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THE

HISTORY

OF

JAVA.

BY THE LATE

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AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

ISLAND OF JAVA.

CHAPTER IX.

Religion—Introduction to Mahomedanism—How far its Tenets and Doctrines are observed—Priests—How provided for—How far the ancient Institutions of the Country are superseded—Antiquities—Edifices—The Temples at Brambánan—Bóro Bódo—Gúnung Práhu—Kedíri, Sing'a Sári, Súku, &c.—Sculpture—Images in Stone—Casts in Metal—Inscriptions on Stone and Copper—Coins—Ruins of the ancient Capitals at Médang Kamúlan, Majapáhit, Pajajáran, &c.—Island of Báli—Conclusion.

It has already been stated, that the established religion of the country is that of Mahomed. The earliest allusion to this faith made in the Javan annals is in the twelfth century of the Javan era (A.D. 1250), when an unsuccessful attempt appears to have been made to convert some of the *Súnda* princes *. Towards the close of the fourteenth century, several missionaries established themselves in the eastern provinces; and according to the Javan annals, and the universal tradition of the country, it was in the first year of the fifteenth century of the Javan era, or about the year of our Lord 1475, that the Hindu empire of *Majapáhit*, then supreme on the island, was overthrown, and the Mahomedan religion became the established faith of the country. When the Portuguese first visited Java in 1511, they found a Hindu king in Bantam; and subsequently, they are said to have

* See Chapters on History.

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lost their footing in that province, in consequence of the arrival and establishment of a Mahomedan prince there; but with the exception of an inconsiderable number in some of the interior and mountainous tracts, the whole island appears to have been converted to Mahomedanism in the course of the sixteenth century, or at least at the period of the establishment of the Dutch at Batavia in 1620.

The natives are still devotedly attached to their ancient institutions, and though they have long ceased to respect the temples and idols of a former worship, they still retain a high respect for the laws, usages, and national observances which prevailed before the introduction of Mahomedanism. And although some few individuals among them may aspire to a higher sanctity and closer conformity to Mahomedanism than others, it may be fairly stated, that the Javans in general, while they believe in one supreme God, and that Mahomed was his Prophet, and observe some of the outward forms of the worship and observances, are little acquainted with the doctrines of that religion, and are the least bigoted of its followers. Few of the chiefs decline the use of wine, and if the common people abstain from inebriating liquors, it is not from any religious motive. Mahomedan institutions, however, are still gaining ground, and with a free trade a great accession of Arab teachers might be expected to arrive. Property usually descends according to the Mahomedan law; but in other cases, the Mahomedan code, as adopted by the Javans, is strangely blended with the more ancient institutions of the country *.

* "The religion of the Javans is in general Mahomedan, but mingled "with many superstitious doctrines derived from the ancient Pagan "worship. The Javans, however, are far from bigots to their religion, "as other Mahomedans generally are. They are mild and tractable by "nature, and although they do not easily forget or forgive an injury, "they would be a quiet well disposed people under good laws and a mild "government. The murders, and other crimes, which are now committed "in some places, are to be attributed more to the present faulty admi-"nistration than to any bad dispositions in the people. The same may be "remarked of the indolence and indifference which now characterize "them. Property in the land, with personal and commercial freedom "and security, would soon render them industrious."—*Hogendorp's Memoir on Java*, 1800.

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Pilgrimages to Mecca are common. When the Dutch first established themselves on Java, it was not unusual for the chiefs of the highest rank to undertake the voyage, as will be seen in the course of the native history. As soon, however, as the Dutch obtained a supremacy, they did all they could to check this practice, as well as the admission of Arab missionaries, and by the operation of the system of commercial monopoly which they adopted, succeeded pretty effectually. It does not, however, appear that this arose from any desire to check the progress of Mahomedanism on Java, or that it was with any view to introduce the doctrines of Christianity, that they wished to cut off the communication with Mecca; their sole objects appear to have been the safety of their own power and the tranquillity of the country. Every Arab from Mecca, as well as every Javan who had returned from a pilgrimage thither, assumed on Java the character of a saint, and the credulity of the common people was such, that they too often attributed to such persons supernatural powers. Thus respected, it was not difficult for them to rouse the country to rebellion, and they became the most dangerous instruments in the hands of the native authorities opposed to the Dutch interests. The Mahomedan priests have almost invariably been found most active in every case of insurrection. Numbers of them, generally a mixed breed between the Arabs and the islanders, go about from state to state in the Eastern Islands, and it is generally by their intrigues and exhortations that the native chiefs are stirred up to attack or massacre the Europeans, as infidels and intruders.

The commercial monopoly of the Dutch, however injurious to the country in other respects, was in this highly advantageous to the character of the Javans, as it preserved them from the reception of many of the more intolerable and deteriorating tenets of the *Kóran*.

I have already mentioned, that every village has its priest, and that in every village of importance there is a mosque or building set apart adapted to religious worship. The usual Mahomedan service is performed; and the *Panghúlu*, or priest, consulted, and decides in all cases of marriage, divorce, and inheritance. He is bound also to remind the villagers of the

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proper season for the cultivation of the lands. He is remunerated by a tithe of the produce of the land, certain fees which are paid on circumcisions, marriages, divorces, and funerals, and presents which are usual at particular seasons and on particular occasions.

In every chief town there is a high priest, who with the assistance of several inferior priests, holds an ecclesiastical court, and superintends the priests who are appointed in the subordinate districts and villages. His emoluments consist of a share, which varies in different districts, of the *zakát* levied by the village priests, of fees of court, presents, &c. These chief priests are usually either Arabs, or descendants of Arabs, by women of the islands. Their number in some of the large towns is considerable; at *Pakalóngan* and *Grésik* they have amounted to some hundreds. The village priests are mostly Javans. On entering the profession, they adopt a dress different from that of the Javans in general, wearing a turban and long gown after the manner of the Arabs, and encouraging, as much as possible, the growth of a few hairs on the chin, as a beard. It is probable, that the total number of priests is not less than fifty thousand, which forms a ninetieth part of the whole population of the island.

In common with other Mahomedans, the Javans observe the ceremony of circumcision (*sónat*), which is performed at about eight years of age, and in a manner somewhat differing from that usual in other countries. The ceremony is usually attended with a feast and rejoicing. Girls, at the same age, suffer a slight operation, intended to be analogous, and called by the same name.

In their processions and rejoicings on religious festivals and other occasions, the Javans are free from that noisy clamour and uproar, which is usual with the Mahomedans of continental India. The ceremony of *húsen hásen*, which on the continent excites such a general noise throughout the country, here passes by almost without notice, and the processions of the Sepoys on this occasion, during the period of the British government on Java, excited the utmost astonishment among them, on account of their novelty, noise, and gaudy effect; but nobody seemed inclined to join in, or to

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imitate them: indeed the Javans have too chaste an ear to bear with pleasure the dissonant sounds and unharmonious uproar of the Indians*.

The Mahomedan religion, as it at present exists on Java, seems only to have penetrated the surface, and to have taken but little root in the heart of the Javans. Some there are who are enthusiastic, and all consider it a point of honour to support and respect its doctrines: but as a nation, the Javans by no means feel hatred towards Europeans as *infidels*; and this perhaps may be given as the best proof that they are very imperfect Mahomedans. As another example of the very slight hold which Mahomedanism has of them, may be adduced the conduct of the reigning prince (the *Susúnan*) in the recent conspiracy among the Sepoys serving on Java. The intimacy between this prince and the Sepoys first commenced from his attending the ceremonies of their religious worship, which was Hindu, and assisting them with several idols of that worship which had been preserved in his family. The conspirators availing themselves of this predilection of the prince for the religion of his ancestors, flattered him by addressing him as a descendant of the great *Ráma*, and a deliberate plan was formed, the object of which was to place the European provinces once more under a Hindu power. Had this plan been attended with success, it would probably have been followed by the almost immediate and general re-conversion of the Javans themselves to the Hindu faith†.

* The Javans observe of the Mahomedans of continental India, that they would rather drink wine than eat pork; while the Javans, on the contrary, would rather eat pork than drink wine.

† In the account which has been given of the literature of the Javans, the most esteemed compositions connected with their ancient faith have been referred to; but as most of these, such as the *Ráma*, *Bráta Yúdha*, *Níti Sástra*, and others, are in many respects similar to corresponding works on the continent of India, it may not be uninteresting, while treating of the religion of the country, to give some account of the *Mánek Máya*, a composition in prose, which in its origin and story appears to be perfectly local, and which contains many of the peculiar notions still entertained by the people of the beginning of the world, &c. It is a work in high estimation among the modern Javans, and continually referred to. The copy in the Javan language from which the annexed translation was extracted, was procured as an especial favour from the present *Susúnan*.

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Whatever of their more ancient faith may remain in the institutions, habits, and affections of the Javans, the island abounds in less perishable memorials of it. The antiquities of Java consist of ruins of edifices, and in particular of temples sacred to the former worship; images of deities found within them, and scattered throughout the country, either sculptured in stone or cast in metal; inscriptions on stone and copper in ancient characters, and ancient coins.

The antiquities of Java have not, till lately, excited much notice; nor have they yet been sufficiently explored. The narrow policy of the Dutch denied to other nations facilities of research; and their own devotion to the pursuits of commerce was too exclusive to allow of their being much interested by the subject. The numerous and interesting remains of former art and grandeur, which exist in the ruins of temples and other edifices; the abundant treasures of sculpture and statuary with which some parts of the island are covered; and the evidences of a former state of religious belief and national improvement, which are presented in images, devices, and inscriptions, either lay entirely buried under rubbish, or were but partially examined. Nothing, therefore, of the ancient history of the people, of their institutions prior to the introduction of Mahomedanism, of their magnificence and power before the distraction of internal war and the division of the country into petty contending sovereignties, or of their relations either to adjacent or distant tribes, in their origin, language, and religion, could be accurately known or fully relied on. The grandeur of their ancestors sounds like a fable in the mouth of the degenerate Javan; and it is only when it can be traced in monuments, which cannot be falsified, that we are led to give credit to their traditions concerning it. Of these monuments, existing in great profusion in several places, and forming, if I may so express myself, the most interesting part of the annals of the people, none are so striking as those found at *Brambánan* in *Matárem*, near the middle of the island, at *Bóro Bódo* in *Kédu*, on *Gúnung Práhu* and its vicinity, in *Kedíri*, and at

It has obviously been compiled since the establishment of Mahomedanism, but neither the time at which it was written, nor its author, is known.

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Sing'a Sári in the district of *Málang*, in the eastern part of the island.

In addition to their claims on the consideration of the antiquarian, the ruins at two of these places, *Brambánan* and *Bóro Bódo*, are admirable as majestic works of art. The great extent of the masses of building covered in some parts with the luxuriant vegetation of the climate, the beauty and delicate execution of the separate portions, the symmetry and regularity of the whole, the great number and interesting character of the statues and bas-reliefs, with which they are ornamented, excite our wonder that they were not earlier examined, sketched, and described.

With respect to the ruins at *Brámbanan*, we find, upon the authority of a Dutch engineer, who in 1797 went to construct a fort at *Kláten*, on the highway between the two native capitals, and not far from the site of the temples, that no description of its antiquities existed at that period. He found great difficulty in clearing away the rubbish and plants, so as to obtain a view of the ruins and to be enabled to sketch them. The indifference of the natives had been as great as that of their conquerors, and had led them to neglect the works of their ancestors which they could not imitate. They had allowed a powerful vegetation, not only to cover the surface of the buildings, but to dislocate and almost to overthrow them. They still viewed with veneration, however, the most conspicuous statue in the ruins, and in spite of their Mahomedan principles, addressed it with superstitious reverence. The temples themselves they conceived to have been the work of a divinity, and to have been constructed in one night; but unfortunately this belief did not restrain the neighbouring peasants from carrying off the stones of which they were constructed, and applying them to their own purposes. Enough, however, still remains, to shew the style of architecture that was followed in their construction, the state of sculpture at the period of their erection, and the nature of the religion which then prevailed.

In the beginning of the year 1812, Colonel Colin Mackenzie *, so well acquainted with the antiquities of Western

* Now Surveyor-General of India.

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India, visited *Brambánan*, took an accurate survey of the ruins, and sketched the fragments of the building, the architectural ornaments, and the statues found there. His journal, accompanied with much ingenious and interesting speculation on the nature and origin of the worship indicated by them, he kindly permitted me to publish in the seventh volume of the transactions of the Batavian Society.

Considering it as a matter of importance, that a more extensive and detailed survey should be made while we had the best opportunity of doing so, I availed myself of the services of Captain George Baker, of the Bengal establishment, employed in the provinces of the native princes, to survey, measure, and take draughts of all the buildings, images, and inscriptions, which this magnificent mass of ruins presented. The following is an abstract of his report on the subject.

"In the province of *Matárem*, and between the native capitals of *Súra kerta* and *Yúgya kérta*, lies the village of *Brambánan*, and at a distance of a mile from the high road, there are hills which run east and west, for about a mile and a half. On one of these, within about one hundred yards to the south-east of the *Bándar's* * house, stands

THE CHANDI KÓBON DÁLAM,

but so covered with trees and shrubs, that it is not visible till you are within two or three hundred yards of it. I could find no remains of the ancient enclosure, but the fields for some distance round have been enclosed in later days with the stones which have fallen from the temple. About forty yards westward of the temple, formerly stood two colossal images or *réchas* †, both now overthrown, and one broken in two: these evidently faced each other inwards, as if to guard the approach. Each of these, including the pedestal, is of a single block, seven feet high; the head is two feet high; the square of the pedestal about three feet, and its height thirteen inches and a half: the stone block coarse grained, and apparently the same as the outer coating of the temple. The door-way is three feet

* *Bándar* is the term given to the Chinese farmer of the toll ports or transit duties; whence *bandáran*, the place or residence of the *bándar*.

† *Récha* is the term given by the Javans to all the remains of antiquity generally, but particularly to the images of their former worship.

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and a half wide, and now ten feet long, so that allowing two feet for dilapidation, the thickness of the walls must have been more than twelve feet. This leads directly to an apartment twenty feet square, the terrace of which, or original floor, is now covered to an unknown depth with masses of stone fallen from the walls and roof. The present height of the interior of the building is about twenty-eight feet.

The roof is a square pyramid about fourteen feet high, formed of stones which overhang each other like inverted steps. The stone composing the interior of the apartment is whitish and close grained, and breaks in flakes something like flint. The whole is uniformly cut and neatly morticed together without cement. The interior is perfectly plain, the exterior could never have possessed more than the simplest architectural embellishment.

Excepting the two *réchas*, or porters, I saw no remains of statuary; but it is probable that images of Hindu deities lie buried in the rubbish. These porters or giants seem to have been posted as if to guard the approach to the sanctuaries of the gods. The hair of each is plaited and wound round his head, after the fashion of the mendicant priests of India. He wears large cylindrical ear-rings, like those of the Javan women, bracelets and necklace of beads. His waistband, which is very bulky and reaches almost to his knees, is confined by a chain of square links, and receives on the right side a small square-hilted dagger. Between his legs and under the waistband there passes a *lungofa* or *kopina*, the ends of which hang down before and behind. In his right hand he holds an octagonal club; in his left a snake, coiled and darting its tongue along the breast: small twisted snakes also form his armlets, and one passes over his left shoulder diagonally across the body, the head and tail forming a kind of knot. His head is broad; his forehead and chin short but wide; his eyes quite round, large, prominent, and staring; his lips thick; his mouth open, and shewing two very large dog teeth and four others of the upper jaw. Singular as the countenace is, it has generally an open good humoured expression. The Sepoy who attended me, and who had resided two years among the Bramins at Benares, and, of a corps of upwards of eight hundred Sepoys, was acknowledged to be the best acquainted

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with such subjects, informed me that similar figures were common guardians of the entrance to the temples of India, and seemed perfectly well acquainted with their history, purpose, and distinctive accompaniments; but he was lost in surprise at the number, magnitude, and superior execution of those at *Brambánan*, to which he said that India could in no respect furnish a parallel. Every thing here, he said, was manifestly the work of the gods, as no human power could have effected such things. The temples at *Brambánan* are entirely composed of plain hewn stone without the least mixture of brick, mortar, or rubbish of any kind, even in the most extensive solid masses, or to fill up the floors and basements of the largest structures. Large trees have made their way through many of them, and give an air of high antiquity.

Close by the road side at *Brambánan*, and in front of the *bándar's* house, there are several pieces of sculpture deserving of notice. One is a very well executed relievo on two small stones, of about eighteen inches by five, within the *bándar's kámpung:* it represents elephants completely caparisoned in the Hindu fashion. Another is a piece of sculpture representing the wide-extended mouth and erect curled proboscis of the elephant, having a figure (I believe of a *Gôpie* or inferior deity or demi-god) seated in an erect posture on the animal's tongue, surrounded with a formidable array of teeth. This is found on either side of the top or bottom of flights of steps, grand entrances, or portal of all the *Brambánan* buildings. There is also a more finished specimen of the same kind as the last, but having instead of a *Gópia* a lion, decorated with a necklace, to whose head descends from the *lotos* flowers which crown the elevated proboscis of the elephant, a very rich cluster of beads. Two stones are sculptured in relief with the figures of seven apes traversing a wood: they are each about two feet six inches high by two feet wide. These pieces are more damaged by time and weather than any others I met with, and perhaps more ancient. They appear to be entirely historical, and probably formed together the memorial of some legendary event, which the learning of my Brahmin did not reach: he seemed however positive that *Hanumán* was not of the number. The shield occurs twice, a reptile of the lizard kind led by a string once, and all the figures appear armed with sticks.

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The only other piece of sculpture found here is of a headless naked figure, sitting on a double throne, surrounded with foliage, opposite the *Bandáran* at the corner of a field. The journal of Colonel Mackenzie, which had previously appeared in the Transactions of the Batavian Society, had so fully persuaded me that all these rude figures in a sitting cross-legged posture were *Jain* or *Budhist*, that I by accident only asked my companion if he knew what this was? To my astonishment he replied, that this, with all other similar images, were *tupis wurri*, or Hindus in the act of devotion, and that this figure was evidently a Brahmin (from the sacrificial or sacred string over his left shoulder) employed in *tupísya*. I asked him whether it might be *Budh*? to which he replied, No; that *Budh* held a very low rank in the estimation of the Brahmins, who, in consequence of the schism between Brahmins and Budhists, did not choose to make *tupísya* before him, or erect his likeness in their temples; and that, as all the temples at *Brambánan* were entirely Braminical, or had their origin from the same sect of which he himself was a member, it was not likely that any images of *Budh* should be found thereabouts. When we afterwards came to examine the temples at *Lóro Jóngran* and other places, where the same figure complete appears seated in the small temples, surrounding the great central one, I pointed out to him the long-extended ears, short curled head of hair, and other marks, which I had understood served to distinguish the *Jain* or *Budh* images from all others. He said he was only more convinced that they were all simple Hindu devotees in the act of making *tupísya*, in the presence of the principal deity enthroned in the grand temple in the midst of them; that this was frequently the case in India, and wherever practicable the Brahmins placed images of devotees, of exactly similar form and attitude, around the fanes of Brahma and their inferior gods; that what I called curled hair was nothing more than a peculiar kind of cap (*topi* he called it) worn by devotees when in the most sacred acts of *tupísya*, which caps are common, he said, throughout Bengal or Hindustan, and are made for the purpose, by a particular class of people. I found the lower part of two counterpart decorated stones, having the part of the body of *Ganésa* in the centre of each.

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They were extremely well executed and in good preservation.

CHÁNDI LÓRO JÓNGRANG; or TEMPLES OF LÓRO JÓNGRAN.

These lie directly in front (north) of the village of *Brambánan*, and about two hundred and fifty yards from the road, whence they are visible, in the form of large hillocks of fallèn masses of stone, surmounted, and in some instances covered, with a profusion of trees and herbage of all descriptions. In the present dilapidated state of these venerable buildings, I found it very difficult to obtain a correct plan or description of their original disposition, extent, or even of their number and figure. Those that remain, with any degree of their primary form or elevation, are ten, disposed in three lines, running north and south. Of those on the western line, which are far the largest and most lofty, that in the centre towers high above the rest, and its jutting fragments lie tumbled about over a large area. Nothing can exceed the air of desolation which this spot presents; and the feelings of every visitor are attuned, by the scene of surrounding devastation, to reflect, that while these noble monuments of the ancient splendour of religion and the arts are submitting, with sullen slowness, to the destructive hand of time and nature, the art which raised them has perished before them, and the faith which they were to honour has now no other honour in the land.

After repeated visits to the place, I am perfectly clear, that the temples of *Jongrángan* originally consisted of twenty separate buildings, besides the enclosures and gateway; that of these, six large and two small temples were within the second wall, and twelve small ones, exactly similar to each other, formed a kind of square about the exterior of the inner wall. The first temple that occurs on entering, is the small central one on the right hand of the present pathway; and though its roof is gone, a most beautiful terrace appears, which supported the building, and measures twenty-three feet six inches by twenty-two feet ten inches. At present the height of it is barely three feet and a half. The lower part contains five small niches on either side, profusely decorated and resting on small pilasters, each niche occupied by a lion, seated ex-

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actly similar to those described in the elephant's mouth. The intervals between the niches are very neatly filled with diminutive pilasters and other ornaments, displaying real taste and skill, which again support a double fillet projecting all round. One carved most beautifully, with a running festooned beading, with intermediate knots and pendents, each festoon filled with a lively representation of a parroquet with expanded wings, the other fillet with a fancy pattern more simple. On the opposite, or north side, was a building similar to this, but now a mound of stone.

The largest temple, apparently about ninety feet in height, is at present a mass of ruin, as well as the five others connected with it; but ascending to its northern face, over a vast heap of stones fallen from it and the third temple, at the height of about thirty feet, you reach the entrance: the whole is of hewn stones, fitted and morticed into each other, without rubbish or cement of any kind. Directly in front of the doorway stands the image of *Lóro Jóngran*. I had previously found a very similar, and I think a more beautiful representation of *Dévi*, as the Bramin called it, in the village of *Kuwíran*, about fifteen miles north-east from *Brambánan*. The image of *Lóro Jóngran* here has exactly the same attributes and accompaniments as that found at *Kuwíran*, but it is larger, not at all damaged, perfectly smooth, and with a polished surface: the buffalo is entirely recumbent; the character of the countenance, general figure, and attitudes, are very different, and the shape, attitude, and visage of the goddess, far less elegant and feminine. The figure at *Brambánan* is six feet three inches by three feet one inch in the widest part at the pedestal; that at *Kuwíran* is three feet nine inches high by twenty inches. The general description of this goddess, as read to me by the Bramin from a Sanscrit paper he copied at Benares, will serve to illustrate both these images, in the literal precise manner in which I took down his words.

" *Bhawáni*, *Dévi*, *Soca*, *Juggudumba*, *Mahamya*, *Lutala*,
" *Phulmuttis*, and *Mata*, are the designations of this power-
" ful goddess, who resides at *Shasi* or *Basini* (Benares), at an
" angle of the sacred Ganges. Her adoration is called *urchit*
" with oblations of flowers, *chundun*, *kundun*, and *mugt*.

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"In her hand she holds a *tulwar*, called *khug:* round her "neck she has a *mala* of *sumpurun*, *toolsi*, or *chundun*. "Her weight is very great, and wherever her effigy is placed "the earth trembles and becomes much heavier. The name "of her buffalo is *Mahisa*, and the *Dewth* who attempts to "slay it is *Ussoor*. She sleeps upon a bed of flowers."

Thus much could I understand, and repeat verbatim of this goddess's power and attributes. For the rest, in her eight arms she holds, 1st. the buffalo's tail; 2d. the sword called *khurg;* 3d. the *bhulla* or *janclin;* 4th. the *chukur* or *whut;* 5th. the *lune* or conch shell; 6th. the *dhat* or shield; 7th. the *jundah* or flag; and 8th. the hair of the *Dewth Mahikusor*, or personification of vice, who, while attempting to slay her favourite, *Mahisa* is seized by the goddess in a rage. He raises a *dhat* or shield in his defence, and a sabre, or some offensive weapon, should be in his right hand.

The apartment in which this image and some other sculptured stones are placed, rises perfectly square and plain, to the height of ten feet, and there occurs a richly carved cornice of four fillets, a single stone to each. From this rises the roof in a square pyramid, perfectly plain or smooth, for ten feet more.

Proceeding over the ruins round to the west face of this building, you pass the intermediate angular projection, carved alternately in a running flower or foliage, which Colonel Mackenzie has called *Arabesque*, and with small human figures of various form and attitude in compartments, above representations of square pyramidal temples, exactly like those on so many of the entablatures of *Bóro Bódo*, and similar, I understand, to the *Budh* temples of Ava, &c. &c., the whole extremely rich and minute beyond description. The western doorway is equally plain with the former, and the entrance is still lower. The apartment is ten feet two inches square, apparently more filled up (that is, the floor raised higher than the other), but in all other respects exactly the same. In front is seated a complete *Ganésa*, of smooth or polished stone, seated on a throne: the whole a single block, five and a half feet high and three wide. In his hands he has a plantain, a circlet of beads, a flower, and a cup to which the end of his proboscis is applied: a hooded snake

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encircles his body diagonally over the left shoulder. His cap is high, with a death's head and horned moon in front, and as well as his necklaces, waistband, armlets, bracelets, anklets, and all his habiliments, is profusely decorated. The only damage he appears to have sustained, is in losing all but the roots of his tusks.

The Javans to this day continue to pay their devoirs to him and to *Lóro Jóngran*, as they are constantly covered with turmerick, flowers, ochre, &c. They distinguish *Ganésa* by the name of *Raja Demáng*, *Singa Jáya*, or *Gana Singa Jáya*. Going still round over heaps of fallen stone to the south face, you with some difficulty enter by the door-way (nearly closed up by the ruin) into the third apartment, where there is scarce light enough to see a prostrate *Siva* with his feet broken off and lost. What remains is four feet ten inches and a half long, and two feet two inches wide.

The whole of the apartment on the east side has fallen in, or is closed up by the dilapidation of that entire front.

From the elevated situation of the entrances to all the apartments first described, it is evident that there must formerly have been flights of steps to them. The plan of this temple, and as far as I could judge of the two adjoining ones, north and south, was a perfect cross, each of the four apartments first described occupying a limb or projection of the figure, and the small intermediate protruding angles between these limbs of the cross could only be to admit of a large apartment in the centre of the building, to which, however, no opening was practicable or visible. Moreover, as all the grand entrances to the interior of Hindu temples, where it is practicable, face the rising sun, I could have wished to ascertain from this (the largest and most important at *Jongrángan*) whether or not the main apartment was in existence, as I had made up my mind, that were I possessed of the means to clear away the stone, I should have found *Brahma* himself in possession of the place: the smaller rooms being occupied by such exalted deities as *Bhawani*, *Siva*, and *Ganésa*, scarce any other, indeed, than *Brahma* could be found presiding on the seat of honour and majesty.

The three large temples on the eastern line are in a state of utter ruin. They appear to have been very large and lofty,

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and perfectly square. The upper terraces, just under the supposed entrances, were visible in some places, at the height of about sixty feet.

CHÁNDI SÉWU, or THE THOUSAND TEMPLES.

In the whole course of my life I have never met with such stupendous and finished specimens of human labour, and of the science and taste of "ages long since forgot," crowded together in so small a compass as in this little spot; which, to use a military phrase, I deem to have been the head quarters of Hinduism in Java. These ruins are situated exactly eight hundred and thirty-five yards north-north-east from the northern extremity of those of *Lóro Jóngran*, and one thousand three hundred and forty-five yards from the high road opposite the *bándar's* house. Having had in view all the way one lofty pyramidal or conical ruin, covered with foliage, and surrounded by a multitude of much smaller ones, in every stage of humbled majesty and decay, you find yourself, on reaching the southern face, very suddenly between two gigantic figures in a kneeling posture, and of terrific forms, appearing to threaten you with their uplifted clubs: their bulk is so great, that the stranger does not readily comprehend their figure. These gigantic janitors are represented kneeling on the left knee, with a small cushion under the right ham, the left resting on the retired foot. The height of the pedestal is fifteen inches, of the figure, seven feet nine inches to the top of the curls; total, nine feet. The head twenty-six inches long: width across the shoulders, three feet ten inches. The pedestal just comprises the kneeling figure, and no more.

The character and expression of the face I have never met with elsewhere: it belongs neither to India nor to any of the eastern isles. The countenance is full, round, and expressive of good humour. The eyes are large, prominent, and circular; the nose is prominent and wide, and in profile seems pointed; the upper lip is covered with tremendous mustaches; the mouth is large and open, with a risible character, shewing two very large dog-teeth; the under lip thin, and the chin very strait and short; forehead the same; no neck visible; the breast broad and full, with a very prominent round belly; the lower limbs, as well as the arms, extremely short and

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stout. But the most extraordinary appendage of these porters, is a very large full-bottomed wig, in full curl all over, which, however, the Bramin assured me (and I really believe) is intended to represent the usual mode in which the *Moonis* are supposed to dress their natural hair; these gigantic genii, whose duty it is to guard the sanctuaries of the gods, requiring as formidable an appearance as possible. In other respects the images are in the Hindu costume. The *lungota* passes between the legs, the ends of it decorated, hanging down before and behind, over the waistband, and a curious square-linked chain, which encircles the waist. A snake entwines the body diagonally over the left shoulder, the tail and head twisted on the left breast. A small ornamented dagger is stuck in the girdle on the right loins. A pointed club of an octagonal form is held up in the right hand, and rests on the knee; the left hand, dropped down his side, grasps a circled snake, which seems to bite the fore-part of the left arm. The necklace is of fillagree-work (such as is called *star)*; and the ears, which are large and long, are decorated with the immense ornamented cylindrical ear-rings worn by the Javan women of the present day. Round the two arms are twisted snakes, and round the wrist bracelets of beads. The waistband extends nearly to the knees. From the waist upwards the figure is naked.

The same description is applicable to the eight other pair of images, which guard the other approaches of *Chándi Séwu*, at twenty feet distance from the exterior line of temples, and facing inwards to each other about twelve feet apart. Each of these statues and its pedestal is of one piece of a species of pudding-stone, which must have required great care in working.

The whole site or ground-plan of these temples forms a quadrangle of five hundred and forty feet by five hundred and ten, exactly facing the cardinal points. The greater extent is on the eastern and western sides, as there allowance has been made for wider avenues leading up to the grand central temples situated within, while on the north and south sides the spaces between the small exterior temples are all alike. There is no vestige of an exterior boundary wall of any kind. The outer quadrangle, which is the limit of the

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whole, and which encloses four others, consists of eighty-four small temples, twenty-two on each face: the second consists of seventy-six; the third of sixty-four; the fourth of forty-four; and the fifth, or inner parallelogram, of twenty-eight; in all two hundred and ninety-six small temples, disposed in five regular parallelograms. The whole of these are upon an uniform plan, eleven feet and a half square on the outside, with a small vestibule or porch, six feet two inches long, by four feet and a half externally. Within is an apartment exactly six feet square, with a door-way five feet nine inches high, by three feet four inches wide, directly opposite to which stands the seat or throne of the statue which occupied the temple. The walls inside rise square to the height of seven feet ten inches, and quite plain; thence the roof rises about five feet more in a plain pyramid, and above that a perpendicular square rises two feet more, where the roof is closed by a single stone. The interior dimensions of the porch or vestibule in front were three feet and a half by two and a half. The thickness of wall to each temple was about two feet nine inches, and of the vestibule one foot four inches. The exterior elevation of each must have been about eighteen feet, rising square to the cornices about eight or nine feet, according to the irregularities of ground, and the rest a fanciful superstructure of various forms, diminishing in size to the summit, which was crowned with a very massive circular stone, surmounted with another cylindrical one rounded off at the top. The whole of each superstructure thus formed a kind of irregular pyramid, composed of five or six retiring steps or parts, of which the three lowest appeared to me of the figure of a cross, with intermediate projecting angles to the two lower, and retired ones to the upper step, which varied in position also from the lower ones. Above that the summit appeared to rise in an octangular form, diminishing gradually to the stones above described. The same kind of stone appears also to have been placed on the four projecting angles of at least the lower part of the elevation above the body of the building. I saw none that were complete; but from the detached views I had of all, I think either nine or thirteen similar ones were disposed at the various points of the roof. Besides these, the roofs had little in the way of

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decorations to attract notice, beyond a profusion of plain cornices, bands, fillets, or ribands, forming a kind of capital to the crest of each stage of the superstructure, and on one of them small square pilasters cut in bas-relievo at intervals.

I have already stated, that the small temples appeared to be all upon one uniform plan, differing however according to their situation. The decorations, internal and external, are alike in all, except that the interior niches are all variously filled with the endless variety of Hindu mythology.

Proceeding inwards from the southern *récha*, and reckoning from the centre, the distances are as follow: to the exterior line of the outer quadrangle twenty feet; depth of these temples, including porch, sixteen feet; space from thence to the next line of temples eleven feet; depth of the second quadrangle sixteen feet; thence to the third quadrangle thirty feet; supposed depth of this line sixteen feet; thence to the fourth quadrangle thirty feet; depth of the fourth quadrangle sixteen feet; thence to the fifth or inner quadrangle thirty feet; depth of the inner quadrangle sixteen feet; thence to the bottom of the flight of steps leading up to the grand temple fourteen feet; in all two hundred and fifteen feet from the centre of the porters to the bottom of the steps. The spaces between all the temples on the same line are about twelve feet and a quarter, but on the east and west sides the central avenue is larger. Between the inner quadrangle and the central temple, at a distance of five feet from the bottom step of it, runs a line of stone fourteen inches high, and two feet four inches wide.

We now come to the great temple. You ascend from each of the cardinal points by a flight of fourteen stone steps, all rough hewn, and now mostly disjointed or displaced. The length of each flight was about sixteen feet to the edge of the upper step, the breadth eight over all, and the height about ten feet, that being the elevation of the terrace of the temple. The walls of this elevated terrace projected on either side of the steps, so as to form with the walls that received the steps three sides of squares, which the Sepoy who was with me immediately said must have been intended for small tanks, one at each side of every flight of steps, for the devotees to purify themselves in before their appearance

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at the shrine of the deity. On the third step from the bottom, on each side of it, was a figure of *Hastu Singh* (or the lion seated in the elephant's mouth), looking outwards and having a very fine effect. The same figures, facing outwards, supported each side of the four entrances to the vestibules. The terrace has a breadth of three feet and a half, clear of the walls of the temple all round, and as far as I could discern in the ruin, following the angles of the edifice.

The form of the building, like that at *Lóro Jóngran*, is a cross, with the same intermediate angular projection, in order to afford room for the grand central apartment. Entering from the east you pass through a portal, five feet eight inches in width by five feet nine inches in length (which is the thickness of the walls), into an outer vestibule, twelve feet wide by ten deep. The walls of this vestibule are ornamented with three niches, a large and two smaller ones, with pointed arches, and all the profuse decoration of Hindu architectural sculpture. In most of these niches remained the throne of the inferior deities, who the Sepoy said must have originally occupied them: not one was now to be found. The throne was generally a single stone, decorated in front with a vase and profusion of flowers, filling the whole space in a natural easy manner. Leaving this room you pass on through a door-way four feet five inches in width, and four feet in depth (the thickness of the wall), but of uncertain height, to a second vestibule, fourteen feet nine inches wide, and four feet four inches deep. At either end of this vestibule is a door, twenty-six inches wide in the clear, four feet two inches deep in the passage or width of the wall, and barely five feet and a half high, which communicates with the surrounding terrace. This vestibule is perfectly plain, with the exception of a raised spiral fluting, which surrounds the large portal or gate leading into the central apartment, and terminates near the bottom steps in the representation of the elephant's mouth and trunk, simply cut in relief on the wall, with no other addition but several strings of beads descending from the top of his proboscis. The roofs of the vestibules or limbs of the building, though entirely fallen, were originally shaped like the Syrian, that is pointed and falling down to the upper cornice of the walls, with a gentle double swell or

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curve. The northern limb is an entire mass of confusion and ruin; but the description just given of the double vestibule on the east side of the temple, answers with a very trifling variation of dimensions to those on the south and west, but that instead of the large and spacious portal to be seen on the east, there are five very lofty niches let into the main walls about a foot, with pointed Indian arches, standing on square pilasters of the same fashion, the capitals of each of which are supported by a small, squat, doubled-up human figure, having its arms embowed over its head, which my Cicerone informed me was very common in the like situations in India. He concluded also, that images of the gods had occupied the niches in front against the main walls of the temple, on the north, south, or west sides; but we saw not one, and only the centre niches had even the thrones remaining. The niches and pilasters are surmounted with a very deep elaborate projecting cornice, crowned again with five representations of small temples on each side, and immediately over these are seen the two swells or curves of the original Syrian roof.

So far we have gone on a level with the external terrace or platform which surrounds the whole; but on the east side you ascend by a flight of eight steps, at least six feet high, through the spacious portal before mentioned, which is twelve feet high from the top of these stairs, and six feet eight inches wide in the clear, formed entirely of massive blocks of stones, well squared. The depth of the passage or thickness of the wall is ten feet. The top of the portal, which is flat or square externally, surmounted in the centre with a very large and terrible gorgon visage, changes with the ascent of the stairs, in a very artful manner, to the pyramidal form, internally, formed by the overhanging of the stones to resemble inverted square steps closed at the top with a single stone. You thus find yourself in the *sanctum sanctorum*, the spot which has rewarded the toil and zeal of many a weary pilgrim. My expectations were raised, and I imagined I should find the great and all-powerful Brahma seated here, in glory and majesty proportionate to the surrounding splendour and magnificence of his abode. Not a single vestige, however, remains of Brahma, or of any other deity. The apartment is a plain,

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unadorned square, of twenty-one by eighteen feet. Four feet from the eastern wall or door is a raised platform, three feet and a half high, extending all across the room (north and south), surmounted with a deep projecting capital or crest, to ascend which are two small flights of six steps each, situated at the extremities on either hand. The walls of this sanctuary, to the height of about forty feet, rise square and plain, and are composed of uniform blocks of greyish stone, well squared, and fitting closely without cement, grooved into each other, according to the general manner of all the buildings at *Brambánan.* Above this is a projected cornice of three or four stones, from which the roof assumes the pyramidal form of overhanging stones, or inverted steps, to the height of ten feet nearly; thence it rises perpendicular, plain and square, for about ten feet more, and hence to the top in an octangular pyramid of overhanging stones, approaching each other gradually by tiers or layers, for nearly fifteen feet more, where it closes finally with a stone, about two and a half or three feet across.

The exterior of this great temple contains a great variety of ornamental sculpture; but no human or emblematical figures, or even niches in the walls, as in all the small temples surrounding it. The capitals of the pilasters (as in the niches against the body of the temple) are indeed supported by the very diminutive figures before mentioned; but nothing further appears in that way throughout the whole structnre. The style, taste, and manner of execution, are every where light, chaste, and beautiful, evincing a fertile invention, most delicate workmanship, and experience in the art. All the figures occupying the niches of the smaller temples (and there were thirteen to each of the two hundred and ninety-six) are a wonderful variety of mythological characters, which the Brahmin said figured in the Hindu legends.

Of the small temples, at least two-thirds are strewed along the ground, or are mere ruined heaps of stone, earth, and jungle. On the third quadrangle no more than six large heaps of dilapidation remain: fields of palma christi, sugar-cane, and tobacco, occupy the place, and many detached spots on the site of the temples. Not one, in fact, is at all perfect: large trees and many kinds of herbage have shot up and split

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them asunder. They are covered with the foliage which has hastened or produced their destruction, certainly prematurely; for the stone itself, even externally, and where it would be most perceptible, on the sculpture, exhibits not the least token of decay. The whole devastation is caused by a most luxuriant vegetation. Towering directly over the temples the *waríngin*, or stately banyan, is conspicuous, both for its appearance and the extraordinary damage it has caused. In short, hardly twenty of the temples give a satisfactory notion of their original form and structure.

Under such circumstances it can hardly be supposed that I examined the interior of many of them. Few could boast of the original four walls alone; but within such as I did examine I found only five of the original images occupying their places. As these five, however, were found in points very remote from, and bearing no relation to each other, and were all exactly counterparts in size, shape, character, and general appearance, I may safely conclude, that each of the two hundred and ninety-six smaller temples contained a similar image. Of these five, which are exactly the same with those Colonel Mackenzie calls *Jain*, only one was perfect: the others had lost their heads and received other damage in the fall of their habitations; but all were manifestly intended to represent the same figure. The Bramin maintained that these were all *tupés-wurri*, or devotees, represented by the Braminical founder of these temples in the act of *tupísya*, around the sanctuary of the divinity himself, situated in the centre of them.

Returning from *Chándi Séwu* towards *Lóro Jóngran*, about half-way on the left of the road, two hundred yards distant, are the remains of a small assemblage of temples, which, on examination, proved to consist originally of a small square of fourteen temples, with a larger one in the centre. Five temples were on the east and west faces, and four on the north and south, including throughout those at the angles. The only difference, however, between these temples and the small ones of *Chándi Séwu* was, that they were rather smaller, and the elevated terraces raised much higher, those of *Chándi Séwu* not being a foot above the ground, while these were raised nearly four feet, and had a small flight of steps and a door-way inwards towards the middle temple. The exterior

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of all these buildings was perfectly plain, excepting a very simple square pilaster and cornice surmounting it. The central building alone possessed the very same kind of decorative sculpture which is seen on those of *Chándi Séwu*, was about twice the size of its neighbours, and about four feet larger either way than those of *Chándi Séwu*, from which it only further differed from having no porch. I shall only add to this brief notice, that the whole site of this cluster seems comprised in an area of eighty feet by sixty; that the spaces between the temples of this quadrangle are equal to the extent of each building; that only nine of the exterior temples, of which one is a mere heap of stones, exist in any form indicating their primitive order or position; and lastly, that no statuary of any kind remains, to indicate the deity in whose honour they were erected, except the relievos in the eleven niches round the central building, which certainly seemed, as the Bramin asserted, to be of the tribe of *Gopias*, or demigods and goddesses, which occupy the walls of the two hundred and ninety-six temples of *Chándi Séwu*.

The only name the Javans could give this assemblage was the generic term *chándi*, or temples. The inclosures of the surrounding fields attest the extent to which the farmers have turned to account the devastations made by the *waríngen* trees.

REMAINS at DINÁNG'AN, or RÁNDU GÚNTING.

Taking the road from *Brambánan* to *Yúgya kérta*, a little beyond the seventh furlong, you arrive at an angle bearing nearly south-west. At this angle, about sixty yards off the road to the left, a very large statue is conspicuous, standing close to the corner of the village of *Dináng'an*, which is behind it. Searching about I found the broken scattered remains of five other images exactly similar to it. Twenty yards in the rear of the erect image, and just to the westward of the village, a very extensive heap of blocks of hewn stone (particularly large hollow cylinders intended to hold the water used in ablution in India) intermingled with earth, points out the site of what must once have been a spacious temple, long since prostrate. The principal image is called by the Javans *Béga Minda*.

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CHÁNDI KÁLI SÁRI, or TEMPLE of KÁLI SÁRI.

Returning to the angle of the road which I had left to inspect *Béga Mínda* and his maimed and headless brethren, and proceeding along the high-road, at a distance of little more than two furlongs further, I crossed the small stream now called *Káli Béning*, formerly *Káli Búhus*. A hundred and twenty yards beyond this, having the village of *Káli Sári*, which gives its name to the temple, close to the right hand, you turn up a path between two hedges in that direction, and at the south-western side of the village, about two hundred yards off the road, you come upon the south-east angle of a large and lofty quadrangular building, having much the appearance of a two-story house, or place of residence of a Hindu Raja. It resembles a temple in no point of view even externally. It is an oblong square, regularly divided into three floors, the ground-floor having in front a large door between two windows, and on the sides two windows corresponding to the others. The first floor appears to have three windows in front, and two in the depth, answering to the apertures below, and through the foliage which decorates and destroys this monument of grandeur, may be seen several small attic windows at intervals, seemingly on the slope of the roof: these, however, are false, as the structure has but the two floors and no other.

The external appearance of this edifice is really very striking and beautiful. The composition and execution of its outer surface evinces infinite taste and judgment, indefatigable patience and skill. Nothing can exceed the correctness and minute beauties of the sculpture throughout, which is not merely profuse, but laboured and worked up to a pitch of peculiar excellence, scarcely suitable to the exterior of any building, and hardly to be expected in much smaller subjects in the interior of the cabinet. It originally stood upon an elevated terrace of from four to six feet in height, of solid stone. The exterior dimensions of this building are fifty-seven feet and a half by thirty-three and a half, measured along the walls just above the terrace or line of the original basement, which is divided obviously enough into three parts,

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by the centre projecting nearly a foot, and the general correspondent composition or arrangement observable in each. The door in the centre is four feet eight inches and a half wide, surmounted with the wide-gaping, monstrous visage, before described at *Chándi Séwu*, from which runs round each side of the portal a spiral-fluted chord, ending near the bottom in a large sweep or flourish, inclosing each a caparisoned elephant in a rising posture; the space left over its hinder quarters being filled with the face of a *munnook*, or human being, all in the usual style of relief. At either side of the door the original coat of stone has fallen, as far as the extremities of the vestibule, which covered the whole central compartment of the east or front of the building. In the middle of each of the other divisions is an aperture or window, nearly a square of eighteen inches, having a very deep and projected double resemblance of a cornice beneath, resting on the upper fillet of the terrace, while the same single projection crowns the top of the window, surmounted with a more lofty and elegant device of two elephants' heads and trunks, embellished and joined in a most tasteful way, with a profusion of other devices. On either side of the windows is a small double pilaster, having a space between for the figure of a small *garúda*, an effigy well known by the Hindus, which is human down to the waist, and has the body, wings, and talons of an eagle. Beyond the second pilaster, on each side of the windows, is a large niche rising from the terrace to the cornice or division between the upper and lower story. The niche is sunk in the wall about four inches, and is formed by the adjoining pilasters rising straight to their capitals, whence the top of the niche is formed by a very beautiful series of curved lines, leaving the point clear in the centre, which I can hardly compare to any thing but rounded branches of laurel, or some such foliage. This is crowned with a square projecting fillet, which reaches the central cornice dividing the two floors. Beyond the last pilaster of the niches, a single stone brings you to the angle of the building, which is covered from top to bottom with the running arabesque border, most delicately executed. On entering the building, the mind of every one must be fully satisfied that it was never constructed for, or dedicated to, mere religious purposes. The arrangement is

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entirely adapted to the domestic residence of a great Hindu chieftain or raja.

The whole building, within and without, was originally covered with a coat of very fine chunam, or lime, about one-sixth of an inch thick, of surprising tenacity.

CHÁNDI KÁLI BÉNING.

Pursuing the high-road from the spot at which you leave it to visit the palace of *Báli Sári*, at the distance of about three furlongs and a half, a lofty, massy pile is seen, about one hundred yards off the road to the left. This ruin is of the same general form and appearance as the larger temples at *Chándi Séwu* and *Lóro Jóngran*, but on a closer examination is found to be superior to the whole, in the delicate and minute correctness of execution of all its decorative parts. It is a cross, with the intermediate angles projected to give space to a large central apartment, which is entered from the east side only. The building is about seventy-two feet three inches in length and the same in breadth. The walls are about thirty-five feet high; and the roof, which appears to have fallen in to the extent of five feet, about thirty more. Only one front or vestibule is perfect.

On the south face is seen a small door, five feet seven inches high, and three feet five inches and a half wide, situated in a deep niche, which also receives in the recess above the door a small figure of *Síta* (as the Sepoy called it) in a sitting posture. Beyond the door a small projection contains probably more various elaborate specimens of the best sculpture, than were to be found any where within a small compass, and on similar materials. A very large and well defined monster's head projects over the door, surrounded with innumerable devices of excellent workmanship. I know not how to describe them, nor the niche beneath, containing *Síta*, which, amongst other accompaniments is supported by two small pilasters, the capitals of which are upheld by the small naked figures before described, under the generic term of *munnook*. The central compartment of this southern limb (which is formed by the niche and door below, and the gorgon head above) terminates at the top in a point, by a gradual elliptical slope upwards on both sides. These sides of the slope are filled, on either

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hand, with a succession of small naked *munnook* figures, all seated on various postures on the steps formed for their reception, along the edges of this ellipse, and closed by a similar one above.

On either side of the door-way is a small niche, three feet high and six inches wide, supported by small pilasters, and filled with relievo figures of the fraternity of *Gópias* and their wives. That occupying the niche to the right, my Cicerone recognised to be *Krésna*. He was peculiarly happy to find *Síta* seated over the door, which he declared to be a decisive proof of the sense and devotional excellence of the founders of this superb temple, which he very justly extolled, as far excelling in sculptural beauty and decorations, any thing he had ever seen or heard of in India, or could possibly imagine had existence any where. This surprise and admiration at the superiority of the Javan architecture, sculpture, and statuary, over those of India, was manifest in every Sepoy who saw them. Nothing could equal the astonishment of the man who attended me throughout this survey at every thing he saw; nor did he fail to draw a very degrading and natural contrast between the ancient Javans, as Hindus and artists, and their degenerate sons, with scarce a remnant of arts, science, or of any religion at all.

The arch of all the niches is surmounted with a very lofty and magnificent representation, in bas-relievo, of a grand pyramidal temple, on a small scale, though superior in size, and far more so in execution, to those at *Lóro Jóngran* or at *Bóro Bódo*. Beyond these niches to the angles of the building, are a series of pilasters, rising to the cornice, which surmounts the whole face of each projecting vestibule. In the centre, just at the point of each niche, is a gorgon head of the usual aspect, which is surrounded by the lofty temples just described.

The exterior sides of the vestibules occupy an extent of eleven feet and a half, in the centre of which is a niche, much larger and deeper than those in the front, being about six feet high and two wide, and one deep in the clear, supported on either side by a real Hindu pilaster, already described, and the top of the niche surmounted with the gorgon head and pyramidal temple, equally well known by description. Each

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of these niches was formerly occupied with solid statues, I imagine of *Gopia*. On either side of these single niches are the same series of terminating pilasters (three in number), which occur also on the fronts of the vestibules, of which the centre one is a very magnificent running arabesque, from top to bottom; the two others are plain without any variation.

A very fine coat of stucco, of excellent quality, covers the whole exterior surface of the temple, and is made so to follow the most minute and laboured strokes of skill on the stone underneath it, as even considerably to add to their effect, particularly in concealing the junction of the stones. The walls are surmounted with a deep projecting double cornice. No principal image was found in the temple or vestibules.

REMAINS OF AN ANCIENT HALL OF AUDIENCE, &c. AT KÁLI BÉNING.

The temple which I have just described stands close to the north side of the village of *Káli Béning*, east of which is the river of that name; and as I had never before heard of any thing further in this quarter, I fancied my work was over, I was, however, most agreeably surprised, on being told by my Javan guides that there was something more to be seen directly south of the village behind us. We accordingly passed through it, and barely one hundred and fifty yards from the temple, in a high sugar-cane and palma christi plantation, we came suddenly on two pair of very magnificent gigantic porters, all facing eastwards, each having stood about twelve feet from the others. The pedestals of all these statues are nearly covered, or rather entirely sunk into the ground. The height of each figure, from the top of the pedestal, is five feet one inch and a half, and breadth at the shoulders three feet six inches. They are generally much better executed, defined, and consequently more marked and striking in their appearance, than those I had seen. The countenance is much more marked and expressive, the nose more prominent and pointed, the eyebrows meeting in a formidable frown. The hair flows all round and down the back in large ringlets and curls, and on the ankles, instead of

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beads, are the small circular bells common in India, under the name of *googoor*. These figures are called *Gopolo*. Behind the second pair of porters, or west of them, is a heap of ruins of brick and mortar, which proved on examination to be the remains of an ancient hall of audience or state, originally standing on fourteen pillars, with a verandah all round it standing on twenty-two pillars. The porters guarded this building exactly in the centre of its eastern front: the nearest pair scarcely thirty feet distant from it. The greatest length of the building was east and west. The inner apartment over all gave forty-seven feet in length, including the pillars: the width of the hall was twenty-eight feet and a half in the same way. A verandah, of twelve feet and a half wide all round over the pillars, surrounded the hall.

It struck me forcibly, that the house at *Káli Sári* was formerly the residence of some great Hindu Raja of Java; the superb temple at *Káli Bening*, the place of his devotions and prayers; this hall, a little south of it, that of state or audience, perhaps also of recreation after his devotions. Other ruins of brick-work, without any mixture of stone, were close by, and perhaps served as out-houses.

BÓRO BÓDO.

In the district of *Bóro*, in the province of *Kedú*, and near to the confluence of the rivers *Elo* and *Prága*, crowning a small hill, stands the temple of *Bóro Bódo* *, supposed by some to have been built in the sixth, and by others in the tenth century of the Javan era. It is a square stone building consisting of seven ranges of walls, each range decreasing as you ascend, till the building terminates in a kind of dome. It occupies the whole of the upper part of a conical hill, which appears to have been cut away so as to receive the walls, and to accommodate itself to the figure of the whole structure. At the centre, resting on the very apex of the hill, is the dome before mentioned, of about fifty feet diameter; and in its present ruinous state, the upper part having

* So termed by the people of the neighbouring villages. *Bóro* is the name of the district, *bódo* means ancient.

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fallen in, only about twenty feet high. This is surrounded by a triple circle of towers, in number seventy-two, each occupied by an image looking outwards, and all connected by a stone casing of the hill, which externally has the appearance of a roof.

Descending from thence, you pass on each side of the building by steps through five handsome gateways, conducting to five successive terraces, which surround the hill on every side. The walls which support these terraces are covered with the richest sculpture on both sides, but more particularly on the side which forms an interior wall to the terrace below, and are raised so as to form a parapet on the other side. In the exterior of these parapets, at equal distances, are niches, each containing a naked figure sitting cross-legged, and considerably larger than life*; the total number of which is not far short of four hundred. Above each niche is a little spire, another above each of the sides of the niche, and another upon the parapet between the sides of the neighbouring niches. The design is regular; the architectural and sculptural ornaments are profuse. The bas-reliefs represent a variety of scenes, apparently mythological, and executed with considerable taste and skill. The whole area occupied by this noble building is about six hundred and twenty feet either way.

The exterior line of the ground-plan, though apparently a perfect square when viewed at a distance, is not exactly of that form, as the centre of each face, to a considerable extent, projects many feet, and so as to cover as much ground as the conical shape of the hill will admit: the same form is observed in each of the terraces.

The whole has the appearance of one solid building, and is about a hundred feet high, independently of the central spire of about twenty feet, which has fallen in. The interior consists almost entirely of the hill itself†.

* These figures measure above three feet in height in a sitting posture, and with the images found in the towers exactly resemble those in the small temples at *Chándi Séwu*

† Drawings of the present and former state of this edifice, and illustrative of the sculptural ornaments by which it is distinguished, have been made, and have been long in the hands of the engraver.

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Near the site of this majestic edifice was found a mutilated stone image of *Brahma*, and at no great distance, situated within a few yards of the confluence of the rivers *Elo* and *Prága*, are the remains of several very beautifully executed and interesting temples, in form and design corresponding with those in the neighbourhood of *Brambánan*. In niches and on the walls of these are designed in relief numerous figures with many arms, evidently of the Braminical order, most of them having their several attributes perfect. It is remarkable that at *Bóro Bódo* no figures of this description occur.

The image of the harpy (No. 1. of the annexed plate) was taken from the temple at *Bóro Bódo* and brought to England: it is of stone, in length about twenty inches, and exceedingly well executed. The other subjects in this plate were not found in this neighbourhood. No. 2 is a stone box about a foot square, containing a small golden *lingam*: it was recently dug up near *Málang* by a peasant, who was levelling the ground for a cooking place. No. 3 and 4 are representations of ornamental stone water-spouts, collected in the vicinity of *Pakalung'an*. No. 5 is an ornamental corner stone, now lying among the ruins of *Majapáhit*, the figure carved upon which is nearly as large as life.

Next to *Bóro Bódo* in importance, and perhaps still more interesting, are the extensive ruins which are found on *Gúnung Díeng*, the supposed residence of the gods and demi-gods of antiquity *. This mountain, from its resemblance to the hull of a vessel, is also called *Gúnung Práhu*. It is situated northward and westward of the mountain *Sindóro*, which forms the boundary between *Kedú* and *Bányumas*, and terminates a range of hills running east from the mountain of *Tegál*. There are no less than twenty-nine different peaks of this mountain, or rather cluster of mountains, each of which has its peculiar name, and is remarkable for some peculiar production or natural phenomenon.

On a table-land about six hundred feet higher than the sur-

* Here, according to the tradition of the Javans, are to be found the ruins of *Arjúna, Gatut Kácha, Bíma, Derma Kasúma, Sa Déva*, and other characters who figured in the *Bráta Yúdha*, or war of the *Pándus*.

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rounding country, which is some thousand feet above the level of the sea, are found the remains of various temples, idols, and other sculpture, too numerous to be described in this place. A subject in stone, having three faces, and another with four arms, having a ball or globe in one hand and a thunderbolt in another, were the most conspicuous.

The ascent from the country below to the table-land on which these temples stood is by four flights of stone steps, on four different sides of the hill, consisting of not less than one thousand steps each. The ascent from the southern side is now in many parts steep and rocky, and in some places almost inaccessible, but the traveller is much assisted by the dilapidated remains of the stone steps, which appear to be of the greatest antiquity. Time alone, indeed, cannot have so completely demolished a work, of which the materials were so durable and the construction so solid. The greatest part of this wonderful memorial of human industry lies buried under huge masses of rock and lava; and innumerable proofs are afforded of the mountain having, at some period since the formation of the steps, been in a state of violent eruption. Near the summit of one of the hills there is a crater of about half a mile diameter.

At no great distance from this crater, in a north-west direction, is situated a plain or table-land, surrounded on all sides but one by a ridge of mountains about a thousand feet above it. At some very remote period it was perhaps itself the crater of a vast volcano. On its border are the remains of four temples of stone, greatly dilapidated, but manifestly by the effect of some violent shock or concussion of the earth. The largest of them is about forty feet square: the walls are ten feet thick, and the height about thirty-five feet. The only apartment which it contains is not more than twenty feet square, and has only one entrance. The roof is arched to a point in the centre, about twenty feet high above the walls, so that the whole building was almost one solid mass of masonry, composed of the most durable cut stone, in blocks of from one to two feet long and about nine inches square. Yet these walls, so constructed, are rent to the bottom. It was particularly observable, that little or no injury had been done by vegetation, the climate being unfa-

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vourable to the *waríngen*, whose roots are so destructive to the buildings of the lower regions. The entablatures of these buildings still exhibit specimens of delicate and very elegant sculpture. Several deep excavations are observed in the neighbourhood. These, it is said, were made by the natives, in search of gold utensils, images, and coins, many of which have, from time to time, been dug up here.

The whole of the plain is covered with scattered ruins and large fragments of hewn stone to a considerable distance. In the centre are four more temples, nearly similar to those before mentioned, but in a much better state of preservation, the sculpture being in many places quite perfect. Numerous images of deities are scattered about.

On a more minute examination of this plain, traces of the site of nearly four hundred temples were discovered, having broad and extensive streets or roads running between them at right angles. The ground-plan of these, as far as it could be ascertained, with sketches of the different images, ornaments, and temples, which distinguish this classic ground, have been made by Captain Baker, who devoted three weeks to the accomplishment of this interesting object. At present I have it only in my power to exhibit a drawing of one of the temples, in the state in which it was found in 1815, with the same temple restored to what it originally was.

The whole of the country lying between *Gúnung Dieng* and *Brambánan*, in a line nearly crossing the central part of the island, abounds with ruins of temples, dilapidated images, and traces of Hinduism. Many of the villagers between *Blédran* and *Jétis*, in the road from *Bányumas* through *Kedú*, have availed themselves of the extensive remains to form the walls of their buildings. In the enclosures to several of the villages (which are here frequently walled in) are discovered large stones, some representing gorgon heads, others beautifully executed in relief, which had formed the friezes and cornices of temples, all regularly cut so as to be morticed together, but now heaped one upon another in the utmost confusion and disorder.

Along the fields, and by the road-side, between *Jétis* and *Mágelan*, are seen in ditches or elsewhere many beautiful remains of sculpture, and among them many *yonis* and *lin-*

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gams, where they seem not only to be entirely disregarded by the natives, but thrown on one side as if in the way.

The following is the account given by Dr. Horsfield of the ruins found in the Eastern Provinces of the native princes, in the year 1815.

KEDÍRI, &c.

"In the districts of *Jagarága*, *Charúban*, *Ráwa*, *Kalángbret*, *Trengáli*, *Pranarága*, and *Magetán*, these antiquities are dispersed solitary at occasional points, and consist principally of images or *réchas*. The remains of buildings, and of towns and cities, generally distinguished by the name of *Kóta-bedáh*, are also noticed; but *Mádion*, *Kértasána*, *Kedíri*, and *Sreng'át*, contain very important and interesting antiquities.

In regarding them, the vicinity of the former capital of the princes of the house of *Majapáhit* strikingly offers itself for consideration; and a traveller perceives them to increase in number, as he proceeds from the western to the eastern districts.

Commencing my notices from the westward, I have to point out in *Mádion* four monuments, or stones covered with inscriptions: these, with several pedestals and other remains of ancient buildings, have been collected and employed at *Mauspáti*, the capital of *Mádion*, lately established by *Ráden Ráng'ga*, the well known rebel of the *Yúgya-kerta* court. On the largest of these monuments the characters of the inscription are still in a great degree distinguishable, and these I have carefully taken off; on the others, which are smaller, the characters, although completely perceivable, are too much obliterated by the decomposition and decay of the substance of the stone to afford a copy. Besides these inscriptions; remains of buildings, pedestals, and *réchas* of different sizes, have also been collected from various parts of this province, and employed to decorate a well and bath near the capital. After a considerable interruption, which contains no remains at present, I discovered, in a direction almost due east from *Mauspáti*, in the district of *Anjóg*, a monument with an inscription in a more perfect state. In form this, as well as the

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others, resembles the common tomb-stones of our burial grounds, exceeding them only in size: its dimensions have been carefully taken. Four sides are covered with characters; two of these were in a state sufficiently preserved to be copied with only occasional deficiencies. This stone was placed near a *chándi*, of which the ruins only remain. It was two stories high, built of elegant bricks, according to the usual plan and distribution. In size, it nearly agrees with that of *Jábung*, near *Probolíngo*. It is obvious, that both the dimensions and the general plan of the numerous *chándis* found in these eastern districts, built of these materials, are similar; at least they do not exhibit that variety, both in size and distribution, that is observed among the larger edifices built of stone.

Anjóg is connected in the east to *Kértasána*. In this province I found two monuments covered with inscriptions, a *kótah bedáh*, or destroyed capital, and various *réchas*. The district of *Brébeg* has lately been separated from *Kértasána*. The newly-appointed *Tumúng'gung*, in clearing and levelling the ground for a dwelling and for a new capital, on the site of the village *Brébeg*, discovered, by following the indication of water oozing from the surface, in a slight concavity covered by a wild vegetation, the remains of a bath, constructed with neatness, and not without taste and art. The principal excavation, which appears to have been employed as a bath, is oblong, and about ten feet in length. Six small outlets or fountains pour the water into it, which was conducted from a rivulet flowing at some distance, by small canals cut of stone, but bedded in a foundation of brick. The fountains discharging the water are covered with sculpture in relief, tolerably executed: one of these is a female figure pouring small streams from the breasts. Adjoining to this bath are several other reservoirs of water, included in the same square, and receiving the supply by the same channels. Every thing is constructed massy of regular and elegant bricks. The present *Tumúng'gung* has collected, near this bath, many *réchas* and other antiquities from various parts of the district: among these was found one small inscription. Towards the foot of mount *Wilis*, in a southern direction from *Brébeg*, I visited, at the village *Ng'etos*, a *chándi* constructed of brick, and still

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entire, with only partial dilapidation of the ornamental parts. It is on the whole very similar to the appearance exhibited by the remains of the *chándi* at *Anjóg*, and to the others constructed of bricks in the eastern districts above mentioned. Near this is a smaller *chándi*, of the same construction, in ruins, with various other remains of antiquity.

The environs of the capital of *Kediri* abound with antiquities of every kind; but it is evident that here, more than at other places, great expense and labour has been bestowed to demolish the buildings and to mutilate the images. In all parts of the site of the present capital I noticed fragments covered with sculpture in relief, broken *réchas*, and regularly chiselled oblong stones, of that kind which was employed in the construction of the *chándis*, besides very extensive foundations, in brick, of walls, buildings, &c. I am further led to suppose, from the regularity and elegance of the materials employed, that a Mahomedan temple and grave have been constructed almost entirely from an ancient building demolished for the purpose, at the period of the introduction of the Mahomedan religion. This temple is called *Astána Gedóng*, but none of the present inhabitants can give any information as to the period of its construction. As it is of Mahomedan origin I took only a very slight view of it, to avoid the disagreeable gesticulations which the natives always exhibited on the approach of one of their sanctuaries; and it is a very comfortable circumstance that a traveller is freely permitted to examine undisturbed, all those antiquities which are unequivocally derived from a period preceding the introduction of Mahomedanism, or from what the natives call "*wong kúna*, *kapir*, or *buda*."

I shall shortly enumerate the principal antiquities of *Kediri* which I visited, and only mention the names of those villages where the greatest number of *réchas* are dispersed. These are *Pápar*, *Kebo-gádung*, *Gadúngan* and *Págot*.

The cave of *Séla-mángleng* is situated about two miles in a western direction from the capital, at the foot of the hill *Klótok*, an appendage to the large mountain of *Wílis*: it consists of four small apartments cut into the solid rock composing the hill, on a very gentle eminence. The apartments are adjoining to each other, forming a regular series, which

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stretches from north to south. The two middle apartments, which are the largest, have each an entrance from without, while those at the extremity communicate by an interior door, each with the apartment next to it. They differ but little in size. Their form is square or oblong; the largest is less than twenty feet in length. The walls of the two principal apartments are covered with sculpture, and various platforms and projections indicate the places of devotion or penance. Several *réchas* now arranged in the avenue leading to the cave, as well as the sculpture covering the walls of the apartments within, are handsomely worked; but the external sculpture of the rock is coarse, and the steps by which one ascends, which are cut out of the same general mass of rock, appear to have been made intentionally rude. Several niches for *réchas*, lamps, &c. are cut in various parts of the walls; a *lingam*, several reservoirs of water, and other figures are arranged on the vestibule. Of an inscription on the external rock, one regular line, stretching from the door of the outer apartments to the northern extremity of the rock, is still discernible, but many of the characters are probably too much effaced to afford an explanation.

In an eastern direction from the capital of *Kediri*, the antiquities of *Séntul* and of *Prúdung* are the most remarkable. *Séntul* is situated near the district of *Tiga-wángi*, in a forest, the condition of which indicates an undisturbed vegetation for many successive ages. The dimensions of the principal edifice, now remaining nearly entire, are comparatively inconsiderable, but the workmanship is executed in a style of elegance, equal to that of any antiquity found on the island. By the present inhabitants the building is denominated a *chúnkup*, which word, in as far as it admits of a precise translation, denotes a place of burial or a repository of the dead. It appears to resemble, in its general scheme, several of the other principal antiquities of Java, being a solid massy structure, without any internal apartment or chamber, as a *chándi*, but affording, on the summit, an extensive platform or place of devotion, to which one of the sides is appropriated to furnish an ascent, while the others are perpendicular. The access to the *chúnkup* was from the west. Not only the sides of the stairs, but the perpendicular walls of the building, are ornamented

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by entablatures, the internal divisions of which are covered by elegant sculpture, while the projections are carved into a great variety of forms, which can only be represented clearly by a drawing. A few images, removed from their original situation, are dispersed through different parts of the surrounding area, displaying an exquisite workmanship. On the summit remains an highly elegant reservoir of water of uncommon dimensions. The plan of this building is a nearly regular square, the sides of which are about thirty-six feet in length.

It contains in its foundation a subterraneous cell, to which the descent is by very narrow steps, leading from the south: this consists of three compartments, gradually decreasing in dimensions as they extend into the body of the building. The height of the cell does not permit a person to stand erect, and no vestiges indicate its former appropriation, whether as a place of devotion or penance, or for the reception of the remains of the person to whose memory devotion was paid on the summit.

Near this *chúnkup* is a smaller building of the same kind, equally ornamented by handsome sculpture. The remaining bases of numerous walls shew the division of the surrounding court into many compartments, and the whole adjoining territory was included within a wall constructed of brick, of which I found the vestiges in various points, and numerous separate foundations and detached fragments of chiseled stone remain within the exterior wall in the confines of the *chúnkup*.

In proceeding from *Séntul*, in an eastern direction, to the extremity of the province of *Kedíri*, solitary remains of antiquity are occasionally found; aad it is probable that these extend, without considerable interruption, towards the celebrated antiquities of *Málang*. Among these, *túgus* or landmarks are also observed.

The *chándi* of *Prúdung* is situated about eight miles southwest of *Séntul*. Though constructed entirely of brick, this edifice deserves particular notice. It exceeds in its dimensions and importance all other edifices built of the same materials that I have seen. Besides a principal apartment, the entrance to which is from the west, it contains in the east, the north, and the south, smaller apartments on the same floor,

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whose entrance corresponds to the niches usually observed in the walls. The projecting base containing the stairs has been destroyed, and one ascends at present to view the interior of the *chándi* by a ladder, the height of about twenty feet. The dimensions of the ornaments and figures on the sides correspond to the size of the building, and the sculpture is executed in a superior style. Following a southern direction, *réchas*, reservoirs of water, mortars, fragments of buildings and ornaments, are found at almost every village. Near the boundary, but within the province of *Sreng'át*, a *chándi* of brick, of the usual size, still remains entire near the village *Genéngan*.

The *réchas* which have been accumulated at the capital of *Sreng'át* from the vicinity, indicate the condition of the ancient establishments, as the general review of the antiquities found in this province, strongly points out that its former culture was very different from its present rudeness. Places which are now covered with almost impenetrable forests, like those surrounding the *chúnkup* of *Séntul*, the first appearance of which would indicate an undisturbed growth from the origin of vegetation, are found to conceal the most stupendous monuments of human art and labour. During various botanical excursions which I made through this province, I discovered (or rather was led to them by the natives) the *chándi* of *Gedóg*, the antiquities at *Penatáran*, and various monuments covered with inscriptions, which I shall separately enumerate below.

The *chándi* of *Gedóg* is a structure in the usual style of brick, but executed with superior excellence, while much of the ornametal work is supplied of stone. Several of the sides are still entire, but the base of the entrance or steps has gradually separated. *Gedóg* is situated near *Blitar*, formerly a capital, but now reduced to a simple village. Here, also, interesting antiquities are found, among which the site of a deserted capital, with its walls and many stone pedestals, attract the notice of the traveller.

Proceeding in a nearly north-east direction, I visited the antiquities at *Penatáran*. These, if not of the first rank, must doubtless be considered as belonging to those of second importance and interest, both on account of extent and execution; but a complete and accurate description would require a detail too extensive for my present purpose. The greatest

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part of these antiquities is now in ruins. Their general plan indicates an appropriation both to purposes of devotion and habitation. They comprize an extensive area of an oblong form, which was surrounded by an external wall of which the foundations can be traced throughout, and the whole was divided into three compartments. The principal edifice is situated in the eastern compartment, and was only accessible after passing three separate gates, which are all discernible, although much decayed. They are individually guarded, as at *Chándi séwu* and *Sínga-sári*, by porters resting on their hams, while a knee is drawn up to support the hand clasping a club of proportionate size. The principal gate, in ancient times probably the only entrance, is of huge dimensions, and guarded by porters of gigantic size. This led to the first subdivision of the whole area, in which two elevated plains, of an oblong form, confined by walls rising above the surrounding territory, and in all probability the floors of former places of dwelling, are the most interesting objects that now remain.

One of these plains extends to the north-east extremity, having been in contact with the external wall, as appears from its relative situation to the gate, and to the foundations that still exist; this is of great dimensions: the other inclines more to the middle of this compartment, and is somewhat less in extent. Both exhibit the appearance of having supported a building, and are elevated at present about three feet above the level of the surrounding forest, while the same depth is concealed by a layer of vegetable mould, accumulated during many successive ages. The sides of the smaller plain are covered with elegant sculpture in relief, the detail of the design of which would alone require a considerable time. Four entrances are indicated by as many flights of steps, the sides of which are elegantly decorated, and the pedestals still remaining at regular intervals along the confines, having the form of truncated pyramids, appear to shew that it was covered by a roof supported by wooden pillars, somewhat in the style of the *pasébans* of the present Javans. Similar pedestals are likewise placed in regular order along the sides of the large plain, which has the same number of entrances as the smaller, of which those in the north and south are guarded by porters of comparatively small stature.

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The second compartment is less extensive than the western: a small *chándi* of excellent workmanship, built of stone, here attracts particular notice. The remains of various buildings, pedestals, and broken ornaments, are also observed, and it is probable that others are concealed by the forest and mould which covers this compartment, which must be considered as the vestibule to the third or eastern division, containing the principal edifice: this of the various remains of the whole area deserves the most attention. It is indeed a surprising and a wonderful work: both the labour required in the construction, and the art displayed in the decoration are incalculable. The general base is a large square, but each of the sides has a particular projection in the middle, the largest being in the west, where the ascents are placed, by which the outline exhibits twelve angles. It belongs to the same class of buildings as that at *Séntul*, containing no chamber or vacancy within, but exhibiting a solid mass, highly decorated at the sides, and affording externally places of devotion. It consists of three different compartments, successively of smaller dimensions. Two pair of steps, one to the north, the other to the south of the most projecting part of the western side, lead to the area furnished by the lower compartment, the form of which agrees with the general base. From the middle of the most projecting part of the western side of this area, a single flight of steps conducts to the second, and is immediately continued to the third area on the summit of the whole building. The second compartment does not agree in form with the general base, but by means of the diverging of the sides in a direction opposite to the most projecting parts of the lower area, it furnishes in the west a plain before the steps, and in the north, the south, and the east, extensive areas or squares, which were probably destined for particular worship. By the form of the second compartment the second area is likewise modified; but to demonstrate this a plan would be required; and I shall only add, that the upper area was a regular square, but as appears from the remains of various foundations, subdivided into partitions.

Here the figure of *Bráma* (the *récha* with four faces) is placed alone, of a workmanship and finish superlatively excellent. It is to be remarked in this place, that besides this,

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only one image is found on this structure, attached to the walls of the second compartment, facing the smaller area on the base, from which it appears to have been worshipped. I shall not enter into a detail of the sculpture which covers all the sides of the three compartments: its diversity far exceeds the bounds of my examination or description. In the intelligent visitor it excites astonishment, and displays a degree of art and of taste, equal, as far as my opportunities for observation have extended, to that of any of the other remains of antiquity found on Java.

In clearing up part of the rubbish that surrounded the southern sides of this edifice, I was fortunate enough to discover a monument covered with an inscription of the usual size and form; but the characters have suffered much from time.

Of other antiquities which fell under my observation in the province of *Sreng'át*, I shall only mention those at *Semánding* and *Sangráhan*. These, from their semblance to the edifice at *Séntul*, appear to have contained the remains of the dead, and to have been employed to celebrate their memory. They are considered as *chúnkups* by the natives. Each has something particular in its structure and appropriation; but I shall not extend these details. Various spots were mentioned by the inhabitants, which are now covered with a close forest, in which less considerable remains, *réchas*, &c. are found, and others are probably concealed or unknown. They existed also on the south side of the large river flowing from the east, a branch of the river of *Kediri* and *Surabáya*, in the tract of *Ludáya*, celebrated at present only on account of the wildness of the territory. Among these I visited a monument covered with inscriptions in a highly preserved condition. In my botanical excursions through this and the neighbouring districts, I also met with various caverns and other remains, the retreat of *fakirs*, hermits, &c. to which the approach is difficult or painful: they are distinguished by the denomination of *Ber-tápa*.

Proceeding further east, the ruins in the district of *Málang* next attract our attention. These I visited in 1815.

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RUINS AT SINGA SARI, &c. IN THE DISTRICT OF MALANG.

We first proceeded from *Pasúruan* to *Láwang*, mounting our horses at the ruins of a fort, which for some time withstood the Dutch arms on their first taking possession of these districts. Further on, between *Láwang* and *Málang*, the scene of a famous battle fought at that time was pointed out to us. The family of the present Regent were first appointed to the office for services rendered on that occasion. The road from *Pasúruan* to *Láwang* lay principally through forests, in which we observed the *waríngen* to predominate.

On the next morning we visited the ruins of *Singa Sári*, which are situated a few paces within the entrance of a teak forest, about four miles from *Láwang*, and on the right of the high-road leading to *Málang*.

The first object which attracted our attention was the ruins of a *chándi* or temple. It is a square building, having the entrance on the western side: its present height may be about thirty feet. Over the entrance is an enormous gorgon head, and a similar ornament appears originally to have been placed on each of the other sides of the building, over the niches, which correspond with the entrance on the western side. In one of these niches we observed an image lying flat on the ground, with its head off: in another, the pedestal of an image, which we were informed had been taken away by Mr. Engelhard; and where the traces of a third niche appeared, the stones had been removed, and a deep hole dug, so as to disfigure, and in a great measure demolish, this part of the building. This was also attributed to Mr. Engelhard's agents.

On entering the *chándi*, to which we ascended by stones which had evidently been once placed as steps, we observed a very deep excavation, and a large square stone upset and thrown on one side. We ordered it to be filled up and the large stone replaced. There was a round hole passing completely through the centre of this stone, which, whether it had been an altar, the pedestal to some image, or a *yóni*, we could not ascertain.

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Without the building, on part of the ruins which appeared to have been the lower terrace, we noticed two porters, with clubs in their hands, resting on the shoulder. The features were entirely defaced, and the images rude; but we easily recognized their similarity to the porters at *Brambánan*. They were, however, not above three feet high.

The devices, ornaments, and general style of this temple are not very different from those of the great temple at *Brambánan:* the cornices and mouldings are no less rich and well executed. The external form of the building may differ, but the recess, or chamber within, seems on the same principle. There is no inlet for the light from above.

Proceeding a short distance further into the forest, we found several images of the Hindu mythology, in excellent preservation, and more highly executed than any we had previously seen in the island. In the centre, without protection from the weather, was the bull *Nándi*, quite perfect, with the exception of the horns, one of which was lying by the side of it. This image is above five feet and a half long, in high preservation, and of excellent proportion and workmanship.

Near the bull, and placed against a tree, is a magnificent *Brahma*. The four heads are perfect, except that there is a mutilation about the nose. The figure is highly ornamented, and more richly dressed than is usual.

Not far off we noticed *Mahadéwa*, known by his trident. On the stone from which this is cut in relief are several *Devanágari* characters.

Another stone, with a figure nearly similar, stood by it. A Hindu Sepoy, who accompanied us, asserted that it represented a Bramin, but it was too mutilated for us to ascertain the point.

A car or chariot of *Súria*, or the sun, with seven horses, of which the heads were wanting, was the only other object of antiquity in this groupe. The horses are at full speed, with extended tails, and the square of the chariot seems to have once formed the pedestal of an image.

At the distance of about a hundred yards from this spot, we were conducted to a magnificent *Ganésa* of a colossal size, most beautifully executed, and in high preservation.

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The pedestal is surrounded by skulls, and skulls seem used not only as ear-rings, but as the decoration of every part to which they can be applied. The head and trunk are very correct imitations of nature. The figure appears to have stood on a platform of stone; and from the number of stones scattered, it is not improbable it may have been inclosed in a niche or temple.

Still further in the wood, at a short distance, we found another colossal statue, of the same stamp as the porters at *Brambánan*. This statue was lying on its face at the entrance of an elevated stone terrace: but the people having excavated and cleared the earth around, we were enabled distinctly to examine the face and front. It measures in length about twelve feet, breadth between the shoulders nine feet and a half, and at the base nine feet by five, and is cut from one solid stone. The figure is represented as sitting on its hams, with the hand resting on each knee, but no club, although it is not impossible it may have been broken off. The countenance is well expressed and the nose prominent; but this feature, as well as the mouth and chin, have suffered injury from partial mutilation.

The statue seems evidently to have fallen from the adjacent elevated terrace, which is about eighteen feet high in its present dilapidated state, and is built of stones, the upper ones being immense slabs of five feet by four, and three feet thick. A second figure of the same dimensions was afterwards found in the vicinity; these were no doubt porters who guarded the entrance to these temples.

Having visited all that could be traced in the vicinity of *Singa Sári*, we proceeded on to *Málang*, distant thirteen *palls* from *Láwang*, and in the evening we visited the ruins of *Súpit-úrang*, usually called *Kótah Bédah*, or demolished fort, the site of the last establishment of the refugees from *Majapáhit*.

The wall of this fortification is of brick, and the foundation is traced without difficulty. We rode round it within side, and as far as we could calculate it could not measure less than two miles round. It is of an irregular figure, but in a position rendered remarkably strong by two rivers, which run their course round three-fourths of the wall, and then unite.

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The depth from the wall to the rivers is from fifty to a hundred feet, and in some places still more; in many parts the descent is nearly perpendicular. Where the rivers do not encircle the walls, a deep moat is cut from one river to the other, which is easily flooded by stopping the course of either river. It is about seventy-five feet wide and not less than fifty deep, even in its present state, filled up no doubt considerably, and in many parts cultivated. There appear to be several dwellings, if not villages, within the walls, and a good deal of cultivation, principally of tobacco.

The next morning we proceeded to visit the ruins at *Kédal* and *Jágu*, the former about seven miles, the latter nearly four from *Málang*, in a south-easterly direction.

At *Kédal* are the remains of a very beautiful temple of stone: its present height about thirty-five feet. The building is supported by a lion at each of the four cornices, and one on each side of the steps of the entrance. In the centre of each of the lower departments, between the lions, are figures in relief upon the wall. The mouldings and sculpture on this temple are in the same style as those of *Brambánan* and *Bóro Bódo*, but of still greater beauty. The building is surrounded by a square wall, and in the front is a raised terrace. The chamber appears to be of the same form as most of the temples in Java. Over the entrance is an immense gorgon head, and in the chamber itself a deep hole.

There are no Hindu images or other traces of Hindu mythology, except what may be afforded by the lions, and the figures in relief above mentioned. These represent the same principal figure, but with different attributes. On one side three immense serpents entwine over the head, the tail of one of them evidently held in the right hand; on another a water-pot, with a serpent's head attached to it, is on the head of the figure; and on the other there is a female figure with a serpent, the female reclining over the head.

This temple is just within the skirts of a forest.

At *Jágu*, also, we found the ruins a few yards within a forest, but these appeared to have been more extensive than the preceding.

The base of the principal building is much larger than any

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of the temples we visited in the eastern part of the island, and there appeared to have been originally two or three terraces rising one above the other to the height of thirty feet. The form of the entrance still appears, but the roof, sides, and back part of the building, have entirely given way. Behind the ruin, and apparently in the same spot on which it originally fell, lies a dilapidated image of a Hindu deity. The pedestal of this image is perfect, and lies near it. The head had been carried to *Mélang* some years ago by a Dutchman. On the back stone we observed an inscription, evidently in the *Devanágari* character, and which the Sepoy who accompanied us declared to be Sanscrit. The characters on each side were extremely distinct, but those at the back of the head of the figure were defaced.

This building is most richly ornamented with carved work, and various devices in relief are cut in the first, second, and third stories. One of these relievos represents a battle between an army of apparently polished people and an army of *Rasáksa*. The figures are very rudely carved and disproportioned, but in general richness of effect may be compared to the style of the ornaments at *Bóro Bódo*. There are a variety of processions and achievements represented in different parts, but no where could we observe any image or particular object of devotion. Along the cornices, which are most splendidly rich, we noticed birds and beasts of various descriptions interwoven. In one part a palm tree between two lambs approaching each other, in another a perfect boar, apparently led to the sacrifice.

At a short distance from this principal building, say fifty yards, stands the remains of what would appear to have been an elevated terrace of about twelve feet high. The ascent is on one side, by regular stone steps, still perfect.

Previously to leaving *Málang* we took sketches of two images brought in from the fort, and also of the image of a man, peculiar from the manner in which the hair was tied. At *Málang*, also, I received from the *Tumúng'gung* a small square stone-box, containing a golden *lingam;* this had been discovered three months before, about a cubit under ground, by a peasant, while digging for stones to build his cooking

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place. The *lingam* had originally two very small red stones within it, something like rubies; one of them was lost before it was delivered to me, the other by the party examining it.

TEMPLES AT SÚKU.

The remains of antiquity still existing at *Súku*, though not to be compared with those at *Brambánan* and *Bôro Bódo* in extent and magnificence, seem to claim a peculiar interest, on account of the indication they afford of a different form of worship. These ruins were not known to Europeans until a short time previous to my visit to the central districts, in May 1815. When I visited them, the native inhabitants of *Súra-kérta* were also ignorant of their existence, and we are indebted for the discovery to the British Resident at that court, Major Martin Johnson.

They lie in an eastern direction from *Séra-kerta*, and are distant from that capital about twenty-six English miles, being situated on the summit of one of the smaller hills to be found on the base of the mountain *Lâwu*. From *Súra-kérta* our road was a continued ascent, which increased as we approached the hills: the country most highly cultivated, and in the immediate vicinity of the hills, where the dry cultivation predominated, beautiful beyond description.

Súku is the name of the village to which the lands in the neighbourhood of these ruins are annexed; and we were not able to ascertain that they were designated by any other name, or that the term *Súku* had any immediate reference or application to the buildings.

The principal structure is a truncated pyramid, situated on the most elevated of three successive terraces. The ruins of two obelisks, having the form of the section of a pyramid, are also observable in the vicinity of the principal building, and on each side of the western front appear several piles of ruinous buildings and sculpture. The length of the terraces is about one hundred and fifty-seven feet; the depth of the first, eighty feet; of the second, thirty; and of the highest, one hundred and thirty feet.

The approach is from the west, through three porches or gateways, of which the outermost alone is now standing; but enough remains of the second and third to indicate a similarity of construction. This porch is a building of about six-

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teen feet high, in tolerable preservation, of a pyramidal form. The entrance is seven feet and a half high, and about three feet wide; a gorgon head forms the key-stone of the arch. The ascent is first by seven, and shortly after by three steps; and in relief, on the centre of the flooring under the porch, is a representation of the male and female pudenda.

On the outer face of the porch several figures are sculptured in relief. On the right side, the principal figure is that of a man of monstrous appearance devouring a child: to his right a dog sitting, the head wanting, and a bird of the stork kind near the root of a tree, on one of the branches of which a bird not unlike a dove or pigeon is perched; over the figure is a bird on the wing, either the hawk or eagle. Above the figure of a man with the tail of a writhing snake in his mouth, is another which appeared to us to be that of a sphynx; it is however represented as floating in the air, with the legs, arms, and tail extended. The tail is similar to that of the lizard species, and the hands appear to be webbed claws, but the body, limbs, and face, are human: the breasts distinguish it as female. Over this again is a small curling reptile, like a worm or small snake, reminding us of the asp.

On the north and on the south face of the gateway there is a colossal eagle with extended wings, holding in its talons an immense serpent, plaited in three folds, its head turned towards the eagle and ornamented with a coronet.

It was impossible to reflect on the design of these sculptures, without being forcibly struck with their reference to the ancient worship of Egypt. The form of the gateway itself, and of all the ruins within our view, was pyramidal. In the monster devouring the child we were reminded of *Typhon;* in the dog, of *Anoubis;* in the stork, of the *Ibis:* the tree, too, seemed to be the palm, by which the Egyptians designated the year; the pigeon, the hawk, the immense serpents, were all symbols of Egyptian worship.

Lying on the first terrace we observed several scattered stones, having various devices sculptured on them, some of human figures, one of a tiger wanting the head, which had been broken off, and several of elephants and oxen. On one we noticed the representation of a man on horseback, followed by five spearmen and a *páyong* bearer. We then ascended

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by five steps to the second terrace, on which were also some scattered ruins of buildings and sculpture. Ascending again three steps we came to the third terrace, when the principal building appeared in front; at the distance of about ninety feet. The ruins of several other temples and buildings also appeared in irregular heaps on each side of its front.

This building is on the centre of the terrace. Its base is a perfect square, of forty-three feet and a half to the side, decreasing in size at each successive layer of stones, so as to form steps to the height of nineteen feet; above this is a sort of cornice, four feet nine inches high. The roof is twenty-one feet two inches from north to south, and nineteen feet nine inches from east to west. In the centre of it we observed a part raised, of about a foot square, pierced by a small round hole. It had the appearance of being intended as a pedestal, or step, to some object which had been removed.

The sides of the pyramid face the cardinal points. The western side contains a flight of narrow steps. At the top, in the front of the building, we noticed two serpents, which appear to have been used for water-pipes; with this exception, the whole building was plain and unornamented by sacred emblems. The sides of the staircase are faced with flat stones. The upper story or cornice is constructed with greater delicacy than the building generally. We were not able to ascertain whether there was any chamber within, and the point cannot be decided without material injury to the edifice. The eastern side seems to have suffered most from the effects of time.

Upon the ground on each side of the ascent is a large stone, in the shape of a tortoise, measuring not less than eight feet in length; the back flat, but the head well executed. A little advanced in front there is a third of the same description.

Near these, on the south side of the entrance, stand the remains of two temples, in one of which we discovered the ashes of fire recently kindled. The natives who attended informed us that the peasantry of the neighbouring villages were still in the habit of burning incense and kindling fire in this temple, and that when they suffered under or dreaded any misfortune, they made an offering of this nature in the hope of averting it. The building is about seven feet square, and on all sides various images are sculptured on it.

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The other building, which is still further south, has a terrace in the centre, the steps ascending to which are still perfect. The building appears to retain nothing of its original pyramidal form, except at the south-east corner.

On different sides of this pile of building we noticed two inscriptions, each consisting of four characters. As they both agreed with various other inscriptions in this neighbourhood, except in the last character, which was different in all, we concluded that they were dates. To the north of the principal building, and almost contiguous to it, is an oblong structure, running east and west. On this there has evidently been a low terrace with a raised wall at the back. On the upper part of this terrace, and near the principal building, is a raised platform, from which rises an obelisk, somewhat similar to that noticed in the south, but of a much larger base, and ornamented with various devices on all sides. The spiral top is incomplete. Resting inclined upon the west front of the obelisk, is a statue, about four feet high and three feet broad *.

On each side of the terrace, which is narrow and long, we observed, both above and below, various devices cut in relief; also a stone vase for containing water, respecting which a tradition runs, that it could never be empty. We also raised from the ground and took sketches of several slabs and stones in the vicinity, which had been thrown down on their faces. Of these, one represents a horned boar †. On another is an elephant, tolerably well executed. In another the chief figure is represented striking off human heads ‡. On another there is a dog standing erect, and dressed like a man, with some buildings remarkable for the correctness of the perspective. On another is a representation of the monkey flag §, the standard of *Arjúna*, and even used at the present day by the *Gládak* ‖ established at *Súra-kérta*.

We discovered, nearly buried in the ground, two gigantic statues with human bodies and limbs, but winged from the arms like bats, and with spurs above the heel like those of a

* See No. 7 of the Plate, from the ruins of Subru.

† See No 2, same Plate. ‡ See No. 1, same Plate.

§ See No. 3, same Plate.

‖ An establishment consisting of a certain number of men and horses always kept in readiness for the public service.

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cock. This figure occurs frequently in relief with some variation: sometimes with a fan-tail, and its wings extended, so as almost to form a circle *; in another the face appears devoid of flesh, and the figure is standing with one foot on an elephant and the other on a tortoise †.

On the lappet of the waistband of one of these colossal statues we noticed an inscription of several lines; but the most interesting and perfect was discovered on the back of the other, after we had with much difficulty raised it to an erect posture. This last inscription is in excellent preservation, and consists of lines, in each of which there are characters. The perfect state of this part of the stone must be attributed to its having been protected from the weather by its position along the ground. This inscription, as well as all the others which we discovered, are raised from the stone in relief, in the same character as that first noticed, which differs from most which had previously been discovered on the island ‡.

We noticed particularly, as forming an exception to the sculptures in general, another figure with four hands. It has a coronet on the head, and ear-rings, and from the back of the ear on each side appear to spring wings, which are half expanded over the back of each shoulder. The arms and hands were too mutilated to enable us to distinguish the attributes.

A little nearer to the north of the tortoises, in front of the principal building, stands a large erect statue §, apparently in its original position; at the back of which, on a scroll hanging from the waistband, is an inscription of several lines; a figure holding a double-headed trident in each hand and having three spikes on each elbow, rudely executed, and elsewhere a *phallus*, upwards of six feet long and not less than five in circumference. It had been broken in halves, but the two parts were easily brought together: round the upper part are four large balls of equal dimensions: along the urethra is an inscription in two lines, the letters being one above the other, and on the upper part of one of these lines is the representation of a *kris* blade, and two squares crossing each other just

* See No. 4, same Plate. † See No. 6, same Plate.

‡ See No. 8, same Plate.

§ See No. 10, same Plate: others of the same kind were subsequently discovered at *Kedíri* and farther east.

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above the point, with a circle and other ornaments in the centre, so as to represent the sun; to the right of this is a representation of the moon in the first quarter; and further again to the right a small circle, representing a star: the whole in relief, very correctly executed, and in good preservation.

On one of the temples adjacent there are representations of a similar symbol cut in relief.

We observed several monstrous figures with clubs of different sizes. One in particular fronting the principal building, grinning most horribly, and two near the steps leading to the upper terrace from the south.

Below the upper terrace, on the south side, we noticed the foundation of a building of an oblong shape, with three large slabs, on which were sculptured several objects which appeared much to interest the Javans. On one we observed a manufacturer of *kris* blades in the act of striking the steel. Above him are placed, as in his workshop, among several blades of different forms, a trident, a water-pot, a pair of shares, and something not very unlike Mercury's wand. On another stone is seen a man with the proboscis of an elephant, and in his hand a dog; on the third is a man blowing a Javan bellows.

The natives informed us, that the country people were in the habit of making offerings to these sculptures, which they highly esteemed, from a tradition that they represented the original Javan *tûkang bési*, or workman in iron and steel.

The workmanship is ruder than that in the temples at *Brambánan*, *Bóro Bódo*, or *Málang*, and the worship must have been different.

Most of the images which are not in relief have been decapitated, and the heads are not to be found; but there still remains enough to enable a person well acquainted with heathen mythology, to decide on the classes to which they may generally be referred.

I could find no traditions regarding these temples; but subsequent examination has enabled us to decide that the character found in the inscriptions is an ancient form of the Javan, and that the dates are, on one of the stones, 1361, and on the larger phallus, 1362.

Besides the ruins of temples in brick noticed by Dr. Hors-

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field in the eastern provinces of the native princes, numerous buildings constructed of similar materials, are found extending from the site of *Majapáhit* eastward as far as *Probolíngo*, near which, a few yards off the high road, are situated two temples in brick. The larger temple may be about sixty feet high.

All the temples of this class (that is to say, constructed in brick, for they all vary in their style) were probably built during the latter years of the Hindu religion. Those constructed of stone must be referred to a much earlier period.

Near Buitenzorg, and also at *Récha Dómas*, a few miles further inland, both places adjacent to the site of the ancient capital of *Pajajáran*, are found several rude images in stone, and among them a figure with three faces (*trimúrti*). Images of the same kind, as well as casts in metal, are also found in *Chéribon*. The latter are particularly prized by the chiefs of *Telága*, who are descended from the princes of *Pajajáran*, and consider these relics as representations of their forefathers. In the possession of the present *Tumúng'gung* of *Telága* is an ancient manuscript written on Javan paper, and folded up in the manner of the manuscripts of Ava. The characters appear to be ancient Javan or *Káwi*, but ill written. This manuscript contains drawings of deities, of the signs of the Zodiac, and numerous other astronomical, or perhaps rather astrological devices*. Of the history of the manuscript nothing is known, further than that the *Tumúng'gung* and his family believe it to have come with the relics beforementioned from *Pajajáran*. A copy of it has been brought to England.

Besides the extensive remains of temples and other edifices already mentioned in the districts east of *Chéribon*, where alone the antiquities deserve attention as works of art, there are to be found on the mountains of *Ung'árang* the ruins of several very beautifully executed temples in stone, with numerous dilapidated figures, and among them several chariots of *Súría*, or the sun. Most of them are sadly mutilated, but enough was left to authorize a sketch of their original design †.

The *Chándi Banyukúning* (yellow water), which are so

* For the signs of the Zodiac and extracts from this manuscript, see Astronomy, vol. i.

† See Plate.

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called from their vicinity to the village of that name, are situated within a few yards of a small volcanic crater, which at the time I visited them was in many parts too hot to be trodden with safety. They appear to have been built on extensive terraces cut out of the mountain, and rising one above another at intervals of some hundred yards. The natives assert, that the temples were formerly far more extensive, and that near the summit of several of the adjoining peaks other temples are to be found. But here, as in most parts of Java, the mountains for a considerable way below the summit have been covered for ages, with an almost impenetrable forest: and where this is not the case, the mountains have either been rent near their summit, or are covered with lava or ashes from volcanic eruptions, so that whatever may have formerly been the extent and grandeur of the edifices which once crowned these towering heights, they are at present either concealed or more frequently destroyed. Notwithstanding the diligent search made by the British during the short period of their stay on Java, there are doubtless many very interesting discoveries to be made.

In *Banyuwángi*, the most eastern province of the island, besides figures of Hindu deities, several others are to be found of extraordinary and grotesque appearance, which appear to represent the local deities of the island, and corresponding with those which are still worshipped on *Báli*. But whether they are to be considered as the deities of the Javans or Bálians is doubtful, as the Bálians long had possession of this province; and it is remarkable, that no such figures are to be found in the provinces further westward.

The traditions of the country concerning the former seats of government, enable us to trace at this day the site of *Médang Kamûlan*, *Jang'gála*, *Gegélang* or *Sínga Sári*, *Dahá* or *Kedíri*, *Pajajâran*, and *Majapáhit*, existing in remains of immense tanks, heaps of building materials, and other unequivocal vestiges of former cities.

*Médang Kamúlan** was situated in the district of *Wirasába*, where in the centre of an extensive forest is pointed out the site of the *Setíngel*, distinguished by heaps of stones and bricks; and at no great distance from it are the walls and excavations of an extensive tank, several hundred feet

* See chapter on History.

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in length and breadth. These ruins, of which little more can be said than that they are clearly discernible, are situated between *Penwadádos* and the most eastern of the volcanic wells alluded to in a former part of this work. The natives have a superstition, that the site of this ancient capital cannot be visited without some misfortune attaching to the party who undertake the visit. Those whom I had, with some difficulty, induced to accompany me to the spot, did not fail to assure me that I should lose my government within the year. As the event justified the prediction, it is probable that the superstition has rather gained ground than otherwise. Many Javans maintain, that *Brambánan* was the original of *Médang Kamúlan*; it is at least highly probable that it was once the seat of empire.

The site of *Jang'gála* is still pointed out in the district of that name in the division of *Surabáya*, and the country around is strewed with antiquities. The same may be said of *Síng'a Sári* and *Kedíri*. At *Pajajáran*, a heap of stones is pointed out as the ruin of the *Setíngel*, and numerous lines crossing the country between rivers, attest the care with which this position was entrenched. They may be seen close by the road side, at a few hundred yards from the governor-general's country residence, and in many places they have been cut through to make a passage for the high road.

At *Majapáhit*, in the district of *Wirasába*, the marks of former grandeur are more manifest. Here the walls of the tank, upwards of a thousand feet in length, and not less than six hundred in breadth, are quite perfect. They are of burnt brick, and about twelve feet high. The whole area of the tank, when I visited it, was one sheet of beautiful rice cultivation, and almost surrounded by a noble forest of teak.

A village adjacent is called *Tra Wúlan*, or *Tráng Wúlan* (the light of the moon): here we found the tomb of *Pútri Chámpa*. Proceeding through three regular squares, each enclosed with a wall, and in each of which were erected several *pendápas* or sheds, we came to the interior on ascending a few steps. On the right side of this enclosure, and elevated a few feet, was the tomb of the princess and her nurse; the tomb being in the Mahomedan style, and having upon it, in ancient Javan characters, the date 1320, perfectly

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distinct and in relief. On the other side are the tombs of *Kiái Tumúng'gung Jáya Báya*, *Den Mas*, and nine other chiefs whose names are mentioned. The tomb is religiously guarded by several priests.

The ruins of the palace and several gateways of burnt brick are to be seen; but the whole country, for many miles, is thickly covered with a stately teak forest, which appears to have been the growth of ages, so that it is difficult to trace the outline of this former capital. Ruins of temples, mostly executed in brick, are scattered about the country for many miles, and attest the extent and grandeur of this "pride of Java."

I observed near the former site of *Majapáhit* two images of *Ganésa*, and some other mutilated deities of the Hindu mythology. Near the tank was the figure represented in one of the plates *, partly human and partly of the form of a bird, and a distorted figure, which the Javans called *Ménak Jing'ga*; but in general the vicinity of *Majapáhit* is remarkable for the absence of any representations of the Hindu deities. The temples are beautifully decorated with representations of flowers, and other peculiar ornaments, which it would be difficult to describe.

The only collection which appears to have been made by Europeans of these interesting remains of antiquity, previously to the establishment of the British government in 1811, was by Mr. Engelhard, formerly governor of *Semárang*. In the garden of the residency of that station, several very beautiful subjects in stone were arranged, brought in from different parts of the country. Of them, and of several others, which appear to have been brought into some of the native villages from the vicinity of the different temples, drawings have been taken, and the representations of *Ganésa* † and *Dúrga* (called *Lora Jóngran*), both from subjects as large as life, wrought in close-grained stone, will serve to convey some notion of the beauty and delicacy with which they are executed.

I shall conclude this very general and imperfect account of sculpture on Java, by referring the reader to the plate, containing representations of several subjects in stone ‡, collected and arranged in the Chinese temple of worship in the

* See Plate from subjects in stone, No. 5. † See Plate.

‡ See Plate from a subject in stone, brought from Brambanay.

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neighbourhood of Batavia. The period at which they were collected is not known, and the subjects in general are not so well executed as those found in the eastern parts of the island; but it is remarkable, that the Chinese, whose form of worship is at present so different from that of the Hindus (however similar it may have been formerly) should in a foreign land thus prize and appreciate the idols of the people whom they affect to hold in contempt *.

Another plate exhibits several subjects in stone, collected from the vicinity of *Bóro Bódo* in *Kedú*. The originals are as large as life, and the sculpture and ornaments are executed with great skill. No. 2 is an image with three heads (or *trimúrti*,) similar to one on *Gúnung Dieng*. No. 3 is a mutilated image of *Bráhma*, having four faces; this was found in a field within a few hundred yards of the great temple of *Bóro Bódo*. The image No. 4 also occurs on *Gúnung Práhu*.

The casts in metal which have been discovered in the central districts of Java are numerous. The subjects represented in the plates annexed were selected from a collection of about a hundred brought by me to this country. They had most of them been found at different times near the ruins of the temples, and preserved in the families of the petty chiefs. I am indebted to Mr. Lawrence, the Resident of *Kédú*, for many of them, which were brought in to him by the natives, on its being generally known that subjects of the kind were interesting to the British authorities.

These casts are generally of copper, sometimes of brass, and rarely of silver. The majority and best executed were found in the vicinity of *Gúnung Dieng;* and it is asserted that formerly many gold casts of a similar description were discovered, which have been melted down. The village of *Káli Béber*, situated at the foot of the mountain, is said from time immemorial to have paid its annual rent, amounting to upwards of a thousand dollars, in gold, procured by melting down the relics of antiquity discovered in the vicinity; but for some years past, no more golden images being found, the rents are paid in the coin of the country.

Among the casts which are now exhibited will be observed two images of *Bráhma;* one with eight arms, standing upon

* See Plate.

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a male and female figure; the other with four, on a pedestal surmounted by the lotus, having a fragment of the goose in front. The former, in particular, is most beautifully executed.

The casts vary from three to six inches in height, and abound in a variety of delicate ornaments, which it has not been attempted to represent in the plates.

Several copper cups, varying from three to five inches in diameter, and having the signs of the zodiac and other designs represented upon them in relief, have likewise been discovered in different parts of the island. A fac simile (reduced) of them is given in the annexed plate.

As the Javans of the present day attach no particular designation to the different deities, except that of *Gána* and other terms to *Ganésa*, and that of *Lóro Jóngran* to *Dúrga*, I have not thought it necessary to attach to all the representations the names which some of them may bear in the Hindu mythology of continental India. Many of them do not occur in Moor's Pantheon: some are decidedly Braminical, others Budh, and some it is difficult to class under either head.

A variety of bells, tripods, and ornaments of various descriptions, occur in casts of metal, and form part of the collection brought to England. These are of a small size, seldom exceeding a few inches in length, although bells sometimes occur much larger; several of them are represented in one of the plates.

The inscriptions engraved on stone, and in characters no longer understood by the people of the country, are innumerable: similar inscriptions engraved on copper have also been found in particular districts. The whole may be classed under the following heads:

1. Inscriptions in the ancient *Davanágari* character of continental India.

2. Inscriptions in characters which appear to have some connection with the modern Javan, and were probably the characters used by the people of *Súnda*.

3. Inscriptions in various characters, not appearing to have any immediate connection with either the *Davanágari* or the Javan characters, and which it has not been practicable to decypher.

4. Inscriptions in the *Káwi* or ancient Javan character.

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Of these the first seem to lay claim to the highest antiquity. The principal inscription of this kind, and indeed the only one of any length, is that found at *Brambánan*, and noticed by Colonel Mackenzie in his interesting account of the ruins of *Brambánan*, as a real Hindu *Sassanum*. The stone, which is now broken into six parts, was originally six feet nine inches long and three feet six wide, in the shape of a tomb-stone, and the whole of one face is covered with characters, which appear to have been very well executed.

Fac-similes of this inscription having been brought to Europe, the characters were immediately recognized by Mr. Wilkins as an ancient form of the *Devanágari*, in use upon the continent of India, probably about eight or nine centuries since. It is to be regretted, that from the constant exposure of the stone, and the fractures which it has received, the characters are in many parts effaced, so as to render it almost impossible to connect the sentences. No date can be discovered, nor any name which might afford a clue to the object or origin of the inscription. From such detached parts as are legible, it appears to be a record of some grant of honour or riches to the party whose praises it records. A specimen of a sentence from this inscription, of the same size as the original, with the corresponding characters in the modern *Devanágari* *, appears in the chapter on Language and Literature.

Similar characters, though apparently somewhat more modern, are found on several images at *Sínga Sári*, transcripts of some of which will be seen in the plates to this work.

Of the second class are the inscriptions on the *Bátu túlis*, or engraved stone, standing near the ruins of the ancient capital of *Pajajárán*, and those found at *Kwáli*, in the province of *Chéribon*, to which place it is related that some of the princes of *Pajajáran* fled on the overthrow of that capital by the Mahomedans. The characters on these inscriptions appear very nearly to resemble each other. The stone at *Pajajáran*, as far as I could decypher it, with the assistance of the *Panambáhan* of *Súmenap*, appears to be a record in praise of a certain *Maharája*, whose name is not mentioned. One of these at *Kwáli*, a fac-simile of which is exhibited in the plate, we were enabled to translate as follows:

* See Plate.

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"The *Pandíta* is able to check the evil course of men, by washing away their evil inclinations, and he can shew them the right way, and prevent covetousness and slander by his good advice. 1363."

At *Kwáli* there are several other inscriptions in the same character, but in common with the whole of this class very rudely executed. Several of the characters and signs were found, on strict examination, to be on the same principle as the Javan.

Of the third class the reader will find a fac-simile on a reduced scale *.

But the inscriptions of the last of these classes are the most numerous, the best executed, in the highest state of preservation, and as they admit of translation, are of perhaps higher interest than the others. Of these some have been already noticed in Dr. Horsfield's account of the remains of antiquity in the vicinity of *Kedíri* (formerly called *Dahá)*; many have been found in the vicinity of the supposed site of the ancient capital of *Jang'gála*, in the division of the modern *Surabáya*, and some at *Bátu*, near *Sínga Sári*. These are invariably engraved on large flat stones, in the shape of tombstones, resting upon a kind of throne of lotus leaves †. Facsimiles of the whole of these have been brought to England, and several have been translated into English.

In the collection of inscriptions at *Surabáya*, the following dates appear:

On a stone found near *Jang'gála* 863
On another found near the same place 845
On another from the *Kendang* hills 865

Several prior dates, as 116, 363, 647, 773, are mentioned in the body of these inscriptions, which seem to refer to historical events of preceding centuries; but the dates above mentioned, with some others, appear in the usual place to shew the actual date of the inscription itself.

The date of a similar inscription found in *Kedú* is 505, and of another stone found in the central districts, 506; but it has not yet been ascertained what particular events these inscriptions record. The annexed translations from three of

* See Plate of an inscription in the district of Balongan. † See Plate.

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the stones collected at *Surabáya*, were made by Captain Davey at my request, with the assistance of the *Panambáhan* of *Súmenap* *.

Inscriptions in the same character have likewise been found on copper, very beautifully executed, and in a high state of preservation. The date on one of these has been ascertained to be 735, and on another, 865. I found several collected in the Museum of the Society of Arts and Sciences at Batavia †.

The *Panambáhan* of Sumenap was able to read the latter without difficulty; but finding them to be filled with terms of praise and devotion which he could not comprehend, it was not attempted to render a literal translation. One of the plates (No. 3), to which at my request he devoted particular attention, contains an invocation to *Sang yang Bráma*, to favour and prosper the country of *Gegélang (Sínga Sári)*, and to give assistance, by means of *Jáya Kátsang*, in repelling all evils and attacks, so that the country may become celebrated and flourishing.

The country of *Gegélang (Sínga Sári)* flourished in the time of *Pánji*.

Another of these plates (No. 9.) contains an invocation of a similar nature, in favour of the country of *Dahá (Kediri)*, which flourished at the same time.

In some of the eastern districts of the Native Provinces and at *Súku*, near the mountain *Láwu*, inscriptions on stone occur in relief. Some of them occupy stones several feet high, and are written in well executed letters, above an inch square. The date of one of these is 1363. A fac-simile of another of the same kind reduced, is given in the plate ‡.

The following is a translation of this inscription, as far as it could be rendered into modern Javan by the *Panambáhan* of *Súmenap*.

" This is an advice to mankind, whose ignorance arises out
" of a covetous desire to obtain more than they possess. If
" mankind were not by their disposition inclined to be cove-
" tous of what others possess, and to scandalize each other,

* See Appendix I.

† See a fac simile of one of them in the Plate.

‡ See Plate of an ancient inscription at Suku.

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" where would be the use of advice; when they are receiving " advice, they have a confidence in doing what is right, but " afterwards they follow their natural inclinations. There- " fore, oh ye men of the city, be advised by this, not to follow " such dispositions, but to do what is required of you by the " times and the customs of the country, and be not singular."

In the presemt burial place at *Grésik* are the tombs of several of the early Mahomedan missionaries, most of them of stone, bearing inscriptions with dates. That of *Sheik Mulána Ibrahim* is in marble, and in good preservation, having the date 1334 (409 years since). Here is also the tomb of *Mulána Mach'ríbi*, who was antecedent to *Ibrahim*. This has, however, fallen to decay, and has no legible inscription.

The entrance to the cemetery is through several squares enclosed by walls and gateways, some of them very ancient, and in the same style of architecture as distinguishes those of *Majapáhit*. On the side of the gateway leading to the division in which are the most ancient tombs, is a small stone pillar, with the date 1340 upon it in relief. Passing on to the division in which the family of the regents is interred, are also to be noticed many relics in stone, brought from some of the Hindu ruins. Among these is a gigantic toad or frog, and an oblong vessel of three feet long, having in relief the date 1246. On the side of the tomb of the great grandfather of the present regent, is a *Yóni*, said to have been brought from *Majapáhit*, and in this Mahomedan sanctuary serving as a kneeling or resting place to the tomb. Similar relics are to be found in other burial places in the eastern part of the island, most of the chiefs priding themselves upon having some remnant of *Majapáhit*. At the residence of the regent of *Surabáya* are also collected several curious remains; and in particular a large bath, excavated from a solid stone about six feet long.

In the central and eastern districts of Java, in the vicinity of the dilapidated temples, are found numerous ancient coins in brass and copper, exhibiting various subjects in relief, and invariably with a hole in the middle for the convenience of stringing them. Those which are represented in the plate * are taken indiscriminately from a collection of upwards

* See Plate, Ancient Coins, with their supposed dates.

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of a hundred brought to England, the dates annexed to each being determined by the *Chándra Sangkála*, as explained for each particular coin by the *Kiái Adipáti* of *Demák*. Thus the last, which has the date 1568, is explained as follows:

Naga	*koba*	*wisaya*	*jalma*
Snakes	move	work	men
8	6	5	1

That is to say, "snakes are moving while men are work-"ing:" alluding to the two snakes which appear entwining together between and above the two men who are mastering an animal. The coin with the date 1489, bears a Javan inscription of *Pangéran Rátu*, the title by which a prince of Bantam, who reigned in that year, is recognized by the Javans.

The mode of determining these dates by the *Chándra Sangkála*, appears however so uncertain and ill understood, that perhaps but little reliance is to be placed on it. I have, nevertheless, given them, in order to show the notion of the Javans on the subject, and as it is not improbable they may be found useful in illustrating the early history of the country. Many of the coins not European or India, found in the Archipelago, as well as in China and Japan, have a hole in the centre. These coins seem to have been of home manufacture: the execution is rude; but the figures, such as they are, in general well defined and clearly expressed. In the vicinity of the principal temples have been found small silver coins, about the size of a Madras pagoda, bearing the impression of a small cross, and of some rude and unintelligible characters.

But perhaps the most striking and interesting vestige of antiquity which is to be found in the Eastern Seas, is the actual state of society in the island of *Báli*, whither the persecuted Hindus took refuge on the destruction of *Majapáhit*, and where the Hindu religion is still the established worship of the country. This interesting island has hitherto been but little explored by Europeans, and what we know of it is only sufficient to make us anxious to know more. I visited the island in 1815, and such particulars concerning it as the

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limits of the present work admit of will be found in Appendix K.

In the course of the present work it has been my object to convey to the public, in as compressed a form as my time permitted, and without bias from previously conceived opinions or new theories, the information which I possessed. The antiquities of Java, however, afford such an ample and interesting subject for speculation, that I shall presume on the reader's desire for some opinion concerning their origin and purpose.

With respect to the remains of architectural grandeur and sculptural beauty which have been noticed, I shall simply observe, that it seems to be the general opinion of those most versed in Indian antiquities, that the large temple of *Bóro Bódo* (a corruption perhaps of the *Bára Búdha*, or the Great Budh,) and several others, were sacred to the worship of *Budh*. The style and ornament of this temple are found much to resemble those of the great *Budh* temple at *Gai-ya*, on the continent of India; and it is probable that it may have been constructed by the same people, perhaps even by the same artists. The *Devanágari* characters on the inscription found at *Brambánan* are recognized by Mr. Wilkins to be such as were in use on continental India eight or nine hundred years ago. The date of several inscriptions in the ancient Javan characters, found in the central part of Java, is in the sixth century, supposed to be of the present Javan era, and the traditions of the Javans concerning the arrival of enlightened strangers, and an intimate connexion between Java and continental India, for the most part refer this intercourse to the sixth and three following centuries; that is to say, to the period of the empires of *Medang Kamúlan* and *Jáng'gala*.

Mahomedanism having become the established religion in the year 1400 (A.D. 1475,) all the great works of a Pagan character must, of course, be referred to an earlier period.

The ruins at *Majapáhit* and its vicinity are distinguished by being principally, if not entirely, of burnt bricks, a circumstance which justifies us in assigning an anterior date to most of the edifices constructed of a different material. The date found on the ruins at *Súku*, and some few other places, may

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be an exception to this rule; but the sculpture of these is coarse and rude compared to the magnificent remains in stone found elsewhere. On this account it is reasonable to conclude, that the arts at that period had considerably declined. The edifices and sculptures at *Sínga Sári* were probably executed in the eighth or ninth century, that being the period of the greatest splendour of this state; and as the style and decorations of the buildings, as well as the execution of the sculpture, appear very nearly to resemble those of *Brambánan*, *Bóro Bódo*, &c. it is probable that the whole were constructed about the same period, or within the same century, or at any rate between the sixth and ninth century of the Christian era.

From the extensive variety of temples and sculpture, as well as from that of the characters found in the ancient inscriptions, it is probable that Java has been colonized from different parts of the continent of Asia.

The Budhist religion is by many deemed of higher antiquity than what is now called the Braminical; and it seems generally admitted, that the followers of *Budh* were driven by the Bramins to the extremes of Asia and the islands adjacent. The Jains and Budhists had probably the same worship originally, from which the Bramins or priests may have separated, after the manner in which it has been said the Jesuits of Europe once aimed at universal empire; and when we consider that the religion of *Budh*, or some modification of it, is still the prevailing worship of Ceylon, Ava, Siam, China, and Japan, we are not surprized to find indications of its former establishment on Java.

To trace the coincidences of the arts, sciences, and letters of ancient Java, and those of Egypt, Greece, and Persia, would require more time and more learning than I can command. Such investigations I must leave to the reader, deeming myself fortunate, if in recording their vestiges in the traces of a high state of civilization, to be found in the ruins, languages, poetry, history, and institutions of Java, I have succeeded in obtaining any share of his interest and respect for a people whom I shall myself ever consider with peculiar esteem and affection.

In the archives of the princes of Java are deposited histories of their country, extending from a remote antiquity to

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the latest date. It is principally from abstracts of these, made at my request, in three different parts of the country, by the *Panambáhan* of *Súmenap*, the late *Kiái Adipáti* of *Demak*, and the secretary of the *Pangéran Adipáti* of *Súra-kérta*, all distinguished among their countrymen for literary attainments, that the two following chapters have been compiled. The abstract presented by the *Kiái Adipáti* of *Demák* being the most continuous, forms the main stream of the narrative.

Copies, versions, and detached fragments of history, are found in the possession of every family of distinction. Of these I have occasionally availed myself.

So much of the native accounts as relates to the period anterior to the establishment of the empire of *Jang'gala*, in the ninth century, is confused, obscure, contradictory, and interpolated with the fabulous and heroical histories of continental India; but from that epoch they correspond essentially, and from the subversion of Paganism (A.D. 1475) they are circumstantial, and claim attention, not only as illustrative of the character of the people, but as historical records of the transactions of the times. Much abridgment has been requisite: the passages between inverted commas are however literal translations from the native writings; and those so distinguished, subsequent to the arrival of the Dutch, are from the original histories. In the course of the narrative, a Dutch abstract of the native history, by Mr. Middlecoop, has occasionally been consulted.

Besides these historical relations, called *Bábat*, as *Bábat Jang'gála*, *Bábat Matárem*, &c. the native princes and chiefs have been in the habit of keeping a register of the principal events, in the form of a chronological table. These are not very consistent in what regards events anterior to the Mahomedan conversion. From these tables is formed that which is annexed to the following history. All that is subsequent to the establishment of *Matárem* is translated from the records of the court of *Suru-kérta*.

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CHAPTER X.

The History of Java from the earliest Traditions till the Establishment of Mahomedanism.

AMONGST the various traditions regarding the manner in which Java and the Eastern Islands were originally peopled, and the source whence its population proceeded, it has been related, that the first inhabitants came in vessels from the Red Sea *(Láut Míra)*, and that, in their passage, they coasted along the shores of Hindustan; that peninsula then forming an unbroken continent with the land in the Indian Archipelago, from which it is now so widely separated, and which, according to the tradition, has since been divided into so many distinct islands, by some convulsions of nature or revolution of the elements *.

These people are supposed to have been banished from Egypt, and to have consisted of individuals professing different religious persuasions, who carried along with them to the land of their exile, their different modes of worship and articles of belief. Some are said to have adored the sun, others the moon; some the elements of fire or water, and others the trees of the forest. Like all other uncivilized men, they were addicted to the arts of divination, and particularly to the practice of astrology. In other respects, they are described as savages, living in hordes, without fixed habitations, without the protection of regular government, or the restraint of established law. Respect for age was the only substitute for civil obedience. The oldest man of the horde was considered its chief, and regulated its simple movements, or prescribed its political duties. When the crop was gathered and

* Middlekoop's Collection.

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the accustomed devotions performed, it was he who appointed the mode and time of its departure from one place to another. On these occasions, the horde, after offering their sacrifices and feasting in an open plain, left the remains of their repast to attract the bird called *úlunggága* *; and the young men shook the *ángklung* †, and set up a shout in imitation of its cry. If the bird did not eat of the meal offered to it, or if it afterwards remained hovering in the air, perched quietly on a tree, or in its flight took a course opposite to that which the horde wished to pursue, their departure was deferred, and their prayers and sacrifices renewed ‡. But when the bird, having eaten of its meal, flew in the direction of their intended journey, the ceremony was concluded by slaying and burning a lamb, a kid, or the young of some other animal, as an offering of gratitude to the deity; and for the favourable omen a second feast was enjoyed, which ended with the most violent demonstrations of joy, the whole party dancing und springing to the music of the *ángklung*. Every thing being arranged for the journey, the eldest of the horde, with his wife and children, were either placed upon an elephant, or carried in a litter shaded by mats; the rest moved on foot, preceded by young men and boys, shaking the *ángklung* and shouting aloud, for the double purpose of doing homage to the chief and of frightening away the wild beasts, which at that time abounded in the island §.

* Supposed to have been a crow or raven.

† A rude instrument of music still in use, particularly in the *Súnda* and mountainous districts.

‡ The *Dáyas* of Borneo still hold particular kinds of birds in high veneration, and draw omens from their flight, and the sounds which they utter. One of the principal of these is a species of white-headed kite, which preys on fish, snakes, and vermin. Before the *Dáyas* enter on a journey or engage in any war, head-hunting, or indeed any matter of importance, they endeavour to procure omens from these kites, and, for this purpose, invite their approach by screaming songs, and scattering rice before them. If these birds take their flight in the direction they wish to go, it is regarded as a favourable omen; but if they take another direction, they consider it as unfavourable, and delay the business until the omens are more suitable to their wishes.—*Transactions of the Batavian Society*, vol. vii.

§ The manner in which the mountaineers of the *Súnda* districts still spring and shout to the sound of this rude instrument, as already described,

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But it is only from the supposed arrival of *Adi* or *Aji Sáka*, that the Javans, even in their traditions, enter with any confidence into details. This event is generally referred to the first year of the Javan era, which corresponds with the seventy-fifth of the Christian era, and in some accounts is thus related.

" *Prábu Jáya Báya* was a great and powerful prince of " *Astína*, and the fifth in descent from *Arjúna*, the son of " *Pándu Déwa Náta;* after whom had reigned successively, " *Bimányu*, *Parakísit*, *Udayána*, and *Gandra Yána*. His " *Peng'gáwa*, or chief minister, being a man of great enter- " prize and ability, was sent to visit and civilize foreign coun- " tries. In the course of his travels, he landed on Java, then " the abode of a race of *Rasáksa*, and known by the name of " *Núsa Kéndang*. This happened in the first year of the " Javan era, and is distinguished in the *Chándra Sangkála* " by the words, *nir*, *ábu*, *tánpo*, *jálar*, meaning literally, " ' nothing dust, not any thing (but) man,' and metaphorically " the figures 0001.

" He here discovered the grain called *jáwa-wut*, at that " time the principal subsistence of the inhabitants; and, in " consequence of this discovery, he changed the name of the " country from *Núsa Kéndang* to *Núsa Jáwa*. In his pro- " gress through the island he met with the dead bodies of two " *Rasáksa*, each holding a leaf with an inscription on it, one " in *púrwa* (ancient), the other in Siamese characters: these " he united, and thus formed the Javan alphabet of twenty " letters.

" He had several combats with the *Rasáksa*, particularly " with one *Dewáta Chéngkar;* and after fixing the date of " his different discoveries, and leaving mementos of his visit " wherever he went, he finally returned to *Astína*, and de- " livered to his sovereign a written account of all he had seen " and done."

corresponds with this account; and on occasions of public rejoicings or ceremony, the native princes of the eastern part of the island frequently introduce a party of wild men, with dishevelled hair, and covered with leaves, shaking the *ángklung*, and shouting, springing, and distorting their limbs in the rudest manner: the object being to exhibit the original inhabitants, in contrast with what they have been rendered by civilization.

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The accounts of the real character of *Aji Sáka* are various. Some represent him as a great and powerful prince, who established an extensive colony on Java, which a pestilence afterwards obliged him to withdraw; whilst others consider him as a saint and deity, and believe that on his voyage to Java he sailed over mountains, islands, and continents. Most, however, agree in attributing to him the first introduction of letters, government, and religion; the only trace of anterior civilization being a tradition, that before his time there existed a judicial code, under the title of sun and moon, the punishments of which appear not to have been severe: a thief was bound to make restitution of the property stolen, and to pay in addition a fine in cattle or produce; and if the theft was considerable, he became the slave of the injured party or his relations, without, however, being transferable to another master: murder was not punished by death, but by a heavy fine, and perpetual servitude in the family of the deceased. This code *Aji Sáka* is represented to have reformed; and an abstract collection of ordinances, said to have been made from his instructions, is believed to have been in use as late as the time of *Janggála* (A.D. 900), and even of *Majapáhit* (A.D. 1300).

In the Sanscrit language *Sáka* means an era, and is applied to the founder of an era; and in the chronology of the Hindu princes of India, *Sáka* is a name or title, which has so often been assumed, that it is sufficient to say to whom it is most appropriately due. According to Sir William Jones, *Sáka* is a name of *Budha*. In the chronology of the kings of *Magádha* *, by Major Wilford, the Hindus are stated to have divided the *Kaliyúga* into six unequal portions, or subordinate periods, called *Sákas*, because they derived their origin from six *Sákas*, or mighty and glorious monarchs, of whom three have already made their appearance and three are still expected. The third *Sáka* was *Salavahana*, who is believed to have lived at the same time with our Saviour, and is represented to have corresponded with him in some of the principal features of his life. The era which bears his name commenced from his death (namely, seventy-eight years after the Christian era), and is doubtless that adopted by the Javans, which cor-

* Asiatic Researches.

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responds with it within about three years: and the slight difference between them may be accounted for, by the introduction of the Mahomedan mode of reckoning during the last three centuries.

The same writer informs us, that the first *Bála Rája*, a title peculiarly given to the ancient sovereigns of *Guj'rat*, and who is supposed to have lived in the seventh century of the Christian era, was called *Di Sáka*, or *Déva Sáka;* which being also one of the titles of *Salivahana*, might induce an opinion that they were the same person, if, as Major Wilford acknowledges, the confusion and uncertainty of the Hindu records did not almost deter us from forming any fixed opinion whatever. According to the Japanese historians, *Sáka* lived a thousand years before our Saviour; and the worship of that country is still denominated by them the religion of *Sáka* or *Siáka* *.

According, however, to a prophetic chronology of the Javans, which is now in the possession of the *Susuhúnan*, and is ascribed to the pen of the *Aji Jáya Báya*, but is doubtless of a more modern composition, the supposed arrival of *Aji Sáka* did not take place till after the year 1000. In this chronology, the author himself is described as sovereign of *Kediri* in the year 800 of the Javan era.

" What was first known of Java," says this account, " was " a range of hills, called *Gúnung Kéndang*, which extends " along the north and south coasts; it was then that the " island first came into notice, and at that period commenced " the Javan era.

" After this the Prince of *Rom* sent twenty thousand " families to people Java; but all of them perished, except " twenty families, who returned to *Rom*.

" In this year, twenty thousand families were sent to Java " by the Prince of *Klíng* (India). These people prospered " and multiplied. They continued, however, in an uncivi- " lized state till the year 289, when the Almighty blessed " them with a prince, named *Káno*, who reigned for one hun- " dred years, at the end of which period he was succeeded by " *Básu Kéti*. The name of the sovereignty was called *Wiráta*.

* Kempfer's Japan, vol. i. p. 148.

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" *Básu Kéti* dying, he was succeeded by his son, *Mángsa*
" *Páti*. The father and son together reigned three hundred
" years.

" Another principality, named *Astína*, sprung up at this
" time, and was ruled by a prince, called *Púla Sára* who was
" succeeded by his son *Abiása*, who was again succeeded by
" his son *Pándu Déwa Náta;* the reigns of the last three
" princes together amounting to one hundred years.

" Then succeeded *Jáya Báya* himself, who removed the
" seat of government from *Astína* to *Kedíri*.

" The kingdom of *Kedíri* being dismembered on the death
" of its sovereign, there arose out of its ruins two other king-
" doms, the one called *Brambánan*, of which the prince was
" called *Báka;* the other *Péng'ging*, of which the prince's
" name was *Angling Dría*.

" These two princes having gone to war with each other,
" *Báka* was killed in battle by *Dámar Máya*, the son-in-law
" of *Angling Dría*. On the death of *Báka*, the kingdom of
" *Brambánan* was without a prince, and continued so, till
" *Angling Dría* dying a natural death, *Dámar Máya* suc-
" ceeded him and ruled the country.

" *Dámar Máya* dying, and the sovereignty becoming ex-
" tinct, there arrived from a foreign country a person named
" *Aji Sáka*, who established himself as Prince of *Méndang*
" *Kamúlan*, in the room of *Dewáta Chéngkar*, whom he
" conquered.

" In the year 1018 the *Chándi Séwu* (thousand temples) at
" *Brambánan* were completed.

" The empire of *Méndang Kámulan* and its race of
" princes becoming extinct, the kingdoms which rose up and
" succeeded to it were;

" 1. *Jang'gála*, of which the prince was *Ami Luhúr*.
" 2. *Kedíri*,.....*Lémbu Ami Jáya*.
" 3. *Ng'aráwan*,.....*Lémbu Ami Sésa*.
" 4. *Sing'a Sári*,.....*Lémbu Ami Lúeh*.

" These kingdoms were afterwards united under *Pánji*
" *Súria Ami Sésa*, the son of *Ami Luhúr*.

" *Pánji Súria* dying, he was succeeded by his son, *Pánji*

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" *Laléan*, who removed the seat of government from *Jang'-*
" *gála* to *Pajajáran*. This took place in 1200 *."

In some accounts it is stated, that the religion and arts of India were first introduced into Java by a Bramin named *Tritrésta*, who with numerous followers landed on Java about this period, and established the era, in consequence of which he is considered the same with *Aji Sáka*. The descendants of *Tritrésta* are accordingly said to have succeeded to the government of the country; and a list of eighteen princes is adduced, to bring down the history to the ninth century, in which the empire of *Jang'gála* was established. From these accounts, with some minute details regarding the different adventurers, who are supposed to have arrived during the three first centuries, it has been inferred, that these were probably followers of the religion of *Búdha*, and that those who crowded to Java, about the close of the fifth century, are to

* This history, which is written in the Mahomedan style of inspiration and prophecy, commences by a declaration on the part of *Jáya Báya*, that it is clearly ascertained, the island of Java will be annihilated in two thousand one hundred years from the date of its first existence; and after detailing every event, down to the Javan year 1743 (the present year, A.D. 1816), has the following extraordinary conclusion.

" The whole of the above chronological relation of events, from the
" first year to the present date, was written by the inspired *Aji Jáya*
" *Báya*, who himself lived about the year 800. What follows is a conti-
" nuation of events which were foretold by him, and which are still to
" happen, viz.

" In the year 1801, *Sura-kerta* being no more, the seat of government
" will be removed to *Katáng'ga*, which being afterwards demolished, the
" seat of government will be removed in 1870 to *Kárang Báya*.

" In 1950, the seat of government will be removed to *Kedári*, where it
" was of old. The *Pringi* people (Europeans) will then come, and
" having conquered Java, will establish a government in the year 1955.
" The Prince of *Kling*, however, hearing of the conquest and ruin of
" Java by the *Príngis*, will send a force which will defeat and drive them
" out of Java; and having given up the island once more to its Javan
" government, will, in the year 1960, return to his own country.

" On regaining possession of the country, the new Javan government
" will desert the former capital of *Kárang Báya*, as being an unlucky
" site, and remove it to *Waríngin Kúbu*, which is near the mountain
" *N'gmárta Láya*. This will take place in 2020.

" By the year 2100 there will be an end of Java entirely."

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be considered as the first settlers professing the Braminical faith; but whatever authority this inference may derive from the knowledge we possess of the religious revolutions which have taken place elsewhere, and however probable it may be, that the followers of *Búdha* were at an early period established on Java, we apprehend that the conclusion will derive but little support from a chronology which, on the slightest investigation, will be found borrowed from continental India. Even the names of the principal characters, who are thus represented as having ruled Java for a period of so many centuries, will be readily traced in the accredited lists of Indian sovereigns *; and when it is considered, that the princes of Java pretend to derive their descent from *Parakísit*, the descendant of *Arjúna*, that the scene of the celebrated war of the *Pandáwa*, which forms the subject of the most popular poem in the country, as well as that of the great Indian poem, called the *Mahabárat*, is believed to have been laid on Java, and that not only the countries mentioned in that war, but the dwelling places and temples of the different heroes who distinguished themselves in it, are at the present day pointed out on Java, it is easy to account for the indistinctness and inaccuracy of the line drawn between the princes of India and those who may have actually ruled on Java.

Without entering into the mythology of the ancient Javans, which has been more particularly treated of in another place, it may be sufficient to observe generally, that in some of the copies of the *Níti Sástra Káwí*, a work of the highest antiquity and celebrity, the following is the duration prescribed for the several ages of the world.

" The *kérta yóga* was of one hundred thousand years " duration; the *tréta yóga* was of ten thousand years; the " *duapára* was of one thousand years; the *sandiníka* (which " began A.D. 78) is now in its course."

The *kérta yóga* is considered to have terminated with the expulsion of *Vishnu* from *Suraláya*. The *tréta yóga* commences with his becoming incarnate in the person of *Arjúna*

* Vide Asiatic Researches.

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Wijáya, sovereign of *Mauspáti*, and ends with the death of *Ráma*, an event supposed to have taken place about the time of *Sákri*, in the following line of princes.

Mánu Manása,
Tritrésta,
Parikéna,
Sutápa,
Sapútram,
Sákri,
Pulasára,
Abiása,
Pándu Déwa Náta.

Many of these princes, with their descendants, are in the traditionary accounts of the country, believed to have established themselves on Java; and while we find *Tritrésta* founding a colony in the first year of the Javan era, or about seventeen hundred and forty years ago, it is the less surprising that the war of the *Pándus* should have been transferred from the *duapára yóga* to the present age, and believed to have taken place in Java about twelve hundred years ago.

In the Javan, or modern version of the *Níti Sástra*, the following periods are assigned to the principal events of fabulous history. " In the beginning every thing was at rest " and quiet. During the first years, kings began to start up, " and wars arose about a woman named *Déwi Darúki*; at " this period writing was introduced. One thousand five " hundred years after this, another war began, about a woman " named *Déwi Sinta*. Two thousand years after this, a third " war broke out about a woman named *Déwi Drupádi*; and " two thousand five hundred years afterwards another war " took place, about the daughter of a spiritual man, not " named in history."

The following account of princes, commencing with *Tritrésta*, who is believed to have established his government at *Gíling Wési*, at the foot of the mountain *Se Míru*, with the dynasties which they severally established, and the dates at which they respectively succeeded to the government, while it shews the manner in which these islanders have interwoven their fabulous history with that of the continent, will

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prove how little credit is due to those accounts, which furnish local details during a period so remote and obscure.

This account is extracted from a collection of the legends of the country, compiled by *Náta Kasúma*, the present *Panambáhan* of *Súmenap;* a man who is not only distinguished among the Javans for his eminent erudition and information, but who, from the superior endowments of his mind, would command a high degree of respect among the more civilized people of Europe.

" Before there were any inhabitants on Java, *Wisnu* " (Vishnu) presided therein; but having offended *Sang yáng* " *Gúru*, *Tritrésta*, the son of *Jála Prási*, and grandson of " *Bráma*, was sent to Java as sovereign of the country. This " prince was married, at ten years of age, to *Bramáni Káli*, " of *Kámbója*, and with eight hundred families from the " country of *Kling*, established the seat of his government at " the foot or *Gúnung Semíru*, the capital of which he called " *Gíling Wési*. He had two sons, *Mánu Manása*, and *Mánu* " *Madéwa*, and his people increased to 20,000.

" In the country of *Kling* there was a man named *Watu* " *Gúnung*, son of *Gána*, of *Désa Sangála*, who heard of the " fame of *Sínta* and *Lándap*, two beautiful women residing " at *Gíling Wési*. *Wátu Gúnung* went in search of them, " and finding them under the protection of *Tritrésta*, attacked " and defeated him. *Tritrésta* was slain, and *Wátu Gúnung* " reigned as sovereign of *Gíling Wési* for one hundred and " forty years. Under his government the country became " very flourishing. He adopted forty sons and as many " daughters of the princes of the country, and gave them the " names of the deities of *Súrga* (Swerga), for which, and for " other acts, he was in the end punished with death by *Wisnu*, " in the year 240 *

" After this *Batára Gúru* sent *Gutáka* from the mountain " *Sawéla Chála* in *Kling*, to be sovereign of *Gíling Wési*, " where, after a reign of fifty years, he died, and was suc- " ceeded by his son, *Ráden Sawéla*, in the year 290. This " last prince reigned twenty years, and was succeeded by

* See account of *Watu Gúnung* in vol. i. Literature.

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" *Gutáma*, who removed from *Gíling Wési* while yet unmar-
" ried, and went to a country *(Astína)*, which was possessed
" by an elephant that desired the princess *Endrádi* in mar-
" riage. He fought and killed the elephant, and married the
" princess, and afterwards proceeded to *Lagrestína*.

" There was a *Pandita* of *Gúnung Jáli*, in the country of
" *Kling*, who had a son called *Ráden Dása Wirià*, who, when
" twelve years of age, having obtained leave of his father to go
" to Java, took up his abode at the foot of the mountain *Láwu*.
" His son, *Dása Báhu*, when ten years of age, determined to
" make himself independent, and travelled with one hundred
" followers, until they smelt the dead elephant which had
" been killed by *Gutáma*. There he established himself,
" calling his capital *Gája-huia*, or *Astíná Púra*. This was
" in the year 310.

" *Dása Báhu* was succeeded by his son *Suantána*, who
" had wars with the giant *Púru Sáda*. This prince had a
" son, named *Déwa Bráta*, whose mother died immediately
" after the birth of the child; and the prince finding no one
" from whom the child would take milk, was obliged to carry
" it about in search of some one to whom it might take a
" liking.

" Of the descendants of *Tritrésta* were first, *Mánu Manása;*
" second, *Sutápa;* third, *Sapútram;* fourth, *Sákri*. The
" last begot *Púla Sara*, who had a son named *Abiása*. It
" happened that *Abiása*, when an infant, was borne in the
" arms of his mother *Ambu Sári*, at the time when *Suantána*
" was in search of a wet nurse for his son. Upon seeing her
" the infant *Déwa* immediately cried out and wanted milk
" from her, which, however, she would not consent to give,
" until after much altercation *Suantána* agreed to give his
" country in exchange; so that *Ambu Sári* received the
" country of *Astína* for her son *Abiása*, who, when arrived
" at a proper age, succeeded as sovereign in the year 415.
" *Déwa Bráta* was made Prince of *Kumbína*.

" *Abiása* was married to a woman advanced in years, by
" whom he had three sons: *Drésta Ráta*, who was blind;
" *Pándu Déwa Náta*, who was very handsome; and *Ráma*
" *Widára*, who was lame. After twelve years he retired, and
" transferred the government to his second son.

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" *Pándu Déwa Náta*, at the age of fourteen, then succeeded as sovereign of *Astína*, and married *Déwi Kúnti*, daughter of *Básu Keti*, Prince of *Madúra*, by whom he had three sons, *Kúnta Déwa*, *Séna*, and *Jináka*. *Déwa Náta* also married *Madrín*, daughter of the Prince of *Mandarága*, and died, leaving her pregnant. She was delivered of two sons, and died also; but *Déwi Kúnti* gave the children milk, and called the one *Sadéwa* and the other *Nakúla*. At that time the children of *Pándu Déwa Náta* were very young; *Drésta Ráta* was therefore nominated protector during their minority; but instead of resigning the kingdom to them, he gave it to his own son, *Suyudána*; who, becoming sovereign of *Astína*, the five children were sent by *Abiása*, with a thousand families, to establish a new country, to which they gave the name of *Amérta*.

" *Suyudána* married the daughter of the Prince of *Mandarága*, by whom he had a son, and the country became great, flourishing, and happy. There was none more powerful; and the dependant chiefs were the Princes *Kérna* of *Awáng'ga*, *Bísma* or *Déwa Kráta*, of *Kúmbina*, *Jáya Páta* of *Dála Sejána*, *Jákar Sána* of *Madúra*, and *Sália*, of *Mandarága*. But *Púnta Déwa* and his brothers in the country of *Amerta* were not satisfied: they wished for their father's inheritance, and sent their cousin, *Krésna* of *Diarawáti*, to confer with *Suyudána*, and to demand their rightful possessions. For the sake of peace with their cousin, they offered to accept of half: but *Suyudána* rejected their demand and replied, 'that without the decision of the 'sword they should have none.' Then began the war called *Bráta Yúdha*, because it was a contest for their just rights. The war lasted long, and during its continuance the sons and followers of both parties were nearly all killed: at last *Suyudána* himself fell, after a reign of fifty years *.

" *Púnta Déwa* then became sovereign of *Astína* in the year 491; but after two years he transferred the government to *Parikísit*, son of *Abimányu*, and grandson of his brother *Jenáka*. After defending the country successfully against the giant *Usi Aji*, of *Surabáya*, whom he slew, he

* See vol. i. Poetry—*Brata Yudha*.

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" was succeeded by his son *Udayána*, who died after a reign
" of twenty-three years, His son *Jáya Dérma* succeeded.
" This prince had two sons, named *Jáya Misána* and *Ang'-*
" *ling Dérma*. The former succeeded his father after a reign
" of twenty-seven years, and died at the expiration of five
" years. During the reign of *Jáya Misána* there was a dread-
" ful pestilence and a violent earthquake, which destroyed
" the country, and his son removed to *Miláwa*, where he be-
" came a *tápa*.

" To this country *Ang'ling Dérmá* had already removed
" with three thousand families, during the lifetime of his
" brother, and was acknowledged as sovereign of *Miláwa*
" *Páti*, where he reigned in prosperity for ten years. At the
" expiration of this period, it is related that his princess
" burnt herself, in consequence of being refused the know-
" ledge of a certain prayer, by which she might understand
" the language of all animals. The prince afterwards be-
" came insane, wandered about, and was transformed into a
" white bird.

The son of *Jáya Misána*, *Jáya Purúsa*, begat *Púspa*
" *Jáya*, who begat *Púspa Wijáya*, who begat *Kasúma*
" *Wichítra*, who again begat *Ráden Aji Nirmála*, who reigned
" for twenty years at *Miláwa Pati*, but in whose days the
" country was greatly afflicted with pestilence. In conse-
" quence of this, his son, *Bisúra Champáka*, departed with
" his followers, and proceeded to *Méndang Kamúlan*, where
" he abode as a *Pandíta*. He had, however, a son, named
" *Ang'ling Dérma*, from whom descended *Aji Jáya Báya*,
" who became sovereign of the country, and gave it the name
" of *Púrwa Chirita*; under his government the country greatly
" increased, he acquired large possessions, and all under his
" administration was flourishing and happy. It is related of
" him, that he dictated the poem of the *Bráta Yúdha*, by
" order of *Déwa Batára Gúru*, in the year 701. He was
" succeeded by his son, *Salápar Wáta*, in 756, whose son,
" named *Kandiáwan*, afterwards came to the government,
" under the title of *Jáyu Langkára*. This last named prince
" had a sister, called *Chándra Suára*, four sons, *Subráta*,
" *Pára Yáta*, *Játa Wida*, and *Su Wida*, and a daughter,
" named *Pambáyun*. His *Páteh* was named *Jáya Singára*,

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" and among his dependents were *Gaja Iráwan* of *Ludáya*, " *Lémbu Súren Gúna* of *Jang'gála*, *Wíra Tíkta* of *Kedíri*, " and the *Arias* of *Síng'a Sári* and *Ng'ráwan*.

" In course of time this prince became very wicked, and " married his sister, *Chándra Suára*. When his *Páteh*, " chiefs, and followers, heard of it, they rose in arms, but " feared to attack the prince, as it had been predicted that he " could only be killed at the full of the moon. The prince, " in the mean time, being informed of the conspiracy, im- " mediately attacked the party, and killing the *Páteh*, com- " mitted great slaughter among his followers.

" When the battle was over, he assembled his sons, and " after telling them they were not ignorant of his deeds, and " that it was his intention to burn himself at the full of the " moon, he desired that they would thereupon remove from " the place, and leave the country of *Méndang Kamúlan* to " become a wilderness. He then divided his possessions into " four parts: to the eldest son, *Subráta*, he gave the country " of *Jang'gála;* to his second son, *Pára Yára*, he gave " *Kedíri;* to his third, *Játa Wída*, he gave *Síng'a Sári;* and " to his fourth son, *Su Wída*, he gave *Ng'aráwan:* and these " princes severally became independent chiefs of those king- " doms.

" When the full of the moon arrived, *Sri Jáya Langkára*, " with his wife and sister, *Chándra Suára*, went to the " *Sáng'gar* of *Déwa Pabayústan*, where they burnt them- " selves. The families of the *Páteh* and the chiefs slain in " the late battle also accompanied him, and committed them- " selves to the flames. *Pembáyun*, his daughter, was not " however permitted to sacrifice herself, in consequence of " which she bore great ill will to her father; and it is related " that she is the same person who afterwards went to " *Jáng'gála*, and abode at *Wána Kapucháng'an*, where she " assumed the name of *Kíli Súchi*, and went about from " place to place, being much beloved; for she was very " learned, and made inscriptions upon stones, one of which " is called *Kála Kérma* *."

* To this popular account of the early and fabulous history of Java, it may be interesting to add the equally popular and generally received

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But other accounts, which attempt to draw a line between the Indian and Javan princes, date the commencement of the

ancient history of *Madúra*, formerly called *Mandúra*, and in the *basa*, or court language, *Mandurétna*.

" *Batara Rama Yana* having completed the wars, and conquered *Dasa* " *Muka*, of the country of *Alinka*, thought of making a new settlement " from the wilderness. To this he gave the name of *Durjayapura*; and " after a long reign, resigned the government of it to his son, *Butlawa*, " ending his days in solitude. *Butlawa* reigned for some years over the " country of *Durjayapura*, and was succeeded by his son, *Kunti Buja*, " who married the daughter of his *Páteh*, named *Kasa*. This prince re- " moved the seat of government, or rather changed the name of it, to " *Mandura Rája*, and was succeeded by his son, *Basu Keti*, who ascended " the throne at nine years of age. During his reign there arrived a beauti- " ful woman, named *Dewi Sani Gatra*, daughter of *Bengawan Adi Rusa*, " who had fled from the Prince of *Nusa Kambangán*, called *Jura Mataraja*. " The prince married her, and was in consequence attacked by *Jura* " *Mataraja*; but by the assistance of *Pula Sara*, the father of *Abiasa*, who " afterwards became sovereign of *Astina*, he defeated him, and remained " in quiet possession of his country. By the princess he had four chil- " dren; three sons, named *Basu Dewa*, *Aria Prabu*, and *Angrasana*, and a " daughter named *Dewi Kunti*. When *Basu Dewa* was fifteen years of age, " his father wished him to marry a princess of the country, but the youth " having fixed his affections upon the daughter of *Raja Sirwonga*, named " *Dewi Angsa Wati*, refused compliance, and was in consequence dismissed " the royal presence.

" *Basu Dewa*, learning that the daughter of *Sirwonga* had been carried " off by a giant into the woods, succeeded in overpowering the giant, and " married *Dewi Angsa Wati*; but intelligence being given thereof to the " chief, the prince of *Ambulutiga*, a chief called *Tiga Warna* (tri-coloured) " was sent in pursuit of *Basu Dewa*, whom he overtook on his return to " *Mandura Raja*. *Basu Dewa* was vanquished and fell into a cave: the " princess fell into the hands of *Tiga Warna*.

" It was about this time that *Pula Sara* obtained the kingdom of *Astina* " for his son *Abiasa*, and was desirous of betrothing him to *Dewa Amba-* " *lika* of *Astina*; but the young prince would not consent; and one day, " when he was wandering in the forests, he heard a voice issue from a " cave, and discovered *Basu Dewa*, who related his case and intreated his " aid in the recovery of his wife. The young princes then proceeded in " search of *Tiga Warna*, and having discovered him, *Basu Dewa* discharged " an arrow at him and killed him. *Dewi Ansga Wati* was in consequence " restored to her husband. *Basu Dewa* and *Abiasa* then exchanged vows " of perpetual friendship between themselves and their descendants, in- " voking a curse upon whomsoever of them should be guilty of breaking " it. After this, *Basu Dewa* returned to *Mandura Raja*.

" *Basu Dewa* at length succeeded his father in the government of *Man-*

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latter, five centuries subsequently to the first landing of the *Aji Sáka*, and consider the kingdom of *Méndang Kamúlan* as the first regular establishment on Java. As these, if not the most consistent with the historical data which have been admitted on continental India, have the advantage of being the least confused, a more particular account of the first establishments may be interesting. With regard to the statements that commence with a more remote antiquity, it may be sufficient to shew, at one view, the line of princes who are represented to have ruled on Java, according to the two different authorities which have been referred to.

" *dura Raja*, and had several children; of whom one was white, named " *Kakra Sana*, the other black, named *Kresna*. He was succeeded by a son " whom he had exposed in the woods, but to whom he afterwards became " reconciled, named *Raden Kangsa*, to whom he gave the country. At " this time *Pandu Dewa Nata* reigned over the kingdom of *Astina*. One " night a voice said to him in a dream, ' When you meet with children of " *Madura*, white or black, put them to death.' His father, who was still " living, apprehensive for the fate of his favourite sons, *Kakra Sana* and " *Kresna*, sent them to *Widara Kandang* for concealment, with *Angga Gopa*. " These two princes afterwards hearing of an exhibition of fighting men, " proceeded with their sister *Sambádra* to the *Alun alun*, where the com- " batants were assembled, and here they met *Raden Aria Jenaka* and *Sena*, " sons of *Pandu Dewa Nata*, from *Astina*, who when their father died heard " of the fame of *Madura*, and came in quest of the country.

" *Raden Kangsa* was seated in the *paseban*, surrounded by his chiefs, " when his *Páteh* informed him that the proscribed children had at last " appeared. The prince, delighted that those whom he had so long sought " in vain had now appeared of their own accord, ordered his *Páteh* imme- " diately to seize them; but *Kakra Sana* fought with the *Páteh*, and drove " him back upon the prince, who then seized him himself, and throwing " him on the ground with violence, blood gushed from his mouth. *Kakra* " *Sana* then called for assistance from *Krésna*, who with *Raden Sena* im- " mediately came and overpowered *Raden Kangsa*. Upon this *Kakra* " *Sana* put him to death with his weapon *Lugúra*. The *Páteh*, ignorant " of the fate of his prince, rushed upon the parties, but was pierced with " a spear by *Kakra Sana*, who immediately exclaimed, ' I am *Resi Anapita* " of *Repat Kapanasan*; I am *Resi di Jala dana Baladewa*, the son of *Basu* " *Dewa* of *Madura*.'

" Then his uncle, *Aria Prabu*, spoke; and having embraced him, carried " him to his father, *Basu Dewa*, who conferred the country upon him. At " night, however, *Kakra Sana* heard a voice in his sleep, saying, ' to-mor- " ' row will I be revenged in the war *Brata Yudha*: there will be one of " ' the country *Chámpala Raja*, I am he.' *Kakra Sana* replied, ' well I " ' dare you.' "

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LINE OF HINDU SOVEREIGNS

Who ruled on Java, according to the Manuscript ascribed to Aji Jáya Báya, in the Possession of the present Susuhunan.

Date of Accession, Javan Year.	SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.		SOVEREIGNS.
289	Wiráta.....	1	Bàsu Keti.
	.....	2	Mángsah Pati
700	.....	3	Púla Sára.
	.....	4	Abiása.
	.....	5	Pándu Déwa Nàta.
800	Kedíri.....	6	Aji Jáya Báya.
	Péng'ging	7	Angling Dría.
900-2	Brambánan.....	8	Báka.
	.....	9	Dámar Máya.
1002	Méndang Kamúlan	10	Aji Sáka.
1082-4	Kedíri.....		Lémbu Ami Jáya.
	Ngaráwan		Lembu Ami Sésa.
	Singa Sari		Lembu Ami Lúeh. *
	Jang'gala	11	Lembu Ami Luhúr.
	.....	12	Panji Súria Ami Sésa.
1200	Pajajáran.....	13	Laléan.
	....	14	Banjáran Sári.
	.....	15	Méndang Wáng'i.
1301	Majapáhit	16	Jáka Sura, or Browijáya 1st.
	.....	17	Browijáya 2d. †
	.....	18	Browijáya 3d. †
	.....	19	Browijáya 4th. †
1381	.....	20	Browijáya 5th. †

* The Chandi Sewu, or one thousand temples at Brambanan, according to this chronology, are supposed to have been completed in the year 1018.

† The temple of Boro Bodo is also supposed to have been completed in 1360.

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LINE OF HINDU SOVEREIGNS

Who reigned on Java, according to the Manuscripts of the Eastern Parts of Java, Sumenap, and Bali, as collected by Náta Kusúma, the present Panambahan of Sumenap.

Date of Accession, Javan Year.	SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.		SOVEREIGNS.
1	Gíling Wési	1	Tritrésta.
140	.....	2	Wátu Gúnung.
240	.....	3	Gutáka.
290	.....	4	Sawéla.
310	Astina	5	Gutáma.
	.....	6	Dása-báhu.
	.....	7	Sawantána.
415	.....	8	Abiása.
427	.....	9	Pándu Déwa Náta.
480	.....	10	Suyudána.
491	.....	11	Pónto Déwa.
533	.....	12	Parikísit.
575	.....	13	Udiána.
588	Maláwa Páti	14	Ang'ling Dérma.
598	.....	15	Jáya Misána.
	.....	16	Púspa Jaya.
	.....	17	Púspa Wijaya.
	.....	18	Kasúma Wichítra.
638	.....	19	Aji Nirmála.
658	Méndang Kamúlan ..	20	Bisura Champáka.
671	.....	21	Ang'ling Dría.
701	.....	22	Aji Jáya Báya.
756	.....	23	Séla Prawáta.
818	Jang'gála	24	Kandiáwan, or Jaya Langkára.
868	.....	25	Subráta, or Déwa Kasúma.
927	Kóripan	26	Laléan.
	.....	27	Banjáran Sári.
	.....	28	Múda-níng-kung.
	.....	29	Múda-sári.
1084	Pajaráran	30	Ráden Pánkas.
	.....	31	Siung Winára.
1158	Majapáhit	32	Jáka Susúru, or Brá Wijáya.
	.....	33	Prábu Anom.
	.....	34	Uda nínkung.
	.....	35	Prábu Kánya, a Princess married to Dámar Wúlan.
	.....	36	Lémbu Ami Sáni.
	.....	37	Bráma Túnggung.
	.....	38	Ráden Alit, or Browijáya.

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The following is the chronology of the Javan princes, according to the legends abstracted by *Kiai Adipáti Adi Mang'gála*, formerly Regent of *Demák*, and in which the Javan princes commence in the sixth century.

Date of Accession, Javan Year.	SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.		SOVEREIGNS.
525	Méndang Kamúlan ..	1	Sawéla Chála.
	.....	2	Ardi Kasúma.
	.....	3	Ardi Wijáya.
	.....	4	Rési Déndang Géndis.
846	Jang'gála	5	Déwa Kasúma.
	.....	6	Lémbu Ami Luhúr. *
	.....	7	Panji Kérta Pati
1000	Pajajáran	8	Pánji Maisa Tandráman, or Laléan.
	(2)	9	Múnding Sári.
	.....	10	Múnding Wángi.
	.....	11	Chiong or Siung Wanára.
1221	Majapáhit	12	Tandúran.
	.....	13	Bro Kamára.
	.....	14	Ardi Wijáya.
	.....	15	Mérta Wijáya.
	.....	16	Anáka Wijáya.

"When *Prábu Jáya Báya* of *Astína* died, he was succeeded by his son and descendants, named *Ami Jáya*, "*Jaya Ami Sána*, *Páncha Dría*, and *Kasúma Chítra*. "During the reign of the last of these princes, either the "seat of government had been removed, or the country had "changed its name, for it was then called *Kúj'rat* or *Gúj'rat*; "and it having been foretold that it would decay and go to "ruin altogether, the prince resolved to send his son† to

* At this time there were also three other cotemporary kingdoms, *Daka*, *Singa Sári*, and *Ng'arawan*.

† By these accounts, *Sawela Chala* is represented as the thirtieth in descent from *Nurchaya*, and the eleventh from *Arjúna*, according to the following line of Indian princes who ruled at *Astína-púra* and *Guj'-rat*.

— *Arjuna*,	6 *Ami Jaya*,
1 *Bimanyu*,	7 *Ami Sama*,
2 *Parakisit*,	8 *Chitra Sama*,
3 *Udiana*,	9 *Pancha Dria*,
4 *Gandra Yana*,	10 *Kasuma Chitra*,
5 *Jaya Baya*,	11 *Sawela Chata*,

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" *Jáwa*, and possessing the written account of *Aji Sáka*, " which had been preserved in his family, he gave it to his " son, and embarked him with about five thousand followers " for that island. Among these followers were *Jálma-táni*, " *Jálma-undági*, *Jálma-újam-dudúkan*, *Jálma-pangniárik*, " *Jálma-prajúrit;* that is to say, people skilled in agricul- " ture, artificers, men learned in medicine, able writers, and " military men.

" They sailed in six large ships and upwards of a hundred " small vessels, and after a voyage of four months reached " what they conceived to be the island of *Jáwa*, and many " landed; but as it did not accord with the account given by " *Aji Sáka*, they re-embarked. In a few months, however, " they came in sight of an island with a long range of moun- " tains, and some of them, with the prince at their head, " effected a landing at the western extremity, while a part " were driven to the southward. They soon met with the " grain *jáwa-wut*, as described by *Aji Sáka*, and ascertained " that they had at last reach reached their destination: then " opening the book of *Aji Sáka*, the days of the week and " the *panchawára** were named. The prince, however, did " not long remain in this part of the island; for on clearing " the forest, a lingering sickness appeared among his fol- " lowers, and many died from drinking the water: so he " moved to the south and east, in quest of a more salubrious " position, and with the hope of falling in with their com- " panions. These they found at that part of the island now " known by the name of *Matárem*, when the high priest " opening the book of *Aji Sáka*, and referring to the pro- " phecy, that *Jáwa* should become an inheritance to the " descendants of *Prábu Jáya Báya*, he summoned the whole " party together, and formally proclaimed the prince sovereign " of the country, under the title of *Browijáya Sawéla Chála.* " The name of *Méndang Kamúlan* was then given to the " seat of government.

" The prince now found that men alone were wanting to " render it a great and flourishing state, and he accordingly

* For an explanation of the week of five days, so termed, see vol. i. Astronomy.

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" applied to *Gúj'-rat* for assistance. The ambassadors whom " he sent proceeded down the river and embarked at *Grésik*, so " called from *Gíri-sik*, in consequence of the hills (*Gíri*) run- " ning in this part of the island close to the sea shore (*sik*); " and when they reached *Gúj-rat*, the father of *Sawéla Chala*, " delighted to hear of his success, immediately sent him a " reinforcement of two thousand people. The kindred and " friends of the new colonists were permitted to proceed in " great numbers to *Jáwa*, where they established themselves " principally in the southern and eastern provinces. The " prince lost no time in improving his capital, which became " an extensive city in the year 525. From this period *Jáwa* " was known and celebrated as a kingdom: an extensive " commerce was carried on with *Gúj'rat* and other countries, " and the bay of *Matárem*, then a safe place for shipping, " was filled with adventurers from all parts."

In some of the accounts, the father of *Sawéla Chála* is named *Bália Achar;* and previously to the establishment of *Méndang Kamúlan*, *Sawela Chéla* himself is usually known by the name of *Awap*.

" Nothing, however, is represented to have tended more " to the prosperity of this establishment, than a supposed " union which is said to have taken place between the family " of *Sawéla Chála* and that of *Aru Bándan*, a prince who had " recently arrived from the Moluccas, and established himself " on *Balambángan*. Hearing of the arrival of *Sawéla Chála*, " this prince, with his followers, proceeded to *Méndang Ka-* " *múlan* and submitted to his authority, on condition that the " eastern provinces, including *Balambángan*, should be con- " firmed to him and his descendants. According to the tra- " dition of the country, this prince was principally induced " to submit, in consequence of the other party being able to " explain the inscription and signs of *Aji Sáka*, which he " himself could not, and in consequence of the production of " the writings, in which it was prophesied that the country " should become the inheritance of the family of this prince.

" *Sawéla Chála*, after a long and prosperous reign, was " succeeded by his son, *Ardi Kasúma;* and he again, on his " death, by his son, named *Ardi Wijáya*.

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"During the sovereignty of these princes, the country advanced in fame and prosperity, and the city of *Méndang Kamúlan*, since called *Brambánan* or *Prambánan*, increased in size and splendour. Artists, particularly in stone and metals, arrived from distant countries; the temples, of which the ruins are still extant, both at this place and at *Bóro Bódo* in *Kédu*, are stated to have been constructed during this period, by artists invited from India; and the remains of the palace, situated on a range of low hills near the site of the thousand temples, still attest the existence of this first capital of Java.

"*Ardi Wijáya* had five sons, besides a numerous illegitimate offspring. The eldest was appointed chief of the class of cultivators, the second of the traders, the third to the charge of the woods and forests, the fourth chief of the manufacturers of oil, sugar, and spirits, and the fifth, named *Résí Déndang Géndis*, remained as assistant to his father.

"When this prince died, his youngest son, *Résí Déndang Géndis*, found himself in charge of the capital, and invested with the general administration of the country; but his brothers having formed independent governments in other parts of the island, refused to acknowledge his supremacy. One of them was established at *Bágalen*, another at *Japára*, and a third at *Kóripan*. He is said to have died of a broken heart, in consequence of these secessions, leaving a numerous progeny, who established themselves in different parts of the country.

"The next prince who," according to these accounts, "appears to have succeeded to the government of *Méndang Kamúlan*, was *Déwa Kasúma*, who being of an ambitious character, is said to have proceeded eastward, and established the kingdom of *Jang'gála*, the capital of which, so called from his attachment to the chace *(jang'gála* signifying "a dog" in the Javan language) was built in the forest of *Jeng'áwan*, a few miles to the eastward of the modern *Surabáya*, where its site, with many interesting remains of antiquity, is still pointed out. This event is supposed to have taken place about the year 846."

Of the earlier history of Java it is probable, that each of these three accounts contains some true particulars; but with-

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out unnecessarily discrediting the claims which that country asserts to a higher antiquity, we must confess ourselves unable, in the present state of our information, to separate truth from fable, till we arrive at a period when its records are more consistent. Unconnected with the line of princes whose names have been brought forward, many small states, petty dynasties, and separate interests, no doubt existed on Java in earlier times: of which little mention is made by tradition, which seldom busies itself, except with extensive and sanguinary wars, or great politieal changes. Among these may have flourished the celebrated *Jáya Báya*, in whose reign the *Bráta Yúdha* is said to have been composed by the *Pandíta Puséda*. In the account obtained from *Súra-kérta*, this prince, as we have seen, is related to have reigned in the eighth century in the country of *Kedíri*.

The temples at *Brambánan* (the extensive remains of which, with the numerous casts in metal found in their vicinity, prove the high state which the arts had attained in a remote age, and afford incontestible evidence of the establishment of the Hindu worship in the earliest periods of Javan history), are stated in some accounts to have been constructed in the year 525, and in others in the year 1018; but as far as the general tradition may be relied on, it seems most probable that they were the work of the sixth or seventh centuries. This opinion derives confirmation from the fact, that during this period idol worship increased in Japan. Abundance of idols and idol carvers, and priests, arrived in that quarter from several countries beyond sea; and local traditions assert, that at that time similar emigrations first took place to Java and the eastern islands *.

* " King *Me* succeeded his brother (as Emperor of Japan) in the year " of *Synmu*, of Christ 540.

" He was a very religious prince, and very favourably inclined to the " foreign pagan *Budsdo* worship, which during his reign spread with " great success in Japan, insomuch that the emperor himself caused " several temples to be built to foreign idols, and ordered the idol of " *Buds*, or *Fotoge*, to be carved in *Fakkusai*, that is in China.

" My Japanese author mentions what follows, as something very " remarkable, and says, that it happened in the thirty-first year of his " reign, and contributed very much to the advancement of the *Budsdo* " religion. About a thousand years ago, says my author, there was in

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Déwa Kasúma is represented by the Javan writers to have been a prince of great talent and enlarged views, and by his

" *Tsiutensiku* (that is the middle *Tensiku*, whereby must be understood
" the country of the Malabarians and the coast of Coromandel in India)
" an eminent *fotoke* called *Mokuren*, a disciple of *Siaka*. About the same
" time the doctrine of *Jambaden Gonno Niorai* (that is, *Amida* the great
" god and patron of departed souls) was brought over into China, or
" *Fakkusai*, and spread into the neighbouring countries. This doctrine,
" continues he, did now manifest itself also in *Tsinokuni*, or Japan, at a
" place called *Naniwa*, where the idol of *Amida* appeared at the entry of
" a pond, environed with golden rays, nobody knowing how it was con-
" veyed thither. The pious emperor, in memory of this miraculous
" event, instituted the first *Nengo* in Japan, and called it *Konquo*. The
" idol itself was by *Tondo Josijmitz*, a prince of great courage and piety,
" carried into the country of *Sinano*, and placed in the temple of *Sin-*
" *quosi*, where it afterwards, by the name of *Sinquosi Norai* (that is, the
" *Norai* or *Amida* of *Sinquosi*) wrought many great miracles, which made
" that temple famous all over the empire. Thus far my Japanese author.
" He was succeeded by his son, *Fit Atzu*, or *Fint Atz*, in the year of
" *Synmu* 1232, of Christ 572. My author makes no mention of his age,
" but sets down the following remarkable events which happened during
" his reign.

" In the third year of his reign, on the first day of the first month, was
" born at the emperor's court *Sotoktais*, the great apostle of the Ja-
" panese. His birth was preceded and attended with several re-
" markable circumstances.

" The idol worship in general increased greatly in Japan during the
" emperor's reign. Abundance of idols, and idol carvers, and priests,
" came from several countries beyond sea.

" In the eighth year of his reign the first image of *Siaka* was brought
" over from beyond sea, and carried to *Nara* into the temple of *Kobusi*,
" where it is still kept in great veneration, possessed of the chief and
" most eminent place in that temple.

" In the fourteenth year of his reign one *Moria*, a great antagonist
" and professed enemy of *Sotoktais*, occasioned great troubles and reli-
" gious dissensions in the empire. He bore a mortal hatred to all the
" *Fotoge* or idols of the country, which he took out of the temples and
" burnt wherever he could come at them: but within two years time his
" enemies got the better of him, for he was overcome, and paid with his
" life for his presumptuous enterprise. It is added, that having thrown
" the ashes of the idols, which he had burnt, into a lake, there arose
" suddenly a most dreadful storm of thunder, lightning, and rain."—
History of Japan by Kempfer, vol. i. page 167.

It is remarkable, that a peculiar people seem to have traversed Mexico in the following century, and according to Humboldt in like manner to have left behind them traces of cultivation and civilization. " The

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mild and beneficent government to have induced many of his relations to submit to his authority, which in a short time extended over all the provinces eastward of *Jawána*. But the most interesting fact related of him is, that he sent his children, consisting of four sons and a daughter, to India *(Kling)*, in order that they might there be educated and instructed in the religion of *Bráma;* from whence the eldest son having married the daughter of one of the greatest princes of the country, returned to Java with three large ships, laden with long cloth and other valuable manufactures, and bringing with him able artists of different professions, and a thousand chosen troops presented to him by his father-in-law as a body guard. How far this relation is correct it may be difficult to determine; and a suspicion may even be entertained, that it was a fiction invented by national vanity, for the purpose of concealing from posterity the successful invasion of foreign adventurers. What we know for certain is, that during the reign of the reputed sons of this prince, the Hindu religion, institutions, and literature, with the ornaments of continental India, were very generally introduced and diffused; and it is from this date that we may speak with some degree of confidence as to history.

Déwa Kasúma, on the return of his children from India, divided his kingdom among them. To the eldest, *Ami Luhúr*, he gave the succession to *Jang'gála*, with a jurisdiction of limited extent; to *Ami Jáya* he gave the country of *Gegélang* or *Sínga Sari;* to *Lémbu Meng'árang* he gave the country *N'garáwan* or *Browérno*, and to *Lémbu Ami Luhúr* he gave

"*Toultecs*," says that eminent author, "appeared first in 648, the "*Chichimecs* in 1170, the *Nahualtics* in 1178, and the *Aztecs* in 1196. "The *Toultecs* introduced the cultivation of maize and cotton; they "built cities, made roads, and constructed those great pyramids which "are yet admired, and of which the faces are very accurately laid out. "They knew the use of hieroglyphical paintings; they could found "metals and cut the hardest stones, and they had a solar year more "perfect than that of the Greeks or Romans. The form of their "government indicated that they were the descendants of a people, who "had experienced great vicissitudes in their social state." "But where," asks Humboldt, "is the source of that cultivation; where is the country "from which the Toultecs and Mexicans issued?"—*Humboldt's Political Essay on New Spain.*

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the country of *Dahá* or *Kedíri;* so that, when he died, the island of Java became divided into four kingdoms. His daughter, who was the eldest of his children, and named *Déwi Kilí Súchi*, remained unmarried, and performed a conspicuous part in the transactions of those days. The temples at *Síng'a Sari*, the ruins of which still remain, are stated to have been constructed by that princess.

The reign of *Ami Luhúr* is celebrated for the extensive intercourse which at this period took place with foreign nations, and still more on account of the exploits and adventures of his son, *Pánji Ino Kérta Páti*, the issue of his marriage with the Indian princess, and who, under the name of *Pánji*, became the most renowned hero of Javan story. The adventures of *Pánji* are described in numerous romances, which form the subject of still more numerous dramatic exhibitions, and constitute a principal portion of the polite literature, as well as of the popular amusement of Java. In these romances the hero is represented as devoted to love and war. At an early age he marries *Angréné* or *Sékar'táji*, the daughter of his father's *Pepati*, to whom he is passionately attached. His father, desirous of uniting him with his cousin, the daughter of the chief of *Kedíri*, causes the first object of his affections to be put to death. *Pánji* on this embarks with the dead body, and a storm arising, most of the vessels which accompanied him being lost, he is supposed to have perished. He, however, reaches the island *Tanábang* in safety, and after burning the body of his lamented *Angréne*, proceeds with all the followers he can muster to *Báli*, where he assumes the name of *Klána Jáyang Sári*. Having obtained assistance from the prince of the island, *Andáya Prána*, and received in marriage the princess his daughter, usually known under the name of the *Pútri* or princess of *Báli*, he crosses to *Balambángan*, the most eastern province of Java, and also uniting in marriage with the princess of that country, he obtains numerous auxiliaries, and moves westward to *Kedíri*, in quest of the princess *Chándra Kirána*, the fame of whose beauty and accomplishments had been widely celebrated. Here, in consequence of his change of name, and the general belief that he had perished in the storm, he is considered as a powerful Raja from *Sábrang*, or the opposite shore,

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and joining the chief of *Kedíri*, he secretly makes himself known to his daughter, and marries her.

According to some of the romances, a prince from *Núsa Kanchána*, or the Golden Isle, with numerous followers, and accompanied by two princesses from *Núsa Rétna* arrives at *Jang'gála* about this period, and giving himself out for the long-lost *Pánji*, imposes on the credulity of the father, who receives him as his son. This prince is represented as the son of a *Bramána* possessing supernatural gifts, which enable him to succeed in the deception, and is said to have been lord of many rajas, among whom were *Báka*, *Mordáda*, and many others who are named. He is reported to have had a sister, named *Angréna Suára*, excelling in beauty, and in every respect resembling the princess *Angréné*, who with her nurse accompanied his four wives and numerous concubines to Java.

Klána Jáyang Sári now resuming his name as the real *Pánji*, his father, the prince of *Jang'gála*, proceeded to *Kedíri* with the auxiliaries brought over by the impostor, when a combat takes place between the two princes, and the true *Pánji* becomes manifest.

According to other accounts, the storm in which *Pánji* was supposed to have perished, occurred when the princess *Angréné* was living. She is cast on the *Báli* shore, where assuming a male habit, and becoming a favourite of the prince, she in time obtained the sovereignty of that island under the title of *Jáya Ang'ling Dára*. *Pánji* is thrown on the south shore of Java, and afterwards sent by his father to reduce the refractory chief of *Báli*, in whom he recognizes *Angréné*. In another romance his second wife, *Chándra Kirána*, is represented as becoming chief of *Báli*, under the title of *Kuda Narawáng'a*.

It is also related, that, about this period the Prince of *Singa-sári* being attacked by the *Bálians* under *Klána Ráng'ga Páspíta*, and defeated in an engagement near *Arára Bidáli*, applied for assistance to *Jang'gála* and *Browérno*. The forces sent as auxiliaries from *Jang'gála*, were defeated, and it was not until the arrival of a celebrated warrior from *Browérno*, that the *Bálians* were obliged to retreat. The river which flowed by the scene of action still

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bears the name *Káli Géti*, from its stream having been converted into blood on this occaion.

With regard to the Raja of *Núsa Kanchána*, it is related that he possessed very extensive influence over all the islands of *Súbrang*. He is sometimes called *Klána Tánjung Púra*, and said to have obtained his authority by means of a *Bramána*, named *Kánda* or *Saléndo*, and sometimes *Satírti*, who performed a severe penance on the island *Támbína*. His first establishment was at *Goa* on Celebes; afterwards he attained supreme power: every island which he visited submitted to his sway. He established himself on Sumatra, in the country which has since been called *Palémbang*, whence he waged war against Java, in order to obtain the celebrated princess of *Dáha* in marriage. In other accounts, again, this prince is supposed to have been the son of the chief of *Browérno* on Java, carried off when an infant by a *Bramána*, who left his own son in his place.

In the dramatic performances of the *Bálians*, *Klána Tanjung Púra* is the same with *Si Maláyu*, which means a wanderer, and from which it has been supposed probable that the *Maláyus* have derived their name.

The poetical latitude given to the compositions which describe the life and adventures of *Panji*, leaves it doubtful whether he was in fact the real son of a Javan prince, or some aspiring adventurer from India, whose attachment the chief of *Jang'gála* might have found it his interest to secure. In the dramatic exhibitions of the same subject, it is difficult to decide whether the heroes of the piece are intended to represent the real personages whose names appear in history, or whether they are merely invested with historical titles, for the purpose of giving dignity to fictitious characters.

Some idea may be formed of the reverence in which *Pánji* is held by the Javans, from their representing him as an incarnation of *Vishnu*, and his second wife, *Chándra Kirana*, under the name of *Déwi Gélu*, as an incarnation of *Sri*.

This belief, together with the miraculous transformations and supernatural events attributed to the interference of the Hindu deities, while heightening the colours of these composions may have rendered them more popular subjects for dramatic exhibition, but it has deprived them of nearly all

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authenticity and value as historical records. Perhaps the only inferences, with respect to the hero of them, which we can be justified in drawing, is that the prowess, enterprizes, and accomplishments of this chieftain, who has been termed the Charlemagne of the East, far excelled those of his cotemporaries, and that he visited *Báli*. It appears also, that during this period some government was established in the other islands of the Archipelago, in which a similarity of religion, character, and usages prevailed. As descriptive of the manners and customs of the country, and as affording incontestible evidence, not only of the existence of the Hindu religion on Java, but of its universal diffusion as the prevailing worship of these islands at this period of their history, these traditionary remains possess a high value; and with the traces of foreign influence still to be found in their languages, and in the numerous monuments of the arts, will materially contribute to the developement of their earlier history, while they throw light on the character of the people, and the progress that had been made in civilization.

The *kris* is believed to have been first introduced into the Eastern Islands by *Pánji;* and some go so far as to assert, that all the countries in which it is now worn acknowledged his supremacy. The *gámelan*, or musical instruments of the Javans, together with the various dramatic exhibitions which still form so essential a part of the popular amusement, and compose so distinguishing a characteristic of national literature, are all supposed to have been introduced by him.

The adventures of *Pánji* are related in the Malayan romances, where that hero is represented under the appellation of *Chékel Wáning Páti* (literally, "when young brave to death"), and in the Malayan annals a particular account is given of a chief of *Sábrang*, who, according to their story, obtained the princess *Chándra Kirána* in marriage *.

* In these annals, the princess *Chandra Kirana* of *Daha* is represented as being demanded in marriage by the son of the Mahomedan *Raja* of *Malacca*, and the story, in which an account is evidently given of a visit to Java at a much later period of its history, blended with the earlier romances of Java, after detailing the particulars by which the prince of *Tanjung-pura* became *Raja* of *Majapáhit*, is thus told:

"The *Batára* had a daughter, named *Raden Galu Chandra Kirana*,

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About this period the first intercourse with China is believed to have taken place: a large Chinese *wángkang* was wrecked on the north coast of Java, and the crew landed, some near *Japára*, others at *Semárang* and *Tégal*. The writer of the vessel is represented as bringing with him a magical stone, by which he performed many wonderful effects, and by means of which he ingratiated himself with the chief of *Tégal*, who allowed him to collect the remainder of his crew into a regular establishment, and conferred upon them many privileges.

The accounts regarding the succession of *Pánji* to the throne of his father are very discordant. In some he is represented as having succeeded on his death, and having continued to administer the government for several years; in others, he is represented as dying prematurely, during the

" whose beauty was celebrated far and wide, and many *Rajas* sought her " in marriage. Her fame reached *Malacca*, and *Sultan Mansur* became " enamoured of her by description. He ordered *Paduka Raja*, the " *Bendahara*, to fit out a fleet of five hundred large *prahus* with innu- " merable small ones. At *Singapura* were fitted out a hundred with three " masts, and at *Singi Raya* as many more of the same sort.

" Then the prince selected forty nobles of the country, and forty " virgins of noble family. He summoned *Maha Ruja Merlang* of *In-* " *dragiri*, and the *Raja* of *Palémbang*, the *Raja* of *Jambi*, and the *Raja* " of *Linga*, to attend him to *Majapahit*; all the young warriors attending " the prince, and all the great men remaining for the government of the " country.

" When they reached *Majapahit*, they were well received by the *Batara*. " At this time the *Rajas* of *Daha* and *Tanjungpura*, the younger brothers " of the prince, were present at *Majapahit*.

" Among the chieftains who accompanied the *Raja* of *Malacca* was the " celebrated *Hang Tuah* or *Laxamana*, who was highly admired, and " exhibited wonderful feats.

" The *Batara* gave his daughter, *Chandra Kirana*, in marriage to the " *Raja* of *Malacca*; and the *Batara*, delighted with his son-in-law, caused " him to be placed on a seat of equal honour with himself, both on " public occasions and at meals.

" Then being about to depart, the *Raja* requested to be presented with " the kingdom of *Indra-giri*, which was accordingly given to him. He " then bestowed *Siantan* on *Laxamana*, from which time the rulers of " *Siantan* are descendants of *Laxamana*.

" By the princess he had a son, named *Raden Galang*, who was killed " one day by a man running *amok*."—*Malayan Annals*.

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lifetime of his father: *Prába Jáya Sangára*, chief of *Madúra* (then called *Núsa Antára*, or the island lying between), jealous of the power of *Jang'gála*, is said to have landed, and in a desperate action killed *Pánji* with an arrow from his own bow, in fulfilment of a prophecy which foretold that he would be invulnerable, except to the iron staff of *Jáya Langkára*, of which, it is added, this prince had manufactured his arrow. The account of this affair, as related in the *Madúra* traditions, is as follows:

" Then the prince of *Núsa Antára*, called *Klána Prábu* " *Jaya*, consulted with *Gúra Bramána Kánda*, and others of " his council, on the probability of his being acknowledged as " chief prince over the adjacent countries. *Gúru* observed, " that while *Déwa Kasúma* lived he could not permit the " attempt; but the prince informing him that intelligence had " been received of the death of that prince, then said, ' *Gúru*, " ' it is well; you are permitted to effect your object by " ' force, if necessary, but in the first instance try nego- " ' ciation.' A letter written on the leaf of a tree was then " dispatched, and when the messenger arrived at *Jang'gála*, " he found the prince *Angráma Wijáya* seated on his " *setingel*, attended by his *patéhs*, *Kúda Nawársa* and *Brája* " *Náta*. At that time they were discussing the prince's " intention of transferring his title to his son, *Ino Kérta Pati**. " The question was not decided when the messenger ap- " peared. The prince declined reading the letter himself, but " desired his minister to do so. As soon as *Brája Náta* read " the demand of the prince of *Núsa Antára* to be acknow- " ledged the superior, and the threat that he would lay waste " the lands of Java in case of refusal, he became enraged to " the highest degree, and without communicating the con- " tents tore the letter, and seizing the messenger by the neck, " threw the pieces in his face, and desired him to return " to his master. After his departure *Ino Kérta Páti* arrived, " and being apprized of the circumstances, entreated his " father to permit him to go over in disguise to *Núsa Antára*.

" On the return of the messenger to *Núsa Antára*, he " reported the result of his mission, when preparations were

* Panji.

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" immediately made for the attack upon *Jang'gála*, and the " chief, on this occasion, received the title of *Jáya Sankára*. " But before the troops had departed, *Ino Kérta Páti* contrived " to carry off from the palace the wife of the prince, named " *Dewi Sinawáti*, which raised the enmity of the parties to " the highest pitch.

" The prince of *Jang'gála*, when he was informed of these " preparations, summoned his brothers from *Ng'aráwan* and " *Sínga Sári*, who resolved to unite with him against the " expected attack. The three princes were in conversation, " when information was brought them that the hostile troops " had landed in great numbers. Then they drew out their " people, and a battle ensued with the prince of *Núsa* " *Antára*, who lost many chiefs and followers. This prince " finding the battle going against him, recollected the advice " of *Gúru Bramána Kánda*, the loss of his wife, and the " many insults he had received from *Ino Kérta Páti*: then " throwing off his princely attire, he disguised himself as a " common man, and arming himself with an arrow mixed " with the people of *Jang'gála*, and went in search of *Ino* " *Kérta Páti*. He had no sooner found him, than he dis- " charged his arrow, and *Ino Kérta Páti* fell dead, it having " been foretold that this chief could not be killed except by " the iron staff of *Jáya Langkára*, of which the prince of " *Núsa Antára* had made his arrow, *kris*, and knife.

" *Brája Náta* immediately acquainted his prince with the " fall of *Ino Kérta Páti*, who thereupon rose and rushed into " the thickest of the fight. The prince of *Jang'gála* attacked " the prince of *Núsa Antára* with his *kris*, and slew him. " *Gúru Bramána Kánda* seeing his prince slain, wished to " escape, but his supernatural power was no more; and being " seized by the prince of *Jang'gála*, he was put to death, with " all the people of *Núsa Antára*, who did not save themselves " by flight. Thereupon *Agráma Wijáya* assembled his " council as before the war, and seated upon his *setíngel* de- " clared, that as *Ino Kérta Pati* was no more, it was his in- " tention to nominate his grandson, *Máisa Laléan*, to suc- " ceed him. *Máisa Laléan* accordingly became chief of " *Jang'gála* in the year 927, and after a time made his uncle, " *Brája Náta*, *Tumúnggung* of *Jang'gala*, and retired him-

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" self to the district of *Kédu*. He had a son, named *Banjá-*
" *ran Sari*, who succeeded him, after whom were *Múda-*
" *níngkung*, and *Múda Sári*, who had a son called *Ráden*
" *Pánkas*, who succeeded to the government of Java in the
" year 1084. This prince established his capital at *Paja-*
" *járan*."

The fame of *Pánji* naturally throws the other events of the day into the back-ground, and whatever credit may be due to the earlier administration of his successor, it is eclipsed by the brilliancy of his exploits. But it seems agreed that *Kúda*, or *Máisa Laléan*, who is the next prince in the line of succession of whom tradition makes mention, at an early period of his reign induced the separate authorities which had been established at *Browérno*, *Sínga Sári*, and *Kedíri*, to acknowledge the supremacy of *Jang'gála*. Having, however, come to the throne at a tender age, and being under the influence of a crafty and designing minister, named *Báka*, who, with one of the brothers of the prince, entered into a league to deprive him of his inheritance, he quitted his capital, and on the dismemberment of his eastern kingdom, became the founder of a new one in the west. The causes which induced him to leave his capital are related to have been a dreadful sickness, which at that period prevailed in the eastern districts of Java, and the designs of his minister, who hoped to possess the means of aggrandizing himself in the attempt to form a new establishment. The first eruption of the mountain *Klut*, of which tradition makes mention, is recorded to have taken place at this time, when the discharges from it are represented " to have been like thunder, " and the ashes to have involved the country in impenetrable " darkness." The sickness having continued to prevail after the departure of the prince, the inhabitants who had remained at an early period, are said to have embarked in vessels and proceeded to sea, no one knowing whither they went or hearing more of them.

Kúda Laléan, accompanied by his mother *Chándra Kirána*, proceeded west as far as *Blóra*, where he laid the foundation of a new capital, under the designation of *Méndang Kamúlan*, the name of the ancient capital of the island. From thence, however, owing to the treachery of his minister

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Báka, who aspired to the sovereignty, he was soon obliged to fly, and to take refuge with a devotee, until the chief of *Gíling Wési*, named *Prau Chátor*, going to war with *Báka*, an opportunity was afforded him of regaining his authority. Uniting with the forces of that chief, he succeeded in overpowering *Báka*, and laying waste his capital, which he afterwards burnt.

This *Báka* is said to have had a criminal passion for his own daughter, and in consequence of her refusing to gratify his desires, to have secreted her in an adjoining forest. In his service was a man named *Bándung Prakúsa*, descended from *Aru Bándung*, of *Balambángan*, and also from *Káran Kálang*, the last chief of *Brambánan*. This man aspired to obtain the daughter in marriage. The father consented to the match, on condition that he would remove the temples from the old site to the new *Méndang Kamúlan*. Having made the usual offerings at the *Sáng'gar*, and done penance for forty days without sleeping, in the middle of the last night, when his *tápa* was all but accomplished, it happened that a maiden rose in her sleep, and without awaking, began to beat the rice block. On this, considering it day-light, he quitted his penance, and finding the stars still bright, he called down a curse on the women of *Brambánan*, that they should never be married till their hair was grey. This man is then said to have been transformed into a dog, or in other words, to have become a wanderer as a dog in the forests, where he met with the daughter of *Báka*. From their intercourse is born a son, who in time destroys his father and marries his mother. From this union the people known at this day by the term *Kúlang*, trace their descent, although it is more generally believed that they are the real descendants of the first inhabitants of the island.

The brother of *Kúda Laléan*, *Chítra Arung Báya*, also called *Chamára Gáding*, being deceived by *Báka*, formed a party at *Jung'gála*, and embarked from thence for the island of Celebes, where he established himself, and is supposed to be the same with *Sawíra Gáding*, the first prince of whom the *Búgis* accounts make mention.

Kúda Laléan having been requested by the chiefs of *Bányu Mas*, *Lúrung Téng'a*, and *Tégal*, to render them assist-

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ance against the Chinese, who, by their extortions and oppressions, had thus early become troublesome to the people of the country, attacked them, and killing their chief, relieved the inhabitants of these districts from their oppressions. From this period the Chinese have been dispersed over the whole island.

Kúda Laléan with his followers then proceeded westward, as far as *Gíling Wési*, which was situated in the southern provinces among the mountains of *Chidámar*, a district of the modern province of *Sukápura*, and in the fabulous and mythological accounts supposed to have been the ancient capital of *Wátu Gúnung*. Finding two brass cannon in the neighbourhood, he considered them as the signal for the foundation of his new capital, and built a city and *kráton* on the spot, to which he gave the name of *Pajajáran*, where, assuming the sovereignty of the country, he was acknowledged under the title of *Browijáya Máisa Tandráman*.

This prince was a great promoter of agriculture, and encouraged the common people in the labours of cultivation by his personal example. He was the first who introduced the rice husbandry into the western provinces, and trained the buffalo to the yoke, from which circumstance he is called *Maisa*, and his descendants *Múnding*, both signifying a buffalo, the former in the Javan and the latter in the *Súnda* language. According to the tradition of the *Súndas*, the wild buffaloes came from the woods of their own accord during the reign of this chief.

This prince had two sons, the elder of whom, not contented to remain at home, engaged in foreign commerce and went beyond sea; and the younger succeeded his father in the year 1112, under the title of *Prábu Múnding Sári*.

It was seven years before he was enabled permanently to establish his authority; and soon after he had done so, his elder brother returned, who having resided in India and having become a convert to the Mahomedan faith, is known by the title of *Háji Púrwa*. He was accompanied by an Arab from the country of *Koúje*, who was descended from *Sáyed Abás*, and attempted in vain to convert his brother and family to the same faith. The troubles which were occasioned by their intrigues, and the endeavours which they used to effect

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their purpose, and which are allegorically described by the rapid growth and destructive effects of the *lagóndi* plant, were such as led to the removal of the capital further westward. In this new site it still retained the name of *Pajajáran*, being situated in the district of *Bógor* and in the vicinity of the modern *Buitenzorg*, the country residence of the European governor of the colony.

Háji Púrwa being unsuccessful in his attempts, and fearing the rage of the common people, quitted this part of the country, and is believed to have found an asylum in *Chéribon*, then an uninhabited wilderness.

This is the first mention of the Mahomedan religion on Java.

The next chief of *Pajajáran* was *Múnding Wáng'i*, who succeeded to the government about the year 1179. He had four legitimate children; the eldest a daughter, who refusing to be married was banished to the southern coast, where her spirit is still invoked, under the title of *Ratu Kidul;* the second, also a daughter, was born white and diseased, and was in consequence sent to an island off *Jakatra* (named from this circumstance *Púlu Pútri)*, from whence she is said to have been carried away by the white men, who according to the Javan writers traded to the country about this period; the third a son, named *Aria Babáng'a*, who was appointed *Rája* of *Gálu;* and the fourth *Raden Tandúran*, who was destined to be his successor in the government. He had also a son by a concubine; but in consequence of the declaration of a devotee, who had been unjustly executed by *Múnding Wáng'i*, that his death would be avenged whenever the prince should have a child so born, he was desirous of destroying him in his infancy, but not being able, on account of the extreme beauty of the child, to bring himself to kill it with his own hands, he enclosed it in a box, and caused it to be thrown by one of his *Mántris* into the river *Kráwang*. The box being carried down the stream was discovered by a fisherman, who brought up the child as his own, until he arrived at twelve years of age. Finding him then to possess extraordinary abilities, he carried him to *Pajajáran* for further instruction, and placed him under the charge of his brother, who was skilled in the working of iron and steel. To the boy he gave the name of *Baniák Wédi*.

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The youth soon excelled in the manufacture of all kinds of iron-work, and in the wild tradition of the country, he is said to have fashioned the red hot iron with his fingers. In a short time he was made chief of the *Pándi*, or ironsmiths, and admitted to the familiar intercourse of his father, *Múnding Wang'i*. Having constructed an iron chamber or cage, which particularly attracted the attention of the prince, he succeeded in persuading him to sleep in it, when closing the door, he, according to some accounts, burned him alive; or, according to others, caused him to be thrown into the South Sea at *Kándang Wési*, thus fulfilling the prophecy of the devotee.

Baniák Wédi now assumed the government, declaring who he was; but being opposed by his brother, *Tandúran*, who had been destined to succeed his father, it was some time before his authority was acknowledged. At length defeating his brother in a general engagement, the latter escaped with only three followers, and *Baniák Wédi* was declared sovereign, under the title of *Browijáya Chióng Wanára*.

Ráden Tandúran arriving at the river *Gúntung*, took refuge at the house of a widow, and afterwards meeting with his sister, who was performing a penance on the mountain *Chérmai* (the mountain of *Chéribon*), he was encouraged by her to proceed further east, following the course of a bird which she desired that he would let loose for the purpose, till he reached the district of *Wirasába*. Here he observed a plant, called the *mája*, entwined round a tree. He wished to eat of the fruit, but finding it extremely bitter threw it away, and asked one of his followers, *Kiái Wíra*, the reason of its bitterness. "I have heard," replied *Kiái Wíra*, "that it was here your "forefathers fought in the war *Bráta Yúdha*." On which the prince said, "Then let us stop here and establish our king-"dom, and let us call it *Majapáhit*." This was in the Javan year 1221.

In the Javan language *mája* and *páhit* both signify "bitter;" but the name of this kingdom, also called *Mauspáhit*, is more probably derived from *Maus Páti*, the ancient capital of *Arjúna Wijáya*, in whom the Javans believe *Vishnu* to have been incarnate.

Ráden Tandúran was first assisted by the people of *Túban*, who hearing of the arrival of a prince of royal descent, imme-

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diately flocked to his standard. Afterwards *Aria Babáng'a*, who had been driven from *Gálu* by the forces of *Chiông Wanára*, joined his younger brother, *Ráden Tandúran*, and was appointed to the charge of the eastern districts along the *Solo* river, under the title of *Aria Panúlar*. In a short time considerable emigrations took place from *Pajajáran*, in consequence of the heavy demands made upon the people. Among others, *Bráma Dedáli* at the head of eighty *Pándi*, or ironsmiths, with their families, are said to have deserted their country. They were pursued as far as the river *Pamáli* in *Brébes*, but effected their escape, and were received with open arms at *Majapáhit*.

Chiong Wanára, on demanding that the *Pándi* should be delivered up, received a positive refusal, and in consequence declared war against his half-brother, whose authority by this time extended as far as *Bátang*. Both princes, with their respective armies, moved towards the centre of the island: the forces of *Majapáhit* encamped at *Ung'árang*, and those of *Pajajáran* at *Kaliwúngu*. A general engagement now took place; which proving indecisive, a personal combat between the two chiefs was about to occur, when it was mutually agreed, that from thenceforth the countries to the west should be subject to *Pajajáran*, and those to the east to *Majapáhit*, a line being drawn due south from a stone column placed near the spot in commemoration of the agreement. This column is still to be seen at *Túgu*, a few miles west of *Semaráng*. This treaty, supposed to have been made in the Javan year 1247, does not appear to have lasted longer than the life time of *Chiong Wanára;* for several of the finest provinces, and particularly those to the east of *Chi Pamáli*, had been laid waste, and the succeeding chiefs not being able to reduce the country to order and submission, appear to have placed themselves under the immediate protection of *Majapáhit*. They accordingly delivered up the gun *ng'ai stómi*, and several of smaller calibre, which were considered as the *pusáka* (inheritance or regalia) of *Pajajáran*, and are still held sacred by the princes of Java. The gun *stómi* is now in the possession of the *Susuhúnan*.

An ineffectual attempt was made by *Rátu Déwa*, a native of *Kuning'an* in *Chéribon*, who, on the departure of *Aria Ba-*

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bang'a, had been entrusted with the administration of *Gálu*, to maintain an authority independent of *Majapáhit;* but he lost his life in the struggle, and his widow, *Torbíta*, who persevered, and was for a time successful, was at length overcome, and went over to *Majapáhit* *.

* According to the traditions of the *Sunda* people, these two brothers, *Chiong Wanara* and *Raden Tanduran*, were descended from a prince of *Galu*, and their empires were divided by the river of *Brebes*, thence called *Chi Pamali*, or the River of Prohibition.

" *Raja Galu*, otherwise known by the name of *Raja Pamakás*, and whose " country was called *Bajong Galu*, had two sons, named *Raden Aria Bang'a* " and *Tanduran*. There was a pestilence in those days, which, carrying " off great numbers of the inhabitants, caused the prince to be much " afflicted in his mind; whereupon, sending for his *patéh* (or minister), " he thus addressed him: 'Go thou to *Bukit Padang*, and call one there " 'named *Si Ajar*, failing not to bring him along with thee, as it may " 'perhaps be in his power to administer relief to my distressed and suf- " 'fering subjects.' The *patéh* immediately took leave of his Sovereign, " and repaired forthwith to *Bukit Padang* to summon *Si Ajar*, who soon " after appeared before the *Raja*, presenting him with some herbs which " he had brought for that purpose. When *Si Ajar* had seated himself in " the usual manner before the monarch, the latter thus addressed him: " '*Ajar*, a great pestilence at present rages in the country, and makes " 'great havock amongst my subjects; it is therefore that I have sent for " 'thee, in hopes that thou mayest be able to put a stop to the mortality " 'which now prevails.' *Ajar* immediately replied, 'O *Raja*, it is my " 'opinion, that he to whom the country belongs is the proper person to " 'do what is requisite for the good of it and its inhabitants.' When the " *Raja* heard these words, he was exceedingly wroth; so much so, that " he was on the point of putting *Ajar* to instant death, when the latter " thus addressed him; 'Prince! if you are determined to kill me, I " 'resign my life, but depend upon it you will be made to answer for it, " 'and that by your own son.' *Si Ajar* then returned to *Bukit Padang*, " wherupon *Raja Galu* thus spoke to his *patéh;* 'Repair instantly to " '*Bukit Padang*, and put *Si Ajar* to death; let him not longer live.' " The *patéh* accordingly went, and having executed the *Raja's* orders, " returned and reported the circumstance to his prince, who felt much " joy on the occasion. Shortly after this the *Raja's* concubine became " pregnant, and when her time was come she was delivered of a son, " whose features were exquisitely beautiful. When the prince was in- " formed of this, he desired the child might be brought to him. The " prince no sooner cast his eyes upon it, than he thought of the words of " *Si Ajar;* upon which he administered a dose of poison to the child, " which however did not cause its death. He then told his *patéh* to take " the child, and having put it in a basket, to send it floating down the

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A different account of the first establishment of the *Majapáhit* empire is given in a manuscript recently obtained from

" river. The *patéh* took the child, and having disposed of it as he was " ordered, returned and made his master very happy by the report of " what he had done. The basket in which the child was turned adrift on " the river *Chitandui* being stopped by some stakes placed there by a " fisherman, named *Ke Balangantrang*, it was picked up and carried home " by him. He was highly pleased with the child, and adopted it, and " gave it the name of *Ke Jakah*, and cherished it till it arrived at the age " of manhood. *Ke Jakah* then invited his reputed father to accompany " him to *Bajong Galu*. They had nearly got half way, when *Ke Jakah* " looked up and saw a bird fly past. He asked *Ke Balangantrang* what " might be the name of that bird? and was told that it was called *chiong* " (the black minor of India). *Ke Jakah* then saw a form like that of a " human being, and inquiring what it was, he was told that it was a *wa-* " *nara* (monkey). *Ke Jakah* then exclaimed, 'if such is the case, then " 'must my name be *Chiong Wanara*.'

" After this the travellers prosecuted their journey, and in due time " arrived at *Bajong Galu*, where they went to the house of a relation of " *Ke Balangantrang*, named *Ke Haziali*, the chief of all the blacksmiths. " *Chiong Wanara* was then delivered over by *Ke Balangantrang* to *Ke Ha-* " *ziali*, who treated him as his own son, and instructed him in the art, in " which he soon became eminent.

" *Chiang Wanara* had not been long in this new situation, before *Raja* " *Galu*, hearing of the circumstance, sent for and begged him of the head " blacksmith. The *Raja* in time owned him for his own son, and was so " delighted when he first beheld him, that he sent for his son, *Raden* " *Aria Bang'a*, and desired him to take every care of his newly-found " brother.

" A short time after this, *Chiong Wanara* went to his royal father, and " asked him to give him some hereditary property. When the *Raja* " heard this, he immediately addressed *Chiong Wanara* thus:—'My son, " 'the whole of my properry I have bestowed on thy eldest brother, and " 'nothing is left except the head blacksmith, whom thou hadst better " 'accept of.' *Raden Chiong Wanara* said he would take him with much " pleasure.

" Soon after the head blacksmith came into his possession, *Raden* " *Chiong Wanara* went again to his father, and solicited permission " (which was granted to him) to construct an iron cage of very great " strength, and of the most exquisite workmanship. *Chiong Wanara* " then gave orders to his head blacksmith to have this cage made, and all " the blacksmiths in the kingdom having been set about it, it was very " soon finished, and had all the strength and beauty that was intended " and wished for. Carpets and cushions, such as princes are accustomed " to recline on, were spread within it. *Chiong Wanara* then went and " acquainted *Raja Galu* that it was completed. When the *Raja* saw it,

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Báli, which may deserve attention, in as far as it differs from the usually received opinion in Java. This account is as follows:

" he was greatly pleased, and being entreated by *Chiong Wanara* to enter " and examine whether or not there might be still something wanting to " render it more complete; without suspecting any treachery, he did as " he was requested. No sooner was he fairly in, than *Chiong Wanara* " closed and locked the door, saying, at the same time to *Raja Galu*, " 'Now is fulfilled the prediction of *Ajar* of *Bukit Padang*, whom you " 'caused to be unjustly put to death.' The *Raja* answered from within " the cage, 'I submit to this just judgment.'

" When *Raden Aria Bang'a* saw his father shut up in the cage, he " could not contain his rage against *Chiong Wanara*, and a quarrel " between the two brothers ensued.

" *Baja Galu* perceiving this, immediately exclaimed, 'For shame! " 'that two brothers should thus fight with each other; such conduct is " 'strictly forbidden by the elders of the people.'

" Without paying any regard to the words or admonition of *Raja Galu*, " the two brothers engaged in single combat, stabbing, pushing, and " striking each other in turn. Both parties being of equal strength, they " continued fighting all the way from the place above described until " they got far to the eastward, when finding themselves fatigued, they " suspended the conflict under a certain tree. *Chiong Wanara* forthwith " asked his brother what the name of the tree was under which they " were: *Aria Bang'a* answered, it is called *mája*. They then took one of " the fruit, and having split it in two, each took a part. That which " *Aria Bang'a* ate was sweet, but that which *Chiong Wanara* ate was on " the contrary very bitter (*pait*); so *Chiong Wanara* called the place " *Majapait*, or as more generally pronounced, *Majapahit*.

" The combat was then renewed with the same vigour as before, and " they continued fighting towards the westward, until they came to a " row of trees (*jajar*), where they halted. On being asked by his brother " the name of those trees, *Chiong Wanara* answered *paku*: *Raden Aria* " *Bang'a* then said, 'the name of the place must be *Pakuan Pa-ja-* " *jar-an*.'

" The two brothers then recommenced fighting, till they came to a " river of *Brebes*, where being both much fatigued, they rested by the " side of it and drank of its water.

" *Raden Aria Bang'a* then said: 'It was declared by our father to be " 'wrong for brothers to fight with each other, it is also contrary to " 'ancient usage, let us therefore put an end to this forbidden contest, " 'and let us call this river *Chi Pamali*' (that is to say, the river of pro- " hibition). The river *Brebes* thus obtained the name of *Chi Pamali*.

" *Raden Aria Bang'a* then said to his brother: 'do thou go to *Pakuan* " '*Pajajaran* while I go to *Majapahit*.' They accordingly separated, " *Raden Aria Bang'a* proceeding to *Majapahit*, and *Chiong Wanara*

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" The history of the kingdom of *Tumápel*, being an ac-
" count of the origin and rise of the kingdom of *Majapáhit*,

" returning to *Bajong Galu*, for the purpose of visiting his father in the
" cage.

" When *Chiong Wanara* arrived at *Bajong Galu*, and found the cage
" empty, his astonishment was very great. He then addressed himself to
" one of his people, named *Ke Jampang*, and asked what was become of
" *Raja Galu*. *Ke Jampang* replied, 'he went out of the cage of himself,
" 'without the assistance of any one, and has returned to his usual place
" 'of residence at *Surga Luka*, where he now is, having assumed the name
" 'and title of *Guru Putra Hinga Baya*.'

" When *Chiong Wanara* heard all this he thought he might as well
" throw away the empty cage, which he accordingly did, on the beach of
" the south coast, from whence the place is called *Tana Kandang Wesi*, or
" the land of the Iron Cage.

" *Chiong Wanara* forthwith invited *Ke Jampang* to accompany him to
" *Surga Luka*, in search of his father, *Guru Putra Hinga Baya*.

" In a short time they arrived at *Surga Luka*, and *Chiong Wanara* sur-
" rendered himself, entreating his father's forgiveness for what had passed.
" *Guru Putra* then said, 'to a certainty there must be two kingdoms on
" 'the island of Java, of which the (intermediate) boundary will be the
" 'river *Pamali*. The kingdom of *Raden Tanduran* will be to the east-
" 'ward, and shall be called *Majapahit*; that of *Chiong Wanara* will be to
" 'the westward, and shall be called *Pakuan Pajajaran*: the latter king-
" 'dom will cease first (*tunda dakulu*.') Whence the people under *Chiong*
" *Wanara* were called *Orang Sunda*, and their language *Sunda*.

" *Guru Putra* then gave *Chiong Wanara* a black monkey-skin jacket,
" which the latter forthwith put on, and immediately became in appear-
" ance like that animal. He at the same time gave him the name of *Guru*
" *Minda-sida tanda Prabu lutung Kasarong*, and furnished him with some
" rice-seed, and appointed *Ke Jampang* to be his follower.

" *Guru Minda* and *Ke Jampang* then took their departure: and when
" they came to a place not far from *Bajong Galu* they set out about sowing
" their rice-seed, distributing it among all the poor people of the place for
" that purpose.

" *Pandi Chacha Domas* and all the *Peng'gawas*, as well as all the people
" of *Bajong Galu*, who were attached to *Chiong Wanara* at the time he
" went to see *Guru Putra Hinga Baya* of *Surga Luka*, being without a
" sovereign, went all of them to the eastward, to reside in the country of
" *Majapahit*.

" When *Prabu Lutung Kasarong* had given orders for the sowing of the
" rice, he and his follower, *Ke Jampang*, proceeded to a place on the south
" sea coast, called *Kedu Pondok*, where *Ke Jampang* being left to settle, the
" place took its name from him, and was ever after called *Chutak Jampang*.

" After *Prabu Lutung Kasarong* had left *Ke Jampang* at *Kedu Pondok*
" he went through the woods, till coming near *Pakuan Pajajaran* he found

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" written on the day of *Respáti* (Thursday,) the 10th of the
5 6 4 1
" fifth season. Date *wisaya rasa toya wasitan* (literally 1465.)

" a very large tree, called *pundi*, situated on the banks of the river *Chili-*
" *wong*. He remained under it to rest himself, and gave the place the
" name of *Kampung Pundi*.

" *Kuwu Mangkubumbi*, of *Jambadipa*, in the district of *Jelebud*, had se-
" veral children, all of them females. The youngest was called *Purba*
" *Sari*, and was established in the interior, near the tree called *gadug*,
" from which the *kampung* so called took its name.

" Having placed his youngest daughter, *Purba Sari*, in the interior of
" the country, he was desirous to send out people to shoot birds with a
" pellet, and accordingly created and appointed one a pellet-shooter, who
" went regularly every day to shoot, agreeably to the order of *Kuwu*
" *Mangkubumi*. One day the pellet-shooter came to the large *pundi* tree,
" and observing on it what he supposed to be a large black monkey, he
" wished to shoot it, whereupon *Prabu Lutung Kasarong*, whom he mis-
" took for the monkey, thus addressed him: 'Don't shoot at me; you
" 'had better go home and tell your master to come here to me himself.'
" When the pellet-shooter perceived that the black monkey was gifted
" with speech he stood aghast and astonished beyond measure, and re-
" turned immediately to his master to acquaint him with the circum-
" stance.

" *Kuwu Mangubumi*, together with the pellet-shooter, then repaired to
" the great *pundi* tree. On his arrival there he called to *Prabu Lutung*
" *Karasong*, who was upon it. No sooner did the latter hear the summons,
" than he descended and talked with the *Kuwu*, who then took him home
" with him, highly delighted at being possessed of so extraordinary and
" accomplished a creature. In the course of a short time he wished to
" present him to his eldest daughter, and on her refusing to accept of him
" he offered him to a younger one, but neither would receive *Prabu*
" *Lutung Kasarong*.

" He then gave him to the youngest of all, named *Niái Purba Sari*, who
" accepted of him with great pleasure.

" In the course of time, *Niai Purba Sari* built a house at *Wangun*, and
" the place was afterwards called *Kampung Wangun*. He then planted
" some *tagur* trees, from which the place received the name of *Kampung*
" *Tagur*. After this, *Prabu Lutung Kasarong* caused *Niai Purba Sari* to
" remove from the *gaduga* tree to *Kampung Wangun*.

" When *Niai Purba Sari* became *Prabu Lutung's* wife, he laid aside the
" black monkey's skin with which he was clothed, and immediately re-
" sumed his former and usual beautiful appearance.

" He afterwards received the name of *Niang Galarang*, and established
" himself at *Pakuan Pajajaran*, where the *Batutulis* (inscribed stone) now
" is, and which was the seat of government of the *Maha Raja Prabu Niang*
" *Galarang*. After this his wife became pregnant, and *Prabu Niang*

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" In the kingdom of *Tumápel* there reigned a king, named " and styled *Rátu Sri Jáya Purúsa*, who in his demise was

" *Galarang* left *Pakuan Pajajaran* to the care of his *Peng'gawas*, or minis- " ters of state, and went to *Bukit Padang*, where he became a *Pandita*.

" When the time was come, *Niai Purba Sari* brought forth a son of the " most exquisitely beautiful features, to whom she gave the name " *Silawang'i*.

" When *Silawang'i* grew up, he removed from *Pakuan Pajajaran* to " *Sumedang Larang*, where he was soon afterwards married; first to *Niai* " *Raden Raja Mantu*, and then to the daughter of the *Peng'gawa* of that " place, so that he had many wives. He at the same time received the " title of *Baginda Maha Raja Prabu Silawang'i*.

" *Prabu Lutung Kasarong* had afterwards two other sons, the elder " named *Ke Glap Nyawang*, the younger, *Ke Kedang Panjang*, both of " whom were strong and well made; and when they grew up they went " with their father to *Sumedang Larang*, where they all remained with " *Prabu Silawang'i*.

" *Prabu Silawang'i*, when he had got a number of wives and *peng'gawas*, " returned to *Pakuan Pajajaran*, bringing them all with him, as also his " two sons, and his man *Ke Jampang*, who was then called *Purwa Kala*. " In returning to *Pakuan Pajajaran*, *Prabu Silawang'i* first went to a place " on the south coast, called *Nusa Kambangan*, and there embarking in a " vessel with all his family, he sailed westward, till they came to the " anchoring place, to which was given the name of *Palabuan Ratu* (Wyn " Coops Bay), and having disembarked, they all proceeded to *Pakuan* " *Pajajáran*.

" On his arrival there, *Prabu Silawang'i* established himself as *Raja*, " and having assembled all the *Mantris*, *Peng'gawas*, and other chiefs and " officers, together with all the military forces, he caused great rejoicings " to be made on the occasion, and each day and night every kind of play " was performed to amuse him. *Pakuan Pajajaran* was crowded with the " happy and delighted multitude, and so great and powerful did *Prabu* " *Silawang'i* become at that time, that all the princes from the river *Chi* " *Pamali* beyond Java Head (in Bantam) on the west, submitted to him " and were subject to *Pakuan Pajajaran*.

" *Prabu Silawang'i* then built without the *kraton* (or palace) a hall of " audience *(paseban)*, which was styled *Sasaka Domas*, or the hall of eight " hundred pillars; and in the interior of the *kraton* another, called *Rarawis* " *Kanchana* (or that of golden flowers). This was where the *Batutulis* " now is."

The tradition goes on to relate, that *Prabu Silawang'i* had one hundred and fifty wives, and that his sons-in-law, of whom there were also one hundred and fifty, were made great public officers.

In the course of a little time one of his highness's wives, named *Niai Mantri Manek Mayang Sunda*, the sister of *Ke Marugal Sang Mantri Ayung*, became pregnant, and in due time brought forth a beautiful boy, who was called by

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" succeeded by his son, known by the name and title of *Sri* " *Láksi Kirána*, who on dying left two sons, the elder named " and styled *Sang Sri Síwabúda*, who succeeded to the " throne ; the younger *Ráden Wijáya*, who was remarkable " for the beauty of his person.

" During the reign of *Sáng Sri Síwabúda* the state had " very much declined. Every district was going to ruin, in " consequence of which the *páteh*, named *Mángku Rája* " *Náta*, addressed himself to the prince, reminding him of " the manner in which his forefathers used to treat the " people, and which the welfare of his kingdom required of " him to follow. To this, however, the prince would not " listen, and as a punishment to the *páteh* for his presump- " tion, he immediately ordered him to quit *Tumápel*.

" *Sang Sri Síwabúda* had a man in his service named " *Wíra Rája*, whom, in consideration of his useful services, " he had made ruler over the eastern part of *Madúra* called " *Súmenap*. On being informed that the king intended to " accuse him of a crime of which he was innocent, and consi- " dering himself in danger, sent a messenger to *Sri Jáya* " *Kátong*, sovereign of *Kedíri*, to say, ' that as the kingdom " ' of *Tumápel* was almost in a state of confusion, he might " ' attack and conquer it without difficulty.'

" *Sri Jáya Kátong*, on hearing the intelligence, was very " much delighted, and accordingly he ordered his *patéh*, " *Kébo Mundárang*, to make preparations for the purpose of " invading *Tumápel*.

" When every thing was ready the king gave orders to his " *patéh* that he should march with a considerable force to " *Tumápel*, and attack the southern part of the kingdom, " while himself and his followers began the attack on the " west.

" *Sri Síwabúda* being informed that his kingdom was in- " vaded by the sovereign of *Kedíri*, appointed his younger

his father *Raden Guru Gatangan*, and who was made *Raja Muda* of *Pakuan Pajajaran*, with the name and title of *Prabu Guru Gantangan*.

Both father and son continued as *Raja Tuah* and *Raja Muda* to live in the *kraton* of *Pakuan Pajajaran*, happy and on good terms with each other; the management and direction of the state being entirely vested in the hands of the *Raja Muda*.

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" brother, *Ráden Wijáya*, to command the forces, and meet " the enemy coming from the west. Instead of marching out " himself to meet the attack from the south he remained in " his *kadáton*, and amused himself with his concubines. " This enjoyment, however, was soon interrupted; for *Mun-* " *dárang* having reached the *kadáton* obliged him to come " out and meet him, and on his making his appearance, *Mun-* " *dárang* and his followers lost no time in deciding his fate. " *Sri Siwabúda* was accordingly killed before the palace gate. " *Ráden Wijáyu* and *Jáya Kátong* had by this time fought " several battles, as well as skirmishes, in which a great " number of men were killed on both sides.

" They continued to oppose each other when *Mundárang* " came up and attacked *Wijáya* in the rear. This soon de- " termined the victory in favour of *Kedíri*, and obliged *Wi-* " *jáya* to fly to *Súmenap* for the safety of his person, where " he remained in the house of *Wíra Rája*, to whom he gave " a full account of all the circumstances.

" Among the spoils which *Mundárang* had taken from the " palace was the beautiful wife of *Wijáya*, who was after- " wards delivered to the sovereign of *Kedíri*. He was very " much struck with her beauty, and proposed to make her " his lawful wife.

" This proposal was however refused, and the king, instead " of being offended by the refusal, adopted her as his " daughter.

" *Ráden Wijáya* had by this time remained a good while " with *Wíra Rája* at *Súmenap*, and was then advised by him " to repair to *Kedíri*, that *Jáya Kátong* might forgive him, " and employ him in some way or other. He accordingly " went over to *Jáya Kátong*, who received him very kindly; " and he had not remained long at *Kedíri* when *Jáya Kátong* " granted him an extensive forest, with which he might do " as he liked.

" *Wijáya*, with a view of making a large town in the " forest, sent a messenger to *Wíra Rája* to get some assist- " ance. *Wíra Rája* accordingly sent over a good many " people to *Wijáya*, who, after procuring every thing neces- " sary for such an undertaking, began to cut down the forest. " While they were at work they found a large *nája* tree

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" loaded with fruit, but when they tasted the fruit they found
" it quite bitter; whence the place was called *mája páit*,
" (literally the bitter *mája*.)

" *Ráden Wijáya*, after making *Majapáhit* a very large
" town, assumed the title of *Bopáti Sang Browíjáyá*, having
" for his *Páteh* a son of *Wíra Rája*, whose name and title
" was *Kiaái Pateh Ráng'ga Láwé*.

" The population of *Majapáhit* increasing very rapidly,
" *Browijáya* thought, that with the aid of *Wíra Rája* he
" should be able to invade *Kedíri*. He accordingly sent a
" messenger to *Wíra Rája* to request some assistance. *Wíra*
" *Rája* willingly sent a considerable force to *Browíjáya*, and
" after the two armies had joined together *Browijáya* began
" his march to *Kedíri*.

" *Jáya Kátong*, on being informed that a considerable
" force from *Majápáhit* was coming to invade his kingdom,
" immediately sent out a band of fighting men to meet the
" enemy. Several battles were fought in which many fell on
" either side.

" *Jáya Kátong*, previous to the invasion of *Browijáya*, had
" promised his guest, the King of *Tátar* *, whose name and
" title was *Srí Laksemána*, to give him his adopted daughter
" (wife to *Browijáya)* in marriage This was however de-
" layed. Several times did *Laksemána* press *Jáya Kátong*
" to fulfil his promise, but he never received a positive
" answer.

" *Laksemána* therefore being informed that *Browijáya* of
" *Májapahit* had attacked *Kedíri*, forthwith sent a letter to
" him, saying that he would co-operate with the people of
" *Majapáhit*, provided *Browijáya* would be on good terms
" with him.

" *Browijáya* on receiving this intelligence was very much
" delighted, and accordingly returned a letter of approbation
" to *Laksemána*.

" *Láksemána* and his followers then joined *Browijáya*,
" and fought several battles with *Jáya Kátong*, in which a
" great number of men, as well as chiefs, were killed on both
" sides.

* The Javan traditions furnish no information respecting the locality of this state.

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"In the heat of the action *Jáya Kátong* and *Laksemána* "met, and a fierce encounter took place between these chiefs. "*Jáya Kátong* threw his javelin at *Laksemána*, but missed "him; and *Laksemána*, in return, struck him on the breast "with his poisoned spear, and killed him on the spot.

"*Páteh Mundárang*, and the whole force of *Kedíri*, per-"ceiving that their king was fallen, immediately surrendered.

"*Browijáya* then eagerly went into the *kadáton*, and was "received by his faithful wife. They embraced with tears "of joy; and *Browijáya* was so enraptured at recovering "her, that without taking further notice of the *kadáton*, he "returned with his wife to *Majapáhit*. He invited the King "of *Tátar* to visit him. On his arrival *Browijáya* received "him with every attention, and made him a present of a "beautiful virgin.

"*Laksemána* remained for some time at *Majapáhit*, "during which *Browijáya* gave him two or three grand en-"tertainments. He afterwards embarked on board of his "own vessel and returned to his kingdom of *Tátar*."

The story concludes with stating that *Browijáya*, with his *Páteh*, *Rang'ga Lawé*, reigned at *Majapáhit*, and governed the whole of the island of Java, and his people were very happy *.

* Having thus detailed the traditions which exist among the Javans respecting the establishment of foreign colonies in the Eastern Archipelago, and brought down this part of the history to the establishment of the kingdom of *Majapahit*, it may not be amiss to transcribe those which prevail among the *Malayus*, who, it is well known, endeavour to trace their descent from the Macedonian hero, Alexander the Great. The following account is taken from the *Sejara Maláyu*, or Malay annals, a work written in the year 1021 of Hejirat:

"It happened that *Raja Sekander*, the son of *Raja Darub* of *Rum*, of the "race of *Makaduniah*, the name of whose empire was *Zulkarneini*, wished "to see the rising of the sun, and for this purpose came to the confines of "the land of Hind. There was a Raja in Hindustan, named *Raja Kideh* "*Hindi*, who was very powerful, and whose empire extended over the half "of Hindustan. Immediately on the approach of *Raja Sekander*, *Raja* "*Kideh Hindi* sent his prime minister to collect his forces, and marched "out to meet him. The armies engaged, and a battle ensued, as is fully "recorded in the history of *Raja Sekander*. *Raja Kideh Hindi* was defeated "and taken prisoner, after which he was sent back to his own country. "This *Raja Kideh* had a daughter: after sending his minister, *Perdana*

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Under the second prince of *Majapáhit*, called *Brokamára* or *Brow'yáya* the second, the manufacture of arms of various

" *Mantri*, to consult with the minister of *Raja Sekander*, he gave her in " marriage to *Raja Sekander*, on condition of receiving three hundred " thousand dinars of gold.

" *Raja Sekander*, after tarrying ten days in honour of the ceremony, " pursued his journey towards the rising sun, attended by his bride. On " their return, however, her father requested her to remain some time with " him: *Raja Sekander* consented and took his leave.

" The princess was already pregnant by *Raja Sekander*, but he was un- " acquainted with this circumstance; nor was the princess herself aware of " it, till a month after her return to her father. At the expiration of her " time, the princess was safely delivered of a son, whom *Raja Kideh Hindi* " named *Aristan Shah*.

" *Raja Aristan Shah* was in course of time married to the daughter of " the *Raja* of *Turkistan*, by whom he had a son, named *Raja Aftus*.

" After an absence of forty-five years, *Raja Sekander* returned to *Maka-* " *duniah*, and *Raja Kideh Hindi* died, leaving as his successor *Raja Aristan* " *Shah*, who (or rather whose dynasty) reigned three hundred and fifty " years. After him reigned the following princes in succession:

" *Raja Aftus*, who reigned one hundred and twenty years.
" *Raja Askayinat*,.....do.....three years.
" *Raja Kasidas*, ...do.....twelve years.
" *Raja Amastubusu*, ...do.....thirteen years.
" *Raja Zamzeius*, ...do.....seven years.
" *Raja Khuras Khainat* .....do.....thirty years.
" *Raja Ahat Sakayinat*.
" *Raja Kuda Zuguhan*, son of *Amastubusu*.
" *Raja Nikubus*, who reigned forty years.
" *Raja Ardasir Migan*, who married the daughter of *Raja Nushirwan Adel*, " sovereign of the west, by whom he had a son, named *Raja Derm Nus*.
" *Raja Tarsia Burdaras*, son of *Raja Zamarut*.
" The last of these princes married the daughter of *Rajah Sulan* of *Amdan* " *Nagara*. This *Raja Sulan* was the mightiest prince of the land of " Hind, and of all the Rajas under the wind. By the princess, his " daughter, *Raja Narsa* had three sons:
" *Raja Herian*, who reigned in the country of Hindostan:
" *Raja Suren*, whom *Raja Sulan* appointed in his own place; and
" *Raja Panden*, who reigned in *Turkestan*.

" After a short time *Raja Sulan* died, and his grandson, *Raja Suren*, " reigned in his place in *Amdan Nagara*, with still greater authority than " his predecessors, and all the lands of the East and West, except China, " acknowledged him.

" Then *Raja Suren* formed the design of subjugating China, and for this " purpose marched towards that country. Two months he marched on " without any obstruction, and every country submitted, till he ap-

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descriptions was brought to the highest perfection; and the first damasked *krises* were now made by the *pándi* (smiths)

" proahed the country of *Gang'ga Nagara*, the Raja of which was named " *Gang'gi Shah Juana*. Here an engagement took place, in which *Raja* " *Suren* smote off the head of *Raja Gang'gi Shah Juana*, whose subjects " having lost their chief submitted to *Raja Suren*, who married *Patri* " *Gang'ga*, the sister of the deceased Raja. From *Gang'ga Nagara*, *Raja* " *Suren* advanced to the country of *Klang Kins*, which in former times was " a great country, possessing a fort of black stone (supposed to be up " the river *Johor*). The name of the Raja of this country was *Chulen*, " who was superior to all the Rajas of the country lying under the wind. " Here another desperate engagement took place, in which *Raja Chulen* " also was killed, and the country submitted to *Suren*. Then *Raja Suren* " married the daughter of the deceased monarch, and advanced to *Tamarak*. " He returned, however, to the land of *Kling* without proceeding on to " China. On the return of *Raja Suren* he founded a city of great size, " the fame of which became renowned, and the name of which was *Bis-* " *nagur* (a well known and celebrated city of the south of India), which " even at the present time is a great city in the land of *Kling*.

" *Raja Suren* had by the daughter of *Raja Chulen* a daughter, named " *Chandu Wani Wasias*, and by *Putri Gang'ga* he had three sons, one " of them named *Bichitram Shah*, another *Palidutani*, and the third " *Nilumanam*.

" *Palidutani* succeeded to the government of *Amden Nagara*, and *Nilu-* " *manam* was appointed to the government of *Chandukani*: but on the " eldest son, *Bichitram Shah*, was only conferred a territory of small ex- " tent, which so displeased the young prince, that he resolved to abandon " the country. He accordingly embarked with twenty vessels, fitted out " with all the appurtenances of war, determining to conquer all the mari- " time countries; but his fleet was dispersed by a storm, and part of them " returned to their country.

" *Bichitram Shah* is then represented as arriving in the country now " called *Palembang*, where *Demang Lebar Daon*, great grandson of *Raja* " *Chulen*, was chief. Here marrying the daughter of the Raja, he assumed " the government, under the title of *Sang Sapurba Trimurti Tribuna*, and " had by her four children; two daughters, named *Chandra Dewi* and " *Putra Sri Dewi*, and two sons, named *Sang Mutiaga* and *Sang Nila* " *Utama*.

" After some years *Sang Sapurba* was seized with a desire to view the " ocean, and went in search of a good situation for a new settlement, " leaving the younger brother of *Demang Lebar Daon* in the government " of *Palembang*; and the fleet being prepared, they set sail from the river " of *Palembang*, and after steering six days and nights towards the south, " arrived at *Tanj'ung pura*, where *Sang Sapurba* was very honourably re- " ceived by the raja, and a thousand chiefs introduced him into the country, " seated him on the throne, and honoured him like a prince. As soon as

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from *Pajajáran*, who became so distinguished that they were appointed to the charge of districts with a thousand *chácha* each. The *kris*, which was afterwards placed on the tomb of *Susúnan Giri*, is said to have been manufactured at this time from a piece of old iron found by the prince.

The reign of the third prince of *Majapáhit* was of very short duration, and he was succeeded by *Ardi Wijaya*, who

" the news of his arrival reached *Majapáhit*, the *Bitara*, who was very " powerful, came to make him a visit. *Sang Sapurba* received him very " graciously, and gave him in marriage his daughter *Chandra Dewi*. After " this ceremony the *Bitara* of *Majapáhit* returned to his capital; and it " is from this marriage (say the Malayan traditions) that the rajas of *Ma-* " *japáhit* are descended.

" After a long residence at *Tanj'ung pura*, *Sang Sapurba* set out again " in search of some other country; but he first married his son, *Sang Mu-* " *tiaga*, to the daughter of the Raja *Tanj'ung pura*, and established him on " the throne of that country, giving him a superb crown. After leaving " *Tanj'ung pura* he traversed the sea until he arrived in the strait of " *Sambor*, in view of the hills of *Ling'ga* (Lingen.) The news quickly " reached *Bentan*, at this time under the sway of a queen, named *Pramis-* " *wari Sekander Shah*. *Sang Nita Utama*, the younger son of *Sang Sa-* " *purba*, was married to her daughter, named *Wan Sri Bini*, and afterwards " became raja of the country.

" *Sang Sapurba* then left *Bentan*, and having sailed for a day and a " night, arrived at *Ruko*, whence he proceeded to the point of *Balang*, and " ascended the river *Buantan*, where it was reported the country was ex- " tremely populous. When he had ascended far up the river he arrived at " *Menangkabau*: all the *Menangkabaus* were surprized at his appearance, " and the splendour of his diadem, and they all came to inquire whence " he came. As soon as they heard of his adventures, and that he was a " descendant of Sultan *Sekander Zulkarneiné*, all the chief men of *Me-* " *nangkabau* consulted about appointing him Raja, since they had none; " and after he had, as a condition, succeeded in destroying an immense " snake which harassed the country, he was unanimously elected Raja by " the people of *Buantan*, and of him are descended all the generations of " the Rajas of *Pagaruyang*.

" *Sang Nila Utama* afterwards quitted *Bentan*, and founded the city of " *Singa pura*, situated on the southern extremity of the Malayan peninsula. " This event is supposed to have taken place A.D. 1160.

" The successors of *Sang Nila Utama* were *Paduka Sri Wikrama*, *Sri* " *Rama Wikrama*, and *Sekander Shah*, who, being driven out of *Singa pura* " by the *Majapáhit* forces, afterwards established the city of *Malaca*. His " successor, *Mahomed Shah*, first embraced Mahomedanism, in the year " 1276."—*Malayan Annals*.

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putting to death the prime minister, eventually fell a sacrifice to the just revenge of the minister's son.

This prince, however, is distinguished by the extent of his conquests, and for the victory he obtained over *Sri Sin Dérga*, King of *Sing'apura* on the *Malayan* peninsula, whose subjects lived by piracy, but by this event became tributary to *Majapáhit*.

To him succeeded the fifth prince of *Majapáhit*, named *Mérta Wijáya*, whose minister, *Gúja Mada*, became celebrated for his virtues and abilities, and for the code of regulations which at this day exists under his name. In his reign the conquest of *Indragíri*, or Sumatra, which had begun by his predecessor, was successfully completed.

Accounts differ regarding the successor of his prince, some considering *Ráden Alit*, his brother, to have succeeded at an early age, and others that *Ráden Alit* is the same with *Angka Wijáya*, the last sovereign of *Majapáhit*. According to the latter accounts, many of the principal events reported to have taken place in the reign of *Alít* are brought under that of *Mérta Wijáya*.

One of the sovereigns of *Majapáhit*, according to the Malayan annals, had two sons by the daughter of the Raja of the mountain *Sa Guntang;* the eldest named *Ráden Ino Mérta Wángsa*, and the younger *Ráden Mas Pamári*. The eldest succeeded to the government of *Majapáhit*, the authority of which then extended over the whole of Java, and all the Rajas of *Núsa Tamára* (probably *Báli*) likewise paid allegiance for half their lands. The sovereign of *Majapáhit* heard of the extensive country of *Malacca* which did not owe him allegiance, and sent a large fleet against it, under the command of *Demáng Wirája*. The Javans, however, did not succeed: they were forced to retreat to their *práhus* and to return to *Majapáhit*.

Through the wisdom of the minister, *Gája Máda*, who was continued in office, and the prudent direction of *Alit Wijáya*, the kingdom of *Majapáhit* rose to the highest pitch of wealth and glory. Several nations on Sumatra, and among them the people of *Palémbang*, as well as the inhabitants of the southern states of Borneo, who had no regular government at that

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period, obtained from him protection against the people of *Lámpung*, and in return acknowledged the supremacy of *Majapáhit*. The authority of this empire now extended eastward over *Balambángan* and *Báli*, and westward over what was then termed the kingdom of *Súnda*, which included the western districts of Java, part of Sumatra, and all the islands situated in the straits. The inhabitants of the islands situated in the straits of Sunda consisted for the most part of the dregs of all nations, who having fled from the wars, or having been otherwise obliged to desert their own country, had elected a chief, under whom they committed extensive depredations by sea and land.

During the reign of *Alit Wijáya*, the *pusáka kris*, named *jala sémlang jándring*, was carried off by stealth, by emissaries employed by *Ménak Dáli Púti*, prince of *Balambángan;* but was recovered by the dexterity of a *pándi* (or smith) named *Súpa*, who in reward for his services was made chief of *Madirángin* (now called *Sidáyu)*, and was the first distinguished by the title of *Adipáti*. This chief afterwards proceeded with a force to *Balambángan*, and an engagement took place near the river *Káli Tíkus: Ménak Dáli Púti* was defeated and put to death, and his family obliged to seek refuge with the chief of *Báli Klóngkong*. The enemy was pursued as far as his capital; *Máchang púti*, and the whole coast was divided into districts, under the sovereignty of *Majapáhit*.

The chief of *Báli Klóngkong* sent an empassy to *Majapáhit*, and concluded a treaty acknowledging its authority.

During this reign, a violent volcanic eruption took place from one of the mountains in the western districts of *Balambángan*.

Mérta, or according to others, *Alit Wijáya*, left two children, a daughter named *Kanchána Wúnga*, and a son named *Angka Wijáya*, who according to some accounts administered the government jointly. The princess, however, is better known as an independent sovereign, under the title of *Prábu Kánya Kanchána Wúng'u*. It is related, that during this reign the chief of *Balembángan*, named *Ménak Jéng'ga*, made a successful attack on *Probolíng'go*, and reduced under his authority all the countries which had been dependent on *Majapáhit*, as far west as *Túban*, so that the capital was

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nearly surrounded by enemies. In this state of affairs, *Ménak Jéng'ga* offered terms, on condition of obtaining the hand of the princess in marriage; but she, disgusted by the deformity of his person, and a stench that exhaled from his body, not only rejected his suit, but declared she would give her hand to the man who would destroy him. *Dámar Wúlan*, the son of a *tápa* or devotee, named *Udára*, and a descendant of *Aria Babáng'a*, obtained a single victory over the rebels at *Probolíng'go*, and cut off the head of *Ménak Jéng'ga:* he was rewarded by the hand of the princess; and all the provinces again fell under the authority of *Majapáhit.* According to some accounts, *Dámar Wúlan* had also been successful in repelling an invasion from *Kambója.*

Angka Wijáya having by this time attained a sufficient age, assumed the chief authority; the princess retiring with *Dámar Wúlan*, to whom was entrusted the charge of *Probolíng'go* with the more eastern districts, and of *Súmenap* and *Sámpang* on *Madúra.*

The first attempts to introduce the Mahomedan religion in the eastern provinces of Java, appear to have been made at *Grésik*, about the close of the thirteenth century of the Javan era. In the origin and rise of *Grésik*, they are thus related by the native writers:

" *Mulána Ibrahim*, a celebrated *Pandíta* from Arabia, " descended from *Jenal Abidin*, and cousin to the Raja of " *Chérmen* (a country of *Sábrang)*, had established himself " with other Mahomedans at *Désa Léran* in *Jang'gála*, when " the Raja of *Chérmen* arrived at Java. This prince, who " was a Mahomedan, perceiving with regret that the inhabit- " ants of the large and populous island of Java were still " heathens, resolved to attempt the conversion of the King of " *Majapáhit*, *Prábu Angka Wijáya*, and with this view to " present to him his maiden daughter in marriage. Embark- " ing with his daughter, and all his relatives and followers of " every description, he reached *Jang'gála* in safety, and land- " ing at the *Désa Léran* he immediately built a mosque there, " and in a short time succeeded in obtaining many converts.

" The Raja of *Chérmen* having consulted with his relations " whom he found at *Léran*, deputed his son, *Sídek Mahómed*, " to proceed to *Majapáhit*, and apprise the king of his in-

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" tended visit. He afterwards set out himself, with all his " party, among whom were forty holy men, his relations, who " had come with him from *Sábrang*.

" The King of *Majapáhit* came forth, and met Raja *Chér-* " *men* at the confines, where they both remained under a " *pasang'grahan*, erected for their accommodation. *Angka* " *Wijáya* evinced the greatest respect for Raja *Chérmen*, " and treated him with every mark of hospitality.

" The Raja of *Chérmen* now presented to the King of *Ma-* " *japáhit* a promegranate in a basket, in order that, by his " acceptance or rejection of it, he might ascertain whether or " not he would become a convert. The king accepted of the " present, but not without wondering how a Raja from *Tána* " *Sábrang* could think of presenting him with such a fruit, as " if it had been unknown on Java. His thoughts, however, " he kept to himself; but *Raja Chérmen* knew what was " working in his mind, and soon after took his leave, and re- " turned with his people to *Léran*. His nephew, *Mulána* " *Máhfar* (son of *Mulána Ibrahim)* alone remained with " *Angka Wijáya*. Some time after this, the king having con- " tracted a kind of giddiness in the head, opened the pome- " granate; when, instead of the usual seeds, he found it filled " with precious stones (rubies). Surprized at this, he observed " to his minister, that *Raja Chérmen* must indeed be a very " superior kind of person, and sent *Mulána Máhfar* to re- " quest the Raja to return; but the Raja refused to do so, " and proceeded on.

" When *Raja Chérmen* had been four nights at *Léran*, his " people fell sick and many died. Among them there were " three out of five cousins, who had accompanied him from " *Sábrang*, named *Sáyed Jáfar*, *Sáyed Kásem*, and *Sáyed* " *Ghárt*, whose tombs are known by the name of *Kúbur* " *Pánjang* *. The princess also fell sick, when her father " attended upon her himself, and besought the Almighty to " spare her and restore her to health, that his intention of " giving her to the Raja of *Majapáhit* might be fulfilled: he " prayed, however, at the same time, that if it was ordained " that *Angka Wijáya* was not to be converted, her days

* The long graves which are still pointed out near *Léran*.

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" might be shortened. The princess shortly afterwards died, " and was interred near the graves of her relations *.

" The usual tribute having been paid to the memory of " the deceased, on the different days appointed for the per- " formance of the ceremony, and *Mulána Ibrahim* having " been appointed to look after and take care of the graves, " the *Raja* of *Chérmen*, with all his people, set out to return " home. On his way *Sáyed Jáfar* died. He was sent on " shore at *Madúra*, and his remains were interred to the west " of the village *Plakára*. *Sayed Rafidin*, the only remaining " cousin of the *Raja*, died near *Bovian*, and was buried on " that island.

" *Angka Wijáya*, desirous of meeting again with *Raja* " *Chérmen*, arrived at *Léran* three days after his departure, " and hearing of the death of the princess, observed, that he " thought the religion of *Rajá Chérmen* would have pre- " vented such a calamity as the premature death of the *pútrí* " (princess), that it would have enabled her to hold out against " the sickness of Java, and that he must now think meanly " of it: to which *Muléna* replied, that such ignorance was " only the consequence of worshipping *Déwas* instead of the " true God. *Angka Wijáya* became highly enraged at this " retort; but being pacified by his followers, returned to " *Majapáhit*, without taking any further notice of it. This " happened in the year 1313.

" *Múlana Ibrahim*, who remained in charge of the tombs " of the deceased, afterwards removed from *Léran* to *Grésik*, " which, however, had not become a separate state. Here he " died, twenty-one years after the departure of the Raja of " *Chérmen;* and here his tomb, which is known by the name " of *Gapúrá Wétan*, is still to be seen. He died on Monday, " the twelfth of *Rabíulawal*, in the Javan year 1334.

" It is related, that about this period there was a woman of " *Kamboja*, named *Niái Gédi Pináteh*, the wife of the *patéh*, " or minister of that country, who on account of her being a " great sorceress was banished to Java, where, on her arrival, " she went to the king of *Majapáhit* and implored protection. " The king taking pity on her, the more so as she was a

* Her tomb is still preserved.

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" woman of advanced age without any children, and had been
" removed from a situation where she had once been com-
" fortable and happy, provided for her by making her a kind
" of *shabándar* (chief of the port) at *Grésik*, where there was
" already a mosque and a considerable population. *Niái*
" *Gédi* afterwards became very religious and charitable, and
" was revered for becoming the foster-mother of *Susúnan*
" *Gíri*. Her death took place forty-five years after that of
" *Múlana Ibrahim;* being a short time previous to the de-
" struction of *Majapáhit*, and her tomb is still to be seen at
" *Gresík*."

To return, however, to the proceedings of the King of *Majapáhit*, it appears that early in his reign, *Angka Wijáya*, hearing from the merchants who resorted to Java of the beauty and accomplishments of a princess of *Chámpa*, sent an embassy to that country to demand her in marriage; and on her arrival at *Grésik*, received her there in person, with great attention and state. The princess, nevertheless, for a long time refused to cohabit with him, on account of the great number of his concubines, and particularly on account of the powerful hold obtained over his affections by a Chinese of great beauty, who had been sent to him as a present from one of the chiefs of China, at the request of the merchants and with the consent of the emperor, with a view to obtain greater privileges for their trade with Java.

The princess is represented as the second daughter of the Raja of *Chámpa*. Her name was *Dára Wáti*, and her eldest sister had been married to an Arab, by whom she had a son, named *Ráchmat*.

Previous, however, to this marriage, *Angka Wijáya* is said to have had an intrigue with a woman, of whom there are various accounts, some describing her as a witch, residing on the mountain *Láwu*, and others as a *rasáksa*. The fruit of this illicit connection was a son, called *Aria Dámar*. Unknown to his father, this youth distinguished himself at an early age, by bringing together all the wild animals of the forest, as an amusement for the prince and his family. In consequence of an exploit so hazardous, he was first appointed chief of a province, and afterwards promoted to the command of an army proceeding agair

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Báli, during a war in which the forces of *Majapáhit* suffered great loss, but were ultimately successful *. The capital, called *Klónkong*, was surprised and carried, and the chief himself, with the whole of his family, except one sister, put to the sword. She being very beautiful, was sent to *Majapáhit*. The island of *Báli* became tributary to *Majapáhit*.

Aria Dámar, on his return, presented the various arms which had been taken as tokens of his success; and his conduct being highly approved of, he was appointed *Adipáti*, or chief, of *Palémbang* on Sumatra.

The discontent of the Princess of *Chámpa* still continuing, the Prince came to the resolution of parting with his Chinese consort, and gave her to *Aria Dámar*, on condition that he would not cohabit with her until she was delivered of the child, of which she was then pregnant, and that he would afterwards rear up the child as his own. *Aria Dámar* then accompanied by the princess, and about three hundred chosen troops, given to him by the prince of *Majapáhit*, embarked for *Palémbang*, where he was well received, and immediately acknowledged as chief. He soon, however, became involved in a war with the *Lámpung* states and the neighbouring isles

* The occasion of the war with *Báli* is thus related:—"At this period "the royal family of *Báli* consisted of three brothers; the eldest of whom "was named *Maya Dinówa*; the second, *Dewa Machswel*, who was the "chief; and the youngest, *Kabu Wihaha*. *Kabu Wihaha* is said to have "been of extraordinary size, and to have had a head like a hog, devour-"ing the flesh of that animal in great quantity. He was, moreover, very "wicked and destructive, regardless of the rights or property of any one. "On this account the people became dissatisfied with his sway, and his "brothers, desirous of getting rid of him, advised him to proceed to "*Majapahit*, in order to obtain in marriage *Loro Jongrang*, of the family "of *Browijaya*, a lady whom they represented as of a stature similar to "his own. The Raja of *Báli*, as a further inducement to him to go, sent "an embassy to make the request; but *Browijaya*, considering it as the "forerunner of war, made his preparations accordingly. He sent for a "celebrated painter, named *Sung'ing adi Warna*, and putting down the "dimensions of a large woman, such as had been requested, desired him "to paint the figure of a most beautiful woman of the same size, and when "it was done dismissed the ambassadors, accompanied by *Aria Damar*, "who had especial instructions to make observations of every thing in "*Báli*, so that the way might be clear for hostilities, should the same "become necessary."

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of *Sánda*, the inhabitants of which were continually committing depradations in the territories of *Palémbang*. He proceeded into the *Lámpung* country, but before he could reduce it to subjection, internal commotions obliged him to return to *Palémbany*, where the Chinese princess was now delivered of a son, to whom he gave the name of *Ráden Pátah*. He had afterwards a son by this princess, whom he named *Ráden Húsen;* but observing that the people of *Palémbang* disliked the princess, on account of her Chinese extraction, he took from one of the first families of the place another wife, whose son might become his successor, and resolved to send *Ráden Pátah* and *Ráden Húsen* to *Majapáhit*.

After *Aria Dámar* had resided about three years at *Palémbang*, *Ráden Ráchmat*, son of the Arab priest, who had married one of the daughters of the Raja of *Chámpa*, arrived there, being the bearer of letters and presents for *Majapáhit*. *Ráchmat* was then about twenty years of age, carefully educated, and well instructed in the Mahomedan religion. In a short time *Aria Dámar* felt inclined to embrace the faith, but on account of the attachment of the people of *Palémbang* to their ancient worship, he dared not openly profess it. *Ráchmat* remained two months at *Palémbang*, and then proceeded on his voyage to *Majapáhit*, touching at *Grésik* on the way, where he visited *Sheik Mulána Jomadil Kóbra*, a devotee who had established himself on *Gúnung Jáli*, and who declared to him that his arrival at that particular period had been predicted by the prophet; that the fall of paganism was at hand, and that he was elected to preach the doctrine of Mahomed in the eastern parts of Java, where a rich harvest of conversion awaited his apostolic labours.

Arriving at *Grésik* he proceeded to *Majapáhit*, where he was kindly received by the prince, and by his relative the princess of *Chámpa*. *Angka Wijáya*, notwithstanding he disapproved of his religious principles, and himself refused to become a convert to them, conceived such an attachment for his person and such a respect for his character, that he assigned to him three thousand families, and formed an establishment for him at *Ampel*, situated in the vicinity of *Surabáya*, where he allowed him the free exercise of his religion,

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with permission to make converts of those who were inclined. In a short time *Ráchmat* gained the affection of all those placed under him, and most of them were by degrees converted to the faith, whence he acquired the title of *Sunan*, meaning, according to some, "*messenger from God*," or he of whom requests are made, and which title, indifferently termed *Sunan* or *Susuhunan*, the sovereigns of Java have since continued to assume *. As a further testimony of his regard for *Ráchmet*, the prince of *Majapáhit* gave to him in marriage the daughter of his first *Klíwon*, whose brother, *Wíla Tíkta*, he had appointed chief of *Túban*. By this wife *Ráchmat* had three children, a daughter and two sons, who were afterwards appointed *Adipátis* of *Bónang* and *Drájat*, now called *Lasem* and *Sedáyu*.

The next Arab missionary who arrived at *Grésik* was *Mulána Ishak*, the father of the celebrated *Súnan Gíri*. The circumstances attending his arrival, and the establishment of his son, are thus related.

"*Mulána Ishak*, otherwise called *Mulána Alul Islam* of "*Pási Málaca*, a celebrated *Pandíta*, who had given himself "up to penance and mortification, having heard that there "was at *Ampel*, on Java, a prince who was busily employed "in propagating the Mahomedan religion, and that many "persons, through his means, had embraced the faith, went "over and assisted *Súnan Mákdum* in the work of conver-"sion: and having received his sanction to go to *Balam-"bángan*, for the purpose of teaching the Mahomedan reli-"gion, there embarked in a *práhu*, and set out on the sacred "mission.

"It happened that at this time the chief of *Balambángan* "was greatly distressed on account of his daughter, who was "very sick, and whose malady would not yield to the power "of medicine. One night a voice from heaven told him, that "if he would have his daughter speedily recover he must send "her to *Gúnung Patukáng'an*, where there would be found

* *Súnan*, in the Javan language, means the ridge pole of the roof; and *tíang* the pillars or supports of a house. The former is the term adopted by the sovereign! the latter is applied to the common people or men in general.

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" a *Pandíta* from *Sábrang*, who would cure her, and after-
" wards become her husband.

" A storm arising, the *práhu* in which *Malána Ishak* had
" embarked was driven close to the foot of *Gúnung Patu-*
" *káng'an*, and he landed there, when the chief, having sent
" his daughter to the mountain, directed that the *Pandíta*
" might be conveyed thither, in order that the prophecy
" might be fulfilled. *Malána Ishak* first objected to under-
" take the cure, on the plea that he was not skilled in me-
" dicine, but at last agreed to comply, on condition that the
" chief would embrace the Mahomedan religion if he were
" successful. To this the latter consented, on which *Ishak*,
" addressing the priest, said, 'I am not a person skilled in
" 'medicine, neither do I know how to administer it, but if
" 'your daughter would be well she has now only to wish
" 'herself so.' The princess immediately recovered.

" The prince afterwards bestowed upon the *Pandíta* his
" daughter in marriage, and she soon acquired a thorough
" knowledge of the tenets of Mahomedanism.

" On one occasion, when the prince was sitting in the hall
" of audience before all his people, the *Pandíta* went up to
" him and reminded him of his promise to become a Maho-
" medan, adding, that he was ready to instruct him in the
" doctrine of that system. On this the prince became angry,
" and told him in haughty terms that he never would change
" his religion. No sooner had he spoken than his mouth was
" distorted. At this, however, he only became the more ex-
" asperated, and approaching the *Pandíta*, was going to
" strike him, when his legs gave way under him and he fell
" to the ground.

" The *Pandíta*, returning to his wife, took leave of her,
" exhorting her to adhere to the religion he had taught her,
" and telling her that he must now proceed upon the mission
" on which he had originally embarked. Though desirous of
" accompanying him he would not permit her. After he was
" gone the land was afflicted with a pestilence, which carried
" off great numbers of the people.

" The prince, greatly vexed, and enraged at the havock
" thus made among his subjects, told his minister that it

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" must be in consequence of his daughter being pregnant by
" the *Pandíta;* and that, as soon as the child should be born
" he was determined to make away with it.

" The Almighty, however, took the child under his especial
" protection, and it was safely conveyed to *Grésik* in a trading
" vessel, where it was brought up by *Niái Géde Pináteh,*
" until it was twelve years of age; when, turning out a pro-
" mising boy, she resigned him to *Ráden Ráchmat,* then
" called *Súnan Ampel,* for the purpose of his receiving religious
" instruction. The *Súnan* soon discovered the boy was of
" Arab descent, and gave him the name of *Ráden Páku,* ob-
" serving, that he would one day become the *pepaku* (that is,
" the *support-nail,* or axle) of Java; he subsequently gave
" him his daughter in marriage.

" *Ráden Páku* afterwards, accompanied by *Mákdum Ibra-*
" *him,* son of the *Súnan,* proceeded on a pilgrimage to
" *Mecca;* but touching at *Pási Malácca,* they were there pre-
" sented to the great and holy teacher, *Mulána Alúl Islam,*
" who persuaded them, instead of prosecuting their voyage, to
" return to their own country, in order to make converts and
" become great and glorious; and giving to each of them
" an Arab turban and a long gown, at the same time conferred
" upon them the names of *Prábu Suswáta* and *Prábu Anyak*
" *Kraswáti.* He moreover told them, on their return to
" *Grésik,* to erect a mosque at *Gíri.*

" On reaching *Ampel,* after their return to Java, the *Súnan*
" informed *Ráden Páku* that the holy man to whom he had
" been presented at *Pási Malácca* was his own father, and
" that by obeying his instructions in building a mosque at
" *Gíri* he would fulfil a prophecy, and he and his companion
" become great princes in Java.

" *Ráden Páku* then went to *Gíri,* and having cleared a
" spot, a mosque and dwelling were soon erected. Numerous
" proselytes being attracted thither, he was called *Prábu*
" *Satmáta,* and sometimes *Susúnan Rátu Ainul Yákin,* but
" more commonly *Súnan Gíri.* He was afterwards appointed
" by the king of *Majapáhit* to be chief of the province of
" *Grésik,* in the same manner as *Susúnan Ampel* had been
" previously appointed. He was born A. J. 1355. *Prábu*

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" *Anyák Krawáti*, his companion, afterwards assumed the
" title *Susúnan Bónang*, under which name he was a distin-
" guished character in subsequent transactions."

In the western provinces the work of conversion was also advancing, under the influence of *Sheik Ibn' Mulána*, who in A. J. 1334 had established himself in *Chéribon*, where he is better known as *Susúnan Gúnung Játi*, a name given him on account of his fixing his abode on the hills so named. A woman afflicted with the leprosy (a complaint which has been declared incurable) was recovered by him, and thus procured for him the character of being able to perform miracles. The number of people who in consequence of the cure resorted to *Gúnung Játi* was so great, that the chiefs, in the first instance, thought themselves bound to interfere, and did so with the hopes of success; but finding afterwards that they could not resist the tide, many of them, among whom were the chiefs of *Gálu*, *Sukapúra*, and *Limbangan*, became themselves converts to the faith.

When *Lémbu Pétang*, son of *Angka Wijáya*, by the Princess of *Chámpa*, was appointed to the charge of the island of *Madúra*, under the title of *Panambáhan*, the *Súnan Gíri* deputed *Sheik Súrif*, commonly called *Kalipha Kúsen*, to accompany him, in order to make converts on that island. This missionary was buried at *Aros Báya*, where he had built a mosque, and is generally known on *Madúra* by the name of *Pangéran Súrif*.

In the meantime the name of *Majapáhit* stood high among surrounding nations; and at no time was the authority of that state more extensively acknowledged. Some disturbances, however, had taken place on *Báli*, promoted by chiefs of districts, who oppressed their subjects, and interfered with the authority of each other. These commotions were so exasperated by the difficulties which arose in collecting the tribute, that the prince was obliged to send an army thither, under the command of *Adáya Níngrat*, the *Adipáti* of *Pájang Peng'ging*, who soon restored order and tranquillity. In return for this and other eminent services he obtained in marriage *Rátu Tímpo*, the legitimate daughter of *Angka Wijáya*. *Déwa Agung Kétut*, a natural son of the prince by the princess of *Báli*, being then appointed chief of that island,

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proceeded thither with a select force, and continued tributary to *Majapáhit* until its downfall.

[The following account is given of the further success of the *Majapáhit* arms in the Eastern Seas, under *Andáya Níngrat*, commonly known by the title of *Rátu Péng'ging*, and of the motives which induced the Prince of *Majapáhit* first to give him his daughter in marriage, and afterwards to admit him to a share in the government.]

" Every time that the Prince of *Majapáhit* received ac-
" counts of the success of *Rátu Péng'ging* his alarm and un-
" easiness increased; for in these accounts it was stated that
" he wanted no further assistance, as he met with but little
" opposition, all the rajas of *Súbrang* submitting to him,
" among whom were those of *Makúsar*, *Góa*, *Bánda*, *Sem-*
" *báwa*, *Endé*, *Timor*, *Ternáté*, *Súlu*, *Síram*, *Maníla*, and
" *Búrni*, in short, he and his followers conquered wherever
" he went, being themselves invulnerable.

" At length the Prince of *Majapáhit* rccollected that *Pa-*
" *lémbang* had not yet submitted, and in consequence sent a
" handsome present to *Ratu Péng'ging*, accompanied by a
" request to subdue *Palémbang* without delay.

" The Prince of *Majapáhit* then calling his minister, *Gaja*
" *Máda*, inquired of him how it was that *Rátu Péng'ging*
" met with such success, and was becoming so great, that no
" country could withstand him, and told him, that his alarm
" was excited even for his own safety, least on his return to
" *Péng'ging* the island of Java should become subject to two
" chiefs. To which *Gaja Máda* replied, 'he knew not how
" 'to account for it, or to remove the uneasiness of the prince,
" 'but that he was always ready to obey the orders of his
" 'prince: in the present case *Rátu Péng'ging* had been
" 'thrown into the greatest danger possible, and yet his life
" 'was preserved; what more could be done?' The prince
" then said, 'let us both perform penance, and inquire of the
" 'Deity how to remove this uneasiness.' *Gaja Máda* assent-
" ing to this proposal, they both kept themselves apart from
" the people of the court, and fasted for forty days and forty
" nights, at the expiration of which *Batára Naráda* appeared
" to *Gaja Máda*, saying, 'it is impossible for you to destroy
" 'or kill *Rátu Péng'ging*, for he is a good man, and favoured

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" ' by the gods; but if the Prince of *Majapáhit* wishes to
" ' get rid of his uneasiness, he had better make him his son-
" ' in-law, by giving him his eldest daughter, *Rátu Pam-*
" ' *báyun*, in marriage.'

" The prince on hearing this became much astonished,
" adding, that he had received a similar communication from
" *Sang'yang Túng'gal* (the great and only one,) and it was
" agreed to send for *Rátu Péng'ging* without delay.

" In a short time *Rátu Péng'ging* reached *Majapáhit*, with
" numerous princes in his suite, in proof of what he had
" written, that all the rajas of *Sábrang* had submitted, and
" were willing to obey the will of *Majapáhit*. *Rátu Péng'-*
" *ging* then informed the prince, that in the conquest of *Pa-*
" *lémbang* the raja of that country had been killed, and that
" he had himself appointed a person to administer the govern-
" ment provisionally, until the Prince of *Majapáhit* should
" nominate a new raja.

" The prince received him with great distinction, saying,
" he knew not how to reward such eminent service, and offer-
" ing to him his daughter in marriage.

" After the marriage had taken place the prince assembled
" all his chiefs, and placing *Rátu Péng'ging*, now his son-in-
" law, on the *setíngel*, appointed him in their presence, under
" the title of *Prábu Anom*, to a joint administration of the
" country with himself.

" The prince, however, some time after, became jealous of
" the authority of this chief, and removed him to *Péng'ging*,
" afterwards called *Pájang*.

" During the administration of *Lémbu Pétang* on *Madúra*,
" *Súmanap* with the subordinate islands became a separate
" province under *Járan Panúlan*, a native of *Pamakásan*,
" who, by his skill and courage, had raised himself to the
" rank of commander of the *Majapáhit* cavalry, and was
" married to an illegitimate daughter of the prince.

" About the year 1360 ambassadors arrived from *Pánjar*
" *Másin*, when the prince sent one of his sons, *Kúda Ban-*
" *járan Sári*, also called *Chákra Nagára*, to be the chief of
" that country. He proceeded with many vessels, and nu-
" merous followers and troops.

" The prince afterwards gave one of his daughters, the

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" sister of *Chákra Nagára*, in marriage to a celebrated com-
" mander, named *Járan Línau*, who was appointed *Adipáti*
" of *Lokáno*, and appointed *Pánji Diwírio* chief of *Prana-*
" *rága*, with the title of *Batára Kátong*.

" The prince falling ill of a complaint, declared by the
" physicians to be incurable, was advised, as the only means
" of recovery, to cohabit with one of his female slaves, a
" woolly-haired girl. The fruit of this intercourse was a son,
" who, on account of his birth, was called *Búndan Kajáwan*.
" This child, shortly after its birth, was delivered over to
" *Kiái Ǫéde Tárup Siséla*, chief of the prince's *sáwa*, or rice
" lands, with directions to bring it up as a foundling."

Returning, however, to the progress of Mahomedan conversion, which is now more rapidly advancing, the history goes on to state that the sons of *Aria Dámar*, of *Palémbang*, who were destined to take a most conspicuous part in succeeding events, came to *Grésik*, the former at the age of twenty, and the latter of eighteen. *Ráden Pátah*, aware of his extraction, and of the treatment which his mother had received, would not proceed to *Majapáhit*, but remained with the *Susúnan* at *Ampel* for some time. *Húsen*, however, went to *Majapáhit*, with injunctions not to say any thing of *Ráden Pátah*. He was well received there, and soon after was appointed to the command of the troops, and to administer the district of *Trong*.

Ráden Pátah afterwards marrying the grand-daughter of *Súnan Ampel*, and leaving her during her pregnancy, proceeded to the westward, in order to form an establishment, which he was directed to fix at a place where he should find the sweet-scented grass, called *bíntara*. This he discovered in a place where there were but few dry spots to be found, in an extensive swamp, termed in Javan *Demalákan*, whence the contraction *Demák*, first called *Bintára*.

As soon as the prince of *Majapáhit* heard of this new establishment at *Bintára*, he directed *Húsen* to proceed thither and destroy it, unless the chief was willing to acknowledge the authority of *Majapáhit*. *Húsen* in consequence prevailed on *Ráden Pátah* to accompany him to *Majapáhit*, where he was recognised by his likeness to the prince, and permitted to return to *Bintára* with the title of *Adipáti*.

When *Ráden Pátah* quitted *Majapáhit*, instead of return-

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ing to *Bintára* he went to *Ampel*, and communicated to him the shame and rage which he felt on the discovery of his birth and a determination which he had made to destroy *Majapáhit*. The *Súnan*, however, moderated his anger, by telling him that while the prince was just and beloved, and he himself received such benefits from him, his religion did not admit of his making war against him, or in any way injuring him.

Ráden Pátah then returned to *Bintára*, taking with him his wife, but leaving with the *Súnan* his son, *Ráden Abdala*. *Bintára* now rose in consequence and prosperity, proselytes became numerous, and the population daily increased.

Shortly after the mosque had been commenced, intelligence was received of the severe illness of the *Súnan Ampel*, in consequence of which *Ráden Pátah*, together with all the chiefs and people who had embraced Mahomedanism, proceeded to *Ampel*, where, after they had attended him for a few days, he died, previously delivering into the hands of the *Súnan Gíri* a *pusáka kris*, which had been given to him by the prince of *Majapáhit*, and which he required of him never to transfer into unhallowed hands.

The prince of *Majapáhit* is represented as paying every honour to the deceased, and as having provided the usual feast on the occasion. After this event, *Ráden Pátah* returned to *Bintára*, whither eight missionaries, who had assumed the title of *Súnan*, viz. *Súnan Bónang* of *Túban* (son of *Súnan Ampel)*, *Súnan Undang* of *Kúdus*, *Súnan Gíri* of *Grésik*, *Súnan Agum (Mulána Jomadil Kobra* of *Chéribon)*, *Sunan Káli Jenar*, *Sunan Káli Jága*, *Súnan Tanggung* (of *Tegal*), and *Súnan Drája* of *Sidayu*, now proceeded to assist in the completion of the mosque. This mosque is still standing, and is of a shape different from those constructed at a later period, having, as it is asserted, eight pillars, to commemorate the circumstance of the eight religious men engaged in its construction. This event occurred in the year 1390.

It was now that *Ráden Pátah*, finding advisers who were perhaps less scrupulous than the revered *Súnan Ampel*, gave vent to his deep-rooted animosity against his father, and formed a league with the assembled missionaries to make war upon the pagan empire of *Majapáhit*. In consequence of this confederacy, which was joined by all those who had

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embraced the Mahomedan faith, with the exception of *Húsen* and his followers, who remained true to the prince, a numerous army was soon collected at *Demák*, where *Ráden Pátah* openly declared war.

Súnan Undang of *Kúdus* was appointed to the chief command, and under him the Mahomedan army marched towards *Majapáhit;* but owing to the dexterity of *Húsen*, who commanded the *Majapáhit* forces, a general engagement was avoided, and for four years the hostile army was kept at bay. The troops of *Majapáhit* at last dissatisfied with this uncertain state of affairs and constant harassing, called loudly for action, and in compliance with their wishes a decisive battle was fought near the *Sidayu* river, in which the Mahomedans were completely routed, and their chief, *Súnan Undang*, killed. *Húsen* is accused of not having followed up this victory to the utmost of his power, on account of his fraternal affection for *Ráden Pátah*. The remains of *Súnan Undang* were interred in the north side of the temple at *Demák*.

The prince of *Majapáhit*, after this success, again endeavoured to reduce *Ráden Pátah* to obedience by amicable means, and for that purpose invited him to *Majapáhit*. *Pátah* promised to comply as soon as he should recover from a distemper which then confined him. By this, and other excuses, which were only urged to gain time, he contrived to deceive the prince; and *Bintára*, with the other provinces, continuing to pay the usual tribute, his vengeance was disarmed.

Considerable depredations were now made by the *Súnda* people, who landing on the north coast proceeded by the river *Losári* into the interior of the country, as far as *Bányumas* and *Dáyu Lúhur*, which probably attracted the attention of *Angka Wijáya*, more than the immediate danger which threatened his empire from the members of his own family.

Ráden Pátah, in the meantime, was very active in making preparations for a fresh attack, and sent to *Palémbang*, for the double purpose of asking assistance from that state and of reconciling *Aria Dámar* to the part which he was now taking against *Húsen*.

To the latter part of the message *Aria Dámar* replied, "that "it was the will of God to extirpate paganism, and to esta-

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" blish the doctrine of Mahomed; that therefore, if *Húsen*, " who was a Mahomedan, still continued to assist the in- " fidels, he must abide by the consequences, and that he, as " his father, would in such case take no vengeance for the " death of his son, should it ensue."

The confederates gaining courage from this support, the several chiefs sent numerous troops to *Demák*, and a second army was soon assembled. The overthrow of the ancient kingdom, if we are to believe the Javans, was not to be effected by human means alone, and supernatural expedients were resorted to. *Aria Dámar* is said to have sent to *Ráden Pátah* the box which had been given him by his mother before he quitted Java, directing him to carry it to the wars. *Súnan Gúnung Játi* sent him a *báju ránté*, or chain jacket, with an injunction not to open it until the engagement was at its height, when thousands of rats would issue from it, and assist in putting an end to the struggle. *Súnan Gíri* contributed with the same instructions the sacred *kris*, from which a swarm of hornets was to issue; and *Súnan Bónang* sent a magical wand or cane, which in cases of extremity possessed the power of producing allies and warriors on all sides.

Thus provided, the Mahomedan army took the field under *Pangéran Kúdus*, son of the deceased *Súnan*. The progress of the confederates is thus described.

" The army of the faithful, highly elated and determined " upon the downfall of paganism, were met by the united " forces of *Majapáhit*, under *Húsen*, and a severe and despe- " rate battle took place, which lasted for seven successive " days. In this protracted engagement the former were at " first worsted; but the commander, *Pangéran Kúdus*, avail- " ing himself of the enchanted box and miraculous weapons, " at last succeeded in driving the enemy before him, and the " city of *Majapáhit*, surrounded on all sides, submitted to " the hostile forces, the prince and his immediate followers " having previously quitted it in disorder and fled to the east- " ward."

Thus in the year 1400 fell the great capital of Java, the boast and pride of the Eastern Islands: thus did the sacred city of *Majapáhit*, so long celebrated for the splendour of its

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court and the glory of its arms, become a wilderness. "Lost "and gone is the pride of the land."

The main force of the allies remained at *Majapáhit;* but *Pangéran Kúdus* proceeded to *Trong*, whither *Húsen* had retreated, raising combatants, by means of the magical wand of *Sánan Bónang*, as he advanced. Here he attacked *Húsen*, who had entrenched himself in a strong position, and soon carried his lines. That chief immediately acknowledging his defeat, entered into terms, and accompanied the *Pangéran* to *Demák*, taking with him his principal followers and daughter, whom *Ráden Pátah* was allowed to dispose of. He was well received, and his daughter given in marriage to *Pangéran Aria* of *Túban*.

On their way *Pangéran Kúdus* and *Húsen* went to *Majapáhit*, whence the regalia had already been removed to *Demák*, and assisted in the further removal of all property, public and private, of every description: so that in the course of two years the country was entirely laid waste, 1402.

Kedélang	*sírna*	*warnáni*	*nagára*
2	0	4	1
To be seen	nought	form	city *.

* The following account of this great capital, and of the country in general, is given by the Chinese; it was furnished by *Han-Cham-pit*, a Chinese, whose family have for many generations been settled on Java, and translated into English by Mr. Crawfurd, when Resident of Surabaya.

"*Extract from a Chinese book called* Bun-kyan-tong-ko, *printed at* Pekin "*one hundred and five years ago, in the reign of the Emperor* Bang-he, "*and compiled under the direction of his ministers,* Tyn-eng, Ong-un-"Chin, Ong-Tam, Tyn-yong-twan, *and others.*

"There is a country called *Jaw-wa*, formerly called *Cha-po;* on the sea-"coast of it there is a country called *Po-kya-lung*, by which is the entrance "into the country.

"In the reign of the Emperor *Hut-pit-lyat*, of the family of *Gíwan Jaw-"wa*, it was described as being bounded in the following manner: to the "east by *Ko-li-gin*, to the west by *Sam-bu-che*, to the north by *Ko-ta-sit*, "and to the south by *Cham-Sya*.

"Subject to this country of *Cha-po* are *Sokit-tan*, *Ta-pan*, *Ta-kong*, "*Te-but*, and other countries.

"In coming from *Chwan-cha* (*Emwi*) by sea one first makes *Cham-Sya*.

"The people of that country are of a strange appearance, and exceed-"ingly ugly.

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Nothing certain is known of the fate of the prince of *Majapáhit*. According to some accounts, he, his family, and

" In genius, habits, and language, they are entirely different from the " Chinese.

" *Jaw-wa* became first known to the sovereigns of *China* in the reign of " *Saow-Gil-yang*, of the dynasty *Song* *. The intercourse was, however, " afterwards interrupted.

" After this, in the reign of *Tyo-kong-in*, of the family of *Tyo* †, the king " of *Jaw-wa*, whose name was *Bak-lo-cha*, sent an embassy with gifts to " the Emperor of *China*.

" The intercourse was again renewed in the reign of *Tyo-kyat*, of the " same family, when the Javans sent a mission with gifts to *China*.

" Afterwards, in the reign of the Emperor *Hut-pit-lyat*, and in the " thirteenth year of his reign, soldiers were sent from *China*, but the Javan " subjects were very numerous, and they could not succeed ‡.

" The water of that country is called *pa-chak-an*. Here is the mouth " of a river. This is the place to invade the country. It was here that " *Su-pit* and *Rohin*, the generals of *Hut-pit-lyat*, fought the people of the " country.

" The country of *Jaw-wa* is divided between two kings, one to the " west, and one to the east. In the reign of the Emperor *Chee-Te*, of the " dynasty of *Beng*, when that prince had sat five years on the throne, the " western prince, whose name was *Fo-wan-pan*, made war on the prince of " the eastern half of the island, and overthrew his kingdom.

" In the reign of the same Chinese prince, and in the sixteenth year of " his reign, the western king of *Jaw-wa*, whose name now was *Yang-wi-* " *see-sa*, sent a mission to China, with a present of a white parrot.

" Half a day's journey to the south-west of the river is the king's " palace, close to a tank. Within this are two or three hundred houses. " Seven or eight persons wait on the king, clothed in silk of various " colours.

" The king's palace is built of bricks. In height the wall is thirty feet. " Its circumferance is about 30,000 paces. The hair on the king's head " is in appearance like growing grass; he wears a cap ornamented at top " with gold fashioned like leaves. A piece of silk is wrapped over his " bosom; round his waist he has a piece of embroidered silk; he wears a " short weapon; his feet are bare. Sometimes he rides on an elephant, " and sometimes on a bullock.

" With respect to the people, the hair of the men has the appearance " of growing grass. The women tie it in a knot at the top of the head;

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* " Thirteen hundred and ninety-four years ago."

† " Eight hundred and fifty-one years ago."

‡ " Four hundred and fourteen years ago."

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immediate adherents were put to death on the assault of the city; according to others, he fled to *Málang*, and ultimately to *Báli*. But the temporary establishment formed at *Málang*, after the fall of *Majapáhit*, is ascribed by the tradition of that district, not to the sovereign, but only to the *Adipáti* of *Majapáhit*, probably one of the sons of *Angka Wijáya*, who had remained with his father, and was indifferently termed *Depáti Gúgur* or *Depáti Majapáhit*. The date at which *Angka Wijáya* ascended the throne scarcely allows us to believe that he was living at the period of its final overthrow. This date may be determined from the inscriptions on several tombs still in a state of preservation. The year marked on the tomb of the princess of *Chámpa* (which is within the ruins of *Majapáhit*) is 1320; that on the tomb of

" they wear a coat and a long cloth. The men invariably wear a short " weapon at the waist, which is of exquisite workmanship.

" Their laws never punish by corporal infliction. They take no account " of the measure of a man's offences; the criminal, in all cases, is secured " with rattans, and then put to death by stabbing him.

" In their traffic they use the money of China, but of a coinage older " than the present times. These coins bear a value double of what they " do in China.

" The inhabitants of the country have names, but no surnames. They " are of a quarrelsome disposition. In their persons they are ill-favoured " and filthy. Their colour is a blueish black. Their heads are like those " of large monkeys, and they go bare-legged. They believe in evil spirits. " In sitting and sleeping they neither use chairs nor beds: in eating they " use neither spoons nor *chop-sticks*. With respect to food, they do not " reject snakes, caterpillars, worms, and insects. They do not scruple to " eat and sleep with their dogs.

" In their marriage ceremonies it is the practice for the man to go to " the house of the woman, where he stays five days; at the end of this time " the bride is received with music and noise at the house of the bride-" groom. The bride wears no coat, her hair is loose, her feet are bare, " and she wears a piece of silk round her bosom. Sometimes she wears " ornaments of gold, pearls, and precious stones.

" With respect to the dead, some are thrown into the water, some " burnt, and some buried; all this according to the will of the person " expressed before his death. The exports of the country are gold, silver, " pearls, rhinoceros' horns, elephants' teeth, tortoise-shell, beetle-nut, " black pepper, sapan wood, garu wood, kanglong, cotton, Sundit birds, " green pigeons, and doves of various colours, parrots of various colours, " red, green, and white, with white deer and white monkeys."

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Mulána Ibrahim, who died twenty-one years after the arrival of the *Raja Chérmen* in 1313, is 1334; and as the princess of *Chámpa* must have been living at the period of *Aria Dámar's* being sent to *Palémbang*, when that prince had at least attained the age of puberty, the accession of *Angka Wijáya* to the throne of *Majapáhit* must have been anterior to the year 1320, and a reign of eighty years more than exceeds the limits of probability. All the accounts which are given of the fate of this prince and his family agree in stating that the princess of *Chámpa*, who must, if living, have been nearly a hundred years of age, fell into the hands of the conquerors, and found an asylum with the *Súnan Bônang* of *Túban:* but this statement is disproved by the recent discovery at *Majapáhit* of the tomb of this princess, who appears to have been buried according to the Mahomedan custom, and on whose tomb-stone the date 1320 is found, in the old Javan characters, in the highest state of preservation.

In those accounts which represent the prince as having retreated from *Majapáhit* the following particulars are related.

" About twelve months after the establishment of the supreme authority at *Bintára*, or *Demák*, the people of the more eastern provinces again reverted to the standard of *Browijáya*, who had received assistance from his son established on *Báli;* upon which *Pangéran Aria* of *Kúdus* and *Húsen* were directed to proceed against them with a powerful army. A desperate engagement took place near *Málang*, in which the *Pepáti Síndu Rája* was killed. The Mahomedan forces were however victorious, and following up their success, they pursued the *Majapáhit* people to *Grojógan (Balambángan,)* whence *Browijáya* and those of his followers who still adhered to his fortune took refuge in boats, and fled to *Báli*. This event happened in the Javan year 1403."

The following, however, is the traditionary account given by the people of *Málang*, of the party who retreated thither from *Majapáhit*.

" When the people of *Majapáhit* were defeated, and obliged to fly their capital, the *Páteh* of *Majapáhit* took refuge at a place now called *Sing'gára*, to the south-west of *Málang*, where he met with protection from a devotee,

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" named *Kiái Gédé Seng'gára*, who becoming attached to
" him gave him his daughter in marriage.

" After the death of the *Pátah* of *Majapáhit*, and of *Kiái*
" *Gédé Seng'gára*, the son of the former disagreeing with his
" wife, quitted *Seng'gára*, and built a small village at *Gedá-*
" *dang*, where afterwards he constructed a fort, and assumed
" the name of *Ráng'ga Permána*.

" In a short time this new country was known by the name
" of *Súpit úrang*: its inhabitants commenced the manufacture
" of bricks, of which the walls of the town and ramparts were
" completed; they then dug a moat or ditch round the whole,
" and rendered it a place of great strength.

" The fame of this new establishment had no sooner reached
" the ears of the Mahomedan chief of *Demák*, who had now
" assumed all the authority formerly possessed by *Maja-*
" *páhit*, than he sent his forces against it. The people of
" *Súpit úrang* remaining however within their fortification,
" the besiegers continued a long time before the place without
" being able to make any impression upon it, and were about
" to retire, when it occurred to them that a stratagem might
" be successful. This was to catch ten doves or pigeons,
" which in the course of the day might come from without
" the fortification in search of food, and, after fastening to
" their tails lighted brands, to let them loose into the city.
" The project succeeded, for the birds, flying towards their
" homes, set fire to the buildings within *Súpit úrang*, (which
" were constructed of light materials,) and all was confusion.
" The conflagration becoming general alarmed the people,
" who fled in every direction; the prince proceeded eastward
" as far as *Gúnung Buréng* (a rising ground within sight of
" the town,) where he is supposed to have perished, as no-
" thing was afterwards heard of him. The besiegers then
" took possession of the place, which since that period has
" been called *Kóta Bedak* (the deserted fort.)"

All the chiefs and priests went to *Gíri* on their return from *Seng'gára*, to offer up thanks for their victory. The *Súnan* was much indisposed when they arrived, and soon after died, at the age of sixty-three years. The tomb of the *Súnan Gíri* is still kept in a state of preservation, and highly revered. It is remarkable for still containing the *pusáka kris*, which he

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desired should be placed near his grave, and to which superstition has attached many virtues *.

To return, however, to *Ráden Pátah*. No sooner had this chief caused the removal of the regalia from *Majapáhit* to *Demák*, than the *Súnans*, *Gíri*, *Bónang*, and *Káli Jága* formally invested him with the government, under the title of *Panambáhan Jímbun*, and declared him the deliverer from paganism and the head of the faithful. The manner in which *Ráden Pátah* obtained the sovereignty is otherwise related in other accounts.

While these events were passing in the eastern and more populous districts of Java, the missionaries were not idle in the western districts. *Sheik Mulána*, of *Chéribon*, after effecting the conversion of the chiefs and people in his neighbourhood, sent his son, *Mulána Hásen-u-din*, to Bantam, where, in the vicinity of the mountain *Pulasári*, a body of eight hundred recluses at once embraced the faith, and his disciples soon became numerous.

Hásen-u-din went afterwards with his father to Mecca. On their return they visited the court of *Menangkábau* on Sumatra, where they were received with great distinction by the Raja, who at their departure presented the father with a celebrated *kris*. From *Menangkábau* they proceeded to the mountain *Pulusári* in Bantam, whence the father returned to *Chéribon*, leaving the *Menangkábau kris* with his son. *Hásen-u-din* shortly after went to *Chéribon*, to be married to a daughter of the *Súnan Demák (Ráden Pátah)*, and from thence to *Demák*, where he found *Ráden Pátah* engaged in war with the prince of *Majapáhit*. He there obtained his daughter in marriage, and assisted in bringing the war to a favourable conclusion, after which he returned with his wife to Bantam. Bantam at this period was a province dependent on *Pajajáran*.

About twelve months after his return to Bantam, where he assumed the chief authority, *Hásen-u-din* went over to the *Lampung* country in Sumatra, accompanied by *Pangéran Bálu*, a chief of *Tulangbáwang*, and proceeded as far as *Indrapúra*, where he married the daughter of the Raja as his

* Various stories are related of this kris.

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second wife. On this occasion it is said that the Bencoolen river was fixed upon as the boundary of his possessions in that direction; but it does not appear whether, by this new boundary, his possessions became more extended or more circumscribed than before.

During the whole of his progress from *Tulangbáwang* to *Indrapúra*, it is said that the sword was never out of the scabbard. It is therefore probable, that his title to these more distant regions was founded upon some previous claim, and either that the *Lampung* country was transferred to his father, *Sheik Mulána*, along with the *Menangkábau kris* *, or that Palembang and the southern part of Sumatra might have devolved to Bantam, in consequence of *Hásen-u-din's* marriage with the daughter of *Ráden Pátah*, who had then assumed the sovereignty of Java and its dependencies.

On *Hásen-u-din's* return from *Indrapúra*, he assembled a large body of men, principally from the southern districts of Sumatra, and marched against *Pákuan Pajajáran*, the chief of which, with his followers, still adhered to the ancient faith, and attacking that capital at midnight completely annihilated its authority. On this occasion *Kráwang* is said to have been fixed as the boundary between the possessions of *Sheik Mulána* of *Chéribon* and those of Bantam, there being at that time no intermediate power.

The manner in which this ancient capital was annihilated, is described with great minuteness in the different traditions of the *Súnda* people, and the descendants of those who escaped and continued to adhere to their ancient faith, are to be traced in the districts of Bantam, where they still continue distinguished from the rest of the population under the designation of *Bedui* †.

* Known by the name of *Kemándang*.

† The *Bedui* are to be found at three different places in Bantam. At *Gunung Perahiáng*, where the chief is called *Girang Pohon*, there are twelve families; at *Gunung Párangkujang*, where the chief's name is *Wanklang*, there are forty men and women; and at *Gunung Bungbang*, where the chief is called *Kiang*, there are twelve families. In the *Rawayans*, the name given to the place in which they respectively reside, this exact number is constantly preserved, by the removal of any increase that may occur, and by supplying any deficiency from those without who have not embraced the Mahomedan faith.

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Among the articles removed from *Majapáhit*, and still preserved with superstitious veneration, was the *paséban*, or hall

The history of these people, who consider themselves as descendants of *Prabu Seda*, the last chief of *Pajajaran*, is intimately connected with the period of which we are now treating, and with the establishment of Mahomedanism in the western districts. The origin of the *Bedui* is thus related :—

" During the reign of *Prabu Seda*, the last prince of *Pajajaran*, he was " informed that a certain recluse, named *Seda Sakti*, had an incestuous in- " tercourse with his sister, and determined to punish him for thus bring- " ing disgrace upon the country; the man pleaded his innocence to no " purpose, and was put to death by being pressed between two large logs " of wood, previously making a stipulation, which was deemed reasonable " enough, and which obtained the concurrence of all present, *viz.* that if " he had actually been guilty of the crime laid to his charge, his descendants " might lose their religion and live in the low lands; if not, that *Prabu* " *Seda*, with his nobles and court, might lose their religion and place of re- " sidence, and become for ever slaves : and as a sign that this stipulation " was approved and ratified from on high, immediately the sun was eclipsed, " the rain descended in torrents, the thunder roared, the earth shook, " and under the mountains were heard sounds like the discharge of great " guns.

" *Pachukaman*, son of *Prabu Seda*, who resided with his people at *Gunung* " *Pulusari*, at the period when the Mahomedan religion was about to be " introduced, apprehended the consequences of the stipulation made with " *Seda Sakti*, and determining not to change his ancient faith on any ac- " count, he quitted the place in secret, leaving his people, of whom eight " hundred, who were holy men, went in search of him in vain, and only " returned to deplore his loss."

Hasen-u-din subsequently fell in with these eight hundred *recluses* and converted them. He afterwards invaded *Pajajaran*. On his return to *Pulusari*, he was accustomed to come down to *Sirang* twice in seven days to sell fruit, and in the course of time he became acquainted with every thing relative to the people of Bantam. He afterwards subdued *Girang*, the ancient capital, situated a few miles inland of *Sirang*, of which the ruins are still visible, more by means of conversion than by arms, and when firmly established, *Prabu Seda* and his children, who refused to become converts, were there put to the sword.

The *Bedui* are the descendents of those who on the fall of *Pajajaran* escaped into the woods, and who refused to change their religion, remaining firmly attached to that of *Prabu Seda*. There is a tomb of one of them which they hold sacred, and which they will not allow any one but themselves to approach, even to this day. In after times, when the *Bedui* submitted to the Sultan of Bantam, and shewed no disposition to oppose the Mahomedans, they were exempted from the necessity of becoming converts,

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of audience, a large building, supported by a double row of lofty pillars. This was placed in front of the mosque at *Demák*, where it is still to be seen. At *Kúdus* there is a carved door belonging to the place of worship which *Browijáya* used to attend; and in the burial places at *Túban*, and several of the eastern districts, are still to be found relics of a similar kind, which are reverenced as sacred.

On the destruction of *Majapáhit*, the numerous *pándi*, or workers in iron and steel, who were considered the strength of the empire, and who in consequence enjoyed many privileges, were dispersed over the eastern districts of Java, Madúra, and Báli, forming separate establishments under their respective chiefs. At this period the custom of wearing the *kris* is said to have been introduced among the common people.

upon the condition, at the time they yielded, that the number in each *Rawayan* allowed to profess the ancient worship should be limited *.

When the Mahomedan religion became more generally established, it was declared that all those people who should not have embraced the faith before a certain day, should, with their descendants, be considered as outcasts or slaves. This is the origin of the people termed *Abdi*, and who are quite distinct from the *Bedui*.

The name, however, given in the *Sunda* traditions to the last chief of *Pajajaran*, is *Sila Wangi*; and it is from some of his original adherents, who became converts to Mahomedanism, that the present regents of the *Sunda* districts are descended. One of them, *Guru Gantang'an*, with many followers, is said to have retired to the forests on the mountain *Gedé*, since called *Recha Domas* (eight hundred images), where many rude idols are still to be found. There it is said they afterwards became extinct, and according to the notion of the *Sundas*, the term *Per-hiang'an*, still retained by the descendants from *Nga-hiang*, signifying annihilated, is derived from the fate of this people.

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* For a further account of these people, see vol. i. page 372.

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CHAPTER XI.

History of Java, from the Establishment of Mahomedanism (A. J. 1400), *till the Arrival of the British Forces in A.D.* 1811. (A. J. 1738).

ABOUT a year after the establishment of the chief authority at *Demák*, the Sultan, accompanied by the different heads of the Mahomedan worship, visited *Sheik Mulána Ibrahim* at *Chéribon*. On this occasion, the chiefs were distributed over different quarters appropriated for them, in the vicinity of *Palimánan*, and the places where they resided still bear their respective names.

Kábu Kanigára, the chief of *Pájang*, second son of *Andáya Níngrat* by one of the daughters of *Browijáya* and the princess of *Chámpa*, was put to death, although he had embraced the Mahomedan religion, for refusing to acknowledge the supremacy of Sultan *Demák*, by presenting himself at court when required. The following is the account of this transaction, as given by the native writers.

" The *Pangéran Kúdus* then departed alone, and having " entered the *dálam* was observed by a female attendant of " the chief, who demanded his name and errand; to which " he replied, that he should have the honour to make himself " known to her master. The female observed that the prince " was ill, and in mourning for the death of one of his best " friends, *Kiái Gédé Tíngkir*. *Pangéran Kúdus* then de- " sired her to tell her master that he was a messenger from " the Almighty, who brought good tidings. Having thus " obtained admittance to the chief, he informed him that he " was commissioned to require his immediate attendance " at *Demák*, and in case of refusal to put him to death. But " *Kábu Kanigára* still persisted in his refusal, and delivered

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" his *kris* into the hands of the *Pangéran*, who immediately
" wounded him in the arm, of which he shortly expired. He
" had however previously stipulated, that as his wife was
" pregnant, the circumstances of his death should be kept
" secret from her, and that her life should be preserved. The
" widow shortly after quitted the *dálam*, and found an
" asylum with the widow of *Kiái Gédé Tingkir*, where she
" was delivered of a son, destined to perform a conspicuous
" part in the transactions of those days."

Panambáhan Jímbua reigned according to some twelve, and according to others nine years after the fall of *Majapáhit*. He had several children, one of whom, named *Pangéran Sábrang Lor*, succeeded him as sultan of *Demák:* another, named *Niái Bintára*, was married to *Mulána Ibrahim* of *Chéribon*, who was in consequence honoured with the title of *Panambáhan Makdum Játi*.

Panambáhan Jímbun is represented as having resided in a small unadorned dwelling, while the principal buildings at *Demák* were constructed by *Pangéran Kúdus*, who had married the daughter of *Húsen*, and being entrusted with the highest offices, was considered as the second person in the state.

Pangéran Sábrang Lor, who succeeded his father in 1409, after a reign of less than two years, died of an inflammation of the lungs, and was succeeded, in 1412, by his brother, named *Pangéran Tranggána*, the third sultan of *Demák*.

On the inauguration of *Pangéran Tranggána*, he received the benediction of *Panambáhan Mákdum Játi*, and *Pangéran Kúdus* was appointed high priest. Two *krises* and a *bádi bádi* were made by the celebrated smith named *Súra*, from the iron wand which was supposed to have wrought miracles in the *Majapáhit* war. One of them was presented to the new sultan, and became a royal *pusáka;* the other was delivered to the *Pangéran* of *Kúdus*, with the appointment of *Susúnan Pangúhu*, or high priest. The *bádi bádi* was sent to *Súnan Bónang*.

Before the year 1421, the whole island of Java had submitted to the authority of *Pangéran Tranggána*, the chiefs of the several provinces, from *Bantam* to *Balambángan*, presenting themselves at his court, and universal tranquillity was

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restored. The Mahomedan religion was now firmly established throughout the island: the mosque was completed, and treaties of amity and peace were concluded with the princes of Borneo, *Palémbang*, *Báli*, *Singapúra*, *Indragíri*, and other states of the Archipelago, which had become independent of Javan authority after the fall of *Majapáhit*.

This prince is represented to have been an intelligent, good, and virtuous man, and to have enforced the strictest obedience to the laws. Under his superintendence was composed a work, entitled *Jáya Langkára*, in which the principles of the Mahomedan law and precepts were blended with the ancient instructions of the country, and thus rendered agreeable to the people.

It is related, that on the occasion of the assemblage of the different chiefs at the funeral of the deceased Sultan, and the inauguration of *Pangéran Tranggánaa*, a dreadful storm arose, with much thunder and lightning, when a youth, named *Jáka Siséla* (the son of *Browijáya* by *Búdan Kajáwan*, who had been delivered over to the superintendent of his *sáwah* or rice fields) going out of the mosque to observe the weather, saw a meteoric stone fall on the ground beside him, without doing him harm. This stone he carried to the *Súnan Kali Jága*, who declared it to be an omen prophetic of much good to the youth. After thanks were returned to the Almighty for having averted the danger from the mosque, a sketch was made of the stone, which is still exhibited on the door facing the north. This youth *Siséla* failing in an endeavour to become chief of the sultan's guards, and afterwards in an attempt upon the prince's life, was obliged to fly from the capital.

It is necessary here to advert to *Jáka Tingkír*, the offspring of *Kábu Kanigára*, a chief who had been put to death by order of the first sultan of *Demák*. It having been foretold that he would one day become sovereign of Java, he was taken by his mother to *Demák* in his eleventh year, where he soon found means to ingratiate himself with the Sultan, who gave him the name of *Pánji Mas*, and caused him to be instructed in the Mahomedan religion and in the precepts of *Jáya Langkára*, appointed him to the command of the body guard consisting of eight hundred men, and afterwards, in the

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year 1449, gave him his daughter in marriage, with the administration of the province of *Pájang*, where, with the permission of the Sultan, he built a *kráton;* but afterwards having put to death a person who had arrived from the *Kedú*, applying for an appointment in the body guard, he was banished to the forests. During his exile he visited a village named *Bányu-bíru*, near the *Solo* river, where he was instructed by a *Pandíta* how to conduct himself for the future, the holy man predicting, at the same time, that he would become sovereign of Java and hold his court at *Pájang*.

Several exploits against alligators are recorded of him; and the opinion that no descendant of the princes of *Pájang* need fear injury from these animals is so prevalent, that it is not unusual for a Javan of the present day, seeing himself in danger from one of them, to exclaim aloud that he belongs to that family.

Not long after the return of *Pánji Mas*, the island of Java was again formed into two separate and independent governments, corresponding with the former limits of *Majapáhit* and *Pajajaran*. The eastern provinces remained subject to the Sultan of *Demák*, and the western were ceded in perpetuity to *Mulána Ibrahim*, with the title of Sultan. To both sultans was reserved the right of dividing their lands on their demise among their children, as they might think proper. The *Súnan Káli Jága* obtained as an hereditary property, free from all kinds of requisitions, the small district of *Adilángu*, in the province of *Demák*, where he was afterwards buried.

From this period until the death of the Sultan of *Demák*, the eastern provinces enjoyed the most undisturbed tranquillity; but the Sultan of *Chéribon* found some difficulty in establishing his authority over the western people, and in converting them, particularly those of Bantam, to the Mahomedan faith.

The Sultan of *Demák*, besides several natural children, had two sons and four daughters. Of these daughters one was married to a Madurese prince, who resided at *Lampung;* another, *Balíga*, to a son of the Sultan of *Chéribon*, who was the chief of *Bantám;* a third to *Ráden Pánji*, who after the return of the Sultan from *Chéribon* was appointed chief of

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Pájang péng'ging; and the fourth to the son of *Pángéran Kedíri*, who was chief of *Japára*.

Pangéran Tranggána, the third Sultan of *Demák*, died in the year 1461, having previously made a division of his dominions among his children.

His eldest son, *Aria Ráng'ga*, was appointed Sultan of *Prawáta*, to which was annexed all the land to the eastward along the *Solo* river, as far as *Surabáya*, together with *Demák* and *Semárang*. His son-in-law, *Pangéran Hadíri*, was made *Súnan* of the *Kali Niámat*, and possessed all the districts of *Japári*, *Páti*, *Rémbang*, and *Jawána*. The *Adipáti* of *Pájang Péng'ging (Ráden Pánji)* received the title of *Brébo Páti* of *Pajang* and of *Matárem*, with the lands attached to it. His son, *Mas Timor*, was appointed *Adipáti*, with the lands of *Kedú* and *Bágalen*. His son-in-law, the prince of *Madúra*, was made chief of *Madúra*, *Suménap*, *Sedáyu*, *Grésik*, *Surabáya*, and *Pasúruan*. His youngest son, *Ráden Panángsang*, was appointed chief of *Jípang*.

The Sultan of *Chéribon*, better known by the name of *Súnan Gúnung Játi*, died in 1428, at an advanced age, leaving three sons by his wife, the princess of *Demák*, and one son and a daughter by a concubine. His eldest son, *Hásen*, succeeded him as Sultan of *Chéribon* and of the provinces lying between the *Chi-tárum* river and *Túgu*, and stretching in a southern direction to the *Kéndang* hills, so as to include all the *Priáng'en* districts and lands lying to the east of the *Chi-tárum*. From this prince are descended the present Sultans of *Chéribon*. To his second son, *Baradin*, he left the kingdom of *Bantam*, which extended westward from the river of *Táng'ran*, to the south-east part of Sumátra, including all the islands in the straits of *Súnda*. From him are descended the present kings of *Bantam*. His third son, named *Chenámpui*, died when young, and was buried at *Mándu* in *Chéribon*. To his natural son, *Káli Játan*, he assigned the lands lying between the *Chitárem* and *Tang'ran* rivers, which had formerly formed part of *Chéribon* and *Bantam*. This prince assumed the title of *Raja* of *Jokárta* or *Jákatra*, fixing his capital near the *kámpung* of that name, where he and his descendants continued to reign, until they

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were expelled, in the year 1619 of the Christian era, by the Dutch, who established on its ruins the modern Batavia, the capital of their possessions in the East Indies.

The tomb of the *Susúnan Gúnung Játi*, situated on the mount so called, at a short distance from the present town of *Chéribon*, is still an object of the highest veneration and respect.

Thus was the ancient empire of Java divided under no less than eight separate and independent governments. *Bantam*, *Jokárta*, *Chéribon*, *Prawáta*, *Kaliniámat*, *Pajang Kedú*, and *Madúra*; the several chiefs of which, in general, either assumed the title of *Kiái Gédé* or Sultan, or the more religious distinction of *Súnan*.

In about a year after the death of the Sultan *Tranggána*, the country of *Pájang* rose to considerable importance; its chief, on account of his possessing the regalia of state, being considered as the first in rank of the several princes in the eastern districts. Hatred, envy, and ambition, however, soon inflamed the breasts of the different princes of Java. The most ambitious among them, and the first who disturbed the peace of the country, was the *Adipáti* of *Jípang*, *Ráden Panángang*. The history proceeds thus:

" The *Adipáti* of *Jípang*, by the advice of *Súnan Kúdus*, " dispatched one of his body guard, named *Rákut*, to Sultan " *Prawáta*, with orders to watch an opportunity and assas- " sinate him. On the arrival of *Rákut*, it happened that the " Sultan was labouring under an indisposition; but when he " was sufficiently recovered, he went one evening after " prayers, and sat down at the second gate of the *dálam*, his " wife standing behind and holding his head, accompanied " only by some female attendants. At that moment, *Rákut* " went up to him, and declared his commission; to which " the Sultan replied, ' I am aware that my time is come; " ' execute your orders, but do not hurt any one but me.' " Upon this, *Rákut* drew his *kris* and stabbed him; after " which, retreating a few steps, it occurred to him that the " chief might not be actually dead; and returning with an " intention of completing his purpose, he missed his aim, " and struck the wife. The prince observing this, imme- " diately threw his *kris* at the assassin, which, striking him

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" in the leg, threw him on the ground, where he was soon
" dispatched by the people, who were assembled by the cries
" of the women."

The prince and his wife soon after died of their wounds, and left their dominions and property to their brother, the *Súnan Káli Niámat*, with authority to administer the same until their son, *Aria Pangíri*, should come of age. Both the prince and his wife were interred in the burial place of their ancestors at *Demák;* and the provinces of *Prawáta* thus became incorporated with those of *Káli Niámat.*

The *Súnan Káli Niámat* immediately went to *Kúdus*, and demanded that justice and condign punishment should be inflicted on the persons concerned in this murder; and the *Súnan Kúdus*, expressing great indignation at the act, promised compliance; but the *Sunan*, while returning to *Káli Niámat*, was murdered on the road by persons in the pay of the *Adipáti* of *Jípang.* This prince, having thus far succeeded in his designs, then plotted the death of the chief of *Pájang*, hoping by that means to remove the only obstacle to his obtaining the supreme authority in the eastern districts of Java. The assasins, however, whom he employed for this latter purpose were not equally successful. They found the prince at midnight in an inner apartment, sleeping among his wives: but while approaching him to execute their design, one of them happened to tread upon a woman, whose shriek awoke the prince. He demanded the reason of their visit, and promised them pardon, on their confessing by whom they were employed: they disclosed the whole, and obtained pardon with their dismissal. Thus disappointed in his scheme, the *Súnan Kúdus* invited the chief *Patéh* of *Pájang* to visit *Kúdus*, and assembled as many religious people as possible, in the hope that an opportunity might be afforded of assassinating him when off his guard; but a letter arriving at this period from the Sultan of *Chéribon*, upon whose protection the widow of the *Súnan Káli Niámat* had thrown herself, in which the Sultan declared that he should hold the *Súnan Kúdus* responsible for the discovery of the murderers, the intended assassination was deferred.

The chief of *Pájang* having communicated with his sister, the widow of *Súnan Káli Niámat*, who had made a vow never

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to rest or to leave her home until the death of her husband, brother, and sister, should be avenged, informed his *Panambáhan*, that if they could find a suitable opportunity to take revenge on *Ráden Penánsang*, they had his full consent. The meeting which took place between the parties is thus described.

" After having laid the troops in ambush, the chiefs of *Pájang* crossed the river, and seizing one of the grass-cutters " belonging to *Ráden Penánsang* they cut off a piece of " his right ear, and told him to go to his master with a letter, " which they hung about his neck, containing a challenge " from the prince of *Pájang;* they then returned to their own " camp. In the meanwhile the grass-cutter running with a " great noise to the quarters of *Ráden Penánsang*, who hap- " pened to be at dinner, delivered the message.

" At this summons the *Ráden* came forth in a great rage, " and ordering his horse and spear, galloped down to the " river side, and called upon the prince to come over to him; " but the chief of *Pájang* answered, that if he was the man " of courage he pretended to be, he would himself cross to the " side he occupied. The *Ráden*, accompanied by two *Pana-* " *kawans* only, then crossed the river, and inquiring for his " opponent, was informed that he remained in his *póndok*, " and had sent his son to fight in his room, and would only ap- " pear in the event of his being conquered. *Ráden Penán-* " *sang* then said with a contemptuous smile, ' Is the *Brébo* " ' *Patéh* afraid, that he sends me a child with whom he knows " ' I will not fight? I will teach him something. Go, child, " ' and call your father.' He then amused himself galloping " about, until one of the chiefs of *Pájang* let loose a number of " mares, on which his horse became unmanageable, and he was " thrown, and killed on the spot. *Túmung'gung Matáok*, his " principal chief, now crossed the river with all his followers; " but they were soon overpowered, and the *Tumúng'gung* be- " ing slain, his head was stuck upon a pole by the river side."

From this period the provinces of *Jípang* became subject to the chief of *Pájang;* and his sister at *Kali Niamat*, being informed of this success by *Panambáhan* expressed her readiness to fulfil a promise which she had made, of conferring upon him all her lands and property, *Panambáhan* declined

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accepting this offer, alleging that he had only obeyed the orders of his sovereign. He however received from her, on this occasion, two *pusáka* rings, in one of which was set a large diamond, in the other a ruby, which had formerly belonged to the house of *Majapáhit*.

The spoil taken in the war was then divided according to usage, and to *Panambáhan* was assigned a population of eighteen hundred working men in the district of *Mentáuk*, afterwards called *Matárem*. The lands of *Káli Niámat* were left in the possession of his sister, and those of *Demák* restored to his nephew. *Aria Pangiri* received the title of Sultan of *Demák*.

The province of *Mentáuk* or *Matárem*, at that period did not contain more than three hundred villages, scattered in different parts of the country. On the arrival of *Panambáhan* near *Brambánan*, he was received by the *Súnan Adi Jága*, who would not allow him to perform the usual ceremony of kissing his feet, thus by implication predicting the future greatness of his descendants. At *Páser Gédé*, then a wilderness, *Panambáhan* was duly installed, under the title of *Kiái Gédé Matárem*.

When the government of *Kiái Gédé Matárem* was fully established, he was desirous of obtaining his son from the prince *Pájang*, who had retained him as an adopted child, and feared to part with him, in consequence of the prophecy of which he was aware, predicting the future greatness of the descendants of *Jáka Sisíla*; but on the entreaties of the *Súnan Káli Jaga*, he consented to part with him, under a stipulation, upon oath, from *Panambáhan*, that he would not undertake any thing prejudicial to him during his lifetime.

In the year 1490, the chief of *Pájang*, from religious motives, paid a visit to *Súnan Gíri*, accompanied by *Kiái Gédé Matárem*, and a numerous retinue of chiefs and priests. He was mounted on an elephant, and assumed all the pomp which had been customary with the sultans of *Bintára*. On this occasion he was formally installed as sultan, in the presence of the chiefs of the eastern provinces. The *Súnan Gíri*, at the same time, noticing *Kiái Gédé Matárem*, and being informed of his descent, declared that his family would one day rule all Java, and urged the Sultan of *Pájang* to protect and befriend him.

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It was during this visit that the Sultan of *Pájang* gave orders for digging the extensive fish-ponds which are now preserved at *Grésik* for the *Ikan Bándang*.

On the return of *Kiái Gédé Matárem* to his capital, he called together his relations, and recommended to their kindness the forty friends who had accompanied him on his first coming to *Matárem*, and their descendants, enjoining them, on no account whatever, to shed their blood, whatever crime they might commit, but if necessary, to punish them in some other way. To this they most solemnly bound themselves; and from this period, strangling is said to have been introduced as a capital punishment among the Javans.

His son, now called *Mas Anghebái Súta Wijáya*, had an amour with the grand-daughter of *Sheik Wáli ben Húsen*, who was intended to become one of the concubines of Sultan *Pájang*. Upon her becoming pregnant, he fled first to *Chéribon*, where he implored protection from the Sultan, but to no purpose, and afterwards towards *Luánu*, where collecting the rabble of the country, he commenced hostilities against the chief. The Sultan of *Pájang*, however, at length offering him a pardon, on condition of his marrying the girl, he returned, and was again received into favour; but not before he had reduced the chief of *Luánu* to submission, and rendered that province tributary to *Matárem*.

The chiefs of *Surabáya*, *Grésik*, *Sidáyu*, *Túban*, *Wirasába*, *Pranarága*, *Kediri*, *Mádion*, *Blóra*, *Jipang*, and *Pasurúan*, declared themselves independent of the prince of *Madúra*, and elected *Pánji Wiría Kráma*, the *Adipáti* of *Surabáya*, who acted as *Widána* to Sultan *Pájang*, to be their chief. About the same time, *Sánta Gúná*, the chief of east *Balambángan*, with the assistance of auxiliaries from *Báli* and Celebes, again reduced the western districts of that province under his authority, subduing the principality of *Panarúkan* and expelling the prince and his followers.

Kiái Gédé Matárem died in the year 1497, after having, by his mild and equitable administration, converted the province of *Matárem*, from a wilderness into a fertile and populous country, and induced many of the surrounding districts voluntarily to submit to his authority.

The relations of the deceased appearing at the court of the

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Sultan of *Pájang*, he appointed his son, *Anghebái Súta Wijáya*, to succeed him as chief of *Matárem*, conferring upon him, at the same time, the command of all the troops of the empire, under the title of *Kiái Gédé Agung Senapáti Ingalága*, commonly distinguished by the single title of *Senapáti*, enjoining him annually to present himself at his court on the feast of *Múlut*.

It is noticed, that at this period the island was frequented by Portuguese and other European navigators, who had established factories at Bantam.

The ambition of the court of *Matárem* being kept alive by various predictions, dreams, and enchantments, by which *Senapàti* was promised the assistance of *Kiái Gédé Laut Kidúl* (the goddess of the great South Sea), who declared herself wedded to him, he was instigated to build an extensive *kráton* on the spot where his *dálàm* then stood.

He now placed guards at the limits of his territories, burnt some of the adjacent villages, and assumed an attitude of complete independence, subjecting by degrees many of the neighbouring districts. Ambassadors were immediately sent from *Pájang* to demand an explanation. They were in the first instance duped by the flattering manner in which they were received; but afterwards discovering the real state of affairs, and reporting it to the Sultan their master, he is represented as having called his son before him, and having said, "the will of Providence rules all events. *Senapáti* will "not, during my life, commence hostilities against me, but "after my death he will render you subject to him. Yield to "his power, on which depends your happiness and that of "your descendants." At length, however, the chiefs of *Túban* and *Demák*, apprehensive of the growing power of *Matárem*, prevailed upon him first to banish the *Tumung'gung Pájang*, as the instigator of this feud, and afterwards to send a considerable force against *Matárem*. The *Tumung'gung*, however, was rescued by forty chosen men dispatched by *Senapáti*, and a stratagem induced the forces of *Pájang* to retreat. The *Pájang* forces consisted of five thousand men, commanded by the Sultan's son: those of *Senapáti* did not exceed eight hundred. The latter seeing that it was rash to risk an engagement against such a superiority of numbers,

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particularly as the few troops he had raised on the emergency were altogether unexperienced and undisciplined, while those of *Pajáng* were in the highest order, halted at a short distance from *Brambánan*, where the enemy's forces were encamped. During the night he burned all the villages in the vicinity, and set fire to the reeds and long grass at some distance from *Brambánan*, and to the rear of the enemy's camp, by which means he persuaded them that the *Matárem* forces had taken their departure, in order to obtain *Pájang* by surprize.

During the succeeding night there was a heavy thunder storm, and on the following morning the mountain *Merbábu* burst with a dreadful explosion, throwing out ashes and large stones; the rivers overflowed their banks and inundated the low country, occasioning great confusion and destruction in the *Pájang* camp, and inducing the commander to retreat with his army forthwith to *Pájang*. Halting at the village *Tumpáit*, situated near *Kárbu Súru*, he visited the tomb of the *Pangéran* of that name, who was descended from *Abdálah*, the eldest son of *Ráden Pátah*. Here the sultan is said to have been informed of a prophecy which foretold the immediate downfall of *Pájang*, and to have fainted and fallen from his elephant in consequence.

Senapáti immediately bent his course to *Pájang*, where the sultan was again willing to receive him as his adopted son, and to pardon his past conduct; but a youth in the retinue of *Senapáti*, after first proposing to assassinate the sultan, a proposition to which *Senapáti* refused to listen, at last of his own accord succeeded in administering poison to him, of which he died. This happened, however, after the return of *Senapáti* to *Matárem*.

Being summoned by *Ráden Benáwa*, son of the deceased, *Senapáti* immediately repaired to *Pájang*, where he found already assembled *Pangéran Kúdus* and the principal chiefs of the country, who after the funeral proceeded to the election of a new sultan. *Senapáti* was for investing the son of the deceased with the authority enjoyed by his father, but the *Sánan Kúdus*, who though he had been the cause of his son's death, still breathed vengeance against the *Pájang* family, for the ignominious manner in which the punishment was carried into effect, opposed this nomination, and favouring

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the pretensions of Sultan *Démak*, that chief was duly proclaimed Sultan of *Pájang*, *Ráden Benáwa* being appointed chief of *Jípang*. From this period the different states which had acknowledged the supremacy of *Pájang* successively broke off from their allegiance.

The new Sultan of *Pájang* commenced his career by removing from office most of the *Pájang* chiefs, and replacing them by his adherents from *Demák*, which occasioned a general discontent. At last *Ráden Benáwa*, who was not inclined quietly to submit to the loss of his kingdom, succeeded in inducing *Senapáti* openly to adopt his cause, and join the forces which he could himself send from *Jípang* and the discontents of *Pájang*.

Senapáti accordingly marched against *Pájang*, and an engagement taking place, most of the troops deserted the sultan's cause, and the remainder, who continued faithful, were soon put to flight. *Ráden Benáwa*, alarmed at a dream, in which he heard a voice saying, " Every thing in life has a " beginning and an end, all worldly greatness is vanity, and " no man can call himself happy until his death; do you " always bear this in mind: " withdrew, and having followed the course of the *Sólo* river down to *Grésik*, proceeded thence to *Kendál*, where he attracted many followers by his irreproachable conduct. At last he settled on the mountain *Parákan*, where he was buried.

Senapáti, after this success, proceeded to carry the *kráton* by assault, and having entered the front gateway, the wife of the sultan came forth, entreating that her husband's life might be spared; but *Senapáti* reminding her that he was the friend of her father, and had nothing to fear, desired her instantly to produce her husband, which being complied with, he informed the sultan that the people of *Pájang* being displeased with him he could no longer remain sovereign, but that he and his followers might return to *Demák* as soon as they pleased, the sovereignty being now conferred on *Ráden Benáwa*.

Search was made for *Ráden Benáwa* without effect, but that chief was duly proclaimed as sultan, and the brother of *Senapáti* appointed to administer the country until his arrival.

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The retreat of *Ráden Benáwa* being at length discovered, and that chief declining to accept the government of *Pájang*, his brother *Pangéran Gája Búmi*, was appointed sultan in his room. The latter shortly after died, and was succeeded by the son of *Benáwa*, *Ráden Sidawíni*, on whom the title of *Pangéran Pájang* was conferred.

As soon as order was again restored, *Senapáti* returned to *Matárem*, carrying with him the saddle called *gatáya*, the head-dress called *máchang gúguh*, and a set of *gámelan* called *sekar dalíma*, which he had taken at the assault of *Pájang*, as trophies of his victory, together with the cannon called *niái stómi*, and all the insignia and ornaments of royalty, which had descended for the most part from the princes of *Pajajáran* and *Majapáhit*, and which are still preserved in the regalia of the princes of Java.

Senapáti, in consequence of these arrangements and the possession of the regalia, transferred the seat of empire to *Matárem*, and lost no time in raising his family to the highest dignities. Assuming himself the title of sultan, he elevated his nephews to the rank of *Pangérans*.

His ambitious views being now so far realized, he consulted the *Súnan Gíri*, wishing to obtain his opinion, whether the time for the complete fulfilment of the prophecy was not arrived. The *Súnan* replied, that if the Sultan of *Matárem* wished to be sovereign of the whole island of Java, it was essential that he should, in the first instance, bring the eastern provinces under subjection. In consequence of this reply, the sultan immediately collected his troops, trained them to the use of arms and regular discipline, and in the month of *mohárem* marched eastward.

The *Adipáti* of *Surabáya*, who had held the supreme authority over all the eastern districts, as *Widána* to the sultan of *Pájang*, no sooner heard of these preparations, than he directed all the subordinate chiefs with their forces to assemble at *Jípang*, there to await the arrival of the army from *Matárem;* but at the moment when a general engagement was about to take place between the two armies, an open letter was delivered to both chiefs from the *Súnan Gíri*, requesting them to desist, and proposing an arrangement, by which the eastern provinces were to become subject to

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Matárem, but to continue under the immediate administration of the *Adipáti*. This arrangement was agreed to by both parties, but the *Adipati* soon repented of it, who in consequence was preparing for hostilities, when an open rupture was again averted by the interference of the *Súnan Giri;* but soon after being joined by the forces of *Pranarága* and *Madion*, the *Adipáti* assembled his troops and marched to invade *Matárem*.

Senapáti no sooner heard of these hostile preparations, and that the *Adipáti* was levying the revenue of *Pájang*, than accompanied by his uncle, *Kiái Gédé Páti*, he marched towards *Madion*, and obtained possession of the *dálam*, the chief having previously fled with his son to *Surabáya*, leaving behind him a daughter whom *Senapáti* married. His uncle, displeased at his conduct, returned to *Páti;* but *Senapáti* prosecuted his march towards *Pasúruan*, with an intention to render himself master of that province.

The chief of *Pasúruan* was inclined to surrender at discretion, but was dissuaded from doing so by his *Páteh*. One day when *Senapáti* accompanied by only forty men of his body-guard, was reconnoitreing the enemy's camp, he met the *Páteh*, who had come out with a similar intention, when a skirmish taking place, the *Páteh* was wounded by a lance and fell to the ground. The sultan lifting him up and placing him on a mare, sent him back to the chief, with a letter tied round his neck. The chief no sooner saw him in this disgraceful predicament, than he repented of having taken his advice, and ordering his head to be immediately severed from his body, sent it to *Senapáti* in token of submission.

After this *Senapáti* returned to *Matárem*, where he married one of his daughters to the son of the late chief of *Madion*, and appointed him chief of *Jipang*.

Súra Manggála, a chief of *Kediri*, was now willing to submit to the authority of *Matárem*, but *Senapáti* returned no other answer to his messenger, than that it was his intention to march at the next *mohárem*, when it would be the duty of *Súra Manggála* to surrender that province. Accordingly, in the month of *mohárem*, an army proceeded against *Kediri:* the *Matárem* forces were successful, and the chief and his three brothers submitted. *Senapáti* was so pleased with the

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conduct of *Súra Mang'gála* on this occasion, that he appointed him to the command of the *Matárem* troops.

This chief, better known by the name of *Senapáti Bálek*, served the sultan of *Matárem* with great ability and fidelity. He gained numerous victories, brought all the western provinces, as far as *Chéribon*, to acknowledge the supremacy of *Matárem*, limiting the authority of that chief within the rivers of *Losári* and *Indramáyu*. He is said to have removed the mud wall which surrounded the *kráton* of *Matárem*, and built in its stead a strong wall of stone. He was at last killed in a desperate engagement with the eastern people, which took place in *Pájang*, in which however the *Matárem* troops were successful.

Shortly after the death of this chief, *Senapáti* received intelligence of hostile preparations against *Matárem* being made by his uncle, *Kiái Gédé Páti*. He accordingly proceeded to meet him, accompanied by all his sons and a numerous army. After a long and a desperate action, the *Matárem* forces were again successful, and the sultan returned to *Matárem*, with the wives, children, and all the valuables of his uncle.

His son, *Pangéran Séda Krápiak*, being wounded on this occasion, the sultan published a proclamation, declaring that prince to be his successor after his death, by the title of *Panambahan Senapáti*.

The continued opposition of the eastern people, however, and the revolt of *Kediri* and *Pasúruan*, obliged him again to take the field, when finding the numbers and strength of the enemy far superior to his own, he conducted an able but slow retreat to his capital, and during the whole course of his reign found it impracticable to subject these provinces to his authority. To the provinces, however, of *Matárem*, *Bágelen*, *Bányumas*, *Pájang* and *Jípang*, which descended to him from his father, he added those of *Páti*, *Kúdus*, *Semáráng*, *Kendál*, and *Kaliwúng'u*.

The days of *Sénapati*, the founder of the *Matárem* empire, and of the dynasty which still retains a nominal rule on Java, were now brought to a close, after a reign of continued warfare. As the founder of the last native empire on Java, his memory is naturally held in high estimation; but he is also respected for the discipline he introduced into his army,

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and the valour, ability, and noble-mindedness which he displayed throughout. With the Javans he is considered as another Alexander, and he is the first in their modern history who is considered to have understood the art of war.

He was succeeded, in the year 1524, by his son, since called *Séda Krápiak*, from the place of his interment, but who during his reign, bore the title of *Panambákan Senapáti*. The succession was, however, opposed by his elder brother, *Pangéran Púger*, who did not attend to kiss the sovereign's feet, as customary, on the day following his installation. This chief proceeding to hostilities, was soon taken prisoner near *Ungárang*. He was banished to *Kúdus*, and his minister was put to death, which offended one of his younger brothers, *Jajarága*, so much, that he instantly quitted *Matárem* and proceeded to *Pranarága*, of which province he had formerly been appointed chief, with an intention of stirring up a rebellion in the distant provinces; but the sultan obtaining information of it, secured his person and banished him also. He was shortly afterwards pardoned and permitted to return.

It was during this reign that the Dutch and English first visited Java.

This prince reduced the provinces of *Madion* and *Pranarága*, and built a palace, the walls of which are still standing at *Krapiak*, a place at the foot of a range of hills lying along the South Sea, a short distance from *Matárem*. He died after a reign of twelve years, esteemed on account of the general tranquillity which prevailed after the firm establishment of his government.

He was succeeded by his eldest son, named *Panambáhan Merta Púra*, in the year 1540; but this prince not being able to conduct the government, on account of his infirm state of health, or more probably removed by the intrigues of his family, who declared him to be insane, made way for his younger brother, who was raised to the throne in the following year.

This prince, distinguished by the title of *Agung*, or the great, commenced a flourishing reign by a signal victory over the *Surabáyan* and *Madurese* forces, by which he brought the eastern provinces of *Mâlang*, *Untung*, *Jápan*, *Wirasába*, *Pasúruan* and *Surabáya*, under subjection; and following up

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his success, subdued all the eastern provinces, as far as *Balambángan*. Dissensions arising at this period between the people of Bantam and those of the *Súnda* districts, the chief of *Súmedang* applied to *Matárem* for assistance; and being invested by the sultan with the chief authority over those districts, soon brought the whole of the western chiefs, alarmed at the approach of *Matárem* arms, to acknowledge his supremacy. A force was now sent to *Madúra*, and that island being conquered was united to his dominion, which then extended through all Java and Madúra. An enemy, more powerful than any with whom he had been accustomed to contend, and destined to strip his posterity of all but the semblance of sovereignty, now appeared. The Dutch, availing themselves of the divisions and convulsions by which the empire had been previously distracted, had established themselves at *Jákatra*.

On their first arrival at Bantam, the prince of that country was absent on an expedition against *Palémbang*, which country, as well as a great part of the north and west coast of Sumatra, was then subject to his sway. They found the influence of the Portuguese, who had previously established a factory there, on the decline, and with little difficulty entered into a treaty with the chief, on whom the administration of the country was provisionally conferred during the absence of the prince. By this treaty, the contracting parties agreed to trade honestly and fairly with each other, and to afford mutual assistance in case of being attacked by an enemy.

Complaints, however, were soon made of the high tone which the Dutch assumed, and of the insolence of their menaces. Hostilities ensued, and according to the Dutch account, upwards of a hundred of the natives were killed or wounded. The consequence was, that they were obliged to quit Bantam. Touching at *Jákatra*, *Japára*, *Túban*, and *Sidáyu*, they had an affair with the Madurese, but ill calculated to make an impression in their favour. The prince of that country, anxious to pay his respects to the Europeans, requested, through his interpreter, to be permitted to visit the principal person among them, and an arrangement was accordingly made that he should be received on board a particular ship. As the prince left the shore with his suite, accom-

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panied by their women and children, the Hollanders became alarmed at the appearance of so numerous an assemblage, and observing that they did not appear to be proceeding direct to the ship pointed out for their reception, discharged three guns. The terror occasioned by the report threw the procession into the utmost confusion, all the people in the boats falling as if killed. The crews of the other European vessels taking these guns as a signal for action, threw themselves with such impetuosity upon the native boats, that out of this numerous assemblage only twenty-one are said to have escaped. Among the slain was the prince, and his interpreter or high priest, and their bodies, as soon as discovered, were thrown with indignity into the sea.

It is remarkable, that the leading traits which distinguish the subsequent administration of the Dutch on Java (a haughty assumption of superiority, for the purpose of overawing the credulous simplicity of the natives, and a most extraordinary timidity, which led them to suspect treachery and danger, in quarters where they were least to be apprehended) were manifested in their earliest transactions in this quarter. On their first arrival at Bantam, we find the clerks of their trading vessels styling themselves captains; and such was the state and consequence assumed by Houtman, the chief of the expedition, who took the title of Captain Major, that a Portuguese, who had known him before, asked him significantly if he had been created *a duke* since he last saw him. The murder of the unfortunate prince of *Madúra* and his followers (for it can be called by no other term) was as detestable and unjustifiable as the subsequent massacre of the unfortunate and unoffending Chinese in the streets of Batavia. In neither case was there a plea to palliate the crying guilt, but such a degree of danger, as the basest cowardice could alone be sensible of.

This aggression did not pass unpunished, for the Dutch Admiral having allowed some of his men to land near *Arosbáya*, then the capital of the island, they were seized by the Madurese, and their enlargement was not effected without the loss of many lives and the payment of a liberal ransom.

Bantam was already a place of considerable trade: Chinese, Arabs, Persians, Moors, Turks, Malabars, Peguans, and in a

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word, merchants from all nations were established there. The principal produce for the European market was pepper. With this province the Dutch renewed their commerce in the year 1598 A. D., and four years afterwards they obtained permission to establish a factory there. In the following year, accordingly, they erected a permanent building, and formed a commercial establishment. At this time they had granted passes to the vessels belonging to the chief of *Túban;* and, in 1609, they left an agent at *Grésik*. A second treaty was now entered into with the king of Bantam, in which the States General stipulated to assist him against foreign invaders, particularly Spaniards and Portuguese; and the king on his side agreed to make over to the Dutch a good and strong fort, a free trade, and security for their persons and property, *without paying any duties or taxes*, and to allow no other European nation to trade or reside in his territories. The Dutch observing the serious differences which occurred among the chiefs of Bantam during the minority of the sovereign, made overtures, in the same year, to the prince of *Jákatra*, and removed to that province soon after.

In 1612, a convention was entered into between them and the prince of *Jákatra*, by which a free trade was allowed to them, together with an eligible place to reside at; both parties contracting to assist each other in war on the territory of *Jákatra*. It was moreover stipulated, that all goods should pay duty, except such as were imported in Dutch ships, or Chinese junks; and that the prince should prohibit the Spaniards and Portuguese from trading with his dominions.

On the 19th January, 1619, a further treaty was made with the same prince, confirming the former contracts, and stipulating that the fort should remain in its present state until the arrival of the Governor General, and that the English should be obliged to build their factory, and the other nations their houses, at a certain distance from the fort; but on the 1st of February following, in consequence of the success of the English, who had espoused the cause of the native chiefs, we find a convention entered into by the prince of *Jákatra*, the commanding officer of the English, and the commandant of the Dutch fort, by which the latter promised to deliver over

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the fort to the English, and the treasure, merchandize, &c. to the prince: the English agreeing to furnish the Dutch garrison with a ship and a safe conduct for six months.

On the 11th March, a contract was entered into between the king of Bantam and the commissioners of the Dutch Company, still in the fort of *Jákatra*, whereby the former promised to protect the Dutch against all hostile attempts, and to permit the re-establishment of a free trade on its former footing. The Dutch, on their part, agreed to keep the fort in good order, and to abandon the same on the arrival of their ships, when they would also deliver to the king (in return for the protection he afforded them) one-fourth of the Company's property, and one-half of the ordnance, &c.

In consequence, however, of the arrival of reinforcements from Europe, under Koen, and of the political understanding which then existed between the English and Dutch nations, the Dutch still maintained their ground, and in the month of August following laid the foundation of their establishment at *Jákatra* on an extensive scale. They had previously, in the years 1618 and 1619, plundered and laid in ashes the town of *Japára*, because the chief of that province had, in the former year, taken possession of the factory, made prisoners of the Dutch, and sent them into the interior.

The Javan historians considering the Dutch in thelight of other foreign nations, who were in the habit of trading to the sea coasts, do not furnish us with any information concerning the disputes which took place at Bantam, or in the first instance at *Jákatra*. Even in their accounts of the occasion of the first hostilities which took place with the sultan of *Matárem*, they convey rather a notion of what is the general impression regarding the first establishment of the Dutch, than any particulars calculated to throw light on the history of that period. "The Dutch," say they, "before they arrived at *Jákatra*, had formed an alliance with the sultan of Bantam. They subsequently treated with the English, and with *Pangéran Jokárta;* but in a short time they found the way to play off a foul stratagem on the latter. In the first place, when they wished to ascertain the strength and resources of *Jákatra*, they landed like *máta-mátas* (peons or messengers), the captain of the ship disguising himself with a

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turban, and accompanying several *Khójas* (a term by which the natives of the Coromandel coast are distinguished). When he had made his observations, he entered upon trade, offering however much better terms than were just, and making more presents than were necessary. A friendship thus took place between him and the prince: when this friendship was established, the captain informed the prince that his ship wanted repair; and the prince, at his request, allowed the vessel to be brought up the river. There the captain knocked out the planks of the bottom and sunk the vessel, to obtain a pretence for farther delay, and then requested a very small piece of ground, on which he might build a shed, to store the sails and other property, while endeavours should be made to raise the vessel. This request was also complied with. The captain then made a wall or mound of mud, so that nobody could know what he was doing, and in the mean time courted the friendship of the prince. He afterwards waited on the prince, and requested as much more land as could be covered by a buffalo's hide, on which he might build a small *póndok*. This being complied with, he cut the hide into strips, and claimed all the land he could enclose with them. To this also the prince, after some hesitation, consented. The captain then went on with his buildings, engaging that he would pay all expenses. When the fort was finished, the mud wall was removed; batteries were unexpectedly displayed, and under their protection the Dutch refused to pay a *doit*. War then commenced, in which the Dutch were reduced to such an extremity, as to be obliged to use stones in lieu of balls, which were expended. Even this resource failed; and, as a last expedient, bags of the filthiest ordure were fired upon the Javans, whence the fort has ever since borne the name of *Kóta tái*."

Such is the aversion of the Javans for the *Khójas*, as well on account of their general character as of their conduct on this occasion, that it is a proverb among them, "If you meet "a snake and a *Khoja* in the same road, kill the *Khoja* first, "and afterwards the snake."

Another account is as follows. "The Dutch having obtained the desired spot built on it a store-house, and formed a garden for vegetables. When *Pangéran Jokárta* inquired

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why they did this, they replied, they must have their conveniences, and that it was not the custom of the Dutch to live and eat like the Javans. The *Pangéran* was satisfied with the reason given, and allowed the work to proceed; but they had no sooner completed several buildings, by means of the people landed from their ships, than they began to surround them with a battery. The *Pangéran* again was roused, and inquired the reason of this, to which they replied, that there were a great many traders about to arrive, and that it was necessary to protect their property from thieves. When the batteries were completed they planted cannon in them: the *Pangéran* inquired the reason of this preparation, to which they only replied, it was to keep off bad people.

"In a short time, however, when the Dutch had increased in numbers, they fired one of the guns, and the ball discharged from it fell in front of the *Pangéran's* palace. The *Pangéran* inquired why they did so, to which they replied, they were only trying how far the gun would carry, in order that they might be able to assist the *Pangéran*, should he be attacked by an enemy. The *Pangéran*, however, was not satisfied with this reason, and demanded a fine of two thousand dollars for the insult, which the Dutch immediately paid. But it was not long before they fired another gun, the ball of which went over the palace, on which the *Pangéran* became highly incensed, and demanded a fine of four thousand dollars, threatening if it was not paid forthwith, to write to the sultan of *Matárem*, who would order them immediately to be driven from the island. To this menace the Dutch said nothing, but paid the money, which the *Pangéran* received with delight. The Dutch, at last, fired a gun, the ball of which fell within the palace, on which the *Pangéran* conceiving it to be their intention to attack him, immediately considered them as enemies, and collected his people, in order to fall upon them and destroy them without delay. As soon as the Dutch saw the people thus assembled, they fired from their batteries, dealing slaughter all around, and obliged the *Pangéran* and his people to retreat out of the reach of the shot."

While these events were in progress in the western provinces, a serious revolt took place in the central and eastern districts, in consequence of the intrigues of *Aria Mandúra*, the favourite and chief minister of the sultan, who by means

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of his treacherous conduct to the chief of *Pájang*, had obtained the administration of that province for himself. The chiefs of *Madúra* and *Surabáya* availing themselves of the disturbance thus occasioned at *Pájang*, declared their independence of *Matárem*, and were not reduced to subjection till two armies had been sent to the eastward against them.

Not long afterwards, the chief of *Surabáya*, *Tumúnggung Sapánjang*, having refused to give up two beautiful horses which the sultan demanded of him, an army was sent to compel his obedience; but the chief being reinforced from *Madúra*, repulsed the *Matárem* forces, obliging them to return to their capital.

The sultan, who had hitherto shown himself anxious to maintain a good understanding with the Dutch, and consented to their enjoying a free trade to the different parts of Java, with permission to establish a factory at *Japára*, is represented as having acted upon their advice in the present juncture, in marching to the eastward in person with his whole forces; but they no sooner saw him undertake the expedition, than availing themselves of the opportunity, they took possession of *Jákatra*.

He immediately sent two armies against them, under the command of *Tumúnggung Wíra Kusúma*, and a battle ensued, in which the Javan chief, with about ten thousand of his followers, were either slain or drowned in the river *Chilúang*. *Tumúnggung Náta Jawána* coming up afterwards, collected the fugitives, and joining them with his forces surrounded the town. He posted troops on all the roads towards the south and west, at the distance of cannon-shot from the town, at the same time cutting channels to lead off the streams by which the Dutch were supplied. After an unsuccessful attack made by the chiefs *Mandúra Réja* and *Wíla Tíkta*, for which they were put to death by their commander, a sally was made on the part of the besieged with so much success, that *Tumúnggung Jawána* determined to break up with his army, and no further attempt against the Dutch was made until the year 1629, A. D.

" In this year a second army from *Matárem*, composed of Javans and Madurese, appeared before Batavia. The siege lasted for a considerable time, and the assaults on the town and fort, as well as the sallies of the besieged, were very

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bloody. Anxious to know the fate of his army, the sultan dispatched his uncle, *Pangéran Purbáya*, to Batavia, to obtain information. This chief having destroyed the Dutch factory at *Japára*, embarked in a swift sailing *práhu* of the size of the trunk of the largest teak tree, which when seen at a distance looked like a serpent on the sea. On reaching the bay of Batavia, *Purbáya* perceived three ships at anchor. Two of them, after firing upon him, were sunk, and notwithstanding the fire from the third he brought his *práhu* safe up to *Jákatra*, when he was fired upon from the fort. On this *Purbáya* with three followers landed from the *práhu*, and passing like a shadow to the Dutch fort, which he touched with his hands, proceeded on to the Javan lines, where he informed them that he had come by order of the sultan, to give them a proof how near they might approach the Dutch fort. He then hastened back to *Matárem* and reported the disastrous state of the war, on which the sultan withdrew his forces to *Kaliwúngu*."

The Dutch sent an ambassador with rich presents, and the war ended in the Javan year 1551.

During the latter part of this prince's reign the country appears to have enjoyed tranquillity, the only two occasions in which it was disturbed being the revolt of the chiefs of *Balambángan* and *Súmedang*, which may be considered as the extreme points of the *Matárem* dominion, *Jákatra* and *Bántam* having been effectually separated from them.

Sultan *Agung* is represented, even by the Dutch, as a well informed and enlightened prince. He extended his dominion not only over all Java and *Madúra*, but carried his conquests to *Lándak* and other states on Borneo. He died in the Javan year 1568, and was succeeded by his son, *Pangéran Aria Prábu*, or *Aria Matárem*, then twenty-six years of age.

This prince, on account of his mother being a princess of *Chéribon*, succeeded, to the prejudice of his elder brother: he held his court at *Pléret*, and is represented as the most severe and tyrannical of Javan sovereigns. During a visit made by the chief of *Chéribon* to *Matárem*, he received the distinction of *Abdul Ráchman Sahiden*, in addition to the title of *Susúnan Amangkúrat Senapáti Ingalága*, which he had

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assumed on his accession. On this occasion it is stated, that he again conferred on the sultan of *Chéribon* all the eastern districts of the island to the westward of *Túgu*, the supposed limit of the *Majapáhit* empire, that is to say the districts of *Brébes*, *Tegál*, *Pamálang*, *Ulujámi*, *Wiradésa*, *Pakalóng'an*, *Bátang*, *Kendál*, and *Kaliwúngu*. The Dutch had already firmly established their capital at Batavia, and secured an influence in many of the former dependencies of Java, particularly at *Sukadána* on Borneo and *Palembang* on Sumatra.

During the troubled reign of this prince, the Dutch appear first to have entered into a written agreement with the acknowledged sovereigns of Java. A treaty was ratified at Batavia in the second year after his accession, on the 24th September 1646, the conditions of which were that the *Susuhúnan* should be informed annually, by an ambassador, of the nature of the curiosities which had arrived from Europe; that all priests, or other persons, whom he might be desirous of sending to foreign countries, should be conveyed thither in the Company's ships; that all persons who should desert to either country, for the purpose of evading their debts, should be given up; that the Company and the *Susuhúnan* should assist each other against their common enemies; that the vessels of the *Susuhúnan's* subjects should be allowed to trade to all places under the Company's authority, except *Ambon*, *Banda*, and *Ternáté*, and that those bound to *Malácca*, or places situated to the northward of that settlement, should be obliged to touch at Batavia and to apply for passes.

A treaty was also entered into on the 10th July 1659, between the Dutch and the sultan of Bantam, through the mediation of the ambassadors of the *Pangéran* of *Jámbi*, in which it was stipulated, that all prisoners of war and deserters should be mutually restored, with the exception, on the part of the sultan, of those who had embraced the Mahomedan faith more than three months previous to that date, those who had submitted to circumcision since that date to be sent back, or if slaves and unwilling to return, the sultan to pay the value of them to their masters: that the Dutch should, as heretofore, have a permanent residence at Bantam, for which purpose the same building was to be given which

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they had occupied before the war, free of rent, and this building to be secured, at the sultan's expense, against any hostile attempts: that the river of *Untung Jáwa* should form the boundary of the Bantam territory.

Certain provisions were made also to prevent illicit trading.

Shortly after his accession, the chief of *Balambángan*, aided by forces from *Báli*, again revolted, and an army was sent against him. The troops, however, were no sooner set in motion, than a plot was concerted against the prince's life, with the knowledge of his younger brother, *Alit;* but intelligence of it being communicated to the prince, *Aria Salíngsing*, who had been the instigator of the plot, was with his son beheaded, on the spot where a new *kráton* was erecting. On the intercession of *Pangerán Purbáya*, the prince was disposed to be lenient to his brother, as well on account of his age as a strong affection which he bore towards him. Ascending the royal eminence, the prince ordered the heads of the parties to be brought, and summoning his brother *Alit* into his presence, placed the heads before him, saying, "behold the reward of "those who have attempted to overthrow my authority. "Bring before me without delay all your followers." The *Pangéran* immediately retired, and not knowing what was to be the result, immediately assembled all his adherents and attendants, and informed them of what had passed, when they unanimously agreed to *amók* the *Susúnan's* party, urging that, as soon as the *Matárem* people saw them commence to *amók*, they would join them. The *Pangéran*, who was quite a youth, gave into the plan, and they forthwith proceeded to the *alun alun*, where they were not joined by a single man of the *Matárem* people. They however commenced *amók*, and the people fled in every direction, until *Pangéran Chákra Níngrat* of *Madúra* approached *Alit*, kissed his feet, telling him it was the order of the prince, who was aware of this proceeding, that his person should be seized, but on no account wounded or hurt, and implored him to surrender; but *Alit*, disregarding his proposal, drew his *kris* and stabbed the *Pangéran*, who died on the spot. The Madurese, who witnessed this scene, immediately fell upon *Alit*, who was soon dispatched. The *Susúnan* was deeply affected at the loss of his brother,

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and in the violence of his agitation, on receiving the account of what had passed, wounded himself in the left arm; and from this period, the Javan historians state, "that he never "forgave an offence however trifling. When he was unhappy, "he always put to death those who were the cause of his un-"happiness, and on the slightest occasions was subject to the "most violent gusts of anger."

It is related that the prince evinced great sorrow for the loss of his brother, and that when the time of mourning had expired, he wreaked his vengeance on the supposed authors of this calamity, by a massacre unparalleled in the annals of the country. A rigorous investigation was instituted to ascertain the abettors and accomplices in this attack against the prince's life, and for this purpose a commission was appointed under the direction of his favourites. The chiefs of the four quarters of the capital were directed to inscribe the names of all the priests within their respective divisions, under pretext that the prince intended to confer certain marks of distinction upon those who resided at *Matárem*, but in fact to prevent their escape; for no sooner were the registers made than a cannon was fired from the palace, as a signal to commence the slaughter, and within less than half an hour all the priests, whether guilty or innocent, with their wives and children, amounting to upwards of six thousand souls, were inhumanly and indiscriminately butchered.

On the following morning when the *Susúnan* appeared in public, he seemed much agitated, and remained without saluting his courtiers or uttering a word for the space of an hour. He then addressed himself to his uncle *Purbáya*, saying that the priests, who ought to have set an example to others, had conspired against his life; and to cover the atrocity of the massacre, he brought forward three or four priests, who had been purposely saved from the general slaughter, and from whom it was easy to obtain whatever evidence best suited his purpose.

In the war against *Balambángan*, although the *Matárem* forces were successful in obtaining possession of the capital, the chief and his principal adherents fled to *Báli*. *Wíra Gúna* was anxious to follow them; but a serious illness breaking out among the troops, he was obliged to withdraw them,

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and retreat with the few who had survived, in number not exceeding a thousand. On reaching *Kediri*, intelligence was sent to *Matárem* of the failure of the expedition, when the *Susúnan* immediately ordered the chief, *Wira Gúna*, with all his family, to be put to death, under the pretext of punishing his want of success, but in reality to satisfy a revenge, which he had long been anxious to gratify against this chief, on account of his having, during the life-time of his father, preferred a complaint against him for carrying off one of his concubines.

It is said that the father of his first *rátu* (queen) having a pet fowl, which had been produced from a jungle hen and a domestic cock, brought it as a curiosity into the *kráton* and gave it to the *Susúnan*. The *Susúnan* conceiving it to be an omen, that as soon as the *Pangéran Adipáti* became of age he would quickly obtain the throne, assembled his *pengáwa* and informed them of his apprehensions. The *Pangéran* on hearing of it, immediately called all his family together, to the number of sixty persons, who, on the first day that the *Susúnan* appeared in public, sat themselves down in tears under the *waringen* tree. The *Susúnan* inquiring their object, they called God and the Prophet to witness, that they were innocent of the bare thought of any thing which should alarm the mind of the *Susúnan*, and intreated that, if he anticipated sorrow or misfortune from them, he would put them to death immediately, and avert the apprehended calamity. The *Susúnan* desired them not to listen to people who told them such stories, and retired. Some time afterwards, the *Pangéran Adipáti* fell desparately in love with a young woman, who from her infancy had been brought up under an aged *mántri* for the royal embrace. Becoming dangerously ill on her account, he at length communicated the cause to his grandfather, *Pangéran Pákik*, who prevailed on the *mántri* to part with her for two thousand rings, one thousand dollars, and a *káti* of gold. The youug pair were immediately married. As soon, however, as the *Susúnan* became apprized of the transaction, he caused his son, the *Pangéran Adipáti*, to appear before him with his young bride, and then directed him, in his presence, to stab her to death. He afterwards

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banished his son, and sentenced the *Pangéran Pákik*, with all his family, to capital punishment; and this aged chief, with his wife, *Rátu Pándan*, and his relations, to the number of forty, were accordingly put to death on the *alun alun*.

It is even related, among the atrocities committed by this prince, that he violated his own daughter, *Rátu Bráwa*, who was affianced to the son of *Panambáhan Giri Láya* of *Chéribon*, and that on the death of one of his wives, *Rátu Pamálang*, he confined sixty of her attendants in a dark room, and deprived them of food until they all died.

The injustice and severity of the *Susúnan* became still greater as he advanced in years. His fits of anger became more frequent, and the day and night were employed in barbarous executions. Life enjoyed no security: every one was upon his guard, and fears and apprehensions wrought among people of the highest and the lowest rank. At length the attention of the chiefs having been directed to the *Pangéran Adipáti*, who had evinced a kind disposition in the presents he was continually making to the poor, they implored him to assume the government; and the young prince, entering into their views, formed an agreement with the celebrated chief, *Trúna Jáya*, who was the nephew of the *Bopáti* of *Madúra*, *Chákra Níngrat*. It was by these means arranged, that while *Chákra Níngrat* was at *Matárem*, *Trúna Jáya* should forthwith proceed to *Madúra*, and there heading the Madurese and the people of the eastern provinces, first rear the standard of rebellion, while the young prince himself, to preserve appearances, should remain at the court of his father, in seeming ignorance of what was going on. No sooner had *Trúna Jáya*, in prosecution of this plan, declared the independance of *Madúra*, than there arrived at *Pasúruan* a considerable force from *Makásar*, headed by *Dáin Galéngsong* and *Dáin Manápok*. An army sent against them from *Matárem* was repulsed, and the provinces of *Pásúruan*, *Probolíngo*, *Wirasába*, and *Jápan*, submitted to their arms.

The first establishment of the Makásars in Java, appears to have taken place A. D. 1675, when a chief from Celebes, named *Kráin Monte-maráni*, with numerous followers, left his country in discontent and settled in Java, to the eastward

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of *Surabáya*, near *Besúki*, where he collected all the vagabonds of the country, and committed great depredations by sea and land.

In this dilemma, and finding himself unequal either to dislodge the Makásar establishment or to reduce the Madurese to submission, the *Susúnan* dispatched his son, *Pangérán Púgar*, to the Dutch, A. D. 1676, with various presents, soliciting their aid.

A second army was immediately assembled, and directed to proceed by the route of *Japára*, where, according to the Javan accounts, the chiefs had instructions to ask the assistance of all the white people who had factories there, Dutch, French, and Portuguese, and in case of refusal, to drive them from the country. On this occasion the Dutch commandant at *Japára* is represented as having said, " that this application on the part of the *Susúnan*, was what the Dutch had " been long anxious for, and that he was ready to obey his " orders and sacrifice his life in his service."

This army was not more successful than the former in reducing the revolted provinces to submission; but by the aid of the Dutch, who had embarked a considerable force from *Japára*, the Makásar chief was driven from his post: all the wounded were brought to *Japára*. They also saved the body of their chief, *Pra Wira Trúna*, who was killed on the occasion, and sent it to *Matárem*.

It appears that the assistance sent by the Dutch on this occasion, consisted of four ships and several smaller vessels with troops, which were reinforced at *Japára* by the *Susúnan's* troops and vessels. " Having arrived to the northward of *Madúra*, they landed the troops, during the night, in the forest, and in the morning sent a present to the Makásar chief, requesting his permission to take in fresh water, of which they stood in need, alleging it to be their intention to depart immediately. This request being granted, the guns were landed, and batteries thrown up behind the water-casks. An attack was then made upon the enemy's works, and in a few days the whole were demolished, the chief, *Krain Montemaráni* killed, and numerous prisoners taken."

On this intelligence reaching *Matárem*, the *Susúnan* assembled all his family and chiefs, and directed another

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attack to be made upon the hostile forces. A third army was soon assembled at *Japára*, where the Dutch were ready to join them: in the mean time, however, *Trúna Jáya* formed an alliance with the Makásars.

The *Pangéran Adipáti*, who was appointed to a command in this army, had charge of the rear division, which he had so arranged as to be able to act as emergency might require; but he was soon released from his doubts, for *Trúna Jáya* forgetting the agreement which he had entered into with this prince, no sooner saw himself thus successful in the eastern provinces, than he assumed the sovereignty himself, and caused himself to be installed, under the title of *Prábu Máduréta Senapáti Ingalága*, and confirmed his alliance with the Makásars by giving his daughter in marriage to their chief, *Dáin Galéngsong*.

The conditions of this alliance are said to have been, that *Trúna Jáya* should be placed on the throne of *Matárem*, *Dain Galéngsong* appointed chief of *Surabáya* and *Pasúruan*, *Dain Manápok*, chief of the eastern and western districts of *Balambángan*, and *Sheik Kajúran*, a crafty Arab chief of *Madúra*.

After a desperate engagement, the forces of *Trúna Jáya* were again successful. As a last effort, therefore, the venerable *Pangéran Purbáyá*, uncle of the *Susúnan* and nearly eighty years of age, summoned all the chiefs to follow him, and going himself into the field of battle, performed extraordinary feats of valour, till his horse having been shot under him, and having himself for some time fought on foot, he was overpowered, and his scattered forces compelled to retreat towards *Matárem*.

Trúna Jáya being now in full possession of *Surabáya* and the eastern districts, pursued his success as far as *Japára*. Here, however, he was effectually resisted by the chief, *Angébái Wángsa-dípa* and the Dutch, and obliged to retreat.

As another division of his army, under *Ráden Dánang Wichána*, rapidly approached *Matárem*, the *Susúnan* again applied to the Dutch, who sent one of the members of government, Admiral Speelman, to assist him with a considerable force by land and sea. The admiral left Batavia in December, 1676, A. D., and shortly appeared before *Chéribon*, reducing

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to submission the coast districts from thence to *Japára*. The fruit of this success, on the part of the Dutch, was the contract of February 1677, of which the chief stipulations were:—that the *Susúnan* and Dutch should assist each other against their common enemies, on condition that the expenses of the war should be repaid by the party assisted: that the Dutch jurisdiction at Batavia should extend to the *Kráwang* river, and the Javans living to the westward of a line drawn from that river to the southern shore, should be considered on the Dutch territory: that the Dutch should be allowed to export and import all species of goods and merchandize duty free, and to establish a factory on any spot which they might deem convenient: that Makásars, Maláyus, and Moormen, who had not Dutch passes, should not be permitted to trade or settle in the states of the *Susúnan:* that the *Susúnan* should engage to reimburse the Dutch for the expense incurred in assisting him against the Makásars and Madurese, amounting to two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and three thousand lasts of rice, deliverable at Batavia: that in the event of a peace being concluded between his highness and his enemies, through the mediation of the Dutch, his highness should abide by their decision; but, that if no accommodation was effected by the 30th July following, he should pay to the Dutch monthly the sum of twenty thousand reals, for the expenses of the war: that the Dutch should station an adequate force on *Japára* hill, in order to preserve that place for the *Susúnan*, which force was also to be maintained at the expense of his highness.

Admiral Speelman was invested by the *Susúnan* with full powers to act against the Madurese and Makásars, and to conclude such treaties with them as he should deem proper, without any restriction whatsoever, and all the *Susúnan's* subjects were commanded to join the standard of the admiral wherever he might arrive.

In May following the allied forces of the Dutch and the *Susúnan* gained a victory over *Trúna Jáya*, who was obliged to fly to *Kedíri*, leaving behind him upwards of a hundred pieces of cannon.

At length, the enemy being still in possession of all the central provinces, and the trifling force which it was in the

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power of the *Susúnan* to raise being defeated in every skirmish, fear and dismay struck the remnant of the *Matárem* forces; and the invading army having subdued *Pájang*, were entering *Matárem*, when the *Susúnan*, seeing no hope for safety except in flight, assembled his family in the dead of the night, and collecting the regalia, quitted his capital with his four sons, and mounted on an elephant, took a westerly direction. This was in the Javan year 1600.

On the next day (June 1677) the hostile troops entered *Matárem*, when a force was immediately detached in pursuit of the fugitive prince, who had pushed on to the *Kéndang* hills, and halted at *Kájinar*, with an intention of making a stand. Hearing of the strength of the pursuing force, however, he left his family at that place, and proceeded with only his son, the *Pangéran Adípáti*, to the village *Pasirámán*, where being seized with a mortal complaint he soon died. On his death-bed, informing his son that he felt his end approaching, he thus addressed him: "You must assume the "sovereignty of Java, which has descended to you from your "forefathers. Make friends with the Dutch, and by their "assistance you may be enabled to reduce the eastern pro-"vinces to submission. I deliver over to you part of the "sacred *pusáka* and regalia of the country; and now let my "body be carried to a spot where the earth is fragrant, and "there let it be buried."

In conformity with the wish of the deceased his body was carried across the country towards *Tegál*, in search of a spot where the earth was sweet-scented, and deposited a few miles inland from the town. The tomb is still held in high veneration; and it is from this circumstance that this prince is distinguished by the appellation of *Susúnan Tegál-wáng'i*, or *Tegál-árum*; *árum* and *wáng'i* signifying fragrant.

The rebel forces had, in the mean time, taken possession of *Matárem*, and found among the articles of plunder the crown of *Majapáhit*, with several other parts of the regalia, which had been left behind in the hasty departure of the prince, together with two of his daughters, named *Keleting Wúng'u* and *Keleting Kúning*. The plunder was immediately dispatched to *Kediri*, where the rebel chiefs had established their head quarters, and equally divided between *Trúng Jáya*

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and *Dain Galéngsong*, with the exception of the regalia and of the daughters of the *Susúnan*, whom *Trúna Jáya* espoused.

The loss on the side of the *Matárem* people is estimated at fifteen thousand killed, and on the side of the eastern people at somewhat less.

It is said in some accounts that the late *Susúnan* having failed to persuade his son, *Pangéran Adipáti*, to assume the government, gave to another of his sons, *Pangéran Púgar*, the *pusáka kris*, *máisa núlar*, and the spear *kiái paléret*, in consequence of which *Pangéran Púgar*, with his brothers, returned to *Bágelen*, where, assuming the title of *Susúnan Senapáti Ingalága Abdul Ráchmen Sahídin Panatagáma*, he assembled a considerable force, and proceeding to *Matárem* regained possession of it.

After the interment of the deceased *Susúnan* at *Tegál*, *Márta Láya*, the chief of that province, urged the *Pangéran Adipáti* to assume the government, and first to establish himself at *Tegál*, until he had collected a sufficient force to attack the eastern people, offering his services to collect for him as many people as would be required; but the prince still declined, not having the courage to attempt the recovery of the authority that belonged to his family, and requested *Márta Láya* to procure for him a vessel, in which he might proceed to *Mecca*, being resolved to relinquish for ever the cares of government, and to become a *Háji*. *Márta Láya*, although he had vessels at his disposal, evaded a compliance with the prince's request, in the hope that he might alter his resolution, and still be induced to assume the government. The prince retired to *Bányumas*, and performed a penance in one of the mosques. He is said on the seventh day to have fallen asleep, and to have dreamt, "that the roof of the mosque "opened, as if it were carried up in the air, when a full and "bright moon appeared, which diffused its lustre over all "Java, after which it approached and entered his breast." Encouraged by this omen, the prince changed his determination, and recollecting the words of his father, bethought himself of obtaining the assistance of the Dutch. He in consequence dispatched two messengers to Batavia for aid.

The prince then sent orders to *Márta Láya* at *Tegál* to collect as many forces as possible; he likewise dispatched

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trusty people to the *Désa Dúnan*, in search of the flower called *wijáya mála*, there being a superstitious notion among the Javans that if in their distress they are able to obtain this flower, whatever they undertake will prosper.

Márta Láya immediately exerted himself with great zeal and effect to assemble his adherents, in the hope that by shewing a large force he might induce the prince to relinquish his idea of receiving succour from the Dutch. On the arrival of this succour at *Tegál* he addressed him publicly as follows:—
" Sire, I have felt excessive shame in hearing that your high-
" ness is desirous of soliciting aid from the Hollanders, as if
" you were yourself in want of men. I am now ready, with
" numerous followers, to perform whatever you please, if you
" will only confer upon me the necessary authority. Give
" me but your orders and I will myself extirpate your
" enemies." The prince replied, " What signifies your
" shame, *Márta Láya?* I have requested assistance from
" the Dutch, because it is always agreeable to rely on one's
" friends; and it was foretold by my great grandfather, *Sul-*
" *tan Agung*, that the Dutch would assist his descendants."
Márta Láya was silent. The messengers now returned with the *wíjaya* flowers, on which the prince assumed the title of *Susúnan Amangkúrat Senapáti Ingalága*, &c.; and soon afterwards the Dutch agreed to give him the assistance required.

When the Dutch force was landed, the *Susúnan* received the visit of the admiral and officers in state. The Dutch officers being introduced, stood in a row with their hats in their hands; but *Márta Láya*, considering it disrespectful that any one should stand in the presence of the sovereign, ordered them immediately to sit down in the manner of the Javans, and was proceeding to compel the admiral to do so, when the *Susúnan*, seeing the confusion in which all were thrown, applied to his late ambassador to the Dutch for an explanation. When he learnt that they shewed respect by bowing their heads only, he was satisfied, and desired *Márta Láya* not to interfere with them.

" The *Susúnan* then inquired the name of the commander, who after informing him that he had the rank of admiral, approached him, saying, that he was ordered by the government

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of Batavia to proceed to *Tegál*, with a force of Europeans, Makásars, &c., and to afford him every assistance he might require in the establishment of his authority. There were landed valuable presents for the prince, among which was very splendid apparel as worn by the Hollanders, to which the prince took such a liking that he immediately clothed himself in it. The Dutch force was then divided, and the admiral embarked with one division for *Japára*, while the other accompanied the prince, who proceded by land to *Pakalóngan*, and afterwards with his followers by sea to *Japára*."

"On the arrival of the admiral at *Japára*, he inquired of *Wángsa Dípa*, the chief of that place, who had rendered assistance in repelling the rebels, at the time they attacked *Japára*? To which the latter replied, 'The successful resistance was principally owing to the conduct of the French, 'English, and Dutch factories." The admiral then consulted with his officers, and observing that the English and French seemed to be preferred to the Dutch, or at any rate considered on the same footing, he called the chiefs of the French and English factories, and presenting them with twenty thousand dollars, said it was the gift of the *Susúnan*, who directed that they would quit *Japára*. The chiefs of the two factories took the money, but did not wish to depart, alleging that there were no vessels to convey them away; to which the admiral replied, that in that case he had the further orders of the *Susúnan* to provide them with a vessel. The people belonging to the two factories were then, with all their property, public and private, embarked on board a Dutch transport. The vessel sailed, but nothing more was ever heard of the English and French who were embarked in her. The Dutch then repaired their instruments of war."

Another account is as follows: "When the admiral arrived at *Japára*, he found there two foreign vessels, an English and a French ship, the officers of which said they had put in there in distress, and could not proceed further on account of the bad state of their ships. They also represented that they had assisted the Dutch when the rebels attacked *Japára*. The admiral thanked them for the service they had rendered, and presented them with ten thousand dollars, and

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ordered them to proceed to their own country in one of his vessels."

"On the arrival of the *Susúnan* at *Japára*, he was joined by a considerable force from *Tegál* and *Demák*; and among those who were most active in the support of the *Susúnan's* authority was *Márta Láya*, whose aversion to the Dutch still continued. The admiral, apprized of his sentiments, applied to the *Susúnan* for his destruction, supporting his application by a written request to the same effect from the government of the capital, and threatening an immediate departure to Batavia in case of non-compliance.

"To accomplish this end, the *Susúnan* first attempted to send him to *Kedíri* against *Trúna Jáya*; but *Márta Láya* obtaining information of the demand made by the Dutch for his life, refused to attend the summons, on the pretence of sickness. His disobedience so enraged the *Susúnan*, that he ordered his instant death, which was effected in the following manner. *Márta Púra* having received the orders of the prince to put *Márta Láya* to death, went to his house, accompanied by two hundred followers. *Márta Láyá* having been apprized of the *Susúnan's* anger, he collected an equal number of men.

"When *Márta Púra* approached him he was seated on a yellow carpet with a drawn *kris* in his hand, and being informed that he was to be put to death by order of the *Susúnan*, *Márta Láya* replied, 'If it is the wish of the 'prince that it should be so, do your duty, I am prepared.' *Márta Púra* then drew his *kris* and stabbed *Márta Láya* in the belly; but while he did so his neck received in return the *kris* of *Márta Láya*, which separating the throat in two, killed him on the spot. The two chiefs were no sooner wounded than the followers of both parties rushed on each other, and a most bloody and obstinate engagement ensued, which lasted till the bodies of nearly the whole lay weltering round those of the chiefs."

Measures had already been taken for the dispersion of the rebel forces in *Kedíri*. A Makásar chief, named *Kráin Kadádrang*, in the service of the Dutch, discovered his relationship to the Makásar chief *Galéngsong*, and offered to bring

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him to terms. He was in consequence dispatched secretly to *Kedíri*, where he had an interview with the Makásar chief, who was his brother. On the part of the Dutch, he promised that they would assist him on Celebes. He hesitated to come over immediately, lest he should betray *Trúna Jáya*, but promised to join the allied forces when they should arrive and attack *Trúna Jáya*.

Having thus secured an interest with the Makásars, one division of the Dutch forces, under the admiral, embarked for *Surabáya*, and the other, with the *Susúnan*, commenced their march by land. A decisive battle took place at *Kedíri*; on the evening previous to which, it is asserted the Dutch had a communication with *Dain Galéngsong*, to know his intentions, when the latter told them, "Attack me to-morrow, "and I will make arrangements for the flight of my forces." Accordingly the next morning, before the daylight, the Dutch troops marched to the hostile camp, where they found no preparations for resistance. *Dain Galéngsong* immediately ordered a retreat, and fled himself the first, leaving behind him all the plunder that had been taken at *Matárem*, and among other things the crown of *Majapáhit*.

The siege of *Kedíri*, according to the Dutch accounts, lasted fifty days, and it was at last taken by assault, *Trúna Jáya* making his escape. Great riches were found in the interior of the palace, and many chests of Spanish dollars, besides ingots of gold and the most valuable part of the regalia. The *Susúnan* claimed nothing but the crown of *Majapáhit*, leaving the remainder to be distributed among the troops.

When the crown was delivered to him, it appeared that its most splendid ornament, the large centre diamond, was missing. This the *Susúnan* immediately noticed, and inquiries were set on foot; but to the great affliction of the *Susúnan* and all the Javan chiefs, the jewel was never recovered *.

Nine Makásar chiefs afterwards surrendered to the Dutch on the 9th December, when they received pardon, and a promise that they should be sent to Makásar.

After this *Trúna Jáya* collected all his forces, and mar-

* A Dutch officer is accused of having purloined it.

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shalled them upon the plain, as if to receive the enemy; but on the approach of the Dutch troops from the left and the Javans from the right, his army was panic struck and fled in various directions, he himself with his two wives escaping to *Antang*. The *Susúnan* allowed the Dutch soldiers to plunder and possess themselves of every thing left by the rebels.

Chákra Ningrat having quitted his place of banishment and joined the *Susúnan*, was sent to urge the submission of his half-brother, *Trúna Jáya*. *Chákra Ningrat* accordingly went in search of *Trúna Jáya*, accompanied by a very few followers, and having found him at *Antang* he addressed him as follows. " Brother! what are you doing and whither " would you fly? depend upon it, if you persist in your re- " sistance to the will of the *Susúnan*, he will disappoint your " expectations, and if you compel him to send people to " arrest you, you will excite his implacable displeasure. I " have come to you as quickly as possible, for my heart yearns " towards you, and I dread lest you should come to any mis- " fortune. If you wish it, I will go and meet the *Susúnan*. " Bring your two wives, who are both the sisters of the " *Susúnan*, throw yourselves together at his feet, ask for- " giveness for any offence you have committed, and perhaps " he will be merciful towards you and grant you pardon. If " you come alone in that way, the *Susúnan* cannot act against " you, for are you not married to his sisters?" *Trúna Jáya* reflected upon what *Chákra Ningrat* said, and was inclined to follow his advice, saying, " I return abundant thanks to you " for your kindness towards me. Your advice is good and I " will follow it: I will follow you, accompanied by my wives." *Trúna Jáya* with his wives afterwards accompanied *Chákra Ningrat* to *Kediri*.

" *Chákra Ningrat* then led *Trúna Jáya* with his wives to the hall of audience, where the *Susúnan* was seated with the admiral and numerous Dutch officers. *Trúna Jáya* on this occasion did not wear his *kris*, but rolled a *chindi* cloth round his body, as if he were a prisoner.

" They fell at the feet of the *Susúnan*, imploring forgiveness for the offence of *Trúna Jáya*, on which the *Susúnan* said, ' It is well! *Trúna Jáya*, for this time I forgive you. ' Go without and clothe yourself in becoming apparel, and

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'then return to me, when I will present you with a *kris*, 'and instal you as my minister, in the presence of all 'assembled.' The *Susúnan* then gave orders that he should be served with apparel. The heart of *Trúna Jáya* became highly elated: he went out and received the apparel from the *Susúnan's* people, and then returned into the presence, but without wearing a *kris*, as the *Susúnan* had intimated his intention to present him with one.

"As he approached, the *Susúnan* desired his women to bring him the *kris* named *Kiái belábar*, which was still unsheathed. As soon as it was delivered into the hands of the *Susúnan*, he said to *Trúna Jáya*, 'Know, *Trúna Jáya*, that 'I have given my word that I would never sheathe this *kris* 'except in your body: receive now your death from it in 'punishment of your offence.' *Trúna Jáya* was silent, while the *Susúnan* standing up approached and stabbed him with his *kris* in the breast. Returning then to his throne he seated himself, and ordered his people who were assembled to finish the work which he had begun, whereupon they all fell upon *Trúna Jáya*, the unfortunate wretch, stabbing him in a thousand places and cutting his body to pieces. They then severed the head from the trunk, rolled it in the mud, made a mat of it, and at last cast it into a ditch by the express order of the *Susúnan*. The admiral and all the Dutch officers and party were present at this execution; but though they appeared astonished at the conduct of the *Susúnan*, they remained quiet spectators of it."

Such is the account given by the Javans, without reference to the share which the Dutch had in the transaction; but from the Dutch accounts it appears that *Trúna Jáya* delivered himself up under a stipulation with the Dutch that his life should be spared. A young officer of the name of *Jengker*, who had been placed by the General (Cooper) in charge of the *Susúnan's* guard, was sent by the *Susúnan* to treat with *Trúna Jáya*, without any communication with or authority from his commanding officer. Valentyn says positively, that *Jengkér* promised him pardon, and assured him of his life; but Cooper, annoyed that the credit of taking this chief should thus have been wrested from him by a junior officer acting without authority, exasperated the *Susúnan* against *Trúna*

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Jáya, and threw that unfortunate chief in his way at a moment when his passion was at its height. This catastrophe, says Valentyn, is to be ascribed to no one but the jealous Cooper, who brought it about, in order that his bad conduct, oppressions, and extortions, which were well known to *Trúna Jáya*, and which he had intended to complain of, should remain concealed.

Trúna Jáya, at the time of his surrender, was dressed in a Portuguese jacket, and wore on his head a black turban edged with lace. He gave short and pertinent answers to the questions put to him. On his coming before *Jengker* he fell at his feet, saying, that in his youth it had been predicted that, however great his fortune might be, still he should, at one time of his life, be taken prisoner, and that since this was his destiny, he rejoiced in having fallen into the hands of a person so well known for his humanity. He then presented to him his *kris* with a golden bow, requesting *Jengker* to keep them in token of his esteem. *Jengker* lifted him up, promised that his life should be spared, and further, that all his influence with the Dutch government and the *Susúnan* should be used in his behalf. It is alleged in the Dutch accounts, that the immediate cause of the *Susúnan's* conduct on this occasion, was the irreconcilable hatred which *Trúna Jáya* still evinced towards that prince, who, he said, had in his youth encouraged him to the steps he had taken, and afterwards abandoned him.

Trúna Jáya surrendered on the 25th December, 1679, A.D., and general tranquillity ensued, which however was not of long duration. The *Panambáhan Gíri* having in his possession the *kris* deposited in the tomb of the first *Súnan*, it was demanded of him by the *Susúnan* as royal property; but the *Panambáhan* not being inclined to part with it, and disapproving of the conduct of the *Susúnan*, who was guided by Dutch councils, and had even adopted their dress, replied, that he did not wish to know any thing of the *Susúnan*, or to be acquainted with him; that he wished to wear the *kris*, *kálam múning*, himself, and that he preferred his own dignity to that of such a chief. The *Susúnan*, enraged at this answer, proceeded to *Gíri* with his Dutch allies, where an engagement took place and the *Gíri* people were obliged to fly: the *Panambáhan* was taken and put to death. In this affair, a

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cousin of the *Súnan Káli Jága* of *Adilángo*, who had followed the *Susúnan*, distinguished himself in destroying the brother of the *Punambáhan Pangéran Sínga Sári*, who was running *ámók*, and doing much mischief; as a reward for which service the *Súnan*, in the presence of the Dutch commander, declared that, for ever after that, the descendants of that chief should be permitted to reside at *Adiláng'o*, and not be called upon to perform any duties of the state.

The whole of the eastern provinces having now submitted, the *Susúnan* returned to *Semárang*, where when he had made acknowledgments to the Dutch for the assistance they had rendered him, the commander requested that he would give them a small piece of ground at *Semárang* to build a fort upon, which would not only be convenient for the protection of their trade, but would enable them to come to the assistance of the *Susúnan*, if necessary, at a shorter notice.

The admiral having promised that he would station a suitable force at *Semárang*, which the *Susúnan* might at any time employ as he thought proper, obtained the permission he applied for.

The Javans have a superstitious belief, that when once misfortune has fallen on a place so generally as to extend to the common people (which was the case at *Matárem)*, it will never afterwards prosper; it was therefore determined by the *Susúnan* to change the seat of empire, and some were for fixing it at *Semárang*, but at last it was determined to erect it in the wood *Wána Kérta*, in the district of *Pájang*, which was good land but uninhabited.

The new capital was called *Kérta-súra*, the walls of which are still to be seen on the road to *Súra-kérta*, the present capital of the *Susúnan*.

During all these transactions *Pangéran Pugar* remained at *Matárem*. The *Susúnan* now, for the first time, sent him information of his establishment, and required his attendance at court. The *Pangéran*, who having heard that the *Susúnan* was in the constant habit of dressing after the Dutch fashion, had been strengthening himself as much as possible, under an impression, that the *Susúnan* supported by the Dutch was not his brother, but a foreigner, whom they had raised to answer their own purposes, received this intimation with great

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surprise, and sent two of his family to ascertain the truth. The messengers, who were interested in upholding the separate authority of their master, determined to encourage his mistake, and they represented the *Susúnan* as a foreigner from *Sábrang*, elevated by the Dutch. Upon this report the *Pangéran* informed the *Susúnan* that he could not proceed to *Kérta Súra*, as he preferred remaining at *Matárem*, where he was established as the legal sovereign. A force, consisting of Dutch and Javan troops, was in consequence marched against *Matárem*; at first the troops of *Kérta-súra* were defeated, but in a second attack they were more successful, and the *Pangéran* was obliged to take to flight.

By means of the *Adipáti*, the *Pangéran* was afterwards assured of the *Susúnan* being his brother, when he agreed to go to *Kérta-súra*, provided the *Susúnan* would throw off his Dutch dress and appear in his native costume. To this the sovereign consented, and publicly received his brother with the greatest demonstrations of joy and affection.

The authority of the *Susúnan* was now firmly established, and general tranquillity prevailed for some years.

A new character now appears on the stage, under the title of *Surapáti*. This man, whose name was *Sí Untung*, had been the slave boy of a Dutchman at Batavia, of the name of Mor, who is represented to have been of low origin, but to have been advanced to the highest dignities, even a seat in the high regency, by means of the riches and influence he had acquired through the services of this slave, to whom he became, in consequence, much attached. Mor, however, discovering an improper intimacy between *Untung* and his natural daughter, chastised him severely, and afterwards had him confined in the public block or stocks. *Untung* contrived to effect his escape from them during the night, and to release his fellow prisoners. They then fell upon the guard which came to mount at daylight, and taking them unawares massacred the whole. Being thus committed, *Untung* bent his course to the high lands, and afterwards to *Chéribon*. While in the high lands he formed a connection with a formidable party from Bantam, where a civil war had been excited, in consequence of the Dutch having elevated to the throne a son of the deceased king, contrary to the express

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directions of the father. One of the brothers, *Pangéran Purbáya*, was prevailed upon to join a certain *Abidin*, a fanatic rebel, who had raised about two thousand followers, and with him passed through *Jasingá* and the *Jákatra* and *Preángan* highlands, increasing their numbers as they went.

Abidin having proposed to proceed by that route to *Matárem*, there to stir up the *Susúnan* against the Dutch, the *Pangéran* being tired of the journey surrendered to the Dutch force sent against them; but *Abidin* stood a severe engagement, and was only induced to surrender by means of an artifice practiced upon him. An European officer belonging to the Dutch troops disguised himself as an Arab, and being well versed in the Arabic and Malayu languages, obtained an interview with *Abidin*, to whom he represented, that having himself been once taken prisoner by the Dutch he had been so well treated that he would advise him to go and surrender himself. The unfortunate man took his advice, and was conveyed to the commanding officer, then at *Chikálong*, who immediately forwarded him to Batavia, whence he was sent to the Cape of Good Hope for the rest of his life.

The party of runaway slaves under *Untung*, who had now assumed the name of *Santána* being surprized by the Dutch force, were by special orders from Batavia allowed to remain undisturbed for the present. The chief appears to have been useful to the Dutch, and to have been employed, in order the better to secure the surrender of *Pangéran Purbáya*. When the Dutch officer went with a small party to receive the submission of this chief, he found that he had already tied his spears together (the sign of surrender) and kept no arms but his *kris*. Ignorant of the customs of the country, the officer demanded that the *Pangéran* should also deliver this weapon and his personal ornaments. The demand created the utmost astonishment in the *Pangéran*, who instantly asked if it was not sufficient humiliation to a prince of the royal blood that he and his people had given up their arms. *Santána* entreated of the Dutch officer not to urge the delivery of the *kris*, and to consider "that the bird, although caught, was not "yet in the cage," but to no purpose: the officer persisted in his demand, and insulted *Santána* in presence of all who were there assembled. The *Pangéran* seeing that resistance

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was now vain, promised compliance next morning; but during the night, to the inexpressible mortification of the officer, he effected his escape. The rage of the officer now fell so violently upon *Santána*, that a quarrel ensued. *Santána* and his followers fell upon the Dutch party and killed many of them; the officer however escaped. *Santána* then moved towards *Chéribon*, where he had an affair with a chief, named *Ráden Surapáti*, which being reported to the sultan, that chief was put to death, and his title of *Surapáti* conferred upon *Untung*. *Surapáti* then proceeded towards *Kérta-súra* to beg assistance against the Dutch, leaving several of his followers in *Bányumas*, under the direction of two chiefs, who soon became dreaded as noted *kramans* or rebels. At *Kérta-súra* he found protection from the prime minister, to whom he related all the particulars of the story, with the exception of that part which related to the establishment he had formed in *Bányumas*. This district being now declared in a state of revolt, he offered to bring it to submission, and was employed by the *Susúnan* for that purpose; he accordingly proceeded secretly to *Bányumas*, where, aided by the plan he had before laid, he caused the heads of the two *krámans* to be secretly cut off in the night, and the rebels to disperse; when returning to *Kérta-súra* and producing the heads, he was received into the highest favour by the *Susúnan*.

The Dutch hearing of his fortune, demanded from the *Susúnan* that his person should be given up; but the reply of the *Susúnan* was, "that *Surapáti* having thrown himself "on his protection and performed a signal service to the em-"pire, he could not give him up; but that if the Dutch wished "that he should be arrested, they were at perfect liberty to "arrest him in any part of his dominions."

The Dutch accordingly sent a force, consisting of four hundred Europeans and six hundred islanders, under the orders of one Tax, an officer who had incurred the suspicion of having purloined the centre diamond from the *Majapáhit* crown, and on whom, according to the impression which pervades the Dutch accounts, the *Susúnan* had determined to be revenged.

On the approach of the Dutch troops, the *Susúnan*, alarmed lest they should succeed in arresting *Surapáti*, determined to

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afford him every assistance, and for that purpose directed, that when they arrived, the *Ráden Adipáti* (prime minister), who had given his daughter in marriage to *Surapáti*, should openly espouse his cause, and proceed, in the first instance, to attack the lines of the *Adipátis* of *Madúra* and *Surabáya*, who after a skirmish should retreat to the *alun alun* in confusion, exhibiting all the appearance of a defeat, while the united party of the *Ráden Adipáti*, and *Sarapáti* should appear to threaten the *kráton*. The *Pangéran Púgar* being strongly attached to *Surapáti*, received orders, that if, in the affair with the Dutch, the party of *Surapáti* and the minister should be worsted, he should render them assistance, by sending his people to them clothed in white, the distinction adopted by *Surapáti*.

When the Dutch arrived, to cover appearances, a new prime minister was appointed. The commander requested assistance from the *Susúnan*, who pointed out to him the apparent state of affairs, and induced him to believe that he was himself in danger from the attack of *Surapáti*. Under this impression, Tak made his arrangements; and the Dutch troops appeared on the front *alun alun* at eight o'clock in the morning, when they were immediately attacked by *Surapáti*. After four hours of hard fighting, *Surapáti* was repulsed; but reinforcements being sent by *Pangéran Púgar*, and by the whole population of the city, the Dutch were completely destroyed. Tak, at his last extremity, ordered out from the fort two hundred soldiers remaining there; but as they could not join their companions, they were immediately surrounded and cut up. Of the two thousand men, eleven hundred and eighty-three lost their lives; and among them Tak, who was mortally wounded in the neck by the celebrated *pusáka* spear of *Pangéran Púgar*. The weapon was found blunted at the point by the chain jacket which Tak is said to have worn on the occasion.

The *Susúnan* now directed the *Ráden Adipáti* and *Surapáti* to take refuge in the province of *Pasúruan*, and assume the habit of devotees; while to the *Adipátis* of *Madúra* and *Surabáya* orders were given to follow them at a certain distance, burning the villages and laying waste the country, as if

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in pursuit of an enemy. When *Surapáti* reached *Pasúruan*, he took the name of *Adipáti Wíra Nagára*.

The few Dutch who had survived made their escape to the fort of *Japára*, which was then more extensive than that at *Semárang*.

After this the *Susúnan* wrote to the commanding officer at *Japára*, informing him that Tak, with all the party, had been killed by the *Ráden Adipáti* and *Surapáti*, who had also attacked him, but that they had at last driven them to the eastward, by the force he had collected under the *Adipátis* of *Madúra* and *Surabáya*. He also informed him that he had elected a new prime minister, in lieu of the one who had espoused the cause of *Surapáti*. The *Susúnan*, fearing lest this story might not be believed, and that he might be suspected of having assisted *Surapáti*, sent with this letter five *pikuls* of birds' nests, forty oxen, and other articles of value, which he entrusted to the care of a *priái gándok* (a messenger of distinction) named *Jága Rága*, with instructions to mark well the thoughts of the commander or officer who was the chief of *Japára*, and if he shewed the least suspicion of the part the *Susúnan* had taken, mainly to deny it, and firmly to insist that the *Susúnan* was true-hearted to the Hollanders. He moreover promised to his ambassador, that if he succeeded in averting the anger of the Dutch, he would reward him on his return.

This messenger accordingly proceeded to *Japára*, when the chief officer, after reading the letter, said he had heard the *Susúnan* was of one heart with *Surapáti*; to which *Jága Rága* replied, that what he had heard was false, and that perhaps the story might have originated in the part taken by the *Ráden Adipáti*, whose attachment to *Surapáti* was well known. He then referred to the circumstance of the country's being laid waste by *Surapáti* on his flight to the eastward, in proof of his enmity. The commander heard this explanation with patience, and after receiving the presents, with which he was much pleased, returned for answer to the *Susúnan*, that he had first heard that he was favourable to *Surapáti*, but was now convinced, from the explanation afforded, that these reports were unfounded, and that he was satisfied of the lasting attachment of his highness to the Dutch. He then

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thanked him for his present, and in return sent one thousand ducatoons, with an assortment of velvets and cloth. The messenger having thus succeeded, was raised to the rank and station of *Tumúng'gung* of *Japára*, by the name and title of *Kiái Tumúng'gung Márta Púra.*

The next indignity offered to the Dutch was by this man, who laid hold of a half cast Dutch soldier at *Japára*, and insisted upon his sitting on the ground on his hams and dancing the *tandák*, after the fashion of the Javans, for his amusement. The Dutch, highly incensed, demanded the immediate release of the man; but the *Tumúng'gung* refusing, an application was sent to the *Susúnan*, requesting that *Márta Púra* might be put to death. The *Susúnan* immediately sent for *Pangéran Púgar* and his minister, and desired them to communicate with *Márta Púra*, and if they found he had the courage to oppose the Dutch to give him assistance under hand, or to promote his success by some stratagem, in the same manner as he had done to *Surapáti;* but if not, to let him be sacrificed, as a punishment for his cowardice. He then replied to the commodore, saying, that he had sent his own people to arrest *Márta Púra*, and to deliver him to the commander, who might act with his person as he thought proper. When the minister arrived at *Japára* it was agreed that *Márta Púra* should be invited into the Dutch fort, and there apprehended early next morning; but in the meantime the agents of the *Susúnan* had a secret interview with the chief, who declared himself ready to oppose the Dutch, and it was determined that their pretending to seize him should be a signal for all to join and *amók* the Hollanders: but in the morning the heart of *Márta Púra* failed him. He twice refused to quit his retreat, and when at last he came into the presence of the party, he appeared trembling and pale, and his knees tottered under him, so that he was scarcely able to stand. They then gave him a chair to sit down upon, and plied him with wine. An officer having taken his *kris* from behind him, he rose from his chair and attempted to escape, but was bayoneted by a soldier on his way. The agents of the *Susúnan*, enraged to see him so thoroughly frightened, gave him no assistance, but ordered the dogs to devour his carcase. When the *Susúnan* heard of the cowardly conduct of *Márta*

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Púra he ordered that it should be publicly prohibited, on pain of his severest punishment, to harbour or afford assistance to his relations or children.

Afterwards the former *Tumúng'gung* of *Japára*, *Sécha Nagára*, was replaced, and a communication was, through him, made to the Dutch, intimating the willingness of the *Susúnan* to co-operate against the *Surapáti*, in consequence of which orders were given for the Dutch troops to proceed from Batavia. When the *Susúnan* had thus drawn the Dutch into a second attack upon this chieftain, he is represented "as being "most delighted at the prospect which it afforded, that on "the present occasion more of the Dutch troops might be "sacrificed, in the same manner as in the recent affair at "*Kérta Súra*."

The *Adipáti* of *Surabáya* and *Madúra* were immediately dispatched to *Pasúruan* to meet the Dutch, but having waited some time in vain for the arrival, a mock battle took place with *Surapáti*, when it was arranged that the *Kérta Súra* troops should take to flight, burning and laying waste the country as they retreated. A regular communication appears to have been kept up during the whole time between *Surapáti* and the *Susúnan*, who allowed him quietly to possess himself of the adjoining districts of *Málang* and *Mádion*. The *Ráden Adipáti Aúrang Kasúma* died about this time.

The Dutch troops now arrived in the eastern districts, and the commandant of *Japára* applied for the assistance of the *Susúnan*; but the latter, alleging that his chiefs had been recently beaten and obliged to retreat from *Pasúruan*, urged delay, on the plea of waiting a more favourable opportunity of attack.

In the meantime family feuds disturbed the peace of the *kráton*. The hereditary prince, *Pangéran Adipáti Amángku Nagára*, had married the daughter of his cousin, *Pangéran Púgar*, but after the expiration of the forty days he disregarded her, and she returned to her father's protection. One of the most distinguished characters at the court was the son of the prime minister. The hereditary prince, jealous of the universal admiration which he enjoyed, determined to lower him by the infliction of the greatest disgrace which could be endured. Naturally of a fiery disposition, he became exces-

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sively enraged at an accident which occurred to him while hunting in the forest of *Ránda Wahána*, and which occasioned a lameness in his legs. As soon as he returned home he sent for this youth, whom he immediately ordered to be bound and severely flogged with a rattan: he then directed him to be tied to a tree abounding with ants, which soon covered his body; a favourite mode of inflicting cruel punishment. There the young man suffered dreadfully, but his tortures were not at an end: he was afterwards flogged till he nearly expired, and then sent to the house of his father, the prime minister, who, although much enraged, was obliged to suppress his resentment. Determined afterwards to revenge himself, he seduced the wife of the *Pangéran Adipáti*, who had returned to her father's house, as above stated. The connection was discovered, and all parties were put to death.

The *Susúnan* becoming now dangerously ill, from an affection of the spleen which he had contracted at the time of the massacre of the Dutch under Tak, called into his presence his eldest son, the *Pangéran Adipáti*, his brother, *Pangéran Púgar*, and his two firm adherents, the *Adipátis* of *Madúra* and *Surabáya*, and thus addressed them: "The time which "is allotted to me in this world has nearly expired; but "before I depart let me impress upon you all the necessity "and advantage of your mutually supporting each other. If "you hold together, then will the sovereignty of Java become "pure and strong. The *Adipátis* of *Madúra* and *Surabáya* "will be as the surface of the *támpa* (or sifter) on which rice "is cleansed from the husk; the *Pangéran Púgar* as the "*wángku* (or rim of the sifter); and the *Pangéran Adipáti* "will be as the one who sifts or fans the rice. When the "*Pangéran Adipáti* ascends the throne, let him attach him-"self to the other three, by which means he will cleanse and "strengthen his government, even as the rice is cleansed "from the husk in the *támpa*. Let him study the writings "*Níti Prája*, *Níti Sastrá*, *Srúti*, *Asta Bráta* and *Jáya* "*Lángkara*; to abandon his vicious habits, never to ill use "his wives, and to be kind and constant to his present wife "(another daughter of the *Pangéran Púgar*.)"

In a short time the *Susúnan* died. The *Pangéran Adipáti*, who was destined to succeed him, excited much disapproba-

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tion and disgust by his ungrateful neglect of the customary rites due to the body of the deceased, and his indecent eagerness to ascend the throne before it was even vacated. The practice of the country required him to wash and purify the corpse with his own hands; but he left the task to the women, while he shut all the gates of the *kráton* and seated himself in front on the *setíngel*. The deceased was buried at *Megíri*, and his widow, *Rátu Kanchána*, attended the procession, distributing money as she past along, to the amount of one thousand dollars and more.

As soon as the body was removed the *Pangéran Adipáti* assembled all his chiefs, and addressed them to the following effect: "All ye who are present bear witness, that the *Pangéran Adipáti Amángku Nagára* has succeeded to the "sovereignty of his late father, *Susúnan Mangkúrat*, and as "ye acknowledged and respected the father, now do the same "to the son;" to which they all ejaculated assent. To this *Ráden Subráta*, who wished to shew his attachment to the young prince by raising him in the eyes of the people, added, "the sovereignty descends to you by the will of the Al-"mighty; it has not been assumed by yourself;" but no one answered. All the chiefs present, however, approached the prince and kissed his feet, in proof of their acknowledgment of his authority. The new *Susúnan* then declared *Rátu Kanchána* his queen, and nominated the principal officers of state: and as soon as he returned to the *dálam* addressed three letters, one to the Governor General of Batavia, one to the commandant at *Japára*, and one to the commandant at *Semárang*, informing them of his having assumed the sovereignty in succession to his ancestors. He likewise entrusted a letter for Batavia, and another for the Governor General, to the care of Captain Knol at *Semárang*.

On first granting their support to the deceased prince, the Dutch required that he should enter into a bond, dated 10th October 1677, confirming the treaty of the 25th February preceding, and acknowledging a debt to the Dutch of thirty thousand dollars, together with three thousand *kóyans* of rice, as a security for which he was required to mortgage to the Dutch all the sea-ports from the river *Kráwang* to the eastern extremity of the island. The whole revenues of these places,

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including in particular all the rice deliverable to the state, were also to be received by the Dutch in diminution of this debt.

At the same time, also, the *Susúnan* was called upon to execute a deed of cession, confirming the act of the 28th February preceding, and setting forth that his father, having already verbally expressed an intention to make over to the Dutch his rights on the kingdom of *Jákatra* (or land lying between the river of *Untúng Jáwa* and *Kráwang* and the northern and southern sea-coasts), the said grant was further confirmed, and the whole of the province of *Jákatra* ceded accordingly, the inhabitants who wished to remain being ordered to acknowledge the Dutch as their lawful sovereign, but all being at liberty to place themselves under the *Susúnan* and to leave the Dutch territory, till the expiration of twelve months after the publication of this act.

By this deed of cession, the *Susúnan* also ceded to the Dutch, in acknowledgment of the services rendered by Admiral Speelman against the rebels, the country between the *Kráwang* and *Pamanúkan* rivers, in a straight line to the South Sea, with all the immunities and privileges attached to it.

This document further prohibited the importation of cloths and opium by any one except the Dutch, and contained the appointment of *Adipáti Mandaráka* to be chief of *Tegal* and the western, and *Aria Urawán* to be chief of *Jápara* and the eastern sea coast.

On the 15th January 1678, a charter was procured from the *Susúnan*, placing the sugar trade of *Japára* entirely in the hands of the Dutch. A grant was made them of the management of the town and jurisdiction of *Sámrang* and the village of *Kaligwái*, that is to say, the right of appointing governors of their own at those places, without the least interference on the part of the *Susúnan;* on condition, however, that the revenues should be duly accounted for and paid to his highness's officers by those of the Dutch. But as his highness was still in debt to the Dutch, those revenues were provisionally taken in diminution of the debt.

In Bantam the Dutch had made various treaties with the princes.

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On the 17th April 1684 a contract was signed with the sultan of Bantam, by which it was stipulated, among other articles, that the contract of the 10th July 1659 should be renewed and confirmed; that the sultan should give no kind of assistance to the enemies of the Dutch, and undertake nothing hostile against their allies, particularly the *Susúnan* and the prince of *Chéribon;* that the *Táng'ran* river, from its mouth to its origin, and from thence a line drawn from south until it meets the South Sea, should be the boundaries fixed upon between the Dutch jurisdiction and the Bantam country, it being understood that the whole of the *Táng'ran* or *Untong Jáwa* river, with its mouths, should be the property of the Dutch, together with six hundred rods of land to the northward from fort *Bábakan* to the sea, with liberty to erect such *pággars*, or forts, on the western banks of the river, as should be deemed necessary for purposes of safety; the inhabitants of the Bantam side to be permitted to fish in the river, and to appropriate its waters to the purposes of cultivation, but no vessels to be allowed to enter the river from the sea without Company's passes; that the claims of the Dutch on the government of Bantam should be reduced to twelve thousand rix dollars, or one-eighth of its original amount; that his highness should give up all claims to the principality of *Chéribon;* that the fourth article of the contract of 1659 should remain in force, and consequently that no ground or factory rent should be paid by the Dutch, but that the sultan should give as much ground gratis, as the purposes of the factory might require; that his highness should conclude no contracts with other powers contrary to the present treaty.

On the same day, however, a bond was executed by the Sultan, in favor of the Dutch, for the payment of the expenses incurred in assisting his highness against the rebel sultan, and his friend the British resident, who it is stated in this document would have received the punishment due to his conduct but for the interference of the Dutch, to whose protection he was indebted for the moderation with which his highness had restricted his punishment to a final removal from Bantam. This obligation states the sultan's debt to be six hundred thousand rix-dollars, which he promises to pay

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either in specie or pepper, or by remission of duties; and he also grants therein to the Dutch the sole trade in pepper and cloths, in the countries of *Bantam*, *Lampung*, and *Silebar*.

On the 28th April 1684, a deed was executed, by which the sultan of Bantam's debt of six hundred thousand rix-dollars was remitted, on condition that the Company should enjoy the privileges mentioned in the bond of the 17th instant; but whenever the above privileges were violated on the sultan's part, the Dutch held themselves justified in requiring payment of the debt in question.

On the 15th February 1686, an agreement was entered into with the sultan of Bantam, by which, among other stipulations, the Dutch engaged to assist the sultan against his rebellious subjects, with men, ammunition, and vessels, on condition that he would pay the expense; it being stipulated that they should not leave their factory during the night; that they should not be permitted to walk outside the town without the sultan's and the Resident's permission; that they should not enter the houses of the natives, much less stay there during the night; that they should not take away any articles in the bazars without duly paying for the same; that they should not enter any gardens or premises without permission from the proprietors; that they should not enter any temples without previous leave; that they should not detain any females in their houses, nor stop them in the streets; on meeting the sultan in the streets, that they should shew his highness the accustomed honours; that they should not stop whenever the sultan or sultana bathed in the river, but pass without looking at their highnesses; that they should not interfere with the disputes and judicial proceedings of the natives. By the eighteenth article it was mutually agreed, that offenders, of either party, should be punished according to their respective laws, and each by his own nation; and that the whole of the black and white pepper produced at Bantam should be sold to the Dutch at a fixed price.

On the 4th December 1687, on the occasion of the accession to the throne of a new sultan of Bantam, an act of renovation of all former treaties was passed, together with a renewal of the bond for six hundred thousand dollars, and of

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the deed remitting the same, on condition that the privileges heretofore specified were granted to the Dutch at Bantam.

On the 3d March 1691, on occasion of the elevation to the throne of another sultan, an act of renewal was passed of the contracts concluded at different periods between the Dutch and the sultans of Bantam.

On the 6th January 1681 an agreement was signed with the three chiefs of *Chéribon*, setting forth the gratitude of those princes for the signal services rendered them by the Dutch, and their determination to follow the Dutch Company's advice under all circumstances, and to assist the Dutch government whenever their aid might be required, on condition that they should, in like manner, be assisted by the Dutch in cases of emergency, each party bearing the expense of all armaments undertaken for his benefit. The three princes promised to live upon good terms with the *Susúnan*.

In the event of one of the three princes, or other persons, committing any acts prohibited by the present articles, or derogatory to his highness the *Susúnan*, it was agreed, that such conduct should be punished with the utmost severity.

The other stipulations of importance were, that no fortifications should be erected by the princes without the consent of the Governor-General, who should have leave to build a factory at *Chéribon*, and to cause all species of merchandize to be imported *duty free*. That all pepper growing in the kingdom of *Chéribon* should be disposed of to the Dutch at the bazaar price; that the trade in sugar and rice should be free to all, upon payment of an export duty of two per cent. to the princes; that vessels belonging to powers at war with the Dutch should not be permitted to enter the ports of *Chéribon*, but be dealt with as enemies.

On the 7th September 1680, another contract was entered into with the princes of *Chéribon*, by which all former differences were declared to be forgotten, and *Panambában*, *Chéribon*, and sultan *Anom*, promised to respect and honour their elder brother, sultan *Sépu*, as the first-born of their *Panambáhan Kiái Gíri Láyah*. Sultan *Sépu* promised, on the other hand, not to slight his brothers in any way, but on the contrary to treat them, on every occasion, with the deference due

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to their rank. It was agreed, that there shall be one place only for holding tournaments, where the royal brothers would appear every Saturday in their state dresses, attended by their *mántris*, and that, to prevent disputes, they should be seated to the right and left of sultan *Sépu*, and all the *mántris* below; but that, should indisposition prevent one of them from attending the tournament, they should send due notice thereof on the Saturday morning. At the tournament the sultan only had the right to speak; but sultan *Sépú* not being present, that right was to devolve on the second, and in his absence on the third chief. In the event of all the princes being prevented from attending, the eldest sons of sultan *Sepu* and *Anom* should make their appearance, and the command devolve on the *Pangéran*. That in consequence of frequent disputes having arisen among the princes, with reference to the appointment and supercession of prime minister, the right of nominating to that office was vested exclusively in the governor-general of Batavia. That in the event of any difference occurring between the princes, which they could not adjust themselves, the resident of *Chéribon* should be requested to act as arbitrator on the part of the Dutch. That should one of the princes refuse to comply with this article, the other brothers should on no account molest him, but simply report the matter to the Batavian government, through their ambassadors. The dissenting prince should, however, in that case, voluntarily place himself in the resident's custody, who should not be permitted to convey him out of *Chéribon*.

Mr. Middlekoop mentions, that during the reign of this prince, the principality of *Madúra* was conferred by the *Susúnan* on *Chákra Diníngrat;* but the inhabitants of *Súmenap* being discontented with this choice, they informed the *Susúnan* that they would rather die than submit to that authority; upon which the *Susúnan* thought proper to divide that country into two parts, giving to *Chákra Diníngrat* the western district, and the eastern, or *Súmenap* district, to *Mas Yáng Wúlan*, who took the name of *Yúdha Nagára*. In the year 1683, the whole island of *Madúra* revolted, and became subject to the Dutch government.

But to return to *Pangéran Adipáti Amángku Nagára*,

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usually called *Mangkúrat Más*. The authority of this prince seems to have been attacked almost immediately after his accession to the throne; for *Ráden Súria Kasúma*, a son of the *Pangéran Púgar*, having accompanied the procession which attended the body of the late *Susúnan* to the grave, persuaded many of the party to declare him sovereign of Java, under the title of *Súnun Panatagáma*. The *Susúnan Mangkúrat Mas* no sooner heard of this, than he became highly enraged with his uncle, the *Pangéran Púgar*, and sent back to him his daughter, the queen *Ratu Kanchána*. He afterwards ordered the *Pangéran* with his wives and children into his presence, and commanding them to be seized, publicly exposed them on the *alun alun*, in a pen or railing made for that purpose, which the Javans call *betek*. *Ráden Suria* was apprehended.

On the one hundredth day after the death of the late *Susúnan*, the wives of the chiefs being assembled to prepare a customary feast, intended "to give a blessing to the journey "of the deceased," the *Susúnan* conceived a passion for *Ayu Pakúwati*, the wife of the *Adipáti* of *Madúra*, and availed himself of his power over her to gratify it. She, however, soon made her escape, and reported the particulars to her husband, who in revenge concurred with the *Adipáti* of *Semárang*, in urging the *Pangeran Púgar* to assume the sovereignty. "So large a party," said these chiefs, "being in "favour of your pretensions, you can never be condemned "for assuming the government; for as with men who drink "a bottle of wine, if there are few of them they must neces-"sarily become intoxicated, but if there are many, truly it is "nothing at all."

Being assured by the *Adipáti* of *Semárang*, that the Dutch were not cordial friends of the present *Susúnan*, the *Pangéran* was at last prevailed upon to escape with his family and a chosen band to *Semárang*, where the Dutch received him, and conditionally proclaimed him sovereign of Java.

As soon as the *Susúnan Mangkúrat Mas* was informed of the departure of the *Pangéran*, he applied to the commissioners at *Semárang* to have him delivered up; but received for reply an intimation, that he was under the protection of the Dutch, and that if the *Susúnan* wanted him he must

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come for him himself. Enraged at this evasion, he ordered that *Ráden Súria Kasúma*, the son of the *Pangéran*, should immediately be put to death. The young prince was accordingly brought into his presence for the purpose, when a great eruption suddenly took place from *Merápi*, the mountain emitting a sound louder than thunder, and flame which enlightened all *Kérta Súra*. The *Susúnan* thinking that his end was approaching, sent the young king back into confinement, when the sounds immediately ceased, and the mountain emitted no more flame. The *Susúnan* conceiving all danger at an end, once more ordered the execution of the prince, but a more violent eruption than the first instantly rent the mountain asunder. The alarm of the *Susúnan* was increased, and considering this was a *gáro-gáro*, or sign, that the prince was favoured by the Almighty, he altered his intentions, received his intended victim into favour, and appointed him a *Pangéran*, under the title of *Pangéran Ang'ebái Saléring Péken*, with an assignment of one thousand *cháchas* of land.

He appointed the *Adipáti* of *Madúra*, under the name of *Panambáhan Chakra Níngrat*, chief over all the coast districts, from *Brébes* to *Banyuwángi*, and the *Tumúng'gung* of *Surábaya*, under the name of *Adipáti Jaeng Rána*, to be his *Páteh*. To the *Tumúng'gung* of *Semárang* he also gave the title of *Adipáti Súra Adimang'gála*

Immediately after his accession he had written to the Dutch government; but it appears that the letter was not forwarded from *Semárang* to Batavia until after the *Pangérang Púgar* had taken part against him. According to the Dutch accounts, the ambassadors of both parties arrived nearly at the same time at Batavia, were admitted to audience the next day, and were received, not like ambassadors, but rather as messengers.

The objections urged by the Dutch to the acknowledgment of the *Susúnan* were the following:—1st. Because he was a great tyrant, and well known to have instigated his father to a rupture with the Dutch, and to have himself menaced hostilities against them, as soon as he should have mounted the throne. 2d. Because his embassy did not consist of princes of his family, and the prime minister, as usual, but of two

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common regents only. 3d. Because the letter which communicated his father's death, and announced his own accession, although it contained a request for protection against his enemies, did not apply for their sanction or confirmation, nor declare his readiness to renew the contracts, to acknowledge the debts, and to fulfil the engagements formerly stipulated, though he ought to have known that this was the basis upon which alone the Dutch could have recognized his title as sovereign of Java. 4th. Because letters had been intercepted, in which he invited the prince of *Madúra* to join him against the Dutch, calling them his mortal enemies, whom he intended to expel from the island of Java.

These combined circumstances induced the Dutch government not to acknowledge him as successor to his father, although they, with a view to gain time until the arrival of a fleet expected from Holland with a reinforcement of troops, wrote to him, merely declining to receive his ambassadors as such, and requiring him to send others, whose family connections and rank might entitle them to more consideration, and with whom they might treat.

After it was arranged that *Pangéran Púgar* should become sovereign, the three chief Dutch authorities then at *Semárang* waited upon him, to inform him thereof, at the same requiring that, in return for the assistance intended to be afforded him, he should, on assuming the authority, cede to the Dutch the provinces of *Demák*, *Japára*, and *Tégal*, in compensation for the expenses they might incur on his account. *Pangéran Púgar* feeling no inclination to comply with these conditions, though anxious to avoid a rupture with the Dutch, proposed, instead of a cession of territory, that he should become generally responsible for all the expenses of the war; "for," said he, "if it is through the assistance of the Dutch that I "am placed upon the throne, of course it would not be be-"coming in me to refuse them any thing they require: but "with respect to this request, is it not better that, at present, "we attend to what is necessary to secure the throne, and "afterwards talk of minor matters? I am willing to pay all "the expenses which it may occasion to the Dutch." With this the commissioners were satisfied; and the troops having

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arrived from Europe, it was resolved, on the 18th of March, 1704, to place *Pangéran Púgar* upon the throne, and to maintain him on it.

The Dutch ships and troops having reached *Semárang* in April, and the part they intended to take being now for the first time manifest to *Susúnan Mangkúrat Mas*, he dispatched three messengers to the Dutch representative at *Semárang*, with the sum of seventy thousand dollars in specie, and authority to renew former contracts, and comply with every requisition which the Dutch might make, provided they would acknowledge his succession to the throne; but these messengers had only reached *Tínker* when they fell in with the Dutch troops, and were obliged to secure their safety by flight, leaving the money behind.

The *Pangéran Púgar* was publicly installed by the Dutch at *Semárang* * on the 19th of June.

The districts of *Demák*, *Grobógan*, *Siséla*, and all the lands beyond *Semárang* as far as *Un'gárang*, were immediately taken possession of by the Dutch, and the troops of the *Susúnan Mangkúrat Mas*, which had moved towards *Semárang*, were forced to retreat on *Kerta Súra*.

Before the departure of the *Pangéran*, the Dutch had again pressed him to cede the provinces of *Semárang*, *Tégal*, and *Japára*, but by the advice of the *Panumbáhan* of *Madúra* and his principal chiefs, he still refused compliance, and they were not able to obtain any decided promise from him, beyond reimbursement for the expenses of the war. When they were arrived, however, at *Ung'árang*, the prince happening to be alone, unattended by any of the *Bopáti*, the Dutch commander seized the opportunity which he had been so long watching for, to assure him how truly and sincerely the Dutch were inclined to assist him, not only on the present occasion, but hereafter, whenever he might require their aid. "The "Dutch," added he, "are in great want of rice, and request "your highness will have the kindness to grant them a thou-"sand *koyans* (two thousand tons) a year without payment."

* From the circumstance of this installation having taken place at *Semárang*, two *wáringen* trees are allowed to distinguish the *alun alun* of the regent.

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The *Pangéran* made no reply: he wished for time to think upon it; but the chiefs of the Dutch came up to him, and returned him many thanks and compliments for his having thus, as they said, agreed to their request. The prince, though he wished to say he had not given his promise, yet felt ashamed, after the thanks and compliments he had received, to express what he thought. He therefore bowed his head and was silent. They then entreated him to draw out his assent in writing, and to affix his seal to it, as a proof of his voluntary surrender of the present. With this he complied.

The paper was no sooner obtained, than the Dutch officers again returned their thanks. They then withdrew, and the troops being under arms, a salute was fired on the occasion. When this circumstance came to the ears of the *Adipáti* of *Semárang*, he hastened to the *Pangéran*, and thus addressed him, "Be not offended, my prince, if I presume to "open your eyes to the proceedings of these Hollanders, "who are so rapacious in their demands. They had already "consulted with me on the subject of this rice, and they "knew the opinion of your advisers to be against it, they "therefore watched for their opportunity to find you alone. "I little thought you would have taken upon yourself to act "thus, without consulting your chiefs. I imagined the "Dutch were satisfied with the answer I had given them, and "would not have thought of going to you about it." The *Susúnan* gave him in return the history of the grant, and promised faithfully that, if ever they made another request of the kind, he would send for his advisers immediately.

Before the Dutch moved towards the interior, they contrived to bribe *Jága Diningrat*, the chief who commanded the *Kérta-súra* troops, and with his assistance possessed themselves without difficulty of the fortified stations of *Pedakpáyang*, *Ung'árang*, and *Selatíga*. The main force of the *Kérta-súra* troops, consisting of about forty thousand men, was encamped in a strong position, not far from the latter place. After making considerable resistance, they were obliged to retreat in confusion, and the combined army prosecuting its march towards the capital, carried *Asem* by assault, and reached *Kérta-súra* shortly after *Susúnan Mang-*

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kúrat Mas had quitted it. All the chiefs who remained submitted to the new authority, and were received under its protection, with the exception of the son of *Pangéran Púgar*, who was strangled. *Susúnan Mangkúrat Mas*, called also *Susúnan Pinchang*, on account of his lameness, was at this time about thirty-four years of age. His reign was short, but remarkable for severity and cruelty.

Pangéran Púgar was fifty-six years of age when he ascended the throne. He had seven legitimate children, *Pangéran Matáran*, *Ang'ebái Léreng Páser* (who had remained with the deposed *Susúnan)*, *Jága Rúga*, *Mángku Nagára*, *Mángku Búmi* (who was declared hereditary prince, and succeeded his father), *Blítar*, and *Tepa Séna*.

The title assumed by *Pangéran Púgar*, with the concurrence of the Dutch, was *Susuhúnan Pakabúana Senapáti Ingalága Abdul Ráchman Panatagáma*, which may be rendered "The "saint who is the nail of the empire, the chief commander "in war, the slave of God, and propagator of the true faith."

An occurrence which took place shortly after the assumption of the government by this prince is noticed by the Javan writers, and argued highly in favour of the justice and impartiality of this prince.

The wife of *Mérta Yúdha*, writer to the *Susúnan*, and nephew of the *Adipáti* of *Semárang*, presented herself before him, alleging that her life was endangered by the cruel treatment of her husband, and imploring that she might be divorced from him, or protected against his ill usage. The *Susúnan* inquiring into the particulars, ascertained from the testimony of the woman herself, that she was attached to *Pangéran Adipáti*, the son of the *Susúnan*, who had frequently visited at her house in the absence of her husband, and that the severities she had suffered were the consequence of the rage which a discovery of that fact had occasioned. He called upon the *Pangéran Adipáti* to say if it was correct; and the prince, being ashamed to tell a falsehood, acknowledged the fact: wherefore his father reproved him in the strongest terms, and cautioned him not to be guilty of a like transgression a second time. Then calling for *Mérta Yúdha*, he thus addressed him: "*Mérta Yúdha*, your wife has come to me "requesting my interference to procure her a divorce from

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" you, or that I should prohibit you from again ill-treating " her in the same severe manner you have before done, on ac- " count of her attachment to my son, the *Pangéran Adipáti.*" To which *Mérta Yúdha* replied, " Respecting this affair, al- " low me to explain. She committed an offence towards me, " and she now comes to you to complain of me, saying I had " beaten her until she was nearly dead. That I did beat her " is true, but that I did so until she was nearly dead is utterly " false. I beat her when I was enraged; but, as my anger " subsided, I quickly became kind to her again; and yet she " has the audacity to request a divorce. This completes three " offences; in the first, place she committed the fault; in the " second, she has told a falsehood; and in the third, she has " requested a divorce. These points I submit to the justice " of your majesty." The *Susúnan*, then reflected that as the *Pangéran Adipáti's* conduct had been the cause of this woman's offence, it would not be just to punish her, without also punishing his son; and being disinclined to be severe with him on account of his youth, he felt at a loss how to decide with justice. At length, seeing but one way to get rid of the difficulty, he thus addressed *Mérta Yúdha:* " Enough, " *Mérta Yúdha*; the fault rests with my son the *Pangéran* " *Adipáti*, and your wife cannot be condemned to punish- " ment, unless my son be also condemned. Now I have not " the power to condemn my son, on account of his youth; " therefore, I publicly request your pardon for my son's of- " fence. If you wish to be divorced, the permission is granted, " and I will provide you with another wife. You want her " immediately—it is well;—but I have no women at present " except my own, none but the *Rátu* and my own daughters. " Make your choice, and whichever you prefer of them, I " will present to you in marriage. Place your confidence in " what I say, and believe that I say no more than what I " will do."

Mérta Yúdha, struck with astonishment, knew not how to reply. At last, after bowing his head several times to the ground, he declared that he was overcome by this act of magnanimity; that he forgave the young prince from his heart, and would willingly receive his wife back again, and treat her with kindness. The *Susúnan* then dismissed the parties, giving

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them advice as to their future conduct, and presenting them with a sum of money and several rich presents. *Mérta Yúdha* and his wife, say the Javan writers, afterwards lived most happily together, and never ceased to praise the justice and magnanimity of the prince.

In the spring of 1705, the Dutch government again sent a force to *Semárang*, which was joined by seven thousand Madurese, under the command of *Panambáhan Chákra Diníngrat.*

At this time *Surapáti*, who, after his first arrival at *Matárem*, had offered to surrender, again made an application to the Dutch for protection, and offered to send six thousand auxiliaries, promising at the same time to conduct himself as a faithful subject; but his offer was rejected.

On the 5th October, 1705, a contract was entered into by the new sovereign with the Dutch, by which, 1st, the contracts of the 24th September, 1640, and 20th October, 1677, and all privileges and immunities granted by *Susúnan Mangkúrat Mas* to Messrs. Speelman and Cooper, were confirmed. 2d. His highness ceded to the Dutch the district of *Gebáng* as situated within the following boundaries; viz. "From the "mouth of the *Dónan*, on the southern shore, in a westerly di-"rection along its banks as far as *Pasúruan*, where there is an "inland lake; thence along the north-eastern sea-shore to the "mouth of the river *Che-brom*, and further on along the north-"eastern side of an accessible swamp to *Che-satia*, near the "village *Madúra*, thence in a north-easterly direction over the "mountains of *Dáyu-luhur* to mount *Sumána* or *Subáng*, and "then south-east over the mountains of *Bonkok*, where a nor-"therly direction is taken, and continued to the river *Losári*, "and further on along the banks of that river to its mouth on "the northern coast of the island." 3d. The *Susúnan* acknowledged *Chéribon* as an independent state, in consequence of that country having, in 1680, been saved by the Dutch from the ravages of a banditti. 4th. The *Susúnan* resigned to the protection of the Dutch the countries of *Súmenap* and *Pamakásan*, stated to have been forced on them during the reign of *Susúnan Tegál-arom*, by the chief *Yúdha Nagára*. 5th. The *Susúnan* renewed and confirmed the cession of *Semárang* and *Kaligawé*, as stated in the transfer of 15th

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January, 1678. He further ceded to the Dutch the ports of *Torbáyá* and *Gumúlak*, on condition that the tolls continued to be collected for his own benefit, as at *Sámárang*. The Dutch, on the other hand, agreed to restore about fifty villages which belonged to *Demák* and *Kaligáwe*.

It was agreed that the tolls on goods imported into, or exported from, the *Susúnan's* dominions by the Dutch, should be levied according to the above-mentioned contract of 25th February, 1677, and that the *Susúnan* should in future require a duty of three instead of two per cent. from individuals trading with Dutch passes, it being left to his highness to fix the duties to be levied on goods belonging to persons who were not furnished with licences from the Dutch. 7th. The Dutch obtained liberty to establish factories in every part of the *Susúnan's* dominions, for which sufficient lots of vacant ground were to be given them, to answer every purpose of safety and convenience, and also to establish yards for building vessels. The Javan chiefs were bound to supply the Dutch at all times, payment being made for the same, with timber, labourers, &c. but they were to pay no capitation, and only to be considered as Company's subjects, as long as they should be employed by the Company. 8th. His highness promised to supply the Dutch with as much rice as should be required, at the market price, the Dutch being also at liberty to purchase that article from his highness's subjects, who were also allowed to export rice to Batavia, and all countries at peace with the Dutch. 9th. Pursuant to the contract of 1677, the *Susúnan* agreed to continue to shut his ports against *Makásars*, *Búgis*, *Maláyus*, *Bálians*, and other foreigners, except such as should obtain the permission of the Dutch. 10th. It was agreed that the Dutch, and all persons authorized by them, should continue to enjoy the exclusive privilege of importing and selling opium and clothes, as granted to them by *Susúnan Mangkúrat*, on the 20th October, 1677: that the native chiefs should carefully prevent all encroachments on this monopoly, and that all seizures of prohibited goods made by them and by the Company's servants, should be for the profit of his highness, to whose discretion it was left to remunerate the officers making the seizure. 11th. That all seizures made at sea by the Company's cruizers should be for

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the sole benefit of the captors, although afterwards brought into his highness's ports. 12th. The *Susúnan's* subjects were to be prohibited from trading otherwise than with Company's passes, and their trade eastward was restricted to *Báli* and *Lómbok*, northward to Borneo and *Banjarmásin*, and westward to *Bantám*, *Lámpung*, *Jámbi*, *Indragíri*, *Johór* and *Malácca*. They were prohibited from visiting the eastern governments, or *Búton*, *Tímor*, *Bíma*, &c., on pain of confiscation of vessels, cargo, &c. It was declared, that whenever his highness should be desirous of sending vessels to these quarters on his own account, the Dutch should attend to his wishes, as far as might be consistent with their regulations. 13th. The balance remaining due to the Dutch of the debts of his highness, adverted to in the contracts of 25th February and 15th October, 1677, was remitted, together with the sum to be paid to Captain Jonker for the delivery of the rebel *Trúna Jáya*, and all other claims of the Dutch on his highness, for expenses incurred in re-establishing him on the throne, &c. on the express condition that this contract should be faithfully observed; otherwise the said claims and pretensions to retain their former validity. In consideration of this important remission, his highness promised to supply the Company during twenty-five years, commencing in 1706, with eight hundered lasts of good rice annually, deliverable at Batavia by his highness's own vessels. An article was afterwards added to this treaty, by which it was stipulated, that no other European nation than the Dutch should ever be permitted to trade or build factories on Java.

On the 11th October, 1705 *, a further agreement was entered into by his highness, by which he promised to bear the expense of keeping a detachment of two hundred men of the Dutch troops at *Kérta-súra*, for his highness's protection and security, amounting to thirteen hundred Spanish dollars per month.

On the 12th July, 1706, a treaty for determining the boundaries between the territories of the *Susúnan* and those of the Dutch was entered into.

* Contract with M. de Wilde.

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The deposed prince, *Susúnan Mangkúrat Mas*, after flying from his capital, proceeded to the eastern districts, and joining *Surapáti*, reduced the eastern provinces under their authority, and appeared confident of success, being possessed of immense treasures in specie and jewels, which he had carried off with him.

In 1706, however, the army of *Surapáti* was defeated by the allied Dutch and Javan forces, and *Kedíri* was taken. Subsequently, the large combined army of *Mangkúrat Mas* and *Surapáti* was put to the rout and dispersed. *Surapáti* shortly after died in the mountains of *Bángil*, according to some accounts, of the effect of his wounds. He was succeeded in office by his son, *Pangáting*, who took the name of *Adipáti Wíra Nagára*, and being allied by marriage to the chiefs of *Kedíri*, *Balambáng'an*, and *Grésik*, brought many of the eastern districts again to acknowledge the authority of *Mangkúrat Mas*. Additional forces were, in consequence, sent from Batavia by the Dutch, which arrived at *Semárang* in 1707, and immediately proceeded, first to *Kérta-súra*, and then to the eastward. Falling in with the enemy of *Mádion*, they put him to flight, and continued their march to *Surabáya*, where the disturbances which had broken out on the island of *Madúra* obliged them to halt.

On the death of the native chief of *Madúra* his eldest natural son, *Sástra Nagára*, had declared himself his successor, and placed troops round the island to oppose the landing of his uncle, *Ráden Súria Nagára*, who had been appointed to the succession by the Dutch. The Dutch, however, found means to satisfy both parties, by conferring the separate charge of *Sámpang* on *Sástra Nagára*.

At *Súmenap* they met with greater difficulty. The native chief, *Nága Sidérma*, had been stabbed by his secretary: the secretary was afterwards killed by the slave of the chief. A tumult was thus excited, and the Dutch commanding officer having given offence to the principal inhabitants they proceeded with a large proportion of the population to the northern part of the island. The Dutch at length succeeded in establishing the infant son of the deceased as chief of *Súmenap*, with the title of *Ráden Tumúng'gung Príng'ga Ka-*

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súma, under the guardianship of his mother, *Rátu Sidáyu*. With these proceedings the campaign closed for that year *.

In the following year, 1708, the Dutch sent further reinforcements to the eastward, and preparations were making for opening the campaign, when the fugitive *Susúnan*, hearing of the arrival of the Dutch at *Surabáya*, sent ambassadors to their representative (Knol,) soliciting his pardon, and an assignment of some lands, independent of any other authority than that of the Dutch government. No sooner had he been promised this than he came to *Surabáya*, where he was received on the 17th July by Knol, who delivered to him a letter of pardon written in the Dutch and Javan languages, promising to him the independent possession of a district as a principality, subordinate only to the Dutch government. But, alas! these concessions were soon found to be nothing more than a stratagem to get possession of the prince's person. The unfortunate *Susúnan*, unsuspicious of the treachery, was quietly embarked at *Surabáya* on the 24th August, and with his three sons, his wife, concubines, and attendants, conveyed to Batavia.

The Dutch accounts relate, that as soon as the prince arrived at Batavia, the commissioners, who had received him on board and accompanied him to the castle, demanded that he should deliver up his *kris* before being admitted to an audience, which he refused to do. When, however, introduced to the high regency, who had been especially assembled for his reception, he prostrated himself at the feet of the governor-general, surrendered his *kris*, and implored the fulfilment of the conditions on which he surrendered. The governor-general replied, that Mr. Knol had not been authorized either

* The native writers relate a strange proceeding of the Dutch commandant in this war.

"As soon as the Dutch commander arrived at *Pasúruan* he assembled "the people, and offered a reward of one thousand dollars to any one "who would bring him the body of the deceased chief *Surapáti*. The "body was accordingly brought in a perfect state of preservation, on "which the commandant ordered it to be placed upright in a chair, as if "still living. He then approached it, took it by the hand, and made his "obeisance to it as to a living person: all the officers and men followed "the example. After this they burnt the body, and having mixed the "ashes with gunpowder, fired a salute with it in honour of the victory.

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to grant him a pardon or to make promises, yet that government would take the matter into consideration: his *kris* was then returned to him. He was lodged in the castle as a prisoner of war, and soon afterwards transported to Ceylon.

The account of this transaction by the Javan writers is as follows:

" The *Susúnan Mangkúrat Mas* and the *Adipáti Wira* " *Nagára* (son of *Surapáti)* had not been long at *Málang* " before they were attacked by *Pangéran Blítar*, and forced " to seek safety in the forests with only a few followers. " There they suffered severely from disease; and most of " them dying, the rest removed to the land of *Blítar*, whence " the *Susúnan* sent a letter to the chief Dutch authority at " *Surabáya*, asking him why the Dutch had thus assisted the " *Pangéran Púgar* against him, and deprived him of the " sceptre which had descended to him from his ancestors, " adding that he was himself equally the friend of the Dutch, " that he had never harboured a thought injurious to them, and " that if they still believed that he had been guilty of a fault " against them, it would be well if they would point it out " that he might exert his utmost to make amends: for this " they might fully depend on him; 'therefore,' said he, 'let " 'the Dutch place confidence in me, let them consider my " 'youth, and that it is yet but a short time that I have been " 'a sovereign.' To this the Dutch authority replied, 'If " 'the *Susúnan* wishes to act thus, and his intentions are " 'good, let him come to *Surabáya*.' *Susúnan Mangkúrat* " then requested, that if the Dutch would not again place him " on the throne, they would assign him a province, in which " he and his family might reside in peace. A promise being " given to that effect he immediately proceeded to *Surabáya*, " where he was received with all honours and the customary " salutes, and afterwards entertained with the Dutch officers " in the *Passangráhan* of the *Adipáti* of *Surabáya*. The " Dutch authority at last said to him, with the utmost kind- " ness and softness of speech, 'If the *Susúnan* has no objec- " 'tion, I am anxious that we should go to *Semárang* to see " 'the commissary; from thence the *Susúnan* can at once " 'proceed to *Kérta-súra*, and request the Dutch again to " 'acknowledge him as sovereign of Java.' The *Susúnan*

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" immediately assented to this arrangement. He was then, " with his family and followers, embarked on board a ship; " but instead of being conveyed to *Semárang*, he was taken " to Batavia, and afterwards banished to Ceylon."

It appears, that after the arrival of *Mangkúrat Mas* at Ceylon he found means to dispatch letters of complaint to the prince of Orange and the Court of Directors in Holland. Two Mahomedan priests were charged with the mission, but the letters being intercepted, the messengers were subjected to severe punishment.

With *Mangkúrat Mas* was lost the celebrated *makóta*, or crown of *Majapáhit*. The regalia of the sovereigns of Java, with the exception of this important article, were duly delivered over, by order of the Dutch, to the acknowledged sovereign *Pakabúana*, but nothing more was ever heard of the crown, and since that time the princes have worn a *cap*, as described in another place. As the Dutch were now become supreme on Java, a crown was perhaps but an empty pageant. It cannot, however, escape notice, that this proud ornament of state should first have been deprived of its brightest jewel, and afterwards, as there is too much room to suspect, filched by the Dutch, who probably stripped it of its remaining jewels, and melted down the gold for its value!

The removal of *Mangkúrat Mas* did not, however, extinguish the flame of internal discord which still blazed forth in the eastern provinces of Java, and which increased till the year 1712-13. The *Susúnan* sent several embassies to Batavia, requesting assistance against the chiefs of *Balambángan* and of the island of *Madúra*, as well as against the sons of *Surapáti*, who had their hiding places in the mountains. On this occasion the Dutch sanctioned the nomination of the *Pangéran Mángku Nagára* as the hereditary prince, and promised the required succours against the rebels, but took care to point out the value which they put upon their assistance: a piece of policy which, on no oceasion, they seem to have forgotten. They adverted to the immense sums they had at different times advanced, and the extent of the obligations which the *Susúnan* lay under to them, admonishing him to act with greater circumspection in future, and to adopt such

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measures as might put a stop to the civil wars and commotions which desolated the country.

It was not long, however, before various circumstances concurred to render the rebels still more formidable. The chiefs of *Surabáya*, *Probolíng'o*, and *Kédíri*, as well as those of *Madúra* and *Balambáng'an*, united at the instigation of the chief of *Wináng'un* (whose life had been unjustly attacked,) in a league to shake off the yoke of the *Susúnan*, and at the same time to rid themselves of the Dutch, whose aim they conceived to have been eventually to depose the *Susúnan*, and to render themselves sovereigns of the whole island.

A circumstance is related by the native writers, which is said to have contributed essentially to the distractions which at that time existed in the country.

" The Dutch requested that the *Susúnan* would immediately put the *Adipáti Jaíng Rána* of *Surabáya* to death, " alleging that he was attached to the cause of the rebels, and " that if an example were made of this chief, it would strike " fear into the others. On this the *Susúnan* became excessively grieved at heart, for he was sincerely attached to the " *Adipáti;* and now that the *Panambáhan* of *Madúra*, who " had been as his right hand, was dead, if he were to lose the " *Adipáti* of *Surabáya* also, who had been as his left hand, " he would in truth find that he had lost both hands. He " wished, therefore, to refuse compliance with this request; " but at the same time feared, that if he disappointed the " Dutch, there would be an end of his friendship with them. " On these two accounts he gave the subject his deepest consideration. At length he wrote a letter to the *Adipáti*, informing him of the request made by the Dutch; and to the " Dutch at Batavia he wrote in reply, that he wished to reflect " upon the affair, until the time appointed for the chief to pay " his usual visit to the capital should arrive.

" As soon as the *Adipáti* of *Surabáya* received these " tidings he assembled his brothers and his *Páteh*, named " *Wíra Tantáha*, and showed them the letter. His brothers " immediately advised that they should unite and oppose any " one, whoever it might be, who should attempt the life of " the *Adipáti;* for, said they, ' Is it not better to die nobly

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" 'in war, and to let one's enemies know how dearly the
" 'death of our brother is to be purchased, than to be quietly
" 'killed in one's bed? they will only know of the death and
" 'not of its value.' But the *Páteh* replied to them, 'What
" 'you say is correct, and in the service of the state we are
" 'bound to act as you advise; but this is a request made by
" 'the general, that the *Adipáti* should be put to death. Is
" 'it not better that he should deliver himself up? for if he
" 'does not there will be a rupture between the general and
" 'the *Susúnan*, and then (which God forbid) the land of
" '*Jáwa* will be destroyed, and universal misery will follow.
" 'You have now, for a long time, enjoyed happiness and a
" 'good name, and now that you have grown old in honour,
" 'it would not be fitting in you to do any thing that could
" 'bring sorrow or ruin on your sovereign, or that would dis-
" 'grace your followers or descendants, which would be the
" 'case if you now got a bad name.' The *Adipáti* was well
" pleased with the advice of his *Páteh*, and after considering
" for a short time, then addressed him, 'What you say is
" 'true, oh *Páteh!* I am old, and have not long to live. It
" 'is indeed right that I should deliver up my life for the
" 'benefit of my sovereign and the character of my family.' "

This resolution being taken, the *Adipáti* shortly after set out for *Kértasúra*, accompanied by his brother and about two thousand followers. When he arrived, the *Susúnan* inquired how he wished to act; to which he replied, that he preferred to die rather than to be the cause of misfortune to his sovereign or to the people of Java; that he was now old; that if his life was spared on this occasion he could not expect to live many years, and that he was already satisfied with this world. The *Susúnan* then said, if such was his determination and wish, he must of course follow it, but urged him to speak his mind freely, adding that he would think of it, and do what would turn out best for him: but the *Adipáti* replied, that he had no other wish than what he had already expressed; that it was much better that he should die, than become the cause of misfortune to others. All he requested was, that after his death the *Susúnan* would not be forgetful of his family and children, and that until his son was of a proper age, his brother, *Ráden Jáya Puspíta*, might succeed him in his public

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administration. The *Susúnan* then said, "It is well. If the "Dutch again make the demand you must prepare for your "fate; and I promise you that, in that case, your request shall "be complied with." At the expiration of about a month, during which period the *Adipáti* clothed himself in white and gave himself up entirely to his devotions, another letter arrived from the Governor General, making a peremptory demand that the *Adipáti* should be immediately executed. The *Susúnan* then sent for the *Adipáti*, and directed that he should be brought into the *dálam*. Dressed in white, he immediately attended the summons. When he reached the entrance *sri meng'ánti*, he quitted his followers, who were not allowed to come further but remained without; and the people who guarded the entrance of the *kráton*, having received the orders of the *Susúnan* to that effect, seized him, and plunging their weapons into his body, immediately dispatched him. They then carried out the corpse and gave it to his followers, charging them to give it proper burial. They were all struck with deep grief at the sight, for the *Adipáti* was much beloved. They interred the body at *Lawéan*; but immediately afterwards the brother, with about two thousand followers, assembled in the *alun alun*, determined upon vengeance, and the disturbance was not quelled until the *Susunán* entered into an explanation. He then appointed *Jáya Puspíta* to succeed provisionally to the administration of his deceased brother, and otherwise conciliated the parties, who were at last induced quietly to return to *Surabáya*; not, however, without a determination of one day being revenged on the authors of this calamity. On receiving the appointment from the *Susúnan*, while *Jáyá Puspíta* returned their grateful ackowledgments for this mark of kindness, they as openly avowed that they would never rest in peace, until they had given a due return to whoever was the cause of their brother's death.

"In pursuance of this determination, *Jáya Puspíta* took an early occasion to league with other discontented chiefs, and soon became the most formidable enemy to the tranquillity of the country.

"The forces of the *Susúnan* were completely defeated in a pitched battle, and the rebels made themselves masters of

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several important provinces to the eastward of *Pasúruan*. which place they also besieged until the arrival of the Dutch auxiliaries. They were then driven beyond *Panarúkan;* but being reinforced from *Báli*, soon forced the combined Dutch and Javan troops to retreat again to *Pasúruan*.

The effect of this civil war was now severely felt at Batavia. The country was laid waste, cultivation was neglected, and a great scarcity of rice was felt at Batavia. This induced the Dutch to march a more considerable force in 1717, and again to take an active part in re-establishing the tranquillity of the country.

On the arrival of this force at *Madúra*, it was found that the chief of that island had made two unsuccessful attacks on the troops of *Pamakásan* and *Súmenap*, and been forced at last to leave his capital with his son, brother, wives, and relations, and seek safety with the Dutch.

"When *Pangéran Chákra Deningrat*," say the Javan authors, "saw that nothing more was to be done against his enemies, he resolved to throw himself on the protection of the Dutch; and a Dutch ship arriving at *Madúra*, he dispatched a letter, soliciting their assistance. This letter the captain forwarded to *Surabáya*, and received the instructions of the admiral to take the chief and his family on board, and convey them to that capital. The captain immediately sent a messenger on shore to the *Pangéran*, informing him of the wishes of the admiral, and inviting him to come on board with his family. *Pangéran Chákra Deningrat*, who was unconscious of treachery or duplicity, and consequently void of suspicion, with a joyful heart accepted the invitation, and, accompanied by his family, immediately went off in a small fishing-boat. When arrived alongside of the ship, the followers who carried the *upachára* (emblems of state) were ordered to go on board: after them the *Pangéran* himself ascended, and then his wife, *Ráden Ayu Chákra Diningrat*. When the *Pangéran* came upon deck, Captain Curtis took him by the hand, and delivered him over to one of his officers, who immediately led him into the cabin. The captain remained till the *Ráden Ayu* had ascended, and as soon as she came on deck he likewise took her by the hand, and after the European manner kissed her cheek. Not understanding the custom she became

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alarmed, and thinking that Captain Curtis was offering an insult to her, screamed out, and called aloud upon her husband, saying, "the Captain had evil intentions." The *Pangéran* hearing the cries of his wife became furious, and drawing his *kris* rushed out, and without further inquiry stabbed the Captain. The attendants of the chief, who had come on board with the state ornaments, following the example of their master, raised the cry of *amók* and immediately fell on the crew of the vessel. The latter, however, were too powerful for them, and in a short time the whole of the Madurese party were killed, together with the chief and his wife.

When a question arises respecting the chastity of the Javan women, this story is usually referred to.

The rebels, both in the eastern provinces of Java and on *Madúra*, were joined by auxiliaries from *Báli*. Those, however, on *Madúra* were soon overmatched by the Dutch troops, and obliged to fly again to *Báli*. *Jáya Puspíta* was more successful. Moving from *Surabáya* through the central districts towards *Kérta-súra*, he subjected the provinces of *Jápan*, *Wirasába*, *Kediri*, *Mádion Sukawáti* and the neighbouring districts. While his head quarters were at *Kediri*, he was joined by *Pangéran Dipa Nagára* one of the sons of the *Susúnan*, who setting himself up as sovereign of Java, under the title of *Panambáhan Héru Chákra Senapáti Panatagáma* appointed *Jáya Púspita* to be his *Páteh*, with the title of *Ráden Adipáti Panatagáma*, and commenced the establishment of a government at *Mádion*

An army was sent from *Kérta-súra* against *Mádion*, under the command of *Pangéran Blítar*, another son of the *Susúnan;* but before they reached that place the *Pangéran* was summoned to return, in consequence of the severe indisposition of his father. This prince died in the Javan year 1648, and was buried at *Megíri*. He had previously written to the Dutch authorities, requesting them to select one of his three sons *Pangéran Adipáti Amángku-nagára*, *Pangéran Purbáyá*, or *Pangéran Blítar*, to succeed him in the government.

Thus ended the reign of a prince, which had had been one constant scene of commotion and rebellion, directed perhaps not so much against the authority of the prince himself, as

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against the Dutch, who now took so active a part in the affairs of Java, that the power of the native sovereign was merely nominal.

The Javan writers, whether from a desire to exclude from the regal line a prince who thus became the mere puppet of the Europeans, or from a conviction of the truth of the circumstance, seem anxious to prove that he was not the real son of *Susúnan Tegál Arom*, as related, but a son of the *Pangéran Kajuran*, father-in-law of *Trúna Jáya*, and who afterwards, when he established himself in the southern hills, took the name of *Panambáhan Ráma*. The story runs, that the *Rátu* of *Mangkúrat* being delivered of a deformed and imperfect offspring, the *Susúnan* secretly sent the child to *Kajúran*, who was supposed to deal in witchcraft, and that the *Pangéran* took the opportunity of destroying it, and substituted his own child in its place. This child, however, was born of a daughter of *Pangéran Purbaya*, the younger brother of Sultan *Agong;* so that on the mother's side it was of royal extraction. "But," say the Javan writers, "as the "present princes of Java are descendants from *Pakubuána*, "this story is not talked of in public; although in private "societies there are many who put faith in it."

On the 13th of December, 1705, articles were agreed upon with the Sultan of Bantam, to ensure the weight and quality of the pepper to be delivered.

On the 9th of October, 1708, a further contract was entered into with the sultan, with the view principally of renewing and confirming the contracts, bonds, deeds of remission, &c. entered into and concluded with his predecessors.

In August, 1731, another contract was entered into with the sultan, of which the following were the most interesting articles.

That all Búgis, Maláyus, Javans, and other native traders, shall be allowed freely to dispose of their wares at Bantam, without any interference on the part of the Dutch Resident, provided they do not trade in articles which constitute the Company's monopoly. The subjects of Bantam shall be permitted to trade to Java on condition that they do not abuse the confidence thus placed in them by engaging in illicit commerce. The sultan promised to adopt immediate measures

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for increasing the annual deliveries of pepper to the Company, and engaged to hold out every possible inducement to the *Lámpung* people to extend the cultivation of the article, instead of depressing them by unnecessary acts of severity. A deed was also executed about this time ceding *Púlo Pánjang* to the Dutch, for the purpose of keeping an establishment on it for assisting vessels in distress.

On the 9th December, 1733, a further contract was entered into with the sultan of Bantam, by which many regulations were made respecting the pepper monopoly.

Being called upon to renew the bond for the sum of six hundred thousand Spanish dollars in favour of the Dutch, the sultan, after previously stating whence this *lawful* debt originated, bound his kingdom and revenues for the same, and at the same time conferred on the Dutch the exclusive trade in pepper and other privileges. The deed of remission, bearing date 28th April, 1684, was further renewed, by which a conditional remission of the above-mentioned bond was granted. An act of donation from the price of ground, called *kámpung báli*, was at the same time granted.

Of the three sons of the deceased *Susúnan*, the Dutch government made choice of the *Pangéran Adipáti Amángku Nagára*, as his successor; he was accordingly publicly installed, under the title of *Susúhunan Prábu Senapáti Ingalága Abdul Ráchman Sahídin Panatagáma.*

The first and principal event in this reign was the rebellion of the younger brothers of the prince, *Pangéran Purbáya* and *Blítar*, occasioned principally by their being deprived of the lands and honours which they had enjoyed during the lifetime of their father. They first raised a party in the capital, and made an attempt, during the night, to enter the *kráton* and put the *Susúnan* to death, but being repulsed, they fled to *Matárem*, and collecting their followers, the youngest (*Blítar*) assumed the title of *Súltan Ibni Mustápha Pakubúana Senapáti Ingalága Abdul Ráchman Patagáma.* His brother, *Purbáya*, was satisfied with a secondary authority, under the title of *Panambáhan Senapáti Ingalága.*

In a short time the provinces of *Bányumas*, *Matárem*, and *Kedú*, submitted to these chiefs, and a union taking place with the party under *Panambáhan Héru Chákra*, the

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authority of the newly elected *Susúnan* became endangered.

Pangéran Aria Matárem, uncle of the *Susúnan*, at the same time quitted *Kérta Súra*, and reared the standard of rebellion in *Grobógan* and *Blóra*. This chief was, however, soon after decoyed into the hands of the Dutch in the following manner.

" The *Pangéran* was induced to go to *Páti*, and afterwards to *Japára*, on an understanding that the Dutch would raise him to the throne, where troops were immediately assembled, apparently for that object, but in reality to secure his person. On his arrival at the fort with his family, he was received with salutes of cannon and small arms, and separated from his followers, who were excluded. After he had been seated a short time, the gates of the fort were shut, and the *Pangéran* and his sons were disarmed, and placed in close confinement. He died in a few days. When the gates of the forts were closed, the followers of the *Pangéran* suspecting the treachery, would not disperse, until many were destroyed and the rest fired upon."

The Dutch force uniting with those of the *Susúnan*, the rebels, who were now united under the sultan *Ibni Mustápha*, were defeated, and obliged to retreat to *Kedíri*. Here they were pursued, again beaten, and driven in disorder to *Málang*. The sultan fled to *Gúnung Dampúlan* with only a few followers, while *Panambáhan Senapáti* and *Panambáhan Héru Chákra* rallied their remaining forces at *Lamájang*. The Dutch army now returned to *Kérta Súra*, and the tranquillity of the country was once more for a short time restored.

Sultan Ibni Mustápha having returned to the village of *Káli Gángsa*, was seized with a violent illness and died, and his family and followers, worn out with fatigue, conveyed the body to *Kérta Súra*, and threw themselves on the mercy of the *Susúnan*. Notwithstanding this unconditional submission, their chief, *Jáya Bráta*, was immediately put to death, and his body thrown into the river: the body of the deceased sultan, however, received honourable interment.

The rebels established at *Lamájang* still held out, and it was not until the arrival of a considerable Dutch force at

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Surabáya that they were induced to submit. According to the native writers, "The Dutch commander wrote from *Surabáya* to the rebel chiefs at *Lamájang*, informing them that he had been ordered to the eastward with a formidable force purposely to destroy them, and that if they did not quietly submit, he would force them to do so, in which case no quarter should be given, adding at the same time, that if they were willing to submit quietly, they should be received with favour, treated with kindness, and want for nothing during their lives. The chiefs seeing no prospect of success from further opposition, were induced to close with these terms. Accordingly *Panambáhan Senápati* and *Héru Chákra*, with *Adipáti Náta Púra*, attended by only a few followers, surrendered themselves at *Surabáya*, where they were received with great honour, the firing of cannon and musketry, and by the sound of the *gámelan*, which struck up on their approach. It was not long, however, before their persons were placed in confinement, and they were embarked on board a ship from Batavia, from whence *Panambáhan Héru Chákra* and *Adipáti Náta Púra* were afterwards banished to the Cape."

The only circumstance from which the peace of the country appears to have been subsequently disturbed during the reign of this prince, was by a *kráman*, or rebel, named *Ráden Ibráhim*, who gave himself out as a descendant of *Surapáti*; but this movement was instantly suppressed, and all that arose out of it appears to have been an attempt on the life of the *Susúnan*, made by a woman, who with a small party endeavoured to force her way into the *kráton*, but with several of her followers was killed in the attempt. The authority of the prince was now fully established; and in return for the services rendered by the Dutch in the late war, he was required to enter into a new treaty with the Dutch, containing the following, among other less interesting stipulations.

In acknowledgment of the services lately rendered, and also to his highness's forefathers, and in consideration of the considerable quantity of rice still owing by him to the Dutch, on the deliveries stipulated by the contract of 1705, his highness now promised to deliver to the Company annually at Batavia, with his own vessels, for a period of fifty years,

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to commence from the year 1734, a quantity of one thousand *koyans* of good rice, or its equivalent in money, it being at the same time understood that the Dutch are not bound to take money for any proportion of the said annual delivery, except when it was sufficiently proved that a failure of the crop of rice rendered it impossible to supply the whole quantity.

That with the view to encourage the cultivation of pepper, the Dutch should, in future, pay five rix-dollars for each *píkul* of that article; while, on the other hand, the *Susúnan* engaged to issue an edict, directing the total annihilation of the coffee culture, with the exception of a few plantations near the houses of the regents, for their own amusement and consumption, but by no means for trade, on severe penalties. The *Susúnan* moreover authorized the Dutch to cause all plantations, without distinction, in the low countries, on the coast, or in the mountains, to be destroyed, and to confiscate, for their joint profit, any quantity of coffee which might be found, for purposes of trade, in the hands of any of his highness's subjects, at the expiration of six months from the date thereof. That his highness should direct the coast regents to deliver, in the year 1734, the annual quantity of timber for repairing and extending the forts of *Semárang* and *Japára*, the other materials being furnished by the Company. The seventh article stipulated for the delivering annually about ten thousand beams of teak timber (specified) at *Japára*, *Demák*, *Waltri*, and *Brébes*, the same to be duly paid for on delivery; and the Dutch engaged to assure themselves that the regulation should be complied with, by causing the residents of the timber places to transmit the receipts and other vouchers relative thereto, while, on the other hand, the *Susúnan* promised to take care that the timber should be of good quality and of the stipulated dimensions.

The Dutch remitted to the *Susúnan* the arrears on account of the quantity of rice (the delivery of which was stipulated by the contract of October, 1705), consisting of no less than 6,537 *koyans;* and also the sums advanced by them in the wars and during his minority, on condition that, on the part of the *Susúnan*, all previous treaties, deeds, and charters, contracted and granted by his highness's predecessors, should

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be fulfilled by him; in default whereof the above pretensions were to regain their full force and value. It was further agreed that the Dutch should remain in possession of their former commercial privileges at Java, his highness promising to render the Dutch trade still more flourishing and considerable, and to increase the deliveries of cotton thread. His highness further bound himself to supply every day two hundred and forty *báturs*, or Javan labourers, for the service of the fort, free of expense to the Dutch.

The act which closed the reign of this prince, and which affords good evidence of the undisturbed state of public affairs at the period, was a visit to the burial-place at *Bútah*, where *Kiái Agong Bútuh*, and sultan *Pájang* had been interred. The Javans have such a superstitious veneration for this spot, that they declare it is never overflowed, notwithstanding the waters rise to a considerable height round it, and that it is lower than the adjoining ground. Here the prince was taken ill, and after a long confinement died, in the Javan year 1657.

He was succeeded by his son, under the title of *Susúnan Pakubuána Senapáti Ingalága Abdul Ráchman Sáhedin Panatagáma*, who ascended the throne when he was only about fourteen years old, and was yet unmarried.

The young prince was entirely under the superintendance of *Dánu Réja*, his father's prime minister, until, as he attained maturity, he by repeated acts shewed a disposition to shake off the controul of that chief. He was desirous of appointing *Chákra Níngrat* to be *Widána* of the eastern districts of *Pasúruan*, *Bángil*, and *Probolíng'o;* but that chief being on bad terms with the minister *Dánu Réja*, the *Susúnan* privately, and without the knowledge of the minister, wrote to the Governor-general at Batavia, requesting his sanction to the measure. Shortly after this the *Susúnan* made a further application to the Dutch, that they would remove from Java the person of *Pangéran Ria Mángku Nagára*, on a plea that he had been discovered in an improper intimacy with one of his concubines. On this occasion the minister, *Dánu Réja*, was dispatched to Batavia; and the interview he had with the Governor-general is thus related by the native writers:—

"The General was displeased with *Dánu Réja*, because he had not adjusted these two affairs; and afterwards, when he

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went to Batavia with presents from the *Susúnan*, the General asked him if he was willing that *Chákra Níngrat* should be *Widána* of the three districts? *Dánu Réja*, not aware of the application made by the *Susúnan*, replied, that if that chief was entrusted with so extensive an authority he should tremble, as the heart of *Chákra Níngrat* would thereupon become great; for he had already been married to the *Susúnan's* sister. The General observed, that it was easy to remove this uneasiness from his mind. 'Let,' said he, 'this 'chief be under the authority of the Dutch only. Let him 'pay the money tribute to the *Susúnan*, but in other respects 'let not the *Susúnan* trouble himself about him. Let him 'look to the Dutch only for keeping him under due restraint.' To this *Dánu Réja* replied, 'If such is the wish of the 'General, I cannot follow it, because I fear that hereafter 'the *Susúnan* would object to such an arrangement, and, 'repenting of having followed the General's advice, would 'be justly enraged against me and my successors, for having 'in any way consented that *Chákra Níngrat*, or these lands, 'should be placed under the immediate authority of the 'Dutch.' A pause then ensued. At length the General resumed, and in a peremptory and angry manner demanded of the minister, why he had not prevented the *Susúnan* from applying for the banishment of his brother, *Ria Mángku Nagára*, observing that it had not yet been proved, that he was guilty of any offence against the *Susúnan*. *Dánu Réja* replied, 'The offence of the *Pangéran* is clear and decided; 'it is known to many that he had an attachment for the '*Susúnan's* concubine.' He therefore requested he might be banished the island, adding, that he would request the *Susúnan* to make a proper provision for his maintenance. The General conceiving that *Dánu Réja* was not inclined to follow his wishes, became enraged, and desired him not to trouble himself further about the *Pangéran*, saying that, whether he was banished or not, was not his business; it depended entirely on the government. He then dismissed him to his *póndok*, where the minister was allowed to remain upwards of a year, until the death of the General, when, on the elevation of his successor, he was directed to return to *Kérta-súra*. While thus detained at Batavia, he was repeatedly visited by

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some of the counsellors, urging him to accede to the wish of the General respecting the lands; but he continued to use to them the same arguments he had before used to the General."

After the return of *Dánu Réja* to *Kérta-súra*, he is represented as having had an interview with *Wangsarána*, a celebrated devotee, who resided in the first *Kalángbrit*, and who foretold the misfortunes which were to ensue.

On demanding of this *tápa* what would be the future fate of *Kérta-súra*, he replied, " that it was destined to misfortune, " destruction, and sorrow: *Ráden Más Sujána* and *Ráden* " *Mas Sáyed* will however profit by it." This *Ráden Sujána* was a younger brother of the *Susúnan* by a concubine, and afterwards took the name of *Pangéran Mangkubúmi*. *Ráden Mas Sáyed* was a cousin to the *Susúnan*, son of his elder brother, *Pangéran Mangku-nagára*, who had been sent to Batavia with a request that he might be banished. They were both at this time youngest children *(timur)*.

This prophecy made a deep impression on the mind of the minister; and his uneasiness became still greater, when one day a woman, named *Niái Súka Wáti*, came to him from her mistress, *Rátu Agong*, the mother of the *Susúnan*, saying that the *Rátu* had just dreamt that she beheld the moon descend from the heavens and rest on the top of the large *dúku* tree in the *kráton;* and that this had no sooner occurred, than that *Ráden Mas Sujána* immediately came, and seizing hold of the moon swallowed one-half of it, the other half slipping from his grasp, and resuming its place on the top of the tree: the *Rátu* then awoke and found it daylight. These were the first signs of what was soon to befal *Kérta-súra*.

The fate of the minister was, however, to be first decided; for on the occasion of the *Susúnan* raising a chief, named *Súra-Diningrat*, to be *Bopáti* of *Pakalúngan*, with a thousand *cháchas*, without the knowledge of the minister, the latter refused to acknowledge him in that capacity; in consequence of which the *Susúnan* requested the Dutch to arrest him, and banish him from the island. As soon as the Dutch had consented to do so, the unfortunate minister was dispatched to *Semárang* on a special embassy from his master, where he was decoyed into the Dutch fort and confined. He was soon after embarked for Ceylon, in the same vessel which

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conveyed *Pangéran Ria Mángku Nagára*, at whose feet he fell, acknowledging the justice of his own punishment, for having assisted in the banishment of that chief, who had in fact committed no fault. The *Susúnan* then oppointed *Nátu Kasúma* to be his minister.

Accounts were now received from Ceylon of the death of the ex-*Susúnan Mangkúrat Mas*, and at the request of the *Susúnan*, the family of the deceased were permitted to return to *Kérta-súra*. On these were conferred distinguished titles and considerable assignments of land. To *Mángku Nagára* the *Susúnan* gave the name of *Wíra Mengála*, with one thousand *cháchas* of land; to *Mángku Níngrat* he gave the name of *Pangéran Tépa Sána*, with nine hundred *cháchas*; and to *Ráden Jáya Kasúma* he gave the title of *Pangéran*, with three hundred *cháchas*. *Pangéran Purbáya*, who had assumed the title of *Panambáhan Senapáti Ingalága*, shortly after died at Batavia, and his body was conveyed to *Megíri*. The eldest son of this chief married a younger sister of the *Susúnan*, and received the title of *Pangéran Purbáya*, with an assignment of *sáwa*. The *Susúnan* became much attached to him, and at length followed his counsel in all things. "What was right was declared wrong, and what was wrong, "right, just as he pleased, and the *Susúnan* believed it."

This increasing influence of the *Pangéran Purbáya* alarmed the minister, who secretly acquainted the Dutch with it, and by their interference the *Pangéran Purbáya* was removed from the councils of the prince, and obliged to fix his residence at a distance from the capital.

Various signs now foreboded approaching war and misfortune, and led the people to expect that *Pangéran Tépa Sána* would attempt to regain the throne of his ancestors. The *Susúnan* and his ministers entirely disregarded these signs; but *Pangéran Wíra Mengála* sought the friendship of the Dutch commandant, in the hope of obtaining his assistance.

At this time occurred the rebellion of the Chinese at Batavia; and as the Dutch accounts of the transaction are far from complete or satisfactory, I shall quote two Javan records without variation. One of them is as follows:

"The city of Batavia was now in the highest state of prosperity: traders came from all quarters, merchandize was

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in abundance, and the slaves were numerous. The latter becoming arrogant, in consequence of the wealth and power of their masters, committed outrages on the Chinese, in the first instance by beating them, and afterwards by attempting their lives. At first there were but few who committed these outrages, but at last they formed themselves into parties and committed more public acts of hostility. The Chinese applied to the European officers in authority, to put a stop to these outrages, or to punish those who committed them: they could, however, obtain no redress, the slaves testifying with one accord that the Chinese were the aggressors. The Chinese finding they could not obtain justice from the great people, assembled near the sugar mills at *Gandária* *, to the number of more than a thousand, and chose a chief, with the determination to oppose the Dutch and the slaves; but as yet they thought it advisable not to do so openly, and therefore committed their depredations in small parties during the night. The Dutch, as soon as they heard of this, empowered several natives from *Sábrany* (of the opposite coasts and islands) to take up the Chinese who were at *Gandária;* these people succeeded in apprehending the Chinese one by one, and as soon as they gave them over to punishment they received a reward of six ducatoons for each. In this way they secured about two hundred. These were immediately embarked on a vessel to be banished to another country, but when they had got out to sea they were all thrown overboard. Many of them who could not swim perished; but a few having succeeded in reaching the shore, found their way to *Gandária*, and related to their companions how they had been treated. The Chinese, upon this, concluding that the Dutch had resolved to extirpate their race, now openly prepared their warlike instruments, gave notice to their countrymen at Batavia of the manner in which the Dutch had determined to destroy them, and requested that those who were willing to join them would immediately repair to *Gandária*. The Chinese in other quarters, equally harassed by the slaves, against whom they could gain no redress, became of one mind, when they received the intelligence of their countrymen having been thrown over-

* A village in the vicinity of Batavia.

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board by the Dutch, and when they reflected that the destruction of their race was determined; they therefore collected quietly at *Gandária*, until their numbers amounted to upwards of five thousand. Here the whole placed themselves under the orders of a chief, named *Sípanjang*."

The other account is as follows:

"It is related of Batavia, that General Valkenier was excessively liberal in his favours to the Chinese. The consequence of this was, that of all the races then resident at Batavia, with the exception of the Dutch, none were so wealthy as they. Whatever was profitable fell into their hands, while the other races, the natives of the country and the adjacent islands established there, found it difficult to discharge the duties and demands made upon them. On this account all these races became discontented with the Chinese; and as it is usual with the latter for their hearts to swell as they grow richer, quarrels ensued, and disputes continually took place between the parties. These increased, until complaints were carried before masters of slaves, where slaves were concerned, and before the regular courts, where free people were concerned. But the Chinese being always defeated in these suits, and fined for their conduct, they assembled in bands, for the purpose of revenging themselves, and began to plunder the villages in the neighbourhood of the town. This happened in the Javan year 1663 *(gúna-rása-móbah jalma)* *.

"It is related that at this time there was at Batavia a certain *Edel Heer*, the Baron Van Imhoff, who had arrived from Ceylon. On his arrival at *Jokarta*, he learned from General Valkenier the particulars of the conduct of the Chinese, who were thus committing depredations in the villages; he said there were too many Chinese at Batavia, and proposed that a proportion should be sent to Ceylon. This was accordingly agreed to by the high council, and a search was in consequence made to take up the poorest of these, that they might be transported to Ceylon. The expences, in the first instance, were to be advanced by the Dutch, who were afterwards to be reimbursed when the Chinese should have acquired the means at Ceylon. The Chinese captain was accordingly di-

* Meaning, "ability was now inclined to move or shake mankind."

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rected to beat the *gong*, and give public notice of this order; but there was not one Chinese inclined to follow it: and in order to carry the proposition of Van Imhoff into effect, it was agreed to arrest all the Poor Chinese. This order was given to the captain of the Chinese, but he declined to arrest his countrymen. Van Imhoff then inquired by what distinction of dress he might know the rich from the poor? The captain replied, "the clothing of the Chinese which may be consi-"dered a proof of their being poor, is black (blue)." Upon this the governor directed the *Baillieu* to arrest all Chinese so dressed; and the *Baillieu* again entrusting the execution of this order to his *Máta Máta*, who belonged to the races inimical to the Chinese, the latter, to gratify particular enmities, arrested many who did not wear blue, some of them of the most respectable families. The Chinese, in general, were much offended, when shortly the whole of those who were arrested, were embarked on board ship apparently for Ceylon; but they had been only a few days at sea, when they were *amók'd*. Most of them were killed, and the rest were thrown overboard. Of these some escaped to land, and arriving secretly at Batavia, communicated to their countrymen the particulars of the cruel treatment of the Company towards them. On this all the chiefs of the Chinese entered into an agreement to raise the standard of rebellion against the Dutch, and to endeavour to carry the fort of Batavia. There were, however, one or two who did not chuse to become the enemies of the Dutch.

"A Chinese named *Liu Chu*, informed the government of what was going on among his countrymen, for which he received a reward of eighty ducats, and other valuable presents, with a promise of future patronage. This man went as a spy to the Chinese at *Gandária*, and endeavoured to persuade the chief to submit to the Dutch, promising him free pardon; but *Si-pánjang* suspecting that, however fair might be the promises of the Dutch in the first instance, they would not fail to revenge themselves upon him, by seeking out some offence of which to accuse him, would not listen to these overtures. The Dutch then ordered, that of the Chinese who were at Batavia, such as wished to join their countrymen at *Gandária* might do so, but that such as wished to follow the Dutch, must

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shave their mustaches as a sign, and deliver up all their sharp instruments of every description, even to the smallest knife, and neither burn a lamp nor make a fire at night. All the Chinese within the city were inclined rather to remain in their houses, and conform to the wish of the Dutch according to this order, than to quit their houses and join their companions at *Gandária*. The Dutch troops were now making preparations in the fort, and shut the gates of the city, hearing that the Chinese from *Gandária* were approaching. These came towards Batavia in three parties, burning and laying waste every thing in their way, until they arrived close under the walls, in numbers not less than ten thousand. Some of the guns being inefficient, the Chinese became bolder, and made a furious attack in which they were repulsed with great slaughter. In this affair the Chinese are estimated to have lost one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine lives. They retreated in confusion, but assembled again at *Gáding Meláti*.

"The next morning the Dutch landed all the sailors from the shipping in the roads, and having confined the Chinese to their houses, according to the regulation, the Dutch government gave orders for their own people, the free black inhabitants, and the native Christians belonging to the fort, to slay all the male Chinese, old and young, who were within the city. Of these, amounting to nearly nine thousand souls, only one hundred and fifty escaped to join their countrymen at *Kámpung Meláti*. The property of all the Chinese was seized by those who committed the slaughter, not one of whom was killed, the Chinese having previously, as before related, delivered up their weapons to the Dutch.

"After this the Dutch troops, to the number of eight hundred Europeans and two thousand natives, under the orders of the Baron Van Imhoff, proceeded to *Kámpung Gáding Meláti*, where the Chinese under *Si-Panjang* had entrenched themselves in considerable numbers, and soon drove them from this position. The Chinese then retreated to *Paning'-gáran*, where also they were defeated. The loss of the latter affair was on the part of the Dutch four hundred and fifty, on that of the Chinese eight hundred."

While these transactions were going on at Batavia, many of the *Bopátis* of the coast provinces had arrived at *Kérta*

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Súra, to present themselves at court, according to custom, at the ensuing *múlud*. The *Bopáti* of *Demák* informed the minister, *Nála Kasúma*, that before he quitted his district, the Chinese, in considerable numbers, had assembled in arms and elected a chief of their own nation, named *Síngseh*. The *Bopáti* of *Grobógan* also reported, that the same thing had taken place in his district, in consequence of their having heard that the Dutch at Batavia were determined to destroy every Chinese on the island. On this the minister waited upon the *Susúnan*, and informed him of these commotions. The *Susúnan* replied, that he had already heard of what was going on at Batavia, and was much surprized that the general had not sent him any intimation of the insurrection. The *Ráden Adipáti* observed, that perhaps it would not come to any thing, and that very probably the disturbance would subside of itself. To this the *Susúnan* replied: "if so, it was "well; but if the war was brought into his country, what was "he to do? He feared this was to be apprehended, or why "should the Chinese on his lands be thus preparing to defend "themselves against the Dutch. It is proper at any rate," added the *Susúnan*, "that we should agree with all the "*Bopátis* who were assembled, whether it would be most ad-"visable to assist the Dutch or the Chinese, for if the war is "to be brought into my country, it appears to me that this "point must soon be determined. In the mean time should "this event happen, let them fight between themselves, don't "let us interfere or assist: don't drive the Chinese away." On this the *Ráden Adipáti* observed, "that if the general re-"quested their assistance, they were bound, according to "treaty, to afford it," The *Susúnan* replied, "if the general "requests assistance from me in men, it is an easy matter, "and we can readily chuse the right course, but he must not "force me to render assistance." The *Ráden Adipáti* then said, "as this was the wish of the prince, he would assemble "the chiefs and be ready to give assistance to the Dutch, "should they request it." The *Susúnan* replied, "very well, "let them agree how to act."

The *Ráden Adipáti* then proceeded to his house, where, assembling the chiefs, the point was discussed as follows. The *Ráden Adipáti* having informed them of the desire of

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the *Susúnan*, that they should agree how to act, in the event of the war between the Chinese and Dutch being brought into the *Susúnan's* country, whether they should assist the Dutch or the Chinese. The *Adipáti* of *Pakalóng'an*, *Jáya Níngrat*, first delivered his sentiments. "I think it is best," said he, "that the *Susúnan* should assist the Dutch, but on "condition they should release him from all the burthens "which have been imposed upon his ancestors." The *Ráden Adipáti* said, "That is good; but I must remain of opinion, "that the Chinese who are on Java do not concern our "affairs as to the Dutch: they are not under my orders; "they are only engaged in trade; they have done good, and "brought profit to Java: why must we assist the Dutch, and "destroy the Chinese?" *Depáti Jáya Nígrat* replied, "It "is true the Chinese do not interfere with our business, and "it is our own fault that we have any thing to do with the "Dutch. Is it not better to take this opportunity of ridding "the *Susúnan* of the exactions he is under to the Dutch? "Let us assist them; they are strongest. The Dutch are as "iron, the Chinese as tin: therefore it is better to assist the "party most likely to be victorious." The *Ráden Adipáti* observed, "that it was on account of the Dutch being so "strong that he thought it wrong to assist them; for," added he, "if we do they will only become more powerful and great, "when perhaps we shall not be able to oppose them, and "must remain entirely at their mercy. Is it not better, there-"fore, to destroy their strength while they are not too power-"ful for us?" The *Depáti Jáya Níngrat* then said, "If on "this account we do not like to assist the Dutch, let us not "assist the Chinese, but remain neutral, and leave them to "fight it out among themselves." The *Ráden Adipáti* said, "That would not be according to the will of the *Susúnan:* "he wishes to take part with one or the other, and he only "asks which." The other *Bopátis* inclined to the advice of *Jáya Níngrat;* but observing the desire of the *Ráden Adipáti* to assist the Chinese, were silent, concluding that the part he took was in conformity with the wish of the *Susúnan*. The *Tumúng'gung* of *Grobogán*, *Ráden Mérta Púra*, then said, "We are as the people who bear two burthens: the "Dutch are on the right shoulder, the Chinese on the left;

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" if we throw off one the other still remains. If we can ac-
" complish it, why should we not get rid of both? In the first
" instance, let us assist the Chinese, and get rid of the
" Dutch; when that is done we can easily get rid of the
" Chinese also." *Depáti Jáya Ningrat* replied, " It is very
" well for you to wish this, but perhaps you are not suffi-
" ciently strong to effect it. In an affair of this importance
" we should consider the consequences. If we succeed, it is
" well; but if we destroy one party we commit an offence
" against the Almighty: what then if we destroy both parties,
" who have done us no harm? You must have read in
" history what has happened in the land of Java, and what
" occurred to those who injured others who did not offend
" them. Recollect, for instance, the case of *Jaing Rána* of
" *Surabáya*, who was put to death unjustly: was his death
" not avenged, and for this one innocent life was there not
" afterwards a retribution of sixteen lives?" *Mérta Púra* was
embarrassed, and knew not what answer to make. The *Ráden
Adipáti* laughed, and was followed by all the chiefs; he after-
wards said, " This is the effect of experience. *Mérta Púra*
" is a young man, and not able to contend in argument with
" *Adipáti Jáya Ningrat*, his elder." However, *Ráden Mérta
Púra*, taking a cup of tea, recollected himself, and prepared
to reply. After drinking the tea, and replacing the cup, he
immediately addressed *Adipáti Jáya Ningrat*: " How can
" you talk thus? Is it not better to finish the business at
" once, and not by halves? Of what use is it to talk of pre-
" cedents? What was the case formerly is one thing; the
" present affair is altogether different: they cannot be com-
" pared together. We have now our own master, whose
" wishes we must follow. We must make a new example,
" and leave others to act up to it." The *Ráden Adipáti* then
demanded of all the other *Bopátis* their opinion in this affair,
to which they replied, " Let us advise the *Susúnan* to follow
" his own inclination, either to assist the Dutch according to
" treaty, on condition that they cancel all obligations, &c. on
" the part of the *Susúnan* to the Dutch, or to assist the
" Chinese in destroying the Dutch, and after that to get rid of
" the Chinese altogether, or allow them to remain, as the
" *Susúnan* may think proper."

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This opinion was on the next day carried to the *Susúnan* by the *Ráden Adipáti*, who further suggested, that it would be well to encourage the Chinese to act against the Dutch; that when the war took place it would be easy to perceive which was the best side to assist, and that the *Susúnan* should appear to remain neutral for the present. The *Susúnan* having listened to this advice approved of it. He in consequence directed that *Mérta Púra* should quietly return to his province, and should encourage the Chinese to act against the Dutch, and promise them, that in the event of their success the *Susúnan* would join them. He also directed that the other *Bopátis* should make preparations for collecting their forces.

In pursuance of these orders *Mérta Púra* secretly proceeded to *Grobógan*, and communicated with the chiefs who had been elected by the Chinese, named *Inchi Máchan* and *Múda Tik*. The Chinese of *Grobógan* immediately wrote to *Síngseh*, the chief at *Tánjung Welahan*, who was equally pleased with this promise of support. The Chinese from *Grobógan* then went and joined those at *Tánjung Walákan*, it being arranged that *Mérta Púra* should make a sham attack upon them, from which they should appear to fly.

Mérta Púra then wrote to the Dutch commander at *Semárang*, telling him that he had orders from the minister to attack the Chinese, and requesting to be supplied with ammunition, which was immediately sent. The Dutch were completely deceived. They furnished *Mérta Púra* with twenty muskets, eight carbines and eight pistols, and eight barrels of powder: they also sent thirty Dutch soldiers. *Mérta Púra* commenced the attack before they came, and thus secured the retreat of the Chinese. On this occasion he shot three horses with ball, and shewed them to the Dutch as having been wounded under him.

In the mean time the commandant at *Semárang*, deceived by the assurances of *Mérta Púra*, requested the officers at *Kérta Súra* to call upon the *Susúnan* for assistance. He directed that *Mértu Púra* should be reinforced, but that the chief who commanded the party should receive secret instructions not to annoy the Chinese in earnest, but to act as

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Mérta Púra had done. With respect to the Chinese at *Kérta Púra*, he directed that they should be informed that on the next morning the Javans would make a sham attack upon them, when they must retreat and join a party of Chinese assembled at the *Désa Sarója* in *Kedú*, to which place they would be pursued, and from whence the Javan chief was to return, saying, that on account of their numbers he could advance no further.

Secret orders to this effect were immediately given to all the chiefs. The *Adipátis* of *Páti*, *Demák*, and *Kedú* were at the same time directed to go and make a false attack upon the Chinese at *Tánjung Waláhan*, and afterwards to retreat to *Semárang*, as if beaten, in order that the commander might believe that the *Susúnan* was determined to assist the Dutch.

The captain and lieutenant of the Chinese at *Semárang* having been put in confinement by the commandant, all the Chinese at that place joined their countrymen at *Tánjung Waláhan*. The Chinese then moved to *Kárang Anyer*, where they were attacked. The Javans retreated to *Semárang*, and were assisted by the Dutch. The chief, *Síngseh*, in concert with *Mérta Púra*, now laid siege to *Semárang*.

The commander at *Kérta Súra* requested assistance against the Chinese at *Ambaráwa*, which was granted, with the same instruction to the chiefs as in the former instances. These marched as far as *Salíatga*, where they held secret communication with the Chinese; but the chief, *Aria Pringaláya*, caused ten Chinese to be put to death while both parties were about to meet privately, and sent the ten heads to *Kérta Súra*, which were delivered to the commandant. This at first exasperated the Chinese leader at *Semárang*, but he was soon pacified.

At this time the *Susúnan* discovered that one of the sons of *Mangkúrat Mas*, *Tépa Sána*, was carrying on an intrigue with the commandant of the fort at *Kérta Súra*, and caused him to be bow-stringed. *Wíra Méja* and *Ráden Garendi*, the two sons of *Tépa Sána*, with his other relations, joined *Pangéran Wíra Meng'ala*, and quitted *Kérta Súra:* they were well received by the Chinese.

The Chinese, besides laying siege to *Semárang*, had also

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by this time taken and destroyed *Rémbang*. *Jawána* and *Demák* were abandoned by the Dutch troops, and a want of provisions was felt through the country.

Affairs had come to this pass, when the *Susúnan* resolved to massacre the Dutch garrison at *Kérta Súra*. The Javans were collected under the fort, as by order from the *Susúnan*, in readiness to march against the Chinese, when one of them who had entered within the walls fired a shot. The cry of *amók* was given, and many lives were lost on both sides; but the plan did not succeed, and it was not till after he was reinforced by the Chinese that he could effect his object. On the renewal of the attack, the garrison was compelled to surrender. The commanding officer and some others were barbarously murdered in cold blood; the rest of the troops, with their wives and children, made prisoners, and distributed among the Javans: the greatest part of the men being circumcised and forced to adopt the Mahomedan religion.

The Dutch authorities, in endeavouring to account for this act, incline to an opinion that the *Susúnan* was (not without an appearance of probability) immediately impelled to it by many acts of oppression and injustice exercised against his subjects, by a total disregard of all his representations for redress, by an evident intention on the part of the Dutch to become masters of the whole island, and by the harsh and uncivil conduct of the Resident towards the first men of the court, which was the more obnoxious from his being the son of a Javan woman, and for that reason, and the illegitimacy of his birth, much despised by the natives.

When this intelligence reached *Semárang*, the Dutch began to open their eyes. The first step that was taken was to pass a decree, absolving the *Pangéran* of *Madúra* from his allegiance to the *Susúnan*. This decree was formally signed by the government of *Semárang*, and accepted by the *Pangéran*, who being married to a sister of the *Susúnan*, returned his wife back to her brother. No sooner had he delared himself the ally of the Dutch, than he ordered all the Chinese on the island of *Madúra* to be put to death, and embarking his forces immediately, took possession of *Sidáyu*, *Tuban*, *Jípang*, and *Lamúng'an*. At *Grésik* about four hundred Chinese were put to death.

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The Chinese, in the meantime, finding themselves reinforced by the Javans, spread over the whole country without encountering opposition, and laid siege at the same time to nearly all the Company's settlements along the coast, from *Tégál* to *Pasúruan*.

After many feeble and unskilful attacks on the fort of *Semárang*, and the loss of many lives, the united forces of the Javans and Chinese were compelled to raise the siege.

A negociation was now brought about by means of the *Pangéran* of *Madúra*, who represented to the Dutch that the attack upon the fort, as well as the subsequent part taken by the Javans, was solely at the instigation of the minister, *Náta Kasúma*, and that the *Susúnan* himself was personally averse to these measures. The *Susúnan*, according to the Dutch accounts, regretted the precipitate steps he had taken, either as beginning to fear that the Dutch might again, as in former wars, obtain the ascendancy, and make him pay dear for his temerity; or, which appeared to him most likely, apprehending that the Chinese, who, though comparatively few and unused to arms, had hitherto taken the lead in every affair of consequence, and evinced their superiority to the Javans in ability and courage, should become too powerful, and might, in concert with some discontented chiefs, think fit to depose him. From one or other, or both of these motives, the *Susúnan* desired to renew his alliance with the Dutch.

The Dutch, on their part, considering the precarious state of the time and circumstances, found it advisable to enter into amicable relations, and accordingly concluded a peace, by which were ceded to them the island of *Madúra*, the sea-coast, and *Surabáya*, with all the districts to the eastward, as *Balambáng'an*, and *Rembáng*, *Japára*, and *Semárang*, with all their subordinate posts.

According to the Javan accounts, this treaty was concluded without the knowledge of the minister, *Náta Kasúma*, who with the Javan and Chinese forces still lay encamped not far from *Semárang:* and it was agreed upon by the *Susúnan*, at the request of the Dutch, that the Chinese should be kept in ignorance of what was passing, in order that they might be the more easily massacred by their supposed friends the Javans. *Náta Kasúma*, however, no sooner heard of the con-

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ditions on which the peace had been concluded, and of the intention to massacre the Chinese, than he took part with them, and revealed the whole plot. To preserve appearances, however, he made a sham attack on the Chinese, in which the sick alone were sacrificed. The rest moved off unmolested to the eastward, meditating vengeance against the *Susúnan*, by whom they had been thus deserted. Their principal force was now assembled in the districts of *Páti* and *Jawána*, where they were joined by many of the chiefs who had hitherto been attached to their cause. Here they proclaimed as *Susúnan Ráden Mas Garéndi*, son of *Pangéran Tépa Súna*, who had recently been put to death by the *Susúnan*, and grandson of *Susúnan Mangkurat Mas*, who had died at Ceylon. He assumed the title of *Susúnan Mangkúrat Mas Prábu Kúning*, but is usually distinguished by the name of *Susúnan Kúning*. This prince was about ten years of age, and therefore the transactions which ensued are to be attributed to his ministers, *Mangunónang* and *Mérta Púra*, and to the Chinese chiefs, *Síngsih* and *Pánjang*.

Náta Kasúma, the minister, still feigning allegiance, returned to *Kérta Súra;* but the part he had taken being discovered, he was sent to *Semárang* on a false mission, as was customary in such cases, and there entrapped by the Dutch and conveyed to Ceylon.

The Chinese, with their emperor, now marched with great expedition to *Kérta Súra*, in order to attack the *Susúnan*, and met with but little resistance. The troops of the *Susúnan*, under the command of *Ráden Pringa Láya*, were defeated, *Kérta Súra* was surprised, and the *Susúnan* was obliged to leave his court, and treasures to the enemy. His queen, sister, and children, on horseback, together with his mother, carried by two Europeans, under the conduct of two Dutch officers, through a back gate of the *dálam*, were pursued and overtaken. The *Susúnan* and the hereditary prince only were enabled to save themselves by flight.

It was not likely that an alliance between the Chinese and Javans, people so different and hostile to each other, could be of any long duration. While the Chinese became relaxed in their discipline, and indulged in every species of irregularity, the fugitive emperor, being now joined by the Dutch and *Ma-*

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durese, received the submission of many of the rebel chiefs, and pardoned them; but he refused to pay attention to the offers of submission made by the Chinese. The prince of *Madúra*, at length, succeeded in making himself master of *Kérta Súra*, from whence the *Susúnan Kuning* was obliged to fly, after a reign of four months.

The Chinese being afterwards defeated in a pitched battle at *Asém*, retreated to *Brambánan*, and the *Susúnan* again arrived in his capital. When, however, the prince of *Madúra*, who was by no means well inclined to the *Susúnan*, found himself in possession of *Kérta Súra*, he made an attempt to raise to the throne *Pangéran Angebai*, the *Susúnan's* brother. The *Susúnan* was once more obliged to quit his capital, and it was not until after much negociation between the Dutch and the Javans, that he was re-established. Whether this attempt on the part of the Madurese prince was serious, or only intended to render the sovereign more complying to the demands of his allies, is not known. The negociation, however, as was usual in similar cases, turned out highly advantageous to the Dutch interests, a treaty being dictated by them without the walls of the palace, and before the prince was permitted to enter it.

The Chinese, who had meanwhile remained at *Brambánan* unmolested for two whole months, were now joined by *Páku Nagára*, a man noted among the Javans for his eminent abilities, and distinguished afterwards for the conspicuous part he acted in what is called "the war of Java," and through his means the party were enabled still to make a stand: they were at length, however, defeated by the Dutch troops, and compelled to retreat over the southern hills. A general amnesty being proclaimed, and the Chinese having availed themselves of it, the ex-emperor at length surrendered to the Dutch at *Surabáya*, by whom he was banished to Ceylon, where he died. This event happened in the Javan year 1667, and terminated the Chinese war.

After a few months the *Susúnan*, in conformity with ancient custom, removed the seat of government from *Kérta Súra* to the village of *Solo*, about six miles distant, where a palace was built. The new capital was called *Súra Kérta*, and is the present residence of the emperors of Java.

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On the subsequent accession of Mr. Imhoff to the post of governor-general, he was of opinion that, notwithstanding the favourable terms of the treaties granted by the *Susúnan*, sufficient atonement had not been made to the Dutch nation for the outrage committed against the Christian religion, and the barbarous treatment of the garrison of *Kérta Súra*. He therefore required that the two principal ringleaders should be delivered up and punished; and to ensure compliance, measures were taken for seizing upon the *Susúnan* and his son, and bestowing the throne on the eldest son of *Pangéran Mángku Nagára*. But the *Susúnan* thought it prudent to comply, and delivered over two priests to the Dutch; and a new treaty was on this occasion concluded with the *Susúnan*.

Fresh disturbances soon succeeded. The *Pangéran* of *Madúra*, *Chákra Deningrat*, a man of a selfish and haughty character, considered himself, in consequence of the part he had taken, so far exalted above the other chiefs, that he neglected to make his annual appearance at court. Of this the *Súsunan* complained to the Dutch, who interfered, but without effect. The *Pangéran*, who, as before stated, had taken possession of the provinces of *Sidáya*, *Túban*, *Jípang*, and *Lamúng'an*, now refused to restore them either to the *Susúnan* or the Dutch, to whom they had been ceded, claiming them, as well as all the plunder he had obtained at *Kérta Súra*, as conquered property. Determined to keep them by force, he engaged in his service a number of men from *Báli*, and fortified the island *Menári*, so as to command the harbour of *Surabáya*.

He now commenced open hostilities by attacking a Dutch vessel, and putting to death several European seamen. Two thousand Madúrese entered the district of *Surabáya*, burnt some villages, and laid the country waste; and five thousand *Bálians* were posted on the frontiers of *Pamakásan*. After having been twice or thrice defeated, the *Pangéran* made a sudden attack upon *Súmenap* and *Pamakásan*, and gained a complete victory over the natives fighting under a Dutch commander, who lost six thousand men on the occasion, the chief being obliged to fly the country.

It was not long before the Dutch regained possession of *Súmenap* and *Pamakásan*, on which occasion a brother-in-

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law of the *Pangéran*, with two chiefs, submitted to them; but the Dutch troops were no sooner withdrawn, than those provinces again fell under the authority of the *Pangéran*, who laid them waste with fire and sword. The Dutch tried in vain to dislodge him. *Rémbang* was now besieged by an army of five thousand Madúrese and Javans. *Lásém*, *Pájang-kungung*, and all the villages as far as *Paradésa*, were in possession of the *Pangéran*, who made himself master also of the fort of *Rémbang*, and of the building yard established there; but his fortune suddenly changed. The prince was, in his turn, defeated in several engagements, and at length compelled to fly from Java; and the Dutch forces landing on *Madúra*, took the capital *Sámpang*, by storm, and in a short time made themselves masters of the whole island.

In this extremity, the prince of *Madúra* still refused to come to terms, and went with his sons, *Sásra* and *Rána Deningrat*, to *Banjermásin* on Borneo, where he engaged his passage on board an English ship bound to Bencoolen; to which place he had previously, on his affairs taking an unfavourable turn, sent his son, *Ráden Tumúng'gung Wíra Deningrat*, to request assistance from the English, and procure men and warlike stores. His plan, however, of proceeding to Bencoolen was frustrated; for the sultan of *Banjermásin*, on application from the Dutch, sent him, with his son *Sásra*, to Batavia, whence the father was banished to the Cape of Good Hope, and the son to Ceylon.

In effecting a settlement of the country, the Dutch were compelled to appoint another son of this prince, *Súra Deningrat*, to succeed as chief of *Madúra*, under the name of *Sécha Deningrat*. In the year 1758, this chief was also appointed *Widána*, or chief, of several of the eastern districts.

But, however these successes on the part of the Dutch might tend to the immediate tranquillity of the country, the authority of the *Susúnan* had been seriously shaken. The prince possessed neither the esteem nor attachment of his subjects. To his evil star it was attributed that the empire had not only lost much of its ancient grandeur, but was brought to the brink of ruin. The chiefs no longer placed

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any confidence in him; they despised the man who had granted such humiliating terms to the Dutch, and who, to obtain their temporary aid, had thus sacrificed the permanent integrity of the empire: they, therefore, were inclined to make an effort to regain what had been lost.

The principal character and prime mover in this rebellion was the *Pangéran Mungkubúmi*, a younger brother of the *Susúnan*. During the Chinese war he had obtained considerable experience, and was distinguished for boldness and enterprize of character. On the Chinese being driven from *Kérta Súra*, he had thrown himself on the protection of the Dutch, and was now residing with his brother at *Kérta Súra*. Next to *Mangkubúmi*, the most prominent character in the war of Java was *Páku Nagára*, who was also called *Mas Sáyed* but perhaps better known as the grandfather of *Práng Widóno*. After the defeat of the Chinese at *Brambánan*, this prince had also returned to court; but being coldly received, again reared the standard of revolt, and escaping into the southern mountains assumed the title of *Susúnan Adi Prakúsa*.

Mangunónang, the minister of *Susúnan Kúning*, and *Mérta Púra*, had established themselves in the province of *Sukawáti*, refusing to come into any terms. They invited *Mangkabúmi* to come over to them, and promised their assistance in raising him to the throne. *Mangkubúmi* accepted their invitation; but finding himself deceived by them, he, by his own exertions and those of the son of *Mérta Púra*, obtained possession of that province, and established himself under the title of *Pangéran Adipáti* of *Sukawáti*. He was, however, afterwards induced to listen to terms offered him by the *Susúnan*, who again received him into favour, and conferred upon him the independent government of *Sukawáti*. But these terms were not granted by the emperor without exciting the jealousy and apprehensions of the minister *Prínga Láya*, who easily availed himself of an early opportunity, when the Governor-General, Van Imhoff, was on a visit to *Súra Kértá*, to represent the danger arising from any subject possessing so independent and extensive authority, as that recently granted by the *Susúnan* to *Mangkubúmi*.

It was accordingly determined to deprive *Mangkubúmi* of

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this tract of country, and the resolution was personally communicated to him in the hall of audience. The chief feigned obedience; but in the course of the night, secretly quitted the capital, and assembling his party proceeded to *Sukawáti*, where he again reared the standard of rebellion. From the flight of this prince is dated what is usually termed the war of Java, which took place in the Javan year 1671.

The Dutch now took an active part in the war, but found that they had enemies to contend with who possessed considerable ability and enterprize, and who in the past disturbances of the country had gained much experience. *Páku Nagára* was, in the first instance, defeated, and fled for protection to *Mangkubúmi*, who received him kindly, gave him his daughter, *Rátu Bandára*, in marriage, and appointed him his *Pateh*, or minister. The united forces of these two chiefs resisted the attacks of the Dutch for about twelve months, when *Mangkubúmi* assumed the title of *Susúnan Matárem;* but a dispute arising between him and *Páku Nagára*, who demanded his own nomination as presumptive successor, *Mangkubúmi* took back his daughter, and the chiefs parted in enmity.

While *Mangkubúmi* lay with his forces at *Bunáran*, a village on the south coast, and distant about ten miles from the present *Yúgya Kérta*, intelligence was received of the death of the *Susúnan;* and such was the extensive power of *Mangkubúmi* at the time, that the body of the deceased could not be removed to the consecrated burial place at *Megíri* in the southern hills, on account of his forces, and was in consequence interred near the tomb of *Jáka Tingker*, sultan of *Pájang*, at *Lawian*, near *Súra Kérta*, whence this prince received the appellation of *Susúnan Séda Lawigan*.

Mangkubúmi had evinced a desire to come to terms, and gave assurances to the governor of his attachment to the Dutch, but demanded that his son should be proclaimed *Pangéran Adipáti Matárem* (heir apparent); a condition to which the Dutch would not listen.

The reduced state of the *Susúnan's* authority before his death, and the distracted condition of affairs, afforded an opportunity too favourable to be overlooked by the Dutch, of at once attaining the grand object of all their political inter-

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ference, the sovereignty of the country. A weak prince on his death-bed was, under existing circumstances, easily brought to any terms, in the hope of continuing even the nominal succession in his family. He was compelled, by a formal official deed, "to abdicate for himself and his heirs, "the sovereignty of the country, conferring the same on the "Dutch East India Company, and leaving it to them to dis-"pose of it, in future, to any person they might think compe-"tent to govern it for the benefit of the Company and of "Java." After recommending his children, and especially the heir apparent, to the protection of the governor, the unfortunate monarch expired. This singular and important deed was dated on the 11th December, 1749*.

From this deed is derived the right by which the Dutch East India Company subsequently granted in *fee* to the

* During the reign of this prince, on the 9th of September 1738, a contract was entered into between the Dutch and the sultan of Bantam, of which the following were the chief articles.

1st. The Dutch having deemed it necessary to send a detachment to *Lampung Túlang Báwang*, in order to save that province from total ruin, the sultan promised to cause a fort, or *páger*, to be erected at his expense, on the spot which should be deemed most eligible for that purpose, either on the *Palembang* river, or any where else.

2d. That the sultan should keep this fort in constant repair at his own expense.

3d. That the sultan should repay to the Dutch the expense of maintaining a small establishment, consisting of a resident, a commandant, one sergeant, two corporals, twenty-four privates, one drummer, and three artillery men.

4th. That the ground on which the fort was to be built, should be ceded to the Dutch, with an extent of one hundred roods in every direction. This ground to revert back to the sultan, in the event of the Dutch establishment breaking up, in the same manner as had taken place in regard to *Lampung Samángka*.

6th. With a view to hold out due encouragement to the industry of the *Lampung* people, it was agreed that, previously to exporting their pepper to *Bantam*, they should state the quantity to the Company's resident, who should furnish them with a certificate, enabling them to obtain early payment, pursuant to the existing contracts.

7th. The Company's servants at *Bantam* and *Lampung Túlang Báwang*, were authorized to confiscate any quantity of pepper which was exported from the latter place, unprovided with a certificate from the resident.

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native princes, the administration of those provinces which still continued under native government.

On the death of this unfortunate prince, *Mangkubúmi* caused himself to be formally proclaimed *Susúnan Pakubúana Senapáti Matárem*, in the presence of a more numerous assemblage of the princes and chiefs than attended the investiture of the new *Susúnan* raised by the Dutch. He sent ambassadors to the Dutch governor with many assurances of attachment and fidelity, requesting to be acknowledged as sovereign, and soliciting that the body of the deceased might be delivered to him, for the purpose of solemn interment.

The son of the decased *Susúnan*, however, was preferred, and at the age of nine years was raised to the throne, under the title of *Pakubúana* the third.

The enmity of the rebellious chiefs to each other soon vented itself in open hostility, and a pitched battle ensued, in which *Mangkubúmi* was defeated and driven to the westward. Soon, however, recruiting his forces, he returned, and had two successful engagements with the Dutch, one at *Jánar*, a village in *Báglen*, the other at *Tídar*, a hill in *Kedú*. In the battle of *Jánár* the Javan forces allowed the brunt of the action to fall upon the Dutch, who were completely routed: of those who had escaped the sword many were drowned in an adjoining marsh, and the rest were murdered in great numbers by the country people. The affair of *Tídar* was of less importance. The forces of *Mangkubúmi* were sometimes reduced to a few hundred, and at other times amounted to as many thousands, the chiefs and people deserting him in his distress, and flocking to him in his prosperity. After three victories obtained over the Dutch, he marched towards the northern coast, fell upon *Pakalóng'an*, and plundered the place.

Mangkubúmi now carried all before him, and was once at the gates of *Sólo*, which capital the Javans represent to have been saved from plunder by the superstitious veneration for the gun *niái stómi*, which the rebels no sooner descried on the *alun-alun* than they sounded a retreat. The Dutch, in the hope of allaying his displeasure, had given the *Susúnan* the choice of his officers of state, and prohibited the resident

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from taking his seat on the throne with him (an indelicate assumption which had previously given the greatest disgust to the Javans); but after nine years of harassing warfare it was still found impracticable to reduce the rebellious chiefs, or to restore the country to order. The Dutch, therefore, availing himself of the abdication in their favour executed by the deceased *Susúnan*, listened to the proposals of *Mangkubúmi*, who offered peace, on condition that one half of Java should be ceded to him. A meeting took place at *Gingánti*, a village not far distant from *Súra-kérta*, at which were present the *Susúnan*, *Mangkubúmi*, and the governor of the north-east coast of Java, when a treaty was signed.

One of the conditions of this treaty was, that *Mangkubúmi* should use his utmost exertions to subdue *Páku Nagára*. In conformity with this condition he immediately proceeded against him; but *Páku Nagára* making his appearance with his whole force, obliged him to retreat and conceal himself in a cavern, while his troops, flying in every direction, allowed his camp to be burned. *Mangkubúmi*, however, soon collected his forces again. The Dutch offered a reward for the head of *Páku Nagára*, who was obliged to proceed to the eastward, being pursued and his whole force finally overthrown. He still refused to submit, and the celebrity of his name and exploits was sufficient to recruit his ranks.

In the year A.D. 1755, *Mangkubúmi* was solemnly proclaimed by the Dutch Governor, under the title of *Súltan Amangkubuána Sénapáti Ingalága Abdul Ráchman Sahédin Panatagáma Kulifatólah.*

The united forces of the *Susúnan* and *Sultan* now resumed the attack upon *Páku Nagára;* several of his chiefs were forced to submit, and he himself, after having prolonged the war for upwards of two years, seeing no favourable chance or hope of ultimate success, at last sent his brother to the *Susúnan*, requesting that certain districts and the southern mountains might be granted to him for his support, promising on that condition to lead a quiet and peaceable life for the future. In reply to this he was informed, that the partition of the lands had already taken place; that part of these lands might, however, be granted, but that it was first necessary he should make his appearance at court. To this he assented; and it

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being stipulated that the *Susúnan* should pay him the compliment of receiving him at the distance of half an hour's walk from *Sura-kérta*, he came in, and throwing himself at the feet of the *Susúnan* was kindly raised again, desired to sit on the bench, and assured that he had nothing to apprehend.

Peace was then concluded, on the conditions that *Páku Nagára*, commonly called *Mas Sáyed*, should assume the rank and title of *Pangéran Adipáti Mangku Nágara*, with an assignment of land to the extent of four thousand *cháchas*, in the districts of *Kadwang*, *Malésa*, and the southern mountains.

Thus ended, in the year 1758, a war which had lasted twelve years, in which the finest provinces of the island were laid waste, thousands slain on both sides, and the independence of the empire finally annihilated. The expenses incurred by the Dutch on account of the war, from the year 1746 until the peace, amounted to 4,286,006. 12. 8. florins; but, in the result, they acquired, if not the acknowledged sovereignty of the whole island, at least an effectual controul over its future administration.

The *Susúnan*, on his death, was succeeded, in the Javan year 1714, by his son, the present *Susúnan*, under the title of *Susúnan Pakubuána* the fourth.

The sultan established his capital a few miles distant from the ancient capital of *Matárem*, at *Yúgya-kérta (Djocjo Carta)* the present residence of his successors. He died, after a long reign, in the Javan year 1718, and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, under the title of *Amangkubuána* the second. This prince was deposed by the British government in the year 1812, and succeeded by his son, *Amangkubuána* the third, who dying, was again succeeded, in 1815, by his son, a child of nine years of age, the present sultan, *Amangkubuána* the fourth.

Pangéran Prang Widóno, still residing at *Súra Kérta*, is the grandson of *Pangéran Adipáti Mángku Nagára*, and continues to enjoy the independent administration of the lands assigned to him at the settlement in 1758.

By the final settlement of the country in 1758 the Dutch reserved to themselves the direct administration of all the pro-

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vinces lying on the northern sea-coast, from *Chéribon* to the eastern extremity of the island of *Madúra;* but the inland and southern provinces stretching from the islands of *Chéribon* to *Málang*, were restored to the native princes, between whom the lands were divided in nearly equal portions by *cháchas*, according to the population and the peculiar usage of the country, four thousand *cháchas* from the share of the *Susúnan* being set apart for *Mangku Nagára.*

The terms on which the successors of these princes were permitted to exercise the sovereignty, suffered no material alteration until the year 1808, when Marshal Daendels officially declared that the clauses of the existing treaties, by which those princes held their territory in fee from the Dutch, were void, and that in future he should consider them as independent princes, having no other relation to the European government than such as must of necessity exist between a weaker and stronger state in the immediate neighbourhood of each other. At this time the court of *Yúgya Kérta*, sensible of owing its establishment chiefly to the military success of its founder, and the weakness of the Dutch and the *Susúnan*, and that it never fully submitted to the terms of the treaty of 1755 (which it is even stated were imposed upon the sovereign by a false translation in the Javan language) evinced a desire of independence and an appearance of internal strength, which called for the immediate interference of the European authority. Marshal Daendels, therefore, marched to *Yúgya Kérta* with a considerable force, and a negociation being opened, a treaty was entered into, by which the reigning sultan consented to resign the administration of the country into the hands of his son, who was appointed to exercise the same under the title of regent, and to cede certain provinces.

But the stipulations of this treaty, thus entered into, had not been carried into effect, when in the month of August, 1811, the British forces arrived in Java. The sultan, it is true, had ostensibly resigned the administration to his son, but he still took his usual place on the throne, and not one of the districts ceded by treaty to the Dutch had then been actually transferred.

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LINE OF THE

MAHOMEDAN SOVEREIGNS OF JAVA,

Who have ruled subsequently to the Destruction of the Hindu Government of Majapáhit down to the Javan Year 1742, *corresponding with the Christian Year* 1815.

SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.

Began to Reign. A. J.	A. D.	
		At Demák, from A. J. 1400 *to* 1503.
1403	1477	Ráden Pátah Adipáti Jimbun.
1455	1519	Pangérang Sábrang Lor.
1457	1533	Súltan Bintára, or Trang'gána, often called Sultan Demák.
		At Pájang, from 1503 *to* 1540.
1503	1577	Jáka Tíngkir, Sultan Pajang.
1532	1606	Adipáti Demák.
		At Matárem, from 1540 *to* 1600.
1540	1614	Panambáhan Senapáti.
1550	1624	Súltan Séda Krápiah.
1562	1636	Ráden Ránsang, also called Súltan Agung, or Súltan Kérta.
1585	1659	Mangkúrat, commonly called Séda Tegál-árum.
		At Kérta Súra, from 1603 *to* 1675.
1603	1677	Susúnan Mangkúrat the second.
1627	1701	Susúnan Mangkúrat Mas.
1630	1704	Pangéran Púgar, usually called Susúnan Pakubúana the first.
1643	1717	Susúnan Prabu Amangkúrat.
1672	1746	Susúnan Séda Langkúnan, also called Susúnan Pakubúana the second.
		Susúnan Pakubúana the second removed the seat of government to Sura Kerta in 1675.
		At Sura Kérta, in 1675.
		Susúnan Pakubúana second (continued.)
1675	1742	Susúnan Pakubúana third, in whose reign the empire was divided into the two kingdoms of *Súra Kérta* and *Yúgya Kérta*.

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At Súra Kérta.			*At Yúgya Kérta.*		
		Susúnan Pakúbuan third (continued.)	A. J. 1612	A. D. 1756	Sultan Amangkubúana first.
			———		Sultan Amangkubúana second.
A. J. 1714	A. D. 1788	Susúnan Pakubúana the fourth and present Susúnan.	———		Sultan Amangkubúana third.
			1741	1815	Sultan Amangkubúana fourth, and present sultan.

Sovereigns of Demák 4
of Pajang 2
of Matárem 4
of Kérta Súra 4
of Súra Kérta 4

The present Susúnan is consequently the eighteenth in succession from the first Mahomedan sovereign, and not perhaps less than the fortieth from the first Hindu prince. The average reign during the Mahomedan government is nineteen years. Taking the same average for the period of the Hindu government, its origin would be four hundred and eighteen years anterior to the destruction of *Majapáhit*, A. J. 1400, and may be referred to the close of the tenth century of the Javan era, or the middle of the eleventh century of the Christian era.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS,

Which have occurred in Java (from the Traditions and Records of the Javans.)

1 Arrival of *Aji Sáka* in Java.
10 The date of (or probable establishment at) *Núsa Bárong.*
— ..... *Núsa Tambíni.*
— ..... *Bawéan.*

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33 The date of (or probable establishment at) } The mountain *Múria.*
39 } The great mountain of *Tegat.*
50 .....The mountain *Brómo.*
— .....The mountain *Semíru.*
70 .....The mountain *Súmbing.*
— .....The mountain *Hála Húla.*
94 .....The mountain *Láwu.*
118 .....The mountain *Bénkok.*
131 .....On the southern mountains.
152 .....The mountain *Wílis.*
175 .....The mountain *Pendam.*
193 .....The mountain *Prawáta.*
— .....The mountain *Arjúna.*
195 .....The mountain *Ingel.*
211 Building of *Chándi Máling.*
297 The introduction of maize or Indian corn into Java.
308 The date of (or probable establishment at) The mountain *Merápi.*
343 The date of (or probable establishment at) The mountain *Anyer.*
551 Building of *Singa-sári.*
752 Death of *Niái Súka wáti.*
808 Burning of the temples at *Gúnung Wédi.*
924 Construction of buildings in the western mountains.

It is related, that in former times the islands of Sumatra, Java, *Báli* and *Sumbáwa*, were united, and afterwards separated into nine different parts; and it is also said, that when three thousand rainy seasons have passed away, they will be re-united.

1018 or 1188 Building of the *Chándi Séwú*, or thousand temples, at *Brambánan.*
1055 Date of *Telága Páser* in *Banyumas.*
1067 *Randu Kuning* in ditto.
1114 Separation of the lands of *Palémbang* and Java.
1124 In the island of *Báli.*
1164 Appearance of *Pulo Mengaré* (near *Surabáya*) above the sea.
1204 Separation of the lands of *Báli* and *Balambángan* in Java.
1217 Date of (or probable establishment at) *Pagunúngun.*

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1218 Building of the temples at *Káli Bening* near *Brambánan.*
1260 Separation of the lands of *Giling Trawángan* and *Báli.*
1273 The fall of stones from a mountáin.
1280 Separation of the island of *Séla Párang* (also called *Lumbok* or *Sasak*) from *Sumbáwa.*
1300 Establishment of the court of *Pajajúran.*
—— Erection of a stone temple at *Salatíga.*
1308 Construction of the tank at *Peng'ging* near *Ambarávva.*
1352 Date of *Telága Mengémbel.*
1360 Building of the temples at *Bóro Bódo* in *Kedú.*
1400 Destruction of *Majapáhit.*
1403 Establishment of the court at *Demák.*
1419 Establishment of *Gegélang.*
1421 Establishment of *Surabáya.*
1423 The fall of *Bányu pindah.*
1427 The burning of *Pálok* by women.
1432 Era of *Kaníten.*
1433 Era of the Prince of *Páti.*
1439 Destruction of *Pánjer* by fire.
1440 Death of *Kayubrálit.*
1441 *Kajóran* surrounded.
1443 Death of the three princes.
1448 Conquest of *Kedíri* by *Susúnan Ingalága.*
1449 ——— of *Túban.*
1450 ——— of *Wirosári.*
1451 ——— of *Gegeláng.*
1452 ——— of *Mendáng kúngan.*
1454 The site of *Surabáya* changed.
1455 Conquest of *Pasúruan.*
1462 ——— of *Panarúkan.*
1464 Defeat of the sons of the chiefs of *Lamúng'an*, *Blítar*, and *Wirasába.*
1465 Conquest of *Panangúngan.*
1466 ——— of *Pamenáng.*
1467 ——— of *Sing'ga.*
1468 ——— of *Balambáng'an* and *Banyuwángi.*
1469 Conquest and burning of *Sing'ara*, a dependency of *Balambáng'an.*
1470 Conquest of *Jápan.*

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1471 Arrival of the prince of *Giri*, in the district of *Kediri*.
1494 Foundation of the gardens of *Pungkúran* at the foot of the mountains.
1473 Destruction by fire of *Dahá*, and the disappearance of the prince called *Prawáta*, at that place.
1474 The elevation of another prince.
1475 War of *Surowári*.
—— *Kiai Wirasóma* proceeds to *Jipang*.
1476 The falling down of *Banyu pindah*.
1478 Conquest of the district of *Blóra*.
—— ———— of *Baléga* in *Madúra*.
1499 Disappearance of the *Adipáti* of *Kediri* and his princess, after embracing the Mahomedan religion.
1500 Conquest of *Katujan*, *Wirasába*, and *Pranarága*.
1502 Swords and javelins first made use of.
1503 The establishment of the court at *Pájang*.
1506 Occurrence of a great earthquake.
1509 First destruction of *Pájang*.
1510 Destruction of *Demák*, when the chiefs and people betook themselves to their vessels, and put to sea.
1512 *Dahá* conquered by *Senapáti*.
1513 The people of *Jipáng* carried into captivity after the battle of *Kalidádung*; actions in *Pasúruan* and *Pranarága*.
1515 Construction of *Kótah Batu Púteh* (or White-walled Castle) at *Matárem*.
1517 Battles of *Jatasári*, &c. fought by *Senapáti*.
1521 Death of *Panambáhan Senapáti*, at *Jenar (Matárem)*.
—— The palace at *Kérta* being burnt, the seat of government is removed to *Púra*.
—— The *Panambáhan* of *Chéribon* comes to *Matárem*.
1522 The *Adipáti* of *Pugar*, son of the *Senapáti*, removed to *Demák*, where he ascended the throne. After remaining there a year, there happened an eclipse of the sun.
1525 Sultan *Krápeak* surrounds and attacks *Demák*.
—— While the war was carrying on at *Grésik*, Sultan *Krápeak* died at *Matárem*.
1526 Battle of *Kaliránan*.

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1532 Death of *Adipáti Mérta Láya.*

1536 The people of *Matárem* attack *Málang*, under Sultan *Kérta.*

1540 The election of *Panambáhan Senapáti* at *Matárem* as Sultan.

1541 The age of *Sínga Pádu.*

1545 The Madurese war.

1547 A great sickness at *Matárem*, and the erection of the throne of *Matárem.*

1552 The war of *Páti*, and the erection of the *Matárem* tower.

1553 The first Batavian war.

1555 The measuring of time, and the second Batavian war.

1560 The people of the eastern districts assembled at *Matárem* to perform required services.

1561 Conquest of *Balambángan*, and submission of *Ráden Kámbar.*

1562 The Sultan removes to *Tumbáyat*, and a great granary of corn is destroyed by fire at *Gáding.*

1564 The *Chéribon* war, and the first appearance of the *Prin'gí* people (Europeans) at the court of *Matarem.*

1565 The anger of the prince towards the minister of *Palémbang*, and the appearance of the *Bánjar* (Masin) people at the court of *Matárem.*

1566 The second great sickness appears at *Matárem*, and the construction of the large gun, called *Kiaí Gúntur Agni.* An artificial lake made at *Pléret.*

1568 Death of Sultan *Kérta*, and succession of his son.

1569 The march of the *Matárem* people to *Báli* and *Balambángan*, and the submission of those people.

1571 The construction of the mosque, and the marriage of the Sultan with the princess *Kránon.* The *Kálang* move to the east of the *Sólo* river.

1572 The establishment of the court at *Pléret*, and the *Susúnan's* desire for maidens. The chiefs of all ranks, the soldiers, the natives of the coast, and the inhabitants of the country, were each ordered to marry two wives.

1573 The appearance of the *Chéribon* minister with a pre-

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sent of an elephant; also that of the minister of *Jámbi* (on Sumatra), bringing accounts of the death of the Sultan. The first embassy from the Hollanders arrived at *Matárem*, bringing a present of four pieces of artillery.

1574 The second embassy from the Hollanders, with various presents.

1575 Great inundation at *Matárem*, and the appearance of a comet.

1576 The subjection of the *Sukadána* people (on Borneo).

1577 The subjection of the *Siam* people, and a present from the Company (the Dutch) of a horse of large size.

1579 The marriage of the *Pangéran Adipáti* with the daughter of *Mángun Jáya*.

1580 The *Rámpok* of an elephant.

1581 Death of *Pangéran Purbáya*.

1582 The introduction of copper *pichis* (a small coin).

1584 Death of *Ráden Tápa Sána*.

1585 Death of the *Chéribon* prince in *Matárem*, and the murder of *Mérta Náta*.

1586 The appearance of a comet.

1587 The banishment of the *Pangéran Adipáti* to *Lipúra*, to convert himself and do penance.

1588 Death of the *Rátu*.

1592 Order of the *Susúnan* to *Aria Purbáya* to kill *Wíra Mang'gala*.

—— Explosion of the powder magazine, by which the sentries were killed in a shocking manner.

—— The period when Europeans came to *Matárem* with a present of two horses.

1594 The *Susúnan's* desire for maidens.

—— An uncommon eruption from a volcano, throwing out a great quantity of fire with sand and stones.

1595 The arrival of the *Búgis* people at *Demóng* and the march of the *Matárem* forces joined with those of *Manchanagara* and the sea-coast.

1596 The return of them, with the separation of *Madura*, *Sumenap*, and *Grésik* from the *Matárem* obedience. They join the rebel *Truna Jaya*.

1600 They join together and attack *Matárem* and destroy it,

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the *Susúnan* leaving the court with the *Rátu* and family, after having burnt the same; death of the *Susúnan* at *Tegál Wángi*, and election of his son *Mangkúrat*.

1601 *Mangkúrat* marches over *Japára* to *Kediri*, to exterminate the rebèl *Truna Jáya*, with the assistance of the Company.

1602 *Kedíri* taken and *Trúna Jáya* surrenders.

1603 *Trúna Jáya* killed. The *Susúnan* goes to *Pájang* and establishes his court at *Kerta Sura*. *Pangéran Pugar* rebels against him, but is defeated and flies to *Baglen*.

1604 Insurrection of the rebel *Raju Námrúd* at *Salingo*, and the destruction of the *kráton* by fire. The subjection of *Pangéran Púgar* to the *Susúnan*.

1605 The arrival of ambassadors from *Johór* and *Palémbang* at *Kérta Súra* with a present of an elephant.

1606 Marriage of the *Susúnan* with a princess of *Gíri*.

1607 Age of *Wána Kasúma*.

1608 Circumcision of the *Pangéran Adipáti*, and preparations made for a great chase at *Kérta Súra*.

1609 Death of Captain Tak and other Europeans, and the rebellion of the eastern people, who join *Surapáti*. Several personal combats on the *Paseban* to divert the *Susúnan*.

1612 The deplorable state of the court of *Kérta Súra*.

1613 Fire in the mosque at *Kérta Súra*.

1614 Excursion of the *Susúnan* to *Manchíngan*.

1610 March of the *Balambángan* people coming from the south across *Kedíri*, where they assassinate men and women.

1620 The *Balambángan* people march to *Pasúruan*, but are attacked at *Pachatan* and repulsed, with a loss of one thousand men.

—— The court at *Kérta Súra* surrounded with a wall of stone.

1621 The conquest of *Pranarága*.

1622 Death of *Ráden Súkra* and the illness of the *Susúnan*.

1623 *Kamagetan* attacked by the people of *Báli*.

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1624 Personal combat between the Javans *Téka* and *Janála*, who were both killed.

1625 March of the *Susúnan* to *Matárem*, and embassy sent by the *Susúnan* to *Mecca*, in order to obtain the rank of *Haji*.

1626 Death of *Susúnan Mangkúrat*.

1628 His son succeeds, and *Ráden Súria Kasúma* usurps the rank and title. The latter is defeated by the people of *Kérta Súra* and taken prisoner. *Pangéran Púgar* is arrested, and afterwards released. Being offended he proceeds to *Semárang*.

1630 The people of the western sea-coast conquer *Kérta Súra* and expel the *Susúnan* from his *dálam*, who goes to the east, where he joins *Surapáti* with a thousand followers.

1630 Arrival of the Europeans at *Kérta Súra*, who upon finding it deserted, appointed *Pangéran Púgar* as *Susúnan*.

1631 The court of the exiled *Susúnan* held at *Kediri*.

1633 *Pangéran Purbáya* marches against the exiled *Susúnan* and conquers him. *Surapáti* is killed. He marches with the Admiral towards *Pasúruan*, where he is again victorious. The exiled *Susúnan* delivers himself up to the Admiral, who sends him to *Surabáya*, from whence he is sent with his *Rátu* and minister, *Jaeng Rána*, to Batavia.

1634 Appointment of *Jáya Puspíta* as *Adipáti* of *Surabáya*.

1635 Appointment of *Tumúng'gung Chákra Jáya* as minister, who is sent to Batavia in the following year.

1637 Journey of the *Susúnan* to *Matárem*.

1641 Journey of the *Susúnan* to *Gáding*.

1642 First expedition of the Commodore to *Surabáya*. Conquest of *Surabáya*, in which the Admiral, Van der Lee, is killed. Appointment of Brinkman as Admiral.

1643 Death of the *Susúnan Pakubuána* the first, and the succession of his eldest son.

1644 Rebellion of *Pangéran Blítar* in *Matárem*, and the expedition of Admiral Brinkman against him, wherein the Admiral gained a complete victory.

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1645 Flight of *Pangéran Blítar* to *Kamagétan*. His death, and the transport of his body to *Kérta Súra*.

1648 Arrest of *Pangéran Purbáya Aría*, *Dípa Nagára*, and *Surapáti*, who were all sent to Batavia, from whence *Pangéran Aría* was afterwards recalled.

1651 Embassy of *Tumúny'gung Níti Nágara* to Batavia, and the death of *Pangéran Purbáya*.

1652 Journey of the *Kiái Adipáti* to *Semárang*, to pay the debt of the *Susúnan* to the Company.

1653 Arrest of *Pangéran Aria Mángku Nagára*, and his being delivered up to the Company.

1655 Death of *Pangéran Mángkubúmi*, and the arrival of the Commodore at *Kérta Súra*.

1656 The *Kiái Adipáti* dispatched to *Semárang*.

1657 An eruption from a volcanic mountain which emitted flame for three days.

1658 The *Kiái Adipáti* sent to *Semárang*, where he is arrested in the Dutch fort. Arrival of the Commodore at *Kérta Súra*.

1659 *Raden Adipáti Nata Kasúma* sent to Batavia.

1662 The *Raden Adipáti* sent to Batavia, and arrival of the Commodore at *Kérta Súra*.

1664 Journey of the *Susúnan* to *Matárem*.

1667 Conquest of *Kèrta Súra*.

1668 Conquest of *Prándu Láwang*.

1670 Removal of the court of *Súra Kérta* to *Sólo*, which place is since called *Súra Kérta Diníngrat*.

1671 Arrival of General Imhoff at *Súra Kérta*.

1675 Death of *Súsunan Pakubúana* the second, and the time when *Pangéran Aria Mangkubmi* proclaimed him self *Susúnan*.

1676 Battle of *Mangkubumi* at *Jenar*. Conquest of *Pakálongan* by him.

1682 Interview between the *Susúnan* and *Pangéran Mangkubumi*. Peace established. The lands divided, and the *Pangéran* made Sultan of *Yúgya Kérta Adiníngrat*.

1685 Rebellion of *Pangéran Aria Mánku Nagára* at *Súra Kérta*. The *Susúnan* occupies his new palace.

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1686 Arrival of *Pangéran Juru* at *Súra Kérta*, and flight of *Pangéran Anom*.

1688 Dissolution of the marriage of the *Susúnan* with the *Rátu* of *Madúra*, and the death of *Rátu Madúra Rétna* and *Ráden Radméja*. The journey of the *Rátu* of *Madúra* to *Madúra*. *Ráden Kúlon* made *Rátu*.

1690 The *Susúnan* assists in the erection of the triumphal pillars of the mosque.

1692 The *dálam* is surrounded by a stone wall.

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ACCOUNT

OF

THE SEVERAL PRINCIPAL DIVISIONS

OF

JAVA AND MADURA.

In several parts of this work, and in particular when treating of agriculture and revenue, reference has been made to the changes introduced by the British government in the internal management of the country, and to the information of a statistical nature which was collected with regard to its resources.

It may not be uninteresting to the reader to possess, in a compressed form, the result of the surveys and inquiries which were then set on foot, as far as the same were completed at the close of the British administration on Java. The Appendix L. contains a copy of the proclamation and of the general instructions issued by the government; the latter will sufficiently explain the principle on which the tables for the eastern districts were compiled.

BANTAM.

Bantam, once rich in its pepper plantations and the emporium of the Archipelago, had, in consequence of the restrictions of the Dutch company and the vicinity of Batavia, lost all its trade and importance, long before the arrival of the British.

The succession of the throne of Bantam was generally disposed of by the influence of the Dutch government: but the administration of the country and the collection of the port duties were till very lately entirely entrusted to him. This European influence, though strongly resisted in the first instance, had been long acquiesced in, till an attempt of the Dutch government, in the year 1808, to draw additional benefit from this province, gave occasion to an insurrection. The successive measures of introducing the cultivation of coffee into that part of the island, of opening the communication by means of new roads, and of constructing a new harbour, first

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at *Mew* Bay, and afterwards at *Merak* Bay, imposed new and unusual burthens on the people; and so many deserted from the public works that an order was issued to the Resident, requiring him to inform the sultan that his first minister should be held responsible for the due execution of the public task assigned to the sultan's subjects. The desertion still continuing, an order still more peremptory was issued to the Resident, requiring him to call upon the sultan to deliver up his first minister immediately. In carrying these orders into execution, the Resident having imprudently risked his person, was murdered. This fatal accident was the occasion of sending a considerable military force to Bantam, by which an immediate and thorough change in the native government was effected. The reigning sultan was removed from the throne and banished to Amboina, and a relative was raised to the sovereign power.

This prince was placed under regulations dictated by the Dutch; for so fallen had the sovereigns of this once flourishing and powerful kingdom now become, that the form and solemnity of a treaty was not deemed necessary. The sultan ceded part of his territories to the westward, adjacent to the environs of Batavia, the bad administration of which had frequently given occasion to disturbances in the Batavian districts. The new sultan was allowed to administer the rest of his dominions under the superior rule of the Dutch government.

The public works to be carried on in Bantam, and the unusual burthens they imposed on the people, continued however to excite, from time to time, disturbances and insurrections. On one occasion a detachment, consisting of a lieutenant and eighteen dragoons, were surprised and murdered by the inhabitants. Several native *Pangérans* and chiefs fell victims to the same spirit of discontent and revenge, and another change in the person of the sultan was thought advisable; the new sultan was in consequence allured on board a vessel, and conveyed to Batavia, and in his place another chief was installed sultan of the high lands of Bantam, the Dutch reserving to themselves the direct administration of the low lands.

The country, however, remaining still in a disturbed state,

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the *Pangéran Akmet* united under his banner the discontented people of all descriptions, in a more regular opposition to the European authority. From this time an extraordinary military force was constantly kept in Bantam: all attempts, however, to arrest the person of *Akmet* failed. His influence increased so much that proposals were made to him of a cession of part of the country: these, however, not being listened to, it was determined to abandon the interior to his depredations, until the inhabitants themselves, wearied of his arbitrary proceedings, might seek refuge with the European government.

The Dutch force being withdrawn from Bantam, *Akmet* availed himself of the presence of the British cruizers, during the blockade in 1811, to strengthen his influence by an intercourse with them, which he easily effected by furnishing them with supplies plundered by him from the inhabitants. By the cruizers he was considered as an unfortunate prince, maintaining his independence against the Dutch; and when the British troops landed, the sultan was his prisoner, and all Bantam under his controul.

At the conquest of Java by the British forces the extensive tracts of this fertile province were thus in the hands of a lawless rebel, the inhabitants were in a state of revolt, and universal anarchy and distrust had prevailed for several years. All idea of raising a revenue on account of government had been abandoned; and the general settlement of the country under European controul, was the most that could be hoped for.

In the year 1813 the sultan voluntarily resigned the administration of the country into the hands of the British government, in consideration of an annual pension of ten thousand Spanish dollars. With the detailed system of land revenue introduced into this province, an accurate survey was made of all the northern divisions; and a settlement having been made with each individual cultivator, the extent of population stated in the annexed table, as far as these districts are concerned, may be considered as in general correct. The population of the southern districts is estimated; and it may be observed, that the total population rather exceeds than falls short of what is stated.

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GENERAL ACCOUNT *of the* POPULATION *of* BANTAM.

	Number of principal villages.	Number of Houses.	Householders.		Married Women.	Children.		Total Population in each District.	Number of Buffaloes.	Ploughs.	Settlement, 1815.			Computed Total Population.
			Males.	Females.		Males.	Females.				Separate Leases granted for 1815.	Quantity of Land.		
												Báhus.	Changkals.	
Tenára	9	1277	1221	226	983	1017	642	4089	306	364	573	1363	93	5452
Pontang	23	3620	2618	1030	2594	2766	2326	11334	980	1635	1170	2334	402	14112
Ragas	11	980	842	130	758	754	750	3235	764	610	490	848	398	3835
Tambakbaya..	24	1281	869	392	791	752	669	3473	796	758	939	1593	134	4073
Panénan	25	1248	822	427	788	1089	921	4047	667	578	598	938	442	4547
Charoas	37	1639	1323	497	1150	1294	984	5248	709	648	697	1206	198	6200
Kalodran	14	1506	1129	352	1130	1123	918	4652	828	883	800	1521	278	5200
Chépété	14	1119	916	200	886	643	558	3203	519	487	826	1194	3	3400
Bántam	12	1818	1786	409	1677	614	749	5235	306	231	237	361	326	5699
Chebáning ..	8	1073	842	230	839	788	579	3278	598	807	353	516	451	3578
Sirang or Siram	42	5396	4399	980	4349	4826	4139	18693	2303	2787	2764	3108	484	19793
Pakam	16	1062	937	108	930	598	449	3022	457	399	741	1094	2	3321
Baros	51	2310	2888	384	2795	1825	1266	9158	1851	2033	2334	2723	146	9536
Cheomas	41	2690	2266	414	2267	902	723	6572	522	1872	2755	3640	167	6972
Sardang	26	2700	1990	731	1846	2155	1991	8713	944	804	1247	1699	168	8914
Jawána.....	5	1179	908	271	883	1066	952	4080	555	515	673	959	464	4390
Taraté	15	1842	1425	436	1357	1312	1102	5632	516	485	514	858	269	6400
Chelegon	34	4767	3825	1010	3685	3512	3212	15244	2531	2335	1321	2724	403	15744
Bujenagára ..	12	2693	2025	461	1964	2198	2096	8744	1009	1229	817	1717	30	9034
Anyer	41	4765	4710	490	4746	4346	3660	17952	2375	1695	4341	2437	180	18151

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Charíta.....	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	4143	—	—	880	359	389	4143
Chéringhin ..	32	2667	2472	193	2403	1882	1454	8404	2105	1140	3846	1730	199	15384
Panimbang ..	11	443	405	38	399	306	207	1858	53	—	—	—	—	1957
Minés	15	563	544	29	525	379	289	1756	382	386	673	284	358	1906
Kanánga	24	668	591	25	575	305	248	1744	419	373	808	291	195	1890
Chemánok ..	32	1558	1389	148	1409	888	802	4636	1178	1060	1406	1468	33	5237
Kadulósong ..	26	596	596	74	596	290	107	1663	941	772	2055	2241	67	4320
Chekek	20	993	767	230	739	492	482	2710	598	551	710	756	311	2841
Pandéglang ..	20	1020	794	234	780	611	489	2908	625	622	932	805	138	3329
Chadasári....	39	2347	2227	321	2165	1576	1331	7620	1323	1233	2039	1247	75	8154
Pamaryan ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2174	—	508	543	449	2174
Uuderándi ..	11	656	570	88	537	423	399	2017	499	459	426	360	178	2217
Chikándi	11	517	463	70	433	360	329	1655	374	324	332	598	271	1763
Kolelet.....	18	624	586	128	569	359	341	1983	356	285	634	692	220	2535
Chrangasa ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2403	—	—	1025	601	382	2403
Konchang....	16	1017	910	109	853	470	400	2742	626	555	980	792	48	3110
	738	58631	50055	10865	48401	40921	45624	193946	31289	28915	41444	42122	54	221714

ESTIMATED POPULATION *of the* SOUTHERN DISTRICTS..... 9690

Parunkujang.....	1800
Binwangan	2200
Parayan	1140
Somang.....	1305
Sajira	1745
Kosik	1700
	9690

Total Population 231604

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BATAVIA.

Of the splendour and magnificence which procured for this capital the title of the Queen of the East, little is now to be found. Streets have been pulled down, canals half filled up, forts demolished, and palaces levelled with the dust. The statd-house, where the supreme court of justice and magistracy still assemble, remains; merchants transact their business in the town during the day, and its warehouses still contain the richest productions of the island, but few Europeans of respectability sleep within its limits.

The following table comprizes all fixed residents within the city and its immediate suburbs, to the distance of about two miles. The municipal regulations of this part of the island having been continued in force, and the execution of them, for the most part, delegated to Dutch authorities, it is to be apprehended that the return of the population now given may be found deficient in accuracy. A poll-tax being levied on the Chinese, and other town duties rendering it the interest of the parties to withhold information as to the exact numbers, it is also probable that the total amount considerably exceeds that now given: certainly it does not fall short of it.

ACCOUNT OF THE POPULATION OF THE CITY OF BATAVIA AND ITS SUBURBS.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Europeans	367	176	543
Descendants of Europeans born in the Colony	706	779	1,485
Arabs	197	121	318
Moormen	71	48	119
Maláyus	1,756	1,399	3,155
Javans	1,782	1,549	3,331
Búgis	1,032	831	1,863
Makássars	1,148	881	2,029
Bálians	4,063	3,657	7,720
Sumbáwas	141	91	232
Mandharese	112	111	223
Ambonese and Bandas	57	25	82
Timorese and Butanese	16	8	24
Pernákans or half-cast Chinese	357	248	605
Chinese	6,976	4,273	11,249
Slaves	7,001	7,238	14,239
Grand Total			47,217

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ENVIRONS OF BATAVIA.

The lands comprehended under the denomination of the Batavian environs *(Ommelanden)*, originally formed the principal part of the *Jakátra* dominions. The native chiefs were early deprived of the administration by the cautious policy of the Dutch, and the lands subsequently sold in property to Europeans and others. According to an official valuation in 1813, the amount of property in houses and lands, belonging to individuals, in the city of Batavia and its environs, including the private estates near *Buitenzorg*, exceeded eleven millions of rix-dollars silver, and the taxes were levied on that estimate. Various systems of government had been attempted in this district before the arrival of the British in 1811, but so inefficacious were they, that it was considered unsafe for Europeans to travel without arms. As a measure of police, a portion of this division, formerly comprized within the *Ommelanden*, was recently annexed to the regency of *Buitenzorg*, and formed into a separate administration. For the population of these two divisions, as they now stand, see General Table, Vol. I, page 62, Table II.

BATAVIAN OR PRIANGEN REGENCIES.

Each of these regencies was administered by a native chief, immediately dependent on government, and without any power beyond his district. The chiefs, however, were mostly allied by frequent intermarriages, and traced their descent from different chieftains of the ancient empire of *Pajajáran*. Separated, on the one hand, from the dominions of the *Susúnan* and sultan by the country of Chéribon, and on the other from Bantam by the Batavian environs, their power never became formidable to the European government. The coffee monopoly in the Western Districts having been maintained on its former principle during the period of the British administration, the inhabitants of these districts were precluded from feeling the effects of the system introduced into the more eastern districts; but as it was in contemplation,

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eventually, to render the change general throughout the island, preparatory measures were taken, and a survey of these districts being made, the annexed statistical table was framed. The produce stated in the table is estimated according to the native returns; these districts likewise furnish an annual quantity of about seventy-five thousand hundred-weight of coffee for the European market.

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GENERAL ACCOUNT *of the* POPULATION *and* CULTIVATION *of the* PRIANGEN REGENCIES, *including* KRAWANG *and* INDRAMAYU.

Names of the Regencies and Divisions.	Number of Villages.	Cultivators.				Not Cultivators.				General Population.	Buffaloes.	Cows.	Horses.	Ploughs.	Sawahs.			Tipar or Tegal			Coffee Ground.	Maize in Chains.	Teak Forests.	Total of Land in Cultivation.	Total Produce.		Value of Total Produce.		Cocoa-nut Trees.
		Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.						First Sort.	Second Sort.	Third Sort.	First Sort.	Second Sort.	Third Sort.					Pari.	Maize.	Pari.	Maize.	
															Jungs.	Jungs.	Jungs.	Jungs.	Jungs.	Jungs.					Tjains.	Tjains.	Sh. Dols.	Sh. Dol.	
Chianjur	522	6138	6196	7156	8154	1504	1543	2226	2315	35234	3493	—	717	2011	1006	3608	565	59	1181	1	15757	92	—	22842	22898	—	68596	—	19256
Bandung	721	10804	10814	10869	11176	2597	2615	3537	3710	56122	10897	1043	932	6277	370	1818	956	512	448	90	24371	—	—	31571	26083	—	78249	—	12616
Sumedang	650	8573	8664	7987	8932	97	104	97	140	34594	10086	538	1176	6738	338	3478	1971	292	210	122	10397	—	88	16897	32718	—	98154	—	9000
Limbang'an	168	2163	982	2812	2916	571	588	595	647	12270	2966	439	486	973	244	295	245	95	75	68	13789	—	—	14821	6152	—	21258	—	6410
Sukapura	456	8500	8082	4995	6026	458	380	216	473	29130	3783	48	953	1101	194	625	214	197	540	529	663	701	20	3718	5020	—	14819	1401	7446
Krawang	94	4240	4340	1780	1680	300	270	320	220	13150	6073	—	565	—	1761	6083	1043	537	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4260
Chasem and Pamanukan	124	5394	6000	3651	2985	150	175	120	160	18475	3613	36	467	—	3428	334	6237	25	—	40032	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2506
Kandangaur and Indramayu	59	4885	5155	3710	2575	500	470	360	300	17955	2606	60	153	—	482	381	537	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7486
Gunung Parang	590	3569	3600	2547	2664	1053	1203	918	849	16408	2289	233	269	1942	486	474	523	16	347	—	—	—	—	—	11183	—	33549	—	2662
Chiputri	24	291	289	401	388	93	95	101	98	1751	452	—	84	290	210	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1265	—	3795	—	170
Chikalong	50	800	856	526	625	210	244	219	280	3760	620	—	132	279	83	67	9	33	59	—	—	—	—	—	1804	—	5412	—	1204
Ujung Brum	61	751	746	960	781	233	240	310	239	4260	793	557	179	113	75	73	79	28	13	—	—	—	—	—	809	—	2427	—	44
Totals	3519	56118	55724	47396	48897	7766	7927	9019	9431	243104	47671	2954	6113	19724	9077	17236	12379	1794	2889	40842	64977	793	108	80949	107932	—	326259	1401	73150

CHERIBON.

Chéribon fell under the European influence in the year 1666, and has now been subject to it one hundred and fifty years. It was among the first cessions made to the Dutch by the princes of *Matárem.*

This province had, like Bantam, been in a state of continued insurrection for many years preceding the arrival of the English. The importance of the town of *Chéribon* has considerably declined, partly in consequence of these commotions, and partly of epidemic fevers which prevailed some years ago.

The extensive and fertile province of *Chéribon* did not, under the administration of the Dutch Company, yield those profits which were expected from its great natural resources; especially of indigo, coffee, and teak timber. The Sultans of *Chéribon,* descended from one of the founders of the Mahomedan religion on Java, and on that account objects of religious veneration among the more orthodox Mahomedans, were always left in the entire management of the native administration. The coffee and other produce exacted from the people, was delivered by the Sultan, and paid for to him. Under this system, the residents of *Chéribon* enjoyed an annual income of from eighty to one hundred thousand dollars (£23,000), while the Sultans were every year more and more impoverished. At length an insurrection broke out in 1800, the ostensible reason of which was the unjust removal of Sultan *Kanóman,* who had been banished by the Dutch to Amboina, and the real cause probably the great oppression of the common inhabitants, occasioned by the distress of the Sultans, and the indiscriminate admission of too many Chinese in the interior of the country. The reinstallation of Sultan *Kanóman,* in 1808, by Marshal Daendals, did not appease the minds of the people; and the unwillingness or inability of that prince to restore the public tranquillity, led to an entirely new organization of the country.

When the island was conquered by the British troops, the rebel, *Bágus Rángen,* still maintained himself in the eastern parts of *Kráwang,* in perfect defiance of the power of govern-

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ment, sternly rejecting the offers of pardon and oblivion which were on that occasion offered to him, and eluding or defeating all attempts to destroy or ensnare him. Such was the veneration in which this man was regarded by the people of these districts, and such the dread in which he was held by the native chiefs (through whose means alone his apprehension was to be accomplished), that he remained in perfect quiet and security, maintained a correspondence with the disaffected throughout the province, secured his regular supplies of ammunition and provisions from all parts, and even from the town of *Chéribon*, and tranquilly prepared for the ensuing rainy season, to appear again in arms and ravage the country.

In a few months after the establishment of a British resident in the district, the person of *Bágus Rángen* was secured, and the country reduced to a perfect state of tranquillity, in which it remained during the whole period of the British administration.

The following extracts from the report of the gentleman * intrusted with the introduction of the land revenue system into Chéribon, may serve to illustrate the state of this province:—

"There is, perhaps, with the exception of the environs of "Batavia and Bantam, no part of the island of Java which "has so severely felt the bad effects of mismanagement as the "district of *Chéribon*. These effects are visible in the cha-"racter of the people, who, even among the Javans, are re-"markable for a careless indifference to the pursuit of gain, "for indolence, for want of energy, and for a credulity and "ignorance, rendering them perpetually a prey to delusion. "Within the last forty years, in particular, a series of mis-"management and oppression is said to have wrought a most "unfavourable change in the character of the people, to have "destroyed the habits of industry, and consequently to have "changed even the aspect of the country, so that it is no "longer to be recognized as the fruitful district which it is "once represented to have been. Within the last seven years, "famine, mortality, and civil commotion, have contributed to "aggravate the evils of mismanagement, and in one or other "form have desolated some of the finest parts of the district.

* Mr. Crawfurd.

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"The history of the civil commotions alluded to afford a "striking illustration of the character of the inhabitants. It "certainly gives no countenance to the representation of those "observers who ascribe to the Javans in general a character "of the most invincible apathy, stupidity, and indolence, as "if these qualities had been irrevocably engrafted upon their "very natures. A better knowledge of their real character "enables us to draw very different inferences, and to ascribe "to them a much larger share of sensibility, than could from "reasoning be expected to result from the apparently over-"whelming causes which contribute to degrade their facul-"ties and blunt their energies and exertions.

"It is an instructive fact, highly worthy of remark, that "the successive commotions and insurrections which have "for many years disturbed the peace of *Chéribon*, have uni-"formly had their origin in the Javan districts, where the "rights of private property in the soil were almost entirely "overlooked, that they have only occasionally extended from "the Javan to the *Súnda* districts, and have never reached "the *Priang'en* lands, where property in the soil is fully ac-"knowledged and respected.

"The taxes which fell upon agriculture were so various, "and at the same time assumed such a variety of shapes, that "it is impracticable to state in a word the actual portion "which by law or custom fell to the share of the sovereign.

"The most material, however, are comprehended in the "following catalogue, to which are added, others falling "equally upon agricultural industry, though not constituting "a direct source of revenue to government:

"1. The contingent, called in the language of the country, "*gántang*. This is usually estimated at fifteen parts in one "hundred of the rice crop; but it was, in truth, arbitrarily "assessed, according to a rough conjecture of the capability "of the country. In such of the *Priang'en* lands as con-"tinued to be directly administered by their own native "chiefs, the amount paid to the latter was determined with "some accuracy to be one tenth of the gross produce, embrac-"ing, as in the first case, the rice crop only.

"2. A poll tax, or rather a tax on families, called by the "natives of this part of the country, *pagalántang*. Part was

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" levied on account of government, and part on account of " the chiefs.

" 3. Market duties or tolls. These were literally levied on " every article vended in the markets, embracing as well the " whole produce of their agriculture, as that of their petty arts " and manufactures.

" 4. A tax on the slaughter of buffaloes, necessarily affect- " ing the price of food, and discouraging the rearing of an " animal indispensable to a successful prosecution of the la- " bours of agriculture.

" 5. The charge of lodging and feeding travellers, and " transporting troops, baggage, and stores of all descriptions. " This is termed in the native language, *súgub*, or the rites " of hospitality.

" 6. The obligation to construct and repair bridges, roads, " and public buildings, throughout the country.

" 7. The obligation to cultivate and deliver, at inadequate " rates, certain foreign productions, which the actual condi- " tion of the country, the habits of the people, and still less " their interests, could never have prompted them to under- " take, if permitted freely to pursue their own interest. Coffee " was the chief of these products.

" 8. In speaking of the taxes which fall upon the husband- " man and the land, the *Zakat* must not be forgotten. This is " nominally a tithe, or tenth. The payment is indeed op- " tional, but from religious motives seldom withheld. Every " tenth sheaf of the rice crop is allotted to religious purposes, " but every man measures its size according to his own piety. " Its amount was of course very variable, but almost always " materially smaller, and generally indeed not half the size, " of the ordinary sheaf. This practice gives rise to a well " known distinction between the ordinary sheaf and that al- " lotted for the clergy, when the grain is brought to market."

The table annexed was framed on the introduction of the detailed system; but it not being practicable, on account of the extent of the province, for the European officer to visit every part of the district, many of the particulars are stated upon estimate; particularly the quantity of cultivated land and amount of produce, which, it is to be apprehended, are rather over-rated. The return, however, of the population may be considered more accurate.

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GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE CULTIVATION

DIVISIONS.	SAWAH.			VALUE OF SAWAH.		
	First Sort.	Second Sort.	Third Sort.	First Sort.	Second Sort.	Third Sort.
	Jungs.	Jungs.	Jungs.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.
Bengawan	820	1119	2587	87565	89529	138012
Cheribon	78	319	1318	8345	25544	70327
Chiamis	231	—	352	24658	——	18815
Chikaso	182	409	873	19435	32768	46607
Lingajati	431	315	429	46012	25242	22884
Gebang.....	70	140	567	7479	11216	30288
Losari	3	8	600	320	713	32024
Kuningan.....	91	247	801	9718	19765	42768
Telaga	101	195	338	10833	15643	18066
Sindangkasi	294	361	459	31440	28926	24521
Raja Galu	289	377	591	30921	30211	31534
Panjalu.....	24	84	265	2663	6754	14181
Forest Districts	156	500	831	16646	40072	44320
Total.....	2770	4074	10011	296035	326383	534347

	Males.	Females.	Attached to the Cultivation of the Soil.	Employed in other Avocations.	Total Number of Buffaloes.	Total Number of Horses.	Total Number of Ploughs.
Total Population 216001	105451	110550	13,2215	83869	42866	6623	17366

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AND POPULATION OF CHERIBON, 1815.

Total Sawah in Cultivation.	Total Value of Sawah.	TEGAL.			VALUE OF TEGAL.			Total Quantity of Tegal.	Total Value of Tegal.	Total Sawah and Tegal in Cultivation.	Total Value of the Crop.
		First Sort.	Second Sort.	Third Sort.	First Sort.	Second Sort.	Third Sort.				
Jungs.	Rupees.	Jungs	Jungs	Jungs	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Jungs	Rupees.	Jungs.	Rupees.
4527	315107	—	8	68	19	700	3676	77	4395	4605	319503
1716	104217	—	19	94	10	1543	5015	113	6569	1829	110786
583	43474	—	51	144	—	4089	7704	195	11794	779	55269
1465	98811	—	—	138	—	30	7374	138	7404	1604	106216
1175	94140	49	34	42	5304	2758	2276	126	10339	1302	94479
778	48984	—	20	27	—	1640	1456	47	3097	826	52082
612	33057	—	9	3	—	759	197	13	957	625	34014
1140	72252	—	15	341	—	1244	18208	356	19452	1497	91705
635	44542	1	22	648	148	1824	34593	672	36565	1308	81108
1116	84888	—	19	302	—	1529	16126	321	17655	1437	102544
1258	92667	—	—	98	—	—	5274	98	5274	1357	97941
375	23598	—	—	399	—	—	21298	399	21298	774	44897
1487	101039	—	—	—	—	—	39	—	39	1488	101079
16867	1156776	50	197	2304	5481	16116	123236	2555	144838	19431	1291627

JAVANS.								CHINESE.							
TOTAL Javans.	Males.	Females.	Class of Cultivators.	Employed in other Avocations.	Number of Buffaloes.	Number of Horses.	Number of Ploughs.	TOTAL Chinese.	Class of Cultivators.	Employed in other Avocations.	Males.	Females.	Number of Buffaloes.	Number of Horses.	Number of Ploughs.
213658	99837	113821	132106	81659	42846	6489	17318	2343	109	2234	1093	1141	390	124	48

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EASTERN DISTRICTS.

The Dutch, in acquiring these extensive and valuable provinces on the sea coast, were considered to have acquired the same right as had previously been enjoyed by the native sovereigns, and deemed it advisable to continue the long-established principles and forms of native government. In the same manner, therefore, as the emperors of Java were looked upon as the ultimate proprietors of the land in their dominions, the Dutch Company were considered as possessing the same right with respect to the provinces under their immediate administration; and the princes of Java having been in the habit of entrusting the government, police, and revenue of the different provinces to inferior chiefs, the same system was adhered to under the Dutch. The native system of drawing again the revenues of government from these inferior chieftains, by means of contributions in kind, in money, and by occasional fees and presents, was also maintained; a portion of the common class of inhabitants under the native government being assigned to the performance of different sorts of public works, transports for government, the repair of the roads, the construction of public buildings, the guarding of public stores, the loading and unloading of government vessels, the cutting of grass, the cutting of fire-wood, the keeping a police guard, and other offices, the same principle was adopted under the management of the Dutch, and as under the native form of administration a reward for these feudal services was granted, by the use of an assignment of rice fields allotted either to individuals or to certain classes of workmen, but withdrawn from them as soon as the public duty ceased to be performed, the same mode of remuneration was also adopted by the Dutch.

These principles of administration being combined with the mercantile interests of the Dutch Company, gave rise to certain contracts, which the native chiefs of the different districts (termed by the Dutch *Regents*) were compelled to enter into on their appointment, for the annual delivery to the Company, either without payment, which was called *a contingent*, or for a price far below that of the market, which

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was termed a *forced delivery at a fixed price*, of such quantity of rice, pepper, cotton, indigo, and other articles, as the market and present state of trade and commerce made most desirable; while the planting of coffee and the cutting of teak timber was always considered as a feudal service, for which, besides the use of a certain portion of rice fields, allotted to the individuals or villagers employed, a certain payment was made, about equivalent to the expenses of transportation to the government yards or storehouses.

The administration of the Eastern Districts, including *Madúra*, was vested in a *governor and council for the north-east coast of Java*. The governor was, at the same time, director of the Company's trade, and resided at *Semárang*. Subordinate to this government was that called *Gezaghebber* and council, established at *Surabáya*, the chief place of the east point of Java; while in the other principal districts along the coast, as at *Tegal Pekalóngan*, *Japára*, *Jawána*, &c. residents were fixed: no direct correspondence from the eastern part of the island was maintained with the government of Batavia, except by the governor, usually termed the governor of Java, or by the governor and council. Even the residents at the native courts of *Súra Kérta* and *Yúgya Kérta*, only communicated with government through him. By him the succession to the throne of the *Susúnan* and of the sultan was generally determined; the appointments of native chiefs and regents were made on his proposal; the Company's farms and duties for the Eastern Districts were sold by him; and though he had literally no salary whatever from the treasury of government, he was supposed to draw from his situation a yearly revenue of between three and four hundred thousand dollars. At the same time the correspondence with the Eastern Districts was neither very regular nor very expeditious, and the management of the Company's affairs in those districts was as much a mystery to the chief government at Batavia, as the governor of *Semárang* chose to make it.

This system continued, without any essential alteration, until after the arrival of Marshal Daendals in 1808.

Some of the contingents, such as indigo, cotton yarn, pepper, &c. to which, however, the regents had not without

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great reluctance submitted for many years, were then indeed partially abolished; but, on the other hand, all the peculations of the Dutch servants residing along the coast, who had for their own private emolument raised the deliveries, chiefly of rice, at some places to double, and at others to more than double the quantity legally assessed on the regents, at the same time paying for them at some places two-thirds, and at others only half the price assigned by the government, were at once transferred and confirmed to government, by a single decree, ordering, without previous inquiry or reserve, that all the produce which had been usually delivered to the respective residents along the coast, under whatever denomination, should, in the same quantities and with their surplus weight, be for the future delivered to government, and that no higher prices should be granted for the same than that which the residents used to pay.

Equally inconsistent and oppressive in its consequences was a measure by which, on the one hand, the wages of private labour and services were raised to an unusual price, while on the other, the public works, the public transports, and the plantations of coffee, were carried on either gratuitously or at the former inadequate rate. This regulation raised the price of all the first necessaries of life, and principally of rice, which the common classes of the inhabitants felt as a heavier grievance than any they had ever experienced from the former system. Till then, the colonial administration had always, as far as was consistent with their own monopoly and forced delivery of produce at fixed rates, taken particular care to keep down the price of rice and salt as much as possible.

But a measure, still more pernicious in its consequences, was that by which the native regents were each of them subjected to a contribution in hard cash, while at the same time the power of levying taxes on the inhabitants of these districts was left in their hands; a system which, in all cases, afforded them a pretext, and in many an apology, for the most vexatious oppression.

The commendation which is due to this administration is rather founded on those arrangements which had a tendency to prevent peculations in the inferior European servants in

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every department, and on the abolition of the subordinate governments of *Semárang* and *Surabáya*. Fixed salaries were allowed to the residents; they were prohibited from keeping private vessels, and from all trade in the products of their districts. The sale of the government farms and duties was made public, and in a great measure free from corruption, by which means they were immediately raised to more than three times the former amount: each branch of public expenditure and receipt was fixed and ascertained; new and practicable roads were established; the appointment of every native, from the first rank as low as a *Demáng*, was reserved to the government alone; the Javan custom of pawning the person for a small sum of money was prohibited; fees and presents were abolished. By such measures, a much more regular, active, pure, and efficient administration was established on Java than ever existed at any former period of the Dutch Company.

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JAVA.

The following tables are abstracted from the detailed reports furnished during the course of the survey made by the British government. In some particulars they may be deficient and inaccurate, as sufficient time had not been given to complete the detailed survey of the country directed by the Revenue Instructions; but the general results may, for the most part, be depended upon.

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GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE CULTIVATION AND POPULATION OF TEGAL.

Names of Divisions.	Cultivated Land.	Sawah.	Tegal.	Coffee Gardens.	Estimated Produce.			Estimated Value of Produce.			Total estimated Value.
					Pari.	Maize.	Coffee.	Pari.	Maize.	Coffee.	
	Jungs.	Jungs.	Jungs.	Jungs.	Amats.	Amats.	Pikula.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Java Rupees.
Tegal	5920	5694	204	21	367198	16335	541	538557	6125	5198	549881
Brebes	3924	3371	394	159	152354	31520	2740	223453	11820	26305	261578
Pamalang.....	2817	2378	293	145	114820	23499	2551	168403	8812	24491	201707
Grand Total.....	12661	11443	891	325	634372	71354	5832	930413	26757	55994	1013166

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General Account of the Cultivation and Population of Tegal—*Continued.*

Number of Divisions.	Total Population.	Males.	Females.	Cultivators.	Householders not Cultivators.	Buffaloes.	Horses.	Ploughs.	JAVANS.						CHINESE and other FOREIGNERS.					
									Total Number of Javans.	Males.	Females.	Buffaloes.	Horses.	Ploughs.	Total Number of Chinese.	Males.	Females.	Buffaloes.	Horses.	Ploughs.
Tegal	123208	58185	65023	11693	7990	14689	1435	5685	121238	57224	64014	14663	1359	5682	1025	518	507	13	64	—
Brebes	24833	9354	15485	5546	1143	5313	747	2668	24230	9118	15111	5199	733	2602	583	220	363	91	12	43
Pamalang	30374	14000	16342	5547	1549	4172	491	1800	29978	13823	16123	4160	471	1794	396	177	219	22	20	6
Grand Total....	178415	81539	96850	22786	10682	24174	2673	10153	175446	80165	95248	24022	2563	10078	2004	915	1089	126	96	49

REMARKS.

Average Value of a Jung of Cultivated Land, Java Rupees 79.

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GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE CULTIVATION

No.	Names of Districts.	Number of Villages.	Total Land.		Land in Villages.		Land not included in Villages.		Cultivated Land.		Sawah.		Tegal.		Free Land.		Coffee Grounds.		Teak Forests.	
			Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B	Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.
1	Pakalong'an	1107	10765	—	—		—		5474	—	4974	—	500	—	1657	—	235	—	50	—
2	Ulujami.....	247	2593	1	—		—		1612	—	1608	3	3	1	261	2	—		3	3
3	Batang	527	7970	—	—		—		2850	—	2750	—	100	—	1000	—	178	—	250	—
	Total	1881	21328	1	—		—		9936	—	9332	3	603	1	2918	2	413	—	303	3

No.	Names of Districts.	Total Population.	Males.	Females.	Attached to the Cultivation of the Soil.	Employed in other Avocations.	Total Number of Buffaloes.	Total Number of Horses.	Total Number of Ploughs.
1	Pakalong'an.....	56432	25398	33034	14000	2928	7804	535	3000
2	Ulujami	20278	9947	10331	4351	554	2469	126	1058
3	Batang	36732	17842	18890	7810	423	6370	300	3270
	Total	115442	53187	62255	26161	3905	16643	961	7328

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AND POPULATION OF PAKALONG'AN, 1815.

Government Land.		Land in use in Villages.		Capable of being Cultivated.		Unfit Land.		Jungle Land.		Land not in use in Villages.		Estimated Produce. Pari.			Estimated Produce. Maize.			Estimated Value of Produce. Of Pari.			Estimated Value of Produce. Of Maize.			Total Estimated Value.		
Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Amats.	G.		Amats.	G.		J. Rupees.	St.		J. Rup.	St.		J. Rupees.	St.	
—		7416	—	235	—	114	—	3000	—	3114	—	149220	—		8000	—		238752	—		1600	—		240352	—	
—		1877	1	30	2	340	1	340	1	680	3	48025	12		43	5		116528	26		8	12		116537	8	
—		4278	—	700	—	500	—	2500	—	3000	—	82500	—		1600	—		165000	—		500	—		165000	—	
—		13571	1	965	2	954	1	5840	1	6794	3	279745	12		9643	5		520280	26		2108	12		522389	8	

JAVANS.								CHINESE and other FOREIGNERS.								REMARKS.
Total Javans.	Males.	Females.	Class of Cultivators.	Employed in other Avocations.	Number of Buffaloes.	Number of Horses.	Number of Ploughs.	Total Chinese.	Class of Cultivators.	Employed in other Avocations.	Males.	Females.	Number of Buffaloes.	Number of Horses.	Number of Ploughs.	
57330	24730	32600	14600	2098	7800	510	3600	1102	—	300	668	434	4	25	—	Average Value of a Jung of cultivated land, 52 Rupees, 16 Stivers.
19968	9801	10167	4351	554	2469	119	1056	310	—	310	146	164	—	7	—	
36098	17476	18622	7800	250	6170	280	3220	634	10	73	366	268	200	20	50	
113396	52007	61389	26751	2832	16439	909	7878	2046	10	783	1180	866	204	52	50	

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GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE CULTIVATION AND POPULATION OF SEMARANG, 1815.

No.	Names of Divisions.	Number of Villages.	Land in Villages.	Land not included in Villages.	Cultivated Land.	Sawah.	Tegal.	Free Land.	Coffee Grounds.	Teak Forests.	Government Lands.	Land in use in Villages.
			Jungs. B	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.
1	Serondol.....	75	2818 1	1240 3	1343 1	1083 1	260 0	357 3	81 3	105 2	42 3	1931 0
2	Sing'en	201	14602 0	15291 1	5936 1	5816 2	119 3	937 1	— 0	7038 1	28 1	13940 0
3	Grogol	52	682 0	692 0	607 2	606 2	1 0	70 1	— 0	— 0	2 2	680 1
4	Ugarang.....	87	1463 1	3385 0	795 3	681 1	114 2	200 3	59 3	41 3	17 2	1115 2
5	Ambarawa	131	5947 1	6117 2	1631 2	1395 3	235 3	391 3	107 3	2642 2	66 3	4840 1
6	Salatiga	126	3497 0	5964 2	1560 3	1201 3	359 0	391 2	26 2	124 1	46 2	2149 2
7	Boyalali.....	61	3675 2	1636 1	2057 3	714 3	1343 0	270 2	14 0	5 0	7 2	2354 3
8	Wedong	60	3945 1	2540 0	2344 3	2311 0	33 3	119 3	— 0	— 0	34 3	2499 1
9	Demak	101	3353 0	3760 0	2354 3	2348 0	6 3	228 3	— 0	— 0	9 3	2593 1
10	Manjer	62	7661 0	7619 0	1498 1	1483 3	14 2	459 1	— 0	3221 1	1 2	5180 1
11	Sambung	87	2572 2	2560 0	1405 3	1394 3	11 0	201 3	— 0	2 2	6 3	1616 3
12	Chankiran	34	799 1	2486 1	334 2	332 0	2 2	64 2	61 1	91 0	6 3	558 0
13	Limbangan.....	36	1090 3	5770 0	359 3	343 1	16 2	59 2	51 3	61 0	6 1	538 1
14	Kaliwungu	125	3816 3	6306 0	931 2	782 2	149 0	224 0	45 1	1062 3	29 1	2292 3
15	Brebuan.....	95	1468 2	2500 0	789 3	740 3	49 0	179 0	19 3	419 1	6 2	1414 1
16	Kandal	97	1876 1	481 3	1085 2	1065 3	19 3	173 1	— 0	— 0	25 1	1284 0
17	Truko	88	1754 0	2268 0	963 1	948 1	15 0	116 2	12 1	144 3	18 2	1255 1
	Totals	1518	61022 2	70618 1	26000 2	23249 3	2750 3	4446 0	480 0	14959 3	357 0	46243 1

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Cultivation and Population of Semarang.—*continued.*

No.	Names of Divisions.	Land capable of being cultivated.	Unfit Land.	Jungle Land.	Lands not in use in Villages.	Estimated Produce.		Estimated Value of Produce.		TOTAL Estimated Value.
						Pari.	Maize.	Of Pari.	Of Maize.	
		Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Amats. G.	No.	Rupees. Stivers.	Rupees. Stivers.	Rupees. Stivers.
1	Serondol	309 3	231 2	346 0	887 1	33513 3	7260178 0	67026 9	4738 26	71765 5
2	Sing'en	268 2	177 3	215 3	662 0	161711 4	2974400 0	304547 21¼	2127 21	306675 12¼
3	Grogol	—	1 3	—	1 3	18869 0	4000 0	38149 18	8 0	38157 18
4	Ugarang	64 1	131 2	152 0	347 3	17040 10	2471530 0	34082 12	1680 1	35762 13
5	Ambarawa	347 3	239 2	519 3	1107 0	43691 15	5488924 0	87383 15	4236 17¾	91620 2¾
6	Salatiga	451 2	159 0	737 0	1347 2	34738 12½	7757668 0	69477 7½	5776 24½	75254 2
7	Boyalali	247 2	764 3	308 2	1320 3	18186 0	29389643 0	36372 0	19567 2	55939 2
8	Wedong	377 0	90 0	979 0	1446 0	54683 7	540967 0	97899 16½	491 24½	98391 11
9	Demak	352 0	25 2	382 1	759 3	56433 18	162000 0	87088 9¼	180 0	87268 9¼
10	Manjer	1321 2	103 2	1055 3	2480 3	37359 1	348870 0	45868 18¼	184 0½	66052 18¾
11	Sambung	564 3	23 2	367 2	955 3	32894 15	—	49433 8¼	18 0	49451 8¼
12	Chankiran	37 2	40 1	163 2	241 1	9332 7	45935 0	18670 21	57 1	18727 22
13	Limbangan	69 2	21 0	462 0	552 2	10401 8	240614 0	19876 0	348 21	20224 21
14	Kaliwungu	205 2	429 3	888 3	1524 0	23951 1	4021817 0	47902 3	3618 11	51520 14
15	Brebuan	24 2	17 2	12 1	54 1	22788 3	590618 0	45576 9	676 26	46253 5
16	Kandal	— 1	28 2	563 2	592 1	29839 3	165325 0	59678 9	341 8	60019 17
17	Truko	23 1	204 3	270 3	498 3	29745 15	183240 0	58670 11	265 24	58936 5
	Totals	4665 0	2690 0	7424 1	14779 1	635179 2½	61645729 0	1167702 8	44316 28¼	1212019 6¼

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Cultivation and Population of Semarang.—*continued.*

No.	Names of Divisions.	TOTAL Population.	Males.	Females.	Cultivators.	Householders not Cultivators.	Buffaloes.	Horses.	Ploughs.	JAVANS. TOTAL Javans.	JAVANS. Males.	JAVANS. Females.
1	Serondol	21014	10417	10597	2667	2713	3909	31	1404	21014	10417	10597
2	Sing'en	48647	24871	23076	9351	4317	8839	164	4663	48558	24733	23825
3	Grogol	7478	3955	3523	747	1727	1138	23	490	7407	3919	3488
4	Ugarang	14942	7472	7470	2582	1406	2578	174	981	14902	7453	7449
5	Ambarawa	26791	13418	13373	6798	1121	4264	422	1561	26769	13406	13363
6	Salatiga	25902	13063	12839	3679	403	6306	538	1942	25763	12988	12775
7	Boyalali	21633	10929	10904	4995	407	7499	264	2932	21628	10928	10700
8	Wedong	21993	11037	10956	3067	1728	2887	26	1538	21390	10736	10654
9	Demak	21301	10845	10456	2972	2314	3042	32	1532	21241	10813	10428
10	Manjer	8919	4487	4432	2121	864	2422	88	1310	8882	4468	4414
11	Sambung	9983	5040	4943	2201	513	2012	56	1038	9846	4967	4879
12	Chankiran	5532	2904	2628	1349	119	1036	102	361	5532	2904	2628
13	Limbangan	5775	2904	2871	1494	59	1162	66	445	5764	2898	2866
14	Kaliwungu	22856	11322	11534	4090	1893	2167	69	667	22668	11231	11437
15	Brebuan	12437	6230	6207	2867	163	3242	15	1137	12437	6230	6207
16	Kandal	20999	10269	10340	3531	1518	3439	53	1343	20511	10224	10287
17	Truko	11598	5846	5752	2795	139	2757	28	1075	11598	5846	5752
	Totals	307610	155009	152601	58206	21404	58751	2151	24419	305910	154161	151749

Estimated Population of the Town and Suburbs.....20,000

Total Population.....327,610

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Cultivation and Population of Semarang.—*continued.*

No.	Names of Divisions.	JAVANS.					CHINESE AND OTHER FOREIGNERS.							
		Cultivators.	Householders not Cultivators.	Buffaloes.	Horses.	Ploughs.	TOTAL Chinese, &c.	Males.	Females.	Cultivators.	Householders not Cultivators.	Buffaloes.	Horses.	Ploughs.
1	Serondol	2667	2713	3909	31	1404	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2	Sing'en	9351	4246	8839	162	4663	289	138	151	—	71	—	2	—
3	Grogol	747	1704	1138	23	490	71	36	35	—	23	—	—	—
4	Ugarang	2582	1394	2578	168	981	40	19	21	—	12	—	6	—
5	Ambarawa	6798	1116	4264	420	1561	22	12	10	—	5	—	2	—
6	Salatiga	3679	379	6304	531	1942	139	75	64	—	24	4	7	—
7	Boyalali	4995	406	7499	264	2932	5	1	4	—	1	—	—	—
8	Wedong	3922	1629	2871	26	1531	603	301	302	45	99	16	—	7
9	Demak	2972	2301	3042	32	1532	60	32	28	—	13	..	—	—
10	Manjer	2120	857	2410	87	1304	37	19	18	1	7	12	1	6
11	Sambung	2182	490	1994	55	1029	137	73	64	19	23	18	1	9
12	Chankiran	1349	119	1086	102	361	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
13	Limbangan	1494	56	1162	64	445	11	6	5	—	3	—	2	—
14	Kaliwungu	4089	1867	2065	60	653	188	91	97	1	26	82	9	14
15	Brebuan	2867	163	3242	15	1137	—	—	..	—	—	—	—	—
16	Kandal	3531	1501	3431	49	1342	98	45	53	—	17	8	4	1
17	Truko	2795	139	2757	28	1057	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Totals	58140	21080	58611	2117	24382	1700	848	852	66	324	140	34	37

REMARKS.—Average Value of a Jung of cultivated Land....7 Rup. $46\frac{2}{13}$.

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GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE CULTIVATION AND POPULATION OF KEDU, 1815.

No. of Division.	Names of Divisions.	No. of Villages.	Total Land.	Land in Villages.	Land not included in Villages.	Cultivated Land.	Sawah.	Tegal.	Free Land.	Coffee Grounds.	Teak Forests	Government Lands.
			Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs B.	Jungs B.
1	Probolingo	452	—	—	—	2121 0	1382 0	739 0	—	—	—	—
2	Asinan	496	—	—	—	1705 0	1084 0	621 0	—	—	—	—
3	Bala	354	—	—	—	801 0	648 0	153 0	—	—	—	—
4	Minoreh	602	—	—	—	1943 0	1524 0	419 0	—	—	—	—
5	Bandongan	412	—	—	—	987 0	946 0	41 0	—	—	—	—
6	Magelan	334	—	—	—	6225 0	658 0	5567 0	—	—	—	—
7	Prapag	169	—	—	—	476 0	442 0	34 0	—	—	—	—
8	Jetis	557	—	—	—	2710 0	2495 0	215 0	—	—	—	—
9	Lumpuyang	254	—	—	—	1203 0	1038 0	165 0	—	—	—	—
10	Somowono	249	—	—	—	881 0	540 0	341 0	—	—	—	—
	Totals	3879	—	—	—	19052 0	10757 0	8295 0	—	—	—	—

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Cultivation and Population of Kedu, 1815.—*continued.*

Number of Division.	Names of Divisions.	Land in use in Villages.	Capable of being cultivated.	Unfit Land.	Jungle Land.	Land not in use in Villages.	Estimated Produce.		Estimated Value of Produce.		Total estimated Value.
							Pari.	Maize.	Of Pari.	Of Maize.	
		Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Amats G.	Amats G.	Rupees St.	Rupees St.	Rupees St.
1	Probolingo	—	—	—	—	—	89090 0	11736 0	149187 0	3909 0	153096 0
2	Asinan	—	—	—	—	—	52650 0	9889 0	89248 0	3295 0	92543 0
3	Bala	—	—	—	—	—	35640 0	2982 0	59400 0	994 0	60394 0
4	Minoreh	—	—	—	—	—	92476 0	8097 0	154457 0	2692 0	157149 0
5	Bandongan	—	—	—	—	—	59024 0	884 0	98373 0	328 0	98701 0
6	Magelan	—	—	—	—	—	40846 0	133383 0	67409 0	43856 0	111265 0
7	Prapag	—	—	—	—	—	21060 0	816 0	36765 0	272 0	37037 0
8	Jetis	—	—	—	—	—	148864 0	3160 0	248063 0	1434 0	249497 0
9	Lumpuyang	—	—	—	—	—	56204 0	3354 0	93673 0	1118 0	94791 0
10	Somowono	—	—	—	—	—	20420 0	6219 0	34033 0	2073 0	36106 0
	Totals	—	—	—	—	—	6162740	180520 0	1030608 0	59971 0	1090579 0

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Cultivation and Population of Kedu.—*continued.*

Number of Division.	Names of Divisions.	TOTAL Population.	Males.	Females.	Attached to the Cultivation of the Soil.	Employed in other Avocations.	Total Number of Buffaloes.	Total Number of Horses.	Total Number of Ploughs.	JAVANS.		
										TOTAL Javans.	Males.	Females.
1	Probolingo	18667	9333	9334	8741	592	2660	209	1330	18642	9321	9321
2	Asinan	16740	8333	8407	8019	314	1692	167	1041	16713	8318	8395
3	Bala	14086	7043	7043	5437	1606	1762	993	1762	14044	7022	7022
4	Minoreh	45668	22815	22853	22201	614	5713	367	5713	45565	22767	22798
5	Bandongan	14902	7415	7487	7312	103	2520	358	1240	14808	7378	7430
6	Magelan	14587	7302	7285	7045	257	3615	666	2479	14447	7239	7208
7	Prapag	4858	2420	2438	2320	100	642	152	311	4781	2383	2398
8	Jetis	53090	25717	27373	25225	492	6835	1441	3063	52494	25392	27102
9	Lampuyang	9788	4915	4873	4709	206	5378	1095	1298	9778	4910	4868
10	Somowono	4924	2451	2473	2406	45	1306	281	1133	4899	2437	2462
	Total	197310	97744	99566	93415	4329	32123	5002	19370	196171	97167	99004

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Cultivation and Population of Kedu, 1815—*continued.*

Number of Division.	Names of Divisions.	JAVANS.					CHINESE and other FOREIGNERS.								REMARKS.
		Class of Cultivators.	Employed in other Avocations.	Number of Buffaloes.	Number of Horses.	Number of Ploughs.	TOTAL Chinese, &c.	Males.	Females.	Class of Cultivators.	Employed in other Avocations.	Number of Buffaloes.	Number of Horses.	Number of Ploughs.	
1	Probolingo	8741	580	2652	202	1326	25	12	13	—	12	8	7	4	Average Value of a Jung of Cultivated Land, J. R. 57 7½.
2	Asinan	8019	299	1686	155	1039	27	15	12	—	15	6	12	2	
3	Bala	5437	1585	1762	263	1762	42	21	21	—	21	—	3	—	
4	Minoreh	22192	575	5697	346	5704	103	48	55	9	39	16	21	9	
5	Bandongan	7312	66	2520	315	1240	94	37	57	—	37	—	43	—	
6	Magelan	7044	195	3610	652	2477	140	63	77	1	62	5	14	2	
7	Prapag	2318	65	612	117	306	77	37	40	2	35	30	35	5	
8	Jetis	25137	255	6555	1288	2955	596	325	271	88	237	280	153	108	
9	Lampuyang	4709	201	5378	1095	1298	10	5	5	—	5	—	—	—	
10	Somowono	2496	31	1302	274	1131	25	14	11	—	14	4	7	2	
	Total.....	93315	3852	31774	4707	19238	1139	577	562	100	477	349	295	132	

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GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE CULTIVATION AND POPULATION OF JIPANG AND GROBOGANG, 1815.

No.	Names of Divisions.	Number of Villages.	Total Land.	Land in Villages.	Land not included in Villages.	Cultivated Land.	Sawah.	Tegal.	Free Land.	Coffee Land.	Teak Forests.	Government Land.	Land in use in Villages.
			Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs B.	Jungs B.
1	Grobogan	97	2088 0	1559 0	325 0	1271 2	1222 2	48 3	216 3	..	303 0	22 0	70 3
2	Purwadados	133	2692 0	2316 0	226 0	1935 1	1813 4	121 2	251 1	..	207 2	18 2	130 0
3	Wirosari.....	149	2665 3	1025 2	1268 3	825 2	745 3	79 3	144 3	..	1254 3	14 0	55 2
4	Panolan	223	4722 0	921 3	2377 2	712 0	579 0	133 0	146 3	..	2372 2	5 0	63 0
5	Padangan	191	3900 2	959 1	2458 1	795 0	661 0	134 0	119 0	..	2404 1	54 0	45 1
6	Rajawesi	207	5585 2	1403 3	2513 2	1160 0	1002 1	158 3	182 2	..	2580 0	13 2	61 1
7	Sekarang	167	2705 0	1759 0	161 1	1461 0	1378 3	82 1	177 0	..	148 1	13 0	121 0
8	Bowerno	159	2126 2	1556 1	139 2	1223 3	1157 3	66 0	202 2	..	107 3	31 1	130 0
9	Jenawun	30	466 3	278 0	53 3	164 1	130 1	34 0	40 0	..	50 3	3 0	23 3
		1356	26952 0	11728 2	9523 1	9548 1	8691 1	858 0	1480 2	..	9348 3	174 1	700 2

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General Account of the Cultivation and Population of Jipang and Grobogan, 1815—*continued.*

No.	Names of Divisions.	Capable of being cultivated.	Unfit Land.	Jungle Land.	Land not in use in Villages.	Estimated Produce.		Estimated Value of Produce.		TOTAL Estimated Value.
						Pari.	Maize.	Pari.	Maize.	
		Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Amats. G.	Amats. G.	Java Rupees. Stiv.	Java Rupees. Stiv.	Java Rupees. Stiv.
1	Grobogan	107 2	46 2	50 0	204 0	20634 0	288 0	10317 0	96 11	10413 11
2	Purwadados	138 1	..	12 2	150 0	26970 0	726 0	13485 0	212 25	13127 25
3	Wirosari	235 0	1 1	135 0	371 1	21600 0	474 0	10800 0	158 3	10958 3
4	Panolan	200 0	275 3	947 0	1422 3	19898 0	798 0	9949 0	266 23	10215 23
5	Padangan	103 2	50 0	329 2	483 0	23478 0	798 0	11739 0	266 7	12005 7
6	Rajawesi	457 3	631 2	578 3	1668 0	27066 0	948 0	13533 0	316 28	13849 28
7	Sekarang	292 1	80 0	412 2	784 3	40890 0	492 0	20445 0	164 19	20609 19
8	Bowerno	178 1	..	253 0	431 1	34118 0	264 0	17059 0	132 23	17191 23
9	Jenawun	139 0	..	46 0	185 0	7564 0	136 0	3782 0	68 16	3850 16
		1851 2	1085 1	2764 1	5700 1	222218 0	4924 0	111109 0	1713 8	112822 8

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Cultivation and Population of Jipang and Grobogan.—*continued.*

No.	NAMES OF DIVISIONS.	TOTAL Population.	Males.	Females.	Attached to the cultivation of the Soil.	Employed in other Avocations.	Number of Buffaloes.	Number of Horses.	Number of Ploughs.	TOTAL Javans.
1	Grobogan	6783	3133	3650	1410	419	1594	86	733	6713
2	Purwadados	6461	3154	3307	1860	421	2126	112	1103	6381
3	Wirosari	4377	2071	2306	1650	258	2077	151	984	4347
4	Panolan	8128	3857	4271	1461	372	1796	131	704	8114
5	Padangan	11245	5498	5747	1774	179	2564	323	2250	11160
6	Rajawesi	10838	4894	5944	1607	194	3028	247	1132	10819
7	Sekarang	8053	4139	3924	1630	107	2542	139	1259	7963
8	Bowerno	8126	3809	4317	1666	146	1924	215	1278	8111
9	Jenawun	2501	1138	1363	436	128	554	66	265	2481
	Totals	66512	31693	34829	13494	2224	18197	1470	9708	66109

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Cultivation and Population of Jipang and Grobogan, 1815—*continued.*

No.	Names of Divisions.	JAVANS.							CHINESE and other FOREIGNERS.								REMARKS.
		Males.	Females.	Class of Cultivators.	Employed in other Avocations.	Number of Buffaloes.	Number of Horses.	Number of Ploughs.	Total Chinese.	Males.	Females.	Class of Cultivators.	Employed in other Avocations.	Number of Buffaloes	Number of Horses.	Number of Ploughs.	
1	Grobogan	3093	3670	1410	407	1582	80	727	70	40	30	..	12	12	6	6	Average Value of the produce of a Jung of cultivated Land, Java Rupees 11, 24 stivers.
2	Purwadados	3094	3287	1846	408	2102	109	1090	80	60	20	14	14	26	3	13	
3	Wirosari.....	2051	2296	1650	252	2063	144	977	90	20	10	..	6	14	7	7	
4	Panolan	3849	4265	1461	367	1793	126	700	14	8	6	..	5	3	5	4	
5	Padangan	5458	5722	1774	164	2560	318	2247	65	40	25	..	15	4	5	3	
6	Rajawesi	4884	5935	1607	190	3022	243	1130	19	10	9	..	4	6	4	2	
7	Sekarang	4069	3894	1630	87	2528	129	1254	30	70	20	..	20	14	10	5	
8	Bowerno.....	3799	4312	1666	142	1920	210	1276	15	10	5	..	4	4	5	2	
9	Jenawun	1126	1355	436	122	548	63	263	20	12	8	...	6	6	3	2	
	Total	31423	34736	13480	2138	18118	1422	9664	403	250	133	14	86	89	48	44	

GENERAL REMARKS.

Under the head of "Government Lands," is given the extent of the ground attached to the house in which the *Tumung'gung* or chief of the district formerly lived, the *alun alun*, or what is commonly termed the *pasêban*, likewise the extent of the public road. Most part of the land inserted under the head of "Jungle Land" is capable of being converted into *sawah* and *tegal* lands, and the reason for such land not being found in a state of cultivation, the soil being in general very rich, is the want of population.

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GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE CULTIVATION

No.	Names of Divisions.	Number of Villages.	Total Land.	Land in Villages.	Land not included in Villages.	Cultivated Land.	Sawah.	Tegal.	Free Land.	Coffee Grounds.	Teak Forests.
			Jungs. B.	Jungs. B	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.
1	Japara	146	2077 0	1790 0	12 0	1719 0	1421 0	309 0	420 0	120 0	35 0
2	Kudus	171	3050 0	2968 0	12 0	2965 0	2824 0	141 0	—	53 0	—
3	Pati.....	519	9935 0	9523 0	12 0	9523 0	8669 0	914 0	—	134 0	13 0
4	Jawana	135	3389 0	3345 0	12 0	2833 0	3066 0	23 0	—	68 0	16 0
	Total	971	18451 0	17566 0	48 0	17040 0	15980 0	1387 0	420 0	375 0	64 0

No.	Names of Divisions.	Total Population.	Males.	Females.	Attached to the Cultivation of the Soil.	Employed in other Avocations.	Number of Buffaloes.	Number of Horses.	Number of Ploughs.
1	Japara	48728	23439	25289	8917	3434	7755	376	4210
2	Kudus	36634	17857	18777	6378	2711	5698	239	2828
3	Pati.....	90429	45622	44807	19022	2251	18407	554	10514
4	Jawana	40205	20142	20163	5614	5216	5411	400	2863
	Total	216096	107060	109036	39931	13612	37272	1569	20413

GENERAL

The best *sawah* of *Japara* yields from twenty-six to twenty-one *amats* of *pari* per *jung;* but be to each *jung* more than sixteen, which this calculation is made on. The *tegals* are calculated

The best *sawahs* of *Kudus* produces from thirty-one to twenty-five *amats* per *jung* at the first year. The cultivators in this district, generally speaking, plant their lands with other cultivation, this division being lands of a very inferior quality, and situated high, it has been found that *amats* per *jung*.

The division of *Pati* is much larger than the others, and the best *sawah* produces from quence of there being in this division a quantity of land which produces but little, and the sixth fourteen *amats* per *jung* throughout.

The division of *Jawana* has a great quantity of *sawah*, and the last may be rated at twenty- tinual inundations from the river of *Jawana*, it is not calculated to produce more than seventeen

The rate of an *amat* of *pari* is two rupees, which is the price at the time of harvest through

This statement comprehends all assignments to native chiefs and village officers, and taken

The average value of the produce of a jung of cultivated land, thirty-one Rupees.

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AND POPULATION OF JAPARA, AND JAWANA, 1816.

Government Land.		Land in use in Villages.		Capable of being Cultivated.		Unfit Land.		Jungle Land.		Land not in use in Villages.		Estimated Produce. Pari.			Estimated Produce. Maize.		Estimated Value of Produce. Pari.			Estimated Value of Produce. Maize.		Total Estimated Value.	
Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Amats.	G.		Amats.	G.	Rupees.	Stiv.		Rupees.	Stiv.	Rupees.	Stiv.
4	0	1710	0	20	0	208	0	250	0	—		26999	0		2890	0	53998	0		5750	0	59778	0
3	0	2965	0	—		20	0	30	0	—		56400	0		1410	0	112960	0		3920	0	115780	0
4	0	9523	0	60	0	100	0	200	0	100	0	121376	0		8540	0	242752	0		17080	0	259832	0
3	0	2830	0	256	0	—		—		—		47770	0		345	0	95540	0		690	0	96230	0
14	0	17028	0	336	0	328	0	480	0	100	0	252545	0		13185	0	505250	0		26310	0	531620	0

JAVANS.								CHINESE and other FOREIGNERS.							
TOTAL Javans.	Males.	Females.	Class of Cultivators.	Employed in other Avocations.	Number of Buffaloes.	Number of Horses.	Number of Ploughs.	TOTAL Chinese, &c.	Class of Cultivators.	Employed in other Avocations.	Males.	Females.	Number of Buffaloes.	Number of Horses.	Number of Ploughs.
47925	23055	24870	8885	3082	7531	356	4104	803	32	352	384	419	224	20	106
36246	17647	18569	6269	2610	5521	222	2728	418	109	101	210	208	177	17	100
89986	45436	44350	18992	2095	18347	535	10484	443	30	156	186	257	61	19	30
39300	19646	19654	5584	4750	5399	392	2848	1005	30	466	496	509	12	3	13
213427	105784	107643	39730	12537	36798	1505	20164	2669	201	1075	1276	1393	474	64	249

REMARKS.

there being a quantity of *sawah* of a very poor soil, it has been found, that the average will not at ten *amats* per *jung*.

crop, and should the farmer sow his seed early, it will produce a second crop in the course of the after procuring a crop of *pari*, such as *jagon*, *katela*, *kapas*, and the indigo plant. The third of the average does not exceed more than twenty *amats* per *jung*. The *tegals* are also rated at ten

thirty to twenty *amats* per *jung*, and in some few places yields a second crop; but in conse- of the crops being often destroyed by the wild hogs, the average cannot be rated higher than

eight to thirty *amats* per *jung*; but a small part of this being poor, and also being subject to con- *amats* per *jung* throughout.

out the Residency.

from the actual measurement of the *sawahs* and *tegals*.

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GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE CULTIVATION

No.	Names of Divisions.	Number of Villages.	Total Land.		Land in Villages.		Land not included in Villages.		Cultivated Land.		Sawah.		Tegal.		Free Land.		Coffee Grounds.		Teak Forests.	
			Jungs.	B.	Jgs.	B.	Jgs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jgs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jgs.	B.	Jungs.	B.
1	Rambang...	568	23020	3	18890	0	4130	3	8081	1	7392	2	698	3	1076	3	30	3	9403	3
2	Lasem	319	10996	2	9570	1	1426	1	5356	2	4362	2	993	3	525	3	33	2	3631	1
3	Tuban ...	441	15423	3	11093	1	4330	2	5239	3	4792	2	447	2	684	0	31	1	5069	0
	Total	1328	49441	0	39553	2	9887	2	18677	2	16537	2	2140	0	2286	3	35	2	18104	0

No.	Names of Divisions.	Total Population.	Males.	Females.	Attached to the Cultivation of the Soil.	Employed in other Avocations.	Total Number of Buffaloes.	Total Number of Horses.	Total Number of Ploughs.	Total Javans.
1	Rambang	70790	33535	37255	46923	24567	12646	1539	6542	69533
2	Lasem	50972	24269	26703	32769	18203	10254	1677	4260	48993
3	Tuban	36768	17400	19368	24238	12530	9203	1211	3819	35993
	Total	158530	75204	83326	103930	55300	32103	4417	14621	154539

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AND POPULATION OF REMBANG, 1815.

Government Land.	Land in use in Villages.	Capable of being Cultivated.	Unfit Land.	Jungle Land.	Land not in use in Villages.	Estimated Produce.		Estimated Value of Produce.		Total Estimated Value.
						Part.	Maize.	Of Part.	Of Maize.	
Jungs. B	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B	Jungs. B	Jungs. B	Jungs. B	Amats. G.	Amats. G.	Rupees. St.	Rupees. St.	Rupees. Stiv.
327 1	18890 0	2627 0	947 0	556 3	4130 3	156189 0	22951 4	364498 0	11020 4	375518 4
53 2	9570 1	451 0	245 1	729 3	1426 1	94219 0	33844 19	235547 0	16235 22	251782 7
68 3	11093 1	950 3	1440 3	1939 0	4330 2	103994 0	14908 8	259974 0	7156 0	267130 0
449 2	39553 2	4028 3	2633 0	3225 2	9887 2	354395 0	71704 7	850019 0	34411 26	894430 11

JAVANS.							CHINESE and other FOREIGNERS.								
Males.	Females.	Class of Cultivators.	Employed in other Avocations.	No. of Buffaloes.	No. of Horses.	No. of Ploughs.	Total Chinese.	Class of Cultivators.	Employed in other Avocations.	Males.	Females.	No. of Buffaloes.	No. of Horses.	No. of Ploughs.	REMARKS.
33013	36640	46223	23430	12608	1489	6542	1137	—	1137	522	615	38	40	—	Average value of the produce of a Jung of cultivated land, 43 Rup.
23317	25676	32769	16224	10122	1602	4256	1979	—	1979	952	1027	132	75	2	
17043	18050	24238	11755	9022	1127	3819	775	—	775	357	418	181	84	—	
73373	81266	103230	51409	31752	4218	14619	3891	—	3891	1831	2060	351	199	2	

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GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE CULTIVATION AND POPULATION OF GRESIK, 1815.

No.	Names of Divisions.	Number of Villages.	Total Land.	Land in Villages.	Land not included in Villages.	Cultivated Land.	Sawah.	Tegal.	Free Land.	Coffee Land.	Fishpond and Nipah Land.	Teak Forests.	Government Lands.
	District of Gresik.		Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.
1	Gresik	125	4684 2	4684 2	—	1453 2	1093 2	360 0	99 2	—	2644 2	—	87 0
2	Bengawan Jeru	147	2602 3	2602 3	—	1958 3	1624 1	334 3	101 0	—	247 2	—	30 3
3	Gunung Kendang	222	5311 2	5280 1	31 1	3459 2	3380 1	79 2	153 3	—	89 2	—	39 1
	District of Sidaya.												
1	Tambang'an	136	4263 0	4263 0	—	1794 1	1363 1	431 0	156 3	—	86 1	117 2	42 3
2	Kudokan	144	6631 3	6631 3	—	2140 0	1823 3	283 2	164 3	32 2	—	888 4	12 3
3	Prijuk.....	133	5433 0	5433 0	—	1855 1	1643 2	200 1	160 2	11 1	24 2	1315 1	19 1
	District of Lamongan.												
1	Tengáhan	164	2931 2	2931 2	—	1721 2	1711 3	9 0	119 3	0 3	—	24 3	3 0
2	Gunung Kendang	195	3690 2	3690 2	—	1156 3	1138 0	7 3	88 0	11 0	—	851 1	—
3	Bengawan Jeru	130	2790 3	2790 3	—	1479 1	1399 0	80 1	58 3	—	—	—	1 2
	Total	1396	38339 1	38308 0	31 1	17018 3	15177 1	1786 0	1102 3	55 2	3092 1	3197 2	236 1

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General Account of the Cultivation and Population of Gresik.—*continued.*

No.	Number of Divisions.	Land in use in Villages.	Capable of being cultivated.	Unfit Land.	Jungle Land.	Land not in use in Villages.	Estimated Produce.		Estimated Value of Produce.		Total Estimated Value.
							Pari.	Maize.	Pari.	Maize.	
	District of Gresik.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Amats. G.	No. of Heads of Corn.	Java Rupees. Stiv.	Java Rupees. Stiv.	Java Rupees. Stiv.
1	Gresik	4284 2	109 0	250 2	40 2	400 0	33336 19	7509362	44453 19	8809 27	53263 16
2	Bengawan Jeru	2338 1	57 3	183 2	23 2	264 2	71092 3	7113932	94774 2	8783 12	103557 14
3	Gunung Kendang	3742 1	626 0	912 0	—	1536 0	82553 10	1033800	109334 2	1674 22	111008 25
	District of Sidaya.										
1	Tambang'an	2197 2	381 1	1258 3	425 2	2065 2	47430 8	12515750	63242 0	12515 23	75757 22
2	Kudokan	3206 2	1270 3	1296 3	857 2	3425 1	71941 10	8971312	95927 23	8971 7	104898 30
3	Prijuk.....	3374 3	325 2	999 2	733 1	2058 1	63069 3	6344890	84013 21	6344 21	90358 12
	District of Lamongan.										
1	Tengáhan	1868 3	374 3	504 1	183 3	1062 3	49943 3	246480	66595 7	205 12	66800 19
2	Gunung Kendang	2096 0	344 3	642 1	607 1	1594 2	28120 1	526480	37498 26	525 5	38024 2
3	Bengawan Jeru	1539 1	453 2	781 2	16 2	1251 1	59758 7	2161290	79682 0	2160 22	81842 21
	TOTAL	24647 3	3943 1	6829 0	2887 3	13660 1	506785 4	47323296	675521 11	49995 0	725512 11

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General Account of the Cultivation and Population of Gresik—*continued.*

No.	Names of Divisions.	TOTAL Population.	Males.	Females.	Attached to the Cultivation of the Soil.	Employed in other Avocations.	Number of Buffaloes.	Number of Horses.	Number of Ploughs and Pachols.	TOTAL Javans.
	District of Gresik.									
1	Gresik	17555	9047	8508	3216	496	2001	103	1135	1549
2	Bengawan Jeru	17941	9430	8511	3159	268	2916	35	1406	17907
3	Gunung Kendang	11283	5882	8401	3778	—	4417	121	2265	11283
	District of Sidaya.									
1	Tambang'an	14021	7217	6804	2843	208	3810	79	1585	13952
2	Kudokan	16227	7863	6364	2341	1115	4116	194	1887	16133
3	Prijuk	12646	6335	6311	2340	434	2856	136	1421	12533
	District of Lamongan.									
1	Tengáhan	10430	5323	5107	2020	14	2455	308	3567	10382
2	Gunung Kendang	8434	4344	4090	1595	—	2068	72	2904	8434
3	Bengawan Jeru	6905	3540	3365	1300	—	1357	50	2537	6905
	Total	115442	58981	56465	22592	2535	26014	1106	18707	115078

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Cultivation and Population of Gresik.—*continued.*

No.	Number of Divisions.	JAVANS.							CHINESE AND OTHER FOREIGNERS.							
		Males.	Females.	Class of Cultivators.	Employed in other Avocations.	Number of Buffaloes.	Number of Horses.	Number of Ploughs.	TOTAL Chinese, &c.	Males.	Females.	Class of Cultivators.	Employed in other Avocations.	Buffaloes.	Horses.	Ploughs.
	District of Gresik.															
1	Gresik	9044	8505	3216	495	2001	103	1135	6	3	3	—	1	—	—	—
2	Bengawan Jeru	9410	8497	3158	264	2916	35	1406	34	20	14	—	4	—	—	—
3	Gunung Kendang	5882	5401	3778	—	4417	121	2265	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	District of Sidaya.															
1	Tambang'an	7188	6764	2841	109	3810	79	1585	69	29	40	—	19	—	—	—
2	Kudokan	7818	8315	2341	1095	4112	193	1887	94	45	49	—	20	4	1	—
3	Prijuk.....	6282	6251	2340	403	2852	130	1421	113	53	60	—	31	4	6	—
	District of Lamongan.															
1	Tengáhan	5299	5083	2020	—	2454	306	3567	48	24	24	—	14	1	2	—
2	Gunung Kendang	4344	4090	1595	—	2068	72	2904	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3	Bengawan Jeru	3540	3365	1300	—	1375	58	2537	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	TOTAL....	58807	56271	22591	2446	26005	1097	18707	364	174	190	1	89	9	9	—

REMARKS.—Average Value of a Jung of cultivated Land....42 Java Rupees.

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GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE CULTIVATION AND POPULATION OF SURABÁYA, 1815.

No.	Names of Divisions.	Number of Villages.	Total Land.	Land in Villages.	Land not included in Villages.	Culti-vated Land.	Sawah.	Tegal.	Free Land.	Coffee Grounds.	Teak Forests.	Govern-ment Lands.	Land in use in Villages.
			Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.
1	Jaba Kota	202	2585 2	2585 2	—	2269 2	2159 1	105 3	278 2	4 2	—	0 1	2548 2
2	Semimi	36	582 1	582 1	—	458 4	453 1	5 3	33 0	0 0	—	14 2	506 2
3	Jangála	492	6145 4	6145 4	—	4999 2	4756 1	210 3	756 3	32 1	—	—	5756 2
4	Rawah Pulu	319	4303 3	4303 3	—	3253 0	3159 2	77 2	864 2	16 0	—	20 1	4138 1
5	Gunung Kendang	341	5205 2	5205 2	—	2072 0	1893 2	157 2	305 2	21 0	1550 3	—	3928 4
6	Kabu	239	3386 3	3386 3	—	1158 1	1064 1	88 4	138 1	5 1	1397 2	—	2693 3
7	Linkir	207	2399 2	2399 2	—	783 4	672 1	77 3	85 1	34 0	1242 3	—	2112 1
8	Japan.....	454	4995 1	4995 1	—	2354 0	2053 0	300 3	445 1	0 1	643 3	—	3442 1
9	Wira Sába	480	5350 2	5350 2	—	1500 1	1168 2	331 3	253 2	—	1050 1	—	2803 4
	Total	2770	34955 0	34955 0	—	18849 2	17379 3	1356 2	3160 2	113 1	5885 0	35 0	27931 0

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Cultivation and Population of Surabáya, 1815—*continued*.

No.	Names of Divisions.	Capable of being cultivated.	Unfit Land.	Jungle Land.	Land not in use in Villages.	Estimated Produce.		Estimated Value of Produce.		Total Estimated Value.
						Pari.	Maize.	Pari.	Maize.	
		Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Amats. G.	Heads.	Rupees. Stiv.	Rupees. Stiv.	Rupees. Stiv.
1	Jaba Kota.....	7 4	13 0	15 4	36 4	126281 0	280550	224148 23	6400 0	280548 23
2	Semimi.....	—	—	75 2	75 2	22618 0	5960	40146 28	340 0	40486 28
3	Jangála.....	286 0	—	103 3	389 3	326820 0	1530650	664467 10	10660 0	675107 10
4	Rawah Pulu.....	90 1	16 0	58 3	165 2	207974 0	559539	422880 14	3450 0	426330 14
5	Gunung Kendang....	196 1	—	1080 1	1276 1	40681 15	400038	75358 4	4400 28	79759 2
6	Kabu	111 3	—	581 1	692 3	30028 9	265700	54672 24	3000 24	57673 17
7	Linkir	157 2	—	297 3	287 1	16207 9	160600	29550 58	2000 12	31551 1
8	Japan	231 2	—	1552 4	1552 4	99625 2	1607813	133261 6	30900 26	164162 2
9	Wira Sába.....	121 1	—	2546 1	2546 1	45441 3	2005735	60754 14	40400 14	101154 28
		1202 2	29 0	5791 3	7023 2	915675 19	6816585	1705240 21	101533 15	1806774 6

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Cultivation and Population of Surabáya, 1815.—*continued.*

No.	NAMES OF DIVISIONS.	TOTAL Population.	Males.	Females.	Attached to the cultivation of the Soil.	Employed in other Avocations.	Total Number of Buffaloes.	Total Number of Horses.	Total Number of Ploughs.	TOTAL Javans.
1	Jaba Kota	21985	10604	11381	5308	281	2916	169	1652	21941
2	Semimi	2653	1285	1368	715	11	522	44	307	2653
3	Jangála	33423	17057	16366	8495	157	9569	681	4967	33255
4	Rawah Pulu	26818	12448	14370	6276	140	6202	838	3272	26785
5	Gunung Kendang	16523	5617	4906	2817	—	4441	326	2316	16523
6	Kabu	5417	2986	2431	1491	—	1777	194	950	5417
7	Linkir	4507	2448	2059	1215	—	1578	140	855	4507
8	Japan	14754	7889	6865	4007	24	4097	771	2155	14622
9	Wira Sába	7858	4483	3375	2293	21	2458	450	1224	7748
	Total	127938	64817	63121	32618	634	33560	3613	17698	126851

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Cultivation and Population of Surabáya, 1815—*continued.*

No.	Names of Divisions.	JAVANS.							CHINESE and other FOREIGNERS.								REMARKS.
		Males.	Females.	Class of Cultivators.	Employed in other Avocations.	Number of Buffaloes.	Number of Horses.	Number of Ploughs.	Total Chinese.	Class of Cultivators.	Employed in other Avocations.	Males.	Females.	Number of Buffaloes.	Number of Horses.	Number of Ploughs.	
1	Jaba Kota.....	10590	11351	5308	272	2916	169	1652	44	..	9	14	30	..	..	..	
2	Semimi.....	1285	1368	715	11	522	44	307	..	..	..	..	...	..	..	..	Average Value
3	Jangála	16973	16282	8495	111	9568	680	4967	168	..	46	84	84	..	1	..	of the produce
4	Rawah Pulu.....	12432	14353	6276	130	6202	832	3272	33	..	10	16	17	..	6	..	of a Jung
5	Gunung Kendang....	5617	4906	2817	..	4441	326	2316	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	of cultivated
6	Kabu	2986	2431	1491	..	1777	194	950	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Land, 44
7	Linkir	2448	6059	1215	..	1578	140	855	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Rupees.
8	Japan	7814	6815	4007	..	4097	765	2155	132	..	24	75	57	..	6	..	
9	WiraSába.....	4450	3298	2293	..	2325	435	1120	110	1	21	33	77	133	15	4	
	Total	64595	62856	32617	524	33426	3585	17594	487	1	110	222	265	133	28	4	

STATEMENT OF THE POPULATION OF THE TOWN OF SURABAYA.

Number of Kampongs belonging to the Town of Surabaya.	Number of Horses.	Men above Fifty Years of Age.	Women above Fifty Years of Age.	Men from Twenty to Fifty Years of Age.	Women from Twenty to Fifty Years of Age.	Men from Ten to Twenty Years of Age.	Women from Ten to Twenty Years of Age.	Male Children under the Age of Ten Years.	Female Children under the Age of Ten Years.	TOTAL Population.
132	6679	1745	2680	5908	6841	771	540	3019	3070	24574

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GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE CULTIVATION

No.	Names of Divisions.	Number of Ploughs.	Total Land.	Land in Villages.	Land not included in Villages.	Cultivated Land.	Sawah.	Tegal.	Free Land.	Coffee Grounds.	Teak Forests.
			Jungs. B.	Jgs. B.	Jgs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jgs. B.	Jungs. B.	Jgs. B.	Jungs. B.
1	Pasuruan	—	11204 3	—	—	6455 3	4375 2	2080 1	1148 1	121 2	1738 3
2	Bang'il.....	—	3829 —	—	—	3138 1	2898 2	240 2	654 2	17 2	203 2
3	Malang ...	—	2923 2	—	—	1065 1	206 2	188 2	167 1	96 3	275 2
	Total	—	17957 1	—	—	10659 1	7470 2	2518 1	1970 —	236 —	2217 3

No.	Names of Divisions.	Total Population.	Males.	Females.	Attached to the Cultivation of the Soil.	Employed in other Avocations.	Total Number of Buffaloes.	Total Number of Horses.	Total Number of Ploughs.
1	Pasuruan	62421	30834	31587	13380	2158	14289	2755	6428
2	Bang'il	34523	17401	17122	6026	824	7661	2629	3433
3	Malang	11868	5942	5926	3239	—	3919	2272	1972
	Total	108812	546177	54635	22635	2982	25869	7656	11833

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AND POPULATION OF PASURAN, 1815.

Government Land.		Land in use in Villages.		Capable of being Cultivated.		Unfit Land.		Jungle Land.		Land not in use in Villages.		Estimated Produce. Paddy.			Estimated Produce. Maize.	Estimated Value of Produce. Of Paddy.		Estimated Value of Produce. Of Maize.		Total Estimated Value.	
Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Amuts.	G.		No. Heads.	Rupees.	St.	Rup.	St.	Rupees.	St.
47	—	—		732	2	436	1	902	3	—		170467	14		14,312,312	340931	27	13926	18	372856	15
24	3	—		19	1	89	1	27	2	—		113179	—	½	2,960,312	264084	16	2466	27	266551	13
19	1	—		599	1	—		701	—	—		47534	28		2,348,500	63382	12	1957	2	65339	14
91	—	—		1351	0	525	2	1631	1	—		331181	17½		19,621,124	668,398	25	18350	17	704749	12

JAVANS.								CHINESE and other FOREIGNERS.								REMARKS.
Total Javans.	Males.	Females.	Class of Cultivators.	Employed in other Avocations.	Number of Buffaloes.	Number of Horses.	Number of Ploughs.	Total Chinese.	Class of Cultivators.	Employed in other Avocations.	Males.	Females.	Number of Buffaloes.	Number of Horses.	Number of Ploughs.	
61722	30491	31231	13380	2158	14205	2746	6428	699	5	157	343	356	84	9	—	Average Value of the produce of a Jung of cultivated land, 66 Rupees.
34152	17232	16920	6026	824	7661	2619	3433	371	9	78	169	202	—	10	—	
11868	5942	5926	3239	—	3919	2272	1972	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
107752	53665	54077	22645	2982	25785	7637	11633	1060	14	235	512	558	84	19	—	

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GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE CULTIVATION AND POPULATION OF BESUKI, 1815.

Number.	Names of Divisions.	No. of Villages.	Total Land.		Land in Villages.		Land not included in Villages.		Cultivated Land.		Sawah.		Tegal.		Free Land.		Coffee Grounds.		Teak Forests.		Government Lands.		Land in use in Villages.	
			Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jungs	B.	Jungs	B.	Jungs	B.
1	Probolingo	64	12227	0	592	0	11635	0	432	1	156	3	275	1	70	0	—		—		90	0	592	0
2	Tongas	34	3543	1	300	0	3243	1	236	1	93	3	142	2	29	2	20	3	—		13	2	300	0
3	Katapang.....	39	21185	0	1619	2	19565	2	1564	3	223	1	1341	1	33	2	—		—		21	0	1619	2
4	Dringo.....	51	9868	2	793	0	9075	2	703	0	447	0	256	0	51	3	11	3	—		28	2	793	0
5	Ginding	45	11871	2	2226	0	9645	2	1055	1	472	3	582	3	41	0	—		1108	3	20	3	2226	0
6	Pajarakan	30	5689	3	1087	1	4602	2	487	1	313	0	174	1	24	0	—		564	0	12	0	1087	1
7	Jogopaten	29	4884	0	946	0	3938	0	417	0	297	3	119	0	26	0	—		492	3	10	2	946	0
8	Kuraxun	14	4767	2	913	1	3854	1	407	3	247	1	160	2	14	0	1	3	483	3	7	0	913	1
9	Jabong	12	5398	2	1031	0	4367	1	459	0	304	3	154	1	18	0	1	3	536	1	14	0	1031	0
10	Panton	33	11855	1	2228	2	9627	0	1017	1	594	2	423	0	27	0	1	1	1164	0	18	0	2228	2
11	Besuki	60	4821	2	732	1	4089	1	486	1	309	1	176	3	115	0	—		101	0	30	0	732	1
12	Binor	12	5039	3	414	2	4625	0	147	3	33	3	114	0	8	1	—		252	0	6	2	414	2
13	Banyukurta	33	13580	1	1900	1	11680	0	340	1	91	1	249	0	18	1	—		1525	2	16	0	1900	1
14	Kutu.....	19	1488	3	400	3	1088	0	375	1	306	2	68	3	19	0	—		1	2	5	1	400	3
15	Blanuingan	19	3884	0	429	2	3454	2	405	2	119	1	286	2	15	1	—		3	0	5	3	429	2
16	Bungatan.	20	5706	2	493	3	5213	0	299	0	45	0	254	0	14	0	—		175	0	5	3	493	3
17	Panarukan.....	11	4142	2	532	2	3610	0	499	0	477	0	21	3	24	0	—		6	0	4	0	532	2
18	Patokan	10	4283	0	536	2	3746	2	504	2	204	2	300	0	24	0	—		—		8	0	536	2
19	Patokingan	12	9243	3	1163	3	8080	0	1142	1	1047	0	95	1	16	0	—		—		5	2	1163	3
20	Kapongan	11	1066	2	540	0	526	2	522	1	416	1	106	0	14	0	—		—		4	0	540	0
21	Klatakan	12	6890	2	248	2	6642	0	228	3	37	3	191	1	14	3	—		—		5	0	248	2
22	Kalitukus	10	876	1	214	2	661	3	194	2	40	0	154	2	14	0	—		—		6	0	214	2
23	Pugur.....	52	287498	1	520	3	286977	2	92	3	59	0	33	3	78	2	14	0	280	3	54	2	520	3
24	Bandawasa.....	136	243298	1	1349	3	241948	2	999	3	469	1	530	2	202	0	12	0	—		136	0	1349	3
25	Lamajang.....	59	92374	0	2185	0	90189	0	414	2	256	1	158	2	50	0	63	0	1607	0	50	1	2185	0
	Total.....	827	775484	0	23398	3	752085	1	13432	0	7062	3	6369	1	961	3	126	1	8301	1	577	3	23398	3

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Cultivation and Population of Besuki, 1815.—*continued.*

No.	Names of Divisions.	Capable of being cultivated.		Unfit Land.		Jungle Land.		Land not in use in Villages.		Estimated Produce.				Estimated Value of Produce.				Total estimated Value.	
										Pari.		Maize.		Of Pari.		Of Maize.			
		Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Jungs.	B.	Amats	G.	Ears.		J. Rupees.	St.	J. Rupees.	St.	J. Rupees.	St.
1	Probolingo	1517	3	3762	3	6354	3	11635	0	7014	0	8674000		14028	0	8674	0	22702	0
2	Tongas	1010	3	924	3	1307	2	3243	1	4216	10	4672500		8433	0	4672	15	13105	15
3	Katapang	4709	2	6262	1	8593	3	19565	2	9905	5	40860000		19810	15	40860	0	60670	15
4	Dringo	2452	3	2814	3	3808	0	9075	2	19694	3	7583500		39388	15	7583	15	46972	0
5	Ginding	—		3913	3	5731	2	9645	2	22799	7	17219500		45598	21	17219	15	62818	6
6	Pajarakan	—		1964	3	2637	3	4602	2	13553	10	4905500		27107	0	4905	15	32012	15
7	Jogopaten	—		1672	1	2265	3	3938	0	16341	10	3435500		32683	0	3435	15	36118	15
8	Kuraxun	—		1605	3	2248	2	3854	1	10803	9	4818250		21606	22	4818	7	26425	0
9	Jabong	—		1841	3	2525	2	4367	1	13303	12	4684750		26607		4684	22	31291	28
10	Panton	—		4066	1	5560	3	9627	0	28329	14	12537000		56659	6	12537	0	69196	7
11	Besuki	135	0	1909	2	2044	3	4089	1	13129	10	4932064		26259	0	4932	1	31191	1
12	Binor	80	0	2232	2	2312	2	4625	0	1358	11	3074360		2717	3	3074	12	5791	15
13	Banyukurta	520	0	5320	0	5840	0	11680	0	2874	0	6843625		5748	0	6843	16	12591	16
14	Kutu	—		544	0	544	0	1088	0	12918	0	1827030		25836	0	1827	1	27663	1
15	Blanuingan	—		1727	1	1727	1	3454	2	4420	0	7857830		8840	0	7857	27	16697	27
16	Bungatan	23	3	2574	0	2615	1	5213	0	1902	5	5018360		3804	15	5018	12	8822	27
17	Panarukan	—		1800	0	1810	0	3610	0	22563	7	585750		45126	22	585	23	45712	15
18	Patokan	—		1873	1	1873	1	3746	2	9380	5	8554825		18760	15	8554	19	27315	19
19	Patokingan	—		4040	0	4040	0	8080	0	48200	7	2503125		96400	22	2503	4	98903	27
20	Kapongan	—		263	1	263	1	526	2	17518	2	2815500		35036	7	2815	15	37851	22
21	Klatakan	70	0	3262	0	3310	0	6642	0	1497	4	5000750		2994	11	5000	22	7995	4
22	Kalitukus	130	0	265	1	266	2	661	3	1614	0	4134750		3228	0	4134	23	7362	23
23	Pugur	95659	0	47832	0	143486	2	286977	2	3036	0	1212500		6072	0	1212	15	7284	15
24	Bandawasa	50629	2	47832	2	143486	2	241948	2	24138	0	18957812		48276	0	18957	24	67233	24
25	Lamajang	17737	1	27357	0	45095	0	90189	0	13176	0	5656500		26352	0	5656	15	32008	15
	Total	174675	1	177661	2	399748	2	752085	1	323686	11	188365281		647373	2	188365	3	835738	6

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GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE CULTIVATION

Number.	NAMES OF DIVISIONS.	TOTAL Population.	Males.	Females.	Attached to the Cultivation of the Soil.	Employed in other Avocations.	Total Number of Buffaloes.	Number of Horses.	Number of Ploughs.	TOTAL JAVANS.	Males.
1	Probolingo	6070	3068	3002	2235	759	1626	254	725	5078	3016
2	Tongas	2362	1140	1222	1089	111	692	30	411	2362	1140
3	Katapang	5199	2615	2584	2118	187	2318	92	1409	5161	2597
4	Dringo	4651	2414	2237	2090	147	2391	86	1149	4640	2408
5	Gending.....	5814	2505	2909	2271	258	2394	106	1152	5841	2471
6	Pajarakan.....	2829	1668	1661	1245	276	1390	69	660	3264	1640
7	Jogopaten	3954	2033	1921	1645	273	1616	68	808	3998	2008
8	Kuraxun	2960	1418	1542	1468	317	966	69	487	2908	1381
9	Jabong	3569	1715	1794	1188	600	1061	86	621	3323	1694
10	Panton	6550	3290	3360	3821	465	2909	100	1361	6525	3232
11	Besuki	13230	6119	7111	3626	2496	1990	632	937	13093	6003
12	Binor	1172	585	587	231	69	517	48	318	1138	568
13	Banyukurta	4467	2199	2268	1519	708	730	534	685	4441	2186
14	Kutu	4042	1982	2060	1483	426	592	308	273	3938	1928
15	Blanuingan	3666	1828	1838	1153	434	1018	342	709	3594	1793
16	Bungatan	2366	1199	1167	829	338	318	264	318	2334	1188
17	Panarukan	4331	2072	2259	1643	566	1483	581	751	4232	2021
18	Patokan.....	1998	1000	998	922	74	963	96	475	1998	1000
19	Patokingan	4744	1952	2792	2250	564	1581	175	774	4716	1937
20	Kapongan.....	2452	1204	1248	1186	98	1614	74	555	2452	1204
21	Klatakan	1654	832	822	510	98	938	92	469	1654	832
22	Kalitukus	1145	543	602	558	7	572	53	286	1145	543
23	Pugur	1851	884	970	348	45	468	101	238	1854	884
24	Bandawasa	9037	4126	4911	2104	117	4250	479	2851	9037	4126
25	Lamajang	4103	2112	1991	1863	—	1089	239	487	4103	2112
	Total	104389	50593	53850	38520	9364	35766	4063	18609	102089	49797

GENERAL

In the district of Probolingo the population is but scanty, when compared to the extent of land; people be procured from a neighbouring country to work it; in the divisions adjoining the Besuki

Besuki.—This district is indifferently watered, and has very little land fit for culture, that is ing districts. It was supposed, that by the introduction of the tenement tax paid by house-dawasa, which has not answered the purpose so well as was at first expected.

Penarukan.—This is an extensive district, with fine flat table land throughout, but it is badly the same; the population of this district is extremely scanty.

Bandawasa, including Pugar, a very extensive district but scantily inhabited; the soil is ex-the residency.

Lamajang, an extensive district on the South Coast; the land is very well watered, level, present; but could it be increased, Lamajang would be a very productive district.

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AND POPULATION OF BESUKI, 1815.

JAVANS.						CHINESE and other FOREIGNERS.								REMARKS.
Females.	Class of Cultivators.	Employed in other Avocations.	Number of Buffaloes.	Number of Horses.	Number of Ploughs.	TOTAL Chinese, &c.	Class of Cultivators.	Employed in other Avocations.	Males.	Females.	Number of Buffaloes.	Number of Horses.	Number of Ploughs.	
2962	2285	713	1626	254	725	92	—	46	82	40	—	—	—	Average Value of a Jung of cultivated land, 60 Rupees.
1222	1089	811	822	30	411	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
2564	2118	169	2818	92	1409	38	—	18	16	20	—	—	—	
2232	2090	142	2301	80	1149	11	—	5	6	5	—	—	—	
2770	2253	236	2290	101	1145	73	18	22	34	39	14	5	7	
1624	1245	241	1320	60	660	65	—	37	28	37	—	—	—	
1890	1645	247	1616	68	808	56	—	26	25	51	—	—	—	
1467	1393	269	937	62	474	152	40	48	77	75	29	7	13	
1699	1185	524	1059	80	620	196	3	85	91	95	2	6	1	
3293	3206	345	2896	99	1355	125	15	60	58	67	13	1	6	
7090	3571	2374	1976	602	930	237	55	62	116	121	14	30	7	
570	298	60	515	45	317	34	3	9	17	17	2	3	1	
2255	1500	702	724	532	682	26	10	6	18	13	6	2	3	
2010	1478	384	592	303	273	104	5	42	54	50	—	5	—	
1801	1144	427	1004	340	702	72	9	7	35	37	14	2	7	
1151	637	327	316	260	317	32	2	11	16	16	2	4	1	
2211	1627	546	1473	578	746	99	16	40	51	48	10	3	5	
998	922	74	863	96	475	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
2779	2250	560	1581	175	774	28	—	4	15	13	—	—	—	
1248	1136	98	1614	74	555	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
622	510	98	938	92	469	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
602	558	7	572	53	286	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
970	348	45	468	101	238	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
4911	2104	117	4250	479	2651	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1991	1683	—	1089	239	487	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
53132	38344	8736	35660	4895	18658	1430	176	528	706	724	106	68	51	

REMARKS.

the country is, in general, well watered, and there is abundance of land fit for cultivation, could district there are very extensive teak forests, which run inland.
not now under cultivation; the population is more numerous for its size than any of the adjoin-
holders, that the population would be induced to emigrate to the neighbouring district of Ban-
watered; and towards that adjoining the Banyuwangi district, there is scarce a small rivulet to
tremely wet and productive, and with a greater population would be one of the finest districts in
and extremely well adapted to the purpose of cultivation, but the population is very scanty at

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GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE CULTIVATION

No.	Names of Divisions.	Number of Villages.	Land in Villages.		Land not included in Villages.		Cultivated Land.		Sawah.		Tegal.		Free Land.		Coffee Grounds.		Teak Forests.		Government Land.	
			Junga.	B.	Junga.	B.	Junga.	B.	Junga.	B.	Junga.	B.	Junga.	B.	Junga.	B.	Junga.	B.	Junga.	B.
1	North.....	47	—		—		527	3	360	2	109	3	57	2	—		—		2	3
2	South.....	93	—		—		452	0	422	3	2	1	27	2	—		—		—	
	Total	140	—		—		980	1	783	1	112	0	85	0	—		—		2	3

No.	Names of Divisions.	Total Population.	Males.	Females.	Attached to the Cultivation of the Land.	Employed in other Avocations.	Number of Buffaloes.	Number of Horses.	Number of Ploughs.
1	North	5820	2949	2871	4541	1279	1594	792	1035
2	South	3053	1514	1539	2564	489	1112	476	682
	Total	8873	4463	4410	7105	1768	2706	1268	1717

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AND POPULATION OF BANYUWANGI, 1815.

Land in use in Villages.	Capable of being Cultivated.	Unfit Land.	Jungle Land.	Land not in use in Villages.	Total Land.	Estimated Produce		Estimated Value of Produce.		Total Estimated Value.
						Paddy.	Maize.	Paddy.	Maize.	
Jungs. R.	Jungs. R.	Jungs. R.	Jungs. R.	Jungs. R.	Jungs. R.	Amats. G.	Amats. G.	J. Rupees. Stiv.	J. Rupees. St.	J. Rupees. St.
—	321 1	—	—	—	—	25032 0	6496 0	22204 0	6290 0	35494 0
—	278 2	—	—	—	—	27048 0	123 0	31556 0	120 0	31676 0
—	559 3	—	—	—	—	52080 0	6609 0	60760 0	6410 0	67170 0

JAVANS.								CHINESE and other FOREIGNERS.							
TOTAL Javans.	Males.	Females.	Class of Cultivators.	Employed in other Avocations.	Number of Buffaloes.	Number of Horses.	Number of Ploughs.	TOTAL Chinese, &c.	Class of Cultivators.	Employed in other Avocations.	Males.	Females.	Number of Buffaloes.	Number of Horses.	Number of Ploughs.
5501	2783	2718	4541	960	1585	770	1035	319	—	319	166	153	9	22	—
3053	1514	1539	2564	489	1112	476	682	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8554	4297	4257	7105	1449	2697	1246	1717	319	—	319	166	153	9	22	—

REMARKS.—Average Value of a Jung of cultivated Land, 70 J. Rupees.

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MADURA.

This island having been ceded to the Dutch, in the same manner as the other possessions on Java, the Sultan of *Madúra* and the chiefs of *Pamakásan* and *Súmenap* were always considered by them in nearly the same light as the other regents along the coast, with the exception only of a higher title and some more personal consideration granted especially to the Sultan of *Bankálan*, usually styled the Sultan of *Madúra*, both on account of his birth and of some important services rendered in the war of Java, from 1740 to 1748.

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GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE CULTIVATION AND POPULATION OF BANGKALAN.

Names of Divisions.	CATTLE.					TREES.					JUNGS OF LAND.		
	Horses and Mares.	Bulls and Cows.	Buffaloes.	Sheep.	Goats.	Cocoa-nut Trees bearing fruit.	Arien.	Sawayan	Pinang.	Gabang.	Cultivated.	Cotton-fields.	Sugar-cane.
MADURA:													
Bangkalan	1603	15647	8410	94	722	56621	15923	2322	26631	2161	—	388	7
Balega	44	1095	719	4	85	3423	1878	146	1304	323	3020	69	—
Sampang	120	766	607	—	13	7371	517	548	428	240	—	35	—
PARMAKASAN	487	5604	840	178	181	8786	542	581	3225	781	870	13½	2
Totals	2254	23102	10576	276	1001	76201	18860	3597	31588	3505	3890	505½	9

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Population and Cultivation of Bangkalan.—*Continued.*

Names of Divisions.	Towns and Villages.	Europeans.	Chinese.		Parnakans or half cast Chinese.		Malayus and other Islanders, &c.		Slaves.	Madurese.										General Population.
			Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.		Chiefs.	Priests.	Males above 50 years.	Females ditto.	Males between 20 and 50 years.	Females ditto.	Young Men.	Young Women.	Boys.	Girls.	
Madura:																				
Bangkalan ..	447	60	602	518	411	400	152	74	124	224	60	4722	5088	15351	15724	4112	4009	5888	6247	63714
Balega	68	—	66	50	96	101	2	—	—	33	21	400	369	1863	1823	183	387	783	356	6534
Sampang ..	55	—	105	85	93	93	1	—	—	33	35	972	956	1507	1006	281	377	1044	902	7503
Parmakasan	159	—	212	189	239	277	260	220	23	115	29	1488	1576	2075	2297	1358	1525	2589	3012	17485
Totals....	729	60	985	743	849	871	342	293	147	425	145	7582	7989	20796	20850	5934	6298	10304	10517	95236

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GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE CULTIVATION AND POPULATION OF SUMENAP.

Names of Divisions.	CATTLE.							Jungs of Land.			COCOA-NUT TREES.		Aren Trees.	Bambu Groves.	GEBANG TREES.			Jungs of Népa or Adap.	Lontar or Sewálan Trees.	
	Horses.	Mares.	Bulls or Oxen.	Cows.	Buffaloes.	Sheep.	Goats.	Sawah.	Tegal.	Cotton.	Old.	Young.			Above Five Years Old.	Above Two Years Old.	Under Two Years Old.		Old.	Young.
Sumenap	790	539	9099	10941	831	1030	1657	2770	2579	27	109983	124316	1861	12275	11876	13072	25107	30	35898	11329
Islands.																				
Sapodi	67	24	507	786	—	120	49	95	750	171	1920	1020	89	457	4022	20590	105	—	665	105
Rás.....	16	24	155	495	—	10	54	63	98	5	578	300	—	91	24	136	33	—	55	42
Gila Ginting..	8	9	159	209	2	16	26	2	137	—	4380	4706	8	82	5	24	—	—	897	108
Gila Raja	2	—	109	241	—	7	76	5	131	—	80	176	—	47	47	303	43	—	40	13
Gila Eyang ..	2	1	203	225	—	115	50	—	43	7	235	477	—	13	4	15	2	—	62	58
Putran	25	30	476	581	—	72	267	5	252	3	7065	4829	—	899	215	14	4	—	11200	2582
Kang'ean	125	150	—	—	1144	35	60	648	26	—	1620	1204	2031	2941	288	304	704	0½	1000	163
Total....	1135	777	10708	13478	1977	1405	2239	3591	4019	215	125862	137028	3989	16805	16481	34458	25998	30½	49817	14400

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General Account of the Cultivation and Population of Sumenap.—*Continued.*

Names of Divisions.	Towns and Villages.	MADURESE.										MALAYUS and other Mahometans.				CHINESE.		PARNAKANS, or half-cast Chinese.		General Population.
		Chiefs.	Priests.	Males above Fifty years.	Females above Fifty years.	Males middle aged.	Females middle aged.	Young men.	Young women.	Boys.	Girls.	Chief.	Priest.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
Sumenap	355	1407	970	3833	6135	25038	25379	6100	6713	6938	9111	1	—	739	734	575	494	1034	999	96200
Islands.																				
Sapodi	24	20	56	215	259	1348	1348	363	393	548	719	—	—	336	364	25	19	261	278	6602
Rás.....	20	23	46	100	135	740	740	151	184	213	220	—	—	156	148	—	—	—	—	2856
Gila Ginting	10	24	46	92	119	421	421	125	134	170	301	—	—	2	1	3	4	—	—	1862
Gila Raja.....	7	8	48	58	60	340	340	117	126	587	210	—	—	—	—	—	—	24	20	1936
Gila Eyang	6	7	13	69	101	349	369	96	137	104	115	—	—	75	—	—	—	20	32	1568
Putran	32	27	86	238	349	1305	1356	378	486	699	892	—	—	440	374	14	20	70	84	6818
Kang'ean	23	116	49	380	460	1012	1012	253	268	5	478	—	—	470	454	24	21	46	37	5580
Total	477	1634	1314	4985	7618	30553	30965	7583	8441	9757	12046	1	—	2266	2106	691	558	1455	1450	123424

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NATIVE PROVINCES.

This extensive portion of the island was divided, agreeably to the settlement of 1754, between the *Susuhúnan* and Sultan. It consists of a number of separate provinces or districts. Those still belonging to the *Susúnan* are:

In an Eastern Direction from the Capital:

1. *Sríngat* and *Blítar* (forming one province).
2. *Kedíri.*
3. *Pranarága.*
4. *Paché.*
5. *Charúban.*
6. *Kadúwang*, (in part).
7. *Jagarága.*
8. *Sukawáti*, (in part).

And the smaller Districts of

1. *Anju.*
2. *Lorog.*
3. *Pangol.*
4. *Sumbreng.*
5. *Rongkok.*

In the Western Direction from the Capital:

1. *Banyumas.*
2. *Dayu Lúhur.*
3. *Aya.*
4. *Matárem*, (in part).
5. *Pamarden.*
6. *Pasir.*
7. *Bag'len.* (in part.)

Besides several smaller districts.

The ground on which the fort of *Súra Kérta* is built, with a small part of the adjoining territory, has been ceded to the European government, as has been also that portion of the immediate site of the forts of *Boyaláti* and *Klaten*, which was formerly the property of the *Susúnan*. These dominions are divided among,

1. The eight active *Tumúng'gungs*, or Regents, (the first of which is the *Raden Adipáti*, or prime minister), who constantly resides at court.

2. The *Tumung'gungs* residing in the distant or *Mancha Nagára* districts.

3. The princes of the blood.

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4. The particular favourites of the *Susúnan*.

5. (Which only respects the smaller territories) a number of *Demangs* and *Mantris*.

A considerable portion of the provinces of *Matárem* and the adjoining districts, towards the southern part of the island, called by the Javans *Ardi Kidul*, or southern hills, of the province of *Kadúwang* and of the district of *Sukawáti* containing altogether four thousand *cháchas*, having been ceded by the predecessors of the present *Susúnan*, under the settlement of 1752, to the prince *Mangku Nagára*, are still held and exclusively enjoyed by his successors, the *Pangérang Aria Prábo Prang Wedóna*

The eight active *Tumung'gungs*, who reside constantly at court, and belong to the state and household of the *Susúnan*, are *Tumung'gungs* of the exterior *(Tumung'gung Jawi)*, and *Tumung'gungs* of the interior *(Tumung'gung lebat)*. The four former are mostly charged with external commissions or orders, or those that do not immediately concern the household of the prince; the four latter, or internal *Tumung'gungs*, are mostly occupied near the person of the *Susúnan*, and have alternately the care of the watch of the *Kráton* at night.

The following tables exhibit the result of a census taken during the British government in Java; but as the information they convey rests principally upon native authority, the same reliance cannot be placed upon them as upon the tables for the provinces under the immediate direction of the European government. There is no reason, however, to believe they are essentially wrong, as they were framed with great care and every attention to accuracy, on the part of the native officers employed.

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POPULATION OF THE TERRITORY OF THE SUSUHUNAN, 1815.

DISTRICTS.	Men.	Women.	Children.		Total.	REMARKS.
			Males.	Females.		
Banyumas	48206	50140	39264	3933	176947	
Mancha-nagara, Eastern or distant districts.....	21013	24826	24054	28432	99415	
Pajang Mataram, Baglen, Jaban Ranka, Sukawati, and Southern Hills.	106699	111743	132420	138544	489406	N.B. Banyumas includes Dayu-luhur. Manchanagara takes in Kediri, Jagaraga, and Pranaraga.
Subjects of Prangwedono in the last mentioned districts.	26764	28347	22117	24625	101853	
In the capital (Emperor's subjects)....	26834	29446	18111	20687	95078	
Ditto (Prangwedono's subjects)	1937	2036	1711	1909	7593	
Ditto (Europeans and descendants).....	157	81	141	178	553	
Ditto (Chinese and descendants).....	586	472	238	249	1545	
Ditto (Slaves and descendants)	123	137	40	37	333	
Grand Total..	233409	247228	238096	253994	972727	

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POPULATION OF THE TERRITORY OF THE SULTAN, 1815.

Names of the Districts or Divisions of the Sultan's Territories.	Married Men.	Married Women.	Unmarried Men.	Unmarried Women.	Young Men about 15 years of age unmarried.	Young Women about 15 years of age unmarried.	Boys under 15 years of age.	Girls under 15 years of age.	Male Children at the breast.	Female Children at the breast.	Grand Total.
Yugyakuta	8697	9065	1595	2252	2592	3255	3225	3599	1531	1528	37339
Matarem	28834	28935	5998	6985	5897	6695	19875	18966	9832	8708	140735
Pajang	19382	19486	2635	2910	3237	4401	4281	5202	2297	2699	66530
Sima, Gagatan, and Sukawati	9974	9974	366	1232	1748	1739	6310	6718	2028	2558	42647
Southern Hills	2359	2447	426	483	769	628	517	1431	569	596	10225
Romo and Baglen	28624	28681	1787	3691	6097	7560	15273	20330	4340	5831	122214
Ledok and Gowong	25792	25447	1893	4060	3600	3685	11614	8533	4660	5142	94426
Lurung Teng'a	7365	7365	785	1076	1360	1412	4523	3537	1729	1718	30870
Mancha-nagara (Eastern or distant districts)	24862	25161	2423	4655	6050	6046	15706	20390	4491	4258	114042
Total	155889	156561	17908	27344	31350	35421	81324	88706	31477	33038	659018
Chinese, &c.											1309
TOTAL											660327

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RETURN *of the* POPULATION *of the* DISTRICT *of* PACHITAN, *on the South Coast, ceded to the* BRITISH GOVERNMENT *in* 1813.

DIVISIONS.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
First Division.....	1656	1673	1439	1306	6074
Second Division.....	4134	4275	5260	2935	16604
			Total.....		22678

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APPENDICES.

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APPENDIX.

APPENDIX, A.

The annexed documents, as far as they can be relied on, afford evidence of an extent of mortality in Batavia, as compared with the number of inhabitants, that was perhaps never exampled, for the same space of time, in any other quarter of the world.

The Table No. I., incomplete as it is, was drawn out with as much exactness as the original lists and registers still in possession would admit of. In explanation of some inconsistencies which are exhibited in it, it is necessary to observe, that on the occasion of the capture of this island, part of the most valuable papers were lost or destroyed, and amongst them the register in which was stated the Chinese population, and the number of their deaths and marriages annually, which is the reason why no mention is made of them in this table.

The first and third columns contain only the numbers of *European* inhabitants.

The last column, which shews the deaths of the *Natives* and *Slaves*, is probably a list of the deceased slaves only; because there was a separate list kept of the natives who died annually in the Batavian jurisdiction, which, however, was for a long time incorrect, and at last destroyed in 1811.

It is also probable, that the column of *deaths* generally does not extend farther than in the town and immediate suburbs; and the other two columns of *baptisms* and *marriages* extend over the town, suburbs, and environs together.

The specific lists kept in the different hospitals were likewise lost. This is to be particularly lamented, because they would have shewn how many of the European deaths were inhabitants, military persons, strangers, or sailors or marines from the ships of the different nations in Batavia Roads, who all sent their sick men into the hospitals of Batavia, who, when dead, were comprehended in the number of European deaths. This circumstance explains the incorrectness which appears to exist in the two statements of the living and deceased Europeans.

The Table No. II. was discovered among the records of the Dutch government at Batavia, and in the absence of a more official document, may, perhaps, on that account, be entitled to some confidence.

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TABLE, No. I.

LIST *of the* POPULATION, MARRIAGES, BAPTISMS, *and* DEATHS, *in the Town and Suburbs of* BATAVIA, *from* 1700 *to* 1813, *as far as the same could be ascertained from the Registers, &c. after the Conquest of Java in* 1811.

	POPULATION.				MARRIAGES.		BAPTISMS.		DEATHS.	
	Within the Walls.		In the Suburbs.							
	Europeans.	Europeans & Natives.	Europeans.	Europeans & Natives.	Europeans.	Half Casts and other Christians.	Europeans' Children.	Those of Half Casts and other Christians.	Europeans, Half Casts, &c.	Natives, Slaves, &c.
1700..	1,875	20,072	215	32,478	74	134	119	565	697	975
1701..	1,715	19,084	321	48,972	65	126	76	341	736	815
1702..	1,755	19,683	309	45,452	76	120	83	616	1,088	1,336
1703..	1,835	18,580	534	47,123	72	133	190	443	856	931
1704..	1,898	22,150	470	49,351	74	144	96	466	442	1,148
1705..	1,771	19,752	—	—	55	133	100	441	688	1,800
1706..	1,923	21,899	417	49,483	79	127	84	447	841	1,839
1707..	1,826	21,632	411	47,026	60	116	88	471	655	1,371
1708..	1,769	20,922	402	54,628	49	134	87	638	651	1,481
1709..	1,681	20,600	412	55,581	64	138	82	575	804	1,828
1710..	1,716	20,850	368	58,761	41	152	108	628	684	1,313
1711..	1,723	21,517	341	57,843	63	154	110	555	766	1,487
1712..	1,656	21,538	448	65,865	60	141	110	595	684	1,278
1713..	1,566	19,007	503	69,110	56	154	747*		599	1,022
1714..	1,644	19,758	553	66,092	60	150	703		608	1,085
1715	1,663	22,242	411	64,657	43	159	759		567	1,074
1716..	1,516	18,947	446	60,236	37	129	688		606	1,207
1717..	1,443	18,965	290	59,831	41	147	578		716	1,322
1718..	—	—	—	—	—	—	663		—	—
1719..	1,409	19,411	308	68,082	59	154	631		857	1,869
1720..	1,610	21,156	361	67,792	68	148	529		977	1,685
1721..	1,477	20,520	387	67,044	53	80	467		772	1,210
1722..	695	11,252	417	67,339	61	132	649		193	813
1723..	1,606	23,716	363	66,079	43	119	610		985	1,597
1724..	1,562	23,428	341	62,966	34	172	781		934	1,755
1725..	1,615	23,752	332	72,218	60	150	637		958	2,085
	Within the Walls and Immediate Suburbs.		In the Vicinity and Environs.				In the Reformed Churches, and since 1746, in the Lutheran Church.			
1726..	1,452	22,814	304	76,893	58	118	616		994	487
1727..	—	—	—	—	—	—	740		—	—
1728..	1,538	15,343	289	73,141	50	155	648		768	590
1729..	1,389	20,677	232	81,977	52	135	736		754	500
1730..	1,330	20,429	209	80,756	45	167	763		857	1,800
1731..	1,431	22,658	241	82,204	45	128	783		886	1,066
1732..	1,445	22,646	211	83,602	55	142	625		1,003	689
1733..	—	—	—	—	—	—	554		—	—
1734..	—	—	—	—	—	—	432		—	—
1735..	1,338	20,587	224	74,367	65	166	561		240	667
1736..	—	—	—	—	48	—	727		—	—

* It appears, that subsequent to this year, no general list was kept, a list only of the number of children christened in the reformed churches being found among the registers.

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	POPULATION.				MARRIAGES.		BAPTISMS.	DEATHS.	
	Within the Walls and immediate Suburbs.		In the Vicinity and Environs.						
	Europeans.	Europeans and Natives.	Europeans.	Europeans and Natives.	Europeans.	Half Casts and other Christians.	In the Reformed Churches, and since 1746 in the Lutheran Church.	Europeans, Half Casts, &c.	Natives, Slaves, &c.
1737..	1,317	19,612	266	67,170	48	133	572	1,966	705
1738..	1,350	11,212	212	64,090	49	133	448	2,002	919
1739..	1,286	18,502	272	68,229	51	179	658	1,068	668
1740..	1,420	14.141	269	72,506	47	90	518	1,317	338
1741..	1,388	13,977	287	47,583	52	124	670	1,278	406
1742..	—	—	259	56,882	47	118	602	1,286	547
1743..	1,481	14,609	321	55,023	84	119	639	1,526	682
1744..	—	—	—	—	—	—	673	—	—
1745..	1,517	14,926	278	67,254	60	117	592	1,965	1,062
1746..	1,597	13,852	242	68,785	—	—	574		—
1747..	1,525	13,854	240	73,163	—	—	670	—	—
1748..	—	—	—	—	—	—	627	—	—
1749..	1,541	14,050	318	77,008	39	115	705	1,662	556
1750..	1,520	14,278	313	80,597	63	105	571	2,229	569
1751..	1,439	13,874	336	78,259	38	84	550	2,189	502
1752..	1,513	14,596	311	75,152	135*		600	1,858	562
1753..	1,651	15,710	325	76,611	132		457	1,789	1,542
1754..	1,575	15,891	358	93,375	136		553	1,729	617
	Within the Town and all the Suburbs.								
1755..	1,599	16,466	369	95,938	146		484	2,532	630
1756..	1,604	15,925	310	96,702	143		410	1,729	547
1757..	1,629	16,356	373	103,443	137		465	1,557	561
1758..	1,560	16,855	447	106,151	128		468	1.781	1,082
1759..	1,572	16,942	377	111,273	97		437	1,451	636
1760..	1,634	16,785	410	109,393	124		450	1,403	1,064
1761..	1,499	16,298	305	113,280	—		387	1,110	980
1762..	—	—	—	—	—		471	—	—
1763..	1,507	16,282	447	113,009	112		435	2,001	1,134
1764..	—	16,008	413	117,207	131		297	1,907	585
1765..	—	—	—	—	—		357	—	—
1766..	—	—	—	—	—		356	—	—
1767..	—	—	—	—	—		306	—	—
1768..	1,642	15,256	273	108,507	93		329	1,933	537
1769..	1,271	15,430	389	114,750	124		369	1,869	667
1770..	1,183	13,192	328	123,869	126		302	2,871	2,672
1771..	1,105	12,233	300	121,380	93		245	2,425	622
1772..	1,011	12,743	348	112,346	108		301	2,437	2,256
1773 .	1,061	13,473	342	107,500	98		284	2,029	534
1774..	933	12,134	367	108,215	97		295	2.452	866
1775..	1,165	13,512	328	125,635	214		307	2.997	3,007
1776..	—	—	276	131,895	100		303	3.055	1,199
1777..	896	10,661	279	140,332	98		277	1,394	2,031
1778..	1,137	12,206	238	135,532	104		253	1.804	2,131
1779..	—	—	302	160,986	82		290	1,524	1,717
1780..	747	13,651	278	129,943	113		259	1,418	1,435
1781..	—	—	—	—	—		272	—	—

* Since this year no specific list to be found.

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	POPULATION.				MARRIAGES.	BAPTISMS.	DEATHS.	
	Within the Town and all the Suburbs.		In the Environs.		Of Christians.	Of Christians' Children, in the Reformed and Lutheran Churches.	Europeans, Half Casts, &c.	Natives, Slaves, &c.
	Europeans.	Europeans and Natives.	Europeans.	Europeans and Natives.				
1782..	664	9,517	276	127,039	75	260	733	1,692
1783..	—	—	—	—	—	292	—	—
1784..	695	10,422	336	129,506	81	279	1,439	1,669
1785..	—	—	—	—	—	243	—	—
1786..	—	—	—	—	—	238	—	—
1787..	574	9,910	375	133,151	58	230	1,939	1,278
1788..	—	—	—	—	—	284	—	—
1789..	—	—	—	—	—	236	—	—
1790..	—	—	—	—	69	220	2,379	1,672
1791..	325	6,367	450	120,352	48	216	2,228	1,590
1792..	254	8,121	282	119,297	59	171	1,990	1,131
1793..	254	8,121	282	119,297	48	149	1,805	1,030
1794..	—	—	—	—	—	215	—	—
1795..	—	—	—	—	92	183	1,121	953
1796..	—	—	—	—	67	173	—	—
1797..	—	—	—	—	52	210	215	930
1798..	—	—	—	—	68	173	280	675
1799..	—	—	—	—	—	236	—	—
1800..	—	—	—	—	68	169	106	1,168
1801..	—	—	—	—	32	169	—	—
1802..	—	—	—	—	—	207	—	—
1803..	—	—	—	—	58	182	263	2,356
1804..	—	—	378	72,830	—	190	255	—
1805..	—	—	500	73,728	83	164	—	—
1806..	—	—	—	—	50	171	—	—
1807..	—	—	—	—	86	186	—	2,549
1808..	—	—	—	—	—	151	—	—
1809..	—	—	—	—	—	131	—	—
1810..	—	—	—	—	—	167	—	—
1811..	—	—	—	—	—	136	—	—
1812..	—	—	—	—	—	115	—	—
1813..	—	—	—	—	—	138	—	—

TABLE, No. II.

LIST *of* DECEASED *and* BURIED *in the several Burial Places at* BATAVIA, *from the Year* 1730, *till the Month of August*, 1752.

[Translated from a Document discovered among the Records of the Dutch Government at Batavia.]

1730.	Numb. deceased.		Numb. deceased.		Numb. deceased.	
January..	3,862	October ..	4,290		June	3,788
February..	3,786	November	3,965		July	4,480
March ..	3,928	December	3,739	48,450	August ..	4,527
April	3,860	1731.			September	4,916
May	3,862	January..	3,699		October ..	4,512
June	3,889	February	3,705		November	4,412
July	4,268	March ..	3,827		December	4,430
August ..	4,404	April	3,833			49,810
September	4,597	May	3,711			

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1732. Numb. deceased.		
January	4,359	
February	4,047	
March	4,046	
April	4,060	
May	4,066	
June	4,191	
July	4,515	
August	4,758	
September	5,314	
October	4,912	
November	4,344	
December	4,305	
		52,917

1733.		
January	4,205	
February	4,261	
March	3,989	
April	3,948	
May	3,747	
June	3,840	
July	3,885	
August	3,805	
September	4,147	
October	4,148	
November	3,906	
December	3,864	
		47,745

1734.		
January	3,830	
February	3,963	
March	3,914	
April	3,725	
May	3,711	
June	3,550	
July	3,772	
August	4,294	
September	5,303	
October	4,237	
November	4,025	
December	4,021	
		48,145

1735.		
January	3,722	
February	3,775	
March	3,830	
April	3,757	
May	3,780	
June	3,968	
July	4,141	
August	4,041	
September	4,058	
October	4,050	
November	3,966	
December	3,962	
		47,050

1736. Numb. deceased.		
January	4,110	
February	3,909	
March	3,815	
April	3,778	
May	3,760	
June	3,699	
July	4,063	
August	4,078	
September	4,260	
October	4,110	
November	3,841	
December	4,080	
		47,503

1737.		
January	4,066	
February	4,093	
March	3,707	
April	3,561	
May	3,485	
June	3,358	
July	3,357	
August	3,400	
September	2,501	
October	4,054	
November	4,057	
December	4,061	
		43,709

1738.		
January	3,784	
February	3,572	
March	3,570	
April	3,718	
May	3,717	
June	4,018	
July	4,045	
August	3,771	
September	4,110	
October	4,293	
November	4,030	
December	4,158	
		46,786

1739.		
January	4,039	
February	4,017	
March	3,909	
April	3,759	
May	3,885	
June	3,985	
July	4,266	
August	4,273	
September	4,053	
October	4,139	
November	4,189	
December	4,084	
		48,598

1740. Numb. deceased.		
January	3,851	
February	3,747	
March	3,758	
April	3,878	
May	4,090	
June	4,424	
July	4,536	
August	4,321	
September	4,538	
October	4,514	
November	4,224	
December	4,083	
		49,964

1741.		
January	4,010	
February	3,842	
March	3,893	
April	3,824	
May	3,958	
June	4,057	
July	4,136	
August	3,764	
September	4,093	
October	3,888	
November	3,766	
December	3,712	
		46,943

1742.		
January	2,849	
February	3,731	
March	3,789	
April	3,811	
May	2,185	
June	3,665	
July	3,915	
August	3,976	
September	3,546	
October	3,537	
November	3,646	
December	4,021	
		42,692

1743.		
January	3,744	
February	3,659	
March	3,399	
April	3,407	
May	3,418	
June	4,448	
July	3,822	
August	3,937	
September	3,641	
October	3,798	
November	3,852	
December	4 011	
		45,136

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1744. Numb. of deceased.			1747. Numb. of deceased.			1750. Numb. of deceased.		
January	4,114		January	4,414		January	4,546	
February	3,974		February	4,389		February	4,352	
March	3,682		March	4,305		March	4,417	
April	3,723		April	4,159		April	4,619	
May	3,790		May	4,599		May	5,227	
June	3,808		June	4,978		June	5,072	
July	3,847		July	5,355		July	5,277	
August	3,601		August	4,946		August	5,134	
September	5,904		September	5,016		September	4,872	
October	3,914		October	3,028		October	4,580	
November	4,140		November	4,506		November	4,526	
December	4,064		December	4,603		December	4,508	
		47,661			54,298			57,130
1745.			**1748.**			**1751.**		
January	3,952		January	4,459		January	4,543	
February	3,765		February	4,322		February	4,128	
March	3,212		March	4,796		March	4,163	
April	3,230		April	4,689		April	4,170	
May	3,290		May	4,603		May	3,967	
June	3,327		June	5,106		June	4,967	
July	3,655		July	4,469		July	6,904	
August	3,736		August	4,355		August	5,566	
September	4,197		September	5,034		September	5,699	
October	3,632		October	5,169		October	5,344	
November	3,486		November	5,140		November	4,612	
December	3,526		December	4,864		December	4,533	
		43,008			57,006			58,605
1746.			**1749.**			**1752.**		
January	3,479		January	4,870		January	3,923	
February	3,491		February	4,452		February	3,941	
March	3,459		March	4,332		March	4,272	
April	3,373		April	4,505		April	4,116	
May	3,435		May	4,425		May	4,466	
June	3,950		June	4,589		June	4,285	
July	4,750		July	4,656		July	4,359	
August	4,210		August	4,174		August	4,514	
September	4,110		September	4,398				33,876
October	4,214		October	4,684		During twenty-two years and eight months,		
November	4,483		November	4,537				
December	4,874		December	4,893				
		47,828			54,515	Grand Total		1,119,375

The unhealthiness of the climate of Batavia is connected, in the minds of many, with the fabulous properties of the poison tree of Java, and many are so ignorant of the island as to consider the climate of Batavia as a fair example of that of Java in general. History attests that this city has been highly pernicious to the health both of Europeans and Natives, almost from its foundation, and recent experience concurs with the testimony of history. The mines of America, when they were first discovered, did not more strongly allure the Spaniards, nor urged them to sacrifice more relentlessly the lives of the unresisting natives to their burning thirst of gold, than the monopoly of Java and the Spice Islands led the Dutch Company, in the track of wealth, through danger, injustice and oppression. Though the unhealthiness of Batavia was at all times known and formidable, there were times when the mortality became extraor-

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dinary and alarming. Although not prone to any speculation, except that of merchants, or to any inquiry, except for a new market or a more lucrative channel of trade, the Company's Government in India was sometimes forced to institute inquiries into the cause of this insalubrity, and to speculate about the possibility and the means of removing it. Passing by other occasions, there exists on the records of the High Regency a reply to queries about the unhealthiness of Batavia, dated the 14th of October 1753. This paper states that between 1732 and 1738, the greatest number of casualties happened. It assigns, as a great cause of the insalubrity complained of, the situation of the town in a bay, confined on the west and east by projecting points of land, and inclosed in front by a cluster of small islands. The space between the town and the sea is chiefly mud, left by the retreating of the sea: a swamp surrounds the town. The mouths of the rivers are generally covered with underwood and a species of tree peculiar to swamps. The vegetation of these low grounds, it is added, cannot but retain impurities of the most noxious kind. The space which is formed at the mouths of the rivers *Téng'ran Ang'ki* is an entire swamp, covered with shrubs which emit exhalations of an impure nature: these are interspersed with the burying grounds of the natives, and the effluvia of these places is felt at some distance. It was believed that the earthquake of 1699, by forcing mud from under the earth and blocking up the mouths of the rivers more than formerly, contributed to increase the previously existing unhealthiness. The lime kilns in the neighbourhood, the close plantations of trees that prevent a free circulation of air, the stagnation of the rivers from the bars of mud or sand which obstruct their outcourse into the sea, the kind of water which the inhabitants are compelled to drink, the narrowness of their houses, and the dirt and filth accumulated in the numerous canals that intersect the town, have all their due share of pernicious efficiency assigned them in this report. The buildings, it is said, are admirably adapted to keep out the fresh air, and to retain that which is putrid or noxious. To remedy the evils felt, a new construction of houses is recommended, and a frequent pruning or entire extirpation of the trees.

The fever, which excited this inquiry, commenced in 1733 and lasted till 1738, and, during its continuance, two thousand of the Company's servants and free Christians annually died. In 1739 its violence abated; but it broke out again in 1744, and continued with little diminution or variation to the date of the report in 1753.

Without stopping to inquire whether it would be easier to remove disease from Batavia, or the inhabitants of Batavia from disease, I shall take the liberty of quoting an extract from a report on the climate of some parts of Java, drawn up by Mr. Robertson, the late Superintending Surgeon, which appears to me to afford a satisfactory account of the causes of the insalubrity of the capital. After giving a statement of the mortality that prevailed in an Indiaman, a part of the crew of which landed at Batavia, he thus proceeds.

"Such is the melancholy instance of the noxious climate of Batavia,

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" which came within my own observation. That it was not epidemic is " clearly evinced, from its not extending its influence to those who attended " the sick, nor to the rest of the crew, all of whom escaped its attack and " remained healthy. Among the Dutch who remain in the town, fevers " are, I understand, very prevalent at all seasons, notwithstanding their " being, in a manner, inured to the climate, and most of them have a " sallow sickly appearance. It is not uncommon, in riding through the " streets, to meet three or four funerals daily.

" The Chinese, however, who are very numerous, suffer more than any " class of the people; perhaps, from the worse situations of their houses, " the manner in which these are crowded, the closeness of their apart- " ments, and their gross manner of living. The number of casualties " among them, I am told, is incredible, especially during the dry season; " and if one may judge from the extent of their burial ground, and the " number of their tumuli, it cannot admit of a doubt. The preceding " facts are, I conclude, sufficient to establish the truth of the noxious " character the climate of Batavia has so long obtained, and I shall now " proceed to the causes which have been often investigated, and seem well " ascertained, though the knowledge of them has led to little exertion for " their removal.

" The baneful effects of marsh miasmata on the human system is well " known, engendering intermittent and remittent fevers, dysenteries, and " visceral obstructions. Batavia, built almost in a swamp, surrounded by " marshes in all directions, trees and jungles, which prevent the exhala- " tions being carried off by a free circulation of air, is peculiarly obnox- " ious from this cause. Opposite the mouth of the river, and extending " a great way to the westward, is a mud-bank, which, in many parts at " low water, is uncovered by the sea, and is daily accumulating from the " quantities of mud and animal and vegetable matter carried down by the " river during its reflux. Again the sea, often at spring tides, overflows " the adjacent country, and, on its receding, leaves the soil covered with " slime and mud, which, exposed to the action of the sun, soon suffers " decomposition, and impregnates the atmosphere with its noxious ex- " halations, which are carried by the sea breeze over Batavia, where the " trees and jungles surrounding the houses prevent their being dissipated. " During the heat of the day these exhalations are more diffused and " comparatively innoxious, but when the sun withdraws its influence they " become more condensed, and amalgamating with the descending even- " ing dews form a morbid atmosphere around the houses of the inhabi- " tants. This hypothesis will readily account for a fact well known, that " people whose commercial concerns require their presence in Batavia " during the day, and who retire during the night into the country, escape " this endemic, while scarcely any who sleep in the town, even for a " night, unless those who, by a long residence, are inured to it, escape. " In the ingenious and sensible work formerly alluded to (Mr. Johnson's), " I find this hypothesis so clearly and perspicuously expounded, that I " must take the liberty of quoting it.

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" 'The cause why the stench emitted by marshes and vegetable matter
" 'in a state of decomposition is more perceptible immediately after sun-
" 'set, is not that the vapours are disengaged in greater quantities then
" 'than during the day, but the marshes retain their heat for some time
" 'after the sun's rays are withdrawn, and consequently continue to emit
" 'vapours through the atmosphere, as during the high temperature of
" 'the day by the sun. They therefore meet the descending dews, con-
" 'densing and forming a thick fog, which hovers over the swamps,
" 'accompanied by a noxious and disagreeable odour. The miasmata
" 'exhaled during the day, in all probability, descend with the dews
" 'of the evening, which, meeting and combining with those that con-
" 'tinue to be disengaged from their source, must form a concentration
" 'highly capable of affecting the constitution. Marsh effluvia become
" 'at a certain distance from their source innoxious. Dr. Hunter ob-
" 'serves, 'a few feet in height gives a comparative security in the same
" 'buildings.' This will be accounted for by the supposition, that as
" 'the miasmata exhaled during the day descend in the evenings, they
" 'become more and more concentrated, till meeting the exhalations
" 'from the still reeking marshes, a dense stratum of highly impregnated
" 'atmosphere is found contiguous to the surface of the earth: hence the
" 'salubrity of sleeping in upper apartments. This leads to another
" 'practicable inference of considerable importance, that when necessity
" 'compels exposure to these marshes, we should select that point of
" 'time least likely to meet those miasmata, whether ascending or de-
" 'scending. This period seems to extend from three to six in the
" 'afternoon:* that is, after the greatest heat of the earth and air, and
" 'consequently the greatest evaporation, and before the condensation
" 'and return of such exhalations as rose during the day, and which
" 'combine with those still issuing from the heated soil for some time
" 'after sunset.'

" A second, and, I think, an equally powerful cause, is the stagnant
" water of the canals, which, in all directions, intersect the city. In the
" first place, they are filled with filth of every description; there is scarcely
" at times any perceptible current in them to carry off that filth; and
" lastly, the sluices are frequently kept shut, for the purpose of swelling
" the waters above them to irrigate the fields, while those below, which
" intersect the town, become almost dry, leaving an extensive surface of
" mud, and every kind of putrified matter, to be acted upon by the sun,
" raising the most pestilential vapours, with which, as before observed,
" the atmosphere gets thoroughly impregnated.

" As a third cause, the state of the houses may be considered, and the
" mode of living of the Dutch. Houses that are untenanted are seldom
" opened, and thus collect much filth and foul, damp, pernicious vapours.
" Those that are inhabited are generally shut up in the day time, most of
" them being glazed, thus preventing a free circulation of air; and in the
" lower story of most of the houses, the walls are covered some feet from

* Mr. Robertson's observation and experience led him to give it a greater latitude, from eight or nine in the morning till twelve, and from three to six in the afternoon.

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"the ground with a greenish coat, and on entering the apartments a "stranger experiences a kind of chilly feel, and a damp raw kind of "smell. Although it cannot be enumerated among the causes, yet I "cannot help thinking the Dutch mode of medical practice, in as far as "it is inefficient to counteract the diseases of this climate, must tend to "increase the number of fatal terminations.

"The Dutch practitioners, little in the habit of theorizing, continue "the same practice in every form of disease, and they are particularly pre-"judiced against the use of mercury, opium, and other powerful medi-"cines, in consequence relying solely on the most simple and inert re-"medies. Some few of them, of more enlarged understanding, adopt the "English mode, and seem sensible of its superior efficacy.

"A fourth, and, I am convinced, a very general cause, especially of the "diarrhœas and dysenteries, which seldom fail to attack new comers, is "the water. This most essential article is taken either from the canals "or wells, and it is equally bad when passed through a filtering stone. "It retains a brackish, hard, unpleasant taste, and if allowed to remain "some time in vessels without previous boiling, generates small animal-"culæ. Such, I conceive, are the most probable and principal causes of "the insalubrity of Batavia; though there are, I doubt not, others con-"tributing, which elude observation. It is generally received, though I "think an erroneous opinion, that the rainy season is the most un-"healthy. The most unhealthy appears to me to be that immediately "after the cessation of the rains; and the older and more experienced "Dutch residents have observed, that in years when there has been a "long continued drought, disease has been more than usually prevalent, "and they look forward with anxiety for the accession of the rains, as the "means of resisting its baneful dissemination.

"Weltevreden, at a distance of not more than three miles, being less "exposed to these causes, excepting the water, is exempt, in a great "measure, from its prevailing endemic fever; though diarrhœas are com-"mon, especially among those newly arriving, but they are seldom of a "serious or alarming nature.

"Among the troops stationed at Weltevreden and Cornelis, diseases "are not more frequent than in the healthiest parts of India which I have "visited; though for some months since the Báli expedition, the casual-"ties in the 78th regiment have been numerous. At *Chemangis*, about "twenty-two miles from Batavia inland, a battalion of Sepoys is stationed, "where, from the returns I have received, it appears they enjoy com-"paratively good health, and have very few casualties, though a much "larger quantity of rain falls than in the vicinity of Weltevreden. It is "on an elevated commanding situation, and open and clear of jungle for "a considerable extent around."

In support of the opinion which has been given of the general salubrity of the climate of Java, the abstract returns of sick, &c. among the troops serving on Java and its dependencies, for the last two years, are annexed, together with a statement of casualties, in His Majesty's 78th regiment, while serving on the continent of India and in Java.

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GENERAL ABSTRACT *of the* MONTHLY RETURN *of* SICK *on the Island of* JAVA *and its Dependencies, from* 1*st November*, 1813, *to* 30*th October*, 1814.

Months.	No. of Troops. Europeans.	No. of Troops. Natives.	Remained on the 1st.	Admitted.	Discharged.	Dead. Fever.	Dead. Dysentery.	Dead. Other Diseases.	Dead. TOTAL.	Remaining last month. Fever.	Remaining last month. Flux.	Remaining last month. Hepatitis.	Remaining last month. Rheumatism	Remaining last month. Syphilis and Gonorrhea.	Remaining last month. Ulcers.	Remaining last month. Other Diseases.	TOTAL. Europeans.	TOTAL. Natives.	Proportion of Sick.	Proportion of Deaths to Cures.
1813. Nov.	2,262	5,196	938	997	981	5	19	6	30	176	216	10	61	101	195	144	289	635	1 to 8	1 to 32·70
Dec.	2,399	4,962	963	908	974	3	37	14	54	150	205	9	73	95	149	164	266	577	1 to 9·90	1 to 18
1814. Jan.	2,089	5,536	955	852	895	1	24	11	36	144	196	11	79	99	170	177	232	644	8 to 8·70	1 to 24·86
Feb.	1,233	4,865	677	474	477	3	14	6	23	99	144	2	63	84	113	146	141	510	1 to 9·33	1 to 27·39
Mar.	2,154	5,845	744	733	834	6	19	6	31	146	152	1	69	183	102	116	124	575	1 to 11·52	1 to 26·911
Apr.	1,818	4,962	620	662	620	5	18	5	28	149	131	5	51	80	80	144	177	457	1 to 10·67	1 to 22·14
May	1,781	6,509	848	876	905	8	35	4	47	169	201	7	87	107	131	160	195	667	1 to 9·61	1 to 17·12
June	1,677	5,790	763	934	820	11	30	13	54	168	182	12	80	103	127	151	216	607	1 to 9	1 to 15·18
July	1,663	5,560	839	1,082	880	7	30	10	47	304	199	15	103	117	104	150	230	764	1 to 7·28	1 to 18·72
Aug.	1,569	5,735	947	945	772	21	17	4	42	440	189	11	89	117	111	121	263	815	1 to 6·77	1 to 18·38
Sept.	2,309	5,863	1,157	915	916	31	38	8	77	395	172	15	107	135	97	159	355	725	1 to 7·55	1 to 11·89
Oct.	2,306	5,562	1,079	876	1,018	9	24	12	45	241	176	9	106	122	91	142	278	609	1 to 8·87	1 to 22·62

GENERAL MONTHLY AVERAGE *of* SICK *and* CASUALTIES *on the Island of* JAVA *and its Dependencies, from* 1*st November*, 1813, *to* 31*st October*, 1814.

Average of the Strength of Corps and Detachments.	Average of Sick.	Average of Cures.	Average of Deaths.	Average Proportion of Sick to Well.	Average Proportion of Deaths to Cures.
7,470	862	832	42	1 to 8·66	1 to 99·80

MONTHLY AVERAGE *of* FATAL DISEASES, *from* 1*st November*, 1813, *to* 31*st October*, 1814.

Deaths during the Year.	Fevers.	Flux.	Other Diseases.	TOTAL.
514	110	305	99	514
Monthly Average.....	$9\frac{1}{5}$	$25\frac{5}{12}$	$8\frac{1}{4}$	$42\frac{10}{12}$

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GENERAL ABSTRACT *of the* MONTHLY RETURNS *of* SICK *on the Island of* JAVA *and its Dependencies, from* 1*st November*, 1814, *to* 31*st December*, 1815, *inclusive.*

Months.	No. of Troops.		Remained on the 1st.	Admitted.	Discharged.	Dead.				Remaining last month.							TOTAL		Proportion of Sick.	Proportion of Deaths to Cures.
	Europeans.	Natives.				Fever.	Flux.	Other Diseases.	TOTAL.	Fever.	Flux.	Hepatitis.	Rheumatism	Venereal.	Ulcers.	Other Diseases.	Europeans.	Natives.		
1814. Nov.	2,272	6,283	906	820	784	11	21	7	39	211	154	5	104	132	112	185	229	674	1 to 9·47	1 to 20$\frac{1}{10}$
Dec.	2,325	6,268	890	797	815	13	22	11	46	211	132	10	84	123	116	150	229	597	1 to 10$\frac{4}{10}$	1 to 71
1815. Jan.	2,106	6,233	842	693	776	6	18	8	32	157	119	18	88	105	118	127	188	539	1 to 11·47	1 to 24$\frac{1}{4}$
Feb.	2,211	5,962	714	601	601	6	7	4	17	141	106	8	102	87	117	124	195	502	1 to 11·72	1 to 35·35
Mar.	2,172	5,700	595	642	600	1	10	5	16	184	96	6	79	68	90	98	173	448	1 to 12·67	1 to 57$\frac{1}{2}$
Apr.	2,050	5,481	623	706	648	5	10	4	19	182	122	5	81	79	101	92	178	484	1 to 11·37	1 to 34$\frac{1}{19}$
May	2,082	5,983	658	723	677	4	6	4	14	158	122	8	77	109	111	108	220	470	1 to 11·68	1 to 48·35
June	2,002	5,862	691	682	663	4	12	5	21	204	107	5	81	110	95	103	200	495	1 to 11·31	1 to 31·57
July	1,442	5,227	609	540	551	4	6	3	13	177	109	4	64	72	83	76	149	436	1 to 11$\frac{4}{10}$	1 to 42·38
Aug.	1,339	4,836	584	545	554	5	5	4	14	139	102	3	64	74	82	97	152	409	1 to 11$\frac{1}{140}$	1 to 39·57
Sept.	1,324	4,595	497	444	467	2	1	5	8	101	91	4	49	60	73	88	123	343	1 to 12$\frac{7}{10}$	1 to 56·37
Oct.	1,326	4,770	420	384	387	2	6	5	13	88	58	4	59	64	88	63	77	327	1 to 15$\frac{11}{36}$	1 to 29·76
Nov.	821	4,404	443	407	392	1	6	5	12	101	78	4	53	70	72	68	42	404	1 to 11$\frac{1}{2}$	1 to 32$\frac{2}{3}$
Dec.	772	3,170	344	388	343	2	5	3	10	83	79	4	36	48	59	70	61	318	1 to 10$\frac{2}{5}$	1 to 34$\frac{1}{3}$

N.B.—The monthly returns from Maccassar for November and December, and of the 5th Volunteer Battalion Javan Corps, and of a Detachment of H.M. 78th for December, had not been received when this table was framed.

GENERAL MONTHLY AVERAGE *of* SICK *and* CASUALTIES *on the Island of* JAVA *and its Dependencies, from* 1*st November*, 1814, *to* 31*st October*, 1815, *inclusive.*

Average of the Strength of Corps and Detachments.	Average of Sick.	Average of Cures.	Average of Deaths.	Average Proportion of Sick to Well.	Average Proportion of Deaths to Cures.
7,487	699	626	21	1 to 11·17	1 to 29·18

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STATE *of His Majesty's 1st Battalion 78th Regiment, shewing the Effective Strength and Number died (including those died of Wounds) killed in Action, &c. Half-yearly, from 16th February, 1797, five days after the Regiment's landing in India, to 25th December, 1815.*

Serondole, 13th March, 1816.

Head Quarters of the Regiment and Dates.	Effective Strength on the under-mentioned Dates. Serjts.	Drs.	R & F.	Casualties. Dead, including those that died of wounds, &c.	Killed in Action.	TOTAL dead, killed, &c. &c.	PERIODS.
Fort William, 16 Feb. 1797*	53	25	1,146	—	—	115	16 Feb. 1797 to 24 Dec. 1797.
Berhampore, 25 June	52	22	1,085	25	—		
On the River, 25 Dec.	52	22	993	90	—		
Allahabad, 25 June, 1798	52	22	952	45	—	79	25 Dec. 1797, to 24 Dec. 1798.
Camp Onoopsher, 25 Dec.	52	22	930	34	—		
Cawnpore, 25 June, 1792.	52	22	913	27	—	58	25 Dec. 1798, to 24 Dec. 1799.
Ditto, 25 Dec.	52	22	888	31	—		
Ditto, 25 June, 1800	52	22	869	19	—	53	25 Dec. 1799, to 24 Dec. 1800.
Fort William, 25 Dec.	52	22	890	34	—		
Ditto, 25 June, 1801	52	22	857	30	—	45	25 Dec. 1800, to 24 Dec. 1801.
Ditto, 25 Dec.	52	22	897	15	—		
Ditto, 25 June, 1802	52	22	884	12	—	78	25 Dec. 1801, to 24 Dec. 1802.
Ditto, 25 Dec.	52	22	865	66	—		
Camp Rooey, 25 June, 1803	52	22	837	30	—	166	25 Dec. 1802, to 24 Dec. 1803.
—— Cuttah, 25 Dec.	62	22	709	89	47		
—— Chiohoora, 25 June, 1804	52	22	657	61	—	145	25 Dec. 1803, to 24 Dec. 1804.
Old Women's Island, Bombay, 25 Dec.	53	22	683	84	—		
Ditto, 25 June, 1805	54	22	636	50	—	80	25 Dec. 1804, to 24 Dec. 1805.
Camp at Bombay, 25 Dec.	54	22	604	30	—		
Ditto, 25 June, 1806	54	22	683	14	—	38	25 Dec. 1805, to 24 Dec. 1806.
Butcher's Island, near Bombay, 25 Dec.	54	22	668	24	—		
Cabo Island of Goa, 25 June, 1807	54	22	686	17	—	24	25 Dec. 1806, to 24 Dec. 1807.
Ditto, 25 Dec.	54	22	520	7	—		
Ditto, 25 June, 1808	56	22	706	9	—	34	25 Dec. 1807, to 24 Dec. 1808.
Ditto, 25 Dec.	57	22	809	25	—		
Ditto, 25 June, 1809	57	22	772	22	—	54	25 Dec. 1808, to 24 Dec. 1809.
Ditto, 25 Dec.	57	22	740	32	—		
Ditto, 25 June, 1810	55	22	989	22	—	43	25 Dec. 1809, to 24 Dec. 1810.
Ditto, 25 Dec.	54	22	991	21	—		
Lowjee Family Transport, 25 June, 1811	64	22	965	18	—	212	25 Dec. 1810, to 24 Dec. 1811.
Surabaya, Java, 25 Dec.	62	22	770	166	28		
Ditto, 25 June, 1812	59	22	674	101	—	200	25 Dec. 1811, to 24 Dec. 1812.
Ditto, 25 Dec.	54	21	684	93	6		
Ditto, 25 June, 1813	54	20	625	59	—	81	25 Dec. 1812, to 24 Dec. 1813.
Ung'arang, 25 Dec.	53	21	625	22	—		
Weltevreeden, Java, 25 June, 1814	54	21	597	28	—	80	25 Dec. 1813, to 24 Dec. 1814.
Ditto, 25 Dec.	52	20	623	52	—		
Ditto, 25 June, 1815	45	20	583	20	—	33	25 Dec. 1814, to 24 Dec. 1815.
Serondol, 25 Dec.	45	21	568	13	—		
				1.537	81	1,618	

Of Six Companies at Serondol, died from 25th December, 1815, to 13th March, 1816..... 1
Of One ditto ..... Solo ..... ditto.....25th..... ditto .....13th...ditto..... 2
Of Three ditto..... Weltevreeden, ditto.....25th.....ditto..... 13th...ditto..... 6

Total..... 9

Of the above six died at Weltevreeden, one died in consequence of a fall. —

* Five days after our arrival in India.

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NOTE *by* N. CURRIE, *Esq. Surgeon of His Majesty's 78th Regiment, on the foregoing Table.*

When the 78th regiment first arrived at Java, the men had been long confined on board ship, living on salt provisions, and were afterwards exposed, not only to the fatigues and privations incident to actual warfare, but also to the inclemency of the weather in a tropical climate. All these causes produced a tendency to disease, and when the regiment arrived at *Surabáya* the quarters were bad; and being in the middle of the town, free access could at all times be had to spirituous liquors. The number of diseases and of casualties was consequently great; but it diminished gradually, as the men were successively accommodated with good barracks at *De Noyo*. The whole were comfortably lodged in plastered barracks in March or April, 1813, and in May and the following month a very sensible reduction of deaths took place, as may be seen by the abstracts of those months. During the preceding months of January, February, March, and April, the deaths were numerous, but the greater proportion was among the men of a detachment of about two hundred men that joined in January, and continued to be very sickly during those four months. Almost all the men of this detachment had, when attacked, violent diseases.

A very remarkable instance of the bad effects of exposure to night air while asleep, occurred when part of the regiment was sent, in September, 1814, from *Weltevreeden* to *Chemangis*, where the barracks were built of wattled bamboos, and the men lying with their heads to the walls, received the current of air directly in their heads. Fifty were seized with a highly inflammatory fever in the course of three days. Delirium was always the first symptom in every case, and it was necessary to bleed several of them largely before they could be sent to the hospital. By referring to the returns it will be seen that almost every increase of sickness happened after a change of quarters, as in the detachment abovementioned, and after the removal of the regiment from *Surabáya* to *Ung'arang* and *Sirondol* in October, 1813, after the expedition to *Bali* at *Weltevreeden* in June, 1814, and to *Chemangis* in September 1814. An increase of sickness always took place after the use of spirituous liquors on particular holidays, as Christmas, &c.; and on the contrary, the good effects of not exposing the men to morning dews or wet, and of regularity in diet, may be seen in the healthiness of the regiment after the men got settled in good barracks at *Surabáya* and *Weltevreeden*.

Java need no longer be held up as the grave of Europeans, for except in the immediate neighbourhood of salt marshes and forests, as in the city of *Batavia*, and two or three other places on the north coast, it may be safely affirmed that no tropical climate is superior to it in salubrity. By its insular situation, the temperature of the atmosphere is low and equable, and from its lofty mountains it possesses this great advantage, that in a few hours' travelling a climate of any degree of cold may be found.

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APPENDIX B.

JAPAN TRADE.

The empire of Japan has, for a long period, adopted and carried with effect all the exclusive maxims of Chinese policy, with a degree of rigour unknown even in China itself. Previously to the expulsion of the Portuguese and the extirpation of Christianity in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the Japanese trade was reckoned by far the most advantageous which could be pursued in the East, and very much superior to either the Indian or Chinese trade. After the expulsion of the Portuguese, a very extensive trade was for some permitted to be carried on by the Dutch, on account of the benefits which the Japanese imagined themselves to have received from that nation during the Portuguese war, and especially the detection of a formidable conspiracy of some of the Japanese princes to dethrone the emperor, the correspondence relative to which was intercepted at sea. It was for these services that the Dutch originally procured the imperial edict, by which they were permitted to trade to Japan, to the exclusion of all other European nations. This public act of their ancestors, the Japanese have repeatedly declared that they will not cancel; but they have done every thing but formally cancel it, for a more limited and less free trade never was carried on by one rich nation with another.* For more than half a century, the Dutch trade has been limited to two yearly ships from Batavia, the cargoes of both of which scarcely ever exceeded the value of 300,000 dollars, and their only profitable returns are Japan copper, and a small quantity of camphor. To shew themselves impartial in their restrictions, the Japanese have limited the traffic of the Chinese, the only eastern nation whom they suffer to trade with them at all, in a similar manner to that of the Dutch, and they suffer no more than ten Chinese junks to visit *Nangasaki* in the year. The trade of those two favoured nations is also limited to the port of *Nangasaki*.

In pursuance of their exclusive maxims, and conformably to the terms of their agreement with the Dutch, the Japanese have, on every occasion, followed an uniform line of conduct, and rejected, in the most peremptory manner, the various overtures of different nations of Europe, refusing equally to have any intercourse, negociation or commerce, with any of them. It must also be admitted, that the whole foreign trade of Japan, compared with the riches of the country, is absolutely trifling; nor is there any rich or powerful body of them, like the Hong merchants of China, at all interested in its continuance. The yearly presents, whether offered to the governor of *Nangasaki* or the emperor, are of no great value, and rigidly limited by law and usage; and as the government of Japan is much stronger and more vigilant than that of China, no such abuses can be ventured on at *Nangasaki* as those which exist at Canton.

The commercial intercourse of the Dutch at Japan was established by an imperial edict in their favour from the emperor *Gongging Soma*, in the year 1611.

* For the regulations by which the trade is limited, see Kempfer's History of Japan.

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The first Dutch factory was established at Firando, but in the year 1641 it was removed to *Nangasaki*. The number of the Dutch ships, and the kind of merchandize which they imported, were then left entirely to the discretion of the parties; the merchandize was disposed of to the best advantage, and the returns consisted of such articles as were expected to yield the greatest profit. They were subject only to the municipal regulations of the country, without any further restraint or incumbrance whatever. The trade remained in this state till the year 1671. In the Dutch records of this period, the only complaints made against Japanese authority relate to restrictions laid upon them in matters of religion.

In the beginning the returns from Japan consisted of silver and copper; and the former being coined, was received according to the current value in that country, where the coins and weights went by the same name as in China, viz. *katis, tahils, mas,* and *kandarins*. Ten *mas* were worth a *tahil*, sixteen *tahil* a *kati*, and one hundred *kati* weighed one hundred and twenty, or one hundred and twenty-one, pounds Dutch, equal to a mark.

There were two sorts of silver, of which the fine was called *zoma*, and coarser bar-silver, generally distinguished by the Dutch under the terms of *heavy* and *light* money. This was at first carried to account at the rate of sixty-two stivers and a half per *tahil*, no difference being made in the books of that time between the two kinds; but in the year 1635, the common or bar-silver, was fixed at fifty-seven stivers the *tahil*. Both kinds, according to this regulation, were considered by the Dutch as calculated too high for an article of merchandize, and consequently were not much in demand in the western parts of India, to which it was at first sent by the Company.

The attention of the Dutch being, however, afterwards attracted to the trade in gold from Japan, orders were issued to the factors in the year 1640, requiring gold as a return, to the amount of from ten to twelve hundred thousand florins. These orders were executed with the best success; and a wish seems, on this occasion, to have been expressed by the factory, that Japan might, as formerly, be permitted to supply from one hundred to one hundred and fifty chests of gold *kobangs*, *ubangs*, and *zebos*. Gold and silver were, at this time, the principal articles in the returns from Japan. Their copper was not much in demand, probably because it was so little known in India or Europe; yet the directors, in their requisition for the year 1655, state the price of Japan copper having risen from thirty-six to forty-six florins per hundred pounds weight, and an order having been sent to Japan for twenty thousand *pikuls* of that metal, the same rendered great profit.

In 1644, requisitions were made from Surat for two thousand *pikuls*, from Coromandel for one thousand *pikuls*, and from Batavia for four thousand *pikuls* of copper; and in reply it is stated, that it would not be difficult to furnish the quantity required; that the Japan copper consisted of both sheet and bar copper, of which the former was purchased at twenty *tahils* the *pikul*, or twelve stivers (inferior silver) per pound, being twenty per cent. cheaper than European copper.

The gold, after being coined, was found a very profitable article, being

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purchased at a favourable rate. In the beginning the *kobang* was purchased for six *tahil* eight *mas*, and for six *tahil* seven *mas*; and, as appears from the books of 1669, 1670, and 1671, was within those years even purchased as low as five *tahils* six *mas*, and five *tahils* eight *mas*, from the great men of the country, or from merchants, according to circumstances. During two of these years, more than one hundred thousand *kobangs* were obtained, which rendered a profit of one million of florins.

In 1671, an edict was issued by the Japanese government, prohibiting the further exportation of silver; but the profit on the gold being so considerable, the restriction on the exportation of silver was a matter of indifference to the Dutch, who still were enabled to obtain their returns in the more profitable articles of gold and copper.

The exchange of the *kobang* was now fixed by the Japanese government at sixty-eight *mas*; and the free and unrestricted trade which the Dutch had hitherto enjoyed, was subjected to an arbitrary valuation of the import cargoes, and limited first with respect to the articles of merchandise, and afterwards with respect to its extent.

The loss of the island of Formosa in 1661, is supposed to have given the first shock to the credit of the Dutch at Japan. Not long after that event they experienced many instances of opposition, and several prejudicial alterations in the trade.

"They (the Japanese) were consequently," observes Mr. Imhoff, in his Memoir on the Japan Trade, "no longer under any apprehension of "being annoyed by us, while, if we had remained in possession of Formosa, we were and might have continued masters of the navigation and "trade between China and Japan. In that opinion I am still further confirmed, when I consider, in the first instance, that the prejudicial "change with respect to our situation at Japan, although it took place "only several years after the loss of Formosa, had been already in agitation some time before; and, secondly, that notwithstanding the confidence of the Japanese in their own superiority, which they always "evinced, that arrogance did not conceal altogether a certain fear of us, "very evident from their great precautions. This fear has, however, "since decreased, and if we may trust to the records, has frequently been "succeeded by brutality.* It is an undeniable truth, that if a nation "renders itself respected and formidable it will flourish, and that otherwise it is but little esteemed."

The decline of the trade seems not at first to have been much attended to. "Whether the Japanese," says the same writer, "at that period "obtained advice of the advantages we derived from the trade, or that the "bad conduct of our servants gave occasion to further restrictions which "succeeded each other, we do not know, yet it is undeniable, that first "in the year 1685 our trade was limited to three hundred thousand "*tahils*, of which two-thirds were to consist of piece goods and weighable

* "We were obliged to submit to many insults, and it frequently happened that the governors "declined receiving our representations, hinting that we might leave Japan altogether and not "return again. From the records also we perceive the despotic regulations resorted to by the "Japanese respecting our nation, in consequence of our having at that time but little power in "India."—*Imhoff.*

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" articles, and the other third of silks. This was confirmed in 1689, and " we were allowed to export only twenty-five thousand *pikuls* of copper, " whereas our exports of that article formerly had been regulated accord- " ing to our requisition. In the year 1700, the number of our ships was " limited to four or five, in lieu of six or seven as were formerly sent, ac- " cording to circumstances."

The profits of the trade at this period would yet have deserved attention had not a change in the current coin rendered the year 1700 still more disadvantageous. In 1692 and 1693 and afterwards, rich cargoes were sent to Japan which returned considerable profits, and the funds were again laid out in copper, as far as thirty thousand chests or *pikuls*. The new stipulation of twenty-five thousand chests was of little importance with the Dutch, who knew how, as they confess, to obtain by bribes from the governors and their servants a still further quantity. In the year 1685, the system of receiving the Dutch merchandize by valuation was discontinued; and although it was introduced again in the year 1698, it was once more abolished in the following year.

Various causes are assigned for the change in the current coin which took place about this period; but whether, as was supposed by the Dutch, the knowledge of the Dutch profits upon the *kobang* opened the eyes of the Japanese, or that their long intercourse with Europeans rendered them more attentive to their own interest, or that the Chinese, who are known to be very expert in the art of coining, proposed that measure to them, or that the easy compliance of the Dutch in all former instances, and while they issued the most injurious orders against their commerce, made them believe that they might purchase their friendship at a cheaper rate than hitherto, or, as seems most probable, it was principally occasioned by other and more weighty causes not yet discovered, it is certain that in the year 1696 appeared, for the first time, a new kind of *kobang*, of one-third less in value than the old, although tendered to and received by the Dutch at the same rate. Here then was said to commence the iron age.

The new *kobang* was assayed at thirteen carats six or seven grains, while the old *kobang* was twenty carats eight and a half, nine, or even ten grains; yet the Dutch were obliged to receive the former at the rate of sixty-eight *mas* like the old, which weighed thirty-one stivers, and making a difference upon one thousand of seventy-two marks. The old *kobang* rendered a profit of twenty-five per cent., but the new produced a loss of fifteen or sixteen per cent. on the coast of Coromandel, where it was recoined. Some of the old *kobangs* being however estimated at the same rate with the new, the Dutch still continued to derive some profits from the gold, until the introduction of a third kind of *kobang*, denominated the small *kobangs*, took place.

In 1710 the Japanese resorted to this further change in the coin, by reducing the weight of the *kobang* nearly one half, the value being twenty-five *kanderins*, while that of the former was no less than forty-seven *kanderins*. This caused a loss of from thirty-four to thirty-six per cent., the Dutch being obliged to receive the same at the rate of sixty-eight *mas*;

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the former *kobangs*, of inferior alloy only, were in consequence still preferable. From 1710 to 1720, both sorts were in circulation; but the repeated complaints of the Dutch were at last, in 1720, so far attended to, that the old *kobangs*, of the same alloy and weight, were again introduced. The latter, however, were called double *kobangs*, and they were charged in the Dutch accounts at thirteen *takils* six *mas*, which was twice as much as in former times, so that they became still less profitable than the small *kobangs*, of which two thousand weighed seventy-six marks, while one thousand of the old coin only weighed seventy-two marks, and would consequently, when received in lieu of two small *kobangs*, have produced a loss of thirty-seven seven-eights per cent.

When an attempt was made, in 1714, to oblige the Dutch to receive the small *kobang* at the same rate as the old, the exportation of copper was limited to fifteen thousand chests, as was the number of ships to two or three, according to the quantity of copper in store.

A fourth kind of *kobang* was introduced in 1730, about five per cent. better than the third or small *kobang*, but the trade continued rapidly to decline until the year 1744.

The loss of many valuable ships and cargoes,* a reduction in the selling price of the articles of merchandize which they imported, and an increase of charges attending the visits to the Imperial Court, and the maintenance of their establishment in Japan, contributed to render this period particularly disadvantageous to the Dutch trade. Their submissive conduct at the Emperor's Court was of no avail, nor did their presents of horses, dogs, and other curiosities, produce any better effect. There was no longer any possibility of exporting *kobangs*, as in former times, for the balance of their accounts. The quantity of copper which they were allowed to export annually had been fixed in 1721 at ten thousand chests, yet even that quantity they were unable to obtain in 1743, so that, together with the high exchange of the *takils*, their establishment in Japan now actually subjected them to a loss, and it was accordingly proposed at this period that it should be abandoned, unless some favourable change could be effected.

The charges had considerably increased during the last year. The cargoes were of less value and of an inferior quality, so that their profits were reduced to less than one quarter of what they had been: their expences on account of the Japan trade were at the same time two hundred thousand florins annually. During the last thirty years their profits amounted to five hundred thousand, and for some years to six hundred thousand, but latterly not to two hundred thousand florins per annum.

Thus, to sum up the disasters of this trade, after having been allowed to remain free and unrestrained for a period of sixty years, the cargoes in the year 1672 were subjected to an arbitrary valuation, and about the same time the exchange of the *kobang* was altered. A tax was laid upon

* It is remarkable, that when the Dutch were formerly in the habit of sending seven and eight ships to Japan, but few losses took place; whereas afterwards, when only two or three were sent and the navigation better known, many were lost. The cause assigned is their being latterly overladen with private trade.

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the cargoes in 1685, and further increased in 1689. In 1698 the new *kobang* was introduced: in 1700 they were limited to four ships annually: in 1710 an exchange still more disadvantageous was fixed: in 1714 their exportation was reduced to fifteen thousand *pikuls* of copper; in 1717 an order was issued, limiting the trade to two ships only: in 1710 the third, and in 1730 the fourth sort of *kobangs* were introduced: and in 1743 the Dutch were limited to one ship and to one-half of the cargo.

The Dutch, in deliberating upon the measure of abandoning the trade, in the year 1744, trace all their disasters in this commerce, to their having tamely submitted, in the first instance, to take the kobang of reduced value at the same rate as the old one. It then occurred to them, that if serious remonstrances had been made in the beginning, their firmness might have prevented the subsequent losses. "In the first instance," says Mr. Imhoff, "our commerce was carried on as by a people groping "in the dark, neither knowing the actual price of purchase or sale; be- "cause the *kobang* being the standard coin of the country, that *kobang* "ought to have been calculated in proportion to the value of the *takil*, "and it would have appeared that since 1710 for forty stivers inferior "silver, thirty stivers superior silver were received, and all articles of "trade not disposed of with a profit of sixty-three per cent. rendered a "loss. And this being the case with most of the cargoes that were sent "to Japan after the period above mentioned, we ought either to have re- "linquished that commerce, or had recourse to such means as might "have tended to re-establish the affairs of the Company. Instead, how- "ever, of so doing, fruitless remonstrances and solicitations were em- "ployed, which finally produced this effect, that the Japanese, during the "latter years, granted us, by *way of charity*, an additional sum of six "thousand *takils* upon the sale of our cargoes."

From the deliberations which took place at this period, it appears that the proposal then under consideration of relinquishing the trade, was rather intended as a provisional and political measure, to induce the Japanese to admit them to more favourable terms in future, than brought forward with the view of finally abandoning or relinquishing the trade altogether.

The public opinion of the time was, that the Japanese had recourse to these measures of restriction for no other purpose, but to oblige the Dutch to depart from the country; but it occurred to the Dutch government, that a nation which treated strangers in so despotic a manner, had no need to resort to such shifts to dislodge them. Another opinion was, that the restrictions laid on the trade proceeded from political motives, of which the first and most important was their hatred against all the different persuasions of the Christian religion without exception;* but the government were inclined to consider these reasons as deserving of little notice. "There is no probability," observes Mr. Imhoff, "that, in the "present enlightened age, it can be a consideration, even with the "Japanese, of what persuasion merchants are, who neither attempt to

* "It is no where evident," says Mr. Imhoff, "that the Dutch ever gave cause to the Japanese "to hate them for being Christians: they seem rather to have been accused of indifference towards "their religion, although I suppose that the writers on that subject are not altogether correct."

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" propagate their religion with a view to promote their interest, nor to " endanger the safety of the state, of neither of which they appear ever " to have been suspected." The governor-general was further of opinion, that the Japanese could derive no advantage from the expulsion of the Dutch, as they would thus be cut off from all correspondence with Europeans, and thereby become subject to greater inconveniences than at present, being exposed to the visits of others, whose great increase in those regions was not unknown to them; for, as he states, it is notorious that the Japanese government took annual information of all that passed in the world, and that the Dutch servants had orders to answer their queries faithfully, in order that contrary reports might not injure their credit, by which the Japanese were well aware that if the Dutch withdrew, others would soon settle in the country.* Instead, therefore, of attributing the conduct of the Japanese to either of these causes, the governor-general laid it entirely to the account of their interested desire to take every possible advantage of the weakness of the Dutch, who, by admitting the first imposition, laid themselves open to all that followed.

In his very able and interesting memoir " On the Trade of Japan and " the Causes which occasioned its Decline,"—" It is by no means sur- " prizing," says Mr. Imhoff, " that the Japanese, when they altered the " *kobang*, likewise made a change in the delivery of the copper, observing " that our exchange remained always the same, and the *prices of our* " *merchandize unalterably fixed.* We cannot pass unnoticed, that this " wrong calculation has been the cause that, on our part, many valuable " articles of commerce, which were from time to time tendered to us by " the Japanese, were declined. Among those articles was yellow copper " or brass, Japan porcelain, of which musters were sent in 1736, and " camphor, which we might have exported from thence, if our return " cargoes had not been complete. Whether the sovereign right to regu- " late the trade of their country is not equally vested in the government " of Japan with any other nation, I will leave undecided. Seeing us " patiently submitting to all kinds of restrictions, inattentive in keeping " our accounts in a regular order, they were encouraged to put us to the " last shift. I am not inclined to dwell upon our surprising indifference, " which was concealed at the same time under the cloak of mystery, from " whence so many evil consequences resulted. I am of opinion, that it " cannot be either the interest or inclination of the Japanese to oblige us " to relinquish all intercourse with their country, provided our trade be " carried on within narrow bounds, and they are not losing upon the " articles delivered to us in payment for our cargoes. It is not possible " that they can have any profit on the copper, if it is sold for less than " one *kobang*. The mines certainly cannot be worked at a cheaper rate " than formerly; and what profit do the venders of the copper derive " from our merchandize, after it has fallen into the hands of the inter- " preters to government and others? Nothing is more natural, therefore,

* " Our peaceable conduct at Japan, and the alarm given to that country by the Russians, " plead greatly in our favour; and as it will be impossible for them to find other Europeans more " tractable than ourselves, they can certainly have no reason to desire our departure from thence, " although it may be undeniable that Japan stands in no need of foreigners."—*Imhoff.*

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"than that our exportation of copper from Japan should have become a "burden to that class of people, and that their complaints contributed to "the restrictions to which we are now subject. There is no doubt, that "if the Japanese could keep up the communication without allowing us "a single chest of copper, they would willingly grant us six thousand "*tahils* as a gratification, over and above the stipulated price for our "cargo."

In considering the reforms to be introduced into the management of the trade in future, the first point which attracted attention was a better calculation of the coin, with reference to the intrinsic value, and a calculation being made upon a new basis, allowed a higher price to be paid for the copper than before. It was estimated, that if the Dutch could annually procure twenty thousand *pikuls* of copper at twenty *tahils*, the Japan trade would still be lucrative, allowing the profits on the outward-bound cargoes to be merely sufficient for the support of the factory.

But in order to purchase and to pay for such a quantity of copper, the governor-general observes, "it is necessary that government should "strictly comply with the requisitions from Japan, because our failures "therein have brought us into such discredit with the Japanese, that they "do not any longer place confidence in our promises. We have passed "our word from year to year, that the quality and the quantity of our "merchandize should be better assorted, without ever attending to it. "Even at this moment, the supply differs so very much from the quan-"tity required, that it will be extremely difficult to convince the Japan-"ese that they shall be better served in future; and still it must be done, "because if we wish to obtain the value of eight hundred or four hundred "thousand *tahils* of copper annually, besides camphor and other articles, "different measures must be resorted to. We are hardly able, at present, "to supply one-third of that amount, and load the ships with coarse "goods.

"We have no doubt but other productions of Japan might also be pro-"cured at a cheaper rate than at present. Camphor may be purchased in "abundance at thirty *tahils* the *pikul*, and it is probable the same could "still be obtained on more favourable terms, if we advert to what it cost "formerly; in which case it would become a profitable remittance to Hol-"land, and render one hundred per cent., or thereabouts.

"The white copper (tutenague) has been tendered to us at sixteen "*tahils* per *pikul*, but has not been accepted, the price being considered "too high. If, however, we can dispose of it merely at the same price "as the yellow copper (brass), which yields according to the price cur-"rent before us 41 43 f. per 100lb., it will not only be acceptable, but "even render a reasonable profit of fifty per cent.

"Iron was formerly imported here from Japan, and might perhaps be "procured at a moderate price, which for the sake of the small distance "between us and that country would be very desirable.*

"Sulphur was also declined in 1726, on account of its being charged

* "In 1637 the Japanese iron was purchased at two Spanish dollars, and sold at Batavia for five "and a half Spanish dollars the *pikul*. On account of the smallness of the profit, an annual re-"quisition was made for one thousand *pikuls* only."

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" too high; yet it might still become an article worth attention, especially " if it were purified in Japan. And who knows how many other valu- " able productions might be drawn from that extensive country, besides " those already mentioned, and which would be very acceptable, in an " economical as well as a mercantile point of view?" *

The following facts are collected from the considerations at this time.

That in former times the commerce of foreign nations at Japan amounted to ten millions of florins, and since then for many years to 3,150,000 florins, of which the Chinese share was two-thirds, and the Dutch one-third; and it was consequently presumed, that in so extensive a country as Japan, merchandize might still be disposed of to the value of one million, especially if it was paid for in the productions of the country.

That one of the causes of the decline of the trade was the conduct of the Company's servants, and the extent to which the private trade of individuals was carried. The directors of the trade at Japan had been selected from a very inferior class of society, and the peculations on overweight of the copper, &c. formed the subject of a regular complaint made by the Japanese to the Dutch government.

That the trade of the Chinese to Japan had been reduced from eighty to twenty junks in the year, the number then allowed.

In concluding his valuable and interesting Memoir, the Baron Van Imhoff declares it to be his firm belief, that Japan was, in every respect, what it had been formerly; that the same quantity of merchandize might be disposed of there as in former times, and that returns of equal value might be obtained; that although the profits should be less at present, there could be no reason to relinquish that trade; that the means of the Dutch were certainly inferior at that moment to what they had been, yet that if they adhered to the measures proposed (namely, clear accounts, correctness and honesty of conduct, and a good assortment of cargoes), which were easy, and could not expose them to any risk or danger, they might hope for a favourable issue.

In the course of all these deliberations, the Dutch seem to have concluded that the debasement of the coin was resorted to by the Japanese, solely with the view of affecting their trade, and never to have reflected that so important a change in the intrinsic value of the standard coin of the country, might have been occasioned by political causes, of far greater magnitude to the Japanese than the paltry gain to be obtained on the traffic of the Dutch cargoes. It is most probable that the empire of Japan, at the periods when these changes took place, wished to check the exportation of the precious metals of the country. In the first instance, we perceive a prohibition against the exportation of silver. The loss of this metal was first felt, because the principal exports were at first made in this coin; but it is never hinted that this prohibition was occasioned by any desire to take an undue advantage of the Dutch: on the contrary, this measure was not found to affect the Dutch trade at all. The same causes, however, which first led to a prohibition regarding silver, operated afterwards in an equal degree with respect to gold; and it is easy to

* From Japan was formerly exported timber, wheat, rice, ambergris, raw-silk, cotton," &c.—*Imhoff.*

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account for the rise in the value of this metal, and the consequent changes in the coin, by the scarcity which ensued. Let us but reflect on the enormous exportation of the precious metals, which took place from Japan at the period when the trade was unlimited, and we shall find abundant cause for these changes in the coin, without accusing the Japanese of resorting to the measure as an imposition on the foreign merchant. "The "exports at one period," says Mr. Imhoff, "amounted to ten millions of "florins." These were principally made in the precious metals and in the coin of the country; and when the trade fell exclusively into the hands of the Dutch, it had been usual to export at first from one hundred to one hundred and fifty chests of silver, and subsequently the trade admitted of no less than two hundred chests of gold coin being exported instead of the silver. On a moderate calculation, therefore, the exports of the former period were about one million sterling, and those continued by the Dutch could not be less than from half a million to a million sterling in each year; so that, during a period of sixty years, the total export would have amounted to from thirty to sixty millions of pounds sterling, and this does not include what found its way to China and other neighbouring countries.

The discovery of the mines of America reduced, in the sixteenth century, the value of gold and silver in Europe to about one-third of what it had before been:* and might not the extensive drain on Japan have produced in that country an opposite effect of the same magnitude? If the gold and silver annually imported into Spain and Portugal, which did not commonly exceed six millions pounds sterling, produced this effect on the circulating medium, and the price of the precious metals throughout all Europe, in one country of which alone the circulating gold and silver amounted, by some accounts to eighteen, and by others to thirty, millions.† Is it not easy to conclude, that a directly contrary and equally extensive effect must have been felt in Japan? and that this effect must have been felt in a still higher degree, while operating on the confined circulating medium of one nation, than while operating on that of the numerous nations of Europe, who again found means to dispose of large quantities by remittances to the eastern world?

The extensive circulation of money throughout the populous and rich empire of Japan, and the facility with which the drains upon it could be supplied from the mines, was perhaps the cause that, in the first instance, the exportation of the precious metals was not sensibly felt; but afterwards, when probably the mint could not keep pace with the demand, and what is not unlikely, the demand was even too heavy for the mines, the intrinsic value of the coins increased in proportion to the scarcity; and it is not surprising that the Japanese should have entertained an apprehension lest the mines would become exhausted. Whether there were any immediate grounds for such an apprehension is uncertain; but it is generally believed that an edict was issued to discontinue working, first the silver, and afterwards the gold mines, but not until the nominal, and perhaps the real, value of both metals, and particularly of the latter, had

* Wealth of Nations. † Ibid.

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been nearly doubled, as in the instance of the *kobang* of the original value being offered to the Dutch for two *kobangs*.

That the Dutch perhaps owe the loss of this valuable trade, in a great measure, to the incapacity and worthlessness of their own servants, cannot but be admitted; for had they, on these continued reductions in the value of the current coins, adverted to the political cause, and calculated their commercial transactions according to the intrinsic, instead of the nominal, value, they would not have subjected themselves, unknowingly, to a loss of sixty per cent. upon the proceeds of all their exports: nor would they have shewn their weakness and ignorance to the Japanese, but they would immediately have devised the advantage of other returns from Japan, in articles, the exportation of which might, at the same time, have improved the industry and prosperity of that empire; and the Japanese, finding them equally intelligent and enterprising under all circumstances, while they felt an interest in the continuance of the trade, would have respected the nation by whom it was carried on. If, however, by these means, the European character and the value of foreign trade thus declined in the estimation of the Japanese, how much lower must that of the Dutch nation have fallen, when after once dictating the prices of all articles both bought and sold, we find them obtaining at last an advance on their proceeds of the outward cargo, by *way of charity*, and the Japanese themselves appealing against the peculations and corruptions that were carried on! When we see the Dutch, without power and without respect, dictating in the mighty empire of Japan an arbitrary and extravagant price for their commodities, in the same manner as they did at home, is it surprising that we should find the Japanese having recourse to a fixed valuation? When we observe the illicit trade to Japan carried on by private individuals, to such an extent, that Valentyn, a Dutch author of the highest authority, says it was so interwoven with the constitution of the Company, and so extensive, that it formed the principal part of the trade, and could never be prevented, and that the Dutch ships were frequently lost by being overladen with cargoes of this kind, we cannot be astonished at the decline of the prosperity of the Company, or the degradations which were imposed upon its agents. The Dutch factory was, and is, in fact, a sink of the most disgraceful corruption and peculation which ever existed. The factor to obtain his own ends, submits to every possible degradation, and the government of Batavia knows only just as much of what is going on at Japan, as it is his interest to tell them. In this work it has become a painful duty to advert occasionally to the shameful scenes of fraud and corruption carried on under the very eyes of the government of Batavia, and in the dependencies in the more immediate vicinity of that metropolis, where their residents enjoyed such extensive powers, and were so removed from controul and responsibility, that their interests constantly interfered with their duties, and the struggle between principle and opportunity generally ended in a resolution to make fortunes, to connive at each other's peculations, and keep their own secret. If this was the case on the island of Java, the seat of government, what must it not have been in a country so remote as Japan, where the con-

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nection and intercourse were so peculiar? It is not surprising, that in the accounts of such a factory, the government at home should find nothing but intricacy and obscurity. It was the interest of the factor to keep every thing involved in mystery, and no where was there a better opportunity for doing so.

But had the shameful and disgraceful conduct of these people been felt only in its effects upon the past, it would be trifling, compared to what they are calculated to produce on the future. The unmanly degradation to which these factors have submitted at the caprice, and often for the amusement of the Japanese, in order to gain their own ends, seem to have established an effectual bar against the future extension of the trade by the Dutch nation, who will find it difficult, if not impracticable, ever to be again respected in Japan. Unless, therefore, the Dutch have magnanimity enough to abandon this trade, when they find it of little comparative value to them, or when they see it must be conducted on principles derogatory to the dignity of the illustrious House of Orange, it is to be feared, that the day is far distant, when the opportunity will be afforded of opening a liberal and honourable communication between Europe and this interesting and important empire. Perhaps this will not happen until, according to Humboldt, the two great oceans shall be united by means of a channel across the Isthmus of Darien, when the productions of Nootka Sound and of China will be brought more than two thousand leagues nearer to Europe and the United States, and when alone any great changes can be effected in the political state of Eastern Asia; "for "this neck of land," observes that writer, "the barrier against the waves "of the Atlantic Ocean, has been for many ages the bulwark of the "independence of China and Japan." *

From the year 1750 no essential alteration appears to have taken place in the trade: the utmost exertions of the Dutch were required to provide the cargoes, and whenever they succeeded, return cargoes were always provided, to the extent of two or three ships in the year. In order to afford a better view of the nature and extent of the restricted trade thus carried on, the accounts of two of these expeditions to Japan are annexed, from which it will appear, that in the voyage of 1804-5 the Company exported from Batavia to the Japan market commodities to the amount of 211,896 rix-dollars in value; that the charges attendant on the shipment and freight amounted to 167,500 rix-dollars (including 2,915 rix-dollars on account of customs), making the whole expenses of the voyage, with the prime cost of the articles, amount to 379,397 rix-dollars. These articles, when sold in Japan, brought 160,378 rix-dollars; but the expenses and disbursements at Japan in one year for the establishment, the loss on the weight of the sugar, and the expense of making the journey to Japan, reduced that sum to 92,426 rix-dollars. The return cargo brought to Batavia the sum of 886,554 rix-dollars, or a profit of 507,147 rix-dollars on the adventure. The cargo and return of 1806, and the expense of the establishment, cost the Company 393,582 rix-dollars, (including 2,846 for customs), and the sales and other receipts produced

* Humboldt's Political Essay on New Spain, Vol. I. page 45.

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569,089, leaving a balance of 175,505 rix-dollars in favour of the adventure.

A more correct judgment may perhaps be formed from the result of the adventures undertaken from Batavia during the provisional authority of the British government. The first of these was intimately connected with a political object, to which the mercantile adventure was made subservient, and both were undertaken without those previous arrangements which would have insured a better assorted and cheaper cargo. The articles were purchased on the spot and at the moment, and the vessels engaged at a very high rate of freight. In the first, in particular, the sugar being of inferior quality, there was a loss in the weight, and it was otherwise less profitable than it would have been, had the assortment been of the same quality which the Dutch company were in the habit of sending. The freight alone amounted to the enormous sum of 82,309 Spanish dollars. From the outward-bound cargoes it was necessary to pay the debts of the former government, amounting to 48,648 Spanish dollars; and this, with other disbursements and necessary provisions, rendering the proceeds of the outward-bound cargo insufficient to furnish the amount requisite for the payment of the copper; the Dutch factor availed himself of the opportunity to supply the deficiency of fourteen hundred *pikuls* at the rate of twenty-five dollars per 120⅔ pounds, amounting to 25,000 Spanish dollars; differing from the rate paid to the Japanese of 12,3·5 tahils, or ten rix-dollars per pikul, to an extent of fifteen rix-dollars against government. Besides this, the whole of the outward cargo was not sold: several articles of merchandize remained undisposed of at Japan, amounting to 19,688 Spanish dollars, to be accounted for in the ensuing year. All these operated essentially to reduce the profits of a voyage, which depended exclusively on the return cargo.

The results of these voyages, however limited as the profits were, appear fully sufficient to shew the importance of this trade to Batavia, even as it at present stands, considering that it affords a market for so large a quantity of the produce of the country, and that when the government seemed disinclined to send a further adventure on their own account, there were not wanting numerous individuals anxious to obtain a license to undertake the trade, and to run all the risks attached to it:*

* "Our commercial relations with Japan are of a very peculiar nature. Every one knows "ours is the only European nation admitted to it, what humiliations we are obliged to suffer "for it, and what expenses we incur by our embassies to the court of *Jeddo*. This trade was "once very lucrative, but in the latter years I think it has done little more than cover the ex-"pences incidental to it, and considering the loss of ships and people, is certainly not such as to "justify an exposure to so many humiliations.

"Notwithstanding this, we have not been inclined to resign the trade; nor indeed is it either "necessary or prudent to do so. But I am at a loss to know how the government of Batavia "will be able to account for sending there, in the years 1797 and 1798, a strange ship bearing an "American flag, by way of pretence, though really an English vessel, and commanded by Captain "Stuart, a real Englishman, though possessed of an American pass, although he belonged to "Madras or Bengal. To abandon this trade would be ridiculous, but as it is subject to such "regulations in Japan as it will be hardly possible to get rid of, it may be impracticable to make "it quite free and open. To pursue it on account of the state or of a company will never answer "the purpose, I therefore venture to propose the sale by public auction, to the highest bidder, at "Batavia, of a license or pass for one or two ships, of limited burthen, to trade there, either for "one or more years, as may be preferred. The chief of Decima should be appointed and main-"tained by the government, and should act as a kind of consul, and proceed on the embassy to

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In the year 1616, the English obtained a grant from the emperor, containing the privileges for a general trade with Japan, in consequence of which a commercial establishment was formed there by the Company.

In obtaining those privileges, one great object with the Company appears to have been to introduce themselves to a connection with the Chinese, and to carry on a general trade between India, China, and Japan; but finding themselves disappointed in their endeavours to form connections with China, and sustaining heavy losses in consequence of their trade with Japan, they determined, in 1623, to abandon their establishment there.

From that time, until the year 1673, no attempt appears to have been made by the English Company to renew their intercourse with Japan. The attempt made at that period entirely failed of success, owing, it was stated, to the king of England having married a daughter of the king of Portugal. About the same time the Company, with a view to the same object, formed an establishment on the Island of Hounan; but after struggling with great difficulties, sustaining heavy losses, and being totally disappointed in their expectations of communicating with Japan, the factory was ordered to be withdrawn in the year 1682.

At a subsequent period (in the year 1699), the Company having established a regular communication with China, their supra-cargoes were instructed to use every endeavour in their power to promote an intercourse with Japan, for the purpose of introducing woollens, &c. into that country, but without any appearance of success.

A select committee of the East-India Company, appointed in 1792 to take into consideration the export trade of Great Britain to the East Indies, after detailing the cargo of a Dutch ship from Japan in the year 1664, which consisted principally of copper, camphor, silk-stuffs, and chinaware, conclude their report by observing, that, in their opinion, the trade with Japan never can become an object of attention for the manufactures and produce of Great Britain; for supposing, they observe, that woollens, lead, and curiosities for a cargo to Japan, could be made to £8,000, what is to be required in payment? About £30,000 or £32,000 value in copper, an article which is also the produce of Great Britain, and which must be disposed of in India, to the prejudice of their own mines. Thus Great Britain would gain, on the one hand, £8,000, whilst the loss, on the other, would be £32,000.

"*Jeddo*, if it were required. But beyond this, the whole system and regulation of the trade "should be left wholly to the owners of the ships, with the exception of such rules as the "Japanese laws may render necessary with regard to our trade.

"The yearly embassies, which are so very expensive, are already dispensed with by the Japan-"ese; and as they would be useful from time to time, it might be advisable to obtain permission, "for the future, to perform them only once in every ten years, or to have it fixed for each new "resident or consul to undertake it once during his stay.

"It will not be easy to obtain any other privileges or freedom of consequence, for whatever "some of our latter servants there may have wanted to make us believe on this point, it is very "clear that the Japanese are very indifferent whether we go there or not, and consider their "permitting us to do so merely as an indulgence on their part. It cannot be doubted, that as soon "as this trade is opened to individuals, they will find means to make the profits of it worth the "risk and danger; and in proportion as these profits become more valuable, the value of the "licenses will increase."—*Hogendorp*,

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This opinion, however, would appear to have been formed on a very partial view of the subject, and with reference to the limited nature of the trade as it then existed; but it would be as unfair to judge of the value of the Japan trade to the British nation from this narrow view, as it would be to decide upon that subject merely from the result of the adventures to Japan undertaken during the recent provisional government of Batavia, which, besides other disadvantages, were, for political reasons, carried on with a scrupulous regard to the restrictions under which the trade of the Dutch had latterly laboured.

It is objected to a direct communication with Japan, and the consequent exportation of British merchandize by British ships, that, in all probability, it would entirely put a stop to the present exportation of woollens by the Chinese, and that, in proportion as the exports from Great Britain to Japan increased, those from Great Britain to China might be expected to diminish; the Japanese being, at present, almost exclusively supplied with British woollens by means of the Chinese: that, however, the demand for teas would continue the same, and therefore the defalcation in exports to China must be made up in bullion, or by drafts on Bengal.

It is admitted that the Bengal government might provide for this additional demand, by disposing of the copper brought from Japan in the Calcutta market; but this, it is stated, would prove a considerable check to the consumption of one of the most valuable articles of export from Great Britain, and therefore it has been inferred, that the final result of the trade with Japan would, in all probability, be the exchange of our woollens for copper, which we have already in abundance, instead of bartering them for teas, which, in the present state of Great Britain, will be always required.

But this argument seems evidently to have been grounded on a supposition that copper must always form the principal, if not only, article of commerce with Japan. An inference by no means borne out by the history of the Dutch trade; in the course of which, it is expressly stated by the Baron Van Imhoff, who appears to have given the subject the most mature and deliberate consideration, and to have been aided by much local information, that the Japanese would willingly pay a sum of money to be excused from the delivery of any copper at all.

But admitting that a connection between Great Britain and Japan might not be attended with all the commercial profits which might be expected from a consideration of the productions of the two countries, would it not, in a political point of view, be of the most essential importance to her interests in China, which are acknowledged by all to be so important? Might we not expect from the Chinese a more respectful and correct conduct than has been customary with them, if they knew that we were in some measure independent of our connection with them? and is it not important, that in case of our actual exclusion from China, there should still be a channel open for our obtaining commodities, with which we are at present supplied by that country?

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Dr. VOYAGE TO JAPAN (IN THE YEAR

			Rix-Dollars.	Rix-Dollars.
1,500,000 lbs. of Sugar, second sort, calculated at its selling price of 8½ each pikul, amounting to			100,000 —	
Charges of one per cent.			1,000 —	
				101,000 —
37,500 lbs. of Tin				7,200 —
4,000 do.	Cotton Thread, at 55 R.Drs. per pikul			1,760 —
30,000 do.	Black Pepper....10¾.....do.			3,200 —
30,000 do.	Cloves .....60 Stivers per pikul			37,500 —
2,987 do.	Seed Cloves ....60 .....do.			3,733 36
30,000 do.	Lead.....20 Stivers per pikul			4,800 —
100,000 do.	Sappan Wood .. 6 .....do.			4,800 —
2,000 Pieces	Patna Chintz .. 50 Stivers per corgie			5,000 —
1,651½ do.	Cloths in sorts .. 6 .....do			9,909 —
40 do.	of Woollens of sorts			5,149 26
82 do.	Long ells of sorts			3,278 15
110 do.	Perpetuans			2,958 42
5,137 do.	Camlets			7,773 12
3,500 do.	Ducatoons			5,833 16
	The Presents are calculated at			8,000 —
		R.Drs.		211,896 3

Add the following Charges incurred on account of the above-mentioned merchandize, viz.

Amount of Coolies and Prow-hire attending the purchase of articles, calculated at two per cent. on the whole amount, being .....R.Drs. 38,868 = Sp. D. 777 18			
For bringing and lodging the same in the stores, one per cent	388 33		
Custom Duties, &c. at 7½ per cent	2,915 8		
Amount of Charges			4,081 11
Total of the Cargo with the Charges			215,977 14
Yearly allowance to the Resident at Japan, consisting of 700 pikuls Copper, to be paid by Government, at 25 R.Drs. each	17,500 —		
Freight of Ships employed, 1,216 tons, at 98 Sp.D. each	145,920 —		
			163,420 —
Total Expense on Account of the Adventure			379,397 14
To balance in favour of the Voyage			507,147 24
Total.....		R.Drs.	886,544 38

N.B. A considerable part of the profit above stated, ought properly to be credited and introduced into the currency of

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1804-5) IN ACCOUNT CURRENT CONTRA. *Cr.*

Amount Sale at Japan of the following Articles .—

			Rix-Dollars.	Rix-Dollars.
1,500,000	lbs.	of Sugar, at 7 tahils the 120⅞ lbs. (each tahil being equal to 40 Stivers) amounting to	72,388 40	
37,500	do.	Tin, at 25 tahils each pikul of 120⅞ lbs.	6,463 14	
4,000	do.	Cotton Thread, 25 do.	689 20	
30,000	do.	Black Pepper, 15 do.	3,102 18	
30,000	do.	Cloves..... 150 do.	31,023 36	
2,987	do.	Seed Cloves, 40 do.	823 34	
30,000	do.	Lead..... 10 do.	2,068 12	
100,000	do.	Sapan Wood, 5.5 do.	3,791 38	
2,000	Pieces	Patna Chintz, 2 tahils each piece	3,333 16	
1,651½	do.	Cloths in sorts	4,689 19	
40	do.	of Woollens of sorts, 90 tahils	3,000 —	
82	do.	of Long Ells of sorts, 30 do.	2,050 —	
110	do.	Perpetuans.....25 do.	2,291 32	
5,137	do.	Camlets ..... 4 do.	5,965 —	
3,500	do.	Ducatoons....2.5.2.5. do.	7,364 28	
		The Presents are calculated at	8,000 —	
		R.Drs.	157,045 19	
		The surplus of the Trade calculated	3,333 16	
		Making together		160,378 35
		Wherefrom must be deducted:		
		The Amount of Expenses and Disbursements at Japan in one year, for the Establishment, &c. and also the loss on the weight of the Sugar	51,285 32	
		The Amount of Money and Merchandizes required for making the journey to the Court of Jeddo	16,666 32	
				67,952 16
		Remaining to be employed for the purchase of Copper and Camphor		92,426 19
		Particulars as follows:		
8,475	pieces of Copper, at tahils 12.3.5. each		87.221 32	
200	do. Camphor, do. 21 do.		3,500 —	
4,000	chests for copper, do. 2.8.1.5.5 do.		1,146 32	
200	bales for Camphor		180 —	
2,525	planks for Dunnage, at tahils 18 each 100		378 3	
		Amount as above to	92,426 19	
		The above Copper, and that delivered by the Resident being stamped into lumps, amount to	933,369 38	
		Deduct Charges of the Mint	71,000 —	
		Remain	862,369 38	
		The Amount of 200 pikuls Camphor, to be sold at 36 Stivers per pound	24,175 —	
		Total R.Drs.		886,544 38

to the Mint, the whole of the copper received from Japan being stamped into lumps, Java at a rate above its intrinsic value.

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Dr. VOYAGE TO JAPAN (IN THE YEAR

			Rix Dollars.
To 1,269,679	lbs. of Sugar	at 6½ Sp.D. per pikul	63,483 60
25,000	do.	Tin 18 do.	3,600 —
102,000	do.	Sapan Wood, 4½ do.	3,672 —
12,000	do.	Cloves, first sort, 2 Rep. per lb.	11,250 —
5,087	do.	do. second do. 2 do.	4,769 4
10,000	do.	Pepper 11½ Sp.D. per pikul	906 48
100	do.	Nutmegs 1⅞ per lb.	187 32
6,000	do.	Cotton Thread 41½ per pikul	1,980 —
6,082	Ells of	Woollens	26,777 46
2,842	do.	Kerseymeres	7,548 28
778	do.	Plush	2,064 24
59	do.	Fustians	963 48
35	do.	Roselets	519 48
5	do.	Durants	76 48
20	do.	Carpets, English	44 24
1,812	do.	Kerseys	2,691 28
61	do.	Morin	996 24
4,900	do.	Chintz, Bengal	10,048 24
590	do.	do. Guzzerat	523 30
179	do.	Cabayahs, Malabar	389 18
220	do.	Palempores	462 50
20	do.	Salempores	84 4
814	do.	Fish Skins	540 10
96	lbs. of	Saffron	2,459 8
122	do.	Quicksilver	205 12
1,200	do.	Spanish Liquorice	680 10
15,181	do.	Catchu	2,705 61
2,143	do.	Elephants' teeth	3,577 44
3,500	do.	Ducatoons	4,593 48
		Presents	2,062 24
		House Expenses	2,525 —
			161,008 62

CHARGES AT BATAVIA.

To Godown, Prow and Cooley hire	2,846 —	
Customs, House Duties	2,846 —	
Freight of two Ships employed, at the rate of 100 Spanish Dollars per ton	99,532 32	
		105,224 32
To Charges, viz. JAPAN.		
Presents to the Emperor	3,800 —	
Expenses conveying the same to the Roompot	7,000 —	
Presents to the Inferior Officers of the Court	4,800 —	
Annual Salary of the Company's Servants	1,345 —	
Annual Table Expenses for do.	3,750 —	
Expense landing and storing Cargo	3,036 —	
Loss on the weighable Articles of the Cargo, at five per cent.	2,045 —	
Commission on Cargo, 5 per cent.	7,143 —	
Annual Rent of the Island occupied by the Company's Servants	3,462 —	
Annual Salary of the Japanese to guard the said Island	1,480 —	
Presents to the inferior Officers, to procure permission of a further exportation of Copper, 5,000 pikuls being allowed only annually	716 —	
Petty Charges	148 30	
		39,625 30
To 700 pikuls of Copper, at 18¾ Sp.D. per pikul of 120⅞ lbs.	13,125 —	
7,820 do. 12.3.5. tahils per do.	60,360 40	
640 do. Camphor, at 18.4. tahils per do.	7,360 —	
Bales	413 8	
4,500 Chests for Copper	791 16	
2,200 Planks for Dunnage	247 32	
		82,297 32
To Amount borrowed from the Treasury		5,428 —
To Balance in favour of the Voyage		175,505 34
Total R.Drs.		569,089 62

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1806) IN ACCOUNT CURRENT CONTRA. *Cr.*

JAPAN.

	Rix-Dollars.		
By sold 1,269,679 lbs. of Sugar, at 7 tahils per 120½ pieces	45,907	32	
2,500 do. Tin .... 25.....do.	3,226	32	
102,000 do. Sapan Wood, 5.5. tahils per lb...	2,897	46	
12,000 do. Cloves, first sort, 150 do.	9,297	32	
5,087 do. do. second do.. 40 do.....	1,051	2	
10,000 do. Pepper ..... 15 do.....	774	41	
100 do. Nutmegs.. ... 100 do.....	51	40	
6,000 do. Cotton Thread.. 25 do.....	774	50	
6,082 Ells of Woollens, 7 per 2⅞ per pikul ..	9,255	—	
2,842 do. Kerseymeres, 4.8. ....do.....	2,960	—	
778 do. Plush..... 6 .....do.....	920	—	
59 Pieces of Fustians, 3.2. per piece.....	118	—	
35 do. Roselets of 2033¾ Ells. 1. 6. per 2⅞	677	32	
5 do. Durants, 190¾-1. 2. .... do.	47	18	
20 do. Carpets, English ..... do.	20	—	
90 do. Kerseys, at 18 tahils per pikul....	1,012	32	
6 do. Morin, 1. 9. 6.....do.....	76	—	
4,900 do. Chintz, Bengal, 2. ....do.....	6,125	—	
590 do. do. Guzzerat, 1. 4.....	553	8	
179 do. Cabayahs, Malabar, 1. 9. 4.	223	48	
220 do Palempores.....4. 4.	618	40	
20 do. Salempores	40	—	
814 do. Fish Skins, 200 tahils	125	—	
96 lbs. of Saffron	2,731	2⅔	
122 do. Quicksilver, 100 tahils per 720⅞ lb.	62	32	
1,200 do. Spanish Liquorice, 832 lb.	600	35	
15,181 do. Catchu ..... 30 do.	2,351	56	
2,143 do. Elephants' Teeth, 230 do.	2,545	40	
3,500 Pieces of Ducatoons, 8,836 tahils	5,522	32	
Presents from the Emperor.....	2,812	32	
Cash borrowed from the Imperial Treasury to complete the Cargo.....	5,428	—	
			108,797 62

BATAVIA.

Amount Sales Copper		
8,238$\frac{105}{125}$ Pikuls, say 50 Drs. per pikul or 125 lb.....	411,942	—
Amount Sales Camphor, at 40 Stivers per lb.	48,350	—
Total .....R. Drs.	569,089	62

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Dr. VOYAGE TO JAPAN (IN THE YEAR

			Spanish Dollars.	
To 1,836,270	lbs. of	Soft Sugar	88,141	—
18,750	do.	Black Pepper	750	—
34,349	do.	Pig Lead	2,668	59
26,461	do.	Roll do.	1,960	74
164,000	do.	Sapan Wood	3,280	—
87,511	do.	Tin, or 700.0.8 pikuls, at 17 per pikul	11,901	36
1,553	do.	Elephants' Teeth	1,748	40
50	do.	Egyptian Mummy	600	—
15,000	do.	Cloves, at 100 per pikul	12,000	—
12,500	do.	Nutmegs, at 100 per pikul	10,000	—
15,013½	do.	Cotton Thread	4,804	—
514	Pieces of	Thornback Skins	276	80
5,019	do.	Patna Chintz	6,348	51
60	do.	Coast Chintz fine	150	—
166	do.	Printed Cottons	2,060	94
26	do.	Cambrics	490	—
2,610	do.	Surat Palampores	6,210	—
623	do.	Silks in Sorts	2,926	50
225	do.	Woollens in Sorts	10,916	58
298	do.	Long Ells	4,078	84
231	do.	Perpetuans	2,977	95
54	do.	Camblets	1,400	69
3,500	do.	Ducatoons	4,342	42
			179,033	32
Paid the Chief of the Factory at Japan for 1,400 pikuls of Copper delivered to Government			25,000	—

CHARGES.

	Spanish Dollars.			
Bags for the Sugar, Pepper and Cloves; Casks, &c. &c.	6,252	—		
Packing-cases	713	—		
Coolies employed on board the Vessels and in the Magazines, packing the Cargoes	2,082	50		
Prows employed lading the Cargoes	1,200	—		
Extra Clerks and Mandores	165	—		
Several Articles on Account of the Adventure	168	8		
Food for the Elephant and other Animals	268	80		
Camphor and packing Cloths, &c.	109	—		
Paid the Commissioners for landing the Copper, &c. at Batavia	250	—		
Prows employed landing the cargoes	600	—		
Freight of the Ship Charlotte for nine Months, at 6,600 per Month	59,400	—		
Freight of the Ship Mary for eight Months, at 6,000 Sicca Rupees per Month	22,909	10		
			94,117	48
			2,98,150	80
Balance in favour of the Voyage			43,975	20
Total		Sp.D.	342,126	—

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1813) IN ACCOUNT CURRENT CONTRA. Cr.

By Cargo brought from Japan, viz.

			Spanish Dollars
902,452 lbs.	of	Japan Copper, at 31 per pikul	223,727 —
60,437	do.	Camphor, at 50 Stivers	45,785 —
1,208	do.	Pitch	600 —
			670,112 —

	Spanish Dollars.	
Debts of the former Dutch Government paid to the Emperor of Japan	48,648 —	
Woollens, &c. remaining at Japan for the next Year	15,000 —	
Cash in the Treasury for do.	4,688 —	
Advanced to the Commanders of the Vessels and other Persons at Japan, to be repaid at Batavia	3,678 —	
		72,014 —

Total.....Sp.D. 342,126 —

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APPENDIX C.

TRANSLATION OF A MODERN VERSION OF THE SÚRIA ÁLEM.

THERE was a certain raja of the west, named *Sáng Prábu Súria Alem*, who, being duly qualified, did, in the establishment of divine justice, frame a code of judicial regulations, consisting of fifteen hundred and seven articles, which being afterwards digested and reduced to the number of one hundred and forty-four, were by him made known and explained to all the people of the countries under his authority, thereby diffusing knowledge and righteousness where ignorance and wickedness before prevailed.

These regulations were also firmly established, and were put into practice without any respect of persons, not excepting the relations and kindred of *Sáng Prábu* himself; so that, if the left hand offended, satisfaction was demanded by the right, and *vice versâ*, for such is the law of God.

These judicial regulations originated in no ambitious views, nor was their author, when he framed them, influenced by feelings of either regard for his friends or hatred towards his enemies; neither was he actuated by any selfish considerations: his sole object was the establishment of true justice, founded on divine principles.

I.

Of the Duty of the Jáksa.

In the first place, he must possess a sufficient knowledge of the law, to know how to act in regard to cases which may come before him, which of the parties ought to be made to pay, what are and what are not proper subjects for a law-suit, deciding against the person who would bring forward any thing of the latter description. If the *Jáksa* is found ignorant of these matters, he shall have his tongue cut out.

In the second place, if the *Jejénang* (the next in order to the *Jáksa*) shall, in acting for the *Jáksa*, prove deficient in a knowledge of his duty, he too shall either have his tongue cut out, lose both his ears, or have red-hot pincers applied to his lips.

In the third place, any incorrect statement in writing shall be punished by the loss of both hands.

Should neither of these sentences be carried into effect, the *Jáksa* ought, at all events, to be banished the country.

This punishment, however, may be mitigated by the *Rája*, who, having compassion on the *Jáksa*, may recal him after one year's exile.

Should the *Rája* suffer to pass unpunished such a total dereliction of duty on the part of the *Jáksa*, as stated, difficulty and distress will necessarily arise in those times

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II.

The establishment fixed by *Sáng Prábu* for the *Jáksa* consisted of twelve persons, viz. two *Jejénangs*, two writers, six *Máta Mátas*, and two men whose business is to be in constant attendance on the court.

The fees authorised to be taken by the *Jáksa* from persons who have any business to settle, are forty-four for the *Jáksa* himself, three thousand for the *Jejénangs*, eight thousand for the writers, one thousand for those in attendance in the court, and eight thousand for and on account of the state. That for the *Panghúlu* is left to the liberality of the party.

If the *Jáksa* shall not conform in practice to what is here laid down, it is required that he be disgraced and branded in the common market-place.

If any one shall find fault with the conduct of the *Jáksa*, without being able to substantiate his charges against him, and shall make the same public, that person shall be fined agreeably to the rank and quality of the accused, viz. fifteen thousand (*pichis*).* The reason of so large a sum being awarded is, because the *Jáksa* is the chief of the *Mántris*.

The *Bopáti* is, as it were, the door to the *Jáksa*, the *Kabáyan* that to the *Bopáti*, and the *Panghúlu* that to the *Raja*. These four form a body, through which every thing is minutely investigated.

Let it be understood, that the Raja, who fills so exalted and conspicuous a situation, is not without something to do. What he says is the result of observation and deliberation. His disposition and way of thinking is that which he has received at the hands of the Almighty, who dwelleth where no one knoweth, at whose hands the wicked will meet with their deserts.

III.

The *Tri-rása-upáya*, as known among men, comprehend three things, which are intimately connected with each other, but which, nevertheless, must not be confounded, viz. 1. *Húkum;* 2. *P'réntah;* 3. *Kasúsahan*†.

Where a sentence is very severe, or of a nature which will not admit of its being fulfilled, a mitigation or commutation thereof can only take place, by a careful consultation of what is written in the book of laws.

IV.

Of the Dása Wigúna.

Dása signifies ten, and *wigúna*, very powerful, and under this name is comprehended: 1. Sentence of death; 2. Amputation; 3. Disgrace; 4. Confiscation of property; 5. Banishment; 6. Extorting evidence by inflicting bodily pain; 7. Getting at evidence by kind treatment and giving money; 8. Obtaining it by skilful management alone; 9. Compulsion; 10. Letting off from punishment, by receiving a consideration for the same.

There are degrees of those which are to be known and observed.

* *Pichis*, a small tin coin.

† 1. *Hukum*, the law of God; 2. *P'rentah*, the law of the sovereign; 3. *Susahan*, oppression (of the people from the law of the prince).

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V.

Of the Gúntur G'ni.

Under this head is comprehended five things, viz. 1. The customs of the country; 2. The orders of the sovereign; 3. Loss by an enemy; 4. A change of the Raja and of his orders; 5. Difficult queries given by one country to another to solve.

Under the head *Mal* come three things, viz. Water, land, and people. The water is necessary to keep alive what has been planted in the land. Mankind take all that comes, good as well as bad.

VI.

The term *mal* properly means cloth, money, and gold; which three articles, above all others, are the grand and most frequent subjects of law-suits, that arise out of the various transactions which take place among men.

VII.

In law-suits there are seven circumstances of material consequence, viz. 1 Where the cause being good can be taken up and supported; 2. When the articles can be minutely described; 3. When the articles, as well as the persons, can be pointed out; 4. When marks can be shewn; 5. When the party suing has been an eye-witness; 6. When all those things happen to take place; 7. When confession is made of what is the subject of the law-suit.

VIII.

Of the Precious Stone, and that in which it is set.

To these may be compared the Raja and his people. The former is in a dependant state. Those who surround him are the *Pandíta*, the *Bopáti*, and the *Jáksa:* and those immediately entertained by himself are, 1. One who possesses his confidence; 2. A *Jérutúlis* skilled in writing; 3. An interpreter well versed in language; 4. A good messenger; 5. An intelligent doorkeeper; 6. A person who knows in what a want of manners consists; 7. An experienced general.—Then will the country flourish.

IX.

The *Jáksa* is, according to his character, distinguished by the following appellations, viz. *Wíra páksa*, when he inclines to the side whence he receives most bribes; 2. *Pátra kilása*, when he goes by what he is told, without duly weighing and considering the merits of the case himself; 3. *Ami jáya*, when he punishes the guilty with severity; 4. *Permána*, when he awards the just sentence of the law as it is written, without lenity or severity.

X.

There are three things which ought not to be allowed to exist in a country, viz. 1. Witchcraft, particularly at critical junctures. The fine to be imposed in such cases is forty thousand; and if any thing is lost, it is to be laid to the charge of the persons who practise that art.

2. Should the *Adipáti* be the person, he shall be treated according to the

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Sábda suwára, i. e. he shall be dismissed from his office, and his officers and relatives will be considered as implicated in the crime.

3. Should the *Mántris* be found guilty of witchcraft, they shall be fined one hundred thousand.

XI.

Of the boundaries or Limits of Lands named Túgu.

By which is meant landmarks, such as stones, trees or fences, or whatever else serves to form an enclosure.

This may and does often become a subject of litigation, especially where any thing has been planted: 1. With respect to lands of inheritance; 2. With respect to such as have been given away; 3. With respect to those which have been purchased; 4. With respect to those in which something has been planted.

Disputes arising on any of those subjects are proper to be litigated; and in settling them, besides examining such witnesses as there may be, it will be necessary to consult the old men of the village, as well as the *Láira* who collects the annual land revenue, before a decision can be given.

The true proprietor of a piece of land under dispute, will be he who can prove his having enclosed it; and the true proprietor of any crop will be he who can prove his having sown or planted it.

Proof is to be obtained by administering an oath, which is done by immersion in water, or by drinking it.

XII.

He in whose hands is vested the power of administering justice, must be well acquainted with the nature of the ten following things, and know how to proceed in regard to them, viz. 1. Informations; 2. Grounds for a lawsuit; 3. The proper time for trial; 4. The occupation and condition of the parties; 5. The object sought by the parties; 6. The prosecution; 7. The defence; 8. Pleading not guilty; 9. Evidence; 10 Eye-witnesses.

XIII.

A sufficiency of evidence alone will obtain a favourable decision; and when the witnesses brought forward to prove any fact do not, upon examination do so, the party who summoned them ought to be cast and also fined.

XIV.

With regard to the *Páncha báka*, which is the case of a woman accused by four men of fornication; if, on examination, these four men do not agree in their testimony, they ought to be put to death, or else fined agreeably to the *Jána trésna*, which leaves it to those who have charge of the woman to determine the extent of the fine.

XV.

There are two descriptions of orders, viz. 1. *Purúsa*, or those which come from the Raja or from an enemy; 2. *paparéntahan*, or those of the *Bopáti*.

If the *Bopáti* is more severe or more lenient than he ought to be, he

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shall be fined one hundred thousand, or else agreeably to the *Sábda suudra*, which is the arbitrary will of the Sovereign.

XVI.

The following are thirty different cases of law-suits, viz.

1. *Amra kádang*, where one who is accused of theft, points at either another person or the accuser himself.

2. *Kundáng chíri*, where a person presents a paper to the court, with something additional written under the signature and date of it.

3. *Meng'ámuk pung'gung*, where a person destroys his property while he has a law-suit pending.

4. *Mutúng památang*, where a person, during the course of a law-suit, leaves his master or chief and goes to another.

5. *Sána dénta*, where a person concerned in a law-suit either magnifies or lessens the state of the case.

6. *Ng'árika Pátra*, where a person denies his own hand-writing.

7. *Nídra permána*, where a person, intending to kill another, goes and lives on terms of intimacy with him.

8. *Dámar kitúdah*, where a person, on first making a complaint of his own accord, brings evidence in support of it.

9. *Ngaríka wárna*, where a person has a law-suit, which another than his own chief is acquainted with the merits of.

10. *Sírna ning jáya*, where a person objects to his own witnesses.

11. *Perlíga*, where a person finds a thing and does not take it to some proper person where he lives.

12. *Génti wátang*, i. e. the case of a person who is the first to bring evidence.

13. *Sudésit kemú*, i. e. a thing belonging to two persons and found by a third; the point forthwith litigated, and decided in favour of the former, each of whom hopes to get it: the thing, however, cannot be restored to either, or to any of their relations; it must be appropriated for the purpose of assisting in defraying the expenses of the state.

14. *Sáksi ruménbi*, where a person first of all calls upon only one person as a witness, and afterwards, when the cause is decided, wishes to adduce further evidence.

15. *Sasástra perálara*, where a person presents a written statement of his grievances without a date to it.

16. *Ang'ríka-rája*, where a person engaged in a law-suit speaks hesitatingly, and at the same time refers to some respectable person for the truth of what he would assert.

17. *Chini ropáti*, where a person acts in a compulsory manner towards the people or relations of another.

18. *Kápra-lága*, where a person, in reply to a question put to him, refers to one who is dead.

19. *Abíndu páya*, or the case of a breach of promise.

20. *Níleb lúra*, where the object of the law-suit is for the recovery of duties, or any thing else a long time due.

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21. *Madót ráketan*, when of two witnesses in favour of any litigating party, one is not forthcoming at the time of trial.

22. *Sámbung wátan téper*, where a person prefers a complaint of a specific nature, and afterwards superadds other circumstances.

23. *Ting'gal pergán*, where a person concerned in a law-suit remains quiet and keeps himself back.

24. *Páncha perkása*, where those engaged in a law-suit display rage and cunning.

25. *Anára wichána*, where before a case is decided, a constant intercourse is held with the *Jáksa* by one of the parties.

26. *Percháya-rasi*, where a person prosecuted before the court points out the love and regard which some great man has for him.

27. *Katóya rasa*, where a person, while his case is pending, makes presents to the *Jáksa*.

28. *Kasúria chándra miráda wachána*, where a person refuses to abide by the sentence of the *Jáksa*.

29. *Katóya rása úpaya*, where a person, before his cause is decided, makes a present of something to the Raja, the *Bopáti*, and *Panghúlu*.

30. *Kasábda malícha permána*, where a person denies what he has once publicly declared.

With respect to the thirty foregoing cases, it will be for the *Jáksa* to consider and determine when a law-suit can, and when it cannot, be instituted.

XVII.

Here follow eight more cases, viz.

1. *Cupíta sábda permána*, where one of four persons engaged in a law-suit, being deputed to act for the others, it appears, on examination of the witnesses, that the affair cannot be settled with this one person.

2. *Hanúk meng tan wíring wísa*, where a witness, on re-examination, gives a different account from that which he gave when previously examined by the *Jáksa*. In such case the *Jáksa* must endeavour to discover which is the most plausible account of the two.

3. *Kawíhut tára*, where opposition takes place between the witnesses, or between those whose cause it is, and others who have been eye-witnesses of what is the subject of litigation.

4. *Bháning hanámpuh tóya*, where a person is assisted by one who is in the administration of justice.

5. *Ng'ádang tárka*, where, on a trial taking place, the deposition of a party differs from the account previously taken down by the *Jáksa*. In this case, such party should be cast.

6. *Ng'áling'ga pandáya*, when one takes for witnesses worthless persons who cannot be depended on or believed.

7. *Eluádi*, where a person changes, tears, or makes an erasure in any paper.

8. *Kahásti sábda parláya*, where a person shamelessly makes free with what belongs to another, who is neither a friend nor relation.

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XVIII.

Of cases where a Law-Suit cannot be instituted.

These are five in number, viz. 1. Where the evidence is not clear; 2. Where an article which has been lost by one person is found in the possession of another, who cannot tell whence he got it; 3. Where the evidence of the witnesses produced by any party varies from that of the parties themselves; 4. Where no evidence exists. In this case, the party who can give the most plausible story will obtain a decision in his favour; 5. Where the agent of another in any law-suit is cast.

XIX.

A law-suit will be instituted with success under any of the five following circumstances, viz.

1. *Táta*, where the declarations of all those who support the suit are uniform and connected.

2. *Títi*, when the time of the deed or action is known.

3. *Kárta*, where the object of the suit is universally allowed to be good and just.

4. *Sang'ára*, where there is a readiness to swear to what is asserted.

5. *Dupára*, where probability and plausibility exist.

XX.

Of things sent by one person to another, and destroyed under circumstances which admit of no redress, called *Páncha Sedrása*, of which there are five cases, viz. 1. Where it is occasioned by lightning; 2. When by the attack of an enemy; 3. By being sunk; 4. In consequence of an order from the Raja; 5. By fire communicated from an adjoining house.

XXI.

There are three things which, from their baneful nature, are universally deprecated, and considered and treated as inimical to the welfare of man, viz. 1. Theft; 2. The injury which crops are liable to sustain from the depredations of noxious animals; 3. The mischief which is to be apprehended under water, from crocodiles or the like.

XXII.

In a law-suit, the successful party obtains damages of the one that is cast. As the agitation of the leaves marks the presence of the wind, so does the stir and noise of contending parties shew the existence of a law-suit.

XXIII.

There are two cases where it will go hard with any party, viz. 1. When a mark or proof can be given, as well as evidence produced; 2. Where in a violent dispute between two chiefs respecting the boundaries of their lands, one of them is the first to bring weapons with him: such a one must be found guilty, and will be cast. The fine to be levied, in such

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case, will, according to the rank of the parties, be one of the following: 1. *Utáma*, or that awarded to chiefs, viz. one hundred and forty thousand; 2. *Díada madén*, or that awarded to those of an inferior degree, viz. seventy thousand; 3. *Nésta*, or that awarded to the common people, viz. forty-five thousand.

XXIV.

Sentence of guilt will be awarded to any party under the three following circumstances.

1. *Cháya rásmi*, where advice has been received from the *Jáksa*.

2. *Príng'ga ráksa*, where the assistance of the officers of the court has been received.

3. *Andría ráksa*, where a case which has been decided is revived at the instance of the party that was cast, in consequence of other people's advice. In such case, if the party which formerly gained the suit fail to appear on the day appointed for a second trial, they shall be cast; and in like manner will it be with the other party, if they fail to attend. For such proceeding, however, the *Jáksa* shall be fined fifty thousand.

XXV.

1. *Wiút sábda bíksa masábda upáya*, where a person sues another who is connected with the business of the suit, but who is not the responsible person, and only from his being the more eligible person is attacked on account of his means. In such case the prosecutor will lose his cause.

2. *Sáka dípa*, where a person incurs the obligation of paying for any thing he has lost or destroyed, and refuses to do so according to a proper valuation which shall be fixed thereon. In such case he shall be cast.

3. *Gándia páti*, where the *Jáksi* is silenced in a discussion with one of the parties who dispute a point with him. The *Jáksa*, in such case, shall be found guilty, and fined forty thousand.

4. *Bháning máya permána*, i. e. if a thief, who is pursued, runs into certain premises, by a gap in what serves to enclose them, the proprietor thereof will be held responsible for one-third of the amount stolen.

5. *Ng'ámbága páti*, i. e. a person having pursued, without effect, a thief whom he had surprised in the act of stealing, and the tools of the thief, which in his hurry to escape are left behind, are in the meantime found in the house of any one, the owner of the house shall be held guilty.

6. *Lukíta búkti*, i. e. the person in whose possession thieves' tools shall be found, will be held guilty of any robbery which may, at the time, have been committed.

7. *Síma mamángsa táta upáya*, i. e where a person pursues a thief into the premises of another, without acquainting him with the circumstance. In such case guilt will be attached to the former.

8. *Gána léna ámit mángsá tan wéring káma*, i. e. when a malicious combination is formed to accuse and prove guilty one who is an object of hatred. The persons who so conspire shall be held guilty.

XXVI.

Of cases where a cause will be lost, there are twenty-five in number, viz.

1. *Hína sáksi*, where the witnesses are worthless disreputable persons.

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2. *Hína sábda*, where a thing is lost, and the owner thereof does not give information thereof to his chief.

3. *Hína klína*, where a person finds a thing and does not make it known.

4. *Hína wang*, where a person whom another deputes to act for him, in any law-suit, is deficient in what is required of him.

5. *Kagúndang sáksi*, where a witness produced by one party is the declared enemy of the other.

6. *Hang'ímbu chína*, where a person who has been robbed gets hold of the thieves' tools without making it known that he has done so.

7. *Ng'edong sáksi*, when a person brings false witnesses whom he has suborned.

8. *Hakúto sáksi*, where the witnesses have been bribed.

9. *Hakádang sáksi*, i. e. where a person instructs his witnesses what to say previous to their examination.

10. *Sábda laksána*, i. e. where a thing is stolen within certain premises, and a person residing therein shall refuse to concern himself about the matter. Such person shall be made to make good one-third of the property lost.

11. *Hamátang bubúkan*, i. e. where a person makes one of his enemy's people his agent. Such person shall be cast.

12. *Sídam wárut*, i. e. where persons concert in concealing an unlawful pregnancy and in producing an abortion. Such persons shall incur a fine of one hundred and fifty thousand each; the whole of the people of the village where it took place shall each be fined fifty thousand; and every person of the village opposite to it shall be fined twenty-five thousand. All persons, too, who, though living at a distance, are still under the authority of the chief of the village when the thing happened, shall be each fined four thousand. A person of great means shall be fined one million.

13. *Tatarápan raja pepáti*, i. e. if a person is found dead without its being known how he came by his death, nothing can be done; and it will rest with the Raja to cause the body to be disposed of in any way he may deem proper. If a corrupted dead body, found in a certain village, is first discovered by people of another village, the whole of the persons belonging to the former shall be each fined fifty thousand. Should those persons have endeavoured to conceal the dead body, they shall each, in that case, be fined one hundred thousand. If it is in a field where the dead body is discovered, and that by others than the proprietors of the land, the fine to be imposed upon the latter shall be one hundred thousand. If the dead body is first discovered by a person of the village, and he immediately, by sounding an alarm, summons all the people of that village to see and bear witness thereof; and if those persons afterwards, on examination, deny the fact, the whole of them shall be fined fifty thousand. The favourable testimony of thirteen women, however, will get them off from the said fine.

14. *Ngépi g'ni*, i. e. a person is wounded and sounds the alarm: many people quickly repair to the spot, but see no appearance of any one by whom the wound could have been inflicted; presently is heard the sound of

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another alarm, at a different place, by persons who declare they have just wounded a thief who has escaped from them, producing at the same time proof of the fact: in such case the person who first sounded the alarm shall be considered the thief. If there is found a person who has been wounded somewhere, but without its being known where or when, and without there being any thing to lead to a suspicion of his being a thief, nothing can be done to him.

15. *Ang'gús súra*, i. e. a wound having been proved to have been inflicted by any party who has been prosecuted for the same, if the skin only is broken, the fine to be imposed shall be four thousand. If it is a flesh wound, the fine shall be eight thousand; if a bone be broken or sinews cut, forty thousand: but if the injury done to the wounded party be of such a nature as to deprive him of the means of earning a livelihood, the offending party must, in that case, provide for him.

16. If a person wounds a thief, and can shew marks of his having done so (as a bloody weapon), and if it has been done in the presence of many people, and it has been plainly seen whither the thief betook himself, and an alarm is presently sounded in the place to which the thief fled, and a person then declares he has just received a wound, such person shall be accounted the thief.

17. *Warddya chuménda*, i. e. if a person is observed to pass through a village with thieves' tools in his possession, although nothing be stolen, that person shall be accounted the thief.

18. *Artísi wádía dan dérma dénda*, i. e. the disputes of ministers with ministers, priests with priests, and *pundíta* with *pundíta*, must be decided according to the *Wartárja sawung eng kerta*, i. e. by taking into consideration their different dispositions and natures, as well as their proneness to falsehood.

19. *Tríta chándrang guira raditia*, i. e. the law (in the inflexibility and unchangeableness of its nature) resembles the sun, moon, and water. Whoever acts in opposition to the law, must be found guilty and punished accordingly.

20. If any person be courageous enough to seize or kill a thief, he ought to receive a reward of four thousand. If the thief has a master, the latter ought to be fined twenty-four thousand.

21. If a person enter a village at an improper hour, and is thrice challenged without making any reply, he shall be considered as a thief. A person skulking behind a door or fence, under similar circumstances, shall be considered in the same light.

22. *Nóya résmi*, i. e. a respectable person who may endeavour to screen a thief, shall be fined agreeably to the *untára*, viz. one hundred thousand. If the delinquent is a person of the middle class, he shall be fined eighty thousand; if a person of the lower orders, forty thousand.

23. *Tri malání nagára* comprehends three things, which are inimical to the welfare of a country, viz. 1. Corrupt judges; 2. Breach of promise or agreement; 3. *Wígu wigúna*, i. e. Where the Raja, or others who are in

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authority, inconsiderately decide or give hasty orders about any thing, whereby much mischief never fails to follow.

24. This section is the work of the Púndita, *Pagáwan Chínde Guána*, and contains seven articles, viz. 1. *Súria wíguna*, i. e. the Raja's court is like the sun, whose refulgent rays spread in all directions and penetrate through every thing. 2. *Anla súria kuntáka*, i. e. the displeasure of the Raja in his court is like the heat of the sun, which causes those who are exposed to it to faint away. 3. *Kasíla trésna perláya*, i. e. when sentence of death is passed on any one by the Raja in his court, it must be carried into effect, as in the case of *Kadúrga sangúra*, where a person commits fornication or adultery with any of the Raja's household; or *Kásu síla antúka*, where a person forgets himself and wrangles in the court of the Raja; or *Kabérna antáka*, where a fight takes place, by which death or severe wounds are inflicted; or *Madáwang líma*, i. e. where a person endeavours to ruin another, by endeavouring to make him appear guilty; or *Ang'gu pála sábda*, where a person, after receiving a distinct order from the Raja himself, incurs blame by executing it in a different manner from what he was told, in consequence of the advice of his chief; or *Jaladri kaperchánda láwat dípa*, i. e. the effects of the Raja's displeasure against any one cannot be transferred to another.

XXVII.

1. *Díndang karúban wáng*, i. e. the just and lawful revenues or duties, and no more, must be levied.

2. *Gegér kapála*, i. e. where a person disregards the prohibitions of the Raja.

3. *Gurnúti gandarása*, i. e. several people are assembled together, and one of them happens to lose something: whoever is the first to quit the party, shall be considered guilty of having stolen it; and if there is incontestible evidence of this, he shall be made to pay two-fold.

4. *Góra gétih ng'emúríris*, i. e. where an unqualified person decides cases from his own knowledge of the manner of proceeding.

5. *Waráksa tapula*, i. e. no case ought to be settled but by a proper and equitable decision.

6. *Yang'a ling'ga suria*, i. e. when a *Pundita* does not shew the accustomed respect to the Raja.

7. *Líman sangúra*, i. e. when a person mistakes the road he ought to be put right, and not chastised for any trespass he may have made unwittingly.

8. *Túnjung túmrap hing séla*, i. e. whoever shall give protection in his house to fornicators or adulterers shall forfeit his property.

9. *Týrta kasúrung píka*, i. e. where the wise or skilled assist, with their advice, those who live by fraud, when under a prosecution.

10. *Bermára máng'un líga*, i. e. where a person concerned in a law-suit which has been brought forward, is in the habit of absenting himself when his presence is required. Such person must be awarded guilty.

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11. *Dándang tumráping káyon*, i. e. a person from one place comes and lays claim to another: the people of the latter all testify that the claimant has no right or title to that spot or place. In such case, the said claimant will be cast.

12. *Andáka katáwan wiása*, i. e. if a person engaged in a law-suit shall abscond, from an apprehension of being cast, it will be even so with him.

13. *Kúdang lumáyu 'ating'gal sudra*, i. e. every person must be held responsible for crimes committed, or wrong done, by any one in their service or employ.

14. *Hanio kána*, i. e. a servant or dependant of one person having committed a fault, runs for protection to another, who, when applied to, will not give him up. The person who affords such protection, if prosecuted, will be cast.

15. *Hang ling'ga pralaya*, i. e. a person who does not himself appear before the court in his own behalf, but leaves his case to be managed by the officers of the court, shall be cast.

16. *Símbar tumráping séla*, i. e. where the witnesses produced in any case are persons unknown, and without any fixed place of residence, the party who brings them shall be found guilty, or cast, as the case may be.

XXVIII.

The situation and feelings of those in favour of whom sentence is pronounced is *Týrta prábu táru láta*. *Týrta* signifies water, the qualities of which are clearness, and a disposition to proceed straight forward, which nothing will check or overcome. Those who are thus like unto water, let them be ever so humble and poor, shall not fail to be successful in any cause in which they may be engaged. The lowly, who are thus successful, shall have as much cause to rejoice as the rich *(prábu)*, who are the reverse, shall have to be depressed. The former resemble a stately tree *(táru)*, whose base and roots are great and spreading, with fragrant blossoms and many creepers *(láta)* to entwine and support it.

XXIX.

1. *Chándra kalamókan búda*, i. e. the situation or state of one against whom sentence has been pronounced, however great he may be, is like the moon when obscured by clouds: like her, his countenance is overcast and gloomy.

2. *Anámon déria*, i. e. a person engaged in a law-suit, who shall change his outward appearance, shall be cast.

3. *Penchánq'ga angudána*, i. e. if one of the wise shall, for the purpose of invalidating the evidence of his adversaries, make any alteration in the disposition of his house or premises, he shall, on conviction thereof, be condemned.

4. *Andáka penjang'ga amóyong*, i. e. one of the wise who has instituted a suit, and becoming himself sick at the time appointed for trial, shall fail to make known whether he wishes the business to be settled or postponed, shall lose his suit.

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5. *Andáka kitíran*, i. e. if such party shall fail to appear when summoned, he will be cast, even should he be otherwise in the right.

6. *Ambáli múka amigantáka*, i. e. a person who, taking the law into his own hands, shall seize the property of another, in payment of a debt due to him, shall be held responsible for the same.

7. *Sáti tínab'la*, i. e. if a person, in search of any thing he has lost, shall enter a different village to that to which he belongs, without giving due notice to the chief thereof, he shall be held responsible for any misdeed which may at the time have been committed, and if any thing important, he shall be made to pay two-fold.

8. *Ang'rika máya*, i. e. a person who, being in company with a thief, receives a hurt or injury from persons while in the act of apprehending him, cannot obtain redress.

9. *Kabrána páti*, i. e. a person who accuses another, and is himself the more guilty of the two, shall be condemned.

10. *Pátra laksána amáng'un satmáta*, i. e. a person who, in order to get something which is not his own, shall alter what is written in any paper, must be condemned.

11. *Kabáli súra*, i. e. a person who superadds in court something which he urges with violence, shall be condemned.

12. *Kitíran múng'gen káyon*, i. e. one person sends another to demand payment of a debt which is disavowed, a law-suit ensuing, if he who sent the other to demand payment has no other evidence to produce but that person, he shall be cast.

13. *Mántra káchung táka*, i. e. if a person engaged in a law-suit produces, for the second time, before the court, a paper which, on examination, appears to be written in a different hand from what it was before, although the purport, in both cases, be exactly the same, the person who produced such paper shall be cast.

14. *Sangnága amamángsa tanpa talówang áng'aledkan térka*, i. e. a person, such as a *Mántri* or *Bopáti*, deputes another to act for him in a law-suit: the person so deputed has no authority to produce of his having been so. If the cause is lost, the person who deputed the other cannot bring it forward again.

15. *Kaputung'an pikúlan*, i. e. if the witnesses of a person engaged in a law-suit shall leave him and go to his adversary, the former shall be cast.

16. *Prája kobáli múrda*, i. e. when the circumstances of a case which one person brings forward are contradicted by those who have an opportunity of knowing them, the former shall be condemned.

17. *Bermara amri sari*, i. e. if a person to whom another is indebted shall, on the supposition of inability to discharge the debt, proceed to seize the property of that other, without previously demanding payment of the debt, he shall be cast.

18. *Síma amot amamángsa tanwir ring báya*, i. e. a person in office, who exceeds his authority, ought to be condemned.

19. *Krúwang lindúng'an perwát*, i. e. if person whose cause is good, and whose evidence is complete and satisfactory, shall insist upon a severe punishment against his adversary, he shall be cast.

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20. *Gabus boten ng'lem*, i. e. when stolen goods are discovered, the Raja ought to cause them to be restored to whom they belong.

21. *Gunoáta Samirána*, i. e. those who conceal the wife or children of another, ought to be put to death by order of the Raja.

22. *Súlung alebu dían*, i. e. if the relations of one whose guilt is manifest, shall apply to have the punishment awarded transferred to a substitute, they shall be condemned.

23. *Apátra ina percháya*, i. e. a person obtains permission from the Raja so proceed against another, and afterwards, from some consideration, neglects to do so, while that other, in the meantime, appears before the Raja and declares his innocence of what is alleged against him, stating that, if he were guilty, his chief would not have failed to bring him forward: in such case, the former shall be condemned.

24. *Perwáta brámantára*, i. e. if a person is found guilty of circulating false reports, or of magnifying any piece of intelligence, so as to create a great alarm in the country, and put all the people in a ferment, he shall be fined four hundred and four thousand.

ABSTRACT *of some of the* LAWS *which, according to the tradition of the Javans, were in force against the inhabitants, previous to the supposed arrival of Aji Saka.*

(Collected by Mr. Middlekoop.)

OATHS

Were administered by repeating certain words after the Priest, accompanied by a motion of the head and body, the hands being folded.

ORDINARY FINES

Were levied according to the following gradations :—

	tahil.*
When a subordinate or petty chief, who had people under him, committed a crime, the fine was	5
The eldest son of a prince	5
The son of a chief	2½
A Prince or *Raden* without employment	1½
A *Menak* or *Rang'ga* holding a public office and transacting public duty	5
A *Menak* or *Rang'ga* restricted from the performance of public duty	1½
A *Menak* or *Rang'ga* who administered a small tract of country	1
Children of a chief *Rang'ga* or *Menak*	2½
An ambassador (ordinary) of a prince or principal chief	2½
An ambassador extraordinary	1½
Children of the above	1
A male subject	1½
A female subject	1

* The money here alluded to is the coin of *Palembang*, subsequently introduced by *Raden Patah*, in consequence of his connexion with *Palembang*. Rice appears to have been the principal medium of exchange previously to this period. The *pichis* is a small tin coin, of which two hundred make a *wang*, and twenty-eight *wangs* are equal in value to a Spanish dollar.

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Persons having forfeited their right of liberty through misdemeanors, and thus become dependant upon another, pay fifty *pichis*.

All the above fines might be paid in money, goods, gold, silver, horses, buffaloes, and other necessary articles.

THEFT AND ROBBERY.

A free subject having committed a robbery, he was delivered up (on detection) to the chief or tribunal of the place to which he belonged; and if unwilling to restore the stolen goods, or unable to pay the value, he was to be delivered over to the person whom he had robbed, and made to serve him as a bondsman: but no claim whatever was enforced upon the wife or children, who did not, on this account, forfeit their liberty. It was, however, lawful to deprive a thief of his life when caught in the act.

When a robbery was committed by a person in a state of servitude, the proprietor of such person's services was bound to pay the value of the stolen property, or to deliver the person over to the injured party; but on being caught in the fact, and the thief being put to death, the proprietor was no further liable.

Robberies having been committed in the day time, were punished by a fine or by servitude.

If one or more stolen buffaloes were killed in or near a village, and sufficient proof thereof adduced by the owner, the village people were condemned to pay the value of such stolen cattle, unless they produced the thief or thieves.

HOMICIDE AND MURDER.

A free person who killed a male dependant, was punished by a fine of two and a half *takils*; one who killed a female dependant was fined three and a half *takils*.

If in an affray between two free persons the one killed the other, and the offender was seized in the act, he could be put to death by the relations or friends of the deceased; but if he succeeded in taking refuge with the head of a village, he was only liable to a fine of five *takils* if the deceased was a male, and three and a half *takils* if a female.

When a prince, chief, or petty chief, was murdered by one of his subjects, the party was punished by death, for having killed his superior.

But a prince or head chief had the right to deprive his subjects of their lives whenever he chose, though, when one of their sons, either a *Menak*, *Rang'ga*, or other chief, put to death a free person or dependant, he was bound to pay to the friends or master of the deceased two and a half *takils*, besides a fine for a male person five, and for a female three and three quarters *takils*. These persons were not liable to be put to death, although caught in the fact.

In case, however, that a prince or chief caused to be put to death a dependant who was not guilty of any offence for which he deserved such punishment, the prince or chief was bound to make good half of the estimated value of the deceased's property, beside being condemned to servitude, and a fine of ten *takils*.

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Amok being cried, it was lawful for every one to destroy such as ran *amok*; but in the event of its being a false alarm, and any one was killed by the crowd, the person that exclaimed *amok* was liable to be fined.

In a crowd or assemblage of people, if a dispute ran so high that one party was killed in the affray, and lay dead on the ground, the offending party was exempt from fine, but punished by the prince according to the circumstances of the case.

ADULTERY.

A man having received information that his wife had committed adultery, was restricted from believing it, even if he was told by credible persons, unless he found her in the act; he might then deprive her of life. If she escaped, however, and concealed herself among her friends and neighbours, it was not lawful to put her to death; but on complaint being made by her husband, she was prosecuted and punished according to the circumstances of the case.

A man found guilty of adultery was liable to a fine of ten *tahils*, and the woman to the same. Being unable to discharge the sum, they were transferred to the servitude of another, who was willing to pay the amount of the fine, which was then given to the husband of the adulteress.

An adulteress causing her husband to be put to death was also to suffer death.

A man having run away with the wife of another, on her being seized by her husband at their abode, both parties could be put to death; but if they were not discovered for a length of time, during which they kept themselves quiet and had begotten children, the adulterer was only liable to pay, as well for himself as for the woman, a fine of ten *tahils*. He was, however, bound to forfeit the half of the children so begotten for the benefit of the lawful husband, to whom they were transferred in servitude.

DIVORCE.

Lawfully married persons wishing to separate from each other, each retook the property brought at the marriage, and an equal division was made of what had been gained since the marriage. This included the children; the eldest was always to remain with the mother, the second with the father. After the separation on the decease of either, the whole effects were to be taken possession of by those children who, at the separation, had come to the share of the deceased; but they were also obliged to pay the debts of the deceased, whatever the same might amount to. When the number of children was unequal, the odd one was to fall to the share of the wife; but such as were imperfect or deformed were excluded from the division, and maintained by both parties.

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APPENDIX, D.

PROCLAMATION.

For the satisfaction of the inhabitants and people of Java, the following provisions are made public, in testimony of the sincere disposition of the British government to promote their prosperity and welfare. The refusal of their late government to treat for their interests, although disabled by the events of war from affording them any further protection, has rendered the consequent establishment of the British authority unconditional. But an English government does not require the articles of a capitulation to impose those duties which are prompted by a sense of justice and a beneficent disposition. The people of Java are exhorted to consider their new connection with England as founded on principles of mutual advantage, and to be conducted in a spirit of kindness and affection.

Providence has brought to them a protecting and benevolent government; they will cheerfully perform the reciprocal duties of allegiance and attachment.

1. His Majesty's subjects in Java will be entitled to the same general privileges as are enjoyed by the natural-born subjects of Great Britain in India, subject to such regulations as now exist, or may hereafter be provided, respecting residence in any of the Honourable Company's territories.

2. They will have the same privilege and freedom of trade to and with all countries to the east of the Cape of Good Hope, and also with His Majesty's European dominions, as are possessed by natural-born subjects of Great Britain.

3. Dutch gentlemen will be eligible to all offices of trust, and will enjoy the confidence of government, according to their respective characters, conduct, and talents, in common with British-born subjects.

4. The vexatious system of monopoly, which is understood to have heretofore prevailed, in some instances to an oppressive and inconvenient extent, will be revised, and a more beneficial and politic principle of administration will be taken into consideration as soon, and to such extent, as full information on the subject can be obtained, as established usage and habit may admit, and as may be consistent with a due regard to the health and morals of the people.

5. The Dutch laws will remain provisionally in force, under the modifications which will be hereinafter expressed, until the pleasure of the supreme authorities in England shall be known; and it is conceived that no material alteration therein is to be apprehended.

The modifications to be now adopted are the following:

First. Neither torture nor mutilation shall make part of any sentence to be pronounced against criminals.

Secondly. When a British-born subject is convicted of any offence, no punishment shall be awarded against him, more severe than would be inflicted by the laws of England for the same crime. And in case of doubt

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concerning the penalty by English law, reference shall be made to the Honourable the Recorder of Prince of Wales' Island, whose report shall be a sufficient warrant for awarding the penalty stated by him to be agreeable to the laws of England. No sentence against any British-born subject, for any crime or misdemeanor, shall be carried into execution, until a report shall have been made to the lieutenant-governor.

Thirdly. No sentence of death against any person whatever shall be carried into execution, until report shall have been made to the lieutenant-governor.

Fourthly. The lieutenant-governor will have the power of remitting, moderating, or confirming, all penalties; excepting inconsiderable fines, short imprisonment, or slight corporal punishment.

Fifthly. British-born subjects shall be amenable to the jurisdiction of the Dutch tribunals, and to the Dutch laws in all cases of civil complaint or demands, whether they be plaintiffs or defendants.

Sixthly. All British-born subjects shall be subject to the regulations of police, and to the jurisdiction of the magistrates charged with the execution thereof, and with the maintenance of the peace and of public tranquillity and security.

Seventhly. All persons belonging to or attached to the army, who are by their condition subject to military law, shall, for the present, be tried for any crimes they may commit only by courts-martial, unless sent by the military authorities to civil courts.

Eighthly. It being necessary in all countries that a power should exist of forming regulations in the nature of legislative provisions, adapted to change of circumstances, or to meet any emergency that may arise, and the great distance of the British authorities in Europe rendering it expedient that the said power should, for the present, reside in some accessible quarter, it is declared, that the lieutenant-governor shall have full power and authority to pass such legislative regulations, as, on deliberation, and after due consultation and advice, may appear to him indispensably necessary, and that they shall have the full force of law. But the same shall be immediately reported to the governor-general in council in Bengal, together with the lieutenant-governor's reasons for passing the said regulation, and any representations that may have been submitted to him against the same; and the regulations so passed will be confirmed or disallowed by the governor-general in council with the shortest possible delay. The mode in which the lieutenant-governor shall be assisted with advice will hereafter be made known, and such regulations will hereafter be framed as may be thought more conducive to the prompt, pure, and impartial administration of justice, civil and criminal.

Regulations respecting the paper currency, as well as the relative value of coins circulating in Java, will be published in a separate paper of this date.

Done at Molenvliet, the 11th September, 1811.

By His Excellency the Governor-General of British India.

(Signed) MINTO.

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REGULATION,

A.D. 1814,

PASSED BY THE HON. THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL,

On the 11th of February, 1814,

FOR THE MORE EFFECTUAL ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

IN THE

PROVINCIAL COURTS OF JAVA.

The Honourable the Lieutenant Governor in Council being deeply impressed with the necessity of framing one adequate, impartial, and consistent code, for the prompt and equitable administration of justice, in the provincial courts of this island, with a view to give to all ranks of people a due knowledge of their rights and duties, and to ensure to them an enjoyment of the most perfect security of person and property, has been pleased that the following regulation be enacted; which, by assuming as its basis, rather the ancient usages and institutions of the Javans, than any new innovations founded on European systems of internal government, may confidently be expected to be, at once the most pleasing to them, and the best adapted to the existing state of their society.

1. The Resident shall be the Chief Judge and Magistrate in his districts; but the administration of police and justice, in the towns of Batavia, *Semárang*, and *Surabáya*, shall, as heretofore, be entrusted to the particular Magistrates and other officers appointed by government for those places.

2. The *Bopátis*, or chiefs of districts, and all other public officers, who may be retained to carry on the duties of this department, are placed under the immediate authority and control of the Resident himself, or of his Deputy duly empowered by him. These various duties, whether relative or direct, will be clearly defined in the course of the following sections.

3. To render more easy the attainment of justice, and to carry on better the general police of the country, a subordinate jurisdiction shall be constituted in the following manner.

4. The Residency shall be divided into such number of districts, as extent of land, population, former custom, or other circumstances may render necessary. Each of these shall be consigned to the care of a *Bopáti*, or native chief, with such an establishment, as being deemed by the Resident adequate to the purpose, and by him submitted to government, shall have received their sanction.

5. These districts, again, shall be subdivided into divisions, the extent and limits of each of which will be clearly marked out and made known.

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Their size must, of course, entirely depend on the greater or less propinquity of the villages they contain, and on the more or less numerous population by which these are inhabited; but, generally speaking, no division shall be less than ten, or more than twenty, square miles in extent. It must also be observed, that the limits of the division follow those of the villages; it being quite contrary to a system of good police, that inhabitants of the same place should be subject to different authorities.

6. In each division there shall be fixed a station of police, to which shall be appointed a competent officer, with such number of inferior *Mántris*, *Peons*, &c. as shall be deemed necessary for the execution of the various duties allotted to his office, and the due maintenance of the tranquillity of his division.

7. In each village there shall be a Head-man (whether recognized under the name of *Penting'gi*, *Bakal*, *Lurah*, *Kuwu*, *Mandor*, or otherwise, according to the custom of the country), to be freely elected by the inhabitants of the village itself from among themselves; the only requisites on the part of government being, that he actually reside and hold land in it. Should any of these be found unfit to carry on their respective duties, or other good objection arise to their being continued in the posts they hold, a representation to such effect will be made by the Resident to the villagers, who will accordingly proceed to the nomination of some other person, who, if approved of by the Resident, shall then receive his confirmation.

8. These Head-men shall, in every respect, be considered as the representatives of the villages, and shall be held responsible for all such acts committed within them, as fall justly under that controling and preventive power vested in them by their fellow-inhabitants.

9. This mode of election and consequent power, it must be observed, are no new introductions, but subsist in immemorial usage, and their nature and limits are well understood by the Javans throughout the island.

10. The Heads of villages will receive and carry into execution all such orders as government, either directly by the Resident, or through the medium of the *Bopátis* and officers of divisions, may be pleased to issue to them; and they will furnish, at all times, such oral or written information as may be required from them.

11. The care of the police, in their respective villages, shall be entrusted to their charge; and for the due preservation of peace, the prevention of offences, and the discovery and arrest of offenders, they are required to be particularly careful that a sufficient night watch be regularly maintained. For this purpose they are authorized to require each of the male inhabitants to take his turn in the performance of this duty; and, at any time, to call on all to aid in the pursuit and apprehension of offenders, or to execute generally any of the other duties that may occur.

12. The Heads of villages will also be held responsible for the amount of all property belonging to travellers, which may be lost within their villages, provided, however, that the same shall have been placed under

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their charge; and they are required to take charge of all travellers' property which may be brought to them for that purpose.

13. They are directed to keep a register of all persons under their authority, describing the name, age, country, occupation, size, and appearance of each individual, with any other remarks that may be deemed necessary. They will also, with the assistance of the village priest, form a register of the births, marriages, and deaths, which occur within their jurisdiction.

14. These will be drawn up every six months, according to forms to be furnished to them by the Resident. A copy of each will be retained in the village, and another will be forwarded to the police officer of the station, to be kept by him as records, and to furnish the grounds of such reports as he may be called on to give in.

15. Whenever a stranger arrives for the purpose of settling in a village, or any one of its former inhabitants absconds, the head of it is required to furnish immediately to the officer of the division a detailed account of the particulars relative to either circumstance, who will accordingly take such measures for the apprehension or pursuit of either, or forward such intelligence to his superiors, as the case may require.

16. Any person producing the express permission of the Resident, shall be allowed to settle in a village; but without this, or unless he can procure two respectable inhabitants to become securities for his good behaviour, he shall not be permitted to do so.

17. As well heads of villages as officers of divisions are required to keep a watchful eye upon all new settlers, to ascertain, if possible, their several characters, from their former places of abode; and to observe, most particularly, the conduct of such individuals as have no ostensible means of earning a livelihood. They will, too, follow vigilantly the motions of armed persons, preventing them, as much as they can, from travelling together in large bodies; and, as far as may be practicable, they ought to hinder individuals of every description, but most especially such as are armed with spears, swords, &c. from travelling at all after eight o'clock at night.

18. After this hour they are authorized to stop, and detain in their custody till the next morning, all such persons as may, by having with them more than usual property, or in any other way, justly give grounds for suspicion. But on a summary examination, should nothing further appear against them, they must, on no account, keep them detained beyond eight o'clock the next morning; nor ought detention at all to take place, if the account they first give of themselves be deemed satisfactory.

19. Should any thing further appear against them by complaint or otherwise, they will then be proceeded with as with other accused persons, relative to whom directions will be given in a subsequent section.

20. In the above case only, it is competent to the officers of police to apprehend any person of their own authority, unless detected in the actual perpetration of crime; or to release any person once apprehended.

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21. It having been represented, that though when the inhabitants are settled in one place, in habitations contiguous to each other, the duty of the head of a village becomes easy of execution, yet that it is extremely difficult for him to perform it adequately, when, from caprice or other cause, any of its members are allowed to leave the main part, or *désa*, to go and reside in lonely and remote spots, forming thereby small settlements of two or three cottages only together, termed *dukus*, which being necessarily, from their distance, without the guard of night watches, &c. must frequently become liable to be attacked and plundered, or more often, perhaps, from the absence of all controul, will themselves form the resort and shelter of robbers and other abandoned characters; and, on the other hand, it not being wished to repress too much this outsettling, as by the creation of new villages (which must owe their formation to such small beginnings), a great part of the land, at present waste, may be brought into cultivation; it is ordered, that the following be the line of conduct to be observed in these cases.

22. The head of a village shall, in every instance, report to the officer of division when such an out-settlement takes place; who shall then proceed to the spot, and forming a committee of three heads of villages (not to include the one in which the circumstance occurred) shall judge whether or not it be expedient, for the benefit of agriculture, to permit its continuance, and measures shall be taken accordingly. If the new settlement be allowed to remain, a vigilant eye must be kept over its infant state, both by the officer of division and head of the neighbouring village; and when it shall have grown to a size that may admit of this, it ought to be separated from the authority of the mother village, and a similar constitution be bestowed on it.

23. It is the duty of heads of villages, generally, to preserve tranquillity, as far as their authority extends, to obey zealously the orders of their superiors, to furnish every useful information, and, in short, to contribute all in their power to the establishment and preservation of a good state of police.

24. Their rewards for this will be a certain portion of land in each village, and the favouring eye and protection of government.

25. The police officers of divisions are to be considered as immediately under the authority of the *Bopátis*. They will furnish to these all such accounts, reports, &c. as may be required, and will act always on the orders received from them, or, of course, directly from the Resident himself.

26. To the *Bopátis*, or chiefs of districts, they will forward every six months abstract accounts of births, marriages, and deaths which have occurred in their division, and of the general state of cultivation and population, with such remarks accompanying them as may seem requisite.

27. Of these and other papers forms will be furnished them, and they will prepare them from the general account obtained from heads of villages, whom they will, at any time, require to supply them with such further information as may be deemed necessary.

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28. On every Saturday they will give in to the *Bopáti*, or chief of the district, a detailed statement of the occurrences of the preceding week, the crimes committed, offenders apprehended, number of new settlers, their employment, from whence arrived, what individuals have emigrated, causes of emigration, and, in short, whatever has happened out of the common track of occurrences.

29. The officers of divisions shall be held responsible for the due administration of the police within their respective jurisdictions; and to enable them better to execute their assigned duties, the heads of villages are placed immediately under their authority. They shall accordingly be watchful that these vigilantly and zealously perform such services as may be allotted to their situation; and they shall report fully to the *Bopáti* of the district, on the conduct of any heads of villages who may prove neglectful of their charge, or in any way appear remiss in the execution of the duties entrusted to them.

30. They shall, on no account, exert their police authority in any undue interference with the collection of the revenues, that being considered a distinct department, to which they will only render their assistance when called upon under the distinct rules laid down in another Regulation for the guidance of their conduct in it; here only it is considered that they are to lend their aid at such times, and in such manner, as may be expressly pointed out to them in orders from their superiors. But they are at all times, on a regular application being made to them by the inferior officers of revenue, to take charge of, and give effectual escort to, treasure passing from or through their divisions; and after receipt of the same, they will be held responsible for it until such treasure shall have been by them delivered to the next constituted authority.

31. The *peons*, and other inferior servants attached to their offices, shall, of course, be employed in the serving summonses, apprehending offenders, giving escort, and in other regular duties; but when not in any way thus engaged, they shall, as leisure admits, be sent to make the rounds of the division; acquiring, by this means, not only competent information of all that is transacted within it, but serving also, by this occasional and uncertain visitation, materially to prevent the undertaking of nefarious acts.

32. As before observed, the officers of divisions, and those subordinate to them, shall only, of their own authority, apprehend such persons as are taken actually in the commission of crime. They are never empowered to seize others (with the exception of those mentioned in Section 18 of this Regulation) but when a written order for that purpose has been received from their superiors, or when a regular charge of an original nature has been given in against them by any respectable individual.

33. In these cases, they will take suitable measures for the apprehension and securing of the persons complained of; and when once apprehended, they will, on no account of their own authority, again liberate them.

34 Should the persons have been so arrested in consequence of orders received to that effect, the officers of divisions will, in forwarding them to

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their destinations, be careful to observe such instructions as they may have received on the subject.

35. But should the prisoners have been apprehended on complaints, or other proceedings originating in the division itself, they will, on their arrival at the police station, cause to be written a clear and summary statement of the offence alleged, and of the facts in the case which have come under their observation, whether witnessed by themselves, or borne testimony to by any persons present.

36. They will then, with this statement accompanying, forward under a sufficient guard the prisoner or prisoners, together with the persons complaining or aggrieved, and the witnesses of the facts, towards the chief town of the district where the *Bopáti* resides.

37. Under no pretence whatsoever, shall any persons be detained at the police station longer than twenty-four hours after their arrest.

38. Should the division in which the arrest has taken place be not that in which the chief town of the district is situated, the officers of it shall make over the charge of persons and papers to the police officers of the division next in the way; and, in similar manner, they shall be forwarded on from station to station, to the chief town of the district, or from thence to the principal seat of the residency.

39. In this transmission, the officers of divisions will take particular care that as little delay as possible occur; any unnecessary infringement on the personal liberty of the subject, being that of which this government will ever be most jealous.

40. Whenever a human body is found dead, of which it is not certainly known that the death was natural, or even though such illness precede it as might be considered as possibly the cause, should any suspicious circumstances or appearances attend the death, it will become the duty of the head of the village in which this may occur, to take cognizance of the fact; and ordering it so that every thing remain in the state first found, he shall report the circumstances, without delay, to the officer of the division, who will immediately appoint a commission of three heads of villages, assisted by himself or officers, to proceed to the actual spot where the body lies, and there make due inquiry into every particular that may serve to elucidate the affair. For this purpose, such evidence will be taken as may, in any way, be thought to bear on the subject.

41. When the investigation is completed, the persons appointed for the inquest shall deliver to the officer of division a statement of what they have done, seen, or heard, and annex to it the opinion they have finally formed of the manner of death, or degree of guilt any where attaching.

42. The officer of division shall forward this statement, without delay, to the superior authorities; from whom, in return, he will receive instructions.

43. But should any degree of guilt be imputed, in the opinion expressed by the commissioners acting on this inquest, the officer of division shall, without loss of time, proceed to apprehend the suspected person or per-

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sons, and take such other measures upon that opinion, as he would, had a complaint to the same effect been regularly lodged.

44. As it is most necessary that the cultivators of the soil, and other industrious inhabitants of a village, should not, on every frivolous or inconsiderable occasion, be taken away from their labours to attend a distant seat of justice, where, even though it be more equitably and impartially administered, the benefit of this is, in many cases, quite counterbalanced by the loss of time and expenses of the journey and suit,—it is ordered, that there be a subordinate jurisdiction constituted, by means of which the distribution of justice will be rendered far more easy to the governing power, and the acquisition of redress will be presented to every one aggrieved, with the greatest facility, and the least possible expense of money or time.

45. The heads of villages are required to look on themselves, and to act with regard to the persons under their controul, as fathers of families; to maintain, to the extent of their power, a spirit of harmony and tranquillity in the villages entrusted to them; to curb every approach to feud and litigation; and, with the aid of their officers, to interpose their authority in settling, with justice and impartiality, all such petty quarrels as may arise among the inhabitants.

46. Should, however, the dispute be of sufficient magnitude to entitle it to higher consideration, courts are regularly established to which it may be referred.

47. The officers of division shall, at least once a week, or oftener, attend in some open place at the station of police, with their *mastris*, or other subordinate servants, for the purpose of inquiring into and deciding on all such complaints as may be given in to them, for petty offences committed within their divisions, as abusive language and inconsiderable assaults or affrays.

48. These, if satisfactorily proved, they shall be authorized to punish, by fine not exceeding ten rupees, of which fine the one-half shall be given to the individual or individuals aggrieved, the other be carried to the account of government.

49. They shall also be empowered to hear and determine on all such petty civil cases as may be referred to them, provided the amount at issue exceed not the sum of twenty rupees.

50. And further, they shall investigate the trifling disputes that may be brought before them about trespass, nuisance, the irregular distribution of water, encroachment on boundaries, and other such minor grievances of usual occurrence in villages.

51. Whether civil or criminal, they shall not, in any case, be authorized to arrest or imprison.

52. But the complaint having been given in, the person complained of, if not present, shall be summoned to appear by the next day of sitting, when the cause shall be heard and decided on without delay. In failure of attendance on the part of the plaintiff, the case shall be dismissed; on

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the part of the defendent, the cause shall be proceeded with *ex parte*. The sentence, whatever it may be, shall be carried into execution, by means of the authority vested in the heads of villages.

53. Should any persons refuse to obey their award, they shall be committed for trial before the Resident, who will not only cause the original sentence to be carried into execution, but, at his discretion, order a punishment suited to their contumacy.

54. An appeal may be made in the usual manner, in civil cases, from the officer of the Division's Court to that of the *Bopáti* at the chief town of the district; and any complaint for unjust or arbitrary proceeding, on the part of the subordinate police officers, will likewise be received there.

55. Of every proceeding of this court a regular record shall be kept; one copy to remain at the police station, and another to be forwarded to the chief of the district.

56. A fee of half a rupee from each party shall be levied prior to hearing the cause, to be divided among the officers of police; and ten per cent. on the amount of the sentence in civil cases is, according to the custom of the country, to be taken from the loser of the suit, to be carried to the account of government.

57. The officers of divisions will be held fully responsible for a zealous and conscientious discharge of the important duties entrusted to them, and shall meet with exemplary punishment, in the case of any negligence or corruption being established against them.

58. To the *Bopátis*, or heads of districts, is consigned the general superintendance and care of their respective districts. But as these high officers must frequently be required to attend at the place where the Resident himself lives, that their districts may not suffer any inconvenience from their absence, they are empowered to delegate their full authority to their deputies, or *Páteks*, who shall preside in their courts, and issue and receive orders, in every respect, like themselves.

59. They shall, every six months, furnish to the Resident abstract accounts of the state of cultivation and population within their districts, according to forms which will be given to them, and accompanied with such remarks as may suggest themselves.

60. On every Monday morning they shall deliver to the Resident a detailed statement of the proceedings of the foregoing week, containing an account of new settlers, persons emigrated, offences committed, offenders apprehended, and in short, of every thing remarkable.

61. The heads of districts shall receive all orders directly from the Resident, and take due measures for carrying them into immediate execution. The officers of divisions, heads of villages, and all other police servants within the district, are placed immediately under their control; and they will most vigilantly watch over the conduct of them, reporting instantly to the Resident every instance of negligence or crime that may fall under their observation.

62. They will be open to receive complaints or petitions of every de-

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scription; reporting and issuing the necessary orders on them without delay.

63. In forwarding persons apprehended within their districts to the seat of the residency, they will be particularly careful that the least practicable delay occur; no prisoner, on any account, being detained by them, of their own authority, for a longer space of time than twenty-four hours.

64. In forwarding persons, papers, or treasure, they will observe the mode prescribed in Section 38 of this Regulation.

65. On the receipt of an inquest report from the officers of divisions, it shall be submitted to the chief *Jáksa* and *Panghulu* of the district for their opinion, and on this opinion the necessary measures shall be taken.

66. At the chief town of each district a regular court shall be established, in which the *Bopáti* or, in his absence, the *Páteh*, shall preside, assisted by the *Jáksa*, *Panghulu*, and other law officers appointed.

67. This court shall be held in some open spot in the town, at least twice a week, or oftener, if necessary.

68. Its authority shall, however, be confined entirely to civil matters; all cognizance of criminal cases, beyond that already allotted to the officers of divisions, being vested solely in the court where the Resident himself presides.

69. In the *Bopáti's* court shall be received appeals from those of the officers of divisions, on institution of which the appellants shall pay a fee of one rupee.

70. Before deciding on these causes, the record of the former trial shall be read, and such new evidence taken as may be produced.

71. If the former sentence be reversed, the costs which shall have been kept in deposit shall be refunded to the appellant, and levied from the other party.

72. And in confirming it, an enhancement of these costs is left to the discretion of the court; provided, however, the whole never exceed fifteen per cent. on the sum originally sued for.

73. A second appeal to any other authority shall, in no instance, be permitted.

74. The *Bopáti's* court shall be competent to receive complaints in civil cases, where the amount at issue is not less than twenty, nor exceeds fifty, rupees.

75. This complaint being filed, a copy of it shall be sent to the person complained of, with an order to answer it at most within a week; and, on receipt of this answer, notice shall be given on what day (at farthest a week from the time of the receipt) the cause will be tried. Such witnesses as are necessary will be summoned; and, on the day prescribed, the complaint and answer being read, and evidence being taken, the court shall give its decision.

76. In failure of the complainant's appearance, the cause shall be dismissed; and on the part of the defendant, if he give not in his answer as required, or appear not when summoned, the case shall be proceeded with, and sentence given on *ex parte* evidence.

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77. The *Bopáti*, or his deputy, shall require the *Jáksa* and *Panghulu* to assist him with their advice throughout the trial, and to expound the law where it is not sufficiently clear. Should their opinions concur with that of the president of the court, he shall pass his decision, and carry it into execution without further delay; but when their opinions are at variance with his, he shall, previously to pronouncing sentence, refer the case, with the several reasons detailed which have influenced each opinion, to the Resident, who shall consult with the chief *Jáksa* and *Panghulu* of the residency, and return his orders on the subject.

78. A fee of one rupee shall be taken from each party, on giving in the complaint and answer; and ten per cent. on the amount of the sentence shall be levied from the loser of the suit. The fees to be divided among the officers of the court, and the costs to be carried to the account of government.

79. All proceedings are to be carefully noted down, and preserved as records. One copy to be kept in the archives of the *Bopáti*, and another to be forwarded to the Resident.

80. An appeal, in causes originating in this court, shall lie to that of the Resident; provided notice of the appeal being intended to be made, be given in on the day of trial, and the appeal itself be made within a week after.

81. In this case the costs shall, nevertheless, be immediately levied, and held in deposit till the appeal be decided on. Sufficient security shall also be given for the amount of the sentence.

82. Moreover, on the first institution of all civil cases, in this and every other court, good security must be taken for the amount of possible costs, both from the complainant and person complained of.

83. The *Bopáti* will be held responsible for the faithful and just discharge of these his high duties. To him does government look, not only for the vigilant administration of police, and impartial distribution of justice throughout his district, but for the zealous execution of every measure that can at all conduce to the preserving that district in a flourishing and happy state.

84. The duties attached to the office of Resident itself are fully explained in the general instructions given to that officer on his first entering into his situation. In this regulation only such parts of the charge committed to him will be dwelled on, as belong properly to the judicial department of his service, to his deliberative and executive powers as chief judge and magistrate of the province.

85. As, however, the due exertion of these powers may require a much larger portion of time than can be possibly devoted to them by a single individual, and more particularly, as much of his attention must be directed to other objects, he is empowered to delegate their full participation to his deputy or assistant, whether in presiding in his court, or in issuing and receiving such orders and instructions as the government of his residency may render necessary.

86. The several Residents, and their deputies or assistants, previously to entering upon the execution of the duties of their office, shall take and

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subscribe the following oath before the Honourable the Lieutenant-governor in Council, or such person as he may appoint to administer the same.

"I, ———, solemnly swear that I will truly and faithfully execute "the duties of my office; that I will administer justice to the best of my "ability, knowledge, and judgment, without fear, favour, promise, or hope "of reward; and that I will not receive, directly or indirectly, any pre-"sent, either in money or in effects of any kind, from any party in any "suit or prosecution, or from any person whomsoever, on account of any "suit, prosecution, or other legal proceeding to be instituted, or which "may be depending, or have been decided, in any court under my juris-"diction; nor will I, directly or indirectly, derive any profits from my "station, except such as the orders of government do or may authorize me "to receive.—So help me God."

87. The presidents of other subordinate courts shall take and subscribe before the Resident, oaths of a similar nature and form, to be administered by the priests, according to the custom of the country.

88. The *Jáksas* and *Panghulus* shall likewise be required to take and subscribe an oath in the following form:

"I, ———, *Jáksa* (or *Panghulu*), do solemnly swear, that I will faith-"fully execute the office entrusted to me; I will answer truly to the ques-"tions put to me in writing, or by word of mouth, by any judge of the "courts to which I belong, declaring or writing down freely, without fear "or partiality, what is the written acknowledged law or local long esta-"blished usage; and I will declare or give in writing nothing that is not "warranted by the law or custom. And I promise and swear not to ac-"cept of any consideration, in money or otherwise, for any opinion or "declaration of the law or custom I may deliver, as *Jáksa* (or *Panghulu*) "of any court."

89. In the sixth clause of the Proclamation by government, dated 21st January, 1812, provision was made for the establishment of a Landrost's court; but, in the present state of circumstances, government deeming it advisable that a considerable extension of the powers vested in that court should be given, for the more prompt and effectual administration of justice, it is ordered, that the following sections be considered as an enlargement and modification of that clause, and that in lieu of the landraad therein appointed, there be constituted a court, to be in future called the Resident's.

90. This court shall be composed in the following manner. The Resident or his assistant shall sit in it as sole judge or magistrate. The *Bopátis* of the several districts, or their deputies, shall attend to assist the Resident, through every stage of the proceedings, with their advice, or with such information as he may require. The head *Jáksa* and *Panghulu* shall be in waiting to expound, where necessary, the law, to state the local usage, and to take down notes of the evidence. The *Jáksa* of that district in which any crime has been committed, shall be the public prosecutor, where no private one appears. The other native officers shall be such as have been used heretofore to compose courts of this nature.

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91. This court shall be held at least twice in every week, or oftener if necessary, in the *Passerban*, or Residency public court-room, for the purpose of hearing complaints of every description that may be brought before it, of examining into all offences reported to have been committed, and trying all causes, whether civil or criminal, that occur in the Residency; with the exception only of those that will, in a subsequent section, be pointed out, as belonging to another and higher authority, the Court of Circuit.

92. The court shall be held open from the hour of ten in the fore to that of three in the afternoon.

93. For greater precision, the court days may be fixed to the Monday and Thursday of every week. It is, however, left to the Resident to alter these days of sitting, whenever he may deem that there is sufficient reason for so doing, observing, in such cases, to give public notice of the intended change at least one court day preceding it.

94. The chief *Jáska*, who will have the custody of all persons apprehended and brought into the town until regularly committed to gaol, shall immediately, on opening the court, present to the Resident a list of such prisoners as have been confided to his care since the last court day, stating from whence they came, what the nature of the offence alleged against them, the names of the witnesses brought to prove it, and other necessary information connected with their apprehension.

95. The Resident shall then commence on the investigation of the cases, ordering in each that the report of the officer of division, and original complaint, be first read, and proceeding afterwards to the examination of the witnesses.

96. Should it appear to the Resident that there is not sufficient evidence against the accused, and should the complainant not be able to adduce any further, the prisoner shall be immediately released out of custody.

97. But should the complainant state that he can produce more witnesses, he shall be required to enter into a penalty-bond for their appearance on a given day (that day to be as little distant as possible, nor, if practicable, to exceed a week from the time of this first examination), and the prisoner shall, in this case, be admitted to bail, provided the offence be of a bailable nature.

98. If the offence charged against him be one that does not admit of bail being taken, the Resident shall sign a warrant to the gaoler, to receive and hold him in safe custody until he shall be discharged by due course of law.

99. On the second examination, should the innocence of the prisoner appear sufficiently clear, he shall be forthwith released; but should, on either the first or second day of inquiry, such presumption of guilt be established, as to render necessary a regular trial, the prisoner shall stand fully committed for it, and be remanded to gaol, there to remain until that day of trial arrive.

100. If the crime imputed to him be murder, treason, gang-robbery, or any other for which the sentence may amount to death, the Resident shall

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not himself proceed further in the case, but commit him to prison, to take his trial before the Court of Circuit, of which more shall be said hereafter.

101. Should the offence with which he is charged be one of any less magnitude than capital, the Resident shall, in ordering him to jail, notify to the prisoner on what day his trial shall come on before himself. That day must not, without some good and sufficient reason, to be reported to government, exceed the distance of a week from the day of his commitment to prison.

102. On the day of trial, the prisoner being brought up, the former proceedings shall be read, and the witnesses again examined, and such further evidence, on the part of the prosecution, be taken as may be necessary. The prisoner shall then be called on for his defence, and the witnesses adduced by him be heard and examined.

103. The Resident shall finally sum up the evidence, and stating the reasons that have influenced his opinion, and the law of the case, pronounce sentence accordingly.

104. In these, and all other cases, whether civil or criminal, which come before him, the Resident shall be guided in his decisions by the existing native laws, and ancient customs of the island; provided the same be not decidedly at variance with the universal and acknowledged principles of natural justice.

105. In every instance where the opinions of the *Panghulu* and *Jáksa* are in accord with the judgment of the Resident, and in which the punishment fixed to the crime does not amount to imprisonment or transportation for life, the sentence of the Resident shall be final, and be immediately carried into execution.

106. But whenever the opinions of the *Panghulu* and *Jáksa* shall be in opposition to that of the Resident, or in which the punishment of the crime shall amount to imprisonment or transportation for life, all the proceedings shall be immediately transmitted to government, with the Resident's statement of the reasons and regulations on which he has formed his opinion; but he shall delay the pronouncing sentence, until the approval of the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor shall have been obtained.

107. In all cases whatever of trial before this court, the Resident shall transmit to government, in English, a statement of the offence charged against the prisoner, the substance of the evidence on the prosecution and defence, the law of the case as it exists in the regulations of government, or in the written or customary laws of the island, and the particular reason on which he has formed his own opinion. The *Jáksa* and *Panghulu* are required to take notes of the evidence, and to state their respective opinions on the case in the vernacular language; which document, signed by them, shall be transmitted to government by the Resident, together with his own statement of the case.

108 The civil jurisdiction of this court shall be constituted as follows:

109. It shall be competent to receive original complaints of every de-

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scription, and to try such appeals as may be made to it from the decisions of the *Bopáti's* court.

110. On receipt of this complaint, if the amount at issue exceed not twenty rupees, the Resident, at his pleasure, may refer it to be inquired into and tried by the court of the officer of the division in which the matter complained of occurred; or should the amount be not above fifty rupees, he may make it over to the authority of the *Bopáti's* court of that district in which the subject at issue has originated. But all complaints which concern a sum of money exceeding this, must be tried only by the Resident's court.

111. It is also competent to this court alone to take cognizance of any suits, however trivial the amount at issue, which may be considered as involving in them any of the rights of government.

112. In trying appeals from the *Bopáti's* courts, after reading the proceedings on the former trial, and re-examining such old, or hearing such new evidence as may be adduced, the judgment which shall then be passed shall be considered as final.

113. In reversing the former decree, the appellant shall have refunded to him the costs which have been kept in deposit, and these shall be then levied from the other party; but if confirming the former judgment, it shall be left to the discretion of the Resident to enhance those costs as he may think fit: provided, however, that the whole sum do not exceed fifteen per cent. on the amount of the sentence.

114. The appellant, on the institution of the suit, shall pay such fees as are customary in the institution of original suits; but the other party shall not be charged with any fees whatever.

115. When an original complaint is given in, it shall be filed, on a fee of one rupee being paid, and sufficient security given for the possible amount of costs.

116. A copy of this shall then be sent to the person or persons complained of, who shall be required, within a certain given time, not to exceed a fortnight, to send in the answer; at which time they will also pay a fee of one rupee, and give good security for the amount of possible costs.

117. On receipt of this reply, a day shall be appointed for the trial of the cause, notice of which shall be given to each of the parties; and both they and such others, witnesses or accessaries, as may be necessary, shall be summoned to attend on that day. The cause shall then come to a regular hearing, and be decided on, according to the mode already laid down for the inferior courts.

118. On the decision of the suit, a fee of two rupees from the gainer, and of one from the loser of it, shall be received; and costs, at the rate of ten per cent. on the amount of the sentence, being the custom of the country, shall be levied from the party against whom the decision has been given.

119. In all causes originating in the Resident's court, an appeal shall be permitted to the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor; provided that notice of such intention be given on the day of trial, that the costs be

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lodged in court, and sufficient security offered for the amount of the sentence, or that amount be paid in, to be kept in deposit until the appeal shall have been determined on.

120. Appeals from the Resident's decisions are limited to the space of one month from the day of trial.

121. The Honourable the Lieutenant-governor will, of course, after due investigation, alter, reverse, or confirm the former sentence, with remission or enhancement of costs, as to him shall seem best.

122. Whenever the two parties in a civil suit, in any stage of it previous to the decree, shall give in to any of the courts an agreement signed by both, stating that they are willing that all further judicial proceedings in the case be dropped, as being satisfied with what has already passed, or mutually content to settle whatever further is requisite between themselves, or by the arbitration of friends, the court shall place this paper among their records, and cause the proceedings in such suit to be immediately closed.

123. In these cases, half costs, or five per cent. only on the amount of the suit, shall be levied. Of this the two parties shall pay an equal share, or two and a half per cent each, with a fee also of a rupee each to the court.

124. All fees will be divided among the officers of the court, and all costs be carried to the account of government, for the purpose of defraying the expenses to which they are put in the establishment of these courts.

125. The same attention shall be paid to the opinions of the *Jáksa* and *Panghulu* in civil as in criminal cases; namely, that when at variance with that of the Resident, reference shall be made to the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor, accompanied by the detailed statements, and the decision only carried into execution when his instructions, in reply, shall have been received.

126. A record of each trial shall be kept in the archives of the court, consisting of the original complaint, the reply to it, a statement of the proceedings that ensued, and the judge's final decision.

127. Copies of any of these shall be given to any one who may apply for them, on the payment of half a rupee for each paper.

128. Registers shall be framed from these records, one in English and one in the vernacular language (of course separate ones for civil and criminal matters), stating the charges, names of parties, of witnesses, nature of evidence, sentence passed, &c. according to forms to be furnished to the Resident; and of these, one copy shall be kept in the court, and another shall be transmitted, before the 5th of every month, to the Honourable the Lieutenant-governor.

129. A register shall also be framed, and sent at the same time, of all persons apprehended, but afterwards released, stating their names, crimes imputed to them, nature of evidence for and against, and reasons for releasing them.

130. Quarterly reports shall likewise be furnished by the Resident of the general state of the districts entrusted to his care; and every six

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months abstract accounts must be forwarded of the increase or decrease of population, the general condition of the cultivation, number of new settlers and persons emigrated, and generally of whatever relates to the details of his administration, with such remarks and comments as he may deem necessary.

131. In summoning persons to attend his court, he shall have a certain regard to the loss or inconvenience those persons may sustain in being taken away from their usual employments or duties. The cultivator of the soil, in particular, is not unnecessarily to be brought from his fields; and, in many cases, a slight delay of trial may be better than causing the industrious inhabitant to lose the fruits of his labour by attendance at court, when harvest, or other rural duty, demands his presence and entire attention. This, however, is an evil that cannot always be guarded against; but it ought to be so, to the extent of the Resident's power, and as far as the satisfying the more important ends of justice will admit of.

132. As an additional check to its occurrence, a discretionary power is vested in the Resident, of punishing by fine the complainant in such suits as may, in the opinion of the Resident, be satisfactorily established to have owed its origin to grounds merely vexatious, and this fine will of course be given to the person who has suffered by the process.

133. As it is most essential that access to justice and redress be rendered as easy and free as possible to the injured, the Residents are ordered to receive at all times, and to pay the utmost attention, to every petition that may be presented to them.

134. But as, in the ordinary course, the officers or servants of government, or others, may, from interested, partial, or resentful motives, find means to debar approach to the Resident in his house, he shall cause a box to be placed at the door of the court, into which petitions may be dropped; of this he shall himself keep the key, and, on going into court, open it with his own hand, and have the contents read to him. He shall, at the same time, in the open space before the court, invite the giving in to him any complaints from persons who may consider themselves as aggrieved.

135. It must be observed, that in all causes which come into the courts, the respective parties in them shall plead in their own behalf. It not having been heretofore usual to employ *Vakeels*, or native lawyers, for this purpose; no persons of this description shall be admitted. And it is trusted that litigation will be considerably reduced and discouraged by this measure, as the trouble of it will then fall heavily and entirely on the principals themselves; that class of people not being allowed to exist, who, as deriving from litigation their sole subsistence, may fairly, and without invidiousness, be considered as having some interest in increasing the business of the courts.

136. The Resident is particularly enjoined to pay the greatest attention to the state of the persons in confinement by his orders.

137. There shall be one gaol only in each Residency, and that at the place where the Resident himself resides. He shall visit it at least once a fortnight, and redress all complaints that may be preferred to him by the

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prisoners of ill treatment, punishing amply every instance that shall come to his knowledge, of misconduct in the gaoler or other officers in charge of the prison.

138. He shall take, too, the necessary measures for the preservation of the health and cleanliness of the prisoners; requiring the Surgeon of the Residency to visit them at least once a day, and to administer to the sick. The Surgeon shall be further directed to deliver in a monthly report to the Resident on this subject, stating the number of sick, nature of disease, cause of it where assignable, and result of his medical operations in the several cases. To this may be added any suggestions that may be deemed beneficial.

139. The internal arrangements of the gaol ought to be so ordered, that the prisoners shall not be confined together promiscuously, but different apartments be allotted, not only for persons of different sexes, but also for those in confinement for different gradations of offence. For the following descriptions of prisoners, separate wards ought to be formed. Prisoners under sentence of death. Prisoners confined under sentence of the Court of Circuit or of the Resident. Prisoners committed to take their trial before the Court of Circuit. Prisoners committed to take their trial before the Resident. And one spacious and airy apartment should be reserved for such persons as are awaiting the preliminary examination in the court.

140. All prisoners or witnesses detained in criminal cases shall be maintained at the expense of government. But the subsistence of persons confined on civil accounts shall be furnished in the usual manner by the complainants in those suits.

141. The rate of maintenance must depend on the general price of food in the district where the confinement takes place. It ought to be sufficiently ample to secure the necessaries of life, but by no means any thing further; it ought not, in short, to be higher than the price for which the lowest description of labour could be obtained. On this principle the Residents will regulate the allowance for prisoners, and when settled and approved of by government, it shall be considered as fixed, and be publicly made known.

142. The Residents finally shall see that the prisoners receive all the comforts compatible with their respective situations, and that the allowance granted by government, or others, for their support, be properly applied.

143. With respect to the authority of the Resident's Court over Europeans, Chinese, or other foreigners, though it has not heretofore been ordered that they be amenable to any but the courts of justice in Batavia, *Semárang*, and *Surabáya;* yet as great inconvenience may be, and has been experienced, from their being under a separate jurisdiction from their fellow-inhabitants, and as it is the wish of government that they be allowed to partake of every benefit afforded to its other subjects, of which a prompt and easy access to justice must be considered as the chief, the following orders are issued respecting them.

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144. No Europeans, Chinese, or other foreigners, at present settled, or who, in future, may wish to settle in the interior, shall be allowed to reside in any part of the country without the immediate limits of the towns of Batavia, *Semárang*, and *Surabáya*, unless they present themselves to the Resident, to be regularly enrolled in a register to be kept for that purpose, and obtain from him a license for remaining. This license shall not be granted, unless each individual enter into a penalty-bond of five hundred rupees, that he will abide by the civil decisions of the Resident's Court to that amount; but if this be agreed to, the license shall on no account be withheld, unless the Resident can, and does, give such reasons for withholding it as the government shall approve of. No fee whatsoever shall be given for these licenses.

145. Should it, at any time, happen that a cause, in which more than five hundred rupees is at issue, should come before the Resident, wherein a foreigner living in the interior is concerned, the Resident shall call on him to execute a further bond, which may cover the amount of the suit; and in case of refusal to do so, he shall not be permitted any longer to reside within his jurisdiction.

146. After taking out these licenses, foreigners shall, in every respect, be considered in the same light as other inhabitants, and sue and be sued precisely in the same manner as the natives.

147. Should any foreigner, after these precautions, refuse to abide by the decision of the Resident, a report on his conduct shall be forwarded to government, and he shall instantly be made to leave the interior, and be prosecuted for the amount of the penalty he has incurred, in the established manner, in the courts of justice at Batavia, *Semárang*, and *Surabáya*.

148. In criminal cases, where a foreigner is charged with any offence, the Resident shall execute the duties of a justice of the peace, issuing a warrant for his apprehension, examining into the evidence adduced, and, according to circumstances, releasing him forthwith, or committing him to take his trial before the Court of Circuit.

149. It must be understood, that the term here of "foreigners" is intended only to include Europeans, Chinese, Arabs, Mussulmen from the various parts of India, or, in short, the natives of any country that is without the limits of the Malayan Archipelago. But as there will resort to the coasts of Java, in small trading vessels, very many of the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands, to whom the entering into bonds, or being subject to other such legal forms, would prove a serious inconvenience, serving perhaps eventually to discourage them considerably from engaging in such commercial adventures, which it is rather the wish of this government in every way to promote; and as by the religion, laws, and usages of this and the various islands in the vicinity, being, both in form and substance, nearly identified (differing only in some few instances in shades slight and of little moment), it cannot be considered as repugnant to the principles of justice, that they be at once held amenable to the jurisdiction established for this island, during their continuance on it; and it is therefore ordered, that they be looked on and proceeded with in

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manner no way differing from that prescribed for the actual natives of Java.

150. In the event of the death of any British inhabitant or passenger within his district, it is the duty of the Resident to place the seals of office immediately on the effects of the deceased, after defraying the expense of interment, and to report the same immediately for the further orders of government; and, in the event of the death of Burghers, Chinese, Mussulmen, or others, he will be guided by the laws and regulations existing on that head. In all cases, he will be careful that no injustice be practised in this important subject, and that where arrears are due to government, no property be transferred or sold until the same have been satisfied, or until the pleasure of government is known.

151. The Court of Circuit has already been established by the fifth clause of the Proclamation by government, dated the 21st January, 1812. But as the taking away at once the president and one member from the courts of justice rendered those courts, in their absence, incompetent to carry on the current business of their districts, and as a more particular definition of the duties attached to this department is deemed necessary, the following sections must be considered as an enlargement and modification of that clause.

152. In order to ensure the regular, certain, and impartial administration of justice throughout the different districts of the island, one member of the Supreme Court of justice at Batavia, and of the courts of justice at *Semárang* and *Surabáya*, shall four times in the year, at stated periods, or oftener if necessary, make a circuit through the districts, under the jurisdiction of their respective courts, for the purpose of hearing and trying all such offences and criminal cases within the same, as shall have been made over to them by the magistrates appointed for that purpose.

153. Previously to entering upon the execution of the duties of his office, each of these judges shall take and subscribe, before the Honourable the Lieutenant-governor in Council, or any person appointed by him to administer the same, an oath in the same form as already laid down for the Residents in section 86 of this Regulation.

154. Upon the arrival of the judge of circuit, the Resident or magistrate shall have in readiness to deliver to him a list of the persons committed to prison, or held to bail, for trial, together with the copies of the charges preferred against each, their confessions, if any have been made (but these, it must be observed, must always be received with circumspection and tenderness), or if they have pleaded not guilty, the depositions of the witnesses, and all other proceedings held by him in the respective cases, previously to their commitment to prison, or being held to bail.

155. He shall likewise submit to the judge of circuit, on his arrival at the station, a separate list of all such persons as he may, within the last three months, have apprehended and discharged for want of sufficient evidence against them; that is, of all such as would, had presumption of guilt been sufficiently established, have been made over to the court of circuit for trial.

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156. The judge of circuit shall then proceed to hold his court. Such officers shall belong to it as he may have brought with him for that purpose, and he shall be attended by all such others belonging to the Resident's establishment, as he may deem necessary.

157. The court shall be held in the *Paserban*, or usual chief room of justice belonging to the station; and the Resident, in carrying on any judicial or magisterial proceedings, during the continuance of the judge of circuit at his station, shall use for that purpose some other convenient place.

158. On opening the court the head *Jáksa* shall present a list of persons summoned to act as jurymen; out of which five shall be taken in the usual manner, and be empannelled.

159. The persons composing this jury ought to be as near on an equality as to rank in life with the prisoner as possible. But no one under the rank of a head of a village shall be competent to act as a juryman, as persons below that office, or in the very lower orders of life, cannot be supposed to possess either independence or knowledge sufficient to qualify them to execute justly the duties of the situation. The person senior in dignity among them shall be appointed to act as foreman; and, for this purpose, it may be as well that one of higher rank than the other four should be always selected in the first nomination of the jury.

160. A right of challenge shall belong, as in the English courts, to both the prosecutor and the prisoner.

161. The head of the village in which the offence is alleged to have been committed, shall not be permitted to act as juryman in the trial.

162. No other prescribed disqualification exists against persons of that or higher rank; the right of challenge being deemed sufficient to secure the forming of a competent, unbiassed, and independent jury.

163. The cause shall then be proceeded with; and sentence being passed, it shall become the duty of the Resident to see that it be carried duly into execution, a warrant for that purpose being given to him, under the seal and signature of the judge of circuit.

164. The circuit judge, throughout the conduct of the cause, in his mode of proceeding, of summing up the evidence, receiving the verdict of the jury, and passing sentence on the prisoner, shall be guided entirely by the established rules of his court, the regulations of government, and the general instructions he will receive.

165. And with respect to the law which must guide him throughout, he must, in the first instance, take down the native law in the case as may be expounded by the *Panghúlu* and *Jáksa;* and modify thereon his decision, according to the provisions of the colonial law, and the acknowledged principles of substantial justice.

166. He shall not only try such cases as may have been made over to his court, previously to entering the district, but also any such as the Resident may make over to him while there.

167. He shall, on closing his court at each station, forward to the Honourable the Lieutenant-governor, a clear and full report of all his proceed-

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ings, stating the names of the prisoners tried by him, the nature of the evidence adduced on behalf of both prosecution and defence, the verdict of the jury, and his consequent sentence thereon.

168. If, in any case, his opinion differ from that of the jury, he shall detail the reasons which have influenced him in that difference; and he shall always state any such circumstances as may warrant a mitigation, or even total remission of the punishment.

169. The approval of these proceedings, and the instructions on them from the Honourable the Lieutenant-governor, must be received prior to his issuing his warrants to the Resident.

170. But as this communication, and the reply to it, may induce too great a delay, the judge of circuit must, on shutting his court, remand the prisoner to gaol, and move on himself to the next district he has to visit; from whence he will be able to send back the warrants to the Resident, when an answer to his report shall have been received.

171. Accompanying this report, the judge of circuit shall forward to government a detailed opinion on the state of the Residency, with respect to its police, its general administration, and other circumstances connected with its actual condition; suggesting, at the same time, any such improvement as, in his opinion, would be conducive to its general prosperity.

172. It remains, finally, to be observed to the Residents, that as the police of different districts must be, in some measure, adapted to various circumstances and localities, they are authorized to enlarge upon these general regulations for the administration of that department within their respective jurisdictions, reporting their suggestions of improvement to government. But it is recommended to those officers to become well acquainted with the ancient usages and institutions of the people placed under their authority; and in submitting their observations, they will be solicitous rather to improve upon the solid foundations of ancient regulations and customs, both acknowledged and understood by the people, than to invent new systems of administration, which for some time must, of necessity, be quite unintelligible to the inhabitants, and which, after the experience of a few years, may probably be found to be by no means congenial to their genius or habits.

173. Copies of this Regulation shall be forwarded to the various officers of government concerned in the carrying it into execution; and translations of it, in the Javan and Malayan languages, shall be furnished to the *Bopátis* and other native officers. It shall be the duty of these to explain and cause to be made known its purport throughout the country; and for the doing this the more effectually, copies shall always lie on the tables of the several courts, to be open for public reference and inspection.

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APPENDIX E.—No. 1.

A COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF THE MALAYU, JAVAN, MADURESE, BALI, AND LAMPUNG LANGUAGES.

ENGLISH.	MALÁYU.	JAVAN.			MADURESE.		BÁLI.	LAMPUNG.
		Jáwa.	Bása kráma.	Súnda.	Madúra.	Sumenáp.		
God	túhan ; álah	yéwang widi ; pang'éran ; gusti ; alah	.....	hongyéwang ; sang-yéwang	pangéran	álah	batára	alah ; gusti
Creation	ka-jádian	ka-dádian	ká-dadósan	ka-jádian	ka-dádian	ka-dádian	ka-dádian	ka-jádian
Eternity	kakálan	kaleng'gang'an	.....	kakálan ; láng-geng'an	ka-láng-gang'an	láng-gang	kúkuán ; láng-gang	ka-kálan
Angel	maláikat	maláikat	.....	mala-ékat	malaékat	mala-ékat	dewáta	malí-kat
Soul	jíwa ; niáwa	niówo ; yétmo	.....	súkma ; niáwa	niába	niáwa	jíwa ; átma	nia-wa
Life	idup ; hídop	úrip	gesàng	irup	ódi	údi	úrep	húghé
Demon or ghost	hantu	antu	.....	antu	anto	antu	mamídi ; antu	hántu
World	dúnia	jágat	búwana	dúnia	dúnia	dúnia	marcha-páda	dún-nia
Heaven	súrga	súwarga	súwarg'í	súrga	seárga	súar-ga	súarga	sáwa-ghága
Sky	láng'it	láng'it	ákása	láng'it	láng'it	láng'é	angkása ; lang'it	lang'it
Light	cháhia	cháhia	.....	cháhia	sadja ; cháhia	cháhia	depta ; cháhia	chaháya
Star	bintang	lintang	.....	bentéung	bintang	bintang	bintang	bintang
Halo of the moon	págar-búlan	kaláng'an-wúlan	kalang'an-sási	kaláng'an-búlan	.....	kalang'an-búlan	káng'an-búlan	kandok-búlan
Planet	bintang-berjálan	lintang lúmáku	lintang-lúm-ampa	bentéung-léumpang	bitang-ájalan	bintang-ájalan	pelálintáng'an	.....
[illegible]	bintang zahil	lintang zohal	.....	bentéung-júhel	bintang-jóhal	bintang súhal	.....	.....
[illegible]	bintang mastri	lintang mústarí	.....	bentéung-mustari	bintang-mustári	bintang-mustári	.....	.....
[illegible]	bintang marikh	lintang marih	.....	bentéung-marih	bintang-marih	bintang marih	.....	.....
[illegible]	bintang zahára	lintang johra	.....	bentéung-júhára	bintang-johro	bintang-súhara	.....	.....
[illegible]	bintang átarad	lintang átarad	.....	bentéung-utára	bintang-ng'alárid	bintang álarad	.....	.....
[illegible]	mata-hári	sreng'éng'é	súria	matápoék	ng'areh	áré	mata-nai ; súria	mata-ghání
[illegible]	búlan	wúlan ; rembúlan	sási	búlan	búlan	búlan	búlan ; sásih	búlan
[illegible]	bintang ber-ikur	lintang-kumúkus	.....	bentéung-buntútan	.....	bintang-abúntok	bintang-kúkus	bintang-bugúndang
[illegible] milky way	bima-sákti	bima-sákti	.....	bima-sákti	.....	preng-sadápur	láwat yíh-patánu	.....
Sunrise	terbet-máta-hári	plétek-sreng'éng'é	médal-súria	bijel-matápoék	kalúar-áreh	kalúar-ári ; medal ári	handag-matánai	máta-gháni-chá ka

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APPENDIX.—No. I.—*continued.*

ENGLISH.	MALÁYU.	JAVAN.			MADURESE.		BÁLI.	LAMPUNG.
		Jáwa.	Bása krâma.	Súnda.	Madura.	Sumenáp.		
North pole	bintang-utára	lintang-útára	.....	bentéung útára	bintang-útára	bintang-útára	bintang-kelod	.....
South pole	bintang-selátan	lintang-slátan	.....	sela-búmi	bintang-salátan	bintang-sálatan	bintang-kája	.....
Equator	gáris-sa-teng'ah-dúnia	gára-s-teng'ah-jágat	.....	gáres-siteng'ah-jágat	gáris-sátan-g'ah-dúnia	gáris-sátan-g'ah dúnia	gui-tang'ah-marcha-páda	.....
Ecliptic	'âlan-máta-hári	dálan-sreng'éng'é	margi-súria	jàlan-máta poék	jálan-áreh	jálan-ári	margan-matánai	.....
Aries	bintáng-hamel	lintáng-kámel	.....	bentéung-kámel	bintang-kámel	.....	.....	.....
Taurus	bintáng-thur	lintáng-táred	.....	bentéung-sur	bintang-tor	.....	.....	.....
Gemini	bintáng-júza	lintáng-jus	.....	bentéung-júja	bintang-jus	.....	.....	.....
Cancer	bintáng-sertan	lintáng-sertan	.....	bentéung-sertan	bintang-sertan	.....	.....	.....
Leo	bintáng-ásad	lintáng-ásad	.....	bentéung-ásad	bintang-ásad	.....	.....	.....
Virgo	bintáng-sánbla	lintáng-sumbúla	.....	bentéung-sanblah	bintang-sanbla	.....	.....	.....
Libra	bintáng-mírzan	lintàng-mírzan	.....	bentéung-mérjan	bintang-mérgan	.....	.....	.....
Scorpio	bintáng-kála	lintáng-kála	.....	bentéung-kála	bintang-kála	.....	.....	.....
Sagittarius	bintáng-kos	lintáng-kos	.....	bentéung-kus	bintang-kos	.....	.....	.....
Capricorn	bintáng-jádi	lintáng-júdi	.....	bentéung-jadi	bintang-júdi	.....	.....	.....
Aquarius	bintáng-dálu	lintáng-dálwi	.....	bentéung-delu	bintang-dálui	.....	.....	.....
Pisces	bintáng-hot	lintáng-khot	.....	bentéung-hut	bintang-khot	.....	.....	.....
Rainbow	úlar-dánu	kúku-wung	.....	kúku-wung	kóbong	andang	yang-lálah	ghóneh
East	timur	wítan; timur	.....	timur	témor	témur	ka-ng'in	.....
South	slátan	selátan	.....	perna-ang'in	slátan	slátan	kája	.....
West	bárat	bárat	.....	bárat	bárat	bárat	kao	.....
North	útára	útára	.....	utára	témor-dáya	utára	klod	.....
Earth	búmi	búmi	buntála	tánéu	tánah; búmi	búmi; tána	gúmi	búmi
Island	púlau	púlo	núsa	núsa	póloh	púlau; gili	púlo	púlau
Mountain	gúnung	gúnung	rédi	gúnung	gúnung	gúnung	gúnung	ghú-gok
Stone	bátu	wátu	sela	bátu	báto	bátu	bátu	bátu
Rain	újan	údan	jáwuh	újan	újan	újan	hújan; sábéuh	lábong
River	súngái; káli	kali; bang'awan	lépen	wálung'an; káli	song'ai	song'ai	túkad	bátang-ághi

Memorandum.—The above Comparative Vocabulary was formed in the following manner.—Copies of the Vocabulary, in the Malayan character, arranged by the late Dr. Leyden, were circulated in different parts of Java, and completed in the different languages and dialects by the natives. After collections of these were made, several intelligent natives were, from time to time, assembled from different parts of the island, and also from *Báli*, *Lampung*, *Madura*, and *Sumenap*, and the Vocabulary in each language was carefully revised in concert with them, at the same time that it was re-copied in the native and roman characters.

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APPENDIX E.—No. I.—*continued.*

Extract from the Dasa Nama.*

1. Madia ning mangsa .... } from ordinary thought comes knowledge of time or season.
j.b. Mángsa ..... season, time.
j.b. Kála ..... time.
k. Dók ..... the same.
b. Tak-kála .... the same.
b. Panjenáng'an .. the time, as applied to the reign of a sovereign or governor, a dynasty, a rule.
j.b. Jáman ..... the same.
k. Titika, or kútika the same.
b. Dáweg or dáwak present time.
j. Láji ..... future time.
j.b. Waktu ..... time.
j.b. Usum ..... the season of any thing, as the paddy season or fruit seasons, season for breed of cattle.
j.b. Mangsa rendang .... } season or time of rain.
j. Ka-telu(3) commencement of the rain.
j. Ka-pat (4) rains.
j. Ka-lima (5) ditto.
j.b. Ka-nam (6) ditto, rivers full.
j.b. Ka-pitu (7) heavy rains.
j.b. Ka-wólu (8) rains commence falling off.
j.b. Ka-sáng'a (9) rains nearly over.
Mangsa trang .. dry or clear seasons.
b. Kása-dása (10) commencement of dry season.
j.b. Dasta ..... autumnal, or season of the falling of the leaves.
j.b. Sadá ..... season of heavy dews.
j.b. Kása ..... clear, dry, and cloudless season.
j. Káro ..... the season in which trees commence to throw out their leaves and flowers.
2. Mangsa rendang ing ardi } the rainy season comes from the hills or mountains.
k. Pawáka ..... mountains from which wind comes.
k. Gíri ..... stupendous, abrupt mountains, which create awe on looking on them.
k. Purwáta ..... original mountains, the first or primitive mountains.
k. Chála..... mountain.
k. Mandála ..... the base or foot of a mountain.
k. Liwáwan, or himáwan .. } distant mountains.
b. Ardi ..... stupendous mountains.
j. Gúnung ..... mountains or hills.
j. Kendeng .... low ranges of hills.
j.b. Sengkan .... the acclivity of a hill.
j. Mádik ..... the same.
j.b. Jujúrang .... the space between two hills above the valleys.
k. Sárung ..... the valley or bottom of the space between two hills.
j. Papéreng .... the steep part of a hill which cannot be ascended.
j. Héring or iring the same.
3. Ardi akátah séla the hills have many *stones.*
b. Séla ..... stones, large stones.
j.b. Ka-rikil .... small stones, pebbles.
j.b. Kamlássa..... small fine stones, gravel.
j. Wátu..... stones.
k. Mánik. a kind of hard black stone.
j.b. Párang ..... a sort of stone neither hard or soft.
k. Redjeng..... the same.
j. Gamping .... lime stone.
j.b. Wádas ..... a kind of stone.
j.b. Chúri ..... a particular kind of stone, rather harder than redjeng.
k. Cháni..... a sort of stone which when taken from the quarry is soft and easily cut, but afterwards becomes hard on exposure to air.

* *j.* is intended to shew that the word is used in the common or Javan dialect.
b. ..... that it is used in the *Basa* or *Basa Krama*, the polite language.
k. ..... that it belongs to the *Kawi* language; where two initials occur it is used in both.

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APPENDIX E.—No. II.

Comparative Vocabulary of the Sanscrit, Kawi, and Pali.

ENGLISH.	SÁNSCRIT.	KÁWI.	PÁLI.
One	eka	eka	ek-ka.
Two	dui	dui	do.
Three	tri	tri	tri.
Four	chátur	chátor	chatwa.
Five	pancha	pancha	pancha.
Six	shash or shat	sat	cho.
Seven	sapta	sapta	sap.
Eight	ashta	asta	at-tha.
Nine	náva	náwa	no-wa.
Ten	dása	dása	thotsa.
Man (homo)	manúshya or manúsha	manúsa	manut.
Man (vir)	jána, purúsha	jána, purúsia	burútsa.
Woman	strí, varángána	istri, waranggána	——
Father	pita or pitri	pita	bida.
Mother	máta or mátri	máta	manda.
Head	mastáka	mastáka	két.
Eye	nétra, akshi, cháksu	sótia	nét.
Nose	nása, ghrána	grána	——
Hair	kása	kása	kása.
Teeth	danta	dánti	thanta.
Belly	garbha, udára	gerba	úthon.
Hand	hasta	asta	hat-tha.
Foot	páda	páda	bát.
Blood	lohita, sonita, rudhira, &c.	rah, ludira	lóhit.
Day	dina, divása, &c.	dina, méra	——
Night	rátri	rátri, kúlam	rátri.
Sleep	nidra	nindra	nitsa.
Dead	préta, párata, mrita	parátra	muai.
White	sita	séta	——
Black	kála	kála, krísna	——
Bad	dushkrita	dústa	——
Fire	agni	agni, bráma, geni	ak-khi.
Water	jála, ápa, &c.	jalánidi	khongkha.
Stone	sila	séla	sinla.
Hog	varáha, sukára	wráhas, sukára	súkon.
Bird	paksha	paksi	paksa, paksi.
Egg	anda	endog	——
Fish	mín, massya	mína, matsia	min.
Sun	súrya, prabáhkara, áditya	súria, prabang-kára, raditia	súria, áthit.
Moon	chandra, sitángsu	chandra; sitángsu	pera-chan.
Stars	tára	tára	dara.
God	íswára (Lord), déva (a god)	déwa (a god)	pra, pra-chao
Eating	bhojanam	bója	swoi, chhan

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APPENDIX E.—No. III.

Vocabulary of Kawi Words, with the meaning attached to them by the Panambahan of Sumenap.

ENGLISH.	KAWI.
God	sang yang-jágat-keráná, sang-yang-suksma, yang-widi, murbeng buána, yang-táya, sang-yang-wisésa, sang-yang-jágat, ráya, sang-yang-mánon, yang'ing-jágat, murba wi-sésa, hong.
Make, do; or work	ang'dé, andé, ayása, kirtia, panéron, amáng'un.
The work; what is made or done	wináng'un, inámer, iniket.
Pen	tanáser.
Paper	delánchang.
A vessel; pot; receiver	tapéla, pranji, gáta.
Heaven	súra láya, indra-kila, súra-lóka suréndra, kayáng'an.
Situation, place, office	sing'ng'angsána, papaláng-kan, patmasána.
World	rat, buána, marchapáda, jamánda, yatri
Place	patmánda, kahánan, sána, láya, astána, lóka, panápa.
Hell	tambra-gomúka, yamáni, tambra-múka, yáma, pápasána.
Sky	gagána, diu, baráka, antariksa, ambartála, marútoam, marutpála, margawútma, nasúnia, sambára, biuma, aksa, 'ngáh.
Atmosphere (between the sky and the earth	wiat, madia-gantang, táwang, láyang.
Light	prába, kúmut-deú-jiu, tesa, téja, máya.
Sun	baskára, raditia, pra tangga-páti, arúna, liári, karába, tála, súbandagni, angka, náku, kanúman, asúman, diankára, dáta-páti, niwása, súria, sasra-súman.
Moon	chándra, sadára, sasángka, idupáti, súma, sasálsm-cháná, nisáka, sitángsu, sitarasmi, sási, ráti, basánta, indung.
The first day of the month (moon)	sukla-paksa.
The sixteenth day of the moon	krisna-paksa.
Names of the months	titi-mása, púspita-warsi, kusúma-wichitra, puspa-darsina, darma kusúma, anta warsi, rahúwandáni, warsan dáni, chakra kulána, sandáya kráma, dirga moriang, renji sári, rasmindran déni.
Neither east nor west	sunia darsári.
Day	mahira.
Sunday	riti or dite.
Monday	sóma.
Tuesday	ang'gára.
Wednesday	budha.
Thursday	raspáti.
Friday	sukra.
Saturday	sanischára.
Star	tranggána, úyut, turása, tindra, úchu, tárang, manggárang.
Wind	marúta, sámi-rána, prábanchána, anila, báyu, lisus, indria, pancha, waráyang, sabda-gáti, anila, ganda-wasta, nássamira, sarsa, práli wawálar, sindung.
Clouds	widi-yúta, sadáli, dawáta, ambúsun, ambáka, samíta, gána, toyáda, páyuwáha, trangga, ambu-morcha, ima-ima, jáladára, jaláda, imang kamúra, imaláya.
Rain	warsa, jáwah, truh, trah, riris, wresti.
Dark	anda, taméra, áwuk.
Cold	mertia, sátis, átis.
Hot	usna, tiksna, landap.

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APPENDIX E.—No. IV.

SPECIMEN *of the* MYSTICAL MEANING, *attached to the Letters of the Alphabet, &c. according to the Interpretation of the* PANAMBAHAN *of* SUMENAP.

LETTERS of the ALPHABET, &c.	MEANING ATTACHED IN	
	J AVAN.	ENGLISH.
Ha	áh	
Na	anáne	it is or it was.
Cha	etcha-nána	the test of.
Ra	wádon	woman.
Ka	iku	that.
Da	tatkála	when.
Ta	sira	thou or thee.
Sa	káya	alike or as a.
Wa or va	wong	man.
La	lanji	remove.
Pa	pasti	certainly.
Dha	ásor	low.
Ja	kárep	wish (to).
Ya	panedáne	request.
Nia	—	
Ma	tanárep	do not want, or do not wish.
Ga	asmára	love, or to love.
Ba	káduk	cannot help.
Ta	ála	bad or badness.
Nga	sira	thee or thou.
Ha-na	wonten	it was, there was, or were a.
Cha-ra	satria	a nobleman.
Ka-da-ta	aráne Aji sáka	named Aji sáka, or his name was Aji sáka.
Sa-wa-la	wuskóchap jero túlis	was mentioned in the writing, or among the letters.
Pa-da-ja	sáking núsa jáwa	on the island of Jáwa, or in the city of Jáwa (hi).
Ya-nia-ma.	dádi-bujángga	became a great writer.
Ga-ba	ing buána	in the world or of this world.
Ta-nga	kang kedep	who know, or whose eyes are open.
Hang	ápa	what.
Nang chang	tinálinan	to tie or make fast.
Rang kang	gúdong'i Pandan	leaf of the Pandan.
Dang tang	kangginúba	which is made.
Wang	dening wong	by the people.
Lang	dadíne	it became.
Pang	ápang	branches.
Pang	muláne	because.
Sang	tudúhe	it is pointing.
Dang jang	kabángkit áne	his knowledge or art.
Yang	gusti	God or the Lord.
Yang	bágus	handsome or beautiful.
Niang	ing álap	taken up.
Mang	mangke	by and by, afterwards.

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LETTERS of the ALPHABET, &c.	MEANING ATTACHED IN	
	JAVAN.	ENGLISH.
Mang	kaláyan	with or with the.
Gang	árum	sweet scent.
Bang	kambang	flowers.
Tang	sinéleh or sinálah	to lay upon.
Ngang	rambut	the hair.
Hi-ni	kaláwan	with or by.
Chi-ri	túlis pratánda	the mark or sign of writing.
Ki	iki	this.
Di-ti	áji-sáka	
Si	kang apásian	who have given.
Wi-li	wúruk	to teach or give instruction.
Pi-di-ji	máring rátu	to the rátu or king.
Yi-nyi	páda hestú-kena	every one might agree to it.
Mi-gi	niáta	clear, quite plain.
Bi-ti-ngi	úlih kagúng'an	to have property.
Hing	áng'ing	but.
Ning	ána	is, was, were.
Ching	ka-ting'al	appear.
Ring	lámun	if or if it.
King	lára-bránta	the pains of love.
Diug	dadálan	in the way.
Ting	sang'at	very much.
Sing	bárang	any thing.
Wing	kang wenang	suitable; proper.
Ling	pang'úchap	word or words.
Ping	ing'at	remember.
Ding	suára	sound or voice, noise.
Jing	jeng'er	see or look at.
Ying	bániu	water.
Nying	mánah	the mind or heart.
Ming	ewuh	don't know what to do.
Ging	bódo	foolish or stupid.
Bing	gáwok	astonished or surp-ised.
Ting	seng'it	hate or dislike.
Nging	sira	you or thou, thee.
Hu	ang'úndang	to call or bawl out.
Nu	ing teng'ah marga	on the way or at road.
Chu	pegel	quite tired.
Ru	ang'uláti	seeking for.
Ku	ingsun	me.
Du	kanching	buttons.
Tu	kalámbi	garment or jacket.
Su	lu-wih	more or much more.
Wu	ewuh	lost, confused.
Lu	sang'et	very much.
Pu	súsah	troublesome or tedious.
Du	srúne	crying, or the sound of crying.
Ju	iman or eman	pity.
Yu	áyu	beauty.
Niu	sira	thou or you.
Mu	tan-árep	do not wish.
Gu	meneng	be quiet or silent.
Bu	lemah	the earth or ground.
Tu	nguláti	behold or look at.

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LETTERS of the ALPHABET, &c.	MEANING ATTACHED IN	
	JAVAN.	ENGLISH.
Ngu	ngupáya	seeking.
Hung	sembah	to make obeisance.
Nung	langgeng	eternal or for ever.
Chung	sánget	very.
Rung	mádep	to give up the mind to any thing.
Kung	asmára	thoughtful.
Dung	panebúti	the offering.
Tung	landep	sharp.
Sung	pápa-ring'e	his gift or present.
Wung	málih	more.
Lung	lukta	always.
Pung	karépi	desire, or his desire.
Dung	páda	the same as, or equal to.
Jung	prau	a boat or vessel.
Yung	páyung	an umbrella.
Niung	sira	thou or you.
Mung	ang'éprih	wishes.
Gung	águng	great or large.
Bung	gamlan	music.
Tung	úng'ele	sound or voice.
Ngung	sira	thou or you.

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APPENDIX F.

ACCOUNT OF CELEBES.

Celebes is an island of which hitherto the public has had but very scanty accounts. The part of it best known to Europeans is *Makásar*, situated nearly at the southernmost extremity of the western side: it was here the first European settlement on the island was established. On the south part of Celebes there are not any ascertained volcanos, but some are said to exist in the northern division. Some of the mountains are very high. The Bontain mountain, called by the natives *Lámpo Bátan* (big belly), is the highest on the south part of the island, and being seen at the distance of one hundred and twenty miles, must be about eight thousand five hundred feet above the level of the sea.

The largest river on the southern limb is that called *Chinrána*, which formerly constituted the boundary between the kingdoms of *Bóni* and *Láwu*. It rises on the north side of the Bontain mountain, and runs northward as far as *Mario*, whence, inclining towards the north-east, it passes through part of *Sóping*, and then, turning to the east, enters *Wáju*, after having received a navigable stream from the *Laut-Sála*, or Fresh-water Lake. After passing through *Wáju* it follows a south-east course, and falls into the bay of *Bóni*, a few miles below the town of *Chinrána*. This river is navigable for boats as far as *Mário*, and admits of the passage of *práhus* of five or six *kóyans* as far as the fresh-water lake. Along the whole of the coast, at no great distance from each other, smaller streams fall into the sea, some of them being so considerable as to admit of a navigation of five or six miles, and many of them at their mouths affording shelter to trading *práhus*. Among the most considerable are *Baróbo*, *Linjé*, and *Kájang*, to the east; *Duniáng*, *Lémbang*, *Halikóngkong*, *Pónre*, and *Jenepónto*, on the south; and *Chikoang*, *Tape Jára*, *Sándra bóni*, *Gúa*, *Télu*, *Máros*, *Benáng'a*, *Langkára*, and *Pontiána*, on the west.

It has not been ascertained by whom, or at what particular time, the name of Celebes was conferred on this island. It is generally attributed to the Portuguese, and certainly is of foreign origin: none of the natives, except those who have intercourse with Europeans, recognize either the whole island or any part of it under this appellation; even among those who make use of the word, it is applied to *Sumbáwa*, an island about two hundred and fifty miles to the south-west of it, as well as to what we call Celebes.

In the south-western limb of the island there are two principal languages, called by Europeans the *Makásar* and *Búgis*, and by the natives *Mengkása* or *Mengkasára*, and *Wági* or *Ugi*. The former, or some dialect of it, is spoken in all the districts extending from *Bálu kúmba* to *Segére*. The petty states included in this compass are *Bálu kúmba*, *Bontain*, *Tara-*

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báya, *Gúa*, *Máros*, and *Segére*. The *Búgis* is much more general beyond and over the whole tract extending from *Bóni* to *Láwu*, comprehending the four great states of *Láwu*, *Bóni*, *Wáju*, and *Sóping*, besides their numerous dependencies.

In *Mándhar* and its vicinity is spoken the *Mándhar* language. The centre and body of the island to the northward is distinguished by being inhabited by the *Turájas* or *Harafúras*, who speak a more simple dialect, and are considered the aborigines of the island; and on the north-east corner of the island at *Mandádu* and *Gúnung télu*, the inhabitants are distinguished by some peculiarities.

The following observations must be understood as principally referring to the south-western limb, the part of the island which fell under the influence of *Makásar*.

It is impossible to ascertain, with any degree of precision, either the origin of the inhabitants or their present numbers. From the most correct accounts that could be obtained, it would appear that the southern limb contains a population of about half a million; but from the quantity of land now lying waste, which bears the appearance of having been once cultivated, from the number of decayed and half-choaked water-cuts, evidently once used for the purpose of irrigation, and the multitude of spots where ranges of cocoa-nut trees mark out the sites of villages and cottages no longer in existence, we may infer that the number of inhabitants has greatly declined. At present there seem to be no serious checks to population, except the wars and the lawless violence of the people, and what often occasions, and always aggravates them, slavery and the slave trade. The people seem to procure a sufficient subsistence without much exertion. The climate is salubrious, and there is abundance of water. Marriages are early. In the history of the island the years of famine are particularly noticed. The women are held in more esteem than could be expected from the state of civilization in general, and undergo none of those severe hardships, privations, or labours, that restrict fecundity in other parts of the world. Polygamy prevails, the number of wives being limited only by the means of the husband to purchase or support them. It is more difficult to procure a wife than a husband; a female slave bears a higher price in the market than a male; and the compensation fixed for the murder of a man is only thirty dollars, while that required for the life of a woman is forty.

It cannot be known with certainty, whence the aboriginal inhabitants of Celebes emigrated to this island. The countenances of the natives, particularly of the women, more nearly resemble the Tartar features than any other. There are no early or generally received traditions concerning the time when the island was first peopled, or the adventures of the first race. Each state, however, has its traditionary tales, most of which relate to remote antiquity, or to a condition of society very different from that which at present exists. In the *Búgis* states, the earliest stories refer to a period subsequent to the *Galígas* of *Sawéra Gáding*, and in the *Makásar* stat s to the *Rupáma* of *Ma Beséang*, which will be mentioned here-

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after. The *Galigas* contain an account of the peopling of *Láwu* or *Láwat* from heaven.

The first of the two following accounts was given by the *Búgis* ambassador; the other is an extract.

"In the first place, there was a supernatural being of the female sex, "who, being married to *Taja Rasupa*, a person sprung from under the "earth, had issue a boy and a girl, who were named *Ladiwati* and *Chuli-* "*puji*.

"*Chuli-puji* married *Lasikati*, and by her had a son, called *Léptau*, who "had two or three other names besides, *viz*. *Matan-tika*, *Malati-saprang*, "and *Pulu Datu Pamusu*.

"*Pamusu's* place of residence was in the country of *Teku*, afterwards "known by the name of *Boni*. At this time *Pamusu* and all his children "dying, the country of the *Bugis* was left without a raja, and remained "so for about seven generations; at the end of which period a raja spring- "ing up among the *Bugis* themselves, government was again introduced "into the country.

"On one occasion there came a storm of thunder and lightning, so "violent as to rend the earth and cause it to rock like a boat tossed by "the waves of the sea. On the thunder and lightning abating, and the "earth ceasing to be longer agitated, there was observed in the middle "of a plain, dressed in white, one of human shape, who was generally "supposed to be a supernatural being, and to whom many people went "up in a body, saying to it, 'remain then here and fly not about from "'place to place.' To them the being replied, 'what you say is well; "'but you cannot take me from your raja, as I am myself but a slave. "'If, however, you are really desirous of having a raja, there is my "'master at your service.' The *Boni* people then observed to the being, "'how can we make a raja of him, whom having never seen, we cannot "'tell what he is like?' 'If,' answered the being, 'you do really desire "'it, he shall be shewn to you.' They said, 'we do earnestly wish it, "'and request thou wilt be so kind as to carry us where we may see him "'of whom thou speakest.'

"When these people of *Boni*, together with the being who led them, "had reached the open plain called *Matajam*, there came on a violent "storm, accompanied with thunder and lightning, which rent and shook "the earth. There arose, at the same time, a thick fog, which totally "obscured every thing.

"As soon as the storm was over, and the earth no longer continued to "be rent and shaken by the thunder and lightning, the clearness which "immediately succeeded discovered to the view, seated on a stone, four "supernatural beings, of whom three were separately employed in hold- "ing the umbrella, fan, and siri-box of the other, who was dressed in "yellow. The being dressed in yellow then said to him in white, 'What "'would'st thou?' The being in white replied, 'I have conducted "'hither those people of *Boni* whom you now see before you;' and then "said to the *Boni* people, 'Behold my master, of whom I spoke to you.'

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"Those people went up to the supernatural being in yellow, and thus "addressed him: 'We, the slaves of your mightiness, have come to "present ourselves before you, to solicit that you will favour and oblige "'us, by remaining among us as our raja, and that you will not continue "'to wander about from place to place.'

"The being complied with the wishes of the people of *Boni*, and settling "at *Matajam* had issue five children, of whom the first was a son and the "four succeeding ones daughters. One of the daughters was married to "a man of *Palaka*. The son was married to a *Bóni* woman.

"After being forty years in *Bóni*, the supernatural being disappeared, "and was succeeded by the son, who, in point of size and height, had not "his equal in *Bóni*, neither could any one be compared to him for strength "or valour, or for the adulation which was paid him. He was the first "who introduced the manufacture of *krises*, which he could model out of "pieces of iron, by means of his fingers alone."

"*Bitara Gúru* was the eldest son of *Dévata Pitutu* by *Dévi Paléng'i*, "and inhabited the seventh heaven. *Dévata Pitutu* had a brother, called "*Gúru Réslang*, who held the rule of the region under the earth. *Dévata* "*Pitutu* had nine children in all.

"When *Bitara Gúru* was sent down upon earth by his father, *Dévata* "*Pitutu*, he was provided with the following articles, viz. *Telatingpéba*, "*Siri ataka*, *Telarasa*, *Wampung*, *Wanu*, *Chachu-bana*.

"From these, which were scattered about, every thing living and dead, "in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, which are to be found "in the country of *Lawat*, originated. Preparatory to this, *Dévata Pi-* "*tutu* having compounded a medicine, of which the juice of chewed betel "was an ingredient, rubbed *Bitara Gúru* all over with it, which imme- "diately occasioned him to swoon. *Dévata Pitutu* then put his son into "a hollow bambu, and, having rolled this up in a piece of cloth, and "caused the gates of the sky to be opened, he hurling sent down his son "to earth, amidst a tremendous storm of thunder, lightning, wind, and "rain, which arose on that occasion. Having reached about half way "between the earth and sky, *Bitára Gúru* (dreadfully alarmed at the "situation he was in) threw abroad all the articles which had been given "to him, agreeably to the instructions of his sire. After his arrival on "the earth, *Bitara Gúru* remained for three days and three nights shut "up in the bambu, without food or drink. By his exertions, however, "the bambu at last burst, when, getting out, he wandered through the "woods till he came to the side of a river, where he met with a king of "the gods dressed in yellow. One night there arose a violent storm of "thunder, lightning, wind, and rain. On its clearing up there was seen "a fine country, with a superb palace and fort, and houses, &c. &c. of the "most beautiful structure. In this beautiful country *Bitara Gúru* sat "himself down as sovereign, with a complete establishment, and gave it "the name of *Lawat*."

No account can be procured of any intercourse having subsisted be-

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tween this island and Western India or China; prior to the introduction of Mahomedanism. No inscriptions or other monuments, indicating the former prevalence of the Hindu worship over Celebes, have as yet been found. Their not having been found, however, is no proof that they do not exist, for the wars that have lately prevailed have prevented Europeans from exploring in search of such objects in that part of the country where they are most likely to present themselves. The best informed natives call themselves descendants of Hindus, and the names of their divinities, *Batara Góru*, *Baruna*, &c. seem to indicate either a common origin or a former intercourse. It is also remarkable, that some of the inhabitants of *Láwu* and the neighbouring state of *Boutain* are said to dress in the same manner as the Hindus of Western India, and that Hindu temples are reported to exist in some parts of this state. *Brahma* and *Budha* have, however, never been heard of; and though *Dévas* are often mentioned, their attributes are equally unknown.

The intercourse of these islanders with the natives of Java seems to have been ancient and frequent. The earliest records of the *Búgis* and *Mákasar* states denote not only an early communication with Java, but render it highly probable that a colony from Java settled in the south-west limb of Celebes. In no other way can we account for the transfer of the names of places from the former to the latter island, such as those of *Majapáhit*, *Grésik*, *Japan*, and some others. In the genealogy, too, of the sovereigns of *Láwu*, one of the first of their *Déwa* princes is said to have been married to a princess of *Majapáhit* on Java.

Though some of the *Búgis* states have a good deal of trade, they principally depend upon themselves for subsistence. The mode of husbandry is, of course, very rude, and feudal institutions stand in the way of their improvement; but private property in the soil is established, and lands are held in free tenure or by rent-hold. The amount of the rent, in the latter case, is generally one-third of the produce, paid in kind; the cultivator is entitled to one-third, and the owner of the buffaloes or bullocks which assist is entitled to the remaining third. Labourers employed to reap are paid a sixth of what they collect. No class is excluded from a proprietary right in the soil, and the proprietor can dispose of his land by sale whenever he chooses.

The people of Celebes are active and enterprizing traders; the character of a merchant is held in esteem, and the sovereign princes reckon it no disgrace to enter into commercial speculations. Unfortunately, however, they are actuated by the narrow spirit of the trader, to the prejudice of the liberal policy of the monarch, and make their power subservient to their love of gain, by establishing in their own favour monopolies against their subjects. Monopolies are common in every state on the island, but most of them are only of a temporary nature. The sovereign of *Láwu* monopolizes the trade in brass; the Raja of *Sóping* that of *siri* (betel leaf), which yields him three hundred dollars a month; and the Raja of *Sedendreng* that of salt and opium.

So strong is the spirit of commercial enterprise among the inhabitants

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of this island, that they frequently borrow sums for the purchase of commodities on which they expect profit, and stake their personal liberty, and that of their families, on the success of an adventure. In their trading voyages each person in the *práhu* has his own share of the cargo, and conducts business on his own account: each person likewise carries his own provisions; the latter practice, especially, is never departed from. The owner of the vessel agrees to undertake the voyage with a number of people, great or small, in proportion to its size, and apportions the vessel among them in the following manner. The two *júru múdus*, or steersmen, receive one *pétah* (or division) before the *sanketan*, and the whole space abaft of it; the owner is entitled to two *pétahs* in the broadest part of the boat; and the two *júru bátus* to the whole space between the masts; the remaining *pétahs* are divided among the crew, from whom the owner, or *nakóda*, receives a freight of one-tenth or one-twentieth of the price of all the commodities they sell, according as they are bulky or small, in proportion to their value. The *júru múdis* and *júru bátus* only pay one-half of the proportion of freight paid by the rest of the crew. Sometimes the owner supplies the crew with an advance of money for an adventure, and receives at its termination not only re-payment of his loan, but a third of the profits of the speculation.

The principal articles of trade are cotton, which is imported from the surrounding islands, and re-exported after being manufactured into cloths, known by the name of *Búgis* cloths, which are in great demand throughout the Archipelago, and, in general, of a more delicate texture than those manufactured in Java; birds' nests, *trípang* (sea slug), shark's fins, tortoise-shell, *ágar ágar*, hides, and other articles calculated for the Chinese market, are collected in considerable quantities, and furnish return cargoes for the annual Chinese junks which visit Celebes. Gold is obtained on Celebes, but in much smaller quantities than on Borneo or Sumatra.

Although the *Búgīs*, in general, are considered as great traders, the foreign commerce seems to be almost exclusively confined to the people of *Wáju*. These people are settled in considerable numbers in all the trading ports, from Acheen to Manilla, and it is they who form the crew of almost all the *Búgis práhus* that navigate the eastern seas.

Several *Búgis práhus* from *Mákasar* annually visit the northern coast of New Hòlland and the Gulf of Carpentaria in search of *trípang*, and sometimes a small party is left to collect the *trípang* in readiness for the arrival of the *práhus* in the following year.

The *Búgis*, indeed, is the great maritime and commercial state of the Archipelago. The cargoes of their vessels, particularly in opium, gold, and cloths, often amount to fifty or sixty thousand dollars each, and the people who navigate and are concerned in them are acknowledged to be fair and honourable traders.

The natives of the southern limb of Celebes are of a light active form of body, generally well made, and rather below the middle stature. They are said to be revengeful; but during the period of the British govern-

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ment at *Makásar*, few, if any, examples occurred to support such an assertion. Certain it is, that in no single instance, was the death of those who fell in a recent war between the two parties of the *Makásar* nation, avenged by their relations, althongh the persons by whose hands they had fallen were perfectly well known.

They attach themselves to their chiefs principally for their own convenience, but, in some cases, they have evinced a devoted fidelity. They often change their chief, but scarcely any thing can induce them to betray the chief they have left. In no instance has the *práhu* of a Dutchman or Chinese been carried off when navigated by *Makásar* or *Búgis* people. Agreements once entered into are invariably observed, and a *Búgis* is never know to swerve from his bargain. "That natural polite-"ness which characterises the various nations distinguished by wearing "what is termed the Malayan *kris*, is no where more forcibly exhibited "than among the inhabitants of Celebes. Their minor associations are "held together by all the attachment and warmth which distinguished "the clans of North Britain:—the same bold spirit of independence and "enterprize distinguishes the lower orders, whilst the pride of ancestry "and the romance of chivalry are the delight of the higher classes. "Attached to the chase as an amusement, rather than as the means of "subsistence, the harvest is no sooner reaped, than each feudal lord, with "his associates and followers, devotes himself to its pursuits. The popu-"lation being equally at the command of the feudal lord, whether in time "of peace or war, agricultural pursuits, beyond a bare subsistence, are but "little attended to." On the other hand, they are throughout notorious thieves, and scarcely consider murder as a crime. Instances of cold-blooded barbarous murders frequently occurred within two miles of the European fort, previously to the arrival of the British and the abolition of the slave trade. The unfortunate people who had been kidnapped and brought down to *Makásar* for sale, were often murdered to prevent discovery where a ready sale was not found.

Many of their customs are also extremely savage. The head of an enemy of rank is invariably severed from the dead body, and instances have more than once occurred of the heart being cut out and eaten by the conquerors. They are fond of the blood and raw flesh of animals. *Láwar dára*, which is the liver and heart of a deer, cut into slices and mixed raw with the warm blood, is esteemed their favourite dish.

The present form of government in all the states, except *Wáju*, appears to be legal, fettered by a powerful aristocracy who elect the monarch: in *Láwu*, particularly, the sovereign possesses a title, with more pomp and state attached to it than any other on the island, but with scarcely a shadow of authority. In *Sedéndreng* he is the most despotic, which has enabled him to become the richest and best armed prince in the island. A species of feudal system prevails throughout, but it does not extend to property in the soil. Each individual of a state considers himself the liege subject of some petty chieftain, who is himself equally bound to a more powerful one, and so on, by a regular chain, to the sovereigns of

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Góa, (Makásar), *Bóni*, *Léwu*, *Sóping*, *Sedéndring*, or *Tanéte*, or to the aristocracy of *Wáju*.

In each sovereignty there are two classes of nobility, called *Paseajáng'an* and *Palélé*. The *Paseajáng'an* are the barons of the state, and may be considered in every respect as subjects, being obliged to obey all orders they receive from the sovereign, whereas the *Palélé* are independent petty chieftains (who have probably again under them both *Paseajang'an* and *Palélé*), who have attached themselves to a particular sovereign, but are only obliged to do fixed feudal services, such as to assist with their followers in case of war, to attend the public feasts given by the sovereign, and to assist in building and repairing the palace of state. In *Sóping* each *Palélé* is obliged to furnish and keep up at all times one effective soldier, called *jua*, for the immediate protection of the sovereign.

When the sovereign wishes to give orders to his *Palélé*, he summons him to his presence by a messenger who bears a *bila-bila*; the *bila-bila* is a leaf of the *lóntar* with a number of knots on it, specifying the number of days at the expiration of which the vassal is required to attend. The *Pelélé* receives it seated in the midst of his head people, with his right hand on the handle of his *kris*, and as soon as he has got it rises, draws his *kris*, and swears on it to be faithful to his sovereign. To neglect this summons is a breach of allegiance.

The provinces under European authority are purely feudal; the Dutch, as sovereign, considering themselves as sole proprietor of the soil, and the regents, or feudal lords, being at all times liable to immediate removal and dispossession, should they neglect to perform the feudal service required, of whatever nature it may be.

The sovereign is chosen from the royal stock by a certain number of counsellors, who also possess the right of subsequently removing him; and such is their influence, that the sovereign can neither go to war or adopt any public measure, except in concert with them. They have the charge of the public treasure, and also appoint the prime minister. The prince cannot himself take the personal command of the army; but the usage of the country admits of a temporary resignation of office for this purpose, in which case a regent succeeds provisionally to the rank of chief, and carries on the affairs of government in concert with the majority of the council. Women and minors may be elected to any office of the state; and when this takes place, an additional officer, having a title which literally means a support or prop, is appointed to assist.

In *Bóni* the prince is elected by the *Orang-pítu*, or seven hereditary counsellors. In *Góa* (*Makásar*) the prince is chosen by ten counsellors, of whom the first minister, termed *Beckára Búta*, is one; this last officer is himself appointed by the council of nine, termed the nine standards of the country, but in the exercise of his office possesses very extraordinary powers: it is said he can remove the sovereign himself, and call upon the electors to make another choice. The inferior chiefs, or *Krains*, who administer the dependent provinces, are appointed by the government, and not elected by a council, although in the exercise of their office their

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power is in like manner limited; the number of the council varying in different states. When the prince in council has decided upon war, the assembled chiefs, after sprinkling their banners with blood, proceed to take a solemn oath, by dipping their *krises* into a vessel of water, and afterwards dancing around the blood-stained banner, with frantic gesture, and a strange and savage contortion of the body and limbs, so as to give the extended *kris* a tremulous motion, each severally imprecating the vengeance of the deity against his person, if he violates his vow to exterminate the enemy, to conquer or die.

The proportion of the crop which falls to the share of the landlord has already been stated. In some districts a sixth, and in others a tenth, belongs to the sovereign; but in general the landlord, the capitalist, and the cultivator, may be considered to share between them the whole produce of the land. The monopolies which the chiefs assume to themselves have also been noticed. Besides these there are a few imposts in bazars, which, with some other pecuniary emoluments, accrue to the chiefs, but they are, for the most part, rather to meet their personal expenses than to defray those of the state, and consequently hardly deserve the name of public revenue.

The arms formerly used for offence by the inhabitants of Celebes were the *súmpit*, or tube through which the poisoned dart is blown, the *kris*, spear, *kléwang* (cutlass,) *bádi*, and *párang:* to them may now be added muskets, musketoons, and small cannon. Those for defence were chain armour (*baju ránti*) and two kinds of shields, the one long the other round, made of very tough light wood, and bound together very strongly by pieces of split rattan.

The Mahomedan religion is professed in all those parts of Celebes which have any pretensions to civilization, and the *Koran*, of course, is the standard of law and worship, as far as it is known. According to the records of *Makásar*, the Mahomedan religion was introduced there about the year 1603, by *Khateb Tungal Datu Bandang*, a native of *Menángkabau* on *Sumátra*. Nearly all the inhabitants of the south-west limb are Mahomedans, but of the centre and the other limbs of the island only a very small portion have been converted. There are Mahomedan schools in all parts of the south-west limb, but the Arabic language is only learnt by those designed for the priesthood. They do not consider themselves as belonging either to the sect of Omar or Ali, but as followers of the law of the prophet, without regard to either. Circumcision is performed on both sexes; on the males at ten or twelve years of age, on the females at six or seven.

It has been related, that the change of religion on Celebes happened just after the arrival of the Portuguese, who are said to have offered Christianity at the same time that the Maláyus offered Mahomedanism. The king of *Makásar* is said to have been doubtful which of these systems he should adopt, till he consulted the wisest men in his dominions, who advised him to embrace the religion of the *Koran* in preference to that of the gospel, stating as an argument in its favour, that it had arrived first,

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and that God would never permit error to arrive before truth. But this does not appear on the records of *Makásar*.

The public feasts formerly held, sometimes for weeks together, appear to have been for political rather than religious purposes: at present the Mahomedan fasts and feasts are observed. Formerly the dead were generally buried, but in some instances burnt. There is still to be seen in *Lamúru* a burial-place belonging to the royal family, containing jars or urns with the ashes of their ancestors, which are held sacred, indeed almost worshipped, at the present day. The *Búgis* name for the places of burial used before they were converted to Islamism is *Patúnan*, or the place of burning. It is not known that any tribes of the *Turájas* burn their dead at present: they are said to deposit them in excavated rocks on the sides of hills, and to be so anxious to be buried among their relations, that if a man of rank dies in a distant part of the country, the body is salted to preserve it, and, in that state, carried back to his own residence. Very little is known of these people by the inhabitants of the south-western limb, but they are universally considered as the first inhabitants of the island. They are a very fine race of people: the women particularly so. It is said they will not suffer strangers or Mahomedans to reside among them, and that the custom of procuring a certain number of human heads previous to marriage is as prevalent among them as with the *Dáyas* of Borneo, and the *Harafúras* of the Eastern Archipelago in general.

Each state has its own system of 'aws, but they nearly concur in the following principles. Each sovereign generally possesses the right of putting to death any of his subjects, except the members of his own family. Should any one of these commit a crime and escape into another territory, he cannot be touched, but if taken in his own country he must be brought before the *bechára*, who alone are capable of passing sentence on him.

Each petty state has its *bechára*, composed of the principal people, both *Paseajáng'an* and *Palélé*. All disputes between its followers are decided by it: it also judges and passes sentence in cases of theft, murder, and adultery, and decides all causes respecting the legal right to property; but an appeal may be made to the court or *bechára* of the principal state, the members of which are called the *Kapála Bechára*. The decision of any *bechára* is subject to the approval of the sovereign, where he is not himself a party interested: indeed he may, in general, supersede the authority of this court by deciding promptly, but it behoves him to attend strictly to the *adat biása*, or ancient customs of the state, in his decision, for the *bechára* has the power to remove the sovereign and elect a new one. The same persons at all times decide on the fact and the law.

It is difficult to ascertain which of the dialects spoken on Celebes has most claim to antiquity. I have already stated, that the *Makásar* and *Búgis* are considered as the two principal languages of that part of the island known to Europeans. The *Makásar*, the *Búgis*, and *Mandharese*, which may be considered as dialects of the same language, use the same character with some trifling variations. The *Turájas* or *Harafúras* of

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Celebes have a fourth language, probably the most original, but it is not known whether they are at all acquainted with writing.

Each nation considers its own the most ancient character. The *Makásar* alphabet is less complete than the *Búgis*, which consists of twenty-two letters, varied by six vocal sounds. The form of the character is peculiar, and more nearly resembles that of the *Bátas* on Sumatra than any other we know of. It is difficult to decide whether the *Búgis* or *Makásar* language is the most ancient. Many words have the same meaning in both, and many others differ so little* as to be evidently of the same origin; but the *Búgis* has often six or seven synonymes, whereas the *Makásar* has never more than two, and seldom more than one. Some of the *Búgis* words bear strong evidence of Hindu origin, as *sóda* from *sóna*, gold; *paráma* from *brahma*, fire; which is not at all the case with the *Makásar*.

La Galíga, the reputed son of *Sawíra Gáding*, is considered the author of the history of *Sawíra Gáding*, which is a kind of heroic poem, and is read in a chaunting voice, with a pause at the end of every fifth syllable. The measure consists of a dactyl followed by a trochee, as Sāwĭrā Gādĭng to Mālāmpōā, (*Sawíra Gáding* the great). He is the only author whose name is commonly known; and all books, even the most modern, which are written in the same manner, are called after him *Galíga*, although, properly speaking, the term should only be applied to the history of the heroes who are supposed to have lived previous to the seven generations of anarchy which subsisted at *Bóni*. *Sultána Zaenab Zakeyat Udiu*, the seventeenth sovereign of *Bóni* subsequent to the anarchy, is said to have written an historical poem, containing the exploits of all the sovereigns of *Bóni*, from the reign of *Máta Se Sámpo*, the *menúron* of *Matájam*, down to her own time; but it is not to be procured on the western side of Celebes. It appears, however, that every *Búgis* family of high rank possesses a very authentic history of that period, collected from the records of the court of *Bóni*.

The author of the *Rupána* is not known, nor indeed is the name of any *Makásar* author known. The *Rupána* is considered by the *Búgis*, as well as the *Makásars*, to be of equal antiquity with the *Sawíra Gáding*. Copies of both these works have been obtained.

In the account given by Dr. Leyden, in his valuable paper on the Hindo-Chinese nations,† upwards of fifty literary compositions in the language of this country are enumerated, most of which serve either to celebrate the deeds of their national heroes, or are of an amatory character. Besides these they possess codes of laws, or rather customs, said to be of considerable antiquity. The *Koran* has been translated into the *Búgis* language. The use of rhyme is much less frequent than among the *Malá-yus*; and it has been observed by Dr. Leyden, that "the melody of the "verse depends on the rhythm, and the measure of some of the historical

* See Comparative Vocabulary annexed, including the dialects of the south-west limb of Celebes, and some of the islands in its vicinity, on which *Bugis* settlements have been formed.

† Asiatic Researches.

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" poems has, in this respect, considerable similarity to some of the speci-
" mens of Sanscrit verse." The *Búgis* songs are very numerous, and in high estimation throughout the Archipelago.

They have no books on science, philosophy, or astronomy. The only stars they are acquainted with, are Jupiter (called *Peldá*), the Pleiades (called *Wórong Pórong*), Sirius and Orion (*Jáng'an Jáng'an*, or the Fowl), the Great Bear (*Jonga Jong'aya*), Navis (*Belikaipon*), and Antares (*Lambáro*). They navigate their *prâhus* by these stars, some of which must always be in sight, if the weather be clear.

The *Makásars* use the Mahomedan names for the months. The *Búgis* divide their year of three hundred and sixty-five days into twelve months, beginning on our sixteenth of May. Whether this division of the year has taken place since the arrival of Europeans or not, is uncertain; but it is more than probable it has, as, with all this correctness, it does not appear they have any era; at least since the introduction of Mahomedanism, the Hegira seems to be used. The *Búgis* names of the months, and the number of days they contain, are as follow :—

Sarowaná	30 days.	*Mangasutéwe*	30 days.
Padrowáne	30	*Mangalompae*	31
Sujewi	30	*Nayae*	30
Pachekae	31	*Palagunae*	30
Posáe	31	*Besakai*	30
Mangaseran	32	*Jetai*	30

Some division of time into months and years must have taken place at a much earlier date; as some of the earliest of the present line of kings, and the length of their reigns, are particularly mentioned.

I have before stated that slavery is practised on the island, and that the states not only supply slaves for domestic consumption (if I may use that phrase), but for export and commercial traffic. There are examples of whole villages becoming slaves, and there is scarcely a state or family of rank on the island that has not its assortment of these degraded beings, many of whom are reduced to this condition by the most cruel and insidious means.

Of the thousands exported annually from *Makásar*, the greatest portion consisted of persons who had been kidnapped by people acting under the authority of the European Residents, or the princes of the country.

The sale of their subjects constituted one chief source of the revenue of the Rajahs; and the factors at the different Dutch residencies traded in slaves. It is reported of one factor that he exported nine hundred in a year. The payment or contribution to be made to the Dutch, was either measured in gold, silver, or slaves. In a treaty made between the people of *Góa* and Admiral Speelman, we find that they promised to pay so much of the precious metals, or one thousand slaves. Those slaves that were obtained by law or descent, were called *Díngen*: those kidnapped, *Páras*.

The respective prices for slaves at *Makásar* were as follow :—

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For a grown lad, legitimately obtained. . .... 20 dollars.
For a young woman, ditto..... ... 40
For a grown lad, kidnapped 10
For a young woman, ditto..... 20

It appears from the report of a commission appointed to inquire into the abuses of the slave trade in Celebes, addressed to the council of policy, and dated *Makásar*, the 21st September, 1799, that the Dutch government of Batavia, from the year 1699 (the period of the first Dutch settlement at *Makásar)*, had sent repeated orders for the prevention of abuses in the slave trade in Celebes; with what effect, the following extract from the same report will shew.

"The abuses which have successively crept in, and the intrigues which "are now practiced to obtain slaves, are so manifold and perplexing, that "it would be very difficult for us to enumerate or to trace them. In at-"tempting such a detail with all the precision and attention possible, we "should still ignorantly omit some things, and depict others in too faint "and indulgent a light, the grounds of our information being often super-"ficial and precarious; for, it is to be remembered, that the enormities "which are committed in this trade conceal themselves in the dark, and "it is only by accident that some traces of them can occasionally be dis-"cerned. For these reasons, the undersigned request that they may be "excused for confining themselves to the most common and notorious "abuses, which, being faithfully recorded, may still afford sufficient evi-"dence of the dreadful and detestable crimes which spring from avarice, "and of the frightful shapes in which she perpetually displays herself, in-"stigating and exciting the vengeful and blood-thirsty passions of the "natives, and creating a fertile source of trouble and mischief.

"The making of a slave transport, if properly viewed, consists in no-"thing more than this:—A person, calling himself an interpreter, re-"pairs, at the desire of one who says that he has bought a slave, to the "Secretary's office, and accompanied by any native, who, provided with "a note from the purchaser, gives himself out as seller. For three "rupees a certificate of sale, in the usual form, is immediately made out; "three rupees are also paid to the notary, two rupees put into the hands "of the interpreter, the whole transaction is concluded, and the pur-"chaser has thus become the lawful owner of a free-born man, who very "often is stolen with his (the purchaser's) concurrence and co-operation. "He does not, however, trouble himself about that, because the stolen "victim is already concealed where nobody can find him. The transac-"tion also very seldom becomes public, because never were found more "faithful receivers than the slave-traders. It is a maxim with them, "never, as they call it, to betray their prison; a phrase which we shall "presently have the honour more fully to explain. But what will be "thought of the value of those public instruments, to which the name of "Slave Transports is attached, when at times it is found that both pur-"chaser and seller are fictitious, and that they are united in one league "with the interpreter. By such means it is obvious, that the right of

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" property upon a stolen man may be acquired with as much ease as if " he were pinioned before the door or within the yard of the pretended " purchaser, and with no greater cost than the small sum of one rupee, or " something more, according to circumstances, which must be put into " the hands of him who gave himself out for the seller. To find a per- " son for this purpose does not require a long search, for it is a very easy " trade to pursue, and there are numbers of the most profligate of the " natives continually roving about who do nothing else, and maintain " themselves exclusively upon such small profits; even the slaves of the " inhabitants being bribed, suffer themselves, for a small fee, to be thus " employed. The victim himself, who is stolen and sold, is never ex- " amined, nor do the Dutch or native interpreters at all concern them- " selves about the matter; they are not much afraid of the risk of their " responsibility; so that, at any time, it were possible to prepare before- " hand as many transports as might be required.

" Let us further represent to ourselves this, our town of *Makásar*, filled " with prisons, the one more dismal than the other, which are stuffed up " with hundreds of wretches, the victims of avarice and tyranny, who, " chained in fetters, look forward with despair towards their future " destiny, and taken away from their wives, their children, their parents, " their friends and comforts, languish in slavery, helpless and miserable! " We may picture to ourselves the condition of one (and how often do " such instances occur) who perhaps saw his aged father lose his life by " his side, in attempting to rescue the pride and comfort of his declining " years, whilst the survivor, incapable of further resistance, is torn from " him, robbed irrecoverably of what is most precious to every human be- " ing, and carried away, in a condition more dreadful than death itself, a " condition of despair and uncertainty, in which that moment only shall " produce a change, when he is resigned for a trifle to the arbitrary will of " a master, who has paid the stipulated price, and acquired the right of " placing him amongst the number of his domestic animals, treating him " at times no better than he would do those creatures.

" If we would lift up another corner of the curtain, a scene no less " afflicting presents itself. Here we discover wives lamenting the loss of " their husbands, children missing their parents, parents missing their " children, who, with hearts filled with rage and revenge, run frantic " through the streets and before our doors, to do all that the filial love of " children for their parents, the tenderness of parents for their offspring " can inspire, in order, if possible, to discover where their dearest pledges " are concealed. Often, very often, is all their labour and trouble in vain, " being obliged to return back hopeless and comfortless to their afflicted " friends and relations. Sometimes, indeed, the profoundest secrecy is " not proof against their indefatigable scrutiny, and if they do by any " chance learn where a father, mother, a son or daughter, a husband or a " wife, is kept in concealment, hope revives within their bosoms, and " absorbed in the prospect of becoming their deliverers and saviours, " every sacrifice is considered trifling, by means of which they can regain

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" possession of the objects of their anxious care. But, alas! these un-
" happy people have not as yet reached the end of their sufferings; an
" obdurate purchaser, deaf to all the pleadings of distress, will be pre-
" pared coolly to make his advantage of it, and proportionally to enhance
" the ransom of his victim, till, by extorting an exorbitant price, he may
" plunge the unhappy relative from a moderate property into indigence,
" or, which is still worse, burden him with debts, which, sooner or latter,
" will reduce himself, and perhaps his whole family, to slavery!

" It must not be thought, that when these wretched people have thus
" carried their point, and when, to furnish the sum demanded, they have
" sold their houses and goods, or even pawned themselves*, that, after
" the payment of the ransom agreed on, the matter is finished. No! the
" trader will not deliver up the pretended slave until he departs for
" Batavia: and if we ask, why? it is, that his prison may not be be-
" trayed; that is to say, that it may not become generally known through-
" out the country, what numbers of stolen people he keeps shut up within
" his prison, and that the cry of vengeance against many execrable acts
" that are concealed in the dark, may not every where be heard, by which
" many villains would become notorious. A son is therefore only ex-
" hibited to the afflicted father: he sees him in a pitiful condition linked
" with fetters, and it is frequently at such a moment that the ransom is
" agreed on. The grief wherewith a father's heart is pierced at such a
" sight, the rapid succession of his emotions from grief and despair to
" hope and longing, when contrasted with the deliberate calmness with
" which a covetous purchaser knows how to take advantage of the poor
" man's distress; the indifference, the obstinacy, with which he persists
" in his bloody demand of each rix-dollar, each stiver, nay almost of
" each penny; in a word, every thing that can have any relation to such
" a striking spectacle, can be more easily conceived than described, and
" we have said enough to exhibit the abomination of proceedings, which
" cannot fail to have a most pernicious influence upon society.

" But it may be said, the laws and regulations speak in favour of the
" oppressed. We have shown above, in what manner government have
" endeavoured, from time to time, to provide against such abuses, and to
" this we beg leave to refer; but where avarice is predominant, laws,
" reason, rights, humanity, all that is sacred, are too often compelled to
" yield. Besides, various obstacles conspire, which time and local cir-
" cumstances have engendered, so that in spite of the most salutary sta-
" tutes (which are indeed so far nominally in force) the evil cannot be
" effectually checked; and experience has taught us, that the most rigor-
" ous orders which government could devise, would be insufficient to
" make a due provision against the increase of these abuses.

" Those, whose fate we have now hastily drawn, are not always stolen
" by foreign nations at distant places. No: about and near the houses
" of our own inhabitants, in our *kampongs*, within our own town, it very
" often happens. A numerous gang of villains, known by the name of

* Meaning their services for a stipulated period or for life.

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" bondsmen (*verpandeling*), with a number of whom every slave-trader is " careful to provide himself according to his means, are most useful in- " struments in procuring slaves in the easiest and cheapest way; and " being instructed in all the arts of villainy, and eager for prey, they rove " about in gangs during the night and at unseasonable hours, and if suc- " cessful in overpowering some one, they carry the victim to their em- " ployer, or to any purchaser, and it is very seldom that any thing more is " heard of it, than that such a one has lost his slave, or that such a native " is missing. The stolen man, woman, or child, is already chained and " shut up within the prison of some slave-trader, which is never visited. " The slaves for foreign markets are always carried on board at night; " and if a stolen person were either free-born, or the slave of an inhabi- " tant, he dares not make himself known as long as he is in his ravisher's " hands, for, in that case, they would kill him immediately, even were it " before the door of the person who wanted to buy him, whilst the rob- " bers would have no difficulty in getting out of the way, and beyond the " reach of justice.

" Those who are trained to this business, whether bondsmen or slaves " (for even amongst this latter class of people thieves of men are often " found), are very fertile in all kinds of intrigues to accomplish their ends; " for except casual victims, who sometimes fall by accident into their " clutches, a considerable time will often elapse before they succeed in " securing the object they have marked out for their prey, because the " devoted creature is frequently on his guard; and as it cannot be done " openly without great precaution, for he would certainly sacrifice his " own or their lives to preserve his liberty; they, therefore, lie in wait " for him a long time, endeavouring by indirect means to make acquaint- " ance with him, in order to gain his confidence, and then, we will not " say always, to conduct or allure him into the house of the slave-trader, " or otherwise, as is sometimes the case, to lead him to a remote spot, or " at least to some distance from his house, when he immediately finds " himself attacked by two or three of these ruffians, who have long pre- " viously agreed with his pretended friends, and before he has time to put " himself into a posture of defence, or to take hold of his *kris*, it is already " wrested from him, and his hands are tied behind his back. To cry for " help would be immediately fatal to him, he is therefore compelled to be " quiet, and to suffer himself to be sold as a slave by the ruffians who had " previously arranged where to carry him.

" Why such violations are so seldom made public, and thieves of men " are so rarely detected, many sufficient reasons may be assigned. For " instance: the profound secrecy of the prisons; the clandestine manner " in which slaves for traffic are carried on board in the dark of the night; " the sinister manner in which the purchase is transacted and confirmed; " the facility with which the villains are able to escape, when after some " time the theft becomes notorious; the difficulty of making satisfactory " inquiry about a crime, of which but a few of the perpetrators and their " accomplices are generally within the reach of justice, whilst the stolen

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" person is still more rarely present, so that it generally happens, in such " a case, that the most guilty get off; the still greater uncommonness of " offenders of this sort being caught in the very act, so as to fall at once " into the hands of justice; and, finally, the secret protection which some " native petty princes, living upon plunder, afford to their subjects. All " these, and many other circumstances, combine to facilitate the practice " of kidnapping, which thus goes on almost undisturbed, and generally " unpunished!

" A rich citizen, who has a sufficient number of emissaries called bonds- " men, carries on his trade much more easily than a poor one does. The " latter is often obliged to go himself to the *Kámpong Búgis* or elsewhere, " to take a view of the stolen victim and to carry him home; whilst the " former quietly smokes his pipe, being sure that his thieves will, in " every corner, find out for him sufficient game, without his exerting " himself otherwise than indirectly. The thief, the seller, the interpreter, " are all active in his service, because they are all paid by him. In some " cases the purchaser unites himself with the seller, on purpose to deceive " the interpreter; whilst, in other cases, the interpreter agrees with the " thief and pretended seller, to put the stolen person into the hands of the " purchaser! What precautions, what scrutiny, can then avail, when we " reflect, that the profound secrecy of the prisons, and the strict precau- " tions in carrying the slaves on board, are equalled only by the licenti- " ousness with which the transports are fabricated?

" A distinction ought, however, to be made between such illegal and " criminal practices, and a more moderate trade in slaves, many of whom, " it is true, are stolen, but not in our vicinity, nor in the districts of the " Company. The remainder are generally such as, according to the se- " parate laws and customs of the native nations of Celebes, have in some " way or other forfeited their liberty, either in war, or for some misde- " meanour, or on account of debts. These are likewise higher in price, " so that the trader cannot have so much gain upon them; they may also " appear at broad day-light, an interpreter may with security answer for " them. Such slaves can be brought on board very quietly in the day " time; the frequency of murder, as in other cases, is not much to be " dreaded, and our town has considerably less danger to apprehend from " these than from the class before mentioned."

The report concludes by recommending specific measures, and expressing an opinion, that " it would not be inexpedient, if, but for one year, " the exportation of slaves from hence were suspended."

In the following year, the residents received instructions from the high regency, in which several of their predecessors were accused of having " assumed a despotic sway over the natives, plundered those over whom " they had been placed to protect them, and of having even dared, with " the assistance of the native chiefs, *whom they have found means to de-* " *bauch*, to put the natives in irons, and to sell them as slaves."

Mr. Chassé, when governor of *Makásar*, much to his honour, attempted to put a stop to manstealing in the neighbourhood of his residency. He

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did not, however, succeed to any extent. When the British arrived, it appeared that numbers of plunderers were roaming about for the supply of the slave market, which was still open; so that the inhabitants of the villages adjacent to *Makásar*, never dared to approach, except in parties of at least five or six armed men. An equal caution prevailed throughout the country.

To enforce the British abolition laws, there was formed at Batavia, in the beginning of the year 1816, a society called the *Java Benevolent Institution*, and in the course of the year this society published an account of its proceedings, containing, among other interesting matter, "Remarks "upon *Makásar*, &c. compiled from the information of Lieutenant Owen "Phillips, assistant resident there." This paper concludes as follows:

"The laws recognized between the Dutch Company and the states of "*Bóni* and *Gúa* may be considered a fair criterion of their general spirit "and tendency. They were agreed to in an early period of the Dutch "establishment, when Admiral Speelman concluded a treaty with those "states, and they have not since undergone any material alterations. "The penalties therein prescribed were required to be paid in money or "property of any description, at the arbitrary rates fixed by the same "laws, and which appear on the whole to be extremely favourable to the "individual; debtors or convicted felons, in default of payment, be-"coming bondsmen. But the temptation to corruption afforded by an "open market and an increased demand for slaves for traffic, introduced "a practice of condemning, first to bondage, and then fabricating for "three dollars a certificate of slavery; a practice which, although not "recognized in the laws subsisting between the European and native "powers, was yet generally known to prevail, and if not formally "sanctioned, was openly tolerated under the former system.

"Whilst these laws are administered in the native states by their coun-"cils or *bechárras*, the administration of justice in the Company's terri-"tories was vested in the Regent, under the superintendance of the "*Drost*, but who has usurped the power of actually deciding, particularly "in cases where he is interested in the condemnations, from the right "which the judge enjoys, of a moiety of the property arising from the "sale of persons condemned to slavery, or in the appropriation of a "certain number of them to his own use! The abuses arising out of "these unlawful usurpations appear to have attained a great height in "1799, when the commission was appointed to inquire into them; but "(as in the case of restraints which had from time to time been imposed "by law) that inquiry did little more than recognize the right of control "over the actors and participators in such abuses; a right which could "readily and profitably be compromised by men who, from habit, were "actuated by little determined abhorrence of such crimes, and no steady "resolution to eradicate them. To this cause alone must be attributed "the difficulties stated by the commission to be opposed to the due ex-"ecution of the laws, and to the suppression of the enormities that were "generally practised; and although partial reforms were effected,

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" according to the disposition and principles of the persons who presided " successively in *Makásar*, the enormous gains to be derived from the " toleration of corruption was a powerful obstacle to its removal: and " it may be said of the abuses and enormities detailed by the commission " in 1799, that although perpetuated with more or less aggravation, as " the controuling authority was more or less conscientious and vigilant, " no radical removal of them took place, nor were the suggestions of " that commission carried into effect, except partially within the town of " *Makásar*.

" On the establishment of the British government, the practice and " mode of kidnapping within the town of *Makásar* had, in some degree, " been restricted and ameliorated; but this did not extend to the country. " Some limitations had therefore been imposed on the connivance and " direct participation of the public functionaries; but bondsmen were " still generally employed as man-stealers, and the practice of concealing " in secret prisons, of assassinations to prevent detection, and of mid- " night embarkations, were but little controuled or inquired into, as may " be sufficiently inferred from the laxity of the public tribunals, and " the rare instances of any infractions of these laws being punished by " them.

" The introduction of the prohibitory laws by the establishment of " the British government, naturally operated to cause a sudden and com- " plete suspension of the open traffic; and although individuals are still " clandestinely carried from *Makásar*, the number is so small, that the " utmost vigilance has hitherto been unable to convict the perpetators, " especially as the numerous gang of bondsmen and man-stealers, though " compelled at present to resort to other avocations, are yet at the call " of corrupt employers, and live in the hope that occasion may again " offer of freely returning to their pursuits, without apprehension of any " consequences. This truth will be more generally appreciated, if we " explain the course through which these people are led to engage in the " desperate trade of kidnapping. The bondsmen, who are thus em- " ployed by slave-traders, are generally dissolute adventurers from the " native states, who repair to *Makásar*, perhaps, with a little property " which they lose by gambling; their next resource is to borrow from " some one of the numerous Dutch or Chinese speculators (slave-traders) " a sum of money, and which is only to be had at the exorbitant interest " of fifty per cent. or, as expressed in the local terms, 'one *wang* per " 'month on the Spanish dollar.' A debt thus dissolutely contracted is " not likely to be retrieved by patient industry. But were such a dis- " position to prevail, the opportunity is scarcely afforded, and the obliga- " tion is generally allowed to accumulate until the debtor is about to pay " the price in his captivity. To retrieve himself from this dire alterna- " tive, he has recourse to the trade of kidnapping, and the ready employ- " ment he meets with, added to the sudden gains which he hopes to " acquire, stimulate him to repair his fortunes in this irregular and " desperate pursuit. Such are the bondsmen who are the active agents " of slave traders in *Makásar*; and while the abolition has had the two-

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" fold effect of diminishing their numbers and of checking their depre-
" dations, it must be obvious that this salutary reform can only endure
" whilst the spirit which produced it is fostered. The commission in
" 1799 forcibly depicted the utter incompetency of the most rigid pro-
" hibitions, in restricting the barbarities which then prevailed: but there
" is yet a stronger fact, which bears equally upon the traffic, on whatever
" footing it might be re-admitted; it is, that the resources arising from
" what were considered legal condemnations to slavery, would be totally
" inadequate to supply the market under any probable limitations. As
" the demand increased, the more frequent condemnations on frivolous
" pretences would naturally ensue, if indeed such a practice in any de-
" gree could be considered legal: but the temptations to open violence
" arising from the numerous accessaries, and the direct or indirect par-
" ticipation of public functionaries, added to the comparative cheapness
" of stolen men, are such strong inducements to revive ancient abuses,
" under an actual demand, that no hope could be entertained of controul-
" ing them. On the other hand, the maintenance of the abolition laws,
" as they have hitherto tended to correct in a remarkable degree the
" monstrous practices which obtained, must, in their ultimate operation,
" effectually reform, not only the habits and dispositions of the inhabit-
" ants of *Makásar*, but check those frequent condemnations which, in
" the native states, may be chiefly imputed to the advantages that were
" generally made of them. To illustrate, in a familiar instance, the effect
" of this amelioration brought about by the silent operation of the pro-
" hibitory laws; on the first arrival of the English, the inhabitants of
" the adjacent villages did not dare to come to *Makásar* in parties of less
" than five or six men well armed. This was equally the case through-
" out the country, as there was an open sale for almost any number of
" people that could be stolen. The case, however, is now entirely
" altered, at least within the influence of the British authority. Men,
" women, and children, are now to be seen moving singly about the
" country in all directions, without fear and without arms. Formerly a
" man going on a hunting party, or a peasant to till his ground, went
" armed as if going to war; at the present day numbers of people may
" be seen in the paddy fields without a spear amongst them. I may add,
" that these effects are not confined to the Company's provinces, but are
" felt nearly throughout the states of *Gúa*, *Telu*, and *Turáta*, where there
" can be no doubt that a few years would be sufficient to realize, under
" the present system, a great increase to population, and the more im-
" portant introduction of commerce and civilization.

" The principal pirate settlements are *Káli* and *Túli Túli*, situated on
" the north-west coast. The depredations of these hordes are generally
" carried on between Java and the Straits of Saleyer; their haunts are
" the islands near Seleyer, also *Gúnung Api*, and the isles at the entrance
" of the Bay of *Sembáwa*, and in general the small isles included between
" the coasts of Java to the west, Borneo to the north, and Celebes to
" the east."

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APPENDIX F.—*continued.*

A COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF THE BUGIS, MAKASAR, MANDHAR, BÚTON, SÁSAK, BÍMA, SEMBÁWA, TEMBÓRA, AND ENDÉ LANGUAGES.

ENGLISH.	BUGIS.	MAKASAR.	MANDHAR.	BÚTON.	SÁSAK.	BÍMA.	SEMBÁWA.	TEMBÓRA.	ENDÉ.
One	sédi	sédre	misa	sátu	sátu	sábua; icha	sátu	seena	sa.
Two	dua	rua	dua	dua	dua	lua	dua	kálae	zua.
Three	télu	tálu	tetálu	tálu	telu	tólu	tiga	nih	télu.
Four	mpa	ampat	ápeh	mpat	mpat	ópat	ampat	kude-in	wútu.
Five	lima	lima	lima	lima	lima	lima	lima	kutélin	lima.
Six	nám	ánam	ánam	ánam	nám	íni	ánam	báta-in	limása.
Seven	pitu	túju	túju	pitu	pitu	pidu	túju	kúmba	limázua.
Eight	hárua	delápan	wálu	árua	báln	wáru	delápan	koného	ruabútu.
Nine	haséra	sambílan	amésa	asára	siwa	chéwi	sambélan	láli	trása.
Ten	sapúlu	sampúlu	sapúlu	sapúlu	sapúlu	sampúlu	sapúlu	saróne	sabúlu.
Twenty	dua-púlu	rua-púlu	dua-púlu	rompúlu	dua-púlu	duampúlu	dua-púlu	sisaróne	bulúzua.
Hundred	sa-rátus	sabiláng'an	sang'átus	sibiláng'an	sátus	sa-rátus	sang'átus	simári	sang'ásu.
Man (homo)	táwu	tau	tau	tau	kelépe	dho	tau	doh	dau.
Man (vir.)	hóro-áni	borání	chácho	tau	máma	dho-mó- / ne-móne	láki-láki	sia-in	úli-dau.
Woman	makónrai	bahíni	bahíni	makónrai	nina	dho-siwe	perámpuan	óna-yit	ána-dau.
Father	ambéhna	mángge	káma	bápa	áma	áma	bápa	homóri	má.
Mother	indóna	anróng	indo	ma	ína	ina	máma	yelai	weh.
Head	úlu	ulúna	úl	úlu	ótah	túta	úlu	kokóre	úla.
Eyes	máta	matána	máta	máta	máta	máda	máta	saing'óre	ána-máta.
Nose	ing'a	ing'a	ing'a	ing'a	irung	ilu	ing'a	saing kóme	niju.
Hair	wélua	rambut	wélua	wélu	búlu	hónggo	wélua	búlu	fu.

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APPENDIX F.—*continued.*

ENGLISH.	BUGIS.	MAKASAR.	MANDHAR.	BÚTON.	SÁSAK.	BÍMA.	SEMBÁWA.	TEMBÓRA.	ENDÉ.
Teeth	ísi	gigi	ísi	ísi	gigi	woi	ísi	sóntong	nihi.
Belly	bábua	bátan	pórot	bábua	tian	lóko	báboa	sumóre	túka.
Hand	lima	líman	lima	liman	íma	rima	limang	taintu	lima.
Foot	áji	bánuge	áje	áje	nai	édi	áje	maimpo	wáhi.
Blood	dára	dára	dára	dára	geti	ráh	dárá	kiro	ráha.
Day	só	poi	hári	áso	kejélu; jélu	mrai	aso	kóngkong	giah.
Night	weni	bange	bangi	weni	kelam	ai-meng'ádi	náiam	tádung	kómbe.
Sleep	matinro	átinro	pelóli	matínro	tindu	máru	maténro	kidjum	méne.
Dead	máte	amáti	máti	matémo	máti	máde	matémo	síiam	máta.
White	mapúte	kébok	púti	maputémo	pútih	búrah	púti	si-yang	bára.
Black	malótong	léling	malótong	malótong	birang	me-e	lótong	naido	láka.
Good	madéching	bájik	mápia	baik	ónya	tátio	baik	sámar	glo.
Bad	déna-ma-déching	kóde	andiána-mápia	enda-ma-dakégau	leng'e	séwai	nónda-króah	gonóre	báne.
Fire	ápi	pépe	ápi	ápi	ápí	ápi	ápi	maing'aing	ápi.
Water	wai	éne	wai	áyer	ai	oí	jéne	naino	wai.
Earth	tána	bútah	tána	tána	tána	dána	tána	gonong	tána.
Stone	bátu	bátu	bátu	bátu	bátu	wádu	bátu	ilah	bátu.
Hog	bábi	bábi	bábi	bábi	báwi	vávi	bábi	kíwu	háhe.
Bird	mánu-mánu	jang'an-jang'an	mánu-mánu	manuk	káma-núkan	nási	mánuk-mánuk	kilaíngkong	peti.
Egg	itéloh	báyau	ndoh	télor	télu	dólu	telor	andík	telor.
Fish	báleh	íúku	bále	bále	mpah	úta	júku	karáyi	íkan.
Sun	matáso	sing-har	máta-hári	máta-hári	máta-jelu	liroh	sing-har	ingkong	réza.
Moon	wúlan	búlan	wúlan	wúlah	úlan	wúrah	wúlan	máng'ong	wúlan.
Stars	bitóing	bintóing	bintóing	bintóing	bintang	ntára	bintóing	kingkong	dála.
God	álah ta-ála	.....	álah ta-ála	álah ta-ála	álah ta-álah	álah	álah ta-ála	moríhoh	ga-hémbu.
Sit	túdang	mempu	pióro	dúduk	tókol	dóho	pióro	hok-hok	regoh.
Eat	mánre	ang'ánre	mánde	mánre	bekhor	.....	mang'an	mákan	ka-a.

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APPENDIX F.—*continued.*

A COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF THE GUNUNG TALU, MENADU, TERNATI, SANG'IR, SIRANG OR CERAM, AND SAPARUÁ LANGUAGES.

ENGLISH.	GUNUNG TALU.	MENADU.	TERNATI.	SANG'IR.	SIRANG OR CERAM.	SAPARUÁ.
One	limbóto	esah	rimoi	sembua	tekúra	isáhi.
Two	buláng'o	bua	rómo-didi	darúa	dua	rua.
Three	bóne	télu	ra-ang'i	tátelu	tólu	óru.
Four	ampat	épat	ráha	épa	pát	ha-an.
Five	lima	lima	róma-tóha	lima	lim	rima.
Six	ánam	ánam	rára	nóng	ónan	nóho.
Seven	túju	pitu	tómdi	pitu	fitúra	hítu.
Eight	delápan	wálu	tof-kang'i	wálu	delapánte	wáru.
Nine	sambilan	sioh	siyu	sioh	sabilánte	siwah.
Ten	sapúlu	mapúlu	yági-móí	mapúru	putúsa	úhu-túhi.
Twenty	dua-púlu	rúa-napúlu	yági-romdidi	duampúlu	dua-púlu	úhurua.
Hundred	mai-túru	ma-hátus	rátu-móí	marásu	útun	hutúngno.
Thousand	notifu	ma-ribu	ribú-móí	saribu	rihúne	rihúno.
Man (homo)	manúsia	tó	manúsia	tau-máta	káwu	túma-táwu.
Man (vir.)	satúlai	to-áma	nónau	esé	manuáya	manáwau.
Woman	tábua	wewóné	fohékeh	babini	mapuinára	pipináwu.
Father	bápa	áma	bába	bápa	niba-bára	amáni.
Mother	nána	ína	yáya	nina	ninésan	ináni.
Head	lung-góng'o	úlu	dopólo	.....	ulúnte	urúni.
Eyes	máta	warén	táko	máta	matára	ma-áni.
Nose	uling'o	nirung	ídung	írung	idónte	iríni.

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APPENDIX F.—*continued.*

ENGLISH.	GUNUNG TALU.	MENADU.	TERNATI.	SANG'IR.	SIRANG or CERAM.	SAPARÚA.
Hair	wóho	wúhuk	rambut	úta	uhúra	rhúwon.
Teeth	dang'éta	wáhang	gigi	ísi	gigíra	nióni.
Belly	mbong'a	po-ot	ho-ot	tiang	púmra	tehúni.
Hand	otóho	leng'an	tang'an	tákiar	tanánte	rimání.
Foot	oh-áto	háhe	káki	bisi	kakíra	ahíni.
Blood	dúhu	ráha	dára	dára	dárah	laláni.
Day (light)	dulúho	ndoh	modiri	éloh	pagíra	kai.
Night	hoi	weng'i	wang'i-lóbi	bása	mahónte	lamássi.
Sleep	méte-lóho	madákal	hótu	metiki	ákifet	imutára.
Dead	máti	máti	sóni	náti	máti ; hábis	imáta.
White	púti	kúlo	ubúan	mawíra	putíra	ipúti.
Black	itam	riram	îrang	mitung	meténa	iméte.
Good	baik	léhos	láha	mápia	páda-lóko	imai.
Bad	tra-baik	léwo	ási	daráki	manche-ére nága-ráta	hiáhia.
Fire	tólu	ápi	úkut	pútung	ápira	hahúlo.
Water	telóho	ráno	áki	áke	áyira	waélo.
Earth	húta	tána	káha	utána	búmite	umélo.
Stone	bátu	wátu	márih	bátu	batúra	hátuo.
Hog	boi	wáwi	sóho	wáwi	boíra	háhuo.
Bird	búrung	kóko	námot	mánuk-daródo	burúngte	mánuo.
Egg	putitor	átelu	nabóro	telor	telórte	terúri.
Fish	tóta	póngkor	neá-ot	kena	ján	iyáno.
Sun	mútu-hári	ndoh	máta-hári	éloh	máta-hári	ria-ma-áno.
Moon	uláno	leléhon	búlan	búlan	bulánte	huláno.
Stars	óli-pópo	tóto-tian	úna-bintan	butúing	bentángte	humário.
God	málai-káti	wálian	tuan-álah	máwu-álah	álah	álah.
Sit	ulóho	rumúma	tégó	káyan	matórán	ituo.
Eat	mong'a	kúman	óhot	kúmang	kamána	iyáni.

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APPENDIX G.

NUMERALS ACCORDING TO THE CHANDRA SANGKALA.

ONE.

Rúpa ..... form, shape, appearance, face of any thing.
Chandra .... moon at the 15th day, moon.
Sási ..... new moon, month of the year.
Nábi or nebe .. the navel, completion of the month.
Búmí ..... the earth, or piece of land.
Búda ..... ancient; original.
Rón or Gódong leaf of a tree.
Médi ..... abstraction, devotion.
Eku ..... tail of any thing.
Dára ..... large stars, planets.
Jalma or Janma mankind.
Eka ..... one.
Wák ..... the body.
Súta ..... child.
Siti ..... black earth, earth.
Awáni ..... courageous, hair of the body.
Wúlan ..... the moon, at the 14th day, full moon.
Yáta ..... then, forthwith, thereupon.
Tung'gal .... one.

TWO.

Nitra ..... the eye lids, the eye.
Chaksu ..... the inner corner of the eye.
Nayána ..... sight.
Sikára .... the palm of the hand.
Búja ..... the upper part of the arm near the shoulder.
Páksa ..... the jaw-bone.
Drésti or desti .. the eye-brow.
Háma ..... the outer corner of the eyes.
Lochána .... the lips.
Charána ..... the side of the cheek-bone.
Kerna ..... the ears.
Kerni ..... the inner part of the ear.
Anámba ..... the act of closing the hands in obeisance.
Talíng'an .... the lobe of the ear, the ear.
Máta ..... the eye, the pupil of the eye.
Tang'an ..... the hands, the arms.
Súku ..... the feet, or soles of the feet.
Lár ..... wings.
Dúi ..... two.
Lóro ..... two.

THREE.

Bahning .... fire (of a furnace).
Pawáka ..... fire (from a volcano).
Siking ..... fire (struck from a flint).
Guna ..... fire (from friction of wood).
Dahána ..... the fire which pervades every thing that has life, extensive fire, fire that has never been extinguished.
Tri-ningrána .. fire (of the work-room).
Uta ..... a leech.
Buja-lána .... alligator or crocodile.
Húti ..... worm of the earth.
Játa ..... flame of fire.
Wéda ..... fire or heat confined in a vessel, as in a cooking vessel.
Anála ..... the fire which giveth warmth to the heart, the fire of passion, the fire which giveth warmth to passion.
Gni ..... fire (to a match).
Utáwa ..... fire.
Kéa ..... great fire.
Léna ..... fire or flame of a lamp.
Puyíka ..... fire and ashes, mixed.
Tiga ..... three.
Uning'a ..... a torch.

FOUR.

Wédang ..... hot water.
Segára ..... the sea.
Kerti ..... well water.
Súchi ..... water after it is used.
Jaládri ..... water from a lake, or where fresh water mixes with the sea.
Hádi ..... mountain water, rare or pure water.

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Warna ..... colour.
Wéh ..... water which descends from a mountain.
Samúdra ..... sea water.
Jaládi ..... tank or pond water.
Ernáwa ..... spring water.
Toyádi ..... dew water.
Wahána ..... flood or quantity of water.
Waudádi .... juice from trees, as toddy, &c.
Sindu ..... milk.
Wári ..... cocoa nut-water, water.
Dik ..... glutinous sap taken from trees, as the Indian rubber, &c.
Tásik ..... sweat, applied to the sea on the coast.
Bányu ..... water.
Chatur ..... four.
Pápat ..... four.

FIVE.

Búta ..... a rasaksa or hobgoblin, also a lion.
Pandáwa .... the five sons of Pandu.
Táta ..... breath issuing from the nostrils.
Gáti ..... ditto mouth.
Wisáya ..... air produced as in bellows, &c.
Indri ..... air which refreshes or revives.
Astra ..... the air created by the passing of a missile weapon, or by the wielding of a sword.
Sára ..... the same, created near the point or edge of the weapon.
Marúta ..... air which conveys scents of any kind.
Pawána ..... strong wind.
Bána ..... hurricane, violent wind.
Margána .... favourable wind in one's course.
Sámi-rána .... the wind that checks perspiration.
Waráyang .... the point or edge of the wind which strikes any thing.
Pancha ..... five.
Báyu ..... wind that circulates in the human body.
Wisikan ..... whispering wind.
Gúling'an .... air circulating in a room.
Lima ..... five.

SIX.

Mangsa ..... season, the seasons, prey of a wild beast.
Sadrása ..... the six tastes, (sweet, sour, salt, bitter, pungent or aromatic, hot, as pepper).
Wináyang .... to range, following in order, (which is done according to the six notions of things).
Gána ..... silk worm, bee.
Ret-tu ..... the feeling or taste of any thing not pleasant, as pain in the leg, mixed good and bad.
Ang'gas ..... the trunk of a tree standing after its branches and leaves are decayed and fallen.
Sáyag ..... an inclining tree.
Karng'a ..... the sense of hearing.
Sanda ..... clear, light.
Sandi ..... plan, project, scheme, completed.
Búdia ..... disposition, inclination, ability.
Ka-nénam .... six.
Rása ..... taste.

SEVEN.

Ardi ..... mountains near the sea, mountains.
Parwáta ..... several mountains together.
Turángga .... a steed, horse.
Giri ..... mountain or great hill.
Réksi or resi .. a pandita, or holy or learned man.
Aksa ..... buffaloe.
Baksu ..... bull or cow.
Mandála .... a mountain which is rent or split.
Chála ..... a mountain which shows its shape, &c. clearly.
Hemáwan .... the summit of a mountain.
Gúra ..... cow, great noise.
Sapta ..... seven.
Pandita ..... a holy man.
Géngsiára .... the buzzing noise of flying insects.
Yamúni ..... the sound of a lover courting his mistress.
Kúda ..... horse.
Wiku ..... an instructor.
Pitu ..... seven.

EIGHT.

Nága ..... serpent.
Panágan ..... the dwelling of a snake, the skin which a snake has shed.

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Sarira ..... guana.
Básu ..... tekké.
Tánu ..... camelion.
Múrti ..... lizard.
Kunjára ..... place of confinement, prison.
Gájah ..... elephant.
Dipángga .... an elephant fully caparisoned.
Samádia .... an elephant prepared for being mounted.
Hasta ..... elephant.
Mang'gála .... an elephant with his tusks grown.
Diráda ..... an enraged or savage elephant.
Hestl ..... female elephant.
Matáng'ga .... a large elephant.
Bramána .... a pandita from Sabrang or opposite coast.
Liman ..... a tame elephant.
Kála ..... time.
Was, áwas .... a scorpion.
Ula..... a snake.

NINE.

Rudra..... a muddy hole.
Trústra ..... the hollow of a tube, a hollow in any thing.
Trústi..... the same.
Múka ..... the face, the mouth.
Gapúra ..... the gate or doorway of a palace.
Wiwára ..... a doorway, the opening of a case.
Diára ..... the gateway of a fort.
Drúna ..... doorway into a holy place, or place of misfortune.
Yútu ..... the eye of a needle, or the like.
Gátra ..... a small hole or cell in the earth, made by insects.
Gua ..... a cave.
Wadána ..... the front of a door.
Léng ..... all kinds of holes or hollow places.
Láwang ..... doors of every description
Sóng ..... a long passage underground.
Babáhan .... the hole made for the entrance of a thief.
Náwa ..... nine.

CYPHER.

Búma .. ... decayed grass, dried grass, hay.
Súnya ..... solitude, quiet.
Gegána ..... endless space, as between the earth and the sky, indefinite space.
Ng'ambára .... flight.
Widik widik .. that which is seen or heard but not known, as thunder.
Malétik ..... to fly off, drop off, any thing small which is knocked off from what is greater.
Sirna ..... gone, vanished.
Lang'it ..... that of which one has an idea but cannot see clearly, as the sky.
Kásia ..... the air, atmosphere.
Maláyewa .... to run off.
Windu ..... the period of revolving, a cycle.
Sakáta ..... a carriage.
Ilang ..... gone, lost, past.

EXAMPLE.

Búma,	netra,	gni,	bányu,	marúta,	sadrása,	ardi,	nága,	láwang,	lang'it.
Earth,	eyes,	fire,	water,	air,	taste,	hill,	snake,	doors,	sky.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0

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APPENDIX H.

TRANSLATION OF THE MÁNEK MÁYA.

CHAPTER I.

Before the heavens and earth were created, there existed *Sang yang Wisésa* (the all-powerful). This deity, remaining in the centre of the universe, inwardly and earnestly desired of the Almighty Ruler to grant a wish that he had. A dreadful conflict of the elements ensued, in the midst of which he heard a repetition of sounds, like the rapid striking of a bell. On looking up he saw a ball suspended over him, and on his laying hold of it, it separated into three parts: one part became the heavens and earth, another became the sun and moon, and the third was man, or *mánek máya*.

All having made obeisance to the *Sang yang Wisésa*, he addressed himself to *Mánek máya*, and said, "Hereafter thou shalt be called *Sang yang* "*Gúru;* and placing entire confidence in thee, I give up the earth and "all that is attached to it, to be used and disposed of according to thy "will and pleasure." Having spoken thus, *Sang yang Wisésa* vanished.

The earth being in great distress, unfixed and liable to be driven to and fro by every gust of wind, anxiously petitioned of *Sang yang Wisésa* that its situation and condition in the universe might be fixed. The sun, moon, and sky, deeply affected with the distress in which the earth was, all came to lend their assistance; a violent hurricane at the same time arose, and, by their united influence, the earth became still and fixed, the contending waters then receiving their saltness and disposition to turbulence. The continual presence of the sun and moon occasioned perpetual day. *Sang yang Gúru*, empowered by the deity, then directed that those two luminaries should show themselves alternately, relieving each other by turns; the sun dispensing light and heat during the day, and at the close thereof entering into the bosom of fire; the moon continuing to light the earth by night, for fifteen days in a month, and descending in due season into the bosom of the waters.

At the request of *Sang yang Gúru*, the deity granted that he should have nine male and five female children born unto him, without the assistan ce of a mother.

One of the sons, called *Mahadéwa*, being furnished with one of the daughters, called *Mahadéwi*, as a wife, was sent to preside in the east. He was, moreover, provided with a fort and palace of silver, a sea of cocoanut milk, and a white *pári* bird. His letters were *ha, na, cha, ra*, and *ka*, (the five first letters of the Javan alphabet), and his day, *légi* (which signifies sweet).

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The second son, *Sang yang Sámbu*, was sent to preside in the south: the daughter allotted to him for a consort was *Sangyána*. His *kráton* was of copper; his bird was a *bhramána* kite; his sea was of blood; his letters were *da, ta, sa, wa,* and *la;* his day *páhing*.

The third son, *Sang yang Kamajáya* (the most beautiful), was sent to preside in the west: the daughter allotted to him for a wife was *Dewi Ratéh* (which signifies the most beautiful female). His *kráton* was of gold; his sea was of honey; his bird was a *kapádong*, or yellow minor; his letters were *pa, da, ja, ya,* and *nia;* his day was *pon*.

The fourth son, *Sang yang Wísnu*, was sent to preside in the north: the daughter allotted to him for a wife was *Sri*. His day was *wágé;* his *kráton* was of iron; his sea was indigo; his bird was *gága*, or crow; his letters were *ma, ga, ba, ta,* and *nya*.

The fifth son, *Sang yang Báyu*, was appointed to preside over the centre of the earth: the daughter allotted for his wife was *Dewi Súmi*. His *kráton* was of bell-metal; his day was *klíwon;* his letters were *ga, lang, nia, ma, ma, la, pa, ya,* and *a;* his sea was of hot water; his bird was a *gogek*.

The four remaining sons were appointed to preside in the north-east, north-west, south-west, and south-east quarters, respectively.

The god of the north-east was *Sang yang Pretanjála*, and the letter attached to him was named *b'ya*.

The god of the south-east was *Sang yang Kwéra*, and the letter attached to him was named *narasúnya*.

The god of the south-west was *Sang yang Mahayákti*, and the letter attached to him was named *gandéa*.

The god of the north-west was *Sang yang Séwa*, and the letter attached to him was named *norwíti*.

These arrangements being made, *Sang yang Gúru* went under the earth to put things to rights there. The earth consisted of seven regions, one under the other, like so many folds. In the first region he appointed the goddess *Déwi Pratiwi* to preside; in the second region, a god named *Sang yany Kusíka;* in the third region, a god named *Sang yang Gáng'gà;* in the fourth region, a god named *Sang yang Sindúla;* in the fifth, *Sang yang Dasampálan;* in the sixth, a god named *Sang yang Manihára;* in the seventh region, a god named *Sang yang Anta Boga*, and who was head over all the others.

Then *Sang yang Gúru* returning from under the earth, and observing that it was depressed towards the west, and elevated towards the east, summoned all the deities to a consultation respecting what might be the cause of this inclination. The deity of the west said that it was in consequence of a large mountain that was towards the west, and whose weight bore down the earth in that quarter. *Sang yang Gúru* then directed that the mountain should be removed from the west and placed in the east, so as to preserve the earth in due balance. All the deities were accordingly forthwith dispatched to effect the same.

Sang yang Gúru, at the same time, got *Sang yang Wisésa* to create him

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a Vulcan or *Empu*, whose name was *Ramádi*. Of this Vulcan, his mouth served to supply fire, his right and left hands served respectively to hold and beat his work, while his knee answered the purpose of an anvil.

CHAPTER II.

Besides *Sang yang Gúru*, *Sang yang Wisésa* created another degree of mankind, viz.: *Sang yang Derma Jáka*, who, having humbled himself before *Wisésa*, petitioned him to bestow on him a son, which was granted, and his son's name was *Chátur Kanáka*.

Chátur Kanáka having previously done penance, petitioned *Wisésa* to grant him a son, which he did, and his son's name was *Sang yang Kanekapútra*. This *Kanekapútra*, who was superior in abilities to all the other created beings, being grown up, was sent by his father to do penance in the ocean, who gave him at the same time a precious stone, called *rétna dumíla*, fraught with the wonderful power of rendering its possessor insensible to hunger, cold, thirst, &c. and which completely fortified him against the effects of water, fire, &c. *Chátur Kanáka* also instructed his son to remain quiet and silent during his penance.

CHAPTER III.

The deities who were sent to remove the heavy mountain which weighed down the west end of the earth, were so fatigued with the labour it cost them, that they were all very thirsty. In looking out for wherewithal to quench their thirst, they discovered issuing from the side of the mountain a clear stream, of which they all drank and died shortly after, the water being impregnated with poison.

Sang yang Gúru himself having come to the mountain, and being also very thirsty, drank from the poisonous stream: perceiving, however, in time that the water was not good, he immediately vomited it, and so saved his life. The only bad effects of it was a blackness which remained about his throat, and from which he received the appellation of *Níla Kánta*. The water was called *chála kúta*, which signifies the most potent poison.

On a further search, *Sang yang Gúru* discovered another stream issuing from the summit of the mountain, and of which the water was of an aromatic and excellent quality. The name of this water was *kamandálu*, and was so called from its having the property of bringing the dead to life.

Instructed by *Wisésa*, *Sang yang Gúru* drank of the life-giving water, and at the same time carried with him some of it, in order to give it to those deities who had died in consequence of their having drunk of the death-giving stream. On the water being applied to their lips they all immediately revived.

What remained of the mountain on removing it from the west to the east formed the hill called *Tempaka* (at *Chiríngin*, in Bantam).

In the course of the conveyance of the mountain towards the east, a piece of it dropt off, and became the large mountain in Bantam, called

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Gúnung Kárang. Other pieces falling off became the mountains *Hala Húlu*, near *Pajajáran*, *Gúnung Géde*, the mountain called *Chermdi* (which is in *Cheríbon*), and the *Gúnung Agung*, (which is in *Tegál*).

The fragments which continued to fall all the way along, on either side of the large mountain, during its conveyance from the west to the east, formed the two ranges of hills stretching along the south and north coasts, and known by the name of *Gúnung Kéndang*.

Two large pieces fell off and formed the Brothers, called *Sindóro* and *Sindári*, or *Súmbing*. The deities employed in transporting the mountain stopped to rest themselves in that part of the country afterwards known by the name of *Kedú*; and the perspiration which then ran off their bodies was the cause of that country being so well supplied with water.

These deities seeing *Ramádi* above in the clouds, at his ease compared with them who were working so hard, asked how he came to be there so much at his ease? He replied, that he was ordered by *Sang yang Gúru* to remain there and work for the gods. High words, and at last a battle, ensued, in which all the deities were defeated. So great was the power of *Ramádi*, whose mouth sent forth flame, and whose breath was fatal to those exposed to its baneful influence.

Sang yang Gúru interposed his authority, and having appeased the combatants, the deities returned to the work of carrying the mountain. More pieces of the mountain dropped, and formed the mountains *Merápi* and *Merbábu*, into which the volcanic fire they have ever since contained was then breathed from the nostrils of the fiery vulcan *Ramádi*.

Ramádi then asked *Wisésa* to give him a son, which was granted, and his son's name was *Bráma Kadáli*. *Bráma Kadáli* resembled his father in every respect, and was equally powerful and formidable.

Other pieces of the mountain dropt, and formed the mountains *Láwu*, *Wílis*, *Antang*, and *Klut*, besides a number of small hills. What remained of the mountain when it had reached the east, was set down and formed the *Gúnung Semíru* (which is in the country now called *Proboling'go*), the height of which reached the sky.

Having removed the mountain from the west to the east end of the island, the several deities presented themselves before *Sang yang Gúru*, who then ordered them to take *téja*-grained wood, earth, and stones, for the purpose of making him a heaven of the most transcendant beauty, it being his intention to vie with the Almighty himself; and in order that he might be on an equality with the Almighty, he gave orders for the construction of a *báli márchu kúnda*, which should resemble the *áras* of the most divine; and like unto the *Súrga Púrdos* he made the *Surga Loka*. To resemble the *Yamáni* he formed a *káwah*; corresponding to the *Wailul*, or hell of perishing cold, he made *Endut Blagdába*, or the place of filth; similar to the bridge *Seratal mastakim* he made the bridge *Ogalágil*. He at the same time made himself as many *jawátas* as the Almighty himself had *malaikat* (or male angels), also 100,001 *widadáris* (or female angels), the odd one being *Batári Ráteh*. *Sang yang Gúru* further provided himself with a consort, whose name was *Batári Uma*.

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All this having been accomplished, the *Jawátas* and *Widadáris* assembled under the *báli márchu kúndo*, and began to drink of the *térta komandálu*, or invigorating beverage, which soon made them quite happy.

While they were still quaffing, *Rénbu Chálung*, one of the *Rasáksa* (who are the dregs of creation) having observed them, descended from above and joined the party. When one of the *Jawátas*, called *Chándra*, perceived this, he made a motion to *Wísnu* to apprize him of it. Before therefore the beverage, which the *rasáksa* had applied to his lips, had time to descend into his stomach, *Wísnu* shot an arrow into his throat and stopped his passage. The head only of the *Rasáksa* (being all that experienced the effects of its immortalizing quality) re-ascended, and became the devourer of the sun and moon (observable at eclipses); the whole of the rest of the body perished. Hence originates the great noise and clamour which is always made on an eclipse of the sun or moon, the object of those who make it being to drive away the animal which on those occasions attacks the luminaries, and thereby produces what are termed eclipses. * * * * * * *

(The scene which follows is too indelicate to be inserted).

Sang yang Gúru immediately dispatched all the deities to destroy it, and to prevent its growing into any thing gross or unnatural.

The deities accordingly went forth and commenced their attack, darting all their missile weapons at it. Instead, however, of suffering from the effects of their weapons, it only increased in size, and forthwith began to assume a shape, of which the weapons called *cháhra deksána* formed the head, those called *lampang mang'gala* formed the two shoulders, and those called *gáda* the rest of the body. The former being now complete, and of a very terrific appearance, all the deities were greatly afraid and ran away from *Sang yang Kála*, the name of the monster, as it continued to pursue them. The deities fled to *Sang yang Gúru* for protection and assistance, informing him of what had happened, and telling him, at the same time, that the *Sang yang Kála* was advancing in order to inquire and find out who was his father.

The *Rasáksa* immediately made his appearance, having eyes like the blazing sun, hair long, lank, and clotted with filth and dirt, his body covered all over with hair like a wild beast, and large tusks sticking out of his jaws.

Thus disfigured, he stood before *Sang yang Gúru*, and asked him who he was? The latter replied, that he was a powerful being and the ruler of many deities. "If that be the case," said *Sang yang Kála*, "then "must thou be able to tell me who my father was?" *Gúru* then said, "I know thy father, and will inform thee who and where he is, provided "you comply with what I shall require of thee."

Sang yang Kála assented, and then inquired what it was that *Gúru* wished him to do. "That," said *Gúru*, "I will point out to you, and if "you fail to do it, I will instantly devour you. You must, in the first "place, however, make obeisance to me." While the *Rasáksa* was in the act of prostrating himself before *Gúru*, the latter plucked two hairs from

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his head: upon which the former opening wide his mouth, *Gúru* thrust his hand into it, and wrenched out his tusks and the poison which was at their roots. The poison he deposited in a small vessel, and of the tusks he formed two weapons, called *limpung* and *neng'gála*, so heavy that it required seven hundred men to lift one of them.

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Sang yang Gúru then confirmed to the *Rasáksa* the name of *Sang yang Kála:* after which, becoming greatly enraged with his consort, he seized and held her by the toe, upon which she began to bellow, and was immediately transformed into a female monster, receiving the name of *Dúrga*. He then gave her to *Sang yang Kála* for a consort, and allotted them for a place of residence the island called *Núsa Kambángan*, where they continued to live very happily.

Sang yang Gúru then ordered the deities, *Bráma* and *Wísnu*, to go and destroy the forty children of *Rémbu Chálung*, the devourer of the sun and moon. They accordingly destroyed all the children except one, named *Putút Jantáka*, whose severe penance alone saved him.

After this *Gúru* saw in his sleep an appearance like a rainbow, and which seemed to be portentous of some great event. *Sang yang Támban* being sent by *Gúru* to make inquiries respecting the nature and meaning of this sign, which, from its being in the water, he termed *súba síta*, *Támban* went under the water, and saw there a devotee, who, notwithstanding his situation, was quite unwet from the water, and undergoing the penance of remaining perfectly still and quiet.

Gúru being informed of this, and feeling jealous of what the devotee might gain by his penance, became very desirous of causing him to break his vow: he accordingly sent a number of *Dewátas* and *Widadáris* to tempt the hermit. On their reaching the spot where the latter was, they were not asked to sit down, and were completely disregarded by the hermit. *Bráma*, who was one of those sent, then observed to the hermit, that such haughty and neglectful conduct was highly unbecoming, and that if it proceeded from ignorance, on his part, of the rank of the persons sent to him, he begged to inform him that they were the messengers of the Great Deity, and ought to be attended to.

These words making no kind of impression on the hermit, who continued obdurately silent, the deity, *Sang yang Séwa*, then advanced, and addressing himself to the hermit, spoke thus: "Holy hermit, be not "offended with what *Bráma* has just said to thee. I come not to dis-"turb or annoy you, but merely to apply to you for the means of curing "the sickness of *Batári Uma*, who has been taken very ill." Neither this, nor any other of the devices which the rest of the deities successively had recourse to, succeeded in making the hermit break his silence. The deities, however, being determined to do all in their power to make the hermit break his vow of uninterrupted silence, *Sang yang Sámbu* took a vessel of water and emptied it upon him, while others, at the same time, began to belabour him with sticks. Notwithstanding all this, the hermit persevered unshaken in his resolution of maintaining

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a dead silence. Seeing this, *Sang yang Báyu* came up and began to batter his head with stones, which, instead of doing any injury to that usually tender part, were only broken themselves into many pieces. *Bráma* had then recourse to fire, which he heaped about the hermit, so that he was, for a considerable time, entirely concealed from the view, by the vast flames thereof, and supposed to be completely destroyed. When the fire had done burning, however, the hermit was observed to continue in the same situation as before, uninjured by the destructive element, and, like gold, only the more pure and beautiful.

Astonished and exasperated at all this, the deities then began to assail the hermit with all their various weapons, viz. 1. *chákra;* 2. *kónta;* 3. *hardaddli;* 4. *neng'gála;* 5. *pardtu;* 6. *límpung;* 7. *pasopáti*, and 8. *trisúla*. The body of the hermit proved invulnerable. The deities then, quite confounded and ashamed of their failure, returned to *Gúru*, and informed him of all that had been done.

Sang yang Gúru then went himself to the hermit, and asked him what it was he wished to obtain by his penance, telling him at the same time, that if he was desirous of having beautiful and accomplished virgins, he had plenty at his service. Receiving no reply, *Sang yang Gúru* then said to him, "I know what the object of this penance is, and I should possess "very limited power if I did not know every wish of thy heart. Thou "art ambitious of supplanting me in the power and rule which I hold in "heaven; but thou deceivest thyself. Wert thou to do penance for one "thousand years, while I should continue to enjoy myself in a series of "uninterrupted pleasures, thou wouldst never be able to come near to me "in power or glory; for after *Téja* or *Cháya* (which signifies light or "brightness), *Búmi* (the earth), and *Lángit* (the sky), I stand the next "eldest work of creation; and the power superior to these just men-"tioned is *Sang yang Wisésa*, who is the oldest and greatest of all." Upon this the hermit could contain himself no longer, but, bursting into laughter, said, "Thou art wrong, and what thou hast said of *Sang yang* "*Wisésa*, is true of the Almighty himself only, whose displeasure thou "hast consequently incurred by what thou hast just stated. Know that "I am *Sang yang Kanekapútra*; and to prove to thee that I know better "than to believe what thou hast said of *Sang yang Wisésa*, I would only "ask thee who could have been the cause of those sounds which were "heard by *Wisésa* before the heavens and earth were. Without doubt "they were occasioned by a power older and greater than him."

On this *Gúru* was silenced, and had not a word to say. He then entreated *Kanekapútra* to tell him who this eldest and most powerful being was, proposing, at the same time, that he should go with him, and become joint ruler over the deities in heaven. "These sounds," answered *Sang yang Kanekapútra*, "were the voice of the Almighty, signifying his will "that there should be created things of an opposite nature to each other, "as male and female, above and below, father and mother, beautiful and "ugly, &c. &c.—every thing created having its opposite, except thee and "me, who are one and the same."

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Sang yang Kanekapútra and *Sang yang Gúru* then ascended to heaven, and seated themselves on the *Báli márchu kúnda*. After they had remained there for some time, *Sang yang Gúru* perceiving a case belonging to *Sang yang Kanekapútra*, to remain constantly shut, inquired of him the cause thereof, and was told by him that it contained the most precious of all precious stones, which had the wonderful power of making the possessor of it feel neither hunger, cold, nor thirst, &c. and which fortified him against the effects of water, fire, &c.

When *Sang yang Gúru* heard this, he requested to have the stone; but *Kanekapútra* told him it was of so subtile a nature, that it would pass through the hands of innumerable people, and would never remain with any one but him destined to be the possessor of it. *Sang yang Gúru* asked *Kanekaptúra* to part with the stone, and give all the other deities an opportunity of getting it, provided it should not remain with him. *Kanekaptúra* then threw up the precious stone, and *Gúru* caught hold of it. It not only passed through his hands, but also through the hands of all the deities who successively caught and attempted to retain it. The precious stone then falling down upon the first region of the earth, where presides the deity *Prativi*, dropped successively through all the others, without the presiding deities *Bagáwan Kusíka*, *Sang yang Gáng'ga*, *Sindúla*, *Drampólan*, and *Manik Kóga*, being able to retain hold of it, till, coming to the last region, *Anta Bógo*, the presiding deity, who was in shape like a dragon, opened his mouth and swallowed it.

Sang yang Gúru then asked *Sang yang Kanekapútra* what he should do to become possessed of the precious stone? *Kanekapútra* replied, he must go and search for it as far as even the seventh region of the earth. *Sang yang Gúru* approved of this, but at the same time wished that *Kanekapútra* should go himself, accompanied by all the deities. *Kanekapútra* accordingly set off, and on his arrival at the different regions, was successively told by the presiding deities, that the *retna dumíla* had slipt through their hands, and had passed down into the seventh and lowest region. When he came there, he and all the deities who accompanied him, were kindly received by *Anta Bógo*. *Kanekapútra* then told *Anta Bógo* that *Gúru* was desirous of having the precious stone, and would be greatly obliged by his giving it up to him. *Anta Bógo* declined compliance, and immediately his body became extended so as to encircle the whole of his region. It is further reported that he had ninety nostrils. *Kanekapútra* perceiving that *Anta Bógo* was making a display of the power he possessed, gave orders for all the deities to enter his body by his various nostrils, and to make search for the vessel called *chúpu mánek astagíni*, in which the *rétna dumíla* was deposited.

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Wisésa seeing what had taken place, reprimanded the parties concerned for their folly and mistake, and at the same time ordered that they should all forthwith depart out of the body of *Anta Bógo*. He next desired that the body of *Anta Bógo* should be carried away by the deities, in the same

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manner in which they had formerly carried the mountain. On their way with it to *Sang yang Gúru*, the body decreased gradually in size, till it vanished entirely.

Kanekapútra was highly incensed against *Anta Bógo* for his provoking conduct, and was just going to complain of it to *Sang yang Gúru*, when, to his surprise, he perceived *Anta Bógo* himself under the seat of *Sang yang Gúru*.

Sang yang Gúru seeing *Kanekaptúra's* displeasure increase, he requested he would not be offended with *Anta Bógo*, as his conduct was merely intended for a little merriment. *Sang yang Gúru* then desired *Anta Bógo* to deliver up the *chúpu mánek astagína*, which he accordingly did.

Sang yang Gúru not being able himself to open the *chúpu*, handed it over to *Kanekapútra;* but neither he nor any of the other deities, who successively attempted to open it, could succeed. *Anta Bógo* was then applied to: but he said, that so long as he had had the *chúpu*, it opened and shut of itself, without his knowing how. Holding up the *chúpu*, *Sang yang Gúru* then threw it down with great violence; upon which it broke in pieces, and vanished from the sight. The *chúpu* and the *rétna dumíla* which it contained then became, the former a *Báli simarakáta*, the latter a virgin, to whom *Sang yang Gúru* gave the name of *Tesna-Wáti*. and who continued to remain in the *Báli simarakáta* till she grew up. *Sang yang Gúru* afterwards taking a fancy to this virgin, wished to make her his wife. She consented, on condition of his giving her such proof as she required of his divinity and power, and that was by his supplying her with three things, viz.: 1. A suit of elegant apparel, which would last her for ever without being in the least tarnished; 2. A meal which would cause her never to feel hunger more; 3. A musical instrument called *gatóplak*, of the most melodious sound. All these *Sang yang Gúru* promised to get for her on her agreeing to prove faithful to him.

In furtherance of his intentions, he ordered the deity *Chítra lága* to go to *Núsa Kambángan* and call *Sang yang Kála*. When *Sang yang Kála* came, *Sang yang Gúru* desired him to bring his son, called *Kála Gamárang*, in order that he might dispatch him in search of the three things required by the virgin, *Tesna Wáti*.

To induce *Kála Gamárang* to exert himself in procuring them, *Sang yang Gúru* told him, that if he should be successful, he would be rewarded by the privilege of coming to heaven whenever he chose, without molestation from the other deities.

Kála Gamárang then took leave, bellowing and making a great noise, so as to alarm and bring out all the deities, whom, as they stood in his way, he insulted and disgraced by striking some, and spitting in the faces of and treading upon others. Highly indignant at such base treatment, the deities, one and all, pronounced a curse upon him, that he should never be allowed to defile heaven with his presence, and that he should be transformed into a wild beast.

Kála Gamárang then proceeded to a place called *Táman Banjáran Sári*,

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where he saw *Dévi Sri* (the wife of *Wísnu*) bathing in the azure main, (or *Segára Nila*). Enamoured by the enchanting display of the naked beauties of that lovely female, his whole soul was fired with such an irresistible desire, and so rivetted and attracted was he, that he unconsciously rushed forward towards her, when she, greatly terrified, and leaving all her clothes behind, ran off with all speed to her husband. *Kála Gamárang* pursued the lovely fugitive till she reached the abode of her husband *Wísnu*, and being informed on inquiry of him that she was his wife, *Kála Gamárang* demanded her of him. *Wísnu* consented to let him have her, provided she herself would consent. The question being put to her she refused to go to *Kála Gamárang*, who then said that her not liking to come to him was all a pretence, and nothing more than one of those tricks which the female sex are constantly in the habit of practising. On *Kála Gamárang's* attempting to carry her away by force, *Wísnu* whispered her to run off to *Mendang Kamúlan*, and enter and take refuge in the body of the king's wife, called *Dérma Nastíta*. *Wísnu* at the same time disappeared. *Kála Gamárang* followed, and continued to pursue her over hill and dale, and through jungle and forest, till becoming tired and exhausted, she was on the point of being overtaken, when *Wísnu*, causing his weapon to be changed into the root end of a rattan, it got entangled about the legs of *Kála Gamárang*, and threw him down. Notwithstanding that, however, *Kála Gamárang* still attempted to pursue her, when she, aware of the advantage she then had over him, cursed him, and pronounced him to be a hog, which he immediately became. *Kála* then attempted to stand upright, but he could not. Resolved, however, not to desist from the attempt to obtain the object of his desire, he said within himself, that he would follow and pursue her into whatever recess she might betake herself. Coming to a river, he saw the image of what he now was.

When *Sri* reached *Méndang Kamúlan* she entered the body of *Dérma Nastíti's* wife, who was most beautiful. *Wísna* at the same time went into the body of the king himself, and assuming the title of *Prábu mang ugukúhan*, became the first king of Java. *Sang yang Gúru* being informed of the fate of his messenger, *Kála Gamárang*, sent again to the virgin, *Trésna-Wáti*, to entreat her to become his. This, however, she positively refused, on any other terms than those she had already made known to him. Upon this, *Sang yang Gúru* began to embrace her. The resistance she made, joined to the rough and violent manner in which he proceeded, caused her to expire in his arms. He then sent for *Kanekapútra* to carry her body to *Méndang Kamúlan*, and there bury it in the wood, called *Kéntring Kendayána*, which he ordered to be previously put in order for its reception.

The body being buried there, from its head sprung up a cocoa-nut tree, * * *. From the hands grew up plantain trees, from the teeth Indian corn, from other parts *pari*, &c. &c. The *pari* was guarded by * * * * * and over these three was placed a head called *Ráden Jáka*.

Sang yang Pretanjála, the deity of the north-east, anxious to know

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where *Wísnu* was, ascended into the air, and having looked down and seen some fine rice growing, he immediately descended in the shape of a bird, and began to devour it. *Ráden Jáka* perceiving this, threw a stone at the bird and frightened it away.

Kála Gamárang (the hog) having ascertained where *Sri* was deposited, went to the wood *Kéntring Kendoyána*, and began to eat of what grew there. When *Wísnu* saw this, he changed his weapon from the root end of a bambu into that of pointed bambu stakes, which being trod upon by the hog, caused blood to issue. * * * *.

The birds which came to eat the *pari*, and which were frightened away by those who guarded it, flew up into a tree, which, from the retreat it afforded to the birds, received the name of *Arén* (*Lirénan*, signifying a place of refuge). *Ráden Jáka Púring* then ordered the protectors of the *pári* to make a flight of steps up the tree, and to lop off the branches. In doing this, the juice which issued from the tree being tasted, was found to be sweet and capable of making sugar, which was then first discovered.

Some of the juice of the tree being carried and presented to *Wísnu*, was ordered by him to be taken to *Sang' yang Gúru* by *Kanekapútra*.

On *Kanekapútra's* opening the hollow bambu in which it was contained, previously to presenting it to *Sang yang Gúru*, the fermented liquor flew up into his face, and caused him, when he tasted it, to put out and smack his lips with pleasure and satisfaction. *Sang yang Gúru* then ridiculed him for his simplicity, and pronouncing in ironical terms his opinion thereof, the words were irrevocable, and *Kanekapútra* then had his lips turned up, his hinder parts pointed and projected, a gruff voice and a pot-belly.

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Of the children of *Pútut Jantáka*, the first was in form like a white rat and about the size of a dog, and was named *Tíkus Jenánda:* he had an innumerable host of followers. The second was in shape like a hog, and was named *Demálung:* he also had thousands of followers. The third was in shape like *Kutíla*, and had likewise many followers. The fourth was like a buffalo, and was called *Maisa Dánu*. The fifth and sixth were *Kála Sering'gi* and *Kála Músti*, and resembled the male and female *bánténg*, or wild bull and cow. The next was *Ujang*, and was in shape like a *kídang*, or small deer. The next, *Kirandé*, was like a stag. The next, were like sea and land tortoises.

All were greatly distressed for want of food, and annoyed their parent by constant craving for it. The father then told them to go to *Méndang Kamúlan*, where they would find all sorts of produce; enjoining them, however, to take nothing without first asking for it. The children, one and all, immediately answered in an assenting voice, and forthwith repaired to *Méndang Kamúlan*, where they arrived in the middle of the night, and being very hungry began to help themselves to what they saw before them, without leave or ceremony. The persons who guarded the *pari* (*júru sáwah*) heard the noise they made, and were at a loss to know what it was. At last one of them came out with a torch in one hand, and a

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large knife in the other. When the son that was like a hog saw him, he ran towards him to attack him, and received a cut in the head, which, as he was invulnerable did him no harm. When the *júru sáwah* found that he could not cut the hog, he immediately assembled all his fellows, who commenced an attack upon the hog, and whose numerous torches made the night as light as the day. Unable, however, to hurt him, they went with *Ráden Jáka Púring* to report to *Prábu Méndang Kamúlan* what had happened. The king then gave orders for all his people to go with whatever weapons they could muster, and use their utmost endeavours to kill the animals which had got amongst and were destroying the various plants. With the king at their head, all the people who could be assembled went forth to destroy the noxious animals. When the latter saw the host approaching, they made a vigorous charge and dispersed the enemy, who were unable to make any impression on their invulnerable bodies, but received themselves many wounds in various parts of the body. The king then recollecting something prophetic of the event, instantly retreated with all his people, pursued by the victorious animals to a considerable distance.

The king then dispatched his younger brother, the *Júru Sáwah Ráden Jáka Púring*, to his old friend at *Méndang Agung*, who was called *Andong Dadápan*, and also to *Ké Géde Pengúkir*, who was along with the former, to solicit their assistance in extirpating the wild animals, which had, as they must well know, overcome the king and all his people.

Andong Dadápan and *Ké Gedé Pengúkir* were found sitting. Another, named *Ráden Séngkan*, then came up, as also *Ráden Jáka Púring* himself, who kissed the feet of the two first mentioned, having his own feet kissed in turn by *Ráden Séngken*.

Ráden Jáka Púring then began to inform them of all that had taken place; but *Andong Dadápan* told him there was no occasion to proceed, as, from his divine power, he was perfectly acquainted with the circumstances.

Andang Dadápan and *Ké Gedé Pengúkir* signified to their respective sons, that they wished them to call their warriors, whose names were *Wáyu yang* and *Chándra Máwa*. The first, who belonged to *Andang Dadápan*, was black, short, stout, round-shouldered, pot-bellied, with a short neck, large ears, whence exuded a waxy substance, red eyes, a projecting forehead, a snub nose, with long hair hanging over his forehead. The second, who belonged to *Ké Gedé Pengúkir*, was short, of an awkward appearance, having a long neck and a small head.

When those two extraordinary persons made their appearance, their masters placed them under the orders of *Jáka Púring*, and at the same time furnished him with a short spear and a stick, instructing him, when he unsheathed the former, to keep it always pointed towards the ground. *Ráden Turúnan* and *Séngkan*, which were the names of the sons of the two warriors, also presented *Jáka Púring* with a bambu cane, with which they instructed him to beat violently, when he should be in need of their assistance, promising that they would immediately be with him.

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Jáka Púring then returned to the king of *Méndang Kemúlan*, and presented to him the two warriors, &c. The king then ordered all his people to prepare for an attack upon the wild beasts, which was not attended with any better success than before.

The two warriors, who had remained behind drinking, the one cocoa-nut water, and the other rice water, being perceived by the queen (*Déwi Dérma Nastíti*), were reprimanded by her for skulking, while all the others were engaged in fight, and were accordingly recommended by her, in the event of their not choosing to bestir themselves, to return whence they came.

Ashamed of themselves, the two warriors began to weep, and having entreated her forgiveness, they repaired with the rapidity of lightning to the scene of action. When they reached it, *Wáyu yang* had himself washed with rice water, and the dirt which was scraped off his body was formed into a *black dog*, with a streak of white extending from the tip of his nose along the ridge of his back, to the extreme point of his tail. This dog was called *B'lang Wáyung yang*. *Chándra Máwa* having had his body cleaned with cocoa-nut water, the dirt which was got off it became a *white cat*, with a corresponding black streak from the tip of its nose to the end of its tail.

This wonderful dog and cat were then directed to go and attack these destructive animals. Commencing with the hog, the dog, after having dispatched him and all the more fierce and strong animals, killed the monkeys, and others which he could not follow up the trees they ascended, by the powerful sound of his voice alone; while the cat busied herself in putting an end to the rats, and such other animals as she was peculiarly calculated to destroy.

Kalamúkti and *Kála Seréng'gi*, distressed and enraged on account of the death of their brothers (the noxious animals), who had thus been exterminated, petitioned their father, *Pútut Jantáka*, to permit them to go and revenge themselves on the authors of such a dire calamity. This being granted, these powerful personages, whose bones were as hard as iron, their skin like copper, sinews like wire, hair like needles, eyes like balls of fire, feet like steel, &c. went forth, and in the strength of their rage made a road for themselves, by tearing up trees by the roots, and removing every other obstacle which stood in their way.

The two *Kálas* attacked them with such fury, that the warriors flew up into the air, and then darting down, carried off the almost dead dog and cat, which they then put down again in a place of safety at some distance, where they washed their bodies with cocoa-nut and rice water, and rubbed them with bambu leaves. In shaking themselves to dry their skins, a number of hairs fell out of both dog and cat, and became respectively so many more animals of the same species.

All of the dogs and cats thus produced commenced an attack upon the *Kála*, but without being able to make any impression on them. Compared to them, they were only like so many ants by the side of the mountain *Merápi*.

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Ráden Jáka Púring perceiving that the dogs and cats were no match for the *Kálas*, immediately began to beat with the *bámbu* which was given him to use in times of distress. *Ráden Séngkan* and *Turúman* forthwith made their appearance. Being armed each with a rattan, seven cubits in length, and of a most exquisite polish, they beat the *Kálas* till they were nearly dead. *Wáyu yang* and *Chándra Máwa* then secured the two *Kálas* with ropes, and tied them to a tree.

On recovering from the miserable state into which they had been beaten, the two *Kálas* began to lament this unhappy fate. Their father, *Pútut Jantáka*, hearing their cries, determined to attack the enemy himself. Proceeding with *Ujong Randi*, he found on his way a large square stone, measuring ten fathoms: throwing this stone high up in the air, and placing himself under it, so as to receive it upon his head, the stone, instead of breaking his head, was itself broken into several pieces.

At this mighty deed he became transformed into a large and frightful monster. In this new shape he attacked the enemy, who being dreadfully alarmed at this horrid appearance, betook themselves for protection to their master the king.

Ráden Jáka Púring then coming out and pointing his unsheathed spear towards the ground, it immediately sent forth a large snake, in size like a tall tree, and whose poisonous breath was like the smoke of a crater. This snake was a species of the *sáwah* kind.

On *Pútut Jentáka's* reaching the royal presence, he found that the king no longer appeared in his former and assumed character, but had returned to that of himself, viz. *Wísnu*. *Jentáka* was so much confounded and alarmed at this unexpected and wonderful event, that he was greatly terrified, and ran away to hide himself among the scarecrows in the rice fields. The king pursued him for a short distance, and then returned with all his people. On their way back one of the *jèru sáwahs*, called *Kiai Túeh*, began to boast of *Jentáka* having run away from him, and the ludicrous manner in which he spoke of *Jentáka* occasioned great merriment among the party. While holding forth in his own praise, and in disparagement of *Jentáka*, he happened to come against the scarecrow where *Jentáka* was, upon which *Jentáka* immediately shewing himself, put on such a horrible look as quite petrified *Kiai Túeh*, and made him drop apparently dead with fear. The king being informed of this then came up, when *Kiai Túeh* seeing the king, and being no longer afraid of *Jentáka*, got up, and walked off. This circumstance occasioned all the people to laugh very heartily.

On the king's approaching *Jentáka*, the latter addressed him thus: "I beg your pardon for what has happened. I have no wish or intention "to be your enemy: on the contrary, I am ready to become your humble "slave, and to do whatever you command me." The king accepted his proffered friendship and services, and told *Jentáka* that he would dispose of him as follows, viz. that he should reside under *lúmbungs* (or granaries), and live upon such quantities of rice as should exceed that which the owner calculated upon having. That he, and all his family and posterity,

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should also inhabit the troughs in which rice is beaten out, and the fire-places of kitchens, also the front courts of houses, of the highways, and dunghills, &c.

The king then commanded that all persons, after beating out rice, or after washing it in the river, or after boiling it, should leave a small quantity, as food for *Jentáka* and his family.

The snake of the *sáwah* species, above spoken of, having gone over all the cultivated grounds which had been destroyed by the wild and noxious animals, and caused them all to be restored to their former state, extended itself along the ridges of the rice fields and died. The king hearing this was greatly distressed, and on approaching to the place where the snake had expired, instead of its dead body he beheld a beautiful virgin, elegantly dressed out in maiden attire. The king was struck with her appearance, and going up to her spoke thus: "Lovely damsel, my only life, behold "thy brother, who comes to carry you to the palace he has prepared for "you, and in which he will be ever happy to guard and protect you; "when there thou shalt reign sovereign mistress."

The virgin, who was called the *Láeh Endah* (or the most beautiful damsel), replied that she felt much honoured by his handsome compliments and kind intentions, and that she would be most happy and willing to meet his wishes; but as a proof of the sincerity of his protestations of love and affection, she required of him that he should come every morning and evening to the rice fields, and that on his having done so she would consent to be his wife. Having spoken to this effect, the lovely virgin disappeared. The king was at first inconsolable for the loss of her, but recovering himself, he returned to his palace with all his retinue.

The country became very rich and productive, living and provisions of all kinds being very cheap and the people all good and happy.

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APPENDIX I.

TRANSLATION *of an* INSCRIPTION *in the ancient* JAVAN, *or* KAWI *Character, on a Stone found near* SURABAYA, *and sent from thence to Bengal, to the Right Honourable the* EARL *of* MINTO *.

(Date) 506. Verily know all the world, that the *Pandítas* wrote on this object of veneration describing the greatness of the *Rátu*, and that the whole is inserted on a stone prepared for the purpose.

When first this large stone was considered a place of worship, people were accustomed to swear by it: it was held in great respect, and considered a repeller of impurity. To this is added, with truth and sincerity of heart, a relation of the perfection of the monarchy, the provinces of which are flourishing. His empire is renowned for the excellence of its laws, and his knowledge most evident and undoubted: the *Rátu's* name *Srí Wíjáya*, and place of residence *Lorkóro*. Certainly he is firm who gives stability to virtue. His *Pepáti* is named *Bráta Wismára*, celebrated in the world: whose advice is constantly had recourse to by the *Rátu*, and necessary to him like the berel of the ring to the stone, because he assists him in the conduct of affairs, and is quickly heard by the *Déwas*. When at war he can increase the arms an hundred-fold to annoy the foe. And that *Páti* is admired by the women; but this does not withdraw him from attention to the country, and the *Rátu* confides in the conduct of the *Páti*, and the *Ratu* gave orders to make images. No other than *archas* were made, fifty in number, all erect; and they are deified, being placed to that end in order, on consecrated ground.

* * * * * *

The *Rátu* is not sparing of his own property, and continues seeking the comfort of his chiefs. He arranges all kinds of pictures agreeable to their respective stations in the apartment of his queen. It is related of that *kadáton*, that figures of rhinoceroses are carved on the walls, which are railed with iron and barred across; its floor most clean and shining, a stream of water running along the foot of the wall, with a flood-gate to open or shut exactly where it should be; and the chief of the watchmen distributes the guard to their respective posts.

* * * * * *

Be watchful of such knowledge as is real. The virtue of good men is like gold which is hoarded up; apparently they possess nothing, but in

* "I am very grateful for the great stone from the interior of your island, which you tell me, "in your letter of the 5th May, was put on board the Matilda. The Matilda is not yet arrived, "so that I have not received Colonel Mackenzie's account of this curiosity, which, in weight, at "least, seems to rival the base of Peter the Great's statue at Petersburgh. I shall be very "much tempted to mount this Javan rock upon our Minto Craigs, that it may tell eastern tales "of us, long after our heads are under smoother stones."

Letter from the late Earl of Minto, 23d June, 1813.

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reality what they develop is sharpened by addition: they are spoken of throughout their career as blameless until their death, their ashes are then adorned and embellished, as well as held in veneration, and the virtues these possess are very great and without fail. If difficulty should arise, do you ask assistance with a heart pure and undefiled; and if you have any urgent petition to make, do it with submission. Clothe yourself entirely clean, throw off what is not so, and what you have to bring forward let it be with propriety. When it is known to the deity what your wishes are, they will be quickly complied with openly to your satisfaction, and made to correspond with the devotion manifested. And the knowledge of what is requisite in sincere supplication is this: to punish yourself; to divest yourself of hearing; to reject evil-doing of all kinds; to have your eye fixed on one; to seek the road to the bestower of benefits; to desire without delay, and not to trifle. Yea, the formed stone which is reverenced, is to be considered only a veil between you and the real divinity. Continue to supplicate for whatever are your desires that they may be known: when the blood will have stopped three times your object will be gained; verily, it will be added to, there will be no obstacle to its full completion. By one saying your solicitation is directly expressed, and correctness of life is obtained. And what you say is like the sun and moon: in proportion as reverence is paid to the deity, men know that their supplication will be listened to, and the *Batára* become familiar and much attached. Your existence will be as bright as the sun and its splendour, which is evident, truly beautiful. When you die you will be guarded and aggrandized, and not without companions. Such will be his lot who seeks the good of the country, for he furthers the happiness of the people.

* * * * * *

Do you observe this course until you excel in it. Make figures of stone like human beings, which may be supplicated; persons who reject them will suffer sickness and ruin until their death, which will be most bitter: on that account it is necessary to entreat and pray for the favour of the *Déwas*. Stones situated in places of worship are ornamented with many articles of state; they are feared by those who wish to ask forgiveness, and cannot be destroyed.

It is related, that only persons who are stedfast in the acquirement of letters, cause such as the following to be made (here follow fifteen cabalistic characters, which are totally unintelligible): those will certainly serve the purpose of your forefathers, who have been the medium of existence; they are the veil which separates you from that which is exalted, and also written on the stone. Give credit to them in a moderate degree.

* * * * * *

First, let all pray to and seek the favour of the deity in this and the next world, and each require an interpreter who will obtain his pardon: but he must reject fickleness to arrive at a discriminating heart. Speak with reverence to your parents, their existence is replaced by those who

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are named after them. In the place of worship, when the ornament of good works is shewn, it is mentioned in the same manner as delight, as established gratification. It is difficult to cause advantage to the workings of the heart; your faith, which you received from *Sang yang Sudriya* and *Sang yang Táya* is acknowledged by the extent of your ability, and is different from other feelings.

* * * * * *

Different are the rewards of those who come to heaven; happiness is bestowed on them; delightful their state; verily they have arrived in the land of silver. Whatever your reward at your death may be fixed at, when obtained it cannot be lost: all is settled, the whole is distributed, as well as the certainty of death. Truly you are directed to a place which is exalted, pointed out by *Déwas*, who preside at death and become your guide; because the dead are mixed in a land which is wide and level, are given occupations and quickly go, each flying to the first place until they arrive at the seventh. Verily they at length come to the extremity with those who accompany: there are none among them who have been terrified: the existence of the body is dissolved and lost. There are none acquainted with books who are terrified.

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TRANSLATION *of another* INSCRIPTION *in the ancient* JAVAN, *or* KAWI, *Character, on a Stone found in the interior of the District of* SURABAYA.

On the Face of the Stone.

The year of this inscription being made on a solid stone was 467, in the season *Katíga*. It was made by a *Pandíta* skilful, and who performed wonders; to relate, explain, and make known the greatness and excellence of the *Rátu* (prince), in order that your actions too may speedily become clear and manifest; yes, that will be your *kadáton*. That *Sri Rája*, ever surrounded by majesty and his family, observes a correctness of conduct grateful to the pure *Déwas*, and by *Mántris* exalted by the *Rátu Bráma W jáya*, celebrated in the universe for his eminence, whose empire is firm and not to be shaken. Such is the *Rátu*; yes, he who caused to be inscribed on a stone all these his actions, observant to the utmost of the forms of worship, moderate in his complaints of distress, whose appeals are correct and most true and without guile, and have enabled the slave to associate with the divinity, without there being a difference between them. He is my father, who is implored and who caused my existence: do not trifle; there is no one greater than he. What remains to you to solicit, mention it with humility; yes, that too is what mankind must observe. Do you watch and observe the duties of mankind, and you will certainly profit; reject entirely sayings which are improper and untrue, and avoid theft, robbery, anger, boasting of prowess and false promises, for they are despicable, and their effect, like the atmosphere, giving heavy rain which overflows, to the accomplishment of wishes, improving the cultivation, making all fresh and equally bright and sparkling; but the

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wind of which is presently strong and cuts off the buds. If you ever wish to fortify your soul, go to the summit of a mountain, which is the place for earnest supplication in silence, awaken your firm and sincere heart, let there not be any dregs of your nature; but let the soul assume non-existence and pray. Be aware of the disorders of the demon of bad actions, who inimically annoys and misleads; undoubtedly, if you conduct yourself with firmness, you will approach to perfection, and seclusion will truly be there. Let there not be a mixture of discontent of mind. Cast away the veil however delicate it may be; truly it is better conversing with letters which have been written; what they convey to you will be most painful to the body, but your hopes will be accomplished. Do not give place to the evil thoughts which have occupied the minds of men and are most vexatious; fortify yourself so that you recede not; remember well the three established powers of mankind. Commune with the wise in words which are seen proceeding from the mouth; truly faith is different from what is heard of your corrupt body, which is the ornament of human life. Let the actions of superior men who seek stability be examples to you like the *krangrang* ant; the indication which you make cannot be disapproved, those persons certainly may be accounted near to the wishes of the country. Sometimes clear, sometimes obscure, yes, such indeed let your situation be, so that the train of your actions may become most direct and manifest, as by day the sun lights all places, so their benefit be not thrown away, and you may cast off care and sorrow. Truly the departure of life is most uncertain. Human nature, when it will not receive advice, is like a stony plain without grass, animals will not approach, all remain at a distance from it. I will teach you: pay attention and fail not to receive instruction, so that you approach most nearly; but first purify your heart which pays reverence, not reverence which is heard by the ear. Yes, that is indeed true devotion which I have taught you, and without which there is no purity, for a perfect heart is derived from the Deity. Words proceeding from the mouth are vain to the utmost, their effect not to be depended on. The devotion of a pure heart is like moonshine, not hot but cool and delightful; the beauties you see in which the stars are scattered over as though in attendance on the moon, adding to the grandeur of the scene. And also a person becoming a *Rátu* commands his subjects and distinguishes good people from bad, for the limits of this country are all under his orders. The *Rátu* selects from his subjects such as are eligible to be his associates, and they are four, who become the pillars of the state, and cause its happiness and welfare; he thereby shews a pattern for future *Rátus*. Further, too, as you have been given life, do not reject the precepts of the *Sástra*, which have been diffused through the world by the virtuous, but weigh them in your mind, for that is the duty of a slave; bad and good are from your Lord. So the wisdom of man is extended like the firmament, immeasurable even by the bird *garúda*, which knows how to fly in the heavens, though he should arrive at the extremity of space; such is human wisdom. Do not be surprised at people's conver-

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sation, though it correspond not with the dictates of the *Sástra;* yes, that is most injurious to morals. Even should one become a *Rátu,* if he knows not this he certainly will not succeed, he will not arrive at the height of his wishes; because the action of a vicious heart is different from the inclination of a pure one, which is in attendance on its Lord. And a living man should know the advantages of these places, which are, the earth, the sky, and the space between; for to-morrow, when dead, your body and soul will be there; before it knows the road it will change its habitation into a living being; there, if you find enjoyment, you may search for a place, because you have discernment from the heart. But a man who is so while he lives, effects it by abstinence and moderation in eating and drinking. Yes, in the time of *Rátu Dérma Wangsa,* when he began to benefit the country, that *Rátu,* it is related in history of former times, would not depart from his word, and all his subjects were devoted to him. And when the *Rátu* sat in his *kadáton,* his conversation with his wives was very sweet, as well as his playfulness with them. His wives were therefore much attached to him, and by the *Rátu's* wisdom being so great, he was sought after by women, and was very watchful in his attentions to them: of that there is no doubt, and thus too the wisdom of the *Pandíta* is like that of the bird *garuda,* in obtaining food without trouble from the very great power and sagacity which it possesses; the same arises from the *Pandíta.* Yes, the reason of letters having been formed by the point of a knife is that you should recollect the way which is correct, and that is no other than reverence to the *Batára;* yea, devoting yourself to the *Batára* is the height of human excellence. While a man lives, he should day and night ask pardon from the *Batára.* For what was first written in letters, and they are a cause of eminence to him, was by the *Pandíta Pangéran Aji Saka;* yes, he who has left his mark to the *Rátus* of Java, for those *Rátus* made places of worship, named *Sangga Pamalungan,* and placed in them drawings of their forefathers: but when they prayed they petitioned the *Batára* only for their existence, that when they died they should inhabit their places, quickly changing their bodies, because their former bodies had returned to the pristine state, that is to say, earth, water, fire, air. So says the *Sástra.*

On the Left Side.

And the powers of letters, which are forty-seven, keep those in your mind, so that they be within you all of them. I will establish them in such a manner that they can be brought forth by your three fingers; those who are skilful may make good letters. Do not neglect the application of letters, give each its proper place, for those letters are most useful in the transactions of the people of this world during their continuance in it. Thus the use of letters to the nations of the world is to open the hearts of ignorant men, and to put in mind persons who forget; for I give directions to men who can write, in order that the whole of the knowledge I have in my breast may be known: and this I have taught you, because that knowledge is the essence of the body and illuminates it.

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And you who have wives and children to look after, do not make light of it, for a woman, if she truly do her duty to her husband, is invaluable; she is a printer of clothes, a spinner, weaver, sempstress, and embroiderer; a woman such as this do you cherish, for it will be creditable to you. If a married couple love each other, whatever they wish they can effect, that is the way by which you can attain your wishes. So too a woman towards her husband, even to death; yes, she follows to the *pasétran* (place of depositing the corpse) or the place of self-sacrifice; this is taught in letters which have been written on tablets; truly those writings are like histories, which explain every kind of science. But the fate of man cannot be learned or known by letters; such as a person's being able to acquire profit, knowledge, poverty or distress: of these there is no certainty. However, do not you reject the sayings of letters. It is your evil inclinations that destroy your bodies; for he who first made war, his magic was very great, because he could throw off the passions of mankind, like *Arjuna*, whose power in war and in mounting his chariot was celebrated, for he was guarded by all the *Dewas;* yes, he could become a *tapa* (a devotee, released from the wants, &c. incident to mankind) and pray fervently. *Arjuna*, when he became a *tapa*, annulled his body, his heart did not stray from his duty to the *Dewas;* his wishes were therefore complied with until his death; yes, *Arjuna* was indeed favoured by his *Dewas*. And on any one of your forefathers dying and ascending to heaven, do you immediately make a picture to personify that forefather; and do you adorn and provide it with all sorts of eatables, and respect it as your forefather who has descended to you, and will administer to all your wants: such will be the case with a person who pays respect to his forefathers. At night burn incense and many lamps: truly *Sang yang Jagat* (the omnipotent) and *Sang yang Suria* (the sun) will be favourable to you; for *Sang yang Suria* is the enlightener of the world, and every day gives light to darkness. A man who has arrived at the half of his term of life conceives well the separation of his soul from its covering; your existence is like that of the moon, that is to say, from the new to the full, and from that to its extreme wane on the twenty-ninth day of its age. When the moon is thus lost from the east, it will then certainly appear in the west, and recommence the first day of its age. While you live ask from those who know the setting of the soul; a person who knows that is certainly discovered by his actions. But it is best losing that covering by four causes, water, fire, air, earth; if it is lost by means of those four, the body will certainly quickly be removed, in the same manner as gold which is purified, verily, its colour will become like that which is old. Thus the *Pandíta* makes preparations for prayer. The best mode of praying is by familiarizing ourselves with seclusion, which is by excessively torturing the body; but if you should have been much reduced, your soul will not arrive at those three places. Should a man become a *Rátu*, his soul is one selected by the *Dewas* which has been introduced into a covering, and that covering is not a covering which has not been favoured by the *Dewas*, truly a covering which has been elevated by the

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Dewas, for its good fortune has been very great. The descending of that good fortune from heaven is not like clouds dropping rain, which, if it fall, does so equally on all vegetations. Look at mankind; if you contemplate its state when living, its existence is no more than that of a herb which shoots up on the face of the earth. Concerning your soul, it is like dew, which hangs on the points of grass: such is its state.

On the Back of the Stone.

It is further related of the three particulars of his state, which it is requisite should be the ornament of a man, as well as of a man becoming a *Rátu*. Those three things are a handsome woman, arms, and a house; the first, because a woman is the dispeller of grief from a heart which is sad; the second, because arms are the shield of life; the third, because a house is medicine to a fatigued body. Let not a man be at a distance from the above-mentioned, for they are the ornament of a living man. This stone is the means of facilitating the access to the *Dewas* of your supplications, for human nature is feeble and very faulty towards the Supreme. And moreover, if you have formed any wish in the world, then ask assistance from that stone, and adorn that stone with all kinds of perfumes and eatables which are most grateful. If you do so, certainly the *Batára* will be ashamed not to grant you whatever you desire, because the life and death of man are the same; but his body, to appearance, is worthless when deserted by the soul, and remains of no further use in the earth: it is better, therefore, that it should be lost, so that it return to its original. It is different when the soul is there during life. If you wish to seek for food there are many modes to adopt, so that you gain a subsistence, such as becoming a blacksmith. There are some who are goldsmiths; others who draw figures of different kinds; some practice cookery; those who understand no trade gamble; some thieve; some plunder. Yes, such as these are influenced by the passions, which are violent in their action and make the faculties morbid. Of the things forbidden by the *Sástra*, the first is deceit; the second, pride; the third, hypocrisy: cast these away from you. If you are a good man, do not make a habit of mixing with the bad; for those bad persons have been marked by the *Dewas*, because they cannot do good. You do well in associating with learned people, who have followed the sayings of the *Sástra;* make those your inseparable companions and attach yourself to them. But do you not despise the poor and the timorous, and do not be ashamed before the bold and the rich; do not very much elevate yourself, better you be humble amongst men: curb your passions, for your passions are an enemy within you. So, too, it is with pleasure and pain; they are like the *mayang* flower without fruit, truly as yet uncertain. It is the same with a living person who has not yet arrived at the end of life, he will be very much misled by his riches: there are poor who become rich. Like the state of a fool who is unconscious of his real situation, that fool suffers pain from himself, because his actions are of his own dictating. In his own mind he asks, Who is there like me? I have

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a *gada* (a warlike instrument), who dares cope with me? Such a person is like a mountain which thinks, "I am large! I am high!" Afterwards it is trodden under foot and defiled by all kinds of animals, but is unconscious; so too says the fool, but no one cares for him. As to the sign by which to know such a fool, you have it from his harsh speaking and obstinate heart; he is without politeness and has confidence only in his own powers. And that fool, if he become great, uses an umbrella on a moonlight night: surely, one who does so, has no shame, no sense; a white ant seeking its foot does not act in that manner. Let the wise man observe the conduct of the white ant, its caution in searching for food; even a large tree, an embrace in size, becomes consumed. So can men do who are united, whose wishes are similar, for there is no performance of living men so well executed as by unanimity. All great actions are owing to the union of many men, not to violence; for if your conduct be true and sincere, your heart, in whatever your wishes may be, will be enlightened by the Supreme. And besides, if in like manner you pray to and adore the *Dewas*, certainly the *Batára* and all the *Dewas* will bestow favours on you. Such as I have mentioned are the precepts held out by virtuous men of former times: different from the subject of animals being brought up by men.

In case a man in the service of a *Rátu* be at length advanced to dignity by that *Rátu*, and is given a village, if he fail to weigh how much he should with propriety be in attendance on that *Rátu*, and this arise from being engaged in his own pleasures, he must certainly lose his situation. It is the same with a man being a *Rátu* who is not provided with scales, and investigates matters too superficially to benefit his subjects; he is, in truth, like a pond without water, which of course is entirely void of fish: account him one who has received favour. And again, do you evermore obey the commands of the *Pandítas*, and do not deceive your *guru* (spiritual guide), or you will surely go to hell eternally. Better you obey your *guru*: your excellence will descend to your sons and grandsons, who will profit by your goodness. Oh! living man, do not fancy your life permanent, although you are great, little, rich, or poor. When you have arrived at the end of life your body will be corrupt, it cannot be otherwise: yes, all are earth. When alive, people gather together wherewithal to bury their body, so that it mix not with the earth, and that is only by paying reverence to the *Batára*. All that live in the world are not like mankind, who have been given wisdom and excellence by the *Batára*. Although the *rátu* (king) lion is said to be the chief of animals, yet he is held captive by man: the same with the *garuda*, the king of birds, which resides in the air, it is likewise subject to the commands of man. It is different with the sun, the moon, the earth, the sea, the air, the firmament, the stars; they certainly are not under the orders of man, but they are subject to be accounted good or evil in their course; like clouds which discharge rain, and that in the rainy season are delightful to the husbandman. But be it known to the cultivator, that he who superintends the implements of tillage is the son of a *Dewata*, named *Sang yang Kalamerta*;

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he is very good, for he protects all the cultivation in the country. It is that *Sang yang Kalamerta* who, from the first, has caused terror to all such subjects as do not obey the commands of *Batára Guru:* because that *Sang yang Kalamerta* has been empowered by *Batára Guru* to destroy first all vicious persons; secondly, evil speakers; and thirdly, liars. These three vices do you reject; and you will do well in asking forgiveness from the *Batára*, so that you avoid the fury of the *Sang yang Kalamerta*.

On the Right Side.

And such is the case with merchants, who understand circulating money, and can calculate on the return it makes for five times; such as the profits of money laid out, and how much that will amount to which has been laid out, and how much the loss on that money will be, and how much the profit thereon, so that, by that means, they may be satisfied during life. Concerning those men who seek wealth: before they commence gaining all persons laugh at them; but when they profit, those who before laughed approach and ask their favour. Persons who profit are compared by *Pandítas* to flowers after a shower of rain, in appearance very beautiful, but in existence not permanent. And let not a living man discontinue supplicating his *Déwa*, so that the favours bestowed on him by the *Déwa* may not leave him during life: but whether that living man be a poor man or a *Rátu*, let every one seek to acquire what is permanent, that by so doing there may be no other knowledge than that which is perceived within the heart. A great man and rich man who is wise, must commence with the road to knowledge, which is undeviating. Concerning real knowledge, with all its excellencies and utilities, it is respected by the virtuous: that real knowledge is certainly sent by the *Déwa* to favoured men. And do you not indulge your passions, as is forbidden by the *Sastra;* better had you preserve your heart pure, for that pure heart will for ever be your companion. And do you not associate and communicate with bad men, but remove to a distance from them. It is best as much as possible, to curb pleasure and ill-timed laughter; putting a check to them is far removed from a bad heart: the fault of a person fond of ill-timed laughter is that he suffers pain. It is unfortunate that man forgets such information as is worthy of being remembered, and recollects such as is not worth remembering. In like manner, you eat food which should not be eaten, and do not eat that which is wholesome. A person acting thus is void of sense, and similar to a porter; although the viands are very agreeable to you, if you load yourself with them immoderately, the weight you carry will certainly distress your body. Moreover, if you meet with any thing of such estimation as to be worth imitating, do you immediately write it down, so that you thereby acquire a good name, and men may look up to you, and to the end that the *Rátu* may have confidence in you, because that *Rátu* can act well and ill; but let the *Rátu* not neglect the commencement, middle, and end, for there is nothing in the world of greater excellence than mankind; different from the existence of a *Rasaksa*, whose actions cannot be spoken of; like

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those of a fish in the sea, which no one knows except the Omnipotent, who alone is acquainted with the truth thereof.

TRANSLATION *of another* JAVAN INSCRIPTION *of the same description.*

Truly the reckoning of the year when this was composed was 1216, named *Milir*, written on a tablet the fifth of the moon on its wane, the mind tallying with the season, precisely in the *Wukun Manda Kung'an*. It is a description of the *kraton* and its arrangements, put into writing in the country of *Mauspati*, of which the chief is exalted, merciful, wise, and discerning; at this period, the greatest in the world, and adapted to the situation he fills and its duties; on that account, women say they are fond of him: powerful, skilful, a sovereign whose commands to his subjects are undisputed, unequalled in politeness, guarded by genii, and having a large army, all-skilful in their profession when at war: the arrangements of his troops superior, and they and their arms excellent; his army, too celebrated. At that time those troops guarded well his country, and the orders issued by his relations were correct. That *Rátu* never punished his children: he was good, and did not inflict punishment on them.

It is related of the *Sri Maharája* that he intended going to the high mountains: leaving his country and arriving at the declivity, the boundary of *Gedung Peluk*, his army soon met the enemy, and engaged. So it is related in history.

* * * * * *

That army of the *Sri Jaya* being established, the *Rátú* formerly considered beneficial to the country, giving firmness to the country of *Kediri*. What the *Sri Jaya* says is certain; all the people are glad; a large and faithful army is established there.

* * * * * *

Be cautious but firm; the *Sri Maharaja* cannot injure the descendants of *Prabu*; great their wisdom, impatient their sway, extensive their power. Young men fearless and bold; the army followed, and were taken by the enemy, because the *Sri Nara Nata* so intended. *Sri Kerta Najura*, when he died, died like a *Buda* man. Formerly, *Sri Jaya Katong* came from *Gegelang*, and entered like a man in desperation; sent to *Kerta Niaka* requesting assistance of foreigners, and desired them to advance in front. *Sri Kerto Najara* went into that country, and assembled the arms of the *Sri Jaya Katong*, with the son-in-law and brother-in-law of *Ng'uda Raja* and the *Sri Nara Nata*. Of *Sri Nara Najura* and *Ng'uda Raja* they were seated in the centre, their brightness shining in the halting place; their symmetry like *Sura Denawa*, majestic as well as awfully powerful, and their hearts at rest. Such was the truth. They were prevented by the magic of fire; supremely powerful the *Sri Maharaja*; the enemy's army was destroyed by fire. The *Yewang Derma* advanced and assisted in the labours of the *Rátu*. *Kerta Jaya* was beaten and fled, his power

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destroyed, afterwards the whole army fled, and met the army of the insurgents. A *Mantri* rallied the good army, that the *Mantri* might be able to fight; the battle was commenced in *Sela Sringing*. The *Sri Maharaja* coming to his ground, was firm at the foot of the mountains, and he came to *Yewang Derma* to request food for his people and chiefs: he got as much as he wished with an open heart. Thus may that army continue until the end of time, until death, in the fulfilment of their wishes.

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APPENDIX K.

ACCOUNT OF BÁLI.

To the east of Java lies the island of *Báli*. This interesting spot exhibits the same mineralogical structure as Java, and probably at one period composed a part of the same island. Possessing the same climate and a similar soil, having mountains of a proportionate height, and streams equally fitted for the purpose of irrigation, it enjoys the same degree of fertility; but having an iron-bound coast, without harbours or good anchorage, it has been in a great measure shut out from external commerce, particularly with traders in large vessels.

Like *Madúra*, it seems naturally situated for being a tributary to Java. But the most striking features in the character and institutions of its inhabitants are owing to that long independence on the greater island and its fortunes, which has preserved to them many traces of their original condition, many of their distinctive laws and religious rites.

The natives of *Báli*, although of the same original stock with the Javans, exhibit several striking differences, not only in their manners and the degrees of civilization they have attained, but in their features and bodily appearance. They are above the middle size of Asiatics, and exceed, both in stature and muscular power, either the Javan or the *Maláyu*. Though professing a religion which in western India moulds the character of the Hindu into the most tame and implicit subserviency to rule and authority, and though living under the rod of despotism which they have put into the hands of their chiefs, they still possess much of the original boldness and self-willed hardihood of the savage state.

Their general indifference to the oppression which they endure, their good humour and apparent satisfaction, together with their superior animation and energy, give to their countenances, naturally fairer and more expressive than those of the Javans, a higher cast of spirit, independence, and manliness, than belongs to any of their neighbours. They are active and enterprising, and free from that listlessness and indolence which are observable in the inhabitants of Java. To a stranger their manners appear abrupt, unceremonious, coarse, and repulsive; but upon further acquaintance this becomes less perceptible, and their undisguised frankness commands reciprocal confidence and respect. Their women, in particular, who are here on a perfect equality with the men, and not required to perform many of the severe and degrading labours imposed upon them in Java, are frank and unreserved. In their domestic relations their manners are amiable, respectful, and decorous. The female character, indeed, seems to have acquired among them more relative dignity and esteem than it could have been expected to have attained where polygamy has been long established.

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The conduct of parents to their children is mild and gentle, and it is requited by unreserved docility and obedience. To their chiefs they show a respectful deference: among themselves they stand on a footing of equality, and feeling no dependence pay little homage. The abject servitude of Asia has not proceeded further with them than necessary obedience to indispensable authority. Their prince is sacred in their eyes, and meets with unreserved obedience; but their minds are not broken down by numerous demands on their submission, nor are their manners polished by the habit of being frequently with superiors. An European or a native, therefore, who has been accustomed to the polite and elegant manners of the Javans, or with the general courtesy of the Malayus, is struck with the unceremonious, rude, and uncivilized habits of the people of *Bâli*.

In the arts they are considerably behind the Javans, though they seem capable of advancing rapidly. They are happily not subjected to a frame of government so calculated to repress their energies, or to waste their resources. They are now a rising people. Neither degraded by despotism nor enervated by habits of indolence or luxury, they perhaps promise fairer for a progress in civilization and good government than any of their neighbours.

They are strangers to the vices of drunkenness, libertinism, and conjugal infidelity: their predominant passions are gaming and cock fighting. In these amusements, when at peace with the neighbouring states, all the vehemence and energy of their character and spirit is called forth and exhausted. Their energy, their modes of life, and their love of independence, render them formidable to the weaker states in their neighbourhood, and secure them against all attacks from any native power in the Indian Archipelago. What they now are it is probable that the Javans once were, in national independence, as well as in religious and political institutions.

The island of *Bâli* appears to be divided at present into seven different states, each independent of the other, and subject to its own chief.

The population of these states is estimated to amount in all to above eight hundred thousand souls. This estimate is formed from the numbers of males whose teeth have been filed, which in the different states stood in round numbers as follows:

Klongkong	30,000
Karang Asem	50,000
Badung	20,000
Bliling	30,000
Tabanan	40,000
Mengui	20,000
Giangar	15,000
Taman Bali	10,000
	215,000

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As the operation of filing the teeth immediately precedes puberty, this list of course excludes all males who have not arrived at that period, as well as all females whatever. From the early age at which marriages are contracted, those who have undergone the operation may for the most part be considered as having entered into family connections*, and a calculation of four to a family will give the same result. This great population has doubtless increased since the abolition of the slave trade.

Of this heptarchy, *Klóngkong* is admitted to be the most ancient sovereignty. Its princes are said to have originally emigrated from Java, and a period is recorded when the whole island of *Báli* acknowledged their authority. Even still they retain evidences of their former dignity, and traces of their former influence. Among the regalia are still preserved a *kris*, and other articles that belonged to *Majapáhit*, and the other princes of the island recognise them as the stock from whence they sprung, though they limit their fealty to general respect, and jealously maintain their own independence.

Báli is generally supposed to have been originally peopled from different parts of Celebes. The first person who is said to have established the religion and government which still exist, was *Déwa Agung Kátut*, son of *Rátu Browijáya* of *Majapáhit* in Java. The cause of his quitting Java is related by the Balians as follows.

"The father of *Browijáya* was informed by his head *Bramána*, that it "was written in a sacred book that after the expiration of forty days the "title of *Rája* of *Majapáhit* should be extinct: to which the Raja gave "such implicit credit, that at the expiration of that time he caused himself "to be burnt alive. His son, not daring to disobey the sentence of the "book, removed to *Báli* with a number of followers, and established his "authority at *Klóngkong*, taking the title of supreme sovereign, which "title still continues hereditary in the Rajas of *Klóngkong*."

The inhabitants of *Báli*, like those of Java, are principally employed in agriculture. The fertility of the island may be inferred from the number of people maintained on so limited a spot. Rice is the chief produce of the soil, and of course the chief article of subsistence.

From the mountainous nature of the country, advantage cannot so easily be taken of the periodical rains for the purpose of the rice irrigation, but the lands are irrigated by an abundant supply of water from streams and rivers. In some places, as in *Kárang Asem*, two crops of rice are obtained in one year; but over the greatest part of the island only one. In the dry season the *sáwahs* yield a crop of maize. The natives reckon from fifty to sixty fold of increase in the rice cultivation no extraordinary produce. The women are not employed, as in Java, to plant the *pári*: their assistance in the field is only required to reap it. The implements of husbandry are of the same simple construction as those on Java, and nearly similar in form.

Bullocks of the *Bánteng*, or wild breed, and of very fine quality, are

* In the estimate is probably included the population of those districts on the island of *Sasak* or *Lombok*, which are subject to the chiefs of Bali.

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almost invariably used in husbandry. The price of a pair of oxen of this kind, fit for the plough, is generally about six Spanish dollars, and seldom exceeds eight. The ordinary price of a *pikul* (133⅓ pounds English) of rice, is about three-fourths of a Spanish dollar.

The tenure by which land is held differs widely from that which exists at present in the native provinces of Java. The sovereign is not here considered the universal landlord; on the contrary, the soil is almost invariably considered as the private property of the subject, in whatever manner it is cultivated or divided. It may be sold, let, pledged, devised, or otherwise disposed of, at the option of the proprietor, and without any reference to the will of the superior. The divisions of this property are generally very minute, and the mode of measurement not very defined, and there are instances of great irregularity, even in the application of the same mode of measurement.

The measure of land is expressed by the quantity of seed required to sow it, and said to be so many *tánas*. Some proprietors possess fifty *tánas*, while others hold not more than one or two. The private estate of the elder Raja of *Bliling* did not exceed a few hundred *tánas*, nor did that of the younger much surpass it.

But though the prince is not considered as actual proprietor of the land of his dominions, he receives a certain share of the produce in the way of tax. This tax is either paid in a small Chinese coin, called *képeng*, or in kind, at the rate of about five *tánas* of produce for every *tána* of seed sown.

Though in the lower districts the food of the people is universally rice, in the higher and more mountainous parts they subsist principally on sweet potatoes and Indian corn. The principal animal food that they use is swine flesh, which is found in great abundance. The price of a grown hog seldom exceeds a dollar, and scarcely ever amounts to a dollar and a half.

The habitations of the Bálians differ from those of the Javans, in being generally constructed of mud walls and surrounded by walls of baked or unbaked bricks; in consequence of which, and the peculiar formation of the entrances and doorways, the principal towns are said to resemble the Hindu towns on the continent of India.

The arts are little practised. Though the island produces cotton of the most excellent quality, and in great abundance, the natives have not generally learned the art of painting or printing the cloth, which they manufacture from it. The women here, as on Java, are the manufacturers of all the cloth used by their husbands or families. Their principal manufacture is in *krises* and warlike instruments; they make fire-arms, and ornament the barrels, but purchase European locks.

The principal exports are rice, birds'-nests, coarse cloths, cotton yarn, salted eggs, *dinding*, *gámbir*, and oil: the principal imports are opium (which the inhabitants are unfortunately much addicted to), *káyu pélet*, betel-nut, ivory, gold, and silver. The Bálians dislike a sea-faring life, and hold the profession of a merchant in disrepute. Their fairs and

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markets are few and little frequented. The trade that was at one time carried on with the greatest success was the traffic in slaves. The usual price of a male slave was from ten to thirty dollars, of a female from fifty to one hundred. This disgraceful traffic, it may be hoped, will soon be entirely annihilated. While it existed in its full vigour, all prisoners taken in war, all who attempted to evade the laws by emigration, all insolvent debtors, and a certain class of thieves, were subjected to the sad condition of slavery. These laws still subsist, and are enforced, as formerly, for the purpose of procuring the home supply; but the diminution of the foreign demand must limit exceedingly their exercise, and in a short time ameliorate the state of the unhappy individuals who had suffered by them *.

But the most interesting character of the Bálians arises out of the frame of their government, the code of their laws, and the system of their religion. I have, in one part of this work, particularly described, and in others repeatedly alluded to, the traces of Hinduism on Java; and if these traces had not been decided and manifest in themselves, their interpretation would have been rendered manifest by what occurs in Báli.

In Báli not more than one in two hundred, if so many, are Mahomedans, and the great body of the people profess the creed and observe the institutions of a religion which has become extinct in the rest of the

* Having repeatedly had occasion, in the course of this work, to advert to the slave trade, and the sources whence the supplies of slaves were obtained, it may not be uninteresting to introduce to the reader a native of *Papua*, or New Guinea *, stolen from his country in the course of this traffic. The lad represented in the plate came into my service at *Báli* under very peculiar circumstances, and has accompanied me to England. Since his arrival he has excited some curiosity, as being the first individual of the woolly haired race of Eastern Asia who has been brought to this country. It is known, that on the Malayan Peninsula, in Luconia, Borneo, and most of the larger islands of the Eastern Seas, there are occasionally found in the mountainous tracts a scattered race of blacks entirely distinct from the rest of the population. Some have conceived them to be the aborigines of these countries; others considering them as of the African race, adduce them in proof of an early and extensive intercourse between Africa and these islands. I shall content myself with observing, that they appear at the present day to form the bulk of the population of Papua or New Guinea. The following remarks upon the individual now in England, whom we sometimes call Papua, and sometimes (more to his satisfaction) Dick, were obligingly communicated to me by Sir Everard Home, Bart.

"The Papuan differs from the African negro in the following particulars. His skin is of a "lighter colour, the woolly hair grows in small tufts, and each hair has a spiral twist. The fore-"head rises higher, and the hind head is not so much cut off. The nose projects more from the "face. The upper lip is longer and more prominent. The lower lip projects forward from the "lower jaw to such an extent that the chin forms no part of the face, the lower part of which is "formed by the mouth. The buttocks are so much lower than in the negro as to form a striking "mark of distinction, but the calf of the leg is as high as in the negro."

* Couto, on the 3d chapter of the 3d book of the 4th Decada, gives an account of the discovery of Papua by Don Jorge de Meneges (about the year 1528 or 1533) who, in a calm was hurried by a strong current with extraordinary rapidity to the eastward, until he arrived at a country inhabited by a race as black as negroes, or the natives of the southern coast of Africa, from the Cape of Good Hope to Mosambique; they visited the king on shore, who was as black as the others.

The monsoon detained Meneges here some months, during which time he had a friendly intercourse with the natives, who became very familiar, supplying him in barter with what he wanted; but they informed him that in the interior there were men who eat human flesh.

"Here," says he, "our people saw both men and women as white and as fair as Germans, and "on asking how those people were called, they answered 'Papuas,' and on account of the little "knowledge which we had at that time of the country, we concluded that they were islands. "But from what we afterwards understood, this must be the country which Marco Polo, the "Venetian, calls Lechac, and which he says is very rich in gold."

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Archipelago. On Java we find Hinduism only amid the ruins of temples, images, and inscriptions; on *Báli*, in the laws, ideas, and worship of the people. On Java this singular and interesting system of religion is classed among the antiquities of the island. Here it is a living source of action, and a universal rule of conduct. The present state of *Báli* may be considered, therefore, as a kind of commentary on the ancient condition of the natives of Java. Hinduism has here severed society into casts; it has introduced its divinities; it has extended its ceremonies into most of the transactions of life; it has enjoined or recommended some of its severest sacrifices, such as the burning of a widow on the funeral pile of her husband: but yet the individual retains all the native manliness of his character and all the fire of the savage state.

By this system the Bálians are divided into four casts: 1. The *Bramána*, 2. *Rusi* or *Satria*, 3. *Wisia*, and 4. *Sudra*. The princes of the island are generally, but not always, of the *Bramána* cast: the present Raja of *Bliling* is of the second class. The government is despotic, there being no check on the will of the chief nor any sharer of his power *. He is assisted in his internal administration by a head *Parbákal;* and in the general affairs of his government, the management of foreign correspondence, and the superintendence of his foreign relations, by an officer called *Ráden Tumúng'gung*.

The system of village government is established here as on Java. The constitution of each village is the same. The head, or chief, is termed *Parbákal*, and the assistant *Kalían Témpek:* these officers are invariably selected from among the people of the village which they are appointed to govern. The office of *Parbákal* is considered hereditary, if the successor is competent; and on a vacancy occurring, the *Parbákal* recommends the successor of a *Kalían Témpek*.

Under the head *Parbákal*, who is termed *Parbákal Rája*, are several inferior *Parbákals*, as assistants to that officer in conveying his orders to the heads of villages; and under the *Ráden Tumúng'gung* is placed a similar establishment, consisting of about a hundred persons, with the rank and title of *Kalían Témpek*.

Many of the *Parbákals* of villages in *Bliling* have the title of *Gústi*, which descends in their families, and which serves to distinguish them as nobles. These probably originated in their conduct in war.. The command of the military is at present vested in a chief of the *Bramána* cast, styled *Rája Bángen Senapáti; Bángen* being the district which contains the principal Braminical establishment. He seems to receive honours and respect next to the Rajah himself.

The heads of *kámpongs* in which foreigners reside are termed *Pang'gáwa;* and in speaking collectively of the heads of villages, the Raja uses the term *Papang'gáwa*.

The administration of justice is generally conducted by a court, composed of one *Jáksa* and two assistants: in addition to whom, in the deter-

* This description is taken from *Bliling*, one of the independent states, and with slight variations may be considered as applicable to all.

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mination of any cause of importance, several *Bramánas* are called in. Their decisions are guided by written laws. The civil code is called *Degána*, the criminal code *Agána*. Before these courts three or four witnesses are required to substantiate any criminal charge. Their witnesses are examined on oath, and people of any cast are competent to take such oath and to be so examined. The form of administering the oath requires of the person who takes it to hold a bason of water in his hand, and after repeating, "may I and my whole generation perish, if what I "allege is not true," to drink the water.

The form of procedure requires the prosecutor or plaintiff to be heard first on oath: his witnesses are next examined, then the prisoner or defendant and his witnesses, after which the court decides on a general view of the whole of the evidence submitted to its consideration. No torture is employed to procure evidence: mutilation is unknown. The usual punishments are death, confinement, and servitude. The laws, in some instances, are severe, in others lenient. In the execution of the punishment awarded by the court there is this peculiarity, that the aggrieved party or his friends, are appointed to inflict it: for though the judge steps in between the prosecutor and person whom he pursues, so as to restrain the indiscriminate animosity of the one and to determine the criminality of the other, the Bálians have not advanced so far in the refinement of criminal justice, as to consider criminal offences in the nature of offences perpetrated against the state, and punishable by its officers.

Theft and robbery are punished by death inflicted by a *kris*; murder and treason are punished in some cases by breaking the limbs of the convict with a hatchet, and leaving him to linger some days in agony till death ensues. Adultery is punished with death in the man and perpetual servitude to the prince in the woman. This severity restrains the crime; but in the small state of *Blíling* there occur sometimes several trials for it during the year.

The Raja must confirm every criminal sentence before it is executed, and every civil decision that involves the servitude of the party. Confiscation of the culprit's property follows capital punishment only, the amount of which is divided between the prince and judges. In other cases there is no confiscation.

The laws of *Báli* differ from those of Java with respect to marriages and divorces. In the former island, divorces are permitted under no circumstances whatever; in the latter, almost every caprice is sufficient to procure one. In *Báli* the husband generally buys his wife by paying a sum of money to her parents: thirty dollars is the common price. If unable to pay this sum, he becomes, as in the patriarchal times of scripture, the servant of the party to whom he thus becomes indebted, and resides along with his wife in the house of his father-in-law. His services are received in diminution of the dowry; and if he acts so as to please the family of his wife, the exaction of it is either in part or in whole remitted.

Without entering into any theory concerning the history of the religious system of *Báli*, or any detailed comparison of it with systems in India, the following notices may be thought interesting.

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The inhabitants, as before stated, are divided into casts, named *Bramána*, *Sátria*, *Wísia*, and *Súdra*. The *Bramánas* are of two descriptions, *Bramána Séwa* and *Bramána Búda*. The former are most respected, and refrain from eating all animal food, except that of ducks, goats, and buffaloes: hogs' flesh and that of the cow are forbidden. The *Bramána Búda* eat indiscriminately of animal food.

The *Bramána Séwa* are said not to perform worship in the temples: this is left to the lowest orders, generally the *Súdras*. The worship of the lower orders, as performed in the temples, cannot be called Hindu. In these temples, which are very numerous, mud figures are placed, representing the tutelar deities of each particular country.

The *Bramánas* of all descriptions are held in great respect, and never condescend to pay compliments to any person whatever. The respect in which they are relatively held, seems to be in proportion to the age of the person, and his supposed learning and accomplishments. A *Bramána* may eat from the hands of another of a similar age, but not from those of a junior.

The *Bramána* are said not to worship idols, nor do they perform public worship in the temples, but in their private houses only.

A *Bramána* may marry a woman of an inferior order, but the offspring of such a marriage is called *Bujánga*, which forms a distinct class.

There is in *Báli* a class of outcasts, called *Chandálas*, who are not permitted to reside in villages; are generally potters, dyers, dealers in leather, distillers, and retailers of ardent spirits. The dancing women are of the *Wisia* and *Sudra* castes.

A *Bramána* cannot be in any servile occupation. He cannot sit on the ground, nor perform obeisance to any other class.

The religion of *Báli* has been considered as of two descriptions, that of *Budh* and that of *Bráma*. The Budhists are said to have come first to the country. Of the *Bramánas* of *Séwa* nine generations are said to have passed over since their arrival. The name of the principal *Bramána* of the caste of *Séwa*, who first settled on *Báli*, is said to have been *Wútu Ráhu*: he came from *Telingána*, and on his way is said to have touched at *Majapáhit*.

The Rajas of *Báli* are generally of the *Sátria* caste; but this does not always hold.

From information obtained at *Bliling*, it would appear that the greater part of the population of *Báli* follow the worship of *Séwa*. The Budhists are said to be rare, and the names of three districts only could be stated, where the Budhist religion is supposed to prevail.

The sacrifice of the widow on the funeral pile of her husband is frequent. All classes may perform this sacrifice, but it is most common with the *Satria*. Force is said never to be had recourse to on these occasions. The number of women who sacrifice themselves is extraordinary:—the father of the present Raja of *Bliling* was followed by no less than seventy-four women. The dead body is usually preserved in these cases for many months, and even for a year. The corpse is preserved by daily fumigations with *benzoin*.

The bodies of the dead are burnt, except in the case of children before

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they have shed their teeth, and of all persons dying of the small pox: as in the latter case the body cannot be preserved, and it is usual, even with the lower orders, to keep the body for two months. Among some, however, it is said to be usual to throw the dead bodies into the sea.

The flesh of the cow is eaten by all except the *Bramánas* who have led a life of austerity: these refrain from eating even rice, and live wholly upon roots and fruit.

The Budhists are said to be so little scrupulous in their diet, as to eat not only the flesh of the cow, but even that of dogs and all other animals. Milk is never used as an article of food.

These particulars respecting the religious observances of the Bálians were obligingly communicated to me by Mr. Crawfurd, who visited the island in 1814. In the following year I visited *Blíling* myself; but my stay was too short to obtain any very detailed information on this interesting particular, further than a collection of their different manuscripts, which have been brought to this country, and already adverted to under the head of Javan literature.

On inquiring into the rank of their deities, they replied at once:

The first is *Batára Gúru.*
The second *Batára Bráma,* emblematical of fire.
The third *Batára Wísnu,* emblematical of water.
The fourth *Batára Séwa,* emblematical of air.

Besides these they have several other deities, not however termed *Batára,* as:

Déwa Géde Segara, the deity of the sea.
Déwa Géde Dálam, emblematical of death.
Déwa Géde Báli Agung, the deity in whose temple (which is near the *kadaton* of the Raja), the common people on particular days pay worship.
Déwa Géde Gúnung Agung, a deity still more generally worshipped, and to whom all the Rajas and people of *Báli* pay adoration.

The deity *Mahadéwa* is known and mentioned in the religious books, but is not an object of worship.

Batára Gúru is considered as the highest object of worship below the divinity. *Sang yang Túng'gal* (the *Lord who is one).*

I shall close this account of the religion of *Báli* with the following literal translation of an account of the Hindu religion, furnished to me by an intelligent Mahomedan, a native of the island.

" The religion of *Búdh,* as it exists on *Báli,* is divided into *Sakálan* and " *Niskálan.* The first regards all worldly concerns, such as the orders of " the prince, the laws of the land, &c., including the common affairs and " transactions of life; the second comprehends all the duties and ceremo- " nies of religion, the conducting of which is in the hands of the *Maper-* " *wíta,* or learned Brahmins called *Padénda.*

" The different kinds of worship attached to this division of the religion, " are those of *Batára Permisti Gúru, Batara Naráda, Batara Sang yang* " *Túng'gal,,* and all his descendants; of all of whom images are made,

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" some of gold, some of silver, some of bell-metal, and some in iron; and
" to whom are dedicated temples and places for the reception of their images
" on *Gúnung Agung*, *Gúnug Bátu*, *Gúnung Baturkahu*, and *Gúnung Predung*;
" but it is *Gúnung Agung* that is the famous place for them; and those
" figures are the objects of worship to all the princes of *Báli*.

" When there happens to be a *mabántan*, which signifies a festival on
" some grand occasion, all the Rajas, with their families, descendants, and
" subjects, repair to *Gúnung Agung* and invoke all the deities, the *Maper-*
" *wíta Bramána* being summoned to attend and conduct the ceremonies.

" On occasions of less importance, those images only of the deities
" which are behind their houses are worshipped, a *Maperwíta Bramána*
" being called to attend and officiate.

" At the *Pembákaran*, or place where the bodies of the princes are
" burned, there are also figures of the different deities, in places made for
" their reception.

" Marriages (*mabandángan*) are sanctified by their being borne witness
" to by the *Maperwíta Bramánas*, as well as all the deities who are invoked
" on the occasion.

" On the new moon, and on the eighth and twenty-third of the month
" all the deities are worshipped, every one joining in the ceremonies.
" Should any of the Rajas attend on those days, he of the greatest rank.
" and power orders the attendance of the *Maperwíta Bramánas*. Great
" offerings being made to the deities, thousands of people are afterwards
" fed with their consecrated fragments. On these occasions the *Maper-*
" *wíta Bramána*, called *Padénda*, administers to the people holy water,
" which they both drink and perform ablutions with.

" On the day of the new year, the deities are worshipped, ablutions
" performed, and offerings made. Cloths and money, &c. are offered twice
" a year, *Bramána Padénda* attending and invoking the deities.

" On the day *támpak klíwon*, the *Bramána Padénda* performs prayers,
" using holy water.

" When it is *támpak wáyang*, which means the new year *wáyangs*, offer-
" ings are made and placed at all the outer doors, but no worshipping
" takes place.

" At the annual festivals of *támpuk kándang*, there are offerings made on
" account of all the different animals.

" There is also the fast of *Nyualátu*. which lasts a day and a night,
" during which time food and sleep must be abstained from. This fast
" must be held on the first or the fifteenth of the month."

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APPENDIX L.

PROCLAMATION, *declaring the* PRINCIPLES *of the* INTENDED CHANGE *of* SYSTEM.

THE Right Honourable Lord Minto, previous to his departure from Java, having adverted to the general system of the administration, and of the internal management established under the former government of this island, was pleased to suggest and recommend such improvements, as upon correct information, and an adequate knowledge of the state of society amongst the native inhabitants, might be deemed conducive to the advancement of individual happiness and of public prosperity.

With a view to promote so desirable an event, the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor in Council nominated a Committee, of which Lieutenant-Colonel Colin Mackenzie was president, who, with the zeal, talent, and industrious research which characterize that officer, obtained, with the aid of the members of the Committee, authentic statistical accounts of this island; while the fund of valuable information, thus acquired, has been increased from other respectable channels of communication.

The Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor in Council has, therefore, after the most mature consideration, deemed it advisable to establish an improved system of political economy throughout this island, with the intention of ameliorating the condition of all its inhabitants, by affording that protection to individual industry, which will insure to every class of society the equitable and undisturbed enjoyment of the fruits of labour; and while it is confidently expected that private happiness and public prosperity will be advanced under this change of system, such alterations and amendments will be hereafter adopted, as experience may suggest, or the improving habits and manners of the body of the people may seem to require.

The following principles form the basis of the new arrangements, and are made public for general information.

1. The undue influence and authority of the native chiefs have been restricted: but government will avail themselves of their services in the important department of the native police, which will be arranged upon

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fixed principles, adapted to the habits and original institutions of the people. A competent provision in lands and in money has been allotted to such chiefs, and it therefore naturally becomes both their duty and their interest, to encourage industry and to protect the inhabitants.

2. The government lands will be let generally to the heads of villages, who will be held responsible for the proper management of such portions of the country as may be placed under their superintendence and authority. They will re-let these lands to the cultivators, under certain restrictions, at such a rate as shall not be found oppressive; and all tenants under government will be protected in their just rights, so long as they shall continue to perform their correspondent engagements faithfully; for it is intended to promote extensive industry and consequent improvement, by giving the people an interest in the soil, and by instituting amongst them an acknowledged claim to the possession of the lands, that they may be thus induced to labour for their own profit and advantage.

3. The system of vassalage and forced deliveries has been abolished generally throughout the island: but in the Batavian and Preangen Regencies such a modification of the former arrangements has been carried into execution, as it was found practicable, under existing circumstances, to introduce; and provisionally the Blandong system will be continued to a certain extent in the central Forest Districts.

4. To encourage the cultivation of so important an article of export as coffee may become, when the trade of Europe and America may be thrown open to free competition, government have stipulated to receive any surplus quantity of that commodity from the cultivators, at a reasonable and fixed rate, when a higher price for it cannot be obtained in the market.

5. To extend free trade and commerce, and to promote a spirit of enterprise and speculation amongst the inhabitants, the Bhoom farms have been abolished, the duties upon the principal articles of export have been taken off, and it is intended to modify and amend the custom-house regulations before the 1st January next. The toll-gates and transport duties of the interior have been diminished as much as possible, and in the gradual progression of improvement they will be finally abolished.

6. Every facility will be afforded towards obtaining teak timber for the construction of small craft, and of such additional tonnage as, upon the improved system, will be undoubtedly required.

7. Government have taken upon themselves the exclusive management of the salt department. It appears, that the inhabitants in most parts of the island paid a very irregular and exorbitant price for this necessary article of consumption; while the system adopted by the farmers was radically vicious, and equally oppressive and vexatious to the people, as it was detrimental to the immediate interests of government.

Such an improved system for the supply of salt will be immediately adopted, as may appear advisable; and in this and every other arrangement, the government propose the advancement of the interests and the

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happiness of the people at large, and the promotion of the public prosperity of this colony.

Given at Batavia, this 15th day of October, 1813.

By me, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Island of Java and its Dependencies,
T. S. RAFFLES.

By order of the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor in Council,
C. ASSEY,
Secretary to Government.

COUNCIL CHAMBER,
Oct. 15, 1813.

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APPENDIX L. No. II.

REVENUE INSTRUCTIONS.

The Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor in Council having taken into mature consideration the state of the Land Revenue of this Island, and being impressed with the necessity of establishing one uniform, equitable, and adequate system for its assessment and realization, has been pleased to direct that the following instructions be sent to the Residents, Collectors, and other officers, to whom are consigned the charge of the several provinces under his authority.

1. It is the object of government to separate, in a great measure, the revenue from the judicial branches of the internal administration, it being deemed that a more lucid and simple arrangement of the public business will be formed thereby; and that the relieving the residents from a part of their at present too extensive and complicated duties, will ensure so much easier and better execution of the remainder, as fully to counterbalance any additional expense that may be incurred by the adoption of the measure.

2. For this purpose it has been resolved, that collectors shall be appointed immediately to the various districts, whose office shall consist in the sole and entire superintendance of the land revenue, and to whom therefore shall be made over by the Residents the complete charge of that department, with all such papers, documents, &c. as are in any way connected with it.

3. In some instances, however, from strong local, political, or other reasons, it is considered advisable, that several branches of the public duty remain still vested for a time in the Resident alone. As this necessity shall cease, care will be taken, by the introduction of separate collectors, to attain uniformity. But, in the mean time, it is particularly enjoined to such Residents as are continued in this double capacity of revenue and judicial superintendants, to take due care that these several branches be not blended in the execution, but that each part of their duty be discharged according to the department to which it belongs, and that their several proceedings be recorded in their proper departments only, distinct from all others.

4. A similar line of conduct will be observed in the maintenance of the establishments necessary for carrying on the business of these several departments; these establishments being kept as much apart, and as much confined to their distinct details, when the duties of collector and judge and magistrate are exercised by the same person, as when there are different officers appointed for the superintendance of each.

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5. Those Residents, therefore, to whom will still be entrusted the collection of the land revenue, will consider the following instructions to collectors as addressed to themselves in that capacity. Each collector shall forward to government a list of such establishment (with the salaries to each individual that he would recommend) as he deems adequate to carrying on the business in his head office, where the general papers, accounts, &c. will be prepared, and which will be conducted under his own immediate inspection.

6. This establishment may consist of one native assistant and such number of writers (Javans and English) opasses, and other servants, as may be necessary. This native assistant ought to be a man of rank, respectability, and information, that he may be at once competent, by his knowledge of the manners, characters, and habits of the native inhabitants, to assist the collector in advising measures best suited to each occasion, and by the estimation in which he is held by the people, to lend a considerable aid in carrying those measures duly into execution.

7. His salary may amount to from one to two hundred rupees per month, or a quantity of land equal to such sum may be allowed him rent free.

8. It may be advisable to employ for this situation some of the Bopatis, Patehs, or Tumunggungs, who have been, but are not now, in the actual service of government. This, as salaries or pensions are, in many instances, already allowed in the manner of sinecures, may prove a considerable saving to government; and, at the same time, the having a duty annexed to their present receipts, which will carry with it a considerable degree of authority and consequence, may be more pleasing to many, than the idle enjoyment of a sum of money, for which they must feel that they are at present making no adequate return.

9. For the outer establishments, those necessary for carrying on the details in each village or division, it is not intended to create any new officers; those at present entertained, and who have as yet very well executed the double duties of police and revenue, being deemed the most competent and best fitted for continuing to manage the business of these several departments.

10. It is not the additional expense which would arise from the appointing a new description of revenue officers, that is alone considered in this arrangement. The formation of a distinct revenue establishment throughout the interior is, on many other accounts, deemed an innovation that would be attended with considerable trouble, that would prove less pleasing to the inhabitants themselves, and that would not be nearly so adequate to the management of the collections, as the collection of the combined establishment at present existing.

11. The head inhabitant of a Javan village has, from immemorial usage, been considered to have vested in him the general superintendance of the affairs relating to that village, whether in attending to the police, settling the minor disputes that occur within its limits, or of collecting its revenues, or more often its services. For this purpose, his office has been

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elective, and the powers he exercises entrusted to him by his fellow inhabitants.

12. A writer, priest, and other subordinate officers and servants, completed its regular establishment. From harassing wars, long oppression, feudal tyranny, and European innovation, it is true that, in many parts of the country, scarcely a vestige remains of that species of constitution; but it is universally acknowledged that such was once its pure form throughout the island, and such is it still existing in many places.

13. This simple mode of village administration Government cannot but admire and entirely approve of; and deeming it at once the best suited to the genius of the people, and as promising to be the most conducive to the interest of the ruling power, they have resolved that such system shall be acknowledged and encouraged, by every means in their power, throughout the provinces under their authority.

14. The head inhabitant therefore (whether recognized under the name of the Petingi, Bukul, Lura, Kuwu, Mandor, or otherwise), according to the custom of the country, shall have entrusted to him the management of the revenue concerns of his village; a duty which his personal influence, and minutely intimate acquaintance with the situations and concerns of the several inhabitants of it, will render him better than any other qualified to discharge. He shall furnish such accounts and statements as he may from time to time be required to do; and shall obey such orders as he may receive directly from the collector or his assistant, or from the officer of the division in which his village is situated.

15. These officers of division shall likewise be continued in the double capacity of superintending both the judicial and the revenue proceedings within the limits of their official range. This practice, indeed, is consonant with the immemorial customs of the country, and deemed most calculated to render benefit in the conduct of either department.

16. By the judicial regulation lately enacted, the officer of division has been empowered to settle such minor disputes as may be considered as belonging to the revenue branch, such as the determining contested boundaries, trespass, irregularity in the dispositions for irrigation, &c. and by extending this authority so as to empower him to take regular cognizance of all transactions respecting revenue collections, and to inspect whenever he pleases the several village accounts, it is deemed that his office will become one of very great utility; serving, in future, by its records, to refer to on every occasion, when it may be wished to ascertain the precise nature of any permanent property or local usage within the division.

17. To them, therefore, shall be considered in every way subordinate the heads of villages; and it is trusted that they will prove a most useful check on them

18. The officers of division shall furnish to the collector all such papers as may be required, and shall diligently execute any orders that they may receive, either from him or from his native assistant.

19. Respecting the salaries for these inferior servants of government,

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they have already been in most instances fixed; certain allotments of land, rent free, or sums of money monthly, being given to them.

20. The money salaries of those servants who are connected with the Resident, shall be continued to be paid by him as they are at present.

21. The allotments of land shall fall under the collector's superintendance, and he shall set down among the charges of collection, sums of money equal to what would be the monied rent of those lands were they not free. For this purpose, they shall be assessed, and regularly entered among the other lands in the general lease of the village: but the collection of this assessed rent shall not be actually made; it shall only appear in the accounts, as that it had been realized, and paid to the several officers.

22. For the other officers attached to the collector, namely, those in his head office, some it is concluded will be paid by portions of land being made over to them, others by monthly sums of money. The accounts of the former will be settled as already mentioned. The salaries of the latter will be drawn for by bills on the Resident, who will continue to be the sole treasurer of the district.

23. The collector will accordingly forward to him the several sums of money he may receive in his collections, whenever they amount to five hundred rupees.

24. It is trusted that the placing the heads of villages and officers of divisions, in some measure, under two authorities, to whom they must separately report, will not be attended with any eventual evil or confusion. When these arrangements become well matured, and the exact limits of their several duties clearly defined, the subordinate officers will not find any difficulty in their execution. For the attainment of this desirable end, however, much must depend upon the conduct of the Resident and collector. They are placed in these districts, not as persons who are to serve in any way as checks upon each other, but who are required to act together for the general good; mutually to assist each other to the extent of their power, and by preserving between themselves a good understanding, to carry on better their respective duties.

25. Should, in any case, a disagreement of opinion arise on any subject between them, a reference will be immediately made to the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor, who will without delay pass on it his decision.

26. It need hardly be observed, that the collectors will possess no magisterial authority whatsoever: application will be regularly made by him to the Resident, as judge and magistrate, whenever it becomes necessary to call on that officer for aid in either capacity, whether to punish the misconduct of servants, or to realize by civil suit any part of the dues of government. The process to be observed, in either case, will be precisely similar to what is prescribed where the two parties in the suit are private individuals: government by no means wishing to enjoy themselves any better security of right, than that which they would ensure to the meanest of their subjects, nor to possess a greater facility of redress than is provided by their regulations to be offered to any individual who shall consider himself as aggrieved.

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27. As the first step towards the introduction of an adequate system of internal administration, it becomes positively necessary that government should be furnished with the fullest and completest view of the actual resources of the country.

28. The minutest details must be collected, arranged, and considered, before any system can be properly reduced to practice, or any assessment can be justly made.

29. But when once this body of information is obtained, the business of the revenue settlement will become comparatively light, and will be able to be proceeded with on the clearest and most equitable principles. It will serve too, on all future occasions, as a complete collection of the most valuable data to which to refer back for any purpose, or on which to ground any measures that may, in future, be deemed advisable. The obtaining this, government are fully aware, must be a work the most laborious: but placing the fullest reliance on the zeal, industry, and talents of those officers through whom they expect to derive such information, they look forward with confidence to its accomplishment in a manner as complete, and in a period as short as is possible, where inquiries are to be made at once so minute and so extensive.

30. It must be considered too, that however heavy, at first, this compilation may prove, it will ultimately most materially save both the time and trouble of the collectors. Daily occurrences will constantly require that information which it is now desired should be at once obtained; and by possessing such a standard for conducting the business, a simple reference to it will very often be sufficient, when otherwise there would arise a necessity for instituting inquiries of the same nature, numberless and troublesome, on every new, however trivial, occasion. Every collector, in short, who is anxious to perform well the duties entrusted to him, must wish to be in possession of such a mass of information as is now proposed to be collected.

31. The best mode to be adopted will be as follows:

The collector, attended by his native assistant, and such servants as are necessary, must himself proceed to the chief station in each division, where he will cause to be assembled the head inhabitants of the several villages contained in it. To these he must clearly explain the nature of the information desired; and through their means it is expected that it will be obtained without difficulty.

32. Whenever it may be necessary, the collector will visit the village itself, and on the spot cause such inquiries to be made as are requisite.

33. The officers of survey, lately attached to the Residents, will accompany the collectors through this tour, and give such professional aid as may be desired.

34. They will make one general survey of the whole collectorship, forming therefrom a map, on an uniform scale of one English inch to an English mile: in this the limits of each village and of each division will be accurately defined, and the direction and situation of forests, rivers, roads, mountains, &c. will also be correctly delineated.

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35. By this general plan, the collector will know exactly the amount of land to be accounted for by each village; and the several lesser sums, as they will be thus brought together, will serve to prove the truth of the aggregate statement.

36. These surveyors will further take any such lesser surveys or measurements as they may be directed to do by the collectors.

37. The papers to be furnished by each village are three; forms for which are the enclosures marked A, B, and C. Some observations are necessary in explanation of these.

38. From the detailed papers of cultivators, and householders not cultivators, will be framed the general account of the village. The reason for separating the inhabitants into these two classes is obvious. It is wished that the exact resources of the country may be seen at one view, to know what part of the population are actually employed in the cultivation of the soil, and to learn in what way the remainder are disposed of. It is also considered but just, that to equalize in some measure the payments from all ranks of people, a tenement tax (or more properly a small rent for the ground on which their houses stand) should be levied from those who contribute nothing to the land rents.

39. But as the extension of this through all the petty villages might be deemed vexatious, and as, in reality, in those very small communities the payment by any party is virtually a payment by the whole of the inhabitants, it is resolved that such tax shall not be levied there. But there is no reason for including in this indulgence the inhabitants of towns; these, as in some places already ordered, should by means of such tax contribute their just share of the payments to government.

40. The assessment and collection of this shall form part of the collector's duty. The principle on which it must proceed will be to divide the houses into three classes, according to their size and the general circumstances of their owners.

41. These will be assessed according to the class, at three, two, or one Javan rupee per annum; and where, in any instance, from the indigence of the householder, even this small payment could become a hardship, the collector shall not include him at all in the assessment. This measure will secure a considerable revenue to government, and by experience in some districts already, it is known that it will not be considered as vexatious or unjust by the inhabitants: they will deem it no hardship to pay so small a sum annually, to be secured in the unmolested possession of the ground and enclosure in which their houses stand: more especially now that they are freed from all forced deliveries and services, without adequate payment either to government or to the native chiefs, and are left at liberty to enjoy the fruit of their labour.

42. The paper C. requires few observations: it explains itself. Every householder shall have a number given to him; for in registering names alone, very great confusion may arise, not only by the same being possessed by numerous individuals, but by the singular practice which frequently occurs among the Javans, of persons, from the most capricious motives,

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assuming new appellations. The number being once fixed on each, there will be no difficulty in always identifying them.

43. In the paper B., for the same reason above given, a number will be added to each individual cultivator's name; that is, to each who will, in the detailed system to be carried into effect, become an actual renter of land from government.

44. With respect to the quantity of land, of produce, or of money, as it is most desirable that there should be one uniform standard for the whole island, to which every other measurement, weight, or currency may be reduced, a circular letter has been written, dated 11th February, 1814, on the subject of currency, weights, and measures, and the collectors will be in future strictly guided by that, keeping their accounts only in the terms therein authorized.

45. In estimating the produce, the average of several former years will be the surest criterion. All sawah lands will be considered solely as to what quantity of paddy they might produce. Where other species of cultivation occurs, it shall nevertheless be estimated only with reference to this standard, or what might have been the value of the crop had the land been sown with rice.

46. In similar manner, the tegal lands (under which description are comprehended all lands not subject to irrigation) shall be estimated, in their produce, at what would be the quantity of maize from them were that the sole crop.

47. These two kinds of cultivation are the most usual throughout the island for these descriptions of land, and will be easy to form an assessment where these two are only considered. The profit or loss, in substituting other crops, must be the sole concern of the individual cultivators.

48. In the value of the produce, the prices for both the paddy and the maize must be taken as they exist in the cheapest season of the year, and actually procurable on the spot.

49. By assuming other rates than these, as for instance, the prices the articles may bear in periods of the year when a greater scarcity prevails, or at what they would sell were they disposed of in large towns, a false estimate will be taken; and depending on such contingencies, a failure in the realization of the assessed revenues might frequently occur.

50. In the remarks that may be made opposite to each cultivator, if necessary, any circumstance may be entered that may be deemed by the collector deserving of mention;—but principally will fall under this column the statement of such reasons as entitle the individual to a remission of rent, such as the being an officer of government, a pensioner, &c. The general account A. will throw into one view the whole resources and actual state of the village.

51. Each of these villages must have a number given to it by the officer of division.

52. On the principles of complete survey, even the smallest quantity of land must be accounted for; and the general division into such as are or are not in use, naturally suggests itself. These are again subdivided into

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other classes. The "cultivated land" will be formed by bringing together the totals of the paper B.; "free land" will include generally all such as are at present enjoyed by the village inhabitant, free of assessment, as the area of the village itself, with its gardens, commons, &c. The "coffee grounds" still remaining in the possession of government will be next entered; but it will be the duty of the collectors to let these out, where they can, like other lands, to be converted to whatever purpose the tenants may please.

53. The extent of the "teak forests" must likewise be given; and to this will follow what are termed "government lands," that is, generally, whatever is held by them for their own or the public benefit, exclusive of the two foregoing classes. In the "general remarks" it will be necessary to advert to the particular nature of this entry, specifying what lands have formed it.

54. Of "lands not in use," the most important part is that which specifies what are capable of being cultivated. The several qualities of these cannot in every instance be quite correctly defined; but as far as practicable, it is desirous to arrange them in the manner pointed out, that is, into the two general descriptions of *Sawah* and *Tegal*. Next will follow lands decidedly "unfit;"—and finally, what are termed "jungle lands;" these are such as do not produce teak. "In the general remarks," it will be necessary to take notice of this latter class, specifying, as far as possible, to what kind of land they belong, whether by clearing they might be susceptible of cultivation, or are naturally unfit for it. The remaining heads in the paper need no observation: they explain themselves, and will be at once filled up from the accounts B, and C.

55. Each officer of division shall, from these village accounts, frame one general one of the district under his authority. The form is shewn in the paper D. The only additional information to be furnished by him in it, is the quantity of lands lying waste and uninhabited, which have not been portioned out into villages; and in the "general remarks" subjoined, it will be necessary to advert to these, pointing out their nature, and the reasons for their being in such desert state.

56. Each division shall be regularly numbered.

57. The account marked E. is intended to give to government one general view of the whole collectorship; at once showing into how many divisions it is portioned out, and in each of those how many villages there are, the general population under its several descriptions, the total amount of land, what quantity of it is cultivated, how much is capable of being so, the estimated value of the entire produce, the riches of its inhabitants, which are chiefly comprised in the number of buffaloes and horses possessed by them, &c. &c. And attached to these, any such observations may be made as may suggest themselves to the collectors.

58. The collection of papers thus framed, will, it is deemed, put government fully in possession of all the information they require.

59. On the first attempt by the British power to introduce an amended system of land revenue through this island, from our paucity of informa-

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tion on the subject, and the extreme caution with which it was necessary to proceed, it was thought requisite to have recourse to an intermediate class of persons between the actual sovereign and the cultivator of the soil, or to let out the whole lands of each village to its principal inhabitant.

60. But by this mere grant of lease, it was not by any means understood that any acknowledgment was made of proprietary right to the soil existing in those heads of villages. It was simply a step, arising from the necessity of the occasion, from the impracticability of at once entering upon a more detailed plan, and which at the moment of its adoption was meant to be considered as temporary, to be no longer adhered to, if, on the acquisition of further knowledge, a more particular system of management should be deemed advisable.

61. The nature of landed tenure throughout the island is now thoroughly understood. Generally speaking, no proprietary right in the soil is vested in any between the actual cultivator and the sovereign; the intermediate classes, who may at any time have enjoyed the revenues of villages or districts, being deemed merely the executive officers of government, who received those revenues only from the gift of their lord, and who depended on his will alone for their tenure. Of this actual proprietary right, there can be no doubt that it originally vested solely in the sovereign; but it is equally certain, that the first clearers of the land entitled themselves, as their just reward, to such a real property in the ground they thus in a manner created, that whilst a due tribute of a certain share of its produce for the benefit of being well governed was paid to the sovereign power, that in return was equally bound not to disturb them or their heirs in its possession. The disposal of this government share was, therefore, all that could justly depend on the will of the ruling authority, and consequently the numerous gifts of lands made at various periods by the several sovereigns, have in no way affected the right of the actual cultivator:—all that any government could alienate was merely its own revenue or share of the produce. This subject has come under full discussion; and the above result, as regarding this island, has been quite satisfactorily established.

62. The continuance, therefore, of the village system becomes only a matter of consideration, on the grounds of whether it is more beneficial than any other to government, or most likely to be conducive to the general prosperity and welfare of the mass of the population.

63. No doubt, however, remains on the mind of government on this question. The agency of the intermediate renters is considered as quite unnecessary to be adopted in future. It is deemed, that such a plan of settlement will leave the interest of the bulk of the people entirely at the mercy of a set of numerous petty chiefs, who, however well they may have hitherto conducted themselves, would certainly, in such case, possess an ability of injury and oppression, against which the ruling power would have left itself no adequate means of prevention or redress, and which

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cannot therefore be permitted, consistently with the principles of good government.

64. It has, therefore, been resolved, that this intermediate system be entirely done away, the government determining to act, in future, through its immediate officers, directly with each individual cultivator, and to stand forward, in short, the sole collector and enjoyer of its own revenues. On every view, indeed, of the subject, the *tiang-kalit* (or as it is termed in Western India, where it is understood to have been advantageously introduced, the *ryot-war* settlement) is considered as that which will at once prove most satisfactory to the people, and most beneficial to the government.

65. In the period that has elapsed since the first settlement, a sufficient knowledge has been obtained, by the most scrutinous investigation into the whole minutiæ of the revenue affairs of the country, to render government now fully competent to carry into execution that more detailed plan, which it was always in their contemplation to introduce, as early as might be practicable.

66. The several collectors will therefore take suitable measures for carrying into effect the desired change, as soon as this may, from local or other circumstances, be possible.

67. Of course, the expiration of the former leases must, in every instance, be awaited; but the several preliminary steps may be proceeded in without further delay. On no account must such leases be renewed.

68. As the term of the greater part of them will be closed by the ensuing *puasa*, and as the business of the assessment and survey, as above ordered, may with great advantage be carried on together, the principles on which that settlement will proceed will be briefly laid down here. Much however must be necessarily left to the discretion and judgment of the officers to whom its conduct will be entrusted, and on whose zeal, industry, and ability, this government fully relies.

69. As a general rule for the guidance of the collector, he shall continue in possession all such persons as he finds actually holding and cultivating land, and shall receive them as the renters from government in the new settlement. Even though such cultivators shall not be able to adduce proofs of any real property in the land, yet long occupancy, improving culture, and general good conduct while in its possession, are deemed to be claims of no weak nature, and certainly constitute a right, in equity and sound policy, of being considered preferably to any others, who have no such claims; and this right government is determined to respect.

70. It must, however, be clearly understood, that no positive rights of any nature will be infringed by this settlement. Every claim to property in land must be freely heard, and fully inquired into, by the collectors; and it is necessary, in doubtful cases, to submit the claim for the decision of the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor.

71. There have been, it is known, in many parts of the country,

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grants from the sovereign of lands in perpetuity, which are regularly inheritable, and relative to which the original documents still exist. Of these some have been made for religious purposes, others as rewards or provision for relatives or the higher nobility. These alienations, as far as it was justly in the power of the sovereign to make them, will certainly not be set aside. Equity and good faith forbid it; but they equally enjoin, that the extent of these alienations be clearly defined, and that the rights of others be not compromised by them. The government share, where granted away, will not be claimed, for this affects the government alone. But there are certain other rights, those of the cultivators, which cannot be admitted to have been in the slightest degree affected by such grants; and in the enjoyment of them, therefore, they must be duly protected by the government. Such proprietors of revenue, as they may be termed, shall in short be allowed to act, with regard to the cultivators, only as government themselves act toward theirs; that is, receiving a fixed share of the produce: but whilst that is delivered, neither exacting more, nor removing any individual from his land.

72. On these subjects it will become the duty of the collector to be particularly careful and circumspect; to hear all claims, but to admit none lightly, giving to each the fullest investigation prior to acknowledging their validity.

73. When the collector shall have thoroughly acquainted himself with the actual state and resource of each village, he shall proceed, as quickly as he can, to the assessment of the land revenue, to be realized, not from the village generally, but from each individual cultivator inhabiting it.

74. The head of the village shall be considered as the officer of government to be employed in the collection of the revenue; for which a certain portion of land shall be allowed so him. In consideration of this, and possessing, as he will, due powers for its realization, he shall be considered as responsible for its whole amount. By this means, every advantage of the general village settlement will be obtained, without any of its evils.

75. It must be observed, that all allotments of land, whether as pensions or salaries, are to be made only provisionally; and in such grants the government share will be all that is to be affected by them.

76. One lease shall be made for the whole village, according to the form laid down in the enclosure F.

77. This will give to each individual a full knowledge of his rights, and of what are the only dues to be expected from him by government. No extortion or injustice can then exist, without being liable to instant detection and punishment. To attain still further this end, it is ordered, that a copy of this lease be lodged with the officer of division, and another be kept for public inspection in the village office.

78. The head of the village shall also give to each renter an exact account, according to the form in enclosure G.

79. By this the renter will know exactly the state of his affairs, and the examination of these lesser papers will at once discover any fraud on the

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kind, mark it in their accounts.

80. The officer of division will, in like manner, acknowledge on the back of the general lease the several sums received by him from the head of any village. The receipt of kind collections will, in the same way, be acknowledged at the collector's office, when they are delivered in.

81. The manner of assessing the government share will proceed, as far as practicable, as follows:

82. As the inferior descriptions of land require greater labour in their cultivation, and as the actual quantity of produce left from each for the use of the renter, is wished to be nearly the same, a different rate in assessing must be observed for each.

83. The following is considered as the fairest scale for fixing the government share from each species of land, and ought to be referred to, as much as possible, as the general standard:

For Sawah Lands.

1st sort, one-half of the estimated produce.
2d, ... two-fifths of..... ditto.
3d, ... one-third of ..... ditto.

For Tegal Lands.

1st sort, two-fifths of the estimated produce.
2d, ... one-third of..... ditto.
3d, ... one-fourth of ..... ditto.

84. It must be expected, that less than this will be levied in many places for some time to come. Various reasons will induce a low rental being established at first, as the energies of many impoverished and long oppressed districts are to be brought forth by every encouragement that government can give; but when cultivation has reached what may be considered as its state of perfection, and the settlement is completely matured, the above must form the general rates of assessment.

85. Government think it necessary also explicitly to declare, that they will be satisfied when the land revenue shall be productive to them in these proportions, determining, at no future time, to raise that scale; that the inhabitants, being thus exactly acquainted with what will form the utmost demand on them, and resting in full confidence that government will not exact any thing further, may, in that security, enjoy their possessions in undisturbed happiness, and apply their utmost industry to the improvement of their lands, assured that, while they conduct themselves well, that land will never be taken from them, and that the more productive they may be able to render it, the more beneficial will it be to themselves.

86. The head of the village will deliver his money collections to the officer of division, in such instances as may be directed by the collector; but all payments in kind must be made actually into the collector's office at the head station, the expenses of bringing it falling entirely on the

renters. This is done chiefly with a view to discourage such species of payments, government wishing to receive, as far as practicable, their revenues in money alone. In ordering this, regard has also been had to former custom, the contingent under the Dutch administration having always been thus delivered in.

87. The option of kind payment is still left to the renter on many accounts; in consideration, partly, of the present scarcity of specie throughout the country, partly as being agreeable to their ancient usages, which will always be paid the greatest attention to; but chiefly, as by leaving this double mode of payment open, the assessment, both in this and future settlements, will be able to be proceeded with on the justest and best principles. Enhancement or remissions will be equitably regulated by it; and, in short, by keeping the actual produce always in view, the shares of the government and of the cultivator must always preserve their due relation towards each other.

88. *Pari* or rice, however, are the only two articles to be received. Maize is considered, in estimating the produce of the tegal lands, to produce the justest assessment; but this must be invariably commuted for a money rent on fair principles. To sawah landholders only will the option of *pari* or rice deliveries be given. As cultivators, in most cases, hold some of each description of land, this distinction will not be felt as a hardship.

89. To guard against any failure in the estimated revenues, the value of the produce will be calculated at the sum which it commonly sells for in the village itself, immediately after the gathering in of the harvest; and the money commutation will proceed on this principle. The renters, therefore, will obviously be encouraged to pay money preferable to kind; but should they nevertheless give in the latter, the head of the village must, if he can, turn it into specie, so that the estimated value be obtained. Should, in spite of these precautions, any quantity of *pari* or rice arrive at the head station, the collector will deposit it in the storehouses, and report in what manner he is of opinion it can be most advantageously disposed of. Generally speaking, government wish to derive no extra profit from this branch of their revenues, and will approve of immediate sale, in every instance where the assessed price can be obtained.

90. As arrears are to be as much guarded against as possible, remissions of rent must sometimes be made. The mode of regulating these will be as follows. When such calamity of season or other cause, occurs, as may be supposed to entitle the cultivator to indulgent consideration in some deduction of rent, a report must be made by the head of the village before gathering the harvest, and the collector will then order the officer of division, or send some trusty servant from his own office, to survey the crop, and inquire into the causes of its falling short of the estimate. Such orders will afterwards be issued, whether remitting any part or the whole of the dues of government, or enforcing their strict collection, as may be deemed necessary. Whenever a real, unavoidable suffering has been sustained, a remission of rent must be granted, government deem-

ing it far preferable to conciliate their subjects by every reasonable favour, and even to submit to a slight loss, than to disaffect them by the continual harassing which the strict exaction of heavy arrears must óccasion. Nor will, indeed, any real gain accrue from being thus always unrelenting; for, in most cases, the liquidation of the debts they may have incurred will only be effected by the sale of buffaloes, horses, and other property, on the possession of which must entirely depend the good performance of their future engagements; so that, in fine, by resorting to this measure, the debt may be discharged, but very frequently the cultivator will be lost.

91. As the first settlement, according to this amended system, cannot be expected to attain as accurate an assessment as is desirable, it is not deemed advisable that the leases to be granted should exceed the period of one year.

92. From the nature of the foregoing instructions, the collectors cannot fail to observe the importance and extent of the obligations imposed on them by the office intrusted to their charge. It is not enough that the government lay down the principles of a benevolent system intended to introduce the practical freedom which has been bestowed on all the nations subject to the honourable Company's dominions; it is with them that the application of these principles is entrusted, and to their temper, assiduity, judgment, and integrity, that the people have to look for the enjoyment of the blessings which it is intended to bestow upon them. They have, in short, the national character, as well of their own personal reputation, to support; and while the Lieutenant Governor in Council feels it unnecessary to rouse that spirit of public virtue in which it is the pride of a Briton to excel, or to advert to the shame that must follow a neglect of these important duties, he deems it proper to remark, that his most vigilant attention will be given to the progress of the great work which has been commenced, and that it will always afford him the highest gratification to bring to public notice, and reward the examples of industry, honour, and integrity, which he constantly expects to meet with.

(Signed) T. S. RAFFLES.

Buitenzorg, Feb. 11, 1814.

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APPENDIX M.

Memorandum *respecting* Weights, Measures, *&c.*

The weights and measures not only differ, both nominally and essentially, in the several districts of Java, but are often subject to such varieties, even within the same district, that the greatest confusion in accounts, and endless peculations, are almost inevitable. The native denominations and divisions are blended with the Chinese and European, and even the latter have been made to vary so much, that it is difficult to refer them to one common standard. The uncertainty of the native measures has, however, been considerably removed, by the reference constantly had by the Chinese to the weight of the article, instead of the bulk, which is the usual measure of the Javans.

The measure of weight which may be considered as the most general standard throughout the country, is the Chinese *kati*, equal to about 1¼ lb., or about 20 ounces avoirdupois; 100 *katis* make a *pikul* of 125 lbs. Dutch, or 133⅓ English, 30 *pikuls* or 3000 *katis*, being 3,750 lbs. Dutch. The Dutch standard *koyan*, however, is only 3,400 lbs., and in general is considered equal to a last, or two tons; but this weight, by which the rude produce of the country is generally calculated, is subject to innumerable varieties. In order to cover the wastage, it was the rule of the government that there should be one rate for receipt of goods, and another for their delivery. This varied according as the article was perishable or otherwise, or to the degree of peculation established by usage. This applied to all measures and weights by which goods were received and issued at the government stores, and the rates were different in different districts. A *koyan* among private individuals at Batavia is generally considered as 27 *pikuls*, equal to 253 *gantons*, or 2,700 *katis*; at *Semárang* as 28 *pikuls*, but by the natives generally as 30 *pikuls*. The *koyan*, however, by which the contingent was formerly delivered to government, at *Demak* was no less than 4,250 lbs. Dutch.

Pári, or rice in the husk, is generally calculated by the *amat*, and in some districts by the *sáng'ga*. When the *pári* is reaped, which is invariably done by snapping or cutting each separate straw a few inches below the husk, the sheaf or bundle as it accumulates is laid in the left hand, between the thumb and middle finger: the quantity which can be thus held is termed *sa agem*, which is therefore equivalent to a handful. Three of these make a *pochong*, a quantity which can be clasped between the two hands. The sheaf is then bound. Afterwards, when the grain and straw are dry, two of these *pochongs* are bound together in one larger bundle, which is termed *gedeng*. Four *gedengs* make one *bawon*, and five

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gedengs one *sang'ga:* three *bawon* make one *wuwa*, and two *wuwa* one *amat*; the *gedeng* is sometimes four, five, and even sometimes nine *katis*.

In the *Semárang* districts alone, the *amat* varied from 200 to 600 *katis* in weight. In the western and *Sunda* districts *pari* is measured by the *chain*, of which there are the common and the mountain *chain*, the one being equal to 4,000 lbs. Dutch, the other about 1,000 *katis*. The *kati*, however, is the usual measure.

Land measure is by the natives regulated in general by the *bawat*, a measure of length, formed of the staff stick of the *payong*, or umbrella, which the *Bópati*, or native chief of a province, receives on his investiture. The length of this stick, when drawn from the umbrella, is termed a *changkal*, and is from nine to twelve feet. The principal divisions of land are into the *bahu* and *jung*. Four of the former make a *jung*; but these not only differ in size according to the length of *changkal*, but the situation of the land and the nature of the soil; the *jungs* of rich land, and in the vicinity of the principal towns, being much smaller than the poor lands situated at a distance. The endless varieties of these measurements it would be tedious to detail. One *jung* in the *Semarang* districts is equal to three others, to five, to six, seven, and even so many as ten, in other parts. From this perplexing inequality of measurement arose formerly, in many instances, the comparative disproportion of the cultivator's contributions to the state, as each *jung* of every size was assessed with the payment of a fixed contingent. In many instances the *jung* was rather to be considered the measure, not so much of the land as of its produce.

The advantage of reducing these vague and uncertain measures to some fixed standard, had in some degree attracted the attention of the Dutch government, during the administration of Marshal Daendels, who directed that the lands in several districts should be measured according to an average *jung* of two thousand square rods or *changkals* of twelve feet Dutch. This measurement being generally known as the government *jung*, although it had only been very partially introduced in one or two districts, was made the standard in the recent agricultural survey of the country; and although it was not deemed advisable to introduce at the moment an entire change in the local usages of each district, the public officers were directed to refer to it on all occasions; and in the statistical and other returns, the local measurement of the place has accordingly been invariably reduced to this standard. The government *jung* of two thousand square *changkals* of twelve feet English, is equal to $6\frac{74}{131}$ English acres; and the government *amat*, by which the produce is weighed, being fixed at two thousand *katís*, is equal to two *pikuls*, or $266\frac{2}{3}$ lbs. English.

In reducing the coins circulating in Java into English money, in the course of this work, the Spanish dollar has been considered as equal to five shillings English, and the *rupee* to half a crown. In the local currency of Java, ten copper doits make one *wang* (a small silver coin), and twelve *wangs* one *rupee*.

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The following Table shews the current value of the different Coins circulating in Java:

4	doits..... make	8 stiver.
10	doits or 2 stivers and a half	1 dubbeltje.
30	ditto or 7 stivers and a half	1 schelling.
60	ditto or 15 stivers.....	Half a Batavian, Surat, or Arcot rupee.
63	ditto or 15 stivers and three quarters.....	Half a sicca rupee.
120	ditto or 30 stivers.....	1 Batavian, Surat, or Arcot rupee.
126	ditto or 31 stivers and a half	1 sicca rupee.
132	ditto or 33 ditto.....	Half a Spanish dollar.
160	ditto or 40 ditto.....	Half a ducatoon.
190	ditto or 48 ditto	1 rix dollar.
240	ditto or 60 ditto.....	1 American or Austrian dollar.
264	ditto or 66 ditto.....	1 Spanish dollar.
312	ditto or 78 ditto.....	1 old ducatoon.
320	ditto or 80 ditto.....	1 new ducatoon.
528	ditto or 132 ditto, equal to 2¾ rix dollars.....	1 gold ducat.
960	ditto or 240 ditto, equal to 5 rix dollars.....	Half a gold rupee,
1920	ditto or 480 ditto.....	1 gold rupee.
10	Spanish dollars	1 American gold eagle.
16	ditto ditto.....	1 doubloon.

N. B. The Java gold rupee is equal to sixteen Java silver rupees; the gold ducat fluctuates in value, but circulates in general for silver rupees.

THE END.

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