INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The vast majority of inscriptions are praçaṣṭi or deeds of land grants, favours (anugraha) done by the king or a member of the nobility to an individual person or a community (e.g. wamua, a monastery or a sanctuary, a village of blacksmiths or of merchants etc.). Such an anugraha or grant entailed the grantee to revenues or part of the revenues originally due to the grantor, viz. the king or nobleman. In other words, the institute of anugraha could only be exercised by the king or a nobleman, in fact by those who had the disposal of revenues and statute labour of the wamuas under their jurisdiction (watēk). The land assigned to the grantee was demarcated (susak) and declared to be a sima swatantra or autonomous free estate.

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

1. The date of issue: the year of the Čaka era, the month, the day of the week (usually not only of the Javanese calendar, but also of the Hindu calendar) and, in the charters of later date, further astronomical data.

2. The name of the granter who ordered the rights to be transferred, namely the revenues (dṛwya hoji lit. the lord's possessions) and the statute labour (bwat hoji, i.e. 'the labour to be done for the lord').

3. The description of the sima swatantra 'autonomous land': area, boundaries, etc.

4. The sambandha, 'reasons' why the person or the community was favoured. These reasons are sometimes of great historical importance.

5. A detailed summing up of the various privileges. In this section we find the long list of persons who were 'no longer allowed to enter the sima,' the free estate. These were the mañḍala dṛwya hoji 'persons who 'strive' after the lord's property'. What exactly this term covers is not clear. They formed a dis-
tinct class of people, possibly kept and supported by the king or a nobleman. Apparently amongst them were tax-collectors, slaves and several persons not belonging to a community, foreigners from overseas: Khmers, Cholas and others. Mentioned also are various trades and crafts partly exempt from payments in kind.

(6) A summing up of all the persons who had participated in the drawing up of the anugraha, and who had been remunerated for their work.

(7) The imprecatory formula — with elaborate ceremonies — pronounced against all who in the future might act against the rules formulated in the charter.

(8) Sometimes a charter concludes with the description of feasts, meals, dancing and gambling to celebrate the occasion.

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

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

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

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

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

The 'Klampenborg plates' seem to be the remnants of a collection of inscriptions which were reissued or in preparation to be reissued as a result of the administrative revision of old charters ordered by the Majapahit Court in the heyday of the kingdom in the fourteenth century, and referred to in the Nāgara Kṛtāgama (canto 73,
stanza 2; see the commentary in "Java in the XIVth Century", vol. IV, 1962, p. 219ff.6.

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

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

It seems plausible that Balitung, after becoming supreme ruler of extensive domains, took steps in A.D. 902 to ensure the maintenance of his dynastic sanctuary and the observance of the sacral rites and ceremonies in honour of his ancestors. This was arranged in the usual way, by setting apart for that end part of the tribute of the Rama of Watukura, of which he was the Raka. Thus the Rama of Watukura were made responsible for the maintenance of the sanctuary. "They all were concerned with the God of the sanctuary of Watukura" (OLD JAV 3 recto).

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

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

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

"The land of Janggala" (bhūmi Janggala) of OLD JAV 8 recto, of which the inhabitants of Watukura always deserved well, does not help to solve the problem. Likewise the Črī Mahārāja
mentioned eight times gives us no clue, because we are not told who is meant by this king: whether it was Balitung or another prince. In this connection it is noteworthy that it is not certain whether the seal with the “volume of water” (OLD JAV 7 verso) did in fact belong to King Balitung, as has hitherto been maintained. That conclusion was made when this side of the plate (OLD JAV 7) was transcribed by H. Kern together with OLD JAV 1, on which we find Balitung’s name and full title. But, as we know now, these plates belong to two different charters.

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

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

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

The fact that the old sanctuary of Watukura was registered in A.D. 1365 is a confirmation of the hypothesis that the reissue of A.D. 1348 (still in the period of the Regency, before king Hayam Wuruk ascended the throne in A.D. 1350) was connected with the Majapahit Court’s concern for old charters. If this hypothesis is accepted as valid it follows that the undated Watukura charter (OLD JAV 6–8) is older than A.D. 1348.
The Banigrama charter (OLD JAV 9), of which only the last five lines are legible, may be an original inscription. The script is of the same type as that of inscriptions of king Balitung’s time.

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

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

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


Charter of King Balitung.

OLD JAV 1–5 (K 1–5).

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

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

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

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

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

OLD JAV 1 verso (Plate 1):

1. // o // swasti çakā ivarsāthā, 821, cārunamāsā, līthi, pañcaḥaçı cūkālapāsā, pā, pu, uṣ, wāra,
2. meqaŋkuːan, sapakāra waśi, pówawasādhaŋka-satra, ciwayaŋa, takaša mahārāja rake watukura
3. dyha balitum, ci iṣwarakesawatsawatunga, maweh panima, mā, kū 1, i rānanta i watukura, parvaŋa
4. dharumna paṭiṣatāna ri sira, aqkēn paṇāna niy bhadravāda, bacaktyana de rānanta i watu kura, kūnēl ikay sawa
5. h, gaŋa, rének, kēbrown, ya tīkā mijilakna pīrak, mā 1, ina sa-raḥi, duwan babadan, mā 3,

Translation:
Hail to Ye; 824 ēka years have passed. In the month of grawaŋa. On the fifteenth day of the shining half-moon. Pānirun, Paing, Angarawāra. Madaŋkuːan. Seventh Kāraŋa. Position of the moon: Pūrwaśādha. Declination: giwa.¹
This is the time when His Majesty Iṣwarakesawatungga, Mahārāja, Lord of Watukura, Prince Balitum, bestowed upon the village elders of Watukura a demarcation fee of 1 mā kā for the place of his (i.e. Balitum's) ancestral foundation.² It is to be worshipped by the village elders of Watukura every full moon of the month of Bhāḍrapada; in addition the irrigated rice fields, the dry rice fields, the wet rice fields, and the gardens, they are to contribute the sum of 1 mā in silver per head. The duwan (community) of Babadan is to contribute 3 mā;

OLD JAV 2 verso (Plate 3):
1. tō i bhaṭṭāra dharumna, čeṣaŋa, maraha i saq karm-manya, maṇījā, upakalpa, dewakarma, anapā, dewadāsa,
2. pasiṅhār, sakahana saq karma kummit bhaṭṭāra ma-kadruya ya, muaŋ gaway bhūsana de rānanta, bā-hurēka, kīra
3. i bāhu, bukaŋrip, pakna ri bhaṭṭāra dharumna, muaŋ paŋghaṇaŋ lahil, sū 3, mā 14, ku 2, mijil riŋ açiṣi-nāsa,
4. muaŋ sū 3, mā 14, ku 2, mijil riŋ eṛa, rāma i rikaŋ kāla, tumarama ikay mās panima, winkas saq
5. druma rāma ni widdha, tuha kalaŋ saq jāṭi rāma ni sana, gusi saq jāṭa karāman i ḍrula, parujar si dhari si dūta, wa

OLD JAV 2 recto (Plate 2):
1. i matapana, mā sū 1, mā 4, payaman, mā, sū 1, mā 4, buharu suwal, mā 5, buharu ṭungu, mā 3,
2. buharu tō, mā 4, buharu hoy, mā 4, buharu pa-narnen, mā 2, bāreng, mā 10, muaŋ paŋghaŋga ska
3. r, mā, ku 2, bras, ku 1, riŋ sa lawaŋ, muaŋ mā, ku 1, bras, ku 1, riŋ sa lawaŋ, kārya panamaḥ paṇāna nīy
4. jyesha, muaŋ mā, ku 1, bras, ku 1, riŋ sa lawaŋ, pūrwaṇna nīy eṛsa, muaŋ ikay ruvi galuḥ in babadan,
5. maweh timba timban, dukānaṇ, akṣaṇya i bhaṭṭāra dharumna muaŋ bukaŋrip, pakna panimjā rāma

Translation:
Matapana is to contribute 1 mā sū, 4 mā; Payaman 1 mā sū, 4 mā; Buhara Suwal 5 mā; Buhara Uŋdu 3 mā; Buhara Tēngah 5 mā; Buhara Hoy 5 mā; Buhara Paṅganten 2 mā; Bareng 10 mā; also the floral-tribute (lit. making of flowerbaskets) (is to be paid) 2 mā ku and unpolished rice to the value of 1 ku per household (literally: 'per door') and moreover 1 mā ku and unpolished rice to the value of 1 ku per household for the Panaman festival on the day of the full moon in the month of Jayiṣṭā. Further 1 mā ku and unpolished rice to the value of 1 ku per household on the day of the full moon in the month of Caitra. Further, the ruvi galuḥ (the jewel-radiant sun?) of Babadan is to give wooden buckets, salvers, the akṣaṇya (the two eyes?) of the god of the foundation, besides his head ornament. These constitute the offerings of the village elders to the god of the foundation. The remains (of the offerings) shall belong to the persons who take part in the work: those who officiate at the offerings, at the (upakalpa) sacred functions, those who sweep (the temple ground), the servants of the temple, the pasiṅhār, all the people of merit who guard the god. They shall have (the remains). Moreover, the remains are to be used for the festive garments to be made by the village elders, viz. rings for the upper arm and the forearm and ornaments provided with the āra symbol in honour of the god of the foundation.

The assessment of the lahil (tax) (totalising): 3 sū, 14 mā, 2 ku shall be available in the month of Aṣwayuj, and also 3 sū, 14 mā, 2 ku in the month of Caitra. The village elders who received the demarcation fee were at that time: the winkas (the commissioned person) sang Druma, father of Widdha; the tuha Kalang (the head of the Kalangs) sang Jāṭi, father of Santa; the gusī Sang Jāṭu, father of Črūta; the parujar (the spokesmen) si Dhari, si Dūta;
OLD JAV 3 reelo (Plate 4):
1. riga si leja, Dâridra, râmânamarata sang Gariyan sang Subhara sang Winâwara nühan kweh ni râmânta i watuku
2. ra, tumarima ikanâŋ mäs parina sopke hoji, muañ milu sumusuk ikanâŋ dharmma, ika ta kabe kapwa bayâp
3. ra i bhalâra dharmma i watuku, ya tika lan kata-mana de saq mahtilala dhruj haji, nîcba paramâcra, wulu wulu
4. prakâra, kriŋ, padêmouny, kula pongel, wadhibhi, makudur, lawan, kula pâgkuru, pagarân, kawur hyaŋ
5. laji, tapa-haji, aihajj, malandagn, tca, lañ lab, man-bruki, tuhâlup, tuhadogajj, maguñjai, magrumbai

Translation:
The wâriga (the astrologer) si Teja, Dâridra (the poor one?), the râmânamarata sang Gariyan, sang Subhara, sang Winâwara. This is the number of village elders of Watuku who received from the Prince the money ("gold") for the foundation of the sanctuary, and who were also among the persons to demarcate the holy foundation. All of them are concerned with the God of the foundation of Watuku.

(This holy estate) must not be entered by the tax-collectors of the Prince; all the nîcba para nîcba (outsiders), various wulu-wulu (persons belonging to the lower classes, artisans, etc.), viz. the kriŋ, padêm apuy, the group of pongel, the wadhibhi, the makudur (the two last-mentioned groups comprising officials who pronounce the curse at the end of a foundation ceremony), lawan, the group of pagarâs, pagarân, kawur hyaŋ, laji, tapa-haji, air haji, malandagn, tca, lañ lab, man-bruki, tuhâlup, tuhadogajj (senior merchants), maguñjai, mangrumbai.

OLD JAV 4 reelo (Plate 6):
1. babadan, malapana, payaman, buhara suwu, buhara uñdah, buhara thâh, buhara hoja, buhara pa
2. ñantken, bareg, walek antulan, i dharmma haji watuku, tumul krama saq haneq kon patih wutho râma ka
3. bayan, muñ râma lpi siriŋ kabeq, matuha mauwmâm laki laki wadawan kaniṣtha maddhyâ motâma, kapwa ma
4. nañâh lan hana kantuna rítu irusün kta klu ambâl ambél, kasyan, lêt lêt, bhoña kanyâ pari-dwâ pari-suhâ
5. sah amañan, taha lan wogalan haryas kuluban sunda rumâh ityewamâdî, lan hana kakaraq, magka

Translation:
Babadan, Matapanas, Payaman, Buhara Suwul, Buhara Uñdug, Buhara Têngah. Buhara Hoya, Buhara Panganten, Bareng, all "supports" under the jurisdiction of the Lord of Watuku.
The following persons attended according to the order of precedence (or: according to existing customary rules): the patih, wohuta râma kaban, and all the elders of the border villages, old men, young men, men and women, of the lower, the middle, and the upper classes of society. They were all entertained. Nobody was passed over (or: nothing was lacking):
cooked food, various kinds of farinaceous food: kasyan, lét-lét, bhandha kandi polidua. All the guests highly enjoyed: labu (Chinese farinaceous food made of green peas), wogalan (a dish made of freshwater fish?), harygas (a kind of banana), kutaban (steamed vegetables), sunda (edible roots), rambah, etc. Nothing was lacking. The same applied to harang-harang (roasted, Translation:
conditions within the Lord of Watukura’s domain.

Watu Kura charter

OLD JAV 6–8 (K 6–8).

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

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

OLD JAV 6 verso (Plate 9):

1. // o // ujar haji knilunantiŋkay warqya sima i watukura sa paṅjī ṭhāni kabeḥ, makā
2. di ḍi kabayan, manakak ḍi apani kala jaya, sambandha, gati warqya sima i
3. watukura, an humatur anēmbahi pāduka ṭri mahāṛāja, makasopa i
4. ka maṇḍji kala jaya, mananaryama i rakryan ka-nuruhan maṇḍji sīghā
5. di, tāwan rakryan maṇḍji maṇḍji tansaḥ, aghyaṇ i ka susuk simā ni

Translation:
(Also is the Lord’s command to be observed by³ the inhabitants of the free estate of Watukura, including everything in that area, first and foremost the kabayan,
the most distinguished official is the Pañji Kālajaya. The reason why the inhabitants of the district of Watukura most humbly approached His Majesty the King with the Pañji Kālajaya as spokesman and the rakryan kanurahan, the Pañji Singhādi and the rakryan potih Pañji Tansah as narygama (literally “supreme commanders”), with the urgent request that the demarcated free estate

OLD JAV 7 recto (Plate 10):
1. kañ i watu kura sa pañjih thāni, manēna wiṣaya hantulan, tan pedrya hajja, mwañ maninēnā
2. tahita pañsāggi, an sima swatandra Ṽpas ta pwa, pāduka čri mahārāja pwa sira ta
3. n wañ łon wawa rēnēr ni pañghyag nikan apānji kālajaya, makaninimta n inu
4. n kupañgh ni kahabkitin wargga sīma makanuka ikan apānji kālajaya i pāduka
5. čri mahārāja, mwañ kuθharmmolahan rakryan kanurahan, lāwan kastiha

Translation:
of Watukura, including everything in that area, may cease to be a hantulan (“support”) district and a royal possession and may cease paying the eightfold laḥil tax, because actually it is an autonomous free estate. Now His Majesty the King was not unwilling to listen to the Pañji Kālajaya’s request, on account of the well-known unwavering loyalty of the inhabitants of the district, first and foremost on the part of the Pañji Kālajaya, to His Majesty the King and on account of the rakryan kanurahan’s integrity, and

OLD JAV 7 verso (Plate 11):
1. paθākramañ rakryan apatri, manrihakën i pāduka čri mahārāja, malañhya n inu
2. bhaya simalā pañghey warnga sīma, makanuka ikan apānji kālajaya, de pāduka čri
3. mahārāja, an makanēnha warnga sīma wineh makoñța saŋ hyan ajīña haji tinagda julasanā
4. halañčaya, marisubhadhakasi paŋghe nyānguraha pāduka čri mahārāja i warnga sīma i wa
5. ta kura, an kewala susuk sima swatandra Ṽpas ta pwa ikan i watu kura, ta

Translation:
the “lion heroism” of the rakryan potih, putting himself entirely at the service of His Majesty the King. This is the reason why the request of the inhabitants of the district, the most distinguished of whom is the Pañji Kālajaya, has been most gravely considered by His Majesty the King, so that the inhabitants of the free estate, in token hereof, have been given this most sacred royal document to keep, after it has been provided with the seal bearing “the volume of water” as a distinctive mark that His Majesty the King’s favour has irrevocably been bestowed on the inhabitants of the free estate of Watukura; viz. that the demarcated free estate – that of Watukura – shall in every respect be autonomous free.

OLD JAV 8 recto (Plate 12):
1. n kādɔdɔgana de niŋ wineh hantulan mwe Ӿnɔm ɪka ri dǐhā niŋ dǐhā, mwaŋ maninēnā ləhĩ
2. la pañsāggi, an kewala sima swatandra Ṽpas kap- kekha i watu kura, phalaŋcama niŋkag
3. warnga sīma i watu kura, an susubhakti sārī sāyīga in mihin ampanaway sāra
4. pāduka čri mahārāja, Ṽnunewi ri hilañja i kalēk-kānig bhāmi janga, sangσke
5. panja kapagēhaknanikag warnga sīma i watu kura ta pwa sarasa saŋ hyan ajīña haji

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

OLD JAV 8 verso (Plate 13):
1. kmiluna niŋkag warnga sīma i watu kura sapaŋjiŋ thāni, me hlem ikāri dǐhā niŋ dǐhā
2. , wakas kara sangẹt lagja mapanji jalađi, kunaj ri ŋsɛngañya n hana nulañh
3. laha anugraha pāduka čri mahārāja i rikag warnga sīma i watu kura, kmāna
4. ya danda soha panṭhā, i wurha niŋkag warnga sīma i watu kura anugēhakna tan
5. sīga sīguma, /ɔ/.
Translation:
to be kept by the inhabitants of the free estate of Watukura with everything in that area, at present as well as in the past until the remotest future. He who has been entrusted with the making (of this charter) is the sāmyēt Langka Paṇji Jalādi.

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

=G 1) Or: “to be kept by”. 2) lēpas is an Old Javanese explanation of the preceding Sanskrit word swalantra.
3) I am not certain of the translation of: “tan umang tan waya réneh”. 4) See note 2. 5) Read: sāri sāryya.

Banigrama charter,
OLD JAV 9 (K 9).

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

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

OLD JAV 9 (Plate 14):
1. niṣṭa wāya, wāya ma-yā rana mu-ru, aṅalai niṣṭā, aṅujura niṣṭā, laiv rya lupa lu rīg pakuda ikaŋ banigrama rīg wa
2. laukura, pahaliman, lațirian, pawidu, salwir niñabāya krasa ri sāha tāhanu rya hanu tiñahulahā maŋkil maŋ-kilāgruddā rāsa kmi

3. tan banigrama, yan brahmāna, ksatriya, węșya, sudra, anak lāni, sakawahauły, sapapā niṣṭ mahāpatakā kāṣuktya de
4. niŋōa waŋruddā kmulan banigrama maṇḍa bali-tug, sunaŋkā raṣa čri mahārāja, i wruka banigrama pajiha tan
5. sīgaŋ sīgaŋa // //

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

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

=G 1) Instead of kasuktya = unknown to me — possibly something like kapangguhanya (Cf. O.J.O. XXIII, 7, or CV III, b, 12) should be read.

Siku Lalawa boundaries charter.
OLD JAV 10 (K 10).

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

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

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

OLD JAV 10 recto (Plate 15):
1. niŋ, midor aṅulẹn atidal atit poyör, asidaktaŋ latwən halai, muwaŋ manidul umnéor ikeg sikula
2. lwan makahi'ah pigir nig kali wetan, muwah midör ańidul sańkeg sikuulawakalihan galęg lwań balä
3. ēan, midör ańulwan akalihan galęg lwań halań, midör ańidul akalihan galęg lwań halań du
4. dug tkeg agneya, watos kulumpag kinatigan lwań halań kidul taratap, manulwan sańke
5. agneya, anikutalawä, pańjań nga, ēpa, 27, midör ańidul sańke sikuulawakalihan galęg lwa
6. n taratap, dudug mańidul atöl pigir ni kulwan asidaklan lwań taratap, muwah ańulwan akalihan
7. galęg lwań taratap, muwah midör ańidul anikutalawä, pańjań nga, ēpa, 19, midör ańulwan sańkeg siku
8. lakawakalihan galęg lwań taratap, midör ańidul anikutalawä, pańjań nga, ēpa, 26, akalihan

OLD JAV 10 verso (Plate 16):
1. galęg lwań taratap, midör ańulwan sańkeg sikuulawakalihan galęg lwań taratap, dudug manu
2. lwan makahi'ah pigir nig kali wetan, muwah midör ańidul sańkeg pigir nig kali wetan, akalihan galęg lwa
3. n taratap, andölés ańidul sańkeg kali dudug tkeg galęg agög kinatihan lwań taratap midör anu
4. lwan sańkeg galęg agög wados kinatihan lwań taratap, andölés ańulwan atöl galęg agög kinatihan
5. lwań ësa, midör ańidul sańkeg galęg agög kinatihan lwań ësa, muwah midör ańetan andölés makahi
6. ēan pigir nig lwah kulwan, ańidul atöl pigir nig lwah kulwan anikutalawä, pańjań nga, ēpa, 49, midör anu
7. lwan sańkeg sikuulawalöt pigir tan padrawya lwah sań hyaq dharmma, midör anabor sańke pigir nig lwah a
8. nikulalawä, pańjań nga, ēpa, 13, akalihan galęg lwań taratap, ańulwan sańkeg sikuulalawä.
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Plate 1. King Balitung's charter, OLD JAV 1 verso.

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

Plate 3. King Balitung's charter, OLD JAV 2 verso.
Plate 13. Watu Kura charter. OLD JAV 8 verso.


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

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

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