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CATALOGUE OF
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PART 2

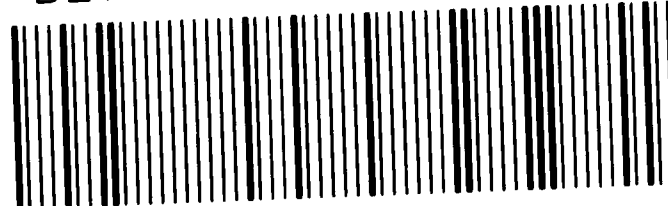
OLD JAVANESE CHARTERS
JAVANESE, MALAY AND LAMPUNG MANUSCRIPTS
MADS LANGE'S BALINESE LETTERS
AND
OFFICIAL LETTERS IN INDONESIAN LANGUAGES

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

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VOL. 4 PART 2

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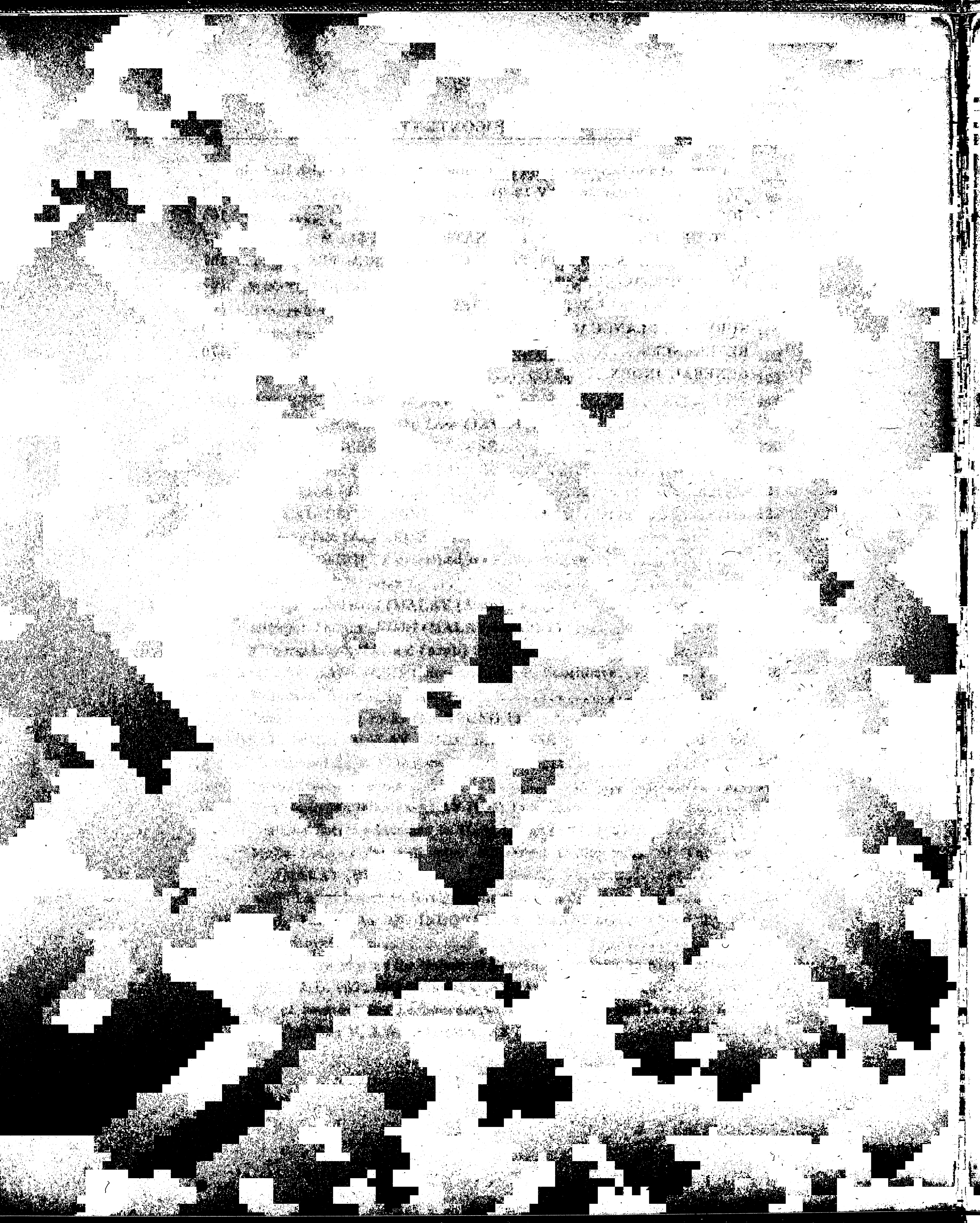
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PREFACE

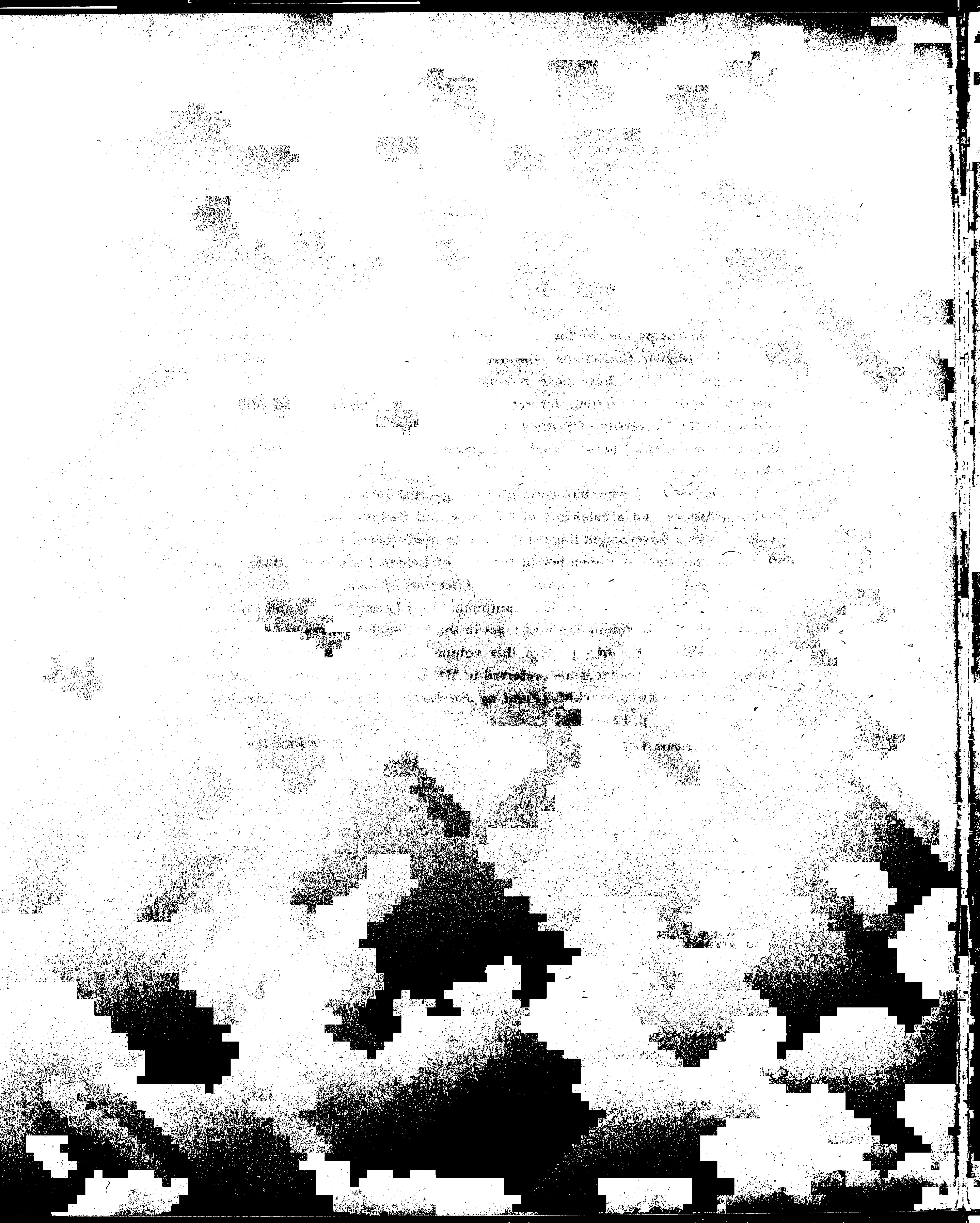
In this second part of the fourth volume of the "Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts in Danish Collections" the Old Javanese charters known as "The Klampenborg Plates" have been re-edited and translated into English by the late Dr. F. H. van Naerssen, formerly professor of Indonesian and Malayan Studies at the University of Sydney. The first edition, with a Dutch translation, was part of Dr. van Naerssen'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 (1955) pp. 125-138).

Copenhagen, June 1976

Palle Birkelund



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

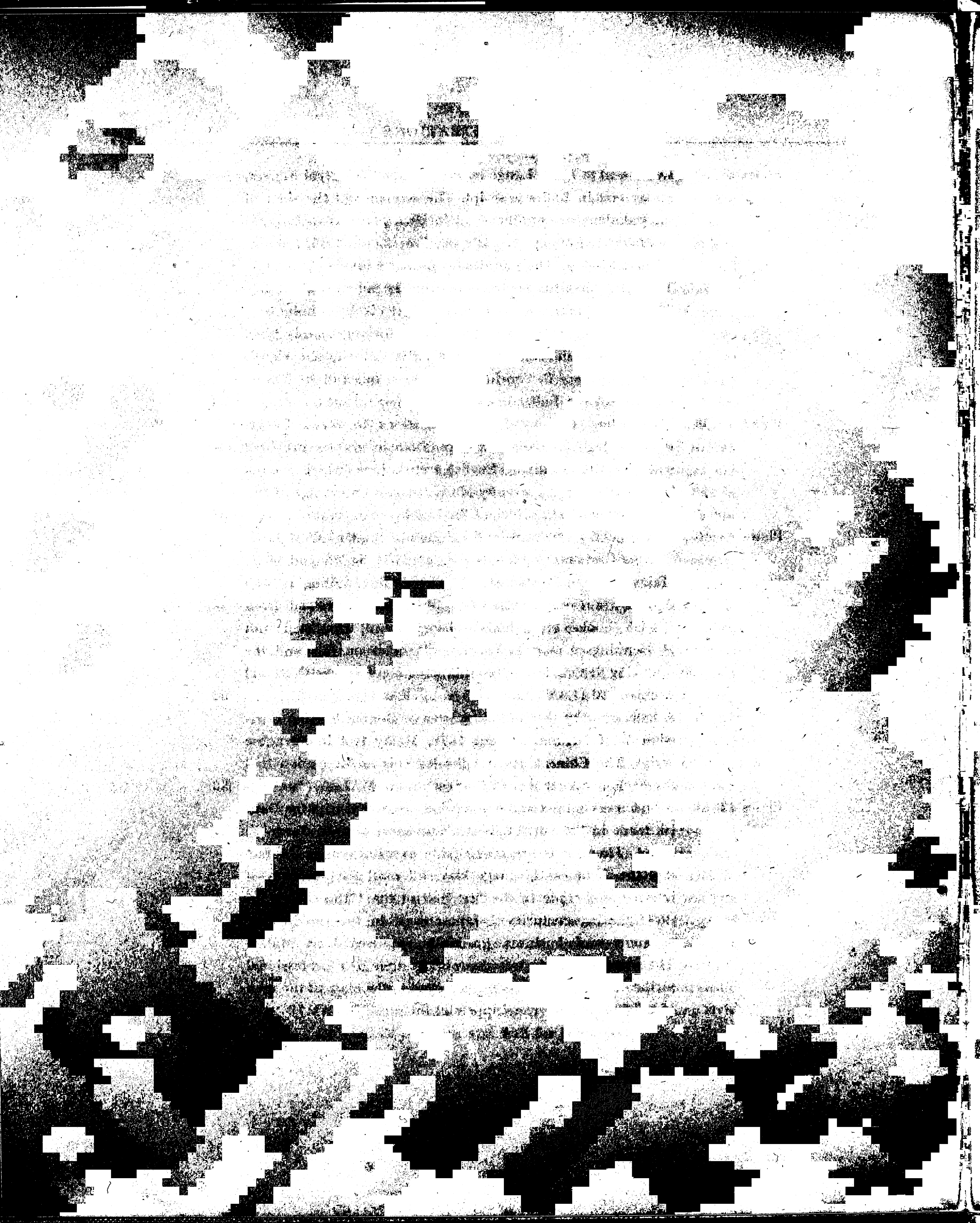
- Plates 1–16 Old Javanese charters in Old Javanese script, on bronze plates, reddish brown with a glossy patina, about 10 cm broad and about 34 cm long. The engraved characters have recently been whitened to make them legible. The charters are known as the Klampenborg collection because they were once in the possession of Mrs. Nørgaard 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.
- Plates 1–8:* King Balitung's charter, 5 bronze plates, the first and the last ones bearing inscriptions only on one side, as is usual. Between the third and the fourth bronze plates, and again between the fourth and the fifth plates there are gaps of an unknown number of bronze plates which are lost. OLD JAV 1–5 18
- Plates 9–13:* Watu Kura charter, without date, the only complete charter of the collection. Three bronze plates, the first one bearing an inscription only on one side. OLD JAV 6–8. 20
- Plate 14:* Banigrama charter, concluding bronze plate (bearing an inscription only on one side) belonging to a long charter, the rest of which is lost. This bronze plate may be a palimpsest. The back side, not reproduced, bears faint traces of old script. OLD JAV 9 22
- Plates 15–16:* Siku Lalawa boundaries charter, one bronze plate bearing inscriptions on both sides, remnant of a long charter, the rest of which is lost. OLD JAV 10 22
- Plate 17 Fragment, 35 cm long and about 6 cm broad, of a codex, probably resembling a normal Javanese palmleaf manuscript but on a larger scale. The fragment is a very thin and flexible

- strip of copper, bearing scratched writing in Javanese script on both sides. The original codex may have consisted of an unknown number of strips, perhaps 60 or 70 cm long, with holes in the centre, like the leaves of a palmleaf manuscript. The fragment was found in the region of mount Arjunâ, in East Java. The text is an episode of a pre-Islamic mythological tale referring to the sources of the river Brantas in East Java. It is difficult to reconstruct it because the copper strip was wilfully mutilated in olden times. See the edition by Th. G. Th. Pigeaud. JAV 1 23
- Plate 18 Left half of the first page of a Balinese palmleaf manuscript containing the Old Javanese epic poem *Arjuna Wiwāha* (Arjuna's Nuptials). The leaves are in reality 54 cm long. A palmleaf manuscript consists of long strips of hard, dry but flexible material, light brown, cut out of the leaves of the *lontar* palm (*Borassus flabellifer*). The central ribs of the palmleaves are mostly taken out before the leaves are cut to measure and dried in the sun. See the notes on Javano-Balinese and Balinese palmleaf manuscripts by Th. G. Th. Pigeaud. JAV (Bal) 1 24
- Plates 19–21 The fine manuscript of the *Tĕgĕs ing Bhuwana Jagat* or *Usana Bali* (Balinese Antiquities), which was a gift from Mads Lange to the National Museum, is represented by three plates. *Plate 19*: shows the whole of the first page of the text. It is 47,6 cm long and the leaves are 3,5 cm broad. 24
Plate 20: shows the outside of the wooden boards which serve as bookcovers with palmleaf manuscripts, and *Plate 21* shows the edges of the leaves, as seen when the book is closed. Both the boards and the surface of the edges are beautifully decorated with a design of flowers in red and gold. On *Plate 21* the manner in which the palmleaves are kept together between the boards by means of a string running through holes in the boards and the leaves is clearly visible. The small disc which is fastened to the end of the string to prevent its slipping back through the holes is a Chinese copper coin with a square hole in the centre. Chinese copper cash was for centuries the common currency in the Archipelago, and in Bali it has remained in use for special purposes up to the present time. JAV (Bal) 3 24

-
- Plate 22 The boards of an East Javanese palmleaf manuscript, Javanese text in Javanese characters. They are decorated with the characteristic pointed design in red and black which is also often found on *batik* cloth. The manuscript is 46,5 cm long and 3,5 cm broad. See the notes on the Yusup romance. JAV 10 25
- Plate 23 The first leaf of a palmleaf manuscript, measuring 31×3,4 cm, and divided into columns. The palmleaves of this manuscript still have the central rib (visible at the top of the lower leaf), and they have a hole at one end (not in the centre) or sometimes (as is the case here) holes at both ends. Palmleaf manuscripts of this type are often used for practical purposes, they do not require boards and are easier to make than the regular manuscripts without the ribs. JAV (Bal) 4 25
- Plates 24–25 Palmleaf manuscript *Tingkah ing Iman*. Javanese text in Javanese script. 31,3 cm long and 3,5 cm broad. The round script, neatly written, is of East Javanese origin. The boards bear decorations of leaves and flowers in red and gold. See the notes on Islamic theology by Th. G. Th. Pigeaud. JAV 2. 25
- Plates 26–27 The Balinese calendar or divination diagram on Chinese paper which was made at Mads Lange's request as a synopsis of Javano-Balinese diviners' lore. The two plates should meet, the whole sheet of paper measures in reality 86×24 cm. JAV (Bal) 5 26
- Plates 28–30 Hangings made of cotton textile, formerly used in Balinese homes as wall decorations. They are called *palalintangan* because miniature pictures of constellations (*lintang*), personified according to the Javano-Balinese conception of the star-groups, occupy the central part of the sheets, which are from 197 cm to 165 cm long and from 115 cm to 146 cm broad. See the notes on divination and the diagrams of the *palalintangans* by Th. G. Th. Pigeaud. JAV (Bal) 6–8 28
- Plate 31 Illustration, partly coloured, from the beginning of the manuscript containing Kĕlantān Wayang Tales, Malay text in Arabic script. The pages are 29×22 cm. The writing material is thick, greyish so-called Javanese paper made of treebark, comparable with the Polynesian *tapa* material. The drawing, in Javanese *wayang* style, shows the fight of Sĕntanu (Sanskrit Śāntanu), left, and Palasara (Sanskrit Parāśara),

- 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 Garèng before him. The latter three personages 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 correctly, puppets) in *wayang* theatricals. The names are written in Arabic script under the personages. The figure in the left hand upper corner, without name, seems to be added for symmetry. It is a duplicate of Sēntanu. See P. Voorhoeve's notes on the Kēlantān Wayang Tales. MALAY (Arab) 3. 31
- Plate 32 The first page of the *Zādbakht* manuscript, written on British import paper, Malay text in Arabic script. The pages are about 25 cm × 14 cm. The manuscript was copied in 1837 in Singapore by the well-known Malay scholar Abdullah bin Abdulkadir Munshi for the use of Mr. A. North, an American missionary. See P. Voorhoeve's notes on Malay literature. MALAY (Arab) 1. 32
- Plate 33 Two pages (the fold is visible in the middle) of a Lampung (South Sumatra) codex written on treebark with Lampung characters. The book is constructed in the same manner as the well-known Batak books (see COMDC 4,1: Voorhoeve's Catalogue of Batak manuscripts, 1975). It consists of a long strip of treebark material folded like the bellows of an accordion. The pages are quadratic, 6 × 6 cm. See P. Voorhoeve's notes on the Lampung manuscript. LAMPUNG 1 . . 32
- Plate 34 Portrait of Mads Lange, drawn from life by an unknown Balinese artist. The plate is borrowed from L. Buschardt's article in *Fund og Forskning* II, 1955. The artist reproduced some European characteristics which he found remarkable: crossing the arms and the legs (which Indonesians do seldom or never at all, standing), and the long legs with big shoes. The costume, tail-coat and narrow trousers, and the fringe of beard (also very remarkable in Indonesian eyes) belong to the middle of the 19th century. The likeness of the portrait may be very good. The drawing is in the naturalistic style which was cultivated side by side with the *wayang* style (see Plate 31) in Java and Bali for centuries. 33

-
- Plates 35–36 Letter sent to Mads Lange by his Balinese wife Nyai Kěnyèr, Malay text in Balinese script. The sequence of the sides of the palmleaves reproduced on the two plates is as follows: 1. plate 35, bottom; 2. plate 36, top; 3. plate 36, bottom; 4. plate 35, top. The palmleaves measure about 21×3,5 cm. They still have the central ribs (see the note on Plate 23). This type of palmleaf notebook or booklet is the popular one. The following letters on palmleaf all belong to this type. Nyai Kenyèr did not write the letter herself, she signed with a cross. See P. Voorhoeve's notes on this and the following letters from Bali. MALAY (Bal) 1 34
- Plates 37–38 Two letters sent by Balinese relations to Mads Lange. Balinese texts in Balinese script. Both letters are provided with pencil notes giving English translations (which are not wholly correct). Apparently Mads Lange's knowledge of Balinese script was insufficient. BAL 2–3 35
- Plates 39–40 Two official letters sent by the Sultan of Bantěn (West Java) to King Christian V of Denmark in 1671 or '72 and 1675. Malay texts in Arabic script. The Arabic writing is well done by a Court scribe. The plates are borrowed from Danish books on colonial history by J. Brøndsted and H. Henningsen. See P. Voorhoeve's notes on this and the following letters in Indonesian languages in the National Archives. MALAY (Arab) 4–5 36
- Plate 41 A letter sent by the harbourmaster of Bantěn to King Christian V of Denmark about 1672, Malay text in Javanese script. The Chinese seal on the letter is an indication that the harbourmaster was of Chinese origin. MALAY (Jav) 1 . . 38
- Plates 42–44 A business contract and two receipts connected with the Danish trade in the port of Bantěn, Javanese texts in Javanese script. These texts are remarkable as witnesses of the fact that the Javanese language was still used for purposes of international trade in the first half of the 17th century. In the following centuries Javanese was, in the province of economy and business, gradually superseded by Malay. The writing of the texts was probably done by a professional scribe or notary public who belonged to the class of the men of religion, regular worshippers at the mosque. JAV 19–21 . . 39



PLATES



PLATE 1. King Balitung's charter. OLD JAV 1 *verso*.



PLATE 2. King Balitung's charter. OLD JAV 2 *recto*.

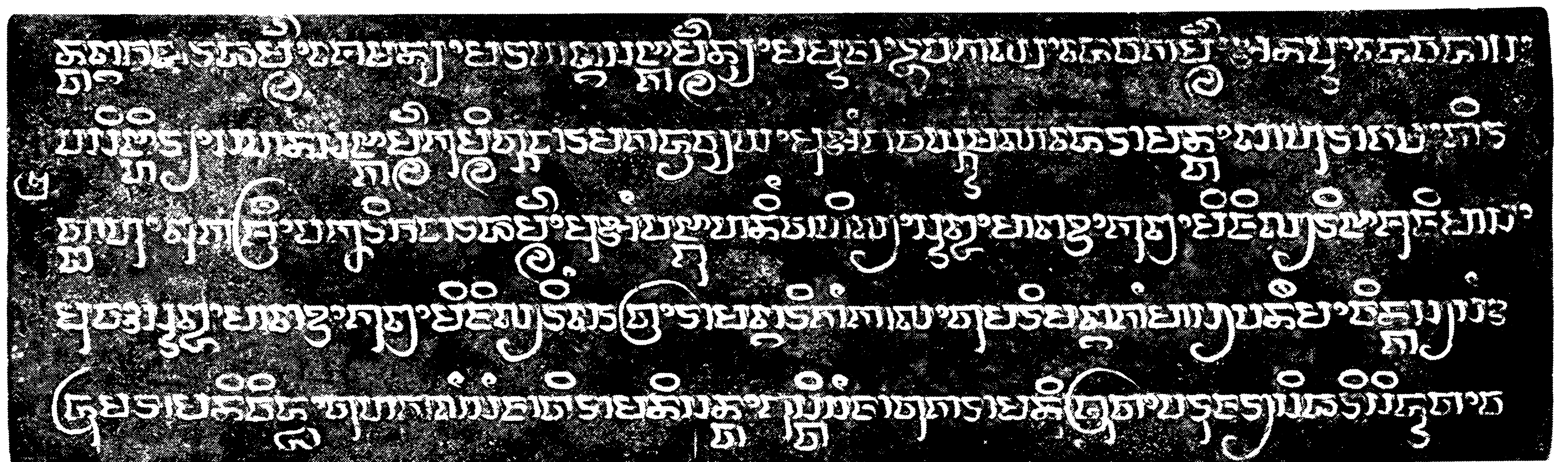


PLATE 3. King Balitung's charter. OLD JAV 2 *verso*.



PLATE 4. King Balitung's charter. OLD JAV 3 *recto*.



PLATE 5. King Balitung's charter. OLD JAV 3 *verso*.



PLATE 6. King Balitung's charter. OLD JAV 4 *recto*.

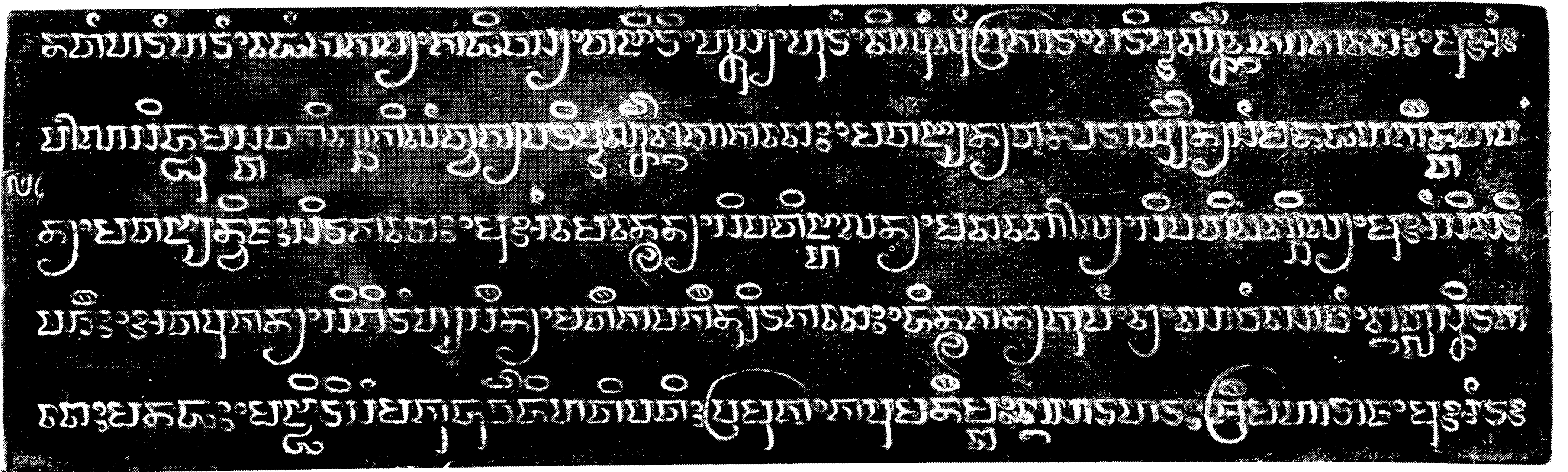


PLATE 7. King Balitung's charter. OLD JAV 4 *verso*.



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

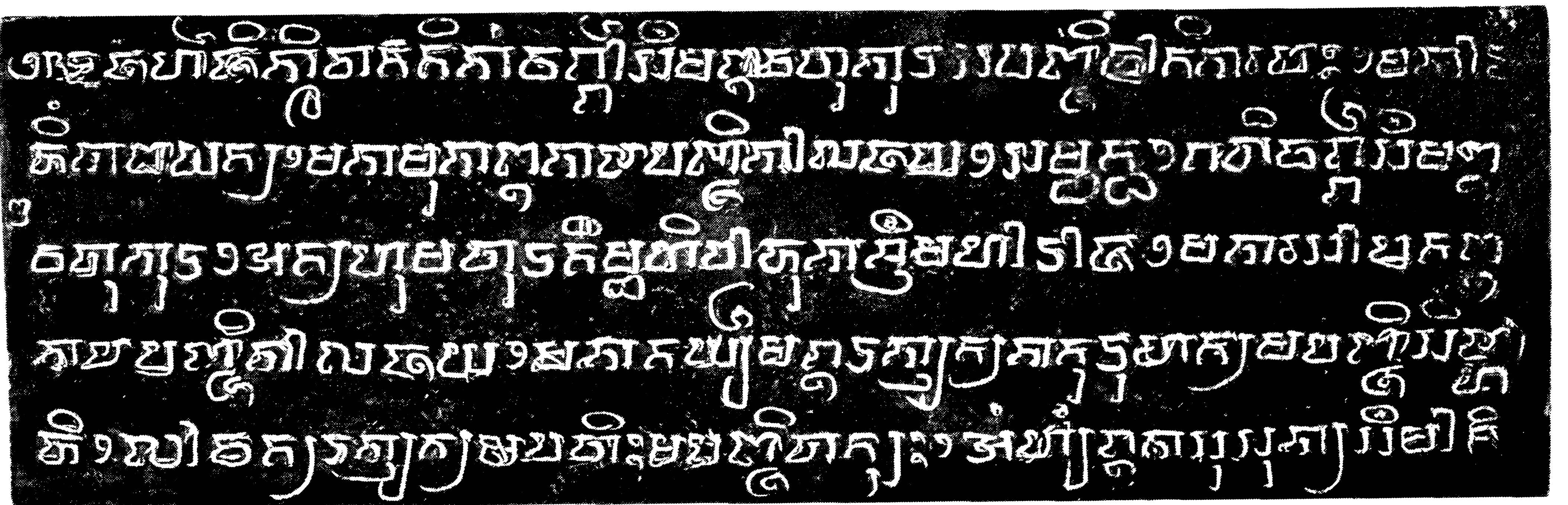


PLATE 9. Watu Kura charter. OLD JAV 6 *verso*.



PLATE 10. Watu Kura charter. OLD JAV 7 *recto*.

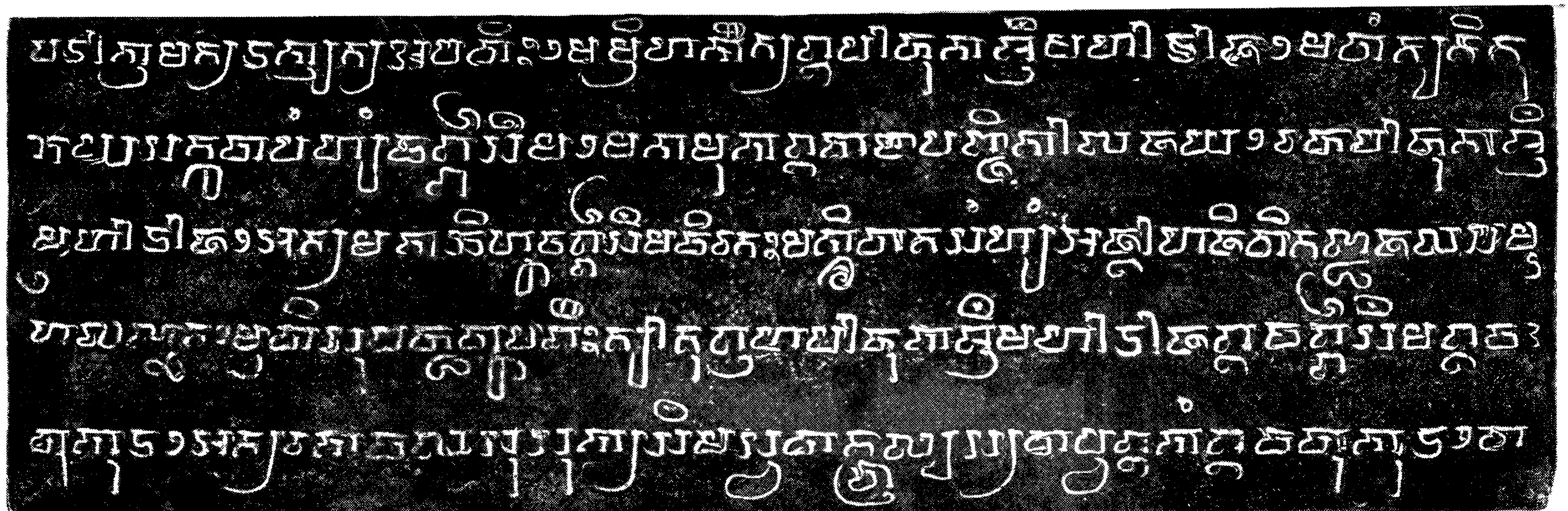


PLATE 11. Watu Kura charter. OLD JAV 7 *verso*.

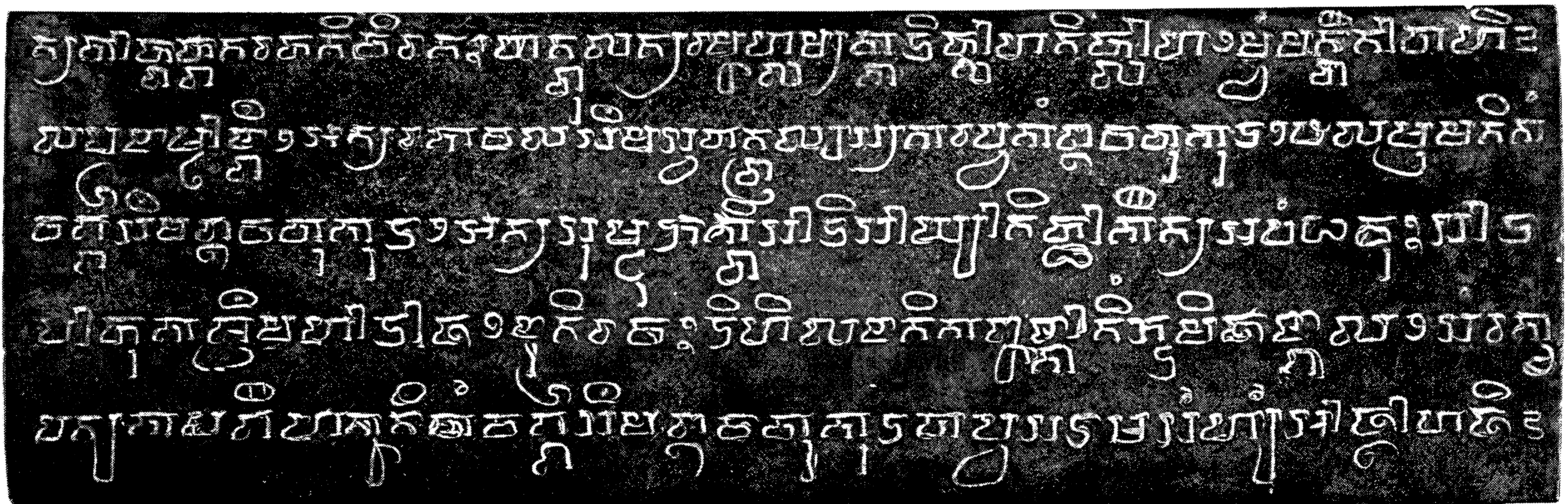


PLATE 12. Watu Kura charter. OLD JAV 8 *recto*.

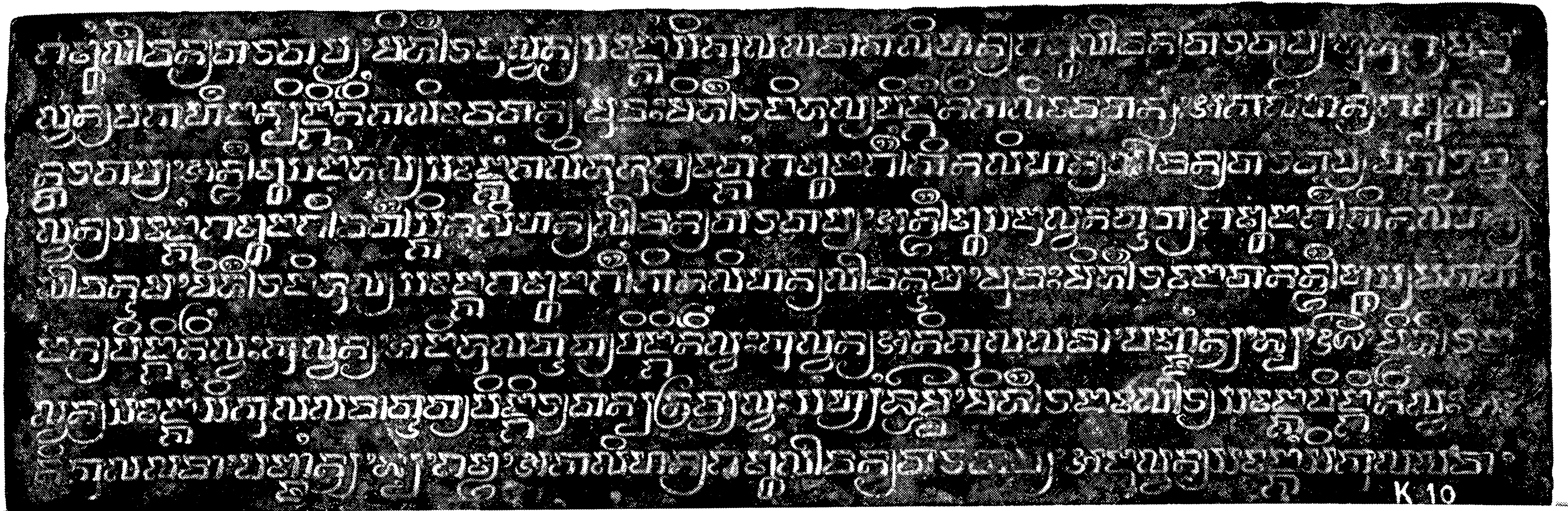


PLATE 13. Watu Kura charter. OLD JAV 8 *verso*.

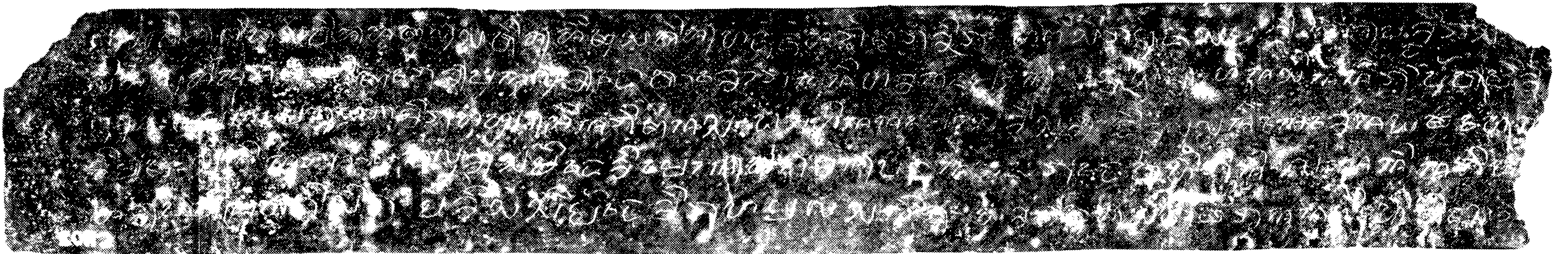


PLATE 14. Banigrama charter. OLD JAV 9.



PLATE 15. Siku Lalawa boundaries charter. OLD JAV 10 *recto*.

PLATE 16. Siku Lalawa boundaries charter. OLD JAV 10 *verso*.

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

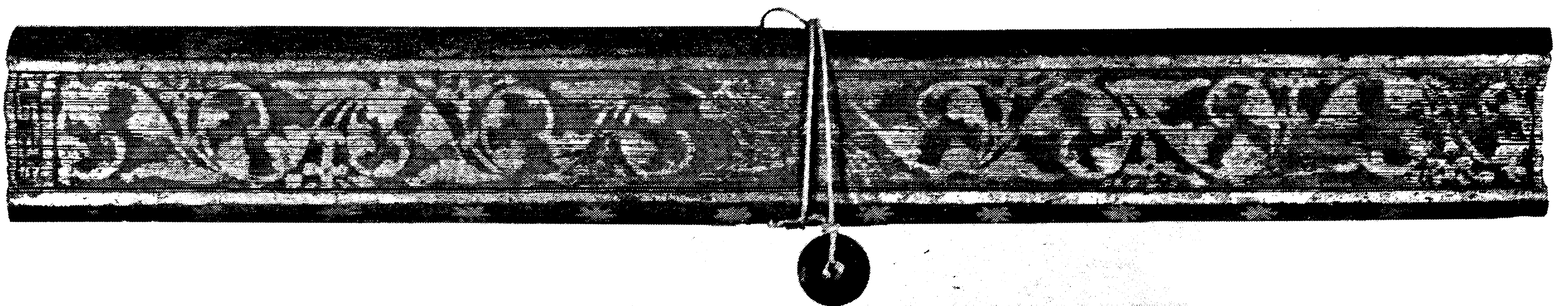
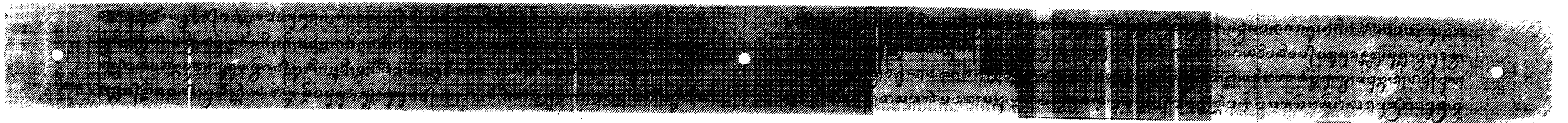
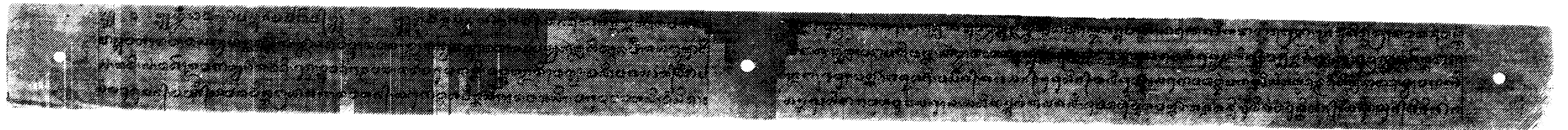
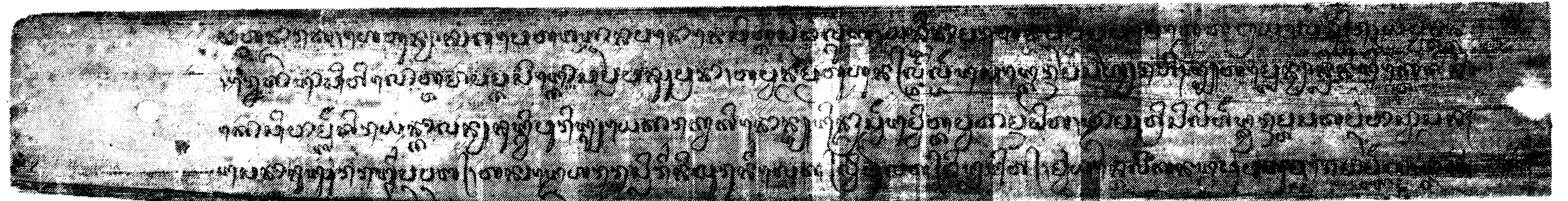
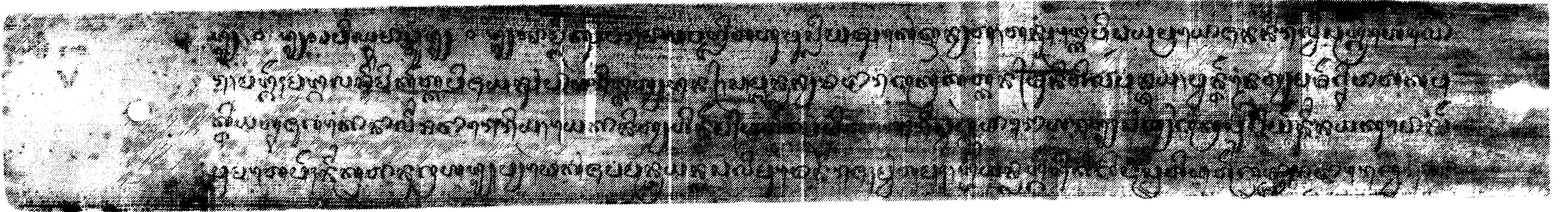


PLATE 18. Arjuna Wiwāha. JAV (Bal) 1.

PLATE 19. Tēgēs ing Bhuwana Jagat. JAV (Bal) 3.

PLATE 20. Boards of the palmleaf manuscript Tēgēs ing Bhuwana Jagat. JAV (Bal) 3.

PLATE 21. Edges of the leaves of the palmleaf manuscript Tēgēs ing Bhuwana Jagat. JAV (Bal) 3.

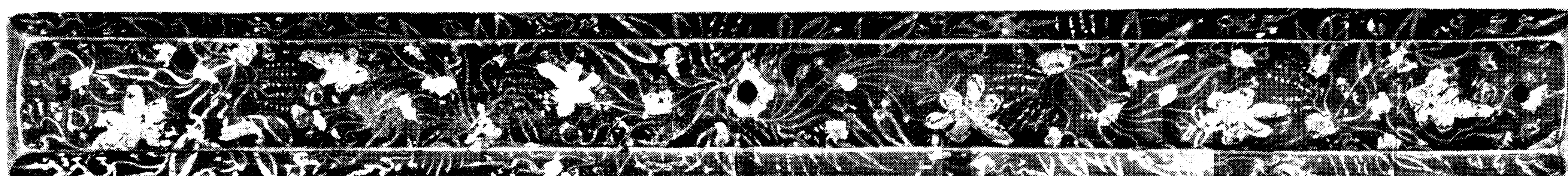
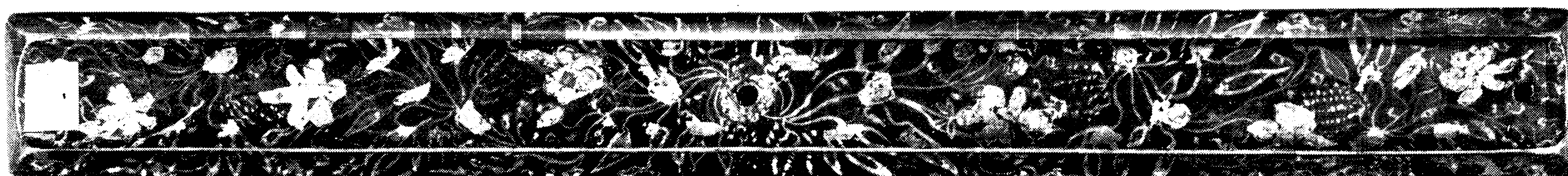
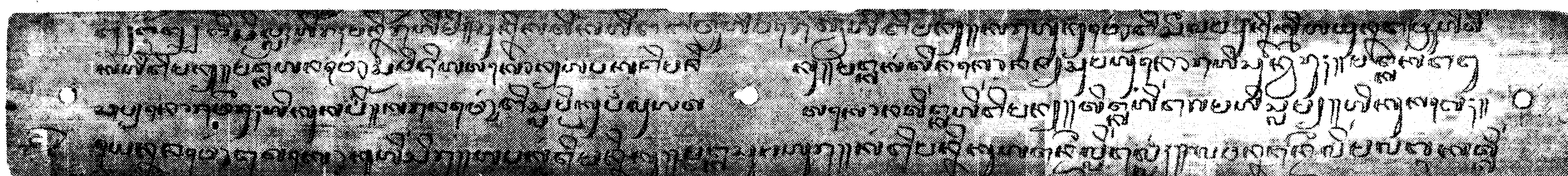
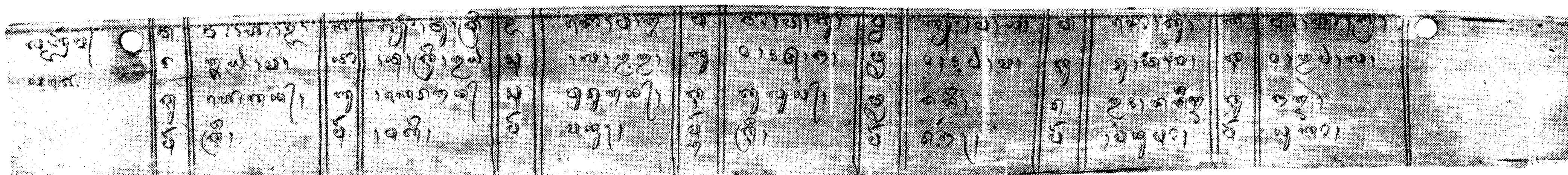
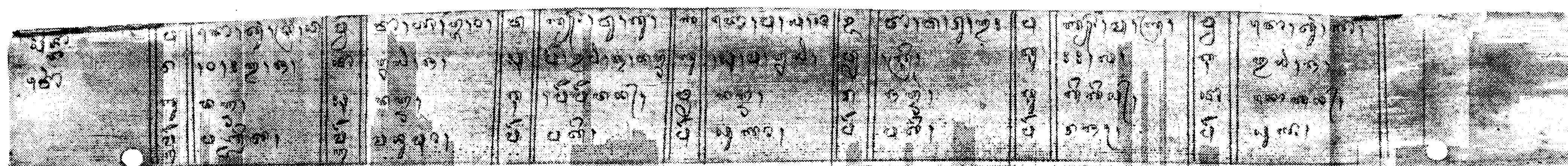


PLATE 22. Boards of the palmleaf manuscript Carita Yusup. JAV 10.

PLATE 23. Palmleaf manuscript on divination. JAV (Bal) 4.

PLATE 24. Tingkah ing Iman. JAV 2.

PLATE 25. Boards of the Javanese palmleaf manuscript Tingkah ing Iman. JAV 2.

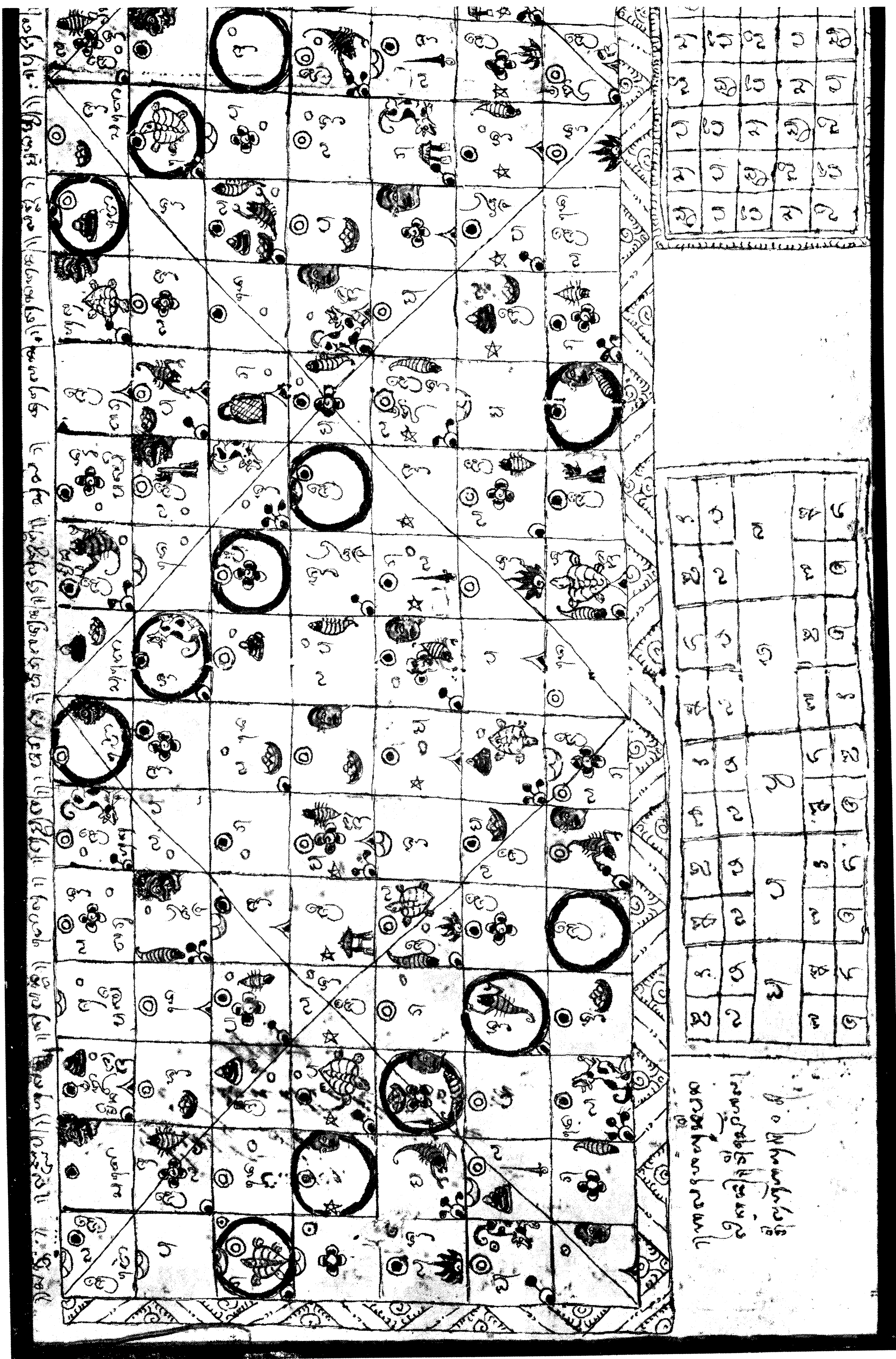


PLATE 26. Divination table (calendar) on Chinese paper, left half. JAV (Bal) 5.

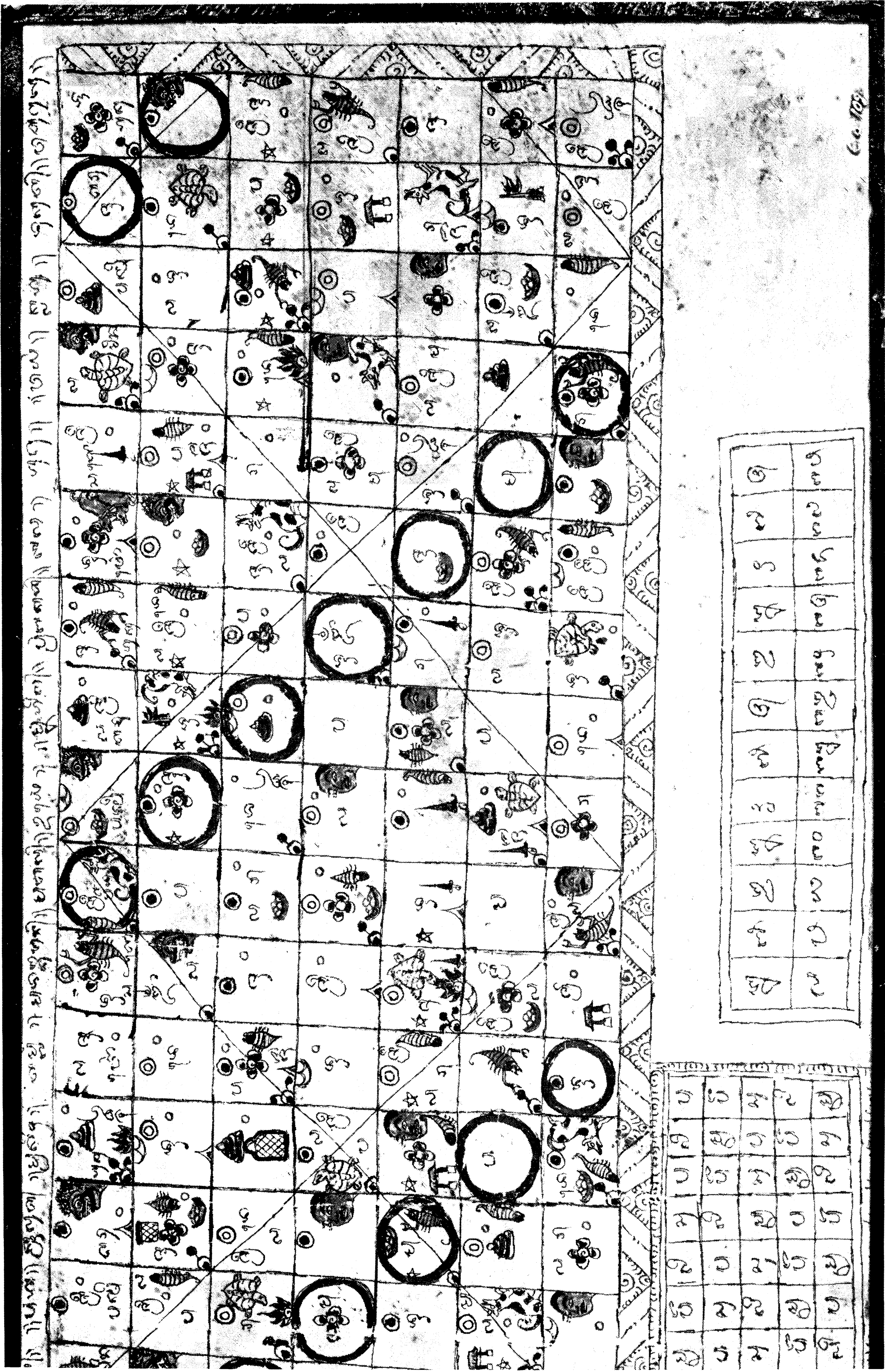


PLATE 27. Divination table (calendar) on Chinese paper, right half. JAV (Bal) 5.

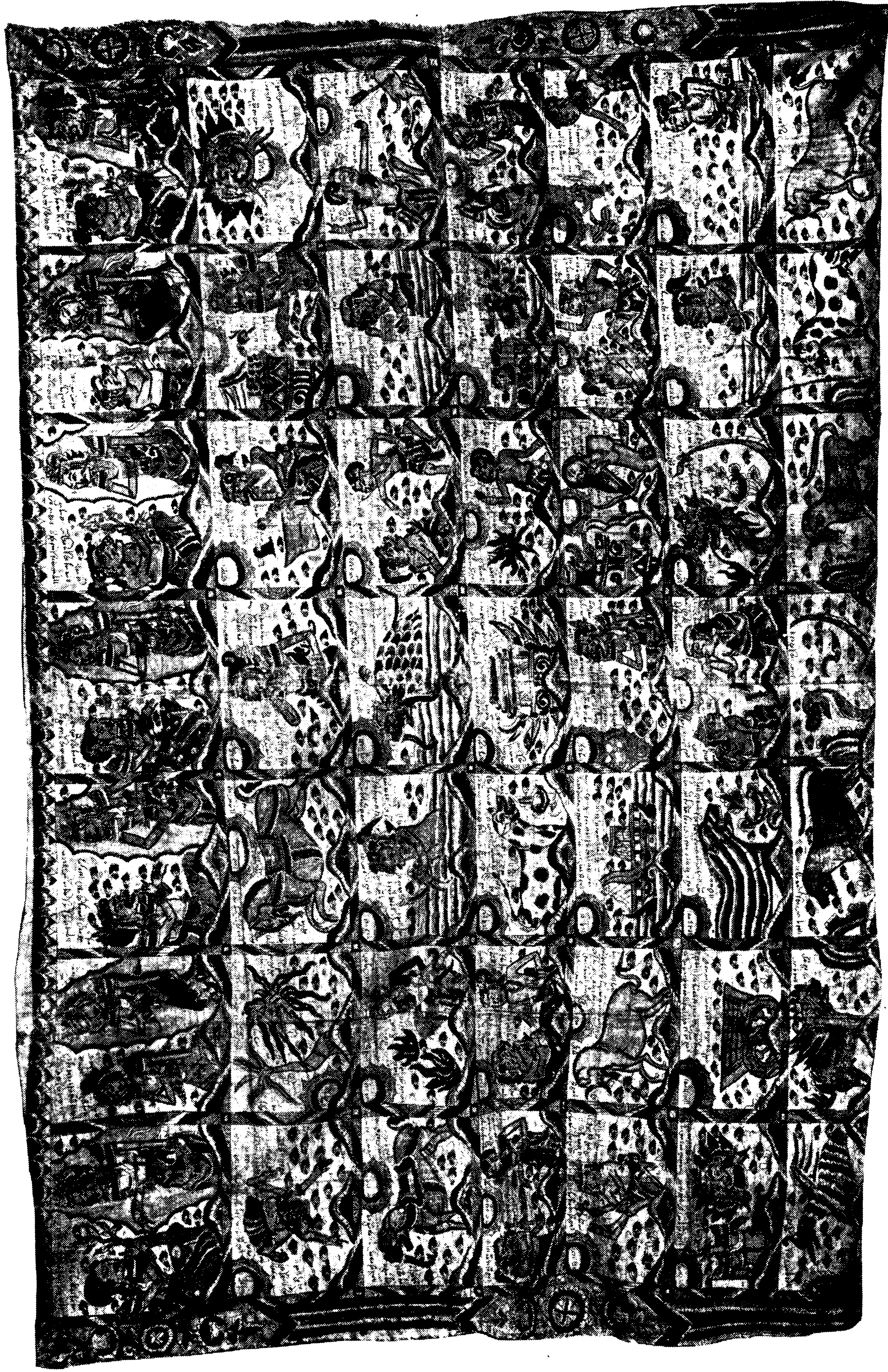


PLATE 28. Illustrated divination table, *Palalintangan*, on cotton textile, polychrome. JAV (Bal) 6.

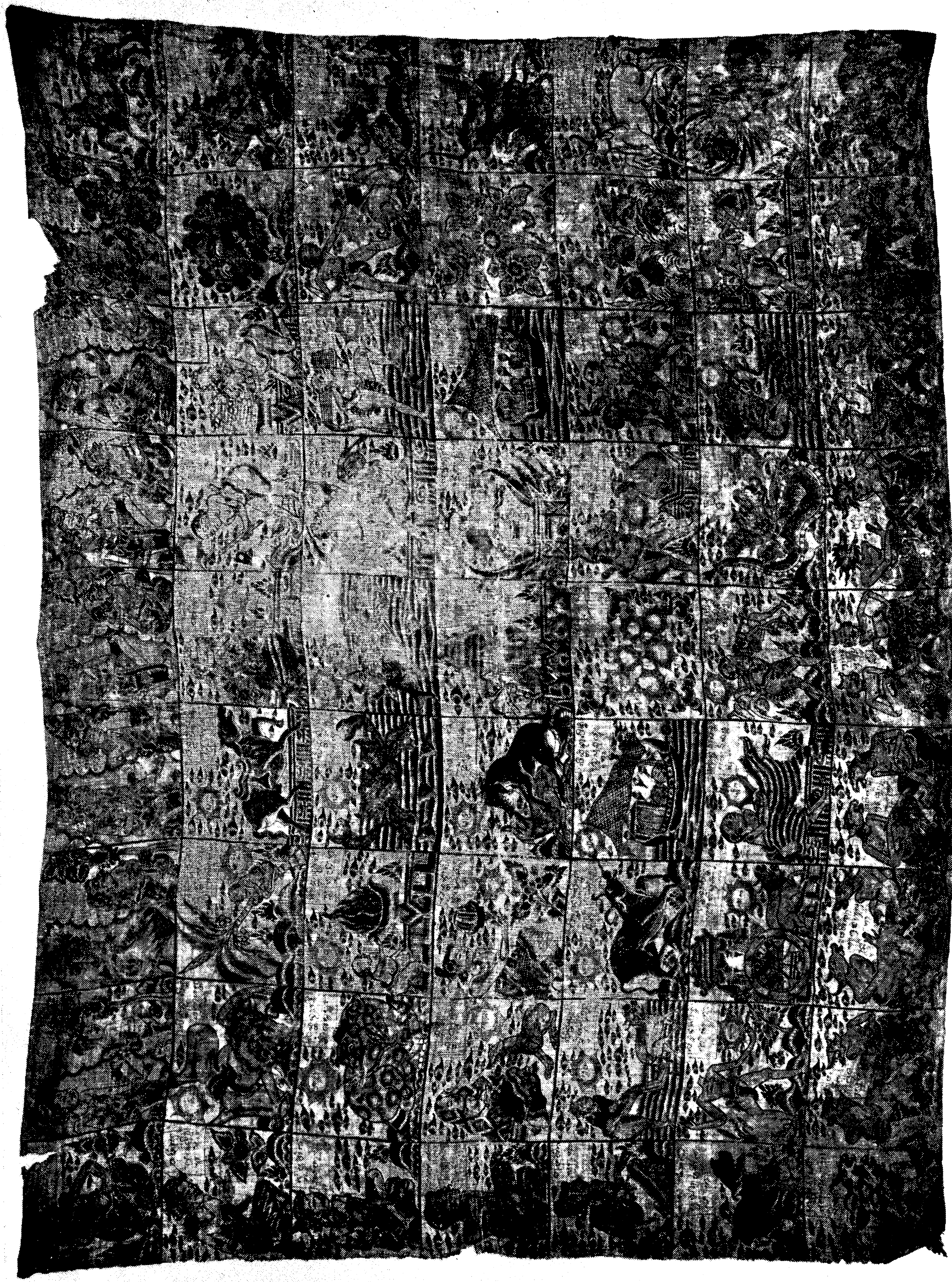


PLATE 29. Illustrated divination table, *Palalintangan*, on cotton textile, polychrome. JAV (Bal) 7.

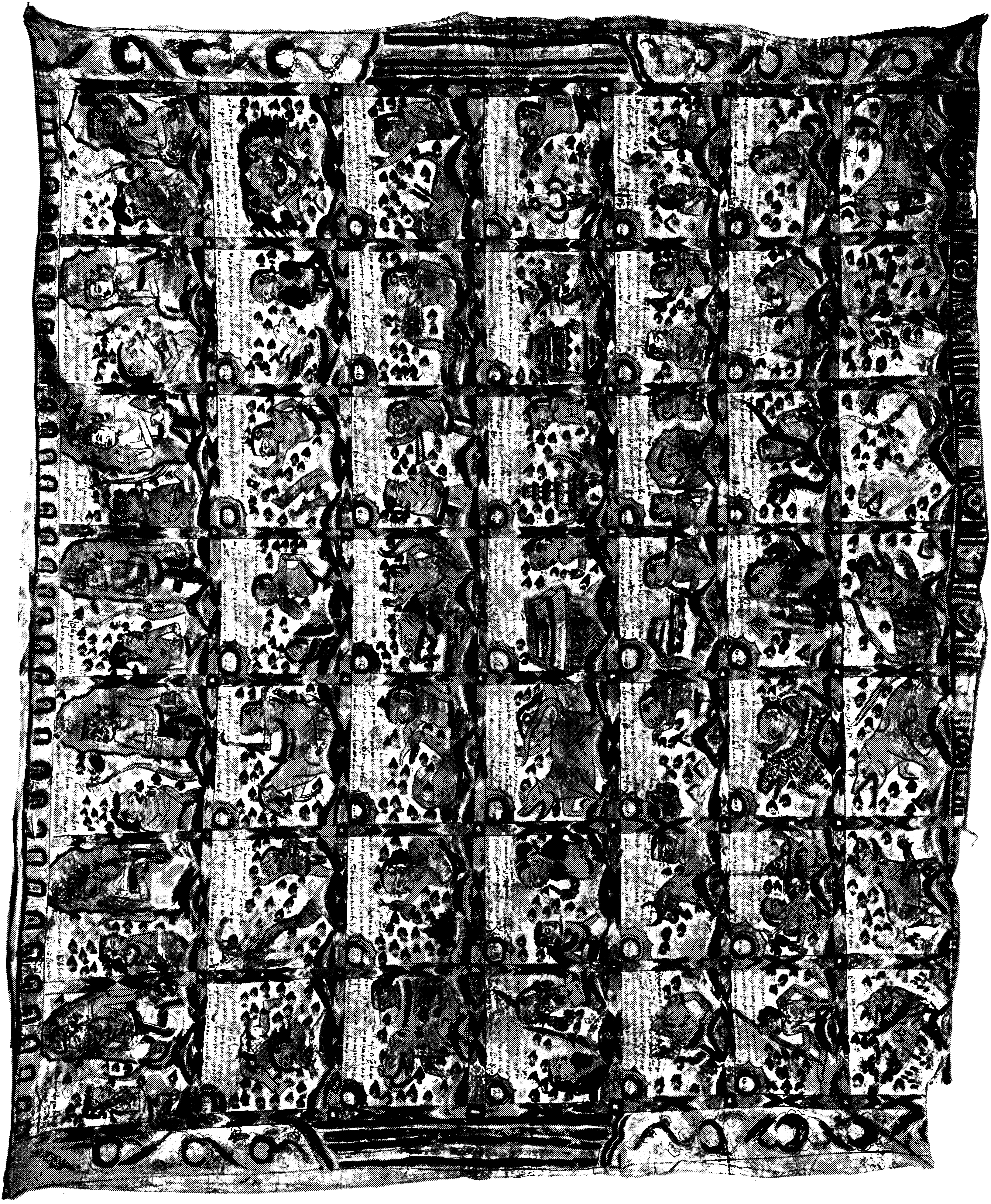


PLATE 30. Illustrated divination table, *Palalintangan*, on cotton textile, polychrome. JAV (Bal) 8.



PLATE 31. Wayang tale from Kélantan, polychrome illustration. MALAY (Arab) 3.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

وبالله نستعين بالله على نهبوا كمدن در فدايه كنهو يله اولهم هي اورغ
هندق منفر كن حكايت زمان دهولو كال در فدر تر اسكل راج ۲ نهبوا اد سورغ راج
در فدر اسكل راج ۲ دالم نكوي عجم ترالو بسر كرا جانن ايه دان نمات راج نراد بخه دان
اداله تعلقن دالم حكم فرنتهش ايه اتسكل فنجور وتانه عجم سموان دباوه حكمن
در فدر اسكل نكوي دان دوس دان كمفغ دان نكوي سموان كرا جان نراد بخه ايت
ترالو بسر دان اسكل نكوي يا ايت در فدر اسكل نكوي عجم نمات نكوي راج نراد بخه ايت
نكوي عدن دان دباوه راجيت كفوله اورغ وزيرت يغبس ۲ دان كفوله اورغ
فول راج يغبس ۲ مرنه دباوه تخت كرا جانن ايه دان سورغ مغكوبوي يغب مرنه
اتسكل راج ۲ ايه ايله راج يغبمته بسر كالي ۲ در فدر اسكل راج ۲ يغب ايه مكراداله
نمات مغكوبوي ايه كنهند دان ادباكي مغكوبوي كنهند ايه سورغ انت فرمضون
يغبمته ساغه ايلقن دان چيتقن تباداد بنديغنان كور غفون خدماي ايه دان
بايك ساغه روفان دان ترالو وانده اسكل صيفتن كفه بر چلق كوايبر متان دان
اسكل انت جايك تاغنان دشن هاكوس كره دشن لينقن دان بولو مغسوت ملنق

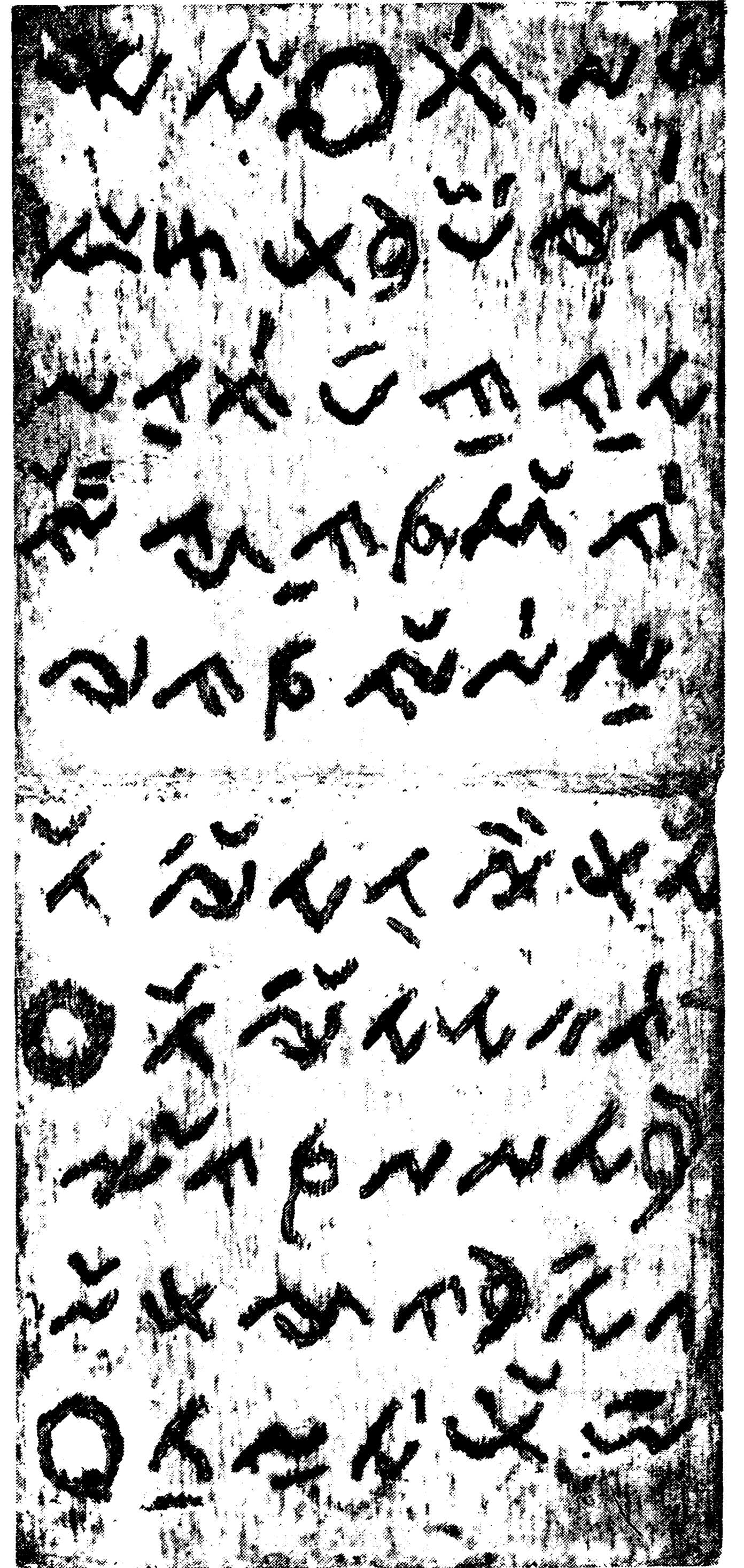


PLATE 32. Hikayat Zādbakht. MALAY (Arab) 1.

PLATE 33. Lampung manuscript on fighting-cocks. LAMPUNG 1.



PLATE 34. Portrait of Mads Lange, drawn by a Balinese artist.

Handwritten text in Malay script on a palm leaf, likely a letter or document. The text is written in a cursive style and appears to be a personal message.

Handwritten text in Malay script on a palm leaf, likely a letter or document. The text is written in a cursive style and appears to be a personal message.

PLATE 35. Letter sent to Mads Lange by his Balinese wife. MALAY (Bal) 1 recto.

Handwritten text in Malay script on a palm leaf, likely a letter or document. The text is written in a cursive style and appears to be a personal message.

Handwritten text in Malay script on a palm leaf, likely a letter or document. The text is written in a cursive style and appears to be a personal message.

PLATE 36. Letter sent to Mads Lange by his Balinese wife. MALAY (Bal) 1 verso.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a letter or document fragment, showing several lines of text.

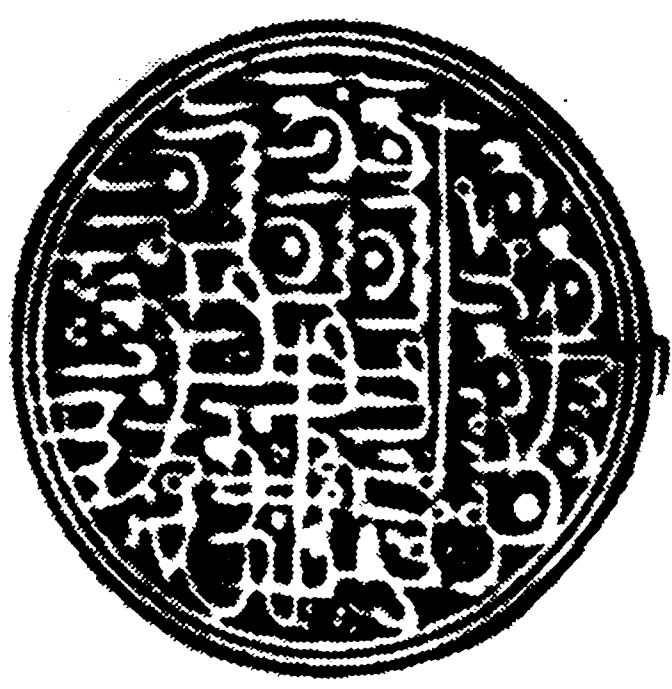
Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a letter or document fragment, showing several lines of text.

PLATE 37. Letter sent to Mads Lange by a ruler of a petty state. BAL 2.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a letter or document fragment, showing several lines of text.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a letter or document fragment, showing several lines of text.

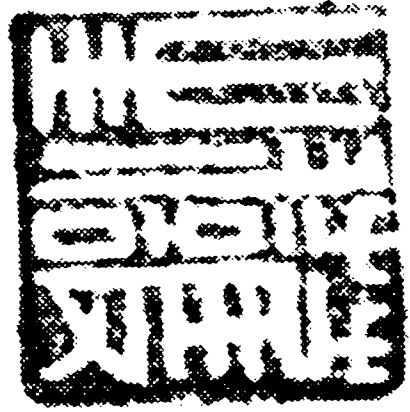
PLATE 38. Letter sent to Mads Lange by a lady. BAL 3.



این صورت میساکن تونس دان اخلاص درپرد فادک سری سلطان ابوالفتح دبنتن یغ مغفون کن تحت فکر جان دالونگری بنان خلافت ملکه
وصیر اعناق اعاده ملکه دافع کفدر راج دانمراء یغ نام راج کرس تین الفراج فری دهری یغ مغفون کن تحت فکر جان دالونگری
دانمراء راج یغ تو مشهور کاکه برانی دالونگری بنان الفراج ایاله راج یغ امت بغشوان سرت سستیوان دانمراء جغت
قدیم رنت سبک فکر جان دالونگری سرت مغلا کون استعاده راج ۲ دالونگری دانمراء ادفون کمپین دهری ایت بهو
سورخ دان بغلس درپرد راج کرس تین ایت شله سمقیله کفدر راج فادک سری سلطان دبنتن دغش سمقران مکل افیل دیو کاکه سری
ایت درپرد مترب سمربقه باو باو وون یغ امت هرثم درپرد کستور دان عنبر اکون مغتاکن ورتکان تونس دان اخلاص دان هندیک برکاسه
کسپین شندان بارغ مقصود راج کرس تین یغ ترست دالونگری ایت شله دکه تو پله اوله فادک سری سلطان دبنتن فادک
سری سلطان فون تولالوله شحکت سبب مندغ ورتکان راج کرس تین یغ ترست دالونگری ایت سبر مولاد فون دایج کرس تین
هندیک نمند تان دالونگری بنان اکون تمغتی کفنتن دانمراء دوق دبنتن کران هندیک بنیاد دالونگری بنان سنن لاله فادک سری سلطان
مهری تان دهری کفنداک اوله کفنتن دانمراء ایت سرت برفا فرججین فادک سری سلطان کفند کفنتن دانمراء یغ دوق دبنتن ایت سرت
یغ کرسورق دالونگری فرججین ایت سبر مول فادک سری سلطان نمند کفند راج کرس تین جول جوالی ویت بیل فدیغ ماس کمثل
بالون کسین سکیر اوت بیل ایت سرتش فیکل دان دمیکن لاک فلور بیل بسر شندان فادک سری سلطان ممبر معلوم کفند راج کرس تین
دهول کال کفنتن حد لومند کفند آقایی جکر دان باقن لادایت سرتس بهار دان توج فوله اینهمهار نمند

این سوره قدیم است که توحید دان اخلاص چهره فادک سری سلطان ابو الفتح دینگری بن بن خلیل الله ملک و سلطان
و ابدا عدله و احسانه سمعی کیران کفدرج کرستیان کویتش اتق راج قری حری بیغ مغموکن انس تحت سکل کر جان دالم
نکری دامتک بیغ دکر نیای الله سبحانه کیران دای دتمباه کبشن دان کملیان قدتیف ۲ ماس سیغ دان مالم دان بیغ دلمکن
کیران دالم دنیا این چهره فدرج ۲ بیغ دهول قد مرینه کن سکل رعیتش کارن ملکون استعاده کما نیکن دالم نکری
دان بیغ امت عملیهار کفد سکل اویغ بنیای دان اتق دایغ سهران دغن فله ران بیغ سمرن دالم دنیا این ادفون کجین چهره فایت
بهو سوره دان بعکس چهره فدرج کرستیان کویتش بیغ دبا وای اوله کفیتش حدکن بیغ جاد کویتش دینگری کلغ ایت نله سمفیله کیران
کفد فادک سری سلطان دینتن دغن سمرن مک ترالوله سکت چهره فدهات فادک سری سلطان کن منبر غرقان
راج کرستیان بیغ تر مذکور دالم سوره دان کما برایت دان نله دکه توید کیران اوله فادک سری سلطان دینتن سبر مول راج کرستیان
کویتش برکیم بیل پسر سفوکل نله دیر مال اوله فادک سری سلطان دغن سیرب ترم سبر مول لاک فادک سری سلطان مجری
معلوم کفدرج کرستیان کن حال اوله کویتش بیغ دوق دینتن بیغ برنام فیتور قبول کن کینتن فیتور میکل ایت مک دهول فادک سری
سلطان سوره منجول تمبا کنگری کلغ دواتش دوقوله فیکل دبا وای اوله سوره فیتور میکل برنام کفیتش و نلکه کاک کا یو کنگری کلغ
مک سکارغ این هفتیق دیملکن هرک تمبا ایت اوله فیتور کلغ بیغ برنام مغنیقوب سام ۲ موافقه دغن فیتور قبول ایت تیاد
مجری معلوم کفد فادک سری سلطان براف سوچه لاکو جول تمبا ایت دینگری کلغ ادفون بیغ مجری معلوم کفد فادک سری سلطان
کن هرک تمبا ایت دینگری کلغ آد سات اویغ دامتک دوق ای دینگری کلغ برنام این اندرک ایتول بیغ مجری معلوم کفد
فلک سری سلطان هرک تمبا ایت دینگری کلغ سبر مول لاک فیتور قبول دان فیتور مغنیقوب باق ۲ ای بووت هار هرق
کفد فادک سری سلطان تیاد ای ماوی مقیکت فداستعاده کما نیکن نکری سبر مول لاک ای دی ممباو دکاغ کائن تیاد ای

[illegible]



Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a business letter. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The ink is dark and the paper shows signs of age and wear.

PLATE 41. Business letter sent by the harbourmaster of Bantén to the King of Denmark, 1672. MALAY (Jav) 1.

Handwritten text in a script, likely a contract or legal document, written on a piece of parchment or paper. The text is arranged in several lines, with some words appearing to be in a different script or dialect than others, possibly indicating a mix of languages or a specific regional dialect. The handwriting is cursive and somewhat stylized.

King Man/bazantie Contract 800 Gaf.
prior at Linnarum 59 March

PLATE 42. Contract concluded by a man of business of Bantén with the Danish Captain and Factor, before 1648. .JAV 19.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

JAVANESE AND BALINESE CULTURAL HISTORY¹⁾

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 Bårå-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 Pěksi*, 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 *Īmān*, 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 Radèn Pañji, Prince of Koripan (i.e.: the Country of Life). The theory that the Pañji tales are founded on an ancient indigenous myth in which Pañji 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) 3). Written in Malay, in Kēlantān, 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 Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, 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.

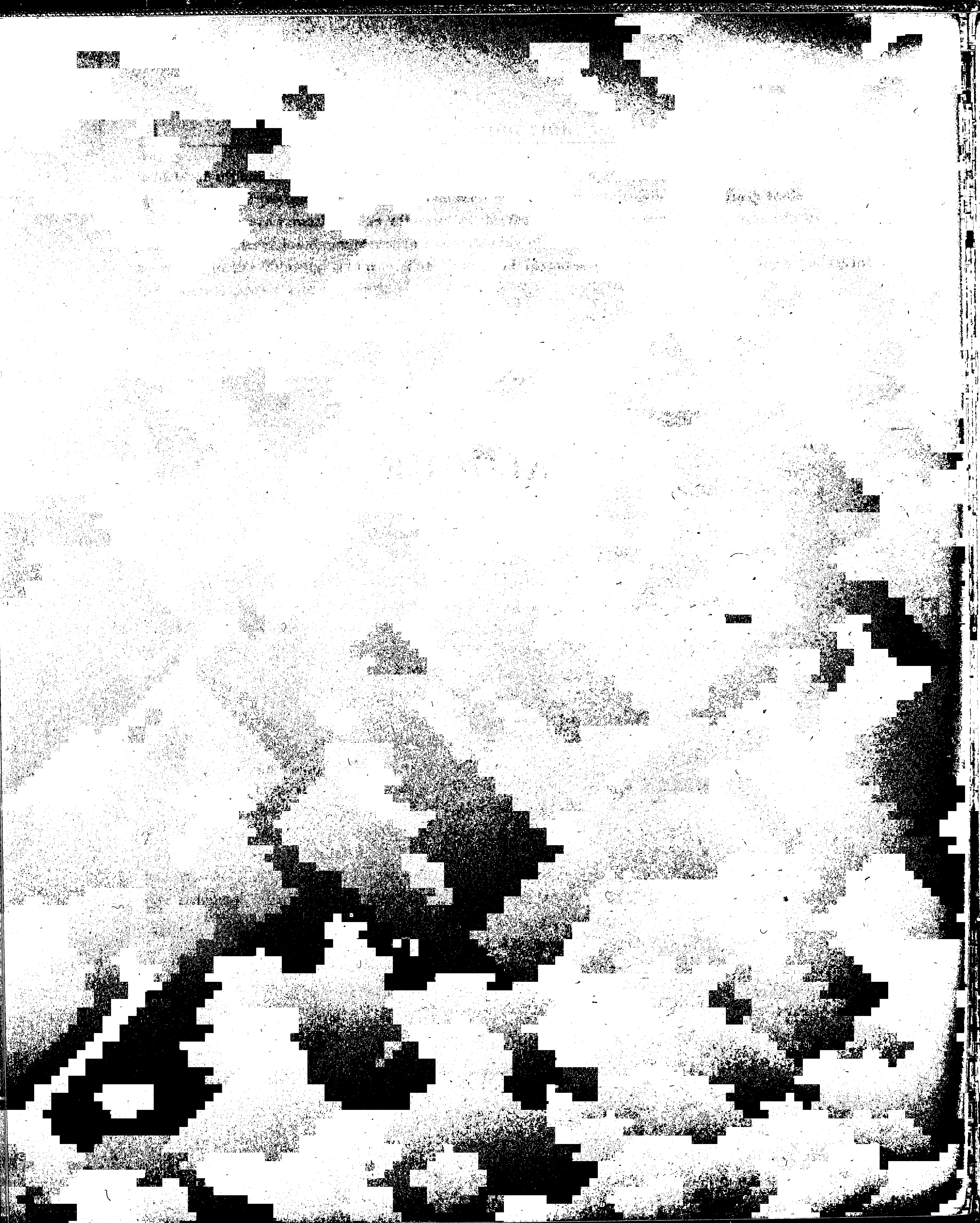
The collection of Malay and Balinese letters left by Mads Lange which is registered at the end of the book (MALAY (Bal) 1–2 and BAL 1–5) is, however, interesting in this respect, because Mads Lange was a pioneer of international economic penetration in South-East Asia in the middle of the nineteenth 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 Bantēn, 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 Bantěn 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 NAERSSSEN†

2017/11/10 10:10

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

OLD JAVANESE CHARTERS

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

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

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

The International Congress of Orientalists held in Brussels in 1938 gave me the opportunity to contact Dr. K. Wulff for information about Old Javanese copper plates in Denmark. This led to a 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 Völker-museum 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 Javanese, Balinese, Sundanese, Batak, Lampung and Buginese alphabets.

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

As a rule an Old Javanese charter consisted of more than one plate. The plates were arranged in the same manner as the leaves of a palmleaf manuscript (see the illustrations, Plate 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 inscriptions are incomplete. A set of ten or more plates could easily lose one or more plates in the course of time. The Klampenborg collection did not escape this fate: among the ten plates there is only one complete text.

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

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

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

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

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

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

OLD JAV 6–8 (see Plates 9–13) constitute a royal proclamation (*ujar haji*) addressed to “all the inhabitants of the free estate Watukura”. Remarkable are the four *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,⁵ an original inscription, one side badly obliterated or perhaps purposely erased and the other side containing five lines of the end of a *praçāsti* in favour of the merchants' community (*baṇi-grama*) of Watukura.

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

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

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

From the contents of the 'Klampenborg plates' some conclusions may be drawn. All charters or parts of charters — except OLD JAV 10 — mention Watukura, a territory in Central Java from which king Balitung's family originated. King Balitung was *Raka* of Watukura. The data provided by his charter of A.D. 902 (OLD JAV 1–5) are most interesting in this respect. This charter deals with king Balitung's *dharma pañasthulan*, his ancestral shrine or dynastic sanctuary⁷. It was situated at Watukura, which was an old administrative territory.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It seems clear to me that the Watukura charter (OLD JAV 6-8) is a falsification. It appears that it is a counterfeit made in imitation of some old inscription which possibly dated from the Kaḍiri 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 *watĕk hantulan*, "support", of the communities of Babadan etc. be continued as it had been fixed by king Balitung in A.D. 902. As the priests and their families who officiated in the sacred precincts of the sanctuary were economically dependent upon the services of the local *rama*, without this confirmation the sacerdotal community (ruled by an ordained abbot, who may have claimed to be descended from king Balitung himself) might have gone to ruin. This would have been detrimental to the Majapahit king's interests, for his royal authority in the country was in part based upon the sacerdotal communities who lived in his states. It is a fact that Watukura is mentioned (as a *kasugatan kabajradaran akrama*, a domain of the thunderbolt bearing Tantric clergy observing the custom of marriage) in the Nāgara Kṛtāgama, the panegyric of king Hayam Wuruk of Majapahit dated A.D. 1365, in canto 77, stanza 3. In "Java in the XIVth Century", vol. IV, 1962, p. 237, Rouffaer's hypothesis on the location of Watukura (in the district of Pacitan in Central Java) is mentioned.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Charter of King Balitung.

OLD JAV 1–5 (K 1–5).

This charter, dated Śaka 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 × 31.1 cm. (See Plates 1–8).

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

OLD JAV 1 verso (Plate 1):

1. // o // swasti śakā warṣātītā, 824, śrawaṇamāsa, tithi, pañcadaśi cūklapaksa, pā, pa, aṇ, wāra,

2. *maḍaṅkuṇan, sapṭakāraṇa wiṣṭi, pūrwasādhānak-
ṣatra, ḥiwayoga, tatkāla mahārāja rake watukura*
3. *dyaḥ balituṅ, ḥrī iḥwarakeṣawotsawatungga, maweḥ
panīma, mā, kā 1, i rāmanta i watukura, parṇnaḥ*
4. *dharmma paṇasthūlan ri sira, aṅkēn purṇnama niṅ
bhadrawāda, kabhaktyana de rāmanta i watu kura,
kunēn ikaṅ sawa*
5. *ḥ, gagā, rēnēk, kēbuan, ya tikā mijilakna pirak, mā 1,
iṅ sa-rahi, duwan babadan, mā 3,*

Translation:

Hail to Ye; 824 ḥaka years have passed. In the month of ḥrawaṇa. On the fifteenth day of the shining half-moon. Pāniron, Paiṅ, Aṅgarawāra. Maḍaṅkuṇan. Seventh Kāraṇa. Position of the moon: Pūrwasādhā. Declination: ḥiwa.¹

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

OLD JAV 2 recto (Plate 2):

1. *i matapanas, mā sū 1, mā 4, payaman, mā, sū 1, mā
4, buhara suwul, mā 5, buhara uṇḍuḥ, mā 3,*
2. *buhara tīnaḥ, mā 5, buhara hoyā, mā 5, buhara pa-
ṇanten, mā 2, bareṅ, mā 10, muaṅ paṅrāga ska*
3. *r, mā, ku 2, bras, ku 1, riṅ sa lawaṅ, muwaḥ mā,
ku 1, bras, ku 1, riṅ sa lawaṅ, kāryya panaman
pūrṇnama niṅ*
4. *jyeṣṭa, muwaḥ mā, ku 1, bras, ku 1, riṅ sa lawaṅ,
pūrṇnama niṅ cetra, muaṅ ikaṅ rawi galuḥ i babadan,*
5. *maweḥ timba timban, ḍulaṇan, akṣeṇya i bhaṭāra
dharmma muaṅ bukakuṇḍur, pakna pamūjā rāma*

Translation:

Matapanas is to contribute 1 mā sū, 4 mā; Payaman 1 mā sū, 4 mā; Buhara Suwul 5 mā; Buhara Uṇḍuḥ 3 mā; Buhara Tēngah 5 mā; Buhara Hoya 5 mā; Buhara 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

and unpolished rice to the value of 1 ku per household for the Panaman festival on the day of the full moon in the month of Jyaiṣṭa. Further 1 mā ku and unpolished rice to the value of 1 ku per household on the day of the full moon in the month of Caitra.

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

OLD JAV 2 verso (Plate 3):

1. *nta i bhaṭāra dharmma, ḥeṣanya, maraha i saṅ karm-
manya, mamūjā, upakalpa, dewakarmma, anapū,
dewadāsa,*
2. *pasiṅhir, sahana saṅ karmma kummit bhaṭāra ma-
kadṛwya ya, muaṅ gaway bhūṣaṇa de rāmanta, bā-
hurākṣa, kira*
3. *t bāhu, bukaḥrī, pakna ri bhaṭāra dharmma, muaṅ
paṅguhaniṅ tahl, sū 3, mā 14, ku 2, mijil riṅ aḥuji-
māsa,*
4. *muwaḥ sū 3, mā 14, ku 2, mijil riṅ cetra, rāma i
rikaṅ kāla, tumarima ikaṅ mās panīma, winkas saṅ*
5. *druma rāma ni widdha, tuha kalaṅ saṅ jāti rāma ni
santa, gusti saṅ jātu karāman i ḥruta, paruḥjar si
dhari si dūta, wa*

Translation:

to the god of the foundation. The remains (of the offerings) shall belong to the persons who take part in the work: those who officiate at the offerings, at the (*upakalpa*?) sacred functions, those who sweep (the temple ground), the servants of the temple, the *pasiṅhir*, 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 ḥrī symbol in honour of the god of the foundation.

The assessment of the *tahl* (tax) (totalling): 3 sū, 14 mā, 2 ku shall be available in the month of Aḥwayuj, and also 3 sū, 14 mā, 2 ku in the month of Caitra. The village elders who received the demarcation fee were at that time: the *wiṇēkas* (the commissioned person) sang Druma, father of Widdha; the *tuha* Kalang (the head of the Kalangs) sang Jāti, father of Santa; the *gusti* sang Jātu, father of ḥruta; the *paruḥjar* (the spokesmen) si Dhari, si Dūta;

OLD JAV 3 *recto* (Plate 4):

1. *riga si teja, dāridra, rāmānamarata saṅ gariyan saṅ subhara saṅ windawa, nāhan kweḥ ni rāmanta i watuku*
2. *ra, tumarima ikanāṅ mās panīma saṅke haji, muaṅ milu sumusuk ikanāṅ dharmma, ika ta kabeḥ kapwa byapā*
3. *ra i bhaṭāra dharmma i watukura, ya tika tan kata-mana de saṅ mañilala ḍrwyā haji, mīṣra paramīṣra, wulu wulu*
4. *prakāra, kriṅ, paḍēmapuy, kula pamgēt, wadīhati, makudur, tawan, kula paṅkur, pagaran, kawur hyaṅ,*
5. *taji, tapahaji, airhaji, malandaṅ, lēa, lab lab, manimpiki, tuhālup, tuhadagaṅ, maguñjai, maṅrumbai*

Translation:

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

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

OLD JAV 3 *verso* (Plate 5):

1. *watu tajēm, salwit, pakalaṅkang, guñjan, tuṇḍan, salaran, piniṅlai, katanggaran, pamṛṣi, hulu*
2. *n haji, paranakan, rāma jātaka, wiharaswami, parmmasān, pamasāṅ, awuran, urutan, ḍampulan, siṅkpa*
3. *n, puluṅ paḍi, mapaḍahi, walyan, widu mañidun, kecaka, tarimba, tapukan, mabika, wargga i dalēm,*
4. *paṇḍe mās, tāmra, kaṅsa, wsi, ḍaḍap, amarangi, uṇḍahagi, atwih, amahat, amanantēn, aṅu*
5. *ge, agilingan, aṅulan, jorog, kuñjalan, tētēpan, ityewamādi, pāt ika lwirnya, muwaḥ wnaṅ sama*

Translation:

watu tajēm, *salwit*, *pakalaṅkang*, *guñjan*, *tuṇḍan*, *salaran*, *piniṅlai*, *katanggaran*, *pamṛṣi*, *hulun haji* (the lord's slaves), *paranakan* (half-castes; children born of marriages of persons belonging to different castes or to different races), *rāma jātaka*, *wihara swami* (chiefs of temples), *parmmasān*, *pamasang*, *awuran* (sowers), *urutan* (planters of seedlings), *ḍampulan*, *siṅkēpan* (the two last-mentioned groups engaged in agriculture), *pulung paḍi* (harvesters), *mapaḍahi* (drummers), *walyan* (sorcerers), *widu mangidung* (ballad-singers), *kecaka* (kicaka-dancers), *tarimba* (tarimba-dancers), *tapukan* (mask-dancers), *mabika*, *warga i dalēm* (court officials), *paṇḍe mās*, *tāmra*, *kaṅsa*, *wsi* (the four last-mentioned persons being, respectively, gold-, copper-, brass-, and blacksmiths), *ḍaḍap* (wrought-iron workers), *amarangi* (dyers of ornamental garments), *uṇḍahagi* (carpenters), *atwih*, *amahat* (engravers), *amanantēn*, *anguge*, *agilingan*, *angulang*, *jorong*, *kuñjalan*, *tētēpan*, etc. comprising four categories. Moreover is empowered [the rest must have followed on a missing plate '4']

OLD JAV 4 *recto* (Plate 6):

1. *babadan, matapanas, payaman, buhara suwul, buhara uṇḍuh, buhara tñah, buhara hoyā, buhara pa*
2. *ñanten, bareṅ, watēk antulan, i dharmma hajī watukura, tumut krama saṅ hanēṅ kon patiḥ wahuta rāma ka*
3. *bayan, muaṅ rāma tpi siriṅ kabeḥ, matuha manwām laki laki wadwan kaniṣṭa maddhya mottama, kapwa ma*
4. *naḍah tan hana kantuna riñ irusan kla kla ambēl ambēl, kasyan, lēt lēt, bhaṇḍa kaṇḍi paliḍwa parisukha*
5. *sañ amañan, tahu lan wagalan haryyas kuluban suṇḍa rumbaḥ ityewamādi, tan hana kakuraṅ, maṅka*

Translation:

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

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

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

OLD JAV 4 verso (Plate 7):

1. *na taṇ haraṇ haraṇ, ḍeṇ kakap, kaḍiwas, taṇiri, hnus, huran, biluṇ luṇ prakāra, paripūrṇna ikā kabeh,*
2. *pāṇa siddhu mastawa kiṇca kilan twak paripūrṇna ikā kabeh, mataṇ yan tan parāryyan saṇ manadaha-kēn tahapa*
3. *n, mataṇ ya n wijah sira kabeh, muaṇ men men, si patinḥalan, mabañol, si patibañcil, muaṇ si bari*
4. *pacēḥ, atapukan, si giran hyasēn, matēkapakēn sira kabeh, dinmakan kupan, 2, sowaṇ sowaṇ, i tlas nira ka*
5. *beḥ manadaha, maṇḍiri saṇ makudur wadihati patiḥ pramukha, kapu⁵ manēmbah i sārarahah ḥrī mahārāja, muaṇ ra*

Translation:

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

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

When at last all had finished eating and drinking, the *makudur*, the *wadihati*, and the *patiḥ*, 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. *tiṇkaḥ samya haji watukura, // o //, iṇ ḥaka, 1270, aṣādhā māsa, tithi, ekadaḥi ḥuklapakṣa, pā, wa,*
2. *ca, wāra, julun, // o //,*

Translation:

conditions within the Lord of Watukura's domain.

In the Ḥaka year 1270. In the month of *aṣādhā*. On the eleventh of the shining half-moon. Pan. Ca. Julung⁶.

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

Watukura charter

OLD JAV 6–8 (K 6–8).

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

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

OLD JAV 6 verso (Plate 9):

1. *// o // ujar haji kmitananikaṇ warggā sīma i watukura sa pañjiṇ thāni kabeh, makā*
2. *di ṇ kabayan, makamuka ikañ apañji kāla jaya, sambandha, gati wargga sīma i*
3. *watukura, an humatur anēmbahi pāduka ḥrī mahārāja, makasopana i*
4. *ka mapañji kālajaya, makanaryyama i rakryan kanuruhan mapañji siḥhā*
5. *di, lāwan rakryan mapatiḥ mapañji tansaḥ, aḥhyañ i ka susuk sīmā ni*

Translation:

(This is) the Lord's command to be observed by¹ the inhabitants of the free estate of Watukura, including everything in that area, first and foremost the *kabayan*,

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

OLD JAV 7 *recto* (Plate 10):

1. *kañ i watu kura sa pañjiṅ thāni, mantēna wiṣaya hantulan, tan paḍṛwya hajya, mwaṅ mantēnā*
2. *tahila paṇaṣṭāṅgi, an sīma swatantra lpas ta pwa, pāduka ḥrī mahārāja pwa sira ta*
3. *n wnaṅ tan wawa rēñēḥ ri paṅhyaṅ nikañ apañji kālajaya, makanimitta n kato*
4. *n kapagiḥ ni kabhaktin wargga sīma makamuka ikañ apañji kālajaya i pāduka*
5. *ḥrī mahārāja, mwaṅ kadharmmotsahan rakryan kanuruhan, lāwan kasinḥa*

Translation:

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

OLD JAV 7 *verso* (Plate 11):

1. *parākraman rakryan apatiḥ, mamrihakēn i pāduka ḥrī mahārāja, mataṅnya n inu*
2. *bhaya sanmata paṅhyaṅ wargga sīma, makamuka ikañ apañji kālajaya, de pāduka ḥrī*
3. *mahārāja, an makacihna wargga sīma wineḥ makmitana saṅ hyaṅ ajñā haji tinaṇḍa jalasamū*
4. *halañcana, mratisubaddhakna pagēḥ nyānugraha pāduka ḥrī mahārāja i wargga sīma i wa*
5. *tu kura, an kewala susuk sīma swatantra lpas ta pwa ikañ i watu kura, ta*

Translation:

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

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

OLD JAV 8 *recto* (Plate 12):

1. *n kādgadgana de niṅ wineḥ hantulan mne hlam tka ri dlāha niṅ dlāha, mwaṅ mantēnā tahi*
2. *la paṇaṣṭāṅgi, an kewala sīma swatantra lpas kapwekañ i watu kura, phalaḥrama nikaṅ*
3. *wargga sīma i watu kura, an susṭubhakti sārī sāyyā⁵ niddhākēn sapaṇḍawuḥ sāra*
4. *pāduka ḥrī mahārāja, nuniweḥ ri hilaṇan i kalēṅ kāniṅ bhūmi jaṅgala, sangkṣe*
5. *panya kapagēhaknanikaṅ wargga sīma i watu kura ta pwa saraṣa saṅ hyaṅ ājñā haji*

Translation:

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

OLD JAV 8 *verso* (Plate 13):

1. *kmitana nikaṅ wargga sīma i watu kura sapañjiṅ thāni, mne hlēm tkāri dlāha niṅ dlāha*
2. *, wkas kara samgēt laṅka mapañji jalādi, kunaṅ ri sḍēnganya n hana nūlahu*
3. *laha anugraha pāduka ḥrī mahārāja i rikaṅ wargga sīma i watu kura, knana*
4. *ya ḍaṇḍa saha panṇaḥ, i wruha nikaṅ wargga sīma i watu kura amagēhakna tan*
5. *sig siguna, /|o|/.*

Translation:

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

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

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

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

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

OLD JAV 9 (Plate 14):

1. *ñula wlañ, wtañ ma-ya rama mga-rus, añalaña sāgara, añujura sāgara, lwir nya luputa riñ pakuda ikañ bañigrama riñ wa*
2. *tukura, pahaliman, tañiran, pawidu, salwir niñabāya kunañ ri sḍañanya n hanā ñulahulahā muñkil muñkilāgruddā raṣa kmi*

3. *tan bañigrama, yan brahmāṇa, kṣatriyā, weṣya, sudra, anak tāni, sakawwañanya, sapapā niñ mahāpataka kāsuktya de*
4. *nikāñ mañruddā kmitan bañigrama mataṇḍa bali-tuñ, samañkā raṣa çrī mahārāja, i wruha bañigrama pagōha tan*
5. *sigan siguṇa // : //*.

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, *tangiran*, minstrels, and all *abhaya*. If anybody acts contrary to or offends or turns against the rules laid down under the privileges granted to this community of merchants, whether a *Brāhmaṇa*, a *Kṣatriya*, a *Vaiçya*, a *Çudra*, 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 *kasuktya* — unknown to me — possibly something like *kapangguhanya* (Cf. O.J.O. XXIII, 7, or CV III, b, 12) should be read.

Siku Lalawa boundaries charter.

OLD JAV 10 (K 10).

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

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

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

OLD JAV 10 recto (Plate 15):

1. *ñan, midör añulwan añidul atūt pagör, asiḍaktan lāwan halañan, muwaḥ mañidul umnör tkeñ sikula*

2. *lawāmluk aṇulwan, pañjaṇ nya, ḍpa, 30, blaḥ, muwaḥ maṇidul saṇkeṇ sikulalawālihan galēṇ lāwan hala*
3. *ṇan, midör aṇulwan akalihan galēṇ lāwan halaṇan, midör aṇidul akalihan galēṇ lāwan halaṇan du*
4. *dug tkeṇ agneya, watös kulumpaṇ kinatigan lāwan halaṇan kidul taratap, maṇulwan saṇke*
5. *agneya, anikulalawā, pañjaṇ nya, ḍpa, 27, midör aṇidul saṇke sikulalawākalihan galēṇ lāwa*
6. *n taratap, dudug maṇidul atūt piṅgir ni kubwan asidaktan lāwan taratap, muwaḥ aṇulwan akalihan*
7. *galēṇ lāwan taratap, muwaḥ midör aṇidul anikulalawā, pañjaṇnya, ḍpa, 19, midör aṇulwan saṇkeṇ siku*
8. *lalawākalihan galēṇ lāwan taratap, midör aṇidul anikulalawā, pañjaṇ nya, ḍpa, 26, akalihan*

OLD JAV 10 verso (Plate 16):

1. *galēṇ lāwan taratap, midör aṇulwan saṇkeṇ sikulalawākalihan galēṇ lāwan taratap, dudug maṇu*

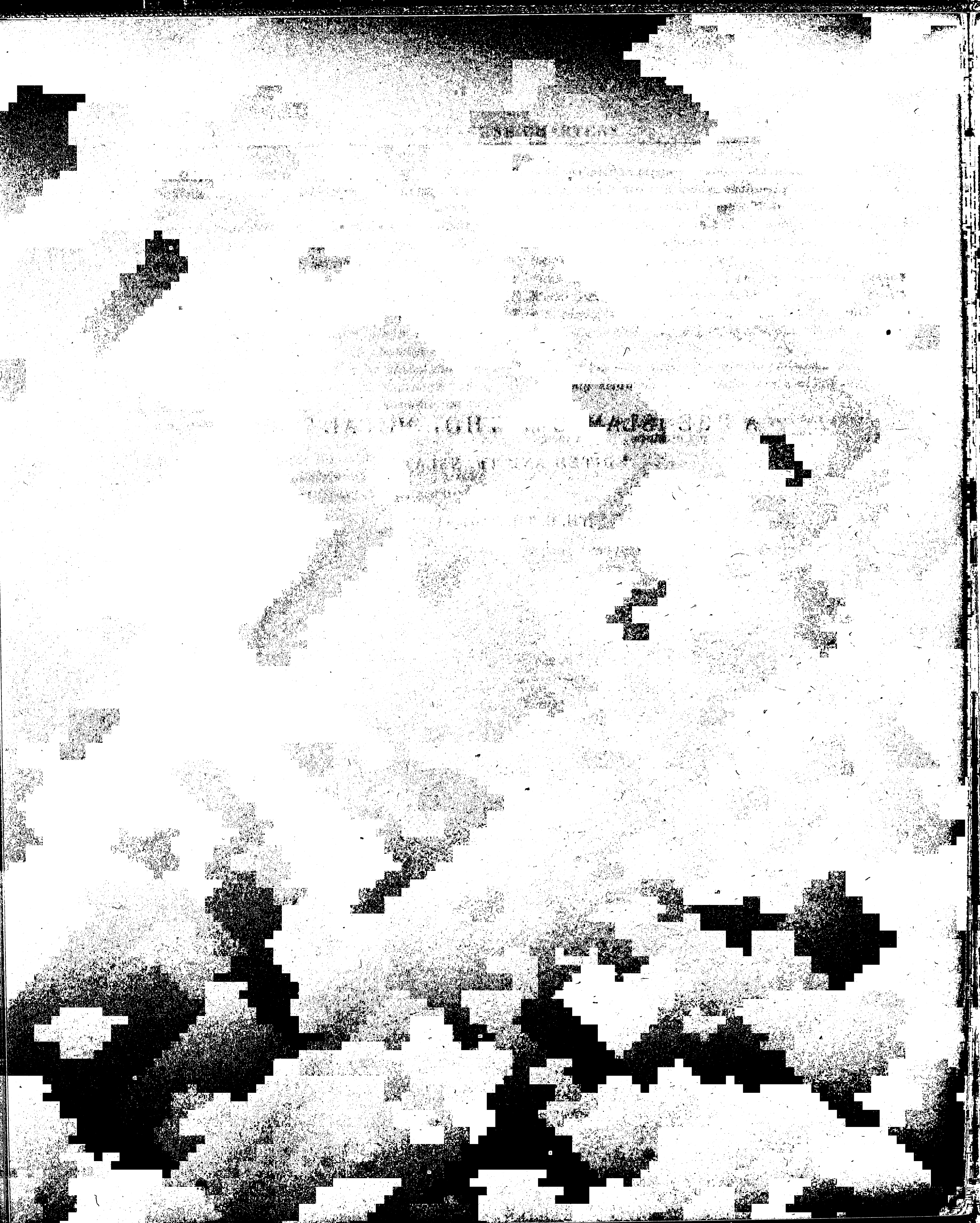
2. *lwan makahīṇan piṅgir niṇ kali wetan, muwaḥ midör aṇidul piṅgir niṇ kali wetan, akalihan galēṇ lāwa*
3. *n taratap, andölēs aṇidul saṇkeṇ kali dudug tkeṇ galēṇ agöṇ kinalihan lāwan taratap midör aṇu*
4. *lwan saṇkeṇ galēṇ agöṇ watös kinalihan lāwan taratap, andölēs aṇulwan atūt galēṇ agöṇ kinalihan*
5. *lāwan ūṣa, midör aṇidul saṇkeṇ galēṇ agöṇ kinalihan lāwan ūṣa, muwaḥ midör aṇetan andölēs makahī*
6. *ṇan piṅgir niṇ lwaḥ kulwan, aṇidul atūt piṅgir niṇ lwaḥ kulwan anikulalawā, pañjaṇ nya, ḍpa, 49, midör aṇu*
7. *lwan saṇkeṇ sikulalawātūt piṅgir tan padrawya lwaḥ saṇ hyaṇ dharmma, midör aṇalor saṇke piṅgir niṇ lwaḥ a*
8. *nikulalawā, pañjaṇ nya, ḍpa, 13, akalihan galēṇ lāwan taratap, aṇulwan saṇkeṇ sikulalawā.*

A PRE-ISLAMIC MYTHOLOGICAL TALE

EDITED AND TRANSLATED

BY

TH. G. TH. PIGEAUD



A PRE-ISLAMIC MYTHOLOGICAL TALE

JAV 1 (C. 1103).

JAV 1 is a fragment of a narrow, oblong copperplate with writing on both sides, registered at the National Museum in 1907. According to the previous owner it was found on Mount Arjunā 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 *akṣaras*. 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 *ŋ* represents the Skr. *anusvāra*, *ñ* the velar nasal *akṣara*. 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 6–10 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 / gēḍaṅ sawit / taḷs / sawit / tēbu sawit / hajunjunṅ tariṅ aranira, haḡe sira muja samadi, jēg pandira s*
2. *lat / saṅ tirtaraga, diṅaren / pukulun / dewa, nora kaki hana kamok / saniṅsun, / hika si kaki riṅ purwa bēnēr*

3. *gunuṅ saṅ yaṅ mahameru haranira tutug / tēka riṅ ṅakasa, yata hika kamosaniṅsun / dinulu sakiṅ kene kaya bahe*
4. *nēm / baḡ saṅ tirtaraga, pukulun / sami deniṅ mok / ta ranak / paduka baṅara dewa hiriki, laḡ kaki kariha*
5. *tan / pa wētra hariṅ sira, mēnēṅ saṅ sēmar denira hamalasakēṅ / , hanam / but / sira bēru kakaliḡ hiṅisen /*
6. *6. jil / tekaṅ toya, mantihanta dene hahēniṅ katonani wi, jēṅēr saṅ tirtaraga, laḡ ta kaki hadusa, paran / ta po*
7. *kaya kaya cakra kan / ḡēg / , wēnaṅ pukulun / liṅoka lamun / sida haniṅ ṅrat / liṅok / tugane si rama yan tatu si den /*
8. *braṅbraṅṅan / luṅa hatēkēṅ / tēkēṅ / bajaran / , mananiṅ ta sira, yata hananiṅ kili bran / ti, mojar saṅ sēmar, kaki ḡo*
9. *wa siraṅ kana, manawa na woṅ wadon mijēro haja dera wehi, karananiṅ ana tulak / tangul / hananiṅ sela tum / paṅ,*
10. *ga, hati sira kesaha sakiṅ kili brati hati sira guwaha, yata hananiṅ guwa tiga, man / tihan / ta denira wirati, ya*

Literal translation:

1. [*galu*]*ga*¹ one stalk, banana one stalk, *talēs* 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. [*saw*]² the worthy *Tirtaraga*. 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 like³.

4. made the *añjali* the worthy Tirtaraga: 'Master, equally is delivered the son of the revered Lord divine here'. Well, my friend, farewell⁴ . . .
5. without notice to you. Fell silent the worthy Sēmar in his answering. He took two coconut shells, they were filled⁵. . . .
6. [appeared]⁶ 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 possible⁷, 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 hedge⁸. Weeping now is she. This is what the Amorous Old Woman is. Said the worthy Sēmar: My friend,
9. [when]⁹ 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. ¹⁰mind, 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 *galuga* is the most likely possibility (see Commentary). In the last words of this line some *anusvāras* must be inserted; the best reading seems to be: *haṅgēṅ sira muja samadi, jēṅ pandiraṅ sira*. In Modern Javanese the usual form is *pandirangan*. ²) *Lat* is probably the last syllable of *mulat*. ³) I cannot suggest any plausible reading for the last, mutilated word in this line. ⁴) *Kariha* (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). ⁵) The meaning of several words in this line

is not clear. I think that *wēṛta* should be substituted for *wēṛa*. In several Javanese dialects *aring* is used instead of *maring* 'towards'.

Hamalasakēn must derive from *walas*, but this word is unknown to me. I suggest the emendation *hamalē-sakēn*. This derivative of *walēs* 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 *mēmbalas* and *mēmbalas-kan*.

Bēruk is a coconut shell, the correct spelling being *bēruk kakaliḥ*. *Hinisen* 'they were filled'. In this context it must be assumed that it was Sēmar 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*.

Katonani wi is indistinct, owing to the scratches. The correct spelling would have been *katonaniṅ we*.

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) *Wēnaṅ* 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 *tatu* should be read *tantu*, but the meaning of the last words in this line is not very clear, owing to the deficiencies of the text.

⁸) For *bajaran* should probably be read *bañjaran*, meaning 'a row' or 'a hedge'.

Manānis, with the prefix *ma-*, is unusual in this idiom. Probably the prefix is used here with a view to avoid a double *n*: *bajaran nañis*.

⁹) *Wa* is probably the last syllable of *manawa*.

For *mijēro* should be read *minjēro*.

Haja dera wehi includes a so-called passive voice (*dera wehi*), 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 *ga*.

Hati should be translated by 'mind'. In Modern Javanese 'to be careful' is *ṛati-ati*.

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). *Sira* 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 (*pukulun*, *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 Panggĕlaran*¹, 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 deniŋ* is probably an expression, now obsolete, taken from the *wayang* producers' idiom (*paḍalangan*) 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*, *bĕru kakaliḥ* / *bĕruk kakaliḥ*) 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 Panggĕlaran* 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.

¶ ¹) *Tantu Panggĕlaran*, ancient Javanese text, translation and commentary by Th. Pigeaud. The Hague 1924. (In Dutch).

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 arnatto tree, which produces a red dye
- (2) the *banana tree*, with yellow fruits
- (3) *talĕs*: *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 Pigeaud, *Javaanse Volksvertoningen*, 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. *tīrtha*) 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.

Dinaren, 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 Pang-gĕlaran* 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 *Tĕnggĕr 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 *Tĕnggĕr 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 *Brāmā* (Skr. *Brahmā*, 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, *Baṭara 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 *Sěmar*.

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 *Sěmar* 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 *Sěmar* 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 *Sěmar* 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 copper-plate fragment *Sěmar*'s divine character is not wholly neglected, for Tirtaraga addresses him reverently as *pukulun* 'Master', whilst *Sěmar* 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 *Sěmar* 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. *Sěmar*, 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 l. 4 contained the introduction of Sěmar into the narrative, but in my opinion the space is too limited to allow of such an introduction. It is more in accordance with Sěmar'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 Sěmar's advice when he worshipped in order to obtain the sacrament of consecration from the god of Mount Mahameru. I am inclined to believe that the lost part of l. 4 contained Tirtaraga's request to Sěmar for advice after the leave-taking of the god, as well as Sěmar's reply. Sěmar's advice was probably that Tirtaraga should proceed on his quest.

The last words in l. 5 seem to imply that Sěmar performs some *magic* act with two coconut shells filled with water.

Line 6

The sixth line of the text of JAV 1 (p. 6, l. 1 of the copperplate codex) tells about the results produced by Sěmar's magic. From somewhere there appears clear water, the sight of which astonishes Tirtaraga, who is told by Sěmar to bathe in it. The word here used for water, *toya*, 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 Sěmar's magic.

The lost part of l. 6 probably contained an account of the effect of this bath upon Tirtaraga. My opinion is that Tirtaraga was made clairvoyant 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 Sěmar.

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 Sěmar to be deceiving him, but when challenged, Sěmar denies this.

In the relationship between Tirtaraga and Sěmar, 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 *rama* or *ramak* is a common word for 'father' but in the modern Central Javanese idiom it belongs to formal speech only.

The lost part of l. 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 identity of the Amorous Old Woman I can only offer the following theory.

In Javanese mythology the dangerous *chthonic power* as opposed to the beneficent 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. *bhrānti* '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 l. 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 l. 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 l. 8 Sēmar probably mentioned some refuge, in l. 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 *ḍanghyang*, of the *sources* of a great river. In ancient Javanese mythology all important places had their *ḍanghyangs*, 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 *Dlěpih* in Central Java. The best explanation of the Dlěpih offerings is

that the place was formerly regarded as the source or fountain-head of the *Běngawan*, the Sălă 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 *Sānggāriti*, west of the well-known mountain resort of *Batu*, but the *Sānggāriti* 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 *Sānggāriti* was considered an important holy place. The two other sources are much higher up, in the pass between Mount *Anjasmārā* and Mount *Arjunā* and near the estate of *Sumběr Brantas* (the Brantas Source) and the village of *Junggā*. All three sources are situated on the southern slopes of the *Pěnanngungan-Arjunā massif*.

If this line of thought is pursued further, it is tempting to assume that the two coconut shells filled by *Sěmar* 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 *Sānggāriti*? 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 *Sěmar* in the text suggests a romance akin to the plays of the *wayang* theatre, for *Sěmar* 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 *Sěmar* (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 *Sěmar*, 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 *Sěmar* 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 Sěrayu, one of the great rivers of West Java, which is said to have been dug by Bima (Bhīma) under the guidance of Sěmar. In Javanese legends Bima is often the personification of Nature's primordial force. It should be noted that Sěmar plays an important part in both the Brantas and the Sěrayu 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 Panggělaran*, 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: *ijuk*). 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

considerable time. As the last priests or anchorites died or were converted to Islam and as the violence of Moslem fanatics increased, non-Islamic sanctuaries gradually fell into disrepair or were destroyed and sometimes burnt. In a few cases they may have been rebuilt to serve other purposes. At any rate, the holy objects became widely dispersed; they fell down from the high places in which they had been kept in the sanctuaries and in the course of time became covered with earth, to be discovered later on by treasure hunters or found accidentally by simple villagers.

In my opinion, this was the fate of the copperplate codex. Either it was found by Moslem fanatics in some sanctuary from which the priest had been expelled or it was unearthed in a derelict sanctuary by treasure hunters. I think that the codex was still whole, or at any rate not badly damaged, at the time of discovery, because it seems quite unlikely that the flexible copperplates would break into halves, as revealed by our fragment, merely by falling down from the roof of a sanctuary or even by being crushed under a ruined building. On the other hand, if the sanctuary had been burnt, the thin copperplates would have been destroyed completely. The only plausible explanation seems to be that the plates were broken on purpose either by the men who found them or later on. This may have been done out of sheer wantonness, but it seems more likely that the plates were broken and shared among the finders. These men were, in all likelihood, ignorant villagers, who could not read the text but, being Javanese, were inspired with a feeling of awe by the written plates. Some of the finders may have wanted to keep a piece of the copperplate as a talisman. It was a common practice to make medicine by putting a piece of an old plate with writing on it, such as this one, into a bowl of water.

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 Arjunā; 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 Arjunā. 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: *wallāhu a'lam biṣṣawāb* '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. <i>h</i> and vowels	6. <i>d</i>	11. <i>p</i>	16. <i>m</i>
2. <i>n</i>	7. <i>t</i>	12. <i>ḍ</i>	17. <i>g</i>
3. <i>c</i>	8. <i>s</i>	13. <i>j</i>	18. <i>b</i>
4. <i>r</i>	9. <i>w</i>	14. <i>y</i>	19. <i>ṭ</i>
5. <i>k</i>	10. <i>l</i>	15. <i>ñ</i>	20. <i>ṇ, ṅ</i>

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:

kariha v. *kari*, *hadusa*, v. *hadus*, *liñoka* v. *liñok*,
kesaha v. *kesah*, *guwaha* v. *guwa*

-*i* genitive mark, v. -*iṅ*

-*i* verbal suffix, v. *weh*

-*an*: suffix, v. *ka-an*, v. *brañbrayan*

-*in*- verbal infix, v. *dulu*, cf. *hiṅ*-

hana there is, existing 2, 9;

haniṅ being in, on 7;

hananiṅ the being of 8, 10

hěniṅ: *hahěniṅ* clear 6

-*ira* his, her, its, their 1, 3, 5; v. *denira*

haran name 1, 3

hiriki here (formal speech) 4

hariṅ dialectal word for *marīṅ* towards 5

hika that, yonder 2, 3

-*akěṇ* verbal suffix; *hamalasakěṇ*, emendated;

hamalěsakěṇ, v. *walěs*

hikaṅ: *tekaṅ toya* that, yonder water 6

hakasa sky 3

hadus to bath 6

hati: *hali sira kesaha*, *hati sira guwaha* mind! 10

hisi: *hiñisen* was filled 5

hulat: *mulat* to see 2

haja do not (veto) 9

hujar: *mojar* to say 8

hagě, v. *hangěṅ*

-*iṅ* genitive mark: *katonaniṅ we* (emendation for
katonani wi) 6; *hananiṅ* the being of 8;
karananiṅ because of 9

hiṅ- verbal prefix, v. *hisi* 5; cf. -*in*-

hiṅ: in, on, v. *hana*, *haniṅ*; *siraṅkana*, 9; cf. *riṅ*

-*iṅsun* my (possessive) 2, 3

hangěṅ greatly 1

2. N

-*ne* suffix, v. *dene*

-*nira*, v. -*ira*

nora it is not, no 2

němbaḥ, v. *sěmbaḥ*

nambut, v. *sambut*

-*niṅ*, v. -*iṅ*

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

riṅ in, on 2, 3; cf. *hiñ*

5. K

ka-an prefix-suffix: *kamoksan*, *kamosan*, v. *moksa*
2, 3; *katonan*, v. *ton* 6

kana there 9

kene here 3

kanděḡ 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

kesaḥ to go away (formal speech) 10

kili: *Kili Branti* Amorous Old Woman, name of
witch 8, 10

kalih, *kakalih* two 5

kaya like 3; *kaya-kaya* seeming like 7

6. D

dene: *mantihanta dene hahēniṅ* utmost was its clearness 6

denira: *denira hamalasakēn* his answering 5;

denira wirati their being quiet 10

deniṅ, v. *sami deniṅ*

dera: *haja dera wehi* let it not by you be allowed her 9

dewa god, 2, 4

dulu: *dinulu* observed 3

diṅaren exclamation, expressing surprise: why, 2

7. T

ta then, now (interjection): *tekaṅ* 6; *lah ta* 6; *paran ta* 6; *manaṅis ta* 8

ton: *katonan* aspect 6

tantu sure, surely (emendation for *tatu*) 7

tanpa without 5

Tirtaraga name of the hero 2, 4, 6

tariṅ tray 1

tēka, *tēka riṅ* coming to 3

tēkēn stick; *hatēkēn* having for a stick 8

tekaṅ, *ta* and *hikaṅ*

tatu, v. *tantu*

tutug reaching 3

tulak-tangul defence-and-barrier 9

taḷs name of plant (*Colocasia esculenta* Schott), taro 1

toya water (formal speech, expressing reverence) 6

tumpaṅ pile, piled up 9

tiga three (formal speech) 10

tagane have become, at last 7

tēbu sugar-cane 1

taṅis, *manaṅis* to weep 8

tangul, v. *tulak-tangul*

8. S

sa- one 1

si enclitic, stressing the preceding word: *hika si* 2; *tatu si* 7

si honorific particle; *si rama* father 7

sira he, she 1, 5, 8

sira you (polite and respectful address) 5, 9, 10

sakiṅ from 3, 10

sida verily 7

sela: stone (formal speech) 9

sami: *sami deniṅ* equally (formal speech) 4

Sēmar name of the companion of the hero 5, 8

samadi concentration 1

sēmbaḥ, *nēmbaḥ* to make the *añjali* 4

sambut, *hanambut* to take 5

saṅ (honorific title) the worthy 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8

9. W

wa, v. *manawa*

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

wēnaṅ can, possible 7

wirati quiet 10

wērta emendation for *wētra*, notice 5

wadon, *woṅ wadon* woman 9

wit stalk, tree 1

wētra, v. *wērta*

walas, v. *walēs*

walēs emendation for *walas*: *hamalēsakēn* to give an answer 5

wijil: *mijil* to come out, to appear 6

woṅ a human being 9

10. L

lah well (interjection) 4, 6

lat, v. *hulat* 2

liňok deceit, deceitful 7

lamun: that (conjunction) 7

luŋa to go away 8

11. P

pandira, v. *pandiraŋ*

pandiraŋ to look around frightened 1

paran what? 6

purwa east 2

pukulun Master (vocative) 2, 4, 7

paduka: *paduka baŋara dewa* revered Lord divine 4

puja: *muja-samadi* to perform worship and concentration 1

13. J

jěro, *miŋjěro* (emendation for *mijěro*) to go inside 9

jil, v. *wijil* 6

jěňěr astonished 6

juŋjuŋ: *hajunjuŋ* to raise 1

jěg at once 1

14. Y

yan if 7

yata that is 3, 8, 10

yaŋ spirit, holy (*sacer*) 3

16. M

ma-, v. *tañis*, *manañis*

mi-, v. *miŋ*

Mahameru name of holy mountain 3

mantihanta utmost 6, 10

manawa when (emendation for *wa*) 8

měňeŋ to fall silent 5

mokta delivered 4

moksa: *kamoksan* place of deliverance 2 (emendation for *kamosan*) 3

mosa, v. *moksa*

malasakěŋ, v. *walěs*

muja, v. *puja*

mojar, v. *hujar*

mijil, v. *wijil*

miŋ-verbal prefix, *miŋjěro* (emendation for *mijěro*) to go inside, v. *jěro* 9

17. G

ga, v. *galuga*

gunuŋ mountain 2

guwa cave 10

galuga name of plant (*Bixa orellana* Linn.), arnatto tree 1

gědaŋ banana 1

18. B

běňěr precise 2

běru, v. *běruk*

branti amorous 8 (emendation for *brati*) 10; v. *kili*

běruk coconut shell 5

brati, v. *branti*

braŋbraŋ, *braŋbraŋan* drumming 8

bañjar, *bañjaran* (emendation for *bajaran*), row, hedge 8

bajaran, v. *bañjaran*

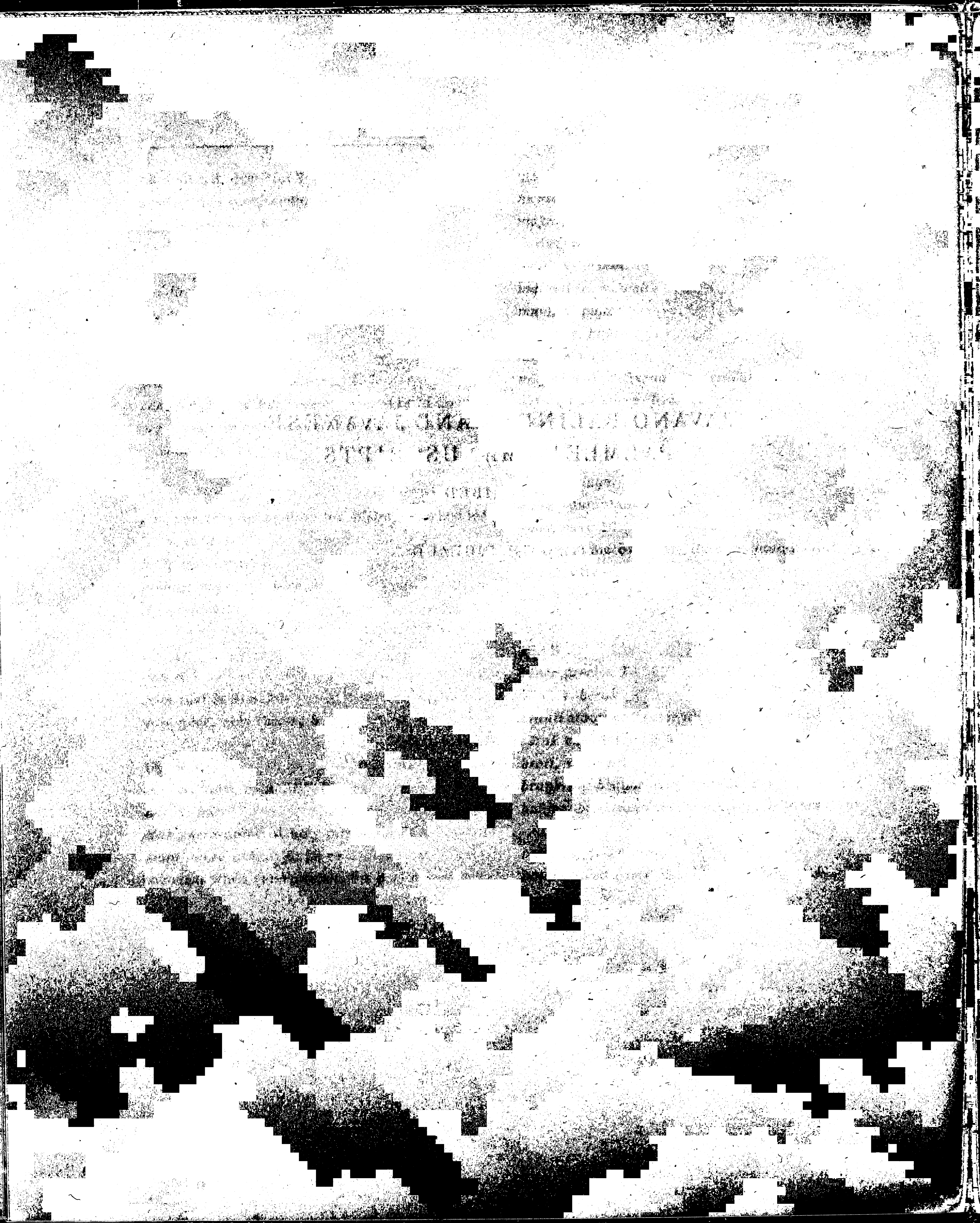
baŋara Lord (used in addressing a god) 4

JAVANO-BALINESE AND JAVANESE
PALMLEAF MANUSCRIPTS

DESCRIBED

BY

TH. G. TH. PIGEAUD



JAVANO-BALINESE AND JAVANESE PALMLEAF MANUSCRIPTS

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: ě, the Indonesian *pěpět* (*shěwa*); ŋ, the velar nasal (English *ng*) when written as a dot over the pre-

ceding character (originally the Skr. *anusvāra*); ñ, the velar nasal when written as an independent character; *w* instead of the *v* used in the transcription of Sanskrit.

OLD JAVANESE AND JAVANO-BALINESE EPICS AND LEGENDARY HISTORY

Arjuna Wiwāha.

JAV (Bal) 1 (Cod. Javan. Add. 1).

Presented to the Royal Library in April 1919 by Professor Vilhelm 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.

Contents: the famous Old Javanese poem (*kakawin*, *kāvya*) *Arjunawiwāha*, 'Arjuna's Nuptials', by *Kaṇwa*, written in the first half of the eleventh century during the reign of *Airlangga*, King of East Java.

Editions: Friederich, *Verh. B. G.*, vol. 23, 1850; H. Kern, *Kawi-studiën*, The Hague, 1871; Poerbatjaraka (Lesya), *B K I*, vol. 82, 1926 (complete text with Dutch translation), and P. J. Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan, a Survey of Old Javanese Literature*, p. 234–249, The Hague, 1974.

The *Arjunawiwāha* is one of the most popular poems of Old Javanese literature and scenes from it where frequently depicted by Javanese and Balinese sculptors and painters. Versions in Modern Javanese are: *Wiwaha*, or *Mintaraga*, ed. Gericke, *Verh. B. G.*, vol. 20, 1844, and *Wiwaha Djarwa*,

ed. Palmer van den Broek, Batavia 1868. Raffles, *History of Java*, vol. I, p. 383, gives a good summary of the *Arjunawiwāha*. See also: Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, vol. I, The Hague 1967, p. 181 and 241.

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 *ěmbat-ěmbatan* in Balinese. It has no boards, and the leaves are loosely gathered together on a string at one end. As a rule, *ěmbat-ěmbatans* are only note-books as opposed to MSS with boards, which are meant to be kept as cherished possessions. This *ěmbat-ěmbatan* 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-wiwāha* 'Arjuna's Nuptials'. See the description of JAV (Bal) 1.

First lines: *dhipa. rāmya paṇṇ manēmbaḥ aṇṇoḥ sawawa kadi huwus samāgama*. Translation: . . . of the Prince. Joyfully they performed together the *sēmbah* (corresponding to Skr. *añjali* 'homage'), graceful, harmonious, as if they were already united in wedlock. This is *Arjuna-wiwāha*, Canto 15, Verse 2, in Poerbatjaraka's edition p. 213, 1. 12.

Last lines: *kanaka bapra gopura, akara-karā ka-tiḥalan*. Translation: Golden walls and gates, in abundance to be seen. Canto 16, Verse 6, Poerbatjaraka's edition p. 216, 1. 14.

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). Clear handwriting, Balinese script. Registered in 1852–53. Mentioned in Nielsen, *Mads Lange til Bali*, pp. 160, 161, where we also find an illustration.

Contents: four texts, mainly in prose, with some interpolated *çlokas* 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:

Tēgēsing Bhuwana Jagat,
Katuturaning Usana Bali,
Katuturaning Usana Jawa,
Tutur kramaning Aji Astakosali.

The first text serves as an introduction to the whole group and has only 3 pages. Its title means: The Meaning of the Countries of the World.

First lines: *Um awighnām astu namasiḍēm. iti tgēsij bhwaṇā jagat, cinaritākēn tiḥkahiṇ dewata nawa saṇhā, mungwiṇ bhūwana kabeh*. Translation: *Om*. Undisturbed be it. Homage. Success. This is the Meaning of the Countries of the World. Described is the order of the Nine Gods, each of whom has his place in one of the countries. Then follows a corrupt Sanskrit *çloka*, containing a list of the Nine Gods:

east: *Içwara*
south-east: *Mahesora*
south: *Brahmā*
south-west: *Rudra*
west: *Mahādewa*
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: *kunaṇ maliḥ, iti katuturanij huçana bali, ña, cinaritakēn tiḥkahiṇ 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 Baṭāri*. 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 saṅ prabhū sakeṅ wilaṭīkṭā, hakaḍaton sira mariṅ halas trik, hana harinirā haran sirāryya damār, hakaḍaton sira mariṅ tulembaṅ*. Translation: There was he, the honoured *Prabhu* from *Wilwatikta* (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, *Arya Damar*. He went, to make a royal residence, to *Tulémbang* (i.e. *Palémbang*, 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: *sampūrṇa linikita ṅkaniṅ gologor dawēg riṅ dinā, ra, pa, wara duṅulan, çaṇiḥ ka, 4, kraṣ-ṇāpakṣa riṅ triyodaṇiḥ, raḥ, 2, tēṅ, 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. *Aṣṭakoṣali* would mean 'eight crafts' but should possibly be read as *Hastakoṣali*, Skr. *Hastakaṣalya*, meaning 'handicrafts'. The first lines read as follows: *iti tutūr kramaṇiṅ aji aṣṭakosali, ṇa, kawrukahna denira saṅ mahulaḥ giṇṇā, tiṅkahiṅ urip i kayukayu mariṅ ṇarirantā*. 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 Neêrland'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. Bataviaasch Genootschap*, 1933, under the four titles mentioned above). It is possible that this Batavian MS. is the copy formerly used by Friederich 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*". Friederich'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 Wiçwakarmma practising *yoga*, and therefore belonging to the *Aṣṭakosali*, seeing that Wiçwakarmma 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 Friederich'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 Sadeng-oorlog 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 greatest Javano-Balinese classification cycle is thirtyfold, connected with the ancient native Javanese "year" (perhaps originally a *rice-cultivation* period) 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 *ĕmbat-ĕmbatan* in Balinese. They are not provided with the two half-round wooden boards which serve as covers of a complete Balinese book. *Embat-ĕmbatan* 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 × 3.4 cm. See Plate 23.

Function: Divination diagrams to be used in combination 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 compartments 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 diagrams 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 *ĕmbat-ĕmbatan* notebooks without 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 classification of *wukus*, each *wuku* having seven days. JAV (Bal) 5 also is a *Pawukon* divination table. The three divination tables with polychrome pictures, JAV (Bal) 6–8, on the other hand, are called *Palalintangan*, because they contain references 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: Lanḍĕp, 3: Wukir, 4: Kurantil, 5: Tolu, 6: Gumrg, 7: Wariga, 8: Warigadyan, 9: Julunḡwaḡi, 10: Sunḡsaḡ, 11: Dugulan, 12: Kunigan, 13: Lanḡkir, 14: Madasya, 15: Pujut, 16: Pahaḡ, 17: Kurwlut, 18: Mrakih, 19: Tambir, 20: Maḡaḡkunaḡ, 21: Matal, 22: Uyĕ, 23: Mnahil, 24: Praḡbakat, 25: Bala, 26: Wugu, 27: Wayaḡ, 28: Kulawu, 29: Dukut, 30: Watugunuḡ.

Each *wuku* is combined with the name of one unit of a cycle of six, called the *Paringkĕlan*: Won

(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 *in̄kēl wōŋ* 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: Pain, 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, Angara, Buda, Wṛhaspati, Śukra, Śaneścara, 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-Balinesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek* sub voce *in̄kēl* may make this clear. *In̄kēl* appears to be the term for any unit of the cycle of six, mentioned above. Like a *wuku*, each *in̄kēl* has a duration of seven days. When, for instance, in the seven days of an *in̄kēl-wōŋ* 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-in̄kēl-wōŋ week to which the first page of JAV (Bal) 4 refers, Friday coincides with Paing, not with Umanis. So on account of the Paringkēlan divination the week is not inauspicious.

In another article, sub voce *kajēŋ*, Van der Tuuk mentions the days of a three-days week: Dora, Waya, Byantara, also called Pasah, Bētēŋ, Kajēŋ. On these days certain activities are forbidden. So, for instance, on Kajēŋ it is unadvised to plant anything or to put anything into the ground. When on Kajēŋ, 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 *Palalintangan* 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 Balineesche 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 *injkĕls* 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-injkĕl-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, Lanđĕp 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 *tikas* known to the present author. Perhaps at Mads Lange's request indications of fortune and misfortune and the like found in several *tikas* and *Wariga* 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 *Wariga* 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-won, 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 *Dañu*, the first day of the cycle of 9 days: *Dañu*, *Jañur*, *Gigis*, *Nohan*, *Wogan*, *Erañan*, *Uruñan*, *Tulus*, *Dadi*.

2: the abbreviation *la*, standing for *Laba*, the first day of the cycle of 4 days: *Laba* (*Lābha*, Gain), *Jaya* (Victory), *Mëndala*, *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: *won*, written in full. It is the name of the *inkël*.

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 *Dañu*, for the second time. In the beginning of *Pawukon* divination tables *Dañu* is repeated four times in order to fit 23 cycles of 9 days (to which *Dañu* belongs), i.e. 207 days, into the *wuku* "year" of 30×7 days. The first three *Dañus* 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 *Dañu* 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* Madasya, *ijkĕl* 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 *Paiṅ*. So the sequence is: *Paiṅ*, *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 *Laba* (for the second time).

2: the abbreviation *dū*; 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 spotted 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 *sĕṅkan-turunan*, 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 *Kāla*, the seventh in order of the cycle of eight deities of which *Śri* (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 *tikas* 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 twelve-fold classification. Probably in some way they are connected with the twelve months.

The larger rectangle contains 12×5 squares, each square containing one of the series of abbreviations: *mṛ*, *su*, *pa*, *li*, *pě*. 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 (*lontar*), 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 *Palalintangan*, on account of its containing references to constellations (Balinese: *lintang*).

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 Anggastya 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	Waiśākhā	Libra
Broken Boat	Uttarā Asāḍhā	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

DIVINATION TABLE. JAV (Bal) 6.

Translation of the Text. (Plate 28).

		Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Divinity: wayang personage: Tree, plant: Bird:		Indra Prince Panji	Umā Princess Galuh	Brahma demon Yakṣa	Wisnu officer Rangga	Shiwa wise mentor Sēmar	Shrī gentle serv. Jurudeh	Durgā demon serv. Dilēm
		Ambulu figus	Lēmēs	Wrēksa	Kēmada- ngan	Nyagroda figus	Ancak figus	Kēpuh
		béo- magpie	dara- pigeon	ulung- hawk	titiran- turtle-dove	mērak- peacock	cabak- nightjar	clēpuk- owl
Kliwon 5 days week, V	Constellation	Demon upside- down	Cocos palm	Horse	Crying spook	Broken hatchet	Goose sitting on eggs	Ogre's head
	Constellation	Elephant	Incense	Crab	Elephant- fish	Struggle	Leaky fish-trap	Arrow
	Constellation	Dagger	Smoking	Dog	Rice- barn	Hearse- pavilion descending	Broken boat	Sunflower
	Constellation	Plough	Bull	Loaded junk	Pleiads	Water- works	Quarrel over debt	Fighting quails
	Constellation	Struck-off head	Cart	Pig	Funeral rites	Dragon	Prawn	Visit bringing presents
Animal		Bird	Lion	Dog	Snake	Tiger	Goat	Cow

DIVINATION TABLE. JAV (Bal) 7.

Translation of the Text. (Plate 29).

Characters	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Animals	
Pandita (?)	Indra	Shrī female servant	Rudra officer	Mahadewa Rudra servant	Guru wise mentor	Shrī bad servant	Durgā demon servant		
Wizard (?)	Prince Panji	Ésak	rangga	Togog	Sěmar	Sangut	Dilēm		
Saturday(?)	Tangguli dara-pigeon	Pulé jalak-starling	Bunutficus gowak-crow	Ambulu ficus bėo-magpie	Waringin Jangkung-heron	Běngkěl dara-pigeon	Kěpuh clěpuk-owl		
Lėgi, Umanis	Goddess Monday (?)	Demon upside-down	Cocos-palm inclining	Horse	Crying spook	Broken shaft	Goose sitting on eggs	Ogre’s head	Lion
	God Wednesday (?)	Elephant	Incense	Lobster	Elephant-fish	Struggle	Leaky fish-trap	Arrow	Snake
Paing									
Pon	Male Sunday	Poniard	Visit bringing presents	Dogs	Rice-barn	Hearse-pavilion	Broken boat	Sunflower	Rats
	Female Friday	Plowing	Bull	Loaded junk	Pleiads	Water-jar	Quarrel over debt	Fighting quails	Bull
Wagé									
	Animal (?) Thursday	Struck-off head	Empty car	Hog trussed to be slaughtered	Funeral rites	Dragon	Prawn	Offerings	Griffon
Kliwon									
	Goats	Dog-headed demons	Buffalo-headed demons	Horse-headed demons	Water-pot-headed demons	Lion-headed demons	Elephant-headed demons	Crow-headed demons	
	Tuesday								

DIVINATION TABLE. JAV (Bal) 8.

Translation of the Text. (Plate 30).

		Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Kliwon, 5 days week, V	Divinity:	Indra	Shrī	Brahma	Wisnu	Shiwa	Umā	Durgā
	Wayang personage:	Gentleman Mantri	Princess Galuh	Demons Yaksa-yaksi	Officer Rangga	Wise mentor Sēmar	Angry servant Jugil	Demon servant Dilēm
	Tree, plant:	Ambulu ficus	Añjan	Bunut ficus	Rangdu	Waringin	kayu putih	Kěpuh
	Bird:	béo-magpie	dara-pigeon	gowak-crow	titiran turtle-dove	měrak-peacock	cabak-nightjar	clěpuk owl
	Constellation:	Demon upside-down Bad, unfortunate	Cocos-palm inclining Good fortunate	Horse Good, success	Crying spook Bad, disease	Broken shaft Misfortune	Goose sitting on eggs Acquisition	Ogre's head Bad, unreliable character
Lēgi, 5 days week, I	Constellation:	Elephant Good, strong	Incense Good, wise	Crab Good, fortunate	Elephant-fish Good, fortunate	Struggle Bad, quarreling	Leaky fish-trap Lightly come, lightly go	Warrior Courage, power
	Constellation:	Dagger Scheming, violent death	Smoking Bad, forbidden pleasure	Dog Good, in favour with the great	Rice-barn Good, rich	Hearse pavilion Bad health	Broken boat Bad losses	Sunflower unsteady wavering
	Constellation:	Trunk without head Gambling, stealing	Bull	Pleiads Many children	Loaded ship Worries	Water-jar Inconstant fickle fortune	Quarrel over debt Discord	Quail Combative bad ending
	Constellation:	Plough Toil, afterwards ease	Empty cart Disappoint-ment	Pig Beginning good, death: bad	Corpses' place Lose children by death	Dragon Religious devotion	Lobster Young: bad, old: good fortune	Visit bringing presents Fortunate
	Animal	Bird	Lion	Dog	Tiger	Snake	Goat	Bull

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 *lon-tars* 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 *Palalintangans*. 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, *babantěn*), 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 *Palalintangans* 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 *Pañji* romances, which are pseudo history. *Togog*, *Sěmar*, *Sañut*, *Dilēm*, *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.

A JAVANO-BALINESE POEM

Kidung Peksi.

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

Lontar ěmbat-ěmbatan of 5 leaves measuring 49.5 × 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 Pěksi*, 'The Birds' Poem'. The characters are all birds, the King being a *siyung*, in Javanese commonly called *béo*, 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 Pěksi* 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. 161, 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: 31.3×3.5 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 hirraḥ manirrahimi. punnika tiṅkahij ṅawruhi paretthahij ṅiman. karuhun. woṅ ṅisḗlam punniki hayun naṅawruhi tiṅkahij ṅiman. maṅka hana woṅ sawiji hatakon. hapa kaṅiman iku, maṅka kaṅ tinakonon, sumahur, nora hiṅsun wḗruḥ, maṅka kaṅ ṅaṅucap, nora wḗruḥ hiku kafir. karana woṅ ṅislam miku. farlu hatatakona tiṅkahij ṅiman. tiṅkah ij ṅagama hislam. hiku kabeḥ. yen nana woṅ ṅatakon hij sira. hapa kaṅ ṅiman niku. maṅka sumahura. kaṅ ṅiman niku haṅandḗl liṅ ṅallah, lawan naṅandḗl ij malaikattij (leaf 1 verso) ṅallah, lawan naṅandḗl kitabij ṅallah, lawan naṅandḗl hutusannij ṅallah, lawan naṅandḗl hij ṅari kiyamat, lawan naṅandḗl, hukur kaṅ abcik, lawan kaṅ ala sakiṅ allah, 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 Juynboll (*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 *Hajahibul kalbi* 'The Wonders of the Inmost' (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 kaṅ sinurat. sampun tan inapura denij sastra hina. kiraṅ wuwuḥhana. ḷwiḥ ḷṅana denira saṅ amaca hanurun. sampun kiraṅ 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 nugrahanij pañeran, paštine himan punniku, tětēp piñatiniñ. kawula, hiñkañ tansaḥ hiñ siḥ nugrahanij pañeran. punnika ta sayogyannipun. depun sami haněguḥhakēn, tiñkaḥhiñ himan, tubillahi, mapan kañ kawarṇna punika, sampurṇnaniñ himan, tubillahi, siṅsapa hañištokēn* (leaf 58 verso) *hiñ tutur puniku, in ṣa allah, hantuk ugi kañ barkat, jěṇñira susuhunan, hantuka salamēt, hiñ dunnya 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,¹ 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. sakaṭahiñ wulan, wiwitan, tangal piñ tiga, nañas, dok bagiṇḍa adam tiněḍěnnakēn sakiñ syarga.*

Translation: This is the lore of the fatal days (Arabic: *naḥs*) 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, nahas dina kañ satahun, kaliḥ wlas dina kañ satahun, hami-miti wulan muharram, nahase paṅloṅ piñ 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. Grisee, Javanese: Grēsik, not far from Surabaya), as the cult of the Saints is deeply rooted there. Cf. JAV 7, which is probably from Rěmbang, 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 *Tingkahing Iman*, i.e. 'The Order of the Faith'. Titles of books beginning with *Tingkah* were not uncommon in Old Javanese literature, see *Beschrijving . . . van de . . . handschriften van . . . Dr. v. d. Tuuk* by Brandes, s. v. *Tingkah*.

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 *Tingkahing Iman* was given such boards indicates that the owner set great store by it as a treasure of sacred lore.

¶ ¹ Presumably the title 'Their Feet the Highnesses' (or, less probably, in the singular 'His Feet the Highness') refers to the Moslem Saints or Apostles, masters

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 21.8×3.5 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 Tradi-

tion (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 hirrakmannirrakim. nway tiki milyahaniawi, carita nabbi muhammat, marmaniḡ ginurit manḡke, carita sinuḡan tēmbaḡ, tēmbaḡ . . .*

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: 41×3.5 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. K. Wulff.

Contents: The well-known East Javanese poem in modern Javanese metres, *Carita Yusup*, 'The History of Joseph'.

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 Madoereesche handschriften der Leidsche 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: *ñwañ teki milya hañawi, carita yusup ginita, marmani ginurit mañke, carita sinuñan tẽmbaṅ, tẽmbaṅ hasmarandana, kasmarañ tisun aṅruñu, tutur nabbi 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 mañjiṅ hiṅ suwarga, lelema hakyè niki*: There is a story of animals entering Heaven, five is their number.¹

P. 33. *Paṅkur, tan kocapa sañ adagaṅ, kahucapa mañke dera saṅ kawī, manajat bageṇḍa 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, wontẽ si caritanera, bageṇḍa musa çireki, duk sapucapan hyaṅ manun, hiṅ luhur prawateṅ ñuni*: 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 mañkana keça, sakiṅ desa haris mañki hanuli*: After this he went away from his country, quietly now, soon.

P. 49. *Durma, tan kocapa mañke woṅ wadon dinijwaṅ, hana kocappa mali, saṅ putri hi temas, kañ awasta jalika, wayaḥ sañtaṅ tahun mali, putri jalika, hayu kalukiṅ bumi*: 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. *Senum, sampunni hadan sadaya, hañatẽr-ṛna saṅ putri*: When all were ready to accompany the Princess.

P. 59. *Durma, hawẽtu wẽllasira mañke sri nalandra*: There arose pity now for him (in the heart) of the Illustrious Prince.

P. 61. *Paṅkor, ri sampunnira maṅkana, kahucap-pa sira saṅ rajaputri*: After this there is to be mentioned the honoured Royal Princess.

P. 69. *Sinum, wontěn carita kucapa, tiṅkahira husman mali*: There is a story to be mentioned, the conduct of Usman, again.

P. 71. *Kurpañ (i.e. paṅkur), ri sampunnira maṅkana, kucap saṅ nata liwat dira hasi*: After this is mentioned the King, he was very much liking him.

P. 77. *Rabuti si dagěl, ri sampunnira maṅkana, wotěn kucappa mali, saṅ putri jalika maṅke*: After this there is to be mentioned again the Princess Jalika now.

P. 82. *Pañantin nañar, wontěn sabda rasul mu-waḥ*: There is a Word of the Messenger, once more.

P. 87. *Srinata, wontěn ta mali kocapa, woṅ ṇayun pjě maṅkeki*: There is again something to be mentioned, people who will die, now.

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

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

P. 128. *Malaṭi tumpang (i.e. paṅkur), wontěn sabdaniṅ paṇḍita, kawarnnaha woṅ hallol 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 sampunnera maṅkana, tinuluṅ sira bhuyamin, dinira sira saṅ katuṅ*: 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, tinukupakěn rarahi, dini nabbi jaḥkub maṅke, sarwwi hanañis sireki, saryya ṇandika haris, hala-*

was tēměn nakiṅ sun, huněṅ ṇi sira hika, hañar-parp sun niki, suratira hiṅ yusup nak iku tuwan. – kaṅ ṇilañakěn duka, ceptanisun sira kaki, kañ aḷbbor lara hiṅoṅ, kalambinireki kaki, mwaṅ ṇu-ninniṅ surat iki, yata waras nitranesun, kuñas kalambi maṅke, hañiṅ direṅ sampurna niki, yata sinapa woṅ sakiṅ hěndiḥ ta 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.

¶ ¹⁾ They are: the wild dog or wolf that spoke with Jacob, the camel of the prophet Salèh, the dog of the Sleepers in the Cavern (of Ephesus), the ass of the prophet Ujir (Ezrah, the ass of Balaam according to the Bible), and the horse of the prophet Mohammed.

Carita Yusup.

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

Bought in 1922 together with JAV 6 and 11–14 from kommunebibliotekar Erichsen, Gentofte, 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 satu mañjiñ iñ swargga*

P. 16. *Salubuk, tan kocapa yakub teki, kocapa mañke deniñwan, bageñda yusup ta mañke.*

P. 38 (?). *Durma, tan kocapa mañke woñ wadon diniñwan, hana kocapa mali, sañ putri hiñ timas.*

P. ? . *Pañkor, tan kocapa sañ adagañ.*

P. 46. *Pañkor, ri sampunnira mañkana, kahu-capa sira sañ rajaputri.*

P. 69. *Srinata, wantën ta mali kocapa, woñ ñayun pjë mañkeki.*

P. 79. *Salubuk, kocapa yusup sireki, gënnëp limañ tahun sera, laminira hana hi jro, warañka.*

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

P. 108. *Sëmuñ hisin, wontën sëbdaniñ pañdita.*

P. 126. *Sinum, ri sampunnira mañkana, bhuya-min tinoluñ aglis, denira sira sañ katuñ.*

The MS. ends with the following stanzas in *asma-radana*: *riñhira çami mañkeki, pinanggiyakën*

deniñ hyañ, mwañ kadi sira sañ katoñ, daryyanira lwir ñiliran, muwa si ramanira, lwir kinëpëttan mañkeku, mulat iñ putra sadaya. – tan sipisipi mañkeki, nugrahanira hyañ suksma, mariñ sira kabeh rëke, jinujuñ darajatthira, mañke hiñ dunnya kerat, pan mañkana puluñeku, kañ antuk sihiñ hyañ suksma. – çalamad, kañ ñanorut kañ ña-pëmpëñ, salawaçiñ humuri, hiñ dunnyañ hikañ mariñ akerat.

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. Wulff. 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, kawarġnaha mali saŋ putri jalika.*

P. 59. *Sinum, wontġn si caritanira, tiŋkahira husman mali.*

P. 60. *Paŋkor, ri sampunnira maŋkana, kahucapa saŋ nata liwat dira ċi.*

P. 97. *Ngasmarandana, kocapa yusup sireki, gġn-nġp limaŋ tahun sira, laminira hana hi jro, waraŋka.*

P. 122. *Paŋkor, ri sampunnira maŋkana, kahucapa woŋ haŋlul tapsir mali, haran hibnuŋ habbas seku.*

P. 133. *Sinum, ri sampunnira maŋkana, buyamin tinuluŋ haglis, denira sira saŋ katoŋ.*

P. 160. *Salubuk, ri sapunni maŋkaneki, bageŋda yakub pamaca, surat:* After this the Lord Jacob read the letter.

The MS. ends with the stanza: *yata nabbi yakub teki, haniġnali malahekat, harupaŋ manuswaŋ rġkko, nhġr sinapa ta ċira, sapa sira mriŋ hamba, sumahur malikat sampun, haġnu[lati] mariŋ 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 later 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. Glahnson 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 north-east coastal districts called in Javanese Pasisir Wġtan. East Javanese orthography. Mistakes are frequent and letters are often omitted. Pages numbered in the usual fashion from 1–187. Described by Dr. K. Wulff.

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* Vreede's summary of the long *Carita Yusup* MS. at Leyden, *Catalogus* 1892, p. 26.

First lines: *bismillahirrakmanerrakem. puḥ hasmarandana. ṇwaṇ teki miluwaṇawi, carita yusup ginita*: 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. *Paṅkur, hněṇakně deniṇwaṇ, kaṇ kocapa 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, wontěn sabdaniṇ ṇutusan, hamětakěṇ sireki, guloṇan kaṇ maṇjiṇ swargga, dudu hanak adam siṅgih*: There is a Word of the Messenger, telling (read: *hamṛtakakěṇ*) about the group (read: *guloṇan*) that entered Heaven, not being of the children of Adam, to be sure.¹

P. 20. *Salubuk, bagiṇḍa yusup winarṇni, kaṇ ana jro sumur ika*: The Lord Joseph is to be described, who was at the bottom of the well.

P. 31. *Turaṅga wěsi* (i.e. *pangkur*), *tan kocapa saṇ adagaṇ, kahucapa maṇki dira saṇ kawī, muna-jat bagiṇḍa yusup*: Not to be mentioned are the merchants, to be mentioned now by the honoured poet is the prayer of the Lord Joseph.

P. 38. *Sinum, yatana swara haṇucap, hiṇ woṇ nagari hiṇ msir*: Then there was a Voice speaking to the people of the Land of Egypt.

P. 43. *Durma, tan kocapa maṇki woṇ wadun di-niṇwaṇ, hana kucapa mali, putre sri nalindra, hiṇ temas kaṇ 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, hněṇakně deniṇwaṇ, brantanira saṇ suputri, wontěn ta kocapa muwa, riwayati woṇ maṇahih*: 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 *śahī*).

P. 46. *Durma, kocapa mali sira putre jalika, haniṇ jro paṇjareki, sawarṇa laminya*: To be mentioned again is the Princess Jalika. She had been in gaol, one year.

P. 49. *Paṅkur, sampuni tutuk sinurat, sinuṇakěṇ mariṇ ṇutusan naglis*: When the writing was finished, it was given to a messenger, quickly.

P. 58. *Sinum, kocapa sira saṇ natha, hatuku hiṇ yusup teki*: To be mentioned is the King, he bought Joseph here.

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

P. 69. *Hasmarandana, wontěn andika hyaṇ wedi, kalboni muḥmin sadaya, winastanan kaca maṇko*: 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, saṇ prabhu msir akin i para guna, akarye juṇut tiki*: The King of Egypt ordered the craftsmen to make this pleasure-house.

P. 77. *Sinum, wontěn nandika hyaṇ suksma, mariṇ kahulaneriki*: There is a Word of the Holy Spirit unto His servants here.

P. 79. *Turaṅga wěssi, wontěn nandika hyaṇ suksma, siṇ sapiku karya daměl tan yukti*: There is a Word of the Holy Spirit: Anyone that does a deed which is not good.

P. 81. *Sinum, yata sakwehiṇ wanita, kaṇ tumun i yusup tiki*: Then all the women who saw Joseph here.

P. 91. *Salubhuk, kocapa yusup sireki, gěṇěpituṇ tahun ṇira, bagiṇḍa yusup ta maṇka, sira haniṇ*

jro pañjara: To be mentioned is Joseph. Just seven years (read: *gěněp pituṅ*) he, the Lord Joseph, now had been in gaol.

P. 100. *Sinum, re sampunnira maṅkana, jabrail tumurun naglis*: After this Gabriel descended quickly.

P. 103. *Mihus* (i.e. *mijil*), *ri sampuni maṅkana puneki, hananañi saṅ katoṅ hapanggiya lan saṅ putri maṅkin*: After this the King rose to meet the Princess, now.

P. 104. *Durma, kaliwat sukanira sri naranata, lan sukur iṅ hyaṅ widi*: Very great was the joy of the Illustrious King, and he was thankful towards Holy Providence.

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

P. 127. *Paṅkur, maṅkana mali kucapa, nabbi brahim*: So is to be mentioned again the prophet Abraham.

P. 130. *Durma, hañandika paṇḍita suléman(?) nika, hamṛtakakēn nañliṅ*: Spoke the learned Solomon (?), telling a story, he said:

P. 134. *Sinum, ri sampunira maṅkana, bhuyamin tinuluñ aris, denira sira saṅ katoṅ*: After this the honoured Benjamin was attended to by the King.

P. 144. *Durma, kaṅ kucapa sakitiṅ woṅ priyatinañ, hakaṭa warnaniki*: What is to be mentioned are the sufferings of people who are in sorrow, many kinds there are.

P. 146. *Sinum, bagiṇḍa yaḥkub anabda, hiṅ putranira prasami*: The Lord Jacob spoke to his sons, all of them.

P. 154. *Durma, sampuni maṅkana pun baçir ranulya, hañaturakēn tulis*: After this Basir immediately presented the letter.

P. 170 (should be 160). *Paṅkur, wontēn carita kucapa, hamṛtakakēn hiṅ duça haḡuṅ teki*: There is a tale to be mentioned, telling of the great sin.

P. 174. *Salubuk, hněnakna maṅkweki, bagiṇḍa yusup kucapa, hapanggi lan rama rēke*: 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 hyaṅ wedi, kocapa maṅke diniṅwaṅ, praptiṅ nabbi muça maṅke, iḥ muça wruhanta hiya, hiṅ bhumi kudus ika, hakaṭa jaratiriku, para nabbi nabbi hika. – sampuni tēlas tinulis, hiṅ dina sabtu punika, hiṅ saçi sappar ta ṛke, hiṅ tanggal piṅ lima hika, hiṅ tahun nihi hika, hiṅ ḡusunṛmbaṅ katiṅsun, hiṅ kuluniṅ kali hika. – paněḡdanikañ anulis, hiṅ sira kaṅ mahamulya, muwa hiṅ dutadi kahut, sinuñan rakmad diniṅ hyaṅ, hi dunya hiñakirat, tětěpně himaniṅsun, hiṅ dunya tēkiṅ hakirat. – karani milu ha (p. 187) ṇawi, dini haṅṛñēn sabdiṅ hyaṅ, siñamaca myarça kaṅ woṅ, hantuk nugrahan hyaṅ suksma, sami lan maca kur'an, luput iṅ duka ciptiku, priyatini nala hilaṅ. – siña mahidu hiṅ tulis, kaṅ kucap wahu puñika, woñ iku dadi ta ṛku, murut saki gama hislam, dadi kapir woṅ ika, taṅ antok marga rahayu, deni hamahidunnika. – wallahuh ha'alam bama waban tabatallahi himanukum piddunya wal akirati,² tēllas kañ anulis dina saptu, çaçiḥ sappar, tanggal 5, tahun hihi, haṅkani 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 Rěmbang 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: *Safar*, date: 5, year: *Ehe*, 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. *wallāhu a'lam biṣṣawāb, thabbata 'llāhu imānakum fī ddunyā walākhirati*.

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. *Kaluṣuḥ* (i.e. *sinom*), *wuntěn sabdaniṅ nūtusan, hamṛtahakěn ṛkiki, lilimaḥ kaṅ mañjiṅ swarga, dudu 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. *Juraṅ* (i.e. *asmaradana*), *tan kocapa yaḥ-kub teki, kucapa maṅke deniṅwaṅ, bageṇḍa yusup ta maṅke*: Not to be mentioned is Jacob. To be mentioned now by me is the Lord Joseph.

P. ? . *Paṅkur*, one leaf lost.

P. 23. *Kaluṣuḥ* (i.e. *sinom*), *ri sampunira maṅ-kana, bageṇḍa musa sireki, duk sapucapan hyaṅ manun, hiṅ luhur prawatiṇuni*: 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 maṅke wuṅ wadon*

deniṅwaṅ, hana kucapa mali, saṅ putri hi temas, kaṅ ṅawasta jalika: 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. *Paṅkor, ri sampunira maṅkana, tan kocapa sira saṅ rajaputri, halami ni jro kaḍatun*: After this not to be mentioned is she, the King's daughter. A long time she was in the palace.

P. 39. *Kaluṅsuḥ, wuntěn carita kucapa, tiṅkahira husmannali*: There is a tale to be mentioned: the conduct of Usman.

P. 40. *Paṅkur, ri sampunera maṅkana, kucapa saṅ natha liwat derasi*: After this is to be mentioned the King, very much did he like him.

P. 50. *Sinum, wuntěn ta mali kucapa, wuṅ ṅayun pjě maṅkeki*: There is more to be mentioned, people who are going to die, now.

P. 57. *Salubuk* (i.e. *asmaradana*), *kucapa yusup sireki, gěnněp limaṅ tahun sira, laminira hana hi jru, waraṅka*: To be mentionde is Joseph. He now had been just five years in gaol.

P. 65. *Durma, ri sampuni maṅkana putri jaleka*: After this the Princess Jalika.

P. 78. *Paṅkor, wuntěn sabdaniṅ paṅḍita, kaṅ kucapa wuṅ akluh tapsir mali, hanaḥma bni habbas tekū*: 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 maṅkana, bhuyamin tinuluṅ mali, denira sira saṅ katuṅ*: After this Benjamin was attended to again by the King.

P. 102. *Salubuk, sapuni maṅkana tiki, bageṇḍa yaḥkub pamaca, surat*: After this the Lord Jacob read the letter.

The end reads as follows: *handikanera hyaṅ wedi, maṅke kucapa deniṅwaṅ, praptiṅ nabbi musa ṛku, hiḥ musa wruhanta hiya, hi bumi kudus sika, hakaḥa jaratireku, para nabbi 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 *captatio 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.

¶ ¹⁾ See note on JAV 4, the five animals.

Carita Yusup.

JAV 9 (C. 2173).

Lontar MS. in fairly good condition. The leaves measure 43.5×3.5 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). *ṅwaṅ teki melyaṅ ṅawi, carita yusup hinita, marmmaniṅ genurit maṅke, carita sinuṅan tēmbaṅ, tēmbaṅ hasmarandana, kasmaran tiṅsun aṅṅruṅu, tutur nabbi 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-jij hiṅ swarga, lelima hakyeniki*: There is a story of animals¹ entering Heaven, five is their number.

P. 13. *Salubbuk* (i.e. *asmaradana*), *tan kocapa yaḥkub tiki, kocapa maṅki diniṅwaṅ, bageṇḍa yusup ta maṅke*: 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 sañ adagaṅ, kahucapa maṅke dira saṅ kawī, munajat bageṇḍa yusup*: Not to be mentioned are the merchants, to be mentioned now by the honoured poet is the prayer of the Lord Joseph.

P. 26. *Tuya liwat i jroniṅ kukuruṅan* (i.e. *sinom*), *wontěn mali kawarnaha, nabbi musa kaṅ winarn-ni, duk sapucapan nyaṅ manon, hiḥ luhur prawa-tiṅuni*: 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. *Tamēguṅṅi timur* (i.e. *pangkur*), *sampuni maṅkana kiṅa, sakiṅ diṅa haris maṅke hanuli*: After this he went away from the country quietly now, soon.

P. 30. *Woṅ miṅgat* (i.e. *durma*), *tan kocapa maṅ-ke woṅ wadun diniṅwaṅ, hana kocapa mali, saṅ putri hiṅ timas*: Not to be mentioned are now the women by me. There is more to be mentioned, the Princess of Timas.

P. 38. *Sukuḥraba* (i.e. *pangkur*), *ri sampunira maṅkana, kahucapa sira saṅ rajaputri*: After this there is to be mentioned the honoured Royal Princess.

P. 43. *Rambottiṅ arp* (i.e. *sinom*), *wontěn mali kaṅ kocapa, teṅkahira husman mali*: There is a story to be mentioned, the conduct of Usman again.

P. 44. *Padanan* (i.e. *pangkur*), *re sampunira maṅ-kana, kahucapa saṅ nata liwat dira haṅi*: After

this is to be mentioned the King, he was very much liking him.

P. 56. *Rima kinaṅṅiliṅ malaṭi* (i.e. *sinom*), *wontěn ta male kocapa, woṅ ṅayun pjě siriki*: There is more to be mentioned, people who will die, now.

P. 64. *Ruruṅi* (i.e. *asmaradana*), *kocapa yusup siriki, gěnněp limaṅ tahun ika, laminira hana hi jro, waraṅka*: To be mentioned is Joseph. He now had been just five years in gaol.

P. 73. *Malayuwaṅ sakiṅ harga* (i.e. *durma*), *ri sampunira maṅkana putri jalika, pinangihakěn tiki, deni kaṅ 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: *misēm sri narindra, hami-harṅa wacana, niṅ prasanakira hiki, yen aṅucapa, bohuṅ yin sira paṅliṅ*: The Illustrious Prince smiled, hearing the words of his brothers here, as if 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.

¶ ¹) See note on JAV 4, the five animals.

Carita Yusup.

JAV 10 (C. 6726).

Lontar MS. in fairly good condition. Leaves measuring 46.5×3.5 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: *basmallahiṣun namamit, haněbbut wasta hyaṇ sukṣma, kaṇ mura ri dunya ṛko, rakim masih iṇ akerat, dan punikaḥ winarno, kaṇ sabda hali wenuwos, caritaniḥ nabbi hika. tatkala hikaṇ tinolin* (sic), *he dintěn sabtuḥ punika, pancawara hěpun niki, tanggal sapulu neka, mulut sasi punika, tahun wahu wastanepun, hujariṇ pramancaḥ maṅko, kalawan pra rěssi 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: *tinolis*) was Saturday, day of the five-day week: *Pon*, date: the tenth of the month of *Mulud* (i.e. *Rabī'ū l'auwal*, 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, *prapañca* 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 *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, s.v. *Tijdrekening*. 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 (*kabitan woṇ laraṇṇan tanpa giryya 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 kocapa yaku teki, kocapa maṅke deniṇwaṇ, bageṇḍa yre(su)p ta maṅko*: Not to be mentioned is Jacob, to be mentioned now by me is the Lord Joseph now.

P. 22. *Paṅkur, tan kocapa saṇ ṇadagaṇ, kahocapa maṅke dera saṇ kawī, manajat bageṇḍa 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, wontěn si caritanera, bageṇḍa musa sireki, duk sapoccapa hyaṇ manon, hi luhur prawatiniuni*: 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. *Paṅkur, sampuni maṅkona kesa, sakeṅ deṣa haris maṅke hanuli*: After this he went away from the country, quietly now, soon

P. 33. *Durma, tan kocapa maṅke woṅ wadon dinegwaṅ, hana kocapa mali, saṅ putri he timas*: Not to be mentioned are now the women by me, there is more to be mentioned, the Princess of Timas.

P. 41. *Paṅkur, ri sampunira maṅkana, tan kocapa maṅke saṅ rajaputri*: After this there is not to be mentioned the Royal Princess.

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

P. 48. *Paṅkur, ri sampunira maṅkana, kocapa saṅ ṇatha liwata derasi*: After this is to be mentioned the King, he was very much liking him.

P. 60. *Sinom, wontēn ta mali kocapa, woṅ ṇayuna pjě sireki*: There is more to be mentioned, people who will die, now.

P. 69. *Asmaradana, woṅ sitaně yusup mali, jaṅ-kěp gulihani harṣa, laminira ṇanekeṅ jro, waraṅka* (corrupt, without sense, see the corresponding canto in the other MSS.).

P. 72. *Rima harsiḥ* (i.e. *sinom*), *wontēn sabdaniṅ paṇḍita, hasusaḥ hinumana teki, hamṛtakēn nabbi duta, muhammad asidek liněwi*: 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. *Guyal-gayel* (i.e. *asmaradana*), *sakatahi hamapagi*: All came to meet him.

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

P. 97. *Salibah* (i.e. *paṅkur*), *wontēn sabdani paṅ-*

ḍita, kaṅ kocapa woṅ ṇalul tapsir mali, hanama ni hambaseku: There is a saying of the scholars: to be mentioned is a man learned in exegesis again, called Ibn Abbas.

P. 105. *Srinata* (i.e. *sinom*), *sawusi haṅlilir sira, bhuyamin tinuluṅ aglis, denira sira saṅ katoṇ*: When he woke up, Benjamin, he was attended to by the King, soon.

The last stanza is: *haṇḍikanira saṅ ṇatha, hiya kaṅ ṇiṅsun puneki, hamba ṇapuni maṅko, muga puranēn puneki, buya kirakireki, hiṇari keyamat-teku, hi harṣani hyaṅ manon, muga puranēn sireki, ḷwiḥ muraḥ kaṅ ṇapura hiṅ kawula*.

Translation: The words of the King were: Yes, as to me here, I forgive now (read: *ṇapurani*). May your being forgiven be beyond doubt on the Day of Resurrection, in the presence of the Holy All-Seeing One. May you be forgiven, extremely generous is He who forgives His servants.'

There follows yet an Arabic prayer: *punika duha mustajap. halahummaḥ ya muhammad, ya hu ya hu, bi raḥmatika ya harkamarrakiman*.

Translation: This is an efficacious prayer. O Allah, O Mohammed, O *Hu*, O *Hu*, by Your mercy, O Most Merciful of the merciful.

The MS. has no colophon, but the introduction contains a date. Although there are many mistakes in the text, it is fairly complete, which does not hold true of many other *lontar* MSS. of the same kind.

The cover boards of this MS. are decorated with a design painted in red and black and consisting of flowers and the pointed motif which has always been very popular in Javanese decorative art. Unfortunately a considerable part of the decoration is damaged by the scraping of the cover boards on the mats on the floor, every time the MS. was opened and laid out to be read. See Plate 22.

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 baḍa* (to be pronounced: *ta' bødø*) 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 'Abdul Muṭṭalib, 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.a. 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 *Sērat 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 addi-

tion 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.

Vreede's *Catalogus Rijksuniversiteitsbibliotheek Leiden* contains, pp. 36-59, a Dutch summary of an extensive Javanese version. In his *Beschrijving der handschriften van het K. Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, vol. *Ménak*, 1940, Poerbatjaraka gives full descriptions and summaries of the Javanese Amir Hamza poems and related romances, which he calls 'offshoots'. In 'The Romance of Amir Hamza in Java', *Bingkisan Budi*, papers offered to Professor van Ronkel on his 80th anniversary, Leyden 1950, the present author drew attention to some interesting features in the Books of our Lord. See also *Literature of Java*, vol. I, 1967, p. 212ff.

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 twentieth 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. Wulff.

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

First lines: *bismillahirrakmanirrakim. wontěn wicaritanira, ratu harab manjke hikañ kawarni, tatkala tatkalanira haturu, kalawan nrayinira, tiněmbañan pañkor, wus pađa haturu, hañepe hi pěđaj kamkam, kañ 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. 9. *Srinata, wus kiça humarmaya, lawan sira humarmadi*: Already went away Umarmaya with Umarmadi.

P. 32. *Durma, nuli tinitiyen pun sakadi wijak, dinera bageñđa hamir*: Soon was mounted *Sakadi wijak* (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, binuru hustur rika, lawan nata gulangi, hamburu hiku, lawan nata nusantara, sabalanira puniki.*

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

P. 43(?). *Luhur i miga* (above the clouds, *kinanti*), *tan kocapa cira hiku, won kaj hambaraṇḍa hiki, kocapa kaj para nata, malbbu hi kiṭa niki, kalawan sira saṅ 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 hijuḥ, tumuli kiṭa cira saṅ putra, lawan ramanira rēke kuneka . . . ganggangpati kocapa*: Immediately went away the Prince with his father . . . Ganggangpati (a grandson of Amir Hamza's) is to be mentioned.

P. ? . *Paṅkor, nuli kambur(?) cūri narindra, lawan putrinnira cira puneki, putri jumantara hiku, lawan putri hasmara*: Immediately flew away (?) the King with his daughters, the Princess Juman-tara and the Princess Asmara.

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

P. 139 (?). *Kawon yudani, laḥ kariya saḍaya puneka hiya, hiṅsun keṇa tumuli*: Farewell all here, I go away immediately.

P. 128 (?). *Raṇḍa lilis, tumuliḥ kiṭa rahadyan*: Immediately went away the knight.

P. 199 (?). *Mihus, wus manjiṅ maṅke kaḍaton*: 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. *Ménak*, 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. 39b) are in the *durma* metre and run as follows: *tumuli kiça sira gagah sañara, lawan nraja hiki, kiça hiñ alunan, wus kabur riñ awiyat, hawur lawan*

miga puti, wus katiñalan, puñduk woñ mēka teki; – wus tumurun sira gagah sañara, lawan nraja hiki, tumurun gra çira, ðatēñ huma puneka, hapi hapi hiñ woñ giriñ, sarwwi lumampa, nitini puñduk 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. 50b): *hiñ ipe katun kadipa sira* (read: *kadi sarīra*) *hiya, haniñ guwa hasiñit, guwani siluman, harani guwa hika, hēñgini puneka singgi, hayu kalintañ, sapulahi mantēssi; – cahyannira hamadani hiñ jro guwa, kadi rahina hiki, kasēnnannan cahya, kadi wulan purnama, sakiñ jro guwa siriki, kabyari cahya, lwir tañit 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 *kinanñi* metre. In the text this metre is called *tutuping pratata* 'cover of the nether world', which does not make much sense. The words must contain an allusion to the word *kinanñi*, 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 over again by the scribe.

The first stanza of the canto, in the *kinañti* metre, begins as follows (p. 51 a): *guwa siluman puneka, rahaddyan bayu nagari, hiṅgar manahira hika, hañulat mriṅ 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 *hapraṅ 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: *tumuli kiça sira raddyan suwaṅça, sakiṅ ramanniriki, haṅrasuk busana, lañciñan ciṅḍe kēmbaṅ, kṛris kakali hiṅangi, sabuk paṭula, gandanya mṛbuk awaṅi*.

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

The fourth canto, in *asmaradana* ('gift of love', in the text called *kēpingen* 'desire'), begins on p. 99 b as follows: *datan kawarṇna hi ratri, hikaṅ lagi kasukan, kaṅ rama lawan putrini, sigēgēṅ datan kocapa, hagantini carita, . . . saṅ raja nagara . . .*; — *hadṛbiḥ putri saçiki, haran diwi manigaran, kalaṅkoṅ hayu warṇnane, . . .*

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 *raṅḍa anom* 'young widow') begins on p. 104 a: *wus kiça sira raddyan, sakiṅ musuh çira hiki, lpas lampahira halon, hanuju halas kaṅ siñit, tanana kaṅ kahēnti, rahina wēñi lumaku . . .*

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 *kinañti* (*tutuping pratola*), begins on p. 109 a: *wus kiça raddyan puneka, kakali puneka siṅgi, kaya kēmbaṅ warnnanira, hakakaliḥ 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 (*sasra ludira*), called Kṛta Laksa, which was to be found in the country of Rañcang 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 *ḍaṇḍanggula*, which is not used in the other MSS.

The first part is in the *pangkur* metre.

P. 24. *Ḍaṇḍanggula*, *rajaḥ sasraḥ madya ṇandika haris*, *balik sira ki barat katiga*, *moṇ sira prajurit wani*: King Sasra Madya (?) said kindly, 'Back you are, Barat Katiga. Well, you are a brave soldier.'

P. 27. *Durma*, *umarmaya maṇke liṇera ṇandika*, *hiya haku ṇidrani*: Umarmaya's words now were, speaking, 'Yes, I cheated.'

P. 31. *Asmaradana*, *marmadiḥ hamuwus aris*, *datan giṇṇer hujarira*: Marmadi said kindly, 'Not swerving (from the truth) is your speaking.'

P. 34. *Paṅkur*, *ni haṇlungsari ṇandika*, *mariṇ hēmban niñahira puniki*: The fair Anglungsari (the Princess) said to her duenna.

P. 35. *Ḍaṇḍanggula*, *jayeṇranaḥ kapanggih aguliṇ lawan grawa hicaḥ denya nindra*: Jayengrana (i.e. Amir Hamza) was found sleeping, with his wife, comfortably resting.

P. 36 – p. 43. Hiatus.

P. 43. *Durma*.

P. 45. *Pangkur*, illegible.

Hiatus, *ḍaṇḍanggula*.

P. 53. *Pangkur*, *tan kocapaḥ radyan kalaḥ*, *wontēn maliḥ kaṇ cinatur*, *nēṇgiḥ bhumih jabal-kap*, *ratunipun nējim sēllam*: Not to be mentioned is the vanquished knight (or, reading *kalih*: are the two knights) . . . There is more to be told. There is the Land of Jabal Qāf. Its King was a Moslem *jinn*.

Hiatus, *Sinom*.

P. 63. *Ḍaṇḍanggula*, *wos salamaḥ dewiḥ kurisin-na*, *hiṇ nuṣaḥ luḍaya rahadyan*, *jaṇkēp pituṇ candra maṇkiḥ*: A long time already the Princess Kuraisin (i.e. Amir Hamza's daughter) had been in the island of Luḍaya, just seven months now. Hiatus, *Pangkur*.

P. 72. *Ḍaṇḍanggula*, *kaduspundiḥ karsa padukamir*: What is the wish of the noble Amir?

Hiatus, *Durma*.

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

P. 79. *Asmaradana*, *matur radin sadasatir*, *ḍatēṇ iṇ saṇ jayeṇrana*: Raden Sadasatir (i.e. Amir Hamza's foster-brother) said to Jayengrana (i.e. Amir Hamza).

P. 81. *Sinom*, *saksana sorup raditya*, *kucapa kaṇ haniṇ puri*: Soon the sun went down. To be mentioned are those who were in the palace.

P. 82. *Daṇḍanggula, tan kawarṇna dewi aloṅsari, sampun nidra haniṅ pasariyan*: Not is described the Princess Anglungsari. She was already asleep in her bedroom.

P. 84. *Sinom, saṅ jayeṅrana hamuwus, haḍuḥ ña-wa gusti mami*: Jayengrana spoke, 'Ah, my soul, my lady.'

P. 85. *Durma, taṅ kocapaḥ woṅ minak kaṅ aniṅ pura*: Not to be mentioned is the *Menak*, who was in the palace.

P. 92. *Pangkur, saṅ nata maṅki ṇandika, yen maṅkana hundañenna seriki*: The King then said, 'If so, call him.'

P. 93. *Daṇḍanggula, hesun neki woṅ tuwaḥ ki phatiḥ*: 'I here am an old man, Sir Patih.'

P. 96. *Pangkur, kakiḥ salidir puniki, sampun ñipta mariṅ kakasaṅ ñiki, hiḥ kakasaṅ hisun niku, hañjaluk burun nalas*: Old Man Salidir now concentrated on his bag: 'Well, my bag, I ask you for wild animals.'

The MS. ends abruptly with some stanzas about the wild animals used as auxiliaries in war in the Amir Hamza romances. There is no colophon nor any other ending. On account of the writing and the idiom I venture to place the MS. in the latter half of the nineteenth century. It is to be regretted that the poor condition and fragmentary nature of the MS. make a close examination of the contents extremely difficult, since the tale seems to be of some interest.

ISLAMIC ROMANCES IN JAVANESE

Kidung Amad.

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

Lontar ėmbat-ėmbatan, consisting of 7 leaves, which are very long: ca. 56×3.5 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 Vreede's *Catalogus van de Javaansche 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. Tuuk* 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 *pangkur* 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: *saṅ dyah muluk kiñambarā, hawor lambat lambat lan megha putih, wontěn garuḍā kadulu, aguṅ punaṅ garuḍa, cucukkipun wsi purasani mañcur, hanetra ratna kombala, hēlarre gaṅsa hañjrihin*.

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 *purasani* 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 Farce over Muhammedanismen, som uden Held forsøgte at trænge 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 appreci-

ated 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 Shivaite Gagang Aking ('Dry Stalk') and the esoteric Buddhist philosopher Bubhukṣa ('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 (*Çiwa 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, 1–63.

Contents: a romantic poem relating the history of King Samarkandi and his two sons Suksmaweda 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: *bismillahirrakmañirrakem* (*asmaradana* metre), *tatkalan keñ anolis, hi dina suma punika, hi sasi rějěp ta mañke, hi tahun nalip punika, wuku bala winarna, tanggal piñ sadasa tiku, pasawara lgi hika*. – After the usual *captatio benevolentiae* comes the name of the poem: *careta kañ woñ tinulis, caritani ratu hika, prabhu samarkandi kañ woñ, haputra kakalih ika, wastanikañ atuwa, radyan suksmaweda siku, kañ 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): Lěgi. – A history now is written, the history of a king. King Samarkandi now, he had two sons. The name of the elder was *Raden* Suksmaweda, the younger was Suksmawinata.

P. 11. *Pañkur, tita měñku nata saña, tañ kahucap kulawak banin gusti*: Finished is now the story about the nine kings (?). Who is to be mentioned is . . .

P. 22. *Mandirañ jru puri* (i.e. *kinanñi*), *hañamet kawulannisun, gantene kulit daputi*: Taking my servant, changing into a white skin (?).

P. 29. *Luga, tumiba karsa sañ prabñu kapatu hi tyañ*: Occurred a desire to the King, very strong, for me (?).

P. 36. *Kěbběk* (i.e. *sinom* ?), illegible.

P. 59. *Sinom, sampun těllas kañ ñanurat, hiñ dina hangara tiki, hi wulan nrasul ta mañke, tahun nějim mawwal siñgiñ, wuku prañ bakat tiki, pancari kaliwon tiku, wayah liñsir baskara, tanggal caturwěllas siñgiñ pañk majiñ waktuni hassri punika*. – *tatkalanikañ ñanurat, ñusun battra kilin siñgiñ, dul witani tambañ puca(ñ), kilini gunđañ puniki, saduli tupalaki* (?), *hiñ trusan puna* (?) *hi tikuñ, niñta hina kateñoñ, badan kawula puniki, sastranipun kaya cinakar riñ sata*. – *pañěđđani-pun nanurat, miwa kañ amaca tiki, sakiñ kědda kañ anurat, sastra winur garagarit, tanduk tan patut tiki, wođu kawula mlasayun, yin lwi patina-na, yin kirañ dipun nasuñi, tan wro kidul lur kulun witan punika*.

Translation: Already finished has the writer, this Tuesday, in the month of the Messenger (Rabī' ul'awwal), now, year: Jim awwal (the third in the octennial cycle), to be sure, *wuku*: Prangbakat, *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 Bětra)-West, to be sure, south-east of Tambang Pucang (?), west of Gunđang, 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 singled 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 pañucap i wuṅ kaṅ haṅlamar*: 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 42.2×3.2 cm, those of the second MS. (B) 39×3.2 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 Javanese 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: *tammāt hiṅ dintěn hahat, tanggal 22, sasi ṛjēp, tahun jimakir, haṅkaniṅ warsaḥ 1745, hapurani hikaṅ hanulis, sakiṅ kumalancaṅ hika, tan wi sabēnarre maṅke, yi kiray wuwuhana, yin luwi luḡhana, ta sagēt basa siriki, sakiṅ kumalancaṅ hika.*

Translation: Complete on Sunday, the 22nd of the month of Rajab, 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: *gin*) 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 puyang-payinan, harjuna tumulya haglis, haněmban mariṅ paṛmman, sinarihakěn dyan diwi, sampun napulaṅ rasmi, harjuna lan radyan galu, sumbadra lan sri nata, datan kawarnaha mali, kaṅ siněrat caritan sampun tėlās. sampun totuk kaṅ siněrat, mugaḥ hiṅapuraḥ singgi, tanggal piṅ kali ta rěka, tahun alip wastaniki, hiṅ dina hat niki, pancawara wagiḥ hiku, bukuni warigaḥ rěka, tampaḥ kaněm wastaniki, hiya hikaṅ haněrat, paḥ ruhadin nika.*

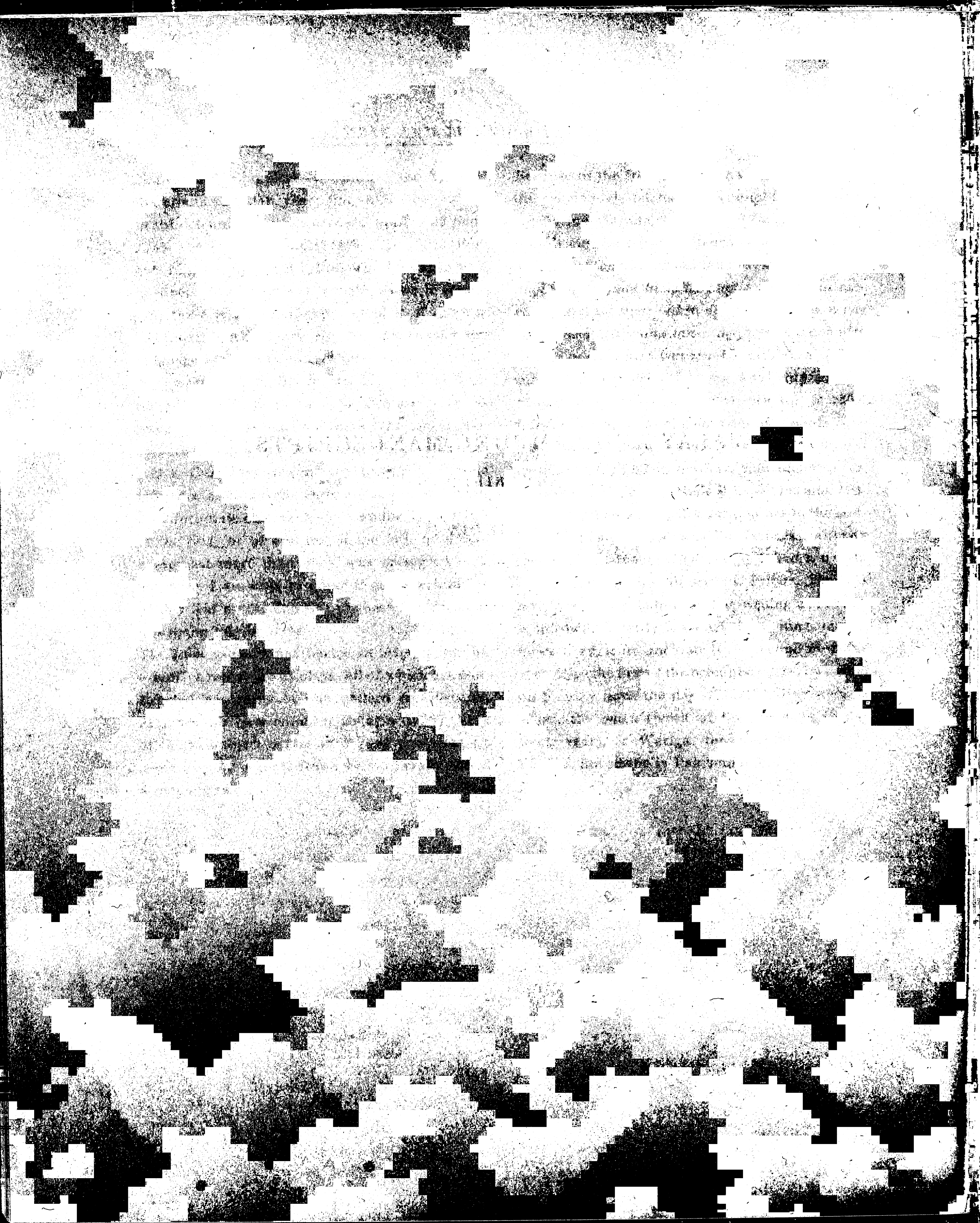
Translation: The Illustrious Princess became restless, Arjuna soon, quickly, carried her to the bed-chamber, laid to rest was the Princess, already they had intercourse, Arjuna and Raden Galuh, Sumbadra and the Illustrious Prince. There is no more to be mentioned. The writing of the tale is finished. 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 Kaněm, the scribe is Pak *Ruhadin*.

MALAY AND LAMPUNG MANUSCRIPTS

DESCRIBED

BY

P. VOORHOEVE



MALAY MANUSCRIPTS

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 Malayan 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 Malaysian and Indonesian governments in 1972 is followed, except for the Arabic *šīn*, which has been transliterated *ś*. The indistinct vowel (shēwa, Javanese pēpēt) is indicated by *e* whereas *é* and *è* are distinguished from it by accents.

Hikayat Zādbakht.

MALAY (Arab) 1 (Cod. Mal. I).

Book in half-leather binding. Title on the back in Arabic characters: Hikāyat Zadā Bakht. 2 fly-leaves and 116ff. 26.5×19.5 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 Bakhtin 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. 114v, 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: *Bismi'llāhi'r-raḥmāni'r-raḥīm. Wabihi nasta'īnu billāhi 'alā* (the usual corruption of *al-a'lā*). *Bahwa kemudian daripada itu ketahuilah / oléhmu hai orang yang hendak menengarkan hikayat zaman dahulu kala daripada ceritera segala raja² bahwa sanya ada seorang raja daripada segala raja² dalam negeri 'Ajam terlalu 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 meréka itu dengan sempurnanya. Tammāt. Maka berlindunglah kita kepada Allah daripada melebihi dan mengurangi daripada asalnya ceritera ini. Tiadalah sekali² yang demikian melainkan ditambahi perkataan ambil mengerti bahasa dan ditambahi itu dengan šarḥ (l. šarḥ) supaya menerangkan dia / itulah adanya. Tammātlah hikayat raja Zad(a)bakht(in) yang amat indah² karangannya ini dalam negeri Singapura kepada tujuh belas hari bulan Ša'bān al-mukarram kepada ta'riḥ sanat 1253 tahun kepada tujuh belas hari bulan November tahun maséhi sanat 1837. Intahā.*

Adapun jang menyuratnya hikayat ini al-fakīr ilā 'llāhi ta'ālā Abdullah bin Abdulkadir Munsi dan yang empunya hikayat ini tuan North¹ orang Merikan 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 (*Hikajat 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 105.⁴

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 Zādbakht* (also spelt *Zadabakhtin*, *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).

London, R. A. S.: Maxwell coll. 109 (Winstedt MS.).

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

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

Paris, Bibl. Nat.: mal.-pol. 55 and 276.

Our copy is remarkable because it was written by the well-known Malay author Abdullah bin Abdulkadir.⁵ 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 Dulaaurier 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: Abdulwahhāb 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 menjawab hikayat ini daripada bahasa Arab yaitu tuan haji Abdulwahhāb anak Siantan daripada kitab hikayat al-ḥabīb Šaikh bin 'Alawī al-Saḳḳāf*: Haji Abdulwahhāb, a man from Siantan, translated this story from an Arabic story-book in the possession of the Habib (descendant of the Prophet) Shaikh bin 'Alawī al-Saḳḳāf. 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 'Alawī Saḳḳāf yang empunya dia dengan bahasa Arab, maka dijawabkan oleh tuan haji Abdulwahhāb Siantan yang 'ālim di tanah Riau. Maka iapun telah wafat di tanah Riau itu, di Pulau Penyengat kuburnya itu. Maka disalin pula oleh Encik Kecut tukang tembaga; itupun telah mati jua da-

lam Riau, di Pulau Penyengat jua kuburnya. Kemudian maka disalin pula oléh Encik Kalu', itupun telah mati jua, didalam negeri Lingga kuburnya itu. Kemudian disalin pula oléh Engku Sayyid Muhammad Zain Kudusi, itupun telah wafat jua ia, didalam Lingga makamnya. Kemudian disalin pula oléh tuan Walbeehm kepada Engku Sayyid itu, dan yang menyuratnya Encik Muhammad Tahak. Maka tatkala sudah buruk suratnya itu maka disuruhnya pula salin oléh tuan Walbeehm itu kepada Encik Sa'id orang Riau peranakan Bugis, maka diberikannya oléh tuan Walbeehm itu Hikayat Ghulām ini kepada anaknya jang bernama sinyor Frederik supaja anaknya itu dapat faham membaca surat Melayu dan mengikut pengajaran dalam hikayat ini barang yang patut²nya: The Arabic original of this Story of Ghulām was in the possession of the Habib Shaikh bin 'Alawi Saḫḫāf. It was translated into Malay by the learned Haji Abdulwahhāb 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.⁶

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. 135; 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 Sha'bān 1253 is 16th November 1837. ³) See P. Voorhoeve, *Het boek der tien Vizieren in het Maleisch*, in *TBG.* 73 (1933) pp. 427-435. ⁴) Cf. P. Voorhoeve, *De grote Hikajat Bachtiar*, in *B.K.I.* 125 (1969) p. 374 et sq. ⁵) Concerning him see: Winstedt, *History* ch. xii and *Enc. of Islām*² s.v. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ḳādir. 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 Europeaan in de Maleische literatuur* (1937) pp. 260 et sq.).

Hikayat Tamīm al-Dārī and other stories

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

Book bound in leather. Paper with watermark Whatman 1794. 107 ff. 31.5×19 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 Abdulkadir Munši): *Ini ada enam tujuh hikayat harganya \$ 15, this contains 6 or 7 stories, price \$ 15.—, and in ink (same hand as in MS. I):*

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 Malayo-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 Ša'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 Tamīm 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: *Wabihi nasta'īnu billāhi'l-a'lā. Bahwa inilah suatu ceritera terlalu 'ajaib dikeluarkan daripada kitab Ta'rīkh al-ḥujurāt. Diceriterakan oleh orang yang empunya ceritera ini ada seorang sahabat Rasulullah ṣallā'llāhu 'alaihi wa-sallam jang bernama Tamīm 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 Tamīm al-Dārī son of Ḥabīb, an Anṣārī of Madina.

I do not know what is meant by the "History of the Rooms" (*Ta'rīkh al-ḥujurāt*). It may be a corrupt spelling for *Ta'rīkh al-Ḥijāz*, the History of the Ḥijāz, or an allusion to the Koran, sūra 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 tersebutlah perkataan Tamimuddari tatkala disambar oleh jin itu dibawahnya kepada bumi jang keempat lapis itu dan peri diam disana dan peri mengatakan tatkala diambil oleh raja jin islam dan peri mengajar anak raja jin islam itu dan peri mengatakan tatkala ia disuruh 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 buta 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 Tamimuddari bin Habib kaum Ansari jang diterbangkan oléh* (the name of the *jin kafir*): how the infidel jinn flew away with Tamimuddari. – 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 Tamimuddari setelah ia melihat hal yang demikian itu maka iapun héranlah*: when T. saw this (i.e. the behaviour of the devils) he wondered.

p. 15 *Al-kissah maka tersebutlah perkataan Tamimuddari itu tatkala berjalan daripada tempat Dajjāl dan peri mengatakan ia menumpang kapal orang benua Hindi lalu ia rusak didalam kapal itu lalu berenang ia didalam laut dan peri mengatakan tatkala ia berenang itu lalu ia naik ke pulau pada tengah laut itu dan peri mengatakan tatkala ia bertemu dengan tujuh buah negeri berlaksa² orang didalamnya negeri itu demi sebuah kepada sebuah demikianlah juga dan peri mengatakan tatkala ia bertemu dengan jin 'ifrīt itu lalu ia pergi ke guha nabi Allah Sulaiman 'alaihi'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 'ifrīt 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 Tamimuddari yang bernama Khau-*

lah(?) didalam benua Madinah: on T.'s wife, Khaulah, in Medina.

p. 32 *Al-kissah maka tersebutlah perkataan hikayat Tamimuddari bin Habib dan tatkala ia diam beserta dengan nabi Allah Khidir 'alaihi's-salām dan tatkala ia disuruh mengantarkan oléh nabi Allah Khidir 'alaihi's-salām kepada awan ke rumahnya dan lalu ia bertitah(?) dengan Khidir dan lalu berhukum kedalam masjid kepada Amīr al-mu'minīn 'Umar raḍija'llāhu 'anhu dan tiada terhukumkan oléh Amīr al-mu'minīn itu lalu dibawa oléh Amīr al-mu'minīn kepada Sayyidinā 'Alī raḍiya'llāhu 'anhu dan lalu ia pulang ke rumahnya dan kepada anak isterinya*: how T. stayed with the prophet of God Khidr; how Khidr ordered a cloud to take him back to his home, and how he took his leave (? *l. berpisah?*) from Khidr; 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 'Alī (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 oléh segala anak isterinya ia, maka sekaliannya meréka itupun habis menangislah dengan tangis yang mahasangat. Wallāhu a'lamu bi's-ṣawāb*: 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).

A short version with an *isnād* (chain of transmission) ‘Abd al-Razzāk – Mālik – ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb is found in the MSS. Leiden Or. 1719, 1975, 1991, 7324(2) (formerly S.H. 97), Manchester John Rylands University Library no. 5, and Jakarta Br. 421 F.

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. 1297, 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 *Kěsusastěraan Mělayu 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 emendated 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 burung barau-barau*; 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 Sulaiman*.

(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 Sabur, 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.

(f) p. 52. 30th tale of the H.B.B. The story of the gold in a stick, well-known from Cervantes' Don Quixote. See *Jaarboek Kon. Batav. Gen.* II (1934) p. 49.

(g) p. 52. 31st tale of the H.B.B. *Lailā* and *Maj-nūn*, 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 Jumjumah*, 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 Ísmaiyàtim' 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: *Bismillāhi'r-raḥmā-ni'r-raḥīm wabihi nasta'īnu billāhi 'alā. Bahwa kemudian daripada itu al-ḥamdu lillāh rabbi'l-'ālamīn wa'l-'āḳibatu li'l-muttaḳīn. Aṣ-ṣalāt wa's-salām 'alā rasūlika sayyidinā Muḥammad wa-ālihi wa-ṣaḥbihi ajma'īn. Bahwa sesungguhnya telah*

haraplah kami akan (p. 60) rahmatnya dan ampunnya. Ketahui oléhmú sekalian yang membaca hikayat ini empat perkara faédah dalamnya. 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] Śahdan Mengindera Rupa kerajaan itu seorangpun tiada ada beraniaya daripada sangat adilnya baginda itu dan saksama periksa baginda itu. Maka negeri Berangka Jaya itupun nentiasa didalam kesukaan juga. Maka kararlah baginda Sultan Déwa Śahdan Mengindera Rupa itu diatas tahta kerajaan seperti air didalam talam sejuk lagi limpah kepada sekalian ra'yat semuanya, dan sekalian bala tenteranyapun mupakat dengan kesukaannya, dinugrahakan Tuhan sarwa sekalian alam dengan berkat nabi Muhammad ṣallā'llāhu 'alaihi wa-sallam, dan tetaplah diatas kerajaan senantiasa dengan bersuka²an adanya. Dan tammatlah al-ḥikāyat Isma Yatim kepada tahun seribu dua ratus tiga puluh delapan, delapan likur hari bulan Śa'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:

our text	Roorda v. E.	Leiden MS.
p. 60	p. 2 l.2	p. 2
p. 63	p. 8 l.1	p. 8
p. 64	p. 10 l.14	p. 11
p. 71	p. 26 l.10	p. 27
p. 90	p. 62 l. 1	p. 70
p. 99	p. 77 l.21	p. 90
p. 102	p. 82 l. 4	p. 96
p. 110	p. 96 l. 8	p. 113
p. 132	p. 136 l.17	p. 163
p. 152	p. 172 l. 7	p. 200
p. 167	p. 196 l.24	p. 245

On p. 176 l.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. CXC-CXCIII.

Leiden Or. 1747, 1737, 1653(1) and 3320(1)

(Cat. Juynboll CXXXVI-CXXXIX).

Oph. 53 (Suppl. Cat. Van Ronkel no. 50).

London, Br. Mus. Add. 12379.

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

Paris, Bibl. Nat. mal.-pol. 85.

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. 5822 a).

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.	7	0	0	8				
	(position of 7 and 8 uncertain)											
III.	0	0	0	9	10	11	12	13	14	0	0	0
IV.	15	0	0	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 Jawa*. Whilst the repertoire of the *wayang kedek* and the *wayang Siam* is derived from the *Rāmāyana*, the *wayang Jawa* 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 Jawa*. 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 Jawa*. 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 (l.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 *Panjita*les, 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 *lā* 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 copyist 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-ses. 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 krisses 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 oléhm*.
- f. 6r *Maka Perabu 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 Turas or Jemuras (for Javanese *Cemur*). In the illustration on f. 1v the figure of

Turas was added by a later hand to the Javanese pair of Semar and Nalagarèng.

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. 7v: *demikianlah ceritera 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 Mahābhārata, 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 Javaansche 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 our MS. is slightly older.

Summary: (1r) 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 Rupakénca), and then with Perabu Anom himself. The clowns Semar and Nalagarèng bet on the two champions. (1v) The fight causes commotion in heaven. When Batara Guru sees that Sentanu and Pulasara (this is the name of Perabu Anom, Skr. *Parāśara*, Jav. *Palasara*) fight, he sends Narada down to earth to settle their dispute. Pulasara'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. Satyavatī), 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 counsellors Patih 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 *raksasas*. 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 *raksasas*. (6r) Perabu Anom enters the city and speaks with Patih 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 in 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 Mandaraka, 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 (Pandur 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 lahiripun (birth of) Gatutkaca (Kats p. 289 et sq.) – (9r) 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 raksasas. The gates of heaven are closed and Narada is sent to Bima to ask him for his son Radin Kacanegara 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 Gatutkaca. 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 Gatutkaca to Purabaya, to be king there. Peri Késa follows him as his *patih* (grand vizier), and his mother Déwi Arimbi also accompanies her son. The king of Martapura, Darmakusuma, takes counsel with his cousin Batara 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 Purabaya before he was married. Kesna sends for Gatutkaca (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 Abimayu 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. Gatutkaca himself goes first to Sang Boma in Teraju Tisna to borrow his *balai rum* (probably = *balai rung*, hall of assembly).

Boma wants to delay, but Gatutkaca insists to take the *balai* with him at once. They wrestle, until Boma's mother Déwi Pertibi settles the dispute: Boma will soon bring the *balai* himself. (13v) Then Gatutkaca goes to Singgala to fetch the *balai soko domas* (hall with 800 pillars) from Raja Babihsana (cf. Kats p. 291). Babihsana is willing to give the *balai*, but says that only Anuman can carry it. (14r) But Gatutkaca takes the *balai* with him carrying it himself, after Babihsana ordered the guarding devils (*sétan*) to leave it. Gatutkaca's bride, Puteri Candrawati, in the meantime gives birth to a son, who exactly resembles Gatutkaca. The grandfather instructs his son Candrakusuma to kill the child, but when he has stabbed it thrice, it runs away. (14v) The grandfather gives the boy the name Radin Perka(ng)sa. Only a man who can defeat him will be allowed to marry his mother. (15r) In Martapura everything is made ready to escort Gatutkaca to his bride. Radin Perkasa meets the bridegroom's escort on the way and runs amuck. (15v) After many people are killed Gatutkaca 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 Déwi Pergiwa, daughter of Arjuna and wife of Gatutkaca. 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 Gatutkaca 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 Gatutkaca 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 Nalagarèng and Sencabalik. 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 Setiajaya 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 Srikandi, about the marriage of his son Radin Sumitra(?)² 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), Déwi Srikandi, 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. Setiajaya 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) Setiajaya is chased by Sang Rajuna, who suddenly turns up also. He flies to his mother Pertiwi, 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 Pucung 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 kris 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 Antaradja 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 Pergiwangsa, 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 Pergiwangsa 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, Pergiwangsa, 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 Pergiwangsa's white tiger is defeated. (35 r) After Pergiwangsa 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 Sutuma, (36 r) Radin Dursasana and Tumenggung Jayacitra. – On the lower half of f. 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 Korawas 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 Gatutkaca 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, *l.c.* p. 22 agrees with this date. ²⁾ Seems to be Irawan, though in Kats's survey p. 342 Sumitra is another son of Arjuna.

A LAMPUNG MANUSCRIPT

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.

LAMPUNG 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 similar text is published in O. L. Helfrich's *Lampongsche teksten* (Verh. Bat. Gen. XLV, 4, 1891) p. 37 et sq. (romanized) with the title: *Tuah manuk*.

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 19 and a 20 (see Plate 33).

Transliteration:

a 19. *mati | sělayang*
dicampěrri kě-
labu sěpang kukut
injuk dikě-
rak'i lěngu

a 20. *biring tabuwan mati*
| biring tatah kě-
cik lalat
lima jak tanggai
| bulu těmiyang

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 *Südsumatranische Handschriften*, but it will be mentioned in a supplement to that catalogue.

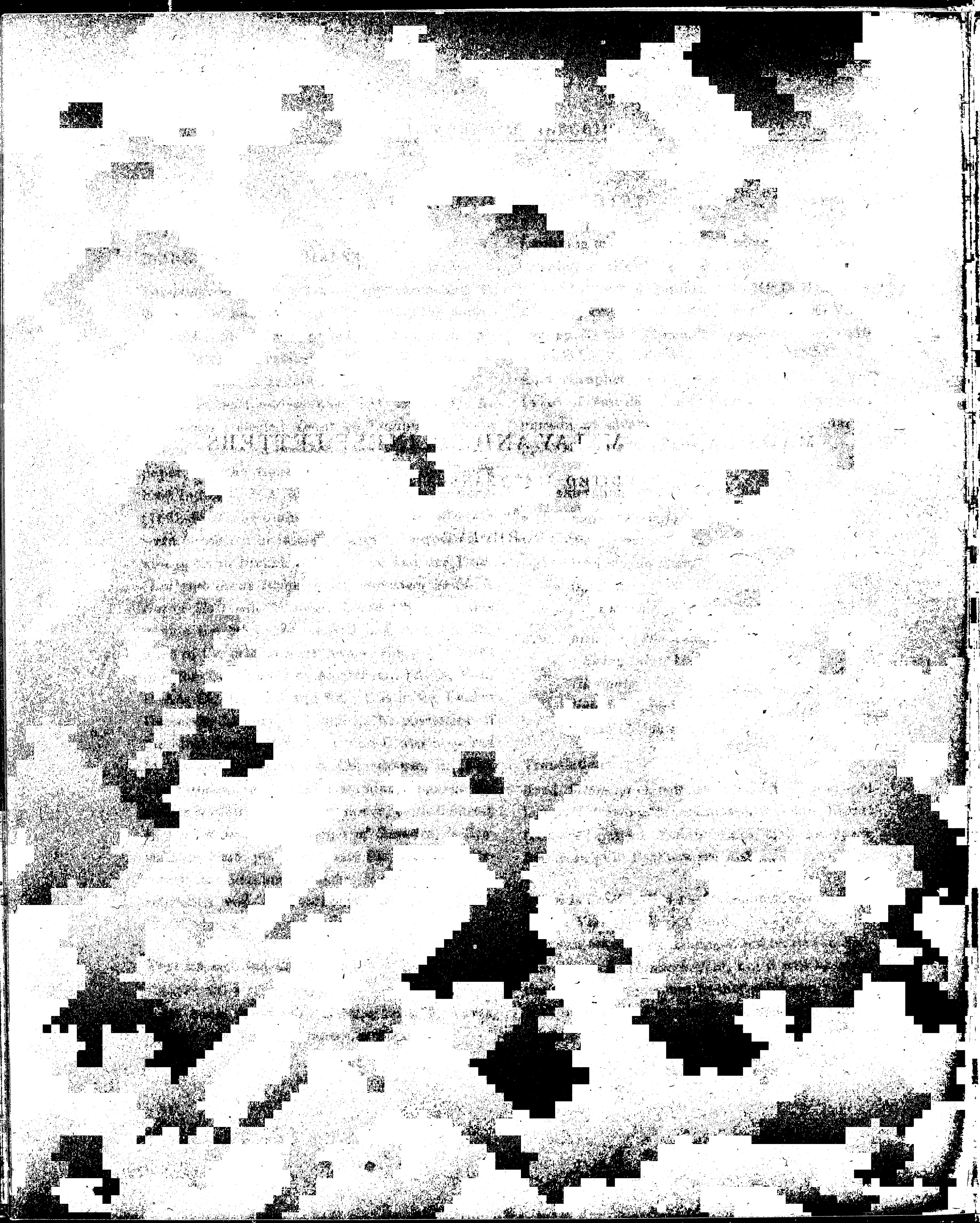
On the reverse of our bark book there is a short Islamic charm, incomplete.

MADS LANGE'S MALAY AND BALINESE LETTERS

EDITED AND TRANSLATED

BY

P. VOORHOEVE



MADS LANGE'S MALAY AND BALINESE LETTERS

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 Lange-land. 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 ship-owner, 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 Kenyèr 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 bsar di Kotta, Bali Badung, jwa adanya. Skarang adalah saya mambilang kapada twan, didalem ini surāt, yang dahulu, témpo blun saya dapet anak, dngen twan, yang twan punya niat kapada saya, jikalo twan sampé dapet anak laki dwa, twan mawo

cariken sayā kembang mās, dngen satu pending, makā skarang dari itu, itulah sayā mambri inget kapada twan, sebak skarang twan suda dapet anak (verso) laki dwa, jwa adanya. Sahdan lagi skarang maka adalah sayā minta parbanyak kapada twan, jikalo twan ada sukā dan kesyan, kapada saya, saya minta satu kréta kecil, mawo bikin maènnya 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 a(2)danya. Sahdan lagi, saya minta ampun parbanyak-banyak kapada twan, jikalo twan ada suka, dan kesyan kapada saya, maka adalah saya, minta dwa slèndang sutra, kapada twan, sebak saya dyata (a scribal error for tyada) sakali punya slèndang, jwa adanya. Lain tyada dari saya, malèngken saya kirim tabé dan slamet parbanyak-banyak kapada twan, supayā twan bar-olé slamet, dan tyada kurang swatu apa-apā, jwa adanya. Tartuli (verso)s di Tabanan, kapada nem ari, bulah ðulkaidā, 1850. Sahdan lagi saya ada dnger kabar, twan mawo blayar, malèngken saya kasih slamet jalan sajā, kapada twan, jwa adanya. Saya Nyai Kenyèr./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 Dhulkaidah 1850.

Next I have heard that you will undertake a sea voyage. I only wish you a good passage. From me, Nyai Kenyèr.

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: "framin Balli Kone til mig –", i.e. "from my Balinese wife to me".

It thus appears that Lange's first wife was called Nyai Kenyèr 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 Krarup 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).

1 palmleaf, 4×25.5 cm. Balinese letter from Ngurah Gedé Kasiman to Lange. Ed. *Fund og Forskning* II, 128–130.

Text:

Twan punggawa bĕsar, ñahan i Silune mapananke luwas, galungan, dĕpan, ne tyan i twan, Pan Krabĕt, mwah Pan Mijĕn, jalanan ka Bañuwangi jani, ĩirinj utusan Cokorda iĕda i Dewa Agung, bkĕlne twan manasih samadya. (verso) *Saya ĩurah Gĕde.*

Translation:

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

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

Superscription in ink in Lange's hand on the front of the letter: "Tuan Pangowa Bezar! 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 Nytaar beder jeg dem at forblive her og komme op til mig i Besøg." I.e. Tuan Pangowa Bezar! (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 gdé", in which the syllable *ĩū* 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 *ĩū* 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).

1 palmleaf, 4×21.3 cm. Balinese letter from Nyoman Mayun to Lange. Ed. *Fund og Forskning* II, 130–131. See Plate 37.

Text:

Tuwwan Lanĕ, ne malu saya misalah i Jambot, kin-sanaŋ saya tken tuwwan, ne jani deniŋ ya suba ġrasa salah, i Jambot bwin budal saya tken tuwwan, deniŋ i Jambot suba mulih ka Maŋwi, da bwin tuwwan ġibu-kaŋ ya, paŋ suba ya jumah di Maŋwi. (verso) Saya Noman Mayun.

Translation:

Mr. Lange. Earlier I have banished Jambot, I have placed him in your custody. Now, seeing that he has 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 possession and wish to know your wishes and his fault—and if I shall send him back to you. I am Rajan Newam Maium."

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:

Tuwwan Lanĕ, ne saya mbaaŋ caroriŋ, dwaŋ tgĕn, mwah tken i ñoñah putu atgĕn, twan tunden saya mbaaŋ iya, naŋiŋ tan sumapala pĕsan, kwala ada pabaŋ saya tken tuwwan. (verso) Saya Byaŋ Agun.

Translation:

Mr. Lange, I hereby give you some *duku* (a kind of fruit), two loads (of two basketfuls 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 asept. I am Veau Agong."

In his translation Lange does not mention his Chinese wife. Her name was Sang Nio, and Lange had a daughter by her, Cecilie, 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:

Tuwwan Lanĕ, saya matawu tuwwan, ada rĕntĕh yun ida Cokordĕ, ida i Dewa Agun Putra, dagiŋa kna ada tundenan saya, marĕŋin putusane sakiŋ Kaluŋkuŋ, kma ka Bañuaŋi, saya ġiriŋ yun ida Cokordĕ, ida i Dewa Agun Putra, ne tundenan saya, ajaka dadwa, maadan i Bĕgbĕg, mwah i Yandar, paŋidih saya tken (verso) tuwwan, apaŋ tuwwan niŋkahaŋ iya, bakal mambwataŋ ka Bañuaŋi. Saya Byaŋ Agun Ktut Agun. Maŋde ya barĕŋ tken putusane sakiŋ Kaluŋkuŋ, mwah deniŋ saya abdik mĕkĕlin iya uli di Maŋwi, makwa-ŋanñane iya bkĕl, twan pabaatin saya bkĕlñane, mwah saŋunñane ditu, sañandaŋ-ñandaŋan calona di Bañuaŋi, kwala paŋ twan ġitugaŋ ne tlahaya.

Translation:

Mr. Lange, I inform you that a wish has descended from Cokorda Ida I Déwa 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 Déwa Agung Putra; my messengers are two young people named Begbeg and Andar. I request you to have them brought to Banyuwangi. 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. Co-korda Ida I Déwa 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).

1 palmleaf, 3.7×27.8 cm. Balinese letter from Ketut Agung to Lange. Ed. *Fund og Forskning* II, 134–135.

Text:

Cai Laṅö, i Laṅö mambaṅ ira tulis, isiña, baan ada ñuh ira dini di Kwalu, laad aturane uli dini di Baduṅ, ne jani i Laṅö mapañidihan tken ira, mambēli ñuh wowona tken ira, ira usiṅ nawayaṅ nalēpek buka isin tulis i Laṅöne tken ira, ira suba maaturiṅ ida Meme Agun Istri, nunasaṅ i Laṅö ñuh wowona, ne jani ida Meme Agun Istri, ira, mambaṅ i Laṅö ṇidih ñuh wowona, mwah ira mapañidi(verso)han tken i Laṅö, kna i Laṅö mambēliṅ ira bḍil dwaṅ koḍi. Ira Ktut Agun. Ne suba mulih tken idēp i Laṅöne, yen baan pambēlinñane, di suban tka bḍile bwin mapaituṅan.

Translation:

You, Lange, have sent me a letter containing: As for my cocopalms in Kwalu, 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 intirely 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 Cocosnöder jeg har 30.000 til vhilke 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).

1 palmleaf, 3.7×25.5 cm. Malay letter in Balinese script from Mads Lange to Raja Ngurah Agung of Tabanan. Ed. *Fund og Forskning* II, 135–136.

Text:

Rajā Ngūra hagung Tabanan, sadikit hari lagi saya mulaḍ jalan pulang saya punya negri, saya punya badan tara énak, jadi saya tra bolih dengen badan kasih saya punya tabé, sama ratu, tapi trima skarang disini, saya punya slamet tinggal saya tida bolih katta lain, apa yang saya punya matta yang suda liyat, dari orang Bali, tida ada orang yang knal saya punya hati, punya cinta saperti ratu, bapa saya punya Ala, saya pulang taknal apa-apa, nanti ratu denger kumba(verso)li kabar dari saya, sablah dunyana, kapan ratu suka, ratu punya nama, tulis dalem glas, kirim sama saya, bagimana saya yang bolih bikin bagus, tinggal salamanya sobat sama saya punya sodara, saya tinggal bag(i)tu 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

1. Photocopy of MS. Amsterdam, "Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen", A 4848d. 1 palmleaf. Balinese letter from Gdé Madé Rai, a Balinese

priest, to Lange. Ed. *Fund og Forskning* II, 136–137.

Text:

Cai twan Lanĕ, cai mambaan bapa tulis, dagaĕ, baan ada pakakirim, i Twan Junĕkahir pan Kapelan, asisten rĕsden Baĕnwaĕi, praya tiba tken bapa, lwirĕane baludru mirah, baludru cmĕĕ, suba maboĕkos dadi absik, makatanda pitrĕsnan idĕpĕĕane tken bapa, ne jani pakakirime pisukayaĕ cai tken bapa, suba tka tken bapa, daat baan bapa ĕuksmayaĕ, pitrĕsnanĕane i Twan Junĕkahir pan Kapelan, masawitra tken bapa, mwah bapa mambwattaĕ mapanidihan tke(verso)n cai, deniĕ baludrone ne cmĕĕ, kwanĕ binakikit (for: bin akikit) osiĕ ada bakalima (for: bakal lima), ne jani [ba] bapa saĕ Gde Made Rai, pamisakittaĕ tken cai, cai idihin bapa baludru cmĕĕ bwinakikit (for: bwin akikit), pinanĕ dadi paĕagluĕ limane makadadwa, maĕde kasiddan idĕp bapane ĕgae baju, yen suba cai mambaan, titipin bapa tkĕd jumah di Kalukuĕ.

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.

2. Photocopy of MS. Leiden, University Library Or. 3061 a. 1 palmleaf. Balinese letter from Ngurah Kasiman and Ngurah Pamcuttan to Bapan Mrasana, in which Lange is mentioned. Ed. *Fund og Forskning* II, 137–138.

Text:

I Bapan Mrasanā, kna iba ḡorahin i twan Kli, paḡ ḡadayaḡ layarraḡ sakoḡarri (or: sakoḡarre) twan Laḡḡe, yan ya tka i twan Laḡa, kna ya nunden atpuk riḡ kai maglah pyannak, i Gḡe Raka, i Gḡe Putu. (verso) Kai ḡurah Kasiman, kai ḡurah Pamcuttan.

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

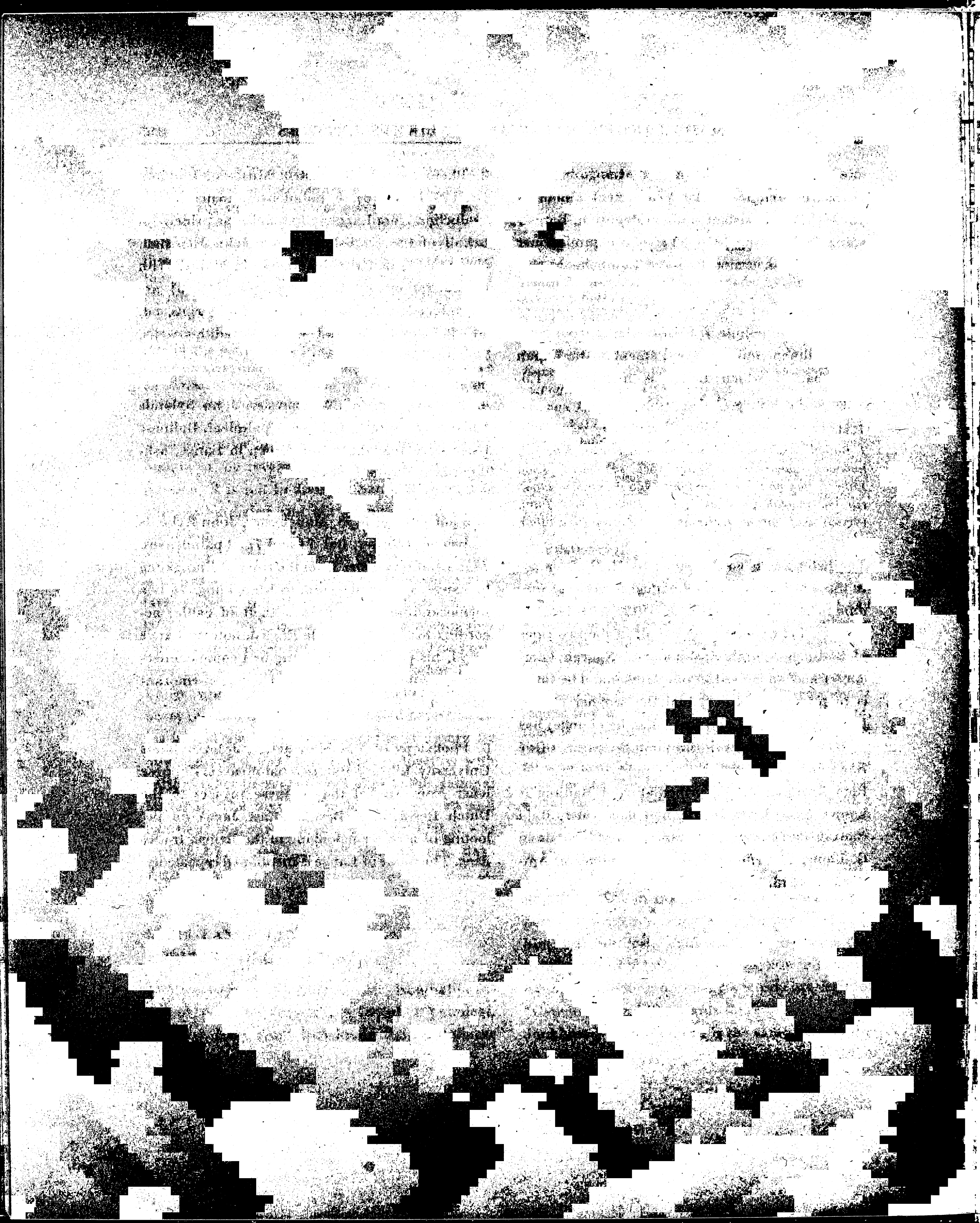
Raja Kasiman of the principality of Badung is known from letter II. He had a co-ruler, Raja Ngurah Pamcuttan, of whom mention is made in G. Lauts, *Het eiland Bali en de Balinezen*, Amsterdam 1848, p. 136.

3. Photocopy of MS. British Museum, London, Or. 12971 (1)–(5). 5 palmleaves. Letters of introduction from Lange to five Balinese princes on behalf of the English gardener John Henshall. Nos. (1)–(4) in Balinese, No. (5) in Malay. With transliterations by R. M. Suprpto. (1)–(3) are reproduced in *A Handbook of Asian Scripts*, ed. by R. F. Hosking and G. M. Meredith-Owens. London 1966. Plate 15.

4. Photocopy of MS. Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Bal. 7 e. 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. 7 f and 7 g. 2 palmleaves. 7 f is a Balinese letter from the ruler of Klungkung to Lange, summoning him to Klungkung. 7 g is a memorandum concerning a theft of cattle; according to a partly legible English note by Lange on 7 f, 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

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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.

A letter dated H. 1082 (A.D. 1671–72) from the Sultan of Banten to King Christian V of Denmark (C 23 Drafts and enclosures of East Indian matters 1668–99). Facsimile reproduction in: *Vore gamle Tropekolonier*. Ed. J. Brøndsted. Vol. I, p. 102. Transliterated with an English translation by P. Voorhoeve, *BKI* 131 (1975) p. 271–273. This edition is reprinted here with corrections. See Plate 39.

Transliteration:

At the top, between two cachets with illegible inscriptions: *Ngilamat Sultan Baten* (Jav. script) 1082 (European numbers).

Note in Gothic script: *Dette Er Sultanen aff Bantam Egenn Haand, som hand Selff haffuer Schreffuitt.*

Above the text at the right-hand side the black imprint of the Sultan's seal, reading: *al-Wāthiq billāh al-Sulṭān Abū'l-Faṭḥ ibn al-Sulṭān Abū'l-Ma'ālī ibn al-Sulṭān Abī'l-Mafākhir ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Hasaniddīn.*

Text of the letter:

Ini surat menyatakan tulus dan ikhlas daripada Paduka Seri Sultan Abū'l-Faṭḥ di Banten yang mengempukan tahta pekerjaan (sic) dalam negeri Banten khallada'llāhu mulkahu wa-ṣayyara a'nāka a'ādīhi milkahu datang kepada raja Danamarka yang bernama Raja Kerristian anak Raja Parraiderrai yang mengempukan tahta pekerjaan dalam negeri Danamarka raja yang termashur

gagah berani dalam segala negeri atas angin dan negeri bawah angin ialah raja yang amat bangsawan serta setiawan dan yang bijaksana pada memerintah segala pekerjaan di darat dan di laut serta melakukan isti'a-dat raja² dalam negeri Danamarka.

Adapun kemudian daripada itu bahwa surat dan bingkis daripada Raja Kerristian itu telah sampailah kepada Raja Paduka Serri Sultan di Banten dengan sempurnanya. Maka apabila dibukalah surat itu daripada meterainya semerbaklah bau-bauwan yang amat herrum daripada kasturi dan 'anbar akan mengatakan perkataan tulus dan ikhlas dan hendak berkasih-kasih. Sahdan barang maksud Raja Keristian yang tersebut dalam kitabat itu tellah diketahuilah oleh Paduka Seri Sultan di Banten maka Paduka Seri Sultan pun terlalulah sukacitta sebab mendengar perkataan Raja Kerristian yang tersebut didalam kitabat itu.

Sebermula adapun Raja Kerristian hendak meminta tanah dalam negeri Banten akan tempatnya kapitan Danamarka duduk di Banten kerana hendak beniaga didalam negeri Banten suddahlah Paduka Serri Sultan memberi tanah yang dikehendaki oleh kapitan Danamarka itu serta beberapa perjanjian Paduka Seri Sultan kepada kapitan Danamarka yang duduk di Banten itu seperti yang tersurat didalam surat perjanjian itu.

Sebermula Paduka Seri Sultan meminta kepada Raja Kerristian jual-jualan obat bedil pada tiap² masa kapal belayar ke Banten sekira² obat bedil itu seratus pikul dan demikian lagi peluru bedil besar².

Sahdan Paduka Seri Sultan memberi ma'lum kepada Raja Kerristian dahulu kala Kapitan Haqqelar menitipkan lada kepada Angabèhi Cakradana banyaknya lada itu seratus bahara dan tujuh puluh enam bahara. Tammam.

Translation:

Signature of the Sultan of Banten. (A.H.) 1082.

This is a letter expressing the sincere and honest feelings of His Majesty Sultan Abu'l-Faṭḥ 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 ambergris 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 picols 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 Angabèhi Cakradana, a quantity of 176 bahara. Finis.

MALAY (Arab) 5.

A letter dated H. 1085 (A.D. 1675) from the Sultan of Banten to King Christian V of Denmark (C 63 Various letters, documents and files arranged according to subjects 1660–99. III. 2. East India Trade. c. Original letter from the Sultan of Bantam to King Christian V with enclosures, 1674–75). Facsimile reproduction in: J. P. Cortemünde, *Dagbog fra en Ostindiefart 1672–75*. Ed. H. Henningsen, p. 29. Transliterated with an English translation by P. Voorhoeve, *BKI* 131 (1975) p. 273–276. See Plate 40.

Transliteration:

Subhāna man tanazzaha 'ani'l-faḥṣā'i

(The same stamp as on the first letter).

Ini surat pada menyatakan tulus kasih dan ikhlas daripada Paduka Seri Sultan Abū'l-Faḥi di negeri Banten khallada'llāhu mulkahu wasulānahu wa-abbada 'adlahu wa-iḥsānahu sampai kiranya kepada Raja Karistian Kuwaintus anak Raja Parraidarra yang mengempukan atas tahta segala karjaan didalam nagri Danamarka yang dikaruninya Allah subhānahu kiranya dan ditambahi kebessaran kan kemuliaan pada tiap² masa siang dan malem dan yang dilebihkan kiranya dalam dun-yā ini daripada raja² yang dahulu pada memerintahkan segala ra'iatnya karena melakukan isti'adat kabaikan dalam negerinya dan yang amat memelihara kepada segala orang baniaga dan anak dagang semuhanya dengan peliharanya yang sempurna dalam dun-ya ini.

Adapun kemudian daripada itu bahwa surat dan bingkis daripada Raja Karistian Kuwaintus yang dibawaya (sic) oleh Kapitan Haddalar yang jadi Kumandur di negeri Kelling itu tellah sampailah kiranya kepada Paduka Seri Sultan di Banten dengan sempurnanya maka terlalulah sukkacita daripada hati Paduka Seri Sultan akan mendengar perkataan Raja Karistian yang termadthur dalam surat dan kitabat itu dan tellah diketahuilah kiranya oleh Paduka Seri Sultan di Banten. Sebermula Raja Karistian Kuwaintus berkirim beddil bessar sepucuk tellah diterimalah oleh Paduka Seri Sultan dengan seribu tarima.

Sabarmula lagi Paduka Seri Sultan memberi ma'lum kepada Raja Karistian akan hal ihwal lakunya pētor kepada Raja Karistian akan hal ihwal lakunya pētor yang duduk di Banten yang bernama Pētor Pahuli akan gantinya Pētor Mikal itu maka dahulu Paduka Seri Sultan suruh menjual tembaga ke negeri Kelling dua ratus dua puluh pikul dibawaya (sic) oleh suruhan Pētor Mikal bernama Kapitan Wilkek kaki kayu ke negeri Kelling. Maka sekarang ini hendak dihilangkan harga tembaga itu oleh Pētor Kelling yang bernama Mangusyakub sama² muwafakat dengan Pētor Pahuli itu tiada memberi ma'lum kepada Paduka Seri Sultan barapa sudah laku jual tembaga itu di negeri Kelling.

Adapun yang memberi ma'lum kepada Paduka Seri Sultan akan harga tembaga itu di negeri Kelling ada satu orang Danamarka duduk ia di negeri Kelling bernama Ian Indirik, itulah yang memberi ma'lum kepada Paduka Seri Sultan harga tembaga itu di negeri Kelling.

Sebermula lagi Pētor Pahuli dan Pētor Mangusyakub banyak² ia buat haru biru kepada Paduka Seri Sultan tiada ia mau mangikut pada isti'adat kabaikan negeri. Sebermula lagi ada dia membawa dagangan kain tiada ia berri surat seperti mana harganya kain itu karena

dia hendak mangilangken harga tembaga itu Pétor Pahuli dan Pétor Mangusyakub.

Dan tiada kiriman Paduka Seri Sultan kepada Raja Karistian hanya laḍa.

Adapun yang membawa surat ini kapitan kapal bernama Kapitan Riktal.

Tersurat dalam negeri Banten paḍa hari Isnén paḍa lima bellas hari ḍaripada bulan Dhulkaédah paḍa tahun Dal awwal seribu ḍualapan puluh lima tahun ḍaripada hijrat Nabi kita Muḥammad ṣalla'llāhu 'alaihi wasallam. Hadākumu'llāhu ilā ṭarīḳi'l-mustaḳīm.

Translation:

Glory be to Him who is free from vice.

This is a letter offering the sincere and true friendship of His Majesty Sultan Abu'l-Faṭḥ in the country of Banten (may God perpetuate his reign and might and make his justice and righteousness endure) towards King Christian V, son of King Frederic, who owns the throne of activities in the country of Denmark, and who may enjoy the favour of God (to Whom be glory) and whose greatness and glory may be augmented at every moment, day and night, and who may surpass in this world all former kings in the government of his subjects, by enforcing the approved customs in his country, and who takes perfect care of all traders and foreign merchants in this world.

Furthermore, the letter and gift of King Christian V brought by Capt. Adeler, Governor of the Coromandel Coast, have reached His Majesty the Sultan of Banten in good order. His Majesty's heart was extremely pleased to hear the words of King Christian contained in his letter and missive, and His Majesty the Sultan of Banten has taken notice of them.

Further, King Christian V sent a large cannon; His Majesty the Sultan has accepted it with a thousand thanks.

Furthermore, concerning the conduct of Factor Paulli, head of the factory in Banten and successor of Factor Mikkelsen, His Majesty the Sultan lets King Christian know that formerly His Majesty the Sultan gave order to sell 220 picols of copper on the Coromandel Coast. This copper was carried across to the Coast by a messenger of Factor Mikkelsen called Captain Wilke(?), a man with a wooden leg. Now the head of the factory on the Coromandel Coast, Magnus Jacobson, wants to embezzle the proceeds from the sale of this copper, together with Factor Paulli; they do not let His Majesty the Sultan know at what price the copper was sold on the Coast.

The man who let His Majesty the Sultan know the price of the copper on the Coast was a Dane 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 Paulli 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 Paulli 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 Dhulkaédah, in the year Dal awwal, 1085 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 Mageløs (captain Bielke) 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".

// ḍi Banṭen / Ki Ngabèhi Cakradana / surat kiriman kapada Raja Danamarka / sakarang suruwan / kapitan ḍatang sampé ka Banṭen / bicara Sutan Banṭen / binniyaga sama tempat gedong / innilah sakarang sudah putus / bicara dahulu kapitan Aderat / titip marica sama saya / saratus ṭuju puluh annem bara / saya sakarang sudah bayar kapitan / inilah sudah putus / raja tuwanku orang besar saparti matahari / masuhur sagala nageri / ditakuti orang sama-samanya / saya minṭa tulung banyak-banyak / kapada tuwan / kasih / panjang umur sama Raja Danamarka / saparti matahari paḍang sagala nageri / titi / Address (on the reverse): Raja Danamarka /

Translation:

In Banten. Ki Ngabèhi 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 (litt. 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:

(No.) 10. *Cinabj sabandorz hos Sultanen til Bandtam Suar paa K. Ma. breff aff dend 6. Octobris 1670. Tacher Ko. Ma. for saadan Naade, och at hand det i forvaring haffuende Peber med Capten bielche har indschibet. Item at hand har befordret Ko. Ma. folch til en Losse til Bantam at stabellere.*

Ankommet med schibet Mageløs den 12. Aug. 1672.

From this note we learn that the letter was written by "Cinabj sabandor", i.e. the harbourmaster (Mal. *shahbandar*) of China-town (Danish *Kina-by*) in Banten. In the letter he calls himself Ki Ngabèhi 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 Crucq, *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 Jayakarta, 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: Bescheiden omtrent zijn verblijf in Indië*, vol VII (1953), pp. 480–481 and pp. 483–484, and again, with facsimiles and English translations, by M. C.

Ricklefs, "Bantěn 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. Pigeaud have been incorporated.

JAV 19.

This is a contract for the delivery of pepper in Bantěn. 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 *ḍ* and *d*. Both *wadé* and *wadē* 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 *i* combined with the same consonant character). It was the usual method of correcting clerical errors.

Transliteration:

// pènēt // kyahi dinda supati haprajanji kalayan pun kumëndur / lan pun pétor / hawadé mariyos / sahanzuki-pun kyahi dinda supati bontěn hawadé liyan / samados nēm sasi / punika yèn salamēt / bontěn kéñan awadé liyan / punika sakaṭahipun kawadéya ḍatēṅ pun kumëndur / lan pun pétor // mistake // pañahosipun kaṅ sabara kaliḥ puluh réyal / kaṭahipun / mistake / wolun atus bara / kang kécap kyahi saholihé su wèhakèn hiṅ sira kabèh // titi //

Danish note in Gothic script:

Kej Manßapattie Contract paa 800 Bahr peuer at leuere om 5 Maaneder.

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 *bontĕn* instead of *botĕn* (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 verbatim 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 Bantĕn pronunciation) and *sira*. *Sun* (or *ingsun*) and *sira* 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 verbatim 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 *qawm*) who are connected with the mosque in Javanese towns. The parenthetic clause "if he has life" (Javanese *yĕn salamet*) is suggestive of the well-known pious phrase "if God will" (Arabic *in shā' Allāh*).

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 Dĕṇḍa Supati; *dĕṇḍa* derives from Sanskrit *daṇḍa*, "staff". It is possible that he was by origin a Chinese trader who, settled in Bantĕn, 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

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

The Danish 'Commander' (English for Commodore, Captain) and the Factor (Javanese *pĕtor*, deriving from Portuguese *feitor*) 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 *gĕḍong*) in Bantĕn, used by the Danish traders. The notes belong to the Danish Chancery Papers (B 245 Accounts relating to Claus Rytter's East India voyage in the "Den forgyldte 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:

// pĕñĕt // pĕtor danamarka / ha (mistake) sraḥ séwa
niṅ gĕḍoṅ hiṅ kyahi nara hita / sasi dul kahidaḥ /
paṅloṅ piṅ lima / kaṭahipun // 150 //

Translation:

Note. The Factor of Denmark has paid the rent of the warehouse to kyahi Nara Hita, in the month Dhū'l-Qa'dah, the dark half, the fifth, to the amount of 150.

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:

//o// pĕñĕt / kahi gulu sara yuda / hatapa réyal / séwa
saki kapitan dannamarka / kaliḥ bělaḥ kaṅ satahun /
lakuṅ pituṅ sasi // // nat kalanni hannahur hikaṅ
satahun / hi sasi rĕjĕp // hi dinna rabo // //

Translation:

Note. Kyahi Gulu Sarayuda has received *reals* 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 *reals*, the common currency at the time.

The expression used in JAV 21, *kaliḥ bēlah*, 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.

INDICES



LIST OF TEXTS KEPT IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM

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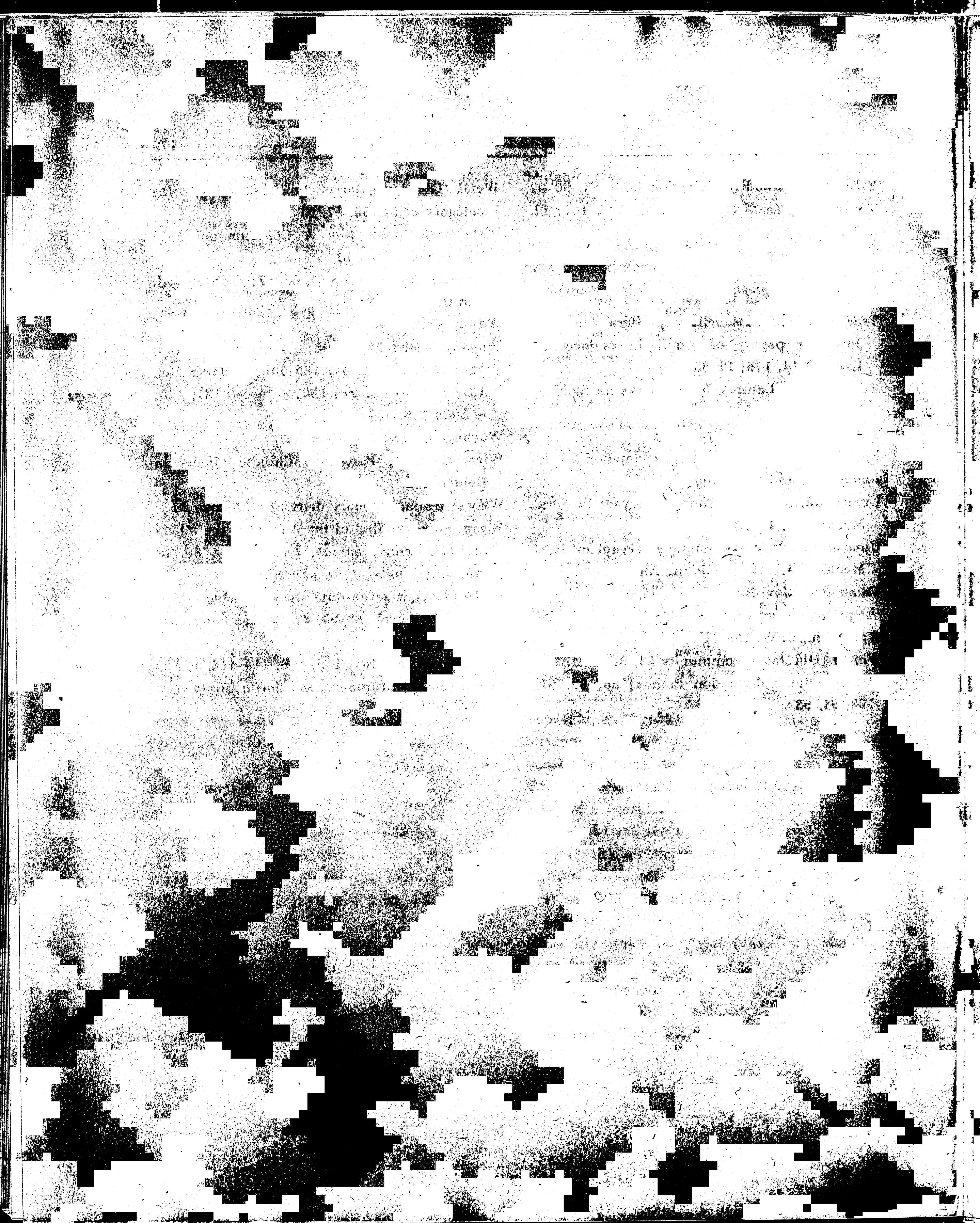
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