CATALOGUE OF ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS, XYLOGRAPHS ETC.
IN DANISH COLLECTIONS

FOUNDED BY KAARE GRØNBECH †
EDITED BY
FREDE MØLLER-KRISTENSEN

VOL. 4 PART 2

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CATALOGUE OF
INDONESIAN MANUSCRIPTS

PART 2
OLD JAVANESE CHARTERS
JAVANESE, MALAY AND LAMPUNG MANUSCRIPTS
MADS LANGE'S BALINESE LETTERS
AND
OFFICIAL LETTERS IN INDONESIAN LANGUAGES

BY
F. H. VAN NAERSSEN†
TH. G. TH. PIGEAUD
AND
P. VOORHOEVE

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PREFACE

In this second part of the fourth volume of the "Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts in Danish Collections" the Old Javanese charters known as "The Klampenborg Plates" have been re-edited and translated into English by the late Dr. F.H. van Naesssen, formerly professor of Indonesian and Malayan Studies at the University of Sydney. The first edition, with a Dutch translation, was part of Dr. van Naesssen’s mimeographed doctoral thesis at Leiden university in 1941.

Dr. Th. Pigeaud, who has contributed a general introduction on Javanese cultural history and a catalogue of Javanese and Balinese manuscripts to this volume, was a Government linguist in Java for many years. At the time he wrote this catalogue he was a member of the staff of Leiden University Library. Recently he published a three-volume work: Literature of Java.

A few minor collections: Malay, Lampung, Mads Lange’s letters and samples of official letters in Indonesian languages in the National Archives are described by the author of the first part of this volume, Dr. P. Voorhoeve. For Mads Lange’s letters the reader is also referred to Mr. L. Buschardt’s article ‘Af Mads Langes balinesiske brevarkiv’ (Fund og Forskning i Det kgl. Biblioteks Samlinger, II (1958) pp. 125–138).

Copenhagen, June 1976

Palle Birkelund
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Plates 1–16: Old Javanese charters in Old Javanese script, on bronze plates, reddish brown with a glossy patina, about 10 cm broad and about 34 cm long. The engraved characters have recently been whitened to make them legible. The charters are known as the Klampenborg collection because they were once in the possession of Mrs. Norregard of Klampenborg, who sold them to the Royal Library in 1952. The most important charter is called after King Balitung. It was probably made by order of the Court of Majapahit, East Java, in the second half of the 14th century A.D., as a reissue of a much older charter of King Balitung, of Central Java, dated A.D. 902. Three of the four charters of the Klampenborg collection are incomplete, many bronze plates are missing. See the edition by the late professor van Naerssen.

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right, stabbing each other with crisses. The personage in the	right hand upper corner is Nārada, the messenger of the
gods. Under him is depicted Sēmar (the black, fat one), who
has Turas and Garêng before him. The latter three person-
ages are Javanese panakawans, clownesque followers and
mentors of the hero of the wayang play, in this case Palasara.
They are Javanese additions to the set of actors (or, more
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or never at all, standing), and the long legs with big shoes. The
costume, tail-coat and narrow trousers, and the fringe of
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Plate 25. Boards of the Javanese palmleaf manuscript Tingkah ing Iman. JAV 2.
لـ الله التَّحْمَالِ التَّخْتَامِ

وَمَكَأْنَاءٍ نَّسَبَ بينَهُمَا فِي أَمْرِ سَبَأ. وَمَنْ يَرْجِعُ إِلَىٰ أَمَامِهِ مَعَ صَدْرٍ حَنَّانٍ، كَيْلَاءٍ يُصْرِيحُ بِبَالِهِ لَا وَلَا نَظَرٍ.

ذَٰلِكَ مَنْ جَعَلَ بَيْنَ الْمَالِ الْحَيَالِ. يَكُونُنَّ لَهُ مَنْ طَالِبُهُ مِنْ نَفْسِهِ أَمْرَهُ.

فَنَفَادِيَتْهُما لَا نَظَرٌ بَيْنَهُمَا. يَكُونُنَّ لَهُ مَنْ طَالِبُهُ مِنْ نَفْسِهِ أَمْرَهُ.

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PLATE 34. Portrait of Mads Lange, drawn by a Balinese artist.
Plate 35. Letter sent to Mads Lange by his Balinese wife. MALAY (Bal) 1 recto.
Plate 37. Letter sent to Mads Lange by a ruler of a petty state. BAL 2.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي في الصورة.
Plate 41. Business letter sent by the harbourmaster of Bantîn to the King of Denmark, 1672. MALAY (Jav) 1.
Plate 42. Contract concluded by a man of business of Bantên with the Danish Captain and Factor, before 1648. JAV 19.
PLATE 43. Receipt for rent due by the Danish Factor to a man of business in Bantên, 1642–43. JAV 20.

PLATE 44. Receipt for rent due by the Danish Captain to a man of business in Bantên, 1642–43. JAV 21.
INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

JAVANESE AND BALINESE CULTURAL HISTORY

BY

TH. G. TH. PIGEAUD

It is a generally accepted theory that the ancestors of the present-day inhabitants of the Indonesian Archipelago migrated from the Continent of South-East Asia (Further India, Indo-China) to the islands in the first millennium B.C., or even earlier.

From prehistoric times Java and Bali seem to have been the most densely populated islands of the Indonesian Archipelago and centres of culture of more than local importance. As a matter of course the millenary history of Javanese and Balinese civilization had some crucial turning-points.

The first turning-point was reached when economic and cultural influences exercised by traders, adventurers and religious men from India began to prevail over indigenous tribal society in the islands. These influences date from the beginning of our era. Probably the Indians were induced to make the perilous voyage to the eastern islands by the hope of gain by bartering textiles and base metals for spices, gold and silver, which was washed in the numerous rivers.

There are reasons to believe that, in Java and Bali at least, the Indians found petty tribal kingdoms, established in the basins of the rivers, comparable with the kingdoms encountered by European explorers in the islands of Polynesia, more than ten centuries later. Probably indigenous Royalty and nobility in Java and Bali, recognizing the superiority of the Indians (consequence i.a. of their possessing more metal implements and weapons than the islanders), in the course of time saw fit to welcome them, perhaps making alliances with them by marriage. In this way the ancient religion and social order of Javanese and Balinese upper class people amalgamated with Indian beliefs and customs. Probably in the first millennium A.D. the difference in cultural level between indigenous Javanese and Balinese ruling classes and Indian traders and immigrants was not insurmountable, both groups sharing some ideas about religious and social Order, believed to be the foundation of Cosmos and human society.

In the second half of the first millennium A.D. architecture and sculpture, inspired by Indian art,

1) The present author's "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-Leiden 1967-70, and his "Javanese and Balinese manuscripts and some other codices written in related idioms spoken in Java and Bali, Descriptive Catalogue", (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band XXXI), Wiesbaden 1975, contain more extensive descriptions of the periods of Javanese cultural history.
began to flourish in Central Java: the world-famous Bārā-Budur and Prambanan temples were built. Several lengthy Royal charters written in Old Javanese and inscribed on stone slabs or copper plates have come down to us from the eighth and ninth centuries. They represent the earliest phase of written Javanese literature. To this category of very old literary documents (according to South-East Asian standards) belong the so-called Klampenborg plates. They have been re-edited and translated for the present catalogue by Professor van Naerssen (OLD JAV 1–10).

At the Courts of Javanese Kings who were worshipped as incarnations or descendants of the great Indian gods, especially Shiva, Old Javanese epic poems in Indian kāvya style, inspired by Sanskrit Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, were written from the twelfth century onward. Arjuna Wiwāha, Arjuna’s Nuptials, is the name of a work belonging to this category. The present catalogue contains descriptions of two Arjuna Wiwāha manuscripts. This celebrated poem is one of the best representatives of Old Javanese Court literature of Indian inspiration (JAV (Bal) 1–2).

Arjuna Wiwāha, in all but the language in which it is written an Indian kāvya, contrasts most strongly with the boorish mythological tale from Mount Arjunā in East Java which is edited and translated by the present author. This fragmentary tale is evidence of the survival of indigenous religious belief in tutelary spirits of rivers and mountains even in relatively recent times. Probably it was written in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. The traces of the impact of Indian religious ideas which are discernable in the tale are slight and superficial. Of Islam there is no trace at all (JAV 1).

A second turning-point in the cultural development of Java was reached when the age-old theocratic order of society, with a divine King in the centre, was replaced by Islam. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries almost the whole of Java was converted to this religion. International trade in South-East Asia had fallen into the hands of Muslim merchants of mixed blood and middle-class origin, settled in the ports along the coasts of the islands, and against their economic power and young energy the Hinduistic inland Kings could not maintain their positions.

Gradually the old order of things: religion, art and literature of Indian (Shivaitic and Buddhist) inspiration faded away to make place for a new, typically Javanese, civilization, containing elements of the international Asian and Arabic culture of Islam blended with remnants dating from both preceding periods: the countless centuries of primeval tribal culture and the succeeding era of Indian cultural influence.

Whatever new things they learned, the Javanese were never disposed to forget old ideas they had once cherished. Especially the primeval religious notion about Order in Cosmos and human society never was wholly forgotten in Java. Javanese thinkers found ways to harmonize it, first with Indian pantheistic speculations and afterwards with Islamic theology and mysticism. In Java, Islam merely washed over Indian religion, forming a second layer on top of the primeval fundamental belief in cosmic Order.

At the turning-point of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when Islam spread in the Indonesian Archipelago, the ways of Java and Bali, which till that time had run parallel, separated. Bali was not converted to Islam. Preserving its pre-Islamic culture, with its foundation on pristine belief in cosmic Order, Bali became the custodian of ancient lore, art and literature, which in Java gradually were
buried under the layer of Islamo-Javanese culture. Moreover the Balinese, being isolated, surrounded by Islamized peoples, developed their cultural heritage in a peculiar manner, adding elements to it which probably had been unknown in pre-Islamic Java.

Nevertheless the Balinese never forgot the glorious period in the fourteenth century, when Java and Bali were united under the sway of the divine Kings of Majapahit (East Java). The Usana Bali (Antiquities of Bali), represented in the National Museum collection by Mads Lange's fine manuscript, which is described in the present catalogue, was written in a Javano-Balinese literary idiom by a learned Balinese author who was a firm believer in the cultural ties binding Java and Bali together from olden times (JAV (Bal) 3).

The Palalintangan, astrological painted tables and manuscript texts of the National Museum which are discussed in the present catalogue, are specimens of the extensive literature on divination which flourished and still is flourishing in Java and Bali. Ultimately all kinds of divination, augury etc. are founded on the pristine belief in cosmic and social Order. As this notion always was present in the Javanese and Balinese mind it is not surprising that divination texts should occupy an important place in their literature (JAV (Bal) 4–8).

It seems probable, however, that the Balinese, having a gift for artistic composition and design, improved upon the original Javanese tables of constellation signs, developing them into charming small pieces of miniature painting.

Though all languages of the western part of the Indonesian Archipelago are cognates, still there are notable differences between them. During the long centuries of separation from Java, the Balinese, besides guarding the Old Javanese cultural heritage, also developed a characteristic literature in their native tongue. This vernacular literature of Bali is represented in the present catalogue by a small belletristic poem called Kidung Pēksir, the Birds' Song (JAV (Bal) 9).

In Java the impact of international Islamic culture on indigenous and Hindu-Javanese civilization resulted in a remarkable dichotomy in the people's thinking as well as in their social and religious behaviour. On the one hand a majority, though calling themselves Muslims, do not regularly observe the commandments of Islam; they know next to nothing of the creed and religious law. In most things of any importance their lives are regulated by ancient custom, dating from pre-Islamic and even pre-Hinduistic times.

On the other hand a minority, mostly middle-class people, have become really devout and practising Muslims, observing the commandments of the Faith to the best of their knowledge and making the pilgrimage to Mecca if possible. But then, this Javanese religiosity is deeply influenced by a kind of Islamic mysticism which borders on pantheism. There can be little doubt that the tendency of Javanese Muslims towards heterodox mysticism is prompted by religious notions which prevailed in the preceding periods of the cultural history of Java: pristine belief in a fundamental social and cosmic Order and Indian pantheistic speculations.

Though the Royal Library does not contain manuscripts belonging to the specifically mystic literature of Javanese Islam, Javano-Islamic religiosity is represented by a manuscript on Imān, the Faith, and a treatise on the Prophet's Shaving (JAV 2–3). The importance attached to the latter
function is to be explained by the fact that shaving (the head, of course, not the beard) was regarded as a religious ceremony. It was an initiation rite ("rite de passage").

Like religion and devotional practice, general literature also was deeply influenced by the fact that Islam became the established religion in Java and Sumatra. International Islamic culture produced a mass of epic, legendary and romantic literature, written in Arabic and Persian, part of which was translated into Malay. The Malay manuscripts (MALAY (Arab) 1 and 2) which are described by Dr. Voorhoeve in the present catalogue belong to this category.

Several Javanese works of this kind, mentioned in the present catalogue under the heads: Islamic sacred history and legends, Islamic epic tales and Islamic romances (JAV 4-17 and JAV (Bal) 10) seem to be translations from Malay. In some cases the Javanese authors may have had Arabic examples. Very often the authors thought fit to adapt situations and activities of the heroes to Javanese standards of behaviour, even introducing new characters which according to their ideas should take part in the story. The 'cunning servants', clownesque personages, belong to this category of characters which according to Javanese standards are indispensable in any tale. No doubt it is due to this acculturation that part of the legendary epic and romantic literature belonging to international Islamic culture became so very popular in Java, not only with devout Muslims but also outside their community, even with village people, especially in East Java and Madura.

A considerable part of the Javanese palmleaf manuscripts described in the present catalogue contain the Life of Joseph, son of Jacob, in its Islamic version, which is based on the twelfth sūra of the Qur’ān. One is inclined to suppose that the fundamental cause of the extraordinary popularity of this tale is its affinity with an ancient indigenous myth of the adventures of a young hero who, developing into a knight errant, ultimately becomes a great King. In original Javanese literature similar tales are well known. Usually they are called after the main character whose name is Raden Pāñji, Prince of Koripan (i.e.: the Country of Life). The theory that the Pāñji tales are founded on an ancient indigenous myth in which Pāñji appears as the culture hero is generally accepted at present (JAV 4-10).

One manuscript contains part of the tale of the brothers Ahmad and Muhammad, which was rather popular even in non-Islamic Balinese circles. It seems probable that this tale was appreciated in Bali for a similar reason as the Life of Joseph was in East Java. In ancient religious speculation on cosmic Order the idea of a primordial antagonism existing between two groups of beings who together fill the Universe plays an important part. Apparently the discord of the brothers as told in the Ahmad-Muhammad tale was regarded as an illustration of this primordial antagonism. The opposition of native Balinese religion against intruding Islam seems to have been seen as an instance of the never-ending mythic contest. So it came about that a learned Balinese informant of Mads Lange's called the Ahmad-Muhammad romance a story of the Muslims' unsuccessful attempts to convert Bali to Islam (JAV (Bal) 10).

It should be noted that in Java international Islamic culture never dominated literature to the same extent as it did in the regions of Sumatra and Malaysia where the inhabitants were converted to Islam. Side by side with the Islamic religious and devotional writings, legends, epics and romances mentioned
above, there exists in Java a most important section of literature which is only superficially influenced by Islam. The Royal Library does not contain specimens of the extensive historical literature which flourished at the Courts of Javanese Kings from the seventeenth century. The interesting so-called wayang tales, however, are represented by a fragmentary Javanese manuscript (JAV 18).

Far more important, though, is the manuscript containing a collection of wayang tales, which has been described by Dr. Voorhoeve (MALAY (Arab) 8). Written in Malay, in Kêlantan, a distant northern district of Malaysia, it is a witness of the far-reaching influence of Javanese culture along the coasts of the Archipelago and the Peninsula, even among people who have a Malay idiom for their mother-tongue.

Wayang is the Javanese name of several kinds of puppets used in the national theatre, which has an extensive repertoire. The plays are called wayang plays. In the most important cycle of wayang-plays many characters bear the names of heroes, heroines and gods from Mahâbhârata and Râmâyana, and episodes of the great Indian epics are enacted. But then, the internal structure of the plays, which is invariable, and the behaviour of the characters, which is typically Javanese, make it probable that the wayang theatre at least partly is a product of indigenous Javanese culture. Evidently many plays are based on ancient vegetation-myths. Some are connected with exorcist rites. In many cases the Indian names which are borrowed from the epics appear to be just pseudonyms of characters belonging to the world of indigenous Javanese myth.

It should be noted that the translation of wayang by shadow-play is misleading, for it is evident that in most cases the puppets themselves are the principal element of the show, not their shadows.

Javanese culture (and the cultures of the other Indonesian peoples) had a third crucial turning-point when European influence gradually became paramount, first in the field of economics and politics, afterwards also in social life, literature and art. Modern Indonesians chose Malay as vehicle of their new literature, and so modernized Malay, renamed Bahasa Indonesia, became the national language of the Republic of Indonesia. As the Royal Library does not contain Bahasa Indonesia texts or documents, this modern development is not further discussed in the present Catalogue.

The collection of Malay and Balinese letters left by Mads Lange which is registered at the end of the book (MALAY (Bal) 1–2 and BAL 1–5) is, however, interesting in this respect, because Mads Lange was a pioneer of international economic penetration in South-East Asia in the middle of the nineteenth century. He lived (and died) in a Balinese state still to a considerable extent outside the sphere of European political influence.

The study of Mads Lange’s life and his place in Balinese society affords an insight into the conditions under which Europe and all it stands for was introduced to a people of the Indonesian Archipelago. Is it too phantastic an idea to see some resemblance between Mads Lange, who eventually became father-in-law to a Malay King, and the Indian traders and adventurers who at the first crucial turning-point of Javanese and Balinese cultural history, perhaps fifteen centuries ago, are supposed to have done and experienced similar things as the energetic Dane did?

The three Malay letters sent from Bantén, West Java, to King Christian V of Denmark about 1670, which are edited and translated in conclusion, are evidence of the position occupied by Malay as a
vehicle of diplomatic correspondence in the Archipelago from olden times. The Javanese contract and receipts for payments written by Javanese or Javano-Chinese relations of Danish traders in the port of Bantën are remarkable as witnesses of the fact that the Javanese language was still used for purposes of international commerce in the beginning of the 17th century. It was gradually replaced by Malay in the following centuries. The Malay and Javanese letters and business papers belong to the National Archives of Denmark.
CATALOGUE
OLD JAVANESE CHARTERS
RE-EDITED AND TRANSLATED

BY

F. H. VAN NAERSSEN†
INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

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

The existence of this collection in Denmark has been known for a long time. About the year 1897 Professor Kern of Leiden made transcriptions of two plates from rubbings which he received from Professor Vilhelm Thomsen. They were published afterwards in O.J.O. (No. XXIV)⁴.

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. Nørgaard at Klampenborg, the owner of the plates. Probably in the course of that correspondence the name ‘Klampenborg plates’ for the collection came into use.

Mrs. Nørgaard 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 Volkermuseum at Frankfurt am Main. Subsequently the nineteen plates were published as a doctor’s thesis under the title: Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden in Duitse en Deensche verzamelingen, Leiden 1941.²

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

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

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

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

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

The oldest inscriptions found in Indonesia are
engraved on stone slabs, but a considerable num-
ber of Old Javanese inscriptions are on copper
or bronze plates (see the illustrations of the “Klamp-
penborg 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 18 ff.), 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 ins-
criptions 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 praçaśi
t or deeds of land grants, favours (anugraha) done
by the king or a member of the nobility to an
individual person or a community (e.g. wanua,
a monastery or a sanctuary, a village of black-
smiths or of merchants etc.). Such an anugraha
or grant entitled the grantee to revenues or part
of the revenues originally due to the grantor, viz.
the king or nobleman. In other words, the insti-
tute of anugraha could only be exercised by the
king or a nobleman, in fact by those who had
the disposal of revenues and statute labour of the
wanuas under their jurisdiction (walćēk). The land
assigned to the grantee was demarcated (susuk)
and declared to be a sina swatantra or auto-
nomous free estate.4

When reading Old Javanese charters of this
kind, we do not find great difference in composi-
tion between praçaśi dating from the end of the
ninth century and those of a later date. However,
it appears that, besides differing from the older
charters as regards details, the later ones show a
tendency to prolixity in the successive sections.
These sections are in general the following:
(1) The date of issue: the year of the 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 grantor who ordered the
rights to be transferred, namely the revenues
(dryya haji lit. the lord’s possessions) and
the statute labour (bwal haji, i.e. “the labour
to be done for the lord”).
(3) The description of the sina swatantra “auto-
nomous land”: area, boundaries, etc.
(4) The sambandha, “reasons” why the person
or the community was favoured. These rea-
sons are sometimes of great historical im-
portance.
(5) A detailed summing up of the various privi-
leges. In this section we find the long list of
persons who were “no longer allowed to enter
the sina,” the free estate. These were the
mahilala dryya haji “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 praçaṭṣi 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 praçaṭṣi. 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 praçaṭṣi in OLD JAV 1–5 (see Plates 1–8). The original charter was issued by Çri Mahārāja, Lord of (Rakai) Watukura, Prince Balitung in the Čaka year 824 (A.D. 902), as is stated at the beginning. It was reissued in Čaka 1270 (A.D. 1348) as is mentioned at the end of the praçaṭṣi.

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

OLD JAV 9 (see Plate 14) is such a palimpsest, an original inscription, one side badly obliterated or perhaps purposely erased and the other side containing five lines of the end of a praçaṭṣi in favour of the merchants’ community (bāṇi-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 Kṛṭāgama (canto 73,
stanza 2; see the commentary in "Java in the XIVth Century", vol. IV, 1962, p. 219ff.).

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 paniasthulan, 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 proqāṣṭi. 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 praçasiti — 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 praçasiti, 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 wati ke kantulan, “support”, of the communities of Babadan etc. be continued as it had been fixed by king Balitung in A.D. 902. As the priests and their families who officiated in the sacred precincts of the sanctuary were economically dependent upon the services of the local rama, without this confirmation the sacerdotal community (ruled by an ordained abbot, who may have claimed to be descended from king Balitung himself) might have gone to ruin. This would have been detrimental to the Majapahit king’s interests, for his royal authority in the country was in part based upon the sacerdotal communities who lived in his states. It is a fact that Watukura is mentioned (as a kasugatan ka-bajradaran akrama, a domain of the thunderbolt bearing Tantric clergy observing the custom of marriage) in the Nāgara Kṛtīgama, 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. 1385 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 Bapigrama 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 Bapigrama 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 Sinḍok (about the middle of the tenth century).

OLD JAV 1 verso (Plate 1):

1. // o || svastि ṣaṅkā varesūti, 824, ṣrāvapārasa, līthi, pañcadaśa pukrapokṣa, pā, pā, aṃ, iva,
2. maļaγkuγan, sapakāγa wiši, pārwausādhānaksāra, ōuwiγaγa, iōktāla mahārāγa rahe wakakura
3. duγa belīγa, γit iyawakēγusawatugunga, mawhe paltarima, mā, kā 1, i rāmanta i waγakura, parigānaγ
4. dharmaka pakasālān tin sāra, aγkēn purnāmaka niγ bhadravādā, kahkhatiγa rāmanta i wakakura, katēγ ikāγ sawa
5. h, ĝaγa, rēnēk, kēbūan, ya tiγa mijilakna piraγ, mā 1, ing sa-rahi, duwan babadān, mā 3,

Translation:
Hail to Ye; 824 ḍaka years have passed. In the month of crāvaγa. On the fifteenth day of the shining half-
Seventh Kāγa. Position of the moon: Fūrwaβādha. 
Declination: giwa.1
This is the time when His Majesty Iγawarakeγusawatugunga, Mahārāγa, Lord of Watakura, Prince 
Baltung, bestowed upon the village elders of Watakura a 
dermecata fee of 1 mā kā for the place of his (i.e. 
Baltung’s) ancestral foundation.2 It is to be worshiped 
by the village elders of Watakura every full moon 
of the month of Bhadrāpada; 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 Babadān 
is to contribute 3 mā;

OLD JAV 2 verso (Plate 3):
1. nta i bhaγa dharmma, γesγaγa, maraha i saγ karm-
manγa, mamāγa, upokalπa, dewakarmma, anapā, 
dewadāsā,
2. pasγhiγ, saγana saγ karmma kummēi bhaγa ma-
kadrγaγa ya, raγ mawγ bāγaγa de rāmantma, bā-
kurāka, kira
3. t bāγu, būγat, pakma i bhaγa dharmma, mawγ 
pagγhurγiγa tahlī, sā 3, mā 14, ku 2, mijiγ rēγ aγ-
miγa,
4. muγaγ sā 3, mā 14, ku 2, mijiγ rēγ cēγa, rāma i 
riγaγ kāta, tumarima ikāγ mās pāγima, wīγaγ saγ
5. druγa rāma ni wīγaγa, ḍuha kalγ yag saγ jāti rāma ni 
santa, gusli saγ jāti karāma i γrula, parujar si 
đhari si đota, wa

OLD JAV 2 recto (Plate 2):
1. i matapanaγ, mā sā 1, mā 4, paγaman, mā, sā 1, mā 
4, buhara suγul, mā 5, buhara upγul, mā 5,
2. buhara triγa, mā 5, buhara hoγa, mā 5, buhara pa-
γanγa, mā 8, boγ, mā 10, mawγ pagγaga sā
3. r, mā, ku 2, brs, ku 1, rīγ sa cγaγ, muγaγ mā, 
ku 1, brs, ku 1, rīγ sa cγaγ, kāγγa paγaman 
pāγanγa niγ
4. jγesγaγ, muγaγ mā, ku 1, brs, ku 1, rīγ sa cγaγ, 
pāγanγa niγ cēγa, muγaγ ikag raγi γaγuγ i babadān,
5. muγaγ tīγa tīγa, sīγaγaγ, aγkēγa i bhaγa 
dharmma muγaγ buγakwūγa, pakma paγaγa rāma

Translation:
Matapanas is to contribute 1 mā sā, 4 mā; Payaman 
1 mā sā, 4 mā; Buhara Suγul 5 mā; Buhara Upγul 3 
mā; Buhara Tēγaγ 5 mā; Buhara Hoγa 5 mā; Bu-
hara Panganten 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 

Translation:
to the god of the foundation. The remains (of the 
offerings) shall belong to the persons who take part 
in the work: those who officiate at the offerings, at 
the (upokalpa?) sacred functions, those who sweep 
(the temple ground), the servants of the temple, the 
pasinghiγ, 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 Črī symbol 
in honour of the god of the foundation.
The assessment of the tahlī (tax) (totalling): 3 sā, 14 
mā, 2 ku shall be available in the month of Āγwayuj, 
and also 3 sā, 14 mā, 2 ku in the month of Cailtra. 
The village elders who received the demarcation fee 
were at that time: the wīγaγas (the commissioned per-
son) sang Druma, father of Widdha; the ḍuha Kalang 
(the head of the Kalangs) sang Jāti, father of Santa; 
the gusli sang Jāti, father of Črula; the parujar (the 
spokesmen) si Đhari, si Đota;
OLD JAVANESE CHARTERS

OLD JAV 3 recto (Plate 4):
1. riga si teja, dādira, rāmānārābā saŋ Garīyan saŋ Subhara saŋ windowa, nāhan kweh ni rāmārā a watuku
2. ra, tumarima ikohā ni mās panim saŋke haji, muag milu sumusik inkahā dharama, ika la kabe haj ka wpā
3. ra i bhūmā dharama a watukura, ya tika lan kalman de saŋ mañila dana haji, mās para rāmāla, watu watu
4. prakāra, kri, pademapuy, kula pamphi, wadihāli, mukudur, lawan, kula pangkur, pagaran, kawur hyang
5. laji, tapahaji, airhaji, malandag, loka, lab lab, manimpiki, tudhip, tukadagang, maguñjai, magrumbai

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

This holy estate must not be entered by the tax-collectors of the Prince; all the mās para mās (outsiders), various watu-watu (persons belonging to the lower classes, artisans, etc.), viz. the kri, pademapuy, the group of pamphs, the wadihali, the mukudur (the two last-mentioned groups comprising officials who pronounce the curse at the end of a foundation ceremony), lawan, the group of pangkurs, pagaran, kawur hyang, laji, tapa haji, air haji, malandang, laka, lablab (textile-dyers), manimpiki (joiners), tudhip, tukadagang (senior merchants), maguñjai, magrumbai,

OLD JAV 3 verso (Plate 5):
1. watu tajem, solwih, pakalangkang, guñjan, tajem, satoran, pinigla, kulagaran, pamrsi, huta
2. n haji, paranakan, rāma jālaka, wihasawami, paramasa, pamasag, awurana, urulan, tampulan, stykpa
3. n, pulu pañi, mapogahi, watyan, widu mañi, kekaka, tarimba, tapakun, bakika, warga in dālem, pahde mās, tämra, kasa, wsi, dañap, amarag xi, uñañhi, atului, amahat, amanantā, aru
5. ge, oqiliga, oñilag, oroj, kujilan, tēlēpan, itegewmadā, pā lika luwirna, nuwañ uñaj sama

Translation:
watu tajem, solwih, pakalangkang, guñjan, tajem, satoran, pinigla, kulagaran, pamrsi, hula haji (the lord’s slaves), paranakan (half-castes; children born of marriages of persons belonging to different castes or to different races), rāma jālaka, wihasawami (chiefs of temples), paramasa, pamasag, awurana (sowers), urulan (planters of seedlings), tampulan, singōkan (the two last-mentioned groups engaged in agriculture), pulu pañi (harvesters), mapogahi (drummers), watyan (sorcerers), wida mañi (ballad-singers), kekaka (kōkā-dancers), tarimba (tarimba-dancers), tapakun (mask-dancers), bakika, warga in dālem (court officials), pahde mās, tämra, kasa, wsi (the four last-mentioned persons being, respectively, gold-, copper-, brass-, and blacksmiths), dañap (wrought-iron workers), amarag xi (dyers of ornamental garments), uñañhi (carpenters), atului, amahat (engravers), amanantā, angue, oqiliga, angul, oroj, kujilan, tēlēpan, etc. comprising four categories. Moreover is empowered [the rest must have followed on a missing plate ‘4’]

OLD JAV 4 recto (Plate 6):
1. bhabbun, matapanas, payaman, bhabara suwu, bhabara uñjih, bhabara tiañ, bhabara hoa, bhabara pa
2. ūnten, bārey, wakēk antulan, i dharama hoj watakura, tumul krama saŋ haneŋ kon pati Buchanan rāma ka
3. bāy, mās rōma tōi siriŋ keh, makha manum loki loki wado n kanışa madda mottana, kapuwa na
4. nau a iana naka kantuna rō ihoon klu ke ambelambel, kasa, tē tē, bhadha kandī patēppa parisukha
5. su alman, tahu ian wagan kahyeng kuluban sunda rumbah itegewmadā, ian naka kaka, mañka

Translation:
Bhabbun, Matapanas, Payaman, Bhabara Suwu, Bhabara Uñjih, Bhabara Tengah, Bhabara Hoa, Bhabara Panganten, Barend, all “supports” under the jurisdiction of the Lord of Watukura.
The following persons attended according to the order of precedence (or: according to existing customary rules): the pati, wahuta rōma kabayan and all the elders of the border villages, old men, young men, men and women of the lower, the middle, and the upper classes of society. They were all entertained. Nobody was passed over (or: nothing was lacking):
cooked food, various kinds of farinaceous food: kas�an, lít-lít, bhaŋḍa kāndi palidwa. All the guests highly enjoyed: tahū (Chinese farinaceous food made of green peas), wuggle (a dish made of freshwater fish?), harygas (a kind of banana), kuluban (steamed vegetables), susu (edible roots), rumbah, etc. Nothing was lacking. The same applied to harang-harang (roasted,

OLD JAV 4 verso (Plate 7):
1. na laŋ harag harag, dẹg kakap, kadiwas, laṅgiri, hana, harag, bilīŋ laŋ pakaŋ, paripāraŋa ikä kabez, pāŋa ałīnga masawu kifēa kilag tōv paripāraŋa ikä kabez, malaŋ yan lan parąryyan saŋ manaŋahakan kēn tahapa
2. n, manaŋ ya n wijək sira kabez, muag men men, si patihalan, manaŋol, si patihaŋkēl, muag si bari pāceh, atapukan, si girag haysen, marakapakaŋ sira kabez, dinnikan kupag, 3, sowag sowag, i las nira ka
3. beŋ manaŋah, maŋdiri saŋ makudur wadihati patił pramuuka, kapur manimbah i sāraharah ĉri mahāraja, muag ra

Translation:
fried, and baked dishes, dẹg (spiced and dried slices of meat), kakap, kadiwas, laṅgiri (three kinds of fish still known under the same names), cuttle-fish, shrimps, and all kinds of (fried) skins of oxen. There was an abundance of everything. And then there were beverages: rum, distilled beverages, syrup, mead, wine (fermented drinks), and there was also a profusion of all this. Because they just did not stop regaling themselves with the drinks, all of them were merry. Patinghalan (a surname, literally: actor) recited something; Patihaŋkēl and Baripacē performed a dramatic dance. Girag haysēn (?) performed a mask dance; all acted at the same time. Each one was rewarded with two kupag.

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

OLD JAV 5 (Plate 8):
1. tiŋkək saŋya haŋi watakura, // o //, ig gaka, 1270, ašūdha māsa, ilti, ekadapū cuklapaksa, pā, wa, ca, wāra, julung, // o //

Translation:
conditions within the Lord of Watukura’s domain.


Watukura charter

OLD JAV 6–8 (K 6–8).

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

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

OLD JAV 6 verso (Plate 9):
1. // o // ujär haji kîmîlananikag warggā sima i watukura sa pāŋji lāñtī kaheb, makā 2. di q kabayan, makumaka ikan apāŋi kāla jaya, sambondha, gati marga sima i 3. watukura, an humatur anēmbah pāduka ĉri mahāraja, makosopana i 4. ka mapaŋi kāla ĉaya, makanaryyama i rakryan kanuruhun mapaŋi siphā 5. di, līwan rakryan mapahki mapaŋi lansah, aghyaŋ i ka susuk simā ni

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

OLD JAV 7 recto (Plate 10):
1. kaḥ i watu kura sa pañjih thāni, mantēna wiṣaya
   hantulan, tan padraya hajja, muwag mántēnā
2. lahiła pañañšiąggi, an sīna swadanira lpos ta pua,
   pāduku ći mahārāja pua siła ta
3. n wnąg tan waωa rīñā hen ri pañjaŋg niŋa ensi pañji
   kālajaya, makanimīta n kalo
4. n kapagęñ rı̃ bākhañtín wargga sīna makamuka ıkañ
   pañji kālajaya i pāduka
5. ći mahārāja, muwag kadhamnohosan rekryan ka- 
   nuruhan, lāwan kosiña

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 tahit 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 rekryan konuruhan’s integrity, and

OLD JAV 7 verso (Plate 11):
1. parākraman rekryan apalih, manrīkañken i pāduka
   cı̃ mahārāja, mañanga na ina
2. bhaya sanmala pañjaŋg wargga sīna, makamuka
   ıkañ pañji kālajaya, de pāduka cı̃
3. mahārāja, an mañakhañ wargga sīna wineh mamki- 
   tana saq hyan ajñā hajj tinañga jalañama
4. haläncaña, mrotisabhadhahka paņget ṃgana sargura
   pāduka ćĩ mahārāja i wargga sīna i wa
5. ı̃ kura, an kewala susuk sīna swadantra lpos ta pua ı̃
   ikañ i watu kura, ıa

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

OLD JAV 8 recto (Plate 12):
1. n kādādganan de ŋiŋ wineh hantulan mne ḥlam tka ır
   rī dāhā ngy dāhā, muwag mántēnā lahi
2. la pañañšiąggi, an kewala sīna swadanira lpos kap- 
   wekañ i watu kura, phalṣhraña niŋa
3. wargga sīna i watu kura, an sulatori sārī sāyga
   nīddākhen saŋgañjuan sāra
4. pāduka ćĩ mahārāja, nuanweh ri hilañan i kalēg- 
   kāniñ bēmī janggata, sangγe
5. panja kapagęñaktikkaŋ wargga sīna i watu kura
   ta pua saŋsa saq hyan ajñā hajj

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 tahit 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 compiled every day with His Majesty the King’s orders (sora’), 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. knina naŋkaŋ wargga sīna i watu kura sapañji
   thāni, mne khlém ikāri dāhā ngy dāhā
2. , wkas kura sungel laŋka manpañji jñādā, kunaj rı̃
   ṃganga ı̃ hana ṭalala
3. laha anugraha pāduka ćĩ mahārāja i ŋiŋkaŋ wargga
   sīna i watu kura, knaana
4. ı̃ daŋga soha panañja, i wurua ŋiŋkaŋ wargga sīna
   i watu kura amagęhaka ı̃
5. sīga siguna, /f0f/.
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 sangèl Langka Panjì Jalàdi.
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 panèngah punishment. This should be known by the inhabitants of the free estate of Watukura. They should uphold (this decision) without hesitation.

1) Or: “to be kept by”. 2) lépas is an Old Javanese explanation of the preceding Sanskrit word swadantra.
3) I am not certain of the translation of: “tan w提醒 tan wawa rēnēhu”. 4) See note 2. 5) Read: sūrī sūrya.

Bāṅgrama 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 aňalaňa sāgara, anujura sāgara (if he crosses the ocean, he will be drowned in the ocean), we may conclude that it forms the end of the section containing the curse called down upon all who act against the rules formulated in the charter (cf. the Introduction). The plate bears no number, and the faint traces of script on the other side suggest that it is a palimpsest.

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

OLD JAV 9 (Plate 14):
1. ilā ila, ila ma-yaa rama ma-ram, aňalaňa sāgara, anujura sāgara, tuś nir nyă laputa rīg pakūdà ikaň bāṅgrama rīg wa
2. lučura, pahalim, lahīran, pawidu, saŭrīr ninabāya kunag rī sāhānaya n hanâ ilalalalâhâ mugkil mug-kilârub dâ roça kmi
3. tan bāṅgrama, yan brahmunâ, kṣatriya, wēṣya, sudra, anak tāni, sakawâwanya, sāpāpā niñ mahāpataka kārkučya de
4. nilkâg morguddâ kintān bāṅgrama mañcga bali-tug, samajkâ roça čī mahārāja, i wuha bāṅgrama pāpōha ian
5. sīgan sīgan [i:i:i].

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, langi-ran, minstrels, and all abhāya. 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 Brahmâna, a Kṣatriya, a Vaija, a Cudra, a farmer, and all his descendants, all the misery of great disasters will be met with by1 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.

1) Instead of kārkučya — unknown to me — possibly something like kapanggurhanya (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 x 34.5 cm. (See Plates 15–16).

OLD JAV 10 recto (Plate 15):
1. hān, midōr aňulun ańidul ańit pāpur, asidaklan lāwan haločan, muwača māñidul ummōr ḍeṣzā sīkāla
1. lâwânâlkâ ańulwan, pańjag nga, ḍpa, 30, bhâh, muȧh mañidul sańkeg sîkulañawâkiñiñan galēg lâwan hâla
3. n, midôr ańulwan akâliñan galēg lâwan halañan, midôr ańidul akâliñan galēg lâwan halañan du
4. dûg ḍkeg agneya, wâlôs kulumpau kiniñiñan lâwan halañan kidul taralap, mańulwan sańke
5. agneya, anikulawâ, pańjag nga, ḍpa, 27, midôr ańidul sańke sîkulañawâkiñiñan galēg lâwa
6. n taralap, dûdug mañidul atâl piggîr ni kûkwan asidakan lâwan taralap, muañh ańulwan akâliñan
7. galēg lâwan taralap, muañh midôr ańidul anikulañawâ, pańjag nga, ḍpa, 19, midôr ańulwan sańkeg siku
8. lâlawâkiñiñan galēg lâwan taralap, midôr ańidul anikulawâ, pańjag nga, ḍpa, 26, akâliñan

OLD JAV 10 verso (Plate 16):
1. galēg lâwan taralap, midôr ańulwan sańkeg sîkulañawâkiñiñan galēg lâwan taralap, dûdug mañu
2. lwan makâliñan piggîr niñg kali welan, muañh midôr ańidul piggîr niñg kali welan, akâliñan galēg lâwa
3. n taralap, anidôlês ańidul sańkeg kali dûdug ḍkeg galēg ogôg kiniñiñan lâwan taralap midôr ańu
4. lwan sańkeg galēg ogôg wâlôs kiniñiñan lâwan taralap, anidôlês ańulwan atâl galēg ogôg kiniñiñan
5. lâwan âsâ, midôr ańidul sańkeg galēg ogôg kiniñiñan lâwan âsâ, muañh midôr ańelan anidôlês makâliñ
6. ḍan piggîr niñg lâwañ kûkwan, ańidul atâl piggîr niñg lâwañ kûkwan anikulawâ, pańjag nga, ḍpa, 43, midôr ańu
7. lwan sańkeg sîkulañawâkiñiñan piggîr tan podrawâl lâwañ sañ hyañ dharmna, midôr ańalor sańke piggîr niñg lâwañ a
8. nikulawâ, pańjag nga, ḍpa, 13, akâliñan galēg lâwan taralap, ańulwan sańkeg sîkulañawâ.
A PRE-ISLAMIC MYTHOLOGICAL TALE
EDITED AND TRANSLATED
BY
TH. G. TH. PIXEAUD
JAV 1 (C. 1103).
JAV 1 is a fragment of a narrow, oblong copper-plate with writing on both sides, registered at the National Museum in 1907. According to the previous owner it was found on Mount Arjuna in East Java.
The right end of the plate was broken off, leaving an irregular edge. The remaining part is approximately 35 cm long and 5.8 cm wide. The copper is very thin, only 1 or 1.5 mm, and very flexible. At the left end a corner was broken off, but this did not impair the text.
On both sides there are five lines of writing, scratched very lightly into the copper. On one side there are scratches over the writing of two lines, which makes the text even more difficult to read. This same side has the Javanese numeral denoting the number 6 written in the margin (see Plate 17).
The shape of the fragment and the fact that it bears a number indicate that it is a small part of a copperplate codex. This codex had probably the shape of the well-known Javanese palmleaf manuscripts.
As a rule, Javanese palmleaf manuscripts are about 3.5 cm wide and have four lines of writing on each side. The fragment in question is 5.8 cm wide and has five lines on each side, and so the copperplate codex seems to have been made on a larger scale than palmleaf manuscripts. As even the finest of those are seldom more than 50 cm in length, we may assume that the copperplate codex was about 60 cm long. Thus the fragment would represent only slightly more than one half of one plate of a copperplate codex consisting of at least six plates. Probably there were several more plates originally, seeing that the text on the fragment does not seem to come near the conclusion.
A page of a palmleaf manuscript consists of one side of one palmleaf and one side of the next. When the manuscript is closed, the two sides come together. The side of a palmleaf that faces downwards when the manuscript is lying closed is called the verso and usually bears the number of the page in the margin at the left-hand top corner. The other side is called the recto.
Assuming that the copperplate codex was made on the same lines as ordinary palmleaf manuscripts, the side bearing the number 6 would be the 'verso', i.e. the top half of a page containing ten lines of writing; the other side of the fragment would be the 'recto', i.e. the bottom half of page 5 of the codex. I am of opinion that the text on the copperplate fragment confirms this theory.
It should be stated here that this copperplate codex does not seem to be related at all to the well-known ancient Javanese royal charters on bronze (see Plates 1–16). The bronze plates used to be much thicker, inflexible, and of a different shape, rather broader and less rectangular. The writing on them is usually much clearer and was not scratched in so superficially as the writing on the copperplate.
A type of square Javanese script was used on the copperplate, seldom found either in inscriptions or in manuscripts and difficult to read, as it is both irregular and clumsy. It is not, however, an old script. The clusters of the usual Javanese script (nta, mba, etc.) are used sparingly, these
combinations being often rendered by means of a *paten* (Skr. *virāma*) placed between the two *aksaras*. In my transcription the *paten* is rendered by an oblique stroke.

The text contains one kind of punctuation mark: a small horizontal stroke, and this I have rendered by a comma.

In my transcription *ṅ* represents the Skr. *anuvāra*, *ṅ* the velar nasal *aksara*. In romanized Javanese this phoneme is represented by *ng*.

The manner in which the words are separated in the following transcription is determined by my interpretation of the text. For the rest, the text is reproduced literally as far as I have been able to read it. My emendations are to be found in the notes. A glossary containing all the words in the text is appended at the end of the paper. It may prove to be of some use to students interested in Javanese idioms and linguistics and can also be used as a general index to the contents of this paper. In the transcription, the translation and the glossary the lines of the text are numbered 1–10. This is done for the sake of convenience since, assuming that my theory about the recto and verso sides is correct, the numbers should read as follows: page 5 lines 8–10 and page 6 lines 1–5.

The translation is as literal as possible. I have taken some pains to find an equivalent in English for each Javanese word in the text and to place the English words in almost the same order as the Javanese ones.

**Transcription:**

1. *ga*, *sawit* / *gĕdăy sawit* / *tals* / *sawit* / *tĕbu sawit* / *hajunging tariñ aranira*, *hagĕ sira muja samadi*, *jĕg pandira s*

2. *lat* / *sag tītaraga*, *diñaren* / *pukulan* / *dewa*, *nora kaki hana kanok* / *sanigson*, / *hika si kaki rīg purwa bēnĕr*

3. *gunug sąy yag mahameru haranira lutug* / *tēka rīg ṭakasa*, *yata hika kamasanigson* / *dinala sakin kene kaya bahe*

4. *nĕm* / *bañ sañ tītaraga*, *pukulan* / *sami deniñ mok* / *ta raunak* / *pukulan bañara dewa hiriku*, *lañ kaki kariha*

5. *tan* / *pa wĕtra hariñ sira*, *mĕnĕy sąy sĕmar denira hamalasakên* / *, hanam* / *but* / *sira bĕru kakalih hiinisen* / *%

6. *jił* / *tekay toya*, *mantihanta dene hahĕniñ katonani wi* , *jĕnĕr sąy tītaraga*, *lañ ta kaki hadawa* , *paran* / *ta po*

7. *kaya kaya cakra kan* / *ḍĕg* / , *wĕnąy pukulan* / *liñoka lanun* / *sida hanis irat* / *liñok* / *lugane si rama yan tatu si den* / *%

8. *braŋbraŋian* / *luga hatsĕkên* / *tĕkên* / *bajaran*, *mananiñ ta sira*, *yata hananiñ kili bran* / *ti*, *majo sañ sĕmar*, *kaki doctrine*

9. *wa sirăq kana*, *manawa na wong wadon mijĕro haja dera wehí*, *karananiñ ana tulak* / *tăngul* / *hananig sela tum* / *pañ*

10. *ga*, *hati sira kesaha sakiy kilı brati hati sira gwahara*, *yata hananiñ guwa tiga*, *man* / *tihan* / *ta denira wiratı* , *ya*

**Literal translation:**

1. *(galugala)* one stalk, *banana one stalk*, *talehe one stalk*, sugar-cane one stalk, raising the tray is its name, greatly did he perform worship and concentration, at once he looked around frightened.

2. *(sewa)* the worthy Tītaraga. Why! master divine! It is nothing, my friend. There is my place of deliverance, that yonder, my friend, towards the east, precisely.

3. The mountain "the worthy holy Mahameru" is its name, reaching to the sky, that yonder is my place of deliverance. Observed from here it is like a...
4. made the aijdæ the worthy Tirtaraga; 'Master, equally is delivered the son of the revered Lord divine here'. Well, my friend, farewell!

5. without notice to you. Fell silent the worthy Sëmar in his answering. He took two coconut shells, they were filled.

6. [appeared] then that water, utmost was its clearness, the aspect of the liquid. Astonished was the worthy Tirtaraga. 'Well now, my friend, take a bath! What now is'.

7. seeming like a wheel come to a standstill. 'Is it possible', Master? It must be a deceit that it should exist verily on earth!' 'Deceitful should have become now your father? If surely now'.

8. with drumming going away, having for a stick: a stick from a hedge. Weeping now is she. This is what the Amorous Old Woman is. Said the worthy Sëmar: My friend;

9. [when] you are yonder, when there is a woman going inside, let it not by you be allowed her, because of the (existence of a) defence and barrier, the (existence of) stones piled up.

10. mind, you go away from the Amorous Old Woman. Mind you the caves. This is what the three caves are. Utmost is their being quiet.

[1] Ga must be the last syllable of the name of some plant. In my opinion gatage is the most likely possibility (see Commentary). In the last words of this line some anusudras must be inserted; the best reading seems to be: haggeg siru muta samadi, jëg pandirangan. In Modern Javanese the usual form is pandirangan.

[2] Lat is probably the last syllable of mutal. I cannot suggest any plausible reading for the last, mutilated word in this line. [3] Kariba (from kari ‘to be left behind’) means ‘farewell’ and is said by the person departing to the person remaining behind. This is important for the interpretation of the text (see Commentary). [4] The meaning of several words in this line is not clear. I think that wëtra should be substituted for wëtra. In several Javanese dialects aring is used instead of maring ‘towards’.

Hamalasakën must derive from wula, but this word is unknown to me. I suggest the emendation hamalësakën. This derivative of wula means ‘to give in return’ and here the meaning would be ‘to give for an answer’. It is an East Javanese dialectal expression; cf. the parallel offered by the Malay mëmbalas and mëmbalas-kan.

Bëruk is a coconut shell, the correct spelling being bëruk kokalih. Hïhïsen ‘they were filled’. In this context it must be assumed that it was Sëmar who filled the coconut shells as the Javanese idiom does not allow of any other interpretation.

[6] Jil is probably the last syllable of mijil. Kalonani wi is indistinct, owing to the scratches. The correct spelling would have been kalananj wi.

I cannot suggest any plausible reading for the last, mutilated word in this line. The Javanese numeral denoting the number 6 is written in the margin against lines 6 and 7.

[7] Wënaug usually means ‘may’, ‘might’, but the translation ‘can’ or ‘is possible’ seems the only one that fits in this context. Tagane is a dialectal expression.

In my opinion fatu should be read fanta, but the meaning of the last words in this line is not very clear, owing to the deficiencies of the text.

[8] For bajuran should probably be read bañjuran, meaning ‘a row’ or ‘a hedge’.

Manahis, with the prefix ma-, is unusual in this idiom. Probably the prefix is used here with a view to avoid a double n: bajuran natis.

[9] Wa is probably the last syllable of manawawa. For mijëro should be read mijëro.

Haja dera weh included a so-called passive voice (dera weh), a point of interest to grammarians. This unusual turn of speech is probably used here out of courtesy. It seems to be dialectal, aja haweh ‘do not allow’ would be the usual expression in Modern Javanese.

[10] I cannot suggest any plausible reading for the word that ends in go.

Hati should be translated by ‘mind’. In Modern Javanese ‘to be careful’ is nali-ali.

Wirati (from wirakti ‘phlegm’) means ‘calm’ in Old Javanese. Usually this word is applied only to living beings and not to a locality as seems to be the case in this line. Wirati is no longer used in Modern Javanese.
SOME OBSERVATIONS

The *idiom* in which the text is written is not very old. The *h* is treated as it is in Modern Javanese: it is written but not pronounced at the beginning of words. If the *h* had been audible, a contraction such as *manawa na* (l. 9) would have been impossible and the words would have been written separately: *manawa hana*.

Several words used in *formal speech* (Modern Javanese: *basa krama*) occur in the text (see Glossary). *Sitra* indicates sometimes the second and sometimes the third person, which usage persisted in the poetic idiom of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. On the other hand, some of the words are now definitely obsolete (*pukulan, mantihanta, wirati*).

Some of the words and expressions derive from the East Javanese dialect (cf. the notes), but the text does not contain a single word that might be connected with Islam. The *idiom* is reminiscent in some respects of the *Tantu Panggélaran*, but the idiom of the latter appears to date from an earlier period.

The style in which the text of JAV 1 is written is simple and prosaic. *Mantihanta denig* is probably an expression, now obsolete, taken from the *wayang* producers' *idiom* (*padalangan*) and used (twice!) as a stylistic embellishment. That the text reveals the influence of the *wayang* plays is not surprising (see further Commentary and Conclusion).

The scribe of the copperplate codex was no great scholar. He made some mistakes (*kamosan / kamoksan, bēru kakalih / bēruk kakalih*) and his handwriting is clumsy. I have reason to believe that the author of the text was his own scribe and if this is the case, we must attribute the mistakes and other defects in the text to the author himself.

The style of the *Tantu Panggélaran* is refined and literary compared with the style of the copperplate codex. The former text probably dates from about A.D. 1500 and it seems safe to assume that the copperplate codex was written in the sixteenth or at the beginning of the seventeenth century. This assumption is supported by the fact that the type of script is not very old.


COMMENTARY

**Line 1**

The first line of the text (p. 5, line 6 of the copperplate codex) contains the latter part of a description of some religious ceremony called 'raising the tray'. The four stalks that are mentioned at the beginning were probably taken from the following plants:

1. *galuga*: *Bixa orellana* Linn., the annatto tree, which produces a red dye
2. the *banana* tree, with yellow fruits
3. *tālēs*: *Colocasia esculenta* Schott, the taro, the edible tuber of which is often white inside
4. the *sugar-cane*. Javanese sugar is dark brown.

These four plants probably represented the four principal colours in the ancient Javanese *classification* system. The colours correspond to the four cardinal points of the compass:

south: red,
west: yellow,
east: white,
north: dark brown or black.
This quadruple system of cosmic classification played an extremely important part in ancient Javanese belief, customs and social organization. (See Piggeaud, Javaanse Volkswetlingen, Batavia 1938). At the religious ceremony described in the text, the four stalks were probably planted in a quadrangle, to mark the four cardinal points; to the ancient Javanese people this quadrangle represented Totality or the Cosmos.

The name of the ceremony, 'raising the tray', suggests some offering to a deity of the upper world, as any offering to the nether world would probably not be associated either with raising or with a taring. This is a kind of tray, which is usually found suspended from the roof timbers by means of cords. The last words in l. 1 suggest that the prayer of the worshipper was answered by the appearance of the deity in person.

**Lines 2 and 3**

The second line of the text reveals the name of the worshipper: Tirtaraga. Many Javanese names have meanings which are connected with the status of the bearer. The name Tirtaraga is composed of two words: tirta and raga; tirta (Skr. tṛthā) meaning in Old Javanese 'holy water', raga (Skr. rāga) 'body' as opposed to 'mind'. I suggest that the name of Tirtaraga should be translated by 'Holy Water Personified'. On the basis of this interpretation of the name I have formed a theory about the bearer's status and function, namely, that Tirtaraga was the mythical warden of some well of holy water on Mount Arjunā. This theory will be substantiated in the commentary on the next lines and the Conclusion.

Dhāren, translated by 'why!', is an expression of surprise. Tirtaraga is surprised at the appearance of a divine being, whose name is not mentioned, but who explains in l. 2 and 3 that his abode is towards the east.

The literal meaning of kamoksan is 'deliverance' (Skr. mokṣa) but here kamoksan refers to a locality and therefore means 'place of deliverance'. By 'place of deliverance' is meant the abode of a holy man or a divine being. In the Tantu Panggélaran the word patapan meaning 'place of asceticism' (Skr. tāpa) is used in the same sense, i.e. referring to the abode of a god or a mythical ancestor.

In l. 2 the abode of the unnamed god is said to be towards the east and l. 3 describes the holy mountain, Mahameru; we may therefore surmise that the god's abode was on Mount Mahameru. The highest mountain in Java is Mount Sumeru (3676 m), which is not directly east, but rather south-east, of Mount Arjunā, where the copperplate fragment is said to have been found. The Tēnggēr mountains, however, are almost due east of Mount Arjunā and form together with Mount Sumeru an unbroken massif. Mount Sumeru is regarded as the abode of the celestial beings and in the Tēnggēr mountains are to be found the villages of the only group of any consequence of Javanese people that refused to embrace Islam.

The centre of worship of this group is Mount Brāṇā (Skr. Brāhmaṇā, in ancient Javanese mythology the god of fire), a secondary volcano situated in the centre of a huge crater called the 'Sea of Sand', which is all that remains of an extinct volcano from prehistoric times. At any rate the localization of the divine abode on the holy mountain, towards the east, corroborates the information that the copperplate fragment was found on Mount Arjunā.

According to ancient Javanese belief, Mount Sumeru was, above all, the abode of the supreme god, Bațara Guru, who is identified with Shiva,
the Lord of the Mountain, and it is therefore probable that the unnamed god of l. 2, 3, and 4 was Baṭara Guru himself.

Line 4
The fourth line contains a description of the end of the deliverance ceremony. In ancient Javanese classificatory belief the 'mokta' ceremony was probably regarded as a consecration and an initiation into a higher state of existence. Baṭara Guru first bestows the sacrament of initiation upon Tirtaraga, who accepts it, expressing his gratitude and paying homage to his divine initiator by making the añjali, the well-known gesture of adoration, and by addressing the god by his highest titles: paduka baṭara dewa. In great reverence Tirtaraga calls himself the son of his initiator; the word ranak contains the prefix ra-, here probably an expression of reverence.

Tirtaraga states that he has been 'equally' delivered. In my opinion this can only mean that the sacrament of initiation made him a member of the same group of beings as that to which his initiator belongs, i.e., he is consecrated as a divine being. By calling himself the son of his initiator he shows that he feels he has the right to regard himself henceforward as belonging to the family of the gods.

The sacrament of consecration bestowed upon Tirtaraga in l. 4 was the goal in view at the time of the worship described in l. 1. Therefore l. 1, 2, 3, and 4 seem to form the end of a chapter, which might have been entitled 'Tirtaraga's Consecration'. The last words in l. 4 imply that Baṭara Guru, having bestowed the sacrament, departs, probably to return to his abode on Mount Mahameru.

Line 5
The fifth and following lines belong to the next chapter and are even more difficult to interpret than the preceding lines of the fragmentary text. In my opinion this chapter refers to some quest, undertaken by Tirtaraga under the guidance of Sēmar.

I do not attempt an interpretation of the first words of l. 5; they form the end of some explanation or statement, the beginning of which is lost to us.

In the next sentence Sēmar appears for the first time in this text. He is one of the most popular characters in the plays of the Javanese national theatre, the wayang, and acts as guide and faithful companion to the young hero of the play, usually Arjunā. Undoubtedly the Sēmar of the plays evolved from an old conception of a supreme divine being, older than gods and men and neither male nor female. From this divine prototype Sēmar inherited his wisdom and his strength, but in mythical tales and in the plays he shows little or no initiative or readiness to act for himself and therefore appears, superficially, to be little more than a cunning servant. In the text of the copperplate fragment Sēmar's divine character is not wholly neglected, for Tirtaraga addresses him reverently as pukulan 'Master', whilst Sēmar addresses Tirtaraga as kaki 'my friend'; these are the same forms of address as those used in the preceding chapter between Tirtaraga and his divine initiator.

One might ask in this connection if the divine initiator and Sēmar should not be considered to be one and the same person. I do not, however, think this is the case because in l. 2 the god explains clearly that his abode is on Mount Mahameru, for which reason he is to be identified with Baṭara Guru. Sēmar, on the other hand, has no fixed abode in the universe, which is one of his characteristics. Moreover, the last word of l. 4 cannot be explained otherwise than as a farewell addressed
by the departing god to Tirtaraga, who remains behind.
The question also arises whether the lost part of
1.4 contained the introduction of Sëmar into the
narrative, but in my opinion the space is too
limited to allow of such an introduction. It is more
in accordance with Sëmar’s character to assume
that he had been present from the beginning of
the tale as the faithful attendant and spiritual
guide of Tirtaraga, and Tirtaraga was probably
also acting on Sëmar’s advice when he worshiped
in order to obtain the sacrament of consecra-
tion from the god of Mount Mahameru. I am
inclined to believe that the lost part of 1.4 con-
tained Tirtaraga’s request to Sëmar for advice
after the leave-taking of the god, as well as
Sëmar’s reply. Sëmar’s advice was probably that
Tirtaraga should proceed on his quest.
The last words in 1.5 seem to imply that Sëmar
performs some magic act with two coconut shells
filled with water.

Line 6
The sixth line of the text of JAV I (p. 6, l. 1 of the
copperplate codex) tells about the results pro-
duced by Sëmar’s magic. From somewhere there
appears clear water, the sight of which astonishes
Tirtaraga, who is told by Sëmar to bathe in it.
The word here used for water, 
*loya*, is met with
only in formal speech in Modern Javanese. Its
use in this context may be due to reverence for
the holiness of the water which was produced by
Sëmar’s magic.
The lost part of 1.6 probably contained an ac-
count of the effect of this bath upon Tirtaraga.
My opinion is that Tirtaraga was made clair-
voient by the water magic, and as a result was
able to see many strange things. The following
lines contain a description of Tirtaraga’s visions
interspersed with words of advice from Sëmar.

Line 7
The seventh line begins with Tirtaraga’s reaction
to the first of these visions. He compares it to a
wheel which has come to a standstill. In Old
Javanese *cakra* is a poetic word for a wheel or a
disk and also refers to the disk of the sun, so that
it seems safe to assume that the vision consisted of
some sign in the sky. Tirtaraga is so astonished
that he believes Sëmar to be deceiving him, but
when challenged, Sëmar denies this.
In the relationship between Tirtaraga and Sëmar,
the latter calls himself ‘father’, which is not out
of keeping with his character since he is older
than gods and men. In the East Javanese dialect
*rana* or *ramak* is a common word for ‘father’
but in the modern Central Javanese idiom it be-
longs to formal speech only.
The lost part of 1.7 probably contained a description
of Tirtaraga’s second vision: the Amorous
Old Woman.

Line 8
The eighth line begins with the latter part of the
description of this personage. In Old Javanese *kili*
means an ‘old woman who devotes her life to
religion’. Kili Suci, the ‘Pure Old Lady’, is the
eldest female member of the family from which
descended the *Pañji*, the popular hero of East
Javanese myth and legendary history. I have not,
however, been able to find the name *Kili Branti*
anywhere in Javanese literature. As to the iden-
tity of the Amorous Old Woman I can only offer
the following theory.
In Javanese mythology the dangerous *chthonic*
*power* as opposed to the beneficient celestial one
is represented as female. In a well-known tale
from Old Javanese literature this dangerous chthonic being is called Calon Arang and is depicted as an old woman who is also something of a witch. I therefore think it probable that after seeing the celestial sign in the form of a wheel, Tirtaraga had another vision, in which he saw the chthonic power in the shape of the Old Woman. This would be in accordance with the system of classification on which Javanese thought is based. The epithet branti (Skr. bhṛanti ‘perplexity’, in Old Javanese ‘distraction caused by love’) may be translated by ‘amorous’ and explained by the fact that the female chthonic power also symbolizes procreation and fertility. Unlike Tirtaraga, Sēmar and Mount Mahameru, Branti does not have the predicate of sang ‘worthy’, which is probably also to be explained by the fact that she belonged to the chthonic powers and was therefore not considered worthy of a title that was a prerogative of celestial and human beings.

In I. 8 Kili Branti appears to be in a sorry plight for she is weeping and leaning on a stick, which has been cut from a hedge. This may be one of her characteristics like the drumming mentioned at the beginning of the line.

At the end of I. 8 of the fragment Sēmar begins his explanation or advice.

**Lines 9 and 10**

The ninth and tenth lines contain Sēmar’s advice to Tirtaraga with regard to the dangerous Old Woman. In the lost part of I. 8 Sēmar probably mentioned some refuge, in I. 9 instructing Tirtaraga not to allow any woman to enter it and even to defend it by placing stones before it.

L. 10 contains the last part of Sēmar’s advice to Tirtaraga concerning Kili Branti, in which he says that Tirtaraga must avoid her. He then mentions three caves, which may perhaps be the refuge that Tirtaraga is to enter and defend, as mentioned in l. 9.

The fragmentary text ends at this point.

**CONCLUSION**

The translation and the commentary may have thrown some light on the text of JAV 1 but the most important questions of all concerning this fragment still remain to be answered. These questions might be formulated as follows:

I. What was the significance of this tale written on the copperplate for the author, for the scribe, and for their (or his) hearers and readers?

II. Why was it laboriously scratched onto copper instead of being written on palmleaves?

III. What purpose did the copperplate codex serve?

IV. How did it come to be broken?

My theory as to the significance of the tale for East Javanese people living in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is as follows. In my opinion Tirtaraga’s story is connected with the river Brantas, the principal river of East Java, at the mouth of which stands the city of Surabaya.

The meaning of the name Tirtaraga, as explained above, i.e. ‘Holy Water Personified’, suggests that the bearer was a mythical warden, in Javanese called a danghyang, of the sources of a great river. In ancient Javanese mythology all important places had their danghyangs, some of whom used to be worshipped with offerings of flowers. Veneration for springs regarded as the sources of great rivers is not uncommon in Java. Another instance of this kind of worship is found on the western slopes of Mount Lawu at Dlēpîh in Central Java. The best explanation of the Dlēpîh offerings is
that the place was formerly regarded as the source or fountain-head of the Bėngawān, the Sālā river, which is the second largest river of East Java and was therefore entitled to special worship.

The river Brantas has, in fact, three sources according to ancient tradition. The best known of these is the mineral spring of Sānggārīti, west of the well-known mountain resort of Batu, but the Sānggārīti spring is no longer regarded as one of the principal sources of the great river, as the quantity of water it produces has decreased considerably. The remains of some Hindu temples prove, however, that in former times Sānggārīti was considered an important holy place. The two other sources are much higher up, in the pass between Mount Ańjaśāmārḍ and Mount Ańjūnā and near the estate of Sumbēr Brantas (the Brantas Source) and the village of Junggā. All three sources are situated on the southern slopes of the Pēnangsānggan-Ańjūnā massif.

If this line of thought is pursued further, it is tempting to assume that the two coconut shells filled by Sēmar refer to the two sources of the river Brantas near Junggā. The question is, was Tirtaraga the warden of the two sources and was he to meet later on in the tale the (female) warden or nymph of Sānggārīti? Were they to witness together the birth of the great river Brantas and the beginning of its long journey towards the sea? Here one can only surmise.

This may seem too far-fetched, but besides the meaning of the name Tirtaraga there are some other details in the text that give support to my theory.

The presence of Sēmar in the text suggests a romance akin to the plays of the wayang theatre, for Sēmar is one of the principal characters in the plays. The normal structure of Javanese romances and plays is simple: the hero, under the guidance of Sēmar (or any other companion of the same type), sets out in search of the heroine and finally discovers her. Within such a framework Tirtaraga would be the hero, beginning his career by being consecrated to his quest by the god of Mount Mahameru, but the heroine is not yet mentioned.

The visions described in the second part of the text might be explained as follows: In the typical Javanese romance or play the hero on his path to victory has to surmount difficulties, which are regarded as trials, and the visions may refer to these trials. Because of its fragmentary character the text is not clear on this point. In my opinion Tirtaraga, aided by Sēmar, had only a vision or a premonition of the dangers he was to encounter before reaching his goal; there is also the possibility that in the latter part of the text Tirtaraga and Sēmar had already set out on their travels, but I do not consider this probable as the available space seems too limited to allow of a description of their departure.

In connexion with Tirtaraga’s visions of the trials he will have to undergo before reaching his goal, I venture to propose yet another interpretation. It is possible that Tirtaraga was regarded not only as the warden of the principal sources of the Brantas but also as the spirit or tutelary deity of the whole of the river. If this is the case, the features of the landscape mentioned in the description of Tirtaraga’s trials might refer to the countryside through which the river runs from its very sources. The piled-up stones and the three caves would also be consistent with this theory.

In conclusion, I would answer the first question by suggesting that the copperplate codex contained a mythical tale of the origin of the river Brantas, of a type well known in Java.

Reference should here be made to the legend of
the origin of the Sūrayu, one of the great rivers of West Java, which is said to have been dug by Bima (Bhima) under the guidance of Sēmar. In Javanese legends Bima is often the personification of Nature's primordial force. It should be noted that Sēmar plays an important part in both the Brantas and the Sūrayu legend.

Assuming that my answer to the first question is correct, the answer to the second is obvious: the myth of the origin of the river Brantas was written on copper because it was considered most important to record the history of the great river that brings fertility and wealth to a large part of East Java.

Nevertheless, not all mythical tales about the origin of rivers and mountains etc. were written on copper. To the best of my knowledge, there were very few, if any, copperplates found in Java that are at all comparable with this one. Important mythical tales, such as the Tantu Panggēlaran, were often written on palm leaves, and many of them were probably transmitted orally by wayang producers and story-tellers for generations without ever being written down. A copperplate codex containing a mythical tale must evidently have served a special purpose.

As regards the third question, I suggest by way of answer that the copperplate codex containing the legend of the river Brantas was intentionally made so that it easily could be preserved as a holy treasure, a 'pusaka', a fetish, in some sanctuary situated near the sources of the river.

Probably the codex was originally kept in a copper box, wrapped in fine cloth and put away in a high place under the roof of some sanctuary consisting of a small wooden pavilion with a high roof covered with black sugar-palm fibre (Javanese: duk, Malay: juk). At special times it would be worshipped with incense and offerings of flowers. This is the manner in which the Javanese, up to the present time, preserve and worship holy objects. I have seen manuscripts written on palm leaves as well as on paper, krisses, spears, and gongs preserved and worshipped in this way. Why, therefore, should not a codex written on copperplates have been treated in the same manner? I do not propose in this paper to discuss the religious sentiments which Javanese worshippers entertained towards sacred objects. Suffice it to say that they evidently felt a close connection between, on the one hand, the preservation of the objects and the continuation of the cult and, on the other, the welfare of their society and the stability of their universe. It was probably for this reason that some priest of the sanctuary near the sources of the river wrote down on copper the mythic tale he knew from memory, this holy man being the author of the present text of the myth. He would be his own scribe, in the conviction that in composing and writing down the sacred tale he was performing a highly meritorious task, beneficial to his people.

It is quite possible that the ancient Javanese royal charters on bronze plates were preserved and worshipped in their time in the same way as the copperplate codex, and in this respect it may be said that there is some similarity between the copperplate codex and ancient royal charters. On the other hand, however, the differences in the contents and the type of writing are very considerable.

As to the fourth question, concerning the breaking of the original copperplate codex, I feel justified in stating that it was broken on purpose. In the sixteenth century most of the princes of Java, together with the people of the towns and boroughs in the plains, became Moslems, but in the mountains remains of pre-Islamic cults persisted for a
I do not suppose that the Dane who in 1907 presented the fragment now known as C. 1103 to the National Museum had found it himself on Mount Arjunâ; he had probably bought it from some Javanese or Chinese dealer offering it for sale to tourists at one of the beautiful mountain resorts in the neighbourhood, or to the staff of one of the estates on the slopes of the mountain. Many curios used to come into the hands of European collectors in this way.

The Danish buyer of the copperplate fragment was sufficiently interested to ask where it had been found, and he received a rather vague answer from the dealer, to the effect that it had been found on Mount Arjunâ. This does not mean that the dealer found the fragment on the mountain lying in the scrub; it is far more likely that he discovered it when visiting at the house of some villager in one of the mountain hamlets. He may have bought it from the man or his wife for some stivers, knowing that he had a fair chance of making an excellent profit by offering it for sale to some European collector. The poor Javanese mountaineer might have inherited the copperplate fragment from some ancestor, who, again, might have obtained it in one of the ways described above.

The present paper on the copperplate fragment belonging to the National Museum has been written to comply with a flattering request. I am fully aware that it contains a great deal of fancy and little solid fact but it may prove of some use to students of things Javanese and it may, for Danish people who once lived in Java, revive memories of the wonderful years spent there.

I conclude by quoting the closing words of most Javanese fairy-tales: wallâhû a’llâm bi’sâwâb ‘God is the One who knows the truth best’.
GLOSSARY OF JAVANESE WORDS

The glossary is arranged according to the Modern Javanese alphabet, transliterated:

1. h and vowels       6. d  11. p  16. m
2. n                   7. t  12. q  17. g
3. c                   8. s  13. j  18. b
4. r                   9. w  14. y  19. f
5. k                   10. l  15. ᓇ  20. ᓇ

The words are entered as spelt in the text. Prefixes and suffixes are treated as if they were separate words. The numbers refer to the lines of the transcription.

1. H and vowels
   -a suffix of conjunctive or imperative mood:
     karīha v. kari, hadusa, v. hadus, liṅoka v. liṅok,
     kesaha v. kesah, guwa v. guwa
   -i genitive marker, v. -iɣ
   -i verbal suffix, v. weh
   -an: suffix, v. ka-an, v. brahīragan
   -in- verbal infix, v. dulu, cf. hīg-
   hana there is, existing 2, 9;
     hana anik being in, on 7;
     hana anik the being of 8, 10
   hēniɣ: hahēniɣ clear 6
   -ira his, her, its, their 1, 3, 5; v. denira
   haran name 1, 3
   hiriṅk here (formal speech) 4
   harīg dialectal word for marīɣ towards 5
   hika that, yonder 2, 3
   -akēn verbal suffix, hamalasakēn, emended;
     hamalēsakēn, v. wallē
   hikaŋ: tekāŋ loya that, yonder over 6
   hakasa sky 3
   hadus to bath 6
   hati: hati sira kesaha, hati sira guwaha mind 10
   hisi: hiṁsen was filled 5
   hulat: mūlat to see 2
   haja do not (veto) 9
   hujar: mojar to say 8
   hagē, v. hagēɣ
   -iɣ genitive marker: kalonan iɣ we (emendation for
     kalonan iɣ); hanan iɣ the being of 8;
     karanan iɣ because of 9
   hīg- verbal prefix, v. hisi 5; cf. -in-
   hīg: in, on, v. hana, haniɣ; siragkana, 9; cf. riɣ
   -iɣsun my (possessive) 2, 3
   hagēɣ generally 1

2. N
   -ne suffix, v. dene
   -ira, v. -ira
   nora it is not, no 2
   nēmbah, v. sēmbah
   nambut, v. sambut
   -niɣ, v. -iɣ

3. C
   cakra wheel 7

4. R
   ra- honorific prefix, v. ranak, rama
   -ra, v. dera; cf. -ira, sira
   ranak son (expressing reverence) 4
   rat world 7
   rama father 7
   riɣ in, on 2, 3; cf. hiṅ

5. K
   ka-an prefix-suffix: kamoksan, kamosan, v. moksa
   2, 3; katonan, v. ton 6
   kana there 9
   kene here 3
   kanḍēɣ to come to a stop 7
   kari to be left behind; kariha farewell 4
   karana because 9
   kaki my friend (vocative, addressing an inferior,
   a junior) 2, 4, 6, 8
   kesaha to go away (formal speech) 10
   killi: Kili Branti Amorous Old Woman, name of
   witch 8, 10
kaliḥ, kakaliḥ two 5
kaya like 5; kaya-kaya seeming like 7

6. D
dene: mantihanta dene hahēnīg utmost was its
clearness 6
denira: denira hamalasakēn his answering 5;
denira wirati their being quiet 10
denīg, v. sami denīg
dera: haja dera wehi let it not by you be allowed
her 9
deva god, 2, 4
dalu: dinulu observed 3
dināren exclamation, expressing surprise: why, 2

7. T
la then, now (interjection): tekay 6; laḥ la 6;
paran la 6; mananūis la 8
ton: katonan aspect 6
tantu sure, surely (emendation for latu) 7
tanpa without 5
Tirtaraga name of the hero 2, 4, 6
tariq tray 1
tēka, tēka riq coming to 3
tēkēn stick; hatekēn having for a stick 8
tekay, ta and hikay
tatu, v. tantu
tatug reaching 3
tulak-taugul defence-and-barrier 9
taḥ name of plant (Colocasia esculenta Schott),
taro 1
toya water (formal speech, expressing reverence) 6
tumpōy pile, piled up 9
tiga three (formal speech) 10
tagane have become, at last 7
tēbu sugar-cane 1
tānīs, mananūis to weep 8
taugul, v. tulak-taugul

8. S
sa- one 1
si enclitic, stressing the preceding word: hika si
2; latu si 7
si honorific particle; si rama father 7
siro he, she 1, 5, 8
siro you (polite and respectful address) 5, 9, 10
sakīg from 3, 10
sīda velī 7
selō: stone (formal speech) 9
sami: sami denīg equally (formal speech) 4
Sēmar name of the companion of the hero 5, 8
samādi concentration 1
sēmbah, nēmbah to make the aŋjali 4
sambut, hanambut to take 5
sag (honorific title) the worthy 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8

9. W
wa, v. manawā
wi, v. we
we emendation for wi, liquid (poetic word for
water) 6
weh: haja dera wehi let it not by you be allowed
her! 9
wēnāg can, possible 7
wirati quiet 10
wērtō emendation for wētra, notice 5
wadon, wog wadon woman 9
wit stalk, tree 1
wētra, v. wētra
walas, v. waleś
walēs emendation for walas: hamalēsakēn to give
an answer 5
wijil: mijil to come out, to appear 6
wog a human being 9

10. L
laḥ well (interjection) 4, 6
lat, v. hulat 2
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A PRE-ISLAMIC MYTHOLOGICAL TALE

liñoñok deceit, deceitful 7
laman: that (conjunction) 7
luga to go away 8

11. P
pandira, v. pandirap
pandirap to look around frightened 1
paran what? 6
purwa east 2
pukulan Master (vocative) 2, 4, 7
paduka: paduka bajara dewa revered Lord divine 4
puja: muja-samadi to perform worship and concentration 1

13. J
jéro, mijéro (emendation for mijéro) to go inside 9
jíl, v. wíjíl 6
jëhr astonished 6
junjun: hajunjun to raise 1
jëg at once 1

14. Y
yan if 7
yata that is 3, 8, 10
yaj spirit, holy (sacer) 3

16. M
ma-, v. tañis, manañis
mi-, v. miñ
Mahameru name of holy mountain 3
mantihanta utmost 6, 10
manawa when (emendation for wa) 8

mënëg to fall silent 5
mokta delivered 4
moksa: kamoksan place of deliverance 2 (emendation for kamosan) 3
mosa, v. moksa
malasakén, v. wálés
muja, v. puja
mojar, v. hujar
mijíl, v. wíjíl
mij- verbal prefix, mijéro (emendation for mijéro) to go inside, v. jéro 9

17. G
gaa, v. galuga
gunug mountain 2
guwa cave 10
galuga name of plant (Bixa orellana Linn.), arnatto tree 1
gëdañ banana 1

18. B
bënër precise 2
bëru, v. bëruk
brantí amorous 8 (emendation for brati) 10; v. kili
bëruk coconut shell 5
brati, v. branti
brapbray, brapbrañan drumming 8
bajjar, bañjaran (emendation for bajaran), row, hedge 8
bajaran, v. bañjaran
bajara Lord (used in addressing a god) 4
JAVANO-BALINESE AND JAVANESE
PALMLEAF MANUSCRIPTS

DESCRIBED

BY

TH. G. TH. PIGEAUD
INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In Java, Madura, Bali, and Lombok, palmleaf was the common writing material before paper was introduced by Europeans. Even at the present time new palmleaf manuscripts are made in Bali and hundreds of old ones are still in circulation. In Java and Madura, however, palmleaves have not been used for writing purposes for some decades, owing to the spread of school education and modern ideas from the West in general. For several decades, manuscripts written on palmleaves have been freely offered for sale, especially in the province of East Java (capital: Surabaya), to any European showing an interest in them, because the Javanese or Madurese owners, who might even be the makers’ children or grandchildren, lost all interest in the manuscripts, probably in many cases being unable to read the ancient script themselves. In this manner several of the manuscripts now in the collection of the Royal Library may have found their way into the hands of European collectors who were at one time residents of Surabaya.

The palmleaves used for writing purposes are dried strips, cut into oblong shapes, of the leaves of Borassus flabellifer Linn., in Malay lontar, and consequently in Dutch called lontar palm; hence, too, the name lontar manuscripts. For particulars as to the palm and its many uses, reference should be made to the excellent book in Dutch by K. Heyne, De Nuttige Planten van Nederlandsch-Indië, 1927, Vol. 1.

The palmleaf strips are perforated in the centre and at both ends; through the hole in the centre is passed a long string, which binds the leaves together. Onto this string are also passed the two boards or blocks of wood that serve as covers, having the same dimensions as the leaves. When the manuscript is closed, the two boards are drawn together by means of the string, thus pressing the leaves together between them, and the loose end of the string is finally wound round the whole sheaf. Sometimes a short piece of string is passed through the left- or the right-hand hole of one particular leaf and knotted; as a rule, a leaf marked in this manner contains the beginning of a new canto or a passage of special interest to the reader.

There is space for four lines of writing on each leaf and both sides of the leaf are used. Generally, a page of a lontar manuscript consists of two sides, viz. one side of one leaf and one side of the next, and each page therefore has eight lines of writing. In good manuscripts the pages are numbered, a page bearing its number at the left-hand top corner of the side of a leaf that constitutes its first half. Sometimes, however, the numbers refer to leaves and not to pages.

The writing on a palmleaf is scratched onto the leaf with the point of a small knife and subsequently rubbed over with a black powder so that it may stand out clearly. If the letters have lost their distinctness, it is possible to restore this by moistening them with a little water.

The system of transcription used in the following
pages is that normally used when transcribing Sanskrit. The following symbols should be noted: े, the Indonesian pēpat (șēwa); ı, the velar nasal (English ng) when written as a dot over the preceding character (originally the Skr. anusvāra); ạ, the velar nasal when written as an independent character; ῳ instead of the AMAGE used in the transcription of Sanskrit.

OLD JAVANESE AND JAVANO-BALINESE EPICS AND LEGENDARY HISTORY

Arjuna Wiwaha.
JAV (Bal) 1 (Cod. Javan. Add. 1).
Presented to the Royal Library in April 1919 by Professor Wilhem Thomsen, who had received it from Louis Walrondt Schat Petersen about 1870. Measurements: 54×3.5 cm, the MS. thus being exceptionally long. In good condition. Pages numbered in the usual fashion, 1–31. One leaf is probably missing at the end, for the text ends abruptly. Fine, regular writing, Balinese script. Description by Dr. K. Wulff, 10 April 1919.


The missing conclusion of the MS contained only the last canto of the poem, the 36th, which begins: nā sāmbatnikaṇ āpsari. This canto has only two stanzas.

As a rule, good Balinese manuscripts, such as this one, have a colophon at the end, containing the date on which the copying of the text was finished. It is unfortunate that the colophon of this MS has been lost together with the last part of the text. On account of the fine writing and the script I attribute this MS. to some Balinese scribe living in the eighteenth or at the beginning of the nineteenth century (see Plate 18).

JAV (Bal) 2 (C. 1102).
Fragment of a lontar MS of the type called ēmbat-ēmbatan in Balinese. It has no boards, and the leaves are loosely gathered together on a string at one end. As a rule, ēmbat-ēmbatans are only note-books as opposed to MSS with boards, which are meant to be kept as cherished possessions. This ēmbat-ēmbatan has only 3 leaves left, numbered 23–25. Measurements: 39.7×3.6 cm. Good writing, Balinese script. Registered in 1907.
Contents: a fragment of the well-known Old Javanese kakawin Arjuna-wiwaha 'Arjuna’s Nutrials’. See the description of JAV (Bal) 1.

First lines: dhīpa. rāmya paṛg manēmbah anēno sawawa kadi huvus samāgama. Translation: ...of the Prince. Joyfully they performed together the ṣēmbah (corresponding to Skr. añjali ‘homage’), graceful, harmonious, as if they were already united in wedlock. This is Arjuna-wiwahā, Canto 15, Verse 2, in Poerbatjara’s edition p. 213, 1. 12.


Tēgēs ing Bhuwana Jagat, Usana Bali, Usana Jawa, Aji Astakosali.

JAV (Bal) 3 (C. a. 96).

Lontar MS in good condition. Leaves measuring 47.6×3.5 cm and numbered 2–64, number 1 not being marked as such, which is a common feature. Number 13 is missing so that there are now 63 leaves. The numbers refer to leaves, not, as is usual, to pages (see description of JAV 2).


Contents: four texts, mainly in prose, with some interpolated cīlokas in a corrupt form of Sanskrit. The prose idiom used is an archaic type of Javanese which has long been in use in Bali for religious and legal prose texts. The four texts contained in the MS all deal with social order and religion in Bali and with ancient Balinese history. They are called:

east: Iqwara
south-east: Mahēsora
south: Brahmā
south-west: Rudra
west: Mahādeswa
north-west: Çangkara
north: Wiṣṇu
north-west: ?
centre: Çiwa in various shapes.

The rest of the Tēgēsing Bhuwana Jagat contains precepts for the worship of the gods, which were intended for different classes or groups of the Balinese people.

The second text, usually called Usana Bali, begins on leaf 3 verso. The first words are: kuny matiḥ, iti katuturaniḥ huṣana bali, ha, cinaritakāni tiṃka-hiṣ bhumi bali. Translation: As for the sequel: this is the Record of Balinese Antiquity. That is to say: described is the order of the Balinese land. The Record of Balinese Antiquity contains myths about gods, one of which relates the struggle that took place between the gods of the upper world
and the demons of the nether world. There is also an allusion to a vegetation myth concerning the origin of the rice plant. The text ends with precepts for divine worship, given to a mythical culture hero called Jajaka Sunu by a goddess named Nini Bañari. The Usana Bali has a colophon containing the date Çaka 1335, i.e. A.D. 1413.

The third text begins on leaf 35 verso. It is usually called Usana Jawa, 'Javanese Antiquity', but this title is not found in JAV (Bal) 3. It begins rather abruptly in the following way: hana sirā say prabhū sakay wilafttu, hakaḍatun sirā marīg halas trik, hana hariri haran sirāyyga damār, hakaḍatun sirā marīg tulembag. Translation: There was he, the honoured Prabhu from Wilautikta (i.e. Majapahit, the well-known East Javanese kingdom). He went, to make a royal residence, to the Wood of Trik. There was his younger brother, by name he, Arja Damar. He went, to make a royal residence, to Tulémbang (i.e. Palaembang, on the east coast of Sumatra).

The Usana Jawa gives an account of the manner in which Bali came under the political influence of Java (Majapahit). As many of the noble and princely families in Bali today claim descent from warlike Javanese lords mentioned in this text, it was for a time held in high esteem by the Balinese aristocracy.

The Usana Jawa has a colophon, which runs as follows: sampūrna hikīta ḥkanīg gologor dawgī riɣ dinā, ra, pa, wara duñulan, çačiɣ ka, 4, kraś-ŋāpaksa riɣ triyodaçiɣ, rih, 2, teɣ, 6. Translation: It is complete, written there in Gologor, on Sunday-Paing (a day in the five-day week), week: Dungulan (one of the thirty wukus, weeks of seven days), month: the fourth (of the sidereal year, September-October), in the dark half, the 13th, head: 1, neck: 6. These words refer to the last two figures in the number of the year and should be read in the reverse order: 61. In my opinion the Çaka year 1761, i.e. A.D. 1839, is meant, which would be the year in which the copy was made. The fourth text consists of only 3 pages and begins on leaf 61 verso. Aṣṭakoçali would mean 'eight crafts' but should possibly be read as Hastakoçali, Skr. Hastakauçālya, meaning 'handicrafts'. The first lines read as follows: iți tutiɣ kramanıg aji aṣṭakoṣali, ña, kawrukahna denira saŋ mahulaŋ giñnā, tiɣkaliɣ wip i kayukayu marīg čarintā. Translation: This is a record called The Customs Pertaining to the Lore of the Handicrafts. That is to say: it must be known by those who practise the crafts: the order of the life of the various kinds of wood in relation to your body (i.e. to yourself).

This short but interesting text has no colophon; it was perhaps appended to make up the number of texts to four and to award an honourable place in the social scale to those practising peaceful crafts.

There can be no doubt that JAV (Bal) 3 is the authentic MS., a copy of which was used by Friederich when he was preparing his paper "De Oesana Bali" (Tijdschrift voor Neerland's Indië, 9, Vol. III, Batavia 1847, pp. 245–373). It is a pleasing thought that this MS. was once in the possession of Mads Lange.

Friederich mentions in his paper (p. 247) that the MS he studied was a copy made in 1846 from a MS. in the possession of de Ligne, sometime Assistant Resident at Banyuwangi in East Java, and that its original owner was M. Lange, agent for the Netherlands Indies Government in Bali-Badong. After the death of de Ligne the original MS. came into the hands of his widow and Friederich believed that she took it with her to Europe. Now the Museum Pusat in Jakarta possesses an identical MS., which has 64 leaves,
measuring 48 × 3.5 cm, and contains the same four texts (v. Poerbatjaraka, Jaarboek K. Bataviënsch Genootschap, 1933, under the four titles mentioned above). It is possible that this Batavian MS. is the copy formerly used by Friedrich or another copy; at any rate, the Leyden collection does not possess the de Ligne MS., though it has some other MSS. containing the four texts. Vide the “Beschrijving van de handschriften v. d. Tuuk” by Brandes, Juynboll’s catalogues and “Literature of Java”. Friedrich’s paper contains a summary in Dutch of the first two texts of the MS. and a lithographic facsimile of half a page. At the time when this paper was published, in 1847, this was an achievement worthy of some note, particularly as it was undertaken in Batavia.

JAV (Bal) 3 is a particularly fine MS. (see Plates 19, 20 and 21). Not only the boards are decorated but also the edges of the leaves, the design on which can, of course, only be appreciated when the MS. is closed; the edges of the leaves, pressed together, then form one surface. The decoration consists in a design of flowers in red and gold. The MS. also contains one illustration, on the 62nd leaf; it is a small drawing in the Balinese style representing the god Wiwakarmma practising yoga, and therefore belonging to the Agjakosali, seeing that Wiwakarmma was the tutelary deity of craftsmen. It is to be regretted that scholars gave so little attention to these interesting texts after the publication of Friedrich’s paper. A summary of the Usana Jawa was published by v. Eck, “Schetsen”, Tijdschrift voor Neerlands Indië, New Series 7, 1878, Vol. II, p. 326, and of recent years Professor Berg took some of the material for his studies on Javanese history from the Usana Jawa (Middeljavaanse historische traditie, Leyden 1927, p. 109, note, and later for: “De Sadengoorlog en de mythe van groot-Majapahit”, Indonesië, 5, 1951, p. 385).

JAVANO-BALINESE DIVINATION

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The fundamental concept of Javano-Balinese divination is a religious belief in inter-relationship of all beings, things and occurrences in Cosmos, great and small, past, present and future. This inter-relationship is believed to be ordered in classes or categories, so that beings, things and occurrences belonging to one class are interchangeable, and in permanent opposition to beings, things and occurrences belonging to another class. That is why the inter-relationship of things which is fundamental in divination is called classification.

Beings and things belonging to one class of the system are believed to be bound to have the same character and the same fortunes. So in the case of human beings it should be possible to predict their future lot if one knows, firstly, the class to which they belong (either permanently or under certain circumstances), and, secondly, the character and future fortunes implied by this fact. In Javano-Balinese belief, cosmic classification (and the divination practice founded on it) is primarily fivefold, in five categories, connected with the four points of the compass and the centre, and so with the ancient native Javanese five-days week. A sevenfold classification connected with the seven days of the continental week and their
divinities affords an opportunity of refinement by
crossing, resulting in 35 possible cases. The great-
est Javano-Balinese classification cycle is thirty-
fold, connected with the ancient native Javanese
“year” (perhaps originally a rice-cultivation peri-
od) of 30 wukus (of seven days), each wuku
having an individual name. They appear in the
*Pawukon* divination.

A palmleaf manuscript on divination.

**JAV (Bal) 4 (C. 2508)**

Material: Strips of leaves of the *lontar* palm, Borassus flabellifer, cut to measure and dried. *Lontar* manuscripts like this one, still possessing the palmleaf ribs so as to appear as being folded up, are called *embat-embatan* in Balinese. They are not provided with the two half-round wooden boards which serve as covers of a complete Balinese book. *Embat-embatan* manuscripts partake of the character of a notebook. The manuscript has 21 palmleaves. Originally it seems to have consisted of sixteen leaves: at a later date three older and two newer leaves were added. Measurements: $31 \times 3.4$ cm. See Plate 23.

Function: Divination diagrams to be used in combi-
nation with a divination manual called *Wariga*
in Balinese.

For their intricate system of diviners’ calculations
the Javanese and the Balinese invented ingenious tables containing diagrams with many compart-
ments and crosslines. They have abbreviations for
the names of the days of the different kinds of
weeks etc.; also various marks and figures are
used. For the uninitiated it is difficult to grasp the
exact meaning. Study of extensive *Wariga* texts
containing explanations and indications of the

use of the diagrams is essential for attaining a
thorough understanding.

As a rule divination tables containing many dia-
grams are scratched or carved into wooden boards
the size of a big slate or slightly larger, called *tika*
in Balinese. Fine specimens are coloured red,
white and black.

Divination tables written on palmleaf are not as
practical as those carved onto boards but they are
cheaper. It is probable that JAV (Bal) 4 was in
use in a Balinese household for a considerable
time. Seeing that *embat-embatan* notebooks with-
out covers, being unprotected against insects, as
a rule do not last very long, the date of its making
probably was not much earlier than the year 1900.
The divination method employed in it is called
*Pawukon* in Balinese, because it starts from the
principle of the Javano-Balinese thirtyfold classi-
fication of wukus, each wuku having seven days.

JAV (Bal) 5 also is a *Pawukon* divination table.
The three divination tables with polychrome pic-
tures, JAV (Bal) 6–8, on the other hand, are
called *Palalintangan*, because they contain refer-
ences to constellations (Balinese: *lintang*). Their
divination method is based on the crossing of a
fivefold and a sevenfold classification.

The original sixteen leaves of JAV (Bal) 4 have
the names of the thirty wuku weeks written in the
left-hand top corner. They are: 1: Sinta, 2: Lañ-
qe, 3: Wukir, 4: Kuranti, 5: Tolu, 6: Gumrg, 7:
Wariga, 8: Warigadayan, 9: Juluwpagi, 10: Suñ-
șaŋ, 11: Duŋulan, 12: Kuniŋan, 13: Laŋkír, 14:
Madasya, 15: Pujut, 16: Pahag, 17: Kurwut, 18:
Mrakih, 19: Tambir, 20: Mañagkúŋan, 21:
Matal, 22: Uyé, 23: Mnahil, 24: Prapbukat, 25:
Bala, 26: Wugu, 27: Wayap, 28: Kulawu, 29:
Dukut, 30: Watugunuŋ.

Each wuku is combined with the name of one
unit of a cycle of six, called the *Paringkélam*: Woŋ
(man), Sato (animal), Mina (fish), Manuk (bird), Buku (bamboo node), Buron (game). This cycle is repeated five times through the thirty wuku weeks. The idea is that the ijkël wog may be especially fatal to men and man’s work, etc. The rest of each page is occupied by 14 columns, 7 narrow and 7 wide ones, all filled with abbreviations of names of days belonging to various cycles, and all believed to be connected with the seven days of the wuku which is mentioned at the head of the page.

Taking for instance the top line of the Sinta-Wong page, reproduced on Plate 23, we find in the narrow columns the following letters: p, pw, w, k, u, and again: p, pw. They stand for the names of the days of the ancient native Javanese “week” of five days, which is connected with the four points of the compass and the centre: Paṅ, Pon, Wagé, Kliwon, Umanis.

The letters in the second line of the same page, in the narrow columns, are: r, c, a, bu, wṛ, u, ś. They stand for the names of the days of the Indian week of seven days: Raditya, Candra, Aṃgara, Buda, Vṛhaspati, Śukra, Śaneṣvara, corresponding with Sunday, Monday, Tuesday etc.

The other lines of the columns, narrow and wide, contain similar abbreviations or complete names and words.

Divination tables are used together with a Wariga text as the diviner’s manual. A quotation, translated into English and somewhat abbreviated, from van der Tuuk’s Kawi-Balinesesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek sub voce ijkël may make this clear. Ijkël appears to be the term for any unit of the cycle of six, mentioned above. Like a wuku, each ijkël has a duration of seven days. When, for instance, in the seven days of an ijkël-wog week the Friday coincides with Umanis, the whole of the week is inauspicious and certain activities should be avoided. The Wariga contains detailed information about those activities.

In the Sinta-ijkël-wog week to which the first page of JAV (Bal) 4 refers, Friday coincides with Paṅ, not with Umanis. So on account of the Paringkélan divination the week is not inauspicious.

In another article, sub voce kajēg, Van der Tuuk mentions the days of a three-days week: Dora, Waya, Byantara, also called Pasah, Bētēg, Kajēg. On these days certain activities are forbidden. So, for instance, on Kajēg it is unadvised to plant anything or to put anything into the ground. When on Kajēg, coinciding with Kliwon, a burial has taken place, the newly-dug grave is guarded day and night, because corpses, buried under these circumstances, are often stolen by miscreants desirous to practise black magic. Parts of the body are made into offerings to the goddess Durgā.

These instances make it clear that Balinese who would follow all advices of suspension of activities given by diviners using various divination methods would remain inactive most of their time. Of course no sensible person puts this into practice. A few dates are generally recognized as being particularly inauspicious, and so on the whole they are avoided. Some credulous persons may practise propitiatory rites and bring offerings in order to counteract the eventual bad influence of a date on which they intend to do something, setting out on a journey of some importance, for instance.

For the rest, in case of accidents or sudden illnesses befalling a person, the popular belief in divination justifies wiseacres to say that the victim has only himself to thank for his misfortune, having flouted the advice of the Wariga. Magicians who offer paid services for the practising of
propitiatory rites are naturally disposed to make such unpleasant remarks.

**Divination diagram.**

JAV (Bal) 5 (C. a. 109).

Material: Thin Chinese paper, with clear writing and drawings in Chinese ink, black and red. Measurements: 86 × 28 cm.

Function: Probably made at Mads Lange’s request by some Balinese expert in divination as a synopsis of the *Pawukon*. The sheet was registered in the museum in 1855. Obviously it was not intended for everyday use in a Balinese household; it would not have survived very long. See Plates 26 and 27.

Contents: One large diagram and side by side under it three smaller ones. The diagrams are in the form of rectangles, each of which is divided into numerous square compartments. The principal diagram contains 30 × 7 squares. In the compartments of the diagrams many marks of different kinds and numerous words or abbreviations in Balinese script are written.

This is a paper copy of a Balinese *tika*: a *Pawukon* divination calendar scratched or carved onto a wooden board.

Both JAV (Bal) 4 and 5 contain *Pawukon* divination tables, but their contents are not on all points identical (apart from the difference in arranging the names, due to the limited space on the palm-leaves and the room for extensive diagrams afforded by a board or a sheet of paper). The instability of tradition in Javano-Balinese divination appears immediately if some divination tables of the same kind are collated. It has been mentioned also in the notes on the *Patalintangan* tables with polychrome pictures.

A description of a Javanese *Pawukon* table with the 30 × 7 compartments was made in 1857 by F. H. J. Netscher: “De voorspellingskunst uit de Woekoes van de Javanen”, published in T. B. G., vol. VI. A Balinese *tika* was described by W. O. J. Nieuwenkamp in his paper “Een Balinesesche Kalender”, B. K. I., 69, 1914. As a rule in old Javanese and Balinese *Pawukon* divination tables on boards, the names of the various days in the 210 compartments are represented by scratched marks, a number of small lines, some dots or a round. In this Balinese copy on Chinese paper mostly abbreviations, initial letters of the names are used, though the marks are not wholly absent. Evidently the Balinese scribe availed himself of the opportunity of the easy writing on paper, to substitute clear abbreviations for the sometimes obscure marks. Perhaps this substitution was carried through at Mads Lange’s request.

The large diagram of 30 × 7 compartments contains the *Pawukon* proper. The names of the thirty *wuku* weeks are written in the margin above it (perhaps also at Mads Lange’s request). For those names see JAV (Bal) 4.

The six *igkèls* appear on the top line, from left to right, repeated five times. There is a discrepancy as to their names between JAV (Bal) 4 and 5. In the present large diagram they are given as: *Woŋ* (man), *Sato* (animal), *Mina* (fish), *Paksi* (bird), *Taru* (tree), *Uku* (bamboo node), all written in full.

For the rest the large diagram is to be read column after column from top to bottom, beginning with the first column on the left hand: *Sinta-igkèl-woŋ*. The seven compartments of each column are filled with abbreviations and marks referring to the day of the week (beginning with Sunday) belonging to the wuku *Sinta, Landèp* etc., the name of which is written in the margin at the top.
Many squares contain marks, abbreviations of words and small pictures which do not refer to any unit of a cycle of days ("weeks" of 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 days). Apparently they are indications of fortune or misfortune to be expected on the day. In Pawukon tables on boards, fortune marks are also apparent. In the large diagram of JAV (Bal) 5 they seem to be more numerous than in most tıkas known to the present author. Perhaps at Mads Lange's request indications of fortune and misfortune and the like found in several tıkas and Warihga texts were combined and made into one great divination table. In some nineteenth century elaborately illustrated Pawukon manuscripts from Central Java, made to order for Javanese Royalty and nobility, each day of each wuku has a small picture referring to its fortune. In a way the great divination table made at Mads Lange's request is to be compared with those profusely illustrated Javanese Court Pawukon manuscripts.

As to the marks, abbreviations of words and small pictures found in JAV (Bal) 5 one can not be certain of their interpretation as long as the particular Warihga text(s) which were used by the scribe are not known.

As an illustration of the complexity of Pawukon divination the seven days of the first column, Sinta-inkël-woŋ, are described and (as far as possible) interpreted.

I. The square of the first day, Sinta-Sunday, contains:

1: a ship-like mark at the top. It is the mark of Daṅu, the first day of the cycle of 9 days: Daṅu, Jaṅur, Gīgīs, Nohan, Wōgan, Eraṅan, Uruṅan, Tūlus, Dadi.

2: the abbreviation la, standing for Laba, the first day of the cycle of 4 days: Laba (Lābha, Gaṅ), Jaya (Victory), Mēndala, Śrī.

3 and 4: two times Śrī. Śrī is (firstly) the first name in the cycle of 8 deities: Śrī, Indra, Guru, Yama, Rudra, Brahma, Kāla, Umā. Perhaps the second Śrī refers to the propitious character of the day for peaceful ends.

5: woŋ, written in full. It is the name of the ṣekāl. 6: a circle with a large dot in the centre. Probably this is an indication of fortune or misfortune. The interpretation is uncertain.

II. The square of the second day, Sinta-Monday, contains:

1: the ship-like mark of Daṅu, for the second time. In the beginning of Pawukon divination tables Daṅu is repeated four times in order to fit 23 cycles of 9 days (to which Daṅu belongs), i.e. 207 days, into the wuku "year" of 30×7 days. The first three Daṅus are intercalary days. The other cycles are also given intercalary days, if necessary.

2: the abbreviation pa; meaning unexplained.

In square II neither the name of the second day of the cycle of four days: (see I no 2), nor the second of the eight deities: Indra (see I no 3) is mentioned. Such omissions are frequent in this divination tabel. As a rule only one or two names belonging to a cycle of 3, 4, 5, etc. items are indicated clearly by means of a mark or an abbreviation. Apparently the scribe supposed that the sequences of the different cycles were well known to the reader.

III. The square of the third day, Sinta-Tuesday, contains:

1: the ship-like Daṅu mark (for the third time).

2: a large circle touching the four sides of the square. It is the mark of Guru, the Master, the third of the cycle of eight deities (see I no 3).

3, 4, 5: the meaning of the three small circles, two with dots and one with a concentric circle, is unknown.
6: the abbreviation ra in combination with a small picture of a tortoise returns once more in the Pawukon table (wuku Madasyn, iyKel sato, Monday). No doubt it has some reference to the character of the day (cf. VI no. 5).

IV. The square of the fourth day, Sinta-Wednesday, contains:
1: a flower with four petals. Apparently this is the mark of Kliwon, belonging to the ancient native Javanese “week” of five days. According to most authorities the Pawukon tables always begin with Payung. So the sequence is: Payung, Pon, Wagé, Kliwon, Umanis. Only Kliwon (the Centre in the ancient cosmic classification) seems to be indicated in the table.
2: a circle with a small dot in the centre, occurring many times. Probably it refers to fortune or misfortune.

V. The square of the fifth day, Sinta-Thursday, contains:
1: the abbreviation la, standing for Laha (for the second time).
2: the abbreviation dù; meaning unknown.
3: a circle with a large dot in the centre; meaning unknown.
4: a small picture of a burning fire. Probably this is an indication of bad fortune.

VI. The square of the sixth day, Sinta-Friday, contains:
1: the abbreviation ma; meaning unknown.
2, 3: two circles, one with a small concentric circle, the other with a dot in the centre. The meaning is unknown (see III, nos 3, 4, 5).
4: a mark in the left-hand bottom corner of the square: a large dot linked by a short line, resembling a slender stem, to a circle surrounding a central dot, right in the corner. Some other squares have the same mark with two or with three large dots on stems coming out of the same corner.

Perhaps these marks represent plants or flowers. The meaning is unknown.

5: a small picture of a spottet dog with the head downwards suspended against the right-hand side of the square. Some other squares have the same dog with the head upwards. Perhaps both this dog and the tortoise of square III (which also appears alternately with the head upwards and downwards) belong to the Ségkan-luwuan, upwards-and-downwards classification, alternating every fifteen days.

VII. The square of the seventh day, Sinta-Saturday, contains:
1: a mark on the bottom of the square resembling a small mountain-peak with a dot under it. Apparently this is the mark of Kala, the seventh in order of the cycle of eight deities of which Sri (see I no 3) is the first.
2: a small circle with a dot in the centre: meaning unknown.
3: a man’s head looking out from the right-hand side of the square. This head appears three times in every cycle of 35 days, on the seventh, the eleventh and the nineteenth day. Probably the head is connected with some method of “counting” divination.

Under the large rectangle of 210 compartments there are three smaller ones. They do not belong to the Pawukon divination proper. On wooden Hikas showing on one side the Pawukon table smaller divination tables of minor importance sometimes are scratched on the reverse side. Probably that is the reason why in JAV (Bal) 5 the three minor tables are added under the principal one.

The minor table on the left has a written explanation in which it is stated that it shows the auspicious and inauspicious hours of each of the days of the five-days “week”. The abbreviations of the
names of the five days are seen in the central row. The two top rows contain indications of the good hours, those in the two bottom rows are bad ones. We learn that on Umanis the hours numbered three and four, and those numbered seven and eight are good ones, whereas the first, the second, the fifth and the sixth hours are bad. The hours meant here are not the European ones of sixty minutes but the Indian ones, imported into Java and Bali in the Old Javanese period.

The divination method of the two minor tables at the right starts from the principle of a twelvefold classification. Probably in some way they are connected with the twelve months.

The larger rectangle contains $12 \times 5$ squares, each square containing one of the series of abbreviations: $mr$, $su$, $pa$, $ll$, $pê$. The meaning of these abbreviations is unknown.

The smaller rectangle, to the right, has two rows of twelve squares each. The top squares contain the numbers from 1 till 6, arranged, from left to right: 2, 1, 3, 2, 4, 1, 5, 3, 2, 6, 1, 5. The sum of these numbers is 35. The bottom squares contain the numbers from 7 till 18 in the usual order.

Probably the two rectangles are to be used together in the practising of some divination method belonging to the class called “counting”. Numeral connotations of letters play an important part in “counting” divination methods. The sum of the numeral values of the letters of a person’s name stand for that person himself; they constitute his cipher. By counting on a “counting” divination table one can see if a person with a given cipher would be well advised to undertake something at a certain time, and, eventually, if he should enter into an alliance (by marriage, for instance) with a person with another cipher.

**Illustrated divination tables.**

JAV (Bal) 6–8 (C. 4022, C. 4384, C. 5819).

Material of JAV (Bal) 6 and 7: Coarse native-woven cotton textile. The material of JAV (Bal) 8 is modern European cotton textile. On a thin layer of rice-meal paste, charcoal drawings are made. Afterwards the drawings are vividly coloured with (in olden times: vegetable) dyes, especially red, and sometimes gilded. Measurements: 180×115 cm, 197×144 cm, and 165×146 cm. See Plates 28, 29 and 30.

Function: Used as hangings on walls in Balinese homes, by way of decoration. Practical use of the hangings for divination ends (determination of auspicious and inauspicious times) seems to be secondary nowadays. Balinese who really want to be informed on these matters usually consult Javano-Balinese divination books written on palm-leaf (iontar), known under the specific name Wariga. The divination tables are illustrations of Wariga texts.

Wariga texts are available in great variety, extensive and concise, and meeting various needs. Some contain information on auspicious and inauspicious times in agriculture (for ploughing, planting etc.), others are specialized in illnesses and chances of recovery or death, still others contain forecasts of coming disasters in connection with earthquakes, and prognostics of characters, expectations of ups and downs in life.

All three divination tables in the National Museum belong to the same kind. In Bali it is called Palatintangan, on account of its containing references to constellations (Balinese: iintang).

From the copies with partial English translations which are appended to the present paper it appears that the central part (within the frame)
of all three divination tables consists of 35 squares (product of the crossing of fivefold and sevenfold classification), each containing a picture of a Javano-Balinese constellation.

In antiquity the Javanese, the Balinese and other peoples of the Indonesian Archipelago had constellation-names of their own. Several Javano-Balinese constellations are identified with Indian constellations, and so their place in the firmament is fixed. Lists of Javano-Balinese and other Indonesian constellation-names are to be found in Alfred Maas's compilation: "Sternkunde und Sterndeuterei im malaiischen Archipel" and in the present author's paper "Een stuk over sterrenkunde uit het Anggastyaa Parwa", both published in TBG, vols. 64 and 65, 1924 and 1925.

By way of example in the following list some Javano-Balinese constellation-names which are mentioned in the three divination tables are identified with Indian and European names of stars and constellations.

Struggle Waišákha Libra
Broken Boat Uttarā Aśāghha Archer
Plough Orion

It should be noted that it is impossible to identify all Javano-Balinese constellations mentioned in Old Javanese literature and in modern Wariga texts with names of stars or constellations known in Europe. Apparently in antiquity a great number of names was in use in the Archipelago, and subsequently there was much confusion.

In modern Javano-Balinese daily life stars and constellations are no longer of primary importance. Chronology does not depend any more on knowledge of the stars, nor does navigation, or agriculture. In the Palalintangan divination the constellation-names only serve as symbols; the connection with the celestial globe is lost. For several centuries observation of celestial phenomena has been superficial in Java and Bali. No real "scientific" astrology exists, nor casting of horoscopes.

Meanwhile Javano-Balinese artists discovered the ancient constellation-names handed down from olden times as providing themes for miniature pictures. The draughtsmen developed the genre of elaborate divination tables of which the National Museum paintings are examples. Apparently in latter days in Bali they were more appreciated for their artistic value than for the information on divination they contain. The three National Museum paintings (and comparable paintings in other collections) show notable differences in artistic representation of the same constellation.

Another remarkable fact which appears if the three National Museum paintings (and comparable paintings) are collated is the instability of the tradition concerning relationship of a given constellation with a certain date (fixed by the crossing of the 5-days and 7-days week). For instance: according to divination tables JAV (Bal) 6 and 7 the Plough is connected with Sunday-Wagé, according to table JAV (Bal) 8 the Plough and Sunday-Kliwon are related items. Of course there is the possibility of a mistake on the draughtsman's part. But even so the occurrence of such a mistake is a proof of instability of tradition.

The 35 squares with constellation-pictures which constitute the central part of the Palalintangan divination tables contain Javano-Balinese or pure Balinese inscriptions mentioning, firstly, the constellations' names; secondly (especially in table JAV (Bal) 8), a forecast or a characterization concerning any person who has a connection with the date (combination of 5-days and 7-days week) and, thirdly, a short list of offerings.

In the three National Museum Palalintangans (and
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Divinity: wayang personage:</th>
<th>Sunday</th>
<th>Monday</th>
<th>Tuesday</th>
<th>Wednesday</th>
<th>Thursday</th>
<th>Friday</th>
<th>Saturday</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indra</td>
<td>Umã</td>
<td>Brahma</td>
<td>Wisnu</td>
<td>Shrì</td>
<td>Durgã</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince</td>
<td>Prênce</td>
<td>demon</td>
<td>officer</td>
<td>gentle serv.</td>
<td>demon serv.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panji</td>
<td>Galuh</td>
<td>Yaksâ</td>
<td>Rangga</td>
<td>Sêmar</td>
<td>Rûjûleh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambulù</td>
<td>Lêmès</td>
<td>Wûksa</td>
<td>Kêmada-</td>
<td>Nyagroda</td>
<td>Ancak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ngan</td>
<td>fîcns</td>
<td>fîcus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Béo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>titiran-</td>
<td>mérak-</td>
<td>cabak-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>magpie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>turtle-</td>
<td>peacock</td>
<td>nightjar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bird:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dove</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dêm</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pûg</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liù</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bird</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dog</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snake</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiger</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Constellation**

- **Légi 5 days**
  - week, I: Demon upside-down, Cocos palm, Horse, Crying spook, Broken hatchet, Goose sitting on eggs, Ogre's head
  - week, II: Elephant, Incense, Crab, Elephant-fish, Struggle, Leaky fish-trap, Arrow
  - week, III: Dagger, Smoking, Dog, Rice-barn, Heurse-pavillon descending, Broken boat, Sunflower
  - week, IV: Plough, Bull, Loaded junk, Pleiads, Water-works, Quarrel over debt, Fighting quails
  - week, V: Struck-off head, Cart, Pig, Funeral rites, Dragon, Prawn, Visit bringing presents

- **Pating 5 days**
  - week, I: Demon upside-down, Cocos palm, Horse, Crying spook, Broken hatchet, Goose sitting on eggs, Ogre's head
  - week, II: Elephant, Incense, Crab, Elephant-fish, Struggle, Leaky fish-trap, Arrow
  - week, III: Dagger, Smoking, Dog, Rice-barn, Heurse-pavillon descending, Broken boat, Sunflower
  - week, IV: Plough, Bull, Loaded junk, Pleiads, Water-works, Quarrel over debt, Fighting quails
  - week, V: Struck-off head, Cart, Pig, Funeral rites, Dragon, Prawn, Visit bringing presents

- **Klitwon 5 days**
  - Wadé 6 days
  - week, I: Demon upside-down, Cocos palm, Horse, Crying spook, Broken hatchet, Goose sitting on eggs, Ogre's head
  - week, II: Elephant, Incense, Crab, Elephant-fish, Struggle, Leaky fish-trap, Arrow
  - week, III: Dagger, Smoking, Dog, Rice-barn, Heurse-pavillon descending, Broken boat, Sunflower
  - week, IV: Plough, Bull, Loaded junk, Pleiads, Water-works, Quarrel over debt, Fighting quails
  - week, V: Struck-off head, Cart, Pig, Funeral rites, Dragon, Prawn, Visit bringing presents
**DIVINATION TABLE. JAV (Bal) 7.**

Translation of the Text. (Plate 29).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characters</th>
<th>Sunday</th>
<th>Monday</th>
<th>Tuesday</th>
<th>Wednesday</th>
<th>Thursday</th>
<th>Friday</th>
<th>Saturday</th>
<th>Animals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pandita (?)</strong></td>
<td>Indra</td>
<td>Shri female</td>
<td>Rudra</td>
<td>Mahadeva</td>
<td>Guru wise</td>
<td>Shri bed</td>
<td>Durgā demon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prince</td>
<td>servant</td>
<td>officer</td>
<td>servant</td>
<td>mentor</td>
<td>servant</td>
<td>servant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Panji</td>
<td>Ésak Pulé</td>
<td>rangga</td>
<td>Togog</td>
<td>Sēmar</td>
<td>Sangut</td>
<td>Dīlēm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tanggull</td>
<td>jalan-starling</td>
<td>Bunutficus</td>
<td>Ambulu ficus</td>
<td>Waringin</td>
<td>Bēngkēl</td>
<td>Kēpuh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dara-pigeon</td>
<td></td>
<td>govak-crow</td>
<td>bī-o-magpie</td>
<td>Jungkung-heron</td>
<td>dara-pigeon</td>
<td>clē-puk-owl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Saturday (?)</strong></td>
<td>Demon upside-</td>
<td>Cocos-palm</td>
<td>Horse</td>
<td>Crying spook</td>
<td>Broken shaft</td>
<td>Goose sitting</td>
<td>Ogre’s head</td>
<td>Lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>down</td>
<td>inclining</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>on eggs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Legi, Umbani</strong></td>
<td><strong>God</strong></td>
<td><strong>Elephant</strong></td>
<td>Lobster</td>
<td>Elephant-fish</td>
<td>Struggle</td>
<td>Leaky fish-trap</td>
<td>Arrow</td>
<td>Snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Paung</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Incense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wednesday (?)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td>Poniard</td>
<td>Dogs</td>
<td>Rice-burn</td>
<td>Hears-pavilion</td>
<td>Broken boat</td>
<td>Sunflower</td>
<td>Rats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Visit bringing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>presents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pon</strong></td>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
<td>Plowing</td>
<td>Bull</td>
<td>Leaded junk</td>
<td>Plelads</td>
<td>Water-jar</td>
<td>Quarrel over</td>
<td>Fighting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sunday</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>debt</td>
<td>quails</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wage</strong></td>
<td><strong>Animal (?)</strong></td>
<td>Struck-off head</td>
<td>Empty car</td>
<td>Hog trussed to</td>
<td>Funeral rites</td>
<td>Dragon</td>
<td>Prawn</td>
<td>Offerings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kiwon</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>be slaughtered</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Griffon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Thursday</strong></td>
<td><strong>Goats</strong></td>
<td>Dog-headed</td>
<td>Buffalo-headed</td>
<td>Water-potheaded</td>
<td>Lion-headed</td>
<td>Elephant-head</td>
<td>Crow-headed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>demons</td>
<td>demons</td>
<td>demons</td>
<td>demons</td>
<td>demons</td>
<td>demons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tuesday</strong></td>
<td><strong>Tuesday</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Horse-head</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Divination Table. Jav (Bal) 8.

Translation of the Text. (Plate 30).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Sunday</th>
<th>Monday</th>
<th>Tuesday</th>
<th>Wednesday</th>
<th>Thursday</th>
<th>Friday</th>
<th>Saturday</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Divinity: Wayang Personage: Gentleman Mantri</td>
<td>Indra</td>
<td>Shri</td>
<td>Brahma</td>
<td>Wisnu</td>
<td>Shiva</td>
<td>Umä</td>
<td>Durgä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tree, plant: Bird:</td>
<td>Ambuluficus hēo-maggie</td>
<td>Princess Galuh</td>
<td>Demons Yaksayalsi</td>
<td>Officer Rangga</td>
<td>Wise mentor Sëmar</td>
<td>Angry servant Jugil kayu putih cabaknightjar</td>
<td>Demon servant Dilêm Këpuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constellation:</td>
<td>Demon upside-down</td>
<td>Cocos-palm inclining</td>
<td>Horse</td>
<td>Crying spook</td>
<td>Broken shaft</td>
<td>Goose sitting on eggs Acquisition</td>
<td>Ogre's head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constellation:</td>
<td>Bad, unfortunate</td>
<td>Good, fortunate</td>
<td>Good, success</td>
<td>Bad, disease</td>
<td>Misfortune</td>
<td>Bad, unreliable character</td>
<td>Bad, unreliable character</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constellation:</td>
<td>Elephant</td>
<td>Incense</td>
<td>Crab</td>
<td>Elephant-fish Good, fortunate</td>
<td>Struggle</td>
<td>Leaky fish-trap Lightly come, lightly go</td>
<td>Warrior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constellation:</td>
<td>Good, strong</td>
<td>Good, wise</td>
<td>Good, fortunate</td>
<td>Broken, with the great</td>
<td>Bad, quarreling</td>
<td>Courage, power</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constellation:</td>
<td>Dagger</td>
<td>Smoking</td>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>Rice-barn Good, rich</td>
<td>Heaves pavilion Bad health</td>
<td>Broken boat Bad losses</td>
<td>Sunflower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constellation:</td>
<td>Scheming, violent death</td>
<td>Bad, forbidden pleasure</td>
<td>Good, in favour with the great</td>
<td>Loaded ship Worries</td>
<td>Water-jar Inconstant fickle fortune</td>
<td>Quarrel over debt Discord</td>
<td>Sunflower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constellation:</td>
<td>Trunk without head Gambling, stealing</td>
<td>Bull</td>
<td>Brielads</td>
<td>Loaded ship Worries</td>
<td>Water-jar Inconstant fickle fortune</td>
<td>Quarrel over debt Discord</td>
<td>Sunflower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constellation:</td>
<td>Plough</td>
<td>Empty cart</td>
<td>Pig</td>
<td>Corpses' place Lose children by death</td>
<td>Dragon</td>
<td>Lobster</td>
<td>Visit bringing presents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constellation:</td>
<td>Toll, afterwards ease</td>
<td>Disappointment</td>
<td>Beginning good, death: bad</td>
<td>Religious devotion</td>
<td>Young: bad, old: good fortune</td>
<td>Goat</td>
<td>Fortunate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal</td>
<td>Bird</td>
<td>Lion</td>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>Tiger</td>
<td>Snake</td>
<td>Goat</td>
<td>Bull</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:**
- The table represents a divination table for Javanese and Balinese palm leaf manuscripts, providing divinatory responses for various days of the week based on different personages, constellations, and animal signs.
- The divinatory responses include various outcomes such as health, fortune, and events associated with the days.
- The table is structured with days of the week on the left and different divinatory elements (divinities, trees, constellations, animals) across the rows.
- Each element has corresponding responses for different days, indicating the nature of the divination for each entry.
in comparable paintings) the 35 constellation-names show variations. In the copies which are appended to the present paper approximate English translations are given. The precise meanings of the names are not always clear, not even to the Balinese. This is true also in the case of a number of ancient Javano-Balinese constellation-names which (for an unknown reason) were not incorporated in the divination-tables.

In the copy of JAV (Bal) 8 English abstracts of the Balinese notes on forecasts and characters are given. In places the Balinese text is almost illegible. From collation with comparable paintings in other collections and with Wariga texts in lontars it appears that on this point too Balinese tradition is inconsistent. Whereas in some cases (e.g. Pleiads: many children) all texts are unanimous, in other cases the opinions as to fortune or misfortune show considerable discrepancies. Probably the connection of a person with a date is to be understood as referring to his birthday.

As a matter of fact in old-fashioned Javanese and Balinese families birthday dates used to be remembered chiefly as combinations of 5-days and 7-days weekdays. So birthdays could be celebrated once in every 35 days. Sometimes the wuku in which the birth occurred was remembered also. The year of the birth was often forgotten. Lists of offerings are found in all known Palalintangan tables. As a rule they mention: a pig of a fixed value, hens, ducks and a dog of a prescribed colour. The value of the pig is noted in hundreds of Chinese cash: brass coins with a square hole in the centre. Probably from the 13th century A.D., or even earlier, Chinese cash was the currency of Java and Bali, and in Bali, especially for purposes connected with ritual and ancient custom, it has survived till now. Before World War II about 17,5 cash were equivalent to one U.S.A. gold dollar cent.

The offerings are meant to ward off bad fortune eventually inherent in the date. They partake of the character of an exorcism. The offering rites are not described in the Palalintangan. They should be found in Javano-Balinese manuals on ritual. Only in a few cases in JAV (Bal) 8 mention is made of various small offerings (mainly flowers, babantén), to be placed near the place where one sleeps, and of offerings for chthonic spirits (caru), to be placed in the open on the public road. In the English copies of the three Palalintangan the lists of offerings have been left out.

The gods and goddesses belong to the well-known Javano-Balinese-Indian pantheon. In the pictures they are distinguished by a nimbus surrounding their figures. Part of their attendants or satellites are personages belonging to the traditional Javano-Balinese wayang-theatre repertoire, especially the so-called Panji romances, which are pseudo history. Toegog, Sémar, Ditén, Jurudeh, Jugil, on the other hand, are personages belonging to the panakawan class, which is to be compared with the class of clowns or cunning servants in traditional European commedia dell’arte. In the pictures the trees are represented imperfectly and the birds are omitted completely. Nevertheless both trees and birds belong to the standard set of attributes appertaining to divine beings. In Javanese illustrated Pawukon divination books they are never missing.

Again it is a remarkable fact that neither the divinities belonging to the seven days nor their attendants and attributes are perfectly the same in all three National Museum paintings. On this point too tradition appears to be inconsistent. Apparently the divinities, the days of the week and the animals of the top and the bottom rows
are believed to have traits of character in common. Probably in the divination tables they are only used as traditional decoration, though. There is no evidence of any use of the two rows of pictures for practical divination purposes.

JAV (Bal) 7, lastly, contains two vertical rows of seven pictures each, which are not found in the other paintings. So in this one the essential part of the divination table, with its 35 squares, is framed in on all sides by rows of subsidiary decorative pictures.

It is a pity that the inscriptions of the pictures of JAV (Bal) 7 are almost illegible. The left-hand vertical row contains seven pictures of living beings (a wizard [], god and goddess, man and woman, and two kinds of animals), apparently connected with the seven days of the week, according to some faintly legible inscriptions. The sequence of the days is an unusual one. The right-hand vertical row contains seven pictures of animals with almost completely illegible inscriptions, also connected with the seven days of the week. Their sequence is different from the left-hand row’s.

Perhaps these two vertical rows of pictures, connected with the seven days of the week, were of some use in divination practice. It may be that they refer to numeral connotations of the days of the week. Numeral connotations of letters, words and names use to play an important part in the kind of Javanese divination which is called “counting”.

As to the artistic quality of the three National Museum paintings, the pictures of JAV (Bal) 8 are inferior. Both in style of the pictures and in writing JAV (Bal) 7 is superior to the others.

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**A JAVANO-BALINESE POEM**

**Kidung Peksi.**

JAV (Bal) 9 (C. a. 97).

Lontar ēmbal-ēmbatan of 5 leaves measuring 49.5 x 3.7 cm, without numbering. Poor writing, many mistakes. Balinese script. Idiom: a mixture of Javanese and Balinese that is commonly used by Balinese poets for this type of literature.

Contents: a popular romantic poem called *Kidung Pèksi*, ‘The Birds’ Poem’. The characters are all birds, the King being a siyung, in Javanese commonly called bèo, which is a kind of starling capable of imitating the human voice. The Wazir is a curik, in Javanese called jalak, which is another kind of starling also able to talk. Brandes describes several MSS. containing the *Kidung Pèksi* in his *Beschrijving der... handschriften... van Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk*, Batavia 1903, Vol. II, p. 58.

This MS. has one introductory stanza giving the date on which the text was copied, but the number of the year is not mentioned.

As a rule the orthography of MSS. containing popular poems of this kind is unreliable and therefore I do not think it worth while trying to transcribe the beginning of this MS. The first words of the story proper, after the introductory stanza, are: hi siyung sdahan tamah.

The MS. was once in the possession of Mads Lange and was registered in 1852–53. Nielsen, *Mads Lange til Bali*, p. 101, calls it ‘en lille Legende’ (a little legend).
ISLAMIC THEOLOGY AND EDIFYING LITERATURE IN JAVANESE

Tingkah ing Iman.

JAV 2 (Cod. Javan. I).

Lontar MS. in good condition. Measurements: 31.3 x 3.5 cm. Leaves numbered 1–51, although there are in fact 60 leaves. The numbering is both unusual and showing some mistakes; possibly it was introduced at a later date by a reviser of the text. East Javanese round script, archaic orthography; written by at least two scribes, the writing of the first 9 leaves appearing again in the last 7 ones. See Codices Orientales I (1846), p. 94. (See Plates 24 and 25).

Contents: prose texts on Islamic Theology, mostly in the form of a popular catechism. Beginning, leaf 1 recto: bismillaḥ ḥirrah manirahimi. punnika tiykhahiy naωruhi paretthahiy ḥimam. karahun. woγ ništham punniki ḥayun naωruhi tiykhahiy ḥimam. maγba hana woγ sawiji hatalakon. hapa kahinan iku, maγba kāγ tinakonan, sumahuran, noro hīṣun weraγ, maγba kāγ ḥaγwac, noro weraγ hikur kaγr. karana woγ ḥislam nikur. farlu hatalakona tiykhahiy ḥimam. tiykah iy nγama ḥislam. hikur kabeγ. yen nana woγ hatalakon hīγ sira. hapa kāγ ḥimam nikur. maγba samahura. kāγ ḥimam nikur naγandel liγ ḥallah, lawan naγandel iy malaikattiy (leaf 1 verso) ḥallah, lawan naγandel kītabiy ḥallah, lawan naγandel hutusanniy ḥallah, lawan naγandel hīγ ṣari kiyamatt, lawan naγandel, hukur kaγ abecik, lawan kaγ aγ aγiγ ḥallah, etc.

Translation: In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. This is the order how to know the majestic regulation of the Faith. First, Moslems shall know the order of the Faith. Then, there may be a person who asks, ‘What is that Faith?’ Then he who is asked answers, ‘Not I am he who knows it’. Then he who says, ‘Not I am he who knows it’, he is an unbeliever. Because the Moslems are obliged to ask after the order of the Faith, the order of the religion of Islam is that, altogether. If there is a person asking you, ‘What is that Faith’, then answer, ‘That Faith is: believing in (or: trusting in) Allah and believing in the Angels of Allah, and believing in the Book of Allah, and believing in the Messengers of Allah, and believing in the Day of Resurrection, and believing in the Measure, the Good and the Evil, coming from Allah’, etc.

The clumsiness of the style is due to the fact that these texts were originally glosses, literal translations of Arabic texts. There is a well-known popular catechism in Arabic by Samarkandi. A short Samarkandi catechism with interlinear Javanese glosses (written in Arabic characters) was published by Juyonbol (BKI IV, Vol. 5, 1881, p. 213). The text of JAV 2 may partly be an adaptation or an imitation of the glosses of a Samarkandi catechism although I have not found the name of Samarkandi mentioned anywhere. Occasionally the titles of Arabic books or, more likely, of chapters of books, are given, such as Ḥafizibul kalbi ‘The Wonders of the Innermost’ (leaf 47), and these are referred to as authorities. On the whole, the contents of the MS. seem to have been compiled unsystematically. On leaf 50 the texts end with the following words: punika sampun tutug kaγ sinurat. sampun tan inapara denig sastra hina. kiraγ ṣaγγaγaγ. ḥana denira saγ amaca hanurun. sampun kiraγ tanduk.

Translation: Now the writing is finished. May it not be unexcused because of the bad letters. Those missing are to be added, those superfluous are to
be cut out by the honoured reader and copyist. May there not be lacking activity.

As a matter of fact, the MS. contains several more texts of the same kind as the preceding ones. Leaf 58 ends in the following way: boya himan, yen tanana hasih nugrahaniy payaran, pasline himan punnika, tētēp piliatiniy, kawula, hiŋkay tanaŋ hiŋ sīh nugrahaniy payaran, punnika ta sayagan-nipun. depun sami hanēguhakēn, tiŋkahhiy himan, tubillahi, napan kaŋ kawaranya punika, sampurānaniy himan, tubillahi, siŋsapa hanistokēn (leaf 58 verso) hiŋ tutur puniku, in sa allaha, hantuk ugi kaŋ barkat, jēpūra susuhunan, hantuka salamē, hiŋ duanya herat.

Translation: There is no Faith if there is no grace and favour of the Lord. Of necessity the Faith is fixed in the heart of the Servant who is not separated from the grace and the favour of the Lord. Now then it is most fitting that people confirm themselves altogether in the order of ‘I believe in Allah’, for what is described here is the perfection of ‘I believe in Allah’. Anyone that puts into practice this instruction, so Allah will, receives certainly the blessings of Their Feet the Highnesses, shall receive well-being in this world and hereafter.

The last two leaves of the MS., 59 and 60, contain two short texts on divination. The first one begins as follows: punnika panañasan. sakāfahīy wulan, wiwitūn, tanggal piŋ tiga, nahe, dok bagiéné adam lintēnānakēn sakīy syarga.

Translation: This is the lore of the fatal days (Arabic: nahe) of all months.

Beginning: The third of the month is fatal, being the time when the Lord Adam was lowered from Heaven.

The second text begins: kawikannana, nahe sīna kaŋ satahan, kalīh wlas sīna kaŋ satahan, hamimiti wulan muharram, nahe pāloŋ piŋ tiga.

Translation: May be known the fatality of days in one year, twelve days in one year. Beginning: The month of Muharram, its fatal day is in the dark half, the third (i.e. the 18th of the lunar month).

The MS. is undated. On the basis of the script, the orthography, and the grammar of the texts I venture to say that they were written in the eighteenth century or at the beginning of the nineteenth, although part of the contents may date from an earlier period. The writing, especially on the first and last leaves (the first hand), is not very good and there are many errors and corrections. The MS. was probably written, compiled, or copied by a believer in the old mystic form of Javanese Islam, lacking literary training but greatly interested in the Faith. He may have been a native of the north-east coastal districts (e.g. Grīsee, Javanese: Grēsik, not far from Surabaya), as the cult of the Saints is deeply rooted there. Cf. JAV 7, which is probably from Rēmbang, and see Literature of Java, I, 1967, p. 94.

In view of the contents of the introduction which has been translated above, the MS. should be entitled Tiŋkahin Inan, i.e. ‘The Order of the Faith’. Titles of books beginning with Tiŋkah were not uncommon in Old Javanese literature, see Beschrijving . . . van de . . . handschriften van . . . Dr. v. d. Tuk by Brandes, s. v. Tiŋkah.

The boards of the MS. are of some interest as they are neatly decorated with a Javanese pattern of leaves and flowers in red and gold (see Plate 25). Decorated boards of lontar MSS. are fairly rare, and the fact that this Tiŋkahi Inan was given such boards indicates that the owner set great store by it as a treasure of sacred lore.
of mysticism, who introduced Islam into Java, according to Javanese historical tradition.

Paras Rasul.

JAV 3 (C. 6059).

Lontar MS. in poor condition. Small leaves, some with crumbling edges, measuring 21.8 x 3.5 cm. No numbering. At least two different hands, both irregular and uneducated, many mistakes. East Javanese script, East Javanese orthography. The leaves, of which there are 20 in all, were mixed and strung together indiscriminately, regardless of the different handwritings. Registered in 1943.

Contents: Javanese stanzas describing the person, life, and ways of the Prophet Mohammed. There is, for instance, a section about his shaving. 'The Shaving of the Messenger' (Paras Rasul) is the title of a booklet which once had a wide circulation in devout religious circles. It is obvious that all the texts are Javanese adaptations of parts of popular Arabic biographies of the Prophet, which in their turn are founded on Islamic religious Tradition (Hadith). See *Literature of Java*, I, 1967, p. 99, § 16.440.

The first lines run as follows, in imitation of the well-known beginning of the Carita Yusup: Basmalla biirakmannirakim. Away tiki milyahaabawi, carita nabi muhammat, marmanth ginurit majke, carita sinuian tember, tember....

Translation: In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. I here will follow writing poetry, the History of the Prophet Mohammed. The reason why it is put into verse now, a history provided with metre, the metre.... The rest is missing.

The general state of confusion of the MS. and the absence of numbers on the leaves make it impossible to compose a list of first lines of cantos. In all probability the MS. is what remains of a small collection of stanzas, formerly cherished by some devout villager in East Java. There is no colophon, but judging from the writing the MS. dates from the latter half of the nineteenth century.

**ISLAMIC SACRED HISTORY IN JAVANESE**

Carita Yusup.

JAV 4 (Cod. Javan. Add. 2).

Presented to the Royal Library in 1920. Measurements: 41 x 3.5 cm. In poor condition, the edges of several leaves damaged. Pages numbered in the usual fashion, 1–158. Ordinary, rather irregular writing in at least two different hands. East Javanese cursive script, East Javanese orthography. Described by Dr. I. Wulf.


The *Carita Yusup* was very popular both in East Java and Madura and numerous manuscripts containing the whole poem or parts of it are to be found in all collections. Villagers and middle-class people in East Java and Madura, being on the whole religiously-minded, used to copy out this poem for themselves both as a work of piety and in order to practise their handwriting. This custom may have persisted up to the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century. The poem used to be chanted on festive occasions for hours on end during the night, and it was the custom
for one young man with a good voice to chant one stanza and for another to explain the contents in prose in the vernacular idiom, i.e. in some East Javanese dialect or in Madurese as the case might be. Both young men would naturally try to show off their skill, and after several stanzas a second couple would endeavour to emulate the first, and so on.

In consequence of the popularity of the Carita Yusup there are many versions of it. Most copyists thought it their duty to embellish the text as much as they could by means of interpolations and sometimes also by the addition of entire cantos. The Carita Yusup is in substance the history of Joseph, the son of Jacob; it is based on the twelfth sūra of the Qur'ān but the tale was greatly embellished by Islamic tradition. Vreede’s Catalogus van de Javaansche en Madoereseche handschriften der Leidseche Universiteits-bibliotheek, 1892, contains, pp. 26–31, a summary in Dutch of a very comprehensive version of the poem and the Beschrijving der ... handschriften van ... Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk by Brandes has many notes on various versions of the poem (Vol. 3, pp. 361–370). See also Literature of Java, I, 1967, p. 257 ff.

This MS. begins with an introduction containing information about the copyist, who calls himself Nalawongsa (a fairly common name), and the date on which he began copying. The day of the week, the month, the year letter of the octennial cycle (Be) are all mentioned, but not the number of the year. On p. 2 the text begins as follows: ḫuwaŋ teki milya hañawi, caritā yusup ginita, marmāni ginurit maŋke, caritā sinūhan lėmbaŋ, lėmbaŋ hasmarandana, kasmaran tisun agrahu, tutur nabbit Yusup piku.

Translation: I here will follow, writing poetry. The History of Joseph is sung. The reason why it is put into verse now, a history provided with metre, the metre Asmarandana (supposed to mean ‘gift of love’), is that I love to hear the Lesson of the prophet Joseph.

The following cantos will now be mentioned and the metre of each given, together with two or more lines of the first stanza, which should be sufficient to identify the canto if found in another version of the poem.

P. 23. Durma, hana carita sato maŋjiŋ hiŋ swar-baŋ, lelama hakte niki: There is a story of animals entering Heaven, five is their number.1

P. 33. Paŋkur, tan kocapa saŋ adagyaŋ, kaŋucapa maŋke dera saŋ hawi, manajat bagenda yusup: Not to be mentioned are the merchants, to be mentioned now by the honoured poet is the prayer of the Lord Joseph.

P. 43. Senom, won℡n si caritanera, bagenda musahaan ṇeke, duk sapucapan ḫuŋ manun, hiŋ luḥur prawateŋ bunti: There is now the story of the Lord Moses, at the time he was speaking with the Holy All-Seeing One on the top of the mountain, in olden times.

P. 45. Salbuk, sampunni maŋkana keça, sakiŋ desa haris maŋki hanuli: After this he went away from his country, quietly now, soon.

P. 49. Durma, tan kocapa maŋke woŋ wadon di-niywaŋ, hana kocappa mali, saŋ putri hi temas, kaŋ awasta jalika, wayaŋ saŋay tahun mali, putri jalika, ḫuŋ kalukig bunti: Not to be mentioned are now the women, by me. There is more to be mentioned: the Princess of Temas, who was called Jalika. Her age was nine years; moreover, the Princess Jalika was beautiful, renowned in the land.

P. 55. Semun, sampuŋni hadan sadyaŋ, hañatėrŋa saŋ putri: When all were ready to accompany the Princess.

P. 59. Durma, hawetŋu wëllasira maŋke sri nalten-dra: There arose pity now for him (in the heart) of the Illustrious Prince.
P. 61. Paŋkor, ri sampunnira maŋkana, kahucppa sira saŋ rajaputri: After this there is to be mentioned the honoured Royal Princess.

P. 69. Sinum, wontën carita kucapa, tiŋkapira husman mali: There is a story to be mentioned, the conduct of Usman, now.

P. 71. Kurpaŋ (i.e. paŋkur), ri sampunnira maŋkana, kucap saŋ nata liwat dira hasi: After this is mentioned the King, he was very much liking him.

P. 77. Rabuti si dagel, ri sampunnira maŋkana, wolën kucappa mali, saŋ putri jalika maŋke: After this there is to be mentioned again the Princess Jalika now.

P. 82. Panantin naaŋar, wontën sabda rasul muwaŋ: There is a Word of the Messenger, once more.

P. 87. Srinata, wontën ta mali kocapa, woŋ ṅayun pjë maŋkeki: There is again something to be mentioned, people who will die, now.

P. 97. Kasmaran, kocapa yusup siriki, gënnep linag tahunnira, laminira hana hi jro, waraŋkaŋ: To be mentioned is Joseph. He now had been just five years in gaol.

P. 109. Dur, ri sampunnira maŋkana putri jalika: After this the Princess Jalika.

P. 128. Maloŋ tumpang (i.e. paŋkur), wontën sabdanig paŋdita, kawannaha woŋ halol thapsir mali, hanama ni habbas thiku: There is a word of the scholars, to be mentioned is a man, learned in exegesis again, called Ibn Abbas.

P. 137. Srinata, ri sampunnira maŋkana, tinulŋ sira bluyamin, dinira sira saŋ katup: After this the honoured Benjamin was attended to by the King.

The History of Joseph ends in the MS. on p. 157 with the following stanzas: hanuli kalambi hika, tinakupakën raraŋi, dini nabbi jaŋkub maŋke, sarwui hanaiši siri, saryya ḥandika haris, hata-was tēmēn nakiŋ sun, hunēŋ ǹi sira hika, hoňar-parp sun niki, suratira hiŋ yusup nak iku tuwan. – kaŋ išlaŋakën duka, ceplanisun sira kakí, kaŋ ałbōr lara ǹiŋoŋ, kalanimireki kakí, mwag ǹu-ninnig surat iki, yata waras nitranesun, kuŋas kalambi maŋke, hanig direŋ sampurna niki, yata sinapa woŋ sakig hēndiŋ to sira: Forthwith that jacket was held to his face by the prophet Jacob, now, while he wept, and he spoke softly, ‘It is a long time indeed, my son, that I have been longing for you. I was expecting here the letter of Joseph my son, sir. – Who has removed the sorrow of my mind, it is you, my dear. What has dissolved my pain, it is your jacket, my dear, and the contents of this letter. So are healed mine eyes, now has been smelled the jacket. But not yet complete is this’. Then was he addressed, ‘A man from where are you?’

This is not, of course, the end of the history of Jacob and his sons but the main points are covered. The MS. ends with a colophon of no interest and again lacking the number of the year, followed by the usual captatio benevolentiae. In my opinion, judging from the script and the orthography, this MS. was written in the last quarter of the nineteenth century or maybe in the beginning of the twentieth.

Carita Yusup.

JAV 5 (Cod. Javan. Add. 3).

Bought in 1922 together with JAV 6 and 11-14 from kommunebibliotekar Erichsen, Genfofe, who had obtained them from Surabaya. Measure-
ments: 45×3.4 cm. Dirty and in very bad condition. Several leaves broken and disintegrating owing to frequent use, and some sticking together. Pages numbered in the usual fashion, 1–153, with two odd leaves at the end. Many leaves are missing, particularly at the beginning, so that only 119 remain. Moreover, the leaves are strung together in a haphazard manner. Fairly regular handwriting. East Javanese round script, East Javanese orthography. Described by Dr. K. Wulff.

Contents: The Carita Yusup, see JAV 4.

The MS. 5 begins on p. 1 with an explanation of the meaning of the basmallah. The next five leaves are lost and these probably contained the beginning of the History of Joseph. The version given in this MS. does not differ substantially from that of JAV 4, as is shown by the following list of the first words of the cantos found on the leaves which remain.

P. 15. Durma, hana carita sata mañjiñ iñ swarga.


P. 38 (?). Durma, tan kocapa mañke woñ wadon dinigway, hana kocapa mañi, sañ putri hiñ timas.

P. ?. Paylor, tan kocapa sañ adagañ.

P. 46. Paylor, ri sampunnira mañkana, kahucapa sira sañ rajaputri.

P. 69. Sinata, wanten ta mañ kocapa, woñ huyun pje mañkeki.

P. 79. Salubuk, kocapa yusup sireki, gènèp timay tahun sara, lamirina hana hi jro, warangka.

P. 90. Durma, ri sampuni mañkana putri jalika.

P. 108. Sinuñ hisin, wanten sèbdaniñ panduta.

P. 126. Sinum, ri sampuni mañkana, bhuyamin timoluñ aglis, denira sira sañ katug.

The MS. ends with the following stanzas in asmaradana: riñhira çami mañkeki, pinañgiyakên deniñ hyañ, mwañ kadi sira sañ katug, daryanyebra lwire nûlaran, mwañ si ramanañ, lwir kinëpëllan mañkeku, mulat iy putra sadaya. – tan sišipichi mañkeki, nugahantra hyañ sukma, marîñ sira kabeñ rëke, jinujug darajatthira, mañke hiñ dunyga kerat, pan mañkana paluteku, kañ antuk sihiñ hyañ sukma. – galamad, kañ ñanorut kañ ñapèmpëg, salawaçhí humuri, hiñ dunyagañ hikañ marîñ akeral.

Translation: As they were now united all of them by the Holy One with him, the King, their hearts were as if fanned, and also their father, he was as if cooled by fanning now, seeing his sons, all of them. – Extraordinary, now, had been the favour of the Holy Spirit unto them all. They were raised in rank, in this world and hereafter. For such things happen to those who receive the grace of the Holy Spirit. Well-being, to those who are obedient, who are diligent, as long as they live, in this world and also hereafter.

The MS. does not possess a colophon. It is probable that this MS. was used and cherished by several generations of owners, some of whom tried to repair the broken leaves with pieces of thread. Originally it must have been a fine manuscript written in a bold hand and it is unfortunate that it should have been mutilated to such a degree. Palmleaf manuscripts, unless preserved with the utmost care, do not last very long in the tropical climate of Java. In my opinion this MS. was probably written in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Carita Yusup.

JAV 6 (Cod. Javan. Add. 4).

Purchased together with JAV 5 and 11–14. Measurements: 37.5×3 cm. In poor condition. Pages numbered in the usual fashion, 10–179. Many
leaves are lost so that only 125 remain. Written in at least two different hands. In the latter part of the MS., from page 149 to the end, in fact at the point where a second writer took over, the leaves were put onto the string the wrong way. Evidently the leaves had been placed ready for use with the holes made when the second writer turned the bundle upside down and began writing on the line that was meant to come at the bottom of the page. East Javanese cursive script, East Javanese orthography. Described by Dr. K. Wulf.

Contents: The Carita Yusup, latter part, differing little from the versions of the poem contained in the preceding MSS.

First words of the cantos on the leaves which remain:
P. 10. Durma, kawarûnahâ mali saŋ putri jarija.
P. 59. Sinum, wontên si caritanira, tîkâhirâ hus-man mali.
P. 60. Paykôr, ri sampunnirá maγkâna, kahucapa saŋ nata liwat dira ēi.
P. 97. Nyasmarandana, kocapa yusup sirekî, gênnêp limañ tahun sira, laminira hana hi jro, wa-raγka.
P. 122. Paykôr, ri sampunnirá maγkâna, kahucapa wog hahlul lapsir mali, haran hibnuh habbas seku.
P. 133. Sinum, ri sampunnirá maγkâna, buyamin tinultup haglis, denira sira saŋ katôq.
P. 160. Salubuk, ri sapurni maγkaneki, bageγa yakub pamaça, surat: After this the Lord Jacob read the letter.

The MS. ends with the stanza: yata nabbî yakub teki, hanînali malakekt, harupaḥ manuwaḥ rêkkî, nêhê sinapa ta çiro, sapa sira mriγ hamba, sunahur malikat sampun, haγul[lati] mariγ tuwan.
Translation: Then the prophet Jacob saw an Angel with the aspect of a human being, at once he was addressed, 'Who are you, coming to me?' Answered the Angel, 'Coming to see you, sir.' – This is the beginning of the description of Jacob’s last days and death, this MS. containing more of the latter history of the patriarch’s family than the preceding ones. It ends abruptly, however, and does not have a colophon.

In view of the script and the orthography I am of opinion that this MS. was written in the last decades of the nineteenth century. The boards of the MS. deserve special attention as they are decorated with wood-carvings showing the pointed motif which for centuries was a favourite with Javanese decorative artists. The colours used are gold, green, and red. Though not exquisite works of art, these boards give some idea of the high level of craftsmanship prevailing in the country in East Java up to about fifty years ago. See Plate 24.

Carita Yusup.
JAV 7 (Cod. Javan. Add. 8).
Presented by Mr. P. Glaahnson of Surabaya, October 1922. Said to be of Balinese origin. Measurements: 42.5×3.5 cm. In comparatively poor condition. Several leaves are badly damaged and some are missing (pp. 113 and 114). Regular writing in a good hand; some leaves written in another good hand (pp. 69, 109, and 110) were substituted for the originals, which were placed at the end of the MS. Round script of the northeast coastal districts called in Javanese Pasisir Wétan. East Javanese orthography. Mistakes are frequent and letters are often omitted. Pages numbered in the usual fashion from 1–187. Described by Dr. K. Wulf.

Contents: Comprehensive version of the Carita
Yusup, containing many digressions of a didactic and edifying nature, which were taken from Islamic religious Tradition. The MS. ends with the death and funeral of Joseph. Vide Vrede’s summary of the long *Carita Yusup* MS. at Leyden, *Catalogus* 1892, p. 26.

First lines: *bismillahirrahmanerrahem. pt̠k. hasmarandana. Awaq teki miluwañawi, carita yusup ginila:* In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Metre: *asmarandana. I here will follow, writing poetry. The History of Joseph is sung.*

P. 15. *Paŋkur, hnépigakné denigwaŋ, kaŋ koca-pa prasa (16) naki yusup tiki:* Not to be spoken about are they by me. Who are to be mentioned are the brothers of Joseph here.

P. 20. *Sinum, wonten sabdanig nitusan, haméla-kén sireki, gulehan kaŋ manijig swargga, dudu hanak adan siggij:* There is a Word of the Messenger, telling (read: *hamtakakén*) about the group (read: *gulöhan*) that entered Heaven, not being of the children of Adam, to be sure.¹

P. 20. *Salubuk, bagiŋa yusup winaran, kaŋ ana jro sumur tika:* The Lord Joseph is to be described, who was at the bottom of the well.

P. 31. *Turangga wési (i.e. paŋkur), tan kocapa saŋ adagaŋ, kahucapa maŋki dira saŋ kawi, manajat bagiŋa yusup:* Not to be mentioned are the merchants, to be read now by the honoured poet is the prayer of the Lord Joseph.

P. 38. *Sinum, yatan swara haňcaŋ, híŋ woy nagari híŋ msir:* Then there was a Voice speaking to the people of the Land of Egypt.

P. 43. *Durma, tan kocapa maŋki woy wadun diniŋwaŋ, hana kucapa mali, putre sri nalindra, híŋ temas kaŋ nagara:* Not to be mentioned are now the women by me. There is more to be mentioned: the daughter of the Illustrious King of the Land of Temas.

P. 45. *Sinum, hnépigakné denigwaŋ, brantanira saŋ suputri, wonten ta kocapa mawa, riwayati woy maçasih:* Not to be spoken about by me is the lovesickness of the beautiful Princess. There is more to be mentioned: the tradition about people who have a voluptuous desire (Arabic šaḥī). P. 46. *Durma, kocapa mali sira putre jalika, hanig jro paŋjareki, sawarca laminya:* To be mentioned again is the Princess Jalika. She had been in gaol, one year.

P. 49. *Paŋkur, sampun tiuk sinurat, sinuñakén marig nitusan naglis:* When the writing was finished, it was given to a messenger, quickly.

P. 58. *Sinum, kocapa sira saŋ natha, hatuku híŋ yusup tiki:* To be mentioned is the King, he bought Joseph here.

P. 61. *Paŋkur, kocapa sira saŋ natha, sampunin anumbas i yusup tiki:* To be mentioned is the King, after having bought Joseph here.

P. 69. *Hasmarandana, wonten andika hyag wedi, kalboni muñhin sadaya, winastanan koca maŋko:* There is a Word of Holy Providence: The innermost of the faithful, all of them, is (to be) called a mirror, now.

P. 70. *Durma, saŋ prabhū misr akin i para guna, akarye jannat tiki:* The King of Egypt ordered the craftsmen to make this pleasure-house.

P. 77. *Sinum, wonten nandika hyag suksma, marig kahulaneri:* There is a Word of the Holy Spirit unto His servants here.

P. 79. *Turangga wési, wonten nandika hyag suksma, siŋ sapiku karya damel tan yuktī:* There is a Word of the Holy Spirit: Anyone that does a deed which is not good.

P. 81. *Sinum, yata sakwehiŋ wanila, kaŋ tuumun i yusup tiki:* Then all the women who saw Joseph here.

P. 91. *Salubhuk, kocapa yusup sireki, gëmpitiŋ tahun sira, bagiŋa yusup ta maŋka, sira haniŋ
ja pañjara: To be mentioned is Joseph. Just seven years (read: gënep pilug) he, the Lord Joseph, now had been in gaol.

P. 100. Sinum, re sampunirra mañkana, jabrail tumuran naglis: After this Gabriel descended quickly.

P. 103. Míhus (i.e. mijil), ri sampuni mañkana puneki, hananañi say katog hapaggiya lan say putri mañkin: After this the King rose to meet the Princess, now.

P. 104. Durma, kaliwát sukanira sri naranata, lan sukur iy hyaq widi: Very great was the joy of the Illustrious King, and he was thankful towards Holy Providence.

P. 119. Sinum, bagiñda yusup kocapa, hapaggi lan sanakniki: To be mentioned is the Lord Joseph, he met his brothers.

P. 127. Pañkura, mañkana mati kucapa, nabbí brahim: So is to be mentioned again the prophet Abraham.

P. 130. Durma, hañandika páñita suléman (?), nika, hamptakakén nañiliq: Spoke the learned Solomon (?), telling a story, he said:

P. 134. Sinum, ri sampunirra mañkana, bhuyamin tinulun aris, denira sira say katog: After this the honoured Benjamin was attended to by the King.

P. 144. Durma, kaj kucapa sakiliq woy priyatinan, hakañta warnaniki: What is to be mentioned are the sufferings of people who are in sorrow, many kinds there are.

P. 146. Sinum, bagiñda gañkub anabada, hiy putranira prasami: The Lord Jacob spoke to his sons, all of them.

P. 154. Durma, sampuni mañkana pun baqcir ranulya, hañaturakén tulis: After this Basir immediately presented the letter.

P. 170 (should be 160). Pañkura, wonitén carita kucapa, hamptakakén hiy duça haguny teki: There is a tale to be mentioned, telling of the great sin.

P. 174. Sallubak, hñéñakna maykwéki, bagiñda yusup kucapa, hapaggi lan rama rëke: Not to be spoken about is this now. The Lord Joseph is to be mentioned, meeting his father.

P. 186. The end with the colophon: handikanira hyaq wedi, kocapa mañke diniywa, prapit nabbí muça mañke, iñ muça wuruñata hyga, hiy bhumi kudas ika, hakañta jaratirku, para nabbí nabbí hika. - sampuni iñlas tinulis, hiy dina sabtu punika, hiy saçi sappar ta rëke, hiy tyggal piñ lima hika, hiy tahuñ níhi hika, hiy ñusunmbay katiyisun, hiy kuluniñ kali hika. - panéñanikanñ anulis, hiy sira kañ mahamulya, muwa hiy dutadi kahut, sinuñan rakmad diniy hyañ, hi dunyë niñakirat, têñe niñamisun, hiy dunyë têkhiy hakirat. - karani míli ha (p. 187) nañu, dinu hagryñen sabdiñ hyañ, sinamaca myarça kañ woy, hantuk nugran han hyaq sukma, sami lan moca kuñan, luput iy duña ciptiku, priyatin nañ aña hilañ. - síña mahidu hiy tulis, kañ kucapa wánu punika, wóñ iku dadi ta rku, muñ saki gama hislam, dadi kapir woy ika, tañ antok marga rahayu, deni hamahidunnika.

- wallahuhu hañ'alam bama waban tabatallahi himanakan piddunya woł akirati, têñlas kañ anulis dina saptu, caçih sappar, tyggal 5, tahuñ hiñi, hañkani warça 1731.

Translation: The Word of Holy Providence is to be mentioned now by me, coming to the prophet Moses: O Moses, know that in the Land of Jerusalem there are many graves of the prophets. Finished is the writing, on Saturday, month: Safar, date: the fifth, year: Ehe (i.e. the second year of the Javanese octennial cycle). In the village of Rambang I am, west of the river. The prayer of the writer is unto the Most Glorious One and unto the Messenger, the Excellent One, that he may be given mercy by the Holy One in this world and hereafter, that may be confirmed my faith in this world and also hereafter. The reason
why I have joined the poets is that I have heard the Word of the Holy One: Anyone that recites, and anyone that hears that person (reciting) receives the favour of the Holy Spirit, in the same way as if he were reciting the Qur’ān, he is free from distress, the sorrow in his mind disappears. Anyone who doubts the writing that is mentioned just now, that person has fallen away from the religion of Islam, he has become an unbeliever, that person does not enter the Path of Bliss, because of his doubt. Allah is the One who knows the truth best. May Allah confirm your faith in this world and hereafter. Finished had the writer on Saturday, month: Sa’far, date: 5, year: Elhe, number of year: 1731 (i.e. A.D. 1804).

This MS, with the curious colophon that places the Javanese History of Joseph on a level with the Qur’ān, is a good example of the literature of the north-east coastal province of Java. Although in the colophon Rēmbang is called a village, not a town, I think it possible that it is the capital of the residency west of Surabaya which the writer had in mind, but this is far from certain since Rēmbang occurs as the name of localities in many districts of Java. It is, however, interesting to note in this connection that the town of Rēmbang is known as a centre of the worship of the Javanese saints, the Walis, who are believed to have introduced Islam into Java; it would therefore not be surprising if it was a devout worshipper of the saints in Rēmbang who wrote this fine MS. of the History of Joseph. The writer was certainly not a strictly orthodox Moslem, but neither does the work appear to be that of an ignorant villager in some outlying district.

I have been unable to find any fact confirming the statement that the MS. is of Balinese origin, as Mr. Glahnson took for granted.

¶ 1) See note on JAV 4, the five animals. 2) i.e. wāllāhu al-lāmu biḥṣawāḥ, thabbaṭa ‘illāhu ta‘ālamakum fit dā'āmīnā wa‘ākhirat.

Carita Yusup.

JAV 8 (Cod. Javan. Add. 10).

Origin unknown. Measurements: 45.5×3.5 cm. In rather poor condition. The first two leaves, containing the beginning of the text, and some others are lost, and many are damaged. The leaves are often erroneously strung together. Regular writing in a good hand. Script of the north-east coastal districts (Pasisir Wétan). East Javanese orthography. Pages numbered in the usual fashion 3–119.

Contents: An elaborate version of the Carita Yusup ending with the death and funeral of Joseph and containing many edifying and didactic digressions taken from Islamic Tradition. To be compared with JAV 7.

First canto, beginning lost, metre: asmaradana. P. 12. Kaluṣah (i.e. sinom), wuntēn sabdanīś ṭulusan, hamtahakēn ṭkiki, liiūmāk kaŋ mahijīŋ swarga, duḍu hanak adam tiki: There is a Word of the Messenger, telling about the five that entered Heaven, not being of the children of Adam.¹

P. 12. Jurāŋ (i.e. asmaradana), tan kocapa yaḥ-kub teki, kucağa mayorke denigwaw, bageṇḍa yusup ta mayorke: Not to be mentioned is Jacob. To be mentioned now by me is the Lord Joseph.

P. ¹. Paŋkar, one leaf lost.

P. 23. Kaluṣah (i.e. sinom), ri sampuntra maykana, bageṇḍa musa siriki, duk saŋnengan hyaŋ manun, hīŋ luḥur prawatiṇu: After this the Lord Moses, at the time he was speaking with the Holy All-Seeing One on the top of the mountain, in olden times.

P. 27. Durma, tan kocapa mayorke wung wadon
denigway, hana kuca ca mali, say putri hi temas, kag ha wasta jilaka: Not to be mentioned are now the women by me. There is more to be mentioned, the Princess of Temas, who was called Jalika.

P. 34. Pągkor, ri sampunira maγkana, tan kocapa sira say rajaputri, halami ni jro koqatun: After this not to be mentioned is she, the King’s daughter. A long time she was in the palace.

P. 39. Kaluγsub, wuntėn carila kuca pa, tipkαhira husmannali: There is a tale to be mentioned: the conduct of Usman.

P. 40. Pągkar, ri sampunira maγkana, kuca pa say nathia liwat derasi: After this is to be mentioned the King, very much did he like him.

P. 50. Sinum, wuntėn ta mali kuca pa, wuγ rayun pje maγkεki: There is more to be mentioned, people who are going to die, now.

P. 57. Salubuk (i.e. asmaradana), kuca pa yusup sireki, gēnē pinaγ tahun sira, lamiñira hana hi jru, warayka: To be mentioned is Joseph. He now had been just five years in gaol.

P. 65. Durma, ri sampunira maγkana putri jake: After this the Princess Jalika.

P. 78. Pągkor, wuntėn sabdanγ paydtγa, kag kuca pa wuγ akluγ lapsir mali, hanaγma bni habbas teku: There is a saying of the scholars: Who is to be mentioned is a man learned in (ahlu) exegesis again, called Ibn Abbas.

P. 85. Sinum, ri sampunira maγkana, bhuyamin tinulγ mali, denira sira say kaluγ: After this Benjamin was attended to again by the King.

P. 102. Salubuk, sampunira maγkana tiki, bagεnγa yakub pameca, surat: After this the Lord Jacob read the letter.

The end reads as follows: handikanera hyag wedi, maγke kuca pa denigwaγ, praptiγ nabbu musa γku, hiγ musa wruhantu hiγa, hi bumi kudos siγa, hakαγa jaraγiγeγu, para nabbu hika: The Word of Holy Providence is to be mentioned now by me, coming to the prophet Moses: O Moses, know that in the Land of Jerusalem there are many graves of the prophets.

The last stanzas contain the usual caplatio benevolentiae and some pious formulas, but neither a proper colophon nor a date. The stanza with the description of the situation of the writer’s house, in an unnamed locality, is of no great help. JAV 7 is dated 1804, for which reason I venture to suggest that JAV 8 was also written in the first half of the nineteenth century. Its writer was probably likewise a native of the north-east coastal districts of Java.

Carita Yusup.

JAV 9 (C. 2173).

Lontar MS. in fairly good condition. The leaves measure 43.5 x 3.5 cm and are numbered 1–88. Regular writing. East Javanese cursive script. East Javanese orthography. The palm leaves are not of the best quality. Registered in 1913.

Contents: The Carita Yusup, the History of Joseph, the son of Jacob, up to his reunion with his brothers.

First lines: bismillahirakmanirahik (sic): ĭwaγ teki melaγ ĭawi, carila yusup hinila, marmmanig genurit maγke, carila sinuγan têmbag, têmbag kasmarandana, kasmaran tiγsun agiruγu, tutur nabbu yusup pika.

Translation: In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. I here will follow writing poetry. The History of Joseph is sung. The reason why it is put into verse now, a history provided with metre, the metre asmarandana (supposed to mean ‘gift of love’), is that I love to hear the Lesson of the prophet Joseph.
P. 13. Malayu (i.e. durma), hana carita satu mañ-
jiŋ hig swarga, lelima hakeniki: There is a story
of animals entering Heaven, five is their number.
P. 13. Salubbuk (i.e. asmaradana), tan kocapa
yaŋkub tikī, kocapa maŋki diniŋwag, bagenda
yusup ta maŋke: Not to be mentioned is Jacob
here, to be mentioned now by me is the Lord
Joseph now.
P. 20. Yudakanaka (i.e. pangkur), tan kocapa saŋ
adagag, kahuçapa maŋke dira saŋ kuwi, munajat
bagenda yusup: Not to be mentioned are the mer-
chants, to be mentioned now by the honoured poet
is the prayer of the Lord Joseph.
P. 26. Tuya liwat i jroniŋ kukuruñah (i.e. sinoni),
wonten mali kuwarnah, nabbī musa kaŋ winarn-
ni, duk saŋçucan nyap manon, hiŋ tuwar prawa-
tiñuni: There is more to be described, the prophet
Moses is described, at the time he was speaking
with the Holy All-Seeing One, on the top of the
mountain, in olden times.
P. 27. Tamēguñí timur (i.e. pangkur), sampuni
maŋkana kiça, sakīŋ diça haris maŋke haneli:
After this he went away from the country quietly
now, soon.
P. 30. Woŋ miŋgat (i.e. durma), tan kocapa maŋ-
ke woŋ wadun diniŋwag, hana kocapa mali, saŋ
putri hig timas: Not to be mentioned are now the
women by me. There is more to be mentioned,
the Princess of Timas.
P. 38. Sukuñrabu (i.e. pangkur), ri sampuni
maŋkana, kahuçapa sira saŋ rajaputri: After this
there is to be mentioned the honoured Royal Prin-
cess.
P. 43. Rambottig arp (i.e. sinom), wonten mali
kaŋ kocapa, tepkahira husman mali: There is a
story to be mentioned, the conduct of Usman
again.
P. 44. Padanan (i.e. pangkur), re sampuni maŋ-
kana, kahuçapa saŋ nata liwat dira haçi: After
this is to be mentioned the King, he was very much
liking him.
P. 50. Rima kinanfiliŋ malaﬁ (i.e. sinom), wonten
ta male kocapa, woŋ ṭayun pjiŋ sirki: There is
more to be mentioned, people who will die, now.
P. 64. Raruni (i.e. asmaradana), kocapa yusup
sirki, qenñep limaq tahun ika, laminira hana hi
jro, waraŋka: To be mentioned is Joseph. He now
had been just five years in gaol.
P. 73. Malayuway sakīŋ barga (i.e. durma), ri
sampuni maŋkana putri jalika, pinaggihakēn
tikī, deni kaŋ malikat: After this the Princess
Jalika was brought to meet him by the Angel.
Unfortunately the last palm leaf is damaged. The
end reads as follows: mišēn sri narintra, hami-
harpa wacana, niŋ prasañikira hiki, yen ayucapa,
bohuy yin sira paylig: The Illustrious Prince smi-
led, hearing the words of his brothers here, as
he said, 'It is not true that you did not know.'
The MS. does not contain a colophon. Probably
the writer was copying a MS. which had more
cantos, but broke off his work before reaching
the end of the text.
On account of the script and the orthography I
am of opinion that this MS. was written in East
Java in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Carita Yusup.
JAV 10 (C. 6726).
Lontar MS. in fairly good condition. Leaves mea-
suring 46.5 x 3.5 cm and numbered 1–119. Strings
were passed not only through the central hole, but
also through the holes at the right and left ends
of the leaves, which is unusual. In several places
some leaves were turned a full 180 degrees round
the centre string, as a result of which the writing
stands upside down for a reader holding the MS.
in the normal manner. This was sometimes done
temporarily to make it easier to find again some passage in the text. In this MS. the inverted leaves were secured in this position by means of the additional strings at the two ends; this cannot have been the original intention and therefore it is likely that these additional strings were attached by an excessively careful person, who was not accustomed to read lontar MSS.

The writing is irregular and wavy. East Javanese script, East Javanese orthography, showing the influence of Madurese. Many mistakes and corrupt passages. Registered in 1952.

Contents: The Carita Yusup, a comprehensive version. The names of the metres are rarely mentioned at the beginning of the cantos.

First lines: basmallahiyiyn namamit, hanubbut wasta hyaj sukma, kay mura ri dunya rko, rakum masih iy akerat, dan punika winarma, kay sabda hali wenuwos, caritanih nabi hika, tatkala hikay tinolin (sic), he dinten sabtu punika, pancawara kepnu niki, taqgal sopulu neka, malut sasi punika, tahan wahu wastanepun, hujariy pramancah maqko, kalawan pra resi hika.

Translation: In the name of Allah I begin, mentioning the name of the Holy Spirit, who is generous in this world, merciful, loving hereafter. Then this is described (the words of the scholars [ahli] spoken): the History of the Prophets. The time of the writing (read: tinolin) was Saturday, day of the five-day week: Pon, date: the tenth of the month of Mulud (i.e. Rabiu-I’awwal, named after the Birth, Mawlid, of the Prophet), year: Wawu by name (the seventh in the Javanese octennial cycle), the Sayings of the Fellow Officials and of the Sages.

The last words form a chronogram, in Javanese called a candrasangkala. It indicates the number of the year by means of words having numeral values. Literature on candrasangkalas: Pigeaud, Javaans-Nederlands Handwoordenboek, Groningen 1949, Introduction.

In my opinion the solution of this chronogram is as follows: The word sayings means 5, propañca 5, sages 7, and this should be read in the reverse order:755. With the addition of the number for one thousand, which was omitted, this makes the Javanese year 1755, i.e. A.D. 1827. This was not a Wawu year according to the list in the Encyclopaedia van Nederlandsch-Indië, s.v. Tijdenkering. Javanese chronology as practised in the villages away from the centres of Javanese learning at the Courts in Central Java was frequently inexact. After several stanzas containing the usual captatio benevolentiae some information is given concerning the writer’s name and house. His name was Pak Nahisi and he calls himself with exaggerated humbleness a member of a family of wanderers without a permanent home (kaban wan tanpa girya slaminepun). He then proceeds to give the well-known first stanza of the Carita Yusup, followed by stanzas containing information about the alleged origin of the History of Joseph, which is said to date from the time of Mohammed himself.

P. 15. Asmarandana (although also the preceding canto, the first, was in the asmaradana metre), tan kocara yaku teki, kocara ma’bagai denuwa, bagença yra(suto) ta maqko: Not to be mentioned is Jacob, to be mentioned now by me is the Lord Joseph now.

P. 22. Paykur, tan kocara pay ladaqap, kahocara maqke dera say kawi, manajat bagença yusup: Not to be mentioned are the merchants, to be mentioned now by the honoured poet is the prayer of the Lord Joseph.

P. 28. Sinom, wonitën si caritanera, bagença musa sireki, duk sapocara hyaj manon, hi luhur prawatihiuni: There is a story of the Lord Moses. He
now, at the time he was speaking with the Holy All-Seeing One on the top of the mountain in olden times.

P. 29. Paṣkura, sampuni maŋkona kesa, sakeg deṣa haris maŋke hanul: After this he went away from the country, quietly now, soon

P. 33. Durma, tan kocapa maŋke woŋ wadon dinuywag, hana kocapa mali, saye patri he timas: Not to be mentioned are now the women by me, there is more to be mentioned, the Princess of Timas.

P. 41. Paṣkura, ri sampunira maŋkana, tan kocapa maŋke saŋ rajaputri: After this there is not to be mentioned the Royal Princess.

P. 46. Sinom, wonten carita kocapa, tiqahira husman teki: There is a story to be mentioned, the conduct of Usman now.

P. 48. Paṣkura, ri sampunira maŋkana, kocapa saŋ ṇatha liwata deraşı: After this is to be mentioned the King, he was very much liking him.

P. 60. Sinom, wonten la mali kocapa, woŋ ṇayuna pje sireki: There is more to be mentioned, people who will die, now.

P. 69. Asmaradana, woŋ sitanę yusup mali, jaŋkēp gulihanı harsa, laminirı ḃanekey jro, warangka (corrupt, without sense, see the corresponding canto in the other MSS.).

P. 72. ṭīna harsih (i.e. sinom), wonten sabdaniy papaŋda, haseb hirunmana teki, haṃptakę nabbı duta, muḥammat asidek tinéwi: There is a saying of the scholars — (the next line is corrupt and without sense) telling about the Prophet, the Messenger, Mohammed, clear-sighted extremely.

P. 73. Gayal-gayel (i.e. asmaradana), sakatahı hamapagi: All came to meet him.

P. 80. Durma, ri sampuni maŋkana putri jalika, pinagghakęn mali: After this the Princess Jalika was brought to meet him again.

P. 97. Sālbah (i.e. paṣkura), wonten sabdani paŋ-
ISLAMIC EPIC TALES IN JAVANESE

Amir Hamza.

JAV 11 (Cod. Javan. Add. 5).

Purchased together with JAV 5–6 and 12–14. Measurements: 35 × 3.5 to 4 cm. In poor condition. Written very carelessly with sometimes four and sometimes three uneven lines on each side. No numbering of pages. Number of leaves: 94. Probably many leaves are lost whilst others are evidently misplaced. East Javanese script, Madurese orthography. The idiom reveals a strong influence of Madurese; for example, the Madurese ta bado (to be pronounced: ta' bodo) is sometimes used instead of the Javanese tanana 'there is not'. Described by Dr. K. Wulff.

Contents: A fragment or some fragments of an Amir Hamza romance in verse.

The hero of the romantic story is Amir Hamza, i.e. Ḥamza ibn Ṭābialī, uncle of the prophet Mohammed, who is usually called in Javanese Menak Ambyah, i.e. the Lord Ambyah, or simply Menak. The romance was originally written in Persian but it was translated, often with adaptations, into many languages, i.e. several South-East Asiatic languages such as Malay and Javanese. An extensive cycle of Amir Hamza romances came into being in Javanese literature, telling of the endless warlike and amorous exploits of the hero and his family. The poems belonging to this cycle are commonly called the Sīrat Menak 'Books of my Lord'. There are many different versions of the Menak romances, the latest ones-being, as a rule, the most extensive, containing numerous interpolations invented by the fertile imaginations of latter-day poets. The adventures of the hero and his family invariably end in the defeat of the unbelievers and the addition of many beautiful princesses to the harems of the champions of the true faith.

Besides Lord Hamza, his wives, sons and daughters, the principal characters in the Menak romances are their faithful 'cunning servants' Umar-maya or Marmaya (i.e. 'Amr ibn Omayya al-Ḍamrī), the messenger of the prophet Mohammed, and Marmadi (i.e. 'Amr ibn Ma’di Karīb). The introduction of these rather clownish servants and the important roles they are given in the romances are specific features of Javanese literature.


Because of the poor condition of the MS. and the careless stringing together of the leaves, which are unnumbered, it is difficult to determine which episode of the cycle is related. In my opinion the MS. contains a fragment of some version of the Prabu Lara story. This is the story of two maiden (lara) princesses of Nusantara, whose sword, the kangkam, was coveted by the Menak, the war fought against the infidel kingdom of Nusantara being the main subject of the tale. Apart from Lord Hamza and his servants his daughter Kora-
isin plays an important part in the story. In Ménak p. 59, Poerbatjaraka gives a summary of this romance, and Brandes describes also a Prabu Lara MS. in his Beschrijving van de handschriften v. d. Tuuk, Batavia 1901, Vol. I, p. 73 (Amir-Prabu Rara). I have abandoned an attempt to make a list of first lines of cantos because of the poor condition and general state of confusion of the MS.

The MS. does not possess a colophon, nor is it possible to find anywhere a proper ending to the story. In all likelihood the copyist did not finish his work and later on the leaves were strung together in a haphazard manner to form a book. The MS. probably dates from the beginning of the twelfth century, at the earliest.

**Prabu Lara.**

JAV 12 (Cod. Javan. Add. 6, I).

Bought together with JAV 5, 6, 11 and 13–14. Measurements: ca. 29.5×3.5 cm. In poor condition. Composed of two bundles of palmleaves, which were strung together probably with a view to cheating a possible buyer.

The writing of the first bundle, called A, is careless and the lines are uneven; in addition, the quality of the palmleaves is inferior, many leaves have black spots. East Javanese script, East Javanese orthography. Difficult to read. Numbering in the usual fashion, 1–39. Described by Dr. K. Wulf.

Contents: The beginning of the romantic Prabu Lara poem but probably a version different from that in JAV 11.

First lines: *bismillahirrakmanirrakim. wontën wicaritnira, ratu harab magke hikȧy kawarni, latkala latkalanira haturu, kalawan nrayinira, tinembahan paykor, wus pada haturu, hi pẹdȧy kamkam, kȧn apamur susutyadi.*

Translation: In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. There is a story of the Arab King, which is told, [at the time] at the time he was sleeping with his wife (it is put into the Pangkur metre). Already they slept together, he dreamt of the sword kamkam, which has pamor (i.e. a kind of damascening) and precious stones, etc.

First lines of cantos:


P. 32. *Durma, nuli tinitigan pun sakadi wiyak, dinera bagenda hamir.* Soon was mounted Sakadi wiyak (the horse?) by the Lord Amir.

The second bundle of palmleaves in this MS., called Bundle B, has no value since the leaves were cut at both ends to make them the same size as those in Bundle A. As the first and last words of each line are missing, there are many gaps in the text. The bundle consists of 32 leaves, which were strung together carelessly. The writing, which is in two different hands, is much better than that of Bundle A. From what is left of the text on the fragments of leaves it seems likely that it is the *Carita Yusup.*

The reason why this originally well-written MS. was mutilated is probably that it was adapted to fill in a gap between the end of Part I, Bundle A, and the beginning of Part II (see JAV 13). In this way the two fasciculi of almost equal thickness were meant to appear to a possible buyer as a complete MS. of the Prabu Lara poem.

**Prabu Lara.**

JAV 13 (Cod. Javan. Add. 6, II).

Purchased together with JAV 5–6, 11–12 and 14. Measurements: ca. 29.5×3.5 cm. In poor condition. Written carelessly on uneven lines. There are
spots on many leaves. Same writing, script, and orthography as in Bundle A of JAV 12. Numbering in the usual fashion, pp. 51 (?)–220 (?), but the numbers are written very clumsily and there are undoubtedly many mistakes. Only 104 leaves remain in this MS. Described by Dr. K. Wulff.

Contents: The latter part of the Prabu Lara poem, forming a sequel to Bundle A of JAV 12, although there is obviously a considerable gap between the two parts.

First lines: (ma)layu sireku, binurut hustur rika, lawan nata gulaggi, hamburu hiku, lawan nata nusantara, sabalanira puniki.

Translation: ... fled this one. Pursued was that Ustur, by the King Gunganggi, pursuing him, and the Princess of Nusantara, with her followers.

P. 43(?). Luhur i migu (above the clouds, kinat-
ji), tan kocapa cira hiku, wog kay hambaran
da hiki, kocapa kay para nata, maflbu hi ki ta niki, kalawun sira say putra: Not to be mentioned are they, the people who were causing a disturbance. To be mentioned are the Kings, entering the town, with the Prince (?).

P. 48 (?). Kaca hifub, tumuli kiça cira say putra, lawan ramana rēke kuneka ... gayangpati kocapa: Immediately went away the Prince with his father ... Ganggangpati (a grandson of Amir Hamza’s) is to be mentioned.

P. ?. Paŋkaw, nulli kambur(?) céri narinda, lawan putinairu cira puneki, putri jamanatra hiku, lawan putri hassana: Immediately flew away (?) the King with his daughters, the Princess Juman-
tara and the Princess Asinara.

P. 116 (?). Kawon yudan i.e. durma, sampun buḍal say putri sabalanira: Already left the Princess with her followers.

P. 139 (?). Kawon yudani, laḥ kariya saḍaya pu-
neka hiya, higsun keca tumuli: Farewell all here, I go away immediately.

P. 128 (?). Raṇḍa lili, tumuli kiça rahaṇyan: Immediately went away the knight.

P. 199 (?). Miḥus, wus manjiŋ mayke kałatąn: Already entering now the palace.

The confusion in the last leaves of the MS. is even greater than in the preceding ones and it is possible that they ought to come at the beginning of the MS. instead of at the end.

There is no colophon but in view of the script it seems probable that JAV 12 (Bundle A) and JAV 13 were written in one of the first decades of the present century.

Amir Hamza (Prabu Lara ?).

JAV 14 (Cod. Javan. Add. 7).

Purchased together with JAV 5–6 and 11–13.

Measurements: ca. 35 × 3.1 cm. In very poor condition, almost all the leaves being badly damaged.

The top and bottom lines of each half page are in part illegible. Fairly regular writing in at least two different hands. East Javanese script, East Javanese orthography. Numbering in the usual fashion from 1 to over 100, showing, however, some mistakes. Only 89 leaves remain. Described by Dr. K. Wulff.

Contents: in my opinion this is some version of the Prabu Lara poem, or of a similar romance belonging to the Amir Hamza cycle. Because of the very poor condition of the MS., I have abandoned an attempt to make the usual list of first lines of cantos.

It is to be regretted that the MS. is so badly damaged as it seems to contain a good specimen of popular East Javanese literature. On account of the script I should say that it was written in one of the last decades of the nineteenth century or at the beginning of the twentieth.
Amir Hamza.

JAV 15.

Palmleaf MS. in poor condition, dirty. The leaves, which measure 29.5 × 3 cm, are of inferior quality, stained, and cut unevenly; several are broken. The boards were shaped roughly. The origin is unknown. The MS. consists of 74 leaves but is only a fragment. The pages are numbered in the usual fashion, 40–113. One leaf is blank, and the leaf bearing the number 111 was placed before page 40. Evidently this is all that remains of a much bigger MS. The leaves missing at the beginning and at the end were probably regarded as too severely damaged to be of any use and were consequently thrown away. East Javanese script and orthography, to some extent showing the influence of Madurese. Poor, irregular writing, often difficult to decipher, wavy lines. The scribe made many mistakes, but when noticing in time that he had written a wrong letter he marked it by placing some dots over and under it and then added the right letter. Nevertheless, there are many uncorrected errors in the text.

Contents: A Menak Ambyah story in verse (see JAV 11–14 described above). The bad state of the MS. makes it difficult to identify it with any of the romantic poems about the adventures and warlike exploits of Amir Hamza, uncle of the Prophet, his family, and his servants that were described by Dr. Poerbatjaraka in his Beschrijving der handschriften van het K. Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, vol. Menak, 1940. The style of the text is archaic, simple, and not very good and the verses contain endless reiterations of the same expressions.

The first stanzas of this fragmentary MS. (p. 39 b) are in the durma metre and run as follows: tumuli kiça sira gagañ sañara, lawan nrajasa hiki, kiça hiñ alunan, wus kabur riñ awigat, hawur lawan migat pati, wus kutilahan, puruçuk woñ mëka teki; wus tumurun sira gagañ sañara, lawan nrajasa hiki, tumurun gra çira, dótëh huma puneka, hapi hapi hiñ woñ girig, saruwì lumampa, nitini puruçuk niki.

Translation: Immediately went away Gagah Sangara, with Rajasa. (These two are probably servants, superhumanly gifted, of some king at war with the true believers, and had been sent out as spies. Gagak means ‘crow’). They went to the forecourt; in a moment they flew up in the air, mixing with the white clouds. In a moment became visible the bungalows of the people of Mecca. In a moment came down Gagah Sangara with Rajasa, quickly did they alight near those houses. They pretended to be herdsmen, walking about they looked at those bungalows.

The last two stanzas of this canto, in the durma metre, run as follows (p. 50 b): hiñ ipe katuñ kadiña sira (read: kadi sarîra) higa, haniñ guwa hasiñ, gawàni sîlumàna, hanâni guwa hika, hègìni puneka siggi, haya kalintaj, sapulahi mantëssì; – cahyannira hamaçang hiñ jro guwa, kadi rahina hiki, kasënnanån cahyà, kadi ulàn purñama, sakìj jro guwa siriki, kabyàri cahya, lwiñ jàñit cahya niki.

Translation: In a dream he had a vision, saw himself in a cave, mysterious, the Spirits’ Cave was the name of that cave, it was a place, to be sure, most beautiful, in all respects fine. A light illuminated the interior of the cave, like day it was, shone upon by that light, like the full moon, from the interior of the cave, was the glow of the light, like lightning was that light.

The next canto is in the kinañfi metre. In the text this metre is called lutuping pratala ‘cover of the nether world’, which does not make much sense. The words must contain an allusion to the word kinañfi, which means ‘accompanied’, ‘forming a
couple'. *Tutuping pratola* 'the lid of the pitcher', 'the pitcher and its lid' is the correct reading. This is an instance of the kind of mistake made over and again by the scribe.

The first stanza of the canto, in the *kinañfî* metre, begins as follows (p. 51 a): guwa siluman puneka, rahaddygan bayu nagari, hiygar manahira hika, hanulat miri guwa hiki, . . .

Translation: That Spirits' Cave, Sir Bayu Nagara was pleased in his heart to look at that cave.

The third canto of the text is in the *durma* metre, here called *hapray kawon* (which means 'defeated in war', *durma* being usually alluded to by means of the word *mundur* 'to retire'). This canto begins on p. 86 b: tumulti kiça sira raddyan swuwaçe, sakîy ramanniriki, haprusuk busana, lañçiian ciçãle kêmbar, kris kakali hibayyi, sabuk pañola, gandanya mèbuk awañi.

Translation: Immediately went away Sir Suwanga (Amir Hamza's son) from his father. He put on his attire, trousers of flowered ciçãle (a fine textile fabric of Indian make). Two crisses he carried, his waist-band was of pañola (another Indian fabric); his perfume spread fragrantly.

The fourth canto, in *asmaradana* ('gift of love', in the text called *kêpingen* 'desire'), begins on p. 99 b as follows: datan kawarçena hi ratri, hikah lagi kasukan, kay rama lawan putrini, sigêzen datan kocapa, haqantini carita, . . . say raja nagara . . . ; – hadrîbîç putrî saãtiki, haran divi manigaran, kalañçoy hayu warînane, . . .

Translation: Not described is the night, those who were enjoying themselves, the father with his daughter. Let us be silent, not talking about them.

We pass on to another tale . . . The King of the Kingdom . . . possessed one daughter, called Princess Manigaran (usually Muninggar, one of Amir Hamza's wives), most beautiful in appearance. The fifth canto, in *sinom* (meaning 'young', in the text called *rança anom* 'young widow') begins on p. 104 a: wus kiça sira raddyan, sakîy musuçe ciçê hiki, lpañ lampahira halon, hanuây halas kañ sañit, tanana kañ kahënî, rahina wêːnî lümaku . . .

Translation: In a moment went away the Radin from the enemy, free was his going, quietly was he making for the mysterious wilderness. Nowhere did he rest, day and night he walked.

The sixth and last canto, in *kinañfî* (*tutuping pratola*), begins on p. 109 a: wus kiça raddyan puñeka, kakali puñeka siñgi, kaya kêmbar wamnëna, hakakalîç hiki . . .

Translation: In a moment went away the Radins, two they were, to be sure. Like twins in appearance they were, those two.

On account of some stylistic archaisms I think it likely that the text of this fragmentary MS. is a copy (although a badly made one) of an Amir Hamza MS. dating from the eighteenth century. But it seems beyond doubt that this fragmentary MS. itself dates back only to one of the last decades of the nineteenth century.

Amir Hamza.

JAV 16 (Cod. Javan. Add. 11).

Purchased from Mr. E. A. Hagerup, a resident of Java during the years 1912–1918. Measurements: 37×3 cm. In poor condition. First and last leaves lost. Fairly good writing in at least two different hands. East Javanese script, East Javanese orthography, showing the influence of Madurese. Pages numbered in the usual fashion from 21–97. Several leaves badly damaged.

Contents: A romantic poem belonging to the Amir Hamza cycle, not yet identified; to be classed as one of the group called 'offshoots of the *Menak* cycle' (see Poerbatjaraka, *Beschrijving der Menak handschriften*, Bandoeng 1940). Some of the char-
acters mentioned in Poerbatjaraka's summary of Lontar B.G. No. 746 (Beschrijving, p. 90), such as Gagak Rajasa and Gagak Minangsi, appear in JAV 16, but the stories do not seem to be identical. Because of the poor condition of the MS. it is impossible to follow the thread of the tale, but as far as I can see, the quest for a blood-red ring (sasa rauda), called Karta Laksa, which was to be found in the country of Nanggaling Kañcana, has a prominent place in the story. This ring was to be presented by a king to a princess and, as usual, the 'cunning servants' Umarmaya and Umarmadi, as well as the patih Barat Katiga, play a part in the development of the plot.

The idiom of this MS. is less provincial and archaic than that of the other Amir Hamza and Yusup poems described above. The name of the metre used in each canto is mentioned cryptographically, by means of an allusion, in the last line of the preceding canto, which is the normal procedure in all Javanese poetical works of the modern school. Superscriptions at the head of the cantos giving the names of the metres or allusions to them, such as are found in the preceding MSS., are old-fashioned. The MS. also contains several cantos in a difficult metre called dañganggula, which is not used in the other MSS.

The first part is in the pangkur metre.

P. 24. Dañganggula, rajañ sasrañ madya sandika haris, balik sira ki barat katiga, moñ sira prañjuri wani: King Sasra Madya (?) said kindly, 'Back you are, Barat Katiga. Well, you are a brave soldier.'

P. 27. Durma, umarmaya mayke liñera sandika, hiya baku niñrañi: Umarmaya's words now were, speaking, 'Yes, I cheated.'

P. 31. Asmaradana, marmadiñ hamuwus aris, datan giger hujariga: Marmadi said kindly, 'Not swerving (from the truth) is your speaking.'

P. 34. Pañkur, ni hañlusari sandika, marig hêmbari niñhira puniki: The fair Anglungari (the Princess) said to her duenna.

P. 35. Dañganggula, jayegranah kapaggith agatiñ lawan grawa hicañ denya nindra: Jayengrana (i.e. Amir Hamza) was found sleeping, with his wife, comfortably resting.

P. 36 - p. 43. Hitus.

P. 43. Durma.


P. 53. Pangkur, tan kacarañ radyan kalañ, . . . wonten malih kañ cinatur, négghii blumiñ jabel-kep, ratunipun nêjim sêllam: Not to be mentioned is the vanished knight (or, reading kalih: are the two knights) . . . There is more to be told. There is the Land of Jabal Qaf. Its King was a Moslem jinn.

Hitus, Sinom.

P. 63. Dañganggula, vos salamah dewiñ kurisin-ña, hiñ nuñah luñaya rahadyan, jañkep pitiñ candra mañkîñ: A long time already the Princess Kuraisin (i.e. Amir Hamza's daughter) had been in the island of Luñaya, just seven months now. Hitus, Pangkur.

P. 72. Dañganggula, kadispundih karsa padukamir: What is the wish of the noble Amir?

Hitus, Durma.

P. 76. Dañganggula, radyan maktal sayah suñ dukani, hamiharsa wacani tan yuktya: Raden Maktal's wrath increased in fierceness, as he heard the unseemly words.

P. 79. Asmaradana, matur radin sadasatir, daléñ ig san jayegranah: Raden Sadasatir (i.e. Amir Hamza's foster-brother) said to Jayengrana (i.e. Amir Hamza).

P. 81. Sinom, saksana sorup raditya, kacarañ kañ hanip puri: Soon the sun went down. To be mentioned are those who were in the palace.
Kidung Amad.

JAV (Bal) 10 (C. a. 98).

_Lontar Embat-Embatan_, consisting of 7 leaves, which are very long: ca. 56 x 3.5 cm. The right-hand ends of the leaves are knotted together, they are not strung onto a string. Numbering from 1–7. Poor writing, Balinese script. Idiom: Modern Javanese with some Balinisms.

Contents: a fragment of the _Kidung Amad_, 'The Poem of Ahmad.'

The Poem of Ahmad is a popular romantic story, which relates the adventures of two brothers, called Ahmad and Muhammad. It originally formed part of the literature that was introduced into Indonesia with the advent of Islam, such as the romances of Amir Hamza. Vide description of JAV 11. Some of the characters of the Amir Hamza cycle appear also in the Poem of Ahmad. It is a remarkable fact that the _Kidung Amad_ became very popular even with those Balinese who are not adherents of Islam. A Dutch summary is to be found in Vreele's _Catalogus van de Javaanse handschriften_, Leyden 1892, p. 205, and some interesting notes on this popular poem are to be found in the _Beschrijving van de handschriften v. d. Twuk_ by Brandes, s.v. *Amad*. See also _Literature of Java_, I, 1967, p. 225.

JAV (Bal) 10 begins with the first stanza of a canto in the _pankur_ metre, which has been identified as the 14th canto of Cod. Or. 4016 (Brandes 47), Cod. Or. 3944 (2) (Brandes 50), and Cod. Or. 4019 (Brandes 52) and the 15th canto of Cod. Or. 4020 (Brandes 54), all of which are in the Leyden collection. This stanza runs as follows: 

_say dyah muluk kitambah, hawor lamat lamat lan megha puti, wonten garuda kadulu, agu punag garuda, ceukkipun wsi purasani mancur, hanetra ratna kombala, hlarre gasa hañrithin._
Translation: The Princess rose in the air, mixing, nearly invisible, with the white clouds. There appeared a Griffin. Big was that Griffin. His beak was of parusani steel, glittering. He had eyes of kombala jewels. His wings were of bell-metal, terrible.

The last stanzas of the MS. are also in the pangkur metre, and here Umarmaya, the 'cunning servant' (see JAV 11) is mentioned. As it is only an unfinished fragment, the MS. does not contain a colophon. It is likely that it was written shortly before 1850. Registration took place in 1852–53. It was once in the possession of Mads Lange, and it is mentioned by Nielsen in Mads Lange til Bali, p. 161, where it is called 'en ironiserende Force over Muhammedanismen, som uden Held forsøgte at trenges ind paa Bali' (an ironical farce on Islam which unsuccessfully endeavoured to invade Bali).

It seems certain that this characterization of the Ahmad-Muhammad romance is of Balinese origin, transmitted by Mads Lange. It is of considerable interest, for it is an instance of the application of ancient autochthonous religious ideas about cosmic Order to modern historic developments. In ancient Javanese and Balinese religion (and in the social structure connected with it) antagonism between two groups of beings who, balancing each other, together fill the Universe, plays an important part. According to the Old Sages social and cosmic Order is bipartite or dualistic, and neither of the two moieties into which the Universe is divided ever can vanquish the other one. Apparently in Bali in the nineteenth century the concept of dualism in social and cosmic Order was applied to the antagonism between autochthonous Balinese religion and social structure on one side and imported Islam on the other. The romantic tale of the two brothers Ahmad and Muhammad who were antagonists was appreciated as an illustration of the mythic contest going on in Universe and human history for ever and ever, and so a learned Balinese could regard the romance as referring to the undecided struggle between his ancestral religion and Islam which was fought in historic times.

It is a fact that, in Java and Bali, Islam never was able completely to overcome ancient autochthonous concepts and beliefs.

Old pre-Islamic literature presents us with a remarkable parallel of the tale of the antagonistic brothers. The difference of Shivaism and Buddhism, the Indian religious systems which for centuries existed side by side in pre-Islamic Java, was illustrated by a tale of two hermits who had contrasting ideas about the right way to enter Heaven, the ascetic Shivaitc Gagang Aking ('Dry Stalk') and the esoteric Buddhist philosopher Bubhuksa ('Glutton'). The fundamental relationship of the tale of 'Dry Stalk' and 'Glutton' with ancient notions about a dualistic Order in cosmos and human society was convincingly demonstrated by Dr. Rassers (Ciwa en Boeddha in den Indischen Archipel, Gedenkschrift K. Instituut T., L. en V. -kunde, 's-Gravenhage, 1925, p. 222–253). To a Javanese thinker Shivaism and Buddhism were comparable (though antagonistic) entities. In the same way Islam and Balinese religion appeared to a Balinese philosopher of a later era to be brothers living in discord. A considerable number of instances of the use of the motif of the jealous brothers in Javanese literature is recorded in Literature of Java, vol. III, 1970, General Index, p. 199.

Samarkandi romance.

JAV 17 (Cod. Javan. Add. 9).

Presented by Mr. Hesselquist in 1930. Measurements: 30 × 3.5 cm. In poor condition. Most leaves
are damaged and several are missing. The MS. consists of several bundles of leaves, the writing is in different hands but throughout poor and on uneven lines. East Javanese script, East Javanese orthography. Described by Dr. K. Wulff.
The first bundle (A) is numbered in the usual fashion, 1–68.

Contents: a romantic poem relating the history of King Samarkandi and his two sons Suksmaewed and Suksmawinata. This is probably the same text as that of the Leyden MS. Or. 3842, described by Juynboll, Catalogus II, p. 141, see Literature of Java, II, 1968, p. 144. Unfortunately this Leyden MS. is also badly damaged so that it is hardly worth while comparing the two MSS.

First lines: bismillahirrahmaanirrahim (asmaradana metre), tatkali kan anulis, hi dina suma panika, hi sasi raja la magke, hi tahun nalip panika, wuku bala winarna, taggal pig sudasa tiku, pasawara lagi hika. – After the usual captatio benevolentiae comes the name of the poem: careta kag wog tindil, caritani ratu hika, prabhi samarkandi kag wog, haputra kakalihi ika, wistanikan atuwa, radyan suksmaewed siku, ka’ anum suksmawinata.

Translation: In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. The time of the writing was Monday, month: Ragab, year: Alip (the first in the octennial cycle), wuku (week of the thirty-weeks Javanese year): Bala, date: the tenth, pasar-day (day of the Javanese five-day week): Lëgi. – A history now is written, the history of a king. King Samarkandi now, he had two sons. The name of the elder was Raden Suksmaewed, the younger was Suksmawinata.

P. 11. Paykur, tiça mëgku nata saña, tañ kahucap kulawak banin gusi: Finished is now the story about the nine kings (?). Who is to be mentioned is ... P. 22. Mandirah jru puri (i.e. kinañ), hañamet kawulannisan, gantene kulit daputi: Taking my servant, changing into a white skin (?). P. 29. Luyh, tumha karsa sañ probhø kapati hi tyag: Occurred a desire to the King, very strong, for me (?). P. 36. Köbbök (i.e. sinom ?), illegible. P. 59. Sinom, sampun lêllas kag ñanurat, hiq dina haggara tiki, hi wulan nrasut ta magke, tahun nêjim mawwal singih, wuku prap bakal tiki, pancer kaliwon tiku, wayah liisir baksara, taggal caturuellas singih perk majig waktuñi hasserti punika. – talkalani kañ ñanurat, ñusun battra kilin singih, dul wilani tambay puca(ñ), kilini gundag punika, saduli tupalaki (?), hiq trusan puna (?) hi tikañ, niña hina katenog, badan kawula punikí, sastrianipun kaya cinakan riñ sata. – panëgdanipun ñanurat, miwa kañ anama tiki, sakig këdda kañ anurat, sastra winur garagarit, tandak tan patat tiki, woñã kawula mlasañun, yin jwi patiana, yin kiray dipun nasutí, tan wro kidal lur kulun witan punika.

Translation: Already finished has the writer, this Tuesday, in the month of the Messenger (Rabi’ ul’awwal), now, year: Jim awwal (the third in the octennial cycle), to be sure, wuku: Prangbakt, pasar-day: Kliwon, at the time of the setting of the sun, the 14th of the month, to be sure, near the beginning of the time of the asar (Islamic ritual afternoon prayer). – At the time of writing, it was in the village of Batra (or Bëtra)-West, to be sure, south-east of Tambah Pucang (?), west of GunJang, south of Tupalaki (?), in the trusan (‘short cut’) Punah (?), in the bend. Vile, worthless am I, my person here. The letters are as if scratched by a cock. The prayer of the writer is, unto those who read this: (it is done) because of the inward urge of the writer. The letters are mixed up with scratchings. It is an unsightly
piece of work. Good for nothing I am, pitiable. Where there is too much, scratch it out. Where there is too little, add it. I do not know south, north, west, east (i.e. I am muddle-headed).
The last 4 pages of Bundle A are unnumbered and contain the usual prayers for forgiveness and pious formulas.
The second bundle (B), has 38 leaves but only the first 14 pages are numbered; the writing is in several hands and is even less legible than that of the first bundle.
Contents: pious reflections in verse on the Moslem faith.
The latter part of bundle B contains several leaves with dialogues between a man and a woman. One of the last leaves was singed out by an Indonesian reader by means of a knotted piece of string which was passed through the left-hand hole. This leaf bears the heading: punika panucap i wug kay haglamar: This is the speech of people who make a proposal of marriage. As far as it is possible to make it out, this seems to be a mystical tract.
The contents of this MS. are not without interest, as they differ from the usual Yusup and Amir Hamza poems, and therefore it is unfortunate that the writing is so poor. The date that is given in detail in the colophon of the first bundle does not help at all in ascertaining the age of the MS., as the number of the year is not mentioned. On account of the script and the state of preservation of the leaves I venture to say that it was written in the first decades of the twentieth century.

THEATRICAL LITERATURE IN JAVANESE

Wayang tale.
JAV 18 (C. 2418).
Lontar MS. in poor condition, dirty and with crumbling edges. Registered in 1920. In fact, it contains two MSS., the leaves of which became mixed up and were strung onto one string in the wrong order. The leaves of the first MS. (A) measure 42.2 x 3.2 cm, those of the second MS. (B) 39 x 3.2 cm; the two MSS. are not in the same hand. Both MSS. are fragmentary and the leaves, although numbered, are strung together haphazardly and many are missing. In all probability, some ignorant person found a heap of loose palmleaves, the strings of which had rotten away, and placed them all indiscriminately on one string without noticing the difference in the writing and the length of the leaves.
The writing of A is irregular and there are many mistakes. East Javanese cursive script, East Java- nese orthography. The leaves numbered in the usual fashion. The beginning is lost and the last leaf is numbered 149.
Contents: the Carita Yusup. Because of the haphazard way in which the leaves were strung together, it is impossible to make a list of the first lines of the cantos found in this text. It is evident, however, that the version of the History of Joseph given in this MS. does not differ materially from those of the other MSS. in the collection.
By way of exception A possesses a colophon with a date. It runs as follows: tammat hiįį dintēn hahat, tangal 22, sasi rjėp, tahun jimakir, hāŋka-niŋ waraŋ 1745, hapurani hika ū hanulis, sakįi kumalancaŋ hika, tan wi sabēnarrre maŋke, yi krng wuwuhana, yin luwi luphana, ta sōgēt basa siriki, sakįi kumalancaŋ hika.
Translation: Complete on Sunday, the 22nd of the month of Rajah, year: Jim-akhir (the seventh in the octennial Javanese cycle), number of year: 1745 (the Javanese year 1745 = A.D. 1817). Forgive him who wrote, it is because of his rashness, he does not know what is right, now; if (read: yin) there is too little, supplement it, if there is too much, cut it down. He does not master the language because of his rashness.

The writing of B, the leaves of which became mixed up with those of A, is also irregular although slightly better than that of the longer text, and the characters are small. East Javanese script, East Javanese orthography, showing the influence of Madurese. Only 6 leaves remain, but by a fortunate chance the leaf containing the end of the text (or of one text if the MS. originally comprised more than one), was preserved and, as far as I am able to make it out, the number of this leaf is 93. The text of these few pages is a wayang tale in verse.

The Javanese national theatre, or wayang, has an extensive repertoire of plays, all of which are constructed according to one pattern (v. Pigeaud, Javaanse Volksvertoningen, Batavia 1938). Very often the subject-matter of a play was used by some poet for a romance in verse, usually called a wayang tale.

Because of the fragmentary character of the MS. the wayang tale related in B cannot be identified. Aji Darma, Garuda, Arjuna, and Dewi Sumbadra are all mentioned in the leaves remaining.

The end of the text runs as follows: sri nata puyap-payinan, harjuna tumulya haglis, hatemban marig parman, sinarihak'en dyan diwi, sampun nampulay rasmi, harjuna lan radyan gatu, sumbadra lan sri nata, datan kawarnaha nali, kay sinerat caritan sampun telos. sampun totuk kay sinerat, mugah hitapura si'ipgi, tanggi pi'iy kali la reka, tahun alip wastanihi, hi'iy dina hat niki, pancawara wagi' hiku, bukuni wariga' reka, tampah kanem wastanihi, hiya hikay hanerat, pa'h ruhadin nika.

Translation: The Illustrious Princess became restless, Arjuna soon, quickly, carried her to the bedroom, laid to rest was the Princess, already they had intercourse, Arjuna and Raden Galuh, Sumbadra and the Illustrious Prince. There is no more to be mentioned. The writing of the tale is finished. Already is ended the writing, may it be excused, truly, the date is the second now, the year Alip (the first of the octennial cycle) by name, on Sunday now, the day of the five-day week is Wage, the wuku (week of the Javanese thirty-week year), is Wariga, the sidereal month is Kanem, the scribe is Pak Ruhadin.
MALAY AND LAMPUNG MANUSCRIPTS

DESCRIBED

BY

P. VOORHOEVE
INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

For a survey of Malay literature we refer the reader to R. O. Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature*, Journal of the Malay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, XXXI, 3, Singapore 1961. It also gives a bibliography, including the titles of the principal catalogues of Malay manuscripts. The National Museum has one Malay manuscript, the Royal Library two, all of them written in the Malayo-Arabic script. In romanizing the Malay texts the official orthography which was fixed by an agreement of the Malaysians and Indonesian governments in 1972 is followed, except for the Arabic šin, which has been transliterated č. The indistinct vowel (šēwa, Javanese pēpēt) is indicated by č whereas č and č are distinguished from it by accents.

Hikayat Zādbakht.

MALAY (Arab) 1 (Cod. Mal. 1).
Book in half-leather binding. Title on the back in Arabic characters: Hikayat Zadā Bakht. 2 fly-leaves and 116ff. 28.5×19.5 cm, light blue paper with watermark John Key & Co, London.
On the fly-leaves, right side, a pencil-note in Arabic characters, perhaps written by Abdullah bin Abdulkadir: Ini hikayat Raja Zadā Bakhtīn harganya 10 ringgit: this is the Hikayat Zādbakht, its price is $10.—. Left side, Lat. char. (perhaps by Mr. North?):

History of Zada Bakhtin

or

A Fable in the Malay language 3 hundred years ago translated from the Arabic language by a native of Achin, in Sumatra.

ff. 1–4 are blank. The pages of ff. 5–114r are numbered by a later hand (1)–219. ff. 114 v, 115, 116 are blank.
Text of 18 lines a page, 14.5 cm long. There is the same clear, regular handwriting throughout. On pp. 142–219 the ink of the opposite pages came off and caused so many spots in the text that it is difficult to read in some places. See *Codices Orientales* III (1857), p. 74. (See Plate 32).

Beginning: Bismillahi’r-raḥmāni’r-raḥīm. Wabihi nasta’innu bi’llahi ‘alā (the usual corruption of al-a’lā). Bahwa kemudian daripada itu ketahulah i’olēhu hai orang yang hendak menengarkan hikayat zaman dahulu kala daripada ceritera segala raja² bahwa sanya ada seorang raja daripada segala raja² dalam negeri ‘Ajam turlali besar kerajaannya itu dan namanya raja Zād(a)bakht(in): In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Of Him we implore help, of God most High. After that, know, oh ye who wish to hear a story of olden times, one of the tales of kings, that there was a king of the kings in Persia whose
kingdom was very large and whose name was King Zādbakht.

End: Dan inilah akhir kesudahannya dan barang yang telah tersebut hikayatnya meraka itu dengan sempurnanya. Tammat. Maka berlindunglah kita kepada Allah daripada melebihi dan mengurangi daripada asalnya ceritera ini. Tiadalalah sekali yang demikian melainkan ditambahi perkataan ambil mengerti bahasa dan ditambahi itu dengan sarf (l. sarf) supaya menerangkan dia itulah adanya. Tambalah hikayat raja Zad(a)bakht(in) yang amat indah karangannya ini dalam negeri Singapura kepada tujuh belas hari bulan Ša‘bān al-mukarrom kepada ta’rīkh sanat 1253 tahun kepada tujuh belas hari bulan November tahun masēh sanat 1837. Intahā.

Adapun yang menyuratnya hikayat ini al-faṣr ilā ‘Ilāhi ta’ālā Abdullah bin Abdulkadir Munsi dan yang empunya hikayat ini tuan North1 orang Mekikan yang amat budiman: And this is the very end of it and a perfect version of all that is mentioned in their story. Finis. God save us from adding to or detracting from the original tale. In no wise have we done such a thing, only have we added words to explain the (Arabic) expressions and we have added some commentary to these to make them clear. That is all. This Tale of King Zādbakht, very finely composed, was finished in Singapore on the 17th day of the blessed month of Sha‘bān of the Muslim year 1253, that is 17 November of the Christian year 1837.2 End.

The copyist of this tale is God’s humble servant Abdullah bin Abdulkadir, teacher of language, and its owner is Mr. North, a wise and kind American gentleman.

The beginning, after the /, and the end, before the /, agree with the Leiden MSS. of this work. The initial formulae before / were somewhat shortened by Abdullah, and the colophon is, of course, different from that of other copies.

Mr. A. North was an American missionary in Singapore. His interest in Malay literature is mentioned by Abdullah in his Memoirs (Hikayat Abdullah, ed. Datoek Besar and R. Roolvink (1953) p. 391).

The Hikayat Ghulām or Hikayat Zādbakht is a version of the Book of the Ten Viziers, a cycle of stories found in some editions of the Arabian Nights. In it a king’s son, who had come to his father’s court unknown, and had been put in prison on a false charge, succeeds in postponing his execution for nine consecutive days by telling stories, until on the last day he is recognized and set free. Full particulars will be found in Winstedt’s History, pp. 103 et sqq. and bibliography p. 255. The work exists in Persian as well as in Arabic, and in Malay we have fairly literal translations from both languages. The version translated from Persian is called Hikayat Bakhtiar. It was never published and is preserved only in 3 Leiden manuscripts.3 There are two other Malay works entitled Hikayat Bakhtiar. They contain the main story of the true Hikayat Bakhtiar, but the intercalated tales are different. They are:

A. The shorter Hikayat Bakhtiar described by Winstedt (pp. 104–107 and 228–231), with only five intercalated tales. It is known from two MSS. only, but has become very popular as a school-book, first published by A. F. von Dewall in 1880 and often reprinted and lithographed.

B. The longer Hikayat Bakhtiar, also mentioned by Winstedt (p. 107), with more than a hundred intercalated tales, many of them taken from other Malay story-books. In a note in BKI 112
(1956) p. 416 ff. I have pointed out that the Jakarta and Leiden MSS. of this work contain the direct continuation of the London MS. The Leiden copy, which is the longest, ends in the middle of the 67th tale.

Some years ago the existence of a Patani MS. was made known to Mr. E. M. F. Payne, who had it copied and microfilmed. The Dewan Bahasa in Kuala Lumpur has photocopies of a Kelantan MS. of the same version. Those MSS. bring the number of tales up to 105.  

The Hikayat Bakhtiar proper, i.e. the version translated from the Persian, seems to deserve the oblivion into which it fell, as its literary qualities are easily surpassed by those of the version translated from the Arabic: our Hikayat Zadabkht (also spelt Zadabkhtin, Zadabukhtin). It was published under the title Hikayat Ghulām (the king’s son has no proper name in this version but is called ghulām (Arab.) = young man), printed at Batavia, 1860, and lithographed at Singapore H. 1311 (1893). Manuscripts are found in the following collections:

Leiden, Univ. Library: Or. 1718, 1750 and 1723 (Cat. Juynboll CXXIV–CXXVI).

Jakarta: VdW. 132, 133, 134 (Cat. Van Ronkel LXXIV–LXXVI).


S. O. A. S.: no. 12209.

Cambridge, Univ. Library: Add. 3815 and Or. 852.


Our copy is remarkable because it was written by the well-known Malay author Abdullah bin Abdulkadir.  

His handwriting is well known from his edition of the Sejarah Melayu (Malay Annals) and from his own works, all lithographed by his own hand. It served as a model for many Malay copyists in 19th century Malaya. Pieces actually written by Abdullah are, however, very rare in European collections. I remember having seen a letter sent by him to Dulaunier in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. In the Library of Congress, Washington, there is a copy of Adat raja-raja Melayu written by Abdullah, like our MS., in 1837.

Winstedt dates the translation of our text from the Arabic into Malay from the 17th century, because it is mentioned by Werndly (1736) and a Leiden MS. names the translator: Abdulwahhab anak Siantan, and literary activity could not be expected from a man of the isle of Siantan before the 17th century. The last argument would scarcely be conclusive if nothing more were known about the translator than that he was a native of Siantan; he might have emigrated from there to some centre of Malay culture at an early age. Actually the translator’s name is mentioned in two Leiden MSS., which may go back to the same original. One MS. (Or. 1723) only says: Dan yang menjawikan hikayat ini daripada bahasa Arab yaitu tuan haji Abdulwahhab anak Siantan daripada kitab hikayat al-ḥabīb Šaikh bin ‘Alawi al-Saḵḵāf: Haji Abdulwahhab, a man from Siantan, translated this story from an Arabic story-book in the possession of the Habib (descendant of the Prophet) Shaikh bin ‘Alawi al-Saḵḵāf. This MS. is dated H. 1234. Another Leiden MS. (Or. 1718), gives the following particulars about the origin and history of the Malay text:

Adapun asalnya hikayatnya Ghulām ini tuan ḥabīb Šaikh bin ‘Alawi Saḵḵāf yang empunya dia dengan bahasa Arab, maka dijawikan oleh tuan haji Abdulwahhab Siantan yang ‘alim di tanah Riau. Maka iaupn telah wafat di tanah Riau itu, di Pulau Pe-nyengat kuburnya itu. Maka disalin pula oleh Encik Kecut tukang lembaga; itupun telah mati jua da-

The Arabic original of this Story of Ghulām was in the possession of the Habib Shaikh bin 'Alawi Saqqaṭ. It was translated into Malay by the learned Haji Abdulwahhab of Siantan in Riau. He died in Riau, and his grave is on the isle of Penyengat. It was copied by Enchik Kechut the copper-smith. He also died in Riau, and his tomb is on Pulau Penyengat. Then it was copied by Enchik Kalu'; he also is dead, and his grave is in Lingga. Then it was copied again by Engku Sayyid Muhammad Zain Kudusi; he also is deceased, and his tomb is in Lingga. Mr. Walbeehm had it copied from Engku Sayyid, the scribe was Muhammad Tahak. When this copy had become shabby, Mr. Walbeehm had it copied again by Enchik Sa'id, a Riau man of Bugis descent. This Hikayat Ghulām was given by Mr. Walbeehm to his son, master Frederik, so that the latter might learn the Malay script from it and follow all its moral lessons.

So the copyist who wrote this in 1837 knew the graves of four of his predecessors, all of whom, from the original translator onwards, had lived in the Riau and Lingga Archipelago. This confirms Winstedt's supposition that the work was translated in the 17th century; probably in the last part of that century, if this tradition is trustworthy. It must, however, be remembered that the name of the translator, as far as it appears from the catalogues, is only to be found in two closely related MSS., and the further particulars only in the later of these two. In the same year our copy was made in Singapore by Abdullah, and the probably contemporary English note on the fly-leaf says that the book was translated in Aceh in the 16th century. As far as I can judge from language and style this seems extremely improbable.

In this copy the story told by Ghulām on the first day begins on p. 27; the second day begins on p. 39; the third p. 59; the fourth p. 79; the fifth p. 92; the sixth p. 119; the seventh p. 158; the eighth p. 148; the ninth p. 187; the tenth p. 208. On this day no tale is told but the king orders everything to be made ready for Ghulām's execution. However, on the eleventh day, which begins on p. 209, Ghulām is recognized as the king's son and all ends happily.

1) In Arabic characters spelled without r. In his Memoirs Abdullah spells this name Nwrth, with the r. 2) According to Wüstenfeld's tables 17th Shaw'āb 1253 is 16th November 1837. 3) See P. Voorhoeve, Het boek der tien Vizieren in het Maleis, in T.B.G. 73 (1933) pp. 427-435. 4) Cf. P. Voorhoeve, De grote Hikayat Bachtiar, in B.K.I. 125 (1969) p. 374 et sq. 5) Concerning him see: Winstedt, History ch. xii and Enc. of Islam s.v. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Kūdr. 6) In 1260/1844 Mr. C. W. Walbeehm, Assistant-Resident at Tanjung Pinang, had a Malay poem copied and sent to Europe, in order that his son, who could read Malay, might make a further study of Malay poetry. This is now MS. Leiden Or. 1761 (Cf. A. L. V. L. van der Linden, De European in de Maatsche literatuur (1937) pp. 260 et sq.).
Hikayat Tamim al-Dārī and other stories

MALAY (Arab) 2 (Cod. Mal. II).

Book bound in leather. Paper with watermark Whatman 1794. 107 ff. 31.5 x 19 cm; ff. 92–107 are blank. The text on ff. 1v–91v has 181 pages, numbered 1–180 (one page between 110 and 111 without a number). On the fly-leaf a note in pencil (apparently written by Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munşi): *Ini ada enam tujuh hikayat harganya $15, this contains 6 or 7 stories, price $15.–, and in ink (same hand as in MS. 1):*

The History of Tamim Midari
who was the friend of Mohamad
and had taken flight by the
Gin (add. by a later hand: Evil spirit) from
Madina to the heaven of heavens –
5 hundred years ago –
translated from the Arabic
language.

On f. 106v (another hand): Edwin Evans.
Text in clear Malay-Arabic writing, the same hand throughout, 27 lines of 15 cm per page.
Arabic quotations and first words of paragraphs in red. Dated at the end: 22 Ṣa’bān 1238. See Codices Orientales III (1857), p. 75.

This book is divided into three parts. It contains ten stories in all. The first part (pp. 1–37) contains the Hikayat Tamim al-Dārī, the same elaborate version as found in MS. R. A. S. Raffles 50, Jakarta Von de Wall 101 and Paris Bibl. Nat. mal.-pol. 280.

Beginning after the basmala: Wabihī nasta’īnu billahī’l-‘ālā. Bahwa inlah suatu ceritera terlalu ‘ajaib diketualikan daripada kitab Ta’rikh al-Ḥujuraṭ. Diceriterakan oleh orang yang empunya ceri-
tera ini ada seorang sahabat Rasulullah sawallahu ‘alaihi wa-sallam yang bernama Tamim al-Dārī bin Ḥabīb daripada kaum Anṣārī orang benua Madinah:

Of Him we implore help, of God most High. This is a most wonderful story taken from the History of the Rooms. The teller of this tale says: There was a companion of the Prophet called Tamim al-Dārī son of Ḥabīb, an Ansārī of Madina.

I do not know what is meant by the “History of the Rooms” (Ta’rikh al-Ḥujuraṭ). It may be a corrupt spelling for Ta’rikh al-Ḥijāz, the History of the Hijāz, or an allusion to the Koran, sura 49:4.

In this version the chapters (unnumbered) have headings, each with a synopsis of the following text, but they do not cover the whole of the contents. They are as follows:

p. 3 Al-kissah maka tersebuhlah perkataan Tamim-
auddari tatkala disambiar oleh jin itu dibawanya
dapatkan bumi yang keempat lapis itu dan peri dian
disa dan peri mengatakan tatkala diambil oleh
raja jin islam dan peri mengajar anak raja jin
islam itu dan peri mengatakan tatkala ia diseruh
hantarkan oleh raja jin itu kepada seorang jin
kafir ke Madinah dan peri mengatakan ia jatuh
dari atas belakang jin lalu ia berenang didalam
laut lalu naik keatas pulau ditengah laut itu dan
peri mengatakan ia bertemu dengan seorang orang
bisa sebelah matanya didalam pulau itu dan tatkala
ia duduk bersama-sama setan yang banyak itu
(This agrees with the passage quoted by Van
Ronkel, Cat. Batavia p. 245 et sq. from MS. vdW
101): Chapter. This is the story relating how
Tamimuddari was caught by the jinn and brought
to the fourth earth, how he lived there, and how
the king of the Muslim jinn took him away; how
he taught the son of the king of the Muslim jinn;
how the king of the jinn ordered an infidel jinn
to bring him to Medina; how he fell from the
back of that jinn, swam in the sea and went ashore
on an island in that sea; how he met a man on
that island who was blind in one eye, and how he lived together with the devils.

p. 9 Al-kissah maka tersebutlah perkataan Taminuddari bin Habib kaum Ansari yang diterbangkan oleh (the name of the jin kafir): how the infidel jinn flew away with Taminuddari. – The writer seems to have forgotten that he had already mentioned this incident in the preceding synopsis, and so he repeats it here.

p. 11 Al-kissah maka tersebutlah perkataan Taminuddari setelah ia melihat hal yang demikian itu maka iapun héránlah: when T. saw this (i.e. the behaviour of the devils) he wondered.

p. 15 Al-kissah maka tersebutlah perkataan Taminuddari itu tatkal berjalan dari tempat Dajjāl dan peri mengatakan ia menumpang kapal orang benua Hindu lalu ia rusak didalam kapal itu lalu berenang ia didalam laut dan peri mengatakan tatkal ia berenang itu lalu ia naik ke pulau pada tengah laut itu dan peri mengatakan tatkal ia berenang dengan tujuh buah negeri berlaksa orang didalamnya negeri itu demi sebuah kepada sebuah demikianlah juga dan peri mengatakan tatkal ia berenang dengan jin ‘ifrit itu lalu ia pergi ke guha nabi Allah Salaiman ‘alaik’s-salām mengambil cincin malakut yang didalam jari nabi Allah: how T. left the place of the Antichrist, boarded an Indian vessel, was shipwrecked, and swam in the sea; how he went ashore on an island in that sea and found there seven towns, each one of them with tens of thousands of people; how he met the ‘ifrit and went to the cave of the prophet Solomon to take the Ring of Kingdom from the prophet’s finger.

After this many adventures are told that are not mentioned in the synopsis. There is no further chapter-heading before

p. 32 Al-kissah maka tersebutlah perkataan pada hikayat isteri Taminuddari yang bernama Khau-lah(?) didalam benua Madinah: on T.’s wife, Khualah, in Medina.

p. 32 Al-kissah maka tersebutlah perkataan hikayat Taminuddari bin Habib dan tatkal ia diam beserta dengan nabi Allah Khdir ‘alaihi ’s-salām dan tatkal ia disuruh mengantarkan oleh nabi Allah Khdir ‘alaihi’s-salām kepada awan ke rumahnya dan lalu ia bertilah(?) dengan Khdir dan lalu berhukum kedalam masjid kepada Amir al-mu’minin ‘Umar radīya’llahū ‘anhu dan tiada terhukumkan oleh Amir al-mu’minin itu lalu dibawa oleh Amir al-mu’minin kepada Sayyidinā ‘Ali radīya’llahū ‘anhu dan lalu ia pulang ke rumahnya dan kepada anak isterinya: how T. stayed with the prophet of God Khdir; how Khdir ordered a cloud to take him back to his home, and how he took his leave (? l. berpisah?) from Khdir; how he then applied to the Commander of the Faithful ‘Umar (God bless his soul) in the mosque to settle his case (i.e. to give him back his wife who in the meantime had married another husband); how the Commander of the Faithful could not settle it and brought him to our Lord ‘Ali (God bless his soul) and how he then went back to his wife and children.

End on p. 37: … sekaliannya habis diceriterakannya belaka kepada segala anak isterinya. Demi didengarlah oleh segala anak isterinya ia, maka sekaliannya merēka itupun habis menangisah dengan tangis yang mahasangat. Walālāhu a’lamu bi’ṣ-sawāb: everything he told to his family. When his family heard his tale, they all wept exceedingly. God knows the truth best.

This tale goes of course, directly or indirectly, back to an Arabic source. A short Arabic version was published in 1891 by R. Basset (Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana, V, pp. 13–26; see Enc. of Isl. s.v. Tamīm al-Dārī). Ph. S. van Ronkel studied the Malay version (Meded. Kon. Akad.
Afd. Letterk. 5, III (1917) pp. 167–174), and Winstedt gives an English summary in his History pp. 89 et sqq.

An elaborate version, different in details from that in our MS., is represented by the Leiden MS. Kl. 36 (Suppl. Cat. v. Ronkel no. 99).


The Jakarta MSS. KBG 151 A Mal. and C. St. 130 B also contain short versions. No particulars are known about the MSS. Paris 61(1), Cambridge Add. 3875 and a MS. in Singapore.

There is a lithographed edition, Singapore H. 1207, containing a short version that is different from the MSS. I have seen, and an abstract from the R. A. S. manuscript was edited by Winstedt in Kēsusastēraan Melayu V (1958) p. 80–88.

The second part (pp. 38–59) of MALAY (Arab) 2 contains eight tales (a–h), most of them numbered, and said to be taken from the Hikayat Bayan Budiman, the Malay version of the Tales of a Parrot (See Winstedt’s History pp. 94 et sqq.). The work was published by Winstedt, Singapore 1920 and — somewhat completed and emended from a Jakarta MS. — by Balai Pustaka, Batavia (reprint Djakarta 1948). The number of tales in the Hikayat Bayan Budiman is only 24, whereas the lowest number mentioned in our MS. is 28. So our MS. gives evidence of the existence of a longer Hikayat Bayan Budiman. In works of this kind the title and the frame-story of some well-known collection of tales is sometimes used for a new anthology. The source of our MS. may either have been such a comparatively independent long version of the Hikayat Bayan Budiman, or a supplement to the original work which continued the number of tales from 25 to (at least) 38.

(a) pp. 38–43. 32nd tale (the Hikayat Bayan Budiman is not mentioned here). A discussion of birds before Solomon about the relative merits of speech and reticence. This is also found as a separate work in Malay literature under the title Hikayat barang barat-barat; cf. Van Ronkel, Suppl. Cat. Leiden no. 75 and the summary in the Batavia Cat. p. 124. Other MSS.: London SOAS 12227(1); Paris Bibl. Nat. mal.-pol. 63(5) and 79(2). It was lithographed in Singapore with the title Hikayat Raja Sutaiman.

(b) pp. 43–46. 38th tale of the Hikayat Bayan Budiman. A dispute between an old and a young man about a woman, settled by Solomon on the evidence given by a person who was hidden in a drum and so overheard what the litigants said whilst they carried the drum. I know this particular method of Solomon’s judgement from Batak tales only; see P. Voorhoeve, Overzicht van de volksverhalen der Bataks no. 95.

(c) pp. 46–51. 28th tale of the Hikayat Bayan Budiman. Muhammad Arifin gets three pieces of advice from his master, and acts accordingly. Sent home by the king to fetch his girdle, he sees a lover of the queen in the royal bedchamber, but says nothing. Sent on an errand to deliver a ‘letter of Uriah’, he escapes death by accepting an invitation on the way. By his vigilance he succeeds in killing a snake that comes forth from the body of his bride. — An exact Batak parallel is mentioned in my Volksverhalen no. 142. The tale of Sibur, no. 13 of the published text of the Hikayat Bayan Budiman, to which I referred there, has only some motives in common with our story.

(d) p. 51. From H.B.B., no number. The tale of Siti Rabi’ah who puts four officials of the court
in chests and offers them to the king; very briefly told. Cf. *Hikayat Musang berjanggut*, Winstedt pp. 22 et sq.

(e) pp. 51–52. 29th tale (H.B.B. not mentioned). Very short tale about a khaṭīb (preacher in the mosque) who is made to enter a dog’s kennel.


(g) p. 52. 31st tale of the H.B.B. Lailā and Majnūn, told in a few lines. A Malay version of this famous love-story is found in MS. R.A.S. Maxw. 95(5). There also was a MS. in the possession of Prof. Millies of Utrecht, whose books were sold in 1870 (no. 1053 of the sales-catalogue).

(h) pp. 52–59. *Hikayat Raja Jumumah*, the story of King Skull and Jesus, often found as a separate work. It is summarized by Winstedt, *History*, pp. 81 et sq.

The third part (pp. 60–180) of MALAY (Arab) 2, the longest, contains the *Hikayat Isma Yatim*, copied from an original in which the beginning was missing and some words were illegible. A beginning was supplied on p. 59, written in pencil, not from a complete MS. but from the writer’s fancy; some lacunae on pp. 61, 67 and 68 were equally filled in with pencil, apparently from conjecture. On p. 60 there is an English title written with ink: ‘History of Prince Ismaiyyttim’ and with pencil: ‘The intention of this work is to give a model of a good minister, to a wise and puissant monarch. Written in a pure style’.

The beginning, on p. 59, is: *Bismillahi’-r-raḥmāni’-r-raḥim wa-bihi nasta’naa billāhi ‘alā. Bahwa kemudian daripada itu al-hamdu littāh rabbi’l-‘ālamīn wa’l-‘āḥibatu ‘illīl-muttaqīn. As-salāt wa’salām ‘alā rasūlika sayyidinā Muhammad wa-ālihi wa-saḥbihi ajma’īn. Bahwa sesungguhnya telah haraplah kami akan (p. 60) rahmatnya dan ampunnya. Keluhai oléhmu sekalian yang membaca hikayat ini empat perkara faedah dalarnya. The words written in pencil contain the usual Arabic eulogies, and then follows: In truth, we hope for (p. 60) His grace and pardon. Know, oh readers of this story, that there are four advantages in it. In the original text, as found in complete MSS. and the edition of P. P. Roorda van Eysinga, Batavia H. 1237, the words ‘rahmatnya dan ampunnya’ are the end of a phrase added to the name of the author (Ismail): *dikabulkan Allah ta’ala kiranya kata kami dengan rahmatnya dan ampunnya*, may God accept our words in His grace and pardon. Our MS. agrees in many respects with the Leiden MS. Or. 1737, which is equally incomplete in the beginning.

End (p. 180): *Adapun selama Sultan Déwa [itu] Sahdan Mengindera Rupa kerajaan itu seorangpun tiada ada beraniya daripada sangat adilnya baginda itu dan saksama periksa baginda itu. Maka negeri Berangka Jaya itu pun nantiass didalam kesuakanya juga. Maka kararlah baginda Sultan Déwa Sahdan Mengindera Rupa itu diatas tahta kerajaan seperti air didalam talam sejuk lagi limpah kepada sekalian ra’yai semuanya, dan sekalian bula tenteraorang mupakat dengan kesuakannya, dinugrahakan Tuhan sarwa sekalian alam dengan berkat nabi Muhammad sa’ad’alaya ‘alaihi wa-sal-lam, dan tetaplah diatas kerajaan senantiasa dengan bersukoan adanya. Dan lammalallah al-ḥikāya Isma Yatim kepada tahuw surūbu dua ratus tiga puluh delapan, delapan likur hari bulan Sa’bān sanat 1238: As long as Sultan Déwa Shahdan Mengindera Rupa reigned, nobody acted unjustly, because of His Majesty’s great justice and careful investigation. So the realm of Berangka Jaya was always in a state of joy. His Majesty was established firmly on the throne, like water in a bowl,
cool and overflowing to every subject, and also the soldiers joyfully agreed, by the grace of the Lord of the Worlds and the blessing of the Prophet Muhammad, God’s grace and peace be on him. Well established was he in his kingdom, always in a state of joy and festivity. So it was. This *Hikayat Isma Yatim* was finished on 28th Sha’bān 1238.

This work is briefly described by Winstedt, *History* pp. 68 et sq. The hero is a young man, who by his wisdom and cleverness gains the confidence of a king and becomes grand vizier to him, and after his death to his daughter. After a long life he sees his task fulfilled when the princess is happily married and installed with her husband on the throne of her own and her husband’s kingdom. For comparison I give a list of the pages where chapters begin with *al-kissah*, with the corresponding pages of Roorda van Eysinga’s edition and of the Leiden MS. Or. 1737:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>our text</th>
<th>Roorda v. E.</th>
<th>Leiden MS.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p. 60</td>
<td>p. 2 1.2</td>
<td>p. 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>p. 63</td>
<td>p. 8 1.1</td>
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<td>p. 64</td>
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<td>p. 90</td>
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<td>p. 152</td>
<td>p. 172 1.7</td>
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<td>p. 167</td>
<td>p. 196 1.24</td>
<td>p. 245</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

On p. 176 1.21 of our MS. (Leiden MS. p. 262) there begins an appendix, that is missing in the printed text. There is one more *al-kissah* heading in this part (p. 177 = L. p. 263). The word *al-kissah* is also found on pp. 62, 101 and 151, but there it is not followed by a synopsis of the following passage and is not really the beginning of a new chapter.

Other MSS. of the *Hikayat Isma Yatim* are:
Cambridge Add. 3786(1), Or. 858 and Or. 1101.
Jakarta Cat. Van Ronkel no. CXG–CXCIII.
Leiden Or. 1747, 1737, 1658(1) and 3320(1)
(Cat. Juynboll CXXXVI–CXXXIX).
Oph. 53 (Suppl. Cat. Van Ronkel no. 50).
India Office, Leyden coll. 89, 90.
R.A.S. Raffles 16 and 62(1).
SOAS 12180 and 168212.
Manchester, John Rylands University Libr. Mal. 3
Singapore, Raffles Museum.

MALAY (Arab) 2 as a whole is a typical example of the kind of copies made for European use: very neatly written, but copied mechanically and not collated, so that many uncorrected clerical errors remain in the text. This is especially true of the second part of this MS.; the *Hikayat Isma Yatim* is much better, probably having been copied from a well-written original.

**Wayang tales.**

MALAY (Arab) 3 (C. 5822a).

Unbound MS., 40ff. of thick "Javanese" paper, 29.2×22 cm., each page having 20–23 lines of Malayo-Arabic writing, c. 16 cm. long. Ff. 33 and 36 are damaged, so that some text is lost. On 11 pages the lower half is not written upon, but has illustrations in the traditional style of the Javanese puppet-show (ff. 1v, 4v, 5r, 7r, 8v, 19v, 20r, 23v, 24r, 35v, 36r). The illustrations are drawn in the same black ink that is used for the text, and partly coloured with red, brownish yellow, and light blue. In some illustrations figures have been
added by a later hand, less carefully drawn with bluish black ink. (See Plate 31).
The MS. is only a fragment. There is neither a beginning nor an ending. The leaves were out of order and now, after they have been arranged in the order required by the contents, there remain some lacunae. The title, and any data about the time when and the place where the MS. was written, which may have been mentioned at the beginning or in the colophon, are lost. Some passages of the text became illegible through wear and moisture. As this often occurs in the first and last lines of a page it is sometimes difficult to decide whether there is a lacuna between two pages.

To restore the correct order of the leaves I had to rely on the “chronological” order of the tales and on the possible arrangement of the leaves in quires. There are no loose single leaves. I found that it is impossible to fold the 20 double leaves in such a way that we get less than 6 quires. The fifth and sixth quires are complete, each having 12 leaves. If we assume that the first four quires also had 12 leaves each, the original arrangement would be as follows (missing leaves represented by 0):

I. 0 0 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 0 0 0
II. 0 0 0 0 0 7 0 0 8 0
   (position of 7 and 8 uncertain)
III. 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
IV. 15 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 16
V. 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28
VI. 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40

But in this diagram the gaps are much too large. A lacuna of 10 leaves in the middle of the fourth quire is quite impossible, and, though I am not absolutely sure, it seems to me that there is no gap at all between f. 14 and 15. Therefore we can only assume that the first four quires had less than 12 leaves each, and the third probably never had more than six.

This is all that can be said about the length of the gaps. There is, however, no reasonable doubt as to the relative order of the leaves.

In our description the leaves have been numbered according to the restored order.

The MS. came to the Museum from Kelantan, and had been in the possession of the Sultan of that state on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. It is still accompanied by a piece of yellow cloth in which it was kept.

Information on the shadow-plays of Kelantan is given by Miss Jeanne Cuisinier in her book Le théâtre d’ombres à Kelantan, published in 1957. It is based on material collected by the author during a visit to Kelantan in 1933. She distinguishes three kinds of shadow puppet-theatre: wayang kedek or gedek, wayang Siam and wayang Jawo. Whilst the repertoire of the wayang kedek and the wayang Siam is derived from the Rāmāyaṇa, the wayang Jawo enacts scenes from two Javanese cycles: the hikayat Pandawa, in which the heroes of the Mahābhārata play the main parts, and the stories of Panji. Our MS. contains tales from the hikayat Pandawa, that are enacted in the wayang Jawo. This is the puppet-theatre of which Miss Cuisinier made a special study. A lively description of such performances is given in her book.

The recent work of P. L. Amin Sweeney, The Ramayana and the Malay Shadow-play, though mainly concerned with wayang Siam, gives also some new information on wayang Jawo. The author criticizes some of Miss Cuisinier’s sources and many of her conclusions. Manuscripts such as ours were, according to Sweeney, not used as
handbooks by dalangs (performers of shadow-plays), but formed part of the libraries of Kelantanese aristocrats (I.c. p. 24).

It is not easy to decide whether our MS. was written in Kelantan or brought to that country from Java.

The “Javanese” paper is made of the beaten bark of the paper-mulberry tree (Broussonetia papyrifera Vent.). A description of its manufacture is given by K. Heyne, De nuttige planten van Ned.-Indië, 2nd ed. (1927) pp. 547 et sqq. Its use—now almost obsolete—was not restricted to Java, but as far as I know it was not manufactured outside this island. Our MS. reminds me in its outward appearance of the Breda copy of Hikayat Bayan Budiman; it may be tentatively dated in the last part of the 18th century.\(^1\) Other Malay MSS. written on Javanese paper are: R. A. S. Raffles 47; Cambridge Add. 3781; Br. Mus. Add. 12387 and Or. 11365. Most of these contain Panjiti tales, translated from Javanese.

The style of writing is peculiar; to one used to the ordinary Malay script it is difficult to read at first, but as it is very regular one seldom remains in doubt as to what is meant, once one has mastered its peculiarities. I am not familiar with the Kelantan style of writing, but there is one characteristic that may indicate a Javanese origin. This is the form of the final -l, with the final stroke drawn upward to nearly the same height as the initial one, so that it resembles rā drawn in one stroke. In some Malay MSS. copied in Java I found ambil written like ambela, etc. This could be explained by assuming that the抄ist had before him an original written in the style of our MS.

The illustrations are in the usual Javanese wayang-style; they do not resemble the Kelantan puppets in the collection of the National Museum. In these puppets a Siamese influence is manifest, which is absent in the illustrations of our MS. But this is only natural, as the puppets in the museum belong to a wayang Siam category. Judging from the illustrations in Miss Cuisinier’s book I think it would require the eye of an expert to distinguish between Javanese wayang purwa figures and wayang Jawa figures from Kelantan.

According to Anker Rentse, The Kelantan Shadow Play, JRASMB XIV (1936) p. 291, a peculiarity of the Kelantan puppets is that they have no kris-sses. This probably refers only to the wayang Siam, as there is a wayang Jawa puppet wearing a kris on plate XVI fig. 1 in Miss Cuisinier’s book. The heroes in our illustrations have kris-sses and they use them to good purpose in many fights described in the text.

The language of our text is much closer to classical Malay than to the Kelantan dialect. It is strongly influenced by Javanese. Still there are some forms and expressions peculiar to the dialect of Kelantan in it. Miss Cuisinier, who read part of the text, noted the following typically Kelantan expressions:

f. 2v terkentu for terkentut (final gutturals and dentals are often interchanged in Kelantan)

f. 4r dengar akan oléhmu.

f. 6r Maka Peraba Anom keluar dari di dalam paséban (in Kelantan di and dari are often used indiscriminately and sometimes together in the sense of one of them).

In the text of our MS. the pair of panakawans (clowns and followers, ‘cunning servants’ of the hero) is Semar and Nalagarèng. Though Nalagarèng—as Miss Cuisinier told me—is not unknown in Kelantan, the usual pair of panakawans is Semar and Tunas or Jemuras (for Javanese Cemuris). In the illustration on f. 1v the figure of
Turas was added by a later hand to the Javanese pair of Semar and Nalagarêng.
A plausible explanation of the hybrid character of our MS. was given me by Miss Cuisinier. She thought it is a copy made by a Kelantan dalang who studied in Java. Until the beginning of the 20th century it was customary in Kelantan families of dalangs to visit Java in order to get the skill and the 'revelation' required for their profession. They received this revelation after a period of ascetic seclusion. The grandfather of Miss Cuisinier's main informant was one of the last to follow this custom (pergi bertapa). It is possible that the text was written from memory after the author's return from Java. This would explain the words used on f. 7 v: demikianlah cerita itu kepada dalang wétan, so is that story according to the dalang of the East, i.e. the author's Javanese teacher.
All the tales in our text are from the wayang purwa, the Javanese puppet theatre that takes its subjects ultimately from the Indian epic Mahâbhârata, adapted to the Javanese way of thinking through the intermediary of various Old Javanese and modern Javanese versions. When it was complete the MS. probably contained a continuous story about the Pandawas and the Korawas, beginning with the origin of these two parties, and ending with the great war between them. It may therefore be called a Hikayat Pandawa, but it does not belong to the group of Malay wayang tales that branched off from Javanese tradition at an early date and preserved a form of the tales directly going back to Old Javanese sources. In proper names and in the plots of the tales our text seems to be more closely related to modern Javanese tradition than to older works. The exact origin of our text could only be determined if we had an encyclopaedia of the Javanese puppet theatre, covering the whole field of this extensive literature. Such a work was begun by that gifted and tireless student of Indonesian literature, Hans Overbeck, whose death in the beginning of the war was a great loss to Indonesian studies. Fortunately his manuscript was rescued and we hope that it will once be completed and published. In the meantime the book of J. Kats, Het Jawaansche tooneel, I, Wajang poerwa (1923) is our principal source of information. It follows the tradition as preserved in Surakarta, Central Java, and gives summaries of the contents of the plays (lakon), linked up in order to make a continuous story. By comparing this survey it has been possible to restore the correct order of the leaves and to identify a number of proper names. There remain, however, many differences between Kats' survey and MALAY (Arab) 3. These may be due to the difference of origin, but also to the fact that the tradition represented by out MS. is slightly older.

Summary: (1 r) Bagawan Sentanu, who reigns in Ngastina, is angry with Perabu Anom of Wirata. The reason, as appears from the sequel of the story, is, that he wants Perabu Anom's wife to nurse his baby son, whose mother died. Bagawan Sentanu fights, first with Perabu Anom's two sons Kencika Rupa Kanca (Kats: Kéncakarupa and Rupakénea), and then with Perabu Anom himself. The clowns Semar and Nalagarêng bet on the two champions. (1 v) The fight causes commotion in heaven. When Batara Guru sees that Sentanu and Pulasar (this is the name of Perabu Anom, Skr. Parâdãra, Jav. Pulasara) fight, he sends Narada down to earth to settle their dispute. Pulasar's wife must nurse Sentanu's child for a certain remuneration. – On the lower half of this page there is an illustration of the fight between Bagawan Sentanu and Bagawan Pulasara
(see Plate 31). Narada is seen at the right-hand side behind Pulasara. In the right-hand corner are the clowns. The fat one is Semar and before him is Nalagarèng. Two figures were added by a later hand. The one, behind Bagawan Sentanu, and without name, is only a clumsy repetition of Sentanu; the other, between Semar and Nalagarèng, is called Wan Turas. – (2r) The remuneration is, that Abiasa, the son of Pulasara and Puteri Seri Nata (the Skr. Satyavati), will succeed to the throne of Ngastina. Pulasara retires to become an ascetic on Mount Ratawu (Jav. Sapta Arga), and Sentanu goes back to Ingastina (often spelt this way) with Puteri Seri Nata and his child Seriganda (Skr. Bhīṣma, Jav. Déwabrata). When Seriganda has grown up, his father makes him king in his place. (2v) His title is Ratu Anom ing Gajah Mulia (another name for Ngastina, Jav. Gajah Oya). – So far the story agrees in the main points with the last part of Lakon Palasara rabi, Kats p. 244 et sq. The episode that comes next is very different from Lakon Déwabrata rabi, Kats p. 245 et sq. – After some time Abiasa, accompanied by Semar, goes to Ngastina to lay claim to the throne. (3r) Seriganda refuses to yield the kingdom to him (3v) and kills Abiasa, but at Sentanu’s order he revives him. Sentanu tells Abiasa first to go and fetch his father Pulasara, and he does so. (4r) Now Abiasa becomes Perabu Anom in Gajah Mulia, and Déwi Seri Nata goes back to her first husband Pulasara. (4v) The king of Wangga is greatly embarrassed by the request of a raksasa (ogre) king to give him his two daughters in marriage. At the advice of his councillors Pathi Karna Wijaya and Demang Wirapati, he withdraws with his wife and daughters to Gajah Mulia, leaving Karna Wijaya in charge of his kingdom. – The illustration in the left-hand lower corner of f. 4v and the right-hand lower corner of f. 5r shows Karna Wijaya and Demang Wirapati in audience before a person of high rank, whose name I cannot read; it must be the king of Wangga. He is accompanied by two female servants. – (5r) The name of the elder princess is illegible; the younger is called Déwi Kencana Sari.

Bagawan Sentanu and Bagawan Pulasara wish to become ascetics, but Déwi Seri Nata protests, because that would leave to her alone the task of arranging their sons’ marriages. The king of Wangga comes to ask for help (5v) against the rakasas. The two princesses are married to Radin Seriganda and Perabu Anom. Perabu Anom goes to Wangga and causes a magic tempest, that blows away the rakasas. (6r) Perabu Anom enters the city and speaks with Pathi Karna Wijaya (his name is thus written underneath the illustration, but in the text the second letter is more like w, so that one should read Guna Wijaya). Comic interlude about Semar’s share in the booty. (6v) Perabu Anom comes back to Gajah Mulia and tells the news of the victory. The king of Wangga and his spouse go back to their liberated country.

Sentanu and Pulasara say farewell and go off, the last-named to Gunung Ratawu. Déwi Kencana Sari, the wife of Perabu Anom, gives birth to a son. – Here there is a lacuna in the text. This son can only be Pandu, the father of the Pandawas. The rest of the Lakon lahiripun Pandu (Kats p. 246) and the beginning of the Lakon Narasoma (Kats p. 249) are missing in our manuscript. – (7r) Radin Narasoma, son of Ratu Mandarakara, undertakes to defeat the forty princes. Sang Nata (this is, as appears afterwards, the king of Mandura) promises him Déwi Kunti in marriage. – On the lower part of the page there is an illustration of Radin Narasoma speaking to Perabu Mandura. – (7v) He defeats the 40 princes by his
spell *aji candrabaru* (Jav. *canda abirawa*, Kats p. 250) and obtains the princess. "Demikianlah ceritanya itu kepada dalang wétan", so is that story to (i.e. according to?) the dalang of the East(?).

Perabu Anom in Gajah Mulia is still unmarried. (Perabu Anom is the hereditary title of the king of Gajah Mulia; in the beginning of our text this was Pulasara, afterwards Abiasa, and now Pandu is meant). Bagawan Abiasa urges his son Pandu Déwanata to go to Mandura to obtain the princess Déwi Kunti by defeating the 40 princes. The king of Mandura is called Maharaja Basudéwa; his relation to Déwi Kunti is not made clear here, but from the Javanese version we learn that she is his sister. – Here there is a very large lacuna. The end of the Lakon Narasoma is missing, in which Pandu defeats Narasoma and marries not only Déwi Kunti, but also Narasoma’s sister Maderin (Jav. Madrim). The birth of the Pandawas and everything connected therewith is not found in our MS. The next fragment brings us into the middle of the Lakon Pandu papa (Pandu in distress, Kats p. 263). (8r) Pandu Déwanata is ill, and Batara Kala comes, sent by Batara Guru, to fetch him (in Jav. it is Yama, the god of death, who is sent by Batara Guru). His two wives wish to follow him in death, but Bagawan Abiasa persuades Déwi Kunti to live on, so that she can take care of the five children. Déwi Maderin alone now follows her husband in death. On the way (to hell) Batara Kamajaya tries to tear Pandu away from Batara Kala, but he is defeated. He assumes Pandu’s shape and so appears to Bima, who is founding a city. (8v) He reveals his identity to Bima and tells him what happened to his father. Meanwhile Pandu has been brought to hell. Bima flies to the abode of the gods (*kayangan*), with Semar and his son clinging to his feet. – On the left-hand lower corner of this page there is an illustration portraying Batara Berama and another person. As Batara Berama is not mentioned in the text, the illustration probably belongs to the next page, which is lost. – Another lacuna. The following part is a parallel to the Javanese Lakon Liliripun (birth of) Gatutkaca (Kats p. 289 et sq.) – (8r) A female ogre comes as ambassador from Maharaja Percuna (Jav. Kala Pracona) to Batara Guru in heaven, to ask for the bidadari (nymph) Sukarba (Jav. Déwi Prabasini; Supraba in other similar stories). The request is refused. (9v) Now Maharaja Percuna goes himself to heaven. Narada reports to Batara Guru that the gods cannot defeat the king of rakssasas. The gates of heaven are closed and Narada is sent to Bima to ask him for his son Radin Kacangare to help the gods. (10r) The child gets the name Gatutkaca; in no time he becomes a full-grown man and Batara Guru endows him with great strength. (10v) By his magic he makes Maharaja Percuna as small as a fly, and swallows him. Narada brings Gatutkaca back to his parents with many thanks. – From here on it becomes impossible to follow the thread of the narrative with the help of Kats’ survey. There can be no doubt that the sentence on the last line of f. 10v is continued on f. 11r, so in our text the episode immediately following is that of Gatutkaca’s marriage to Candrawati. In Kats’ survey the marriage is with Arjuna’s daughter Pergiwa, and though the circumstances are similar, it seems impossible to identify Candrawati with Pergiwa. Therefore I assume that after the story of Gatutkaca’s marriage to Candrawati there is a lacuna in which his marriage to Pergiwa was told. It is peculiar that in a later part of the story, where Pergiwa’s sister Pergiwangsa comes forth from her grandfather’s hermitage, there is no reference to Pergiwa’s former adventures. It is
assumed there that she is already at the court of her father Arjuna and is free to marry, apparently for the second time, being divorced from Gatukaca. Yet, a different arrangement of the leaves is impossible; the narrative is continuous from the first mention of Pergiwa until the end of the MS.

(11r) Sang Bima sends his son Gatukaca to Purbaya, to be king there. Peri Kesya follows him as his patih (grand vizier), and his mother Dewi Arimbi also accompanies her son. The king of Martapura, Darmakusuma, takes counsel with his cousin Batera Kesna and his brother Bima about a serious disease that is sweeping the country. Kesna’s opinion is that this calamity is caused by the fact that Bima made his son king in Purbaya before he was married. Kesna sends for Gatukaca (11v) and obtains from him the promise that he will marry if he gets a bujang belum berlaki perawan sudah beranak, a maiden not married, a virgin having a child. Kesna says that such a princess exists in Pulau Rajawati. Arjuna’s son Abimanyu is sent with a letter to the king of that island; Semar accompanies him. (12r) On the way they meet Dipati Wangga, who is on the same errand. He kills Abimanyu and throws his body into the sea, but nevertheless, Abimanyu appears before the king of Pulau Rajawati. (12v) The proposal is accepted but the king stipulates some conditions that should first be fulfilled. Then Dipati Wangga arrives on the scene, but seeing that Abimanyu is already there he retires hastily. He lies in wait for Abimanyu, but this prince returns to Martapura by another way and brings there the answer of the king of Pulau Rajawati.

(13r) Kesna sends several people to fetch the required objects. Gatukaca himself goes first to Sang Bima in Teraju Tisna to borrow his balai rum (probably = balai rung, hall of assembly). Boma wants to delay, but Gatukaca insists to take the balai with him at once. They wrestle, until Boma’s mother Dewi Periibii settles the dispute: Boma will soon bring the balai himself. (13v) Then Gatukaca goes to Singgala to fetch the balai soko domas (hall with 800 pillars) from Raja Babrihsana (cf. Kats p. 291). Babrihsana is willing to give the balai, but says that only Anuman can carry it. (14r) But Gatukaca takes the balai with him carrying it himself, after Babrihsana ordered the guarding devils (satan) to leave it. Gatukaca’s bride, Puteri Candrawati, in the meantime gives birth to a son, who exactly resembles Gatukaca. The grandfather instructs his son Candakusuma to kill the child, but when he has stabbed it thrice, it runs away. (14v) The grandfather gives the boy the name Radin Perka ngsa. Only a man who can defeat him will be allowed to marry his mother. (15r) In Martapura everything is made ready to escort Gatukaca to his bride. Radin Perka meets the bridegroom’s escort on the way and runs amuck. (15v) After many people are killed Gatukaca defeats him and so proves that he is his father (Lacuna). (16r) The first lines of this page are partly effaced. It seems that Sang Boma is incited by Aria Sangkuni (patih of Ngastina) to steal Dewi Pergiwa, daughter of Arjuna and wife of Gatukaca. Pergiwa went back to her father, but as long as it is not decided whether she will be divorced from her husband or not, Arjuna will not keep her with him. He sends his son Abimanyu to bring Pergiwa back, either to her husband Gatukaca or to her father-in-law Bima. On the way they are attacked by Sang Boma, who steals the princess for Radin Lesmana, son of the king of Ngastina. As Boma flies in the air on the bird Jentayu, Abimanyu cannot follow him. (16v) Advised by Semar, Abimanyu goes to tell Gatukaca what happened. He finds him
fighting with his father Bima, who reproved him because he let Pergiwa go away. Gatutkaca wins the fight. (17r) When Semar hears that Gatutkaca is fighting with his own father, he asks for a réal to buy off the bad luck. With this money he buys a new loin-cloth, but when he uses it he gets a fever, and the same happens to Nalagarêng and Sençaballik. When Gatutkaca hears from Abimanyu that Boma stole Pergiwa, he flies off through the air. A terrific fight in the air follows. (17v) Boma throws Pergiwa into the palace of Ngastina. Radin Lesmana tries to make love to her. Abimanyu enters the room of Lesmana's sister Lesmanawati. Lesmana finds him there. They fight and Lesmana gets help so that Abimanyu is forced to withdraw. He takes his sister Pergiwa with him. The king of Ngastina asks Sang Boma to go and steal the princess a second time. (18r) Boma's father Batara Kesna reproves his son and makes him go back to Ngastina to tell people there that he is not willing to help them again. (18v) The king of Ngastina sees that his plans to get Pergiwa for his son will come to nothing, and sends Dipati Mendura to Batara Kesna to ask his daughter in marriage for Radin Lesmana. (19r) Arjuna awaits a message from Batara Kesna before asking the princess of Indrawati (Batara Kesna's daughter) in marriage for his son. Dipati Mendura visits his brother Kesna, announced by Sang Samba. He asks, who will be Kesna's bésan (father-in-law of his child). When Batara Kesna answers that he intends to give his daughter in marriage to a son of Arjuna (19v) Dipati Mendura advises him against this plan; there is a much more eligible party in Gajah Mulia. (20r) Batara Kesna sends Sang Samba to Martapura, with a letter for Sang Rajuna. (20v) Dipati Mendura returns to Ngastina. Radin Setiakarya stops him and asks, what was the real purpose of his visit to Indrawati. If he came for his sister Setiawati (seems to be = Siti Sari) he need not think that he will get her. They fight. Batara Kesna settles their dispute, so that Dipati Mendura can continue his journey to Ngastina. – On the lower half of f. 19v and 20r there is an illustration showing Dipati Mendura (Ini Adipati Mendura) and a person with a kris who accompanies him (Ini . . . Adipati Mendura) visiting Batara Kesna (with a servant and two other persons). – Kesna's wife predicts that her husband's actions will have dire consequences, because Arjuna is very resentful. (21r) Just as Arjuna is talking to his two wives, Bratajaya (i.e. Subadra) and Srikantha, about the marriage of his son Radin Sumitra(?) to a daughter of Kesna in Indrawati, Sang Samba comes with the letter. When Arjuna hears that Kesna no longer wishes the marriage to take place, he is extremely angry and sends everybody away: Siti Sundari (Kesna's daughter, married to Abimanyu), Dëwi Srikantha, Abimanyu and Radin Irawan. Irawan is accompanied by Semar and the other servants. (21v) Siti Sundari is waylaid by a raksasa sent to ask her in marriage for his master. Irawan comes to her aid (22r) and defeats the butas. Siti Sundari takes Irawan (her brother-in-law) to her palace in Indrawati and gives him her sister Siti Sari. Setiakarya finds them, (22v) and fights with Irawan. Abimanyu, who followed his wife to Indrawati, helps his brother Irawan. Sang Boma hears the noise in the palace, comes, and defeats Abimanyu. Gatutkaca comes and fights Boma. Batara Kesna and Bima arrive on the scene. (23r) Setiakarya is chased by Sang Rajuna, who suddenly turns up also. He flies to his mother Pertivi, and she again flies to her father Sang Bulus. Bulus (Jav. = tortoise) is angry and comes forth from his hole. He threatens Arjuna. Bagawan Antaboga hears this and comes to fight Bulus;
a terrific struggle ensues in the middle of the sea. Kesna wants to separate them, (23v) but Bima withholds him. – On the lower part of this page there is an illustration showing Bima (accompanied by Arjuna) speaking with Kesna. On the opposite page (24r) we see a dragon (Ini naga), i.e. Antaboga, attacking a tortoise; Semar speaks to them. – (24r) Very obscure. It seems that Bima prevails upon Kesna to approve of the marriage of Irawan and Siti Sari. (Jav. Lakon Irawan rabi, Kats p. 340 et sq.). (24v) Dipati Mendura returns to Ngastina and tells the king that they can now offer their proposal in Indrawati, but when they come there, Sang Samba tells them that Siti Sari is already married to Irawan, and that his father is in Martapura. Dipati Mendura follows him, but is held up on the way by Gatutkaca’s army. (25r) Gatutkaca fights Dipati Mendura, Tumenggung Jayacitra attacks Gatutkaca, but at last the people of Ngastina take to flight. Dipati Mendura is so ashamed that he retires to his own country Mendura. The king of Ngastina now plans another marriage: his daughter Lesmanawati is to be married to Radin Warsakusuma, son of Dipati Wangga. (25v) Aria Sangkuni brings a letter to Martapura (26r) in which all the Pandawas are invited to come to Ngastina for the festivities. (26v) There they are entertained. The king of Ngastina asks Darmakusuma to let the princes play the gamelan (Jav. orchestra) at the wedding. Samba must play the gambang, Abimanyu the gendèr, Bambang Irawan the rebab, etc. It is a splendid feast.

On Mount Pueung lives a hermit, Bagawan Déwa Permana, with his grandson Radin Naga Sentana, whose father is Sang Rajuna. (27r) When the boy at last learns the identity of his father, (27v) he goes with Semar in search of Arjuna. They come to Purbaya, where they only find Déwi Arimbi at home. Whilst the prince is hunting birds in the wood, he finds a park belonging to Ingastina. He enters the garden and picks fruit from the trees. Then Puteri Lesmanawati enters the park. (28r) Radin Naga Sentana tries to hide, but he is detected. The maids of honour make fun of Semar by taking away his loin-cloth. (28v) He gets back a new loin-cloth. Radin Naga Sentana is brought before the princess to ask humbly for the return of his park and dodot (a very large batik cloth worn by nobles). He tells her that he is an ignorant peasant from the mountains, but that Arjuna is his father. (29r) When she tries to make advances he warns her to be careful, as she is already betrothed to Radin Warsakusuma. She declares she abhors this suitor, and they make love in the pavilion of the park. Warsakusuma detects them and challenges the prince, thinking it is Angkawijaya (Abimanyu). (29v) They fight; Warsakusuma is defeated and flees weeping to the king of Ngastina. He accuses Angkawijaya, but the king knows that he cannot be the culprit, as he was present at court all the time. So he sends Abimanyu to investigate. Naga Sentana hides by magic in Lesmanawati’s ear-drop, but at last he is found by Abimanyu. (30r) They fight. Naga Sentana is wounded; Semar brings him to Déwi Arimbi, who cures him. The people of Ngastina follow the trail of blood. They want to enter the palace of Purbaya, but patih Peri (or Praya?) Késa does not allow this, as Gatutkaca is not at home. (30v) Gatutkaca is sent to his mother Déwi Arimbi; he finds her in conversation with Naga Sentana. She tells him that this is the son of Rajuna, just arrived from the mountains. At that moment Radin Antaraja enters. He was sent by Déwa Permana to look for Naga Sentana. (31r) Gatutkaca tells Antaraja what happened. On Antaraja’s advice he does not
return to Ngastina. (31 v) Bima comes to Purbaya to investigate. All the guests return to their own countries. Bima speaks with Gatutkaca. (32 r) He sends for Rajuna and shows him his son Naga Sentana, just arrived from Mount Indrakila. People from Ngastina come to request the extradition of the offender. Antaraja and Naga Sentana fight (32 v) and defeat them.

Bagawan Sidi Pernama, a hermit on Mount Awung Seribu, has a daughter who is married to Rajuna. She has two daughters, and a son who has the shape of a white tiger. He is called Kala Semua. (33 r) In the following part the narrative is not very clear. It appears that the two daughters are called Pergiwa and Pergiwanga, and that the elder one, Pergiwa, is with her father Rajuna. Her divorce from Gatutkaca is apparently settled, so that she is free to marry again. The younger sister Pergiwanga goes to her father in Martapura. On the way a raksasa tries to abduct her, but he is defeated by Kala Semua. (33 v) Arjuna asks Bima, whether he wants one of his daughters as a daughter-in-law, but Bima answers that none of his sons wishes to marry. So Arjuna accepts a proposal from Ngastina and promises to give Déwi Pergiwa in marriage to Radin Lesmana. In Martapura everything is prepared for the wedding. Gatutkaca and Antaraja (sons of Bima) are also there. Déwi Pergiwa and Antaraja fall in love. (34 r) Déwi Arimbi persuades Arjuna to allow these two to be married; the younger sister, Pergiwanga, can then be given to Ngastina. (34 v) She agrees to this plan on condition that her bridegroom shall defeat her brother the white tiger. So Antaraja marries Pergiwa. The substitution of the younger sister for the elder one is not disclosed to the king of Ngastina, but he is told that Pergiwa will not marry before Pergiwanga’s white tiger is defeated. (35 r) After Pergiwanga has fed 1000 chickens etc. to her brother the white tiger, (35 v) he kills a great number of Ngastina soldiers. He also defeats their leaders Radin Sutuna, (36 r) Radin Dursasana and Tumenggung Jayacitra. – On the lower half of coding 35 v and 36 r there is an illustration showing the white tiger accompanied by his own human form Radin Kala Semua (Ini Radin Kala Semua anak Sang Rajuna), surrounded by the Kornawas with lances (Ini Korawa perang). – (36 v) A fight between Gatutkaca and the tiger ends in a draw. Sang Rajuna tells the tiger, If he is his son, to open his mouth and accept his father’s betel-quid. The tiger does so, and Rajuna stabs him to death with a spear. After some moments Radin Kala Semua appears in human form (37 r) and is reconciled with Gatutkaca.

Some time afterwards Batara Guru wishes the Pandawas to start the great war (perang brata-yuda). Narada is sent to the earth to bring Batara Guru’s orders to Ngastina and Martapura. Whilst the king of Ngastina is giving an audience, there is a tremendous rain-storm. Durna prophesies a great war. (37 v) Kesna practises asceticism to accumulate magic power. The king of Ngastina learns in a dream that he who can arouse Kesna from his tapa will win the war. (38 r) He goes, unaccompanied, to try this, but fails. Sang Rajuna succeeds in arousing Kesna. (38 v) Kesna returns to Indrawati and from there goes to Mendura. Disguised as an old man he puts Dipati Mendura’s liberality to the test by asking him for his wife. Dipati Mendura gives her, but when she rushes back to him, he gets angry and kills the old man. (39 r) Then Kesna comes to him and orders him to retire from active life and become a hermit, because he killed a protégé of Batara Guru. The king of Ngastina comes to ask Kesna’s help in the war. Given the choice between one helper and a hundred-thousand, he chooses the latter. (39 v)
So Kesna goes to Martapura (and his army to Ngastina). When the king of Ngastina returns to his country, the hundred-thousand men have vanished. On Kesna’s advice the king of Martapura first sends Gatulkaca and Angkawijaya to fight the Korawas. (40r) Their adversary is Tumenggung Jayacitra. Angkawijaya is killed, and likewise his brother Jaya Sumitra. Radin Lesmana wants to cut off Angkawijaya’s head (40v) (but he is killed by the kris that is still in Angkawijaya’s hand; this seems to be meant, but most of the sentence is illegible). Arjuna kills Tumenggung Jayacitra with his arrow. Here the MS. ends abruptly.

1) Sweeney, Lc. p. 22 agrees with this date. 2) Seems to be Irawan, though in Katz’s survey p. 342 Sumitra is another son of Arjuna.
INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Lampung, also less correctly spelt Lampong, is the name of both the people inhabiting the southernmost part of Sumatra and of their language, which is closely related to Malay. They have a syllabic script of Indian origin. The philologist and archaeologist Dr. R. Th. A. Friederich collected about 40 Lampung manuscripts, written on bamboo, rattan, tree-bark and paper, for the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies L. J. A.W. Baron Sloet van de Beele (1861–1866). 34 manuscripts from this collection were published in facsimile with an introduction and notes in French by Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk (Les manuscrits lampongs en possession de M. le Baron Sloet van de Beele, Leide 1868). In this edition the MSS. are marked A–Z and AA–KK. Most of the originals are now in the Royal Institute for the Tropics at Amsterdam (A, B, F–L, O–AA, CC, DD, GG and KK), E is in the Leiden University Library, II is still in the possession of the Sloet family, 7 are lost, and C was acquired by the National Museum, Copenhagen, in 1875. For publications on the Lampung language the reader is referred to P. Voorhoeve, Critical Survey of Studies on the Languages of Sumatra, ’s-Gravenhage 1955, pp. 21–23, and for Lampung literature to Südsumatranische Handschriften beschrieben von P. Voorhoeve (VOHD XXIX), Wiesbaden 1971.

Text on fighting-cocks.

LAMPUING 1 (C. a. 181).

Bark book, folded like a Batak book, 26 leaves, ca. 6 × 6 cm. Neither covers nor flap. Lampung text in Lampung writing, about distinguishing marks of fighting-cocks.


A lithographed facsimile of our MS. is on pp. 14–16 of Van der Tuuk’s publication. For comparison we give a photographic reproduction of pp. a and 20 (see Plate 33).

Transliteration:

a 19. mati / selayang
dicampëri ke-
labu sépang kukut
injak diké-
rak’i lenhu

a 20. biring tabuwan mati
/ biring tapah kë-
cik lalat
lima jak tanggai
/ bulu têmiyang

Translation:

dead. Selayang (a colour?) mixed with grey, red legs as if strewn with sesame-seeds, yellow, hornet (coloured), dead. Yellow scales, little toe space five from nail. Feathers greenish...

There is another text on the same subject on pp. 4–5 of Van der Tuuk’s book. The subject of cock-fighting is not treated in Süd-
sumatranische Handschriften, but it will be mentioned in a supplement to that catalogue. On the reverse of our bark book there is a short Islamic charm, incomplete.
MADS LANGE'S MALAY AND BALINESE LETTERS
EDITED AND TRANSLATED
BY
P. VOORHOEVE
INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

This collection was described by Mr. L. Buschardt in an article in Danish in Fund og Forskning II, 125–138 (1955). The introductory remarks and part of the commentary in the following description are taken from an English translation of this article. So is the portrait of Mads Lange, drawn by a Balinese artist (Plate 34).

Mads Lange was born on the 18th of September 1807 in Rudkøbing on the small Danish island of Langeland. On both his father’s and mother’s side his family had been engaged in shipping and trade, and Lange himself took the same course as early as 1824, when he shipped on board the three-master “Norden”, which made a number of voyages to the East Indies. His adventurous life and activities as a big shipowner and merchant in the Indonesian area, who had regular communications with China and Europe, have been described by Aage Krarup Nielsen in his well-known book “Mads Lange til Bali”. This work has been very widely read, and justly so. It should be appreciated as much for its reliable documentation as for its vivid description of both the Balinese setting and the fascinating and extraordinary personality of Mads Lange.

To give a brief account of his life it might here be mentioned that from the year 1834 he engaged in commercial activities on a large scale from the island of Lombok, but after a series of violent incidents in the year 1839 he moved to the island of Bali, where his activities attained their full scope. In the year 1843 he became a Dutch citizen and from 1844 he was the representative of the government of the Netherlands Indies in Bali. He played a decisive role as intermediary and mediator in the Dutch colonial wars against the native princes of the island, a task he was able to fulfill owing to the great influence and personal prestige he held among Balinese and Europeans alike. He died on the 13th May 1856, and his tomb can still be seen on the southern coast of Bali near the town of Kuta, the centre of his activity.

It is to be regretted that when writing his book Aage Krarup Nielsen did not have at his disposal a small parcel of letters which are now in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, the more so as in all likelihood these letters were already in the country at the time. The parcel contains six letters from Balinese people, written in Balinese or Malay in the Balinese type of script. According to Balinese custom the letters are written on pieces of leaves of the lontar palm with the ribs still in them, so that each consists of two layers, written on the outside only. In one letter the leaf is torn along the rib, and the two layers are now separated. The completed letters are wrapped in a sort of envelope made of dried leaves. On most of the letters Mads Lange has added short notes in pencil or ink, mostly translations or renderings in Danish or English of the contents of the letters. These six letters were donated to the library by Mrs. H. O. Lange, wife of the librarian of the Royal Library, and the parcel in which they were found carries the legend “Found in the property left by Mrs. Schat Petersen, deceased”. Mrs.
Anine Schat Petersen, the widow of the well-known theologian, Professor Louis Schat Petersen (1851–1903) died in 1936. How the letters came to be the property of the Schat Petersen family cannot be known with certainty. In the opinion of Miss Agnete Schat Petersen, daughter of the above mentioned Professor Schat Petersen, the letters have been in the family for a very long time and were possibly given to Professor Schat Petersen at the end of last century together with other Oriental objects by Chr. Sass, the shipowner, who himself made several voyages to the East Indies when a young man.

A seventh letter is in the National Museum, where it came a few years after Lange’s death.

In the Royal Library, Copenhagen, are also photocopies of originals in Dutch and English collections. The National Museum has a valuable collection of Balinese objects donated by Mads Lange about 1853. These are described in an article by Inger Wulff, “Mads Langes gaver fra Bali”, Fra Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark (1954), 83–94. Among these objects are three lontar manuscripts and a calendar, described in this Catalogue by Dr. Pigeaud. See JAV (Bal) 3, 5, 9, 10 and Plates 19–21, 26–27.

MALAY (Bal) 1 (Lange I).
Malay letter in Balinese script from Mads Lange’s Balinese wife Nyai Kenyér to himself. Ed. Fund og Forskning II, 126–128. 2 palmleaves, 3.5 × 21.3 cm, bound together with a piece of thin string. See Plates 35 and 36.

Text:
Twan Lange, sudagar boar di Kolla, Bali Bading, jwa adanga. Skarang adalath saya mamblang kapaqa twan, didalam int surit, yang dahulu, tempo blun saya dapet anak, dingen twan, yang twan punya niat kapaqa saya, jikalb twan sampé dapet anak laki dwa, twan mawo cariken saya jang bembang mäs, dinger satu pending, maka skarang dari itu, itulah saya mambli inget kapaqa twan, sebap skarang twan suda dapet anak (verso) laki dwa, jwa adanga. Sahdan lagi skarang maka adalah saya minta parbanyak kapada twan, jikalo twan ada sukä dan kesyan, kapada saya, saya minta satu krëta kecil, mauo bitin mahnya twan punya anak, dan lagi saya minta kapada twan, dahulu ada twan kasih satu orgol kapada saya, skarang jikalo ada twan suka, itu orgol, saya minta kumbali, kapada twan, jwa a2(2)adanga. Sahdan lagi, saya minta ampun parbanyak-banyak kapada twan, jikalo twan ada suka, dan kesyan kapada saya, maka adalah saya, minta dua sëndang sutra, kapada twan, sebap saya nggata (a scribal error for lyada) sakati punya sëndang, jwa adanga. Latin lyada dari saya, malëngken saya kirim labi dan slamei par-banyak-banyak kapada twan, supagá twan bar-öle slamei, dan lyada kurang swatu apa-apa, jwa adanga. Tartuti (verso) di Tabanan, kapada nam or i, balah dulkida, 1850. Sahdan lagi saya ada dinger kobar, twan mauo bingar, malëngken saya kasih slamei jalan sajä, kapada twan, jwa adanga. Saya Nyai Kenyér.[X]

Translation:
(To) Mr. Lange, Merchant of Kuta in Bali in the Kingdom of Badung.
Now I say to you in this letter that in former days, when I had not yet had any child by you, you promised that when you did have two sons you would find a gold ornament and belt buckle for me. Therefore I now remind you of this, as now you have got two sons. And next I implore you urgently, if you like me and have compassion for me, that you give me a small cart as a toy for your children. Next I entreat you that the organ which you once gave me may now be returned (to me). And next, forgive me, if you like me and have compassion for me, I should ask you for two silk scarves, as I have no scarves at all. And next I have nothing more to say to you, except that I send you many greetings and wish that you may fare well and that you shall lack nothing.
Written in Tabanan the 6th Dulkida 1850.
Next I have heard that you will undertake a sea voyage. I only wish you a good passage. From me, Nyai Kenyér.

The sender, who did probably not master the art of writing, signed the letter with a cross after her name.
Superscription in pencil in Lange’s hand: “fra min Balli Kone til mig —”, i.e. “from my Balinese wife to me”.

It thus appears that Lange’s first wife was called Nyai Kenyé and that she lived in the principality of Tabanan, a fact which may indicate something about the connections which Lange had in this principality, where on several occasions he turned out to have great influence. The two sons were called William Peter and Andreas Emil Lange. In his will of 25th October 1851 (see Kranup Nielsen’s work, the later editions, or more extensively in his feature article in Politiken 7th June, 1927), Lange calls them his “natural and acknowledged children”. William Peter died before his father. Andreas Emil was for many years secretary to Rajah Brooke of Sarawak. He left nine children and a great number of grandchildren when he died.

The request put to Lange by his wife were modest for a man of his means. She obviously had kept a friendly attitude towards Lange, although at the time when the letter was written he had his second wife, a Chinese woman, living with him in Kuta.

**BAL 1 (Lange II).**

Text:

_Twan punggawa besar, ḋahan i Silu mapanaqke luwaes, galungan, dépaj, ne iyan i twan, Pan Krabè, mwah Pan Mitò, jalanaj ka Bahuwepi janí, girigi utusan Cokoróśa idèga i Dewa Agung, bkténe twan magasè ih samadya. (verso) Saya ĝirah Gđe._

Translation:

Mr. Pungegawa Besar. Silu will not be able to go away (on account of) the Galungan (festivity), he should not (go). Your people, Pan Krabat and Pan Mitjęng,

let them go to Banyuwangi now to accompany the envoys from Cokorda Ida I Dewa Agung; get their provisions for the journey in order. From me Ngurah Gđé.

Superscription in ink in Lange’s hand on the front of the letter: “Tuan Pangowa Besar! Jeg beder Dem at lade et Fartøj være parat for at tage Gesandterne ombord fra Deva Agong, de vil være hos Dem om 2 Dage, da vi ere nær ved Nytår beder jeg dem at forblive her og komme op til mig i Besøg.” i.e. Tuan Pangowa Besar! (evidently Lange is meant) Please have a vessel ready to take the envoys aboard from Deva Agong (the King of Klungkung, whom the other Balinese princes acknowledged as their overlord); they will be with you in two days. As we are close to the New Year I ask you to stay here and come to visit me.

On the back of the letter after the signature: (Rajah Kasiman) manu prop(ria)” and under the signature: “Sahaya mnora gedé”, in which the syllable ḋa is misread as mno.

The full name of the sender was obviously Ngurah Gedé Kasiman, who was prince of Badung, where the town of Kuta with Lange’s factory was situated. This prince, a wise and old gentleman, was a good friend of Lange. It is probably correct that the letter was written by the prince himself.

The writing is more careless than that of a professional scribe. The misreading mno for ḋa shows that Lange had some difficulty with the Balinese script. His superscribed note does not give a translation of the letter but the message that the bringer told him.

**BAL 2 (Lange III).**
Text:
Tuwuwan Laŋe, ne malu saya misalah i Jambot, kigu-
usanang saya tiken tuuwan, ne jani denig ya suba pra-
sala, i Jambot bubin budal saya tiken tuuwan, denig i 
Jambot suba mathi ka Magwi, da bubin tuuwan gibu-
kay ya, pag suba ya jumah di Magwi. (verso) Saya 
Koman Mayun.

Translation:
Mr. Lange. Earlier I have banished Jambot, I have 
placed him in your custody. Now, seeing that he has 
had confessed his guilt, I demand Jambot back from you. 
As Jambot is already back in Mengwi, you need have 
no further concern for him, for he is now living in 
Mengwi. From me Nyoman Mayun.

Superscription in pencil by Lange: “Mr. Lange; 
ther are a Slave men run away from you his 
Name are Jambot. I have taken him in my pos-
session and wish to know your wishes and his 
fault—and if I shall send him back to you. I am 
Rajan Newam Maimum.”

In this case Lange’s interpreter apparently adapted 
the “translation” of the letter to his employer’s 
wishes with some diplomatic skill.

BAL 3 (Lange IV).
1 palmleaf, 3.7×22.5 cm. Balinese letter from 
Biang Agung of Mengwi to Lange. Ed. Fund og 
Forskning II, 131–132. See Plate 38.

Text:
Tuwuwan Laŋe, saya mbaang carorign, dwag ikgən, muwa 
ten i kobah putu agən, twan tunden saya mbaang iya, 
naqiq ian sumapala pẹsan, kwalas apa pabaay saya tiken 
tuwan. (verso) Saya Byaq Agung.

Translation:
Mr. Lange, I hereby give you some duku (a kind of 
fruit), two loads (of two baskets each) and for the 
Mistress one load of cakes, be you sent by me to give 
them to her (that is: will you give them to her on my 
behalf) but it has no importance whatever, it is but a 
present from me to you. From me Biang Agung.

Superscription in pencil by Lange: “Mr. Lange. 
I sends you sem frugtt which please asect. I am 
Vean Agong.”

In his translation Lange does not mention his 
Chinese wife. Her name was Sang Nio, and Lange 
had a daughter by her, Cecile, who married the 
Sultan Abu Bakar of Johor. The sender, Biang 
Agung, was a dowager princess of Mengwi; she 
also appears in the two following letters.

BAL 4 (Lange V).
1 palmleaf, 4×24 cm. Balinese letter from Biang 
Agung and Ketut Agung to Lange. Ed. Fund og 
Forskning II, 133–134.

Text:
Tuwuwan Laŋe, saya matawu tuuwan, ada rintih yun 
ida Cokorda, ida i Dewa Agung Putra, dagaga kua ada 
tundenan saya, marəgin putusone sakiq Kalungkup, kma 
ka Baňuag̪i, saya girip yun ida Cokorda, ida i Dewa 
Agung Putra, ne tundenan saya, ajaka dudawi, maandan i 
Bəgəg̪, muwa i Yandar, paydiq saya tiken (verso) 
tuwanan, apaq tuuwan niptahon iya, bknal mambanaka 
kwa Baňuag̪i. Saya Byaq Agung Kfit Agung.

Maŋe ya barəg̪i tiken putusone sakiq Kalungkup, muwa 
HEN deniy saya abdik məkəlim iya uyi di Magwi, makwa-
kanåane iya bəg̪el, twan pabaalay saya bəkəf̪i, muwa 
sapañåane dita, sañandag̪-handag̪an calonwa di Baňuag̪i, 
wala paq twan ni ürünü ne ibaanga.

Translation:
Mr. Lange, I inform you that a wish has descended 
from Cokorda Ida I Dewa Agung Putra, to the effect 
that messengers from me are to accompany the 
Klungkung envoys thither to Banyuwangi. I follow 
the wish of Cokorda Ida I Dewa Agung Putra; my 
 messengers are two young people named Begbeg and 
Andar. I request you to have them brought to Ba-
nyuwangi. From me Biang Agung (and) Ketut Agung. 
If they go with the Klungkung envoys, seeing that I 
have given them only small provisions to take along 
from Mengwi, whatever they might need of provisions, 
give it them on my behalf, and their food at that 
place, so much as is sufficient for the time they will
have to spend in Banyuwangi; whatever they spend, just place it to my account.

The letter is without superscription.
The sender of this letter, Biang Agung, is the same person as in letter IV, the dowager princess of Mengwi. The co-signatory is Ketut Agung, the reigning prince of Mengwi. He became king after having murdered his brother, the husband of Biang Agung. But the dowager continued to have great influence in the affairs of the kingdom. Cokorda Ida I Dewa Agung Putra is the name and title of the king of Klungkung, see letter II. The city of Banyuwangi is situated on the east coast of Java and the nearest Dutch official lived there.

BAL 5 (Lange VI).

Text:
Cai Laŋō, i Laŋō mambaaŋ ira Tulis, istiña, baan ada ṭ̑u ira dini di Kwatu, laed aturanuli dini di Badug, ne jani i Laŋō mapapidihan iken ira, mambēlī ṭ̑u woonona keni ira, ira uṣui nawopag naṭepek buka iṣin tulis i Laŋōne iken ira, ira suba maakturig ida Meme Agung Istri, nunaṣaŋ i Laŋō ṭ̑u woonona, ne jani ida Meme Agung Istri, ira, mambaaŋ i Laŋō gidhū ṭ̑u woonona, miwa ira mapagid(verso)han iken i Laŋō, kia i Laŋō mambēlīg ira ṭ̑u ṭ̑u dagw koṣi. Ira Kud Agung. Ne suba muñ̑h iken iḍe ṭ̑u Laŋōne, yen baan mambēlīñ̑hane, di suban ika ṭ̑u ṭ̑u ṭ̑u mapeatiugan.

Translation:
You, Lange, have sent me a letter containing: As for my cocopalms in Kwatu, at one time offered (to me) from Badung, now you ask to buy the coconuts from me. I do not want to haggle with you about the price, but will be entirely guided by your letter to me. I have spoken to Mémé Agung Istri to ask for the coconuts for you. Now Mémé Agung Istri and I grant the coconuts requested by you. And I ask you, Lange, to buy 40 guns for me. I, Ketut Agung. I leave it to you to decide the price. When the guns have arrived, we shall settle the account.

Superscription in pencil by Lange: “Du Lange vil have mine Cocosnøder jeg har 30.000 til vilhike du er velcomen (Dewa (amended to Anak) Agong).
The sender is Ketut Agung, prince of Mengwi, see letter V, whose full name was Anak Agung Ketut Agung. Kwalu is in all probability situated somewhere along the coast, and presumably Lange had at a previous time planted cocopalms there and now wants to buy the fruits. He had installed an oil mill near his factory. Before giving his consent the prince has consulted Mémé Agung Istri, who is identical with Biang Agung, the sender of letters IV and V, and he uses the word maatur which means speaking to a superior. The number 30.000 is not mentioned in the letter. It was, of course, known to Lange. The guns he wisely leaves out of his translation.

MALAY (Bal) 2 (C. a. 125).

Text:
Raja Ngura hagung Tabanan, sadikiti hari lagi saya mulat jalan pulang saya punya negri, saya punya badan tara itab, jadi saya tra bolih dengan bodon kasth saya punya labé, sama ratu, tapi trima skarang disini, saya punya slamat tinggal saya tida bolih kada lain, apa yang saya punya maita yang suda lijar, dari orang Bali, tida ada orang yang kana saya punya bati, punya cinta saperti ratu, bapa saya punya Alo, saya pulang taknal apa-apa, nanti ralu denger hubama(verso)lt kabar dari saya, sablah danging, kapan ralu suke, ralu punja nama, iulis ikan glas, kirim sama saya, begimana saya yang bolih bikin bagus, tinggal salamanya sobat sama saya punya sodara, saya tinggal bag(i)ta juga, Lange.

Translation (partly guessed, because Lange's pidgin-Malay is not too clear):
Raja Ngurah Agung of Tabanan. In a few days’ time I shall set out on the journey to my homeland. My body is not well, so I cannot personally say farewell to your Highness, but receive now my farewell by this letter. I cannot express myself in any other way (than that from) all that my eyes have seen, there is among the people of Bali no one who knows my heart and my mind so well as Your Highness and God my Father. I shall go home with everything in my memory. Your Highness will hear from me soon again from the other side of the world. If it pleases you, then write your name on glass and send it to me, so that I may make an ornament from it. Remain for ever a friend to my brother, as I shall remain your friend, Lange.

A subscription in pencil has been written at the bottom of the reverse of the letter. As far as can be seen, it is not in Lange’s hand. Besides it is almost obliterated and not a single word can be made out.

The letter is addressed to the prince of Tabanan, who was a good friend of Lange. It is meant as a farewell letter and shows that at that time Lange’s health was broken and that he contemplated going away and returning to Denmark. The business was to be continued by his brother Hans Lange, who worked with him. The letter probably never reached the prince. Lange died before sending it, and the letter was brought to Denmark by Strandgaard, a Danish sea captain, together with various other presents from Lange to the National Museum. The tone of the letter is sincere and heartfelt, but one also gets a feeling that it was written by a man who felt that his best days were over.

MADS LANGE LETTERS IN FOREIGN COLLECTIONS


Text:
Cai twan Layé, cai mambang bapa tulas, dayiqa, baan ada pakakirim, i Twan Jugkahir pan Kapelan, asisten râsâdan Bâwiwâgi, praha tiba then bapa,lawirâne baladru mirah, baladru enêg, suba mabokpos dadi abrik, maka- tanda pîrêîn i idêphane then bapa, ne jani pakakirime pisukanging cai then bapa, suba ika then bapa, daant baan bapa ûsûnmayag, pîrêînâmi na i Twan Jugkahir pan Kapelan, masawira iken bapa, meùh bapa mambwattay mapâhadhi am stok versoin cai, denig baladru ne enêg, kwâsan binakikit (for: bin akikit) osìg ada batakima (for: bakal lima), ne jani [ba] bapa saq Gdé Madé Rai, pamasaikillay then cai, cai idilihina baladru enêg binakikit (for: bwin akikit), pinâgen dadi pañagrup limane mabakanwua, mapele kasidian idêp bapane ngae baju, yen suba cai mambaan, illipin bapa ûsûn jawah di Kalkung.

Translation:
Mr. Lange. You have written a letter to me that there is a consignment to me from Jonkheer van Capellen, assistant resident in Banyuwangi, intended for me and made up of red velvet and black velvet together in one parcel, as a token of his good graces towards me. Now you have given me this consignment and it has reached me. I fully appreciate the good graces of Jonkheer van Capellen for me. Now I make an urgent request to you. The black velvet is not quite sufficient, there is not enough for the sleeves. Now I, sang Gdé Madé Rai, trouble you with the request that you ask for some more black velvet for me, enough to make the cuffs (or the like, the translation is merely a supposition) for both sleeves so that my wish to make a jacket of the material can be entirely fulfilled. When you have received the material, send it to my home in Klungkung.

Superscription in ink, not in Lange’s hand, but perhaps written on top of a superscription by him: “Letter from Padanda”. Furthermore distinct traces of a longer superscription in Lange’s hand, from which only single words are legible: “Capellan”, and “he wants more”.

Jonkheer F. van Capellen is the same man as the
one who set up the will of Mads Lange in 1851. He is referred to in the government almanacs 1849-1852 as assistant resident deputy in Banyuwangi in Java and 1850-52 also as commissioner in matters concerning Bali and Lombok.


Text:
I Bapan Mrasana, kia ika gorahin i twan Klí, pag gadyangan layaray sakoharti (or: sakoharre) twan Layéne, yan ya ika i twan Laga, kia ya nuleh akup rig kai maglah pyannak, i Gé Raka, i Gé Putu. (verso) Kaj yurah Kasiman, kai yurah Pancuttan.

The letter has been described by H. H. Juynboll in Supplement op den Catalogus van de Sundaneseche handschriften…, 1912, 154-155, as follows: Letter written on behalf of the two rajas of Badung, Ngurah Kasiman and Ngurah Pancuttan and addressed to one Mrasana. The latter is to inform Mr. Klí(? ) that the sooner of Mr. Lange is to set sail and that when he (Lange) has arrived, he will have to summon the princes Gé Raka and Gé Putu.

Raja Kasiman of the principality of Badung is known from letter II. He had a co-ruler, Raja Ngurah Pancuttan, of whom mention is made in G. Lauts, Het eiland Bali en de Balinezen, Amsterdam 1848, p. 136.


4. Photocopy of MS. Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Bal. 7e. 1 palmleaf. Balinese letter from Wayangan and Dmen to Lange, asking him for some necessities.

5. Photocopy of MSS. Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Bal. 7f and 7g. 2 palmleaves. 7f is a Balinese letter from the ruler of Klungkung to Lange, summoning him to Klungkung. 7g is a memorandum concerning a theft of cattle; according to a partly legible English note by Lange on 7f, his going to Klungkung had some connection with the affair mentioned in the memorandum.

6. Photocopy of MS. Manchester, John Rylands University Library Bal. 6. 3 palmleaves. Balinese letter from one of the Balinese princes to the Dutch Resident of Besuki (East Java) on the looting of a cutter belonging to the British trader King. The name of Lange is mentioned repeatedly.
OFFICIAL LETTERS IN INDONESIAN LANGUAGES
EDITED AND TRANSLATED
BY
P. VOORHOEVE
OFFICIAL LETTERS IN INDONESIAN LANGUAGES

As a consequence of Danish trade connections with Indonesia in the seventeenth century the Danish National Archives contain in “Danske Kancelli” (Danish Chancery) some documents in Indonesian languages. So far two Malay letters have been published.

The two Malay letters, both in Arabic script, are:

MALAY (Arab) 4.

Transliteration:
At the top, between two cachets with illegible inscriptions: Ngatlamat Sultan Baten (Jav. script) 1082 (European numbers).
Note in Gothic script: Delle Er Sultanen off Banton Egen Haand, som hand Selfj haftter Schrefsell.
Above the text at the right-hand side the black impression of the Sultan’s seal, reading: al-Wahif bilih al-Sultan Abu’l-Fath ibn al-Sultan Abu’l-Ma’atti ibn al-Sultan Abu’l-Mafikhir ibn Muhammed ibn Yusuf ibn Ḥasaniddin.

Text of the letter:
Ini surat menyatakan tulas dan ikhlas daripada Paduka Seri Sultan Abu’l-Fatih di Banten yang mengempukan lahta pekerjaan (sic) dalam negeri Banten khalayudd’ulhu mutkahu wa-sayyara a’nikha a’da’hik milkahu dalam kepada raja Danamarka yang bernama Raja Krris- tian anak Raja Parraḍerrai yang mengempukan lahta pekerjaan dalam negeri Danamarka raja yang termahur gayah berani dalam segala negeri atas angin dan negeri bawau angin ialah raja yang amat bangsawan serta selianan dan yang bijaksana pada memerintah segala pekerjaan di darat dan di laut serta mengelakakan isis’al dat raja dalam negeri Danamarka.
Sebermula adapun Raja Krris- tian hendak meminta tanah dalam negeri Banten akan tempata capitan Danamarka duduk di Banten kerana hendak bengaha didalam negeri Banten suadalah Paduka Seri Sultan memberi tanah yang dikehendaki oleh capitan Danamarka itu serta beberapa perjanjian Paduka Seri Sultan kepada capitan Danamarka yang duduk di Banten itu seperti yang tersuatu diadalam suat perjanjian itu.
Sebermula Paduka Seri Sultan meminta kepada Raja Krris- tian jual-jualan obat bedil pada tiap massa kapol belayar ke Banten sekira8 obat bedil itu seratus pikul dan demikian lagi peluru bedil besar9.
Sabah Paduka Seri Sultan memberi mutam kepada Raja Krris- tian dhalu kata Kapitan Hafidhar menipikan laha kepada Angabah Cakrooda banyaknya laha itu seratus bahara dan tujuh puluh enam bahara. Tammal.

Translation:

Signature of the Sultan of Banten. (A.H.) 1082.
This is a letter expressing the sincere and honest feelings of His Majesty Sultan Abū’l-Fatḥ of Banten, owner of the Royal Throne in the country of Banten (may God perpetuate his reign and make the necks of his enemies his possession) towards the King of Denmark, called King Christian, son of King Frederic, owner of the Royal Throne in the country of Denmark,
a king whose bravery is famous in the lands above the wind and in the lands below the wind; he is a most noble and faithful king, wise in ruling everything on land and sea and in enforcing the royal customs in the country of Denmark.

Further, Your Majesty's letter and gift have reached us in good order. When the letter was taken from its sealed envelope, a fragrant perfume of musk and ambergis was diffused, conveying words of sincerity and expressing the wish for mutual friendship. We, Sultan of Banten, fully understand the contents of your, King Christian's, letter and we were extremely pleased to hear the words of your missive.

Further, as to your, King Christian's, request to be granted a piece of land in the country of Banten, to be used for a residence for the Danish captain in Banten, because he wants to conduct trade in the country of Banten, We, Sultan of Banten, have given a plot of land in accordance with the Danish captain's wishes. We have made an agreement with the Danish captain, in the terms mentioned in the written treaty.

Further, we ask you, King Christian, to send us gunpowder for sale, about 100 piculs of powder every time your ships sail to Banten, and also large cannon balls.

And furthermore, we let you, King Christian, know that Captain Adeler has formerly deposited pepper with Angabéhi Caikradana, a quantity of 176 bahar. Finis.

MALAY (Arab) 5.


Transliteration:

Subhāna man tanazzaḥa ‘anilt-fahdili
(The same stamp as on the first letter).

Ini surat pada mengetahui tulus kasih dan iklasan daripada Paduka Seri Sultan Abūl-Fathḥi di negeri Banjen khallada’t-laihah miwakka wasul’tanah was-abbada ‘adlahu wa-lhaṣānahu samai kirangga kepada Raja Karistan Kuwartan anak Raja Pararidarrayangan yang menyempukan alas laka segala karjaan jidalem nagri Danamarika yang dikaraninya Allah subhānahu kirangga dan alambah kirangga kebesaran kan kemualan pada lop massa siang dan malam dan yang dililakan kirangga dalam dun-yā ini daripada raja yang dahulu pada memerintahkan segala ratifinnya karena melakuken isi’adat kabaktan dalam negerinya dan yang amat memelihara kepada segala orang baniaga dan anak dagang semuanya dengan peliharanya yang sempurna dalam dun-yā ini.

Adapun kemusian daripada itu bahwa surat dan bingkis daripada Raja Karistan Kuwartan yang dibawanya (sic) oleh Kapitan Haddar yang jadi Kumanur di negeri Kelling itu ialah sampailah kirangga kepada Paduka Seri Sultan di Banten dengan sempurnanya maka terlaluuk sukaekta daripada hati Paduka Seri Sultan akan mendengar perkataan Raja Karistan yang termadikur dalam surat dan kitabat itu dan ialah jiketahtalah kirangga oleh Paduka Seri Sultan di Banten.

Sebarmu laji Karistan Kuwartan berikirin behdii bessar sepucuk ialah diterimalah oleh Paduka Seri Sultan dengan serua turma.

Sabarmu lagi Paduka Seri Sultan memberi mat’um kepada Raja Karistan akan hal ihwal lakangga pētor yang gaufuk di Banten yang bernama Pētor Pahuli akan gantinya Pētor Mikal itu maka dahulu Paduka Seri Sultan surah menjual tembaga ke negeri Kelling dua ratus dua putih pihak dibawaya (sic) oleh suruhan Pētor Mikal bernama Kapitan Wilikke kaktu kaguy ke negeri Kelling. Maka sekaangn ini hendra dhiłangkan harga tembaga itu oleh Pētor Kelling yang bernama Mangayakub sama muawajakal dengan Pētor Pahuli itu liñga memberi mat’um kepada Paduka Seri Sultan barapa sudah tahu juat tembaga itu di negeri Kelling.

Adapun yang memberi mat’um kepada Paduka Seri Sultan akan harga tembaga itu di negeri Kelling ada satu orang Danamarika jatuk ita di negeri Kelling bernama Ian Indirik, itulah yang memberi mat’um kepada Paduka Seri Sultan harga tembaga itu di negeri Kelling.

Sebarmu lagi Pētor Pahuli dan Pētor Mangayakub banyak ia buat hari baru kepada Paduka Seri Sultan liñga ia mau mangikut pada isi’adat kebatikan negeri.

Sebarmu lagi ada dia membawa dagangan kain liñda ia berri surat seperti mana marganya kain itu karena
The man who let His Majesty the Sultan know the price of the copper on the Coast was a Dene who was living on the Coromandel Coast, Jan Hendrick (sen). He informed His Majesty the Sultan of the price the copper fetched on the Coast. Furthermore, Factor Pauli and Factor Magnus Jacobsen cause His Majesty much trouble, since they refuse to follow the good customs of the country. Further, they have brought a load of textiles without any written statement about its value, because Factor Pauli and Factor Magnus Jacobsen want to embezzle the proceeds from the sale of that copper. The only thing His Majesty the Sultan sends to King Christian now is pepper. This letter will be carried by a ship’s captain called Captain Rechter.

Given at Banten, Monday 15th Dhulkiadah, in the year 1086 of the Hijrah of our Prophet Muhammad, God’s blessing and benediction be on him. May God lead you on the straight path.

MALAY (Jav) 1.

A third Malay letter is in Javanese script. See Plate 41. It arrived in Denmark in the ship Magdes (captain Bieke) on August 12th, 1672. It has been found recently in the National Archives.

(C 23 Drafts and enclosures of East Indian matters 1668–99).

Text:

In the left margin is a Chinese seal, upside down, with two Chinese characters meaning, according to Prof. Dr. A. F. P. Hulsewé of Leiden: “sealed for protection”.

Translation:
In Banten. Ki Ngabêhi Cakradana. Letter to the King of Denmark. Your envoy, the captain, has now arrived in Banten. As for the negotiations with the Sultan of Banten on trading and a place for a factory, these are now decided (i.e. the Danish request has been granted). As for the former question with captain Adeler, who deposited 176 bahara of pepper with me, I have delivered (lit. paid) this pepper to the (newly arrived) captain. This affair is now settled. The King, my lord, is great as the sun, famous in all the world, feared by everybody. I implore the Lord's help to give a long life to the King of Denmark, brightly shining as the sun in all the world. Finis.

Danish note on the back of the letter:

From this note we learn that the letter was written by “Cinabj sabandor”, i.e. the harbourmaster (Mal. shahbandar) of China-town (Danish Kina- bj) in Banten. In the letter he calls himself Ki Ngabêhi Cakradana, and under this title he is also mentioned in letter I. Another Muslim Chinese official in Banten who was granted a Javanese title (Pangéran Wira di Guna) is mentioned by Cruceq, TBG 79 p. 197. The style of the letter is that of a Chinese tradesman and differs considerably from the flowery style of the two published letters that were composed by professional court secretaries. It may be compared with six Malay letters sent from Banten in 1619 to Jan Pietersz. Coen in Jayakerta, five in Javanese script and one in Arabic script. These letters were first published with Dutch translations by W. Ph. Coolhaas in Jan Pietersz. Coen: Beschij- den om trent zijn verblijf in Indiê, vol VII (1953), pp. 480–481 and pp. 483–484, and again, with facsimiles and English translations, by M. C. Ricklefs, “Bantên and the Dutch in 1619, six early pasar Malay letters”, BSOAS vol. XXXIX (1976), pp. 128–136.

The only documents from Banten in Javanese script and Javanese language which have so far been found in the Archives are a small contract and some receipts. In the following discussion of these papers (JAV 19–21) some observations on the Javanese idiom made by Th. G. Th. Figeaud have been incorporated.

JAV 19.
This is a contract for the delivery of pepper in Bantên. It belongs to the Danish Chancery Papers (B 244 The East India Company 1617–48. III. Accounts of the Company. 3. Various accounts 1618–48). See Plate 42.
The script is the same round Javanese Pasisir script as used in the third Malay letter. The Javanese text is remarkable for the ignoring of the difference between ð and d. Both wadé and wadé are found in the writing. This is a characteristic feature of West Javanese idioms. The scribe made several mistakes which he corrected afterwards by making the faulty characters unpronounceable by means of double vocalism (vocal marks for u and ù combined with the same consonant character). It was the usual method of correcting clerical errors.

Transliteration:
// pêhê // kyahi dinda supati haprajajji kalayan pun kumendur / lan pun pêtor / hawadê marigos / sahantaki- pun kyahi dinda supati bontên hawadê liyan / samados nem sass / punika yên satamêt / bontên kárañ awadê liyan / punika sakalafipun kowadêyaa datêg pun ku- mendur / lan pun pêtor // mistake // pañahostpun kag sabora kalith puluh régol / kalañhipun / mistake / wolun atas bara / kag kесap kyahi saholithê su un akên hiş sira kabêh // tit //
Danish note in Gothic script:

Kei Manjapatte Contract paa 800 Bahr peuer at letter om & Meaneder.

Translation:
Note. Kyahi Dinda Supati has agreed with the honourable Commander and the honourable Factor to sell them his pepper, all he receives; kyahi Dinda Supati will not sell to any other person, for a term of six months, if he has life; he is not allowed to sell to another person. So everything is to be sold to the honourable Commander and the honourable Factor. The value is pro bara twenty reals, the quantity is eight hundred bara. The words of the kyahi were: “all I get I give to you, all of it”. Finis.

Notes:
The use of bontên instead of bolên (meaning “not” in formal speech) belongs to the North Coast idioms of Java.

Whereas the body of the text is couched in formal words (Javanese basa krama), the verb-atim quotation of the kyahi’s promise is in colloquial style (Javanese ngoko). The personal pronouns he used are sun (written su, which may reproduce the Bantên pronunciation) and siru. Sun (or insun) and siru as personal pronouns for “I” and “you” are nowadays antiquated. In the seventeenth century they may have sounded polite or friendly, at least not coarse.

The verb-atim quotation of the kyahi’s words is an indication that the text was composed and written down by a professional scribe who acted as a notary public. It is likely that the scribe belonged to the class of the men of religion (Javanese kaum, Arabic gaum) who are connected with the mosque in Javanese towns. The parenthetic clause “if he has life” (Javanese yen samar) is suggestive of the well-known pious phrase “if God will” (Arabic in shâ’ Allâh).

The title kyahi belonged formerly to men of standing who were not descended from any ruling family in the country. In the seventeenth century its use was not yet restricted to men of religion, religious teachers, as it is nowadays. The name Dinda Supati should perhaps be read Dênga Supat; dênga derives from Sanskrit daṅga, “staff”. It is possible that he was by origin a Chinese trader, settled in Bantên, embraced Islam and was given a subaltern post in the harbour administration and a Javanese name by the Sultan, like the shahbandar (harbour-master) ki

ngabêh Cakra Dana, the writer of the third Malay letter. The predicate ki (of ki ngabêh) and the title kyahi are closely related.

The Danish ‘Commander’ (English for Commodore, Captain) and the Factor (Javanese pêtor, deriving from Portuguese seitor) of the trading post are given the predicate pun, which is translated “honourable”. It is probably related to an Old Javanese word pu, empu, meaning “master”.

JAV 20 and JAV 21.

These small documents are notes about the rent of premises with a warehouse (Javanese gêlong) in Bantên, used by the Danish traders. The notes belong to the Danish Chancery Papers (B 245 Accounts relating to Claus Ryttter’s East India voyage in the “Den forgylde Sol” 1639–50. 9. Varia. d. Two receipts for rent at Bantam, 1642–43). See Plates 43 and 44.

The script of JAV 20 is of the same kind as that of JAV 19 and MALAY (Jav) 1.

Transliteration:

// pêhê // pêtor danamarka / ha (mistake) sraḥ sêwa nîp gêlong hîg kyahi nara hîta / sasi dul kahida / panylog pîb lima / kañhipun // 156 //

Translation:
Note. The Factor of Denmark has paid the rent of the warehouse to kyahi Nara Hîta, in the month Dhîl-Qa’dash, the dark half, the fifth, to the amount of 156.

The script of JAV 21 is irregular and boorish, unlike the round script of the preceding texts. The scribe disregarded the nasals preceding consonants in Javanese, and he did not correct clerical errors.

Transliteration:

// of // pêhê // kahî gulu sara yuda // halapa rîyal // sêwa sakti kapitan danamarka // kañh bélah kap satahun // lakug pilug sasi // // nat kolann hannahur hiken satahun // hi sasi rîjêp // hi dinna râbe // //
Translation:
Note. Kyahi Gulu Sarayuda has received reais for rent from the Captain of Denmark, one and a half, for one year, and moreover seven months. The date of the settling for one year is in the month Rajab, on Wednesday.

Notes:
The coinage of the rent, to the amount of 150, is only mentioned in the second text. It was in Spanish reais, the common currency at the time.

The expression used in JAV 21, kaliq bêlah, the second (only) half, i.e. one and a half, means one hundred and fifty, the number mentioned in JAV 20 in Javanese figures.

There are some more short Javanese texts of the same kind in the National Archives. As their writing is faded it is difficult to reproduce them with sufficient clearness. Apparently they do not materially differ from the published texts as to their contents and wording.
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