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JAVA IN THE 14TH CENTURY

NĀGARA-KĒRTĀGAMA

VOLUME II



I. A TEMPLE, SEE P. VIII.

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JAVA IN THE 14TH CENTURY
A STUDY IN CULTURAL HISTORY

THE NĀGARA-KĒRTĀGAMA BY RAKAWI
PRAPĀNCA OF MAJAPAHIT, 1365 A.D.

*Third edition, revised and enlarged by some contemporaneous texts,
with notes, translations, commentaries and a glossary*

by

THEODORE G. TH. PIGEAUD, PH. D. LEYDEN

ILLUSTRATED WITH DRAWINGS BY PROFESSOR TH. P. GALESTIN

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THE NETHERLANDS INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL RELATIONS

II

NOTES ON THE TEXTS AND THE TRANSLATIONS

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GLOSSARY, GENERAL INDEX

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INTRODUCTION

The present second volume of the *Nagara-Kertagama* edition contains those notes on the text and the translation of the major poem and the appended minor writings and charters that may be of interest to students of the Javanese language. Perusal of these notes on idiom and linguistics will be found the more fruitful if the glossary (volume V of the present edition) is consulted continuously.

No lengthy discussions of linguistic subjects are to be found in the present volume. They would be out of place in this new *Nagara-Kertagama* edition, for its tenor is primarily sociological. Exceptions have been made only for some places where short grammatical discussions seemed in place in order to elucidate points of the translation.

In the notes on the contemporaneous minor writings and charters differences between the scholarly idiom of Court literature (*Nagara-Kertagama* and Royal charters) on the one side and the popular vernacular idiom of daily life on the other have been pointed out repeatedly. The close relationship of the 14th century Majapahit vernacular with modern Javanese is apparent. Occasional remarks on words belonging to regional idioms, either Eastern Javanese Majapahit or Kadirinese or Central Javanese, may be of use to students of the history of the Javanese vocabulary.

The present author has been at great pains to ascertain the shades of meaning belonging to some words repeatedly used in the *Nagara-Kertagama* and contemporaneous texts. His tentative English renderings of those words are explained in the present notes. The explanations can easily be found by means of the glossary which serves in those cases as general index. Of course the meaning attached by 14th century Majapahit Javanese to technical terms of law, rural custom, religion and the Royal Court need not be exactly identical with those prevailing in previous reigns (Royal charters of the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries) nor with those current in the subsequent Central Javanese period of Javanese history. Still in many cases familiarity with present-day rural conditions, customary law, popular usage and Court manners has proved advantageous for the right understanding of *Nagara-Kertagama* passages.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Batur : Batur charter, ed. Dr F. D. K. Bosch, Oudheidkundig Verslag 1915, p. 144.
- Berg R. : Professor Dr C. C. Berg, Herkomst, vorm en functie der middeljavaanse riksdelingstheorie. Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, afdeling Letterkunde, nieuwe reeks, deel 59, Amsterdam, 1954.
- B.K.L. : Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde te 's-Gravenhage, since 1852.
- Bil. : Biluluk charters, ed. van Stein Callenfels, Oudheidkundig Verslag 1918.
- C. : Codex Orientalis 5023 Leyden University Library, containing the Nāgara-Kērtāgama text.
- Col. : Colophons of the Nāgara-Kērtāgama text in codex 5023 Leyden.
- comm. : Commentaries on the Nāgara-Kērtāgama, the Minor Writings and the Charters, in vol. IV.
- Damais : L. Ch. Damais, Études d'Épigraphie Indonésienne, Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, vol. XLV—XLIX.
- Djawa : Djawa, Tijdschrift van het Java Instituut, Surakarta-Yogyakarta, 1920—1940.
- F. : Ferry Charter, ed. van Stein Callenfels, Oudheidkundig Verslag 1918 (Trawulan plates I) and Brandes-Krom, Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden, vol. II, 1913, p. 255.
- Galestin : (Professor Dr) Th. P. Galestin, Houtbouw op Oost-Javaansche tempelreliefs, Akademisch proefschrift, 's-Gravenhage, 1936.
- gl., gloss. : Glossary of the Nāgara-Kērtāgama edition, in vol. V, and Glossary of Brandes-Krom's Pararaton edition.
- H.J.G. : Professor Dr N. J. Krom, Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, 1st ed. 1926, 2nd ed. 1931.
- I.N.I. : Inscripties van Nederlandsch-Indië, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1940.

Jav.:	Javanese, especially the Javanese language.
Jaya:	Decree Jaya Song, ed. Brandes-Krom, Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden, vol. II, 1913, p. 207.
Kbg.:	Karang Bogem charter, ed. van Stein Callenfels, Oudheidkundig Verslag 1918 (Trawulan plates V).
K.B.N.W.:	Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek door Dr H. Neubronner van der Tuuk, † 17 augustus 1894, uitgegeven door Dr J. Brandes, 4 volumes, Batavia, 1897—1912.
Ke.:	Professor Dr H. Kern, Het Oud-Javaansche Lofdicht Nāgara kṛtiāgama van Prapañca (1365 A.D.). Tekst, vertaling en bespreking overgedrukt uit de Verspreide Geschriften, DL. VII—VIII, met aanteekeningen van Dr N. J. Krom, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, 's-Gravenhage, 1919.
K.O.:	Kawi Oorkonden, Inleiding en Transcripties, door Dr. A. B. Cohen Stuart, Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1875.
Kr. note:	Aanteekeningen door Dr N. J. Krom: notes appended to Professor Kern's Nāgara-Kṛtiāgama edition of 1919.
Ktd.:	Katiēn charter, ed. Professor R. M. Ng. Dr Poerbatjaraka, Tijdschrift van het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap, vol. 76, 1936, p. 387.
Kunst-Goris:	Mr J. Kunst, met medewerking van Dr R. Goris, Hindoe-Javaansche Muziek-instrumenten, speciaal die van Oost Java, Studien over Javaansche en andere Indonesische muziek, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1926.
m.c.:	metri causa: conforming to the rules of (Indian) prosody.
modern Jav.:	the Javanese idiom of the Muhammadan Kingdoms of Central Java in (comparatively) modern times, since about 1600 A.D., as distinguished from Old Javanese.
Naw.:	Nawanatya, codex orientalis 5091, Leyden.
O.J.O.:	Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden, Nagelaten Transcripties van wijlen Dr J. L. A. Brandes, uitgegeven door Dr N. J. Krom, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, vol. 60, 1913, 2 volumes.
Old Jav.:	the idiom of the pre-Muslim, Hinduistic Kingdoms of (Central and) Eastern Java, lastly Majapahit, 9th till 16th century, as distinguished from modern Javanese.

- O.V.: Oudheidkundig Verslag, Oudheidkundige Dienst (Archeological Service) in Nederlandsch-Indië, uitgegeven door het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
- Par.: Pararaton (Ken Arok), of Het Boek der Koningen van Tumapel en van Majapahit, uitgegeven en toegelicht door Dr J. L. A. Brandes, 2de druk, bewerkt door Dr N. J. Krom, met medewerking van Prof. Mr Dr J. C. G. Jonker, H. Kraemer en R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, deel 62, 1920.
- Pdg.: Purwädigama preamble, quoted in Kawi-Bali-neesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek sub voce ḍarmamāḍyakṣa.
- Prasasti: Prasasti Indonesia, diterbitkan oleh Dinas Purbakala Republik Indonesia, I: 1950, II: 1956: Old Javanese and Old Malay inscriptions, edited by Dr J. G. de Casparis, with Dutch translations and notes.
- Prb.: Professor Raden Mas Ngabehi Dr Poerbatjaraka, Aanteekeningen op de Nägarakṛtagama, Bijdragen Koninklijk Instituut, vol. 80, 1924.
- Ptp.: Patapan charter, ed. van Stein Callenfels, Oudheidkundig Verslag 1918 (Trawulan plates IV).
- Rkp.: Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa, codex orientalis 1850 Leyden.
- Rnk.: Rēnēk charter, ed. Stutterheim and Pigeaud, Djawa, vol. 6, 1926.
- Rpg.: Rajapatigunḍala, codex orientalis 5056 Leyden.
- Sdh.: Sarwadharma charter, ed. Brandes-Krom, Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden, vol. II, 1913, p. 188.
- Skt.: Sanskrit.
- Slm.: Shela Mandi charter, ed. Cohen Stuart, Kawi Oorkonden, 1875, p. 11.
- St.: Dr W. F. Stutterheim, De Kraton van Majapahit, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, vol. VII, 's-Gravenhage, 1948.
- Tantu: De Tantu Panggēlaran, een Oud-Javaansch Proza-geschrift, uitgegeven, vertaald en toegelicht door Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, Akademisch proefschrift, 's-Gravenhage, 1924.
- T.B.G.: Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, uitgegeven door het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, since 1853.

XVI

- Verh.B.G.: Verhandelingen van het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, since 1779.
- Volksvertoningen: Dr Th. Pigeaud, Javaanse Volksvertoningen, Bijdrage tot de Beschrijving van Land en Volk, uitgave Volkslectuur, Batavia, 1938.
- Wld.: Walandit charter, ed. Brandes, Notulen van de Directievergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, vol. 37, 1899, p. 64.
- Zoetmulder: Dr P. J. Zoetmulder S.J., De Taal van het Adiparwa, een grammaticale studie van het Oud-javaansch, Verhandelingen van de Lembaga Kehdajaan Indonesia, "Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen", deel 79, uitgegeven met steun van de Kementerian Pendidikan Pengadjaran dan Kebudajaan Republik Indonesia, Bandung, 1950.

NĀGARA-KĒRTĀGAMA

NOTES

*CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION,
THE ROYAL FAMILY OF MAJAPAHIT*

about 1350 A.D.

Cantos 1—7, 21 stanzas.

Canto 1, stanza 1, verse 1: *Pada* nearly always marks respect, it is rendered as Feet, with a capital "F". *Bhaṭṭāra* and *Bhaṭṭārī* are translated: Lord and Lady, with capital letters. *Bhaṭṭāra* mostly is a predicate of a god or a godlike person, a deified ancestor. Sometimes *Bhaṭṭāra* is a predicate of nobility or Royalty (often so in the Par., v. gl. of Par.). It is remarkable that in that case (at least in the Nāg.) it marks a less exalted rank than *Çri*, translated: Illustrious; it is rendered as: lord, without a capital. Perhaps the modern Jav. *bēndara*, often translated as Sir or Madam, is a corruption of *bhīmaṭṭāra*. Formations of predicates or names of functions with infix *-in-* are well-known: *pinangeran*, *pimatih*. V. also comm. on the charter of Rēnēk.

1—1—2: Ke: *sūkṣme*. C has *sūkṣmeng*, which makes good sense.

1—1—3: The enclitic *ta* is often left untranslated by Kern and others. It seems preferable to render it as "now" or "surely" in all places where C has it, even though it is often not more than a stop-gap.

1—1—4: *Hyang* and *sang hyang* do not only indicate divinity, but also superhuman, supernatural power, possessed by a variety of beings, things and places, v. gl. It is translated: Spirit, spiritual and holy, sacred (*sacer*). In modern Jav. *aeng* means: miraculous. The usual translation of *iniṣṭi* (from *iṣṭi*) is: wished for. "Ideal" seems to make good sense in this place; but cf 37—2—3 Ke reads *hana*, m.c. Ke's identification of *waya* with *wāhya*: external, is open to objection. The Nāg. elsewhere has *wāhya*, properly spelled, v. gl. *Waya* means: to be present, which makes good sense in this verse. The word is used three times in the Nāg., v. gl. Reiteration of *hana* would have spoiled the euphony in 1—1—4. *Tēmah* means: to become, to appear as. Incarnation (Ke's translation) is *mārti*, v. gl.

Canto 1, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *byḍpi* and *twispatwa* in accordance with Skt; *nirguṇa* m.c. and indicated by the context. Ke translates it: without attributes. In this verse Nirguṇa is a name, though, v. comm.

1—2—3: Ke translates: all learning. Material learning (*sakala* in opposition to *niṣkala*) makes better sense, v. comm.

1—2—4: Ke: *wighnotsāraṇa*, Skt spelling. Kr remarks that the metre requires *sāraṇa*. Prayoga must be a name, unrecognized by Kern, v. comm. Ke reads: *makawala -ng*, which does not make sense. C's reading is clear: *makapalang*; *pala* stands for *phala*: fruit.

Canto 1, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *kateng*. *Don*, end, purpose, makes good sense in this verse, v. gl. and comm. Both Ke and Prb fail to translate it. In the Nāg. *nāhan* and *nā*: such (at the beginning of a sentence) may refer both to the preceding and to the following words; *nīhan* is not used, v. gl. and cf. note on 2—2—4, *irika*. In the present edition *narendra*, *narādhipa*, *naregwara*, *nērpa*, *nērpati*, *narapati*, and *nērpegwara* are indiscriminately translated: Prince or: Princess, with capital initials. They indicate members of any Royal family, not exclusively the ruling Head of the dynasty. They are to be considered as-titles to a greater extent than *adhipati*, *haji*, *ratu*, *nātha* and *bhāpati*.

1—3—2: Ke: *bhāpati* m.c. In the present edition *bhāpati* is translated: Ruler, and *nātha*: Protector, the original Skt meaning. *Cri nātha*, Illustrious Protector, is the common title of viceroys and vicequeens. *Haji* and *ratu* are the only original Javanese words in this group. If it is used without adjunct (a name) *haji* refers quite often to King Hayam Wuruk, the poet's master; it seems to mark an intimate personal relation. It is rendered: my lord, our lord, my lady, our lady. In a note on canto 44 Ke mentions some related words in Philippine languages, all meaning: king: Bisaya *hadi*, Tagalog *hari*, Bikol *hade*, Pampanga *ari*. Perhaps in 14th century Java *haji* used as a predicate or a title of Royalty was specifically Kadiri idiom, v. comm. on canto 44, Haji Jaya Katwang. *Wiṣesa* often refers to the King; in that case it is translated: powerful. In modern Jav. *wisesa* always has this meaning, v. gl.

1—3—3: Ke: *sāksāt*, Skt spelling. The Skt meaning of *sāksāt*: manifestly, makes good sense in this verse as well as elsewhere in the Nāg. The modern Jav. meaning: as it were, does not fit well, v. gl. In the present edition a pair of Javanese nouns not connected by *i*, *ing* or *ri*, *ring* as a link between them is rendered as often as possible either by using an English genitival construction (*janma Bhaṭṭāra*: the Lord's birth) or an adjective (*wiku haji*: Royal priest). Compounds of this

kind are used frequently in Old Javanese when referring to Deities, Royalty, the Court and family relations. The usual Old Javanese connection of a pair of nouns by means of *i.*, *ing* etc. is always rendered in the present edition by English: of (*kalangkaning prajā*: the impurities of the realm). In modern Javanese the suffixed personal pronoun of the 3rd person is often used as a link in these cases (*parentaha gri narapati*: the orders of the Illustrious Prince). In classical Old Javanese texts this use of the suffixed pronoun is not accepted. Kern and other editors often fail to translate the *an-* or *-n-* construction, e.g. in 1—3—3: *sira n anghilangakṛn*. This construction seems often to be equivalent to the modern Jav. so-called substantival construction (with *olehe*, *anggenipun*). In the present edition as far as possible the *an-* or *-n-* construction is rendered in the translation as: like, as etc., or by using the participle. In some places the *an-* or *-n-* construction seems to be used only m.c., in order to avoid a hiatus and as a stop-gap. *Prajā* in the Nāg. means: realm, as in modern Jav., v. gl.

1—3—4: Skt *anukūla*, favourable, acquired by contamination something of the sense of Jav. *tukul*: stooping; *tungkul* is the usual form, v. gl.

Canto 1, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *prabhu*, Skt spelling. C's long *u* is a mark of respect, probably. Ke fails to translate *rakwa*. In the present edition *rakwa* is rendered in the translation every time it is used, and mostly as: so it is said, v. Zoetmulder, Ädiparwa, p. 115. It indicates that the poet's information is second-hand; sometimes it seems to reflect on the trustworthiness of the informants, v. note 16—3—3. Very seldom *rakwa* is used merely as a stop-gap, like modern Jav. *rēke* and *rēko*. It seems to be an "uncertainty-form" (suffix-*a*) of *raku* (mentioned in KBNW), which is related to modern Jav. *ngaku*: to assert, to claim. Berg's translation of *rakwa* (R. p. 253) — as is known by all of you, as you will agree with me, is a mistake. Kern also fails to translate *tēlas*: already, indication of an action being finished or past. *Mangastwakēn* and *prabhu* are chancery terms meaning: to inaugurate or to cause to be inaugurated, and: inaugurated King. *Prabhu* is not translated in the present Nāg. edition. Neither is *ratu*, the original Javanese word for king. The words King and Queen are reserved as translations of *rāja* and *rājīt*, as usual.

1—4—2: Ke: *kahuripan*, the usual form. *Kawuripan* is Balinese spelling. Ke: *amānuśādbhuta*, m.c. The Skt meaning of *garbheṣvara*: *īṣvara* from the womb, as soon as born, is rendered by the Byzantine *porphyrogenetos*, born in the purple, which confers the same sense.

1—4—3: The meaning of *kṛtug* is: rumble, thunder. Kern mistook it for *kutug*, which means: smoke and: incense.

1—4—4: Ke: *anandā*, Skt *nānā*. The meaning of *guntur* is: to collapse. Kern mistook it for *magneturon*, which means: to boom. *Himatwāñ* is a poetical expression for mountain. In C the *paten* is often written behind *n*, irrespective of grammar or logic, only in order to avoid any possible misunderstanding or misreading caused by ligatures to the small *akṣara n*. In the text (vol. I) the *paten* is rendered by a sloping dash. *Tanpa gap* and *tan hanāgap* are expressions going with mentions of death or mortal fright, v. gl. and KBNW sub *agap*. Modern Jav. *mēgap* means: to gasp. Kern's translation: powerless is a mistake.

Canto 1, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *hingan* m.c. The meaning of *hingan* is: boundary, limit; hence: limitation, definition. Kern's translation: evidence is a mistake. *Prabhūttama* is not a title nor is it an usual compound. *Uttama* is a stop-gap.

1—5—2: Ke: ~ ~ *talu tumungkul*. The meaning of *cawat*, called unintelligible by Ke and Kr, probably is: helpless, powerless. It is related to modern Jav. *tawat*, *tawar*, *cabar*, *cawar* etc. *Umungkul*, bowed, is related with modern Jav. *dungkul*, cf. *tumungkul*. The original meaning of *lwig*: aspect makes good sense in this verse. The modern Jav. meaning: like, resembling, also fits well in several places in the Nāg., though, v. gl.

1—5—3: Ke: *caturāçrama*, Skt spelling. For the meaning v. comm. and gl. The meaning of *nipuna* is: versed in, which makes good sense in this place. *Samāhita*: imposed task, hence: duty is used also 92—2—3.

1—5—4: Ke: *durjjana* and *wiryya sang prabhu*, Skt spelling. C's long ū in *prabhu* is a mark of respect.

Canto 2, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *rājapatni*, Skt spelling. Ke fails to translate *ndan*. *Nda*, *ndah* and *ndan*, placed at the beginning of a verse, mark the continuation of the narrative. In the present edition these words are rendered as: now or: then. In some places they seem to be used only as stop-gaps. *Çri* is always translated: Illustrious, with capital initial. Ke rendered it sometimes by "doorluchting", i.e. Serene. *Çri* is not to be translated: Majesty, for its use is not limited to the Sovereign. It is a predicate of all members of any Royal family, v. gl.

In the present edition *sira* is always rendered by: He or She or They, Him or Her or Them, all with capital initials (unless the word is used as a predicate, v. gl.). As a consequence of this use of capital letters the translation in some places offers a singular aspect, showing "He" and "he" close together while referring to the same person. In those cases the Javanese text did not express "he" by a pronoun. It has been intercalated only to make the English sentence intelligible. The use of the pronoun *sira* and the suffix *-sira* marks respect, either for divine Beings, Princes and Princesses of the Blood Royal or for eminent secular and spiritual lords, v. 10—2—4. In some places (e.g. just here, 2—1—1) *sira* seems to be used as a stop-gap. *Sira* is also used as a predicate before a noun, a title or a name, out of respect. In this case it is comparable with *sang*, which is always rendered as: honoured. *Sira* as a predicate is rendered as: worshipful; it marks a less exalted rank than *Cri*, v. gl. In the 14th century *Rājapati*, Queenly Ruler, was the title-and-name of the ancestress of the Majapahit Royal family, not to be translated.

2—1—1: Ke: *mātāmaha Cri*. The usual Skt word for grandmother is *mātāmahi*, though. The Skt word is used instead of a Javanese word out of respect: modern Jav. *krama inggil*.

2—1—2: Ke: *bhaṭṭari*, *bhagawati* and *chattri*: Skt spelling and m.c. *Paramabhaṭṭari* must be the name of a goddess, v. comm. and chpt on Royal family in vol. IV.

2—1—3: Ke: *cīwari widdhamundī*, Skt spelling.

2—1—4: Ke: *saptāruṇa*, Skt spelling. *Kalahan*, to die, is used out of respect (*krama inggil*). *Alah*, on the other hand, means: to be vanquished, v. gl. (*M*)*ungsi* and (*m*)*ungcir* mean: to want to reach, to make for, to aspire to, v. gl. Ke's translation: to go is too flat.

Canto 2, stanza 2 verse 1: (*M*)*antuk*, to go home, is used out of respect, the Royal family having their home in the world of the gods. In modern Jav. *mantuk* belongs to the ceremonial idiom (*krama*); the common word is (*m*)*ulih*. In the Nāg. these words are used interchangeably.

2—2—2: Ke: *menggōng*, a slip of the pen. Both *gēng* and *gōng* (with long ē) are used in C. *Anggēng* and *anggōng* are rendered as: to practise unremittingly. Modern Jav. *anggung* means: perpetually. The usual meaning of Skt *tuṣṭa*: pleased with, content with, makes good sense where it is used in the Nāg. Joy (Ke's translation) is expressed by: *suka*, v. gl. *Bhakti* means: submissiveness; modern Jav. *bēkti*

means: respect and: homage. The Skt meaning of *bhakti*: religious devotion, love of the Deity, is not found in the Nāg.

2—2—2 (and 2—2—4) : Ke fails to translate *munggwing*. *Unggu* and its derivatives *unggwan* and *munggwing* are in common use in the Nāg. *Mungguh* is only used as a geographic name. *Ungguwan* means: place, and *munggwing* is rendered as: to have one's place in, or: to occupy a place in. Modern Jav. *mungguh* means: to fit well into a place. In relation to the Princes *munggwing* is rendered as: to reside in, for in that case it is a chancery term indicating the titular seats of members of the Royal family, the viceroys and vice-queens, v. the chpt on the Royal family in vol. IV. In some places *munggwing* seems to be used pleonastically, though, like modern Jav. *ana ing, won'ēn ing*, v. gl. The *jh* in *Majapahit umuluy* is used out of respect, like modern Jav. so-called capital letters, v. Introduction of vol. I, the text. In *Majapahit umuluy* the *t* of *tumuluy* is omitted m.c. Similar cases are very seldom met with in the Nāg.

2—2—3: This is the only place in the Nāg. where *reya* is used for: mother; in other places always: *ibu*. *Reya* contains the element *ra-*; probably it was considered respectful to a very high degree. The *n* probably is used out of respect also, as if it were Skt. Ke: *Wijayottunggadewi*. C's *jiwayottunggal* probably is a slip of the pen caused by the following *Jiwana pura*. *Gumanti* refers to the title "of Kahuripan". King Hayam Wuruk having acceded to the throne of Majapahit his title Protector of Kahuripan was transferred to his mother. Transference of vice-royalties was not at all unusual at the Majapahit Court. According to the Nāg. King Hayam Wuruk was sixteen years old at his accession to the throne. No doubt he was considered to be of age. His mother's taking care of him (*among, 2—2—4*) can not have been a full guardianship. *Among* and *momong* appear to have been honorific terms for the relation of a senior member of the Royal family, being of inferior rank, towards the King, who was his or her junior in family grade. Even in modern times those words are used in the same sense at the Courts of Central Java. In the meantime it should be noted that in the preambles of the Royal charters the names and titles of the King as a rule are followed by the names of several other members of the Royal family. Certainly in King Hayam Wuruk's reign Royal authority seems to have been vested not exclusively in the King: he shared it with his nearest relatives.

2—2—4: Ke: "residing in Jiwana (Kahuripan)". On *munggwing* v. note on 2—2—2. Kern fails to translate *rājya*. In the present edition

this word is rendered as: Royal residence or compound; it refers to a dwelling. It is not translated as: palace, in order to avoid the association with sumptuous buildings in some Indian style. The proper translation would be the modern Jav. *kraton* (*karaton*: place of a *ratu*, a king). A description of the Royal compound of Majapahit follows in the next chapter. Kern also fails to translate *irikang*. In the present edition *irika* and *irikang* are always rendered by demonstratives of locality: here or: there. In the Nāg. they are not used pleonastically or as stop-gaps, like *ireki* in modern Jav. poetry. *Iriki*, the counterpart of *irika*, is not used in the Nāg., nor is *nihan*, v. note 1—3—1. *Iki* is used, though, side by side with *ika*, v. gl. The use of *irikang* in 2—2—4 is not meaningless. The author, at home in the Buddhistic episcopal compound in Majapahit-town, points to another compound at some distance from the bishop's. Jiwana is interchangeable with the usual Kahuripan, *hurip* and *jiwana* both meaning: life. Kern, lastly, also fails to translate the *pura* of Jiwanapura. Both *pura* and *puri* are found in the Nāg., without difference of meaning such as exists in Balinese between *pura*: temple-compound and *puri*: Royal compound, only *pura* is more frequently used in the Nāg. than *puri*. Perhaps *puri* in some cases refers to a smaller place. The difference in the use of *pura-puri* and *rājya* seems to be that the latter word more directly refers to the Court and the King (*rāja*). The double mention of the compound in 2—2—4 (*rājya* and *pura*) can be explained in this manner that the Queen-Mother and her husband Prince Kērtawar-dhana resided in the compound of Kahuripan which was a part of the Royal compound (*rājya*) of Majapahit (v. 11—1—4). Compound of Kahuripan as the name of a place in the Capital would be comparable with the names of wards of the modern Central Javanese towns Surakarta and Yogyakarta that are called after Princes who once had their compounds in those places, e.g. Kapugéran, Kasingasaren: compounds of the Princes of Pugér and Singasari, both distant Eastern Javanese districts. The comparison could even be stretched to the names of palaces in European Capitals like: Hôtel de Bourgogne, Exeter House, Maurits-huis, that were called after noblemen who once had their town residences there. On *nagara* and *nagari*: town, v. note 6—4—3.

Canto 3, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: Rājapatiñgwari, Skt spelling. *Tēkwan* means more than just: and. In most cases it is to be rendered as: naturally, v. Zoetmulder, Adiparwa, p. 204; in some places it seems

to be used as a stop-gap (in fact.). Probably *tīkwan* is the same word as modern Jav. *tīkon*: character, nature. Ke's translation: "she considered her as her mother" suggests that the Rājapatnī in fact was not Tribhūwanā's *ibu*. Of course *ibu* means mother as well as aunt, and *mātāmahā*: grandmother as well as great-aunt. The translation: treating her as a mother is a better rendering of the sense of the text. In the present edition *Icvara* and *Icvari* are rendered by: Master and Mistress. The words are mostly used as honorific adjuncts, connected with names.

3—1—2: Ke's translation: "at the foot of the grave" suggests the existence of a grave as the permanent abode of the Rājapatnī's body. The translation of the present edition: performing the ceremonies at the feet of the honoured dead one, is meant to refer to the ceremonies after the decease, probably the cremation. The Nāg. does not contain a clear suggestion to the effect that the Rājapatnī's body was *not* cremated. As she was a Buddhist nun the possibility is not to be discarded, though. *Pējah* is in modern Jav. *krama* (ceremonial idiom) beside: *mati*: to die, dead. The two words seem to be used in the Nāg. without a pronounced difference of "tone".

3—1—3: The original meaning of *tansah*: unseparated, makes good sense in this verse. In modern Jav. *tansah* means: always. Kern translates: the father of our King and lord. In the present edition *de* when referring to family relations is rendered as: in relation to. Its use is not obligatory, v. *mātāmahā cṛī narendra*, 2—1—1. *Adhipati* is rendered as: overlord; it does not refer exclusively to the King. *Adhipati*, on the other hand, is a title of a man of standing and authority in rural districts; it is rendered as: chief, governor, v. gl.

3—1—4: Ke: *mārggāngde* (contraction of *mārga* and *angde*). Ke: *sukā* m.c. Here as well as in other places where it is found in C Kern fails to write the *hh*; *hh* fits well into this place; v. Introduction, vol. I. *Sedampati* in C instead of *sadampati* m.c.? (suggestion of KBNW). *Sedampati* is used in other texts also. The only plausible supposition seems to be that it is a contraction of *sa-i-dampati* wherein *i* is a honorific predicate, like modern Balinese *i*. Relationship of this Balinese *i* with modern Jav. *si* (with nearly the same meaning) is probable. *I* as a honorific predicate is unknown in Old Javanese texts, though. Kern translates: "working for the world's welfare". *Suka* is frequently used in the Nāg.; it is rendered as: joy, rejoicing, like modern Jav. *sukarēna*. "The world's welfare" is *jagaddhita*, v. gl.

Canto 3, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *āpagēh*, m.c. Ke: "the Viceroy".

Bhūpati does not mean: governor or: viceroy; it is to be rendered as: Ruler. *Pagēh*, *apagēh* firm, fixed, is used very often at the end of a verse as a stop-gap.

3—2—2: Ke reads: *wara*, a good emendation, but he forgets to translate it. Ke: *manggēh parārtheng*, Skt spelling; translated: "tried to further other peoples' welfare in the world". *Manggēh* is derived from *anggēh*: fixed legal relation, a juridical term, v. gl. *Parārtha*, to serve another, or other people, also means (according to Ke's note on 31—4—3): to have sexual intercourse. *Manggēh parārtha* evidently refers to Kērtawardhana's relation to the Royal family as a Prince-Consort. Probably his identification with Ratnasambhawa must also be interpreted with reference to his place in the Royal family and his activities in the realm, v. chpt on the Royal family in vol. IV. Both *jagat* and *rāl* (next verse), translated literally: world, mostly refer to the people or the public, v. gl.

3—2—3: Ke: *dhirotsāha*, m.c. Ke: *kawrddhyan*. *Wērdhi* means: increase and: to have children, v. gl. Kērtawardhana's care for the increase of the population and so for the King's revenues is also mentioned in 88—4, v. comm. Probably the words *wērdhi* in 3—2—3 and *kārya* in 3—2—4 refer to the two elements of the Prince's name: Kērta-Wardhana.

3—2—4: Ke: *kāryya* (*ning*) *sahana*, m.c. *Lagi* means: engaged in, as in modern Jav. *Kārya*, work, concern, very often refers to some traditional ceremony with a religious character, like modern Jav. *gawe*. *Anggēgwani kārya* probably refers to the annual festival at Court in which Kērtawardhana took a conspicuous part, v. 91—5, the *rakēt* performance. Ke interpolates *ning* m.c. *Kadhyakṣa* can not possibly have the meaning of: office of a supreme judge, as Kern would have it. A better interpolation instead of *ning* is: *taha*, making the very common word: *tansah*. The emended reading of the verse is: *lagy anggēgwani kārya tansah anahādhyakṣatidakṣeng naya*. *Anaha* is a derivation of *taha*: to reflect, v. gl. To mistake *k* for *h* in Balinese script is easy. *Adhyakṣa* is a chancery term; it is literally rendered as: superintendent. The linking of *adhyakṣa* with *atidakṣeng naya* surely is intentional: this makes it clear that *adhyakṣa* also refers to the management of affairs, v. gl. The end of 3—2—4 resembles the epithets of members of the Royal family and Court officials found in the preambles of Royal charters, cf note 12—4—4. Kern's translation of *adhyakṣa* as: supreme judge is open to doubt. In Majapahit the administration of justice was the task of a board of ecclesiastical officers; the members of the Royal

family were not concerned with it, v. the chpt on the political organization in vol. IV.

Canto 4, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: Jīvana, m.c.

4—1—3: Ke: *Dahānopameng (ra)pa ring*, m.c. The interpolation of *ra* makes good sense. Ke links *anopameng rūpa* with *ring sadguna* without any connecting word, which is unusual. Perhaps the verse is corrupt; the meaning is clear, though. *Sīni* and its derivatives refer to the relation between subjects and Princes in a general sense; it is rendered as: to obey. *Seva*, on the other hand, means: to serve, to wait upon.

4—1—4: Ke: *sasmasa(ma) kalawan hajing Jīvana*, m.c., with interpolation of *ma*. Neither Kern's translation: "as if she were a Queen" nor Krom's: "as co-Princess" take full account of the meaning of *hajing*: aspect. It is obvious that Sudewī in this verse is the name of a goddess. On the comparisons of the members of the Royal family with gods and goddesses, v. the chpt on the Royal family in vol. IV.

Canto 4, stanza 2, verse 2: Ke: pāramajñottama, m.c., translated by Kern: "peerless among the most excellent great scholars". English "among" can not be rendered in Javanese simply by *ing*. Moreover *pāramajña* is an unusual expression. Probably the verse is corrupt; a better reading is: *anopameng rūpa wijñottama*. There must exist a parallelism between the descriptions of the Princess and the Prince in 4—1 and 4—2. The verses 4—1—3 and 4—2—2 both contain first a reference to the personal appearance of the princely pair (*anopameng rūpa*), then an epithet referring to their intellect (*sadguna* and *wijña*). *Wijña* is used frequently in the Nāg., v. gl.

4—2—3: Ke: *nr̥pe*; *nr̥pati* has one syllable too much. Ke: *ekapaksā-pagēh*. C left an open space at the end of the verse.

4—2—4: Ke notes that three syllables are missing in this verse. He transcribes: *sira wihiakan i - - thāni* but he does not offer a solution. Krom proposes to interpolate: *worñnaneng*, referring to *worñnan*, 79—2—1. *Worñana* means: literary description; this does not fit into this verse. A more plausible reading is: *wihiakan i solahing thāni*, which makes good sense. *Thāni* means: cultivated peasants' land. In modern Jav. *wong tan* is the common word for: peasant.

Canto 5, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: rājñī, Skt spelling.

5—1—2: Ke: *anurāga*, Skt spelling.

5—1—3: Ke: *Daha*. Ke's wrong translation of this stanza, suggesting that it mentions two Princesses instead of one, has been set aright by Kr in his notes, v. chpt on Royal family. In the stanzas 5—1 and 5—2, referring to two Princesses of King Hayam Wuruk's generation, his cousin and his sister, the parallelism is particularly conspicuous. The frequent changes of metre mark the generations and grades of relationship. Probably the choice of the metre in many cases is significant. Some relation between the contents of a canto referring to some member of the Royal family and its metre is likely. Cantos containing references to King Hayam Wuruk's reign seem to be set by preference in the metre *jagaddhita*: "the world's welfare", v. the chpt on the composition of the Nāg. in vol. IV.

Canto 5, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *duhitegwari*, Skt spelling.

5—2—2: Kr note: *munggwi*, m.c.

5—2—4: Ke: *narendra*, m.c. Kern's wrong translation of this stanza has been set right by Krom in his notes. İçwari must be a proper name in 5—2—1. Ke's translation "as younger sister to the King" does not render justice to *saksat* and *tēkap*. *Tēkap* probably is related to *tangkēp*: to take a hand in, to take action. *Tēkap* is frequently used to indicate the agent, going with a verb in the passive voice. With reference to family relations *tēkap* can be used to indicate the person who puts another into some relationship to himself. In both senses *tēkap* is synonymous with *de*. It seems impossible to find a good English translation for these words. In *tēkapnirang narendra* the suffixed *-nira* is used before *narendra* out of respect, in the same manner as *sira* sometimes is used as an honorific predicate, v. note 2—1—1. The words are rendered as: worshipful. They look very much like stop-gaps. It is to be noted that the King's sister is not given precedence before her maternal cousin. The latter is mentioned first in 5—1 because she was older, and an adopted daughter of King Hayam Wuruk's mother, according to the Par., v. the chpt on the Royal family.

Canto 6, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *Penak*, with note: *Penan* in the text is a mistake. Krom put this right: *penan* no doubt means: brother-in-law. In modern Jav. *ipe* is brother- or sister-in-law. Ke: *labdhabhi-seka prabhu*, m.c. As a rule Kern translates *kapwa* by: all. It seems preferable to reserve "all" for the common *kabeh* and *sakwah* and to render *kapwa* as: equally, which makes the best sense in most places where it is used, v. gl.

6—1—2: Ke: "the doughty Princess who rules in Lasēm". *Sang rājñi Lasēm* is the best reading, parallel to *sang rājñi pratiṣṭe Pajang* of 6—2—1. *Sang* is a honorific predicate used only before names or titles of persons or personifications. *Sang rājyeng Lasēm*: the honoured residence of Lasēm (as Kern would have it) is unidiomatic. *Suṣrama*: doughty (Dutch: *wakker*) is not a suitable epithet for the beautiful Princess Indudewi of Lasēm: it is a masculine epithet. In 6—1—2 it belongs to Prince Rājasawardhana to whom the stanza is dedicated. It is remarkable that the two Prince-Consorts of the King's generation are mentioned together in two stanzas after their wives, whereas in 3—2 and in 4—2 the two Prince-Consorts of the elder generation, King Hayam Wuruk's father and his maternal uncle, seem to be closely connected with their wives; v. the chpt on the Royal family. The senior Princes were of more importance at Court than their juniors.

Canto 6, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: rājñi, v. 6—1—2. Pratiṣṭa, correct Skt: *pratiṣṭha*, is in the first place a chancery term referring to the titular residence of a Prince or Princess. In this sense it is synonymous with *munggwing*. In the second place *pratiṣṭa* is a term of divine worship, referring to the abode of a god or a deified ancestor, mostly a statue, v. chpt on religion in vol. IV.

6—2—2: Ke: *khyāti*, Skt spelling; *suçilāpagēh*, m.c.

6—2—3: Ke: *dewidā*, m.c.

6—2—4: Ke: *tusjaning*, m.c. *Atuwang anak* does not make sense; *amtwang anak*, modern Jav. *among anak*, no doubt is the original reading. This description of the Princes' character is nicely followed up in the next stanza by *tēkwan*: in fact, naturally, and an enumeration of their children.

Canto 6, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: narendra, m.c. Kern's translation of this verse very rightly has been corrected by Krom in his notes. Both Ke and Kr, however, failed to translate *angdīri*. *Angdīri* is only used in this place in the Nāg.; it is rendered as: self-reliant. Evidently it refers to the fact that Princess Nāgarawardhani of Wirabhumi was (as yet) unmarried, v. chpt on Royal family.

6—3—2: Ke: *Nāgarawardhani pratita rājñikanyakānopama*, m.c.

6—3—3: Kr note: *i Mataram*, m.c. Princess Nāgarawardhani is called *haji* (mylady), probably because she was the heiress-apparent to the throne.

6—3—4: Evidently *paningkah* is another word for son-in-law, v. gl. sub *tingkah*. Ke's translation "supreme judge" is unfounded.

Canto 6, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *nṛpatti* and *munggwing*, m.c.

6—4—3: Kr note: *sang pada* and *nāgarātunggalan*. *Nagara*, *nagarī* and *nāgara* are used indiscriminately in the Nāg., meaning: town, i.e. a King's or Prince's compound with the surrounding compounds and manors of relatives and servants. The words also refer to the towns-folk. *Nagara* etc. is the opposite of *dega*, *pradeça*, meaning: district, especially: rural district, and of *thāni*, meaning: peasants' cultivated land. The *pura* or *purl* is the chief compound in the centre of a *nagara*, v. 17—3—1, 2. *Rājya* is rendered by Royal compound, Royal residence.

6—4—4: *Mangisapwi* is not derived from *sapu*: broom (as Kern would have it) but from *kisapu*. Prb's translation: they hold in their laps, no doubt is right.

Canto 7, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *dinakara* and *prabhu*, m.c.

7—1—2: Ke: *tamisra*, Skt spelling; C's *rimawason* is better Jav. than Ke's *rinabhasan*.

7—1—3: Ke: *tusṭāṅg* and *sātwika*; *pangkajāmam* instead of *pangajāmam*. Ke explains that red lotus-flowers open in the sunlight, whereas the white ones close up at the same time. *Satya sātwika* does not mean: in sincere truth (as Kern would have it). The words are adjuncts of *kujana kumuda*. Probably the meaning in this place is: the bad people are reformed: they have grown faithful and true to the King. *Satya sātwika* goes well with *amam*: quiet, settled down, the other adjunct of *kujana kumuda*. It should be noted that the demonstrative *ikanang*: there, evidently is used in this place to separate the good people on the poet's side from the bad people (the King's enemies, at home or abroad) on the other side of an imaginary line. Prb reads: *pangkaja mamikanang*; he supposes that *mamikanang* contains a derivation of *wikan*: to know. But then, in the Nāg. the original form *wihikan* is used, v. gl., not the modern Jav. form *wikan*. It is remarkable that the same simile, of the two kinds of flowers, is used also in Nāg. 83—1, but there the bad people are compared to the red flowers and the good to the white ones, because the King is compared to the moon.

7—1—4: Ke: *grāma*, Skt spelling. *Sthiti* means: stable, order, orderly, like Skt *sthiti*. *Dhana* means: wealth; the almost homonymous *dhānā* means: rice. *Grāma* is to be rendered as: village. *Sakrama* means: according to custom. Kern's translation does not bring out the whole of the simile. The villages are compared with water. The villages are the homes both of good and bad people, and the water is where

the two kinds of lotus-flowers grow. The villages bring forth wealth (or: rice); so does the water on the ricefields. The wealth (or: rice) is offered to the King; the rice-plants grow and offer their grain to the Sun; the King is compared with the Sun.

Canto 7, stanza 2, verse 2: Kr note: *Pitṛpāṇi*, m.c. *Kaḍanḍan*: the punishing, *katēmwan*: the finding, *karakṣan*: the protecting, the minding are unusual forms in Old Javanese. Some influence of Skt abstracts is probable. The usual Javanese construction of the sentence would be with *an*, like verse 3 has it: *kwir hyang Bāyu sirūn tameng sakalaloka*. Ke's translations do not bring out the structure of the sentences.

7—2—3: The usual meaning of *dīta*: messenger makes good sense in this place (Ke has: spies). In all places where *sakala* is used in the Nāg. the translation: material (opposed to *nīkala*: transcendental) seems to fit, except only in two places where *sakalaloka* and *sakalabhami* must be rendered by: all places, all countries (on earth), v. gl.

7—2—4: Ke: *Prthwī* m.c., Skt spelling.

Canto 7, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *wargāndikṛti*, Skt spelling.

7—3—2: Ke fails to translate *para*. In the Nāg. *para* is not merely an indicator of the plural number, as it is in modern Jav. *Para* means: common, in common; it is also used substantively, meaning: the common people, the commoners. In modern Jav. this original meaning still is found in the expression: *sēga para*: rice for the common people. Connected with titles or names of offices *para* is always to be rendered as: common. In 7—3 the opposition of the *para putrikā*, the common maidens, to the *mukyā*, the chief lady of the King's *senana*, is obvious. In the Nāg. *para* never is used with reference to persons of the Blood Royal. Certainly this is not a coincidence: *para*, common, does not go with Royalty. In some places in the Nāg. *para*, connected with the name of an office, refers to a singular number, like modern Jav. *parāñahi*; v. gl. *parakawi*. The translation: common is most appropriate in those cases. Skt *para*: foreign is found only in a few places in the Nāg. In a note on 98—1—1 Ke points out some parallels of Jav. *para*. He remarks that *parakawi* (common poet) is expressive of some humility while *rakawi* (honoured poet) is not. Both are used by Prapañca referring to himself. As parallels of *parakawi* and *parāñahi* Ke mentions several words in Philippine languages: Bicol *paraguhit*: scribe; Bisaya: *palaumo*: agricultural labourer; *palainum*: drunkard; Tagalog: *palaanito*: idolater. According to Kern those Philippine parallels (*para-* and *pala-*) prove that the *r* of Javanese *para* (common) is of another origin than the *r* of Javanese *ra* (honorific, *rakawi*), for the latter *r* is related

to *d* (cf. *danghyang*). Ke's translation of *putrikādika*: princesses etc. suggests that the ending *ādika* is synonymous with *ādi*. In the Nāg. *ādi*, etcetera, is frequently used, v. gl., and so is *adika*, i.e. Skt *adhika*, especially as an honorific ending to titles and names. In 7—3—2 *putrikādika* is the right reading; this *adhika* is rendered as: superior. Often it is no more than a stop-gap, though. *Putrikā*, translated by Ke: princesses, is better rendered as: maidens. In other places in the Nāg. it means: daughter, v. gl. The common women of the King's *zenana* were not Princesses of the Blood Royal. Probably many of them had been offered as tribute to the Court, v. 31—4.

7—3—3: Ke: *Parameçwari*, Skt spelling. Ke fails to translate *swa-*. Kr points out that Parameçwari must have been a daughter of Wijaya-rājasa with a wife of lower rank. If she had been a daughter of the Princess of Dāha the poet certainly would have mentioned it in canto 5. *Swaduhitā* indicates that Parameçwari was an "own" daughter of the Prince of Wengkēr. Parameçwari must be her title-and-name. Kr suggests that Susumñādewi is the personal name, but he overlooks *atavarṇa*. Susumñā is the goddess to whom Parameçwari is compared.

7—3—4: *Sawane nareçwara* is rendered as: well-balanced with the Prince. Probably this expression is used in this place to render justice to Parameçwari, who, though not the King's equal in rank, took a part at the King's side in the pageant on the occasion of the annual festival at Court, v. 84—3—3.

Canto 7, stanza 4, verse 1: Tēkwan wrddhi is used in 6—3—1 in the same context. In both places the translation: naturally for *tēkwan* is fitting.

7—4—2: Ke: *rājīti*, Skt spelling; *siniwīng* m.c.

7—4—3: Ke's translation has been corrected by Prb, reproduced by Kr: "Wikramawardhana is her fiancé". No doubt this is nearly what the poet meant to say, but then *niruktī* does not mean: fiancé, but only: fitting, and *saniruktyanira* contains a suffixed *-a*, indicating a future time or a hypothetical case. *Nirukti*, used substantively, is rendered in this place as: (Her) match.

7—4—4: Ke: *dewatt*, m.c. and *atēmw ahēlēm*. *Atēmwā* is a future tense and *hēlēm* does not need a prefixed *a-*, v. gl. At the time that the Nāg. was written Kusumawardhani and Wikramawardhana apparently still were children. Though it is stated that they manifestly were a god and a goddess the identity of their divine counterparts is left unspecified.

CHAPTER 2 - MAJAPAHIT, THE CAPITAL

about 1350 A.D.

Cantos 8—12, 21 stanzas.

Cantos 8—12 have been translated and discussed extensively by Dr Stutterheim in his book: *De Kraton van Madjapahit* (1948). Stutterheim's translations and emendations are discussed in the following notes; his opinions about Majapahit's topography are commented upon in vol. IV, commentaries on chpt 2.

Canto 8, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *warṇyan*, Skt spelling. Ke: *parādbhuta*. C's *purādbhuta* makes good sense in this place, though. *Tingkah* means: order (of things and places) and behaviour (of living beings); Ke's and St's translation: appearance is a mistake. *Adbhuta* means: wonderful, v. gl., not: wonder, miracle (as Ke and St would have it).

8—1—2: Ke: *kulwan dik purowaktra mangharēpakēn*. Prb, mentioned in Kr's notes: *dinwarawaktra*. Muusses (O.V. 1923, p. 36): *kulwanning dwarawaktra*. Kr calls all emendations unsatisfactory. *Dwarawaktra*, gate-mouth (*dvara* instead of *dwatra*, m.c.) makes good sense in this verse. It is the space in front of the main gate, described in 8—2, v. comm. *Di* is found only in this place in the Nāg.; perhaps a scribe's mistake for *ri* or *ring* (v. gloss. sub *di*, though). The meaning is clear. *Lēbuh* means: field, open space, v. gl. *Wayedran* is to be analysed as: *waya idēran*. *Waya*, to exist, is used in some more places in the Nāg., v. gl. Water is *wway*, with two *w*'s, v. gl. Both Ke and St have supposed erroneously that this verse refers to water. *Idēran* means: circle, round. KBNW sub *indra* has: *indraning mata*: apple of the eye (rightly *indērañ*). *Idēran* is rendered in this place by: ring; it was a ring for cockfights, v. comm.

8—1—3: Ke: *brahmasthāna*. According to Kern *brahmasthāna* is the Indian mulberry-tree, *Morus alba*, modern Jav.: *bēsarān*. To be expected in this place would be: *aqwattha*, *Ficus religiosa*, modern Jav.: *waringin*, because the terraces (Skt: *bodhimanda*) usually belong

to those trees, according to Kern. This may be true. *Buddhi* in this verse is the name of a second kind of tree: *Ficus Rumphii*, modern Jav. *wudi*. This makes better sense than Kern's: *pathani-buddhi*. *Inapi*: well cared for, from *api* (v. gl.), refers to the care that was taken to keep the rows of trees in good form, by regular trimmings. This can still be observed in modern times in the Central Javanese capitals Surakarta and Yogyakarta. *Cara-cara* is mentioned in several other places in the Nāg., v. gl. Probably it is the name of some decoration made of leaves or flowers. It is rendered tentatively as: festoons, floral decorations.

8—1—1: *Ngkā tonggwan* is to be analysed as: *ngkā ta unggwan*. To mount guard (Ke's and St's translation) is *matunggu*, v. gl. A *tanya* is a subaltern officer; the word is rendered by: headman, v. gl. *Karakṣan* is the name of a place: a guard-house or redoubt. Kraksaan is the name of a town in Eastern Java. *Sabha* is a meeting of the Princes with their subjects, and the place where the meeting is held: an open field, not enclosed like a yard. *Sabha* is rendered in the present edition by the Indian "durbar", v. 85—1, and gl. *Purasabha* is the meeting-place belonging to the Royal compound. It is not to be confounded with *tuenguntur*: the main courtyard inside the wall of the Royal compound, and still less with *pasewan*: a private guard-house belonging to a group of Royal servants who are "in waiting", v. gl.

Stanza 2 begins in C with a double *pada*, usually marking a change of the metre. As this is a mistake, one *pada* has been crossed out with ink by a later reader, perhaps Dr Brandes.

Canto 8, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *rinsipakāparimita*, Skt spelling. *Gopura* means a main gate of Royal and temple compounds, v. gl.

8—2—2: *Sangging*, a noun, means: contiguous one, neighbour. Ke's and St's translations: next, are confusing. St's rendering of *panggung* by: watch-tower is correct, v. comm. It certainly was not a cupola or a summer-house, as Ke suggests. *Patiga* is a technical term of architecture. KBNW's rendering: floor is to be understood as: raised floor, and its four vertical sides, that are visible. In the case of the watch-tower *patiga* can only refer to the parapet around the open top. The dazzling white parapet contrasted vividly with the wall of red brick. Together the parapet and the wall constituted the highly significant Royal combination of colours white-red, v. comm.

8—2—3: Ke note: "kānnah for kañnah, but the right spelling is karñnah". KBNW also: *arnah*. The double *n* is only to be explained by presuming a preceding *r*. Kr note: *ing pēkēn*, m.c. Ke: *dahat*.

Aichele (BKI, 113, 1959, p. 331) translates *lor-kidul*: on all sides. This metaphor, an abbreviation of *lor-kidul-kulon-wetan*, is fitting in poetical descriptions. In the prosy Nāg. the words have their literal meanings. *Kānnah lor* (cf. *kānnah wetan*, 8—4—1) and *kidul ing pēkēn* are two different indications, both referring to the situation of the long hall. *Rakēt* means: close by. Crowded (Ke's and St's translation) is: *sēk*, *sēsēk*, v. gl. There is no indication in the text (e.g. a word meaning: many, or a numeral) that in this verse the poet refers to a plurality of buildings. It seems probable that he meant one open hall, very long.

8—2—4: Ke: *kidul*, m.c. *Pahōnan* is a locality: meeting place. *Pēkēn* is an open field where a market can be held. Permanent, closed market sheds (St. Kraton, p. 29) probably did not exist in Java before the 19th century, when they were built by the Netherlands Indies Government. *Bala* is a collective noun, indicating the class of the Royal servants (modern Jav.: *abdi dalēm*). Ke fails to translate *ahyang*: sacred. In the Nāg. *ahalēp* and *ahyang* in several places are found linked together. *Ahalēp* evidently means more than just: beautiful (the usual translation); in the present edition it is rendered as: majestic, imposing (by a spiritual quality). On the crossroads v. commun.

Canto 8, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *gimbar*, connected with Sundanese *gimbar*. St. refers to modern Jav. *jēmbar*. Ke uses in the translation: *manguntur*. This is modern Jav.; *wanguntur* is the correct form. Ke: *i caturddiçi*. A better emendation is: *añatārdīgi*: to the four sides. Both Ke and St think only of *watang*, a long lance, v. gl. *Watangan* is a technical term of architecture: the name of a rather small type of building, probably open, occasionally used for devotional purposes (KBNW quotation from Swarajambu). In the present edition it is rendered as: pavilion. *Watangan ikāwitāna* is to be analysed as: *watangan ikā, awitāna*. *Witāna* also is a technical term of architecture: probably a rather large square open hall, mostly situated in the centre of a courtyard, and used for festive ceremonies. The best translation would be the modern Jav. *pēndapa* (from Skt *māṇḍapa*). In the present edition *witāna* is rendered as: hall.

8—3—2: Ke: *bhujingga*, m.c.; *alēnggik* is a slip of the pen. *Mānangkil* is a Court term, meaning: to be in waiting. It refers to Royal servants who have to hold themselves in readiness to take up their duties or to execute orders. In the meantime they are sitting and amusing themselves, eating or sleeping, as the case may be, in the guard-houses (*waçma panangkilan*, guard-houses, mentioned 8—3—2, or *pasewan*, 8—5—1) appointed to their group. Persons of the Blood

Royal do not *manangkil*. *Marék*, on the other hand, to approach, as a Court term means: to enter into the Royal Presence. It is said of the Princes too, v. gl. *Bhujangga* and *mantri* are chancery terms for the two classes of Royal servants at the Majapahit Court: the clerks or ecclesiastical officers and the mandarins holding secular offices. The best rendering of *mantri* would be the modern Jav. *priyayi*, meaning: a gentleman (however poor he may be) who holds some office. The old Portuguese rendering of the Skt *mantri*: *mandarin* is used in the present edition. Probably the *bhujanggas* and the *mantris* had their own *panangkilans* in which to sit in waiting. Kern's translation: scholars and Royal ministers, can not be correct because of the very humble place of the *panangkilans* mentioned in 8—3—2, on the outskirts of the outer courtyard. The meaning of *para*: common, is very clear in this verse. The places of the higher officials of course were nearer the centre of the Royal compound.

8—3—3: Ke: *caiva*, Skt. spelling. In the Nāg. *caivā* and *boddha* or *sogata*, Shiwaite and Buddhist, refer only to Shiwaite and Buddhist clergymen and to members of the Royal family. The religious convictions of the common people are ignored. Between *boddha* and *sogata* no difference in meaning can be found; *boddha* is used more frequently. The common clergy (*para*) sat in the outer courtyard, like the common clerks and the common gentlemen in waiting. The usual meanings of *mucap*: to say, to pronounce, and of *aji*: holy lore, incantation, make good sense in this verse. *Mucap* does not mean: to discuss (Ke and St). The accessories probably consisted of flower-offerings and frankincense. *Maritwāda*: to have dissensions, is rendered in this verse as: to compete with each other. It is improbable that real dissensions used to break out at the time of the annual purification ceremonies mentioned in the next verse.

8—3—4: Ke: *sabhuwana*, m.c. Ke thinks of an eclipse (*grahana*) in *Phālguna* (February-March), which would be an odd coincidence. Kr draws attention to the ceremonies in *Phālguna* mentioned in cantos 83 and 84; he thinks that *grahana* can have the meaning: dark half of the month. St adopts this idea. As a matter of fact, the usual meaning of *grahana*: eclipse, does not make sense in this verse. The only plausible emendation for: *ri kūlaning grahana* is: *ri kūlaning crawana*. In 8—3—4 the two great annual religious ceremonies of the Majapahit Court are mentioned: the *Crāwana-Bhādra* (July-August-September) ceremony, referred to in canto 63—4 and the *Phālguna* festival (February-March), described extensively in cantos 83 and 84. On the inter-

relationship of the two great annual ceremonies v. comm. *Amrayaçcitani bala*: to purify the Royal servants (on a fixed date, not dependent on an incidental eclipse) is partially described in KBNW sub voce *jaya* (*Jayasunu*). In cantos 63, 83 and 84 *prayaçcitta* is not used. It is not doubtful, however, that the annual ceremonies i.a. had the function of illustrations and purifications, v. the chpt on religion in vol. IV.

Canto 8, stanza 4, verse 1: In the Nāg. *homa* is a term of religious worship: an offering to the supreme gods (probably consisting mainly of flowers) celebrated by ordained priests of high rank on behalf of the Princes. *Homa* is rendered: fire-offering. The possibility that a fire was made in which flowers and fruits were burned should not be discarded, v. chpt on religion in vol. IV. *Hinoma* (emendation for *hanoma*) in 8—4—4 probably is to be translated: offered up in the fire.

8—4—2: The Majapahit *wipras* (brahmins) probably were Wishnuites, v. comm. *Natar* is the open, flat space belonging to a building, its yard. The *natar* is not necessarily enclosed by a wall or a hedge. *Batur* is the base of a building, a slightly raised terrace. *Tatwur* is a term of worship connected with *sawur*: to scatter, to strew. St's rendering: offerings to the demons is correct in so far as the *tatwur*-offerings were presented to the chthonic spirits, the forces of the nether world. For that reason the *tatwur*-offerings were separated from the *homa*-offerings, that were presented to the supreme gods. On the relation of the Wishnuite brahmins with the chthonic offerings v. the chpt on religion. Kern's wrong translation of *barat* by: south-west was prompted by KBNW's note connecting *barat* with Bisaya *babagat*: strong S.—W. wind. *Barat*: west is common Malay; it is not Javanese. In this verse *barat* is used instead of the common Jav. *kulwan* m.c. Of course in the Majapahit period many Malay words were known to Javanese of the higher classes of society, especially terms connected with navigation (like the names of the points of the compass), trade etc. The use of Malay words in Old Javanese texts has been noted before.

8—4—4: Ke: *hinoma*, v. 8—4—1, to be translated: offered up in the fire. The usual meaning of *racana*: ornament makes good sense in this place. *Puspa* is a term of worship: structures of various forms made of ingeniously arranged flowers and sometimes also fruits, to be used as offerings or as objects of worship, v. gl. In the present edition *puspas* is rendered as: flower-offering or flower-puppet. The words for common flowers in the Nāg. are *kusuma* and *sūkar*, v. gl. The *puspas* are the grammatical subjects of the passive voice *hinoma*.

On the meaning of the Princes' attendance at the flower-offerings v. comm.

Canto 8, stanza 5, verse 1: Kr note: *ikanang*, m.c. Ke: *pasewan atatā*. *Palawangan* means: gate-building, v. comm. *Sewa* is a Court term meaning: to be at one's service; sometimes it is to be translated as: to pay homage. A *pasewan* is a place for serving-men; it is certainly not a place where the King receives guests (Ke's translation). It is a small hall or pavilion for the use of the Royal servants who are awaiting their turns (v. 8—6). The *pasewans* mentioned in 8—5 are separated from the main courtyard (*wanguntur*) by a wall with a gate (*palawangan*) in it. They are situated on both sides of a road (*hawan*, 8—5—2). Probably that means that the *pasewans* were of a higher standing than the *panangkilans* in the main courtyard mentioned in 8—3—2. Of course the Royal servants in the *pasewans* were of a higher rank than the common clerks and mandarins in the outer courtyard. In this description of the Royal compound, inside (*ing jro*) always means: in the direction of the centre, and so: higher in rank than farther outside.

8—5—2: *Wegma* in the Nāg. is a common word for house, or building, v. comm.

8—5—3: Ke: *murwah* and *bala maneka*. *Hēlēt* means: partition, v. gl.; in this case *palawangan*: gate-building is to be supplemented, in accordance with 8—5—1. What was to be found behind that gate is not mentioned. Prb's and Kr's reading: *balay aneka* is correct. In the Nāg. a *balay* or *bale* is a building of lesser importance, probably a kind of small pavilion. *Medron* means: with a ring (*ma-idēran*, v. 8—1—2). In this case the *idēran* is a circular canal. Ke's "going around" would be: *midēr*, v. 9—3—1.

8—5—4: *Ri tēngah* is to be separated from *natar*. "In the centre of the yard" would be: *ri tēngahing natar*, v. gl. sub *tēngah*. *Pasatan* is the name of the *mandapas* (small halls). *Açangkha*, innumerable, can only refer to *mandapa*. To make it an adjunct of *sata*: cock (assuming that *pasatan* is a derivative of *sata*, Ke: birds, followed by Kr and St) seems forced. Moreover *matwurahan* refers to the noise of a human crowd. The screeching of the kind of cock that is kept by Javanese connoisseurs is called *cikker*, v. KBNW. The usual meaning of *pasatan* (from *sat*, *asat*: dry): a change of clothes especially after a bath, makes good sense in this verse. KBNW does not mention *pasatan* sub *sata*. Probably the *bales* all around were washing places and bathrooms built on the bank of a small circular canal made for that end, the *idēran*.

The *mandapas* were dressing-rooms where people who came from afar could change before entering the inner part of the Royal compound. Perhaps the *mandapas* were also used as guest-houses. On the improbability of the valuable cocks having their place in the outer courtyard v. comm.

Canto 8, stanza 6, verse 1: Ke: *pasewan i kidul*. The reading *angidul* is preferable; in the Nág. the indigenous Javanese names of the points of the compass as a rule are not preceded by *i* or *ing*, v. gl. *Wijil* is a gate, not the main gate (*gopura*) but larger than *palawangan*. The probability of a difference in architecture between the three kinds of gates is great. Second *Wijil-Gate* and First *Wijil-Gate* (reckoned from the Interior, the King's residence, outwards) are names of places inside the Royal compound. *Dalém* is to be rendered as Interior, inside the wall and the main gate. It does not refer to one building in particular, as modern Jav. *dalém* does.

8—6—2: Ke: *tinika*, m.c. Neither Ke's nor Kr's nor St's translations make good sense. The explanation is as follows. The *pasewans* were built on terraces (St: piled up), the next terrace, going inwards, raised (by some feet only, probably) above the preceding one, and separated from it by a wall, a hedge or a fence with a gate (*palawangan*) in it. The serving-men were divided into groups or companies of different rank. In all probability the companies of the highest ranks had their places on the highest terraces, nearest to the Second *Wijil-Gate*. *Tiningkah* is metrically impossible; a better reading is: *tinitah*. *Titah* is a Court term, meaning: order according to rank, precedence, v. gl.

8—6—3: Ke: *kaptwāng weçma*. *Kaptwa r twweçma* is the original reading: the double *w* was preceded by an *r*. *Ar* or *r* goes well with plurals; for the rest the meaning is the same as *n*, *an*, v. gl. The usual meaning of *waton*: skirting, edge as reinforcement, especially of a wooden or bamboo couch, makes good sense in this verse. Probably the *pasewans* were open on three or four sides, mere roofs on wooden pillars (the rafters were visible). Between the pillars were fixed boards, forming couches raised by some feet above the level of the ground, used for sitting or lying down. The *waton* was the wooden edge or skirting at the outside of the couch. Galestin's book on Javanese wood constructions contains many sketches of pavillions such as the Nág. poet saw in the Majapahit Royal compound. In the present edition *len* is as a rule translated as: on the other hand, otherwise. The rendering: and, also, is often unsatisfactory.

8—6—4: Ke: *sék* and *makëmit anu mapeksa*. *Agilir makëmit* is

to be separated from an *umapekṣa wāra*. This verse is of particular interest; it gives some information on the organization of the service at the Majapahit Court, v. comm.

Canto 9, stanza 1, verse 1: *Pangalasan* is a Court term (this is indicated by the following *ingaran*: called at Court). It is a collective noun indicating several groups or companies of Royal servants, especially used as military men. 9—1—2, 3, 4: Ke's translation does not make sense; it has been corrected by Prb (in Kr's notes): "list of companies mostly called after their countries". The Nawanaṭya contains a list of twelve names of companies. *Asuruhan* means: to have charge of, v. gl. Ke reads: *masuruhan sāmajādhi prakīrṇya*. Probably *ādī* is the better reading, standing at the end of a list.

Canto 9, stanza 2, verse 1. In the Nāg. *ādī* means excellent (Skt *adhi*); *ādīka* (Skt *adhika*) also is used, v. gl. In some places *ādī* and *ādī* (at the end of a list: etcetera) seem to be interchanged, v. gl.

9—2—2: *Tanḍa*, *gusti*, *wado-haji* and *among-tuhan* no doubt are ordered according to rank, from high to low. *Tanḍa* is rendered as: headman, *gusti* as: yeoman, *wado-haji* as: common soldier and *among-tuhan* as: camp-follower. *Yatva* is the name of a place: the space next to the gate, outside, v. comm. On no account is it to be translated as if it were an abbreviation of *Yawabhūmi*: Java (Ke and St).

9—2—3: Ke: *ping kalih*, m.c. In the Nāg. *ādīka* (Skt *adhika*) as a rule belongs to the preceding word, not to the following one, v. gl. *Apinta*, by Ke and St translated: separated (not mentioned in KBNW) is to be read: *apintu*: doorkeeper, which makes good sense. The reading is: *bhayangkāryāpintwāpupul*, v. KBNW sub *pintu*.

9—2—4: Ke: *bhujangga*. On no account is *para* to be translated: all (St), v. note 7—3—2. The common *kṣatriyas* of 9—2—4 were the inferiors in rank of the honoured *kṣatriyas* of 10—3—1, who were admitted to the Royal Presence. On the importance of the Second *Wijil*-Gate v. comm.

Canto 9, stanza 3, verse 1: Kr notes: *ring paccima* and *umareng Mṛtyudeçāyaçākweh*, m.c. "Death's Country" is south.

9—3—2: Ke: *wirabhṛtyān*, m.c. In this verse *Wirabhṛtyā* probably means: the retinue (*bhṛtyā*) of the Princess of *Wirabhūmi*. The retinue of her father the Prince of *Paguhan* is mentioned in 9—3—4. On the reason why these Princes are mentioned in this stanza v. comm. Neither Ke's nor St's translations of *wirabhṛtyā* make good sense. A

sumantri of course is higher in rank than a *mantri*, v. gl. The following word: *amawa* is rendered: vested with authority, v. KBNW. This fits well with: *pinituha*: considered as an elder.

9—3—3: *Lawangan*, probably an abbreviation of *palawangan*, could also mean: small *lawang* (gate). The difference is unimportant. In the Nāg. *gṛ̥ha* is a fine word for house, building; the common word is: *węcma*. In some cases *gṛ̥ha* is used for houses inhabited by persons of high rank, v. gl.

9—3—4: Ke: *sang* and *nityakālā'n*, m.c.

Canto 9, stanza 4, verse 2: Ke: *witānābhinawa*, m.c. Ke: *mapnupulan*. *Papupulan* makes good sense in this verse, though.

9—4—3: *Sopacāra* is to be rendered: with dignity. Regalia (the meaning of *upacara* in modern Jav.) are not mentioned in the Nāg. In this verse (and in many more places in the Nāg.) *Çri Nātha* (or a synonymous expression) is to be understood as a plural: the Princes, or, better still, as a collective noun: Royalty. In many cases the Royal family acted as a unity, v. chpt on the Royal family in vol. IV.

9—4—4: Ke: *witānāprameya*, m.c.

Canto 10, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *witāna satata*, m.c. The difference between *manangkil*: to be in waiting (in the first hall) in stanza 1 and *marēk*: to enter into the Royal Presence (in the Royal hall belonging to the Interior) in canto 11 is clear.

10—1—2: The high officials who are waiting to enter into the Presence are enumerated according to rank, from low to high. The common *āryas* (Honourables) of 10—1—2 probably are in opposition to the true *āryas* of 10—3—4. On the offices v. the chapter on the Court in vol. IV. The English translations are only tentative, of course. The meaning of *pasangguhan* is: exalted title (in the Par. *pasēnggahan*). There is no other *pasangguhan*-bearer mentioned in opposition to the common *pasangguhan*-bearer of 10—1—2. Moreover *para* does not go well with exalted rank. For that reason the reading *sang apasangguhan* is preferable; it is also grammatically satisfactory. The scribe's *para pasangguhan* has been influenced by the preceding *parāryya*. St's supposition that the persons enumerated in 10—1—2 were Princes of the Blood Royal is not borne out by the other places in the Nāg. where the same titles are found. Moreover the Princes have the predicate *Çri*.

10—1—3: *Pañca* and *mañca* go with names of offices (cf. *pañca*

tanda). The words are probable related to modern Jav. *kañca*. All three are to be rendered as: Fellow. *Pañcas* or *mañcas* seem to be members of a group, v. gl. Kr note: *mapatih* instead of *mapagēh*. Attention is drawn to the prefix *a-* or *ma-* of some names of offices (*apatih*, *mapatih*). Presumably the use of the form with prefix *a-* marks respect, v. gl. sub *a-*. On the functions of the five Fellows of the Court administration v. the comm. on the Nawanyata.

Canto 10, stanza 2, verse 1: Kr note: *sanagara* m.c. An *anūtya* seems to be a member of the class from which the Royal servants sprung. On the meaning of this stanza v. comm.

10—2—2: Ke: *paradēmung*; Kr note: *sakāla*, m.c.

10—2—3: Ke's and St's translation of *mahingan*: to limit is a mistake; the meaning is: to have a limit. *Watēk* is not frequently used in the Nāg. It is rendered as: what belongs to; it is not merely an indicator of the plural number. *Amatēk* means: to draw, to pull, v. gl.

10—2—4: It is worthy of remark that in this verse (and in 10—3—4) the suffixed pronoun *-nira* does not refer to persons of the Blood Royal but to officers and clergymen of the highest rank, v. note 2—1—1.

Canto 10, stanza 3, verse 1: *Wipra, rēsi, caiwa, sogata* is a quartet of clergymen that is well-known in the Nāg., v. gl. The two *dharma-dhyakṣas*, rendered: bishops, represent the Shiwaites and Buddhists in this stanza.

10—3—2: Ke: *witāna*.

10—3—3: Kr note: *sapta madulur*, m.c. On *dharma-dhyakṣa* and *upapatti* v. the chpt on religion in vol. IV.

10—3—4: Both Ke and St connect *ārya* with *lēkas*. *Ārya* is a predicate and a title; in Javanese the connection *lēkas ārya*: honourable conduct, is impossible. The Javanese for: honourable conduct would be: *lēkasning (sang) ārya*: conduct of the (honoured) Honourables.

Canto 11, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *çobhita*.

11—1—2: The usual meanings of: *i dalēm*: in the Interior, and of: *pinaka-*: used as, make good sense in this verse. The poet means to say that the hall of 11—1—2 (the same one as that of 9—4—4) was considered as pre-eminently the great hall of the Interior, though it was situated outside, to the west of the First *Wijil*-Gate, v. comm. *Piningit* means: secluded, tabooed; prohibited (Ke, St) is a wrong

translation. *Umañjing*, to enter, is only used in this verse in the Nāg. The -a form (*umañjinga i dalēni*) marks an eventuality.

11—1—3: Ke: *yugala*. Instead of *nrpati*, *nrpa* is to be read, m.c.

Canto 11, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *saka*. *Apēnēd* means: well arranged, v. gl. Beautiful is: *arēja*. *Warṣana*: description, makes good sense in this verse. The poet was not allowed to enter the Princes' private courtyards, and so he had only the descriptions of others, probably serving women, to rely upon.

11—2—2: Ke: *agmaruṣṭaka* (Skt: *isṭakā*), stone-brick, must be the name of a kind of brick. *Wētu-wētu* (also in Bhomakāwya, ed. Teeuw) is rendered as: raised work. Probably 11—2—2 refers to the well-known reliefs in brick of the Majapahit period.

11—2—3: Ke: *grhādhika*.

11—2—4: Ke: *campakādi* and *ing natar*. St is right in linking *ādi* with the following *nikanang*; the correct reading is *āḍi* (Skt *adhi*), v. note 9—2—1.

Canto 12, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *atata*. *Kanṭa*: shape, outline, periphery, makes good sense in this verse.

12—1—2: Ke: *Brahmarañādhika*. *Sira* is used as a predicate before the title of an eminent spiritual lord. *Dwija* is the title of a member of one of the four religious denominations: *wipra*, *rishi*, *gaivu*, *boddha*, v. the chpt on religion in vol. IV.

12—1—3: Both Ke and St think that *Rēngkannadi* is a name, which is improbable. Prb interprets *anawung sangha* as *çangkapati*: a Brahmanical priest (Par. glossary), which is far-fetched. Kr draws attention to *Nadi* in 64—3—3. Probably the right reading of the corrupt verse is: *mukyang anawung sang kaki pāngkwing nadi*. *Nawung*: to have a cock-fight, does not make sense in this verse. *Nawung* (from *sawang*) means: to look intently at. KBNW sub *sawang* interprets *ñawang*: to sacrifice, while being at home, to a deity who is at some distance, e.g. in a plantation. This proves that *ñawang* is a term of religious worship. Instead of *kaka*, *kaki*: old man, equivalent to Father, is read: in 64—4—1 the great age of the *mpungku* of *Nadi* is mentioned. Lastly, instead of the utterly meaningless *rēngkan*, *pāngkwing* is to be read. The Javanese characters *r* and *p* are not dissimilar. *Pāngkwing Nadi*, i.e. *mpungku ing Nadi*, rendered as: Monsignor of *Nadi*, makes good sense in this verse.

12—1—4: *Punggas* probably are distinguished serving-men, dis-

tant relations of the Royal family. By *sagotra* is meant: all people related to the Royal family by birth or by marriage, v. comm.

Canto 12, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: (*n*)*dan* and: *atyadbhuta*, Skt spelling.

12—2—2: Ke: *Gacī*, Skt spelling.

12—2—4: On the meaning of *kamīgētan* v. comm. *Sang Nātha* no doubt refers to the Princely couple Matahun-Lasēm, not to the King (Ke and St). A Royal *kamīgētan* (supposed that such a place existed) would have received more than one line. Moreover *Sang Nātha* instead of the usual *Çrī Nātha* would be strange, if the King was meant.

Canto 12, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *uttara*, Skt spelling. Kr note: *kuuuu* *āhalēp*, m.c.

12—3—2: *Sākṣīt*: manifestly, makes good sense in this verse.

12—3—3: Ke: *narendra dhīra* and *nīty āpatih*, Skt spelling; *Daha*.

12—3—4: Ke: *khyāting rāt*, Skt spelling.

Canto 12, stanza 4, verse 1: A *kuuuu* is a compound of less importance than a *pura*. In the present edition it is rendered as: manor, v. chpt on economy in vol. IV. The difference between the predicate *sang* in 12—4—1 and the title *bhaṭṭā* in 12—3—4 is evident. On Gajah Mada's rank v. the comm. on canto 19. In the Nāg. the name is spelled both Gajah Mada and Gaja Mada, Skt spelling. In the present edition Gajah Mada is used. This form of the name has been in common use for a long time.

12—4—2: Ke: *aprabhu*, Skt spelling.

12—4—3: Ke (unnecessarily): *wāk apadu*. The reading: *wāgmi* *wākpaṭu*: eloquent, sharp of speech, makes good sense. Ke: *dhīrotsāha*. *Upaçama* is the correct Skt spelling.

12—4—4: Ke: *rājādhyakṣa*. Ke's and St's translations are arbitrary. Probably the original reading is: *rājyādhyakṣa*: superintendent of the Royal residence. This is a honorific epithet, not the name of an office, v. Nawanatya 3b and 4a. The string of epithets is reminiscent of the preambles of Royal charters, v. note 3—2—4.

Canto 12, stanza 5, verse 2: Ke: *uttama*, Skt spelling; *kaboddhan* and *āçry ātatā*. Ke's wrong translations: Shiwaite and Buddhist temples have been corrected by St. On the relation between the Shiwaite and the Buddhist bishop v. comm.

12—5—3: Ke: *sumantryadhiķa len sang*. Kr note: *lawan sang*, m.c.

12—5—4: Ke: *pura*, Skt spelling. The suffixed *-nīra* refers to the distinguished gentlemen mentioned in the preceding verse.

Canto 12, stanza 6, verse 1: Ke: *Tikta-çriphalāñopama*, Skt spel-

ling. The double comparison with the moon and the sun refers to the compounds of the King and of Wēngkēr-Daha. Ke's and St's translations, suggesting that one compound was compared with the moon and the sun at the same time, are to be discarded, v. comm.

12—6—2: Ke: *kara*. C has *karang*, as Kr noted. St. overlooked this note. Ke's and St's translations do not make sense as a result of this misreading *kara* (ray, Skt) for *karang* (Jav.: groves in and around the compounds). The houses being completely hidden in the groves, the trees are the only visible feature of a Javanese dwelling-place when seen from a distance.

12—6—3: Ke: *nāgara cesa nneka*, with a note trying to explain the double *n*. *Naika*, *neka* (synonymous with *aneka*) makes good sense in this verse. The first *n* is the well-known particle. Kr note: *nagara*, m.c. The poet used the demonstrative *ikanang* three times in 12—6—1, 2, 3 to accentuate the fact that this last stanza of the description of the capital is a synopsis, v. comm.

12—6—4: Ke: *māndalika*, m.c., v. comm.

*CHAPTER 3 — TRIBUTARIES
AND NEIGHBOURS OF MAJAPAHIT*

*Establishment of the Royal authority by emissaries
taken from the ecclesiastical officers.*

Cantos 13—16, 15 stanzas.

Canto 13, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *pramuka*.

13—1—4: Ke (p. 13) : *Tamihang*.

Canto 13, stanza 2, verse 3: Kr note: *lāwan*, m.c.

13—2—4: Ke: *Kuja Waringin*, m.c.

Canto 14, stanza 1, verse 3: Kr note: *Sawakū*, m.c.

14—1—4: Ke: *makapramuka ta(ng)*, m.c.

Canto 14, stanza 2, verse 1: C: *sakahawan*, mistake for: *sakahawat*,
v. gl. Ke: *pramuka tang Hujungmedint*.

14—2—2: Ke: *Lēngkasuka*.

14—2—3: Ke (p. 13) : *Nagor*.

14—2—4: Ke: *Kañjapinirān*. Ke: *sanūśāpupul*, m.c.

Canto 14, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *ya-warṇīanēn*. Emendation: *ya*
tang warṇānēn.

14—3—2: Kr note: *Bali*.

14—3—3: Ke: *makamuke*, m.c.

Canto 14, stanza 4, verse 2: Ke: *nikalun*.

14—4—3: Ke: *pramuka*.

Canto 14, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *Makasar*.

14—5—2: Ke: *i(ng) Salaya*, m.c. C: *mukar* with indistinct *k* (?).
Ke: *Muar*.

14—5—3: Ke: *athawā*.

14—5—4: *aneka nūsa* makes better sense than C's *angeka nūsa*.

Canto 15, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: Cṛī-narapati.

15—1—2: Ke: Dharmmanagarī

15—1—3: Ke: Marutma.

15—1—4: Ke: Cāmpā; Kr note: Cāmpē. Ke: satata. Anyat refers to Yawana.

Canto 15, stanza 2, verse 1: Kr note: nūṣe, m.c. Ke: tanani kvir (mistake). C's reading makes good sense. Prb's emendation of Ke's wrong reading restored the right reading of C.

15—2—2: Ke: Yawadharajī rakwekena, m.c.

15—2—3: Ke: samudrānanggung and Çakakālanya, m.c., translated: "the Çākayear 4—1". Kr note: "a mistake for 1—4". C has the numbers 4—2—1, in Balinese script, written under the words; they make the date 124 Śāka, v. comm. *Nanggung* (from *tanggung*) refers to two men carrying together a heavy load that is suspended on a pole they hold at the ends, hence *nanggung* has the numerical value: two. Berg (R. p. 255) proposes to read: *samudrānanggung bhūmi Kēta*, to be translated: an ocean (of warriors) lay upon the country of Kēta, supposed to represent the date 1174 Śāka, i.e. 1252 A.D. This emendation is superfluous and moreover very doubtful. The meaning of *anunggang* (Berg's superfluous emendation for *ananggung*) is: to ascend, to mount, and the name of the district is Kēta, with a *t*, v. gl. Kēta means: such, precisely; it draws attention to the preceding word, v. gl.

15—2—4: Ke fails to translate *āpāntara* and *tatwanya*. Berg (R. p. 256 and 279) dismisses *āpāntara* as impossible.

Canto 15, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke fails to translate *rabdha*; its meaning: to begin, to get ready to do a thing, makes good sense in this verse. *Dwipa* refers to large countries, continents; it marks an opposition to the *nūṣapranūṣa* of 13—1—1 and the *deqāntara* of 15—1—1.

15—3—2: Prb proposes to read: *sahudhara*, connecting it with the expression: *soddhara haji* found in an ancient charter and in the Ferry Charter of 1358 A.D. (line 2 of plate 8 recto). This seems forced. *Pāhuḍama wijil* is to be emended: *bahuwidha* (correct Skt: *bahuwidha*) *wijil*, which makes good sense in this verse (cf. 40—4—2: *sahana-hana wijil*).

Canto 16, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *bhujangga n-*.

16—1—2: Ke: *alaha*. The meaning of *jaga don* is: to fix one's eyes on a goal, which makes good sense in this verse. Ke's translation is confusing.

16—1—4: *Tanpa nasara* is the counterpart of *tan swang alaha*, both referring to the ecclesiastical officers. Erring Shiwaism (Ke's translation) is a metaphor that is inconceivable in Javanese.

Canto 16, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *bhujangga*. *Iki* in *sugatabrateki* refers to the fact that the poet himself was a Buddhist.

16—2—2: Ke: *hajyatuna sing sapārana nikā*. Ke's translation makes little sense. The best emendation is: *apitutwin ajña hajya tan asing sapārana tika*.

16—2—3: Kr note: *hinilahilan*, m.c.

16—2—4: Skt *sambhava* means: possibility, which makes good sense in this verse. The opposition between 16—2 (no Buddhists in the west) and 16—3 (Buddhism in Bali, east of Java) is clear.

Canto 16, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *Yawadharā*, m.c.

16—3—2: Ke: *parāna nikā*. Kr's reading: *sapārana nika* is better, cf. 16—2—2. Berg (R. p. 253): *parānana*, which seems forced.

16—3—3: Ke: *samaya*. Kr note: *Bharaḍa rakwa mapagēḥ*. Ke translates: Bharaḍa kept his vow, and Kr: at the time that; both doubtful. *Samaya*, rendered: covenant, is a religious term, v. comm. Berg (R. p. 253) translates: the agreement of the great monk Bharaḍa with the great noted monk Kuturan, as all of you know (or: as all of you will agree with me). *Rakwa* means: so it is said. The repeated use of *rakwa* and *karēngō* in cantos 15 and 16 accentuates the legendary character of the story. *Rakwa* expresses uncertainty by the -*a*; it is a derive of *raku*, v. KBNW, cf. modern Jav. *ngaku*: to claim, to assert. Berg's translation: as you know, on the contrary, stresses the certainty; it is misleading.

16—3—4: Ke: *ika*. Berg (R. p. 253) overlooks that *lawan* in this verse, as in some other places, has the original meaning of: partner.

Canto 16, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *bhujangga* and *rasika*. *Rasika* is used substantively, it is rendered: their worships.

16—4—2: The meaning of *krama*: custom makes good sense in this verse. The best reading is with -*a*'s: *mangulwana ngawstanākrama*.

16—4—3: Ke: *ring lumakuwakēn* and *narapati*. C's *ning lumakuwakēn* is better. Ke's translation of *saji-saji*: affability is a mistake. *Saji-saji* (modern Jav.: *sajen*: offering) means: what is held in readiness, which fits well in this verse, especially if it is taken in the sense of: provisions, victuals.

16—4—4: Ke translates *wiku* as: monk. On the question whether monasticism and celibacy flourished in Java v. the chapter on religion

in vol. IV. The best rendering of *wiku* seems to be: ordained priest, because ordination (*sangaskāra*, Skt: *samskāra*) of *wikus* is often mentioned (e.g. in the Tantu Panggēlaran).

Canto 16, stanza 5, verse 1: *Irika* refers to the preceding stanza.

16—5—2: *Ke: kapwa.*

16—5—3: *Ke: ajñalangghana.*

16—5—4: *Jaladhi* is the name of one of the *pangalasan*-companies of 9—1—4. The demonstrative *ikanang* refers to that place.

CHAPTER 4 — THE ROYAL PROGRESS OF 1359,

*from Majapahit through the eastern districts of Java,
and back to Singasari.*

Cantos 17—38/3, 83½ stanza.

Canto 17, stanza 1. This stanza resumes the description of the King's greatness beginning in canto 15—3 with reference to the Archipelago. In canto 17 it is the turn of the districts of Java proper. The metre *jagaddhita*, mentioned at the end of 17-1-2, is the well-known Royal metre.

17—1—3: Ke's translation: glory and fame, is a mistake. *Yaga*, *kirti* and *dharma* are religious and chancery terms, v. gl. The meaning of *para*: common people, is most clear in this verse. Ke did not recognize this Javanese *para*. The Skt *para* is found only in some compounds in the Nāg.: *parapuri* etc., v. gl.

17—1—4: *ring jagat*: in the world, often has the sense of: for the people's benefit, v. gl. *Akirti* is ambiguous in this verse; the original, literal meaning: to win renown, also makes good sense.

Canto 17—2—1: Sentences (verses) beginning with: *göngning*, and words to that effect, are to be translated by: how great! No other translation is as satisfactory, v. gl. Ke's translation: great is the power, is an approximation. Ke: *prabhu*, Skt spelling.

17—2—2: Ke: *suka*.

17—2—3: Ke: *kanyā sing* and *Kadiri*.

17—2—4: Ke: *āstām*.

Canto 17, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *sasiki* and *narādhipa*.

17—3—2: Ke: *mewwiwu ng* and *mangidīri kāṣṭa*. Ke's translation of *kuwuning bala*: camps of troops, is a mistake, v. gl.

17—3—3: Ke: *salwir ning paranūsa* and *pinahasukenaris*; Kr note: *pinahasukenaris*, m.c.

17—3—4: Ke: *lair udyāna* and *jinajahira*. -*Ira* certainly refers to the King, not to the public in general (Ke's translation).

Canto 17, stanza 4, verse 2: Ke: *Siina*. Kr note: *ing Jalagiri*, m.c.
17—4—3: Kr note: *ni sawung*, m.c. Ke's translation: festive gatherings
 is a mistake; the verse refers to cockfights, v. comm.

Canto 17, stanza 5, verse 2: Ke: *ālēngōng*, m.c. The translation: to
 admire makes good sense in this verse. Ke's translation: lovely is a
 mistake, v. gl.

17—5—3: Ke is in doubt about the translation of *marabangun*.
Lingga Marabangun is the name of the place, v. comm.

Canto 17, stanza 6, verse 1: Ke: *prabhu*. To explain *ti* having the
 value: seven in this chronogram, which is unusual, Rouffaer (manuscript
 note Nāg.) refers to Muusses (O.V. 1922, p. 55, on an inscription
 of 1277 Śākka): *ti*, an abbreviation of *tithi*: date, hence: day, day of the
 week, seven.

17—6—2: *Pasir* means: sea in this verse and in some other verses
 of the Nāg. The usual meaning is: beach. In Balinese *pasih* means: sea.

Canto 17, stanza 7, verse 1: Ke: *gaṅgka* and *Bhādra*.

17—7—2: Ke: *sakendriyan*. Ke separates in his translation *sang*
Çrī-rāja from *sandgarān* (and fails to translate *sanāgarān*). No doubt
 the Royal name *Rājasanāgara* is meant in this verse (cf. 67—1—4).
Sang Çrī-rāja is not a Royal title; at least one would expect: *sang*
Çrī Nātha, v. gl.

17—7—3: *Priya*, beloved, is a formal expression for: male consort,
 comparable to modern Jav. *kakung* (with the same literal meaning).

17—7—4: Ke: *sa Wiliwakta* and *kawirāja*. *Wiku-haji*, King's
 priest, is a high rank of ecclesiastical officers, v. 16—4—4. Probably
 King's priests were gentlemen of the clergy who were distinguished
 by the King. *Kawirāja*, on the other hand, is an epithet: king of poets;
 it is not a title. No doubt the combination of King's priests and kings
 of poets is intentional. It refers to the short biography of Prapañca in
 the next stanza: by birth he belongs to a family of Buddhist clergymen
 and he wants to be a poet like his father.

Canto 17, stanza 8, verse 2: In this verse Prapañca introduces himself as the son of a poet; that is why he uses some poetical expressions. Ke's translation of the last four words: "will be with pleasure followed by those who find delight in making poetry", is unidiomatic: some connection (*ing, ring*) between *dinulur* and *ananmateng* would be needed. Prapañca means to say he tries to succeed his father as a poet. It is to be noted that in this verse the honorific predicate *sang* is given by Prapañca to himself, which seems a little arrogant. As a member of a family of high rank he probably had a right to the predicate, though,

and in the play upon words: *sang kawi putra sang kawi* the reiteration of *sang* was essential.

17—8—3: Whereas the first two lines of stanza 8 refer to the poet himself the last two lines concern his father and his grandfather. Ke's translation: as superintendent of the Buddhists he succeeded his father, is unidiomatic. The high-class pronoun and predicate *sira* can only refer to the poet's father. It would be very bad form if Prapañca used it referring to himself. *Yayah* is a formal word for father (here rendered: Father); in this verse it must refer to Prapañca's father's father. As both Prapañca's father and his grandfather were Buddhist bishops they had a right to the high-class predicate *sira*.

17—8—4: Prapañca's grandfather is praised very highly. The last word: in the past, means that the old bishop was dead in 1365. This follows also from the fact that he was succeeded by his son, Prapañca's father.

Canto 17, stanza 9, verse 1: Ke: *rakawi'n*. *Rakowi*, rendered: honoured poet, is Prapañca's special title. The prefix *ra-* is demonstrative and honorific. KBNW sub *ra* mentions i.a. *ra Togog*, where *ra* is an equivalent of modern Jav. *si* and *pun*. Ke's rendering: poet laureate (38—3) gives Prapañca too much honour: his poems were not appreciated at Court (v. canto 95).

17—9—2: Ke: *kasanmala*. Ke's translation of *kasanmala*: allowed, is a mistake; *anasmala* means: to find delight in something.

17—9—4: *hetunya kamārṇya* is to be emended: *hetunya n amarṇa*; in Javanese script *k* and *n* are easily confounded. Prb's translation of *hetunya k amarṇa*: therefore I describe, is unidiomatic. The abridged form of the pronoun of the first person *k* (for *aku*) is unusual, v. gl. Ke: *sakamārggāngaran*. Kr note: *sakamārgga ngaran*, m.c.

Canto 17, stanza 10, verse 1: Ke: *tambe* and *winarṇya*. Ke's translation of *kuṭi*: hermitage, seems too literary. *Kuṭi* is a term of the Buddhist clergy: probably it was a hall or a cloister, less important than a *wihāra*, a Buddhist monastery.

17—10—2: Many of the following geographical names probably are corrupted as a consequence of the ignorance of Balinese scribes. The reconstructions of names are only tentatively. Ke: *Pāṇḍawādri* seems unnecessary. Ke: *i Kañci*.

17—10—3: Ke: *Ratnapangkaja*, *kuṭi Pangkaja*.

17—10—4: Ke: *Kuwu-hañar i samṛpa*.

Canto 17, stanza 11, verse 1: Kr note: *ri Pañcaçāra*, m.c. Ke: *Kapulungan*.

17—11—2: Ke: *amēgil* and *Tira*.

17—11—3: Kr note: *mara*, m.c. Prb emends: *angcanggēhnya* (right) and *mara pagēh* (which does not make sense). The best emendation of the verse seems to be: *angcanggēhnya tēkāp bhaṭāra kuṭi ring Surayaça mapagēh cinarceakēn*. Surayaça is a well-known religious domain, v. gl. *Carcan* is a chancery term, rendered: Register, v. the chapter on the composition of the Nāg. in vol. IV.

17—11—4: Prb's translation is a great improvement on Ke's. The meaning of *nēlang* (from *sēlang*) in some dialects of modern Javanese: to borrow, makes good sense in this verse. The last words no doubt refer to the poet, not to the dependencies (Prb's translation), v. comm.

Canto 18, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *Ryy angkat*; *yy* v. gl.

18—1—3: Ke: *pekaning poka*. Prb translates: the servants of servants. Ke's translation: many serving-men is preferable: Ke mentions similar expressions from the Sutasoma kakawin (*hyang ning hyang, suraning sura*: 23b; *twilning twwil*: 103a, 112a). In modern Javanese *desa ingadesa* still is in use. No doubt Prb is right in translating *padati* by: cart, v. gl. (Ke: foot-soldier).

18—1—4: Ke: *dudw ang*. In this and similar cases, at the beginning of sentences and verses, *dudu*, originally meaning: different, is to be translated: setting aside. Since *amēdēp* does not make good sense the emendation *amēdēk* (from *pēdēk*: near) is preferable.

Canto 18, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *nistanyūsangkya tang syandana*, Skt spelling.

18—2—2: Ke: *ika dudū ring samantri samantri*.

18—2—3: Ke: *mantrinukyāpatih* and *prāyāleng*.

18—2—4: Ke: *pulupuluhan* and *neka*. *Pintēn* (and *pilih*, v. gl.) used in connection with a number mean: even as many as, or: about. *Māwan* does not make sense in this verse, it is to be emended: *kāwan*, modern Jav.: *sēkawan*: four (formal idiom). *Pulu-pulutan* (C's reading), modern Jav.: *pulutan*, the name of a plant, Urena lobata, makes good sense in this place, v. comm. Probably the poet used *iki*, this here, because the wagons of his father the Buddhist bishop belonged to the grand-vizir's group and had *pulutan* marks.

Canto 18, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *diwaçāgrī*, which does not make sense. The best emendation is: *handiwāgrī*; *handiwa* is a name of the sugar-palm, v. comm.

18—3—2: Ke: *ndan*.

18—3—3: Ke: *Dahācīhna*. Kr note: *sadahakusuma*, which makes little sense. The original reading probably was: *sadak akusuma*: betel leaves with flowers, v. comm.

18—3—4: Ke: *mukyang sang ġri* and *samasamācīhna*. Kr note deletes *sang*, a mistake of Ke's. *Mukya ġri jīwānendrāsakaṭa* is the most sensible reading. Ke's note on *lobheng lēwih* is right; it is the name of a motive of decoration for painting, drawings or textiles, v. comm. Prb noticed in a Malat manuscript the forms *lobheng luhung* and *lobheng kaot*, with identical meanings, v. comm.

18—3—1, 2, 3, 4: Ke translates: the Princes of Pajang, Lasēm, Daha and Jiwana. This mistake has already been corrected by Krom; the Princesses are meant. In this stanza again the importance of the female members of the Royal family is apparent.

Canto 18, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *prabhu sakaṭanirāsangkya*.

18—4—2: Ke: *rinēngga*. *Gringsing*, *lobheng lēwih*, *lāka* and *mās* refer to the decoration of the screens.

18—4—3: Ke: *ngunitweli Içwari*.

18—4—4: The original meaning of *sinang* seems to be: open, clear; the modern Javanese meaning: radiant, radiantly red, is secondary.

Canto 18, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *rinacana stvarṇa ratna*.

18—5—2: Ke: *anyat* and *lumrā*. *Sagala* is used only in this place in the Nāg.; it is rendered: entirely. *Matwa* (from *awa*) means: open, uncovered. *Atawing*, translated by Ke: with curtains, does not fit well in this place, before *jampana*. Probably the original reading was: *awaking jampana*; *awaking* and *atawing* are easily confounded.

18—5—3: Ke: *kirūṇeng*.

18—5—4: Ke: *āstām*. *Amawa-mawa* is to be translated: vested with authority, v. 9—3—2. *Munggwing* does not mean: to ride (on horseback), v. comm.

Canto 18, stanza 6, verse 1: Ke: *Pañcuran* and *enjing*. Prb is right in taking *Pañjurān Mungkur* for one name. C is unclear, both *Pañcuran* and *Pañjurān* might be read.

18—6—2: Ke: *kawy animpang*, *Sawungan* and *wandhutwargga*.

18—6—4: Ke: *datēng i* and *ring*, m.c.

Canto 18, stanza 7, verse 1: Ke: *mārgga kaywanya*. Ke's and Prb's translation: situated at the border of the highway, is in contradiction with the preceding *asiimpār*: out of the way. *Kaparēk* makes little sense in this verse; it is to be emended: *mamarēk*, v. comm. Prb links 18—7—1 up with 18—6—4; he identifies the out-of-the-way land with

Matañjung, which is improbable. The out-of-the-way lands are referred to by *pratyekanya* in 18—7—2.

18—7—2: *Tan adoh* and *tan madoh* as a rule refer to the preceding word, v. gl.

18—7—3: Ke: *kawisaya* and *mengöt*. Ke's translation does not make good sense. Prb is mainly right. The obedient dependencies of the abbey of Yānatraya welcomed their bishop and offered him food and drink, cf. the unfortunate experience of Prapañca mentioned in 17—11—4. No wonder the bishop was well pleased so shortly after the failure of his son. It is doubtful whether Yānatraya and Matañjung are to be identified, as Prb thinks; v. gl. sub Yānatraya.

Canto 18, stanza 8, verse 1: Ke: *narendra*.

18—8—2: Ke: *kāmukan*.

18—8—4: *wyāpāra* is to be emended: *wyāpāri*, v. gl. *byāpāri*: tradespeople. As usual *-ira* refers to the Royal family, and *iki* to the poet.

Canto 19, stanza 1, verse 1: *enjing ry angkatira* refers to the morning of the departure from the camp.

19—1—2: Ke: *Kēdung*, also m.c. Prb is right in reading: *sangkerika tang Kēdung* instead of Ke's *sangkeri Katang*. Instead of *rāme*: *rawe janapada* is to be read. *Rawe*: swamp, marsh, fits well in this place next to *kēdung*: pool. Neither Ke's nor Prb's translation of *janapada* is satisfactory; the word is found only in this place in the Nāg. It must be a name. Any relation to the Dewarame of 23—1—4 seems improbable.

19—1—3: Prb's reading: *lēbu nikāgēnēt*, and his translation of *agēnēt*: soft, fit well in this place.

19—1—4: Ke is right in reading *rathālaris*. As usual *adulur* is to be translated: in succession, i.e.: in single file.

Canto 19, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *dharmaṇa* and *prakaṣite*, m.c.

19—2—2: Ke: *nuttama*, m.c. *Anugraha bhūpati*, without connecting *i(ng)* between the words, is a compound, a chancery term, cf. *anugraha naregwara* (31—5).

19—2—3: Ke: *rinūpaka*. *Dumunung* means: to move into.

19—2—4: Ke reads: *andondok*, from *andon*: to stay, and *dok*: place, spot. Prb reads: *andondon*, "a frequentative of *andon*", meaning: to go for a walk" (better: to visit constantly, in order to perform some function). Probably *andondok* (and *dinondok* of 31—4—2, instead of the impossible *danondok*) is to be connected with modern Jav. *dodok*:

a spy. It should be translated: to have a look at. Ke is right in explaining Trasungay from *tras*, *tēñdas*: head and *sungay*: river. In Javanese parlance the head of a river is its source. But then in this place Trasungay and Capahan no doubt are names of places.

Canto 20, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *haji*. Both Ke and Prb translate: "Arriving in the Buddhist *degas*". As no preposition is found either before *prāpta* or before *dega*, the meaning must be that the headmen of the *degas* came to pay homage to the King, v. comm.

20—1—2: Instead of *sadewi wiṣayeng*, which is corrupt, *sadeça wiṣayeng* is to be read.

20—1—4: Kr note reads: *kuṭi ri Mungguh kapiwa tōsrang marēk*, m.c. Ke in his translation overlooks *mungguh*.

Canto 20, stanza 2, verse 1: *rowang* means: fellow, companion.

20—2—2: Ke: *Ratnapangkaja hane Carccan kabhukty āpatēh*. Bhukti as a chancery term means: "meal of the writ", hence evidence, proof. Neither Ke nor Prb recognized it.

20—2—3: Ke did not see that *pabalas* is a numeral. Prb: *tang pabalas*, translated: fourteen. Kr note reads: *tang sabalas*: eleven, which is the correct number.

20—2—4: Ke: *bhuktinyan pinakātryya*. On *bhukti* v. 20—2—2.

Canto 21, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *kahawan*.

21—1—2: Kr note: *ring Ranwakuning*, m.c.

21—1—3: Ke: *lāwan ring*, m.c. The last name of 21—1—2 probably is *Baru-bara*; the *i* that causes the reading *Baru-bare* would belong to *Dawōhan*. This passing over from one verse to the next one is exceptional.

Canto 21, stanza 2, verse 1: *Pasawahan*, meaning: place of rice-fields, must be a geographical name.

21—2—2: Ke: *jālādhipa*, m.c., and *Padali*. Prb reads *jaladhi Patalap*, translated: the sea (or rather: the lake) Patalap. The metre requires *jālādi*, though, and Skt *jaladhi* does not convey the meaning lake in the Nāg. Perhaps the reading: *prāpteng Jālār di Patalap* is the best, *di* being used in order to avoid a double *r*. On *di* v. gloss.

21—2—3: Kr note: *lāwan*, m.c.

21—2—4: Ke: *udadhi*, Skt spelling.

Canto 22, stanza 1, verse 2: Kr note: *rata-ratā*, m.c. Prb reads: *magēnēt inambah ing ratha*, adding one short syllable after *magēnēt*, as the metre requires.

22—1—3: Ke: *sarasija*, Skt spelling, and *paḍasēkar*.

Canto 22, stanza 2, verse 1: *masurawayan*, modern Jav. *sratwean*, means: to wave hands, which fits well in this place. The sea and the lake are represented as friendly neighbours.

22—2—2: Kr note: *datang ri Wēdi Guntur*, m.c. Prb translates *asēnēt*: rested. Its usual meaning: retired makes good sense in this place.

22—2—3: Ke: *Bajrakāṅga* and *cinarccakēn*, m.c. Prb corrects Ke's translation very aptly.

22—2—4: Kr note: *ing bala*, m.c. *Kasēlang* means: borrowed, v. comm.

Canto 22, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *yateka*.

22—3—2: the meaning of *kṣaya* in the Nāg. idiom seems to be: after some time, v. gl.

22—3—3: Ke: *hinalintang*; Prb: *humalintang*. It seems preferable to read: *bhawisyatī halintang*, because only the formations *halintang*, *hinalintangan* and *kahalintangan* are recorded in the Nāg., v. gl.

Canto 22, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *sakṣaya*, Skt spelling.

22—4—2: Ke: *mamēnamēng* (by mistake) and *anglēngör*. Prb's reading *anglēngōng* is better.

22—4—3: Ke: *sahniri* (by mistake) and *nawilāsa*, because of Skt.

22—4—4: Ke translates *karang*: coral-polyps. No doubt Prb is right in translating: rocks.

Canto 22, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *rakawi*.

22—5—2: Ke: *anguttara* and *Tumbu*.

22—5—3: Ke: *anganty amēgil*.

22—5—4: Ke: *narendra* and *amogha*. The usual meaning of (a)-*amogha*: thereupon, so, thus, makes good sense in this place, v. Zoetmulder, *Ādiparwa*.

Canto 23, stanza 1, verse 2: Kr note: *Paḍangan lawan Sēcang*, m.c.

23—1—3: Ke: *kkahawan*.

23—1—4: Ke: *anguttareng*.

Canto 23, stanza 2, verse 2: Ke: *prabhu saksanānlaku*.

23—2—3: Ke: *datēng ta — ngsil*, with note: one syllable short. Muusses (O.V. 1923, p. 36) reads: *datēng tan ongsil wvitān*, which

seems unidiomatic. After *datōng* one expects *ri*(*ng*) or *ing*. Therefore in this place one should read: *datang ri Tangsil*. *Tangsil* is a likely name for a locality.

23—2—4: Ke translates: they came into a deep ravine. *Jurang Dalēm* must be a geographical name. Deep is *adulēm*, v. gl.

Canto 23, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *haran*; he translates: then the road went northward. The meaning of *dug* is: at the time that.

23—3—2: Ke: *sandēngandēng*. Prb: *durggamārūpēk*.

23—3—3: Ke translates: as a consequence of the rain. The usual meaning of *lumud*: to follow, makes good sense in this place.

Canto 24 is a string of puns, by assonance, on the names of places. Prb saw that, but he did not translate them satisfactorily. Kern did not see the puns, his translations miss the point.

24—1—1: Prb is right in reading: *awarnnānglayang*.

24—1—2: Ke: *warana*; *parana* makes good sense. Prb fails to translate *mamēgil cīghra lunaris*.

24—1—3: Ke: *prāptā*, m.c.

24—1—4: Prb: *rabad* is modern Jav. *grēbēd*, the noise of a marching crowd. The identification and the translation seem doubtful. Better reading: *Surabha* (76—4—3 a Buddhist domain of that name is mentioned) *sarabhasa ng wwang angiring*.

Canto 24, stanza 2, verse 1: This is the only place in the Nāg. where the original Jav. word for sun: *ngwai*, is used. *Manda* is rendered: bad sight.

24—2—2: Ke: *ri sandhyāndēgnyāndēl*. *Cāndyan* (from *candi*, monument) is the name of a place. *Añḍēl* is related to modern Jav. *dēdēl*: to have difficulty in getting through an opening.

24—2—3: Ke: *nguttara*, m.c.

24—2—4: Kr note: *ring*, m.c. Ke: *padātryangkatnya*. The usual meaning of *asru* in the Nāg.: brisk, spirited, fits well in this place.

Canto 25, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *tanngéh* and *ādulur*, m.c.

25—1—2: Ke: *āpupul*, m.c.

25—1—3: Prb thinks that *Talākrēp* is a name.

25—1—4: Ke fails to translate *irika*. *Pakuwwan* might be a name.

Canto 25, stanza 2, verse 1: Kr note: *amañcanagaromunggw*, m.c. *Amañcanagara* is a chancery term, v. comm.

25—2—2: On *pasangguhan*, exalted title, v. 10—1—2. Probably

adhyakṣa, superintendent, lost its initial *a* because it was put on a par with the *a* of *apatiḥ* etc. *Dhyakṣa*, in modern Jav. *jaksa*, became the usual term for judge.

25—2—3 : Ke: *ācāryyottarānopama*, Skt spelling. *Anopama*, peerless, is the well-known epithet. Remarkable is the spelling *hupapatti*, probably adopted in this place to make *sang* metrically long by position. This points to a similar relation to the *h* at the beginning of a word as is found in modern Javanese. The idiom of some contemporaneous charters, not issued by the Royal chancery, shows the same indifference for the *h*. As a rule, though, in the Nāg. and other works belonging to Court literature, initial *h*'s are not placed indiscriminately. The spelling *hupapatti* makes it doubtful whether the *h* at the beginning of a word still was pronounced distinctly in the Majapahit period, even at Court. It is possible, of course, that 25—2—3 is corrupt, but it seems difficult to make a plausible emendation.

25—2—4 : Ke: *māpañji* and *kawi*. The expression *wruh kawi* is found also in the mythological poem Bhomakāwya (ed. Teeuw, canto 13, stanza 11). Ke's translation: clever as a poet, a clever poet, is not in accordance with the Nāg. idiom. In modern Jav. *kawi* means: poetical idiom, and this translation fits well in the expression *wruh kawi*.

Canto 26, stanza 1, verse 1 : Ke: *mukyādhipating* and *sangng*, m.c.

26—1—3 : Ke: *pāda* and *tuṣṭa*. *Hatur-hatur* is a chancery term: a present as homage.

Canto 26, stanza 2, verse 1 : *Laryya-laryyan* is a derivation of *lari*: to proceed; it is rendered: footpath, v. comm. The usual meaning of *manēngah*: towards the centre, i.e. in this case: into the sea, makes good sense in this place.

26—2—2 : Ke: *weqmāneka*, Skt spelling. Prb is probably right in interpreting *kikis* as the name of some kind of wattle-work made of plaited bamboo. The usual meaning of *tap*, *atap*: to roof, fits well in this place. Perhaps a special kind of roofing, made of leaves, is meant. *Nūṣan* is an artificial islet, cf. modern Jav. *pulon*, derived from *pulo*, island.

26—2—3 : Ke: *mārgganyeki* and *awarnengguh*. *Lantaran* probably is the name of the poles supporting the structure that was built over the sea, v. comm.

26—2—4 : Ke notes: the verse is two syllables short. Prb's reading: *yekā kirti* seems plausible. The scribe's omission was caused by the

preceding *ryyak* and the following *kirti*: three *k's*. On the meaning of *kirti* v. comm. The usual meaning of *towi*: also, too, makes good sense in this verse. *Pasēnaha* is a chancery term, v. comm. It is a corruption of Skt *sahināha*: bond, link.

Canto 27, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *tikṣya*, Skt spelling.

27—1—2: Ke: *sūkṣṭū dewatā-dewati*, m.c. and Skt spelling.

27—1—3: Ke: *Apsari 'n*, Skt spelling.

27—1—4: Ke: *klega hiḍēpnikang* and *fibra*, Skt spelling. The usual meaning of *kawēngan*: marveling, makes good sense in this verse.

Canto 27, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *narendrākasukān*; Kr note corrects: *narendra kasukan*, m.c.

27—2—2: *Pradeṣa* in the Nāg. seems a collective of *deça*: districts.

27—2—3: Ke: *bāryyan kārakētan* and *umalat* (a mistake). *Rakēt* and *çrama* are names of dances and games, v. comm.

Canto 28, stanza 1, verse 3: Ke: *ri Balambangan andīlan*. Prb takes *Andīlan* for a name; probably he is right.

28—1—4: Ke: *sa-Yawakṣiti*, Skt spelling, and *apupul*.

28—2—1: *Masirasiran* is a derivation of *sira(n)*; it is to be rendered: trying to outdo each other.

28—2—2: Ke: *sōk*.

28—2—3: Ke: *wastrā* and *asusun*; *hasusun* is a mistake of a scribe who did not mind his *h's*; v. note on *hupapatti*, 25—2—3.

Canto 28, stanza 3, verse 2: *Dadar* is a Court term for a present (textile), v. comm.

28—3—3: Ke: *parakawi sinungan*. *Milu*, to join, to take part in, is to be connected with the following verb, in this case: *sinungan*. *Parakawi* refers i.c. to the poet Prapafica; the same in 98—1—1, v. note on 7—3—2.

28—3—4: Ke: *tuṣṭa tikang paramajana ngalēm*. C's reading makes good sense, only *kang* is to be intercalated.

Canto 29, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *siwuhēn*.

29—1—3: Ke: *asahing*. Prb's reading, following C: *asik*, makes good sense. *Ing dulur* makes better sense than *angdulur*.

29—1—4: Ke: *amālyani*. The usual meanings of *mālyani*: to appraise, *kirti*: praiseworthy, valuable work, and *tēngöt*: to keep, to

put into keeping, make good sense in this verse. Prb's translation of *timumbas* (bought) : he died, is most unusual.

Canto 29, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *cittangkwi rasika'n* and *mahasahas*.

29—2—2: *Nyāma* means: in order to. Ke's translation: for, because, is a mistake.

29—2—3: *Ngūnīn mātya* is the same as *ngūni-anin mātya*. *Ngūni-anin*, followed by a word in the "uncertainty-form" (suffix -a) is to be rendered: let bygones be bygones, let it be considered as a thing of the past. *Ngūni* means: in the past. The usual meanings of *jēmah*: in the future, and of *sisip*: miss the mark, make good sense in this place. *Iking lara*, this pain, refers to life in this world. *Mahalalu* (not mentioned in KBNW), a derivation of *lalu*: passed, is to be rendered: to regard as a thing of the past. Modern Jav. *milalu mati* means: to resign oneself to death.

29—2—4: Ke: *māti* and *anahasa* (a mistake). The usual meaning of *salahasa*, *analahasa*, modern Jav.: *nlangsa*: to regret, to bewail, fits well in this place. *Nghulun* is the usual pronoun of the first person in the Nāg., v. gl. *hulun*.

Canto 29, stanza 3, verse 2: Ke: *pacarān* (a mistake for *Pacaron*).

29—3—3: Kr note: *Walaṇḍingan anujwi*, m.c.

Canto 30, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *rīntar*.

30—1—2: Ke: *nṛpanganti*.

30—1—3: Ke: *ng jalanidhi*, m.c. *Amarṇya* means: to describe, v. comm.

30—1—4: *Ginōng twas* is used in several places in the Nāg. Probably it is related to modern Jav. *ngugung*: to indulge.

Canto 30, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *mantri Kēja padāmarēk ḫyyam*. Kr note: *paṭa marēk nayyam*. Probably the original reading is: *paṭa marēk nāmya sājnā*. *Kwehning* at the beginning of a sentence is to be rendered: how many...!

30—2—2: Ke: *Wiraprāpādhi nika*; Kr note: *sang Çaiwa*, m.c.

30—2—3: Ke: *sēk*.

Canto 31, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *Kēṭā*, with note: the following caesura makes the a metrically long. A simpler explanation of the long a is to assume that the next word is *amēwēh*, v. gl.

31—1—2: Ke: *ika kāhawan*.

31—1—4: Ke: *Gēbang Kr̥pigēlam*. Prb's reading: *Gibang Kr̥pē*,

i Gélam is probably right. The usual meaning of *kāryya*, modern Jav. *gawe*: ceremony, fits well in this place.

Canto 31, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: apagēh.

31—2—2: C does not contain any indication that the deceased was a woman. Perhaps Ke is right, though, in translating the verse in that sense, v. comm.

31—2—3: Ke: *adhika*. The usual meaning and construction of *nimitta*: motive, make good sense in this place. *Kāryya haji*, without *ning* between the words is a compound, rendered: Royal ceremony.

31—2—4: Kr note: *ing*, m.c. *Prasiddha* in the Nāg. is an officiating priest, a celebrant, v. gl.

Canto 31, stanza 3, verse 1: Widi-widāna are offerings, v. comm.

31—3—2: *Upabhoga-bhojana* are cloths and food, v. comm.

31—3—3: Ke: *sanggha sagiri*, Kr note: *sagirī*, m.c. Prb: *mangiring*. The reading: *magirang*: in high spirits, seems the best. It fits in with the sense of the following verse. *Amātya* is not to be identified with *patih*, as both Ke and Prb do. *Amātyagaya* and *sāmyasangghya* are opposites. *Amātya* refers to the upper class of society, *sāmya* to the lower class.

31—3—4: Ke: *dina*; it means in this place: daylight, like *rahina* (55—3—1). *Mērdangga* is to be rendered: pot-bellied ceremonial drum, v. Kunst-Goris on musical instruments. *Padaha* is a common conical drum.

Canto 31, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: Narendra and sesṭa, m.c.

31—4—2: Ke: *dhanondok*, with note: corrupt. On *ndondok* v. note on 19—2—4.

31—4—4: Ke: *kanyānulus*, Skt spelling. Probably in this verse *ulih* means: prize brought home from an expedition, cf. modern Jav. *oleh-oleh*.

Canto 31, stanza 5, verse 2: Ke: Kēbuan-agēng and Kāmbang-rawai.

31—5—3: Ke: *çobhāhalēp*.

31—5—4: Ke: *anugraha nareçware* and *Nālādhika*, m.c. *Nāla* is the name, *adhika* is an epithet.

Canto 31, stanza 6, verse 1: Ke: nikānindita. Ke translates: *hatur-hatur i sang patih*: what was offered to the *patih*. No doubt Prb is right in pointing out that *hatur-hatur* presents only can be offered by persons of inferior rank to their superiors; therefore in this place the *patih* is the giver and the King the receiver.

31—6—2: Ke: *narendra*. Ke translates *panadah* by: gift. It means: repast, as Prb already remarked.

31—6—3: Ke: *Barurang*. Kr is right in observing that C has *Barongrang* with an extra *u* written under the first *r*. This *u* is meant to serve as *athetesis*. The scribe had to write *Barang*, but he wrote *Barong*. He eliminated the second syllable by making it unintelligible by means of the *u* (*r* with two vowels at the same time), and he put the right *rang* after it. The right reading, also metrically right, is *Barang*. *Pātuṣjungan*, m.c.

31—6—4: Ke: *anuntēn*.

Canto 32, stanza 1, verse 2: Makiewu-kuwu is to be rendered: have a bivouac. *Kuwu* is: manor.

32—1—3: *Wiku haji*: Royal priest, is a high rank in the clergy; *uttama* is the well-known epithet.

32—1—4: Ke: *pāda kasukan*, m.c.

Canto 32, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke translates Sāgara kēta: called Sāgara. Kēta only lays stress on the preceding word or words; it is to be rendered: precisely, proper, v. comm. Perhaps Mūla-Sāgara, i.e. Old-Sāgara of 78—7—1 is meant.

32—2—2: Ke translates *pakalyan*: mine, thinking of Malay *pēng-galian*: digging or quarry. No doubt Prb is right in connecting *pakalyan* with *kali*, river, v. comm.

32—2—3: Ke note: instead of *mandala hikang* is to be read: *may-dala tikang*. In fact *tikang* is used in several places after a vowel to avoid hiatus, v. gl. Both Ke and Prb translate: district of Gede. *Mandala* is also in this place a sacred ring community. The usual meaning of *samāntara*: after some time, and of *dumunung*: to move into, to stay with, make good sense in this verse.

32—2—4: Ke: *ing wanādri*, m.c. C's and Prb's reading *wanāgrī*, though making good sense, is metrically impossible.

Canto 32, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: narendra, m.c. The usual meanings of *angapi*: to care for, to take notice of, and of *langō*: charm, beauty, fit well in this verse.

The verses from 32—3—2 to 32—4—2 are filled with alliterations to voice the poet's admiration. Hence the meaning is sometimes unclear.

32—3—2: Ke: *lalita*, m.c. *Lulwi* is rendered: reckless. Probably the word is related to *tulwi*, *tuluy*, modern Jav. *tuli*, original meaning:

through, thorough. *Lalu*: passing, excessive, is to be read instead of *lala*, which does not make sense. Ke's translation of *lala*: merry, founded on Skt *lalati*: to play, is to be discarded. *Menēh* (from *inēh*) perhaps is to be rendered: pensive; its meaning is not quite clear.

32—3—3: Ke's translation of *tamtam*, indulging, is better than Prb's (quiet). The original meaning of *ataki-taki* seems to be: to strive, to make efforts. Philosopher and anchorite are secondary meanings. Ke is right in connecting *tuturnika n tut i tatā*. The meaning of this verse seems to be that the poet freed himself from duty in order to enjoy the beauty of the hermitage.

32—3—4: *jañjan* and *cinaracara*. The meaning of *jañjan* seems to be: trifling, just anyhow. On *cara-cara* v. gl.

Canto 32, stanza 4, verse 1: Tēpas is found only in this place in the Nāg., v. comm.

32—4—2: Ke: *secchā*, Skt spelling. Prb is right in translating *cacahan* by relief, cut in stone. The usual meaning of *racana*: ornament, makes good sense in this place.

32—4—3: Ke: *parab*, m.c.

32—4—4: Ke: *sinamarsamar*, m.c. Ke suggests that *pañcākṣara* refers to the name *Prapañca*. Prb's explanation is better, v. comm.

Canto 32, stanza 5, verse 1: Brwat-rantēn, bot-rawi is to be rendered: constructed pond, tank. Prb is right in translating *patiga* by: balustrade, parapet, v. 8—2—2. On *inasaban* v. comm.

32—5—2: Ke: *tiranika*. The usual meaning of *tira*: shore, bank, fits well in this verse, and so does *parigi*: slope, sheeted with cobbles, v. comm.

32—5—3: Ke: *andung karawira* and *mēnsūr caracaranya*. Kr note corrects: *andwang karawira* in accordance with C.

32—5—4: Ke: *awwah i padanya n-*.

Canto 32, stanza 6, verse 1: Ke: wanāgrama.

32—6—2: Ke: *pada*. *Ugra* is translated: severe by Ke, and: sublime by Prb. It is best rendered: impressive, v. comm.

32—6—3: *Wagid* seems to mean: skilful in the Nāg. idiom, v. comm.

32—6—4: Ke: *Çiwapada*. Ke translates *mihat*: looking at. *Mihat* in this verse is: excellent; probably it is related to modern Jav. *miyatani*: effective, potent. *Bangun*: shape, and *hwir*: aspect, might be rendered: like, resembling, as if, in several places in the Nāg. In the present edition it is thought preferable to translate those words literally, though.

Canto 33, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *mahas ring* *āçrama*, m.c.

33—1—2: Ke translates *sang mahārṣi mapalinggih*: the sitting *Mahārṣis*. *Mahārṣi* is the title of the Head of the hermitage or friary, rendered: prior, and *mapalinggih*, occupying the see, is an epithet.

33—1—3: *Asung*, to present, is used intentionally instead of *hatur*, ceremonial offering to a superior, because the King was no more than a guest at the friary, v. comm.

33—1—4: Ke: *kasukan*.

Canto 33, stanza 2, verse 1: Kr note: *gumūṣitang*, m.c. *Gumūṣite* is better, because it contains an indication (*i*) of the following object.

33—2—3: Ke: *acangkramälengṅg asing kalangwan*. Kr note corrects: *kalangön* in accordance with C. Both forms are found in the Nāg., v. gl.

33—2—4: Ke: *kawēngan*.

Canto 33, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *sutapan*.

33—3—2: Ke: *hēlahēlā*, m.c.

33—3—3: Ke: *paḍa*, m.c.

33—3—4: Ke: *mabañcana* and *akūng*. *Mamañcana* is a good reading, v. KBNW.

Canto 34, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *narendra* and *sūksēka ng* *āçramoruk*, m.c.

34—1—2: Ke: *pringnyākuçāngēh*. C: *abēh* makes good sense, it is modern Jav. *abuh*: swollen.

34—1—4: Ke: *angluh*, m.c.

Canto 34, stanza 2, verse 1: Prb: *asrēg*. *Asrēt*, modern Jav. *sērēt*, stiff(ly), rough(ly) (working), in this case: jolting, fits well in this verse.

34—2—2: Ke: *kamārgga*, Skt spelling.

Canto 34, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *amañcanagari*, m.c.

34—3—2: Ke: *para*, m.c.

34—3—3: Ke: *kapwūhatur*, m.c.

34—3—4: Ke: fails to translate *nāma*; the original meaning of *nāma*: name, makes good sense in this verse, v. comm.

Canto 34, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke translates: rather long. The usual meaning of *ardha* is: very.

34—4—2: *Sakuwu-kuwu* in this verse refers to a plurality of *kewus* (manors), not to a plurality of *kuwu-kuwus* (camps), as Ke trans-

lated it. The meaning of *lolya* (*lawlya*) seems to be: absorption.

34—4—4: Ke: *bany*, corrected by Kr note: *ngñny*.

Canto 35, stanza 1, verse 2: Ke translates *damārgga*: highway. Probably it was a road over a dyke where the carts could proceed only one after another. In Sundanese *dērēmaga* is a dam or dyke.

35—1—3: Ke: *Kēdung-pēluk*, Kr note: *nikanang*, m.c.

35—1—4: Ke translates *rājadharma*: Royal residence. The usual meaning of *dharma*: religious domain, makes good sense in this verse.

Canto 35, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *kunang*. In the Nāg. *kunang* is often used at the beginning of a sentence, meaning: concerning, as to; *kunēng* as a rule is used as an enclitic particle after a word, meaning: indeed, v. gl. Ke's mistake in translating *kutwan* was corrected by Krom, note.

35—2—2: Kr note: *ri Darbaru*, m.c. Ke: *bhūh*, Skt spelling, and *pradege Hujung*, m.c.

35—2—3: Ke: *sthāpaka*. Berg (R. p. 265) suggests that the *angga punpunan* are not lands but manuscripts. The meaning of *angga* is clear, v. gl.

35—2—4: Berg translates: among the manuscripts that were shown (by a connoisseur?) was a fine specimen. Skt *rasika*, translated connoisseur, is nowhere found in Javanese texts. On the Jav. *rasika* v. gl. "Fine specimen" is not a correct translation of *supraçasti*.

Canto 35, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *ikang i lēpit*, translated: what was in the folded leaves. A folded leaf would be: *lēpitan*. Prb is right in taking *Hēpit* for the name of one of the possessions of the cloister. Probably *Hapit* (meaning: situated between two others) was the original name of the locality. Berg thinks *yathāswa* does not make sense; he reads *yathārtha*. On *swa* as a noun v. gl. and KBNW, and on Berg's translation v. comm. Uhlenbeck-Teeuw's emendation *yathālwa* seems unnecessary, v. comm. *Yathāswa salibak-wukirnya wiṣayāngga* looks like a quotation from the charter.

35—3—2: Kr note: *sawah ikang Balunghura*, m.c. *Ikeng* is a better reading. Ke, Prb and Berg translate: partly in Markaman; Uhlenbeck-Teeuw: the other half in Markaman. The usual meaning of *satēngah*: one half of a whole, makes good sense in this verse.

35—3—3: Ke: *rasanikang*, a mistake, metrically impossible. Ke: *pura*. Berg by his translation creates an opposition between the "folded leaves" (*lēpit*) and the "document", v. comm.

35—3—4: Ke: *purākṛta*. Neither Ke nor Prb recognized Skt *purākṛta*: work done in former times, i.e.: merit acquired in a former incarnation. The usual meaning of *daridra*: indigent, makes good sense in this verse. Berg (R. p. 157) translates: but not having done (enough good) works in a former incarnation he did not have the good fortune to be able to retire into a monastery, and that monastery: Darbaru. The latter part of Berg's translation is arbitrary. Uhlenbeck-Teeuw's translation: he would have made for the *kuṭī*, is founded on the false supposition that Prapalica was a powerful bishop at the time he wrote the Nāg., v. comm.

Canto 35, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *mangkat hutwus*, a mistake, corrected by Kr note. Ke: *nira Mpu* and *bhawisyālaris*. *Anglaris* is not used in the Nāg. *Karaya ni* means: because of. Prb's translation: therefore, is incorrect. Berg (R. p. 157) arbitrarily interpolates some words in his translation: because he now had a reason to make haste.

35—4—2: Ke: *kasewakan*, Skt spelling, and *Singhasāri*. Berg (R. p. 157) offers a very free translation: and in order to report as soon as he was back in the service. The meaning of *matutur* is not: to report, but: mindful (of his duty). The sequence *manangkil marēk*: (first) being in waiting, (then) entering into the Presence is noteworthy.

35—4—3: Ke's suggestion that the ceremony in Singasari was a thanksgiving for the safe return home has no foundation in the text.

35—4—4: Ke: *Kedung-Biru ri kasurāngganām*, m.c. and Skt spelling.

Canto 36, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *Singhasāri*, m.c. *Krama* is to be rendered: in due time; the original meaning is: in (good) order, v. gl.

36—1—3: Ke: *sopacāra*, m.c. Ke did not recognize *puspa*: flower-offering. Prb did.

36—1—4: Ke and Prb: *pada magarjjita ng uwang*. *Padaha*, drum, fits well in this place, v. gl. *Wawan* is a carrier, bearer or platter for sacred objects; it is often mentioned.

Canto 36, stanza 2, verse 1: *Akrama* is rendered by: in the usual order. In modern Jav. *krama* means i.a.: formal, ceremonial speech.

36—2—2: Ke: *Çaiwa*. Ke: *nāligih*, with note: corrupt, one syllable too much. Kr (note) thought that *nāligih* contains the name Nāla. Prb's emendation: *sang ḍryya linggih i hiring* no doubt is right. Prb's translation putting the common *wikus* on a par with the *ḍryas* is wrong, though. Just as elsewhere there was only one *ḍrya*, v. comm. Here

(*iki*) draws attention to the special circumstances in Kagēnēngan, v. comm.

36—2—4: The usual meaning of *sambhava*: possibility, possible, makes good sense in this verse.

Canto 37, stanza 1, verse 2: Ke: dwārātiçobhīta samekale, m.c., and nikāparimita. Ou mekala and yetva v. comm.

37—1—3: *Tinumpa-tumpa* means: terraced, v. gl. *Ri tēpi*: at the sides, refers to the buildings (*yāça*), as distinct from the temple-tower (*prāśāda*) in the centre.

37—1—4: Ke reads instead of *nāhikusuma*: *nāgakusuma*, i.e. Michaelia champaka, *nagasari*. Prb's emendation *ahikusuma* is metrically impossible.

*Canto 37, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: prāśāda, Skt spelling, and *i tengah asmu*, m.c.*

37—2—2: Ke: Shiwa's abode is not on mount Meru but on mount Kailāsa. The usual meaning in the Nāg. idiom of *pratiṣṭā*: divine abode, statue, fits well in this verse.

37—2—3: *iṣṭi* in this place refers to worship, devotion, cf. *iniṣṭi* (1—1—4), Skt *iṣṭadewatā*.

37—2—4: Ke: *kinabhaktyan ing sahhuwana*, m.c.

*Canto 37, stanza 3, verse 1: In this place *pratiṣṭā* and *dalēm* have the original meanings: abode and deep, v. comm.*

37—3—2: Ke: *bapra*, m.c. Kr note: *nika*, m.c. *Batang*, originally meaning: forecast, is to be rendered: plan, intention. Berg's remarks on the meaning of *batang* (R. p. 230) are worthy of note.

37—3—3: Ke: *ri*, m.c. *Dangka turunan* is rendered: crypt by Ke and Prb. Perhaps pit is a better rendering.

37—3—4: Ke: *sanggar ika*. On the meaning of *sanggar*, v. comm. The usual meaning of *atitah* seems to be: ordered according to rank.

*Canto 37, stanza 4, verse 1: Instead of *nang lor batur*, which does not make good sense, *lor ning batur* is to be read.*

37—4—2: Ke: *tang i natarnya masmy*. Prb: *len tang i natarnya masmy*. C's reading *len tang i natar mas(ε)my* makes good sense. The usual meaning of *jrah*: spread, fits well in this verse.

37—4—3: Kr note: *ikanang*, m.c.

37—4—4: Ke: *natarnya* and *dukutēn*, corrected by Kr: *sukētēn*. *Dukut* is a good reading, v. gl.

*Canto 37, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *angranuhi*, corrected by Kr:*

angran̄hi. Probably *cawiri*, *cawintiñ* is the name of some tree or plant, cf. *camara*.

37—5—2: Prb: *romātura* (*roma*: hair). C's reading *mora* (from *ura*: loose) makes good sense. Ke: *kapatwanan*, Skt spelling. *Oli* is to be rendered: changing, inconstant. *Tan hanoli* means: nothing else, not otherwise.

37—5—3: Ke: *tapasnikā pucangnya*. *Pucang* in this verse means fruit in general; it refers to the ivory coconut. The *cawiri*, *cāmara*, coco-palm and bamboo are given one line each.

37—5—4: Ke: *tanaryy akusikan*.

Canto 37, stanza 6, verse 1: Ke: *angras* and *kawēnang*, m.c. Ke's translation does not make good sense. Prb reads: *mahaśadhanīya*, derived from *uśadha*. The reading *taya mahaśadhanīya twēnanga* seems more idiomatic than the other readings. The Royal name Hayam Wuruk written in margin by some Balinese reader draws attention to the fact that 37—6—2 is the only place in the Nāg. where the King's personal name is mentioned. The consecration name *Rājasanāgara* is mentioned several times, v. glossary.

37—6—3: Ke: *uttamāniśkāni*, Skt spelling. The alliteration in honour of the King makes the meaning obscure.

37—6—4: Ke: *atpada*, Skt spelling, and *ing manēmu*, m.c., corrected by Kr note: *lanāwēlas manēmu*.

Canto 37, stanza 7, verse 3: Ke: *Sinawimba*, Skt spelling.

37—7—4: Ke: *Singhasāri*, m.c. *Alōh* means: to dislike, to disdain, modern Jav. *lumuh*.

Canto 38, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *nikā(ng)* and *abiru*.

38—1—2: Ke: *rinacana*.

38—1—3: Ke: *ika len kusuma*.

Canto 38, stanza 2, verse 1: Kr note: *langönika*, m.c.

38—2—2: Ke: *arkka*.

38—2—3: Ke: *ahijo*, m.c.

38—2—4: The ravines (*jurang*) are compared to waves (Prb's interpretation).

Canto 38, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke fails to translate *yaya*: yet.

*CHAPTER 5 — NOTES ON THE KINGS
OF THE HOUSE OF RĀJASA,
from 1182 till 1343, and on their religious domains.*

Cantos 38/3—49, 47½ stanzas.

Canto 38, stanza 3, verse 3: Ke: *rakawi ywa*, m.c.

38—3—4: Ke: *ring*. Prb's emendation: *gotra saphala dunungén* makes good sense. *Tutvi*, rendered: too, refers to the preceding word, not to the following one, v. gl. The usual meaning of *gotra*: family, fits well in this verse.

Canto 38, stanza 4, verse 1: Kr note: *ing çaci*, m.c. Ke: *sahasra*, Skt spelling.

38—4—2: Ke: *satya*. Kr note: *kadang haji guci suyaça*, m.c., on account of *guci sugilā* in 57—1—3. *Kadang haji* is a compound (without connecting particle): Royal relative.

38—4—3: Ke: *angkadhara panagara*, m.c., which does not make sense, neither does Prb's emendation: *anggakara panasara*. Perhaps the best reading is: *tan angga cara panasara*, v. gl. *sasar*.

38—4—4: Ke: *kaṣṭpadanira*. Kr note: *kyāti rikang mpu huttama*. As *huttama* instead of *uttama* is unusual in the Nāg., *kyāti pu Mungguh uttama* probably is the best reading. *Maṣadpada* as a clergyman's epithet (derived from Skt *satpada*: bee) is rendered: diligent.

Canto 38, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *katanggama ywa si walainira*. The usual meaning of *wulat*, modern Jav. *ulat*: expression of the face, makes good sense in this verse.

38—5—2: Ke: *haji*.

38—5—3: Ke: *āçrayān*, Skt spelling.

38—5—4: Ke: *aparan ta*. *Pasēgēh* is a chancery term: food to be offered as regalement by country gentlemen to Court officers, representing Royal authority. It is an acknowledgment of the poet's Court rank.

Canto 38, stanza 6, verse 1: Ke: *ndon* and *tuhatuha*.

38—6—2: Ke: *pada dhinarnuma*, m.c.

38—6—3: Ke: *mukya*, Skt spelling.

38—6—4: Ke: *pārūwakathā nirān Giripatiçwarasuta*.

Canto 39, stanza 1, verse 1: Neither Ke nor Prb noticed that *Mungguh* is the name of the abbey, v. gl.

39—1—4: Ke emends: *kaçūstrajñān*.

Canto 39, stanza 2, verse 2: Ke: *swacitta*, Skt spelling.

39—2—3: Ke: *namas*, Skt spelling.

Canto 39, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *katwindrān rumēngō*. The future tense *rumēngwa* makes good sense in this verse.

39—3—2: Ke: *sugyan* and *mithyā*, Skt spelling. Instead of *wewang rēngō*, which does not make sense, *pangrēngō* is to be read, as in 49—7—2; it may be rendered: oral tradition.

39—3—3: Kr note: *sang jana*, m.c. Prb's emendation: *jīāna sang wṛḍā* makes better sense.

39—3—4: Ke: *nyāna sugyādhikā*, m.c.

Canto 40, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *yuddhaikawitra*, Skt spelling.

40—1—2: Ke: *sāksāt devātmakāyonija* and *Girīndra*, Skt spelling.

40—1—3: Ke: *kapwār̥s*.

40—1—4: Ke: *Çrī-Ranggah* and *çūrātidakṣa*, Skt spelling.

Canto 40, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *parbwata Kawi*.

40—2—2: The usual meanings of *anggēh*: fixed relation, legal state; of *kutu*: manor; and of *inadēh*: vanquished, a dependency, make good sense in this verse. Ke's translation of *inadēh urwang*: pressed by people, is unidiomatic. In the Nāg. idiom the author of an action is as a rule indicated either by the particle *ing* or by *tēkap*, placed after the verb in the passive voice.

Canto 40, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke emends: *narendreng*.

40—3—2: *Tattwopadeça* is the name of a Shiwaite doctrine, v. comm.

40—3—3: Ke: *anusup pājaran*, re-emended by Kr note: *anusup ing pājaran*, m.c. *Pārgwaçūnya* looks like a name (Lonely Side).

40—3—4: *mukya ng* refers to the following word, as usual, v. gl.

Canto 40, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *girigirin*.

40—4—2: Ke: *pasewa*.

40—4—3: Ke emends: *samasamāṅgakanāthātiçakta*.

40—4—4: Ke: *mwang* and *sukeng rät*. Instead of *kuwu juru, juru kuwu* is to be read, v. comm.

Canto 40, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *wibhawa*, m.c.

40—5—2: Kr note: *Yawadharani*, m.c. Ke: *jöng nirān chatra ning rät*, Skt spelling.

40—5—4: Ke: *dhinarma*. Prb's suggestion that *Usāna* is the name of the domain (*dharma*) is improbable. The usual meaning of *ing usāna*: in olden times, fits well in this verse.

Canto 41, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *sinitwi*.

41—1—2: Ke: *rat*, m.c.

41—1—3: Ke: *Çakabda* and *Girindrabhavana*, Skt spelling. Ke identifies *tilaka*: mark, especially on the forehead, with *bindu*: dot, as a number: nought.

41—1—4: Ke: *pradīpa Çiwbimba*. *Wimba* is in common use in Jav. Ke translates: a glorious Ciwa-statue. The usual meanings of *mangun*: to construct, to shape, and of *pradīpa*: a lamp, should not be neglected; v. comm.

Canto 41, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *Bhatāra ~ ~ Wisnuwarddhana*, with note: two syllables short, Kr's reading *Jayowisnuwarddhana* is right. Ke: *sinitwi*.

41—2—2: Ke: *Narasingha*, m.c.

41—2—3: Ke: *sirāngihilangakēn* and *māti çrñyo sahona*.

41—2—4: Ke: *parāngmuka* and *sakala*.

Canto 41, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *Wisnu ngabhiṣeka*.

41—3—2: Ke: *samasta parasāmya*, m.c.

41—3—3: Ke: *prakāçita*; Kr note: *prakaçita*, m.c.

41—3—4: Ke: *Narasinghamūrtti* and *surapada*, m.c.

Canto 41, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *Çakabda kanawāwanikṣiti*, m.c. and *Surālaya*, Skt spelling.

41—4—2: Ke: *Çiwbimba len Sugatawimba munggw i Jajaghu*.

41—4—3: Ke: *Narasinghamūrtti* and *surapada*, m.c.

41—4—4: Ke: *uttama*, Skt spelling.

Canto 41, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *kathākēna muuvah narendra Krta-nāgarāngihilangakēn*, Skt spelling.

41—5—2: Kr note: *rikanang*, m.c. Ke: *Çakabda bhujagoçaikṣaya*.

41—5—3: Ke: *Malayu*.

41—5—4: Ke: *rika dewamūrttinira*. Prb's reading: *ri kedewamūrtti-nira* makes better sense. *Mara*, meaning: going, to go, is used as a

particle, i.a. to emphasize the preceding word. In modern Jav. *tēka*, meaning: coming, to come, can have a similar function. *Ngāni*, before, is to be rendered in this verse: before that time. *Kālahan* means: demise. Defeat is *kālah*, v. gl.

Canto 42, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *Çakābda* and *amāti*, m.c.

42—1—2: Kr note: *nika*, m.c. For *pinalēh* v. gl. *alēh*, related to modern Jav. *lumuh*: to loathe.

42—1—3: Ke: *anggawiyatarkka*. Kr note: *motusan i tanah i Bāli*, m.c.

42—1—4: Ke: *narendra*, m.c.

Canto 42, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *samangkana tikang*.

Canto 42, stanza 3, verse 2: Ke: *Kali*. The usual meanings of *apān*: for (causal), of *tētēs*: accurate, clear-sighted, and of *nimittaniran*: His motive to . . . was . . . , fit well in this stanza. "Therefore, for that reason" (Ke's and Prb's translation of *nimittaniran*) is rendered in the Nāg. idiom by: (*nā*) *hetunya*, v. gl. Very often the Nāg. stanza of four verses is to be divided into two halves of two verses each, containing in one verse an initial sentence and in the next one the final principal sentence (unless, of course, each verse makes a complete sentence of its own, which is the case in the majority of Nāg. stanzas).

Canto 43, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *rikang* and *prabhu*.

43—1—2: Ke: *Çakābda* and *diwaça ny antuk*, m.c. In the chronogram *gogendutri ga* stands for *aga*: mountain.

43—1—4: Ke: *sañabhijñādhāraka* and *prabhu*. The usual meanings of *dhāraka*: to stand firm, and of *dewaprabhu*: divine King, fit well in this verse. On *Sañabhijñā* v. comm.

Canto 43, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *narendra* and *Çri-Çākyasinghāstiti*.

43—2—2: Ke: *pañcaçila kṛtasangskārābhisekakrama*. The usual meaning of *kṛtasangskāra*: having observed the ceremonies, makes good sense in this verse.

43—2—3: Ke: *Jinābhisekanira* and *Jñānabojreçvara*, Skt spelling.

43—2—4: Ke: *tarkka* and *Çrinātha*.

Canto 43, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *wrēddhi* and *sarwuwakriyādhyātmika*. The usual meanings of *wrēddha*: old, and of *ādhyātmika*: esoteric (opp. *wāhya*: exoteric) make good sense in this verse.

43—3—2: Ke: *Subhāti*, Skt spelling, and *hati*.

43—3—3: Ke's rendering of *sthiti* by: welfare is incorrect; it should be rendered: order, orderliness.

43—3—4: Ke: *āstām tang gāyāsatra nitya madulur ddāneniwō ring prajā*. Ke translates *gāyāsatra*: hospitals for religious persons, which is improbable. No doubt Prb is right in considering C's original *gāyācakra* as a technical term of Tantrism, v. comm. The usual meaning of *nitya madulur*: always successively, fits well in this verse.

Canto 43, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *kadi* and *atītāprabhu*.

43—4—2: Kr note: *nipuna*, Skt spelling.

43—4—3: Ke: *Jinabrata* and *prayogakriyā*, Skt spelling.

43—4—4: Ke: *pādaikacchatra dewaprabhu*, Skt spelling.

Canto 43, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *Çākābdhijanāryyama* and *Jinen-drālaya*, Skt spelling.

43—5—2: Ke: *sangke* and *sarwuwopadeçādika*. The usual meanings of *-antara*: other (in this verse probably referring to Shiwaism) and of *adhika*: eminent, make good sense.

43—5—3: Ke: *kalakan*.

43—5—4: Ke: *halēñnyottama*.

Canto 43, stanza 6, verse 1: Ke: [Sagala] *pratiṣṭa Jinawimbātyanta*.

43—6—2: Ke: *Arddhanareçwari*.

43—6—3: Ke: *bhuwana*, m.c. and *brata*. The usual meaning of *wṛddhi*: increase, makes good sense in this verse.

43—6—4: Ke: *Wairocana*.

Canto 44, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke explains the concluding long ā of *narendrā* in C by the following caesura. Metrical caesurae are not observed in the Nāg. As the r̥ of *Kṛtanagara* can pass for r̥̄ the preceding a is metrically long by position. But then long vowels out of their rightful places are so common in C that a special explanation for every case is hardly called for. Long vowels are sometimes used as a mark of respect. This might also be advanced as an explanation of the long ā of *narendrā*.

44—1—3: Ke: *kuhaka*. Berg (R. p. 128) 's translation of Skt *sāmanī*: vassal may be right also.

44—1—4: Ke: *bhāmi*; Kr note corrects: *bhamī*. Ke: *kirakira*. The usual meaning of *kira-kira* in the Nāg. idiom: ways and means, makes good sense in this verse.

Canto 44, stanza 2, verse 2: Ke: *Jayasabha ng-anggantyana*. As the metre requires the last a of *Jayasabha* to be metrically long Ke again

brings forward the caesura to make it so. By reading *Jayasabhāng*, i.e. *Jayasabha ang* the difficulty is solved in a simpler way. For *ang* (the article) v. gl.

44—2—3: Ke: *Gākāṣṭaikanā*, Skt spelling. Ke translates: in the Shāka-year eight-one-one, with a note: the poet took the liberty to suppress the initial nought. The year nought-eight-one-one: 1180 Sh. is meant.

44—2—4: Ke: *Gāka trīni san Gāngkara*, with note: *san* must have the value of nine in this place. Perhaps it is an abbreviation of *sanga*.

Canto 44, stanza 3, verse 2: Ke: *āstām* and *nāśāntara*.

44—3—3: Ke: *wipatha*.

44—3—4: Ke: *hayunyā*, m.c. The long ā marks a future tense.

Canto 44, stanza 4, verse 1: *Haji* refers to King Kērta-Nagara of Singasari, and so does *nṛpati* of 44—4—2.

44—4—2: Ke: *mogha*.

44—4—3: Ke: *mantw anggēhnira*.

44—4—4: Ke: *ārddha mwang wwang Tatar*. *Sārdham* is good Skt.

Canto 45, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *ahlang*, m.c.

45—1—2: Ke: *masarūparawi Gākābda*.

45—1—3: Ke: *siniwīng* and *anurāga*.

Canto 45, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *siniwī*.

45—2—2: Ke: *sa-Yatwakṣiti*.

45—2—3: Ke: *payugalan*.

45—2—4: Ke: *surawadhi*, Skt spelling. Ke intercalates in his translation an unnecessary "beautiful".

Canto 46, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *nāmāgrajānindita*, Skt spelling.

46—1—2: Prb's emendation *Suhitā* (TBG 56, 1914, p. 490) is doubtful. The Pēnanggungan charter of 1296 A.D. (ed Prb, Inscriptions N.I. 1940) has *Narendraduhitā*.

46—1—3: Ke: *Prajñāpāramitākya*, Skt spelling. Kr note: *anīdyeng*, m.c.

46—1—4: *Paramēṣwari*, *Mahādewi*, *Jayendrādewi* and *Rōjapati* are titles and names of functions.

Canto 46, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *ārddhāparō*.

46—2—3: Ke: *Narasinghamūrti awēka*; Ke's mistake in making

Lēmbu Tal a Princess has been corrected by Prb (O.V. 1915, p. 1). *Suṣrama* is a masculine epithet.

46—2—4: Ke: *Boddhapratistāpagṛh*.

Canto 47, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: narendra.

47—1—2: Ke: *nā*, m.c.

47—1—3: Ke: *snikacitta*. The usual meanings of *nā*: such, thus, of *don*: aim, purpose, and of *r̥s̥ep*: pleasure, make good sense in these verses.

Canto 47, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: narendra warman.

47—2—2: Ke: *mastwākṛn*. Kr and Prb are right in making King Kērtarājasa the grammatical subject of *mastwākṛn*. On *indreṣṭvarī* v. comm.

*Canto 47, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: narendra. Kr note: *ma-try-aruṇa*. Ke's original reading: *mātr-aruṇa*, making the year Sh. 1216, is corrected by Prb (TBG 56, 1914, p. 147).*

47—3—2: Ke: *piṇratiṣṭa*.

47—3—3: Ke: *Antahpura*.

Canto 48, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: narendra, prabhu and nagari, m.c.

48—1—2: Ke: *nr̥putrikāntēn*, corrected by Kr: *nr̥paputrikā-*. Ke: *mebu*. *Rājapatnī* is a title.

48—1—3: Ke: *surawadhi*, Skt spelling.

48—1—4: Kr note: *sirān*, m.c.

*Canto 48, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: Çakakūla, pakṣa and caritan. Ke translates: in the Çaka-year 1238, with note: *mukti*, release, is synonymous with *wimokṣa*. In Buddhism the number of *wimokṣas* is eight.*

48—2—2: Ke: *prabhu n*, m.c.

48—2—3: Ke: *Nambi*. According to the Pēnanggungan charter (Inscriptions N.I. 1940, p. 37) the name was Tambi. Kr note: *ring*, m.c.

48—2—4: Ke: *kaprawīranira sang narendra siniwi*, m.c.

Canto 48, stanza 3, verse 2: Ke: Wiṣṇuwimba, Skt spelling.

48—3—4: Ke: *Suka-lila* and *Sugatavimba*, Skt spelling.

Canto 49, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: Çakābdendu, m.c.

49—1—2: Ke: *Jīvana* and *narendra*, Skt spelling.

49—1—3: Ke: *gumantrikang Tiktamālāra rājī*, m.c.

- 49—1—4: Ke: *narendra*. Kr note: emendation: *narendrerikang*, m.c.
Canto 49, stanza 2, verse 1: paningkah means: son-in-law, v. gl.
- 49—2—2: Ke: *manggalya* and *wiçesa*, Skt spelling. Prb's translation of *manggalya*: bringing fortune, is right.
- 49—2—3: Ke: *rājīl*, Skt spelling.
- 49—2—4: Kr note: *rumakṣeng*. *Rumakṣeng kāryya* means: to mind the customary ceremonies. Kr note remarks that the *Rājapatiñ* is the grammatical subject of *angratwakēn*. The literal meaning of *angratwakēn*: to make *Ratus*, makes good sense in this verse.
- Canto 49, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: agniśwari*, with note: *ari* stands for *hari*.
- 49—3—3: Kr note: *jagadraḥṣapa*. *Tēvēk* means: moment, time (of an event) and *sunrah*: to pass over.
- 49—3—4: Ke: *mantry anāmā Madātyanta wijīla*, Skt spelling.
- Canto 49, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: ring Çakabdeṣu-māsākṣi-nābhi*, Skt spelling.
- 49—4—2: Ke: *duçclla nīca*, Skt spelling.
- 49—4—3: Ke: *windāçā*, m.c.
- 49—4—4: Ke: *salwir ing* and *wiçita*, mod. Jav. *wisata*, which seems better than Kr's emendation: *wiçasta*, translated: cut down.
- Canto 49, stanza 5, verse 2: Ke: nirāngṛēs*.
- 49—5—4: The usual meaning of *athawā*, modern Jav. *utawa*: and also, makes good sense in this verse.
- Canto 49, stanza 6, verse 1: Ke: twang and narendra*.
- 49—6—2: Ke: *ndatan*. C's reading *nda yan* makes good sense. *Trpti* means: delight, delighted.
- 49—6—3: Ke: *mawas* and *māryyāṅgaweça*. The usual meanings of *awas*; clear, and of *pāpakkarma*: evil karma, i.e. sinfulness, fit well in this place.
- 49—6—4: Ke: *māwas windāçā*.
- Canto 49, stanza 7, verse 2: Ke: hinggaña*, m.c. *Pangrēngō* means: oral tradition, v. 39—3—2, comm.
- Canto 49, stanza 8, verse 1: Ke: sakramānārjjawāngling*, m.c.
- 49—8—2: Ke: *amvitānolikeking*.
- 49—8—3: Ke: *rātri*, m.c. Kr note: *ring pakutwan*, m.c. Ke's translation neglects *rātri*.
- 49—8—4: Kr note: *Çri narendra*, m.c.

*CHAPTER 6 — THE ROYAL CHASE
IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF SINGASARI*

Cantos 50—54, 25 stanzas.

Canto 50, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *mahas*.

50—1—3: Ke: *Nandanawana* (Indra's pleasure-ground), with note: C has *Nandakawana*, a mistake.

50—1—4: As a rule the Skt comparative degree in *-tara* was understood as a superlative in Old Javanese literature, v. KBNW, Balinese glosses. *Kayow* is rendered: growth, for the hunting-ground was not a dense jungle, v. comm.

Canto 50, stanza 2, verse 1: *Medran* is rendered: make a ring, cf *idēran* 8—5—3. Ke: *manēngkō* is modern Jav. *anēngkēr* (from *sēngkēr*), v. *Wirāṭaparwa* (ed. Juynboll, p. 35) : *kasēngkō*.

50—2—2: Ke note: *rangkōt* is modern Jav. *rēngkēt*, also *rēngkēd*, *rungkud*. Kr note: *marangkōt*, m.c.

50—2—4: Ke: *kegu*.

Canto 50, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *matunwatuntwan*.

50—3—2: Ke: *pasurak*.

50—3—3: Ke: *nikā*, a mistake.

50—3—4: Ke: *sāksāt Kāṇḍawawana*, Skt spelling, and *ngāni*.

Canto 50, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke translates *tonton*: one saw. *Nonton* does not mean: to see, but: to look at. *Tonton* is a so-called passive imperative or gerundive, like modern Jav. *kon*: to be commanded to do a thing. *Tonton* is to be rendered: to be observed, or: look at! *Datan wri rātnya* is a standard expression; *wri* = *wruh i(ng)*.

50—4—3: Kr note: *āpan*, m.c. The usual meaning of *āpan*: for (reason) makes good sense in this verse. Ke's reading *minggat abalabar* is unidiomatic; *balabar* is the usual form, cf 50—2—1. Therefore the right reading is: *minggata balabar*, v. comm.

Canto 50, stanza 5, verses 1 and 2: *Gobraja*: corral, and *wṛṣabha-pura*: bull's compound, fit well in these verses. Ke's opinion that mythological places are meant is not right.

50—5—3: Ke translates *cihna* by: hare, with note: Skt *çāça*, hare, is the mark, *cihna*, in the moon: *çāṅgka* or *çāçin*. As neither hares nor rabbits are frequent in East-Java probably the chevrotin (Jav. *kañcil*, Malay *pelanduk*) is meant. On 50—5—4, *gaṇḍaka* v. comm.

Canto 50, stanza 6, verse 2: Kr note: *hanā*, m.c.

50—6—3: Ke: *mṛgendra*, with note: in Java the tiger. No doubt the well-known Pañcatantra pair the lion and the jackal is meant.

Canto 51, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *mṛgendrādhipa*.

51—1—2: Ke has a note on *toh*; it is often to be rendered: well then. Quotations from the poems Sutasoma (folio 94b): *toh ndy anung nīti*, Smaradahanā: *toh ndy ang duhka sakeriya*, Bhāratayuddha (33—4): *toh ndyānunng naya ng enake kita*, Bhomakāwya: *toh, rakryan apati, ta paran* (probably better reading: *apatiḥ aparan*) *tikāngulaha ningwang amawu bhūwana*. Ke translates also: come now!, quoting: Bhomakāwya (110—12): *prabhu toh haywa sandeha*, Rāmāyaṇa (5—7): *yata walēṣṭa, toh kirakiran pējahanya huwus*. Another translation of Kern's is: please, or: please, tell me; quotations: Arjunawiwiḥā (stanza 149): *ibu, toh, rumuhuna kita*, and (stanza 176): *indung, toh, syapa ta kitāri māsku*.

51—1—4: Ke: *anglagana* and *hayuyun*. Prb's reading: *tulya hayuyu n dinon tan murud* no doubt is right.

Canto 51, stanza 2, verse 1: The usual meaning of: *awarṇina kadi*: of the kind of, makes good sense in this verse.

51—2—2: Ke: *wawang*.

51—2—3: Ke: *nayānunng gēgēn*, m.c. The usual meaning of: *yan* (i) *bwat*: as to what concerns, fits well in this verse, v. gl.

Canto 51, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *serabha* is Skt: *sairibha*. Skt *tarakṣa* is hyena or wolf. In 53—5—2 Ke renders *tarakṣa*: tiger. In KBNW *tarakṣu* has a Balinese gloss: *macan* (i.e. tiger). Probably the Javanese wild dog is meant in the Nāg.

51—3—2: Ke: *wipatha*.

51—3—3: Ke: *kunēng*.

51—3—4: *Si* is a particle; in modern Javanese dialects *si* still is used in connection with orders and advices. *Manglawana* and *gēgwana* are imperatives belonging to *manglawan* and *anggēgwani*.

Canto 51, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *sumahur* and *yuktikā*. Kr note: *yukti*, two syllables, m.c. Probably *yukti n gēgōn* is the best reading.

51—4—2: Ke: *durjjandānunng dēlōn*. Prb's translation is better than

Ke's. *Anung dēlōn* may be translated literally: the thing that is to be observed.

51—4—3: Ke: *mangswa kunēng*. Neither Ke nor Prb saw that *wāhya*: exoteric, materialistic, wordly, has for opposite the spiritual considerations of stanzas 5 and 6.

51—4—4: Ke: *wipala angangga*. C's reading: *wipala ng angga*, misread by Brandes, Ke and Prb, makes good sense. *Patyana* stands for *pinatyana*, apparently m.c. Kr note: *tang tanpadon*, 4 syllables, m.c. *Pan tanpadon* makes better sense.

Canto 51, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *tutwi*.

51—5—2: *Angiringana* is the subjunctive mood belonging to *angi-riŋi*. *Angiringi*, modern Jav. *ngeringi*, means: to show respect. To accompany (Ke's translation) is *angiring*, v. gl.

51—5—3: Ke: *kapanggihana tīkāp*. Kr note: *kapanggiha*, m.c. in conformity with C. *Yat* might contain the abbreviated personal pronoun *t* belonging to *kita*. The emendation *yan* is possible, though.

Canto 51, stanza 6, verse 1: Ke: *panghañutane huriñ ning dadi*. *Panghañutan* means: place or instrument for *anghañut*. The usual meaning of *yogya*: proper to be a thing, makes good sense in this verse.

51—6—2: Ke: *wiçesaprabhu*.

51—6—3: Ke: *awās* and *pējaha*.

Canto 51, stanza 7, verse 1: Kr note: *ring*, m.c. Prb's readings *musuhangkwa* (with two times the uncertainty affix *-a*) and *medint* are right.

51—7—3: Kr note: *yan katēmwa*, m.c. Prb's reading *niyatāku k awat huriñ*, containing the abbreviated form *k* belonging to the personal pronoun *aku* is right. The abbreviated forms of the personal pronouns are scarce in the Nāg. (v. 17—9—4, though). The descriptive character of the poem did not offer many occasions to use colloquial forms.

Canto 52, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *mojar aku pwa*. C's reading *mojara kumwa* makes good sense. *Kumwa* means: considering this, with this consideration; it is related to *aku*, *raku*: modern Jav. *ngaku*: to assert, cf note 1—4—1.

52—1—2: Ke: *yan humarēk*. Prb reads: *anghadayan*, modern Jav. *adeyan*: to trot. As the *h* of *humarēk* is out of place and to trot does not make good sense probably the verse is corrupt. The reading *anghadangā n* (i.e. *anghadanga an*) *umarēk* seems the best. *Umarēk*

has the usual Court meaning: to enter into the Presence of Royalty. It refers to 51—7—3, 4: the advice to seek death by the King's hands in order to be released from reincarnation in animal shape.

Canto 52, stanza 2, verse 1: Kr note: *tucapa ng*, m.c. *Mamawāguwa* means: bringing horses, not: on horseback (Ke's translation). Probably *mamawāsu*: bringing dogs, is the better reading. The dogs are mentioned in 52—4—1.

52—2—2: The usual meaning of *manuju*: to aim at, fits well in this verse.

52—2—4: Ke: *tatanpabisa*. Ke in his translation neglects *rinibut*.

Canto 52, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *karungnya*.

52—3—3: Ke: *amēsah*. Instead of C's *ampah*, *amēh* (i.e. *amērēh*, from *wērēh*) is to be read. The difference in Javanese script between *pa* and *r* is slight.

52—3—4: Ke: *pada*, m.c.

Canto 52, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *gwa n-amamuk iniratnya*. Prb: *gwana mamuk*. Kr note: *ikanang gwa n amuk kinirat* or *hinirat*, m.c. Perhaps the best reading is: *ikang asw an amuk kinērētnya*. *Gwana*, dog, does not fit in the metre. *Irat* or *kirat* is not mentioned in KBNW, whereas *kērēt* is.

52—4—3: Ke: *anglwangi*.

Canto 53, stanza 1, verse 2: Ke: *winangswan*, with note: perhaps the right reading is *winangsēhan*. *Winangswan an* is a possible reading too. Ke: *ginayur ing gayor*.

53—1—3: Ke: *angēbēk*. *Anglēk*: KBNW s.v. *lēk*: *alēk*: disgusted (?) is proposed as an emendation.

53—1—4: Ke's reading *anīngā* instead of *anībā* is a mistake.

Canto 53, stanza 2, verse 2: Ke: *kisuta*.

53—2—3: Ke: *apulih ikang wiśāni*, m.c., translated: rhinoceroses. Probably *wiśāni*: horned beasts, is a better reading, cf *agryngga* in 52—1—4.

Canto 53, stanza 3, verse 2: Ke: *kaburayut*.

53—3—3: Ke: *rumangkarangka lumaluy*, corrected by Prb: *rumangkarangkal umaluy*.

53—3—4: The usual meaning of *mrēpēki*: to approach, makes good sense in this verse.

Canto 53, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *paramantry* and *wāhanāsrang*.

53—4—2: Ke: *amanḍēm*.

53—4—3: Ke: *wisāni* and *gumēpuh*. The usual meanings of *karaṇa ni*: because of, and of *gumērēh*: thundering, make good sense in this verse.

53—4—4: Ke: *kirūya kirūya*, a mistake. For *innya* Ke refers to modern Jav. *nguyahuya*.

Canto 53, stanza 5, verse 2: On *tarakṣa* v. note 51—3—1 and comm. Ke translates *mangudiding*: menacing, and Prb: trembling. The KBNW meaning of *kədiding*: to make off quickly, fits well in this verse.

53—5—4: *Kṛtawara* is a technical term referring to the clergy, approximately: distinguished.

Canto 54, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *rin*, corrected by Kr: *ring*. Ke: *syandanānindita*.

54—1—2: Ke: *pathya*.

54—1—3: Ke: *mungsi*.

54—1—4: Ke: *hetunyālaradan* and *gawanyālayu*. *Gawa*, corpse, does not make sense in this verse. Prb's reading *gawayālayu* does not fit in the metre. Perhaps the best reading is: *wiśñyālayu*. The horned beasts have as counterparts the boars of 54—2—1. As *para* does not make good sense, *mara* is to be read instead.

Canto 54, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *kr̥nasūra* and *cīhnādinya*. The usual meaning of *adinya*, i.e. *adhinya*: the most excellent of them, fits well in this verse.

54—2—2: Ke: *turanggānāt riya atrī ḫayu*. *Riyātry* *ḥayu* is the right reading. *Riya* is composed of the preposition *ri* and the pronoun *ya*. Though unusual in the Nāg. *riya* is used in this verse in order to make up the alliterating puzzle: *anātriyātryālayu*. Prb's translation of *mawāhana turangga*: on horseback, is right.

54—2—3: Ke: *mantri tanḍa bhujangga* and *ingng aċwa*, m.c. Kr note: *mitwāburu*, m.c. *Umunggwing aċwa* does not mean: riding on horseback, but: having their places with the horses. Probably they were riding, though.

54—2—4: Ke: *tanpagap*.

Canto 54, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *arḍdhālwa*. The usual meaning of *apadang*: clear (light), fits well in this verse.

54—3—2: Ke: *hetunya*.

54—3—3: Ke: *bhujanggomarēk*.

*CHAPTER 7 — THE RETURN
FROM THE ROYAL PROGRESS OF 1359,
from Singasari to Majapahit.*

Cantos 55—60, 25 stanzas.

Canto 55, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *jēnēk*.

55—1—3: Ke: *ripukula*, Skt spelling.

55—1—4: Ke: *tatan*.

Canto 55, stanza 2, verse 1: Kr note: *swanagara*, m.c.

55—2—2: Ke: *mewah Talijungan*.

55—2—3: Ke: *mahawan i Kuwarāha*, corrected by Kr note: *Kewarāha*.

55—2—4: Ke: *Dada Mārgga Rontang i pagēr Talaga pahañangan tēkeka*. Prb's reading: *Dadamar Garantang i Pagēr-Talaga Pahañangan* is more likely.

Canto 55, stanza 3, verse 1: Prb's separating *Tambak* and *Rabut-Wayuha* seems right.

55—3—2: Ke: *Bhanarāgiṇa* and *Padamayan*, m.c. No doubt Prb is right in taking *Bhanarāgi* for the right form of the name.

55—3—3: Ke: *Jajawar i*; Kr note: *Jajawa ri*. *Kumukus* is a name; the word does not mean: spitting fire (Ke's translation) but: smoking.

55—3—4: Ke: *paḍa paḍa hagarjjita*. Probably the right reading is: *saha puspa paḍaha paḍa garjjita ngurwang umulat*, v. comm.

Canto 56, stanza 1, verse 2: Ke: *prabhu*, m.c. Ke's translation of *kirtti*: monument, is not right, v. comm.

56—1—3: Ke: *tēkwān*. The meanings of *angadhiṣṭita*: to erect, and of *gartra*: in person, self, alone, make good sense in this verse.

56—1—4: Ke: *hetunyāngdwaya*.

Canto 56, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *cihneng*. C's reading *cihnang*, i.e. *cihna ng*, fits well in this verse.

56—2—3: Ke: *tan hanolya nikā*; Kr note: *tan hanolyana nika*, m.c.

Perhaps *tan hanoly ahēt ika* is the best reading. The meaning of *ahēt*: modern Jav. *aut*, is: narrow, small, with the connotations: trifling, hidden. *Pratimā* is a statuette, v. comm.

In C the cantos 56 and 57 are not separated by the usual double *pada*. As they both have 18 feet in a verse the scribe overlooked the difference in metre.

Canto 57, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *hana mata karēngō tēwīk*, m.c., and *Aksobhyawimba*, Skt spelling.

57—1—2: Ke: *pada-pāduka* and *rājādhika*. Ke's translation of *hana . . . i rājādhika* by: the supreme King possessed, is unidiomatic. Perhaps the right reading is: *Rājyādhika*, i.e. the name of a town or a country, v. comm. *Mahāguru* is the title-name of the learned stranger

57—1—3: Ke: *sutapa, sucila* and *grāvukānindita*, Skt spelling.

57—1—4: Ke: *maciryyan mahāpanḍita*.

Canto 57, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *mahas* and *seccha mēgil*. Kr note: *sechāmēgil*, m.c. Ke: *ring sudharmme dalēm*, m.c.

57—2—3: Ke: *çalya*, Skt spelling.

57—2—4: Ke: *ri wēnanga nira n-abhaktya*. Kr note: *ri wēnangiran abhaktya* m.c. C is metrically right and its meaning is clear, there is no need for emendations. *Wēnanga* is a subjunctive mood referring to *ananggaya*: doubting. Kr note: *ring hyang*, unnecessary.

Canto 57, stanza 3, verse 4: Ke: *salahaça*, m.c. Kr note: *hyang arccālilang*. *Mokṣeng hyang ngarccālilang* seems the best reading.

Canto 57, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *Çakubda* (unnecessary) and *arccā n-hilang*. Kr note: *rakwe*, m.c. As the last words of 3—4 and 4—1 are almost identical perhaps one of the two is corrupt. In 4—1 *hyang arccā* should be: *hyang ing arccā*, which is unmetrical. The meaning is clear, though.

57—4—2: Ke: *sucandī*, m.c. Kr note: *bajraghoṣang*, m.c.

57—4—3: Ke: *mahācrāvakañwāś*, a mistake.

57—4—4: Kr points out: between *waluya* and *dharma* a short and a long syllable are missing. Perhaps the best reading is: *waluya hyang ing dharma*, v. comm.

Canto 57, stanza 5, verse 2: Ke: *bale nyōsa kapwādhika*. *Bale nyōsa* does not make sense. *Balenyūsaka* (i.e. *açaka*) *pwādhika* is a more likely reading.

57—5—3 : Ke: *ri dalēm*. Both Ke and Kr have noted the deficiency of three syllables. *Inupacāra gobhārjja sēk nāgapuspānēdēng* seems a likely reading.

57—5—4 : The usual meaning of *rumpukan*: small heap, tuft, makes good sense in this verse. *Çārasang strī* is a crux. Perhaps *sūrinīng strī*: the quintessence of womanhood, should be read. *Sāri... nāgari* is a pun on *nāgasari*, the name of the flowers called *nāgapuspa* in 57—5—3.

Canto 57, stanza 6, verse 2: Ke's translation of *mendah*: resembling, is a mistake. *Wulu-Đāda* is the name of the place. The fern vegetation seems to have spread from the bank to below the waterline. Perhaps it was Cycas Rumphii, *pakis haji*, a small tree.

57—6—3 : Ke: *arkkāpanas*, m.c. *Angkēn*, every time, fits well in this verse. Evidently the Court stayed several days in Jajawa.

Canto 58, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *Jajawar i*, with note: better is *Jajawa ri Padameyan*.

58—1—2 : Ke: *mandē(gi)*, *kalangēn umahas* and *wanadeça lēngöng*.

58—1—3 : Ke: *pinaran*. *Pawitra* is a name, v. comm.

58—1—4 : Ke: *inikēt*.

Canto 58, stanza 2, verse 1: The usual meaning of *atihang*: ready, makes good sense in this verse.

58—2—3 : Ke: *balastanggha*.

58—2—4 : The usual meaning of *monēng*: to think longingly of, makes good sense in this verse.

Canto 58, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *nrpati n-mapupul*.

58—3—2 : Ke: *mukya*.

58—3—3 : Ke: *nrpati n-tanadoh*.

58—3—4 : Ke: *kapwa sadampati*.

Canto 59, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *ahawan çakañān*, m.c.

59—1—2 : Probably *tan pangiring* is the correct reading. *Pangiring*, without suffixed *-an*, is an unlikely name for a place (Ke's interpretation).

59—1—3 : Ke: *katēmu*.

Canto 59, stanza 2, verse 1: Prb thinks the place was called *Sangkan-Adoh*.

59—2—3 : Ke: *sakahēnu*. Prb no doubt is right in translating *padati* by cart, as in modern Jav. (Ke: foot-soldiers).

59—2—4 : Ke: *kimuta* and *arddha*. Prb's translation of *pandarat* by

pedestrian is unusual. *Gatuya* (Ke's reading), wild cattle, *bayteng*, is improbable because those animals are untameable; surely they can not be led on a rope. The most likely reading is: *kēbo gaway apāndarāt*, v. comm. Instead of *marang*, which does not make sense, *pirang* is to be read.

Canto 59, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *tinitah ~ ~ lari*. Prb reads: *tinitah tikang malari*. *Tikang lumari* seems better, v. gl.

59—3—2/3: Ke: the Prince of Pajang, corrected by Kr: the Princesses are meant, v. comm.

59—3—3: Kr note: *nṛpati lasem* and *mangkat uwah*, m.c. *Mangka muwah* is better.

Canto 59, stanza 4, verse 1: Kr note: *ring Dahā nṛpati Wengker*, m.c.

59—4—2: Ke: *sabhartta sabhṛtya tumut*.

59—4—3: Ke: *pēnuh*.

59—4—4: Ke: *sāyudha*. Prb translates *bhaṭa-mantri*: head-mantris. Skt *bhaṭa*, warrior, makes good sense in this verse. But then, as *bhaṭa* is only found twice in the Nīg. perhaps the well-known *bala* should be read instead.

Canto 59, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *tāmbing*.

59—5—2: Ke: *ayō manganti*, with note: stands for: *ayem manganti*. C's reading *ayōm anganti* is right.

59—5—4: Ke: *i panasnika*. C's reading: *i ghanasnika* makes good sense.

Canto 59, stanza 6, verse 1: Ke: *adoh*.

59—6—2: Ke: *makaburayut* and *rārātuhā*.

59—6—3: The meaning of *lirang*: sugar-palm, according to KBNW, makes good sense in this verse.

Canto 59, stanza 7, verse 1: Ke: *narendra*. Ke's translation of *kala-*
gangha: cymbals and clarions is to be corrected: trumpets and conches, according to Kunst-Goris, Hindu-Javanese musical instruments, Batavia 1926.

59—7—2: Ke: *mararcm*.

59—7—3: Ke: *nirātri* and *ri wngat*, m.c.

59—7—4: Ke: *garḍabhoṣṭra*, Skt spelling.

Canto 60, stanza 1, verse 3: Ke: *morica*, *kasumbha* and *kalapa*.

60—1—4: Kr note: instead of *kalar* three short syllables are required. Probably *kalayar* is the right reading.

Canto 60, stanza 2, verse 1: Kr note: *mamikul ~ ~ abwat*. *Mamikul abwat* seems a likely reading.

60—2—2: Ke: *kapasahar epwan*, which does not make sense. Perhaps *kapasah arepwat* is the right reading. *Kapasah* might be related to *kasah-kasah*: trudging (v. KBNW). *Repwat* is modern Jav. *repot*: difficulty.

60—2—3: Ke: *tengah* and *bēñjit*, both misreadings.

60—2—4: To explain *arangkik* Ke refers to modern Jav. *rēngkēk*, *rēngkuk*. The meaning of those words is: bowed.

Canto 60, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *maghanjā*, which does not make sense. Perhaps *maghanjā* is related to modern Jav. *anggrajdah*, meaning: to have to carry too many things at the same time, a too heavy burden.

60—3—2: Ke: *hacu* and *kamal antwan*.

60—3—3: Ke: *haru dang* and *uswan*. *Haru-dang* probably means: cooking-pot, v. comm.

60—3—4: Kr note: *garanya* ought to be: ~ ~ ~ ~. *Amurutuk* seems to be a name. Instead of the corrupt *garanya ginuywan* perhaps *puharanya ginuywan* is to be read, v. gl. *puhara*.

Canto 60, stanza 4, verse 1: Kr note: *ing*, m.c.

60—4—2: Ke: *dalēm*, a mistake.

60—4—3: The usual meaning of *atutur*: to mind, to recall to mind, makes good sense in this verse.

60—4—4: Ke's translation of *para swa*: theirs, i.e. their dependents, is unidiomatic. The usual meaning of *para*: commoners, common people, fits well in this verse, cf. 17—1—3. Instead of *swa*, *pwa* is to be read.

In C the cantos 60 and 61 are not separated by the usual double *pada*. As canto 60 has 12 feet in a verse and canto 61 has 13 the scribe overlooked the difference in metre.

*CHAPTER 8 — THE ROYAL PROGRESSES
OF 1360 AND 1361*

to Tirim, Sömpur and Blitar.

Cantos 61 and 62, 6 stanzas.

Canto 61, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *lungħā*. Kr note: *nr̥epa tan*, m.c.
61—1—4: Ke: *sarsök*, m.c. C's *hyalas* is to be corrected: *ryalas*. C has: *di nang nyaktwah* with written under it: *nwa kwang*. That can only mean that the scribe thought, after all, that the best reading was: *dinwan kwangnyākweh* which makes good sense indeed. *Dinwan* should be read *dinon*, m.c. Ke's emendation: *dinulunyākweh* is unmetered and unnecessary.

Canto 61, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *ring ġāka*, m.c.

61—2—2: Kr note: *Ćri nāthāmūja*, m.c.

61—2—3: Ke: *lālitya*. The usual meaning of *jambat*: a long time, makes good sense in this verse.

Canto 61, stanza 3, verse 1: The usual meaning of *jañjan*: trifling, slow, fits well in this verse.

61—3—2: Prb's rendering of *poryang*: meagre, poor, makes good sense in this verse.

61—3—3: Ke: *rātryangher*.

Canto 61, stanza 4, verse 1: Kr note: *manganfing Simping*, m.c.

61—4—2: The usual meaning of *sweccha*: desiring, makes good sense in this verse. *Anambi* (from *sambī*) means: to combine.

61—4—3: Ke: *prāśāda* and *dohnyāngukwan*, m.c. Ke's translation of: *hana dohnyāngukwan*: was at some distance to the west, is unidiomatic.

61—4—4: Ke: *mātra*, Skt spelling.

Canto 62, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *parimāṇa*, m.c. *Kapwa* makes better sense than *tapwa*.

62—1—2: Ke: *tinēpan samāpta* and *pāruwāddi*. Ke's emendation *samāpta* makes good sense.

62—1—3: Ke: *inambil*.

62—1—4: Probably *Gontong-Wiṣṇurare* is a double name for one place.

Canto 62, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *ryyantuk*. Probably the places were called: *Jukung-Jro* and *Yōnabajra*, cf *Yānatraya*.

62—2—3: Ke: *ryyangkat*.

CHAPTER 9 — THE POSTHUMOUS
CEREMONY IN HONOUR OF THE RAJAPATNI
IN 1362,

her shrines and her cult.

Cantos 63—69, 30 stanzas.

Canto 63, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *mantri Apupul*, in company, refers to the fact that in this chapter *Çri Nâtha* is a plural: the Royal Family.

63—1—2: Ke: *āryyādinya*. Perhaps *ādinya*, i.e. *adhinya*, is the better reading.

63—1—3: Ke: *mantryāpatih*.

63—1—4: Ke: *rājakāryyolihulih nikanang dhāryya*, with note on *dhāryya*, explained as a mistake for *dhairyya*. Kr note: *-uliha nikanang*, m.c. The best reading seems to be: *rājakāryyolihulihēn ikanang kāryya*. *Mangulihulih*: to deliberate on a proposal, makes good sense in this verse

Canto 63, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *Tribhuwana*. Kr note: at the end three syllables are missing: ~ ~ ~. Muusses (Oudh. V. 1923, p. 37) has a likely proposal: *prakāça*.

63—2—2: Ke: *Çri-rājapatni*. The usual meaning of *wékasan*: ending, makes good sense in this verse. The suffixed *-a* marks the future. *Narendreng kađatwan* is a plural: the ceremonies are performed by the Princes in company, not by King Hayam Wuruk alone, v. canto 65. As between *gatwayēn* and *çri narendreng kađatwan* the usual indication of the agent of the action (*ing*, *dening*, *tēkaping*) is missing probably *çri narendreng kađatwan* is a vocative.

63—2—3: Prb's translation: in the year with a 4 for head, i.e. 1284 Shâka, is right.

63—2—4: *Wṛddhamantri* is preceded by *para*: common, in opposition to the Illustrious Protectors.

Canto 63, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *narendra*. *Subhaya* stands m.c. for *sobhaya*.

63—3—2: Ke translates: *tang para dapur*: the husbandmen, with note: Skt *kuṭumbīn*. Rural communities probably is the best translation, v. comm. Both Ke and Prb tried to find translations for *aputih* and *sujyana*. Aputih and Sujyana are the headmen's names. The epithet *wijña*: clever, makes good sense in this verse.

63—3—3: *Thānya suruhana* is the most likely reading. The suffixed -a's mark the intention, in this case the destination of the lands.

63—3—4: Kr note: *byāyānung*, m.c. Ke: *ginoṣṭi* and *narendra*. *Sēṇaḍasaḍa* (C's *śināḍasaḍa* is a case of popular etymology) is a chancery corruption of *samnaddha samnāha*: ready, available, mentioned in KBNW s.v. *snāḍha* and *snāha*, cf *pasñāha*, 26—2—4.

Canto 63, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *byāllan meh tīkā ng Bhādrapada*. Kr note: *tilēming*, m.c. Ke: *Grāwana*. Kr note: *Grāwanḍteki*, m.c.

63—4—2: The usual meaning of *anikēl*: to bend, fits well in this verse, v. comm.

63—4—3: Ke: *dudw ang*, m.c. Ke's translation of *mālad*: to carve, to cut, is right. It is related to *lad*, *wēlad*, v. gl. Ke's translation of *bukubukuran* by stamps (Dutch: *stempels*) is a mistake for temples (Dutch: *tempels*). Prb has: small buildings, v. comm.

63—4—4: Ke: *rajata padewēr*, m.c. Ke's translation neglects *matambēh*. The usual meaning of *pāṣḍe*: smith, makes good sense in this verse. On *dadap* v. comm.

Canto 64, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *gubhakāla*, m.c.

64—1—2: As any connection (i or ing) between *madya* and *witāna* is missing the translation of Ke and Prb: in the centre of the *witāna* cannot be right. *Madya* refers to *sabha* in the preceding verse.

64—1—3: Kr note: *rinaktārjjāwuwung*. The meaning of *tunggal*: one with, united with another, makes good sense in this verse.

64—1—4: Ke: *singhāsanātyadbhuta*, Skt spelling. The usual meaning of *sānmuka*: opposite to, fits well in this verse. Prb's opinion that *pāḍa* refers to the *witānas* is right.

Canto 64, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *sthāna*. Kr note: *sthānang*, m.c. *Sthāneng* is a better reading.

64—2—2: Kr note: *ātumpatumpa*, m.c. The usual meaning of *atumpa-tumpa*: with terraces, amphitheatrically, makes good sense in this verse.

64—2—3: Ke: *mantri bhujangga* and *talpanya*. *Talpa* is to be rendered: bench, v. comm.

64—2—4: Ke: *bhrtyasanggha taratagnyāsangkya*. The usual meaning of *asusun*: with storeys, makes good sense in this verse.

Canto 64, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *pūjādhika*. *Gawe narendra* is a compound, synonymous with *rājākārya*: Royal function.

64—3—2: Ke: *sākṣīng*. *Mayḍalālekhana* is the name of a ceremony.

64—3—3: Ke: *mukya* and *sudharmaṇenadhi*. The *dharma* Nadi is mentioned in several verses of the Nāg., v. gl.

64—3—4: Ke: *suçṭila sātvika* and *tantratraya*, Skt spelling. Kr's emendation: *labdāweça* is right, cf. 69—1—3, v. comm.

Canto 64, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *sahasramāsa*, Skt spelling. Kr note: *sahasramasa*, m.c. *Utpatti*, being synonymous with *jānma*, is to be rendered: existence. *Swa*, used twice in this stanza, is to be rendered: individual, earthly.

64—4—2: Ke: *satçīṣya*, Skt spelling.

64—4—3: Ke: *maṇḍala*, Skt spelling. Prb's reading: *Paruha*, is right, v. gl. The usual meaning of *prasiddha*: celebrant, officiant priest, makes good sense in this verse. *Patangan*, translated by Ke: assistant (from *tangan*: hand) is not found in any other text. Probably C's reading is corrupt. *Manēṅgen*: to the right, fits well in this verse, v. comm.

64—4—4: Kr note: *udhara* should be: - ~ -. Prb's emendation: *uccara*, rightly: *uccāra*: correct pronunciation, makes good sense in this verse.

Canto 64, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *sūtrapāṭhenīwō*, Skt spelling. *Irikang swah* is the best reading. *Swah* is rendered: soul, though that is unbuddhistic. Neither Ke's nor Prb's translation of *swah* (heaven and sky) makes sense in this verse, v. comm.

64—5—2: Ke's and Prb's translation of *prāptianing swah*: to reach heaven, is unidiomatic. *Swah* is to be rendered: soul.

64—5—3: Prb's identification of *puspa* with the *puspa*: flowerbody, of 67—2—3 is right.

64—5—4: Ke: *dhyāna*, Skt spelling.

Canto 65, stanza 1, verse 2: Ke: *gañjaraṇ* and *asangkya*, Skt spelling. *Gañjuran* is a better reading, v. comm.

65—1—3: Kr note: *amānuṣa*, m.c. *Wīnārṣita* is to be rendered: saluted (with a ceremonious address).

65—1—4: Ke: *amūja sakrama*, m.c.

Canto 65, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *saha tanaya dāra sādara*.

65—2—2: Ke: *masō mahān*. C's reading *masomahan* makes good sense in this verse. Kr note: *Gajahmada*, m.c., in accordance with a charter, O.J.O. 1913, p. 206.

65—2—3: Ke: *pasinggir athawā* and *digantara*. The usual meaning of *digantara*: other countries, makes good sense in this verse.

65—2—4: Ke: *ika*, m.c., and *yathākrama*.

Canto 65, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *anindyabhojana*.

65—3—2: No doubt Prb's translation: his *tapēl* was in the shape of a *Cri Handiwa-handiwa* is essentially right. *Handiwa* is one of the sugar-palm's names, v. comm.

65—3—3: Ke: *Matahum* and *sita*, Skt spelling, but unmetrical. The usual meaning of *hana*: to be present (Ke's reading), does not make sense in this verse. *Hanam*, plaited work, seems a better reading.

65—3—4: Ke: *artha*, Skt spelling.

Canto 65, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *awawan* and *nirādhika*. The usual meanings of *awawan*: carrier for offerings, *yaça*: building, *pathani*: terrace, and *tadah*: repast, fit well in this verse.

65—4—2: Ke: *madulur dhanawitaraya*.

65—4—3: Ke: *teng* and *açartra kāminī*. The structure of the sentence is bad, evidently it is corrupt. The most likely emendation seems to be: *kagendah*. *Kaga*, Skt *khaga*: bird. *Kāminī* is just a poetical expression for: woman, v. comm.

65—4—4: The usual meaning of *kawicitran*: brilliance, sparkling, makes good sense in this verse.

Canto 65, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *mukya*, *Mandara* and *bhojanād-bhuta*, Skt spelling.

65—5—2: Ke: *midēr* and *mihat*. *Midēr* means: to go round. Its grammatical subject is: *tapēl*. *Pinutēr tapēl*, without any connection between the words (*i* or *ing*) cannot have the sense: turned about by statues (Ke's interpretation).

65—5—3: Ke: *kābhinatwa*. *Kābhinatwa polaman* does not make good sense. Probably the verse is corrupt. *Kampita ri polaman* seems a likely emendation.

Canto 65, stanza 6, verse 2: Ke: *dinuman*. The usual meanings of *duwēg*: justly, and of *matunggalan*: one by one, fit well in this verse.

65—6—3: Ke: *rinawēhan sasambhawa*. As usual *mukya* is connected with the following word, not with the preceding ones. The meaning of *sasambhawa*: if there is a possible case, makes good sense in this verse.

65—6—4: Ke: *narendra*.

Canto 66, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke's translation of *dina Bhāṭṭāra* by: Sunday (the Lord's day) is to be dismissed as improbable in the Nāg. idiom. *Bhāṭṭāra* is Narapatni's title.

66—1—3: Ke: *bhāṭṭāra kakidung*, which does not make sense. Prb's translation: an episode from a poem, is forced. Evidently the verse is corrupt. *Winarṇṇa bang mwang ahiṛēng* seems a likely emendation, v. comm.

66—1—4: Prb's emendation: *gubar* is right. According to Kunst-Goris *gubar* was the name of a medium sized gong, a cymbal used in battle.

Canto 66, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *rākryān*. Kr note: *Gajahmada*, m.c. The predicate *rākryān* before *sang mapatiḥ*, and the usual meaning of *rikang dīna*: on that day, fit well in this verse.

66—2—2: Ke: *stry anggēng çoka* and *bhujagakusuma rājasāsrang awilēt*.

66—2—4: Ke: *matsya*. *Wawan bhojana* is a compound: carrier for food.

Canto 66, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *atyadbhuta*, m.c.

66—3—2: Kr note: *ikang*, m.c. Ke: *wasana*. Ke's translation: on the seventh day seems less idiomatic than Prb's: during seven days.

66—3—3: Ke: *caturçrama*, v. comm.

66—3—4: Ke: *samy amahwang atēpat kapilarih ika kwir ambuh umili*, which makes little sense. The usual meaning of *kahyunhyun*, modern Jav. *kayungyun*: enchanted, fits well in this verse. The rest of the verse seems corrupt. A plausible emendation is: *juru sāmya milw ang awērō tēkap i larih ika kwir ēmbah umili*.

Canto 66, stanza 4, verse 2: Ke: *asrang*. The usual meaning of *tingkah ning pasabhañ*: the order of the place of the *sabha*, the durbar, makes good sense in this verse.

66—4—3: Ke: *çrī-rājā*. *Çrī rājerikanang* is a better reading. *Çrī rāja* is unusual as a title of the King. It is a plural: all the Princes are meant. In this verse *bini* has the original meaning: woman. *Mangi-gel* has *bini* for grammatical object, v. comm.

Canto 66, stanza 5, verse 1: *Winangun nareçwara*, without connecting *i* or *ing* between the words, is hardly idiomatic. *Winangun ri nṛpati* is a better reading.

66—5—2: Ke: *widwāmacangah, sahana* and *pratidina*.

66—5—3: Ke: *anyat*. Ke note: *bhāṭṭā* stands for Skt *bhāṭṭā*, cf. 59—4—4. The meaning of *mapatra* is: to ask for, eager for. Perhaps it is related to modern Jav. *nganta-anta*: to look out for. Instead of *magēla-*

gēlapan, which does not make sense, (*gēlap* means lightning, not thunder: Ke) *migēl-igēl* (v. KBNW s.v. *igēl*) *apan* is to be read.

66—5—4: Ke: *mukya ng dāna* and *sabhuwana*.

Canto 67, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: narendra.

67—1—2: Ke: *tan pakavandhyā n-angdani*. *Tanpa kawandyā* contains Skt *wandhya*, modern Jav.: *wande*: not coming off. Ke's translation of *kināryya*: what was done, is unidiomatic. *Kāryya* in this verse has the usual meaning: ceremony. Prb's rendering of *kināryya*: for whom the ceremony was performed, is right.

67—1—4: Ke: *sang gṛī-rāja sandgarāstu*. No doubt the Royal name *Rājasandgara* is to be read here. Kr and Prb noted it.

*Canto 67, stanza 2, verse 1: Prb is wrong in translating *angūrākēn*: to sing, referring to modern Jav. *uran-uran*: a song. The original meaning of *angūrākēn*: to make loose, to release, from *āra*: loose, makes good sense in this verse. *Uran-uran* originally is a "loose" song, without accompaniment.*

67—2—2: Ke: *Prajñāpāramitā* and *ring*. *Umantuk* is used out of respect, modern Jav. *krama* *inggil*. The usual word *mulih* is used in the next verse.

67—2—3: Ke: *linarut*. The meaning of *garira* (neglected in Ke's and Prb's translations) in the Nāg. idiom is: self, alone. Cf. modern Jav. *dewe*, *dewek*, related to *awak*: body.

67—2—4: Kr note: *sakweh sang cāru*, m.c. *Sakweh ning cāru* seems a better reading. *Cāru*, offering, does not deserve the honour of the predicate *sang*. Ke: *dinum* and *sanggha*.

Canto 67, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: cuddha and narendra.

67—3—2: Berg (R. p. 161) translates *pinrih*: *Jñānawidhi* was worked up. The usual meaning of *amrih*: to have in mind to do a thing, makes good sense in this verse, v. gl. Berg's other translation in the same book (p. 260): he wanted it to be completed, is better.

67—3—3: Ke: *tēkwan sāmpun i bhūmi cūddha* and *gākāgni*. C's reading: *abhāmīcūddha* makes good sense in this verse. Berg (R. p. 161 and 260) reads *sāmpuna*, connecting it with *pinrih* in 67—3—2. *Tēkwan* opens a new sentence, though. On the meaning of *tēkwan* v. gl. *Bhūmīcūddha* is the name of the ceremony.

67—3—4: Ke: *mabrahmayañā*, the name of another ceremony. The usual meaning of *tēhēr*, modern Jav. *tur*: at once, next, fits well in this verse.

Canto 68, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *widita* (not mentioned in KBNW) and *sampradaya sthiti*, Skt spelling.

68—1—2: Ke rightly infers from the fact that the next verse begins with *mwang* that 68—1—2 must be missing. Kr note proposes to read: *sang cṛi Janggalanatha ring Kahuripan* - - - - - ; v. comm.

68—1—3: Ke: *tēwēk ing*, a mistake. Berg (R. p. 36) translates: Java then consisted of two parts, which is incorrect. On the meaning of *tēwēk* v. gl.

68—1—4: Ke: *pānak* and *prabhu*.

Canto 68, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *yogīvara*, Skt spelling. Perhaps *pēgat* is used out of respect instead of the usual *putus*.

68—2—2: Berg (R. p. 36) translates *inuisir*: who was asked for help. The whole of stanza 2 is eulogy of Bharāḍa. The actual story only begins with stanza 3.

68—2—4: Ke: *kyāti hyang Mpu Bharāḍa wodha riyatitādi*. *Ring atitādi* is a better reading.

Canto 68, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *rahyang, amarwāng* and *langghana*.

68—3—2: Ke: *hingānyeki* and *cinihna*.

68—3—3: Ke: *kulwan* and *arūpawā*. Aichele (BKI, 113, 1959, p. 335) translates *ng lor-kidul* too freely: the wide country, cf 8—2—3. All four points of the compass are mentioned in this verse.

68—3—4: Ke: *kadyādoh* and *bhumi Jawārwa prabhu*. Berg (R. p. 37) translates very freely: as far namely (one might say) as go the coasts that enclose the sea. The translation of *kadyādoh*: as far (one might say) as, is open to grave doubts. The usual meaning of *kadi*: like, fits well in this verse. Uhlenbeck-Teeuw's translation is right, though *tēwēk ing* is best rendered: (at the) moment of the completion of (an action etc., cf. modern Jav. *tuwuk*: satiated).

Canto 68, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *ngke ring tiktiki*, with note: mistake for Skt *tintidī*: tamarind. Berg (R. p. 193) supposes that *tiktik* is synonymous with *tuktuk* and *toktok*, meaning: crown, top. As *tintidī* is not mentioned in KBNW whereas *tiktik* is (though with a derived meaning: clitoris) Berg may be right. Kr note: *sakeng*, m.c. Ke: *ambara*.

68—4—2: Ke, Berg and Uhlenbeck-Teeuw all translate: the village of Palungan. *Değə* in the Nāg. idiom is to be rendered: rural district, v. gl. Probably instead of *Palungan*, *Pulungan*, the well-known Kapulungan, is to be read. In C the writing is not clear.

68—4—3: Ke: *kamal*.

68—4—4: Ke: *çināpa*, Skt spelling. Berg (R. p. 37) translates: even

at the moment that he still was in the sky. Change of grammatical subject in a sentence is unidiomatic in Javanese. The usual meaning of *pāntara*: interstice, makes good sense in this verse, and so does the usual meaning of *tēkwan*: naturally. *Munggwa ri* is a better reading than *munggw iri*.

Canto 68, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *tugw anggōh* and *tambay*. *Tugwānggōh* is to be analysed: *tugwa anggōh*. *Tugu* is given the affixed -a to mark the intention. Both the usual meaning of *anggōh*: fixed relation, fitting in some system, office, and of *tambay ing*: the beginning of, make good sense in this verse. Berg's translation (R. p. 37) is altogether too free, disregarding the grammatical construction: (therefore the tree) was considered as a beacon (of danger) and from that time onwards people became so afraid that they wanted to leave their dwellings.

68—5—2: Ke: *hetunyān* and *bhūmī Jawātunggala*. Berg (R. p. 37) translates too freely: Therefore the temple was founded, which could make Java healthy and united. Temple is not a correct rendering of *dharma*, nor healthy of *waluy(a)*.

68—5—3: Ke: *sthityā* and *sabhūmi*. Berg's free translation: so that the people would not go away (from their places) misses the point. *Linggar* seems to be used only metaphorically in the Nāg. idiom. In this verse it seems to be a stop-gap.

68—5—4: As *sakala* in the Nāg. idiom usually means: exoteric *sakalabhbūmi* is best translated: all countries on earth. No doubt the expression refers to the two moieties of the realm.

In C the cantos 68 and 69 are not separated by the usual double *pada*. As canto 68 has 19 feet in a verse and canto 69 has 20 the scribe overlooked the difference in metre.

Canto 69, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *Prajñāpāramitāpuri*.

69—1—2: Ke: *grī Jñānawidhy apratiṣṭha*. Neither Ke nor Berg bring out clearly enough that *apratīṣṭha* is the name of a ceremony.

69—1—3: Ke: *labdhawēga*. Kr note: *labdhāwēga*, which is a fixed epithet. Ke: *sarvavdgamajñā*. The meaning of *sotan* seems to be: for, because.

69—1—4: Ke: *sāksāt, Bharāda* and *ni twas narendra*. *Twas narendra*, without connection (*i* or *ing*) between the words, would be a compound. Probably *trpti ning sang narendra* is a better reading.

Canto 69, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *tekiri* and *rājapatnī-dhinarmma*. *Mwang tekiri* is to be analysed: *mwang ta iki iri*, v. comm. Berg's free translation (R. p. 37) with insertions and stressing in accordance with his theories: But this here in Bhayalangö is the place where H.M. the Rājapatnī is *laid to rest*, is unwarranted by the text.

69—2—2: Berg translates: For Jñānawidhi was ordered to perform (the ceremonies). "For" is not in the text.

69—2—3: Ke: *hetunyān*.

69—2—4: Berg's translation (R. p. 37) arbitrarily divides the great mandarin, chamberlain Bhoja, into two persons. Ke: *utsīha wijña*.

Canto 69, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *pintūjā* and *sarwadēga*.

69—3—2: Ke: *Weṣapuri pakurwan i kabhaktyan*. *Yāwat weṣapuri pakurwan akabhaktyan* seems to be the best reading, v. comm.

69—3—3: Ke: *amātya brahma*, which does not make sense. Evidently the verse is corrupt. *Amātya grāma* is a plausible emendation.

69—3—4: Ke: *mukti* and *wiçeseng*.

CHAPTER 10 — THE ROYAL PROGRESS OF 1363

from Majapahit to Simping and back.

Canto 70, 3 stanzas.

Canto 70, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *anilāṣṭānāḥ*, with note: a word having the value twelve is wanted. Probably it was *ina*; sun, m.c. written with a long a. Prb (O.V. 1921, p. 28) reads: *anilāṣṭeṇe*, i.e.: *anila-aṣṭa-inā-i*. *Anilaṣṭend* seems the most idiomatical reading.

70—1—2: Ke: The usual meaning of *angalih*: to move, fits well in this verse., cf. 61—4—4. The respectful pronoun *sira* can only refer to the *dharma*, the religious domain. As a rule *sira* refers to persons. The application to the sacred abode of a revered ancestor is thinkable, though.

Canto 70, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *Çivivāgama*, m.c.

70—2—2: *Adhisṭhāna* is the name of a ceremony: erection, cf. *adhiṣṭhita*, 56—1—3. Ke's translation: to hold an office, is unacceptable.

70—2—3: The usual meaning of *duwēg*: justly, properly, makes good sense in this verse, cf. modern Javanese *dawēg*. Ke: *gopurāmc-kalā*. Kr note: *gopura mekalā*, m.c.

Canto 70, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *pura*, Skt spelling.

70—3—2: Ke: *ādhimantri*, Skt spelling. Kr note: *Gajahmada*, m.c.

70—3—4: The usual meanings of *wyakti*: accurate, clear (modern Javanese *yēkti*: true) and of *antuk*: come home, make good sense in this verse. Probably in this verse *antuk* has the same sense as *ulih* in 31—4—4: prize brought home from an expedition.

CHAPTER 11 — GAJAH MADA'S DEATH IN 1364.
THE NEW OFFICIALS

Cantos 71 and 72, 9 stanzas.

Canto 71, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *sabhuwana*, m.c.

71—1—2: Ke: *irikang Çakâbda*, m.c. Ke and Kr note: the chronogram consists of the words *rasa*, *tanu* and *ina*. The next word is *āga*: distressed, mentioned in KBNW.

71—1—3: Kr note: *ing samastabhutwana*, m.c. *Satryna*, covetous, selfish and *masih ing samasta bhutwana*, loving the universal world, are opposites. Prb is right in reading *tuhun i kadiwyacittanira* instead of Ke's *tuhun ika diwyacittanira*. The usual meaning of *tuhu*: true, verily, makes good sense in this verse.

71—1—4: Ke: *atutur* and *juga ginöng*, erroneously omitting *tang*.

Canto 71, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *pahöm narendra haji râma sang prabhu*. *Haji* refers to King Hayam Wuruk himself, as usual. If *haji* is not taken in this sense Hayam Wuruk would be missing in this list of the nine members of the dynastic council, which is improbable. The terms father, mother and sister are to be understood in the Javanese sense: members of the elder and of the same generation. Apparently Ke did not see this.

71—2—2: Ke: *ibu, athawânuja* and *tumut*.

71—2—3: Instead of *gumunadoça*, *saguñadoça* seems a better reading.

71—2—4: Ke: *twas mangun*, corrected by Kr according to C: *amangun*. *Lawön* means: for a long time, modern Javanese: *laun*.

Canto 71, stanza 3, verse 1: Kr note: *kâte*, m.c. *Klhang* seems a better reading.

71—3—2: Neither Ke nor Prb offer a plausible translation of *kewéhanya*. *Kewéhan ya tikanang jagat* seems the best reading.

71—3—3: Ke: *sâdhv* and *narendra*. The usual meaning of *sâdhu*: virtuous, fits well in this place: it often has the sense of faithful, loyal.

Prb's reading *amātya sañ*, six *amātyas*, is to be rejected, for *amātya* is not the name of an office, but rather of a class of people.

71—3—4: Ke: *pituhunēn* and *parawiwāda tanpanasara*. The usual meanings of *mucap*: to say, to mention, and of *wēruh*: to know, to see, to take care of, make good sense in this verse. *Parawiwāda* is a parallel of modern Javanese *parapadu* (*para*: common).

Canto 72, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: gupta.

72—1—2: The usual meaning of *witwēka*: discernment, makes good sense in this verse.

72—1—3: Ke: *wyddhamantri*, Skt spelling.

72—1—4: Ke translates *atma rāja*: the King's intimate. No doubt Kr and Prb are right in taking *Ātmarāja* and *Tanqīng* for names.

Canto 72, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: īñik i narendra, translated: near. Prb reads: *andika*, translated: speech, in accordance with modern Javanese *andika*. Neither translation makes really good sense. *Anjik i narendra* seems a better reading. *Anjik* (not mentioned in KBNW) is to be identified with modern Javanese *anjek*: companion, mate. No doubt *anjek* is related to modern Javanese *kantī*: in company with.

72—2—2: Ke tries to translate *wira māndalika*. No doubt Kr and Prb are right in taking *Wiramandalika* for a name.

72—2—4: Ke: *manīma tumanggung*.

Canto 72, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: wira, m.c.

72—3—2: Ke: *nityaçādhipati*, Skt spelling.

72—3—3: Ke: *ri Dompo*, m.c.

72—3—4: Ke: *sēk alwang*, m.c. Prb's reading *anglwang* seems better.

Canto 72, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: ni pangādi sumantri. Prb's reading: *ni sang adhisumantri* is better. For *ādhī* instead of *adhi* v. 72—3—1: *ādhiguna*.

72—4—2: Ke calls *aṣṭapadā* corrupt. He proposes to read *akṣapāḍā*, Skt *akṣapāḍaka*: judge. Probably Prb is right in reading: *hastapāḍa haji*: hands and feet of our lord. Martha A. Muusses's emendation *aṣṭapāḍā*: eight-footed (spider), connected by her with "the eight aspects of a King's rule" is far-fetched. The usual meaning of *dōn*: purpose, makes good sense in this verse.

72—4—3: *Mawwat* is to be translated literally: to convey, to bring in.

72—4—4: Ke: *upapatti*, usual spelling. Both Ke and Prb fail to

translate *ndan*, which opens a new sentence. *Makering* (from *iring*) is to be rendered: to have for company, for following, which makes good sense in this verse.

Canto 72, stanza 5, verse 1: Kr note: *patih Dami*.

72—5—2: Prb reads: *hinajyan*, translated: obeyed. *Haji*, our lord, in the Nāg. idiom as a rule: King Hayam Wuruk, seems inappropriate as apposition to *yuwamantri*: junior mandarin. Moreover one would expect *hinaji*, not *hinajyan*. *Ngajeni*, to value, seems to belong to a younger idiom than the 14th century Nāg.'s. Probably the right reading is *rinakryan*, from *rakryan*, the usual predicate, rendered: Right Honourable, of an important *vizir*.

72—5—3: Both Ke and Prb fail to translate *tikang*. Probably *patih Tikang* (perhaps to be emended *Tihang*: "Stand-ready") is the official name and *mpu Singha* the personal name with title (cf. *mpu Tanding*, *mpu Nala* and *patih Dami*).

72—5—4: Ke: *sakawēkas naranātha*. In the Nāg. idiom *kawēkas* means: left behind, and the omission of *i* or *ing* before *naranātha* would be unidiomatic. *Sapawēkas* seems a better reading.

Canto 72, stanza 6, verse 1: Kr note: *an samangkana*, m.c.

72—6—2: Ke: *langgēng aþagēh*, m.c.

CHAPTER 12 — LIST OF DOMAINS

*belonging to the Royal Family
and to religious communities*

Cantos 73—78, 21 stanzas.

Canto 73, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *atiyatna*, m.c.

73—1—2: Ke: *kasinghit* and *āgama*. The usual meaning of *asinghit*: to incline to, makes good sense in this verse.

73—1—3: Ke: *pakṣapāta yat*. Prb's reading *yam* seems better. The usual meanings of *wibhāti*: magnificence, and of *nirukti*: matching, fit well in this verse.

73—1—4: Ke: *sakala*, m.c.

Canto 73, stanza 2, verse 2: Ke: *ikang* m.c. and *nirengapi*.

73—2—3: In *praçāstyana* the suffix -a (subjunctive mood) is clearly discernible. The grammatical form *praçāstyana* could be explained in different ways; the meaning is clear, though.

73—2—4: Ke: *tēmahā*, m.c.

Canto 73, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *makādi*, m.c.

73—3—2: Ke: *Tuban*. Kr note restores *Tuḍan*. As *mangādi* (not mentioned in KBNW) makes no sense *suḍarīmma* is to be read, v. 73—3—1. Berg's interpretation of *mangādi*: first ancestor (R. p. 268) is unfounded.

73—3—4: Ke: *Pugēr*; both Kr and Prb restore: *Pagōr*.

Canto 74, stanza 1, verse 1: *Antahpura* is the name of a domain, v. gl.

74—1—2: Ke: *Buddha-Kuñcir*. Kr note restores: *Buddhi-Kuñcir*.

Canto 74, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *saptawingça*, m.c.

74—2—4: *Wiku rāja*, synonymous with *wiku haji*, seems a better reading than *wiku rājya*.

Canto 75, stanza 1, verse 1: Prb's reading *wruherika* is plausible.

75—1—3: Ke: *dhirotsāha*. Ke's remark that the verse is unmetrical

is right. Kr note reads: *dhirotsāha sadā kuminkin i parortha swastha sang crī narendra*, which makes good sense.

75—1—1: Ke: *tan mukti*. *Swakāryya* is to be connected with the following *ri gēngu* (subjunctive mood).

Canto 75, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *narendra*.

75—2—2: Ke: *Çaiwādhyakṣa sirāṅg*, m.c. and *rūnakṣā*, m.c.

75—2—4: Ke: *rakṣake*, m.c.

Canto 76, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *hwir ning*, m.c., *Kañci*.

76—1—2: Ke: *Kuṭa lamba*. *Kuṭi lamba* is quite plausible.

76—1—3: Kr note: *parhyangungan*, m.c. Ke: *Harinandanottamasuka*, Skt spelling.

Canto 76, stanza 2, verse 1: Kr note: *ing Jayu*, m.c. Ke: *Sphatikeyang* (?). Perhaps Prb is right in reading *Sphatike Yang*. As in the Nāg, idiom the old form *Hyang* still was in use -*e Hyang* would be the correct reading.

76—2—2: Ke: *Dayamuka*, a slip of the pen for *Jayamuka*, restored by Kr.

76—2—4: Ke: *Rati-Mannathāçrama*. Kr note: *Kulā Kaling*, m.c. and *Batu putih pwa teka*, m.c. *Kulang-kaling* seems a better reading; in modern Jav. *kolang-kaling* is the name of the fruit of the sugar-palm. Many localities in Java are named after trees.

Canto 76, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *kawinayānu*, m.c. Kr note: *Wipulārāme Kuṭi*, m.c.

76—3—2: Ke: *Yānatrayarājadadhānya*. Probably *Yānatraya* and *Rājadadhānya* are two separate names.

76—3—4: Ke: *Pangharwan*. Kr note restores: *Panghapwan*. *Tēpas-Jati* is more likely than *Tēpas-Jita*. Ke: *Wanāçrama*.

Canto 76, stanza 4, verse 1: No doubt Prb is right in taking *Baryyāng* for the name of a place.

76—4—4: *Anwaya*, Skt: progeny, is not mentioned in KBNW. Probably it is a chancery term. Ke: *sōk* instead of *sōn*.

Canto 77, stanza 1, verse 2: Ke: *Īcānabajra* and *tadā*. Prb is right in reading *Nadītata*.

77—1—3: Ke: *Boddhimāla*. Kr note: *Amṛtasabhā*, m.c. *Bangbangir i*, m.c.

77—1—4: Kr note: *duri* and *Nandinagara*, m.c.

Canto 77, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *Palabdhi Tangkil.* Kr note, following Brandes (Not. BG 1899, p. 67): *Walāndit* and *Angkil.* Prb: *Palāndī(f) Tangkil.* As *tangkil* is the name of a tree probably *Walāndit* and *Tangkil* are the correct names. Ke and Prb: *Asahing.* *Asah ing Samici* seems a better reading.

77—2—2: Kr note: *Māgēnčng*, m.c.

Canto 77, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *len teng*, m.c.

77—3—4: Ke: *pacarccan.*

Canto 78, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *i ~ - Sumpud.* *Ikanang Sumpud* seems a plausible reading.

78—1—3: Ke: *sabha*, Skt spelling.

78—1—4: Kr note: *ning sardt.* Prb links up this verse with the next stanza, which is unusual in the Nāg. Instead of *kotama* the usual *uttama* is to be read.

Canto 78, stanza 2, verse 2: Ke: *sima ta — pratīṣṭā.* Prb is right in supposing a negation before *pratīṣṭā.* As *tanpa pratīṣṭā* would be unmeterical *tan a-pratīṣṭā* is the only plausible reading.

78—2—4: Ke: *kaçaitwāngkurān.*

Canto 78, stanza 3, verse 3: Ke: *Kājar Ddāna hañar.* Kr note: *Jalagīt*, m.c.

78—3—4: Ke: *Wañdayan* and *kersyangkuran.* Prb: *Wañdeyan.*

Canto 78, stanza 4, verse 1: Prb is right in taking *Dharmmārji* for the name of a place.

78—4—2: Ke: *Gandhātrap.* Kr note restores: *Gandātrp.* *Gandakṛp* is a plausible reading, for *kṛep*, dense, is often found in names of places in connection with the name of a tree. Ke: *Haraçālan Ampu.* As *nampu* is the name of a medicinal herb *Haraçāla Nampu* is the right reading. No doubt *kakadang-hajyan* is a chancery term, a derivation of *kadang-haji*: Royal kinsman. The usual meaning of *gahan*: noted, makes good sense in this verse.

78—4—3: Ke: *Çuci.* Kr note restores: *Çuet.* Prb is right in taking *Simā-Kiyal* for a name. Probably *Simā-Nādi* is a name too.

Canto 78, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *kālap ing.* Kr note: *kalap*, m.c. *Kalating* seems a plausible name of a place. *Wangça Wiṣṇu* is a chancery term.

78—5—2: Ke: *Tanggulyan.*

78—5—3: Ke: *Kélut.* *Mēđang hulun hyang* is a chancery term.

78—5—4: *Andēl Mas* seems a plausible name of a place.

Canto 78, stanza 6, verse 1: The usual meaning of *anālat* (from *sēlat*) : to have a place between two others, makes good sense in this verse.

78—6—2: Ke: *sapratiṣṭa ng ilu* and *tanpratiṣṭāpagēh*. Kr note restores: *tanpa pratiṣṭāpagēh*.

78—6—3: Ke: *kacanqikān*. C's *kasangghikān* is to be retained. The usual meaning of *bhukti*: evidence, legal proof, makes good sense in this verse. Neither Ke nor Prb saw this.

Canto 78, stanza 7, verse 1: *Sūgara* and *Kukub* are names of places.

78—7—2: Ke: *r̥si*, Skt spelling.

78—7—3: Ke: *caturācrame*, Skt spelling. Prb reads: *Pacira, Bulwan* and *Luwana, Kupang*. The name is *Luwantwa*, modern Javanese: *Luwano*.

78—7—4: The usual meanings of *mangācraya*: to look for support, and *thāni*: peasants' land, make good sense in this verse. As *lr̥a* is not often used substantively perhaps *kvirnya* is the right reading. Ke's translation of *jangan*: vegetable soup, is a misunderstanding. The soup is called *jangan* in modern Javancese.

*CHAPTER 13 — ORGANIZATION OF THE
CLERGY AND ROYAL AUTHORITY*

Cantos 79—82, 14 stanzas.

Canto 79, stanza 1, verse 1: The usual meaning of *adēg*: establishment makes better sense in this verse than Ke's and Prb's translation: state.

79—1—2: Ke: *huluntyang* (?), by Kr restored: *hulun hyang*. *Hilahila hulun hyang* seems to be synonymous with *mēdang hulun hyang*.

79—1—3: Ke: *sapramānā* and *nispromānā*; the suffixed -a refers to the eventuality. *Ginēgwan*, kept, does not make good sense in this verse. Perhaps *sinikwan*, censured (from *sikw*) is the right reading.

79—1—4: Ke: *mantuk* and *ingng Aryya*. Kr note restores: *i songng Aryya*. The meaning of *sinalahakēn*: declared to be in the wrong (*salah*) fits well in this verse.

Canto 79, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *manapaka rikang*, m.c. Kr note restores *rikanang*.

79—2—2: Ke: [ri] *göng*. Kr note restores *ri*, which is in C.

79—2—3: Ke: *kapwāggwan* and *sira miwō*. Kr note restores: *siran umitwō*. The *Patik-guṇḍala* text is edited and translated in the present book.

79—2—4: Ke: *çāsana çrī narendra*, Skt spelling.

Canto 79, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *nūṣāntare Bāly amatēhan i sūcdra ring*. Kr note: *apapatēhan i*, m.c. Prb's reading: *amatēh anut i* makes the best sense. *Anut* is better orthography than *anut*, though.

79—3—2: Ke: *dharma mwang grāma lawan*. Kr note: *lōwan*, m.c. *Grāma* instead of *çrama* (Ke's hypothesis) is unusual. Probably the right reading is *grāma*. The usual meaning of *adēg*: establishment makes good sense in this verse.

79—3—3: Ke: *munggwing* and *Badahalreing*. Kr's reading: *Bada-hulu muwah i Lwāgajah* is better, v. 14—3—2.

79—3—4: Ke: *suruh ri*, to be rendered: to have the supervision over.

Canto 80, stanza 1, verse 2: Berg (R. p. 138) connects *ng Adirāja Kuturan* and translates: Kuturan's super-kraton. This translation is unusual, and moreover the number of six *habajradharans* mentioned in the next verse is not made full. As Bađung is a well-known place this seems a more plausible reading than *Bahung*.

80—1—4: Ke: *makūdi*, m.c. Probably *Rājasannata*, "Royal Delight", is a name.

Canto 80, stanza 2, verse 1: Probably the name is *Sulang-Lēmah*. As *lēmah* means (piece of) flat land (v.g.) *lēmah i Lampung* would be an unusual expression. The country of Lampung would be *bhumi* or *tanah Lampung*, cf. *bhumi* or *tanah Java*.

80—2—2: Ke: *Grēhasthadhara* and *amatāk*. As the whole of stanza 2 refers to one Sumatran sanctuary called Tathāgatapura the following *gērhastadhara* is an apposition.

80—2—3: Kr note is right in translating *nṛpati*: the Princess, v. comm. Ke: *rasārkka*; note: *bhyoma* is Skt *wyoma*.

80—2—4: Ke: *abhūmi* *guddha*, Skt spelling.

Canto 80, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *sapramāna* and *narapati*, Skt spelling. Kr note: *mapagāk*, m.c. This stanza and the next one refer to King Hayam Wuruk, the Prabhu.

80—3—2: Ke: *kīrtti* and *sakāwakanya*. The meaning of *kōwakan*: embodiment, form, makes good sense in this verse.

80—3—3: Ke: *swabhāva* and *wibhuh*, Skt spelling. *Swabhāva ni sang uttama* seems a better reading than *swabhāva sang inuttama*.

80—3—4: Ke: *kīrtti* and *prabhu*, Skt spelling.

Canto 80, stanza 4, verse 1: Kr note: *taya ning*, m.c.

80—4—2: Ke: *tināt sawalēr*. Prb reads: *sawalēring*. The verse is corrupt. Perhaps the best reading is: *tinapak tinātas awalēr*.

80—4—4: Ke: *sabhiwana*, m.c.

Canto 81, stanza 1, verse 1: *Gōng ny ārambha* is an exclamation: how great is the undertaking!

81—1—2: Ke: *rinakseniwo*. The meaning of *pūrvavdcāra*: ancient customs, makes good sense in this verse.

81—1—3: In the Nāg. idiom *utsāha* means: diligent and *yatna*: zealous. The meaning of *don*: aim, fits well in this verse.

Canto 81, stanza 2, verse 2: Ke reads: *tētēp*, fixed. C's reading *tēgēp* is to be connected with *srēgēp*: conscientious. *Atutur*, mindful, is found in some more places in the text at the end of a verse.

Canto 81, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *pada sthitting cāsana*, Skt spelling.

81—3—3: Ke: *suciila*, Skt spelling.

81—3—4: Ke: *waicya*, Skt spelling and *swakāryyāpagāh*.

Canto 81, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *janma catur sujanma*. Probably C's reading *janmi catur*: four groups of people (Skt *janmin*) is right.

81—4—2: The usual meaning of *gati*: course, going, makes good sense in this verse.

81—4—3: Ke: *swaçila*.

Canto 82, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *sinitvi*.

82—1—2: Ke: *norang*, m.c.

82—1—3: Ke: *amwangi*. The usual meaning of *amwang*: to take care of, makes good sense in this verse. *Agawe* means: to make, to build, Ke's translation: to observe (virtues) is unidiomatic, v. comm.

82—1—4: Ke: *penak çri narendra pratuha*. *Penan* means: brother-in-law, v.g.l. Probably *pranuha* (not mentioned in KBNW) is a term of relationship meaning: calling another senior (*atuha*), i.e. junior in relation to another member of the family belonging to the same generation. In fact King Hayam Wuruk's sister the Princess of Pajang and his maternal cousin the Princess of Lasem both were his juniors, so their husbands, the King's "brothers-in-law", were considered his juniors too. They are mentioned in the next stanza.

Canto 82, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *dharmañāparimita*, Skt spelling. There is no reason to put the translation in the plural as Ke does.

82—2—2: Ke: *nāthe*.

82—2—3: No doubt Kr note is right in thinking that this verse must refer to King Hayam Wuruk's first brother-in-law the Prince of Paguhan. Probably the name Paguhan is hidden in *Sthāna* just like the name Matahun is hidden in *Watsari* (Skt *watsara*: year: Javanese *tahun*). *Çri nāthe Sthāna* seems a plausible emendation, v. comm.

Canto 82, stanza 3, verse 1: *Asira-siran* means: to try to outvie each other (KBNW sub *siran*).

82—3—3: *Muniwara* is a plural like the preceding *pitrgaya*. If any person in particular was meant some predicate like *sang* would be necessary.

82—3—4: Ke: *prabhu*, m.c.

CHAPTER 14 — THE ANNUAL COURT
FESTIVAL IN MAJAPAHIT

Cantos 83—91, 45 stanzas.

Canto 83, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *siniwīng*.

83—1—2: Ke: *çarat*, Skt spelling.

83—1—3: Ke: *sajjanāsih*, Skt spelling.

Canto 83, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *rabdhekanang*, m.c.

83—2—4: *Pañjyangjīwa*, *Lekan* and *Tangor* are titles connected with functions, not to be translated as Ke tried to do. The usual meaning of *umungup*: to arise, to appear, makes good sense in this verse. It is worthy of record that in C the character *ngū* is written in afterwards. It is not blackened like the other characters. This is a proof of accuracy either on the part of the original scribe or of some later reader, trying to correct an error in the text after the writing was finished.

Canto 83, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *dwija parama mahākawya anin-*
dyāgamajña. Of course Ke meant to write: *mahākāwyānindyāgamajña*.

83—3—2: Kr note: *kawruhnira*, m.c. Ke: *mahākāwyā naiyāyikādi*,
Skt spelling. As *mahākāwyā* in this verse does not make sense, *rikang*
sāngkya is to be read, v. comm.

83—3—3: Ke: *sañkarmāçuddha*, Skt spelling.

83—3—4: Ke: *ästäm grī Viṣṇu sakte çama japa*. The usual meaning of *çakta*, powerful, makes good sense in this verse. So does C's reading *samajapa* (Skt: *sāman*).

Canto 83, stanza 4, verse 1: Kr note: *hetunyānantarang*, m.c.

83—4—2: Ke: *Jambudwīpa*. Kr note: *Kāmboja* and *Campā*.

83—4—3: The usual meanings of *sangkā*: origin, and of *milu*: to join, to go in company, fit well in this verse. *Pota* seems a better reading than *potra*.

Canto 83, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *Phālguna*, Skt spelling.

83—5—2: Ke: *manīrī*, m.c.

83—5—4: Ke: *wāñik ring*, and *atēp saruwabhiāñdanya*. *Atēp* makes good sense in this verse.

Canto 83, stanza 6, verse 2: Ke: angkēn dinembuh sasaki and niwedya.

83—6—3: Ke: Çaiwa, Skt spelling.

83—6—4: Ke: amrett ingng and swastha ni.

Canto 84, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: wijil: came out. Probably C's reading i wijil refers to the time of day: sunrise, about 6 a.m.

84—1—2: Ke: midēr ing, because the subjunctive mood midđreng does not fit well in this verse. Ke: kanakādi, Skt spelling.

84—1—3: Ke: mahawan lantaran. Kr note: lantaran an (?), m.c. The translations of lantaran (substituted for C's lañtaran) by forerunner (Ke) or procession (Prb) are doubtful. The verse is corrupt. Probably the correct reading is: jampana mahawan kanya pura n atuntun. Lantaran and kanya pura n are easily interchangeable.

84—1—4: Ke: bhujanggādi and angiring. Çiwbhujangga, translated by Ke: Shiwaite clergy, is an impossible compound, found nowhere in the Nāg. Prb reads sacīva instead of saçīva, which would have been an improbable error in Javanese script. No doubt the beginning of verse 4 is corrupt like the end of verse 3. The clergy (bhujangga) as such did not take part in the procession, v. comm. Probably the original reading is in accordance with canto 83—5—2 and canto 84—5—4: mantri sing adhika ring bhūmi Jawa manganggo dadar angiring sōk.

Canto 84, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: pañahi. C's reading with -a is found in many places. Pañaha, mydangga, çangka and tarayan are names of musical instruments. Trūfika (Ke) or trut ika is difficult to explain.

84—2—2: Ke: manguccāraṇa ng abhiwāda, Skt spelling.

84—2—4: The usual meaning of gahan: noted, makes good sense in this verse.

Canto 84, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: manimaya, m.c.

84—3—3: Both Ke and Prb: apūja hyang. Kr note restores C's reading: arēja. Probably arējāhyang is the correct reading. Instead of trisura Prb reads: Tripura, Shiwa (?). Perhaps instead of Tripurasu-rendrā, the name of a goddess, Tripuraharendrā is to be read, v. comm.

84—3—4: Ke: bhūṣaṇa, uwang and mūlya, Skt spelling.

Canto 84, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: cī and pinakāgra. Whereas laku is used with reference to the Princess of Pajang, in 84—5—1, referring to the Princess of Lasēm, lampah is used. As the latter Princess was the inferior in rank of the former one, it is evident that in the Nāg. idiom lampah was not suggestive of high rank. Laku and lampah were merely

interchangeable synonyms as they are in modern Javanese. In canto 84 use of either of the two is dictated by the metre.

84—4—4: Prb reads instead of *pātahādi* (corruption of *pādahādi*: drums etc.): *pālikādi* (penants etc.); *pātāka* is unmetrical.

Canto 84, stanza 5, verse 2: Ke: *sūmātyabala*. Kr note is right in dropping *sacṛī*, m.c.

84—5—3: Ke: *pararājī* and *sabhartī*. No doubt C's reading *Jīwanapurarājī* is right.

84—5—4: Ke: *sa Yādwani mangiring*. *Cṛī bhūpati* is the King's title.

Canto 84, stanza 6, verse 2: Ke: *çakaṭa*. In a note Ke points out that the verse is corrupt: three syllables are missing. Prb reads: *pinggir ni lēbhū ikā sōk pāda majajar*. The absence of a locative preposition before *pinggir* is unidiomatic. Probably the correct reading is: *ring pinggir lbuh ikā sōk pāda majajar*.

84—6—3: Ke: *rinēṅga*. No doubt Prb is right in reading: *dwārenapi sawawa*, v. comm.

Canto 84, stanza 7, verse 4: Ke: *amuspāñjali*. *Pamēgēt* is found only in this place in the Nāg., v. comm.

Canto 85, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *Caitra*. The meaning of the chancery term *mapulung rahi* is explained by the poet himself: *ahēm apūpul*.

85—1—3: Ke: *milw ang.*

85—1—4: Ke: *āstām*.

Canto 85, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke's translation of *lamlam*: greedy, is incorrect. The meaning is: fascinated, seduced.

85—2—3: Ke note: *wastrādyarāna* is corrupt: one syllable is missing. Ke reads: *wastrādyaharāna*. *Wastrādyabharāna* seems to make better sense, v. comm.

85—2—4: Ke fails to translate *-nya* of *dewastwādinya*.

Canto 86, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *narendra*. *Ketwan narendra* is to be considered as a compound (without connecting link, *-ing* etc.).

86—1—2: Ke: *uwantēn*.

86—1—3: Ke: *swāna*. No doubt C's reading is right. *Shāna singha* is to be identified with *singhāsana*, v. 84—3—1 and 84—4—2. *Apadudwan*, with differences, refers to the palanquins of the Princely

couples. *Mawahana* (m.c. for *mawâhâna*) makes better sense than *makahawan*.

86—1—4: The usual meaning of *anorakën*: surpassing, makes good sense in this verse.

Canto 86, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *alwâ*.

86—2—2: Ke: *madhyakroçâhara*, Skt spelling.

86—2—3: Ke's translation of *madhyârddhakroça* is: more than a half *kroça*. Skt *ardha*; half, seems to make good sense in this verse.

86—2—4: Ke: *mantri sasök*. Kr note: *sar sök*, m.c.

Canto 86, stanza 3, verse 2: Ke: *inukiran athâparwua*. Probably Prb's reading: *inukir akathâ parwua*, is right.

86—3—4: Ke: *Caitramâsa*, Skt spelling.

Canto 87, stanza 1, verse 3: Ke: *sumantri*.

87—1—4: Ke: *sadawatâ*. Probably *sadjawata* (written with *đ*) is a variant of *sawarata*, modern Javanese *warata*: level, cf. *arððarata*, 86—2—1.

Canto 87, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *netrawisaya*, Skt spelling.

87—2—2: Ke: *atombokan inadu*. Better sense makes: *atombok hanin adu*, which serves as an explanation of *prang pupuh*: fight by blows, in opposition to *prang tanjîng*: fight by competition, i.e. match.

87—2—3: Ke: *moghângdani suka*, m.c.

87—2—4: Ke: *lawasirâ*, m.c. *Lawasiran* seems a better reading. *Patmwang tri*, four and three, is a paraphrase of seven, used in this verse m.c.

Canto 87, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *ryyulih*.

87—3—3: Kr note: *panglwangning*. Ke: *Caitra*, Skt spelling. As *grâma* (Ke's idea, rendered tentatively: champion) is unmetrical, *grâma* (village community) is to be read instead of *grâma*.

Canto 88, stanza 1, verse 2: Ke: *dinulur nikâdhipati*. Kr note: *dinulur nikâdhipati* — ring, m.c. Probably the best reading is: *dinulur-nikân adhipatin ring eñjing umarëk*.

88—1—4: Ke: *padâmwit*.

Canto 88, stanza 2, verse 1: Both *andyan* and *handyan* are used in C, which is remarkable. In the Par. and in modern Jav. both *raden* and *rahaden* are found.

88—2—2: Ke: *he kita*. *Aniwy anâtha ri haji* means literally: Protector-obedient, i.e. loyal, with reference to our lord.

88—2—3: *kawęcyen asing angdani hajęnganining pradeča* seems to make better sense than C's reading.

88—2—4: Ke: *damārgga*, m.c. Ke's translation of *setu* by bridges is corrected by Prb: the meaning is: dams.

Canto 88, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *asing tinandur ika wṛddhya*.

88—3—2: Prb's translation of *pinakaramākṛn*: made into *karāman* property, is right. Probably the last words of the verse are to be read: *tanpa dadya walaha*. The modern Javanese words *wělaha*, *walaha*, *lahan* mean: unprofitable, useless, which makes good sense in this verse.

88—3—3: *amaradeča*, a derivation of Skt *paradeča*: other districts, is to be translated: to go to other districts, v. comm.

88—3—4: Ke: *usirṛn*.

Canto 88, stanza 4, verse 1: Instead of *hamaywani*, *humaywani* is to be read.

88—4—2: Ke: *mahānasa rika* and *sadā*. Prb's translation of *mahānasar ika*: the transgressors, seems plausible. Probably *ring pējah caci* *sāda* is to be translated: at the end of the month *Āṣāḍha*, the 12th month, June-July, v. comm.

88—4—3: *añidra lawanan* seems a plausible reading, v. comm.

88—4—4: Ke: *prabhu*, Skt spelling.

Canto 88, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *nagare-*, Skt spelling, and *sumantṛn*. *Upaṭama* is the correct Skt spelling.

88—5—2: Ke: *somya* and *wiṣama*. The verse contains a play upon the words *sāmya* and *wiṣama*, therefore *sāmya* is to be retained.

88—5—3: No doubt Prb's interpretation of *palawang* as the name of a tax is right. Probably the correct reading is: *hanānēlwata*; *anṭ-lēwat*, from *sēlwat*, might be a variant of *haliwat*: to pass by.

88—5—4: Ke: *somya*. The last words of this verse *sāmyalakṣaṇa* refer to *sāmya-wiṣama* in the beginning of the King's speech. *Pasēgh* is the name of a kind of tax, v. next stanza.

Canto 89, stanza 1, verse 2: Ke: *yan padang*. C's reading *pādang*: light, makes good sense in this verse.

89—1—3: Ke: *sāhasika*.

89—1—4: Ke: *tut sasinambut*. C's reading: *sasinambat* makes better sense. *Tut* is an imperative. In modern Jav. the suffix *-ṛn* would be used.

Canto 89, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *singha*, m.c.

89—2—2: Ke: *upajiwa*, Skt spelling.

89—2—3: Ke: *nika* and *tēkāngṛēvēka*. Prb reads instead of *waya*: *weya*, which is unmeterical. The usual meaning of *waya*; to exist, to be present, makes good sense in this verse, where it is used in opposition to *taya*.

89—2—4: Ke: *hetunikān*.

Canto 89, stanza 3, verse 3: Ke: *ang anangkil*.

89—3—4: Ke: *tog*.

Canto 89, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *witāna*, Skt spelling.

89—4—2: Ke: *para wadana*.

89—4—3: Ke: *tikang lađah*, m.c.

89—4—4: Ke: *tikang*, m.c.

Canto 89, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *madhupa*, Skt spelling.

89—5—2: Ke reads: *mīna lawan tikang aŋda haja ring aji loka-purāna*, translated: fish, eggs and goats. Prb's reading: *aŋdah ajarīng aji* is more plausible. Being aquatic animals fish and duck were considered related meats.

89—5—3: Ke: *tiyung alpa*, m.c. *Kura*, tortoise, seems a better reading than *kara* (Ke: donkey).

89—5—4: *Phala* is a better reading than *calo*.

Canto 90, stanza 1, verse 2: Ke: *saruwarajasa*. Prb: *saruwarasaja*. C's reading *rajatha* (mis-spelled Skt *rajata*: silver) makes good sense in this verse. Instead of *bhojana*, *bhājana* (plate) is to be read.

90—1—3: Ke translates *matsya* seq.: fishes of the land and of the water, adding a note on the use in Skt of the word *matsya* with reference to quadrupeds, e.g.: *kuḍyamatsya*: lizard. No doubt in the Nāg. idiom *matsya* is merely a substitute of Jav. *iwak*, which means meat in general, fish included.

Canto 90, stanza 2, verse 1: The reading *kura* (tortoise) instead of C's *kara* makes good sense, cf. canto 89—5—3.

90—2—2: Ke: *sakterika* and *tuṣṭa*. *Winahan* is a derivative from *wah*: flood. Instead of *tamah*, which does not make good sense, *tēmah* is to be read.

Canto 90, stanza 3, verse 2: Ke: *twak nyū twak siwalan arak*, translated: palmwine from coconut-trees, toddy, arak. Probably *arak* is to be linked with *hano*.

Canto 90, stanza 4, verse 2: Ke: *dhātwa*, Skt spelling.

90—4—3: Ke: *tanpāntya ng* and *uwāy*.

90—4—4: Probably *amggapan* means: panting, cf. *gap* (v. glossary).

Canto 90, stanza 5, verse 1: Kr note: *prahprah grī nṛpati n aweh suka n pamukti*, m.c. *Prah* means: universal.

90—5—2: Kr note: *sakta sapinarān*, m.c. *Sakta ya pīnarān* makes better sense. *Larik* means liquor, v. conum.

90—5—3: Ke: *kasēngkrom* (?). Probably the meaning is: covered up (from *sēngku*). As *alah* does not make sense in this verse Prb reads *ulah*. Probably *ri salah* is the best reading.

90—5—4: Ke: *wērō wērō*. The duplicated form *wērō-wērō* means: bemused, and: merry, boorish. Drunk is *matwērō*, v. gloss. and KBNW. *Lagi* has the modern Javanese sense: just at the point of.

Canto 90, stanza 6, verse 2: Ke: *linakwakēnya*. C's reading *linang-wakēnya* seems more idiomatic, v. KBNW sub *langō*.

90—6—3: Ke: *anginum*.

90—6—4: As *alah* does not make sense in this verse perhaps *sowenyālaga* is to be read. *Laga*, battle, might refer to the competition of the two (groups of) singers, v. comm.

Canto 91, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *saha buyut nikana macēmacēh* m.c. Probably the *jurwiyangin* was a female dancer, v. comm.

91—1—2: Ke: *umambili*. Prb's translation of *ring gwara*: with the sound (of music) seems doubtful. In the Nāg. idiom *gwara* (written with *g*) seems to have the meaning: text of a song.

91—1—4: Ke: *hetunikān winch wasana*. Though grammatically right Ke's translation: the *wadanas* were given clothes, makes little sense. Probably instead of *tang*, *ring* should be read.

Canto 91, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *ri wēkasan*, a mistake. The meaning of *alarih* seems to be: to drink liquor.

91—2—3: *Titir* is to be connected with *pangidung*.

91—2—4: Ke's and Prb's translations of *manulanggap*: to join, are unsatisfactory. In modern Javanese *slanggapan ujar* means: to enter into conversation. Probably *manulanggap* is a technical term belonging to the musical performance. *Slanggap* seems to be related to *tanggap*: to catch, v. comm.

Canto 91, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *narendra*, m.c. and *angani*.

91—3—2: Ke: *ing padapa*, m.c.

91—3—4: Ke calls his translation of *angungēr i hati*: heart-stirring, pathetic, a mere guess. Probably *anguñēri hati* is a better reading. *Anguñēr* (derived from *uñēr*, not found in KBNW) may confer the sense of piercing or boring continuously in one spot. In modern

Javanese the word is only used metaphorically: to hurt a person's feelings by throwing a suspicion upon him.

Canto 91, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *āryya*, Skt spelling.

91—4—2: Ke: *āryya*, Skt spelling.

91—4—3: Ke: *an para handyan*, and: *sīpa*, a mistake. The emendation *siwan* (*Volksvertoningen*, par. 465) is superfluous.

91—4—4: Ke: *adada-dadakan*. Instead of *umantuk* Prb reads: *umanfuk*, translated: he nodded yes.

Canto 91, stanza 5, verse 2: Ke: *rikang witāna*, m.c.

91—5—3: Ke tried unsuccessfully to translate *gori*, *gitada* and *tēkēs*, technical terms belonging to the musical play, v. comm.

Canto 91, stanza 6, verse 2: Kr note: *girahyasēn ikang umulat*, m.c.

91—6—3: Ke: *gori*.

91—6—4: Ke: *gīta*, m.c.

Canto 91, stanza 7, verse 2: On *upabhāryya* Ke remarks: perhaps assistant. Probably Prb is right in reading *saphala* instead of *sawala*.

91—7—3: Ke: *amātyawangça*, Skt spelling. Kr note: *suwicakṣaṇa*, m.c. *Ya wicakṣaṇa* seems more idiomatic.

91—7—4: Ke: *hetu nīrāñpabañal*. Kr note restores C's reading: *pabañwal* (modern Javanese: *bañol*).

Canto 91, stanza 8, verse 1: Ke: *nawanātya*. The Nawatanaya text is edited in the present book. The usual meaning of *tinapak*: traced, followed, seems to fit well in this verse. *Tinēwēkkakēn* is derived from *tēwēk*: conclusive moment, conclusion. Probably *tēwēk* is related to *tewuk*: satisfied.

91—8—2: Ke: *pēgat*.

91—8—4: Ke: *hetunikang*. Kr note: *kamānuṣan angangēnangēn*. The reading *ing angēnangēn* seems more plausible.

Canto 91, stanza 9, verse 1: Ke: *arkka*, Skt spelling, and *irikā*.

91—9—4: Ke: *i dalēm*.

CHAPTER 15 — CONCLUSION

Cantos 92—98, 18 stanzas.

Both the wording and the orthography of cantos 92—98 seem to show more divergencies from the rules of Skt and Old Javanese spelling and metre than the preceding cantos. Probably C's predecessor in the line of manuscripts was damaged at the end which is of frequent occurrence with palm-leaf books.

Canto 92, stanza 1, verse 2: Ke: *tū tahan ta dahat*, m.c. which is unusual. *Tan hangkāra dahat* seems to make better sense in connection with the rest of the verse.

92—1—3: Ke: *anwam* and *mahārddhika*. *Anwam tapwa ta kabwatan* seems a better reading. Probably *kabwatan*, burdened, refers to the burden of the Royal task. Ke's supposition that it refers to the burden of sensual desires seems singularly out of place in the frame of Javanese ideas on kingship.

92—1—4: Ke: *cuddha*, Skt spelling.

Canto 92, stanza 2, verse 1: Kr note: *māhuwusān*, m.c. *dudug* and *ambara*.

92—2—2: Ke: *jagaddhita*, Skt spelling.

92—2—3: Ke: *byaktā mangguh* and *samākita*, Skt spelling.

92—2—4: Ke: *kētā*, m.c. Perhaps *kētan katona* is a better reading. Ke's reading *sañā* is a mistake. Kr note corrects it: C has *sadā*, which makes good sense. The most idiomatic reading seems to be: *kētan katona ngunitewh winuwusana tikang sadā marēk*. In KBNW the form *anguwuwusi* is not mentioned. *Mawuwusi* is a poetical expression in modern Javanese, though.

Canto 92, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *kaprakaçita*, m.c.

92—3—2: Ke: *swara stuti*, Skt spelling.

92—3—4: Ke: *astwānirwa* and *bhāmimāndala*, Skt spelling.

Canto 93, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *panditeng* and *kastawan Cri narendra*.

93—1—2: Ke: *bhogdhwali*, Skt spelling. Ke's translation of *agaway i sira*: made for him, is unidiomatic. It is impossible to express the sense of the dative case in Javanese solely by the preposition *i*. *Sang bhikṣu gawayanira* seems a better reading.

93—1—3: Ke remarks in a note that C's *tonggwānīra* is a substitute for *tonggwānnīra*. Kr note: *Kāñcīpūrī*, m.c.

93—1—4: Ke: *Sahṛdayāuwat* and *çuddha*, Skt spelling.

Canto 93, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *āstāmī*, Skt spelling. Kr note: *sahana sang* m.c.

94—2—2: Ke: *kapwāgoṣṭy āngikēt* and *pamarnyā*. Skt spelling. Ke calls *nggwānnireki* a substitute for *nggwānnireki*.

93—2—3: *mukyā* (future tense, or subjunctive mood) makes little sense. Perhaps *mukyānī* is the correct reading.

93—2—4: Ke: *gīta gitēnikēt*, m.c.

Canto 94, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *maparab* and *pura*. *Parakauṭīvara* being a Skt compound, *para* perhaps has the Skt meaning: other.

94—1—2: Ke: *mīlāvāmarṇyā ri kastawā nr̄patī*, which is a substitute for *kastawan nr̄patī*.

94—1—3: Ke: *pakēna nika*.

94—1—4: Ke *narendra*, Skt spelling. C's long *ā* is a token of respect.

Canto 94, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *Çākādri*, m.c. Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1958, p. 228) found the exact date: 30/IX/1365 Julian calendar.

94—2—2: Ke: *narendra*, Skt spelling.

94—2—3: Ke: *piṇustaka*.

94—2—4: Probably *panghwat* is derived from *hwat*, *humwat*, meaning: to increase in intensity. In modern Javanese *angot* means: to have again a fit of an old illness.

Canto 94, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *niruwā teki lawasnirāśring*. As it is improbable the poet used the respectful pronoun *sira* with reference to himself, *lawasning asring* seems a better reading.

94—3—2: Ke: *Çākābda*. Kr note: *çakābda*, m.c.

94—3—3: Ke: *caturthī Bhīṣmaçarājanātya*. Probably the last book was called *Sugataparuwawarṇṇana* (Ke: *Sugataparwa*).

94—3—4: Ke: *lambang*.

Canto 94, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *pangikēteng*. As a technical term of the poets *mangikēt* can have the sense of celebrating a person in a poem.

94—4—2: Ke: *umastawa haji*.

94—4—3: Ke: *çloka*, Skt spelling.

94—4—4: Ke: *wilāja*. The usual meaning of Skt *wilajja*: shame, seems to fit well in this verse. *Niṣcaya dadin guyu-guyun* makes better sense than C's *yadin*. In modern Javanese *dadi* *guyon* means: to become an object of ridicule.

Prb (BKI 78, 1922, p. 452—460) declared cantos 95—98 to be spurious. He did not attempt a translation. Another opinion on this matter is to be found in the present author's chapter on the structure of the Nāg. in vol. IV.

Canto 95, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *muak*. The usual meaning of *purik*: aspiration, and of *alēh*, *angalēh*: to dislike, make good sense in this verse. Kr note thinks that *adyah*, noble, refers to the poet himself. KBNW has several quotations sub *dyah*. Usually *adyah* seems to refer to ladies. The prefixed *a-* is to be compared with the *a-* of *apatiḥ* and modern literary Javanese *aprabu* (*sang aprabu*). Perhaps it gives an honorific connotation to the words.

95—1—2: Ke: *tuna ring*, a plausible emendation. According to KBNW the meaning of *rētu* is: sullen.

95—1—3: Ke: *satya*, Skt spelling. *Katilar* instead of *matilar* seems to make better sense.

95—1—4: Ke: *wiphala*, Skt spelling.

Canto 95, stanza 2, verse 2: Ke: *tan wruh aghrēṇinalēh*. Kr note: *aghreṇinalēh*, m.c. which does not make good sense. *Tan wruh ing cṛy an inalēh* seems a better reading. *Inalēh ning alara* is a duplicate of *inalēh ing adyah* of 95—1—1.

95—2—3: As *dudāga* makes no sense (the long *a* is out of place) perhaps *jugāns* is to be read. *Mahāmuni* without any honorific predicate is a noun, not the Buddha's title (Ke's suggestion).

95—2—4: *Ta humur* seems to make better sense than *tan umur*. Ke connects the abstract *kriyddwaya* as subject with the verb *umur*: to go away. In Javanese abstractions are very seldom personified in this manner.

Canto 95, stanza 3, verse 1: Perhaps the reading *tan pahi mwang atapa*: not different are people practising asceticism, is more idiomatic than C's *tan pahi mwang atapa*: not different from ascetics.

95—3—2: Probably *amati* is a derivation from *ati*, cf. modern Javanese *ngati-atī*: to mind.

95—3—4: The original meaning of *twatēk*, *amatēk*: to draw, to attract, makes good sense in this verse. Ke: *nāma nika*, m.c.

Canto 96, stanza 1, verse 1: Kr note: *pracācad*, m.c. Perhaps *cēcēd* is the name of a kind of bird.

96—1—2: The meaning of Jav. *pucə*: separated, fits better in this verse than Skt *puccha*: tail. The cheek separated from sleep refers to insomnia. Probably *prapōngpōng* is to be connected with *plēng*: vanished, forgotten. Perhaps *pracongcong* is related to modern Jav. *clongcongan* and *clongclongan*: walking insolently, and to *cluytangan*: behaving insolently.

Canto 96, stanza 2, verse 1: Kr note: *tatan tila tatan tilēn, tētēs tan tūt tan ing tutur*, m.c. The reading *tatōlita tatā n tilēn tan tētēs tan tūt ing tutur* would make better sense.

96—2—2: Kr note: *tantri*, m.c. Ke: *tuhun*, a mistake. C's *tutun*, derived from *tutu*, fits well in the alliterating verse.

Canto 97, stanza 1, verse 2: Ke: *tama sansara* and *sammata*. Kr note: *tyāgō*, m.c.

Canto 97, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *yaça sang Winaddānungsi*, m.c. *Wisangçaya* is a negation of *sangçaya*: anxiety.

97—2—2: Ke: *tibra*, Skt spelling.

Canto 97, stanza 3, verse 1: Kr note: *prangnyā*, m.c. Ke: *wāhu*.

97—3—2: It is doubtful whether *gānya prih*, in Javanese, even in these enigmatical verses, can have the meaning: aspiring to *Gānya* (Ke's translation). The usual meaning of *gānya*: empty, seems to fit well in this verse. Probably *gal* stands for *tunggal*: number one. *Masa* followed by a subjunctive mood, as indication of an improbable case, is unusual in Old Javanese literature. In modern Jav. it is common. Kr note: *prihnyā*, m.c.

Canto 98, stanza 1, verse 1: Kr note: *juga* is to be left out, m.c.

98—1—3: Ke: *sahanānukani*. Kr note: *sahanānukanika*, m.c.

98—1—4: Kr note: *cinala ri dalēm*, m.c.

THE NĀGARA-KĒRTĀGAMA COLOPHONS

In Codex 5023, Legatum Warnerianum, Leyden University Library, the Nāg. text is followed by two colophons (p. 135). Evidently both were added to the text by Balinese scribes. The orthography is mannered. As a mark of distinction several long vowels (ā, ī) are written in places where they do not belong.

Colophon I.

The first colophon's Old Javanese grammar is not very good. *Kacaya denira* or *kacayanira* would be more idiomatic than *kacayeng sira*.

Colophon II.

The second colophon's orthography and grammar show even more clearly its author's unfamiliarity with classic Old Javanese. The spelling *dyanira* instead of *denira* is a monstrosity. The use of the high-class pronoun *sira*, *-nira* with reference to the author himself is contrary to good manners such as were cultivated at the 14th century Majapahit Court. The 18th century Balinese author showing off his deficient knowledge of Sanskrit grammar (*sāmpūrṇnaya* instead of *sampūrṇaya*) is pathetic.

Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1958, p. 229) found the exact date: 20/X/1740.

The words beginning in the codex on p. 134b (*kābda*) up to and including *i dusun* (95—1—1) are found also, with some clerical errors, on p. 136b. The rest of this page is blank. Evidently the lines were rejected by the scribe as containing too many mistakes, but the reverse side of the leaf, p. 137a, was afterwards utilized for the next text. The scribe thought it a pity to throw away a good palm-leaf.



II. A PRINCE RECEIVING PRESENTS, SEE P. VIII.

MINOR WRITINGS

NOTES

NAWANATYA

according to Ms. Or. Leyden 5091.

Codex 5091 is a palm-leaf manuscript belonging to the Lombok collection, like the Nāg. codex. The writing is sufficiently clear and the palm-leaves are well preserved. The text is often difficult to translate owing partly to the unfamiliarity of many technical terms and for another part to the scribe's numerous mistakes. No doubt the Nawantanaya text which was read at the Majapahit Court has been emended and enlarged considerably in the course of the following centuries, and several generations of Javanese and Balinese scribes have been at work on it. Nevertheless we must be thankful that we have this mutilated text to give us an idea of what the Majapahit Nawantanaya probably was like.

The selections that are published and translated in the present book are made with a view to the elucidation of difficult Nāg. passages. The Nawantanaya passages that are skipped are few in number. Their contents is mentioned shortly in the commentary in vol. IV.

A subdivision in paragraphs has been introduced into the translation in vol. III in order to facilitate the reading.

p. 1a (*selection 1*): The orthography of Skt in codex 5091 is very irregular. Long *a*'s are written in many places where they do not belong. In Javanese words initial *h* is used often in words beginning with a vowel in the same manner as is usual in modern Javanese. The spelling Hawantanaya (or Awanatya) found twice in p. 1a no doubt is a mistake for Nawantanaya. It was suggested to some former scribe by the initial words: *nihan awanatya*, which should be read: *nihan nawantanaya*.

p. 2b (*selection 2*): In the list of technical terms of *grama*, a display of fighting passes and runs, *mbuntulu* seems to be the right reading for *mbantala*, v. comm.

p. 3a : As *linggaphala* does not make sense *linggapraṇḍā*, i.e. Lingga-and-Yoni in the Nāg. idiom, seems a plausible emendation.

p. 3a : Instead of *hana mēngangana bhaṣa* probably *hanamēṅg-amēṅgan abhaṣa* is to be read.

p. 3b : *Pajēng-pajēngan*, not mentioned in KBNW, is to be connected with *hajēng*: beauty, *ahajēng*: beautiful. The meaning seems to be: various things of beauty. The expression is used once more in p. 10a.

p. 3b : The grammatical construction *den kadi hanēmu*, rendered: let it be as if one finds, is much more common in modern Javanese than in the older idiom.

p. 3b : *Hangku kabrabhun* is to be read *hamangku kaprabhun* in accordance with *hamangku bhūmī*.

p. 3b : *Pragiwaka* is a corruption of Skt *prādwiwāka*, rendered: giving equitable judgment.

p. 3b : Probably in connection with the following *sarwuwāgama*, instead of *sarwua haṣṭra*, *sarwua gaṣṭra* should be read.

p. 3b : The words *sama*, *hupaya*, *samahitta*, *parahitta*, *mangulusi drong rodra* are corrupt; the most plausible emendation seems to be: *sāmanupāya*, *sāmavika*, *parahita*, *mangulus ing drohi rodra*. The meaning of *mangulus* (from *hulus*) seems to be: to outwit, v. KBNW.

p. 3b : In p. 22a *matwāing lokika*, the reverse of *tan ajrih ring lokika*, is used referring to a wise man. Probably the reading of p. 22a is the right one. Indifference for the opinion of the world (Skt *laukika*) is not considered a virtue in a society of the structure prevailing in 14th century Java.

p. 4a : The rendering of the expression *kahot ing salagan*: superior above his entourage, is tentative.

p. 4a : *Sāmyowangça* seems the most plausible emendation of *sami wangça*, which does not make sense.

p. 4a : No doubt *dampa rakta* could be read *dampar rakta*. In p. 4b and 11b the form *dampa* is used again, though, and in the latter place the meaning state-palanquin becomes evident. In the Nāg. *singhāsanas*, portable lion thrones, are mentioned. As a rule a *dampar* is a low bench.

p. 4a : *Pawahan* is a defective spelling; *pauwahan*, modern Javanese *pawohan*, a set of several small pots and boxes for the ingredients of the betel quid, is meant.

p. 4a : Though the original meaning of *anugraha* is favour, in this Nawanatya place privilege granted by Royalty seems to be the best rendering.

p. 4b: *Panḍita rāja* is to be emended: *panḍita rāja*, a synonym of *wiku haji*, found frequently in the Nāg.

p. 4b: According to KBNW (s.v. *tambara*) the meaning of *tan bhara* seems to be: unsettled, insecure. Probably it refers to tabooed places not open to the public because of supernatural influences being at work there.

p. 5a: (*selection 3*): Probably *rāja waṣa ratu* is corrupt. *Atawa* seems a plausible emendation.

p. 5a: As *sadya* does not make sense in this place probably *gāṇya* should be read instead, which is the opposite of *sebhā*.

p. 5a: *Panḍita adđi* is to be read: *panḍitādi*.

p. 5a: Instead of *kusuma sawarnna* probably *kusuma sawana* is to be read.

p. 5a: The usual meaning of *natyā* (Skt *nati*) seems to be: respect. *Smita* (Skt: smile) has in Javanese the meaning: expression of the face, physiognomy. *Pariyaya* is Skt *paryaya*: circulation; in Javanese it has the sense of knowledge of the ways of the world, tactful behaviour.

p. 9a: (*selections 4, 5*): Instead of *yoga ana* probably *ana yogya* should be read.

p. 9b: KNBW is vague on the meaning of *pitēngēn* (from *tēngēn*: right). Modern Javanese *nēngēnake*: to be interested in, seems to justify the translation of *pitēngēn*: interests.

p. 9b: Probably the first *rāja* of *rāja larangan rāja kapa-kapa* is superfluous. *Rāja larangan*, a hybrid compound, does not make sense. The expression *rāja kapa-kapa*, rendered tentatively: kings of yore, is found also in the title of the *Praniti Rāja Kapa-kapa*, one of the minor writings published in the present book.

p. 9b: As *parigraha* does not make sense *parigraha* is to be read instead. Probaly the word refers to the household and the zenana.

p. 9b: Instead of *panglēnung*, which does not make sense, perhaps *panglēsu* should be read. *Panglēsu* (from *lēsu*: powerless, tired, *lēson*: to go to rest) is not mentioned in the dictionaries. *Palēson* means resting-place. It seems probable the last sentences of the paragraph on the commander-in-chief refer to his retirement from office.

p. 9b: Originally *tumrap* (from *trap*) seems to refer to a bird settling on a branch. The translation "to rise in rank" is founded on Par. 26-35:

sang ḫrya Tilam, apatih ring Daha, mati. Gumanti sira Gajah-Mada, tinᬁrapak&n apatih ring Daha, meaning: the Honourable Tilam, vizir in Daha, died. The worshipful Gajah-Mada succeeded him, being raised in rank to be vizir in Daha.

p. 10a: No doubt *so rakryan* is to be read *sor rakryan*. The last words of the paragraph are not very clear. Probably Javanese readers familiar with Court titles had no difficulty in understanding them, though. The title-name *Ārya Adhikāra* belongs to a more exalted rank than *rakryan tumēnggung*.

p. 10a: *Bawahan* seems to be a better reading than *tawahan*.

p. 10a: *Tanda wan* is corrupt; probably *tanda yawa* is the correct reading.

p. 10a: *Ringgitan* refers to the women who are mentioned in the next sentence. In modern Javanese *ringgit* is used in ceremonial idiom (*krama*) i.a. in the sense of professional female dancer.

p. 10a: *Pamicakuran* is not mentioned in the dictionaries. The translation "fishing-party" is founded on the preceding mention of hunting-parties. According to KBNW in modern Bali *pēcakur* is a bamboo bench used by fishermen.

p. 10b: *Hawe suka* should be read *aweh suka*.

p. 10b: *Atisangan* does not make sense. Probably the correct reading is *apisangan*. In KBNW (s.v. *Sanggit* and *pisang*) *pisangan* is mentioned as a title-name of female courtiers or servants at Court.

p. 10b: *Dēma kalahewu* is to be read: *dēmak kalahewu*.

p. 10b: The expression *sapēcaking hasta*, literally: anything having hands' marks on it, perhaps refers to the products of (female) craftsmanship (in the Royal compound).

p. 10b: Probably *aturan* refers to the ceremonial invitations addressed to Royalty to appear in public mentioned in p. 11a (*angaturi*).

p. 11a: In the expression *sarwakriya* the word *kriya* means: artisan. This is the usual meaning in modern Javanese.

p. 11a: In Nāg. 63—4—3 *anikēl-nikēl* is used also, presumably referring to the making of plaited bamboo-work.

p. 11a: The translation of *dadar-dadaran*: floormats is tentative.

p. 11a: *Sung sang prabhu*: *sung* is to be eliminated.

p. 11a: *Patēh-patēhan* is not mentioned in the dictionaries. The translation: harmonizing pairs of maidens is founded on the meaning of *patah* in the modern Javanese Court idiom: brides-maids, maids of honour, always appearing in pairs.

p. 11a: The *nga* in the next sentences, as a rule an abbreviation of

ngaranya: namely, by name, in this place no doubt is a clerical error: the Javanese number 2 must be meant. In the Royal procession pairs are very much in evidence.

p. 11a: *Kinagwangi* is corrupt. Probably the ending *ngi* is to be read *nga*, representing once again the Javanese number 2. Perhaps *kinagwa* is to be read *kinugwa*. *Kuçwa* or *koçwa* is a Javanese corruption of Skt *koṣa*: treasure. *Kinugwa* "considered as a treasure" or "richly ornamented" might be the name of a beautifully made box containing the King's valuables. At the modern Javanese and Balinese Courts boxes were in use for this end, but they had other names.

p. 11b: *Samaran* is to be read *samiran*. *Samir* is the name of a neck-band still in use at the modern Javanese Courts as a mark of distinction worn by Royal servants who are in active service in the King's presence.

p. 11b: The translation of the words *parōk lan sang ing dalēm* is uncertain. Probably by "the honoured ones who are in the Interior" the ladies of the Royal zenana are meant. Perhaps the serving-women were relatives of zenana-ladies.

p. 11b: The differences between *basahan* and *wéđihan* in the 14th century Majapahit Court idiom is not quite clear. If mentioned together probably the *basahan* refers to a kain (loin-cloth) worn next to the skin, its lower border visible, under the more ornamental *wéđihan*.

p. 11b: Probably *hajēnar asta* should be read: *ajēnar hasta*: yellow of hands, i.e. with hands made yellow (by means of a sacred paste, modern Javanese: *boreh*).

p. 11b: *Hanglukuhakēn* is to be read: *anglungguhakēn*.

p. 11b: According to KBNW (s.v. *sēkar*) loose flowers are used in ceremonies. Probably *anglungguhakēn sēkar ura* is the name of a rite of initiation before beginning the ceremonial procession.

p. 12a: *Rasa-rasa*, rendered: reflection, is the sense of the loose flower rite. The words *rasarasa nga* may be corrupt, though.

p. 12a: The words *palenggih arūpit*, rendered: the seat is close, probably refer to the King's manner of sitting in the state palanquin assuming a god-like appearance. The original meaning of *rūpit* is: narrow. Perhaps in some cases it has the sense of solemn, dignified.

p. 12a: *Pangabhaktya* is to be read *pangabhaktyan*; according to KBNW (s.v. *bhakti*) the word refers to a final ceremony marking the end of a major celebration.

p. 12a: *Gamanti* is to be read: *gumanti*.

p. 12a: Perhaps *golangan* is to be read: *galungan*.

p. 12b: The translation of *winawunya*: "his revenues" is founded

on the occurrence of references to the mandarins' revenues or salaries in the preceding and following paragraphs. The original meaning of *winawa* is: carried away.

p. 12b: *Aprayoga knasikēp* probably is to be read: *amrayogakēn asikēp*.

p. 12b: *Hanor tasor* is corrupt. Perhaps the correct reading is: *anor tan hasor*, rendered: "he vanquishes and is not vanquished". *Anor* is an unusual form, the usual form being *anorakēn*. *Anor* may have been in use in a set phrase, though.

p. 12b: *Wiroring prang* is corrupt; *wira ring* seems the plausible emendation.

p. 13a: *Magawa tang* is to be read: *magawa watang*.

p. 13a: What a *jīñjring* decorated lance was like is unknown. Though the expression is mentioned in KBNW the meaning is not made clear.

p. 13a: *Dadap* was originally a small oblong kind of shield covering the fore-arm.

p. 13a: *Patitih rahi*, to be rendered: face- or forehead-covering, perhaps was a kind of cap or head-dress.

p. 13a: The jacket with raised tips on the shoulders (*kalambi sinim-ping-simping*) was still worn by dancers in Eastern Java in the beginning of the 20th century. In the 14th century the wearing of jackets was exceptional.

p. 13a: *Ambulungan* appears to be a long narrow loin-cloth that is passed between the legs, called in modern Javanese *cawēt*.

p. 13a: Probably *buntal* was the name of a rather short pike as distinguished from the *watang* (modern Javanese *tumbak*), the long lance.

p. 13a: The *tameng*, rendered as a "buckler", probably was a round shield.

p. 13a: The difference in the 14th century Majapahit Court idiom between a *singēl* head-cloth and a *sungkul* head-dress is not clear.

p. 13a: *Tampak waja*: "marks of steel (instrument)", probably is the name of a pattern of woven textile used for the *sungkul* head-dress.

p. 13a: *Garuda marēp*: the "Griffin flying ahead", is a shape of head-dress still known in modern Java by connoisseurs of wayang puppets. *Garuda mungkur*: the "Griffin turning his back", is more usual, though.

p. 13a: *Camara* as a rule refers to a tuft or a wisp. The pike with *camara* probably was tasseled, though.

p. 13a: The corrupt *parōphayunira* is to be read: *parōng palayunira*.

p. 13a: The original meaning of *pudétan* seems to be: twisting and turning. The word apparently is used as a technical term of manly sport, therefore the rendering: wrestling seems appropriate. In modern Javanese *gélutan* is the usual word for wrestling.

p. 13a: The form *pinakarangga*: used as *rangga*, shows the original meaning of *rangga*: companion, partner. Probably the word is related to *laga* and *lewan*.

p. 13a: For *gawyakén* must be read *ginawayakén*.

p. 13b: The word *tiga* (usual meaning: three) in the ancient Court title *mantri tiga* (usually understood as meaning: the Three Mandarins) seems to be explained in this Nawamatya paragraph as referring to the mandarins' function at Court. Probably *tiga* is taken in the sense of: clearly visible to the surrounding world. The meaning of *patiga*: parapet of a terrace or a tower, is in accordance with this fundamental sense. *Amarwo matiga*: dividing into two or three parts, also belongs to the explanation of the *mantri tiga* title. Probably the sense is: giving explanations (of the King's words or wishes).

p. 13b: *Langka* is not mentioned in KBNW. Perhaps *yya langka* is to be read *balaka*: simply, stressing the preceding words.

p. 13b: As *labda* does not make sense in this place probably *cabda* is to be read.

p. 13b: *Cästra* is used twice in this sentence. Probably the first *cästra* is a mistake for *cävana*, which makes better sense in this place.

p. 13b: *Wiryanupabhära* is to be emended: *wiryanupabhärya*. *Upabhärya* is found in the Nág., v. glossary.

p. 13b: *Sahékanya* is to be read: *pahekanya*.

p. 13b: *Awakwéh* is to be read: *atawa kwéh*.

p. 13b: The high-class pronoun *sira* must refer to the Right Honourable the master of the guardsmen.

p. 13b: *Amayakna* is to be read *amahayokna* (from *payu*, *hayu*). *Amahayokakén* rendered: to make something good, is not mentioned in KBNW. The meaning is not doubtful, though.

p. 14a: *Pinakayakenira* is derived from *ayakan*: men who are called out for active service.

p. 14b: *Batur* is not used in the Nág. with reference to serving-men. According to KBNW in the 14th century idiom the word was used especially referring to the clergy.

p. 14b: *Wiraghatha* is an impossible name. Probably *Wiranatha* is to be read instead.

p. 17b : (*selections 6, 7*) : *Lingsir kunang* does not make sense in this place. Probably *langsir kuning* is the right reading.

p. 18a : *Bhakta-bhaktan* is rendered : various requisites. In this word *bhakta*, as a rule in the older idiom meaning : food, seems to have the sense of : carried away, like the modern Javanese *bēkta*, *bēktan*.

p. 18a : Instead of *sahesira*, *pahesira* is to be read.

p. 18a : The translation of *anglinggani puspa* by : offer humble greeting is tentative. A *puspa* rite (probably with a flower held between the two hands in *añjali* position) is mentioned repeatedly in the Nāg.

p. 18a : The translation of *paçilan* : ceremonial sitting position, is in accordance with the modern Javanese use of the word *sila* for : sitting cross-legged in a rigid ceremonial position. The sacral immobility (*tan otwah*) has been observed even in modern times at the Central Javanese Courts on similar occasions.

p. 18b : *Sahati* does not make sense. Probably *sahangguli* is the correct reading.

p. 21b (*selection 8*) : Probably *wisayetama* is to be read : *wisaya tamah*.

p. 22a : The translation of *hengen* : "confusion" is tentative. Perhaps the sense is : jealousy.

p. 22a : *Sangadi* is explained tentatively in KBNW by "greeting". In modern Javanese the meaning is : pretending.

p. 22a : *Pacaraning manah* is to be read : *apacāraning manuh*.

p. 22a : On the expression *mawéding lokiha* v. note on p. 3b.

p. 22a : *Rehana* probably should be read : *wehana*.

p. 22b : *Mangkanaḍu* is to be read : *mangkana sadu*.

p. 22b : *Wani lawan* makes better sense than *wana lawan*.

p. 22b : *Paritwaçanēn* is not classical Javanese : the Skt word is *paravaça*.

p. 22b : The translation of *angémeh* (from *kīmēh*) by : swamping is tentative. In modern Javanese *ngému* (from *kému*) has the sense : containing moisture.

p. 22b : *Hawani* does not make sense. Probably the correct reading is : *anggawani*.

p. 23a : As *doran* (from *dor*) does not make sense in this place probably *adonan* is the right reading. In KBNW (s.v. *adu*) *adu-aduan* is explained as referring to the carrying off of enemies' heads, v. comm.

p. 23a : *Amageja* is to be read *amigeja*.

p. 23a: *Amrañangi* is to be read: *amrananggi* (from *baranang*).

p. 23b: Probably *tan damakna* is to be read: *tan dëmakna* (from *dëmak*).

p. 23b: Perhaps instead of *mewëh ring buddhi*: *mewëh tang buddhi* is to be read.

p. 23b: *Kinahan* is to be read: *kinahanan* (from *hana*).

p. 23b: The grammatical form *den eling* is not of frequent occurrence in the 14th century Majapahit idiom.

According to Damais the scribe's date at the end of the Nawanatya probably is 4/VIII/1691 A.D. This date was in the *wuku* Kulawu, though, not in the *wuku* Dukut.

*RĀJAPATIGUNDALA**according to Ms. Or. Leyden 5056.*

The Rājapatigundala is the second of three texts on the organization of the clergy in 14th century Java which are assembled in codex 5056, Leyden University Library. The first text is called Dewaçasana, the name of the concluding text is Pratasti Bhūwana. In the present author's edition of the Tantu Panggèlaran Dutch summaries of the three texts have been published. The present English translation of the Rājapatigundala is complete. The other texts have been left out because some restriction seemed advisable. The Rājapatigundala is the only one that is mentioned in the Nāgara-Kertāgama.

Like codex 5023 that contains the Nāgara-Kertāgama text, codex 5056 is a manuscript on palm-leaf belonging to the Lombok collection, and unique, as far as known. The script of both manuscripts is sufficiently clear, and the codices are well preserved. In the Rājapatigundala text the scribe's mistakes and omissions are much more numerous than in the poem, though.

The Rājapatigundala is in prose, and its idiom is the Court speech that is used in the Royal charters and the lawbooks. Grammatical forms resembling modern Javanese are scarce (e.g. *den kon*). Remarkable is the profuse use of the suffixed -a indicating a subjunctive mood. It is possible that the author (or some scribe) meant to embellish his text by means of those subjunctive forms. The superfluous long ð's ū's and ū's and the ç's instead of common s's are also to be explained as mannerisms.

The numerous mistakes and omissions make the text very difficult to understand. Therefore the translation can only be approximate. In some sentences the query-marks are legion. Probably the Rājapatigundala text, like the Nawantya text, are copies, made at the order of some Balinese Prince, of manuscripts that had been preserved in Bali in a corrupt state for several centuries after the fall of the Majapahit dynasty. Several emendations have been made by the present editor

in order to make the meaning of the corrupt passages somewhat clearer. The principal emendations are the following.

p. 13a: Ādityāha is to be read: ādityāya.

p. 13a: Siddya trīga dewurya probably is a corruption of siddhatrīdaṅga-dewāya.

p. 13a: Pravīṣṭa, rendered: entry, is not mentioned in KBNW. It seems to be a chancery term marking the beginning of a text. The following Javanese lēkas is an explanation of its meaning.

p. 13a: Çaddaṇīwajana is corrupt. Sadāçīvajñāna seems a likely emendation. Sadāçīwasmṛti is mentioned in KBNW (s.v. Çīwa).

p. 13a: Wruha does not make sense in this place. Probably some words explaining the object of the knowledge (*wruh*) have dropped out. The sentence beginning with *wruha* was meant to be a Javanese paraphrase of the preceding Skt compound ending in *jñāna*.

p. 13a: Probably samaptevanugraha is to be read: samaptanugroha.

p. 13a: Sapolah does not make sense in this place. A plausible emendation is sampolik, rendered: accorded favour, meant to be a Javanese paraphrase of the preceding Skt *anugraha*.

p. 13a: Wakū haji is to be read wadeva haji.

p. 13a: Hanaraji does not make sense. Perhaps anak raja is the correct reading.

p. 13a: Sahalanira is to be read: sabalanira.

p. 13a: Probably the correct reading of the next sentence is: brahmā-dewayañjñāha sang raja maṇḍala. The expression brahmayañjñā is used in the Nāg., v. glossary.

p. 13a: Açıraha is to be read: āçraya.

p. 13a: Sang hyang mataha is a mistake for sang hyang maṇḍala.

p. 13b: Tan kahirarakna is to be read: tan kahilangakna.

p. 13b: Apan yan ahidēp arūpaha yowana seems the best reading.

p. 13b: Swahanwaka does not make sense. Probably swabhūtava is the original reading.

p. 13b: As weçya is out of place here çetva is to be read instead.

p. 13b: Gambiqwara does not make sense. Perhaps gambhīreçwara is meant.

p. 13b: Between *tusning* and *wnang* some words are missing. Perhaps the original reading was: *tusning twwang mangkana wnang*. The words *twwang* and *wnang* are easily confounded.

p. 13b: Catujanma is to be read caturjanma. Probably caturjana is

a better reading. In the Nāg. (81—3—1) *caturjana* is used in the sense of four classes of the laity.

p. 14a: *Cewa yan tan pangaskara* is the correct reading.

p. 14a: Probably *hakris* is to be read: *pakris*.

p. 14a: *Tumawaça* is to be read: *kumawaça*.

p. 14a: *Anglētuhi cewa* refers to the ordained clergy in general. In modern Bali this use of the word *cewa* or *siva* is quite common.

p. 14a: *Banwaluka* does not make sense. Perhaps the original reading was something like *tansah alaku*.

p. 14b: *Adum apilih*, literally: make divisions and selections, is rendered tentatively: take what one likes. The expression seems to refer to the privileges of ecclesiastical gentlemen of high rank.

p. 14b: *Tan pidja* is to be read: *tan sidja*.

p. 14b: *Sangkrno* does not make sense. Perhaps the original reading was: *sangkara*, referring to the issue of mixed marriages.

p. 14b: *Utpatha* is to be read: *utpāta*.

p. 14b: As *raçikanya* does not make sense probably *rassakanya* (from *rasak*) is to be read. In KBNW *angrasaki* is mentioned with reference to the placing of offerings for spirits on a mat on the ground.

p. 14b: Probably *ampēkana* is to be read *tampēkana*.

p. 14b: *Hanwidi* does not make sense. Perhaps *yan winidi* is the original reading.

p. 15a: *Makowana* is difficult to explain. Perhaps *matēmahan* is to be read instead.

p. 15a: The mis-spelled word *d̄rwing* probably is to be read *d̄erwe ing*. *D̄erwe* (Skt *dravya*) is not in common use in classical Old Javanese in the sense of: to possess. In modern Javanese *duwe* is quite common.

p. 15a: *Sēñjang* is related to modern Javanese *sēndang*.

p. 15a: *Simpurung* is rendered: steeple-roofed pavilion on account of its relation with modern Javanese *cēmpurung* (not mentioned in KBNW). Quotations in KBNW (s.v. *lañcub* and *sangara*) show that a *wiku simpurung*, i.e. a *simpurung* priest, was considered as a priest of small sanctity.

p. 15a: *Gilang-gilang*, rendered: sitting stone, probably is the name of a type of small sitting-place consisting (originally) of a flat rock provided with a roof so as to make a small pavilion. The use made of flat rocks for seats is well known.

p. 15a: *Pahyasan*, rendered: dressing-place, perhaps refers to small structures erected near bathing-places on the banks of rivers to be used

by people who had bathed to rest for a while and to put their dress in order.

p. 15a: *Atirtthaning jagat* probably is to be read *patirtthaning jagat*.

p. 15a: *Mněng kang pramananing rat* does not make sense. Probably the correct reading is *wěnang kapramanan ing rat*.

p. 15a: As *anadahakinkin* does not make sense probably *anadah akinkin* is the original reading.

p. 15a: *Jumput* is rendered: "especially reserved" on account of the meaning of the verb *jumput*. The implications of the word used as a chancery term are as yet unknown.

p. 15a: *Kuluwut* is rendered tentatively: enfolded, enclosed. Perhaps the word is related to modern Javanese *klobot* and *kubut*. A remote relationship with *kluwu*, rendered: manor, is not improbable. What *kuluwut* meant in the 14th century chancery idiom is unknown.

p. 15a: *Kanglang* is to be read: *kalang*, and *kalanggyan*: *kalagyan*.

p. 15a: *Kaputrawanggan*, rendered: land of descendants and relatives, seems to refer to land set aside for the support of relatives of the original owner of a domain. The explanation of *kaputrānggan* in KBNW (s.v. *putrāngga*) implies this.

p. 15a: As *dalun* is not mentioned in the dictionaries perhaps *talun*, rendered: newly opened land, is to be substituted for it.

p. 15a: Probably *patara tanya* is to be read: *natarā tanya*.

p. 15b: *Po sira sang mangawara* perhaps is to be emended: *pua sira sang yogiçwara*.

p. 15b: *Yaçakacarintika* is corrupt. A likely emendation is: *yata kacarika*. In KBNW (s.v. *sanga*) the expression *mati kacarik* is mentioned with reference to a curse called down upon a person. Probably this word *carik* is related to *sarik*: curse.

p. 15b: Evidently the sentences are in disorder. The sentence beginning with *tan kawaraha dening sarat* is repeated needlessly. Before *karšyan* the words *sang rēsi amuktiha* have been dropped.

p. 15b: As *noreng tapakan* does not make sense perhaps *norang* is to be read instead.

p. 15b: *Tan darmamangaran* probably is to be read *tan dharma ngaranya*.

p. 15b: *Hananing saruwajanma* perhaps is to be emended: *kahananining*.

p. 16a: *Lawanagara* is to be read: *lawan nagara*.

p. 16a: *Uwahana* probably is a mistake for *upahana*.

p. 16a: Probably *yan kakongkon* is the original reading. *Di(ng)gu* is related to modern Jav. *jenggo*: remain silent.

p. 16a: *Patyanira pa* is to be read *patyanira pwa*.

p. 16a: The sentence beginning with *kërmî sampeka* is defective. The sense is lost.

p. 16a: *Kunang ka* is to be read *kunang ta*.

p. 16a: *Taku* probably is to be read: *teku*.

p. 16a: *Angilangak n* is to be read: *angilingak n* (cf. *eling*).

p. 16a: *K rtihapara* probably is to be read: *k rtawara*.

p. 16a: *Haga manik* is rendered Jewel Mountain. It seems to be an epithet of Java.

p. 16a: Probably the twice repeated *tapanira* is to be read *patapanira*. The sentence is in disorder. The list of denominations contains both *sogatas* and *boddhas*, which is unusual. No difference in use between the two terms has been ascertained as yet.

p. 16a: The frequent use of *sang* before names in this part of the R japatigundala is not in accordance with the rule of the Majapahit Court idiom where *sang* is an honorific predicate (rendered: honoured) belonging to courtiers. Probably this misuse of *sang* is to be ascribed partly to the rather negligent style of the notes that are the substance of the R japatigundala, partly to mistakes of later editor-scribes. In the translation the rendering of *sang* ("honoured") has been given up in all those cases where it seemed to have become meaningless in the Javanese text.

p. 16a: *Sandura* is corrupt. *Satinandura* perhaps is the original reading.

p. 16a: *Sahagangan* is difficult to explain. Perhaps *sagagang* is the original reading.

p. 16a: Probably *paduluran* is to be read *saduluran*.

p. 16b: *Mangusit han* does not make sense. *Pangupajwan* seems a plausible reading.

p. 16b: The translation of *d rwe yaca*: personal property, is founded on the meaning of the modern Javanese word *yanan*: land owned by farmers in their own right, as opposite to communal lands.

p. 16b: *Wissam rttha* is to be read *wisam rta*: venom-death. Probably the expression refers to the risk incurred by people who did not respect sacerdotal property.

p. 16b: *Ujar kela* is difficult to explain. Perhaps *kela* is related to *bela*, referring to outsiders joining in a ceremony and participating in its cost for economy's sake.

p. 16b: *Siniwi* before *wiku* probably is a mistake. It should be left out.
 p. 16b: As *ngēlud* does not make good sense in this place probably *ngēlad* is to be read instead.

p. 16b: *Sagata* probably is to be read *sanggata*.

p. 16b: *Yan sampun* does not make sense. Probably *pan sampun* is the original reading.

p. 16b: *Kṛtthasaya* stands for *kertasamaya*.

p. 16b: *Dupan* does not make sense. Perhaps *dwan*, i.e. *don* is the original reading.

p. 16b: *Ring ngadana* does not make sense. *Ring anddi* seems a plausible emendation.

p. 17a: *Sarupahan* is corrupt. Probably some words referring to disregard of the precepts have been dropped.

p. 17a: *Pēpēcat* is to be read *pēpēcut*.

p. 17a: *Hutaha* is to be read *wutaha*.

p. 17b: *Tumaha* is to be read: *tumamaha*.

p. 17b: *Çri Bha(ga)ti* is to be read: *Çri Bhatati, sang ratu*.

p. 17b: *Pāyata* is to be read *pañ̄dita*.

p. 17b: The Skt invocations are corrupt. Perhaps *çorabhyoḥ* is to be read *surebhyaḥ*: to the gods, and *ajitedharmaṁ*: *ajitadharmaṇḍya*: to Invincible Dharma. *Garddhipatayaya* perhaps might be read *surwāddhi-patyaye*: to Overlord Sarwa.

p. 17b: *Phaladēṇḍa* perhaps is a mistake for *palu dēṇḍa*.

p. 17b: Perhaps *labdhawarṇa* is a better reading than *labdawara*.

p. 17b: *Cintāmani* is the usual spelling of the name.

p. 17b: The last corrupt Skt invocation *sadyastutenamahaswaha* perhaps is to be emended: *sadāstuti te namahī svāhā*.

p. 18a: *Rōjanagara* probably is to be read *rājya nagara*.

PURWĀDIGAMA

Preamble.

The Purwādigama is one of the Old Javanese Balinese law-books. These books contain juridical definitions, they give some rules of conduct and sometimes they explain law-cases. Mostly the contents is incoherent. Probably many chapters of law-books found in Balinese manuscripts of recent date have their origin in the Majapahit era or before.

The preamble of the Purwādigama according to Dr H. N. van der Tuuk's *Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek* (sub voce *darm-madyaksa*) has been included in the present book because it contains an interesting list of title-names of law-officers. In the Preface of Brandes' *Register op de proza-omzetting van de Babad Tanah Jawi* (i.e. an index to the names found in the great Javanese History) of 1900 the Purwādigama preamble is found included also.

The expression *bhujangga Ciwan pinakasthawira ring nagara* proves that the Purwādigama belongs to the Shiwaite literature of Bali.

Sthawira is an unusual word; in this place *pinakasthawira* is a ceremonial expression.

The long title *Adhigamaçāstrasaroddhṛta* probably means: the Essence taken from the book Adhigama. The Sanskrit word *adhigama* could be rendered in this context as "findings". This explanation of the name is in accordance with the fact that the Purwādigama and the other known law-books are not more than manuals or notebooks compiled by authors of different ages.

PRANITI RAJA KAPA-KAPA

The text of the *Ajar ing Rāja Kapa-kapa* mentioned in the Nāg., canto 85, is unknown to the present author. Probably it was a text in Old Javanese prose resembling the Nawatanaya, and dating from the same time, the 14th century. In the 18th century several Old Javanese texts that seemed of interest were rewritten in modern Javanese by scholars who were attached to the Court of Central Java. The prose was changed into poetry using the modern Javanese metres that were in vogue at the time. Two modern Javanese versions of the *Ajar ing Rāja Kapa-kapa* are known, one in the metre *Dandang-gula* the other in *Asmaradana*. Both have been published, but not translated, by Brandes as appendix III to his *Register op de proza-omsetting van de Babad Tanah Jawi*, i.e. an index of names in the prose version of the Javanese History (*Verh. Bat. Gen.* 51, 1900). Brandes found both versions in a manuscript belonging to the Netherlands Bible Society, no 80 I.

The modern Javanese version in the *Dandang-gula* metre is the more reliable of the two. The other one is defective. As a substitute of the Old Javanese *Ajar ing Rāja Kapa-kapa* which is not available, this modern Javanese *Dandang-gula* version is included in the present Nāg. edition. Brandes' text has been emended in some places by readings taken from ms. or. Leyden 1850. This codex does not contain the *Asmaradana* version. The spelling of Javanese in the transcription of this modern text is the Sanskrit-Old Javanese spelling used in transcriptions throughout the present book. The regular Romanized spelling of modern Javanese is based for the greater part on the Dutch spelling. Using two different orthographies might lead to confusion.

Both in the beginning and at the end of the modern Javanese versions *Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa* is given as the name of the text. *Kapa-kapa* is otherwise unknown either as a noun or as a name. Perhaps the most plausible hypothesis is that *kapa-kapa* means: once upon a time, of old. It might be related to *kapan* (when, interrogative) and to *kapan-kapan* (at some time). The meaning of the name *Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa*

would be: Management of the Kings of Old, and the Old Javanese name *Ajar ing Rāja Kapa-kapa* would mean: Teaching of the Kings of Old. The Nawanyata has: *pitṛnēn san prabhu, raja laranian, raja kapa-kapa*. As this does not make sense it is proposed to leave out the first *raja* which probably came in by dittography. The meaning is: the Prabhu's interests, the prerogatives of the Kings of Old. The last words might contain an explanation of the preceding expression, which is an unusual one.

In the *Rājapatigundala* the Illustrious Bhatati (probably the same person as the 13th century Singasari King Kērta-Nagara) is referred to repeatedly as *sang ratu ring alawas*: the honoured *Ratu* of Yore. This is not a sufficiently strong foundation for the identification of the *Rāja Kapa-kapa* with the well-known King of Singasari. The interpretation of *kapa-kapa* as meaning: of old, is made the more plausible, though, by the finding of the expression *ring alawas* (to be rendered: of yore) in a similar context. The ascription of texts on social order like the *Rājapatigundala* and the *Praniti Rāja Kapa-kapa* to ancient Kings is a common proceeding. The question whether *Rāja Kapa-kapa* originally referred to one particular King (be it Kērta-Nagara of Singasari or another) or to the Kings of Old in general is left unanswered.

Javanese scholars of the 18th and 19th centuries explained *Rāja Kapa-kapa* as the name of an otherwise unknown *adhipati*, the author of the book. This is but an explanation ad hoc. *Kēkapa*, a Javanese wooden saddle, does not carry us any further.

In the following notes *Praniti* will be used exclusively for the *Dandang-gula* version.

The *Praniti*'s author, who lived probably in the 18th century, seems to have had a copy of the original *Ajar* which was still well legible. His version probably gives a good idea of the contents of the original. Writing poetry, he was compelled to form short sentences in accordance with the metre, and this makes the text difficult to understand. It should be noted that the *Praniti* does not contain one word of Arabic origin, except *tammat* (end) in the last stanza. This makes it probable that the author followed his Old Javanese model, which, of course, was free from Arabic influence, as closely as possible, often using the same words.

It is remarkable that the *Praniti*'s author did not mention the fact that he was rewriting an Old Javanese original. The author of the *Asmaradana* version called attention to his own work in a last stanza: *Duk wahunne sakin kawi, mayke tinambayan jarwa, sinawany-sawun*

gēndāne, macapat nuju hasmara, riñ reh surju myos siwah, sakin mula tar pinugut, makiritya nulad kewala. Translation: In olden times, from the *kawi* idiom, now turned into modern Javanese, and composed in a *macapat* metre, alluding to Love, in order that it might be pleasant and also clear. From the original nothing has been cut off. I made it a point of honour only to follow my model. (The "allusion to Love" is an allusion to the name of the metre, *Asmaradana*, which means: Gift of Love).

The *Asmaradana* version contains some other information that is not found in the *Praniti*, but has its origin in a faulty understanding of the original. The *Praniti*, on the other hand, contains in stanza 9 several words (*adipati kuwu, anden bubuyut pangalasan*) which are skipped in the *Asmaradana* version. These words are of some interest for the Nāg. commentary.

In Brandes' *Register* the two versions of the *Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa* are followed by a text in modern Javanese prose called *Wadu Aji*: the Lord's Serving-men. The *Wadu Aji* seems to be the work of a Javanese scholar of the 19th century. It is a kind of commentary on the two versions of the *Praniti*, with some additions of small value. It is of no interest for the present book.

The *Praniti* in *Dandang-gula* metre has 10 stanzas, the *Asmaradana* version has 18, but these are shorter ones. The text is to be divided into four parts: an introduction of 2 stanzas dealing with the meaning of the word *mantri*, a discussion of the *mantris mancanagara* (2 stanzas), a similar discussion of the *mantris bujangga* (2 stanzas), a superficial discussion of Royal officers of lower rank (3 stanzas) and a concluding stanza. Stanzas 1—4 and Nawatanaya p. 9a—14b, i.e. the beginning of the *Nagarakrama* chapter, have much in common. In the commentary the points of interest will be discussed.

The following notes refer to emendations of Brandes' edition.

In stanza 4 Brandes has: *anampurnakēn nēnggih parentahing pāpatya*, cod. 1850 has: *anampunakēn*. Both readings are possible and the meaning remains the same. It seems more in accordance with the *kanuruhan*'s functions as described at some length in the Nawatanaya, though, to read *anampakakēn parentah*: to deliver orders. The reading *kandu-ruhan* instead of *kanuruhan* is the common one in modern Javanese.

In stanza 5 the metre requires the reading: *amanguri bubuhane*. The following words do not make sense. The best emendation is: *angēmpuni mantri bujangga samya*: acting as *ēmpu* (master) of the *mantris bujangga* altogether, though *angēmpuni* is an unusual form. The author

of the *Wadu Aji* has: *anglurahi para wadya jēksa*: being the Chief of the King's servants the *jēksa's*, which probably goes back to this place of the *Praniti*.

In the first verse of stanza 6 *papati* should be read instead of *manguri*, for the following explanation *wani mati* can only refer to *papati*. The last verses of this stanza are far from clear. It is proposed to read: *Leka nēngguh, kuirnya ulah amet ulam, lawan malih punika wangēning mantri, bujanggarya tangarnya*. This makes the group of eight *mantris bujangga* that is mentioned in the *Purwadigama* complete. Their functions will be discussed in the commentary.

The stanzas 7—9 contain some names of offices that are otherwise unknown: *pasēpan, palimpingan, pakulutan* (Brandes has: *pakulupan*), *surantani*. The *Wadu Aji's* explanations are too obviously made ad hoc to be reliable. In stanza 7 *Arya Pamotan* is mentioned as an inferior of the *mantris bujangga*. In the *Praniti* his place in that group is taken by the *Papati*, unknown to the Purwadigama's author.

The words *asor saking puniki* in stanza 7 and *malih ingsoripun* in stanza 9 which refer to inferiority in rank lead to the conclusion that all the *mantris* from the *patih* in stanza 3 to the *bubuyut pangalasan* in stanza 9 are placed in order of rank from high to low. This is a help for forming an appreciation of the Court offices. Probably the last words of stanza 8 *pura angraramunya* are corrupt. *Kang raramutnya* perhaps is a plausible emendation. *Angramuti* is a word belonging to an old Eastern Javanese idiom. It means: to take care of; it is related to *emut*: to mind, to remind.

The second verse of stanza 9 should be read: *kalih bēlah ewu pañca tanda*. The expression *pañca tanda* is found in the Nāg., canto 88—1—3.

The last words of stanza 9 do not make sense. They should be read: *pinakantyaning katha*, meaning that the *bubuyut pangalasan* is the end of the list.

Brandes' text has in the beginning of stanza 10: *para lurah*. The reading of cod. 1850 makes better sense. The words refer to the custom of taking turns in the execution of office. It is also mentioned in the Nāg., canto 8—6—4.

Probably in the last verse *muwah* is to be read *mauwah*.

CHARTERS

NOTES



III. BRIDAL PROCESSION OF A PRINCESS, SEE P. VIII.

SARWADHARMA CHARTER
1296 A.D.

According to Brandes' communication in the *Notulen van de Directievergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*, vol. 36, 1898, the seven plates of the Sarwadharma charter were found in that year on the Pēnampihan estate in the Wilis massif, district of Tulung-Agung, Kađiri. The text as edited in the present book is copied from Brandes' transcription which has been published by Krom in 1913 (*Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden*, II, p. 188) without translation or commentary. Brandes seems to have transcribed the text from photographs. Some mistakes may be ascribed to that fact. The letters and words that are printed in italics were marked by Brandes as not quite clear. On the whole the text is in a good state.

In several places short vowels are written instead of long ones (*mantri-mantri*) and mistakes are made in Javanese and Sanskrit words. The doctor's name *dang ḫedrya Ciwandha* is given to two different persons in successive lines (plate 2 recto, line 6 and 7). In one place (plate 3 verso, line 4) the words *ring wiṣaya punpunan sang hyang saruwadharma* are reiterated by mistake. Remarkable is the use in some places of the unusual form *byṛt* instead of the usual *bwat*. Perhaps these facts are sufficient to warrant the supposition that the seven plates found in 1898 are not originals but copies of the standard text as drawn up by the Royal chancery. Probably the bronze copies were made by order of the abbatial family of a domain benefitting by the Royal charter with the intention that they would be kept by later abbots as heirlooms and title-deeds. Unfortunately Pēnampihan in the Wilis hills has not been identified with any domain of the clergy mentioned in the Nāgara-Kērtāgama.

In the following notes on the text as edited in vol. I of the present book only emendations of some importance for the right understanding of the sense of the words are proposed. The minor mistakes in the spelling are neglected.

- Plate 1 verso, 5: *tārpita* seems a better reading than *nārpita*.
- Plate 2 recto, 5: *pamgēt ing jamba*. Both *Jamba* and *Jambi* are found in the texts, v. glossary.
- Plate 3 recto, 3: *pamūjāngkēn tahun*.
- recto, 6: *sakaladharma*.
- verso, 2: *enak ta kaniçcayan ika*.
- verso, 4: Either *ring wiṣaya punpunan sang hyang sarwadharma* is reiterated by mistake, or the words have taken the place of a short sentence mentioning the reverential address (*hatur*) to the King.
- Plate 4 recto, 2: *dewawangga*.
- recto, 3: *inēnahakēn*.
- verso, 4: *papinḍah pantī*.
- verso, 5: *tumutitukwa sapanus sahanani*.
- verso, 6: *tan pgas kawijilaknanya*.
- Plate 5 recto, 5: *apungguta* (?).
- verso, 7: *pjah anirara*.
- Plate 6 recto, 1: *kembang kuning ri harēpan*.
- recto, 7: *ri sanmuka para tanđa*.
- verso, 1: *suvarṇa*.
- verso, 7: *kawulikan*.
- Plate 7 recto, 2: *sandhya* and *jānāti*.
- recto, 4: *drṣṭwā*.
- recto, 5: *andho*.
- recto, 6: *kudhi*.

According to Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1952, p. 72) the date of the Sarwadharma charter is 31/X/1269 A.D.

DECREE JAYA SONG

about 1350 A.D.

Incomplete.

The five copperplates were found in Bēndosari (district of Trēng-galek, residency of Kađiri) in 1896. The first plate is lost, therefore the date is not known. Krom's suggestion (T.B.G. 53, p. 417) that the plates were issued between 1350 and 1365 seems very probable. Brandes' transcription has been published as no LXXXV in *Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden* II, 1913. The plates are in a good condition. The mistakes of the scribe are not numerous and easy to correct.

As to the idiom it is sufficient to refer to the notes on the Ferry Charter of 1358 also edited in the present book. The antiquated spelling *muang* instead of *mwang* is an affectation of the Court scribe.

The text of the Decree is remarkable for the insertion of two speeches. The first person is referred to as *ungsun*, which is a noun (*tuhatuha ni ungsun*). Its original meaning is unknown. In modern Javanese *ungsun* is a pronoun. No doubt the litigants used very humble terms while referring to themselves in their speeches addressed to their judges. In modern Javanese, on the other hand, *ungsun* is only used by Royalty. In some Eastern Javanese dialects the pronoun is still in common use, though.

Another remarkable point is the frequent use of *pun* (*aranipun*, *pun samasanak*, etc.) just as in the modern Javanese idiom.

The only numeral that is written in full is *sawidah pitu(ng)*, sixty-seven. It is probably a mistake for *sawidak*, which is the usual form.

The interpretation of the lengthy Sanskrit epithets given to members of the Royal Family and prominent Royal servants is sometimes difficult. In the frame of the present book the making of comparisons with similar lists of epithets found in other charters seems unnecessary, however interesting it might prove to be from a historical point of view.

The following slight emendations in the Javanese text as edited in the *Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden* are suggested.

In *plate 5 recto, line 5*, instead of *tan punika*, which is an unidiomatic sequence of words, *pan punika* should be read.

In *plate 6 recto, line 3*, *awidhita* is a mistake for *awidita*.

In *plate 6 verso, line 2*, instead of *pinunga*, which does not make sense, *simunga* should be read.

FERRY CHARTER

1358 A.D.

Of this Royal charter of originally eleven copperplates four plates have been published by van Stein Callenfels as *Oorkonden van Trawulan I* in *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1918, and one plate, found in 1902 in Pélém, residency of Surabaya, and transcribed by Brandes, has found a place as no CXIX in Krom's *Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden II*, 1913. The plates are in good condition and the writing is clear.

The Ferry Charter is the longest of King Hayam Wuruk's charters that have been found. Its style and idiom mark it as a product of Court officials, and on these points the difference with the charters of Rēnēk, Biluluk, Shela Mandi etc. is clearly visible. Nevertheless the Ferry Charter contains some grammatical constructions that are related to modern Javanese. The infix *-in-* is considerably less used than the prefix *ka-* in the passive form of the verb. The suffixed pronoun *-nya* is often used in the modern Javanese manner, e.g.: *denya ng anambangi*. Pure Old Javanese would be: *dening or denikang*, good modern Javanese: *dening kang* or *dening ingkang*. Probably in the 14th century *-nya* was pronounced *-ne*, as it is written in the Biluluk etc. charters that do not affect the official Court style. *Iriya* in *anambut iriya* seems antiquated in a 14th century text. The Nāg. has *riya* in a similar construction in one place only: *anut riya*.

The official style of the Ferry Charter is accentuated by the use of many learned Sanskrit compound words as *epitheta ornantia* going with titles of high officials. Parts of these epithets are found in the Nāg., v. gloss. This is another proof of the close connection between the Nāg. and the Court. In some cases the Sanskrit compounds in the charter are followed by Javanese explanations, and some single Sanskrit words are given Javanese translations, e.g.: *sarwwe, ika ta kabeh*. Probably the learned scholars of the Royal Court could not expect a ready understanding of their Sanskrit from inferior clerical officers.

In the translation in volume III of the present book the Sanskrit

epithets are put between quotation marks to distinguish them from the subsequent Javanese explanations.

The Ferry Charter contains some Javanese words and expressions that are unknown from elsewhere, and several others that have been found in other charters as well, but still are difficult to explain. They shall be discussed in the commentary on the charter in volume IV.

Only a few slight emendations in the Javanese text as edited by van Stein Callenfels and Brandes are suggested. The present author did not collate the published text with the original plates. The probability of finding better readings by means of a collation does not seem great.

In *plate 1 verso, line 1*, *samērddhi* is probably to be read: *samwārddhi*.

In *plate 9 recto, line 3*, perhaps *pūrwāpāra* is a defective spelling of *pūrwāpāra*: east-west.

According to Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1952, p. 76) the exact date of King Hayam Wuruk's Ferry Charter (by him called Canggu Charter) is 7/VII/1358 A.D.

CHARTER OF BATUR

Fragmentary.

The charter consists of three copperplates, all fragmentary, found in 1915 near Batur, Kraksan, province of East-Java. They are mentioned in the *Notulen K.B.G.* (Minutes of the meetings of the R. Batavian Society), 1915, p. 105, edited by Bosch in *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1915, and further discussed by Krom in his *Epigraphische Aanteekeningen*, T.B.G. 58, 1919, p. 161. In this paper Krom completed the names of some officials by comparing the charter's list with the charters of Nglawang and Béndosari. The complete names are used in the present edition.

The three fragments are registered as E 50. In addition to them one complete copperplate has been found. Its script is of a later period and the text is written in two distinct hands. It is illegible except for a few words. The name of the place Sađeng which is also found in the Nág. is mentioned in it. It is registered as E 51.

The translation of the large fragment of E 50 does not offer many difficulties as it contains the usual preamble with titles and names. At the end of *line 2 recto rangga* should be supplemented to make the number of five *mantris amāñcanagara* complete.

The middlesized fragment contains the interesting part of the charter.

At the end of *line 1 recto mandale hanḍawa i talun* should be supplemented in accordance with *line 4 recto*.

Ring puhun malama in *line 2 recto* is an expression used especially in charters. *Labupanaya* probably should be read *labbopanaya*.

At the end of *line 3 recto māra* should be supplemented in accordance with the *caitramāsa* of *line 1 verso*.

The *sa* at the end of *line 4 recto* probably is the beginning of the name *Sāgara*.

Line 5 recto might be read *kaptwānuruna kalasa patarāṇa*.

The end of *line 1 verso* should be supplemented: *pōñcadagi*.

The end of *line 4 verso* is to be completed with *pāduka cī mahārāja*.

Line 6 verso should be read *sang sidha guru sanguni*.

The contents of the small fragment is too slight to give information of much value. *Cuklapak* should be read *cuklapakṣa*.

Kalihan probably is to be identified with *Kalyasēm*.

CHARTERS OF BILULUK

1366, 1391, 1395 A.D.

In *Oudheidkundig Verslag* (Report of the Archeological Service) of 1917 van Stein Callenfels published a note on some copperplates found in the district of Lamongan, near the village of Bluluk, and in the Report of 1918 he published transcriptions of three plates. They were probably issued by the same Prince of Wéngkér who was the author of the Rénék plate, and consequently the idioms of the four plates are very much alike.

Notes on the plate of 1366.

Amomoʃot, which is not found in the dictionaries, has been translated: grabbing ears of rice from the fields (in passing), on account of the modern Javanese *mbōʃot*, which means: to tear off.

Siwihos is an "interchangeable form". The use of this kind of embellishment increased in the Majapahit era; it was known long before that time though, e.g. *kantiən* instead of *kali* (river) in the well-known stone charter of Kēlagen, issued by King Erlangga in 1037. The common form of *siwihos* must have been *siwiji* or *suviji*. These words are not found in the known texts, but they are certainly related to the modern Javanese *seje*, which means: other.

The maledictions at the end of several Old Javanese charters have been translated long ago by Professor Kern. According to him, *trayodagasañksi*, the thirteen witnesses, should be read: *tridaça*, the thirty, because only the thirty gods could be meant. Professor Krom, in his paper on the charter of Nglawang, issued by King Hayam Wuruk before 1365 (T.B.G. vol. 53, 1911, p. 414) pointed out that undoubtedly thirteen is the right reading, as lists of thirteen witnesses are found both in Sanskrit and in Old Javanese texts.

Instead of *tunḍuh*, *tunḍun* (back) should be read.

Notes on the plate of 1391.

Pamihos is another instance of the use of "interchangeable forms" in these texts; probably it stands for *pamiji*, which may have been a capitation tax collected at the time of the annual religious festival (*pueja*). It is remarkable that the first plate has *pamuja* and the second one *pamihos*.

Notes on the plate of 1395.

Anampak (from *sampak* or *tampak*) is not found in any known Old Javanese text. The repetition excludes the possibility that it is a mistake. Meanwhile the meaning is clear: it only can mean: to get or: to take. The word is related to *ngampak-ampak*: to beg, found in some charters (v. glossary), to modern Javanese *tampa*: to receive, to accept and to the modern dialectical expression: *kësampak*, meaning: fortunately found, at last.

The meanings of the numerous words belonging to the idiom of customary law that are found in this charter will be discussed in the commentary in volume IV of the present book.

According to Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1952, p. 76—78) the three dates mentioned in the Biluluk charters are: the first between 12/III/1366 and 28/II/1367, the second between 1/VII and 13/VIII 1391, and the third between 20/II and 21/III 1395 A.D.

CHARTER OF RĚNĚK

1379 A.D.

The charter of Rěněk has been the subject of a paper published by Dr Stutterheim and the present author in the Dutch periodical '*Djawa*' under the title: *Een Javaansche oorkonde uit den blocitijd van Madjapahit* (vol. 6, 1926). Dr Stutterheim furnished the transcription and contributed some notes on the history and the epigraphy of the text. The present author offered a translation, a commentary on the contents and some philological notes.

Stutterheim's transcription is re-published in the first volume of the present book. The author took the liberty, however, to modernize the spelling so as to be in harmony with the spelling of the other transcriptions in that volume. The following introductory and historical remarks are excerpts from Dr Stutterheim's notes. Dr Stutterheim died in the beginning of the Japanese war, in 1943, in Batavia (Djakarta). The author feels confident of his old friend and colleague's approval of his making use of the above-mentioned transcription and notes for the present book. The epigraphical remarks are left out as being of minor interest for the majority of the readers.

The charter of Rěněk is engraved on two bronze plates, bearing the Javanese numbers 1 and 2, $9 \times 33,5$ cm ($3\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{3}{4}$ inch) and extraordinarily thick: 4 mm ($\frac{1}{8}$ inch). They have five lines on each side, except the side containing the beginning, which has only four lines. The plates were sold to Mr F. B. Klaverweiden, M. D., of Surabaya, probably about the year 1920, by a Javanese pedlar who told him that they had been found buried in the earth in a field near the site of Majapahit. Afterwards H.H. the *Pangeran Adipati Arya Mangkunagara VII*, one of the minor semi-independent Princes in the period of Dutch sovereignty, acquired the plates for the collection in his palace at Surakarta.

It is beyond doubt that the *Bhatāra ring Wēngkēr* who is mentioned in the first line of the charter is the same person as King Hayam

Wuruk's uncle the Prince of Wēngkēr whose activities in the field of agricultural jurisdiction are known from other charters (*Kandangan*) as well as from the Nāgara-Kērtāgama (canto 88). According to the Pararaton he died in 1310 Shāka (1388 A.D.). The year of the charter of Rēnek (plate 2b, line 4: *cirālī I*) must be 1301 Shāka, the first year of the new century. This is well within the Prince's lifetime.

The Ferry Charter mentions a Tambak, which was the place of a ferry. It is possible that the Tambaks of the charter of Rēnek and the Ferry Charter are identical. The word means 'dam' and so it should be a common name in an irrigated country such as the Brantas Delta.

These excerpts from Stutterheim's part of the Dutch paper on the charter of Rēnek make its history sufficiently clear. The following notes on the text and the translation, the translation itself and the commentary on the contents in the next volumes of this book are taken from the author's part of the same paper. The Dutch translation of 1926 needed emending in some respects. The present translation into English is harmonized with the other translations in this book.

Notes on plate I, recto.

Wontēn, instead of *wwantiēn*, is one of the many instances of modern Javanese spelling in this charter. The Nāg. has hardly any spellings of this kind. No doubt the discrepancy between poetry and prose, and between Court style and rustic idiom, must be taken into account. Spellings and idioms of charters such as this one are proofs that in the 14th century the Javanese language in Eastern Java had more modern forms than one would gather from the reading of poetry and Court literature. *Punika* and *kang* are such forms. Suffixes *-ira* and *-nira* are used in the same way as *-e* and *-ne*, *-ipun* and *-nipun* in modern Javanese. The reservation of these suffixes for persons of the highest rank as practised in the Nāg. is discarded in the charter. *Sira* is frequently used as a honorific predicate before names, even of people of low rank (*lēmbah*). Its use reminds one of the modern Javanese *si* or *pun*.

Nalampakanira, meaning 'His Foot-soles', an honorific predicate equivalent with the modern Javanese *kang-jēng*, meaning 'The Feet', has passed into modern Javanese Court style as *pakēnira*, a pronoun of the 2nd person. The most remarkable about the word is the initial nasal, whereas the usual form is *talampakan*. A comparable case is the modern

Javanese *punika*, nearly always pronounced *mčnika*. The translation 'His Grace' is chosen because of the connection with the Court.

Samasanak, family, is often used in charters, v. glossary.

Kaladan is a derivation from *lad*. *Wĕlad* is a knife made of bamboo, an ancient implement; therefore probably the original meaning of *kaladan* is: cut, clipped. The charter of Shela Mandi (edited in the present book) has: *tan alonga tan aruwuwa, tan pongladana bhuinne brayane, tan kaladana*: that it not shall diminish and not increase, that it not shall retrench the land of his neighbours and not been retrenched.

Jōng is in modern Javanese: *jung*, it is 28.386 m² or 7 acres in Central Java. But then about the Majapahit *jung* nothing is known, of course.

Kilſujakuring probably is a corrupt chancery term connected with surveying. *Salĕbak-wukirnya*, with its low lands and hills, of Nāg. 35—3—I would give good sense in this place.

In the first line *angulihakēn* is used, and in the third *mantuk*. In modern Javanese *mulih* and *mantuk* are 'interchangeable words', both meaning: to go home, but *mulih* is used in the *ngoko* (common) idiom and *mantuk* in the *krama* (ceremonial) idiom. The charter does not yet make a very strict difference between *ngoko* and *krama*, neither does the Nāg.

Maring is a modern form for *mareng*, from *mara ing*, originally meaning: 'going to' or 'going for'. The remarkable use of the word as an indication of the object of an action (*asraha... maring sawah*) is well-known in modern Javanese.

Gěnti ri handon does not make sense. It is proposed to read: *gěnti ring anden*: they represented the *andens*, the gentry. The *andens* (Nāg.: *handyan*, v. gl.) are opposed to the *stuha*, the elders of the commoners.

Notes on plate I, verso.

Puncang is used in relation to a person, *kang* is used in general, v. glossary.

The spelling *punika tta* and *punku tta*, with double *tt*, does not make sense. Probably it is only done to look important. The use of *punku* in II recto 5 is correct, as referring to the persons that are just mentioned. In I verso 1 *punika* has the same sense. In modern Javanese *punika* is more frequently used than *punku* or *punki*. The *buyut* of

Talaga's name probably was *Tumpēk*, 'Saturday', not *Umpēk*. In this case a double *tt* would not have been out of place.

The spellings *king Rēnēk*, *hañjēnēngi*, *hangalihī*, *hamalērakēn*, with *h*'s instead of vowel *akṣaras*, are modern Javanese. Evidently in the charter's idiom in the 14th century the *h* was mute at the beginning of a word. The contraction of *warga haji* to *wargaji*, *wanggaji* is a consequence of the same fact.

Notes on plate II, recto.

The occurrence of the spellings *twang* and *wong* in the same line (line 5) is remarkable.

Whereas many verbal forms of modern Javanese are used in the charter's simple phraseology, the form with the infix *-in-*, very common in the Nāg., is absent. On the other hand several verbal forms with prefixed *ka-* are found (v. gl.). Evidently in the 14th century idiom of the charter the infix *-in-* was already nearly extinct just as it is in modern Javanese.

Notes on plate II, verso.

Hamalērakēn (*malērakēn* in the same line) is a derivation from *walēr*, so the original meaning is: to fix a boundary, v. glossary.

Yen is the modern form for *yan*.

Para in *parawangsa* and *parajinura* seems to be merely an indication of a plurality, just as it is in modern Javanese. The sense of 'common, commoner', obvious in several places in the Nāg., can not be attributed to *para* in this case, because the *parajinuru* and the *parawangsa* form the party opposite to the *wong lēmbah*, the low-born.

Samadaya, from Skt *samudaya*, assembly, just means 'altogether' in this place, like its derivation *sēdaya*, which is a ceremonial word for 'all' in modern Javanese.

According to Mr Damais, the author of the *Études d'Épigraphie indonésienne* published in B.E.F.E.O. 1951—1958, the date at the end of the Rēnēk charter probably is 9/IV/1379 A.D., but then the abbreviation of the day of the week should be read *ga* (i.e. *ganeçcara*: Saturday) instead of *ba*.

CHARTER OF WALANDIT

1381—1405 A.D.

The charter of Walandit has been edited and translated already in 1899 by Brandes (*Notulen Directievergaderingen K.B.G.*, vol. 37, p. 64). The text in the first volume of the present book is a copy of Brandes' edition. The following notes, the translation in volume III and the commentary of the present author are at variance with his predecessor's opinion in some matters of minor importance. It does not seem necessary to point out all differences.

The charter is engraved on one bronze plate, $30 \times 7,3$ cm (12 \times 3 inch). Though the text seems complete the plate bears the number one. Probably it is the initial one of a series of plates containing the texts of charters referring to Tengger districts. It is a copy, made in 1405 A.D., of an old charter ascribed to King Hayam Wuruk of Majapahit who is called by his posthumous name Wékas-ing-suka (Limit of Bliss). According to the Pararaton King Hayam Wuruk died in 1389 A.D.. The subsequent numbers of the series of plates may have contained other Tengger charters. Unfortunately they are lost.

The plate was found in 1880 or thereabout by a Javanese woman in a field in the district of Pénajangan in the Tengger massif in Eastern Java together with a bronze container for slaked lime used for betel chewing shaped like a phallus. Both objects were bought by Mr La Chapelle for the collections of the Bataviaasch Genootschap.

The idiom and the spelling of the charter of Walandit are the same as are found in other charters of the time not belonging to the Court sphere. The indifference in respect of the *h* at the beginning of a word is remarkable. In one line are found the spellings *hanagih* and *andikeningong*. Evidently in the 14th century the *h* in that position was treated in the same manner as in modern Javanese speech. The combinations *ya* and *wa* of Old Javanese are superseded by *e* and *o* (*rehane*, *ayo*, *wong*), another point of conformity with modern Javanese. On the other hand the verbal suffix -*a* (*liewara*, *hamalöra*, *kagugona*) still has the

sense of an indication of a future tense (*shall*). In modern Javanese the suffix -*o* would be an archaism in those cases.

The charter's second part, the verso side, containing the detailed date in 1327 Shūka, shows some reminiscences of the Court style (*irika diwasanya, tinambraken* and the title *talampakanira Bhāṣṭra Hyang Wēkas-ing-Snka*). No doubt the second part is an addition of 1405 A.D. made by the writer (probably a *kanurnhan*, v. charter of Rēnēk, also edited in the present book) who was familiar with the Royal Court. The *habayan* Made and the *buyut* (a headman of a rural community) mentioned at the end were the men who acted for the common families (*para warga*) of Walanđit ordering the copy of the old charter to be made on a bronze plate. No doubt they had to pay for it. The plate was intended to be kept as a heirloom in their families. Unfortunately the conclusion of the charter has become illegible as a consequence of erosion.

The text of the addition on the verso side of the plate has some mistakes: *indikani* instead of *andikani* and *i reha* instead of *i rehe*. The reading of the names Mamanggis-Lili and Kacaba seems corrupt. Perhaps the names were Mamanggis-Hilir (i.e.-Downstream) and Kacubung, *kacubung* being the name of a well-known shrub (*Datura fastuosa*). The places have not been identified.

According to Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1952, p. 76—78) the first date of the Walanđit charter is between 17/XI and 16/XII 1381 A.D. and the second date is 21/VI/1405 A.D. The second date was already calculated by Brandes.

CHARTER OF PATAPAN

1385 A.D.

This is no IV of the so-called Trawulan plates (v. the note on the Karang Bogem charter), also published by van Stein Callenfels in *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1918. The script shows some peculiarities that belong to modern Javanese writing. The idiom is the same as that of the Biluluk and Karang Bogem charters. A part of the first line on the verso side is illegible.

The meaning of *sumalah* in this text is related to modern Javanese *seleh*.

Tumrap is found in the Nawanyata (v. glossary) used in the same sense : to rise in rank.

Paññlēk is derived from *cēlēk*, a black dye, collyrium. Its original meaning is : black dyeing. On account of the places noted by van der Tuuk it seems probable that *paññlēk* refers to a document on palm-leaf (with blackened writing, as usual) as distinct from a copperplate.

Pomahan, farm-yard, is a common word in modern Javanese, used in the same sense as in this text. The remarkable fact that *umah* and its derivates are very seldom found in the Nāg. as well as in the other Old Javanese texts of the same era or older has been pointed out already. The Pararaton, on the other hand, has many places with *umah*.

According to Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1952, p. 78) the date in Jyaiṣṭha 1307 Śāka is between 10/V and 8/VI 1385 A.D.

CHARTER OF KARANG BOGEM

1387 A.D.

The copperplate of 1387 belongs to a group of plates that was found in 1918 in Trawulan, in the district of Mādjākērtā in Eastern Java. Van Stein Callenfels published a note on them and a transcription of some of them in *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1918, p. 108, 143 and 169, calling them "the Charters of Trawulan". So the copperplate of 1387 has been known as "Trawulan V". As it seems more reasonable to call the plates after the places or the persons to whom they refer, the copperplate of 1387 is called "the Charter of Karang Bogem" in the present book.

Like the Biluluk and the Rēnēk plates it contains a rescript addressed to a group of persons in authority in the province. A remarkable point about this plate is the script, which is of an unusual type and difficult to read. Van Stein Callenfels' transcription has a facsimile added. The idiom is the same as of the other plates. The style is lapidary, which renders the interpretation rather difficult.

The text is to be divided into two parts. The first part refers to Karang Bogem and the second one to the fisheries. The connection between the two is the *patih tambak* (emendation for *tamba*) mentioned in line 2. In the first part the office of *patih tambak*, head of the fishponds, on the estate of Karang Bogem is instituted, and in the second part the fisherman from Grēzik is appointed to that office.

The *dēmung* shrub mentioned in line 3 could be either *Codiaeum variegatum* or *Graptophyllum pictum*. In modern Javanese *dēmung* seems to refer as a rule to the second species.

Van der Tuuk in his KBNW mentions some places where *warigaluh* could refer to a sailor or to a trader. In the present text the translation "fisherman" seems preferable because of the fisheries mentioned in the second part. The etymology of the word is not clear. *Wariga* is found in some charters of great antiquity, e.a. the Kwak charter of 879 A.D. (*Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden* I, p. 14) among the

officials of rural communities assisting at a ceremony. The other meanings of the word, referring to chronology and divination, are well known. Perhaps it is related to modern Javanese *ringga*: wary and *rigĕn*: skilful, dexterous.

Acan in line 5 is another name for the fish-preserve that usually is called *trasi*. The Malay name is *bĕlacan*. Van der Tuuk mentions *acan* with the note: Sasak, i.e. the vernacular of the island of Lombok.

The last words of line 5 *sarahi, atambak, sesine* are difficult to explain. *Sarahi atambak* probably means: for each of the *tambak*-holders, i.e. for each *tambak*. A similar expression is found in the Ferry Charter (v. gloss.). The meaning of *bobot sewu* is: weighing as much as one thousand cash. The Chinese coins were used as money as well as for standard weight and even sometimes for standard measure. For this last end they were strung on a string. The Chinese bronze coins were in use in Bali till the middle of the 20th century; perhaps even longer. Their rate used to be about one seventh of a pre-war Netherlands East India cent, which works out at 1.750 cash for one gold U.S. \$.

The emendation *sesane* (i.e. *gesane*) for *sesine* makes the rest of the sentence clear.

The meaning of *anggogondok* is unknown. *Gondok* means goitre; the word refers to something bulging. It is vain to try to find the meaning of *anggogondok* on such a base.

According to Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1952, p. 78) the date in the 7th month of the Old Javanese year, i.e. Māgha 1308 Shāka is between 20/I and 19/II 1387 A.D.

CHARTER OF KATIDEN

1392 A.D.

This copperplate of the local museum of Malang, province of East-Java, has been transcribed and translated into Dutch by Poerbatjaraka (T.B.G. 76, 1936, p. 387). The origin is unknown.

The idiom is the same as is found in the other rescripts.

The present English translation is not on all points in concordance with Poerbatjaraka's Dutch one.

His translation of the sentence *tan anan ing aningkah-aningkuha* by: "ook mag niemand eenige (andere) regeling in welken vorm dan ook invoeren" (nobody should introduce any different regulation whatsoever) is based on the supposition that the verb is a derivate of *tingkah*, order. That seems doubtful. *Tingkah* means order of action (in modern Javanese: manner of action), not: order-regulation-rule (Dutch *regeling*). *Aningkah-aningkuha* as a derivate of *tingkah* is unidiomatic; one would expect an expression like the end of the Ferry Charter: *yan hana umulah-ulah sarasa sang hyang ḫjña haji prācāsti*. The derivation from *singkuh* seems much more probable. The original meaning of *singkuh* is: left, and: back, metaphorically: underhand. The modern Javanese *slingkuhan* is an expression for: fraud.

The formations *tan anan ing anglarangana* and *tan anan ing aningkuha* are unusual. In Old Javanese one would expect a sentence beginning with *aywa ana*: let there not be. The charter's sentences make one think of modern Javanese formations beginning with *karəben ora ana sing*. The Shela Manḍi charter has: *tan anan i Wong pati pati angalapa*.

According to Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1952, p. 78) the Shāka year of the Katiḍen charter should be read 1314, and the date is between 24/III and 22/IV 1392 A.D.

CHARTERS OF SHELA MANDI

1394, 1395, 1396 A.D.

The two copperplates contain three short rescripts. They were presented to the Directors of the Royal Batavian Society by the well-known Javanese painter Raden Saleh on his coming home from a tour of Java in 1865 or 1866. The transcription was made by Dr Cohen Stuart. The two plates were published as number IV in his *Kawi Oorkonden* (Old Javanese Charters) of 1875.

Dr Cohen Stuart found the texts difficult to read. His transcription is sufficiently clear, though, to allow one to make a plausible translation. Both the spelling and the idiom of these Majapahit texts of the end of the 14th century have several modern Javanese features. The *akṣaras* of the vowels are often replaced by the *akṣara h* (which was no longer pronounced as *h* at the beginning of words) provided with a mark for the vowel. The infix *-in-* in verbs as a formative for the passive voice is replaced by the prefix *ka-*. It is remarkable that *-in-* is only found in the title *binuyut*; this use of the infix in relation to titles seems to be modern Javanese rather than Old Javanese. On all these points the Shela Mandi texts conform to the Rēnēk, Biluluk, Patapan and Karang Bogēm plates. The style is not lapidary, though, but rather prolix, showing several superfluous reiterations.

In *plate I recto sahuman*, which is unknown as the name of a district, perhaps should be read *sahuban*, all in the shadow of. *Sakahuban* is used in this sense in the Walandit charter.

In *plate I verso wukat* probably is a mistake for *wugat*: back, end, v. glossary.

Rērambēkēl should be read *sirambēkēl*.

The name of the landmeasure that is half (?) a *kikil* seems to be *jari* (cf. *#ari*).

In *plate II recto pabnyutan* (emendation for *pabnyukan*) refers to the persons who would take Darani's lands, his neighbours (*brayan* in plate I verso), the *buyuts* of Shela Mandi. The *pa-an* formation for office-bearers is found also in *pasēdahan*, *pañkarikan* and *palayangan*.

The construction of the sentence *tan anani wong pati-pati angalapa* (the not-being of persons who have in mind to take) is unusual. Instead of *tan anani* one expects *aja ana* (there should not be). *Pati-pati* is related to *ngati-atि* (to mind). The meaning of the sentence is clear, though. The Katién charter has sentences constructed in the same way.

Ngapekṣakna (emendation for *ngamekṣakna*) is a derivation of Skt *apekṣā* which is not found in the Javanese dictionaries.

Dēṇdahane is a future or subjunctive form of *dēṇda* (suffix -*a*) with the personal pronoun -*ne* annexed. This is unusual; in modern Javanese *dēṇdanea* would be used. The explanation of *dēṇdahane* as an -*an-*derivation of *dēṇda* (*dēṇdaan*) with -*e* annexed is improbable because there is no reason why *dēṇdaan* should not be contracted to *dēṇdan*.

Plate II verso contains many words and expressions that are known from other texts. *Putajenan*, however, has not yet been found elsewhere. The meaning is clear, and the etymology probably is: *put* from *jumput* (to pick) and *aji, ajen* (lord, the lord's). Probably it is a synonym of the well-known *dryaya-haji*, which word is not used in the Shela Mandi plates.

According to Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1952, p. 78) the date in plate I verso is between 3/III 1394 and 20/III 1395 and the date in plate II recto between 20/II and 21/III 1395 A.D.



IV. COMMONERS WITH A CART, SEE P. VIII.







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