarta author of *Babad Kraton*. On the other hand, if it proved to be the same as *Babad Kraton* the significance of the differences discerned in *BTJ(BP)* would be more firmly established.

58. 'Titels en namen', pp. 70–1.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

at Jĕnar (northeast of Surakarta),[60] which was also Raffles' understanding of this designation.[61] These views can now be shown to be incorrect. Whether or not in conversation Javanese usually used the appellation *seda ing Kajĕnar*, the larger *babad* text of IOL Jav. 36 (A), which was of course unknown to Dr. de Graaf, provides evidence of the use of the title Senapati Ingalaga at least by ca. 1738.[62] And it also explains the meaning of *seda ing Kajĕnar*. IOL Jav. 36 (A), *Babad Kraton*, and the Major Surakarta *Babad* all say that Senapati fell ill and died in the 'Bale Kajĕnar' (the Yellow Pavilion).[63] So this was not the place Jĕnar, but a building within the court called the Yellow Pavilion, perhaps the same as the building known as the Gĕdhong Kuning in the present-day court of Yogyakarta.

Dr. de Graaf has used astronomical data to argue that the date Ś 1523 (AD 1601–2) for Senapati's death in the Gericke manuscript[64] is correct, thereby of course implying that other dates connected with this period may also be correct. A solar eclipse is said to have occurred after Senapati's death, as is also the case in Canto I:20 of the *Babad ing Sangkala* text. De Graaf has, however, misread his source somewhat. His *babad sangkala* (the Gericke manuscript) says, just as does the present text, that Senapati[65] died in Ś 1523 (AD 1601–2), that Dipati Pugĕr then moved to Dĕmak, and that it was a year later that the solar eclipse occurred.[66] Thus, the eclipse is said to have occurred a year after the death of Senapati (i.e. in Ś 1524/AD 1602–3), and not in the same year as de Graaf

60. 'Sénapati', p. 129.

61. Thomas Stamford Raffles, *The history of Java* (2nd. ed.; 2 vols.; London, 1830), vol. II, p. 258.

62. There are, of course, several variants, e.g. Ki Senapati, Senapati Ngalaga, etc.

63. IOL Jav. 36(A), f. 135r.; *Babad Kraton*, f. 185r.; *BTJ(BP)*, vol. VII, p. 47.

64. NBS 87(xiii), p. 260; the text is cited in note 66 below. The date Ś 1523 is also given in LOr 4097, p. 12; *Babad Sangkalaning Momana*, p. 243; LOr 8578, p. 217.
Ś 1523 is also found in IOL Jav. 36(A), f. 136r.; *Babad Kraton*, f. 185r.; and *BTJ(BP)*, vol. VII, p. 48. The chronograms in these three texts are substantially identical: *kaya ron tinata nabi, kaya ron ing tata nabi*, and *kaya ron tata nabi* respectively.
Rather surprisingly, *BTJ* does not follow *BTJ(BP)* on this event; it says that Senapati ruled for only three years and died in Ś 1552 (AD 1630–1) (text p. 113, trans. p. 117)! On this, see also p. 174 note 82 below.
The most common later date for Senapati's death is the wildly erroneous year Ś 1553 (AD 1631–2), given in LOr 1859(1), p. 2; LOr 1859(2), f. 4v.; LOr 2144(2), p. 13; LOr 2144(12), p. 66; LOr 2000(2), p. 77; LOr 7699, f. 120r.; LOr 6401(1), p. 3; NBS 184(1), p. 11; NBS 135(3), p. 13; DFT S 240/280–34, p. 1; KITLV Or. 14, p. 3; KITLV Or. 262(12), p. 66.

65. It should be noted that the Gericke MS 'modernizes' the name, giving *Panĕmbahan Senapati* rather than *Seda ing Kajĕnar*. See note 66.

66. NBS 87(xiii), p. 260: *Sedanya Panĕmbahan Senapati, tunggil warsa purwa sata kalane milanya wong ngudud, Alip 1523, Dipati Pugĕr ngalih boyong mring Dĕmak, jumĕnĕng sataun antara grahana surya,, nuju Ehe 1524, duk wong Mataram anglurug* . . . . LOr 4097, p. 12, has the same text.

says.[67] There was a total solar eclipse visible from Java on 30 June 1601;[68] there were no solar eclipses over Java in AD 1602 or 1603. Thus, because these Javanese sources clearly say that the eclipse occurred not in the year of Senapati's death but rather in the following year, this eclipse does not prove that the dating of Senapati's death in Ś 1523/AD 1601–2 is correct. Rather, it proves that it (or the date for the eclipse) is wrong. The year in which Senapati actually died must therefore remain uncertain.

The chronogram for this death, 'two fires fell upon the earth', arises from the chronicler's statement that tobacco was introduced at the same time. Anyone who has enjoyed the pyrotechnics associated with Javanese *kretek* cigarettes will appreciate the propriety of the image. Whether this is simply one of the most contrived chronograms in this text or a historical statement of some value cannot be known. But the introduction of tobacco was perhaps an event of some significance for the Javanese court, since it would have provided a new social diversion to add to betel-chewing. The date may, indeed, be correct; at least it is probable that tobacco was not known in Java much before this time.[69]

V: The Reigns of Seda ing Krapyak and Sultan Agung (Canto I:21–48)

The two reigns covering the period ca. AD 1601 to early 1646 are susceptible to rather more straightforward historical controls than previous periods. By this time European sources, especially the records of the Dutch East India Company, are of sufficient abundance to make possible somewhat more detailed checks upon indigenous sources, which themselves are more extensive. It is not until the eighteenth century, however, that both indigenous and European sources which are contemporaneous exist in any volume. For the first half of the seventeenth century the evidence consists of Javanese sources which are in most cases at least a century, and often two centuries or more, later than the events they describe, and European sources which are contemporaneous but not always well-informed. Moreover, the European records are often not truly independent of the Javanese, for except in relatively rare cases where Europeans were eye-witnesses to events,

67. 'Sénapati', p. 129. The same statement appears in H.J. de Graaf, 'De historische betrouwbaarheid der Javaanse overlevering', *BKI*, vol. 112 (1956), pp. 61–2; and in de Graaf and Pigeaud, 'Vorstendommen', p. 231.

68. Solar no. 6664 in Oppolzer, *Canon*. See especially Chart 134 in *ibid.*

69. Tobacco is not, so far as I know, mentioned in Old Javanese sources; see Th.G.Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th century: A study in cultural history* (5 vols.; The Hague, 1960–3), vol. IV, p. 506. See also Brian E. Colless, 'Majapahit revisited: External evidence on the geography and ethnology of East Java in the Majapahit period', *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 48, pt. 2 (1975), p. 146. John Crawfurd believed tobacco to have been introduced by the Portuguese, and accepted AD 1601 as the year of its introduction; *A descriptive dictionary of the Indian islands & adjacent countries* (Intro. by M.C. Ricklefs; Kuala Lumpur, 1971), pp. 436–7.

most of their information was based upon what they were told by indigenous informants. This is, of course, especially true of events at the court and in the interior of the island, which were the primary concern of court chroniclers. Nonetheless, the evidence is so much more reliable than that for previous periods that for the first time relatively satisfactory historical reconstructions become possible. It is also possible, therefore, to analyze the accuracy of the *Babad ing Sangkala* manuscript more satisfactorily. Many events, however, remain extremely obscure. European sources cited in Dr. de Graaf's study of this period are the main basis for comparison here.[70]

It is possible to divide this section of *Babad ing Sangkala* into three groups of events: those which are apparently correct, those which may be wrong, and those about which so little is presently known that no firm judgements can be made. It is important to note that there are no events in this section which are certainly wrong. Sometimes these judgements are somewhat subjective. For instance, in Canto I:44 there is a chronogram at the beginning for AJ 1564/AD 1642–3 and one at the end for AJ 1565/AD 1643–4. Between these two years are mentioned three events, the arrival of the Adipati of Palembang, the capture of Ki Haji at Jakarta, and the arrival of Banjarmasin emissaries. If the second and the third of these are assigned to the first year they are correct (or possibly correct in the case of the Banjarmasin emissaries); if they are assigned to the second year they are wrong. The Javanese text does not rule out absolutely either way of reading the story. Such ambiguities are normal in Javanese verse; in the translation an effort has been made to give what seems to be the best understanding (or at least to preserve the same ambiguity as in the text) but it is unwise to be dogmatic in such matters.

Those events which seem probably or certainly correct in this section are the Mataram war against Dĕmak in 1602–3, the beginning of the campaigns against Surabaya in 1609–10, the conquest of Grĕsik ending in 1613–14, the battle at the river Andaka and the fall of Malang in 1614–15, the fall of Wirasaba in 1615–16, the fall of Lasĕm in 1616–17, the defeat of Pasuruhan in 1617–18, the beginning of conflict with Pajang in 1617–18 and the fall of Pajang in 1618–19 with the deportation of its populace, the move to the court of Karta in 1618–19, the fall of Tuban in 1619–20, the casting of cannon at the court in 1622–3 (Dutch sources report 30 pieces were used against Surabaya in 1622), the defeat of Madura in 1624–5, the death of Sujanapura in the war against Madura in 1624–5, the construction of the Siti Inggil at the court in 1625–6, the departure from Surabaya of its Adipati (i.e. Sultan Agung's conquest of Surabaya) in 1625–6, the epidemics of 1625–6 (Dutch sources say they continued into 1627), the defeat of Pathi in 1627–8, the two sieges of Batavia in 1628–9 and 1629–30, the Dutch mission (led by Pieter Franssen and Jacob Ventura, who were at the court in June 1630 and whose undiplomatic conduct

70. De Graaf, 'Sultan Agung'.

is nicely reflected in the chronogram 'forcing their way, evil and defiant')[71] in 1630–31, the Portuguese mission led by Jorge d'Acunha (but which presented a horse rather than a tapir)[72] in 1631–2, the attack on Ukur in 1632–3, the defeat of Giri in 1635–6, the visit to the court of the Panĕmbahan of Cirĕbon and the great court gathering of 1636–7, the defeat of Balambangan in 1639–40, the arrival of a European ambassador with a gift of cannon (the English East India Company ambassador Ralph Cartwright with the cannon which became known as Kyai Bringsing) in 1641–2, the capture by the Dutch (from an English ship) of the Gujerati Haji who was leading an embassy from Sultan Agung to Mecca in 1642–3, and the arrival of a Banjarmasin embassy in 1642–3.

Events which may be wrong are the following. The affair of Siwalan in Ś 1538 (Mar. 1616–Feb. 1617) was a major victory for Sultan Agung, but since the Dutch seem to have heard of this in Jan. 1616 the Javanese date seems to be rather too late. It is not, however, certain that J.P. Coen's letter cited by Dr. de Graaf refers to the victory at Siwalan.[73] It is improbable that a prince of Giri was a loyal subject of Mataram in 1621–2, although of course it is not entirely impossible. There is some uncertainty about the date of the Palembang mission mentioned in Canto I:44. Dr. de Graaf places it in the first months of AD 1641 but suggests that the Palembang ruler stayed in Mataram until late 1642, whereas Dr. Andaya says the Palembang prince set off for Mataram in Feb. 1642.[74] In the first case the dating of his arrival in AJ 1564 (Apr. 1642–Mar. 1643) would be wrong, although in either case the visit almost certainly extended into that year.

Of the events in this section of *Babad ing Sangkala* which can be compared with contemporaneous European sources, not one is definitely wrong. This, however, assumes that in the period between AD 1625 and July 1633 the court was still using the Śaka era rather than the Javanese era (AJ). If this was not the case, two events would be wrongly dated. This point is discussed in greater detail in Appendix I below.[75]

71. See *ibid.*, pp. 174–7; H.J. de Graaf (ed.), *De vijf gezantschapsreizen van Rijklof van Goens naar het hof van Mataram, 1648–1654* ('s-Gravenhage, 1956), p. 270. This date is correct only if the era is Śaka rather than AJ; see Appendix I, pp. 232–3 below.

72. De Graaf, 'Sultan Agung', pp. 165–8. This date is correct only if the era is Śaka rather than AJ; see Appendix I, pp. 232–3 below.
Precisely what is meant by the Javanese word *sĕnuk* (translated here as tapir) is not entirely clear; see the discussion in J.F.C. Gericke and T. Roorda, *Javaansch-Nederlandsch handwoordenboek* (revised ed.; ed. A.C. Vreede and J.G.H. Gunning; 2 vols.; Amsterdam and Leiden, 1901), vol. I, pp. 743–4. *Sĕnuk* also occurs in Canto I:29 above.

73. De Graaf, 'Sultan Agung', p. 38.

74. *Ibid.*, pp. 276–7; Leonard Y. Andaya, *The kingdom of Johor, 1641–1728* (Kuala Lumpur, 1975), p. 62.

75. The two events are the Dutch mission of 1630 and the Portuguese of 1631; see notes 71 and 72 above. This is discussed in Appendix I, pp. 232–3 below.

For the rest, too little is known to form firm judgements. The Dutch confirm that there were major fires at the court, but the conflagrations of 1633–4, 1636–7, and 1641–2 are not confirmed by Dutch accounts and the single major fire recorded by a Dutch eye-witness in 1624[76] is not mentioned in the text. The acquisition of the title of Sultan brought by a *Haji* (pilgrim) from Mecca is confirmed in Dutch records, but they indicate that the ruler was being called Sultan by July 1641[77] whereas here the investiture is dated 1 Feb.–2 Mar. 1642. The latter date may, of course, be correct for the formal ceremony of investiture, but there may also be some confusion in the text. In the reference to this investiture (Canto I:42) there is one of several errors in this text in the *windu* (year of the eight-year cycle), which is given as Jimakir whereas AJ 1563 was Alip. If it is the chronogram rather than the *windu* which is wrong, the date would be Dulkaidah AJ 1562, which would fall in early AD 1641 and accord more closely with Dutch records. This would, however, mean that the years in the text are out of order, since AJ 1563 is already mentioned in the preceding stanza.

One of the uncertain events of this reign is, perhaps surprisingly, the date of Sultan Agung's death. Dr. de Graaf suggests that this probably occurred around the first half of Feb. 1646.[78] The date of his death is not recorded here, either, but the succession of his son Amangkurat I 'not long thereafter' is dated 11 Apr. 1646, with a combination of seven-day and five-day week days, date, lunar month, *wuku*, year of the eight-year cycle, year chronogram, and *mangsa* in which only the last seems inconsistent with all other elements. The internal consistency of the date inclines one to regard it as reliable, and leads to the suggestion that Sultan Agung may have died in the first half of Apr. 1646. Other events not already discussed are, in the present state of historical knowledge, largely not susceptible to attempts to check their accuracy.

The above discussion leads to the conclusion that, on the whole, this *Babad ing Sangkala* of AD 1738 is a remarkably accurate account of events in the period ca. 1601–46, although it is not free of some minor problems. It does not include some of the wild inaccuracies of later manuscripts, most notably the later idea that in AJ 1571 (Jan. 1649–Jan. 1650) Sultan Agung 'forgave' the Dutch and lifted the siege of Batavia, thereby accepting a division of Java between himself and them. This event, which it will be noted is supposed to have occurred some twenty years after the sieges of Batavia and three years after Sultan Agung's death, apparently arose out of an inclination to fit Javanese history into a rigid cycle of centuries, with the island undergoing some sort of process of division in Ś 1471,[79] AJ 1571, and AJ 1671. The AJ 1571 date in

76. De Graaf, 'Sultan Agung', p. 111.

77. *Ibid.*, pp. 266–8. It should be noted that the MS actually refers to Agung with the anachronistic title of Sultan before this point; see Canto I:25, 31, 35.

78. De Graaf, 'Sultan Agung', p. 291.

79. The event of Ś 1471 is discussed above, p. 162.

later chronicles seems to have developed from an initial lack of clarity in the words chosen for a chronogram, which led Javanese writers to confuse two different sets of events, to 'correct' the chronogram inaccurately, and finally to fit the sieges of Batavia into an entirely erroneous period. The evolution of this error is a matter of some complexity; it is discussed separately in Appendix IV below.

The description of the sieges of Batavia in *Babad ing Sangkala* is, of course, hardly a candid account of the affairs. This chronicler, like all his successors, contrived to omit the fact that the failure of the sieges was perhaps the greatest set-back of Agung's career. This was not because chroniclers did not criticize kings, for an abundance of such criticism is found in later sections. It was presumably because the failure to defeat the Dutch was part of the process which, by 1738, had led to massive foreign military intervention in Java and to a state of chaos at least partly caused by the Dutch. To ascribe the roots of this malaise to the greatest ruler of Mataram was perhaps too much for any chronicler.

Having concluded that this chronicle is apparently quite accurate in what it choses to describe, one may ask how this section contributes to an understanding of the Javanese view of history as represented in this text. The kinds of events described are significant: royal marriages and titles, foreign embassies and the offers of obeisance from surrounding princes, court buildings, natural disasters, and above all wars. These are the stuff of high dynastic politics, by means of which Mataram became the central power in Java. Marriage alliances and court buildings are a part of this story, but are secondary to the wars and more wars by which Sultan Agung did, indeed, put his kingdom together. Blood flows deeply in this chronicle. This is the written record of a martial culture.

One valedictory question must be asked of this section. At the beginning the ruler was (or should have been) Paněmbahan Seda ing Krapyak (ca. 1601–13), who was succeeded by his son Sultan Agung. This succession is not mentioned at all in *Babad ing Sangkala.* One is bound to ask why, but the answer to that question is certainly not to be easily found. The larger *babad* text, IOL Jav. 36 (A), found with *Babad ing Sangkala* gives the correct date Ś 1535 (AD 1613–14) for the death of Paněmbahan Seda ing Krapyak and the accession of Sultan Agung.[80] Thus, in AD 1738 the correct date was known even though *Babad ing Sangkala* does not mention the event. In the later texts *Babad Kraton* (AD 1777–8) and the Major Surakarta *Babad* (AD 1836) the same chronogram is given, so the date was preserved.[81] But both of these later texts also give the same date

80. IOL Jav. 36(A), f. 154v.; the chronogram is *sanjata tri bayu tunggal.*

81. Both have the chronogram *sanjata tri bayu tunggal: Babad Kraton*, f. 189v.; *BTJ(BP)*, vol. VII, p. 74.

(Ś 1535) for the accession of Sultan Agung's grandfather Senapati Ingalaga,[82] as indeed do most later Javanese texts known to this writer.[83] For this event, IOL Jav. 36 (A) gives Ś 1490 (AD 1568–9).[84] Thus, in later sources there appears to have arisen some confusion between the dates of Senapati Ingalaga and Sultan Agung.

Professor Berg has observed similarities in the later *babad* accounts between the reigns of Senapati Ingalaga and Sultan Agung. He suggests that this shows Senapati's reign to be an antedated version of Agung's, to give the latter false royal predecessors.[85] The texts considered here raise another possible explanation. During the eighteenth century, perhaps Javanese historical knowledge declined sufficiently for Javanese writers to confuse the two reigns to some degree, as is suggested by the later confusion of dates which is not found in the manuscripts of Kartasura. Thus, the similarity in the two reigns (which Berg may in fact exaggerate) perhaps arises not out of seventeenth-century dynastic myth, but out of eighteenth-century confusion. Much more detailed study, however, would be needed to raise this above the level of a suggestion; in particular a full study of the two reigns as they are described in IOL Jav. 36 (A) would be needed. And it is also possible that the two reigns did, in fact, have many similarities as the two rulers attempted in turn to construct the Mataram empire by conquest.

VI: The Reign of Amangkurat I (Canto I:48–94, Canto II:1–27)

It may seem somewhat strange that the *Babad ing Sangkala* account of this reign, coming after that of Sultan Agung and covering a period when there were intermittent but direct contacts between the Dutch and the Javanese court, is more difficult to check with European sources than the preceding one. This is because of the nature of the events and the evidence. The Dutch were best-informed about events on the coast of Java and at all times their records are most voluminous on periods of warfare, when in their own interest the Dutch assiduously

82. For Senapati's accession they give different chronograms which also mean Ś 1535: *Babad Kraton*, f.110r., gives *lilima mantri wisaya ing jalmi; BTJ(BP)*, vol. IV, pp. 76–7, gives *tata mantri wisayaning janma.*

It is worth noting that although *BTJ(BP)* gives the correct date (Ś 1535) for Agung's accession, the *BTJ* summary of that text (text p. 117, trans. p. 121) changes the date to AJ 1565 (AD 1643–4)! This was presumably necessary to maintain the wildly erroneous series of dates already begun a few pages before (e.g. the death of Senapati is dated Ś 1552/ AD 1630–1 in *BTJ*, text p. 113, trans. p. 117) and continued thereafter. See p. 168 note 64 above.

83. See p. 166 note 55 above.

84. See p. 166 note 55 above.

85. See Berg, 'Twee nieuwe publicaties', pp. 111–12. The same argument is made in several other of Berg's publications.

gathered information on the course of events. Sultan Agung's reign, when much of *Babad ing Sangkala's* interest is focussed upon wars in the coastal area, is thus amenable to direct comparison with Dutch accounts. In Amangkurat I's reign, however, there were no major wars until the end, when the court fell to the rebellion launched by Trunajaya. Amangkurat I was the quintessential Javanese tyrant, an aspect which the compiler of the chronicle is not reluctant to emphasize. The main events of his reign concern assassinations and brutal attempts to subdue and control independent sources of wealth and power outside the court. The death toll among high dignitaries of the Mataram state was considerable. But many of these bloody events were obscure to the Dutch and their records of this period are thus not as useful for checking the chronicle as in the preceding period.

It is particularly difficult to identify individuals who were known by several different names as they changed rank and position throughout their lives, at each point acquiring new names and titles. In particular, the assassination of officials at the court who were not personally known to some European is nearly impossible to confirm, for such an official's replacement would normally be given the same title and name as his unfortunate predecessor. It is impossible to know, for instance, whether the Tumĕnggung Mataram mentioned in Dutch records in 1661[86] was the same man whose death in 1655–6 is recorded in this text (in which case the text is probably wrong) or not (in which case the text may be right).

It is nonetheless possible to divide this section of *Babad ing Sangkala* into those events which appear to be confirmed by Dutch records, those which Dutch records seem to contradict and which are probably wrong, those which are certainly wrong on the basis of Dutch evidence, and (the largest group of all) those about which no firm conclusions can be drawn.

A considerable number of events appear to be confirmed by Dutch records, including even some of a quite trivial nature when compared with the gruesome events which dominate this reign. The accession of the ruler on 11 Apr. 1646 may be correct, as was pointed out above.[87] Rijklof van Goens wrote in 1656 that a campaign against the Balinese in Balambangan was undertaken in 1647, and that the king used this occasion to have his old enemy Tumĕnggung Wiraguna killed;[88] van Goens could have learned of these events during his mission to the court in June 1648, but his knowledge can only have been second-hand from Javanese informants. The death of Tumĕnggung Danupaya (who later Javanese sources say was a guardian of the king's brother Pangeran Alit) also probably took place in 1647, which Dr. de Graaf concludes was the time of Pangeran Alit's unsuccessful attempt to capture the court. The various deaths recorded in

86. See H.J. de Graaf, 'De regering van Sunan Mangku-Rat I Tegal-Wangi, vorst van Mataram 1646–77', *VKI*, vols. 33, 39 (1961, 1962), vol. I, p. 135.

87. See p. 172 above.

88. De Graaf, *Van Goens*, pp. 244–5. See also de Graaf, 'Mangku-Rat I', vol. I, p. 23.

Canto I:58–9 are probably all associated with Pangeran Alit's attempt; it is probably his followers who are called 'the people of Danupaya' in Canto I:59 and the prince himself is probably the 'pitiable lord' of Canto I:60.[89] The move to the new court at Plered (here called Kartasura) probably did take place in 1647; when van Goens arrived in June 1648 the king was already in his new court.[90]

Between van Goens' mission of June 1648 and that of late 1649, the king appears to have carried out a massive slaughter of religious leaders. Van Goens referred to this on several occasions and said that the dead bodies were still to be seen in late 1649.[91] This event and its date (AJ 1570/Jan. 1648–Jan. 1649) are both represented by the statement here, 'When disappeared the teachers upon the road, men departed from the [rightful] path'. The events in Canto I:61–3 cause some confusion. The years AJ 1570–1 here seem to be out of order, and whether the text should be emended is not certain. If, however, the references to the year Jimakir (AJ 1570) are correct even though they come after the first reference to AJ 1571, then the Susuhunan's pleasure-trip and his intention to kill Kartatalis in 1648–9 are confirmed by van Goens' journal of June 1648.[92]

The paying of obeisance by the Dutch in AJ 1574 (Dec. 1651–Dec. 1652) refers to van Goens' fourth mission to the court in Oct. 1652. The death of the queen mother in Jan. 1653 may be correct; in any case she was alive in 1648 but dead in 1654.[93] The circumcision of the crown prince (Pangeran Mas) in Feb. 1653 may also be correct; this would indicate the reaching of majority, which is consistent with the plans begun by late 1652 and pursued into 1654 to marry him to a princess of Bantĕn.[94]

The solar eclipse in Canto I:75 may be correct. An annular eclipse on 17 Feb. 1654 crossed directly over northwest Australia and Papua-New Guinea, and something of the eclipse would have been visible from Java. But the total eclipse of 2 Aug. 1655 (crossing northern Malaysia) would seem more likely to have impressed Javanese observers.[95] The question then arises whether this eclipse is meant to belong to the year which precedes its mention (AJ 1576/ Nov. 1653–Nov. 1654) or to that which follows it (AJ 1577/Nov. 1654–

89. On Pangeran Alit's attempt, see de Graaf, *'Mangku-Rat I'*, vol. I, pp. 27–9. Pangeran Alit is also called Pangeran Danupaya in some sources; see de Graaf, *Van Goens*, p. 199 n. 1.

90. De Graaf, *Van Goens*, p. 63.

91. *Ibid.*, pp. 74–5; de Graaf, 'Mangku-Rat I', vol. I, pp. 32–4.

92. De Graaf, *Van Goens*, p. 67.

93. *Ibid.*, pp. 240 n. 3, 252.

94. *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 153.

95. See Oppolzer, *Canon*, Chart 136.

Oct. 1655). The construction, or reconstruction, of a Prabayasa in AJ 1577 (Nov. 1654–Oct. 1655) seems correct; the Dutch ambassador Kieft reported in Nov. 1655 that a 'new palace' was under construction.[96]

The collection of money from the coastal people on 17 Aug. 1655 may be correct. It was at about this time that the king suddenly closed the ports to trade and forbade all exports for reasons which the Dutch were unable to guess. This was four years after he had carried out a census, presumably for taxation purposes.[97] The closing of the ports, with which were associated the brutal measures usual in this reign, may have been ordered to facilitate the collection of a major tax.

The expulsion of the king's uncle Pangeran Silarong from the court was reported by the Dutch in Nov. 1656,[98] thus apparently confirming the date given here (AJ 1578/Oct. 1655–Oct. 1656). The death of Wongsarĕja was recorded by the Dutch in Aug. 1659,[99] thus confirming the date in Canto 1:83. In 1659 the Dutch recorded that the king demanded large amounts of money from the coastal officials and that there was a severe shortage of coins in the kingdom;[100] these events seem to be connected with the report in Canto I:83 that the king was paying out large sums to the royal relatives and that some sort of notice was given about the use of copper coins at this time. The disgrace and expulsion of Pangeran Mangkubumi, one of the most influential princes of the kingdom, was reported by the Dutch in Nov. 1659.[101] At the same time the dismissal of 'Miena Saraya' was reported;[102] this was probably the Wirajaya mentioned in Canto I: 85. Tumĕnggung Sajanapura is said here to have left (the court) in AJ 1582 (Sept. 1659–Sept. 1660); in Sept. 1660 Evert Michielsen was told at Surabaya that he had been killed.[103]

In Sept. 1660 the Dutch began to hear of conflict between the ruler and the crown prince; in 1661 the rumours even said (wrongly) that the prince had been killed. Rumours were heard of a failed plot against the ruler's life which had supposedly resulted in the death of over fifty dignitaries in the crown prince's entourage. In Apr. 1661 it was said that the ruler had not appeared outside the court for three weeks and that there was a 'great schism' among the Mataram

96. De Graaf, 'Mangku-Rat I', vol. I, p. 11.

97. *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 90, 100–1; Batavia to H.XVII, 24 Dec. 1655, in dJ VI, pp. 59–60.

98. De Graaf, 'Mangku-Rat I', vol. II, p. 29.

99. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 130.

100. *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 125–7, 130.

101. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 9.

102. *Ibid.* Dr. de Graaf's suggestion that this name should be Wirasĕraya seems less likely than that it is Wirajaya.

103. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 139; vol. II, p. 8.

dignitaries.[104] These events are apparently referred to, and correctly dated, in Canto I:86, where the king is said to have required a water-oath from the dignitaries and to have displayed yet again his tyranny.[105]

Early in 1661 the Dutch learned of the murder in about the previous December of Nata Ernawa, who had been formerly known as Tumĕnggung Pathi and Tumĕnggung Surabaya and whom van Goens had regarded as a great friend of the Dutch.[106] Thereby the date in Canto I:88 is supported. The construction of waterworks by the people of the coast and outer lands at about this time is given some support by the Dutch report of the following Sept. 1661 that the king had 300,000 men, including people from the coast, at work on such projects.[107] The dismissal of Suranata in AJ 1583 (Sept. 1660–Aug. 1661) was reported by the Dutch in Apr. 1661.[108]

The removal of tall kapok-trees from the great square before the court in AJ 1585 (Aug. 1662–Aug. 1663) is, strangely enough, reported in Dutch records. In Dec. 1663 the Dutch wrote concerning the previous year,

> Now [the Susuhunan's] greatest amusement and pastime is to play with kites . . . ; among other things the king held a serious consultation with [the dignitaries of the court] as to whether it was not necessary for this game, and to give the kites more room to blow about, to chop down a certain eighteen trees standing before the court, because they seemed to stand in the way.[109]

The removal of the crown prince to Lipura (a site of special significance for the Mataram dynasty)[110] in Aug. 1663[111] may also be correct, although Dutch records offer no direct confirmation. In 1663, however, the Dutch reported that

104. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 11.

105. Colleagues have raised questions about my translations of two lines of this stanza: line b, *sami tinoya-rata sadaya*, and line e, *sami tampi pasiyan gusti.* The first clearly refers to the water-oath; see Gericke and Roorda, *Handwoordenboek*, vol. I, p. 336, s.v. *rata: banyu rata*, 'bezweeringswater . . . '. The second concerns the root-word of *pasiyan*, which could be either *sih* (in which case they received gifts) or *siya* (in which case they were subjected to tyranny); I have chosen the second understanding because it seems more consistent with the context of the stanza and with what we know from other records of the state of the court. On linguistic grounds alone no absolute arguments could be made for either translation of *pasiyan*, a situation which is familiar enough to students of Javanese.

106. De Graaf, 'Mangku-Rat I', vol. I, p. 141; de Graaf, *Van Goens*, p. 249.

107. De Graaf, 'Mangku-Rat I', vol. I, p. 13.

108. *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 142–3.

109. Batavia to H. XVII, 21 Dec. 1663, in dJ VI, p. 99.

110. See Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, pp. 242–3, 398.

111. The date in Canto II:1–2 has a mistake in it and of course it is not possible to say definitely whether it is the date or the five- and seven-day week days which are wrong. The only combination of Wednesday-Lĕgi in Muharam AJ 1586 occurred on 11 Muharam (15 Aug. 1663).

there was discussion of a change in the line of succession (in favour of the son of Ratu Malang?) and in Oct. 1663 that the king had twice tried but failed to poison the crown prince.[112] One of Amangkurat I's common techniques for murdering his opponents was first to remove them from the court.

The death of Ratu Malang may be correctly dated in Canto II:2–3, when a royal wife is said to have died on 6 Sept. 1665. The king's prolonged presence by the unburied and decaying corpse (according to later Javanese sources) seems appropriately depicted in the chronogram 'the serpent's body was the demon of men'. Dr. de Graaf thinks Ratu Malang perhaps died early in 1667, because the king's mourning was reported to the Dutch in October of that year. But since his grief was still being reported in Sept. 1668 the mourning was obviously prolonged and the death in Sept. 1665 is not ruled out.[113] Indeed, the statement made to the Dutch in Oct. 1667 that no salutes were fired for the Dutch ambassador to the court because of the king's sadness at the loss of his wife could conceivably be connected with some extended observation of the second anniversary of the death (on 16 Aug. 1667, if the date of death is correct). And the report in Sept. 1668 that the king was looking for a replacement for his dead wife might reflect the passing of the final stage of Javanese death-rituals, the thousand-day *slamĕtan*, which would have been observed on 2 June 1668, if she had indeed died on 6 Sept. 1665.[114]

The removal of various officials in AJ 1588 (July 1665–July 1666) is only partially confirmed in Dutch records. In Feb. 1666 they heard rumours that Wirajaya, the highest official of the court, had been disgraced and dismissed[115] and in June 1666 that fifteen or sixteen royal servants had been beheaded.[116] But the banishment from the court of Wiramanggala and Wirajaya together was reported by them only in Apr. 1667.[117] Nonetheless, the *Babad ing Sangkala* version of these events may be at least as reliable as that of the Dutch, for it goes on in Canto II:8–9 to describe the denouement of the Wiramanggala affair at a time and with details which are also reported to the Dutch. According to reports reaching the coast in June 1670, the ruler was by this time in conflict with his

112. De Graaf, 'Mangku-Rat I', vol. II, p. 18.

113. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 15–22.

114. On death-*slamĕtan* cycles, see Clifford Geertz, *The religion of Java* (Glencoe, 1964), especially p. 72. It cannot, of course, be proved that the death-*slamĕtan* cycle in the seventeenth century was the same as in the twentieth, but there is at least no reason to presume any very great change in this cycle.

115. Van der Straten, Japara, to Batavia, 18 Feb. 1666, in dJ VI, p. 172. See also J.A. van der Chijs (ed.), *Dagh-register gehouden int casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India, Anno 1666–1667* (Batavia and 's Hage, 1895), p. 28 (4 Mar. 1666).

116. De Graaf, 'Mangku-Rat I', vol. II, pp. 24–5.

117. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 26.

uncle Pangeran Purbaya, whom he had obliged to kill Wiramanggala, who was indeed Purbaya's own brother.[118]

The conflict between the ruler and the crown prince had reached such proportions that by July 1670 the Dutch learned that Amangkurat I had already turned over the court to a younger son, Pangeran Singasari.[119] This is reported in Canto II:11–12, and probably placed correctly in AJ 1592 (June 1669–May 1670). The Dutch reported that Amangkurat I had resumed authority over the court by the beginning of Aug. 1670, and four years later said that in fact Singasari had only occupied the throne for eight days.[120] If the latter reference to eight days is correct, then perhaps the surrender of the court to Singasari should have been dated AJ 1593 (May 1670–May 1671) (unless there was a gap of two months before the Dutch heard the news). But there is little hope of determining the accuracy of such an isolated fragment of information in the Dutch reports.

It should be clear by this stage that a considerable number of events in this part of *Babad ing Sangkala* can be confirmed by reference to contemporaneous Dutch sources, or at least can be shown to be consistent with reports reaching the Dutch at the time. But there are several events which Dutch records appear to contradict and which are probably wrong. In all these cases, however, the possibility that it is the Dutch records which are wrong or misleading cannot be ruled out. The death in AJ 1580 (Oct. 1657–Sep. 1658) of Pangeran Surabaya, more commonly known as Pangeran Pĕkik, was reported by the Dutch only in the beginning of Mar. 1659. This need not raise doubts about *Babad ing Sangkala's* dating except that in Apr. 1659 a further report precisely dated the murder 21 Feb. 1659,[121] in which case *Babad ing Sangkala* is wrong by at least five months. Similarly, the death of Pangeran Pugĕr in AJ 1582 (Sept. 1659–Sept. 1660) seems too early; the Dutch heard in Oct. 1661 that the king was plotting the murder of Pangerans Pugĕr and Purbaya,[122] suggesting that Pugĕr was still alive at that time. But again the Dutch may have been misinformed, there may have been some confusion of names, and so on.

The death of Pangeran Silarong in AJ 1590 (June 1667–June 1668) in Canto II:7 is contradicted by Dutch reports of his murder late in 1669.[123] News of the murder of Wiradika and his son (and further family members) and the throwing

118. A. de Vallé, Japara, to Batavia, 30 June 1670, in dJ VI, pp. 184–5. See also de Graaf, 'Mangku-Rat I', vol. II, pp. 26–7, 42.

119. De Graaf, 'Mangku-Rat I', vol. II, pp. 31–2.

120. A. de Vallé, Japara, to Batavia, 8 Aug. 1670, in dJ VI, p. 185; J. Couper and E. van der Schuur, Japara, to Batavia, 29 Aug. 1674, in *ibid.*, p. 191.

121. De Graaf, 'Mangku-Rat I', vol. II, pp. 4–5.

122. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 11–12.

123. *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 27–9.

of their bodies into the river Opak[124] was received by the Dutch, who called him 'Wira Diekara', only in May 1672,[125] so that the dating in Canto II:14 (AJ 1593/May 1670–May 1671) seems too early unless the news took at least a full year to reach the Dutch at Japara. This seems unlikely, although not impossible.

The conflict between the crown prince and Pangeran Singasari over a woman, in the course of which Raden Dhobras was killed, seems also to be dated too early in Canto II:15–16. Although the Dutch knew little of this affair, they did hear in Aug. 1672 of a major conflict between the two princes which seems probably to refer to these events. Amangkurat I was said to be furious with both princes and to have had four thousand of their subjects held to prevent a battle between them. One of the king's 'friends or distant relatives' was said to have been killed.[126] In 1675 the Dutch heard that the king had forgiven the crown prince for the previous killing of thirty-three people from Singasari's entourage.[127] The dating of these events in AJ 1593 (May 1670–May 1671) thus seems too early, unless the news took an unusually long time to reach the coast or the conflict dragged on for more than a year and was first reported to the Dutch only in its last stages.

The eruption of Mount Mĕrapi in AJ 1594 (May 1671–Apr. 1672) also seems too early. The Dutch on the coast were told that a major eruption causing some 3,000 deaths and followed by heavy rain, hail, and twenty-four hours of darkness had taken place on 4 Aug. 1672.[128] It is, of course, probable that this major eruption of Aug. 1672 was part of a longer period of volcanic activity lasting several months, which might have begun by Apr. 1672. But the *Babad ing Sangkala* reference is far more likely to refer to this major eruption, and consequently seems to be too early.

Thus there are six episodes in this section where the dating of the manuscript seems to be too early. Since several other events appear to be supported by Dutch evidence, one may be inclined to seek explanations of the Dutch records which make possible the conclusion that it is *Babad ing Sangkala* rather than the Dutch evidence which is correct in these six cases. But there are unquestionably mistakes in the chronicle as well. There are three episodes which are certainly wrong and a fourth which is wrong as it stands but which could be made correct by an emendation of the text.

124. It should be noted that the spelling *Umpak* in Canto I:67, I:72, and II:14 seems to be a correct contemporaneous form. In 1656 van Goens spelled it 'Oupack' (de Graaf, *Van Goens*, p. 212) and at least as late as 1744 it is still spelled 'Oempa' in Dutch sources (Elzo Sterrenberg, Dagregister, 7–29 Sept. 1744, in dJ X, p. 45).

125. J. Couper, Japara, to Batavia, 31 May 1672, in dJ VI, p. 186.

126. J. Couper, Japara, to Batavia, 12 Aug. 1672, in dJ VI, pp. 186–7. According to later Javanese sources Raden Dhobras was a son of Pangeran Pĕkik, and was therefore related by marriage to the king; see de Graaf, 'Mangku-Rat I', vol. II, p. 33.

127. De Graaf, 'Mangku-Rat I', vol. II, p. 34.

128. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 34; J. Couper, Japara, to Batavia, 12 Aug. 1672, in dJ VI, p. 187.

The three episodes which are certainly wrong are the following. The two Dutch missions to the court in AJ 1577 (Nov. 1654–Oct. 1655) and AJ 1593 (May 1670–May 1671) are both wrong. In 1655 the mission led by Winrick Kieft did bring a horse, as is said in Canto I:76, but it did not arrive at Samarang until 31 Oct. 1655 (the first day of AJ 1578) and did not reach the court until 21 Nov. 1655.[129] There were no missions whatsoever in the years from 1670 to 1676[130] so the mission of AJ 1593 (May 1670–May 1671) seems fictitious. It should, however, be pointed out that sometime in 1671 the Dutch did apparently send to the crown prince and Pangeran Singasari some 'rarities and valuables . . . being things of little importance'.[131] Finally, the description of the war which toppled the court is quite confused in Canto II:18–27. The Makasarese seem to have gone to Dĕmung about Oct. 1674, over two years after the date given in Canto II:18. The general description of the Mataram debacle in *Babad ing Sangkala* contains several accurate details, but the dating as a whole is erroneous.[132] This includes the dating of the king's flight from the court in 1677, which will be discussed in greater detail below.

A fourth episode which is wrongly dated, but which can be corrected by emending the text, is in Canto I:66. The mission of the ruler of Cirĕbon is not found in Dutch sources known to this writer. But Rijklof van Goens went to the court in March and April 1651 with gifts which included cannon, and on his return journey he met and spoke with the ruler of Jambi who was then en route to Mataram.[133] The Dutch also reported in July 1651 the arrival of a Palembang embassy to the court.[134] So the account in Canto I:66 of missions from Jambi, the Dutch, and Palembang seems correctly described, but wrongly dated in AJ 1572 (Jan.–Dec. 1650). It should be AJ 1573 (Dec. 1650–Dec. 1651). The last line of Canto I:65 says this occurred in the same year as the preceding events (i.e. AJ 1572). A simple emendation would change this statement to read 'then changed the year',[135] so that the events would then belong to AJ 1573. Nonetheless, as the text stands the date is unquestionably wrong. It should be noted further that in the following stanza is a reference to the year Ehe (AJ 1572/AD 1650) which may be mistaken, but may also be intended. If Ehe is correct there,

129. De Graaf, 'Mangku-Rat I', vol. I, pp. 100–2.

130. De Graaf, *Van Goens*, pp. 270–1.

131. Batavia to H.XVII, 19 Dec. 1671, in dJ VI, pp. 119–20. It is not likely that such 'things of little importance' could include two horses, as is said in Canto II:13–14, for imported horses were valuable commodities.

132. Details may be found in de Graaf, 'Mangku-Rat I', vol. II.

133. De Graaf, *Van Goens*, pp. 76–97; the meeting with the ruler of Jambi is on pp. 91–4.

134. De Graaf, 'Mangku-Rat I', vol. I, p. 53.

135. E.g., rather than *tunggal warsane ngetang*, something like *nuliya ganti warsa*. This is, of course, less a question of scribal error than of corruption of the tradition itself.

then the missions which actually took place in AD 1651 are definitely wrongly placed in AD 1650.

The events in this section of *Babad ing Sangkala* which have not been discussed above are not amenable to the sort of comparison with Dutch records carried out here. Some are known only from later Javanese sources, and many involve problems in identifying individuals appearing under various names. Many of these are consistent with the later Javanese chronicles, but without the contemporaneous evidence preserved in Dutch sources there is little prospect of the kind of comparison which has been attempted above.

Of those events which are certainly wrong in this section of *Babad ing Sangkala*, the first to occur are the embassies in Canto I:66 discussed above; these should be AJ 1573 (Dec. 1650–Dec. 1651) rather than AJ 1572 (Jan.–Dec. 1650). The mistake here may perhaps be in the wording of the text.[136] The next certainly wrong date is that for the mission of Kieft in 1655, which occurred in the year after that given in Canto I:76.[137] Thereafter, although there are three problematical and perhaps wrong dates,[138] all other events which can be checked with contemporaneous evidence seem to be confirmed until the manuscript reaches AJ 1593 (May 1670–May 1671) and the report of a Dutch embassy which seems fictitious (Canto II:13).[139] Thereafter every event in this section which can be checked with Dutch records is wrongly dated or probably so. Of the four episodes in the description of Amangkurat I's reign which are certainly wrong and the six which are probably so, two of the former and three of the latter are in this part of the text (Canto II:13–27). No episode in this part can be shown to be correctly dated. The final error is the date for the king's flight from the court, which will be discussed shortly.

It is possible to suggest, therefore, that until the chaotic events of the AD 1670s, *Babad ing Sangkala* preserves a quite reliable record of the reign of Amangkurat I. It is impossible to give a statistical picture of the over-all degree of accuracy, of course, but it may be of interest to know that down to Canto II:13 this writer isolated just over one hundred separate episodes to be sought in contemporaneous Dutch records. Of these it was possible to make meaningful comparisons in some thirty-two cases. Of these, twenty-seven (84%) seem supported by Dutch records, three (9%) seem probably wrongly dated and two (6%) are certainly so. It is worth pointing out that of the latter five events the descriptions of what happened do not appear to be wrong, merely the date when they occurred, which in all cases seems too early. This, needless to say, gives one some confidence in the accounts of events which were unknown to the Dutch.

136. See p. 182 above.

137. See p. 182 above.

138. The deaths of Pangerans Surabaya, Pugĕr, and Silarong; see p. 180 above.

139. See p. 182 above.

It would be possible, of course, to argue that this chronicle consists of a great deal of fiction and a little fact, and that it is the latter which has been compared with Dutch evidence. The result of this comparison would thus have no relevance to the large body of myth which, precisely because it is untrue, was unknown to the Dutch. There are, however, problems with such an argument. The events at the court which were known to the Dutch were few, and they varied from the murder of great dignitaries to the chopping-down of trees in front of the court. It would seem surprising if the elements of fact chosen for a chronicle containing a large element of myth should overlap to a substantial degree with those facts which also happened to be known to the Dutch, and that no major contradictions between the myths and the Dutch evidence should emerge. Readers familiar with seventeenth-century Dutch records may indeed be surprised that so many of the episodes which were important to a Mataram chronicler were also known to the Europeans. But again, it can be argued that historical myth need not be a later creation of court scribes. Some mythical event might be proclaimed by royal decree and, being by definition an event of importance, in due course it might come to the ears of the Dutch. Against this argument are at least the occasional episodes described above to which Europeans were eye-witnesses. Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that if there are purely mythical elements in this text they could be expected to fall generally among the large group of episodes of which the Dutch knew nothing.

Readers must draw their own conclusions about the reliability of this section of the chronicle, and indeed about the whole of *Babad ing Sangkala*. But this writer feels that too great a leap of imagination is required to deny that the text appears to preserve a version of events which can be checked at a considerable number of points scattered throughout the reign of Amangkurat I, and which can be shown at those points to be quite accurate.

At the end of this section, however, as the chronicle moves into the chaos of the 1670s, the relative accuracy of the previous stanzas disintegrates as rapidly as did Amangkurat I's kingdom. Finally in 1677 the king fled the court, for which another apparently incorrect date is given in Canto II:25–6. There is the eve of Sunday, 18 Mulud, AJ 1600. There is clearly a mistake here, since 18 Mulud AJ 1600 (21 May 1677) was a Friday. Precisely the same date is given in IOL Jav. 36 (A), the larger *babad* text bound with *Babad ing Sangkala.*[140]

140. IOL Jav. 36(A), f. 348r. (Pangkur): *pan sasi Mulud samana/taun Ĕbe tibane kang prajangji/malĕm Ahad dinanipun/ing tanggal ping walulas/sangkalane samana wau ingetung/ sirna ilang rasaning rat/gegere kalaning wĕngi.*

Both *Babad Kraton* and the Surakarta Major *Babad* represent a different textual tradition at this point:

Babad Kraton, f. 355r., Canto 86 (Durma), stanza 32: *malĕm Akad tanggal wolulas ing Sapar/taun Be mongsa Kalih/ya ta sinĕngkalan/dening i[ng] kang anurat/busĕkan nagri Matawis/pan sirna ilang/rasane ingkang bumi.*

33: *tĕngah dalu bubare Sri Naranata/saking sajroning puri/ . . . .*

BTJ(BP), vol. XII, p. 32, Canto 98 (Durma), stanza 34; *malĕm Akat tanggal ping wolulas Sapar/taun Be mongsa Kalih/ ya ta sinangkalan/dening ingkang anurat/rusak ing nagri Matawis/ pan sirna ilang/rasane ingkang bumi.*

Except for the Gericke and van der Tuuk manuscripts and one other Leiden University manuscript, later Javanese sources place this event in the preceding month Sapar, most of them giving 18 Sapar as the date (22 Apr. 1677).[141]

Dr. de Graaf has carefully analyzed the evidence for the date of the king's flight from the court in four documents written between July and September 1677.[142] His conclusion is that the flight probably took place on 28 June 1677, although this conclusion does not resolve all the problems of his sources.[143] The one quite definite date in these events is the burial of Amangkurat I at Tĕgal Wangi on 13 July 1677, when Christoffel van Outers and twelve Company soldiers were present.

It seems therefore that a mistaken date is given in the manuscripts of Kartasura, the larger *babad* in IOL Jav. 36 (A) and *Babad ing Sangkala*, for 18 Mulud AJ 1600 (21 May 1677) seems to be over five weeks too early for the king's flight (about 28 June 1677). But this date seems in fact to be a very old one. Only two years later, on 25 Apr. 1679 (equivalent to 14 Mulud AJ 1602) the Dutch wrote that Amangkurat II was unwilling to march into the interior before the end of April (30 April 1679 was equivalent to 19 Mulud AJ 1602). Instead, he wished to wait until the following month (1 Rabingulakir AJ 1602 occurred on 12 May 1679), 'the present not being an auspicious time, for it was just two years ago that Mataram was despoiled by Trunajaya'.[144] So only

35: *pan ing dalu bubare Sri Naranata/saking sajroning puri/ . . . .*

The date is not only wrong in *Babad Kraton* and the Surakarta Major *Babad*, but is also internally inconsistent. The day 18 Sapar was a Thursday, not a Sunday, and the *mangsa* was Kasanga or Kasĕpuluh, not Kalih.

141. *Babad Kraton*, f. 355r. (see note 140 above); *BTJ*, text p. 168, trans. p. 174; *BTJ(BP)*, vol. XII, p. 32 (see note 140 above); BL Add. MS 12323(B), f. 36r.; *Babad Sangkalaning Momana*, p. 260 (giving 8 Sapar).

The following MSS give only the year AJ 1600: BL Add. MS 12325(C), f. 46r.; LOr 1859(2), f. 5v.; LOr 2144(2), p. 13; LOr 2000(2), p. 82; LOr 8578, p. 220; LOr 7699, f. 69r.; DFT S 240/280–101, pp. 1–2; LOr 6401(1), p. 4; NBS 184(1), p. 13; NBS 135(3), p. 15; KITLV Or. 262(12), p. 68.

DFT S 240/280–34, p. 2, gives AJ 1599; LOr 2000(11), p. 292, gives AJ 1601.

The Gericke (NBS 87[xiii]) and van der Tuuk (LOr 4097) MSS are discussed below in note 146. The single other MS known to me which does not give the month Sapar is LOr 7699, f. 120v., giving the eve of Sunday, 8 Mulud (which was a Tuesday), Be, *sirna ilang rasa nabi* (AJ 1600).

See also de Graaf, 'Mangku-Rat I', vol. II, p. 191.

142. De Graaf, 'Mangku-Rat I', vol. II, pp. 188–91.

143. It should be noted that there are two mistakes in the days of the week given by Dr. de Graaf in *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 191: 1 Jumadilawal/2 July was a Friday; 12 Jumadilawal/13 July was a Tuesday.

144. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 191. Dr. de Graaf is wrong to assume that Amangkurat II was thinking in the Western calendar rather than the Javanese, so his view that this confirms the later Javanese tradition that the court fell on 22 April is improbable: it confirms the older tradition that the court fell in Mulud (May). Even if Amangkurat II did mean that he wished to wait until the Western month of May, this would still presumably be because this would take him beyond the inauspicious day 18 Mulud AJ 1602 (29 Apr. 1679).

two years later it was apparently already being said that the court had fallen in Mulud AJ 1600 (May 1677). It would be possible to suggest an emendation in the Kartasura chronicles which would give a date corresponding closely to Dr. de Graaf's date of 28 June,[145] and in the Gericke and Van der Tuuk manuscripts, representing later versions of the Kartasura tradition, there is a hint that such an emendation might indeed have some justification.[146] But with the new king apparently saying only two years later that the court had fallen (at which point he himself had fled with his father) in the month of Mulud, there seems little doubt that the Javanese regarded this date as the correct one.

There seems to be no way to resolve this contradiction of the evidence. But it has at least been shown that the date 18 Mulud AJ 1600 (21 May 1677) which is found in *Babad ing Sangkala* and the larger *babad* text bound with it is at least as old as AD 1679, and that at least from then until AD 1738 the Javanese historical tradition preserved that date. But thereafter this date became confused and in later manuscripts the orthodox date became 18 Sapar AJ 1600 (22 Apr. 1677), a date over two months before the event occurred.

In the course of the analysis of this section of *Babad ing Sangkala*, there has been less opportunity to compare it in detail with equivalent sections of later Javanese texts. Readers will find a substantial amount of information from such texts in Dr. de Graaf's study of Amangkurat I, and it will become evident that later manuscripts do not have the degree of accuracy found here. Nor in many instances do they have the same degree of candour. Amangkurat I is universally depicted as a tyrant in Javanese sources, but later texts for instance expunge the murder of the religious teachers described here in Canto I:60.[147] It is difficult to deny that when compared with later Javanese sources, *Babad ing Sangkala* is a

145. If the month were Bakda Mulud (Rabingulakir) rather than Mulud, and the date were a week later (25 rather than 18), one would have 25 Bakda Bulud AJ 1600/27 June 1677, which was indeed a Sunday.

146. LOr 4097, p. 27, and NBS 87 (xiii), p. 267, have the same text, with three minor spelling variations. Here the LOr 4097 version is given: *Taun Ĕbe tibaning prajangji, sasi Mulud bĕdhah ing Mataram, ratu tilar kadhatone, putra sadaya tumut, awurahan wong sanĕgari, wisma sirna ingobar, bubarireng dalu, 0061 malĕm Akhad tanggal ping wolulas sasi, Rabiyulakhir Kasa. Seda Jĕng Sinuhun Tĕgil Wangi, ingkang putra anggantyani Nata, Prabu Mĕngkurat namane* . . . . .

It will be noted that LOr 4097 gives numerals for years in the same order as they appear in chronograms, thus '0061' is given here for AJ 1600. The part of the text following that given here is quoted in Appendix III, p. 247.

Two dates are given here, and the relationship between them is not clear. The court is said to have fallen in Mulud AJ 1600, just as in IOL Jav. 36(A) and (B), but then the eve of Sunday, 18 Rabiyulakhir (Bakda Mulud) is given apparently for the death of the king. The reference to the *mangsa* Kasa (July–Aug.) is wrong, but 18 Bakda Mulud was indeed a Sunday. Thus, in this version there is a potential argument for emending the month in the 1738 MSS from Mulud to Bakda Mulud, but not for an emendation from 18 to 25 (see note 145 above).

147. Cf. de Graaf, 'Mangku-Rat I', vol. I, p. 32. NBS 87 (xiii), p. 264, and LOr 4097, p. 19, also leave out this incident, leaping from the death of Wiraguna (in Canto I:56 of the present text) directly to the construction of the mosque at Plered (in Canto I:61 here).

superior historical record. It does not, of course, tell all: it is a selection of events and some important episodes are left out.[148] But it is significantly superior to all examples of later Javanese chronicles known to the present writer.

It should be remembered that this superiority disappears when *Babad ing Sangkala* reaches the AD 1670s, when the seeds of a quarter-century of tyranny bore fruit in the greatest rebellion against the Mataram dynasty of the seventeenth century. It is hardly surprising that the death and destruction caused by this rebellion, and particularly the fall of the court in 1677, caused confusion in indigenous historical records. Conditions could hardly have been favourable for the composition of chronicles. The important point here is that this degree of confusion is not discerned in the account of the years before 1670. The implication of this is that in this chronicle of 1738 survives a version of events probably originally compiled before 1670 and available for copying after the wars were over. The description of the years before 1670 could hardly have been composed anew after the 1670s, for in that case one would expect the whole of this section of the text to have a degree of confusion similar to that of the 1670s. Memories of the 1640s, 1650s, and 1660s would hardly have been more precise than those of the 1670s. It should also be noted that Canto I:23 says that Kadhiri fell 'for the last time' in 1608–9; such a statement would seem not to make sense unless this part was originally written before the later fall of Kadhiri in 1678.

Historiographical suggestions of considerable interest arise here. It is suggested that a chronicle composed sometime around 1670, or perhaps a chronicle to which additional stanzas were added at various times until ca. 1670, survived the chaos of the 1670s and was recopied (perhaps several times) until this version of 1738 was compiled. The suggestion is that this copy of 1738 must be a reasonably accurate version of this hypothetical text of ca. 1670. This means that the depiction of Amangkurat I's tyranny was apparently written in the court during the king's reign. Obvious questions must therefore arise about who could have written the original version of this text in such dangerous circumstances, where discovery of the manuscript might have meant death for its author. It seems to this writer quite likely that the text was therefore composed under the protection of courtiers opposed to the king, and perhaps more specifically within the entourage of the crown prince.

As the hypothetical text of ca. 1670 survived the 1670s, and was accurately recopied, *Babad ing Sangkala* of 1738 also survived in court circles through the chaos of the 1740s and 1750s until it was taken from Yogyakarta by the British in 1812. Yet it is suggested here that Javanese chronicles from the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including texts from Yogyakarta, do not preserve this older tradition accurately. They are inferior examples of Javanese

148. Most notably, there is no hint of the treacherous role of the Crown Prince in fomenting Trunajaya's rebellion. This may perhaps support the suggestion below that the text could have been originally composed under the crown prince's patronage.

historical writing. In other words, this analysis of the preservation of historical traditions concerning the reign of Amangkurat I gives the impression of an accurate transmission of the tradition as late as 1738, but the decline of that tradition thereafter despite the preservation of these manuscripts from Kartasura (and perhaps others of a similar antiquity). A similar suggestion arises concerning the reigns of the Mataram rulers immediately before Amangkurat I[149] and of the Kartasura period, as will be seen in the following section. There is important evidence here of some change in the *babad* tradition. A more full discussion of this crucial issue is contained in the Conclusions below.

VII: The Kartasura Period to 1720 (Canto II:27–42, Canto III:1–75, Canto IV:1–42)

At this point both *Babad ing Sangkala* and the commentary upon it change significantly. The text now progressively abandons the brevity found in previous sections and normally associated with the *babad sangkala* style; it adopts a fuller narrative form and the events themselves begin to take precedence over the dates of their occurrence. The text is not as extensive as full *babads*, but it begins to approach their style. This makes the process of analysing its content more complicated than before. Now it is not only a question of whether a particular event occurred in a particular year, in which case it has often been possible to say whether it did or did not. Rather, one must now ask whether substantial amounts of detail about individuals and their interrelationships, routes of marching armies, causation of events, and so on, are correctly described as well as correctly dated.

These questions must be asked in the first place on the basis of contemporaneous Dutch evidence. What is needed is a study or series of studies such as Dr. de Graaf's on the seventeenth century. There is, however, no such thing. With the exception of de Graaf's doctoral thesis on the murder of Captain Tack in 1686,[150] no major historical study of this period has been published. The present writer has been compiling materials for a history of Kartasura for several years, but it will be some time before that study can be completed. In the meantime, this section of the text must be analyzed on the basis of a large volume of unpublished Dutch evidence. Readers will, it is hoped, be indulgent if some questions which occur to them are not dealt with here, for it is not the author's intention in this section to write a detailed history of Kartasura to 1720 and then set *Babad ing Sangkala* against it. Only parts of the subject can be discussed. References to Dutch materials will be given in the footnotes only where they are found in standard published works. Published and unpublished archival sources on complicated events will in due course be discussed in the projected history of

149. E.g. see pp. 172, 173–4 above.

150. H.J. de Graaf, *De moord op Kapitein François Tack, 8 Febr. 1686* (Amsterdam, 1935).

Kartasura but will not be footnoted here or discussed in detail, since to do so would expand this part of the Commentary beyond what is immediately required to analyze the text above. Emphasis will remain upon the issue of whether or not dating is correct, which in the morass of war, intrigue, and murder of the Kartasura period is a relatively tangible straw to clutch.

In Canto II:27–30 the text moves speedily from the accession of Amangkurat II to the defeat of Kadhiri, the flight of Pangeran Kajoran, the execution of Trunajaya in Payak, and the expulsion of the Makasarese rebels from Kĕpĕr. All of this is correctly described and dated.[151] The fall of Giri, however, is incorrectly placed in AJ 1602; the correct date was 28 Apr. 1680, which was early in AJ 1603. Thereafter, the series of events down to the solar eclipse in AJ 1606 (AD 1683) in Canto II:37 is correctly dated and described, so far as can be known from Dutch evidence.[152]

On 8 Feb. 1686 François Tack, Jeremias van Vliet, and over seventy other Dutchmen were killed at Kartasura in a major military encounter. This was an important event for all concerned: Surapati, the Javanese court, and the Dutch. Only twice in Javanese history before the nineteenth century was a Dutch force at the court attacked, the other occasion being in 1741. The killing of Tack occurred in the Javanese year AJ 1609. In Canto II:38 the present text wrongly dates it AJ 1608. The same erroneous date is found in every other Javanese chronicle known to this writer which includes this event.[153] That such an important episode is erroneously dated in *Babad ing Sangkala*, written about fifty years after the event, reveals how unreliable Javanese chronicle traditions can at times be.

From 1686 until 1703, there was no direct contact between the Javanese court and the Dutch. Consequently, the events described in Canto II:39–42 and Canto III:1–13 were almost unknown to the Dutch and most of this part of the chronicle cannot be adequately judged. It is known that the head of the Balinese at Kartasura was named Wongsanata,[154] but if he died in AJ 1610/AD 1686–7 as is said in Canto II:40 is not known. The 'affair of Carat' in Canto II:42 is

151. See de Graaf, *Hurdt; idem*, 'Gevangenneming en dood van Raden Truna-Djaja, 26 Dec. 1679–2 Jan. 1680', *TBG*, vol. 85, pt. 2 (1952), pp. 273–309.

152. I have no records concerning the Palembang mission of AJ 1605/AD 1682, or the marriage to the Giri princess of AJ 1606/AD 1682–3. Otherwise the events are correct. The eclipse is no. 6868 (see Chart 138) in Oppolzer, *Canon*, which was total over Central Java on the morning of 24 July 1683.

The foundation of Kartasura in AJ 1603/AD 1680–1 is correct, but it is rather surprising that a fuller date, more specifically connected to this major event, is not given. Other texts commonly give a date in the month Ruwah AJ 1603; see Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, p. 182 nn. 22, 23.

153. LOr 4097, p. 30; NBS 87 (xiii), p. 268; *Babad Kraton*, f. 440v.; BL Add. MS 12323(B), f. 36v.; LOr 1859(2), f. 5v.; LOr 2000(2), p. 83; LOr 2144(2), p. 13; LOr 6401(1), p. 5; LOr 7699, f. 69v.; NBS 184(1), p. 13; NBS 135(3), p. 16; DFT S 240/280–34, p. 3; KITLV Or. 262(12), p. 69; *Babad Sangkalaning Momana*, p. 262.

154. De Graaf, *Moord*, p. 66.

probably correctly dated; in AD 1690 a Kartasura army was said to have been defeated by Surapati at Carat (near Pananggungan in East Java).[155] The fall of Panaraga (to Surapati) in AJ 1621/AD 1697–8 is probably also correct. For the rest, it is impossible at the present time to assess the accuracy of these stanzas.

In 1703, however, contacts between the Dutch and the court began to be restored, and from that point onwards Dutch involvement in Javanese affairs was constant. The death of the Patih Sindurĕja (12 Apr. 1703) is correctly placed in AJ 1626 (Canto III:14–15). There is some small confusion about his successor, however; the Dutch say it was Sumabrata while *Babad ing Sangkala* says it was Wiraguna. Several later manuscripts, including the van der Tuuk and Gericke manuscripts, say (probably correctly) that it was both Wiraguna as Patih Jĕro and Sumabrata as Patih Jaba.[156] In later manuscripts, however, the death of Sindurĕja is consistently placed in the wrong year.[157] The subsequent events in Canto III:15–16 are correctly dated and, so far as can be known, correctly described.[158]

The death of Amangkurat II in Canto III:17 raises some minor problems concerning the precise day. On 5 Nov. 1703 a Chinese arrived at Dĕmak, reporting that the Susuhunan had died in the evening of Saturday 3 November. It would be reasonable to assume some confusion between Dutch and indigenous chronological systems here. Since the Javanese day runs from one sunset to the next, and not from midnight to midnight, the Chinese may have said 'the eve of Saturday', i.e. Friday night, 2 Nov. 1703 by Western reckoning. *Babad ing Sangkala* gives the eve of Saturday-Kliwon, 23 Jumadilakir, Alip AJ 1627; this is internally consistent except for the date, which should be 22 if Saturday-Kliwon is correct. This corrected date is formally equivalent to 3 Nov. 1703, but since the night preceding the Western day is meant it actually conforms with the evening of Friday 2 Nov. 1703. So an assumption that the Dutch slightly misunderstood their Chinese informant makes possible some reconciliation of the Dutch and Javanese records. But *Babad ing Sangkala* does have 23 rather than 22 Jumadilakir (as do the other Javanese texts known to this writer)[159] which would

155. DJ VIII, p. lvii.

156. LOr 4097, p. 33; NBS 87(xiii), p. 270; LOr 1859(2), f. 6r.; LOr 2000(2), p. 86; LOr 7699, f. 70r.; KITLV Or. 262(12), p. 69; *Babad Kraton*, f. 502 v.

157. Every Javanese MS known to me which includes this event, except for IOL Jav. 36(B) and LOr 4097/NBS 87(xiii), wrongly places the death of Sindurĕja in AJ 1625: *Babad Kraton*, f. 502v.; BL Add. MS 12323(B), f. 36v.; *BTJ(BP)*, vol. XVI, p. 36; *BTJ*, text p. 259, trans. p. 267; LOr 1859(2), f. 6r.; LOr 2000(2), p. 86; LOr 2144(2), p. 13; LOr 6401(1), p. 6; LOr 7699, f. 70r.; NBS 184(1), p. 14; NBS 135(3), p. 16; DFT S 240/280–34, p. 3; KITLV Or. 262(12), p. 69; *Babad Sangkalaning Momana*, p. 263.

158. In Canto III:16 Ngurawan's position is divided among Wirarĕja, Wirasastra, and Wiraguna. A letter from the crown prince (received by the Dutch in July 1703) probably referring to this division, however, names Wirarĕja, Sumabrata, and Wiraguna.

159. LOr 4097, pp. 33–4, and NBS 87 (xiii), p. 270, give the eve of Saturday-Kliwon, after the night-time service, 23 Jumadilakir, Alip AJ 1627.

be Sunday-Lĕgi in the Javanese seven- and five-day weeks, and (because it is the evening) would in fact correspond to the evening of Saturday 3 Nov. 1703, which is what the Dutch records say. There remain, therefore, twenty-four hours of uncertainty surrounding this event. The night of Friday 2 Nov. 1703 is , however, probably the correct date.

In Canto III:18–29 the extraordinary series of events between the death of Amangkurat II and the flight of Amangkurat III from the court in Sept. 1705 is correctly described and dated, although there are some uncertainties. The rebellion of Pangeran Pugĕr's son Raden Suryakusuma (also called Raden Sudira and later known as Pangeran Ngabei Loringpasar) is correctly depicted, although Dutch sources do not mention the royal title given in Canto III:19. Pangeran Pugĕr's flight (10 Mar. 1704) is also correctly described, but the text is mistaken in saying that Suryakusuma had already been captured by this time; he was not apparently caught until early in Apr. 1704.[160] Thereafter Surya-

Jumadilakir, Alip *ardi kalih rasa tunggil* (AJ 1627); *Babad Kraton*, f. 503v., has the same date and chronogram.

BL Add. MS 12323(B), f. 37r., gives the eve of Saturday (omitting the five-day week), 23 Jumadilakir, Alip AJ 1627.

The year AJ 1627, without further details, is given in the following MSS: *BTJ*, text p. 259, trans. p. 268; LOr 1859(2), ff. 6r.–v.; LOr 2000(2), p. 86; LOr 2144(2), p. 14; LOr 6401, p. [xi]; LOr 6401(1), p. 6; LOr 7699, ff. 70v., 121r.; LOr 8578, p. 221; NBS 184(1), p. 14; NBS 135(3), p. 17; DFT S 240/280–34, p. 3; KITLV Or. 262(12), p. 69; *Babad Sangkalaning Momana*, p. 263.

160. In later texts it is possible to trace roughly the evolution of an error in dating Pugĕr's flight, until finally it was dated a year too late.

A letter from Amangkurat III (received by the Dutch on 23 May 1704) says Pugĕr fled on Thursday night, 4 Dulkangidah [AJ 1627]; a Dutch document of 16 Mar. 1704 dates his flight (on Pugĕr's own evidence) 10 Mar. 1704. One must remember that the Javanese day runs from sunset to sunset; the night of 4 Dulkangidah is therefore equivalent to the night between Monday 10 Mar. and Tuesday 11 Mar. 1704; the whole of that night would be regarded by the Javanese as comprising the night of Tuesday 4 Dulkangidah AJ 1627 (the reference to Thursday in the Dutch translation of Amangkurat III's letter is probably a translator's error). It is fairly certain, therefore, that Pugĕr fled on the night of Monday 10 Mar. 1704, equivalent in the Javanese system to the eve of Tuesday, 4 Dulkangidah AJ 1627.

BTJ(BP), vol. XVI, pp. 65–6, seems to represent an early stage in the evolution of the erroneous dating of this event. It says that Pugĕr fled at *sirĕp janma* (about 10:30 PM) on the eve of Tuesday, 2 Dulkangidah, Alip, *naga kalih ngoyag jagat* (AJ 1628). The date is wrong (2 rather than 4 Dulkangidah) and the year is wrong (AJ 1628 rather than 1627), but the reference to Alip clearly shows that AJ 1627 was meant (AJ 1628 was Ehe); the rest of the dating is correct.

BL Add. MS 12323(B), f. 37r., gives the eve of Wednesday, 2 Dulkangidah, Ehe AJ 1628; thus the correct month survives, but the day, date, *windu*, and the year are wrong.

Thus it seems that a mistake in composing a chronogram at some point gave the figure 1628, although it was known that the year was Alip (AJ 1627). The figure 1628 was then adopted by later texts, and it was assumed that Alip was a mistake so it was 'corrected' to Ehe. Even LOr 4097, p. 34, and NBS 87(xiii), p. 270, have 'corrected' the year to Ehe AJ 1628; this suggests that the error had emerged by ca. 1760 (see Appendix III on the date of LOr 4097) and that *BTJ(BP)* preserves an older textual tradition here.

This erroneous year, AJ 1628, is given in all but one of the later MSS known to me which include Pugĕr's flight: *Babad Kraton*, f. 528r.; *BTJ*, text p. 268, trans. p. 278; LOr 2000(2), p. 86; LOr 2144(2), p. 14; LOr 6401(1), p. 6; LOr 7699, f. 70v.; NBS 184(1), p. 14; NBS 135(3), p. 17; DFT S 240/280–34, p. 3; *Babad Sangkalaning Momana*, p. 263. The single exception is LOr 7699, f. 121r., which dates Pugĕr's flight in AJ 1630.

kusuma was indeed forgiven by Amangkurat III, but Javanese spies working for the Dutch said that he was given 150 men, whereas the text says it was 100. Pugĕr was recognized as king by the Dutch in June 1704. The picture of Pugĕr's support on the north coast given in Canto III:25 is correct, but only as of about May 1705; it ignores the difficulties encountered throughout 1704 and early 1705 in winning the recognition of these areas. Dĕmak was the last major coastal area to resist Pugĕr, by then called Pakubuwana I, but it was taken by his and the Company's forces in Oct. 1704, and an attempt by their enemies to retake it was repulsed in Nov. 1704. The order of events in Canto III:25–6 is thus substantially correct, although they are only very generally dated in the period between AJ 1628 (in Canto III:23) and Jumadilawal AJ 1629 (in Canto III:29), i.e. between 6 May 1704 and 10 Sept. 1705.

In Aug. 1705, Pakubuwana I and his Dutch allies marched for Kartasura. Amangkurat III's commander at Ungaran did, indeed, go over to Pakubuwana I's side, but Dutch sources make it clear that this commander's name at that time was Sura Adiningrat and not Jayaningrat as is said in Canto III:26–7.[161] The statement that the Company's army included 'people from abroad of all kinds' is no overstatement; the forces for this campaign consisted of Europeans, 'Mardijkers' (Portuguese-speaking Christian Indonesians), Buginese, Makasarese, Balinese, Malays, Bandanese, and Ambonese.

Amangkurat III fled his court in the morning of 10 Sept. 1705; the following day the Dutch Company and Javanese forces supporting Pakubuwana I entered the court without the necessity of using military force. The Javanese equivalent of 10 Sept. 1705 was Thursday, 20 Jumadilawal, Jimawal AJ 1629. *Babad ing Sangkala* is again confused in its dating of this event in Canto III:29–30. It gives the right day (Thursday) and the right year in the eight-year cycle (Jimawal), but the wrong month (Jumadilakir rather than Jumadilawal) and finally a chronogram giving the wrong year (AJ 1630 rather than AJ 1629). The mention of the year Jimawal for the fall of the court shows, however, that AJ 1629 was meant. Later Javanese chronicles, too, are confused about this date.[162]

Amangkurat III fled eastwards to make contact with Surapati, as is said in

161. Javanese dignitaries changed names when they changed positions; I am quite prepared to believe that Jayaningrat and Sura Adiningrat are the same person, but have not yet found evidence to confirm this.

162. LOr 4097, p. 36, and NBS 87(xiii), p. 271, give the right day, *windu*, and year, but again the wrong month: Thursday, Jumadilakir, Jimawal AJ 1629.

Babad Kraton, ff. 561v.–562r., and *BTJ(BP)*, vol. XVII, p. 65, alone among the texts considered here, have the right month as well as the right day and year, but the wrong date: Thursday, 7 Jumadilawal, *mangsa* Katri, Jimawal [AJ 1629].

BL Add. MS 12323 (B), f. 37v., has the right day but the wrong date, month, and year: Thursday, 8 Jumadilakir, Je AJ 1630.

BTJ, text p. 289, trans. p. 300, has the wrong date and month, but the correct day and year: Thursday, 7 Jumadilakir, Jimawal AJ 1629.

All other MSS consulted here simply give the wrong year, AJ 1630: LOr 1859(2), f. 6v.; LOr 2000(2), p. 87; LOr 2144(2), p. 14; LOr 6401, p. [xii]; LOr 6401(1), p. 6; LOr 7699, ff. 70v., 121r.; NBS 184(1), p. 14; NBS 135(3), p. 17; DFT S 240/280–34, p. 3; DFT S

Canto III:29. He was pursued by two companies of Dutch cavalry, so the statement in Canto III:31 that he was not pursued is wrong. The statement there is rather nonsensical, however, and may arise from some sort of scribal error; something like 'he was not captured although he was pursued' may have been intended,[163] and would have been accurate. In Canto III:32 it is correctly said that he was followed by the Dutch.

The fleeing king allied himself with Surapati and Balinese forces who had crossed to Java. In 1706, 1707 and 1708 the Dutch and Kartasura forces fought major campaigns against these enemies in East Java. The forging of the alliance between Amangkurat III and Surapati, and the campaigns, are described here in Canto III:32–65. Many of the events described here can be confirmed in Dutch documents; so far as is presently known to this writer, no event is definitely wrong. The dating of these wars is, however, confused. In the whole of this section there are only two chronograms (Canto III:38 and 50), of which the first is mistaken. The description of events surrounding the chronogram in Canto III:38 fits the campaign of Sept.–Oct. 1706, so the year should be not AJ 1631, but AJ 1630 (15 Apr. 1706–3 Apr. 1707). This campaign was largely a failure for the Dutch. Surapati was, however, wounded at Bangil on 16 Oct. 1706 and subsequently died, as is said in Canto III:42–3, although the Company (always subject to financial embarrassment) certainly did not shoot him with a musket-ball of gold. The failure of 1706 was largely attributed to the treachery of the Adipati of Surabaya, as is said in Canto III:40.

The expedition which set off from Kartasura through the interior under Herman de Wilde (not an Admiral but a member of the Council of the Indies) in July 1707 is correctly dated in Canto III:50. Adipati Surabaya acquitted himself well in this campaign (Canto III:53). But thereafter the text apparently confuses the campaigns of 1707 and 1708. The death of Surapati II mentioned in Canto III:58 resulted from the campaign of 1708; in Oct. 1708 he was badly wounded and in Mar. 1709 the Dutch learned that he had died. But after this event, in Canto III:63 are mentioned the three fortresses which the Dutch erected around Gĕmbong and Kalianyar to secure Pasuruhan; these were actually built in Oct. 1707, a year before the battle in which Surapati II was wounded.

In July 1708 Amangkurat III surrendered to the Dutch and was sent to Batavia, whence he was shipped to exile in Ceylon. In Canto III:67 this major event is placed in the wrong year, AJ 1633 rather than AJ 1632 (24 Mar. 1708–12 Mar. 1709).[164] This mistaken date has influenced two further chronograms

163. LOr 4097, p. 36, and NBS 87(xiii), p. 271, give *tinututan pan nora kacandhak*.

164. Several later MSS also give the wrong year for this major event, the first time a Javanese monarch had been exiled by the Dutch (not until the nineteenth century did this happen again). The correct year AJ 1632 is given in LOr 4097, p. 41; NBS 87(xiii), p. 273; *Babad Kraton*, f. 580r.; BL Add. MS 12323(B), f. 37v.; *BTJ(BP)*, vol. XVIII, p. 25; *BTJ*, text p. 300, trans. p. 312; LOr 1859(2), f. 6v.; LOr 2000(2), p. 87; LOr 7699, f. 70v.; KITLV Or. 262(12), p. 69.

The erroneous year AJ 1631 is given in LOr 2144(2), p. 14; LOr 6401, p. [xii]; LOr 6401(1), p. 6; NBS 184(1), p. 14; NBS 135(3), p. 17; DFT S 240/280–34, p. 3. *Babad Sangkalaning Momana*, pp. 263–4, says that Kartasura fell to Pugĕr and that Amangkurat

which are consequently erroneous as well. In Canto III:69, Ngabei Lor dies in AJ 1633, whereas it should be AJ 1632 since he was actually killed in Oct. 1708. But the reference to the year Be at the beginning of that stanza suggests that AJ 1632 was intended (AJ 1633 was Wawu). Similarly, in Canto III:70 the murder of the Adipati of Surabaya at the request of the Dutch in Feb. 1709 should be placed in AJ 1632,[165] so when the year changes in the fifth line of that stanza it should change to AJ 1633 rather than AJ 1634. The events would then have been correctly dated. The author of this story appears to have realized that there was an error here, for in Canto III:73 he moves back from the erroneous AJ 1634 to AJ 1633.

From Canto III:73 to Canto IV:9 every event which can be checked with Dutch records is correctly described and dated. Kartanagara's mission to Batavia in 1709 and the king's pleasure-trip in the same year are correct. The creation of two Patihs and a major restructuring of the territorial divisions of Java, said at the time to have been based upon an attempted restructuring at the end of Amangkurat I's reign, had been completed before being explained to the Dutch in May and June 1710; this is almost certainly correctly placed in AJ 1633 (ending on 1 Mar. 1710). The rebel Dana was indeed captured and stabbed to death with needles, in Aug. 1710. A letter from Pakubuwana I which the Dutch received in Aug. 1710 confirms this form of execution and says that Dana had rebelled in Muharam AJ 1634 (Mar. 1710).[166] The description of the episode in Canto IV:1 therefore belongs to AJ 1634, along with the rebellion of Dana's father-in-law Ki Pacukilan, about which however no confirmation has yet been found in Dutch sources.[167]

Kartanagara's fall from favour was known to the Dutch, who were reporting the very precarious nature of his status at court by Nov. 1711. In Canto IV:2–3 this is correctly set in AJ 1635 (20 Feb. 1711–8 Feb. 1712), but the details and timing of the conflict with Pangeran Purbaya which led to this are not reported in Dutch records. Pakubuwana I informed the Dutch in Sept. 1711 that Cakrajaya was to be the only Patih. Cakrajaya's mission to Batavia in Aug. 1712 is correctly placed in AJ 1636; the king's pleasure-trip to Mataram in Aug. 1713 is correctly set in AJ 1637. In Aug. 1713 a war began near Winongan (in the area of Pasuruhan); the Ngabei of Pasuruhan named Jadita (Jayadita in Dutch sources)

165. Later MSS again reveal confusion about this event. The correct year AJ 1632 is given in LOr 4097, p. 42; NBS 87(xiii), p. 274; *Babad Kraton*, f. 587v.; BL Add. MS 12323(B), f. 38r. (but with the wrong date, Thursday, 4 Bĕsar [14 Feb. 1709]: the murder occurred on 26 Feb. 1709); DFT S 240/280–34, p. 3.

The erroneous year AJ 1633 is given in *BTJ*, text p. 305, trans. p. 318. The erroneous year AJ 1634 is given in *BTJ(BP)*, vol. XVIII, p. 39; LOr 2000(2), p. 87; LOr 2144(2), p. 14; LOr 6401(1), p. 6; LOr 7699, f. 71r.; NBS 184(1), p. 14; NBS 135(3), p. 17; *Babad Sangkalaning Momana*, p. 264.

166. Part of this letter is quoted in de Graaf, 'Historische betrouwbaarheid', p. 59.

167. Pacukilan is said to have been Dana's father-in-law in other Javanese sources; see *BTJ*, text p. 305, trans. p. 318; *BTJ(BP)*, vol. XVIII, p. 41; *Babad Kraton*, ff. 588v., 589r.

was krissed to death in Apr. 1714 for being insufficiently zealous against the enemy. These episodes are correctly set in AJ 1637–8 (Jan. 1713–Jan. 1715).

The ritual shaving of the king described in Canto IV:8 is confirmed in detail by Dutch eyewitnesses. On 9 Sept. 1715 all of his hair was shaved off while 'the great cannon' (Gunturgĕni) was fired three times. The king had this done again in Feb. 1716, but this second occasion is not described in *Babad ing Sangkala*. Similarly, Dutch eyewitnesses confirm the events in Canto IV:9. While the king was on a trip to Mataram, on 20 July 1716 an eruption of Mount Kĕlut caused a heavy ash-rain, which to the Dutch looked like a winter snow-fall. There was no lunar eclipse anywhere in the world in 1716,[168] so the statement in the text that the moon was extinguished is either mistaken or, more probably, refers to the moon being obscured by the ash-rain.

In AD 1717 began the series of wars which occupied the next six years and which had not yet ended when this text breaks off in 1720. In Canto IV:10–11 the text correctly describes the developments in Surabaya which led to the outbreak of war. Jayapuspita did, indeed, fear that he would be killed if he came to court, as his elder brother had been killed in 1709, and he refused to come to the great gatherings at Garĕbĕg Mulud. Sumabrata and Wiramĕnggala were sent to convince him to appear at court, but he fobbed them off by promising to come next time. *Babad ing Sangkala* has, however, compressed the sequence of events and made them seem to occur between July 1716 (in Canto IV:9) and the end of 1717 (in Canto IV:11). In fact Jayapuspita was refusing to come to court by 1714 and the mission of Sumabrata and Wiramĕnggala took place in May 1715. Jayapuspita's promise to come to the court was given in Sept. 1715; in Jan. 1716 he failed to appear. Cakraningrat III of Madura had also refused to come to court since 1715, and it was to him that a mission was sent in June 1716.

The description of the wars in Canto IV:11–42 is correct except for one minor error and what seems to be a mistaken year in the very last line of the text. In Aug. 1717 Panji Surengrana (of the Surabaya family) attacked Grĕsik. Joan Frederick Gobius went to Surabaya in Nov. 1717 to attempt to restore peace, at least for long enough for the Dutch to get reinforcements from Malabar and the Netherlands. On his departure from Surabaya war broke out again; the Surabaya family arose in open rebellion, summoned over a thousand Balinese troops, and totally devastated Grĕsik. The head of the Balinese forces was the prince of Buleleng, Panji Sakti.[169] In Canto IV:13, however, occurs a minor

168. See Oppolzer, *Canon*, p. 370.

169. Contemporary Dutch writers, like many a modern student, found Balinese titles thoroughly confusing. Reconstruction of the Dutch transliterations is difficult, but he seems to be called variously Gusti Ngurah Panji, Gusti Panji Buleleng, Gusti Ngrurah Panji Danudrĕstha of Buleleng or Singharajapura (?), and Gusti Ngrurah Panji.

On Panji Sakti, see Worsley, *Babad Buleleng*. Balinese *babads* seem to be rather less decipherable as historical sources than even the most mythicized Javanese *babads*. But Panji Sakti's adventures in Balambangan (prior to his involvement in the Surabaya war) are apparently described in *ibid.*, pp. 156–9.

error. Surabaya is said to have been attacked 'in the same year' (AJ 1641, ending on 4 Dec. 1717); in fact the Dutch attacked in Jan. 1718, so that the event belongs to the following year, AJ 1642. The text should have said that the year changed.[170]

There are many details about events occurring within Javanese circles in this period which are not confirmed in Dutch sources, but everything in *Babad ing Sangkala* which can be checked for the years AJ 1718–20 is correct. The battle at Surabaya in which van der Lely and the Balinese lieutenant of the Company whom they called 'Babandan' died occurred in June 1718 (Canto IV:18–19). In the same month Gobius was replaced as commander, because of his listless campaign, by the aged H.F. Bergman, who remained in charge until Nov. 1718, by which time Surabaya had been taken (Canto IV:19–20). The Dutch tried to take the Surabayans' new position but suffered heavy losses in an ambush on 22 Oct. 1718 (Canto IV:20).

About Sept. 1718, Pangeran Purbaya's powers were reduced (Canto IV:21). At the beginning of Oct. 1718, Panaraga, Madiun, Magĕtan, and Jagaraga openly rebelled and threatened Pakubuwana I's forces at Kaduwang. The king sent Pangerans Dipanagara and Dipasanta to Jagaraga and Pangeran Blitar to Kaduwang in Oct. 1718. Dipanagara, however, rebelled before the end of that month. These events are correctly dated and described in Canto IV:21–3. By this time the intrigues among the king's sons were very complex and, of course, largely a mystery to the Dutch. Whether the statement in Canto IV:23 that Pangeran Blitar conspired with Dipanagara is true is not yet clear to this writer.

Pakubuwana I's days were now numbered. The last action for which he is remembered here is the killing of a Sayid (Arabic *Sayyid*, a descendant of the Prophet). This event is said to have shocked many Javanese, but it does not seem to have made much impression on the Dutch. Among this writer's notes from Dutch sources there is only one fleeting reference. In Dec. 1718 J.F. Gobius went to Kartasura and it was apparently during this visit or shortly thereafter that he sought pardon for a 'Moorish priest' (*Moorse paap*) whom Pakubuwana I had condemned to death. This was probably the Sayid. Batavia was angry at Gobius for this intervention, since the Company was pleased whenever such 'priests' were done to death. On the evidence of this and at least one other Javanese text,[171] the pardon seems to have been refused by the king.

Late in Feb. 1719, Pangeran Blitar was summoned back to court, and at sunset on 22 Feb. 1719 his father Pakubuwana I died. This is correctly set in AJ 1643 (Canto IV:25–6), although it is rather curious that the full date

170. I.e., instead of *tan aganti taun* in Canto IV:13g, the text should read something like *nulya ganti taun* or *pan aganti taun*.

171. The death of Tuwan Sayid is also mentioned in *BTJ(BP)*, vol. XIX, p. 39, where it is dated 7 Rabyulawal [AJ 1643] (29 Jan. 1719). This event is deleted from LOr 4097 and NBS 87(xiii), and is not found in any of the other MSS used in this study (perhaps because it was usually regarded as too shocking to be recorded by Pakubuwana I's descendants and successors?).

(2 Rabingulakir AJ 1643) is not given for such an important event.[172] The new king Amangkurat IV (1719–26) had been designated as crown prince for some time, and was supported by the Company. But his brothers Pangerans Blitar and Purbaya, his uncle Pangeran Arya Mataram, and many senior figures in the court opposed the succession. On 24 June 1719 Blitar and Purbaya led an attack on the court, were repulsed, and fled to Mataram. The extensive description of this episode in Canto IV:26–32 appears to be correct in those details which can be checked with Dutch records. Dutch policy was to support Amangkurat IV, but the Company was inefficient, corrupt, and disunited; some misunderstanding or deliberate misinformation about the Company's position may have existed among the party of Blitar and Purbaya, leading to the idea that the Company would not oppose them (Canto IV:27–8). The date given in Canto IV:27 is wrong by thirteen days, but the day, month, year, and probably the hour (the Dutch say *in den morgenstond*, in the early morning) are correct.[173]

This rebellion was far more serious than the earlier rebellion of Pangeran Dipanagara. What little remained of royal authority now collapsed completely. By Nov. 1719 the Dutch were writing that Amangkurat IV had 'acquired virtually the whole of the Javanese world as his enemies' (cf. Canto IV:33). The Company was the only major military force willing to give active support to Amangkurat IV. H.F. Bergman was again called upon to restore affairs, and at the end of 1719 he marched to Mataram and inflicted a defeat on Purbaya and Blitar (Canto IV:33–7). After Bergman's withdrawal to Kartasura and thence to Samarang, Purbaya and Blitar reestablished themselves in Mataram (Canto IV:38).

Between about March and June 1720, Purbaya and Blitar withdrew from their fortifications at Marĕbung and went east to the Jipang and Madiun areas. They stopped in Magĕtan to write a letter calling upon the Tumĕnggung of

172. In *BTJ(BP)*, vol. XIX, p. 39, the full date is given, but with errors in the day and the chronogram: 2 Rabyulakir, *ari Arbangah* (Wednesday), Alip, *warna toya rasa tunggil* (AJ 1644); the reference to Alip shows that AJ 1643 is meant. Thursday, 2 Rabingulakir, AJ 1643, began at sunset on Wednesday 22 Feb. 1719 by Western reckoning, which corresponds exactly with Dutch records.

BL Add. MS 12323(B), f. 38v., gives 2 Rabingulakir, Alip AJ 1643, but also wrongly says that this was Wednesday.

It is remarkable how many later MSS wrongly date the death of Pakubuwana I. The correct year AJ 1643 is given in *Babad Kraton*, f. 629v.; *BTJ*, text p. 335, trans. p. 350; LOr 1859(2), f. 7r.; LOr 2000(2), p. 89; LOr 7699, ff. 71v., 121v.; KITLV Or. 262(12), p. 70. The erroneous year AJ 1642 is given in LOr 2144(2), p. 14; LOr 6401, p. [xii]; LOr 6401 (1), p. 6; LOr 8578, p. 222; NBS 184(1), pp. 14–15; NBS 135(3), p. 17; DFT S 240/280–34, p. 3; *Babad Sangkalaning Momana*, pp. 264–5 (which adds that the Governor-General was then Mattheus de Haan [*Matiyus da Ham*], which is also wrong).

173. The assurance of Dutch neutrality is also described in *BTJ(BP)*, vol. XIX, p. 47. The correct date is given in *BTJ(BP)*, vol. XIX, pp. 47–8; LOr 4097, p. 50; and NBS 87(xiii), p. 277: *bĕdhug tĕlu*, Saturday, 5 Ruwah, but the year is not specifically mentioned.

All later MSS known to me which include this event wrongly place it in AJ 1644: LOr 1859(2), f. 7r.; LOr 2000(2), pp. 89–90; LOr 2144(2), p. 14; LOr 6401(1), p. 6; LOr 7699, f. 71v.; NBS 184(1), p. 15; NBS 135(3), pp. 17–18; DFT S 240/280–34, p. 3; KITLV Or. 262(12), p. 70; *Babad Sangkalaning Momana*, p. 265.

Jipang to submit to them. Although the military details given in Canto IV:39–42 are not readily compared with the Dutch sources studied so far by this writer, the movements of the rebellious princes and the dating in AJ 1644 (Nov. 1719–Nov. 1720, given in Canto IV:33) seem correct.

In the first months of AD 1720 Bergman arranged with Amangkurat IV a two-pronged attack upon the rebellious princes at Jipang. Bergman and most of the Dutch force were to sail from Samarang to Grĕsik (thus, passing Japara as in Canto IV:42) and thence overland to Jipang, while the Susuhunan's forces (including the Company's Kartasura garrison) were to march overland from the court. While Bergman was at Samarang or Japara (the Dutch records are confused on this point) he arrested the Patih Cakrajaya, who later in 1720 was renamed Danurĕja, but then again set him free. He apparently had no authority from Batavia to do this, and indeed his superiors were rather in the dark concerning Bergman's reasons. It seems that Amangkurat IV had suspected Cakrajaya of favouring the rebellious princes, for which there was considerable evidence. Thus the information in the first six lines of Canto IV:42 seems correct.

To end this analysis of *Babad ing Sangkala* on an unsatisfactory note, the last two lines before the text breaks off contain an apparent mistake. Pangeran Arya Mataram, the Susuhunan's uncle, also rebelled in June 1719 and took as his title Susuhunan Panutup (the Final King). He submitted at Japara in Oct. 1719 and was strangled there by mid-Jan. 1720. Thus, he was already dead many months before the beginning of AJ 1645 (3 Nov. 1720). The last lines of this text nonetheless were almost certainly going to say that he died in that year, an error which is also found in several later Javanese texts.[174] Thus, the end of this major rebel is wrongly dated in a chronicle written down only nineteen years after the event.

Much of this portion of the text has been shown to be accurate, so far as can be known from contemporaneous Dutch evidence. Consequently the descriptions in a text like this of the indigenous background to events, the roles played by various individuals, and the Javanese evaluations of events – the things which Dutch sources rarely illuminate – are a major, indeed an indispensable element in any reconstruction of the history of this period. But there are also some substantial confusions evident in *Babad ing Sangkala's* account of the Kartasura period. Whenever one moves beyond the episodes for which some European evidence is available, therefore, caution is of course demanded.

It is difficult to deny that *Babad ing Sangkala* reveals a historical tradition in the court of Kartasura, a belief that events followed from one to another and that they were set in an evolving chronological context. There are mistakes in this section, and in the case of the conflation of the campaigns of 1707 and

174. The following MSS give AJ 1645: LOr 4097, p. 55 (text quoted in Appendix III, p. 248, below); NBS 87(xiii), p. 279 (see p. 248 below); BL Add. MS 12323(B), f. 38v.; *BTJ(BP)*, vol. XX, p. 35; *BTJ*, text p. 358, trans. p. 375; LOr 1859(2), f. 7r.; LOr 2000(2), p. 90; KITLV Or. 262(12), p. 70.

At least two MSS date Pangeran Arya Mataram's death in AJ 1650, which is six years too late: LOr 2144(2), p. 14; LOr 6401(1), p. 7.

1708 and the confusion of the dates for 1708–9[175] the mistakes are of considerable magnitude. But this seems to this writer to demonstrate the existence of misinformation and faulty historical traditions, not the absence of a historical tradition itself. In other words, *Babad ing Sangkala* is history and not myth. It is more than a mere annal, for judgements are made and conclusions drawn. The assumptions of the author are necessarily those of his time: the idea that Surapati II lost his supernatural powers because he dishonoured his father's women (Canto III:49) is not a judgement acceptable to modern secular historians. But it is a judgement, and one of a kind which contemporary Dutchmen also made, albeit within a different cultural tradition, for it was a Calvinist God who acted in their world. Dutch records make it possible to check this text at so many points and in such detail that the possibility of any substantial mythicization of the past seems ruled out.

In earlier portions of this Commentary, there have been several points where *Babad ing Sangkala* seems to be substantially more accurate than later chronicles. This is generally true of this section as well. In several cases an event is correctly dated here but wrongly dated in later texts.[176] In one major instance, however, the reverse is true.[177]

It is difficult to give a very precise picture of the relative accuracy of the *Babad ing Sangkala* manuscript from Kartasura and the later eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and early twentieth-century texts. In order to give a first approximation, the present writer selected twenty-two events in the period AJ 1601–44 (AD 1678–1720) which are both reliably known from Dutch sources and found in a large number of the texts studied here.[178] An analysis of these twenty-two events in the various texts shows that *Babad ing Sangkala* and the Gericke and van der Tuuk manuscripts which represent later versions of the same tradition

175. See pp. 193–4 above.

176. See notes 157, 160, 172, 173 above.

177. Several MSS give the correct year for the surrender of Amangkurat III, whereas the present text is mistaken; see note 164 above.

178. The 22 events are: (1) the fall of Kadhiri, AJ 1601; (2) the death of Trunajaya, AJ 1602; (3) the foundation of Kartasura, Ruwah, AJ 1603; (4) the submission of Pugĕr, AJ 1604; (5) the death of Tack, AJ 1609; (6) the death of Sindurĕja, AJ 1626; (7) the death of Amangkurat II, 22/23 Jumadilakir, AJ 1627; (8) the flight of Pugĕr, 4 Dulkangidah, AJ 1627; (9) Pugĕr's accession as Pakubuwana I in Samarang, AJ 1628; (10) the contract of 5 Oct. 1705/AJ 1629; (11) the capture of Kartasura and flight of Amangkurat III, 20 Jumadilawal, AJ 1629; (12) the fall of Pasuruhan, AJ 1631; (13) the surrender and exile of Amangkurat III, AJ 1632; (14) the murder of Jangrana, AJ 1632; (15) the installation of Cakrajaya as the only Patih, AJ 1635; (16) the royal pleasure-trip and ash-rain, 29 Rĕjĕb, AJ 1640; (17) the rebellion of Jayapuspita, AJ 1641–2; (18) the sending of Pangerans Blitar and Dipanagara to Kaduwang and Jagaraga, AJ 1642; (19) the death of Pakubuwana I, 2 Rabingulakir, AJ 1643; (20) the rebellion of Pangerans Blitar and Purbaya, 5 Ruwah, AJ 1643; (21) the Dutch attack on Mataram, AJ 1644; (22) the death of Pangeran Arya Mataram, AJ 1644.

None of the MSS has all these events (see note 180 below), and all have other dated events not among these 22.

have a rate of error less than 20%. About one-third of these dates are wrong in *Babad Kraton*, written in Yogyakarta in AD 1777–8. BL Add.MS 12323(B), which was apparently written in Surakarta in the period AD 1815–16, has over one-third of these dates wrong. The Major Surakarta *Babad* of AD 1836, which still reveals its textual links with older texts,[179] nonetheless has about 40% of its dates wrong, as does the Meinsma *Babad*, which is based upon a summary of the Major Surakarta *Babad*. All other nineteenth-century texts have a rate of error over 40%, with many having well over 50% of these dates wrong. *Babad Sangkalaning Momana* is the latest text studied here, having been completed in AD 1912, and it is also the least accurate, with over 70% of these events wrongly dated.[180]

This apparent decline in the accuracy of dating for the Kartasura period in later texts is important. In earlier sections of this Commentary, a similar decline of accuracy in later texts might be explained simply by the passage of time. It might be argued that it is neither surprising nor of particular significance that the seventeenth century is more accurately depicted in a chronicle written in the early eighteenth century than it is in chronicles written in the nineteenth century. But here is found evidence that this decline in accuracy extends into descriptions of the period 1678–1720. This later period, too, is markedly less

179. See pp. 166, 168, 184 note 140, Appendix IV p. 250.

180. Below are listed the texts, giving first the number of the 22 events which they contain, second in italics the number of these which are wrong, and finally in parentheses the rate of error which this gives. In a few cases dates are partially wrong, with for instance the right *windu* but the wrong numerals for the year, or the right month but the wrong date. In such cases, the date is counted as half right and half wrong. It should be obvious that the sample is so small that even one date carries considerable statistical weight. I am suggesting here not that these figures have any great statistical significance, but rather that they give a general picture of the decline of accuracy in the period during which these texts were written.

Babad ing Sangkala, IOL Jav. 36(B): 21, *4* (.19).
The Gericke and van der Tuuk MSS, LOr 4097 and NBS 87(xiii): 19, *3.5* (.18).
Babad Kraton: 17, *6* (.35).
BL Add. MS 12323(B): 21, *8* (.38).
The Major Surakarta *Babad*, *BTJ(BP)*: 16, *6.5* (.41).
The Meinsma summary, *BTJ*: 15, *6* (.40).
The other nineteenth-century MSS (in what appears very roughly to be their general order of composition):
LOr 6401(1): 17, *11* (.65).
NBS 135(3): 16, *10* (.63).
NBS 184(1): 16, *10* (.63).
LOr 2144(2): 17, *11* (.65).
LOr 2000(2): 20, *9* (.45).
DFT S 240/280–34: 16, *9* (.56).
LOr 1859(2): 19, *8* (.42).
LOr 7699 (ff. 66v.–79v.): 18, *8* (.44).
LOr 7699 (ff. 115v–123r.): 8, *4* (.50).
KITLV Or. 262(12): 19, *8* (.42).
Babad Sangkalaning Momana: 14, *10* (.71).
MSS with less than 8 of the 22 events have been ignored here. The texts studied here are only a selection from nineteenth-century MSS of course.

accurately depicted in late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century texts than in *Babad ing Sangkala*. These later manuscripts show a loss of accuracy in their depiction of events occurring one-half to two centuries before their composition which is comparable to the loss of accuracy in their depictions of earlier episodes. *Babad ing Sangkala* does not seem to show a similarly low level of accuracy for events occurring a century or more before its composition.[181]

The relative decline in accuracy between the composition of *Babad ing Sangkala* in 1738 and that of the late eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and early twentieth-century texts therefore seems to be general. It appears to occur over the whole range of events depicted in the Kartasura text which can be checked with European evidence, that is, over the whole of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

One major question which is much more difficult to answer is whether within *Babad ing Sangkala* itself accuracy falls off in the period after 1678. It was suggested above[182] that this text consists of a copy of a chronicle completed about 1670, with further new stanzas (amounting to about one-half of the text as it now stands) added for the subsequent period. After the badly confused episodes of 1670–8, the Kartasura stanzas discussed in this section regain a standard of accuracy much superior to that of later chronicles. Are these new stanzas concerning the Kartasura period as accurate as those for the period before 1670 seem to be? In other words, is there evidence within this text itself for the beginnings of the declining historical accuracy which becomes unmistakeably clear in later manuscripts? This writer feels that such a decline in accuracy is evident here. Among the several errors in this part of the text, the major confusions for the events of the years 1707–9[183] are particularly of a kind which is common in later *babads* but which appears to be absent in the earlier portions of the text down to ca. 1670. If this is so, then the declining historical accuracy of the chronicle tradition had apparently begun by 1738, although a scribe was still able to recopy an older text for the period before ca. 1670 without introducing new errors. But this can only be a suggestion. The argument cannot be proved, for European sources for the seventeenth century are insufficient to check the earlier parts of the chronicle completely. Errors similar to, or worse than, the confusions surrounding the years 1707–9 may exist in earlier parts of this text, but be undetected because of the inadequacy of the European sources.

181. For the sixteenth century, of course, it is very difficult to say how accurate IOL Jav. 36(B)'s descriptions of events and their dates may be, because of the absence of other evidence. See Sections III and IV of the Commentary above.

182. See. p. 187 above.

183. See pp. 193–4 above.

CONCLUSIONS

The Decline of a Tradition

The Commentary upon the *Babad ing Sangkala* text above has been rather technical. These Conclusions, however, argue that the analysis found in the Commentary leads to wide-ranging suggestions concerning Javanese history, historiography, and literature. The Commentary analysis of *Babad ing Sangkala* is based primarily upon European sources, which are used to assess the accuracy of Javanese traditions. One should be reminded of the problems of this method. European sources are often inaccurate and more often totally uninformed on Javanese affairs. Nonetheless, they are the only major external and contemporaneous source of evidence for most of the period covered by *Babad ing Sangkala*. For all their limitations, European documents provide the only basis for carrying out the sort of checking procedure found in the Commentary.

Sections I and II of the Commentary consider the origins and cultural setting of this manuscript. It is argued that there are some grounds for believing that in the literary culture of the court of Kartasura Old Javanese literature was still alive, unlike the probable situation in the late eighteenth century. If this is so, a major change in Javanese literature seems therefore to have occurred during the eighteenth century.

In Sections III and IV of the Commentary an attempt is made to assess the accuracy of *Babad ing Sangkala* regarding the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. On some points it appears to be consistent with such little contemporaneous evidence as exists, and is shown to differ from later Javanese texts. So little is known about the history of this period, however, that few conclusions are possible.

Section V of the Commentary considers the first half of the seventeenth century, where vastly improved contemporaneous European evidence is available. Here the results are rather extraordinary. While three events were found which may perhaps be wrongly dated, of the much larger number of events whose dates are fairly reliably known not one is definitely wrong. This is a kind of accuracy over a long period unknown in later texts.

In Section VI the chaos of Amangkurat I's reign is considered. Here are many bloody events of which the Dutch were ignorant. Nonetheless *Babad ing Sangkala*

still appears, so far as can be known, to maintain a relatively high level of accuracy until ca. 1670. At that point, the accuracy of the text disintegrates. No event between 1670 and 1678 is correctly dated. It is suggested that this means that the Kartasura *Babad ing Sangkala* consists of a copy of a chronicle composed ca. 1670, to which further stanzas were added only after the end of the wars of the 1670s. For this period before 1670, it appears to be substantially more accurate than later chronicles.

Section VII of the Commentary shows the Kartasura period, between 1678 and 1720 (where this text breaks off), to be reasonably accurately depicted, but it also shows that *Babad ing Sangkala* contains some substantial confusions. The question is raised whether this shows this part of the text to be significantly less accurate than the hypothetical text of ca. 1670 of which the preceding stanzas are suggested to be a copy. The point is made that, although this may well be true, historical knowledge of the preceding periods is inadequate to justify such a conclusion. But it is quite clear that this period is still described in *Babad ing Sangkala* substantially more accurately than in the later texts considered in this study.

From the Commentary arise several conclusions, two of which are particularly important for the arguments in the remainder of these Conclusions. First, there is a possibility that a living knowledge of Old Javanese still existed in court circles down to at least the 1730s, but was lost sometime thereafter; in the period after the 1770s (from which the bulk of Modern Javanese literature is known) there seems to have been nearly-complete ignorance of Old Javanese.[1] The evidence for this view is, however, far from conclusive. The second conclusion is more obvious, more certain, and also more central to the arguments which will follow: the Kartasura *Babad ing Sangkala* text shows the existence of a tradition of quite accurate historical writing in the court at least until the late seventeenth century, and the accurate preservation of historical traditions into the 1730s; chronicles from the later eighteenth, and especially the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, are significantly less accurate than this text. From these two conclusions grow the general arguments which follow.

The question of causation immediately arises. Why are later chronicle texts less historically accurate? There are two major possible explanations. One is the natural growth of mistakes in the historical tradition, in effect the result of faulty transmission of the historical tradition, probably largely caused by inaccurate copying on a large scale. This can easily explain any sort of error: a scribe omits a line, miscopies a chronogram, misreads a name, and a text is corrupted. If this is commonly done by scribes, the historical tradition as a whole becomes corrupted. Such errors are partly a function of time; the greater the time between an event and the composition of a chronicle describing it, the greater the

1. The qualification here is necessitated by the presumption that Yasadipura I must have had some knowledge of Old Javanese (but not necessarily very much: see p. 216 below) to produce Modern Javanese versions, and by the presence of some Old Javanese MSS written in Central Java in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (see p. 152 above).

chance that error will have corrupted the tradition. This explanation of declining accuracy will be seen below to be relevant, but it would appear to apply only to the later eighteenth century and after.

The other potential explanation of declining accuracy is mythicization, either artless or designed. Artless mythicization is the other side of the coin of faulty transmission of the historical tradition. If scribes no longer knew when, how, or indeed whether something had happened, it may have been natural to fabricate a tale. The result is myth. Designed mythicization is more the explanation suggested by Professor Berg's studies of Old Javanese literature. Perhaps scribes rewrote history, discarding correct versions of events which they may or may not have known to be true for versions which provided precedents, legitimation, or supernatural support for their contemporary world. There is clear evidence of later eighteenth-century authors composing pseudo-historical or prophetic texts, describing in a style essentially like that of the chronicles events which were mythical. The clearest example of this is the *Sĕrat Surya Raja* composed by the crown prince of Yogyakarta in 1774, apparently with the intention of supernaturally altering the course of events.[2]

How can one judge the relative significance of faulty transmission and mythicization? Much depends upon one's conclusions, for the functions assumed by Javanese court historical traditions may be illuminated thereby. One is dealing with a philosophical issue of broader relevance here: was Javanese historiography, in Professor Popper's term, a pre-modern variety of 'historicism'?[3] Did it seek patterns, laws, rhythms of history (and where it found none, or only inappropriate ones, create them) in support of a totalitarian social philosophy akin to those which Popper sees as being associated with 'historicist' thought? That the Javanese state system aspired to totalitarianism seems clear. It was decentralized, inefficient, and disorganized but the desire of the court (rarely achieved even on a limited scale in practice) to be the sole political and supernatural centre, tolerating no forces which did not acquiesce in its centrality, seems clear. If the Javanese chronicle tradition was a variety of 'historicism' in the service of the court, differing from Popper's idea primarily in having a supernatural rather than a 'scientific' basis to the philosophy, one would expect to find designed mythicization of the tradition to be the most satisfactory explanation of declining accuracy. One would expect, in other words, to find strong support for Professor Berg's ideas.

In the texts studied here, it is possible to search for answers to the questions posed in the preceding paragraph. Conscious mythicization of the tradition must

2. See Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, pp. 188–211.

3. Karl R. Popper, *The poverty of historicism* (revised ed.; London, 1974). Popper gives a brief definition of his term in *ibid.*, p. 3: 'an approach to the social sciences which assumes that historical prediction is their principal aim, and which assumes that this aim is attainable by discovering the "rhythms" or the "patterns", the "laws" or the "trends" that underlie the evolution of history.'

be posited upon some event or events in the period when the texts were written, which required that previous events described in the tradition be altered. Unlike the period of Majapahit and that of the Mataram dynasty before Sultan Agung, the periods most discussed by Professor Berg, the texts considered here were all written in times which can be relatively well known from contemporary evidence. One can then ask whether any of the changes which appear in the chronicles written in this later period can be explained in terms of some requirement for a designed mythicization of the past to explain, justify, legitimate, or change the circumstances at the time when the texts were written.

The most obvious candidate for such an explanation is the Ś 1471–AJ 1571–AJ 1671 cycle discussed in Appendix IV. There one of the major erroneous dates in later chronicles, that placing the end of the sieges of Batavia in AJ 1571 (AD 1649–50), is considered. In this cycle a division of Java is associated with each of these years. In Appendix IV it is seen that for a confusing and perhaps mistaken chronogram for AJ 1559 as found in the larger Kartasura *babad* IOL Jav. 36 (A), later authors mistakenly produced a 'corrected' date of AJ 1571. This date fits into an apparent cycle of 1471–1571–1671, and it could be suggested that this cycle was a means to legitimate the one date in the cycle which is known to be historically accurate, the rebellion of Pangeran Mangkubumi in AJ 1671 (AD 1746). In the AD 1750s, Mangkubumi may have referred to the supposed events of Ś 1471 as the specific precedent for the division of Java; the Great Regalia (*pusaka agĕng*) of his court were all connected with the stories concerning Ś 1471.[4] In the texts studied here are examples written both before and after his rebellion. Appendix IV concludes that in the emergence of the date AJ 1571 in chronicles written after Mangkubumi's rebellion, one can see the influence of cyclical thinking insofar as authors may have concluded that the date must be AJ 1571, since they already had roughly parallel events for Ś 1471 and AJ 1671. But there seems not to be evidence of designed mythicization here, for in two major court *babads* written after Mangkubumi's rebellion the date was not 'corrected' to AJ 1571; indeed one of these texts, *Babad Kraton*, was written at a crucial time for legitimation in the court where Mangkubumi by then ruled as Sultan Hamĕngkubuwana I.[5] In the most obvious candidate for designed creation of myth, therefore, the evidence seems not to support such an explanation.

This single, but major, example suggests that the declining historical accuracy of later chronicles arises more from the faulty transmission of historical knowledge than from designed mythicization. It should be pointed out, however, that while this appears to raise questions about Professor Berg's approach to Modern Javanese chronicles, it does not disprove the general validity of that approach. The evidence here relates specifically to chronicles composed in the eighteenth,

4. See Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, pp. 61, 62, 75, 76n.

5. On *Babad Kraton*'s apparent role in legitimating the court of Yogyakarta, see *ibid.*, pp. 211–19.

nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries. Professor Berg's arguments concern also non-chronicle literature and texts written before the Modern Javanese period. Much of his argument concerns periods which cannot be satisfactorily elucidated through contemporaneous evidence, and to the extent that this is so it is impossible to reach definitive conclusions. But this writer feels that Berg's arguments deserve more careful study than they have so far received and, where scholars disagree, far more direct consideration of his arguments and evidence. In the case of the Ś 1471–AJ 1571–AJ 1671 cycle, there are logical grounds for thinking that the Ś 1471 event may well be a myth designed to legitimate the rebellion of AJ 1671.[6] But there is neither evidence to show that the event is historically inaccurate, nor definitive proof that it was not found in the chronicle tradition before AJ 1671. No definite conclusions can therefore be reached. All that can be said is that for the AJ 1571 part of this cycle, the evidence does not support the idea of designed mythicization.

There are several other major cases where later chronicles seem to have turned the historical accuracy of the Kartasura tradition into unhistorical myth.[7] The confusion of the accession dates of Senapati and Sultan Agung[8] is certainly later than 1738 in origin, as is the erroneous dating of Senapati's death.[9] The fall of the court to Trunajaya in 1677 becomes progressively more erroneously dated in later texts,[10] as does the flight of Pangeran Pugĕr in 1704.[11] There is also the problem of the cycle of the fall and rise of courts at the turning of centuries (Ś 1400–03, Ś 1500–03, AJ 1600–03) in later texts, of which Ś 1403 and 1500 are not found in *Babad ing Sangkala* because of its omission of the Dĕmak Sultanate.[12] This cycle is, however, a considerable mystery to this writer. It seems artificial, yet the events of AJ 1600–03 (AD 1677–81) are historically accurate; there is no possibility of knowing with certainty which if any of the earlier years may also be correct.

In all of these cases, including the possible elaboration of the century-cycle, this writer is unable to see what events would require that the chronicle tradition

6. See Appendix IV.

7. It cannot be known, of course, whether this is true of the stories concerning the sixteenth century; see pp. 156 et seqq. above.

8. See pp. 173–4, 166 note 55 above.

9. See p. 168 note 64 above.

10. See pp. 184–6 above.

11. See p. 191 note 160 above.

12. See pp. 157–8, 160, 163–4, 184, 189 note 152 above. This cycle is discussed in Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, pp. 176 et seqq. It will be seen there that in the eighteenth and perhaps in the nineteenth century, the courts appear to have regarded this cycle as representing an important law of historical change. The statement in *ibid*., p. 179, that the event of Ś 1500 is not commonly found in Javanese MSS needs to be amended, as can be seen in p. 164 note 48 above.

be specifically changed to suit some new contemporary development in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. As in the case of the event of AJ 1571, therefore, it seems that the explanation of these changes is to be sought primarily in faulty transmission of the historical tradition. This led to ignorance of the past and to the insertion of incorrect (or mythical) episodes where the correct version was no longer known or no longer of interest. There is nothing peculiarly Javanese about this process; most nations thrive on such versions of their past. The question which is more specific to Java is whether this process was confined only to certain periods of its modern history.

Was this declining accuracy, primarily through faulty transmission of the historical tradition and concomitant artless mythicization, found in Java only from the eighteenth century onwards? In this study the starting-point for analysis is 1738, when *Babad ing Sangkala* and the larger *babad* text of IOL Jav. 36 (A) were written. Seen from that point, later texts are demonstrably less accurate. But if, for the sake of argument, a text were discovered that had been written in 1638, would the texts of 1738 appear to be less historically accurate? On the evidence considered in the Commentary above, this would seem improbable.

The description of the seventeenth century down to ca. 1670 in *Babad ing Sangkala* could hardly be improved upon so far as can be judged. A few errors, or possible errors, could be corrected, but for the most part the degree of accuracy is such that no major improvement in historical accuracy would seem possible. But here one encounters the problem of the inadequacy of European sources for the seventeenth century and before. If there are many major inaccuracies in this text which are undetected because they concern events unknown to Europeans, they could equally be improved upon in some other text without the improvement being detectable.

There is, however, internal evidence in *Babad ing Sangkala* for arguing that the historical tradition was still being accurately transmitted at the time of its composition in 1738. Section VI of the Commentary suggests that the first half of the text preserves a reasonably accurate copy of some lost text completed ca. 1670.[13] If this is so, then this hypothetical text of ca. 1670 was still accurately preserved nearly seven decades later when *Babad ing Sangkala* was composed. But seven decades after the date of this Kartasura text (i.e. ca. 1808) this tradition was no longer preserved accurately, and that despite the fact that the capture of this text at the court of Yogyakarta in 1812 demonstrates that at least one copy of the Kartasura tradition was still in the hands of court literati.

Thus it seems that faulty transmission of the Modern Javanese historical tradition was not a process which had always occurred. It seems to have begun sometime between the time of this Kartasura manuscript of 1738 and the 1770s, when later Javanese texts begin to be preserved. This argument relates solely to the transmission of the older tradition. A different question concerns the composition of new chronicle accounts concerning the eighteenth century itself. In

13. See p. 187 above.

Section VII of the Commentary it is suggested that the account of the period after 1678 in *Babad ing Sangkala* is less accurate than the recopied account of the previous period in the same text. It is not possible, however, to demonstrate this with much certainty.[14] It can be said, however, that among the many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century *babads* which describe events occurring at about the time when they were written, some certainly seem to be quite accurate.[15] There is, therefore, little doubt that Javanese authors of the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were able to compose reliable descriptions of events which they had themselves witnessed or of which they had good and recent information. Rather, the question here concerns the transmission of historical traditions by subsequent generations of literati, which seems to have grown inaccurate in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, so that traditions of the more distant past became more mythicized. It is shown in Section VII of the Commentary that even the events of the Kartasura period down to 1720 are significantly less accurately described in chronicles written only a century or so later.[16]

The decline in historical accuracy which is clearly seen in the various *babad sangkala* texts written after the Kartasura period is paralleled by a deterioration in literary standards. Modern Javanese literature, including *babad* literature, is almost exclusively in verse. These verse works were chanted aloud to a large number of fixed poetic metres. There seems no doubt that good Javanese literature, belles-lettres, was by definition verse. Prose was a vehicle for more utilitarian purposes: some religious texts (including translations from Arabic originals in prose), legal codes, letters, and the like,[17] as well as manuscripts written specifically for Europeans.

The Kartasura *Babad ing Sangkala* text above is in verse, thereby falling within the realm of Javanese belles-lettres. Moreover, it is an extremely competent specimen of what must be one of the most difficult sets of conventions in Modern Javanese literature. The author had to produce a text which fitted Javanese metrical requirements, which produced chronograms giving the intended numerical value and having relevance to the event being dated, while at the same time producing an intelligible narrative into which the chronograms were woven.

14. See p. 201 above.

15. I have argued that Yasadipura I's *Babad Giyanti* (21 vols.; Batavia, 1937–9) seems to be quite accurate (Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, pp. xix–xx). Dr. Carey arrives at similar conclusions for some *babads* concerning the early nineteenth century (Carey, 'Pangeran Dipanagara', pp. 2 et seqq.).

16. See pp. 199–201 above.

17. I have recently included *sĕngkala*-lists among works normally written in prose; the essay in question was written before I had begun the present study and realized that the more recent prose *babad sangkala* MSS represent a significant change from an older tradition of verse *babad sangkala* works. See M.C. Ricklefs, 'Javanese sources in the writing of Modern Javanese history', in *Southeast Asian history and historiography: Essays presented to D.G.E. Hall*, ed. C.D. Cowan and O.W. Wolters (Ithaca and London, 1976), pp. 341, 344.

Listening to and comprehending the narrative and the dates in such a text must also have been a most refined art. The density of the chronograms in earlier parts of *Babad ing Sangkala* is quite remarkable. Some are so skilfully woven into the narrative that even after going over the text several times this writer on one or two occasions discovered that words which he had translated as part of the text were also chronograms. It will be seen in Appendix III that later Javanese authors seem to have had similar difficulties. These conventions seem highly artificial to a modern reader; whether they constituted good literature by seventeenth- or eighteenth-century standards cannot of course be known with confidence. But one has little difficulty in picturing Javanese courtiers smiling appreciatively at this display of literary virtuosity.

The second half of *Babad ing Sangkala*, which it is argued is appended to a copy of an original text completed ca. 1670, has significantly fewer chronograms. Indeed, in the final twenty stanzas there are only four chronograms. This may suggest a declining facility with these difficult literary conventions among Kartasura authors, as compared to the author or authors of the hypothetical text of ca. 1670. If this is so, it would seem to parallel the possible (but unproveable) deterioration in historical accuracy in the same part of the text.[18]

With one exception (discussed below) all later *babad sangkala* texts known to this writer are in prose.[19] Chronograms, where they are given, are rarely so obviously apposite as is the case with many of the chronograms in *Babad ing Sangkala*. The refinement of making the chronogram appropriate to the event seems in many cases to have been subordinated in later texts to the necessity of giving what was believed to be the right numerical values. It is very significant that in the later texts chronograms are always either explained with, or entirely replaced by, numerals, again with the one exception discussed below. Authors of later *babad sangkala* texts seem to have been convinced that they or their audiences could not deal with simple chronograms; numerals had to be added to or replace the chronograms for them to be understood. Chronograms proper, without numerical explanations, survive only in full *babad* texts, where they are rare occurrences scattered sparsely through these voluminous works.[20]

The adoption of numerals in addition to, or in place of, chronograms is rather difficult to explain. It does, however, suggest a declining facility with

18. See p. 201 above.

19. I am regarding LOr 4097/NBS 87(xiii) as prose. Readers will see in Appendix III that this is partially untrue: in cases where there is no date present, the copyists of this version sometimes preserved the original verse form almost intact.

20. The period 1678–1720, for instance, occupies 660 pp. (ff. 385–715) in *Babad Kraton*, in which are found 27 chronograms. The same period is covered in about 590 pp. (in vols. XIII–XX) of *BTJ(BP)*; to the best of my knowledge there are only 16 chronograms in these pages. In the 21 small volumes of Yasadipura I's *Babad Giyanti* there are only 13 chronograms; see Balé Poestaka, *Babad Gijanti: Pratèlan namaning tijang lan panggènan* (Batavia, 1939), pp. 93–6. In my notes from *Babad Mangkubumi* (LOr 2191, containing 549 pp.) I have only 17 chronograms.

chronograms themselves. This may be linked with the evidence discussed in Appendix II that in the years around the middle of the eighteenth century the numerical value of some chronogram words was changing. Perhaps Javanese authors were uncertain what numerical value to assign to some words, and turned to the use of numerals to avoid confusion. The use of numerals is directly linked to the shift from verse to prose in *babad sangkala* texts. Numerals cannot be chanted to poetical metres. This cannot even be done in Javanese by speaking the numbers aloud, for there are two basic kinds of Javanese (*ngoko* and *krama*). There is a great metrical difference between (in *ngoko*) *siji, loro, tĕlu, papat, lima*, etc., and (in *krama*) *sĕtunggal, kalih, tiga, sĕkawan, gangsal*, etc. One would have to know whether each numeral should be read as *ngoko* or *krama* (i.e. the numbers would have to be written out rather than given as numerals) before any attempt could be made to produce verse. In practice, no attempt was made. *Babad sangkala* texts with numerals are all in prose. Whether the apparent need to use numbers compelled the change to prose, or whether a change to prose made possible the use of numbers is not clear. In either case, there is evidence here of declining literary facility in the demanding genre represented by the Kartasura *Babad ing Sangkala* text.

The shifts to prose and to numerals in later *babad sangkala* texts also have important links with the declining historical accuracy of those texts. Javanese verse is to a certain extent self-correcting. One knows how many lines there must be in each stanza, how many syllables in each line, and what (with a few variations) the final vowel of each line must be. Any copyist's error which alters the number of lines, the number of syllables, or the final vowel in any line is immediately detectable. The possibility of an error going undetected is therefore somewhat reduced in verse texts. In prose, anything can change without leaving any formal evidence of the change having occurred. Similarly, a numeral is readily altered without any evidence of the alteration having occurred unless, for instance, it interrupts the sequence of dates in a text where the order is sequential. Mistakes can therefore occur much more readily in texts written in prose and using numerals than in texts written in verse and using only chronograms.

There is only one *babad sangkala* manuscript known to this writer which was written after the Kartasura period but which is still in verse and uses chronograms without numerical explanations. This is LOr 6401(1), which was purchased by G.A.J. Hazeu from Cakrapranata, a son of Ronggawarsita of Surakarta.[21] Before the verse *babad sangkala* begins are several pages which contain a fragment of another *babad sangkala* in which the last event is the accession of Pakubuwana V in AJ 1748 (AD 1820–1). A later hand has added the death of Pakubuwana V in AJ 1750 (AD 1822–3).[22] The verse *babad sangkala* text begins on the verso of the end of this fragment, which would seem to date the verse *babad sangkala*

21. According to a note in Hazeu's hand at the front of the MS. See also Pigeaud, *Literature*, vol. II, p. 368.

22. LOr 6401, pp. [xi–xiv].

in the 1820s. This verse text begins in *wong ngumbara nir bumi* (Ś 1001/AD 1079–80) and ends in *toya suci girining rat* (AJ 1744/AD 1816–17). There is no definite evidence that the text was written in the family of Ronggawarsita, but it is of interest that this last famous court-poet's family should have owned such a rare specimen. It is also of interest for demonstrating that the use of verse and chronograms alone is no guarantee of historical accuracy. The text has erroneous dates such as are found in other nineteenth-century texts,[23] and for the Kartasura period to 1720 is one of the most inaccurate texts known to this writer.[24]

It should be clear that there is overwhelming evidence of a deterioration in the historical accuracy of the *babad sangkala* genre from the eighteenth century onwards, and that this is associated with a decline of competence in the difficult literary conventions of this genre. The use of the terms 'decline' or 'deterioration' of course imposes something of a value-judgement upon this phenomenon. Would it perhaps be better to say merely that there was a change? Perhaps later texts are less accurate because their authors were simply more interested in myth or romance than in history, and sought mythical versions of the past to meet some contemporary need or fashion. The man who is conventionally described as the last of the court poets, Raden Ngabei Ronggawarsita (1802–73), would seem to be such an author. His monumental *Pustakaraja Purwa* and its prologue entitled *Paramayoga*[25] are said to have been intended to be the beginnings of a grand synthesis of Javanese history.[26] They are, however, entirely mythical. *Paramayoga* begins with Adam and the Indian gods and ends with Aji Saka. *Pustakaraja Purwa* begins with Java in the year 1 and ends (twenty-nine small volumes later) in the year 730. They are both in prose and the entirely mythical series of dates (in a fabricated chronological system) is given in numerals alone which are, however, erroneously called *sangkalas*. Ronggawarsita may also have completed a sequel, *Pustakaraja Madya*, continuing his synthesis into the mythical period between the supposed ages of the Bratayuda and of Panji. It was apparently his plan, never fulfilled, to continue this grand work down to the period immediately before the arrival of Islam, thereby stopping precisely at the point where he would have begun to encounter genuinely historical, albeit inaccurate, traditions.[27]

23. See pp. 162 note 42, 164 note 48, 166 note 55, 168 note 64, 189 note 153, 190 note 157, 191 note 160, 192 note 162, 193 note 164, 194 note 165, 197 note 172, 197 note 173, 198 note 174 above.

24. See p. 200 note 180 above.

25. Ronggawarsita, *Sĕrat Paramayoga* (3 vols.; Djokja, 1941); *idem*, *Sĕrat Pustakaraja Purwa* (29 vols.; Djokja, 1938–9).

26. See E.M. Uhlenbeck, *A critical survey of studies on the languages of Java and Madura* ('s-Gravenhage, 1964), p. 130.

27. G.W.J. Drewes, 'Ranggawarsita, the Pustaka Raja Madya and the Wayang Madya', *Oriens Extremus*, vol. 21, pt. 2 (Dec. 1974), pp. 206, 210–11.

If the study of Modern Javanese historiography were simply a study in the progressive disregard for the historical tradition, then Ronggawarsita would seem to have earned his reputation as the author who stands at the end of the line. Whatever he was synthesizing, it was not history,[28] and it seems doubtful that Ronggawarsita can have believed it to be history. Thus, 'decline' may be an inappropriate term. Perhaps later Javanese texts are less historically accurate because their authors were simply less interested in what actually happened in the past. Here, however, the evident deterioration in literary standards seems relevant. There is little doubt that verse was the superior form of Javanese literature. The changing of the *babad sangkala* genre from verse to prose, and the concomitant loss of facility with chronograms, seem clearly to represent a decline by Javanese standards. If this is so, then the demonstrable loss of historical accuracy, too, seems appropriately to be seen as decline. Furthermore, Ronggawarsita was only one among many Javanese writers. Wherever his interests lay, other less renowned writers devoted much time and effort to rewriting and corrupting the historical tradition concerning the ages after the fall of Majapahit. The work of someone like Ronggawarsita, therefore, need not be seen as evidence for some major shift of primary interest among Javanese chroniclers in general. Rather, for reasons to be explored below, historical knowledge became so corrupted by the standards evident in the Kartasura text that the creation of myth was a natural process as authors attempted to fill the void of ignorance.

It is important to realize that this decline in historical accuracy was not necessary for any technical reason. The survival of the two texts of IOL Jav. 36, *Babad ing Sangkala* and the larger *babad*, demonstrates that at least these examples of Kartasura historiography were preserved in at least one court down to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Gericke and van der Tuuk manuscripts show that around 1760 another text of the same Kartasura tradition was still known. But these two manuscripts also show that already by that time poets had begun to turn this verse tradition into prose, abandoning chronograms for numerals.[29] To preserve the historical tradition known in 1738, later authors needed only to recopy the manuscripts accurately. This they did not do. Instead, new and inferior texts were written.

Now a very major issue in Javanese literary and cultural history arises. This deterioration in Javanese historiography in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as seen especially in the *babad sangkala* genre, took place during a period which is supposed to have been one of 'renaissance'. The idea of a literary renaissance or revival in this period has taken firm roots in Javanese scholarship, although no one has ever attempted to give evidence for its occurrence. It is an assumption, but one almost universally held.

28. Nor, by the standards of his ancestor Yasadipura I, do Ronggawarsita's works seem to me to reach high literary standards. Nonetheless, some Javanese regard his verse works as being among the greatest.

29. See Appendix III.

Dr. Pigeaud is the only scholar to have attempted a precise definition of the idea of a renaissance:

> The turning of the attention of Javanese scholars from Islamic texts to Old Javanese *kakawins*, and the ensuing development of Surakarta court literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, were tantamount to a renaissance of classical Javanese literature. . . . The renaissance literature distinguished itself from the preceding Islamic Pasisir literature . . . by its increasing interest in Old-Javanese pre-Islamic origins. . . .[30]

Poerbatjaraka also wrote of a 'restoration' in the Surakarta period (after 1745) which centred upon the translation of Old Javanese classics into Modern Javanese and the production of new works of literature.[31] Professor Uhlenbeck describes 'a new period of flourishing' including new original works and 'new adaptations of writings known from Old Javanese'.[32] Dr. Soebardi writes of 'a marked revival in Javanese cultural life' and emphasizes the role of Yasadipura I in producing Modern Javanese versions of Old Javanese classics.[33] Professor Drewes even attempts a precise chronological definition of 'this period of renascence', which he calls 'an explosion of literary activity', placing it in the 125 years between 1757 and 1881.[34] All of these views share three elements: (1) the reemphasis upon a neglected Old Javanese heritage, (2) the production of new vernacular Modern Javanese works, and (3) the idea that this was a period of revival following upon an age of less literary productivity. The materials in this book raise questions about these views, and especially about (1) and (3).

The problem raised by the *babad sangkala* genre is clear: was this the only branch of Javanese literature in decline, while all around it a burst of new literary creativity and a rediscovery of classical Old Javanese literature was under way? There is, of course, no reason why some change in fashion should not have made this so. But one cannot avoid asking at this point what is the evidence for a literary revival in other genres. This writer has already raised elsewhere questions about the idea of a literary renaissance, arguing that the survival of large numbers of manuscripts from the 1770s and after (and not the 1750s, as scholars have assumed contrary to the evidence of the manuscripts) results from an

30. Pigeaud, *Literature*, vol. I, p. 236. In a recent discussion Dr. Pigeaud said that he now finds this definition (which is based largely on the thinking of G.A.J. Hazeu) unsatisfactory, and his own view of the 'renaissance' is now much more associated with the creation of a large number of new literary works in Modern Javanese. The idea of a reemphasis upon a neglected classical past now seems to him inappropriate. The definition is nonetheless given here, since it is the most definitive statement of the conventional view held by other scholars.

31. Poerbatjaraka, *Kapustakan Djawi*, p. 128.

32. Uhlenbeck, *Survey*, p. 137.

33. S. Soebardi (ed. and trans.), *The book of Cabolèk: A critical edition with introduction, translation and notes, a contribution to the study of the Javanese mystical tradition* (The Hague, 1975), pp. 19–20.

34. Drewes, 'Ranggawarsita', pp. 199, 201.

artificial attempt to recopy Javanese texts around the beginning of the new Javanese century (AJ 1700/AD 1774–5).[35] The Javanese literary renaissance, it is argued, 'may to some extent be an illusion created by the fact that the pre-nineteenth-century collections of manuscripts did not survive'.[36]

Undoubtedly great works of literature were written in the later eighteenth century. In this writer's experience, Yasadipura I's *Babad Giyanti* stands as a supreme example of Javanese literature and historiography. There are also Modern Javanese versions of Old Javanese classics, often ascribed to Yasadipura I, which are themselves classics of Modern Javanese. The inconsistency between the writing of such great works of literature and the evident decline in the *babad sangkala* genre during the same period is too great to be ignored.

The major problem of Javanese literary history is the great rarity of manuscripts written before the 1770s. Any comparison of the literature of the later eighteenth century with that of preceding periods is therefore very difficult. There are, however, a few early manuscripts of texts which are also known in later eighteenth- or nineteenth-century versions which can be used in a comparative study. Until the present study of the *babad sangkala* genre, there has been only one such comparative analysis. Poerbatjaraka studied another Kartasura court manuscript, a *Sĕrat Menak* written in 1715 and owned by a wife of Pakubuwana I,[37] and compared it with the version ascribed to Yasadipura I. Other philological studies of Javanese literature are largely without value for such analysis: the search for hypothetical original texts, 'best readings' (always defined on the basis of the editor's knowledge of recent Javanese standards), and the like cannot show the development of a particular work of literature through time. It is perhaps worth noting that the idea of a Javanese literary renaissance has emerged from the Leiden school of Javanese philology. It is a historical concept, however, and the undeniable virtues of the pure philological method do not include an ability to answer historical questions set firmly in a chronological context. It is not surprising, then, that no evidence for a literary renaissance has emerged from this school, for its methodology cannot normally produce such evidence.

In his study of the *Sĕrat Menak*, Poerbatjaraka showed that Yasadipura I was not the first to translate the Malay *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* (the source of the Javanese *Sĕrat Menak*) into Javanese, but rather that his contribution consisted in an enormous elaboration of the Javanese text already known in 1715.[38] The

35. Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, pp. 219–26.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 223.

37. Museum Pusat MS KBG 613; see Poerbatjaraka, *Beschrijving der handschriften: Menak* (Bandoeng, 1940), p. 9.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 2–3, 96. On the relationship between the Malay *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* and the *Sĕrat Menak* ascribed to Yasadipura I, see Ph.S. van Ronkel, *De roman van Amir Hamza* (Leiden, 1895), pp. 188 et seqq.

version ascribed to Yasadipura I is, indeed, about five times as long as the 1715 version.[39] Poerbatjaraka did not know that there is another much older Javanese *Sĕrat Menak* manuscript which is undated, but was certainly written prior to 1627 when it was given to the Bodleian Library.[40] The history of the Javanese *Sĕrat Menak* thus seems to be much longer than was once thought, with the Bodleian manuscript showing that the text (or a version of it) already existed in Javanese something like two centuries before Yasadipura I's death (1803). Yasadipura I's contribution[41] is thus confined to an extensive elaboration of a text which had long been known. This certainly constitutes individual originality and creativity, but hardly a renaissance.

The heart of the supposed renaissance in the later eighteenth century, however, does not lie in works such as the *Sĕrat Menak*. Rather, it lies in the apparent production of Modern Javanese versions of the Old Javanese classics *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Sĕrat Rama*), *Bhāratayuddha* (*Sĕrat Bratayuda*), *Arjunawiwāha* (*Sĕrat Mintaraga*), and *Arjunawijaya* (*Sĕrat Arjuna Sasrabau* or *Lokapala*). Unlike the *Sĕrat Menak*, no manuscripts of these Modern Javanese versions dating from before the late eighteenth century are presently known to have survived. This does not prove, of course, that vernacular Modern Javanese versions of these classics were not known long before the eighteenth century; so very few older manuscripts have survived that any argument based upon what happens not to be extant is extremely hazardous.

This writer believes, however, that these Modern Javanese versions of Old Javanese classics may indeed have been written for the first time in the late eighteenth century, but for reasons almost precisely the opposite of those suggested by other scholars. The scholars quoted above[42] tend to see in these Modern Javanese versions a renewal of interest in the classical Old Javanese heritage which had been relatively obscured during a period when Muslim literature had been dominant. In Section II of the Commentary above evidence is given for a different interpretation.

The author of *Babad ing Sangkala* of 1738 claimed to have worked with Old Javanese literature (*kakawin*). The language of the text may suggest that the literary culture of the time was more aware of the Old or Middle Javanese

39. KBG 613 has 1,188 pp.; LOr 1787 (the version ascribed to Yasadipura I) is missing one of its 12 vols. but nonetheless has nearly 5,200 pp. See Poerbatjaraka, *Menak*, p. 9; Pigeaud, *Literature*, vol. II, pp. 25–6; A.C. Vreede, *Catalogus van de Javaansche en Madoereesche handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek* (Leiden, 1892), p. 37.

40. Bodleian MS Jav.b.2(R); see Ricklefs and Voorhoeve, *Manuscripts*, p. 43. At the time of Poerbatjaraka's study this MS had not yet been catalogued.

41. I am ignoring the question of whether Yasadipura I actually wrote the version ascribed to him. Despite his descendants' claim that he was a prominent courtier and a great writer held in the highest esteem by the Surakarta court (see Soebardi, *Cabolèk*, pp. 19–20), there is no clear evidence to confirm his authorship of the many texts ascribed to him. Most, indeed, exist only in manuscripts which were written after his death in 1803.

42. P. 213.

language than was later the case. And in 1716 a senior prince of Kartasura produced a copy of an Old Javanese *kakawin*, and this manuscript has fortunately survived.[43] From the later period when the bulk of the extant literature in Javanese was written, after the 1770s, it is virtually inconceivable that a prince or any but perhaps a very few Javanese literati could have done this. Poerbatjaraka, who knew both the Old and Modern Javanese versions of these classics, said of the most renowned of later authors that 'Yasadipura [I] also read the Old Javanese writings then present in Solo such as the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Bhārata-yuddha*. . . . At the most he only half-understood them. . . .'[44] Although no conclusions can be definite given the small number of pre-1770 manuscripts which survive, there is evidence here for believing that in the Kartasura period a knowledge of Old Javanese may still have been alive in court circles; by the later eighteenth century this was probably no longer so.

Two general interpretations of this evidence seem possible. First, it may be that Modern Javanese versions of Old Javanese classics are much older than the later eighteenth century, but that by chance no manuscripts have survived like the older *Menak* manuscripts or the *kakawin* of 1716. These classics may have been known in both Old and Modern Javanese versions into the Kartasura period, but by the later eighteenth century the Old Javanese part of this tradition was dying and only the Modern Javanese lived on. Second, Old Javanese classics may have been known in the Kartasura period but were not turned into Modern Javanese, perhaps because the vernacular was considered to be an inappropriate vehicle for this classical literature. This is rather the situation in contemporary Bali (at least among the older generation), where the Old Javanese classics 'are not dead survivals from the past, but are a living part of the present, still playing an active role in society'.[45] The later eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Modern Javanese versions would, in this case, indeed be new to the literary culture. They would not, however, be the result of a rediscovery of a classical heritage, but a response to the impending loss of that classical heritage. Being unable any longer to understand the Old Javanese classics fully, perhaps Javanese authors produced Modern Javanese versions in an attempt to avoid losing the classics altogether. In either of these cases, what happened in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries would seem to be very poorly depicted by the term renaissance.

Certainly new works of literature were written in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In many cases, it is impossible to be certain that some apparently new work of this period is not based upon older texts of which no manuscripts happen to have survived. But historical literature demonstrates conclusively that new works were written. The many *babad* texts describing events which occurred

43. See pp. 153–4 above.

44. Poerbatjaraka, *Menak*, p. 96. See also Poerbatjaraka's scorn for Yasadipura II's knowledge of Old Javanese, cited on p. 154 above.

45. Robson, 'Kawi classics', p. 309.

in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries cannot have been written before the events occurred. But this merely demonstrates the continuance (but not necessarily a revival) of the vernacular literature. Javanese authors could compose a chronicle to describe contemporary or recent events. The *babad sangkala* genre, however, suggests that there was a wide-spread inability to transmit historical traditions accurately. Now it seems that there may also have been an inability to keep the classical Old Javanese heritage alive.

If the literary world of the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was one in which a classical heritage was being lost and the vernacular literature alone survived, this would not seem to be a time of 'renaissance'. Whether there was anything in the field of vernacular literature which can be described even as a 'revival' is difficult to know, given the problems presented by the rarity of manuscripts from before the 1770s. The apparent inconsistency between the demonstrable decline in the *babad sangkala* genre and the supposed renaissance in all the rest of Javanese literature seems thus to have been largely resolved: there was perhaps no general renaissance. Instead, there may have been an attempted defence of a dying tradition. In this attempt to preserve the Old Javanese heritage one poet stands out, Yasadipura I. If he did indeed write all the great works of literature which are ascribed to him,[46] then he richly deserves his fame in Java. Almost single-handed he saved the classics *Rāmāyaṇa, Bhārata-yuddha, Arjunawiwāha,* and *Arjunawijaya*[47] from the extinction in Java which was the fate of every other major work in the Old Javanese heritage. But it seems that in this, Yasadipura I was not the first of a line of authors whose works add up to a renaissance. He was instead the last great writer of Javanese literature to attempt to preserve the classical heritage. His successors in the nineteenth century concentrated almost exclusively on vernacular Modern Javanese works, many of which were indeed probably newly-created even though it is rarely possible to be certain of this.

It is not particularly helpful to seek parallels for such phenomena in stereotypes of European history, which is what has happened in the use of the term renaissance. If anyone feels an urgent need for such a parallel, however, a more appropriate one might be the nineteenth-century European stereotype of the 'dark ages': a classical heritage obscured and literature plunged into what Rabelais hyperbolically called 'thick Gothic night'. To continue the stereotype, the Javanese case even has its 'barbarian invasions' as will be seen below. This

46. See p. 215 note 41 above.

47. Poerbatjaraka, *Kapustakan Djawi*, pp. 129–34, 137–8, ascribes the Modern Javanese versions of the first three of these to Yasadipura I, but the last to Yasadipura II. See also Darusuprapto, 'Titik-titik hubungan', pp. 61–4. In *ibid.*, pp. 61–2, the problems of the sources of the Modern Javanese *Arjuna Sasrabau* are considered, and it is suggested that the version ascribed to Yasadipura II is taken from the Old Javanese *Arjunawijaya* of Tantular via a *kawi miring* version by Yasadipura I, but that the version ascribed to Sindusastra is derived from the *Sĕrat Kandha*.

parallel has in fact occurred to one scholar, although not with specific reference to the literary world.[48]

The idea that Javanese literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries underwent a major crisis, involving the loss of the classical heritage in Old Javanese and its survival only in vernacular Modern Javanese versions, is consistent with what is known of the political, economic, and social history of that period. The present writer's projected history of the Kartasura period will describe in detail the chaos which followed upon the rebellions of the 1670s and the beginnings of large-scale foreign military intervention, largely under Dutch auspices. Royal authority and legitimacy were in a state of nearly permanent collapse. There was almost constant warfare and devastation, very possibly a decline of population, and substantial economic dislocations. Large parts of the kingdom were lost permanently or for long periods: the north coast to the Dutch East India Company, parts of East Java to the Surapati family and the Balinese, and other parts of the East to Surabaya and/or Madura.

In the later eighteenth century there was a remarkable political revival in the new court of Yogyakarta under its first Sultan. A state was created which was powerful, stable, and enduring. In Surakarta in the same period, instability and uncertainty persisted.[49] In the early nineteenth century Central Java again underwent a major period of crisis and conflict, ending in the conflagration of the Java War from 1825 to 1830.[50] Thereafter Java entered the 'Gothic night' of the *Pax Neerlandica* and the *cultuurstelsel*, as the full impact of Dutch colonial exploitation and the political exhaustion of the Javanese elite were felt.

The impact of all these events upon literary circles is difficult to define. But certainly in the Kartasura period it is reasonable to presume that the loss of life among knowledgeable men and, perhaps more importantly, interruptions in the education and apprenticeship of younger generations of literati and the loss of libraries may have been substantial. In 1677, 1705, and twice in 1742 the court was conquered. In 1705 the whole collection of royal regalia disappeared and when Pakubuwana I and the Dutch reached the court the royal apartments had been ransacked and fires were burning in the surrounding villages.[51] In 1812 the court of Yogyakarta was conquered and the library was sacked (at which point Mackenzie acquired the Kartasura materials studied here). It is clear from the survival of these Kartasura materials, however, that at least a few specimens of older literature had survived in court circles. The explanation of literary decline

48. Prof. D.H. Burger has sought some parallels between Johan Huizinga's idea of late medieval Europe and Java in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The historical evidence used by Burger is, however, inadequate for the kinds of subtle analysis which he attempts. See D.H. Burger, *Sociologisch-economische geschiedenis van Indonesia* (2 vols.; Wageningen, etc., 1975), vol. I, pp. 38 et seqq.

49. See Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*.

50. See Carey, 'Pangeran Dipanagara'.

51. H. de Wilde *et al.*, Kartasura, to Batavia, 12 Sept. 1705, in dJ VIII, pp. 257–8.

cannot therefore lie entirely in the loss of libraries. Disruptions in the education and apprenticeship of younger literati must also have been important. Whether the chaos of the Kartasura period and of the early nineteenth century also induced a loss of faith, a loss of confidence, is difficult to answer conclusively from any documents known to this writer. But it seems probable.

Did some sort of revival take place in the later eighteenth century? The political revival experienced by Yogyakarta, but by Surakarta only to a very limited degree, is reasonably clear. Logic would suggest that the stability and prosperity of later-eighteenth-century Yogyakarta might have made possible a literary revival. No great court poets of Yogyakarta stand out, however, although there were certainly authors in Yogyakarta whose works merit more attention than they have received from scholars of literature. The most notable of these is the crown prince who later became Sultan Hamĕngkubuwana II.[52] This, however, demonstrates only that the vernacular literature was carried on in this period, a fact which is not in dispute.

Political, economic, legal, intellectual, and social crises typify Javanese history throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and were not absent even during the period of Yogyakarta's greatness during the reign of Hamĕngkubuwana I (1749–92). To see a profound crisis in the realm of literature in the same period seems more consistent than does the idea that there was some kind of revival. Here has been seen evidence which is circumstantial, but which nonetheless carries some conviction, to suggest that in the course of the eighteenth century a classical Old Javanese heritage was being lost. If this was so, a cultural continuity stretching back at least eight centuries was thereby broken.

The ultimate apparent causes of this cultural loss will become more clear in this writer's projected history of Kartasura. It is not simply the fact that there was much warfare, for war would seem to have been the normal state of Javanese life long before the eighteenth century. It was more because the chaos of the Kartasura years had a new, deeply-disturbing and chronic character and so directly disturbed the life and activities of the central court itself.

It is easy to blame the intervention of the Dutch East India Company from the 1670s onwards for this. In part this is a fair view. The Europeans sought stability in Java but succeeded only in making instability chronic. They distorted economic relationships through their trade on the north coast and through forced agricultural deliveries and cash payments (neither of which, however, did they ever fully receive). They brought large numbers of foreign invaders into

52. Hamĕngkubuwana II apparently wrote several works, probably all before his accession in 1792. Those known to me are *Babad Mangkubumi* (see M.C. Ricklefs, 'On the authorship of Leiden Cod. Or. 2191, Babad Mangkubumi', *BKI*, vol. 127, pt. 2 [1971], pp. 267–73); Yogyakarta *pusaka* MS *Sĕrat Surya Raja* (see Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, p. 196); and BL Add. MS 12288, *Babad Sultanan* (see Ricklefs and Voorhoeve, *Manuscripts*, p. 46). IOL Jav. 26, *Asmara Supi*, was written under his patronage (see Ricklefs and Voorhoeve, *Manuscripts*, p. 61).

Ki Hadjar Dewantara wrote of the literary activity of the subsidiary Yogyakarta princely house of Pakualam; see his *Beoefening van letteren en kunst in het Pakoe-Alamsche geslacht* (Djokja, 1931).

Java: Europeans themselves, but in far larger numbers Madurese, Buginese, Makasarese, Ambonese, Chinese, and so on. They directly provoked the conflict between Pakubuwana I and Amangkurat III in the early eighteenth century and the Chinese War of the 1740s. They frustrated all attempts to restore legitimate rulers to the throne after 1705. The Dutch intervention brought a new kind of chronic instability and illegitimacy to Java, and is a large part of the causation of the chaotic history of the eighteenth century.

But there were also other major factors which contributed to the troubles. There was a large-scale assault upon the very existence of a Central Javanese dynasty in the Kartasura period and to some extent, ironically, the survival of the dynasty was possible only through European military assistance. The Madurese had designs for an empire in East Java and at times seem to have hoped for Central Java as well. The Balinese took much of East Java, as did the family of Surapati. The Surabaya family withdrew its allegiance to the court. Freebooting Makasarese and Buginese worked havoc on a wide scale. Within the ethnically Javanese community generally, and specifically within the royal family and court circles, there was profound disunity. There were few if any heroes, little tranquility, and no certainty in the court of Kartasura.

All of this makes more readily understandable the deep cultural crisis which is suggested by the literary evidence considered here.[53] It should be remembered how limited this evidence necessarily is, given the rarity of older Javanese manuscripts. But the idea that there was a cultural crisis involving the loss of a classical literary heritage has at least some documentary foundation. And this idea is consistent with, and clearly supported by, the conclusions which arise from studying the evolution of the *babad sangkala* genre from Kartasura times to the early twentieth century. The authors of later *babad sangkala* texts were unable to deal with the demanding conventions of the genre as seen in the Kartasura text studied here. They could not transmit the tradition accurately, could not deal as competently with chronograms, and abandoned writing such difficult texts in verse. The genre was in decline. And it seems that this decline was only part of a much larger crisis which affected other parts of the literary heritage and, indeed, much of Javanese life.

The crisis which seems to have occurred in Javanese literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries may have had important consequences in the present. The ancient high culture of Java had exerted an influence beyond its own shores, and in the twentieth century the language and literature of the numerically dominant Javanese might have exerted an overwhelming influence on the emerging Indonesian nation. Javanese literature, however, seems to have entered a long parochial twilight. The apparently new literature of the later nineteenth century is still greatly in need of study. But it may be that it reflects a degree of introspective Javaneseness which is greater than that of the older works inspired both by Hindu-Buddhist and Muslim prototypes, and of the great pre-nineteenth-

53. It also makes the political restoration in Yogyakarta under Hamĕngkubuwana I even more remarkable than I had realized when describing that period in *Mangkubumi*.

century histories. The final stage in the evolution of Javanese literature is represented by the contemporary periodical publications and books on mysticism which represent the bulk of writing in Javanese.

The vitality which had inspired the older literature seems gradually to have been lost, and Javanese hardly produced a truly modern literature. A few modern novels were attempted, but found little success. In the present century, the Dutch colonial government's publishing house 'Volkslectuur' (Balai Pustaka) could hardly find a Javanese novel to publish, and those it did find were unimpressive by the standards of Indonesian novels.[54] Javanese poetry which can be called 'modern' is small in quantity and of poor quality. As a result, the twentieth-century national and social issues which might have been expressed in Javanese were instead dealt with in novels and poems written in Indonesian. In 1908 Budi Utomo, the most specifically Javanese of the early twentieth-century proto-nationalist movements, significantly chose to use Indonesian (then still called Malay) rather than Javanese as the common language for its meetings and publications.[55] An attempt to modernize the Javanese language by abolishing its social levels (the Jawadipa movement) arose at about the same time but achieved no success.[56] Some of the Javanese elite themselves in the early years of this century felt that in some way their literary culture was in decline, although this writer is not aware of any consensus among them as to either the causes or solution of the problem.[57] Javanese appears to have lost whatever potential it might have had for becoming the language of modern literature, administration, law, and so on. Consequently the Indonesian language was to a large extent relieved of competition from Javanese, whose speakers outnumber those of all other Indonesian languages put together. Not Javanese but Indonesian became the national language, a rare example of a new nation whose official national language is not that of the dominant ethnic group. Indonesian is naturally more suited to such a purpose, being devoid of the difficulties (especially the social levels) of Javanese which make that language difficult for speakers of other

54. See C. Hooykaas, 'Javaansche uitgaven van Volkslectuur (Balé Poestaka)', *Djåwå*, vol. 12, nos. 2/3 (1932), pp. 111–14. In *ibid.*, p. 114, Hooykaas says that many Javanese found the few Javanese novels so uninteresting that they were reading the Indonesian novels instead; Balai Pustaka had decided to translate some of these Indonesian novels into Javanese to see whether Javanese novel-writing could be encouraged and improved. See also Pigeaud, *Literature*, vol. I, pp. 262–3; A. Teeuw, *Modern Indonesian literature* (The Hague, 1967), pp. 75–6.

55. Nagazumi Akira, *The dawn of Indonesian nationalism: The early years of the Budi Utomo, 1908–1918* (Tokyo, 1972), pp. 72, 164.

56. See Uhlenbeck, *Survey*, p. 70; Nagazumi, *Dawn*, p. 193 n. 26. This movement has not yet been given serious study; much discussion of it is to be found in contemporaneous periodicals and newspapers.

57. See Uhlenbeck, *Survey*, p. 70; Nagazumi, *Dawn*, pp. 12–13 (it should be noted that Nagazumi's dating of Ronggawarsita's death is wrong).

languages to master, and being substantially neutral in ethnic terms.[58] The benefits of the apparent crisis of Javanese literature beginning in the eighteenth century to the sense of unity in contemporary Indonesia may thus be considerable.

58. Indonesian developed from Malay, which has a long history as a *lingua franca* throughout the Malay-Indonesian area. See C.O. Blagden, 'Two Malay letters from Ternate in the Moluccas, written in 1521 and 1522', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. 6 (1930–2), pp. 87–101; M.C. Ricklefs, 'Bantĕn and the Dutch in 1619: Six early "*Pasar* Malay" letters', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 39, pt. 1 (1976), pp. 128–36; A. Teeuw, 'The history of the Malay language: A preliminary survey', *BKI*, vol. 115, pt. 2 (1959), pp. 138–56; *idem*, *Modern Indonesian literature*, pp. 4–7.

APPENDIX I

The Javanese Dating System

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Introduction

The Javanese system of dating is most easily conceived of as a set of rolling cycles of days, weeks, *wukus*, dates, months, and years in which a particular combination of all elements cannot for all practical purposes ever recur.[1] Parts

1. If these cycles were absolutely regular, a combination of five-day, six-day, and seven-day weeks, *wuku*, date, month, and *windu* should recur once every sixteen lunar years. The systems are not, however, regular, and this recurrence therefore occurs only within each of the arbitrarily-fixed calendars ('Thursday Calendar', 'Wednesday Calendar', 'Tuesday Calendar', etc.). Even after sixteen lunar years, however, a particular combination of the above elements may not fall in the same *mangsa*. The length of the interval between repetitions of the same conjunction of elements (pretending for the moment that the system is regular) is of course a direct function of the complexity of the system. This contrasts with the simplicity of the Western (Gregorian) calendar in which there are only three elements (day, date, month) capable of recurring in combination. Because of the influence of leap-years the recurrence here is not regular, but nonetheless in the Western calendar a particular date and month fall on a particular day of the week at intervals of between five and twelve solar years.

of this calendrical system have been explained in Indonesian,[2] Dutch,[3] and French,[4] but it has never been set out in full detail in English.[5] There are also, of course, many publications in Javanese which are used as practical divination manuals. It may be of value to foreign students of Javanese culture and history, and of particular relevance to the present study, for this system to be set out in detail here.

The basic feature of this system, which accounts largely for its complexity, is the combination of three ways of calculating time. There are purely arithmetical cycles, cycles arising from lunar observation, and cycles arising from solar observation, as well as combinations of these arithmetical and natural series. The whole system is a combination not only of everything under the sun, but of everything under the moon as well.

A: Weeks

In theory the Javanese have weeks of from one to ten days. In practice, however, only the five-, six-, and seven-day weeks are used in dating, whether in Old or Modern Javanese contexts.[6] The nine-day week (*padangon*) is, however, important in divination. All Javanese days are considered to begin at sunset and to run to the following sunset, rather than running from midnight to midnight as in the Western system.

A1: Five-day week

This week is called *pasaran* (from *pasar*, market) indicating its primary function of regulating cycles of market-days. None of these days is clearly regarded as the first day of the five-day week. Contemporary Javanese usually regard Lĕgi or Kliwon as the first, but Paing may once have had this status because it is the first of the days in the 210-day cycle (discussed below). The days of the week have the following names:

1. Paing
2. Pon
3. Wage (Cĕmĕngan)
4. Kliwon (Kasih)
5. Lĕgi (Manis)

2. See especially Balai Poestaka, *Djidwal memindahkan tahoen Djawa dan 'Arab ketahoen Masehi* (Batavia-Centrum, 1932); S. Resowidjojo, *Alamanak gampang, 1900–2000* (Djakarta, 1959).

3. See especially [Rouffaer], 'Tijdrekening'. Much information is also to be found in H.A. van Hien, *De Javaansche geestenwereld en de betrekking die tusschen de geesten en de zinnelijke wereld bestaat* (6th revised ed.; 3 vols.; Batavia, [1933–5]), vol. I.

4. Louis-Charles Damais, 'Études d'épigraphie indonésienne, I: Méthode de réduction des dates javanaises en dates européennes', *BEFEO*, vol. 45, no. 1 (1951), pp. 1–64.

5. There is a valuable general discussion of the system, however, in Pigeaud, *Literature*, vol. I, pp. 31–3.

6. See Damais, 'Méthode', p. 4 n. 5.

A2: Six-day week

This week is called *paringkĕlan* (from *ringkĕl*, unfavourable, unfortunate) which suggests an origin in divination. Its usage is closely connected with determining auspicious or inauspicious days for agricultural work. The days of this week have the following names, although there may be more variant names than are listed here:[7]

1. Tungle (Godhong)
2. Ariyang (Jalma, Uwong, Wong)
3. Wurukung (Sato)
4. Paningron (Iwak)
5. Uwas (Manuk)
6. Mawulu (Wiji)

For a further system of *ringkĕls*, see section C below.

A3: Seven-day week

The seven-day week is called *minggu*, which is apparently derived from the Portuguese *Domingo* (Sunday). Although the week as a whole for some curious reason has acquired this Portuguese name, the days have two sets of names one of which is Arabic and the other Sanskrit. They are listed here together with their Western equivalents:

Javano-Arabic name	*Javano-Sanskrit name*	*Western name*
1. Akad (Ngahad, etc.)	Rĕdite (Dite)	Sunday
2. Sĕnen (Isnen, etc.)	Soma	Monday
3. Sĕlasa	Anggara	Tuesday
4. Rĕbo	Buda	Wednesday
5. Kĕmis	Rĕspati	Thursday
6. Jumuwah (Jumungah, etc.)	Sukra	Friday
7. Sĕtu (Sabtu)	Tumpak	Saturday

7. The first names given are the most common. The alternatives are given as definitions (*tĕgĕse*) of the first in Handanamangkara, *Primbon Djawa sabda guru* (12th ed.; Sala, 1972), p. 23; see also W.J.S. Poerwadarminta, *Baoesastra Djawa* (Groningen and Batavia, 1939), p. 530. The first five of the alternatives are given, although in a different order, as the principal names of the *ringkĕls* in Gericke and Roorda, *Handwoordenboek* (1901 ed.), vol. I, p. 381. Gericke and Roorda say 'there are five (according to others seven) *ringkĕls*', which illustrates the confusion surrounding the Javanese chronological system. It seems that the five names given by Gericke and Roorda are really meant to apply (or also apply) to five of the six *ringkĕl ing wuku* (see p. 227 below), but that they are out of order in Gericke and Roorda. They probably omitted the one remaining *ringkĕl ing wuku* because they were confused by the fact that its name is Wuku.

B: Thirty-five day cycle

The five- and seven-day weeks are the most commonly used for dating. Even contemporary Javanese often remember their birthdays as combinations of these two (e.g. Akad-Lĕgi) and only secondarily as dates. The two cycles are not divisible by one another, so for a period of thirty-five days (5 x 7) each combination can occur only once. After thirty-five days the entire cycle is then repeated. This gives a repeating series of combinations of five- and seven-day week days, each series being thirty-five days long. This constitutes, in effect, a primary thirty-five day month (called *mangsa wuku*) which repeats continuously, out of phase with all other elements of the chronological system except the *pawukon* (discussed below).

C: 210-day cycle and *wukus*.

A combination of the five-, six-, and seven-day week days (e.g. Monday-Paing-Tungle, in the order in which such dates are commonly given) is the most complicated form of day-naming found in Javanese texts. Since each of these weeks is indivisible by the others, again one has a series of unique combinations, now of three elements and lasting for 210 days (5 x 6 x 7). This 210-day cycle is called *pawukon* (from *wuku*, which is discussed in the following paragraph). *Wukus* appear in Old Javanese inscriptions from the early tenth century AD. This cycle still constitutes an indigenous year in Bali, but in Java it has not had the status of a year at least since the appearance of the first dated Old Javanese inscriptions, which use the Indian Śaka year. The main importance of this 210-day cycle in the Javanese dating system arises from the fact that it is subdivided into thirty seven-day weeks, each of which has a separate name, and which constitute the *wukus*.

A *wuku* consists of one seven-day week beginning with Sunday (Ahad, Rĕdite) and ending with Saturday (Sĕtu, Tumpak). Thirty such *wukus* constitute one 210-day cycle, each *wuku* having a separate name. Javanese tradition says that these names are derived from the names of Watugunung (an ancient king in Javanese myth), his two wives, and his twenty-seven sons. The names of the *wukus* are as follows:

1. Sinta
2. Landĕp
3. Wukir
4. Kurantil
5. Tolu
6. Gumbrĕg
7. Wariga alit
8. Wariga agung
9. Julungwangi
10. Sungsang
11. Galungan
12. Kuningan
13. Langkir
14. Mandhasiya
15. Julungpujut
16. Pahang
17. Kuruwĕlut
18. Mĕrakeh
19. Tambir
20. Mĕdhangkungan
21. Maktal
22. Wuye
23. Mĕnahil
24. Prangbakat
25. Bala
26. Wugu
27. Wayang
28. Kulawu
29. Dhukut
30. Watugunung

Wuku Singa begins upon Sunday-Paing-Tungle in the seven-, five-, and six-day weeks. Thereafter the combination of days upon which each of the *wukus* begins

is of course regular. Thus *wuku* Landĕp always begins on Sunday-Wage-Ariyang, *wuku* Wukir on Sunday-Lĕgi-Wurukung, and so on.

Wukus are often given as an element in dates. They are, indeed, of great importance in the Javanese chronological system, for each of the *wukus* is governed by a different god or goddess whose influence determines the character of that *wuku* for divinatory purposes. *Wuku* Sinta is governed by Yamadipati, Landĕp by Mahadewa, Gumbrĕg by Cakra, Kuningan by Indra, Kuruwĕlut by Wisnu, and so on.[8] A knowledge of the five-, six-, and seven-day week days (each with its own supernatural aspects) and the *wuku* is the basic requirement for the simplest stage in divining the supernatural influences operating upon a particular day.

These thirty *wukus* are again subdivided into five groups of six *wukus* each (*wukus* 1–6, 7–12, 13–18, 19–24, and 25–30); this system is called *ringkĕl ing wuku*. Within each of these groups there are six *ringkĕls* (just as there are six days in the *paringkĕlan* week; see A2 above), but now each *ringkĕl* is not a day but a week of seven days. Five of the six *ringkĕl ing wuku* have the same names as the days of the six-day week, but here Jalma is the first whereas in the six-day week Tungle (Godhong) is the first. One of the *ringkĕl ing wuku* has a different name, and just to compound confusion its name is Wuku. Thus, the *ringkĕl* Wuku means the fifth *ringkĕl ing wuku*, which is the same as *wukus* Tolu, Galungan, Kuruwĕlut, Mĕnahil, or Dhukut (the fifth, eleventh, seventeenth, twenty-third, and twenty-ninth *wukus*). The names of the *ringkĕl ing wuku* are as follows:[9]

1. Jalma (*wukus* 1, 7, 13, 19, 25)
2. Sato (*wukus* 2, 8, 14, 20, 26)
3. Iwak (*wukus* 3, 9, 15, 21, 27)
4. Manuk (*wukus* 4, 10, 16, 22, 28)
5. Wuku (*wukus* 5, 11, 17, 23, 29)
6. Godhong (*wukus* 6, 12, 18, 24, 30)

Within each 210-day cycle, therefore, the *wukus* give thirty sets of seven days beginning on the same day of the seven-day week (Sunday), the *ringkĕl ing wuku*

8. A full list of the gods and goddesses of the *wukus* and their significance is given in Resowidjojo, *Almanak gampang*, pp. 123–36, and in other published and MS texts.

9. This system of the *ringkĕl ing wuku* is one of the more elusive elements in the Javanese chronological system. To judge from Handanamangkara, *Primbon*, p. 24, the system still survives in Java but in a simplified or perhaps altered form. The information here is taken from IOL Jav. 8, p. 273, where the system is fully explained with a table showing its supernatural implications for each day. Because I do not understand the symbols used in the table, however, I cannot elaborate further. The precise date of IOL Jav. 8's information is not known; because it is a Mackenzie MS it is prior to AD 1813, and in the same volume is a copy of *Sandi Sutra* dated AJ 1692 (AD 1766). The MS seems to have come from Yogyakarta (see Ricklefs and Voorhoeve, *Manuscripts*, pp. 58–9).

The same system was known to van der Tuuk, and presumably was in use in Bali in the nineteenth century. There, however, the names and the order differ, being given by van der Tuuk as Ong (Wong), Sato, Mina, Manuk, Taru, and Buku. See H.N. van der Tuuk, *Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek* (4 vols.; Batavia, 1897–1912), vol. I, p. 478 (s.v.

gives five sets of six weeks (of seven days each) beginning on the same days of the six- and seven-day weeks (Sunday-Tungle), and the *mangsa wuku* (see B above) gives six sets of thirty-five days beginning on the same days of the five- and seven-day weeks (Sunday-Paing). To the best of this writer's knowledge, there is not a system giving seven sets beginning on the same combination of the five- and six-day weeks (notionally Paing-Tungle) in the 210-day cycle.

To reconstruct the *wuku* or any other element in the 210-day cycle in order to convert or check a date given in a Javanese text, it is necessary to know when each 210-day cycle began (Sunday-Paing-Tungle). To the best of this writer's knowledge the means of calculating this point and tables of such points have not been published. The reader will consequently find this information in section H at the end of this Appendix.

D: Months

The thirty-five day cycle discussed above in Section B constitutes a kind of month. Javanese dates, however, formally refer only to two other months, one being lunar and the other quasi-solar.

D1: Lunar months

Being Muslims, the Javanese naturally adopted the Arabic system of twelve lunar months, without which Muslim holy days cannot be determined. The Arabic names are used in Javanized versions, but some Javanese names are also used. The lengths of the months vary according to the position of the year in the eight-year *windu* cycle (discussed below). Since AJ 1675/AD 1749 the system has been complicated by giving the fifth year (Dal) of the *windu* cycle a unique structure of months.[10] Since that time, Dal has been counted as a normal year of 354 days but with an abnormal number of days in several months. Before AJ 1675/AD 1749, Dal seems to have been regarded as a conventional leap-year.[11] There are five normal years (354 days) and three leap-years (355 days) in each *windu* cycle of eight years. In normal years, as in normal Arabic years, each

ingkĕl). The Balinese system has continued in use into the present century. Miguel Covarrubias, *Island of Bali* (Kuala Lumpur, 1972; the original edition was published in 1937), p. 283, gives an example of the Balinese chronological system by noting the various elements occurring on the first day of the 210-day cycle which began in Nov. 1934. Among other elements, he notes *wuku* Sinta, *ingkĕl* Wong, Rĕdite (Sunday), Paing, Tungle. This reference to an *ingkĕl* (i.e. a *ringkĕl*) Wong (synonymous with Jalma) which is different from the *paringkĕlan* Tungle clearly means the *ringkĕl ing wuku*.

10. This was apparently done for religious reasons. Javanese believe that the Prophet was born on Monday-Pon, 12 Mulud (Rabingulawal) in a year Dal. The revision of the calendar made it possible for 12 Mulud in every Dal-year to fall upon Monday-Pon, and the observation of this anniversary (the Garĕbĕg Mulud Dal) is celebrated with special festivities. See Soedjono Tirtokoesomo, *De garebegs in het Sultanaat Jogjakarta* (Jogjakarta, 1931), pp. 109–10.

11. See above, p. 148. At least as late as 1927, the Sundanese in fact still treated Dal as a conventional leap-year; see [Rouffaer], 'Tijdrekening', p. 408.

uneven-numbered month has thirty days and each even-numbered month twenty-nine. The months in leap-years are the same, except that the twelfth month has thirty days rather than twenty-nine. The names and lengths of the months are as follows:

Month	*in normal years*	*in leap-years*	*in a Dal-year after AJ 1675*
1. Sura (Muharam)	30 days	30 days	30 days
2. Sapar	29	29	30
3. Mulud (Rabingulawal)	30	30	29
4. Bakda Mulud (Rabingulakir)	29	29	29
5. Jumadilawal	30	30	29
6. Jumadilakir	29	29	29
7. Rĕjĕb	30	30	30
8. Ruwah (Arwah, Saban)	29	29	29
9. Pasa (Puasa, Siyam, Ramĕlan)	30	30	30
10. Sawal	29	29	29
11. Dulkangidah (Sĕla, Apit)	30	30	30
12. Bĕsar (Dulkijah)	29	30	30

D2: Quasi-solar months

Since the twelve lunar months produce a year of 354 or 355 days, the years do not correspond with seasonal changes which follow a solar cycle. Thus, whereas the year AJ 1598 began at about the start of the dry monsoon in Central Java (Mar. 1675), less than two decades later AJ 1615 began at about the start of the wet monsoon (Sept. 1691). The lunar months are suitable for regulating Muslim religious life, but they are not suitable for regulating the seasonal activities of an agricultural nation.

The Javanese maintained, probably for agricultural purposes, a system of twelve quasi-solar months in addition to the lunar months. These are called *mongsa* or *mangsa* (season, time). The year which these twelve months comprise is not, however, given any regard or used in dating. *Mangsas* have been used since Old Javanese times, and derived from Indian months which were in fact lunar rather than solar. In Modern Javanese usage the system seems not to have been very regular, or at least is not well understood. The period covered by each *mangsa* before the mid-nineteenth century AD is only known approximately and may have varied slightly from year to year, perhaps as a result of variations in monsoon timings. *Mangsas* seem to have varied in length from twenty-three to forty-three days, with the beginning of each 'year' of *mangsas* perhaps being determined by celestial observation.[12]

12. See Damais, 'Méthode', pp. 11–13. Damais treats these as lunar months, because of the clear connection between the Old Javanese usage and Indian lunar months. My own view is that there is evidence in Modern Javanese texts that these were used as quasi-solar months long before the revision of the system in AD 1855. But as with so many other things in Javanese history it would be difficult to remove all doubt in this matter. Other writers on the *mangsas* simply treat the system as solar, without apparently being aware that there is a degree of uncertainty here.

Normally these *mangsas* are given names which, except for the last two, are merely the numbers of the months (e.g. *katiga* means 'the third'), but the last two retain Javanized versions of their Sanskrit names, and occasionally these Javano-Sanskrit names appear to have been used for other months as well.[13]

In AD 1855, A.B. Cohen Stuart and Pakubuwana VII of Surakarta revised the *mangsas*, bringing more order and regularity to them and making them into a more precisely solar system beginning with the summar solstice.[14] In doing this, they substantially revised the older timings of the *mangsas*. Both the older system (still in use in Bali) and the newer system are given here:

mangsa	*approximate older system*	*post-AD 1855 system*
1. Kasa	July–Aug.	22/3 June–2 Aug.
2. Karo	Aug.–Sept.	2/3 Aug.–25 Aug.
3. Katiga	Sept.–Oct.	25/6 Aug.–18 Sept.
4. Kapat	Oct.–Nov.	18/19 Sept.–13 Oct.
5. Kalima	Nov.–Dec.	13/14 Oct.–9 Nov.
6. Kaněm	Dec.–Jan.	9/10 Nov.–22 Dec.
7. Kapitu	Jan.–Feb.	22/3 Dec.–3 Feb.
8. Kawolu	Feb.–Mar.	3/4 Feb.–1 Mar.
9. Kasanga	Mar.–Apr.	1/2 Mar.–26 Mar.
10. Kasĕpuluh	Apr.–May	26/7 Mar.–19 Apr.
11. Dhĕsta	May–June	19/20 Apr.–12 May
12. Sadha	June–July	12/13 May–22 June

These twelve *mangsas* are also grouped into two larger seasons supposedly corresponding to the monsoons. Prior to the mid-nineteenth century AD, six of the *mangsas* were together called *mangsa katiga* (the dry season) and the six others *mangsa rĕndhĕng* (the wet season).[15] After that time this system continued in use in addition to another grouping of the first three *mangsas* into

13. Dhĕsta derives from Sanskrit Jyaiṣṭha (Old Javanese Jyeṣṭa) and Sadha from Sanskrit Āṣāḍha (Old Javanese Kasaḍa or Saḍa). One example of the use of the name Cetra (Sanskrit Caitra) for *mangsa* Kasanga is to be found in the dating of *Babad Mangkubumi*, written in AD 1773; see Ricklefs, 'Authorship', pp. 266–7.

The Sanskrit and/or Old Javanese names of the remaining months are to be found in several sources; see Damais, 'Méthode', p. 11; Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century*, vol. 5, p. 24; Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan*, p. 193.

14. See [Rouffaer], 'Tijdrekening', p. 405.

15. According to the first edition of Gericke and Roorda's dictionary, *mongsa katiga* consisted of *mangsas* 12 and 1 through 5 (June–Dec.?); *mongsa rĕndhĕng* consisted of *mangsas* 6 through 11 (Dec.–June?). Since neither of these periods actually corresponds very closely to the Javanese monsoon pattern (the monsoons change around March and September) I remain somewhat uncertain as to whether yet another system of *mangsas* additional to the two noted in the table above was then in use. See J.F.C. Gericke and T. Roorda, *Javaansch-Nederduitsch woordenboek* (Amsterdam, 1847), p. 627.

mangsa katiga (the dry season) and the fifth, sixth, and seventh into *mangsa rĕndhĕng* (the wet season).[16] The uncertainties surrounding the *mangsa* system can be seen in the use of the term *mangsa katiga*, which may mean one of the twelve *mangsas*, a group of six *mangsas*, or a group of three *mangsas*, in each case the precise period covered being uncertain.

E: Years

In Old Javanese times the Indian luni-solar year was used, but after the coming of Islam and the adoption of Muslim lunar months this year was abandoned for a purely lunar year. The result is, hardly surprisingly, an era (the *Anno Javanico*) unique to Java.

E1: Śaka era

The Indian dating system was, properly speaking, neither purely solar nor purely lunar, but rather a combination of the two best described as 'luni-solar', The Indian year adopted in Java was in principle primarily solar, but its duration was variable between about 354 and 384 days.[17] A purely solar year is, of course, 365/6 days long. This variation arose from the discrepancy between the durations of twelve lunar months (about 354 days) and of a solar year (about 365 days). In order to keep this luni-solar system from getting completely out of joint, every two or three years an intercalary thirteenth month was added to create a leap-year about twenty-nine days longer than normal years.[18]

Thus, the period covered by any year in the Old Javanese system cannot be determined exactly without details additional to the number of the year alone. Damais has, however, shown that the Old Javanese year can be presumed to have begun in the lunar month Caitra, or about the month of March in the Western (Julian) calendar.[19] In the *Babad ing Sangkala* translation above, the Western equivalents of all such years have been given as March to February, which is a reasonable approximation but not an exact statement of the period covered.

The Indian era adopted in Old Java was the Śaka era, which varies from the Western *Anno Domini* by seventy-eight years. The AD equivalent for any Ś year is therefore obtained by adding 78 to the Ś year for the months of March (approximately) through December, and 79 for the months January and February (approximately). For instance Ś 1400 was approximately equivalent to the period from March AD 1478 to February AD 1479.

16. Gericke and Roorda, *Handwoordenboek* (1901 ed.), vol. II, p. 528.

17. See Damais, 'Méthode', p. 10.

18. On the Indian system, see A.L. Basham, *The wonder that was India: A survey of the culture of the Indian sub-continent before the coming of the Muslims* (New York, 1959), pp. 492–3.

19. Damais, 'Méthode', p. 9.

E2: *Anno Javanico*

Early in the seventeenth century AD (long after Islam had become a major force in Java) the court of Sultan Agung officially abandoned the luni-solar Śaka year and adopted the (Muslim) lunar year of 354/5 days. This was made up of the twelve Muslim lunar months discussed in Section D1 above. It is a comment upon the complexities of the Javanese calendar that the Indian lunar months which had formerly coexisted with a luni-solar year were not now maintained within a truly lunar year. Rather they became (had perhaps already become) quasi-solar months (the *mangsas*) which now coexisted with a purely lunar year.

The Muslim era (*Anno Hijrae*) is counted from the Hijrah (the flight) of the Prophet from Mecca to Medinah in Sept. 622. The lunar year in which this fell (beginning on 16 July 622) was later designated as the first year of the Muslim era.[20] Because the lunar year is some ten days shorter than the solar year, as the centuries have passed the difference between *Anno Hijrae* and *Anno Domini* has gradually decreased from the initial 622 years. In the early seventeenth century AD the difference was 590 years (AH 1043 began in July 1633); it is now 580 years.

Javanese historical tradition says that Sultan Agung promulgated the new Javanese-Muslim lunar year in Ś 1555 (beginning in Mar. 1633).[21] This therefore became the first year of the new Javanese system. The Javanese did not, however, adopt the Muslim enumeration of years from the Hijrah. Rather, they continued the numerical series of the Śaka years, but now as a purely lunar rather than a luni-solar series. This unique enumeration became what is known as the *Anno Javanico*.

The Muslim year AH 1043 began on 8 July 1633, and the new Javanese-Muslim year consequently began on the same day. This apparently meant that the year Ś-AJ 1555 was something like 470 days long, beginning as a Śaka year in Mar. 1633, changing to a Javanese-Muslim year in July, and ending on 26 June 1634.

It has been suggested, and generally accepted, that the new lunar calendar in fact began eight years (i.e. one *windu*, discussed below) before AJ 1555/AD 1633. Thus, the standard conversion tables begin with AJ 1547/AD 1625. The most authoritative statement on this subject, by G.P. Rouffaer, says merely 'in this first eight-year *windu* the Javanese-Muslim calendar appears already to have existed'.[22] The evidence for this assumption is unknown to this writer. It is to be presumed that many Muslim Javanese had used the Muslim *Anno Hijrae* and the Muslim lunar months from the beginnings of Islam in Java, and

20. See Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs from the earliest times to the present* (9th ed.; London, 1968), p. 116. .

21. See de Graaf, 'Sultan Agung', p. 204.

22. 'Tijdrekening', p. 409.

that the *Anno Hijrae* and Śaka systems had coexisted for centuries, with the latter being official for Mataram court purposes. But there is, so far as is known to this writer, no reason to presume that the tradition placing the introduction of this unique Javanese-Muslim system in AJ 1555/AD 1633 is wrong.

Babad ing Sangkala indeed gives evidence that AJ 1555/AD 1633 is correct as the beginning of the *Anno Javanico* system. Two events in the period AD 1625–33 would definitely be wrong if *Anno Javanico* had already begun in AJ 1547/AD 1625. It is noteworthy that in such a case these would be the only definitely incorrect dates in the whole of Sultan Agung's reign as it appears in this text. The Dutch mission led by Franssen and Ventura was at the court from 4 to 10 June 1630.[23] The text above (Canto I:34) gives the year 1552 for this. If this is Ś 1552 (Mar. 1630–Feb. 1631) the date is correct; if this is AJ 1552 (10 Aug. 1630–29 July 1631) it is wrong. Similarly, the Portuguese mission of Jorge d'Acunha seems to have sailed from Malacca sometime early in AD 1631, and returned to Japara from the court by the beginning of June 1631.[24] In Canto I:35 this mission is dated 1553. If this is Ś 1553 (Mar. 1631–Feb. 1632) the date is correct; if it is AJ 1553 (30 July 1631–17 July 1632) it is wrong.

The other dates in this section of *Babad ing Sangkala* (Canto I:31–6) could be correct either as Śaka or *Anno Javanico*, but some would be only marginally correct as AJ. For instance, the sieges of Batavia are set in 1550 and 1551 in Canto I:32–3. The first siege began in Aug. 1628 and lasted until Dec. 1628. The Mataram armies began their second march to Batavia at the end of May 1629, and the first detachments reached Batavia's outposts on 21 Aug. 1629. The second retreat began on 2 Oct. 1629.[25] Ś 1550 (Mar. 1628–Feb. 1629) and Ś 1551 (Mar. 1629–Feb. 1630) are correct for these two episodes. AJ 1550 (31 Aug. 1628–19 Aug. 1629) and AJ 1551 (20 Aug. 1629–9 Aug. 1630) do, indeed, encompass the period of the sieges but only marginally. The second, for instance, begins the day before the first Mataram detachments reached Batavia's outposts whereas both logic and the text itself (Canto I:33) suggest that this should date the departure from Mataram in May 1629.

Babad ing Sangkala therefore seems to confirm that court historical tradition used the Śaka system for dating down to the end of Ś 1554 (Feb. 1633). Then followed a hybrid year in Ś-AJ 1555, extending from Mar. 1633 to 26 June 1634. Thereafter the new *Anno Javanico* system was in use.

The tables for converting AJ years to AD are found in several standard sources,[26] and no function would be served by producing such a table here. The precise AD equivalent for every AJ year mentioned in the text is given in the translation.

23. De Graaf, *Van Goens*, p. 270.

24. De Graaf, 'Sultan Agung', pp. 165–8.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 146–51.

26. E.g. [Rouffaer], 'Tijdrekening'; Balai Poestaka, *Djidwal.*

F: Eight-year cycle

The Javanese-Muslim years (AJ) are divided into a repeating cycle of eight years, each year having its own name. These names derive from a system of Arabic letters which is used in counting, the Arabic terms of course being Javanized. Similar systems are used throughout the Muslim Indonesian world. This system of eight-year cycles is called *windu*. The position of the year in the *windu* cycle determines whether it is a normal year or a leap-year, and the system of names is a valuable means of checking the internal consistency of a date. There are several cases in the *Babad ing Sangkala* text above where the *windu* and the numerals for the year are inconsistent. The problem, of course, is to know in such a case which of the two is correct, if either. Lists of *windus* are given in the standard AJ-AD conversion tables. The year AJ 1555 was Alip, and thereafter the system marches regularly from year to year.

Normal AJ years have 354 days while leap-years have 355. The duration of the various months in either case is given in Section D1 above. Before AJ 1675/AD 1749 there were five normal years and three leap-years in each *windu* cycle. After that date the fifth year (Dal) was counted as a normal year but with abnormal durations of some months (see Section D1 above). This required the previous year (Je) to become a conventional leap-year instead of a normal year. Here are given the names of the years and their status as normal years or leap-years:

1. Alip	normal
2. Ehe	leap
3. Jimawal	normal
4. Je	normal (leap after AJ 1675)
5. Dal	leap (normal after AJ 1675, but with abnormal months)
6. Be	normal
7. Wawu	leap
8. Jimakir	normal

These *windu* cycles are further grouped into four repeating sets of eight-year cycles, giving a larger thirty-two year cycle which has implications for divination. These four sets (each of one full *windu* of eight years) are also called *windu* and have the names Adi, Kunthara, Sangara, and Sancaya. AJ 1555 was the beginning of Kunthara, AJ 1563 of Sangara, and so on.

One final system of naming *windus* should be noted. In some instances Javanese years are called, for instance, *windu* Kulawu. Kulawu is a *wuku* (see Section C above) and not a *windu*, but such dates are not copyist's errors. What is meant is a *windu* which began in the *wuku* Kulawu. Thus AJ 1603 (beginning on 2 Feb. 1680) was Alip, but because it began in a *wuku* Kulawu (beginning on 28 Jan. 1680) it could also be called *windu* Kulawu.

G: Further complexities

The discussion above concerns only those elements of the Javanese chronological system which are of relevance to the dates found in Modern Javanese texts. It is clearly a most complicated system, and a date which includes a large number of the elements described above is a considerable intellectual challenge to scholars. Any such date which is internally consistent should be regarded as very probably correct, for it will be clear that to fabricate a complex date would not have been a very easy matter. Many Javanese dates are, however, extremely simple. It is common to find dates with only a date, month, and year, or with only the seven- and/or five-day week days in addition. Such dates are readily converted and checked with the standard tables, although even this relatively simple task calls for considerable care.

The Javanese systems of measuring time are, in fact, far more complicated than described here when their use is divinatory. Javanese divination is not a main concern of this Appendix. Readers should, however, bear it in mind that the supernatural influences operating upon a particular point in time would have been of great concern to Javanese. The dates in a text could thus have a deeper level of meaning for a Javanese court audience. A Javanese courtier could consult his books of divination tables and find the supernatural implications, for example, of the succession of Amangkurat I on Wednesday-Lĕgi, 24 Safar, *wuku* Kurantil, Be AJ 1568.[27] This is a world largely closed to twentieth-century foreign scholars,[28] who must be satisfied with the colourless conclusion that this happened on 11 Apr. 1646.

H: Table of the 210-day cycle

The 210-day cycle is discussed in Section C above. It was pointed out that in order to reconstruct a *wuku* one must know when each 210-day cycle began (on Sunday-Paing-Tungle). These *wukus* are often given in dates, and are an important element in them, but a table of the 210-day cycle or the means of calculating its beginning-points have not been published, so far as is known to this writer.[29] This information is therefore given here.

27. See Canto I:48 above.

28. I have seen MS books of divination tables in the court of Yogyakarta, and K.R.T. Widyakusuma very kindly showed me how they are used. Whether these tables are exactly the same as those that would have been used in a court one or more centuries ago, however, is not clear to me.

29. A *wuku* calendar for AJ 1779 (AD 1850–1) and after, giving the correspondence between *wukus* and the AJ (but not the AD) calendar is found in van Hien, *Geestenwereld*, vol. I, pp. 335–59. This table cannot be used for years before this time, however, because of the shifting of the whole calendar by a day at the introduction of the 'Wednesday calendar' and 'Thursday calendar'. There were also differences in usage between Yogyakarta and Surakarta at various times, especially from AD 1821 to 1864 (with some differences extending to AD 1876), and even after the two Javanese courts regularized their calendars differences continued between Javanese and Sundanese usage. (On these matters, see

The 210-day cycle is purely arithmetical. Once a beginning-point is established its recurrence is absolutely regular, and is never influenced by arbitrary shifts of the kind which influence months and years in the AJ system. The five-, six-, and seven-day weeks march with absolute regularity from day to day.

A recurring interval of four years and nine days in the Gregorian calendar is observable, and can be used to extend the table below indefinitely. Within this interval, seven 210-day cycles occur. The mathematics of this are simple: four years and nine days in the Gregorian calendar is 1,470 days (three normal years plus one leap-year plus nine days = 3 x 365 + 366 + 9 = 1470); seven 210-day cycles is also 1,470 days (7 x 210 = 1470). All that is necessary to set up a table of the 210-day cycle is thus a knowledge of one beginning-point, and a computation of six subsequent recurrences of Sunday-Paing-Tungle. One then has the seven beginning-points within one 1,470-day set and their Gregorian equivalents, each of which is extendable in parallel columns by four years and nine days. One must only take care at the turning of centuries not divisible by 400 (e.g. 1700, 1800, 1900) which in the Gregorian calendar are not leap-years, at which points an interval of four years and ten days occurs.

Damais has determined the beginnings of the 210-day cycle in terms of the Julian calendar (which was more regular but less accurate than the Gregorian) where a precise correspondence between the 210-day cycle and the Julian calendar occurs every 280 years. Thus, a 210-day cycle began on the first of May in the Julian years AD 270, 550, 830, 1110, 1390, 1670, and 1950.[30] While this information is valuable for Old Javanese dates, it is without practical value for Modern Javanese dates. Since the promulgation of the Gregorian calendar occurred in AD 1582, most dates which a scholar of Modern Javanese encounters should be converted to that system (even though the Gregorian calendar was not adopted in Britain and the American colonies until AD 1752).

The table below took Damais' date of (Julian) 1 May 1670, converted to the Gregorian date 11 May 1670 as its starting point.[31] This was equivalent to Sunday-Paing-Tungle, *wuku* Sinta, 20 Bĕsar, AJ 1592. The table is extended in both directions to encompass the earliest *wuku* found in the text for the accession of Amangkurat I in AD 1646 (Canto I:48) and the latest for the date of the text itself in AD 1738 (Canto I:1). The table has been checked by various means at random points, and is believed by this writer to be accurate.

[Rouffaer], 'Tijdrekening', pp. 411–15). It is not clear to me whether van Hien's *wuku* calendar represents Sundanese or Javanese practice. Because of these regional variations in the AJ calendar, any table giving correspondences between *wukus* and AJ is of limited use. In my table, the correspondence is therefore given with AD, which is neutral with regard to regional variations or arbitrary shifts in the AJ system. Any local AJ system can thus be linked to this table by first converting any Javanese date to its AD equivalent.

30. Damais, 'Méthode', p. 10.

31. For those interested in contemporary dates, Damais' 1950 date when converted to the Gregorian calendar is 14 May 1950 (Sunday-Paing-Tungle, *wuku* Sinta, 27 Rĕjĕb AJ 1881).

Beginning-points of the 210-day cycle (Sunday-Paing-Tungle) in the Gregorian calendar[32]

18 Mar. 1646	27 Mar. 1650	5 Apr. 1654
14 Oct. 1646	23 Oct. 1650	1 Nov. 1654
12 May 1647	21 May 1651	30 May 1655
8 Dec. 1647	17 Dec. 1651	26 Dec. 1655
5 July 1648 +	14 July 1652 +	23 July 1656 +
31 Jan. 1649	9 Feb. 1653	18 Feb. 1657
29 Aug. 1649	7 Sept. 1653	16 Sept. 1657
14 Apr. 1658	23 Apr. 1662	2 May 1666
10 Nov. 1658	19 Nov. 1662	28 Nov. 1666
8 June 1659	17 June 1663	26 June 1667
4 Jan. 1660 +	13 Jan. 1664 +	22 Jan. 1668 +
1 Aug. 1660 +	10 Aug. 1664 +	19 Aug. 1668 +
27 Feb. 1661	8 Mar. 1665	17 Mar. 1669
25 Sept. 1661	4 Oct. 1665	13 Oct. 1669
11 May 1670	20 May 1674	29 May 1678
7 Dec. 1670	16 Dec. 1674	25 Dec. 1678
5 July 1671	14 July 1675	23 July 1679
31 Jan. 1672 +	9 Feb. 1676 +	18 Feb. 1680 +
28 Aug. 1672 +	6 Sept. 1676 +	15 Sept. 1680 +
26 Mar. 1673	4 Apr. 1677	13 Apr. 1681
22 Oct. 1673	31 Oct. 1677	9 Nov. 1681
7 June 1682	16 June 1686	25 June 1690
3 Jan. 1683	12 Jan. 1687	21 Jan. 1691
1 Aug. 1683	10 Aug. 1687	19 Aug. 1691
27 Feb. 1684 +	7 Mar. 1688 +	16 Mar. 1692 +
24 Sept. 1684 +	3 Oct. 1688 +	12 Oct. 1692 +
22 Apr. 1685	1 May 1689	10 May 1693
18 Nov. 1685	27 Nov. 1689	6 Dec. 1693
4 July 1694	13 July 1698	23 July 1702
30 Jan. 1695	8 Feb. 1699	18 Feb. 1703
28 Aug. 1695	6 Sept. 1699	16 Sept. 1703
25 Mar. 1696 +	4 Apr. 1700	13 Apr. 1704 +
21 Oct. 1696 +	31 Oct. 1700	9 Nov. 1704 +
19 May 1697	29 May 1701	7 June 1705
15 Dec. 1697	25 Dec. 1701	3 Jan. 1706

32. Leap-years are indicated by the symbol +.

1 Aug. 1706	10 Aug. 1710	19 Aug. 1714
27 Feb. 1707	8 Mar. 1711	17 Mar. 1715
25 Sept. 1707	4 Oct. 1711	13 Oct. 1715
22 Apr. 1708 +	1 May 1712 +	10 May 1716 +
18 Nov. 1708 +	27 Nov. 1712 +	6 Dec. 1716 +
16 June 1709	25 June 1713	4 July 1717
12 Jan. 1710	21 Jan. 1714	30 Jan. 1718
28 Aug. 1718	6 Sept. 1722	15 Sept. 1726
26 Mar. 1719	4 Apr. 1723	13 Apr. 1727
22 Oct. 1719	31 Oct. 1723	9 Nov. 1727
19 May 1720 +	28 May 1724 +	6 June 1728 +
15 Dec. 1720 +	24 Dec. 1724 +	2 Jan. 1729
13 July 1721	22 July 1725	31 July 1729
8 Feb. 1722	17 Feb. 1726	26 Feb. 1730
24 Sept. 1730	3 Oct. 1734	12 Oct. 1738
22 Apr. 1731	1 May 1735	10 May 1739
18 Nov. 1731	27 Nov. 1735	6 Dec. 1739
15 June 1732 +	24 June 1736 +	3 July 1740 +
11 Jan. 1733	20 Jan. 1737	29 Jan. 1741
9 Aug. 1733	18 Aug. 1737	27 Aug. 1741
7 Mar. 1734	16 Mar. 1738	25 Mar. 1742

NOTE: After the proofs of this book were completed the present author discovered that Damais published tables of the 210-day cycle in the Gregorian calendar for AD 1582–2000 as Appendix 3 (pp. 266–70) in his article 'Études d'épigraphie indonésienne IV' in *BEFEO*, vol. 47, pt. 1 (1955), pp. 7–290. The part of Damais' table equivalent to that given here contains two errors: 20 Mar. 1673 should be 26 Mar., and 2 Nov. 1677 should be 31 Oct. The present author has also checked his own tables for AD 1742–1822 against Damais' results, and found no further errors in that period. As an initial precaution, scholars should check that a date given by Damais falls upon a Sunday, and that the interval of four years and nine days (or ten days at the turning of centuries not divisible by 400) is observed.

APPENDIX II

Chronogram Words

The use of chronograms to indicate years is a practice extending back into Old Javanese times.[1] Each word has a numerical value, sometimes for obvious reasons (e.g. Pandhawa is 'five' because there were five Pandhawa brothers) and sometimes not. Four such words in sequence give the required figure, with normally the first word giving the year, the second the decade, the third the century, and the fourth the millennium. Occasionally the reverse order is found. Modern Javanese chronograms are the linear descendants of those in Old Javanese, but neither Old nor Modern Javanese chronograms have been much studied.[2] The impression seems to exist that their conversion is a simple matter; indeed this writer shared that opinion until beginning the present study. The basis of this system of converting numbers to words was a poem in Modern Javanese, but in a quasi-Indian (*kawi miring*) metre rather than any of the standard Modern Javanese metres,[3] which listed one after another a set of words for each number. Versions of this poem are known in several manuscripts and one such is the basis of the discussion in Bratakesawa's standard work *Katrangan tjandrasangkala.* Chronogram words were not, however, restricted to those listed in such poems. Javanese is rich in synonyms, which were used to extend the selection of words for chronograms. It is generally possible, however, to show that in relatively recent chronograms synonyms or words with the same general connotation have the same numerical value.[4]

1. See Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th century*, vol. V, pp. 20–2, on the chronograms found in the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*.

2. The standard reference on Modern Javanese chronograms is Bratakesawa's work first published in 1928. References here are to the second revised edition: Bratakèsawa, *Katrangan tjandrasangkala* (Djakarta, 1952).

3. Bratakèsawa, *Tjandrasangkala*, p. 106 n. 1, claims that the poem is in the Old Javanese metre Turagagati (Sanskrit Candrawartma), which is erroneous.

4. A list of such concepts and their numerical values in twentieth-century usage is to be found in Th. Pigeaud, *Javaans-Nederlands handwoordenboek* (Groningen and Batavia, [1938]), pp. xi–xii. A similar list is in van Hien, *Geestenwereld*, vol. I, p. 381, but as will be seen below I rather doubt whether this represents Javanese usage.

In the *Babad ing Sangkala* text published above 170 different words (not counting affixed or infixed forms) are used to give 806 numerical values (i.e. about 200 dates normally consisting of four numerals but with some giving only three digits and some mistakenly giving more than four).[5] A study of these chronograms and of the related literature discussed below gives rise to two conclusions. First, there was not one standard version of the poem listing chronogram words but rather there were various versions of it. And second, the numerical value of some chronogram words was apparently changing during the eighteenth century AD.

Changing values of chronogram words

There are several examples in *Babad ing Sangkala* where the words *sama* or *sami* clearly mean 'five',[6] and *padha* clearly means 'two'.[7] *Sama, sami*, and *padha* are synonymous in most usages, and in Bratakesawa's modern version of chronogram words *sami* is given as 'two'.[8]

Tata means 'five' in *Babad ing Sangkala* and in more modern texts. But in modern texts when the king is referred to as *Nata* or *Sang Nata* this gives the value 'one' as is the case with any word referring to a king. Where it is unclear whether the word *nata* is to be taken as an inflected form of *tata* or as a reference to the king, confusion can arise between 'five' and 'one'.[9] In *Babad ing Sangkala* above, however, *nata* is always treated by the Javanese writer as a derived form of *tata* with the value 'five', even when he clearly refers to the king as *Sang Nata*.[10] In these cases, *Sang* has the value 'seven', whereas in more modern texts, so far as is known to this writer, it has no numerical value. This value for *sang* in the Kartasura period is confirmed in the Berlin manuscript discussed below.

Nama (or *anami*) appears twice with the value 'six'.[11] The presence of this word in the chronogram for the composition of the text itself caused considerable initial difficulties, for it is not used in more recent Javanese chronograms. Although van Hien lists *anamani* and *namaning* under words for 'six',[12] these are

5. Some words are used a large number of times, such as *jalma* (*sujalma, jalmi*) for 1 (73 examples), *tata* (*nata, anata, tinata*) for 5 (55 examples), *tunggal* (*tunggil, satunggil, satunggal, anunggil*) for 1 (39 examples), *warna* (*awarna, marna, winarna*) for 4 (27 examples), and *rasa* (*ngrasa, angrasa, karasa*) for 6 (25 examples). Some words are used only once.

6. Canto I:33, 38 (2 examples), 46, 65, 76, 80, 86, 93.

7. Canto I:18, 65.

8. Bratakèsawa, *Tjandrasangkala*, p. 109.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 108, gives *Nata* as 1; on p. 113 it gives *nata* as 5.

10. Canto I:73, 79.

11. Canto I:1; Canto III:1.

12. Van Hien, *Geestenwereld*, vol. I, p. 387.

not found in Bratakesawa's work and in practice do not seem to be used in post-Kartasura Javanese chronograms. It will be seen below that van Hien's list may in fact not represent Javanese usage. The value 'six' in the Kartasura period is confirmed by the Berlin manuscript discussed below.

Tiba (*tumiba*) appears twice as 'five',[13] although in more modern texts it has no numerical value, so far as is known to this writer.

Adi or *adhi* appears several times with the value 'four'.[14] In more recent Javanese practice neither word seems to have a standard value, but because *adi* is similar in meaning to *luwih* ('one') and *linangkung* ('one' or 'eight'),[15] it might be used in more modern chronograms for one of these values. *Adi* does appear in van Hien's list under 'four',[16] but this writer has never encountered it in post-Kartasura Javanese chronograms. It will be seen below that van Hien's list may not, however, represent Javanese usage. This value for *adi* in the Kartasura period is confirmed in the Berlin manuscript discussed below.

The poems

The existence of poems giving chronogram words written in a *kawi miring* rather than Modern Javanese metre suggests a derivation of this practice from Old Javanese times. This writer has studied only three versions of this poem among the many which survive. These three together seem to confirm a common derivation from Old Javanese times but equally show a divergence in the texts. Whether the divergences represent stages in the development of the poem through time, differing local versions of the text, or various traditions which may have existed simultaneously in the same places cannot yet be decided.

One text is from Bali and was published by Korn.[17] It clearly shares a common origin with the Javanese versions, which is probably to be sought in some Old Javanese poet's manual. The Balinese text adheres fairly closely to the Javanese versions except for the numerals six, eight, nine, and zero. It also has a separate set of words for ten, unlike the two Javanese versions.

The two Javanese versions known to this writer consist, firstly, of Bratakesawa's text[18] and, secondly, of an important manuscript preserved in the Berlin

13. Canto I:17, 20.

14. Canto I:32, 44, 70, 92; Canto IV:23.

15. See Bratakèsawa, *Tjandrasangkala*, pp. 108, 117.

16. Van Hien, *Geestenwereld*, vol. I, p. 385.

17. V.E. Korn, 'Balische chronogrammen', *De Indische gids*, vol. 44, no. 8 (1 Aug. 1922), pp. 667–74. The poem is given on pp. 668–9.

18. Bratakèsawa, *Tjandrasangkala*, pp. 32 et seqq. Readers may not at first recognize that this is a poem. One must read the words in the left-hand column separately, and they will be found to fall into ten stanzas, each having four lines of twelve syllables.

Staatsbibliothek.[19] The latter is among the few manuscripts to have survived from the court of Kartasura. Although Bratakesawa's text was published in the twentieth century, this writer has always found it to be a reliable guide to the conversion of chronograms in Javanese texts written after AD 1770. Raffles gives the values current in the early nineteenth century in Java and, allowing for mistransliterations and misunderstandings, these are the same as those found in Bratakesawa.[20] It therefore seems that Bratakesawa gives a version of chronogram words known in the later eighteenth century and still considered to be standard in the twentieth century. This version of more recent usage shows significant changes from Kartasura usage, as was seen in the preceding section.

It is rather remarkable that van Hien's list of chronogram words contains several of the numerical values found in Kartasura times[21] but not found in Raffles, Bratakesawa, or indeed in any more modern chronogram which this writer has seen. Why this should be so is not at all clear. Van Hien was a mystic held in high esteem in Indo-European circles in West Java. His list must be late nineteenth-century in origin, but it is not certain that its origins are Javanese, since the materials in his book also derived from Sundanese and other sources. The possibility that his list represents something other than Javanese usage is strengthened by the facts that many of his numerical values depart very greatly from actual Javanese practice, that many of his spellings are not standard Javanese, and that many of his Dutch definitions do not give the Javanese meanings of the words (nor, indeed, are many of them Sundanese). If van Hien's source was Javanese, it suggests a much greater variation in Javanese practice than is supported by this writer's experience, and it suggests that not all of the Kartasura chronogram values discussed here had become obsolete in theory although they seem to have become so in practice. This writer, however, suspects that van Hien's source was not Javanese at all. If this is so, his list of chronogram words merely shows the existence of regional variations, as does the Balinese poem published by Korn.

The Berlin manuscript mentioned above is of considerable importance for showing the changes which the Javanese chronogram poem seems to have undergone. It was the property of Pangeran Arya Purbaya, who had been known until early 1737 as Raden Dĕmang Urawan. In 1737 he was made a second Patih (in addition to Natakusuma) and was given his new name. He was much distrusted by the Dutch, however, and in 1738 they pursuaded Pakubuwana II to demote him and to have him exiled from Java.[22] Apparently very soon after his appointment as a Patih, this man had had the Berlin manuscript compiled; a note says

19. MS Or. fol. 402; see Pigeaud, *Javanese and Balinese manuscripts*, pp. 226–7 (no. 227).

20. Raffles, *History*, vol. II, pp. cix-cxi.

21. Van Hien, *Geestenwereld*, vol. I, pp. 380–91; see notes 26–30, 33 below.

22. See Batavia to H.XVII, 25 Jan. 1738, in dJ IX, p. 273; *idem*, 31 Jan. 1739, in *ibid.*, pp. 279–80.

it was copied by a *mantri lĕbĕt* (inner, i.e. court, *mantri*) named Ki Asmaradhana in AJ 1661 (13 May 1736–1 May 1737).[23] It consists largely of romances and legal and moralistic texts. But on pp. 53–4 of the manuscript is found a version of the poem giving chronogram words.

This text of the chronogram poem was thus written in the court of Kartasura, apparently in the first months of AD 1737 (after Urawan was renamed Purbaya and before the end of AJ 1661 on 1 May 1737). It is therefore from the same court and was apparently written down only about eighteen months before *Babad ing Sangkala* was written in Nov. 1738. It can therefore be presumed to represent the same understanding of the value of chronogram words as is found in this text.

A comparison of the Berlin text with the Bratakesawa version shows many variations, especially for the numerals six and nine. The Berlin version confirms the values found in *Babad ing Sangkala* for *sang* (seven), *nami* (six), and *adi* (four). Unfortunately the text is corrupt, and it differs sufficiently from both the Bratakesawa and Balinese versions that it seems unwise to use these two to emend the Berlin text. The text is of sufficient interest and value, however, for it to be given here. Words which are not used in more modern chronograms or which have different values in more recent usage are italicized (minor variations being ignored).

1: rupa candra sasi nabi sasa dara
bumi buda roni medi iku dara
jalma eka wak suta siti awani
yen wulan nayata tu[ng] gal iku *kabeh*[24]

2: netra caksuh nayana sikara buja
paksa drĕsthi ama locana carana
karna *marni* anĕmbah talingan mata
yen tangana lar anĕmbah suku karo

3: bahni pawaka siking guna dahana
trinira mauta bujal anauti
jatha weda nala agni utawaka
kaya lena puyika tiga uninga[25]

4: wedang sagara krĕti *sutri* jaladri
adi[26] warnawa samodra janidi [one syllable missing]

23. Berlin Staatsbibliothek MS Or. fol. 402, p. 14.

24. *Kabeh* is also given for 1 in the Balinese version in Korn, 'Chronogrammen', p. 668, but is not normally used in more modern Javanese chronograms.

25. *Uninga* is given under both 3 and 6. The usual value in more modern texts is 3.

26. Van Hien, *Geestenwereld*, vol. I, p. 385, also gives *adi* for 4.

ernawa toyadi wahana waudadi [one syllable extra]
sindu warih dik tasik catur yoga pat

5: buta Pandhawa tata gati wisaya
endra yaksa sara maruta pawana
bana marga warayang [five syllables missing]
panca bayu wisikan gulingan lima

6: rasa sadrasa winayang gana rĕtu
anggas oyag karĕngya *anami*[27] naněm
namane[28] *gumanti* orĕg *wuwusĕn*[29] [one syllable missing]
yogya[30] *tměn uninga*[31] *engĕtana*[32] [one syllable missing]

7: ardi turangga prawata giri rĕsik
aksa biksu turangga cala imawan
sapta pandhita *sora* syara muni *sang*
kuda tunggangan gunung wiku ya pitu

8: naga panagan sarira basu tanu
murti kunjara gajah dipa samadya
manggala sthi dirada bujangga kari
bramana walu liman kalawan ula

9: rudra tusthi gapura wiwara dyara
nada wilasita [six syllables missing]
goa rago leng lawang *graha*[33] babahan
angka gatra wadananya nawa sanga

10: boma sunya gagana barakan *aka*
deh[34] wiyati *ambarni*[35] windu [three syllables missing]
gĕmpur i[ng] langit widik-widik malĕtik
aneng gagana saha nama sapuluh

27. *Ibid.*, p. 387, also gives *anami* for 6.

28. *Ibid.* gives *namaning* for 6.

29. *Ibid.* also gives *wuwusĕn* for 6.

30. *Ibid.* also gives *yogya* for 6.

31. See note 25.

32. Van Hien, *Geestenwereld*, vol. I, p. 390, gives *engĕtna*, but for 0 rather than 6.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 389, also gives *graha* for 9.

34. Or *doh*; the scribe has written *taling-tarung* inaccurately and either *deh* or *doh* may be intended. Note the use of *deh* for 0 in Canto II:6 of *Babad ing Sangkala*.

35. *Ambara* or *ngambara* is commonly found for 0 in post-Kartasura chronograms, but not

APPENDIX III

The Gericke (NBS 87) and van der Tuuk (LOr 4097) MSS

These two manuscripts are in Leiden University Library[1] and in the study above are referred to as representing later versions of the *babad sangkala* tradition found in the text translated here. This writer has not studied every page of the two, but it seems reasonably clear that either one is a copy of the other, or both are copies of some third MS. It seems more likely, however, that NBS 87 (xiii) is a copy of LOr 4097. In other words, van der Tuuk seems to have acquired an original manuscript of this text which at some point had also been copied for Gericke, perhaps through their mutual association with the Netherlands Bible Society. These two texts are the only evidence of the survival of this Kartasura *babad sangkala* tradition after the mid-eighteenth century. All other *babad sangkala* manuscripts known to this writer, while containing many of the same events, are sufficiently different to be regarded as different (and presumably new) textual traditions.

LOr 4097 is written on Javanese paper. The binding uses paper from some official Dutch publication which appears to be from about the middle years of the eighteenth century; one of the pages of this book used in binding the back of the manuscript prints an act dated in 's Gravenhage on 2 May 1760. On the title page of the manuscript itself is a pencilled note 'A° 1760'. The origin of this note is unknown, but it suggests that the manuscript was acquired by some European in AD 1760. It is, if this is so, among the older examples of Javanese literature to have survived.

NBS 87 (xiii) is on Dutch paper of the kind used in Java in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is watermarked 'B & C' with the fence of Holland and 'pro patria'. It has a substantially higher number of scribal errors when compared with LOr 4097. This manuscript has been used extensively by Dr. de Graaf in his studies of the seventeenth century.

The text represented in these manuscripts is largely in prose rather than verse. It shows its close derivation from a verse version, however, in the preservation of

1. See Pigeaud, *Literature*, vol. II, pp. 192, 735.

word-forms used in verse to meet metrical requirements.[2] Some sections are still indeed in a recognizable standard poetic metre (see the quotations below). Numerals are used in place of chronograms, excepting only where the author of this prose version apparently failed to recognize a chronogram in the text he was adapting and preserved it as part of the narrative (an example of this will be seen below). Javanese numerals are used for years but, rather curiously, both manuscripts use Western numerals for dates of months. The LOr 4097 manuscript preserves the order in which dates are given by chronograms, so that for instance 1673 is given as 3761; the scribe of NBS 87 (xiii) reversed these numerals so that they appear in the conventional order in that manuscript.

A few examples will suffice to show the relationship between the Kartasura *Babad ing Sangkala* studied here and the version represented by LOr 4097 and NBS 87 (xiii). Some short quotations have already been given in the footnotes in the body of this book. In all quotations here, the LOr 4097 text is given, with any variant readings in NBS 87 (xiii) being given in the footnotes. The order of numerals in LOr 4097 is, however, reversed here so that they appear in the conventional order.

The LOr 4097/NBS 87 (xiii) text has a beginning which differs from *Babad ing Sangkala*, but from the third stanza of *Babad ing Sangkala* the texts run closely together.[3] Before this point LOr 4097/NBS 87 (xiii) mentions Gunung Kĕndhĕng (year 1), the first peopling of Java (year 10), the building of Candhi Sewu (year 1018), the rule of Jayabaya in Kadhiri and the composition of the *Bratayuda* (year 1019), and so on down to the building of *rĕca budhur* (Barabudhur) (year 1360).

Here is the LOr 4097 text (pp. 7–8) beginning with the fall of Majapahit. The relationship to the text edited above, Canto I:3–5, will be clear, but one should note the addition of the ruler of Dĕmak and the fact that not only have the chronograms been replaced by numerals but some of the years themselves have been changed.

Bdhah[4] ing Majapait taun Be, 1400. Windu Kunthara. Adĕge Dipati Bintara nagri Dĕmak, Alip, 1403. Windu Sangara. Jnĕnge Arta Daya maksih taun Alip, 1403.

Putra Nata Toh Jiwa, taun Be, 1408. Gaglang purwa, Alip, 1419. Pa-Surabaya, Jimawal smana,[5] 1421. Ing Puwan, Je, 1422.

Gunture Banyupindhah Dal, 1423. Duk Paleh kabaranang Jimawal, 1429. Ing Kaniten[6] taun Be, 1432.

2. E.g. *pjah, pangran, kramangsal, Tĕgil, rajeng*, etc. More examples of this are found in the sections quoted in this Appendix.

3. The beginning of LOr 4097 is quoted in Brandes, *Beschrijving*, vol. I, p. 145.

4. NBS 87(xiii), p. 258: *bĕdhah.*

5. *Ibid.*: *smana* omitted.

6. *Ibid.*: *ing Nkaniten* (scribal error).

Wĕngkaning Pathi Wawu, 1433. Patine Rĕkyana Patih tan antara tunggal warsi[7] lan Kapulungan Jimawal, 1437. Rusak ing para satriya Dal, 1439.

The beginning of the reign of Amangkurat II is described as follows,[8] and can be compared with *Babad ing Sangkala*, Canto II:27–32. One should note the failure to recognize and convert the chronogram *janma lina angrasani bumi* (AJ 1601/AD 1678–9) at the start of the second paragraph. The text here is still so close to its verse original that it is in fact in the metre Dhandhanggula except where a date interrupts the verse. The first paragraph below is completely in verse; the third is in verse except for the final four words, which contain two more syllables than the final line of Dhandhanggula.

Seda Jĕng Sinuhun Tĕgil Wangi, ingkang putra anggantyani Nata, Prabu Mĕngkurat[9] namane, sawadyarsa anglurug,[10] duk angkate saking Tatĕgil,[11] grig[12] pasisir bang kilyan,[13] Japara jinujug, sampun angait Walonda, nulya budhal[14] anglurug marang Kadhiri, arsa mrĕp Trunajaya.

Janma lina angrasani bumi, duk bĕdhahe Kadhiri sĕmana, Pangeran Kajoran mangke, gingsir mring Sunya sampun 1602. Duk pjah Trunajaya ing Payak genipun, nulya dhatĕng Surabaya, duk pa-Kĕpĕr bdhahe[15] nulya ing Giri, sĕdyane Sabilolah.

Wusnya bĕdhah ing Giri lumaris, Jĕng Susunan[16] kondur marang Pajang, Kartasura kadhatone, kraton jinaběl sampun, ingkang rayi maksih ngukuhi, mila atĕmah yuda, tan emut sadulur, Pangeran aprang kasoran, ngungsi Raja Namrud ingkang raka[17] nuli Ruwah kondur mring[18] Kartasura.

Alip, 1603 . . . .

7. *Ibid.*: *warsa.* Brandes, *Beschrijving*, vol. I, p. 145, erroneously gives *warsa* in the quotation from LOr 4097 there.

8. LOr 4097, pp. 27–8. The immediately preceding part of the text is quoted above, p. 186 note 146.

9. NBS 87 (xiii), p. 267: *Mangkurat.*

10. *Ibid.*: *nglurug.*

11. *Ibid.*: *Tĕgil.*

12. *Ibid.*: *krig.*

13. *Ibid.*: *kilen.*

14. *Ibid.*: *bidhal.*

15. *Ibid.*, p. 268: *bĕdhahe.*

16. *Ibid.*: *Susuhunan.*

17. *Ibid.*: *ra* (scribal error).

18. *Ibid.*: *mring* omitted.

In LOr 4097, pp. 55–6, is found the story corresponding to the end of *Babad ing Sangkala*, Canto IV:42. There are still traces of a verse original here: the words from *Britman* to *linuwaran* can be easily emended to fit lines 8 to 10 of the metre Dhandhanggula.[19]

> Kawarneng Amral Britman arseng[20] Japara[21] Tumĕnggung Cakrajaya kagdhong[22] neng loji, sawulan linuwaran, smana[23] Jimawal, Pangran Arya Mataram seda, 1645, kang putra-mantu samya ngungun kang myarsa dening tan dosa . . . .

The text of LOr 4097/NBS 87 (xiii) extends far beyond the point where *Babad ing Sangkala* breaks off. The final events[24] are the rebellion of Pangeran Mangkubumi in AJ 1672 (which is incorrect)[25] and the marriage of the crown prince of Surakarta to a princess of Sampang in AJ 1673 (AD 1748).[26]

A comparison of these short extracts with the text of *Babad ing Sangkala* reveals a close relationship. The LOr 4097/NBS 87 (xiii) text clearly derives from a verse *babad sangkala* manuscript very like that edited here. The prototype of LOr 4097/NBS 87 (xiii) was clearly not, however, precisely the same as *Babad ing Sangkala*. It should be noted that the excerpt on the beginning of the reign of Amangkurat II above shows its derivation from an original in Dhandhanggula metre, whereas the parallel section of *Babad ing Sangkala* is in Asmaradana metre. There are also a few short passages in LOr 4097/NBS 87 (xiii) where the text has details additional to those in *Babad ing Sangkala*, thereby showing its prototype to have been different.

The version represented by LOr 4097/NBS 87 (xiii) gives rise to several important conclusions. The text of *Babad ing Sangkala* studied here was not the only text of this verse *babad sangkala* tradition, for the LOr 4097/NBS 87 (xiii) text seems to have derived from another and slightly different copy of the same tradition. By about 1760 (on the evidence of the pencilled note on LOr 4097) this Kartasura tradition was already being turned into verse and the chronograms were being abandoned. The scribe doing this was already having sufficient difficulty with chronograms that he appears to have converted some incorrectly (although one cannot rule out the possibility that his prototype actually had different chronograms) and failed to recognize others. Fortunately, this manuscript seems to have passed into European hands ca. 1760, preserving the evidence for this stage in the evolution (or deterioration) of this textual tradition. Other and later manuscripts have so completely departed from the verse form and content of the Kartasura *babad·sangkala* tradition that any derivation from this tradition is no longer evident, except for some of the same events being described.

19. By reading *arsa mring* for *arseng*, as in NBS 87 (xiii): see note 20.

20. NBS 87 (xiii), p. 279: *arsa mring*.

21. *Ibid.*: *Jĕpara*.

22. *Ibid.*: *kagĕdhong*.

23. *Ibid.*: *sĕmana*.

24. LOr 4097, p. 96; NBS 87 (xiii), p. 258. The end of the LOr 4097 text is printed in Brandes, *Beschrijving*, vol. I, pp. 145–6. The texts are the same in the two MSS, except for some minor variations (e.g. LOr 4097 gives *pambalike Pangran Mangkubumi*, but NBS 87 [xiii] gives *kala pambalike* . . .).

25. The rebellion took place in AJ 1671/AD 1746; see Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, p. 40.

26. The full date is given as Tuesday, 14 Jumadilakir, Wawu AJ 1673. The same date is given in Yasadipura I, *Babad Giyanti*, vol. III, p. 68.

APPENDIX IV

The Event of AJ 1571

In IOL Jav. 36(A) the end of the sieges of Batavia and the execution of Sultan Agung's commander Mandura (or Mandurarĕja) is described in the canto beginning on f. 279v. On f. 281r. the chronogram is given as follows (the metre is Durma):

15. . . . saundurira ajurit/ (sing) sangking Jakarta/ babadipun winilis
16. wong apĕrang anatasi buta Kala/ iku sangkalaneki/ Pangeran Mandura/ pan sampun pinĕjahan/ . . . .

This canto is equivalent to Canto LXIII of *Babad Kraton* (beginning on f. 271r.; the passage equivalent to that quoted above is on f. 272v.) and to Canto LXXVIII of *BTJ(BP)* (beginning in vol. X, p. 14; the equivalent passage is found in vol. X, p. 16). The three texts of IOL Jav. 36(A), *Babad Kraton*, and *BTJ(BP)* all represent the same textual tradition in this section of the chronicle. The first two lines of stanza 16 above are the same in all three, except that in *BTJ(BP)* this is stanza 15 rather than 16 (because it lacks the eighth stanza of the canto) and *anatas ing buta tala* is given rather than *anatasi buta Kala*.

This chronogram is badly confused. Each of the first six words in stanza 16 has a recognized numerical value, giving 1–3–9–5–8–1. The order should normally be reversed to give the year, hence: 185931, which is obviously meaningless. It seems that the first two words *wong apĕrang* (people were at war) is part of the text and a means of introducing the chronogram. Thus, 'people were at war, cutting straight through the demon Kala'. The chronogram, then, consists of *anatasi buta Kala iku* (AJ 1859/AD 1928–9) which is still clearly wrong. The problem appears to be in the word *Kala* (eight); in order for the century to be correct this must be a word for the numeral five. Now, *Kala* might be a mistake for *yaksa* (five), or indeed it may be that at some point *Kala* was used for five. There are other examples of changes in the numerical value of chronogram words, as can be seen in Appendix II above. See also the *Babad ing Sangkala* text above, Canto I:23, where *kala* also seems to be used incorrectly, apparently for 'three', and Canto I:29 where it appears in the word *sangkala* again apparently for 'three'. In any case, the intended date here must be AJ 1559 (25 May 1637–14 May 1638). But this still seems wrong, for the sieges of Batavia ended in Ś 1551 (AD 1629).

There is, however, evidence that in AJ 1559/25 May 1637–14 May 1638, events did occur which may be the basis of this Javanese tradition. From AD 1636 to 1642 there were sporadic diplomatic contacts between the Dutch and Mataram.[1] In March and April of 1637 there were serious rumours that Agung was preparing another campaign against Batavia but suddenly the rumours stopped, there was no action against the Dutch, and the year was peaceful for Batavia.[2] In July 1638 (i.e. two months after the end of AJ 1559), Agung banished Sura Agulagul (previously his commander at the siege of 1629) to Batavia in order to fight to the death there;[3] this was apparently a kind of ritual execution and a last gesture of hostility against Batavia. Negotiations had meanwhile been going on throughout 1637–8, and in Nov. 1637 the Dutch seem to have thought that the restoration of peaceful relations and the release of most of the Dutch captives in Mataram was imminent.[4] Peace was not, in fact, formally restored until after Sultan Agung's death.

These events of 1637 and 1638 suggest that it may be true that in AJ 1559 (25 May 1637–14 May 1638) Sultan Agung took a decision to end the state of hostilities with Batavia and to 'forgive' the Dutch.[5] He sent his former commander to Batavia to fight to the death, thereby ridding himself of a disgraced courtier and apparently performing some sort of ritual siege of Batavia which he could then lift. This death occurred in the middle of 1638 (i.e. in AJ 1560), but it may have arisen from a decision taken in AJ 1559. Certainly in the middle of AJ 1559 (Nov. 1637) the Dutch seem to have thought that peace was about to be formally restored; in practice even small-scale hostilities had already ended.

The Javanese tradition has apparently confused the actual end of the sieges of 1628–9 (after the first siege the commanders, including Mandurarĕja, were executed)[6] with the later ending of the state of hostility and the death of the commander of the second siege in 1637–8. The actual date of the sieges was, however, known, for they are given correctly in the *Babad ing Sangkala* text above, Canto I:32–3. So it seems that this passage in IOL Jav. 36(A), *Babad Kraton*, and *BTJ(BP)* may refer to real events of 1637–8, but it is so placed that it seems to belong to 1628–9. Just to compound the confusion, a chrono-

1. See de Graaf, 'Sultan Agung', pp. 241 et seqq.
2. Batavia to H.XVII, 9 Dec. 1637, in dJ V, pp. 232–3.
3. *Idem*, 22 Dec. 1638, in dJ V, p. 237; de Graaf, 'Sultan Agung', pp. 251–2.
4. De Graaf, 'Sultan Agung', p. 244.
5. The Javanese version of this is quoted at greater length and discussed briefly in Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, pp. 356–7.
6. De Graaf, 'Sultan Agung', p. 162.

gram was given (*anatasi buta Kala iku*) which was either wrong or at least misunderstood later.[7]

Later scribes left the events roughly as they were described, but attempted to resolve the problem of the chronogram. The remarkable thing is that every text known to this writer solved the problem in the same way. They all use a very similar set of chronogram words to give the year as AJ 1571 (15 Jan. 1649–3 Jan. 1650), as will be seen in the list of manuscripts at the end of this Appendix. They may have been led to this solution by the belief that this fitted a cycle of recurring processes in Ś 1471, AJ 1571, and AJ 1671.

It is impossible to clarify the origins of the event of Ś 1471,[8] except to suggest that it may be a projection backwards into time of the historically accurate event of AJ 1671 (24 Jan. 1746–13 Jan. 1747). In May 1746 Pangeran Arya Mangkubumi, later Sultan Hamĕngkubuwana I of Yogyakarta, rebelled in circumstances which have considerable parallels with the traditional story concerning Ś 1471.[9] It may be that the necessity to legitimate this rebellion of AJ 1671 and the subsequent division of Java led to the fabrication of a precedent for division set in S 1471. It will be noted that the event of Ś 1471 is not found in *Babad ing Sangkala* (written before Mangkubumi's rebellion), but it is in several texts written after that rebellion. So perhaps the event of Ś 1471 is a fabrication, an example perhaps of the 'priestly magic' which Professor Berg argues was a major force in shaping Javanese historical traditions. Because knowledge of what may actually have happened in the sixteenth century is so inadequate, however, it is impossible to give any evidence to support such a view.

But what of the event of AJ 1571? Here one has a date which was later apparently regarded as part of the cycle which also included Ś 1471 and AJ 1671. In Ś 1471 Java was divided between Pajang and Mataram, in AJ 1571 between Mataram and the Dutch, in AJ 1671 again between Pajang (Surakarta) and Mataram (Yogya, later Yogyakarta). Because of the existence of IOL Jav. 36(A) from ca. 1738, we have an example of how this event was described and dated before Mangkubumi's rebellion, as well as several manuscripts which show how it was dated after that rebellion.

If Ś 1471 was contrived to give a precedent for the rebellion and subsequent division of AJ 1671 (something which is suggested here, but certainly not proved), was AJ 1571 similarly contrived? In other words, was the (mistaken?) chronogram for AJ 1559 consciously changed to AJ 1571 in order to fit the pattern? Was this a kind of 'priestly magic', or at least some sort of legitimating propaganda? The crucial documents here are the parallel texts of *Babad Kraton* (written in the court of Yogyakarta in AD 1777–8) and *BTJ(BP)* (representing a Surakarta court version composed in AD 1836). If there was an attempt to rewrite history either for supernatural or propaganda purposes, one would expect

7. As indeed I have misunderstood it: see Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, p. 76 n. 19.

8. See pp. 162, 205 above.

9. See Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, pp. 75–6.

to find the date altered to AJ 1571 here, or at least in the Yogyakarta text. But it is not altered. These texts have the same chronogram as the Kartasura manuscript, IOL Jav. 36(A). Thus, this does not look like literary magic or indeed any form of intended restructuring of the historical tradition. If it was something of this nature, it was of a very inefficient order, for it overlooked this element in the cycle of centuries in two major court chronicles. It has been argued that *Babad Kraton* in particular played an important role in legitimating the court of Yogyakarta,[10] yet this event of AJ 1571 – which is apparently part of a cycle that may have been intended to legitimate the existence of that court – is not found in the text.

The date AJ 1571 in other chronicles seems more readily explained in another way. Javanese writers of chronogram lists were presented with a confusing set of words for a chronogram (*wong apĕrang anatasi buta Kala iku*) which they found difficult to understand, just as it has been difficult to explain in this Appendix. Here it has been asked which of the words probably represent the date, the phrase *anatasi buta Kala iku* has been selected, and it has been concluded that this must be AJ 1559 (or a mistake for AJ 1559). Contemporaneous Dutch evidence has been used to offer some support for this conclusion.

Javanese authors probably asked which words represented the date, found no clear solution, but perhaps were influenced by the fact that the first word in the set (i.e. the final numeral if it is the date) is *wong*, which always means 'one'. They did not turn to Dutch evidence, which was unavailable to them and in any case would never have occurred to them as offering a solution. Rather they turned to their own traditions, it seems. These traditions emphasized the cyclical nature of history, with major events recurring in cycles of centuries.[11] The events of Ś 1471 and AJ 1671 were already a part of their tradition; the event of Ś 1471 is found in both *Babad Kraton* and *BTJ(BP)*.[12] Indeed, for all that can be known, it might have been in the missing portions of IOL Jav. 36(A).[13] For such writers, the choice of AJ 1571 as the solution for the mysterious chronogram was probably a natural one.[14]

Thus, in the emergence of the erroneous date AJ 1571 there seems to be evidence of the influence of Javanese cyclical views of time upon the evolution of

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 211–18.

11. See *ibid.*, pp. 176 et seqq.

12. See p. 162 note 42 above.

13. If this were so, of course, then the event of Ś 1471 was not fabricated to legitimate Mangkubumi's rebellion of AJ 1671.

14. It is also possible that they were influenced by Jayabaya prophesies which describe a 'time of confusion' in the last thirty years of a century (AJ 1670–1700, 1770–1800). It is equally possible, however, that the Jayabaya prophecies were influenced by the Ś 1471–AJ 1571–AJ 1671 cycle, or that neither was influenced by the other. See Ricklefs, *Mangkubumi*, pp. 186–7 n. 36.

the historical tradition. But there does not seem to be evidence of an intentional alteration of the tradition for the purposes of dynastic legitimation.

List of manuscripts

The date AJ 1571 is given in the following texts for the ending of the siege of Batavia or the 'fall' (*bědhah*) of Batavia, and/or the death of Agung's commander Mandurarĕja:

BTJ, text p. 139, trans. p. 143.
BL Add. MS 12323(B), f. 35v. (*rupa rĕsi gumuling siti*).
LOr 1859(1), p. 3 (*rupa rĕsi gumuling siti*).
LOr 1859(2), f. 4v. (*rupa gora butaning bumi*).
LOr 2144(2), p. 13 (*rupa pandhita gumuling siti*).
LOr 2144(12), p. 67 (*rupa gora butaning bumi*).
LOr 2000(2), p. 78 (*rupa rĕsi gumuling siti*).
LOr 7699, f. 67v. (*rupa rĕsi gumuling siti*).
NBS 184(1), p. 12 (*rupa pandhita gumuling siti*).
NBS 135(3), p. 14 (*rupa pandhita gumuling siti*).
KITLV Or. 14, p. 4 (*rupa rĕsi gumuling siti*).
KITLV Or. 262(12), p. 68 (numerals only).

GLOSSARY

(*note*: only those meanings are given which are relevant to the present study)

Adipati	A title for heads of districts, and a part of the titles of princes and high officials
angsana	A kind of cabinet wood similar to rosewood, valued for its dark colouration
Arya	A title of high officials and apparently of a class of court servants; also a high princely title usually affixed to Pangeran
Ayu	A title of aristocratic women
babad	Chronicle
bathik	Intricately-designed dyed fabric
Bumi-gĕdhe	A territorial division later said to correspond to North-Central Java; in 1710, however, this appears to have been a much larger area encompassing either South-Central Java and the eastern coastal districts or, more probably, North-Central Java and the western coastal districts (one of these was apparently Bumi-gĕdhe, the other Panumping)
Bumija	A class of court servants; their precise status and functions in the Kartasura period and before are not clear
Bupati	A title of high administrative officials used both for officials within the court and for those administering the countryside
dalĕm	A princely residence, either inside or outside the court
Dĕmang	An administrative title used both for court officials and for administrators in the countryside
gamĕlan	Javanese orchestra, consisting almost entirely of percussion instruments
Garĕbĕg	Thrice-annual Islamic festivals, consisting of Garĕbĕg Mulud in celebration of the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad, Garĕbĕg Puasa to celebrate the end of the fasting-month, and Garĕbĕg Bĕsar in commemoration of Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his son and of the pilgrimage to Mecca
Gĕdhong	A class of court servants, usually divided into a right and left half (*gĕdhong tĕngĕn* and *kiwa*)

haji A person who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca

kakawin An Old Javanese poem in Indian metres

Kalang A class of people, believed by the Javanese to be of non-Javanese origin, who fulfilled specialized functions at the court, especially timber-cutting and wood-working

Kamandhungan The second portal on the Siti Inggil, leading to the interior of the court

kamantren Literally, 'of the mantri'; perhaps a special mat for a *mantri* to sit upon during court audiences (as an insignia of office)

Kandhaga-lante A class of court servants, their precise status and functions unclear; the name probably derives from their insignia of office, a sort of oblong box (*kandhaga*) and mat (*lante*)

Kangjěng Honorific prefix for venerable men or women and holy objects

Kapědhak A class of court servants; in the Kartasura period apparently young men used as troops and especially as life-guards of the king; also known by the synonymous name Kaparak

Karadenan A building within the court, literally the residence of a Raden

Ki Honorific prefix for venerable men and holy objects; from Kyai

kidung Literally, song; used especially for poetical works in Middle Javanese (Javano-Balinese)

krama 'High Javanese', one of the two basic forms of Modern Javanese (see *ngoko*)

kris Javanese dagger

Kyai Honorific prefix for venerable men and holy objects; in the Kartasura period this may also have been an administrative rank

mangsa A kind of month; see Appendix I

mantri An official; in the period covered by the text above *mantris* appear to have been of a very much higher status in the court than was later the case

Mas A title of lower aristocracy; when affixed to Raden, used for higher aristocracy

Ngabei A title of higher officials, and a princely title usually affixed to Pangeran

ngoko 'Low Javanese', one of the two basic forms of Modern Javanese (see *krama*)

Nyai Honorific prefix for venerable women, equivalent to Kyai for men

Pagělaran Covered area below the Siti Inggil where court officials sat on audience-days

Paminggir A class of court servants, apparently originally prisoners-of-war from Balambangan; in later times these were personal bondsmen and bondwomen of the king, the women being used largely as concubines and the men as handicraftsmen

Pandhawa The five heroic brothers of the *Bratayuda* epic

Panĕmbahan A title, the precise significance of which is not clear; perhaps particularly associated with rebels and aspirants to imperial power and/or persons with superior spiritual authority

Pangalasan A class of court servants; their precise status and functions in Kartasura times and before are unclear

Pangeran Prince

Pangulu The chief religious official in a mosque, in an administrative district, or in the court

Panji A high administrative title, used especially in East Java; also the name of a legendary hero of Javanese romances

Panumping A territorial division later said to correspond to Sokawati and Pajang together; in 1710, however, this seems to have been a much larger area (see Bumi-gědhe)

Pasisir Coast, in particular the north coast of Java

Patih A title of the chief administrative official of the kingdom; there were often two, the Patih Jaba (outer Patih) and Patih Jěro (inner Patih)

Poncaniti An area in the court; in post-Kartasura times this was another name for the Pagělaran

Prabayasa The innermost part of the court, containing the private royal apartments where the holy regalia are housed

pusaka Holy regalia, heirloom

Raden An aristocratic title used for both men and women

Raja King

Ratu King or queen, used especially as a title for the official wives of the king

real A Spanish dollar; with further qualifications (*real pajěg, real sapi*, etc.) used also for other currency values

ringkěl A measurement of time; see Appendix I

Rongga A title for high officials

sangkala Chronogram

Sayid A descendant of the Prophet (Arabic *Sayyid*)

Senapati As a title, 'commander-in-chief'; also used as an abbreviation for Panĕmbahan Senapati Ingalaga

Siti Inggil Raised terrace before the court where the king appeared in state

slamětan A communal feast held on various occasions, including at various intervals after a death

Sokasana A building or area within the court

Sri Manganti The portal separating the interior areas of the court from the outer areas

Susuhunan Javanese royal title

Tumĕnggung A title of high officials

Tuwan	Form of address, especially for non-Javanese
Umbul	Title of officials; in the reign of Amangkurat I these were apparently officials of the court whose main function was to oversee and control the administrations of regional officials, especially on the north coast
Wadana	A title of high administrative officials used both for officials within the court and for those administering the countryside
Wadana Sewu	Probably the head or heads of a particular district; Sewu or Bumi Sewu was later said to correspond to the district of Bagĕlen and this may also have been the case in Kartasura times
wali	Apostle of Islam in Java, usually said to have been nine in number
waringin	A Javanese fig-tree (*ficus Indica*); a pair of these usually stood in separate enclosures on the great square before the court
windu	A system for counting years; see Appendix I
wuku	A measurement of time; see Appendix I
yoga	Physical and spiritual exercises to achieve mystical union

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Add. MS 12323(B). Extending from the year 1 to AJ 1743 (AD 1815–16). Prose; with chronograms and numerals. No clear provenance, but since Surakarta affairs are emphasized it is probably from that court. Ff. 30v.–59v., 25 x 19 cm. European paper. From the collection of John Crawfurd (1783–1868; in Java 1811–16), sold to the British Museum (now British Library) in 1842.

Add. MS 12325(C). Extending from Ś 1018 (AD 1096–7) to AJ 1741 (AD 1813–14). Prose; with chronograms and numerals. No clear provenance, but since Yogyakarta affairs are emphasized it is probably from that court. Ff. 44v.–49v., 31 x 19.5 cm. English paper, watermarked 'Budgen & Wilmott 1809'. From the collection of John Crawfurd (1783–1868; in Java 1811–16), sold to the British Museum (now British Library) in 1842.

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Or. 14. Extending from the year 1 to AJ 1584 (AD 1661–2). Prose; with chronograms and numerals. No clear provenance, but the paleography is probably Surakarta. Apparently the same text as LOr 1859(1). 5 pp., 32 x 20.5 cm. English paper, watermarked 'J Whatman 1829'.

Or. 262(12). Extending from the year 1 to AJ 1757 (AD 1829–30). Prose; with numerals only. Original written by Raden Ngabei Kliwon Kĕrtapraja of Surakarta. This is a romanized copy made for G.P. Rouffaer by Raden Ngabei Arjapradata of Klathen in AD 1889. The original MS is probably LOr 1859(2). Pp. 65–75, 34.5 x 21 cm. Lined European paper.

In Leiden University Library:

DFT S 240/280–34. Extending from Ś 1401 (AD 1479–80) to AJ 1747 (AD 1819–20). The original was apparently written in Yogyakarta; this MS contains a Dutch translation only. Pp. 1–6, 32 x 26 cm. Dutch paper, watermarked 'E D G & Z'. From the collection of the Delft Ethnographic Museum, on loan to Leiden University Library since 1935.

DFT S 240/280–101. Extending from Ś 1400 (AD 1478–9) to AJ 1670 (AD 1745–6). Dated AJ 1778 (AD 1849–50). Prose; with numerals only. No clear provenance, but the paleography is probably Surakarta. 2 pp., 33 x 21 cm. European paper. From the collection of the Delft Ethnographic Museum, on loan to Leiden University Library since 1935.

LOr 1859(1). Extending from the year 1 to AJ 1584 (AD 1661–2). Prose; with chronograms and numerals. Apparently the same text as KITLV Or. 14. No clear provenance. 4 pp., 22 x 34 cm. Dutch paper, watermarked 'J Honig & Zoonen'. Originally from the collection of the Koninklijke Akademie for training East Indies civil servants in Delft, which was transferred to Leiden University Library in 1864.

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LOr 2000(2). Extending from the year 1 to AJ 1742 (AD 1814–15). Prose; with chronograms and numerals. No clear provenance, but the contents suggest the MS may be from Yogyakarta. Pp. 74–111, 16.5 x 21.5 cm. Javanese paper. From the collection of A.D. Cornets de Groot Jr. (1804–29) held by the Rijks-Instelling voor Indisch Onderwijs, acquired by Leiden University Library in 1871.

LOr 2003(11). Extending from Ś 1001 (AD 1079–80) to AJ 1724 (AD 1797–8). Prose; with chronograms and numerals (not all of which have been filled in). No clear provenance. Pp. 291–4, 14.5 x 20.5 cm. Javanese paper. From the collection of A.D. Cornets de Groot Jr. (1804–29) held by the Rijks-Instelling voor Indisch Onderwijs, acquired by Leiden University Library in 1871.

LOr 2144(2). Extending from Raja Kano to AJ 1678 (AD 1752–3). Prose; with chronograms and numerals. No clear provenance, but other texts in LOr 2144 seem to be from Surakarta. Pp. 10–15, 32.5 x 20.5 cm. English paper, watermarked 'Brookman & Skeats 1817'. From the collection of Taco Roorda (1801–74), purchased from his heirs by Leiden University Library in 1874.

LOr 2144(12). Extending from Aji Saka to AJ 1587 (AD 1664–5) on p. 67. On p. 66 the MS breaks off and is completed by a second hand on p. 67. P. 68 is blank; on p. 69 a third hand has added a text covering Ś 1018–1366 (AD 1096–1445); an unnumbered p. [69a] is blank; on an unnumbered p. [69b] a fourth hand (perhaps the same as the first) has added a text beginning with Sindhula and extending on p. [69c] to the kings of Majapahit. Prose; with chronograms and numerals. No clear provenance, but other texts in LOr 2144 seem to be from Surakarta. Pp. 61–70, 32.5 x 20.5 cm. Dutch paper, watermarked 'HIV Delden'. From the collection of Taco Roorda (1801–74), purchased from his heirs by Leiden University Library in 1874.

LOr 4097. Extending from the year 1 to AJ 1673 (AD 1748). Largely prose, but with some verse passages; with numerals only. Preceded by praise of Allah; at the end notes on *sipat iman* and the payment of a debt, followed by practice in writing Western numerals. At the front a pencilled note 'A° 1760'. No clear provenance. 98 pp., 15 x 11 cm. Javanese paper. From the collection of H.N. van der Tuuk (1824–94), bequeathed to Leiden University Library and received in 1896. This is probably the original of which NBS 87(xiii) is a copy; these two MSS are discussed in Appendix III above.

LOr 6401(1). Extending from Ś 1001 (AD 1079–80) to AJ 1744 (AD 1816–17). This MS is the only later *babad sangkala* MS known to the present author which is written in verse and uses chronograms without numerical explanations. Pp. 1–21, 30 x 21 cm. Javanese paper.

Before this text, on unnumbered pp. [xi–xiv] is a *babad sangkala* fragment extending from Ś 1553 (AD 1631–2) to AJ 1748 (AD 1820–1), to which another hand has added an event in AJ 1750 (AD 1822–3).

The whole of LOr 6401 was purchased by G.A.J. Hazeu from Cakrapranata, a son of Ronggawarsita, in Surakarta. From the legacy of Hazeu, presented to Leiden University Library in 1931.

LOr 7699. This MS contains two *babad sangkala* MSS. Both in prose; with chronograms and numerals. The whole volume is said on the cover to be a 'primbon van den schrijver van Winter' (probably C.F. Winter Sr., 1799–1859; but this may also refer to either of his sons C.F. Winter Jr. and F.W. Winter, or his grandson F.L. Winter). No clear provenance, but several of the texts in LOr 7699 seem to be from Surakarta, where also the Winters were active.

Ff. 66v.–79v. extends from Mt. Kĕndhĕng to AJ 1742 (AD 1814–15).

Ff. 115v.–123r. extends from Nabi Adam to AJ 1714 (AD 1787–8).

30.5 x 21 cm. Javanese paper. From the legacy of C. Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936), acquired by Leiden University Library in 1936.

LOr 8578. A list of years and *windus*, much of it consisting of tables of years without any events being mentioned. It extends from the year 1 to AJ 1767 (AD 1839–40), on p. 229; thereafter kept up to date by what may be other hands to AJ 1804 (AD 1875–6) on p. 234. Blank pp. thereafter have not been used. Prose; with chronograms and numerals. No clear provenance, but since the contents refer mainly to Yogyakarta it is probably from that court.

Pp. 172–234, 20.5 x 17 cm. European paper. From the collection of D.A. Rinkes, acquired by Leiden University Library in 1954.

NBS 87(xiii). Extending from the year 1 to AJ 1673 (AD 1748). Largely prose, but with some verse passages; with numerals only. No clear provenance, but the paleography is probably Surakarta. Pp. 258–97, 35.5 x 22.5 cm. Dutch paper, watermarked 'B & C'. Originally from the collection of J.F.C. Gericke (ca. 1800–57) held by the Netherlands Bible Society, on loan to Leiden University Library since early in this century. This is probably a copy of LOr 4097; these two MSS are discussed in Appendix III above.

NBS 135(3). Extending from the year 1 to AJ 1745 (AD 1817–18). Prose; with chronograms and numerals. No clear provenance, but the paleography is probably Surakarta. The contents are nearly identical to those of NBS 184(1), but they may not actually be copies of the same text. Pp. 6–36, 30 x 24 cm. Javanese paper. Netherlands Bible Society collection, on loan to Leiden University Library since early in this century.

NBS 184(1). Extending from the year 1 to AJ 1748 (AD 1820–1). Prose; with chronograms and numerals. Given by Raden Tumĕnggung Arungbinang to A.D. Cornets de Groot Jr. in Surakarta in Dec. 1820. The contents are nearly identical to those of NBS 135(3), but they may not actually be copies of the same text. Pp. 4–32, 34.5 x 22 cm. Dutch paper, watermarked 'I. Berends & Zoon'. Netherlands Bible Society collection, on loan to Leiden University Library since early in this century.

In the author's possession:

Babad Sangkalaning Momana. Extending from the year 1 to AJ 1761 (AD 1833–4). Prose; with numerals only. Completed in Yogyakarta in Ruwah AJ 1842/July 1912 by Raden Atmamarta, with a further note dating a death in AJ 1857/AD 1928 [sic; AJ 1857 was AD 1926–7]. Based on an original text by Pangeran Arya Suryanagara of Ruwah AJ 1793/Jan. 1865/AH 1281; revised by Pangeran Arya Adiwijaya in Nov. 1882, by Raden Tumĕnggung Cakraningrat in Sapar AJ 1812/Jan. 1883, and by Raden Lurah Mangkudigdaya (n.d.). Romanized typescript copy made by Dr. H.J. de Graaf, and given by him to the present author, of pp. 209–78 of an original MS in Museum Pusat, Jakarta. A less complete copy in KITLV Or. 257.

2. *Other Javanese sources*

In Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta:

Solo 52, no. 8. *Sĕrat Pemut*/Memorie of Pakubuwana II to F.J. Coijett, Kartasura, 16 Rabingulawal, Jimakir AJ 1658/29 Aug. 1733. Javanese original of 8 pp., with the Susuhunan's seal at the beginning; on European paper watermarked with the monogram 'HMG'. Accompanied by a Dutch translation of 20 pp. signed 'A.v. Gils' (?).

In the Bodleian Library, Oxford:

MS Jav. b. 2(R). *Sĕrat Menak*, missing the beginning. No clear provenance. 119 palm-leaves (*lontar*), 41 x 3 cm. Given by Andrew James in 1627.

In the British Library, London:

Add. MS 12320. *Babad Kraton*. A chronicle of the *Babad Tanah Jawi* genre, so far as is presently known the oldest text to have survived which extends from Adam to the fall of Kartasura (AD 1742), but with a lacuna at f. 631r., where at a change of canto the writer skipped from AD 1719 to ca. AD 1740. Written by Raden Tumĕnggung Jayengrat in Yogyakarta in AJ 1703–4 (AD 1777–8). 717 ff., 41.5 x 25 cm. European paper. From the collection of John Crawfurd (1783–1868; in Java 1811–16), sold to the British Museum (now British Library) in 1842.

In the India Office Library and Records, London:

IOL Jav. 8. *Sandi Sastra, Sandi Sutra, Dasa Nama*, etc. On p. 33 the *Sandi Sutra* dated AJ 1692 (AD 1766–7). On p. 79 a note of births in AJ 1693 and 1695 (AD 1767–8 and 1769–70). On p. 273 an explanation of the *ringkĕl ing wuku*, with a table. Original owner Mas Cakrawijaya. No clear provenance, but rough notes at the front suggest the MS is from Yogyakarta. 318 pp., 25.5 x 20 cm. European paper. From the collection of Colin Mackenzie (ca. 1753–1821; in Java 1811–13); sold to the English East India Company after Mackenzie's death, in 1823.

IOL Jav. 36.

(A). A fragmentary and misbound text of the *Babad Mataram* or *Babad Tanah Jawi* tradition, extending from early Mataram times to AJ 1600 (AD 1677). Undated, but apparently contemporaneous with (B). Vol. I, ff. 1–216; vol. II, ff. 217–348v.

(B). *Babad ing Sangkala*, the MS edited and translated above. Dated AJ 1663 (AD 1738). Vol. II, ff. 349v.–373v.

At the end of the MS, 14 full-page *pawukon* illustrations, rather crudely done. The whole MS is 2 vols. (386 ff.), 25.75 x 18.5 cm. Dutch paper, watermarked 'LVG'. Acquired in Yogyakarta in June 1812 (at the fall of the court) by Colin Mackenzie; sold to the English East India Company after Mackenzie's death, in 1823.

In Leiden University Library:

LOr 2191, *Babad Mangkubumi*. A chronicle account of the Yogyakarta Sultanate from 1755 to 1792, apparently written by the crown prince (later Sultan Hamĕngkubuwana II). Dated at the beginning Jumadilawal AH 1187 (Aug. 1773), with the later cantos completed sometime after 1792. 549 pp., 33 x 21 cm. Dutch paper, watermarked 'VG'. Presented to Leiden University Library in 1874 by W.H. de Jong, having been acquired by him in Banyumas.

LOr 6249. Letter of Amangkurat IV, Kartasura, to Governor-General de Haan, AJ 1650 (AD 1725). Leaves joined to form one sheet of paper, 130 x 22 cm.

European paper. Presented to Leiden University Library by Jonkheer E.H.E. Teding van Berkhout in 1924.

NBS 95. *Darma Sunya Kĕling*. A text of the *kakawin Dharmaśūnya* in Old Javanese, written by Pangeran Adipati Dipanagara, a son of Pakubuwana I, in Dulkaidah AJ 1640 (Nov. 1716). 74 pp., 31.5 x 20.5 cm. European paper (Javanese paper used in the binding). Originally from the collection of J.F.C. Gericke (ca. 1800–57) held by the Netherlands Bible Society, on loan to Leiden University Library since early in this century.

In Museum Pusat, Jakarta:

KBG 613. *Sĕrat Menak*. Written by Mas Ngabei Narawita in AJ 1639 (AD 1715). The property of Ratu Mas Blitar, a wife of Pakubuwana I. 1,188 pp., 35 x 24 cm. Javanese paper. Purchased by the Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap in 1924.

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MS Or. fol. 402. Compilation consisting largely of romances and legal and moralistic texts, partly in Javanese script, partly in Arabic script (*pegon*). According to a note on p. 14 the MS was copied by a *mantri lĕbĕt* named Ki Asmaradhana in AJ 1661 (AD 1736–7). Originally owned by Pangeran Arya Purbaya of Kartasura. On pp. 53–4 is found the chronogram poem published in Appendix II above. 414 pp., 32 x 21 cm. Javanese paper. Originally belonging to the Königliche Preussische Bibliothek, acquired from an unknown source sometime before 1850.

MS Schoemann II.18. *Jatiswara* romance. Dated AH 1150 (AD 1737–8). 174 ff., 21 x 17 cm. Dutch paper. From the collection of Karl Schoemann (1806–77; in Java 1845–51); the MS seems to have been owned by someone living near Grĕsik in 1845.

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MAPS

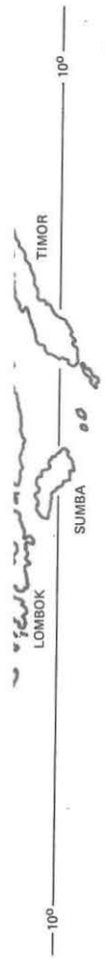
These maps show the locations of over 100 toponyms which occur in this book. About 30 locations are not, however, given. This is because the locations of some places which have now disappeared or changed names is no longer known, or because several places of the same name are known and it is unclear which is the one referred to in *Babad ing Sangkala.*

The main published sources for these maps were the various works of Dr. H.J. de Graaf; published Dutch maps of the twentieth century (largely supplied to the author by Dr. de Graaf); Balé Poestaka, *Babad Gijanti: Pratélan*; and W.F. Schoel (ed.), *Alphabetisch register van de administratieve- (bestuurs-) en adatrechtelijke indeeling van Nederlandsch-Indie*, vol. I: *Java en Madoera* (Batavia, 1931).

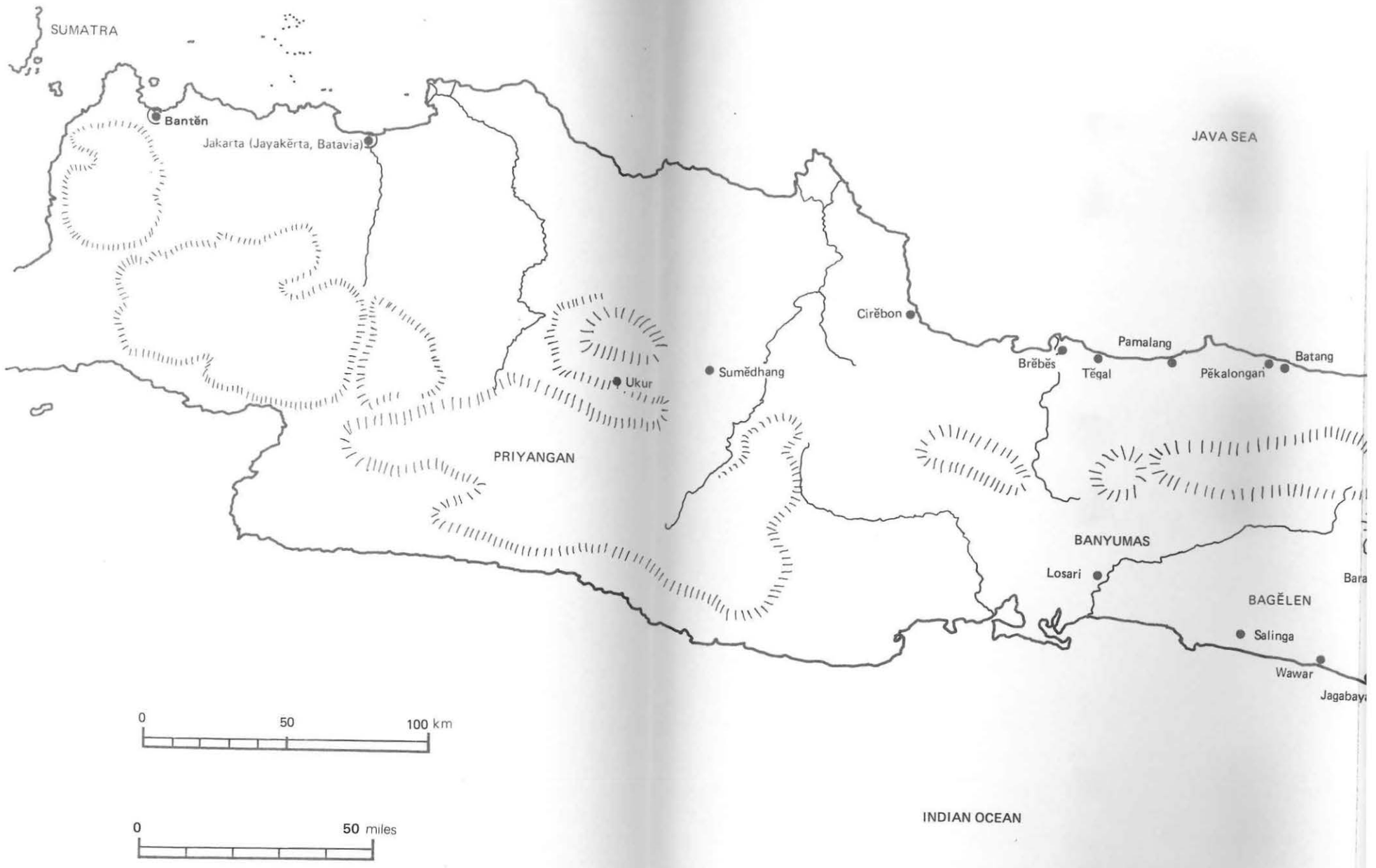


MAP A: THE INDONESIAN ARCHIPELAGO



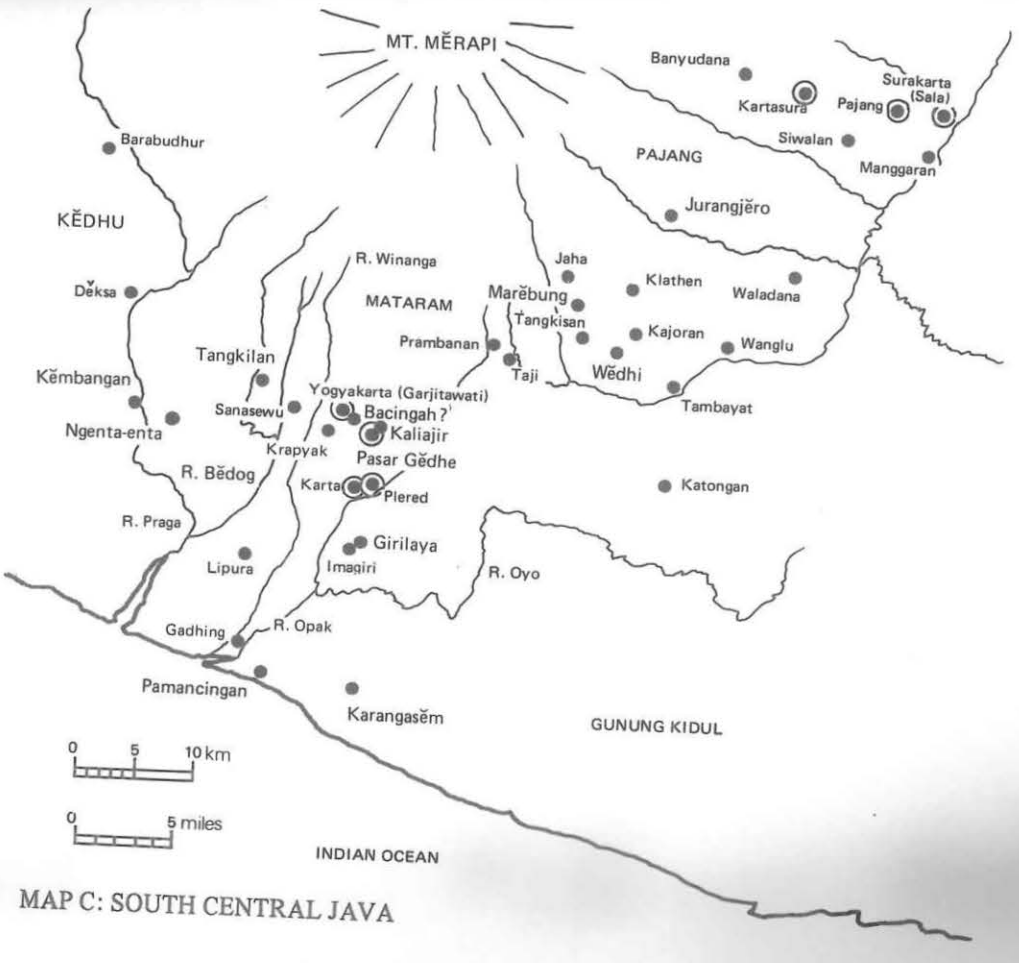


MAP A: THE INDONESIAN ARCHIPELAGO



MAP B: JAVA, MADURA and BALI


A SEA
Japara
Kalinyamat
R. Serang
Lasĕm
Pathi
Juwana
Rĕmbang
Adilangu
Kudus
Batang
Kĕndhal
Dĕmak
Barangkas
Blora
Jĕnggala
Gogodog
Tuban
Arosbaya
Sidayu
Sumĕnĕp
Samarang
Kaliwungu
GROBOGAN
Rengĕl
Bangkalan
MADURA
Kajawan
JIPANG
Pringgabaya
Grĕsik (Giri, Giri Liman)
Balega
Pamĕkasan
MT. UNGARAN
R. Tuntang
Jipang
Lamongan
Ungaran
Surabaya
Sampang
Tuntang
Jĕnar
Wanakrama
Sapanjang
R. Praga
SOKAWATI
Kiping
(Kalidhadhung?)
R. Brantas
Garompol
Caruban
Japan
Kapulungan
Jagaraga
MT. MĔRAPI
MT. PANANGGUNGAN
Kartasura
Kĕpĕr
Barabudhur
Surakarta
Kincang
Majapahit
Carat
Pasuruhan
Mamĕnang
Madiun (Gagĕlang?)
Wirasaba
Bangil
BAGĔLEN
KĔDHU
R. Opak
PAJANG
Pajang
MT. LAWU
Payak
Sidagiri
(Kaniten?)
Kajang
Dĕmung
Panarukan
Magĕtan
Salinga
Dĕksa
Klathen
Panjĕr
Winongan
Yogyakarta
Jatisari
Kadhiri (Daha)
Prabalingga
R. Samanggi (Sala)
Utĕr
Wawar
MATARAM
Kaduwang
Antang
Karta
Majapura
Tambang
Malang
Plered
Panaraga
MT. KĔLUT
Tĕgalrandhu
Jagabaya
(Dhungulan?)
Tumpang
GUNUNG KIDUL
Blitar
Jĕnggala
Jĕmbĕr
Kalilanang
Lodhaya
Lumajang
BALAMBANGAN
R. Brantas
(Andaka)
Manggaran
Pugĕr



MAP C: SOUTH CENTRAL JAVA