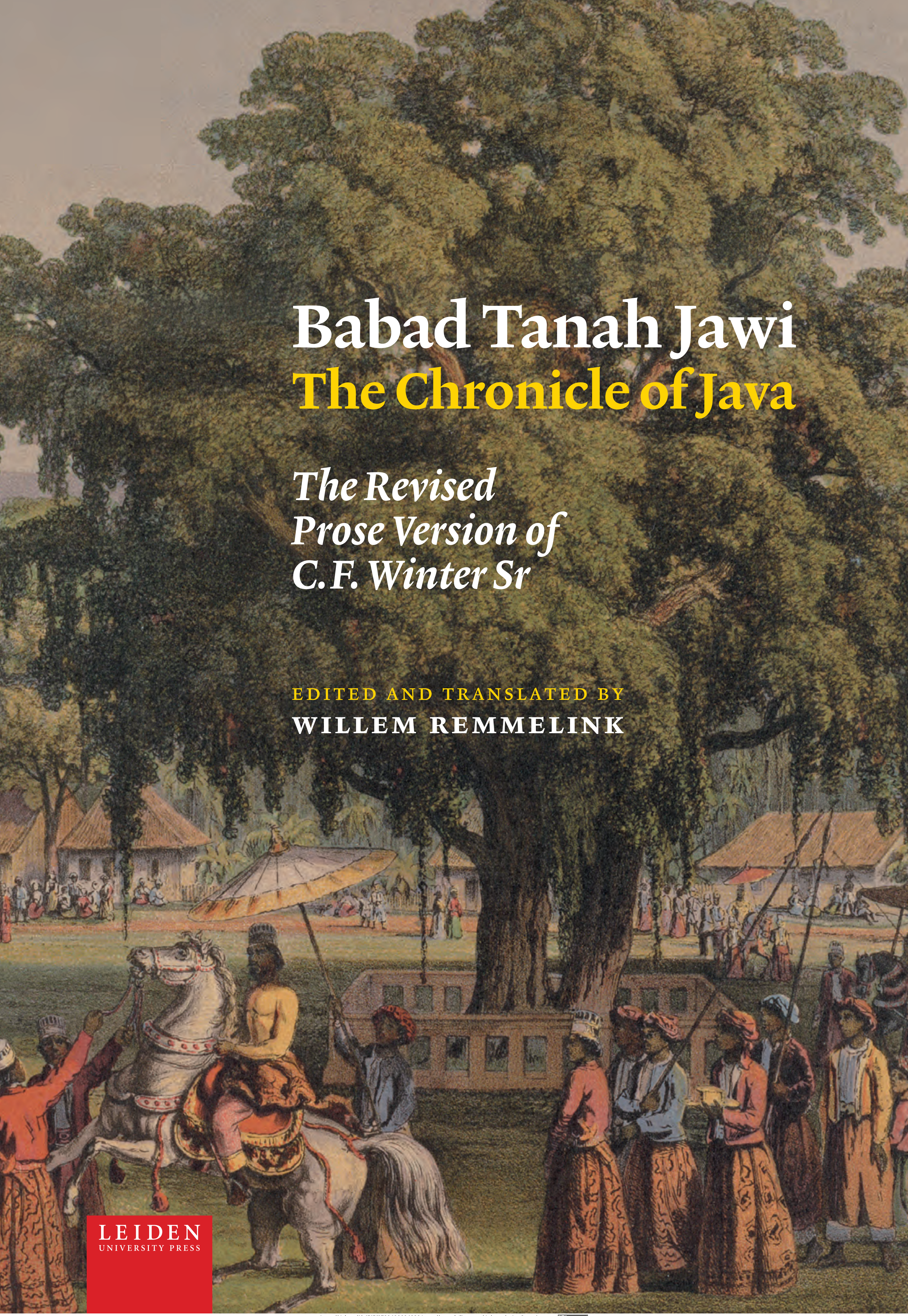
Babad Tanah Jawi

The Chronicle of Java

The Revised Prose Version of C.F. Winter Sr

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

WILLEM REMMELINK



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— BABAD TANAH JAWI —

— THE CHRONICLE OF JAVA —

The Revised Prose Version of C.F. Winter Sr. (KITLV Or 8)

Edited and Translated

by

Willem Remmelink

Leiden University Press

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Cover image: A Monday jousting tournament (*Senènan*). Chromolithograph by C.W. Mieling based on an original drawing by L.H.W.M. de Stuers, 1870 (Collection KITLV).
(At the court, tournaments were usually held on Saturdays (*Seton*), in the provinces on Mondays. The tournament depicted took place in Magelang.)

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For Endang, Wulan, Arent, Arthur

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C.F. Winter Sr. (1799-1859)

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Contents

List of Illustrations *xiv*

Introduction *xv*

Chronological List of Javanese Kingdoms and Kings *xxxi*

Conversion Table Javanese Era (A.J.) to Common Era (C.E.) *xxxii*

Map of Central and East Java *xxxiii*

Map of the Semarang – Kartasura Area *xxxiv*

The Javanese Realm *xxxv*

Translation

1. Genealogy from Adam to the Gods *1*
2. King Watugunung of Gilingwesi *1*
3. Genealogy of the kings of Java from Bathara Wisnu and Bathara Brama to the kingdom of Pajajaran *4*
4. The story of Siyungwanara *4*
5. Radèn Susuruh escapes from Pajajaran and settles Majapahit *7*
6. Pajajaran conquered. Radèn Susuruh founds a dynasty in Majapahit *8*
7. The story of Arya Dilah *9*
8. Radèn Rahmat (Sunan Ngampèldenta) *10*
9. Radèn Said (Sunan Kalijaga) *11*
10. Radèn Patah and Radèn Husèn *12*
11. Radèn Bondhankajawan *13*
12. Jaka Tarub *14*
13. Prabu Brawijaya in conflict with Sunan Giri *16*
14. The fall of Majapahit and the rise of Demak *17*
15. The building of the Mosque of Demak *18*
16. Sunan Bonang has the pusaka krisses of the kings of Java made *18*
17. Lembupeteng marries Rara Nawangsih *19*
18. Kyai Ageng Pengging. The birth of Jaka Tingkir *20*
19. Jaka Tingkir goes to serve in Demak *23*
20. Ki Buyut Banyubiru. Jaka Tingkir fights the crocodiles 25
21. Panic in the lodge at Prawata because of a raging water buffalo *27*

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22. Ki Ageng Séla tries to become a member of the Tamtama Corps but is rejected *28*
23. Jaka Tingkir becomes adipati of Pajang *28*
24. Ki Ageng Séla catches the lightning 28
25. Sunan Prawata and Pangéran Kalinyamat murdered by Arya Panangsang *30*
26. Adipati Pajang visits Sunan Kudus *31*
27. Arya Panangsang is killed by a trick of Ki Pamanahan and Ki Panjawi *35*
28. Ki Pamanahan settles Mataram *41*
29. Adipati Pajang ascends the throne as Sultan *45*
30. Kyai Ageng Mataram dies. Radèn Ngabèhi Saloringpasar succeeds him with the title Sénapati Ngalaga *46*
31. Sénapati tries to win over the leaseholders who want to pay tribute to Pajang *50*
32. A star descends on Sénapati and he meets with Ratu Rara Kidul *51*
33. Sunan Kalijaga visits Mataram and criticises the residence of Panembahan Sénapati *54*
34. Sultan Pajang sends a messenger to Mataram to confirm whether Sénapati really wants to become disloyal *54*
35. Radèn Pabélan. Tumenggung Mayang is exiled to Semarang, but is rescued by Sénapati *56*
36. Sultan Pajang dies and is succeeded by his son-in-law, Adipati Demak *60*
37. Sénapati conquers Pajang and returns the Sultan to Demak; Pangéran Banawa becomes Sultan of Pajang *62*
38. The supernatural power of Radèn Rangga, son of Panembahan Sénapati *66*
39. Sultan Banawa dies. Panembahan Sénapati asks the judgment of Sunan Giri about his becoming king of Java *67*
40. Panembahan Sénapati takes on the lords of East Java *69*
41. Panembahan Sénapati conquers Madiyun. The adipati of Pasuruhan submits to Panembahan Sénapati *70*
42. Sénapati of Kedhiri submits freely to the lord of Mataram *74*
43. Mataram is attacked by the armies from East Java *75*
44. Adipati Pathi wages war against Mataram *76*
45. Panembahan Sénapati dies and is succeeded by the crown prince *78*
46. The Adipati of Demak rises in rebellion against Mataram *79*
47. Pangéran Jayaraga is appointed adipati of Pranaraga, but subsequently rises in rebellion against Mataram *80*
48. The king of Mataram dies. He is succeeded by Pangéran Martapura who abdicates and is succeeded by Pangéran Rangsang with the title Sultan Agung Pandhita Anyakrakusuma *81*
49. Kyai Suratani is sent to conquer East Java *82*

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50. Sultan Agung marches against Wirasaba *84*
51. The bupati of East Java are united on crushing Mataram *85*
52. Lasem and Pasuruhan conquered by Mataram *86*
53. A horse named Domba becomes the cause for the conquest of Pajang by Mataram *86*
54. Tuban conquered by Mataram *87*
55. Madura attacked by the army of Mataram *88*
56. Surabaya submits to Mataram *88*
57. Adipati Pragola of Pathi rises in rebellion against Mataram *89*
58. Pangéran Pekik marries Ratu Pandansari and is ordered to subdue Panembahan Giri *91*
59. Pangéran Mandurareja is ordered to take Jakarta *93*
60. Pangéran Silarong is ordered to conquer Blambangan *96*
61. Sultan Agung regularly meets with Ratu Kidul *97*
62. Sultan Agung dies and is succeeded by his son Pangéran Arya Mataram with the title Sunan Mangkurat *97*
63. Pangéran Alit, the younger brother of Sunan Mangkurat, rebels and dies in a fight *98*
64. Tumenggung Wiraguna fights against the army of Blambangan *100*
65. Jurutaman is killed; his blood changes into poison. The king takes the daughter of a wayang gedhog performer as his wife who is already married to Kyai Dilem *101*
66. A crossbreed hen turns into a cock and is offered to the king *102*
67. The girl Oyi who creates a great upheaval *103*
68. Trunajaya returns to Sampang and prepares to attack Mataram *107*
69. Pajarakan is raided by warriors from Makassar *109*
70. In Surabaya, Trunajaya adopts the title Panembahan Maduretna and with the assistance of the Makassarese rises in revolt against Mataram *113*
71. Mataram attacked by Trunajaya's troops *115*
72. Sunan Mangkurat leaves his palace; Mataram conquered *117*
73. Sunan Mangkurat dies; he is buried in Tegalwangi *118*
74. Pangéran Puger sets himself up as king with the title Sénapati Ngalaga; he has his palace in Jenar *119*
75. Pangéran Adipati Anom assumes the kingship in Tegal with the title Susuhunan Mangkurat *121*
76. Demak overrun by the Madurese *126*
77. Sunan Mangkurat proceeds to Jepara *127*
78. Sunan Mangkurat proceeds to Kadhiri to capture Trunajaya *131*
79. Trunajaya is captured and killed *133*
80. Kartasura is established. Sunan Mangkurat summons his younger brother Sunan Ngalaga of Mataram *136*

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81. The army of Sunan Ngalaga goes to battle against the army of Kartasura *140*
82. Sunan Ngalaga is persuaded by his brother Sunan Mangkurat to come to Kartasura *142*
84. Untung is adopted by Captain Mur *144*
85. Untung flees to the Sultan of Carebon *147*
86. Surapati takes service with Kartasura *148*
87. Captain Tak wants to capture Surapati, but gets killed in Kartasura *150*
88. Surapati becomes bupati in Pasuruhan and is granted the title Tumenggung Wiranagara *157*
89. The Company requests the death of Tumenggung Martapura of Jepara *159*
90. Panembahan Rama of Kajoran rises in revolt *163*
83. Ki Ageng Wanakusuma, a descendant of Ki Ageng Giring, wants to overthrow the rule of Kartasura *164*
91. Sunan Mangkurat gives orders to attack Pasuruhan *165*
92. Sunan Mangkurat marries his son to the daughter of his younger brother Pangéran Puger *169*
93. Radèn Ayu Lembah returns to the Puger residence *173*
94. Radèn Sukra is tortured by Pangéran Adipati Anom *174*
95. Radèn Sukra courts Radèn Ayu Lembah, but before succeeding both come to grief *175*
96. Adipati Wiranagara in Pasuruhan conquers Panaraga *181*
97. Sunan Mangkurat dies and is succeeded by his son Pangéran Adipati Anom *182*
98. The Sunan becomes angry with Pangéran Adipati Puger and his whole family *186*
99. Kartasura is visited by a black magician sent by the Dutch *189*
100. Pangéran Adipati Puger flees to Semarang *192*
101. Pangéran Adipati Puger ascends the throne in Semarang with the title Susuhunan Pakubuwana *199*
102. Susuhunan Pakubuwana celebrates with his army *201*
103. Tumenggung Jayaningrat submits to Susuhunan Pakubuwana *203*
104. Susuhunan Pakubuwana turns out his army against Kartasura *203*
105. Pangéran Arya Mataram submits to his elder brother Susuhunan Pakubuwana; Susuhunan Mangkurat makes his escape from the palace *207*
106. Susuhunan Pakubuwana occupies the palace of Kartasura *209*
107. The ousted Sunan (Susuhunan Mangkurat) seeks help from Pasuruhan *212*
108. Adipati Wiranagara (Surapati) dies *215*

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109. Sunan Mas (the ousted Sunan) submits to the Company and is told to go to Batavia *217*
110. The Company requests the death of Adipati Jangrana of Surabaya *219*
111. Arya Jayapuspita of Surabaya rises in revolt to avenge his brother *223*
112. Arya Jayapuspita withdraws from the city to deploy in Japan *235*
113. Pangéran Dipanagara proclaimed king by Arya Jayapuspita with the title Panembahan Érucakra and with his palace in Madiyun *240*
114. Susuhunan Pakubuwana I dies and is succeeded by his son Pangéran Adipati Mangkunagara *244*
115. Pangéran Blitar sets himself up as king in Kartasari (Mataram) with the title Sultan Ibnu Mustapa and stands up to his brother the Susuhunan in Kartasura *247*
116. The rebel Pangéran Pancawati *250*
117. Panembahan Érucakra joins Sultan Ibnu Mustapa *250*
118. The army of Kartasura attacks Kartasari *253*
119. Ngabèhi Tohjaya summoned back to Kartasura *256*
120. Rebellion in Tembayat. Pangéran Arya Mataram who had proclaimed himself with the title Sunan Kuning is killed in Jepara *260*
121. Radèn Jimat from Madura joins Sultan Ibnu Mustapa in Madiyun *262*
122. The descendants of Surapati pay their respects to Panembahan Purbaya in Kadhiri *263*
123. Pangéran Blitar, i.e. Sultan Ibnu Mustapa, dies and is buried in Imagiri *264*
124. Ki Martayuda is exiled to Jakarta *264*
125. Panembahan Purbaya is persuaded to surrender and housed in Jakarta *267*
126. Radèn Brahim, a descendant of Surapati, takes it badly that his siblings have been deceived by the Company *272*
127. A rebel from Nusatembini. Sunan Mangkurat Jawi dies. He is succeeded by his son with the title Sunan Pakubuwana II *274*
128. His Majesty visits the residence of his elder brother Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara *277*
129. The birth of Radèn Mas Said. The banishment of Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara *280*
130. Patih Danureja is sent as envoy to Batavia *281*
131. Ratu Kancana uses a magical spell *285*
132. Sèh Wangsawana predicts what will become of Radèn Mas Sujana and Radèn Mas Seksi (Said) *288*
133. Patih Danureja is sent into exile *289*
134. The kinsfolk of Sunan Mangkurat return to Java *292*
135. Ratu Kancana dies *295*

https://doi.org/10.1515/9789400604230 https://www.inlibra.com/de/page/agb - Open Access - CC BY-NC-ND

136. Radèn Ayu Taman, the beauty from Pathi *296*
137. Pangéran Purbaya demoted from his position and exiled overseas *298*
138. His Majesty makes a pilgrimage to Mataram *301*
139. The Chinese revolt in Batavia *306*
140. The Chinese on the eastern Pasisir get ready for war. The Sunan in Kartasura discusses the outbreak of war between the Chinese and the Company *310*
141. Tumenggung Martapura goes to meet the Chinese troops in Puwun *315*
142. Tumenggung Martapura incurs the anger of the patih *317*
143. The commander in Semarang asks for the Sunan's help *319*
144. The Chinese army is going to attack Semarang *321*
145. The Patih gets into conflict with Adipati Cakraningrat of Madura *323*
146. Tumenggung Martapura is rumored to have become disloyal and be helping the Chinese *324*
147. Pangéran Tepasana and Pangéran Jayakusuma are killed by strangling *331*
148. Pangéran Wiramenggala flees the capital Kartasura and joins the Chinese *337*
149. The Company garrison in Kartasura engages in battle with the Javanese troops *341*
150. The Company garrison unconditionally surrenders to the Sunan *344*
151. Adipati Jayaningrat resigns from his position and recommends his son-in-law Radèn Supama. The war in Semarang *348*
152. The army from Kartasura fights the army from Madura *351*
153. The royal messengers Ki Surandriya and Ki Wangsajaya are taken prisoner by the enemy and sent to Batavia *356*
154. Patih Natakusuma becomes commander of the Kartasura army that attacks Semarang *357*
155. Sunan Pakubuwana makes peace again with the Company *361*
156. Patih Natakusuma feels at a loss to carry out the wishes of the Sunan *363*
157. Radèn Martapura remains firmly resolved *367*
158. Radèn Mas Garendi is installed as king in Pathi with the title Prabu Kuning *370*
159. The Kartasura army battles the Chinese in Demak *376*
160. Patih Natakusuma provokes the anger of the Sunan and is taken into custody by the Company in Semarang *380*
161. The troops of Kartasura are defeated in their battle against the Chinese *384*
162. His Majesty the Sunan in Kartasura wishes to go and meet the Chinese in battle himself *389*

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163. His Majesty the Sunan leaves the palace of Kartasura to go to Magetan *391*
164. Sunan Kuning occupies the palace of Kartasura *398*
165. Sunan Pakubuwana sets up court in Pranaraga *400*
166. Sunan Pakubuwana II intends to retake the capital of Kartasura *404*
167. The troops from Pranaraga suffer defeat against the troops from Kartasura *405*
168. Radèn Martapura is at odds with Adipati Mangunoneng *411*
169. Sunan Pakubuwana II meets Sunan Lawu *414*
170. The Company fights against the Chinese in Ungaran *418*
171. Sunan Pakubuwana II abdicates and assumes the title Panembahan Brawijaya. His son the crown prince is given the title Prabu Jaka, Sunan Bauwarna. They then set out to attack Kartasura *420*

Javanese Text (KITLV Or 8) *437*

Glossary *989*

Index *992*

https://doi.org/10.1515/9789400604230 https://www.inlibra.com/de/page/agb - Open Access - CC BY-NC-ND

List of Illustrations

(Colour versions of the illustrations can be found in the Open Access edition)

p. *vi* C.F.Winter Sr., drawn by his student J.A. Wilkens
Tijdschrift voor Nederlands-Indië 1852, opposite p. 216. UBLeiden.

p. *xxxix* Sacred, fenced waringin on the Alun-alun of Yogyakarta
Collection UB / KITLV Leiden.

p. *xl* King Watugunung. 123RF.com

pp. *184-185* Rampog festival
https: / / digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl / view / item / 856227

pp. *304-305* Jousting tournament
https: / / digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl / view / item / 853862

p. *436* King Watugunung. 123RF.com

p. *668* The execution of Radèn Trunajaya
https: / / digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl / view / item / 852349

The murder of Captain Tack
https: / / commons.wikimedia.org / wiki / File:Collectie_Tropenmuseum_Schildering_voorstellende_de_moord_op_kapitein_Tack_in_Kartasura_TMnr_H-796.jpg

p. *766* Sunan Mangkurat Mas gloating over punishments being meted out
https: / / digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl / view / item / 855967

Sunan Pakubuwana II conferring with Natakusuma, Arya Pringgalaya, and Tirtawiguna
Museum Sonobudoyo, *Babad Pacina*, A2, p.24. Digitally enhanced.

p. *946* Scene from the Chinese War
Museum Sonobudoyo, *Babad Pacina*, A2, p.14. Redrawn by Sophie Mejan.

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Introduction

Babad are traditional Javanese chronicles written in verse. Although there are many babad, some dealing with a specific area (Babad Madura), or period (Babad Kartasura), or event (Babad Pacina), the 'mother' of all babad is the text known as the Major Babad Tanah Jawi. The latest version of it dates from 1836, although the events described end around the year 1770. It describes the history of Java, or rather the kings of Java, *ab ovo*, that is, from Adam until about 1770. Although parts of this text can be found, sometimes literally, in other babad, there exists only one known complete copy of this text in the library of Leiden University (LOr 1786, 18 volumes, 9,094 pages).

Function

The function of the Babad Tanah Jawi is generally assumed to be the legitimation of the ruling house of Mataram and its current king. This applies first of all to the founder of the dynasty Sénapati (reign: 1588-1601) whose, actually humble, lineage is traced back in a convoluted way to the Prophet Adam. Not only did Sénapati need legitimation, but all subsequent kings needed it, and this led not only to a frequent updating of the text but also to thorough rewriting, when the legitimation of one king meant the delegitimation of a predecessor or rival.

Authorship

The authorship of the Major Babad is for a large part still shrouded in speculation. J.J. Ras makes a convincing case that the first author was probably Pangéran Panjang Mas, who during the reign of Sultan Agung (1613-1646) concocted for the ruling house a potent lineage, mixing ur-Indonesian creation myths with Hindu-Javanese conceptions of divine kingship, the Goddess of the Southern Ocean (Nyai Rara Kidul), and making Sénapati a direct descendant of the the last king of Majapahit, while at the same time interweaving his lineage with the acts of the Muslim wali, or "saints," who established Islam on Java. The primacy of Islam is pregnantly expressed by making the Prophet Adam the ancestor of the Hindu God Bathara Guru. Although the text was probably expanded during the reign of Sultan Agung's successor, Mangkurat I (1646-1677), a major rewrite became necessary after the rebellion of Radèn Trunajaya, the accession to the throne of Mangkurat II (1677-1703) against the opposition of his brother Pangéran Puger, and the move of the kraton in 1680 from Mataram to Kartasura. The author of this major rewrite is said to have been Pangéran Adilangu I. After 1705, the record had to be straightened again in favour of Pangéran Puger, who had usurped the throne of his nephew Mangkurat III (1703-1705) and ascended it under the name Pakubuwana I

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(1705-1719). The author of this revision is assumed to have been Pangéran Adilangu II, a son of Pangéran Adilangu I. According to tradition, Pakubuwana II (1726-1749) had the text updated to the end of his father's reign (Mangkurat IV, 1719-1726) by his secretary and scribe Carik Bajra, later known as Tumenggung Tirtawiguna. Pakubuwana III (1749-1788) had the text updated by including his father's reign, and finally Pakubuwana IV (1788-1820), shortly after his accession to the throne, had a new revision made, which included his father's reign and the history of the division of the realm after 1755. This redaction is generally ascribed to the famous Surakarta 'court poet' Yasadipura I (1729-1803), who had already written a separate babad on the history of the division of the realm, the Babad Giyanti. Ras assumes that the 1788 version was not the final version, but that the text was revised again on the orders of Pakubuwana VII (1830-1858), who was actually the eldest son of Pakubuwana IV. In Ras's opinion, Pakubuwana VII needed a new legitimation document after the early death of Pakubuwana V and the dethronement and exile of Pakubuwana VI, and had the text rewritten by his 'court poet' Yasadipura II (d. 1842) who supposedly redacted the 1788 version by including a massively expanded version of his father's Babad Giyanti, the so-called Babad Mangkubumèn.[1] According to E.P. Wieringa, however, the 1836 'revision' is simply a replica of the 1788 text with a new colophon. Moreover, there was no 'crisis' that necessitated a new legitimation and, most importantly, why was the text not updated to 1830 in order to include the Java War (1825-1830), the most shattering event of the era?[2]

This digression on the authorship of the last revision of the Major Babad may seem excessive, seeing that our prose babad, although based on the Major Babad, already ends in 1742. Nevertheless, the last 'revision' of the Major Babad and our prose babad share a progenitor in C.F. Winter Sr (1799-1859), the Dutch Government translator in Surakarta. Wieringa is possibly right in suggesting that the 1836 'revision' of the Major Babad did not originate from a wish of Pakubuwana VII to provide himself with a new legitimation document, but from a request from Winter to have this text copied and preserved. It is thanks to Winter that we have this unique text, now preserved in the library of Leiden University. It has often been assumed that this text was simply a copy of an almost sacred original supposedly preserved in the kraton of Surakarta, but such an original has never been found. Moreover, it goes against the purpose of babad to be hidden away.[3] The Babad Tanah Jawi is essentially a piece of royal propaganda and should be disseminated widely. According to tradition it was disseminated widely, and at least Pakubuwana III is said to have distributed copies of his version, and the ap-

1 Ras, J.J., (ed), 1987a, *Babad Tanah Jawi. Javaanse Rijkskroniek. W.L. Olthofs vertaling van de prozaversie van J.J. Meinsma lopende tot het jaar 1721*. Dordrecht: Foris. Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Indonesische Herdrukken, pp. IX-L.

2 Wieringa, E.P., 1999, 'And old text brought to life again. A reconsideration of the "final version"of the *Babad Tanah Jawi*.' *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 155, pp. 244-263.

3 See Wieringa 1999, p. 256.

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pearance of almost literal portions of the Major Babad in other babad shows that copies were indeed circulated. In the 19th century, however, when the division of the realm had become an accepted fact, the claim of a single ruler to a single realm became hollow, and no sequels to the Babad Tanah Jawi were ever written again.

The need for colonial civil servants with Javanese language skills

What made Winter so interested in the Babad Tanah Jawi that he had all of its more than 9,000 pages copied, and then embarked on having a prose summary made? The answer is simple: he had been enlisted in the Dutch government's effort to train future government servants with Javanese language skills. Winter himself was the official translator at the court in Surakarta, as his father had been before him. The latter had even served under the Dutch East India Company. The Company usually had some translators at hand, but never seriously invested in training such persons. One of the few exceptions was Nicolaas Hartingh, who as a youngster was sent from Tegal to Kartasura in 1734 to learn Javanese and Javanese customs.[4] It served him well when later as Governor of Java's Northeast Coast he managed to put an end to the so-called Third Javanese War of Succession in 1755 with the Treaty of Giyanti, which divided the realm between Yogyakarta and Surakarta. Hartingh, however, was an exception. Most Company servants had no knowledge of Javanese and counted themselves lucky if they could express themselves in some sort of coarse Malay. After the demise of the Company and the take-over of the colonial government by the Dutch state, proposals were made to improve the local knowledge and especially the language skills of the Dutch civil servants, but nothing came of this until after the British interregnum (1811-1816) a Company-like scheme was adopted to place promising young boys (élèves / students) with local government officials to learn the language. This was an outright failure, except for one boy, A.D. Cornets de Groot (1804-1829), who may rightly be called the first Western scholar of Javanese. Unfortunately, he died young. After the Java War (1825-1830), the problem became urgent. Not only had cultural and linguistic misunderstandings played a role in the genesis of the war, but after the war the colonial government found itself in control of huge swathes of Java without skilled administrators, let alone administrators with the desired language skills. The introduction of the infamous cultivation system, moreover, required a far deeper intervention into Javanese society than had earlier been the case. At the start of the system in 1831, its first director counted only three Dutch civil servants who had a true command of Javanese. To remedy the situation, the government teamed up with the Dutch Bible Society and in 1832 established an Institute for the Javanese Language (Instituut voor de Javaansche Taal) in Surakarta, to which Winter was attached as a teacher in 1834.[5]

4 Haan, F. de, 1910-12, *Priangan; De Preanger-Regentschappen onder het Nederlandsch bestuur tot 1811.* Batavia, 's-Gravenhage: Landsdrukkerij. Four vols. Volume I, Personalia, p. 50.

5 The full and often hilarious story of the Dutch efforts to train civil servants for its colony can be found in: Fasseur, C., 1993, *De Indologen; Ambtenaren voor de Oost 1825-1950.* Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.

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The Institute for the Javanese Language (1832-1843)

The obstacles were enormous. There were no teaching materials, no grammars, and not even qualified teachers. This partly explains the involvement of the Dutch Bible Society, because the Bible translator and linguist J.F.C. Gericke (1799-1857), who had completed and published the grammar of Cornets de Groot in 1833, was appointed director of the institute as the only suitable candidate. However, in order to maintain his independence, he refused a government salary. In 1836, Gericke resigned to focus on his Bible translation, and Winter became the director of the institute. From the start, Winter had to create his own teaching materials. He proved to be quite adept at it. His *Javaansche Zamenspraken* (Javanese Conversations), first published in their entirety in 1848, but clearly developed and used during his teaching at the institute, proved to be an enduring success, and in 1911 it was republished for the fifth time.[6] In these conversations, Winter in a felicitous way[7] manages to capture spoken Javanese at all levels of society and on a wide variety of subjects, customs, history, language, literature, and even the problems of learning Javanese for foreigners. In conversation No. 35 between a Dutch gentleman and a Javanese Radèn Ngabéhi,[8] the Radèn Ngabéhi suggests that babad would be appropriate reading material for students, because the subject matter was rather factual and straightforward, and not too many poetic words were employed. Whether prompted by Ranggawarsita or not, the conversation accurately reflects Winter's thinking about reading material for his classes.

The idea of prose babad[9]

Babad, however, were written in verse (*tembang macapat*), not even in a single metre like the hexameter in Homer's Iliad or Odyssey, but in at least nine different verse metres which had to fit the subject matter and the atmosphere of the event described. Babad were clearly not meant to be read in silence. Even when reading alone, the reader would hum along, if not recite the text aloud. More commonly babad were recited at communal gatherings where the participants would take turns reciting or singing a part of the text. Apart from copying, this was of course also the most effective way of disseminating the texts. These recitals, or *macapatan*, were fairly common until the Second World War, but nowadays they are mostly confined to cultural groups or societies

6 Winter Sr., C.F., [T. Roorda ed.], 1848, *Javaansche zamenspraken. Eerste deel: zamenspraken over verschillende onderwerpen.* Amsterdam: Johannes Müller.

7 The words are of his editor T. Roorda.

8 The first is considered to be Winter himself and the latter the court poet Radèn Ngabéhi Ranggawarsita (1803-1873).

9 Most of the following is based on my contribution to the *liber amicorum* for Hans Teeuw and the references cited there. Remmelink W.G.J., 2006, `How authentic is authentic?' W. van der Molen (ed.), *Milde Regen; Liber amicorum voor Hans Teeuw bij zijn vijfentachtigste verjaardag op 12 augustus 2006.* Nijmegen: Wolf Legal Publishers, pp. 188-208.

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of aficionados often related to one of royal courts in Central Java. One can say that as a literary form of expression, the composition and writing of babad has died out.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the situation was completely different. Writing, let alone literary writing, was almost exclusively limited to writing in verse. Prose did exist, but was not considered a refined form of expression and was only used in short notices, orders, letters, and the like. In the babad we often see messengers carrying letters or notes. Written communications were common, but the level of literacy is unclear. In paragraph 1357 of our text, the bupati of Magetan is duped by his nephew, whom he had asked to write a letter because he was illiterate himself. Sunan Pakubuwana II admits in a letter to the Dutch commissioner in Semarang that due to the absence of a scribe during his flight to Pranaraga he had to write the letter himself, but had had to exercise his hand first.[10] Writing was mostly done by professional scribes (*jurutulis*) and it is also in their ranks that we find the composers of the babad, such as Yasadipura I, his son Yasadipura II, or if we may believe tradition, Carik Bajra, who in 1718 was summoned from Surabaya because of his fine hand to become the secretary of Mangkurat IV, and later rose to great prominence under Pakubuwana II with the name and title of Tumenggung Tirtawiguna.

For the colonial government it was a difficult problem. The modern administration which it envisioned for the control and exploitation of Java could not be couched in verse. It needed a standard prose language into which it could translate its rules and regulations and communicate with the Javanese. In this, the colonial government and the Bible Society had at least one common goal or problem: how to reach the Javanese population in their own language, but at the same time using a language that was fit to carry their message. It is at this point that Winter started to experiment with prose versions of Javanese literary texts. Some of these were from his own hand, but quite early he seems to have opted for having his Javanese collaborators make a draft, which he then polished to a level that he thought was acceptable prose.

Our text is a case in point. The whole text is written by the same, although not Winter's, hand. The first three "books," up to paragraph 1036 in our text, are a clean copy written over the full width of the page with only very few corrections in Winter's handwriting. The last two books are written in Dutch minute style, that is, only the right half of a folio page is used for writing, leaving the left half empty for comments and corrections. In these two books there are many more corrections in Winter's hand. While the manuscript seems to bear out Winter's assumed way of working, it does not say anything about Winter's Javanese collaborators. It is now generally accepted that the first prose babad, the so-called Babad Meinsma, was written by Ngabéhi Kertapraja, who started working for the Institute for the Javanese Language in 1837. Winter was apparently not satisfied with the result, and it is easy to see why. Kertapraja's text is still a mixture of *krama* and *ngoko*, a vestige of the original babad where *krama* and *ngoko*

10 VOC 2588 apart: Letter of Susuhunan Pakubuwana to Commissioner Verijssel, received 5 December 1742.

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are often mixed *metri causa*. It did not meet Winter's ideal of standard Javanese prose of *krama*, the medium of the court elite,[11] throughout and only *ngoko* or other speech levels when appropriate in the circumstances. Winter decided to rewrite the text according to his standard. Whether he did this himself, as was long assumed,[12] or had it done after showing how he wanted it done, is unclear. I suspect the latter. The Dutch professors in The Netherlands are often chided for not giving enough credit to Winter and his student Wilkens, who supplied them with all the basic Javanese data for their books, grammars and dictionaries, such as the massive *Javaansch-Nederlandsch Handwoordenboek* [Javanese-Dutch Dictionary] by Gericke and Roorda,[13] where acknowledgement of the role of Winter and Wilkens is hidden away in the preface, but Winter, too, was rather coy about the role of his Javanese collaborators. In that respect, it was only appropriate that Gadjah Mada University Press reinstated the name of Radèn Ngabéhi Ranggawarsita as co-author on the title page of its transliterated edition of Winter's Kawi dictionary.[14]

Winter was clearly the *auctor intellectualis* of our prose version even though he may not have been the author in the strict sense. Perhaps it was again Ngabéhi Kertapraja, but we have no way of knowing. Another problem is the source text. This is clearly the Major Babad Tanah Jawi, but which version? If we follow Wieringa's opinion that the 1836 version was simply a copy of the 1788 version, there would not be a problem. However, Ras mentions another episode in which the versions of the Major Babad and the Babad Meinsma, and our text, too, differ significantly. Wieringa does not deal with this episode. It is the barbaric execution and death of the Madurese rebel Radèn Trunajaya in 1680. In the Major Babad a far more toned-down version is given and Ras even surmises that the Meinsma version is our only testimony of a lost text. This last supposition is unfounded. There are a number of babad texts that have the Meinsma version, most importantly the Babad Kraton, a text of which we know the age and provenance.[15] The Meinsma version, as attested by the Babad Kraton, was apparently the original version. The reason why in the Major Babad version of 1836 the Trunajaya murder was toned down may be simple. In 1834, Pakubuwana VII married a princess

11 Carey, Peter, 2007, *The power of prophecy; Prince Dipanagara and the end of the old order in Java, 1785-1855*. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde 249, p. xvi.

12 In 1972, Ricklefs still describes the text as "clearly written by Winter himself." Ricklefs, M.C., 1972, `A consideration of three versions of of the Babad Tanah Djawi,' *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 35, pp. 285-315.

13 Gericke, J.F.C. and T. Roorda, 1901, *Javaansch-Nederlandsch handwoordenboek*. Amsterdam: Müller, Leiden: Brill. Two vols.

14 Winter Sr., C.F., and Ranggawarsita, 1987, *Kamus Kawi-Jawa menurut Kawi-Javaansch woordenboek*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.

15 Written by Radèn Tumenggung Jayèngrat in 1777-8. Ricklefs (1972) was the first to draw attention to it and note its importance. A transliteration has been published: Pantja Sunjata I.W., I. Supriyanto and J.J. Ras, *Babad Kraton; Sejarah keraton Jawa sejak berdirinya Kartasura sampai perang Cina menurut naskah tulisan tangan The British Library, London Add 12320*. Yogyakarta: Penerbit Djambatan. Two vols.

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from Madura where Trunajaya was still regarded as a hero. Not to offend his new bride, as women were avid babad readers, he probably asked Yasadipura II to tone down the murder of Trunajaya. Even though Pakubuwana VII was not a direct descendant of Amangkurat II, he probably did not want such a potential bone of contention between him and his new wife. But if Yasadipura II rewrote this part of the Major Babad, what else did he rewrite? It undermines Wieringa's contention that the 1836 version was simply a copy of the 1788 version of which we have no actual specimen. Also, it revives Ras's theory that Yasadipura II rewrote the existing babad and added a thoroughly reworked version of his father's Babad Giyanti. Why he did not continue the text up to the accession of Pakubuwana VII is unclear, but not exceptional, as most babad are in one way or another unfinished, even our present text.

Until we will have a much clearer picture of all babad texts and their interrelationship, most of our questions will remain unanswerable. Unlike the situation in, for example, China or Japan where all classical and historical texts have been studied, collated, and commented upon by generations of scholars, the corpus of Javanese babad texts remains a jumble from which once in a while a researcher pulls out a strand, but the main job remains undone. We can only be grateful that the main collections have been preserved, in The Netherlands in the university libraries, and in Indonesia thanks to the microfilm projects of the late twentieth century. The real work of sorting and analyzing these texts, however, still awaits us.

The closure of the institute in Surakarta

In the late 1830s, Winter seemed to be making some progress. His teaching was progressing and he was getting a prose text to his specifications. However, in 1843 the colonial government suddenly pulled the plug on his institute. The main argument was that the institute did not produce the required number and standard of civil servants. In the background, however, we are presented with the usual sorry spectacle of bureaucratic infighting, other departments eying the budget of the institute, and outright racist innuendo. As an Indo-European without a university education, Winter was said not to be able to impose his authority on his students. Even more basically, the existence of such an institute in Java carried the risk of the motherland and the colony drifting apart. The education of civil servants for the colonies should be firmly based in The Netherlands, so that these civil servants would be imbued with the values of the motherland (read white race). At the newly established Royal Academy of Engineering in Delft (now Delft University) a new department was added for the education of colonial civil servants who should not only receive language training but also a general knowledge of more technical subjects that could be helpful for their future tasks. T. Roorda (1801-1874), a professor of Semitic languages in Amsterdam who had developed an interest in and acquired some knowledge of Javanese, became its director.

If we look closely at all the allegations against Winter and the Institute, they do not amount to much. Winter had indeed not received a higher education and his use of

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Dutch revealed a certain pomposity which may be typical of people in his situation, but there was nothing wrong with his basic intellect or his knowledge of Javanese. Quite a number of his students, especially from the later years of the institute, rose to considerable rank as resident or assistant resident in the colonial civil service. There is no sign that they looked down on Winter. On the contrary, in 1853 they saw to it that the Order of the Dutch Lion was bestowed on him, despite objections that it was not proper to bestow such a high order on an Indo-European, and after his death (1859) they organized a funding drive for a monument for which a commission was given to the then famous Dutch sculptor Ernest Lacomblé, which after a difficult trip from Surabaya over the Solo River was erected in 1867 in front of the resident's house in Solo. Unfortunately, the monument has disappeared in the Second World War, but these actions show that Winter was far more appreciated than appears from the scathing comments made about him at the time of the closure of the institute. That the Javanese appreciated him is shown by the considerable contribution made by Mangkunagara IV to the fund for his monument, and the fact that when in the 1980s the Dutch cemetery in Jèbrès, Solo, was cleared, a few Javanese scholars took the initiative to have the gravestone and some earth of the grave of Winter and his wife (their bodies had since long decomposed) transferred to the family grave of Ranggawarsita in Palar near Klaten.[16]

After the closure of the institute Winter's Javanese collaborators were dismissed with a gratuity of three months' salary. Winter himself returned to his old job as government translator, but was given the extra tasks of translating the Dutch East Indies Government Code, and together with his former student J.A. Wilkens (1813-1888) the compilation of a Javanese-Dutch Dictionary. The latter work was eventually incorporated into the Gericke-Roorda Dictionary mentioned above. All the collected materials and manuscripts were sent to the newly established facility in Delft, where Roorda made a start printing some of Winter's texts with the Javanese printing fonts that had become available from 1839 onwards, first the perpendicular script and in 1845 the cursive script.

One might have expected that now also Winter's prose babad would appear in print. However, nothing happened for about thirty years. It was not until 1874, the year of Roorda's death, that J.J. Meinsma (1833-1886), Roorda's assistant and nephew who had remained in Delft after Roorda himself moved to Leiden, published a prose babad, but surprisingly not the revised version by Winter, but the Kertapraja text, which then became known as the Babad Meinsma.[17] The Kertapraja text was part of the Delft collection, whereas Winter's corrected or revised version was in Roorda's private possession, which might indicate that Winter worked on his text for many years after the closure of the Institute for the Javanese Language, or that Roorda had kept it for himself when

16 30 January 1984.

17 Meinsma, J.J., 1874, *Babad Tanah Djawi in proza. Javaansche geschiedenis loopende tot het jaar 1647 der Javaansche jaartelling*. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff. Eerste Stuk: Tekst.

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all the materials from the Surakarta Institute were transferred to Delft, but it does not mean that Meinsma did not know about the existence of the text. He mentions in the annotations to his edition that he borrowed the corrected version from Roorda's family and even used it to correct some chronograms and to understand some unclear expressions in Kertapraja's text.[18] Nevertheless, he insisted on publishing the Kertapraja text, even though Winter's revised version was more in tune with Roorda's intellectually brilliant, but didactically horrendous Javanese grammar. Ras assumes that Meinsma chose for the Kertapraja text because he felt that it was more authentic. More authentic than what? Meinsma gives no reasons for his choice, and Ras does not explain his somewhat cryptic remark. To understand it we need to revisit one of the biggest academic controversies of the 19th century in The Netherlands.

Pure linguists versus language-engineers

In 1864, the brilliant linguist H.N. van der Tuuk (1824-1894) had published a broadside of no less than 51 pages against Roorda's study of Javanese.[19] The immediate cause of this broadside was the upcoming publication of Van der Tuuk's grammar of the Toba-Batak language. Greater opposites than Roorda and Van der Tuuk can barely be imagined. Roorda, the acclaimed professor, the highest paid professor at the time in The Netherlands, the oracle for both the Dutch and Indies government on the languages of the archipelago, a prominent member of the Dutch Bible Society, heavily involved in translating the Bible into Javanese, and someone who had never been in the Indies. Van der Tuuk, born in Malacca before it became British where his father was a lawyer, who had lived until his twelfth year in Surabaya before going to The Netherlands for his education. There he read law at the University of Groningen, but quickly switched to Leiden to devote himself completely to his passion, the languages of the East. In order to go East he took a job with the Bible Society despite his atheistic convictions and despite the fact that he considered the work of translating the Bible to be as senseless as it was impossible.[20] The contrast in personalities and conditions is stark, though not as important as their diametrically opposed views on how language and specifically the languages of the Archipelago should be studied. To Van der Tuuk, language should be studied in its historical and comparative context as it is actually spoken. Not surprisingly, for his grammar of Toba-Batak he had gone to live in a remote village, where he thought the language was still spoken in its purest form, a procedure which he would later repeat in Bali. Roorda's way of forcing a preconceived idea onto Javanese, with an almost total disregard of comparative developments in related languages in the Archipelago could only lead to disaster. Disaster for the whole discipline and for Van der

18 Meinsma, J.J., 1874, *Babad Tanah Djawi in proza. Javaansche geschiedenis loopende tot het jaar 1647 der Javaansche jaartelling*. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff. Tweede stuk: Aanteekeningen.

19 Tuuk, H,N, van der, 1864, *Taco Roorda's beoefening van het Javaansch bekeken*. Amsterdam: Meijer.

20 Teeuw, A., 1973, `Taalambtenaren, taalafgevaardigden en Indonesische taalwetenschap.' *Forum der Letteren* 14, pp. 163-180.

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Tuuk's forthcoming grammar of Toba-Batak. Van der Tuuk loathed Roorda's influence and the in his eyes totally wrong tendency to force all other languages in the Archipelago on the Procrustes bed of Roorda's Javanese grammar. So he pulled no punches and delivered an almost mortal blow to Roorda's view on Javanese. The heaviest blow was his argument that Roorda did not base his study so much on works written by the Javanese themselves, as on prose editions prepared by his main informant Winter. These not only included summaries of Javanese texts, but shockingly even translations from Dutch. Thus, Roorda was not studying Javanese, but Winterese. His grammar was a grammar of Winterese, not Javanese. No less than nine-tenths of all examples given in Roorda's grammar are derived from Winter, according to Van der Tuuk. Winter had probably convinced Roorda that prose written by the Javanese was no good, but whether Winter himself could write Javanese as a Javanese still had to be proven, for it meant little if a Javanese said so, because natives are generally so little used to seeing knowledge of their language on the part of foreigners that they will quickly praise such knowledge, especially if they are as courteous or given to compliments as the Javanese.[21] Many years later Uhlenbeck would put this critique in a somewhat different perspective by noting that Javanese was more or less Winter's first language and concluding that 'it cannot be shown that except on some minor points the linguistic analysis made by Roorda contained errors due to the quality of Winter's data.'[22] At the time, however, Van der Tuuk's broadside put a big dent in Roorda's reputation. However, it did not prevent Roorda's transfer in the same year from Delft to Leiden together with his over-sized salary, and interestingly enough it did not prevent Van der Tuuk from being sent out again by the Bible Society to Bali. In 1873, however, he got the chance to become a civil servant and resigned from the Bible Society, happy to be relieved of any Bible translation duties. In Bali, he rediscovered Old Javanese, or Kawi as it was called in those days, and until his death worked on his monumental trilingual Kawi-Balinese-Dutch dictionary, which was published after his death in four volumes in 1897-1912.

Although we may discount some of Van der Tuuk's critique on Winter's Javanese, or Winterese, in view of Uhlenbeck's judgment, it is undeniable that Winter's Javanese prose works were at the time discredited in the eyes of the pure linguists. In that light it is not surprising that Meinsma opted for publishing Kertapraja's text instead of the revised version by Winter, even though Winter's text was more complete, more consistent, and more in tune with Roorda's complicated grammar that his students spent so much time on. It was basically a cowardly decision that only allowed him to fend off any criticism by saying it was 'authentic' because the book had been written by a Javanese.

21 Tuuk, van der, 1864, *Taco Roorda's beoefening*, p. 29.

22 Uhlenbeck, E.M., 1964, *A critical survey of studies on the languages of Java and Madura.* 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff. Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Bibliographic Series 7, p. 49.

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What is lost in the heated controversy, is that pure linguists such as Van der Tuuk who mainly had an eye for the scholarly study of a language, and language-engineers such as Winter and some of the Bible translators had totally different aims. Winter, working as a government translator and charged with the task of translating the Dutch East Indies Code into Javanese, needed to be able to express in Javanese modern and alien concepts and needed a standard language for that. Bible translators faced less of a problem, as the Bible was hardly a modern book and many of its concepts could be borrowed from Islam, with which the Javanese were already familiar. Winter's translations from Dutch should be seen in this light as well. They horrified Van der Tuuk, but made eminent sense if we look, for example, at the example of Japan, where the wholesale translation of Western literature, fiction, non-fiction and technical tracts alike, played a crucial role in the development of the Japanese language into a modern language, and was one of the main factors in the rapid modernization of Japan. Although Winter's translations, mainly published after his death, never seem to have become popular in Java, they should be seen as a first step in language-building. It was an effort that would be continued by others. In the next century, Balai Pustaka would make full use of translations to promote literacy. Winter's role in the establishment of the first Javanese newspaper Bramartani (1855) should be seen in the same light. Whether Winter's revised babad was authentic Javanese is an irrelevant question. Of course it was not. It was something new, a new medium that had to conform to the basic rules of Javanese grammar, but for the rest aimed at breaking new ground. Even Winter's friend Radèn Ngabéhi Ranggawarsita was intrigued enough to try his hand at prose writing. It is a pity that Meinsma decided to reproduce Kertapraja's hybrid text that could never earn the respect of either an interested future civil servant, or a cultured Javanese, and so prevented Winter's efforts to create a modern Javanese language from becoming even more effective. In that sense, the present publication is somewhat of a curiosity, but is also a testimony to a man and his unknown Javanese assistants, who strove to provide Java with a language fit for the modern world. Of course, the true language-building in Indonesia did not start until after Independence, but then it was not Javanese but Indonesian that became the focus of attention.

The babad as a historical source

The babad as a historical source is a subject shrouded in misunderstandings. This is partly due to the fact that the first part is mainly mythological and the later parts have barely been used by historians, with the exception of historians such as H.J. de Graaf or M.C. Ricklefs, who have judiciously incorporated babad in their research. If Winter had hoped to bring some new facts to light — in his days not much more than Valentijn's *Beschrijving van Oost-Indiën* (1724) was available — he would have been disappointed, because at the time of the publication of the Babad Meinsma, J.K.J. de Jonge had started to publish his monumental series of extracts from the Dutch East India

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Company archives.[23] Although Meinsma in his annotations to his text tried to make sense of some episodes with the help of the newly available archival material, this only had the opposite effect of branding the babad as unreliable in basic facts and chronology. As a result, Dutch historians on the whole have shunned the babad in order to concentrate on Dutch sources only, making most of the pre-war historiography thoroughly Neerlando-centric. Independence required an Indonesia-centric national history, but in the pressing need to create one, a speedy way was found by turning the old Dutch histories upside down, so that heroes became villains and villains became heroes, sometimes literally so by turning the Van Heutz Boulevard in Jakarta into Jalan Teuku Umar, all under the enduring myth of 350 years of colonial oppression (large areas in Indonesia experienced less than fifty years of colonial oppression). Even though slowly a class of professional historians is emerging in Indonesia, indigenous sources such as babad are still underutilized. Historians often do not have the language skills to read them, while the students of literature usually lack the historical knowledge to interpret them.

The unreliability of the babad in basic facts and chronology is overstated. If we put the babad version of Sunan Pakubuwana II's escape from the kraton and flight to Panaraga, paragraphs 1344-1347, 1350-1354, 1356-1367, next to the diary of Captain Van Hohendorff who was present there, we are clearly reading one and same story, often even agreeing on the time of day.[24] In other episodes we may find an unexpected cultural explanation. When in 1718 Cakraningrat of Madura fled to a Dutch ship because his brother had rebelled against him, he ran amuck soon after boarding because he thought that the captain had sexually harassed his wife by kissing her on the neck. According to the babad his wife had screamed because she was not familiar with Dutch customs (paragraph 970). In the Dutch version of this incident, Cakraningrat's son had raised the alarm because his rebellious uncle was approaching the ship in a boat and he thought that they had fallen into a trap. In the ensuing melee both the captain, Cakraningrat, and his male family members were killed or clobbered to death.[25] Which version is true is not always easy to decide, but without the alternative VOC version we would not even know that there might be a problem with the Javanese version.

Whether accidentally or intentionally, forced by the format of the babad, or their own imagination, the Javanese authors frame their story. First of all, we need to find out why and how they framed their story. For that, we not only need a close reading of the text itself, but also an extensive comparison with similar texts, and most of all a thorough comparison with outside sources, such as the VOC records, if available. Only

23 Jonge, J.K.J. de, *et al.* (eds), 1862-1909, *De opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in Oost-Indië.* 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff. 13 vols.

24 A printed version of this diary may be found in: Gijsberti Hodenpijl, A.K.A., 1918, `De zwerftocht van Sultan Pakoeboewana II, na diens vlucht uit den kraton te Kartasoera, op 30 Juni 1742,' *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 74, pp. 562-614.

25 Jonge, J.K.J, *De opkomst.* Vol. 9, pp. 10, 11.

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then can we form an idea of how a contemporary Javanese, or rather Javanese court official, viewed his own history, which is a first step in creating a Javano-centric history. Properly read and analyzed, babad are a rich source on Javanese history and should be utilized to the fullest extent.

The present text

In publishing the present text, I have done nothing of the above. Even though there is barely a sentence in Winter's prose babad that does not deserve a footnote either in reference to the original Major Babad, the VOC records, or other sources, I have presented the text just as it is, except for some very minor comments where there are internal contradictions, or the text mistakes left for right, or north for south. These comments have been relegated to footnotes or to comments in brackets in the translation. All paragraphs have been numbered to make a quick comparison between the text and the translation possible. I have also added in the headers the numbers and names of the chapters of the Balai Pustaka edition of the Major Babad for those who may want to consult the Major Babad.[26] An underlined paragraph number indicates the approximate chapter change in the Major Babad. In a few cases where the chapter change occurs in the middle of a paragraph, the change has been indicated by underlined double slashes (//).

As for secondary sources, we are fortunate that the whole period described in the present text has been researched. For the period before Sénapati, I may refer the reader to De Graaf and Pigeaud, for Sénapati, Sultan Agung, and Mangkurat I to De Graaf, for Mangkurat II, III, and Pakubuwana I to Ricklefs and Kumar, for Mangkurat IV and Pakubuwana II to Ricklefs and Remmelink.[27]

26 *Babad Tanah Jawi*, 1939-1941, Batawi: Balé Pustaka. 31 vols. This edition ends with the foundation of Surakarta in 1745-6. Our text unfortunately ends just two to three years short of this endpoint.

27 Graaf, H.J. de, and Th.G.Th. Pigeaud, 1974, *De eerste Moslimse vorstendommen op Java; Studiën over de staatkundige geschiedenis vn de 15de en 16de eeuw.* 's-Gravenhage: Nijhof. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 69.

Graaf, H.J. de, and Th.G.Th. Pigeaud, 1976, *Islamic States in Java 1500-1700; A summary, bibliography and index.* 's-Gravenhage: Nijhof. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 70.

[Indonesian edition:] Graaf, H.J. de, and Th.G.Th. Pigeaud, 1985, *Kerajaan-kerajaan Islam di Jawa; Kajian sejarah politik abad ke-15 dan ke-16.* Jakarta: Grafitipers. Seri Terjemahan Javanologi 2.

Graaf, H.J. de, *De regering van Panembahan Sénapati Ingalaga.* 1954, 's-Gravenhage: Nijhof. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 13.

[Indonesian edition:] Graaf, H.J. de, 1985, *Awal kebangkitan Mataram; Masa pemerintahan Senapati.* Jakarta: Grafitipers. Seri Terjemahan Javanologi 3.

Graaf, H.J. de, 1958, *De regering van Sultan Agung, vorst van Mataram 1013-1645, en die van zijn voorganger Panembahan Séda-ing-Krapjak.* 's-Gravenhage: Nijhof. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 23.

[Indonesian edition:] Graaf, H.J. de, 1986, *Puncak kekuasaan Mataram; Politik Ekspansi Sultan Agung.* Jakarta: Grafitipers. Seri Terjemahan Javanologi 4.

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The manuscript is reproduced in Javanese script. In Tokyo in the early 1990s I started reading Winter's babad with the sole intention of not losing the facility that I had acquired in reading the Javanese script while researching my thesis. When I visited Leiden in 1993, Hans Teeuw mentioned to me that Willem van der Molen had just designed a Javanese font for his introductory primer on the Javanese script.[28] Willem graciously gave me a copy of his font, called Rengganis, but warned me that it was not an automated computer font, but more a kind of typewriter with rather uncomfortable finger positions to input the characters. Nevertheless, I was pleased to note that in cursive, his Rengganis font closely resembled the cursive Surakarta hand of the manuscript. I felt that I should reproduce the manuscript in Javanese script, because script and spelling were as much part of Winter's effort to create a standard Javanese as the language itself. After that, it became a hobby that got out of hand. I started inputting the whole manuscript in weekends and holidays, a task that was finally finished in 2006. At that time, I published my first findings about the text in an article for the *liber amicorum* for Hans Teeuw and announced that I was planning to publish the text and translation in future.[29] The main work of translation I reserved for after my retirement in 2010. This took much longer than expected because in 2012 I got involved in a project to translate into English the three volumes from the semi-official Japanese War History Series, dealing with the Japanese military campaign against the former Dutch East Indies.[30] If in 2016 Stuart Robson had not inquired after my progress with the babad translation, the work would probably still be unfinished.

Graaf, H.J. de, 1961, *De regering van Sunan Mangku-Rat I Tegal-Wangi, vorst van Mataram 1646-1677; I De ontbinding van het rijk*. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhof. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 33.

[Indonesian edition:] Graaf, H.J. de, 1987, *Disintegrasi Mataram di bawah Mangkurat I*. Jakarta: Grafitipers. Seri Terjemahan Javanologi 5.

Graaf, H.J. de, 1962, *De regering van Sunan Mangku-Rat I Tegal-Wangi, vorst van Mataram 1646-1677; II Opstand en ondergang*. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhof. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 39.

[Indonesian edition:] Graaf, H.J. de, 1987, *Runtuhnya istana Mataram*. Jakarta: Grafitipers. Seri Terjemahan Javanologi 6.

Ricklefs, M.C., 1993, *War, culture and economy in Java, 1677-1726; Asian and European imperialism in the early Kartasura period*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Kumar, A., 1976, *Surapati, man and legend; A study of three babad traditions*. Leiden: Brill. Australian National University Centre of Oriental Monograph Series no. 20.

Ricklefs, M.C., 1998, *The seen and unseen worlds in Java, 1726-1749; History, literature and Islam in the court of Pakubuwana II*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Remmelink, W., 1994, *The Chinese war and the collapse of the Javanese state, 1725-1743*. Leiden: KITLV Press. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 162.

28 Molen, W. van der, 1993, *Javaans schrift*. Leiden: Vakgroep Talen en Culturen van Zuidoost Azië en Oceanië, Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden. Semaian 8.

29 See p. xviii, footnote 9.

30 Remmelink, W. (ed., trans.), 2015, *The invasion of the Dutch East Indies*. Leiden: Leiden University Press. The War History Office of the National Defense College of Japan, War History Series Vol. 3.

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The Javanese text
The transcription is almost diplomatic. I only inserted Winter's corrections, and in one or two cases I had to use a *patèn* to solve the three consonants problem. The spelling of the manuscript is on the whole consistent. The main development is that after paragraph 693 place names are also consistently written with *aksara murda* and the use of the *na-gedhé* above *pasangan* da or dha in non-names and titles disappears.

The Javanese spelling in the headers taken from the Major Babad has been adjusted to the spelling of the manuscript in order to make the text look consistent.

The text of the translation
Javanese names and words in the translation generally follow the modern Javanese spelling. However, I have used the diacritical marks é and è to distinguish these sounds from the mute e or *pepet*. In the manuscript the vowel a in the antepenultimate syllable is usually written with an *a* without *pepet*. I have kept that in the translation, so one finds Kalepu, not Kelepu, or even Klepu. However, when the manuscript also uses the contracted form, I have used that, e.g. Mlayakusuma, not Malayakusuma.

With the exception of Batavia (Betawi) and Cirebon (Carebon), all geographical names are given in their Javanese spelling, e.g. Kadhiri, Madiyun, not Kediri or Madiun. Krama forms of place names have been converted to their ngoko forms whenever possible, e.g. Semawis, Semarang, Surapringga, Surabaya. Two maps derived from my thesis have been included. Although these maps more specifically depict the situation in the first half of the 18th century and differ in spelling from the text, they should provide the reader with a general sense of the topography.

The dates in the text are according to the Javanese era [A.J.}. The corresponding Western or Common era [C.E.] dates are given in a separate table. Also a chronological list of Javanese kingdoms and kings has been included.

As mentioned above, comments on the text have been inserted in the translation, not in the original Javanese text.

The index
The index generally follows the template made by Hans Teeuw in his exemplary index on the Babad Meinsma.[31] I have not followed his use of shorthand, e.g. s o = son of, which I found annoying. I did on the whole follow his example in listing all the facts about a person under his last known name or title. However, in a few cases I diverged, for example, where I put all the facts about Radèn Patah under Radèn Patah and not

Remmelink, W. (ed., trans.), 2018, *The operations of the Navy in the Dutch East Indies and the Bay of Bengal*. Leiden: Leiden University Press. The War History Office of the National Defense College of Japan, War History Series Vol. 26.

Remmelink, W. (ed., trans.), 2021, *The invasion of the South: Army Air Force operations, and the invasion of northern and central Sumatra*. Leiden: Leiden University Press. The War History Office of the National Defense College of Japan, War History Series Vols. 34 (extract) and 5 (extract).

31 Teeuw, A., [1944], *Register op de tekst en vertaling van de Babad Tanah Djawi (uitgave 1941)*, [S.l.: s.n.]

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under Sénapati Jimbun although that was his last title, but a title that is mentioned only once in the text. Of course, cross references are always provided.

I have dispensed with the several separate entries with "bupati of (Tegal, Lamongan, etc.)," and simply included them in the entry of the place name, unless the personal name of the bupati is specifically mentioned.

Teeuw, probably following the older index of Brandes,[32] also tries to identify the real names of the Dutchmen mentioned in the text. In many cases that would not be too difficult, but it often does not make sense, because the person was not in Java at the time and place mentioned in the Babad. Moreover, I consider an index to be an index on the book, and not a repository of all kinds of interesting facts derived from outside sources. If one wants to include facts from outside sources, there are many other and more important facts to include than the real names of a few Dutchmen.

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to thank my family for allowing me the time to work on this project. Fortunately, they did not see it as just work, but also as a tribute to our common Dutch-Javanese heritage. To that and to them I dedicate this book.

Over the years many people encouraged me to continue the work. Unfortunately, many of them have passed away. I would like to mention Han Resink, himself a descendant of J.A Wilkens, who often told me to keep going and not 'hide my light under a bushel,' and Hans Teeuw, who impressed upon me the importance of just reading and trying to understand what the text says.

Willem van der Molen graciously gave me his Rengganis font, which enabled me to input the text in Javanese script. Nick Elston and Fernando of Asahi Media Inc. in Tokyo tweaked the font and made it operational.

The Corts Foundation and its secretary Joan Snellen van Vollenhoven made it possible for the text also to be freely downloaded in Open Access. For me this was essential, as my main motivation was not only to make this English translation available to the general public, but also to stir the interest of Indonesians in their own indigenous sources.

Last but not least I owe a great debt to Stuart Robson, who not only encouraged me to finish the translation as I mentioned above, but also kindly offered to take a look at the English of the translation. Thanks to him I feel confident to offer this translation to the general public. The responsibility for the translation, however, remains solely mine.

Willem Remmelink

32 Brandes, J.L.A., 1900, *Register op de proza-omzetting van de Babad Tanah Jawi (uitgave van 1874).* Batavia: Albrecht; 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff. Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen 51.4.

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Chronological List of Javanese Kingdoms and Kings

732– 928	The kingdom of (Hindu-Buddhist) Mataram
928–1222	The kingdom of Kadhiri
1222–1292	The kingdom of Singasari
1294–1527	The kingdom of Majapahit
1511–1625	The Islamic states on Java's northcoast
1521–1546	Sultan Trenggana of Demak
1546–1587	Sultan Awijaya of Pajang
1578	Founding of Kutha Gedhé
1588–1601	Panembahan Sénapati of Mataram
1601–1613	Panembahan Séda ing Krapyak
1613–1646	Sultan Agung
1619	Founding of Batavia by the Dutch
1646–1677	Susuhunan Mangkurat I
1675–1679	The war of Trunajaya
1677	Fall of the kraton of Mataram at Plèrèd
1677–1703	Susuhunan Mangkurat II
1680	Founding of the Kraton of Kartasura
1678–1706	Surapati
1686	The murder of Captain Tack
1703–1708	Susuhunan Mangkurat III
1705–1719	Susuhunan Pakubuwana I
1718–1723	The Surabaya war
1719–1726	Susuhunan Mangkurat IV
1726–1749	Susuhunan Pakubuwana II
1740–1743	The Chinese war

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Conversion Table Javanese Era (A.J.) to Common Era (C.E.)*

A.J.	C.E.	A.J.	C.E.
1453	1531	1629	1705
1471	1549	1630	1706
1531	1609	1631	1707
1533	1611	1632	1708
1535	1613	1633	1709
1549	1627	1634	1710
1552	1630	1639	1715
1553	1631	1643	1718
1565	1643	1645	1720
1568	1646	1646	1721
1570	1648	1648	1723
1571	1649	1650	1725
1578	1655	1651	1726
1679	1656	1652	1727
1594	1671	1653	1728
1600	1677	1654	1729
1601	1678	1655	1730
1602	1679	1656	1731
1603	1680	1658	1733
1604	1681	1661	1736
1608	1684	1163	1738
1609	1685	1664	1739
1621	1697	1667	1742
1623	1699	1668	1743

* In 1633 Sultan Agung promulgated a new dating system, combining the previous Indian luni-solar system with the Muslim lunar system, and thereby creating a unique Javanese-Muslim dating system. For the details, I refer the reader to Appendix I of M.C. Ricklefs' *Modern Javanese Historical Tradition; A Study of an Original Kartasura Chronicle and Related Materials*, London 1978. It should be kept in mind that the Javanese-Muslim lunar year (*Anno Javanico*) and the Common Era solar years are different in length and start at a different point in the year. This means that the Javanese year covers part of the corresponding C.E. year and part of the following year. Conversely, a C.E. year covers part of the Javanese year and a part of the corresponding previous year. In the table above only the years mentioned in the text are listed.

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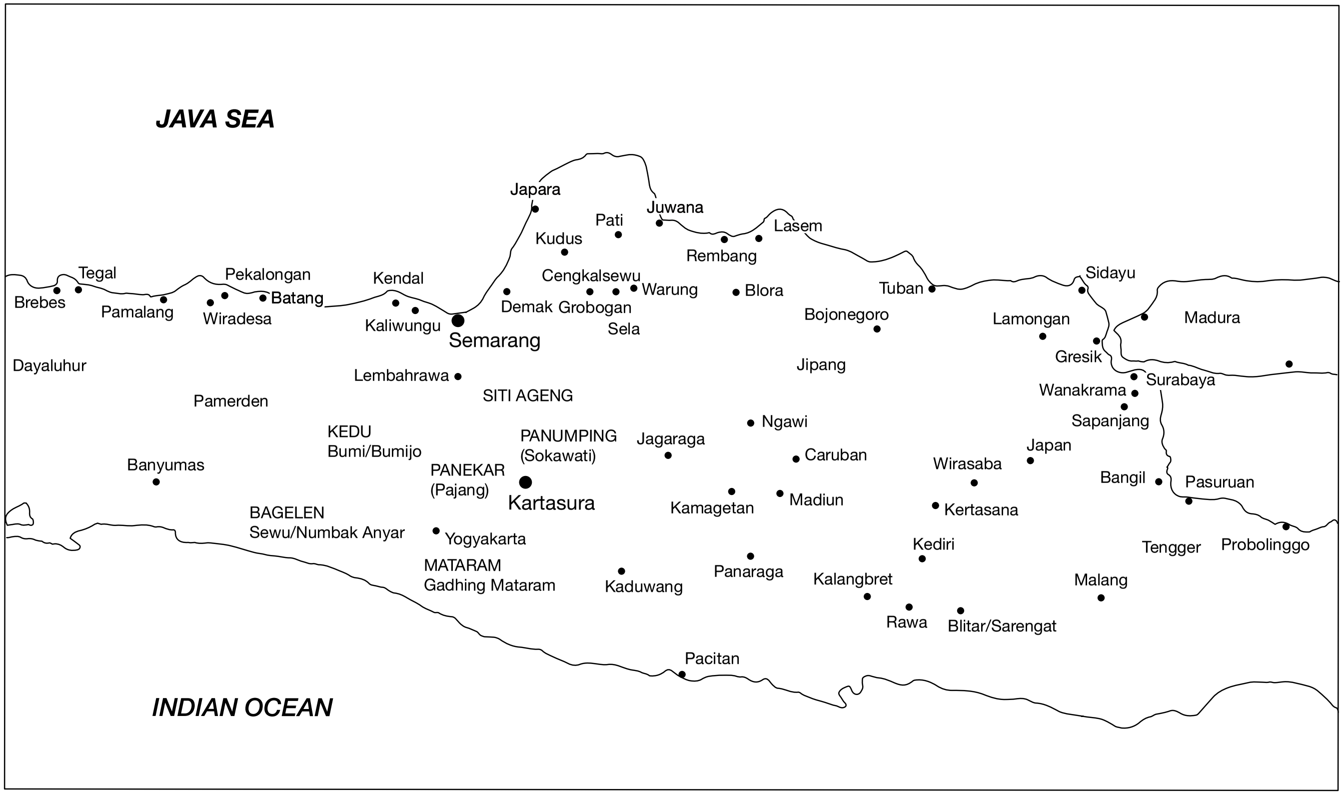

Map of central and eastern Java

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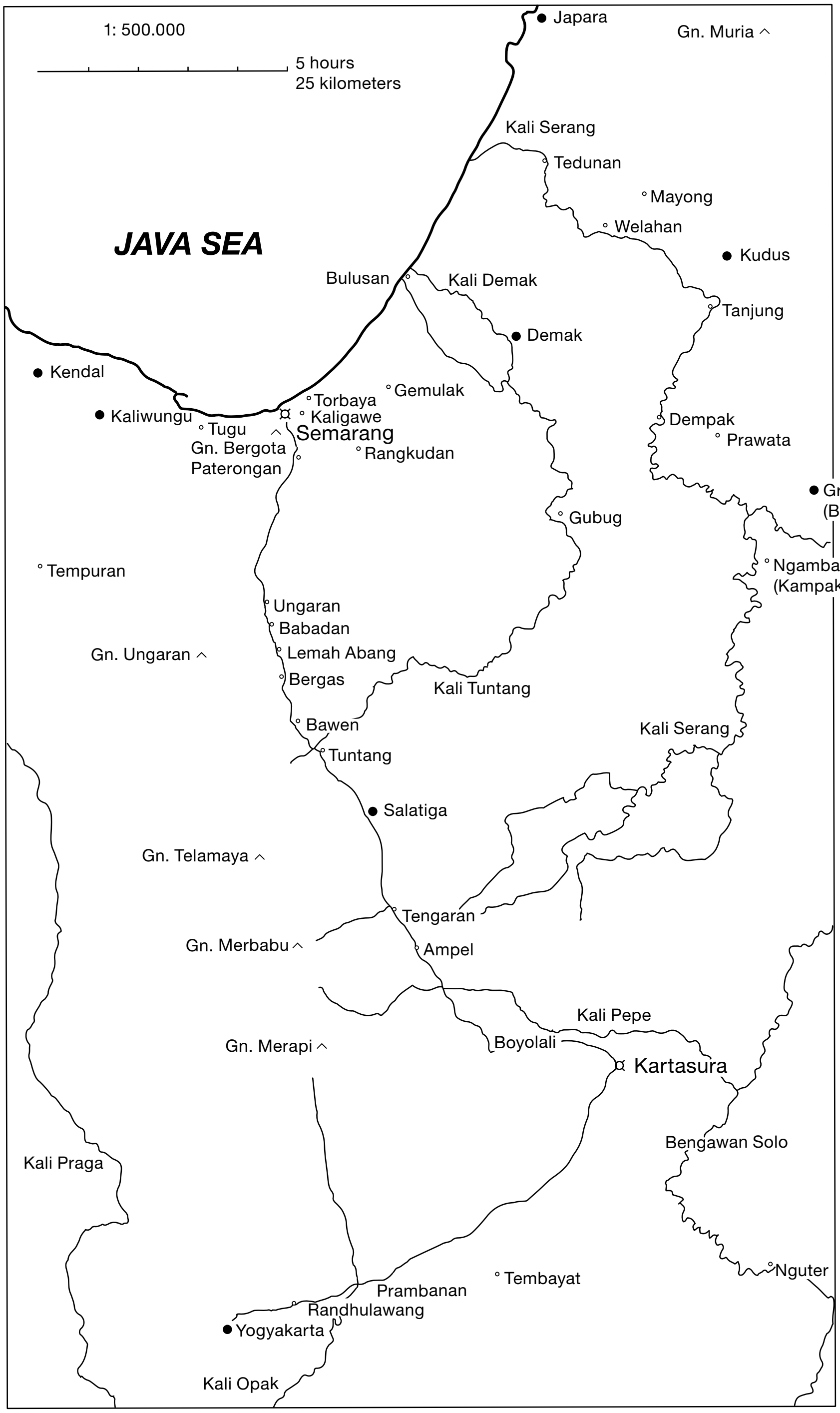

Map of the Semarang – Kartasura area

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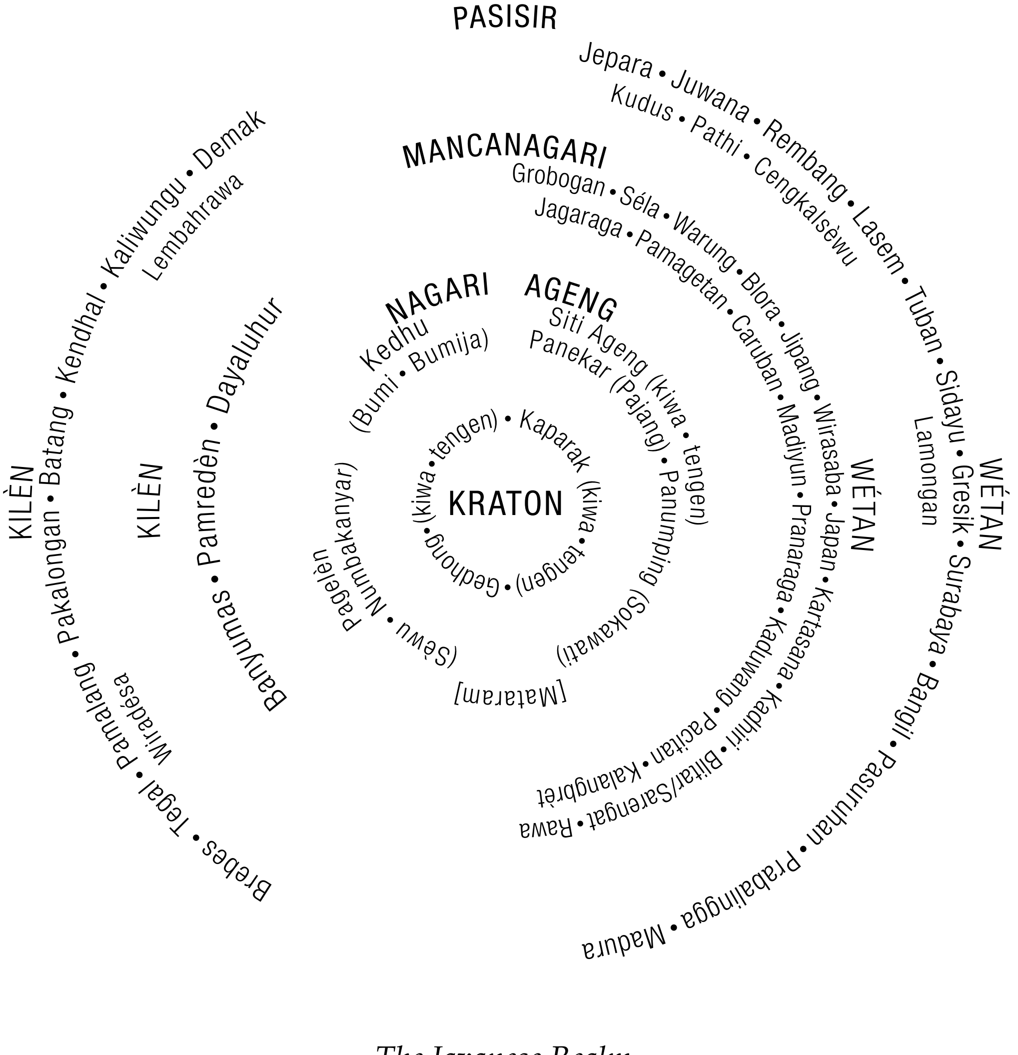

The Javanese Realm

This 'mandala,' or symbolic representation of the Javanese realm, depicts the situation in the first half of the 18th century. The far eastern part of Java (Lumajang, Blambangan) is omitted because it was effectively beyond the orbit of the state. The same applies to the western part where Cirebon and the Sunda lands had been ceded to the Company, while Jakarta (Batavia) and the Sultanate of Banten had never been part of the Javanese state.

The somewhat crowded eastern half of the picture accurately reflects the fact that most 'problems' either arose or ended in that part of the kingdom. For the rest, it represents a harmonious whole. King and kraton in the centre with the four *wadana lebet*

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(inner bupati), two each of the Gedhong (financial and administrative affairs) and Kaparak (mainly military affairs) under a *patih lebet* (inner patih), forming the sacred number five. Often the function of inner patih was not filled, but assumed by the outer patih (*patih jawi*) who also commanded the eight *wadana jawi* (outer bupati of the Nagari Ageng, the greater centre), forming the sacred number nine. The outer patih also commanded the bupati of the Mancanagari (outer regions) and the Pasisir (coastal regions), and thereby the whole realm. One can also imagine it as a traditional Javanese *pendhapa*, a pavilion-like structure of a roof held up by four, eight, and so forth, pillars.

Because Mataram was technically not part of the Nagari Ageng, but a crown domain directly under the king, it has been bracketed. As a rule of thumb, the apanages of the court officials were all in the Nagari Ageng, while the *bupati* of the Mancanagari and the Pasisir were more like territorial lords.

The main problem was how to hold it all together.* It is tempting to imagine a charismatic king at the centre whose power suffused the realm and tied everything to him. Although this may be true of warrior kings like Sénapati or Sultan Agung, their successors needed a more structural solution once the expansive phase of conquests was over. The first thing to note is a reduplication of the central pattern of a *patih* with the rest of the trappings all over the realm, with in the Mancanagari and Pasisir, even a reduplication of the kraton in the form of the residence of the local bupati with an *alun-alun* with sacred waringin trees in front. This was an age-old pattern, probably dating from Hindu-Javanese times, and represented a hierarchy of power that apparently felt natural to the Javanese. It would be a mistake to view this structure as a sophisticated bureaucratic apparatus. Its administrative tasks were simple: extracting taxes, maintaining a measure of public peace, and dispensing justice. Family matters, however, were handled by the local Islamic court, while death sentences remained the prerogative of the king.

If the administrative apparatus did not generate much administrative activity, it did generate power and status, and that was its main point. It strapped the Javanese warrior elite in a straitjacket of formal hierarchy, ceremonial, and etiquette. These saturated society with a profusion of ranks, titles, insignia, and exclusive clothing motifs. They even became enshrined in the Javanese language, with its intricate speech levels to be used with people of higher or lower status. What counted was one's status and that did not depend on administrative competence, as the *wadana* of Sèwu found out when he was dismissed for running away from a wild buffalo calf at a tournament (par. 1206). In a martial society such as the Javanese, a person was judged by his conduct in war, and in peacetime during the weekly tournaments. In the end, however, everything depended on the favour of the king. Only he could bestow honour, with office as the highest honour.

* For a more extensive discussion of this topic, see Remmelink, W., 1994, *The Chinese war and the collapse of the Javanese state, 1725-1743.* Leiden: KITLV Press. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 162, pp 12-31.

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This created within the Javanese elite a relentless competition for honour, with office as its highest prize. For the king it was a powerful tool to bend the elite to his will, but it had to be used judiciously. Some families were firmly entrenched in their position and there was a strong tendency to let sons succeed their fathers. But this was by no means guaranteed and a new *bupati* was often appointed regardless. Since the new man would usually bring with him a throng of family members, kinsmen, and followers who all expected to be rewarded, it created resentment among the followers of the former *bupati*, leaving a ready-made group of rebels in a domain when some larger upheaval occurred.

Another way to bind the elite was to create family or pseudo-family relations. For the king, his sisters, daughters, ex-wives, concubines, and the members of his female bodyguard were a ready reservoir to bestow on his ministers and local *bupati*. Conversely, he would take in women from all over the realm. One of the first things Pakubuwana II did on his flight to Pranaraga was to marry the daughter of the local strongman, even though, as the Babad remarks, she was ugly (par. 1353). So entrenched was this system that when Pakubuwana II wanted to make peace with the Company again, he presented the Dutch commissioner in Semarang and the Dutch captain in Kartasura with wives (par. 1319, 1335). On a local level, the *bupati*, of course, copied the same practices. This was a central part of Javanese politics and explains why in the Babad family and the politics of marriage receive ample attention.

During his embassy to Batavia, Patih Danureja summed it up quite succinctly when he explained to the Governor General that for a Javanese king only two things counted: women and land (par. 1171). These two were indeed his two most important coins of exchange to buy the loyalty of his elite. It must be kept in mind though that 'land' in the form of apanages or domains did not mean the physical land, but rather the tax-generating families working the land. The apanage-holder did not receive land but a fixed temporary share of the revenues in produce or corvee services. In the 17th and 18th centuries, Java was relatively underpopulated, so people were more important than land as such. This also explains why amidst the plunder and pillage of war, women were customarily carried off. They were a coveted asset.

The king sitting in state during his Monday and Thursday audiences with his *bupati* arranged in front of him precisely according to rank and status may represent a harmonious picture, like the mandala above, but in reality it was a smoldering affair. Presence was obligatory for the officials of the kraton and the Nagari Ageng, while once a year during the Grebeg Mulud festival the *bupati* of the Mancanagari and the Pasisir also had to be present. Every official had to jealously guard his status, or maybe die of chagrin like Tumenggung Kartanagara because he had been treated as inferior to Tumenggung Tirtawiguna (par. 1220). He had to be alert that no other person was eyeing his position and try to stay in favour with the king. It was, in fact, an unstable situation that could erupt in violence, leaving the king with only brute force to hold his realm together.

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The use of brute force on a large scale, however, often led to the unravelling of the whole realm. In every domain, all sorts of claimants would spring up, and everybody was forced to make a quick calculation of his chances. A 'natural' outcome in the form of a new strongman who could reconstitute the realm became difficult ever since Mangkurat II had called in the help of the Dutch Company against Radèn Trunajaya. From then on, it slowly dawned upon the Javanese elite that without the help of the Company with its superior resources one could not win. However much they may have resented it, every serious rebel from then on approached the Company at one stage in his career. Not knowing what or whom to choose, the Company usually opted for whoever they considered to be the legitimate heir, the eldest son of the main wife, or forced a compromise on the contestants, as in the division of the realm in 1755.

The dream of an undivided realm never disappeared. However, after the Java War (1825-1830) the warrior elite of Java seems to have resigned itself to the Pax Neerlandica, and let themselves be transformed into the bureaucratic administrators they had never been. But that story leads us far beyond the confines of the Babad. In fact, it killed the Babad as a genre for lack of a heroic subject.

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Fenced waringin trees on the Alun-alun of Yogyakarta ca 1900

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Prabu Watugunung of Gilingwesi

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1. Genealogy from Adam to the Gods
2. King Watugunung of Gilingwesi

This is the history of the kings of Java starting from the prophet Adam who had a son Sis. Sis had a son Nurcahya. Nurcahya had a son Nurasa. Nurasa had a son Sang Hyang Wenang. Sang Hyang Wenang had a son Sang Hyang Tunggal. Sang Hyang Tunggal had a son Bathara Guru. Bathara Guru had five children, called Bathara Sambo, Bathara Brama, Bathara Mahadéwa, Bathara Wisnu, and Dèwi Sri. Bathara Wisnu ruled the island of Java, with the name of Prabu Sèt. The kraton of Bathara Guru was called Suralaya.

2. Bathara Guru had reserved for himself a beautiful princess from the realm of Mendhang whom he intended to take up to heaven and make his wife. While wandering through his realm, Bathara Wisnu happened to see the girl and fell in love. Not knowing that she had been reserved by his father, it so happened that he took her as his wife. This enraged Bathara Guru. He sent Sang Hyang Narada to convey his anger to Bathara Wisnu and to depose him. Bathara Wisnu left his realm and retreated into the forest to meditate in a place shaded by a row of seven waringin trees. His wife, the princess from Mendhang, he left behind.

3. It is told that the realm of Gilingwesi was ruled by a king called Watugunung. He had two wives, Dèwi Sinta and Dèwi Landhep, and twenty-seven children, all sons. Their names were: Wukir, Kurantil, Tolu, Gumbreg, Warigalit, Warigagung, Julungwangi, Sungsang, Galungan, Kuningan, Langkir, Mandhasiya, Julungpujut, Pahang, Kuruwelut, Marakèh, Tambir, Medhangkungan, Maktal, Wuyé, Manahil, Prangbakat, Bala, Wugu, Wayang, Kulawu, Dhukut. They were all born from Dèwi Sinta.

4. At that time, the realm of Gilingwesi was visited by a terrible plague. Of the common people, many wasted away and food was scarce. There were often eclipses of the sun and the moon. It rained out of season and earthquakes occurred seven times a day. All this foretold that Gilingwesi would go to ruin. King Watugunung was very distressed because of the ruin of his subjects. While he was resting on an ivory couch, his wife Dèwi Sinta was picking lice. She noticed a bald spot on his head and asked him about the cause. The king told her that when he was still a child, he had been whining while his mother was cooling rice. He had been beaten with the rice ladle until it drew blood. Then he had run away aimlessly.

5. Hearing the king's story, Dèwi Sinta was dumbstruck and could not speak. She remembered her son who had run away and not come back because he had been beaten with a rice ladle. It matched exactly the story she had just heard. Very distressed that she had been married by her own son, she thought of a means to be freed from the king. Because she had been quiet for a long time, she was asked for the reason. Dèwi Sinta respectfully said that while silent, she had been contemplating the fullness of his majesty's dignity. It lacked only one thing, that he had not yet married a nymph from Suralaya.

6. Dèwi Sinta's idea was that if the king should ask a nymph from Suralaya in marriage, there would certainly be war and the king would die as a result. That would be the way to be free of her husband.

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7. When the king was spoken to thus, he decided to go up to Suralaya and ask for the hand of a heavenly maiden. Forthwith he ordered his grandees and his above-mentioned twenty-seven sons to mobilize their troops. The king then left for Suralaya.
8. When Bathara Guru heard that the king of Gilingwesi was going to ascend to Suralaya he summoned the gods. He asked them all whether they were willing or not to meet King Watugunung. They all said that they were afraid. Sang Hyang Narada then advised Bathara Guru to summon his son Bathara Wisnu and to offer him as a reward that his sins would be forgiven if he was ready to defeat the king of Gilingwesi, for he thought that apart from Bathara Wisnu there was no one strong enough to fight King Watugunung. Bathara Guru agreed. Sang Hyang Narada went down from Suralaya to look for Bathara Wisnu.
9. Sang Hyang Narada found Bathara Wisnu who was still meditating under the seven waringin trees and conveyed to him the summons from Bathara Guru as mentioned before. Bathara Wisnu was willing to drive the king of Gilingwesi out, but he asked permission to first return home to say good-bye to his wife. He asked Sang Hyang Narada to wait beneath the seven waringin trees.
10. Bathara Wisnu left in order to meet his wife. When he left her, she had been pregnant, and Bathara Wisnu had instructed her that if a boy was born he should be called Srigati. When a boy was born, she gave him the name as instructed by her husband. At that time, the boy was already an adult and very handsome. Bathara Wisnu arrived and met his wife and son. He informed his wife that he had been summoned by Bathara Guru to ascend to Suralaya and ordered to meet the king of Gilingwesi. His son wanted to accompany him, but Bathara Wisnu did not permit it. Having said good-bye to his wife, he left and met Sang Hyang Narada under the seven waringin trees.
11. Radèn Srigati, who had been left behind, followed his father and coming to the seven waringin trees sat behind him. When Sang Hyang Narada noticed that it was the son of Bathara Wisnu who wanted to come along to Suralaya, he advised Bathara Wisnu not to take his son. It might arouse the anger of Bathara Guru. Bathara Wisnu ordered his son to return home. Together with Sang Hyang Narada, he forthwith set off for Suralaya. Radèn Srigati was left behind under the seven waringin trees.
12. Sang Hyang Narada and Bathara Wisnu arrived in Suralaya and paid their respects to Bathara Guru. Before long, while they were pleasantly talking, Radèn Srigati who had been left behind followed his father, reached the abode of the gods and sat behind his father. When Bathara Guru saw a handsome young man sitting behind Bathara Wisnu, he asked Sang Hyang Narada who the young man was. Sang Hyang Narada told him that it was the son of Bathara Wisnu by the princess of Mendhang. Hearing this, Bathara Guru became very angry, rose from his seat and entered the palace. Sang Hyang Narada followed him, knowing that Bathara Gura was angry. Bathara Guru then ordered Sang Hyang Narada to demand the son of Bathara Wisnu in order to have him killed as a sacrifice to heaven. And Bathara Wisnu should immediately march against the enemy.

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13. When Bathara Wisnu received this order, he answered that if his son was taken to be killed, he would not be willing to march against the enemy. Sang Hyang Narada conveyed Bathara Wisnu's answer to Bathara Guru. Soon there was a great tumult outside, and shouts that the enemy was coming. Bathara Guru trembled from fear and asked for Sang Hyang Narada's advice. Sang Hyang Narada said that if he did not give up his wish to kill Srigati, Bathara Wisnu would refuse to go into battle and the ruin of Suralaya would be inevitable. Bathara Guru followed the advice of Sang Hyang Narada and did not go ahead with his intention to kill Srigati. Bathara Wisnu was thereupon ordered to meet the enemy.

14. Bathara Wisnu left the abode of the gods together with his son to meet the king of Gilingwesi. When they faced King Watugunung, the king proposed that they would not need to fight. If Bathara Wisnu could guess his riddle, the king would accept defeat and would be willing to be killed. However, if he could not guess it, the gods in Suralaya should submit to him and surrender all heavenly maidens whom he would take as his wives. Bathara Wisnu agreed to the proposal. The king then stated his riddle: "There is a small plant with big fruits and a big plant with small fruits." Bathara Wisnu answered the riddle: "The small plant with big fruits is the water melon, the big plant with small fruits is the waringin tree." The king was speechless, he realized that his riddle had been answered correctly. Bathara Wisnu shot him with a cakra arrow cutting off his head. All his troops fled, they broke up and went home.

15. On the death of King Watugunung, Dèwi Sinta wept uncontrollably, causing a great disturbance in nature. This reached Suralaya and greatly troubled the gods. Bathara Guru asked Sang Hyang Narada what the cause of the disturbance was. Sang Hyang Narada informed him that the cause of the disturbance was the weeping of Dèwi Sinta who was grieving at the death of King Watugunung. Bathara Guru then told Sang Hyang Narada to go down to Dèwi Sinta and try to make her stop her crying, promissing that in three days King Watugunung would be brought back to life again, be sent down and made king again in Gilingwesi.

16. Sang Hyang Narada conveyed the words of Bathara Guru to Dèwi Sinta. Dèwi Sinta stopped crying and the great disturbance immediately ceased. When after three days Dèwi Sinta did not see King Watugunung coming back, she started crying again, causing a disturbance in nature which surpassed the previous one. Bathara Gura again asked Sang Hyang Narada what the cause of the disturbance was. Sang Hyang Narada said that the cause of the disturbance was again Dèwi Sinta, because after three days King Watugunung had not yet returned to Gilingwesi. Bathara Guru then ordered Sang Hyang Narada to bring King Watugunung back to life and return him to Gilingwesi.

17. Having been brought back to life by Sang Hyang Narada, King Watugunung was told to return to Gilingwesi, but he did not want to, because he already felt at home in heaven. He requested that both his wives and all of his sons should be admitted into heaven and be united with him. Bathara Guru granted the request and ordered to admit

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the wives and sons to heaven. They should be taken up one by one, one each Sunday. This is the origin of the thirty wuku.

18. On the advice of Sang Hyang Narada, Bathara Guru sent Bathara Wisnu down to earth to become king of the ghosts and to rule over eight places, Mount Merapi, Pamantingan, Kabaréyan, Lodhaya, Kuwu, Waringinpitu, Kayulandhéyan, and Roban.

19. Bathara Brama was sent down to earth to become king in Gilingwesi, replacing King Watugunung. The island of Java submitted to Gilingwesi. Eventually, Bathara Brama had a daughter called Bramani. Bramani had a son, Tritrustha. Tritrustha had a son, Parikenan. Parikenan had a son, Manumanasa. Manumanasa had a son, Sakutrem. Sakutrem had a son, Sakri. Sakri had a son, Palasara. Palasara had a son, Abiyasa. Abiyasa had a son, Pandhudéwanata, who was king in Astina. Pandhudéwanata had a son, Arjuna. Arjuna had a son, Abimanyu, who was killed in battle, leaving a wife who was far advanced in pregnancy. She gave birth to a son, called Parikesit, who was also king in Astina. Parikesit had a son, Yudayana. Yudayana had a son, Gendrayana. Gendrayana had a son, Jayabaya. Then the kingdom was destroyed. Jayabaya in Kadhiri had a son, Jayamijaya. Jayamijaya had a son, Jayamiséna. Jayamiséna had a son, Kusumawicitra. Kusumawicitra had a son, Citrasoma. Citrasoma had a son, Pancadriya. Pancadriya had a son, Anglingdriya. Anglingdriya had a son, Suwélacala, who ruled over Java. His realm was called Purwacarita. King Suwélacala had a son Sri Mahapunggung. His patih was called Jugulmudha. Sri Mahapunggung had a son, Kandhiawan. His patih was called Kunthara. Kandhiawan had five sons. The eldest was called Panuhun. He was king of the farmers and resided in Pagelèn. The second was called Sandhanggarba. He was king of the merchants and resided in Jepara. The middle son was called Karungkala. He liked to wander around in the woods and became king of the hunters. He resided in Prambanan and was called Ratu Baka. The next son was called Tunggulmetung. He liked to tap palm wine and became king of the tradesmen. The youngest son was called Resi Gathayu. He succeeded his father as king of Koripan. His four brothers were subject to him.

20. Resi Gathayu had five children. The eldest was a daughter called Rara Suciyan. The second was called Lembuamiluhur. He was king in Jenggala. The middle child was called Lembupeteng. He was king of Kadhiri. The next child was called Lembupangarang. He was king of Gegelang. The youngest was a daughter called Prenggiwangsa. She married Lembuamijaya, who was king of Singasari.

21. Lembuamiluhur had a son, Panji. He married a princess from Kadhiri called Dèwi Candrakirana or Dèwi Galuh. Panji had a son, Kudalaléyan, who was king of Pajajaran. King Kudalaléyan had a son, Banjaransari. Banjaransari had a son, Mundhingsari. Mundhingsari had a son, Mundhingwangi. Mundhingwangi had a son, Sri Pamekas. Sri Pamekas had two sons, Arya Bangah and Radèn Susuruh. Arya Bangah was king of Galuh. Radèn Susuruh was destined to become king of Pajajaran.

22. It is told that there was a hermit, who practiced asceticism in the mountains of Pajajaran, called Ajar Cepaka. He was widely known to be clairvoyant, and to know ev-

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erything that had not yet happened. This news was communicated to the king. The king wanted to test the clairvoyance of the hermit and ordered his patih to go to the mountain, find the ajar and take a concubine with him. On her belly a large brass bowl should be hidden to make her look like a pregnant woman so that the ajar should predict whether she was pregnant with a boy or a girl. The patih went to the mountain and conveyed the king's order to the ajar. The ajar knew that the king wanted to test his clairvoyance. He predicted that the pretended pregnant woman was carrying a boy.

23. The patih told the king the prediction. The king was very pleased for it was obvious that the ajar was lying. But when he took the concubine's dress off, the brass bowl was not there and she was indeed pregnant. The king was very angry and gave the order to kill the ajar. After the death of the ajar, the king heard a voice. The voice said, "Hey, king of Pajajaran, you killed me though innocent. I will take revenge on you. When there is a man called Siyungwanara, there will be my revenge."

24. Thereupon Pajajaran was stricken by a great plague. Many people died and this caused the king great concern. He summoned the astrologers and asked for a remedy against the plague. The astrologers said that the king should hold a sumptuous banquet. After the banquet, he should sleep with a woman. This would serve as a remedy against the plague, but later the king would meet with a great calamity. He would be killed by his own son, born of a concubine.

25. The king followed the directions of the astrologers. After the banquet, he was very drunk and slept with the concubine who had been guessed to be pregnant by the ajar. In due time, she gave birth to a son. The king remembered the prediction of the astrologers. He administered poison to the baby, but it had no effect. Then he wanted to tear him to pieces, but the wet nurses prevented him. They suggested that if the king adhered to his intention to kill the baby, he had better put him in a coffin and cast it into the River Krawang. The king heeded the advice. The baby was put into a coffin and cast into the River Krawang.

26. The drifting coffin was recovered by a fisherman, called Kyai Buyut of Krawang. When he opened it, it contained a handsome baby. Kyai Buyut was very happy. He took the baby home and gave him to his wife. Because Nyai Buyut did not have children, she was very happy and looked after the baby. When the baby became an adult, he did not believe that Kyai Buyut was his real father. That is why he kept asking to be told the truth. Because Kyai Buyut wanted to please him, he made up a lie. He told him that he had a relative who practiced asceticism in the forest and who knew things before they were told to him. He would certainly be able to give a satisfactory answer to the question. It would be best to ask him for instructions. Kyai Buyut thought that the boy would not really dare to go into the forest, because it was far away. But he was wrong. The boy asked to be taken to the forest. On their way, the boy saw a monkey and a siyung bird. He asked Kyai Buyut for their names. Kyai Buyut told him the names of the wild animal and the bird. The boy then took them as his own name, so his name became Siyungwanara.

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27. When they had been on their way for a long time, Siyungwanara asked about the house of their relative. Kyai Buyut was in a difficult position, so he evaded the question and said that the relative had moved to Pajajaran. He was a blacksmith. Siyungwanara was very happy, thinking that he would get to see the town, and he asked to be taken to the house of the blacksmith. Kyai Buyut complied. On their arrival at the house of the blacksmith, he entrusted Siyungwanara to the blacksmith and left him to return home.

28. While in the house of the blacksmith, Siyungwanara learned to forge iron. Soon he mastered it, using his knee as anvil, his fist as hammer and his fingers as tongs. Many people came to the smithy to see the supernatural powers of Siyungwanara.

29. One day Siyungwanara went to the market together with the blacksmith. The elephant of the king of Pajajaran was just being bathed. When it saw Siyungwanara, it approached him and bent down before him. If it could speak, it would have said, "My lord, please mount me and I will bring you to pay your respects to your father the king." Siyungwanara stroked the tusks of the elephant. All who saw it were astonished.

30. It is told that the king of Pajajaran came out in state to be paid homage by his servants. He was enjoying himself by having them compete in duels. Siyungwanara was watching. The blacksmith had tried to hold him back, but it was in vain. Arriving at the place of audience, he sat on the same level as the king. Nobody saw it. Then he went into the palace and stopped at a bench made of sawo wood. This bench, whenever it was touched, would sound like a full set of gamelan instruments. Siyungwanara sat down. It made a tumultuous sound. It startled the king and made him very angry. He gave orders to seize the person who had dared to touch the bench. All his servants and officials headed for the palace. They found Siyungwanara sleeping on the bench and sprang on him. Siyungwanara shook himself and all the servants were thrown off. Many came to grief. Those who did not, ran away and informed the king. The king was pleased to learn about the supernatural powers of Siyungwanara. He took him into his service and often send him out leading the troops to conquer other countries. Every time he had success. As a result of the favor of the king, Siyungwanara was raised in rank, given the name Arya Banyakwidhé and an appanage of ten thousand karya. Moreover, he was adopted as a son and given the authority to mete out corporal punishments and the death penalty.

31. Arya Banyakwidhé gathered a great many blacksmiths and told them to make a couch of iron with a door. When it was finished and decorated, it was put in his residence. At that time Pajajaran was being attacked by the enemy. The king was victorious. Arya Banyakwidhé said to the king that he had made a vow to invite the king for a banquet in his residence if the king were victorious. The king consented and went to the residence of Arya Banyakwidhé to enjoy the banquet. After the banquet, the king saw the iron couch. He asked Arya Banyakwidhé what the use was of having such a couch made. Arya Banyakwidhé said that the couch had a beneficent effect. If a person felt listless and slept on it, he would feel refreshed; if hot, he would feel cool; if cold, he

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would feel warm; if sick, he would feel well again. The king wanted to try it and lay down on the iron couch. When Arya Banyakwidhé saw the king lying down, he locked the door of the couch and ordered his servants to lift it up and cast it in the River Krawang. The king was very angry and asked what he had done wrong. Arya Banyakwidhé answered that since he had been cast into the River Krawang when he was still small, he was now taking revenge on the king. The iron couch was then indeed cast into the river.

32. The son of the king, Radèn Susuruh, found out how the couch had been cast into the river. He mustered his troops in order to seize Arya Banyakwidhé. Soon a fierce fight broke out. Many of the troops of Arya Banyakwidhé were killed, because they were wildly attacked by Radèn Susuruh. Arya Banyakwidhé came forward to meet Radèn Susuruh. Coming face to face, he shot an arrow at Radèn Susuruh. It hit him and cut right through his sash. This embarrassed and frightened Radèn Susuruh, so he retreated and fled. He went straight east and stopped in the village of Kaligunting at the house of a widow, who adopted him.

33. After the flight of Radèn Susuruh, Arya Banyakwidhé became king of Pajajaran. He issued an order to all his subjects that it was not allowed to harbor Radèn Susuruh. Those who violated the order would certainly suffer great disaster. Since the village of Kaligunting belonged to the territory of Pajajaran, the widow and her three brothers, called Ki Wiro, Ki Nambi and Ki Bandar, became very afraid when they learned about the king's order. They deliberated with Radèn Susuruh about what would be best to do. Radèn Susuruh said that he wanted to go just anywhere, so that the widow would not get into trouble. The widow and her three brothers insisted on accompanying him. They left the village of Kaligunting and headed for Mount Kombang. About one hundred family members and followers of the widow joined them. On Mount Kombang lived an ascetic called Ajar Cemaratunggal who was widely known to be clairvoyant, to know things before they were told, and who ruled over all the spirits of Java.

34. When Radèn Susuruh came to visit, Ajar Cemaratunggal already knew what he wanted and he instructed him to go straight east. When he came upon a maja tree with one fruit which was bitter inside, he should reside there. That place would in due course become a great city. Radèn Susuruh would become its ruler and the progenitor of the kings of Java, and would take revenge on the king of Pajajaran.

35. Ajar Cemaratunggal was not really an ajar. She was a princess from Pajajaran, the younger sister directly following after the grandfather of Radèn Susuruh. The reason why she had fled the realm and become an ajar was because she was unwilling to marry. All the kings who had asked for her hand she had rejected. After her flight from Pajajaran, she had headed for Mount Kombang, where there was a single cemara tree. That is why she took the name Ajar Cemaratunggal. Radèn Susuruh was also informed of this. The ajar then changed back to her former appearance and became an extremely beautiful woman. Radèn Susuruh fell deeply in love with her. He approached to take hold of her, but the woman vanished. Soon she became visible again but in the form of

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an ajar. Radèn Susuruh paid his respects by bowing his head at her feet and asked for forgiveness.

36. Ajar Cemaratunggal told him further that in due course she would meet Radèn Susuruh again, when Radèn Susuruh had become king and ruled over the whole of Java. The ajar would move to the Sea of Sand. There she would become queen and rule over all the spirits. Then she would move, establish her palace at Pamantingan and become a subject of Radèn Susuruh. As for the descendants of Radèn Susuruh, they would reside to the north of Pamantingan and to the south of Mount Merapi. Whoever became the ruler of Java would marry Ajar Cemaratunggal. Finally, Radèn Susuruh was instructed to call Ajar Cemaratunggal if later on he had difficulties. She would come in a moment to help him with her whole army of spirits. Having finished her advice, she told Radèn Susuruh to leave and head for the realm of Singasari.

37. After having taken his leave, Radèn Susuruh left with his hundred followers. In a forest, he stopped under a maja tree which had only one fruit. He remembered the instructions of ajar Cemaratunggal. He gave orders to pluck the maja fruit. When he tasted it, it tasted bitter. Radèn Susuruh founded a settlement there, and called the place the village of Majapahit. Before long many people came who also made their home there. All engaged in agriculture. Eventually, the village became a great town which was famous far and wide.

38. It is told that the realm of Arya Bangah, the brother of Radèn Susuruh, who was king of Galuh, was conquered by the king of Pajajaran. He fled his realm and went to meet his younger brother in Majapahit. After reporting his misfortune, they discussed marching against Pajajaran, which they then indeed did.

39. After conquering Pajajaran, Radèn Susuruh ascended the throne of Majapahit. The people of the whole of Java submitted to him. Arya Bangah changed his name to Arya Panular. Ki Wira was raised in rank and called Patih Wahan. Ki Bandar and Ki Nambi were appointed as officials.

40. In due time the king of Majapahit had a son. He was given the name Prabu Anom. Patih Wahan also had a son, called Udara. He became the regent of Kadhiri. After his death, Prabu Susuruh was succeeded by his son. Kyai Wahan still remained patih. Then the new king had the desire to go hunting in the forest. Patih Wahan did not approve of it, because he had just ascended the throne and not all servants had yet submitted. He feared that something bad might happen to the king. The king thought that the patih was thwarting his desire and went into the palace.

41. The king had a servant called Ujungsabata, he was the head of the palace spies and was given the authority to enter everywhere in the palace. When he noticed that the king was angry because his desire had been blocked by the patih, he waited upon the king. He very much incited the king and made him more and more angry, to the point that he told Ujungsabata to assassinate Patih Wahan. He gave him his own kris, called Kyai Jangkungpacar. Ujungsabata carried it out. Patih Wahan died, assassinated in his own residence. His wife and children were taken and brought to the king's palace.

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42. After the death of Patih Wahan, the king carried through his desire to go hunting in the forest with his wife, accompanied by his servants. Because of his delight in the hunt, he got separated from his servants. The son of Patih Wahan, who was regent of Kadhiri, had already learned that his father had been killed by the king, and he knew that the king was hunting in the forest. He mounted a horse, took a spear and went to look for the king with the intention of avenging the death of his father. He happened to meet him alone. The king was speared and died. He was succeeded by his son, called Adiningkung.

43. Prabu Adiningkung had a son Ayamwuruk. Ayamwuruk had a son Lembuamisani, and his patih was called Demang Wular. Lembuamisani had a son Bratanjung. Bratanjung had a son Radèn Alit. When ascending the throne, he was named Brawijaya. His patih was called Gajahmada.

44. At night, Prabu Brawijaya had a dream of marrying a princess from Cempa. In the morning, after waking up, he summoned his patih and ordered him to go to Cempa carrying a letter for the king of Cempa, in which he asked for the hand of his daughter. The location of Cempa was overseas. Patih Gajahmada went by ship. Without problems he reached Cempa. The king of Cempa had three children. The eldest and the second child were daughters, the youngest a son. Patih Gajahmada paid his respects to the king and presented the letter. The king gave permission for his daughter to be asked in marriage. The eldest was sent along with the patih, and given a gong called Kyai Sekardalima, a coach called Kyai Balélumur, and an ox cart called Kyai Jebadbètri. The patih departed and without problems reached Majapahit. The princess was presented to Prabu Brawijaya.

45. The king of Cempa received a visitor from overseas, called Makdum Brahimasmara. He asked the king to convert to Islam. The king consented and with all his subjects converted to Islam. His remaining daughter was given into marriage to Makdum Brahimasmara. After his death, the king was succeeded by his son. Makdum Brahimasmara had two children, both sons.

46. In a forest in the realm of Majapahit there lived two giants, brother and sister, who practiced asceticism. The female giant very much wanted to become the wife of Prabu Brawijaya. Because she had the appearance of a giant, she thought that her desire would remain unsatisfied, so she changed herself into a very beautiful woman and adopted the name Èndhang Sasmitapura. She asked her brother's permission to go and pay her respects to Prabu Brawijaya. Her brother permitted it. When she arrived in Majapahit, all the people were astonished to see her beauty. It finally reached the ears of the king. He gave orders to escort her to the palace and took her as concubine. In due course Èndhang Sasmitapura became pregnant and wanted to eat raw minced meat. The king fulfilled her wish. When Èndhang Sasmitapura ate raw minced meat, she turned into a giant again. The king was taken aback and became very angry. He took a spear to kill Èndhang Sasmitapura, but this did not happen, because she quickly

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ran back into the forest. When nine months were complete, the female giant had a son. He was handsome and was given the name Ki Dilah.

47. When Ki Dilah had become an adolescent, he asked his mother about his father. Having been told the truth, he asked permission to go to Majapahit and enter the service of the king. His mother tried to hold him back, but did not succeed. He insisted on going. In the city he met Patih Gajahmada at the place of audience. After having explained what he wanted, he was presented to the king. The king gave his permission. Ki Dilah became a servant of the king.

48. Prabu Brawijaya wanted to go hunting in the forest. Ki Dilah said that the king did not need to trouble himself to go hunting in the forest. He promised to drive all kinds of wild animals to the Alun-alun. The king gave his permission, but if Ki Dilah did not succeed, the death penalty would be imposed on him.

49. Ki Dilah then went to the forest, met his mother, and told her what he had promised to the king. His mother took it upon herself to gather all kinds of wild animals. When they had all been brought together, they were driven by Ki Dilah to the Alun-alun in Majapahit, and this greatly pleased the king. He gratefully accepted Ki Dilah's handiwork. After the hunt, Ki Dilah was raised in rank and made king of Palémbang. He was given the name Arya Damar and ten thousand followers. Arya Damar then left Majapahit and stopped over in Gresik.

50. It is told that Prabu Brawijaya married a princess from China. His first wife, the princess from Cempa, wept very much. She did not want to be a second wife to the Chinese princess. If the Chinese princess were not thrown out, she asked to be returned to her father. Because of his great love for his first wife, Prabu Brawijaya promised to return the Chinese princess to her land. He summoned Patih Gajahmada and sent him to entrust the Chinese princess to Arya Damar. He also sent along a letter.

51. Patih Gajahmada left, taking the Chinese princess with him. He met Arya Damar in Gresik, told him the orders of the king, and gave him the letter, which said that the Chinese princess was being given as wife to Arya Damar, but since she was pregnant, he was not allowed to bed her, but should wait until after she had given birth. Arya Damar agreed. He then set sail and without problems reached Palémbang, where he became king.

52. Makdum Brahimasmara, who lived in Cempa, had two children, both sons. The elder was called Radèn Rahmat, and the younger Radèn Santri. The king of Cempa also had a son called Radèn Burarèh. Radèn Rahmat asked permission of his uncle, the king of Cempa, to be allowed to go to Java together with his younger brother to pay a visit to his uncle, the king of Majapahit. The king allowed it, but they should take Radèn Burarèh along. The three of them left. Without problems they reached Majapahit and met Prabu Brawijaya.

53. The three princes stayed in Majapahit for one year. Radèn Rahmat married the daughter of Tumenggung Gedhé Manila in Majapahit. As for Tumenggung Gedhé Ma-

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nila, he was also called Wilatikta and had a son called Jaka Said, who was younger than the above-mentioned married daughter. Radèn Rahmat then settled in Ampèldenta.

54. Radèn Burarèh and Radèn Santri were also married. They married daughters of Arya Téja. The eldest daughter married Radèn Santri, the youngest Radèn Burarèh. They then settled in Gresik.

55. It is told that there was a Muslim scholar from the city of Juldah, called Sèh Walilanang, who came to Java. He headed for Ampèldenta to talk with the Sunan of Ampèldenta about esoteric knowledge. After staying for quite a while in Ampèldenta, he went off again. He went due east and came to Blambangan, where he headed for the village of Purwasata. The king of Blambangan had a daughter who was very sick. No one could cure her. When treated by Sèh Walilanang, she recovered. The king then wanted to give his daughter in marriage to Sèh Walilanang. In due time, the king was asked by his son-in-law to convert to Islam, but he did not want to. Sèh Walilanang then went to Malaka. He left behind his wife who happened to be heavily pregnant. After the departure of Sèh Walilanang, the realm of Blambangan was visited by a terrible plague. Many people died. The wife of Sèh Walilanang who had been left behind gave birth to a son. On the wishes of the king of Blambangan, the newborn baby was put into a coffin and cast into the sea.

56. The king of Blambangan had a servant called Ki Samboja. He had the misfortune to fall into disgrace with the king and be dismissed. He went away to become a servant of the king of Majapahit. His service was accepted and he was given a position in Gresik. After his death, Ki Samboja left behind a very rich wife who employed many traders. One of her traders found a coffin with a little boy inside. He gave it to the widow of Samboja. She adopted the baby. When he had grown up, she sent him to learn to recite the Quran with the Sunan of Ampèldenta. His fellow student was the son of the Sunan of Ampèldenta, called Santri Bonang. The son of the widow was called Santri Giri. The two boys then planned to study in Mecca. They left, stopped over in Malaka, where they met Sèh Walilanang and became his students. After about a year, they wanted to carry out their plan to study in Mecca, but Sèh Walilanang disagreed. He told them to return to their own country and gave each a hair comb and a cassock. On Santri Giri he conferred the name Prabu Sètmata, and on Santri Bonang the name Prabu Nyakrakusuma. Both then returned to Ampèldenta.

57. There was a dervish called Sèh Rahidin, from the lands above the wind who came to Java. He resided in Ngampèldenta. In due time, he moved on. When he died, he was buried in Pamalang.

58. The son of Tumenggung Wilatikta, called Jaka Said, loved gambling. He wandered all the way to Jepara. Whenever he lost, he became a robber and lay in wait in the forest of Jatisekar to the northeast of Lasem for people passing by. It is told that Sunan Bonang happened to pass through the forest and was held up to be robbed. Sunan Bonang said, "If later somebody passes here, who is clad in bluish black and wears a hibiscus flower behind his ear, you'd better rob him." Jaka Said complied and let Sunan Bonang go. In

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three days again, he passed by the place where Jaka Said lay in wait, clad in bluish black and with a red hibiscus flower behind his ear. When held up by Jaka Said, he turned into four persons. Jaka Said became very afraid and repented. He ceased committing evil acts and practiced asceticism for two years in obedience to the order of Sunan Bonang. After finishing his asceticism, Jaka Said went to Cirebon. There he practiced asceticism again on the bank of a river, called Kalijaga. Then he changed his name into Sunan Kalijaga. In due time, he was taken as brother-in-law by Sunan Gunungjati, who governed Cirebon, and married to his younger sister.

59. It is told that the Chinese princess, who was given to Arya Damar, had given birth to a son, who was given the name Radèn Patah. Her child by Arya Damar himself was also a son. He was called Radèn Husèn. When both had become adults, Arya Damar wanted to retire and live as a hermit. He wanted Radèn Patah to succeed him in Palémbang. Radèn Husèn should become patih. However, Radèn Patah refused because he felt not yet capable. At night, he fled Palémbang and wandered through the forest, coming to a stop on the shore of a lake.

60. When in the morning Radèn Husèn saw that his elder brother was not there, he left to find him, without telling his father or mother, or even informing others. He travelled far, traversing the forests without knowing where he was heading. Finally, he found his brother sitting on the shore of a lake. Radèn Husèn pretended that he had been severely scolded by his father and that was why he had left the realm. The brothers agreed to go to Java and enter service with Prabu Brawijaya in Majapahit. On their way, they met two robbers, called Supala and Supali. The robbers were overcome and told to go home.

61. The two brothers continued their journey, intending to wait for a merchant who was going out to sea in order to sail along with him. They stopped at a mountain which stood high above the sea, called Resamuka. There they practiced asceticism for three months while waiting for a ship to pass by. Then a trading vessel stopped off close to the mountain, and they were allowed to join it. The ship stopped at Surabaya. Both radèn went ashore and stayed in Ampèldenta. They became students of Sunan Ampèldenta and converted to Islam. After staying for quite some time in Ampèldenta, Radèn Husèn reminded his elder brother about their intention to take service with the king of Majapahit. Radèn Patah answered that because he had converted to Islam, he did not want to serve an infidel king, but that his younger brother was free to take service himself, if he wanted. Radèn Husèn then indeed went by himself to Majapahit to enter service. His service was accepted and he was appointed regent of Terung.

62. Now we return to the story of Radèn Patah, who had stayed behind in Ampèldenta and been married to the eldest daughter of Nyai Ageng Maloka, the grandchild of Sunan Ampèldenta. Radèn Patah asked the advice of Sunan Ampèldenta about where he could best settle in peace. Sunan Ampèldenta indeed advised him. Radèn Patah should go due west, and when he came upon a place with fragrant reed-grass, there he should found a settlement. In future, this place would become a prosperous city.

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Radèn Patah set off and came to a large forest, called Bintara, where he found fragrant reed-grass. There Radèn Patah founded a settlement. In due course, many people came and also settled there, and together they cleared the forest and built a mosque. More and more people came. They all followed the teachings of Radèn Patah.

63. It is told that Prabu Brawijaya went to the Sitinggil to hold audience. He asked the astrologers whether after his death there would be a successor to the throne who would have as much power as he. The astrologers said that there would indeed be one, and a descendant of the king as well, but he would move the royal palace to Mataram and rule over all the people of Java. Without speaking again, Prabu Brawijaya went into the palace. At that time, the king was suffering from a venereal disease. For a long time he could not go out. No treatment could cure him. Then, one night, the king heard a voice. The voice said, "Hey, king, if you want to get better, you should sleep with a Wandhan woman who has a yellow complexion." When he woke up, he took a female servant from Wandhan, who had been brought along by his wife from Cempa. After he had slept with her only once, the king was cured. The servant became pregnant and gave birth to a son, who was very handsome. On the wishes of the king, the baby was given to an overseer of the rice fields, called Kyai Buyut Masahar. However, when he turned eight years old, he should be killed, because the astrologers had predicted that the baby would later become king and overthrow the king's reign. This prediction, however, was wrong.

64. Kyai Buyut Masahar took the baby home and entrusted him to his wife in order to take care of him. When the umbilical cord had dropped off, he was given the name Radèn Bondhankajawan. When he had reached the age of eight, Kyai Buyut Masahar told his wife about the wishes of the king. He drew his kris to kill Radèn Bondhankajawan. His wife fainted. Kyai Buyut Masahar did not carry out his intention to kill him and quickly went to the aid of his wife. Because of his great love for his wife, Radèn Bondhankajawan was not killed. Kyai Buyut Masahar visited the king and pretended that he had carried out the order. The king was very pleased.

65. Prabu Brawijaya had received news that someone had settled in the forest of Bintara, who was famous everywhere for the size of his settlement and his magical powers. The king asked his officials whether this was true or not. The adipati of Terung said that it was true and that the one who had settled there was his elder brother. The king then gave orders to summon him. The adipati of Terung went off, leading an army of ten thousand men.

66. On his arrival in Bintara, he told Radèn Patah that he had been summoned. Radèn Patah quickly set off escorted by the adipati of Terung and paid his respects to Prabu Brawijaya. The king was very pleased and showed sympathy to Radèn Patah because he resembled the king. He then adopted him as son, gave him the title adipati of Bintara, and ten thousand subjects. Moreover, he told him that the settlement in Bintara would later become a city, called Demak, from where the conversion to Islam would begin. Having been told all this, Radèn Patah was allowed to return, leading ten thou-

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sand subjects, while he also received an elephant, a horse, a coach, and an ox cart. In due time, the settlement of Bintara became increasingly prosperous.

67. In Kudus there lived a man, called Kyai Ageng Kudus. He had three sons. Two of them had the same mother, and both were already married. The youngest son was from a different mother. When he was asked to marry, he did not want to, and this made his father angry. Out of fear of being scolded, Ki Jaka left at night and headed for the Kendheng mountains. There he practiced asceticism. In time he wandered further and further and came upon a garden with a pond surrounded by flowers. Since he liked the place very much, he sat down under a tree, which shaded the pond. The owner of the garden was called Kyai Ageng of Kembanglampir. He had a beautiful daughter, but when asked to marry, she did not want to.

68. Shortly after noontime, the daughter of Kyai Ageng of Kembanglampir went to the garden to draw water without taking a servant with her. When Ki Jaka saw a beautiful woman coming, he withdrew and hid behind a tree, invisible to the woman who was going to draw water. Because there was nobody there, the woman without hesitation took off her clothes and took a bath in the pond. After bathing, she wanted to return home, but Ki Jaka followed her and forced her to sleep with him. When they had done this, Ki Jaka left and the woman returned home.

69. In due course, the daughter of Kyai Ageng Kembanglampir became pregnant. Her father asked her about her lover, but she did not want to confess. Kyai Ageng was very angry and ashamed. Out of fear for her father's anger, the daughter went away at night without knowing where. When her time had come, she gave birth to a son in Kapanasan. The woman died in childbirth, while the newborn baby lay at her feet.

70. It is told that Kyai Ageng of Sélandaka, whose hobby was to hunt with a blowpipe, happened to come to the forest. He found the newborn baby and carried him along in his sash. He, then, continued his hunt. He saw a deer and was very pleased. He followed it everywhere, but in the end the deer escaped, and this disappointed him very much. He grumbled at the baby and put him down under the trees. Kyai Ageng continued his search for the deer.

71. The place where the baby was laid down used to be the place where Kyai Ageng of Tarub practiced asceticism. After the death of Kyai Ageng, his childless young widow still lived there. The boy was found by the childless widow and taken care of. When he was seven years old, he looked handsome. His playmates all loved him. His hobby was to go hunting with a blowpipe in the forest. When he became an adult, they wanted to arrange a marriage for him, but he did not want to marry.

72. When the young man went to the forest to hunt with his blowpipe, he saw a strangely coloured bird. The bird captivated him. He shot at it, but missed. The bird perched in one place after another. He followed it everywhere until he came to a large forest. The bird then disappeared. In the forest was a natural pool where nymphs came to bathe. On Tuesday-Kliwon, the nymphs descended to bathe in the pool. The young man hid. The nymphs undressed and bathed in the pool. The young man watched in-

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tently, captivated by their beauty. Then, with a stick, he pulled the clothes of one of the nymphs towards him and hid them. None of the nymphs noticed it. They were happily enjoying their bath. The young man then coughed to attract attention. The nymphs were startled to hear a human voice. They flew away quickly, each taking her own clothes. Only one, called Dèwi Nawangwulan still stayed at the pool, because her clothes were gone. The young man approached her. He proposed to Dèwi Nawangwulan that if she was willing to marry him, he would give her her clothes. Because Dèwi Nawangwulan felt at a loss, she agreed to the proposition. He then gave her her clothes, took her home and married her, and this greatly pleased the childless widow of Tarub. In the course of time, the widow of Tarub died. Her adopted son then took the name Kyai Ageng of Tarub. He had one exceedingly beautiful daughter, called Rara Nawangsih.

73. One day Dèwi Nawangwulan went washing nappies in the river. She asked her husband to watch the rice which she was cooking, and told him again and again not to lift the lid on the steaming rice. After Dèwi Nawangwulan had gone to the river, and Kyai Ageng was watching the steaming of the rice while he was taking care of the child. He thought to himself that he had given his wife only one barnful of rice, but despite the fact that it was a long time ago, the amount did not decrease. He could not understand the reason. Since he wanted to know how much rice was cooked, he lifted the lid. In the steamer was only one ear of rice. He then closed the lid again. When his wife came back, she lifted the lid. The single ear of rice was still the same as when it had been put in. This made her very angry. She suspected that her husband had lifted the lid. She was going to leave him and return to the abode of the gods, but she had lost her supernatural powers and could not return to the abode of the nymphs.

74. From the moment that her cooking had been desecrated by human hands, Dèwi Nawangwulan pounded rice every morning. In due time, the barn of rice was used up. When the rice was used up, she found covered under the rice the garment, called Antakusuma, which her husband had taken away when it was lying on the side of the pool. This made her very angry. She took the garment and put it on. Her former supernatural powers returned. She told her husband that she was going to return to the abode of the gods, because it was predestined that they were not allowed to stay together for long. Her final instruction was that if her daughter cried, he should take her up to the watch tower and under it burn some straw of black sticky rice. She would certainly come down to suckle the child. After her final instructions, she took some straw of black sticky rice, burned it and rose into the air following the smoke. This made Kyai Ageng of Tarub very sad.

75. Kyai Ageng of Tarub did as he had been instructed. Every time his daughter cried, he took her up the watch tower, and burned some straw of black sticky rice beneath it, and went down and left her. In due course, his daughter became bigger and in appearance resembled her mother.

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76. It is told that Kyai Buyut Masahar went to Majapahit to pay homage to the king and offer the yield of his fields, consisting of a great quantity of rice. Radèn Bondhankajawan followed him, but Kyai Buyut Masahar did not notice. When the rice had been offered to Prabu Brawijaya, Radèn Bondhankajawan went to the audience hall and played the gamelan Kyai Sekardalima, which startled the king. The player was seized and brought before the king. When the king found out that he was the son of Kyai Buyut Masahar, he took him into service and gave him two krisses, called Kyai Maésanular and Kyai Maléla, and a pike called Kyai Plèrèd. The king told Kyai Buyut Masahar to entrust Radèn Bondhankajawan to Kyai Ageng of Tarub. Kyai Buyut promised to do so and left for Tarub, taking Radèn Bondhankajawan with him. On their way they were held up by two robbers. Radèn Bondhankajawan killed both, stabbing them with the kris Maléla. However, the tip of the kris was broken off. Radèn Bondhankajawan then laid a curse that in future none of his descendants should use a maléla kris.

77. Kyai Ageng of Tarub already knew that he would get visitors. He asked his daughter to spread mats. Soon Radèn Bondhankajawan and Kyai Buyut Masahar came. Kyai Buyut Masahar conveyed the order of the king and entrusted Radèn Bondhankajawan to him in order to be instructed. Kyai Ageng of Tarub understood what Prabu Brawijaya wanted and answered that he would do so.

78. After Kyai Buyut Masahar had returned home, Radèn Bondhankajawan was treated as a brother of Dèwi Nawangsih. At the time she was fourteen years old. Radèn Bondhankajawan's name was changed by Kyai Ageng of Tarub into Lembupeteng.

79. Prabu Brawijaya received news that many people had submitted to Giri. He sent Patih Gajahmada to march on Giri. The people of Giri panicked and fled to the town. At that time Sunan Giri was writing. He was startled when he heard the news of the arrival of the enemy who was planning to destroy Giri. He threw down the pen with which he was writing, and prayed to God. The pen which he had thrown down turned into a kris which attacked the enemy by itself. Many of the people of Majapahit were killed and the rest fled back to Majapahit.

80. After the flight of the enemy, the kris returned by itself and lay down in front of Sunan Giri, covered in blood. When Sunan Giri saw the blood-covered kris, he prayed that any improper behaviour on his part would be forgiven and he let it be known to his troops that the kris would be called Kalammunyeng.

81. On his death, Sunan Giri was succeeded by his grandson, called Sunan Parapèn. At that time Prabu Brawijaya had received news about the death of Sunan Giri and that he had been succeeded by his grandson. He ordered Patih Gajahmada and his sons to conquer Giri. Sunan Parapèn met the army of Majapahit but was defeated. He fled to the seacoast. The town of Giri was then completely burned.

82. The sons of the king of Majapahit went to the grave of the deceased former Sunan. The caretakers of the grave were two cripples. The princes ordered their followers to dig the grave up. The troops of Majapahit quickly set to work, but all fell to the ground. Then the two cripples were ordered to dig. If they did not want to do it, the troops of

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Majapahit would try out their krisses on them. The two cripples quickly set to work. The earth of the grave was dug up and the boards that covered the coffin were removed. A countless swarm of buzzing bees emerged from the grave, rose up and filled the sky. They sounded as if the sky were collapsing. Then they attacked the troops of Majapahit. The troops of Majapahit fled trying to save themselves. Reaching Majapahit, they were still being pursued by the bees. Prabu Brawijaya and his army left the town and fled far away because they were not able to ward off the attack of the bees. The bees then returned to their place. When the bees had gone, Prabu Brawijaya returned with his army to the town and did not have the intend to harm Sunan Giri again.

83. It is told that the two cripples who guarded the grave recovered from their illness. They quickly ran to inform Sunan Parapèn, who had fled to the seacoast, that the enemy had withdrawn because they had been attacked by bees, and they informed him of the cause of their cure.

84. When Sunan Parapèn received the report of the two men, he returned to Giri. In due course, Giri became as prosperous as before and did not have enemies again.

85. At that time Prabu Brawijaya remembered his son who had settled in Bintara. He said to the adipati of Terung, "What is wrong with your brother, seeing that he hasn't paid homage for a long time? He promised me to pay homage every year. Now it is already three years since he came here. Is it that he is enjoying his life so much that he doesn't remember me? I want you to go to Bintara and ask your brother why he doesn't come to pay me homage."

86. Escorted by ten thousand men, the adipati of Terung thereupon left for Bintara. He met his elder brother and conveyed the order of the king. Radèn Patah answered that he was very grateful for the affection of Prabu Brawijaya. The reason that he did not come to pay homage was because of a religious prohibition which did not allow a Muslim to pay homage to an unbeliever. Moreover, it had been predicted that Bintara would become a kingdom, and there the Javanese would begin the conversion to Islam.

87. The adipati of Terung understood the implication and he was afraid to return to Majapahit unless together with his brother. He urged Radèn Patah to quickly carry out his plan. The adipati of Terung was willing to help him in the fight. Then they agreed to gather together all Muslims with their arms in Bintara. The bupati of Madura, Arya Téja of Tuban, the bupati of Surabaya, and the pandhita of Giri and the wali, and of course all the faithful gathered in Bintara with their troops. Then they set out for Majapahit. The number of troops was innumerable. The city of Majapahit was encircled. Many inhabitants submitted to the adipati of Bintara. Nobody dared to meet him in battle. The adipati of Bintara and the adipati of Terung entered the Alun-alun. The adipati of Bintara sat down on the throne on the Pagelaran, while his troops respectfully sat on their heels facing him.

88. Patih Gajahmada informed the king that the enemy from Bintara had arrived and that the adipati of Bintara was sitting in state on the Pagelaran. When Prabu Brawijaya heard that his son was on the Pagelaran, he ascended the lookout tower to look at his

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son. Having seen his son, he ascended to heaven together with the servants who had remained faithful. At the moment Prabu Brawijaya ascended to heaven, something like a fireball was seen coming out of the palace of Majapahit. It flashed like a bolt of lightning and sounded like a terrifying thunderclap. It fell down in Bintara.

89. The adipati of Bintara entered the palace. He was astonished that he did not encounter a single person. He wept in his heart, then left the palace and returned to Bintara with his troops. On his return to Bintara, Sunan Ampèldenta said to the adipati of Bintara that he should become king of Majapahit, which was rightfully his heritage, but that in the meantime Sunan Giri should be king of Majapahit for a period of forty days as a means of removing the traces of the king who had been an unbeliever. This advice was indeed carried out.

90. When forty days had passed, Sunan Giri handed over the reign to Radèn Patah. Radèn Patah then became king in Demak and ruled the whole of Java, bearing the title of Sénapati Jimbun Abdurahman Panembahan Palémbang Sayidin Panatagama. Ki Wanapala was elevated to patih with the title of Mangkurat. The people of Java were all obedient and followed Islam. Then they agreed to build a mosque in Demak. The wali assigned the work amongst each other. They all had provided their part. Only Sunan Kalijaga lagged behind. He had not yet done his part because he had been on a pilgrimage to Pamantingan. On his arrival in Demak, the mosque was about to be built. Sunan Kalijaga quickly assembled some wood-shavings and tied them together. That very night, the bundle of wood-shavings turned into a pillar. The next day, the first of the month Dulkangidah of the year 1420 [A.J.], the mosque was erected. It was oriented toward the Kaabah in Mecca. Sunan Kudus became the chief official. One week after the erection of the mosque, the wali happened to be chanting dikir recitations in the mosque. Sunan Kalijaga was sitting separately from the others, bent in concentration under the mosque drum. Then a package fell from above. It was wrapped in a goatskin and contained the prayer rug and prayer shawl of the Prophet. The wali agreed that it would be best to divide the whole package, but Sunan Bonang did not agree. He wanted the package to be be thrown up in the air and whoever it fell on should have it. The package was then thrown up and fell into the lap of Sunan Kalijaga. Sunan Kalijaga was taken aback and for forty days practiced asceticism inside a burial pit, while sewing the skin and reciting the two parts of the Profession of Faith. The skin became a jacket, called Antakusuma or Kyai Gondhil. Later on, it became the dress of the kings when they ascended the throne and when they made war. Only the sultans of Demak and Pajang did not wear it.

91. At that time Sunan Bonang summoned a blacksmith from Tuban, called Ki Sura. He gave him an iron mace and told him to make a circumcising knife. However, he made a kris of the sangkelat design. Then he was told to make another kris with the leftover iron of the mace. He indeed made one, of the pasopati design which he offered to Sunan Bonang. Both krisses were not what Sunan Bonang wanted, nevertheless he accepted the work of Ki Sura, because he knew that both krisses would be used by the kings

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who ruled Java. After making the krisses, Ki Sura got an eye disease. As a result, he became blind and could not make krisses again.

92. Sunan Bonang then went to the forest and saw a hollow jati tree stump on the edge of the water, overgrown by ferns with curling young shoots which densely packed the foot of the tree stump. He looked closely at the tree stump and got the idea to use its shape as a model for the hilts of both krisses which he would wear himself. On his return home, he made the hilts. When finished, they turned out to be very good, and fitting to be worn by kings. Therefore he fitted them to both krisses. The hilts he called sprouting-stump hilts.

93. On a Friday Sunan Bonang went to the mosque to pray. After prayers, Sunan Kudus asked why he was not using a mace. Sunan Bonang told him and showed the pasopati kris. Sunan Kudus liked the design of the kris very much and borrowed it to use as a model. The person whom he asked to make it was a smith called Ki Janas. When it was finished, the model was returned.

94. It is told that Kyai Ageng of Tarub loved Radèn Lembupeteng very much, as if he were his own son, for he had had a revelation, so he knew the predestined fate of Radèn Lembupeteng. That is why he supervised his education strictly and told him to practice asceticism under the pretext of working the ricefields. Radèn Lembupeteng obeyed his father's order. Every day he visited the non-irrigated ricefields where he planted all kinds of plants to his heart's content. At midday he was brought food. At that time, the daughter of Kyai Ageng of Tarub, called Dèwi Nawangsih, had reached the age at which girls become keen on clothes and she became more and more beautiful. Every day she was told to bring food to Radèn Lembupeteng in the ricefield. One day Dèwi Nawangsih brought food to the ricefield. When she came to the field, the food was accepted by Radèn Lembupeteng, but he kept holding her hand, which startled Dèwi Nawangsih. She returned home and told her father. Kyai Ageng in Tarub said, "Just be quiet, girl. In fact Lembupeteng is your adoptive brother, not your real brother." Dèwi Nawangsih then calmed down. That night she was married to Radèn Lembupeteng, but they did not sleep together yet. Kyai Ageng of Tarub died. When after some time Dèwi Nawangsih felt lonely, she went to sleep and live with her husband. They loved each other very much. Radèn Lembupeteng changed his name to Kyai Ageng Tarub.

95. In due course Dèwi Nawangsih became pregnant. When she was due, she gave birth to a handsome son. His parents loved him very much. When he was weaned, they had another child, a daughter. Then Kyai Ageng Tarub became sick and died. Of the two children, the boy, called Kyai Getaspandhawa, was already married. The girl was given in marriage to Kyai Ageng Ngerang. Kyai Getaspandhawa had seven children. The eldest was a boy, called Kyai Ageng Séla. The other six siblings were all girls, named Nyai Ageng of Pakis, Nyai Ageng of Purna, Nyai Ageng of Karé, Nyai Ageng of Wanglu, Nyai Ageng of Bokong, and Nyai Ageng of Adibaya. They all lived harmoniously together.

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96. It is told that Kyai Ageng of Pengging, also called Adipati Andayaningrat, was supernaturally very powerful. At the time of Prabu Brawijaya of Majapahit, he was very much liked by the king, who gave him a daughter in marriage. They had two children called Kebokanigara and Kebokenanga. After having two children, Adipati Andayaningrat died.

97. The two brothers had a dispute. The eldest, Kebokanigara, adhered to the Buddhist religion. He went to practice asceticism in a volcanic crater and in the mountains following the example of the ascetics. When he died, he was burned and his grave is unknown. Kebokenanga on the other hand practiced Islam. He followed the rules of the Prophet and took part in the Friday prayers in Pengging. Many villagers came to pray in Pengging.

98. Kebokenanga went to study under the pangéran of Sitijenar. He studied together with three other students, called Kyai Ageng of Tingkir, Kyai Ageng of Butuh, and Kyai Ageng Ngerang. At the behest of the pangéran of Sitijenar, the four men entered a brotherhood pact and became of one mind.

99. It is told that the Sultan of Demak learned that a descendant of Adipati Andayaningrat, who was called Kebokenanga, had now assumed the name Kyai Ageng Pengging and converted to Islam, but had not yet paid homage to Demak. The Sultan of Demak looked angry because Pengging was a former regency and Kyai Ageng Pengging was related to the Sultan of Demak. He thought that Kyai Ageng Pengging was thinking of setting himself up as king. The Sultan of Demak then sent an elder relative, called Kyai Ageng Wanapala, to Pengging and ordered him to try to trick Kyai Ageng Pengging into divulging his plans. Having understood his mission, Kyai Ageng Wanapala left. On his arrival in Pengging, he met Kyai Ageng and they shook hands. Kyai Ageng Pengging asked what his problem was that he was acting so suspiciously. Kyai Ageng Wanapala admitted frankly that he had been sent by the Sultan. Thereupon both men debated heatedly with each other, each losing in turn. When Kyai Ageng Wanapala had found out what the plans of Kyai Ageng Pengging were, he took his leave and returned to Demak. He reported to the Sultan that Kyai Ageng Pengging had no good intentions. Outwardly he fulfilled his religious obligations, but in his heart he wanted to become king. He was extremely clever in disguising his conduct. Kyai Ageng Wanapala said, "I advise that you give him some time, for I have given him a limit of two years, and then he should pay his respects in Demak." Kyai Ageng Wanapala talked a lot in order to do away with the anger of the king towards Kyai Ageng Pengging.

100. On the return of the envoy from Demak, Kyai Ageng Pengging was visited by Kyai Ageng Tingkir, Kyai Ageng Ngerang, and Kyai Ageng Butuh. The reason why they came to visit was because they had learned that Kyai Ageng Pengging had been summoned to go to Demak, but had refused. Since they had entered into a pact of brotherhood and followed the same teacher, they were worried about Kyai Ageng Pengging. They asked him why he did not want to pay his respects when summoned, and ad-

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monished him to go if he was summoned again. However, Kyai Ageng Penging refused obstinately.

101. At that time Kyai Ageng Pengging held at night a wayang bèbèr performance. His wife was heavily pregnant and that very night gave birth to a handsome son. At the same time a rainbow was seen and there was a heavy downpour of rain. The wayang bèbèr performer was told to stop. After the baby had been cleansed, he was given to Kyai Ageng Tingkir who received him and took him on his lap. He said to Kyai Ageng Pengging, "Brother, this child of yours is truly handsome. I am certain that he will later achieve a high rank. Fortunate are those who will witness it. I will name this boy Mas Krèbèt, as he was born just when you were holding a wayang bèbèr performance."

102. After staying for ten days in Pengging, Kyai Ageng Tingkir, Kyai Ageng Butuh and Kyai Ageng Ngerang returned home. Shortly afterwards, Kyai Ageng Tingkir died. Kyai Ageng Pengging was invited to come by the widow of Kyai Ageng Tingkir. He stayed for five days in Tingkir, then went home to Pengging. Arriving back home, he was very sad and wished that he would soon follow Kyai Ageng Tingkir in death.

103. It is told that the Sultan of Demak had long been expecting a visit from Kyai Ageng Pengging to pay homage, as the two years' time limit had passed. He now thought that it was clear that Kyai Ageng Pengging had become rebellious because he was not willing to come to pay homage. For that reason he sent Sunan Kudus to Pengging to convey his anger. Sunan Kudus departed taking only seven followers with him and a small gong called Kyai Macan, an heirloom from his father-in-law, the adipati of Terung.

104. On his way Sunan Kudus gave names to the villages that he passed, such as Kalibuthak, Pépé, Sima, Jimbungan, Drana, and Aru-aru. When he arrived in Pengging, he met Kyai Ageng Pengging and they debated about esoteric knowledge. Kyai Ageng Pengging was caught being duplicitous in his intentions, but he accepted the sentence for people who are insincere towards their king and met his death, as his elbow was slit by Sunan Kudus. His family members were in an uproar, as they all wanted to join Kyai Ageng Pengging in death and pursued Sunan Kudus. Sunan Kudus then produced his supernatural powers. He had only seven followers, but to the people of Pengging they looked like twenty thousand complete with their weapons. However, the people of Pengging were not afraid and pressed the attack while beating a little gong called Kyai Udanarum. Sunan Kudus then again brought out his magical powers. He struck with his walking stick at them. Instantly the people of Pengging lost their fury and they returned home to lay out the corpse of Kyai Ageng Pengging. He was buried to the northeast of his house. Forty days later the wife of Kyai Ageng Pengging died.

105. Mas Krèbèt was left behind an orphan and was cared for by his relatives. When he had grown up, he was entrusted to the widow of Tingkir. There he was spoiled very much, all the more so because the widow was rich and held in great respect by her neighbours in the village. In due course, Mas Krèbèt was generally called Jaka Tingkir. In his behaviour and wishes he differed from most children. He liked to withdraw for meditation into the mountains, the forests, and even more so in caves, for more than

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ten days or half a month. His mother often did not know where he was and worried very much that her son's love of wandering into the forests could not be restrained. One day when Jaka Tingkir came back home, his mother embraced him and said, "My boy, don't be so addicted to wandering into the mountains. You should know that the people who practice asceticism in the mountains are still infidels and don't follow the religion of the Prophet. It would be better for you to take one of the faithful as your teacher." Ki Jaka then asked permission to go and study under the guidance of a believer. His mother gave permission. Ki Jaka departed alone. He went northeast and arrived in Séla, in order to follow the teachings of Kyai Ageng of Séla.

106. Kyai Ageng of Séla was taken with Jaka Tingkir. He then adopted him as his grandson and spoiled him. While in Séla, Ki Jaka loved to perform wayang plays and he became known for his ability to perform them. Kyai Ageng of Séla loved him more and more and did not want to be separated from him. Every time when he retreated to meditate, he took him along.

107. Kyai Ageng of Séla knew how to disguise his conduct. In his heart he prayed fervently to God that he could become the progenitor of the kings who ruled over Java, for he felt that he was a descendant of Prabu Brawijaya of Majapahit. At that time he had already spent seven days and seven nights in a shelter on a dry rice field in a forest which had just been cleared. The name of the forest was the forest of Rèncèh and it was located to the northeast of Tarub. At night, when sleeping there, Jaka Tingkir slept at his feet. Kyai Ageng of Séla dreamed that he went into the forest carrying a chopper to clear the forest. He saw that Ki Jaka Tingkir was already in the forest and that all the trees had already been cut down and were being dragged away by Ki Jaka Tingkir. In his dream Kyai Ageng was astonished and woke with a start. Ki Jaka Tingkir was still sleeping at his feet. He woke him up and asked, "Boy, while I was sleeping, did you go out?" Ki Jaka answered, "No." Kyai Ageng was truly amazed to hear his grandson's answer. He realized that he had dreamed and said to himself, "My dream is truly astonishing, seeing that I have been praying fervently to God, but all that time was never granted a sign like that, while this child who to my mind doesn't have an aspiration like me, nevertheless I see in my dream like that." Kyai Ageng then asked Ki Jaka, "My boy, as far as you can remember, what did you dream about in the past?" Ki Jaka said frankly, "When once I was making a pilgrimage to Mount Télamaya, at night I slept and dreamt that the moon fell on me. At that very moment, Mount Télamaya made a thunderous noise. Then I woke up. What does this mean?" Kyai Ageng was even more amazed to hear the words of his grandson. If he did not have so much fear for God, he might have tried to bring misfortune on Ki Jaka, but he knew that what had been predestined ought not to be thwarted by man. He said to Ki Jaka, "Boy, don't ask the meaning of your dream. It is an extremely good dream, in fact the best of dreams. As for my advice to you, you should now enter service in Demak. There you will perhaps find the meaning of your dream. I will just support you with prayers." Ki Jaka said, "I will do as you order and I will hold your words in esteem for always." Kyai Ageng said

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again, "Yes, boy, may my fasting and watching find their reward in you. However, let a descendant of mine continue the high position to which you are destined." Ki Jaka answered, "As you wish." Hearing this, Kyai Ageng was very much relieved and taught Ki Jaka many lessons.

108. Jaka Tingkir left. On his way he stopped in Tingkir to tell his mother everything Kyai Ageng of Séla had said. His mother said, "Boy, the advice of Kyai Ageng of Séla is very true, so there is something I am hoping for. You should carry it out rightaway, but wait first for your two servants whom I sent out to weed the fields. I will tell them to accompany you. Moreover, I have a male relative who is serving the Sultan of Demak. His name is Kyai Ganjur and he is the chief of the Suranata. I will entrust you to him and ask him to present you to the king." Ki Jaka did what his mother said and joined in weeding the rice field, helping the above men the whole day long. When late in the afternoon the sky became overcast and it started to drizzle. Sunan Kalijaga was passing close by the rice field holding his mace. He called out to Ki Jaka from outside the rice field, "Boy, what are you doing there just weeding all the time? Stop it and forthwith take service in Demak, for you are destined to become a king who will rule over the land of Java." Having said this, he left in a northerly direction. When he was out of sight, Ki Jaka went home and told his mother what had been said by Sunan Kalijaga. His mother was very happy and said, "Boy, you are very lucky to get the instruction of Sunan Kalijaga. Go quickly to Demak. Don't wait for the weeding to be finished. I will get help to do the rest." Ki Jaka left accompanied by the two men. Arriving in Demak, he headed straight for the house of Kyai Ganjur.

109. It is told that the Sultan of Demak had reached the end of his life and died leaving behind six children. The eldest was a daughter, called Ratu Mas. She had married the pangéran of Cirebon. The second child was called Pangéran Sabranglèr. He was the one who succeeded his father as king. Then came Pangéran Sédainglèpen, then Radèn Trenggana, then Radèn Kandhuruwan, and the youngest was called Radèn Pamekas. The one who became king soon died without having children. He was succeeded by Radèn Trenggana with the title Sultan Demak. Patih Mangkurat had also died. He was succeeded by his son, called Patih Wanasalam. In wisdom he surpassed his father. All the bupati and lower officials respected and were devoted to him.

110. It is told that Ki Jaka Tingkir was taken into service by Sultan Demak. The way he was accepted was as follows. Sultan Demak happened to leave the mosque. Ki Jaka was squatting on the edge of a pool. He was going to get out of the way, but could not because he was blocked by the pool. He then jumped backwards over the pool. Sultan Demak saw it and was very startled. He questioned him. Ki Jaka told him that he was a nephew of Kyai Ganjur. Then he was taken into service and appointed as a servant at court.

111. Sultan Demak was very fond of Ki Jaka Tingkir, because he was handsome and supernaturally very powerful. In due course, he was adopted as son, given the privilege

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of entering the interior of the palace and made chief of the Tamtama corps. He was known to all the people of Demak.

112. In due time, the king wanted to increase the Tamtama corps with four hundred men and select them from the capital as well as the countryside. They should be supernaturally powerful and strong. Every time he found one, he was tried out and pitted against a wild bull. If he could smash the head of the bull with his bare fist, he was admitted into the Tamtama corps. If not, he was not admitted.

113. In Kedhupingit lived a man, called Dhadhungawuk. He was ugly but renowned to be invulnerable. He came to Demak wanting to become a member of the Tamtama corps. When he reported to Radèn Jaka Tingkir, he was summoned, but Radèn Jaka Tingkir did not like him at all when he saw how ugly he was. Since in the countryside he was renowned to be invulnerable, Jaka Tingkir asked him whether he was willing to be tried out by being stabbed. Radèn Jaka Tingkir stabbed him with a hair pin. His breast was pierced and he died. Radèn Jaka Tingkir told his subordinates in the Tamtama to join in and stab him with their krisses. His wounds were numberless. Radèn Jaka Tingkir became even more renowned for his supernatural power.

114. At that time it was reported to the king that Radèn Jaka Tingkir had killed a man who wanted to enter the Tamtama corps. This made him very angry, because he was a very just king. Orders were given to drive Radèn Jaka Tingkir out of Demak and the heirs of the deceased were given five hundred reals in blood money.

115. Radèn Jaka Tingkir immediately left Demak. Those who witnessed it all felt sorry for him and his fellow Tamtama wept for him. Radèn Jaka Tingkir very much regretted his behaviour and felt very embarrassed seeing the people in Demak. He felt weak and listless and thought that he would rather die forthwith. He went southeast and came to a large forest. He did not know where he was heading, because of his bewilderment. For five months he stayed in the forest wandering around. Then he came to a jati forest in the Kendheng mountains. There he met Kyai Ageng Butuh. Kyai Ageng was surprised to see him and approaching him said, “Boy, wait, your appearance and facial expression so much resemble those of my late brother of Pengging that you could easily be his son. But you are more handsome, and your physique is better proportioned. Brother Pengging used to be a bit too tall. Tell me quickly, where are you from?” Radèn Jaka Tingkir said, “According to those who know it, I am the son of Kyai Ageng Pengging.” When Kyai Ageng heard that, he quickly embraced him and said, “Why, young man, are you here in the middle of the forest?” Radèn Jaka Tingkir told him everything from the beginning to the end. Kyai Ageng was deeply impressed.

116. Kyai Ageng then went home, taking Radèn Jaka Tingkir along. At his arrival in Butuh, he showed great respect for Radèn Jaka and invited Kyai Ageng Ngerang who indeed came to Butuh and was informed that Radèn Jaka Tingkir was the son of Kyai Ageng of Pengging. Kyai Ageng Ngerang quickly embraced him weeping from emotion. He said, “Boy, at one time I went to Pengging to pay you a visit, but you were not there. You had been taken by your mother to Tingkir, and this made me happy. Just ac-

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cept it, boy, that you now suffer misfortune. All your actions that were not right happened by the will of God, and it is usual that those who will later live the good life, will suffer in the beginning.

117. Both Kyai Ageng taught Radèn Jaka Tingkir a great deal. Radèn Jaka Tingkir was very thankful and happy. He stayed in Butuh for two months. When there was nothing left to teach him, Kyai Ageng Butuh said, "Boy, since it has been seven months since you left Demak, you should now go back to Demak, or go back to Tingkir and Pengging. Perhaps His Majesty the Sultan remembers you and is summoning you. The messenger will certainly search for you in your place of origin." Radèn Jaka Tingkir agreed and left on his own. When he arrived outside Demak, he sent for his fellow Tamtama. They came in secret. Radèn Jaka Tingkir asked the Tamtama whether the king had already asked for him, since he had been gone for a long time. The Tamtama answered that the king had not yet asked for him. When Radèn Jaka Tingkir heard that, he became even more concerned. He took his leave of his fellow Tamtama to continue his wanderings.

118. Radèn Jaka Tingkir went to Pengging. For four nights he slept at the foot of his father's grave. Then he heard a clear voice: "Boy, go southeast. Close to the village Getasaji there resides a man called Kyai Buyut of Banyubiru. Go to serve him and do whatever he says." Radèn Jaka Tingkir woke with a start and left on his own.

119. It is told that in the village of Calpitu, situated at the foot of Mount Lawu, lived a man practicising asceticism, called Jombaléka. He was a descendant of the kings of Majapahit. He had a son, handsome in appearance, called Mas Manca. The latter left Calpitu to practice asceticism on the south coast. He stopped off in Banyubiru and was adopted by Ki Buyut of Banyubiru, who was very fond of him, indulged him in whatever he did, and taught him all manners of supernatural powers. Moreover, he told him to speed up his asceticism in order to quickly rise in status, because Kyai Buyut knew that Mas Manca would become the patih of a king. He said, "My son, your future king has almost arrived. In another two days, he will certainly arrive here in Banyubiru. When he has been in Banyubiru for three months, the time will have arrived for him to rule as king. He will reside in Pajang. He will have great supernatural powers, will be held in respect by his enemies, and his palace will be sacred. He is a descendant of Adipati Andayaningrat of Pengging. You will be his patih. Later I will think of a way to effect his speedy ascension to the throne." Mas Manca thanked him.

120. After two days, Radèn Jaka Tingkir arrived in Banyubiru. He was adopted by Kyai Buyut, taken great care of, and regarded as a brother of Mas Manca. Both were taught all he knew. When three months had passed, Kyai Buyut said to Radèn Jaka Tingkir, "Young man, it is now time that you appear before your father His Majesty the Sultan while it is still the rainy season. He must still be residing in his palace on Mount Prawata. I think that when you arrive in Prawata, His Majesty the Sultan will not yet have returned to Demak. I will give you a magic charm which will be the means to restore you to His Majesty's favour. Put this earth into the mouth of a wild buffalo and he will

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certainly blindly attack Prawata. No man in Demak will be able to kill him. Only you will be capable of doing it. This will be the way for you to be forgiven. Furthermore, I will give you as escorts your brother Ki Mas Manca and my male relative, called Ki Wuragil, and my nephew, the son of Ki Buyut Majasta, called Ki Wila. Don't let these three people become separated from you." Radèn Jaka Tingkir said that he would do as told.

121. Kyai Buyut then ordered his children and grandchildren to make a raft to carry Radèn Jaka Tingkir. When it was ready, they left riding on the raft. Kyai Buyut accompanied them to the side of the river while praying with his eyes raised to heaven. Ki Majasta accompanied them on the raft. They drifted down the River Dengkèng. They reached the village where Ki Majasta lived. There they spend three nights and left again. Ki Majasta did not come along. The raft drifted down as far as the River Picis. Of the four of them, two punted and two rowed. At four in the afternoon they reached Kedungsrengéngé. Then the sky became overcast and it started to rain lightly with a westerly wind.

122. In Kedhungsrengéngé there lived a lord of the crocodiles, called Baureksa. His patih was called Jalumampang. The crocodile army was innumerable. Jalumampang led two hundred crocodiles and attacked the raft. Then he fought with Mas Manca on land. Patih Jalumampang and seventy crocodiles were killed, being hurled against the trees by Mas Manca. Radèn Jaka Tingkir jumped into the pool, but he felt as just like being on land. A fierce fight ensued. Many crocodiles were killed. Their lord submitted to Radèn Jaka Tingkir and promised to accompany him during his journey over the water. Moreover, he would offer him a crocodile every year as a pet.

123. Radèn Jaka Tingkir left again on the raft. Drifting downstream it was supported by forty crocodiles. The men on the raft threw their oars and poles away. They just sat down at their ease. In the evening they reached the landing-place of Butuh. They knocked on the raft. The crocodiles understood the message and stopped the raft. Because Radèn Jaka Tingkir and his three friends were tired and sleepy, they went to sleep on the raft. In the middle of the night Kyai Ageng Butuh came out of his house and was startled to see the royal light streaking through the sky from the northwest and falling into the river, at the place where Radèn Jaka Tingkir was sleeping. Kyai Ageng followed the direction of the falling light. Coming to the river, he clearly saw Radèn Jaka Tingkir sleeping on the raft and that the light had fallen upon him. He woke him up and said, "Boy, wake up! Don't keep on sleeping. The royal light of Demak has shifted to you." Radèn Jaka Tingkir and his companions woke up and were taken to the compound of Kyai Ageng Butuh. Kyai Ageng Ngerang was already there. Both instructed Radèn Jaka Tingkir. Since the royal light of Demak had already moved to him, he did not need to use force to succeed the Sultan of Demak. He only needed to pray to God and to strive for the favour of the king. Moreover, they taught him the differences between inferior, good and superior conduct. Many were the teachings of the

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two Kyai Ageng. Radèn Jaka Tingkir was very grateful and took it upon himself to observe their teachings.

124. Radèn Jaka Tingkir then took his leave and departed with his companions. They sailed on the raft and slowly drifted downriver. When they came to the village of Bulu in the area of Majenang, they went ashore. The crocodiles were instructed to return to Kedhungsrengéngé. Radèn Jaka Tingkir and his companions continued on foot. From that time onwards, the name of the village of Bulu was changed to Tindak.

125. Radèn Jaka Tingkir went northwest via Grobogan. Coming to the area of Prawata, he learned that the king was still there. He then searched for a wild water buffalo. When he got one, he put the earth which he had brought from Majasta into its mouth. The buffalo ran off and blindly attacked the lodge in Prawata. It wrecked the place, pursuing people and goring them. Many were wounded and killed, creating panic among the people of Prawata. Together they attacked it with pikes and fired guns at it, but to no effect. His Majesty the Sultan then ordered his Tamtama to meet the raging bull without weapons because they had been trained to slap a bull on the head, crushing its head and killing it in one stroke. The Tamtama troops quickly met the raging bull, one after the other, but none succeeded. Instead, many were butted and trampled, lying about writhing on the ground. The attacks of the bull lasted three days. When the sun set, it returned to the forest. In the morning it attacked the lodge again, pursuing the people.

126. Every day the king watched from a platform. He saw Radèn Jaka Tingkir, escorted by three men, skirting around the back of the troops like someone who was watching the attacks of the bull, and he said to a servant called Jebad, "Jebad, I think I see there Jaka Tingkir, escorted by three men. I recognize him. Ask him whether he dares to let me pit him against the raging bull. If he can kill the buffalo, I will forgive him the sin he has committed." When Radèn Jaka Tingkir received the order, he said that he would do it. The king then gave orders to to encircle the buffalo and to cheer Radèn Jaka Tingkir on while he fought the buffalo, and moreover, to play the gamelan. The king watched from his platform. Radèn Jaka Tingkir forthwith approached the buffalo. The buffalo chased him. They fought for a long time in order to amaze the onlookers. Radèn Jaka Tingkir was flung into the air, caught upon the horns, but he remained unharmed. Then he grasped the horns and tail of the buffalo and jerked them. The Buffalo fell over and collapsed. The magic earth from Banyubiru fell out of its mouth. He slapped its head, crushing it and killing the beast. This amazed and pleased the king and all who were watching. Radèn Jaka Tingkir was then reinstated into his old position as chief of the Tamtama corps. The king's favour was restored as of old. The king then set out and returned to Demak.

127. Not long afterwards, the king left for Cirebon to meet Sunan Kalijaga and ask him to reside in Demak. Sunan Kalijaga complied and settled in Adilangu where he engaged in teaching the religion of the Prophet. He had many disciples.

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128. It is told that Kyai Ageng of Séla wanted to become a member of the Tamtama corps. He was tested and pitted against a wild bull. He struck the head of the bull once and crushed it while the blood spurted out. Kyai Ageng of Séla turned his head away. When investigated why he had turned his head away, he answered that he had turned his head away because he did not want to be splattered with blood. His wish to enter the service was rejected because they considered Kyai Ageng of Séla to be afraid of blood. Greatly embarrassed he returned home and gathered an armed band to make a furious attack on the kraton of Demak and destroy it. Kyai Ageng mounted his horse. A great many people escorted him, some on horseback, others on foot. When he arrived at the Alun-alun of Demak in between the the two sacred, enclosed waringin trees, the king shot an arrow at him and hit the head of his horse. His horse bucked and collided with the horses of his men. His men were scattered all about. Then he was shot at again and the arrow hit the horse above the ear. The horse bolted and returned to Séla. His companions all dispersed. Watching it, the king was very pleased and said to Patih Wanasalam, "Clearly our friend from Séla is faint-hearted. I think he won't be able to become king, but who knows what will happen later on."

129. His Majesty the Sultan of Demak had six children. The eldest was a daughter who was married to the son of Kyai Ageng of Sampang, called Pangéran Langgar. The next child was a son, called Pangéran Prawata. The third was a daughter who was married to Pangéran Kalinyamat. The fourth was a daughter who was married to the pangéran of Cirebon. The fifth was a daughter who was married to Radèn Jaka Tingkir. The youngest was a son called Pangéran Timur. After Radèn Jaka Tingkir had consummated his marriage, he was made bupati of Pajang and given an appanage of four thousand karya. Every year he had to come and pay homage in Demak. In due time Pajang became prosperous. Anything that was planted thrived. The adipati of Pajang built himself a palace.

130. When His Majesty the Sultan of Demak died, the adipati of Pajang set himself up as sultan. He subjected all the dependent lands of Demak. Those that refused were defeated in war. The outer provinces, the eastern coastal territories and the western coastal territories all submitted. None dared to resist in war. All were afraid of the mighty power of the Sultan of Pajang. Only the adipati of Jipang, called Pangéran Arya Panangsang, was not willing to submit. He was the son of Pangéran Sédainglèpèn, a grandchild of the Sultan of Demak and a nephew of the wife of the Sultan of Pajang. As for the ruler of Demak, he was the second child of His Majesty the Sultan of Demak, called Sunan Prawata. But he lived in harmony with the Sultan of Pajang. Both accepted the situation. The son of His Majesty the Sultan of Demak, who was called Pangéran Timur, was taken to Pajang and later made bupati in Madiyun.

131. We return our story to the time when His Majesty the Sultan of Demak was still alive. It was just before the afternoon prayers that Kyai Ageng of Séla, while it happened to be raining hard, went to the rice fields carrying a hoe. Arriving at the rice field, he started to hoe. When he had struck his hoe three times, lightning approached in the

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form of an old man. Kyai Ageng knew that it was the lightning and quickly caught him. The lightning made a booming sound, but he held him tightly, tied him and presented him to Demak. The lightning was put into an iron cage and the king gave orders that he was not to be given water. All the people of Demak, old and young, came to see him. Then there came an old woman. She gave him water in a coconut shell. She was indeed the wife of the imprisoned lightning. When the lightning in the cage had accepted the water, he produced a thunderous sound and in the same instant the cage dissolved. Both lightnings disappeared together.

132. It is told that there was a wayang performer in Demak, called Ki Bicak, who had an extremely beautiful wife. When he was called by Kyai Ageng of Séla to perform, Kyai Ageng fell in love upon seeing the wife of the wayang performer. He killed the man and appropriated his wayang puppets, his small bronze gong, and his wife. But when he got the small gong, he did not like the wife of the performer any more, but was totally taken by the gong which he called Kyai Bicak. He received permission from Sunan Kalijaga to make it an heirloom of the kingdom and to make it a signal in war. When it reverberated when struck, that would be a signal for victory. If it did not reverberate, that would be a sign that the battle would be lost.

133. It is told that Kyai Ageng of Séla was carrying his baby in a sléndhang, comforting it to stop it from crying near his gourd field. He was wearing a fine silken, floral patterned sarong without a sash. Then he heard noisy shouts that somebody had run amok. Kyai Ageng wanted to go home to put his baby down, but before he could do it, the attacker arrived and stabbed at him. Although he remained unharmed, his legs got entangled in the gourds and he fell over backwards. His floral patterned sarong came loose and he became naked. Kyai Ageng quickly got to his feet and slapped the attacker, crushing his head and killing him. Then he pronounced a curse that later none of his descendants should wear a floral patterned sarong, not plant gourds or eat their fruits.

134. Kyai Ageng of Séla had seven children, all of whom were married. The first was called Nyai Ageng Lurungtengah, the second Nyai Ageng Saba, the third Nyai Ageng Bangsri, the fourth Nyai Ageng Jati, the fifth Nyai Ageng Patanèn, the sixth Nyai Ageng Pakisdadu. The youngest child was a son called Kyai Ageng Ngenis. When Kyai Ageng of Séla had seven children, he died.

135. Kyai Ageng Ngenis had one son called Kyai Pamanahan. He was married to the eldest daughter of Nyai Ageng Saba, whose youngest son was called Kyai Jurumartani. So Kyai Pamanahan and Kyai Jurumartani were cousins and at the same time brothers-in-law. Kyai Ageng Ngenis had an adopted son, who was a second cousin, called Ki Panjawi. He was treated as a brother of Kyai Pamanahan and Kyai Jurumartani. They got along very well and were inseparable wherever they went. Then they became students of Sunan Kalijaga. Their fellow student was His Majesty the Sultan of Pajang. At the wish of Sunan Kalijaga, His Majesty the Sultan of Pajang was treated as a brother of the three kyai just mentioned. They all got along very well, as if they were children of the same father and mother.

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136. On the wishes of His Majesty the Sultan of Pajang, Kyai Ageng Ngenis went to live in Lawiyan. Kyai Pamanahan and Ki Panjawi were taken into service by Sultan Pajang and made leaders of the Tamtama corps. Their service was highly appreciated. They were entrusted with guarding over the safety of Pajang and were addressed as elder brother. The job of Kyai Jurumartani was just to take care of Kyai Pamanahan and Kyai Panjawi. Mas Manca became patih of Pajang with the title Tumenggung Mancanagara. Ki Wila and Ki Wuragil were both made bupati.

137. Kyai Pamanahan had seven children, five sons and two daughters. The eldest was called Radèn Bagus, the second Radèn Jambu, the third Radèn Santri, the fourth Radèn Tompé, the fifth Radèn Kadhawung. The sixth was a daughter who married Tumenggung Mayang. The youngest was still little. At that time, His Majesty the Sultan of Pajang did not yet have any children and he adopted the eldest son of Kyai Pamanahan, Radèn Bagus. He loved him very much, as if he were his own son. His Majesty the Sultan of Pajang intended that he should serve as trailblazer, so that he would soon have children of his own.

138. At that time, many Javanese wanted to be instructed in the religious practices of the religion of the Prophet, and in matters concerning supernatural powers and invulnerability. There were two teachers who were famous. The first one was Sunan Kalijaga and the second Sunan Kudus. Sunan Kudus had three disciples, Pangéran Arya Panangsang of Jipang, Sunan Prawata, and His Majesty the Sultan of Pajang. He loved Pangéran Arya Panangsang the most.

139. Sunan Kudus happened to be sitting in his house with Pangéran Arya Panangsang. He asked Pangéran Arya Panangsang, "What is the punishment for a man who has two teachers at the same time?" Arya Panangsang answered, "Death, but since I do not know who exhibits such conduct, please let me know." Sunan Kudus said, "Your brother from Prawata." When Arya Panangsang heard the words of Sunan Kudus, he took it upon himself to kill Sunan Prawata. He sent one of his secret agents, called Rangkud, to assassinate Sunan Prawata.

140. Rangkud set out. Arriving in Prawata, he found Sunan Prawata in his home. He happened to be sick and sat leaning against his wife. When he saw Rangkud, he asked, "What kind of person are you?" Rangkud answered, "I am a messenger from Pangéran Arya Panangsang, I have been sent to assassinate you." Sunan Prawata said, "Whatever you want, but let me be the only one you kill, don't involve others." Rangkud stabbed him with all his strength. He pierced the chest of Sunan Prawata all the way through to the back penetrating the chest of his wife. When Sunan Prawata saw that his wife was wounded, he quickly drew his kris Kyai Bethok and threw it at Rangkud. Rangkud was grazed by the curls on the pointed guard of the kris, fell down and died. Sunan Prawata and his wife also died. They died in the year 1453 [A.J.]. The reason that Arya Panangsang dared to have Sunan Prawata killed was because his father had been killed by Sunan Prawata. Returning from the Friday prayers, he had been waylaid on the

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road by a messenger from Sunan Prawata, called Surayata. Surayata in his turn was killed by the servants of the father of Arya Panangsang.

141. Sunan Prawata had a sister, called Ratu Kalinyamat. She did not at all accept the death of her brother. She went to Kudus together with her husband to ask Sunan Kudus for justice. She met him and asked for justice. Sunan Kudus answered, "Your brother owed a blood guilt to Arya Panangsang, now it is just considered repaid." When Ratu Kalinyamat heard the words of Sunan Kudus, she was very offended. They went home. On the way, they were held up by messengers of Arya Panangsang, and her husband was killed. Ratu Kalinyamat was much to be pitied, for she had just lost her brother and now her husband. It upset her very much, and she went to live naked as a hermit on Mount Danaraja. Her loose-hanging hair served as her garment, and she made a vow not to wear any clothes as long as Arya Panangsang was still alive. Moreover, she vowed that she would serve and give all her possessions to whomever was able to kill Arya Panangsang.

142. It is told that Sunan Kudus was conferring with Arya Panangsang. He said, "Your elder brothers of Prawata and Kalinyamat are now dead, but I will not be satisfied until you are king and rule the whole of Java. But as long as your younger brother the Sultan of Pajang is still alive, I think you will not be able to become king, because he will stand in your way." Arya Panangsang said, "If you agree, I will attack the realm of Pajang and kill my younger brother of Pajang, in order to do away with the problem." Sunan Kudus said, "I do not approve of your plan, because it will ruin the country and many people will die. Whereas my intention is that your younger brother of Pajang should just die by means of assassination, unbeknownst to the public." Arya Panangsang said that he thought this an excellent idea and sent four of his agents with orders to assassinate His Majesty the Sultan of Pajang.

143. The four agents left. They arrived at night in Pajang and quickly entered the palace. His Majesty the Sultan of Pajang happened to be sleeping covered with a ceremonial batik cloth. His wives slept at his feet. The agents attacked and stabbed him repeatedly with all their might. His Majesty the Sultan of Pajang was unharmed and just went on sleeping comfortably. The batik cloth which he was using as a cover was also not damaged. His wives were startled, woke up and cried and screamed. His Majesty the Sultan of Pajang woke up with a start. When he stood up, the cloth which he used to cover himself flapped against the intruders who were trying to stab him. They fell sprawling on the floor and could not move. His Majesty the Sultan of Pajang asked his wives, "Why are you crying and screaming?" His wives said, "We thought that you were dead, stabbed by intruders." His Majesty the Sultan of Pajang quickly took a lamp and approached the place where the four intruders were lying about, unable to move. He asked, "Where are you intruders from, and who has sent you?" The intruders told the truth. His Majesty the Sultan of Pajang spoke again, "I forgive you, but quickly go back to Jipang. Report to your lord what you have done. Quickly leave my palace, for if you are caught by my men who are doing the rounds, you will certainly be killed." The

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four intruders were then given money and clothes. They were very happy. They had not expected to remain alive. After expressing their respect, they left and arrived safely in Jipang. They told Arya Panangsang that their mission had been unsuccessful. His Majesty the Sultan of Pajang was extremely strong and magically powerful. He could not be matched.

144. Hearing the words of his agents, Arya Panangsang was very troubled. He informed Sunan Kudus that the mission to assassinate His Majesty the Sultan of Pajang had not met with success. "If you agree, His Majesty the Sultan might be told to come to Kudus on the pretext to confer with you on matters of esoteric knowledge. Once in Kudus, it will be easy." Sunan Kudus granted Arya Panangsang's request and sent a messenger to call His Majesty the Sultan.

145. When His Majesty the Sultan was called by Sunan Kudus, he became very nervous, because the latter was his teacher. He got ready to go to Kudus. Kyai Pamanahan and Kyai Panjawi warned His Majesty the Sultan, saying, "That you have been called to Kudus is, according to us, not to confer about esoteric knowledge. We assume that it is the same as the trouble with the intruders the other day. If you wish to go to Kudus, please do not fail to be careful. It would be best to take the whole army." When His Majesty the Sultan of Pajang was offered this advice by Kyai Pamanahan and Kyai Panjawi, he was very pleased and ordered his army to assemble. The son of Kyai Pamanahan who had been adopted by his Majesty the Sultan had at that time already reached puberty and was able to brandish a spear. He was loved very much, given the name Radèn Ngabèhi Saloringpasar, and made chief of the Tamtama corps. When the army of Pajang was ready, his Majesty the Sultan left. He went ahead escorted by his cavalry. His foot soldiers followed in the rear, lead by the patih of Pajang, Tumenggung Mancanagara.

146. His Majesty the Sultan of Pajang reached Kudus. He stopped at the Alun-alun and informed Sunan Kudus. Sunan Kudus then told Arya Panangsang to go and meet His Majesty the Sultan and invite him to sit at the place of audience and wait for the appearance of Sunan Kudus. Arya Panangsang was already dressed and on his guard. He went out and sat at the place of audience with a troop of chosen soldiers behind him. Arya Panangsang's intention was to ask His Majesty the Sultan, as soon as he arrived, to see his kris. If he was given the kris, he would then stab him, and his followers would join the attack. As for His Majesty the Sultan, he had already been told by the messenger from Sunan Kudus to take a seat at the place of audience. He then sat down. Kyai Panjawi, Kyai Pamanahan, and Radèn Ngabèhi Saloringpasar guarded him on the left and the right while sitting slightly to the back. All were on their guard. His Majesty the Sultan sat down facing Arya Panangsang, both looking each other in the eye. Arya Panangsang said to His Majesty the Sultan, "Brother Sultan, I haven't seen you for a long time, and now fortunately we are paying our respects here together. By the way, which kris are you wearing there?" His Majesty the Sultan answered, "My old kris." Arya Panangsang said again, "If you allow it, I would like to see it." The Sultan

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drew his kris. Kyai Pamanahan quickly touched him. His Majesty the Sultan understood the hint. After handing his kris to Arya Panangsang, he drew his other kris which he had on his side, and said, "Brother Arya Panangsang, this second kris of mine is better than the one you are holding." Arya Panangsang smiled and said, "In my view, the one I am holding is also good." His Majesty the Sultan answered, "This second kris of mine is called Kyai Carubuk. Although both are good, Carubuk is still more powerful. Past experience has shown that if you strike someone, even if it is just a scratch, he will inevitably die."

147. They were interrupted by the emergence of Sunan Kudus. Seeing both of them sitting with unsheathed krisses, he quickly approached and said, "What is going on that you have unsheathed your kris. Do you want to trade or swap them? Quickly put them back. It is not good to be seen in public." The kris was given back to His Majesty the Sultan and both were put back in their sheath. Arya Panangsang said, "It is perhaps not yet the time that I will make somebody a widow." His Majesty the Sultan said, too, "It is probably not yet the time that I will feed the crows." Sunan Kudus interrupted, "Don't go on talking like that. Rather live with each other peacefully as brothers. Now go back to your own lodging. Later when all the bupati are gathered together, I will call you." His Majesty the Sultan and Arya Panangsang went to their lodgings. The accommodation of Arya Panangsang was situated to the east of the Soré river, the accommodation of His Majesty the Sultan to the west. The foot soldiers of Pajang who followed in the rear had already arrived.

148. In the evening, His Majesty the Sultan of Pajang sat together with Kyai Pamanahan and Kyai Panjawi. Kyai Pamanahan said, "I heard that after the death of Sunan Prawata and your elder brother of Kalinyamat, your elder sister of Kalinyamat became very upset and is practising asceticism on Mount Danaraja all naked. She has vowed that she will never wear clothes as long as Arya Panangsang is still alive. If you agree, we should pay her a visit." His Majesty the Sultan agreed and in the evening left for Mount Danaraja. Kyai Pamanahan, Kyai Panjawi and Radèn Ngabèhi Saloringpasar accompanied him. When they arrived at Mount Danaraja, they stopped at the outer gateway. Ratu Kalinyamat was informed that His Majesty the Sultan wished to meet her. Ratu Kalinyamat said, "Quickly invite him in, but tell him first that I cannot meet him openly. Tell him to sit down outside the bedroom." The servant who received the order quickly invited His Majesty the Sultan to come. His Majesty the Sultan and his three attendants went inside and sat down outside the bedroom. Ratu Kalinyamat said, "My lord and younger brother, what is your intention in coming here?" His Majesty the Sultan answered, "Sister, I have come to call here because I heard that you had left your residence and were practicing asceticism here on Mount Danaraja, and that you did not want to wear clothes. What is the reason for your distress? As for the death of your husband, that was ordained by the will of God. Please, remove the distress from your heart." Ratu Kalinyamat said, "My lord and younger brother, I am very thankful for your advice, but since I have let the words slip, what can I do? I will not wear a kain as long as

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Arya Panangsang is not dead. Even if it lasts until my death, I will endure it. But your visit here makes me very happy, because I am a woman, whom could I ask for help in taking my distress away, except for you my lord and younger brother, for I do not have any family left. If you can kill Arya Panangsang, the lands of Kalinyamat and Prawata and all the rest of my possessions will be yours, and I will serve you." His Majesty the Sultan said, "Sister, I am afraid to fight Arya Panangsang, because he has great supernatural powers and is very strong." Ratu Kalinyamat said, "To whom can I pour out my troubles except you? If you talk like this, your visit here is in vain." Kyai Pamanahan whispered to His Majesty the Sultan, "With your permission, it would be better to first think about your sister's request. You should postpone your answer, saying that you want to discuss it tonight and that tomorrow morning you will come back here again." His Majesty the Sultan agreed and said to Ratu Kalinyamat, "Sister, tonight I will first think about what you just said. Tomorrow morning I will come again." Ratu Kalinyamat said, "Very well brother, but you must really come here again, as I will be expecting you."

149. Having taken his leave, His Majesty the Sultan returned to his lodgings escorted by his three attendants. On the way, Kyai Pamanahan returned. He found Ratu Kalinyamat who asked, "Brother Pamanahan, what is the reason that you have come here again?" Kyai Pamanahan answered, "Sister, I have come back to visit you because I want to give you some advice concerning your request for help to His Majesty the Sultan. Earlier I saw two female servants of yours, both very beautiful. Please dress them up tomorrow morning. When his Majesty the Sultan comes, tell them to sit close to your bedroom here. The reason is that it is the nature of His Majesty the Sultan that when he sees a beautiful woman, his courage grows and he will certainly promise to kill Arya Panangsang if you offer him these two women. This is the only reason that I have come back to visit here." Ratu Kalinyamat smiled and said, "I am very grateful, brother, for your advice and I will follow it." Having taken his leave, Kyai Pamanahan returned to his lodgings.

150. In the morning His Majesty the Sultan conferred with Kyai Panjawi and Kyai Pamanahan, saying, "What is your advice concerning the request for help from sister Kalinyamat?" Kyai Pamanahan said, "According to me, it would be proper for you to promise it because you are the only one who has an obligation to help. You could not possibly be lacking in ideas. Ask all your followers, the bupati and all the rank and file who would be willing to kill Arya Panangsang. If there is one who is willing and succeeds, he will be rewarded with lands and treasure. It is improbable that no one will be willing to do it." His Majesty the Sultan approved of what Kyai Pamanahan said and felt very relieved. He said, "Brothers, tonight let us all go back to Danaraja. I feel sorry for my sister. We shall put a stop to her grieving."

151. In the evening His Majesty the Sultan went to Danaraja. On his arrival there, he was surprised seeing two beautiful women sitting to the left and the right of the bedroom. His Majesty felt very much attracted to them. Turning to Kyai Pamanahan he asked,

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"Brother, who are these two women married to? They are really beautiful. I have never seen them before." Kyai Pamanahan said, "I think they are concubines of your late brother of Prawata." His Majesty the Sultan spoke again, "Suppose I ask for them, would my sister give them?" Kyai Pamanahan said, "Your sister said before that she would not only give women, but everything else you might ask for, provided that you can fulfill her request." Ratu Kalinyamat then spoke to His Majesty, "How is it, my lord and younger brother, does your visit here mean that you have got a suitable idea about my request yesterday." His Majesty the Sultan answered, "Don't worry, sister, put your mind at ease, I will kill Arya Panangsang, but I ask for those two women who are sitting near the bedroom." Ratu Kalinyamat said, "My lord and younger brother, I will not only give you those women, but also the realms of Kalinyamat and Prawata and all my treasures I will present to you, providing you fulfill my request." She then offered both women and told them to sit in front of His Majesty the Sultan. Both came forward and sat down with bowed heads. Both women, however, still had a husband, and their spouses were spy agents in Prawata. Having accepted both women, His Majesty the Sultan said to Ratu Kalinyamat, "Sister, don't worry, I will certainly kill Arya Panangsang." Ratu Kalinyamat answered, "Yes, whom else could I rely on, except you my lord and younger brother." His Majesty then took leave and returned to his lodgings taking both women with him.

152. The spy agents who were the husbands of both women went at night to kill His Majesty the Sultan. They were accompanied by two friends, so there were four of them. His Majesty happened to be lying asleep. The four agents stabbed him repeatedly, but without effect. When His Majesty woke up, the agents expressed their remorse. His Majesty forgave them. He allowed the four agents to return home and gave them their wives back.

153. In the morning His Majesty the Sultan instructed his subjects that anyone who dared to attack and was able to kill Arya Panangsang, would be rewarded with the realms of Pathi and Mataram. But none of the bupati or mantri were willing to do it, because all were afraid of Arya Panangsang. His Majesty the Sultan then had it proclaimed to all the people in the city and the villages, even if he were a grass-cutter, that if he could kill Arya Panangsang, he would without fail be rewarded with the realms of Pathi and Mataram.

154. It is told that Kyai Panjawi, Kyai Jurumartani and Radèn Ngabèhi Saloringpasar were sitting together in the shelter of Kyai Pamanahan. Kyai Jurumartani asked about the news. Kyai Pamanahan answered, "His Majesty has just announced a competition. Whoever can kill Arya Panangsang will be rewarded with the realms of Pathi and Mataram. However, the bupati and the mantri are all afraid, so there is nobody yet who is willing to do it." Kyai Jurumartani spoke again, "In my opinion, it would be best if you and Kyai Panjawi should take it upon you, because it would be a great pity if the lands of Pathi and Mataram should end up with somebody else." Kyai Pamanahan answered, "Brother-in-law, it is easy to accept such a reward, but the other side of the coin is how

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should you kill Arya Panangsang." Kyai Jurumartani spoke again, "For example if one fights cocks, if the player is skillful, his cock will certainly win. It is the same when people wage war. If the commander is capable of cunning, he will certainly win. Because I know the character of Arya Panangsang who is impetuous and hot-headed, I would send him a letter with a challenge. I would tell him to come alone, without bringing troops. If he comes, I would then overwhelm him with all my kinsmen and followers. Of course he would be killed. If you agree with my advice, go tomorrow morning to the audience." Kyai Pamanahan and Kyai Panjawi agreed with the advice.

155. In the morning the four of them went to the audience. The bupati and mantri were all there in the audience hall. His Majesty the Sultan asked the bupati, "What is the situation? Who is willing to attack and kill Arya Panangsang?" The bupati informed him that there was no one willing to do it. Then Kyai Pamanahan said, "I and my younger brother Panjawi are willing to attack Arya Panangsang. Your Majesty should just watch from afar. I and my kinsmen will hold him off. The reason for that is that if Arya Panangsang sees you, he will certainly only attack you and pay no heed to the host of other people." His Majesty was very pleased when he heard Kyai Pamanahan's answer and said, "Thank God, brother, that you yourself are willing to attack Arya Panangsang. Don't let it happen that the lands of Pathi and Mataram fall into the hands of others. But what is your plan?" Kyai Pamanahan said, "Tomorrow morning all the troops should be ready, but they should just stay in the camp. Only I and my kinsmen will go out to fight." His Majesty agreed.

156. In the morning, Kyai Pamanahan, Kyai Panjawi, Kyai Jurumartani, and Radèn Ngabèhi Saloringpasar left with all their kinsmen, about two hundred men, to the west bank of the River Caket, while being very much on their guard. Kyai Pamanahan, Kyai Panjawi, and Kyai Jurumartani then left without troops, headed for the grass-cutting area to search for a grass-cutter. There was one grass-cutter who had detached himself from the rest. Kyai Pamanahan asked him, "Whose grass-cutter are you?" The grass-cutter answered, "I am the groom of his lordship the adipati of Jipang, who cuts grass for his horse, called Gagakrimang." When Kyai Panjawi heard that he was the groom of Arya Panangsang, he pounced on him. The groom could not move. Kyai Pamanahan said with a smile, "Friend, I ask for your forgiveness, but I would like to ask you for just one of your ears." The grass-cutter answered, "Ah, no way, you can't just ask for my ear like that. You'd better ask for my basket and my sickle. I will certainly give them." Kyai Pamanahan said again, "If you don't give what I ask for, I will buy it. How much do you ask." The grass-cutter answered, "Even if you bought it, I would not give it. I don't want money, and in my whole life I have never sold an ear." Kyai Pamanahan said again, "Would you then rather that I stab you to death?" The grass-cutter then let him have his ear. He got fifteen reals. One ear was cut off. On the other a provocative letter was hung and he was told to hand it to his master.

157. The grass-cutter quickly ran back. In the lodge he forced his way through the followers of Arya Panangsang who were paying their respect. The patih of Jipang, Kyai

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Mataun, was shocked to see the grass-cutter of the adipati all covered in blood, with one ear cut off and a letter hanging from the other ear, while he ran to have an audience with the adipati. Kyai Mataun gave orders for him to be caught. He wanted to examine him, but the grass-cutter resisted. At all costs he wanted to enter and have an audience with the adipati.

158. At that moment Arya Panangsang was just eating. He was startled to hear all the noise outside. He called for Kyai Mataun, and when he came he asked him, "Mataun, what is all that noise outside?" Kyai Mataun said, "My lord, please finish your meal first, and later I will tell you because the news is not good." The reason that Kyai Mataun spoke like this was because he knew the character of Adipati Arya Panangsang, impetuous and hot-headed. As soon as he heard the news, he would certainly set off leaving his troops behind. Arya Panangsang spoke again, "Mataun, quickly tell me, don't be afraid." Kyai Mataun just remained silent, as he was not yet willing to talk. Then the groom who had been caught managed to get free and entered to pay his respects to Arya Panangsang. Arya Panangsang asked, "Who is this man, seeing that he is all covered in blood?" Kyai Mataun made a sembah and said, "This is your groom who just made such a noise outside. One of his ears has been cut off and a letter has been hung on the other." Arya Panangsang asked for the letter and received it with his left hand. His right hand still cupped a handful of rice. He read the letter. It said, "Attention, hand down this letter from me, the Sultan of Pajang, to Arya Panangsang. If you are indeed a man and courageous, come on and fight alone, don't bring your troops, cross now to the west bank of the river. I am waiting for you there."

159. Having read the letter, Arya Panangsang became extremely angry. His face became blood-red. With his fist, still holding the rice, he punched his plate which broke in two. He quickly got up, put on his war outfit and gave orders to get his horse, called Gagakrimang. He mounted his horse and shouldered his spear, called Dhandhangmungsuh. Kyai Mataun said, "My lord, stop for a moment, wait for your troops, because you might be tricked or fall into a trap." Arya Panangsang did not listen to Kyai Mataun. Instead he became more and more angry as if his anger was being released. Then the younger brother of Arya Panangsang, called Arya Mataram, quickly approached him, saying, "Brother, please stop first, wait for your troops." Arya Panangsang said, "Hold your tongue. Stop nagging. I am not afraid. It's normal that in a fight you are mobbed by many." His brother still kept insisting. He got an angry return, "Go away, I am not asking you to come along, for you are my brother from a different mother, and surely not as brave as I." Having said that, he whipped his horse and charged away alone. Arya Mataram went back greatly offended. Kyai Mataun followed but could not catch up because he was already old and asthmatic. Arya Panangsang reached the east bank of the River Sorécaket. Now there is an old saying that if people face each other to fight, the one to cross the river would definitely be the loser in the fight.

160. Kyai Pamanahan, Kyai Panjawi, Kyai Jurumartani, and Radèn Ngabehi Saloringpasar stood ready with their troops on the west bank of the River Caket. Seeing that Arya

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Panangsang was coming alone, the men from Séla were elated. Arya Panangsang shouted, "Hey, men from Pajang, who sent me the letter with the challenge? Quickly cross over to the east. Attack me with all of you, for I indeed enjoy fighting when mobbed by many." The men from Séla answered, "Our lord, the Sultan of Pajang sent you the letter. If you are really brave, cross over quickly over to the west, and we will match you man to man." When Arya Panangsang heard the jeering, it was as if his ears were torn apart, and he was furious. He quickly kicked his horse with his heels in the flanks and whipped it with his crop to make it jump into the water. The horse swam. Its back did not become wet. Having reached the west bank, they were shot at and pelted with pieces of wood by the men from Séla. Some threw spears, but did not hit him. Arya Panangsang then whipped his horse. It jumped out of the water in the middle of the men of Séla. Many fell down, knocked over by the horse. The horse then started to kick and to bite. Its rider attacked with his spear. Many men of Séla were wounded or killed. Arya Panangsang blindly attacked saying, "Where is this Krèbèt who promised to challenge me? I don't see him." All the time during his attack, he searched everywhere just looking for His Majesty the Sultan of Pajang.

161. Arya Panangsang was then attacked by many. They stabbed him with spears from left and right, and front and rear. Wounded in his right side, his intestines came forth. He hung them over the handle of his kris and attacked all the more fiercely. He did not intend to live. More and more men from Séla and Mataram were wounded and killed. Then Radèn Ngabèhi Saloringpasar wanted to engage Arya Panangsang. He mounted a colt with a short-cut mane and shouldered the spear called Kyai Plèrèd. Kyai Pamanahan, Kyai Panjawi, and Kyai Jurumartani guarded him from behind. He came face to face with Arya Panangsang. Kyai Jurumartani quickly released a mare. When the horse of Arya Panangsang saw the mare, it became skittish. I clawed with its forehooves, jumped back and forth, and kicked with its forelegs. The horse ridden by Radèn Ngabéhi Saloringpasar bolted and ran about a stone's throw away. Its rider almost fell down and threw his arms around the neck of the horse. When the horse stopped, Radèn Ngabèhi Saloringpasar got down and leading the horse he made a vow, "Let none of my descendants ride a horse into battle with a short-cut mane, for they will come off the worse." Having given the horse to his servant, Radèn Ngabèhi Saloringpasar advanced bravely on foot shouldering the spear Kyai Plèrèd. He faced Arya Panangsang. Arya Panangsang asked, "What is your name young man who comes to meet me in battle. You had better retreat. It would be a pity if you got killed. Call that Pajang who promised to fight me man to man." The horse of Arya Panangsang at that time was still jumping back and forth and clawing with its forehooves. Its rider did not get the opportunity to aim his spear. Then he was stabbed by Radèn Ngabèhi Saloringpasar. The spear hit his breast and went right through his back. He could not do anything back. He fell on the ground and died. His corpse was laid out by the men of Séla. His horse was killed in a mass attack. The tip of the spear of Radèn Ngabèhi Saloringpasar had broken off to the size of rice grain. Shortly after, Kyai Mataun came and attacked

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in blind fury. He was met, attacked en masse and killed. They cut off his head and put it on a stake on the bank of the river. This happened in 1471 [A.J.].

162. Right after that, the army of Jipang arrived fully armed. They were very numerous. They stopped at the bank of the river. They had already heard that Adipati Arya Panangsang had died, and also that Kyai Mataun had been killed. Radèn Ngabèhi Saloringpasar spoke quickly while waving from the west bank of the river, "Hey, men of Jipang. If you don't know it yet, your lord and patih are both dead. Look at the head of the patih which I have put on a stake. What will you be fighting for? It is better that you just submit to me, because you are common people. You don't know anything. It is right that Kyai Mataun followed his lord in death, because he shared the good life with his lord." When the men of Jipang heard the words of Radèn Ngabèhi Saloringpasar, they all wanted to submit, tied their weapons in bundles, and crossed over to the west bank. They paid their respects to Radèn Ngabèhi Saloringpasar and were escorted to the lodge.

163. At night Kyai Pamanahan, Kyai Panjawi, Kyai Jurumartani and Radèn Ngabèhi Saloringpasar discussed the matter of who had killed Arya Panangsang. Kyai Jurumartani said to Kyai Pamanahan, "What do you think? Since it is Radèn Ngabèhi Saloringpasar who has killed Arya Panangsang, are you going to inform His Majesty the Sultan the truth?" Kyai Pamanahan answered, "Brother-in-law, since it is indeed he who has killed Arya Panangsang, I will just report truthfully." Kyai Jurumartani said again, "I think that it would be better if you and Kyai Panjawi claim to have killed Arya Panangsang. The reason is that if you report that it was Radèn Ngabèhi Saloringpasar who killed him, he will for certain only be rewarded with a hundred thousand ten-cent pieces and some fine clothes. He will not be rewarded with lands since your son is still a boy and has been adopted by His Majesty the Sultan, so he can just reward him with whatever he wants. If you and Kyai Panjawi claim the killing, you will certainly succeed in receiving the lands of Pathi and Mataram as reward." When Kyai Pamanahan and Kyai Panjawi heard the words of Kyai Jurumartani, they were very pleased and followed the advice. Radèn Ngabèhi Saloringpasar also agreed, whereupon it was announced to the troops that it was Kyai Pamanahan and Kyai Panjawi who had killed Arya Panangsang.

164. In the morning, Kyai Pamanahan, Kyai Panjawi, Kyai Jurumartani, and Radèn Ngabèhi Saloringpasar set out to pay their respects to His Majesty the Sultan. They led the men from Jipang who had submitted. When they arrived before His Majesty the Sultan, he asked, "Brother Pamanahan and brother Panjawi, did you succeed?" Kyai Pamanahan reported that Arya Panangsang had been killed, after being overwhelmed by him and Kyai Panjawi. Then he offered him the men from Jipang who had surrendered. The king was very pleased and asked a mantri from Jipang, "Arya Panangsang used to have a younger brother, called Arya Mataram. Where is he now?" The mantri made a sembah and said, "By your leave, my lord, when Arya Panangsang wanted to go to battle, Arya Mataram told him, while restraining him, to wait for his troops, but he got

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a terrible dressing-down. Offended, he left. I don't know where he went." His Majesty the Sultan spoke again to Kyai Pamanahan, "Brother, I am very grateful to you and brother Panjawi. You have both accomplished the task. Concerning my reward of the lands of Pathi and Mataram, you divide them yourself with brother Panjawi. Since you are the eldest, I allow you to choose first the one you prefer." Kyai Pamanahan said, "Because I am the eldest, it is proper that I give way. I choose the one that is still a wilderness. Let my younger brother Panjawi get Pathi which is already a city with many inhabitants, and I Mataram which is still a wilderness." His Majesty the Sultan said again, "If both of you are satisfied with that, brother Panjawi should immediately leave for Pathi from here and put the realm of Pathi in good order. As for Mataram, later, when I have returned to Pajang, I shall give it to brother Pamanahan. Moreover, brother Pamanahan, you should not return together with me. Go first to Danaraja and inform my sister of Kalinyamat that Arya Panangsang has been killed by you and brother Panjawi, and that I ask her to cease her austerities and put on clothes again. Don't stay away long. Come back quickly." Kyai Pamanahan promised to do as ordered and left for Mount Danaraja. Kyai Panjawi went to Pathi. His Majesty the Sultan returned to Pajang.

165. Kyai Panjawi had reached Pathi and was subsequently called Kyai Ageng Pathi. He became very prosperous. At that time Pathi had ten thousand inhabitants.

166. Kyai Pamanahan had arrived at Mount Danaraja and told Ratu Kalinyamat that Arya Panangsang had been killed in a fight with him and Kyai Panjawi. Ratu Kalinyamat was very glad, quickly put on a kain, and said, "Thank God, brother, that that Jipang has been killed by you. You are entitled that I should serve you and receive the lands of Kalinyamat and Prawata as a reward." Kyai Pamanahan said, "Sister, I have already been rewarded with the land of Mataram, and my brother Panjawi with Pathi. I hope you will offer the lands of Kalinyamat and Prawata to your brother His Majesty the Sultan." Ratu Kalinyamat said again, "In that case, brother, take all my treasures. Use them to defray the cost of organizing the land of Mataram." Kyai Pamanahan said, "Sister, I also don't want those treasures. It is better to give them to His Majesty the Sultan. Only those which you call pusaka I would like to be allowed to request." Ratu Kalinyamat answered while handing them over, "Here you are, brother! My pusaka consist only of these two rings. One is a ruby, called Menjanganbang, the other a diamond, called Uluk." Kyai Pamanahan accepted them and thanked her. Ratu Kalinyamat spoke again, "But I advise you, brother, to hide those pusaka very carefully, so that His Majesty does not know, because if he gets to know about them, he will certainly consider it a fault of yours. Moreover, take all these women, former concubines your late brother of Kalinyamat and Prawata. Just leave me the old ones, so that there are some to take care of me." Kyai Pamanahan thanked her, and after taking his leave, he departed taking the women and the treasures. On his way, he stopped in Séla and asked his relatives to join him in settling in Mataram. The relatives in Séla, who loved him, followed him. Their number was one hundred and fifty persons.

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167. Kyai Pamanahan left Séla. Having arrived in Pajang, he paid his respects to His Majesty the Sultan, reported how his mission to Danaraja went and offered the treasures and women from Ratu Kalinyamat. His Majesty the Sultan said, "Brother, I am very grateful to you. Those gifts you take yourself. I do not want them, because your success has already made me very happy and satisfied, such as the death of Arya Panangsang and the seizure of his lands. I will only make a choice from those women, if there is one I like." Kyai Pamanahan said that he was very grateful and he brought all the women before His Majesty the Sultan. His Majesty made a choice. There was only one who pleased him, but she was still young. He said, "Brother, I will only take that girl, but I entrust her to you. You take good care of her. Later when she has grown up, you bring her into the palace." Kyai Pamanahan said that he would do as ordered. His Majesty said again, "Brother, you now go home first. Later when I am holding an audience, I will give you the lands of Mataram." Kyai Pamanahan said, "As you command," and went home.

168. It is told that a long time passed when His Majesty the Sultan of Pajang often sat in audience, but never spoke about Mataram. Kyai Pamanahan wanted very much to receive his reward. Kyai Jurumartani kept advising him to remain patient, because by custom a king would never break his word. However, Kyai Pamanahan felt embarrassed seeing people and felt insulted by His Majesty the Sultan, because he had deceived him. Thereupon he left the capital, settled and practiced asceticism in the village of Kembanglampir. After some time, Sunan Kalijaga went to Kembanglampir to visit Kyai Pamanahan. Kyai Pamanahan quickly knelt before the feet of His Reverence, then they sat down in formal style. Sunan Kalijaga said, "Why did you leave the boy Pajang and settle here?" Kyai Pamanahan said, "How could you not know? Before I say it, you will surely already know it." Sunan Kalijaga smiled, saying, "I know already what you want. You don't need to say it. Come on, come with me. I will bring you before the boy Pajang. Because you as a student of the same teacher are the boy Pajang's brother, I should reconcile you two, so that you can get along together."

169. Sunan Kalijaga then left for Pajang. Kyai Pamanahan went with him. Arriving in Pajang, they burst into the palace without being announced. His Majesty the Sultan was just sitting down. When he noticed that His Reverence came visiting, he quickly went to meet him and knelt at his feet. Then they sat down. His Reverence said to His Majesty the Sultan, "My son, why did you break your promise to brother Kyai Pamanahan. You promised to give him the lands of Mataram, the counterpart of Pathi. Brother Panjawi has already received Pathi, but you haven't yet given Mataram away." His Majesty answered, "The reason that I haven't yet given Mataram to brother Pamanahan is because it is still barren with only a few people. My plan was to give him another area. I wanted to select one with many inhabitants, which is already prosperous." His Reverence already knew what made his Majesty the Sultan uneasy in his heart, and why he did not want to give Mataram, but did not wish to say it. He then spoke again, "My son, why do you want to give Kyai Pamanahan another domain, since it is your own promise

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that Pathi and Mataram would be the reward. If you give Kyai Pamanahan a domain other than Mataram, you will be called an untrustworthy king. So you better give Mataram to Kyai Pamanahan immediately, so that there will be no break between you and you may continue as brothers." For a long time His Majesty the Sultan did not answer. If he had not been afraid of his teacher, he would certainly not have given the land of Mataram to Kyai Pamanahan. In the end, he said, "The reason that I did not want to give Mataram to brother Pamanahan is because I have heard the prophecy of Sunan Giri that later in Mataram someone will rise as king who will be just as great as I am." Sunan Kalijaga said, "If it is only that which makes you uneasy, it is easy to resolve. Administer an oath to brother Kyai Pamanahan. I will be a witness." His Reverence then said to Kyai Pamanahan, "Come on, lad, swear an oath to your brother the Sultan. I will be a witness." Kyai Pamanahan then made a vow, "Your Reverence, may you be my witness. If I have the aspiration to become king in Mataram, and take over the royal power of Pajang, may I not be safe and sound. I don't know about later. Who knows the will of God." His Reverence said to Kyai Pamanahan, "This vow of yours is sufficient. I witness it." His Majesty the Sultan was relieved hearing the vow, but did not notice that the words were ambiguous. He said to Kyai Pamanahan, "Brother, I will now give you the lands of Mataram, but it is still a jungle." Kyai Pamanahan was very grateful. His Reverence said, "My boy, Pamanahan, you should move to Mataram forthwith with your wife and children. I will pray that your friendship with His Majesty your brother will be lasting. Goodbye, I am going home." His Reverence went home. Kyai Pamanahan also went back home and made preparations.

170. The two daughters of Kyai Pamanahan, one married to Tumenggung Mayang, and the younger, married to Dhadhaptulis in Pajang, stayed with their own husbands and did not join the move to Mataram.

171. Having finished his preparations, Kyai Pamanahan paid his respects to His Majesty the Sultan together with his wife, children and kinsmen in order to take his leave for his departure to Mataram. Appearing before His Majesty, he asked permission to leave and they shook hands. His Majesty the Sultan said, "Well, brother, may those who leave and those who remain behind be safe and sound." Kyai Jurumartani also took his leave and shook hands with His Majesty. The wife, children and relatives of Kyai Pamanahan each in turn paid their respects by kissing His Majesty's knee. Radèn Ngabèhi Saloringpasar and Pangéran Banawa, the son of His Majesty the Sultan, embraced each other. Both shed tears.

172. Kyai Pamanahan with his wife, children and all his kinsmen then left Pajang. They walked in a long line one after the other, carrying things on poles and the heavy loads together. All the things needed for setting up house were taken along. They proceeded very slowly. When they reached Taji, they stopped and sat down under a waringin tree.

173. It is told that Kyai Ageng of Karanglo knew that Kyai Pamanahan wished to move to Mataram. He resolved to offer him rice with chicken salad and soup and set out with his wife. In Taji he met Kyai Pamanahan and they shook hands. He said, "I am offering

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you rice with chicken salad and soup as a remedy against weariness." Kyai Pamanahan answered, "My friend, I am very grateful for your kindness." Kyai Pamanahan, his wife, children, and relatives all ate and were filled. After finishing eating, he said to Kyai Ageng of Karanglo, "I am very grateful to you. I and my whole family have eaten well and are filled, so I feel indebted to you. It would be good if I could repay you in future." Kyai Ageng of Karanglo thanked him.

174. Kyai Pamanahan then departed from Taji. Kyai Ageng of Karanglo went along, intending to accompany him to Mataram. On the way, he kept ingratiating himself so that in future he might share in the good life. They reached the River Ompak. Sunan Kalijaga happened to be taking a bath there. Kyai Pamanahan and Kyai Ageng of Karanglo quickly approached him. Kyai Pamanahan rubbed his right foot clean, Kyai Ageng of Karanglo his left foot. His Reverence said to Kyai Pamanahan, "You should know that in future descendants of Kyai Karanglo will share in the good life with your descendants, but they will not have the right to be called radèn or mas, and they will also not have the right to ride in a royal palanquin or a litter. Very well, continue your journey." Kyai Pamanahan and Kyai Ageng of Karanglo departed. Arriving in Mataram, they set up their houses and yards. This happened in the year 1531 [A.J.].

175. It is told that the land in Mataram was level and that water was abundant. There was also an abundance of fruits, fruits that grow on trees, edible roots and fruits that grow on the ground. Anything that was planted, would grow. There were also many things to enjoy on the water as well as on land. In every well the water was exceedingly pure. There were also many traders, and there were some who then settled there. Kyai Pamanahan changed his name into Kyai Ageng Mataram and enjoyed a good life with all his relatives. Nevertheless, he kept fervently practicing asceticism, because he knew the prophecy of Sunan Giri that in future great kings would rise in Mataram who would rule the whole of Java. He asked that, if this prophecy was true, it would be none other than his descendants who would rule as king. That is why he constantly practiced asceticism and went meditating in the forests and mountains. At that time he went alone to meditate, and planned to visit a close friend in the Gunung Kidul mountains, called Kyai Ageng Giring, or Kyai Ageng Padèrèsan. They were very good friends, as if they were children of the same parents.

176. Kyai Ageng Giring also fervently practiced asceticism. For his living he tapped sugar palms. In the morning Kyai Ageng Giring climbed into his palm tree. There was one coconut tree next to the sugar palm tree which had never borne fruit. That day it bore one fruit which was just ripe for drinking. While Kyai Ageng was putting his bamboo tube in place at the top of the tree, he heard a voice. It came from the young coconut. The voice said, "Kyai Ageng, you should know that the descendants of him who drinks the juice of this young coconut until it is finished will become great kings who will hold sway over all of Java." When Kyai Ageng heard the voice, he quickly climbed down the palm tree. At the bottom, he put down his bamboo cylinder and climbed into the coconut tree with the one fruit. He picked the young coconut and took it down. He

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forgot about his palm juice. He only thought about the young coconut. He quickly took it home and cut off the end to make it ready for drinking. However, he did not drink it immediately. The reason was that Kyai Ageng considered that because it was still morning, he could not finish the juice of the whole young coconut because he was not yet thirsty. So he intended to go clearing the forest first to make himself thirsty. The young coconut he put away on the crockery shelf above the fireplace. That day he did not bother about his work, boiling the sugar palm sap and making sugar. He only thought about the young coconut. He then left to go clearing the forest.

177. After Kyai Ageng Giring had left, Kyai Ageng Mataram arrived. He asked the wife of Kyai Ageng Giring, "Sister, where did your husband go, as I can't see him?" Nyai Giring answered, "Your brother left for the forest to cut wood." Kyai Ageng Mataram then went into the kitchen to drink some sugar syrup. When he saw that the kitchen was deserted, and that there was no sugar syrup or sugar palm sap, only a young coconut on the crockery shelf, he quickly took it, brought it into the house and sat down on a bench. Then he made a hole in the young coconut to drink the juice, while asking Nyai Giring, "Sister, why aren't you boiling palm sap? I went to the kitchen to drink palm sap, but didn't find any." Nyai Giring answered, "Indeed, we usually boil palm sap, but we skipped today because your brother wanted to take a rest." Then Nyai Giring was startled to see that Kyai Ageng Mataram was about to drain the young coconut. She quickly said, "Brother, please don't drink that coconut. Your brother specifically warned me not to do that. If you drink it, your brother will certainly beat me." Kyai Ageng Mataram answered, "Sister, don't be afraid. You say that it was I who forced you, because I was very thirsty and found the young coconut in the kitchen, so that I didn't need to climb a tree myself." Having said that, he drank the juice of the young coconut in one draught without leaving a drop. It tasted wonderful.

178. Shortly afterwards Kyai Ageng Giring arrived carrying a load of wood. He headed straight for the kitchen. He put the wood down and wanted to drink the coconut juice. When he looked on the crockery shelf, the coconut was not there. He quickly went into the house, found there Kyai Ageng Mataram, and asked his wife, "Woman, where is the young coconut which I put on the crockery shelf?" Nyai Giring answered, "It was taken by your brother here. I forbade it, but to no avail. Because he was very thirsty, he emptied it." Kyai Ageng Mataram replied, "It is true, brother, I drank it because I was very thirsty. If you want to be angry with me, go ahead." When Kyai Ageng Giring heard these words, he was very disappointed and for a long time he just kept silent. Since it had already happened, he realized that it was fated to be God's will that Kyai Ageng Mataram would be the progenitor of the kings who would hold sway over Java. Then he told the truth about the voice from the young coconut and had a request for Kyai Ageng Mataram, "Brother, since you have already drunk the coconut juice, I cannot ask for it back. I have only this request, that my descendants in future be allowed to take turns with your descendants. First your descendant, then my descendant in turn." Kyai Ageng Mataram would not allow it. Kyai Ageng Giring then asked for his

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second, third, fourth, fifth, and finally his sixth descendant to be allowed to take his turn. Kyai Ageng Mataram still would not allow it. When he asked for his seventh descendant, Kyai Ageng Mataram answered, "Brother, God only knows, maybe it will be given later. I don't know about it." Having said that, he took his leave and returned to Mataram.

179. In the course of time, the son of Kyai Ageng Mataram, called Radèn Ngabèhi Saloringpasar, had an affair with the girl from Kalinyamat whom His Majesty the Sultan had reserved for himself and entrusted to Kyai Ageng Mataram with the order to deliver the girl when she had reached marriageable age. Although she had now reached marriageable age, she had an affair with his son, so Kyai Ageng was very concerned and thought that he would certainly incur His Majesty's wrath. He left for Pajang, taking his son along, to report his mistake. Having arrived in Pajang, he presented himself in the palace. Having exchanged greetings with His Majesty the Sultan, he said, "My visit to you is to offer you the decision on the life or death of my son Radèn Ngabèhi Saloringpasar, because he has committed a great offence towards you." His Majesty was shocked to hear this and asked, "Brother, what has he done wrong, that you offer his life or death to me? As I adopted him as my child, you don't have authority over him any more." Kyai Ageng said, "The reason that I offered him is that he dared to anticipate your wish and had an affair with the girl formerly from Kalinyamat who had been put in my care. Indeed it was because of my failure to guard your property." His Majesty the Sultan said, "Brother, if his fault is just that, I forgive him, and you should let him marry. I permit it. But I request that if the girl is later discarded, she should not be treated badly. Moreover, I blame you for being not very careful in taking care of the ngabèhi. Shouldn't you let a boy who has already grown up like this marry, or give him a concubine, so that he does not end up making a mistake?" Kyai Ageng Mataram very much tried to mollify His Majesty, because he felt that in his heart the latter was angry with him. When his Majesty stopped talking, he asked permission to return to Mataram. His son went with him. On arrival in Mataram, he married his son to the girl. In course of time they had a handsome boy. He was called Radèn Rangga. His parents loved him.

180. It is told that His Majesty the Sultan of Pajang set out for Giri accompanied by his troops to ask for Sunan Parapèn's permission to ascend the throne. Kyai Ageng Mataram also accompanied him. At that time, all the bupati of eastern Java were already there, such as the bupati of Japan, of Wirasaba, of Kadhiri, of Surabaya, of Pasuruhan, of Madura, of Sidayu, of Lasem, of Tuban, and of Pathi. And they had already each built their own camps.

181. Then Sunan Parapèn came out to hold audience. His Majesty the Sultan of Pajang was already sitting down. The adipati were sitting in a row, while the subordinates were sitting behind their respective lords. His Majesty was then told to sit close to His Reverence and his ascension as Sultan ruling the land of Pajang with the title Sultan

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Prabu Awijaya was unanimously agreed to. His Reverence gave his permission and all the bupati witnessed it with their presence. This happened in the year 1533 [A.J.].

182. Shortly afterwards, the refreshments and food were brought in succession out of the palace. Sunan Parapèn and His Majesty, and all the bupati ate. His Reverence said, "My children, all the bupati, you should live harmoniously as friends. Let no one disagree. May you all be equally happy in your minds. Thank God for your respective positions. Who is predestined to become prominent, or who is predestined to remain humble, this is the fate of each individual. I pray to God that all my children and grandchildren will be happy, on earth as well as in the hereafter." All the bupati concurred with one voice.

183. Having eaten, the leftovers were handed down to the subordinates. Sunan Parapèn looked fixedly at Kyai Ageng Mataram, because he knew what had not yet been told. He asked His Majesty the Sultan of Pajang, "My son, who is that subject of yours who lets the others go first with eating." His Majesty answered, "That is the head of Mataram. He commands eight-hundred karya." His Reverence said again, "Ask him to come forward and let him sit with the adipati." Kyai Ageng Mataram came forward. His Reverence said to the adipati, "My children, all the bupati, know that the descendants of Kyai Ageng Mataram will one day rule the people of all Java. Even Giri will pay homage to Mataram." When Kyai Ageng Mataram heard the words of His Reverence, he knelt with his forehead on the ground, thanked him profusely and offered him a kris, but His Reverence did not wish to accept it. The adipati watched Kyai Ageng Mataram with pleasure.

184. His Reverence then ordered the adipati to make a lake. Their men quickly started to dig. The lake was ready and looked very beautiful. His Reverence named it Lake Patut.

185. Thereupon His Majesty the Sultan of Pajang and the bupati returned to their own lands. Kyai Ageng Mataram also set out for Mataram. On his arrival in Pajang, His Majesty informed his children and all his subjects of the prophecy of Sunan Parapèn of Giri. When his bupati and mantri heard the prophecy they were shocked. His son Pangéran Banawa said, "My lord and father, if the prophecy of His Reverence is true, I would liken Mataram to a tiny spark. It is better to immediately spray it with water, so that it will not spread. If you agree, I will destroy Mataram through war. With a buzz of voices, the bupati supported what Pangéran Banawa had said. His Majesty said, "Boy, what you say is true. What could Mataram do? If you attack it, it will certainly be conquered. But if it is predestined by God, man is powerless to change it. And I am afraid to violate the ban of Sunan Parapèn. He who starts making trouble, will not fare well." Pangéran Banawa and the bupati gasped inside.

186. It is told that Kyai Ageng Mataram was sitting down, faced by his children and kinsmen. He said, "Children and family, since Sunan Parapèn has predicted that my descendants in future will rule Java, I leave you this message, that if later you attack eastern Java, you should select the day on which I went with His Majesty the Sultan to Giri, that is on Friday Paing of the month of Mukharam. Do your best to honour this. And

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if you are attacked, do not counterattack beyond the Kendheng mountains, because your fight will be ill-fated. Moreover, if in future my descendants appoint bupati, they should appoint none others than the descendants of the Mataram people, because their forefathers have shared our troubles. If their descendants in future deserve the death penalty, just chastise them. If they deserve a chastisement, forgive them." Many were the instructions that Kyai Ageng Mataram left for his children and kinsmen.

187. At that time the domain of Mataram was already thriving and prosperous, and clothes and food were cheap. Then Kyai Ageng Mataram became very ill. He instructed Kyai Jurumartani, "Brother-in-law, since I will be brought to my appointed end, I will leave it to you to care for my children. As for the one whom I allow to be my successor, may it be Ngabèhi Saloringpasar." Then he said to his children, "Children, you should all be obedient to your uncle Kyai Jurumartani." Having said this, he died. His corpse was cleansed and laid to rest to the west of the mosque. This happened in the year 1535 [A.J.].

188. The next morning, Kyai Jurumartani left for Pajang together with all the sons of Kyai Ageng Mataram to inform His Majesty the Sultan about the death of Kyai Ageng. When they arrived in Pajang, His Majesty the Sultan was just holding audience. Kyai Jurumartani and his nephews sat outside to the south of the sacred, fenced waringin trees to be admitted. When His Majesty noticed them, he quickly had them summoned and they paid their respects. Kyai Jurumartani said, "I report to Your Majesty that your servant, the head of Mataram, has passed away, and I offer you the five sons whom he has left behind. Which one do you want to succeed?" His Majesty the Sultan was very touched hearing that the head of Mataram had died, and said, "Brother Jurumartani, I appoint my son Ngabèhi Saloringpasar to succeed in Mataram. I give him the title Sénapati ing Ngalaga Sayidin Panatagama. Moreover, Brother Jurumartani, I entrust to you the care of my son Sénapati. Within the coming year I do not allow him to come to Pajang to pay homage. He should put his domain in order and enjoy a good life in Mataram. After one year, he should come and pay homage. Don't let him be late." Kyai Jurumartani and Sénapati said that they would do as ordered and both kissed the knee of His Majesty the Sultan. Then they took their leave to return to Mataram.

189. Mataram increasingly grew in population and it became increasingly prosperous. Sénapati ing Ngalaga enjoyed a good life and ordered the people of Mataram to make bricks for a city wall. At that time more than a year had passed and Sénapati had still not gone to pay homage in Pajang. Kyai Jurumartani kept urging him to go. Sénapati answered, "Later when His Majesty sends a messenger to summon me, I will go."

190. It is told that His Majesty the Sultan of Pajang came out to hold audience. He sat on a golden throne which was bedecked with jewels. Under it lay a carpet, strewn with flowers. All the bupati, mantri, rangga, and demang were sitting together to pay homage. His Majesty's appearance radiated as the full moon. He spoke to the assembled servants, "My boys, have you heard any news about my son Sénapati, for a year has passed and he has not come to pay homage in Pajang. Or is it because he knows the

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prophecy of Sunan Parapèn that he does not want to pay homage to me. It is now almost the time for the prophecy to be fulfilled. If you compare it to a flower, it is still in the bud, but about to bloom." His Majesty was said to be a very powerful and supernaturally endowed king who would not hesitate to destroy Mataram if he wanted to. However, it seemed as if there was something that impeded his wish. The bupati said, "We heard the news that your son Sénapati ing Ngalaga is dissembling. Now he is having bricks made to build a city wall." His Majesty then gave an order to Ngabèhi Wuragil and Ngabèhi Wilamarta, "You two go to Mataram. Summon my son Sénapati and carefully watch his actions." Both servants said that they would do as told and left on horseback.

191. The two messengers arrived in Mataram, but they did not find Sénapati in his residence. He had gone out to Lipura riding on his horse. The two messengers went after him. Arriving in Lipura, they saw Sénapati riding his horse. Kyai Wuragil said to Kyai Wilamarta, "Let's both dismount and convey the summons from His Majesty the Sultan." Kyai Wilamarta answered, "If you dismount from your horse first, you don't hold the one who sent you in high esteem, for the messenger, when he conveys the message, is like the one who sent him. Whereas in this case the one who is ordered is still sitting on his horse, so you humiliate His Majesty the Sultan. One could call you a disgraceful messenger. Moreover, I think that Sénapati already knows that you and I have been sent by His Majesty the Sultan, so it is on purpose that he does not dismount." Kyai Wuragil said again, "That is not yet certain. I think that when you say that you have been sent by His Majesty the Sultan, Sénapati will immediately dismount."

192. The two messengers then dismounted from their horses and approached Sénapati. Sénapati asked, while remaining on his horse, "Kyai Wuragil and Kyai Wilamarta, have you been sent by His Majesty the Sultan?" Kyai Wilamarta said to Kyai Wuragil, "Well, didn't I tell you! Sénapati intentionally did not want to dismount. You and I are without doubt disgraceful messengers." Kyai Wuragil answered Sénapati, "Indeed, the two of us have been sent by His Majesty the Sultan. You are ordered to stop indulging in food and drink all the time, and to have your head shaven, and of course immediately go to pay your respects in Pajang." Sénapati answered while still remaining on his horse, "You tell His Majesty the Sultan that he tells me to stop indulging in food and drink, but I still enjoy it and still have appetite. I am ordered to have my head shaven, but my hair grows by itself. How can I make it disappear? I am ordered to pay homage. Yes, I will, if His Majesty the Sultan stops being married to two women and stops often taking the wives and daughters of his subjects. Just this is my answer."

193. The two messengers took leave and returned. They arrived in Pajang, but made up a suitable lie. They said to His Majesty the Sultan, "By your leave, we were sent to summon your son Sénapati, and indeed we did. He said that he would do as told, but asked us to return first. Your son will soon follow." His Majesty the Sultan remained silent. He did not wish to ask all kinds of things.

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30. Kyai Ageng Mataram dies. Radèn Ngabèhi Saloringpasar succeeds him with the title Sénapati Ngalaga

194. It is told that Sénapati was sitting in his residence with Kyai Jurumartani. Kyai Jurumartani said, "My boy, what do you want? You have been summoned by your father His Majesty the Sultan but you are not willing to pay homage. This will certainly make him angry. Inevitably you will come into conflict with His Majesty the Sultan. If that happens, what will you rely on? Your troops are only few. You wouldn't dare to pit them against the troops of Pajang. If you did dare, you will inevitably be wiped out. Moreover, His Majesty the Sultan is widely known for being a very supernaturally powerful king, who is held in respect by the kings of other countries. Once when he was treacherously attacked by thieves, he happened to be sleeping under a ceremonial batik cloth. He was stabbed, but it felt as if flies had alighted upon him. Even his blanket was not damaged. This you should know about the invulnerability of His Majesty the Sultan. Moreover, if you do become enemies with His Majesty the Sultan, what will you rely on? If you were to rely on your own supernatural powers, going through water without getting wet, or entering fire without getting burnt, or even your invulnerability, these will certainly not work, because as far as you have these abilities, they are the result of the teachings of His Majesty the Sultan, for he adopted you since childhood and loved you very much as if you were his own son. When you became an adult, he instructed you in all esoteric knowledge, and supernatural power and invulnerability. Then he gave you a good life in Mataram. How do you repay the love of His Majesty the Sultan? So your fault is threefold, first you show enmity towards your lord, second you show enmity towards your father, and third you show enmity towards your teacher. How the people who hate you will laugh. They will say, 'Sénapati only dares to fight against his own father, but against others he is afraid.' And I will feel very ashamed to see the people of Pajang, because they may call me someone who doesn't know kindness. It would be preferable if you would attack another country that is bigger than Pajang. I am not afraid of helping you." Kyai Jurumartani heaped reproaches on him.

195. When Sénapati heard the words of Kyai Jurumartani, he was inwardly very sad, knowing that he had made a mistake. He said humbly, "Uncle, what would your advice be — since I have let it slip from my tongue that I would not pay my respects to His Majesty the Sultan — so that I won't incur his anger, that I may still stay in Mataram, may rule over the whole of Java, and that my children and grandchildren may inherit this?" Kyai Jurumartani answered, "If that is your wish, there is no other way than to steadfastly implore God that, when His Majesty the Sultan dies, you may succeed him as king. And you should not even once entertain the idea of becoming His Majesty's enemy. Instead, in your heart you should intend to repay his kindness towards you, in that he adopted you, gave you a good life, and taught you much. If you earnestly implore God in this way, His Majesty the Sultan will certainly still love you, and in his heart will allow you to succeed him as king." Sénapati was very grateful and followed his uncle's advice. Kyai Jurumartani returned home. Day and night Sénapati constantly prayed to God.

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196. At that time, the leaseholders of Kedhu and Pagelèn wanted to go to pay homage to Pajang and to pay their tribute. On their journey they passed through Mataram. There they were stopped by Sénapati, shown great esteem, entertained, wined and dined, and moreover treated as family and elders. It made them very happy. Sénapati had his wives dance for them, and wait upon them and rub them with ointment, and moreover, put a flower on their ears. They felt more and more beholden to Sénapati, and they vowed that if in future Sénapati should have enemies, they would be willing to go to war, because his benefactions were so great that they could not repay them. Their repayment would just be their wounds and their shed blood. Sénapati was very happy hearing the vow of the leaseholders, and he said to himself, "Now, through God's help, I have gained helpers. It looks as if I will be able to take over the kingship of Pajang."

197. The leaseholders were then rewarded with clothes. They were very happy and said all talking at the same time, "We departed from Kedhu and Pagelèn to offer our tribute to Pajang. That is now not going to happen. All our compulsory services and tribute we will offer to you, because it makes no difference, in Pajang there is a king, in Mataram there is a king." While saying this, they clapped their hands and shouted approval. Sénapati said, "Dear friends, I accept your vow of loyalty. I want you to go to Pajang sometime later to pay homage together with me. If His Majesty the Sultan is angry, I will avert it, for in whatever he wishes to do he trusts in me. Furthermore, my friends, if there is one among you who wants the title of demang, rangga, ngabèhi or tumenggung, I have been empowered to confer it." Hearing these words, the mantri became even more elated. They thought that they should treat Sénapati as king. They danced and showed off their invulnerability and strength. Some tossed their spears into the air, others their javelins, or they tossed rocks as heavy as a dhacin. When these came down, they caught them on their chests or backs. No one was hurt, because they were all magically invulnerable and strong.

198. There was one mantri, called Kyai Bocor, who was very saddened to see the conduct of his friends. He said, "How can they all get so carried away and be so childish. Beguiled by Sénapati, they want to proclaim him king. They don't realize that Sénapati is a commoner who feels compelled to fight against Pajang. As for me, I don't want to subject myself to Sénapati as long as I haven't yet tested his supernatural powers. I don't think he has a copper skin, or muscles of steel. If he remains unharmed when I stab him with my superb kris, Kebodhengen, I am prepared to serve him." Sénapati had already noticed that Kyai Bocor wanted to try his mettle, because it showed plainly in his behaviour by not willing to join in the fun. He thought by himself, "I think that this Bocor is different from his friends. He is not happy to be feted. He feels compelled to try my mettle. But he is right. I am like a dwarf who at all costs wants to reach the sky. Naturally I am considered untrustworthy. And if I don't possess supernatural powers that surpass those of the great mass of people, how could I become a king ruling over the whole of Java?" Sénapati then went into his residence and ordered the servants

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who were guarding the outer gate to ignore Kyai Bocor if he entered the house and not forbid him. The leaseholders all went to their lodgings.

199. That night Kyai Bocor got ready to kill Sénapati. He tested his kris. On its edge he put some kapok, blew on it, and it went straight through. Then he went into the residence of Sénapati alone. None of the guardsmen at the door paid attention. Sénapati happened to be eating with his back turned towards the door. Kyai Bocor quickly attacked, stabbing him. Sénapati was not harmed and did not look around. He calmly continued eating. The point of the kris had become blunt. Kyai Bocor became tired and fell to his knees. His kris stuck into the ground. All his energy was gone. He then paid his repects by kissing the knee and expressed his remorse. Sénapati turned his head and said, "Brother Bocor, I have already forgiven you and trust you." Kyai Bocor then went back.

200. At night Sénapati went away accompanied by five servants. He headed for Lipura. There was a big flat stone of a beautiful colour. Sénapati lay down to sleep on the stone.

201. After midnight, Kyai Jurumartani was in his house but did not yet want to sleep. He went to the residence of Sénapati. When he came to the gate, he asked the guards, "Gatekeepers, is my son still awake?" The gatekeepers answered, "After the party, when the sun had gone down and the moon had risen, your son left. We don't know where he went." When Kyai Jurumartani heard the information from the gatekeepers, he knew where Sénapati had gone. He quickly followed him to Lipura. Arriving there, he found Sénapati sleeping on a shiny stone. He woke him and said, "Boy, wake up! You say that you want to be king. How can you just be sleeping without a care?"

202. Then a star fell from the sky. It was the size of a coconut complete with its shell and it shone brightly. It settled near the head of Sénapati's sleeping place. Kyai Jurumartani was very startled. He quickly woke his son, "Boy, quickly wake up. What is that thing that shines like the moon next to your head?" Sénapati startled and woke up. He looked and asked, "What kind of thing are you, that you lie shining at the top of my sleeping place? I haven't seen you in all my life." The star replied as if it were a person, "You should know that I am a star. I want to tell you that your effort to try to clear your mind and understand the will of God has now been accepted. Your prayer has been granted. You will become king and rule over Java. Your children and grandchildren will inherit your position and become king in Mataram. They will have no equal, they will be held in respect by their enemies, and be rich in gold and jewels. In due course your great-grandchild will be the last king in Mataram. The realm will split apart. There will often be eclipses of the moon and the sun. Every night a comet will be seen. Mountains will collapse, causing rains of ash and mudflows. These will be signs that the realm will be ruined." Having said this, the star vanished.

203. Sénapati said to himself, "Now my prayer to God has been answered, my intention to become king, succeeding my father the Sultan, and my children and grand-children inheriting my position, serving as the light of Java while the people of Java will all submit." Kyai Jurumartani knew what his son was thinking and said, "Boy, don't pride

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yourself and count on what hasn't happened yet. That is not right. You are wrong if you rely on what that star has said, because I would call this the voice of destiny. It has the right to speak lies as well as the truth. You cannot take hold of its tongue like that of a human, and when later you wage war against the men of Pajang, you cannot demand fulfilment of what it said, or ask its help. Without doubt, you and I will have to wage war by ourselves. If we win, you will become king in Mataram. If we lose, we will certainly be led away as prisoners." When Sénapati heard the words of his uncle, he said meekly, "Uncle, what is your advice? I will simply follow it. I am like a boat and you are the rudder." Kyai Jurumartani answered, "Boy, if you follow my words, let us pray to God, so that he will make easy everything that is difficult. Let us share the work. You go to the South Sea and I will climb Mount Merapi to discover the will of God. Let's go!" Sénapati said that he would do as told.

204. Kyai Jurumartani then left for Mount Merapi. Sénapati went due east and came to the River Ompak. He jumped into the water and swam on his back, following the flow of the water.

205. Now we return to a previous episode when Sénapati was enjoying himself fishing at the River Samas. He had brought a casting net, a dragnet, a bag net, a fyke net, and all kinds of other equipment. He caught many fish. Then there was an enormous sea fish, called Olor. It was caught in the net, brought ashore and offered to Sénapati. It made Sénapati very happy. The fish was clad in gold, given the name Tunggulwulung, and then set free into the water again. The Olor fish felt that Sénapati had given him a new lease on life, so when he saw that Sénapati was letting himself be carried on the current of the river towards its mouth in the sea, he came to the surface to meet him in order to carry him on his back. However, Sénapati did not want it. He went ashore, stood on the seashore and prayed to God. Then a storm arose, and rain mixed with wind. Many trees were torn or uprooted. The waves of the sea were as big as mountains and made a frightening noise. The sea water was hot as boiling water. Many fish were thrown out, smashed against the cliffs, and died on the land. This was all caused by the awesome power of Sénapati praying to God.

206. In the South Sea there ruled a queen of great beauty. No one in the whole world could be a match for her. Her name was Rara Kidul and she ruled over all the invisible beings in Java. At that time Queen Rara Kidul happened to be in her palace, sitting on a golden couch that was bedecked with jewels, while the ghosts, fairies, and spirits reverentially sat before her. She was startled to see the commotion among the sea fish and the water being hot as if it were boiled. The noise was frightful. She said to herself, "In my whole life I haven't seen the sea in such a state. How did this come about? Is it because of a disturbance in nature? Has the sun fallen? Has Judgement Day arrived?" Ratu Kidul then went outside. She stood on the surface of the water. She saw that the world was brightly lit and that there was absolutely nothing special, and only one person was visible, standing on the sea shore while meditating and praying to God. Ratu Kidul said, "That's probably the one who is making such a disturbance in the sea." At

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the same moment she knew the thoughts of Sénapati. She quickly approached him, made a sembah, touched his feet and said meekly, "May the grief in your heart be made to disappear, so that this disturbance may be gone and everything in the sea, that has been destroyed by the onslaught of this disturbance, may return to its former state. I hope you will have pity on me, because I am the ruler of this sea. As for your prayer to God, it has now been granted. You and all your descendants will become kings without equals and will rule over the whole of Java, and all its ghosts, fairies and spirits. If later you will meet an enemy, they will all come to your help and follow all your wishes, because you will be the revered progenitor of the kings of Java."

207. When Sénapati heard the words of Ratu Kidul, he was extremely happy and the disturbance in nature disappeared. Moreover, the fish that had died came alive again. Ratu Kidul made a sembah while casting eyes at him. She left and returned to the depths of the sea. Sénapati was deeply in love and followed her. He walked on the surface of the water as if he were walking on land. When they arrived at the palace in the sea, they sat down together on the golden couch faced by the fairies and the spirits.

208. Sénapati was surprised to see the palace of Ratu Kidul. It was extremely beautiful. The house and the wall around it were made of gold and silver. The gravel of the yard consisted of rubies, diamonds and emeralds. The ornamental plants in the garden were very beautiful as well. The flowers and the fruits were all exquisite and without equal on land.

209. Sénapati was sitting pressed closely against Ratu Kidul, but he kept restraining himself, reminding himself that she was not human. Ratu Kidul caught his expression and kept casting eyes at him. Sénapati smiled and said to Ratu Kidul, "Sister, I would like to see how your bedroom is arranged." Ratu Kidul said, "As you wish, I have no problems with that. I am just its caretaker. You are the one who owns it." Having said this, she took Sénapati's hand and took him inside her bedroom. They sat down. Sénapati said, "Sister, I am overawed to see your bedroom. Perhaps this is what they mean when they talk about the beauty of heaven. In my whole life, I haven't seen a bedroom like this. It matches its owner who by nature is beautiful and knows how to arrange things. I am not looking forward to going back to Mataram. I would feel very much at home here. There is only one drawback, that there is no man. If there were one, and a handsome one, it would be much better." Ratu Kidul answered, "To be a queen, it is better to be single. I can do whatever I want, without there being one to give me orders." Sénapati smiled and said, "I hope you can give me a medicine for my infatuation for you." Ratu Kidul said while giving him a sidelong glance, "I cannot offer you a remedy, because I am not a doctor. You are a great king. You can't have a lack of women who surpass me." Sénapati felt as if he had been relieved of his inhibitions. He took Ratu Kidul in his arms and carried her away. They then satisfied their desire.

210. Sénapati spent three days and three nights in the Southern Ocean, all the time making love to Ratu Kidul, and every day he was instructed in the art of being a king who is respected by all people, ghosts, and spirits. Sénapati said, "I am grateful for all your

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teachings and I trust you. On the other hand, if I later have problems, whom am I to send to tell you? There is certainly no one in Mataram who knows you." Ratu Kidul said, "That is easy. If you want to summon me, stand with your arms folded across your chest and your feet together, and then look upward to the sky. I will certainly quickly come, bringing an army of ghosts, fairies and spirits with all their weapons." Sénapati said again, "I ask permission to return to Mataram. I will obey all your instructions."

211. Sénapati then left, walking over the water of the sea as if he were walking on land. When he came to Parangtritis, he was startled seeing Sunan Kalijaga sitting in meditation under the overhanging cliffs. Sénapati quickly kissed his knee and meekly asked for forgiveness for having shown his supernatural powers by walking over water without getting wet. Sunan Kalijaga said, "Sénapati, stop trusting in your supernatural powers and invulnerabilty. Such a man is called presumptuous. The apostles of Islam did not approve of such conduct, because it would certainly invite the wrath of God. If you sincerely want to become king, just gratefully follow His commands. Let us go to Mataram. I want to see your house." They left and arrived in Mataram.

212. His Reverence saw that Sénapati's residence still did not have an outside wall. He said, "Your house doesn't have an outside wall. That is not good. You could be called overconfident and presumptuous. You trust on your supernatural powers, strength and invulnerability. If cattle don't have a stall, they will wander everywhere. Cattle should be tethered and at night put into a stall. Outside they should be guarded by people and entrusted to God. All the more so, your house should have a brick wall, called a pager bumi. Order the people of Mataram to make bricks each dry season. When you have a lot of them, build a city with a varied population." His Reverence then took a half-shell coconut filled with water which he poured out while going around and reciting an Islamic chant. When he had finished pouring the water out, he said, "Later when you build the city, follow this line." Sénapati said that he would do as he was told. His Reverence then took his leave and returned home.

213. It is told that His Majesty the Sultan of Pajang came out to hold audience in the audience hall. His sons, kinsmen, bupati and mantri were all present. The bupati said, "Lord, your son Sénapati is indeed treacherous and intends to oppose you. This is shown by the fact that he has now made a fortress with a wide moat." His Majesty said to Pangéran Banawa, "Boy, you go to Mataram together with your brother-in-law the adipati of Tuban and Tumenggung Mancanagara. Ask your brother Sénapati whether he really plans to oppose me." Pangéran Banawa, the adipati of Tuban and Tumenggung Mancanagara said that they would do as ordered and departed with their troops.

214. In Pajang there was a mantri called Pangalasan who was friends with Sénapati. He quickly sent a messenger to Mataram to say that His Majesty the Sultan had sent his son to Mataram who had taken an army with him. When Sénapati received the news, he quickly went to meet them in Randhulawang. The people of Mataram were mobilized and they took along food and drink to be offered to the guests.

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34. Sultan Pajang sends a messenger to Mataram to confirm whether Sénapati really wants to become disloyal

215. Pangéran Banawa had already arrived in Randhulawang. When he saw his brother coming to meet him, he quickly descended from his horse. He and Sénapati went towards each other, embraced and wept, because they had not met each other for a long time, so they had missed each other very much. Pangéran Banawa said, "Brother, I have missed you very much, because I haven't seen you for a long time. Besides that, I have been sent because your father has received news that you intend to oppose him. I have been ordered to ask whether that is true or not. I hope you will tell the truth frankly." Sénapati answered, "Brother, I leave it up to your father, His Majesty the Sultan, a king with a sharp eye. Whatever is in my mind, he will certainly know. That I could succeed so much is because of what your father has given me. I don't feel that I own Mataram. I have it because your father owns it. Moreover, I offer you the food and drink brought by your subjects from Mataram. Please eat it." Pangéran Banawa then ate. His followers also all ate. Sénapati said again, "Brother, I ask you to continue your journey to Mataram. I have already prepared amusements and arak and palm wine. I hope you will enjoy yourself in Mataram, because you are the lord of all the people there. And please ride an elephant together with me." Pangéran Banawa said to Tumenggung Mancanagara, "Mancanagara, the information given to my father His Majesty the Sultan is all a lie. Sénapati does not intend to oppose His Majesty my father. I trust that Sénapati is innocent. That he doesn't want to oppose His Majesty my father, is shown by the fact that he is providing food and drink, and respects the people of Pajang.

216. Pangéran Banawa then mounted an elephant together with his elder brother and departed from Randhulawang with his troops. Arriving in Mataram, they entered the palace. Having sat down, they enjoyed food and drink while the gamelan Galaganjur was played. They had a boisterous party. Likewise the troops of Pangéran Banawa and those of the adipati of Tuban, who were treated to food and drink outside. The adipati of Tuban asked Sénapati, "Brother Sénapati, I have heard that you like war dances." Sénapati answered, "Brother, I indeed like them, but there is no one in Mataram who can perform them." The adipati of Tuban impudently insisted on showing off the abilities and prowess of his servants and ordered them to perform a war dance. The men from Tuban danced. They exerted all their strength, showing off their courage and fortitude.

217. Radèn Rangga, the eldest son of Sénapati, who was born from the wife who at that time had been taken from Kalinyamat, was supernaturally very powerful and strong, and moreover he was very hotheaded. He touched his father indicating that he wanted to join the dance. Because Sénapati liked to humble him, he snapped at him. The adipati of Tuban noticed that Radèn Rangga wanted to join the dance, but was forbidden to do so by his father. He pressured Radèn Rangga, but the latter did not comply. Sénapati then ordered his son to dance, because he had been pressured by the adipati of Tuban. Radèn Rangga quickly took a shield and a spear. The shield had been brought by four men, likewise the spear, because they were very big. He grasped them and

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tossed them in the air. The adipati of Tuban looked on stupefied. He ordered his dancers to engage Radèn Rangga in earnest, because he believed in his superhuman powers. The men from Tuban then stabbed and speared him in earnest. Radèn Rangga remained unharmed and just danced on untroubled without wanting to respond in kind. Then the adipati of Tuban and his father told him to respond. Radèn Rangga quickly responded using only his hand. He slapped one of the men from Tuban, his head was broken to bits and he died. Instantly there was a great commotion. Without taking their leave, Pangéran Banawa and the adipati of Tuban departed with their troops to return to Pajang.

218. On their arrival in Pajang, they visited His Majesty the Sultan. However, the report of Pangéran Banawa contradicted that of the adipati of Tuban. Pangéran Banawa claimed that Sénapati was a good man who had paid great respect to the men of Pajang, and that there was no indication or sign that he wanted to become enemies with His Majesty. As for the report of the adipati of Tuban and Tumenggung Mancanagara, they said that Sénapati was actually playing a double game and planned to attack His Majesty the Sultan, because he had already built a fort with a moat. Moreover, he had shown off the prowess of his son, called Radèn Rangga, who had slapped a man from Tuban, smashing his head and killing him.

219. When His Majesty the Sultan heard these reports, he was stunned, because the report of his son did not agree with what his ministers said. For a long time, he just remained silent. At last he said, "None of those reports I believe, except only the report of Banawa. It is out of the question that Sénapati would dare to oppose me, because I have adopted him since childhood. He was like my eldest son and I have taught him a lot. When he became an adult, I let him enjoy the good life in Mataram. He certainly would want to repay me my generosity. What the adipati of Tuban and Tumenggung Mancanagara say is also true, that they believe that Sénapati wants to seize the royal power of Pajang because he knows the prophecy of Sunan Giri. That prophecy can be compared to a flower. Now is the time for it to bloom." The adipati of Tuban and Tumenggung Mancanagara said, "We compare Mataram to a small spark. As long as it has not spread, it is better to sprinkle water on it immediately. We will attack Mataram." His Majesty the Sultan said, "I fear God, because he has destined that in Mataram a great king will rise, who will rule the people of the whole of Java. How could I find a way to prevent that?" The adipati of Tuban and Tumenggung Mancanagara bowed their heads and could not speak. His Majesty the Sultan then retired into his palace.

220. In Pajang there was a bupati, a brother-in-law of Sénapati, called Tumenggung Mayang. He had a son called Radèn Pabélan, who was still young and very handsome. In the whole of Pajang there was no one who looked like him. However, he often behaved badly. He abused family ties for his dark exploits and was very loose in his morals. His father asked him to marry, but he refused. Kyai Tumenggung Mayang became angry and irritated because his lessons were not obeyed. In the end he decided to deceive his son in order to have him killed. He called his son. When he appeared before him, he

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said, "Boy, if you don't want to marry and still desire to continue your bad conduct, I want you to go all the way. Seduce the daughter of His Majesty the Sultan, called Ratu Sekarkadhaton. Even though it may cost you your life, people will speak well of it. If you are lucky and receive the help of God, she will become your wife. Your conduct up till now, all the time seducing the daughters and wives of other people, is bad. If bad luck strikes you, people will call you even more of a disgrace." His son said, "Father, I wouldn't think of seducing Ratu Sekarkadhaton, because she lives within the palace." Tumenggung Mayang said, "That is easy. Because women usually like fragant flowers, so I have a charm in the form of cepaka flowers. Give them to Her Highness. The experience with my charm is that when a woman sees and accepts them, she will be bewildered, not be able to eat or sleep well, and inevitably send someone. You wait for someone from the women's quarters, a servant of Her Highness, who is sometimes sent to buy flowers on the market. You should tell her to give your flowers to her mistress."

221. Radèn Pabélan took the cempaka flowers. He put them in a cone-shaped banana leaf. In between the flowers he put a tiny note, which was hidden very well. Then he went to the road near the gate of the Alun-alun. There was a woman, a servant of Ratu Sekarkadhaton, who wanted to go and buy flowers at the market. Radèn Pabélan stopped her, handed her the banana leaf cone with the flowers, and asked her to give them to her mistress. The woman took the flowers and was very happy that she did not need to take the trouble to go to the market and moreover did not need to buy them. She asked, "If my lady Her Highness later on asks for it, what is your name?" Radèn Pabélan told her his name straight out.

222. The woman returned to the palace, madly in love when she saw how handsome Radèn Pabélan was. When she came to the women's quarters, she gave the flowers to Her Highness. Ratu Sekarkadhaton took the banana leaf cone with the flowers, opened it and arranged them. Then she saw one cepaka flower with a note. She quickly read it. It said, "From Radèn Pabélan who wishes to serve Her Highness here and in the hereafter." Having read the note, her heart started to beat hard. Because she was already a grown woman, she fell very much in love with the sender of the note. Moreover, she had often heard the other women praising how handsome Radèn Pabélan was. In the end she said to her servant, called Soka, "Mother, you go out and find the man who gave these flowers. If he really wants to serve me, tell him to come tonight into the women's quarters." The nursemaid said that she would do so and went out. She met Radèn Pabélan and said, "Radèn, you are expected tonight by Her Highness. And she will await you with food and clothes ready, so don't fail to come tonight in the women's quarters." Radèn Pabélan answered, "Yes, auntie, tell Her Highness not to worry. Tonight I will certainly come." Soka then returned to the women's quarters.

223. Radèn Pabélan then visited his father and said, "Father, the flowers which I got from you have been accepted by Her Highness, and she sent me a message to tell me that tonight I should come to the women's quarters. I promised to do so, but I have a prob-

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lem as to which way I should get in." His father answered, "If you go into the women's quarters, don't go through the gate. You might get caught by the guards. It would be better to jump over the wall. Come, I will take you. It is already bedtime.

224. Kyai Tumenggung Mayang and his son then left. Arriving at the wall of the women's quarters, he taught his son a magic incantation to lower the wall. He said, "When you want to leave the women's quarters, memorize what I have taught you and rub the wall. It will come down by itself." Radèn Pabélan thanked him, but what his father had taught him was intentionally wrong, so that his son would not be able to get out. Kyai Tumenggung Mayang then recited a prayer and rubbed the wall. The wall came down. Radèn Pabélan quickly stepped inside. Kyai Tumenggung Mayang rubbed the wall again and it became as high as before. Kyai Tumenggung then went back home.

225. Radèn Pabélan hid in the garden at the back of Her Highness's house. Her Highness had been expecting him for a long time. When it became bedtime, she left the house and went into the garden. None of the servants saw it, only Soka went with her. She met Radèn Pabélan. Both were very happy, as if they had found a basket full of gold, and they vowed to be true to each other. It was destined that Radèn Pabélan would become a sacrifice for the realm. In the women's quarters there were many women. The princess herself had forty servants and there were also many men doing the rounds, but that night no one noticed Radèn Pabélan.

226. Ratu Sekarkadhaton took Radèn Pabélan by the hand and led him to her bed. They made love. When it became night again, Radèn Pabélan wanted to go home, but he could not, because the wall of the women's quarters did not come down, though he rubbed it again and again. At that moment he realized that he was going to die, and he returned to the residence of Ratu Sekarkadhaton, intending to die together with the princess.

227. It is told that Radèn Pabélan stayed in the women's quarters for seven days and seven nights. Nobody noticed it. On the eighth day, the attendants of the princess became suspicious, because the princess rarely came out and just stayed in bed all the time. They peeped inside and tried to listen. They learned that the princess was making love with Radèn Pabélan. They quickly informed His Majesty the Sultan that an intruder using superhuman means had entered the women's quarters and committed illicit acts of love.

228. His Majesty the Sultan was extremely angry. He quickly summoned two captains of the Tamtama corps, called Wirakarti and Suratanu, together with twenty of their men, and ordered them to kill the intruder in the women's quarters. The twenty-two Tamtama forthwith went to the women's quarters, but halted in the yard. Only Ngabèhi Wirakarti himself entered the residence of the princess. He found Radèn Pabélan in a close embrace with Ratu Sekarkadhaton, planning to die together. Ngabèhi Wirakarti spoke from afar, because he was afraid to come near the princess, "My boy, Radèn Pabélan, come here. Trust my words. Your father, Tumenggung Mayang, has told me everything about your conduct. He asked me to help to save you. I now take

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responsibility for your life, because His Highness the Sultan trusts me totally, especially if it concerns affairs within the palace. You know that yourself. Now I will propose to His Majesty the Sultan that you should be married to Her Highness. Come, I ask you to come along to pay your respects to His Majesty."

229. As it happened, Radèn Pabélan was easy to persuade. He believed what Wirakarti said, broke free from the embrace and followed Ngabèhi Wirakarti. When he came into the yard, the Tamtama quickly stabbed him. Radèn Pabélan was dead. His wounds were thicker than the spaces in a closely woven basket. His corpse was thrown in the River Lawiyan.

230. His Majesty the Sultan was incensed at Kyai Tumenggung Mayang and sent him away to Semarang escorted by one thousand armed men commanded by eighty mantri. The wife of Tumenggung Mayang still remained in Pajang. She quickly sent a messenger to inform Sénapati in Mataram. When Sénapati heard the report of the messenger, he became very angry and addressed the leaseholders, "My friends, leaseholders, I ask for your help. My brother-in-law, Tumenggung Mayang, is presently being exiled to Semarang. Wrest him from his guards wherever you find him. Just go through Kedhu." The leaseholders said that they would do as they were told and left on horseback. They caught up with the troops from Pajang in Jatijajar. The leaseholders charged them in a blind attack. Many were wounded and killed. The rest fled away to return to Pajang. Kyai Tumenggung Mayang was seized by leaseholders and taken to Mataram. The leaseholders took along the heads of the mantri of Pajang who had been killed and offered them to Sénapati.

231. The fleeing troops from Pajang had reached Pajang and informed His Majesty the Sultan. It made him realize that Sénapati had indeed risen in revolt because he had started the fight. He then gave orders to assemble the troops to conquer Mataram. All the bupati from the outer regions who were subject to Pajang had gathered together. The sons-in-law of His Majesty the Sultan, the adipati of Demak, the adipati of Tuban, and the adipati of Banten were already in Pajang with their troops. When everything was ready, His Majesty the Sultan mounted an elephant and left. The army was extremely large and carried a variety of weapons. When they reached Prambanan, they set up camp. The army of Pajang filled the whole area.

232. Sénapati and his army of eight hundred men from Mataram intended to meet them in battle. They had taken up positions at Randhulawang and were on their guard. Kyai Jurumartani said to Sénapati, "Boy, I don't want you to fight His Majesty the Sultan, because your army is small and will be wiped out by the innumerable troops of Pajang. And I feel embarrassed to see the men of Pajang. Come, let us pray to God that the men from Pajang will be terror-struck. You should ask Ratu Kidul to fulfill her promise. I will ask the god of Mount Merapi to fulfill his promise. And have some of your troops take up positions in the Gunung Kidul mountains. Let them pile up a lot of wood at distances a rifle-shot apart, evenly distributed over the mountains. Tonight let them set them on fire at the same time.

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233. The advice was acted on. At sunset, Sénapati stood with his arms folded across his chest looking up at the sky. Kyai Jurumartani did the same. Before long it started to rain and a storm started blowing. Many trees broke off or were uprooted. A loud thundering sound filled the sky. This was a sign that the ghosts, fairies and spirits were coming to help in the fight. Then Mount Merapi erupted with fire. It made a terrifying, thundering noise. A rain of ash fell. A volcanic mudflow ran down the Ompak river. Big rocks rose from the flow and landed on the land. When the piles of wood on the Gunung Kidul mountains were set on fire, the mountains became a blaze of fire. The gong, Kyai Bicak, was beaten ceaselessly.

234. His Majesty the Sultan was sitting in his camp near the Ompak river, faced by his bupati. He said, "My bupati, I see that the Gunung Kidul mountains are on fire and that Mount Merapi is erupting. Moreover, what is this noise in the sky? It sounds to me like the noise of troops going to battle. I am truly terrified." The adipati of Tuban said, "My lord, your words make all your subjects afraid. What you hear is the sound of the rain and wind. It is not scary. Moreover, there is no one among the men of Pajang who is afraid to fight Sénapati. If you give the order, the men of Mataram will be wiped out by all your subjects from Pajang in just a moment." His Majesty the Sultan answered, "My son, adipati of Tuban, don't dare to fight against your brother Sénapati. Know that I am going to die. That only I will be king of Pajang. I will be succeeded by your brother Sénapati. All his descendants will rule over the whole of Java. I came to Mataram only to see Sénapati, because I missed him very much, and I believe that Sénapati does not dare to fight me."

235. Before long the volcanic mudflow rose as far as the camp. Great rocks rolled onto the army of Pajang, creating panic. All tried to save their lives and ran in all directions. His Majesty the Sultan and the adipati were carried along in the flight. They thought they were being attacked by the enemy. The great army was completely swept away from there.

236. In the morning His Majesty the Sultan reached Tembayat. He wanted to pay his respects to the holy grave there, but the door to the tomb could not be unlocked with the key. His Majesty, thereupon, just paid his respects at the door. Having paid his respects, he asked the caretaker who guarded the grave, "Key keeper, why can the door to the grave not be unlocked?" The key keeper said respectfully, "Forgive me for saying so, my lord, but I think that God does not allow you to be king any more. This is shown by the fact that the door to the grave cannot be unlocked." His Majesty the Sultan heard the words of the key keeper and was deeply touched. At night he slept in the visitors' pavilion. He felt that he had never slept so well as during that night. When he woke up in the morning, he left to return to Pajang on his elephant. On the way, he fell from the elephant and became ill. He then got on a sedan chair. They travelled very slowly.

237. Sénapati heard the news that on the way His Majesty the Sultan had fallen ill. He quickly followed him, taking forty servants all on horseback to escort him from afar. The princes and adipati from Pajang noticed Sénapati. Pangéran Banawa said to His

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Majesty the Sultan, "My lord and father, Sénapati is following you, but he is just keeping his distance. If you allow me, I will turn around and wipe him out, while his troops are few and the troops of Pajang are many." His Majesty answered, "Boy, don't dare to take action against your brother Sénapati, because later on, when I am dead, he will be my successor. His following me, is only because he wants to escort me, because he knows that I am sick. It shows that he loves me and honours me as his father. Furthermore, my last instructions to you, my boy, are that you, when I am dead, should live in peace and harmony with your brother Sénapati and respect him, because he is my successor. The moment you start to quarrel with your brother, you will not be able to become king of Pajang." Pangéran Banawa and the others who heard the words of His Majesty the Sultan all wept. His Majesty had reached Pajang and entered the palace. However, his illness became worse and worse.

238. Sénapati and his troops took up quarters in the village of Mayang to the south of the palace of Pajang and this was reported to His Majesty the Sultan. His Majesty then sent a messenger to summon him, but Sénapati refused. He said to the messenger, "Tell my father, His Majesty the Sultan, that I do not wish to come and pay homage, but that I will not go back to Mataram, but will just stay here awaiting the will of God." The messenger returned and informed His Majesty.

239. Sénapati then bought a great quantity of sulasih flowers which he piled up on the Alun-alun at the south gate. At night he sat in meditation, praying to God. Then a spirit appeared, called Jurutaman. He was a favorite servant of Sénapati, but only Sénapati himself could see him, other people could not. He was as big as a small mountain. He said to Sénapati, "My Lord, if you wish to conquer Pajang and kill His Majesty the Sultan, just order me, and it will certainly be accomplished." Sénapati answered, "Jurutaman, I thank you for your offer, but I do not have such a wish. But if you have the intention yourself, do what you want. I don't tell you to do it, and I don't forbid you to do it." Jurutaman then went to the palace of Pajang. Sénapati left to return to Mataram.

240. At that moment, His Majesty the Sultan was sitting on his bed, guarded by his wives. His children sat humbly before him. Pangéran Banawa said, "Father, brother Sénapati has bought a great quantity of sulasih flowers and piled them up at the gate of the Alun-alun." His Majesty answered, "Son, your brother loves me very much and knows that I am about to die."

241. Then Jurutaman arrived. No one noticed him. He knocked on the chest of His Majesty the Sultan. His Majesty passed out. When he came to, his illness became worse. After a short while, he died. Loud were the sounds of crying.

242. Pangéran Banawa quickly sent a messenger to inform Sénapati. Whether he was willing to come or not, he was asked to come because they were waiting for him to wash the corpse. The messenger left with great haste. He overtook Sénapati on the way. When told the news, he quickly returned at a gallop. Kyai Jurumartani did not remain behind. Arriving in Pajang, Sénapati entered the palace, kissed the feet of His Majesty

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the Sultan and wept. The corpse was then cleansed, ritually prayed over, and buried at Butuh.

243. On another day, the children, kinsmen, and bupati, moreover Sunan Kudus and Sénapati were gathered in the palace. Sunan Kudus spoke to the bupati, "Bupati, I ask you who among the children of the late king would be best to succeed as king of Pajang." The bupati said, "It is appropriate that Pangéran Banawa should succeed as king, because he is the eldest son and it is his right." Sunan Kudus spoke again, "If Pangéran Banawa becomes the successor, I do not agree, because he is a young child. The adipati of Demak would be appropriate as successor. Although he is a son-in-law, he is after all of royal blood. Moreover, the wife of the adipati of Demak is the eldest child of His Majesty the Sultan. Regarding Pangéran Banawa, let him be the adipati of Jipang. Let that serve as his inheritance." Sénapati wanted to add a comment, but was held in check by Kyai Jurumartani, and just kept quiet.

244. It indeed happened as Sunan Kudus wished. Pangéran Banawa was forced to reside in Jipang. He was very much aggrieved. Sénapati returned to Mataram. Kyai Jurumartani kept telling him, "Boy, don't meddle in the power struggle between Pangéran Banawa and the adipati of Demak, because it is between family members. Even if it comes to a war, leave it alone. You should rather give a ritual meal and hold a Quran recital for the deceased, so that you may receive the beneficent influence." Sénapati followed his uncle's advice.

245. It is told that the adipati of Demak did indeed succeeded in Pajang. The servants which he brought from Demak took up residence in Pajang. At that time, all the different officials of Pajang who had an appanage of rice-fields were deprived of one-third, which was given to the servants brought along from Demak. The latter were all raised in rank. All the officials whose holdings of rice fields had been reduced were aggrieved and wished for the worst, and this created unrest in the realm. Many people committed crimes, holding up people, gang-robbing and stealing. Some left hearth and home and moved to Mataram.

246. There was a mantri in Pajang called Pangalasan. He sent a messenger to Mataram to inform Sénapati that the realm of Pajang was in total disarray, and he incited Sénapati to conquer Pajang and become king there. If Sénapati were willing to do so, the officials in Jipang would certainly all defect and help Sénapati. Sénapati answered the messenger, "Tell my friend Ki Pangalasan that I am very grateful for his trust in me, but that I don't yet have such plans. But when God orders me to become king, it will be easy to destroy Pajang." The messenger thereupon returned to Pajang.

247. Pangéran Banawa, who was in Jipang, was very distraught. He did not eat or sleep enough and at night he slept outside under the eaves of the roof. At that time he dreamed at night that he met his deceased father who ordered him to seek help from Sénapati. When he woke in the morning, he sent a messenger to Mataram to ask him to come to Jipang. The messenger left. Arriving in Mataram, he met Sénapati and told him all he had been charged with by Pangéran Banawa. Sénapati answered, "Mes-

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senger, you tell my brother: why is it so necessary that I be asked to come to Jipang? If I am asked to join in seizing Pajang, I refuse, because this is a power contest between family members. I am not willing to go along with that. Moreover, I have already been granted my own realm by my father, the late Sultan. Mataram is my inheritance. Just tell that to my brother."

248. The messenger returned to Jipang. All that Sénapati had said was reported to Pangéran Banawa, the who said, "You go back again to Mataram. Tell my brother Sénapati that once my late father told me to follow brother Sénapati in all his decisions, because he would replace my father. Moreover, I now offer the realm of Pajang to my brother, and I tell him to become king of Pajang. I agree to that in body and soul. And my brother is the eldest son of my late father. It is his right to replace him. I do not agree that he be replaced by the adipati of Demak. I would rather die forthwith. If my brother acquiesces in my death, he will certainly not follow my request. Enough! Leave at once."

249. The messenger quickly left. He met Sénapati and told him everything Pangéran Banawa had told him to say, not leaving anything out. When Sénapati heard the account of the messenger, he was very pleased, and felt sorry for his younger brother. He said, "If that is the wish of my younger brother, I will take Pajang. Tell my younger brother that I ask him to come here and bring his troops. Let him come through the Gunung Kidul mountains, and I will meet him there.

250. The messenger took his leave and returned. He travelled in a hurry. Arriving in Jipang, he paid his respects to Pangéran Banawa and reported everything that Sénapati had told him from the beginning to the end. Pangeran Banawa was very pleased. He quickly issued orders to his army. When his troops were ready, he left.

251. Sénapati also left Mataram with his whole army. Arriving in the Gunung Kidul mountains, he halted at the village of Weru, where he met Pangéran Banawa. They embraced and wept, recalling His Majesty the late Sultan. They encamped there and discussed the intended conquest of Pajang.

252. Eventually the people of Pajang heard that Pangéran Banawa had joined Sénapati and that they were encamped at the village of Weru, planning to conquer Pajang. Many then defected and followed their former lord. Those who still remained in Pajang were just the servants who had been brought from Demak.

253. When Sénapati and Pangéran Banawa saw that many people from Pajang had defected, they were very pleased and thought that the conquest of Pajang would be easy. Sénapati said to Pangéran Banawa, "Brother, since already many people from Pajang have submitted and the army is already numerous, let us leave tomorrow morning and attack Pajang. You lead the people from Pajang who have submitted and go by the east gate of the town. I and all my men from Mataram will go by the south gate. Pangéran Banawa agreed. In the morning they left. The army marched in two columns, carrying a variety of weapons and banners. It was a beautiful sight.

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254. The adipati of Demak who ruled Pajang already knew that he was going to be attacked by Pangéran Banawa and Sénapati. He gave orders to his troops and his slaves, "Slaves, Balinese, Buginese, Makassarese, you all must be equally on your guard, because I will pit you against Sénapati. Turn all this gold and silver of mine into bullets, because Sénapati is known for the fact that he and his whole army are courageous and strong. When you shoot them with golden bullets they will certainly be affected, and when you fight tomorrow, don't let there be anyone who retreats. If someone retreats, I will kill him myself, for I have bought you all." The slaves said that they would do as told and took up their positions on the walls. The men who had been brought along from Demak also moved to the courtyard of the fortress, ready with their guns, lances, and spears.

255. Before long Sénapati came with his whole army advancing from the west. They were met with a hail of gun fire; it rained bullets. But it had no effect on Sénapati and his army, and they were not afraid. Sénapati rode a light bay-colored horse, called Brata-yuda. The horse was hit by bullets, but they had no effect. They all stuck to its body; it looked like a grey. The bullets that hit Sénapati's chest looked like gilding. The sky reverberated with the shouts of the ghosts, fairies and spirits who came to help Sénapati in the fight. Sénapati shouted to the enemy, "Hey, slaves, don't fight too hard. What do you hope to get? You have nothing to do with the matter. You had better run away. If I win the fight, I will set you all free."

256. When the slaves heard what Sénapati said, they fled leaving their weapons behind. Sénapati and his troops reached the west gate of the Alun-alun. It was guarded by a mantri of Pajang, called Kyai Gedhong, accompanied by troops from Demak. Sénapati asked for the gate to be opened. The men from Demak would not allow it. They were then blindly attacked by Kyai Gedhong. Many of the troops from Demak at the gate were killed; the rest fled. The gate was then opened by Kyai Gedhong. Sénapati went in and met Kyai Gedhong. Kyai Gedhong paid his respects. Sénapati felt indebted and said, "Kyai Gedhong, I am very grateful to you. May in the future your descendants not be separated from my descendants, and share the good and bad things of life." Kyai Gedhong thanked him very much and asked permission to attack the men from Demak who were deployed on the Alun-alun. Sénapati gave permission and Kyai Gedhong attacked blindly. He was held off by many and killed.

257. Sénapati was very much impressed by the death of Kyai Gedhong. He knelt down on the folds of his dodot and prayed to God to clear his mind. The troops from Demak who were deployed on the Alun-alun started to fight each other. They blindly attacked their own friends. Many were killed. Then they fled, thinking that Sénapati was attacking them. Kyai Jurumartani, on his horse, quickly approached Sénapati who was still kneeling on the folds of his dodot and called out to him, "Boy, get up! Don't give in to your sleepiness. Have you forgotten that we are in a war?" Sénapati was startled, woke up and said to his uncle, "The men from Demak who were just lined up, where are they now?" Kyai Jurumartani answered, "They have all fled. Come on, let's go into the

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palace. I think that the adipati of Demak is already afraid and won't put up a fight." Sénapati then dismounted and walked to the palace. Kyai Jurumartani asked, "Boy, why did you get off your horse. Isn't it better to just stay on it?" Sénapati answered, "The reason that I dismounted is because the Pagelaran and the Sitinggil are the audience halls where His Majesty the late Sultan used to sit in audience." Kyai Jurumartani then also dismounted. They came to the first gate.

258. The wife of the adipati of Demak, a daughter of the late Sultan of Pajang, quickly came to meet Sénapati. She kissed his feet and said while crying, "Brother Sénapati, please don't kill your younger brother, my husband." When Sénapati saw and heard his younger sister, he took pity on her and said, "Sister, be quiet, don't cry. It is out of the question that I should kill your husband. I only want to teach him a lesson, because it was not right that he became the ruler of Pajang. If your husband realizes that he has been defeated, ask him to come to the Sitinggil, and tie his hands as a sign that he has lost his fight against me."

259. Sénapati then proceeded to the Sitinggil and sat down together with Kyai Jurumartani. Pangéran Banawa and his troops had already arrived at the Sitinggil. The wife of the adipati of Demak had gone into the palace. The hands of the adipati of Demak were bound with a piece of silken cloth and he was brought to the Sitinggil, escorted by his wife and other women. He sat with his head bowed in front of Sénapati and Pangéran Banawa. Sénapati spoke to the adipati of Demak, "Adipati of Demak, the realm of Pajang is not your inheritance. It is the inheritance of my younger brother Pangéran Banawa, and it is he who should succeed His Majesty the late Sultan. Your inheritance is Demak, so you must return to Demak immediately." Sénapati then gave an order to his followers, "Men of Mataram, take the adipati of Demak back. Some of you should carry his litter. Don't unfasten his ties before you arrive in Demak." The troops from Mataram said that they would do as ordered. The adipati of Demak and his wife and children were then sent away, put on litters, and escorted by an armed guard.

260. Sénapati, Pangéran Banawa and their troops then held a celebration because they had just won a war, so with celebrating they were satisfying all their desires. Pangéran Banawa said to his elder brother Sénapati, "Brother, I ask you to become ruler here in Pajang and succeed our late father, because you are the eldest son. I agree with that in body and soul and accept to live just the life of a nobleman. Moreover, the treasures left behind by our late father I will leave to you." Sénapati answered, "Brother, I am very grateful for your trust in me, but I do not want to become ruler of Pajang. I want only to be the ruler of Mataram, because that was granted to me by our late father, the Sultan. Moreover, it is already predestined by the will of God that I and my descendants will be great kings of Mataram. I want to install you as ruler here in Pajang, replacing His Majesty the late Sultan. I only ask for some heirlooms, such as the gong Kyai Sekardalima, the horse bit Kyai Macanguguh, the saddle Kyai Gathayu, and other such revered heirlooms." Pangéran Banawa left it up to him. They then entered the palace.

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261. The next morning all the heirlooms were brought out of the palace to be taken to Mataram. Sénapati and Pangéran Banawa came out to the audience hall. Sénapati sat down on a golden throne, placed upon a carpet, while the bupati and mantri sat before him. His appearance radiated. Pangéran Banawa sat next to him. Sénapati spoke to all those who paid homage, "Bupati and mantri, may you all witness that I install my younger brother Pangéran Banawa as sultan to rule the realm of Pajang, replacing our late father." The bupati and mantri all agreed and stood even more in awe of Sénapati, because they had not expected that it was Pangéran Banawa who would be installed as king.

262. Sénapati then instructed his younger brother in the ways to watch over the realm, so that he would not lack in caution. And he should get three kinds of servants: first of all religious teachers, next astrologers, and third ascetics. He said to him, "If you have problems in setting your realm in order, ask the religious teachers for counsel; if you want to know what has not happened yet, ask the astrologers; if you want to know about supernatural powers, ask the ascetics." Pangéran Banawa thanked him. After he had given these instructions, Sénapati took his leave to return to Mataram. After his arrival in Mataram, he ascended the throne as sultan, but he was just called Panembahan Sénapati.

263. At that time Panembahan Sénapati raised in rank his younger brothers who were already adults. Radèn Tompé was given the title Pangéran Tumenggung Gagakbahni, Radèn Santri was given the title Pangéran Singasari, and Radèn Jambu was given the title Pangéran Mangkubumi.

264. It is told that the son of Panembahan Sénapati, the one who was called Radèn Rangga and was born from the wife from Kalinyamat, had reached adulthood and was supernaturally very powerful and strong. By nature he was hot-headed and quick to use his fists. He often hit people, smashing their head and killing them. One day, a man who had just arrived from Banten wanted to test the strength of Panembahan Sénapati. Sénapati had him meet with Radèn Rangga and fight each other. The man from Banten lost and died from a slap on his head. When his father was informed about it, he was angry with Radèn Rangga and ordered him to break his father's big toe. Radèn Rangga did as he was told. Panembahan Sénapati felt pain. His son was sent flying. Radèn Rangga felt embarrassed in front of the people and wanted to go away. He did not want to go through the door. He crashed through the brick wall, leaving a hole the size of a man. He wanted to run away to Pathi. His father ordered someone to follow him to make him return. The one who followed him he squeezed to death between his legs.

265. Radèn Rangga then went to Pathi to visit his uncle. The adipati of Pathi happened to be sitting in the outside audience hall. In front of the audience hall there was a big stone. When the adipati saw his nephew coming, he waved at him. Radèn Rangga walked straight to the place where the stone was lying. He did not want to change his course. He crashed into the stone, which burst apart. The people of Pathi were all astonished. After staying for a long time in Pathi, he returned to Mataram. On the way, he

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saw an ascetic leaning against a tamarind tree. He grabbed him and tore him to pieces. Then he continued his way to Mataram.

266. Radèn Rangga was called by his father and told to study under Kyai Jurumartani in order to increase his supernatural and other powers. He said that he would do as he was told and went to the house of his uncle Kyai Jurumartani, thinking by himself, "I already surpass my fellow men. How come I am still told to study under uncle Jurumartani? What can I learn from him?"

267. When he came to the house of his uncle, Kyai Jurumartani was just performing his daily prayers in the small mosque. Radèn Rangga sat down on the steps of the mosque which were made of big flat stones. He pierced the stone with his finger as if he were pricking into soft earth. The stone was full of dents where he had pierced it. Coming out of the mosque after his noon prayers, Kyai Jurumartani was startled to see his grandson piercing stones and asked, "Rangga, aren't the stones that you are piercing hard?" Instantly the stones became hard. When he tried to pierce them, it had no effect. Radèn Rangga said to himself, "My father Sénapati was right to tell me to study under grandfather Jurumartani. Old people cannot be surpassed by young people when it concerns supernatural powers or knowledge." Radèn Rangga then asked to be taught by his grandfather. Kyai Jurumartani taught him many lessons. When he had taught him everything, Radèn Rangga returned home.

268. After some time, Radèn Rangga heard that there was a big snake in Patalan, which was extremely vicious. It often swallowed up passersby. Radèn Rangga quickly went to find it. The snake charged at him, bit him and wound itself tightly around him. Radèn Rangga stood firm. He was bitten, but it had no effect. He was tightly squeezed, but he did not move. He then pulled the snake apart and killed it. Radèn Rangga returned home. When he came home, he fell ill and passed away.

269. Panembahan Sénapati continued to prosper in Mataram. He had already nine children. The eldest, Radèn Rangga, who had passed away; his younger brother called Pangéran Puger; the third, Pangeran Purbaya; the fourth, Pangéran Jayaraga; the fifth, Pangéran Juminah; the sixth, Panembahan Krapyak, who when small was called Radèn Jolang. He was meant to succeed his father as king. The seventh, Pangéran Pringgalaya; the eighth, a girl who married Radèn Demang Tanpanangkil; the ninth, again a girl, who married Pangéran Tepasana. Kyai Jurumartani was raised in rank and called Adipati Mandaraka.

270. Pangéran Banawa of Pajang ruled just one year as sultan and then died. He was succeeded by the younger brother of Sénapati, called Pangéran Tumenggung Gagakbahni, but he had only the title of adipati. The people of Pajang were all loyal to him. He ruled with a steady hand, but he did not wish to occupy the old palace, and moved to the east. The brick walls of the town were enlarged. There was the grave of a believer from Arabia. It was included within the walls of the city with the intention to obtain its beneficent influence. The city of Pajang had at that time the form of a square. Shortly af-

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terwards, Pangéran Tumenggung Gagakbahni died. He was buried in Mataram and was succeeded by his son, called Pangéran Pajang.

271. Panembahan Sénapati sent a messenger to Giri with a letter. The letter said that he wanted to check the truth the prophecy of Sunan Giri made at the time when His Majesty the Sultan went to Giri. The messenger left at once. When he arrived in Giri, Sunan Giri happened to be sitting in audience and he handed the letter to him. After reading the letter, Sunan Giri smiled and said, "Messenger, tell Panembahan Sénapati that if he wants to confirm my prophecy, I tell him to attack the East. My prophecy says that it has been predestined by the will of God that the king of Mataram will in the future rule over the whole of Java and that also Giri will in the future submit to Mataram, because the unchangeable will of God is to create an upside-down world: the lord becomes the servant and the servant becomes the lord, which now has already been proved in Pajang and Mataram."

272. The messenger took his leave and returned. Arriving in Mataram he paid his respects to Panembahan Sénapati and told him everything from the beginning to the end. Panembahan Sénapati said to his uncle Adipati Mandaraka, "Uncle, I want to attack eastern Java. I will leave in the coming month of Muharam following the precedent when His Majesty the Sultan of Pajang once went to Giri. That happened in the month of Muharam. Moreover, uncle, you should order the adipati of Pathi, Demak, and Grobogan, who are subordinated to me, to ready their troops so that they will not need to gather in Pajang when I depart. Adipati Mandaraka said that he would do as he was told.

273. When the month of Muharam arrived, Panembahan Sénapati left with his whole army. The men from the lands that were already under the authority of Mataram all came along to help in the conquest of the lands in eastern Java that had not yet submitted. They headed for Japan.

274. It is told that Pangéran Surabaya, the leader of the bupati in East Java, had heard the news that Panembahan Sénapati of Mataram intended to conquer all the lands of eastern Java. He quickly sent messengers to call the bupati of Tuban, Sidayu, Lamongan, Gresik, Lumajang, Kartasana, Malang, Pasuruhan, Kadhiri, Wirasaba, Blitar, Pringgabaya, Pragunan, Lasem, Madura, Sumenep, and Pakacangan. All came with their troops to Japan to meet Panembahan Sénapati in battle. Panembahan Sénapati and his troops had arrived in Japan as well, facing their enemy.

275. Then a messenger from Sunan Giri arrived in Japan with a letter. On his arrival, he set up camp for himself and invited Panembahan Sénapati, Pangéran Surabaya, and all the bupati mentioned above. They all came to his camp and sat down according to rank. The messenger from Giri said, "All you great lords, I have been sent by His Highness Sunan Giri to give you a letter. I will read it to you, please listen." The messenger then read the letter aloud. It said, "Attention, may this letter from me, Sunan Giri, reach my son Panembahan Sénapati of Mataram and my son Pangéran Surabaya. The intention of this letter is: I cannot approve of your wish to start a war, because it will cause much bloodshed and death, and bring ruin to the common man. Therefore you two

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must now choose: the contents or the vessel. When you have chosen one of the two to your own liking, then live in peace and harmony and thank God. And then return each to your own lands, and in the future, when according to the will of God you are destined to obtain an exalted or a low position, you must accept your destiny."

276. Panembahan Sénapati then said to Pangéran Surabaya, "My younger brother Pangéran Surabaya, what is your wish concerning this order of Sunan Giri that you and I must choose the contents or the vessel? Which one do you choose? I just conform to your wishes." Pangéran Surabaya answered, "My elder brother Panembahan Sénapati, I just choose the contents, the vessel is yours." Panembahan Sénapati accepted that he had received the vessel. After the choice had been made, they broke up and returned to their own lands. The messenger from Giri also returned and reported to Sunan Giri. Sunan Giri said, "You should know that it was predestined by the will of God that Panembahan Sénapati receive the vessel. It is right that he received it. The vessel represents the land, the contents the people. If the people do not obey the one who owns the land, they will certainly be driven out.

277. Then Pangéran Surabaya sent a messenger to install a bupati in Warung in the land of Blora. When this was reported to Panembahan Sénapati he ordered him to submit. If he did not want to, he was not allowed to set foot on the land of Warung, because it belonged to Panembahan Sénapati. The bupati of Warung and those of the neighboring lands submitted to Mataram. Those who refused were defeated.

278. It is told that the panembahan of Madiyun joined the bupati of eastern Java who had not yet submitted to Mataram with the intention of conquering Mataram. Panembahan Sénapati was likened to a spark the size of a firefly. It would be best to immediately douse it with water, before it should spread. The bupati agreed and gathered their troops in Madiyun, complete with their weapons. The army was very large.

279. Panembahan Sénapati had already received a report from his spy that the Panembahan of Madiyun together with many bupati wanted to attack Mataram. He quickly called up his army, ordered them to assemble their weapons, and mobilized the men from the lands that were already under the authority of Mataram. When they had gathered together, as it happened in the month of Muharam, Panembahan Sénapati departed with his army. Adipati Mandaraka joined them. They marched to the west of the town of Madiyun and set up camp in the village of Kalidhadhung, west of the River Madiyun, facing the enemy, but separated from them by the river.

280. When Panembahan Sénapati realized that the enemy were very many and that his own troops were few in number, he consulted with Adipati Mandaraka to find some trick. When they succeeded, he said to a female servant, called Adisara, who was very beautiful, "Adisara, you go to the town of Madiyun. Give this letter of mine to the panembahan of Madiyun. Its contents are that I pretend to submit so that he will lose his caution and disband his army. Apart from this letter, I leave it to you to evoke his sympathy for me. You dress up nicely and do your face beautifully. Use a palanquin. Those who carry you and bring your insignia will be forty men from my Jayataka corps. If

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the kinsmen of Madiyun bother you, oblige them as long as they stay off limits. Don't let them overstep the mark."

281. Adisara said that she would do as she was told. She put on beautiful clothes and made herself up. She looked very beautiful. Those who saw her fell in love with her. She then left riding a palanquin, shaded by a parasol, while her escort carried her insignia as if she were a princess. She proceeded right through the large army of Madiyun. No one had any suspicions because they saw that she was a high-class woman. Instead they all watched and asked who she was. The men from Mataram answered, "This is the token of submission of our lord of Mataram, offered to the panembahan of Madiyun." When the troops heard this answer, they became very happy, thinking that there would be no war.

282. The panembahan of Madiyun was a son of His Majesty the Sultan of Demak, and was made bupati by the late sultan of Pajang. He had two children. The elder was a daughter, extremely beautiful and already an adult. Her name was Retna Jumilah. Her younger brother was called Mas Lonthang. Retna Jumilah was asked to marry, but she refused. She answered that she was willing to marry if the parents-in-law should make a sembah before their son-in-law, and she requested to get a razor as condition for the marriage. If the man was unharmed when cut with the razor, Retna Jumilah would be willing to become his wife.

283. Panembahan Madiyun was sitting in his residence faced by his children and kinsmen. He was startled when he saw Adisara coming, as she burst in without being announced and knelt at the feet of the panembahan. The panembahan of Madiyun asked, "Where are you from, and what is your name?" Adisara made a sembah and answered, "I am a messenger from your servant Sénapati of Mataram. My name is Adisara. I have been sent to give you a letter of submission." The letter was received and read. It said, "Sénapati submits to the panembahan of Madiyun and presents the lands of Mataram." Having read the letter, the panembahan of Madiyun said, "Adisara, tell my son Sénapati that I do not intend to attack him. It is the bupati who are deployed here who want to attack him. I and my own troops do not take part in it. But since your lord intends to submit to me, I will dismiss them. Even if they all wanted to attack Sénapati, it would not be in my lands here."

284. The panembahan of Madiyun then sent out one of his kinsmen to tell the bupati to disperse their troops and to make it known that Sénapati had submitted. Some of the bupati then went away with their troops, and some still stayed in Madiyun.

285. Adisara was delighted hearing the words of the panembahan of Madiyun, and she said, "Panembahan, your servant Sénapati requests the water in which you have washed your feet. He wants to drink it and to wash himself with it so that it may give him health and strength." Adisara spoke much in order to win the sympathy of the panembahan of Madiyun for Panembahan Sénapati. The panembahan of Madiyun poured some water over his feet. Adisara caught it in a silver bowl, while he said, "Adisara, I adopt your lord as my son and I will consider him as a brother of my two

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children, one girl and one boy." Adisara thanked him very much and then asked permission to return to her camp.

286. When Panembahan Sénapati saw that Adisara's make-up was still intact, he was very happy and asked her about her mission. Adisara reported everything from the beginning to the end, and related that the panembahan of Madiyun had a beautiful daughter who refused to marry unless the parents-in-law made a sembah to their son-in-law, and who requested, as a condition for marriage, a razor. If a man would not be affected when cut with the razor, she would marry him. Panembahan Sénapati was very pleased with what he heard and praised Adisara.

287. Adipati Mandaraka said to Panembahan Sénapati, "Boy, since you want to become king, ruling over all of Java, you better go and pay your respects to Sunan Kalijaga in Adilangu and ask him for the jacket that he owns, called Kyai Gundhil, or Kyai Antakusuma. The story about Kyai Gundhil is as follows: When the wali had erected the mosque of Demak, they were sitting inside the mosque chanting dhikir recitations. Then a package fell from above, and Sunan Kalijaga happened to get it. The package consisted of a goatskin, the prayer rug of His Holiness the Prophet Muhamad, and a piece of cloth, the prayer shawl of the Prophet. Sunan Kalijaga made them into a jacket. Sunan Bonang asked why he had made them into a jacket. He answered that the reason why he made them into a jacket was that it would be worn by the kings who ruled over Java. Well, my boy, if he gives you the jacket when you ask for it, that will be the sign that you will succeed in being king of Mataram, as will your children and grandchildren. If he doesn't give it, you will not continue to be king.

288. Panembahan Sénapati was delighted to hear his uncle's words. He departed, only escorted by a few servants, all on horseback. Adipati Mandaraka stayed behind to watch over the army. On his arrival in Adilangu, he met Sunan Kalijaga and asked for a magical charm for men in battle to make them resistant so that they would not be hit by bullets. His Reverence gave him a jacket, called Kyai Gundhil, or Kyai Antakusuma. After receiving the jacket, Panembahan Sénapati returned to the army.

289. On another day Panembahan Sénapati noticed that part of the army of Madiyun had left. Those who remained were very careless. He then gave orders to deploy the troops. He divided them into three columns to strike the army of Madiyun, and ordered them to be at the east bank of the river by daybreak. When they were ready, the large army crossed the river to the east at night. At daybreak they had arrived on the east side and at the same time attacked. Their war cry thundered, they beat the gongs and burned the houses. The troops of Madiyun were startled and hastily offered resistance. Then a close fight ensued; many were killed.

290. Panembahan Sénapati rode a sorrel, called Puspakancana, and wore the jacket Antakusuma. He fiercely attacked with a spear. Many of the eastern army were killed, the rest were swept away in all directions. Only a few of the western army were killed. Around nine in the morning Panembahan Sénapati's horse died, because it had been wounded, but he could still fight with it. Around three in the afternoon, Adipati Man-

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daraka noticed that the horse was already dead. He warned him, "Boy, your horse is already dead, but you are still riding it." The horse then collapsed. Panembahan Sénapati jumped off and said, "Uncle, you are a meddler. My horse died this morning, but it has only collapsed now." Having said this, he pronounced a curse, "Let none of my descendants in future ride a sorrel, so the same thing will not happen to him." Having pronounced the curse, he left to enter the palace of Madiyun.

291. The panembahan of Madiyun had already received reports from his servants that Panembahan Sénapati had attacked. The earlier offering of a letter of submission had just been an act of hypocrisy. Many of the troops of the eastern bupati and of Madiyun had been killed. Those still alive had all run away. Only the people in the palace were left. Outside the palace everything was plundered and looted by the Mataram troops. The panembahan of Madiyun was very upset when he heard the report, and said, "I did not expect that this was Sénapati's plan. You may call him 'sweet-poison,' as on the outside he is sweet, but inside he is poison." Having said this, he told his wife and son to get ready, intending to flee with them. Then he said to his daughter Retna Jumilah, "Daughter, you stay here to look after the palace, because it is customary that the vanquished in war have all their property looted and their children taken away. Moreover, if you didn't know it, the reason that Sénapati is determined to conquer my lands, is because he is after you." When Retna Jumilah heard her father's words, she cried, fell to the ground and passed out. Her mother started crying as well, as did all the servants. The panembahan said to the governess and the attendants of the princess, and to the female servants who were going to be left behind, "You stay behind to look after your mistress. It is out of the question that you would get killed. Moreover, when your mistress has regained consciousness, give her this heirloom kris of mine, Gumarang." The governess accepted the kris. The panembahan of Madiyun then fled. His wife and son did not stay behind. They went eastwards, intending to go to Wirasaba.

292. Retna Jumilah who had been left behind regained consciousness. The governess gave her the kris. Having received the kris, the princess planned to die together with Sénapati. She dressed up as a man, put on the kris, stuck a pistol in her belt, kept a javelin at her side, and sat down in the main residence.

293. Panembahan Sénapati had already received the news that the panembahan of Madiyun had fled, and had left his daughter behind in the palace. The news made him very happy and he quickly entered the palace. When he reached the yard of the main residence, the princess shot at him with her pistol and then threw her javelin at him. It hit his chest, but had no effect. He calmly walked on. The princess quickly drew her heirloom kris and said, "If you are unharmed when I stab you with this kris of mine, you will truly be invulnerable." When Panembahan Sénapati saw that the princess drew a heirloom kris, he did not dare to approach. So he stopped and remained standing at the door of the house, while speaking sweetly in an effort to charm her. He said much trying to win her sympathy. When the princess heard the sweet talk of Panembahan Sénapati, her anger went away. Her heart was touched, her body felt weak. She

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sat down averting her head. The kris fell out of her hand without her noticing it. Panembahan Sénapati quickly approached. He took the kris, sheathed it, and stuck it in his belt. Then he sat down next to the princess while speaking sweetly to her. The princess said, "Sénapati, I still have one condition left. If you remain unharmed when I cut you with a razor, you may molest me." She then cut Panembahan Sénapati until the cutting edge of the razor got a burr. Sénapati remained unharmed. He quickly carried her in his arms to the bed where they made love. Panembahan Sénapati took the princess as wife. Her heirloom kris he renamed Kyai Gupita.

294. The next morning Panembahan Sénapati went out to sit in state. The bupati who were under his authority all came to pay homage. The adipati of Pathi saw that Panembahan Sénapati had taken Retna Jumilah as his wife and he felt very much offended. He took his leave and returned, pretending that his lands had been attacked. He did not let himself be dissuaded and insisted on going home. After the departure of the adipati of Pathi, Panembahan Sénapati said to Adipati Mandaraka, "Uncle, maybe you have not noticed it, but the adipati of Pathi wants to become disloyal and oppose me." Adipati Mandaraka was very upset to hear it.

295. Panembahan Sénapati then left with his army to conquer Pasuruhan. He took his wife with him, the princess from Madiyun. He reached the borders of Pasuruhan where he set up camp.

296. The adipati of Pasuruhan had already heard the news that Panembahan Sénapati wanted to conquer his lands. He was very much afraid and intended to just submit. He prepared a treasure to offer as token of his submission. However, a bupati under his authority, called Kanitèn, did not agree. He was willing to meet Sénapati in single combat. The adipati of Pasuruhan gave his permission and urged him to go. Kyai Kanitèn left, taking a few troops with him.

297. Panembahan Sénapati already knew that someone wanted to meet him in battle. He left the encampment on his horse, all dressed in dark blue, taking along forty servants who also were all dressed in dark blue and carried spears. On the way he met Kyai Kanitèn. When questioned, he claimed to be the head of the Numbakcemeng corps, troops of Sénapati sent out to meet Kyai Kanitèn in battle. Kyai Kanitèn indeed believed it, and they fought man-to-man on horseback. The troops just cheered them on. For a long time they fought with spears. Then Panembahan Sénapati prayed to God to enable him to defeat Kyai Kanitèn and he attacked with his spear. Kyai Kanitèn was hit in his kneecap but he was unhurt. However, he fell from his horse and was paralyzed, his prowess gone. They put him on a crippled mare, without a saddle and a cattle rope as bridle. He was brought back to the city of Pasuruhan, escorted by the above-mentioned forty men. Panembahan Sénapati returned to his camp.

298. Kyai Kanitèn appeared before the adipati of Pasuruhan and reported that he had been defeated in battle by the head of the Numbakcemeng corps of Mataram. The adipati of Pasuruhan said, "Maybe you don't know it, but your opponent in battle was Panembahan Sénapati." Kyai Kanitèn said, "If I had known that I was fighting with

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Sénapati, I would not have dared to return; I would rather have died." The adipati of Pasuruhan became angry when he heard this and he gave order to cut off the head of Kyai Kanitèn with an axe. The axe broke, and Kyai Kanitèn was unharmed. Then they poured molten lead into his mouth, so he died.

299. The adipati of Pasuruhan rewarded the forty servants of Panembahan Sénapati and sent a messenger with various kinds of treasures as token of his submission, and offered the realm of Pasuruhan. The messenger left. Paying his respects before Panembahan Sénapati, he offered everything he had brought with him. Panembahan Sénapati was very pleased and said, "Messenger, tell your lord that I will presently return to Mataram and that your lord will just remain confirmed in his lands. If there is some order for the bupati here in East Java, let him just go along with it and not resist." Having said this, he left to return to Mataram.

300. It is told that most of those who had been defeated by Panembahan Sénapati fled to Surabaya, including the son of the panembahan of Madiyun. He was adopted as son-in-law by Pangéran Surabaya and installed as bupati in Japan. The pangéran of Surabaya also installed a bupati in Wirasaba, called Rangga Pramana. As for the bupati of Kadhiri, he was called Pangéran Mas. He had four brothers: the first called Sénapati of Kadhiri, the second Saradipa, the third Kénthol Jajanggu, and the fourth Kartimasa. After the death of Pangéran Mas, Pangéran Surabaya installed in Kadhiri a bupati called Ratujalu. Sénapati of Kadhiri and his family were very much offended and sent a messenger with a letter to Mataram intending to submit to and take service with Panembahan Sénapati. The messenger was called Nayakarti. He presented the letter which was then read.

301. Reading the letter, Panembahan Sénapati was pleased. He said to Pangéran Wiramanggala, "Wiramanggala, you go to Kadhiri to meet Sénapati of Kadhiri. I will have you accompanied by Tumenggung Alap-alap and the leaseholders, as well as the bupati of Pajang, Demak, and Jagaraga with all their troops. Let Tumenggung Alap-alap be your second in command on the march. Take the messenger from Kadhiri with you. When Sénapati of Kadhiri has joined you, bring him to Mataram. Tumenggung Alap-alap, and the bupati of Demak and Pajang, you are sent to go on and conquer Rawa." Pangéran Wiramanggala and all those who had received these orders said that they would do as told and left. When they reached Kadhiri, they made camp in the village Pakuncèn to the west of the town of Kadhiri.

302. The bupati of Kadhiri, Ratujalu, had gathered his troops to give battle. At night, Sénapati of Kadhiri fled with his wives, children, and brothers. About two hundred kinsmen came along. They intended to join the men from Mataram. When Ratujalu found out, he gave orders to follow them in order to destroy them. They were caught at Krakal and a fight ensued. The troops of Mataram quickly came to their aid. It was a fierce fight, but it only lasted for a short while. The troops of Ratujalu were routed and closed the gate of their fortification. The men from Mataram did not follow. The son-in-law of Sénapati of Kadhiri, called Mas Blimbing, was wounded.

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303. Pangéran Wiramanggala left to return to Mataram, taking Sénapati of Kadhiri with him. He stopped off in Jagaraga. Kyai Tumenggung Alap-alap went to Rawa. Rawa was conquered, the women were carried off, and the treasures and cattle seized. Kyai Tumenggung Alap-alap then went to Jagaraga and joined up with Pangéran Wiramanggala. Then they left for Mataram. Everything they had looted and carried off, and of course Sénapati of Kadhiri and his wives, children and kinsmen, were presented to Panembahan Sénapati.

304. Sénapati of Kadhiri and his brothers received a residence to stay and were rewarded with beautiful clothes. Panembahan Sénapati adopted Sénapati of Kadhiri as his eldest son and he was much-beloved. He got an appanage of one and a half thousand karya. His brothers also received appropriate appanages.

305. Then Panembahan Sénapati wanted to build a brick wall around his city. For this, he used white and red bricks. Sénapati of Kadhiri was made the works foreman. Before long it was finished. It was called the multicoloured city. It had turned out very well. At that time it was the year 1549 [A.J.]. Panembahan Sénapati asked Sénapati of Kadhiri, "Why didn't you prepare loopholes in this wall fit to put guns through?" Sénapati of Kadhiri answered, "The reason that I did not prepare loopholes, is because, if attacked, I intend to meet the enemy in battle outside the city, so that they won't come here." Panembahan Sénapati went on, "I have heard the prophecy that Mataram will later be destroyed by the people from eastern Java and the people of Mataram will be defeated in battle." Sénapati of Kadhiri answered, "As long as I am alive, it is not likely to happen. I promise to wipe out the people of eastern Java." Panembahan Sénapati was very pleased to hear this.

306. It is told that the bupati of eastern Java gathered in Madiyun to conquer Mataram. Their leaders were Adipati Gendhing and Adipati Pasagi. When ready, they left. The army was split into two columns. Adipati Gendhing led one column and marched around the north of Mount Lawu. Adipati Pasagi led the other half and marched around the south of Mount Lawu. The army was exceedingly large.

307. Panembahan Sénapati had already received reports from his spies that the bupati of eastern Java were wanting to conquer Mataram and that their army was advancing in two columns. He gave orders to gather his troops. His sons, kinsmen, and the bupati of Mataram were all present. Sénapati of Kadhiri requested to be made commander of the army, and that Panembahan Sénapati should not go himself. Panembahan Sénapati granted the request. The army of Mataram then left, commanded by Sénapati of Kadhiri. When they reached Taji, they split the army into two columns. Pangéran Purbaya led one half to meet the enemy advancing from the north. Sénapati of Kadhiri led the other half to meet the enemy advancing from the south, who had just arrived in the village of Nguter. They left at the same time and met the enemy. A fierce battle ensued. Many troops from eastern Java were killed. The troops from Mataram suffered only a few fatalities.

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308. Sénapati of Kadhiri fought man-to-man with his uncle Adipati Pasagi, because they had been personal enemies for a long time. In the end, both were killed at the same time. When the kinsmen and retainers from Mataram saw that Sénapati of Kadhiri had come to grief, they quickly and furiously attacked. Many of the men from eastern Java were killed, the rest were swept away. After the men from Mataram had made a few prisoners, they left and returned home, taking the body of the panembahan of Kadhiri with them. They did, however, send a messenger ahead to inform Panembahan Sénapati of the death of the panembahan of Kadhiri. Panembahan Sénapati was deeply impressed. He gave orders to bury the body of Sénapati of Kadhiri in the village of Wedhi, and gave rewards to the troops of Mataram who had won in battle. The younger brother of Sénapati of Kadhiri, called Saradipa, was promoted to bupati with the title Martalaya. Kyai Jajanggu received the title Adipati Jayasupanta; Kyai Kartimasa received the title Saradipa; Kyai Mas Sari was made bupati in Demak. To cut a long story short, many others were raised in rank.

309. It is told that the ruler of Pathi, called Adipati Pragola, planned to rise in revolt and attack Panembahan Sénapati of Mataram. His kinsmen tried to restrain him, but did not succeed. He sent a messenger to Mataram asking for all the lands and villages to the north of the Kendheng mountains to be put under his control, and he requested one hundred spearheads and their shafts. The messenger departed, reached Mataram, paid his respects before Panembahan Sénapati and presented the request. Panembahan Sénapati indeed gave him all the lands and villages to the north of the Kendheng mountains, and of course the spearheads, but without the shafts. The messenger returned. After the messenger's return, Panembahan Sénapati informed Adipati Mandaraka that the adipati of Pathi wanted to desert. Receiving the news, the latter was very much affected by it.

310. The messenger from Pathi had already paid his respects before Adipati Pragola and given a report on his mission. The adipati then gave orders to seize and conquer the villagers and lands to the north of the Kendheng mountains. All submitted. Only Demak resisted and prepared for war, but stayed within its fortifications.

311. When Adipati Pragola of Pathi had many troops, he left to march on Mataram. On the march the army behaved in an extremely disorderly way. All the way they looted and carried people off. The adipati of Pajang quickly informed Mataram that the adipati of Pathi wanted to conquer Mataram. When Panembahan Sénapati received the report, he said to his son, Pangéran Adipati Anom, "Boy, you go with all the men of Mataram to meet your uncle from Pathi, but don't fight him. Just admonish him. Nevertheless, if he persists in forgetting his place and duty, serve him in kind. Use my pike." Adipati Mandaraka remarked, "Why is it that you just tell your son to meet him. I think he is not strong enough to withstand the adipati of Pathi in battle." The Panembahan answered, "Uncle, the reason that I just tell your grandson to meet him, is because I want to bring my younger brother of Pathi to his senses, so that his anger towards me does not go too far. Moreover, I think that he couldn't find it in his heart to fight with my

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son." Adipati Mandaraka kept silent. Pangéran Adipati Anom left with his troops. They stopped in Prambanan.

312. The army of Pathi had reached Kapalon and halted there. The next morning they left, resuming their march. Pangéran Adipati Anom also left, but he only took along the servants who carried his insignia. He left all the other troops in Prambanan. Before long he met up with the army of Pathi. Adipati Pragola was startled seeing a noble coming towards him, only escorted by his insignia. Finally, he realized that it was his nephew. He was very disappointed and embarrassed. He quickly approached him on horseback and asked, "Boy, where is your father, and what is your business here?" Pangéran Adipati Anom answered, while remaining on his horse, "Your elder brother is still at the rear. I have been sent to ask you what your intention is by coming to Mataram. If you want to seize the realm, my father's order is to tell you to just go back, as Mataram is your own land just like Pathi." Adipati Pragola said while averting his head in disgust, "I know your father. He often just likes to appease people. You go back now and tell your father to come here and meet me like adults." Pangéran Adipati Anom answered, "If you don't want to return, and don't remember that my father is your brother, I am ordered to treat you as you have asked for." Adipati Pragola became very angry hearing this. He said, "Your father treats me very disparagingly. You are no match for me. I am looking forward to meeting your father. I will challenge him to a contest of strength and invulnerability. How could you be strong enough to withstand me? So hurry back and call your father." Pangéran Adipati Anom became very angry to hear this and he stabbed at his uncle with his pike. Adipati Pragola was startled, but was unhurt. He said, "You are a boy who can't be helped. Enough now, hurry back and send your father here." Pangéran Adipati Anom kept on stabbing his pike at him. Adipati Pragola felt pain, but was unharmed. He quickly grabbed his pike and prodded him with the lower end of the handle. He hit his chest. Adipati Anom fell from his horse. He fell face-down on the ground and lost consciousness. He was taken by his men and brought to the camp at Prambanan, while they informed Panembahan Sénapati. As for Adipati Pragola, he halted with his army at a place close to the River Dengkèng and made a fortification of coconut palm trunks.

313. When Panembahan Sénapati received the report that his son had been knocked out, he was shocked and said to his wife from Pathi, an elder sister of Adipati Pragola, "My lady, your brother has truly forgotten himself, which is shown by the fact that he found it in his heart to stab his nephew with a pike." His wife said, "If that is the case, I accept if he is killed, for he has turned bad."

314. Panembahan Sénapati then prepared himself. When he was ready, he departed with his troops, all on horseback. They rode in great haste. On their arrival in the camp at Prambanan it was already evening. He halted there for a short while to deploy his troops. When they were deployed, he departed after midnight. Adipati Mandaraka joined as well. When they had come close to the fortification of Adipati Pragola, they raised their battle cry, while beating the gong Kyai Bicak which reverberated loudly.

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The troops of Pajang were seized by panic and ran in all directions. Panembahan Sénapati wanted to enter the fortification, but could not find a way in. Adipati Mandaraka quickly drew his kris Kyai Culik, cut the coconut palm trunks into three pieces and showed his son the way. Panembahan Sénapati quickly entered with his horse, and the troops of Mataram then of course attacked furiously. The troops of Pajang could not retaliate and many were killed. Adipati Pragola and the survivors fled from the fortifications. At that time the River Dengkèng was flooded with volcanic mud. The troops from Pajang jumped in and many drowned. Adipati Pragola and his troops fled to return to Pathi. Panembahan Sénapati and his troops pursued them.

315. On his arrival in Pathi, Adipati Pragola quickly sent messengers to request help from the bupati near Pathi. They indeed all helped him with soldiers and they deployed in Pathi. Panembahan Sénapati arrived and a battle ensued. The men from Pathi were defeated. They fled and jumped in the flooding river. Many drowned. It was not clear whether Adipati Pragola had died or survived. The troops from Mataram looted the place and carried people off. The conquest of Pathi took place in 1552 [A.J.]. Panembahan Sénapati returned to Mataram.

316. Panembahan Sénapati continued to rule without problems. The realm of Mataram became very prosperous. Adipati Mandaraka gave Panembahan Sénapati the advice to attack the lands in eastern Java that had not yet submitted. Panembahan Sénapati answered, “Uncle, now is not the right time. In future, my grandson will subject the people of all Java and will become a great king without match. I am just the one who clears the way. Furthermore, uncle, when I have died, my son Jolang is the one whom I approve of to be my successor. Although he is still young, he will father descendants. If any of my other children does not obey my last wish, may the wrath of God strike him. You and my younger brother Mangkubumi should install your grandchild as king.” Adipati Mandaraka agreed.

317. When Panembahan Sénapati had been king for three years, he became very ill and died. He was buried to the south of the mosque at the foot end of the grave of his father. It was the year 1553 [A.J.].

318. On Monday, Adipati Mandaraka and Pangéran Mangkubumi appeared on the Sitinggil, leading Pangéran Adipati Anom by the hand. All the kinsmen, bupati and mantri were there to pay homage. Pangéran Adipati Anom was seated on a golden throne. Adipati Mandaraka and Pangéran Mangkubumi sat down on his left and right side. Then Pangéran Mangkubumi stood up and said in a loud voice, “All you people of Mataram, bear witness that Pangéran Adipati Anom now acceeds as Sultan, succeeding his father. If there is anyone who feels wronged and does not accept it, show your opposition now. I will fight you in battle.” The people of Mataram agreed in unison. The kinsmen, bupati and mantri paid their respects to the king. After they had rendered homage, the king returned to the palace.

319. During the reign of this king, the realm of Mataram was prosperous. His rule of law was constant and just, and he was firm of faith. Then the king gave orders to make a

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park in Danalaya to the west of the palace. He wanted to make a place of stay for his favourite servant, an albino called Jurutaman, because he was creating trouble inside the palace. He often assumed the guise of the king. Many wives and concubines were mistaken, thinking that he was the king. Jurutaman kept on doing this all the time. Before long the park was finished. Jurutaman was settled there.

320. On a Thursday, the king came out to sit in state. All the kinsmen, bupati and mantri were there to pay homage. Only his elder brother Pangéran Puger did not come to pay his respects, because he was embarrassed to sit on the floor. He wished to have his own part of the realm, but he did not want to ask his younger brother for it. While sitting in state, the king saw that his brother did not come to pay homage. He said to Adipati Mandaraka, "Grandfather, what do you advise concerning brother Puger. I think he feels very uncomfortable staying on here in Mataram. I would like to make him bupati in Demak." Adipati Mandaraka and all the kinsmen approved of the king's wish. It could even become a shield for the realm of Mataram. The king sent a messenger to inform his brother Pangéran Puger. Pangéran Puger quickly came to pay homage. He was told to sit on a level with his younger brother. The king said, "Brother, I appoint you bupati of Demak. Enjoy your life there and be a shield to guard the realm of Mataram." Pangéran Puger thanked him. The king then returned into the palace.

321. The next morning Pangéran Puger departed with his wives and children to move to Demak. There he lived very well. The people of Demak were all obedient. Eventually, Pangéran Puger forgot that he was subordinated to his younger brother and he planned to rise in rebellion and seize the inheritance, the kingship. He was indeed incited to this by a subordinate bupati, called Adipati Gendhing, who told him to set himself up as king, because he was the eldest son and entitled to succeed his father. Pangéran Puger was carried away by the prodding of Adipati Gendhing and gave orders to seize all the lands to the north of the Kendheng mountains. The population indeed submitted. Pangéran Puger amassed a great many troops. Every day he exercised them with the intention of conquering Mataram. His trusted commanders were Adipati Gendhing and Adipati Panjer. When everything was ready, they left. The army was huge. Pangéran Puger led the army himself. All the way they plundered and carried people off.

322. When the adipati of Pajang heard about the advance of Pangéran Puger, he quickly informed Mataram. The king happened to be holding audience. The adipati of Pajang reported that his elder brother of Demak had risen in rebellion and wanted to attack the realm of Mataram. He had already deployed his troops in the village of Tambakuwos. The king was very shocked to hear the report and issued orders to his troops to ready their weapons. He wanted to march out himself. Those who received the orders said that they would do as they were told. The king then raised two of his younger brothers in rank. Radèn Tembaga became Pangéran Puger, Radèn Kadhawung became Pangéran Demang Tanpanangkil. Then he returned into the palace.

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323. When the army of Mataram was ready, the king marched out. The army reached Tambakuwos, facing the men from Demak. The next morning they attacked in force and fought a fierce battle. The men from Demak were overwhelmed. Many were killed. Adipati Gendhing and Adipati Panjer were both killed. Pangéran Puger of Demak was caught on the battle field and with his hands tied put on a litter. The survivors of the army of Demak all ran away.

324. When the king received the report that his elder brother had been caught, he gave orders to place him in Kudus together with his wives and children, but without permission to take any servants. Those who received the orders said that they would do as told. Pangéran Puger was then housed in Kudus. He was much to be pitied.

325. Then the king returned to Mataram and gave rewards to his soldiers. In particular, he raised in rank the commander of the pikemen, called Kyai Gadamastaka, and appointed him bupati of Demak with the title Tumenggung Éndranata. The younger brother of the king, Pangéran Jayaraga, was made bupati in Pranaraga where he commanded four bupati, called Pangéran Rangga, Panji Wirabumi, Malangsumirang, and Nayahita.

326. Eventually Pangéran Jayaraga was blinded by his worldly comforts and intended to set himself up as king and seize the kingship of Mataram. The four bupati tried to restrain him, but did not succeed. They agreed to report the matter in Mataram and left. When the heads, subordinated to Pangéran Jayaraga, noticed that the four bupati had gone to pay their respects in Mataram, they became very afraid and quickly followed them to Mataram. On their arrival in Mataram, the king just happened to be holding audience. Pangéran Rangga and his colleagues then sat down outside in the sun to the south of the sacred waringin trees to obtain an audience. When the king noticed them, he was startled and gave orders to find out what was wrong. Pangéran Rangga and his colleagues frankly reported that his younger brother wanted to rise in rebellion. The king was very angry when he heard this and he said to his younger brother Pangéran Pringgalaya, "Brother, you go to Pranaraga together with Martalaya. Evict your brother Pangéran Jayaraga together with his wives and children and confine him in Masjidwatu. Confiscate all his possessions. If there are retainers who resist, kill them all. As for Pangéran Rangga and his colleagues, take them back to Pranaraga." Pangéran Pringgalaya and Tumenggung Martalaya said that they would do as they were told and departed with their troops. Pangéran Rangga and his colleagues went along as well.

327. They reached Pranaraga and met with Pangéran Jayaraga. When they told him the orders of the king, he said that he would do as he was told, and was very remorseful as he realized that he had been at fault. Having prepared, Pangéran Jayaraga was sent to Masjidséla. Pangéran Pringgalaya then left to return to Mataram taking everything that had been confiscated with him. Pangéran Rangga and his colleagues also came with him. On arriving in Mataram, they reported to the king that his younger brother had been sent away to Masjidséla without servants and only accompanied by his wives

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and children. All his possessions were then presented. The king was very pleased. He said to Pangéran Rangga, "Pangéran Rangga, you and your friends return to Pranaraga. Put the realm of Pranaraga in good order." Pangéran Rangga thanked him deeply and left for Pranaraga.

328. The king said to his kinsmen and the bupati, "My subjects and kinsmen, know the commandment of His Majesty my late father that all my kinsmen should live in harmony. He who does not observe this commandment will not do well. This has now come true. Brother Puger and brother Jayaraga have both ended up in misery." Having said this, he returned into the palace.

329. The king had already five children. The eldest was called Radèn Mas Rangsang, the second was a daughter called Ratu Pandhan, the third was Radèn Mas Pamenang, the fourth Radèn Mas Martapura who suffered from temporary bouts of madness, the fifth was called Radèn Mas Cakra. Also Pangéran Mangkubumi had already two children. The eldest was a bupati, called Adipati Sokawati. His younger brother was called Bagus Péthak and was bupati in Madiyun. Pangéran Singasari had one son, called Radèn Mas Wujil. He was bupati in Pranaraga. Pangéran Juminah had one son, called Pangéran Blitar. Pangéran Pringgalaya had many children, but only two will be mentioned. The first was called Radèn Prawirataruna, and the second Adipati Martasana. Adipati Mandaraka had four children. The eldest was called Pangéran Mandura, the second Adipati Wirapraba, and the third Panembahan Jurukithing. The youngest was a daughter and was married to the adipati of Batang. The just-mentioned Pangéran Mandura had two sons. One was called Pangéran Mandurareja, and the other Pangéran Upasanta.

330. It is told that when the king had ruled for twelve years he became very ill. He happened to be in Krapyak while his children and kinsmen were seated in front of him. He said to his grandfather, Adipati Mandaraka, and to his elder brother Pangéran Purbaya, "Grandfather, brother, I approve that after my death your grandson Radèn Mas Rangsang will be the one who succeeds me as king. His kingship will be sublime and surpass mine. The people of Java will all be obedient to him. However, since at one time I made a promise in which I held out to Martapura that he would be king, I would like you to let him succeed for a short moment, so that my promise may be fulfilled, and then let him resign in favor of Rangsang." The king then said to his children and kinsmen, "All my children and kinsmen, live kindly and harmoniously together. May he who starts to do bad things not end up well. Enough said, I wish all of you the best." Having said this, he died a short while later. His corpse was cleansed and buried to the west of the mosque at the foot end of his father. This happened in the year 1565 [A.J.].

331. Then Radèn Mas Martapura was proclaimed king by Adipati Mandaraka and Pangéran Purbaya. On Monday the king was requested to appear and sit in state. King Martapura indeed concurred. He sat on a golden throne, flanked by Adipati Mandaraka and Pangéran Purbaya. Adipati Mandaraka then whispered to the king telling him to abdicate and surrender the kingship to Radèn Mas Rangsang in conformity with the

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last wish of his late father. Prabu Martapura indeed quickly abdicated and requested his elder brother Radèn Mas Rangsang to sit down on the throne. Pangéran Purbaya then said in a loud voice, "Hey, people of Mataram, witness that Radèn Mas Rangsang has ascended the throne, succeeding his father, with the title His Majesty Sultan Agung Sénapati ing Ngalaga Ngabdurahman. Any man in Mataram who is dissatisfied with this, or who will not obey, let him now express his intention. I will fight him in battle." All the servants of Mataram in unison gave their consent. The king then returned into the palace.

332. During the reign of His Majesty Sultan Agung, the realm of Mataram was very prosperous. He was known as a great king. He had a just and noble character, surpassing that of his late father. And naturally he was magically very strong. Every Friday he went to pray in Mecca. His subjects feared and loved him. The king's official title was His Majesty Sultan Agung Prabu Pandhita Anyakrakusuma.

333. Adipati Mandaraka attained a great age, up to the point that he lived to see three kings. Then he died. He was laid to rest in Mataram. As for his sons, Pangéran Mandura and Adipati Wirapraba, they had also died and were buried in Gambiran. Only Panembahan Jurukithing was still alive. He also attained a great age.

334. His Majesty Sultan Agung came out to hold audience. His kinsmen, bupati, mantri and lower officials all came to pay homage. He said to Tumenggung Suratani, "Suratani, you march against eastern Java. Take all the troops from Mataram and my kinsmen with you and lead them to war. You be the commander. If there is any man from Mataram who retreats in battle, finish him off." Tumenggung Suratani said that he would do as told and got ready. When ready, he marched off. As for the men from the coastal areas and the outer areas that were under the authority of Mataram, they all joined the expedition, so the army of Tumenggung Suratani was exceedingly large.

335. After the departure of Tumenggung Suratani, His Majesty the Sultan ordered Radèn Jayasupanta to follow him on the march and keep an eye on the fighting of the troops from Mataram to see who acquitted himself well or badly, and to tell Tumenggung Suratani that he was not allowed to conquer Pasuruhan. He should just go past it, because it was not yet the right time. Radèn Jayasupanta said that he would do as told and left. He joined up with Tumenggung Suratani. The army reached Winongan where it set up camp and erected barricades.

336. The bupati of Blambangan and the bupati who were not yet under the authority of Mataram had heard that they were about to be attacked and they were all on the alert.

337. Tumenggung Suratani who was encamped at Winongan gave orders to Tumenggung Alap-alap to conquer Lumajang and Renong. He provided him with four bupati and their troops. Tumenggung Alap-alap left. On his arrival in Lumajang, he found that the bupati had escaped at night and fled to the mountains. He followed him and many of those who were caught, were killed. The town of Lumajang was plundered and the women were carried off. Tumenggung Alap-alap then attacked Renong. It was

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also conquered, while its bupati fled. Renong was plundered and the women were carried off. Tumenggung Alap-alap then returned to Winongan.

338. Tumenggung Suratani then marched from Winongan to lay siege to Pamalang. Its bupati, called Rangga Tohjiwa, intended to give battle and stayed put with his troops in his fortifications. When he realized that he was not strong enough to hold out, he fled at night. The troops from Mataram pursued them. The troops of Pamalang were scattered. After conquering Pamalang, Tumenggung Suratani marched off to the southwest.

339. It is told that Pangéran Surabaya intended to meet the army from Mataram in battle. He sent messengers to the bupati of Lasem, Gresik, Madura, Pasuruhan, Kadhiri, Tuban, and Lamongan. They all came with their troops. The commander of the troops from Madura was called Radèn Panji Pulangjiwa. He was handsome, strong, and courageous. The other troops were led by their own bupati. The large army left Surabaya and followed the army from Mataram. All along the way, they burned the forests bare.

340. When the troops from Mataram noticed that they were being followed, they halted and took up positions to the west of the Andaka river. The army from Surabaya took up positions to the east of the river, challenging their opponents in order to get them to cross to the east. The men from Mataram could not endure hearing the provocations any longer. They quickly jumped into the water. The troops on the eastern side easily repelled them with pikes and guns. Many troops of Mataram were killed either by arms or by drowning. Tumenggung Suratani, and of course the bupati quickly jumped into the water as well to assist the lower ranks in battle. Tumenggung Suratani ended up dead by drowning. When the troops of Mataram saw that their commander had come to grief, they retreated. Others dragged the river for the body of Tumenggung Suratani. When they found it, they brought it onto the land and put it on a covered bier. At that time, the Andaka river looked as if it was flowing with blood and dead bodies. The eastern army celebrated.

341. At daybreak the men from Mataram crossed to the east to seize the right positions. At sunrise they had taken up positions on the eastern side of the river. The eastern army was startled. Then a fierce fight ensued. Many from the eastern army were killed. The bupati were left uncovered. When they saw that many of their soldiers had been killed and that the survivors were fleeing, the bupati quickly joined the flight. Only the commander of the troops from Madura, called Radèn Panji Pulangjiwa, died on the field of battle. The men from Mataram carried off the loot and prisoners.

342. The next morning the army from Mataram marched off to return home. Radèn Jayasupanta, the agent of His Majesty the Sultan, went ahead. He reported to the king that Tumenggung Suratani had died in battle, and he reported on the fighting of the troops from Mataram, on who had acquitted himself well and who had done badly. His Majesty the Sultan was very much shocked by the death of Tumenggung Suratani. He sent a messenger to inform his wife and to present her with money for the funeral prayers. Then the army from Mataram came, bringing the corpse of Tumenggung Suratani. His

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Majesty the Sultan gave rewards to his kinsmen, bupati, mantri and the subordinate officials, without leaving anyone out.

343. Half a year later, the king wanted to march against Wirasaba to see how his men conducted themselves in battle. He ordered Tumenggung Martalaya to call up the troops from the coastal areas and the outer areas which were already under the authority of Mataram. Tumenggung Martalaya sent out messengers. To cut a long story short, the bupati of the coastal areas and the outer areas came to Mataram with their troops. The king departed. His army was very large.

344. It is told that the bupati of Wirasaba, called Pangéran Arya, was just fifteen years old. He was very handsome and liked to eat and sleep sparingly. His patih was called Rangga Pramana. He was supernaturally very powerful and strong, but crippled in his legs. In battle or when inspecting the troops, he was just carried in a litter. At that time Pangéran Arya already knew that the army from Mataram was about to attack him, led by the king himself. He quickly sent a messenger to Surabaya to ask for help. Pangéran Surabaya gave orders to the bupati of Sumenep, Baléga, Pakacangan, Gresik, Lamongan, Sidayu, Tuban, Japan, Pasuruhan, and so on to come to the aid of Wirasaba. The bupati indeed obeyed and assisted Wirasaba with troops. The army in Wirasaba was extremely large. It spilled over the forests and the ravines. Pangéran Arya had already built strong fortifications. The army of Wirasaba and of course the auxiliaries were all ready and on the alert.

345. The king of Mataram and his troops had reached Wirasaba and pitched camp in the village of Paladadi. However, many of the troops of Mataram were sick. Their wails and moans sounded everywhere. The king said to his kinsmen and bupati that, because many of the troops were sick, he wanted to return to Mataram and not go ahead with the conquest of Wirasaba. When Pangéran Purbaya, the kinsmen, and of course Tumenggung Martalaya and all his fellow bupati heard these words, they quickly sounded the attack signals. The army of Mataram turned out to encircle Wirasaba. They pressed forward to storm the fortifications. The troops from Wirasaba repelled them from the top of the fortifications with guns and spears. Many of the Mataram soldiers were wounded or killed. Overtaken by darkness, they retreated to their camp.

346. Because many soldiers from Mataram had been killed and they could not take the fortifications of Wirasaba, the king wanted to return to Mataram. However, Pangéran Purbaya and Tumenggung Martalaya did not agree. They said that if they could not take Wirasaba, they would rather die.

347. The next morning Tumenggung Martalaya disguised himself and mingled with the horse grooms from Wirasaba who were cutting grass. They were saying to each other, "These men from Mataram are really ineffectual. They can't even capture a small fortification like this. If it were up to me, it would be easy. I would climb it with a ladder or batter it with a tree trunk, and it would certainly collapse." Others said, "Just undermining it would be easy." Tumenggung Martalaya was very pleased to hear this. He returned to the camp and ordered the bupati to have ladders made and to collect

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hoes and crowbars. When the equipment was ready, the troops from Mataram advanced and stormed the fortifications. The troops from Wirasaba resisted from the top of the walls bombarding them with gunfire, small cannon, missiles and spears. Many soldiers from Mataram were wounded or killed, but the men at the rear were not afraid, and kept pushing forward. The fighting was fierce. The troops from Mataram broke into the fortifications of Wirasaba. The soldiers from Mataram rushed into the attack. The troops from Wirasaba who were inside the fortifications were utterly destroyed. Rangga Pramana was killed and his head cut off. Pangéran Arya was caught, the women were carried off and all the treasure was looted and offered to the king. Pangéran Arya was asked whether he wanted to be spared, but he did not want to. He preferred to be killed. The king ordered him to be thrown into the sea. He ordered the corpse of Rangga Pramana to be buried and a letter to be placed on his grave, so that his heirs would recognize it. The king then departed to return to Mataram. The conquest of Wirasaba took place in 1568 [A.J.].

348. It is told that Pangéran Surabaya met with the bupati of eastern Java who were not yet under the authority of Mataram to discuss their plan to conquer Mataram because they had been chased for a long time. Now they wanted to do the chasing. When they had reached a decision, they visited Giri to ask the permission of Sunan Giri. However, he did not want to give permission, because he knew that it was the immutable will of God that Mataram should rule over the whole of Java. He did not agree to their wish, for it would inevitably be their ruin. The bupati nevertheless wanted to go on with their plan to attack, because they trusted in their number of troops and the help of their fellow bupati. They took leave of Sunan Giri and assembled in Surabaya to discuss which route should be taken. An agent from Surabaya suggested that they should go via Madiyun, because the lay of the land was flat, rice was cheap, and water abundant.

349. There was a spy from Mataram, called Randhuwatang, who had already long been in the service of the adipati of Tuban, and who was trusted. When he learned that the army wanted to go by way of Madiyun, he became apprehensive, because they would be taking a good road and food would be cheap. So he concocted a lie and said to the adipati of Tuban in front of the other bupati, "My lord, allow me to tell you that if this large army goes via Madiyun, it will inevitably face difficulties all along the march, because Madiyun, Jagaraga, and Pranaraga are already under the authority of Mataram, so the march will not be uninterrupted. You will have to fight all along the way. Even before you reach Mataram, many of your soldiers will have been incapacitated." When the adipati of Tuban heard this, he passed it on to Pangéran Surabaya and all the other bupati. The bupati asked Kyai Randuwatang which route would be best for the army to take. Kyai Randhuwatang said that it would be best to go through Lasem and on to Pathi. The road would be good, food cheap, and there would be little trouble. The bupati were very pleased to hear this, and they praised Kyai Randhuwatang. They did not see that they had been tricked, because Pathi and Lasem at that time were suffering from famine. The agent from Surabaya who had told the truth was suspected of trying

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to set a trap, and he was put to death. The army then left and indeed went by way of Lasem.

350. His Majesty Sultan Agung had already been informed by the adipati of Pathi that the bupati from eastern Java were on the advance to conquer Mataram. He quickly ordered Tumenggung Alap-alap to help Pathi. The latter left with his troops and proceeded in forced marches. His Majesty the Sultan then gave orders to assemble the troops. He wanted to go and meet the enemy. When ready, they left. The army was huge. When they reached Pajang, they encamped to the west of the town.

351. His Majesty the Sultan was surprised that the adipati of Pajang did not come to pay his respects. He sent a messenger to investigate and summon him. At that time, the adipati of Pajang was playing a double game. He conspired with the bupati from eastern Java and intended to join them and help them in the fight. Moreover, he had already left the town and encamped in the village of Siwalan awaiting the arrival of the army from the east. The messenger from His Majesty met with the adipati of Pajang and gave him the orders from His Majesty: first to ask why he had not come to pay his respects, and second to summon him. Flustered he replied, pretending that he wanted to meet the enemy from the east. When he could not find anything more to say, he went along with the messenger. Appearing before His Majesty Sultan Agung, the latter pardoned him.

352. The large army from eastern Java had arrived to the east of the village of Siwalan where they encamped and made fortifications right in front of the army from Mataram. But they did not attack. They awaited the arrival of the adipati of Pajang, for he had conspired to join them and help them in the fight. In the end he did not come. That is why the armies were facing each other for a long time.

353. His Majesty the Sultan ordered Tumenggung Martalaya to go around the camp of the enemy, encircle it from afar, and block the troops from eastern Java who were out foraging. Tumenggung Martalaya immediately sent out soldiers on horseback to encircle the enemy's camp every day from afar. It caused great sorrow on the part of the men from eastern Java, because they could not go out to forage. Then they were beset by disease. The bupati from eastern Java agreed to go on the attack, because they were irritated waiting for the adipati of Pajang who did not appear. In the morning they attacked. The troops from Mataram met them. The battle only lasted for a short while. The adipati of Japan was killed. The other bupati all fled. The troops from Mataram then plundered the camp and carried everything off. His Majesty the Sultan returned to Mataram.

354. About eight months later His Majesty ordered the conquest of Pasuruhan. He sent Tumenggung Martalaya with half the army of Mataram. To cut a long story short, Pasuruhan was taken, the women were carried off and its treasure seized.

355. It is told that the adipati of Pajang wanted to revolt again. He conspired with Pangéran Mandurareja, a bupati from Mataram. It only remained to find a reason. His Majesty the Sultan already knew about the affair.

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356. Then His Majesty the Sultan learned that Ngabèhi Tambakbaya, an official in Pajang, had a horse that was big, tall, and very good. It was suitable to be used by the king. He sent a messenger to Pajang to demand the horse. The messenger reached Pajang and transmitted the order of the king to the adipati of Pajang. Ngabèhi Tambakbaya was summoned and ordered to bring his horse. Ngabèhi Tambakbaya came, bringing his horse. He was told by the adipati of Pajang that the horse was being claimed by His Majesty the Sultan. He answered that he would not give it up and mounted the horse. He rode the horse around while raising his lance. He shouted, "It is a crying shame to give my horse to somebody else. If I fight, my skin will still last me for three months." Ngabèhi Tambakbaya pinched his skin while tossing his lance in midair. When the messenger from Mataram heard these words, he quickly returned without taking his leave. On reaching Mataram, he paid his respects to His Majesty the Sultan and reported everything Ngabèhi Tambakbaya had said.

357. His Majesty the Sultan then ordered his kinsmen and bupati to conquer Pajang. He appointed Pangéran Mandurareja as commander. The large army left. Pangéran Mandurareja felt very ill at ease that he had been made commander. In the end his plan to revolt could not come about. The adipati of Pajang already knew that he was about to be attacked by Mataram and was on the alert. He intended to meet the enemy in battle. His trusted commander was Ngabèhi Tambakbaya. He felt at ease that he had joined together with Pangéran Mandurareja who had promised that he would attack the enemy from behind. He did not expect that the promise would be broken. The army of Pajang was deployed outside the town. Before long the army from Mataram arrived. A fierce fight ensued. Many men from Pajang were killed. Ngabèhi Tambakbaya attacked. He fought like a wounded wild bull. However, the troops from Pajang, because they were overwhelmed, broke and ran while cursing Pangéran Mandurareja that he had betrayed his promise. The adipati of Pajang and Ngabèhi Tambakbaya fled due east and crossed the Semanggi river, intending to flee to Surabaya. The troops from Mataram then started to plunder and carry the women off. The horse of Ngabèhi Tambakbaya, called Domba, was seized. The army from Mataram returned. The captured horse and the rest of the loot was presented to His Majesty the Sultan.

358. On their flight, the adipati of Pajang and Ngabèhi Tambakbaya had reached Surabaya and were brought to Pangéran Surabaya. Ngabèhi Tambakbaya bragged a lot and this angered Pangéran Surabaya very much. He shot him with a golden bullet, but he was unhurt. The golden bullet was flattened. He then took him as his son-in-law and gave him the title Adipati Sanjata. He liked him very much and made him his trusted commander in war.

359. At that time, His Majesty the Sultan ordered Tumenggung Jayasupanta to conquer Tuban. He took it. The women were carried off and the treasures looted. They were brought to Mataram. Tumenggung Jayasupanta was raised in rank and given the title Adipati Sujanapura. Then he was sent out again and told to conquer Madura. All the

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bupati from the coastal areas were sent along with him. Adipati Sujanapura left with the bupati of the coastal areas and their troops. They boarded boats and went by sea.

360. The pangéran of Madura had learned that he was about to be attacked by Mataram. He asked the pangéran of Sumenep, of Pamekasan, and of course the adipati of Baléga and of Pakacangan, and Pangéran Surabaya for help. All gathered in Madura and deployed their troops on the seashore. Then the army from Mataram arrived. They wanted to land on the shore, but were resisted by those deployed there. A fierce fight ensued. Many troops from Mataram were killed by the enemy, or drowned. The rest retreated some distance from the land.

361. At dawn the troops from Mataram moved ashore to secure a foothold. At daybreak the troops from Madura were startled and hastily prepared to resist. The men from Mataram attacked furiously, but the soldiers from Madura held firm. They fought fiercely and many were killed. Adipati Sujanapura was killed. The soldiers from Mataram retreated. They made fortifications on the seashore and sent a messenger to inform His Majesty the Sultan that the soldiers from Mataram had been defeated and that Adipati Sujanapura was killed.

362. His Majesty the Sultan quickly sent a relief commander, called Panembahan Jurukithing, a son of the late Adipati Mandaraka. Panembahan Jurukithing left with his troops. His arrival in Madura pleased all the men from Mataram. Panembahan Jurukithing then restored order in the army. The ranks of the men who had been killed in battle were filled by their sons or relatives. Then he gave them some magic rice and told them to eat a fistful in order to remain safe and sound in battle. The soldiers from Mataram regained their courage. They quickly beat the signals and attacked. The troops from Madura met the attack. They fought fiercely. Friend or foe, many were killed. Finally, the soldiers from Madura were defeated. The pangéran of Sumenep and the pangéran of Pamekasan fell on the field of battle. The pangéran of Madura surrendered with a thousand men. All the others fled. The army from Mataram then left to return, taking the pangéran of Madura with them and presented him to His Majesty the Sultan. His Majesty the Sultan liked the pangéran of Madura very much. He married him to his younger sister and appointed him head of the whole island of Madura. The surrender of the pangéran of Madura took place in the year 1570 [A.J.].

363. Not long afterwards His Majesty ordered the conquest of Surabaya. The one charged was Tumenggung Mangunoneng. All the bupati from the outer regions were sent along with him. Tumenggung Mangunoneng left immediately. He encircled Surabaya and blocked all the foraging routes. Pangéran Surabaya surrendered and sent his son, Radèn Mas Pekik, to offer the tokens of his submission to Tumenggung Mangunoneng. Tumenggung Mangunoneng immediately sent a messenger to inform His Majesty the Sultan that Surabaya had surrendered. After the messenger had left, he departed to return to Mataram, taking along Pangéran Surabaya with his wives and children, the adipati of Pajang and Ngabèhi Tambakbaya. He went by way of Kadhiri and from there to Pranaraga. There he was met by a messenger from His Majesty the Sultan who gave

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him the orders from His Majesty that he should install Tumenggung Sapanjang as bupati in Surabaya, that Pangéran Surabaya and his wives and children should be given a house outside the town of Surabaya, but should not be allowed any servants. As for the adipati of Pajang and Ngabèhi Tambakbaya, they should be taken to Mataram.

364. Tumenggung Sapanjang left for Surabaya taking Pangéran Surabaya with him. Tumenggung Mangunoneng continued his march and left for Mataram. On reaching Pajang, he was met by a messenger from His Majesty the Sultan and given His Majesty's orders that Ngabèhi Tambakbaya should be killed there. Ngabèhi Tambakbaya was bound and thrown into the river weighed down with stones. Tumenggung Mangunoneng then returned to Mataram.

365. It is told that Adipati Pragola of Pathi intended to revolt and oppose Mataram. He had already subjected the neighbouring lands and installed six bupati. The first was called Mangunjaya, the second Kandhuruwan, the third Rajamanggala, the fourth Tohpati, the fifth Sawunggaling, and the sixth Sindureja. All had sworn to die together. Only Tumenggung Mangunjaya had tried to hold them back, but the adipati would not yield. He daily assembled equipment for war and he already had many troops.

366. His Majesty the Sultan had already learned that the adipati of Pathi had become disloyal and intended to attack Mataram. He gave orders to assemble an army. When ready, he left immediately. The marching soldiers looked like a mountain on the move. They carried all sorts of weapons. When they reached the outskirts of Pathi, they pillaged the countryside. His Majesty the Sultan made his camp there.

367. The adipati of Pathi had already received a report that the army of Mataram was coming, led by His Majesty the Sultan himself, accompanied by all his kinsmen and bupati. He quickly gave orders to send the army out to meet the enemy in battle outside the town. When ready, he left. Outside town, he came face to face with the army from Mataram. Adipati Pragola asked his men, "Where is the position of my brother, the Sultan?" The man questioned answered, "The position of your brother is far at the rear." The adipati said again, "Men, don't care about the others. Just go straight at the position of my brother the Sultan. If I have to die, let it be in front of my brother the Sultan." Having said this, he gave orders to sound the signal to attack. The soldiers from Mataram met them. The fight was fierce. The troops from Pathi attacked en masse. Many men from Mataram, the outer regions, and of course the coastal regions, were killed. They ran to take refuge behind the king. The troops from Pathi attacked fiercely, for they were all fired up. They came close to the position of His Majesty the Sultan and were met by the kinsmen of Mataram. Many bupati from Pathi were killed, and of course the lower ranks were wiped out by the kinsmen. In his blind attack Adipati Pragola approached the position of His Majesty the Sultan. Then a court servant, called Nayadarma, who was carrying His Majesty's pike Kyai Baru, asked His Majesty's permission to meet the attack of Adipati Pragola, because the soldiers in front of His Majesty had fled. His Majesty gave permission. Nayadarma quickly attacked. He came face to face with Adipati Pragola but a slightly to the side. He struck out with the pike

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Kyai Baru. The adipati was hit in his side. He was cut and fell dead to the ground. His men who were caught alive asked to be killed and indeed were killed, so the troops of Pathi were all wiped out. Only Tumenggung Mangunjaya was still alive. He retreated to Pathi.

368. The death of Adipati Pragola was reported to His Majesty the Sultan. The servants vied to claim the kill. When the king inspected the pike Kyai Baru and saw that it was stained with blood, he said, "Si Nayadarma killed Adipati Pragola. This is proved by the fact that my pike Kyai Baru is stained with blood." Then he said to Tumenggung Alap-alap, "Alap-alap, you go to Pathi together with Jagabaya, Arya Panular, Ngabèhi Wirapati, and all the officials from Mataram. You carry off all the people and seize everything in Pathi. If anyone resists, kill him. Take palanquins and litters with you. Put my younger sister of Pathi in a palanquin and put the wives of the priyayi on litters. No woman and no treasure at all should be passed over." Those ordered said that they would do as told and they left with their troops. His Majesty the Sultan also returned to Mataram immediately after that.

369. On his flight Tumenggung Mangunjaya had reached Pathi. He informed the wife of Adipati Pragola that her husband had died on the field of battle and that his troops were wiped out. The princess screamed and all the people in the residence cried. Tumenggung Mangunjaya then told the news that Adipati Pragola had died and his troops were wiped out to the four officials who were entrusted with guarding the residence. Their names were Suraprameya, Rangga Jaladra, Surantaka, and Pangalasan. The four men wept and decided to follow their lord in death. They ordered the remaining men in Pathi, about two hundred, to be on the alert. Before long the army from Mataram came and saw that their road was going to be blocked. When they reached the Alun-alun of Pathi, they were met by the four officials. A fierce fight was fought. Many men from Mataram were killed. The four officials and their troops were also killed. Only Tumenggung Mangunjaya was left. He quickly informed the wife of Adipati Pragola. All the people in the residence wept loudly. Tumenggung Mangunjaya searched for the little son of the adipati of Pathi, called Radèn Rangga. When he found him, he took him away. He left through the backdoor and fled to Mount Prawata. The conquest of Pathi took place in the year 1570 [A.J.].

370. Tumenggung Alap-alap and his colleagues entered the residence and made preparations for all the women and the treasure to be brought to Mataram. The wife of Adipati Pragola was told to sit in a palanquin. The concubines and the wives of the priyayi were put onto litters. The women wept and screamed, bewailing their dead lord.

371. Tumenggung Alap-alap left the town of Pathi, escorting all the different kinds of loot. They marched wearily. On arrival in Mataram, the wife of Adipati Pragola as well as all the other women and the loot were brought into the palace. His Majesty the Sultan asked the wife of Adipati Pragola what was the cause of her husband's revolt. She said that it had been at the instigation of Tumenggung Éndranata of Demak. His Majesty became very angry. The next morning he came out and sat in state on the Sitinggil,

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while all the officials of Mataram were present. He said in a loud voice to the officers of the Martalulut and Singanagara, "Eh, men of the Martalulut and Singanagara, quickly stab to death that Éndranata on the Pagelaran." Those ordered immediately executed the order. Tumenggung Éndranata was killed and his entrails were put on display in the market.

372. After some time His Majesty the Sultan was conferring with his uncle Panembahan Purbaya. He said, "Uncle Purbaya, because I have heard that Pangéran Surabaya has died, leaving behind a son called Pangéran Pekik, I want to summon the latter and have him live in Mataram." Panembahan Purbaya approved. His Majesty then sent a messenger to Surabaya to bring Pangéran Pekik. The messenger reached Surabaya, met with Pangéran Pekik, and told him His Majesty's orders. Pangéran Pekik said that he would do as told. He, his wife and all his kinsmen quickly got ready. The messenger from Mataram then told Tumenggung Sapanjang to escort Pangéran Pekik on his journey, to guard him on the road and see to it that he did not have a lack of food. Tumenggung Sapanjang said that he would do as told, and left escorting Pangéran Pekik. They travelled slowly. When they reached the village of Butuh, Pangéran Pekik visited the holy grave there. At night he slept at the foot end of the grave. After midnight, he heard a voice. The voice said, "Pekik, you should know that later you will have a grandson who will become a great king. He will have his palace in the forest of Wanakarta to the west of Pajang; his army will consist of many nations, and he will be called Susuhunan Mangkurat." Pangéran Pekik was startled and woke up. In the morning he told the keeper of the grave about the voice that he had heard in his dream. The keeper of the grave was very happy and thanked God.

373. Pangéran Pekik left, travelling slowly. When they neared Mataram, the messenger who had summoned him travelled ahead to inform His Majesty the Sultan that Pangéran Pekik had arrived in Mataram. His Majesty was very pleased. He went out to sit in state on the Sitinggil. The subjects of Mataram were all assembled. He said to Panembahan Purbaya, "Uncle, what would be best when Pangéran Pekik presently comes? Should I pay my respects, or should he?" Panembahan Purbaya answered, "Your Majesty, in my opinion it is best if Pangéran Pekik pays his respects. The reason is that your position is higher. He is still a pangéran, while you have ascended the throne as a sultan. Moreover, he has been summoned to Mataram and indeed is coming to pay his respects." His Majesty was very pleased when he heard what Panembahan Purbaya said.

374. Shortly afterwards Pangéran Pekik arrived on the Alun-alun. He waited outside in the sun to the south of the twin waringin trees together with all his kinsmen to be received in audience. When the king noticed him, he gave orders to summon him. Pangéran Pekik came and ascended the Sitinggil. When he came before His Majesty, he laid down his kris and kissed the knee of His Majesty, while saying, "My lord, your servant puts his life in your hands, because he has been very much at fault that he did not immediately come to pay his respects to Your Majesty, but waited to be summoned.

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Now I put myself and all my relatives in your hands. I leave it to your wishes." Pangéran Pekik said a great deal and made His Majesty very happy. His Majesty noted with satisfaction that he was handsome and still young, almost a twin brother of His Majesty. His Majesty the Sultan answered, "My younger brother of Surabaya, the reason that I summoned you is that you should know that it is predestined by the will of God that a jewel is meant for its setting, that if I am the spring, you are the lake, and if I am the contents, you are the container. The meaning of these three figures of speech is that it is predestined by the will of God that you will also be a progenitor of the kings of Java. However, you beget the female line, I will beget the male line. As for my wish, I want you to live in Mataram now and take up your residence in the Kadipatèn. The realm of Surabaya I will return to you. As for your powers, they will remain as they were. While living in Mataram do not be diffident. Just consider Mataram the same as Surabaya." Pangéran Pekik said that he would do as told. He was then given a place in the Kadipatèn.

375. Shortly afterwards, Pangéran Pekik received a younger sister of His Majesty the Sultan, called Ratu Pandhansari, in marriage. They were very much compatible in their marriage and continued to love each other. Some considerable time later, His Majesty happened to be sitting in his palace. He sent for Her Highness Ratu Pandhansari. A female servant quickly went to the Kadipatèn and conveyed His Majesty's summons. Ratu Pandhansari, escorted by the female servant, entered the palace. Appearing before His Majesty, she said, "Your Majesty, my brother, from what illness are you suffering that you summon me in such great haste?" His Majesty the Sultan answered, "Sister, I am very much pained, and it is in my heart, that there is one holy teacher who has not yet submitted to me. He resides in Giri. Apart from him, all the people of Java have submitted. Tell your husband that I make him responsible for Giri, so that it will submit to me. Only your husband would be the best to destroy Giri, as he is also a descendant of a pandhita." Ratu Pandhansari said that she would do as told and retired from the presence of His Majesty. She went to her residence and told her husband everything that His Majesty the Sultan had told her. Pangéran Pekik said, "If it is the wish of His Majesty the Sultan that I should destroy Giri so that it is obedient to Mataram, let it not worry him, for Giri is as good as in my grasp. I will take it upon myself to conquer the hermitage of Giri. Come, let us pay our respects in the palace and ask His Majesty's permission to leave." They went together. When His Majesty the Sultan saw that his younger sister was coming together with her husband, he quickly waved to them quickly to sit down close to him. He said, "My younger brother from Surabaya, what do you intend to do? The matter of the pandhita of Giri I have made your responsibility." Pangéran Pekik said, "My lord, I agree to execute your order to attack Giri. Even if it asks help from other realms, I am not afraid. Now I am asking permission to depart." His Majesty gave his permission and told him to take his wife along. Pangéran Pekik and his wife kissed the knee of his Majesty. His Majesty prayed that they would be safe and sound on their journey and that they would be victorious in battle. Then

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they retreated from the presence of His Majesty. They went to their residence, prepared, and left with their soldiers heading for Surabaya. There they put their troops in order. When ready they left forthwith to attack Giri.

376. The pandhita of Giri had already learned that Pangéran Pekik was marching against him. He gave orders to his kinsmen, mosque officials as well as all his disciples to be on the alert. The pandhita of Giri had an adopted son, a Chinese, who had an army of two hundred Chinese, and who was his trusted commander. He took it upon himself to meet the men from Surabaya in battle. The people of Giri prepared their weapons.

377. Before long the army from Surabaya arrived and they clashed fiercely. Many soldiers from Surabaya were killed. They retreated in defeat. When Ratu Pandhansari saw that the troops from Surabaya had lost and that many were killed, she gathered the remaining troops and rewarded them with money and clothes. The troops from Surabaya were overjoyed and regained their courage. Then they were led into battle again. The men from Giri met them. They fought fiercely. In the end many were killed; the rest fled. The pandhita was caught; he begged for his life. The troops from Surabaya asked Pangéran Pekik to approve the killing of the pandhita. He answered, "I don't want to kill the pandhita. Later my grandson will have the authority to destroy and kill the pandhita of Giri." Having said this, he ordered the treasure of Giri to be looted and the women to be carried off. The pandhita was put on a litter. Pangéran Pekik returned to Mataram. The pandhita, the captured women and the loot were presented to His Majesty the Sultan. However, His Majesty did not want it. He gave everything to Pangéran Pekik. The pandhita was pardoned.

378. Some considerable time later, His Majesty went out to hold audience. He said to Pangéran Mandurareja, "Mandurareja, you must march against Jakarta. It is now occupied by the Dutch. Its bupati has been defeated. Wrest Jakarta from them and drive the Dutch out of there. Lead the men from Surabaya and the whole coastal area to the west of it. Take them to war. Assign the sea campaign to the bupati of Sampang and Gresik. Take two of my guns. However, you are the commander-in-chief." Pangéran Mandurareja and the bupati of the coastal regions said that they would do as told. They returned to their own lands to prepare and took along the two guns from His Majesty to convey them to Sampang in preparation for a campaign by sea. The bupati agreed to assemble in Astina.

379. Pangéran Mandurareja left Mataram. When he arrived in Astina, the bupati of the coastal regions were all there with their troops. The number of troops was countless. Then they prepared the boats. When ready, they embarked, unfurled the sails and pushed off. The land disappeared from sight. When they reached Cirebon, they stopped off and put everything in order. When everything was ready, they left. On reaching Jakarta, they dropped anchor. Pangéran Mandurareja and his army went ashore and set up camp to the southeast of the city.

380. At that time it became widely known in Jakarta that the army which had arrived wanted to drive out the Dutch who were there. The Javanese in Jakarta all submitted

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to Pangéran Mandurareja. Only the Dutch were left within their fortress. They were in a daily state of panic. The walls of the fortress were very high and they placed their guns in position. Grenades and hand-grenades were ready.

381. It is told that the Dutch had many leaders: eight captains, called Jakuwès, Bèlem, Èndro, Situyé, Jrodo, Wami, Karèng, and Gerdyug, and sixteen lieutenants. The ensigns and those below them are not mentioned. There were four civilian authorities. Day in day out they filled the walls. Their drums were beaten ceaselessly. However, none of them dared to leave their fortress.

382. As for Pangéran Mandurareja, the bupati of Gembong and of Pasuruhan, as well as the bupati of the coastal regions to the west of there, they had, after their arrival in Jakarta, assembled there with their countless number of troops. Only the adipati of Sampang who had been charged with the preparations for the war by sea had not yet arrived, so the siege of the fortress of Jakarta awaited the arrival of the adipati of Sampang.

383. It is told that His Majesty the Sultan of Mataram told Panembahan Purbaya, "Uncle, I want you to follow the others to Jakarta. Show those who are fighting a thing or two, but don't fight in earnest. It is enough if you teach the Dutch a lesson. Moreover, don't take many troops. Just go incognito and go by sea." Panembahan Purbaya said that he would do as told and left. He only took along a few headmen and headed for Jepara. There he had his own boat, called *Kaladuta*, and went on board. He hoisted the sails and pushed off. The boat sailed quickly.

384. Pangéran Mandurareja had already received the news that Panembahan Purbaya was following him to Jakarta. He felt embarrassed that he was followed by another commander. He gave orders to sound the signals to attack. The adipati of Sampang who had been charged with preparing the war at sea had also arrived. The Dutch saw that they were going to be attacked and they deployed their soldiers, to the number of four brigades. Their guns were placed in a square. Grenades and hand-grenades were ready for use. As for the Dutch who were armed with guns, each company was led by a captain, two lieutenants, and one ensign. Captain Jakuwès made the rounds. Everybody was put in line, and got his task. They promised to help each other till death. The Dutch soldiers filled the walls. They were deployed back to back. Those on the southeast side were packed most densely. There the most guns, small cannon, swivel-guns and mortars were placed. The guns glittered everywhere. Four captains led the troops.

385. Pangéran Mandurareja gave orders to sound the signals to attack. The Javanese advanced in ranks while cheering, intending to storm the fortress. The Dutch defended themselves. The guns were fired again and again. They sounded like a mountain crashing down. Bullets fell down like rain; some lit up like falling stars. Many Javanese were killed, falling down and lying everywhere thrown to the ground. Some of the wounded crawled around. Those who advanced were wiped out. Then overtaken by nightfall, they retreated.

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386. The next morning, Pangéran Mandurareja ordered the men from Sampang who were on board their boats to attack the fortress at the same time as he. Those ordered set up the guns on the ships and a fierce gun battle ensued. Among the Dutch killed were one captain, two lieutenants, and three corporals, while many soldiers were wounded or killed. The number of Javanese who were wounded or killed was countless.

387. Panembahan Purbaya had arrived on the sea off Jakarta and fought with the Dutch who were on boats. The Dutch were defeated and fled. Panembahan Purbaya then went ashore to go on land. There the gun battle was still raging with the guns booming everywhere. The Dutch aimed their guns at those of the Javanese and hit the rim damaging the barrel. Many ships were destroyed. Many Javanese were killed. Many Dutch were also killed, while their gunpowder and bullets started to run out. Then it happened that they used dung for bullets. Many Javanese had to vomit because they were hit by dung.

388. Panembahan Purbaya had landed and arrived on the battlefield with only three followers. The Dutch noticed that the panembahan had come and they had been told that he was magically very strong and could fly. They showered him with gunfire and shot at him in the air, but Panembahan Purbaya was not hit. Smoking at his ease, he approached the fortress and said in a loud voice, "Hey Dutchmen, why are you shooting at me with all your might? Is it because you trust in the thickness of the walls of your fortress?" While saying this, he pointed at the fortress and a hole the size of a man appeared in the wall. Panembahan Purbaya then went back to his boat to return to Mataram.

389. Pangéran Mandurareja was continuing to fight with determination, but still could not get close to the fortress, because he could not endure the stench of the dung. His clothes were soaked with dung. Of the adipati of the coastal regions and their troops more were dead than alive. Of the remainder nobody could endure the stench of the dung. Retreating from the battlefield, they bathed and submerged themselves in the river. At that time the fight had lasted for some considerable time. Some of the Javanese survivors ran away to return home, as they were totally terrified. The Dutch lost three brigades, and only one brigade was still alive. They were in shock. Nobody thought that he would survive.

390. Panembahan Purbaya had reached Mataram and paid his respects to His Majesty the Sultan. He gave a report of the fighting and said, "Your Majesty, you asked me to take charge of the fight and I did. Many of your subjects from the coastal areas have been destroyed and killed. Your servant Baureksa is wounded. Pangéran Mandurareja retreated because he was fired at with bullets of dung. Many of his soldiers were killed. If they don't receive assistance from Mataram, it looks like the fortress of the Dutch cannot be conquered. However, if you take my advice, it would be best to stop the fight in Jakarta, for the Dutch have come there only to trade. Moreover, it would not damage your reputation if you want to be on good terms with the Dutch." His Majesty the Sultan was pleased in his heart and said, "Uncle, you are right. Moreover, it has been des-

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tined by the will of God that the Dutch in the future will come to the help of my descendants who will rule as king. If one of them is defeated in war, the Dutch will certainly help him. The reason that I attacked Jakarta, was only to set a precedent, so that those who come later will be afraid." His Majesty then said to his pair of royal messengers, "Messengers, you go to Jakarta. Recall Mandurareja and his colleagues. Kill Tumenggung Baureksa on the way and also kill Mandurareja. Bury their corpses in Kaliwungu." The royal messengers said that they would do as told and left. When they reached Jakarta, they conveyed the orders of His Majesty. Pangéran Mandurareja left with all his colleagues. On the way he was killed together with Tumenggung Baureksa. The killing of both noblemen took place in the year 1571 [A.J.].

391. When the Dutch saw that the army of Mataram was breaking up to return home, they were overjoyed. They thought that it was due to the will of His Majesty who had pardoned the Dutch. So they sent an envoy to Mataram to offer a great variety of tribute to be presented to His Majesty the Sultan.

392. His Majesty the Sultan came out to hold audience. He told Pangéran Silarong, "Brother Silarong, you march out and conquer Blambangan. I give you all the men from the outer regions and the left-hand half of the coastal regions. Take them to war. And I will have my royal messenger Padureksa accompany you as my supervisor to watch the conduct of my servants, and see who performs well and who performs badly." Pangéran Silarong and the bupati of the outer regions and the coastal regions said that they would do as told. They made ready and agreed to assemble in Pasuruhan. When ready, he left, went by way of Kadhiri and arrived in Pasuruhan. The bupati had already assembled there. They went together and reached the border of Blambangan where they pitched camp.

393. The people of Blambangan were thrown into a panic and fled to the town. The adipati of Blambangan sent messengers to Bali to ask for help. He indeed received it: about five hundred Balinese veterans led by two commanders called Déwa Lengkara and Déwa Agung. Their subordinates were called Panji Balèlèng and Panji Macankuning. The adipati of Blambangan left with his troops and all the soldiers from Bali to meet the enemy who lay at the border. The twin sons of the adipati, both called Mas Kembar, were left to guard the town. The army reached the border and came face to face with the enemy.

394. The next morning they attacked. They fired at each other with guns, fought with pikes, and a general melee ensued. The Balinese used blowpipes with poisoned darts. Many troops from Mataram were killed by the darts and other weapons. Many Balinese and men from Blambangan were also killed. The corpses piled up on top of each other. Those fighting trampled on the corpses. Eventually, the soldiers from Blambangan were defeated. They fled to the town. The troops from Mataram pursued them and courageously stormed the town. The people inside the town fled to the mountains. The troops from Mataram started to plunder. The Mas Kembar twins were tied up. It was not known whether the adipati of Blambangan was alive or dead.

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61. Sultan Agung regularly meets with Ratu Kidul
62. Sultan Agung dies and is succeeded by his son Pangéran Arya Mataram with the title Sunan Mangkurat

395. Pangéran Silarong gave orders to pursue those who had fled to the mountains. The troops from Mataram immediately departed and scrambled up the steep mountains. Many people from Blambangan were caught, dead or alive. In the mountains there lived an ascetic called Salokantara. He was tied up, taken down the mountains, offered to Pangéran Silarong and killed. The body of the ascetic vanished. Then a voice was heard, "Hey, Silarong, you have killed me though I am innocent. In due time I will repay you. When there will be a king with a scar on his upper left arm, that will be me who has been reincarnated in him, and who will repay you with death."

396. Pangéran Silarong then left to return to Mataram, taking along the captives and the loot from Blambangan. On arrival in Mataram, the captives and the loot were presented to His Majesty the Sultan. The twin brothers Mas Kembang were unbound and set free. They were then appointed bupati in Blambangan. His Majesty gave rewards to his servants who had won the war. The head of the royal messengers, called Padureksa, was raised in rank with the title of Pangéran Tepasana. His Majesty then ordered Tumenggung Singaranu to conquer Sumedhang and Ukur. He succeeded. The abducted women and looted treasure were brought to Mataram.

397. It is told that His Majesty went out to relax. He walked around the garden escorted by a female servant who carried his royal insignia, a short pike with a shaft made of wer[g]u wood. In the park there lived a pet kidang-buck of His Majesty which was very vicious. When it saw His Majesty, it came on charging to attack him with its tusks. His Majesty the Sultan quickly grabbed the pike and speared it in the chest. The blood spurted out. Because of the speed of the charge and the strength of His Majesty, the shaft of the spike bent and the thigh of His Majesty was grazed, but he was not hurt. His Majesty then pronounced a curse, "Let no one of my descendants in the future use a shaft made of wergu wood, for it will cause accidents."

398. His Majesty the Sultan had two palaces. One was called the city of Karta, the other was in the Southern Ocean, since His Majesty had taken Rara Kidul as wife. He regularly went to sleep in the Southern Ocean. Moreover, when His Majesty the Sultan held audience, the ghosts, fairies, and spirits also came to pay homage. However, only His Majesty himself saw them. It was also known everywhere that His Majesty was very powerful and magically strong. Men, ghosts, fairies, and spirits feared and loved him.

399. His Majesty the Sultan had two sons. The eldest, called Pangéran Adipati Arya Mataram, was married to a daughter of Pangéran Pekik who was born from Ratu Pandansari. The youngest was called Pangéran Alit, or Pangéran Danupaya. After having two sons, he became very ill. His wives, children, and kinsmen sat all respectfully in front of him. His Majesty spoke to Panembahan Purbaya, "Uncle Purbaya, I will soon die. My final instruction is that I want my elder son, Pangéran Arya Mataram, to succeed me. As for my younger son, may he also share the good life. I hope that you will be able to take care of your grandchildren, my sons, Uncle, and all my kinsmen. Farewell." Having said this, he died. The wailing in the palace was as loud as thunder. Mount Merapi rumbled, joining in with the sound of a rainstorm. The body was washed and

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ritually prayed for. Then it was buried at Imagiri. The death of His Majesty Sultan Agung took place in the year 1578 [A.J.].

400. On Monday, Panembahan Purbaya came out to hold audience on the Sitinggil, leading his grandson Pangéran Adipati Arya Mataram by the hand. He had him take his seat on the throne. The subjects of Mataram were all present to pay homage. Pangéran Purbaya spoke in a loud voice, "Hey, people of Mataram, witness that I raise Pangéran Adipati Arya Mataram to the throne to succeed his late father, with the title His Majesty Susuhunan Mangkurat Sénapati ing Alaga Abdurrachman Sayidin Panatagama. The subjects of Mataram agreed in unison. The pandhita and haji recited prayers in agreement. His Majesty then withdrew into the palace.

401. At that time the land of Mataram was prosperous, the law was applied fairly, and the government remained unchanged. It was still as it was in the time of His Majesty Sultan Agung.

402. On Thursday, His Majesty came out to hold audience. His kinsmen, bupati, and mantri all attended to pay homage. His younger brother Pangéran Alit also came to pay homage. His Majesty spoke to all the kinsmen and bupati, "All my subjects, make bricks. I am going to move from Karta. I do not wish to occupy the former residence of His Majesty my father. I will build a town in Plèrèd." Those ordered all said that they would do as told. His Majesty spoke again to Tumenggung Wiraguna and Tumenggung Danupaya, "You march against Blambangan, because it has now been seized by the Balinese. Its bupati has submitted. I give you all the men from the outer regions. Tumenggung Mataram should go with you to lead the men from the coastal regions and go by sea. However, the adipati of Sampang should not go with you. He should just contribute his share of soldiers." Tumenggung Wiraguna, Tumenggung Danupaya, and Tumenggung Mataram said that they would do as told and left with their troops.

403. It is told that the younger brother of the king, who was called Pangéran Alit, was still an adolescent and not yet married. Since he was still young, he lived in the residence of Danupaya. He had two guardians, both bupati. One was Tumenggung Danupaya who was on a mission to attack Blambangan, the other was Tumenggung Pasingsingan. Pangéran Alit happened to be sitting in his house. Tumenggung Pasingsingan and his son, Agrayuda came to visit. They incited him to rebel and put him up to evil. They promised the prince that they would make him king. According to Tumenggung Pasingsingan, many people in Mataram would be willing to help. Moreover, in this period the palace was often deserted. There were no people because all the subjects of Mataram were building the town. Tumenggung Pasingsingan promised to attack the palace. Pangéran Alit answered that he wanted to think it over first, and wait for the return of Tumenggung Danupaya from his expedition. However, Tumenggung Pasingsingan kept insisting. He spoke a great deal and his subordinate headmen all gave their opinion, supporting what Tumenggung Pasingsingan said. Eventually, Pangéran Alit was carried away because of all the ingratiating talk. He said, "If the people of Mataram help me to seize the kingship, I will just agree." Tumenggung Pasingsing-

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an and Agrayuda took leave and retreated from the presence of the prince to arrange everything. On arrival in his residence, he said to his son, "Boy, tomorrow you assemble the armed men. I will first go to the brick-making work and observe the people of Mataram laying bricks. Usually, they finish when it is still light. When the workers have all returned home, I will send for you. You come with all your armed men and we will attack the palace." Agrayuda promised that he would do so.

404. Panembahan Purbaya already knew about the affair and told His Majesty. It greatly shocked His Majesty. He told Panembahan Purbaya, "When Tumenggung Pasingsingan comes to the work, have him killed." Panembahan Purbaya said that he would do as told.

405. The next morning, Panembahan Purbaya went ahead to the work and gave secret instructions to the workers. Before long, Tumenggung Pasingsingan arrived. He was stabbed repeatedly by a mob of workers and ended up dead. His servants ran away and told Agrayuda that his father had been killed. Agrayuda wept, then mounted a horse while holding a lance. He asked his servants to come with him to make an attack and left. His servants, however, backed out and Agrayuda was left on his own. He reached the northern gate of the palace square. There they were ready for him and when attacked by a great many men he was killed. His head was cut off. Panembahan Purbaya informed His Majesty that Tumenggung Pasingsingan and Agrayuda had been killed and presented their heads.

406. The king then went out to sit in state. All the servants of Mataram were present. He told a female servant, "Woman, summon my younger brother Pangéran Alit. Instruct him that I want him to be present at my town-building work." The female servant quickly went to the Danupaya residence. When Pangéran Alit received the order, he quickly went to pay his respects. When he came before His Majesty, the heads of Tumenggung Pasingsingan and Agrayuda were produced. His Majesty said, "Brother, this is what those who want to proclaim you as king look like." Pangéran Alit quickly drew his kris and stabbed both heads, while saying, "Pasingsingan, why did you incriminate me?" His Majesty asked slowly, "What do you mean, brother?" The latter said while performing a sembah, "Your Majesty, I have never ever had the idea of becoming your enemy and begrudge your becoming king. This is just a scheme hatched by Tumenggung Pasingsingan himself." Listening to the words of his brother, His Majesty felt pity and said slowly, "If that is the case, brother, I demand all your servants with the rank of headman. Bring them now, I will wait here on the Sitinggil." Pangéran Alit said that he would do as told and retreated from the presence of His Majesty. When he arrived in his residence, all his servants were still present, three hundred in number, eight headmen, two common manservants, and one male dancer. The pangéran said, "My headmen, let me tie your hands. You have been summoned by my brother the king to come at once." The headmen all wept and embraced the prince's feet. When the servants in the outer visitor's hall heard the sounds of weeping, they went inside and joined the wailing. They spoke a great deal and incited their lord.

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407. At that moment Pangéran Alit's courage revived. He felt pity seeing his servants and ordered them to arm. The servants quickly seized weapons. Before long, messengers from the king arrived, called Ki Sumengit and Dakawana, to urge Pangéran Alit to hurry. Dakawana remained outside. Ki Sumengit alone went inside and was killed. When Dakawana learned that his colleague had been killed, he quickly returned to inform the king. When His Majesty heard the report of his messenger, he was very much shocked and suppressed his tears. Panembahan Purbaya said, "Your Majesty, it is predestined by the will of God that your brother will not live long." The king said in a loud voice, "Hey, all people of Mataram, when my brother comes to attack, don't fight him, even if he kills many. Just get out of his way, so he will come before me. If there is anyone who fights him, I will cut his head off."

408. Panembahan Purbaya went to the Alun-alun to announce the orders of the king. Before long Pangéran Alit and his servants came. He halted at the northern gate of the palace square to wait for the people of Mataram who had promised to help him. When after quite some time nobody came, the servants of the prince had all run away. Only six headmen remained. Pangéran Alit was determined to die. The people of Mataram got out of his way moving to the left and the right. Then the adipati of Sampang, called Demang Malaya, rushed forward, embraced the feet of Pangéran Alit, and said that he had impeded his wish so that his plan to attack would not go through. Pangéran Alit was beside himself and stabbed the adipati of Sampang in the neck with his kris. The adipati was killed. The kris was called Sétankober.

409. When the men from Sampang saw that their lord had been killed on the Alun-alun, they threw themselves at Pangéran Alit and attacked him with their weapons, but he was not hurt. Many men from Sampang were killed by the pangéran. The seven headmen were already all dead. Because Pangéran Alit was tired, he was careless in holding his kris and pricked his thigh. It was only a tiny scratch, but it killed him and he died under the fenced, sacred waringin tree.

410. The adipati carried the corpse of Pangéran Alit away quickly and brought it up to the Sitinggil. When the king saw that his younger brother was dead, he wept. His mother threw herself on the body of her son while wailing. His Majesty asked who had killed his brother. The adipati told everything from the beginning to the end. His Majesty said, "My brother was a powerful boy to get the adipati and so many men from Sampang to join him into death. Hey, men from Mataram, be my witness that I now join in my brother Pangéran Alit's suffering." Having said this, he cut his left upper arm. The cut was real and blood came out. When the wound healed, it left a scar. That was indeed what had been predicted by the ascetic from Blambangan who intended to kill Pangéran Silarong. As for the corpse of Pangéran Alit, it was buried at Imagiri. His Majesty then moved his palace to Plèrèd.

411. Now we will tell about those who had been sent to march against Blambangan, Tumenggung Wiraguna, Tumenggung Danupaya, and Tumenggung Mataram. The realm of Blambangan was conquered. Its adipati sought refuge in Bali. The people who were

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left, men and women, were carried off to Mataram, fifteen hundred in number. Tumenggung Wiraguna set off in pursuit to Bali, but was stopped at the seashore. He could not cross. When the Balinese saw that they were being pursued, they planned to take him by surprise and went out to sea. Tumenggung Mataram met them on the sea. Many Balinese were killed and the rest fled.

412. Tumenggung Wiraguna, Tumenggung Danupaya, and Tumenggung Mataram then left to return to Mataram. On the way, Tumenggung Wiraguna fell ill and died. When Tumenggung Danupaya received the news about the death of Pangéran Alit, he took poison and died. When His Majesty was informed that Tumenggung Wiraguna had died, he ordered all his children and kinsmen, twelve in number, to be killed. As for the captives from Blambangan, they had to remain in Taji.

413. We resume the story of Pangéran Silarong. During the reign of His Majesty Sultan Agung, His Majesty became angry at Jurutaman. He stabbed his chest with a short pike. The blood sprayed out on the ground. His corpse vanished. At that time, Pangéran Silarong happened to be on nightwatch duty. He was told to throw the blood away. Pangéran Silarong scooped up the blood in a banana leaf container. The ground under the blood he scraped off a little and put it in another container. The next morning, Pangéran Silarong went home. Arriving at his residence he had breakfast. He took a small portion of rice, dipped it into the blood and fed it to a dog. The dog died at the same instant, its flesh wasting away. The rest of the blood he mixed and diluted with coconut oil, and called it 'diluted poison.' Then there was a man who felt a great loathing for somebody. He asked Pangéran Silarong for some means to be rid of him and got the 'diluted poison.' When the man he disliked was given the poison, he died. Some time later, there was a man called Ki Citra. He asked for an antidote against the 'diluted poison,' and was indeed given it. What he got was the dug up earth from under the blood. Every time somebody was poisoned with the 'diluted poison,' he recovered when treated by Ki Citra. Eventually it became so widely known in the whole realm that it was reported to His Majesty Sultan Agung, that Pangéran Silarong could perform black magic. The pangéran was then evicted from the capital and given a residence in the village of Waladana. During the reign of the king with the scar on his upper left arm, the story became again so widely known that it was reported to the king. He gave orders to kill Pangéran Silarong, and this indeed happened. With that the boast of the ascetic in Blambangan who had been killed in the past by Pangéran Silarong came true.

414. At that time His Majesty gave orders to look for a beautiful woman whom he wanted to make his concubine. One of his servants said that the wayang gedhog puppeteer in Mataram, called Kyai Wayah, had an extremely beautiful daughter, however, she had already a husband, called Kyai Dilem [Dalem]. His Majesty gave orders to get her. As for the woman, she was already two months pregnant.

415. When His Majesty saw the woman, he liked her very much and indeed took her as a concubine. He put her in a house within the palace. He was so taken by her that he forgot about his wives. He even gave her the title Ratu Wétan, but the public called her

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Ratu Malang. When the time came, the child which Ratu Malang was carrying was born. It was a boy who was very much loved by His Majesty. Then His Majesty gave orders to kill Kyai Dilem. After the death of Kyai Dilem, Ratu Malang kept on weeping. Day and night, in her wailing she only cried out for Kyai Dilem. Before long she became ill, suffering from vomiting and diarrhoea. Then she died.

416. After the death of Ratu Malang, His Majesty gave orders to lock all the female servants behind bamboo fences in the frontyard of the female quarters. The reason was that when Ratu Malang was ill, she only called out for Kyai Dilem. His Majesty thought that the illness of Ratu Malang was the work of the female servants in the whole palace. As for the body of Ratu Malang, he ordered it to be taken to Mount Kelir, but he did not allow it to be buried, as His Majesty was still passionately in love with her; day and night he watched over the body of his wife together with the child she had brought with her. His kinsmen and bupati asked him to return, but he did not wish to, causing great commotion among the people of Mataram. A short time later, while the king was sleeping on Mount Kelir, he dreamt that Ratu Malang had joined Kyai Dilem. When he woke up, he saw that the body of his wife had lost its human form. He then returned to the palace and gave orders to bury the body of Ratu Malang. This happened in the year 1579 [A.J.]. The people of Mataram were then peaceful again.

417. His Majesty had five children, all sons. The eldest was born from the princess from Surabaya. He was given the title Pangéran Adipati Anom and was intended to be the successor to the throne. His four younger brothers were from a different mother. The first was called Pangéran Puger, the second Pangéran Singasari, the third Pangéran Martasana, and the fourth Radèn Mas Tadha [Tapa].

418. It is told that Pangéran Pekik of Surabaya lived in the same residence as his grandson Pangéran Adipati Anom. He and also his wife loved their grandson very much. Pangéran Pekik had a crossbreed hen as a pet which he had kept since it was still a young chicken. Eventually it turned into a beautiful cock which could crow. This amazed its owner and he got the idea of presenting it to the king because it was so odd. He covered the cage of the chicken with a white silken cloth and took it to the palace. When he came before His Majesty, he presented it saying that the crossbreed chicken used to be a hen, but now had become a cock, and that it would be more appropriate if it stayed in the palace. His Majesty accepted the crossbreed chicken. Outwardly he seemed very pleased and amazed, but inwardly he was very angry, because he was very clever and could fathom what was openly said and covertly implied. His Majesty thought that his uncle was giving him a hint that because his daughter had married the king and already had a son, called Pangéran Adipati Anom, who was now an adult, the king should abdicate in favour of his son. Pangéran Pekik was told to withdraw. When the pangéran had withdrawn, His Majesty said to the subjects who were sitting before him that during his visit Pangéran Pekik had given him an evil sign, so he thought of him as an old man with bad intentions.

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419. The anger of the king was publicly reported and eventually reached the ears of Pangéran Pekik. It shocked and frightened him. He then went with his wife and all his relatives, all clad in white, to wait outside to the south of the twin waringin trees to be received in audience. His Majesty happened to be sitting in state to raise his adopted son from Ratu Malang in rank and confer on him the title Pangéran Natabrata. He saw the throng of people waiting outside in the sun. When he found out that those waiting were Pangéran Pekik with his wife and all his kinsmen, he quickly gave orders to summon them to the Sitinggil. Pangéran Pekik then ascended the Sitinggil while his wife clung to him from behind. Those who witnessed it found it heart-rending. When His Majesty saw that his uncle and aunt were coming to pay homage, he rose from the throne and asked them to sit with him on the floor. Then he asked what the reason was that they were sitting outside to be received in audience. Pangéran Pekik said, while vowing his loyalty, that at his earlier offering of the crossbreed chicken he had never implied a hint or some kind of insinuation at all, or that he planned to rebel, or even tried to be ahead of events. Therefore, if His Majesty did not want to pardon him, he requested to just be killed. He said this while weeping and sitting with his head bowed. When His Majesty heard these words, he also wept, being reminded of his late father. All those who sat close by shed tears, feeling pity to see Pangéran Pekik. Finally, His Majesty said while wiping his tears, "Uncle and aunt, don't think too much. I am not angry and now I have already forgiven you. Moreover, uncle, when I later die, your grandson will certainly succeed me as king. However, his palace will not be in Mataram. Your grandson will have his palace in Wanakarta. As for here, I will be the only and the last king to reign here." Pangéran Pekik said, "Your Majesty, I pray to God and the Holy Prophet, His Messenger, that the realm of Mataram may be lasting and that none other than your descendants may rule." His Majesty answered, "Uncle, it is predestined by the will of God that the realm of Mataram will be destroyed by your grandchild, that boy Pangéran Adipati Anom." Pangéran Pekik was very shocked hearing this prophecy. He and his wife were then dismissed. His Majesty returned to the palace, escorted by a procession of female court dancers and palace servants.

420. His Majesty summoned two court servants, called Nayatruna and Yudakarti. He told them, "Nayatruna and Yudakarta, you go to the Pasisir, or the Mancanagara and find an appropriate woman for me to take as wife. But my instruction is that wherever you go, you smell the water in the wells. If the water smells fragrant, there will be beautiful women there, the pick of all women. You should gather all the women from that realm, including those from the villages." Those ordered said that they would do as told and left. They headed for Jepara, then went east to Surabaya. There they found water that had a fragrant smell. They quickly went to see the official of Pangéran Pekik who was entrusted to watch over the realm of Surabaya, called Ngabèhi Mangunjaya, and they gave him the orders of the king. When Ngabèhi Mangunjaya heard the orders of the king, he was surprised and thought by himself, "Perhaps it has been predestined by the will of God that my daughter will become the wife of the king." He replied to

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Nayatruna and Yudakarti, "Kyai Nayatruna and Kyai Yudakarti, I think that in this whole realm there is no woman who can match my daughter in beauty. Even if you collect them all, including the villagers, there will be none who is like her. However, she is not yet an adult. She is in her early teens. Her name is Oyi." Having said this, he called his daughter. She came. Both messengers stood open-mouthed in wonder when they saw her beauty. Then they told Ngabèhi Mangunjaya that his daughter was demanded by the king and that Ngabèhi Mangunjaya and his wife should accompany her to Mataram. Ngabèhi Mangunjaya said that he would do as they were told and quickly prepared. When ready, they left.

421. On their arrival in Mataram, Nayatruna and Yudakarti headed for the residence of their superior, Ngabèhi Wirareja. The girl was sent on to the palace and presented to His Majesty. His Majesty was pleased and very much taken by the girl. But the objection was that she was still too young. He said to Ngabèhi Wirareja, "Wirareja, just take care of this girl in your house to cultivate her beauty. Later when she has reached adulthood, bring her to the palace." Ngabèhi Wirareja said that he would do as told and took the girl to his residence.

422. It is told that Pangéran Adipati Anom had a love affair with the wife of Pangéran Singasari. Pangéran Singasari did not know about it. However, Radèn Ayu Singasari had another lover, called Radèn Dhobras, the son of Pangéran Pekik. Pangéran Singasari got to know that his wife was having a love affair with Radèn Dhobras and this made him very angry. Then Pangéran Adipati Anom got to know about this love affair and let it be known to Pangéran Singasari. Pangéran Singasari became even more angry listening to the tattle of his elder brother. He deceived Radèn Dhobras and asked him to come with him to go out to a cultivated area in the mountains. There he killed him. He put the body in a well and on top of it he planted a banana tree. On another day Pangéran Pekik gave orders to search for his son. When he got a sign that he was in the well, he had him dug out and the body was brought up from the well. This happened at the same time as the eruption of Mount Merapi in 1594 [A.J.]. It made a terrifying thundering sound. Big rocks clashed into each other. The fire rose high into the air. It looked as if it was raining fire. The volcanic mud flowed down the rivers, cutting through and burning many villages. Many villagers were killed. The people of Mataram were thrown into a panic because they were overtaken by the volcanic mudflows and rains of ash. His Majesty gave orders to the haji and Islamic scholars to pray to God. The eruptions of the mountain then indeed subsided.

423. Not long after that, His Majesty summoned his son Pangéran Adipati Anom and told him the following, "Boy, since you are already an adult, it would be appropriate to marry. The adipati of Cirebon has a beautiful daughter. She seems to me fitting to become your wife. Go to her house and have a look at her first. If you like her, I will take her into the palace." Pangéran Adipati Anom said that he would do as told and went to the residence of the adipati of Cirebon. On his arrival there he was invited to sit in the house. The adipati already knew that Pangéran Adipati Anom wished to view

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his daughter. He ordered his daughter to offer the guest a betel quid. When Pangéran Adipati Anom saw the daughter of the adipati of Cirebon, in his heart he praised her beauty which was indeed striking, but her expression indicated that she was rather quick-tempered. He imagined that she would dare to stand up against a man. Eventually, he felt more and more disinclined to look at her. Then he returned home and told his father that he did not like her.

424. On another day Pangéran Adipati Anom went out to enjoy himself. He dropped in at the Wirareja residence and without notice burst into the pendhapa. The daughter of Ngabèhi Mangunjaya, called Rara Oyi, had at that time reached marriageable age. She was extremely beautiful. Every day she kept taking good care of her body, so she became increasingly beautiful. Her body had a smooth light-yellowish color. Her posture was graceful. Her manners were becoming. Her appearance was charming and her smile sweeter than sugar cane syrup. When Pangéran Adipati Anom came, Rara Oyi was just sitting in the pendhapa doing batik work together with the wife of Wirareja. She was startled seeing Pangéran Adipati Anom coming in and quickly rose to go into the back of the house. While she walked, she kept turning her head while adjusting her chignon. When Pangéran Adipati Anom saw Rara Oyi, he was startled and his heart started to palpitate. He felt weak and for a long time he stood there dumbstruck from having fallen deeply in love. When Ngabèhi Wirareja saw that Pangéran Adipati Anom had come to visit, he quickly approached and embraced his feet. He made a sembah and said, "My lord, how come that you visit my house? What do you want to ask? Please sit down inside." Pangéran Adipati Anom replied, "I am just out for pleasure and dropped in just to see your house. But I want to ask you, the girl who was sitting here doing batik work, who is she? Is she your daughter?" Ngabèhi Wirareja said, "My lord, that girl is from Surabaya. She is reserved for your father. When she was taken, she was still small and your father wanted her to live here. His orders were that when she had reached marriageable age, I should present her to the palace. Now that time has come and I will indeed shortly present her to your father." When Pangéran Adipati Anom heard the words of Ngabèhi Wirareja, he felt very depressed and was even more in love with Rara Oyi. He left the pendhapa, mounted his horse, and galloped back. Arriving at his residence, he went to sleep covered by his dodot. All the servants thought that he was sick. Only his old nursemaid knew that he was lovesick for the girl in the Wirareja residence. She quickly went to inform Pangéran Pekik.

425. When Pangéran Pekik heard the report of the old nursemaid, he was extremely worried; he felt that he would meet with disaster. He said to his wife Ratu Pandhansari, "Wife, I am going to commit an enormous offence. Come, let us take the girl who is in the Wirareja residence. I will give her to your grandson Pangéran Adipati Anom, so that his lovesickness will be cured. However, I guess that if I do succeed in taking her, I will definitely incur the wrath of His Majesty and that it will likely be my death. However, I will persist, for I am already old, even though I die, as long as my grandson recovers from his distress. Ratu Pandhansari followed the wish of her husband. Then

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they left together, escorted by a great many female servants and taking a palanquin with them. They reached the residence of Wirareja.

426. Ngabèhi Wirareja quickly came to meet them in the frontyard and invited them into the house. When they were seated, he made a sembah and said,"My lord, why are you visiting here?" Pangéran Pekik replied, "Wirareja, I have come here to let you know that my grandson Pangéran Adipati Anom, on his return from your house, does not want to eat and only sleeps, for several days now, because he is crazy about the girl from Surabaya who lives in your house. So I ask your permission, I want to ask for this girl and marry her to Pangéran Adipati Anom. If His Majesty is angry, I will answer for it. Even if it costs me my life, I will myself suffer the consequences." Ngabèhi Wirareja said, "My lord, I cannot at all approve of your wish. I am afraid of your son the king, that if you indeed take the girl, it is likely that I will meet death." When Pangéran Pekik heard these words, he was disappointed and sat with his arms folded across his chest. At last he said slowly, "Wirareja, what you say is all true, but I regard it as my fate. If His Majesty is angry, even if it costs me my life, I will suffer the consequences myself. I will not incriminate you. I will give you this pair of rings which are worth a thousand, and two krisses with everything that goes with them. Here take them." Ratu Pandhansari continued, "Wirareja, in fact I am asking for my own subject, because I own Surabaya. Since the girl is from there, I have a right to have her. As for the wrath of the king, I myself will answer for it." Ratu Pandhansari then said to the wife of Wirareja, "Mother Wirareja, here, take my gift for you, in the form of gold and money, and moreover clothes. Distribute them among all your relatives." The wife of Wirareja was happy. She made a sembah and accepted the gift. Then she said to her husband, "Kyai, why are you just keeping quiet? If you are afraid of His Majesty, the pangéran and her highness will answer for it. For the rest, I don't think it will anger His Majesty, because she is being demanded by his own son who is destined to become king. Moreover, the other day I heard that His Highness Pangéran Adipati Anom was asked by his father to marry." Ngabèhi Wirareja was persuaded by his wife and Rara Oyi was entrusted to Pangéran Pekik. The pangéran and his wife quickly approached Rara Oyi, pulled her hand and had her sit down next to them. The pangéran said to Ngabèhi Wirareja, "Wirareja, you should know that the realm of Mataram will be destroyed because of this girl. You will suffer misery because of the anger of the king. As for me, I will die. This has been predestined by the will of God. I cannot evade it. Farewell, I shall return home."

427. Pangéran Pekik and his wife then went back, taking Rara Oyi with them, putting her into the palanquin. When they arrived at the residence of the crown prince, they met with their grandson and said, "Grandson, let your lovesickness go. I have a remedy for your sickness. Here it is." Pangéran Adipati Anom was overjoyed to see Rara Oyi. Impatiently he sat beside her. Pangéran Pekik spoke again, "Grandson, don't worry. If His Majesty is angry, I will answer for it. Even if it will be my death, I will suffer the consequences myself, as long as you will enjoy yourself and are happy. Well, farewell,

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enjoy your wedding, I am going back." Pangéran Adipati Anom made a sembah and thanked him. Pangéran Pekik and his wife then returned home. Pangéran Adipati Anom carried Rara Oyi to the bedroom where they made love.

428. Before long His Majesty asked Ngabèhi Wirareja about the girl. He replied that she had been demanded by Pangéran Pekik and given to Pangéran Adipati Anom. His Majesty became extremely angry. Pangéran Pekik and all his relatives, forty in number, were killed immediately. Ngabèhi Wirareja was exiled to Pranaraga. There he was killed with his wife and children. As for Pangéran Adipati Anom, he received orders from his father to kill Rara Oyi with his own hands. If he did not do it, he would no longer be acknowledged as his son. When Pangéran Adipati Anom received the order, he was very dejected, but he did indeed carry it out. He took Rara Oyi on his lap and stabbed her to death with his kris. After the death of Rara Oyi, Pangéran Adipati Anom was evicted from the realm and told to live in Lipura. The treasure from the residence of the crown prince was confiscated and the houses burnt on the orders of His Majesty.

429. At that time the king differed in all his wishes from what he used to do. He often used violence against people, all the time displaying the utmost severity in punishments. The bupati, mantri, and kinsmen robbed each other of positions and the order of the realm became extremely disturbed. The people of Mataram were all fearful, and there often occurred eclipses of the moon and the sun. It rained out of season and comets were seen every night. There were rains of ash and earthquakes. Many omens were seen. These were all signs that the realm would go to ruin.

430. It is told that Pangéran Adipati Anom had been pardoned by his father and had been returned to live in the residence of the crown prince. However, he was still very worried, thinking about the death of his grandfather Pangéran Pekik and all his relatives, and of course, about the people of Mataram and all their troubles. The kinsmen and bupati kept urging Pangéran Adipati Anom, inviting him to set himself up as king, so that the people of Mataram could live in peace. Pangéran Adipati Anom was in a quandary. He said to himself, "If I take over the kingship of my father, I will disgrace his name in other countries. If I don't become king now, the people of Mataram will soon all go to ruin." Having said this to himself, he thought of finding somebody to use as a substitute to conquer Mataram. At that moment he remembered his grandfather Panembahan Kajoran. He said to himself, "Who except grandfather Panembahan Kajoran can conquer Mataram, for he practices asceticism and is magically powerful. I think I can use him as cover." He then summoned three headmen, called Pranataka, Sumendhi, and Andakara, and told them, "You three go to Kajoran and give this letter to grandfather Kajoran. Apart from the letter, I instruct you to have him by all means come with you wherever you go." These three servants had already been truthfully told what his wishes were. They said that they would do as told and left.

431. It is told that Panembahan Kajoran was magically very powerful and fervent in his asceticism. He had a son-in-law from Sampang called Radèn Trunajaya, the son of Demang Malaya. Demang Malaya was the elder brother of Adipati Cakraningrat of Sam-

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pang, and had died in the fight with Pangéran Alit. At that time, Radèn Trunajaya was still small. After the death of Demang Malaya, his younger brother, called Cakraningrat, replaced him. Radèn Trunajaya lived with his uncle. When he had become an adult, he was evicted because his uncle suspected him of having an affair with his daughter. He had even wanted to kill him. The reason that that did not happen was because he was hidden by the people of Sampang, for many of them loved Radèn Trunajaya. After being evicted, he planned to take service with Pangéran Adipati Anom in Mataram, but he could not find a way, because the servants of the Kadipatèn had all been bribed by Adipati Cakraningrat in order not to present Radèn Trunajaya to Pangéran Adipati Anom.

432. Radèn Trunajaya then wandered about aimlessly. Eventually he was adopted as son-in-law by Panembahan Kajoran who loved him very much. He indulged him in everything he did, for Panembahan Kajoran knew that Radèn Trunajaya would later become a great warrior who would be able to create a great upheaval in Java.

433. Panembahan Kajoran happened to be sitting in his house and was startled when he saw the messengers of Pangéran Adipati Anom coming and bringing him a letter. He took the letter and read it. It contained a summons. Panembahan Kajoran then left for Mataram. Radèn Trunajaya went with him.

434. On his arrival in Mataram, he met Pangéran Adipati Anom who invited him to sit inside and spoke as follows, "Grandfather, the reason that I have asked you to come here is because I feel very distressed and worried. The people of Mataram are at present all in distress, because His Majesty my father has changed in everything he wants. He is not like he used to be. He metes out punishments all the time and causes the ruin of the people in the whole realm. So the kinsmen and the bupati are urging me to set myself up as king in the place of my father. Well then, grandfather, if I do take over the kingship of His Majesty my father, what would the people say who don't like it? But if I don't swiftly become king, the people of Mataram will soon all be ruined. So what I have now thought up, grandfather, is to make you a substitute to conquer Mataram. As for the assembling of troops, which place do you like? As for expenses and weapons, they will also all come from me." Panembahan Kajoran said, "My boy, I cannot approve of your wish because I am already old and afraid of your father. Furthermore, your wish is not right. It could be called forcing something before its time. In my opinion it is best to be patient. The reason is that when your father later dies, you will in any event replace him." Panembahan Kajoran admonished him a great deal, but Pangéran Adipati Anom remained unshakeable in his wish, and could not be deterred. Panembahan Kajoran spoke again, "My boy, if you stick to your wish, I will just offer you a substitute. I have a son-in-law, called Trunajaya, the son of the late Demang Malaya of Sampang. He probably can execute your wish and raise an army in Madura. At this moment Trunajaya is with me. He is outside." Pangéran Adipati Anom was pleased and gave orders to call Radèn Trunajaya inside. When he appeared before him, he paid his respects. Pangéran Adipati Anom took great delight when he saw him. Panembahan Kajoran

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said to Radèn Trunajaya, "Boy, the reason that you have been summoned, is because your lord wants to use you as a puppet and tell you to conquer Mataram. If you fail, it will certainly be your death. How about it? Are you willing to be made a puppet?" Radèn Trunajaya replied, "I will do it. Even if it is my death and I am crushed and mixed with the earth. If I am carrying out the orders of my lord, I will not yield.

435. Pangéran Adipati Anom was very pleased when he heard Radèn Trunajaya's promise and said, "Trunajaya, I give you the realm of Sampang. Make yourself master over it and block all the people of Madura and its subordinate lands. Do not let them pay homage to Mataram. As for its bupati, just leave him on his own in Mataram. When you have raised an army, then conquer the Pasisir and all the Mancanagara. If there is anyone who resists, make war on them, but I instruct you that you work in secret so that I will not be exposed, and that when Mataram has been conquered, you will immediately pay homage to me. When I have ascended the throne, I will give you all the power. I only feel duty-bound to be king. All the problems of Java I will leave to you." Radèn Trunajaya said that he would do as told. Then he was given money, clothes and all kinds of weapons.

436. Panembahan Kajoran then retreated from the presence of Pangéran Adipati Anom and returned to Kajoran. Radèn Trunajaya went with him. After his return home, he made preparations. He said to his son-in-law, "Boy, I tell you not to worry. The realm of Mataram will certainly be conquered by the Madurese. You go and assemble troops in Surabaya. Once Mataram is in turmoil, I will catch up with you." Radèn Trunajaya said that he would do as told and left with his wife and children and all his relatives. On reaching Sampang, many people came to meet him and all were pleased because he was their former lord. The people all over the island of Madura submitted to Radèn Trunajaya. There was no one who resisted, so before long he had a large army.

437. At that time there was a group of refugees from Makassar, two thousand in number. Their leader was called Kraèng Galésong. His subordinates were called Busungmernung, Panji Karonuban, Dhaèng Makincing, Dhaèng Wisageni, and Dhaèng Marèwa. When they arrived in Java, they headed for Pajarakan which they plundered. Their behaviour was revolting. Pajarakan and its surroundings were ransacked. Many villages along the coast were hit and robbed from the sea. The people of Pajarakan and Demung were thrown into panic and fled in all directions. Kraèng Galésong established himself in the town of Demung. None of the people there dared to fight him because the bupati was in Mataram, and the elders, as well as the elders of Pajarakan, had fled to inform Mataram.

438. When His Majesty received the news about this trouble, he gave orders to Tumenggung Darmayuda of Pasuruhan to strike at the Makassarese enemy in Demung. He provided him with all the men from the outer regions. The commander was called Radèn Panji Karsula. Radèn Panji Karsula and the bupati of the outer regions departed. His Majesty then gave orders to the chief of the Sarageni corps, called Ngabèhi Wangsadipa, "Wangsadipa, I give you the realm of Jepara. Go immediately to Jepara and

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take with you your sons Jagapati, Jagamenggala, Wiragati, Tanumanggala, and also Mangunnagara to join you in guarding Jepara. And take three of my guns, Gunturgeni, Gulu, and Kumbarawi. Take them to guard over Jepara. Take care to be on your alert during your guard duty there." Those ordered said that they would do as told and departed.

439. Radèn Panji Karsula and the bupati of the outer regions had reached Japan and made preparations. The reason that they assembled there to prepare themselves was because Radèn Panji Karsula was from Japan. He was serving in Mataram, but now the realm of Japan had been given to him. When they were ready, they departed. They marched in three colums. Tumenggung Darmayuda formed the right wing with one half of the men from the outer regions; Kyai Anggajaya formed the left wing with the other half of the men from the outer regions. Radèn Panji Karsula formed the centre with the men from Mataram. The army entered the border of Demung.

440. Kraèng Galésong already knew that an immensely large army from Mataram was being sent against him. The Makassarese agreed to support each other until death and stayed on full alert within their fortifications. Before long the army from Mataram arrived. The Makassarese fought them for a short while, then fled into the woods. The men from Mataram wanted to plunder the fortifications, but Radèn Panji Karsula did not allow it because night had fallen. They then stopped to sleep in the fields. However, they were very careless. During the night they were fast asleep, while others were singing songs. They had put their weapons away and unsaddled their horses. After midnight, the Makassarese came, about four hundred in number. Yelling loudly they attacked. The men from Mataram were startled. They were bewildered and tried to get away in panic. Many were killed by the Makassarese or by their own fellow soldiers. The rest scattered trying to save their own lives. At dawn they were all gone. The Makassarese were happy to find their baggage and weapons. As for Radèn Panji Karsula, he fled to Japan. There he became ill and passed away.

441. The Makassarese then pushed into the outer regions. Wherever they went, people submitted. No one dared to resist. From Kadhiri to the east, to Prabalingga and Blambangan all submitted to Kraèng Galésong, so the army of the Makassarese became larger and larger. It had become widely known in Mataram, and was of course reported to His Majesty, that Radèn Panji Karsula had been defeated and had died, that the army of the Makassarese was growing and that the people of the outer regions had all submitted.

442. His Majesty then gave orders to Radèn Prawirataruna to attack the enemy in Demung. He said in a loud voice, "Prawirataruna, you march against Demung. Wipe out all the Makassarese. Mobilize the people from the coastal regions and lead them into battle. Ask the Dutch who are in Jepara to all come along. If they don't want to, evict them from there. If they resist, wipe them out. Moreover, investigate the Madurese and find out why they don't come to pay homage in Mataram. I will provide you with Wi-

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rabumi, Wirawangsa, and Pulangjiwa and all their troops. Those ordered said that they would do as ordered and left, agreeing with their comrades to assemble in Jepara.

443. On Radèn Prawirataruna's arrival in Jepara, the bupati of the coastal regions had already all assembled there. Then they prepared ships. The roadstead of Jepara was full of ships. Kyai Wangsadipa of Jepara treated Radèn Prawirataruna and all the bupati with great respect.

444. Radèn Prawirataruna then called the Dutch who were in Jepara. They were only one brigade in number. Their commander was Captain Dulkup with one sergeant, called Ondorop, and a secretary. Only these were called. When they appeared, they were ordered to join the campaign. If they did not want to, they would have to leave Jepara, so they would not cause any worry. The Dutchmen replied that they agreed to join because they had all the time been expecting the summons of His Majesty to be sent to war against the enemy. Radèn Prawirataruna was very pleased to hear the promise of the Dutch. When all preparations had been made, they left by sea. The bupati had already boarded their boats. They hoisted sail and pushed off. Ships were everywhere, each marked by its own flag. It was very beautiful to see. The Dutch sailed on a European ship. It sailed last. Since the voyage was quick, the promontory of Surabaya had already come in sight. The boats took their assigned places in the roadstead. Radèn Prawirataruna and the bupati went ashore at Surabaya and set up camp there.

445. Radèn Prawirataruna had already heard that the people of Madura did not come to pay homage in Mataram because they were prevented by Radèn Trunajaya. Therefore he sent a messenger with a letter to Radèn Trunajaya. At that time Radèn Trunajaya had just returned from Demung. He had met Kraèng Galésong and they had arranged to help each other to conquer Mataram. Then the messenger from Radèn Prawirataruna arrived. Radèn Trunajaya pretended to be ill. The reason was that he already suspected that he was going to be summoned. He did meet the messenger, accepted the letter and read it. Having read the letter, he said to the messenger, "Tell grandfather Prawirataruna that I am not aware that I forbade the Madurese to pay homage in Mataram. The fact that they did not pay homage in Mataram stems from their own madness. If there is now an order to mobilize them, I will mobilize them. When they are ready, I will send them to Surabaya, but I will not come with them because I am ill. You go ahead to Surabaya." After the messenger had been treated with food and drink, he got a new set of clothes and money for the journey. He then left for Surabaya where he paid his respects to Radèn Prawirataruna and reported everything Radèn Trunajaya had said. Radèn Prawirataruna knew that Radèn Trunajaya was fobbing him off, but he made light of it. When the Makassarese had been wiped out, he would deal with Madura afterwards, so he gave orders to depart for Demung. The adipati and their troops boarded the ships, hoisted sail and fired their guns. The fleet reached Panarukan. The bupati were on their guard and steered the ships towards the shore.

446. Kraèng Galésong, who was in Demung, knew that an army from Mataram was coming and had given orders to be on the alert. All the men from the outer regions who

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had submitted were told to form their own ranks and were placed far in the rear. Only the Makassarese were going to fight on land and sea. When ready, they marched to the shore. The troops from Mataram had already disembarked and were deployed on the beach, but the troops from the coastal regions had not yet arrived.

447. Then the Makassarese came. Yelling and screaming they attacked. The troops from Mataram fired their guns. The Makassarese were not afraid. They pushed through the gunsmoke and attacked with lances, spears and daggers. Many men from Mataram were killed. The commanders joined the attack in person. Radèn Prawirataruna mounted his horse and accompanied by forty of his own men attacked. Many of the Makassarese who were attacked were killed. However, the rest was not afraid. They just trampled upon the dead and attacked fiercely. Radèn Prawirataruna's men were all killed. Many of the troops from Mataram were also killed. The survivors became terrified and fled to the beach, jostling to get onto the boats. The boats sank. Many men drowned. Radèn Prawirataruna was wounded. He halted on the beach to wait for the troops who had not yet boarded the boats. He shouted loudly, "Hey, men from Mataram, get on board calmly. I am still waiting. If I am defeated, Mataram will certainly be conquered. I would rather die first. Come on, let's attack again." Then the Makassarese came. They overwhelmed Radèn Prawirataruna in large numbers and he was killed. They wanted to cut off his head but then the Ambonese and Ternatese soldiers of the Company came to the rescue. They disembarked and fired their guns. It rained bullets and many Makassarese were killed. The rest fled. The corpse of Radèn Prawirataruna was seized and brought on board. It was then put into a coffin and returned to Mataram.

448. Among the troops from Mataram who had fled, some had fled to the River Paiton and landed there. They were stalked by the Makassarese and their boats were burned. Their weapons and provisions were all burned. The men from Mataram fled in all directions.

449. When the body of Radèn Prawirataruna had reached Mataram, the people of the whole realm were thrown into commotion and gripped by fear. As for the people who had lost a husband or a family member, they wept loudly. Then it was reported to His Majesty that Radèn Prawirataruna had fallen in battle and that many of his troops had been killed.

450. His Majesty came out to hold audience. His sons, kinsmen, bupati, and mantri were all there to pay homage. He said to Pangéran Adipati Anom, "Boy Adipati Anom, you go yourself and march against Demung. Take your younger brothers with you. Divide the people of Mataram into three parts. Take two parts with you and leave one part to guard me. Call up all the men from the coastal regions and lead them to war. Crush Madura and kill that Trunajaya, as he started the war. Take Adipati Cakraningrat along so the people of Madura will remember their old lord." Pangéran Adipati Anom said that he would do as ordered. His Majesty then said to Panembahan Purbaya, "Uncle Purbaya, you go along as the elder leader and take care of your grandsons." Panemba-

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han Purbaya said that he would do as told and got ready. The people of the whole realm were in commotion putting their things in order. When they were ready, they left. The army made a thundering noise. They carried all kinds of weapons and flags. The pangéran rode horses. They marched in ranks and streamed forth like water spouting from a hole in the ground. The sparkle of their attire and the fluttering of the flags made it look like a garden full of flowers. The march of the enormous army reached Jepara. Pangéran Adipati Anom set up camp to arrange the order of the march and let the army rest. As for the bupati of the coastal regions from Tegal to the east as far as Pathi, they had already arrived in Jepara. The bupati from Lasem and Rembang to the east had surrendered to Radèn Trunajaya and Kraèng Galésong.

451. Pangéran Adipati Anom had been informed that Radèn Trunajaya had already subjected many people, that his army had become very large, and that he had joined up with Kraèng Galésong of Makassar. In his heart he praised Radèn Trunajaya. As for his own conduct in carrying out his father's wish to march against him, he just did that as a stratagem, so that there would be proof that he had fought and it would not become known that they were allied. However, he did not realize that Radèn Trunajaya was planning to deceive him. For example, a man who holds sugar in his mouth and has become attached to its sweetness, will certainly not spit it out. This figure of speech fits Radèn Trunajaya. As soon as he had acquired a large number of troops, he forgot about his fellow conspirator and intended to become king himself. Pangéran Adipati Anom did not suspect that this was his plan. He gave orders to march to push against the position of the enemy. Kyai Wangsadipa and the Dutch he left behind and ordered them to guard Jepara. The army marched east along the coast. All the provisions and supplies were loaded on boats and went by sea. The troops of Mataram showed great energy, intending to be steadfast in their courage because their lord himself was in command.

452. It is told that Radèn Trunajaya had established himself in Surabaya and joined forces with Kraèng Galésong. They promised each other to be like eggs in one nest, if one broke, they would all be crushed, so they would help each other till death in the conquest of Mataram. At that time, many regions had been subjected. The coastal regions from Rembang as far east as Blambangan, the outer regions from Mount Lawu to the east, and of course the people of Sampang and all the rest of Madura, all had submitted and acknowledged Radèn Trunajaya as king. Radèn Trunajaya had set himself up as king with the title Panembahan Maduretna Panatagama. This was known throughout the coastal regions and the outer regions. At that time, he had completely forgotten that he was able to do this because someone had put him up to it, namely that it was at the wish of Pangéran Adipati Anom from Mataram. Not even once did he remember Pangéran Adipati Anom, so much was he blinded by his worldly pleasures. He felt strong enough to become a great king and rule over the whole of Java.

453. Radèn Trunajaya had been informed that an army from Mataram had arrived in Jepara, led by Pangéran Adipati Anom and accompanied by Panembahan Purbaya,

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Pangéran Singasari, Pangéran Blitar, and the other pangéran, and many bupati. The people of Mataram had been called up en masse. The bupati from the western coastal regions had joined up. The army was exceedingly large and had left Jepara to strike at Surabaya. Radèn Trunajaya and Kraèng Galésong gave orders to assemble the troops. When ready, they left. Their number was countless. The trusted commanders of the Madurese were Tumenggung Mangkuyuda, Dhandhangwacana, and Wangsaprana. They were brave and strong. The trusted commanders of the Makassarese were Dhaèng Maréwa, Dhaèng Makincing, and Busungmernung. Radèn Trunajaya and Kraèng Galésong led their troops themselves. The vanguard was formed by the Madurese, followed by the Makassarese, and then the men from the outer regions. They reached Gogodog. The army from Mataram had also arrived there. The enemies faced each other. Then they attacked. It was like two waves colliding with each other. They fought with a raging passion. Many Madurese and Makkassarese were killed, but they were just trampled underfoot. No one was afraid. Eventually, many men from Mataram were killed. The survivors became terrified. The bupati of Mataram joined the fight in person. Panji Wirabumi, Ngabèhi Wirajaya, and the Rangga of Sidayu were killed by the Madurese.

454. When Panembahan Purbaya saw that many of the troops from Mataram were wounded or killed, he said to his men, "Men, you should know that I have looked after three kings and often led the men from Mataram to war, but it was not like it is now. They used to be all strong and steadfast. Now many are wounded or killed. They used to be courageous and daring. Now they are faint-hearted like women. This is a sign that Mataram is predestined to go under, for the men of Mataram are fighting weakly. If Mataram is destined to go under, I would rather die first, because I am already old and in Mataram there is no one who is as famous as I am in prowess and courage, and feared by all the people of the realm as if I were the king himself." Having said this, he roused the troops and urged them to join him in the attack. The troops from Mataram threw themselves at the enemy in serried ranks. The Madurese and Makassarese defended themselves. A raging fight ensued. Many were killed. Panembahan Purbaya attacked on foot with his kris, called Panji, because his horse had been killed. Many Madurese were killed. Panembahan Purbaya was then mobbed by many. They stabbed at him with lances and lance-butts. But he was so tough that the weapons had no effect. However, his body was bruised and battered since he was already old. He fell and sat down. Pangéran Blitar quickly came to his rescue and attacked the men from Sampang. Panembahan Purbaya was extricated by Pangéran Blitar, but he had already lost consciousness and was carried back to the camp. The army of Mataram then collapsed like a broken dam. They were all carried away and fled. Then night fell. The Madurese retreated to their camp and celebrated. The troops from Mataram constructed barricades. On the fifth of the month Ruwah in the year Dal 1599 [A.J.], Panembahan Purbaya died. The camp reverberated with the sounds of wailing. The corpse was laid in a coffin and carried back to Mataram.

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455. After the death of Panembahan Purbaya, the men from Mataram were terror-stricken because they had lost their trusted commander. Many ran away at night. Pangéran Adipati Anom and the other pangéran, and of course the bupati, then retreated and left for Mataram. The Madurese and Makassarese pursued them but could not catch them. The leader of the men from Sampang, called Tumenggung Mangkuyuda, and the leader of the Makassarese, called Dhaèng Maréwa, plundered all along the way and carried the women off. Their men were killed. They conducted themselves in such a disorderly way that it has now become common to refer to violent pillagers as pirates from Sampang.

456. The men from Sampang reached Juwana. Pathi and Kudus submitted to Sampang. Only Demak resisted. They resisted from inside their fortifications. Many Madurese were killed. Then they retreated intending to conquer Jepara. They received assistance from the men of the outer regions from Radèn Trunajaya. The army was exceedingly large. Jepara was besieged. Ngabèhi Wangsadipa agreed with the Dutch to help each other. They took up positions within the town. The Dutch numbered two brigades. Their leaders were Major Bro and Captain Bèlem. They deployed their men in squares on the Alun-alun. The drums rolled without pause; flags fluttered. The cannon were placed in position. Ngabèhi Wangsadipa and his kinsmen joined the Dutch and all were on the alert. Then the Madurese and Makassarese came yelling and screaming, intending to enter the town and wipe out the people inside. The Dutch fired their cannon and fired their guns. Forty Madurese were killed on the Alun-alun; their corpses all in one place. Many others were wounded or killed all over the place. However, they continued to advance. They disappeared into the gunsmoke intending to carry out a blind and mad assault. Some wore iron vests, others vests of leather. The Dutch fired continuously; bullets fell like rain. Many of the enemy were killed, collapsing and lying all over the ground. The rest retreated and made camp in the village of Jagatamu.

457. Ngabèhi Wangsadipa of Jepara then placed a big gun in position. He hauled it up Mount Danaraja and aimed it at the enemy who were encamped at Jagatamu. The cannonballs hit the trees which were smashed. The torn off pieces fell on the Madurese and the men from the outer regions. Many died and this created panic among the troops. Then they fled to Kudus. The Dutch and Ngabèhi Wangsadipa celebrated. They cut off the ears of the corpses and presented them to Mataram.

458. Some time later, Radèn Trunajaya dispatched a large number of troops under the command of Dhandhangwacana, a big, tall, and courageous man, to Mataram to collect Panembahan Kajoran and bring him to Surabaya. Dhandhangwacana departed and went by way of Jagaraga. The army conducted itself in a very disorderly way. They pillaged all along the way. The villages they passed through were destroyed. The people of Sokawati, Kaduwang, and Pajang submitted to Dhandhangwacana. The army reached Kajoran and joined Panembahan Rama. This was indeed the name of the panembahan of Kajoran. Then they subjected the villages around there.

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459. His Majesty was informed that a Madurese army had entered Kajoran and joined Panembahan Rama. He told Pangéran Adipati Anom, "Boy, you go yourself as my deputy and strike the enemy in Kajoran. Wipe out all the people there. Take all your retainers and mobilize any man you can find in Mataram." Pangéran Adipati Anom said that he would do as told. He called up troops and assembled arms. When ready, he left. On arrival in Taji, he halted for a short while to arrange the order of the march. Before long he continued the march to Kajoran and engaged in a fierce fight lasting the whole day. Many Madurese and men from Kajoran were wounded or killed because they were overwhelmed by their opponent. When night fell, the enemy retreated and threw up barricades.

460. After midnight Panembahan Rama escaped with all his wives, children, and kinsmen, escorted by the Madurese. In the morning the troops from Mataram noticed his escape. They plundered Kajoran and burned all the houses. Pangéran Adipati Anom then returned to Mataram with his troops.

461. Panembahan Rama arrived safely in Surabaya and met Radèn Trunajaya. It was an emotional reunion, because they had not thought that they would see one another again safe and sound. Radèn Trunajaya then moved to Kadhiri. There he built a very strong fort with a moat around it. He placed his guns on the walls both in front and at the back. Besides that, other arms were prepared. Kraèng Galésong and Panembahan Rama joined him there.

462. Some time after New Year, Radèn Trunajaya and Kraèng Galésong, and of course Panembahan Rama, discussed their planned conquest of Mataram. When they had reached agreement, they gave orders to assemble the troops and mobilize the men from the coastal regions and the outer regions. When they had assembled, they divided them into two. One half was put under the command of Tumenggung Mangkuyuda, the patih of Radèn Trunajaya, who commanded one half of the men from the outer regions and one half of the men from the coastal regions. He was going to go through Grobogan and continue through Sokawati and Pajang to head for Kajoran, accompanied by Dhandhangwacana and Dhaèng Maréwa. The other half was put under the command of Ngabèhi Wangsaprana, leading the other half of the men from the outer regions and the other half of the men from the coastal regions. He was going via Semarang to Kedhutrayem and head for the west side of Mataram. When everything was ready, they agreed on a day, so that they would arrive in Mataram at the same time. Then they left. Both armies were very large. Their conduct was lawless. All along the way they pillaged. Their behaviour was frightful. The villages which they passed through were left in ruin.

463. The first army had reached Grompol where they halted to organize themselves. Then they crossed the Semanggi river and moved into Pajang. The people there were thrown into a panic. They were terrified when they saw the the pirates from Sampang and many fled into the woods. Some fled to Mataram. The Madurese army reached Kajoran and set up camp at Taji. As for the army that had gone via Semarang, they had reached

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Trayem to the west of Mataram where they set up camp and sent a messenger to Taji. They agreed on a day so their attack on Mataram would be simultaneous.

464. The people of Mataram were thrown into a panic by the news of the arrival of the Madurese enemy. They were terrified and intent on evacuating their wives and children. Their behaviour was beyond belief. As for the royal sons, kinsmen, bupati, and mantri, they assembled their arms and deployed on the Alun-alun. Pangéran Adipati Anom asked his father for permission to go and meet the enemy. Having received permission, he left with his younger brothers, and the bupati and mantri. All the men of Mataram who happened to be present were mobilized, but at the time they were all confused. They were thinking of their wives and children, and their possessions. That they came along to meet the enemy was because they were forced, and only because they were afraid of their lord, so no one had any courage. They were all afraid and terrified. They left the Alun-alun and were very cautious.

465. The Madurese army had already left Taji and reached Pajarakan. In Kaliajir a fierce battle ensued. The Madurese army that was at Trayem had pushed on to Telagawana and engaged in battle. The men from Mataram were very confused as to how to resist, because the enemy attacked from two directions. Moreover, they were terrified when witnessing the way of fighting of the Madurese who fought like wounded, wild buffaloes, or like tigers fighting for meat. Eventually, they broke ranks. They broke ranks and ran into the city.

466. The capital of Mataram was packed with people who were fleeing into the town and people who wanted to get out of town. They all milled around. The women cried and screamed. Their behaviour was beyond belief. The royal sons, kinsmen, bupati and mantri were deployed on the Alun-alun, ready in case His Majesty wanted to go out to battle. However, His Majesty did not want to, because he knew that it had been predestined that the king of Mataram would disappear, because the kingdom had reached the age of one hundred years, and that he would be the last king, so he had accepted the inevitability of it in his heart. He wanted to leave the palace and flee Mataram. He ordered his wives and sons and daughters in the palace to get ready and to take as much treasure and money as possible with them. The people in the palace were wailing, while running around in panic. His Majesty panicked when hearing the shouts of the enemy who were pushing into the city while looting and carrying the women off, as well as burning the houses left and right of the palace. When night fell, His Majesty fled with all his wives and children. Their faithful male and female servants went with him. His departure from the capital occurred on the eve of Sunday 18 in the month of Sapar of the year Bé, 1600 [A.J.].

467. His Majesty left the town of Plèrèd on an elephant and headed due west. He stopped at the graves of Imagiri to pay his respects and crossed the River Praga. Some of the wives rode horses, and others were carried on litters. All his sons came along. All along the way, His Majesty kept holding back his tears. It was very pitiful. The pace was hurried out of fear that the enemy were chasing them.

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468. In the morning the Madurese noticed that His Majesty had fled in the night together with all his wives and children. Tumenggung Mangkuyuda from Sampang then occupied the palace. All its contents were looted and carried away. The wailing sounded like thunder. The people in the palace who had been left behind by His Majesty were in a miserable state.

469. Adipati Cakraningrat was caught by Dhandhangwacana, sent to Kadhiri and presented to Radèn Trunajaya. However, Radèn Trunajaya could not find it in his heart to kill his uncle. He banned him to Lodhaya with the intention that he would die, devoured by the ogres.

470. Tumenggung Mangkuyuda who occupied the palace of Mataram gave orders to Dhandhangwacana to pursue the king who had escaped. Dhandhangwacana left with his troops, accompanied by Dhaèng Maréwa, Busungmernung, and Ngabèhi Wangsaprana. They made haste. The people from Mataram whom they overtook were killed. Those who submitted were stripped of everything, their women raped and the possessions they carried taken away.

471. It is told that His Majesty had crossed the river Bagawanta, entered into Rawa and arrived in Urutsèwu. He was still with his wives and children. Only Pangéran Adipati Anom travelled behind at some distance. He still could not make up his mind, hoping for a messenger from Radèn Trunajaya. When after a while none came, he followed his father.

472. His Majesty arrived in the village of Karanganyar, still in Pagelèn. There he was held up by bandits. The women were robbed of everything. His Majesty gave orders to distribute money so the bandits would not strip the female servants, but they just persisted, which made His Majesty very angry. He then cursed the bandits, saying, "Hey bandits, may you never find peace." Instantly the bandits fell down and could not stand up. They lay scattered on the ground. His Majesty continued his journey. On reaching Banyumas, he rested in the village of Ajibarang. His sons and remaining servants sat before him paying their respects. His Majesty said to Pangéran Adipati Anom, "Boy, you go back and try to retake Mataram. Take all your younger brothers with you." Pangéran Adipati Anom made a sembah and said, "I put my life in your hands, but I refuse to carry out your order. My wish is to stay with you alive or dead." His Majesty said, "Since you refuse to carry out my order, I will give your brother Puger the task." Then he said to Pangéran Puger, "Boy, you go back and try to retake Mataram. The reason that I asked your elder brother is because it is his right, but he does not want to do it. Don't think about me, because God does not allow me to become king again. Secondly, I am already old. Well, what do you say, boy?"Pangéran Puger said, "I am willing to carry it out. May I receive your blessing and be able to retake Mataram." His Majesty spoke again, "I entrust you to God. May He protect you. Furthermore, I give you the heirloom kris Kyai Maésanular and the pike Kyai Plèrèd. Both are heirlooms of the kingdom. I bequeath them to you. Use them as weapons in battle. Take your younger brothers Singasari and Martasana with you to be your companions. Later when you

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have gained victory, I entrust your younger brother Tapa to you, because he is now still small. Moreover, Tapa will later be outstanding as a ruler of Pathi and be your ally. Well boy, leave. I wish you luck." After having paid their respects to their father, Pangéran Puger, Pangéran Singasari, and Pangéran Martasana left intending to go to Jenar, accompanied by a few men.

473. His Majesty left Ajibarang and stopped in the village of Pasiraman, still in Banyumas. There he fell ill, but did not want to be given medicine. While he was lying down, Pangéran Adipati Anom and Radèn Mas Tapa were all the time at his foot end, embracing his feet. Then His Majesty asked for a young coconut. Pangéran Adipati Anom quickly gave orders to find one. When they had found one, Pangéran Adipati Anom took it, made a hole in it and gave it to his father. When His Majesty saw that the coconut had already been holed, he suspected that his son had put poison in it. Nevertheless, he drank. Having drunk some, he said to Pangéran Adipati Anom, "Boy, thank you very much for giving me the coconut. I know your wish. You strive to have me die quickly. Even though you wish that, you should know, boy, that later only you yourself will enjoy the good life. Your worldly comforts will not be inherited by your children and grandchildren. Moreover, I pronounce a taboo. Later when I have passed away, I do not allow you and your descendants to make offerings at my grave." The illness of His Majesty became worse and worse. Pangéran Adipati Anom wept all the time while kneeling over the feet of his father. His Majesty woke up, embraced his son around the neck, saying, "Boy Adipati, know that I will soon die. My life span has come to its end. Later when I am dead, you should ask the Dutch for help. Ask them to join you to exact retribution from the people from eastern Java who have destroyed Mataram. You must obey this last instruction of mine, for it has been predestined by the will of God that a new era will come to Java. The Dutch will be victorious. All my children and grandchildren, if they are allied with the Dutch, they will be victorious in battle. I pray for you that you will be able to destroy your enemies, the eastern Javanese, but do not forget to be allied with the Dutch. Furthermore, accept all my pusaka, the kris Kyai Balabar, the pike Kyai Baru, and all the rest. You have the right to have them, for you are my eldest son and the rightful heir of my kingship. Moreover, boy, when I have passed away, bury my body in Tegal in one grave with my teacher who is buried there, but put it where the earth is hilly and fragrant. Well, boy, farewell." Having said that, he died. The wailing was as loud as the thunder. After the body had been washed, it was placed into a coffin. The death of His Majesty occurred in the same year as the conquest of Mataram.

474. Pangéran Adipati Anom quickly sent a messenger to Tegal to summon Adipati Martalaya of Tegal. When he had appeared, the corpse was brought to Tegal and laid to rest in a place where the earth was hilly and fragrant. Since then it has been called Tegalarum.

475. Turning to the prince of Mataram who was called Pangéran Puger, it is told that he had reached Jenar. There he raised troops. The people of Pagelèn all freely submitted.

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There was a mantri of his father who had entered the service of Pangéran Puger. He was raised in rank with the title Tumenggung Gajahpramada. He held sway over the people of the whole of Pagelèn. As for his kinsmen, many followed Pangéran Puger.

476. One night, Pangéran Puger dreamt that he met his father and was ordered to try to retake Mataram because the time had come, and to proclaim himself king in Jenar. Having said this, his father seemed to die. Pangéran Puger woke up with a start. He was very much impressed. He asked his younger brothers, the kinsmen, and of course the ascetics, what they thought if he should set himself up as king. Those asked all agreed. Pangéran Puger then proclaimed himself king with the name His Majesty Susuhunan Ngalaga Ngabdurrahman Sayidin Panatagama, residing in Jenar, which was renamed Purwaganda. It became widely known in Kedhu and in Pagelèn. The people there all freely submitted and assembled with their arms in Purwaganda. Sinuhun Ngalaga then sent messengers to fetch the elephant of his late father which earlier had been left on the way. The elephant was found and presented to His Majesty.

477. Sinuhun Ngalaga then called up troops to strike at the Madurese enemy who were in the village of Jagabaya. When ready, they left. On reaching Jagabaya, they fought a fierce battle. Many Madurese were killed. Dhandhangwacana and his troops fled to Plèrèd. Sinuhun Ngalaga pursued them to Plèrèd. The people of Mataram who had submitted to the Madurese now changed sides and followed their former lord, so that the troops of His Majesty became even more numerous.

478. When Tumenggung Mangkuyuda of Sampang saw that the people of Mataram had changed sides, he became very frightened. When then Dhandangwacana also arrived in defeat with many of his troops killed, he withdrew together with Dhandhangwacana and his troops to join the others in Kadhiri.

479. When Sinuhun Ngalaga learned that the Madurese who were in Plèrèd had withdrawn, he immediately entered the town of Plèrèd and confirmed his position as king ruling over the realm of Mataram. His subjects all feared and loved him. His rule was steady and his character righteous and noble. He often pardoned those who had done wrong. Many of the kinsmen and former servants came and many were raised in rank. One of his younger brothers was given the title Pangéran Arya Panular. One of the kinsmen, called Radèn Anggayuda, was given the title Pangéran Natakusuma. Radèn Wirataruna was given the title Adipati Mangkubumi. Radèn Rangga was given the title Adipati Martasana. Kyai Kamal was appointed as the chief religious official. As for patih, he appointed Radèn Arya Mandhalika. The people of Pajang, Mataram, Kedhu, and Pagelèn submitted freely and many were raised in position.

480. At that time the realm of Mataram was stricken by disaster. Many people fell ill because the capital had just been destroyed and the air was not yet good. Food was dear; the rains held off, and it was extremely hot. Mataram was as if scorched. It made many people die because of disease. Beggars spread along the roads and along the banks of the rivers. They were all suffering from open sores and fever. People who fell ill in the morning were dead by evening. People who fell ill in the evening were dead by morn-

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ing. Pangéran Martasana and Pangéran Singasari had both died. His Majesty was very concerned. He could not eat with relish or sleep with comfort. He prayed all the time to God that his realm would be restored to its former condition.

481. It is told that after the death of his father, Pangéran Adipati Anom, who was in Banyumas, kept weeping all the time, to the point that he forgot about his exalted position. He did not think about assuming the kingship. He only thought of dying. Eventually, he resolved to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. He sent a messenger to summon Adipati Martalaya of Tegal. Adipati Martalaya indeed came to Banyumas. When he appeared before Pangéran Adipati Anom, he made a sembah and wept. Pangéran Adipati Anom said, "Don't cry anymore Martalaya. Resign yourself to the fact that the destruction of Mataram was ordained by the will of God. I want to talk to you about something else. The reason that I have called you is that I want you to find a good ship for myself to sail on. I intend to make the pilgrimage to Mecca." When Adipati Martalaya heard what Pangéran Adipati Anom said, it cut him to the heart. He embraced his feet and said while weeping, "My lord, I do not approve of your plan. Why don't you care about the destruction of Java? If you leave Java, who will be the prop and stay to the people of the whole of Java other than Your Highness. It would be better if you assumed the kingship here, or in Tegal and succeed your late father. As for the matter of your enemies, that Trunajaya and the Makassarese, I take it upon myself to wipe them out. Even if their numbers increase with more men from Sampang and more Makassarese. I am not afraid." Adipati Martalaya spoke a great deal. Pangéran Adipati Anom replied, "Martalaya, you won't be able to block my plan. I have no other thought than making the pilgrimage. I am grateful for your loyalty, but just find me a boat quickly." Adipati Martalaya said, "If that is the case, my lord, please give it some time. I will build a proper ship, because if I search for a proper ship, I will probably not find it." Pangéran Adipati Anom gave his permission. Adipati Martalaya then took his leave to return. On his arrival in Tegal, he started building a boat.

482. After the return of Adipati Martalaya, Pangéran Adipati Anom was beset by his followers and beseeched to give up his plan to make the pilgrimage, but he was not to be deterred.

483. One night, Pangéran Adipati Anom was sleeping in the mosque of Banyumas. He dreamt that a hole appeared in the roof of the mosque. Then seven moons appeared. From the sky they entered his chest. Shortly afterwards, there was a little boy, the size of a kris handle. He shone like the sun. Pangéran Adipati Anom tried to catch him, but could not. He also entered his chest like the previous moons. Pangéran Adipati Anom woke up and was very much impressed. He thought that the divine prophetic light had fallen upon him and he resolved to become king. His previous plan to make the pilgrimage was cancelled. He felt as if he already held Java in his hand. He said to himself, "If I had felt like this before, Mataram would probably not have been conquered." He then called together all his kinsmen and servants. When they had assembled, they did not recognize their lord. Whereas before he had looked dejected, he now looked

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refreshed and dignified. Pangéran Adipati Anom spoke to his kinsmen and servants and said, "Men, you should bear witness that I now assume the kingship, succeeding my late father, with the title Susuhunan Mangkurat Sénapati ing Ngalaga Ngabdurrahman Sayidin Panatagama. All his subjects agreed in unison and were glad. The accession of Pangéran Adipati Anom took place in the year 1601 [A.J.]. All his servants in the house of the crown prince were raised in rank. Some became bupati, others mantri, rangga or demang, as was fitting in each case.

484. The new king then sent a messenger to summon Adipati Martalaya of Tegal. He was told to appear bringing troops and arms. The messenger left and arrived in Tegal. When Adipati Martalaya received the summons of His Majesty, he quickly left for Banyumas and appeared before His Majesty. His Majesty said, "Martalaya, the reason that I called you is that you should know that I have assumed the kingship. My plan to make a pilgrimage to Mecca will now not go ahead." When Adipati Martalaya heard this, he was very happy. He made a sembah and said, "Thank God, my lord that you have assumed the kingship. I was indeed hoping for that all the time. As for the matter of your enemies, that Trunajaya and the Makassarese, I undertake to wipe them out. You should just take it easy." His Majesty said, "Martalaya, I am grateful for your promise. As for the ship that you are building, prepare it immediately as well as the crew to sail it. Load it with everything needed for people going on a journey, because I will send a mission to Batavia to ask the Dutch for help." Adipati Martalaya said, "My lord, I advise against your plan to ask the Dutch for help. The reason is that it is the nature of the Dutch that if you become friends with them, they will always have ulterior motives and often betray you. They only pretend to be good, but in their hearts they harbour hopes for rewards. As for the matter of your enemies, the eastern Javanese, I have already promised to wipe them all out. Why do you still entertain doubts about my promise?" Adipati Martalaya spoke a great deal, trying to bring about the cancellation of the mission to Batavia. His Majesty smiled and said, "Martalaya, I am grateful for your loyalty, but I have to tell you a story. At the time of my grandfather, His Majesty Sultan Agung, when my mother was still carrying me, my grandfather the Sultan happened to be sitting down together with Her Highness my grandmother. When he saw my mother coming to pay her respects, he stood up to show his respects. My grandmother asked, 'Why on earth, Sultan, do you get up from your seat when she is just your daughter-in-law?' My grandfather the Sultan answered, 'My queen, it is not my daughter-in-law whom I honour by standing up. If you don't understand, I am honouring the one who is in her belly. He will later become a great king like me, with an army consisting of many nations, and the people of Java will all obey him.' This, Martalaya, is my story to you. The reason that I wish to ask help from Batavia is to make the prophecy of my grandfather, the Sultan, come true." When Adipati Martalaya heard the words of His Majesty, he bowed his head and could not reply because of the nobleness of the words. Finally, he concurred with His Majesty's wishes.

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75. Pangéran Adipati Anom assumes the kingship in Tegal with the title Susuhunan Mangkurat

485. His Majesty then told Kyai Mandaraka to go to Batavia and present His Majesty's letter. He had him accompanied by a man from Tegal, called Ngabèhi Sindupati. When ready, they left and headed for Tegal. There they boarded the boat and sailed to Batavia. Then His Majesty said to Kyai Pranataka, "Pranataka, you go to Donan or to Nusakambangan to find a wijayakusuma flower. Make sure you get one. Don't return before you have got one. Even if you become stricken in years, just stay there." Kyai Pranataka said that he would do as told and left.

486. His Majesty then left Banyumas to go to Tegal. When he arrived in Tegal, Adipati Martalaya offered him his residence, which His Majesty then occupied. As for Adipati Martalaya and the other bupati, they camped on the Alun-alun.

487. In Tegal, His Majesty assembled troops and continuously exercised all his troops in the ways of fighting. Then he requisitioned three hundred men from Tegal and turned them into soldiers. They got the same uniform and were called the Jagasura corps.

488. Then two men from Demak came, both brothers, called Martajaya and Wiramantri. They brought three hundred men and intended to enter the service of His Majesty. Formerly, they had served His Majesty Ngalaga. The two men told His Majesty that the realm of Mataram had been seized by Pangéran Puger and that Pangéran Puger had assumed the kingship in Plèrèd with the title Susuhunan Ngalaga. The lands of Pajang, Mataram, Kedhu, and Pagelèn had all declared their loyalty to him. His Majesty was very happy to hear the report of both men that his younger brother had prevailed in battle and assumed the kingship in Plèrèd. He asked, "Martajaya, why did you leave my brother Puger?" The one questioned said, "My lord, the reason that I do not pay homage to Mataram is that your brother is already well endowed with troops. Your Majesty does not yet have many troops, so it seems to me preferable to pay homage to Your Majesty." His Majesty replied, "Martajaya, I am very grateful that you want to share my pain. Later I will give you the realm of Demak." Martajaya and Wiramantri and their troops were then given a place to stay.

489. A short while later, two men arrived from Surabaya, both brothers, called Anggajaya and Anggawangsa. Anggawangsa had previously served His Majesty when he was still called Pangéran Adipati Anom in Mataram. Anggajaya at that time still lived in Surabaya. Now he followed his brother. They both came to serve His Majesty. His Majesty indeed accepted them.

490. It is told that Kyai Pranataka who was sent to Nusakambangan to find the wijayakusuma flower had arrived in Masjidséla. There he fasted for seven days and seven nights in order to obtain what he was searching for. On the eve of a Friday, he saw wijayakusuma flowers, but only one pair which radiated light. He quickly plucked them, brought them back to Tegal and presented them to His Majesty. It made His Majesty very happy. He felt that his assumption of the kingship would be successful.

491. Kyai Mandaraka who was sent to Batavia met the Governor General. On his arrival in Batavia, he had been greeted with a salute of cannon and guns, and moreover been treated with distinction as if the king of Mataram himself had come to Batavia. The

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members of the Council and all the military officers came to meet him in the residence of the Governor General. Kyai Mandaraka was treated to food and drinks. After the meal, he presented the letter to the Governor General. After it had been read, Kyai Mandaraka said, "Governor General, Sir, His Majesty requests that the help which is mentioned in the letter should be timed together with my return." The Governor General replied, "Kyai Mandaraka, you should wait first, and I will appoint those who will go." Kyai Mandaraka indeed waited with patience. The Governor General then issued orders to the Company troops who were going to be sent. They were eighteen hundred in number, one thousand Makassarese, Ambonese, Ternatese, and Buginese, and eight hundred Dutchmen. Their commander was called Admiral Alduwèlbèh. There were two Dutch majors. The captains and the lower officers are not mentioned. There were two Makassarese and Ambonese majors, called Kraèng Naba and Kra[è]ng Kadhangkrang. The Governor General sent along all kinds of gifts and treasures for His Majesty and gave a great many instructions to the admiral and Kyai Mandaraka. When ready, they departed on ships.

492. The ships reached the roadstead of Tegal. Kyai Mandaraka went ashore ahead to pay his respects to His Majesty. The admiral stayed behind on the shore. Appearing before His Majesty, Kyai Mandaraka made a sembah and said, "My lord, I convey the greetings of your grandfather the Governor General to Your Majesty. Moreover, your grandfather sends all kinds of gifts and treasures, and was very pleased when he received your summons. Now he sends the auxiliary troops which Your Majesty has requested. They are eighteen hundred in number with four majors. Their commander is Admiral Alduwèlbèh." His Majesty was very pleased hearing Kyai Mandaraka's report and said, "Mandaraka, quickly summon the leaders of the Dutch. I want to see them." Kyai Mandaraka immediately returned to the shore and summoned the admiral and the majors.

493. His Majesty came out to hold audience to meet the guests. The servants from Mataram were all there in attendance to see what the Dutchmen looked like. The Alun-alun was full with men and women. When the admiral and the officers appeared before His Majesty, they nodded while they just remained standing with their hats under their arms. The bupati and those who watched it were startled and astounded that they were so ill-mannered. His Majesty asked Kyai Mandaraka, "Mandaraka, why are they unwilling to sit down on the floor while paying their respects? Their ignorance of etiquette is terrible." Kyai Mandaraka said, "My lord, this is the way of the Dutch. They pay their respects while standing with their hats under their arms." His Majesty smiled. Adipati Martalaya flew into a rage. He quickly approached the admiral, grabbed him by the neck to make him sit down, while saying, "Hey, unbeliever, sit down. Don't you know that you are before the king of Mataram? You are terribly rude." The admiral looked around in bewilderment. When Major Pilham saw that his superior was treated with such contempt, he took it very much to heart and approached with his hand on his sword and twirling his moustache. Adipati Martalaya said loudly to Major Pilham,

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"Come on, use your sword. I'll fight you." Seeing this, His Majesty became very angry and he gave orders to separate them. Kyai Mandaraka quickly embraced the admiral and tried to calm him. The admiral said, "Kyai Mandaraka, I came here at the request of His Majesty. The result is that I am not being shown respect. If it goes on like this, I will definitely go back to Batavia." Kyai Mandaraka replied whispering, "Sir, I beg for your forgiveness. Don't be offended by that man. You should know that he is from Tegal. His name is Adipati Martalaya. If he gets scolded by His Majesty, he will certainly run away. That will cause a big problem, for there will be no men to carry your gun powder and all the rest of your baggage. Just be patient for now. Later when the war is finished, it will be easy. I promise to ask His Majesty to punish him." The admiral calmed down and said, "Kyai Mandaraka, what is the custom of the Javanese when they pay their respects to their king? Tell me, for I came here to serve His Majesty and I will do whatever he orders." Kyai Mandaraka indeed told him. His Majesty asked Kyai Mandaraka, "What are you talking about with the admiral?" Kyai Mandaraka replied, "My lord, your servant the admiral asks for Your Majesty's forgiveness. Because he does not yet know the custom of the Javanese when they pay their respects to Your Majesty, he is now asking for clarifications about your orders which he will carry out." His Majesty smiled and said, "Mandaraka, you know what the custom was when you were in Batavia. I just want to continue that." Kyai Mandaraka said, "My lord, when they pay their respects to their superiors, they just stand with straight legs and hold their hats under their arm. When they arrive, they shake each other's right hand. When they sit on chairs, they sit next to one another." His Majesty then spoke to the bupati, "Men, quickly bring stools or bamboo benches, and bring food that the Dutch like, and don't let there be a lack of it." The admiral said to His Majesty, "Your Majesty, the instructions of your grandfather, the Governor General, are to put myself and all my colleagues at your disposal. Whatever Your Majesty's plans are, the Dutch will join in. If the servants of the Company whom you want to take to war are still too few in number, I am ordered to take as many Dutchmen as there are in Jepara. If you allow it, I would like to receive your permission to go to Jepara. As for those who will guard Your Majesty, I will put at your disposal one hundred Company soldiers under the command of one captain." His Majesty replied, "Admiral, I am very grateful to you and I will follow your wish. However, have a rest first, and when you have recovered from your fatigue, then leave for Jepara. I will soon follow.

494. The admiral and his troops were given a place to stay and were provided with food, consisting of a large amount of rice, and a large number of water buffalos and cows. This made them very happy. The one who was ordered to take care of the men of the Company was Kyai Mandaraka.

495. The next morning, His Majesty came out to hold audience. All his Javanese servants were there. The admiral and his officers also came to pay their respects. They sat in a row on stools. His Majesty raised in rank the retainers he had brought with him from Mataram who had served him when he was still the crown prince. Kyai Mandaraka

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was appointed patih with the title Adipati Mandaraka. Kyai Pranataka became Tumenggung Sindureja. Kyai Andakara became Tumenggung Wiradigda. Kyai Sendhi became Tumenggung Urawan. Kyai Nindakarti became Tumenggung Binarong. His Majesty's uncle became Adipati Nrangkusuma. His Majesty said to Adipati Nrangkusuma, "Nrangkusuma, you go to Kedhu or Pagelèn to find out who is now occupying Mataram, whether it is still my younger brother or somebody else. Make sure that you get the right information." Adipati Nrangkusuma said that he would do as told and left with his troops. To make a long story short, when he reached Kedhu, the area was at that time still very lawless. Many people were committing crimes, hold-ups, gang robberies, and break-ins.

496. On the arrival of Adipati Nrangkusuma in Kedhu, many people there submitted to him. One man from Kedhu, called Wangsacitra, came to pay his respects with the intention of entering the service of Adipati Nrangkusuma. He brought his two sons with him, called Kyai Lembu and Kyai Buwang. He had many followers and his service was accepted. Kyai Wangsacitra was ordered to take charge of the people of Kedhu. He did, and all submitted. Adipati Nrangkusuma sent a messenger to His Majesty to report on Kyai Wangsacitra's service. His Majesty replied in a letter which was accompanied by a letter of appointment which said that Kyai Wangsacitra had been given the title Tumenggung Mangkuyuda and given authority over all the people of Kedhu. Kyai Lembu and Kyai Buwang were called to the court and taken into service.

497. When Adipati Nrangkusuma had obtained information on Mataram, he left for Tegal. Tumenggung Mangkuyuda and his troops, and his two sons came with him. On their arrival in Tegal, they paid their respects to His Majesty and reported that his younger brother Pangéran Puger now ruled Mataram, but often still had to fight for his territory with the Madurese. His Majesty was very pleased hearing the report of Adipati Nrangkusuma. Then he gave orders to Kyai Martajaya, "Martajaya, you go ahead to Demak, expand the territory and assemble troops. Later, when I have come to Demak, you may pay homage. Martajaya said that he would do as told and left with his troops. The admiral and his Company troops were allowed to go ahead to Jepara. They received Adipati Mandaraka and Adipati Nrangkusuma as escorts. Both were ordered to take care of the men of the Company. They left by sea and reached Jepara.

498. Ngabèhi Wangsadipa quickly came to meet them and treated them with the utmost respect. The admiral and both bupati disembarked and were taken to the residence of Ngabèhi Wangsadipa. The admiral said to Ngabèhi Wangsadipa, "Kyai Ngabèhi, I have been sent here by His Majesty and told to strike at the eastern Javanese enemy who are here. Where are they now located?" Ngabèhi Wongsadipa replied, "Sir, before, the enemy were located in Jagatamu. Now they have fled to the east, because I have given them a beating with the help of the French and the English who are trading here. Many of the enemy were killed." When the admiral heard what Ngabèhi Wangsadipa said, he was surprised and troubled that there were foreigners from another nation who had helped in the fight. He deliberated with the officers on getting the French and English

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out of Jepara before they could be presented to His Majesty. If that should happen, they would certainly share in getting a grant of land when later victory had been won. They agreed that the French and the English should be given money, to be considered as compensation for their help in the fight, and it should be pretended that it was a gift from His Majesty. The admiral then sent a messenger to invite the leaders of the French and the English. They came to the lodge. He spoke to them as follows, "Listen, Frenchmen and Englishmen, I have been sent by the king of Mataram to tell you that he is grateful for your help in the war, and that he gives you in reward twenty thousand rixdollars. However, he tells you to leave Java and you should depart today." The leaders of the French and the English replied, "We don't have ships because they have been taken back to transport our merchandise." The admiral spoke again, "I will give you a ship to transport all your goods that are still here, but you should leave this very day. As for my ship that will carry your goods, you can take it. You don't need to return it." The French and the English accepted the twenty thousand rixdollars and the ship, and departed from Jepara. However, the Company men had drilled tiny holes in the ship, so it sank when they were at sea. All who were on board died.

499. It is told that His Majesty Mangkurat left Tegal with his army. The bupati marched far ahead. The Company troops marched in front of His Majesty. They marched in ranks with drums beating. His Majesty took great pleasure in watching the order of march of the Company troops. The women travelled at the rear. On reaching Pekalongan, His Majesty spent the night there and requisitioned three hundred men whom he turned into soldiers and called the Judhipati Corps. Then he left by sea to go to Jepara. The wives were left behind in Pekalongan. When he reached Jepara, the admiral, the officers, and Ngabèhi Wangsadipa quickly went to meet him.

500. His Majesty disembarked and was asked to ride in a coach. On his arrival at the residence of Ngabèhi Wangsadipa, the Company troops fired volleys with their guns and a salute with their cannon in his honour. The troops lined the road. His Majesty then took up residence in the house of Ngabèhi Wangsadipa.

501. The next morning His Majesty went out to grant audience to the Javanese and the Company troops. Then Kyai Martajaya appeared to pay homage. His Majesty asked him, "Martajaya, where are the enemy now located?" Kyai Martajaya said, "I beg leave my lord, your enemy who were surrounding Demak have all fled away to the east, because I gave them a beating. Now they have gathered in Rembang and Tuban." His Majesty was very pleased. Kyai Martajaya was appointed bupati in Demak and given the name Tumenggung Éndranata. Ngabèhi Wangsadipa was raised in rank with the title Adipati Martapura.

502. Kyai Anggawangsa and Kyai Anggajaya reported to His Majesty that Radèn Trunajaya had now left Surabaya and changed his residence to Kadhiri. He had chosen a wide and flat terrain to give battle. His trusted commanders were Dhandhangwacana, Mangkuyuda, Darmayuda, and the Makassarese Kraèng Galésong. Kraèng Galésong had been adopted as son-in-law by Radèn Trunajaya and given the name Prabu Anom.

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He had promised to give battle to the Company. Day in, day out, they were on the alert. When His Majesty heard this report, he said to the admiral, "Admiral, I have heard that that Galésong has a brother, called Kraèng Naba, who is your subordinate the major of the Company Makassarese. Is that true?" The admiral said that he would investigate it first. Kraèng Naba was summoned. When he appeared before His Majesty, the admiral asked him, "Kraèng Naba, is it true that you have a brother, called Kraèng Galésong, who is now with the enemy?" When Kraèng Naba was asked this, he shed tears and said, "Sir, that is indeed true. Galésong is my younger brother. We were separated when we were still young and till now I have never met him." His Majesty said to the admiral, "Admiral, if that is the case, I want to take Kraèng Naba and send him to Kadhiri to find his brother." The admiral had no objections. His Majesty then said to Kraèng Naba, "I will send you to Kadhiri. Try to talk your younger brother round with good words so that he won't fight against you and submits to me. I will send along with you Mirmagati, who knows five languages, Adipati Martalaya, and Martapura. They will go with you but you should travel incognito without taking servants with you." Those ordered said that they would do as told and they left in disguise. Kraèng Naba posed as the master, and Mirmagati, Adipati Martapura, and Adipati Martalaya posed as servants.

503. Kraèng Naba reached Kadhiri. By chance, a Makassarese, the guardian of Kraèng Galésong, happened to be taking a stroll and saw Kraèng Naba. He embraced his feet and wept. Kraèng Naba said, "Don't make a sembah to me. It might blow my cover. Come, show me the place of your master." Kraèng Naba was then escorted to the house of Kraèng Galésong. When the two brothers spotted one another, they embraced and wept, because they had not met for a long time. Then they sat down. Kraèng Galésong asked, "Brother, where have you been all this time? I have searched for you everywhere but could not find you." Kraèng Naba replied, "I now serve the king of Mataram. I have become a major and he treats me with much affection. I have been sent here to summon you so that you won't end up fighting me. His Majesty is greatly concerned about you. His plan to attack Kadhiri awaits my and your arrival. Come, I'll take you back immediately, come together with me." Kraèng Galésong replied, "Brother, give this some time first, for at the moment Radèn Trunajaya is treating me very well and it would not be right if I left him and defected. Later in battle I will attack from behind and then follow the king of Mataram. You just tell this to His Majesty. Furthermore, brother, these servants of yours, where are they from, as they look so handsome?" Kraèng Naba told the truth about them. Kraèng Galésong was very surprised to see what bupati from Mataram looked like.

504. Having stayed one day and one night in Kadhiri, Kraèng Naba and the three gentlemen left. When they were outside the city, they were pursued by about two hundred Madurese who intended to kill them. They were cornered by the Palabuhan river which happened to be in flood at the time. Coming to the banks of the river, Kraèng Naba quickly held onto the waist of Mirmagati and was carried in one jump to the west side

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of the river. Adipati Martapura and Adipati Martalaya pulled up their garments into a loincloth and also jumped across to the west side. The Madurese stood open-mouthed in wonder to see the supernatural power of the four men.

505. Kraèng Naba and his three companions arrived safely in Jepara. They paid their respects to His Majesty and reported on their mission. Then they returned to their respective quarters.

506. At that time Adipati Martalaya started scheming. He did not want to appear in the audiences because he loathed the Dutch. He tried to get His Majesty not to value the Dutch because they were drifters who were in it for the money. It would certainly ruin the realm. As for the matter of the Madurese and Makassarese enemy, he, Adipati Martalaya, had promised to wipe them out. He did not need to be accompanied by the Dutch. However, His Majesty did not heed his advice.

507. The admiral already knew that Adipati Martalaya was scheming and detested the Dutch. He wrote a letter which he wanted to present to His Majesty in which he asked for the death of Adipati Martalaya. When it was written, he went to the lodgings of Adipati Mandaraka and gave him the letter. Adipati Mandaraka took and read the letter. He said to the admiral, "Admiral, Sir, just go back first. Tomorrow I will think it over with my fellow bupati. Then I will report to His Majesty." The admiral took his leave and returned.

508. Adipati Mandaraka conferred with his fellow bupati and then visited His Majesty to convey the request of the admiral. His Majesty was in an agony of doubt. At last he said, "Mandaraka, if that is the case, summon Martalaya. When he comes, ask him if he dares to take on Trunajaya. If he dares, tell him to leave with his whole army and crush Trunajaya. After he has left, make it known that he has defected from the army here.

509. Adipati Mandaraka sent a messenger to summon Adipati Martalaya. However, he did not want to come, pretending to be sick. This made His Majesty very angry and he ordered Adipati Martapura to kill Adipati Martalaya. The latter quickly went, taking with him his kris called Jakatuwa. He found Adipati Martalaya sitting on his bed, covered by a blanket. However, he had taken precautions, holding at the ready his unsheathed kris called Kasur. He kept it under him, under the mat he was sitting on. Adipati Martapura conveyed to him the orders of the king while he remained standing, "Martalaya, I have been sent by His Majesty to take your life." The reply was, "Go ahead." Adipati Martapura stabbed him. Adipati Martalaya stabbed in return. Both bupati died together. It greatly shocked His Majesty that both his battle champions had died.

510. The next morning His Majesty went out to hold audience. He said to Adipati Mandaraka, "Mandaraka, I appoint the son of Martapura, who is called Jayapati, in the place of his father and give him the title Tumenggung Sujanapura. As for the office of Martalaya of Tegal, I will replace him with his younger brother, called Agrayuda, and give him the title Tumenggung Reksanagara. Wija I will appoint bupati in Pathi. I give

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him the title Tumenggung Mangunoneng." Then His Majesty said to Tumenggung Éndranata, "Éndranata, you go ahead with your troops and attack the enemy in Rembang and Tuban. And you admiral go ahead with your people by sea to Gresik or the island of Mangaré. Cruise near Madura and go on to Surabaya. I will have you accompanied by Nrangkusuma, Anggawangsa, and Anggajaya. Anggawangsa and Anggajaya already know the area because they are both from Surabaya, while I will go by land. On reaching Tuban, I will turn south and go to Kadhiri." Those who received the orders all said that they would do as told and left. His Majesty also departed. The number of troops was countless and they carried all kinds of weapons.

511. Tumenggung Éndranata who had gone ahead had already engaged the Madurese who were in Rembang and Tuban in battle. The Madurese were defeated. They fled and regrouped in Surabaya.

512. Radèn Trunajaya in Kadhiri had learned the news that Pangéran Adipati Anom had assumed the kingship in Tegal and engaged a motley force of auxiliary troops from the Company to the number of two thousand men. He was now in Jepara and the people of the coastal regions had all submitted. Reports even came pouring in that he had already left Jepara to attack Kadhiri. When Radèn Trunajaya heard this news, he laughed and shook his thighs in excitement. He said to those in attendance, "Even though foreigners are mobilized, should I be afraid? What's the worth of these foreigners from other lands? Mataram which was much bigger was conquered just by Dhandangwacana." He was interrupted by the arrival of the Madurese who had been stationed in Rembang and Tuban and who reported that they had been defeated by the men from Mataram. Their army was very large and they planned to move on to Surabaya and Kadhiri.

513. Radèn Trunajaya quickly gave orders to assist those who were stationed in Surabaya. He sent the men from the outer regions under the command of Kraèng Galésong and Tumenggung Mangkuyuda. The army was very large. On their arrival in Surabaya, they deployed the army and placed the cannon in position. The cannon seized from Mataram, called Nyai Satomi, and the other cannon were all placed in position. The soldiers took all precautions.

514. The admiral had proceeded by sea and reached the island of Mangaré. The Company men fired a salvo with their cannon. The Madurese were thrown into a panic and ran around looking for shelter. The admiral and his troops went ashore at Surabaya and set up camp. Many kinsmen of Kyai Anggajaya and Kyai Anggawangsa came bringing food for the admiral. The admiral was very pleased to see the kinsmen. Kyai Anggawangsa then asked permission to go and steal the heirloom gun from Mataram called Nyai Satomi which was in the enemy's camp. Permission was granted. At night Kyai Anggawangsa went to the camp of the enemy. He found the gun Nyai Satomi and carried it away by himself on his shoulders. None of the Madurese noticed it. He presented the gun to the admiral and Radèn Nrangkusuma. The admiral was astonished to see the strength of Kyai Anggawangsa.

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515. At half past three in the morning, the admiral gave orders to fire the guns and aim them at the enemy's position. The guns boomed without a pause. The Madurese and the men from the outer regions were thrown into a panic and ran for shelter. Many were killed by the cannon balls and, of course, the pieces of the houses that were smashed by the cannon balls and were flying about. Anggawangsa and Anggajaya burned the houses where the enemy were staying and this increased their confusion. Eventually, they broke and all fled. Kyai Darmayuda and Kraèng Galésong also fled, intending to return to Kadhiri.

516. On his arrival in Kadhiri, Kyai Darmayuda told Radèn Trunajaya the slanderous story that Kraèng Galésong had fought only half-heartedly, as if he was planning to defect. That was the reason the Madurese had been defeated. When Radèn Trunajaya heard this report, he became terribly angry. He invited Kraèng Galésong to come with him to the garden. There he killed him. He dumped the body in a well which he then filled in with earth. None of the Makassarese noticed it.

517. It is told that His Majesty Mangkurat had reached Kudus where he paid his respects to the holy grave and summoned Panembahan Natapraja of Adilangu. When he appeared, he was taken on the campaign. All along the way, His Majesty continuously had to fight the Madurese.

518. At that time Adipati Mandaraka fell ill and died. His Majesty was very shocked. The corpse was buried on the way. His Majesty then continued his march. They reached the territory of Kadhiri and pitched camp in the village of Singkal. There a holy man, called Ajar Téjalaku, came down from Mount Kelud with forty of his followers carrying sickles with blades in openwork. When they reached the camp of Adipati Urawan, they carried out a blind attack. The troops of the adipati fought back and the forty disciples were all killed. Only Kyai Ajar himself was left. He stood defiantly with his arms akimbo. They shot at him and stabbed at him with spears, but did not hit him. Then His Majesty himself came down, holding the spear Kyai Baru at shoulder height. He said, "Men, step all aside. I will meet the Ajar myself, because that was his intention in coming down here from the mountain, so that I may release him." Having said this, he stabbed Kyai Ajar with his spear. He hit his chest and the spear went right through to the back. The holy man was killed; his corpse vanished.

519. His Majesty returned and sat down in his quarters. Then he sent a messenger to Surabaya to summon the admiral and his Company troops, and of course Radèn Nrangkusuma. The messenger travelled quickly. On his arrival in Surabaya, he met the admiral and Radèn Nrangkusuma and gave them the orders from the king. Those who received the summons departed, leaving just the lower headmen in charge of Surabaya.

520. The admiral and Radèn Nrangkusuma reached the camp at Singkal. Both gentlemen went to pay their respects to His Majesty. The admiral reported on the war in Surabaya and related that Kyai Anggawangsa had stolen the gun Nyai Satomi. His Majesty was very pleased hearing the report from the admiral. Then in turn he related that Adipati

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Mandaraka had died. The admiral was shocked. His Majesty then said to the admiral and the adipati, “Admiral, men, it is now my wish to make Nrangkusuma patih, replacing Mandaraka in office. Anggawangsa I will make bupati in Surabaya and I give him the title Tumenggung Jangrana.” The admiral and the adipati agreed with His Majesty's wish. Then they parted and went to their quarters.

521. The next morning His Majesty gave orders to march to attack Kadhiri. The soldiers moved out. Their number was countless. The bupati formed the vanguard. The Company troops marched just in front of His Majesty.

522. Radèn Trunajaya, who was in the town of Kadhiri, remembered his promise not even once, nor did he plan to submit to His Majesty Mangkurat. He even wanted to meet him in battle and had given orders to deploy his troops and determined who should be in front and who should be at the rear, and of course who should be on the left and the right. When the arrangement was finished, they left the city. The troops poured forth like water from a hole in the ground. They took up positions to the east of the River Palabuhan. Radèn Trunajaya sat down on the bank of the river under a parasol, surrounded by a body of picked men, eighteen hundred in number. They were all armed with pikes and guns, and they were all on their guard.

523. Before long the army of Mangkurat arrived at the west bank of the river. It looked like a looming, dark rain cloud or like water spilling all over the place, filling the fields and the woods. The enemies kept gazing at one another from a distance. The admiral said to His Majesty, “Your Majesty, it is best to make rafts for this river, because it is wide and deep and cannot be crossed.” His Majesty quickly gave orders to make rafts. The troops of the bupati immediately started working. When Trunajaya saw that his enemy were making rafts, he taunted them from a near point on the east bank of the river, “Hey, men from Mataram, come on, advance! If warriors have to wait for rafts, they are not of real warrior stock. I liken the king of Mataram to a sugar cane. Its top may be sweet, but its bottom is just as tasteless as before, because the king is of farmers' stock. He had better just go hoeing and herding cattle. He differs from Trunajaya who is of distinguished warrior stock and a descendant of Jaranpanolèh who was famous for his courage and supernatural power.”

524. The taunts of Radèn Trunajaya were reported to His Majesty. He became extremely angry and mounted his horse to attack. The bupati and their troops quickly moved ahead and plunged into the river. The admiral commanded his Company troops to bombard them with their guns. However, the bullets did not reach the east bank of the river, but fell on their own allies. Many were hit. Tumenggung Éndranata quickly went ashore, grabbed the hand of the admiral and said, “Admiral, are you an enemy or an ally, seeing that your bullets hit my own friends.” The admiral apologized because he did not know that his bullets were falling short. Tumenggung Éndranata then returned, plunged into the water again, as did the other adipati and their troops, intending to attack the enemy. The Madurese easily fought them off from the bank of the river. Many of Mangkurat's troops drowned or were killed by weapons.

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525. When His Majesty saw that many of his men had been killed, he whipped his horse and also plunged into the river. At the same instant, the water of the river receded by two thirds and it could be crossed. The troops of the army of Mangkurat all quickly crossed and engaged in a general melee. The Company troops kept firing without pause. Friend or foe many were killed. Mangkuyuda of Sampang and Dhandhang-wacana were killed by Mangkuyuda of Kedhu. Many of the Madurese were killed. Then they broke, fled to the fort and locked the gate. The troops of Mangkurat pursued them. Mangkuyuda of Kedhu kicked the gate of the fort in. Darmayuda of Sampang met the blind attack of Mangkuyuda. In the end, both died together inside the gate. The Company troops and the bupati and their troops entered the fort. The Madurese and Makassarese fled. Radèn Trunajaya fled with wives and children to Mount Antang. Only a few of his troops went with him. This occurred in the year 1601 [A.J.].

526. After resting for two nights in the fort of Kadhiri, His Majesty Mangkurat left to search for Radèn Trunajaya. He reached Payak at the foot of Mount Antang and set up camp there. He gave orders to encircle the mountain and ordered Tumenggung Jangrana to search for the Makassarese who had fled to Mount Sampura, and to install Kyai Anggajaya as bupati in Pasuruhan and, moreover, to summon Adipati Cakraningrat who was in the forest of Lodhaya. He had him accompanied by a brigade of Company troops. Tumenggung Jangrana left with his troops and the brigade of Company troops.

527. It is told that Adipati Cakraningrat lived as a prisoner in Lodhaya at Trunajaya's doing. The reason that he had not been killed was that he was his uncle and the intention of Radèn Trunajaya was that his uncle would be killed by the ogres. However, he was still safe and sound. At that time he heard the news that Radèn Trunajaya had been defeated in battle by His Majesty Mangkurat. He got ready with his wives and children to go and pay his respects to His Majesty. When ready, they left. On the way, he met Tumenggung Jangrana. They embraced. Having been told that he was summoned by His Majesty, they departed in opposite directions. Tumenggung Jangrana went on to Mount Sampura, but the Makassarese who had been there had gone to Bali. Tumenggung Jangrana continued his march to Pasuruhan to install Kyai Anggajaya as bupati there. None of the people of Pasuruhan resisted. After the installation, he returned to the camp at Payak.

528. Adipati Cakraningrat had already gone to pay his respects to His Majesty. He made a sembah and wept. His Majesty said, "Brother, don't cry. I will now return to you the realm of Sampang, but I will ask you to do something. Persuade Trunajaya who is now on Mount Antang, so that he is willing to come and pay his respects to me. You must succeed by all means." Adipati Cakraningrat said that he would do as told and left. At that time many Madurese and men from Sampang had submitted to Adipati Cakraningrat, so the adipati now had many troops.

529. It is told that Radèn Trunajaya was living on the top of Mount Antang together with his two wives, both princesses from Mataram and younger sisters of His Majesty Mang-

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kurat, called Radèn Ayu Kaletingwungu and Radèn Ayu Kaletingkuning. At the time of the conquest of Mataram, both princesses had been left behind in the palace. They were captured by the Madurese and presented to Radèn Trunajaya, who took them as his wives. He had already married the elder one, called Radèn Ayu Kaletingwungu. The younger one was very averse to this. She preferred to die than become the second wife after her sister. At that time, both princesses wept all the time, because for forty days they had had neither food nor drink. They blamed the past behaviour of Radèn Trunajaya, and that he had not realized that he was a common man who absolutely wanted to become king and had now ended up in misery and suffering. Radèn Trunajaya also felt that he had been at fault and he spoke soothingly to his wife. The princess said, "If you feel at fault, let us go to pay our respects to my brother the king and ask for forgiveness. I think that my brother the king will not find it in his heart to kill you, because he will be restrained by his feeling of pity for me. If you don't want to go, I will visit him by myself." When Radèn Trunajaya heard the words of his wife, he wept as well and replied, "My lady, I will follow your wish, but you go and pay your respects first, offer my life and ask for forgiveness. I will follow immediately." Then they were interrupted by the arrival of a Madurese, a messenger of Adipati Cakraningrat who carried a letter for Radèn Trunajaya. The letter was accepted and read. It contained a summons for Radèn Trunajaya. As for his faults committed against His Majesty, Adipati Cakraningrat promised to ask for forgiveness, and of course vouch for him if he were to be killed.

530. Having read the letter, Radèn Trunajaya was very happy. He felt that he would stay alive. He urged his wife to go ahead, descend the mountain and pay her respects to His Majesty. The princess was seated on a litter and escorted by sixteen Madurese, all retainers of Adipati Cakraningrat. His own servants had run away to the last man.

531. The princess descended from the mountain. The troops who encircled the mountain were surprised to see a litter coming down the mountain. After a while they saw that it was Trunajaya's wife and they just looked on. Adipati Cakraningrat joined the escort as well and they reached the camp. The princess went to pay her respects to His Majesty. She made a sembah with much weeping and wailing. His Majesty said softly, "Sister, don't cry any more. Just resign yourself to the fact that what has happened to you was predestined by God. On the other hand, I want to ask you where is your husband now and what he wants to do? Just tell the truth." The princess said, "Your Majesty, my brother, your younger brother is still on the mountain. He asked me to go and pay homage to Your Majesty to show his remorse and promise that he will mend his ways. May Your Majesty forgive all his past faults. Your younger brother awaits your orders to become clear." His Majesty said to Adipati Cakraningrat, "Brother Cakraningrat, go up the mountain and collect Trunajaya. I leave it to you." The latter said that he would do as told and left with his troops accompanied by Tumenggung Suranata.

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532. When Adipati Cakraningrat reached the foot of the mountain, he sent a messenger up to summon Radèn Trunajaya. The messenger found Radèn Trunajaya and told him that his uncle was waiting below. Radèn Trunajaya quickly descended from the mountain escorted by seventy men, all looking ragged and with their weapons tied in bundles which were carried in front. When he reached the foot of the mountain, he met with his uncle Adipati Cakraningrat and paid homage to him. His uncle embraced him and said, "Boy, since you are defeated and want to pay homage to the king, it is best that you carry a sign that you have lost so that your sincerity can be seen." Having said that, he winked at his men who then pounced on Radèn Trunajaya and bound him with a piece of silken cloth. One of his guardians, called Secagora was also bound. They both did not resist at all. Adipati Cakraningrat then said to Radèn Trunajaya, "Boy, don't worry. If His Majesty is angry with you, I will block it." Radèn Trunajaya said, "I leave it all up to you. You would not seek to have me destroyed."

533. Adipati Cakraningrat then left, leading Radèn Trunajaya, but he sent a messenger ahead to inform His Majesty that he was bringing Radèn Trunajaya with his hands tied. His Majesty was very pleased and he whispered to his female servants to comfort Radèn Trunajaya's wife and take her away from his lodge in the camp. Those who received the order said that they would do as told.

534. Then His Majesty gave orders to the admiral and the bupati to line the road in honour of the arrival of Radèn Trunajaya. Those ordered carried it out. Then Radèn Trunajaya arrived. He was greeted by repeated salutes of gunfire and cannon shots, accompanied by the beating of gongs and drums, like the honours given to a bridal procession. Radèn Trunajaya looked pale. In his heart he felt great remorse and it showed in his eyes. Arriving before His Majesty, he sat down with his head bowed. His Majesty said, "Brother Trunajaya, welcome. Come a bit closer." The one addressed said, "Thank you." His Majesty spoke again, "Brother Trunajaya, release me from my vow. I don't have two vows. It is just the same vow now as it was before. My promise before was that when the time was right and prosperous, I would be on the inside and you on the outside. I would only assume the kingship out of duty, but you would take care of the outward power in the whole of Java. Accept now the rule over Java. I leave it to you, so that I may be released from my vow." Radèn Trunajaya refused to accept it. Up to three times he was ordered by His Majesty but he just kept silent. Then Pangéran Silarong said, "Why do you reject the favour of His Majesty? If you are of warrior stock, you must accept it. Only if you are of common stock, you will not accept it. And where do you find a decent man who breaks his promise?" Radèn Trunajaya then accepted the gift of His Majesty. His Majesty spoke to all the bupati, "Men, you all witness that my vow has been redeemed. The power over Java has been accepted by brother Trunajaya." His Majesty then said to Radèn Trunajaya, "Brother Trunajaya, I have one vow left. Release me from it. When I was in Tegal, I vowed that my kris Kyai Balabar here would not get a new sheath unless I had sheathed it first in your chest." The bupati grasped the meaning of His Majesty's words. They grabbed Radèn Trunajaya under

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his arms and brought him close before His Majesty. His Majesty stepped down from the throne, drew his kris and stabbed it into Radèn Trunajaya's chest all the way through to his back. The blood sprayed out. The bupati and other servants who were close by then all joined in the attack with their kris. The body of Radèn Trunajaya was cut to pieces. His Majesty then said to the bupati, "Men, all eat a piece of Trunajaya's liver." Those ordered divided the liver into small pieces the size of a fingernail and swallowed them. The killing of Radèn Trunajaya took place in the year 1602 [A.J.].

535. His Majesty then gave orders to ask the guardian of Radèn Trunajaya, who was called Secagora, about the present whereabouts of the panembahan of Kajoran. He replied that he had gone to Sonyasirna. Having said this, he requested to join his lord in death. He was then also killed.

536. Next Tumenggung Jangrana and Tumenggung Anggajaya arrived from Pasuruhan. They paid their respects to His Majesty and were ordered to stab the corpse of Radèn Trunajaya as well. Both gentlemen complied and stabbed what was left of the corpse until they were smeared with blood. The head of the corpse was then cut off and placed beneath the throne. His Majesty retired to his quarters. He gave orders to bring the head of Radèn Trunajaya along. He ordered all his female servants to wipe their feet on the head before going to sleep. In the morning he ordered the head to be pounded in a mortar until it was crushed.

537. When the wife of Radèn Trunajaya learned that her husband had been killed, she wept and reproached her brother the king that he had been killed even though he had repented. His Majesty soothed her and promised to find her another man. His younger sister complied.

538. In the morning, His Majesty went out to hold audience. He raised in rank the sons of Tumenggung Mangkuyuda of Kedhu, called Kyai Lembu and Kyai Buwang. Kyai Lembu was made bupati of Kedhu and given the title Tumenggung Mangkuyuda. Kyai Buwang became his counterpart and was given the title Tumenggung Natayuda. Then he gave orders to depart for Surabaya. When ready, they left. On arrival in Surabaya, he set up camp and visited the holy grave at Ampèl. To the pangéran of Lamongan were ceded one thousand units of land from Surabaya and given in apanage.

539. His Majesty then gave orders to Radèn Mangunjaya. He told him to go to Giri and seek permission from the pandhita there for his ascension of the throne and to demand the heirloom kris of Giri, called Kyai Kalammunyeng. Radèn Mangunjaya quickly went. On his arrival in Giri he met with the pandhita and conveyed His Majesty's orders. The pandhita asked, "Mangunjaya, who is this man called Susuhunan Mangkurat? Is he of the Mataram lineage or not? They say that he is a son of the admiral. Is that true? If he is of the Mataram lineage, I will give permission for his ascension of the throne. If he is really a son of the admiral and a descendant of a foreigner, I am not willing to give my permission." Radèn Mangunjaya said, "Your Holiness, I don't know that. As a matter of fact, I just go along with the many. As for the officials of Mataram, many have entered his service. As for the rumour, it indeed says that he is a foreigner

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under the tutelage of the admiral." The pandhita of Giri spoke again, "In that case Mangunjaya, just go back. I am unwilling to pay homage to your king and I do not agree to give my permission. The kris of mine he asks for I will not give." Radèn Mangunjaya took his leave and returned. On arrival in Surabaya he paid his respects to His Majesty and conveyed the answer of the pandhita of Giri.

540. His Majesty became very angry hearing Radèn Mangunjaya's report and he issued orders to his troops to attack Giri. When ready, they left. On reaching Giri, they came to blows. The men from Giri, about four hundred, were all wiped out. There was one kinsman from Giri, called Radèn Singasari, who was extremely strong. He fiercely attacked with his kris. They shot at him and stabbed at him with pikes, but he remained unhurt. Panembahan Natapraja of Adilangu quickly engaged him. He ran Radèn Singasari through with his pike, hitting his chest and piercing all the way through his back, and he was killed. His jaws were still tightly clenched and his hand still gripped the handle of his kris. They tried to wrest it from him, but could not. Those who saw it were astonished. The admiral shook his head. The pandhita of Giri was caught and strangled. His treasures were looted. The kris Kyai Kalammunyeng and the daughter of the pandhita were offered to His Majesty. He took the daughter as his wife. His Majesty then set up camp at Gresik. Radèn Mangunjaya was appointed bupati in Sumenep and given the title of Pangéran Cakranagara. The next morning His Majesty departed to go to Semarang. He went by way of Grobogan. On its march, the army filled the roads and the fields. Arriving in Semarang, they camped.

541. In Semarang there was a man called Kyai Buyut Kalawéyan. He had a son called Martanaya. At the time when His Majesty Mangkurat left Tegal to go to Jepara by way of the sea, Kyai Buyut Kalawéyan had offered him all kinds of fruits when they were at sea. His Majesty happened to be thirsty. He ate from the offered fruits and found them delicious. He told Kyai Buyut Kalawéyan to come and pay his respects again later when His Majesty had become victorious in the war. When His Majesty arrived in Semarang, Kyai Buyut Kalawéyan went with his son to pay their respects and again presented him with an offering of fruits. His Majesty said to the bupati, "Men, you all witness that I now appoint the son of Buyut Kalawéyan, called Martanaya, bupati of Semarang. I give him the title Mas Rangga Yudanagara." The bupati agreed in unison. Kyai Buyut and his son prostrated themselves before His Majesty. They were exceedingly happy to receive the reward.

542. His Majesty held a consultation to find an appropriate place to build a palace. The adipati all offered their advice. Some advised Tingkir, others Logendèr, but His Majesty did not yet agree. Then Adipati Urawan said, "My lord, to my mind it would be best to build the palace in Wanakarta. The land is flat and offers a commanding view. Moreover, I want to tell you the story that when your late grandfather Pangéran Pekik of Surabaya was summoned to Mataram, he slept on the way in the village of Butuh. At night he slept at the foot of the holy grave and then heard a voice. The voice said,

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"Pekik, you should know that later when Mataram has been conquered, your grandson will become king. He will have his palace in Wanakarta, to the west of Pajang."

543. When His Majesty heard Adipati Urawan's story, he was very pleased. It matched his wishes. He told Radèn Adipati Nrangkusuma, "Nrangkusuma, you go to Wanakarta, Immediately clear the forest, build houses and plan a palace. I will shortly follow you." Radèn Adipati Nrangkusuma said that he would do as told and left with his men. On arrival in Wanakarta, he cleared the forest, built houses and laid out a palace.

544. His Majesty then left Semarang. His followers and soldiers, as well as the admiral and his Company troops all accompanied him. On arrival in Wanakarta, he moved into the palace. It happened on the day of Rebo Pon, the 27th of the month Ruwah in the year Alip 1603 [A.J.]. Wanakarta was renamed Kartasura Adiningrat. His Majesty then sent a messenger with a letter to summon his younger brother His Majesty Susuhunan Ingalaga, who was residing in the palace of Plèrèd. The messenger travelled posthaste.

545. In the morning Sinuhun Ngalaga went out to hold audience. All the servants from Mataram were there to pay homage. Adipati Arya Mandhalika said, "Your Majesty, I have heard that your elder brother Pangéran Adipati Anom now has ascended the throne with the title Prabu Mangkurat, that his army consists of all sorts of foreigners, and even that Trunajaya has died because he was defeated in war by your brother. However, there are people who say that he is the son of the admiral impersonating your elder brother in order to make the people of Java submit to him." His Majesty asked, "What is the evidence that this Susuhunan Mangkurat is not my elder brother Pangéran Adipati Anom?" Adipati Mandhalika said, "The indication that he is not your elder brother is that every day he wears Dutch clothes and day and night does not part with the Company. However, when you think about it, the former people of the Kadipatèn still serve His Majesty Mangkurat, so he might really be your elder brother." His Majesty was much bewildered when he heard the report of Adipati Mandhalika. Finally, he said to the bupati, "Men, be all on your guard and prepare your weapons. The one who is called Susuhunan Mangkurat is, I guess, not my brother Pangéran Adipati Anom, because my brother went on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Even if he is indeed my elder brother, I do not accept that he should become king ruling the whole of Java because he is allied with unbelievers. This will certainly ruin all the people of Java." The servants all agreed in unison, approving of what His Majesty had said.

546. While they were still engaged in talking about it, they were interrupted by the arrival of the messenger from Kartasura. He offered the letter to Sinuhun Ngalaga. The letter was accepted and read. It said that His Majesty Mangkurat summoned his younger brother Sinuhun Ngalaga because they had not seen one another for a long time and was very much longing to see him. Sinuhun Ngalaga said to the messenger, "Messenger, you return. As for this summons, I will first think it over." The messenger took his leave and returned to Kartasura.

547. His Majesty then asked his ministers, "Bupati, what is your advice on my being summoned to Kartasura? Do I have to go to pay homage, or not?" Adipati Mandhalika

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said, "I do not feel good about it. This may be the result of the skill of the Company in devising some trick and have a foreigner pretending to be your brother." Pangéran Natakusuma continued, "Your Majesty, I think that it is best that you go. It is out of the question that the man who sent that letter is not your brother, because the people from the coastal regions have all submitted to him and, moreover, all the old servants of your brother still serve him now. This shows that he really is your brother." Adipati Mandhalika continued, "No, you are wrong, because this Susuhunan Mangkurat looks Dutch. In my opinion, it is just a trick of the Company so that all Javanese will submit. Hence it is not good to to be tricked into this." The bupati were unanimous. They agreed to what Adipati Mandhalika said. His Majesty was in two minds. Eventually he said to Pangéran Natakusuma, "Uncle Natakusuma, you go to Kartasura and closely observe what Susuhunan Mangkurat looks like, whether he is indeed my elder brother or not. Take Natabrata with you, but just go without retinue." Pangéran Natakusuma said that he would do as told and left together with Pangéran Natabrata.

548. His Majesty Sunan Mangkurat went out to hold audience. He questioned the servant who had been sent to Mataram. The messenger conveyed the answer of his younger brother. It set His Majesty thinking very much. They were interrupted by the arrival of Pangéran Natakusuma and Pangéran Natabrata. They both paid their respects to His Majesty. His Majesty was very much surprised and said, "Well, you have come uncle Natakusuma, and Natabrata. Thanks God, uncle, that you are safe and sound. Is your son, my younger brother Puger, also well? And have you been sent by my younger brother?" Pangéran Natakusuma said, "Sinuhun, Your Majesty's younger brother is still well. I have been sent by your younger brother to carefully observe Your Majesty because Your Majesty is rumoured to be the son of the admiral, and therefore your younger brother has not come to pay homage." His Majesty laughed and said, "If that is the case, uncle, you'd better go back to Mataram immediately and tell that it is really I who have ascended the throne. You ask my younger brother to come here quickly. I am dying to see him." Pangéran Natakusuma said that he would do as told and then said to Pangéran Natabrata, "The easiest is if just you go back. Tell His Majesty that it is indeed his elder brother who has ascended the throne. You must speak clearly. As for myself, I won't go back because His Majesty will certainly come here. I would just be going back and forth." Pangéran Natabrata said that he would do as told and left.

549. His Majesty Ngalaga went out on the Sitinggil and was paid homage by all his men. Then Pangéran Natabrata arrived. He paid his respects to His Majesty, but as if it had been predestined by the will of God, he lied and said, "My lord, I have closely observed what His Majesty Mangkurat looks like. However, there is only a little likeness with your brother. It seems that he is indeed a son of the admiral. As for uncle Natakusuma, he did not want to return and entered the service of the king of the Company." When Sunan Ngalaga heard the report of Pangéran Natabrata, he was even more at his wits' end, and he said to himself, "If this king in Kartasura were not my brother, why should uncle Natakusuma be willing to stay behind?" Then Adipati Mandhalika said, "My

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lord, what do you want to do? If you ask me, I would advise you not to pay homage because you have already ascended the throne. If you submit without reason, it would be humiliating. Moreover, you would certainly lose your title of sunan and just be called pangéran. The same will happen to my colleagues the bupati. They will indeed lose their rank and position and inevitably become commoners. If it came to that, they would certainly prefer to die fighting the Company." The bupati unanimously agreed with what Adipati Mandhalika had said.

550. When His Majesty was urged on from all sides by the bupati, his courage grew and he became angry. He gave orders to call up troops and assemble arms to attack Kartasura.

551. His Majesty Mangkurat had already heard that his younger brother actually refused to come and, incited by his bupati, was assembling arms. It gave him very much food for thought and he ordered the admiral and the bupati to equip the troops. He wanted to lead the march against Mataram himself. The army of Kartasura had gathered. The soldiers of the Company were deployed on the Alun-alun. The drums sounded without a break. The men from the coastal regions and the outer regions filled the alleys, His Majesty was wearing a Dutch costume with stockings and shoes, breeches with buttons at the knee, and a three-layered coat open at the chest, made of velvet and decorated with gold braid, and a tripartite golden breastplate bedecked with gems. He wore a cocked hat with a split and fitted with gold and vermillion trimmings. He carried a sabre in a scabbard which was tied with a belt of gold braid. Seen from afar, he looked like the Governor General travelling to Java. When ready they left. The army marched with a thundering noise, in time with the beating of the drums and the sounds of the trumpets of the Company troops. His Majesty rode a horse which was tackled in Dutch fashion. They reached the village of Malinjon and set up camp there. The vanguard of the army had already reached Taji and Prambanan.

552. Sunan Ngalaga had already received word that the army of Kartasura was on its way, that the vanguard had already penetrated into Taji and that the number of troops was countless. He gave orders to march the army out. The commanders of the vanguard were Adipati Mandhalika and Tumenggung Gajahpramada. His Majesty rode a horse and led the rearguard. By nature he was handsome, well-built, and wore his clothes well. At that time, he was thirty years old and at the height of his self-confidence. The army reached Kaliajir and the vanguard was already fully engaged at Kalibening. Sunan Ngalaga then left his escort with his regalia and galloped to the front to lead the troops who were already engaged in battle. The servants with the regalia escorted Pangéran Panular.

553. When the troops of Sunan Ngalaga saw that their lord was leading the battle in person, they cheered and swept forward en masse. The army of Kartasura met the attack. Many were killed. The survivors were shocked and broke ranks. They fled to the rear. It was reported to His Majesty Mangkurat that the vanguard had been defeated. His Majesty was very much upset and said to the bupati, "My brother truly doesn't care

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about me any more. When you see him fighting in person, men, just stand aside, so he will come before me." Having said this, he gave orders to sound the signals to attack. The troops of Sunan Ngalaga met the attack. A fierce fight ensued. The right and left wings also fought fiercely. Friend or foe, many were killed. However, the balance of troops was one against a hundred, that is to say, one soldier of the army of Sunan Ngalaga stood against one hundred soldiers of the army of Sunan Mangkurat. Nevertheless, many of the soldiers of Mangkurat's army were killed because Ngalaga's men were very brave, since they were led by their lord himself.

554. Then the bupati advised Sunan Ngalaga to retreat and just remain on guard in Plèrèd. His Majesty followed the advice, while his soldiers kept on fighting fiercely.

555. His Majesty Mangkurat was very surprised to see the fierceness of the fight, and he kept on praising his younger brother saying that he knew how to fight. Eventually, many of Ngalaga's troops were killed. Tumenggung Gajahpramada was killed when hit by a ball from a small cannon. Then Ngalaga's army broke and fled to Plèrèd. They placed two big guns in position, called Subrastha and Gunturgeni, and took all precautions.

556. His Majesty Mangkurat pursued them to Plèrèd and attacked in force. Ngalaga's troops fired their big guns repeatedly. Many of Mangkurat's troops, Javanese and Dutch, were killed. However, Ngalaga's men were overwhelmed by their opponents, since they were few and their enemy many. Adipati Mandhalika was killed outside the Alun-alun. When Sunan Ngalaga learned that Adipati Mandhalika had been killed, he became very angry. He quickly mounted his horse and raised the lance Kyai Plèrèd. Then he blindly attacked together with his remaining men. Many of the troops of Mangkurat who were attacked were killed, but when they saw that His Majesty Ngalaga was leading the charge in person, they quickly parted to the left and right. Some ran to the rear of His Majesty Mangkurat.

557. His Majesty Mangkurat then ordered the admiral to place the Company troops to the rear of him. Adipati Urawan quickly told His Majesty to take off his Dutch clothes and just wear Javanese clothes so his younger brother would not fail to recognize him. His Majesty followed the advice, put on Javanese clothes and showed himself.

558. When Sunan Ngalaga came close to the place where his elder brother was standing, he looked out for him, shading his eyes with his hand. He kept looking intently at the person who was shaded by a gleaming parasol. Eventually, he recognized that it was indeed his elder brother. He made a gesture of respect from the back of his horse. Then he turned the horse, whipped it and quickly galloped away. His Majesty left the palace accompanied by all his followers. He wanted to go to Pagelèn because he felt very embarrassed in front of his elder brother.

559. When His Majesty Mangkurat saw that his younger brother had fled, he was very much upset and held back his tears. He said to himself, "What if it goes on like this? Many of the common people will certainly sustain serious damage. It will be no joy for me to be king. My younger brother will remain in trouble." Having said this to himself,

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he stayed for one night in the town of Plèrèd and gave orders to follow his fleeing brother at a distance. Those ordered quickly departed. The next morning His Majesty left and returned to Kartasura.

560. It is told that the fleeing Sunan Ngalaga took refuge in Salinga. In that territory there was a rebel who had already assembled an army, called Raja Namrud. This man promised to wipe out the Dutch just by farting at them and they were bound to be destroyed. As a favour, Sunan Ngalaga gave Raja Namrud a woman in marriage. After a while, he asked him to come along and attack Kartasura, but Raja Namrud just kept postponing it. This made His Majesty angry and impatient. He left Salinga and went to Pagelèn. In Pagelèn there was Pangéran Pamenang whom Raja Namrud wanted to install as king.

561. On his arrival in Pagelèn, Sunan Ngalaga assembled troops. When he had raised a great number of them, he departed. Coming to the village of Prapag he fought with the troops from Kartasura. The troops from Kartasura were put to flight. They fled to Plèrèd chased by their enemy. They broke up from Plèrèd in order to return to Kartasura, but they were chased all the way to Sanggung, where their enemy were camped. Sunan Ngalaga then gave orders to surround Kartasura and plunder the nearby villages.

562. His Majesty Sunan Mangkurat had already been informed that his younger brother planned to surround Kartasura and gave orders to march the troops out. When ready, they marched out. His Majesty led them in person. Before long they engaged in a fierce battle in the village of Jabung. But it was as if a mountain had crashed on the troops of Sunan Ngalaga. They broke and all fled. When they came to the village of Kuwel, Sunan Ngalaga set up camp.

563. His Majesty Mangkurat returned to Kartasura. When he came to the palace, he summoned Adipati Urawan and gave him the following orders. "Urawan, I want you to go and persuade my brother. It is up to you how you do it. Try to make him willing to meet me. Don't take any servants with you. Just go by yourself." Adipati Urawan said that he would do as told and left at night dressed in rags. In the morning he arrived at the village of Koripan and mixed among the grass cutters of Sunan Ngalaga. When asked whose groom he was, Adipati Urawan answered, "I am the groom of Tumenggung Tambakbaya. I just got a beating and I ran away to hide myself here. I want to go inside the compound of His Majesty with you. If I stay out here, I might be spotted by my lord and I am bound to get a beating again." The grass cutters of His Majesty felt sorry for Adipati Urawan. They took him along inside the camp and gave him a leaf with rice chaff to carry.

564. Adipati Urawan reached His Majesty's stable. Sunan Ngalaga just happened to come to inspect his horses. Adipati Urawan quickly fell down touching his feet in respect. He pleaded a lot while weeping, trying to make His Majesty willing to pay his respects to his elder brother. His Majesty was touched by the words of Adipati Urawan and he said with a tearful expression, "Urawan, be quiet, don't cry lest I start crying too. I will

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do what you say, but you go ahead. I will straightaway follow to pay my respects to my brother." Adipati Urawan said, "My lord, it would be better if you sent a messenger to your brother yourself. I will just go tomorrow together with you." His Majesty said, "You are right, Urawan." Having said this, he returned to his quarters and gave orders to Demang Kaleng, "Demang Kaleng, you go to Kartasura and present this letter of mine to my brother the king." The latter said that he would do as told and left, taking seven servants all on horseback.

565. His Majesty Mangkurat went out to hold audience. At that very moment, Demang Kaleng arrived in Kartasura. He went to pay his respects to His Majesty and to present the letter. Having read the letter, His Majesty said to Radèn Nrangkusuma, "Nrangkusuma, issue orders to all my men that next Monday I will go to meet my younger brother." Radèn Nrangkusuma said that he would do as told. As for Demang Kaleng, he had already been given a reply and he straightaway withdrew from the presence of the king.

566. His Majesty Mangkurat departed accompanied by all his men and the admiral with his Company troops. They halted in the village of Sanggung on the north bank of the river. As for Demang Kaleng, he had reached the village of Kuwel and had given the letter to Sunan Ngalaga. Having read the letter, His Majesty announced to his men that he wished to go and pay his respects to his elder brother, and he ordered them to tie their weapons in bundles. When ready, they left Kuwel. On arrival in Sanggung on the south bank of the river, Sunan Ngalaga was shocked to see the troops of the Company and he failed to recognize his elder brother whom he took for the leader of the Company. He gave orders to cut the ropes of the bundled weapons. The soldiers quickly grabbed their own weapons. When the troops of Mangkurat saw it, they were on their alert. Adipati Urawan quickly embraced the feet of Sunan Ngalaga and said while weeping, "My lord, what are you planning to do?" His Majesty answered, "That is not my elder brother. That must be a Dutchman. My brother did not look like that before. I don't want to pay homage to a Dutchman. I would rather die." Adipati Urawan said, "My lord, in that case I ask you to just stay here for a while. I will cross over to the north bank. Please wait. I will then return here."

567. Adipati Urawan crossed to the north bank of the river and paid his respects before Sunan Mangkurat. He told him to take his Dutch clothes off and just wear a Javanese attire. His Majesty followed his advice. Adipati Urawan quickly returned to the south bank, paid his respects before Sunan Ngalaga and said, "My lord, take a look at who is standing on the north bank of the river." When His Majesty looked, he recognized his elder brother. He quickly crossed over to the north bank. His elder brother came to meet him, and he threw himself at the feet of his elder brother. Sunan Mangkurat embraced and kissed him. Both wept, because they had not met for a long time, had been yearning for each other and remembered their late father. This happened in the year 1604 [A.J.].

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84. Untung is adopted by Captain Mur*
** The texts of the Revised Prose Version and the Major Babad are at this point not synchronous. The missing section 83 can be found after section 90*

568. His Majesty Mangkurat told the kinsmen and the bupati who accompanied him, "Men, you should all pay your respects to my brother." Those ordered quickly paid their respects in turn. Then the admiral and all his officers greeted him one by one. The Javanese and Company soldiers were glad to see that their lord and his younger brother were at peace with one another because they hoped that there would be no more war.

569. Both their Majesties then departed. They returned to Kartasura and went into the palace. The onlookers, men and women, were packed along the road. The young king was given a residence to the north of the palace, but every day he stayed in the palace, and only at night did he return to his residence.

570. When some time had passed, Sunan Ngalaga of his own volition offered his title of sunan to his elder brother. He just wanted to use his old name. His elder brother granted the request and proclaimed that his younger brother from now on was called Pangéran Adipati Puger, and that he was given an appanage of four thousand karya.

571. His Majesty then ordered Tumenggung Mangkuyuda to attack the rebels in the village of Salinga, called Raja Namrud and Pangéran Pamenang. This was done. Both rebels were caught, put into pig's baskets and taken to Kartasura where they were killed.

572. At that time the realm of Kartasura was prosperous. The people felt good and the villagers were successful with their crops. The admiral and his Company troops asked permission to return to Batavia. His Majesty gave permission and granted the Company the realm of Cirebon and the Sunda lands. Moreover, he promised to provide compensation for the ammunition used, and the war expenses, as well as the costs of the Company men who had died in battle. The admiral asked permission to build a fort in Semarang. His Majesty gave permission and received forty Company troops to guard His Majesty. Their officers were: one captain, one lieutenant, and one ensign. The admiral then left Kartasura. On arrival in Semarang, he carefully searched for a good place to build a fort. When he had found it, he boarded a ship and reached Batavia safely.

573. Now we will revert to a story that happened earlier at the time of the conquest of Makassar. There was in Batavia a refugee called Kyai Pambèbèr. He had a boy whom he had brought along, aged about seven years, who was very handsome. He sold him to a Dutchman, called Captain Mur. After buying the boy, Captain Mur enjoyed a great amount of good luck as a result of his business dealings. Eventually, he rose in rank to become major, then commissioner, then a member of the Council of the Indies. And he became richer and richer. In the mind of the Honourable Mur, he had found luck and an immense fortune because of this boy and he therefore called him Untung. He adopted him and indulged him in all his whims. The Honourable Mur also had a very beautiful daughter. He treated her and Untung as brother and sister. When they became adults, they became lovers.

574. At that time, Miss Mur kept stealing from her father's belongings and giving them to Untung. He received a lot because whatever he asked, he got. However, this did not

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make him rich. He just gave it to his Balinese, Buginese and Makassarese friends who like him were slaves of the Dutch. Their number was eighty and they became rich. These eighty friends became Untung's soul mates because they felt indebted to him.

575. Eventually, the Honourable Mur found out that his daughter was having a love affair with Untung and that many of his belongings had gone. One day, they were caught in the act. The Honourable Mur became terribly angry when he saw their improper conduct. Untung was caught and beaten with a stick within an inch of his life. He cried out asking for forgiveness. The Honourable Mur felt sorry for him and forgave him. After a while, they made love again. Again it was found out. Untung was caught and put into jail. He was put together with all the other prisoners and put in the stocks. Miss Mur was thrashed within an inch of her life.

576. Untung was very wretched in prison. He was in the stocks with sixty others. After some time, Untung said to his fellow prisoners, "My fellow friends in the stocks, what do you think? If it goes on like this, we will be bound to die in jail." Those asked replied, "Untung, what else can we think of it? After all, we cannot move like this. It is totally inconceivable that we could get loose. First of all, these stocks are made of iron and are very strong. Secondly, we are inside a stone building, and thirdly it is guarded outside by Company troops." Untung answered, "What if one man with the help of God could free all the men in these stocks?" An old man replied, "Untung, you really are a braggart. I am an old man and I haven't eaten in here for seven months, and still I couldn't get out. How could you who are still a boy get out? I don't believe you at all." Untung said, "Ah, I am not asking your opinion. I am asking all these others." The men in jail replied, "Untung, if someone could get us out of these stocks, we would definitely follow all his orders, even if it would mean our death, we would accept it. It is dreadful to die in the stocks, we'd rather die fighting." Hearing what they said, Untung smiled and pulled his feet out of the iron stocks. Those who saw it gazed at it in astonishment. Then he freed them from their shackles, but not the old man who had scoffed at him. Even though he begged him to be freed, Untung did not heed him. Those who were freed said, "Untung, since we all got out of the stocks because of you, we now ask what your orders are and we will follow them." Untung answered, "I want to attack the Dutch and I ask you all to join the attack." The men answered, "If that is what you want, give us arms and find us rice, because we haven't eaten for a long time, so we may be strong in the attack." Untung smiled and said, "Very well, you just stay here, I'll go by myself." Having said that, he pushed the door of the jail and the bolt flew off. At that moment he remembered that he was carrying a small dagger hidden in his belt which was supernaturally very powerful. He stabbed and killed the Dutchman who was guarding the jail. He then put the bolt back on the door.

577. Untung went away to search for his comrades. On his way he met two of them. They embraced and wept. They asked him to return with them to their home. Then he had his whole band of friends come there, and they indeed came, eighty in all. Untung asked for a great quantity of rice and other food and betel quid, as well as weapons

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such as pikes, krisses and swords. His friends provided everything and promised that they would share his fate and join the attack.

578. Untung was very happy to hear their promise. He told them to take the rice with the other food and the weapons and take them to the jail. The sixty men in the jail were told to eat. They fell onto the food and ate noisily smacking their lips. They stood in awe of Untung. After they had eaten, he gave them the weapons, each to his own liking. Then he deployed them in the yard of the jail where they remained on guard.

579. Before long, the Company troops who were going to relieve the guard arrived. They consisted of nine [men including a] corporal. Untung and his friends attacked. Eight of the Company men were killed. The remaining soldier ran away to report to his superior. The superior officer quickly gave orders to beat the drums and sound the trumpets. The Company troops assembled, only one brigade, and were dispatched to the jail. On their arrival there, they fired their guns. Untung met the attack and a fierce melee ensued. Untung stabbed left and right. They peppered him with gun fire, but he was not hit. The whole brigade of Company troops was killed, but reinforcements kept coming. Eventually, Untung's sixty fellow fighters were all killed. Untung fled, pursued by the Company troops who shot at him, but did not hit him.

580. Untung fled to Bètèng Alang-alang where he hid himself. The Company troops lost track of him and returned. As for Untung, he went to town every night to meet his band of eighty friends. They went together with him to Bètèng Alang-alang taking arms with them. They intended to share Untung's fate.

581. At that time, Untung went to town every evening at five or six o'clock taking his small dagger with him, hidden in a packet of betel leaves. Whenever he met Company men who had gone out for a stroll, he whacked them with the packet of betel leaves which contained the small dagger and killed them. Eventually, it became known to the whole of Batavia that Untung had escaped and that many Company men who had gone out for a stroll were being killed. The Dutchmen throughout Batavia were paralyzed with fear and nobody dared to go out for a stroll. Then they prepared a trap. One brigade of Company troops hid on both sides of the road, while they put one Company soldier on the road as bait.

582. At five o'clock in the early evening, Untung arrived. The Company soldier who was left as bait he whacked with the packet of betel leaves containing the small dagger and killed him. The brigade of Company troops peppered him with gunfire from both sides of the road. Untung attacked with his small dagger and managed to kill twelve Company men. Then he fled. The Company troops followed him at a distance. When Untung's comrades who were in Bètèng Alang-alang heard the sound of gunfire, they quickly swung into action to help him. A fierce fight with the Company troops ensued. Ten of his comrades were killed. The brigade of Company troops was wiped out. Only three were left who ran away. They reported to their superior officer who then informed the Governor General.

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583. The Governor General quickly gave orders to dispatch a brigade of Company troops under the command of the invincible admiral. When they arrived at Bètèng Alang-alang a fierce fight ensued. Many Buginese and Makassarese troops were killed, but reinforcements kept pouring in like water. They fired their guns from all sides. Half of Untung's eighty comrades had already been killed. The remaining forty men fled. Then they were overtaken by darkness. The Company troops returned to town.

584. During the night, Untung conferred with his comrades about what would be best to do. There was an elder called Kyai Ebun. He urged Untung to leave Bètèng Alang-alang and flee to Cirebon. Untung and his forty comrades agreed. At night, they departed. They travelled to the southeast to go to Cirebon.

585. In the morning all available Company troops were mobilized, dispatched to Bètèng Alang-alang, and ordered to exterminate Untung and his friends. However, they found the place empty. They searched through the immediate surroundings, but found nobody. The Company men were very disappointed. The admiral dispatched thirty men on horseback to search for Untung. They went all the way to Cianjur. There they got news that Untung had gone to the east. They ordered the people in Cianjur to post a guard and whenever someone passed without carrying merchandise to take him into custody and hand him over to Batavia. Having given these orders, they returned to Batavia.

586. Untung reached Cirebon where he ran into the adopted son of the Sultan of Cirebon, called Radèn Surapati who happened to be on his way to go hunting in the forest. He was escorted by a hundred men, all carrying weapons. Radèn Surapati was surprised when he saw Untung. He stopped him and asked, "Brother, where are you from, and what is your name? Where are you going?" Untung replied, "I am from Batavia. I am a slave of the Company and my name is Untung. The reason why I have left Batavia is because I have been maltreated by the Company. I want to seek refuge with the sultan here. Maybe he will take pity on a miserable and pitiful man." When Radèn Surapati heard Untung's account, he said to himself, "If this man is presented to His Majesty the Sultan, he will be very much liked, because his looks are good, his manners excellent, and he is daring. Even though I am the favourite of His Majesty the Sultan, I think that if there is a man like that, I will be demoted to second place." He said to Untung, "Brother, if you really want to enter the service of His Majesty the Sultan, I will present you, but hand over all your and your men's weapons." Untung handed over all the weapons of his men, but he himself still wore his kris. Radèn Surapati asked, "Why, brother, do you yourself not hand over your kris, whereas your men have all handed over their weapons?" Untung replied soothingly, "Young man, I humbly request that I may be allowed to keep my kris. I hope that you will vouch for me with His Majesty the Sultan." Radèn Surapati snarled while he glared at him, "Ah, in that case your intentions are not good. Do I have to use force? What can one man do?" Untung was very startled and his courage rose. He replied, "No way will I hand over my kris which you demand, unless you cut off both my arms. For that you have my permission."

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587. Radèn Surapati quickly ordered his men to jump on Untung. Untung immediately sprang away while telling his men to get out of the way. Then he attacked. In his right hand he held his small dagger and in his left hand his kris. They stabbed at him with krisses and pikes, but did not hit him. And if they happened to hit him, it had no effect. Ten of Radèn Surapati's men were killed. The other ninety ran away. Radèn Surapati also fled with them to inform His Majesty the Sultan. Untung and his men pursued the fleeing men.

588. Radèn Surapati paid his respects before His Majesty the Sultan and reported that he had been assaulted on the way by a man from Batavia called Untung. He had forty followers and at present was following him here. He blabbered on and on.

589. His Majesty the Sultan quickly sent a messenger to summon Untung. He entered escorted by the messenger, while his men were stopped outside the outer gate. Arriving before His Majesty, he paid his respects. His Majesty asked, "Untung, how many men did you bring coming into my lands here?" Untung replied, "My lord, I have only forty men." When His Majesty the Sultan heard this information, he became extremely angry at Radèn Surapati and said, "Surapati, if that is the case, you are more than bad because normally forty men would not dare to assault one hundred men. Moreover, Untung is from another country. He would certainly not dare to maltreat the natives here. Why did you behave like this? I adopted you and you did not suffer a lack of anything, but in the end you besmirched my realm." Having said this, he gave orders to his men, "Hey, men of Cirebon, quickly grab Surapati!" The men grabbed Radèn Surapati and bound him. They were then told to stab him to death on the Alun-alun, which indeed was done.

590. His Majesty said to Untung, "You don't need to tell me anything. I know already what you want. You want to seek refuge with me. I am very thankful for that, but I am not powerful enough to harbour you, because my realm is very small. I can only give you a piece of advice. Continue to the east and seek refuge with the king of Mataram. He is probably powerful enough to shelter you, for his realm is big and he rules over the people of all Java. Moreover, Untung, I tell you that it has been destined by God that you and your descendants in future will be the foe of the Dutch. And I will bequeath you a name. You be called Radèn Surapati. Well, go now. I will pray for you."

591. Radèn Surapati was extremely grateful. He made a sembah and bowed deeply touching the feet of His Majesty the Sultan. He took his leave and went outside. Meeting his men he told them what His Majesty had said. They were all happy that Radèn Surapati had received the blessings of a king of the faithful.

592. Radèn Surapati spoke again, "It is now my wish to name Kyai Ebun Kyai Ebunjaladri and he shall command these forty men because he is the eldest. The forty men agreed. Then they left heading eastwards. On reaching Malang, they turned to the south. Having arrived in Banyumas, they stopped in the village of Ajibarang.

593. In the village of Ajibarang there were two village chiefs, both brothers, called Saradenta and Saradenti. They were set up as king by Radèn Surapati and given the titles

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Prabu Saradenta and Prabu Saradenti. They then subjected the villagers nearby. When they had many men, they struck at Banyumas. The adipati of Banyumas was defeated. Driven from the town, he deployed his troops to the east of the town.

594. Prabu Saradenta, Prabu Saradenti, and Radèn Surapati then occupied the town of Banyumas. Kyai Ebunjaladri was made patih of Prabu Saradenta, and Prabu Saradenti commanded the whole army.

595. One day, Radèn Surapati whispered to Kyai Ebunjaladri, "Father, you stay behind and stay camped here, and keep on subjugating the villagers. I want to go to Kartasura to take service with His Majesty Prabu Mangkurat. When your kings ask about me, pretend that I have gone to practice asceticism in the mountains. As for my final instructions to you, if later a messenger from me comes here who brings as a token this ring of mine, then you should seize both your kings and hand them over to me with their hands bound. Kyai Ebunjaladri promised to do so.

596. That night Radèn Surapati left on his own. On reaching Kartasura, he headed for the residence of Radèn Adipati Nrangkusuma. Radèn Adipati Nrangkusuma asked, "Younger brother, where are you from and what is your name?" Radèn Surapati answered, "I am from Batavia and my name is Surapati. I have come here to seek refuge. I want to enter your service. As for presenting me to His Majesty, I leave that up to you. The reason that I left Batavia is because I was maltreated by the Company. If the Company later demands my extradition, you should not refuse, but tell them to catch me themselves. I just ask that the Javanese do not get involved, and just look on. I myself will handle the tricks of the Dutch." Radèn Adipati Nrangkusuma felt sorry hearing Radèn Surapati's tale. He liked the way he looked, handsome and still young. He replied, "Well, don't worry. I will present you to His Majesty." Radèn Surapati was then given a place to stay and was treated with honour. He was adopted as a younger member of the family and every day was asked to join dinner.

597. It is told that the adipati of Banyumas, when he was defeated in battle by Prabu Saradenta, sent a report to Kartasura. When His Majesty was informed, he ordered Radèn Adipati Nrangkusuma to go out against the rebels. Then Radèn Surapati proposed to Radèn Adipati Nrangkusuma that he should undertake to catch the rebel by himself. He only asked to be accompanied by one representative. Radèn Adipati Nrangkusuma gave his permission and went to the palace. Appearing before His Majesty he said, "My lord, I report to Your Majesty that a man has come to me, a fugitive from Batavia called Surapati. He wants to enter your service to save his life, because he has been maltreated by the Company. He requests that if in future the Company demands his extradition, you just agree, but tell them to catch him themselves. As for your Javanese subjects, no one should get involved, they should all just look on. Surapati takes it upon himself to resist the Company. Even if he is overwhelmed by a thousand men, he will not be afraid. When he heard that I had been ordered to go out against the rebels, he proposed that he would undertake to catch and kill the rebels in Banyumas. In short, my lord, unless you disagree, I advise to take Surapati up on his promise. If he really can kill

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the rebels, he will be taken into service. If not, he will just be driven out." His Majesty replied, "Nrangkusuma, I just follow what you want, for I trust you."

598. Radèn Adipati Nrangkusuma was very pleased when he heard His Majesty's words. He withdrew from the presence of His Majesty, met Surapati and passed on the orders of His Majesty that his request had been granted. Radèn Surapati was very happy. Then he left Kartasura with the adipati of Banyumas. On arrival in Banyumas, he set up quarters in the village of Kalijirak.

599. Radèn Surapati at once dispatched two boys as messengers. He gave them his ring and told them to hand it to Kyai Ebunjaladri. When Kyai Ebunjaladri received the ring, he remembered Radèn Surapati's previous instruction. He secretly informed the men who had been brought from Batavia and told them to arm themselves. When ready, they went to pay their respects to the kings.

600. The two kings were amusing themselves with cockfighting. They were surprised to see Kyai Ebunjaladri approaching and asked, "Father Ebunjaladri, what is the news? Come closer!" Kyai Ebunjaladri said, "There is no news at all. I just came to pay my respects." Having said this, he winked at his men. They sprang on Prabu Saradenta and Prabu Saradenti. They were bound while their men all dispersed. Saradenta and Saradenti were then brought to where Radèn Surapati was staying. There their heads were cut off and all their possessions seized. Radèn Surapati and the adipati of Banyumas then returned to Kartasura.

601. His Majesty Mangkurat went out to hold audience on the Sitinggil. At that moment the adipati of Banyumas and Radèn Surapati arrived in Kartasura. They went to pay their respects to His Majesty and presented the heads of both rebels together with the captured people and the plunder. His Majesty was very pleased and gave orders to stick the heads of the rebels on poles at the crossroads. He also presented money and clothes to Radèn Surapati and his forty men. As for Radèn Surapati taking service, he was accepted but entrusted to Radèn Adipati Nrangkusuma. His Majesty returned to the palace. Radèn Surapati was taken home by Radèn Adipati Nrangkusuma and shown great favour.

602. It is told that in Batavia the Company had already received word that Untung was now serving His Majesty in Kartasura and stood in high favour, and of course that he had changed his name to Radèn Surapati. The Governor General and the members of the Council of the Indies deliberated. They reached the decision to check with the Company men who would be willing and who dared to fight Radèn Surapati, but no one took it up because they knew his way of fighting. The Governor General and the councillors were in a quandary. Then they issued an order that whoever could capture Radèn Surapati would be given a large reward and raised in rank.

603. There was a Dutchman with the rank of captain called Tak. He was invincible and in battle was without match. He was the son of the distinguished man who in the past had conquered Makassar. He promised to capture Radèn Surapati. The Governor General took him by the hand and told him to sit next to him. Then he poured him a drink.

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The members of the Council of the Indies and the officers paid him compliments and poured him drinks in turn. Captain Tak was big, muscular and strong. He often wore a golden crown, the wing-like ornaments of kings in theatre and bracelets on his upper arms. When you looked at him, he looked like a demon king. He was told to get ready. They provided him with four hundred Company troops and an official gift with a letter to be presented to His Majesty. When ready, he departed by ship and headed for Jepara. The commander of Jepara quickly went to meet him. Captain Tak and his soldiers were then taken to the fort.

604. Captain Tak dispatched an adjutant and a sergeant with the letter of the Governor General for His Majesty. The messengers left at once. When they reached Kartasura, His Majesty just happened to be sitting in state. They headed for Radèn Adipati Sindureja and gave him the letter which was quickly presented to His Majesty. After His Majesty had read the letter, he whispered to Radèn Adipati Sindureja, "Sindureja, you should know that this is a letter from grandfather Governor General. He requests the extradition of Surapati. What is your advice?" Radèn Adipati Sindureja said, "Your Majesty, in my opinion it is best to hand him over immediately because he is a fugitive from the Company. If you don't hand him over, the Company will certainly feel offended. Moreover, if you hold onto Surapati, what would it be for? It might even disturb your realm." His Majesty replied, "In that case, Sindureja, let these messengers rest first. Give them a good place to stay and don't let them suffer a lack of anything. Moreover, you should tell my younger brother Adipati Puger, Adipati Cakraningrat, and Jangrana that I summon them to come to the palace tonight. They should enter secretly. Let no one see them." Radèn Adipati Sindureja said that he would do as told. His Majesty returned to the palace.

605. As soon as night fell Pangéran Adipati Puger, Adipati Cakraningrat, Tumenggung Jangrana, and Radèn Adipati Sindureja visited the palace. They walked furtively. When they reached His Majesty, they sat close to him. His Majesty said in a low voice, "The reason that I have summoned you is that I received a letter from the Governor General which contains a request for the extradition of Surapati. The envoy is called Tak and his rank is captain. At present he is still in Jepara. What is your advice on this?" Adipati Cakraningrat said, "My lord, it is best to hand him over with bound hands. The reason is that if you refuse to surrender him, you inevitably will become enemies with the Company." Tumenggung Jangrana concurred with this advice. His Majesty was very much in a quandary when he heard the opinions of both bupati and for a long time he remained silent. When Pangéran Puger saw that his elder brother was looking at a loss, he said, "Brother Majesty, if you hand Surapati over that would still be called ill-treatment because he has done nothing wrong toward you. If you don't hand him over, the Company will certainly feel offended. What I have come up with in my mind is simply this: You hand Surapati over, but you tell the Company to capture him themselves. Don't let your Javanese subjects get involved. Let them inwardly support Surapati, but outwardly the Company. And if the Javanese join the fight, don't let their guns be

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loaded with bullets, and you should not admit that you have Surapati as a servant. Pretend that he is a servant of Adipati Nrangkusuma. This is all I have to say." His Majesty was extremely pleased when he heard what his younger brother said. He replied, "Brother, your advice is right." Then he said to Adipati Sindureja, "Sindureja, write a reply to Captain Tak in the sense of brother Puger's advice, and appoint two mantri to take care of the adjutant. Don't let him suffer any lack of food on the way. Furthermore, tell the rangga of Semarang and the villagers along the road that when Captain Tak comes they should offer food and drink and take good care of him." Adipati Sindureja said that he would do as told and withdrew from the presence of His Majesty. He met the adjutant and the sergeant and gave them the letter of reply, and he provided them with money for the journey and, of course, the mantri who would escort them. The adjutant and the sergeant then departed from Kartasura.

606. His Majesty was still deliberating with the three lords. In the end he said to Pangéran Puger, "Brother, I delegate the task to you. Ask Surapati, since the Dutch have asked for his extradition, whether he dares to fight them. If he dares, you then tell the bupati to give Surapati weapons, whatever kind he likes. Furthermore, tell Nrangkusuma that I will use him as a front and that he should join Surapati. If Surapati does not dare to take the Company on in battle, you should quickly expel him so that he will not befoul my realm. Enough, brother, go back home now. Call all the bupati and Surapati to your house. Pangéran Puger said that he would do as told and retired together from His Majesty's presence with both bupati.

607. In the night Pangéran Puger summoned the bupati, Adipati Nrangkusuma, and Radèn Surapati. All of them appeared at the Puger residence. Pangéran Puger said to Radèn Surapati, "The reason that I called you is to convey an order from His Majesty my brother. He told me to ask you, since the Dutch are asking for your extradition, whether you would dare to fight them. If you dare, His Majesty my brother will give you some companions. If you don't dare, he told me to expel you from Kartasura." Radèn Surapati made a sembah and said, "My lord, naturally it is my wish to fight the Company men. Be it day or night, I am not afraid. Let alone that I should be afraid now that I have received permission from the king. Before I received permission I was already not afraid." Pangéran Puger then said to Adipati Nrangkusuma, "Uncle Nrangkusuma, the order of His Majesty my brother is that you and your men work together with Surapati. Immediately assemble your weapons." Adipati Nrangkusuma said that he would do as told. Pangéran Puger said to the bupati, "Bupati, His Majesty my brother has ordered that you give weapons to Surapati, whatever kind he likes." The bupati said that they would do as told and offered krisses. Radèn Surapati, however, asked only for krisses with straight blades. He did not want krisses with curved blades. After that, they parted and returned to their own residences.

608. Adipati Nrangkusuma assembled arms and gave rewards to his men, and of course Surapati's men, in the form of fine clothes.

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609. The adjutant had reached Jepara and handed the letter from His Majesty to Captain Tak. Having read the letter, Captain Tak felt very pleased and departed from Jepara with all his men. Arriving in Semarang he stopped over for three nights. The rangga of Semarang showed him great respect and offered him food and drink.

610. Captain Tak left Semarang. Kyai Rangga escorted him. On arrival in Kener, they halted again. Kyai Rangga sent a messenger with a letter to inform His Majesty that Captain Tak had arrived in Kener. Having received the letter, His Majesty said to Adipati Sindureja, "Sindureja, go to Banyudana to fetch Tak and make a camp for him there. Don't let there be any lack in what you offer him." Having said this, His Majesty lowered his voice to a whisper and let him know what his wishes were concerning the fight. Adipati Sindureja understood his intentions, retired from the presence of His Majesty, and left for Banyudana.

611. On his arrival in Banyudana, Adipati Sindureja gave orders to build a camp. When it was finished, he dispatched a messenger with a letter to Kyai Rangga of Semarang who was in Kener. The messenger quickly departed, met Kyai Rangga and gave him the letter which said that Captain Tak was summoned by His Majesty to Banyudana. Having read the letter, Kyai Rangga said to Captain Tak, "Sir, you are summoned by His Majesty to Banyudana." Captain Tak quickly departed with all his men.

612. At that time His Majesty gave orders to the tumenggung of Surabaya to set fire to the southern audience hall and shout that Surapati wanted to attack the palace. The tumenggung of Surabaya indeed carried out His Majesty's wish and gave orders to burn the southern audience hall and shout that Surapati was attacking. The people of Kartasura panicked and it became known that Radèn Surapati, together with Adipati Nrangkusuma, wanted to destroy Kartasura.

613. That night His Majesty summoned Pangéran Puger, Radèn Surapati, Adipati Nrangkusuma, and all the other adipati. He said to Pangéran Puger, "Brother, it is my wish that when Captain Tak has arrived in Banyudana, Surapati and Nrangkusuma at once be evicted from their residence, and it should be made known that they have risen in rebellion against me. I will order Adipati Cakraningrat and Tumenggung Jangrana to drive them away. The bupati of the outer regions and their troops should all chase Surapati and shoot at him noisily, but let no one use bullets. Once Tak has arrived on the Alun-alun, Surapati should in turn chase Cakraningrat and Jangrana and fire at them. Those chased should run like men who have been defeated in battle and then flee to me. Surapati should push on to the Alun-alun and then fight with Tak, so that I can watch the fight between Surapati and the Company men." Pangéran Puger and all the others present approved. They then retired from His Majesty's presence and made arrangements.

614. It is told that Captain Tak had reached Banyudana. Adipati Sindureja quickly went to meet him. Having exchanged greetings, he brought Captain Tak to the camp, offering him food and drink and showing him great respect which made the visitor and his Company men very happy.

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615. Adipati Sindureja then sent a messenger to inform His Majesty that Captain Tak had arrived in Banyudana. His Majesty quickly sent instructions to Adipati Cakraningrat and Tumenggung Jangrana telling them to chase Radèn Surapati away. Adipati Cakraningrat at once moved his troops out and sent a messenger to inform the Company troops who were guarding Kartasura that he wanted to attack Radèn Surapati and Adipati Nrangkusuma. He requested the Company troops to deploy on the Pagelaran and guard His Majesty. When the commander of the Company troops received the message from Adipati Cakraningrat, he quickly moved his two hundred Company troops out and lined them up on the Pagelaran.

616. Adipati Cakraningrat and Tumenggung Jangrana then left for the residence of Nrangkusuma. There they fired their guns and raised a mighty shout. However, their guns were not loaded with bullets. The troops of Nrangkusuma and Radèn Surapati's men returned fire. Before long Adipati Nrangkusuma and Radèn Surapati were routed and chased by both bupati while they noisily exchanged fire. Radèn Surapati attacked the lines of the troops from the Mancanagara and burned all the houses along the road. The lines of the men from the Mancanagara were swept away. Then they received support from Adipati Cakraningrat and a boisterous fight ensued.

617. Captain Tak who was in Banyudana said to Adipati Sindureja, "Radèn Adipati, I have come here because I have been sent by the Governor General and all the members of the Council of the Indies, first of all to offer His Majesty an official present consisting of velvet complete with all the different lace edgings, secondly to ask for the extradition of Surapati because he has committed great crimes against the Company. If His Majesty allows it, I will capture him myself." Adipati Sindureja replied, "Sir, you should know that Surapati has never served His Majesty. He lives with Radèn Adipati Nrangkusuma. When His Majesty previously received the letter brought by you, he wanted to have Surapati caught and handed over to you with his hands bound. However, Adipati Nrangkusuma strongly refused. In the end he rose in revolt against His Majesty. I think that the high lords in Batavia and you do not yet know that His Majesty and his patih are now enemies. Yesterday Surapati even wanted to attack the palace and burned the houses on the southern audience place. He retreated because of Pangéran Puger who came to the aid of the palace.

618. When Captain Tak heard the report of Adipati Sindureja, he became terribly angry. He flung his hat down, kept stamping his feet and bit his moustache. His eyes flashed a severe and fearsome look. Then he said, "Radèn Adipati, you wait a day till tomorrow morning, by then Surapati will certainly have died by my hands." Having said this, before long they heard the sound of repeated gun fire, as if a mountain was collapsing, and they saw a trail of smoke stretching from the burning houses. He asked, "Radèn Adipati, what is that sound of gun fire, seeing that it doesn't stop, and that trail of smoke?" Adipati Sindureja replied, "Sir, that is indeed Surapati and Adipati Nrangkusuma fighting against His Majesty. Come, let's go to help, lest he be defeated." Captain Tak answered, "Indeed, come on, let's go to help His Majesty. But I want just go

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straight to battle without visiting His Majesty. I will pay my respects after Surapati has been caught." Adipati Sindureja replied, "Sir, I am afraid to allow you to just go straight into battle. It is best to pay your respects first. Even if you go to fight, let that be after getting His Majesty's permission." Captain Tak followed this advice and departed with all his Company troops. They filled the roads and marched posthaste.

619. Captain Tak reached the Alun-alun of Kartasura. The Company troops were lined up to the north of the sacred fenced waringin trees. Captain Tak and Adipati Sindureja ascended the Sitinggil to pay their respects. When they reached His Majesty, Adipati Sindureja said, "My lord, this is Captain Tak. I am escorting him to pay his respects to you." His Majesty waved to him to come closer and held out his hand. Captain Tak quickly took the hand and offered his greetings. Then he said, "Your Majesty, I offer you the greetings of your grandfather the Governor General and all the members of the Council of the Indies. Secondly, I offer you the various presents which your grandfather the Governor General has sent for you. Thirdly, I have been sent to ask for the extradition of the fugitive of the Company who is in your realm here, called Radèn Surapati, because his crimes against the Company are great. I hope you will consent to it. I will capture him myself. I only ask that you permit it." His Majesty replied, "Captain, I am very grateful for what grandfather Governor General has sent me. As for the problem of Surapati, you don't need to worry. I will help you. But you should know that Surapati has now united himself with my patih, called Nrangkusuma, to attack me. I have already appointed two bupati and their troops and told them to destroy the residence of the patih and capture Surapati and Nrangkusuma. At this moment they are fighting heavily. So you just stay here, as I am very worried. If those two bupati are defeated, Surapati will certainly push on and destroy the palace. If that happpens, whom could I ask for help, except you. Therefore you should just deploy on the Alun-alun. Even though you may have to fight, let it be in front of me." Captain Tak was very pleased hearing what His Majesty said. He said, "Your Majesty, you should not worry. Provided that I am still alive, Surapati is practically already in my hands." Having said this, he descended from the Sitinggil to line his troops up.

620. Adipati Sindureja quickly sent a messenger with a letter to Adipati Cakraningrat and Tumenggung Jangrana to tell them that Captain Tak was already on the Alun-alun. Both bupati were in a village to the east of the palace. When they had read the letter, they let their troops go. Radèn Surapati was peppered with gunfire without bullets in order to have him come to the Alun-alun.

621. There was a man from Sampang, called Konangpasir, who said to his friends, "Friends, I am getting tired of this funny war of chasing and being chased. Let's try it with bullets." Having said this, he fired with a bullet and hit and killed a man of Radèn Surapati. Radèn Surapati was very angry that the man from Sampang had disregarded the order, and attacked the troops of Adipati Cakraningrat. He stabbed and hit three men, but not mortally. They were retrieved by their friends and brought to Adipati Cakraningrat.

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622. When Adipati Cakraningrat saw that three of his men were wounded, he was in his heart very pleased that there was proof that they were having a real fight. Then he ran away with his men, taking the wounded with him. Radèn Surapati chased him while firing his guns, all the way to the Alun-alun. Adipati Cakraningrat and his fleeing men carrying the wounded passed in front of the lines of the Company troops. Adipati Sindureja said to Captain Tak, "Sir, these are the men from Sampang fleeing in defeat. You should be on your guard." Captain Tak was extremely angry. He flung his hat down and gave orders to beat the drums, seventeen in all.

623. Before long, Surapati and his men arrived. They entered the Alun-alun yelling and screaming. The bupati quickly met them while peppering them with gunfire. Radèn Surapati charged. The bupati and their men were swept away. They fled to the rear of His Majesty. Captain Tak quickly shouted orders to the Company troops to fire a volley at Radèn Surapati. The sound cracked like lightning and the battlefield became dark with gunsmoke. Surapati and his men charged, merging into the smoke and a fierce fight ensued. Many of the troops of Radèn Surapati and Adipati Nrangkusuma were killed and likewise of the Company troops. The bodies piled up and were trampled by the men fighting.

624. Radèn Surapati retired to the place where the gamelan instruments are kept in order to drink. Before long, a messenger from His Majesty came ordering him to attack. He said that he would do as told and went into battle. He was intercepted by a Dutch captain, called Brikman, who slashed at him again and again with his sword, but did not hit him. He stabbed in return, but also to no effect. In the end, the captain grabbed him and bit him in the neck. Revolted by the drooling saliva, Radèn Surapati fled for a moment. Then he remembered that he was carrying his short dagger. He drew it and returned. Captain Brikman was stabbed in his neck and died.

625. When Captain Tak saw that Captain Brikman had been killed, he became extremely angry. He quickly shouted orders to the Company troops to fire a volley and attack Radèn Surapati with their swords, but they did not hit him. Radèn Adipati Nrangkusuma came to his help. A fierce fight ensued. Many Javanese and Company troops were killed. Captain Tak was mobbed and stabbed at with pikes and krisses, but to no effect. Then Radèn Surapati stabbed at him, but also to no effect. His four krisses were all broken. Captain Tak was too strong.

626. Radèn Surapati again retired to the place where the gamelan was kept in order to rest. The Company troops were still firing their guns from afar. Before long, a messenger from His Majesty came ordering Radèn Surapati into battle again. He replied, "My friend, messenger, you tell His Majesty that I want to rest first and have a drink, because I and my men are very thirsty. I am not running away at all, for I intend to mix my blood with that of the Company men.

627. The messenger returned, came before His Majesty and gave him the reply of Radèn Surapati. His Majesty smiled and said to Pangéran Puger, "Brother, you go and help in the fight. Surapati is very tired and he might get the worst of it." Pangéran Puger said

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that he would do as told, descended from the Sitinggil and went to the Kamandhungan gate, heading for the place where his men were, eighteen in all. There he changed clothes, as did his eighteen men who all changed clothes making themselves look like the men of Surapati. When ready, they left. They headed to the northwest to the mosque. There they turned to the east and exited the gate of the mosque into the Alun-alun.

628. Radèn Surapati and Adipati Nrangkusuma did not fail to see that Pangéran Puger was coming to help and they quickly charged again. Pangéran Puger was already face-to-face with Captain Tak. He levelled the pike Kyai Plèrèd and aimed at Captain Tak. He hit his ribs and pierced right through to his shoulder blade. He died without moving. The rest of the Company men were charged by Radèn Surapati and Pangéran Puger's men. Many were killed. Only twenty-five were left. They broke and all fled. Adipati Sindureja quickly rounded up the Company troops who were wounded but still alive and brought them to the fort. The battle between Captain Tak and Radèn Surapati took place in the year 1608 [A.J.].

629. His Majesty very much enjoyed watching Radèn Surapati fight and he praised his younger brother and Radèn Surapati. He then sent a messenger to summon his younger brother, Adipati Nrangkusuma, and Radèn Surapati. After they had paid their respects before him, His Majesty smiled and said, "Hail to those who have just come from battle. Are you all well?" The three gentlemen made a sembah and said, "Thanks to Your Majesty's prayers we are all well." Then they were given fruits and drinks while His Majesty said to Radèn Surapati, "Surapati, I am very grateful to you. Now I reward you with the realm of Pasuruhan. Go and settle there. And I bestow on you the title Radèn Tumenggung Wiranagara. When you are there, keep your men under arms and subjugate the surrounding villages. Nrangkusuma should go with you to Pasuruhan and stay with you all the time. On your way there, burn down the villages, for I will send all the men from the outer regions to chase you." His Majesty then said to the bupati, "Bupati, you all witness that now I appoint Sindureja as patih, replacing Nrangkusuma. And my younger brother Pangéran Panular I promote to Pangéran Arya Mataram and give him an appanage of one thousand karya." The bupati all agreed. His Majesty then said to Adipati Sindureja, "Sindureja, you send a letter to the commander in Jepara and let him know that Tak has been killed on the field of battle and that all his troops have been wiped out." Adipati Sindureja said that he would do as told. His Majesty returned to the palace.

630. Radèn Tumenggung Wiranagara together with Adipati Nrangkusuma then left for Pasuruhan with all their men while they were being pursued by the men from the outer regions. On arrival in Pasuruhan, the pursuers returned to Kartasura. Tumenggung Wiranagara, however, built fortifications in Pasuruhan complete with moats and subjugated the surrounding villages, and this hugely increased his army.

631. It is told that Adipati Sindureja had already dispatched a messenger to Jepara with a letter containing the words of His Majesty. On arrival in Jepara, the messenger met

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the commander, called Selupdriansah, and presented him the letter. After having read the letter, the commander became extremely angry. His face turned blood-red, his eyes flashed with anger, and he kept stamping his feet, because he had already heard that the Javanese were duplicitous in their fighting, outwardly they had helped Captain Tak, but inwardly they had helped Radèn Surapati. The messenger was simply ignored and not given a letter in reply. He returned without being noticed. On arrival in Kartasura, he paid his repects to His Majesty and gave an account of his mission to Jepara.

632. His Majesty was very angry when he heard the report of the messenger and he said to Pangéran Puger, "Brother, since the commander is now very angry, what is your advice? My idea is not to leave this business unfinished but become enemies straightaway. I will wipe out the Dutch in Jepara." Pangéran Puger replied, "Brother, Your Majesty, I humbly request that if you want to fight the Company, don't do it openly. It is best to use a front. But if you allow me, I would beg you not to become enemies. The reason is that although they are unbelievers, they have supported you in your war, so you are in their debt for their work and their benefits. If you totally betray them, it is bound to cause bad luck to your reign." Hearing these words, His Majesty calmed down and replied, "In that case, brother, you put the question to all my men that whoever is able to calm the anger of the commander will receive a large reward." Pangéran Puger said that he would do as told and retired from the presence of His Majesty. Then he went to ask the bupati and their subordinates who might be willing to do it.

633. There was a mantri kaparak, a descendant of a poultry man, called Jiwaraga, who agreed to calm the commander down. He was told to go to Jepara and was given a letter and a gift from His Majesty consisting of a pair of matching cart horses.

634. Kyai Jiwaraga departed. On arrival in Jepara, he met the commander and presented him with the letter and the pair of horses. In the letter, His Majesty conveyed his loyalty to the Company and gave an account of the fight between Captain Tak and Surapati. Having read the letter, the commander very much regretted his earlier anger. Kyai Jiwaraga said, "Sir, I have been sent here by His Majesty the King to report to you about the fight between Captain Tak and Surapati, so that you will not get the wrong impression. It is true that the Javanese supported the Company even to the point that many men were killed. Nevertheless, people who dislike His Majesty say that it was a sham fight." Kyai Jiwaraga said a great deal in order to heal the estrangement, so that His Majesty and the commander should not remain divided.

635. The commander was very happy to hear the report of Kyai Jiwaraga and he said, "Kyai Jiwaraga, I am very happy and grateful to receive the letter and the pair of horses. Secondly, I hope you will ask forgiveness for me for my wrongs towards His Majesty in giving credence to untrue stories. I will entrust you with the task of ensuring that His Majesty will not be angry with me. Moreover, I will send back with you velvet and lace and other presents. I hope you will offer them to His Majesty." Kyai Jiwaraga was very pleased and took his leave to return. The commander paid him the honour of accompanying him till outside the door.

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636. His Majesty was holding audience. At that moment, Kyai Jiwaraga arrived in Kartasura. He went to pay his respects to His Majesty, gave an account of his mission and offered the presents from the commander consisting of velvet, lace and other things. Moreover, he reported that the commander had ceased being angry, even showed great regret and asked for forgiveness. His Majesty was very pleased when he heard Kyai Jiwaraga's account and said to the adipati, "Bupati, you all must witness that I appoint Jiwaraga bupati in Jepara and bestow on him the title Tumenggung Martapura." All the bupati agreed in unison. His Majesty then said to Tumenggung Martapura, "Martapura, go to Jepara tomorrow. I will entrust you with a letter. Give it to the commander." Tumenggung Martapura said that he would do as told and made ready. In the morning he left for Jepara with his wives, children, and all his kinsmen. On his arrival in Jepara, he entered the fort and gave the letter to the commander.

637. Having read the letter, the commander was very pleased and said, "Kyai Tumenggung, thank God that you have gained the favour of His Majesty and have been made bupati here in Jepara. I will certainly be allowed to trouble you, for we are already old friends." After having sat together for quite some time, Tumenggung Martapura took his leave and went to his lodgings.

638. It is told that Kyai Tumenggung Martapura had already built a residence. It was a very fine residence and he was enjoying a good life with his wives, children and all his kinsmen. Moreover, he was loved by all the people in Jepara.

639. After some time, there was a Dutchman who stole chickens from a Javanese. He was discovered by the owner, caught and beaten up. His face was smeared with slaked lime and indigo dye. Then he was let loose. He ran away and brought a complaint to his superior who reported it to the commander.

640. The commander was extremely angry when he saw the maltreated Dutchman and he thought that the perpetrator had been put up to it by Tumenggung Martapura who tended to make an arrogant display of his powers and acted arbitrarily towards the Dutch. He wrote a letter to His Majesty asking for the death of Tumenggung Martapura.

641. The messenger of the commander quickly left for Kartasura. He headed for the audience hall and presented the letter to His Majesty. The letter was accepted and, having read it, His Majesty became extremely angry. His face became red and he said to Adipati Sindureja, "Sindureja, reply to this letter of the commander. I will comply with his request for the death of Martapura, but tell him to wait till next month when I will dispatch some bupati to Jepara who will kill Martapura." Adipati Sindureja said that he would do as told and wrote a reply which was entrusted to the messenger from Jepara.

642. At night His Majesty summoned the bupati to the palace. After they had made their appearance, he gave orders to Adipati Sindureja, "Sindureja, you go to Jepara with Jangrana, Mangunoneng, Suranata, and Binarong with all their troops. Ask Martapura, since his death has been requested by the commander, whether he dares to fight the Dutch. If he dares, you and your fellow bupati should help him, but in secret. Don't let

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it be obvious. In short, I leave it up to you to figure it out. The reason for this course of action is that the commander thoughtlessly dares to ask for the death of one of my bupati. But if Martapura does not dare, just finish him off. By all means succeed and be careful." Adipati Sindureja and the four bupati said that they would do as told and retired from the presence of His Majesty to make preparations.

643. The next morning Adipati Sindureja and the four bupati departed. On arrival in Jepara, they headed for the fort. The commander and all the officers came to meet them. The Company troops were lined up in their honour and saluted them with a gun salvo and cannon shots. Having exchanged greetings, Adipati Sindureja and the four bupati were conducted into the fort and offered food, as were all their troops without exception.

644. Adipati Sindureja said to the commander, "Sir, I have been sent here by His Majesty the Sunan with orders to kill Tumenggung Martapura. However, His Majesty wishes that he be killed inside the fort, witnessed by you and all the officers. I have been given four bupati as companions." The commander was very pleased hearing the words of Adipati Sindureja and replied, "Radèn Adipati, I am very grateful for the favour and the trust that His Majesty has shown to me and the whole Company. I am aware that I cannot repay it." Adipati Sindureja said again, "Sir, tomorrow morning I will summon Martapura to come here. When he has arrived, I will tell these four bupati to stab him in front of you. Please be on your guard." The commander replied, "Radèn Adipati, I will do whatever you wish." Adipati Sindureja then took his leave to go to his lodgings.

645. That night, Adipati Sindureja summoned Tumenggung Martapura to come in secret. He deliberated with the four bupati and said to Tumenggung Martapura, "Martapura, I have been sent by His Majesty the Sunan to ask you, since your death has been requested by the Company, whether you would dare to fight them. If you dare, I and these four bupati have orders to help you." Tumenggung Martapura replied, "Lord Patih, if that is the wish of His Majesty, I agree to do it. I am not afraid to fight the Company. Moreover, however long a man lives in this world, in due time he is bound to die. Rather than dying old, it is better to die in a holy war." Adipati Sindureja replied, "In that case, the assault will go ahead tomorrow in the fort. Now, Martapura, when I and the four bupati are in the fort tomorrow, I will summon you. From the moment you arrive, you just attack blindly. I and the four bupati with all our men will join you." Tumenggung Martapura said, "Agreed, and please don't worry. Tomorrow morning, I will definitely wipe the Company out." Tumenggung Suranata added, "Tomorrow morning, I will stab the commander, brother Jangrana I will give the task to stab the captain, brother Binarong the lieutenant and brother Mangunoneng the ensign. Our lord patih should just be present and not join since he, as it were, represents His Majesty." After these deliberations, they dispersed each to their own quarters.

646. The next morning, Adipati Sindureja and the four bupati got ready, put on military attire, and selected the troops suitable to be taken into the fort to join into the attack.

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Adipati Sindureja took sixty picked men with him, Tumenggung Jangrana forty, Tumenggung Suranata fifty, Tumenggung Binarong twenty, and Tumenggung Mangunoneng thirty, so in total there were two hundred men. When ready, they left their camp. Arriving at the fort, they left the main body of their men deployed outside. Only the picked men were taken inside.

647. The commander and his officers sat on chairs facing the bupati and served drinks. Adipati Sindureja then sent a messenger to summon Tumenggung Martapura. The messenger quickly went and found Tumenggung Martapura who was lying in bed, pretending to be sick while his forehead was smeared with an ointment for headache. The messenger said, "Kyai Tumenggung, you are summoned by His Lordship the Radèn Adipati to come to the fort." Tumenggung Martapura replied, "Tell His Lordship that I am suffering from a headache and cannot walk." In his heart, Tumenggung Martapura very much regretted his promise to attack the Company. If there were someone who could prevent this from happening, he would certainly allow him to take all his possessions. The messenger returned and reported to Adipati Sindureja the reply of Tumenggung Martapura. Adipati Sindureja became very angry. His face turned blood-red and he said to Tumenggung Binarong, "Brother Binarong, Martapura has gone out of his mind and brings shame upon the realm. Clearly he is the son of an idiot or the descendant of a commoner. You go to his house and ask him whether he is a bupati, or an idiot, or a plebeian. If he admits that he is a plebeian, just stab him down, cut off his head and bring it here. If he claims that he is a bupati, why then doesn't he come when I summon him?" Tumenggung Binarong said that he would do as told and left.

648. The commander smiled and said gently to Adipati Sindureja, "My friend, that's Martapura. Notwithstanding the fact that it is you who summon him, he dares to give such an answer. The right thing would be to consider you as His Majesty. If he only has a headache, he should just endure it. And if he cannot walk, it would be appropriate to have himself carried." When Adipati Sindureja was thus prodded by the commander, he became increasingly angry and said, "Sir, you just give it one day. I will have Martapura killed without fail." The commander was very pleased.

649. Meanwhile Tumenggung Binarong had reached the house of Tumenggung Martapura. He found the owner in bed covered with a blanket. Tumenggung Binarong said harshly, "Hey, Martapura, are you the son of a man or of a dog? I have been sent here by His Lordship to check on you to see whether you are still a bupati. If you have turned again into the son of a farmhand, I have orders to bring your head back." Tumenggung Martapura was startled to hear the order. He sat up and replied, "Brother Binarong, I am not afraid to attack the Company. Even if I were set upon by a hundred men, I wouldn't budge. But I was really sick. But now I am better." Tumenggung Binarong snarled, "Don't blabber so much. You just talk rubbish. Last night your promises rustled down like raindrops. But when it came to action, you pretended to be sick. What about it? If you dare, let's go. If you are in fact afraid, put your neck down and I'll cut it off." Tumenggung Martapura replied, "Very well, let's go." Having said this,

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he got ready, put on three krisses and they left. Arriving at the fort, they were told to sit down.

650. Adipati Sindureja asked, "Martapura, were you just busy hiring yourself out as a day labourer, seeing that when I summoned you, it took you so long to come?" Tumenggung Martapura sat with his head bowed in his chair. The commander then winked at the Dutch lieutenant. The latter understood the sign and got a glass. He poured a drink and offered it to Tumenggung Martapura. Tumenggung Martapura quickly stood up and accepted the glass with shaking hands. Adipati Sindureja and the four bupati also rose from their chairs and were on their guard, meaning to attack together. When the glass was accepted, the lieutenant quickly made a grab at Tumenggung Martapura's krisses. He got one. Tumenggung Martapura went pale and ran away. Adipati Sindureja was shocked and angry. He quickly gave orders to the four bupati to chase and stab Tumenggung Martapura. They executed the order and his body was hacked to pieces. The four bupati then returned to their seats. The commander was very pleased and he spoke soothingly to Adipati Sindureja, "My friend, I thought that Tumenggung Martapura was very powerful, since he upset the people of the whole realm." Adipati Sindureja replied, "Sir, when he was still a mantri kaparak he was indeed very strong. For that reason he was taken into service."

651. Adipati Sindureja then gave orders to confiscate all the goods possessed by Tumenggung Martapura and carry off his children and wives. The messenger left to collect all of Tumenggung Martapura's possessions and offered them to Adipati Sindureja. Adipati Sindureja said to the commander, "Sir, we have collected all of Tumenggung Martapura's possessions. If there is something you want, please take it." The commander replied, "My friend, I don't want anything. What should I do with it? His Majesty is the one who should rightfully have it. I only offer my thanks to His Majesty for his favour and trust towards me and all the men of the Company. I am aware that I cannot repay it." Adipati Sindureja replied, "If you don't want anything, it's fine. Moreover, I am bringing you orders from His Majesty. Since it is now known that Surapati has settled in Pasuruhan, His Majesty requests the help of the Company to attack Pasuruhan. The reason is that if he becomes stronger, he is bound to destroy the neighbouring lands. His Majesty has indeed already dispatched two bupati to attack Pasuruhan, but it did not last a minute before they were wiped out, and this caused His Majesty great concern. Therefore he ordered me to ask you for the help of Company troops." The commander replied, "My friend, in that case I will send a messenger to first inform Batavia." When the deliberations had finished, Adipati Sindureja and the four bupati took their leave and went away. The commander provided them with all kinds of presents to offer to His Majesty.

652. Adipati Sindureja reached Kartasura and paid his respects to His Majesty. He gave a report on his mission from the beginning to the end which shocked His Majesty. He then gave orders to Adipati Sindureja to exile all the descendants of Tumenggung Martapura. His Majesty did not want to employ them.

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653. We now return to the story of Panembahan Rama, the father-in-law of Radèn Trunajaya. At the time of the conquest of Kadhiri and the death of Radèn Trunajaya, Panembahan Rama had fled without anyone knowing where he had gone. He now resided in the village of Melambang in the Gunung Kidul area and had subjugated the inhabitants of the surrounding villages. There were many who submitted because of his black magic and witchcraft. What made the people who submitted believe in him was seeing his superior powers in being able to bring a roasted cock back to life. This served at the same time both as a sign of defeat as well as of victory in battle. If one was going to win, the roasted cock would certainly come back to life again and crow. If one was going to lose, the cock would still remain roasted. To make his men believe, Panembahan Rama took a roasted cock and when he shouted at it, it became alive again, flapping its wings and crowing. His men were astonished and believed that they would be victorious in battle. Then he took a pair of catfish, put them in an earthen bowl, and told them to climb a coconut palm. The catfish bounded towards the coconut palm and climbed it all the way to the top. The people whom he had subjugated were even more astonished. At that time, Panembahan Rama already had many followers and it became known in the surrounding areas that he was magically extremely powerful.

654. The rebellion of Panembahan Rama was reported to His Majesty. His Majesty gave orders to Tumenggung Jangrana, Tumenggung Mangkuyuda, and Tumenggung Natayuda to march out against the village of Melambang. The three tumenggung left forthwith with their troops.

655. Panembahan Rama already knew that he was going to be attacked by an army from Kartasura and he gave orders to his follower, called Rangga Dhadhapan, "Rangga Dhadhapan, go and meet the enemy from Kartasura. Throw all the men into battle. And I give you a whip. Take it into battle. Ride naked on a horse and crack this whip while saying 'Rascals disperse!' Don't keep quiet and you will definitely win your battle." Rangga Dhadhapan said that he would do as told and accepted the whip. Then he gave orders to march the troops out. The troops all shouted "Rascals disperse!" with a thundering noise. The troops from Kartasura withstood them. Before long, many of Panembahan Rama's men were killed while the rest fled. Rangga Dhadhapan then threw the whip away in order to grab his pike to attack, but before he was ready, he was killed when attacked by many. The troops from Kartasura then entered the village of Melambang to capture Panembahan Rama.

656. When Panembahan Rama saw that his men had been wiped out, he entered the meditation room of his house. There he held his breath and disappeared. The troops from Kartasura plundered the village and searched everywhere for Panembahan Rama, but did not find him. Then they left and returned to Kartasura. The three bupati reported to His Majesty that Panembahan Rama had disappeared and that it was not known where he had gone. This made His Majesty wonder very much. The disappearance of Panembahan Rama took place in the year 1609 [A.J.].

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657. Some time later, in the Gunung Kidul mountains there was an ascetic, called Kyai Wanakusuma. He was a descendant of Kyai Ageng Giring whose coconut juice had been drunk by Kyai Ageng Mataram. He fervently practised asceticism so that the sign of heaven would descend upon him and he could become king, ruling over the whole of Java, replacing the line of the descendants of Kyai Ageng Mataram, because he knew of the promise of Kyai Ageng Mataram to Kyai Ageng Giring that in the future when the descendants of Kyai Ageng Mataram on the throne had reached the seventh generation, he would be allowed to be replaced by a descendant of Kyai Ageng Giring. Since it was now the sixth in line, he therefore practiced asceticism very fervently.

658. Kyai Wanakusuma had two sons called Jayaparusa and Jayalalana. They were all the time being egged on by their guardian, called Ardikarun, to seize possession of the realm of Kartasura, replacing in line the descendants of Kyai Ageng Mataram. Both boys obeyed him and subjugated the inhabitants of the villages around that area, showing off their supernatural powers. Many of the villagers were carried away by the black magic and witchcraft. At that time they already had many men who had submitted to them, about more than five thousand. Then they said to their father, "Father, we ask your permission to seize possession of the realm of Kartasura and replace in line the descendants of Kyai Ageng Mataram." Their father said, "Boys, it is better if you allow it some more time, for at the moment it is not yet the right time. There is one descendant left. You should know that the reason that I practice asceticism is that I do it for you, so that you may be allowed by God to become kings ruling over Java. Since at the moment it is not yet the right time, it is best that you increase your asceticism. Don't force it before its time, as perhaps it may not succeed. As for your wish to go to war, it will be far easier if the right time has come." His son replied, "Father, I still want to go ahead. You cannot prevent it. If you don't want to do it yourself, I and my brother will march forth against Kartasura. I only ask for your gauze flag to take into battle." Their father replied, "If I cannot prevent you, do as you wish, but I cannot leave you to your fate."

659. Kyai Wanakusuma then got the gauze flag and gave it to his sons. Jayaparusa took it. The flag wafted towards the clouds and disappeared. Jayaparusa said, "Father, it looks as if we will win the war. The sign is that the gauze flag has risen towards the clouds." His father replied, "Boy, you may interpret this as you will, but make me a palanquin to ride when I go with you into battle." The two sons then gave orders to make a palanquin and they issued orders to their men that they were going to march out against Kartasura immediately. When ready they left. The army was huge. Kyai Ardikarun led the vanguard. Jayaparusa and Jayalalana were in the middle riding horses. Kyai Wanakusuma was carried in a palanquin at the rear.

660. On the way, Jayaparusa and Jayalalana kept showing off their supernatural powers. They chewed jungle grass and other grass, scattered it on the ground, where it turned into men holding weapons, so their army looked numerous. The villages they passed through were destroyed and plundered. The people fled to Kartasura and reported to His Majesty that an enemy was coming from the Gunung Kidul mountains with an

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enormous army. His Majesty forthwith assembled the bupati and their troops and told them to deploy on the Alun-alun.

661. After they had deployed on the Alun-alun, His Majesty came out on the Pagelaran. Before long, the enemy arrived at the Palaraban and attacked. They were met by the troops from Kartasura and a fierce melee ensued. Many of the soldiers from Kartasura were killed. Then Pangéran Puger attacked them in the flank from the north with twenty men. He attacked blindly and many of the Wanakusuma army were killed. Jayalalana then displayed his supernatural powers, but they did not work. Impatient and angry he attacked blindly with his kris and stabbed at Pangéran Puger, but did not hit him. The latter in return stabbed him with the pike Kyai Plèrèd. He hit his ribs, transfixed and killed him.

662. Then Jayaparusa blindly attacked. He was met by a Buginese soldier of His Majesty, called Singabarong, together with his forty fellow Buginese. Many of the Buginese were killed by Jayaparusa. Jayaparusa was also killed by a Buginese, but the one who killed him did not know that he was the leader of the enemy, so he left the body and just went on to attack his followers.

663. There was a servant of His Majesty, a headman of the gardeners called Nayatruna, who asked permission of His Majesty to go and attack the enemy. When he got permission, he climbed into a tall waringin tree and with a sharp eye saw that Jayaparusa had already been killed and his corpse left behind. He quickly slid down, went to the corpse and cut off its head. He took the head and offered it to His Majesty, pretending that he himself had killed him. His Majesty was very pleased to hear the story of Nayatruna and see the head of Jayaparusa. He then rewarded Nayatruna with a new rank and appointed him chief of the leased-out lands and granted him the title Tumenggung Rajamanggala.

664. Pangéran Puger was still attacking and chasing Jayalalana's men. When Kyai Wanakusuma saw that both his sons had been killed, he disappeared from the palanquin. The bearers and his other subjects all fled.

665. Pangéran Puger then returned. He went to pay his respects to His Majesty while bringing the body of Jayalalana. Arriving before His Majesty, he kissed the knee of his elder brother. The latter embraced him and kissed him. Moreover, he showered him with praise. He said softly, "Brother, I am just king out of obligation. The government of Java I leave to you to administer. I trust in you." His younger brother expressed his deepest thanks. As for the heads of Jayalalana and Jayaparusa, he gave orders to put them on stakes at the crossroads.

666. A year later, His Majesty sent a messenger with a letter to the commander in Jepara to ask for the help of Company troops, whom he wanted to attack Pasuruhan. The messenger was called Kyai Secanagara. He left forthwith from Kartasura. His Majesty then gave orders to Adipati Cakraningrat and Tumenggung Jangrana and told them to march against Pasuruhan and conduct a sham war, as had been done before. The latter departed with their troops accompanied by all the men from the Mancanagara.

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667. Meanwhile Kyai Secanagara had reached Jepara and gave the letter to the commander. After he had read the letter, the commander said, "Kyai Secanagara, you wait here in Jepara for the time being. I will send a messenger to Batavia to ask for the help which His Majesty has requested." Having said this, he dispatched a letter for the Governor General in Batavia.

668. When the Governor General received the letter from Jepara, he quickly dispatched eight hundred Company troops, eight lieutenants and four captains under the command of a major, called Burham, who was courageous and invincible.

669. The help from Batavia had reached Jepara. They were met by the commander, taken to the fort, and offered food and drink. After staying for three days, Major Burham said to the commander, "Commander, I have been ordered to conquer Pasuruhan and capture Surapati at the wish of His Majesty, since His Majesty is unable to cope with the conquest of Pasuruhan. I should depart forthwith." The commander replied, "Major, if you have to leave for Pasuruhan, take this messenger from His Majesty with you." The major replied, "Fine, I will take him with me on my ship." Major Burham then left with his forces by sea. Kyai Secanagara went with him. The ship reached the roadstead of Madura and called in there. They were met by the son of Adipati Cakraningrat, called Radèn Demang Pasisir, taken ashore, and offered food and drink, all equally until they were all filled. Radèn Demang Pasisir showed great deference to the Company men. After staying for three days and three nights, the major said to Radèn Demang Pasisir, "My friend, Radèn Demang, I am very grateful for the reception you have given to all the Company troops. As for my mission, I have been sent by the Governor General to help in the campaign against Pasuruhan at the wish of His Majesty in Kartasura." Radèn Demang Pasisir replied, "Sir, if that is the case, I will come along to visit my father, who for a long time has already been carrying out His Majesty's assignment in the war in Pasuruhan. He was ordered to conquer Pasuruhan." The major was very pleased and said, "Yes, it is very good if you go together with me. Let's go now." Radèn Demang Pasisir gave orders to his troops to assemble their arms. When ready, they left for Surabaya by land. The Company forces marched at the rear. The Madurese troops marched in front showing the way.

670. It is told that Adipati Cakraningrat and Tumenggung Jangrana in their attack on Pasuruhan were daily exchanging fire with the enemy. When the sun set, they stopped. In the morning they started fighting again. However, nobody was killed because they did not use bullets. Moreover, every night Tumenggung Wiranagara tricked his men and went to visit the camp of Adipati Cakraningrat. They deliberated together. In the morning he returned to the town of Pasuruhan. Moreover, at every Garebeg he did not fail to offer his tribute and all kinds of products from the realm of Pasuruhan to His Majesty.

671. Adipati Cakraningrat then withdrew from the field of battle and moved some distance from the town of Pasuruhan in order to rest his troops. As for Tumenggung Wira-

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nagara, he daily remained on his guard and he had sent out scouts to watch if there were Company troops coming.

672. Meanwhile Major Burham and Radèn Demang Pasisir had reached the border of Pasuruhan where they halted to rest their troops. As for Tumenggung Wiranagara, he had already been informed by his scouts that the Company forces had arrived. This made him very happy, as he had long been wanting to have a bloody fight with the Company. After receiving the news, he forthwith left the town with his army to meet the Company. The army marched while shouting thunderous yells. They all looked forward to quickly engage in battle.

673. Before long, the Company forces arrived. They streamed forward like water from a hole in the ground. Then they fired their guns. The bullets fell like rain and the battlefield became dark with the gunsmoke. Tumenggung Wiranagara and his men took cover in the smoke and attacked with krisses and pikes. A fierce melee ensued because both sides were brave. Friend or foe, many were killed. Eventually, more and more Company troops were killed. There were only about fourteen survivors who fled.

674. When Radèn Demang Pasisir saw that the Company forces had been wiped out, he became very angry. He drew his sword and ordered his troops forwards to attack together. Many of the troops from Pasuruhan were killed. Radèn Demang Pasisir attacked fiercely, because he had not yet been informed by his father, so he did not know about the secret understanding. When Tumenggung Wiranagara saw that many of his men were killed because they were attacked by the Madurese, he was startled and became very angry. He said loudly, "Hey, men from Pasuruhan, these Madurese are fighting for real. Either they don't know yet, or they are in fact intentionally flouting the orders of their lord. Come on, let's retaliate. Don't be afraid!" The troops from Pasuruhan quickly moved forwards and attacked together. The Madurese met them and an extremely fierce fight ensued. In the end, many were killed. Radèn Demang Pasisir was stabbed with a pike by Kyai Ebunjaladri. It hit his side, transfixed and killed him. His two guardians, called Jayèngpati and Jayèngkéwuh were also killed at the same time. When the Madurese saw that their lord was killed, they furiously attacked en masse. No one wanted to stay alive. They were all wiped out, but from the rear they kept flocking forward.

675. It is told that there was a nephew of Adipati Cakraningrat, a younger brother of the late Radèn Trunajaya, called Trunadilaga, who was extremely hot-tempered. When he saw that Radèn Demang Pasisir was killed, he blindly attacked with all his men and kinsmen. He managed to kill many. Radèn Trunadilaga was then hit by a poisonous dart in his side. He passed out and fell down on the ground while his blood spurted out.

676. Four kinsmen of Radèn Trunadilaga, called Radèn Durgajaya, Panji Wanèngpati, Panji Wanèngsekar, and Panji Dipanagara then unleashed a blind and furious attack. They succeeded in killing many men from Pasuruhan. Radèn Durgajaya was shocked when he saw Radèn Trunadilaga lying down unconsciously because he had been hit

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by a dart. He quickly went to him, kicked him and said loudly, "Brother Trunadilaga, how come that you pass out from fighting just a few commoners. Aren't you a descendant of Brawijaya of Majapahit? Get up, let's attack!" Radèn Trunadilaga was startled and sat up. His wound was cured at the same instant. He said, "Brother Durgajaya, let's attack." Radèn Durgajaya replied, "Brother, you rest for a while. I will never retreat and be my witness that if I cannot conquer Pasuruhan, I will cut my own throat." Having said that, he attacked again together with Radèn Trunadilaga and all his men. They came rolling on like demons fighting over meat. Many of the enemy were killed as they were no match at all. Tumenggung Wiranagara and his men ran away. They fled into the fort and closed the gate. The Madurese pursued them, planning to storm the fort. Radèn Trunadilaga challenged them loudly from the outside, "Hey, Company slave, come outside. Let's fight. Don't lock the gate. If you are afraid of me, surrender and I'll tie you up!"

677. Then a messenger from Adipati Cakraningrat, called Radèn Panji Dipapraja, came bringing many troops with him. When he reached the battlefield, he was amazed seeing the traces of a fierce fight and he quickly approached Radèn Trunadilaga and Radèn Durgajaya. The latter asked, "Brother Dipapraja, are you coming to to help in the fight in order to share the fate of Radèn Demang Pasisir, or all your other kinsmen who were killed on the field of battle? I have vowed that if I cannot conquer Pasuruhan, I will cut my own throat, for the humiliation will be too much." Radèn Panji Dipapraja was shocked to hear this talk. Finally, he replied and asked, "Brother Durgajaya and brother Trunadilaga, what are you doing, seeing that your brother Radèn Demang Pasisir has even been killed, and let alone many Madurese have died? Didn't you know that this is a sham war?" Radèn Durgajaya snarled, "Ah, where does one fight a war just as a joke? Isn't that just your talk? Let's attack and climb the fort!" Then he gave orders to his men to storm the fort. Radèn Panji Dipapraja quickly winked to his men to clasp Radèn Durgajaya in their arms. This was indeed done. Radèn Panji Dipapraja said softly, "Brother Durgajaya, calm down. If you don't know it, the realm of Pasuruhan is a secret strategy of His Majesty. If you manage to destroy it, it is as if you are destroying His Majesty. Let's retreat instead and inform Adipati Cakraningrat." Radèn Panji Dipapraja spoke many words of admonishment and calmed Radèn Durgajaya. Then they left for the camp. When they came before Adipati Cakraningrat, Radèn Panji Dipapraja bowed deeply at his feet and said while weeping, "I inform you that Radèn Demang Pasisir has died on the field of battle. Many Madurese have died as have many men from Pasuruhan. The remaining survivors have fled inside the fort. If I hadn't then arrived, Pasuruhan would probably have been taken by Durgajaya and His Majesty's secret would have been revealed." Radèn Panji Dipapraja gave an elaborate report. Adipati Cakraningrat was very shocked. Finally, he said softly, "Dipapraja, perhaps the death of my son was already predestined by the will of God, because he was so stupid. And moreover, Durgajaya is full of drivel. He utters words that are too big too quickly. It is customary if you are a descendant of Majapahit that you may not retract

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words that have been uttered. That is bound to bring bad luck in life." When Radèn Durgajaya heard these words, he quickly grabbed a knife and cut his throat, but only a cut to the size of a soy bean. His blood came out. This was just a means to make good on the words that had been uttered.

678. Then a messenger from Tumenggung Wiranagara came with a letter for Adipati Cakraningrat. In the letter he asked for forgiveness because of the death of Radèn Demang Pasisir. Adipati Cakraningrat replied to the letter saying that he had already accepted the death of his son, because he had not known about the secret strategy. Tumenggung Wiranagara was very happy to receive the reply and his worry disappeared, as he feared Adipati Cakraningrat very much.

679. Adipati Cakraningrat then sent a messenger with a letter to Kartasura to inform His Majesty about the death of his son. His Majesty was shocked and ordered the bupati to send two hundred rix-dollars each as condolence money. His Majesty himself gave seven hundred rix-dollars. The money was accepted by Adipati Cakraningrat.

680. It is told that Prabu Mangkurat had one son who was meant to succeed him and who had already been promoted to the title of Pangéran Adipati Anom. However, he suffered from a crippled foot. One day Pangéran Adipati Anom was summoned by his father and spoken to in the following way, "Boy, you are now already an adult and in the future you are bound to succeed me. Well now, I want you to try to get on the right side of your uncle, my brother Puger, and Cakraningrat, Jangrana, and Rangga Yudanagara of Semarang. You should know that these four men are the pillars of the realm of Kartasura. Don't dare to offend them. For example, if you make a bamboo tray, your uncle Puger would be the edge, the other three bupati would be the plaiting or the interweaving. That is to say, if one of those four men should feel offended, your kingship will not be secure. There will be much war and the common man will experience a lot of trouble. But if you can get to the right side of them, you can be king without problems, all your wishes will be fulfilled, and your realm will be prosperous. That is why I follow this policy. Actually, I am very worried when I see your character. If you cannot rid yourself of your bad traits, I cannot bring myself to leave my kingship to you." His Majesty said many things and taught him about how to behave as a king. Moreover, he taught him the meaning of the Asthabrata, Nitipraja and the Nitisastra. Pangéran Adipati Anom sat with his head bowed and with a tearful face. Then he said, "Father, Your Majesty, may I gain your blessings and be able to put all your teachings into practice." His Majesty said again, "Boy, if you obey me, I will, because you are already an adult, marry you to the daughter of my younger brother Puger. It seems that she is suitable to become your partner for life. Nevertheless, it is best if you go to the Puger residence and have a look for yourself. Pangéran Adipati Anom said that he would do as told and went to the Puger residence.

681. Pangéran Puger had already twelve children. The eldest was a girl. She was very beautiful and already an adult. Her name was Radèn Ajeng Lembah. The second was Radèn Mas Sudira, the third Radèn Mas Surya, the fourth Radèn Mas Mesir, the fifth

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Radèn Mas Papa, the sixth Radèn Mas Sungkawa, the seventh Radèn Mas Sangka, the eighth Radèn Mas Sudama, the ninth Radèn Ajeng Ayunan, and the tenth Radèn Ajeng Impun. The final two were still small.

682. Pangéran Puger happened to be sitting in his pendhapa faced by his sons. He was surprised to see Pangéran Adipati Anom coming to visit. Radèn Mas Sudira quickly went to meet him at the outer gate and invited him to the pendhapa. Pangéran Puger met him part of the way and then they sat down. Pangéran Puger said, "How come, my dear boy, that you are coming here without letting me know beforehand. It unsettles me." Pangéran Adipati Anom made a sembah and said, "Uncle, a short while ago my father, your elder brother, told me to come here for a visit." Pangéran Puger then knew that he wanted to view his daughter, and he winked at Radèn Mas Sudira. The latter understood the hint and quickly went inside. He found his elder sister and told her to serve the betel quid. Radèn Ajeng Lembah resisted, but was forced by her mother and other family members. In the end, she set off carrying the betel quid, but without changing into proper clothes. She just went unkempt and with a scowl on her face. Coming into the pendhapa, she offered the betel quid to Pangéran Adipati Anom, but then quickly returned into the house.

683. For a long while Pangéran Adipati Anom remained dumbstruck to see Radèn Ajeng Lembah's appearance. He was smitten because of her great beauty. She looked like a nymph from heaven. Then he said to his uncle, "Uncle, how old is your daughter, sister Ajeng Lembah?" Pangéran Puger replied, "Dear boy, you are only two years older."

684. Pangéran Adipati Anom then took his leave to return home. He paid his respects before his father and was asked, "How did it go, my boy? Did you see what your sister looks like?" Pangéran Adipati Anom said, "With your permission Sir, I indeed like her. Now I leave it up to you." His Majesty continued, "In that case, I will marry you forthwith, but I request that you do your best to take care of her, because your future wife is your first cousin, so almost your own sister." Pangéran Adipati Anom said that he would do as told.

685. His Majesty then gave orders to his wife to prepare the wedding adornments, and the bupati were requested to camp in temporary tents of bamboo and dried palm leaves on the Alun-alun. When everything was ready, Pangéran Adipati Anom was married in the palace the next morning. In the early evening, the bupati and their wives were told to fetch the bride from the Puger residence while bringing a palanquin.

686. Radèn Ajeng Lembah very much resisted being married to Pangéran Adipati Anom because she knew his character as nasty, jealous, ill-mannered, depraved, and arrogant. She was therefore very concerned. However, when forced by her father and mother, she was made up and dressed as a bride.

687. When those who had gone to fetch her had arrived, the bride was put in the palanquin and brought to the palace. She was made to descend in front of the gate of the living quarters. The wife of His Majesty came to meet her and led the bride by the hand. His Majesty led the groom by the hand. They were brought together and taken to a

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wooden platform at the end of the hall where they were seated on His Majesty's lap. While they were sitting on his lap, His Majesty kept instructing the groom and the bride so that they would live together in harmony during their marriage. After quite some time, he told the couple to go and sleep. His Majesty descended to join the feast in the pendhapa. Five days after the marriage, the bride and groom were conveyed to the Puger residence for the second marriage celebration and were then returned to the palace. The marriage between Pangéran Adipati Anom and Radèn Ajeng Lembah took place in the year 1621 [A.J.].

688. At that time the realm of Kartsura suffered from a shortage of food. Many people became sick or died of hunger. Then in addition they were struck by an epidemic and even more people died. His Majesty was very despondent. One night, he summoned his younger brother Pangéran Puger and said, "Brother, what is your advice? The realm of Kartasura is in dire straits. Who will suffer loss, apart from me and you? Therefore I leave it up to you to try to restore the former condition so that food will be cheap again and the epidemic will be gone." Pangéran Puger said, "If that is Your Majesty's wish, I ask to be allowed to leave in order to pray to God. May I receive Your Majesty's blessing." His Majesty gave his permission. Pangéran Puger then retreated from His Majesty's presence, went to his house and changed into the attire of a santri who often would often go out to beg. He just went by himself, wanting to see the condition of the various markets. At night, he would sit wherever he happened to be with folded arms meditating. When he visited the market of Kapundhung, he was surprised to see that nobody was selling cooked rice. There was only cassava, corn, yams, turnips, and wild turnips. He asked the vendors, "Auntie, what is the reason that no one is selling cooked rice?" One of them, called Nyai Cumbring, replied, "Dear santri, don't you know that the realm is only now at peace because His Majesty has been constantly at war with his younger brother Sunan Ngalaga. The common people have had no opportunity to work the ricefields. They were just moving around constantly in fear. And as soon as he had made peace with his younger brother, then we got this scarcity of food." The santri impersonator smiled when he heard this reply. He was touched, and it increased his sorrow. Nyai Cumbring thought that he was making advances to her and she insisted and asked him to go with her to her house. He just complied. At the house, she asked him to sit down on a mat and offered whatever food there was. Nyai Cumbring then went to the river to clean herself. Pangéran Puger in his disguise of a santri left the house. He departed to go to Mataram. On his arrival in Mataram, he headed for the Great Mosque. There he meditated during the night while sitting with folded arms to find out the will of the Lord who rules the universe.

689. Just before dawn, Pangéran Puger obtained help from God. A rice measuring basket, the size of a coconut, fell from high up in front of him. He quickly seized it and was very pleased, as he knew that he had received God's help. When it had become light, he went to the main market of Mataram taking the rice measuring basket with him. He headed for the rice vendors' place and asked about the price of rice to the amount of

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the basket which he was holding. The reply of the vendor was seven reals. Pangéran Puger bargained for seven wang. He got scolded and rebuked. Then he moved to the other rice vendors and bargained for the same. The rice sellers were all angry and chased him away.

690. Before long, food became cheap again and all the diseases disappeared. Pangéran Puger then returned to Kartasura. He paid his respects to His Majesty, his brother, and reported on everything he had done. His Majesty was deeply moved, and in the end it made him happy because the realm of Kartasura had returned to its former condition.

691. It is told that Pangéran Adipati Anom was sitting in his residence together with his wife. His brother-in-law, called Radèn Mas Sudira was sitting before them. The other brothers-in-law did not come to visit because he did not like any of them. He only liked Radèn Mas Sudira. Pangéran Adipati Anom asked Radèn Mas Sudira, "Sudira, have all your brothers now been given adult names by my uncle?" Radèn Mas Sudira said, "With your permission, four of my brothers have changed name. Radèn Mas Papa became Radèn Mas Antawirya, Radèn Mas Mesir became Radèn Mas Martataruna, Radèn Mas Sungkawa became Radèn Mas Dipataruna, Radèn Mas Surya became Radèn Mas Suryaputra. The others haven't changed name yet." Pangéran Adipati Anom took great offence when he heard the name Suryaputra because he did not like the one who carried this name, as he was handsome and publicly complimented about it. He said, "Sudira, you go to the Puger residence and tell Suryaputra that I have changed his name into Radèn Wangsatruna." Radèn Mas Sudira said that he would do as told and went.

692. Radèn Ayu Adipati was very hurt when she heard her husband's order and said, "Husband, what wrong has my younger brother committed that you give a handsome person the name of a peasant. You are behaving very oddly. Normally, somebody who has such a relative would be proud and happy and give him beautiful clothes. Not like you who even maltreat him." Pangéran Adipati Anom replied, "My dear wife, the reason that I changed your younger brother's name is to indicate that he is my relative. What can be done about it? It is after all what I want to do." His wife was very much upset and went into the house crying.

693. Radèn Suryakusuma had meanwhile appeared before his father and said, "Father, I have been sent by my elder brother Adipati Anom to tell you that he has changed your son Radèn Mas Suryaputra's name into Radèn Wangsataruna." Pangéran Puger replied, "Boy, tell your elder brother Adipati Anom that concerning his wish to change the name of Suryaputra, I said that I will do as told. Furthermore, you and your younger brothers should not feel offended by Pangéran Adipati Anom, as he is your lord and secondly your elder relative. It is obligatory to obey all his orders. And I instruct you, because you Pangéran Adipati Anom likes you, do not to be any less careful. Well boy, go back now."

694. Radèn Suryakusuma retired from his father's presence and returned to the Kadipatèn to report on his mission.

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695. At that time, His Majesty sent a messenger with a letter with orders to Pangéran Cakraningrat who was camped with his fellow bupati from the outer regions in Pasuruhan. The letter said that he was being recalled, but that his departure from there should be under the pretext of having been defeated by Surapati. When Pangéran Cakraningrat received the letter, he was very pleased, for he had already been deployed in Pasuruhan for eight years and now he was being recalled. That night, he sent a messenger with a letter to Surapati. The letter said that Surapati should attack him.

696. Having received the letter, Surapati quickly gave orders to get the arms ready. In the morning, he left town with his forces. On arrival at the positions in Genthong, he attacked Pangéran Cakraningrat. Pangéran Cakraningrat and his troops were swept away and fled, intending to return to Kartasura. His camp was subsequently burned down by the troops from Pasuruhan.

697. On his flight, Pangéran Cakraningrat had already reached Kartasura. He paid his respects before His Majesty and as a favour was given a former wife of His Majesty, the princess from Giri, called Ratu Wétan.

698. It is told that Pangéran Adipati Anom and his wife did not get along in their marriage. They just quarrelled with each other all the time because he had two concubines, one the daughter of a Kalang, and the other a woman from Onjé in Banyumas. He favoured both so much that he neglected his wife. Apart from that, he was of free-and-easy morals and often made love to other women. Moreover, by nature he did not allow his wishes to be opposed, was irritable and liked to make an arrogant display of his superior status. As for the two concubines, he raised them to the rank of official wife and this enraged his first wife, the Radèn Ayu Adipati. She left her husband in anger and returned to her parental home without taking her leave of her husband. At her parental home, she was just ignored by her father. Also, Pangéran Adipati Anom did not wish to inquire after his wife or summon her back, and this caused her great concern. During the day, she sat in the garden comforting herself. Only at night, did she go inside the front verandah of the house.

699. Before long, His Majesty heard that Pangéran Adipati Anom's wife had returned in anger to her parental home in the Puger residence. He quickly summoned three headmen of the Suranata corps, called Ki Angga, Ki Sèh, and Sarawèdi, and sent them to the Puger residence to investigate the reason why the Radèn Ayu Adipati had returned to her parental home, and also to ask for the models of the heirloom weapons in the Puger residence, called Kyai Plèrèd and Kyai Maésanular. The three men said that they would do as told and retired from the presence of His Majesty. They went to the Puger residence, paid their respect before Pangéran Puger and conveyed the orders of His Majesty. Pangéran Puger replied, "Angga, Sèh, and Sarawèdi, tell His Majesty my brother that I do not know the reason why Radèn Ayu Dipati has returned to her parental home in anger because I have not asked her. And as long as she stays here, I have just ignored her because Pangéran Adipati Anom has not yet sent a messenger to entrust her to me. Now, since you have been sent to investigate, it is best that you go and

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see her yourself. I give you permission to enter the women's quarters." The three messengers refused. Pangéran Puger continued, "As for His Majesty my elder brother's request for the models of the heirlooms, I will now give you the real things, a kris and a pike. I ask my brother His Majesty to make copies himself."

700. The kris and the pike were handed over and accepted by the messengers who took them to the palace. On arrival before His Majesty, the messengers gave a report on their mission. His Majesty was much dismayed. The messengers then offered him the heirloom kris and pike from the Puger residence. His Majesty became very angry at the messengers for not following orders but daring to bring the heirlooms themselves. He wanted to give orders to kill the three men, but eventually realized that they had dared to bring the heirlooms on the orders of Pangéran Puger. So he calmed down and told them to take them back and only ask for the models. The heirlooms were returned. Pangéran Puger provided models. His Majesty told a blacksmith to make a kris and a pike by copying the models.

701. Sometime later, His Majesty gave orders to make a lake to the southwest of the palace. The work was done by all the people from Kartasura and by the men from the coastal and outer regions. They shared the responsibility. Before long the work was completed and the lake was stocked with crocodiles. His Majesty then gave orders to drive wild animals from Mataram to Kartasura and put them to the west of the lake in a fenced game preserve. They were driven along the road which had been fenced with wood and bamboo. The deer, roe deer, mouse deer, wild bulls, wild oxen, and the like were put in the fenced preserve near the lake. Only the tigers and wild boars were killed.

702. After the lake and game preserve in Kartasura had been completed, His Majesty gave orders to build a large mosque imitating the design of the mosque of Demak. Before long it was completed and it looked very fine. His Majesty then gave orders to the population of the whole realm to go and perform the prayers in the mosque every Friday. This was done and every Friday the great mosque was so packed with people that they even spilled out over the front porch.

703. It is told that Radèn Adipati Sindureja had a son, begotten with the younger sister of His Majesty, the widow of the late Trunajaya, called Radèn Sukra. He was very handsome. His bearing was mischievous and dashing like a son of Dwarawati. No one in the whole of Kartasura was as handsome as he. He made the women fall madly in love with him so that he became the talk of the town. Whenever there was a wedding, Radèn Sukra would have to be invited to join the bridal procession and be made the showpiece for the participants of the procession.

704. One day, Radèn Sukra was invited to join a bridal procession and ride a horse ahead of the throng. The onlookers all fell in love with him. The procession entered the Alun-alun. Pangéran Adipati Anom who happened to be watching among the public, was surprised seeing a handsome man in full attire on horseback doing his utmost to cut a good figure in front of the bridal procession. Pangéran Adipati Anom asked who the

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person on horseback was. The one questioned replied truthfully. Pangéran Adipati Anom quickly returned home and gave orders to summon Radèn Sukra, because he was very annoyed that the latter was so handsome and cut such a splendid figure.

705. Radèn Sukra was conducted before Pangéran Adipati Anom to pay his respects. The latter gave orders to seize him and tie his hands, and moreover, to beat him with a rattan stick. When the beating was done, he was kicked and slapped by the many people present and his eyes were stuffed with black ants. Radèn Sukra wailed that he had done nothing wrong and kept asking for forgiveness. Pangéran Adipati Anom replied in a loud voice, "Don't ask about what you have done. Why do you behave without any regard for others as if you were the lord of the land, riding a horse in front of a crowd. Your horse is bound to run into people. These people are all my subjects." Having said this, he ordered his men, "Hey, men of the Kadipatèn, beat Sukra again with your sticks and stuff his eyes again with ants." His men quickly went into action. Radèn Sukra wailed loudly in distress and shed tears of blood. Finally, he lost consciousness. They carried him away and put him down in the middle of the main road. Radèn Sukra's menservants quickly came to his rescue and carried him back home. All who saw it felt sorry for him.

706. On arrival in the residence of the patih, his father and mother wept for him. For a moment Radèn Adipati Sindureja almost forgot himself and wanted to attack the Kadipatèn, for his son had been maltreated without having committed any wrongs. Eventually, he realized that he was a subject and his anger dissipated. His son was treated and within seven days he was again as he used to be.

707. When Radèn Sukra had recovered, he asked his father for permission to attack the Kadipatèn, but he was not allowed, and this greatly disappointed him. All the time he was bent on taking revenge on Pangéran Adipati Anom. He planned that wherever he might meet him, he would not be afraid and he incited his men, seventy Buginese, to join him in an attack. He was only awaiting a good opportunity.

708. At that time Radèn Sukra remembered that Pangéran Adipati Anom's wife had returned in anger to her parental home in the Puger residence and he said to himself, "Let's have a try at Pangéran Adipati Anom's wife. I'll befriend her so he will become angry at me, and that might be an opportunity for me to challenge him." He then summoned both his guardians, called Singanada and Patrawisa, and asked them, "Uncles, do you know what the Radèn Ayu Adipati Anom looks like, and do you know the reason why she went back in anger to her parental home?" Both guardians said, "Sir, we have only heard from information from our friends in the Puger residence that the Radèn Ayu Adipati Anom is extremely beautiful. The reason that she went back to her parental home is that she lost out in competing for the favour of her husband against the woman taken from the village of Onjé, who is now elevated to the rank of wife. From what we heard, the problem was just that. As long as the Radén Ayu stays in the Puger residence, she suffers from both sides because her husband does not summon her, and her father does not bother about her and does not ask what the problem is.

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The reason that he does not want to ask her is that he hopes she will return to the Kadipatèn. But the Radèn Ayu does not yet want to return. Every day she sits in the raised pavilion in the garden which is visible from the main road to the Puger residence. There she tries to find comfort for the lost love of her husband." When Radèn Sukra heard what his guardians said, he spoke again, "Uncles, tell my groom to wash the four legs of Nirwati, my grey from Bima, up to the knees with indigo dye and its tail, mane, and forelock as well. And tell him to put on the green velvet harness." Both guardians said that they would do as told. Radèn Sukra put on beautiful clothes, a black fez and as ear ornaments he used sumarsana flowers, a small one on each side. He was decidedly handsome in his beautiful outfit.

709. When the sun started to set, Radèn Sukra mounted his horse to go out for a ride to the Puger residence. He was escorted by twelve men, including both guardians. He had his horse prance close along the rear wall of the Puger residence, where he just moved back and forth.

710. It is told that Radèn Ayu Adipati Anom's stay in the Puger residence had already lasted two months. All the time she reduced her food and sleep. She became increasingly beautiful like an ideal picture. Her face was like the moon, her eyes sweet like polished diamonds, her teeth like a string of rubies, her eyebrows like the crescent of the new moon, her hair was thick and black, her figure graceful as if to disappear in a wink, her smile made the heart of those who saw it beat fast. At that moment, the princess happened to be sitting in the raised pavilion wrapped in a red cloth with lace edgings, attended by two governesses, and one of them was combing her hair. She was startled, when she saw a man on horseback prancing back and forth while his escort stayed rather far back. She softly asked her governess, "Governess, who is that man on horseback going back and forth from east to west while intently looking this way? Come let's have a look from the top of the wall over there." The governess said, "My lady, don't go and look there. Maybe the man on horseback is your husband Pangéran Adipati Anom. You might get blamed." The princess spoke again, "That is not my husband the Adipati. That can be seen from the fact that the escort is only small. If it was my husband, the escort would certainly be big. And how could I not recognize him? If he were dressed like the [Dutch] governor, I would still recognize him. This is the first time I have seen this man."

711. The princess quickly descended from the raised pavilion, asked for a ladder which was put against the wall, and climbed it. She leaned with her breast over the wall. Her face was lit by the rays of the five o'clock evening sun. It shone like the rising full moon. Radèn Ayu Adipati Anom and Radèn Sukra saw each other at the same instant. For a long time, they stared at each other dumbstruck. Radèn Sukra was smitten. He had instantly halted his horse and looked up craning his neck.

712. The princess told one of the governesses who had climbed the wall with her, to ask the name of the man on horseback. The governess did so and asked, "Young man, I have been charged by my lady the Radèn Ayu to ask who you are." Radèn Sukra was

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startled and replied while he let his horse prance, "I am the son of Radèn Adipati Sindureja. When I was still a boy, my name was Sukra. My adult name is Natadirja, but I am not often called that. I am still just called Sukra.

713. When the princess heard Radèn Sukra's answer, she said in a loud voice, "Hey, how come, you Sukra, that you are so brazen and foppish, don't realize that you are a commoner, and recklessly put your handsomeness at risk. If my husband, the crown prince, is informed about you, he is bound to break your neck, because your behaviour is way out of bounds." Radèn Sukra replied while smiling, "Oh, my beauty, my mistress, I am not afraid of the cripple and competing with him in prowess and invulnerability. Wherever we meet, I intend to cross krisses or pikes with him, provided that you, my lady, love me. Compared to him, I am still more handsome." After this reply, he whipped his horse and galloped back. Back at home, he dismounted and fell down on his bed, for he had fallen deeply in love with the princess.

714. Radèn Ayu Adipati Anom went inside and said to her governess, "Aunt, I am shocked. I think Sukra has become crazy about me. Suppose that my husband the Adipati does indeed divorce me, would it be proper to marry Sukra next?" The governess said, "My lady, I don't think it would be acceptable, because Sukra is the son of a subject. Your husband is the son of the king. Nevertheless, it would be acceptable, if your husband should die, to keep him in reserve, for he is handsome, and all the more so since he is the son of the patih and a relative of yours." The princess laughed happily.

715. It is told that Radèn Sukra, after he had woken from his sleep, was humming songs like a half-crazed man. He could only think of the princess in the Puger residence. Both his guardians talked insistently to him, trying to prevent him from persisting in his wishes, but Radèn Sukra was not to be moved. He even planned to steal into the Puger residence to commit adultery. At night, he got dressed in a loincloth, took a carbine and slung a leather cartridge pouch around his neck. Both his guardians hung onto him while crying, urging him, "My lord, please don't go through with this plan of yours because it is totally wrong. Moreover, someone who wants to do something like you want to do, should first use a go-between, and spend money and treasure to attain his aims. If not, you are like a man who wants to catch a fish in the water, but as bad luck would have it, the water is turbid, so he misses the fish. If you have a bit of bad luck, you will end up in disgrace." Radèn Sukra replied, "You are right, uncles, but I insist. Even though I may come to grief, providing I have managed to see the Radèn Ayu for a moment." Having said this, he left. Both his guardians followed behind him. Arriving outside the wall of the Puger residence, he had difficulties finding a way in. Crying from irritation, Radèn Sukra flung the carbine and the cartridge pouch down. One of his guardians quickly removed his sash, dipped it in water and threw it over the wall where it remained hanging firmly attached. Radèn Sukra climbed up via the piece of cloth and slid down on the inside of the wall. Both guardians stayed behind on the outside. Radèn Sukra then recited a magic spell to render himself invisible, but was swooped by a flock of nocturnal cuckoo and quail.

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716. At the time of Radèn Sukra's intrusion, none of the sons in the Puger residence, called Radèn Mas Antawirya, Radèn Martataruna, Radèn Mas Dipataruna, Radèn Mas Wangsataruna, and Radèn Mas Sangka were yet asleep. They were startled when they heard the noise of the birds in the garden. They realized that there was an intruder and they quickly went on patrol without torches to the place where the noise of the birds was coming from. Radèn Mas Antawirya furiously crawled along the stone wall. Radèn Mas Sukra noticed the men on patrol and he quickly slipped behind the cover of trees, planning to return and get out. Doing so, he kicked some dry leaves, producing a rustling sound.

717. Radèn Mas Antawirya heard the rustling sound and gave orders to get torches. His younger brothers quickly got torches and arrived in a moment. Radèn Sukra had by that time already climbed the wall by the same way he had come. He let himself fall on the outside and ran away with both his guardians. However, when he was crawling over the wall, he was illuminated by the light of the torches. The sons saw him clearly and shouted that there was a thief. Radèn Mas Antawirya immediately jumped over the wall. Outside he chased the intruder. None of his younger brothers could jump the wall, so they went out by the gate together with the guards to join in chasing the intruder while yelling at the top of their voices. The men of the patih's residence came to their aid to intercept the intruder. The light of the torches was as bright as daylight.

718. The men of the Sindureja compound were startled when they saw Radèn Sukra and his guardians out of breath. They quickly shielded them from view and got them out of the way. Then Radèn Mas Antawirya arrived at the Sindureja compound. The men from the Sindureja compound bowed and made a sembah. Then they asked what was going on. Radèn Mas Antawirya replied that he was chasing an intruder who had run that way. The men from the Sindureja compound said that he was not there. Radèn Mas Antawirya returned home escorted by the men from the Sindureja compound.

719. It is told that Radèn Sukra fell more and more in love with Radèn Ayu Adipati Anom. He composed a poem in seven stanzas to offer to the princess. The person sent to give the poem was called Nyai Tambakbaya. She doubled as a go-between. The princess received the poem and put it away under her pillow.

720. Before long, the word was spread about among the general public that Radèn Ayu Adipati Anom had struck up a friendship with Radèn Sukra, and this came to the ears of Pangéran Adipati Anom. Pangéran Adipati Anom quickly sent a letter to his uncle Pangéran Puger, saying, "I inform you that your daughter, my wife, is now cheating on me with Sukra and they have exchanged batik garments and other things."

721. After Pangéran Puger had read the letter, he became very angry. His face turned red and he quickly summoned his sons. He said to his son Radèn Mas Sudira, "Son, Sudira, call your sister Lembah." Radèn Mas Sudira said that he would do as told and quickly went to the front verandah. Pangéran Puger went on and said to his son Radèn Mas Antawirya, "Son, Antawirya, when your sister has come before me, you must quickly

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search through her bed. If you find letters or other things like that, you bring them here immediately." His son said that he would do as told.

722. Before long, Radèn Ayu Adipati came to pay her respects before her father. At the same time, Radèn Mas Antawirya turned his elder sister's bed inside out. He found the poem and gave it to his father. Having received the poem, Pangéran Puger said to his daughter Radèn Ayu Adipati, "Lembah, because you are married to our lord, you must bear the consequences yourself if you have committed a mistake. Don't involve your brothers or your parents." When Radèn Ayu Adipati was told this, she did not reply but returned while weeping.

723. After Radèn Ayu Adipati had withdrawn, Pangéran Puger read the poem. It made him extremely angry. Finally, he said to his sons, "It seems predestined that I will be put to shame by my daughter. Well, Sudira and all my other sons, quickly kill your sister Lembah and her servant called Tambakbaya this very day. If you cannot find it in your heart to kill her, my curse will strike you without fail." His sons said that they would do as told and wept, as did the wives and all the other people in the house.

724. The sons met with their elder sister and said that they were asking for her death. Radèn Ayu Adipati was heartbroken and said while crying, "Sudira, father didn't investigate at all. He just believes the gossip of my husband the Adipati. Tell father that I have never cheated or have the intention to cheat on my husband. Nevertheless, if father persists in requesting my death, I leave it up to him. Offer him my respects."

725. Radèn Mas Sudira urged Radèn Mas Antawirya to go and tell their father their sister's reply. Radèn Mas Antawirya quickly went back to pay his respects and tell their father. Pangéran Puger said, "Antawirya, you and your brothers should not stop or hesitate to execute my orders. The reason that I punish your elder sister now is that later in the hereafter she may be forgiven by God and that it may cut the talk short. Furthermore, whoever among my sons is not willing to kill his sister will be struck by my curse." Radèn Mas Antawirya quickly returned to the front verandah and told his sister that their father remained firm in his resolve.

726. Radèn Ayu Adipati wept, embraced her younger brothers in turn while saying many parting words to them. Then she bathed, washed her hair and applied perfume. Next, she sat down and covered her face. Two of her brothers held in their right hand a silken cloth which they tied around her neck while they wiped their tears with their left hand. The older brothers held their sister's feet and hands while they wept. Radèn Ayu Adipati died by strangulation. Next, Nyai Tambakbaya was killed. The sounds of crying reverberated through the Puger compound. The bodies were buried.

727. After the death of Radèn Ayu Adipati Anom, her mother quickly went to the palace to tell His Majesty the whole story. When he heard it, His Majesty was very shocked. He beat his chest with the palm of his hand while wiping his tears. In a choked voice he said, "Sister-in-law, oh God, your husband, why did he not tell me. Moreover, did he even forgot the proverb that however fierce the tiger may be, yet it will not find it in its heart to kill its own offspring. Yet my brother did find it in his heart." Eventually,

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His Majesty became angry at Radèn Sukra and summoned the bupati and their troops. Those summoned quickly came to pay their respects. His Majesty then sent a messenger to Radèn Adipati Sindureja demanding the death of Sukra.

728. The messenger went but quickly returned because he could not gain access, since the gate of the Sindureja compound was locked. Inside, the men were drawn up in battle array. Radèn Sukra intended to carry out a suicidal attack on the residence of the crown prince, in order to join Radèn Ayu Adipati Anom in death. Radèn Adipati Sindureja kept trying to restrain and admonish Radèn Sukra, but did not succeed. He persisted in his wish to attack. Radèn Adipati Sindureja felt sorry for his son. Eventually, he got carried away and decided to support his son. He gave orders to prepare weapons.

729. The returning messenger had meanwhile reported that he did not gain access because Radèn Adipati Sindureja had drawn up his men in battle array. He had forgotten that he was a servant because of his great love for his only son. When His Majesty heard this report, he became extremely angry and told the bupati to destroy the Sindureja compound. Kyai Tumenggung Sumabrata quickly said, "My lord, if you agree, it is best to summon your younger sister to the palace and, if it pleases you, to ask her what the intentions of your servant Radèn Adipati Sindureja are." His Majesty heeded the advice of Kyai Tumenggung Sumabrata and ordered the chiefs of the female court servants, called Wilaja and Suwanda, to summon Radèn Ayu Sindureja.

730. The messengers quickly went, escorted by the bupati and their troops who were ordered to surround the Sindureja compound. This was indeed done. Nyai Wilaja and Nyai Suwanda then entered the residence of the patih where they found Radèn Adipati Sindureja and his wife embracing Radèn Sukra because he intended to go outside to attack. Nyai Wilaja and Nyai Suwanda served the summons, "Radèn Adipati Sindureja, receive the summons of His Majesty. Your son Radèn Sukra has incurred the retribution of God and is demanded by His Majesty to be killed." Radèn Adipati Sindureja was stunned with grief for a long time, then he replied, "Nyai, you tell His Majesty that, if he agrees, I should be allowed to serve as a replacement for the death of Sukra." When Nyai Wilaja heard this reply, she conveyed His Majesty's orders to Radèn Ayu Sindureja, that she was summoned by His Majesty.

731. Radèn Ayu Sindureja quickly left accompanied by the messengers. When she arrived before His Majesty, His Majesty said in a low voice, "Sister, tell your husband that if he wants this to end well for him, and wants to ask for the life of his son, he should immediately come and pay his respects before me. If not, I will myself go down and destroy the Sindureja compound." Radèn Ayu Sindureja said that she would do as told and returned home to tell her husband everything His Majesty had said.

732. Radèn Adipati Sindureja was in a quandary, but in the end, he went along with his wife. He said to his son while kissing him on the head, "Boy, you just stay at home. I will ask for forgiveness from His Majesty the King." Having said this, he left with his wife to pay his respects at the palace. When he arrived at the Kamandhungan gate, he

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was met by Kyai Tumenggung Sumabrata who demanded his kris while he was surrounded by troops and put there under guard.

733. His Majesty then sent a messenger to the bupati who were surrounding the Sindureja compound with orders to kill Radèn Sukra. Those ordered were in a quandary and afraid to enter because Radèn Sukra had drawn up his men in battle array and was on his guard.

734. There was a kinsman of Radèn Adipati Sindureja, an uncle of Radèn Sukra, called Ngabei Mandaraka, who took it upon himself to enter and persuade Radèn Sukra. He quickly climbed the wall and inside met with Radèn Sukra. He embraced him while weeping and earnestly admonished him in order to dissipate his anger. Moreover, he said that he would take full responsibility if things turned out badly. By God's will, Radèn Sukra was easy to convince. He went along with Kyai Mandaraka and dismissed his troops. The bupati who were surrounding the compound quickly entered. They seized Radèn Sukra and gave him poison to drink. However, it did not have the desired effect. Then Ngabei Mandaraka quickly grabbed him in the hair, put his foot on his neck and jerked it back forcibly. Radèn Sukra was killed. The bupati reported to His Majesty that Radèn Sukra had been killed. Radèn Adipati Sindureja was set free and allowed to go home.

735. At that time, His Majesty asked for the daughter of Pangéran Puger, called Radèn Ajeng Impun, and for the niece of Radèn Ayu Puger. Both were taken into the palace.

736. Next, His Majesty gave orders to the bupati to transport the big guns that were in Mataram and bring them to Kartasura. This was done.

737. It is told that His Majesty received a letter from the Governor General in Batavia demanding fulfillment of the contract in which His Majesty had promised compensation for the gunpowder consumed in the war and for the payment and the loss of the Company troops who had been killed in the war. The letter put His Majesty very much in a quandary and he gave orders to summon Pangéran Adipati Puger, Pangéran Cakraningrat and Radèn Sindureja. They all appeared before His Majesty. His Majesty said to Adipati Sindureja, "Sindureja, send a messenger to Pasuruhan to tell Surapati to enlarge the area under his control and to conquer the people of the Mancanagara. When he has arrived east of Mount Lawu, I will send out an army to meet him in battle. I appoint my younger brother Puger as commander and he will have command over half the men of Kartasura. When this has been done, you must send a reply to Batavia. Let the Governor General know that I am not able to consider his reminder because I am just having problems facing the enemy. And you should ask for the assistance of Company troops. If he doesn't want to help, what's the use of demanding payment?" Radèn Adipati Sindureja said that he would do as told. His Majesty then said to Pangéran Puger and Pangéran Cakraningrat, "Both of you, what is your advice if later there is again a letter demanding payment? What should my answer be?" Pangéran Puger said, "I think that if Your Majesty indeed does not want to give compensation, it is best to just give a frank answer. Since Your Majesty has already granted them the Sunda

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lands and Cirebon, only that is actually sufficient as compensation for what has been spent on the expenses of the war." Radèn Adipati Sindureja continued, "Young master, what you say is right, but since your brother the king has let slip the promise that he would give compensation, how could he go back on his words? As for the Sunda lands, they were just a reward." Pangéran Puger replied, "That will be easy, as the whole of Java is owned by the king, the ground we step on, the water we drink, and the grass and the leaves, and so forth. If His Majesty were to put a price on it, wouldn't that be worth a lot? Moreover, the Company men make already great profit through their trading on Java, and they are respected. No Javanese dares to maltreat them. Isn't that also because of the beneficent influence of His Majesty the King? If the Company men don't show appreciation for the beneficence of His Majesty the King, they had better leave Java." Pangéran Cakraningrat continued, "You would be right, brother, if they were labourers who, having received their wages, may indeed be send far away. Even so, during the war they also did not accomplish it by themselves. The Javanese had to do the fighting. The Company troops just backed them up."

738. When His Majesty heard Pangéran Cakraningrat's words, he was very pleased and said to Radèn Adipati Sindureja, "Sindureja, later when you meet with the commander or the resident and they talk about fulfilling the contract, you just stand firm. If they persist in asking for payment, then it will be the time to kick them out of Java. But if they are thankful and realize that they are taking advantage of me, I will grant them my friendship, because I have been instructed by my late father to remain on good terms with the Dutch. Now quickly dispatch the messenger to Pasuruhan. When its army has arrived east of Mount Lawu, I'll immediately order brother Puger to meet them in battle." Radèn Adipati Sindureja said that he would do as told. He retired from the presence of His Majesty together with Pangéran Puger and dispatched a messenger to Pasuruhan.

739. It is told that Surapati had already dispatched his army, about three thousand men under the command of his two sons. On the march, they plundered all along the way. Eventually, they halted and made camp in Madiyun. At that time, Pangéran Puger had already left Kartasura leading half of the Kartasura army. He marched via Jagaraga and came to blows with the army from Pasuruhan in Kalitambang, a dependency of Madiyun. The men from Pasuruhan were defeated and fled to Caruban. Pangéran Puger and his army camped in the town of Pranaraga.

740. In turn it is told that the king of Kartasura suffered from severe paralysis so that he could not go out to hold audiences. Pangéran Puger and his army were recalled and arrived back in Kartasura. After about a year, His Majesty recovered and fulfilled his vow to hold a large tiger-sticking rampog tournament and to go with his wives to play in the water of the artificial lake. The crocodiles kept there had all been taken out by Radèn Suryakusuma. When he had gone in to grab the crocodiles, his clothes had not got wet and this very much awed the spectators.

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741. At that time, the realm of Kartasura was very prosperous. Pangéran Adipati Anom already had four children. The eldest was called Radèn Mas Bumi, the second Radèn Mas Panenggak, and the third Radèn Mas Alit. The youngest was a daughter called Radèn Ajeng Sasi. All four were born from secondary wives. As for Radèn Mas Bumi, he was raised in rank and given the title Pangéran Buminata.

742. Pangéran Adipati Anom was forced by his father to get married to a daughter of Pangéran Puger, called Radèn Ajeng Impun, thereby marrying the sister of his late wife Radèn Ayu Lembah. As for the niece of Radèn Ayu Puger, she was given as wife to a nephew of Ratu Kancana, called Radèn Sumaningrat. This happened in the year 1623 [A.J.].

743. Then there was a nephew of His Majesty, a son of the late Pangéran Singasari, called Radèn Mas Punta. He went to sleep and meditated at the foot of the grave at Tegalarum with the intention of rising in rebellion. When this was reported to His Majesty, he gave orders to capture and kill him, and this was indeed done.

744. In the year 1625 [A.J.], Radèn Adipati Sindureja fell ill and died. Kyai Tumenggung Sumabrata was appointed to replace him as outer patih, ruling the people of the whole of Java. Kyai Tumenggung Wiraguna was appointed inner patih. At that time, Pangéran Adipati Anom was given the authority to rule over all the adipati and the people of the whole of Java, so the afore-mentioned patih had to report to Pangéran Adipati Anom on all matters.

745. Time and again His Majesty kept teaching his son Pangéran Adipati Anom about one's conduct as king and as a human being, and he endeavored to make him discard his bad behaviour and, moreover, to show affection to Pangéran Puger and Pangéran Adipati Cakraningrat in order not to offend them. The intention of His Majesty in giving these lessons was that later he would succeed in replacing him on the throne. Because His Majesty already felt that his life would soon be over and was very worried about the behaviour of his son, he exerted himself very much.

746. Before long, His Majesty became very ill and in the year Alip 1627 (A.J), he died. Pangéran Adipati Anom seated himself in the Srimanganti and assembled all the bupati and their troops. They all came and deployed on the Alun-alun. Pangéran Puger, Pangéran Arya Mataram, and Pangéran Arya Panular asked Pangéran Adipati Anom permission to to pay their respects to His Majesty's body. Pangéran Adipati Anom gave permission and the three princes entered the palace. They performed a sembah to the body of His Majesty while weeping.

747. It is told that the penis of His Majesty rose in erection and at the tip there appeared a shiny light the size of a peppercorn, but nobody noticed it except Pangéran Puger. Pangéran Puger quickly sucked up the light. After he had sucked it up, the erection of the penis subsided. The light was the sign that it had been predestined by the will of God that Pangéran Puger would succeed as king. The rule of Pangéran Adipati Anom would only be an interregnum.

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Rampog

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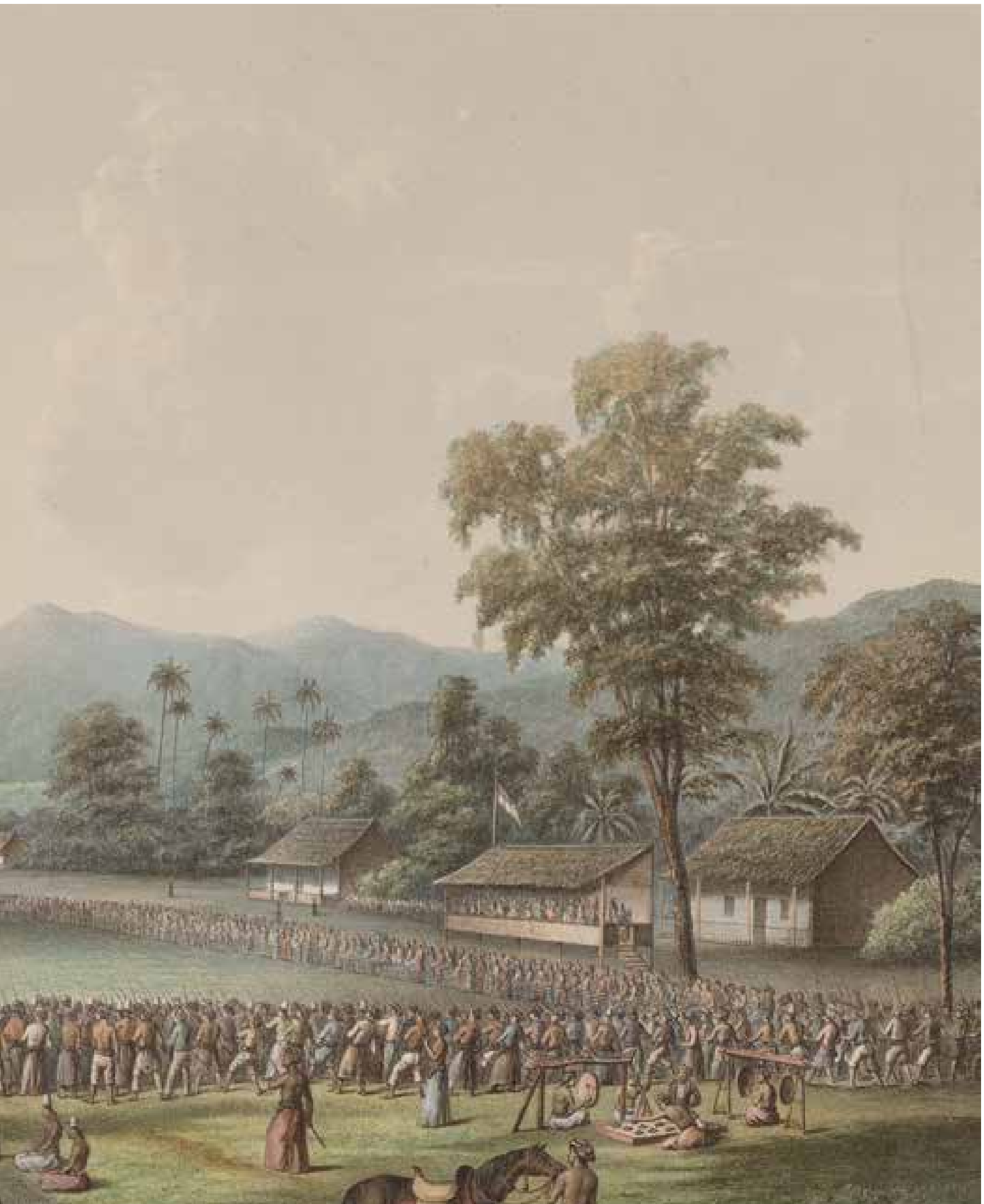

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748. After His Majesty's body had been cleansed, it was taken to be buried at Imagiri, escorted by a number of troops from Kartasura led by Radèn Suryakusuma. His Majesty's wife, Ratu Kancana, also escorted the body to Imagiri, bringing with her one thousand reals, the proceeds of His Majesty's own manual labor, to pay for the funeral prayers.

749. After the departure of the funeral procession, Pangéran Adipati Anom gave orders to Kyai Adipati Sumabrata to assemble all bupati and mantri on the Pagelaran, because he wanted to ascend the throne succeeding his father. Kyai Adipati Sumabrata said, "It is best if you inform the Company first that your father has died and that you want to ascend the throne succeeding your father." Pangéran Adipati Anom replied, "Later when I have been installed as king, I will inform them. Now, I don't want to do that yet. Quickly assemble all your colleagues. I will first dress and then come out on the Pagelaran." Kyai Adipati Sumabrata said that he would do as told and left to assemble all the bupati and mantri, the chief religious official, the haji, and of course a syarif, the teacher of the late king. No sooner had they returned from the funeral procession than they went to pay homage on the Pagelaran.

750. Before long, Pangéran Adipati Anom emerged from the palace, escorted by a procession of female servants who carried the royal insignia. Pangéran Puger and his two brother princes went to meet him on the Sitinggil. Pangéran Adipati Anom said to Pangéran Puger, "Uncle, I wish to assume the kingship. I hope you will give your permission." Pangéran Puger said that he agreed and gave his consent. Pangéran Adipati Anom then descended to the Pagelaran and sat down on the throne. All who came to pay homage had already assembled. Pangéran Puger then stood behind Pangéran Adipati Anom and said in a loud voice, "People of Kartasura, witness all of you that I now proclaim Pangéran Adipati Anom king, ruling over the whole of Java, with the title Kangjeng Susuhunan Mangkurat Senapati Ingalaga Sayidin Panatagama." The bupati and the lower ranks all agreed in unison. Kyai Adipati Sumabrata snarled at Pangéran Puger, "Ah, you don't need to proclaim him. Pangéran Adipati Anom can proclaim himself." When Pangéran Puger heard this jibe, he felt very embarrassed. He could almost not look the people in the eye, and in his heart he kept saying, "God preserve me!"

751. Kyai Adipati Sumabrata and his fellow bupati and mantri then all kissed the feet of His Majesty. Pangéran Puger and his two brothers shook hands with the newly installed king.

752. His Majesty then returned to the palace. On his arrival, he gave orders to all the servants of the palace that his mother Ratu Kulon should now be called Ratu Ageng.

753. The late king had only one son, the present king, born from Ratu Kulon. The other wives did not have children. The reason was that Ratu Kulon had a very bad character. When one of the other wives became pregnant, she would visit her and the pregnancy would instantly be lost.

754. On a Thursday, the new ruler came out to hold audience. He raised two of his closest followers in rank. A half-blood Chinese from Semarang, called Pusparaga, was made

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Tumenggung with the title Jayaningrat. Apart from that, many of his servants in the Kadipatèn were raised in rank. His Majesty then told Kyai Adipati Sumabrata to send a letter to the commander in Jepara and to Captain Kenol in Semarang to let them know that his father had passed away and that he had succeeded to the throne. Kyai Adipati Sumabrata said that he would do as told. Then His Majesty whispered to Kyai Adipati Sumabrata, "Sumabrata, in connection with my ascension to the throne, is there somebody you worry about, or who troubles you?" Kyai Adipati Sumabrata said, "To my mind there is only one person who worries me, but I am afraid to mention his name." His Majesty smiled and said, "Yes, I know whom you consider worrisome, no other than uncle Puger. But I think that as long as I control his daughter, he will probably not really get the wrong ideas." Kyai Adipati Sumabrata said, "My lord, that makes it even easier to commit a crime and attack you unexpectedly in order to kill you, because a man who tries to seize the throne will take no account of a daughter. Suppose that your uncle Puger should tell your wife to kill you, then I think that it will indeed happen." When His Majesty was told this, he alas forgot the last words of his late father and believed what Kyai Adipati Sumabrata said. This was then just when the ritual meal was held in commemoration of the seventh day after the death of his father. His wife, the daughter of Pangéran Puger, was returned to her father, and the concubine from Onjé was elevated to the rank of wife with the title Ratu Kancana.

755. Now we return to those who had escorted the body to Imagiri. When the body had been laid to rest, they returned to Kartasura. Only Ratu Mangkurat still stayed behind for Quran recitations together with a great number of religious students. As for Radèn Mas Suryakusuma, he did not want to return. He camped with his troops in the village of Énta-énta in the realm of Mataram and subjected the inhabitants around that area. A senior servant called Kyai Surangga tried to make him return, but he was unwilling. He said, "If Pangéran Adipati Anom becomes king, I am unwilling to return. It is certain that the world will turn to chaos, because he has a very bad character which he got from his mother who is not of Mataram blood. Unfortunately, my late uncle the king did not have children with his wives who were of Mataram blood. The marriage of the Adipati himself with my sister also did not last. This indicates that his line of descendants will end. It is better that I myself become king. And it is normal when you contest the kingship that if you lose, you perish, and if you win, you will be safe. It is now my wish, Surangga, that you quickly conquer the people of Mataram and Pagelèn, and make it known that I have now assumed the kingship with the title Prabu Panatagama. Kyai Surangga said that he would do as told and carried out the task. At that time, many people submitted and his army became large. Radèn Mas Suryakusuma also designed a palace and an Alun-alun in the village of Énta-énta. The people of Imagari were seized by panic. Ratu Mangkurat fled to the east to the Gunung Kidul mountains. She arrived in the village of Masaran and then returned to Kartasura.

756. Next, His Majesty was informed that Radèn Mas Suryakusuma had risen in rebellion and already had a large army. His Majesty was very angry with Pangéran Puger be-

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cause he thought that Radèn Mas Suryakusuma had risen in rebellion at the urgings of his father. He gave orders to Kyai Adipati Sumabrata, "Sumabrata, immediately summon uncle Puger with all his wives and children. When they have arrived, lock them up behind bamboo fences on the Paséban on the Alun-alun. Don't allow them to keep their weapons." Kyai Adipati Sumabrata said that he would do as told. He quickly sent a messenger to summon them. Pangéran Puger and his wives and children immediately came to pay their respects on the Pagelaran. Kyai Adipati Sumabrata conveyed the orders of His Majesty. Pangéran Puger did not resist and surrendered his kris. His sons and followers also surrendered their krisses. Only Radèn Mas Antawirya had not yet done so. His eyes had a severe look and his face turned red. The bupati shifted their position while on their guard. Pangéran Puger quickly ordered his son, "Antawirya, surrender your kris. Even if you are killed, don't resist. Because you have committed no sin, you will die a martyr. If on the contrary you resist, you will commit treason against the king. If you don't surrender your kris, my curse will strike you." Radèn Mas Antawirya greatly respected his father and he handed over his kris. Pangéran Puger and his wives, children, and followers were then locked up and guarded by the troops of the bupati.

757. Pangéran Puger and his wives and children were very pitiful. They wept day and night and blamed Radèn Mas Suryakusuma. The bupati who were guarding them and Kyai Adipati Sumabrata every evening rode right by the bamboo fence while making sidelong remarks to embarrass Pangéran Puger. This hurt him so much that he did not want to eat or sleep any more. All the time, he begged for forgiveness and help from God. At night, he sat with folded arms meditating to clear his mind. Every Monday and Thursday he bathed, washed his hair, and cleansed himself, ready for the wish of His Majesty, in case the latter wanted to finish him off.

758. His Majesty had already given orders to attack the rebel Radèn Mas Suryakusuma, who, when attacked, was defeated because he was overwhelmed by his enemy. Many of his men were killed and he fled to Pagelèn. The troops from Kartasura then returned.

759. His Majesty happened to hold audience to discuss his intention to kill Pangéran Puger. Kyai Adipati Sumabrata said that he feared heaven-sent retribution and that it would inevitably cause a split in the realm. Kyai Tumenggung Wiraguna added, "If, for example, a bottle of arak was drunk by one man, he would certainly get drunk. But if it was drunk by a great many people, it would be harmless." Then they were interrupted by the arrival of the troops who had been sent out. They reported that they had gained victory and that Radèn Mas Suryakusuma had fled to the west. His Majesty was very pleased and gave orders to pursue Radèn Mas Suryakusuma wherever he went. Those ordered quickly left.

760. At that time, Kyai Adipati Sumabrata asked His Majesty for forgiveness for Pangéran Puger. He said a great deal in order to make His Majesty's anger towards Pangéran Puger disappear. Eventually, His Majesty consented and replied, "Enough, free uncle Puger, but ask for his guarantee that he will not incite his children to revolt. And tell

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him to move his residence and live close to the Alun-alun." Kyai Adipati Sumabrata said that he would do as told. He went to the fenced place of custody to ask for Pangéran Puger's guarantee and to tell him to move his residence close to the Alun-alun. Then he set him free. Pangéran Puger forthwith moved to the place where he was ordered to be.

761. It is told that the person who was Governor General in Batavia was called Hirpèkusdiman. He received a letter from the commander in Jepara informing him that he had received a letter from Kartasura saying that His Majesty Susuhunan Mangkurat had died and had been succeeded by his son Pangéran Adipati Anom, but that this had been reported quite a while after the succession. In the opinion of the commander, the king who had newly ascended the throne intended to break off the friendship with the Company and not preserve the contract between his late father and the Company. The Governor General then consulted with the high officials in Batavia and they considered that His Majesty had definitely violated the treaty. They came to the conclusion to carry out an assassination in order to kill His Majesty.

762. Then they searched for and found a specialist in black magic. His services cost five hundred thousand reals. The black magic specialist had killed foreign kings before. At that time, he appeared as a human being, but with the size of a small boat and feet the length of a rod. His hair was an unkempt mass about the weight of three man-loads.

763. The black magician went to Kartasura making himself invisible by becoming one with the wind. He arrived in the middle of the night and headed for the palace. At that moment, His Majesty happened to come outside into the yard of the royal residence. The black magician came down from the clouds and suddenly appeared in front of His Majesty. His Majesty was shocked, the hair in the nape of his neck stood on end, and his body shook. Then he thought of the former pet of Panembahan Sénapati and he dared to ask, "Who are you, seeing that you are so extremely big? Are you Jurutaman, once the pet of grandfather Sénapati?" The black magician boomed, "I am not Jurutaman. I am the black magician of the Dutch. Are you the king of Java?" When the king heard that, he became very scared. He trembled and replied nervously, "I am not the king. The king who rules over the whole of Java is my uncle. He lives in the Puger compound, directly to the north of here." The black magician quickly left. His Majesty felt relieved and his fear disappeared.

764. In the twinkling of the eye the black magician arrived at the Puger residence. He headed to the front yard of the meditation pavilion. Pangéran Puger happened to be urinating there. He was startled to see an extraordinarily large man. Thinking that it was a jungle demon, he recited a magic spell, approached the black magician and asked, "Are you a devil or an evil spirit, seeing that you are so horrendously big?" The black magician answered, "I am the black magician of the Dutch. Now, I want to ask you, who is the king of Java?" Pangéran Puger replied, "My king is in the palace." The black magician said angrily, "Ah, I was just in the palace. Someone met me who said to me that the king was here and was his uncle." Pangéran Puger smiled and replied,

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"In fact, I am the king who rules Java. Well, what did you come here for?" The black magician replied, "Somebody sent me to compete in magical power with the king of Java. When I have defeated and killed the king, I will destroy his world and I will tell my men to cast a spell on the people of the whole island of Java." Pangéran Puger smiled and replied, "Well, come on, bring on your magical power. You are a ghost planning to do harm." Having said this, he recited the besmah, bala sarèwu and other prayers. The black magician collapsed and turned into a little boy. He moved his lips but could not speak. His eyes were dilated in anger. Pangéran Puger spoke again, "Your magical power has been defeated. I order you to leave quickly and go back to your overseas lair. Pass along the Kendheng mountain range and don't bother anybody on your way, because all the people in Java are my subjects. If you do not leave immediately, I will feed you marten droppings." The black magician quickly left. He went northward along the Kendheng mountain range. Many people in the places he passed over fell ill with fever.

765. At that time, it was already daybreak. His Majesty sent a messenger to see whether Pangéran Puger was sick or not. The messenger returned and informed him that Pangéran Puger was fine and not different from usual. His Majesty was very amazed.

766. The eldest son of His Majesty died. The second son had been given the title Pangéran Mangkunagara. His younger brother was given the title Pangéran Mangkuningrat. Radèn Adipati Sindureja had left one son. He had been given the title Tumenggung Sindureja. A kinsman of his Majesty from his mother's side, called Radèn Anggadimeja, was given the title Pangéran Blitar.

767. When the ritual meal was given for the hundredth-day commemoration after the death of the late king, the bupati and their wives came to pay their respects at the palace and stayed for the night. There was a young wife of Pangéran Cakraningrat, beautiful and still without child, called Radèn Ayu Pakuwati. She was very attractive in her whole comportment. When His Majesty saw her, he tricked her into coming to his bedchamber. He held her tightly and forced her to sleep with him. The Radèn Ayu wanted to resist, but she was not strong enough to oppose His Majesty's strength, so she cried and screamed. When it was over, she immediately went home while shedding tears.

768. When she arrived at the compound, Pangéran Cakraningrat was just grooming his quails. He was startled when he saw his wife returning in tears. He put his quails back in their cage and went to meet his wife. He asked her why she was crying. She frankly told him the truth that she had been raped by His Majesty. When Pangéran Cakraningrat heard his wife's report, he became terribly angry. His face reddened and his eyes hardened. Immediately he thought of attacking the palace, but after a while he remembered the final instruction of the late king to look after his son, the present king who had just ascended the throne, so his anger subsided. He sent a messenger to call Tumenggung Jangrana of Surabaya. When the latter had arrived, Pangéran Cakraningrat said, "Brother Jangrana, I now intend to shift my loyalty because His Majesty's behaviour is grossly indecent. Let us try to persuade Pangéran Puger and see whether

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he is willing to be proclaimed king, as he has a refined character, shows kindness to his subjects, and should rightly be king." Tumenggung Jangrana let himself be carried away, as he had already heard that Surabaya was going to be split into two.

769. At night, Pangéran Cakraningrat and Kyai Tumenggung Jangrana visited the Puger compound. They met Pangéran Puger and were invited to sit down in the meditation pavilion. Pangéran Puger asked softly, "Brothers, it is very unusual that both of you come here at night. What do you want?" Pangéran Cakraningrat said frankly that he was offended with His Majesty and then tried to persuade and incite Pangéran Puger. He told him to proclaim himself king and seize the realm of Kartasura. Pangéran Cakraningrat and Kyai Tumenggung Jangrana promised to be his shock troops in the war. Pangéran Puger replied softly, "You are saying something very improper. If someone dares to defy his king, his fate will not be good, because the king is like the representative of God. Moreover, brothers, I have no intention to take over the realm of Kartasura. I only intend to assist the king by word and deed." Pangéran Cakraningrat replied, "Elder brother, what you say is correct, if His Majesty the king had behaved according to the final instructions of his late father. Instead he has treated you cruelly, he has treated me with contempt, and also offended brother Jangrana." Pangéran Cakraningrat spent a great deal of effort to persuade him and in the end Pangéran Puger replied that he would first think it over.

770. It is told that Kyai Rangga Yudanagara of Semarang was very worried when he received information that a favourite servant of His Majesty, a locally-born Chinese who had been given the title Tumenggung Jayaningrat, had asked to be installed as bupati of Semarang and that His Majesty was going to grant the request. Then Kyai Rangga sent two mantri, called Tanpanaha and Sawunggaling, with a letter to Pangéran Puger. On their arrival in Kartasura they went to the patih of the Puger household, called Setrajaya, who presented the letter to his master. In the letter, Kyai Rangga Yudanagara reported that Captain Kenol in Semarang and the other Company officials in Java felt offended by His Majesty because at the time of his accession he had not informed the Dutch. For that reason, the Dutch now hoped that Pangéran Puger would flee Kartasura and come to Semarang where he would be installed as king by the Dutch.

771. Having read the letter, Pangéran Puger felt very relieved and he rewarded both messengers with a set of clothes and seven reals each as travel money. After giving them a reply, Pangéran Puger remembered Pangéran Cakraningrat and he told the messengers from Semarang to wait.

772. Pangéran Puger quickly gave orders to summon Pangéran Cakraningrat and Tumenggung Jangrana. When they had arrived at the Puger compound, he tossed them the letter from Semarang. After they had read it, they were very happy, feeling that they had gained an ally. Pangéran Cakraningrat gave the messengers a set of clothes and ten reals each. Kyai Tumenggung Jangrana gave the same. The reply from Pangéran Puger was accompanied by a gift of hand-me-down clothes for Kyai Rangga of Se-

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marang. Pangéran Cakraningrat also sent a letter to Kyai Rangga. The messengers then departed from Kartasura.

773. Pangéran Puger, Pangéran Cakraningrat, and Kyai Tumenggung Jangrana held a consultation. Pangéran Cakraningrat said softly, "Elder brother, in which place would you like to assemble the troops?" Pangéran Puger replied, "Brother, when I leave Kartasura, I will head for Demak. There I want to ascend the throne and assemble an army. As for the Dutch, if they want to help, that's fine. If not, that's fine as well. I will just inform them." Pangéran Cakraningrat said, "If you have definitely made up your mind, I will ask leave to return to Madura before you leave and assemble troops. As for brother Jangrana, it would be better if he stayed behind in order not to attract attention and to watch over you in his heart." When they had reached a decision, Pangéran Cakraningrat and Kyai Tumenggung Jangrana returned to their compounds.

774. The next morning, Pangéran Cakraningrat went to pay his respects to His Majesty and ask leave to inspect the domain that had been entrusted to him. He pretended that he would return before long, because he was anxious should he leave His Majesty for too long a time. His words did not show that they concealed any secret. His Majesty had no inkling at all that Pangéran Cakraningrat felt insulted, for he thought it impossible that his wife would have confessed that His Majesty had raped her. He replied, "Uncle, I allow it, but don't let it take too long, come back right away. Furthermore, it would be better if someone looked after your compound. You had better leave one of your wives behind." Pangéran Cakraningrat said that his wives insisted on going with him. His Majesty then gave him seven hundred reals for travel money and Pangéran Cakraningrat withdrew from His Majesty's presence. Not long after returning to his compound, he departed with all his wives, children, and followers. Nothing is told about his journey, but when he arrived in Sampang he organized and gave rewards to his troops and, of course, trained them every day for war.

775. Pangéran Puger kept on meditating every night, trying to find out the will of God. Then he got a sign from God that he was allowed to ascend the throne.

776. Shortly afterwards, the rebel Radèn Mas Suryakusuma was caught by Arya Banyakwidhé. He had been talked into it, but then tied up in a pig basket. The capture of Radèn Mas Suryakusuma was soon known all over Kartasura.

777. When Pangéran Puger heard the news of his son's capture, he quickly told his followers and all his wives and children that he wished to flee. The order came suddenly and on the same night. Everywhere people whispered nervously. His sons were all alarmed, but behaved differently. Some carried their children, others clung to their concubines, others again shouldered a pike and strapped a carabine on their back.

778. At two o'clock at night in the year 1628 [A.J.], Pangéran Puger fled with his wives, children and all his followers through the back gate. They headed northwest sounding like a stream of people moving on. The people they passed on the road were startled. When they understood that Pangéran Puger was fleeing, they quickly informed their headmen who then reported it to Kyai Adipati Sumabrata.

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779. Kyai Adipati Sumabrata quickly went to the palace. He found the officer on guard and the head of the female servants and had them wake His Majesty. His Majesty was woken and received Kyai Adipati Sumabrata who informed him that Pangéran Puger had fled. His Majesty was very alarmed. He quickly got the small gong Kyai Bicak and struck it in time to the steady beat of the mosque drum. The whole of Kartasura was in uproar and panic. They all thought that Pangéran Puger was attacking the palace. The bupati and mantri came running up with their troops and lined up at the gates of the palace and on the Alun-alun. Because the sound of the gong and the other alarm signals was so loud, the fugitives heard it. They had just reached Cepaga. They became very alarmed. They quickened their pace and went through Kener in order to get to Ampèl. Radèn Antawirya was supporting his concubine while his horse was packed with luggage. When he heard the gong, he cut the luggage loose, put his wife on the horse and had her hold his carabine in her lap. Radèn Antawirya followed behind while shouldering a pike. Radèn Wangsataruna was walking while carrying his son who was just one year old, called Mas Beladho and born to his concubine Embok Laroh. The concubine was also coming along and had been put on a horse. As for Mas Beladho, he was the future Pangéran Riya Mangkunagara. When they arrived to the south of Ampèl, the day broke. Radèn Wangsataruna was laughed at by everybody because he had mistaken the trousers which he had used to carry his son for a sléndhang.

780. Pangéran Puger then gave orders to rearrange the marching order. The luggage was put in front, while those who held weapons were put in the rear under the command of Kyai Setrajaya and the sons. All were on their guard.

781. His Majesty in Kartasura dispatched his troops with the bupati of the coastal and outer regions led by Kyai Tumenggung Jangrana who formed the vanguard. They were ordered to try to catch Pangéran Puger. He already followed Pangéran Puger at a short distance, but every time he came in sight, Kyai Tumenggung Jangrana slowed the march down.

782. Pangéran Puger had already crossed the river Tuntang and destroyed the bridge. He resumed his march, while the troops who were pursuing him turned and by way of Bahrawa headed for Jambu. Pangéran Puger then sent a messenger ahead to Semarang to inform Kyai Rangga Yudanagara of his arrival in Tuntang.

783. Kyai Rangga Yudanagara became very alarmed when he received the letter. He quickly sent Kyai Demang Sawunggaling and Kyai Demang Tanpanaha to meet Pangéran Puger and provided them with relief horses and porters to carry the luggage. Kyai Rangga followed behind. He called in at the Company fort to see Captain Kenol and inform him that Pangéran Puger had fled from Kartasura and was now on his way pursued by troops from Kartasura. Captain Kenol was very alarmed but also happy. He said, "Kyai Rangga, help him quickly or he may get caught by the men from Kartasura. Furthermore, if he agrees, ask Pangéran Puger to come here. If he wants to set himself up as ruler, let it be here in Semarang. If he wants to head for another place than Semarang, no one will forbid him, for the whole of Java is his by right. But if pos-

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sible, just try to have him come here. You try to persuade him. If Pangéran Puger follows your advice and comes to Semarang, the Governor General and the whole Company will be grateful to you. You, as it were, would have eliminated a big problem for the Dutch, because the present ruler of Kartasura has lost his head." Kyai Rangga smiled and gave his promise. He then left.

784. Kyai Demang Sawunggaling and Kyai Demang Tanpanaha met Pangéran Puger on the road. They offered him the pack horses and the porters. The luggage of Pangéran Puger and his company was then carried or loaded onto the horses. Pangéran Puger was very happy and felt very much obliged to Kyai Rangga Yudanagara. He said softly, "Sawunggaling, where is our Rangga at this moment?" The latter answered that he was following behind.

785. Pangéran Puger then left. Arriving in Ungaran, he stayed the night. The next morning, he continued his journey. On arrival in Pudhakpayung he met Kyai Rangga Yudanagara. Kyai Rangga quickly embraced the Pangéran's feet while weeping, because he had not thought that the Pangéran would have fled immediately and escape unharmed. The Pangéran kissed him on the head. Then they sat down according to rank. Kyai Rangga offered rice and a great quantity of other food. The Pangéran ate and also his followers ate until all felt replete.

786. Pangéran Puger said to Kyai Rangga, "Rangga, my son, what is your advice? I intended to proceed to Demak. There I want to proclaim myself and wait for my brothers from Sampang and Surabaya." Kyai Rangga answered, "My lord, it would be best if you proclaim yourself in Semarang. Even though you are waiting for your brothers from Sampang and Surabaya, it would still be best to do that in Semarang, for I would be very worried if you are not joined by the Dutch. After all, they are rich, powerful, and reliable when entrusted to wage war, provided that they receive some compensation. The reason is that many Javanese cannot be trusted. Moreover, your son, His Majesty, might offer recompense to the Dutch so that they will not associate with you. In the end, you would have two enemies. Therefore, it would be best to stick with the Dutch and ask them for help. In case your son, His Majesty, has got ahead of you with his promises and the Dutch are enticed not to associate with you, then I will take it upon myself to solve the matter. Towards the Dutch I will stand firm and I will tell them that if the Dutch don't wish to help, Pangéran Puger is already strong enough to seize the realm of Kartasura by himself because he has been joined by the Madurese, and the people of the coastal regencies have all submitted to him. He is certainly strong enough and would not need the Dutch. That, my lord, I will tell them, and the wage the Dutch will ask for making war will certainly be low."

787. When Pangéran Puger heard this, he quickly embraced Kyai Rangga Yudanagara and said, "Rangga, my son, you are right, and I leave the whole matter to you. I will just follow you. I only request that you quickly inform the adipati of Sampang that I have arrived in Semarang, and report to him and ask his opinion about all your ideas just now." Kyai Rangga replied, "With your permission, indeed my lord, that is very

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necessary because your brother of Sampang will be the main leader in this matter and in the war."

788. Then they left Pudhakpayung. Kyai Rangga had already sent a messenger ahead to inform Captain Kenol. When Captain Kenol received the report from the messenger, he quickly went by carriage to meet them at Patérongan, taking eighty dragoons with him. The other Dutch and Javanese in Semarang were ordered to line the main road on both sides to honour Pangéran Puger on his arrival.

789. Pangéran Puger arrived in Patérongan. He met Captain Kenol and they greeted each other. Then all the luggage was sent ahead and taken to the house of Kyai Rangga. Pangéran Puger and Captain Kenol left Patérongan riding in the carriage escorted by the eighty dragoons. On his arrival in Semarang, he was honoured by the firing of cannon and repeated gun salutes accompanied by the roll of drums and the playing of the Javanese gamelan.

790. Pangéran Puger headed for the fort, alighted from the carriage and greeted the officers. Then all sat down according to rank. Captain Kenol spoke, "Your Highness, on your arrival in Semarang, I and all the Dutch felt as if we had found a mountain of gold as big as Mount Merapi. Or even more, that the Dutch are like fish that have been out of water for a long time, but who are now covered in water again. You are the water and the Dutch feel refreshed and relieved." Pangéran Puger nodded and thanked him. Kyai Rangga then spoke to Captain Kenol, "Sir, His Highness should not stay here too long because he has just arrived from a journey and must be very tired. I want to ask him to stay and rest in my house. As for all his affairs, I will take care of them. It is not necessary to bother His Highness."

791. Pangéran Puger then left the fort. Captain Kenol escorted him to the house of Kyai Rangga. Kyai Rangga offered him his residence while he himself would find accommodation outside. The children and servants of Pangéran Puger were all given a place to stay. Kyai Rangga then sent a messenger with a letter to Madura by sea.

792. The troops from Kartasura who had pursued Pangéran Puger returned to Kartasura and told His Majesty that they had failed in their mission, that Pangéran Puger had not been caught, but had been taken care of by the Dutch and Kyai Rangga Yudanagara who had met him on the road and taken him to Semarang. His Majesty felt greatly troubled when he received this report.

793. At the time of Pangéran Puger's escape, there was a rebel in the Gunung Kidul mountains, called Wirawangsa. When this was reported to His Majesty, he gave immediately orders to attack him. The rebel Wirawangsa was defeated and killed.

794. Then the troops who had been sent against the rebel Radèn Mas Suryakusuma arrived bringing the rebel back tied up in a pig basket. On arrival in Kartasura, he was put in jail. The jail was covered with a net. The reason was that he should not succeed in escaping from jail because Radèn Mas Suryakusuma was reported to possess supernatural powers.

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795. The messenger from Kyai Rangga of Semarang had reached Sampang and handed the letter to Pangéran Cakraningrat. When Pangéran Cakraningrat had read the letter, he was very pleased. As a sign of his rebellion, he gave orders to subject the people along the whole coast of Madura. Soon it became known in Kartasura that Pangéran Cakraningrat had risen in rebellion. Kyai Tumenggung Jangrana quickly asked His Majesty permission to leave, pretending that he wanted to guard his realm of Surabaya. His Majesty gave permission.

796. Kyai Tumenggung Jangrana left with all his troops and followers, and headed in forced marches for Sampang. He met Pangéran Cakraningrat and they embraced. Pangéran Cakraningrat said, "I very much missed you and worried about you." Kyai Tumenggung Jangrana replied, "During the time you left me behind, I was always very much on my guard whenever I paid my respects to His Majesty." Tumenggung Jangrana then related that when Pangéran Puger fled, he was appointed to lead the troops who pursued him. When Pangéran Cakraningrat was told that, he roared with laughter and said, "What a coincidence that it was you who were appointed to chase him. Of course, Pangéran Puger couldn't be caught." Kyai Tumenggung Jangrana continued, "Moreover, when I carefully observed His Majesty, I saw that his face had lost its shine. He looked as pale as a Chinese with stomach cramps." Pangéran Cakraningrat again roared with laughter. For a long time, they joked while decrying the wickedness of His Majesty. Then they deliberated. Pangéran Cakraningrat said, "Brother, what I want to do now is to send a letter to Surapati. I will let him know that I will proclaim Pangéran Puger as ruler, and ask whether he will help His Majesty or just stay out of it. If he intends to help, I will immediately attack Pasuruhan lest he should disturb our thoughts. If he stays out of it, all the better." Kyai Tumenggung Jangrana agreed.

797. Pangéran Cakraningrat then dispatched a messenger with a letter to Pasuruhan. Radèn Surapati received the letter and wrote a reply. The gist of his reply was that concerning Pangéran Cakraningrat's wish to proclaim Pangéran Puger, Radèn Surapati would not go along, for it would mean contending for the realm with the one who rightfully held it. He only requested that they should not take aim at Pasuruhan. After Pangéran Cakraningrat had read the reply, he felt much relieved and said to Tumenggung Jangrana, "Brother, you return to Surabaya, get ready and seize the neighbouring regions. If anyone resists, beat him. As for the coastal regions, you seize them in passing when later you go to Semarang." Kyai Tumenggung Jangrana said that he would do as told and left.

798. Pangéran Cakraningrat then organized his army. He liberally spent his treasure in Sampang to reward and clothe his troops. Moreover, the troop contingents from along the coast of Madura had already assembled there. The army of Pangéran Cakraningrat amounted to about seven thousand men, and it had already been determined who in fact would go by land and who by sea. The commanders of the troops who would go by land were his two sons from Sampang, Radèn Sasradiningrat and Radèn Suradi-

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ningrat. The commander of the troops that would go by sea was Pangéran Cakraningrat himself. Then they all left.

799. On his arrival in Surabaya, Tumenggung Jangrana subjugated the neighbouring regions. All submitted. Only the bupati of Lamongan fled to Kartasura. Kyai Tumenggung Jangrana then assembled his troops, amounting to three thousand men. The commanders were his three younger brothers, Jayapuspita, Kartayuda, and Surèngrana. When they were all assembled, they left by land. Kyai Tumenggung Jangrana went by sea together with the pangéran of Sampang.

800. The bupati of Lamongan arrived on his flight in Kartasura and reported to His Majesty that Kyai Tumenggung Jangrana had changed sides and opposed His Majesty. Together with Pangéran Cakraningrat he meant to help Pangéran Puger, and they had already dispatched an army to Semarang. When His Majesty received this information, he became very angry, but also very concerned. He gave orders to all the bupati from the coastal regions to return and guard their own regions. Then he dispatched Kyai Tumenggung Mandurareja, Tumenggung Wirasetra, and Wirawangsa to support Demak with all their troops. To Tegal, Arya Banyakwidhé and the bupati of Banyumas were sent to help; to Kaliwungu, his kinsman on his mother's side, Pangéran Blitar, accompanied by Tumenggung Mangkuyuda and Natayuda. All left with their troops. His Majesty then dispatched a messenger, called Antagopa, to hand a letter to Captain Kenol in Semarang. The gist of the letter was that he demanded Pangéran Puger whom he was trying to capture. The messenger quickly left Kartasura.

801. In Semarang were present a commissioner from Batavia, the commander from Jepara, and as the third person Captain Kenol. Every day they deliberated with Kyai Rangga, who represented Pangéran Puger. The commissioner did not want to recognize Pangéran Puger because he had committed crimes against the Dutch. Kyai Rangga should try to find another person of Mataram blood, who would be more fitting to be proclaimed as ruler. However, Kyai Rangga stood firm and insisted on proclaiming Pangéran Puger, which complicated the matter. Without interruption letters went from Batavia to Semarang and from Semarang to Batavia, but they could not settle the matter.

802. Then Captain Kenol, the commander of Jepara, and Kyai Rangga of Semarang were called to Batavia. They left by ship. On their arrival in Batavia, the deliberations started again in presence of the Governor General, the members of the Council of the Indies, and prominent Dutchmen in Batavia. One of the members of the Council of the Indies said to Kyai Rangga, "Kyai Rangga, since you are half-and-half, half Javanese and half Dutch, I want to ask you, and tell me truthfully: In the opinion of the Governor General, to which all the members of the Council agree, we should not make Pangéran Puger king, because he has a bad record. In the first place, he has been a rebel with the title Susuhunan Ngalaga and killed Dutchmen. In the second place, it is generally known that the death of Captain Tak was caused by the help given by Pangéran Puger to Surapati. Isn't all this true? So, the feeling of the Governor General and all the members of the Council is that, since Sunan Mangkurat Mas who is now king does not intend to

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be friends with the Dutch, it would be better if you try to find somebody else of Mataram blood who is fit to be proclaimed king, only not Pangéran Puger." Kyai Rangga smiled and said, "Sir, what you say is all true, but not right, because when Pangéran Puger was called Susuhunan Ngalaga, he disputed the realm with his own brother. As for the Dutch who were killed in the war at that time, they died because they were helping His Majesty Sunan Mangkurat. The killing of Captain Tak was indeed by Pangéran Puger, but he executed an order from His Majesty Susuhunan Mangkurat. Because he was in the service of his elder brother, he was naturally afraid not to execute all his orders. Now if the Dutch do not wish to proclaim him, nor have anything to do with him, Pangéran Puger will certainly proclaim himself, because he already has trustworthy supporters such as the pangéran of Sampang and all the people of the island of Madura, and Tumenggung Jangrana of Surabaya. Moreover, the people of the coastal regions have all submitted to Pangéran Puger. He is certainly strong enough to seize the realm of Kartasura and would not need the Dutch. When he fled from Kartasura, he wanted to go to Demak and proclaim himself there. The fact that he came to Semarang, is because of my advice. I advised him to ask the help of the Company. The reason that I did so was because I am trusted by the Company, and really have tried as much as I could to bring it about that the Dutch henceforth should be held in respect and reap profits.

803. Captain Kenol and the commander of Jepara endorsed what Kyai Rangga had said, because the moment the Dutch did not want to help and would not proclaim Pangéran Puger as ruler, they would henceforth encounter difficulties in their stay in Java. It would be better to join in his proclamation and support him in the war. There might even be a chance to obtain lands in compensation and perpetuate their stay on Java. The Governor General and the members of the Council did not say anything further. Kyai Rangga was put in jail.

804. Kyai Rangga stayed in jail for three weeks. Each time he was taken out, he was put to the test, but he stuck to his story and would not change it. In the end, he was set free and allowed to return to Semarang together with the commander of Jepara and Captain Kenol. They left by ship and arrived safely in Semarang.

805. Before long, a letter arrived from Batavia for the commissioner in Semarang. Kyai Rangga, as the representative of Pangéran Puger, was summoned to the fort. He did not approve that Pangéran Puger should himself meet the Dutch, lest the Dutch make an attempt on him. On his arrival in the fort, he was shown a letter with the decisions from Batavia. It said that the Governor General and the members of the Council gave permission for the proclamation of Pangéran Puger and promised to help him in the war. However, they requested Jepara, Demak, and Tegal, and moreover compensation for Company servants who might be killed in the war, and for the costs of the war. Furthermore, a contract which the Dutch wanted to conclude with the ruler of Java was shown to Kyai Rangga. Kyai Rangga answered that he would fulfill all the requests, but that in regard to the proposed contract and the compensation for the war costs, he

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wanted first to consult with Pangéran Cakraningrat when he had arrived in Semarang. Furthermore, Kyai Rangga asked the permission of the Company to erect toll gates so that the duties might help and be used as support for the ruler to be proclaimed. The commissioner gave permission. Then the proclamation only awaited the arrival of the pangéran of Sampang and the bupati of the coastal regions, and the search for a day that would meet with the approval of Pangéran Puger.

806. Then the messenger from His Majesty of Kartasura, called Antagopa, arrived in Semarang. He handed a letter to Captain Kenol. In it, His Majesty demanded the fugitive Pangéran Puger. Having read the letter, Captain Kenol said, "Messenger, tell your king that Pangéran Puger has come to Semarang not because he was invited by the Dutch, but out of his own will, and that he then subjected all the people of the coastal regions. The Dutch have not interfered because the land of Java is his own. And if your king dares, let him catch him himself. Now, go back. I will not answer the letter."

807. The messenger quickly returned to Kartasura, went to pay his respects to His Majesty and reported the very sharp reply of Captain Kenol. It made His Majesty very angry, but it was not clear whom he was angry at. Then he wanted to kill the prisoner Radèn Mas Suryakusuma, but this did not happen because every time they wanted to kill him, Mount Merapi flared up with a terrifying noise. In the end, Radèn Mas Suryakusuma was set free and promoted with the name Pangéran Ngabèhi and given an appanage of one thousand karya in rice fields.

808. Then Pangéran Cakraningrat and Tumenggung Jangrana arrived in Semarang with their troops. The bupati of the coastal regions had also arrived with their troops in Semarang. Only the bupati of Tegal, Kaliwungu, and Demak still refused and did not yet want to come and pay their respects in Semarang. At that time, the realm of Semarang was packed with people along the roads, the rice fields, and the dry fields. Also, the holy men, the ulama and the haji had assembled. Panembahan Wijil of Adilangu was also already there. However, his two brothers had perished when they were drowned at sea. In front of the residence of Pangéran Puger an Alun-alun had been laid out together with a temporary roof extension and two matching fenced-in waringin trees.

809. On a Monday in the year 1629 [A.J.], Pangéran Puger was asked to make his appearance under the temporary roof extension and sit on the throne. The commissioner sat to his right, the commander and Captain Kenol, joined by the other officers, to his left. Pangéran Cakraningrat, the bupati and the lower-ranking officials, the haji and other religious figures, and also his sons sat in front of him. The Company troops were lined up on the Alun-alun. Pangéran Cakraningrat stood up and said in a loud voice, "My colleagues, bupati and lower ranks, and all you haji and others, accept with reverence that now His Highness Pangéran Puger has become king over Java with the permission of His Excellency the Governor General and the members of the Council in Batavia, with the title His Highness Susuhunan Pakubuwana Sénapati ing Ngalaga Ngabdurrahman Sayidin Panatagama." All those present voiced their acceptance in unison, while the haji and ulama prayed for support. The Company troops saluted by firing

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their guns and cannon repeatedly, and this was accompanied by the sound of the gamelan and drum rolls. The noise was as if to split the ears. The commissioner and the other Dutchmen shook the newly installed ruler's hand, while the bupati and his sons kissed his knee. His Majesty then returned to his residence. That day, till late at night, there was the merry sound of merry-makers. Everywhere there was a lot of noise.

810. On a different day, His Majesty went out to hold audience. He raised Pangéran Cakraningrat in rank, giving him the title Panembahan Cakraningrat and making him the chief of all the bupati of the coastal regions and the bupati of the whole island of Madura. Kyai Tumenggung Jangrana was given the title Adipati Jangrana and as kliwon he became the direct subordinate of Panembahan Cakraningrat. Kyai Rangga Yudanagara of Semarang was raised in rank with the title Adipati Suraadimanggala and given the command over the villages along the main road from Semarang to Kartasura. Kyai Setrajaya, the patih of the Puger household was made patih with authority to rule over the inhabitants of the whole of Java, and was given the title Adipati Cakrajaya. Kyai Banyakpatra was made inner patih (patih lebet) and given the title Tumenggung Kartanagara. The servants of the Puger household, even including the horse grooms, were all raised in rank. Some became tumenggung or mantri, according to what was appropriate for each. Then all the sons were raised in rank. Radèn Mas Wangsataruna was made Pangéran Adipati Anom Amengkunagara. Radèn Mas Sangka became Pangéran Adipati Purbaya. Radèn Mas Sudama became Pangéran Adipati Blitar. Radèn Mas Antawirya became Pangéran Prangwadana. Radèn Mas Martataruna became Pangéran Dipasanta. Radèn Mas Dipataruna became Pangéran Dipanagara. The eldest son of Pangéran Cakraningrat became Tumenggung Natadiningrat. The two younger brothers of Adipati Jangrana were both raised in rank. For the elder one thousand karya of land was separated from Surabaya and he was given the title Arya Jayapuspita. The younger was made bupati in Lamongan and given the title Panji Surèngrana.

811. Then His Majesty ordered Tumenggung Reksanagara and Tumenggung Wiranagara to attack the troops of Kartasura who had deployed to the south of the town of Tegal. They were accompanied by a number of Company troops led by Lieutenant Jahisman. Captain Kenol was ordered to attack the forces of Kartasura who had deployed in Demak, leading a brigade of Company troops joined by one thousand Madurese. The forces of Surabaya numbered eight hundred men led by Radèn Tumenggung Natadiningrat and Arya Jayapuspita. All these forces left at the same time.

812. Those who went to Tegal had already engaged in combat. The troops from Kartasura fled. Those who went to Tugu engaged in a very fierce battle, because both sides were equally brave. Friend or foe, many were killed. The commanders of the troops from Kartasura, Kyai Tumenggung Mangkuyuda and Natayuda, kept pressing their troops to attack in waves. The troops from Madura and Surabaya met the attacks. The dead were simply trampled down. The Company troops came to their aid and fired volley after volley with their guns. The troops from Kartasura were very hard-pressed and many were killed. They then fled and ran for their lives.

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813. The forces of Kartasura that were deployed in Demak were led by Kyai Arya Mandurareja, Tumenggung Wirasetra, and Wirawangsa. They had already joined battle. The Kartasura troops intended to stand their ground, but they could not withstand the hail of bullets from the Company and many were killed. Then they broke and fled to Tembiring, pursued by the Company troops and the troops from Madura. They ran with the intention of returning to Kartasura.

814. The troops of Pakubuwana and the Company returned to Semarang. The defeated had reached Kartasura and reported to His Majesty that they had been defeated in battle because they had fought against the Company, and furthermore, that Pangéran Puger had now been proclaimed ruler, with the title His Highness Susuhunan Pakubuwana. The people along the coast and on Madura had all submitted and assembled in Semarang. The number of troops was countless. At any time they could march and conquer Kartasura.

815. When His Majesty Susuhunan Mangkurat Mas heard these tidings, he felt despondent and bewildered. In his heart, he very much regretted that he had previously offended Pangéran Puger, but outwardly he appeared very angry. Then he gave orders to his favourite follower, a half-blood Chinese called Tumenggung Jayaningrat, to deploy his troops in Ungaran and block the roads. The reason Tumenggung Jayaningrat was assigned to deploy at the very front was because he had many slaves among his troops, such as Buginese, Makassarese, Balinese, and Chinese. That he had many such troops was at the wish of His Majesty. Moreover, Tumenggung Jayaningrat was very much trusted by His Majesty. Having received his orders, he left Kartasura accompanied by two bupati and their troops. On arrival in Ungaran, he built a fortification and dug a moat around it. Next, His Majesty Susuhunan Mangkurat Mas gave orders to Adipati Sumabrata to deploy his forces in Salahtiga; the bupati from the outer regions, from Banyumas, Kedhu, and Pagelèn, and the bupati from Kartasura with their troops were mobilized and told to deploy in Salahtiga as well. The leader in battle would be Adipati Sumabrata. When ready, they left. The army streamed by in great numbers like water pouring from a hole in the ground.

816. On arrival in Salahtiga, they built a fortification in Kalicacing and made camp. The advancing army was like kapok blown along by the wind. The army was huge. The forces assigned to deploy in Bayalali were all the kinsmen lead by Pangéran Arya Mataram. He had undertaken to stand in battle against His Majesty Susuhunan Pakubuwana. For that reason, he was given a free hand by His Majesty Susuhunan Mangkurat Mas.

817. In the meantime, Semarang was thriving. People were still feasting day and night, and many of the troops of Kartasura had submitted to Semarang.

818. His Majesty Susuhunan Pakubuwana went out every Saturday to hold tournaments with his bupati and mantri. On Mondays and Thursdays, he held audience. After the audience, they enjoyed themselves watching bedhaya dances and performing war dances. The bupati and his sons took turns dancing. Pangéran Adipati Anom per-

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formed a war dance with the panembahan as his opponent. The spectators were all smitten.

819. Kyai Adipati of Semarang had a daughter-in-law called Embok Martayuda. Her husband was the secretary of His Majesty and she had already two children. Embok Martayuda was the most beautiful woman in Semarang. At that time, she went to pay her respects to His Majesty and to see the dancing. When she saw the dancing of Pangéran Adipati Anom, she was totally smitten. She broke into a sweat, her hair knot came loose, and her eyes stared at him glassily. Then her maid, called Biyang Garem, prodded her and urged her to sit somewhere else. Pangéran Adipati Anom had noticed the behaviour of Embok Martayuda. After the dancing, he approached her and told her that he would come to her house at night. Embok Martayuda returned home. That night, Kyai Martayuda had night-watch duty at the residence of His Majesty. Pangéran Adipati Anom went to his house. He met Embok Martayuda and slept with her.

820. Kyai Martayuda who had just started his night-watch duty, felt ill at ease and returned to inspect his house. When he got to his house, he heard the voice of a man who was talking with his wife. He took a peep and did not fail to recognize Pangéran Adipati Anom, so he suppressed his anger and from the outside gave a cough. Pangéran Adipati Anom heard the cough and quickly left the house through the backdoor and ran away, breaking through the fence. Kyai Martayuda quickly entered the house. His wife came to meet him and squatted on the floor. He wound her hair knot around his hand and kicked her, dragged her over the floor, slapped her on her mouth, punched her, boxed her on the ears, and punched her with his fist. Embok Martayuda cried and screamed, "Just kill me, for I have indeed cheated on you; only don't abuse me!" Kyai Martayuda replied while cursing, "You don't need to ask. I will kill you, but first I will hurt you." Having said that, he grabbed a chair and hit his wife with it until she lost consciousness and rolled over the floor. Kyai Martayuda's anger subsided. He left his wife and lay down to sleep, covered with a blanket.

821. Embok Martayuda regained consciousness and got up. When she saw her husband sleeping, she left the house intending to run away to the residence of His Majesty. All along the way, she complained about Pangéran Adipati Anom, that he had left her and run away without any pity for her. At dawn, she reached the residence of His Majesty and went to pay her respects to his wife, the Ratu Pakubuwana, and told her the whole affair from the beginning to the end. Her Highness was very shocked and quickly informed her husband. This alarmed His Majesty and he immediately sent a messenger to summon Kyai Martayuda.

822. Kyai Martayuda was found still sleeping and was woken by the messenger. He got up and immediately went to pay his respects to His Majesty where he sat down with his head bowed. His Majesty said, "Martayuda, my son, your wife has taken refuge here, saying that you have chastised her because she committed adultery with the Adipati. Now, my son, don't take it too badly. Put up with it, when you are being tempted by the devil who tries to break up friends. And if you are disappointed in your wife, I

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will give you another in exchange. Choose one from among the women here in my residence. I'll give you the one you like." His Majesty tried hard to calm him down. When Kyai Martayuda heard the words of His Majesty, his anger subsided. In the end, he started weeping and remembering that he was a servant, he said, "My lord, if you have no objections, I would like to ask for my wife back." His Majesty replied, "Thank goodness, my son, but I expect that you will not abuse her or hurt her feelings." Kyai Martayuda said that he would do as he was told. His Majesty then told his wife to return Embok Martayuda to her husband. Embok Martayuda was brought out and given to her husband, while receiving many instructions from Her Highness. Moreover, she received money and clothes. Kyai Martayuda retreated from His Majesty's presence and returned home with his wife.

823. A Dutchman from Batavia arrived in Semarang. His name was Admiral Sepilman and he brought five hundred Company soldiers with him. He went to meet His Majesty and they shook hands. The admiral said, "Your Highness, I have been sent by your grandfather, His Lordship the Governor General to offer you his greetings and the greetings of all the members of the Council. Secondly, your grandfather the Governor General sends all sorts of treasures for you and your sons. Thirdly, I and five-hundred Company soldiers have been sent to your assistance. Please use them in the war. Fourthly, if Your Majesty has no objection, Captain Kenol will be promoted to commissioner, and here in Semarang we will place a commander, while in Jepara we will only put a factory head. Fifthly, we would like your permission that Adipati Suraadimanggala would not need to come to court to pay his respects at fixed times, unless he comes together with the commander of Semarang. Furthermore, your grandfather the Governor General requests that you will remain lasting friends with the Dutch, and remain so unchangingly as long as the moon spreads its beams and the sun shines, and may anyone who intends to do harm not find happiness. His Majesty in return thanked him and granted all the admiral's requests. Then the guns of the fort of Semarang were fired repeatedly. The admiral presented His Majesty with a copy of the treaty, while he kept one copy himself. The treaty was concluded on Thursday the 29th of the month Jumadilawal of the year Jimawal 1629 [A.J.].

824. Then Tumenggung Jayaningrat, who was deployed with his troops in Ungaran, presented a letter of submission to His Majesty the Susuhunan in Semarang and promised to make the passages safe, but requested for himself the land of Bahrawa. His Majesty granted it.

825. His Majesty gave orders to Panembahan Cakraningrat and all the bupati to prepare for war, for he wanted to march on Kartasura immediately. Panembahan Cakraningrat said, "If Your Majesty has no objection, I would like you not to come down with us on the march, but to stay and relax in Semarang. Let me and the adipati of Surabaya take Kartasura, for my mind will not feel relieved until I have crossed spears with that cripple. If I cannot take Kartasura, I would rather lose my title, but if I have taken Kartasura, I will immediately return to escort Your Majesty to your new palace." His Majesty re-

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plied softly, "My brother Panembahan and you my brother of Surabaya, I am very grateful for your loyalty, but I want to be there in your dying hour if you are defeated on the field of battle. Panembahan Cakraningrat and Adipati Jangrana bowed their heads and could not reply because of the love that His Majesty had shown them. Then they retreated from His Majesty's presence and issued orders to their troops to get ready for war. When they were all there and ready, they left Semarang. They marched in high spirits. The vanguard was formed by the troops from Madura, followed by the troops from Surabaya. His Majesty was in the middle with the Company troops right in front of him, riding a dark brown horse. The troops from the coastal regions formed the rear. The army was splendid to see. It looked like a garden full of flowers. The army of His Majesty consisted of all kinds of troops, foreigners and Javanese. Their number was countless. It looked like a heavy rain cloud moving along. His Majesty stopped to rest in Ungaran. The vanguard of the army had already reached Lopait.

826. At that time, Commissioner Kenol said to the admiral, "Admiral, later at five in the afternoon let us go and visit His Majesty the Susuhunan. I have a request and want to use the opportunity while it is quiet and all the bupati are in their own billets and, of course, there would not be a chance to succeed if Kyai Adipati of Semarang were there." The admiral agreed with him. At five in the afternoon, the commissioner and the admiral went to pay their respects to His Majesty. They happened to find him sitting alone. The commissioner said softly, "Your Majesty, on the orders of His Excellency the Governor General, I and all the Company men are at your service to be thrown into battle. Even if we are killed and ground to dust, we will not give way. However, please be so kind to provide us with one thousand koyan of rice every year for the maintenance of the troops that guard you. Who else but Your Majesty would have that obligation? What all the Dutch are hoping for are just tokens of your favour, and that they may remain in Java." His Majesty did not reply, but just nodded his head. The admiral and the commissioner then wrote a letter as proof, handed it to His Majesty and requested his signature to show that he had granted their request. His Majesty gave his signature. The admiral and the commissioner then retreated from the presence of His Majesty. On arrival in their billets, they fired a cannon seven times to salute the fact that their request had been granted.

827. When the bupati heard the gun shots, they were alarmed and thought that the enemy had arrived. They quickly went to His Majesty. His Majesty informed his visitors of the reason for the gun shots. When Kyai Adipati Suraadimanggala heard His Majesty's words, he was unpleasantly surprised and he said in a tone of reproach, "Why didn't Your Majesty summon me? If I had been there, the request of the commissioner would probably not have been granted. Your Majesty should know that the Dutch are by nature extremely rude. If they get a bench, they climb on your shoulders. That is to say, if you fulfill their wish, their wishes will only increase." His Majesty was shocked and gently replied, "It can't be helped, Ki Bésan, I let the promise slip. In the future, I'll just be more careful."

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828. His Majesty then discussed the war and said to Panembahan Cakraningrat, "Brother, since according to the reports the numbers of the enemy who are deployed in Salahtiga are exceedingly large, and their fortifications very strong and they are well-supplied with arms, who should I best appoint to spearhead the attack?" Panembahan Cakraningrat replied, "If Your Majesty agrees, I would appoint my son Suradiningrat together with Jayapuspita and Panji Surèngrana to spearhead the attack, and let them take along two thousand chosen fighters from the Madurese and Surabayan troops who dare to storm the fortifications." His Majesty then said to Radèn Suradiningrat, Arya Puspita, and Panji Surèngrana, "Suradiningrat, my son, and both you brothers, I appoint you to spearhead the attack. But I request that if you are unable to cope, you should flee to me. Don't go into a blind attack. It would be a pity if you were killed. If you get killed, let it be together with me. I have no intention to be left behind. I want to die together with my friends who love me." When the three young noblemen heard these words of His Majesty, they shed tears and vowed that if they could not seize the fortifications, they would happily die in battle. When His Majesty heard their vow, he quickly stood up from his seat and embraced the three young noblemen in turn while saying, "Enough said, you should leave. I will pray for your safety." The three noblemen left, leading three thousand men. They were in great spirits because they were brimming with courage.

829. His Majesty then conferred with the bupati and his sons. It was his wish that if he were defeated in battle, he would not want to rearm, but die on the field of battle. The bupati and his sons agreed to support one another till death. His Majesty then gave orders to form the column of march. The commanders in battle would be Panembahan Cakraningrat and Kyai Adipati Jangrana. When the column had been formed, they set out. The left and right wings were formed by Kyai Adipati Jangrana and Panembahan Cakraningrat. The Company troops formed the centre. His Majesty was positioned behind the Company troops and guarded on his left and right by two thousand Madurese troops. The troops from the coastal regions brought up the rear. The troops moved with a thundering noise mixed with the marching beat of gamelan and drum. All along the road the men shouted and cheered.

830. It is told that Kyai Adipati Sumabrata and his fellow bupati, who had taken up positions in Kalicacing, had already heard that the army from Semarang had set out in countless numbers to conquer Kartasura. He gave orders to deploy the troops, the cannon, the swivel-guns, the half-pounders, and so forth, on the walls of the fortifications. Kyai Adipati Sumabrata intended to fight the battle from within the fortifications. He took an oath of loyalty from the bupati that no one would run away. If someone should show panic, he would kill him himself. The bupati vowed in unison their loyalty and promised to be like eggs in one basket. If one were crushed, all would break.

831. Kyai Adipati Sumabrata then gave orders to Kyai Banyakwidhé and Pangéran Blitar to man the outposts with their troops. They left and were on their guard.

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832. Before long the troops from Madura and Surabaya arrived, and a fight at close quarters ensued. The troops from Kartasura were terror-stricken by the behaviour of the enemy and fled to the fortifications, pursued by the troops from Madura. The fortifications at Kalicacing had come into sight. The number of troops was countless. They looked like an immense dark cloud, filling the fields to the left and right of the fortifications. Arya Jayapuspita was surprised when he saw the number of enemies. He shook his head and said to his men, "Hey, men from Surabaya and Madura, move slowly. Our three thousand men are no match against so many. It will be no trouble for them. It is better to wait for the Company troops who are in the rear." Panji Surèngrana replied, "Jayapuspita, don't worry too much. The number of enemies whom you see is indeed very great, but when I compare it to the amount of love which His Majesty has shown us, the number of enemies still falls short." Arya Jayapuspita and Radèn Suradiningrat smiled and urged their troops on. They came rolling on while raising their war cries. The troops from Kartasura met the attack. They fired the cannon in the fortifications and their guns without pause. Many troops from Madura and Surabaya were killed by the bullets and fell down all over the field, but they were simply trampled upon while the others marched onwards in the smoke of battle.

833. When His Majesty heard the repeated rumbling of the guns which sounded like rockslides, he quickened his pace. When he saw that the troops from Madura and Surabaya had great difficulty trying to seize the fortifications because they were being repelled by a hail of bullets, he quickly seized his spear Kyai Plèrèd, and held it at shoulder height to join the attack on the fortifications. When the two thousand Madurese troops who guarded him on his left and right saw that His Majesty wanted to join the fight for the fortifications in person, they quickly advanced without waiting for orders and raising their war cries joined the attack on the fortifications.

834. Panji Surèngrana, Arya Jayapuspita, and Radèn Suradiningrat saw that many of their troops had been wounded or killed without being able to retaliate. They alighted from their horses and hurried to be the first to cling to the fortifications. Their troops quickly followed to storm the fortifications. They climbed up using the shafts of their spears. Watching them, they looked like snails crowding around a rock. The troops from Kartasura comfortably repelled the attack from atop the fortifications. They fired their cannon and guns without interruption, sounding like landslides and shaking the earth. The battlefield was dark with smoke.

835. Eventually, the troops from Madura and Surabaya managed to enter the fortifications. They fought like tigers competing for meat. The troops from Kartasura stood firm. The guns died down. They fought with spears, swords and krisses. The sounds of groaning and moaning filled the air, mixed with the wails of the wounded, the clanging of swords, and the breaking of spear shafts. They fought fiercely. Bodies piled up one on top of the other. The fighters trampled on the corpses and carcasses. Arya Jayapuspita, Radèn Suradiningrat, and Panji Surèngrana attacked furiously. Their bodies were splattered with blood. Many of the enemy deployed to the left and the right of

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the fortifications were killed by the hail of balls from the guns and cannon of the Company troops.

836. Panembahan Cakraningrat who formed the wings of the army together with Kyai Adipati Jangrana also fought fiercely with the troops who formed the wings of the Kartasura army. Many were killed.

837. Kyai Adipati Sumabrata had all this time been sitting comfortably under a parasol. When he noticed that the fortifications had been breached by the troops from Madura, he stood up quickly and exhorted his troops. The troops from Kartasura advanced en masse. The combatants came to grips again at close quarters. Of the troops from Madura and Surabaya, let alone the troops from Kartasura, thousands were killed because they were equally courageous. Then the wings of the Kartasura army came apart, and they all ran away. Panembahan Cakraningrat and his men wanted to encircle the enemy in the fortifications. Kyai Adipati Sumabrata observed clearly that the troops who were going to encircle him were very many. He quickly mounted his horse and fled, abandoning his troops. What was left of the army from Kartasura then also fled and scattered in all directions. The army of Pakubuwana rejoiced and collected booty and prisoners.

838. On his flight, Kyai Adipati Sumabrata had reached Bayalali where the kinsmen under the command of Pangéran Arya Mataram were deployed. The latter had accepted to challenge Susuhunan Pakubuwana. He had therefore been given his way in everything by Susuhunan Mangkurat Mas. If he were victorious, he had been promised as a reward the power over the whole of Java and he would be given an appanage of ten thousand rice fields. At that moment Pangéran Arya Mataram was sitting at ease. He was shocked when he saw Kyai Adipati Sumabrata arriving with a face as pale as death. Nervously he asked what the matter was. Kyai Adipati Sumabrata told him that he had been beaten in battle and that he had been terrified watching the way the Madurese troops had stormed the fortifications like monkeys. They had not retreated because of the bullets, while thousands had fallen. Then the spy of Pangéran Arya Mataram arrived. He told the same as what Kyai Adipati Sumabrata had just said. Moreover, the spy reported that His Majesty had taken up quarters in Salahtiga, that his army consisted of all kinds of men and was countless, that it filled the fields and farmlands, and that he had agreed with his whole army to support one another. If they should succumb in battle, they would not retreat to rearm. They wanted to be wiped out on the field of battle. And his wives wanted to join him in death, too.

839. When Pangéran Arya Mataram heard this, he got very despondent. His face turned pale. Kyai Adipati Sumabrata left to return to Kartasura. Pangéran Arya Mataram said to himself, "I am about to fight my brother while teaming up with my nephew. As far as kinship is concerned, my brother is closer. I'd rather make up with my brother, His Majesty, first." Having said this to himself, he sent a messenger, his servant called Wangsamanggala, to Salahtiga to offer his vow of loyalty to his elder brother. He gave him a great many instructions. Kyai Wangsamanggala then left.

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840 His Majesty Susuhunan Pakubuwana who was staying at Salahtiga went out to hold audience. He asked about the way the fight had been conducted when seizing the fortifications. Arya Jayapuspita. Radèn Suradiningrat, and Panji Surèngrana reported everything from the beginning to the end. It made His Majesty very pleased and he presented rewards to the three priyayi in the form of a full set of clothes, a spear and a kris with all accessories. His Majesty kept on praising them.

841. Then Panembahan Cakraningrat reported that there was a messenger from Pangéran Arya Mataram who wanted to pay his respects to His Majesty. The messenger was summoned by His Majesty and said, "Your Majesty Susuhunan, I have been sent by your younger brother Pangéran Arya Mataram to offer you his life and his submission. However, he will for a short while pretend to be fighting on. As for the safety of the roads and the removal of Sunan Mangkurat Mas from the palace, your younger brother will vouch for it." His Majesty replied, "So my brother's plan to oppose me will not go ahead. Tell him that I accept his submission. Enough! You go back!"

842. The messenger hurried back to Bayalali, paid his respects to Pangéran Arya Mataram and gave a report of his mission. Pangéran Arya Mataram was very pleased. He gave orders to deploy the troops to go to war. The troops of the kinsmen were all on their guard. Because their number was so great, they reached all the way to Kenthèng.

843. His Majesty Susuhunan Pakubuwana had already set out from Salahtiga. The troops from Madura and Surabaya still formed the vanguard. All along the way they shouted and cheered. The gamelan played continuously, accompanied by the beat of the drums. The column reached Kenthèng. When the Madurese troops saw the enemy, they boldly took the offensive. The troops from Kartasura looked on with horror. Their commander was the first to run, and his troops followed him on his flight. They fled like a mob, running into each other in panic, as if a landslide had been set off. They left a great many weapons and much equipment. The troops from Madura and Surabaya happily collected booty and prisoners.

844. On his flight, Pangéran Arya Mataram had reached Asem. There Tumenggung Wiraguna and all the bupati lebet were deployed. They had entrenched themselves because His Majesty Susuhunan Mangkurat Mas wanted to give battle in Asem. As for His Majesty Susuhunan Mangkurat Mas himself, he had distributed presents to his soldiers and to his servants in the Kadipatèn, consisting of money and beautiful clothes. The treasures of the palace were spilled out over the subordinates who were drawn up in battle array on the Alun-alun and who had put their hopes in their commander, Pangéran Arya Mataram, because he was the commander on whom His Majesty Susuhunan Mangkurat Mas relied. No one imagined that he would betray him.

845. On his arrival in Asem, Pangéran Arya Mataram shouted to the men while he remained seated on his horse, "Hey, men from Kartasura, quickly flee. I am not strong enough to fight the Company and the Madurese. Your lord will inevitably be driven out. Who will go with him?" Kyai Tumenggung Wiraguna and the troops that were deployed in Asem disintegrated. They all fled.

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846. Pangéran Arya Mataram reached the palace and met His Majesty. He beat his chest and spoke loudly, "My son, Your Majesty, I failed and was beaten in battle because I was no match for the enemy. Many of your soldiers were killed. If I had not thought that I would leave you, I also would have found my death because my enemies were numbered in their thousands. They behaved like men full of hate. Your uncle, my brother Puger, has forgotten that we are family, he is blinded by his power. Cakraningrat and Jangrana gave their troops the following orders, 'Hey, men from Madura and Surabaya when you manage to grab a kinsman from Kartasura, don't kill him. Just take his clothes off, put him backwards on a water buffalo and whip it from behind. As for the king, if you catch him, undress him in the same way.' I think that the vanguard of the enemy will arrive here this very day. Therefore, let us leave in order to save our lives. Who knows, maybe you will be able to return to Kartasura in future, if for now you just manage to stay alive. I will cover your rear and make a stand."

847. When His Majesty Susuhunan Mangkurat Mas heard this, he was very upset and gave orders to his wives and children to get ready to leave. The whole palace was in an uproar. Everybody cried and there was screaming everywhere. All the time, His Majesty tried to hold back his tears. Then he set out from the palace with all his wives and children. The bupati and mantri who remained loyal to him escorted them. The departure of His Majesty Susuhunan Mangkurat Mas happened on Thursday the 7th of the month Jumadilakir in the year Jimawal, 1629 [A.J.]. He went due east to Lawiyan, intending to head for Kaduwang. Pangéran Arya Mataram, Pangéran Arya Panular, and Pangéran Arya Natakusuma stayed behind and did not join the retreat. They went to Kalitan to meet His Majesty Susuhunan Pakubuwana and brought along a great quantity of food and drink.

848. His Majesty Susuhunan Pakubuwana proceeded to Majalegi and encamped there with his army of troops from Madura and Surabaya. All along the road the army plundered and took prisoners. The vanguard had reached Kalitan. Panembahan Cakraningrat, Kyai Adipati Jangrana, and Admiral Sepilman had gone ahead to Kalitan to meet the three pangéran mentioned above. Having sat down according to rank, the admiral asked Pangéran Arya Mataram, "Pangéran, where is Susuhunan Mangkurat Mas now?" Pangéran Arya Mataram replied and told the whole story from the beginning to the end. The admiral was very pleased. Then they enjoyed the food and drink provided by the three pangéran together with the bupati. The remainder was evenly distributed among the troops. All felt satisfied.

849. The admiral, Panembahan Cakraningrat, and the bupati and their troops then set out to go to the palace. The troops from Madura and Surabaya plundered and took captives outside the palace. They celebrated in all the ways a victorious army celebrates. The admiral arrived at the Alun-alun and was surprised seeing the big guns since they had not been used in the war. He then ascended the Sitinggil intending to enter the palace. However, the Brajanala gate was locked. He and also the bupati did not dare to open it, so they returned to the Pagelaran. The admiral said to Panembahan Cakra-

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ningrat, "I order you to stay here and order the bupati to line up the troops along both sides of the road. I will return to meet His Majesty the Susuhunan." Having said this, he left. Panembahan Cakraningrat quickly ordered the bupati to line up their troops along both sides of the road.

850. His Majesty Susuhunan Pakubuwana set out from Majalegi riding an elephant with a magnificent saddle. The elephant was a present from the king of Siam to His Majesty Susuhunan Mangkurat Mas, but arriving in Semarang the elephant had been confiscated by Kyai Adipati Suraadimanggala and offered to His Majesty Susuhunan Pakubuwana.

851. His Majesty arrived in Asem where he was met by the admiral, who told him that he had found the palace in Kartasura empty, and requested him to go to the palace. His Majesty was very pleased and continued his journey. On arrival at the Alun-alun, the Company troops and the Javanese troops saluted him by firing their guns and cannon repeatedly. The drums, trumpets and gamelan sounded loudly. His Majesty ascended the Sitinggil, but was halted in the Gapit gate. The admiral broke the lock and His Majesty went into the palace with his wives and children. He took possession of the palace only the day after the day His Majesty Susuhunan Mangkurat Mas had abandoned it. The bupati and their troops then returned to their old homes. His Majesty Susuhunan Pakubuwana continued to reign as king in Kartasura.

852. When His Majesty Susuhunan Mangkurat Mas fled, Pangéran Ngabèhi promised to accompany him wherever he went. He left together with him, but then took a side-road and fled with his wives and children to the village of Wedhi. When he received the news that his father had installed himself in the palace of Kartasura, he went to Kartasura to pay his respects together with his wives and children. His Majesty the Susuhunan and Pangéran Ngabèhi were overjoyed, because they had not expected that both would still be alive.

853. We return in our story to His Majesty Pakubuwana. When setting out from Semarang, he had left his son Pangéran Prangwadana there together with his troops and mother. This son was a leader in battle and very strong and supernaturally powerful. He had been left behind at the request of the Dutch. When His Majesty had gained victory, and had occupied the palace in Kartasura, the son would be called. Then the pangéran received the news that his father had been victorious in battle and already resided in the palace in Kartasura. However, His Majesty had forgotten and did not send a messenger to call him. This lasted for quite a long time. The pangéran then got ready together with his mother to set out for Kartasura. The Dutch ensign who was guarding Semarang held him back and asked him to postpone his departure and wait for the messenger from his father. The pangéran complied. Every time he wanted to leave, he was held back. One day, the pangéran got ready to leave. The Dutch ensign told him to stay. The pangéran was already testy because by nature he was hot-tempered. He lunged at the ensign and stabbed him, wounding him in the chest all the way through to his back and causing his death.

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854. The pangéran then left with his troops and mother, but he did not want to return to Kartasura because he was afraid of his father. He was desperate. In the end, he went to Kedhu and stopped in the village of Kabakalan, which had been a fief of his father's when he was still named Pangéran Puger. There he allied himself with the villagers intending to rise in rebellion. At that time, his troops counted about five thousand men.

855. Then the admiral informed His Majesty that his son had killed the Dutch ensign and raised an army in Kedhu. When His Majesty received this information, he felt very embarrassed towards the Dutch, and in the end, he got very angry with his son. He ordered Kyai Adipati Sujanapura to go to Kedhu and appease his son. Furthermore, he ordered Panembahan Cakraningrat and Kyai Adipati Jangrana to pursue His Majesty Susuhunan Mangkurat Mas. Those ordered left immediately.

856. Kyai Adipati Sujanapura had reached Kedhu. He was able to appease Pangéran Prangwadana and persuade him to come back to Kartasura where he was put to death by strangulation. His mother insisted on joining him in death and was also strangled.

857. Panembahan Cakraningrat, who had been sent to pursue His Majesty Susuhunan Mangkurat Mas, had reached the area of the village of Kabangkèkan. His Majesty Susuhunan Mangkurat Mas was in Laroh. When he was informed that he was being pursued by the Madurese, he quickly left Laroh and went east heading for Kaduwang. Many of his followers, bupati and mantri submitted to Panembahan Cakraningrat. Only a few continued to followed him. Panembahan Cakraningrat then returned to Kartasura.

858. At that time, the realm of Kartasura was at peace. The common people felt at ease, because His Majesty was firm in his rule and loved his people. His people also loved and respected him. The admiral received permission to return to Semarang with his Company troops, while Kyai Adipati Suraadimanggala was ordered to keep watch over the Company in Semarang. Commissioner Kenol and two hundred Company troops still remained in Kartasura to guard His Majesty. They were led by a captain.

859. On Thursdays, His Majesty came out to sit in state. The bupati, mantri, and santana were all present. His Majesty asked Panembahan Cakraningrat about the whereabouts of the enemy. Panembahan Cakraningrat answered, "Your son, His Majesty Susuhunan Mangkurat Mas, has fled to the lands of Kaduwang. Many of his bupati and mantri have submitted to Your Highness. Only Kyai Adipati Sumabrata, Mandurareja, Wiraguna, Mangunnagara, and Arya Tiron with their troops remain, and still follow your son." His Majesty said to Kyai Adipati Cakrajaya, "Cakrajaya, demote all the bupati and mantri who have submitted. Let only Tumenggung Mangkuyuda, Natayuda, Sindureja, and uncle Natakusuma keep their rank of bupati. As for my younger brothers Arya Mataram and Arya Panular, let them keep their position as it was in the time of my late brother the king. Furthermore, I appoint Wiracana as wedana Gedhong to stand by Citrasoma. My son, Pangéran Adipati Anom I give an appanage of five thousand karya. Ki Adipati Purbaya and Ki Adipati Blitar get three thousand, and Pangéran Ngabéhi two thousand karya. Ki Dipanagara and Ki Upasanta receive one thousand karya.

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Kyai Patih Cakrajaya said that he would do as told. His Majesty then went back into the palace.

860. It is told that His Majesty Susuhunan Mangkurat Mas had sent a messenger to ask Radèn Surapati in Pasuruhan for help and that he indeed had been given about two thousand men under the command of his two patih, called Ngabèhi Lor and Ngabèhi Kidul. Both visited His Majesty Susuhunan Mangkurat Mas in Kaduwang and asked permission to attack Kartasura. His Majesty gave permission and they set out with their troops. They marched west, plundering all along the road, and halted to make camp in the village of Luyu, facing the Madurese troops from Kartasura.

861. His Majesty Susuhunan Mangkurat Mas proceeded to Pranaraga. The whole way, he kept busy making love to his forty-eight concubines. He had also taken along many other women on his retreat. On his arrival in Pranaraga, he took up quarters in the residence of Radèn Martawangsa, the bupati of Pranaraga. There he kept on enjoying himself in the woods and the streams with his wives. Nothing even suggested that he had been driven away. Then he asked for an enclosed park with roe and deer. Radèn Martawangsa indeed supplied one. His Majesty Susuhunan Mangkurat Mas went down to the deer park with his wives. He climbed on the lookout tower and was pleased to see many deer. He quickly drew his bow and let an arrow fly. A deer was hit by the arrow and collapsed in the same instant. Radèn Martawangsa quickly entered the park with a few helpers to take the deer that had been hit away and have it slaughtered by the (kaum) mosque official. When His Majesty Sunan Mangkurat Mas saw this, he became very angry because he thought that he was disturbing his enjoyment. He ordered the servants whom he had brought from Kartasura to seize Radèn Martawangsa. He was indeed taken and brought before His Majesty who ordered him to be castrated. The order was executed and Radèn Martawangsa instantly lost consciousness. He was left there while His Majesty returned to his quarters.

862. Radèn Martawangsa was carried away by his kinsmen while they wept over him. They all felt pity seeing him because his fault had been trivial for being punished in such a way. Some said, "Friends, let's attack the fugitive Sunan tonight, because he is an evil demon while on the other hand in Kartasura someone has ascended the throne who is patient, generous, and compassionate towards his subjects." The santana agreed and assembled the troops from Pranaraga. They were positioned in the woods and equipped with weapons. Then Kyai Adipati Sumabrata got wind of the matter and quickly informed his lord. His Majesty the fugitive Sunan became very nervous and immediately left Pranaraga in the night. He travelled in great haste in a straggling column. He wanted to flee to Madiyun. The men from Pranaraga pursued them and killed whomever was caught. Then there was a fight in the woods of Gegelang. Many of the Sunan's troops were killed. The remainder fled to Madiyun.

863. The two patih of Pasuruhan, Ngabèhi Lor and Ngabèhi Kidul, who were deployed in the village of Luyu, as was mentioned above, had come into action with the troops from Kartasura. Many of the troops from Pasuruhan were killed because they were

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overwhelmed by the enemy. The two patih fled with their troops to Jagaraga and then to Madiyun. They joined His Majesty the fugitive Sunan. The troops from Kartasura chased them as far as Madiyun. Those chased fled onwards to the realm of Daha. The troops from Pranaraga united with the troops from Kartasura. Together they were deployed in Madiyun.

864. His Majesty in Kartasura received a letter from the Governor General in Batavia. Its contents were a request to give orders to pursue the fugitive Sunan wherever he went, and to attack Pasuruhan and wipe out Radèn Surapati with all his children and grandchildren. The Governor General would provide eight hundred Company troops under the command of Commissioner Kenol. His Majesty was delighted and ordered Panembahan Cakraningrat, "Cakraningrat, you march against Pasuruhan together with Jangrana. Lead all the bupati from the left and right Pasisir. Head for Surabaya and join up with the commissioner and the Company troops there." His Majesty then said to Pangéran Adipati Purbaya, "Purbaya, my lad, you also join the attack. Take half of the army of Kartasura, go by Pranaraga, take all the men from the Mancanagara that are there. Those who resist and are still obedient to the fugitive Sunan, strike them." Those who received these orders said that they would do as told. Panembahan Cakraningrat and Pangéran Adipati Purbaya agreed that later when they headed into combat, they would not come to each other's help. Then they retreated from the presence of His Majesty and got ready to leave. When they were ready, they set out from Kartasura. Pangéran Adipati Purbaya went southeast by Kaduwang to Pranaraga. Panembahan Calraningrat and Kyai Adipati Jangrana went by Semarang and followed the coast to Surabaya. There they joined up with Commissioner Kenol and his eight hundred Company troops. Together they set out to Pasuruhan. The number of troops was countless. The attack occurred in the year 1630 [A.J.].

865. Kyai Tumenggung Wiranagara in Pasuruhan, that is, Radèn Surapati, had already heard that he was going to be attacked by a countless number of Javanese and Company troops. He was extremely pleased and set out with his army of about ten thousand men to meet the enemy in Bangil. Having arrived there, he positioned his troops and was on his guard.

866. Panembahan Cakraningrat and the Company army had already arrived in Bangil and were facing the army from Pasuruhan. Commissioner Kenol was very pleased to see that Kyai Tumenggung Wiranagara came to meet him in battle. He quickly put the Company troops in the centre while Panembahan Cakraningrat and Kyai Adipati Jangrana formed the left and right wings. Then he attacked in force. Many of the Company troops, the Madurese troops, the troops from the Pasisir and, of course, the troops from Pasuruhan were killed. Bodies were scattered everywhere, sometimes on top of each other. The fight was very fierce because they were all eager and bold. Hundreds of Madurese were killed. Of the eight hundred Company troops more were killed than there were still alive. Only the troops from Surabaya had few casualties. When Commissioner Kenol saw how the Tumenggung from Surabaya fought, he mentally confirmed his

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suspicion that the Tumenggung was just fighting for show. Then they were overtaken by darkness. The combatants separated and withdrew. The Company troops and the troops from Madura were dejected. Kyai Wiranagara and his troops were horrified because of the army of ten thousand men only about four thousand survived.

867. Kyai Tumenggung Wiranagara slowly retreated riding his horse called Pakéling, surrounded and escorted by his troops. The Dutch fired at him from afar with their cannon. Kyai Tumenggung Wiranagara was hit in his left shoulder blade by a golden bullet the size of an orange. He was startled but was unharmed. However, he felt pain and became very angry. He turned his horse to attack again. His troops held him back because it was already dark. The next morning, they said, he should resume the battle. Kyai Tumenggung Wiranagara complied and returned to his city.

868. Commissioner Kenol and his Company troops returned to Semarang. Panembahan Cakraningrat and the bupati and their troops returned to Kartasura. Before he left, the panembahan sent a messenger with a letter to Pangéran Adipati Purbaya to inform him that he had lost in battle, and that many Company and Madurese men had been killed. The Pangéran was told to return to Kartasura and not to go on to Pasuruhan.

869. Pangéran Adipati Purbaya, who was deployed in the village of Gelathik in the domain of Kadhiri, was facing the troops of His Majesty the fugitive Susuhunan, who were led by Tumenggung Katawengan of Kadhiri. He had received orders from His Majesty the Susuhunan in Kartasura to try to win Kyai Patih Sumabrata over. Pangéran Adipati Purbaya had already sent a messenger with a letter to Kyai Patih Sumabrata who was still following His Majesty the fugitive Susuhunan in the city of Kadhiri. The letter was received and read. It said, "Kyai Adipati Sumabrata, you are summoned by His Majesty, my father, to Kartasura. His Majesty wants to repay you for your service, because formerly when His Majesty was put in custody on your advice to Susuhunan Mangkurat Mas, His Majesty when in custody there constantly and fervently prayed to God that he might become king and now he has become king. Therefore, His Majesty wishes to repay your good deeds." Apart from that, the letter contained many other enticements.

870. After reading the letter, Kyai Adipati Sumabrata was very pleased and told his wives and children to get ready to leave. At night, he fled from the city of Kadhiri abandoning his lord. He met Pangéran Adipati Purbaya, who told him to go on to Kartasura and who provided him with a mantri to guard him on the road. On his arrival in Kartasura, he went straight to Patih Cakrajaya who escorted him to pay his respects to His Majesty. In accordance with the wishes of His Majesty, Kyai Adipati Sumabrata was appointed bupati in Kartasura.

871. Pangéran Adipati Purbaya then waged battle against Kyai Tumenggung Katawengan. Many of the enemy were killed. The remainder fled to the city of Kadhiri. The fugitive Susuhunan took fright and quickly fled to the southeast. Pangéran Adipati Purbaya wanted to pursue him, but was met by the messenger from Panembahan Cakraningrat, who informed him that he had lost in battle against Kyai Tumenggung Wi-

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ranagara, and that he advised the pangéran to return to Kartasura. After receiving this information, Pangéran Adipati Purbaya moved out with his whole army and returned to Kartasura.

872. We now return to Kyai Tumenggung Wiranagara in Pasuruhan. During his retreat from battle, he had been hit on his shoulder blade by a cannon ball, which hurt him very much and so he could not move. He instructed his sons and kinsmen, "My children and kinsmen, when I will have died, you should bury my body and just level the ground above it. Don't put a marker or a gravestone on it, lest the Dutch know my grave. Furthermore, my last instructions are that none of my descendants should later be friends with the Dutch. If there is one who is friends with the Dutch, he will be struck by my curse and not find happiness.

873. Kyai Tumenggung Wiranagara was sick for about seven days, and then he passed away. After the corpse had been washed, it was buried according to his instructions. On top of his grave, plants were placed in order to make it invisible as a grave.

874. At his death, Kyai Tumenggung Wiranagara left behind three sons who were all adults. The eldest, Mas Surahim, succeeded his father with the title Adipati Wiranagara. His younger brother already had the title Radèn Surapati, while the youngest was titled Radèn Suradilaga. Radèn Adipati Wiranagara had a lecherous character and often sought intercourse with the concubines of his late father. For that reason, he was not as invincible as his father.

875. About two years after the death of Kyai Tumenggung Wiranagara, His Majesty in Kartasura gave orders to Panembahan Cakraningrat, Kyai Adipati Jangrana, and Pangéran Adipati Purbaya to again mount an expedition against Pasuruhan. The commissioner and his Company troops had already arrived in Kartasura. He was ordered to join the expedition. The corvée laborers from Kedhu and Pagelèn carried the gunpowder, cannonballs, and so forth. The adipati of Jepara supplied the rice provisions for the Company troops, while the men from Madura and Surabaya were the pikemen. They all departed at the same time and marched together. The column was enormous. They headed for Wirasaba to strike at the troops of the fugitive Susuhunan in Kadhiri.

876. When the fugitive Susuhunan learned that he was going to be attacked, he quickly set out and fled to Mount Dhungkul. Pangéran Adipati Purbaya and the Company troops departed for Kadhiri. When they found it empty, they continued their march to Mount Carat. There they camped for a long time. Kyai Adipati Sujanapura of Jepara became very ill. He was brought back home to Jepara. When he arrived there, he passed away.

877. Two of the sons from Pasuruhan, Radèn Surapati and Radèn Suradilaga went to Dhungkul taking an army of a thousand men to ask permission from the fugitive Susuhunan to go and meet the enemy. His Majesty gave permission and sent with them as commanders his two sons, Pangéran Pakunagara and Pangéran Pakuningrat, and whatever was left of the troops he had brought from Kartasura. They set out and by way of Mount Antang headed north.

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878. Pangéran Adipati Purbaya set out from Mount Carat with his army and the Company troops, marching slowly. Then the army from Pasuruhan appeared and harassed the troops of Pangéran Adipati Purbaya from the rear. They withstood the attacks while still marching on. Many troops from Pasuruhan were killed. Radèn Surapati and Radèn Suradilaga realized that they were not able to cope and they retreated with their troops to Pasuruhan. There they found His Majesty the fugitive Susuhunan, who had joined Kyai Adipati Wiranagara.

879. Pangéran Adipati Purbaya and the Company troops followed the tracks of the troops from Pasuruhan. Those pursued did not perceive that they were being followed. When they arrived in Pasuruhan, Kyai Adipati Wiranagara was shocked. He nervously got ready with his troops and set out to meet them. They came to blows outside the city. The Company troops fired a hail of bullets and cannonballs at them, while the troops from Madura and Surabaya closed in on them from the left and right. Because the troops from Pasuruhan received a frontal blow and were overwhelmed by the enemy, many were killed. Kyai Adipati Wiranagara fled with his brothers to Malang together with His Majesty the fugitive Susuhunan. Pasuruhan was taken in the year 1631 [A.J.].

880. Pangéran Adipati Purbaya and the commissioner with his Company troops entered the city of Pasuruhan and remained camped there for a long time. Many inhabitants of Pasuruhan returned home and felt safe.

881. The commissioner then gave orders to find the grave of Surapati Untung. All the graveyards were turned upside down, but it was not found. Then he issued a proclamation to the people of Pasuruhan, saying that the person who found the grave of Untung would receive a reward of one thousand reals. Soon there was someone who pointed the grave out. The reason why it was invisible was because it had been flattened and plants had been placed on top. The person who had pointed this out received his reward of one thousand reals and was very happy.

882. The grave was dug up and the body was found to be still intact. It is told that Surapati had died two years before, but that the body was still intact and gave off a fragrant smell. The commissioner was very pleased. The body was dressed up and placed on a chair. It awed everybody who saw it. The commissioner and the officers of the Company then shook hands with the corpse and said that Untung had been a true warrior, even though an enemy of the Company. The commissioner then gave orders to salute the corpse. The Company troops quickly fired repeated salutes with their cannon. The corpse was then burned but it did not catch fire. Again and again they tried, but still with no result. The commissioner became very angry. He requested a large quantity of arak, had it poured over the corpse and set it on fire. This worked and the corpse was burned to ash. All the Company troops then took a small amount of ash.

883. At the request of the commissioner a very strong fortress was built in Gembong, equipped with cannon and guarded by a Dutch garrison. The commissioner and one half of the Company army then returned to Semarang by sea. Pangéran Adipati Purbaya also left and returned to Kartasura by land accompanied by the other half of the

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Company army that had returned to Semarang. The troops of the bupati were also divided into two. One half was ordered to remain deployed in Pasuruhan. The other half escorted Pangéran Adipati Purbaya on his way home. Panembahan Cakraningrat took a different road to return to Sampang. On the way he fell very ill, and when he reached the village of Kamal in the domain of Madura, he died. There his corpse was cleansed, taken along and buried in Sampang. His sons and grandsons then set out to follow Pangéran Adipati Purbaya and, arriving in Kartasura, to pay their respects to His Majesty together with him.

884. His Majesty gave orders to his son Pangéran Adipati Blitar to wage war in his turn and he gave him one half of the Kartasura army. Receiving these orders he set out for Pasuruhan, joined the bupati who were deployed there, and then left Pasuruhan to attack Malang. His army was huge.

885. Those in Malang, His Majesty the fugitive Susuhunan, Adipati Wiranagara, Surapati, and Suradilaga already knew that they were going to be attacked and lined up with their troops outside the city. Before long, the army of Blitar arrived. A fierce battle ensued. Friend or foe many were killed. The troops from Kartasura attacked furiously. Ngabèhi Lor, Ngabèhi Kidul and Kyai Bunjaladriya were all killed by Ngabèhi Wirasantika, a mantri from Kartasura. Apart from them, all the other commanders on whom Surapati had relied were also killed. Kyai Adipati Wiranagara and his brothers fled into the woods. His Majesty the fugitive Susuhunan escaped to Mount Dungkul. Pangéran Adipati Blitar and his troops carried off a rich booty and many captives. Then they made camp in Malang.

886. After the arrival of the fugitive Susuhunan at Mount Dungkul, an epidemic broke out. Many of his troops died. His Majesty the Susuhunan then moved to Blitar. There he dispatched a messenger with a letter to Surabaya to offer his submission to the Company. After the departure of the messenger, His Majesty the Susuhunan was visited by a messenger from Pangéran Adipati Blitar requesting the heirlooms of the kingdom, consisting of the small gong Kyai Bicak, the kris Kyai Balabar, the pike Kyai Baru, and the jacket Kyai Gundhil. His Majesty replied that later when he was in Surabaya, he would hand over the heirlooms.

887. The messenger from His Majesty the fugitive Susuhunan had reached Surabaya, met the commander and presented the letter. After the commander had read the letter, he was very pleased and said, "Messenger, tell your lord that if he agrees, I ask him to come to Surabaya. Once he is here, I will agree to all his wishes. Even if he should want to become king again in Kartasura. I will promise that, too." The messenger took his leave and returned to Blitar. He went to pay his respects to His Majesty the fugitive Susuhunan and reported on his mission. His Majesty the fugitive Susuhunan was very glad and departed with his wives and children, and what were left of his servants. On reaching Surabaya, the commander came to meet him. He was brought to the residence of the adipati of Surabaya and shown great respect by the Company and Kyai Adipati. It made him, his wives and children, and all his servants very happy.

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888. The commander said submissively to His Majesty the fugitive Susuhunan, "Your Majesty, if you agree, I would like you to travel on to Semarang and meet the commissioner. Once you are in Semarang, you will certainly be reinstated on the throne, rule over Java, and reside in Kartasura." Hearing these words, His Majesty was extremely pleased. He did not realize that he was going to be duped by Dutch treachery.

889. Then there was again a messenger from Pangéran Adipati Blitar. He paid his respects to His Majesty the fugitive Susuhunan and asked for the heirlooms of the kingdom, which have been mentioned before. His Majesty replied brusquely, "Tell Sudama that later when I will reside in Kartasura again, I will give them myself." The messenger went back.

890. His Majesty the Susuhunan in Kartasura sent a messenger to the commander to ask for the handing over of Kyai Wiraguna, Kyai Mandurareja, Arya Tiron, Kyai Pulangjiwa, and Kyai Mangunnagara. The commander complied and the five men were handed over to Pangéran Adipati Blitar who was staying in Malang. However, Kyai Pulangjiwa escaped on the way, but was caught and killed.

891. His Majesty the fugitive Susuhunan was dispatched from Surabaya by sea and sent on to Batavia together with his wives and children in the year 1632 [A.J.].

892. After the four men from Surabaya had been delivered to Pangéran Adipati Blitar, they were immediately sent on to Kartasura together with a messenger carrying a letter. It contained a report that the lands of east Java had all submitted, that the sons of Surapati had all fled to the woods, and that all the heirlooms of the kingdom had been taken overseas by the fugitive Sunan, that he had asked for them, but had been refused.

893. The messenger left at once and at the same time took along the booty and the captives. On his arrival in Kartasura, he went straight to Kyai Patih Cakrajaya who led him to His Majesty. Having read the letter, His Majesty was extremely pleased, but the failure to get the heirlooms of the kingdom caused him great concern. He said to Kyai Patih Cakrajaya, "Cakrajaya, I am extremely concerned that the pusaka of the realm have all been taken by the son of the late king. But you should know that even if he has all the pusaka, it does not matter as long as the mosque of Demak and the holy graves in Adilangu are still here, for only these two are the cornerstone pusaka of Java. Furthermore, you should send a messenger at once to Malang and summon my boy Blitar and all his troops back." Patih Cakrajaya said that he would do as told and sent a messenger to Malang to summon Pangéran Adipati Blitar. The recipient of the orders quickly set out with his troops. On arrival in Kartasura, he went to pay his respects to His Majesty. His Majesty was very pleased to see his youngest son who had been victorious in battle.

894. On Monday, His Majesty went out to hold audience. He raised Kyai Wirasantika in rank, rewarded him with the lands of Jipang, and gave him the title Tumenggung Surawijaya, while making him the chief of all the bupati in the Mancanagara. Kyai Citrasoma was made adipati of Jepara, Kyai Jayaningrat adipati of Pekalongan, and Kyai Pusparudita adipati of Batang. Kyai Wirasemita was promoted to tumenggung of Wi-

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rasaba. As for Madura, it was divided into three parts. One part was granted to the eldest son of Panembahan Cakraningrat, named Sasranagara, who was renamed Pangéran Cakraningrat. The other two parts were granted to grandsons of the Panembahan, called Suryawinata and Sasrawinata. The four men from Surabaya were demoted from their position as bupati. His Majesty then returned into the palace.

895. The Dutch captain of the Kartasura garrison went to the palace to pay his respects together with Kyai Patih Cakrajaya. He presented a letter from the Governor General in Batavia to His Majesty. It said that His Lordship, the Governor General, requested the death of Kyai Adipati Jangrana of Surabaya because he was said to have been allied with the late Surapati. The proof was that during the war in Pasuruhan, many Dutch and Madurese had been killed, but none of the troops from Surabaya had been killed. If His Majesty did not comply with the demand of His Lordship the Governor General, the Dutch would not continue their friendship with His Majesty. Having read the letter, His Majesty felt very sad because the death of a bupati on whom he trusted in war was being demanded. He told the captain and Patih Cakrajaya to go home. At night he summoned Patih Cakrajaya, Adipati Citrasoma, and Kyai Tumenggung Wiracana. His Majesty spoke softly, "Cakrajaya, Wiracana, and Citrasoma, the letter from the Governor General is a big problem. He requests the death of Jangrana. This makes me very sad because Jangrana is a man I depend on; he is as it were my left arm, and he has done nothing wrong against me. What is your advice on this?" Kyai Patih Cakrajaya and the other two bupati sat with bowed heads and could not give any advice. His Majesty spoke again, "In that case, Cakrajaya, send a letter to Suraadimanggala in Semarang to ask his advice, and reply to the letter of the Governor General that I will comply with his request, but that I ask for some patience, for the realm of Surabaya is large, Jangrana has many troops and a wealth of kinsmen. If I should use force, I would certainly succeed, but it would inevitably ruin my realm. Enough said, just answer that." Kyai Patih Cakrajaya said that he would do as told. Then he and his two colleagues withdrew from the presence of His Majesty.

896. The next morning, Kyai Patih Cakrajaya wrote a reply to His Lordship the Governor General's letter. It was received by the captain. The letters to Semarang and Surabaya were sent in secret.

897. The letter to Semarang was received by Kyai Adipati Suraadimanggala and replied to. The reply was presented to His Majesty. It said, "Your servant Adipati Suraadimanggala has been asked for advice in the matter of the Dutch request for the death of your servant Adipati Jangrana. My answer is this: If you grant the request, it will cause Your Majesty grief, because your servant Adipati Jangrana is a pillar of your realm. If you do not grant the request, the Dutch will inevitably feel offended by Your Majesty. So, I leave it up to whatever Your Majesty wishes to decide." After reading this reply, His Majesty felt even more concerned.

898. His Majesty's letter to Surabaya was also received by Kyai Adipati Jangrana. The letter said that His Majesty was letting him know that his death had been requested by

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the Dutch and that he would go along with whatever Kyai Adipati decided himself. If he wanted to resist, His Majesty would give his permission. After Kyai Adipati Jangrana had read the letter, he was shocked, but then he calmed down and quickly summoned his favorite mantri, called Wiratanta, who was very quick-witted, and his three brothers, Arya Jayapuspita, Panji Surèngrana, and Panji Kartayuda. He showed them the letter from Kartasura. After his three younger brothers had read the letter, they wept, bent deeply over the feet of their brother, and said while wiping their tears, "Brother you have done nothing wrong against His Majesty the Susuhunan, or against the Company. Let us resist. It would be better to die on the battlefield." Kyai Wiratanta said, "My Lord, I advise that you put your life at the disposal of His Majesty the Susuhunan. Do not rebel against the king, just comply. The reason is that if you rebel, your descendants will certainly not be in possession of the realm of Surabaya. It will inevitably fall into the possession of someone else and be the ruin of your realm, while your kinsmen and the people of Surabaya will come to grief. If you obey, it will remain limited to just you yourself, and the rest of the people will later all be safe and secure." However, his three brothers persisted in wanting to resist and set out to do battle with the Dutch because in their view Kyai Adipati had done nothing wrong. Kyai Adipati said, "Brothers, enough, the decision is mine. What Wiratanta has said is right. The end will be safe and secure; even if I die, I have no objection, provided that my children and relatives can keep on enjoying prosperity.

899. Kyai Adipati Jangrana then wished his wife well and kissed his son, who was still a little boy called Jaka Tangkeban, while he wiped his tears. Then he set out for Kartasura accompanied by his kinsmen. On arrival in Kartasura, he headed for the Surabaya compound. He stayed in Kartasura for two months without anything happening. Every Monday and Thursday he ritually cleansed himself and went to pay obeisance on the Pagelaran in front of His Majesty.

900. Then the commissioner came to request clarification from His Majesty in the matter of the request from His Lordship the Governor General. His Majesty fobbed him off, but kept asking Kyai Adipati Jangrana what his decision was. His answer remained the same, that he put his life at His Majesty's disposal, but that he only requested that his younger brother, Arya Jayapuspita, might succeed him in his position as bupati of Surabaya. His Majesty granted the request.

901. On a Thursday, all the bupati and mantri came to pay obeisance on the Pagelaran. Kyai Adipati Jangrana was also present, accompanied by his kinsmen. After a short while, he was summoned to the palace. When he reached the Kamandhungan gate, he was met by the chiefs of the Martalulut and Singanagara corps. They stabbed him in the chest all the way through to his back and he dropped down dead.

902. When Arya Jayapuspita, who was paying obeisance on the Pagelaran, perceived that his brother had been killed, he winked at his men. They all came, also those who were in the compound. They came fully equipped. About two thousand men lined up near

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the Pagongan. The bupati and mantri who were paying obeisance on the Pagelaran shifted their positions while on their guard. They thought that there would be a fight.

903. Then Kyai Tumenggung Sumabrata came out of the palace to convey His Majesty's orders to Arya Jayapuspita. "Arya Jayapuspita, you are given to understand that you should not feel aggrieved that your brother, who at one time was able to put His Majesty on the throne, has now been killed on the wishes of His Majesty without having done wrong. You have been appointed in his place as bupati of Surabaya." When Arya Jayapuspita heard the orders, he was very angry, but he controlled himself. Eventually, he broke down and wept, wailing loudly while he covered his face with a handkerchief. All who watched it felt pity. When he stopped weeping, he whispered to Kyai Tumenggung Sumabrata, "Kyai Tumenggung Sumabrata, I am very grateful for the orders of His Majesty, but because I know that the death of my elder brother was not at the wish of His Majesty, but at the request of the cruel Company, I ask His Majesty's permission that I and all the men from Surabaya may join him in death. If His Majesty agrees, I will this very day attack the Dutch here in Kartasura."

904. Kyai Tumenggung Sumabrata returned into the palace to convey Arya Jayapuspita's request. His Majesty was in a quandary when he was presented with the request. He gave orders to the pangulu, the abdi Suranata and all the ketib and modin to pray in order to calm Arya Jayapuspita's anger. Then Kyai Tumenggung Sumabrata went outside again to convey the orders of His Majesty to Arya Jayapuspita, "Arya Jayapuspita, His Majesty the Susuhunan does not give permission for your request. Maybe later on, when your troops have left the Paséban."

905. In the afternoon, Arya Jayapuspita and his troops left the Paséban. He moved slowly as if counting his steps. Arriving south of the main mosque, they turned around and halted forming a front facing the Alun-alun. His Majesty again sent a messenger with orders to Arya Jayapuspita. The orders were: "Arya Jayapuspita, you must deploy your troops far from the Alun-alun. When your troops are far away, maybe His Majesty the Susuhunan will side with you." At sunset, Arya Jayapuspita has his men march off. They went northward to Pakundhèn and halted there.

906. At night, Tumenggung Sumabrata came. He was sent by His Majesty to give a letter together with a tray with clothes and two thousand rixdollars to Arya Jayapuspita. He accepted everything. As for the letter, it said, "My boy Jayapuspita, I have now appointed you in your brother's position as bupati of Surabaya. You must return at once to Surabaya, put the realm there in order and calm your relatives and, of course, the common people, so that they will feel at ease. Later when everything is in order and everybody is at ease, I will give consent to your intention to join your brother in death." After Arya Jayapuspita had read His Majesty's letter, he knelt with his forehead to the ground and wept. His anger dissipated because of His Majesty's great affection. He replied that he was extremely grateful for His Majesty's affection and gifts, and he said that he would do whatever His Majesty wished.

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907. Arya Jayapuspita then set out to return with his troops. After his arrival in Surabaya, he fitted out an army and made his people happy. The villagers, men and women, were urged to perform their religious obligations and to recite the Quran. If villagers were willing to perform their five daily prayers, they were exempted from land rent, leaseholder fees, and so forth. Instead, they often even received gifts. As a result, many villagers were exempted from taxes and corvée. The men and women in the domain of Surabaya loved and respected Adipati Jayapuspita. Eventually, many people from other areas came to settle in Surabaya because they loved Kyai Adipati for his patience and ability to make the common people comfortable. He kept on freely giving gifts and feasts. This happened in the year 1633 [A.J.].

908. His Majesty the Susuhunan in Kartasura reorganized the ranks of the bupati and mantri and returned them to the situation in the times of Mataram. Then Pangéran Natakusuma, bupati of Kartasura, died. He was replaced by his son, who was given the title Pangéran Arya Pringgalaya.

909. In the same year 1633 [A.J.], a rebel rose in the village of Ngénta-énta. His name was Kyai Mas Dana and he was the son-in-law of Kyai Ageng Pacukilan. He already had many troops and appointed bupati and mantri. Kyai Jayawinata, the bupati of Mataram, marched against him, but was defeated and returned to Kartasura to inform His Majesty. His Majesty then gave orders to Pangéran Arya Pringgalaya to march against the rebel and, if possible, catch him alive, because His Majesty had made a vow that if he was taken alive, he would be made into a show and attacked with needles by all the people from Kartasura.

910. Pangéran Arya Pringgalaya set out accompanied by one half of the bupati from Kartasura and their troops. Arriving in the village of Ngénta-énta he did battle. Many rebels were killed. Kyai Mas Dana fled to Mount Barabudhur pursued by Pangéran Arya Pringgalaya, who surrounded him and and was then able to capture him. They took him back to Kartasura and presented him to His Majesty. His Majesty then issued orders to all the people in the area of the city to assemble on the Alun-alun and bring a needle. Kyai Mas Dana was bound to a stake under the holy waringin tree and attacked by all with needles. Everyone took turns in the attack which lasted three days. Then his head was cut off and put on a stake.

911. After the death of Kyai Mas Dana, His Majesty was told that his father-in-law Kyai Ageng Pacukilan was planning to rise in rebellion. He gave orders to march against him. Kyai Ageng Pacukilan was caught and killed.

912. At His Majesty's wishes, Kyai Tumenggung Kartanagara's position as patih lebet was terminated. In exchange, he was appointed as wedana Panekar. As for the function of patih lebet, it was united with the office of Kyai Patih Cakrajaya. He became the person who governed the people of the whole of Java.

913. Shortly afterwards, His Majesty gave orders to Kyai Tumenggung Wiracana to restore the mosque of Demak and to replace the wooden shingles. He received one thousand rixdollars to cover the costs. Kyai Tumenggung Wiracana left at once to execute

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His Majesty's orders. The restoration took place in the year 1634 [A.J.] and lasted three months. When it was finished, Kyai Tumenggung returned to Kartasura where he fell ill and died. His position as wedana gedhong was given to his brother. At His Majesty's wishes Pangéran Blitar became wedana keparak kiwa-tengen.

914. Four years after the restoration of the mosque of Demak, His Majesty married one of his grandchildren to another. He married the eldest son of Pangéran Adipati Anom, Radèn Mas Damar, to the daughter of Pangéran Adipati Blitar, Radèn Ajeng Wulan. Since Radèn Mas Damar was still very young, he was adopted by Pangéran Adipati Purbaya who loved him very much. Radèn Mas Damar loved his adopted father just as much. The domain of the married couple was very large and they got along well. Radèn Mas Damar was raised in rank with the title Pangéran Riya and received an apanage of one thousand karya in ricefields. The wedding ceremony took place in the year 1639 [A.J.].

915. It is told that Radèn Tirtakusuma of Winongan had turned disloyal and wanted to oppose His Majesty. He had already conquered Pasuruhan. The bupati of Pasuruhan, Kyai Tumenggung Jadipa, fled to Kartasura to inform His Majesty. His Majesty quickly ordered Kyai Tumenggung Kartanagara and the bupati of the Mancanagara to conquer Winongan. This was done and it was conquered in three months. Radèn Tirtakusuma fled to Lumajang. His wives and children were captured and his possessions plundered. The town of Winongan was burned. Kyai Tumenggung Kartanagara and his colleagues returned to Kartasura with their captives and booty.

916. Kyai Tumenggung Jadipa was sentenced to death and krissed on the Alun-alun. His fault was that he had failed to guard the domain of Pasuruhan and that he had not dared to meet the people from Winongan in battle.

917. During the time that Arya Jayapuspita had replaced his elder brother in his function as bupati of Surabaya at His Majesty's wishes, he had paid obeisance in Kartasura only once, exactly in the month of Mulud. He had brought with him all his troops from Surabaya fully armed. Their number was about five thousand. He had also taken along both his younger brother Panji Kartayuda and Panji Surèngrana, who each led a thousand men.

918. When His Majesty saw Arya Jayapuspita with his fully equipped army, he was very pleased and ordered all the people in the realm of Kartasura to fix a silver or golden band around the bottom of their kris handle. The orders of His Majesty were executed and the result was very pretty. From that time onwards, the bottom of the kris handle is fitted with a band adorned with jewels.

919. Arya Jayapuspita did not stay long in Kartasura, but soon returned to Surabaya. He did not wish to come and pay obeisance again. He intended to rebel. His Majesty then sent as messengers Kyai Tumenggung Sumabrata and Kyai Ngabèhi Diramanggala to summon Arya Jayapuspita. The two messengers stayed in Surabaya for half a month, but Arya Jayapuspita kept just postponing his plans to pay obeisance. Kyai Tumenggung Sumabrata and Kyai Ngabèhi Diramanggala saw that they were being fobbed off

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and returned to Kartasura to report to His Majesty. His Majesty quickly sent a letter to the commander in Semarang to let him know that Arya Jayapuspita refused to heed his summons and intended to rise in rebellion.

920. The messenger who received His Majesty's letter quickly set off. On arrival in Semarang, he met with the commander and handed him the letter. After the commander had read the letter, he became very nervous and quickly left for Surabaya by sea.

921. After the departure of Kyai Tumenggung Sumabrata and Kyai Ngabèhi Diramanggala, Arya Jayapuspita had ordered his younger brother Panji Surèngrana to conquer Gresik. The recipient of the orders set out with his troops consisting of men from Lamongan and via Giri headed for Gresik where he stormed the fortifications. However, he was not able to seize them. Panji Surèngrana and his troops withdrew to Lamongan.

922. Then the commander arrived in Surabaya. He met Adipati Jayapuspita who received him with much distinction. The commander asked why Panji Surèngrana had marched against Gresik. His reply was that he did not know, but that he promised to reprimand his brother. When asked again why he did not want to go and pay obeisance in Kartasura, he replied that he promised to go at once. When the commander heard these replies, and saw the great honour and esteem with which he was treated, he felt very awkward. He gave orders to build a fort in Gresik. When it was finished, he returned to Semarang.

923. After the departure of the commander, Panji Surèngrana sent a messenger to Bali via Semarang to ask for help. Before long, the help from Bali arrived, consisting of four hundred men led by Déwa Kaloran. On arrival, he quickly made a surprise attack on Gresik. The people were thrown into a panic and fled everywhere. They had not expected that an enemy would arrive at night. Their possessions were completely looted.

924. After the conquest of Gresik, Déwa Kaloran and his men returned to Bali, promising to come back later. Panji Surèngrana gave him many precious gifts to present to his king.

925. Arya Jayapuspita gave orders to his two younger brothers to bring the people of the Mancanagara and the Pasisir into submission. They promised to do this and divided the task amongst each other. Panji Kartayuda led one thousand men and struck at Japan, which he succeeded in taking. Then he went to Wirasaba. Its bupati was absent. He was in Kadhiri to prepare for battle. Panji Kartayuda appointed another bupati in Wirasaba and advanced to Kadhiri with his troops. There he was met in battle. The people of Kadhiri were beaten and their bupati fled to Kartasura.

926. Panji Surèngrana moved against Sidayu. He was met in a fierce battle in which many were killed. In the end Sidayu was taken. Then he turned and moved against Jipang. It was also taken and its bupati put to flight because he had been taken by surprise. Panji Surèngrana then returned to move against Tuban. After he entered its territory, its bupati fled to Kartasura.

927. His Majesty in Kartasura went out to hold audience. The bupati of the Pasisir, Mancanagara, of Kedhu and Banyumas and of course the bupati of Kartasura, and his sons

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and kinsmen were all present. The Pagelaran was packed with no space left. Kyai Patih Cakrajaya informed His Majesty that Adipati Arya Jayapuspita had really risen in rebellion and had already started seizing parts of the Pasisir and Mancanagara. Those who resisted were visited with war. Japan, Wirasaba, Jipang, and Sidayu had already been taken. His Majesty spoke loudly, "Cakrajaya, quickly inform the commander in Semarang and ask for the help of Company troops, and you, yourself go out to battle at the head of all the men from the Pasisir. Go via Semarang. Order Tumenggung Kartanagara to march on Surabaya. Let him go via Jagaraga at the head of the men from the Mancanagara." Patih Cakrajaya said that he would do as told. His Majesty then retired into the palace.

928. Patih Cakrajaya quickly prepared. He had already sent a letter to Semarang. When ready he set out with his army. On his arrival in Semarang, he halted there to wait for the Company troops from Batavia. Kyai Tumenggung Kartanagara also departed. He went via Jagaraga, leading all the troops from the Mancanagara. Only the bupati from Grobongan were picked to go with Patih Cakrajaya. Grobogan had two bupati, called Suryawinata and Sasrawinata. Both were grandsons of the late Panembahan Cakraningrat. Formerly they had been appointed bupati in Madura, but they had soon been transferred to Grobogan.

929. On his march, Kyai Tumenggung Kartanagara had reached the village of Majaranu. The troops from the Mancanagara had already assembled and the Tumenggung of Jipang had joined Kyai Tumenggung Kartanagara. The army was very large. Then they attacked in force Panji Surèngrana who was in the town of Jipang. Many of the enemy troops were killed and the remainder retreated to Lamongan. The town of Jipang was then occupied by Kyai Tumenggung Kartanagara.

930. The help for Panji Surèngrana in the form of Déwa Kaloran again arrived in Gresik. He brought with him three bupati, called Déwa Soka, Déwa Sadé, and Déwa Bagus, who led seven hundred Balinese. Déwa Kaloran met with Panji Surèngrana and they discussed plans to move on Jipang again.

931. In Gresik there lived a juragan, or merchant, called Bali. He was extremely rich and owned many slaves. He was strongly built, impatient, and reckless. He had some experience in fighting at sea. Panji Surèngrana made him the leader in battle and promised him a rich reward. His wives and children were put up in Surabaya as hostages in case Kyai Juragan Bali should run away in battle.

932. Panji Surèngrana then set out with his troops to strike at Jipang. He took along one hundred Balinese while Kyai Juragan with his slaves formed the vanguard. On arrival in Jipang, a fierce fight ensued with Kyai Tumenggung Kartanagara and his troops from the Mancanagara. There were many casualties. Kyai Tumenggung Kartanagara and his men from the Mancanagara fled and stopped in the village of Barongkos to the west of Jipang, because they were not able to cope with the attack from Kyai Juragan and his slaves. Panji Surèngrana entered the town of Jipang.

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933. Then Panji Surèngrana received a report that the lands of Sidayu and Tuban had been seized by the army of the Pasisir on the orders of Patih Cakrajaya who at that moment was still at Semarang awaiting the Company troops. Panji Surèngrana was very angry and ordered Kyai Juragan Bali to attack the enemy in Sidayu and Tuban. The recipient of the order quickly departed taking with him two thousand troops and fifty Balinese. On arrival in Sidayu, he engaged in battle with the army of the Pasisir. Kyai Juragan was extremely brave. He dismounted and in the frontline rushed the enemy with his slaves. The troops from the Pasisir withstood them firmly and a fierce fight ensued, in which many were killed. Eventually, they were horrified by the frenzied attack of Kyai Juragan and the Balinese, and they fled to Tuban where they reassembled and built fortifications. Kyai Juragan Bali marched into Sidayu.

934. Kyai Juragan Bali followed to Tuban in pursuit, intent on storming the fortifications. The army from the Pasisir met the attack. The bupati of Tuban had seventy slaves whom he sent into battle to meet the attack of Kyai Juragan Bali. The army from the Pasisir attacked en masse from the left and right. Many of Kyai Juragan's troops were killed. The fifty Balinese whom he had taken along were wiped out because they had been overwhelmed by the enemy. Kyai Juragan and the remainder of his troops retreated slowly and he sent a messenger to inform Panji Surèngrana who was in Jipang.

935. When Panji Surèngrana received the report that Kyai Juragan had been defeated, he quickly set out from Jipang to help him. After Panji Surèngrana's departure, Kyai Tumenggung Kartanagara reoccupied the town of Jipang and mobilized the men from the Mancanagara. Once again, he had a large army.

936. Panji Surèngrana had reached Tuban and engaged in battle with the bupati of Tuban and the army from the Pasisir. Panji Surèngrana and his troops launched a frenzied assault and many of the troops from Tuban were killed. Its bupati fled to Lasem to reassemble his fleeing men. Panji Surèngrana marched into Tuban.

937. Then help from Patih Cakrajaya arrived in Lasem, led by Kyai Adipati Citrasoma of Jepara with his troops and accompanied by the bupati of Kudus, Demak, Pathi, and Juwana with their troops. All assembled in Lasem. The army was extremely large. They set out to retake Tuban. Panji Surèngrana fled to Paronggahan because he was overwhelmed by his opponents. The army of the Pasisir retook Tuban.

938. The auxiliary Company troops from Batavia arrived in Semarang. They consisted of three brigades of various people, such as Dutch, Ambonese, Ternatese, Buginese, and Makassarese, and were led by Admiral Brikman. The bupati of the Pasisir to the west of Semarang had also assembled there with their troops. At that time, Semarang was filled with a large number of all sorts of people.

939. After the Company troops had rested for a while, two brigades were dispatched by sea, led by Commander Gobyo from Semarang and Captain Krasbun. Admiral Brikman remained in Semarang with one brigade. Patih Cakrajaya went along by sea. The bupati of the Pasisir, from Tegal, Pekalongan, Kendhal, Kaliwungu, and Batang with their troops were ordered to go by land. The assembled army was extremely large.

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940. Patih Cakrajaya and Commander Gobyo stopped off at Tuban to wait for the army that was coming by land and to assemble the forces of the bupati from the Pasisir that were already there. Patih Cakrajaya then sent a messenger to Jipang to tell Kyai Tumenggung Kartanagara and all the men from the Mancanagara to leave for Surabaya. On their way, they should not bother with any interference from Panji Surèngrana. A date was also fixed on which they should arrive in Surabaya so that their arrival would coincide with that of Kyai Patih.

941. The messenger left quickly. On arrival in Jipang, he conveyed the orders of Patih Cakrajaya. After receiving the orders, Kyai Tumenggung Kartanagara immediately set out with the troops from the Mancanagara, leaving a small contingent to guard Jipang led by Tumenggung Surawijaya of Jipang.

942. Kyai Tumenggung Kartanagara reached Surabaya, arranged his camp, and put up fortifications in the village of Sapanjang to the south of the city. His troops filled the dry fields and the paddies.

943. Patih Cakrajaya and the commander with the Company forces arrived in Surabaya at the same time as Kyai Tumenggung Kartanagara. They headed straight for the Company lodge which was provided with a small fort and guarded by forty Company soldiers. Previously, it had been attacked by the forces from Surabaya, but they had not succeeded. The commander enlarged the fortifications. Then the army from the Pasisir who had come by land arrived. Their number was countless. They entrenched themselves with Patih Cakrajaya. The troops poured forth like water from a borderless ocean. They all were on their guard. The Company troops had put their guns in position on the fortifications. Patih Cakrajaya and Kyai Tumenggung Kartanagara then dispatched a messenger to report to His Majesty.

944. At the time when Patih Cakrajaya had entered Tuban, Panji Surèngrana and Juragan Bali had moved away from Paronggahan. When he set out for Surabaya, they returned again to Paronggahan. At that time, Kyai Juragan realized that Panji Surèngrana was lying to him and he said to himself, "How is it with this Panji? He said to me that he was waging war on the orders of His Majesty in Kartasura, but it turns out that he is hostile towards the patih of His Majesty and the people of the whole of Java, so I am following a man who commits treason against the king, whereas I have been trading until I became rich because of the blessings of the kings of Java. It is better that I follow Kyai Patih. Maybe this will bring me honour and esteem." Having said this, he pretended to be sick. He did not eat for seven days and seven nights and in the end suffered from diarrhea. When this was reported to Panji Surèngrana, he told Kyai Juragan to return to Gresik. On the way, he was carried in a litter. On arrival at his home, he quickly ate rice and instantly recovered.

945. Panji Surèngrana's auxiliary, Déwa Kaloran and his Balinese troops, were encamped in Gresik. At that time, he was rather ill and invited Kyai Juragan Bali to ask about news from the army. Kyai Juragan informed him at length. Déwa Kaloran was stunned when he heard it and said, "Kyai Juragan, I am bitterly disappointed on hearing your

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news, because Panji Surèngrana's invitation to me was, he said, on the orders of Susuhunan Pakubuwana. Now he turns out to be his enemy. If that is the case, I will immediately go back to Nusakambangan." Kyai Juragan replied, "If you want to go back, you had better tell this to Kyai Patih Cakrajaya and ask him for a signed letter. Without an order from Kyai Patih, I think that you will not get through because the whole area along the island of Madura is under the command of Kyai Patih whereas you are an auxiliary of Panji Surèngrana and so the enemy of all the Javanese. If this is not done properly, you and all your men will certainly be struck by disaster." Déwa Kaloran spoke again, "Kyai Juragan, I will follow your advice."

946. Kyai Juragan then sent a messenger to offer a letter of submission to Kyai Patih Cakrajaya, and to convey the wish of Déwa Kaloran to return to Bali with his men and asked for a signed letter from Kyai Patih so that he would be safe on the road. The messenger reached Surabaya and delivered the letter. After having read the letter, Patih Cakrajaya was very pleased. He replied to the letter by summoning Juragan Bali and sent a signed letter that he gave his permission for the return of Déwa Kaloran with his men to Bali.

947. After Kyai Juragan and Déwa Kaloran had received the letter, they departed at once. Kyai Juragan saw him off, and Déwa Kaloran reached Bali safely.

948. Kyai Juragan then came to Surabaya. Patih Cakrajaya and the commander were very pleased with what they saw. He was strongly built and had a great number of slaves. Kyai Patih asked him whether he would be willing to be put into the field against Panji Surèngrana. He answered that he was willing and was not afraid to meet him wherever it was. Kyai Patih then gave orders to the bupati of Tegal, Kaliwungu, and Brebes to go to war together with Kyai Juragan in Lamongan. The recipients of the order quickly departed with their forces via Gresik.

949. Panji Surèngrana had at that time just returned from Paronggahan and was surprised to be attacked by an army from Surabaya. Kyai Juragan made a frenzied attack on foot together with his slaves. Many of the men from Lamongan were killed because they were nervous in their actions and had not expected to be attacked. Then the bupati from Tuban closed in from the north and the army from Jipang closed in from the west. Panji Surèngrana was driven away from the town of Lamongan and fled with his troops into the woods which were very difficult to access. Not even one of his men submitted. The town of Lamongan was then burned. Kyai Juragan and the bupati and their troops returned to Surabaya.

950. Patih Cakrajaya and Kyai Tumenggung Kartanagara received a letter from His Majesty in which he asked for the scribe of Kyai Tumenggung Kartanagara, called Saratruna. He wanted to take him into his service, because His Majesty liked his writing. Scribe Saratruna was sent on his way, while Kyai Patih Cakrajaya and Tumenggung Kartanagara gave an account of the war, and also reported that there was a merchant, called Bali, who owned many slaves, wanted to serve His Majesty, and was very brave in battle. The messenger left in the company of the scribe.

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951. Panji Kartayuda who was deployed in the town of Kadhiri returned at that time with his army of two thousand men to Surabaya. However, he did not enter the city. He divided his two thousand men into four and harassed the Kartasura forces who were deployed in the village of Sapanjang and stayed outside the fortifications. At night, they were set upon by small bands, and during the day, they were attacked. The attacks could not be predicted. Sometimes they came at sunset, in the middle of the night, at pre-dawn, at daybreak, or at midday. After hitting the camp, they retreated into the woods. They terrified the troops from Kartasura. At night, they could not sleep easily, and during the day they could not forage.

952. The messenger of Patih Cakrajaya had reached Kartasura and presented the scribe Saratruna to His Majesty. He was accepted, appointed head of the scribes, and given the name Carik Bajra. His Majesty then issued a letter in reply to Patih Cakrajaya about Kyai Juragan Bali, telling him to split off three hundred karya of village land in Gresik and give them to Kyai Juragan Bali, who was now given the name Ngabèhi Tohjaya. After Patih Cakrajaya's messenger had received His Majesty's reply, he quickly returned to Surabaya. His Majesty's letter was received by Kyai Patih and it made him very happy. The bupati publicly acknowledged that Kyai Juragan Bali had been granted the name Ngabèhi Tohjaya and been given an apanage of three hundred karya of village land in Gresik.

953. Kyai Patih Cakrajaya then had a conference with the commander and advised that, since they had already been standing still in Surabaya for a long time, they should immediately do battle and conquer Surabaya. The commander agreed and they gave orders to line the troops up. For the left wing, the army of the Pasisir Kiwa under the command of Kyai Adipati Jayaningrat was chosen, for the right wing the army of the Pasisir Tengen under the command of Kyai Adipati Citrasoma of Jepara. Patih Cakrajaya and the troops from Madura formed the centre together with the Company troops, and they stayed with the commander. When they were lined up, they set out from the fortifications. Their number was countless and they intended to march up to the city of Surabaya. When watching the Company troops, they looked like a dark rain cloud moving forward. The forces from the Pasisir looked like water from the ocean, spilling forth and filling the whole area. Their outfits looked like a garden full of flowers. The men marching in front all carried big shields with struts.

954. Kyai Adipati Jayapuspita of Surabaya had already marched out of the city with his army to meet them in battle. He took up positions on the uncultivated fields of the village of Kapasan. His forces numbered about eight thousand. On his left wing, he put his youngest brother Ngabèhi Jangrana, on his right wing the son of the late Kyai Adipati Jangrana, called Jaka Tangkeban who was still an adolescent boy. His centre consisted of all the pangulu, ketib, modin, and so forth. They numbered about eight hundred and were all clad in white. On their left hip, they carried a dagger and in their right hand, a short spear. Their leaders were Kyai Pangulu Khakim and Kyai Pangulu Tambakaji. Watching them, they looked like a swamp full of white herons. Adipati Jaya-

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puspita was in the rear. He sat under a parasol with in front of him the men who were carrying his insignia.

955. The army from Surabaya faced the army from the Pasisir and the Company, but the difference in strength was one against one hundred, that is to say, one man from Surabaya faced one hundred enemies. Before long, they joined battle. The Company troops fired a hail of bullets and cannon balls. The troops of the Islamic leaders who formed the centre ducked and when the battlefield was dark from gunsmoke, they quickly advanced through the smoke of battle, yelling their war cries. They fought hand to hand and many were killed. The wings had also joined battle. The guns and cannon thundered without ceasing and their noise mingled with the war cries and the wails of the wounded. It was terrifying to hear. The battlefield streamed with blood, the bodies piled up and looked like islands with the streaming blood as the water around them. The broken lances looked like flotsam while the shields, pikes with pennants and flags looked like floating fish. The number of corpses was countless. Of the two Company brigades, one was killed. Of the forces of the Pasisir and so forth and the forces from Kartasura, half were killed and half were still alive, while their formation was in disarray. As for the Surabayan forces, more were still alive than were killed because they had been determined in their courage to die in a holy war. Therefore, they were difficult to withstand. It is said in the stories that since the times of Majapahit there had not been such a big battle with so many killed as this battle for Surabaya.

956. The army of the Company and from the Pasisir then disintegrated and fled to the fortifications. Panji Wiranagara, the bupati of Tegal, with his army of 240 men refused to flee and were all wiped out when swamped by the enemy. The Surabayan troops felt sorry when they saw the body of Panji Wiranagara because he was handsome and had stood firm in battle. Therefore, they took care of his body and restored its condition.

957. Many of the fleeing men from the Pasisir plunged into the river with the result that some drowned. Ngabèhi Tohjaya who was on the left wing wanted to make a stand, but he was overrun by the host and fled along the river. He met Patih Cakrajaya in the fortifications and gave the advice that he should not join the battle but just stay at the rear and be the place of refuge for all those who were fleeing. Kyai Patih agreed and was very pleased and assembled all the men who were fleeing. He lined them up again and also lined up his own soldiers.

958. Then the Surabayan army appeared to attack the fortifications of Kyai Patih. With a thundering noise, yelling war cries, and the banging of the gamelan they attacked in force. The army of the patih and the army from the Pasisir met the attack and a fierce fight ensued again in which many were killed. Ngabèhi Tohjaya was positioned in front of Kyai Patih. He launched a frenzied attack with his men and many of those attacked were killed. The troops from the Pasisir ran and fled to Kyai Patih. They received help from the troops of the patih and dared to go into battle again. Every time when their formation gave way, they quickly received help from Kyai Patih and so stood their

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ground. The Surabayan army fought bravely. The corpses lay strewn about everywhere. Then the Company gave support with the cannon from the fortifications. Many Surabayans were killed. The remainder retreated because they were overtaken by nightfall.

959. Adipati Jayapuspita then gave orders to play the gamelan in his fortifications. The men there were all having a good time. The men from Kartasura who heard it despaired.

960. Kyai Patih informed His Majesty by letter that he had been defeated and many of his soldiers had been killed. The commander also sent a letter to Admiral Brikman, who was in Semarang, to inform him that he had been defeated. This happened in the year 1643 [A.J.].

961. It is told that Panji Surèngrana and Panji Kartayuda set out with their army of about four thousand men to surprise the men from the Mancanagara who were deployed in the village of Sapanjang. At that time, Tumenggung Surawijaya had just arrived there to help and he brought along a great quantity of food. The men from the Mancanagara were very happy. Then the forces of Panji Surèngrana and Panji Kartayuda appeared in the middle of the night and surprised them from three sides. The men from the Mancanagara were startled. They had not expected to be visited by the enemy. They milled around like rice being winnowed and many were killed. All their weapons and baggage were taken by the enemy. Tumenggung Surawijaya was wounded by a dart. Tumenggung Kartanagara wanted to help, but could not because the position was already taken and many of his men were killed. They fought from midnight till daybreak. At daybreak Panji Surèngrana and Panji Kartayuda retreated into the woods. The troops from Kartasura and the Mancanagara felt despair.

962. At midday, Kyai Tumenggung Surawijaya passed away. At night, Kyai Tumenggung Kartanagara and his troops from Kartasura sneaked away. In the morning, Panji Surèngrana appeared again. The men from the Mancanagara surrendered and handed over their arms tied together in bundles. They were ordered to pursue the men who had sneaked away. Many men from Kartasura were caught and killed. The pursuers then returned to Lamongan. Kyai Tumenggung Kartanagara fled via Gresik to go to Semarang. The damage was enormous.

963. When Admiral Brikman, who was in Semarang, received the letter from Surabaya that the Company had been defeated and then saw the men from Kartasura who had fled, he quickly departed with two brigades of Company troops to help Surabaya. He went by sea. On arrival in Surabaya, he disembarked with his troops and met the commander and Kyai Patih. The commander told him that they had been defeated. The admiral flung down his hat and quickly grabbed a telescope and studied the Surabayan positions. He shook his head when he saw the size of the positions, and said to Kyai Patih Cakrajaya, "I am very surprised seeing the size of the enemy positions. In all the time that I have campaigned in India, I have never seen so many troops. I now don't doubt that it will be difficult to withstand them. Furthermore, you have already been encamped here for a long time and not one Surabayan has surrendered. If I had no task

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for His Majesty to execute, I would definitely return, for I hate the feeling that I cannot conquer Surabaya."

964. The admiral then did not eat for three days and three nights. He only nibbled on a rice stalk. He slept upside-down. After three days, he said to Kyai Patih, "Radèn Adipati, I guess that God will help me and that I will probably conquer Surabaya. Therefore, you should not be fearful." Kyai Patih was very pleased to hear this and ordered Ngabèhi Tohjaya to lead the troops who were foraging for rice, rice on the stalk, and other foodstuffs in the villages around Surabaya. He had him accompanied by a man from Kudus, called Sirnayuda, who was as brave as Ngabèhi Tohjaya. They left with a great number of men. Their foraging delivered a great amount of food, and this put everyone at ease.

965. Kyai Patih then dispatched a messenger to summon Pangéran Cakraningrat of Madura. However, he could not come to show his respects because he happened to be at war with his son-in-law Arya Dikara of Pamekasan. The cause of the war was that the wife of Arya Dikara had left her husband and returned to Madura and that her father did not want to return her. Every day there was fighting, but many Madurese defected and joined Arya Dikara. Pangéran Cakraningrat was greatly troubled and ordered his younger brother, Radèn Suradiningrat, to conquer Pamekasan. He had him accompanied by a kinsman, called Jangkéwuh, and sent along half of the Madurese army.

966. Radèn Suradiningrat set out. When he came outside the city, he changed his mind. Desirous of the good life, he no longer thought of his elder brother and conspired with Jangkéwuh to take Madura. He wrote a letter to Kyai Patih Cakrajaya and the commander maliciously stating that his brother planned to rebel against His Majesty. If Kyai Patih permitted it, he promised to conquer Madura. The letter contained a great amount of malicious gossip.

967. The messenger quickly traveled to Surabaya and the letter which he was carrying was handed to Kyai Patih and the commander. Kyai Patih replied at once. He told Radèn Suradiningrat to strike at the realm of Madura and capture his elder brother. The people from Sumenep and Pamekasan were ordered to assist Radèn Suradiningrat. Furthermore, the commander ordered one of his ship captains, called Kartas, to stay close to the estuary of Madura. The recipient of the order took up stations in the said estuary. As for the people of Sumenep and Pamekasan, they joined Radèn Suradiningrat. Many of the people of Madura submitted, so that Pangéran Cakraningrat was bereft of troops.

968. Then Pangéran Cakraningrat realized that his younger brother had become disloyal and wanted to take over Madura. He was very worried because he was bereft of troops. He sent a messenger to Bali to ask for help. Then Radèn Suradiningrat arrived and encircled Madura. Pangéran Cakraningrat stayed within the walls of his palace. He had only six hundred troops left and every day some deserted to submit to Radèn Suradiningrat. This made him despair, and he came up with the idea to surrender to the Com-

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pany who were on the ship and then to go and pay obeisance to Kyai Patih. He sent at once a messenger offering his submission to Captain Kartas.

969. When Captain Kartas received the information from the messenger, he was very pleased and quickly replied. He told Pangéran Cakraningrat to flee his palace and come to the ship. The messenger returned and told his lord. Pangéran Cakraningrat was very glad and quickly got ready with his wife and children and then fled via the back gate, taking along only a few servants. After that, Radèn Suradiningrat came and laid waste to the palace of Madura.

970. Pangéran Cakraningrat took the small boat that had come to bring him to the ship. He went on board first. The captain met him and showed him great respect. He even had the cannon fire a salute. Then they sat down in the cabin. Next his wife and children boarded the ship. The captain went to meet them outside the cabin. He grabbed the hand of the Radèn Ayu and kissed her in the neck. Because Radèn Ayu Cakraningrat did not yet know Dutch customs, she screamed, shook all over her body, and called for her husband. Pangéran Cakraningrat was startled when he heard his wife screaming. His eyes hardened and his face became as red as a wora-wari flower. He became extremely angry, drew his kris and stabbed Captain Kartas. He wounded him in the side piercing all the way through to the other side, and the captain fell dead instantly into the cabin. The pangéran and his sons then attacked blindly. The whole ship was in uproar. They fell on him with pistols, swords and carbines, but he remained unharmed. Many Company men were killed. The Dutch officers joined the fray. They threw a chair at Pangéran Cakraningrat, who fell down in a sitting position. He was at once beaten with rifle butts and ramrods. His body was beaten to pulp and he died. His sons were also killed. Of the Dutch crew, more had been killed than had stayed alive. The corpse of Pangéran Cakraningrat was beheaded. The trunk was thrown into the sea. The head was taken to Surabaya together with his wife and small children. As for the city of Madura, it was occupied by Radèn Suradiningrat.

971. The Company men bringing the head of Pangéran Cakraningrat reached Surabaya. They met the admiral and Kyai Patih and presented the head. Both felt sorry. Kyai Patih at once sent a messenger with a letter to inform His Majesty about the death of Pangéran Cakraningrat.

972. His Majesty was very concerned when he received the letter from Patih Cakrajaya. He quickly sent a reply together with a letter of appointment to retain Radèn Suradiningrat, whom he wanted to succeed Pangéran Cakraningrat in his position. Patih Cakrajaya and the admiral received the letter and the letter of appointment and were very pleased because their advice had been accepted.

973. Kyai Patih then sent a messenger to summon Radèn Suradiningrat. He was told to bring his whole army. When he received the orders, he quickly mobilized the men of Madura, Sumenep, and Pamekasan, and set out. On arrival in Surabaya, he paid his respects to Kyai Patih, the commander, and the admiral. Then it was publicly acknowl-

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edged that on the wishes of His Majesty Radèn Suradiningrat was appointed bupati of Madura and was given the title Pangéran Cakraningrat.

974. The admiral and Kyai Patih then gave orders to the bupati to go to war on Tuesday to conquer Surabaya. The recipients of the orders said that they would do as told.

975. On Tuesday, they set out and approached the fortifications of the enemy outside the city. The Company forces consisting of four brigades had already put up fortifications with high walls and equipped them with cannon in front of the fortifications of the enemy. The bupati from the Pasisir and Madura made their own fortifications.

976. When the Surabayan army saw that the Company forces were pressing forward to their fortifications, they were on their guard and put their cannon in position. A gun battle from the fortifications ensued. Adipati Jayapuspita ascended a lookout tower and gave orders to play the gamelan in Balinese style. The admiral shook his head when he saw his carefree behaviour and gave orders to aim a gun at the lookout tower. They blasted away at him continuously, but he was not hit. Adipati Jayapuspita continued to appear unconcerned and the Balinese gamelan played without stopping. His troops also showed no fear. They even sang songs, while some played the xylophone and others the zither. At noon, the women took food to their men in the fortifications. Whenever the Company troops saw them, they aimed their cannon, but no one was hit and no one was afraid. They walked with a carefree air while carrying rice-serving baskets in their sling. At that time, the camp of Surabaya was as if it were fortified by prayers and guarded by supplications. The reason was that the men and women had been trained by Adipati Jayapuspita to perform the five daily prayers and to recite the Quran. Everyone who seriously followed this course was exempted from land tax and the sovereign's share of the tax. They even received rewards. And if villagers followed these orders, their village would be exempted from corvée labour. As a result, the people in Surabaya stood in awe of and loved Adipati Jayapuspita. In this war, they wanted to sacrifice their lives and repay him for his kindness.

977. The gun battle lasted seven days and seven nights. The people of Surabaya remained safe and sound. No one was hit by a bullet. None of the houses were hit by bullets, grenades, or bombs, or burned down, because Adipati Jayapuspita put all his belief and trust in God, and because he had such a good character.

978. It is told that the auxiliary troops from Bali for Panji Surèngrana and Panji Kartayuda had arrived. They met each other in Lamongan. Their chief was Murah Panji Balèlèng and he brought along one thousand men. They treated him with the greatest honour and promised him rich rewards. Both Panji then informed their brother Adipati Jayapuspita and advised him to meet Murah Panji Balèlèng. However, he did not want to, but told his brothers to keep their auxiliary happy, so that he would not get angry and return to Bali. He thought that if he was later defeated, he could have the auxiliaries from Bali fight for him. This thought incurred the wrath of God because it originated from a lessening of his trust in God, and instead putting his trust in his fellow men. As a result, his fortune and security in the war disappeared. This was shown by the fact

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that when Adipati Jayapuspita did not yet know that his brothers had asked for assistance from the Balinese, none of the houses in the camp in Surabaya had caught fire because of the cannonballs, but when he accepted the coming of the Balinese, many were hit by the balls and set on fire.

979. The commander and the admiral conferred with Kyai Patih Cakrajaya. The commander said, "Radèn Adipati, how is it with this war? If we just continue the gun battle, I feel that we won't be able to finish it within a windu (eight years), and my powder and cannonballs will certainly be used up. I advise that it would be best to move forward and fight at close quarters. If we lose, we will be wiped out. If we win, we will be saved. But at least there will be an end to it. Moreover, the men do not lack anything. We have a large number of Company troops and Javanese troops. The weapons are ready. What are we waiting for?" The admiral and Kyai Patih agreed and gave orders to line up the troops. The left wing was formed by Pangéran Cakraningrat with the men from Sumenep and Pamekasan. The bupati from the Pasisir formed the right wing with the men from Gresik and Sidayu. Kyai Patih joined the Company troops and formed the centre. The number of troops was countless.

980. Adipati Jayapuspita knew that the enemy were coming out to give battle. He lined up his troops and gave orders to signal the attack. They attacked. The fight was extremely fierce because both sides were equally courageous. The sound of gunfire and war cries shook the earth. The bullets fell like rain. Bodies were strewn everywhere. Two brigades of Company troops were utterly wiped out. One Dutch captain, called Krasbun, was killed, and two lieutenants, called Fanderlin and Fanbandhem. Countless men from the Pasisir and Madura were killed. Of the Surabayan army more were killed than remained alive. As for those who were killed on the field of battle, they had died from various causes. Some were killed with weapons, others by the sickening sight of so many corpses, others again from the stench of blood, and yet others from fatigue and hunger because they had fought the whole day. Then nightfall overtook them. The combatants separated and returned to their fortifications.

981. The next morning, Adipati Jayapuspita left the town and retreated to the east of the river. He deployed his troops near the gateway to the town. The town which he had left was occupied by the Company and Kyai Patih. Then two brigades of Company troops arrived from Jakarta. They were led by Major Gustap, Captain Pardèmes, Captain Tonar, and Lieutenant Jakim.

982. Then the commander, who was an impatient character, gave Kyai Patih and the admiral the advice to attack again. Kyai Patih and the admiral followed the advice and had the army turn out the next morning. The formation was unchanged and remained as always. They poured forth from the city as water from a hole.

983. Adipati Jayapuspita came forth from the gateway and deployed to the west of the river. He divided his army into three. One part was placed on the left wing led by Jaka Tangkeban. One part was designated as the right wing led by Kyai Ngabèhi Jangrana, while one part formed the centre led by Adipati Jayapuspita himself. They joined to-

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gether with the warriors from the religious establishment. The two thousand men from the Dulangmangap corps guarded the rear of the Adipati.

984. Then the army from Kartasura and the Company arrived and a fierce fight ensued. The gunfire sounded like a mountain crashing down. The war cries roared like a storm. Many of the troops from Kartasura and the Company, and of course the enemy, were killed. The fierceness of the fight and the number of dead surpassed what had gone before. When the gunfire died down, they fought hand-to-hand. The commander and the officers exerted themselves to push the troops forward. Whoever was attacked was wiped out. Adipati Jayapuspita was clearly visible and uncovered on the battle field. He sat at ease under a parasol while smoking. He was wearing a white jacket with long sleeves, a purple headcloth wound around his head, and a fine silken sarong. In front of him sat little boys with a taper and betel quids. When the commander saw Adipati Jayapuspita, he commanded his Company men to shower him with gun and cannon fire, but he was not hit. Adipati Jayapuspita waved to him saying, "Commander, come closer. If your powder is used up, have some more brought!"

985. The right wing of the Surabaya army was wiped out and Kyai Ngabèhi Jangrana fell on the field of battle. The right wing under Jaka Tangkeban suffered heavy loss of life. When Jaka Tangkeban saw that Adipati Jayapuspita was overwhelmed by the Company troops and showered with bullets, he quickly left his line and headed for the position of Kyai Adipati while riding his horse. However, the going was difficult because of the shields and broken lances that were lying strewn about. The horse collapsed when hit by a bullet. Jaka Tangkeban jumped off and approached Kyai Adipati. In tears he asked him to retreat. Kyai Adipati replied, "My boy, you rest for a while. Don't attack."

986. Then Kyai Adipati Jayapuspita received the report that his brother Ngabèhi Jangrana had fallen on the field of battle and that his troops had been wiped out. Kyai Adipati quickly grabbed a spear and wanted to attack while urging the two thousand men from the Dulangmangap and Talangpati corps, "Come on, men of the Dulangmangap and Talangpati, attack together with me. Just close your eyes so that your fear will disappear. This is your ticket to heaven." Those urged quickly advanced and in close order attacked all together. They killed many and the battle flared up again.

987. The mantri and the warriors from the religious establishment of Surabaya asked Kyai Adipati Jayapuspita not to join the fight in person, but just to stand at the back, because he still had many troops and they were still eager to fight. Kyai Adipati replied, "Today you may not stop me. Come let's attack together." The mantri and the religious establishment rushed to the attack and charged the Company troops, killing many. Major Gustap commanded his eighty troops armed with blunderbusses to swing into action. Their attackers were wiped out by volley after volley of shells and shrapnel. More and more Surabayans were killed.

988. Then the wives and the female kinsfolk of Kyai Adipati Jayapuspita learned that Kyai Ngabèhi Jangrana had fallen on the field of battle and that many troops from Su-

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rabaya had died. They came running in tears to the field of battle and thronged around Kyai Adipati asking him to retreat and regroup first, because many of his men had died, to join with Panji Surèngrana, and of course, Panji Kartayuda, and then to resume the fight. Kyai Adipati felt very much at a loss being pestered by the women and he slowly retreated. The Company did not pursue him, but only kept showering him with gun fire from afar. Then they were overtaken by nightfall. The forces of the Company and Kartasura returned to the town of Surabaya. Adipati Jayapuspita returned to the gateway.

989. At night, Panji Surèngrana and Panji Kartayuda visited their elder brother. They advised him to retreat from the gateway and join Murah Panji Balèlèng in Kapraban. Kyai Adipati replied calmly, "Brothers, I do not yet want to ask the Balinese for help. I would still like to fight the war with my own people. What you are saying is quite right because many of my Surabayans have been killed and only a few are left, while my enemies are from the whole of Java and run into the tens of thousands. I don't know how many times greater their number is than my men, but I am not afraid." His brothers kept on pressing him to retreat. Kyai Adipati then asked the leaders of the religious community whether the holiness of his war would be rendered invalid because he wanted to unite himself with the Balinese. Those asked differed in their opinion. Some said that it would not count as a holy war because he allied himself with unbelievers. But others said that it would constitute a holy war, even though he allied himself with unbelievers, because they gave assistance in the war and that should certainly not render the holiness of the war invalid. Moreover, it would provide an opportunity to rest the troops. Thereupon many advised him to retreat. Kyai Adipati was persuaded and departed from the gateway. He stopped over in Kapraban for two nights and then went to Kaputran, where he set up camp. Murah Panji Balèlèng was already in Kaputran, but his camp was far from that of Kyai Adipati.

990. The commander, the admiral, and also Kyai Patih already knew that Adipati Jayapuspita had retreated to Kaputran. The commander urged them to pursue him. The admiral and Kyai Patih did not agree, but he pressed them so strongly that in the end they went along with him.

991. The commander then set out with two brigades of Company troops. The admiral, Kyai Patih, and the bupati did not join in. They just contributed troops, about five thousand. The column reached Kaputran, but were met in a mock battle. The Surabayan forces intended to deploy near Wanakrama, but the commander thought that they had been scared off and did not realize that they had adopted a stratagem, so he pursued them. On arrival in Wanakrama, they attacked him. Panji Surèngrana and Murah Panji Balèlèng closed in on him from the left and right. Many Company troops were killed, because the difficulty of their position prevented them from using their guns and cannon, while they were charged on their flanks. One brigade of Company troops were killed, while the remainder retreated in square formation. The Surabayan troops pursued them. The commander exerted himself to the utmost and commanded his men to

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move forward, but he could not make them go forward. The soldiers contributed by the bupati fled ahead to the town of Surabaya.

992. When Kyai Patih and the admiral saw that the commander had taken flight, they quickly had their troops turn out to offer assistance. They met the pursuing enemy and attacked them. The forces of the commander had already put some distance between themselves and the enemy. The troops of Panji Surèngrana and Murah Panji Balèlèng then withdrew again to Wanakrama. Kyai Patih and the admiral returned to the town of Surabaya.

993. The very same day, the admiral requested Kyai Patih to bear witness concerning the damage done to the Company forces by the actions of the commander who had waged war in an impetuous manner, causing a great number of casualties among the Company troops. He asked for the signature of Kyai Patih because he wanted to send a letter to Batavia to let the commander's mistakes be known and to request his removal from the army in Surabaya. If this was not granted, the admiral would quit and return to the Netherlands because he could not work together with the commander. Kyai Patih affixed his signature and seal, after which the admiral sent the letter to Batavia. Shortly afterwards, he received the reply that his request had been granted. The commander was summoned to Batavia.

994. Then the auxiliary troops from Kartasura arrived in Surabaya. They consisted of the bupati of Banyumas, Dhayaluhur, Pamredèn, and Roma with their men. They were led by Kyai Tumenggung Jayawinata. They were put up in their camps.

995. The Balinese auxiliaries for the Pangéran Cakraningrat who had been killed on the ship arrived in Madura at that time and headed for Tunjungan. Their leader was Déwa Ketut and he brought along one thousand Balinese. When he received the news that the one who had asked for his assistance had been killed on a ship, he ordered his men to plunder the lands and villages of Madura. Those ordered quickly set to pillage and plunder. The people of Madura were thrown into a panic and fled to Surabaya to inform their lord.

996. At that time, the campaign in Surabaya had stopped and there was no fighting. The Company and Kyai Patih had already been deployed for ten months in Surabaya. Counting from the time that Kyai Adipati Jayapuspita was still in the town, seven months, and three months since he had withdrawn to Wanakrama. After that, there had been no fighting.

997. The fugitives from Madura arrived in Surabaya and told their lord about the arrival of the Balinese in Madura and the trouble they had caused by their pillaging and plundering. Pangéran Cakraningrat at once informed Kyai Patih and the admiral. They ordered him to return and recover his realm. Pangéran Cakraningrat replied, "Since the number of Balinese enemies in Madura is only small, they can easily be resisted. I just want to send my younger brother Radèn Cakranagara, who as a child was called Radèn Jimat. I myself had better stay here, because the enemy here is stronger." Kyai Patih

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and the admiral agreed. Pangéran Cakraningrat gave orders to Radèn Cakranagara to attack the enemy in Madura and provided him with one thousand soldiers.

998. Radèn Cakranagara at once set out from Surabaya. On his arrival in Tunjungan a fierce fight ensued. Many Madurese and Balinese were killed. When the fighting stopped, Radèn Cakranagara was enticed by Déwa Ketut to take over the realm of Madura. Radèn Cakranagara agreed and was elevated with the title Pangéran Cakraningrat. He occupied the town of Madura and the people there all submitted to him. As patih he appointed Radèn Séwanagara. Then Pangéran Cakraningrat in Surabaya and subsequently the admiral and Kyai Patih were told that Radèn Cakranagara had defected, joined the Balinese, and adopted the title of Pangéran Cakraningrat.

999. The admiral, Kyai Patih, and all the bupati then held a conference in order to finish one or other of the wars. The result of the deliberation was that the enemy in Madura would be dealt with last, and the enemy in Wanakrama would be finished off first. The admiral gave orders to Major Gustap to strike at the enemy in Wanakrama and provided him with two Company brigades and all the bupati with their troops. The admiral and Kyai Patih did not join the attack. They stayed behind in the town of Surabaya with a small number of soldiers.

1000. The army of Major Gustap set out at once from Surabaya, streaming out like water from a river overflowing its banks. Their number was countless. The Company troops looked like a dark rain cloud, the flashing of the guns when hit by the rays of the sun was like flashes of lightning. The Javanese troops wore all kinds of different attire and looked like flowers in a garden. The column reached Wanakrama. The troops of Adipati Jayapuspita were already deployed outside the fortifications together with the Balinese troops. They were led by Panji Surèngrana and Panji Kartayuda. A fierce battle ensued. Many were killed. Dead bodies were lying strewn about. At that time, the troops of Adipati Jayapuspita were unlucky in battle, because they had joined up with the Balinese, unlike the previous time when they had not yet joined them. And indeed they were overwhelmed by their opponents. Many of the mantri and kinsmen were killed, while the Company had only a few casualties. Adipati Jayapuspita attended the battle from the fortifications. When he saw that many of his troops were being killed, he at once came out to send the rest forward, but it was like flying ants flying into the fire. They retreated to the fortifications because they were overtaken by nightfall. The army of the Company halted some distance from the fortifications. Major Gustap planned to destroy the fortifications the next day.

1001. At night, Adipati Jayapuspita was asked by his kinsmen to confer. They wanted him to retreat to Japan, because there the terrain was spacious and close to a big river, a good place to reorganize and assemble troops, whereas Wanakrama was too cramped. Adipati Jayapuspita followed the advice and gave orders to his troops and the army train to get ready. At daybreak, he set out from Wanakrama. Blacksmiths, coppersmiths, leatherworkers, and so forth, did not stay behind. They joined the train and marched in front. Kyai Adipati marched at the rear. At that time, his army still counted seven

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thousand men because during the war not a single man had surrendered. The column, when watched, looked like a nation on the move.

1002. When Major Gustap noticed that Adipati Jayapuspita had made his escape, he quickly pursued him. The pursued defended himself while marching onwards. When the Company came close, they turned to stop them. The Company troops then returned and occupied the fortifications of Wanakrama. Then they went back to Surabaya. Adipati Jayapuspita reached Japan. He constructed fortifications and took care of his soldiers.

1003. Kyai Patih Cakrajaya then conferred with the admiral about the enemy on Madura. When they had reached a decision, Kyai Patih ordered Pangéran Cakraningrat to reconquer the realm of Madura and provided him with a few bupati from the Pasisir and their troops. Major Gustap was appointed commander, leading one brigade of Company troops under two captains called Bésing and Tonar. They set out from Surabaya. After arriving in Madura, they fought a battle near Malaya. Of the troops of Pangéran Cakraningrat and the troops from the Pasisir many were killed by the Balinese. The Company troops at once came to their aid and many Balinese were killed. Déwa Ketut fled to the town of Tunjungan. The Company troops and the Madurese pursued him and a fierce battle ensued. Many were killed. Because the Balinese were overwhelmed by their opponents, Déwa Ketut and the remainder of his men quickly fled to the northeast and boarded a ship to return to Bali. They took Radèn Cakranagara and Radèn Séwanagara with them.

1004. Major Gustap gained much plunder and many captives whom he took to Surabaya. Pangéran Cakraningrat remained in Madura to restore order in his realm.

1005. Patih Cakrajaya and the admiral sent a messenger to Kartasura to offer the captives from Madura to His Majesty, and also the wives and children of the Pangéran Cakraningrat who had been killed when he ran amok on the ship.

1006. The messenger left and before long returned to Surabaya with four royal letters of appointment. One was given to Radèn Suryawinata and one to Radèn Sasrawinata. Both were appointed bupati in Surabaya. Another one was given to Kyai Rangga Pramana who was appointed bupati in Lamongan. The last one was given to the patih of Jipang, called Kyai Sangka, who was rewarded with the realm of Jipang and the title Tumenggung Mataun, because Kyai Sangka had been a servant of His Majesty when he was still Pangéran Puger. The elevation of these four priyayi was endorsed by all the bupati.

1007. It is told that Adipati Jayapuspita was in Japan with his brothers. Murah Panji Balèlèng was also there, but his quarters were far from those of Kyai Adipati. At that time, Murah Panji Balèlèng made a request to Kyai Adipati Jayapuspita. He requested that Panji Surèngrana and Panji Kartayuda would be relieved of their 'panji' title. If he did not grant this, Murah Panji Balèlèng would to quit and return to Bali with his men. Kyai Adipati complied. He changed the name of one of his brothers into Demang Kartayuda, but he did not allow Panji Surèngrana to be stripped of his 'panji' title because

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that title had been a gift from His Majesty when he was in Semarang. Murah Panji Balèlèng accepted this without protest.

1008. Kyai Adipati Jayapuspita then ordered Demang Kartayuda to seize all the Mancanagara lands east of Mount Lawu. The recipient of the order carried it out and took eight hundred men with him. The Mancanagara lands all submitted, and his army became very large. They gathered in Madiyun. Demang Kartayuda then assigned two mantri, Ngabèhi Tambakbaya and Ki Wiratanu, to whom he gave the men from Pranaraga and whom he ordered to conquer Kaduwang, Wiraka, Sembuyan, and Pacitan. Those who received the orders carried them out. The four regions mentioned submitted.

1009. Demang Kartayuda set out to Pranaraga and deployed his troops in the village of Kiping. His vanguard was stationed in a place near the river Mungkung. The people of Sukawati to the east of the river all submitted, but some ran and fled to Kartasura.

1010. The people of Kartasura were all in uproar, and it was reported to His Majesty that the people of the Mancanagara lands had defected and that the people in Sukawati, Kaduwang, and Laroh had submitted to the enemy, and that, of course, many villages were destroyed, looted, and plundered.

1011. At that time, His Majesty was very troubled because his favorite son, Pangéran Adipati Purbaya, had problems with the Company because the Company was worried that his son would make trouble and therefore had requested His Majesty to take back his apanage lands and villages in Banyumas, Dhayaluhur, Pamredèn, Roma, and Pagelèn, and also the cannon he had, and also to block the entrance door of the palace that led to the Purbaya compound in order to lessen the worries of the Company. That is why His Majesty was very anxious because this was his favorite son and the one he relied on in war, who was loved by his siblings and all the people of Kartasura.

1012. When His Majesty was informed that the enemy were already standing east of the river, he gave orders to his two sons, Pangéran Adipati Blitar and Pangéran Dipanagara to drive the enemy back. Pangéran Adipati Blitar was ordered to drive back the enemy who were in Kaduwang and was given the bupati lebet with their troops and the Kaparak corps to take with him. Pangéran Dipanagara was ordered to meet the enemy who were in Kiping. He was given the abdi dalem Gowong and Kalang, and the village militia from Pajang. Both sons set out together. On arrival in Semanggi, they separated. Pangéran Blitar went southward, heading for Laroh and then went to Kaduwang. The enemy did not meet him in battle, but retreated to Pranaraga. Pangéran Dipanagara went northward and deployed in the village of Grompol, facing the enemy in Mungkung.

1013. Then Pangéran Dipanagara was visited by a messenger from his father who gave him a letter. The address said, "Dipanagara, my boy, don't open this letter. Give it in person to Jayapuspita and then read it later together." After Pangéran Dipanagara had read the address of the letter, he started thinking because his father had given him a hint before, and when he left this time to go into battle, he was told to take his wives

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and children. After a while, he resigned himself to the inevitable, took courage and put on a cheerful face. Then he summoned his brother-in-law, Radèn Wiradirja. He told him to go and see Demang Kartayuda who was deployed in Kiping, and whispered to him what his plans were.

1014. Radèn Wiradirja quickly left for Kiping, met with Demang Kartayuda and conveyed the message of Pangéran Dipanagara. When Demang Kartayuda heard the message, he was very glad and gave him his reply. The messenger returned at once, called on his lord and reported on his mission.

1015. After Radèn Wiradirja had left, Demang Kartayuda set out from Kiping to meet Pangéran Dipanagara. When they approached the camp at Grompol, they beat the war gongs, and the men raised their war cries. The troops of Pangéran Dipanagara were thrown into commotion, but lined up at once. The Pangéran said with a loud voice, "Men, don't move! I will take a look at this enemy myself."

1016. Pangéran Dipanagara then mounted his horse and accompanied by seven mounted servants galloped to the place of the enemy. He met with Demang Kartayuda and both were overjoyed. Demang Kartayuda detailed the bupati of Madiyun to strike at the army in Grompol. The designated bupati quickly left and approached the fortifications. The troops of Pangéran Dipanagara were thrown into a panic and fled in all directions. The wives, children, and servants of Pangéran Dipanagara remained behind and were collected by the bupati of Madiyun.

1017. Pangéran Dipanagara and Demang Kartayuda then went to Madiyun. In the village of Mungkung they placed a few troops led by two mantri, Rangga Macanlola and Kyai Kebokabiri.

1018. When Pangéran Dipanagara reached the town of Madiyun, Demang Kartayuda dispatched a messenger to Japan to inform Adipati Jayapuspita that Pangéran Dipanagara had joined him and wanted to meet the adipati. The messenger left and on his arrival in Japan met Adipati Jayapuspita. Adipati Jayapuspita was extremely pleased when he received the messenger's report. He quickly set out to meet the pangéran. Murah Panji Balèlèng and the auxiliaries who had just arrived from Bali to the number of one thousand men led by Déwa Agung came along to meet him. When they reached a place between Kadhiri and Japan, they set up camp there. Pangéran Dipanagara and Demang Kartayuda set out from Madiyun. He left his wives behind. He met Adipati Jayapuspita and they embraced each other. He and Murah Panji Balèlèng greeted each other.

1019. After taking their seats, Adipati Jayapuspita said softly while smiling, "My boy, I didn't expect to meet you. My happiness is like that of a sick man who has almost died and then recovers completely. Your arrival represents the medicine." Pangéran Dipanagara smiled and handed the letter from his father to Adipati Jayapuspita. He took it and opened it, and read it in turns with the pangéran. The letter said, "Jayapuspita, my boy, I give you company, your brother Dipanagara, and I allow you to rule the area from Mount Lawu eastwards to Blambangan. Rule it together, but do not try to encroach on the area to the west of Mount Lawu." The letter was then in turn read by

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Murah Panji Balèlèng, Demang Kartayuda, and Panji Surèngrana. They all were pleased. Then they rested there for half a month.

1020. One day, Kyai Adipati Jayapuspita issued orders to all his troops to witness the installation of Pangéran Dipanagara as king with the title Panembahan Érucakra Sénapati Ingalaga Ngabdurrahman Sayidin Panatagama, ruling the lands to the east of Mount Lawu, eastwards the whole area and to the north and south everything up to the shores of the sea. Kyai Adipati Jayapuspita changed his name to Adipati Panatagama, Panji Surèngrana received the title Adipati Natapura, Demang Kartayuda became Adipati Sasranagara, and Jaka Tangkeban became Tumenggung Jangrana.

1021. Panembahan Érucakra was offered royal insignia and a corps of seven hundred men, made up of four hundred Balinese and three hundred men from Surabaya. Then they conferred about the war. Adipati Panatagama said slowly, "My Lord, I advise you to reside in Kadhiri and just enjoy being ruler. As for the war, leave that to my two brothers and Jangrana." The panembahan replied, "Brother, I do not want to take things easy. I intend to study the war, so that I know how things go. Let only Sasranagara come with me. I want to make him my companion. As for the area that I rule, it will start at Mount Lawu and stretch eastwards with as border the river of Kadhiri. Everything to the east of the river I will leave to you." Adipati Panatagama went along with all the wishes of the panembahan. Then they parted. The panembahan wanted to go to Madiyun. Adipati Panatagama wanted to return to Japan and ordered Kyai Adipati Natapura and Tumenggung Jangrana to seize Surabaya back. Those ordered quickly set out and deployed their troops in the village of Sapanjang. Every day they fought with the troops from Kartasura and the Company who were deployed in Surabaya. They attacked each other in turns.

1022. Panembahan Érucakra and Adipati Sasranagara had reached Madiyun, where their army had become large. Adipati Sasranagara proclaimed to the troops there that Pangéran Dipanagara had become king, ruling over the lands to the east of Mount Lawu and residing in Madiyun. They then sent a messenger to inform his father. His Majesty was very much alarmed when he received his son's report. He at once ordered the bupati Gedhong to go to Kaduwang and render assistance. Pangéran Adipati Blitar was told to make a push for Pranaraga.

1023. The bupati Gedhong reached Kaduwang and Pangéran Blitar set out to advance on Pranaraga. His vanguard had already reached the village of Kandheg, which was situated between Pranaraga and Madiyun. The trusted commanders in Blitar's army were Kyai Garwakandha, Secadirana, and Panji Tohpati. Panembahan Érucakra already knew that he was going to be attacked and set out from Madiyun. The leader of the troops was Adipati Sasranagara, who rode an albino water buffalo which he sometimes used in battle. Panembahan Érucakra was present, but at some distance, because he felt very embarrassed toward his younger brother.

1024. The army of Blitar engaged in battle with the army from Madiyun. The fight was very fierce and many were killed. The army from Madiyun then fled, because they

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fought hesitantly, while the army of Blitar fought bravely because they were led by their lord in person. Pangéran Adipati Blitar then returned and made camp in the town of Pranaraga. His vanguard still remained in the village of Kandheg.

1025. Then a messenger from His Majesty arrived in Pranaraga to summon Pangéran Adipati Blitar, because His Majesty had become very ill. The recipient of the summons quickly set out with all his troops and in forced marches reached Kartasura.

1026. At that time, His Majesty's illness got worse and worse, and he knew that he was nearing his time of death and his rule would be over. He summoned the Dutch captain who was guarding Kartasura, called Jaswa. Captain Jaswa came and sat down close to His Majesty. His Majesty said, "Captain, quickly send this letter of mine to Batavia. Furthermore, I instruct you, when I have reached my end, to have my son Ki Adipati Anom succeed me as ruler. If Ki Adipati Anom should not be alive, proclaim Adipati Purbaya ruler. If these two are no longer alive, I allow Adipati Blitar to succeed me as ruler. If all three are alive, proclaim my eldest as ruler." Captain Jaswa said that he would do as told and left to send the letter as quickly as possible.

1027. His Majesty then at once summoned his sons and both his younger brothers, Pangéran Arya Mataram and Pangéran Panular. After they had come, he beckoned his brothers to sit closer and whispered, "Brothers, my last instructions for you are that when I have died, I allow one of my three sons to succeed me as ruler over Java. The one who may succeed will be the one who has the good luck to receive God's blessing, first of all Ki Adipati Anom, secondly Ki Purbaya, and thirdly Adipati Blitar. If all three are alive, then the eldest. The one who succeeds me as ruler should take care of all his siblings, and may you, my brothers, take care of them." Both his brothers said that they would do as told while wiping their tears. His Majesty said to Pangéran Adipati Anom and Pangéran Adipati Purbaya, "My sons, I entrust to you your brother Blitar. Don't hurt his feelings. I wish you well, goodbye." Having said this, he died. Loud was the sound of wailing. The corpse was cleansed and prayed for by the haji and ulama. Then it was buried in Magiri. His Majesty died in the year 1643 [A.J.] and had reigned for sixteen years.

1028. After the corpse had left, Pangéran Adipati Anom moved into the palace. On Monday, all the bupati, mantri, and their subordinates, and all the children and santana, as well as the pangulu and his colleagues, the haji and ulama, came to pay homage on the Pagelaran. Then Pangéran Adipati Anom came forth from the palace led by Captain Jaswa, escorted in procession by all the women. He sat down on the ivory throne in the palace hall. The captain sat down on his left. Then he read aloud the letter from Batavia. After the reading, Pangéran Arya Mataram stood behind Pangéran Adipati Anom and spoke with a loud voice, "Hey, all you bupati, mantri, and lower ranks, witness that Pangéran Adipati Anom now succeeds his father as ruler of Java with the title His Majesty Susuhunan Prabu Mangkurat Sénapati Ingalaga Ngabdurrahman Sayidin Panatagama, and with Kartasura as his residence." All those paying homage agreed in unison. Kyai Pangulu and his colleagues said prayers in agreement. The Company and

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the Javanese troops fired their guns and cannon repeatedly in his honour. The kinsmen, bupati, and mantri then paid obeisance by kissing His Majesty's foot. After the inauguration, His Majesty returned into the palace. As for his government, there was no change; it still remained as it had been under his late father, and on Mondays, Thursdays, and Saturdays he came out to be paid homage.

1029. His Majesty then sent a messenger to give a letter to Patih Cakrajaya, who was in Surabaya, to inform him that his father had died and that he had succeeded as ruler. Kyai Patih was told to remain with the army in Surabaya. He was not allowed to return as long as the war was not finished. His Majesty then promoted Kyai Kartanagara to patih lebet to serve by the side of Patih Cakrajaya. Kyai Martadipa was made bupati Gedhong and was given the title Tumenggung Mangunnagara. Carik Bajra was given the title Tumenggung Tirtawiguna. A kinsman of His Majesty from Mataram, a son of Pangéran Pringgalaya called Radèn Natawijaya, was made panèwu pamijèn and would serve under the direct orders of His Majesty himself. Kyai Sumabrata passed away. His son was made mantri with the name Ngabèhi Kartinala.

1030. At the pleasure of His Majesty, both his brothers Pangéran Adipati Purbaya and Pangéran Adipati Blitar were at that time deprived of their insignia of Pangéran Adipati. They only kept their insignia as kinsmen. The Jagasura corps and the realm of Blora which had been under their temporary command were also taken away. This greatly offended Pangéran Adipati Blitar, and this was increased by the incitements of a servant called Kyai Garwakandha. The latter instigated him to do evil. He tried to get the pangéran to seize the royal power of Kartasura. The reason why Kyai Garwakandha incited him was because his son called Ragum had been jailed by His Majesty for the crime of having caused trouble in the palace. Pangéran Adipati Blitar then recruited soldiers and gathered arms. His troops numbered about fifteen hundred men who were all well fed.

1031. At night, Pangéran Adipati Blitar invited his uncle Pangéran Arya Mataram to come. When he came, they met inside the house. Pangéran Adipati Blitar said softly, "Uncle, the reason that I have invited you is because I wish to have your advice. What should I do, for I am all the time sick with worry? Your nephew, the Sunan, treats me really cruelly. He does not obey the last will of our late father and this makes me forget that he is my elder sibling. I have made the firm decision to seize the royal power in Kartasura." Pangéran Arya Mataram beat his chest and replied, "My boy, that is not right, because the eldest brother succeeds the father and all his orders should be followed. Because I am old enough to know better, it is fitting that I should restrain you. The elderly ought to set the boundary. If I may give you advice, do not create a split in the realm. Java should be made a prosperous place for you and all your siblings, then it will be greatly blessed. Let no one have different ideas and, moreover, it would be best if you told your elder brother Pangéran Dipanagara who has risen in rebellion to return to Kartasura and live in peace and harmony with all his siblings. The realm will become prosperous and the common man be at ease in his heart." Pangéran Adipati Blitar said

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again, "Uncle, what you say is indeed right, if my brother, the king, had not offended me by treating me cruelly. Actually, anybody who has fallen on hard times will fight for prosperity. That you feel the compulsion to justify my brother, the king, is indeed up to you. How could you take my side, because I am miserable and poor. Of course, you take sides with your nephew, my brother, the Sunan, who can provide for an old man and make him comfortable." Pangéran Arya Mataram answered sharply, "Ah, enough. Do what you want. Because I am an old man, I am obliged to keep you from doing things that are not proper. If that is not possible, then do what you like. After all, you yourself will create your own fate. But I ask you to confer with your elder brother Pangéran Adipati Purbaya, for he is your elder brother; he is strong enough to help you because he has many troops; he is very strong in battle and beloved by all the people of the realm." Pangéran Adipati Blitar replied, "Yes, uncle, how could I ignore my brother Purbaya in any matter."

1032. Both Pangéran then went to the Purbaya compound and met Pangéran Adipati Purbaya. The younger brother stated what he was planning. When his elder brother heard it, he felt at a loss. He groaned while rubbing his chest. He felt very sorry for his younger brother, because their late father had again and again entrusted Pangéran Adipati Blitar to his care to ensure that he would not feel offended. But Pangéran Adipati Purbaya was also very fond of his brother the king. He said to himself, "The more I think about it, both are at fault. My brother the king does not take enough care of his younger brother, and Blitar shows too little acceptance." Pangéran Adipati Blitar said to Pangéran Arya Mataram, "Uncle, when my insignia were taken away, I didn't feel sorry for myself, but when my estates were repossessed, I felt extremely aggrieved, because it means that I will not have enough to feed my family and all my retainers." Then their counsel ended. Pangéran Adipati Blitar and Pangéran Arya Mataram returned to their own residences. As for Pangéran Adipati Blitar, his indignation did not lessen and he kept on organizing his army.

1033. Now we turn to Panembahan Érucakra who held sway in Madiyun. When he received the news that his father had died and that Pangéran Adipati Anom had succeeded him, he set out at once to seize royal power in Kartasura. On arrival to the west of Mount Lawu, he deployed in the village of Pandonan in the region of Sukawati, laid out an Alun-alun and built a palace imitating Kartasura.

1034. Now we tell again of Pangéran Adipati Blitar. When he had raised a large number of troops and equipped them with arms, he sent a messenger to the Company lodge to explain his plans to the captain and to probe his resolve and that of the Company troops who were guarding Kartasura. In his reply, the captain kept to the middle ground, "Messenger, tell your lord that concerning these plans of his the Company does not wish to get involved because seizing the realm is a matter for his own brother. The Company men are here in Java to serve and to seek profit. Whoever wins, I support. Who loses, I rob. Whoever is in the palace, is my lord. If Pangéran Blitar were to fight someone else, I would certainly side with him and help him in battle, because he is a

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brother of His Majesty the Sunan, the lord of the Company men. But because the pangéran wants to fight with his own brother, I and all the Company men do not wish to interfere. Enough, just tell him that." The messenger returned to convey the reply from the captain.

1035. When Pangéran Adipati Blitar heard the report from the messenger, he was very pleased. He had already concluded a pact with his followers, the lurah, the mantri, and the haji. His troops counted about fifteen hundred men. They all got ready and when ready, they set out before sunrise.

1036. Kyai Garwakandha, Secadirana, Panji Tohpati, and Kartabangsa led the vanguard, while Pangéran Adipati Blitar remained at the rear. The troops passed to the south of the Great Mosque and arrived at the Alun-alun. Pangéran Blitar's men were full of confidence and were convinced that Kartasura would be captured. Kyai Garwakandha headed for the prison to the west of the Sitinggil. One of the mantri who was on guard there was killed with a spear. The others fled into the palace. The troops of Pangéran Blitar cheered and destroyed the jail, while they freed Kyai Garwakandha's son, Ragum.

1037. The people in the palace were all in panic and total confusion. The Kartasura troops who were on nightwatch duty drew up in front of the Kamandhungan gate. The tumenggung who had nightwatch duty, called Mangunnagara, ran to the fortress to inform Captain Jaswa and ask for help. The captain in nervous haste quickly sent out two companies of Dutch soldiers. Arriving at the Gapit gate, they fired volley after volley. The troops of Pangéran Blitar wanted to attack, but they were thrown back by the hail of bullets. Kyai Secadirana and Panji Tohpati were killed at that time and many of their soldiers were also killed. Right after that, help from the Company from the fortress arrived, bringing cannon. Pangéran Blitar wanted to counterattack and urged his troops on, but they were thrown back by a hail of bullets. At sunrise, they retreated slowly to go to the Purbaya compound.

1038. It is told that Ratu Pakubuwana, the mother of Pangéran Adipati Blitar, and indeed also the mother of His Majesty and Pangéran Purbaya, was wailing bewildered, crying out to the deceased king that she could not take care of her children, because they kept quarreling and fighting, brother against brother. She then climbed on an artificial hill, called Kunci, inside the kraton, which had been made by the late Susuhunan Mangkurat, and shouted loudly to Pangéran Adipati Blitar, "Boy, quickly flee to your brother Purbaya. The Company is not chasing you. They are still deploying on the Sitinggil placing their cannon in position."

1039. On their flight the troops of Pangéran Blitar had reached the Purbaya compound. Pangéran Adipati Blitar went inside, his troops crowded together outside. At that time, Pangéran Adipati Purbaya was not yet up. He was startled when he heard the loud noise outside his residence. He got up and still unwashed went out. When he reached the pendhapa, Pangéran Adipati Blitar quickly went to meet him, knelt touching his brother's feet with his head while weeping and uttering many complaints. Pangéran Adipati Purbaya was stopped in his tracks and for a long time could not speak, his lips

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were as if locked, because he was upset and felt pity for his younger brother. But he also very much loved his elder brother, the king, so in his heart he felt very much at a loss. Then he said while drawing a deep breath, "Brother, stop crying. I will defend you. His Majesty should have been more lenient, for he already has everything. But let us go to Mataram and put things in order there. I feel that if we are in Mataram, half of the Kartasura army will probably follow there, or that even most of them will join me."

1040. Pangéran Adipati Purbaya then summoned his troops and ordered his wives and children to get ready. He wanted to leave immediately. As for the eldest son of His Majesty, called Pangéran Riya, born of a minor wife, who had been adopted by Pangéran Adipati Purbaya and was already married to a daughter of Pangéran Adipati Blitar, he also came along. He did not want to be left behind, because he loved his adoptive father very much.

1041. When Pangéran Adipati Purbaya was ready, he left with his wives and children, and his male and female servants. Of the wives and children of Pangéran Adipati Blitar, none stayed behind. They passed to the south of the kraton. Pangéran Adipati Purbaya then ordered several servants to burn down the southern audience hall. Those ordered quickly set to work, set the audience hall ablaze and chopped the gate of the kraton with their axes. The men of the Kaparak corps who were deployed at the gate just let them carry on, and even all submitted. Then the Company arrived and fired volley after volley. The servants of Purbaya then slowly retreated, following their lord. Both pangéran reached Dersanan and stayed for the night.

1042. There was a servant of Pangéran Purbaya, a former bupati of Pathi, called Mangunoneng. He asked permission to go to Pathi to collect troops. Pangéran Adipati Purbaya allowed it and Mangunoneng departed northwards.

1043. The next morning both pangéran left Dersanan. When they reached Mataram, they headed for Karta, the place with the remains of the kraton that His late Majesty Sultan Agung had wanted to build, but who had died before it was walled. The town of Karta was occupied by both pangéran, surrounded by a bamboo fence, arranged like a kraton and its name changed to Kartasari. The people in Mataram all submitted and the army of Kartasari was already large.

1044. Pangéran Adipati Purbaya then gathered together all the ascetics, Islamic scholars, and haji who happened to live in Mataram and, of course, also summoned Kyai Wanagiri, the religious teacher in Mataram who had been freed from paying taxes. When all had gathered, both pangéran came forth on an appointed day to hold audience. Pangéran Adipati Purbaya spoke in a loud voice, "All of you who have come to pay homage, witness that I am proclaiming my younger brother Pangéran Adipati Blitar king with his kraton in Kartasari and the title Sultan Ibnu Mustapa Pakubuwana Sénapati Ing Ngalaga Ngabdurrahman Sayidin Panatagama." All servants approved in unison and the haji prayed in consent. Pangéran Adipati Purbaya then took his brother's hand and had him sit on an ivory throne. He himself sat on a chair to the right and proclaimed further that he would be called panembahan and become the leader in the war.

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115. Pangéran Blitar sets himself up as king in Kartasari (Mataram) with the title Sultan Ibnu Mustapa and stands up to his brother the Susuhunan in Kartasura

1045. Pangéran Riya was raised in rank with the title Pangéran Adipati Anom Mangkunagara. Kyai Garwakandha was made patih with the title Tumenggung Jayabrata. Kyai Wangsadirja was raised in rank with the title Tumenggung Wiranagara. Bangsapatra was given the title Adipati Lumarap. Ki Mas Gerit was given the title Tumenggung Sindureja. All the servants of Pangéran Blitar and Pangéran Purbaya were raised in rank by one level. Kyai Wanagiri was made senior adviser. Whatever he advised was heeded.

1046. Panembahan Purbaya then gave orders to enlarge the dependent areas. Kyai Tumenggung Sindureja was ordered to subject the people in Kedhu. Kyai Tumenggung Martasura was ordered to go to Banyumas and subject the people there all along the way. Those ordered departed and succeeded in their task. The people who were subjected all submitted. As for Kyai Adipati Lumarap who was sent to Pajang, he built a stronghold in Dersanan. Many of the people from Pajang and the villagers around Kartasura submitted to Kyai Adipati Lumarap, which made his army large.

1047. At that time, many bupati, mantri, and common people in Kartasura left their hearth and home behind, followed Pangéran Purbaya to Mataram and entered his service. As a result, Kartasura looked empty. Of His Majesty's troops only those remained whom he had brought along when he was still crown prince. He raised them all in rank. Some were made bupati, and others were made mantri. Kyai Tumenggung Kartanagara's title was changed to Adipati Mangkupraja, and he was ordered to deploy to the south of Kartasura. The son of Pangéran Arya Panular, called Radèn Suradiningrat, was made commander and ordered to mobilize the people to the east of Mount Merapi and deploy in the village of Selap.

1048. There was a merchant in Kartasura called Pranasuta. He owned many treasures and slaves, whom he paid regularly in the Dutch way. He was given the title Tumenggung Sumabrata and was ordered to conduct daily raids into the countryside to forage for food, such as unhusked and husked rice, because within the capital food was very dear. Many people left, but the soldiers from the Company from Semarang kept streaming in by the thousand in order to protect His Majesty. They were billeted in the audience hall on the Alun-alun. Their leaders were quartered in the assembly halls to the left and right of the Pagelaran. The Alun-alun of Kartasura was full of Company troops of various kinds.

1049. His Majesty sent a messenger to Surabaya with a letter for the admiral, to inform him of the rebellion of Pangéran Adipati Purbaya and Pangéran Adipati Blitar. The admiral and Patih Cakrajaya and his fellow bupati were all summoned. The messenger quickly departed and reached Surabaya.

1050. The admiral and Kyai Patih were unpleasantly surprised when they read His Majesty's letter. They had not expected that both pangéran would compete with their brother for the kingship. It would destroy the realm. They then assigned one brigade of Company troops to remain deployed in Surabaya, accompanied by the bupati of Madura, Tuban, Sidayu, Gresik, Lamongan, as well as Ngabèhi Tohjaya. The leader of

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the Company was Captain Bésing. The others were all taken to Kartasura. After having given the assignments, the admiral and Patih Cakrajaya departed with the bupati and all their troops.

1051. There was a man, a former bupati of Kudus called Pangéran Kudus, who had founded a new settlement in the area of Demak, called Pancawati. He rose in rebellion and was called Pangéran Pancawati. He had already conquered Demak, whose bupati were in Surabaya. The people in Demak all submitted, afraid of waging war against him, because Pangéran Pancawati had a magical formula to destroy his enemy's power.

1052. When the admiral heard that there was a rebel in Demak, he ordered both bupati of Demak to go ahead to Demak. The bupati quickly went ahead with their troops. They marched full of fire and also full of anger because they had been deployed in Surabaya for a very long time and just when they were returning home, they found an enemy there.

1053. Pangéran Pancawati had already been informed that the Company and the Javanese were marching against him. He then gave a magical charm to his troops, so that they would not be hit by bullets, saying, "You should all not be afraid to fight against the Dutch. Their bullets will inevitably part because I have given you a magical charm." His troops all believed him and deployed on the Alun-alun. Their number was one thousand and they were all clad in white. They were led by his two sons, called Sumadipura and Suradipura. Then a fierce fight ensued with the troops of the bupati of Demak. Before long the Company troops were added as well, firing volley after volley with their guns. Many of the troops of Pancawati were wounded or killed. Sumadipura and Suradipura were both killed. Pangéran Pancawati wanted to attack in blind fury, but before he could do so, he was hit by a bullet and his left arm was torn off. He was carried by his kinsmen to the front porch of the mosque, where they left him and ran. The rest of his troops all melted away.

1054. The admiral went to the front porch of the mosque and said to Pangéran Pancawati, "Hello Pangéran, you wanted to become king and rule over Java. How come that your arm is torn off?" Pangéran Pancawati was sprawled on the floor and weeping. The admiral was having a good time and said again, "Here, I'll give you an excellent medicine so you'll immediately become king." Having said that, he gave him a blow with his sword which cut his head off. The admiral and his soldiers and the bupati stayed one night in Demak. The next morning they left for Semarang.

1055. The leader of the Company in Semarang was Commissioner Dulkup. He treated Kyai Patih Cakrajaya and al the bupati with great respect and received them with honour.

1056. It is told that Kyai Mangunoneng, the servant of Panembahan Purbaya, who had asked permission when they were in Dersanan to find and gather troops in Pathi, already had many troops and had conquered Pathi. However, he was no longer thinking of his promise to Panembahan Purbaya, because he perceived how things would turn

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out. So he submitted to Patih Cakrajaya and the Company. His submission was accepted and he was confirmed as bupati in Pathi.

1057. Immediately after that, Pangéran Arya Mataram fled from Kartasura together with his wives, children, and servants. He had the intention of proclaiming himself king in Pathi. When he reached Grobogan, the bupati of that place just submitted. Pangéran Arya Mataram then deployed his troops in Grobogan and conquered the surrounding area. At that time, the Mancanagara were very unsafe. The bupati looted and conquered each other's lands, because they did not know whom to obey. Some followed Panembahan Érucakra, others submitted to the Company in Surabaya, and yet others followed Pangéran Arya Mataram. When one had just submitted to this party, one was conquered by another party. As a result, the common man at that time was totally confused.

1058. At that time, His Majesty sent a messenger to present a letter to the commissioner in Semarang, in which he summoned the admiral and his company troops. He wanted them to go into battle against Mataram. And he asked him to imprison Patih Cakrajaya, because he was suspected of having been in touch with Pangéran Purbaya and Pangéran Blitar. The commissioner was very surprised when he read His Majesty's letter. He gave orders to put Patih Cakrajaya in jail. The admiral paid a visit to the jail and embraced Kyai Patih while shedding tears, because he was very fond of him. During their time in Surabaya, he had been inseparable from Kyai Patih during day and night and in battle. He said, "Brother, don't worry. If you have truly guarded the state loyally, the Lord will keep you safe and sound, because you have not sinned against His Majesty. Since I know how well you treated the Company and all your servants, I will, when I will next meet His Majesty, inform him of all your good deeds, and vouch for you." Kyai Patih replied, "Sir, I am very grateful for your kindness towards me, but I ask you not to speak too soon to His Majesty about me. It may arouse his anger, or make him think that I have asked for your help and thus he might accuse me of being afraid of death and having a lack of trust in God and His Majesty." The admiral replied, "Well, my friend, that is probably up to me. I only ask you not to worry too much."

1059. The admiral then left the prison and got ready. When ready, he departed leading a host of all sorts of Company troops. He was met by Kyai Adipati Mangkupraja in Banyudana and accompanied to the palace. He met His Majesty and was then shown to his lodgings. He was regaled and welcomed with honour.

1060. Panembahan Purbaya in Mataram sent a messenger to Sukawati to tell his brother Panembahan Érucakra to join him in Mataram. However, in his reply, the latter fobbed him off, because he felt that he himself was strong enough with his many troops. Three times he was invited, but always had an excuse. This irritated Panembahan Purbaya who sent a messenger with a letter to Adipati Jayapuspita in Japan. In it, Panembahan Purbaya informed him that he and Pangéran Blitar had fled Kartasura and taken power in Mataram, and secondly, that he ordered him to destroy Panembahan Érucakra because he had been asked to join them in Mataram, but had refused.

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1061. The messenger quickly left. On arrival in Japan, he met with Adipati Jayapuspita. Adipati Jayapuspita was surprised when he read the letter from Mataram, but in the end he was very happy, because he was very fond of Panembahan Purbaya. He sent a letter to his younger brother Adipati Sasranagara, the trusted commander of Panembahan Érucakra, who was still deployed in the village of Padonan in Sukawati. The letter said that he was ordered to evict Panembahan Érucakra on the wishes of Panembahan Purbaya.

1062. When Adipati Sasranagara received elder brother's command, he secretly ordered all the men from the Mancanagara, the soldiers of Panembahan Érucakra who came from Surabaya, as well as the Balinese to leave Panembahan Érucakra and gather together in another place. Those ordered left at night and were all gone in one night. Only a few servants who had been brought from Kartasura still stayed behind. When Panembahan Érucakra saw the dispersal of his army, he was unpleasantly surprised and felt afraid.

1063. The next morning, Adipati Sasranagara came with his troops. They shouted loudly and beat their cymbals while pressing forward, closing in on the fortifications. Panembahan Érucakra was very agitated. He quickly seized an arrow, went out of the gate of the fortification and shouted loudly from afar to Adipati Sasranagara, "Sasranagara, have you forgotten your duty towards me? Come to your senses!" When Adipati Sasranagara heard these words, he dismounted, performed a sembah while standing and replied in a loud voice, "My boy, I feel compelled to execute the order of your brother Panembahan Purbaya in Kartasari. Since you are disobeying your brother, I have been ordered to finish you off." Having said this, he advanced while aiming his spear. Panembahan Érucakra quickly mounted his horse and fled together with his wives, children, and several servants. On their flight, they fell apart in small groups. His seven concubines were all left behind. Adipati Sasranagara and his troops plundered everything inside the fortification. The seven concubines were taken by Adipati Sasranagara who did whatever he liked with them.

1064. After three days, Adipati Sasranagara fell ill. His penis became swollen and he was weeping, making a big fuss. While wailing, he asked Panembahan Érucakra for forgiveness, because he had dared to commit an arbitrary act against his concubines. On the seventh day, he passed away. His corpse was taken by his kinsmen to Japan. His army dispersed in all directions.

1065. On his flight, Panembahan Érucakra had reached the village of Semanggi near Baturana in the area of Sala. The headman of Baturana was called Demang Kencèng. He quickly informed Kartasura. His Majesty then sent a messenger asking his brother to return, while also sending him clothes and money. However, Panembahan Érucakra asked for a postponement to wait for his concubines and servants who had been left behind. Four times he was asked to return, but he just gave the same answer. This irritated His Majesty and he ordered Demang Kencèng to chase his brother from the village of Semanggi.

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1066. Thereupon Demang Kencèng called together all his subordinates along the river. At night, they went to the village of Semanggi while shouting and beating their cymbals. Panembahan Érucakra became very afraid. He quickly fled to the south with his wives and children. During the day, they rested in the village of Genting. That night, they were raided by the people of the village who robbed them of all their possessions. His wife was wounded. They just fled on foot working their way to the southeast. They were pitiful. They headed for Tembayat and stopped at the house of Pangéran Wangsadriya.

1067. Pangéran Wangsadriya then informed Panembahan Purbaya in Mataram that his brother was staying in his house, completely destitute, and not accompanied by servants, only by his wives and children. Panembahan Purbaya quickly sent a messenger to fetch them with sedan chairs and horses, as well as clothes and money. Thereupon, Panembahan Érucakra left Tembayat and arrived in Kartasari where he met both his brothers. They embraced and wept.

1068. After quite some time, Panembahan Érucakra was given an army by his two brothers and told to enlarge their territory to the east. Panembahan Érucakra departed with his soldiers and headed for Uter in the region of Laroh. The people in the villages around there all submitted.

1069. The admiral set out from Kartasura to conquer Mataram, leading a host of all sorts of Company troops. The Javanese army of Kartasura was led by Kyai Adipati Mangkupraja. The army was huge. They halted their march in Dilanggu where they set up camp in front of the enemy. The leader of the army of Mataram that was deployed in Dersanan was called Adipati Lumarap. He was very generous and knew how to win the hearts of the common people and to lift the spirits of the demang and bekel who had submittted. Every day he asked them to join him for dinner, so they all loved him and intended to serve him till death. Then reinforcements from Mataram arrived. Their leaders were Tumenggung Wiranagara and Tumenggung Gajahpramada. They joined Adipati Lumarap and subsequently retreated to entrench themselves in Kalepu in order to secure a good position.

1070. Panembahan Purbaya and Sultan Ibnu Mustapa set out from Kartasari. Their army was huge. Sultan Ibnu Mustapa travelled in a hammock slung under a long carrying pole, escorted in procession by the haji, ulama, and so on. He wanted to go and meet the Company in battle. They deployed in the village of Sanasèwu, where they entrenched themselves.

1071. The admiral and Adipati Mangkupraja set out from Dilanggu, leading the Company troops under seven captains, and joined in a fierce battle with the army of Mataram in Kalepu. On both sides, many were killed. The Company troops fired volley after volley and killed many. The fortification at Kalepu was breached by the Company troops. Tumenggung Wiranagara fled. Kyai Adipati Lumarap was asked by his kinsmen and the headmen who had submitted to him to flee, but he refused, saying, "You kinsmen, if you are afraid to die, then run away. I intend to die on the field of battle, because I am

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a descendant of the lowest class of people, my name was once Bangsapatra, whereas now I have the title Adipati Lumarap, thanks to the favour of Panembahan Purbaya. If I run away, I may be called someone who doesn't appreciate kindness. Since my lord has shown me many favours, I cannot repay him unless I repay him with the wounds on my skin and the blood that I spill. Enough, you just run away. I will attack by myself!" The men thus spoken to numbered twenty-five. They then attacked blindly and in one group charged the troops of Adipati Mangkupraja and sent them scattering. Then the Company came to their aid and fired volley after volley. The twenty-five men were all killed. Kyai Adipati Lumarap was hit by many bullets and was also killed. His head was cut off and sent to Kartasura. His manly parts were also cut off and fed to the admiral's dog, called Jakub, which was used to being taken into battle. His name was then changed into Lumarap.

1072. The admiral and Adipati Mangkupraja continued their march to Mataram. When they reached Tangkisan, the admiral was taken aback when he saw in front of them a huge army. He asked Adipati Mangkupraja about this army. Adipati Mangkupraja informed him that the men deployed there were Panembahan Purbaya and Sultan Ibnu Mustapa. The admiral then lined up the Company troops and employed a ruse. He told Adipati Mangkupraja to go via Bebanar, while he had the Company troops go through the villages so that the enemy would not notice them. He wanted them to be overconfident. The admiral also assigned a number of troops to follow him far behind and burn down the villages.

1073. Panembahan Purbaya and Sultan Ibnu Mustapa knew that the enemy were on their way and lined up their troops. Panembahan Purbaya formed the left wing, Sultan Ibnu Mustapa the right wing, and Pangéran Riya the centre. When the troops of Pangéran Blitar saw that the enemy army was not accompanied by Company troops, they were glad and willing to charge. Those charged met the attack and a fierce battle ensued. Many were killed. Then the Company troops emerged from the villages to help. They fired volley after volley. The army of Pangéran Blitar was alarmed; they had not expected that the Company would come. Sultan Ibnu Mustapa exhorted his troops and the santri, but they were repulsed by a hail of bullets. They fell down all over the field; all the santri were killed. The parasol bearer of Sultan Ibnu Mustapa fell down, hit by a bullet, and the parasol flew from his hands. Its owner ran away together with the rest of his troops. Pangéran Riya came to his aid and met the attack of the Company soldiers. He rushed in to stop the flight of Pangéran Blitar's troops, while shouting loudly, "Hey, men of Blitar, go back and attack. I will help you. How come that uncle Blitar who wants to be king is afraid to die and runs away first? The reason the panembahan fled from Kartasura was to defend him. But in the end he doesn't stand firm in battle. If it is like this, my father-in-law should just be castrated." He upbraided them a lot, but none of the troops of Pangéran Blitar responded. They just kept running away. Pangéran Riya then led his own troops into battle.

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1074. When Panembahan Purbaya saw that his son was fighting the Company, he quickly attacked them on their flank. A hand-to-hand combat ensued. Many were killed. Corpses were scattered about on the ground. The Company troops then retreated somewhat and those at the rear fired their cannon. Of the enemy many were wounded or killed and they could not retaliate. Slowly they retreated. The Company troops pursued them as far as Kaliajir, where they spent the night.

1075. On their flight, Panembahan Purbaya and Sultan Ibnu Mustapa reached Kartasari where they stayed one night. The next morning, they set out and did not leave their wives and children behind. They headed northwestwards and arrived in Kedhu. Tumenggung Mangkuyuda who was deployed in Kedhu was defeated and wounded in battle. He then submitted to Panembahan Purbaya. The whole population of Kedhu surrendered.

1076. The admiral and Adipati Mangkupraja occupied Kartasari where they stayed for three nights. Then they held a consultation. Adipati Mangkupraja said to the admiral, "Sir, let's pursue Panembahan Purbaya and Sultan Ibnu Mustapa." The admiral replied, "My friend, I do not want to pursue Panembahan Purbaya and Sultan Ibnu Mustapa, because the orders which His Majesty previously gave me were just to conquer Kartasari. Since that has been done, I must of course return to Kartasura to inform His Majesty. Moreover, the enemy are not Balinese or Madurese, but full brothers of His Majesty. In my opinion, His Majesty is still reluctant to have them destroyed. I am afraid to prejudge His Majesty's wishes. But if after I have given my report, I am still ordered to pursue his brothers, then of course I will do that." Adipati Mangkupraja had nothing to say against this, because of the nobleness of these words, so he went along with the admiral, and both set out to return to Kartasura.

1077. When Panembahan Purbaya and Sultan Ibnu Mustapa received the news that the Company had left Mataram, they returned to Mataram. They headed for the village of Pamresan to the east of the main market and assembled troops.

1078. The admiral had arrived in Kartasura and went to pay his respects to His Majesty, to whom he reported the course of the campaign from the beginning to the end. This made His Majesty very happy. The admiral said further, "Your Majesty, if subsequently you still wish to make use of my services, I am willing to carry out your orders; even if I should be killed, I will not yield. However, I have a request. I hope that you may be willing to pardon your servant Adipati Cakrajaya. If he has done something wrong, I will vouch for him. I ask this, so that I may make him my companion till death." His Majesty was speechless after he heard the words of the admiral. He could not reply. Kyai Demang Urawan added, "My lord, the admiral is saying this to you because he knows that Adipati Cakrajaya's character is pure and has to his utmost ability guarded your realm. At the time of the war in Surabaya, he was day and night inseparable from the admiral. As for the people who spoke badly of him to you, they are wrong. They were only trying to destroy your servant Adipati Cakrajaya." His Majesty felt relieved when he heard these words and said to the admiral, "Admiral, I will grant you your

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request and pardon Cakrajaya." The admiral said again, "Your Majesty, if that is your wish, allow me to go to Semarang to personally free your servant Adipati Cakrajaya from jail. I will immediately escort him to pay his respects in Kartasura." His Majesty replied, "Yes, admiral, I give my permission, but do not stay away for long and return here straight away. As for the troops of Cakrajaya who are already here, take them with you and give them back to Cakrajaya.

1079. The admiral was very pleased and left the kraton to get ready to leave. The next morning, he set out with the troops of Patih Cakrajaya. On arrival in Semarang, he set Kyai Patih free.

1080. Kyai Patih Cakrajaya assembled an army, for which he asked contributions from the bupati of the Pasisir, because he knew that many of the people in the capital Kartasura had gone away, leaving their hearth and home behind, so by assembling an army he wanted to fill the capital, Kartasura.

1081. Then Patih Cakrajaya and the admiral got word that Pangéran Arya Mataram had fled Kartasura and proclaimed himself king in Grobogan in the domain of Pathi with the title Sunan Kuning. He had already conquered the areas around there. The admiral and Patih Cakrajaya ordered Tumenggung Mangunoneng of Pathi to submit to Pangéran Arya Mataram and gave him a secret message. Tumenggung Mangunoneng carried it out and his submission was accepted. Everything he said was believed.

1082. It is told that when Panembahan Purbaya and Sultan Ibnu Mustapa, who were in the village of Pamresan, had acquired a large army, they set out from there and entrenched themselves in Mrebung, while they ordered their troops to enlarge their territory. Those who went to the west enlarged the territory in Kedhu. Those who went northward approached the capital of Kartasura. The villages around Kartasura were all destroyed. Many people submitted, others fled far away. The people within the capital Kartasura were terrified because they could not search for food outside the capital. So, many went away, leaving their hearth and home. This made His Majesty very sad.

1083. There was a kinsman of His Majesty on his mother's side called Radèn Santareja. He was raised in rank by His Majesty and granted the title Pangéran Mangkubumi. He was made commander of the army and ordered to drive back the enemy who were near Kartasura. He set out with his soldiers, set up camp in the village of Kamlathèn, and assembled the irregular militia. Then he found a small cannon which he used in battle. The army of Mataram was defeated and left a wide space between itself and Kartasura. The cannon that had been discovered was given the name Tundungmungsuh [enemy repeller]. At that time, the people in the capital of Kartasura had calmed down because they were able to search for food outside the capital at the distance of a morning's walk.

1084. His Majesty sent a messenger to Surabaya to summon Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya. At that time, fierce battles were still being fought every day in the area of Sapanjang. The men from the Pasisir fought Panji Surèngrana. They attacked each other in turns.

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1085. His Majesty's messenger reached Surabaya, went to Captain Bésing and told him about his mission. Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya was sent on his way together with his men. On arrival in Kartasura, he was summoned to the kraton. His Majesty watched Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya with great pleasure. He looked strong and powerful, still youthful and courageous. His Majesty asked him, "Tohjaya, how many men do you have?" He replied respectfully, "My lord, I have only eighty mercenaries, half of them are Balinese, and the other half are Javanese." His Majesty then gave him fifty guns, four kegs with gunpowder and bullets, as well as clothes and money to distribute among all his men. Furthermore, he said, "Tohjaya, you stay to guard me, for you are my own man whom I found myself. Go and live in the Kadipatèn." Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya said that he would do as told, withdrew from His Majesty's presence and went to his appointed quarters.

1086. It is told that after the death of his younger brother Adipati Sasranagara, Adipati Jayapuspita in Japan was in a very bad temper. He called his brother Adipati Natapura, who was still deployed in Sapanjang, and ordered him to march on Kartasura. The latter left together with seven hundred soldiers and all the men from the Mancanagara and deployed his troops in the village of Picis, to the southeast of Kartasura. The surrounding villages were destroyed and plundered. Adipati Natapura then informed Mataram. Panembahan Purbaya was very pleased when he received the information from Adipati Natapura, and gave him as a favour a woman in marriage, called Mas Ayu Tiksnasari. Ever since childhood, Adipati Natapura had been a bit of a rogue and he was very happy to receive a woman in marriage. He then ordered his soldiers to push closer to the capital Kartasura, and this caused the people in the capital great concern.

1087. The admiral and Patih Cakrajaya set out from Semarang, leading the bupati of the Pasisir to the west of Semarang. Of those to the east of Semarang, only the bupati of Demak, Kudus and Jepara came along. The others were still deployed in Surabaya. Since Patih Cakrajaya had long been deployed in Surabaya, many people came to watch his arrival in Kartasura, and also to see his army because it was fitted out very finely.

1088. The admiral and Patih Cakrajaya went into the kraton to pay their respect. Coming before His Majesty, Kyai Patih kissed His Majesty's feet while weeping. He wailed like a woman, and while crying he called upon the deceased Sunan, which cut His Majesty to the heart, because it made him think of his late father. He said, while trying to hold back his tears, "Uncle, stop, don't cry, lest I start crying, too." The admiral was very pleased when he saw that His Majesty had got over his anger towards Patih Cakrajaya and his affection for him was again as of old. He said, "Your Majesty, please look and see whether there is any resemblance of your servant the patih having feelings of disloyalty towards you, or not. If you had wanted to kill him, he would not have resisted at all, but you would have killed an innocent man. In future, Your Majaesty should never believe what people say and is not right. If your servant the patih really had bad intentions, I certainly would have quickly informed you." His Majesty replied, "Ad-

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miral, you are right." Then he said to the patih, "Uncle, you must now just go and live in the Kadipatèn. I guess that your own house is not in order, because you left it so long ago." Kyai Patih respectfully said, "If you will allow it, I will return to my own house, because I have seen that all kinds of servants of yours, who have their houses far from the kraton, are afraid to occupy their own homes. If I have returned to my home, I think that they will dare to return to theirs and will be firm in their hearts, so your capital will not look so empty." The admiral said that he agreed with Kyai Patih. His Majesty then allowed it. After that, the admiral and Kyai Patih withdrew from His Majesty's presence and left the kraton.

1089. When Kyai Patih Cakrajaya had occupied his old home, before long the people who had run away returned to their own homes. Patih Cakrajaya then received the new title of Adipati Danureja.

1090. About a month later, His Majesty ordered Arya Mandurareja to help Tumenggung Mangkuyuda, who had lost in battle in Kedhu. The Tumenggung of [Pa]Malang, Brebes, and Tegal were to accompany him. Kyai Tumenggung Kandhuruwan and Kyai Jayasudarga were ordered to seize Pagelèn. The admiral and his Company soldiers, Adipati Danureja, Adipati Mangkupraja, and the bupati of the Pasisir went into battle against Mrebung. They all set out at the same time.

1091. The admiral had reached Mrebung and entrenched himself in front of the fortifications of the army of Mataram. The bupati of Mataram who held the fortifications was Kyai Tumenggung Jayabrata. As for Panembahan Purbaya, Sultan Ibnu Mustapa, and Pangéran Riya, they held the fortifications in turns, and had all built platforms. At that time, Panembahan Purbaya happened to be in the fortifications and they fought with cannon. The army of Mataram dug trenches lest they be hit by bullets. The cannon fire exchange went on every day without stopping.

1092. The army of Kartasura that had gone to Kedhu had already engaged in battle. The men from Mataram were defeated and fled back to Mataram. Tumenggung Kandhuruwan and Jayasudarga had also seized Pagelèn. The people there all submitted to these two bupati.

1093. At that time, Tumenggung Kandhuruwan gathered together all spiritual teachers and ascetics who were versed in numerology and had them predict whether Panembahan Purbaya or Sultan Ibnu Mustapa would succeed in becoming king, or not. The reason why he did this was because Tumenggung Kandhuruwan was very fond of Panembahan Purbaya. If he was able to succeed in becoming king, Kandhuruwan wanted to change sides and leave the Sunan of Kartasura. As for the predictions of the spiritual teachers and ascetics, they all predicted that the attempts by Purbaya and Blitar would be in vain, and that they would not end up well. However, later a grandson of Panembahan Purbaya, the son of his daughter, would certainly become king, have his kraton in Adipala, within the area of Sala, close to the river, and his sovereign power would be very great.

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1094. After Tumenggung Kandhuruwan had received this information from the spiritual teachers, he sent a messenger with a letter in secret to Panembahan Purbaya to inform him of the prediction of the spiritual teachers. The messenger arrived in Mrebung and presented the letter.

1095. After Panembahan Purbaya had read the letter from Tumenggung Kandhuruwan, he felt very much dejected. He quickly summoned Tumenggung Wiranagara, handed him the letter and said, "Wiranagara, think about the contents of this letter. It greatly disturbs me." Tumenggung Wiranagara quickly read the letter. When finished, he said, "My lord, what the letter says is in my opinion good. The bad thing is that because Kandhuruwan is at the moment still your enemy, he may just be trying to frighten you. However, from the time when you were still young until now, Kandhuruwan has always thought highly of you and displayed his great afffection. The fact that he feels the need to say what is said in the letter, maybe originates from his attachment to you, and doesn't want you to come to grief. That's why I find it difficult to make up my mind." Panembahan Purbaya said, "If that is the case, Wiranagara, you should find an astrologer who can predict whatever that has not happened yet, and summon him here before me." Tumenggung Wiranagara said, "Yes, I will do so. I have a relative who is a village chief in Palar. He often practices astrology. At the moment, he is at my place."

1096. The village chief was quickly summoned and brought before Panembahan Purbaya. Tumenggung Wiranagara said, "Uncle, your lord wishes to see your skill in making predictions. Just speak the truth and do not be afraid." The village chief said that he could not do it. Tumenggung Wiranagara said again, "Chief, if you don't want to speak, a disaster will strike you before the day is over." The village chief replied, "I am willing to speak the truth, but I humbly ask that if I say something that is not propitious, my lord will forgive me." Panembahan Purbaya followed up by promising it. The village chief then said, "My prediction is that you or your brother the Sultan will not to continue as king. Even if you had millions of soldiers, and Kartasura were reduced to the size of a shadow cast by a parasol, it will not be conquered by you or your younger brother. As for the fight you want to fight, it will be fruitless, and at most it will ruin the common people, because neither you nor your brother will be allowed by God to become king and rule over Java. However, in the future you will have a grandson, a son of your daughter, and he will certainly become king, have his kraton in Sala, or Adipala to the west of the river. In the beginning he will be pitiful, but in the end he will be outstanding. His reign will surpass that of all his ancestors. And it will last eighty years, and then it will fall on hard times." Panembahan Purbaya asked, "Village chief, where did you get all this knowledge?" The village chief answered, "I know this from a book, called the book of astrologers. I have it here."

1097. Panembahan Purbaya was stunned to hear the village chief's story and his way of waging war became listless. He then left the fortifications in Mrebung and returned to Mataram. He asked Sultan Ibnu Mustapa to take his place. He ordered Pangéran Riya and Tumenggung Jayabrata to remain in the fortifications. They kept exchanging can-

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non fire every day. The Company soldiers sometimes left their fortifications in Malinjon to attack the fortifications of the enemy, but they did not succeed because the terrain was very difficult and they were separated by a river which flowed through a deep ravine. Moreover, the army of Mataram was very much on its guard.

1098. The admiral and Adipati Danureja held a meeting. Since many of the villages to the south of the capital Kartasura had been destroyed because they were plundered by the troops of Adipati Natapura who was deployed in Picis, and also the men who went back and forth to the army were often held up by robbers, they agreed to request His Majesty that Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya be sent out from the capital to strike at the enemy in Picis. When they had come to a conclusion, Adipati Danureja sent a messenger with a letter for His Majesty. After having received the letter, His Majesty summoned Ngabèhi Tohjaya whom he asked whether he dared to be pitted in battle against Adipati Natapura. He answered that he dared. Wherever he met him, he would not be afraid, because during the war in Surabaya he had been his adversary. His behaviour in battle had been cowardly. He only dared to make unexpected attacks, but was afraid of a frontal fight, unlike his brothers Jayapuspita or Sasranagara. They fought like fighting cocks attacking each other in turns. His Majesty was very pleased to hear the words of Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya and he ordered him to go into battle and join Adipati Danureja and the admiral. He gave him two hundred reals for travel expenses and a spear with golden decorations. Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya then left, carrying a letter for the admiral and Adipati Danureja. On arrival in Malinjon, he gave the letter to the admiral.

1099. After the admiral had read the letter, he was very pleased and said to Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya, "Kyai Tohjaya, you are very fortunate because His Majesty is very fond of you. Moreover, His Majesty's orders are that you not be allowed to separate yourself from me or the bupati. And I will certainly enter your name in the records." The bupati were very happy with the words of the admiral, and they were all fond of Ngabèhi Tohjaya.

1100. Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya was then ordered by the admiral to conquer Tembayat because it did not wish to submit and was still loyal to Panembahan Purbaya. Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya left at once accompanied by two bupati, called Radèn Natawijaya and Mangunnagara, and their troops. When they reached Tembayat, the enemy met them in battle. Many of the men of Tembayat were killed when charged by Ngabèhi Tohjaya and his army. The remainder fled to the mosque, but were pursued by Ngabèhi Tohjaya. Those caught were killed. Radèn Natawijaya reminded Ngabèhi Tohjaya, saying, "Hey, brother Tohjaya, don't treat the people in Tembayat too harshly, because they are all descendants of the wali, just like the people of Giri in the land of Surabaya." When Ngabèhi Tohjaya heard the words of Radèn Natawijaya, he sat cross-legged and made a sembah to the mosque one hundred times. Radèn Natawijaya laughed and asked, "Tohjaya, why are you making a sembah for the mosque?" He answered, "The reason why I am making a sembah for the mosque is so that I may not be struck down by a calamity if there happens to be a pangéran who is a descendant of the wali among the

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men whom I killed." Radèn Natawijaya and the others who heard this laughed. Then they returned to Malinjon.

1101. It is told that Adipati Jayapuspita in Japan had fallen seriously ill. He sent a messenger to Adipati Natapura who was deployed in Picis. When the latter reached Japan, Adipati Jayapuspita had passed away. His army broke up with everybody struggling for his own livelihood. The auxiliary troops from Bali also returned to Bali. The kinsmen joined Adipati Natapura in Japan.

1102. Panembahan Purbaya who was entrenched in Mrebung had been facing the Company and the army from Kartasura for eight months while every day engaging in a gun battle. Then he set out from Mrebung with a small band of soldiers and returned to Mataram to ask his brother Sultan Ibnu Mustapa to take his place. However, on reaching Mataram, he got ready to travel, as did Sultan Ibnu Mustapa and Pangéran Riya together with their wives, children, and all their troops in order to flee to the Mancanagara. When they were ready, they set out from Mataram and spent the night in the village of Kebonagung. Panembahan Purbaya then sent a messenger to the troops who were still entrenched in Mrebung and ordered them to leave the fortifications at night. They obeyed and departed during the night. The troops from Kartasura and the Company did not notice this at all. The next day, the admiral was informed that Panembahan Purbaya and Sultan Ibnu Mustapa had set out to the east and followed them in their tracks.

1103. Panembahan Purbaya went via Manyaran to Laroh where he joined Panembahan Érucakra. Then he went via Kaduwang to Magetan. There the Company caught up with him and a short fight ensued. Panembahan Purbaya was defeated and fled to the town of Madiyun. There he stopped and reorganized his army.

1104. The admiral spent the night in Magetan and conferred with Adipati Danureja about returning to Kartasura. Adipati Danureja agreed. Radèn Arya Pringgalaya and Radèn Natawijaya were assigned to remain deployed in Magetan, accompanied by several bupati from the Pasisir. All others were to be taken back to Kartasura.

1105. The admiral then departed. On arrival in Kartasura, he visited His Majesty and gave a report on all his actions. Ngabèhi Tohjaya was rewarded with the domain of Lamongan and given the title Tumenggung Tohjaya. He was ordered to depart for Lamongan, put the domain in order and to train soldiers.

1106. The admiral then conferred with Adipati Danureja whom he advised to send a letter to Tumenggung Mangunoneng of Pathi and have him mislead Pangéran Arya Mataram with talk that they wanted to proclaim him king in Grobogan, and that the admiral was asking him to come down to Jepara and promised to proclaim him king ruling over Java. As for the treaty with the Company, the treaty with the late Sunan Pakubuwana would be continued. However, the admiral asked as compensation the lands of Surabaya, Jepara, and Demak. Adipati Danureja agreed and sent a messenger with the letter. On arrival in Pathi, the letter was received by Tumenggung Mangunoneng and

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then given to Pangéran Arya Mataram. Tumenggung Mangunoneng talked a lot to Pangéran Arya Mataram in order to persuade him to go to Jepara.

1107. Eventually, Pangéran Arya Mataram became very happy. He did not see that he was going to be deceived. He quickly called up his troops and set out for Jepara. Tumenggung Mangunoneng accompanied him. The admiral had left Kartasura and taken Adipati Citrasoma of Jepara with him. They reached Jepara at the same time as Pangéran Arya Mataram. The Company in Jepara and the admiral welcomed Pangéran Arya Mataram with great honour and showed him the same honours as the king, which pleased the pangéran and his wife and children.

1108. The next morning, Pangéran Arya Mataram and his sons were asked to come to the fort. The pretext was that he was going to be proclaimed king by the admiral. Inside the fort everything was made ready. When Pangéran Arya Mataram with his sons and sons-in-law, together eight persons, entered the fort, they were seized, brought to the beach, and killed. This happened in the year 1645 [A.J.].

1109. The admiral then set out to return to Kartasura bringing along the wives of Pangéran Arya Mataram and his small children. On arrival in Kartasura, he visited His Majesty and reported all that had happened. His Majesty was very pleased and very grateful to the admiral.

1110. The admiral then said to His Majesty that he wanted to pursue Panembahan Purbaya and Sultan Ibnu Mustapa wherever they went. His Majesty agreed and ordered the patih to order Adipati Cakraningrat and the bupati of the Pasisir to go with their troops to Ngawi and let them know that the admiral would also go to Ngawi via Jagaraga leading the Company troops. Radèn Natawijaya who was deployed in Magetan was ordered to mobilize the men from the Mancanagara and have them deploy in the forest of Gegelang to the south of Madiyun. Kyai Patih said that he would do as told and quickly sent messengers to Madura, the Pasisir, and of course all the Mancanagara. The bupati who received their orders came to Ngawi and the forest of Gegelang. The army was huge. Then they informed Kartasura.

1111. After the admiral had received the report that the bupati had already assembled, he set out leading one thousand Company soldiers and accompanied by half of the bupati of Kartasura. Their leaders were Radèn Suradiningrat, the son of Pangéran Panular, and Adipati Mangkupraja. On arrival in Ngawi, they joined the bupati of the Pasisir and Mancanagara. Then they pressed forward to the village of Kakajang.

<u>1112</u>. Now we return to the story of Radèn Jimat of Madura. Back then, he had been taken to Bali by Déwa Ketut. Now he had returned to Java and had joined Adipati Natapura. They discussed joining Panembahan Purbaya and set out from Japan with their army. Their arrival in Madiyun made Panembahan Purbaya very happy and he made Adipati Natapura commander in the war.

1113. Panembahan Purbaya then gave orders to arrange the troops to engage in battle in the village of Pagagakan and select a terrain that was spacious and flat. Radèn Jimat was assigned the right wing and his task was to engage the Madurese troops and the

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troops of the Pasisir. Adipati Natapura became the left wing with the task of engaging the bupati from Kartasura. Panembahan Purbaya formed the centre. He would meet the attack of the Company troops. When all were lined up, they set out from the town of Madiyun. On arrival in the village of Pagagakan, the enemy had already occupied their positions there. A fierce fight ensued and many were killed.

1114. When the troops of Pangéran Cakraningrat of Madura saw Radèn Jimat, they became very afraid because he was a brother of their lord. They ran away and fled to the rear of Pangéran Cakraningrat. Pangéran Cakraningrat became very angry; he exhorted his troops while shouting loudly, "Hey, boys from Madura, don't be afraid. Just catch that rascal!" But the Madurese still refused. They ran to the rear of the Company troops. The troops from the Pasisir were swept away and also fled. The bupati from Kartasura who were engaged in battle with Adipati Natapura fled too. Then the Company met the attack of Panembahan Purbaya. It was a fierce fight and many were killed. In the end, Panembahan Purbaya was defeated. He retreated slowly. Then they were overtaken by nightfall. On arrival in the town of Madiyun, they got ready to flee eastwards. They left that very night together with Sultan Ibnu Mustapa, and via Pranaraga ended up in Kadhiri.

1115. Then the three sons of Surapati came to pay their respects to Panembahan Purbaya in Kadhiri. They were called Surapati, Suradilaga, and Tirtanata, and they brought along five hundred troops. They were ordered to meet the pursuing Company troops. The admiral and his troops and the troops from Kartasura halted their pursuit to the west of the River Palabuhan. They camped there for half a month facing the sons of Surapati, but separated by the river. Panembahan Purbaya and Sultan Ibnu Mustapa remained in the town of Kadhiri.

1116. When the admiral found out that Panembahan Purbaya was still in the town of Kadhiri and not with the troops near the river, he gave orders to five hundred Company troops under the command of five captains, called Tonar, Benggol, Pambayi, Buyung, and Jembaran, with Tumenggung Tohjaya as their companion, to cross the river downstream and then turn to the south. Those ordered quickly left and crossed the river.

1117. When Panembahan Purbaya noticed that the Company troops were going to attack him in the rear, he was at a loss. He quickly summoned the three sons of Surapati to order them to meet the Company troops who had crossed the river. As soon as the admiral saw that the troops to the east of the river had broken up, he crossed the river to the east with his Company troops and the troops from Kartasura. Panembahan Purbaya became more and more confused because the enemy were coming from two directions. He then fled to Malang together with Sultan Ibnu Mustapa. The three sons of Surapati made a stand for a short time and then fled after him.

1118. The admiral then occupied the town of Kadhiri and built a fortress there. Many people in the Mancanagara submitted to the admiral. When the fort was ready, the admiral set out for Surabaya. He left a promise about the day when he was going to conquer Malang. He took along half of the Company army. The other half he left in

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Kadhiri. He took the whole army of Kartasura with him. He went via Japan. All the people around there submitted to the admiral and he took them to Surabaya.

1119. The admiral did not stay long in Surabaya. He then left to conquer Malang. His arrival there coincided with the arrival of the Company troops which he had left in Kadhiri. There was a short engagement, after which Sultan Ibnu Mustapa fled to Dhumpul. Panembahan Purbaya, Panembahan Érucakra, and Adipati Natapura, as well as the three sons of Surapati fled and found refuge in Lumajang. This happened in the year 1646 [A.J.].

1120. The admiral and the army from Kartasura occupied Malang. There they were struck by an epidemic. Many of the Javanese and Company soldiers died. Radèn Suradiningrat and Adipati Mangkupraja also died. The admiral and his troops and the troops from Kartasura then set out to return to Kartasura. They took along the corpses of the two bupati.

1121. After the Company and the army from Kartasura had left, Sultan Ibnu Mustapa returned to Malang. There he fell ill and died. His corpse was put on a covered bier and taken to Kartasura, accompanied by his wife and children, and Kyai Tumenggung Jayabrata.

1122. The admiral and the army of Kartasura who were carrying the bodies of Adipati Mangkupraja and Radèn Suradiningrat reached Kartasura. When they informed His Majesty, he was very much impressed. Then the remaining son of Adipati Mangkupraja was made bupati with the title Tumenggung Kartanagara.

1123. Then Adipati Suraadimanggala of Semarang passed away. He did not leave a son, only a daughter who had been given in marriage to Ngabèhi Martayuda, a nephew of Kyai Dipati. At the time of the proclamation of His Majesty Susuhunan Pakubuwana in Semarang, Ngabèhi Martayuda had been taken into service as a scribe. Now he wanted to try to obtain his father-in-law's position. He put in a request with Commissioner Dulkup. The commissioner granted it, and Ngabèhi Martayuda was confirmed as bupati of Semarang. However, the commissioner had neglected the customary procedures of the state, by not informing and asking permission of His Majesty and Kyai Patih.

1124. When Adipati Danureja learned that Ngabèhi Martayuda had already become bupati at the wishes of the commissioner, he quickly sent a messenger to summon Ngabèhi Martayuda. On receiving the summons, Martayuda went to pay his respects in Kartasura, wearing the official attire of a bupati. On arrival in Kartasura, he was accommodated in the Kapatihan.

1125. Then Adipati Danureja sent a messenger with a letter to the commissioner in Semarang. In the letter he asked on what grounds the commissioner had dared to install a bupati without orders from His Majesty. In the second place, he let him know that the Company in Semarang had not been given the power to exercise authority over the bupati of Semarang, only his services had been granted to the Company. If there were

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any faults in the way he attended to his duties, the Company should report them to Kartasura, because it did not have the authority to punish any mistakes.

1126. After the commissioner had read the letter, he was stunned because he was being reprimanded by Adipati Danureja. He also regretted the actions he had taken. He replied to the letter. In his reply, he tried to appease Adipati Danureja, lest he report the matter to Batavia. As for Ngabèhi Martayuda, because he was at that moment already in Kartasura, it was as though the money was already in Kyai Adipati's pocket. Whatever the latter wanted, would certainly happen. Furthermore, the commissioner sent all kinds of goods to Kyai Adipati. When the messenger had received the letter and the goods, he returned to Kartasura.

1127. After Adipati Danureja had read the commissioner's reply, he was very pleased. He went to pay his respects to His Majesty in order to inform him of the matter. This pleased His Majesty greatly, and he said, "Uncle, I leave this matter to you. Because Martayuda has committed a fault towards me, you should punish him. But don't kill him, because my late father already promised Adipati Suraadimanggala that his descendants would be exempt from capital punishment." Adipati Danureja said that he would do as told, and then proposed Ngabèhi Sastrawijaya as the successor of the bupati of Semarang. His Majesty agreed. Adipati Danureja then withdrew from the presence of His Majesty, went to the Pagelaran, and gave orders to take Ngabèhi Martayuda's kris. After his kris had been taken, Ngabèhi Martayuda was imprisoned in the Kapatihan. Before long, he was handed over to the commissioner in Semarang in order to be exiled from Semarang. Together with his wife and children he was exiled to Jakarta. The commissioner wrote a reply which greatly pleased His Majesty.

1128. We go back in our story. At the time when His Majesty [Pakubuwana] was about to die, Pangéran Ngabèhi had fled to Tegal, where he was prevailed upon by the Company and taken to Jakarta. When his brother was proclaimed king, Pangéran Ngabèhi was ordered to be exiled to the Cape. Now the Company sent a letter to ask for the maintenance expenses of Pangéran Ngabèhi and the mantri who were imprisoned with him. Because of this and many other problems, His Majesty wished to send Kyai Patih Danureja to Semarang. Furthermore, according to the treaty that had previously been concluded, Kyai Patih Danureja each year received money from the Dutch that was meant to buy one thousand koyan of rice to be delivered by the people from the Pasisir. Kyai Patih Danureja apportioned the money to each of those who made the deliveries. But since the Dutch were often negligent about the money for buying the rice, His Majesty gave orders not to give them rice, and the people of the Pasisir should be prevented from supplying rice to the Dutch. Kyai Patih Danureja then left for Semarang. On his arrival in Semarang, he met with commissioner Dulkup. Kyai Ngabèhi of Gemulak was appointed adipati of Semarang with the title Adipati Sastrawijaya. As for the matter of the maintenance of Pangéran Ngabèhi, the Company asked to be given four hundred reals each year. Kyai Patih Danureja only agreed to ask for two hundred reals for him per year. If the Company was not willing to accept that amount, Pangéran Nga-

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bèhi should just be returned to Java. The matter was settled by paying only these two hundred reals.

1129. It is told that Pangéran Dipasanta had fled and proclaimed himself in the village of Lowanu. He was then caught and put in a basket by Ki Gagakpranala, and then handed over to Kartasura, where he was locked up. Before long, orders were given to strangle him.

1130. Kyai Patih Danureja conferred with the commissioner about driving away Panembahan Purbaya who was in Lumajang. After they had reached a decision, they set out bringing one thousand Comapany troops and all the men from the Pasisir, while the adipati of Semarang was also not left behind. On their arrival in the capital Kartasura, they visited the kraton and met His Majesty. After the commissioner had exchanged greetings with His Majesty, he informed him that they had reached a decision on driving away Panembahan Purbaya who was in Lumajang. His Majesty was very pleased on hearing the commissioner's words and wholeheartedly gave his consent. As for the commander to lead the whole campaign, he wanted Pangéran Cakraningrat; the commander of the Company troops would be the commissioner himself. His Majesty told Pangéran Cakraningrat that if he succeeded in in the campaign, he would be granted the domain of Sampang, but if he was not able to find Panembahan Purbaya, he would not be allowed to return. After they had received the orders, they got ready. Pangéran Cakraningrat and the commissioner set out from the capital Kartasura accompanied by the bupati of the Mancanagara and the bupati of the Pasisir Tengen. They marched via Jipang and headed for Surabaya. Captain Pambayi who had remained at his post in Daha was ordered to head eastwards together with the men from the Mancanagara. After their arrival in Surabaya, the men from the Pasisir got ready and waited for the arrival of the commissioner. When the commissioner had arrived in Surabaya together with the adipati of Semarang, and the Madurese guards from Sumenep were ready, they set out from Surabaya. Ngabèhi Tohjaya of Lamongan led the march with eight hundred soldiers who were all trusted in battle. About the march nothing is told. When they reached Gembong, the Dutch and the men from the Mancanagara stayed in the city of Pasuruhan.

1131. It is told that Panembahan Purbaya was very worried in Lumajang. What if the men of the Company followed him, because he had no one who was guarding him? His trusted men were only Radèn Suradilaga with two hundred men, deployed in the village of Sarebed to the west of the city, together with a contribution from Kyai Adipati Natapura also of two hundred men. As for Radèn Surapati, Pangéran Riya, Radèn Mas Lindhu, Panembahan Érucakra, and Adipati Natapura, they had all joined Panembahan Purbaya in Lumajang. Panembahan Purbaya held a consultation to ask for help from Nusakambangan and sent a messenger. On his arrival in Bali, the messenger was just politely fobbed off with talk that the king of Bali was indeed willing to contribute three thousand soldiers but that he wanted to select good men first. Panembahan Pur-

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baya had already sent many gifts to the king of Bali consisting of gold coins and other things of gold, but without results. The help was still only promised.

1132. The commissioner conferred with Pangéran Cakraningrat and all the bupati about persuading Panembahan Purbaya to come over. They agreed to send a messenger with a letter, but they did not yet have a suitable person to be sent to Lumajang. Kyai Adipati Citrasoma said to Ngabèhi Tohjaya, "Brother, Ngabèhi Tohjaya, who do you think would be suitable to take this letter, and furthermore, who would be suitable to serve as go-between for the messenger in Lumajang?" Ngabèhi Tohjaya replied, "There are no suitable go-betweens other than Radèn Suradilaga and Radèn Surapati because both are greatly trusted by Panembahan Purbaya. Because both still have many soldiers, Panembahan Purabaya has gone to Lumajang, also on the advice of Radèn Surapati.

1133. When Pangéran Cakraningrat and the commissioner heard the advice of Ngabèhi Tohjaya, they agreed. The commissioner then said to Ngabèhi Tohjaya, "Ngabèhi Tohjaya, I approve that Surapati and Suradilaga will be the go-betweens, but who will be suitable to get the letter to Surapati for delivery to Panembahan Purbaya, because my letter contains a great many matters, including a summons by His Majesty. Therefore, all you bupati, ask your mantri who will be prepared to die to bring my letter." The bupati then asked each of their mantri, but none was willing. The commissioner became irritated and said, "Well, what should I do? Who shall I send? Because this is not my own business, but the business of His Majesty the Sunan that I took on. How will it end if it just goes on like this? Isn't it better to play it smart than fighting a crude war?" When Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya heard the words of the commissioner, his eyes filled with tears and he said to himself, "All these bupati just come here and that's the end of the story. When there is work for the king that is much more burdensome to perform, it is only done by those who are true bupati, because you have to do it yourself if you are faced with harder problems. Now, these bupati don't feel that they are the commanders on whom the king depends, so a common man, if he is prepared to face the troubles and burdens of the king, ought to be made bupati, for the bupati here just keep silent, no one answers. Or, am I the one they are indicating? After all, Tohjaya was originally a common man, but he has been granted a domain and made bupati. Where is his gratitude if he is not prepared to face a difficult task? Is this what they are thinking since they just remain silent?" Ngabèhi Tohjaya then got down off his chair and said to the commissioner that he was ready to bring the letter. The commissioner was very happy. Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya was then taken to the office and told in a whisper that he should not worry too much because messengers were not customarily killed. Furthermore, they asked to whom he would go when he had arrived there. Ngabèhi Tohjaya said that he would go to Radèn Suradilaga. He would certainly inform his elder brother Radèn Surapati, who would inform Panembahan Purbaya. If Radèn Surapati liked it, the whole story would be believed by Panembahan Purbaya. The commissioner agreed with what Ngabèhi Tohjaya said and gave him the presents for Panembahan Purbaya, Radèn Surapati, and Radèn Suradilaga. After he had received

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the letter and the presents, Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya departed. He only took two servants with him, a mantri from Semarang called Demang Kaligawé, a mantri kabayan from Jepara, and one armed retainer, so they were only six, including Ki Ngabèhi Tohjaya.

1134. When Ngabèhi Tohjaya reached the village of Sarebed, he was brought to Radèn Suradilaga, who was surprised that he had arrived safely from his journey. After having been welcomed, Ngabèhi Tohjaya stated his mission. The presents from the commissioner were received by Radèn Suradilaga, and also the one for Radèn Surapati. Radèn Suradilaga said, "Brother Tohjaya, you just stay here. I will go alone and bring this letter to my brother Surapati, because if you come along, he may not allow it. Therefore, just stay here." Radèn Suradilaga then left the village of Sarebed and travelled quickly.

1135. Ngabèhi Tohjaya who stayed behind in the village of Sarebed, was guarded by a Balinese from the army of Radèn Suradilaga. He had a thick moustache on both sides of his face and he jumped around like a demon, terrifying to see. The mantri from Jepara who had been brought by Ngabèhi Tohjaya was so terrified that he got a high fever and wanted them to flee, because he felt uneasy that Radèn Suradilaga was staying away for a long time, whereas the guards kept talking in whispers. Ngabèhi Tohjaya snapped at him, "You're an idiot. We've been sent on an errand and before it is clear whether we will be successful or not, you already want us to flee." Kyai Kabayan continued, "Yes, I want us to flee, because the men who are guarding us are saying terrifying things, I think on the orders of Radèn Suradilaga, so I just want us to flee." Ngabèhi Tohjaya said, "Well, you just flee quickly. Don't befoul my ears. You're just putting the blame on me. I will do it myself, because I am not disgraceful like you." The mantri from Jepara replied, "You are right. Because I am a common man and just a servant of a bupati, I am different from you, who are a servant of the king and have been granted a domain. It is fitting that you risk your life, but I in Jepara am just chasing a handful of rice, so it is not my job to run the risk of death." Ki Ngabèhi Tohjaya became very angry and almost slapped him. The mantri from Jepara then fled. The mantri from Semarang stayed behind. Ngabèhi Tohjaya said, "You Demang Kaligawé, do you want to follow him and flee?" He denied it and said that he did not want to leave him, but he requested that he should not be called a mantri but just a retainer.

1136. Radèn Suradilaga who was bringing the letter and the presents from the commissioner, had already found his brother Radèn Surapati. After it had been received, the letter was opened. The introduction promised a reward to Radèn Surapati if he could deliver Panembahan Purbaya into their hands. Radèn Surapati would be granted a domain by His Majesty and be allowed to choose one wherever he liked, and the Company would give him annually two thousand reals and forgive him all his past offences. Moreover, he would be allowed to pay his respects not in the capital Kartasura, but just stay comfortably in his domain. By God's will, Radèn Surapati forgot at that moment all about his father's curse, because he wanted to get hold of the all too fat reward, which became possible through the letter of the Company. He went to visit Panembahan Purabaya and told him that he had received a letter from His Majesty in Kartasura

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and from Commissioner Dulkup who wanted him to advise Panembahan Purbaya to return to Kartasura, because Panembahan Purbaya had not committed any wrongs against His Majesty and the Company; he had only followed his younger brother the late Sultan. "Therefore, my lord," said Radèn Surapati, "I advise now that you return to Kartasura, because the Company people and your brother are looking forward to your return very much. You will be granted an apanage of twenty thousand bau. If you are still worrying about your return to Kartasura, the Company will vouch for you, because you are mentioned in the records of the Company as having a share in the inheritance of the kraton, which will be firmly upheld." Panembahan Purbaya asked who the messenger was. Radèn Surapati said that it was the bupati of Lamongan, called Ngabèhi Tohjaya, and that he was still staying behind. Panembahan Purbaya said, "If that is the case, Surapati, you meet the commissioner yourself. I am willing to return if all my followers who have committed wrongs in the past, and my brother Érucakra, are all pardoned. If they are not all pardoned, I would rather waste away in the jungle." Radèn Surapati made a sembah and said that he would do as told and then left. On his arrival in the village of Sarebed, he met Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya and reported the wishes of Panembahan Purbaya to him. Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya was very happy and they departed. However, Radèn Suradilaga and Tirtanata and their troops still remained behind and were deployed in the village of Sarebed.

1137. Radèn Surapati and Ngabèhi Tohjaya reached Gembong and met with Commissioner Dulkup, who was very pleased and showed them great respect. Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya was asked how his mission had gone. He said that it had gone well, but that the mantri from Jepara had fled. The commissioner became very angry at Kyai Adipati Citrasoma and fined him one thousand reals because he had failed as bupati: not having a good man, he had made a bad man mantri. The commissioner then conferred with Radèn Surapati and Ngabèhi Tohjaya. Radèn Surapati was willing to convey the message to Panembahan Purbaya, but asked for the domain of Pasuruhan and to become chief of the lands to the east of Mount Wilis. Since Panembahan Purbaya now followed all the advice given by Radèn Surapati, and the Company agreed to the request. After they had reached a decision, Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya was given the task of bringing back the letters from the Company and Radèn Surapati to Panembahan Purbaya, Radèn Suradilaga, and of course Tirtanata. Thanks to the precautions taken by Ngabèhi Tohjaya, Panembahan Purbaya might feel relieved and could be led out of the interior and not make problems again. So the bupati of the Pasisir collected relay horses and porters. When everything was ready, Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya departed. On his arrival in the army camp in the village of Sarebed, Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya met Radèn Suradilaga. After the latter had received and read the letters, he asked Ngabèhi Tohjaya to join him to pay their respects to Panembahan Purbaya. The two of them left together. On their way, they kept deliberating. Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya said, "Brother Suradilaga, when we are in front of the panembahan, you just confirm whatever I say, especially

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when you are questioned, so that the panembahan will believe whatever I say, and the land may soon become prosperous." Radèn Suradilaga agreed.

1138. On the arrival of Radèn Suradilaga and Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya in Lumajang, Panembahan Purbaya was informed that Radèn Suradilaga had come to pay his respects accompanied by a messenger. They were summoned immediately. When they were in front of the panembahan, Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya made a sembah and presented the letters from the commissioner and Radèn Surapati. After the letters had been received and read, the panembahan became very happy to learn the contents, and he asked, "Are you the one called Tohjaya, because I do not know yet what you look like, I only know your name. I remember that at the time of my late father you were given that name." Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya made a sembah and said, "Yes, my name is Tohjaya." The panembahan said again, "Tohjaya, I ask you, whose son are you really? You are good-looking and good at your work. You dare to go into war. You can perform rough and delicate tasks and there is no work you shun." Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya made a sembah and said, "With your permission, Sir, I am actually the son of a commoner." The panembahan said, "Tohjaya, it is you who have now truly begun a fine line of descendants." Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya thanked him deeply for his kind words. Since he was so favorably disposed to Ngabèhi Tohjaya, he followed everything the latter said. With Radèn Suradilaga's confirmations and the nicely phrased letters from commissioner Dulkup and Radèn Surapati, and the large amount of money promised by the Company, it was God's will that Panembahan Purbaya was so easily persuaded. He said, "Yes, Tohjaya, I will follow your advice, but at the moment I am ill, what do you propose?" Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya made a sembah and said, "With your permission, Sir, since I had already heard that you were quite ill, I have brought horses, stretchers, and palanquins." The panembahan said, "If that is the case, Tohjaya, I will leave from Lumajang next Wednesday." Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya quickly sent a messenger to inform the commissioner who was in Gembong, and tell him all about his mission. When the messenger reached Gembong and reported to the commissioner, the commissioner was very pleased and ordered three bupati, those of Semarang, Kudus, and Tuban to meet Panembahan Purbaya, accompanied by three hundred Company troops led by a major called Lènder, and the captains Tonar, Pambayi, and Bonggol. When ready, they departed. After a march of three days, they halted in the forest of Basuki.

1139. It is said that Panembahan Purbaya had already left Lumajang. Of his troops about one thousand remained, including the troops of Panembahan Érucakra. The troops of Adipati Natapura, Radèn Surapati, Suradilaga, Tirtanata, the Madurese, and of course the troops of Pangéran Cakranagara, all turned up, making a thundering noise. However, the younger brother of Tirtanata, called Radèn Brahim, stayed behind in Dhumpul because he happened to be ill. During the whole march, Panembahan Purbaya did not want to be separated from Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya, because he was very fond of him. When they arrived in the forest of Basuki, they met the bupati and the Company who had come to meet them. After staying for two nights, they left the forest of Basuki. The

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adipati of Semarang sent a messenger to inform the commissioner. The commissioner gave orders for a brigade of Company troops to go and meet them in Pasuruhan and deploy on the Alun-alun of Pasuruhan. However, the commissioner did not go along to meet them. He just told Radèn Surapati to accompany the Company troops.

1140. On the arrival of Panembahan Purbaya in Pasuruhan, they halted at the outer audience place, where they lined up. The Dutch lined up in front of the mosque. When Panembahan Purbaya saw that the commissioner was not there, he looked angry. He quickly summoned Radèn Surapati and asked him what his advice was, as the commissioner had not come along to meet him, but was just taking his ease at Gembong. Was his invitation to be on good terms not sincere? What was the commissioner's intention by just staying behind? Radèn Surapati left it up to the wishes of the panembahan, but immediately summoned Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya and sent him to find out whether the commissioner was serious. Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya quickly went to Gembong, met the commissioner and told him what the panembahan had said. The commissioner became alarmed, quickly mounted his horse and galloped away with an orderly and Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya. When he arrived in Pasuruhan, he quickly wanted to greet the panembahan, but was stopped because he saw a semi-circle of troops facing west confronting the Company troops. The commissioner then turned to the Company lines to wait for the bupati. Before long, the bupati of the Pasisir who had followed him arrived. The commissioner and the bupati quickly wanted to meet the panembahan. When they came close, having left their troops behind, the lines of the panembahan parted. The panembahan came to meet them and they exchanged greetings. The panembahan was kissed by the commissioner. When they were all seated according to rank, the bupati paid their respects to the panembahan while weeping. They wept like women, bewailing the late king. After all this, the panembahan was asked to come down to the Company fort in Gembong and they set out together. When they arrived at the fort in Gembong, the panembahan was counselled by the commissioner that it would be advisable to go together to Semarang and conclude an agreement. When that was done, he could return to Kartasura. Then they got interrupted by the arrival of a messenger from His Majesty, who conveyed the order to take Pangéran Jimat away. The orders from His Majesty were that Pangéran Jimat should just go by land. The others, apart from Pangéran Jimat, were told to go to Semarang by sea. Pangéran Jimat departed, escorted by the messenger from His Majesty. The commissioner, Panembahan Purbaya, Panembahan Érucakra, Adipati Natapura, Radèn Surapati, and Radèn Suradilaga boarded a ship and sailed off to Semarang. This happened in the year 1648 [A.J.].

1141. On the arrival of Panembahan Purbaya in Semarang, his servants became discouraged because they felt that they were going to be cheated. The commissioner had already sent a messenger to Kartasura to inform His Majesty that his younger brother Panembahan Purbaya and his retinue had arrived in Semarang. His Majesty then sent a bolt of plain cloth for shrouds, and strings. His Majesty's wish was that Panembahan Purbaya and his retinue should be killed. However, Commissioner Dulkup and the ad-

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miral objected strongly because Panembahan Purbaya had not wanted to become king and had not committed any wrongs. So they counselled that if His Majesty agreed, Panembahan Purbaya should not be killed, but taken to Batavia. His Majesty agreed, but his two sons, Radèn Mas Lindhu and Pangéran Riya should be excluded and sent to Kartasura. The commissioner and the admiral agreed to do so. When at that time Her Highness Ratu Mas heard that her father was going to be sent on to Batavia, she became very worried and felt that she ought to accompany him, but His Majesty stopped her from doing so. While he was in Semarang, Panembahan Purbaya was feasted by the admiral.

1142. Then a messenger from Batavia arrived. He was sent on the pretext that the Governor General wished to meet Panembahan Purbaya. A messenger from Kartasura also arrived. He was sent to take Pangéran Adipati away. Getting ready quickly, Panembahan Purbaya left for Batavia by sea. He was only accompanied by his son, Radèn Mas Lindhu, who did not want to part from his (adoptive) father. As for his wife and daughters, and Pangéran Adipati, they stayed behind in Semarang and wept bitterly. At that time, the bupati and the troops of Panembahan Purbaya were aware that they were going to be cheated. They wanted to conduct a blind attack, but they had already no arms, so they resigned themselves to the inevitable. Pangéran Adipati was indeed sent to Kartasura, so he and his (adoptive) father went in opposite directions. Panembahan Purbaya left for Batavia on the twenty-fifth of the month Jumadilakir.

1143. On his arrival in Kartasura, Pangéran Adipati went into the kraton. His Majesty was yearning for him, but Pangéran Adipati did not reciprocate those feelings, because his love for his (adoptive) father Panembahan Purbaya was very great. On his return from the kraton, he was given a place to stay in the eastern Srimanganti audience hall. His wife from Semarang had already arrived and met Pangéran Adipati. From Semarang he had been escorted by troops from the Company led by Lieutenant Simun. Before long, Pangéran Adipati was given his old name Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara back, and granted an apanage of one thousand rice fields.

1144. Panembahan Purbaya had arrived in Batavia. Panembahan Érucakra was exiled to the Cape of Good Hope, because he had planned an uprising. As for Adipati Natapura, Radèn Surapati, Radèn Suradilaga, and Jaka Tangkeban, they were exiled to Ceylon. Panembahan Purbaya and his son were given a place in the Alang-alang fortress.

1145. On his arrival in Kartasura Pangéran Jimat was jailed in the orderly building, together with his kinsman Radèn Séwanagara. Pangéran Jimat died by hanging himself in his jail. On his release Radèn Séwanagara was given to the pangéran of Sampang and taken back to Madura.

1146. When the younger sibling of Radèn Surapati, called Radèn Brahim, who had stayed behind in the village of Dhumpul, heard that his siblings had been deceived by the Company, he became very angry and conquered the villages to the right and left of Pasuruhan. The women were all abducted. His army was already large and his conquests many. This was reported to His Majesty who told the men of the Mancanagara to go

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into battle. When they arrived in Malang, they were met in a fierce battle. Radèn Brahim was overwhelmed by his enemies and fled to the forest. After the village of Dhumpul had been burned, the men from the Mancanagara withdrew and reported to His Majesty that Radèn Brahim had not been caught, but had fled into the forest. This happened in the month of Mulud. After the withdrawal of the men of the Mancanagara, Radèn Brahim and his troops attacked Daha. Demang Ranuita of Kadhiri did not feel strong enough to fight him, so he surrendered and offered him food and drink.

1147. In Kartasura His Majesty sent a messenger to Semarang to demand his son Radèn Mas Lindhu who had been taken to Batavia by Panembahan Purbaya. The daughters of Purbaya who had been left behind and sent to His Majesty were returned because His Majesty did not want them. He insisted on getting Radèn Mas Lindhu back. The commissioner and the admiral then sent a messenger to Batavia to fetch Radèn Mas Lindhu. When he had arrived in Semarang, he was escorted to Kartasura by a messenger from His Majesty. His Majesty was very happy to see his son, because he had been yearning for him.

1148. The daughters of Panembahan Purbaya were sent after their father to Batavia. Their arrival in Batavia made Panembahan Purbaya very happy.

1149. We return to the presence of Radèn Brahim in Daha. Radèn Adipati Danureja had already been told that Demang Ranuita in Kadhiri had submitted. Radèn Adipati Danureja felt very embarrassed, for His Majesty happened to be on a pilgrimage to Mataram and might get the idea that Kyai Patih had failed in guarding the realm. So he assembled his servants and kinsmen, and asked who was willing to go and fight Radèn Brahim. However, no one in the Danureja estate was willing. The patih then asked Sutayuda, "Well, that leaves you Sutayuda. What do you want? All your kinsmen are afraid of Brahim. Only you are left. Do you dare to go and fight that Brahim?" Ki Sutayuda said that he was willing, but asked to be accompanied by the men from the Mancanagara. When Kyai Patih heard Sutayuda's words, he was very pleased and said, "Good, Sutayuda, get ready quickly." Sutayuda said that he would do as told. Then a man from Kadhiri arrived who reported that Radèn Brahim had returned to Malang and had only been in Kadhiri for seven nights. Kyai Patih sent a messenger to Mataram to inform His Majesty. His Majesty quickly returned from Mataram. He stayed the night in Kartasekar and changed its name to Madéganda. When there, His Majesty received the messenger from the patih who informed him that Daha had been visited by the enemy Radèn Brahim. After everything had been reported, His Majesty returned to the capital. Demang Ranuita was summoned to Kartasura and killed. He was replaced by someone called Ki Samarandana. A year later, His Majesty ordered the men from the Mancanagara to strike at Malang. The Pasisir bupati from Gresik, Surabaya, Sidayu, and Ngabèhi Tohjaya went via Pasuruhan, and the men from the Mancanagara via Salawur. Radèn Brahim met them in battle at the village of Campakamaling. The battle was fierce. Many of the troops from the Pasisir were killed. At that time, Kyai Ngabèhi Tohjaya dismounted from his horse and led all his troops into battle. Radèn Brahim es-

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caped into the forest, pursued by the men from the Pasisir. Radèn Brahim and his army disappeared. All the bupati then retreated to Kartasura. This happened in the year 1649 [A.J.], in the month of Jumadilawal in the year Wawu. It was the same year that Mangunoneng was killed. He was replaced by a younger brother of Kyai Rangga of Kaliwungu, called Kyai Demang Suramenggala.

//. It was the same year when a rebel from Nusatembini arrived in the middle of the night and headed for the Pacikeran. When questioned by the night watch, he answered that he was from Nusatembini, wanted to become king, and have his kraton in Kartasura. The bupati on night-watch duty at that time happened to be Kyai Tumenggung Mangunnagara. When he was informed, he quickly went out to the audience hall of the Gedhong building. The rebel was then told to go to the Kapatihan. Radèn Adipati came to meet him, took him by the arm, and had him seated on a carpet, while he addressed him politely with "My lord." "My lord, I have already been looking forward to this for a long time, but let's proclaim you king in Kartasura tomorrow. I will proclaim you. At this time it is halfway through the night." Radèn Adipati Danureja then said, "Sutayuda, call up your servants, and when the real king arrives here, let's prepare a festive welcome for him." Ki Sutayuda said that he would do as told. The men from the Danureja compound and the Trunasura corps were all at the ready outside. Ki Sutayuda gave them a secret sign and together with the Trunasura troops they rushed forward. They had already divided the tasks among themselves. The would-be king was quickly pounced upon by Ki Sutayuda himself. His thirty companions were caught by the Trunasura men. The next morning, they were led before the king. Seven of the rebels were made to fight a tiger, without weapons, only with a stick the length of a forearm, so the tiger would not feel it when struck. However, the tiger did not want to fight. When struck with the stick, it ran away, which greatly pleased His Majesty. After having been pitted against the tiger, their hands were bound again, and they were killed together with their leader. The rest were pardoned and set free, because they were people from Gunung Kidul who had been carried away under the spell of their leader.

1150. His Majesty made a pleasure trip to Butuh, wanting to pay his respects to the royal burial place there. After his return from Butuh, it is told that His Majesty already had many children, eight daughters and twenty sons. The eldest was called Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara, and his younger brother was still called Radèn Mas Sandéya. Both were born of a minor wife. Two of his children were born of Her Highness Ratu Sepuh. The eldest was a handsome male, called Radèn Mas Prabayasa. While still young, he had already been given the title Pangéran Adipati Anom and was destined to succeed his father. His younger sibling was a female of very great beauty. When Her Highness Ratu Sepuh had had two children, she was ousted by His Majesty. He took her younger sister and married her instead. She was called Ratu Kancana and was installed in the residence of the crown prince. She had four male offspring. The others were all born to minor wives.

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127. A rebel from Nusatembini. Sunan Mangkurat Jawi dies. He is succeeded by his son with the title Sunan Pakubuwana II

1151. At that time, His Majesty wished to marry off the daughter left behind by Panembahan Purbaya, who was called Ratu Mas when still young, to Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara. But he also wished him to divorce his present wife, a daughter of Pangéran Blitar, called Radèn Ayu Wulan. When asked, Her Highness Ratu Sepuh did not agree at all that this would involve divorcing his wife. This frustrated His Majesty's wishes, so he reverted to his old wish, because when Ratu Mas had been taken away, she had already been betrothed to his son Radèn Mas Sandéya. They were actually going to be married off, but were only waiting for the right time. Then, everything was interrupted when His Majesty became very ill. He summoned Radèn Adipati Danureja. When the latter came and paid his respects, he gave him a final instruction that when his life had come to its end, his son Radèn Mas Prabayasa should be installed as king in his stead. Kyai Patih made a sembah and said that he would do as told. His Majesty then died. His wives wept. The whole kraton shook with the sounds of weeping. After His Majesty's body had been cleansed, it was laid to rest in the royal burial place of Imagiri. This happened in the year 1650 [A.J.].

1152. At that time, Radèn Adipati Danureja and His Highness Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara were in the kraton. Since the Radèn Adipati was very worried, he had told his servants from the Kapatihan to assemble under cover. The Radèn Adipati said to Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara that if he had a wish to succeed his father as king, he should first leave the kraton, because he himself wanted to confer with the bupati and inform Batavia. His Highness complied. After he had left the kraton, the Radèn Adipati gave orders to lock the main gate and summoned the bupati and the pangéran of Madura to enter the kraton unobtrusively. When all were there in the kraton, Radèn Adipati Danureja said, "My friends, what are your thoughts? Don't be evasive. Who would you recommend to succeed the king?" The bupati were afraid to say that they had a favourite, as they could not believe that the late king had not given a final instruction. So they all said that they left it up to the Radèn Adipati. The Radèn Adipati said again, "Indeed, it is right that you have your suspicions, but I have to confer with all my colleagues." Then the pangéran of Madura said that he recommended that the eldest son be installed as king, for if one of the sons that were still young were to be installed, it inevitably would cause a split in the realm, and because of his youthful character, he may not be firm in giving commands. If he has a wish but could not reflect on its good or bad aspects, if it were not carried out where would that leave his royal authority, but if it was carried out, it would ruin the realm. Radèn Jayaningrat added that if Pangéran Mangkunagara were to be installed as king, it would not be very advisable because he was born of a mother who was a village woman. It would be slightly more proper to install Radèn Mas Sandéya as king. Although he was also the son of a minor wife, his mother was still the daughter of a bupati, and moreover, he was also a little bit older. If Pangéran Adipati Anom were installed as king, it would be right, for he had been destined to succeed to the throne, but he was still too young, and it was still not proper for him to sit in state on the Sitinggil.

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1153. Radèn Adipati Danureja could not reconcile the words of the bupati, so they dispersed without agreement. The next day, the bupati in Kartasura were told to affix their seals to a letter for Batavia in which permission was asked to install Pangéran Adipati Anom as king in his father's place. The messenger left immediately.

1154. Pangéran Adipati Anom was then told to reside in the kraton. His ascension to the throne only awaited the reply from Batavia, but it was already proclaimed that he was going to succeed to the throne. Before long, the letter from Batavia arrived. It was brought by Commander Klofdiansah. On his arrival in Kartasura, he met Radèn Adipati Danureja. On Monday, Pangéran Adipati Anom appeared on the Sitinggil. The leaders of the religious communities, the ascetics, the haji, and the bupati and their subordinates were all there to attend the ascension of the king. Ngabèhi Tirtawiguna read the letter from the Governor General in Batavia. When it was finished, Pangéran Adipati Anom was proclaimed king, with the title His Majesty Susuhunan Pakubuwana Senapati Ingalaga Ngabdurrahman Sayidin Panatadinan. When the bupati, mantri and the bupati of the Mancanagara and the Pasisir had finished paying their respects, the Company repeatedly fired salutes of honour with their guns and cannon. The ascension to the throne still happened in the same year as his father's passing, 1650 [A.J.]. At that time, the Governor General in Batavia was Tuwan Matiyus Daham. The director was Tuwan Fakenir, and he was the youngest of the council. The commander in Semarang was Tuwan Klofdiansah. The one on guard in Kartasura was the old captain Tuwan Koster. Radèn Adipati Danureja and the bupati, from the Pasisir and the Mancanagara, all paid obeisance to His Majesty, and none objected.

1155. Her Highness Ratu Sepuh observed the wishes of her husband the late king by having a daughter of Purbaya marry with His Majesty, so he was continuing his father's life-story. When he ascended to the throne, he had many siblings. The eldest of his siblings was Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara. Then followed Radèn Ajeng Dèwi, Raden Ajeng Aminah, Radèn Mas Sandéya, Radèn Mas Regu and his younger brother Radèn Mas Sutara. Then a younger sister from the same mother as His Majesty, Radèn Ajeng Sitisundari. Then Radèn Ajeng Brangti, Radèn Mas Lindhu, Radèn Mas Subekti, Radèn Mas Subrangta, Radèn Mas Sekti, Radèn Mas Sujana, Radèn Mas Karaton, Radèn Mas Pamadé, Radèn Ajeng Tajem, Radèn Ajeng Iten, Radèn Mas Surata, Radèn Mas Yadi, Radèn Mas Langkir, Radèn Ajeng Umik, Radèn Mas Genter, Radèn Mas Sunaka, Radèn Ajeng Jumanten, and the youngest, Radèn Mas Sardin, a total of twenty-six, eight daughters and eighteen sons.

1156. It had been a year since His Majesty's accession, but every time he went out to sit in state on the Pagelaran, he did not wish to sit on the throne out of respect for his elder brother. Every time the Radèn Adipati politely proposed that he sit on the throne, he declined. As soon as the Radèn Adipati had withdrawn from the audience, he went to the residence of Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara. Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara met him and when they were seated asked, "What is the purpose of your visit, uncle?" The Radèn Adipati said, "My lord, the reason for my visit is that your younger brother, the

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Sunan, does not yet wish to sit on the throne. Every time he sits in state, he sits on a seat cushion on the floor. It seems that he is doing this out of respect for you. Therefore, with your permission, I ask you to come to the Kapatihan to discuss it." The pangéran replied, "Yes, uncle, tonight I will come to the Kapatihan." The Radèn Adipati then took leave. That night, the pangéran visited the Kapatihan. The Radèn Adipati came to meet him at the outer gateway and asked him to enter. After they had sat down, the Radèn Adipati said, "If you agree, tomorrow morning when I pay my respects, I want to inform His Majesty that you have said concerning His Majesty's unwillingness to sit on the throne when sitting in state, that it was improper for His Majesty to stand in awe of someone, because His Majesty was the caliph. Moreover, I want to inform him at the same time that you had wondered why His Majesty has not yet thought of marrying your younger siblings off. That is what I am going to say, if it is agreeable to you." The pangéran gave his consent and approved what the Radèn Adipati had proposed. After having been treated to food and drink, the pangéran returned home.

1157. The next morning, the Radèn Adipati visited the kraton. Arriving at the Srimanganti gate, he asked to be announced. Then he was told to go in and he paid his respects to His Majesty. Making a sembah, he told what Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara had said. His words were, "My lord, last night your brother Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara came to the Kapatihan. He asked me to tell you that seeing that every time that you go out to sit in state you do not wish to sit on the throne, is in his opinion not appropriate at all, because you are the caliph of God, and it is not appropriate that you should stand in awe of someone when you are sitting in state. It is a bad sign. But if you want to pay respect to an elder relative, it is up to you as long as it is inside the kraton, not when you happen to go out and sit in state. Moreover, my lord, if you agree, he hopes that you will be willing to marry off your male and female siblings." His Majesty smiled and said, "Uncle patih, if that is the wish of my brother, tell your fellow bupati that I wish to go to the residence of my brother tomorrow." The Radèn Adipati made a sembah and said that he would do as told. Then he withdrew from the presence of His Majesty. When he was outside, he sent a messenger to inform Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara that the next morning His Majesty wanted to come, and he ordered the bupati to make a temporary covered walkway in the Arya Mangkunagara compound from the porch of the residence all the way into the courtyard.

1158. The next morning, His Majesty went to the residence of Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara. The Radèn Adipati and his fellow bupati escorted him. On his arrival at the residence, his elder brother met him outside, showing him great respect. Everything he owned was exhibited, and also the things in boxes were opened for inspection by his younger brother. He was in the residence of Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara for a whole day, enjoying the bedhaya dances. His Majesty came at eight in the morning and went back at four in the late afternoon. Whatever had been inspected by His Majesty was offered to him, horses, gamelan instruments, firearms, arrows, forty spears with yam-colored shafts, forty spears with speckled shafts, nine breeding mares, and the clothing

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in the boxes that were inspected by His Majesty were all offered to him. This all went in succession to the kraton. The visit of His Majesty to the residence of Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara happened in the year 1651 [A.J.].

1159. After one day, the siblings were raised in rank. Radèn Mas Sandéya was given the title Pangéran Ngabèhi. Radèn Mas Regu became Pangéran Danupaya. Radèn Ajeng Dèwi was married off to the bupati of Barebes. Radèn Ajeng Aminah was married off to the bupati of Kaliwungu. The just-mentioned Pangéran Ngabèhi married Radèn Ajeng Lènggang [Gélang?], a daughter of Purbaya. Pangéran Danupaya received a daughter of the bupati of Pathi [Tuban?]. Radèn Mas Utara became Pangéran Martasana and married Radèn Ajeng Jèmblem. Radèn Ajeng Sitisundari was married to Pangéran Cakraningrat of Madura. Radèn Mas Subekti became Pangéran Pamot and married a daughter of Radèn Tumenggung Natayuda, the bupati of Bumija. Radèn Ajeng Brangti married a grandson of Radèn Tumenggung Mangkuyuda who was born of his daughter and called Radèn Sukrama. Radèn Mas Sakti became Pangéran Buminata and married Radèn Ajeng Tembelèk, a daughter of Pangéran Blitar. Her younger sister Radèn Ajeng Wulan became the main wife of Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara. Radèn Mas Sujana became Pangéran Mangkubumi and married a girl from Madiyun, called Radèn Ajeng Manik who had in the past been taken with her two brothers called Radèn Sudarma and Radèn Séwaka, who had been put together with the young servants in the kraton. None of the other kinsmen was yet married off. Those who had been passed over just married concubines. Then His Majesty wanted to marry off his younger sister Radèn Ajeng Tajem to Radèn Wiratmeja, a nephew of Radèn Arya Megatsari, the adipati of Pathi. Radèn Ajeng Umik was married off to a descendant of Demak, called Radèn Arya, who was granted half of the domain of Demak and raised in rank with the title Radèn Tumenggung Suranata.

1160. His Majesty was expecting his envoy to Batavia who did not return for a long time. The mantri Ngabèhi Jayasanta and Surapraméya were then sent after him, but even so they did not return for a long time. At that time, Pangéran Cakraningrat and Radèn Adipati Jayaningrat were speaking ill of Radèn Adipati Danureja, saying that he had put a king on the throne who was still too young, which was as if the Radèn Adipati himself had become king, because all his wishes were allowed. This was what the adipati thought. His Majesty then wanted to rearrange the apanages of his kinsmen. Pangéran Ngabèhi and Pangéran Buminata were granted an apanage of one thousand bau, but they still had to accept Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara as their chief.

1161. Radèn Adipati Danureja happened to be in Semarang when His Majesty's envoy to Batavia returned, bringing the body of Panembahan Purbaya, so the envoy went back together with Radèn Adipati Danureja. After his arrival in Kartasura, the envoy from Batavia, called Rangga Wirakrama, was raised in rank and made one of the bupati macapat, replacing Radèn Tumenggung Sumabrata as bupati Gedhong Kiwa, with the title Radèn Tumenggung Nitinagara. The dismissal of Radèn Tumenggung Sumabrata shocked the other bupati lebet, Demang Urawan, Ngabèhi Wirajaya, and Mangunna-

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gara, because it had not been discussed with them. The elevation of Radèn Tumenggung Nitinagara as bupati Gedhong Kiwa coincided with the death of Pangéran Buminata, who was replaced by his younger brother Radèn Mas Karaton with the title Pangéran Buminata. His younger brother Radèn Mas Pamadé was given the title Pangéran Arya Mataram. Radèn Mas Surata was given the title Pangéran Rangga. Radèn Mas Yadi became Pangéran Silarong; Radèn Mas Subrangti became Pangéran Balatér; Radèn Mas Sunaka became Pangéran Singasari; Radèn Mas Langkir became Pangéran Prangwadana; Radèn Mas Sardin became Pangéran Dipasanta, and Radèn Mas Genter became Pangéran Arya Panular. So all His Majesty's siblings had been granted the title of pangéran. This happened in the year 1652 [A.J.].

1162. It is told that His Majesty's mother at the time of his father, when she already had two children, was ousted at the wish of his father who then took her younger sister as main wife and married her in the place of her older sister. She was given the title Ratu Kadipatèn and had four children, all male. The eldest was Radèn Mas Sakti, then Radèn Mas Karaton, Radèn Mas Pamadé, and the youngest Radèn Mas Sunaka. So, at the time of His Majesty, her husband's death, Ratu Kadipatèn was halfway through her life. Among the children of Panembahan Purbaya, there were two sons, the eldest Radèn Mas Umbaran was given the title Radèn Mas Arya Purwakusuma, and his younger brother Radèn Mas Ketug was given the title Radèn Mas Arya Purwawijaya. They joined the santana and were given apanages of three hundred bau as santana. Pangéran Arya Pamot and Pangéran Danupaya received four hundred. Pangéran Martasana, Pangéran Arya Mataram, Pangéran Singasari, and Pangéran Mangkubumi received five hundred. All the others received three hundred.

1163. At that time, the land of Kartasura was very prosperous and His Majesty was greatly respected, as he had a great many kinsmen who were handsome and of superior character, while the elder kinsmen were handsome, gentle and modest. The bupati of the Pasisir and Mancanagara were amazed because his grandfather and father did not have as many kinsmen as there were now. So the land of Kartasura seemed strewn with beautiful flowers, or like a garden full of flowers. When His Majesty attended a tournament, the Alun-alun looked as if it was adorned with jewels that put the rays of the sun to shame. The bupati of the Mancanagara or the Pasisir and the bupati and mantri who came to attend the tournament did not at all feel that they were looking at the real world; it was so beautiful that they seemed to be looking at heaven. It gave great pleasure to those who saw it.

1164. His Highness Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara already had seven children. Three were born from his main wife Radèn Ayu Wulan, all males. The eldest was called Radèn Mas Umar. He was adopted by His Majesty in the hope of getting children of his own. The second son was called Radèn Mas Said. When he was born, his grandfather happened to be ill. Pangéran Mangkunagara was camping on the Alun-alun, as were the Radèn Adipati, the kinsmen, the bupati, and all the lower officials. So many just came to visit from their temporary lodgings on the Alun-alun. His birth took place on Sunday Legi,

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the fourth day of the month of Ruwah in the year Jimakir and the wuku Wariagung, which was called 'suffused with light,' meaning that because his grandfather happened to be very ill, the heavenly light was suspended in the air, and in case of a birth, the name 'suffused with light' meant that it would be a most excellent birth. Therefore, many predicted that he would be a leader in war. When his umbilical cord had dropped off, his father returned to his temporary lodgings on the Alun-alun.

1165. The eldest of the children of His Highness Pangéran Mangkunagara, who were born of Radèn Ayu Ragasmara, the daughter of Pangéran Cakraningrat who had died in his blind attack on the ship, was called Radèn Mas Ali. Then came Radèn Ajeng Doplang. Then there were Radèn Mas Ambiya and Radèn Mas Sabar, both of whom were born of a minor wife. Then came Radèn Mas Sakadi whose mother Radèn Ayu Wulan died in childbirth. Her son also died. So, Radèn Mas Sakadi became the youngest son. The Pangéran very much grieved on the death of his wife Radèn Ayu Wulan, who was laid to rest in Imagiri, escorted by Ngabèhi Asmarandana, the kliwon Kaparak Kiwa, and Demang Jayasamodra, each of them outer kliwon. At that time, the old Ratu Pakubuwana was still alive and she was also very much upset. She took one of his children, who had already been weaned, called Radèn Mas Peksi [Said], and had him brought to the kraton to be united with his elder brother Radèn Mas Umar. When Nyai Buratsari, who had been sent to take the child into the kraton, arrived, His Majesty happened to be sitting together with his grandmother Ratu Pakubuwana while holding Radèn Mas Umar on his lap. His Majesty asked Nyai Buratsari how his elder brother Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara was doing. Nyai Buratsari made a sembah and said, "My lord, your elder brother does not talk, he is still trying to hold back his tears while just sitting cross-legged and bent over." His grandmother quickly took Radèn Mas Peksi [Said] and put him on her lap while saying, "Your Majesty, you just take the elder, and I will take the younger one." Her Majesty permitted her and she returned home. His Majesty and his wives stepped down in deference. When she was at a distance, His Majesty entered the kraton.

1166. It is told that the grieving Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara was feeling profound sorrow, did not want to eat, and felt as if he also would die. Since in addition he did not see his children, his house felt deserted, and he could not be comforted in his grief. But the moment he remembered that life and death are destined by God, his appetite recovered and after the fortieth day anniversary of his wife's death, he again started to go to the audiences on Mondays and Thursdays, and every Saturday to attend the tournament. Eventually, His Highness the Pangéran wanted to marry again. But there was not one he liked. There was one he liked, but she was in the kraton, a woman taken from Semarang, a daughter of Demang Kramayuda of Karang, whose mother was of Chinese descent. He wanted to ask for her, because at that moment she had been rejected by His Majesty. It was said that the Pangéran already had an understanding with the woman, and according to the usual tattletales he was reported to have often sent her garments and cosmetic creams already, although this was not true. What was true

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was that before he died, Panembahan Purbaya had sent a piece of Banten lurik cloth from Batavia to Kartasura, one piece to Her Highness Ratu Kancana, and one piece to his adopted son Pangéran Arya. At the time when the woman from Semarang was still favoured by His Majesty, Ratu Kancana really tried to gain favour with her and gave her the lurik garment. No one in the kraton knew this. However, His Majesty's spy guessed that they had exchanged garments and said that they had already been well-acquainted for a long time. When the woman was paying her respects to His Majesty and happened to wear the lurik garment, His Majesty took what the spy had said as true, because clearly the garment was the sign. However, His Majesty did not want to speak out. Before long, Pangéran Mangkunagara submitted a request asking for a woman from his younger brother, His Majesty, naming the woman. His Majesty exploded with fury. Whenever he saw his elder brother, he felt an immense aversion, but since he kept in mind that his wife was pregnant, he tempered his anger. But it very much weighed on his mind and from holding his anger in he started looking ill. When Kyai Patih heard that His Majesty was very troubled because he was extremely angry at his brother, he wanted as much as possible to dispel his worries. He planned to get rid of Pangéran Mangkunagara, but fearing the censure of the realm, he came to use a piece of deceit. Kyai Patih then summoned Adipati Cakraningrat. When the latter had arrived, he told him to request and take the kris of the pangéran, when the next morning on Thursday they would be in the fortress. Radèn Natawijaya had already been instructed to make a cage. The next morning, the pangéran came to the fort. His servants were all chased away, while the pangéran was caught and locked up. His residence was seized and his children, servants and wives taken into the kraton. The capture of the Pangéran caused a disturbance in nature of rains mixed with whirlwinds, as if a mountain was caused to collapse, and the sounds in the sky were terrifying. The people of the realm were anxious, but none of the bupati could thwart His Majesty's wish, and the people of the realm were saddened.

1167. It is told that the woman who caused the anger was killed and that orders were given to exile the pangéran overseas. He was taken to Semarang escorted by two bupati, Radèn Natawijaya and the wadana Gedhong Radèn Tumenggung Nitinagara. Two concubines, three ladies in waiting, one child, four young servants and three older ones, and in the fourth place his patih, called Mas Sumawijaya, were sent along with him. On his arrival in Semarang, he was sent on to Batavia. On his arrival in Batavia, he was stopped, because the Company was troubled by the affair, and so they did not send him far away. They were worried that His Majesty might just have been carried away by his anger, and if in future the anger had subsided, he might want to ask for him again, so they did not want him to go far away, and kept him in Batavia.

1168. After Pangéran Arya's departure, the Ratu gave birth to a daughter on Friday Kliwon, the eleventh of the month of Sawal in the year Éhé. This coincided with the departure of Patih Danureja who was sent as envoy to Batavia, accompanied by the head

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of the scribes Kyai Tirtawiguna, the kliwon of Kudus Kyai Jayasantika, and the Tumenggung of Batang. This happened in the year 1653 [A.J.].

1169. Kyai Patih stayed in Semarang for seven days and then sailed to Batavia where four days later he arrived in the estuary and was greeted by the firing of salutes. The Governor General ordered Admiral Jakup Bèlem Pan Drèn to meet the envoys from Mataram, accompanied by Commissioner Patras, Major Fager, the head of the factory Hukman Onder, Major Simun, Captain Timah Tesir Jongkok, and Major Onder Diprus. They met Kyai Patih on his ship and showed him great respect. Then they brought him to his lodgings where he was offered food and drink, consisting of many fresh and cooked dishes. He was told to rest for three days, and that on the third day he would be summoned by the Governor General to Kota Inten,* the castle of Batavia. The letter from His Majesty the Sunan which he carried would be met with a yellow parasol, while he himself would be fetched by a carriage. On his arrival in the castle, he was met by the Governor General. They shook hands and he presented the letter, which after it had been read out, was saluted with cannon fire. The Governor General inquired after the health of His Majesty. He answered that His Majesty was in good health. The Governor General then inquired about the latest news of Ibrahim Wiranagara, and where he was now. The patih said that he was in Dhumpul and, moreover, that at the same time as his own trip to Batavia, His Majesty had sent the bupati of the eastern Mancanagara, and the Pasisir to attack Ibrahim. He would likely be caught because there were about ten bupati from the Mancanagara and four from the Pasisir. The patih was then invited to the office at the back where he presented the Governor General with two thousand reals and offered many assurances about the care he was taking of His Majesty, saying that if he were unfaithful or disloyal, he should not deserve to end well. The Governor General was surprised and said, "Why do you speak in this way? Since we have received you, you don't need to worry." The patih was then taken by the hand and let back to sit outside. After a while, he was sent back to his lodgings, and was told to return after another three days. After he left, the patih passed close by the place where Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara was and they were able to see each other. When the pangéran saw the patih, he felt as if his heart was pierced, and his tears flowed. Immediately it started to rain. The patih was rained on until he reached the door of his lodgings.

1170. It is told that in Kartasura on Monday the first of the month of Sapar still in the year Jimawal, the wadana were told to build the Great Mosque. This coincided with the dismissal of Tumenggung Mangunoneng, the bupati of Pathi, whose sin had been that he had killed some Chinese, and with the confiscation of the apanage of Jayawinata of Mataram, who was left with only one thousand bau, and also with the divorce of Pangéran Martasana from the younger sister of Ratu Kancana. She was told to enter the kraton and was then betrothed to Radèn Natawijaya to be married later when Kyai Patih

* See note p. 306.

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had returned. Radèn Ajeng Aminah, who was married to Rangga Kaliwungu, also divorced. She was presented to His Majesty and entered into the kraton.

1171. The story reverts to Batavia. Kyai Patih visited the Governor General three times in the council building. Present there were only the Governor General, the interpreter, and Director Ardiyan Fakenir, the junior council member. The Governor General asked Kyai Patih whether it was true that Pangéran Cakraningrat was going to be granted the domains of Pasuruhan, Prabalingga, and Bangil, and whether this had already been carried out. Kyai Patih answered that indeed His Majesty had such a wish before, but that until now, it had been put on hold for reasons unknown to him. The Governor General said again, "If Pangéran Cakraningrat were given the domains of Pasuruhan, Bangil, and Prabalingga, what would happen, and if not, what would be the problem?" Kyai Patih was told to think about what the real reason could be. Kyai Patih said, "The reason that it has not been granted, is probably because he is now the brother-in-law of His Majesty, and the reason why His Majesty has put it on hold, is that Pangéran Cakraningrat might become too proud if given an increase in men, and the other dipati would have to wait upon him." The Governor General snapped, "What kind of judgment is this? On the other hand, what is the situation now? Has Pangéran Cakraningrat already turned bad, made trouble, dared to oppose His Majesty, or obstructed orders?" Kyai Patih replied, "Not now, but who knows in future." The Governor General answered angrily because he did not consider it a good judgment, "You should assume what is normal. Unless it has already happened, no one knows what will turn out badly in future. Pangéran Cakraningrat now behaves well, but if he does not get those lands, he will inevitably feel offended, and if he were offended, he would inevitably cause a split in the realm." In the end, the advice of the Governor General was that if Kyai Patih agreed, the Company should take him under its wings, not leave him under the authority of the patih, and that this would probably work out well. Kyai Patih did not agree, because he was afraid to propose it to His Majesty. The Governor General said that as for His Majesty, the power rested with the patih. Since he was still young, he would inevitably follow Kyai Patih in everything. Kyai Patih said that for all the problems in the realm, he was responsible, but that he did not have the authority to give land away, that indeed His Majesty was now still young, but when he was longer on the throne and found out that his possessions, Pasuruhan, Prabalingga, and Bangil, had been given away, Kyai Patih would inevitably be punished and made a scapegoat, and his descendants would not be employed. Because for a Javanese king only two things customarily mattered, women and land. These might not be taken lightly, unlike possessions such as money or clothes, which might be taken lightly. The Governor General spoke again and asked whether Demang Urawan, Wiranagara, and Mangunnagara were doing well. Kyai Patih said that when he left, they were, indeed, doing well. The Governor General remarked that they had the authority to act on Kyai Patih's behalf if he was ill or indisposed, but that Kyai Patih was now in a very happy state because all his wishes were fulfilled. If there was news from the outside, he would know, but these

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inner bupati would not. And if there was news from the inside, he would know it sooner. Kyai Patih was shocked to hear these sharp words from the Governor General. He had not expected to hear such words, and he asked where this was coming from. The Governor General said that Kyai Patih was too grudging. One of his followers, called Nitinagara, had recently been elevated to wadana, a person not suitable; why should a person who was already serving the king, be made wadana, putting his colleagues in a difficult position? Kyai Patih was so shocked that he had difficulty in speaking, "Yes, but it was His Majesty who requested it and wanted to make him a wadana lebet. I do not have the authority to elevate bupati." The Governor General looked angry and did not speak for a long time. Then he said to the interpreter to tell Kyai Patih to return to his lodgings, and he indeed went back. On his arrival at his lodgings, Mr. Patras came. After they had been seated, the latter stated that he had been sent by the Governor General and Director Fakenir to discuss the costs of supporting Pangéran Mangkunagara, since he had already been in Batavia for a long time. Kyai Patih was asked to make a proposal. In reply, Kyai Patih told Mr. Patras to make a proposal himself about the amount, but that he would only pay once a year. Mr. Patras said three hundred reals, and that the Company was losing on that because it did not include the price of liquor and medicinal potions. Kyai Patih still tried to bargain, but did not succeed. Then he said that Pangéran Riya should preferably be sent overseas because he had already been in Batavia for a long time, and that this was also the intention of His Majesty's verbal instructions. Commissioner Patras replied that Kyai Patih should not make the mistake of asking for something that was not in the letter, as if it was an instruction from His Majesty, lest he get into trouble, because the Governor General believed that it was clearly Kyai Patih who had caused a breach among the santana and made a large number of mistakes, which would certainly increase the Governor General's anger towards Kyai Patih. Kyai Patih thanked Mr. Patras for his concern. After concluding their discussion, Mr. Patras took his leave. At that time, Kyai Patih was for a long time ignored by the Governor General. He was not sent away and he was not summoned. This greatly troubled him and he ordered his retinue to pray together, because he had incurred the wrath of the Governor General. He felt that he had been at fault when Pangéran Mangkunagara had enraged His Majesty. He had not done enough to firmly opppose it, but had actually stimulated His Majesty in his anger, like a small fire that will inevitably flare up when dry grass is thrown on it. The right thing would have been to have water at hand, but he had not, so it was Kyai Patih who had failed to protect His Majesty, by exiling a member of his family and causing a split in the realm, for while his guilt was still not certain, he had been considered guilty. In the case of kinsmen, one should show forgiveness. They should not be punished too severely, because that will inevitably cause divine retribution.

1172. Kyai Patih's stay in Batavia had already lasted thirteen months when His Lordship Governor General Matiyus da Ham passed away, which caused regret to all who heard it. His successor was Director Ardiyan Pakenir. At that time, Kyai Patih had already

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had a meeting with the newly installed Governor General. The Governor General sent a messenger to Semarang with many fine gifts. He next arrived in Kartasura. On his arrival a letter was presented to His Majesty. When the letter had been received and read, His Majesty was surprised. The Governor General had passed away, so the one who sent the letter was the newly installed one. As for His Majesty's envoy who was in Batavia, he would return as soon as His Majesty's reply had been received. His Majesty was very happy to learn the contents of the letter. When the reply was ready, it was dispatched.

1173. It is told that in Batavia Kyai Patih asked Governor General Pakenir what he should say about Pangéran Riya Mangkunagara's prolonged stay in Batavia if His Majesty asked him about it after his return. Governor General Pakenir replied that he should stay quiet and leave it alone. The Company would make a proposal. Kyai Patih then kept quiet. When the letter of reply from His Majesty had arrived in Batavia, Kyai Patih was told to return and leave on a Saturday. Kyai Patih was relieved and happy. He shook hands and asked permission to leave. On his return to his lodgings, he gave orders to his retinue that they should leave and return on Saturday. The letter from the Governor General Pakenir for His Majesty was received by Kyai Patih, and when everything was ready they left on Saturday by boat. Kyai Patih and his retinue were elated, as if they had just won a war. They reached Semarang, where the commander received him with great respect. Kyai Patih stayed only for three nights in Semarang, and then went to Kartasura. The whole capital was out and about. Kyai Patih went to pay his respects to His Majesty while weeping. He spoke a lot and His Majesty listened to him with pleasure. Then Kyai Patih presented the letter. After it had been read, Kyai Patih was allowed to go home. Not long afterwards, Captain Upagsa arrived, and he kept everyone busy. After a short while, he returned.

1174. With the return of Kyai Patih from Batavia, Kartasura became peaceful. Many bupati were given women in marriage. Radèn Tumenggung Natawijaya was given Radèn Ayu Salamah. They were wedded in the Kapatihan. In the same month, Den Ajeng Aminah was wedded to Arya Pringgalaya. Their wedding also took place in the compound of Patih Danureja. The year was the same year as when Kyai Patih Danureja returned from Batavia, 1654 [A.J.].

1175. Kyai Tumenggung Nitinagara was relieved of his post as bupati Gedhong Kiwa. His Majesty wished to replace him with Ngabèhi Tirtawiguna who was given the title Tumenggung Tirtawiguna. Demang Urawan passed away. His son, called Sutawijaya, did not succeed him as wadana. The king just wanted wanted to make him a subordinate bupati jawi, and together with Nitinagara he became a panèwu jawi. The Kaparak Tengen position of Demang Urawan was filled by Demang Candramenggala, an attendant of His Majesty who was given the title Tumenggung Candramenggala [actually, Candranagara, see below]. The position of wadana [Siti] Ageng was vacant. His Majesty wished to fill it with a second cousin of his, called Radèn Tirtakusuma. He was a grandson of Pangéran Arya Mataram, and a son of the latter's son Radèn Suryataruna. He

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went by the name Mas Surata. When his grandfather had been killed, he was taken into the kraton. Now His Majesty wished to make him a wadana, gave him the name Arya Mlayakusuma, and made him a colleague of Arya Pringgalaya. Then His Majesty sent his younger sister Radèn Ayu Sitisundari to Madura and gave her the name Ratu Maduretna. Her husband, the adipati of Sampang, was very pleased that his wife had been given the title of Ratu. The name of Pangéran Martasana was changed into Pangéran Arya Dipanagara. Pangéran Ngabèhi [Loringpasar] became the [left] wadana santana. Pangéran Dipanagara became his kliwon. Pangéran Buminata became the {right} wadana santana [with Pangéran Mangkubumi as his kliwon].* All the Pangéran received an increase in lands allotted from the remains of the estate of Arya [Mangkunagara]. Pangéran Ngabèhi [Loringpasar] received an increase of five hundred, Pangéran Buminata four hundred, Pangéran Mangkubumi one hundred, and Pangéran Dipanagara one hundred. It is told that at that time the realm of Kartasura was very prosperous. His Majesty still loved to perform dances with his bupati and mantri. The whole realm shared equally, enjoying prosperity. The Galaganjur gamelan sounded continuously. The santana, bupati and mantri all felt at ease. It was the year 1655 [A.J.]. His Majesty wanted to retire the bupati Kaparak, Kyai Tumenggung Candranagara. He became again a subordinate with an apanage of 150 [bau]. His Majesty wished to replace him as bupati Kaparak with his own brother-in-law, called Radèn Purwakusuma, who was given the title Radèn Demang Urawan.

1176. Her Highness Ratu Kancana gave birth again. It was a boy and this happened on Thursday the tenth of the month Jumadilakir in the year Dal. It made His Majesty very happy. The boy was given the name Radèn Mas Priyembada. Then the wife of Radèn Wiratmeja, called Radèn Ajeng Tajem, died. This happened at the same time that Radèn Demang Urawan was given Radèn Ajeng Inten in marriage. The wedding took place in the compound of Danureja and all the bupati were present in the Kapatihan. Then Radèn Ajeng Jumanten was given in marriage to Radèn Wiratmeja, so she married the widower of her elder sister. This happened at the same time as the death of Pangéran Dipasanta. Then the son of His Majesty, Radèn Mas Priyembada, died, causing great grief to his parents because he was a very handsome boy. His great-grandmother, the Ratu Pakubuwana, tried very hard to comfort His Majesty, wanting him to resign himself to the inevitable, for it was the will of God, because the length of one's life was predestined, as servants of the Lord one was not allowed to choose, and it was a sin to grieve over the loss of a child. His Majesty calmed down. Taking heart, His Majesty's love was all focused on his adopted son, Radèn Mas Umar, and he treated him with great respect. Then Radèn Mas Umar developed a fever all over his body and this greatly worried His Majesty. He quickly gave orders to search for a treatment. Everybody in the kraton moved nervously about, but his son's illness became worse and he died. His Majesty could not speak. After his son's body had been cleansed, he was buried according to custom. Because of his great grief, His Majesty did not wish to go out

* Text emended according to the Major Babad.

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and sit in state. He did not eat and did not sleep, because he was suffering from the loss of his adopted child.

1177. After the death of Radèn Mas Umar, His Majesty became fond of a servant of his son, called Mas Gerot, a son of Rangga Tanpulas. He was not allowed to leave His Majesty and stayed inside the kraton. At His Majesty's wish, he joined the group of the dwarf servants. At that time, His Majesty was still grieving. He did not want his female retainers to sit next to him, and even the queen was not allowed to come close. Only Radèn Ayu Gedhong was allowed to come before His Majesty, so she was continually running to and fro in confusion and fear. When Radèn Adipati Danureja heard it, he was very troubled, as His Majesty seemed senseless, he did not want to go out and sit in state, and inside the kraton his wife, the queen, was not allowed to approach him. Radèn Adipati Danureja then gathered the bupati. He informed them that at present His Majesty was grieving very much. He had not gone out to be paid homage because of the death of his son Radèn Mas Priyembada, and on top of that the death of Radèn Mas Umar. Therefore, His Majesty's state of mind was very frail. When the bupati heard this, they were troubled. Radèn Adipati Danureja then told Adipati Citrasoma, Jayaningrat, and Surabrata to think of a way. "What would happen if His Majesty just keeps acting like this and does not want to be close to his wife the queen? If it goes too far and he does not have a son with the queen, what will become of the realm? The kingship would be bereft of descendants. And moreover, what if His Majesty, who only wants to be with Bok Gedhong, would have intercourse with her and she should give birth to a male child? If he became king, the realm would be totally disturbed. Therefore, we should search for shamans who are deep into asceticism, whose prayers have been heard. Don't think about the costs in order to have them accept. So what is your advice, bupati, apart from this?" The bupati said that they approved and that the Islamic scholars or the faithful in the realm should also be asked for charms or prayers. When they had come to a conclusion, the bupati dispersed to search for charms. Before long, many magical charms poured in from the ascetics and Islamic scholars from the other domains. From shamans who followed extreme practices, who had meditated in caves for decennia, and who meditated on mountain tops, blessings and prayers poured in, so there was a great variety of charms to induce His Majesty to sleep with his wife, Ratu Kancana, again. As long as she was ignored by His Majesty, Her Highness the Queeen did not eat. Every day she only ate shavings of mango sweets. She was very sad, as her husband had something against her because of the death of their son. Every night, His Majesty wandered about the kraton peeping into the houses of the headmen, and stalking the places of his concubines. One night, the queen was still awake at two o'clock and wanted to read to calm her mind. Her female servants had already passed out and gone to sleep. She was reciting the Serat Maljunah which happened to be in the mijil metre. When heard from afar, her voice was barely audible, but from close by very clear. It was as if it was the will of God, and from the prayers of the ascetics, that His Majesty after lurking about the women's quarters was about to return

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to the kraton, when he entered the yard of his wife's house and heard the faint voice of a person singing and he went closer. He was accompanied by three servants, Mas Gerot and the dwarfs. His Majesty said, "Who is singing this, the mijil verse of the warrior prince who is carried away by his feelings? The pitch is proud but pathetic, the words pitiful and pleading for compassion. Is it Cébol? But I don't think so. Come on, dwarfs, take a look whether it is Cébol or not." After peeping in, the dwarfs said that it was his wife, Ratu Kancana, who was singing. His Majesty coughed. The queen was startled and closed the book. His Majesty entered and said, "Come on, my lady, finish your song at my place." Then he woke up one of the female servants and told her to carry the book. On their arrival in the Prabayeksa, he took her to bed, where His Majesty and his wife made love. After some time, the queen became pregnant, and this made the Radèn Adipati and all the bupati very happy. When she was eight months pregnant, their great-grandmother, Ratu Pakubuwana, passed away. This happened on a Saturday in the month of Rejep. The santana were summoned to the kraton to wash their grandmother's body. When this was finished, she was buried at Imagiri, escorted by Radèn Tumenggung Mangunnagara. After the body had left the kraton, Her Highness the queen gave birth to a boy in the month of Ruwah on Saturday Wagé the fourth of the wuku Mandhasiya. His Majesty was very happy and told his santana to fire the guns Kyai Kumbakinumbar, Kyai Pamecut, Kyai Subrastha, and the guns of the Dutch fortress. The noise was like a mountain collapsing. Royal messengers went back and forth to inform the santana and the Kapatihan. All the bupati were also informed. The whole realm rejoiced. It was still the same year Bé as the year of Her Highness Ratu Pakubuwana's death. It was the year 1656 [A.J.].

1178. The boy was given the name Radèn Mas Suryadi. He was rather immune to diseases. His Majesty had made a vow to make offerings at the great markets at Imagiri, Panitikan, and Girilaya. He went in the month of Besar after the end of the fasting month. All the grandchildren [of Ratu Pakubuwana] were taken along. After twenty days, he returned.

1179. It is told that there was an ascetic who told Ki Mataun that he predicted that in future there would be a santana in the realm of Kartasura who would be supernaturally powerful, outstanding in war, and able to replace the regime. The prediction even said that he would eventually be able to become king. When Ki Mataun was told this, just to be on the safe side, he took the man who predicted this, called Kyai Wangsawana, with him to the Kapatihan when he visited [Kartasura] on Garebeg [Mulud]. It happened to be night and they were found alone in the rear building. Radèn Adipati Danureja asked Ki Wangsawana what he was seeing, whether in the realm of Kartasura there would be a bupati or santana who would slip from his grip while he, Radèn Adipati Danureja, was still in power. He thought that even if the realm of Kartasura was filled with a hundred thousand wild buffaloes, as long as he was still around, they would not slip from his grip. Sèh Wangsawana said that if something was predestined and if its time had come, it could burst out by itself, even if it was buried seven layers under the ground.

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The Radèn Adipati then pushed him to name the santana who would become rebellious, so he might do something about it while it had not yet happened. Sèh Wangsawana said there were two santana, one called Radèn Mas Sujana, the other Radèn Mas Seksi [Said]. They would later startle the realm, be very difficult to oppose in war, and be able to cause a rupture in the course of events. While telling this, they were interrupted by the arrival of Bok Secawati who was sent by the Ratu Ageng [Amangkurat]. The Radèn Adipati quickly went to meet her. Ki Mataun and Ki Wangsawana still remained in the building. When meeting Bok Secawati, she whispered to Ki Patih that Her Highness the queen mother had dreamt a dream on the night before Friday last, in which she saw the moon moving from its place, yelled at by a crowd of people. The moon then floated down and was caught in a dhuku tree. Then, she saw Pangéran Mangkubumi arriving with a long bamboo pole. He got the moon down with the pole and it fell into his lap. He grabbed it and ate it, but having eaten half, he threw the rest away. The moon then returned to its place, while there were still many people shouting. Half of the moon returned, the other half having been eaten by Radèn Mas Sujana [Pangéran Mangkubumi]. The queen then woke up. When Ki Patih heard it, he was stunned and did not speak, feeling troubled in his mind. Bok Secawati saw it clearly and said that according to the queen, all odd behaviour was entrusted to Kyai Patih to deal with. Because she felt troubled in her mind, seeing that the one she had seen in her dream was Pangéran Mangkubumi, she wondered what the meaning was, and whether it would be better to do something about it while it had not yet happened. Ki Patih said that it was not yet allowed to talk about it, because it was a sin if it was acted on based on a dream. To punish an innocent man would incur punishment by God. Who would know the secrets of God in future. Therefore, Ki Patih answered that on his life and death she should tell the queen not to misinterpret her thoughts. Bok Secawati took leave. Ki Patih escorted her to the yard and urged her to ride a sedan chair. When finished, he returned to the rear building. On his arrival, he coughed. Sèh Wangsawana's face turned pale. Ki Patih asked whether he would still witness this course of events. Sèh Wangsawana told him, while hiding his fist behind his back, to guess what he was holding in his fist. Kyai Patih replied that he did not know. Sèh Wangsawana told him that he was holding a gadhung seed, and that in fact Ki Patih would not live to see the turbulent course of events. When Ki Patih heard this, he bowed his head and let his tears flow, but when he remembered that it was destiny, he calmed down. Sèh Wangsawana and Ki Mataun were asked to leave and return to their lodgings. Ki Mataun was repeatedly told that Ki Patih would join in supporting Sèh Wangsawana and that Ki Mataun should take Sèh Wangsawana with him every time he visited Kartasura for the celebration of the end of the Fasting Month. Sèh Wangsawana was given gifts, but he did not accept them. He only asked that if he had caused offence, he would be forgiven.

1180. It is told that Adipati Jayaningrat had died. He was succeeded by his eldest son and son-in-law [of Patih Danureja], called Jayanagara, who was then given the name Jaya-

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ningrat. He had a younger brother who was called Mas Kutha when small, but who was now bupati in Bahrawa with the name Jayakusuma. The latter was made bupati in Tegal with the title Tumenggung Tirtanata. He stayed in Tegal for only one year, because the local people had risen in rebellion against him. He then became a candidate official in Kartasura. A local person again became Tumenggung of Tegal. Mas Kutha Tirtanata became a candidate official under Tumenggung Wirajaya and Tumenggung Tirtawiguna. He promised them many rewards. Both bupati when sweetened by the rewards were willing to talk to His Majesty and introduce Tirtanata who was then made bupati in Pekalongan, from which one thousand households were detached for him, and was given the title Tumenggung Suradiningrat. His Majesty had disregarded state procedure by appointing a bupati without an order to the patih. This happened on a Thursday. Ki Patih learned about it the next Monday. He was extremely angry at those who had proposed it to His Majesty. It was as if his rage had been punctured and hissed out, because the customary state procedures had to be upheld. He forgot that he was taking care of a young king. In his mind, he put him on a par with his father and grandfather, who had been firm in their rule. Because of his great anger, he ordered Tumenggung Tirtanata to be stripped of his insignia as bupati. All the bupati who were on the Pagelaran were afraid and bowed their heads. Then orders were given to dismiss Suradiningrat. When His Majesty heard that Tumenggung Suradiningrat had been demoted by the patih, he became very angry. He summoned Tumenggung Tirtawiguna and Wirajaya and told them to prepare a letter to the Governor General in Batavia, saying that His Majesty had had enough of Ki Patih and therefore wished to entrust him to the Company. When the letter was ready, it was sent the next morning. As soon as both bupati had retired, his mother, the queen mother, came and asked her son, the king, what the fault of the patih had been. If possible, it should not be dragged on and on, because he had many good points and it was predestined that he would be the patih of the Javanese kingdom. His Majesty said, "Indeed, mother, if the patih is predestined to be the patih of the kings of Java, he should find another king, for if I am destined to be king, he had better leave the land of Java." The queen mother could not say anything and returned to her home.

1181. The letter reached Semarang and was received by the commander. One copy was sent on to Batavia. On its arrival it was presented to Governor General Ardiyan Fakenir in Batavia. When it had been read, he quickly summoned the Council of the Indies. When they had arrived, he let them know about the letter. After they had read it in turns, the twelve council members agreed to approve and follow the wish of His Majesty. Having come to a decision, the Right Honourable member Konyit was sent to apprehend the patih. He was not given any escort apart from his own servants, fifty Buginese slaves. He arrived in Semarang.

1182. The Radèn Adipati was sent to Semarang to receive from the Company, as was customary in every month of Sura, the money for buying rice from the people of the Pasisir. He left on Thursday the twelfth of the month of Sura in the year Jimakir. On his arrival

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in Semarang, he was arrested on the twenty-seventh by the Right Honorable Konyit. This unpleasantly surprised many people. The commander in Semarang had meanwhile sent a letter to Kartasura to report that Patih Danureja had been arrested by the Right Honorable Konyit. His Majesty then gave orders to seize everything in the Danureja compound. His wives and children were brought into the kraton. The Right Honorable Konyit sent a letter saying that he wanted to meet His Majesty and requested to be met in Semarang. His Majesty delegated three bupati, Kyai Tumenggung Wirajaya, Kartanagara, and Radèn Tumenggung Mlayakusuma. On arrival in Semarang they met the commander and the Right Honourable Konyit. After the Right Honourable Konyit had read His Majesty's letter, they set out from Semarang. His Majesty came to meet him in Banyudana. All his subjects in Kartasura turned up to escort him. His Majesty rode in a coach. His procession looked like a mountain of flowers. On arrival in Banyudana, he met with the Right Honorable envoy and they embraced. His Majesty then rode in the coach together with the Right Honourable envoy. Radèn Tumenggung Tirtawiguna was allowed to ride in the same coach, sitting at the feet of His Majesty. The commander sat in a coach together with Pangéran Ngabèhi. The head of the factory sat together with Pangéran Buminata. On their arrival on the Alun-alun, they were saluted by the firing of guns and the playing of the royal gamelan. Then they entered the kraton, where they were welcomed with great honor. The arrival of the Right Honorable envoy in Kartasura took place on Friday the eighteenth for the month Sapar in the year Jimakir, 1658 [A.J.]. After the letter [of the Governor General] had been presented and welcome gifts exchanged, the guns were fired in a salute of honour. The commander [and the envoy] then moved to the Company fortress. On Saturday, His Majesty appeared for the tournament. The Right Honourable envoy came to watch.

1183. After the removal of Kyai Patih Danureja, His Majesty chose to replace him with a kinsman, Radèn Tumenggung Natawijaya. On a Monday, His Majesty went out to sit in state. All the bupati were there, and also the Right Honourable envoy, the commander, and the captain were present to witness the elevation of Patih Radèn Tumenggung Natawijaya who was given the title Adipati Natakusuma. All the adipati, the Right Honourable envoy, and the commander attended. The elevation took place in the same month as the dismissal of the bupati of Tuban, Surabaya, and Kadhiri. All three were relatives of Kyai Patih Danureja. Those chosen to replace them in their function were local persons, called Ki Anggakatawengan, who was granted the title Tumenggung Katawengan in Kadhiri, in Tuban Tumenggung Suradiningrat, and in Surabaya Radèn Tumenggung Surèngrana.

1184. It is told that Patih Danureja who was still in custody in Semarang was at the request of His Majesty and the orders of the Governor General sent on to Batavia. There Commissioner Patras came to meet him and inform him of his mistakes. Ki Patih Danureja bowed his head and wept. In his heart he asked Pangéran Arya for forgiveness. Commissioner Patras then handed him one thousand reals as travel money from the Governor General, and the commissioner himself added seven hundred reals. As for the

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matter of his voyage, the Right Honourable Konyit had been ordered to ask for forgiveness for Ki Patih from His Majesty when his anger had subsided. If he did not succeed, the Right Honourable Konyit would bring the orders from His Majesty. Since he had already been in Kartasura for four months, he would probably arrive soon. Commissioner Patras then took his leave to return home.

1185. It is told that the Right Honourable Konyit and the commander returned from Kartasura. They were escorted by Radèn Tumenggung Pringgalaya, Mangunnagara, Mangkuyuda, and the bupati of the Pasisir. They left on Friday the fifth of the month of Jumadilakir, still in the same year as they had arrived. When they reached Semarang, their escort returned. The Right Honourable Konyit then gave orders to the commander in Semarang that on the request of His Majesty Ki Patih Danureja should be taken to Ceylon.

1186. We return to the story of Pangéran Arya. His stay in Batavia had lasted seven years and he had even begotten a son. When the ship carrying him was on its way for a month, it was becalmed at sea. The ship that carried Ki Patih Danureja had been sailing so fast that its mast broke off. By God's will it became a retribution for his deeds, as the ship carrying Ki Patih at seven o'clock in the morning collided with the ship carrying Pangéran Arya. The fast ship was wrecked. The people on board kept shouting for help. The captain of the ship and Pangéran Arya came out to help and put out a boat. Grabbing at it, they climbed into the boat. When Pangéran Arya saw Ki Patih, he was astonished that the latter had met misfortune like he himself. Ki Patih quickly kissed his feet while weeping. Pangéran Arya asked him what his fault had been for him to have ended up like this. Answering in gasps, he asked Pangéran Arya for forgiveness because he felt that he was being repaid for having caused grief to Pangéran Arya. When the captain of the ship heard that it was Ki Patih who had caused Pangéran Arya harm, he was deeply impressed. Ki Patih thus joined Pangéran Arya on the same ship because his ship had broken into pieces. Then they sailed. The whole way the Company crew enjoyed themselves playing cards. Pangéran Arya, his son, and Ki Patih at night went up onto the deck of the ship. There Ki Patih told them that after he had left, the land of Java would likely find itself in a very worrying state, because according to an ascetic versed in astrology Radèn Mas Said would in future be strong enough to be king and would be very difficult to oppose in war. After Radèn Mas Said had died, food would become scarce in Java. If it was not supplemented by food from overseas, the Javanese would not be able to eat. Moreover, Radèn Mas Sujana also appeared in the prophecy like Radèn Mas Said. Pangéran Arya listened to this and smiled in his heart. The ship reached Ceylon, where they were settled in their respective abodes.

1187. It is told that Radèn Adipati Natakusuma was sent to Batavia, accompanied by Tumenggung Tirtawiguna, Suralaya, and Arya Kudus. On his arrival in Batavia, he was treated with great honour and shown great esteem because he was a kinsman of His Majesty. On his return from Batavia, His Majesty's wife gave birth to a daughter. This happened on Saturday Wagé, the 26th of the month of Jumadilakir and still in the year

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Jimakir, 1658 [A.J.], and the wuku Mandhasiya. She was given the name Radèn Ayu Kadhaton. Furthermore, at that time, Radèn Martakusuma, the head of the kraton, was sent away, having angered His Majesty. He was placed in the forest of Majenang. His wife and accomplice, called Rengganis, was killed in Magetan.

1188. It is told that after a year, Patih Natakusuma was again sent to Batavia to fetch the children of the exiled Sunan Mangkurat Mas, and with the intention of bringing back to Java all the pusaka, the pikes, krisses, a tunic, and a small gong, that Sunan Mangkurat Mas had taken to Ceylon. He left on Monday the eighth of the month of Rabingulakir in the year Alip, accompanied by Tumenggung Tirtawiguna, Ki Arya Kudus, and Suralaya of Brebes. On his arrival in Batavia, the Governor General sent a messenger to Ceylon to summon the kinsfolk of Mangkurat, namely Pangéran Mangkunagara, Pangéran Mangkuningrat, Radèn Jayakusuma, and Pangéran Emas, together with wives, children, servants high and low, a total of two-hundred persons. They arrived in Batavia and met Ki Patih. They were all very happy, like people raised from the dead. When the patih had finished his deliberations [with the Company], he took his leave, taking all the pangéran from Ceylon with him. On his arrival in Semarang, he sent a messenger to Kartasura to inform His Majesty. His Majesty was very happy and gave orders to meet them. Tumenggung Mangunnagara and Mangkuyuda went, having been ordered to take along horses, bearers, and sedan chairs. On their arrival in Semarang, Ki Patih set out. Arriving in Kartasura, they went to the Kapatihan. The next morning, the pangéran were all brought to the kraton to pay their respects. When arriving at the place of audience, they were astonished to see that people wearing their ceremonial batik garment had folded its train. They asked the patih why the people now folded the train of their ceremonial batik garment. The patih answered, "Indeed, boys, His Majesty wants it this way." Then a palace official summoned them and they were led by the patih to the kraton. Coming before His Majesty, they shook hands with His Majesty. As long as his elder brothers were there, His Majesty did not wish to sit on the throne. Then the kinsmen were told to enter. They were told to pay their respects to the newly arrived by kissing their knee, so that all would live in peace and harmony. This took place in the year 1661 [A.J.]. After their return from the kraton to the Kapatihan, they were placed in the house of Ki Secapati. Ki Secapati was evicted from his house. On Wednesday, all the pusaka were presented to His Majesty. When the Pangéran had been in the Kapatihan for quite some time, they were moved to the Jayaningrat compound because it was spacious and beautiful. At the wish of His Majesty, the names of his elder brothers were changed. The eldest, Pangéran Mangkunagara, was given the name Pangéran Wiramenggala; Pangéran Mangkuningrat was given the name Pangéran Tepasana. Those born in Ceylon, Radèn Jayakusuma and the youngest, Pangéran Emas, kept their names. Then Her Highness Ratu Kancana became jealous because her brother had only the title Radèn Demang Urawan. He was then given the title Pangéran Purbaya. Pangéran Wiramenggala was simply demoted and actually given only two hundred bau. Because Pangéran Tepasana was hard-working, he was given twelve

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hundred bau, Radèn Jayakusuma, four hundred, and Pangéran Emas one hundred. Only Pangéran Tepasana was allowed to be escorted with a ceremonial umbrella, and was given a wife, the widow of Pangéran Buminata, called Radèn Ayu Tembelèk, a daughter of Sultan Blitar. Pangéran Tepasana was very close with His Majesty and never failed to pay his respects. The one most favoured by His Majesty, who was not allowed to leave his side, was his brother-in-law Pangéran Purbaya. Because he knew how to serve, whatever he said was accepted. However, the people of the realm were all shivering with fear, because Pangéran Purbaya was by nature very quick-tempered. If someone was inadvertently forgetful, or unknowingly made a small mistake, he would be treated harshly face to face, but appropriately. He knew everything. The bupati of the Pasisir, when they came to pay homage at Garebeg [Mulud], all felt lifeless, and Ki Patih was powerless. Pangéran Purbaya then created a group of forty secret agents, called Satrutapa. He chose men who were big and tall, and men who were small but sturdy and good-looking, whom he presented to His Majesty. Many bupati and mantri were dismissed or replaced, but even servants, if they looked good and were diligent, were promoted and given large apanages. His Majesty just agreed to everything Pangéran Purbaya said. After some time, a messenger arrived from Batavia presenting the body of Pangéran Ngabèhi Loringpasar who was [exiled] to the Cape [of Good Hope] together with Pangéran Érucakra. He also presented his wife and two sons who had been left behind. The elder was called Radèn Mas Gunung, and the other Radèn Mas Guntur. Both were consigned to the Kapatihan.

1189. It is told that Pangéran Tepasana had five children, two sons and three daughters. The eldest was called Radèn Wiratmeja. His Majesty wanted to take him as son-in-law and marry him to his daughter called Ratu Alit, but since she was not yet of age, this had to wait. A younger sister of Radèn Wiratmeja was called Radèn Ajeng Banowati. When still in Ceylon, she had been given in marriage to a son of Kyai Wirakabluk, called Anggakusuma, but since he was ugly, it took a long time before they got along. The reason that a son of Kyai Wirakabluk was given a daughter in marriage, was because he was a longstanding servant in the Kapatihan and had shared in all the suffering. Kyai Wirakabluk originated from the village of Ruki to the south of Katipes. When Radèn Ajeng Banowati was still in Ceylon, she had given birth to one child from Radèn Anggakusuma. Now she was in Kartasura and there was a young mantri servant from Batang called Puspadirja, a younger relative of the Tumenggung of Batang. He was sent by His Majesty to bring some gifts to Pangéran Tepasana. Radèn Ajeng Banowati happened to be facing her father. Puspadirja, because he was sent by the king, stared at Radèn Ajeng Banowati without respect. Afterwards, he often went to the Tepasana residence, pretending that he had been sent by his elder brother, the Tumenggung of Batang, to bring presents. So he got intimate with Radèn Ajeng Banowati. Since her husband was ill-looking and of common origin, she became fond of Puspadirja and eventually divorced her husband. Pangéran Tepasana agreed because Puspadirja was handsome and the son of a bupati. When the required period for remarrying was fin-

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ished, they were married. Anggakusuma's feelings were very much hurt. He went to practice asceticism at the Southern Ocean and prayed that Puspadirja would not be the right match for Radèn Ajeng Banowati and that they would meet bad luck wherever they went. The younger sister of Radèn Ajeng Banowati, called Radèn Ajeng Sumilah was going to be taken as a wife by His Majesty, but this did not go ahead. She was then married to Pangéran Buminata. Her younger brother, called Radèn Mas Garendi was predicted later to become king in Java, but only for a short time, and for that reason His Majesty was suspicious of him. The other relatives of Pangéran Tepasana from Ceylon did not have children, only Radèn Jayakusuma had one son called Radèn Mas Surada. Pangéran Wiramenggala had no children, and just adopted a nephew.

1190. It is told that Radèn Tumenggung Suranata, the bupati in one half of Demak, passed away. His wife, Radèn Ajeng Umik, did not have children yet. At His Majesty's wish Radèn Martakusuma, who was kept in Majenang, was freed, married to Radèn Ajeng Umik and made bupati in Demak with the title Tumenggung Sujanapura. At that time, the realm of Kartasura was very prosperous, surpassing the reigns of his father and grandfather. At that time, Pangéran Purbaya was the one who served as the tiger in the realm, because he was feared by everyone in the land, having basically been given all the powers of a patih lebet. So the people of the realm, and of the Mancanagara, and the Pasisir all feared him. Ki Patih Natakusuma was not much more than just his assistant. All business in the realm just followed the wishes of Pangéran Purbaya.

1191. It is told that the Company's kraton guard, whose barracks had been on the Sitinggil since the time of Sunan Pakubuwana and were still there under the present Sunan, were going to be moved to the south of the Sitinggil at the wishes of Pangéran Purbaya. The bupati and the patih did not dare to criticize this and just shook their heads. But they now had a reason to work together and planned to inform the Company. However, they were still afraid of Ratu Kancana if they should carry this out.

1192. Ratu Kancana gave birth again to a baby girl, but she died. Before long she became pregnant again, but it was a pregnancy full of misery. Since she was continually sick during her pregnancy, His Majesty became very worried, so much so that the people in the whole realm were not allowed to play the gamelan. The bupati scrambled to find healers. Many ascetics, Islamic scholars, and pious men were brought in and asked to give prayers so that the pregnancy would quickly result in a birth and not cause concern. Because of the many healers, male and female, who gave her medicines, she gave birth to a son, but he died. The illness of the queen became worse and at times she lost consciousness. All the medicines had no effect. His Majesty was very worried. Pangéran Purbaya stayed in the kraton all the time and sat day and night in front of her. When His Majesty was distracted, the queen said to Pangéran Purbaya, "Brother, when I have passed away, you just resign, do not continue your work." Pangéran Purabaya did not answer, but just bowed his head and wept. They were interrupted by the return of His Majesty, who asked how she was doing. Pangéran Purbaya answered while wiping his tears that she was very ill, but that she had slightly improved because she was often

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talking. After a while, the illness became worse, and none of the medicines had any effect, as if it was already destined that Ratu Kancana should die. This happened on Monday Legi on the 21st of the month of Besar in the year Jé 1663 [A.J.]. Loud was the sound of wailing inside the kraton. The kinsmen vied with each other in taking care of the three children left behind by the queen, two girls and one boy; all wept for them. His Majesty was stricken with grief and could not speak. The body was then cleansed and when ready was transported to Mataram at sunset. It was raining heavily mixed with squalls. Three wadana jawi accompanied the body, Tumenggung Jayasudirga, Tumenggung Mangkuyuda, and Tumenggung Natayuda, and the wadana lebet Tumenggung Mangunnagara. They had all turned out for duty with their guards, as well as the mantri of Mataram, and both patih of the estates of Pangéran Ngabèhi and Pangéran Buminata.

1193. It is told that after the death of his wife, for a long time His Majesty felt troubled and did not go out to sit in state. After seven months, His Majesty remembered that he was the caliph, and he went out to sit in state and to watch tournaments. This made all the people in the realm happy, because it meant that His Majesty had found peace of mind. However, there was still something missing, for His Majesty did not have an official wife to be called queen. Of course, he still had an official wife, the daughter of his uncle Panembahan Érucakra, called Radèn Ayu Kusuma, but he did not like her, and so all the bupati were very concerned.

1194. It is told that Mangunoneng, after having been dismissed in Pathi, had been made chief in the Siti Ageng. He was summoned by Pangéran Purbaya and told to find a woman who was suitable to be made an official wife by His Majesty. It would be fine if he could get one with a good pedigree. But even without a pedigree, someone of outstanding beauty would do, if there was one in the Pasisir. Mangunoneng said there was a woman of outstanding beauty, distantly related to him in Pathi. She was a granddaughter of Radèn Singasari of Giri, called Radèn Ayu Taman. However, she was already married to a relative of the Ngabèhi of Terbaya. Pangéran Purbaya said that even though she was married, he should aim to get her and told him to kill the husband. Even if Pangéran Purbaya should offer a childless widow to His Majesty, the latter would accept her, provided she was suitable to be elevated to the rank of queen. Mangunoneng was then given two hundred reals as expenses for killing the husband of Radèn Ayu Taman. It would be good if Mangunoneng could kill him himself. If he could accomplish it, he would be granted a position of bupati in Jepara. Mangunoneng then left for the Pasisir, but he did not want to do it himself. He just paid one hundred reals to some criminals, and this became known. When Adipati Citrasoma in Jepara heard this, he became very nervous, because if Mangunoneng succeeded, it would inevitably leave his children and grandchildren paupers. So he organized a secret competition. Whoever was willing and able to kill Radèn Ayu Taman, would be paid five hundred reals. A criminal in Jepara was eager and willing to kill her. He set off to murder her. When he arrived in Terbaya, it was about the time for the evening prayers.

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Radèn Ayu Taman happened to be on her way to the kitchen and was stabbed to death. Pangéran Purbaya heard that Radèn Ayu Taman had been murdered and not her husband. He thought that Mangunoneng had failed and not been sufficiently secretive in his actions. He summoned him, dismissed him from his position as panèwu, and he became a pariah in the land.

1195. It is told that the people of the Pasisir at that time feared and detested Pangéran Purbaya, because there was a man in Tuban, called Dipasana, an apprentice official with Pangéran Purbaya, who had been persuaded to make a raid on Adipati Suradiningrat of Tuban, in order to create an upheaval in Tuban. Adipati Suradiningrat learned that it was Dipasana who was working to create an upheaval and he laid a trap. When they were carrying out their raid, Dipasana and his men were caught, taken to Kartasura and handed over to the patih. Adipati Citrasoma and Adipati Jayaningrat visited the Kapatihan and reported on the many disturbances in the Pasisir. As a result, the patih agreed with the bupati that he should inform the Company that Pangéran Purbaya was creating trouble in the land of Java. The first items would be that the Company guard on the Sitinggil had been removed without any discussion with the patih or the bupati, and that Pangéran Purbaya kept a troop of secret police, the Satrutapa, who often caused trouble. When the Company had been informed, it kept quiet about its intentions.

1196. It is told that the patih reported to His Majesty that there were many disturbances in the domain of Tuban and that he had received a letter from the commander in Semarang that Pangéran Purbaya had let loose a scoundrel by the name of Dipasana and incited him to create trouble in the Pasisir and the Mancanagara. If His Majesty agreed, Dipasana should be demanded from Pangéran Purbaya and be made to fight a tiger. His Majesty followed the advice of the patih and demanded Dipasana. Pangéran Purbaya was taken aback that His Majesty sent a messenger himself, and not someone from the Kapatihan, to demand Dipasana and his followers. When on Monday His Majesty went out to sit in state, Dipasana and his seven followers were made to fight tigers, but since all had been equipped by Pangéran Purbaya with krisses that had not been filed down, the seven tigers were quickly killed.

1197. It is told that Pangéran Purbaya felt troubled. At night, he kept vigils outside. He only wanted to confer with his patih Sumawicitra, Candrawilasita, and his master of horse Mas Gandakusuma, the son of Tumenggung Yudanagara of Banyumas, and Ki Sutayuda. He asked them about his situation, "From His Majesty's point of view, what would be the choice? For nothing right can be done with the Javanese people. If they are punished for their faults, they get the wrong idea and even want to repay it by behaving badly. It seems to be the will of God." Ki Sutayuda said to Pangéran Purbaya, "Now the story is going around widely that Pangéran Purbaya is making the people of the whole land miserable. Now the skin is bruised, but tomorrow the bruises will increase, and soon it will be inevitable that the skin is broken." When Pangéran Purbaya heard the words of Ki Sutayuda, he laughed and said, "Yes, that will raise my status." He did not sleep the whole night. In the morning, Radèn Mas Said came. Pangéran

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Purbaya told him to come closer and squat in front of him. After having looked him over, studied him, and observed his lips, he said while laughing that this one would in future be a leader in war who could hold his own against anyone in war. The servants who were present all looked at Radèn Mas Said and whispered to each other that this prediction was probably because he emitted a bright light. At that moment Pangéran Purbaya felt as if he was dreaming, that he had joined his family members in Ceylon, and forgotten that he was faced by his troops. When he came to himself, he was shedding tears and they all broke up. Radèn Mas Said went to the palace. The three brothers were pitiful because whenever there was a festivity they were grouped with the attendants and not counted as sons.

1198. It is told that the husband of Dèn Ayu Taman had already heard that the matter of his wife's death originated from Pangéran Purbaya. He quickly left for the mountains to practice asceticism and learn the magic formula to make himself invisible. He was not willing to return home before his heirloom kris, Ki Kasar, had been thrust into Pangéran Purbaya. His children and family members tried to restrain him, but he did not allow it. He insisted on leaving to practice asceticism.

1199. It is told that Tumenggung Kandhuruwan had died from wasting away because at a Monday audience he had been cursed by Pangéran Purbaya and his horse had been stabbed to death at the place of audience. He was replaced as wadana Sèwu by a nephew of Ki Wiraguna, called Garwakandha. From that moment on, the people in the capital were very confused. Then someone who was trying to manipulate the situation informed Batavia. The Governor General sent a letter to His Majesty asking what he was going to do about Pangéran Purbaya. If His Majesty still wanted to keep Pangéran Purbaya close, it would inevitably ruin the realm. Even so, the Company would leave it up to His Majesty. But if indeed the realm was ruined, the Company would not get involved, as it was according to the wishes of His Majesty himself. When His Majesty read the letter, he felt miserable, because it was very hard for him to let go of his love for Pangéran Purbaya. In the end, he resigned himself to the inevitable, because he let himself be guided by his mother the queen. A reply was made to the the letter, saying that he would take some time to consult first, but that later on it would probably be carried out.

1200. Pangéran Purbaya was summoned and entered the palace in secret. He met with His Majesty alone in his residence and was told that the Company was demanding his extradition, and that if His Majesty refused to hand him over, it would be hard to maintain this because the Governor General would certainly get angry. So it was His Majesty's wish that Pangéran Purbaya should vanish from sight in the capital and leave for Tegalarum [Sekararum]. Although outwardly it would be made known that he had been banished and all his possessions seemingly seized by His Majesty, he would be given the resources to rise in rebellion. Outwardly he would be considered an enemy, inwardly he would have His Majesty's blessing. It would be like his grandfather Sunan Mangkurat and Surapati. When Pangéran Purbaya was told this, he was in tears and

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said, "There is little chance that this could be done. I don't think we can ward off the bullets of the Company. It is different from your late uncles because they had many loyal troops. But even at the time of Sultan Blitar and Panembahan Purbaya, they still could not withstand the bullets of the Company, how much less would it be possible now." His Majesty said that now it would be different from former days because now he would obtain His Majesty's permission. Therefore, if Pangéran Purbaya was able to start a war, His Majesty would meet all the costs. After Pangéran Purbaya had said that he would do it, he was told to leave. His Majesty then summoned the patih and Tumenggung Tirtawiguna. When they had presented themselves, they were told to say how the Governor General's demand for the extradition of Pangéran Purbaya could best be handled, so that it would be done without accident. The patih said that he left it up to the wish of His Majesty and passed on to Tumenggung Tirtawiguna the question of what the advice should be. His Majesty then asked Tumenggung Tirtawiguna what his recommendation was. Tumenggung Tirtawiguna made a sembah and said, "Suppose that by sparing the mouse deer, you will inevitably lose the elephant, or a trickle becomes a waterfall, so the problem will become more difficult and serious later on. Since the Dutch think that Pangéran Purbaya is oppressing the realm, Your Majesty's realm will inevitably break apart." When His Majesty heard these words, he felt dazed and very distressed. The patih added, "There is not a bit of good in this. If we do it, it will be bad, and if Pangéran Purbaya ends up being separated from the realm, I will be at a loss when pestered by his wives and children." Tumenggung Tirtawiguna said, "Patih, besides, if you hold on to him, it would be like saving your little toe and losing both your legs." His Majesty said, "Patih, Tirtawiguna is right. We can only resign ourselves to the inevitable. We throw away a small part of what we hold dear, but save a lot." The patih made a sembah and said that he would do as told. Then both were told to leave.

1201. His Majesty quickly summoned Wirajaya and dispatched him to convey his anger to Pangéran Purbaya, saying that Pangéran Purbaya was demoted from his position as Kaparak Tengen, expelled and not allowed to stay in the capital. He was given a place to stay in the village of Sekararum because that was a tax-free village of his late father Panembahan Purbaya. It was situated at the southern foot of Mount Merapi and consisted of seventy-five households, but well endowed with people. At that time the Purbaya compound was in turmoil. They all departed for Sekararum. By order of His Majesty they were accompanied by the kliwon Radèn Ngabèhi Wirataruna and Asmarandana. He was not allowed to bring many servants, but was limited to six manservants. The journey was pitiful. On his arrival, he moved into a house to the north of the mosque of Sekararum. He performed his religious obligations and not even once thought about the last instructions of His Majesty. He was only thinking of the glory of death. That is why every night he slept out in the open. After the escort had returned, many came to visit Pangéran Purbaya who had been renamed Radèn Purwakusuma, such as Ki Sutayuda, Ki Mega, Mas Konthing, Gandakusuma, and Jayasamudra. They

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incited Radèn Purwakusuma and told him to raise an army because the people in Banyumas, Mataram, and the Mancanagara wanted to sacrifice their lives and oppose the people of Kartasura who were all evil. However, Pangéran Purbaya said that he did not want to cause the world any trouble and was afraid to commit a sinful act, as it was already predestined by the will of God that within less than three or four years Java would incur the wrath of God because the signs were already visible and the splitting of the realm could not be avoided.

1202. It is told furthermore that in Kartasura at His Majesty's wish Radèn Tumenggung Natayuda replaced Pangéran Purbaya as Kaparak Tengen, combining this with his function as head of the jaksa. As for Radèn Tumenggung Natayuda's position as bupati Bumija, it was His Majesty's wish that it be filled by a brother-german of Ki Tumenggung Mangkuyuda, called Mangkukusuma. He was given the name Radèn Tumenggung Mangkupraja and was given a wife.

1203. It is told that in Batavia, after receiving the messengers from Jayaningrat and Citrasoma who had been sent by order of the patih, the Company sent a letter to Kartasura. The letter said that the Governor General and the Council of the Indies had heard that Pangéran Purbaya was living in a large village called Sekararum, that they thought that this was not advisable, and that they were afraid that he might cause trouble like his father Panembahan Purbaya, who had cost the Company a lot of bullets. When His Majesty received the letter, he was alarmed and quickly dispatched Ki Jayasanta. His younger brother Pangéran Purbaya was ordered to move to Kademèn, a small, empty, and unimportant village located at the foot of a mountain.

1204. It is told that in the Kapatihan a gathering was held that night together with Jayaningrat, Citrasoma, and the bupati of the Pasisir to discuss the situation. From the bupati who lived in dread of Pangéran Purbaya money was collected to an amount of ten thousand reals and sent to Batavia requesting the banishment of Pangéran Purbaya from Java, because if he was still to be seen and heard, His Majesty would keep harking back to him and inevitably ask the Governor General to forgive him. Eventually, the people of Java would definitely be ruined and many bupati would run away out of fear. After it had been delivered in Batavia, the Governor General sent a letter to Kartasura to His Majesty, saying that he was concerned because His Majesty's son happened to be sick. The illness had started at the same time as when Pangéran Purbaya had departed for Sekararum. When he was moved to Kademèn, His Majesty's son had recovered. His Majesty informed Radèn Purwakusuma in Kademèn that his son had recovered and was raised in rank with the title of Radèn Adipati Anom, which pleased Radèn Purwakusuma and his wife. His Majesty then wished to fulfill the vow made when his son was ill to make a pilgrimage to the market of Kapanasan. When he had made the pilgrimage to fulfill his vow, he sent Radèn Singasari to summon Radèn Purwakusuma in Kademèn. On his arrival in Kartasura, he was not allowed to meet His Majesty, but was taken to the Company fort together with his wife. As for his servants and patih Sumawicitra, and Candrawilasita, they were taken to the Kapatihan. After

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about three days, Pangéran Purbaya was sent off to Ceylon. Only his wife and his daughter Radèn Ajeng Akik went with him. Another daughter, Radèn Ajeng Ijo, was left behind. It was very pitiful. His departure took place on the twenty-seventh of the month of Jumadilakir in the year Dal, 1664 [A.J.]. It was the same year as the misfortune befalling Mas Pangulu when he was banished together with his wife to Ayah because his son had slipped into the women's quarters of the palace and been caught. He was put to death to the east of the Sitinggil. The departure of Mas Pangulu happened on a Sunday morning and brought about a disturbance in nature, with Mount Merapi rumbling and flaring. The sound was terrifying. It lasted for seven days before subsiding. At His Majesty's wish, the ketib anom replaced the pangulu.

//. His Majesty again fulfilled a vow. He had vowed to make a pilgrimage to the market of Kapanasan if his son Pangéran Adipati Anom recovered from his illness. After he had fulfilled that vow, he now wished to go to Mataram, feeling obliged to pay his respects to his ancestors at Imagiri, Pasar Gedhé, Panitikan, and Girilaya. He departed at once. All his servants gathered to escort him. Only his mother remained in the palace. Only two bupati and the patih watched over the state. The departure of His Majesty was accompanied by the firing of the guns on the Pagelaran and the Company fort in his honour. This happened on Wednesday the eleventh of the month of Jumadilakir, 1664 [A.J.]. The journey took four nights on the road to arrive in Garjitawati, and again four nights to arrive in Yogya.

1205. It is told that at that time Pangéran Tepasana was very worried because of the intentions of his elder brother, Pangéran Wiramenggala. At the time of His Majesty's departure from the capital, he was told to accompany His Majesty, but did not wish to. And now while His Majesty was in Yogya just one night, a messenger from Kyai Jimat, the cemetery caretaker, informed Pangéran Tepasana that his elder brother Pangéran Wiramenggala had come to Imagiri and had already stayed at his house for three nights, insisting to go up to the cemetery to pay his respects ahead of His Majesty. The cemetery caretaker Kyai Jimat was unwilling to unlock the gate because he was afraid to allow His Majesty to be preempted. Pangéran Wiramenggala had become angry and persistently demanded that the gate be opened. However, the cemetery caretaker was immovable and did not yield. Things reached the stage that the people of Imagiri gathered their weapons and, if forced, were prepared to put up resistance. When Pangéran Tepasana heard the information from the messenger, he was much dismayed, for his elder brother was causing trouble with his ill-advised intentions. He sent Setrawijaya and told him to ask his elder brother Pangéran Wiramenggala why of all things, when they were still in the capital and he was told to accompany His Majesty, he did not want to, but in the end went ahead intending to preempt His Majesty. Moreover, in coming to Imagiri with an armed band, was he intending to dare to break down the authority of the king? If His Majesty were told, Pangéran Tepasana would inevitably be sent to check what his brother was up to. Therefore, his older brother was told to leave the house of Kyai Jimat that very day. If he did not want to leave, His Majesty

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would inevitably be angry, and his younger brother would without fail be sent to convey His Majesty's anger and bring a large number of troops. When Pangéran Wiramenggala was told this, he became very afraid and scared. He left with his thirteen servants and, making his way through the villages, arrived in Kartasura.

1206. When His Majesty had been in Garjitawati for five nights, he wanted to go and pay his respects to his revered ancestors and honour them with ritual meals and Quran recitations. After that, he wanted to enjoy himself by fencing off an area for hunting wild animals. He entered the fenced area riding in a coach. He wanted all his bupati and mantri to fight a wild buffalo in turns while riding a horse. However, the officials of the patih were not capable and many came to grief. Many panèket officials of the Kaparak corps from the court, however, dared and fought ably. When at close quarters, they threw their spears away, quickly drew their swords, slashed and stabbed the wild buffalo until it collapsed. The religious officials quickly advanced to slaughter the wild buffalo and offer it to His Majesty. Those who were able to kill a wild buffalo were presented with money or clothes. The panèket officials of the Kaparak corps were proud and happy. Then it was the turn of the bupati. The bupati of Sèwu, Ki Tumenggung Garwakandha, started off. He moved forward on his horse, brandishing his spear. When they were beating up the game, a calf jumped out and charged at Ki Tumenggung Garwakandha who was taken by surprise and ran away, dropping his spear. He was jeered at by the crowd. Ki Tumenggung Garwakandha was out of breath from running. When His Majesty saw it, he became very angry, suspended him from his position as wadana, and let it be known that Ki Garwakandha had committed a sin because of a calf. Now his kliwon, Ngabèhi Cakrajaya, a son of Danureja, moved forward on his horse, brandishing his spear. The wild buffalo had already been driven up by the game keepers. It moved toward the centre. The crowd cheered with a noisy clamour while saying, "That one will certainly fail. How can a kliwon stand up to a wild buffalo if his tumenggung already runs away from just a calf." Ngabèhi Cakrajaya was already engaging the wild buffalo. Because of the nimbleness of the horse and the skill of its rider, the wild buffalo was spun around and then speared in his left flank. His Majesty enjoyed watching it. The cheering went wild. The wild buffalo still had fight left in him. His Majesty gave orders to help him. The panèket official of the Kaparak corps Ki Ékawangsa and the panèket official of the Gedhong corps Ki Martabaya stepped forward and the wild buffalo was attacked by the three of them. It whirled around attacking them wildly. They circled around and attacked furiously, charging, pouncing to the left, the rear and the side, and charging again. Ki Ékawangsa met the attack but his horse was butted into the air by the buffalo. Ki Ékawangsa quickly threw his spear away and drew his dagger. He was cheered on by the crowd. They called, "That one is going to get killed. Who is strong enough to withstand a wounded buffalo"? Ki Ekawangsa quickly stabbed the buffalo in his left knee. His comrade came to help and Ngabèhi Cakrajaya also threw away his spear, drew his sword and slashed the buffalo's hind legs. The buffalo jumped and threw Ékawangsa into the air. He and his horse were

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thrown away but did not fall. His Majesty greatly enjoyed it. During that time, his servants were able to match the buffalo cleverly. The three of them slashed the buffalo with their swords. The buffalo collapsed in a heap and died, which pleased the crowd. Both panèket servants were richly rewarded. Ngabèhi Cakrajaya was promised that he would be made bupati when His Majesty had returned home.

1207. It is told that while His Majesty was in Mataram, every day he was enjoying himself and feasting. The retainers in Mataram were told to joust. The jousting lances were made out of banana stalks. They jousted with verve. Many fell from their horses which delighted His Majesty. During the time that His Majesty was in Mataram, many omens occurred back home. The doors of many houses in the capital were smeared with streaks of blood, and the traces were of fingers, even on the wooden walls of the houses. It was not known who had done it. This was spread evenly around the capital. There were many signs portending a breakup of the world. Fruits of the waringin trees changed as if they had been roasted. Banana trees sprouted nine or eleven flowers on top of each other. After His Majesty had been in Mataram for forty days, he wanted to return home. When he returned to the capital, all his servants high and low were relieved. They felt that they had been released from their concerns. Three days after His Majesty was back in the palace, he gave orders to the patih saying that he wished to dismiss Ki Tumenggung Garwakandha and make his counsellor, Ki Wirapati, wadana Gedhong Tengen. The wadana Gedhong Tengen Mangunnagara would be shifted to become the bupati of Sèwu. The aforesaid Ki Wirapati was given the name Tumenggung Wirareja. The kliwon of Sèwu, Ngabèhi Cakrajaya was given the rank of tumenggung and made bupati of Batang. The tumenggung of Batang was dismissed. The person he wanted to become kliwon of Sèwu replacing Cakrajaya was originally from Kalegèn, called Wangsadipa. The dismissed tumenggung of Batang and his family were not allowed to return to Batang. They were told to live in the capital Kartasura and were placed within the Suraprameya compound.

1208. At that time, the land of Kartasura was very prosperous. High and low in the country rejoiced. No one experienced a lack of anything. However, there were many people harbouring plans to have Pangéran Wiramenggala and his younger brother Pangéran Tepasana ascend the throne in future. So many people were enticed into following the princes from Ceylon. Then it was told that Pangéran Wiramenggala had a water tank made. When they were digging, an enormous amount of water gushed forth. When Pangéran Wiramenggala approached it, the amount of water became even bigger, which made his mind run wild, thinking that it was a sign from heaven that he would become king. Pangéran Tepasana happened to have already left to pay his respects to His Majesty. Pangéran Wiramenggala had him called back because he wanted him to see the well. He was overtaken to the north of the Kemlayan and returned to see the well. His elder brother was still there. Pangéran Tepasana was shocked when seeing him and in his heart he was clearly ill at ease. Pangéran Wiramenggala said to him, "This well is a good omen because there is a counterpart at the waringin on the place

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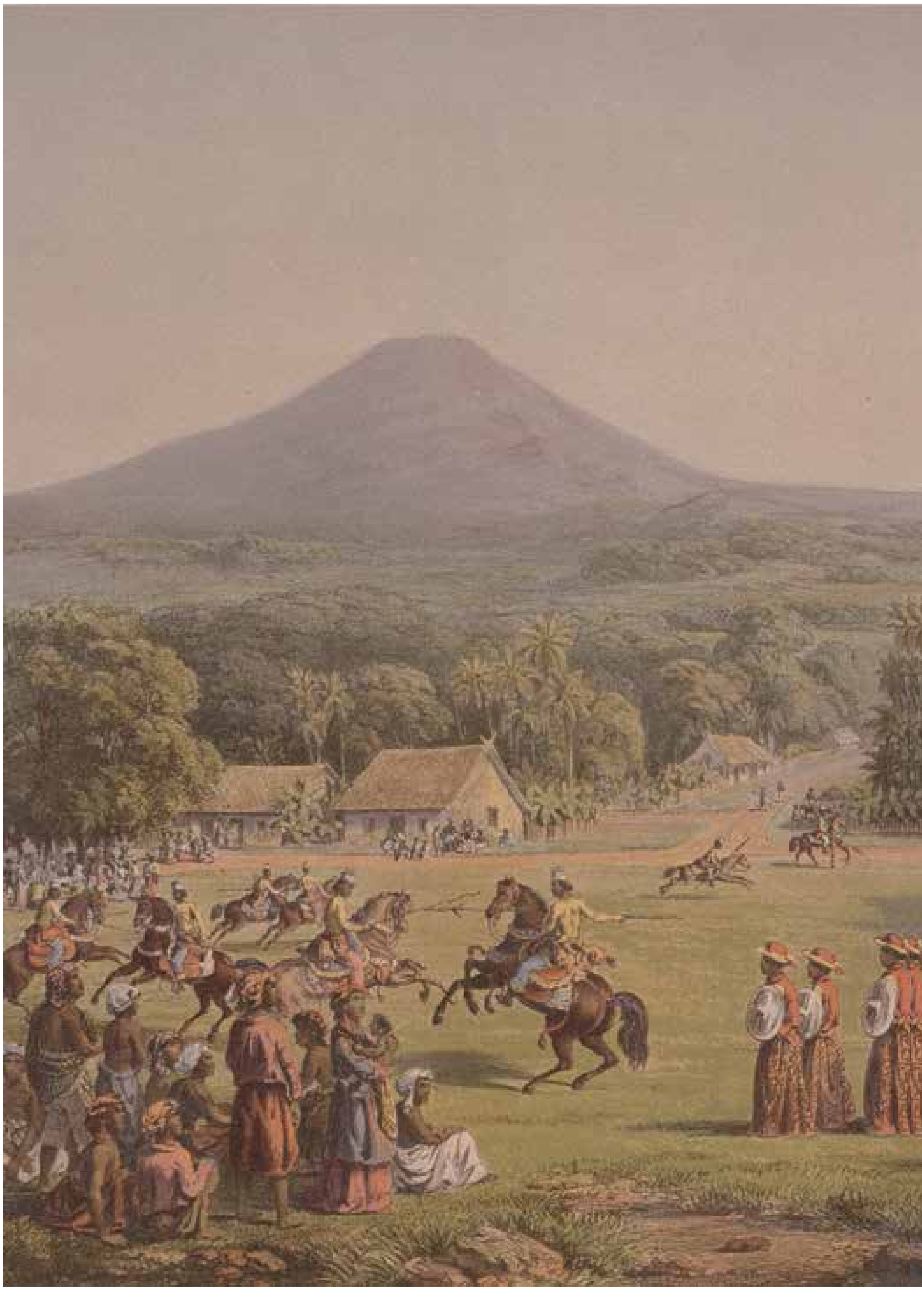

Jousting

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tournament

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of audience and the soka tree on the Sitinggil which are giving off steam, which is a bad omen." He then whispered to his younger brother that it was already the will of God that he ought to help the people of Java and was not allowed to shrink from it. The proof was that the water tank had become a well. Pangéran Tepasana just made light of his brother's words, but in his heart he was troubled, because he thought differently. To his mind the omen of the well was bad, so he just went back home, for the true meaning of the water well was that it portended that they would be faced with the anger of His Majesty, and sooner or later it had to happen. Eventually, Pangéran Wiramenggala became very close to the husband of his niece called Radèn Puspadirja, a brother of the tumenggung of Batang who had been dismissed. He wanted to make him a go-between and sent him to make some promises to the Company in case Pangéran Wiramenggala requested to be made king. The Company fobbed him off by saying that they were willing to make him king if everybody agreed. These exploits of Pangéran Wiramenggala were not known to Pangéran Tepasana.

1209. It is told that His Majesty often received gossip, saying that according to the predictions of the ascetics the kingship of Java would return to its heirs. His Majesty summoned the patih and asked him whether he had heard the same, that many ascetics predicted that Pangéran Tepasana and his elder brother Pangéran Wiramenggala would in the future ascend the throne. The patih answered that this was a baseless story and not fit to be taken seriously by His Majesty, lest it split the family, that he would not allow it to come to a split because as long as he was patih they were unlikely to escape from his grip. His Majesty smiled and told him not to be caught unawares because there were many signs in nature that soon there would be problems, for usually in Java things could not remain quiet for more than twenty years before there would be war.

1210. It is told that the realm of Batavia was very prosperous. Many merchants made profits, so many foreigners felt at home in Batavia. The highest official of the Company was the Governor General who resided in the Diamond Fort.* There were twelve high officials who formed the twelve-member Council of the Indies and one director general. The Governor General was called Pergo Ardiyan Fakenir. His second in command was called Pan der Ardiyan Yan Wilem Baron Pan Émuf. The latter had already heard that many of the Chinese who lived in the villages or on the sides of the mountains were maltreated by Company servants who had just lost at gambling. Whenever they came across a Chinese, he was shaken down and if he resisted he was clubbed to death. This went on every day. So the Chinese who lived in the mountains became so distressed that they could not go out. There was one Chinese, called Encik Sapanjang, who was

* The text has Kutha Item (Black Fort). The Major Babad has Kutha Inten (Diamond Fort), or the Castle of Batavia. This was a classic artillery fortress with four bastions each named after a precious jewel. The Diamond bastion was also the place where the Company headquarters were located. The whole castle may have reminded the Javanese of a diamond shape, or the Diamond bastion became a *pars pro toto* name.

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considered their leader by most Chinese because he had a good character and many family members who all lived in Tanah Gandariyasèwu. Encik Sapanjang ordered his fellow Chinese to retaliate because the servants of the Company were just let loose to terrorize the Chinese, and told them in turn to terrorize the villagers, rob, burn their houses, and steal. All kinds of people around the sugar mill in Tanah Gandariyasèwu were killed by the Chinese if found alone. Every night, they raided the villages along the mountains and many were laid to waste. The Council of the Indies in Batavia held a meeting and decided to catch the Chinese committing heinous acts. They caught two hundred who were then put in the stocks in the castle. After the Governor General had been informed, they were sent off overseas as auxiliary troops in war. They were paid a bounty of ten dinars per person and given a blue-black piece of ankle-length cloth and a long white piece. Once at sea, on the instructions of Tuan Émuf orders were given to do away with the Chinese and throw them into the sea. The Chinese on the ship did not want to be killed by being thrown into the sea and fought back against the Company men. Many were killed, but some survived. Those who could swim or got hold of something to float on managed to get ashore. They met Encik Sapanjang and told him that they had almost been exterminated at sea. When Encik Sapanjang heard this, he tore up his shirt and became very angry. Since the Company people had started to destroy the Chinese, they should now work together. There were more than two thousand, all armed. These were just the Chinese from around the sugar mill at Gandariyasèwu. Further away there were many more, all planning to support Encik Sapanjang.

1211. It is told that the Governor General in Batavia received a report that all the Chinese from the sugar mill at Tanah Gandariyasèwu had gathered together and formed armed bands with the intention of attacking the Company. Their leader was Encik Sapanjang who was going to storm Batavia. There were twenty-four Chinese captains in Batavia and they were all summoned by the Governor General. Each of them was asked about their fellow Chinese at the sugar mill who gathered intending to wage war, and whether they were indeed going to attack the Company. The twenty-four Chinese captains said that they did not know.

1212. His Honour Pan Émuf who had returned from the sea said to the Governor General that when they were at sea the Chinese had said that they regretted their acts. As for Encik Sapanjang, he had already a hidden army for a long time, but then did not dare to wage war. Then they were interrupted by a Chinese called Encik Lim Co, which startled the whole Council of the Indies. When questioned by the Governor General, he said that he realized that he lived in Batavia, and could have clothing and food because of the beneficent influence of the Company. Therefore, he felt he ought to talk and frankly tell what he knew, since he had already heard long ago that the Chinese at the sugar mill in Tanah Gandariyasèwu had banded together, intending to wage war on the Company. Their leader was Encik Sapanjang, who planned to attack Batavia. When the Governor General had heard Encik Lim Co's story, he thanked him and rewarded him with eighty dinars. Moreover, in future he would make him a captain if he was

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still safe and sound. Encik Lim Co then went home. The Governor General discussed the situation with the members of the Council of the Indies. As the result of their conference, the Governor General summoned Captain Kan and sent him to meet with Encik Sapanjang, carrying with him one tray of gold and one tray of dirt. After having been given instructions, he left in a carriage. On his arrival in Tanah Gandariyasèwu, he met Encik Sapanjang. Captain Kan told Encik Sapanjang that he had been sent by the Governor General and the Council of the Indies. If possible, they wanted him to make up. The bad things that had happened, the Company asked him to forget, just leave them behind and make peace, for if it should end up in war, the common people would be destroyed. So, Encik Sapanjang should choose, a tray of gold or a tray of dirt. Encik Sapanjang became angry and said that he did not want to make peace because the Company had committed atrocious acts, so he would rather choose the dirt and dare the Company to a fight, now or tomorrow. The captain tried to calm him down and bring him around, saying, "Come on, Encik Sapanjang, don't be headstrong. The Company is willing to make peace and be more conscious of its actions. Don't make everybody miserable!" Encik Sapanjang retorted angrily, "Aren't you a man? The Chinese inside the city don't dare to die in war. Unlike the Chinese at the sugar mill. They are men. They dare to fight and dare to die. Tell the Governor General that I choose the tray with dirt, and that I don't want to make peace. If he wants me to fight, I am ready. Now, go back." Captain Kan returned to the Diamond Fort and told the Governor General that Encik Sapanjang persisted and could not be persuaded to make peace. The Governor General was much concerned and permitted the captain to return home. The Council in Batavia came to a conclusion and issued a proclamation to the Chinese within the city. Since the Chinese at the sugar mill in Tanah Gandariyasèwu had become the enemy, the Chinese within the city should decide who they followed. If they followed the Company, they would certainly be given credit when trading. If they followed the Chinese of the sugar mill in Tanah Gandariyasèwu, they would have to leave that very day before sunset. After sunset it was no longer allowed. The Chinese within the city all said that they wanted to follow the Company. Then they were told to shave their beards and moustaches.

1213. It is told that at the sugar mill in Tanah Gandariyasèwu Encik Sapanjang had himself appointed captain and designated two other Chinese as his subordinates, called Encik Ngahu and Encik Èng. As for the troops he had gathered, there were four thousand Chinese and seventy bandits. The bandits were called mantri, and their headman was a bandit called Encik Tèng Mulu. On the orders of Sapanjang the Chinese were divided into three groups. Two groups were ordered to set fire to the houses in Batavia. One group, led by Sapanjang, was going to fight. When the groups had been formed, they set off while burning down everything on their way. The common people in Batavia were in panic. The Company was on its guard and orders were given to lock the gates of the city and the Chinese within the city were forbidden to carry arms, which had to be turned over to the Company, and during the night they were not allowed to light a

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lamp. At half past five the Chinese attacked the city of Batavia, and loud shouting mixed with the roar of fires. Then they surrounded the city from the east, west, and south. The Company troops hauled the cannon onto the gallery of the walls when it became dark and put them in position, but were not yet allowed to open fire. They were ordered to just keep them at the ready. When at daybreak the Chinese enemy came close, the Company troops were ordered to open up. The cannon were fired and many Chinese were killed. The remainder withdrew and made camp in Gadhungmalathi.

1214. The Governor General then called up the sailors from the ships. They were given weapons and were told to wipe out the Chinese who lived within the city. All the men should be killed, and only the women should be left alive. Countless Chinese were wiped out and their women folk were taken away by the sailors. The Company then gathered the people of Batavia, formed a Company militia, and gave them arms. There were ten captains, called Captain Semangun, Layar, Dul Manaf, Dul Katip, Dul Kahar, Captain Cakrajaya, Arbo Baudin, and the sons of Dipati Suradimenggala who had provoked the anger of His Majesty and been exiled to Batavia. They had about one hundred soldiers. As for the sons of Adipati Suradimenggala, he had four sons who were all made captain, called Captain Emas, and his younger brothers called Lieutenant Mas, Ensign Mas, and Sergeant Mas. They were given the duty to become leaders and were given worldly rewards and the women of the Chinese who had been killed by the sailors. There were about nine thousand Chinese killed in total. The Company's indigenous Muslim militia were overjoyed to receive the abducted Chinese women. They were then ordered to attack the Chinese in Gadhungmalathi. The commander was Tuwan Baron Pan Émuf, seconded by two commissioners, called Parisel, and Johan Harman Téling, four majors, eight captains, and a total of two thousand troops with forty guns. They left the city and halted at Lurungdhadha.

1215. It is told that Captain Sapanjang who was camped at Gadhungmalathi was visited by 150 Chinese from the city. They informed him that the Chinese within the city had all been wiped out by the Company and that they had therefore come to join him at Gadhungmalathi. So the force of Captain Sapanjang increased again. He had already heard that the Company army had departed, intending to strike at him in Gadhungmalathi. Captain Sapanjang quickly gave orders to meet them in battle. Many Chinese were killed. They could not withstand the bullets of the Company. The remainder retreated to Paninggaran. There the position was spacious and offered a wide view. The Company army withdrew to the city. After three days, the Company gave orders to conduct a raid on the Chinese enemy encamped at Paninggaran. The commander was indeed again Tuwan Baron Pan Émop, two commissioners, and the troops were the same as when they attacked Gadhungmalathi. Then the signal was given to depart and they left with a thundering noise. Captain Sapanjang had already heard that his enemy was approaching and he quickly lined up his troops. Encik Èng formed the left wing, Tèng Mulu the right, and Captain Sapanjang the centre. The Company troops arrived,

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their formation in rows. Tuwan Arman Téling formed the left wing, accompanied by two majors. Tuwan Perisel formed the right accompanied by two majors and the captain of the indigenous Muslim troops. [On the wings] the white European Company troops numbered two hundred and the Company's indigenous Muslim troops four hundred. A fierce battle ensued. Many Chinese were killed. Only a third remained and they retreated. The fight had started at half past eight in the morning and lasted till half past four in the afternoon. The Chinese retreated to the sugar mill in Tanah Gandariyasèwu. There they gathered the Chinese who had been dispersed and set up camp. The force of Sapanjang became large again. After the end of the battle, the Company army remained one night in Paninggaran. In the morning, Commander Baron Pan Émuf gave orders to count the troops. Of the white European Company troops only 200 were killed, 79 Buginese, 121 Makassarese, Ambonese, and Sumbawanese, in total 400. As for the Chinese 3,062 were killed. The Company then gave orders to depart, return to the city, and load the bodies on carts and take them back to the castle. The director sent a spy to the Chinese enemy to ascertain whether they had indeed occupied the sugar mill at Tanah Gandariyasèwu and gathered an army there. Captain Sapanjang who had made camp at the sugar mill gave orders to gather the Chinese and make them join his army. If they did not want to, they should be killed. So his army became numerous again. Then he gave orders to make shields of copper and brass as equipment to be used in battle. They were furnished with handles and could be carried by about twelve men, and be taken along in an attack. The Chinese quickly made these pieces of equipment which boosted the courage of all the Chinese troops, and their army became even more numerous.

1216. Baron Pan Émuf and his army reached the city and reported to the Governor General and the members of the Council of the Indies that he had been victorious in battle, that many Chinese had been killed, and that the remainder had again occupied the sugar mill. On the orders of the Governor General, all matters during the war were entrusted to Tuwan Baron Pan Émup who should remain commander and was to be accompanied by His Honour Johanis Tédhéng as his second-in-command. Tuwan Baron Pan Émup then gave orders to the officers and the indigenous Muslim captains to march to the sugar mill together with two hundred white European troops with their majors and twelve guns with their gunners. When ready, about seven days after their return from the battle at Paninggaran, they left. It is told that the battle at the sugar mill of Tanah Gandariyasèwu was very fierce.

1217. It is told that all the Chinese who lived on the eastern Pasisir had already heard the news that their fellow Chinese in Batavia were in a fierce fight with the Company. According to the news, the Chinese were having the upper hand in battle and the city of Batavia had almost been taken. The cause of the war had been that the Chinese within the city of Batavia had been wiped out by the Company and their worldly possessions and women had been seized. Nine thousand Chinese had been killed and treated as animals. So the Chinese of the eastern Pasisir in Tanjung Welahan took it really to heart.

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In their heart they wanted to gather arms, but they did not dare to be open about it. The reason was that their places of residence were close to His Majesty. As for their leader, his name was Singsèh.

1218. At that time it happened to be the month of Mulud and all the bupati of the Pasisir came to pay homage in the capital Kartasura and to attend the Grebeg festival. When they had all arrived in Kartasura, the bupati and their kliwon went at night to pay their respects at the residence of the patih together with all the lease-holding chiefs from the western regions. In front of the Radèn Adipati, the chiefs were chatting. Tumenggung Mataun asked Tumenggung Martapura what the news was in the Pasisir about the furious war going on in Batavia. Adipati Jayaningrat and Suralaya answered that there indeed was a war. Adipati Citrasoma added that the war had been going on for quite a while, that daily thousands were killed, but no side had been defeated yet. Tumenggung Martapura informed his elder brother Arya Kudus that the Chinese along the Pasisir were indeed gathering together with the intention of supporting each other and joining the war. They had already equipped themselves with arms, but had not yet gone ahead. Even the Chinese in the villages of Prawata and Puwun had got together and were ready for war. The patih said that the Chinese who had the intention of joining the war should just be left alone and not be harmed. The bupati then withdrew from the residence of the patih. The next morning the patih went to the palace to pay his respects to His Majesty and to inform him that according to the latest news the Chinese in Batavia were at war with the Company. No side was yet defeated and thousands had been killed. His Majesty expressed surprise that since the news was clear, the Governor General had not informed him. Why would he pretend not to know such a big problem? He then summoned the two bupati Radèn Tumenggung Tirtawiguna and Arya Pringgalaya because in the absence of Pangéran Purbaya these two bupati were often asked for advice apart from the patih. When they had come and paid their respects to His Majesty, the patih asked both bupati concerning the war in Batavia, and how it could be that even though it had been going on for quite a while, the Governor General had not yet notified him. Tumenggung Tirtawiguna said that the first reason for not notifying him could be that the Company was not yet experiencing great problems in the war. The second reason could be that the Council of the Indies had not yet reached a consensus, but that it was unlikely that they would fail to notify him. Ki Patih then said to His Majesty that, if allowed, he would like to have the southern Sitinggil repaired because if the Company should ask for help, there would be something to serve as an excuse, if the bupati of the Pasisir and Mancanagara were all busy working hard on the southern Sitinggil. His Majesty approved the proposal of the patih. Furthermore, Ki Patih informed His Majesty that according to the bupati all the Chinese of the Pasisir had gathered together and intended to help each other to oppose the Company, but for the moment they were not yet showing it openly. His Majesty said that it was not exclusively the Chinese who were thinking of daring to move against the Company, but also Javanese were willing to wage war against the Company. This

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had not yet happened out of respect for His Majesty. If someone approved it, they would likely fight Captain Lafèl who was stationed in Kartasura because he was very arrogant and overbearing and behaved as if to inspire fear. Kyai Patih again spoke to His Majesty mentioning the report of Tumenggung Martapura that among his subjects were two Chinese called Pun Macan and Pun Etik who were gathering fellow Chinese with the intention of making war. They were in the village of Puwun. Out of fear for His Majesty, Tumenggung Martapura asked for orders whether he should pursue them. His Majesty said that they should just be left alone and not interfered with. Outwardly one should feign ignorance, because His Majesty felt that these actions would inevitably be carried out. Because the Javanese during His Majesty's trip to Mataram had equally shown their bravery, why would they now not look forward to waging war even more. The patih replied that it was the nature of the Javanese that they could seldom be relied upon. If work was demanded of them, many would fail. If they did not happen to be waging war, these Javanese would be useless. If they did happen to be, they would be like an elephant with wings and would withstand any force. His Majesty then told the patih to confer with the senior bupati of the Pasisir and Mancanagara on what would be advisable to do. The patih said that he would do as told and withdrew.

1219. That night, he summoned the bupati of the Pasisir and Mancanagara together with their kliwon. They gathered in the Kapatihan. The patih conveyed the wish of His Majesty that they should confer on what would be advisable concerning the war between the Chinese and the Company, and which side they should properly join. Adipati Citrasoma and Jayaningrat said that if it pleased His Majesty it would be advisable to stay out and just watch first. When one of them was destroyed, His Majesty could do as he wished, either to help or add conditions. If he wished to help the Company, there should be compensation for his troubles with an agreement to end the guarding and the payments, not to mention the discontinuation of the patih's going every year to Semarang or to Batavia every time a Governor General was replaced. We should just stay close friends. When the patih heard this, he said that he approved, provided that the bupati were unanimous, because the instructions of His Majesty had been that they should discuss what would be advisable. However, the patih felt that if they were going to treat the Chinese as enemies, it would in his mind make no sense, or even amount to cruelty, because the Chinese presence in Java was causing no problems and did not disturb anyone, but instead made the country prosperous. Adipati Jayaningrat said that the Chinese in Java were drifters, weak, and unarmed. When compared to the Company, the Company seemed to carry more weight in war because they were already settled and rich in military equipment, and were after all warriors. How could the Chinese win? They lacked fangs. The Chinese had fangs of tin, and the men of the Company had fangs of iron. The patih said, "Indeed, it is true that they are no match, but perhaps destiny will favour them, when the strong become weak. Who can put a time limit to it, for the Company has already prospered in Java for a long time?" The bupati remained quiet and watched the mien of the patih who seemed tired of going

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to Jakarta. Tumenggung Tirtawiguna and Arya Pringgalaya did not contribute to the discussion while the conversation between Ki Patih and Adipati Jayaningrat was going on. They just kept glancing sideways. Listening to the discussion, Tumenggung Martapura smiled to himself, and wanting to please the patih he added, "In following the advice of Adipati Jayaningrat, helping the Company aims to carry the lighter burden, which is indeed right, but consider it in a more fundamental way. If possible, it would be better to finish it altogether and not end up holding or carrying something, so we would not leave things half-done." Adipati Jayaningrat added, "Indeed, my son, that is a proposal that should be investigated, but it should be done while weighing up your own strength. And in all your actions, do not end up neglecting three things: the worst, the good, and the best. It is obligatory to avoid the worst, it is appropriate to adopt the good, but if you are going for the best, and if the worst befalls you, this means winning while your troops are destroyed, which is the best becoming the worst." Tumenggung Martapura profusely asked for forgiveness for having had the temerity to contradict a senior and long-serving official. He had made his proposal because he was before the patih, which was like being in the presence of His Majesty. If he had been asked his opinion by his lord, he would have dared to speak and certainly not have been hypocritical. The bupati kept quiet and glanced to where Tumenggung Martapura was sitting. Having conferred for a long time, the bupati parted. The next morning, Kyai Patih went to pay his respects to His Majesty and reported on his consultations with the bupati. What had been agreed on a proposal by Adipati Jayaningrat was, if His Majesty agreed, that the matter of the war between the Chinese and the Company should just be ignored. If both sides were badly damaged, the Company should be helped in its war, but with an agreement, once victory had been achieved, to end the guarding and the payments and ending the journeys to Batavia and the yearly journeys to Semarang. The bupati had indeed all agreed to this proposal by Adipati Jayaningrat. Only Tumenggung Martapura had not joined in. He insisted that the Chinese should be protected. If one did not help and protect the Chinese, it would be better not to take halfway measures, but attack them and wipe them out altogether. Tumenggung Martapura had stubbornly kept to his proposal. Even so, Adipati Jayaningrat had not wanted to give in. His Majesty said that he would leave it all to the patih provided that the result would be good and that from the consultations indeed the very best should be adopted. Kyai Patih spoke again, "It seems that the advice of Adipati Jayaningrat is the best, but it takes rather too long. The advice of Pun Martapura is fast, but rather mischievous." So the patih left it up to His Majesty. His Majesty asked the patih which advice he himself thought should be adopted. The patih said that both should be adopted. So, except for when they start fighting, both proposals should be pursued. Provided that the Chinese are firm in their will to fight, we could talk with them. His Majesty then asked about the advice of Tumenggung Tirtawiguna and Pringgalaya, which one did they go along with. The patih said that they had not followed either. They had just remained silent and not yet proffered their opinion. His Majesty said that

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in that case the consultations were not yet settled and that that was why, except for when the Chinese had started to fight with the Company, the matter should be discussed again. In the end, His Majesty left it to the patih in order to have him successfully deal with it. The patih then asked whether, if that was the wish of His Majesty, Tumenggung Martapura should be allowed to go back to his domain in order to be able to manipulate and encourage the Chinese to quickly start the war. His Majesty agreed. The patih took his leave. On his arrival in his residence, he summoned Tumenggung Martapura. When he came, he was taken to the side and told that it was His Majesty's wish that he had been selected for a task. It would be his fate to set the Chinese up against the Company. What could be done? It was His Majesty's wish. So the patih impressed upon Tumenggung Martapura that he should be careful and not act immaturely because this task was very heavy, and he should disguise himself and not become visible. Tumenggung Martapura said that he would do as told. Then he was given four hundred reals and clothes, as well as four sets of fine guns and twenty-four spears with cords. Having received them, he paid his respects and took his leave. After having prepared, he left at night with his troops.

1220. It is told that Adipati Jayaningrat invited Adipati Citrasoma,* Arya Kudus, Suralaya, Tumenggung Mataun, and Tumenggung Surabrata to his lodgings to discuss the situation. Tumenggung Surabrata then informed Adipati Jayaningrat that Tumenggung Martapura had returned to Grobogan that night and asked whether the patih had not informed him. Adipati Jayaningrat answered that up till now he had not done so, but might do so tomorrow morning. Tumenggung Jayaningrat asked Tumenggung Surabrata what the patih intended, for he had not asked the advice of the high ministers of state, Tumenggung Tirtawiguna and Arya Pringgalaya. They had been preempted by Tumenggung Martapura. In fact, Ki Patih should tell His Majesty to summon the ministers of state and ask them, so it would become clear what was right or wrong. Tumenggung Surabrata answered that when Tumenggung Tirtawiguna had been asked for his advice, he had just kept silent and looked the other way. It was his hobby to just let his colleagues be blamed. Jayaningrat spoke again, saying that, in fact, when it was just a problem such as this, it would be proper to let the four of them face it. One did not need to bother the high ministers of state, because Adipati Surabrata, Citrasoma, Tumenggung Mataun, and Jayaningrat had many resources and could watch over and hold high the kingdom of Java. They were ready to sacrifice themselves for the state. How could one doubt it? Tumenggung Surabrata agreed with Adipati Jayaningrat, because the people in Pranaraga alone had more than two thousand troops and would not disappoint the wishes of His Majesty. They were interrupted by a messenger who informed Adipati Jayaningrat that Radèn Tumenggung Kartanagara had passed away, which shocked the four bupati because yesterday they had been together in the Kapatihan. They asked the messenger what the cause of his illness was. He replied that it had not been an illness, but that he had felt humiliated for having been treated as infe-

* The text mistakenly has *Cakraningrat*.

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rior to Tumenggung Tirtawiguna. The four bupati felt sorry and reached a decision to follow all orders, because they were not ministers of state. Then they parted and went on their way.

1221. The patih again summoned the bupati and asked them whether they had improved upon their advice or whether it still was as before. The bupati kept silent and did not answer. Only Adipati Jayaningrat spoke, saying that they could not yet improve upon their advice because His Majesty's wish was not yet known. The patih said that His Majesty had only ordered the bupati to be careful. Then they broke up. The next morning, the patih went to the palace to pay his respects together with Tumenggung Pringgalaya and Tirtawiguna and to report that the advice of Adipati Jayaningrat and the bupati had not yet changed. Moreover, they reported the death of Tumenggung Kartanagara. His Majesty was shocked and asked who should replace him. The patih proposed a younger family member of Tumenggung Kartanagara, called Ngabèhi Reksapraja, and his two sons. Tumenggung Pringgalaya proposed his kliwon, Singaranu. His Majesty, however, did not allow young boys to be made bupati because that would lead to many problems. The patih then proposed his son, called Anggadiwirya, who when young was called Jombla. His Majesty approved and gave orders to have him inducted. He was given the title Arya Wiryadiningrat. Ngabèhi Reksapraja was made his kliwon. The two sons of Tumenggung Kartanagara were given land in Roma.

1222. It is told that on his arrival in Grobogan Tumenggung Martapura summoned the Chinese leaders Cik Macan and Mudha Tik who were encamped with their troops in Puwun. When they had arrived, he took them aside and told them that it was His Majesty's wish that the Chinese be allowed to raise troops to fight the Company if they were indeed steadfast in their will, but if they were not steadfast and were defeated, the lord of the land would undoubtedly worsen their fate. So they should quickly tell their leader Singsèh. The two Chinese said that they would do as told. Tumenggung Martapura instructed them again that if both were steadfast in their will and were going to leave there, he, Tumenggung Martapura, promised to find a way. When he had finished his instructions, the two Chinese took their leave and went to Tanjung Welahan where they met Singsèh. They informed him of the instructions of Tumenggung Martapura, that he had come to bring a secret order of state, that if the Chinese were honestly steadfast in willing to fight the Company, they would be given the freedom to do so. When Singsèh heard this, he was very happy, as he had received spiritual permission. Singsèh answered Cik Macan and Mudha Tik that he wanted them to tell Tumenggung Martapura that he was determined and willing to die fighting the Company, and he offered a gift to Tumenggung Martapura consisting of mottled velvet, kustup [?], sorahsari [?] and seven hundred reals. Tumenggung Martapura was very happy to receive the presents, that his advice had been settled, and that the Chinese would follow all of Tumenggung Martapura's orders. Cik Macan and Mudha Tik then deployed their troops in Puwun, consisting of about two hundred Chinese, complete with flags, wooden drums, and cymbals.

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1223. It is told that the commander in Semarang, when he received word that many Chinese of the eastern Pasisir had gathered and deployed, and it was not clear whether they were going to be put down, became very worried, because the bupati of the land had all gone to participate in the Grebeg festival.

1224. Tumenggung Martapura dispatched a messenger to Semarang with a letter. The messenger was his patih Demang Wargamenggala. He was accompanied by six officials and their men on about seventy horses. He was told to say that they came from Kartasura. On their arrival in Semarang, the letter was presented to the commander. It said that Tumenggung Martapura informed him that while he was paying homage at the Grebeg festival in Kartasura, the official looking after Grobogan had informed him that after his departure about two hundred Chinese had camped in the village of Puwun. Their leaders were called Mudha Tik and Cik Macan and they had conquered the area around the village of Parwata. When the patih was informed that Tumenggung Martapura had reported a problem and asked permission to return to his domain, Ki Patih had become very angry. Tumenggung Martapura had been ordered to return and put down the Chinese who had deployed in Puwun without being allowed to take any of the high officials with him. He had been told that if he could not defeat the Chinese, he would be castrated. Since Tumenggung Martapura had agreed too quickly, having done so out of embarrassment, and his wife and children had been left in Kartasura as hostages. So he informed the commander and asked for help in getting equipment for war. Hopefully, the commander would show sympathy and would immediately join the fight in support of the Company by putting in an appearance at the fight. It needed not be many troops, just a few to put in an appearance. When the commander learnt the contents of the letter, he was very happy and said to the interpreter that Tumenggung Martapura was a very good man and that he was bravely willing to confront the enemy. If he was suffering from a lack of equipment, the commander would certainly help him. Demang Wargamenggala was told to stay for the night and just leave the next morning, and at the same time be provided with some Company troops. The next morning Demang Wargamenggala was summoned, given a letter in reply, and a consignment consisting of twelve guns with bayonets, four pairs of carabines, four pairs of fine pistols, four kegs of gunpowder, a barrel of bullets, and seven pikul of various kinds of broadcloth. The Company troops provided in support consisted of thirty men led by a cornet and two indigenous chiefs, the demang of Kaligawé and Kalicari with their troops. They then left. Demang Wargamenggala had sent ahead two messengers with the letter and the presents for Tumenggung Martapura, which made him very happy. He called up his troops with their full equipment and had them march off. Tumenggung Martapura had already sent a messenger to Puwun to alert Macan and Mudha Tik that the Company was already close, and asked them to agree to a fight, but not a real fight. They would fire at each other but without bullets. At that time, Tumenggung Martapura and his troops were encamped to the southeast of Puwun.

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Mudha Tik and Cik Macan came to meet Tumenggung Martapura at night to ready their plans.

1225. It is told that Demang Wargamenggala and the Company troops after two nights on the road had almost reached Grobogan. Demang Wargamenggala dispatched a messenger to say that the Company was close. Tumenggung Martapura quickly deployed his troops in the fields. They fired their guns and raised a thundering noise. As casualties they shot three horses. When the Company troops heard the shooting and the loud shouting, Demang Wargamenggala said to the cornet that all that noise was probably his lord fighting the Chinese. The cornet asked the demang what he wanted to do. He answered that, if allowed, he would like to go ahead with twenty horsemen and leave fifty horsemen with the Company. They did not need to hurry. It would just be him, who would go to help his lord first. The cornet allowed it, and the demang with his twenty horsemen went ahead and met up with his lord. When the Company troops came within sight of the Chinese troops who were busy fighting and seemed to be milling around, they halted and drew up in battle array. When they saw Tumenggung Martapura sitting high under a white parasol being shot at by the Chinese, the Company troops prepared to help him out in a hurry. Tumenggung Martapura then waved to the Chinese troops to have them run away to the north. The Chinese troops retreated en masse and fled northwards, pursued by Tumenggung Martapura. The cornet asked the official from Grobogan who was holding the white parasol, who that man was. The official answered that that was indeed his lord. The official was then told to follow and tell his lord to stop and join the Company troops. The official said that the Chinese enemy had fled. The cornet was very pleased, as the Chinese enemy had become afraid when they saw the Company troops. He quickly left his lines and when he came close dismounted from his horse and greeted Tumenggung Martapura. He was then asked to sit down in the shade of a kesambi tree and was shown the horses that had been hit by bullets. At five o'clock, Demang Wargamenggala who had been chasing the Chinese enemy arrived and said that the enemy had run far away and it looked as if they had joined the troops of Singsèh in Tanjung Welahan. That night, Tumenggung Martapura and the Company troops just camped in the woods. The next morning, the Company troops took their leave to return to Semarang, but left the message that if the Chinese enemy returned, he should quickly send a messenger to Semarang to ask for help, because if the fight should become too difficult or end in his destruction, the commander would be embarrassed. Radèn Tumenggung Martapura gave him a present of thirteen live deer for the commander. On his arrival back in Semarang, the cornet reported on his mission and, of course, the conduct in battle of Tumenggung Martapura. The commander was extremely pleased.

1226. It is told that on his arrival at his residence, Tumenggung Martapura felt very worried, because he had been given the heavy task of taking care of the Chinese. What if he had not done it right? So he fasted while at night he submerged himself in his pond and during the day sat outside, all the time exposing himself to the sun.

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1227. It is told that in the capital Kartasura Kyai Patih had already heard the news that the Chinese who were encamped in Puwun had dispersed, having been drubbed by Company troops from Semarang, whereas Radèn Tumenggung Martapura had not yet informed him. The patih then dispatched messengers with a letter. On their arrival in Grobogan, the letter was received by Tumenggung Martapura. It said that Ki Patih was extremely angry with Tumenggung Martapura, for he had received the trust of His Majesty, but just like a little boy dared to take it too lightly. The Chinese encamped at Puwun, who had been brought to the attention of His Majesty, had now been defeated by Company troops and you have not even reported it, while the Chinese have dispersed. Inevitably, the head of Tumenggung Martapura would be cut off. When Tumenggung Martapura learned the contents of the letter, he wept and humbled himself before the letter. Then he got up and stood defiantly, saying to the messenger that the anger of the patih came from not having been informed about the dispersal of the Chinese in Puwun because they had been attacked by Company troops, but in reality it had been Radèn Tumenggung Martapura who had sent for Company troops and the Chinese had been made to disperse and join their fellow Chinese in Tanjung Welahan where they had deployed again. So the two messengers were told to go and see for themselves the actions of the Chinese who were encamped at Tanjung Welahan thanks to the endeavors of Tumenggung Martapura. He had the messengers accompanied by two mantri and gave them a letter which they should hand to Singsèh in Tanjung Welahan. However, if they were questioned on their way, they should say that they were just looking for birds. The messengers left. On their arrival in Tanjung Welahan, they went to Mudha Tik who then took them to meet Captain Singsèh. He received the letter and told a Chinese of mixed-descent called Sabukalu to read it. The letter said that it informed Captain Singsèh that the bearers of the letter were both messengers from His Majesty, one was named Mas Wiradikara and the other Mas Subadirana, both special servants in the Kapatihan. They had been sent to closely watch the actions of Singsèh. Singsèh, however, should outwardly ignore them, but in his heart know that they were messengers from His Majesty. When Captain Singsèh learned the contents of Tumenggung Martapura's letter, he gave orders to his troops to beat the drums and march out on the plain to the south of Tanjung. The plain was full of troops. The army had eighty capos, that is officers, and the arms consisted of one thousand guns, one thousand long-handled Chinese swords, five hundred small cannon, all carried on their shoulders, and four hundred flags. In total, the army consisted of more than four thousand men, even far more. They practised a war drill with a thundering noise, showing off their shouting, and demanded orders to attack the fortress of Semarang the next day. When evening came, they were dismissed. The four messengers took their leave. They were given travel money, the first two twenty-five reals, the other two ten reals. On their arrival in Grobogan, Tumenggung Martapura had already written a reply for the patih. Its contents were made to agree with the observations of the messengers. After the letter had been handed over, the messengers took their leave and left. On their arrival in Kar-

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tasura, the letter was handed to the patih. When he had read it, the patih very much regretted his anger, and because the story of the messengers completely agreed with the contents of the letter, he came to praise Radèn Tumenggung Martapura. The letter was taken when he went to pay his respects and handed to His Majesty. When His Majesty had read the letter, he laughed and said, "That Paridan [i.e. Martapura] is clever. Although he is short and small, his brain reaches heaven." His Majesty then gave orders to the patih. Because according to the letter of Tumenggung Martapura Singsèh had already many troops, even more than four thousand, he should round off the discussions with the bupati. The patih said that indeed the advice of the bupati had not yet changed. His Majesty then told him to force them and not stop the discussions until the advice of all the high ministers was unanimous. The patih said that he would do as told and withdrew. On his arrival at his residence, he ordered his patih, Ngabèhi Surajaya, to have servants ready to serve as messengers to Grobogan. Patih Surajaya thought it unwise if the messengers were changed, so he advised that Wiradikara and Subadirana would be sent again to Grobogan. However, to give them three days to rest. Kyai Patih allowed it and after a rest of three days he told them to leave with a letter and many gifts for Tumenggung Martapura in Grobogan.

1228. It is told that Kyai Patih received a letter from the commander in Semarang informing him that Tumenggung Martapura, who had been dispatched to attack the Chinese encamped in Prawata, had succeeded. The commander had assigned him some Company troops. There had been a fierce fight and the Chinese had taken flight. Now they had gathered again in Tanjung Welahan and their band had become large again. The commander requested more help from the bupati of the Pasisir so that Tumenggung Martapura would not be on his own. If he agreed, the bupati of Demak, Kudus, and Pathi should be sent to help attack that fellow Singsèh in Tanjung Welahan. The Company was very worried because the Chinese dared to attack the lord of the land. If orders were not quickly given to the bupati of the Pasisir to attack Tanjung Welahan, it might all go wrong and destroy the lands of the Pasisir. The commander left it to Kyai Patih to convey the message to His Majesty.

1229. The two messengers to Grobogan met Tumenggung Martapura. The letter was received and read. It said that Kyai Patih had received the letter from Tumenggung Martapura and conveyed it to His Majesty. It had made His Majesty happy. Tumenggung Martapura should not be caught unawares and keep on encouraging Singsèh. Secondly, Kyai Patih sent him a gift consisting of four hundred reals, twenty-five short spears, a three-cornered warrior's hat and costume with the erupting volcano motif, fourteen blowguns and a quiver with darts, a matching pair of ivory bows, a quiver with fifty arrows, and a light-coloured overseas horse with dark legs, called Pamuk. Thirdly, Kyai Patih informed him that the commander in Semarang had sent Kyai Patih a letter requesting that the bupati of the Pasisir be assigned to help Radèn Tumenggung Martapura. If permitted, the bupati of Demak was requested to function at the same time as a shield for Semarang. However, Kyai Patih had not yet agreed, as it was still going to

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be discussed and was not yet conveyed to His Majesty. Finally, Kyai Patih strongly reminded Radèn Tumenggung Martapura to be careful and keep things secret. Having read the letter, Radèn Tumenggung Martapura remained sitting cross-legged in a deferential position. Mas Wiradikara said, "It seems as if our lord does not yet realize that the anger towards him has been lifted." All three laughed. After spending three nights there, the messengers took their leave and returned.

1230. Kyai Patih summoned all the bupati to the Kapatihan to ask their advice concerning the request of the commander in Semarang to let the bupati of the Pasisir return home. However, Tumenggung Pringgalaya and Tumenggung Tirtawiguna did not give advice. When forced, they only said that they left it up to Kyai Patih, which left him tense and full of anger. He then asked Adipati Jayaningrat. Adipati Jayaningrat said that it was preferable to comply with the request of the commander because if it was refused, there would be no benefit. It would be better to let the bupati return, but with a final instruction not to get into conflict with Tumenggung Martapura. Kyai Patih approved the little that had been agreed and angrily told the bupati to leave and closed the meeting.

1231. The next morning, Kyai Patih went to pay his respects at the palace and inform His Majesty that the commander of Semarang had sent a letter asking for the return of all the bupati of the Pasisir. If it was not permitted, just their kliwon should be allowed to return with half of their police officers, because he feared that their lands were in danger of being destroyed by the Chinese enemy. His Majesty asked whether the request of the commander had been complied with or not. Kyai Patih said that on the advice of Adipati Jayaningrat that it was not advisable to refuse, only three bupati had been permitted to return. Outwardly they should join the attack on the Chinese who were encamped at Tanjung Welahan, but inwardly they should follow the advice of Tumenggung Martapura. His Majesty agreed and told him to send off the three bupati. Kyai Patih spoke again and informed His Majesty that the display of Captain Singsèh had thrown Semarang into turmoil. His Majesty said that if Semarang was in turmoil, the Chinese here should be given a clip on the ear and made to leave the capital. His Majesty spoke again and asked the patih whether Tumenggung Pringgalaya and Tirtawiguna were still being obstinate in the discussions, or whether they were looking for another king than him. Kyai Patih said that that was unlikely. They were probably confused in their minds and therefore could not offer advice.

1232. After having withdrawn from His Majesty's presence, Kyai Patih sent a covert message to reprimand the Chinese in the capital and have them leave quickly. During the night, the Chinese scribe Ham and his fellow Chinese departed, intending to go to Kedhu. The next morning this was reported to the Company. Captain Langpèl quickly informed the Kapatihan that the Chinese had left at night and requested Kyai Patih to send a messenger after them. Kyai Patih quickly assigned the kliwon of Bumi [part of Kedhu] Ngabèhi Mangkudirana and his fellow mantri of Bumi, a force of about six hundred men, to follow the Chinese, and entrusted them to the Company. The Captain

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was very happy. He provided them with gunpowder and told them to leave quickly. When they got to Kaligandhu they caught up with the Chinese. They fired at them but without bullets and drove them to Saroja. When the Chinese got to Saroja, Ngabèhi Mangkudirana returned. He only left two lower officials behind and told them to camp with their troops at a distance. On arrival in the capital, Ngabèhi Mangkudirana reported that the Chinese had fled to their fellow Chinese who were camped at Saroja. The number of Chinese who were camped in Saroja seemed to be more than a hundred.

1233. Kyai Patih summoned Adipati Jayaningrat and told him by order of His Majesty to take his three subordinate tumenggung and get them ready for war. He then whispered to him. After the whispering, Jayaningrat quickly withdrew. On arrival in his lodgings, he quickly summoned his three subordinates. He whispered to them the orders of His Majesty that Tumenggung Wirasastra had been made the senior commander of the mission. After having been given many instructions, Tumenggung Wirasastra, Tumenggung Suranata, and Tumenggung Padmanagara said that they would do as told. They were then provided with money and arms, the latter two two hundred reals and ten guns, and Tumenggung Wirasastra three hundred reals and fifteen guns. Adipati Jayaningrat then told them to depart from the Kapatihan when their army was ready. The three tumenggung said that they would do as told.

1234. Kyai Patih gave orders to exact a contribution of ten mantri from Pathi and ten each of Kudus and Japara, and form an army of about two thousand men. The next morning, they presented themselves at the Kapatihan. Kyai Patih ordered them to depart, but to stop first near the Company fort. Kyai Patih was going to pay his respects at the palace together with the captain. When the captain saw the large army which was going to attack Tanjung Welahan, he was very pleased. Then he went to the palace together with Kyai Patih. The captain thanked His Majesty for dispatching the three bupati to attack the Chinese. When Kyai Patih had received a letter from His Majesty, he withdrew together with the captain. On arrival in the fort, the letter was handed to Tumenggung Wirasastra who was told to convey it to the commander in Semarang. The captain also gave him a letter. When the letters had been accepted, he was told to depart.

1235. It is told that the town of Semarang was in turmoil because Captain Singsèh was going to pay a visit, his army being ready. At that time, the commander summoned the Chinese captain of Semarang. On his arrival, he was arrested in the fort. As a result, the Chinese of Semarang panicked and fled. The Chinese lieutenant, Géyong, dithered while fleeing. He was followed, caught, and arrested. The Chinese of Semarang had completely disappeared. They all had run away and gathered in Tanjung Welahan. On the arrival of the three tumenggung with their army, the commander was very happy and went to meet them. After they had greeted each other, Tumenggung Wirasastra handed him the letter from His Majesty and the reply from Kyai Patih. The letter was received and red aloud. The commander was very happy and honoured the letter with a gun salute. The three tumenggung were treated with great respect by the commander

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and given many gifts. The next morning, all the troops departed. Before their arrival in Demak, the three bupati had already sent a messenger to Tumenggung Martapura asking him to leave Demak. When they arrived in Demak, Tumenggung Martapura had camped to the southeast of the town. After three nights in Demak, the bupati left with their whole army to march against Tanjung Welahan. Tumenggung Martapura had already sent a letter to Captain Singsèh that his camp was going to be attacked, but that they had been given secret orders, so Captain Singsèh should remember what to do. Captain Singsèh quickly assembled his troops who were led by Cik Ping Bulung and ordered him to meet the three bupati and their accompanying troops. He was given a force of about five hundred men. The signal was given and they marched southward to Demak. They clashed to the south of Tanjung. There was loud shouting and the firing of guns back and forth, however both sides did not use bullets. The line of the bupati broke and they were chased by the Chinese force as far as to the east of the town of Demak. The bupati stopped in the town and informed the commander in Semarang that they had been defeated, that the town of Demak was invested by the Chinese, whose leader was called Cik Ping Bulung and whose force consisted of seven hundred men. The troops of Demak had been destroyed and many men had been killed. The commander was bewildered, because he had additionally been informed that the Chinese in Tegal, Pekalongan, and Kedhu had assembled and formed armed bands. They were already advancing to Bahrawa, Lemahbang, and Bregas. The Chinese leaders were Mudha Cupyan and Cik Liyang Po. He then dispatched a messenger to Kartasura with a letter requesting the return of Adipati Jayaningrat and all the bupati of the Pasisir, because if Adipati Jayaningrat did not accompany the bupati, the war would inevitably be unsuccessful. On arrival in Kartasura, the letter was presented to His Majesty via Kyai Patih. His Majesty was very pleased to hear about the bewilderment in Semarang and asked the patih what his advice was. The patih said that it would be advisable to comply and let Adipati Jayaningrat and his colleagues return because they knew already what to do, but the bupati of the right [i.e. eastern] Pasisir should still be kept in Kartasura and only make a contribution of men. I would only select the adipati of Surabaya. His Majesty agreed, told him to carry it out, and have Adipati Jayaningrat and Surèngrana brought in the next morning. After his return from the palace, Kyai Patih summoned the captain, gave him the message that His Majesty allowed thirteen bupati of the left [i.e. western] Pasisir and one bupati of the right [i.e. eastern] Pasisir to return to attack the Chinese troops in Tanjung. The captain was very glad and agreed to write a letter to the commander. Kyai Patih advised him to send it together with the letter from His Majesty, which was given to Adipati Jayaningrat to carry. The bupati were going to depart on the next morning. The captain returned.

1236. The next morning, the bupati were ready. Led by Adipati Jayaningrat they visited the Kapatihan. After receiving instructions from Kyai Patih, they went to the fort. The captain met them outside and showed great respect. After receiving many instructions

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from the captain, they marched off. The column consisted of thirteen ceremonial parasols, each with two flags, and only Adipati Jayaningrat had seven.

1237. After their arrival in Semarang, they camped in Lampèr. Adipati Jayaningrat handed the letter from His Majesty to the commander. The contents of the letter cheered him up, so he greatly honoured them.

1238. It is told that Kyai Patih felt that he had made a mistake in his consultations, for he had not asked the opinion of Adipati Cakraningrat of Madura. Since the latter was a great warrior amongst the bupati of Java, Kyai Patih felt it advisable to ask his opinion even though it was too late. He dispatched his messengers Gandasuli and Wirakrama with a letter to Madura. On their arrival in Madura, they met Adipati Cakraningrat and the letter was accepted. In it, the patih informed him that since Adipati Cakraningrat as a senior statesman should not avoid the complicated problems of the realm, it was now advisable that he should meet Kyai Patih and together discuss the complicated problems in Kartasura. Since it was appropriate that Adipati Cakraningrat and Kyai Patih should eliminate the problems of Java and should not look away, Kyai Patih prayed to the Lord that it would not be like before [when Cakraningrat refused to come to Kartasura]. If Adipati Cakraningrat had any requests, Kyai Patih was willing to tell His Majesty, so he should not worry, for it would likely be granted as long as Kyai Patih still took care of His Majesty. When he finished reading, he put the letter down. Since he had already long heard that Kartasura was in total disorder, which he knew from his son the bupati of Sidayu, he was informed of all the discussions and actions in the capital Kartasura. Adipati Cakraningrat then summoned his patih, Radèn Mangundara, his chiefs, his kinsmen, mantri, and troops. When all were assembled before him, he told the two messengers that he would not reply to the letter, but just give them an oral message. They should convey his words and not more than those. His answer was that Adipati Cakraningrat was not willing to pay homage in Kartasura. Since he was only given the leftovers of the discussions and felt like being pulled along on a leash, he was very dissatisfied. It was indeed hard to believe that there were people telling His Majesty that he should throw the Company out and take care of the Chinese, despite the fact that the Chinese were just freeloaders in Java, whereas the Company had come to Java because they had been invited to help in wars. It was disgraceful that His Majesty should try to help the Chinese, and it portended that he was going to be destroyed, because the people of Madura were going to become enemies of the people of Kartasura, as they did not want to join in being disgraceful. If the people of Kartasura did not come to the Company's help, the people of Sampang would themselves eliminate the Chinese. Adipati Cakraningrat would inevitably move to Kartasura to watch over and guard His Majesty and wipe out the Chinese. When he finished his instructions, the messengers took their leave and returned. On their arrival in Kartasura, they reported to Kyai Patih everything Adipati Cakraningrat had said. Kyai Patih was extremely angry to hear the defiant words of Adipati Cakraningrat and he summoned a mantri from Sidayu whom he sent with a letter to Madura. On his arrival in Madura, the letter

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was accepted by Adipati Cakraningrat. It said that Adipati Cakraningrat indeed had gone beyond the pale. A person is asked for advice and all of a sudden utters provocations. Only if Patih Natakusuma had lost power, could the Madurese look down upon him. So Adipati Cakraningrat should remember the kindness he had received and not deviate from the good manners of an adipati. When Adipati Cakraningrat learned the contents of the letter, he laughed and said, "It means that he is so furious that he even starts frightening children." Adipati Cakraningrat replied to the letter. After it had been given to the messenger, the latter departed. On his arrival, he handed it to Kyai Patih, who perused it. It said that Adipati Cakraningrat had indeed received the great displeasure of Kyai Patih and thanked him for it, but that he still stood firmly by his statements, for if one followed his advice, he would not give way, even if his bones were crushed, and he would happily sacrifice himself for Java, but if one did not follow his advice, the Madurese would inevitably become an enemy. He was not afraid to fight the people of Kartasura, even if he had to take on everyone, including the women, or the leaves of the waringin trees turning into men and coming out to fight. Adipati Cakraningrat was not afraid and Kartasura would inevitably be totally destroyed. If, on the contrary, His Majesty should fight the Chinese, Adipati Cakraningrat had already appointed four men, called Gardapati, Prabasetya, Prabakesa, and Pudhakmiring, whom he was going to dispatch at any time to Kartasura taking along two hundred Perangkasap troops, and two hundred Trunalawung troops to follow His Majesty. Later he would again send six hundred Singasura troops.

1239. It is told that Captain Langpèl was very confused. After the force of Adipati Jayaningrat and his fellow bupati had left, the Chinese came. They put up camp in Lemahbang and filled the roads. Those who encamped in Bregas consisted of a band of more than one thousand Chinese. Their leader was called Mudha Cupyan.

1240. Adipati Jayaningrat and his fellow bupati met the commander and were shown great respect. Then they took their leave to make an attack on Tanjung Welahan. After their return from the fort, Adipati Jayaningrat and his colleagues set off. The commander sent a messenger to bring them gunpowder and arak. They marched heading for Demak and stopped to the east of the city. Tumenggung Wirasastra of Demak and his colleagues joined them and they set up camp there.

1241. Tumenggung Martapura had already received a letter from Kyai Patih to secretly inform Captain Singsèh that the army had been enlarged and that the bupati of the Pasisir were leading it.

1242. Those camped at Tanjung Welahan had indeed already heard that Adipati Jayaningrat was coming, leading the bupati of the Pasisir and a huge army. The covert messenger from Tumenggung Martapura had also arrived and secretly informed Captain Singsèh. Captain Singsèh then assembled his lieutenants, called Sabukalu, Cik Macan, Cik Epo, and Cik Eping. He let them know that a messenger from His Majesty had arrived and that it was now the time to attack the fort of Semarang. Captain Singsèh conferred with them and asked them to get to work. He wanted to divide his forces into

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two. Since Tumenggung Martapura had let him know in secret that if they did not show up for the fight, they would inevitably lose all trust, and if they had been given that task by the lord of the land, they would inevitably be destroyed. Cik Po proposed, if Captain Singsèh permitted it, to send a letter to Adipati Jayaningrat to find out whether his march against the Chinese was on the orders of His Majesty. Singsèh replied that if he was afraid, he should not join the fight and just become a cook. Didn't he see that the letter of Tumenggung Martapura said that the leaders of the march of Adipati Jayaningrat had been given secret instructions? Cik Po felt ashamed at being called afraid and vowed that he was willing to die in the war and sacrifice himself. Captain Singsèh then issued his orders. Sabukalu was told to go by sea and head together with Cik Etik and Cik Macan for Kaliwungu, take a turn at Karanganyar and head for Semarang, taking one half of the Chinese troops with him. The other half would be led by Captain Singsèh, accompanied by Ping Bulung, and head to the east of Semarang. If possible, they should attack together. When their discussions were finished, those who were going by sea started to make boats. Within seven days their war equipment was ready, and they boarded their various boats. Sabukalu, Cik Macan, and Mudha Tik led them and they pushed off. On arrival at the river mouth of Kaliwungu, they went ashore and from there they turned east and encamped at Karanganyar. Captain Singsèh had also left. The march was led by Cik Ping Bulung, who was given the title of ngabèhi. The force consisted of more than three thousand men.

1243. Tumenggung Martapura arrived from the south with a force of three hundred men on horseback and met with Adipati Jayaningrat. After a whispered conversation, Tumenggung Martapura paid his respects to Adipati Jayaningrat and exchanged greetings with the other bupati. Then he wished them well. The Chinese army came while firing their guns. The troops of Adipati Jayaningrat and the bupati scattered. The Chinese army pursued them. Tumenggung Martapura made a turn and met with Captain Singsèh. Then he commanded his troops at the rear from a high position shaded by a white parasol. Then it became widely known that Tumenggung Martapura had changed sides. The Chinese army chased the Javanese beyond the town of Demak. The troops of the bupati arrived in Lampèr. Adipati Jayaningrat dispatched a mantri to inform the commander. He had him accompanied by three servants and two horses that had been wounded with gunshots. The clothes of the mantri had been smeared with mud to make it look as if he had really been chased in battle.

1244. The pursuing Chinese halted and stayed at Genukséla to the south of the village of Manangèng which overflowed with troops. All around Semarang there was panic. Tuwan Alpiser Natanahil had already heard that the Chinese enemy were coming and that the bupati had been defeated in battle. They had been fiercely attacked by the Chinese and scattered. The commander was looking out from his lookout tower and saw a horse coming from the east spattered with blood. Worried he quickly came down from the lookout tower and met the messenger. He quickly asked whose messenger he was. He said that he was a messenger from Adipati Jayaningrat informing him that the

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latter had been defeated in battle and that many of his troops had been destroyed because the Chinese had cheated in battle by concealing themselves in the villages. In the mind of the adipati, one usually did not cheat in a great battle. The commander said that Ki Adipati did not yet know the way of the Chinese. They are sneaky in battle and just resort to cheating. Ki Adipati should not be discouraged by his defeat. Next time around he should be more careful. The messenger said, "The reason why your brother does not want to flee here is that if the Chinese should invade Semarang, they will be afraid lest the troops of the adipati be still outside. The Chinese enemy are fearful, and even if they did dare to attack, the bupati could strike them from behind." The commander replied, "Indeed, convey my thanks to my brother the adipati, and I will send him arak and two pairs of fine guns. My message is that if there is a battle again, it should not be like the previous one." The messenger left the fort. When he arrived at the camp in Lampèr, the adipati was pleased to hear his report.

1245. Before long, someone informed the commander that the Chinese enemy had arrived by sea and had already all landed. They had headed for Kaliwungu and their troops had turned eastward at Karanganyar and reached Tugu and Kalibanthèng. Next they were going to attack Semarang. When the commander heard this, he was bewildered. That night he was on his guard and sent a messenger to Adipati Jayaningrat, asking for five bupati with their troops whom he wanted to take along to attack the enemy the next morning, as the Chinese enemy had come by sea and set up camp at Kalibanthèng. Adipati Jayaningrat was also told to join his troops with those of the commander. When the messenger met Adipati Jayaningrat, his reply was to tell the commander that the adipati was sending a messenger to His Majesty to inform him about his defeat in battle and ask his instructions, as to whether he was allowed to combine with the Company troops. The messenger was likely to return the next night. When the adipati had received the orders from His Majesty he would send a messenger to the commander the following morning. As for his request for the bupati, he promised to send them. The commander should not worry. The messenger took his leave and on his return to the fort reported everything that Adipati Jayaningrat had said. When the commander heard the messenger's report, he felt relieved.

1246. That night, Adipati Jayaningrat summoned the bupati for a meeting and at the same time give orders to the bupati who were going to join the Company in the attack on the enemy. The tumenggung of Batang, of Pamalang, of Kendhal, of Kaliwungu, and the tumenggung of Surabaya were assigned to the task. They were all given instructions by Adipati Jayaningrat about their secret actions. The bupati who stayed with the adipati were those of Brebes, Demak, and Tegal. In the morning the bupati got ready and when the troops were ready a signal was given and they departed. Their army consisted of about two thousand men, both foot soldiers and men on horseback. On their arrival at the fort, the commander was very pleased to see the bupati leading their troops and quickly went to meet them. When he met all the bupati, they told him the instructions of Adipati Jayaningrat, that he had already received orders from His Ma-

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jesty to join his troops with those of the Company and that there should be no difference between the tasks for the Company and those for His Majesty. When the commander heard that, he was very pleased and was assigned one hundred Company troops led by a captain, called Tuwan Wilem Yanis, and the interpreter, called Tuwan Kolor who was to act as an adviser and at the same time as a leader of the troops. The Company troops and the troops of the bupati left the fort. With the troops of the Balinese, Buginese, and Makassarese captains, they amounted to more than two thousand men. They all lined up outside. The troops of the adipati of Semarang were ready on the Alun-alun. All the guns from the ships were taken ashore and placed on the roads. The troops marched southward. At Sumurbacin they halted and all the troops were lined up. The Company troops were in front, the Buginese and Makassarese at the rear, and the troops of the bupati on the right and left. The Chinese troops were seen streaming down from Kalibanthèng making a lot of noise with their gongs and drums. The Company troops were put on alert. Then the Chinese troops were not visible any more because they had worked their way into the sugar cane fields. The bupati and the Company army were taken aback because the Chinese had disappeared and it was not clear where they were. The interpreter said that these Chinese dogs probably regretted their actions, because they did not expect to face so many Company troops and had run away. Many of the Chinese fighters who had infiltrated the sugar cane fields crept up to the side of the road and watched from their hiding-place, lying down and facing northwards.* The Company troops were motioned southwards. The interpreter marched confidently ahead, about three bow shots in front of the troops. The Chinese then fired their guns and shouted loudly. The Company troops were startled, and the bupati panicked. Attacked by the Chinese many Company troops were killed. Only the Buginese and Makassarese troops, and Ki Sawunggaling the patih of Surabaya, firmly met the attack, because he did not know about the secret instructions. Sawunggaling was wounded in his left thigh and carried to the rear. The troops from Surabaya retreated and fled to the other bupati. The interpreter received sixteen wounds and his body was covered in blood. He fled to Radèn Surèngrana [of Surabaya], asking him for help to return to his homeland [Surabaya] so he could see his wife. Having said that, he lost consciousness because of his wounds and died. The fighting was still fierce. Many were killed by gunfire, others fought hand-to-hand. Eighty Company troops were killed. The remaining twenty fled. Many Buginese were also killed. The Chinese attacked in force. The Javanese troops got blown away and scattered. The attackers forgot about the secret instructions. The Company troops fled behind the Javanese troops and scattered as well. Half of the bupati forgot about the secret instructions in the fighting. Tumenggung Cakrajaya was surrounded. His ceremonial umbrella fell into the mud and was almost carried off by the Chinese. At the last moment, somebody noticed. The Chinese realized that they had gone too far, turned southward and returned to the main road. The twenty Company troops who had fled fired the guns which lined the road. They hit

* The text mistakenly has *southwards.*

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one Chinese. The Chinese at the back pressed forward. Each gun on the road was fired and scored hits, but the Chinese did not stop their chase. The Company troops were followed by the Chinese. The troops of the bupati were far behind the Chinese. The twenty Company troops ran and quickly entered the fort. The commander gave orders to fire the guns on the gallery of the fort. The Chinese could not withstand the fire and retreated. They assembled at the sugar mill in Tanah Pragota. The troops of the bupati fled eastward at full speed. The wounded Sawunggaling, who had been carried back in the retreat, came out in front of the fort and went southward to join the other bupati. Adipati Jayaningrat who was in Lampèr moved southward as if he was going to meet the Chinese troops. The Chinese troops who gathered at the sugar mill in Tanah Pragota increased all the more. Singsèh advanced with his army from the east. His rearguard was led by Tumenggung Martapura. Singsèh halted and camped at Padurungan. Tumenggung Martapura became known for having switched sides. Ngabèhi Ping Bulung with his army of seven hundred men had reached Terbaya. Adipati Jayaningrat gave the bupati orders to camp separately, one half to the south, and the other half to the east.

1247. Adipati Jayaningrat had already dispatched a messenger with letters for His Majesty and Ki Patih. On his arrival in Kartasura, the letter for Ki Patih was handed over. It said that it informed him that a fierce fight had occurred in which the Chinese had advanced from the east and south and had invested the fort in Semarang. The Company army had been defeated and many had been killed. Ki Patih was overjoyed to learn the contents of the letter. He then went to pay his respects at the palace and presented the letter from Adipati Jayaningrat for His Majesty. It said that it informed him that the Chinese had attacked the fort of Semarang and had had the upper hand in the fight. Many Company troops had died. Tumenggung Martapura had also joined the Chinese army, so his disloyalty had become known. After having read the letter, His Majesty ordered Ki Patih to inform the Company fort. On his arrival at the fort, Ki Patih met with the captain and handed him the letter from Adipati Jayaningrat. It was read by the interpreter. It said that it informed him that the bupati had been defeated, the Chinese had attacked and invested the fort of Semarang. As for Mudha Cupyan who blocked the road, he had camped at Bregas and Bahrawa. The captain was frightened when he heard what the letter said. He said to Ki Patih that he wanted the Chinese who camped at Bahrawa to be attacked immediately, because they were a nuisance and a cause of worry. Ki Patih replied that he had already received orders from His Majesty. Tumenggung Pringgalaya and Suryadiningrat had been appointed and told to take all their soldiers, four military contingents from the Mancanagara, and as a fifth Tumenggung Mataun of Jipang. They were ordered to leave the next morning. When the captain heard this, he was very pleased and said, "That's right, because if the Chinese who are camped at Bregas are not attacked immediately, their friends in Semarang will be reinforced from behind." Ki Patih then took his leave.

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1248. The next morning, Tumenggung Pringgalaya, Tumenggung Suryadiningrat of Sidayu, and Tumenggung Mataun of Jipang, and moreover the four military contingents from the Mancanagara, that is from Japan, Kartasana, Warung, and Magetan, departed. The leader of the march was Tumenggung Pringgalaya. On their arrival at the fort, the bupati met and exchanged greetings with the captain. After having been given provisions of liquor and gunpowder, they departed. Their army consisted of more than three thousand men. On their arrival in Salatiga, Tumenggung Pringgalaya and Suryadiningrat stayed at Kalicacing, and Tumenggung Mataun and his fellow Mancanagara men stayed at Lopait.

1249. His Majesty in Kartasura issued an order to all bupati and mantri to stay in temporary shelters on the Alun-alun. Only Kyai Patih still stayed in his residence. Every day they prepared for battle.

1250. The Chinese who were camped at Bahrawa came together for a meeting. The Chinese who had fled from Kartasura and stayed at Saroja also joined them. Commander Mudha Cupyan said to scribe Ham that at this moment the bupati from Kartasura who were to attack them had arrived. What was his idea? Did scribe Ham not have a good relation with them? The scribe answered that he was well acquainted with them all. The senior bupati were like a father to him, and the junior ones like relatives. The same went for Kyai Patih. Even his escape from Kartasura had been on the secret instructions of Ki Patih. Mudha Cupyan said that in that case the scribe had better meet Tumenggung Pringgalaya in order to quickly handle the problem. Tumenggung Pringgalaya should be enlisted to solve the situation. Scribe Ham was willing to meet Tumenggung Pringgalaya, Suryadiningrat, and Tumenggung Mataun the next morning, for although many tumenggung had come, only these three were the leaders. When Commander Mudha Cupyan heard the willingness of scribe Ham, he was very pleased.

1251. Tumenggung Pringgalaya had already dispatched a spy, called Demang Salukat, to spy on the movements of the Chinese. On his return, Demang Salukat told everything about his spying mission to Tumenggung Pringgalaya. Radèn Tumenggung Pringgalaya quickly called Radèn Sur[y]adiningrat, Tumenggung Mataun, and his kliwon Radèn Singaranu. When they had arrived, Tumenggung Pringgalaya told them that the next morning they would be visited by a messenger from the Chinese who were camped at Bahrawa. The messenger would be scribe Ham and his errand was to enlist them to resolve the situation. If he came the next morning, should he be received or turned away? Tumenggung Mataun replied that it was not their responsibility to handle this. That depended on His Majesty and Ki Patih. Because the extent of the matter was at the moment still secret, one ought not to go along. Even so, I leave it up to you. Radèn Suryadiningrat added, "It is not proper for just somebody like Mudha Cupyan to know about state secrets and join in determining the direction of the country. So, as for me, if he arrives tomorrow morning, I will kill him on the road. His sin is to have disclosed a royal secret and, therefore, we have a duty to kill him." The bupati fully agreed with each other. Tumenggung Pringgalaya told Radèn Singaranu to lead eighty

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Macanbawuk troops and have the tumenggung of Sidayu lend him eighty Trunalanang troops and also take along the twenty-five Madurese who had recently arrived, and block the Chinese who were at Tuntang. When their meeting was concluded, Tumenggung Mataun returned to Lopait. The next morning he ordered his troops to hide themselves on both sides of the road. There were more than four hundred troops who were lying ready in concealment.

1252. After having been given many instructions by Mudha Cupyan, scribe Ham departed from Bahrawa accompanied by twelve Chinese, eight on foot and four on horseback. One of the men on horseback rode ahead. When nine of them had arrived at the south of the Tuntang bridge, while three of the horsemen were still behind, Radèn Singaranu quickly gave orders to his men. The nine Chinese were killed in the attack, the other three returned. The heads of the killed Chinese were taken back to Salatiga. On their arrival in Salatiga, the bupati were assembled for a meeting. When they agreed, they dispatched a messenger to Kartasura to present the heads of the Chinese to Ki Patih. When he arrived and the heads were inspected, one of them was of scribe Ham. Ki Patih was shocked and quickly went to pay his respects to His Majesty. After reporting everything Tumenggung Pringgalaya had done, His Majesty was shocked and asked the patih what should be done about it. The patih made a sembah and said, "My lord, as for me, I am relieved, but also sad. Even so, I leave it to your wishes." His Majesty said, "I am thinking the same as you, patih. It is sad that we must try to recover from thinking too far, but the relief is that it can be used to repair the split with the Company and free up your mind. It can give time to smooth out thoughts that are full of holes. Therefore, now send a letter to that Paridan [Martapura]. If his Chinese have questions, tell him to be angry with them because of their own mistakes. As for that head, bring it to the captain." Ki Patih said that he would do as told, made a sembah and withdrew. On his arrival at the fort, Ki Patih met the captain and informed him that Tumenggung Pringgalaya had fought in Tuntang and had won, killing nine Chinese. When the captain heard that, he was very pleased. The head was inspected and when he learned that it was the head of scribe Ham, he was very happy. He said to Ki Patih that when he was again sending a messenger to Salatiga, he wanted to send liquor and gunpowder. Ki Patih replied that the messenger would return the next morning and would come to the fort to take his leave. Ki Patih then took his leave. On his return to his residence, he quickly dispatched a messenger to surreptitiously bring a letter to Tumenggung Martapura. On his arrival at the camp at Padurungan, the letter was received by Tumenggung Martapura, and when it had been read the messenger was sent back.

1253. Captain Singsèh was visited by a messenger from Mudha Cupyan, bringing a letter. When he perused its contents, that scribe Ham had been killed by the troops of Tumenggung Pringgalaya, he became very angry. He quickly donned his armaments and led a picked group of seventy men to the camp of Tumenggung Martapura. When he had been met and they were seated, he said that Tumenggung Pringgalaya, Mataun, and the Tumenggung of Sidayu had killed the Chinese at Tuntang, even though they

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had come with good intentions. What was that all about? Was there somebody who had put them up to it? Were the intentions of the Javanese good or bad? If bad, he, Martapura, should know it, because he was the representative of His Majesty's, trusted to take care of the Chinese, which was the reason why the Chinese had no intention to act in a hostile way. How could the Javanese have gone so far as to maliciously kill Chinese? Tumenggung Martapura asked Singsèh to calm down first. Because he had received a letter with orders from Kyai Patih, he asked Singsèh to listen. It said, "Hey, Martapura, you ask Singsèh about His Majesty's secret. Did he let every Chinese hear it, even though His Majesty had ordered that it was not allowed to reveal the secret without orders. If Singsèh does not admit that he gave orders to tell about the secret, ask for the head of that Mudha Cupyan, because he has committed a sin against the state." When Captain Singsèh heard what the letter said, he started trembling. He felt at fault, and also because of the faults of his fellow Chinese, he humbly asked for forgiveness. He hoped that Ki Tumenggung would quickly send a messenger to tell Kyai Patih that he asked for forgiveness for his faults, and also would forgive that Mudha Cupyan. If in future Mudha Cupyan again dared to divulge secrets, he would personally cut off his head and offer it to the patih, but for now he would humbly accept all the anger of Kyai Patih. Tumenggung Martapura replied, "Yes, Bapak Singsèh, don't worry, but don't again dare to divulge matters to every Chinese. That is a big mistake. Make it only yourself who knows the secret. If you want to do things differently, you need to consult with Ki Patih, but if not, it is not allowed." Singsèh followed all the advice of Tumenggung Martapura.

1254. It is told that in Kartasura, Pangéran Wiramenggala, the one from Ceylon, often blabbered to the magang that his younger brother Pangéran Tepasana could succeed in becoming king, and, promising to make them wadana, they should sing his praises. The talk had become widely known in the capital that Pangéran Tepasana intended to become king. It even became known to many that Pangéran Wiramenggala had assembled four chests full of treasure and stored them at the residence of Puspadirja, transporting them at night. As for this Puspadirja, he was the younger brother of the dismissed tumenggung of Batang, but he had been picked as son-in-law by Pangéran Tepasana. Kyai Patih had heard these stories, but he did not worry about them because in his mind they were all like children in his care and should not be treated differently. Then, a lurah of the Jayantaka corps told Ki Patih that last night Radèn Puspadirja had entered the fort with four chests. When Kyai Patih heard that, he was shocked and quickly went to pay his respects at the palace, and reported the actions of Pangéran Tepasana, for if they were really going to help the Chinese, they would inevitably be going to fight the Company. Since such actions would inevitably be given away by Pangéran Tepasana to the captain, the Company would inevitably come down in full force, starting by taking possession of the palace. His Majesty said that he had heard these stories for a long time. So the treacherousness of Pangéran Tepasana had become clear. Those who supported his cause were the deposed tumenggung of Batang and his brother

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who at present was staying in the Surapraméya residence. Because His Majesty had put someone under cover in the Surapraméya residence, the person sent was a niece of the deposed tumenggung of Batang who was serving at the court, called Timbel, and it had become clear that the tumenggung of Batang and Puspadirja were inciting Pangéran Tepasana, His Majesty gave orders to arrest these two men, and after they had been arrested, to put them to death. Ki Patih heard His Majesty's orders, he deeply bowed his head, as he felt that he had been lacking in caution. Then he made a sembah and said that he would do as told and left. Back in his residence, he summoned his favorite lurah of the Jayantaka corps who was friends with Puspadirja and gave him whispered instructions. The lurah of the Jayantaka left, taking with him a bag of kemiri nuts. At the Puspadirja residence, the lurah of the Jayantaka and Puspadirja talked informally. The whole night they had fun playing a game with kemiri nuts. The lurah of the Jayantaka said, "Brother, yesterday Goplem [the Jayantaka chief] let me know that his lordship had said to Ki Surajaya that because at the time of the battle at Kalibanthèng Ki Tumenggung Cakrajaya of Batang had run away, he was going to be deposed and that you are the one he wants to replace him with. So tomorrow if you are summoned by Ki Surajaya, you should go quickly and pay your respects." The lurah of the Jayantaka then returned home. The next morning, Ki Surajaya received an order to arrest Puspadirja. Since he had already been talked into it, he needed to be summoned to the Surajaya residence. The ones who were told to arrest the deposed tumenggung of Batang, called Puspatenaya, were Radèn Martataruna and a lurah of the Jayamenggala corps. When summoned to the Surajaya residence, Puspadirja was arrested by Ki Surajaya. Tumenggung Puspatenaya was arrested in the Surapraméya residence. Both were then put in jail. When His Majesty had been informed, he summoned Wirajaya and sent him to the fort to inform the captain. Having received his instructions, Ki Wirajaya went, met the captain and said that he had been sent by His Majesty to inform him that His Majesty wanted to put to death someone whose sin was an attempt to divide his family. If it were not corrected, it would cause more bloodshed and destroy the state. The captain asked who the person was that he wanted to put to death. Ki Wirajaya replied, Puspadirja. When the captain heard that, his face turned pale, because he felt that he had been caught out. He humbly asked Ki Wirajaya to tell His Majesty without anyone knowing it, that Pangéran Wiramenggala had entrusted four chests to him. He had said that the reason he wanted to entrust them was that he was worried about leaving them at home, because of the many thieves, the more so leaving them while he was in the shelters on the Alun-alun. He has also told him many stories, but these the captain had not believed. The captain felt that he had made a mistake here. Ki Wirajaya replied, "That is not as it should be. Why would he entrust them to you? He could have entrusted them to me, or if he did not trust me, entrusted them to the Kapatihan. So it is better to return them and not inform those in power. It might unleash their anger, because Puspadirja who brought those chests was this morning arrested together with the deposed tumenggung of Batang. The captain's heart started

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palpitating when he heard Ki Wirajaya's words. He said, "In that case, it is better to examine the chests, in case they contain property of His Majesty." The chests were brought out and he gave orders to cut them open with an axe, all four together, because the captain's idea was that if they contained secret letters he could clear himself. When examined, they only contained bricks. The captain and Ki Wirajaya were stunned when he saw it. He said, "What kind of Javanese trick is this? I cannot fathom the intention." Ki Wirajaya added that this was a trick to create problems for many. The captain then showed the letters from Pangéran Tepasana which had been brought by Puspadirja, seven in total. When read, the letters turned out to be inflammatory, confrontational, and full of tattle. The captain said that he had not believed any of them, because he found them repugnant. So if Ki Wirajaya agreed, it would be better to burn them, so as not to let the matter fester on and on. They were indeed burned. Ki Wirajaya then took his leave. He gave orders to the Kapatihan to put Puspadirja and the deposed tumenggung of Batang to death on the Alun-alun, and stick their heads on bamboo poles. When the killings had been done, the people in the capital were in turmoil because they did not know what their sin had been. Ki Patih was ordered into the palace and asked by His Majesty what nuisance there was left after the killings of Puspadirja and the deposed tumenggung of Batang, for it was clear that Pangéran Tepasana and his brother should not be treated leniently and become a disease that, when protected, would eventually infect the state. So he told Ki Patih to give advice. Ki Patih replied that he would leave it to His Majesty's wishes, and once clear, he would dutifully execute those wishes. His Majesty said that he had reached a conclusion and entrusted it to Ki Patih. Ki Patih withdrew and outside the palace summoned Radèn Mlayakusuma. He asked Radèn Mlayakusuma what according to him carried more weight, a blood relative or an order of the king. He said, "An order of the king carries more weight because it decides on life or death." Ki Patih approved because it was common sense for the whole country and also for someone serving. Ki Patih then divulged what His Majesty's wish was and entrusted the matter to Radèn Mlayakusuma. He said that he should not waver because they were flesh-and-blood relatives. For now, he wanted him to get close first, so that his elder brother Pangéran Tepasana would let go of his suspicions. Radèn Mlayakusuma said that he would do as told and withdrew.

1255. The killing of his son-in-law Puspadirja greatly disturbed Pangéran Tepasana because he did not know what his sin had been. So while he was staying in the shelter on the Alun-alun, he felt worried all the time.

1256. Ki Patih received a letter from Adipati Jayaningrat who was still in Semarang, informing him that the Company men now all realized that when the Chinese attacked at the beginning of the war, the Javanese troops were not allowed to draw near. The troops of the adipati of Semarang have also left the city. At present, I am keeping my distance and have joined the bupati because I have not yet received orders. Secondly, I would like to inform you that Tuwan Sayid Nguluwi Bapekih has been seized by the Company and is now in its custody. Ki Patih replied to the letter and when it arrived

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in Semarang, the Javanese were just trying to take back Tuwan Sayid who had been wounded by a dart, but no matter how much they tried, they did not succeed. The Sayid had been taken into the fort. This worried the bupati of the Pasisir.

1257. Pangéran Tepasana who was still distressed by the death of his son-in-law stayed in the temporary shelters on the Alun-alun, but at night he could not sleep and did not eat. One night at ten o'clock, a mantri came to tell him that his younger brother Radèn Mlayakusuma had come to visit. Pangéran Tepasana quickly went to meet him and said, "How come, brother, do you have some urgent matter?" Radèn Mlayakusuma replied, "I have no urgent matter, brother, I am just passing by. I felt too lonely in my lodgings. Moreover, brother, last night I almost felt like losing my life, because Ki Patih kept on asking me about the death of your son Puspadirja. Who had dared to tattle to His Majesty, as it had not been discussed first with Ki Patih. It was out of the question that anybody but a santana would dare to bypass Ki Patih. He suspected me of knowing and of having tattled to His Majesty. So I was asked while standing and challenged by Ki Patih saying, "Hey, Mlayakusuma, if you really want to rebel, you've got to cut off Natakusuma's arm first." I was really scared, brother, seeing how angry he was. I said that I would take an oath that I really didn't know. Ki Patih even spat out coarsely, "Is the King then wrong, or is it a common man who caused trouble?' When Pangéran Tepasana heard the account, his troubles partly disappeared, because he realized that it had been a malfunction of the state. He said, "He was right to get angry, brother." Pangéran Tepasana very much trusted Mlayakusuma and was not on his guard. He even gave him instructions, because he had been done a favour, to let him know whenever he got news from the Kapatihan. At two o'clock Radèn Mlayakusuma went back to his place.

1258. The next morning, Radèn Jayakusuma visited his elder brother Pangéran Tepasana and told him that the death of Puspadirja was the result of tittle-tattle by the captain because the seven letters from Pangéran Tepasana to the captain that had been brought by Puspadirja had been given to His Majesty. Now Ki Patih was very angry with the captain. That is why every day troops were lying in wait in the Kapatihan to seize the captain. The bupati lebet, however, had escaped being linked to the problem, which now seemed to have taken a turn and was about to fall on Pangéran Tepasana. He should be careful because many people had warned Radèn Jayakusuma. Pangéran Tepasana replied, "Don't believe their stories because they are inflammatory talk. When the pusaka heirlooms were demanded, I presented them because I had already accepted the one who is king. I am just asking for a share of the food. Even if the king were a Balinese from Blambangan, it would be proper to serve him to our dying day. So stop listening to people trying to sow discord."

1259. Pangéran Wiramenggala felt very concerned and remorseful that his scheme had been discovered. He resigned himself to the inevitable and was ready to die. If His Majesty was in fact going to fight the Dutch, he would join in fighting the Dutch. If His Majesty was going to fight the Chinese, he would join in fighting the Chinese. But when

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he heard talk that Kyai Patih often was at odds with the other high officials because His Majesty liked Tumenggung Tirtawiguna and often ignored Ki Patih, Pangéran Wiramenggala saw some hope that if Ki Patih got angry, there would be help.

1260. The next morning, Radèn Arya Mlayakusuma was summoned by Ki Patih. On his arrival, he said that he had succeeded in executing Ki Patih's instruction to get close to Pangéran Tepasana. Ki Patih then told Radèn Mlayakusuma to ask Pangéran Tepasana and his younger brother Pangéran Jayakusuma to come to the Kapatihan. If he was asked what the matter was, he should answer that he did not know, but tell him that Ki Patih was going to meet with the captain, and that it seemed that there was going to be a favourable change of heart toward the pangéran, which was the reason why he was invited. Radèn Arya Mlayakusuma said that he would do as told, left the Kapatihan and went to the temporary shelters on the Alun-alun. He met Pangéran Tepasana and when asked where he came from, he answered that he came from the Kapatihan and was sent by Ki Patih to invite the pangéran the next morning to the Kapatihan for an audience, because tomorrow morning Ki Patih was going to be visited by the captain. Pangéran Tepasana felt alarmed and asked Radèn Arya Mlayakusuma to just go together and wear their ceremonial outfit. Radèn Arya Mlayakusuma agreed and took his leave. That night Pangéran Tepasana could not sleep. The thought came to him that it was out of the question that Ki Patih would summon him if there was no pressing matter.

1261. The next morning, Radèn Arya Mlayakusuma sent a messenger to invite Pangéran Tepasana. He was asked to pay his respects to the Kapatihan while it was still early. Pangéran Tepasana was already wearing his ceremonial outfit and left for the quarters of Radèn Arya Mlayakusuma.

1262. At that time, Ki Patih had already summoned Tumenggung Surabrata, told him to bring some good men and had given him instructions to place these picked men from Pranaraga on both sides along the wall of the outer gateway, but keep them hidden behind a screen of dried palm leaves and arm them with short spears. The men from the Kapatihan he had secretly deployed outside. The troops secretly deployed on the grounds outside were the Secanirbaya, the Jayamenggala, the Jayaparusa, the Jayaantaka, the Secanirmala, the Tanpagembung, the Tanparaga, the Narantaka, the Jayèngastra, and the Jayènglatri, as well as the night guards led by Suradigdaya and Mangunoneng. The number of the night guards amounted to one hundred. Ki Patih told Tumenggung Surabrata to sit in the outer gateway. When Pangéran Tepasana came, he should stop him, and when asked, he should tell him that he was going to reinforce Arya Pringgalaya in his campaign and was therefore wearing military attire. To the left and the right of the outer gateway chains should be placed so it would look as if there was really going to be a visit by the captain.

1263. Radèn Arya Mlayakusuma and Pangéran Tepasana had already left for the Kapatihan. On their arrival in the outer gateway, they were asked to sit down on the chairs together with Tumenggung Surabrata. Pangéran Tepasana clearly looked apprehensive

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when he saw Tumenggung Surabrata in full military attire and asked for the reason. The answer was that he was wearing full military attire because he was going to reinforce Radèn Arya Pringgalaya in his campaign, and that the captain was coming to visit, so he could meet him at the same time. Pangéran Tepasana's mind was put at ease when he heard Tumenggung Surabrata's reply. Radèn Arya Mlayakusuma told Pangéran Tepasana to wait there first because he wanted to inform Kyai Patih that Pangéran Tepasana had arrived. When Radèn Mlayakusuma met with Ki Patih, the latter whispered something to him and then told him to return to the outer gateway. He met with Pangéran Tepasana and said, "Brother, I have already told Ki Patih, but I was then ordered to test you whether you are really loyal in your service to the king. If you are really sincere, you would certainly not move when being made to shudder with horror." Pangéran Tepasana was taken aback and asked whether he was allowed to meet Ki Patih himself and profess his loyalty. Radèn Mlayakusuma replied that he was allowed, but not while wearing his kris. This would arouse Ki Patih's suspicions. Pangéran Tepasana gave his kris to Radèn Mlayakusuma. However, Radèn Jayakusuma was not ready to lay down his kris. He was then ordered by Pangéran Tepasana to hand it over immediately. When the kris had been handed over to Radèn Mlayakusuma, the latter gave Ki Mangunyuda and Ki Surayuda a wink to pounce on Pangéran Tepasana and Radèn Jayakusuma. It was done, they were caught and put in the mosque within the outer gate of the Kapatihan and guarded by soldiers. Pangéran Tepasana asked the guards to convey his loyalty to Ki Patih. His guards replied that they were not prepared to do so out of fear. Pangéran Tepasana was deeply distressed and sensed that he was going to die. He wept because he felt that he was going to be parted from his sons. Instantly, a rain cloud darkened the sky and it started to rain with gusts of wind. Radèn Jayakusuma cried because he craved opium. The guards asked Ki Patih for it on his behalf. He got the opium and swallowed it. Pangéran Tepasana said to Radèn Jayakusuma, "Since I deeply feel that we are without sin, and that, even if we should meet our end, it seems as if the doors of heaven are standing open, we should submit to the will of God." At five o'clock in the evening, Pangéran Tepasana was taken to the palace. On the way there, he was carried in a sedan chair which had been tightly covered, and escorted by a large number of troops. The escorts had been instructed to say, if challenged when passing in front of the Company's palace guard, that the wife of the patih was going to pay her respects in the palace. When they passed in front of the of the guard house, they were indeed challenged by the Company, and answered that the wife of the patih was going to pay her respects in the palace. On arrival in the palace, Pangéran Tepasana and Radèn Jayakusuma were put in the Suranata compound of the religious officials. At the time of the evening prayer, Pangéran Tepasana and Radèn Jayakusuma were strangled. Their bodies were ordered to be buried on Mount Wijil to the west of the Sagarayasa lake. This happened in the year 1668 [A.J.]. By God's will, none of the bupati or Kyai Patih dared to tell His Majesty that Pangéran Tepasana had not been properly sentenced. At least, it would have been better if he

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had just been administered an oath that if he had betrayed the state, he himself might perish, since it is said that if the king unjustly spills blood, the whole population shares in the repayment. For example, if you borrow a chicken and it is not done properly, it does not make it lawful if you pay it back with a hundred water buffalos. Because before the law, commoners and grandees, or the king are just the same, the scholars at that time were worried, because the destruction of the state would inevitably come about.

1264. Pangéran Wiramenggala heard that his younger brothers had been strangled in the palace and he was very worried. The sons of Pangéran Tepasana gathered around their uncle while weeping and asking where their father was. And his wives and the servants from the days of his banishment to Ceylon all were screaming and crying. Pangéran Wiramenggala was indeed also weeping. He said, "Enough, be quiet, stop crying." Having said that, the servants gathered together. However, five servants, Demang Amongpraja with his three sons, called Anggatruna, Anggawirya, and Sutawirya, as well as Kyai Irawan and his three sons, while weeping enjoined them to fight. They persistently urged the sons of Pangéran Tepasana, the eldest called Radèn Wiratmeja and Radèn Mas Garendi, both already adolescents, and the son of Radèn Arya Jayakusuma, called Radèn Mas Surada, who were all weeping, to conduct a blind attack. Pangéran Wiramenggala said, "If you have the intention to conduct a blind attack, think how strong you are. You're fighting a whole country. It is like a flying ant flying into the fire. Enough, let's try to get out. Perhaps God will forgive us, because we are without sin." When ready at midnight, Pangéran Wiramenggala with his wives, children, and servants fled. There were about a hundred and fifty people, men, women, and children. When they were already far away, someone informed Kyai Patih that Pangéran Wiramenggala had fled. This was then reported to His Majesty who gave orders to follow them. The bupati who were sent after them were Radèn Tumenggung Mlayakusuma with his troops, Radèn Tumenggung Mangkupraja and a lower official from the Kapatihan calledSéwabangsa, together with troops from the Mancanagara domains of Sarengat, Caruban, Rawa, Pacé, and Kaduwang, an army of about two thousand men. They left and marched in haste.

1265. At dawn, Pangéran Wiramenggala arrived at Sima where he turned northward and headed for Gagatan. He did not stop for a day and a night. They were all limping from exhaustion, sleepy and hungry, because they were traversing the forest. At three o'clock they heard the loud noises from their pursuers. When Pangéran Wiramenggala saw that they were being followed, he turned eastward. Their pursuers did not notice, so they lost them because of the dense forest. They were pursued up to a place between Demak and Pajang while being followed at some distance. But their pursuers could not get close because the roads were barely passable. The troops of Radèn Wiratmeja asked each other to conduct a blind attack because they were already very tired. About eighteen men gathered with the intention of blocking the road. When their pursuers saw that they were blocked, they urged on the men from the Mancanagara. Ngabèhi

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Suralegawa and Surantaka of Sarengat, and the kliwon of Mlayakusuma, Radèn Ngabèhi Wirataruna, fired their guns. Radèn Wiratmeja and his men blindly attacked. Their pursuers were routed with many wounded. Radèn Wiratmeja stopped and captured many horses. They even had extra horses and put their luggage on the captured horses. When Radèn Wiratmeja met his uncle Pangéran Wiramenggala, he offered them food. The rice from the booty was divided equally. When they reached the northern flank of the Kendheng mountains, they turned westward following the flanks of the mountain range.

1266. The men who were routed in the fight ran into their chiefs who tried to stop them, but they still kept running. Radèn Tumenggung Mlayakusuma and Mangkupraja were furious and put themselves at the front. When all the mantri had assembled, those pursued were already far ahead. When they turned westward, they had already entered the domain of Semarang.

1267. Pangéran Wiramenggala reached the camp of Singsèh. The Chinese were surprised and thronged around him. Captain Singsèh came out to meet him and asked who he, a high-ranking person, was and where he was from. Pangéran Wiramenggala replied that he was from Kartasura and that he had come there with the intention of seeking refuge with Singsèh because he had been maltreated by the king. Captain Singsèh was willing to receive him. He gave him a place to stay, and food and drink. Moreover, he informed Tumenggung Martapura that runaways from Kartasura had arrived fleeing for their lives, and called Pangéran Wiramenggala and Radèn Wiratmeja. When the matter was reported to Tumenggung Martapura, he asked Singsèh to come, but the latter did not go. Singsèh told Pangéran Wiramenggala to feel at ease there, and that he was going to call up his Chinese troops and deploy them, so that they could fight the pursuers of Pangéran Wiramenggala in case they showed up. However, in fact Singsèh went secretly to Tumenggung Martapura. When he met him, he asked what his advice was concerning the arrival of Pangéran Wiramenggala and Radèn Wiratmeja. Because the father of Radèn Wiratmeja had been killed without having committed a sin, they wanted to flee. They had brought along more than a hundred men and women, including children. Not more than twenty-five of them seemed to be armed. Tumenggung Martapura replied that it was a very good situation. Singsèh was lucky because it provided a way of quickly solving Singsèh's predicament, so he he told Singsèh to tell Pangéran Wiramenggala that since the Chinese were at present facing both the Company and the Javanese, there would not be any interference from those sides, and that although Pangéran Wiramenggala had now sought refuge, the Chinese were indeed very happy, that if he was truly a refugee, they were glad that he had fled to them, but in order to make the suspicions of the Chinese go away, he and his servants should give up their weapons. If he had agreed on the weapons, Tumenggung Martapura would draft a letter to His Majesty that would make it possible to quickly solve this sensitive situation. Hearing the advice of Tumenggung Martapura, Singsèh's mind was put at ease, but he said, "Since the army of pursuers is numerous, what should be

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done if they dare to seize them forcibly?" Tumenggung Martapura replied, "How could they dare to do that without the advice and instructions of Adipati Jayaningrat and Tumenggung Martapura? Because they obey orders, how could these men from Kartasura at the present moment dare to disregard orders?" Then they were interrupted by messengers from Tumenggung Mlayakusuma and Mangkupraja who handed over a letter which said that they informed him that they were leading troops chasing Pangéran Wiramenggala. Since it was now known that he was staying there, they wanted the advice of Tumenggung Martapura. The letter was answered and the messengers went to the lodgings of Adipati Jayaningrat. After the messengers had left, Singsèh said that the advice of Tumenggung Martapura was right and that he had no longer any fear of the pursuers, and there only remained the matter of how to persuade Pangéran Wiramenggala. Singsèh then returned. On his return in his camp, he received Pangéran Wiramenggala. Unexpectedly, Pangéran Wiramenggala was easy. He surrendered his weapons to Singsèh and believed whatever the latter said. Singsèh sent a messenger to Kartasura with a letter for Radèn Adipati Natakusuma.

1268. The messengers from Tumenggung Mlayakusuma and Mangkupraja to Adipati Jayaningrat were received and the letter was accepted and read. It said that both bupati informed him that they had been sent to pursue the escaped Pangéran Wiramenggala. A reply was made and the messengers returned. The letters to Radèn Tumenggung Mlayakusuma and Mangkupraja from Tumenggung Martapura and Adipati Jayaningrat told them to hold off for the time being, because Pangéran Wiramenggala had fled to and was being taken care of by the Chinese, who should not be harassed. Because Adipati Jayaningrat and Tumenggung Martapura were in charge, they were told to hold off and for the time being take their ease by staying in Demak. Both bupati calmed down when they heard the contents of the letter, and so did the men from the Mancanagara. They then dispatched a messenger to inform Ki Patih of the contents of the letter.

1269. It is told again of Adipati Jayaningrat that at night he summoned Tumenggung Martapura and Radèn Suralaya. After they had come, he said to them, "How did it come to such a mess. We haven't got anywhere yet, and we are already bickering about what to do. This will inevitably cause bewilderment and create confusion. If this is continued, it is not good. If people go about things while confused, they will have difficulties and get damaged, for in this way it will inevitably destroy the land of Java. It is not like Kyai Patih not to think things through. Who told His Majesty to have Pangéran Tepasana killed?" Tumenggung Martapura replied, "I cannot give you advice. I leave the thinking to you, for although I am a bupati, even a commoner has the obligation to carry out all the orders of Ki Patih, but I guess that it is not Kyai Patih who told His Majesty to have Pangéran Tepasana killed. Furthermore, I would like to let you know that Captain Singsèh informed me that Pangéran Wiramenggala lets himself be guided by Singsèh and has already handed over his arms. And Captain Singsèh also dispatched a Chinese of mixed-descent as messenger to Kyai Patih to ask him to quickly

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solve the problem." Adipati Jayaningrat answered, "Martapura, younger brother, it is best to know both action and thought. Don't only think of action. Because if the conduct of a ruler is superior, he is destined for greatness. If it is disgraceful, he is destined for ruin. Such as the killing of Pangéran Tepasana. That is worrying because he has not properly been subjected to divine retribution. It would have been proper if he had been administered an oath. This means forgetting the most excellent example. For there is the story that when Bathara Rama attacked Ngalengka because his wife had been abducted by Prabu Dasamuka, it would have been appropriate to kill everybody in his rage. Nevertheless, when Wibisana surrendered, he did not wish to kill him. Instead he trusted him in thought and action. Because he did not worry and was not suspicious, the good fortune received from heaven increased. If he had had too many suspicions, he would likely not have been able to meet [his wife] Putri Mantili again. That, Martapura, is the story. If this king had forgiven his elder brother Pangéran Tepasana, how noble the kingship of Java would have been. All His Majesty's wishes would inevitably be fulfilled. When accompanied by cruelty like this, it seems that he will inevitably be ill-fated. If my king is ill-fated, it would be better for me, brother, not to witness that. Therefore, I am going to present a letter of resignation to Ki Patih. Because I am already old and often sick, I am just asking to retire. The one who I request to replace me is the son of Ki Patih called Radèn Bagus Pama, who is my son-in-law." Tumenggung Martapura added, "Yes, I heard the story told by ascetics that in the future a descendant of Mataram is going to wage war and if he wages it under the banner of the Quran, no one will be able to withstand him. In spite of the fact that he is planning to fight the unbelievers and spread the faith of the Prophet, you actually want to drop out." Adipati Jayaningrat said, "Martapura, you are wrong, for His Majesty wants to forbid dogs while still protecting puppies. It is better to have the Dutch, who are only unbelievers in that they have a different Prophet, while the Chinese are unbelievers who worship idols. I am originally Chinese, but I am not willing to join the Chinese. Therefore, brother, let's just say goodbye." Tumenggung Martapura took his leave and returned to his camp.

1270. It is told that the Chinese messenger of mixed-descent from Singsèh had arrived in Kartasura and headed to meet the patih of the Kapatihan, called Ngabéhi Surajaya. He was then led to Ki Patih. After the letter had been accepted and read, Ki Patih quickly went to visit the palace. The letter was presented to His Majesty. It said that Captain Singsèh informed him that Pangéran Wiramenggala and Radèn Wiratmeja, who were being chased by delegates from Kartasura, had fled to the captain. The captain requested instructions as to His Majesty's wishes, for if this was left to go on, it might go the wrong way with many Javanese serving and inciting Pangéran Wiramenggala. When His Majesty learned the contents of the letter, he was very troubled and asked Kyai Patih what he wanted to do, because the conduct of this war was coming to a dead end. Kyai Patih deferred to the wishes of His Majesty, but said that if it was His Majesty's wish to wait and do nothing, what could be expected, whereas now the Chi-

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nese had obtained a useful prop, which inevitably they would set up as king. His Majesty became very fearful when he heard his patih's words, which made him act rather hastily and decide that the Javanese should themselves lead the fight against the Dutch, whereas his real wish was, if he had not been pressed to act, to just tell the Chinese to do the fighting. He ordered the patih to immediately start the war. Kyai Patih was assigned to attack the northern fort, while the wadana lebet were assigned to attack the southern fort [i.e. the Company's palace guard]. Kyai Patih said that he would do as told, made a sembah and left. Outside he quickly gave orders to make arrangements for attacking the fort. He gave orders to dole out clothes and money to the servants of the chiefs, and when these had been equally divided they were ready to fight. Tumenggung Rajaniti was ordered to break a hole in the wall of the southern fort. Ki Tumenggung Natayuda and Wirajaya should be on the Sitinggil and knock down the western palisade, so that it would fall to the eastern side of the fort. Tumenggung Wirajaya and Tirtawiguna should guard the Kamandungan and Gapit gates. After he had issued these orders, Ki Patih summoned the tumenggung of Numbakanyar, of Sèwu, and the tumenggung of Banyumas. He wanted to entrust them with the task of going to the fort under the pretext that they were going to depart to reinforce Bahrawa and help Arya Pringgalaya who was standing guard in Salatiga, but in reality to attack the fort. Picked troops from the Kapatihan who were going to be sent in had been called up and had gathered on the grounds. They numbered about seven hundred. The three tumenggung who were entrusted with the task of going to the fort had arrived. Their names were Tumenggung Jayasudirga, Tumenggung Mangunnagara, Tumenggung Yudanagara, and as a fourth the kliwon Ngabèhi Mangunyuda. Ki Patih told the mantri of the Kalang and Gowong people, called Ki Sutayuda and Ki Gunawangsa to escort the three tumenggung to the fort to make it look convincing to the captain. Then they were interrupted by the arrival of Tumenggung Rajaniti who told Kyai Patih that if he agreed, the three tumenggung should better withdraw for now. The next Thursday would be better as a day for pretending to send help to Salatiga. Ki Patih agreed. The three tumenggung were ordered to withdraw. On the morning of the next Thursday, they were ready for battle with their army and were ordered to go to the fort, but wait there under the pretext of waiting for the Kalang people. When these had arrived, the three tumenggung and the chiefs from the Kapatihan should make a blind attack within the fort.

//. The three tumenggung and the chiefs of the Kapatihan said that they would do as told. On their arrival in the fort, the three tumenggung exchanged greetings with the captain. Then they all sat down. Ki Sutayuda said to the captain that he was sent by Ki Patih to present to him the three tumenggung who were going to be sent to reinforce the troops in Salatiga, but they were still waiting because the mantri of the Kalang and Gowong people had not arrived yet. The captain thanked them and said that they should meet him again when they had arrived, as he wanted to see the number of troops. Tumenggung Mangunnagara then told Ki Sutayuda to go and see whether the Kalang and Gowong people had already arrived. Ki Sutayuda went outside and asked

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Goplem, the chief of the Jayantaka corps, but the latter replied that they had not arrived yet. Ki Sutayuda then reported to the captain that the Kalang and Gowong people had not yet arrived.

1271. The bupati lebet were ready. The Kaparak troops packed the Sitinggil but not in a visible way. Tumenggung Natayuda and Wirajaya were ready on the Sitinggil. Tumenggung Tirtawiguna and Wirareja guarded the Gapit gate. As for the Srimanganti audience place, it was guarded by Gedhong troops. Ki Tumenggung Rajaniti and his troops who intended to conduct a flanking attack, had already started at night making a hole in the brick wall of the palace guard.

1272. The captain and the three tumenggung were waiting a long time for the arrival of the Kalang and Gowong mantri. Ki Sutayuda quickly went out to investigate. On his return, he told the captain that they had arrived. Tumenggung Mangunnagara added by asking the captain what he proposed to do now the Kalang and Gowong mantri had arrived. The captain replied that he wanted to meet and greet them and give them a glass of arak. The lurah of the Jayantaka corps and his colleagues who were outside thought that Ki Sutayuda had come out for the third time, which was the prior arrangement, then shot at the Dutchmen near the two sacred fenced waringin trees, but missed. The Dutchmen fled into the fort. The captain was startled when he heard the gunshots and asked what they were about. Ki Sutayuda and Ki Gunawangsa quickly drew their krisses and lunged at the captain, who jumped away, grabbed a chair to ward them off, and gave orders to lock the gate. He then moved to the mezzanine floor and ordered his servants, twenty slaves who were standing at the ready, to attack. The three tumenggung had drawn their krisses. The Javanese confusedly ran into each other in a way beyond belief. The twenty slaves attacked them in force. Many were killed because they were shot from the mezzanine. The troops outside were destroyed because they were bombarded from the walls of the fort. Ki Surayuda [Sutayuda?] and Wirakusuma wanted to seize the gate, but were beaten back by a hail of bullets and fled away. Those within the fort were bewildered and could not find a place to stand because they were being shot at from the mezzanine. The Company men had assembled on the mezzanine, while from below the servants blindly attacked, which caused many deaths on the Javanese side. Tumenggung Mangunnagara and Jayasudirga were beaten to death with rifle butts. When Ki Tumenggung Yudanagara saw this, he quickly fled from the fort. After the death of Tumenggung Jayasudirga, his troops fled away along the river.

1273. It is told that on the Sitinggil Ki Tumenggung Natayuda and Wirajaya, when they heard the gunshots, quickly gave orders to knock the western palisade over. The Sarageni troops of the Kaparak corps started firing. The Company troops met the attack and a fierce exchange of fire ensued. The troops of Rajaniti bravely climbed on top of the brick wall, and jumping down made a blind attack. Demang Kondur was killed by a gunshot. His friends could not stand watching this, let themselves down from the wall and went back. The Company troops climbed onto the Sitinggil along the knocked-over palisade. Those on the Sitinggil panicked and many fled. Tumenggung Natayuda

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intended to die a martyr, so he stood firm while being fired at. The Kaparak troops broke and ran into their mantri. Tumenggung Natayuda was killed. Ngabèhi Jayasanta and Asmarandana advanced. Asmarandana was hit by a bullet in his side and died. Then Ngabèhi Jayasanta was killed by a bullet to his head. His son, Jayadirana, wanted to take revenge and recover his father's body. He was shot by the Company troops and killed. The troops who were on the Sitinggil were wiped out and fled. The Company troops formed a group and marched northward to the Alun-alun. When Tumenggung Wirajaya, who was leading the Kaparak troops who were posted to the south of the tiger cages, saw that the Company troops had come out and were moving northward, he quickly gave orders to follow and shoot at them from behind. They hit only two. The majority of the Company troops had already assembled within the fort. The santana who were posted on the Pagelaran lost their heads and fled to the east without stopping to think, leaving behind much of their apparel.

1274. When Kyai Patih heard the sounds of gunshots, he quickly put on his military attire and went out to the outer audience hall. All his remaining servants had gathered there and were ready. Ki Patih said to Ki Surajaya, "Hey, Surajaya, hurry your friends up. Let's go and help in the fight." They left. When they got to the gate of the compound, they were met by a fleeing servant, called Ki Surayuda. He threw himself at the feet of Kyai Patih and said while weeping, "It's terrible my lord, all your servants have failed because before they could all enter the fort, they were found out. Those who had already entered the fort were utterly wiped out, I think. Tumenggung Mangunnagara seems to have been killed together with his kliwon and other mantri. It is better to retreat and first discuss matters with the bupati. Don't rashly go to help in the fight. They have already failed. If you go to help them, it will be like a flying ant flying into the fire." When Ki Patih heard Ki Surayuda's words, he went back into his residence.

1275. It is told that within the fort the krisses of the killed tumenggung were offered to the captain. Their bodies were thrown into the river. The guns around the fort were still being fired non-stop. Kyai Patih then ordered the bupati to surround the fort and went to pay his respects to the palace. His Majesty asked what the patih's thoughts were now that he had failed in his task. Ki Patih made a sembah and said, "The reason, my lord, it went wrong was an idiot of a servant who started shooting at the Company men before the appointed time. Since he was the reason, I offer my life." His Majesty said, "Never mind, patih, whatever one says, it has already happened. On the other hand, you must now send a messenger to Martapura, have him accompanied by someone from the Martalulut corps, and demand brother Wiramenggala from that Captain Singsèh, because you have already shown that you are fighting the Dutch." Ki Patih said that he would do as told and added that if His Majesty agreed, Pringgalaya who was encamped at Salatiga, and Mlayakusuma who was chasing Pangéran Wiramenggala, should be recalled. His Majesty granted permission. Ki Patih made a sembah and withdrew. Arriving outside, he dispatched a messenger accompanied by a member of the Martalulut called Arya Dikara. On their arrival in the lodgings of Captain Singsèh

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in the domain of Semarang, they conveyed the orders of His Majesty to demand Pangéran Wiramenggala, and informed him that the fort had been attacked. Captain Singsèh and Tumenggung Martapura were very pleased. Pangéran Wiramenggala and Radèn Wiratmeja and their kinsmen were seized by the Chinese. They were miserable and the women wept. Pangéran Wiramenggala and Radèn Wiratmeja were strangled to death by Ki Arya Dikara. Their bodies were buried on Mount Pragota. At that time, there were still the sons left behind by Pangéran Tepasana, called Radèn Mas Garendi, and by Radèn Arya [Jaya]kusuma, called Radèn Mas Srada [Surada]. They were omitted because they were still young. They were adopted by a Chinese called Etik and out of pity at that time were hidden in a village in Demak. Both were very pitiful and often strayed into the woods.

1276. After killing Pangéran Wiramenggala, Ki Arya Dikara returned to Kartasura at the same time as Radèn Mlayakusuma, Arya Pringgalaya, and Tumenggung Secadinigrat of Sidayu. However, en route the tumenggung of Sidayu turned away, intending to return to his domain. Because he had earlier been instructed by his father Pangéran Cakraningrat that if His Majesty waged war against the Company he should withdraw, but if he waged war against the Chinese. he should serve unselfishly even if it meant his death, so he pulled out and returned to Sidayu. Ki Arya Dikara, Arya Pringgalaya, and Radèn Mlayakusuma arrived in Kartasura and paid their respects to His Majesty. Ki Arya Dikara gave a report on his mission and presented sixty captives. His Majesty was pleased. However, the departure of Tumenggung Secadiningrat of Sidayu was a matter of concern. He would inevitably revolt, because the adipati of Madura felt offended because his opinion had not been asked when the matter of waging war was discussed. Ki Arya Dikara, Arya Pringgalaya, and Radèn Mlayakusuma were told to leave and reinforce the encirclement of the fort with their troops. Ki Patih at that time discussed with the bupati the problem that after the death of Tumenggung Jayasudirga it would be advisable to propose Radèn Singaranu to His Majesty to replace Tumenggung Jayasudirga because the latter's three sons were still young and not yet capable of doing the task. As for Tumenggung Mangunnagara, his son should replace his father in his function, because he was already an adult. When they all agreed, it was proposed and His Majesty agreed.

1277. Ki Patih sent a messenger to Captain Singsèh to ask for Chinese troops to be thrown into the battle. He was given five hundred troops under four leaders, called Ping Bulung, Éyang Etik, and Po. On their arrival in Kartasura, they were called to the Kapatihan. After they had conveyed the greetings of their captain, Ki Patih asked the latest news about the war in Semarang. They replied that they could attack Semarang at any time and that it would inevitably be destroyed. He should not worry, because the Company had already moved all its belongings into the ships. Captain Singsèh was only waiting for the orders of Ki Patih and His Majesty to attack the fort of Semarang. Ki Patih smiled and said, "What about the situation here, in view of the fact that I have already encircled the fort?" The Chinese warrior said, "Whatever you wish, I will un-

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dertake to carry out. If told to attack, be it night or day, I will do as told, because we are ready to be wiped out, carrying out the orders of Ki Patih and His Majesty." Ki Patih was pleased and said, "Don't do that. It's better not to get destroyed." The Chinese commanders said, "Since Kyai Patih has many big guns, the encirclement of the fort should just be tightened, if you permit it. If it has been tightened, we and our friends will enter and conduct a blind attack with our Chinese swords. We will just move in during the day and inevitably wipe them out completely." Ki Patih replied that he approved of their plan. The Chinese troops were then placed in their billets. The bupati who encircled the fort pushed forward and approached the brick walls of the fort. The Chinese troops made a proposal to His Majesty requesting the very large guns which, if allowed, they wanted to employ in the battle. His Majesty allowed it. On Saturday, the fort was invested as tightly as possible. The Chinese and the Javanese prepared their respective guns. The guns were fired in turns and aimed at the fort. It sounded like a collapsing mountain. The Company troops did not move. The guns Ki Kumbarawa, Kumbarawi, Kumbaaswanikumba, Subrastha, Sagarawana, Pamecut, and Ki Gunturgeni were all fired. Ki Gunturgeni was then loaded with powder. Normally, it was only filled with forty catty, but now the amount was doubled to eighty catty by the Chinese. Also the cannonball was made bigger, so that it sat very tight and had to be forced in. The Sarageni men of the Kaparak corps warned that it was not the right measure and would go terribly wrong. The Chinese troops replied that they should just be quiet, because the Javanese were not used to fighting like the Chinese and did not know how to handle big guns. When the gun was loaded, it was fired and the ball fell onto the fort. The Dutch were startled and returned fire. The Chinese fired without a break. Because of the high firing rate, the big guns burst. Many Chinese and Javanese were sent flying into the air because of the bursting of the guns. The action then stopped. It was reported to His Majesty that seventeen men had been blown away, which dismayed His Majesty. Ki Patih ordered the bupati to again tighten the investment. The Dutch* fired their guns without a break. The Kartasura army became hard pressed because many cannonballs hit the houses and also the palace.

1278. It is told that a Chinese who had fled from Batavia, called Captain Sapanjang, arrived bringing with him a troop of a thousand Chinese. When he met with Ki Patih, he was asked about the war in Batavia. He said that the fighting was still fierce and no one had been defeated. The reason for Ki Panjang's visit to Kartasura was to ask permission from Ki Patih and His Majesty. Ki Patih replied that asking for permission was easy, but that he wanted him to clean up the troubles in the capital first, for His Majesty still had many troubles. Captain Sapanjang said that he was willing to remove the troubles in the capital, because rather than dying in Batavia, all the Chinese preferred to die on the Alun-alun in front of His Majesty, but for now he requested to be allowed to first meet with his fellow Chinese here. Ki Patih gave him permission and told him to set up camp to the east of the crown prince's residence. The Chinese army spilled out all

* The text mistakenly has *Chinese*.

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over the place as far as Gumpang. Captain Sapanjang then met with Ping Bulung and Etik. Kyai Patih went to pay his respects to His Majesty and inform him of the arrival of Captain Sapanjang and say that he was offering his loyalty. Captain Sapanjang was then summoned. His Majesty met him in the outer gateway. After having presented him with a new suit of clothes and money, he was told to return to his quarters. The next morning, Captain Sapanjang came to the Kapatihan to ask for orders for the war. Kyai Patih asked whether Captain Sapanjang had reached an agreement with his fellow Chinese. Sapanjang said that he had. Besides the wishes of Ki Patih, they had agreed to make screens out of wood and iron and on wheels. The Chinese inside would conduct a blind attack on the fort when they got close to it. Moreover, since the area in front of the fort was said to be booby-trapped with knives and spikes, Captain Sapanjang requested stallions, mares, and waterbuffalos to be in front of the screens when they advanced in order to trample down the booby traps. Kyai Patih agreed to Sapanjang's proposal and allowed him to withdraw. On arrival in his quarters, Captain Sapanjang gave orders to his Chinese troops to make the screens.

1279. It is told that the Company men within the fort were very worried because they were running short of rice. So the captain conferred with the lieutenant and the secretary. The captain asked, "How strong is your stamina? If this siege goes on for a long time, we Dutch will inevitably die of hunger, for this battle is not equally matched. It is like being hit by a collapsing mountain." Lieutenant Kélas said that he could not give any advice, except that there were only two questions, whether to choose to die or to live. If one chose to die, it meant to stop resisting the fight, getting crushed and resigning oneself to one's fate. If one chose to live, there was no other option but to surrender. The advice of the lieutenant was just that. As for the judgment of the captain, he wanted to send a letter to His Majesty. When they had agreed on sending a letter, they sent out some labourers to bring the letter to the fortifications of the Javanese. The labourers took the letter and moved like thieves. When they got to the Javanese lines, they just threw the letter into the fortifications and ran back. The next morning, the guards saw the letter, took it and saw that it was addressed to His Majesty. They quickly informed Kyai Patih that they had found a letter from the Company that said it was was for His Majesty. Ki Patih received the letter and presented it to His Majesty. It was read. It said that Captain Lapèl asked forgiveness from His Majesty and humbly requested that His Majesty give orders to the bupati who were besieging the fort because they terrified the Company troops. Secondly, he informed him that the Company men had nothing to eat and humbly asked for rice. When His Majesty had read the letter, he ordered Tumenggung Tirtawiguna to write a reply. When the reply was ready, it was given to the man who had found the first letter, and he was ordered to just throw it in front of the fort. This was done and some labourers came out to retrieve it and bring it to the captain. The interpreter was told to read it. It said that the captain had sent a letter to His Majesty, that it had been received and His Majesty had been informed of its contents. As for the requests of the Company, they could not now be granted. The bupati were

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committed to fighting the Company, because it was the Company itself that had made the bupati willing to fight. When the captain heard what the letter said, he was very concerned. Lieutenant Kélas said that he wanted them to stop deliberating too much, as it was either fighting to death, or surrender. The captain then ordered a trumpeter to hoist a white flag in front of the gate of the fort. When the besieging Javanese saw the display of the white flag, they let out a cheer. The others jeered loudly. This made the Company men take it wrongly, thinking that the Javanese did not accept their surrender. So they prepared and brought up their cannon. When after a while it became clear that the Javanese did not do any harm, the captain dispatched the Dutch trumpeter to go out to the Javanese lines. When he came to their fortifications, the Javanese were surprised to see him. Some shouted, "There is a Dutchman, come, let's surround him." The trumpeter said that he was sent by the captain to Kyai Patih and asked them to let him visit him. The men surrounding him answered that that were afraid to bring him to Kyai Patih while he was still unshackled. But if he was really a messenger, they were willing to bring him, but with his hands tied. The Dutch trumpeter was willing to be tied, but his hands were just tied in front of him. He was then brought to see Kyai Patih. On his way, he was escorted by troops. In front of Ki Patih the trumpeter said that he was sent by the captain to offer the surrender of the captain and all his Company troops. It was left to Kyai Patih to convey the offer to His Majesty. Kyai Patih told him to wait first and sent a messenger to report to His Majesty. Arriving at the Srimanganti gate, the messenger met Tumenggung Tirtawiguna who informed His Majesty. His Majesty said that since he trusted Kyai Patih, he left the matter to him. However, he should be reminded that the Company because of its craftiness might have set some trap. Tumenggung Tirtawiguna went out and conveyed His Majesty's orders to the messenger from the Kapatihan. After having been told everything, Kyai Patih ordered the trumpeter to tell the captain that if he really wanted to surrender with all his men, he should leave the fort the next morning at seven with their weapons tied in bundles. The trumpeter retreated, went into the fort and told the captain all the orders from Kyai Patih. The captain asked Lieutenant Kélas' opinion. He said, "We have already talked it over and over again, let's submit." The captain then ordered the Company troops to bundle up their weapons and also the spears and krisses were put together in a chest. Kyai Patih had already ordered Radèn Arya Pringgalaya to meet the Company troops when they came out. At seven o'clock the next morning the Company troops came out of the fort with their weapons bundled up. Radèn Arya Pringgalaya sent a messenger to summon them. Their total number was 450 men. When they arrived in front of Radèn Arya Pringgalaya, the captain, the lieutenant, and the secretary greeted him and humbly asked for his mercy. Radèn Arya Pringgalaya informed Kyai Patih and asked for his orders. Ki Patih ordered that the captain should be put at the disposal of Radèn Arya Pringgalaya, the lieutenant of Ki Tumenggung Tirtawiguna, and the secretary of Tumenggung Rajaniti. The Company troops should be distributed among the bupati. The orders were then conveyed to the captain who said, "As you wish, the life or death

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of the Company men is in your hands." The secretary asked what to do with the seized spears and krisses. Radèn Arya Pringgalaya replied that he would first inform Kyai Patih. When the latter had been informed, the matter was reported to His Majesty. His Majesty dispatched Ki Arya Ma[n]dura to take possession of all the krisses and at the same time to inspect the fort and see whether the Company had laid any traps. On his arrival in the fort, he inspected everything, but there was nothing. Arya Mandura took possession of the krisses. On his return, he reported on his mission and the krisses were all presented to His Majesty, who ordered the bupati to guard the fort. After three days, His Majesty wished to come down and view the fort. On his visit to the fort, he asked many questions and looked at everything. He went around the whole place and was surprised, seeing the construction of the fort. He gave orders to fill in the moat and break down the houses. Before long he returned to the palace. The next morning, all the goods in the fort, such as gold, silver, reals, and other money, were moved to the palace. The Company guns that were presented to His Majesty consisted of 117 pieces. It is told that it took three days to transport all the goods from the fort. Everything was divided equally among the servants. Only Kyai Patih did not want part of the goods. As for the Dutchmen, they were all circumcised and instructed in the religion of Java.

1280. It is told that Radèn Mas Said, Radèn Mas Sambiya, and Radèn Mas Sabar were made mantri anom at the wish of His Majesty. Radèn Mas Said was given the name Radèn Suryakusuma, Radèn Mas Sambiya became Radèn Martakusuma, and Radèn Mas Sabar became Radèn Wiryakusuma. Radèn Suryakusuma was given fifty karya of land. His younger brothers got five karya. They were pitiful because they were still suffering much deprivation.

1281. It is told that the commander in Semarang dispatched a messenger to Batavia with a letter to inform the Governor General that His Majesty in Kartasura was helping the Chinese. On his arrival in Batavia, he handed the letter to the Governor General who, when he had read it, was shocked and convened the Council of the Indies to discuss the matter. When they had reached a conclusion, he appointed two commissioners, Johan Man Téling and Guper Isel, and ordered them to support the war in Semarang, taking along five hundred white European troops, and five hundred indigenous Muslim troops led by Daèng Mabélah, Daèng Kulalah, and Daèng Ngusman. When ready they departed.

1282. Kyai Patih had already assigned bupati to assist in the siege of the fortress of Semarang. Those assigned were the bupati of Pekalongan, Kendhal, Kaliwungu, Demak, and Grobogan. The bupati of Brebes was told to reinforce Tegal. The bupati of Kudus and Pathi were sent to the fortress in Japara, while the bupati of Lasem, Pajangkungan, and Juwana were sent to the Rembang fort. The bupati of Surabaya who were in Semarang were told to leave and attack the fortress in Surabaya together with the bupati of Gresik and Lamongan. As for the bupati of Tuban and Sidayu, they were told to go along and return to Madura. In Semarang the fierce fight continued daily. The Company troops were defeated and just hid inside the fortress.

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151. Adipati Jayaningrat resigns from his position and recommends his son-in-law Radèn Supama. The war in Semarang

1283. Kyai Patih went to pay his respects to His Majesty and to convey the request from Adipati Jayaningrat to be allowed to resign in favour of his son-in-law Radèn Sumadiwirya because of his poor health. Secondly, Kyai Patih proposed, if His Majesty agreed, to have the captain, the lieutenant, and the secretary killed because they might find some willing ear for their proposals and play tricks. After His Majesty had agreed, the patih left and gave orders to Tumenggung Pringgalaya to have the captain killed. It was done and he was drowned in the River Pépé. The secretary was killed by Tumenggung Rajaniti. However, the lieutenant was not killed. Kyai Patih then summoned Captain Panjang and ordered him to prepare to assist in the war in Semarang. He should mobilize his Chinese and His Majesty would have him accompanied by seven bupati. Captain Sapanjang said that he would do as told. On Monday morning, His Majesty went out to the audience hall, wishing to see the departure of the troops who were going to march on Semarang. At that time, the bupati were already all there and those who were going to reinforce Semarang had all gathered in the audience hall. The Chinese troops consisting of about fifteen hundred men were standing in the Alun-alun. After the bupati had paid their respects to His Majesty, they left. Tumenggung Mangkuyuda and Tumenggung Mangkupraja served as the vanguard. They were followed by Tumenggung Mangunnagara, Tumenggung Singaranu, Tumenggung Wiraguna, and Tumenggung Wiryadiningrat. Tumenggung Kartanagara led the rear with Tumenggung Mlayakusuma and Tumenggung Sujanapura. As for Radèn Sumadiwirya, who was going to be made bupati of Pekalongan replacing Adipati Jayaningrat, he was sent along at the same time and had been given a letter of appointment. He travelled behind the bupati with only his guardian called Mangunoneng. Then came Captain Sapanjang with his Chinese troops who completed the march. On their arrival in Semarang, they encamped. The bupati of the Pasisir were happy that reinforcements had arrived. Tumenggung Mangkupraja, Tumenggung Mlayakusuma, and Radèn Sumadiwirya then met Dipati Jayaningrat, who happened to be ill, and conveyed the order of His Majesty that his request to resign in favour of his son-in-law had been granted. They handed him the decree which was then read. It said that Radèn Sumadiwirya was appointed to replace his father-in-law Adipati Jayaningrat and would continue to head the bupati of the left Pasisir. After the two bupati had handed the letter of appointment to Adipati Jayaningrat, they returned to their quarters. Adipati Jayaningrat, who remained behind, then assembled his troops and let them know that his son-in-law had now replaced him. The people from Pekalongan all paid obeisance. As for the guardian brought from Kartasura, called Mangunoneng, his name was changed to Rangga Pramana and he was granted as income a piece of tax land of eight hundred karya, to be shared with his friends from Kartasura. As for the old patih, called Rangga Puspawijaya, he was treated as a family member by the former adipati. That night, the former adipati gave instructions to his son-in-law. Only Ki Rangga Pramana happened to be present. As for his instructions, he cautioned him that since he had now been granted a domain, his task would be very difficult, because His Majesty wished of all

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things to protect the Chinese and attack the Dutch. Even though they had not yet committed any sins, he wanted to destroy them. So His Majesty was maltreating the Dutch, while the Chinese who had never done anything for him, he wanted to protect of all things. They basically were unbelievers and idolaters. What is more, His Majesty had been willing to maltreat his elder brother the prince from Ceylon who had been killed although innocent. Inevitably there would be divine retribution, for being cruel makes you an enemy of God. Inevitably the Javanese would meet destruction and defeat in war. The former adipati gave many more instructions to his son-in-law and urged him to be careful. The next morning, the former adipati left, intending to return to Pekalongan. His son[-in-law] accompanied him as far as Karanganyar and then returned. When the former adipati reached Kaliwungu, he stayed overnight in the village of Kedhungrombong. There he could not sleep for the whole night, because the more he thought about it, the more he worried. In the end he let it go. It would be better not to witness his king coming to the worst. He drank some poison and passed away as a result. After his son[-in-law] Adipati Jayaningrat had received the news that his father[-in-law] had passed away, he quickly came to cleanse the body, which he then took to his realm and buried in Pekalongan. The son-in-law returned quickly to Semarang and put his troops in order. The troops of Captain Singsèh, led by Tumenggung Martapura, had already pushed forward to Terbaya. The troops of Sapanjang and Sabukalu, led by Tumenggung Mangkuyuda, had already advanced from Pragota. Radèn Arya Mlayakusuma and Radèn Wiryadiningrat were deployed in Pangambengan.

1284. It is told that the Company reinforcements from Batavia had arrived in Semarang. They were led by the commissioners Johan Man Téling and Ugo Perisel. The Company troops consisted of five hundred Europeans, and five hundred Buginese, Ambonese, and Makassarese. They all entered the fort. The commander was very happy. After three nights, the Company troops made a sally and attacked the lines of Sabukalu which were led by Tumenggung Mangkuyuda. The fighting of the Company troops was not cautious because they had chased away the enemy before when they had fought Sapanjang in Batavia. So they did not fight with fear and both sides fired at each other in a lively way. The Company troops attacked. Tumenggung Mangkuyuda and Sabukalu met the attack with their kalantaka guns. Many Company troops were killed. Sabukalu commanded his troops to attack, and they quickly made a frenzied attack with swords and long-handled Chinese swords. The Company troops broke and ran. They got into trouble at the river and ninety of them were killed, and the rest retreated into the fort while firing the guns. Sabukalu then pulled his Chinese back. After arriving in their camp, they celebrated the whole night. The Company troops did not sortie again, but after seven days they sallied forth southward and then turned eastward to strike the lines of Captain Singsèh which were led by Tumenggung Martapura. A fierce gun battle ensued. Tumenggung Martapura and Ngabèhi Terbaya personally led the Chinese. The Company troops were put to flight, and many were killed. On their arrival in the fort, they were helped by the firing of the guns from the gallery. The Chinese

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troops retreated and went back to their camp. The Company troops were frightened and for a long time did not go out, but stayed within the fortress.

1285. Ki Martayuda of Semarang, who had been exiled to the Cape was returned to Semarang together with his five sons. In Semarang, he was provided with Company troops and the rumour was spread that he was of Mataram blood. Every time the Company made a sortie, he was put at the head of the troops with a yellow ceremonial umbrella. This shocked and awed the Javanese. The Company attacked southwards. At four o'clock the lines at Pangambengan were attacked. Because he happened to be still asleep, Radèn Mlayakusuma did not notice the arrival of the Company troops. When fired upon, he and his troops panicked and fled away. The Company was able to carry off the guns that had been entrusted to Radèn Mlayakusuma. When they had carried off the guns they retreated. From that time onwards, every time the Company troops managed to put the Javanese and Chinese to flight, they brought along those guns that they had taken, and the Chinese were defeated in every engagement. Radèn Mlayakusuma and Radèn Wiryadiningrat discussed how they should inform Kyai Patih of their failure in battle and the seizure of the guns by the Company, as well as telling him about the Chinese conduct in the war. When they had come to a conclusion, a messenger went to Kartasura carrying a letter. On his arrival, the letter was presented to Kyai Patih. Having read it, Kyai Patih flushed with anger and replied to the letter. The messenger quickly departed. On his arrival in Semarang, he quickly presented the reply to Radèn Mlayakusuma and Radèn Wiryadiningrat. The letter said that Kyai Patih had received the letter in which Radèn Mlayakusuma had reported the seizure of the guns. Kyai Patih now gave orders to seize them back immediately. Whoever was able to seize them back would be given a reward of five hundred [reals], for if this was told to His Majesty, they all would become the butt of his anger. Secondly, Radèn Mlayakusuma should tell the Chinese that they should share the burden of the fight, and that Kyai Patih did not think that they were doing their part. He should straighten out the thinking of the Chinese, for there was no time left. On the other hand, Radèn Mlayakusuma should reflect on the way he carried out the orders of his king, for his way of thinking was that of a commoner. When Radèn Mlayakusuma and Radèn Wiryadiningrat heard the contents of the letter, they became very afraid. They quickly ordered their troops to attack the fort in order to seize the guns that had been carried off. The whole army quickly went into action. Radèn Sujanapura, Ngabèhi Wiradirja, and Ngabèhi Reksapraja personally led the attack on the fort. The guns fired at them without pause. A fierce fire fight ensued. Many commoners got killed or wounded, but they were simply trampled upon. Since the kliwon and their bupati led the fight, the Chinese did the same. They attacked from the east and the south at the same time and the fort was encircled. The Company troops did not dare to sortie and hid in the fortress. They fired at each other day and night. The Company did not stop firing their guns.

1286. It is told that the tumenggung of Jipang informed Ki Patih by letter that a Madurese army had crossed over to Gresik, that the bupati of Tuban had been surprised at night

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and been killed, and that they had installed a new bupati, called Dipasana. The Madurese had then deployed in Sidayu and from Sidayu intended to attack the town of Jipang. Many places around Jipang had been looted and pillaged. On its arrival in Kartasura, the letter was delivered to Kyai Patih and then presented to His Majesty. When he had read it, His Majesty asked Kyai Patih what his advice was. Kyai Patih said that the enemy from the east was the most difficult, even though the servants who were in Semarang experienced great difficulties because they were often defeated in battle because the Chinese were not doing the right thing. His Majesty said that the enemy from the east did not greatly worry him, only the enemy in the north. He told Ki Patih to consult with Tumenggung Tirtawiguna and Tumenggung Pringgalaya. Ki Patih retreated from the presence of His Majesty. When he came outside, he quickly summoned Radèn Pringgalaya and Tumenggung Tirtawiguna. He told them the orders of His Majesty to discuss together the matter of Madura, so that they would not make a mistake as to how to handle it best. Tumenggung Tirtawiguna and Radèn Pringgalaya left it to Kyai Patih and said that they could not give advice. Kyai Patih became angry and told Tumenggung Tirtawiguna and Radèn Pringgalaya to go home. After Tumenggung Tirtawiguna and Radèn Pringgalaya had retired, Kyai Patih felt very much offended. He summoned Radèn Tumenggung Surabrata and ordered him to help out in the fight in Jipang by mobilizing all the men from the left Mancanagara. Tumenggung Surabrata left the capital and mobilized all his troops.

1287. It is told again that the tumenggung of Jipang was already facing the Madurese, but because the troops of Jipang were not yet ready and were taken by surprise by the arrival of the Madurese enemy attacking the town, Tumenggung Mataun and his army escaped to Blora where they joined the Chinese troops that had been mobilized by the tumenggung of Blora. The leaders of the Chinese were called Rangga Elik, Encik Mas, Encik Co, Encik Sika, and Encik Putih, altogether an army of nine hundred men. The bupati of the right [i.e. eastern] Mancanagara had also come and assembled in Blora. Tumenggung Mataun and the Chinese troops then set out from Blora, intending to strike at the Madurese in the town of Jipang. When the Madurese in the town of Jipang heard that Tumenggung Mataun was on his way, leading Chinese troops and men from the Mancanagara, they left town and deployed in the village of Pamelaran. There the leaders of the Madurese, called Kartayuda, Le[m]busagara, and Radèn Giri, intended to wage an all-out fight. Kyai Tumenggung Mataun and his Chinese troops pressed forward and deployed in Pakacangan. There the Chinese intended to conduct a night attack and asked Tumenggung Mataun to provide them with troops who could show them the way. Then they were interrupted by a messenger sent by Kyai Patih who brought a man from Sidayu, called Surawikrama, and with orders to install him as bupati in Sidayu. Secondly, Kyai Tumenggung Mataun was told to seize the domains of Lamongan, Sidayu, and Tuban. Ki Tumenggung Mataun said that he would do as told. The messenger took his leave and returned. Ngabèhi Tohjaya asked permission from Tumenggung Mataun to retake his domain of Lamongan. However, he intended to em-

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ploy a ruse. He would pretend first to submit to the Madurese, because his children and wife had been taken away by the Madurese. On the orders of Pangéran Cakraningrat, Ngabèhi Tohjaya had been told to plan to join him. So he was awaited and his children and wife had been relocated. Tumenggung Mataun allowed it, and Ngabèhi Tohjaya left the domain of Jipang. The Chinese who intended to conduct a night attack had already been provided with guides by Ki Tumenggung Mataun. Many mantri from Blora and from Ki Surawikrama of Sidayu came to form a vanguard to show the way. The nine hundred Chinese troops set out at night. The mantri from Blora and Sidayu amounted to five hundred men on horseback riding ahead. In the morning they arrived at the village of Pamelaran and engaged in battle. A fierce exchange of fire ensued. The Madurese troops consisting of about two thousand men attacked in force under cover of the gun smoke. The Chinese attacked furiously with their long-handled swords. The Madurese stood their ground. They tangled with each other in a confused mass, both sides equally brave. When Kyai Tumenggung Mataun heard the sounds of gunfire, he set out with his troops in order to help the Chinese. The bupati of the Mancanagara did not stay behind. Those in battle were still fighting it out. The Chinese chiefs personally led their frenzied attacks. Many Madurese troops were killed, about three hundred. More than two hundred Chinese were also killed. Because of their extreme fatigue, the Chinese slowly started to retreat. The Madurese chased them, but were met by the arrival of Ki Tumenggung Mataun. The Madurese were defeated and ran to escape into their stronghold. The Chinese and the troops from the Mancanagara pursued them. The Madurese dispersed, leaving their stronghold in order to flee to Lamongan. On their arrival in Lamongan, the Madurese deployed in the mountains of Lamongan.

1288. It is told that Ki Ngabèhi Tohjaya had arrived in Lamongan and had submitted by handing his arms in a bundle to the Madurese, who were happy when they were handed over, as Ngabèhi Tohjaya was surrendering unconditionally. They did not imagine that his submission was just a ruse. Ki Ngabèhi Tohjaya was summoned with his sons and grandsons and received at the outer audience hall. When all had sat down, Ki Ngabèhi Tohjaya and his sons and grandsons drew their krisses and stabbed the Madurese who were meeting them. A confused tussle ensued and many Madurese were killed. The rest ran away. The Madurese [who were escaping from Jipang] and intended to flee to Lamongan* were still being followed at a distance by the Chinese and the troops from Jipang. When they arrived on the Alun-alun of Lamongan, the Madurese were met by Ki Ngabèhi Tohjaya. Since they were already exhausted, it was like spearing little mice when he attacked them, and many were killed. When the Madurese troops at the rear learned about this, they fled and dispersed. Kyai Tumenggung Mataun and the Chinese troops arrived, entered the town, and met Ngabèhi Tohjaya. The bupati sang the praises of Ngabèhi Tohjaya's conduct in battle. Then the bupati and the Chinese troops encamped in Lamongan. The flight of the Madurese stopped to the west of Giri and they encamped in the village of Tumapel.

* The text is slightly garbled, translated conform the meaning of the Major Babad.

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1289. Ki Tumenggung Surabrata of Pranaraga who was leading the bupati of the Mancanagara with their troops reached the realm of Surabaya and deployed in Jenggala. He had already informed Ki Tumenggung Mataun that he had deployed in Jenggala. Ki Tumenggung Mataun approved, for it should put fear into the Madurese who intended to attack Surabaya. Ki Tumenggung Mataun then set out from Lamongan with all his troops and the Chinese, intending to seize Sidayu and Tuban. When the Madurese who were encamped in Tumapel heard this, they panicked and retreated at night to Sidayu. Arriving to the south of the town, they encamped in the village of Parijagan. Many fellow Madurese came from Sidayu. Tumenggung Mataun arrived with his troops to the south of the village of Parijagan, but they were separated by the Bengawan river. A fierce fire fight ensued. At night the Chinese slipped across the river upstream, guided by people from Blora, Warung, and Sidayu who had already submitted and showed the way. Ki Tumenggung Mataun remained behind facing the Madurese, and pretending to be busy preparing boats. So the Madurese did not know that the Chinese had already crossed the river upstream, and were startled when the Chinese started firing their guns from the west. A fierce fight ensued. Ki Tumenggung Mataun quickly crossed the Bengawan with his troops and attacked fiercely. The Madurese fled, and many were killed. Their leader, Radèn Kartayuda, was killed, five of his comrades were killed with him, and the rest fled into the town of Sidayu. Radèn Secadiningrat intended to make a final stand there, but he was prevented by the arrival of the Chinese enemy and the men from the Mancanagara. The tumenggung of Sidayu engaged in battle, but was defeated, and his troops fled. The Chinese occupied the town and plundered it. The women who were caught were taken away. Tumenggung Mataun and his army encamped in the town together with the Chinese.

1290. It is told that Arya Dipasana did not yet know that Sidayu had been taken and occupied by the enemy. Unfortunately for him, he got into Sidayu. When the people of Jipang learned about it, Arya Dipasana was chased and put to flight. He was chased all the way to Ujungpangkah where he plunged into the sea. Radèn Secadiningrat, who had fled with all his troops, boarded a fleet of small boats and stopped off at the island of Mangaré. From there he sent a messenger to inform his father, Pangéran Cakraningrat of Madura, that he had been defeated in battle, that many of his troops had been killed, and that he had been chased as far as the island of Mangaré, When the messenger reached Madura, Pangéran Cakraningrat summoned his patih, Radèn Mangundara, and told him to go to Mangaré and help with the fight, leading an army of three hundred men. When ready, they left by sea. On their arrival on the island of Mangaré, they crossed over to Ujungpangkah. There they deployed.

1291. Ki Tumenggung Mataun was informed by Surawikrama that the Madurese enemy had come in large numbers and taken up a position in Ujungpangkah. He quickly mobilized the bupati and the Chinese and told them to form a battle line. The troops from the Mancanagara were divided into three groups. The tumenggung of Madiyun formed

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the right wing. The men from Blora, Warung and Séla formed the left wing. Those of Japan formed the centre with the Chinese in front.

1292. The Madurese army in Ujungpangkah had crossed over in the night and on their landing from the sea headed straight for the lines of Ki Tumenggung Mataun. When Ki Tumenggung Mataun received the information that the enemy were on their way, he had the intention to send messengers to tell the troops on the left and right to assemble, but before this could be carried out he was overtaken by the attack of the Madurese enemy. The Chinese met them. The Madurese encircled them. The Chinese attacked furiously. They fought fiercely. The Madurese Lembusangara and Jayasudira personally led a blind attack on the center. Many of the Chinese who were attacked were killed. When the Chinese chiefs saw that many of their troops were being killed, Cik Putih, Cik Emas, Cik Co, and Rangga Elik personally led a blind attack. Rangga Elik engaged with Lembusangara. They fought alone and died together. When the Chinese troops saw that Rangga Elik had been killed, they fled. They ran leaving their weapons behind. The Tumenggung of Jipang and his troops were still encircled by the Madurese. They fired furiously at each other. The troops from Jipang amounted to about seven hundred men, all solid fighters. The Madurese army attacked in force with a barrage of gunfire. The troops from Jipang lost cohesion and many were killed. The tumenggung of Jipang was defeated in battle. His son Ngabèhi Kramawijaya of Japan wanted to revenge the death of his father, but was met by the Madurese troops. Ngabèhi Kramawijaya was killed. His troops were wiped out. After the death of the tumenggung of Jipang, the left and the right wing wanted to help, but could not get through. The dipati of Madiyun attacked in force. The Madurese troops gave ground. A fierce, confused battle ensued. Then both sides retreated, and the battle became a draw. The bodies of the tumenggung of Jipang and the ngabèhi of Japan were taken by their kinsmen to Jipang. The troops of the bupati of the Mancanagara retreated, each going their own way.

1293. It is told that the Madurese who were going to attack Surabaya had reached the place and were already face-to-face with the troops from Pranaraga. Ki Tumenggung Surabrata had already heard that the Tumenggung of Jipang had been defeated in battle and his army wiped out. He became fearful and consulted with the bupati, intending to retreat and return to Pranaraga. So no troops from the Mancanagara remained deployed. Only troops from Surabaya were still engaging the Company and the Madurese. Tumenggung Secadiningrat installed himself again in Sidayu. Arya Dipasana returned to Tuban, while in Lamongan and Gresik Madurese were installed as bupati. The Madurese who were attacking Surabaya were reinforced with Radèn Mangundara. The people along the coast of Surabaya were thrown into panic. The mantri of Surabaya went out to meet them in battle outside the town. They were led by the patih of Surabaya called Sawunggaling. A daily battle ensued. The Madurese were defeated, while many were killed. They then fled to the Company fortress. The Madurese were fearful and stopped fighting while waiting for reinforcements.

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1294. It is told that the sons of the tumenggung of Jipang, Radèn Kartasari and Radèn Natapura of Warung, conferred on informing Ki Patih about the death of their father, the tumenggung of Jipang, and their brother. When the letter was ready, they sent it off with a messenger. On arrival in Kartasura it was presented to Kyai Patih. It shocked him greatly. Ki Patih then went to pay his respects to His Majesty and reported to him that the tumenggung of Jipang and one of his sons had been killed in battle, that many Chinese had been killed, that Sidayu had again been occupied by the Madurese, and that the bupati of the Mancanagara had retreated. His Majesty was very shocked and asked Ki Patih what his advice was, now that the Madurese had become such a problem. Ki Patih said that he left it up to His Majesty. His Majesty ordered Ki Patih to lead the troops himself, for if not, the matter would see no end. The Chinese were slow in attacking the fortress of Semarang. If Ki Patih led the troops, it would make a difference. Tumenggung Pringgalaya was chosen by His Majesty to march to the east. He should take all the troops from the Mancanagara under his care and seize back the domain of Jipang. He was given three princes, Pangéran Dipanagara, Pangéran Mangkubumi, and Pangéran Rangga, to accompany him and serve as lucky talismans in battle. Kyai Patih said that he would do as told. His Majesty then summoned Tumenggung Pringgalaya and also his kinsmen. When all were present, His Majesty said to Radèn Pangéran Ngabèhi that he now wanted to appoint Tumenggung Pringgalaya to lead the men from the Mancanagara and have him accompanied by his younger brothers Pangéran Dipanagara, Pangéran Mangkubumi, and Pangéran Rangga to join them against the Madurese enemy so they would share the pain. As for Kyai Patih, he would lead the Chinese and attack Semarang. Only Pangéran Ngabèhi, his younger brothers, and the inner bupati would watch over His Majesty. Pangéran Ngabèhi approved of His Majesty's wishes, for if it was not done this way, there would be no end to it. If the realm lost its prosperity for too long, many of the common people would end up in poverty. His Majesty then gave orders to Arya Pringgalaya and his three younger brothers. He also gave them money for the journey. His three younger brothers got five hundred reals, and each a batik garment of his own. Their servants were given clothes and five hundred reals for the journey. He then allowed them to retire and get ready.

1295. It is told that the two messengers from His Majesty, called Ki Surandriya and Ki Wangsajaya, who were caught by the Madurese when Tumenggung Suradiningrat [of Tuban] was taken by surprise, were not killed but taken to Madura. When this was reported to Adipati Cakraningrat, he ordered them to be put under guard in the Kapatihan. For a long time they were not summoned. The reason was to let them calm down and recover from their shock. Every day they were treated with honour. When they felt comfortable, the two of them were summoned by Kyai Adipati Cakraningrat, questioned and told to tell the truth. If they lied, they would be killed. Who, in fact, had advised His Majesty to attack the Company? Was it of his own volition, or had someone told him? The two royal messengers said that in effect only Kyai Patih advised His Majesty. The bupati were just carried away, because they were very much afraid of Kyai

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Patih. That was the reason why Adipati Jayaningrat had pretended to be sick and resigned, and Tumenggung Kartanagara had preferred to die out of fear of opposing the wishes of Ki Patih. When Pangéran Cakraningrat heard the story of the messengers, he was shocked and said, "It seems that they did not intend to ask the opinion of Adipati Cakraningrat, because they looked down upon him, unlike the times of His Majesty Pakubuwana. In everything, the advice of my father, Adipati Cakraningrat, had to be asked. But not now, because they already believe that they are well endowed in troops. Whereas if Adipati Cakraningrat intended to attack, he would dare to take on Kartasura, even if the women and the leaves of the banyan trees became troops, he would not be afraid." He then told the messengers that they would be sent to the captain in Surabaya. If they were questioned, they should not change their story, even if they were taken to Semarang or Jakarta. If they did not change their story, their fate would inevitably be good. The messengers said that they would do as told. After having received money for the journey, they departed accompanied by a messenger carrying a letter. On arrival in Surabaya, the letter was presented to the captain. After having read the letter, he questioned the two messengers. Their story indeed did not differ from what they had said in Madura. The captain then gave orders to send them on to Semarang, and they were given a letter for the commander. When they got to Semarang, the letter was presented to the commander and the commissioners. When they had read the letter from Surabaya, they were happy, for it was obvious from the story of the messengers who had been caught that His Majesty did not really want to wipe out the Company, that he had only been carried away by the talk of the bupati. So they thought that at the moment it seemed that His Majesty could still be reconciled. The commander and the commissioners then sent a messenger with a letter to Batavia accompanied by the two royal messengers. On their arrival in Batavia, the letter was presented to the Governor General and the members of the Council of the Indies. After they had finished reading, the royal messengers were questioned. For the third time their story did not change. It agreed exactly with what the letter said. The members of the Council of the Indies and the Governor General were shocked. In their hearts, they were still attached to His Majesty. The destruction of his realm was caused by his being swayed by the talk of his bupati and in the end had destroyed the Company's troops. While the royal messengers were in Batavia, they were treated with great honour. They were then returned to Semarang with a letter from the Governor General to the commander and commissioners. On their arrival in Semarang, the royal messengers were given a place to stay.

1296. It is told that after Kyai Patih's army was ready, it set out for the Alun-alun. The vanguard was formed by the troops from Parembun led by Surayuda, Surabangsa, Nilasraba, and Ngabèhi Surajaya. Then followed the Jayamenggala corps, the Jayantaka corps, the Narantaka corps, the Nirbaya corps, the Jayènglatri and Jayèngastra corps, and the Kapetengan corps. They crowded into the Alun-alun all the way to the fence. Kyai Patih went to pay his respects at the Pagelaran. Then Tumenggung Rajaniti came.

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His troops were countless. When they emerged, they completely filled the road. Before long, His Majesty appeared on the Pagelaran. He assigned Pangéran Arya Mandura to march with Kyai Patih, leading the the troops from Tegal and also gave him the Jagasura corps. Pangéran Arya Mandura said that he would do as told. His Majesty then ordered Ki Patih to have his army depart. His Majesty wished to see the troops marching off. Kyai Patih said that he would do as told. He turned his head around and gave orders to depart. The army then set out with much noise and singing of religious songs all along the way. Kyai Patih and Tumenggung Rajaniti paid their respects by kissing His Majesty's knee. He wished them well and they departed, leading the army. His Majesty went back into the palace. At that time, many Islamic scholars and haji accompanied His Majesty. Others said that the fortress of Semarang would inevitably fall to pieces just by throwing a Muslim cap at it. It was God's will that they arrived at this sinful presumption. Kyai Patih led his army as far as Ungaran, where he encamped. He stayed there for five nights. While there, he summoned Haji Mataram and told him to interpret the dream he had had. In his dream, all the Chinese had turned into women. What was the meaning of that? Haji Mataram said, "The characteristic of women is good. Your mission will be safe and sound." However, after hearing this interpretation by Haji Mataram, Kyai Patih still did not feel good. Then Tuwan Sayid Mahbub said that he had dreamt about a big fire approaching Kyai Patih. He had seen in his dream that Kyai Patih and Tuwan Sayid tried to avoid it, but that the big fire had followed them. Then Tuwan Sayid's sword and the kris which he had got from Kyai Patih had fallen down and before long everything seemed to be on fire. When Kyai Patih was informed of this dream, he became very worried, but pretended that the meaning was good, and told him not to tell it to others.

1297. It is told that Tumenggung Pringgalaya, Pangéran Mangkubumi, Pangéran Dipanagara, and Pangéran Rangga had departed from the Alun-alun of Kartasura and after a march of six nights reached the domain of Jipang. The Madurese had already heard that an army from Kartasura consisting of a countless number of troops was on its way. The Madurese troops retreated and deployed in Sidayu. The army of Kartasura then entered the domain of Jipang where Tumenggung Pringgalaya proclaimed to the bupati of the Mancanagara that now the son of Ki Tumenggung Mataun was installed in Jipang to protect the common people. Secondly, Kyai Tohjaya was returned as bupati in Lamongan. Pangéran Mangkubumi then appealed to Tumenggung Pringgalaya to depart for Sidayu, because the enemy was there. Tumenggung Pringgalaya told him to wait. He wanted to inform His Majesty first, because he had only been ordered to retake the domain of Jipang. But if there was an order from His Majesty, he would accompany him whenever he went to Sidayu, but at the moment he was afraid to go after the enemy in case His Majesty became angry with him.

1298. It is told that Kyai Patih and his army had left Ungaran. On arrival in Patérongan, they set up camp. Ki Tumenggung Rajaniti and his army encamped in the mountains. The bupati of the Pasisir came to pay their respects to Kyai Patih. Singsèh and Captain

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Sapanjang were glad that their commander had arrived and they went to meet him. Kyai Patih gave orders that he wanted them to parade the troops the next morning and have them mock and jeer at the Company in order to make the Company come out quickly. The next morning the bupati paraded their troops and the Chinese. They all shouted loudly. When the Company troops heard it, they made a sortie and attacked the lines of the ngabèhi of Terbaya. A fierce firefight ensued. The Chinese troops which were led by Tumenggung Martapura quickly came to their help and dared to conduct a blind attack. Many Company troops were killed. Then nightfall overtook them and the combatants retreated. The next morning, Tumenggung Martapura and the ngabèhi of Terbaya went to pay their respects to Kyai Patih, present him with some Company heads, and tell him about all the actions in battle. Kyai Patih was very happy and told them to display the heads on stakes. Tumenggung Martapura and the ngabèhi of Terbaya were rewarded with four hundred reals which should be divided equally among the troops of Tumenggung Martapura, and three hundred reals which should be shared among the troops of Ngabèhi Terbaya. After receiving their rewards, they returned to their quarters. Three nights later, the Company made a sortie. They marched westward and struck the lines of Sabukalu. A fierce fight ensued. When Tumenggung Mangkuyuda and Tumenggung Wiraguna heard it, they hastened to help. A fierce firefight ensued. Sabukalu led in person. His troops attacked in force, daring to conduct a blind attack. The Company troops stood their ground. A fierce hand-to-hand fight with swords ensued. Many Chinese and Company troops were killed. Sabukalu fought like a demon, and whoever was hit by his long-handled Chinese sword was killed. The Company troops retreated like a flock of birds. The Chinese pursued them. Sabukalu was hit by a bullet in his left abdomen and sank to the ground. He was carried back. When they got to his quarters, Kyai Patih was informed that Sabukalu was wounded. Kyai Patih sent a messenger to take a look and offer medicines and money. On his return, the messenger informed Kyai Patih who was very shocked. The wounding of Sabukalu frightened his troops. Among the Chinese no one was more courageous than Sabukalu. At night, the troops of Sabukalu, Tumenggung Mangkuyuda, and Tumenggung Wiraguna were showered by the Company with gunfire and cannon fire from the gallery of the fortress. The Javanese returned fire. The whole night the firefight continued. At five in the morning, Kyai Patih was standing in the yard and asked the chief of the Jayantaka corps whose camp was under fire, for nobody had informed him. A messenger went to look for Patih Surajaya. When he was found, Ki Patih Surajaya said that it was the lines of Mangkuyuda and Wiraguna that were under fire. If Kyai Patih agreed, it would be advisable to deploy all the troops on the fallow lands. The messenger returned and reported everything Ngabèhi Surajaya had said. Kyai Patih then gave orders to have the troops sortie. Only four men showed up, but they were battle ready. They stationed themselves under a tamarind tree, quickly got a small alarm gong and were told to sound it. When the troops heard the sound of the gong in the distance, they dashed off in nervous haste to the field of battle. At dawn, the Company troops

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sallied from the fortress determined to wage war. They marched eastward and attacked in force the lines of Singsèh, Tumenggung Martapura, and the ngabèhi of Terbaya. A fierce firefight ensued. The Chinese conducted a blind attack which was met by the Company. Many Chinese were killed and the rest retreated. The ngabèhi of Terbaya attacked. Many Company troops were killed. Then they attacked the lines of Demak in force. Tumenggung Wirasastra ran away. The Company troops then turned westward and attacked while firing salvos at the lines of Radèn Mlayakusuma. Radèn Mlayakusuma met the attack and fired his gun called Ki Sisik. A fierce firefight ensued. Of Radèn Mlayakusuma's troops many were killed. His mantri called Demang Sawakul was killed. The lines of Radèn Mlayakusuma then broke and fled. His camp was burnt down by the Company. When Kyai Patih saw that the enemy, the Company, was approaching, he asked for his horse called Kidung. On horseback he advanced calling on his troops. However, they got knocked over by the troops of Radèn Arya Mlayakusuma. They also broke up and were carried away in the flight. Ki Patih was bereft of troops. His horse refused to go forward because there was a swamp ahead. Even when whipped it still refused. He then got off, beat it with the shaft of a spear, but it still refused. He then asked for another horse, called Rondhon. When it was brought, he mounted it and advanced into battle. The Company troops fired salvos. The ceremonial umbrella of Ki Patih was shot to pieces. His horse Rondhon was hit in the flank. His son Sutawijaya told him to retreat, but he refused. Then Radèn Natawijaya begged him to retreat while weeping because his troops were already broken. When Ki Patih saw that his horse Rondhon was wounded, he retreated. The Company troops also retreated and halted in front of the fortress. Ki Patih stopped under the tamarind tree and ordered his horse to be taken to the camp. On arrival the horse was let loose, but before long it died. When Ki Patih received the news that his horse had died, he was shocked. Tuwan Sayid Mahbub caught up with him on the field of battle. He met Ki Patih who was still facing the Company troops. Tuwan Sayid told Ki Patih to advance again. Ki Patih replied that he would do so later, but was now busy assembling the troops that had got separated. The Company troops had assembled in front of the fort. Their lines did not move. Around the time of the afternoon prayer, the Company troops retreated. Ki Patih and his troops responded in the same manner and retreated to their camp. About five days later, Captain Singsèh came to pay his respects to Ki Patih and asked for orders on where to deploy his troops. Kyai Patih remembered his earlier dream in which he had seen the Chinese turn into women, so he told him to join Sapanjang in the west and form one unit. Kyai Patih then wrote a letter to His Majesty to report that the battle had ended in a draw. When ready the messenger departed. On arrival in Kartasura, he went to Tumenggung Tirtawiguna. The letter was received and presented to His Majesty. When it was examined, he was very much shocked, for Kyai Patih had personally gone into battle, but after not much of a fight, he was already bereft of troops. He asked Tumenggung Tirtawiguna how it would go in future if the war reached a climax and the commander, of all things, fought it on his own. Tumenggung Tirtawiguna said that

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His Majesty was totally right. If Kyai Patih conducted himself in battle like this, he would inevitably make light of his task and embarrass His Majesty, because it would be as if a curtain in front of His Majesty had been pushed aside and he would be laughed at by the enemy. His Majesty then ordered Tumenggung Tirtawiguna to answer the messenger from Ki Patih that Ki Patih was not allowed to advance into battle until fully prepared, and should for the time being just protect his army. Tumenggung Tirtawiguna went outside, met the messenger from Ki Patih, and told him what His Majesty had said. He was not given a letter, just an oral message. The messenger departed. On his arrival in Semarang, he conveyed the message to Ki Patih, who was very much shocked. The messenger conveyed news about the troubled state of the capital. Kyai Patih asked what the trouble was. The messenger said that the trouble was caused by a rumour that Kyai Patih had been killed in battle. So when the letter came that Kyai Patih was safe and sound it was announced and the people had all been put at ease. Kyai Patih smiled when he heard this report from the messenger. At that time the fighting stopped and no attacks were made from either sides. They just faced each other while at ease.

1299. It is told that Commissioner Tilen, the senior commissioner, and the commander held a meeting. After they had come to a conclusion, they summoned the royal messengers from Kartasura. They gave them a letter for His Majesty and told them to return to Kartasura. They had them accompanied by a Makassarese who was told to escort the messengers to Ki Wirasastra. On arrival in the camp of Ki Wirasastra, the two royal messengers were handed over to Ki Wirasastra. Ki Wirasastra provided them with an escort and the royal messengers departed. On arrival in Kartasura, they went straight to Tumenggung Tirtawiguna. Having received the letter, Tumenggung Tirtawiguna quickly went to pay his respects to His Majesty and present the letter. It said that the commissioners and the commander informed him that the messengers from His Majesty, who had been caught by the pangéran of Madura, had been sent on to Batavia, but were now being returned to His Majesty. Secondly, that on the orders of Your Grandfather the Governor General, they were entrusted with the task of protecting His Majesty, so that he would not go further than intended. Because if it was really the wish of His Majesty to ruin the Company, this would cause the Governor General and the members of the Council of the Indies much grief, not because they were afraid of war, but because of their great affection for His Majesty. Because if this situation should drag on and on, the land of Java would inevitably be ruined. And if ruined, who would suffer from the loss? The Company was in Java because of the love of the former kings. They were given food, appreciated as living in the house and serving in return, without having any evil intentions, only caring to make Java prosperous. When His Majesty had read the letter, he remained silent for a long time. In the end, he told Tumenggung Tirtawiguna to withdraw and just come back the next morning. The two royal messengers he should take with him to his residence.

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1300. It is told that Kyai Patih was meeting Singsèh and Sapanjang. He asked them what the problem was that Singsèh had not come to pay his respects to Kyai Patih for a long time. Was it not normal that in war you would win at one time and lose at another? But Singsèh seemed disheartened. Singsèh said, "How is it possible not to be disheartened, because the Javanese are not in line with each other, here are even some who are hostile in their hearts. When it has come this far, the Chinese will see their destruction as inevitable. How can you expect them to move out of their fortifications?" Kyai Patih asked who he meant. Singsèh answered that many of his fellow Chinese knew that rice was being sent to the Company fort, and that in battle instructions were given to break ranks and often give way to the Company. It seems as if Kyai Patih is not unaware of this. However, Singsèh did not want to tell everything. Kyai Patih was aware of this and promised to send a letter to His Majesty. Captain Sapanjang and Singsèh were very happy and took their leave while they were given 250 rixdollars for their journey. After Singsèh had left, Kyai Patih sent a messenger with a letter for His Majesty. On arrival in Kartasura, the letter was given to Tumenggung Tirtawiguna and then presented to His Majesty. When examined, it said that Kyai Patih put his life in the hands of His Majesty and asked for orders. What was His Majesty's wish? Did he want the matter drag on, or did he want to bring the matter to a close? When His Majesty had read the letter, he asked the advice of Tumenggung Tirtawiguna, but he said that he left it up to His Majesty. His Majesty told Tumenggung Tirtawiguna not to be afraid and to tell him what he really thought. Tumenggung Tirtawiguna said that he found it difficult to comment on what Kyai Patih said. His Majesty then told Tumenggung Tirtawiguna to tell the messenger from Ki Patih to return without a written reply. Ki Patih should for the time being only take care of the common men. Tumenggung Tirtawiguna was then allowed to withdraw. When the messenger had been told, he left. On his arrival in Semarang, he reported to Kyai Patih who was very troubled that he had not been given a written reply.

1301. It is told that Her Majesty the queen mother and Tumenggung Tirtawiguna had agreed to bring the matter to a conclusion. The queen mother said that if Tumenggung Tirtawiguna was afraid to speak to His Majesty, the queen mother herself would talk. Tumenggung Tirtawiguna was then summoned by His Majesty. His Majesty asked whether there was a way, for example, when a garment was ripped or a plate broken that it could be glued or made again as it was. Tumenggung Tirtawiguna said that it could not be made whole again. His Majesty then ordered him to write a reply to the letter from the commander that earlier had been brought by the royal messengers. When the letter was ready, he called the royal messengers and told them to travel in secret and go to Ki Wirasastra. The royal messengers departed. On their arrival in Semarang, they met with Tumenggung Wirasastra and were sent on to the fortress. The letter was presented to the commander and the commissioners and the interpreter was told to read it. When they heard the contents of His Majesty's letter that the temerity of his high officials had been caused by the overweening arrogance of Tuwan Pan Pèlser

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and the breaking of custom, so the high officials could be enticed by the Chinese who were being maltreated by the Company, the commander and the commissioners were very pleased and quickly wrote a reply to His Majesty. When ready, it was handed to the messengers with some money for the journey and they departed. On arrival in Kartasura, they met with Tumenggung Tirtawiguna who received the letter from Semarang and quickly brought it to His Majesty. Having examined it, His Majesty said to Tumenggung Tirtawiguna that the letter said that the Company had forgiven all the bad things that had happened and wanted to return to the situation as it had been without any worries, and that it requested His Majesty to wipe out the Chinese who had rebelled against the Company. Tumenggung Tirtawiguna suggested that, if His Majesty agreed, the commissioners should be asked to consult with Kyai Patih first. When they had reached agreement, it would be easy to attack the Chinese. His Majesty agreed and told him to draft a letter. When ready, he was told to send it with the messengers from Ki Tumenggung Wirasastra. On arrival in Semarang, they met Ki Tumenggung Wirasastra who had them brought to the fort to present it to the commander. When the letter had been read by the interpreter, the commissioners and the commander were very pleased because it requested them to confer with Kyai Patih. They then summoned a Company servant called Dhanci and dispatched him with a letter for Kyai Patih. Dhanci quickly left, holding a white cloth. Outside the fortress he waved the white cloth and called out to be led to Kyai Patih because he had been sent to deliver a letter. A Javanese said to him, "Where is that letter? I'll take it to Kyai Patih." Dhanci said, "I will not give it. Just take me to him." Escorted on both sides by soldiers, they led him to the quarters of Ki Ngabèhi Surajaya, from there he was escorted to see Kyai Patih. The letter was handed over and opened. It said that the commander and the commissioners informed him that they had presented a letter to His Majesty asking for help in the matter of the Chinese who had rebelled against the Company. His Majesty had agreed to wipe them out, but had told them to confer first with Kyai Patih. That was why the commander sent a letter. When Kyai Patih learned the contents of the letter, he was very shocked and said to Ki Surajaya, "What do you think, if indeed the order from His Majesty is like it says in the letter from the commander. How come His Majesty did not send an order to me?" Ki Surajaya said, "Maybe it is just a setup by the Company." Kyai Patih then dispatched Ki Sutamenggala to His Majesty to inform him of the letter from the commander and ask why his letter had not been given a reply. Ki Sutamenggala departed. Dhanci, the messenger from the commander, was given a reply by Kyai Patih and returned. On his arrival in the fort, he handed the reply to the commander. It said that Kyai Patih requested some time. He wanted to discuss it first. When he had reached a conclusion, he would send a messenger.

1302. It is told that the messenger from Ki Patih had reached Kartasura. He met Ki Tumenggung Tirtawiguna who received and read out the letter. When finished, he said to the messenger Ki Sutamenggala that he had been expecting this for a long time because the Company had twice already sent a letter asking for help from His Majesty,

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but His Majesty had not replied to them yet. Ki Tumenggung Tirtawiguna then went to pay his respects to His Majesty and told him everything Ki Patih had said. His Majesty told him to send a letter to Ki Patih, telling him to obey in a proper way what the Company had requested, and that he should stay close to the Company. His Majesty entrusted it all to Ki Patih, and wanted him to lessen the estrangement, but to remain a bit aloof. Ki Tumenggung Tirtawiguna said that he would do as told and drafted a letter. When it was done, he gave it to the messenger from Ki Patih who quickly departed. On his arrival in Semarang, he handed the letter over. When Ki Patih saw the contents of the letter, he was dumbstruck. After the evening prayers, he summoned Ki Tumenggung Rajaniti. When he came, he said to him, "Brother, Tumenggung Rajaniti, what do you think about this assignment? I think I cannot carry out His Majesty's wish." Tumenggung Rajaniti said, "Who can carry it out if this is His Majesty's wish, for it is like having a cockfight and the gambler himself cracks the beak of his cock between his teeth." Ki Patih swore that none of his descendants should ever carry out an assignment like this. Ki Tumenggung Rajaniti agreed. For a long time Ki Patih did not say a word, and then he remembered Ki Nayamenggala from the time of his stay in Batavia. It seemed that he knew Ki Rangga Tiksnawijaya [the son of the Company regent of Semarang]. He asked him and Nayamenggala replied that he knew him at that time. Ki Nayamenggala was then sent to meet with Ki Rangga Tiksnawijaya in the fortress, but should go in secret. When questioned by others, he should say that he was coming at his own volition. When he had met Ki Rangga, he should urge him to meet with Ki Patih. Ki Nayamenggala said that he would do as told, departed, met Ki Rangga Tiksnawijaya, and they greeted each other. After that, he was asked by Ki Rangga whether he had come at his own initiative, or whether he had been sent. He answered frankly that he had been sent by Ki Patih to summon Ki Rangga Tiksnawijaya. He answered that it would be a half-measure if he went to visit now, because the sun had almost set and, moreover, he needed to inform the commissioners first. Ki Nayamenggala should just come back tomorrow morning. Ki Nayamenggala took his leave and returned. At nine in the evening, Ki Rangga Tiksnawijaya informed the commissioners and the commander that he had been summoned by Kyai Patih. The commissioners allowed it and asked him to convey their greetings to Ki Patih. Moreover, they asked him to say that the Company had forgiven all the bad things that had happened. Ki Rangga Tiksnawijaya said that he would do as told and withdrew. In the morning Ki Nayamenggala returned. He met with Ki Rangga and both went to see Ki Patih. When he arrived before Ki Patih, Ki Rangga Tiksnawijaya conveyed the greetings of the commander and both commissioners. Ki Patih thanked him. Mas Rangga Tiksnawijaya then conveyed all the instructions that the commander had given him. Ki Patih said that Ki Rangga had been summoned because Ki Patih had received orders from His Majesty which, like the instructions from the commander, said that from now on the Company and His Majesty intended to be on good terms, as in the past. Ki Rangga Tiksnawijaya then withdrew from the presence of Ki Patih. He met with the

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commander and the commissioners and conveyed everything Ki Patih had said. When the two commissioners and the commander were informed by Ki Rangga Tiksnawijaya, they were very pleased and said that if Kyai Patih had indeed been ordered by His Majesty, we would like to wipe out the Chinese together, as we had requested. Ki Rangga Tiksnawijaya was told to return again and tell Kyai Patih to pull his lines back. Ki Rangga Tiksnawijaya went again to meet Ki Patih and convey the commander's instructions. Kyai Patih replied that he was willing to grant the request to pull his troops back and that he would issue orders to that effect. However, as for wiping out the Chinese, Ki Patih was not yet ready to execute this, because he had not yet received orders from His Majesty. Ki Rangga returned and told the commander and the two commissioners what Ki Patih had said. The three gentlemen said that it would be easy to do in future. After the troops had been pulled back, they would again send a letter to His Majesty. After Ki Rangga Tiksnawijaya had left, Kyai Patih issued orders to the bupati to pull their troops back and told them to encamp behind Patérongan, close to the camp of Ki Patih.

1303. Captain Sapanjang and Singsèh had already received the news that Ki Patih was presently exchanging messengers with the commissioners. So they went to pay their respects to Ki Patih to confirm the news. When they met Ki Patih they said that the life or death of all the Chinese was in the hands of Kyai Patih. When Kyai Patih heard Sapanjang saying this, he was taken aback and asked what they had seen or heard that made them say this. Sapanjang replied that it was indeed like that, because most Chinese did not know about His Majesty, only about Kyai Patih, so in the case of possible destruction only Kyai Patih was their guardian. When Kyai Patih heard Sapanjang's words, he was visibly distressed. He told them that the Chinese should trust Ki Patih and sent them away with a gift of three hundred reals and four bundles of gunpowder. After shaking hands, they withdrew.

1304. When the commander and the commissioners saw that the lines of the Javanese had been pulled back, they were very pleased and immediately sent a reinforcement of Company troops to Jepara. They went by sea and after their arrival in Jepara attacked in force. The Javanese lines broke and their fortifications were occupied by the Company troops. The Company troops then went to the aid of Tegal. On their arrival in Tegal, they attacked the lines of Tumenggung Wiranagara and Reksanagara. A fierce battle ensued. Troops of Radèn Suralaya of Brebes and Radèn Cakranagara of Pamalang, led by Radèn Arya Mandura, quickly came to their aid and a fierce battle ensued. Arya Mandura led the fight in person. He was wounded by a grenade on the side of his chest. He tightened a waistband over it and blindly attacked. The Company troops attacked fiercely and the fortifications were almost taken. Arya Mandura attacked on foot and blocked the gate with a spear, but because he was already wounded and tired, he leaned with his back against the doorpost while holding his spear on his lap. The Company troops advanced while firing salvos. When Tumenggung Wiranagara and Reksanagara saw that their leader was wounded, they quickly called their troops out

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and attacked. The bupati of Tegal moved into the gun smoke. Many of the Company troops, Buginese, Ambonese, and Makassarese, were killed. The Company troops retreated into the fort. The troops from Tegal pursued them. The Company troops closed the gate and fired with their cannon from the gallery of the fort. The troops from Tegal withdrew. When Arya Mandura got to his camp, he passed away. The Company reinforcements took fright and returned to Semarang. On their arrival in Semarang, they reported their vicissitudes to the commissioners, saying that it had been a savage battle in Tegal. The commissioners quickly summoned Ki Rangga Tiksnawijaya and told him to meet Ki Patih. After having received instructions, he left. When meeting with Kyai Patih he told him that he had been sent by the commissioners to ask why on earth, when the troops had been pulled back, there was still fighting in Tegal and Jepara. Kyai Patih replied that if he had issued orders to both the Company men and the Javanese, how could they have been obeyed? As for the Javanese, he had indeed issued orders to stop the fighting. Conversely, Kyai Patih asked who had started the fighting in Jepara and Tegal. Had the Company or the Javanese attacked? If the Javanese had initiated the fight, Kyai Patih was to blame, but if the Company had started it, Kyai Patih would not take responsibility. Ki Rangga Tiksnawijaya took his leave and returned. On his arrival in the fort, he reported to the two commissioners and the commander what Kyai Patih had said. When the three gentlemen heard it, they felt at fault.

1305. It is told that the tumenggung of Tegal sent a messenger to inform Ki Patih that Arya Mandura had died in battle. When Kyai Patih heard the report from the messenger that Arya Mandura had fallen in battle, he was shocked. He asked the messenger who had started the attack, the Company or the Javanese. The person questioned answered that the Company had attacked the Javanese lines and a savage fight had ensued. When Arya Mandura was getting the worst of it, the men from Tegal had conducted a blind attack, for they feared the anger of His Majesty. Kyai Patih then told the messenger from Tegal to tell the tumenggung of Tegal and their army not to initiate an attack. If the Company attacked, they should meet them in battle. The messenger was then allowed to return. Kyai Patih then dispatched a messenger to inform His Majesty of the death of Arya Mandura. On his arrival in Kartasura he presented his report. His Majesty was very shocked.

1306. It is told that the commissioners summoned Ki Rangga Tiksnawijaya and sent him to see Ki Patih again. He left after having received instructions. On his arrival in the camp at Patérongan, he met Ki Patih and said that he had been sent to inform him that His Majesty had already given permission to the commissioners to attack the Chinese. Ki Patih replied that he had been ordered by His Majesty to obey the commissioners on when they were going to destroy the Chinese. However, it was Ki Patih's wish that the start of the destruction of the Chinese would be next Sunday, and if not on Sunday, on Monday. He told Ki Rangga Tiksnawijaya to tell this to the commissioners. Ki Rangga Tiksnawijaya was then presented with a horse, a kris, and clothes. The horse was renamed "Peacemaker" by Ki Rangga, because it was given to him just when he

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was sent to make peace. Ki Patih laughed. Ki Rangga then took his leave and returned. On his arrival in the fortress, he reported everything Ki Patih had said to the commissioners. When the two commissioners and the commander heard it, they were very pleased.

1307. It is told that Ki Patih felt very sorry for the Chinese. In a quandary, he summoned Tumenggung Martapura at night. Meeting him alone, Ki Patih said that he felt gloomy because of His Majesty's wish to make peace with the Company. What would his advice be? Tumenggung Martapura said that if it was really His Majesty's wish to make peace with the Company, he could not carry it out and would prefer to die in the woods, for if he remained alive he would inevitably be designated as a source of evil. Since he had been the main actor in gathering the Chinese, he would inevitably be killed and his head put on a stake on the Alun-alun, unlike Ki Patih since he was a kinsman of His Majesty, and would not really be cast out. Ki Patih laughed and replied that even in his case, it would not really be different, because a king could not have special consideration for a kinsman. He told Tumenggung Martapura to meet Sapanjang and Captain Singsèh at night himself and tell them that now His Majesty wanted to shake the Chinese off, but that Ki Patih still cared deeply for them, but was afraid of His Majesty. As for the Chinese after having left Semarang gathering in one place, he left that completely to Tumenggung Martapura. He would neither order it, nor forbid it. Tumenggung Martapura said while shedding tears that he hoped that it would get the blessings of Ki Patih, because Ki Tumenggung Martapura could not carry it out if His Majesty really wanted to befriend the Dutch. If His Majesty still wanted to continue fighting the Dutch, Tumenggung Martapura would not shirk from his duties, even if nothing more than the stone of a béndha fruit were left of the realm, he would not leave his lord. But if he insisted on befriending the Company, Tumenggung Martapura would gladly be killed and pounded to pieces by the Dutch enemy, and he would not allow his descendants to become friends with the Dutch. Ki Tumenggung Martapura then withdrew from the presence of Ki Patih. That night, he met with Captain Sapanjang and Singsèh in their quarters. Tumenggung Martapura reported everything Kyai Patih had said. Captain Singsèh expressed his thanks and asked him to convey his greetings to Kyai Patih. He requested him though not to stay away too long and to follow them later. Ki Tumenggung Martapura took his leave and went back.

1308. It is told that Kyai Patih summoned the bupati, Ki Tumenggung Rajaniti, Radèn Mlayakusuma, Radèn Wiryadiningrat, Ki Tumenggung Mangkuyuda, Tumenggung Wiraguna, Radèn Singaranu, Radèn Mangkupraja, Tumenggung Mangunnagara, and Radèn Sujanapura, and told them that His Majesty wanted to attack the Chinese immediately. Kyai Patih wanted the bupati to be ready and waiting tomorrow morning to attack the Chinese, marching from the west, south, and east, but leaving the north open. When asked by the Company, pretend to be afraid of having their cannon at your back. Let us hope that the Chinese remember to just go easy on the fighting. Having been told these orders, the bupati said that they would do as told and parted. The next

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morning, the bupati deployed their troops and set out from the camp. They marched from the south, east, and west, forming a circle and leaving only the north side open. When the Company saw that the Javanese were ready to attack the Chinese, they quickly deployed as a precaution. When the Chinese saw that the Javanese had deployed, they quickly ordered their troops to open fire. A fierce firefight ensued. Captain Sapanjang with his troops attacked the lines in the east, which broke. The Chinese troops continued eastwards, while being followed at a distance by the Javanese. They kept advancing eastwards, heading for Demak. Singsèh, Etik, and Ping Bulung with their troops fled southwards, but the wounded and sick Chinese who were left behind were killed and their heads cut off. The heads were put in baskets to be presented to Kyai Patih. After they had been presented, he sent them on to the fort. When the commissioners saw the heads of the Chinese, they were very pleased.

1309. It is told that Singsèh and his fleeing troops were still being followed at a distance by Radèn Sujanapura. He stopped in the village of Pringapus in the domain of Bahrawa, where he deployed his troops. Kyai Patih sent a messenger to Singsèh, presenting him with five hundred reals and twenty guns. Captain Sapanjang, who was in the village of Wotan in the domain of Demak, was also sent money by Ki Patih, an amount of five hundred reals and twenty-five guns. When Captain Singsèh who had stopped at the village of Pringapus noticed that he was being followed at a distance by Radèn Sujanapura, he departed and joined Captain Sapanjang in the village of Wotan in the domain of Demak, where they deployed their troops.

1310. It is told that Kyai Patih summoned Ki Tumenggung Martapura. When he came, he told him that he wanted to send him with a letter to His Majesty. Apart from the letter, if His Majesty questioned Ki Tumenggung Martapura, he should tell him that the Chinese had fled completely from the domain of Semarang and had headed for Demak. Radèn Tumenggung Martapura said that he would do as told and departed. On his arrival in Kartasura, he went to Ki Tumenggung Tirtawiguna and was then escorted to the palace. After they had been announced to His Majesty, Ki Tumenggung Martapura and Ki Tumenggung Tirtawiguna were summoned before His Majesty. Ki Tumenggung Martapura made a sembah and presented the letter. After it had been taken and read, His Majesty asked Ki Tumenggung Martapura how many Chinese had been caught. Ki Tumenggung Martapura said that about eighty Chinese had been killed. His Majesty then told Ki Tumenggung Martapura to rest first, but come back again tomorrow morning. Ki Tumenggung Martapura said that he would do as told and withdrew. Coming outside, Ki Tumenggung Martapura suddenly realized that if he went to pay his respects tomorrow morning, he might be caught and handed over to the Dutch. So he intended to escape at night. He ordered his troops from Grobogan to prepare to leave at midnight. At midnight, Ki Tumenggung Martapura and his followers left the capital. On arrival in Grobogan, he deployed his troops. The people in Grobogan all turned out and submitted.

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1311. It is told that when Tumenggung Tirtawiguna heard that Tumenggung Martapura had escaped at night, he quickly informed His Majesty. His Majesty was greatly shocked and immediately told Tumenggung Tirtawiguna to write a letter to summon Kyai Patih. When the letter was ready, it was sent by a messenger. On his arrival in Semarang, Kyai Patih accepted the letter, which said that he was being called back. Kyai Patih said that he would do as told and the messenger was sent back on the same day. After the messenger had left, Ki Patih ordered his troops to get ready and gave orders to summon his son Dipati Jayaningrat. He asked for the latter's tutor, called Mangunoneng. After the latter had come to pay his respects, he said to him,"Hey, Mangunoneng, I ask you to give up your life for me to become my puppet and gather the people of Pathi. Secondly, I have heard that the Chinese Etik previously hid Garendi. Search for him, and if you find him make him ready to be king. Have him accompanied by the Chinese and stir up the lands of the Pasisir. When later on you have succeeded, inform me. If it is to be given to me, I will finish it myself in due course." Ki Mangunoneng said that he would do as told and was given five hundred reals, forty carbines with bayonets, and forty spears. After receiving his last instructions from Ki Patih, he left Patérongan at night. Ki Patih then summoned his servant Partawijaya and told him the following: "Partawijaya, I have a task for you. Tomorrow after my return to Kartasura, you gather the people of Lasem. When Mangunoneng has raised his troops, you quickly join in." Partawijaya said that he would do as told and after having been given money and clothes, left at night. Next, Kyai Patih summoned the two bupati Tumenggung Padmanagara and Suranata and told them to return to Demak after his return the next day, and if there was an installation of a new king to just go along with it. Both tumenggung said that they would do as told. The next morning, Kyai Patih summoned Rangga Tiksnawijaya and told him to inform the commander and the commissioners that Ki Patih had been summoned by His Majesty. Perhaps they had some wishes to impart to him. Ki Rangga Tiksnawijaya said that he would do as told and quickly departed. On his arrival in the fortress, he informed the commander and the commissioners, who summoned Ensign Ondorop and dispatched him to meet Kyai Patih in Patérongan. After having received some final instructions, he left. On his arrival in Patérongan, he met with Ki Patih and conveyed the greetings of the commander and the commissioners. Secondly, Ki Patih was asked to tell His Majesty that the commissioners requested that the Company garrison which was in Kartasura be returned to the Company. Kyai Patih promised to tell His Majesty. Furthermore, Ondorop himself asked him to pass a request that if His Majesty wished to have a Company guard again, he himself should be asked for. Ki Patih replied that he would be more than happy and indeed promised to convey this to His Majesty. Ondorop thanked Ki Patih profusely and offered him a pair of fine long guns. Ki Patih asked whether these were from the commissioners or Ondorop himself. He replied that they were from himself. Ki Patih smiled and offered his thanks. When the discussion was finished, Ondorop took his

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leave. When he reached the fortress, he met the commander and the commissioners and gave a report on his mission.

1312. It is told that Ki Patih after having given orders to get ready, left the domain of Semarang the next morning. No bupati remained behind. Only the bupati of the Pasisir were allowed to return to their domains. He reached Kartasura and went to the palace to pay his respects. After having been announced, he was summoned together with Tumenggung Tirtawiguna. In the presence of His Majesty, Ki Patih paid his respects and conveyed the greetings of the commander and the commissioners. He also passed on the request that, if His Majesty allowed it, the Company garrison in Kartasura be returned to the Company. Moreover, the Dutchman who had been sent to meet Ki Patih, called Ondorop, had passed the request that if His Majesty wished to have a Company guard again, he himself should be asked for. He was good-looking and still young. He even had given a pair of guns to Ki Patih. His Majesty asked whether this request came from those who had sent him or from himself. Ki Patih said that he left it up to His Majesty. His Majesty then asked Tumenggung Tirtawiguna what he made of this. Tumenggung Tirtawiguna said that normally Company servants did not dare to do wrong. It seemed that he could conceal it from those who had sent him. His Majesty said that that was probably how it was. He then ordered Ki Patih to rouse his troops, because there still might be a long fight ahead. Ki Patih said that he would do as told. Then he asked why Pangéran Rangga, Pangéran Mangkubumi, Pangéran Dipanagara, and Arya Pringgalaya were not recalled. His Majesty told Tumenggung Tirtawiguna to write a letter to recall his younger brothers and Arya Pringgalaya. Tumenggung Tirtawiguna said that he would do as told. Ki Patih withdrew from the presence of His Majesty. On arrival in his residence, his wives came out to meet him. They paid their respects by touching his knee with their heads and weeping happily because of the terrible stories from the war.

1313. It is told that Ki Tumenggung Martapura who was deployed in Grobogan had set out to join the Chinese in Demak. Captain Sapanjang and Singsèh were very pleased. Then the Chinese Etik informed them that he had hidden the two boys, Radèn Mas Garendi and Radèn Sarada [Surada]. He had hidden them when Pangéran Wiramenggala had been eliminated. Dèn Mas Garendi was a son of Pangéran Tepasana, and Radèn Sarada [Surada] a son of Radèn Jayakusuma. When Captain Sapanjang and Singsèh were told this by Etik, they discussed making him king. Radèn Tumenggung Martapura approved, because the boy was a kinsman of His Majesty. If, for example, His Majesty really threw the Chinese out and the Dutch planned to wipe them out, it would be inevitable that the abused would resist in any way and in any place. Singsèh asked whether it would be disloyal if we install this boy as king. Maybe it should be done in Pathi. Ki Tumenggung Martapura replied that if Radèn Mas Garendi was installed as king, it would only be half-bad. Captain Sapanjang hissed that since the boy would inevitably follow his royal instincts, it would be better to install Tumenggung Martapura as king, as he was also a Javanese. Tumenggung Martapura laughingly replied that he

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was not ready to become king, because he was not a descendant of kings. It was appropriate if Radèn Mas Garendi should become king, because he was a descendant. So it was better if he be installed. Given the fact that he was suffering from bad luck, he would appreciate it if treated well. It was the established custom of the Javanese that not just anybody was allowed to become king, if he was not a descendant of those who owned the land. If just anybody should set himself up as king, he would certainly not be able to live long. He would be taken seriously nowhere, and even the villagers would beat him up with clubs. Captain Sapanjang gave in to Ki Martapura. After Radèn Mas Garendi had been informed, Ki Martapura gave orders to build a ceremonial roof in front of the house, had it adorned with greenery, and called up all his troops. When it was ready, Radèn Mas Garendi was dressed up and seated on a throne. Ki Martapura then proclaimed that now Radèn Mas Garendi was being installed as king with the title Kangjeng Susuhunan Mangkurat Prabu Kuning Sénapati Ingalaga Ngabdurrahman Sayidin Panatagama. They all witnessed it. It became known around Demak that in Wotan a king of royal descent had been proclaimed. The people of Demak and vicinity all submitted.

1314. The story changes to Ki Mangunoneng, who was deployed in Pathi. The villagers had all submitted to him. At that time, the holder of the domain of Pathi was Radèn Megatsari. Asked whether he wanted to fight or submit, Radèn Megatsari became very despondent, for all his people had gone and joined the enemy. So he quickly escaped from Pathi. Ki Mangunoneng ordered some mantri to accompany Radèn Megatsari and bring along all his possessions without leaving anything behind. He went via Cengkalsèwu. Pathi was occupied by Mangunoneng and his troops and his deployment was complete.

1315. It is told that on his arrival in Lasem Ki Partawijaya deployed there and joined up with Ki Mangunoneng. Then they heard the news that Radèn Martapura had installed a king. The one installed as king was Radèn Mas Garendi. Ki Mangunoneng felt that he had been beaten to it. So he conferred with a kinsman called Kartawirya, to fabricate a cover-up lie. When done they sent a messenger with a letter to Ki Martapura in Demak. On his arrival at the camp in Wotan, he met Ki Martapura. The letter was received. It said that Ki Mangunoneng informed him that by order of Ki Patih he was searching for Radèn Mas Garendi. If he had been found, he should install him as king in Pathi. Even though he had been preempted, Ki Mangunoneng agreed with Ki Martapura's wishes, but if he agreed, he wanted to bring him to Pathi. If permitted, Ki Mangunoneng would like to collect him tomorrow in Demak. Captain Sapanjang and Singsèh were happy when they heard the reading of the letter by Ki Martapura. They felt that Ki Patih in his heart still truly cared for them. So Captain Sapanjang asked them to come along to Pathi, because Pathi was a good place to equip for war. Singsèh and Ki Martapura agreed and they gave a reply to the messenger that whenever Ki Mangunoneng came to collect him, he was allowed to advise His Majesty to come down to Pathi. The messenger took his leave and returned. On his arrival in Pathi, he

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conveyed Ki Martapura's instructions. Ki Mangunoneng was pleased and set out for Demak. Ki Martapura who was encamped in the village of Wotan was rather worried and deployed troops under cover by way of precaution. When Ki Mangunoneng met with Ki Martapura, they shook hands and sat down. Captain Sapanjang and Singsèh also came to meet him. Ki Mangunoneng said to Ki Martapura that since he had been ordered by Ki Patih to install the king, he felt disappointed at having been preempted. As for the earlier orders of Ki Patih, they were as follows: "When you have installed Garendi, let me know quickly. I will finish it after that and with him oppose the evil man in Kartasura." When Captain Sapanjang, Singsèh, and Ki Martapura heard the report of Ki Mangunoneng, they were very pleased. Ki Martapura said that from now on the rule over the Javanese would be entrusted to Ki Mangunoneng with the title Adipati ing Pathi. As for Martapura, he would bear the title Radèn Tumenggung Sujanapura. They then went to pay their respects to His Majesty together with Captain Sapanjang and Singsèh. On their arrival before His Majesty, Ki Mangunoneng presented all the royal insignia which he had received from Kyai Patih. His Majesty was very pleased and felt as if he already held the whole of Java in his hand. Ki Mangunoneng was then given permission to bear the title Dipati ing Pathi, and Ki Martapura the title Tumenggung Sujanapura.

1316. It is told that Ki Tumenggung Padmanagara and Ki Tumenggung Suranata of Demak had heard the news that in the village of Wotan a king had been proclaimed. They went with their troops to pay their respects. When they met Ki Tumenggung Sujanapura and Dipati ing Pathi, they told them about the instructions of Kyai Patih. Tumenggung Sujanapura and Dipati ing Pathi were pleased. Then they mobilized their troops and set out for Pathi. His Majesty quickly made his palace in the residence of the demang. The court officials set up their quarters. At that time Dipati ing Pathi conferred with the bupati, Captain Sapanjang, and Singsèh, saying that he wanted to re-enact the installation of the king witnessed by the Islamic scholars and the faithful. Captain Sapanjang, Singsèh, and the bupati agreed. Ki Dipati ing Pathi gathered the Islamic scholars, the haji, and so forth. On a Monday, he ordered his troops to line up on the Alun-alun. The young king emerged and sat on a throne under a large temporary structure. Behind him the women carried the royal insignia. The bupati and other officials were arrayed before him while the Islamic scholars were on his left and the Chinese on his right. Dipati ing Pathi rose and gave orders to witness that Dipati ing Pathi proclaimed as king His Majesty Prabu Kuning. The Islamic scholars answered in unison that they witnessed it and then recited prayers for his reign. After that the kodhok ngorèk gamelan was played accompanied by the sounds of trumpets, cheers, and loud gun salvos. Before long a steady stream of food came out and after it had been divided equally, they all ate. His Majesty then returned to the palace. All the domains around Pathi submitted, such as Kudus, Rembang, Lasem, Juwana, Tanjung, Demak, Grobogan, and Cengkalsèwu. Ki Dipati ing Pathi gave orders to expand the conquests and conquer the domains farther away from Pathi.

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1317. It is told that after arriving in Kartasura Kyai Patih heard the news that the Chinese were in Demak. He quickly dispatched Ngabèhi Sutawijaya to attack the Chinese in Demak. He went via Semarang and after meeting with the Company in Semarang, he went to Demak. Shortly after that, Rangga Yudanagara of Semarang was summoned together with his kinsmen to Kartasura by His Majesty. On his arrival, he was summoned by His Majesty. After having inquired about his health, His Majesty presented him with a kris and all its accessories, and two horses. He then wanted to give him in marriage a daughter of Pangéran Blitar. However, he declined. After three nights in Kartasura, he returned to Semarang. Then His Majesty wished to return the Company guard in Kartasura to Semarang. Tumenggung Wiraguna and Singaranu were dispatched. On their arrival in Semarang, both tumenggung met the commander and the commissioners and handed over the Company guard from Kartasura. After they had been received, both tumenggung returned to Kartasura.

1318. It is told that Ki Tumenggung Tirtawiguna and Tumenggung Suradipura who were dispatched by His Majesty to bring a letter to Semarang had already departed. They arrived in Semarang and went to the fort where they met the commissioners and presented the letter. The letter was read out by the interpreter. It said that it was meant to take away the bad feelings, and that therefore Tumenggung Tirtawiguna and Tumenggung Suradipura had been dispatched to bring the Company and the Javanese closer together. When the reading out was finished, the letter was honoured with a gun salute. The two tumenggung then went to stay in the residence of the chief of Gemulak. Soon after, four officials from Kartasura caught up with them, bringing a group of handcuffed Balinese. They were runaways from Batavia and had been caught in Banyumas. There were seven of them. Tumenggung Tirtawiguna was told to hand them over to the Company. The prisoners were handed over to the Company. After about seven days, Captain Ondorop was dispatched to Kartasura. He was accompanied by an ensign called Ogwis, a secretary called Tolomondo, a corporal called Aretman, six privates and two orderlies. They were escorted on their way by the patih of Tumenggung Tirtawiguna called Citrawangsa, and Ki Singawijaya of Kendhal. On their arrival in Kartasura, they went to pay their respects to His Majesty. The captain professed the pureness of heart of the commissioners and the whole Company towards His Majesty. His Majesty was very pleased. After quite some time, the captain was allowed to leave. He was given a place of stay to the west of the Sitinggil. At that time, His Majesty in Kartasura received a letter from the commissioners, saying that the number of Chinese had increased again. Kyai Patih was quickly summoned and given the advice to go to war with the troops from the western Pasisir himself, going via Semarang. Tumenggung Pringgalaya should go via the east, and the army thus be split into two. Kyai Patih said that he would do as told. He performed a sembah and withdrew. On his arrival in the Kapatihan, he summoned the bupati. When they had arrived, he informed Tumenggung Pringgalaya of His Majesty's orders. After they had come to a conclusion, Kyai Patih took two bupati to accompany him because Radèn Wiryadiningrat and Su-

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tawijaya had already gone ahead to Demak to chase the Chinese off and had not returned yet, waiting for Kyai Patih. About nine nights after the commandant [Ondorop] had arrived in Kartasura, Kyai Patih left the capital. When he reached Lampèr, he pitched camp. The next morning he went to the fort. The commissioners met him outside the gate. Kyai Patih was escorted inside and presented a letter from His Majesty. It said that Kyai Patih had been sent with orders to attack the Chinese. Wherever the Chinese were, he had been ordered to pursue them. The commissioners and the commander were happy and strongly expressed their thanks. After the letter had been read out, it was honoured with a gun salute. Kyai Patih then withdrew from the fort and encamped at Patérongan. The next morning he set out to the east, intending to go to Demak.

1319. It is told that Radèn Pringgalaya who had been appointed to attack the Chinese to the north of the Kendheng mountains together with Radèn Mlayakusuma, Radèn Singaranu, Tumenggung Mangunnagara, Tumenggung Wiraguna, Tumenggung Mangkuyuda and Tumenggung Mangkupraja had set out from the capital, marching northward as far as the village of Kampak, where he halted for three nights. Then a messenger from His Majesty came, presenting him with two thousand reals and orders to give this as a reward to the troops who had fought well. The same had been given when Kyai Patih had left. He also had been given money as a reward for troops who had fought well, an amount of four thousand reals. After Kyai Patih had departed, His Majesty wished to give Radèn Ayu Retnadiwati in marriage to the Company official Tuwan Commissioner Tilem.

1320. Kyai Patih marched as far as the village of Ngrakudan, where he encamped, waiting for the bupati of the Pasisir who had been summoned. Only those of Kendhal and Kaliwungu had come, and Ki Wirasastra, but his troops had already defected. He wanted the rangga of Kaliwungu, the ngabèhi of Kendhal, and Wirasastra to lead the vanguard, accompanied by the troops from Kartasura, Ki Sutawijaya and the kliwon of the mantri of Panumping with their troops, the servants from the Kapatihan, the Jayamenggala corps under their chief Radèn Martataruna, and Tanpagempung corps. They all deployed in Layapan. Before long, the troops in Layapan advanced again. Kyai Patih occupied Layapan, while the vanguard was in Telagaaji.

1321. It is told that Dipati ing Pathi and Tumenggung Martapura had heard that Kyai Patih and his army had encamped in Layapan. The Chinese came to confer with Dipati ing Pathi. Singsèh and Captain Sapanjang asked, “What do you think, Kyai Patih has arrived with a countless number of troops. For people who plan to fake a fight, how will the Javanese fight?” Ki Dipati ing Pathi replied, “The way the Javanese fight a real war is killing or be killed without any regard for the common man. Just to guard the secret, wipe out everybody except for Kyai Patih, for the enemy are all people from Kartasura and the Pasisir. Whoever gets caught on the front, kill them. Next Sunday attack the troops from Kartasura, and have the Chinese in Demak assist in order to taunt the troops from Kartasura. Have Ngabèhi Ping Bulung parade every morning before the troops deployed in Layapan.” Captain Singsèh quickly ordered three hundred Chinese

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troops to reinforce Ngabèhi Ping Bulung. The three hundred Chinese set out under twenty banners. On their arrival in Demak, Ngabèhi Ping Bulung, who had already received orders from Captain Sapanjang, quickly mobilized his troops and set out from Demak. He divided his troops into two, one group going by boats, another by land. The Chinese troops were having a good time. The whole way they cheered loudly. On their arrival in Uter, they stopped to arrange the troops. Ngabèhi Ping Bulung ordered his troops to rest first. When those who had come by boat had joined, Ngabèhi Ping Bulung gave orders to the chiefs that he was determined to attack the next morning and destroy the fortifications in Layapan. Although Captain Sapanjang and Singsèh's orders had only been to parade in front of them, Ngabèhi Ping Bulung wondered what use that was. It was better to smash them in one fell swoop, for he was still not afraid to take on the troops from Kartasura. The next morning the Chinese troops set out. Ngabèhi Ping Bulung went along with the boats. The other half went by land. They arrived in Layapan at the start of the workday. When the troops deployed in Layapan saw the Chinese coming, they nervously hastened to get ready. At that time Kyai Patih was still asleep. He was startled by the commotion outside and quickly got up. He asked what was causing the commotion, and the person asked told him that the Chinese had come and that they had been divided into two groups, one half had come in boats, the other half by land. Kyai Patih went out to the yard to arrange his troops. The Jayèngastra, Jayantaka, Nirmala, Tanparaga, and Jayaparusa corps, and the troops from Pagelèn held their guns. The Semawung corps, about forty men, were willing to engage the Chinese with their guns. The Chinese troops who had come in boats, had all come ashore. Those who had come by land attacked in force, but were met by gunfire. A furious gunfight ensued. The Chinese troops dared to press forward. The men from the Tanparaga and Jayaparusa corps ran away. The Jayantaka and Narantaka corps who were at the left and right of the gate of the fort met the attack. Kyai Patih ordered his troops out of the fort. They immediately went out. The Chinese dared to conduct a blind attack. The troops of Ki Patih fled into the fort. The Chinese stormed the fort while throwing large firecrackers at those inside, who were thrown into a panic. Radèn Sujanapura and his troops attacked from the right. When the troops of the Kapatihan saw that Radèn Sujanapura was attacking, those who had fled quickly returned and started fighting again. The Chinese stood their ground. Radèn Wiryadiningrat and his troops arrived and joined the battle. Many of the Chinese were killed. Because they were overwhelmed, the Chinese fled. The troops from the Kapatihan and Sujanapura chased them. Those caught were beheaded. The heads were presented to Kyai Patih. Everyone who got a head was rewarded with ten reals. Those who got ears were rewarded with five reals. The common troops were very happy. The Chinese troops withdrew to Demak. It was reported to Radèn Martapura and Dipati ing Pathi that the battle had been a draw. They then planned to help the fight in Demak and led five hundred Chinese there. On their arrival in Demak, they met with Ngabèhi Ping Bulung.

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1322. It is told that Radèn Pringgalaya and his fellow bupati had reached Grobogan on their march. The vanguard consisting of Ki Tumenggung Mangunnagara, Wiraguna, Singaranu, and Radèn Mlayakusuma deployed in Termala. Radèn Pringgalaya deployed in Bicak. The people of Grobogan were in turmoil. Some went to inform Radèn Martapura who was in Demak. When Radèn Martapura heard it, he became very angry. He summoned Radèn Suranata, Padmanagara, and Ngabèhi Ping Bulung and asked them to stay behind because Radèn Martapura wanted to go to Grobogan, as he had been informed that it had been invaded by a hostile army from Kartasura led by Radèn Tumenggung Pringgalaya and his fellow bupati. He wanted to engage them first. As for those deployed in Layapan, they should just be watched. When ready, Radèn Martapura set out eastward and returned to Gubug. On reaching Gubug, he conferred with Dipati ing Pathi, Singsèh, and Captain Sapanjang. He asked them to watch over His Majesty carefully, because he himself was going to attack the enemy who had occupied Bicak, intending to take on Tumenggung Pringgalaya. Dipati ing Pathi said that he wanted to come along, because the enemy were numerous and he might get the worst of it. Radèn Martapura replied that that even if the enemy was in the tens of millions, he was not afraid because their king was evil and did not keep his word, and it would inevitably destroy the good fortune of his troops. Radèn Martapura then set out from Gubug with Mudha Tik, Mudha Macan, and one hundred Chinese. They marched quickly. On their arrival in Wotan, they halted to arrange the troops. Radèn Martapura then sent an invitation letter to Radèn Tumenggung Pringgalaya. As messengers he sent the spies Leksajaya and Sèwujaya. On their arrival in the Pringgalaya camp, it was announced that there were two messengers from Radèn Martapura with a letter. Quickly orders were given to summon them. At that time, Radèn Pringgalaya happened to be being paid homage by his mantri. After the messengers had been led before him, the letter was accepted. It asked why Radèn Tumenggung Pringgalaya was trespassing on the land to the north of the Kendheng mountains. Had he not heard that all the actions and deeds of Radèn Martapura were prompted by someone, that now there was a young wild buffalo to the north of the Kendheng mountains, full of vigour and defiant, who was going to take the white elephant on its horns. Therefore, Radèn Pringgalaya should not come close to my wayang performance, he might get hit by a wayward mallet. If he intended to play the gamelan, he should not become a nuisance. When he heard what the letter said, Radèn Pringgalaya became very angry. He tore the letter up and gave it back to the messengers. After having received a reply, they took their leave and returned. On their arrival, they gave the letter to Radèn Martapura. It said, "Radèn Martapura has sent me a letter which I have received and been informed of its contents, that now the land to the north of the Kendheng mountains is full of bleating little goats and buffalo calves. But even if it were ten thousand demons and evil spirits, Radèn Pringgalaya does not intend to be stopped, because the Pasisir lands up to the sea are the possession of His Majesty in Kartasura." When Radèn Martapura learned the contents of the letter, he became very angry. His eyes became harsh and he

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twisted his beard while groaning. Then he gave orders to call up the people of Grobogan, had them carry bamboo shafts shaved to make them look like white spears, and placed them on the left and right. Radèn Martapura said that he just wanted them to be shouting from the left and right. When all the men armed with guns were ready, those on the left and right shouted mightily. Radèn Martapura mounted his horse, while being covered with a white parasol. Escorted in procession by his kinsmen, his retainers on the left and right, and leading his four hundred troops with the one hundred Chinese at the front and the beating of the kodhok ngorèk gamelan at the rear, he quickly marched on and reached Bicak.

1323. The troops from Kartasura were startled to see the enemy approaching. Tumenggung Singaranu, Wiraguna, Radèn Mlayakusuma, and Mangunnagara quickly deployed their troops. The troops from Grobogan and the Chinese attacked in force led by Radèn Martapura. The Kartasura army met the attack. A fierce gunfight ensued. The Chinese came at them in a rolling, blind attack. Many troops from Kartasura were killed. Tumenggung Singaranu quickly mounted his horse and counterattacked. The troops from Grobogan who were attacked fled away, and ran to the left and right. His attack was met by the Chinese. He was showered with gunfire, but still attacked through the middle. Then he was shot at with a small cannon. He was hit and killed. His kinsmen quickly retrieved his body. Tumenggung Wiraguna came to their aid. The Chinese stood their ground. The battle line of the Kartasura troops was broken. Ki Tumenggung Wiraguna was left without troops, cornered by the Chinese and showered with gunfire from the left and right. Tumenggung Wiraguna withdrew into the fortifications, intending to make a stand from inside the fortifications. However, when entering the fortifications, his eldest son Suramenggala was still left outside the fortifications, because when his father was entering, he was still fighting on in order to let his father enter the fortifications without a hurry, but before he could join them inside, he was rushed and set upon by the Chinese. Ki Suramenggala fought back, but was killed. When Tumenggung Wiraguna heard that his son had been killed, he quickly grabbed his spear and went out to join him. He attacked blindly, but was met by the Chinese. In the end, Tumenggung Wiraguna was killed. The army from Kartasura scattered like dust. The Chinese chased them. Many of those who were caught were killed. Radèn Mlayakusuma and Mangunnagara withdrew and fled into the fortifications. Radèn Pringgalaya and his troops were terrified by the bravery of the Chinese and decided to withdraw to Kampak. They fought to be the first to leave. Radèn Pringgalaya was shocked to have been left by his troops, but he was ashamed to set out during the day, so he gave orders to close the gate and did not allow the troops who were left to depart. Only all the porters he let depart, so only the troops remained. He was going to depart at night and had the horses saddled and everybody ready.

1324. It is told that the Chinese and the troops from Grobogan had ceased their pursuit. Radèn Martapura and Mudha Tik made camp. Radèn Martapura then gave orders to see to the body of Ki Tumenggung Wiraguna. After it had been cleansed, he gave orders

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to bury it. Mudha Tik said to Radèn Martapura that if he agreed he wanted to take Radèn Arya Pringgalaya by surprise that night. Radèn Martapura replied that there was no need to surprise him with men, just the kodhok ngorèk gamelan could chase Arya Pringgalaya. Radèn Martapura then gave orders to the people of Grobogan to haul his gamelan into the highest trees and play it at midnight. When Radèn Arya Pringgalaya will hear it, he will inevitably think that Radèn Martapura came for an attack. It is for certain that he will run away by himself. At midnight, Radèn Arya Pringgalaya was startled when he heard the sound of the gamelan. He quickly mounted his horse and fled. His whole army was thrown into confusion. They fled the same night. The cannon given by His Majesty were left behind. There was an apprentice official with Radèn Pringgalaya called Kartadipa. He was from Andong and a former mantri of Panumping. He reminded Radèn Arya Pringgalaya that the cannon given by His Majesty had been left behind. What would His Majesty do if he heard that, as the war had barely started and the cannon had already been carried off by the enemy. The angry and muttered reply was that if he himself dared, he should go and get them back himself. Ki Kartadipa quickly went back, moving along like a thief. On his arrival in Bicak, the place was deserted, and there was not a single enemy, only the kodhok ngorèk gamelan could be heard in the distance. Ki Kartadipa quickly brought the cannon back. When he met Radèn Arya Pringgalaya in Kampak, he made the latter very happy. Ki Kartadipa was rewarded and very much favoured. He was not allowed to part from Radèn Pringgalaya day or night.

1325. Radèn Martapura and Encik Macan and their army left before dawn and occupied Bicak, where they deployed their troops.

1326. It is told that Radèn Natakusuma and his troops had set out from Layapan and occupied Talgaji. His vanguard was deployed in Toyana. The bupati from the western Pasisir, Radèn Jayaningrat and Radèn Suralaya had arrived and joined Ki Patih. The leaders of the troops were the Rangga of Kaliwungu and the Ngabèhi of Kendhal. The leaders of the troops from Kartasura were Ngabèhi Sutawijaya, Ngabèhi Wiradigda, and Ngabèhi Reksapraja.

1327. Radèn Martapura returned to Demak. In Grobogan he left a mantri and thirty Chinese. On his arrival in Gubug, he met with Dipati ing Pathi, Singsèh, and Captain Sapanjang. He told them about his battle with the troops from Kartasura and the killing of two bupati, Singaranu and Wiraguna. This was then reported to His Majesty Prabu Kuning Mangkurat Mas, who was very pleased to hear about the battle with the troops from Kartasura, as the enemy seemed like white herons, by just waving at them they would all fly away. His Majesty Prabu Kuning Mangkurat Mas then partied with his high officials and the Chinese captains. The whole night they partied boisterously. Then a messenger from Ngabèhi Ping Bulung, who was leading their troops, came and informed them that Ki Patih was advancing his troops and that the vanguard had deployed in Toyana, while Ki Patih and his troops were already in Tlagaji. Dipati ing Pathi and Radèn Martapura conferred with Singsèh and Sapanjang. Radèn Martapura

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said that if they all agreed, the troops in Toyana should be attacked first. If the troops in Toyana were defeated, the troops from Pajang and Mataram would ordinarily no longer think of their honour as a warrior. Many would just be swept along in the general dispersal, as happened in the battle at Tremala. If the front had broken, those behind would give up and their leaders would run away, without having been battered in battle. They all agreed with Radèn Martapura's advice. Captain Sapanjang and Singsèh ordered their troops to get ready for battle. Radèn Martapura with his troops and the Chinese troops set out from Gubug. Dipati ing Pathi and a few Chinese troops remained to guard His Majesty. Radèn Martapura and his troops reached a spot to the east of Toyana. At two o'clock they halted to deploy. At four, they attacked the fortifications. The Chinese set up their small cannon. Captain Singsèh led the attack. The sound of gunfire was deafening. The troops inside the fortifications were startled. A confused fight ensued. The Chinese dared to storm the fortifications. The officials from Kartasura moved to the gallery. Many Chinese were killed when showered with bullets from the gallery. Radèn Martapura and Singsèh directed their troops. They fought with determination. The troops from Kartasura stood their ground, firing volley after volley with their guns from the gallery. At dawn, the Chinese retreated in order to entice the Kartasura army out of the fortifications, but they did not dare, and just kept firing from afar. At noon, the Chinese took a break and had a bit to eat. In the afternoon, they advanced and attacked the fortifications again, intending to force the battle. Radèn Martapura and Singsèh led from the rear. A fierce firefight ensued. Firecrackers were thrown into the fortifications and those inside panicked. Their lines were thrown into confusion. The Chinese entered the fortifications. The rangga of Kaliwungu was overwhelmed by the Chinese, killed and his head cut off. Ngabèhi Wiradigda, Ngabèhi Sutawijaya, and Ngabèhi Reksapraja fled head over heels. The Chinese were afraid to come nearer and only fired at them from behind. Many Chinese returned to plunder the fortifications. So the three ngabèhi managed to slip through and fled to Ki Patih's lines. On their arrival in Tlagaji they told Ki Patih what had happened in battle, that Ki Rangga of Kaliwungu had fallen in battle and Toyana was occupied by the enemy. Ki Patih was taken aback and said, "Don't dwell on it, it is normal that you win or lose in battle. Don't worry about it." They then returned to their quarters. The three ngabèhi were later given large rewards.

1328. It is told that Radèn Arya Pringgalaya dispatched a messenger with a letter for His Majesty. It said that he informed him that he had been defeated in battle and that Tumenggung Wiraguna and Tumenggung Singaranu had been killed in battle. The enemy was now getting increasingly numerous. The increase was due to the fact that they had installed a king, because there was someone who was prompting them. However, Radèn Pringgalaya was afraid to say so openly. Therefore, he had withdrawn to Kampak, for he was worried, and the enemy was not a secret anymore. Outwardly they pretended to be friends, but inwardly they were enemies. When His Majesty heard what the letter said, he became extremely angry and summoned Wirajaya. He told him

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that he had received a letter from Radèn Arya Pringgalaya saying that the matter of this war was not a secret any more, and that there was someone who had plotted and helped the installation of Radèn Mas Garendi. Arya Pringgalaya had quickly withdrawn to Kampak, because in his heart he was apprehensive about the person who was deployed at Layapan, for it was hard to believe that the army commander had turned against his lord. In the end, Radèn Wirajaya was ordered to go to Kampak, meet Radèn Arya Pringgalaya and verify his account. Radèn Wirajaya said that he would do as told and left the palace. He departed immediately, arrived in Kampak and met Radèn Arya Pringgalaya. They held a whispered meeting. While Radèn Wirajaya received the whispered information, he kept shaking his head. Then he asked about the cannon that had been entrusted to Radèn Arya Pringgalaya, and whether he still had them. The latter replied that he still had them with him. Tumenggung Wirajaya then took his leave and left Kampak.

1329. It is told that Tumenggung Tirtawiguna who was in Semarang sent a letter to His Majesty informing him that his mission to placate the Company had succeeded, in that the commander and the commissioners already believed him, but that when the commander heard the news that the installation of Radèn Mas Garendi as king was the work of Kyai Patih Natakusuma, he had become mistrustful again. Tumenggung Tirtawiguna left it up to His Majesty. His Majesty became angry when he received the letter, but was interrupted by Tumenggung Wirajaya coming to pay his respects. His Majesty handed over the letter of Tumenggung Tirtawiguna and told him to read it. Having received the letter, he started to read it, but before finishing it, His Majesty interrupted him with remarks about the evilness of Ki Patih. Ki Tumenggung Wirajaya was startled and said that he left it up to His Majesty. His Majesty said again that he had now lost his love for Ki Patih. He demanded advice from Tumenggung Wirajaya on how to handle this so that His Majesty would keep his hands clean and not be blamed. He replied that His Majesty should willingly put him at the disposal of the Company. If it was not done that way, he would inevitably be blamed. His Majesty said that he agreed with Ki Tumenggung Wirajaya and told him to send a letter to Tumenggung Tirtawiguna saying that the evil patih was to be put at the disposal of the Company. It was up to the commander if he wanted to remove him from Java. Tumenggung Wirajaya left the palace and quickly dispatched a messenger with a letter to Semarang.

1330. It is told that Adipati ing Pathi who was deployed in Gubug set out to Toyana to visit Tumenggung Martapura. On his arrival he met with Tumenggung Martapura and Singsèh. They then conferred about sending a letter to Kyai Patih. When they had reached a conclusion, they quickly dispatched a messenger with a letter to Ki Patih. Kyai Patih happened to be visited by his high officials, Radèn Suralaya, Radèn Jayaningrat, the tumenggung of Batang, Pamalang, Kendhal, and the [new] rangga of Kaliwungu. The messenger from Pathi presented the letter, which said that Tumenggung Martapura and Dipati ing Pathi were informing him that the order of Ki Patih to install Radèn Mas Garendi as king had been carried out and he had now been installled. They

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now left it up to him. If Kyai Patih agreed, they advised him to come to Demak and assume the kingship. If Ki Patih did not want to set up himself as king, Tumenggung Martapura and Dipati ing Pathi requested orders. When Ki Patih had read the letter, he laughed and gave the letter to Radèn Suralaya. However, inside the letter there was a small folded note which he did not hand over. Radèn Suralaya read the letter and then the other officials read it in turn.

1331. It is told that the messenger from Kartasura had reached Semarang and the letter he carried had been received and read by Tumenggung Tirtawiguna. After having read the letter, he went into the fort and reported the contents to the commissioners and the commander, who were pleased and ordered him to reply that if His Majesty was really willing to give him up, he should summon Ki Patih and order him to call in at the fort and meet with the commander. Tumenggung Tirtawiguna left the fort and when the letter was ready gave it to the messenger, who on his arrival in Kartasura went straight to Tumenggung Wirajaya. The letter was presented to His Majesty, who after reading it quickly dispatched a letter to Ki Patih. It said that Ki Patih was summoned and informed him that the Chinese enemy had reached Salatiga. Furthermore, he was ordered to meet with the commander and the two commissioners. When Kyai Patih had read the letter, he was very much taken aback. Since the Chinese had reached Salatiga, he quickly called up his troops and before long the common troops departed. Kyai Patih ordered Ngabèhi Reksapraja, Ngabèhi Wiradigda, and Ki Martayuda to stay behind and hoist a flag that could be seen from afar. They should follow a while after Ki Patih had departed, but the flag should be left flying. They said that they would do as told. Kyai Patih then set out with his army. After marching for a while, he stopped and waited at the rear. The Chinese learned that the troops who were deployed at Tlagaji had broken up and wanted to follow them. However, they were afraid because the flag was still flying and they thought that there were still many troops inside the fortifications. But when they saw many troops following after the main force, while the flag had been left behind, the Chinese quickly entered the fortifications and burned down all the billets. Ngabèhi Wiradigda and his colleagues joined Ki Patih and they departed. On their arrival in the village of Rangkudan they stayed for the night with their troops. The bupati did not feel at ease because they had already heard about the anger of His Majesty that Ki Patih was thought to be hampering the campaign and leading the Chinese. The whole night Kyai Patih was unable to get to sleep. He was in a quandary. He thought that if he kept on protecting Radèn Mas Garendi, he would be despicable. If he should not continue to protect him, his reputation would be ruined. If he did it, he would inevitably meet disaster. If for example, he seized Radèn Mas Garendi and delivered him to His Majesty, that would be cruelty of the highest order and in the hereafter he would inevitably face retribution because he had committed it. Just what should he do? By that time the day had broken and he summoned Ki Surajaya and the other chiefs. He tested them on their devotion to him, and whether they were willing to follow him into death. The chiefs vowed their loyalty while weeping and said that

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they intended to sacrifice their lives. Then his sons, Adipati Jayaningrat and Radèn Natawijaya, came to pay their respects. As for Radèn Wiryadiningrat, he happened to be very ill. Kyai Patih felt very sad because just when matters were coming to a head, his son happened to be ill. In the end, Kyai Patih said to his troops that not until the next day when they were in Bahrawa would he clarify his thoughts. If his advice was not followed, he planned to force there a decision. Even if it did not cause confusion, he would see it through. How could it be despicable if Ki Patih took possession of Java? If His Majesty insisted on following the advice of some malicious people, his country would inevitably be destroyed. Ki Patih then gave orders to Ki Surayuda of Parembun, Ki Nilasraba, and Ki Séwabangsa to return home, deploy there, and take care of the people of Pagelèn. Later on, they should join the troops of Adipati Jayaningrat in Pekalongan again. The just mentioned chiefs said that they would do as told. Radèn Sujanapura asked Kyai Patih what should later be done about his wives and children, because they were still in Kartasura. He replied that later it would be easy, provided that the present undertaking was also carried out successfully. The next morning, Ki Patih and all his troops set out. They marched into the domain of Semarang. When they reached Lampèr, they encamped, but did not inform the commissioners. After three nights, he sent a messenger to the lodgings of Ki Tumenggung Tirtawiguna. He asked Tumenggung Tirtawiguna to enter the fort, meet the commissioners, and inform them that Ki Patih wanted to meet the commissioners. When the chiefs heard that Ki Patih wanted to meet with the Company, they were shocked, because a few days earlier his conclusion had been that he planned to carry through the matter of taking possession of Java, helped by the confusion. His chiefs had been given their shares and told to deploy in Kedhu, Pagelèn, and Mataram, and his son had been ordered to deploy for when he planned to engage in war, whereas now he wanted to enter the fort of all places. What was behind this? The messenger met Tumenggung Tirtawiguna and when he had told his message, he was quickly led to the fort. Tumenggung Tirtawiguna told the commissioners what Kyai Patih had said. The commissioners and the commander were very pleased. They summoned the messenger from Ki Patih and told him to tell Ki Patih that the commissioners were very happy, and convey to him that the commissioners were looking forward to meeting him. The messenger said that he would do as told and withdrew. On his arrival in Lampèr, Ki Patih questioned him about his quick return. The messenger conveyed the greetings of the commissioners and the commander and, of course, said that they very much looked forward to meeting him. Ki Patih quickly got ready. It was God's will that he acted overhastily, differently from his earlier wishes. He quickly left the camp. He went without troops, only with those carrying his insignia. All his troops were told to stay behind. The commissioners had already ordered two captains to meet him with a carriage at the roadblock. On his arrival there, Ki Patih was told to ride in the carriage, flanked by both captains. The carriage left, leaving his servants behind. On his arrival at the fort, he alighted from the carriage and was met by the commissioners and the commander. After exchanging greetings,

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they sat down on chairs. Before long, Dutch dragoons approached with drawn swords and Kyai Patih's kris was taken away. When Kyai Patih saw that he was threatened with swords, he let himself fall head first. Eventually, he raised his head and asked the commissioners why he was not allowed to speak. The commissioners replied that he was not allowed, because the orders of His Majesty had said so. Ki Patih was then locked up. His troops were told to disperse to their billets. Ki Tumenggung Tirtawiguna dispatched a messenger to Kartasura to inform His Majesty that Kyai Patih had now been arrested and locked up in the fort. On his arrival in Kartasura, the messenger informed His Majesty, who was very pleased because what had become a nuisance was gone.

1332. We return to the story when Tumenggung Pringgalaya was defeated in battle and informed His Majesty from Tremala. Because His Majesty was upset, he ordered the captain to send a letter to the commander in Semarang requesting help, because the Chinese enemy were increasing more and more. At that time, the commander and the commissioners were willing to follow the request of the captain and aid Kartasura with soldiers in order to strengthen it. The commissioners had already even issued orders to the officials in Kartasura to ready a relay system to transport the Company's ammunition. All the officials who were in Semarang should return to the capital, while at the same time escorting the reinforcements of the Company. So the officials who were in Semarang at that time were very happy. When Kyai Patih had been arrested, the commander and the commissioners held a meeting and decided not to go ahead with the reinforcement of Kartasura. The commander said to the commissioners to just let go of Kartasura. He wanted it to be taken [by the Chinese] as a result, for if His Majesty had not yet experienced ruin and left his capital, he would not yet appreciate the help from the Company. Both commissioners followed the advice of the commander.

1333. Tumenggung Tirtawiguna reminded the commissioners about the reinforcement of Kartasura and that it had not been carried out immediately, as now the news was that the Chinese were closing in on the capital, and this had very much upset His Majesty. The commissioners replied that since no orders had yet been received from the Company, they asked Ki Tumenggung's forgiveness. As soon as they had received orders, they would quickly set out. For now, he was asked to wait first. When the bupati heard the answer of the commissioners, their hope for help from the Company evaporated instantly. Tumenggung Tirtawiguna took his leave and withdrew from the fort to return to his quarters.

1334. After Ki Tumenggung Tirtawiguna had left, the commander concluded with the junior and senior commissioner that now His Majesty in Kartasura would not be given assistance until he had left the palace. When he had left the palace, he would be quickly helped. Even if he was found in the mountains, the Company would take care of him, install him again as king, and protect him forever. The reason for this policy was that His Majesty would feel immensely grateful for the Company's help.

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1335. It is told that in Kartasura in the Month of Rabingulakir, the captain happened to be given Mas Ayu Retnaasmara in marriage.

1336. Adipati ing Pathi and Tumenggung Martapura had already heard that Kyai Patih had been arrested in the fort. They were shocked because they had promised to die together. Dipati ing Pathi asked Tumenggung Martapura what his advice was, because their way forward was cut off and their puppet master was gone. Tumenggung Martapura replied, "If possible, besides puppet master, he should have become a puppet as well, but if it is the will of God, how on earth can you change it? Because Ki Patih wished to emulate Wong Agung Ménak by returning good for evil, which in the present day is not feasible, we do not need any further discussion, besides finishing it ourselves. Who knows if we will succeed? We will start a new act and find a substitute for the puppet master because the screen is still standing and the gamelan is still sounding. The puppet master was somehow overcome by sleep and entered the fort." When Captain Sapanjang and Singsèh heard this, they felt very sorry and wept, saying, "Indeed, by God, how could Ki Patih have so little trust in us? You could melt the Chinese down to a liquid, but they won't run away." Since Ki Patih's love for Captain Sapanjang and Singsèh was clearly great, they swore an oath to sacrifice their lives for Ki Patih. If they did not take Kartasura, they would rather die on the field of battle. Dipati ing Pathi and Ki Tumenggung Martapura also swore an oath in response to Captain Singsèh, while flinging down their kris. After that, they discussed informing His Majesty Prabu Kuning that his grandfather Kyai Patih had been arrested in the fort. The messenger departed and on his arrival in Gubug informed His Majesty Prabu Kuning. From shock His Majesty Prabu Kuning did not speak for a whole day and night. Then he summoned Dipati ing Pathi, Tumenggung Martapura, Captain Sapanjang and Singsèh. The troops deployed in Toyana set out and all went to Gubug en masse. On their arrival in Gubug, they had an audience with His Majesty Prabu Kuning. Dipati ing Pathi said that it was destined that Kyai Patih had become the human sacrifice for Java, so His Majesty remained to enjoy the good life, that he and Tumenggung Martapura would immediately go and attack Kartasura, making use of the opportunity while in Semarang they were just racking their brains. As for the Chinese, he had already asked about their willingness and they were all willing. When they had come to a conclusion, they quickly called up their troops. When they were ready, Dipati in Pathi, Tumenggung Martapura, Captain Sapanjang, Singsèh, Ngabèhi Ping Bulung, Etik, and Macan set out. They marched for Salatiga. The vanguard was led by Cik Macan, Mudha Tik, and Ping Bulung. The Javanese troops under Kartawirya, Rangga Janur, and Tumenggung Wirajaya were led by Tumenggung Martapura with Captain Sapanjang and Singsèh. Dipati ing Pathi was at the rear, guarding His Majesty Prabu Kuning. In Demak only a hundred Chinese and just some lower officials remained behind. The vanguard reached Salatiga and subjected the villages in the vicinity. Those who resisted were plundered, and all around panic ensued. Singajaya and Singapatra informed His Majesty that the Chinese enemy was already in Kalicacing. They marched together with Dipati ing

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Pathi, Tumenggung Martapura, and their king, while the whole Chinese army had been turned out. When His Majesty in Kartasura received this report, he was shocked and quickly summoned Tumenggung Mangkuyuda, Tumenggung Rajaniti, and Radèn Mangkupraja. He told them to go to meet the Chinese enemy in Salatiga. Tumenggung Rajaniti requested that, if allowed, Dipayuda of Pamardèn be asked to come along to meet the enemy. His Majesty agreed, summoned Dipayuda and gave him orders. Dipayuda said that he would do as told. Ki Wirajaya said from behind, "Younger brother, just take the gorge at Tengaran. Don't let the enemy cross it, and turn it into a fortification of stone." Tumenggung Rajaniti turned his head but did not reply. He said to himself, "Brother Wirajaya disparages me." The three bupati and Ki Dipayuda withdrew from the presence of His Majesty. On arrival outside, they readied their troops and set out. When they reached Kaligandhu they encamped, facing the vanguard of the enemy in Tingkir.

1337. His Majesty in Kartasura dispatched a messenger to summon Tumenggung Pringgalaya who was deployed in Kampak. The reason for summoning him was that the enemy had gone westward and converged on Salatiga. Tumenggung Pringgalaya, Mlayakusuma, Tumenggung Mangunnagara, the son who had replaced Tumenggung Singaranu, and the son who had succeeded Tumenggung Wiraguna set out with all their troops. They visited Kartasura and then continued to reinforce the west, deploying in Ambuh to the north of Bayalali.

1338. It is told that Ki Tumenggung Martapura received a report from a spy that the enemy who were deployed in Kampak had now departed and joined the others. He quickly selected ten lower officials, dressed them up as Chinese, and told them to go east, show themselves in Kampak and subject the area over there in order to confuse the army of Kartasura. The ten lower officials deployed on their arrival in Kampak. The whole vicinity panicked and was plundered. When His Majesty in Kartasura was informed that the enemy had appeared in Kampak, he quickly gave orders to take one element out of the troops at Ambuh. Radèn Mlayakusuma and Tumenggung Mangunnagara were ordered to deploy in Tanawas. Both bupati quickly departed and deployed in Tanawas. When Tumenggung Martapura heard about the confusion among the men in Kartasura, he was very happy. He immediately conferred with Dipati ing Pathi in order to attack the enemy lines in Kaligandhu, because if the vanguard had been broken, those at the rear were certainly going to be crushed. Since Arya Pringgalaya was like a cock in a cockfight with a broken beak, and moreover cowardly, he would as soon as he knew that Tumenggung Martapura was advancing in battle, he would inevitably become scared and run away, because when he ran from Bicak just chased by some rice field guards, he sped off. How could he keep himself from doing that now? After they had come to a conclusion, the Javanese and Chinese got ready and they quickly set out. The vanguard of Chinese troops was led by Ngabèhi Ping Bulung and Encik Macan. Tumenggung Martapura and Captain Sapanjang formed the centre. Captain Singsèh led the wings.

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1339. It is told that those deployed in Kaligandhu had already heard that the Chinese troops were advancing. They quickly lined up their forces. Ki Dipayuda intended to separate himself from the rest, wanting to attack from the flank and when he had engaged the enemy, they should attack from the front. Ki Tumenggung Mangkuyuda agreed, but Tumenggung Rajaniti insisted that they should just stay together, as did Radèn Mangkupraja. While the four bupati argued, they were surprised by the arrival of the vanguard of the enemy, who fired at them. The troops of Ki Tumenggung Mangkuyuda stood their ground. A fierce firefight ensued. The Chinese dared to step ahead without any caution, because they had just got their prey. However, the troops from Kedhu determinedly met them. More Chinese troops arrived and made a blind attack with their long-handled Chinese swords. The troops from Mataram stood their ground. A fierce battle ensued. Friend or foe, many were killed. The Chinese fought as if intoxicated and did not intend to pull back. When Ngabèhi Ping Bulung saw that his Chinese troops seemed hard-pressed in the fight, he quickly changed direction and took a hundred Chinese to attack from the left flank. The troops from Mataram stood their ground. Ngabèhi Ping Bulung and all his men waged a blind attack. The Mataram forces were thrown into confusion. The mantri from Bumi came to their aid, but were perforce overrun and their lines broken. Tumenggung Rajaniti, Mangkuyuda, and Dipayuda personally joined the fight. The Chinese were destroyed, but from the rear many more arrived. Tumenggung Rajaniti and his troops broke and ran away. Ngabèhi Ping Bulung and his troops turned to attack Tumenggung Mangkuyuda and Dipayuda in force. A fierce melee ensued. The troops from Kedhu and Pamardèn held firm and did not budge in the fight. Quickly Tik and Macan attacked from the flank and caused many casualties. Tumenggung Mangkupraja asked the others to flee because Tumenggung Rajaniti had already fled far away. Tumenggung Mangkuyuda and Dipayuda nevertheless stormed into the fight. Many of the Chinese who got hit were killed. Tumenggung Mangkupraja shouted at the troops to turn the horses of Tumenggung Mangkuyuda and Dipayuda, to turn them southward by hitting them from behind. The troops quickly grabbed the bit of the horses and turned them to the rear. Ki Tumenggung Mangkuyuda and Dipayuda then pulled back slowly. The Chinese troops followed but did not dare to come close, but just fired at them from afar. Tumenggung Mangkuyuda and Dipayuda stopped to the south of the Tengaran gorge to arrange their troops. Only Tumenggung Rajaniti kept running all the way to Ambuh and fled together with Tumenggung Mangkupraja to the lines of Arya Pringgalaya. Those who watched it found it heart-rending. And they asked each other about the situation in the capital. When they received the news that it was chaos in the capital, they became discouraged. Remembering their wives and children, many slipped away at night. The Chinese turned northward again and occupied the camp at Kaligandhu. Tumenggung Martapura and Dipati ing Pathi conferred with Singsèh and Captain Sapanjang about what to do next. Captain Sapanjang and Singsèh proposed to attack the city and bring an end to the weariness of the Chinese. Radèn Tumenggung Martapura replied that he

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wanted them to give it some time first, so that the Kartasura troops would realize the trouble they were in, because usually if you pushed Javanese too hard, they would notwithstanding their dire situation feel contempt for death. Those who were finished would dare again, and it would be hard to do the fighting. But if you allowed them some leeway, they would get frightened by just some rumour. Even those who still dared would lose heart and you could not get them to fight. That was how the Javanese from Pajang and Mataram usually were. The Chinese forces stopped and in the end followed the instructions of Ki Tumenggung Martapura.

1340. It is told that Ki Tumenggung Rajaniti informed His Majesty that he had been defeated in battle and that the Chinese enemy were now ensconced in Kaligandhu. When His Majesty heard this report, he became very nervous and ordered his kinsmen to provide help. As soon as Pangéran Ngabèhi, Pangéran Buminata, Pangéran Dipanagara, Pangéran Singasari, Pangéran Rangga, Pangéran Mangkubumi, Pangéran Arya Pamot, Pangéran Prangwadana, Pangéran Arya Mataram, Pangéran Panular, Pangéran Danupaya, and Pangéran Silarong were ready, they left the capital and deployed to the west of Banyudana. When Tumenggung Martapura heard that the kinsmen of Kartasura had gone out to help, he was very pleased. He conferred with Adipati ing Pathi, concluding that now the forces of Kartasura and the bupati had become dispirited. Only Ki Tumenggung Mangkuyuda who was deployed to the south of the Tengaran gorge still had some courage, but many of his troops had already deserted. He now wanted to write him a letter. Tumenggung Martapura wrote a letter and quickly dispatched it. On arrival to the south of the gorge, it was received by Ki Tumenggung Mangkuyuda. It said, "Brother, Tumenggung Mangkuyuda, I would like to inform you that since I have with me someone who is in my care, I want to claim a promise and request you to switch your allegiance to the rightful heir. The reason for my request is, and I hope you will not do the wrong thing, that you, like me, are common people, and I hope that you will remember who gave your ancestor the title Mangkuyuda, indeed none other than the grandfather of my lord. But if you intend to dedicate yourself to your task, I don't mind, I only ask you to just stay at the back of Radèn Arya Pringgalaya, in accordance with your position as a servant, and meet your death together with the royal kinsmen. But if you cannot follow my advice to withdraw and insist on meeting me at the front, I am ready wherever you want, but stand your ground yourself, don't let the troops do the fighting if you are a true warrior. I am not afraid. Even if the men from Kartasura consisted of a hundred thousand ogres, I would never be afraid." When Ki Tumenggung Mangkuyuda read this letter, he felt very dispirited. The next morning, Ki Tumenggung Martapura dispatched a hundred Chinese under the command of Ping Bulung and Etik and told them to attack the lines of Ki Tumenggung Mangkuyuda. They set out. On their march they shouted lustily. Ki Mangkuyuda had been informed that the Chinese were approaching. When told, he got ready, but in his heart he had already given up. Then he departed and fled to the lines of Radèn Arya Pringgalaya. The Chinese troops occupied Tengaran, but did not pursue him, because they had not yet

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received orders. Tumenggung Martapura and Dipati ing Pathi and their troops halted to the south of the river.

1341. Radèn Arya Pringgalaya informed Pangéran Ngabèhi that the Chinese enemy had reached Kajengtigan. The vanguard had already reached Ampèl, where they plundered and took the women away. The pangéran was told to be careful and if possible to move to the positions of Radèn Arya Pringgalaya, who could engage in a decisive battle once united with the pangéran. When Pangéran Bèhi was told this, he quickly summoned his younger brothers and told them that since their position was not very good because it was dark at the front and light in the rear, he wanted to discuss with them that they had better move to a place that was dark in the rear, and that it was therefore better to move to Ngasem where the position was good for waging war. Pangéran Mangkubumi did not agree to move to Ngasem, because it was too close to the capital. If allowed, it would be better to move further westwards to Teras, where the position was spacious. Pangéran Bèhi did not allow it, because the vicinity was flat and too spacious, so an enemy who tried to take it could surround it from the left and right. Thus, Ngasem would be better, where it would also be good for establishing a fort. In the end, the younger brothers followed the wish of Pangéran Bèhi and set out to Ngasem.

1342. Radèn Martapura and Dipati ing Pathi discussed their intention to attack Radèn Pringgalaya who was deployed in Ambuh. The Chinese were asked about their willingness. Captain Sapanjang, Singsèh, Etik, and Ngabèhi Ping Bulung replied that they were happy to continue the war. They would sacrifice their lives if they could attack the palace in Kartasura. If they stayed too long in the field, it would affect their spirits. It would be better to continue the fight. They were ready now and ready tomorrow. Radèn Martapura and Dipati ing Pathi then ordered the Chinese to set out. The vanguard was led by Ngabèhi Ping Bulung leading a hundred Chinese. He was followed by Captain Sapanjang. The rear was led by Radèn Martapura. They produced much noise and shouted lustily along the roads. As for Dipati ing Pathi and Singsèh, they stayed behind to guard their king. The vanguard of Ngabèhi Ping Bulung reached Ampèl. He halted to draw up his troops. They loudly beat their wooden drums and gongs.

1343. When the troops of Kartasura heard the approach of the enemy, Radèn Arya Pringgalaya quickly gave orders to his troops and ordered the bupati to supply their share of troops and meet the Chinese enemy. The troops set out to meet in battle in Kenthèng. When the Chinese saw that the enemy were coming to meet them, they quickly attacked at the same time. Ngabèhi Ping Bulung led his troops shouting orders. A fierce firefight ensued. The army of Kartasura fled to the lines of Arya Pringgalaya. Before he had even seen the Chinese enemy, Arya Pringgalaya was swept along in the flight. His troops broke and ran into each other while trying to get away first. The Chinese happily chased them all the way to Bayalali. Ki Dipayuda of Pamardèn met them and fought a short engagement in Majasanga. The Chinese dared a blind attack. Dipayuda withdrew and halted in Teras. There reinforcements came in the form of the Nirbaya

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and Jagabaya corps led by Puspakusuma, the son of Arya Jayapuspita of Surabaya. When he had reached Banyudana, he had run into Arya Pringgalaya. Puspakusuma had said that he wanted to help and the reply had been that he should continue. When he reached Teras, he engaged the Chinese while Ki Dipayuda joined him from behind. The Chinese were stopped, and then deployed their small cannon propped on the backs and shoulders of their troops. A fierce firefight ensued. The Nirbaya, Jagabaya, and Sarageni corps scattered and fled to the rear. Puspakusuma and his dozen troops on horseback met the attack of the Chinese and speared five of them from the back of their horses. The other Chinese were stopped and waited at the back. The troops of Kartasura, the Nirbaya, Jagabaya, and Sarageni corps fled, thinking that Puspakusuma had been killed because he was pounded by gunfire, so they fled in all directions. When Radèn Arya Pringgalaya heard the heavy gunfire, he mounted his horse, fled from Banyudana and crashed into the lines of the kinsmen. The kinsmen were terrified, and swept along by the fleeing troops, they fled. Those deployed in Ngasem, Pangéran Bèhi and his younger brothers, all broke and fled. Puspakusuma when pressed by the enemy retreated slowly and asked for help. With the help of just fifty men he thought he could push the Chinese back. However, none of the of the Kartasura troops dared to return. Frustrated, he started to weep and cried out, "Damn, my lord, none of your servants feel any gratitude that you gave them a good life." Whenever the Chinese closed in, Puspakusuma halted, pretending to make a blind attack with his troops. The Chinese became afraid and only fired at them from a distance while they shouted and burned the villages along the road up to Banyudana.

1344. It is told that His Majesty was in the palace and ready to go to war in person. He went out and sat in the pendhapa. The Gedhong and Kaparak officials gathered in front of His Majesty. Ki Ngabèhi Saradipa and his colleagues of the Suranata, Namèngyuda, and the Sawojajar men under Ki Bangsantaka and Surantaka, the Banjarandhap, and Ki Pangulu with his colleagues, assistants, and haji, the palanquin bearers, and the stable hands, they all gathered. Pangéran Wijil sat with Ngabèhi Saradipa. The crown prince Pangéran Adipati Anom was ready for battle. They all just waited for His Majesty's orders. His Majesty summoned Tumenggung Wirajaya and asked him about the news from outside. He replied that none of the bupati who had gone out to battle had made a report, but the stream of people coming from the west had said, when asked, that all the kinsmen of His Majesty had fled from battle. His Majesty asked about how many troops remained. Ki Bangsantaka replied that there were about one thousand troops remaining. His Majesty then wanted to go to war in person. However, they were interrupted by the arrival of Ki Dipayuda of Pamardèn and Surawiguna who reported that his younger brothers had all fled from battle. His Majesty quickly said to Ki Dipayuda and Surawiguna that he wished to go out to war.

1345. He was escorted at a close distance by the Islamic scholars, the haji, Pangéran Wijil, Kyai Pangulu, and Kyai Suradipa and his colleagues, while Ki Bangsantaka with Ki Bangsapatra and the Sawojajar people flanked His Majesty on the left and right. Radèn

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Suranagara and his gamelan players, the Bajarandhap men, the palanquin bearers, calendar makers, clerks, tailors, carpenters, and the Priyantaka corps, all accompanied him. His Majesty was holding the heirloom spear Kyai Plèrèd. When they came outside the gate, Kyai Wirajaya appeared and embraced His Majesty's feet. He was quickly asked how he had done. Kyai Wirajaya said that he had failed and asked His Majesty why he had come out. His Majesty retorted that he wanted to lead his servants to meet the enemy. Kyai Wirajaya said that there was no precedent for a king going into battle himself. His Majesty responded visibly angry, "Hey, Wirajaya, what if I don't join my troops, leading them into battle? Because I feel sorry for my troops, I will go into battle myself." The reason he was visibly angry with Kyai Wirajaya was that before, when Tumenggung Pringgalaya took to flight from Ambuh, His Majesty had already wanted to move from the palace. The kinsmen and the bupati had already been ordered to get ready for his wish to go to Mataram. Kyai Wirajaya had forcefully opposed it, saying that he could meet the enemy, because His Majesty still had many younger brothers and their troops. But when eventually the enemy had arrived, no one had prevented it. Since His Majesty was now visibly angry with Kyai Wirajaya, the latter promised to meet the enemy again and asked for the Kaparak corps. He advised His Majesty to go out from the south side of the palace, while he, Wirajaya, would go out from the north side of the palace. His Majesty agreed and told him to leave immediately, stay close to Kyai Wirareja, and join Kyai Surawiguna and Kyai Dipayuda, as they had already gone out with the Gedhong servants for quite some time. Kyai Wirajaya quickly went out and ordered Kyai Dipayuda, Kyai Surawiguna, and Kyai Wirareja to join him. The Gedhong and Kaparak servants were led from the Pagelaran to the western sliding gate. Next they panicked when they were knocked over by the people fleeing from the west. Kyai Wirajaya and Kyai Surawiguna quickly headed northeastwards. When questioned by Kyai Wirareja, they answered that they wanted to protect their friends. They nervously ran away without looking back. Their troops were all gone. Kyai Wirareja quickly entered the palace. When he arrived at the front yard, His Majesty nervously asked him, before he could even say anything, how the sortie had gone. He told him that Kyai Wirajaya had fled northeastwards as soon as he got outside, together with Kyai Surawiguna. He had called after them, but they had not looked back. Kyai Wirareja was ordered to go out again to meet the enemy and was given Dipati Citrasoma and his troops. Ki Bangsantaka and Ki Bangsapatra were ordered to deploy all the remaining servants outside the Srimanganti gate. Ki Bangsantaka and Ki Bangsapatra quickly went out. The palanquin bearers, the Jagasura corps, the Gambuh, the Sawojajar people, the carpenters, the Suranata, Banjarandhap, the calender makers, scribes, and Namèngyuda sentries, the palace servants, and the servants of the crown prince were lined up. When all were lined up, they went back in again and reported that all the servants were ready outside the Srimanganti gate. His Majesty quickly ordered Suranagara to bring his horse and the crown prince's horse. Shortly after they had been brought, a servant from the Katanggung, Ki Sutamenggala, and Ki Wirareja and Ki Dipati Citrasoma

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came, saying that the Chinese enemy were closing in on the palace. His Majesty quickly positioned himself in the front yard with Ki Wirareja close by and his children in front of him, and said, "It is perhaps the will of God." He then asked the advice of Ki Wirareja, who said while weeping that he left it up to His Majesty. If His Majesty wanted to meet the enemy in battle, he would do as told and go with him, if he wanted to stay, he would guard him, and if he wanted to escape, he would go with him, but if he wanted to move out, he hoped that he would go to Mataram, because it was close to Magiri //. Captain Orgondrop then whispered to His Majesty that things were really lost, he should better go east, enter the fort in Surabaya and then head for Semarang. There he should prepare and later attack Kartasura from Semarang. After His Majesty had got ready, and his horse Ki Jayacapa had been saddled with the saddle Kyai Brekat, the horse-cloth Kyai Giwang, the bridle Kyai Macanguguh, and six horses in total were ready, the troops at the front were ordered to set out for the southern audience hall. Orders were given to quickly lock the north gate. The crown prince and princesses were told to go ahead. His Majesty held in his hand the heirloom spear Kyai Sapujagad. Unexpectedly, its ring broke off and fell to the ground. It was found by a servant called Ki Jaya who did not know it was a heirloom and just took it with him. The panakawan Jimus was told to carry the betel set in a leather sack. The crown prince had already mounted his horse Gandaprana and his younger sister Her Highness Ratu Maduretna, and the wives had all mounted their horses. They then set out from the palace. All the servants were in a panic and forgot their weapons. Many spears were broken. His Majesty walked along bewailed by his wives and servants. He was deeply affected by the laments. Then all were ordered to mount their horses and not hinder the progress. When they arrived at the Pamagangan, the horse of one of the wives bolted. The rider fell off. The horse wanted to run away, but found no way and blindly kicked the troops who were walking, creating a chaotic jostle and slowing their progress. His Majesty gave orders to attack and kill the horse. It was attacked in numbers, but twenty spears were broken and the horse not killed. It still kept kicking blindly. After many more attempts it was killed. His Majesty proceeded outside the southern audience hall. When he had descended from the Sitinggil, he mounted his horse. The spear Kyai Plèrèd he gave to one of the Suranata servants, but it was not clear who. His Majesty was inseparable from his Company escort. The crown prince and Dèn Ayu Kilèn who rode in front then went out of the sliding gate. His attendant Sutayuda who had gone ahead, when he exited the sliding gate, saw the Chinese enemy coming from the west, although they were not many. They started shooting, throwing those who were coming out of the gate into confusion. Radèn Ayu Kilèn fled southward. Ki Sutayuda was wounded and wanted to go inside again, but his way was blocked, so he fled eastward. The crown prince stopped for a moment outside the gate and looked without fear at the Chinese firing their guns. His servant Saratruna saw the Chinese enemy readying their small cannon on their backs and aiming at his lord. He quickly tried to turn the crown prince's horse, but when the horse was pulled, it refused. He told the crown

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prince to dismount and carried him back inside the gate. He was then ordered by His Majesty to take the crown prince away northeastwards. The Company escort and His Majesty pressed ahead. Only a few servants still dared to be in front. Ordered to return the gunfire, they ran around forgetting their weapons, and only intended to find a way out, their behaviour beyond belief. Some climbed the wall along the shafts of their pikes and got out by jumping down and running for their lives. His Majesty quickly ordered Ki Bangsantaka and Ki Bangsapatra and four members of the Sawojajar corps to return the fire. The six of them quickly climbed on the wall and started firing. But when their fire was returned with firecrackers, the six of them could not hold out and climbed down to flee to His Majesty. The sliding gate was quickly closed, but left open a little to return fire. The Company soldiers positioned themselves to fire through the gap of the gate. A fierce firefight ensued. One Company soldier climbed on the wall to fire, but when his fire was returned he quickly climbed down to join his friends. The Chinese enemy pulled back because of the number of Dutch bullets, but still kept steadily firing their small cannon and throwing their firecrackers. Captain Ondrop and his fellow Company men were not afraid, but when they saw His Majesty bereft of troops it broke their hearts, for those who had stayed close were only Ki Wirareja, Ki Bangsantaka, Ki Bangsapatra, Sutamenggala, Martajiwa, Suranagara, and the panakawan Jaya, Besar, Jimus, and Tajang, the Panekar Ki Sutagati, the panèkèt of the Gedhong Tengen Ki Wangsagati, and the deputy of Ki Ragisuta, and a Kaparak Tengen servant called Ki Wirantaka. All the others had fled. The Company troops lost their courage. They quickly mounted their horses and pulled to His Majesty's back. They insisted that he withdraw to the northeast. His Majesty followed their advice. Because of their hurry, as the Chinese enemy were pressing to enter, His Majesty forgot about the crown prince. He thought that the latter had already gone ahead. His Majesty was not stopped. He exited from a small gate to the east of the coach house and ended up in a garden. His servants followed him outside pressed close together. Many had thrown their weapons away. When His Majesty arrived in the garden, he saw the gate of the Rajaniti residence, but it was blocked. He quickly gave orders to break it open to get a way through, but Ki Bangsantaka opposed it because it would take too much time, saying, "My lord, it would be better to continue eastward. There is a collapsed brick wall on top of which a covered water channel used to run. It is easy to get across. On the other side you get to Sedahrama." His Majesty agreed and they quickly headed eastward. The crown prince was still behind because of the press of people in the gate. When he was able to get out, he was quickly taken to follow His Majesty. On his way eastward, His Majesty had reached the place of the collapsed brick wall. The servants were immediately ordered to go out. Kyai Wirareja went ahead to guard the exit of His Majesty at the same time. His Majesty quickly whipped his horse to jump over the remains of the collapsed wall. When it jumped in the midst of the remains of the wall, the horse was killed. His Majesty was forced to continue on foot. Accompanied by Captain Ondrop he was taken outside, where he was immediately helped by Kyai Wirareja. The

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servants, the scribe Tuwan Tolomondo, and the Company soldiers all got out. When His Majesty reached the main road, he saw the Chinese enemy in the west. He quickly entered the house and yard of Wirakanca. There he found his attendant Nyai Garon. Her palanquin was demanded to carry His Majesty. However, her nephew did not give it. Because he had not recognized His Majesty, he defended the palanquin while losing his self-control. He was then enlightened and reprimanded by the nyai that the person demanding the palanquin was His Majesty. Her nephew became afraid and felt very remorseful. However, before the palanquin could be presented, the dapple-grey horse of the captain arrived. His Majesty mounted the horse and left. The nyai attendant was told to come along, but although she said she would do as told, she later decided to find her own way. His Majesty rode without stopping to the north of Wiragatèn and then headed for Makamdawa. The crown prince had stayed behind because it took too long to find a way out. Being blocked, he got separated and his horse was killed on the way. The crown prince was then carried by his servants, and when they got out they took off his clothes, leaving only his loincloth, so one would take him for just a commoner. This happened in the year 1667 [A.J.]. From Makamdawa His Majesty went southeastward again as far as the village of Karangasem, where they rested under a tamarind tree. His Majesty asked about his son the crown prince. His servants said that he had not been found. A while ago he had been behind His Majesty. His Majesty was much affected when his son did not appear for a long time. He turned his horse and asked Captain Ondrop to go back with him. Kyai Wirareja who had lagged behind arrived in front of His Majesty, who said, "Hey, father, how come my son the crown prince has been left behind? If we don't get him back, what will they think of me? I left the palace only to get my son the crown prince out alive. I did not bother with his sisters or their mothers, and now in the end my son the crown prince is nowhere to be seen. So, father, let's go back. I'd rather be killed defending my son. What's the point of running away?" At that point, Captain Ondrop intervened forcefully to hold him back. He told His Majesty to calm down. If for example His Majesty wanted to go back, what would be his fate? So he told His Majesty not to get angry so quickly. As for his abandoned son, he, the captain, was ready to go and search for him. Before long, the prince was seen coming out of a house carried by a servant. When His Majesty saw his son, he felt relieved. He quickly waved them on. Brought before him, his son jumped out of the sling and was embraced and kissed by his father, who said with eyes brimming with tears, "How could you get separated from me?" The crown prince told him all that had happened to him, that when they got out of the palace and were on the road, they had been fired at by the Chinese. Bullets had flown very close to the side of his neck. His hair had been grazed, but he had not felt it. Worried that he would be left behind by the servants who were carrying him, the crown prince had drawn his kris, Kyai Baruwang, with the idea that as soon as he was left behind, he would stab the servant who was carrying him and then at the same time make a blind attack. But when they had entered the house, he had felt good and sheathed his kris again. When His Majesty

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heard his son's account, he was greatly impressed and asked where the queen and the princesses had been left. The crown prince said that he did not know. His Majesty was heartbroken and said to Ki Wirareja that he wanted to return and get back his wife and daughters who had been left behind. Then, the smoke of a fire was seen billowing up. It was thought that the palace had been set on fire. Ki Wirareja, pledging his life, tried to dissuade him from making him go to war to fight for those who had been left behind. Since the remaining servants were few and all had lost heart, they would certainly not be strong enough. They would be like flying ants flying into the fire. As for his daughters or wife, they would unlikely end up dead. It would be better to gather his servants again first, and when he had gathered them return and attack Kartasura. His Majesty calmed down and departed to continue his journey. On the way, he remained despondent that many of his daughters, wives, and loved ones had been left behind. He thought that it was perhaps the wrath of God that had brought this about. How could it have been evaded, if it was indeed the will of God?

1346. At that time, he was travelling northeastward to the village of Kudusan, where he came out on the main road. On arrival in the village of Pawindan he turned eastward. The servants who accompanied him were all there, Ki Bangsantaka, Ki Bangsapatra, Ki Sutamenggala, Radèn Suranagara, Ki Purbajaya, the brother-in-law of Radèn Wiratmeja of Pathi, Trunawijaya, Naladirja of Gresik, Martatruna, Sutagati, Wangsagati, Wirantaka, the panakawan Jaya, Tajang, Besar, and Jimus. Many servants from the crown prince's residence accompanied him too. Ki Wirareja and his kinsmen walked at the rear as always. When they reached Pajang His Majesty halted. He sat down under a banyan tree. All the servants gathered. There were about two hundred. His Majesty asked Ki Wirareja where Ki Tumenggung Wirajaya, Natayuda, and Surawiguna were. He said that he did not know. They were not worth being made servants. Ki Wirajaya in the past had made great promises that he was ready to fight the enemy, but in the end, when he went out of the palace, he just ran away. A man not worthy of his lineage, but worthy to be stabbed to death. Ki Wirareja then gossiped with Ki Bangsantaka that none of the servants who had their fill would catch up with them later. His Majesty asked what they were talking about. They replied that they were discussing how the servants who remained behind would not follow them later, because they had already given up.

1347. Then they saw smoke billowing up. It was from a fire outside the palace of Kartasura. Ki Wirareja advised His Majesty to depart. From Pajang they traveled along the main road. They went eastward and reached Lawéyan. To the east of the market the road became hard to travel and muddy. His Majesty dismounted and went on foot accompanied by the captain. When they were almost in Adiwarna, the Company men were ordered to be on guard, load their guns and go ahead because it was thought that there were Chinese guarding the tollgate. It turned out that there was not a single Chinese. The tollgate was only manned by Javanese. His Majesty then went northeastward. Ki Wirareja asked about the northeastward direction where he wanted to go. His Ma-

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jesty said that he wanted to go to Surabaya. Ki Wirareja said that it would be better to go to Mataram because many servants and kinsmen had gone to Mataram. Perhaps they could be assembled and sent into battle again. His Majesty did not want to, because he felt that the servants could not be made to go into battle. Ki Wirareja said that he would leave it to the wishes of His Majesty and accompany him. He advised him to go via the south and cross the river at Sérénan and then had better stay there for a while, because he had only a few servants and it was likely that they would find many in Sérénan. They would probably even find Wirajaya there the next day, because it was close to Kedunggudèl. It would be normal for the people to follow His Majesty, and later when he had many servants it was up to him. His Majesty agreed and turned southward to cross the Jenes river. When they got to the south of the river, they saw groups of people walking eastward. His Majesty continued his journey. When they arrived in the village of Gedhangan, they met the people they had been seeing walking in groups. These were Santayuda of Cengkalsèwu, who was actually planning to follow His Majesty, Radèn Wangsatruna, the interpreter Secapati, and the Kandhuruwan of Pacitan. They paid their respects to His Majesty. When they had rested for a while, they left the village of Gedhangan, went southeastward and when they had almost reached the village of Pamanggaran they saw a large group of people with the ones in front riding on horseback. When they got closer, the ones on horseback were Ki Mangunjaya and Radèn Sumaningrat, but they had already gone on and crossed the Banawa, waiting on the eastern side of the Banawa while watching His Majesty. Still on the western side of the Banawa was Ki Puspakusuma. He paid his respects by touching His Majesty's knee with his head while weeping. He then related his actions in battle against the Chinese previously at Teras and how he had killed five Chinese. His Majesty told Puspakusuma to stop and not go on and on with his story. Then they continued their journey. Asked about the village of Sérénan, a servant said that it was still a long way to the south. After quite some time, they reached the village of Pamanggaran, where they asked for boats, which were offered by the village head callled Wirayuda. At the time of the afternoon prayer, His Majesty boarded a boat and crossed to the eastern side of the Banawa. When they had reached the eastern side of the Banawa, they saw a person with a white parasol stopping on the west bank of the Banawa. When investigated, it was his younger brother Pangéran Buminata. His Majesty gave orders to summon him, but Pangéran Buminata and his troop avoided them, going southeastward. His Majesty departed. Arriving to the south of Langsur, he asked where Ki Wirareja was. The person whom he asked said that he was at the rear. At sunset they stopped for the night in the village of Trajukuning. His Majesty kept asking about Ki Wirareja, because he had not appeared for a long time. Then he wanted to lie down with a saddle as his pillow, but many around him said that it was not good to use a saddle as pillow. It would be preferable if he used the heirloom jacket Kyai Gundhil. His Majesty accepted his servants' advice. At about eleven o'clock, Ki Wirareja arrived. Asked why he had stayed behind, he said that he had been waiting for his mother who

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he thought was following. If she really had followed, there would have been someone to prepare food for His Majesty, but she had not come. His Majesty then asked Ki Mangunjaya how far it was to Semedhangan. He replied that it was another two marches away. His Majesty was startled by the shuddering of a horse. The servants panicked, thinking that it had been the sound of enemy gunshots. Ki Wirareja quickly said that if His Majesty agreed it would be better to leave immediately while their servants were still complete. If they waited till morning, they might all be gone. His Majesty accepted Ki Wirareja's advice. After midnight, they set out from the village of Trajukuning to go to Semedangan, so Radèn Mangunjaya was told to go in front and show the way. They went southeastward and arrived at a river. When investigated, it happened to have whirlpools. They quickly returned. Since he had led them astray, Ki Bangsantaka asked Radèn Mangunjaya about the right way. He replied that he had been confused. They then turned northeastward and then southeastward. At dawn, His Majesty arrived in Semedhangan. All the servants were extremely tired. After sitting down with his son the crown prince, His Majesty asked where Radèn Sumaningrat was. Radèn Mangunjaya replied that he was ill and for the sake of his health had been taken to a village. Radèn Mangunjaya was told to summon him, and if he could not walk tell him to ride a palanquin. Radèn Mangunjaya said that he would do as told and quickly went. Ki Bangsantaka quickly went to search for food. He got some cooked rice and as side dish a roast chicken, chilies, salt, and four eggs. He offered it to His Majesty who told him to share it with all the servants and the Company men. When they had eaten, Radèn Mangunjaya arrived, telling His Majesty that Radèn Sumaningrat could not come to pay his respects because he was too ill, could not get out of bed and could not be transported in a palanquin. His Majesty remained silent, but thought by himself, "By God, despite the fact that I came to his home, he doesn't come when summoned." Ki Wirareja then proposed to leave immediately because the number of servants kept decreasing and only a few were left. Wangsatruna and Secapati had stayed behind when His Majesty had departed from Trajukuning. So he proposed leaving Semedhangan. His Majesty wanted to go to Pamagetan, the home of Citradiwirya. Radèn Mangunjaya was told to show the way. At sunrise, His Majesty and all his servants left Semedhangan. They went northeastward. Radèn Suranagara stayed behind because his son was very ill. His Majesty arrived in the village of Boga, where he halted for a moment to have a drink. Then he set out again. When they got to the village of Janurdipa, the wife of Radèn Sumaningrat served food and drink, consisting of cooked rice and many side dishes outside the village, and two large crocks with palm wine. His Majesty rested under a shady tree on flat ground. After he had eaten with his son the crown prince and all his servants were satisfied, they left the village of Jamurdipa, going northeastward again. When many of the servants were so tired that they could not go further and stayed behind, His Majesty rested for a short while in the village of Segawé while waiting for his servants. He asked Ki Wirareja where the road to Pamagetan was. Ki Wirareja passed the question on to Radèn Mangunjaya, who replied that it was still

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further northeastward. His Majesty asked again how much longer it would take to get to Magetan. He replied that if they went at a leisurely pace, it would take two more nights on the road. If they hurried, they could reach it within a day. When the servants were all there and had rested, they set out. They walked while dragging their legs. When they reached the village of Kakum at the time when boys were putting the livestock out to pasture, they were very tired. Many villagers came bringing food and drink. It was offered to His Majesty and distributed equally among the servants. At that time Ki Sutamenggala had a hunch. He asked the village chief who offered the food and drink whether perhaps an official had arrived, and to tell him if an official had arrived, an official from where? The village chief replied that he had heard that an official had already stayed in Kadarèn for three nights. According to the news, it was an official from Pamagetan. When Ki Sutamenggala heard it, he was moved and told His Majesty. Ki Bangsantaka was quickly sent to summon him, but he was followed up by Radèn Mangunjaya. Ki Bangsantaka stopped. Radèn Mangunjaya went with his retainers and they were all on horseback. At that time Citradiwirya had already left the village of Kadarèn to return home, but he was tracked down by the messenger. Citradiwirya hurried back. He felt as if he wanted to meet His Majesty as quickly as possible. When he saw His Majesty, Citradiwirya quickly dismounted, advanced and paid his respects by touching the knee of His Majesty with his head while weeping and pledging his life. His Majesty asked how many troops he had brought with him. He replied that for meeting His Majesty, he had brought along five hundred. His Majesty said that he wanted to go to Citradiwirya's home in Pamagetan, but that his servants were all very tired. Citradiwirya said that he was very happy and put the domain of Pamagetan at His Majesty's disposal, because his duty was to guard it, and His Majesty owned it. His Majesty then requested horses and asked to have the servants who were limping put on horses without leaving anyone behind. Ki Citradiwirya said that he would do as told and provided horses, even rather more than needed. The servants were all very happy. At that time, Radèn Mangunjaya asked His Majesty's permission to go and find his wife and children. After he was able to find his wife and children, he wanted to go on to Kartasura to closely observe the conduct of those who remained in the capital. His Majesty wanted to stop him from going, but instead of not allowing it, it would be better to allow it, in case he was truly devoted to His Majesty. So he allowed it and Mangunjaya went back. His Majesty then set out from the village of Kakum, went northeastwards and before sunset reached Gugur where he stayed the night. The next morning, they departed and reached the market of Pancod before noon. His Majesty rested. Mount Lawu was covered in thick, dark clouds. Ki Citradiwirya said that if Mount Lawu was dark like that, one was not allowed to traverse it. If one nevertheless went on, one risked disaster. However, His Majesty did not want to be told what to do, and insisted on going on. He gave orders to ward off evil by burning incense at the shrine located by the side of the market of Pancod. For a moment, the darkness became less. His Majesty departed from the market at Pancod. When he had covered a

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distance of about two hails, a dark mountain mist closed in. His Majesty stopped. Ki Citradiwirya said that if the mountain is this dark, it must not be trespassed on. It is better to go back and sleep in Pancod. He advised him to just depart early the next morning. His Majesty accepted the advice and went back to Pancod again. After they had set up camp, it started to rain heavily and it became pitch dark for the whole night. In the morning they departed, and it was still raining lightly. On arrival at Cemarasèwu, he let the servants rest a bit. Having rested, they left and traveled to the village of Plaosan where they rested again. Then they departed again. This time they travelled all the way to the town of Pamagetan. Two days after His Majesty had made camp, he put his troops in order.

1348. It is told that the Chinese plundered and burned the palace of Kartasura. Dipati ing Pathi and Martapura had not yet reached Kartasura when they saw the conflagration. They quickened their pace while escorting their king. They cheered the whole way. Tumenggung Mangunoneng was the first to arrive in Kartasura, because he had heard that many of the women had been left behind. When he arrived at the Pagelaran, he entered the palace, but found it deserted. Tumenggung Martapura quickly went to the southern audience hall where he found the queen mother and her grandchild Radèn Ayu Kadhaton. They were taken by Tumenggung Martapura and entrusted to Mangunoneng. Then Her Highness Ratu Maduretna and Radèn Ajeng Kaluwak were brought to Mangunoneng and united with the queen mother. After three days, after a search Radèn Ajeng Uwuh was found in Gendhingan with her aunt Mas Ayu Pujawati. They were also united with the queen mother in the Mangunoneng residence. Dèn Ajeng Déwi who was married to Tumenggung Padmanagara of Demak [actually, Suralaya of Brebes] was taken by Mangunoneng. As for Dèn Ajeng Jabir and Dèn Ajeng Warsah who had been taken by the Chinese, they were also brought back and put in the Mangunoneng residence together with all the wives and concubines, Radèn Ayu Andayasmara, Tiksnawati, Surtikanti, Smaraningsih, Tilarsih, Tiksnarengga, Renggasari, Andayawati, Retnasari, Pandhansari, Retnadiérawati, Andayaningsih, Turunsih, and Radèn Ayu Srenggara. Sunan Kuning had arrived and occupied the Sitinggil. Two of the wives and concubines mentioned above, Turunsih and Radèn Ayu Srenggara, were taken by Sunan Kuning. At that time Mangunoneng offered him all the women mentioned. Her Highness Ratu Alit, who had been taken by the Chinese, was taken back by Tumenggung Martapura and offered to the king in order to be united with her grandmother in the palace. Sunan Kuning then entered the palace and occupied the main building. Tumenggung Mangunoneng occupied the residence of Pangéran Ngabèhi. Tumenggung Martapura stayed in the Suranata mosque, but before long moved to the residence of Rajaniti. The Chinese troops all stayed on the Pagelaran. They had been disciplined and did not dare to make trouble. Apart from the two wives mentioned above, Sunan Kuning already had six wives who were also put into the palace These were Pujawati, Citrawati, Gandawati, Téjawati, Wisarsa, [and Puspawati]. Then Radèn Ayu Kilèn arrived. She went to the Mangunoneng residence, but was told the

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next morning to enter the palace. She happened to be heavily pregnant and was united with the queen mother in the palace. Mangunoneng searched for Dèn Ayu Natakusuma. He found her in the Pangéran Ngabèhi residence and placed her in the garden called Taman Sokawelahan, where she was guarded by her own son Radèn Natawijaya.

1349. It is told that of the kinsmen who had fled seven pangéran intended to flee to Mataram, and three did not plan to go far, only get out of the way. Pangéran Buminata went southeastwards and halted in the village of Sudimara. At the time of the late afternoon prayer, he saw His Majesty crossing the river at Pamanggaran. Pangéran Buminata quickly returned and reached Kartasura the next morning. He joined Pangéran Singasari, and Pangéran Arya Mataram and the three of them submitted to Kartasura. The pangéran who intended to go to Mataram had reached Tembayat. There they argued about their preferences. Pangéran Arya Pamot and Dipanagara insisted on following His Majesty, and left heading eastwards. Pangéran Ngabèhi and his younger brothers intended to go to Mataram and departed. On their arrival in Mataram, they set up camp in the village of Nagasari. Pangéran Ngabèhi, Pangéran Danupaya, Pangéran Rangga, Pangéran Silarong, Pangéran Mangkubumi, and Pangéran Prangwadana held a meeting. Pangéran Ngabèhi asked his younger brothers what would be best. No one had advice, and only Pangéran Mangkubumi spoke. If they agreed it would be best to raise troops and gather the people of Mataram for war. Pangéran Mangkubumi would lead them. Pangéran Ngabèhi was advised not to come along and just be the standard-bearer. Later when His Majesty had reappeared, it would be easy, but for now they only could put up some resistance. Pangéran Ngabèhi replied that he did not agree, lest they increase their sins. How could they have the strength to do it, and believe that now the Javanese could be made to fight, when previously when they were made to fight by His Majesty they nevertheless did not do it? Pangéran Mangkubumi kept silent and said to himself, "Does my elder brother actually want to submit to Kartasura?" Then they were interrrupted by a messenger from Pangéran Buminata who was already in Kartasura, advising his elder brother Pangéran Ngabèhi and his younger brothers to return. He replied asking whether his younger brother Pangéran Buminata could vouch for his elder brother and all his younger brothers, and had he already come to an agreement with the one occupying the throne in Kartasura. If he had come to an agreement, he should send a messenger again. The messenger returned. Pangéran Mangkubumi and his younger brother Pangéran Rangga made an excuse to go to the river. Pangéran Silarong and Pangéran Prangwadana followed. They sat down on the bank of the river to confer. Pangéran Mangkubumi asked his younger brothers what their advice was. If it was like the wish of their elder brother Pangéran Ngabèhi to submit to Kartasura, he would not follow it. Pangéran Rangga agreed, because if Radèn Mas Garendi one day remembered that we pledged our lives, he might then take them. Pangéran Mangkubumi replied that that was exactly the reason why he did not want to go and pay his respects to Radèn Mas Garendi. His intention was to go to

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Semarang, because there were still many bupati in Semarang. His three younger brothers agreed.

1350. It is told that when his servants were feeling rather at ease in Pamagetan, His Majesty told Citradiwirya to send a messenger to summon Radèn Sumawijaya and Radèn Martalaya of Madiyun. Then Ki Wirareja was raised in rank with the title Dipati Wirareja. Ki Sutamenggala was granted the name and title of Ngabèhi Sindupati. His Majesty then requested a few Islamic students from Citradiwirya to send with a letter to Sawunggaling and Wirasraya in Surabaya to inform them that he had left the palace and on the advice of the captain intended to go to Surabaya, if they agreed. Ki Sawunggaling was given the name and title of Tumenggung Secanagara, while Ki Wirasraya was restyled Tumenggung Sasranagara. The messenger who had been sent to Madiyun returned, escorting Radèn Sumawijaya and Radèn Martalaya. His Majesty then questioned them about their ancestry. Radèn Martalaya said that his ancestors were from Madiyun and just like the ancestors of Radèn Sumawijaya had together governed the domain of Madiyun. Therefore, if His Majesty was victorious in the war, he would ask for the domain of Surabaya. His Majesty agreed and raised his name and title to Pangéran Martalaya, while Sumawijaya became Pangéran Mangkunagara. The reason was that His Majesty was waiting for Sawunggaling and Wirasraya, who had not arrived. If they had shown up immediately, he was going to hand them the domain of Surabaya, but when they had not shown up while he was in Pamagetan, he felt offended. The next morning, His Majesty left Pamagetan to go to Madiyun, escorted by Pangéran Martalaya, Pangéran Mangkunagara, and Citradiwirya. When they reached a spot to the south of Wringinkuncung, he was met by messengers from Tumenggung Surabrata of Pranaraga, called Suradirja and Suradadaha, who had been sent to invite His Majesty to come. He immediately asked Pangéran Martalaya whether it was already too late to continue to Pranaraga. The latter replied that since it was already the middle of the day, it seemed too late. His Majesty then told the messengers that he did not wish to continue to Pranaraga. If Tumenggung Surabrata was really serious, he should come to Madiyun tomorrow morning to pay his respects, for His Majesty was going to Madiyun. The messengers returned to Pranaraga and told Radèn Tumenggung Surabrata what His Majesty had told them. After his arrival in Madiyun, His Majesty stayed overnight in the Martalaya residence. The next morning before noon, Tumenggung Surabrata and his troops arrived and paid his respects by touching the knee of His Majesty with his head. After having paid his respects, he withdrew to his lodgings. The next morning he was summoned. Pangéran Mangkunagara, Pangéran Martalaya, Adipati Wirareja, and the captain were also present and stayed close to His Majesty. His Majesty asked Tumenggung Surabrata what his advice was concerning His Majesty. Tumenggung Surabrata said that he was ready to carry out whatever His Majesty ordered, and even if it should lead to his death, he would not complain. In turn, he asked where His Majesty wished to set up court. His Majesty told him that he wanted to take it easy and organize his troops in Surabaya. Tumenggung Surabrata strongly opposed

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this. He could go to Surabaya later if Tumenggung Surabrata had been killed in battle. For now, His Majesty should by all means be escorted to Pranaraga. When he had come to Pranaraga, His Majesty could take it easy. Tumenggung Surabrata would take it upon himself to wipe the Chinese and Sunan Kuning from Kartasura. His Majesty said that the reason he wanted to continue to Surabaya was to make it easier to regain the throne, not to abandon Tumenggung Surabrata. Tumenggung Surabrata spoke very strongly that if His Majesty, in spite of everything, was set on going to Surabaya, he left it up to His Majesty, but he had one request, and just asked for the crown prince, whom he would like to install as king in Pranaraga. That Tumenggung Surabrata was willing to destroy the Chinese enemy and Mas Garendi, was because the people from the Mancanagara would have the courage and could be made to fight if the crown prince had been installed in Pranaraga. His Majesty remained silent and was at a loss. He said to himself, "How could I part with my son? The reason I finally left the capital was only to get my son out, in the hope that he could replace me and be a better king than I." His Majesty then asked the opinion of Dipati Wirareja and all the other elders. They said that they agreed that His Majesty would stay in Pranaraga. His Majesty felt relieved. Having stayed for one more night, Kyai Citradiwirya was ordered to return to Pamagetan to assemble troops. When he had gathered them, he should inform His Majesty. Kyai Citradiwirya said that he would do as told and departed. His Majesty indeed left Madiyun to go to Pranaraga. When he reached the remains of the town of Gegelang, he halted. He went to see the waters with various flavours in the village of Prayan. Some tasted cool, others salty, sour, or smelled fishy and rotten. Having sampled the waters, he departed. In a day's march he reached Pranaraga. Tumenggung Surabrata was ordered to send some spies to Kartasura. He dispatched eight men. His Majesty then told Dipati Wirareja to announce that now Tumenggung Surabrata had been granted the name and title of Adipati Suradiningrat. This was made public and the people of Pranaraga all obeyed.

1351. It is told that the spy of Pangéran Martalaya who had been sent to Kartasura had returned and informed His Majesty that now the Chinese had been divided, some had been sent to Grobogan and others were staying in the Bangsal Pangapit. Kyai Rajaniti had been caught by Sapanjang, but been ransomed for two thousand reals and brought to Adipati Mangunoneng. Kyai Wirajaya had been renamed Baureksa. As for the southern place of audience, it was still the same, but occupied by the Chinese. That was all the spy had to say. It matched the contents of the letter from Radèn Mangunjaya which had been given to His Majesty when he was in Madiyun. It differed in that the letter had listed the number of houses that had been burned and it had come with a small note which, when read, had visibly angered His Majesty. For that reason he had quickly left Madiyun and gone to Pranaraga.

1352. It is told that when His Majesty was in Pamagetan, he had sent a messenger to summon Kyai Tohjaya. Because Ngabèhi Citradiwirya had told His Majesty that Ki Tohjaya had a beautiful daughter, he was quickly summoned. At that time, Ki Tohjaya had fled

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Lamongan and was staying in the village of Seprèh. He was then escorted by the messenger with his whole family. On his arrival in Pranaraga, he was announced by Dipati Wirareja and Dipati Suradiningrat and immediately summoned by His Majesty. Appearing before him, His Majesty said with a laugh, "Here we have our Buffalo Bali."* Ki Tohjaya paid his respects by touching His Majesty's knee with his head. After he had paid his respects, he was asked why Ki Tohjaya insisted on following His Majesty and did not go along with the Madurese. He replied that it had been His Majesty who had all the time provided him with income and that, therefore, he did not want to follow the Madurese. His Majesty then gave orders that Ki Tohjaya should stay in the same quarters as Adipati Wirareja.

1353. It is told that a few days later a Chinese of mixed-descent, called Suradiwangsa, arrived with about eighty men, all on horseback and armed with guns and spears. They went to Adipati Suradiningrat. After having examined them, he informed His Majesty that a Chinese of mixed-descent had arrived, who wanted to serve His Majesty. He had brought a large group of men on horseback and was called Suradiwangsa. His real name was Ki and his younger brother's name Elik. His Majesty was surprised that a Chinese of mixed-descent offered to serve him, and was worried that the Chinese might have a secret plan. He asked the Dipati of Pranaraga whether he used to know this Chinese of mixed-descent, so that he had been willing to convey his offer. Ki Dipati said that he indeed knew him. He was the son of a Chinese in Kartasura, called Baru, but that they had become Javanese, and that it was said that he had even been circumcised when still young. Therefore, he had been ready to convey the offer to His Majesty, and if there was something bad towards His Majesty, or disloyalty, he would take responsibility. His Majesty then gave orders to summon him, as he wanted to see him. Because of his worries, he carried the kris Kyai Balabar. When the Chinese of mixed-descent Suradiwangsa came to pay his respects and declared his loyalty, His Majesty looked at him, visibly approved, and took him into service. Before long, Suradiwangsa and his younger brother Elik were seconded to Ngawi, to assist the tumenggung of Jagaraga. His Majesty then remembered the words of Adipati Suradiningrat when they were still in Madiyun. He had been very much against the Chinese of mixed-descent and the Dutch, and wanted the installation of His Majesty to be entrusted to the bupati of the eastern Mancanagara. So now His Majesty whispered to a servant called Puspayuda to whisper to Captain Gondrop that if he was still asking for the life of Radèn Suradiningrat, His Majesty would strongly refuse it. The captain should, if possible, serve the lord of the domain. When Puspayuda whispered this to him, the captain felt regret and thought that His Majesty was very considerate towards him. So he did his very best to serve Radèn Suradiningrat and kept trying to please him. From a wish to please Adipati Suradiningrat, His Majesty at that time asked him whether he had a daughter. If he had one and she was suitable, he wanted to take her as his wife. Dipati Suradiningrat said that he did indeed have a daughter, and if it pleased His Majesty would give her.

* Tohjaya's original name was Bali. See paragraph *952*.

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His Majesty asked his servants whether the daughter of Dipati Suradiningrat was beautiful, and how her beauty compared to that of the wives who had been left behind. His servants said that she was very ugly, but although she was ugly, they very much hoped that he would marry her, in order to please his servants and to ensure that Dipati Suradiningrat remained steady in his resolve. His Majesty was then willing to take her as his wife. When the next Sunday arrived, they married. At the wedding His Majesty was represented by Ki Dipati Wirareja. When his daughter had been married by His Majesty, Radèn Adipati Suradiningrat became even more respectful and carried out his promises. Before long, the people of Pranaraga were ordered to mobilize, as well as the Mancanagara people of Kalangbrèt, Sarengat, Blitar, Kartasana, Pacé, Caruban, and Kaduwang. They were all sent messengers and told mobilize their troops for war. When the people in Pranaraga were ready, Radèn Adipati Suradiningrat said to His Majesty that now all the men present in Pranaraga were there and ready. His Majesty asked what day it would be best to depart. Adipati Suradiningrat replied that it would be best next Tuesday. Then they were interrupted by the arrival of the spy who had returned from Kartasura and reported that the Chinese had been sent out to Ungaran to meet the Dutch. This coincided with the arrival of the troops from Kaduwang, Kalangbrèt, Rawa, Wirasaba, Kartasana, Pacé, Caruban, and the arrival of Kyai Mataun of Jipang. Then a messenger from the queen mother arrived who conveyed her prayers for him and brought two small lidded cups with aromatic oil for His Majesty. His Majesty was told to immediately retake the capital and not let his mother's heartache last too long. The messenger was quickly sent back with a letter. After the messenger had left, His Majesty set out from Pranaraga on Tuesday. Adipati Suradiningrat and his troops marched in front to retake the capital Kartasura. When they reached the village of Memenang, His Majesty and the army stayed for the night.

1354. It is told about Prabu Kuning who held court in Kartasura that many of the old bupati who had submitted were reinstated in their positions. Only the bupati Gedhong Tengen Tumenggung Wirareja had gone with His Majesty, while the bupati Gedhong Kiwa Tumenggung Tirtawiguna was in Semarang. So the person who was now chosen as bupati Gedhong Tengen was a man from Pajangkungan who was granted the name and title of Tumenggung Wirajaya. As for the person chosen as bupati Gedhong Tengen [Kiwa], he was a lower Gedhong official, called Kartiyuda, a brother-in-law of Dipati Mangunoneng of Pathi, who was granted the name and title of Tumenggung Surantani. As for the former Kyai Wirajaya, he was renamed Baureksa. The new bupati of Panumping was another brother-in-law of Mangunoneng, called Garwakandha. The new bupati of [Siti] Ageng was Ki Selobogan, a Chinese of mixed-descent, whose name was changed to Tumenggung Pringgalaya. Kartawirya became head of the tax-paying leaseholders. Martapura took possession of the authority over the people of Mataram and occupied the Rajaniti residence. Ki Dipati Mangunoneng became patih. Many of the people of Kartasura submitted. The officials, the renter-residents, and the merchants, all reoccupied their homes and Kartasura started to flourish again. Kyai Patih Mangun-

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oneng had already sent letters to the Mancanagara summoning all the bupati. To Madura he sent only a letter asking for blessings. All the others were summoned to Kartasura. On the advice of Pangéran Buminata, Kyai Patih conferred with Martapura about escorting Pangéran Ngabèhi and his kinsmen in Mataram. They dispatched one hundred Chinese troops accompanied by the musketeers of Pathi, who should at the same time subject the people in Mataram. On their arrival in Mataram, the four princes, Mangkubumi, Rangga, Silarong, and Prangwadana heard from their elder brother that they were going to be brought to Kartasura, and in the night they left to go to Semarang via Kedhu. Pangéran Ngabèhi met the Chinese who was going to bring him to Kartasura. He then set out for Kartasura escorted by the people from Mataram. On his arrival in Kartasura, he met his younger brothers Pangéran Buminata, Pangéran Arya Mataram, and Pangéran Singasari. He was also taken to meet Tumenggung Martapura and Kyai Patih. Then he was told to stay in the residence of Silarong.

1355. It is told that Pangéran Mangkubumi and his younger brothers travelled as far as Tugu, from where they sent a messenger to Tirtawiguna. On the messenger's arrival, he quickly informed the commander and the commissioners. Mas Rangga of Semarang was then sent to meet them. On his arrival in Tugu, he immediately took the four princes to the fort, where the commissioners met them outside the gate. When they were seated, the commissioners asked about the circumstances when His Majesty had fled the capital. Pangéran Mangkubumi related everything. Then they were given a place to stay and offered food and drink. Some time later, Radèn Tumenggung Sujanapura asked permission to return home in order to search for his wife and children. The commissioners allowed this and at the same time wanted him to take a letter for the ousted king. When Tumenggung Tirtawiguna heard that Tumenggung Sujanapura had been allowed to return home, he became envious, went to the fort, and asked permission to return and search for his wife and children. The commissioners did not allow it, and became very angry thinking that he was going to commit treason and submit to the Chinese. Tumenggung Tirtawiguna trembled with fear and professed his loyalty, saying that he did not intend to part from the Company and had no eye for anyone but the ousted king. When the commissioners heard the profession of loyalty from Tumenggung Tirtawiguna, their anger subsided.

1356. It is told that His Majesty who was staying in Memenang left there after two nights. The Dipati of Pranaraga led the vanguard. When they reached Brangkal they stayed for three nights. At that time there was a troop of eleven Gambuh dancers who had followed them and went to Ki Bangsapatra who presented them to His Majesty. The Dipati of Pranaraga and Wirareja informed His Majesty of the arrival of his younger brother Pangéran Pamot, together with the former wife of Panembahan Purbaya, called Radèn Ayu Cathis. His Majesty then left Brangkal, and on reaching the village of Tirisan, they stayed for the night.

1357. It is told that Ki Citradiwirya who had been ordered to raise troops in Pamagetan and inform His Majesty when he had raised them, wanted to receive instructions. How-

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ever, because he could not write, Citradiwirya had made his nephew, called Radèn Sumaningrat, his scribe. The latter was told to write a letter to His Majesty. The letter should say that Ki Citradiwirya reported that he had already gathered and raised troops, and now left the matter to the wishes of His Majesty. However, the letter said that Ki Citradiwirya handed over the domain of Pamagetan. When the letter was ready, it was sent and on arrival in the village of Tirisan presented to His Majesty. When the letter was read, His Majesty became very angry. Adipati Suradiningrat was summoned and told that he had received a letter from Citradiwirya of Pamagetan saying that he handed over his domain. He asked him who would be best to be placed in Pamagetan. He then gave orders to reply to the letter of Citradiwirya. It should say that His Majesty left it up to Ki Citradiwirya whether he wanted to follow His Majesty or leave him. It was up to him. Ki Dipati said that if His Majesty agreed, he would like to propose his son-in-law, called Sumawijaya, to replace Ki Citradiwirya. His Majesty agreed. Sumawijaya's name was then changed to Radèn Mangunjaya. Ki Citradiwirya received the reply and summoned his scribe to read it. The letter said that His Majesty was very angry and that Ki Citradiwirya was evicted from Pamagetan. He was told to leave on reception of the letter. When Ki Citradiwirya heard what the letter said, he was stunned with grief. He felt that he had been duped by the scribe, because he could not write. So he felt great remorse. In the end, he resigned himself to the fact that it had been destined by God. He got ready to depart and leave Pamagetan. He fled to the domain of Madiyun, from where he intended to follow His Majesty and go wherever His Majesty went. Radèn Mangunjaya had already left the camp in Tirisan escorted by many men from Pranaraga who wanted to announce the installation of Radèn Mangunjaya in Pamagetan. However, Radèn Mangunjaya did not want to go on and drop himself into Pamagetan. He insisted on going close to the mountains and gather the common people when he had assembled troops. The men from Pranaraga followed the wishes of Radèn Mangunjaya. On their arrival, they set up camp and many people from Pamagetan came over.

1358. His Majesty set out from the village of Tirisan. On arrival in Kaduwang he set up camp, where on the morning after the first night Radèn Pringgalaya and Pangéran Dipanagara and their wives came to pay their respects. When they had met His Majesty, they were told to stay together in one place. His Majesty gave orders to the vanguard in Muruh to advance. Dipati Suradiningrat appointed two commanders, Suradirja and Suradedaha who, after receiving permission from His Majesty, set out with the dipati of the Mancanagara, intending to head for Nguter. The vanguard was formed by troops from Pranaraga. On arrival in Taman, they subjected all the villages. Those who resisted were plundered. The villages along the way were all in a panic. They ran to inform their headmen and chiefs in Kartasura.

//. They told Dipati ing Pathi that the enemy from Pranaraga had arrived in Nguter and troops on horseback filled the place. Their vanguard was already in Taman. Dipati Mangunoneng quickly entered the palace to inform Sunan Kuning, who gave orders

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to meet the enemy and appoint commanders. Ki Dipati Mangunoneng quickly went outside and summoned his fellow bupati and Ki Martapura. They discussed who to appoint to meet the enemy. Ki Kartawirya and Ki Jayadirana, a brother-in-law of Dipati ing Pathi, were ordered to lead the leaseholder troops, the troops from Pagelèn and adjacent domains, and the troops from Mataram, accompanied by Tumenggung Wiranagara of Lasem who led the troops from the Pasisir. When the appointments had been made, Sunan Kuning was informed. After they had got ready and been given instructions by Sunan Kuning, they were ordered to set out. The army of Pathi made a thundering noise, and their behaviour looked like tigers fighting over their prey. The troops had already marched as far as Picis, where they set up camp.

1359. Ki Suradirja and Suradedaha who were deployed in Nguter, quickly sent a messenger to inform His Majesty that the Chinese enemy from Kartasura had arrived in Picis. Their leader was Tumenggung Kartawirya, but he had only brought a few Chinese troops with him. Ki Suradirja and Suradedaha asked permission to meet them in battle.

1360. It is told that the Chinese of mixed-descent, Salobog, who had been elevated to the position of bupati [Siti] Ageng with the name and title of Pringgalaya was given the task by Adipati ing Pathi to advance northwards accompanied by the tumenggung from Semarang who had newly submitted, called Sujanapura. They left with their troops and reached Grompol, where they faced the troops from Madiyun.

1361. The messenger from Ki Suradirja and Suradedaha had already reached Kaduwang and headed for Kyai Patih, who brought him to His Majesty. After His Majesty had received the information from the messenger, he replied that he gave permission to Suradirja and Suradedaha to meet the enemy in battle, but told them to be careful. He also added his prayers that they would be safe and sound. The messenger withdrew from the presence of His Majesty. Then a messenger from Pangéran Mangkunagara and Pangéran Martalaya arrived. He informed His Majesty that the enemy was approaching and already faced the troops from Madiyun. The leaders of the enemy were a Chinese of mixed-descent called Tumenggung Pringgalaya and a Javanese tumenggung called Sujanapura. Pangéran Mangkunagara and Pangéran Martalaya asked permission from His Majesty to meet the enemy in battle. His Majesty said to the messenger that he approved the requests of both pangéran, but instructed them to be careful and added his prayers that they would be safe and sound, and protected by the Lord. The messenger quickly returned.

1362. It is told that Ki Suradirja and Suradedaha had set out from Nguter to strike the enemy. When the troops from Kartasura saw that they were going to be attacked, Tumenggung Kartawirya and his troops set out from Pasérénan and met the enemy when they reached a spot to the north of Taman. When they saw the large number of enemies, the troops from Pathi retreated for a moment. Then they advanced again, saying to each other, "These enemies from Pajang and Mataram don't really amount to anything, because I compare them to bees that have left their hive, they won't really dare to sting." Their chief snapped at them, "Hey, don't you speak too rashly. You should know that

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the great king of Mataram may now be hiding in the mountains, but the common people still love him." Tumenggung Kartawirya had reached Taman and engaged the eastern army. A fierce firefight ensued. The troops from Pathi were all on foot, and the troops from the Mancanagara were on horseback. The troops from Lasem who formed the wings broke and fled. Many troops from Pathi were killed. The Chinese troops fled. Ki Gagakpranala was killed. The troops from Pathi were chased by the troops from the Mancanagara as far as Pasérénan where they crossed the Banawa river. The eastern army stopped the chase. The troops from Pathi and Lasem entered the city, and in Kartasura panic broke out. Tumenggung Kartawirya stopped in Baki.

1363. It is told that after having won the battle, Suradirja and Suradedaha returned to Nguter. They quickly sent a messenger to Kaduwang to inform His Majesty that they had prevailed in battle and offered him the spoils. His Majesty was very pleased. All the spoils were granted to the men who had won them themselves. Then a spy came from Kartasura to pay his respects and informed His Majesty that the capital Kartasura was in great panic after the defeat in battle. If the war had been continued, Kartasura would likely have been taken. But since the fight had been prosecuted with less energy, they had assembled again. Even Arya Pringgalaya and Tumenggung Sujanapura who were deployed at Grompol had withdrawn to Kartasura, because the former Pringgalaya and Rajaniti had left Kartasura. Again there was a person who came to pay his respects to His Majesty. His name was Secabau, and he came from Blora. Secabau was received. Then even more people came to serve, also those who were in the service of the crown prince. Before long, Kyai Rajaniti came. He went to Kyai Wirareja, offering to put his life in the hands of His Majesty. Out of caution, Ki Wirareja had an oath administered to Kyai Rajaniti. After the oath had been administered, His Majesty was informed, but His Majesty did not wish to take him into service because of his many disloyal actions. The captain very much argued against it, saying to His Majesty that he should not at this time reject persons who wanted to serve. Later it would be up to His Majesty. Kyai Rajaniti was then summoned. When he came before His Majesty, he professed his repentance. He was ordered to stay with Ki Bangsantaka. Then messengers from Ki Surawiguna and Kyai Wangsadita arrived, saying that at the moment Ki Surawiguna was in Wiraka and Ki Wangsadita in Sekarbala, escorting some of His Majesty's wives and carrying a golden sword belonging to His Majesty. They offered them to His Majesty. The messengers were quickly sent back and told that Ki Surawiguna and Ki Wongsadita should swiftly come to pay their respects to His Majesty.

1364. At that time, His Majesty wanted to write a letter to the commissioners in Semarang to inform them that he at present was in Kaduwang with his army. Captain Orgondrop also wrote a letter to the commissioners requesting the immediate advance of Company troops to Kartasura, to strike it from the northwest. The Javanese led by the bupati of Pranaraga would strike from the east. When the letters were ready, they were sent off. It was at the same time that messengers arrived from Surabaya, called Anggadirja and Wiradirana, bringing sixty men. They had been sent to offer as a sign of esteem from

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Tumenggung Secanagara and Tumenggung Sasranagara two horses with all the equipment, and a splendid bed with all the accoutrements for His Majesty. When this had been accepted, one of the messengers was sent back to report that His Majesty had advanced to engage in battle in Kaduwang and requested reinforcements. As for the messenger sent back, Wiradirana, he took along just ten men. Anggadirja and the other fifty men stayed behind to guard His Majesty.

1365. It is told that Adipati Suradiningrat asked permission of His Majesty to lead the troops into battle in order to speed the war up. He also requested the authority to punish servants who did not faithfully execute their tasks. Even if it was his son, if he performed badly, he should be allowed to kill him. His Majesty agreed to all the proposals of Radèn Adipati Suradiningrat. The next morning, he left with his whole army and was seconded by Adipati Wirareja. On arrival in Nguter he deployed his troops.

1366. It is told that the men from Pathi who had been routed in battle reported to Dipati ing Pathi that they had been routed. When this was reported to Sunan Kuning, he became very angry and told him to reinforce the troops with Radèn Mlayakusuma and his men, with Ki Wirajaya, whose name and title had been changed to Baureksa, and with Ki Arya Mandura who was going to be sent home to Cengkalsèwu, but who had not yet departed. They were told to join and provide support in the fight, accompanied by a cavalry troop of twenty-five Chinese led by Encik Mantu and Radèn Janapura. Adipati in Pathi agreed to lead them. On their arrival in Baki, they met Kartawirya. Tumenggung Baureksa sent a messenger with a letter to Tumenggung Sutanagara of Kaduwang telling him to flee first when attacked and then quickly turn westward. When Tumenggung Sutanagara received the letter, he shared it with his fellow bupati. The men from the Mancanagara lost heart and decided to retreat to Nguter. On arrival in Nguter they met with Adipati Suradiningrat and decided to get into position to meet the enemy in battle. The men from the Mancanagara took heart again and deployed their lines. The men on horseback formed the wings, while Radèn Adipati formed the centre. The Chinese advanced boldly and on reaching Nguter attacked in force. The troops from the Mancanagara and Pranaraga stood firm, led by Dipati Suradiningrat. A fierce firefight ensued. The men from Pranaraga were not afraid of being pounded by bullets and scorned death. The men on horseback dared to charge. The troops from Kartasura and the Chinese started to lose heart and only intended to try seriously one more time. Tumenggung Baureksa gave orders to wheel to the left and attack in force the left wing troops from Kaduwang. The leader of the left wing of the troops from Kaduwang happened to be the son of Tumenggung Sutanagara called Sumawijaya.* When he saw that the Chinese were attacking his wing, Sumawijaya instructed the troops from Kaduwang to flee. The troops from Kaduwang bolted, following their leader. The Chinese chased after them. When the troops from Pranaraga saw that the Chinese were threatening to encircle them, they became confused and before long were

* Sutanagara was married to a daughter of Wirajaya/Baureksa, so Sumawijaya was probably Baureksa's grandson.

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swept away. Dipati Suradiningrat and his army withdrew en masse. Tumenggung Wirareja had already fled ahead to inform His Majesty. The troops from Kartasura and Pathi continued their chase as far as Kaduwang, their way being shown by a servant of Tumenggung Sutanagara. At that time His Majesty had not yet heard that Dipati Suradiningrat had been put to flight in battle. His Majesty happened to be sleeping. It was about three in the afternoon. The servants who were on guard outside saw many people fleeing from the west. Those on horseback were asked, but they just continued eastwards. Those on foot said, while they kept running, that the battle had been lost, that even Radèn Suradiningrat had been put to flight and was behind them, being chased by the enemy, while his army was completely destroyed. The guardsmen asked about Ki Wirareja, but the answer was that they did not know where he had gone, because everyone was running to save their own lives. At that moment, the wife of Pringgalaya, Radèn Ayu Pringgalaya, hearing that the battle had been lost, quickly went inside to tell His Majesty. She found him sleeping and woke him up, saying that Dipati Suradiningrat had been defeated and that the enemy was already close. His Majesty was startled and went outside. He gave orders to saddle the horses, put the luggage on the carrying poles, and get out. When Tumenggung Sutanagara of Kaduwang heard about the defeat of Dipati Suradiningrat, he quickly used a trick to speed up His Majesty's retreat. He gave orders to bring a seized cannon into the forest and fire it twice. When His Majesty heard both gunshots quite close by, he became even more nervous and hurriedly left the camp. Much of the baggage was left behind. When Ki Tohjaya saw that His Majesty was acting overhastily, he quickly drew his scimitar and boasted, professing his loyalty, that he, as long as Tohjaya was still alive, would not act in haste. His Majesty said, "Well, Tohjaya, I appreciate your loyalty, but what can one man do? Let's all depart." His Majesty immediately set out from Kaduwang. Only the crown prince and the captain and his Company men stayed close to His Majesty. Many of his servants and the servants of the crown prince were left behind. Horses saddled with a black saddle got a red horse-cloth, and then they followed their lord. His Majesty went as far as the town of Wates, and because they were overtaken by nightfall, stayed there for the night. Kyai Wirareja, who had been put to flight in battle, followed His Majesty together with Ki Nayamenggala. When they arrived in front of His Majesty, they performed a kiss at His Majesty's feet and told about their failure. They had been put to flight and got separated from Dipati Suradiningrat because they had been in a hurry to save their lives. His Majesty said, "What you said was the will of God. When the servants have rested, we should depart." After midnight, before the moon came out, His Majesty set out. At dawn, they reached Brangkal, where they rested for a while to give the servants some rest. Then they set out again and reached Memenang in the afternoon. There they met with Adipati Suradiningrat, Suradirja, and Suradedaha. They performed a kiss at His Majesty's feet. The three of them wept while offering their lives. The reason they had been put to flight was that Sutawijaya [Sumawijaya] on the left wing had retreated and the Chinese had closed in from the rear. That had thrown his

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servants into confusion. His Majesty said softly, "It is alright, uncle, what more can one say. What has happened has happened. As long as we are still safe and sound. We'll think about it tomorrow when we are back home. Let's move." His Majesty then set out from Memenang escorted by Suradiningrat and his army. At midnight, they reached Pranaraga.

1367. At that time the Chinese were deployed at Tanduran. Radèn Mlayakusuma made overtures to His Majesty in Pranaraga. The Chinese learned about the actions of Radèn Mlayakusuma, and quickly sent a messenger to Kartasura to inform Captain Sapanjang and Singsèh about the actions of Radèn Mlayakusuma. Captain Sapanjang quickly sent a hundred Chinese, pretending to be reinforcements, but in reality they were told to arrest Radèn Mlayakusuma. On their arrival in Kaduwang they headed for the billet of Radèn Sajanapura [Sujanapura]. When they let him know that they were coming to arrest Radèn Mlayakusuma, Radèn Sujanapura was not happy at all. He was ready to take responsibility for the consequences, because if Mlayakusuma had intentions to become disloyal, Radèn Sujanapura would inevitably have known it. The Chinese recovered their trust and the arrival of the hundred Chinese was announced as being just a reinforcement. The troops of the Mancanagara became frightened when they heard that many Chinese reinforcements had arrived and fled en masse to Pranaraga. Two days after his arrival in Pranaraga, His Majesty went out to hold audience. Dipati Suradiningrat, Dipati Wirareja, and Captain Orgondhrop and his colleagues, the lieutenant and the scribe, all came to pay their respects and confer. The captain and his colleagues said to His Majesty that there was no point in just staying here. It would be better if the Company troop was allowed to return to Semarang via Surabaya, but His Majesty should provide some representatives, for if they arrived in Semarang it would then be easy to attack the Chinese in Jipang, Bicak, Grobogan, Tanjung, and Ungaran. Later they would attack Kartasura from Semarang. His Majesty asked the opinion of Dipati Suradiningrat and Wirareja about what the captain had said. Dipati Suradiningrat and Wirareja said that if the request of the Company was made in earnest, it was advisable to approve it. His Majesty then approved everything the captain had said. The captain promised that later when they attacked Kartasura, they would advance at the same time as His Majesty. When the Company had reached Bayalali, His Majesty should already be in Grompol, and thus advance at the same time. When loyalty had been professed and promises made, the captain and his colleagues took their leave. The captain was presented with a sword called Kyai Bérawa, the lieutenant and the scribe were given swords with golden covers by Bangsantaka and Bangsapatra, and they were provided with three Javanese companions, called Anggadirja, Sindupati, and Naladirja. The captain and his companions then departed to go via Surabaya. After the captain had left, His Majesty still conferred with Dipati Suradiningrat and Wirareja. They said that after the dispersal of His Majesty's army, he should take a break in the mountains while they gathered the people of Pranaraga. His Majesty consented and went to stay on Mount Sawo. This occurred at the same time as the departure of Ki Rajaniti for Pa-

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suruhan. He was sent by His Majesty to summon Wiranagara. As for Dipati Suradiningrat and Dipati Wirareja, after they had escorted His Majesty, they were told to return again to Pranaraga.

1368. It is told that in Kartasura Adipati Pathi received a reply from Madura. This said that Pangéran Cakraningrat was willing to permit the installation of the king if he obeyed the authority of Pangéran Cakraningrat and all the guns that were on the Sitinggil were brought to Madura. When Dipati Pathi saw the contents of the letter, he quickly called Dipati Martapura. On his arrival he showed him the letter. When he had read it, Martapura said that the letter was not something special, just a reply. He should not have taken the trouble to ask the Madurese for help. As if my king could not be proclaimed without the Madurese. Dipati Pathi replied, "But how should I reply?" Dipati Martapura hissed while blaming him that he had sent a letter without discussing it, and scolded him for forcing Mangkurat Jawi. He said this while leaving. Ki Dipati Pathi was deeply offended. That night he slept on his dais with a betel box as pillow and his Buginese dagger tucked in his belt. This was a present from Adipati Natakusuma of which he was so fond that he no longer thought of his kris.

1369. It is told that Ki Dipati Martapura went out at night intending to test Dipati ing Pathi. He only took his personal servant Senggama with him. When they arrived at the Mangunoneng residence, it was already quiet. They climbed the brick wall and inside searched for Dipati Pathi. His bed was empty. They found him soundly asleep on his dais. They took his dagger, put the betel box far away and eased his head on the ground. Dipati Martapura quickly climbed the brick wall and got out together with his servant. When Dipati Pathi woke up, he was dumbfounded, as his head had rolled on the ground. He groped for his dagger, but it was gone. Thinking that he had been robbed, he quickly gave orders to illuminate the brick wall with torches, but there was no trace. In the morning, Dipati Pathi summoned old Citrasoma. At the time when His Majesty had fled Kartasura, Citrasoma had been caught by the Chinese and then gone to stay with Dipati Pathi, while his son became bupati in Japara. Old Citrasoma was sent by Dipati Pathi to Semarang with a letter for the commissioner. The letter said that Dipati Pathi offered his submission. He only asked that troops from Semarang should be sent to threaten Pathi, so he would have an excuse to ask for leave to go and retake Pathi. The commissioner was very pleased, he replied to the letter and then Citrasoma left Semarang. The commissioner gave orders to the indigenous Muslim troops of the Company, led by Dhaèng Mabélah and a relative of Radèn Suranata of Demak who was staying in Semarang, called Wiranagara, who had not wanted to join his relative when the latter had joined Sunan Kuning, and the patih of the [former] bupati Tumenggung Wirasastra, called Martanagara. These were appointed in case they managed to occupy Demak. When they were ready, they set out from Semarang. Two captains led the Company troops consisting of two companies of soldiers, and six hundred Ambonese, Buginese, and Sembawanese troops. When they arrived in the domain of Demak, the people there were thrown into a panic.

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1370. It is told that when Radèn Suranata, who was leading a troop of a hundred Chinese from Kartasura, heard that the Company army had reached Demak, he quickly got ready in the village of Kaputatan. A fierce battle ensued. Many Chinese were killed. Radèn Suranata and the remainder of the Chinese fled to the town. The Company army pursued them. Those caught were killed. Many houses were burned down. The people of Demak were wiped out. Radèn Suranata and the Chinese fled eastwards to Sulanjari. There they sent a messenger to Kartasura to again ask for help and requested the return of Kyai Padmanagara in order to have his fellow bupati help meeting the enemy from Semarang. The Company army occupied Demak. Many common people came bringing rice. Tumenggung Wiranagara and Martanagara increased in troops. The Company army again went to drive the Chinese away. Tumenggung Suranata and the Chinese fled farther eastwards and stopped in Grobogan. The Company army halted in Brangkas where they deployed. They sent a messenger to Semarang saying that they had conquered Demak and had now halted in Brangkas. The commissioners were very pleased.

1371. It is told that Citrasoma, who had been sent by Dipati Pathi to Semarang, had returned, by chance at the same time as the messenger who brought the news that Demak had fallen. Dipati ing Pathi was pleased, quickly mobilized troops, and asked permission to retake the domain of Pathi. However, the king did not allow it. Radèn Martapura had already secretly informed Cik Sapanjang that the request of Dipati Pathi to go and retake Pathi was just a pretext, and in reality he intended to submit to Semarang. When Cik Sapanjang received this secret information, he quickly went to confront Dipati Pathi, taking along forty picked Chinese. On arrival at the Mangunoneng compound, he met Dipati Pathi, who asked leave from Cik Sapanjang to go and retake the domain of Pathi because it had been occupied by the enemy from Semarang. Cik Sapanjang replied that he did not like this, because he would then have no colleague to guard His Majesty. Ki Dipati continued by saying that rather than Ki Dipati, it was better to have Ki Martapura. The latter was master over the whole of Java, and mighty and invulnerable in battle. When Captain Sapanjang heard that, he quickly signalled to his Chinese troops to draw their swords, while shouting to Dipati Pathi that if he wanted to oppose him, he did not need to leave. He could just do so here and now. Dipati Pathi watched the action of the Chinese troops with a fearful look, but did not move from his seat. He asked why Captain Sapanjang talked like that. Why would he now want to leave His Majesty, when earlier when they were in great difficulties he had not wanted to part from him or the Chinese. The Dipati talked a lot, while swearing an oath. When Captain Sapanjang heard the oath of the Dipati, he felt at ease. The Chinese sheathed their swords and all sat down. Captain Sapanjang then held a consultation. Mudha Cupyan was assigned to attack Semarang leading nine hundred Chinese. Dipati Pathi added that as for the Javanese officials, Ki Garwakandha and Radèn Mangkupraja should just be dispatched again to attack Kaliwungu. When they had conquered it, Tiksnanagara should be installed in Kaliwungu. Then they should advance to Tugu in order to con-

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fuse the Company troops in Semarang. When confused, the Company troops deployed in Brangkas would inevitably be quickly recalled to Semarang. Captain Sapanjang was very pleased and quickly dispatched them according to the Dipati's wishes. Then he asked the Dipati to assign those to be sent eastward. Dipati Pathi replied that he wanted to assign Tumenggung Mangkuyuda [Natayuda] and Tumenggung Maospati to conduct the eastward attack under the command of Tumenggung Surantani. It was not necessary to add Chinese, as they would certainly not lose against troops from the Mancanagara. Captain Sapanjang was very happy and ordered the troops to set off. The vanguard was formed by Mudha Cupyan, then Tumenggung Garwakandha, and then Tumenggung Mangkupraja. On arrival in Ungaran, they set up camp in Lèpèndodol. The vanguard deployed in Pudhakpayung. Two hundred Chinese troops were separated and with Ki Tiksnanagara accompanied by four officials told to head for Kaliwungu. They then deployed in Cangkiran. At that time, Semarang had already heard that the Chinese were moving against Kaliwungu and had already deployed in Cangkiran. The Company consulted Tumenggung Tirtawiguna and Kyai Suradipura.

1372. It is told that the three officials from Kartasura who had been appointed for the eastward campaign had already set out. Tumenggung Maospati, Tumenggung Natayuda, and Tumenggung Surantani marched to Jagaraga and took up positions in Caremé, from where they plundered the villages in the vicinity, which were thrown into a panic.

1373. It is told that Radèn Sumaningrat who now was following Sunan Kuning was ordered to go into Pamagetan in order to deprive His Majesty in Pranaraga of troops. Radèn Sumaningrat departed and arrived in the domain of Pamagetan. Radèn Mangunjaya who was deployed at the border of Magetan heard that his uncle Radèn Sumaningrat was on his way there. He quickly ordered his troops to be on the alert and not to flinch from battle. If Radèn Sumaningrat insisted on being ungrateful to His Majesty in Pranaraga, Radèn Mangunjaya would not mind at all cutting his head off. If his intention in coming here was to show gratitude to His Majesty, he would give orders to retreat and not let it become a battle. Radèn Sumaningrat had already heard that the one who had deployed troops in Pamagetan was his nephew, who also wanted to meet him in battle, and had uttered many vulgar boasts. The eldest son of Radèn Sumaningrat, called Radèn Pusparana, heard about the boasts of his younger relative Radèn Mangunjaya and became very angry. He said to his father that Mangunjaya was insolent and did not respect an elder person. "Don't get involved, let him meet me. After a duel between Mangunjaya and me, whoever loses will get his head cut off." Hearing these unthinking words, Radèn Mangunyuda felt great concern because he might lose a brother. He said to Radèn Sumaningrat, "Brother, it will be better if I myself meet Mangunjaya. Don't let it get out of hand. If you let it go, how will it end? Wouldn't you yourself lose a son?" Radèn Sumaningrat softly replied, "Well then, I leave it up to you." Radèn Mangunyuda then left to meet his nephew Radèn Mangunjaya. Before long he arrived. When his uncle arrived, Radèn Mangunjaya kissed his knee. After the knee kiss, Radèn Mangunyuda said, "Mangunjaya, I have come here to ask you what

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your intention is with getting ready for war and deploying troops, for it looks as if you really intend to do battle." Mangunjaya replied, "The reason why I have readied troops and am serious about fighting is that I have been taken into service by His Majesty, who gave me the task to watch over the domain of Pamagetan, so I am prepared to offer my life and won't run away even if uncle Sumaningrat, if he rebels against His Majesty, intends to take Pamagetan. I will indeed defend it in battle." Radèn Mangunyuda replied softly, "Mangunjaya, the reason I came without servants is just because I want to give you advice. After all, you might have got it wrong. You should know that your uncle came here really without any thought of rebelling against His Majesty in Pranaraga. Since he felt that he had been taken into service and given a good life, he came here to pay his respects to His Majesty, but find his equipment first. His reason for entering Magetan is to get his equipment for war." When Radèn Mangunjaya heard his uncle's advice, he calmed down. He disbanded his troops, and the troops he had brought from Pranaraga were dismissed and returned to Pranaraga. Radèn Sumaningrat then entered Pamagetan.

1374. It is told that Ki Puspayuda who had been sent by His Majesty when he was in Kaduwang with a letter to the commissioners in Semarang, had been received and the letter been presented. After one night it was acknowledged with a gun salute. Ki Puspayuda was surprised that it took one night for the honour salute. Ki Puspayuda was then given a reply and five rixdollars for the journey. Ki Puspayuda departed. He went via Kartasura. When he reached the area of Nguter, he heard that His Majesty had been put to flight and his army dispersed. Ki Puspayuda was in trouble, for there was no one who knew where His Majesty had gone. According to most reports, the troops from Kaduwang had moved eastwards with the troops from Kartasura. Ki Puspayuda remembered that when His Majesty fled Kartasura he wanted to go to Surabaya and then go to Semarang from where he was going to attack Kartasura. So Ki Puspayuda returned from Nguter to go to Semarang again, because it was very well possible that he would find His Majesty in Semarang.

1375. It is told that His Majesty, who was still distressed about his loss in battle, moved from the town of Pranaraga to stay in the village of Sawo. There His Majesty asked Ki Bangsantaka whether his servants had already been assembled. Ki Bangsantaka replied that they were all there. Pangéran Dipanagara and his wife stayed to the east in the village of Jambu. Pangéran Pamot stayed to the north, while one part of the servants stayed to the south, and another part to the west. When His Majesty heard that his servants had all been collected, his mind was put somewhat at rest. However, during his stay in Sawo, he kept worrying. He did not eat and slept outside at the foot of the mountain. His wife from Pranaraga was very sad, because their honeymoon was frustrated by the fact that His Majesty did not want to be approached, as he was still worrying about his loss in battle and thus stayed aloof from his wife. Ki Bangsantaka tried to comfort the Radèn Ayu. He talked a lot. He told her to be patient and not approach His Majesty first, so that he could clear his mind concerning his request to God to pre-

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vail in battle. If they could retake Kartasura, it would all be easy, even though the consummation of their marriage would have to wait till they were back in the palace. The Radèn Ayu replied that it was not that that was causing her worries. On the contrary, it was that she felt sorry for His Majesty and how he slept out in the open on a platform at the foot of the mountain. How cold that must be! She had even never felt as if she was his wife. She only felt as if she was a hereditary servant. Because His Majesty was now facing misfortune, she only wanted to support him. I pray that His Majesty will prevail and wipe out the Chinese enemy. When His Majesty learned about his wife's kindhearted words, he approached and comforted her, saying, "My wife, I am very thankful that you want to support me, but since I have received misery as a punishment from God, don't concern yourself with it. I have to do this myself. Let me put up with it, who knows that later when my prayers have been accepted by God, we can return to Kartasura. Probably then I will be able to fulfill your wishes." His wife said, while performing a sembah, "My lord, don't say too much. It is now as it is and you are being kind to me. In future when you rule over Java, you certainly won't have any use for a simple servant from Pranaraga, because there will be many others you are eying." His Majesty laughed and comforted her. They were interrupted by a messenger from Dipati Suradiningrat and Wirareja. They informed him that they had received a letter from Mangunoneng in Kartasura, saying that on the orders of Sunan Kuning Dipati Suradiningrat and Dipati Wirareja should arrest His Majesty and deliver him to Sunan Kuning, with the reward of receiving the lands east of Mount Lawu. His Majesty quickly told the messenger that Dipati Suradiningrat should reply to the letter, but just with some excuse for not accepting the offer. The messenger quickly withdrew. On his arrival in Pranaraga, he met Dipati Suradiningrat and conveyed everything His Majesty had said. Dipati Suradiningrat quickly answered the letter of Mangunoneng, but the contents were misleading, in order to draw him into battle.

1376. It is told that His Majesty, who was purifying his mind in the village of Sawo to ask for the help of God, slept out in the open at night with his servants and conferred with them during the day. Then it is told that a devout Muslim arrived, called Durahman, the son-in-law of Ki Muhammad of Majasem. He wanted to serve His Majesty. His request was conveyed by Ki Bangsantaka and His Majesty agreed. Ki Durahman then stayed with Ki Bangsantaka and Ki Bangsapatra. Then there were other servants who came from Kartasura, Ki Citraboma, and Ki Citramenggala. The following day, Ki Kartawirya and Sutamenggala came from Kartasura. At that time, His Majesty had not eaten or slept for seven days. It happened on a Tuesday [Selasa kliwon] when he was sleeping in the open at night that a strong wind started to blow. The servants were startled. His Majesty told the servants to move away. Before long, Sunan Lawu appeared wearing a checkered ceremonial batik garment with a train. He met His Majesty and said, "My boy, don't worry. I will help you to conquer Kartasura, but you should marry my daughter." When His Majesty heard Sunan Lawu's words, he was stunned and did not speak. He said to himself, "I am in a quandary. Is this the help of God when a ghost

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appears?" Then His Majesty remembered that regardless of the way it came, no one should of course decline it if he received the help of God because everything on earth and everything under the sky was controlled by God. His Majesty replied, "If you really will help me and promise to make me win this war, bring your daughter and I will marry her." Sunan Lawu replied. "On the eve of next Friday my daughter will come. As for winning your war, don't worry." Sunan Lawu then vanished. At that time it was already daybreak. His Majesty entered his lodgings. All his servants were awed when they saw the bright glow on His Majesty's face, different from usual. Now he looked happy and wanted to have his hair washed. On the eve of Friday, a strong wind started to blow and noises filled the air. His Majesty was startled but remembered the promise of Sunan Lawu that his daughter would come to visit, and got ready. Before long, the princess of Mount Dumilah arrived. She kissed the knee of His Majesty and said that she had been sent by her father to offer him her whole army of spirits to help him. Later when His Majesty waged war, the army of spirits would punch the eyes of the enemy, so their eyes would become diseased and swollen and they would not see other people and end up being defeated. Furthermore, she told His Majesty to return with all his servants to Pranaraga and from there march on to war. The princess and her army would guard His Majesty during the night, and during the day would stay in the forest. His Majesty promised to do so, but the princess should stay close to him. The next morning, His Majesty ordered his troops to set out for Pranaraga and then march to war. At that moment, Kyai Citraboma said that just before, when he was running an errand, he had stopped at a mountain called Bayangkaki. On the mountain there was a cave and someone practicing asceticism. The latter had made a prediction that there would be a king who fled there, but after descending from the mountain would be superior in battle. His Majesty asked where that mountain was, as he wanted to see it. Ki Citraboma said that it was actually the mountain where His Majesty was staying, but that the upper part was called Bayangkaki. His Majesty then and there started to ascend the mountain. Arriving at the top, there came a man who humbly asked His Majesty to return to his lodgings because he had fulfilled the vow of the prophecy that the king fleeing to Mount Bayangkaki would then become superior in battle. His Majesty then returned.

1377. It is told that Captain Orgondrop, who had been sent by His Majesty to Surabaya and on to Semarang accompanied by Naladirja and Sindupati, had reached Surabaya. Tumenggung Secanagara and Tumenggung Sasranagara were told to don their uniforms and follow His Majesty, because at the moment only the troops from the Mancanagara were guarding His Majesty, which was a very dangerous situation. However, the advice of the captain of Surabaya was not to let both tumenggung leave Surabaya, in case the enemy from the eastern regions should approach. Therefore, it would be better to only dispatch troops and he asked them to assemble them. After they had come to a conclusion, both tumenggung mobilized the troops they wanted to send to guard His Majesty. Their number was eight hundred and they were chosen from mar-

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tial families. At that time, Captain Orgondrop departed from Surabaya and went to Semarang by sea. After he had left, the eight hundred troops who were going to reinforce Pranaraga set out, led by a kinsman of Tumenggung Sasranagara called Anggadirja.

1378. It is told that His Majesty was constantly expecting messengers from Pranaraga. Then a messenger from Dipati Pranaraga accompanied by a messenger from Dipati Wirareja arrived informing His Majesty that at present the domain of Pamagetan had been entered by the enemy. Their leader was Radèn Sumaningrat. He had undertaken to catch His Majesty. Furthermore, they informed him that the servants in Madiyun had at present disbanded their troops and returned to their domain. His Majesty replied that he left the task of preparing against the enemy to both dipati and immediately sent a messenger to Madiyun to tell Pangéran Mangkunagara and Pangéran Martalaya to confront the enemy in Pamagetan. The messengers quickly withdrew and on arrival in Pranaraga conveyed all the orders of His Majesty.

1379. It is told that the messenger from Adipati Suradiningrat to Kartasura had returned and been told to go and pay his respects to His Majesty in the lodgings in Sawo. On his arrival before His Majesty he was questioned. According to the messenger, the letter and all the presents had been received by Tumenggung Mangunoneng of Pathi, who had then offered them to Sunan Kuning. It had very much pleased the latter and he had asked where His Majesty was. In his reply he had pretended that His Majesty was at the moment in the desert. Sunan Kuning had then ordered Tumenggung Mangunoneng to write a reply, saying that the Mancanagara were entrusted to uncle Dipati Suradiningrat, and when he had assembled the troops in Pranaraga, he should come and pay his respects to Sunan Kuning in Kartasura. Furthermore the messenger related what he had heard in Kartasura. The enemy attacking Kaduwang consisted of Chinese of mixed-descent led by Baureksa,* while the Chinese enemy deployed in Grobogan had been defeated by Captain Orgondrop. His Majesty replied, "Well enough, messenger, go back and tell my uncle and father that I appreciate their loyalty." The messenger made a sembah and withdrew. After the return of the messenger, His Majesty continued the discussions with his servants. While they were pleasantly talking, they were interrupted by the arrival of Adipati Wirareja. After offering his respects and those of uncle Adipati Suradiningrat, His Majesty was told to return to Pranaraga. His Majesty quickly ordered his troops to set out from Sawo. He travelled close to Dipati Wirareja. The crown prince and the Radèn Ayu of Pranaraga also kept close to them. Pangéran Pamot and Pangéran Dipanagara travelled together in front. Adipati Suradiningrat came to meet them to the southeast of the town. His Majesty's journey to Pranaraga was made within a day. He then entered the town. All the servants returned to their own former lodgings. The next morning, His Majesty asked for news about the whereabouts of the enemy. Dipati Suradiningrat said that the enemy in Kaduwang consisted of Chinese of mixed-descent led by Baureksa.* The enemy in Pamagetan was headed by Sumaningrat, but was now faced by Pangéran Mangkunagara and Pangéran

* Translation rephrased.

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Martalaya. His Majesty told Dipati Suradiningrat to summon Pangéran Mangkunagara and Pangéran Martalaya. He wanted to meet them. Dipati Suradiningrat said that he would do as told. At that time, Ki Citradiwirya came to Pranaraga to pay his respects to His Majesty. After having been received, he was given a place to stay.

1380. It is told that Captain Orgondrop on his journey had already reached Semarang where he met Ki Puspayuda, the scribe, who had been sent by His Majesty [to Semarang], but who had on his return in Nguter gone back within a day, thinking that His Majesty was already in Semarang.* Ki Puspayuda was asked by Captain Orgondrop to join the attack on the Chinese deployed in Ungaran. After defeating them, the Company entered Ungaran, where it deployed. At that time, Commandant Mum who had not been able to cope with the Chinese when attacking Demak, had taken a break in Brangkas. Then they fought again. Overwhelmed by the enemy, he was defeated and immediately asked for reinforcements from Semarang. The commissioners and the commander ordered Captain Orgondrop to reinforce Commandant Mum who had been defeated in Brangkas, and said he should leave Ungaran for the moment. Captain Orgondrop then set out from Ungaran. Ki Puspayuda and his colleagues Ki Naladirja and Ngabèhi Sindupati did not stay behind. The morning after their arrival, a fierce battle ensued. The Company troops courageously fired salvos. The Chinese met them, courageously attacking through the gunsmoke. A fierce hand-to-hand sword fight ensued. Many Chinese were killed. The remainder broke and fled. There was one Chinese of mixed-descent who got separated from his friends and was surrounded. The Chinese made a blind attack with his Chinese sword. Captain Orgondrop quickly shot him with his pistol but missed. The Chinese attacked with his sword. The coat of the captain was cut, but he was unharmed, only his horse was wounded. The Chinese was then attacked by many Company troops and killed. The Chinese enemy fled southeastwards and headed for Grobogan. The Company troops retreated to Demak. On his arrival in Demak, the captain sent messengers with a letter to Pranaraga to inform His Majesty. The messengers were Ki Naladirja, Ki Jayatruna, Serangbaya, and Ki Talijaya. After the departure of the messengers, the captain and his troops left Demak and went to Ungaran again. The troops just marched to Ungaran, but the captain himself stopped off in Semarang to inform the commissioners that now the Chinese enemy in Brangkas had dispersed and fled to Grobogan. After having given his report, the captain departed for Ungaran.

1381. It is told that the fleeing Chinese troops came to a halt in Bregas and Lemahbang where they redeployed. Then many Chinese reinforcements from Kartasura arrived, led by Tumenggung Garwakandha and Tumenggung Mangkupraja. They set up camp in Lemahabang. When Captain Orgondrop heard that many Chinese troops had deployed in Lemahbang, he quickly mobilized the Company troops to attack the lines in Lemahbang. When ready, the Company troops set off. On their arrival in Lemahbang, the Chinese were prepared and dared to start firing. The Company troops returned fire

* Translation rephrased.

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and a fierce firefight ensued. Many Company troops were killed, but the remainder was not afraid. They dared to step on the corpses. Mas Rangga Tiksnawijaya and his kinsmen dared to attack blindly with spears and krisses. The Chinese enemy fired without pause, but their bullets were wide of the mark. Then the Chinese troops fled head over heels for their lives. The Company troops entered the fortifications and found one Chinese, who was then killed. When the Company troops were counted, twenty-seven had been killed and three wounded. As for the indigenous Muslim troops, many were killed. The Chinese enemy who had fled were pushed as far as Bahrawa, which was plundered by the Company troops. The commandant then returned to Ungaran. Captain Commandant Orgondrop dispatched a messenger to inform His Majesty that he had prevailed in battle. He sent Ki Puspayuda, the scribe. After the departure of the messenger, the captain commandant got information that the Chinese enemy who had just been defeated in Lemahbang had reassembled and were deployed in Salatiga. Their vanguard was deployed in Tuntang. The commandant was very angry, called his troops, and set out. When they arrived at Tuntang, the bridge had already been demolished. Both sides fired at each other with the river in between. The Company troops who were close to the river were not hit by the bullets, which were wide of the mark. But of those in the rear many were wounded. The captain commandant became angry and gave orders to turn and set up the cannon. When they were fired, the Chinese enemy fled for a moment, but returned to start firing again. The Company then intended to cross the river. The commandant grabbed a spear from a Balinese soldier to be ready, but the river was very deep and fast-flowing, and could not be forded. The commandant slowly retreated, while the cannon were turned around. The troops at the rear misunderstood the move, thought that they had been defeated and fled head over heels. Many Company troops were wounded, but none were killed. The commandant retreated to Ungaran.

1382. It is told that His Majesty who had installed himself as king in Pranaraga was conferring with his elders, when they were interrupted by the arrival of Naladirja and his three companions, Jayatruna, Serangbaya, and Talijaya. They had been sent by the commandant of Semarang to convey a letter to His Majesty. The letter informed him that a fierce battle had been fought against the Chinese enemy in Brangkas; Orgondrop had made a blind attack, and the Chinese had been defeated and fled to Grobogan. His Majesty then asked Naladirja about his journey with the commandant. Naladirja told the whole story from the beginning to the end, also the incident when the commandant had been attacked with a sword by a Chinese but had remained unharmed and only his coat had been cut. Before Naladirja's return, he was followed by another messenger from the commandant, called Puspayuda, who informed him that when the commandant had fought a battle in Lemahbang, the Chinese had been defeated and their fortifications occupied, and that the commandant was safe and sound. His Majesty gave a reply to the commandant by letter, which said that His Majesty was very thankful for having been told about the commandant's mission. The letter was given to Naladirja

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and Puspayuda and both were told to return because His Majesty's reply was a single letter. Naladirja and his companions and Puspayuda then left the presence of His Majesty. At that time His Majesty sent Ngabèhi Dangdangwacana as a messenger to Mount Wilis. He was sent to meet an ascetic called Embahan Sekandha, and told to ask permission for installing himself as king and to ask for an instruction about a favourable day for His Majesty to depart for Kartasura. Ki Dangdangwacana departed.

//. At that time, His Majesty dispatched the pangéran of Madiyun, Pangéran Martalaya and Pangéran Mangkunagara, to attack Pamagetan. A fierce battle ensued but Pamagetan could not be taken. Ki Dangdangwacana who had been sent to Mount Wilis came back before long and reported on his mission. As for the advice of the old man of Mount Wilis, His Majesty should now abdicate in favour of his son, because if we compare His Majesty to a plant, he had already produced seed, so he should abdicate in favour of his son. Then there would be no difficulties. His Majesty followed the advice of the ascetic of Mount Wilis and issued orders to his troops that now the crown prince was being installed as king with the title Prabu Jaka Sunan Bauwarna. His Majesty would abdicate and bear the name Panembahan Brawijaya. After this had been witnessed by all his troops, it was made known that the crown prince had ascended the throne in Pranaraga. It is told that the pangéran of Madiyun, who had been sent on a mission to attack Pamagetan, for a long time could not conquer it. They then informed His Majesty and asked for reinforcements. Troops from Pranaraga were sent, led by Mangkujaya, Tambakbaya, Ki Sutadipa and their kinsmen Suradedaha and Suradireja. They set out. Their army was very large. On their arrival in Pamagetan they encircled it. Its road to Pancod was blocked. The troops of both pangéran of Madiyun joined the siege. The people of Pamagetan were in great trouble. They felt that resisting would be useless, because they would be overwhelmed by their enemy. At that time, Radèn Sumaningrat conferred with his younger brother to send a letter of submission to the pangéran of Madiyun and the high officials of Pranaraga. When the letter was ready, it was sent and presented to the pangéran of Madiyun. The letter was read and agreed on with the high officials of Pranaraga. After the reception of the letter of submission, the pangéran of Madiyun felt good, but Radèn Sumaningrat had not yet moved from Pamagetan. Before long, his wife Radèn Ayu Sumaningrat was sent to His Majesty to offer the life or death of her husband. His Majesty said that he could not accept it unless Radèn Sumaningrat himself came to pay his respects. Radèn Ayu Sumaningrat was sent back and on her arrival in Pamagetan the Radèn Ayu conveyed the order of His Majesty. The next morning, Radèn Sumaningrat went to see the pangéran of Madiyun, Pangéran Mangkunagara and Pangéran Martalaya, and the high officials of Pranaraga to say that Radèn Sumaningrat and his younger brother were submitting. Both pangéran of Madiyun were pleased and quickly escorted him to pay his respects to His Majesty in Pranaraga. On their arrival before His Majesty, they were presented to His Majesty and ordered to come forward. Radèn Sumaningrat and his younger brother quickly put their krisses away and came forward to kiss His Majesty's knee and profess their loyalty

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many times over, and also to offer the kris Kyai Baruwang which belonged to His Majesty. His Majesty accepted the submission of Radèn Sumaningrat and Radèn Mangunjaya, but the domain of Pamagetan was for the time being not returned. Radèn Sumaningrat was not allowed to return immediately and was told just to stay in Pranaraga first. Before long, His Majesty wanted to hunt deer in a battue in the forest of Tegalsari. There he was caught in the rain and spent the night in the village of Punggawa and then returned. Shortly after, His Majesty was advised by Kyai Adipati Pranaraga and Dipati Wirareja to attend a tournament, but he did not want to, and only his son should be present at the tournament. Before long, word came that the Chinese were going to attack Pranaraga. They were led by Sujanapura and Radèn Mlayakusuma. His Majesty quickly gave orders to his bupati to meet the enemy. The bupati advised to dispatch Radèn Sumaningrat and his younger brother leading the troops from Pranaraga into battle against the Chinese enemy. His Majesty agreed. The domain of Pamagetan was then returned to Radèn Sumaningrat, while Radèn Mangunjaya was granted the domain of Kaduwang and his name was changed to Radèn Mangunrana. When the troops from Pranaraga were ready, they set out with their army. Radèn Sumaningrat and his younger brother Radèn Mangunrana led the army while the troops from Pamagetan joined the march. On their arrival in Pakiringan they deployed. When the Chinese who were deployed in Kaduwang heard that the enemy were on their way and their vanguard was already in Pakiringan, they quickly advanced from Kaduwang. On their arrival in Pakiringan the next morning, a fierce battle ensued. The Chinese got a good position for firing their guns. The troops from the east could not deploy their army very well, because of the difficulty of the terrain. Radèn Sumaningrat and Radèn Mangunrana attacked blindly. The Chinese fired their guns ... [At this point the text ends abruptly]

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— *BABAD TANAH JAWI* —

— *THE CHRONICLE OF JAVA* —

The Revised Prose Version of C.F. Winter Sr. (KITLV Or 8)

Text

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꧋ꦲꦶꦱꦶꦤꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀꧈

꧑꧇ ꧋ꦱꦺꦫꦒꦃꦥꦶꦥꦶꦠꦸꦲꦶꦲꦺꦴꦤꦝ꧀ꦭꦸꦭꦸꦲꦶꦥꦫꦒꦤꦥ꧉ 437

꧒꧇ ꧋ꦥꦿꦗꦚ꧀ꦗꦶꦪꦤ꧀ꦒꦸꦫꦸꦩꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦶꦁꦱꦶꦁꦥꦶꦱꦶ꧉ 437

꧓꧇ ꧋ꦱꦺꦫꦒꦃꦲꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦒꦒꦒꦠꦸꦲꦶꦁꦠꦗꦁꦺꦥꦶꦥꦶꦥꦶꦠꦤꦼꦁꦢꦸꦱꦶꦕꦶꦥꦶꦥꦸꦏ꧀ꦏ
ꦠꦸꦗꦼꦒꦥꦶꦱ꧀ꦭꦭ꧀ꦏꦼꦒꦥꦿꦗꦪꦸꦭꦸꦤꦶꦫꦏꦤꦶꦥꦺꦺꦒꦤ꧀꧈ 441

꧔꧇ ꧋ꦭꦭꦪꦤ꧀ꦢꦠꦕꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦱꦶꦮꦸꦥꦏꦼꦒ꧉ 442

꧕꧇ ꧋ꦒꦒꦮꦤ꧀ꦲꦏ꧀ꦏꦒꦢꦒꦠꦏ꧀ꦏꦿꦠꦤꦼꦁꦥꦺꦺꦒꦏ꧀ꦏꦸꦱꦶ
ꦠꦶꦥꦿꦸꦩꦒꦗ꧀ꦗꦶꦤꦶꦪꦺꦥꦲꦶꦠ꧀꧈ 445

꧖꧇ ꧋ꦤꦏꦤꦶꦥꦺꦺꦒꦏ꧀ꦏꦪꦢ꧉ꦒꦒꦮꦤ꧀ꦲꦏ꧀ꦏꦒꦢꦠꦶꦠꦶꦥꦸꦕꦶꦕꦶ
ꦏꦸꦲꦶꦪꦺꦥꦲꦶꦠꦏ꧀ꦠꦿꦸꦭꦸꦒꦤ꧀꧈ 447

꧗꧇ ꧋ꦭꦭꦪꦤ꧀ꦢꦠꦕꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦱꦺꦴꦮꦤꦶꦭꦢ꧉ 448

꧘꧇ ꧋ꦒꦒꦮꦏ꧀ꦏꦢꦪꦠ꧀꧈ꦱꦸꦗꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦠꦒꦪꦤ꧀ꦭꦶꦏ꧀ꦠꦿ꧉ 450

꧙꧇ ꧋ꦒꦒꦮꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦮ꧀ (ꦱꦸꦗꦏ꧀ꦠꦿꦭꦶꦺꦭ)꧉ 451

꧑꧐꧇ ꧋ꦒꦒꦮꦤ꧀ꦲꦸꦢꦠꦥꦶꦏ꧀ꦏꦒꦮꦤ꧀ꦒꦒꦮꦤ꧀꧈ 452

꧑꧑꧇ ꧋ꦒꦒꦮꦒꦏ꧀ꦏꦼꦩꦏ꧀ꦠꦿꦺꦥꦤ꧀꧈ 453

꧑꧒꧇ ꧋ꦺꦤꦸꦢꦒꦠ꧀꧈ 454

꧑꧓꧇ ꧋ꦥꦿꦗꦚ꧀ꦗꦶꦪꦤ꧀ꦺꦮꦕꦶꦕꦶꦱꦢꦤꦭꦶꦮꦤ꧀ꦲꦏ꧀ꦗꦏ꧀ꦏꦶꦤꦶ꧉ 457

꧑꧔꧇ ꧋ꦪꦺꦥꦲꦶꦠꦱꦤ꧀꧈ꦤꦶꦪꦏ꧀ꦠꦿꦤꦶꦩ꧀꧈ 459

꧑꧕꧇ ꧋ꦠꦤꦶꦏ꧀ꦩꦤꦶꦗ꧀ꦗꦶꦤꦶꦪꦤꦶꦪꦤ꧀꧈ 460

꧑꧖꧇ ꧋ꦱꦸꦗꦒꦏ꧀ꦏꦼꦩꦸꦮꦱꦮꦮꦕꦶꦭꦸꦱꦤꦢꦶꦥꦸꦏ꧀ꦏꦠꦸꦺꦥꦶ꧉ 461

꧑꧗꧇ ꧋ꦥꦿꦪꦸꦮꦶꦮꦶꦪꦠꦸꦏ꧀ꦠꦿꦭꦶꦮꦏ꧀ꦏꦒꦩꦪꦶꦱꦢ꧉ 461

꧑꧘꧇ ꧋ꦤꦸꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦠꦏꦶꦲꦶꦥꦶꦏꦶ꧈ꦺꦤꦮꦶꦤꦶꦭꦲꦶ꧉ 462

꧑꧙꧇ ꧋ꦺꦤꦮꦶꦤꦶꦱꦸꦥꦶꦠꦪꦠꦶꦤꦶꦪꦤ꧀꧈ 466

꧒꧐꧇ ꧋ꦤꦶꦗꦸꦮꦸꦠꦲꦶꦠꦠꦸꦲꦶꦒ꧈ꦺꦤꦮꦶꦤꦶꦥꦶꦤꦭꦶꦮꦏ꧀ꦏꦼꦮ꧉ 469

꧒꧑꧇ ꧋ꦥꦱꦿꦸꦠꦤꦲꦶꦥꦿꦥꦠꦒꦩꦒꦩ꧀꧈ꦪꦒꦠꦱꦠꦪꦸꦤ꧀꧈ 471

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꧋ꦥꦶꦩꦶꦭꦶꦥꦸꦏꦤ꧀꧈

꧒꧒꧇ ꧋ꦱꦶꦲꦏꦶꦁꦫꦗꦤꦮꦭꦶꦢꦶꦠꦿꦫꦲꦂꦱꦿꦥꦿꦠꦺꦏꦶꦠꦿꦠꦿꦮ ꦲꦶꦥꦸꦠꦿꦮꦢꦶꦤꦤ꧀꧈ 472

꧒꧓꧇ ꧋ꦠꦺꦤꦤꦶꦃꦱꦶꦃꦲꦫꦲꦂꦱꦿꦲꦶꦤꦶꦩꦶꦃꦥꦶꦃꦥꦤꦼꦴ꧉ 473

꧒꧔꧇ ꧋ꦱꦶꦲꦏꦶꦁꦫꦗꦤꦮꦢꦶꦥꦶꦠꦿꦶꦫꦮꦏꦤ꧀꧈ 473

꧒꧕꧇ ꧋ꦩꦸꦗꦸꦲꦥꦿꦥꦥꦝꦸꦥꦶꦲꦼꦫꦮꦒꦠꦿꦭꦶ ꦠꦺꦫꦮꦺꦥꦿꦼꦴꦥꦸꦲꦶꦥꦿꦥꦶꦃ ꦭꦁꦭꦲꦏꦸꦏꦺꦴ꧉ 475

꧒꧖꧇ ꧋ꦥꦲꦶꦲꦶꦃꦥꦤꦼꦴꦫꦱꦥꦲꦩꦸꦗꦸꦥꦿꦸꦲꦸꦱꦤ꧀꧈ 476

꧒꧗꧇ ꧋ꦭꦁꦭꦲꦏꦸꦏꦺꦴꦢꦶꦠꦺꦲꦥꦢꦶꦥꦲꦼꦱꦶꦃꦥꦫꦒꦤꦲꦥꦶꦲꦸꦱꦶ ꦲꦫꦏꦸꦲꦥꦿꦸꦢꦶꦲꦶꦏꦲꦥꦿꦢꦶ꧉ 482

꧒꧘꧇ ꧋ꦱꦶꦲꦫꦏꦸꦲꦥꦿꦶꦥꦥꦿꦫꦥꦶꦭꦶꦲꦼꦸꦃꦫꦥꦒꦫꦤ꧀꧈ 490

꧒꧙꧇ ꧋ꦥꦲꦶꦲꦶꦃꦥꦶꦃꦥꦤꦼꦴꦠꦿꦫꦶꦗꦶꦃꦫꦲꦱꦩꦸꦭꦸꦤ꧀꧈ 496

꧓꧐꧇ ꧋ꦤꦤ꧀ꦥꦶꦥꦏꦶꦫꦥꦢꦶꦱꦿꦶꦭꦂꦫꦲꦥ꧈ ꦒꦫꦲꦿꦫꦥꦥꦶꦱꦫꦭꦂꦏꦶꦃꦥꦱꦂ ꦏꦫꦶꦫꦿꦸꦱꦿꦸꦥꦏꦶꦃꦥꦗꦸꦫꦫꦕꦏꦸꦲꦶꦃꦥꦶꦃꦥꦭꦭ꧉ 497

꧓꧑꧇ ꧋ꦫꦕꦏꦸꦲꦶꦃꦫꦶꦭꦸꦥꦫꦗꦸꦢꦶꦥꦸꦲꦗꦒꦫꦥꦿꦼꦴꦥꦫꦠꦶꦏꦿꦲꦶꦃꦤꦸ ꦥꦫꦥꦥꦫꦱꦤꦿꦸꦭꦸꦢꦶꦤꦿꦶꦥꦶꦥꦤꦼꦴ꧉ 501

꧓꧒꧇ ꧋ꦫꦕꦏꦸꦲꦶꦃꦤꦥꦥꦢꦶꦥꦿꦶꦤꦿꦸꦱꦂꦥꦤꦥꦁꦏꦶꦢꦤꦭꦶꦭꦤꦿꦫ ꦒꦒꦱꦶꦲꦸꦭꦸꦤ꧀꧈ 503

꧓꧓꧇ ꧋ꦏꦗꦸꦤꦿꦸꦭꦶꦠꦺꦭꦒꦸꦢꦶꦥꦶꦫꦥꦒꦗꦸꦫꦥꦱꦶꦥꦲꦗꦸꦗꦸꦗꦶ ꦥꦸꦲꦼꦏꦿꦶꦫꦿꦸꦢꦥꦫꦲꦼꦏꦸꦲꦶꦃ꧉ 507

꧓꧔꧇ ꧋ꦏꦭꦸꦲꦔꦼꦴꦥꦥꦱꦼꦤꦿꦸꦥꦶꦫꦥꦒꦫꦤ꧀ꦥꦥꦤꦔꦏꦶ ꦲꦔꦸꦗꦸꦥꦫꦥꦿꦸꦫꦕꦏꦸꦲꦶꦃꦥꦫꦥꦫꦭꦶꦤꦿꦸꦥꦭꦤ꧀꧈ 508

꧓꧕꧇ ꧋ꦒꦫꦲꦲꦼꦫꦲꦭꦲꦤ꧀ꦥꦫꦶꦏꦸꦫꦮꦶꦥꦸꦤꦿꦏꦸꦥꦶꦱꦫꦏ꧈ ꦭꦠꦺꦶꦲꦶꦥꦸꦲꦔꦥꦥꦿꦶꦥꦶꦫꦕꦏꦸꦲꦶꦃ꧉ 511

꧓꧖꧇ ꧋ꦏꦭꦸꦲꦔꦼꦴꦫꦱꦲ꧈ ꦲꦶꦥꦸꦏꦿꦶꦫꦿꦸꦱꦥꦸꦥꦿꦸꦫꦤꦿꦸꦥꦲꦶꦲꦶꦃ ꦲꦶꦫꦤꦤ꧀꧈ 516

᭚ᬳᬶᬲᬶᬓᬶᬧᬸᬭᬡ᭞

᭒᭗: ᭚ᬫᬦᬢᬶᬧᬗ᭄ᬤᬶᬧᬸᬢ᭄ᬭᬶᬬᬓ᭄ᬬᬢᬶᬕᬯᬓ᭄ᬢᬬᬓᬶ᭟ᬓᬦ᭄ᬤᬸᬭᬾᬧᬸᬭᬾᬧᬸᬭᬾ
ᬲᬸᬮ᭄ᬮᬸᬤᬶᬫ᭄ᬯᬢᬶᬤᬶᬩᬫ᭞ᬧᬕᬢᬦ᭄ᬤ᭄ᬭᬯᬓ᭄ᬢᬧᬘᬩᬶᬲ᭄ᬓᬶᬓᬦ᭄ᬤᬸᬫᬢᬶᬧᬗ᭄᭟ 519

᭒᭘: ᭚ᬫᬲᬕᬦ᭄ᬤ᭄ᬮᬲ᭄ᬓᬶᬧᬸᬦ᭄ᬦᬕᬬᬕᬦ᭄ᬦᬶᬃᬦ᭞ᬧ᭄ᬭᬬᬓ᭄ᬢᬶᬩ᭄ᬭᬳᬦᬕᬫᬳᬓ᭄ᬢᬬᬓᬶ᭟ 524

᭒᭙: ᭚ᬓᬦ᭄ᬤ᭄ᬭᬯᬓ᭄ᬢᬧᬕᬲᬦ᭟ᬬᬓ᭄ᬢᬶᬩ᭄ᬭᬳᬦᬕᬫᬳᬓ᭄ᬢᬬᬓᬶᬢᬕᬸᬫᬢᬶᬦᬶ
ᬬᬢᬶᬲᬸᬲ᭄ᬓ᭄ᬭᬶᬓᬶ᭞ᬘᬩᬶᬲ᭄ᬓᬶᬓᬢᬸᬢᬶᬂᬢᬲ᭄ᬓᬦᬘᬢᬶ᭟ 525

᭓᭐: ᭚ᬬᬓ᭄ᬢᬶᬩ᭄ᬭᬳᬦᬕᬫᬳᬓ᭄ᬢᬬᬓᬶᬩᬶᬲᬦᬧᬓᬚᬬᬓᬶᬢᬶᬂᬢᬕᬧᬢᬫ᭞ 528

᭓᭑: ᭚ᬬᬓ᭄ᬢᬶᬩ᭄ᬭᬳᬦᬕᬫᬳᬓ᭄ᬢᬬᬓᬶᬫᬶᬦᬸᬫ᭄ᬮ᭄ᬮᬸᬫᬶᬫ᭄ᬯᬦᬶᬬᬸᬫ᭞ᬳᬦᬶᬬᬧᬢᬶᬂ
ᬧᬲᬸᬕᬦᬳᬤ᭄ᬮᬶᬦᬸᬫ᭄ᬯᬢᬶᬬᬓ᭄ᬢᬶᬩ᭄ᬭᬳᬦᬕᬫᬳᬓ᭄ᬢᬬᬓᬶ᭟ 529

᭓᭒: ᭚ᬕᬫᬳᬓ᭄ᬢᬬᬓᬶᬢᬶᬂᬫᬢᬶᬓᬶᬫᬸᬫᬕᬦᬓᬶᬲ᭄ᬯᬢᬶᬕᬢ᭄ᬭᬳᬓᬸᬢᬶᬂᬩᬢᬓᬩ᭞ 535

᭓᭓: ᭚ᬩᬢᬓᬩᬶᬧᬸᬮ᭄ᬮᬸᬕᬦ᭄ᬦᬶᬦᬦᬩᬶᬦᬳᬫᬶᬂᬢᬶᬂᬢᬕᬧᬢᬫ᭞ 536

᭓᭔: ᭚ᬳᬦᬶᬬᬓᬶᬧᬘᬶᬩᬶᬲᬦᬳᬦ᭄ᬮᬶᬬᬫᬳᬬᬓ᭄ᬢᬶᬩ᭄ᬭᬳᬫᬳᬶᬂᬩᬢᬓᬩ᭞ 537

᭓᭕: ᭚ᬬᬓ᭄ᬢᬶᬩ᭄ᬭᬳᬦᬕᬫᬳᬓ᭄ᬢᬬᬓᬶᬢᬶᬂᬩᬢᬓᬕᬩᬳᬦ᭞ᬦᬶᬧᬸᬫ᭄ᬦᬶ
ᬕᬫ᭄ᬮᬲᬳᬶᬦᬶᬬᬓᬶᬳᬕᬓ᭄ᬢᬲᬩ᭄ᬯᬢᬓᬩ᭞ 541

᭓᭖: ᭚ᬳᬦᬶᬬᬓᬶᬦᬶᬩᬫᬦᬩ᭄ᬭᬕᬦᬦᬬᬢᬶᬩᬢᬓᬩ᭞ 542

᭓᭗: ᭚ᬬᬕᬢᬓᬫ᭄ᬳᬬᬓᬦᬫᬦᬕᬦᬲᬳᬫᬶᬫᬦᬬᬦᬶᬬᬓᬶᬢᬶᬂ
ᬧ᭄ᬭᬫᬓᬓ᭞ᬫᬢᬶᬂᬦᬾᬳᬩ᭄ᬭᬮᬶᬫ᭄ᬯᬶᬲᬦᬩᬢᬓᬩ᭞ 543

᭓᭘: ᭚ᬓᬧᬢᬶᬂᬩᬢᬓᬕᬩᬳᬦ᭞ᬦᬶᬧᬸᬫ᭄ᬦᬶᬕᬫ᭄ᬮᬲᬳᬶᬬᬕᬢᬓᬫ᭄ᬯᬾᬧᬬᬘᬓ᭞
ᬦᬾᬦᬶᬕᬦᬕᬓᬦ᭞ᬦᬶᬧᬸᬫ᭄ᬦᬶᬕᬫ᭄ᬮᬲᬳᬶᬬᬕᬢᬓᬫ᭄ᬓᬂᬓᬄ᭞ᬳᬘᬘᬮᬸᬫ᭄ᬮᬂᬦᬾ
ᬓᬦ᭄ᬤᬸᬫᬳᬓᬸ᭄ᬧ᭄ᬭᬬᬚᬬᬓ᭄ᬢᬶᬧᬳᬢ᭄ᬩ᭄ᬭᬫᬫᬓᬩ᭟ 544

᭓᭙: ᭚ᬫ᭄ᬩᬢᬶᬓᬓᬧᬓ᭄ᬢᬶᬫᬕᬕᬲ᭄ᬮᬶᬮᬸᬫ᭄ᬮᬶᬫ᭄ᬮᬲ᭄ᬓᬦᬓᬸᬕᬧᬢᬫ᭞ 546

᭔᭐: ᭚ᬓᬧᬢᬶᬂᬩᬢᬓᬩᬶᬮ᭄ᬓᬫ᭄ᬕᬬᬫᬶᬮᬸᬫ᭄ᬮᬶᬫᬶᬲ᭄ᬓᬶᬓᬲᬢ᭟ 549

᭔᭑: ᭚ᬧᬓᬳᬦᬶᬬᬓᬶᬢᬶᬂᬓᬸᬕᬧᬢᬫᬳᬩᬶᬲᬕᬳᬫ᭄ᬧ᭄ᬭᬬᬯᬢᬕᬬ
ᬓᬸᬓᬶᬧᬸᬫ᭄ᬯᬢᬓᬩ᭞ 550

᭔᭒: ᭚ᬫᬓᬶᬦᬲᬶᬩ᭄ᬭᬧᬶᬫᬳᬲᬸᬕᬦᬳᬩᬾᬧᬸᬫ᭄ᬦᬶᬬᬦᬕᬦᬲ᭄ᬓᬶᬧᬩ᭄ᬭ
ᬢᬦᬩᬢᬓᬩ᭞ 552

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꧋ꦲꦶꦩꦶꦤꦶꦥꦸꦤꦶꦫ꧀꧈

꧕꧓꧇ ꧋ꦲꦤꦕꦢꦤꦸꦒꦲꦿꦺꦴꦒꦿꦺꦴꦒꦺꦴꦒꦺꦴꦱꦿꦺꦴꦫꦺꦴꦢ꧀ꦫꦏꦿꦺꦴꦮꦺꦴꦠꦶꦥꦸꦗ
ꦏꦶꦥꦫꦁꦒꦺꦴꦗꦶꦁꦢꦠꦫꦢꦤ꧀꧈ 552

꧕꧔꧇ ꧋ꦲꦏꦶꦠꦸꦠꦏꦿꦠꦶꦪꦺꦴꦒꦺꦴꦗꦶꦁꦥꦶꦗ꧀ꦠꦭꦢꦠꦫꦢꦤ꧀꧈ 554

꧕꧕꧇ ꧋ꦢꦮꦸꦫꦤꦶꦥꦸꦲꦿꦸꦒꦏꦿꦶꦥꦶꦗ꧀ꦠꦭꦢꦠꦫꦢꦤ꧀꧈ 554

꧕꧖꧇ ꧋ꦱꦸꦫꦠꦮꦠꦶꦭꦸꦲꦶꦠꦶꦢꦠꦫꦢꦤ꧀꧈ 555

꧕꧗꧇ ꧋ꦠꦤꦶꦪꦥꦶꦥꦿꦺꦒꦭ꧀ꦭꦠꦶꦁꦥꦠꦶꦠꦿꦺꦒꦭꦭꦪꦠꦶꦢꦠꦫꦢꦤ꧀꧈ 555

꧕꧘꧇ ꧋ꦪꦒꦠꦫꦲꦼꦤꦲꦶꦲꦿꦸꦠꦸꦲꦿꦸꦭꦶꦮꦏ꧀ꦠꦸꦪꦏꦲꦼꦱꦶ꧈
ꦭꦢꦺꦲꦪꦸꦠꦶꦗꦶꦭꦸꦲꦿꦸꦲꦶꦲꦼꦏꦿꦶꦗꦺꦴꦠꦲꦼꦤꦶꦁꦏꦶꦫꦶ꧉ 558

꧕꧙꧇ ꧋ꦪꦒꦠꦫꦲꦿꦏꦫꦸꦢꦲꦪꦸꦠꦲꦿꦸꦠꦠꦺꦴꦲꦺꦠ꧉ 561

꧖꧐꧇ ꧋ꦪꦒꦠꦫꦲꦼꦱꦶꦭꦒꦁꦲꦪꦸꦠꦗꦶꦭꦸꦲꦿꦸꦲꦶꦠꦿꦺꦴꦭꦗꦺꦴꦠꦲꦿ꧈ 565

꧖꧑꧇ ꧋ꦏꦿꦶꦏꦸꦲꦼꦠꦿꦸꦲꦼꦤ꧀ꦕꦶꦥꦶꦏꦶꦠꦲꦿꦸꦭꦶꦮꦏ꧀ꦠꦸꦲꦶꦮꦸꦭꦸ꧈ 567

꧖꧒꧇ ꧋ꦏꦿꦸꦭꦸꦲꦼꦤ꧀ꦕꦒꦱꦪ꧈ꦤꦶꦥꦸꦏꦿꦶꦒꦲꦿꦸꦱꦱꦶꦥꦿꦸꦗꦪꦒꦠꦫꦲꦼꦤ꧀ꦮ
ꦢꦥꦫꦢꦤ꧀ꦠꦢꦢꦭꦸꦲꦤꦿꦸꦗꦺꦴꦲꦸꦫꦠꦸ꧈ 567

꧖꧓꧇ ꧋ꦪꦒꦠꦫꦲꦼꦤꦭꦶꦠꦸꦫꦮꦶꦏꦿꦶꦏꦸꦗꦺꦴꦲꦸꦫꦠꦤꦿꦺꦴꦒꦭꦭ꧈
ꦠꦶꦥꦱꦤꦶꦥꦿꦸ꧉ 568

꧖꧔꧇ ꧋ꦠꦸꦢꦶꦏꦸꦥꦶꦫꦭꦸꦏꦱꦢꦸꦗꦲꦭꦶꦮꦲꦿꦸꦗꦺꦴꦠꦭꦗꦺꦴꦠꦲꦿ꧈ 571

꧖꧕꧇ ꧋ꦢꦒꦠꦢꦲꦿꦸꦥꦸꦲꦶꦢꦗꦠꦶ꧈ꦫꦗꦠꦶꦥꦸꦲꦿꦸꦒꦪꦗꦱꦶꦱ꧉ꦏꦿꦥꦿꦸꦢꦸ
ꦢꦸꦏꦤꦶꦲꦫꦒꦠꦥꦿꦸ꧈ꦠꦲꦸꦲꦸꦥꦸꦲꦿꦸꦲꦸꦏꦶꦒꦪꦗꦏꦶꦲꦼ
ꦱꦢꦗꦒꦲꦶꦢꦗꦒꦠꦢꦗꦲꦭꦶꦮꦲꦿꦸꦠꦶꦤꦶꦗꦢꦤ꧀꧈ 572

꧖꧖꧇ ꧋ꦠꦶꦲꦶꦱꦒꦠꦥꦿꦸꦢꦭꦶꦗꦪꦒꦪꦗꦱꦿꦸꦗ꧈ꦭꦢꦺꦒꦲꦗꦠꦲꦠꦶꦏꦿꦏꦥ꧉ 573

꧖꧗꧇ ꧋ꦫꦫꦒꦠꦗꦤꦶ꧈ꦠꦶꦲꦶꦒꦠꦥꦿꦸꦠꦶꦲꦺꦠꦏꦒꦪꦗꦱꦲꦼꦤꦶꦲꦿꦶꦏꦿ꧉ 575

꧖꧘꧇ ꧋ꦥꦿꦸꦗꦢꦮꦢꦲꦿꦸꦲꦿꦸꦠꦶꦱꦢꦲꦼꦠꦠꦠꦠꦠꦒꦪꦠꦢꦶꦪꦗ
ꦢꦠꦫꦢꦤ꧀꧈ 580

꧖꧙꧇ ꧋ꦲꦏꦶꦥꦢꦫꦲꦿꦸꦲꦶꦥꦸꦲꦿꦸꦫꦗꦫꦮꦗꦥꦿꦸꦢꦶꦠꦲꦼꦤꦶꦢꦶꦲꦱ꧀꧉ 583

꧗꧐꧇ ꧋ꦥꦿꦸꦗꦢꦮꦱꦲꦿꦸꦗꦢꦪꦏꦿꦶꦢꦗꦠꦲꦿꦸꦮꦥꦿꦸꦠꦶꦱꦸꦫꦠꦮ꧈
ꦠꦿꦺꦒꦭꦭꦢꦶꦱꦗꦢꦠꦫꦢꦶꦥꦸꦲꦶꦮꦲꦿꦸꦥꦿꦸꦢꦶꦠꦶꦲꦱ꧀꧉ 588

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‖ᬳᬶᬲᬶᬦᬶᬧᬸᬲ᭄ᬢᬓ᭞

᭗᭑: ‖ᬬᬳᬦᬩᬾᬶᬧᬸᬓ᭄ᬭᬸᬕᬓ᭄ᬭᬶᬧ᭄ᬭᬸᬤᬾᬦᬶᬳᬶᬧᬸᬓ᭄ᬭᬸᬗᬸᬤᬯ᭟ 591
᭗᭒: ‖ᬓ᭄ᬭᬓ᭄ᬭᬂᬲᬸᬗᬦᬳᬶᬮᬾᬫᬮᬕᬳ᭄ᬫᬸᬬᬳᬦᬩᬾᬶᬮᬃ᭟ 593
᭗᭓: ‖ᬓ᭄ᬭᬓ᭄ᬭᬂᬲᬸᬗᬦᬕᬳᬚᬓ᭞ᬲᬬᬕᬦᬳᬶᬂᬳᬶᬓᬮᬸᬳᬶ᭟ 594
᭗᭔: ‖ᬧᬕᬓᬦᬫᬦᬶᬮᬶᬤᬾᬩᬶᬳᬶᬓ᭞ᬤᬾᬤᬾᬮᬸᬕᬫᬚᬓ᭄ᬭᬧᬬᬶᬓᬮᬮ᭞
ᬫᬮᬕᬳ᭄ᬫᬦᬶᬂᬤᬾᬫ᭄ᬬᬾ᭟ 597
᭗᭕: ‖ᬧᬕᬓᬦᬫᬦᬦᬶᬧᬬᬶᬳᬕᬓ᭄ᬭ᭄ᬧᬶᬩᬶᬳᬶᬓᬓᬕᬮ᭄ᬤᬶᬫᬦᬶᬂᬳᬶᬓᬮᬸ᭞
ᬤᬾᬤᬾᬮᬸᬫᬚᬓ᭄ᬭᬳᬓ᭄ᬭᬂᬲᬸᬗᬦᬳᬸ᭞ 598
᭗᭖: ‖ᬫᬓᬶᬦᬶᬩᬶᬲ᭄ᬫᬶᬧᬸᬲ᭄ᬫᬶᬮᬃᬳᬶᬳᬶᬯᬂᬩᬧᬸᬦ᭟ 605
᭗᭗: ‖ᬓ᭄ᬭᬶᬲᬸᬳᬸᬫᬦᬩᬂᬗᬦᬤ᭄ᬮᬶᬮᬲ᭄ᬫᬳᬶᬤᬾᬮᬦ᭟ 607
᭗᭘: ‖ᬓ᭄ᬭᬶᬲᬸᬳᬸᬫᬦᬩᬂᬗᬦᬤ᭄ᬮᬸᬮᬲ᭄ᬫᬳᬶᬫᬬᬶᬓᬶᬮᬕᬮᬮᬶᬧᬶᬧ᭄ᬭᬸᬗᬸᬤᬯ᭟ 612
᭗᭙: ‖ᬧ᭄ᬭᬸᬗᬸᬤᬯᬫᬲᬶᬧᬶ᭞ᬦᬶᬧᬸᬫᬦᬶᬤᬾᬃᬳᬶ᭟ 615
᭘᭐: ‖ᬫᬓᬶᬫᬾᬳᬲᬸᬦᬩᬦᬶᬓᬸ᭞ᬓ᭄ᬭᬶᬲᬸᬳᬸᬫᬦᬩᬂᬗᬦᬳᬦᬲᬶᬧ᭄ᬮᬶᬮᬶ
ᬳᬶᬂᬫᬾᬦᬬᬶᬓ᭄ᬭᬶᬲᬸᬳᬸᬲ᭄ᬫᬮᬮᬳᬶᬂᬩᬳᬦᬩᬸ᭞ 619
᭘᭑: ‖ᬧᬲᬸᬫᬮᬮᬦᬶᬂᬫᬮᬶᬯᬲᬸᬫ᭄ᬬᬸᬫᬾᬳᬲᬸᬦ᭟ 624
᭘᭒: ‖ᬓ᭄ᬭᬶᬲᬸᬳᬸᬲ᭄ᬫᬮᬮᬦᬶᬧᬸᬕᬲ᭄ᬫᬕᬮᬾᬳᬶᬂᬫᬾᬦᬫ
ᬓ᭄ᬭᬶᬲᬸᬳᬸᬲᬸᬗᬦᬮ᭄ᬫᬳᬶᬫᬾᬳᬲᬸᬦ᭟ 627
᭘᭓: ‖ᬳᬸᬲ᭄ᬫᬂᬦᬶᬧᬸᬫᬦᬶᬓ᭄ᬮᬳᬦᬲ᭄ᬫᬲ᭄ᬫᬳᬶᬫᬧᬶᬳᬲ᭄ᬫᬾ᭟ 629
᭘᭔: ‖ᬳᬸᬲ᭄ᬫᬂᬦᬸᬲᬶᬓᬶᬲᬂᬮᬳᬶᬓ᭄ᬭᬶᬲᬸᬳᬸᬫᬚᬮᬸᬲ᭄ᬫ᭄ᬯᬧᬕᬳᬕᬫ᭄ᬬ 633
᭘᭕: ‖ᬓ᭄ᬭᬦᬧᬬᬶᬩᬧᬸᬮᬮᬳᬶᬫᬾᬳᬲᬸᬦ᭟ 635
᭘᭖: ‖ᬫᬧᬶᬳᬲ᭄ᬮᬲ᭄ᬫᬕᬮᬮᬶᬧᬶᬓ᭄ᬭᬦᬧᬬᬶ᭞ᬫᬶᬩᬳᬶᬳᬶᬮᬕᬲ᭄ᬯᬕᬲ᭄ᬮᬶ
ᬫᬦᬶᬂᬫᬾᬳᬲᬸᬦ᭟ 638
᭘᭗: ‖ᬓ᭄ᬭᬦᬧᬬᬶᬧᬕᬧᬕᬲ᭄ᬯᬧᬬᬶᬕᬮᬕᬲ᭄ᬮᬶᬫᬦᬶᬂᬮᬲᬸᬕᬃᬳᬫ᭄ᬬ
ᬫᬮᬶᬂᬩᬗᬸᬩᬳᬸᬩᬶᬓᬂᬧᬶᬦᬓᬮᬦ᭟ 647
᭘᭘: ‖ᬳᬸᬩᬶᬓᬂᬩᬧᬸᬧᬸᬦᬳᬶᬂᬤᬾᬮᬦᬦᬶᬧᬸᬫᬚᬧᬸᬫᬦᬶᬤᬾᬃᬳᬶᬧᬸᬕᬲ᭄ᬫᬶᬗ᭄ᬬ
ᬫᬸᬩᬦᬶᬗ᭄ᬬ᭟ 649
᭙᭐: ‖ᬧᬓ᭄ᬭᬶᬩ᭄ᬮᬃᬳᬲ᭄ᬓᬩᬳᬶᬂᬫᬕᬤᬾᬕᬦᬫᬦᬩ᭄ᬮᬕᬮᬮ᭟ 654

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꧋ꦲꦶꦱꦶꦤꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀꧈

꧑꧐꧕: ꧋ꦲꦤꦕꦫꦏꦂꦮꦢꦥꦫꦒꦺꦴꦩꦸꦭꦶꦠ꧀ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦏꦩꦱꦶꦤꦸꦮꦸꦤ꧀
ꦏꦁꦗꦼꦁꦱꦸꦭ꧀ꦠꦤ꧀꧉ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦱꦶꦤꦸꦮꦸꦤ꧀ꦏꦁꦗꦼꦁꦥꦔꦺꦫꦤ꧀ꦢꦏꦂꦏꦠꦼꦴꦫꦤ꧀
ꦠꦼꦴꦫꦤ꧀ꦩꦶꦤꦔꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦏꦂꦏꦤ꧀꧈ 712

꧑꧐꧖: ꧋ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦱꦶꦤꦸꦮꦸꦤ꧀ꦏꦁꦗꦼꦁꦱꦸꦭ꧀ꦠꦤ꧀ꦩꦶꦪꦺꦴꦱ꧀ꦥꦿꦗꦸꦫꦶꦠ꧀ꦏꦸꦠꦢꦂꦏꦠꦤ꧀ꦩꦸꦂꦮꦏꦏ꧉ 714

꧑꧐꧗: ꧋ꦏꦂꦠꦢꦶꦥꦸꦫꦺꦴ(ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦱꦶꦤꦸꦮꦸꦤ꧀ꦏꦁꦗꦼꦁꦥꦔꦺꦫꦤ꧀ꦢꦏꦤ꧀)ꦩꦸꦫꦸꦠꦺꦁꦥꦸꦫ
ꦮꦠꦼꦤ꧀ꦲꦏꦂꦢꦢꦶꦤ꧀ꦏꦤ꧀꧈ 718

꧑꧐꧘: ꧋ꦠꦩꦤ꧀ꦲꦥꦺꦴꦱꦫꦠꦸꦭꦫ(ꦏꦂꦠꦲꦥꦶ)ꦥꦿꦗꦸꦫꦶꦠ꧀ꦲꦶꦁꦗꦺꦴꦩꦺꦴ꧉ 722

꧑꧐꧙: ꧋ꦏꦂꦠꦤ꧀ꦒꦫꦺꦴꦤ꧀(ꦏꦂꦠꦢꦶꦥꦸꦫꦺꦴ)ꦩꦤꦺꦴꦫꦸꦠꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦩꦁꦒꦭꦶꦏꦸ꧈
ꦭꦸꦩꦺꦩꦤ꧀ꦏꦶꦫꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦁꦒꦸꦠꦺꦴꦚ꧀ꦗꦼꦁꦥꦸꦤ꧀꧉ 725

꧑꧑꧐: ꧋ꦩꦸꦫꦸꦒꦼꦤ꧀ꦢꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦥꦤ꧀ꦒꦼꦢꦺꦴꦁꦲꦶꦥꦤ꧀ꦢꦫꦺꦴꦩꦏꦸꦫꦠꦲꦶꦁꦏꦫꦚ꧀ꦗꦼꦁꦮ꧉ 727

꧑꧑꧑: ꧋ꦲꦂꦮꦺꦢꦮꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦕꦼꦂꦥꦲꦶꦁꦏꦫꦚ꧀ꦗꦼꦁꦮꦠꦤ꧀ꦢꦿꦏꦭꦭꦸꦫꦶꦃꦩꦼꦏ꧀ꦠꦸ
ꦩꦸꦁꦒꦸꦥꦤ꧀꧈ 733

꧑꧑꧒: ꧋ꦲꦂꦮꦺꦢꦮꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦕꦼꦂꦥꦢꦭꦂꦢꦱꦂꦱꦺꦴꦠꦺꦴꦠꦸꦫꦢꦭ
ꦧꦸꦒꦢꦺꦴꦱ꧀ꦢꦺꦴꦤꦼꦩ꧀ꦠꦶꦁꦢꦺꦤ꧀꧈ 748

꧑꧑꧓: ꧋ꦲꦤꦕꦫꦏꦶꦲꦤꦸꦭꦂꦏꦿꦮꦱ꧀ꦠꦤꦂꦏꦤ꧀ꦏꦤ꧀ꦢꦺꦤꦏꦤꦺꦴꦁꦏꦂꦮ
ꦢꦮꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦕꦼꦂꦥ꧈ꦠꦺꦴꦏꦏꦸꦏꦸꦩꦸꦫꦶꦠ꧀ꦢꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦠꦤꦼꦩꦸꦁꦱꦂꦏꦸ꧈
ꦠꦸꦩꦤ꧀ꦢꦏꦢꦏꦢꦺꦴꦱ꧀ꦢꦺꦴꦤꦼꦩ꧀ꦧꦸꦩꦶꦮꦺꦤ꧀꧈ 756

꧑꧑꧔: ꧋ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦱꦶꦤꦸꦮꦸꦤ꧀ꦏꦁꦗꦼꦁꦱꦸꦭ꧀ꦠꦤ꧀ I ꦢꦱꦂꦠ꧈ꦩꦶꦪꦺꦴꦱ꧀ꦢꦺꦴꦠꦺꦴꦱꦶꦤ꧀
ꦥꦿꦗꦲꦤꦕꦫꦏꦤ꧀ꦲꦥꦺꦴꦱꦫꦤ꧀ꦲꦸꦭꦫ꧉ 760

꧑꧑꧕: ꧋ꦲꦤꦕꦫꦏꦶꦥꦸꦤꦶꦥ꧀ꦲꦸꦫꦶꦠ꧀ꦲꦁꦒꦺꦴꦠꦲꦢꦢꦺꦴꦤꦼꦩ꧀ꦧꦸꦩꦶꦥꦂꦠꦶ(ꦧꦸꦩꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀)
ꦠꦺꦴꦏꦏꦸꦏꦸꦩꦸꦫꦶꦠ꧀ꦠꦸꦭꦏꦸꦩꦤ꧀ꦥꦸꦫꦺꦴꦱꦂꦠ꧈ꦭꦸꦩꦺꦩꦤ꧀ꦱꦂꦢꦶꦁꦏꦁꦏꦩ
ꦱꦶꦤꦸꦮꦸꦤ꧀ꦧꦸꦩꦶꦥꦂꦠꦶꦏꦂꦠ꧉ 767

꧑꧑꧖: ꧋ꦥꦿꦗꦸꦫꦶꦠ꧀ꦲꦤꦕꦫꦏꦤ꧀ꦢꦏꦂꦏꦠꦸꦭꦥꦶ꧉ 770

꧑꧑꧗: ꧋ꦲꦤꦶꦠꦸꦮꦶꦃꦢꦺꦴꦤꦼꦩ꧀ꦠꦤꦼꦩꦸꦁꦱꦂꦏꦸꦠꦲꦶꦁꦥꦸꦫꦺꦴꦏꦂꦠꦸꦭꦏꦸꦩꦤ꧀ꦥꦸꦫꦺꦴꦱꦂꦠꦲꦥꦶ꧉ 771

꧑꧑꧘: ꧋ꦩꦸꦁꦒꦸꦥꦤ꧀ꦧꦸꦩꦶꦥꦂꦠꦶꦩꦁꦏꦠ꧀ꦏꦶꦫꦤ꧀ꦩꦼꦂꦠꦲꦶꦧꦸꦩꦶꦥꦂꦠꦶ꧉ 775

꧑꧑꧙: ꧋ꦥꦸꦤꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦥꦶꦤꦲꦸꦥꦤ꧀ꦢꦮꦩꦶꦠꦸꦮꦸꦭꦸꦥꦸꦠꦸꦥꦸꦫꦺꦴꦱꦂꦠꦸꦫꦸꦠ꧀ꦧꦸꦩꦶꦥꦂꦠ꧉ 779

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꧋ꦲꦶꦱꦶꦤꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀꧈

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꧑꧒꧔꧇ [illegible] 790

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꧑꧒꧖꧇ [illegible]
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꧑꧒꧗꧇ [illegible]
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꧋ꦲꦶꦱꦶꦤꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀꧈

꧑꧓꧕꧇ ꧋ꦤꦁꦒꦺꦫꦶꦏꦺꦴꦥꦸꦭꦼꦏꦏꦏꦫꦱꦼꦥ꧉ 829

꧑꧓꧖꧇ ꧋ꦏꦫꦺꦤꦤ꧀ꦤꦒꦫꦶꦥꦸꦕꦤꦶꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦁꦮꦤꦒꦫꦶꦲꦶꦁꦥꦺꦴꦤꦶ꧉ 831

꧑꧓꧗꧇ ꧋ꦥꦫꦶꦏꦏꦤꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦲꦭꦮꦤꦫꦭꦫꦁꦏꦫꦁꦏꦿꦤ꧀ꦠꦏ꧀ꦤꦕꦤ꧀ꦥꦸꦤ꧀
ꦭꦺꦤꦺꦤꦶꦥꦸꦫꦏꦿꦩ꧀ꦩꦺꦏꦤꦶꦏꦼꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦱꦥꦿꦠ꧉ 833

꧑꧓꧘꧇ ꧋ꦲꦶꦁꦤꦁꦱꦶꦗꦒꦏꦿꦶꦥꦤꦤ꧀ꦤꦤꦺꦥꦲꦶꦁꦕꦩꦸꦥꦶꦱꦸꦤ꧀꧈ 837

꧑꧓꧙꧇ ꧋ꦫꦏꦫꦏ꧀ꦥꦱꦶꦗꦸꦲꦶꦁꦲꦩꦸꦥꦶ꧉ 841

꧑꧔꧐꧇ ꧋ꦱꦶꦗꦸꦥꦱꦶꦱꦶꦫ꧀ꦫꦥꦏꦏꦿꦏꦏꦏꦏꦫꦥꦥꦶꦂꦁ꧉ ꦲꦶꦁꦤꦁꦱꦶꦗꦒꦤ꧀ꦤꦶꦁ
ꦤꦼꦂꦩꦸꦗꦒꦏꦿꦩ꧀ꦩꦏꦫꦥꦁꦏꦿꦶꦗꦸꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦤꦶꦂꦁꦱꦶꦗꦸꦭꦗꦸꦕꦤꦶꦗꦸ꧉ 846

꧑꧔꧑꧇ ꧋ꦏꦒꦼꦤꦶꦏꦁꦕꦺꦴꦩꦸꦥꦿꦏꦕꦥꦏꦏ꧀ꦏꦶꦤꦿꦤꦶꦱꦶꦗꦸꦲꦶꦁꦥꦸꦥꦸꦤ꧀꧈ 852

꧑꧔꧒꧇ ꧋ꦏꦒꦼꦤꦶꦏꦁꦕꦺꦴꦩꦸꦥꦿꦏꦕꦤꦶꦥꦥꦺꦴꦠꦺꦴꦱꦤꦶꦁꦥꦏꦶꦁ꧉ 855

꧑꧔꧓꧇ ꧋ꦤꦒꦼꦤꦶꦂꦲꦶꦁꦢꦕꦁꦏꦒꦥꦸꦤꦏꦒꦿꦥꦏꦶꦁꦲꦶꦁꦤꦁꦱꦶꦗꦒꦤ꧀꧈ 857

꧑꧔꧔꧇ ꧋ꦥꦕꦸꦤ꧀ꦏꦭꦱꦶꦗꦸꦏꦫꦥꦲꦁꦏꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦤꦩꦼꦕꦁ꧉ 860

꧑꧔꧕꧇ ꧋ꦥꦏꦶꦠꦥꦱꦸꦭꦮꦤ꧀ꦤꦿꦕꦿꦏꦿꦭꦶꦮꦤꦤꦤꦶꦥꦶ
ꦱꦿꦸꦏꦶꦗꦸꦏꦏꦤꦶꦁꦕꦥꦏ꧉ 862

꧑꧔꧖꧇ ꧋ꦏꦒꦼꦤꦶꦏꦁꦕꦺꦴꦩꦸꦥꦿꦏꦤꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦩꦼꦥꦸꦏꦤꦶꦤꦤꦕꦿꦭꦶꦫꦿꦸꦏꦁꦥꦶꦱꦶꦗꦸ꧉ 863

꧑꧔꧗꧇ ꧋ꦥꦫꦶꦏꦏꦿꦶꦥꦢꦏꦭꦤ꧀ꦩꦼꦫꦶꦏꦏꦿꦸꦮꦤꦒꦢꦕꦫꦱꦤꦤꦶꦥꦸꦏꦿꦫꦥ꧉ 872

꧑꧔꧘꧇ ꧋ꦥꦫꦶꦏꦏꦗꦶꦏꦒꦼꦤꦶꦭꦭꦫꦭꦫꦭꦱꦩꦼꦤꦶꦁꦤꦏꦤꦶꦂꦥꦢꦏ
ꦏꦶꦕꦤꦭꦶꦗꦸ꧉ 879

꧑꧔꧙꧇ ꧋ꦥꦕꦸꦤ꧀ꦤꦒꦕꦤꦶꦗꦸꦲꦶꦁꦤꦼꦂꦥꦢꦏꦥꦶꦂꦁꦤꦭꦶꦮꦤꦿꦿꦸꦏꦶꦏꦿꦥꦶ꧉ 885

꧑꧕꧐꧇ ꧋ꦥꦕꦸꦤ꧀ꦤꦒꦕꦤꦶꦗꦸꦏꦿꦸꦱꦿꦸꦠꦫꦁꦏꦤꦫꦏ꧀ꦏꦿꦸꦤꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦤꦁꦱꦶꦗꦒꦤ꧀꧈ 888

꧑꧕꧑꧇ ꧋ꦏꦤꦶꦥꦶꦥꦶꦠꦮꦏꦿꦶꦁꦏꦫꦏꦩꦼꦫꦭꦠꦤꦁꦏꦠꦏꦿꦶꦤꦺ
ꦥꦏꦶꦫꦥꦫꦥꦏꦶꦏꦿꦏꦶꦥꦸꦏꦿꦸꦕꦤꦫꦏꦏꦫꦺꦤꦤꦩꦼꦥꦕ꧉
ꦥꦶꦥꦶꦁꦏꦤꦤꦶꦁꦢꦕꦁ꧉ 894

꧑꧕꧒꧇ ꧋ꦥꦕꦸꦤ꧀ꦤꦼꦂꦥꦢꦏꦱꦕꦤꦠꦤꦭꦶꦮꦤꦕꦸꦤ꧀ꦕꦥꦏ꧉ 898

꧑꧕꧓꧇ ꧋ꦤꦶꦢꦏꦿꦗꦶꦮꦭꦗꦿꦶꦫꦁꦢꦺꦮ꧈ꦏꦏꦿꦶꦥꦏꦿꦸꦏꦿꦏꦫꦏꦏꦤ꧀
ꦤꦏꦥꦤꦤꦶꦁꦕꦶꦱꦠ꧈ꦭꦺꦤꦺꦤꦏꦂꦥꦏꦶꦩꦸꦥꦶ꧉ 904

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[illegible] 934
[illegible] [illegible] 939
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] 945
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] 948
[illegible] [illegible] 957
[illegible] [illegible] 959
[illegible] [illegible] II [illegible]
[illegible] 965
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] 966
[illegible] [illegible]
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[illegible] [illegible] II [illegible] 978

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‖ ꦲꦶꦱꦶꦏꦶꦥꦸꦤꦾ꧈

ꦏꦭꦎ꧇ ‖ ꦤꦒꦪꦼꦲꦶꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦱꦪꦼꦠ꧀ꦤꦭꦶꦮꦤꦿꦶꦪꦸꦏꦶꦲꦿꦶꦤꦒꦴꦥꦺꦴꦲꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦸꦤꦼꦒꦃꦏꦤꦾ꧈ 982

ꦏꦭꦏ꧇ ‖ ꦲꦶꦁꦤꦁꦱꦶꦤꦒꦴꦲꦒꦤꦼꦔꦤꦸ ꦗꦥꦏ II ꦒꦱꦒꦭꦠꦤꦿꦪꦒ ꦗꦺꦴꦤꦾꦲꦪꦸꦪꦸ

ꦭꦤꦼꦔꦏꦿꦶꦪꦠꦲꦿꦪꦶꦥꦺꦮ꧈ ꦲꦶꦁꦤꦁꦥꦿꦒꦼꦒꦧꦏꦤꦸꦤꦶꦒꦶ

ꦤꦥꦏꦶꦁꦧꦭꦤꦱꦶꦠꦿꦶꦪ ꦗꦸꦥꦺꦤꦲꦶꦁꦏꦶꦠꦗꦗꦲꦗꦾꦭꦲꦂꦤ꧈

ꦭꦼꦱꦩꦶꦲꦶꦪꦭꦤꦸꦏꦶꦒꦏꦸꦲꦶꦭ꧀ꦥꦗꦏ꧉ 985

꧋ꦥꦿꦲꦸ ꦲꦿꦥ ꦥꦿꦏꦿꦩꦿꦁ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦤꦶ ꦫꦶꦁ ꦥꦶ ꦗꦶ ꧉

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ꦧꦸꦠ꧀꧈ ꧋ꦲꦸꦗꦼ ꦏꦤꦧꦶꦩꦸꦱꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦱꦶꦤꦸꦩꦶ꧉

ꦲꦠꦶꦂ ꦏꦗꦼꦁꦤꦧꦶꦩꦸꦱꦫꦒꦺꦴꦠꦶꦲꦭꦥꦸꦁ꧈ ꦱꦱꦧꦺꦴꦏꦤ꧀ꦝꦶꦏꦢꦢꦶꦔꦺꦴꦠꦶꦱꦶꦫꦲꦩꦂꦠꦶꦁꦏꦼꦩꦤꦶꦁ ꦗꦠꦩꦺꦴꦏꦺꦴꦏꦸꦠꦸꦏꦶꦁ ꦩꦤꦸꦁꦱꦥꦸꦤꦶꦁꦱꦸꦠꦤꦩꦸꦱꦲꦫꦁ ꦩꦸꦱꦃꦲꦤꦤ꧀ꦠꦫꦒꦸꦤꦶꦁꦏꦢꦸꦏꦤ꧀ꦝꦶꦏ꧉

11. ꧋ꦏꦁꦗꦼꦁꦤꦧꦶꦏꦶꦝꦶꦂ ꦠꦶꦁꦏꦃ ꦩꦠꦶꦏꦭ꧀ ꦥꦏꦺꦴꦤꦺꦴꦤꦺꦴ ꦱꦸꦢꦿꦤꦶꦁꦏꦸꦤꦶꦁ ꦥꦸꦤ ꦗꦶꦁꦏꦃ ꦏꦧꦺꦴ꧈ ꦫꦺꦴꦫꦺꦴꦱꦶꦠꦶꦁ ꦥꦺꦴ ꦏꦶꦠꦺꦴ ꦲꦗꦺꦴ꧈ ꦏꦼꦩ꧀ꦧꦭꦶꦤꦶꦁ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦱꦶꦥꦸꦤꦤ꧀꧈ ꦤ꧀ꦢꦸꦏꦸꦁꦲꦶꦁ ꦱꦥꦸꦁ ꦱꦸꦏꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦥꦸꦏꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦤꦤ ꦠꦸꦩꦿꦥ꧀ ꦩꦸꦥꦸꦤꦶꦁ ꦩꦸꦱꦃ ꦏꦢꦸꦏꦸꦱꦶꦁꦱꦫꦏꦺꦴ꧈ ꦏꦸꦏꦺꦴꦠꦸꦏꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦏꦁ ꦱꦸꦩꦁꦠꦸꦥꦸꦤꦶꦁ ꦩꦸꦱꦃ꧈ ꦱꦧꦺꦴꦠꦶꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦤꦶꦁ ꦤꦶꦁ ꦏꦸꦠꦸꦏꦶꦁ ꦩꦸꦫꦸꦏ꧀꧈ ꦏꦸꦠꦸꦁ ꦏꦶꦁ ꦏꦶꦩꦠꦶꦁ ꦩꦸꦁꦏꦸ ꦲꦸꦠꦸꦏꦤ꧀ ꦩꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦱꦸ ꦩꦸꦤꦶꦁ ꦩꦸꦱꦃ ꦏꦗꦼꦁ꧉ ꦠꦶꦁꦏꦃ ꦥꦸꦥꦿꦸꦁ ꦥꦤꦶꦁ ꦥꦏꦢꦠꦸꦩꦸꦩꦸꦁ ꦏꦸꦏꦺꦴꦠꦸꦏꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦏꦁꦩꦸꦱꦃ ꦏꦗꦼꦁꦤꦧꦶꦩꦸꦱꦠꦸꦫꦸꦱꦶꦁꦏꦸꦏꦺꦴꦠꦸꦏꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦤ꧀꧈ ꦏꦁꦗꦼꦁꦤꦧꦶꦏꦶꦝꦶꦂ ꦩꦠꦶꦏꦭ꧀ꦏꦸꦠꦸꦏꦶꦁ ꦩꦸꦱꦃ ꦏꦢꦸꦏꦸꦱꦶꦁ ꦏꦸꦤꦶꦁ ꦩꦸꦱꦃ꧉

12. ꧋ꦏꦸꦏꦺꦴꦠꦸꦏꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦏꦁꦩꦸꦱꦃ ꦏꦗꦼꦁꦤꦧꦶꦩꦸꦱꦱꦧꦺꦴꦏꦩꦸꦫꦸꦱꦶꦠꦶꦁ ꦠꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦏꦁ꧈ ꦱꦧꦺꦴꦏꦱꦶꦫꦩꦶꦁ ꦏ ꦏꦗꦼꦁꦤꦶꦁ꧉ ꦱꦥꦸꦤꦏꦺꦴꦏꦱꦱꦧꦺꦴꦠꦶꦠꦶꦠꦸꦩꦸꦩꦸꦁ ꦏꦢꦸꦏꦸꦱꦶꦁꦏꦢꦸꦥꦸꦱꦸ ꦏꦁꦗꦼꦁꦤꦧꦶꦏꦶꦝꦶꦂ ꦠꦶꦁꦏꦃ ꦩꦠꦶꦏꦭ꧀ ꦥꦏꦺꦴꦤꦺꦴꦤꦺꦴ ꦱꦸꦢꦿꦤꦶꦁꦏꦸꦤꦶꦁ ꦥꦸꦤ ꦗꦶꦁꦏꦃ ꦏꦧꦺꦴ꧈ ꦫꦺꦴꦫꦺꦴꦱꦶꦠꦶꦁ ꦩꦸꦏꦢꦸꦏꦸ ꦩꦸꦁ ꦏꦼꦩ꧀ꦧꦭꦶꦤꦶꦁ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦱꦶꦥꦸꦤꦤ꧀ ꦥꦸꦤ ꦗꦶꦁꦏꦃ ꦏꦧꦺꦴ꧉ ꦏꦗꦼꦁꦤꦧꦶꦏꦶꦝꦶꦂ ꦱꦥꦸꦠꦸꦏꦸꦏꦸꦁ ꦏꦸꦩꦶꦤ꧀ꦠꦺꦤ꧀ ꦱꦸꦥꦸꦤꦶꦁ ꦩꦸꦱꦃ ꦏꦸꦱꦶꦤꦶꦁꦠꦸꦁ ꦩꦸꦲꦸ ꦱꦸꦩꦸꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦁ ꦏꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦱꦶꦤꦶꦁ ꦥꦸꦤꦶꦁ ꦩꦸꦱꦃ ꦏꦗꦼꦁꦤꦧꦶꦩꦸꦱ꧈ ꦥꦸꦠꦸꦏꦸꦠꦸꦠꦸꦏꦸꦏꦺꦴꦠꦸꦏꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦤ꧀꧈ ꦱꦶꦤꦸꦤꦶꦁ ꦩꦸꦠꦸꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸ ꦏꦢꦸꦏꦸꦱꦶꦱꦼꦤꦶꦁ ꦏꦸꦏꦺꦴꦠꦸꦏꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦏꦁ ꦠꦸꦤꦸꦏꦸꦩꦸ ꦏꦢꦸꦏꦸꦱꦶꦁꦏꦸꦤꦶꦁ ꦩꦸꦱꦃ ꦏꦁꦗꦼꦁꦤꦧꦶꦩꦸꦱ꧈ ꦥꦠꦸꦠꦸꦱꦸꦠꦸ ꦩꦠꦶꦏꦺꦴ ꦏꦸꦠꦸꦩꦶꦠꦶꦁꦱꦶꦠꦸꦁ꧉ ꦏꦗꦼꦁꦤꦧꦶꦩꦸꦱ ꦩꦸꦱꦥꦸꦠꦶꦁ ꦥꦸꦤ ꦠꦸꦁ ꦩꦸꦠꦸꦱꦶ ꦏꦸꦩꦸꦱꦃ꧈ ꦏꦸꦏꦢꦸꦏꦸꦱꦶꦁ ꦩꦸꦱꦠꦶꦩꦸꦱꦃ ꦏꦸꦥꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸ ꦥꦸꦏꦸꦱꦶꦠꦸꦠꦶꦁꦏꦸ ꦥꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦁ꧈ ꦏꦸꦏꦺꦴꦠꦸꦏꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦏꦁ ꦩꦸꦠꦸꦠꦸꦏꦸ ꦱꦸꦩꦸꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦁ ꦏꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸ ꦏꦗꦼꦁꦤꦧꦶꦩꦸꦱꦃ꧉ ꦏꦗꦼꦁꦤꦧꦶꦩꦸꦱ ꦩꦶꦱꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦏꦸꦩꦸꦱꦃ ꦏꦢꦸꦏꦸꦱꦶꦁ ꦩꦠꦶꦏꦸꦏꦺꦴꦠꦸꦏꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦏꦁ꧈ ꦩꦸꦩꦸꦱꦃ ꦏꦸꦏꦢꦸꦏꦸꦱꦶꦁ ꦏꦁꦗꦼꦁꦤꦧꦶꦩꦸꦱ꧈ ꦏꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸ ꦩꦸꦥꦸꦠꦸꦁ ꦩꦸꦱꦃꦩꦸꦠꦶ ꦏꦸꦥꦸꦠꦶꦁꦏꦸꦠꦸꦁ꧈ ꦩꦸꦠꦸ ꦏꦗꦼꦁꦤꦧꦶꦩꦸꦱ ꦩꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸꦱꦃ ꦏꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸꦁꦠꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦁ꧈

13. ꧋ꦏꦗꦼꦁꦤꦧꦶꦩꦸꦱꦱꦥꦸꦠꦸꦏꦢꦸꦏꦸꦱꦶꦁ ꦩꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸ ꦏꦸꦠꦸꦠꦶꦁ ꦩꦸꦠꦸꦱꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦠꦸ꧈ ꦩꦸꦏꦢꦸꦏꦸꦠꦶꦁꦏꦃ ꦥꦸꦏꦸꦠꦸ ꦩꦸꦥꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸ ꦩꦸꦠꦶꦠꦸꦩꦸꦱꦃ ꦏꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸ ꦩꦸꦩꦸꦏꦸꦠꦸꦏꦸꦩꦸꦩꦸꦱꦃ꧉ ꦏꦸꦏꦺꦴꦠꦸꦏꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦏꦁ ꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸ ꦩꦸꦩꦸꦩꦸ ꦏꦸꦩꦸꦩꦸꦩꦸꦱꦃ ꦏꦗꦼꦁꦤꦧꦶꦩꦸꦱ ꦏꦗꦼꦁꦤꦧꦶꦩꦸꦱꦩꦸꦠꦸꦠꦸ꧈ ꦩꦸꦠꦸꦠꦶꦩꦸ ꦠꦶꦁꦏꦸꦩꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸ꧈ ꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸꦱꦃ ꦩꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸ꧉ ꦏꦗꦼꦁꦤꦧꦶꦩꦸꦱ ꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸ ꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸ ꦏꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦠꦸ꧈ ꦩꦸ ꦩꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸ ꦩꦸꦏꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦠꦸ ꦏꦸꦏꦺꦴꦠꦸꦏꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦏꦁ꧉ ꦩꦸꦠꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸꦥꦸꦤꦶꦁ ꦩꦸꦱꦃ ꦏꦸꦏꦺꦴꦠꦸꦏꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦏꦁ꧈ ꦩꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸ ꦩꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸꦩꦸ ꦩꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸ ꦩꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸ ꦏꦁꦗꦼꦁꦤꦧꦶꦏꦶꦝꦶꦂ꧈ ꦏꦗꦼꦁꦤꦧꦶꦩꦸꦱꦩꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸ ꦩꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸ꧈ ꦩꦸꦠꦸꦠꦸ ꦩꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦠꦶꦁꦏꦃ ꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸ꧈ ꦏꦗꦼꦁꦤꦧꦶꦩꦸꦱ ꦩꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸꦱꦃ ꦏꦸꦏꦺꦴꦠꦸꦏꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦏꦁ꧈ ꦩꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸꦱꦃ ꦩꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸ ꦩꦸꦠꦸ꧈ ꦩꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸꦱꦃ ꦏꦗꦼꦁꦤꦧꦶꦩꦸꦱ ꦩꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸ ꦩꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸꦱꦃ꧉

14. ꧋ꦏꦗꦼꦁꦤꦧꦶꦩꦸꦱꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸ ꦩꦸꦏꦢꦸꦏꦸꦱꦶꦁ ꦠꦶꦁꦏꦃ ꦥꦸꦏꦸꦠꦸ꧈ ꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸ ꦩꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸ ꦩꦸꦠꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸ ꦠꦶꦁꦏꦸꦩꦸꦱꦃ꧉ ꦱꦥꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸ ꦩꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸ ꦏꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸꦏꦸꦤꦶꦁ ꦩꦸꦱꦃ ꦏꦤꦧꦶꦩꦸꦱꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁ꧈

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꧇꧑꧇ ꧋ꦏꦫꦤꦩ꧀ꦱꦸꦏꦸꦫꦸꦝꦫꦲꦤ꧀ꦢꦤꦲꦱꦏꦶꦂꦥꦢꦢꦼꦏꦭꦺꦢꦶ
ꦲꦶꦠꦿꦸꦩꦤꦩ꧀ꦱꦶꦲꦸꦭꦶꦩꦲꦶꦁꦧꦢꦥꦲꦶꦲꦿ꧈

ꦏꦶꦁꦪꦲꦂꦏꦁꦏꦁꦥꦸꦲꦥꦶꦭꦸꦔꦶꦩꦼꦠꦸꦭꦸꦱꦶ꧈ꦲꦏ꧀ꦫꦃꦪꦲꦤ꧀ꦲꦂꦪꦩꦁꦏꦸꦤꦒꦫ꧈ꦧꦶꦏꦸꦥꦶꦩꦤꦿꦺꦴ ꦥꦸꦩꦤ꧀ꦢꦼꦱ꧀ꦱꦸꦠꦸꦱꦤꦂꦩꦤꦶꦩꦤ꧀ꦠꦶꦩ꧈ꦲꦂꦪꦩꦁꦏꦸꦤꦒꦫꦧꦥꦿꦩꦤ꧀ꦧꦼꦥꦶꦩꦼꦠꦸ ꦭꦲꦤꦥꦿꦺꦴꦮꦱꦥꦥꦶꦠꦸꦭꦶꦁꦲꦶꦂꦧꦩ꧀ꦲꦶꦫꦸꦠꦺꦤꦂꦩꦺꦴꦩꦤꦤꦺꦴꦫꦶꦫ꧈ꦤꦪꦸꦏꦸꦩꦸꦤꦤ꧀ꦱꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦤꦪꦤꦸꦫ꧀ꦥꦸꦧꦤꦤ꧀ꦏꦸ꧈ꦤꦪꦤꦒꦸꦩꦶꦠꦸꦤꦏꦺꦴ꧈ꦏꦁ ꦏꦁꦥꦸꦂꦠꦲꦢꦶꦥꦠꦶ꧈ꦲꦱꦤꦏꦪꦤꦩꦸꦤꦂꦩꦶꦱꦸꦭꦶꦱꦶ꧈ꦱꦥꦸꦁꦲꦂꦪꦩꦁꦏꦸꦤꦒꦫꦲ ꦩꦼꦠꦸꦭꦸꦱꦶꦤꦪꦤꦏꦁꦥꦸꦱꦤꦤꦪꦤꦩꦸꦤꦼꦏꦶꦩꦼꦠꦸꦭꦸꦱ꧀ꦠꦶꦥꦸꦱꦶꦏ꧈ꦥꦤꦤꦤ꧀ꦠꦼꦁꦩꦥꦥꦸ ꦲꦩꦶꦤ꧀ꦠꦼꦁ꧈ꦱꦲꦤꦲꦸꦠꦸꦠꦶꦤꦧꦤꦩꦺꦴꦁ꧈ꦏꦁꦏꦁꦥꦸꦥꦸꦩꦱꦶꦲꦿꦲꦏ꧀ꦫꦃꦤꦩꦱ ꦩꦼꦥꦸꦫꦸ꧈ꦪꦸꦱꦸꦭꦸꦩꦼꦥꦸꦫꦸꦤꦪꦤꦿꦶ꧈ꦱꦤꦏꦸꦱꦶꦩꦭꦲꦩꦥꦸꦠꦸꦭꦶꦠꦸꦠꦸꦭꦶꦤꦭꦤ ꦤꦪꦩꦼꦪ꧈ꦲꦶꦪꦤꦩꦧꦿꦶꦱꦶꦏꦁꦏꦁꦥꦸ꧈ꦩꦼꦠꦸꦭꦸꦱꦶꦭꦶꦤꦪꦤꦸꦭꦸꦠꦸ꧉

32\. ꧋ꦥꦸꦠꦸꦲꦶꦩꦼꦠꦸꦭꦸꦱ꧀ꦠꦶꦥꦸꦱꦶꦩꦼꦠꦸꦥꦿꦸꦱꦶꦥꦸꦩꦏꦁꦥꦸ꧈ꦲꦶꦏ꧀ꦩꦧꦏꦤꦸꦩꦼꦏꦸꦫꦁꦤꦸ꧈ ꦭꦶꦲꦧꦶꦥꦩꦲꦧꦶꦭꦤ꧀ꦠꦤꦪꦲꦶꦥꦶꦲꦂꦪꦩꦁꦏꦸꦤꦒꦫ꧈ꦤꦠꦶꦲꦶꦩꦩꦸꦤꦸꦥꦶꦩꦸꦥꦸꦲ ꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦤꦩ꧀ꦠꦶꦏꦤꦧ꧈ꦠꦭꦶꦥꦸꦩꦲꦂꦪꦩꦁꦏꦸꦤꦒꦫꦩꦼꦠꦸꦲꦶꦏ꧀ꦥꦶꦲꦸꦲꦧꦶꦏꦶꦭꦶ ꦥꦸꦩꦸꦥꦸꦩꦶꦏꦤꦩꦼꦏꦸꦫꦁꦤꦸ꧉ꦲꦂꦪꦩꦁꦏꦸꦤꦒꦫꦲꦧꦶꦩꦤꦸ꧈ꦲꦧꦶꦥꦸꦩꦤꦸꦩꦶꦤꦩ ꦩꦼꦏꦸꦫꦁꦤꦸ꧈ꦩꦥꦏꦶꦲꦶꦠꦶꦩꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦏꦤꦩꦼꦏꦸꦫꦁꦤꦸꦭꦶꦥꦸꦥꦱꦸꦫꦏꦁꦗꦶ꧈ꦤꦩꦼꦠꦶ ꦥꦶꦱꦶꦭꦸꦥꦸꦠꦸꦱꦶꦲꦶꦩꦤꦤꦱꦸꦫꦠꦶꦱꦶꦥꦏꦠꦏꦶꦏꦶꦱꦱꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸꦧꦶꦭꦥꦸꦂꦭꦶꦩꦸꦤ ꦤꦭꦤꦭꦱꦸꦫꦠꦶꦩꦏꦏꦶ꧈ꦲꦶꦠꦸꦥꦸꦤꦩꦠꦸꦥꦸꦱꦥꦸꦤꦩꦶꦤꦭꦸꦩꦠꦸꦥꦸꦱꦸꦥꦸꦭꦶꦏꦸ ꦩꦸꦲꦶꦩꦼꦥꦸꦤꦩꦸꦏꦩꦤꦩꦼꦏꦸꦫꦁꦤꦸꦭꦶꦩꦥꦶꦠꦠꦩꦤꦥꦸꦩ꧈

33\. ꧋ꦱꦤꦭꦤꦭꦱꦶꦥꦸꦩꦤꦩꦼꦏꦸꦫꦁꦤꦸ꧈ꦲꦂꦪꦩꦁꦏꦸꦤꦒꦫꦧꦶꦩꦶꦏꦸꦲꦶꦥꦏꦏꦩꦸ ꦭꦶꦲꦏꦤꦸꦩꦼꦠꦸꦠꦩꦸꦥꦿꦸꦱꦤꦸꦥꦸꦲꦩꦤ꧈ꦤꦠꦶꦥꦸ ꦭꦤꦩꦸꦏꦩꦤꦩꦼꦏꦸꦫꦁꦤꦸ꧈ꦱꦶꦩꦸꦏꦶꦩꦩꦱꦶꦩ꧈ꦲꦧꦶꦠ ꦤꦪꦶꦏꦶꦭꦶꦲꦶꦲꦏꦶ꧉ꦱꦤꦤꦸꦲꦶꦥꦸꦱꦸꦩꦶꦩꦤꦸꦥꦸꦥꦸꦲꦶꦥꦏ ꦏꦩꦸꦠꦶꦤꦏꦱꦱꦤꦪꦤꦥꦸꦏꦸꦲꦶꦏꦲꦩꦶꦥꦶꦤꦏ꧈ꦩꦶꦏꦸ꧈ꦩꦶ ꦏꦼ꧈ꦱꦧꦶꦲꦿꦶꦱꦶꦠꦥꦸꦥꦥꦱꦩꦸꦥꦸꦩꦱꦶꦤꦸꦲꦶꦧꦶꦥꦸꦏꦸ ꦩꦤꦩꦼꦏꦸꦫꦁꦤꦸ꧈ꦥꦿꦸꦤꦏꦶꦩꦸꦥꦸꦩꦶꦠꦪꦶꦧꦤꦩ꧈ꦥꦭꦏꦤꦩꦸꦥꦸ ꦤꦩꦼꦏꦸꦫꦁꦤꦸ꧈ꦲꦶꦏꦩꦶꦩꦶꦱꦥꦸꦏꦸꦤꦸꦱꦧꦸꦤꦸꦥꦶꦤꦏꦲꦧꦶꦏꦶ ꦏꦶꦏꦶꦲꦶ꧈ꦠꦶꦤꦏꦱꦱꦤꦩꦸꦥꦸꦠꦥꦲꦶꦩꦼꦤꦸꦏꦤꦩꦱꦶꦥꦸꦩ ꦲꦩꦸꦩꦱꦶꦲꦶꦥꦸꦱꦸꦩꦶꦩꦸꦲꦶꦥꦸ꧈ꦲꦩꦸꦧꦤꦶꦥꦸꦏꦶꦩꦸꦥꦸꦥꦸꦲꦶ ꦤꦏꦲꦶꦏꦩꦧꦶꦥꦸꦤꦸꦩꦱꦱꦸꦲꦶꦥꦸꦏꦶꦩꦼꦥꦸꦲꦩꦸꦩꦶꦏꦶꦩꦶ ꦠꦥ꧈ꦲꦩꦧꦲꦱꦶꦧꦏꦥꦸꦭꦭꦧꦶꦱꦸꦥꦤꦩꦸꦱꦶꦩꦶꦲꦶꦭꦸꦱꦸꦥꦸꦥꦸꦲꦶ ꦤꦏꦶꦥꦶꦩꦏꦲꦶꦤꦏꦲꦩꦶꦩꦠꦶꦥꦸꦥꦸꦠꦶꦩꦧꦶꦥꦶ꧉

34\. ꧋ꦲꦱꦶꦧꦏꦥꦸꦭꦭꦱꦥꦸꦩꦸꦥꦩꦤꦩꦼꦏꦸꦫꦁꦤꦸ꧈ꦱꦧꦩꦱꦶꦥꦸꦥꦶꦩꦤꦤ

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36. [illegible]

37. [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

38. [illegible]

39. [illegible]

40. [illegible]

41. [illegible]

42. [illegible]

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[illegible]

43. [illegible]

44. [illegible]

45. [illegible]

46. [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

47. [illegible]

48. [illegible]

49. [illegible]

50. [illegible]

51. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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52. [illegible]

53. [illegible]

54. [illegible]

55. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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56. [illegible]

57. [illegible]

58. [illegible]

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[illegible]

59. [illegible]

60. [illegible]

61. [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

62. [illegible]

63. [illegible]

64. [illegible]

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[illegible]

65. [illegible]

66. [illegible]

67. [illegible]

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68. [illegible]

69. [illegible]

70. [illegible]

71. [illegible]

72. [illegible]

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[illegible]

73. [illegible]

74. [illegible]

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ꦏꦧꦾꦂ꧉ ꧋ꦯꦿꦶꦩꦲꦫꦗꦥꦸꦠꦿꦲꦢꦶꦥꦠꦶꦤꦺꦴꦫꦢꦶꦥꦼꦤꦸꦒꦫꦺꦴꦢꦤꦶꦁꦫꦠ꧉

ꦧꦶꦭꦶꦃ꧈ ꦭꦤ꧀ꦢꦺꦤ꧀ꦢꦸꦏꦸꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦱ꧀ꦏꦼꦤꦢꦶꦢꦸꦏꦸꦤ꧀ꦧꦶ꧈ ꦥꦤꦒꦶꦃꦠꦸꦁ꧈ ꦏꦼꦂꦒꦼꦤꦧꦶꦢꦸꦢꦸꦮꦸꦒꦸꦫꦸꦥꦤ꧀ꦥꦁꦱꦸꦱꦤꦺꦴꦤꦺꦴꦧꦸꦒꦼꦢꦼꦒ
ꦒꦼꦤꦂꦱꦏꦧꦼꦫꦤꦁꦏꦸꦱꦂꦲꦶꦥꦸꦥꦚ꧀ꦗꦶꦲꦶꦤꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦤꦒꦫꦶ꧈

75\. ꧋ꦥꦚ꧀ꦗꦶꦲꦶꦤꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦤꦒꦫꦶꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦱꦶꦤꦸꦲꦸꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦒꦼꦤꦼꦁꦮꦶꦧꦶꦃꦥꦶꦤꦸꦤ꧀꧈ ꦱꦺꦴꦤꦺꦴꦤꦺꦴꦱꦤꦺꦴ
ꦤꦺꦴꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦥꦸꦠꦿꦢꦸꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦥꦤꦺꦴꦫꦺꦴꦒꦺꦴꦧꦶꦁꦏꦂꦫꦤꦶꦲꦶꦁꦥꦚꦏꦶꦁ꧈ ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦏꦸꦥꦸꦧꦶꦥꦤꦺꦴꦤꦺꦴꦒꦸꦫꦸꦩꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦏꦼꦤꦺꦴꦤ
ꦏꦸꦤ꧀ꦧꦶ꧈ ꦭꦤ꧀ꦢꦺꦤ꧀ꦥꦤꦲꦶꦭꦶꦃꦢꦸꦥꦸꦤ꧀꧈ ꦭꦧꦶꦭꦧꦶꦥꦿꦢꦤ꧀ꦱꦥꦢꦤꦏꦶ꧈ ꦥꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦤꦶꦥꦸꦒꦸꦩꦸꦢꦶꦢꦢꦺꦴꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦧꦶ
ꦤꦺꦴꦒꦶ꧉

76\. ꧋ꦥꦱꦥꦸꦒꦮꦺꦏꦸꦲꦶꦁꦩꦤ꧀ꦲꦸꦩꦸꦕꦧꦸꦏꦼꦂ꧈ ꦕꦸꦢꦢꦢꦼꦤꦺꦤꦤꦶꦲꦶꦁꦢꦺꦴꦤꦲꦶꦤ꧀ꦢꦺꦴꦤꦺꦴꦤꦒꦤꦒꦱꦮꦤꦤꦶꦁ
ꦏꦺꦴꦏꦏꦭ꧈ ꦤꦕꦸꦩꦸꦥꦤꦺꦴꦤꦺꦴꦤꦧꦶꦤꦶꦁꦱꦶꦲꦶꦁꦏꦸꦤꦥꦤꦢꦶꦥꦸꦮꦸꦭꦤ꧀ꦤ꧈ ꦲꦒꦤꦒꦏꦸꦮꦸꦏꦸꦮꦸꦭꦤ꧀
ꦥꦸꦮꦸꦲꦶꦁꦏꦶꦁ꧈ ꦤꦧꦶꦁꦏꦸꦲꦶꦁꦩꦤ꧀ꦲꦸꦩꦸꦕꦧꦸꦏꦼꦂꦒꦺꦴꦮꦶꦤꦺꦴꦤꦧꦶꦥꦸꦥꦸ꧈ ꦥꦸꦮꦸꦱꦢꦢꦸꦒꦸꦮꦸꦮꦸꦥꦤꦶꦁ
ꦏꦺꦴꦯꦿꦶꦩꦲꦫꦗ꧈ ꦲꦒꦤꦒꦏꦸꦮꦸꦏꦸꦮꦸꦭꦤ꧀ꦥꦤꦤꦸꦒꦸꦫꦸꦏꦶꦁꦱꦶꦲꦶꦁꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦏꦸꦤꦢꦸꦏꦸꦤꦺꦴꦲꦒꦏꦺꦴꦱ
ꦱꦏꦸꦲꦶꦁꦱꦶꦲꦶꦁꦤꦶꦢ꧈ ꦤꦏꦸꦒꦤꦱꦏꦶꦧꦶꦏꦸꦒꦸꦥꦤꦶꦁꦢꦶꦥꦸꦥꦤ꧀ꦯꦿꦶꦩꦲ꧉ ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦤꦸꦲꦶꦱꦢꦸ
ꦮꦸꦱꦶꦥꦶ꧈ ꦒꦥꦱꦤꦺꦴꦤꦶꦁꦏꦺꦴꦏꦏꦭ꧈ ꦱꦥꦺꦴꦥꦥꦤꦶꦥ꧈ ꦤꦒꦸꦮꦸꦥꦸꦥꦸꦲꦶꦁꦏꦸꦩꦸꦕꦧꦸꦏꦼꦂ꧈ ꦭ
ꦢꦺꦤ꧀ꦥꦢꦸꦏꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦸꦏꦸꦥꦤꦶꦤꦢꦸꦥꦺꦴꦥꦥꦭꦶꦱ꧈ ꦥꦢꦸꦏꦸꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦁꦢꦒꦤꦱꦤꦸꦭ꧀꧈ ꦥꦭꦶꦱꦸꦏꦸꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦁꦢꦒꦭ
ꦭ꧈ ꦱꦺꦤꦤꦒꦤꦱꦏꦶꦏꦸꦭꦸꦥꦢꦏꦸꦲꦶꦁꦤꦒꦭꦒꦏꦸꦥꦤꦱꦸꦲꦶꦥꦸꦥꦏꦺꦴꦏꦏꦭꦤꦶꦏꦸ
ꦲꦶꦁꦩꦤ꧀ꦲꦸꦩꦸꦕꦧꦸꦏꦼꦂ꧈ ꦲꦒꦤꦒꦏꦸꦮꦸꦏꦸꦮꦸꦭꦤ꧀ꦥꦤꦒꦸꦫꦸꦥꦥꦤꦶꦁꦱꦸꦢꦸꦤꦶꦁꦏꦸꦤꦶꦲꦶꦁꦏꦸꦤ
ꦏꦶꦲꦶꦤꦒꦸꦫꦸ꧈ ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦤꦶꦢꦸꦤꦶꦁꦢꦸꦒꦸꦥꦤꦱꦏꦸꦫꦶꦥꦤ꧈ ꦭꦤ꧀ꦢꦺꦤ꧀ꦕꦸꦢꦢꦢꦼꦤꦺꦤꦤꦶꦲꦶꦁꦤꦒꦸꦫꦸꦤ
ꦧꦶꦒꦶꦤꦒꦼꦤꦒꦏꦸꦮꦸꦏꦸꦮꦸꦭꦤ꧀ꦥꦭꦸꦒꦺꦴꦫꦸꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦒꦶꦏꦶꦏꦶꦏꦸꦒꦸꦥꦏꦏꦺꦴꦲꦶꦁꦏꦶꦤꦶꦥꦸꦥꦤꦶꦁꦱꦶꦢ꧈ ꦒꦤ
ꦏꦺꦴꦱꦧꦶꦤꦶꦢꦼꦢꦒꦤꦢꦸꦲꦒꦤꦒꦏꦸꦮꦸꦏꦸꦮꦸꦭꦤ꧀ꦥꦭꦸꦤꦥꦶꦏꦶꦒꦶꦥꦸꦥꦱꦸꦩꦸꦲꦶꦁꦲꦸꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦺꦴꦒꦺꦴꦏꦺꦴ꧈
ꦤꦸꦧꦶꦲꦸꦥꦸꦤꦸꦤꦸꦏꦶꦏꦺꦴꦲꦶꦁꦥꦸꦒꦸꦮꦸꦒꦸꦮꦸꦏꦸꦮꦸꦭꦤ꧀ꦥꦤꦱꦶꦢꦺꦤ꧀ꦥꦸꦱꦥ꧈ ꦒꦤꦏꦸꦱꦶꦤꦺꦴꦤꦺꦤ
ꦤꦸꦲꦶꦤꦸꦢꦶꦥꦸꦲꦱꦢꦢꦸꦒꦸꦮꦸꦲꦶꦁꦢꦸꦲꦶꦁꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦧꦶꦒꦏꦺꦴꦥꦸꦥꦸꦢꦒꦤꦺꦴ꧉

77\. ꧋ꦥꦚ꧀ꦗꦶꦲꦶꦤꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦤꦒꦫꦱꦢꦸꦮꦸꦲꦶꦁꦏꦸꦤꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦸꦒꦥꦤꦶꦤꦢꦸꦥꦸꦭꦸꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦥꦸꦠꦿꦥꦸꦥꦸꦏꦶ
ꦥꦏꦶꦭꦏꦶꦭꦒꦸꦮꦸꦒꦸꦮꦸꦲꦶꦁꦏꦸꦤꦕꦸꦢꦸꦧꦶꦢꦸꦏꦸꦒꦤꦒꦏꦸꦮꦸꦏꦸꦮꦸꦭꦤ꧀ꦥꦤꦢꦸꦭꦶꦤꦶꦥꦸꦲꦶꦁꦩꦤ꧀ꦲꦸꦩꦸ
ꦕꦧꦸꦏꦼꦂꦥꦤꦶ꧉ ꦥꦚ꧀ꦗꦶꦲꦶꦁꦩꦤ꧀ꦲꦸꦩꦸꦕꦧꦸꦏꦼꦂꦲꦶꦁꦏꦸꦥꦤ꧀ꦢꦸꦲꦶꦏꦸꦢꦸꦢꦸꦢꦸꦒꦼꦢꦶꦥꦸꦥꦏꦺꦴꦏꦏꦭ꧈ ꦱꦶꦲꦶꦤꦥ
ꦢꦸꦲꦶꦏꦸꦢꦸꦒꦒꦤꦒꦏꦸꦮꦸꦏꦸꦮꦸꦭꦤ꧀ꦥꦤꦱꦸꦥꦸꦒꦤꦏꦸꦥꦸꦥꦶꦏ꧉ ꦥꦚ꧀ꦗꦶꦲꦶꦤꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦤꦒꦫꦱꦢꦸꦮꦸ
ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦸꦤꦤꦸꦲꦶꦥꦸꦥꦏꦺꦴꦯꦿꦶꦩꦲꦫꦗ꧈ ꦥꦱꦸꦢꦸꦥꦸꦥꦏꦺꦴꦒꦺꦴꦏꦺꦴꦲ꧉

78\. ꧋ꦱꦥꦸꦤꦸꦥꦸꦥꦚ꧀ꦗꦶꦲꦶꦁꦩꦤ꧀ꦲꦸꦩꦸꦕꦧꦸꦏꦼꦂ꧈ ꦲꦒꦤꦒꦏꦸꦮꦸꦏꦸꦮꦸꦭꦤ꧀ꦥꦤꦸꦱꦒꦤꦒꦒꦏꦺꦴꦏꦏꦸꦲꦶꦢ
ꦒꦸꦢꦶꦏꦏꦥꦧꦶ꧈ ꦏꦭꦱꦢꦸꦢꦸꦏꦺꦴꦒꦤꦧꦶꦱꦧꦶꦢꦸꦏꦺꦴꦥꦢꦸꦭꦸꦢꦸꦤꦸꦲꦶꦁꦏꦸꦤꦸꦢꦸꦒꦸꦤꦒꦤꦒꦏꦸ
ꦮꦸꦏꦸꦮꦸꦭꦤ꧀ꦥꦤꦶꦏꦶꦏꦸꦲꦸꦢꦸꦥꦸꦥꦶꦢꦶꦥꦶꦲꦶꦁꦏꦸꦲꦶꦤꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦤꦒꦫꦶ꧈

79\. ꧋ꦏꦺꦴꦯꦿꦶꦩꦲꦫꦗꦧꦶꦏꦸꦤꦸꦏꦏꦥꦒꦤꦸꦱꦸꦢꦸꦤꦧꦶꦏꦥꦢꦸꦲꦶꦥꦸꦥꦸꦏꦸꦢꦶꦏꦶꦏꦶ꧈ ꦭꦤ꧀ꦢꦺꦤ꧀
ꦤꦸꦤꦸꦱꦏꦶꦢꦸꦭꦱꦢꦸꦢꦸꦤꦸꦤꦸꦒꦸꦒꦏꦏꦶꦏꦶꦏꦶ꧈ ꦢꦶꦥꦶꦲꦶꦏꦶꦏꦶꦱꦧꦶꦏꦒꦏꦒꦏꦂꦒꦸꦏꦸꦤꦸꦧꦶ
ꦭꦶꦥꦢꦶꦏꦶꦥꦸ꧉ ꦏꦭꦱꦢꦸꦢꦸꦏꦺꦴꦒꦤꦢꦸꦲꦸꦠꦿꦏꦶꦱꦧꦶꦏꦸꦗ꧀ꦒꦸꦠꦸꦏꦒꦏꦒꦸꦥꦸꦥꦥꦸꦒꦸꦥꦸꦢꦶꦧꦶꦧꦶ

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80. [illegible]

81. [illegible]

82. [illegible]

83. [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

84. [illegible]

85. [illegible]

86. [illegible]

87. [illegible]

88. [illegible]

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[illegible]

89. [illegible]

90. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

91. [illegible]

92. [illegible]

93. [illegible]

94. [illegible]

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ꦠꦲꦶꦁꦥꦏꦤꦏꦩꦸꦲꦢꦢꦢꦶꦢ꧀ꦩꦶꦥꦂꦩꦶꦱꦥꦸꦧꦶꦢꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸꦧꦢꦥꦶꦱꦶꦪꦁꦩꦩꦶꦩꦠꦸꦩꦲꦂ꧉ꦩꦭ
ꦱꦧꦠ꧀ꦩꦲꦶꦁꦫꦺꦢꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸꦲꦶꦲꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦠꦤꦠꦲꦶꦁꦩꦁꦩꦧꦤꦮꦥꦶꦏꦥꦁꦩꦶꦤ꧀ꦱꦧꦲꦶꦁꦫꦺꦤꦲꦶꦱ
ꦏꦁ꧈ꦱꦁꦱꦪꦲꦪꦸꦲꦶꦁꦥꦂꦩꦶ꧈ꦱꦠꦶꦩꦲꦶꦪꦁꦩꦪꦥꦤ꧀ꦲꦩꦶꦩꦩꦲꦂꦪꦠꦶꦏꦤꦮꦠ꧀ꦧꦮꦶꦥꦶꦤꦥꦤ꧀
ꦠ꧀ꦩꦲꦶꦁꦥꦏꦤꦏꦩꦸ꧈ꦲꦩꦸꦢꦸꦱꦪꦁꦏꦶꦭꦶꦁꦮꦶꦠ꧀ꦤꦩ꧀ꦥꦶꦏꦥꦁꦩꦶꦤ꧀ꦠꦶꦩꦩꦠꦶꦥꦏꦤꦏꦩꦸꦱ
ꦪꦠꦶꦠꦶꦥꦸꦩꦲꦶꦁꦥꦏꦤꦏꦩꦸꦪꦂꦏꦩꦠꦤꦧꦲꦶꦁꦩꦠꦶꦏꦤꦮꦠ꧀ꦧꦮꦶꦥꦶ꧈ꦩꦠꦶꦁꦲꦩꦶꦢꦶꦥꦸꦩ
ꦩꦠꦶꦤ꧀ꦩꦱꦶꦥꦶꦠꦩꦠꦶꦏꦤꦮꦠ꧀ꦧꦮꦶꦥꦶ꧈ꦲꦏꦤꦮꦤ꧀ꦱꦲꦶꦩꦶꦩꦏꦤꦠꦶꦥꦸꦩꦲꦶꦁꦤꦮꦥꦶ꧈ꦭꦶꦁ
ꦧꦩꦩꦲꦶꦪꦭꦸꦠꦶꦲꦶꦁꦩꦁꦏꦧ꧉ꦩꦸꦲꦶꦲꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦠꦤꦠꦲꦶꦩꦠꦏꦶꦩ꧈ꦥꦶꦱꦶꦢꦶꦠꦠꦤꦲꦤꦪ
ꦤꦢꦤ꧀ꦩꦸꦱꦠꦶꦧꦶꦤꦢꦱꦶꦠ꧀ꦮꦶꦥꦶꦲꦶꦩꦸꦱꦭꦸꦂꦧꦪꦁꦩꦠꦸꦭꦸꦭꦸꦱꦭꦸꦂꦧꦠꦶꦧꦶꦩꦸ꧈ꦤꦮ
ꦥꦶꦏꦥꦁꦩꦶꦤ꧀ꦭꦶꦁꦤꦩꦏꦶꦭꦸꦲꦶꦮꦭꦸꦢꦶꦥꦸꦩꦪꦠꦸꦪꦤꦩꦶꦩꦶꦪꦩꦏꦤꦮꦠ꧀ꦧꦮꦶꦥꦶ꧈ꦲꦢ
ꦠꦶꦁꦤꦮꦤꦁꦠꦤꦩ꧀ꦱꦥꦸꦧꦸꦩꦸꦲꦶꦲꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦠꦤꦤꦠꦤꦲꦮ꧈ꦱꦥꦸꦁꦲꦩꦥꦶꦩꦶꦧꦶꦤꦮꦥꦶꦏꦥꦁ
ꦩꦶꦤ꧀ꦤꦧꦤꦲꦤ꧀ꦤꦩ꧀ꦭ꧈ꦭꦶꦁꦱꦥꦸꦧꦁꦤꦏꦢꦶꦥꦸꦩꦫꦭꦧꦸ꧈ꦱꦁꦠꦱꦠꦶꦠꦲꦶꦤ꧀ꦱꦶꦩꦶꦤ꧀ꦲ
ꦩꦸꦏꦤꦮꦠ꧀ꦧꦮꦶꦥꦶꦠꦭꦶꦤ꧀ꦩꦧꦩꦸꦲꦶꦲꦏꦶꦥꦸꦤꦠꦸ꧈

95. ꧋ꦭꦧꦶꦭꦧꦶꦤꦮꦥꦶꦏꦥꦁꦩꦶꦤ꧀ꦲꦤꦧꦤ꧀ꦤꦠꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦭꦸꦧꦸꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦤꦧꦁꦱꦲꦧꦠꦂꦧꦶꦤꦪꦤ꧀ꦩꦏꦁ꧈
ꦠꦏꦸꦱꦲꦶꦁꦥꦂꦩꦶ꧈ꦲꦶꦁꦩꦁꦏꦧꦲꦶꦠꦸꦱꦠꦶꦠꦩꦱꦶꦤ꧀꧈ꦱꦱꦧꦲꦶꦢꦶꦩꦥꦶꦏꦶ꧈ꦲꦥꦸꦥꦸꦫꦺꦧꦭꦶꦤ꧀
ꦤꦲꦤꦿꦶ꧈ꦲꦩꦸꦢꦶꦩꦸꦲꦶꦲꦏꦶꦥꦸꦤꦏꦶꦏꦤ꧀꧈ꦭꦶꦁꦤꦱꦮ꧉ꦥꦸꦫꦺꦩꦩꦭꦶꦤ꧀ꦥꦲꦸꦲꦶꦁꦩꦁꦩꦩꦁꦩ
ꦧꦩꦸꦲꦶꦭꦶꦥꦸꦱꦗꦏꦥꦱꦧꦫꦺꦧ꧈ꦲꦶꦁꦩꦁꦤꦲꦤꦿꦶꦩꦪꦲꦸꦥꦫꦩꦏꦶꦭꦶꦪꦩꦸꦲꦶꦲꦏꦶ
ꦭꦶꦏꦁ꧉ꦩꦸꦲꦶꦭꦥꦸꦱꦗꦏꦥꦥꦲꦸꦱꦧꦫꦩꦩꦥꦸꦥꦸꦫꦺꦥꦶꦠꦸ꧈ꦥꦧꦤ꧀ꦠꦶꦥꦸꦩꦏꦁ꧈ꦲꦢꦧ
ꦩꦸꦲꦶꦲꦏꦶꦤꦩꦸꦭ꧈ꦲꦶꦁꦩꦁꦏꦪꦶꦩꦶꦢꦶꦤꦧꦩꦤꦿꦶꦱꦮꦪ꧈ꦲꦢꦧꦠꦲꦶꦲꦏꦶꦥꦩꦶꦱꦸꦠ
ꦲꦶꦲꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦥꦸꦩ꧈ꦠꦲꦶꦲꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦩꦤꦏ꧈ꦠꦲꦶꦲꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦥꦁꦭꦸ꧈ꦠꦲꦶꦲꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦤꦠꦤ꧀ꦤꦩꦁꦤ꧀꧈
ꦠꦲꦶꦲꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦲꦤꦶꦠꦪ꧈ꦱꦧꦶꦤꦸꦩꦸꦲꦏꦶꦤꦏꦤꦢꦶꦥꦸꦩꦱꦤꦪꦤꦏꦩꦏꦩꦸ꧈

96. ꧋ꦩꦱꦏꦶꦤꦪꦤ꧀ꦩꦸꦲꦶꦲꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦧꦶꦏꦶꦁ꧈ꦲꦢꦧꦲꦤꦶꦝꦥꦶꦲꦤꦲꦪꦏꦶꦤ꧀ꦏꦠꦸꦤꦶꦲꦪꦲꦏ꧀ꦩꦁ
ꦠꦶ꧈ꦩꦭꦥꦠꦺꦢꦶꦠꦢꦶꦥꦸꦩꦫꦺꦗꦂꦗꦂꦥꦶꦝꦪꦲꦶꦁꦧꦝꦥꦲꦶꦠꦸꦩꦶꦢꦱꦶꦤ꧀ꦲꦩꦤ꧀ꦠꦶꦠꦠꦶ
ꦏꦁꦏꦥꦸ꧈ꦱꦁꦠꦩꦠꦏꦶꦧꦩꦫꦺꦢꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸꦱꦧꦩꦩꦥꦸꦥꦸꦫꦺꦩꦩꦭꦶꦤ꧀ꦲꦢꦧꦩꦶꦤꦗꦂ
ꦩꦏꦶꦭꦏ꧈ꦩꦭꦶꦤ꧀ꦩꦶꦤꦗꦂꦩꦏꦶꦠ꧈ꦱꦱꦧꦲꦶꦢꦶꦥꦸꦥꦸꦫꦺꦩꦩꦭꦶꦤ꧀꧈ꦲꦤꦝꦥꦶꦲꦤꦪ
ꦏꦶꦤ꧀ꦏꦤꦠꦤꦲꦮ꧉

97. ꧋ꦥꦸꦫꦺꦩꦩꦭꦶꦤ꧀ꦥꦲꦸꦱꦧꦶꦥꦸꦫꦤꦮꦤ꧀ꦏꦶ꧈ꦲꦶꦁꦩꦁꦱꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦩꦶꦤꦗꦂꦩꦏꦶꦭꦏꦲꦠꦶꦩꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦲꦏ
ꦧꦶꦠꦸꦮ꧈ꦤꦩꦱꦤ꧀ꦠꦥꦪꦠꦶꦱꦠꦸꦠꦶꦭꦶꦁꦩꦥꦤ꧀꧈ꦠꦸꦥꦶꦩꦠꦶꦲꦶꦁꦥꦸꦤꦶꦥꦸꦤꦶ꧈ꦲꦤꦢꦭꦩꦧꦫꦤ꧀
ꦲꦶꦁꦲꦝ꧈ꦥꦶꦝꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦥꦸꦤꦩꦫꦤ꧀ꦤꦲꦁ꧈ꦤꦠꦤ꧀ꦠꦶꦩꦏꦩꦲꦶꦏꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸ꧈ꦤꦥꦤ꧀ꦤꦏꦶꦢꦶꦩꦶꦤꦗꦂꦩꦶ
ꦏꦠꦲꦏꦧꦫꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦲꦏꦧꦶꦏꦸꦱꦧꦸꦧꦢꦠꦲꦏꦩꦸꦥꦸꦩꦏꦶꦏꦤꦏꦸꦭꦸꦱꦧꦫꦺꦩꦤꦶꦏꦧꦸ
ꦠꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦥꦸꦤꦢꦤ꧀ꦠꦲꦶꦁꦥꦶꦏꦶꦁ꧈ꦩꦥꦤ꧀ꦠꦶꦠꦶꦪꦁꦥꦸꦱꦸꦩꦲꦶꦁꦩꦁꦱꦧꦶꦩꦶꦢꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦪꦠꦶꦲꦶꦁꦧꦶꦏꦶꦁ꧉

98. ꧋ꦩꦶꦤꦗꦂꦩꦏꦶꦠꦪꦥꦲꦸꦪꦂꦏꦸꦏꦸꦤꦪꦠꦶꦥꦤꦠꦏꦩꦲꦶꦁꦩꦶꦠꦶꦢꦺꦮ꧈ꦱꦱꦥꦸꦁꦠꦢꦶꦥꦸꦠ꧀ꦪꦁꦠꦶ

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99. [illegible]

100. [illegible]

101. [illegible]

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[illegible]

102. [illegible]

103. [illegible]

104. [illegible]

105. [illegible]

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106. [illegible]

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108. [illegible]

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112. [illegible]

113. [illegible]

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114. [illegible]

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116. [illegible]

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117. [illegible]

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120. [illegible]

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121 [illegible]

122. [illegible]

123. [illegible]

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124. [illegible]

125. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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126. [illegible]

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128. [illegible]

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129. [illegible]

130. [illegible]

131. [illegible]

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[illegible]

132. [illegible]

133. [illegible]

134. [illegible]

135. [illegible]

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136. [illegible]

137. [illegible]

138. [illegible]

139. [illegible]

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[illegible]

140. [illegible]

141. [illegible]

142. [illegible]

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ꦥꦸꦤꦺ꧇ ꧅ꦲꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦭꦺꦥꦶꦱꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦫꦩꦮꦱꦤ꧀ꦢꦏꦸꦗꦩ꧀ꦫꦶꦪꦧꦸ꧈

ꦩꦶꦗꦶꦲꦤꦶꦧꦸꦏꦾꦱꦸꦲꦸꦤꦤ꧀ꦤꦺꦴꦱꦤ꧀꧈ꦭꦩꦶꦗꦶꦫꦫꦩꦫꦫꦱꦫꦲꦤ꧀ꦫꦲꦶꦩꦭꦢꦶꦫꦲꦸ꧈ꦲꦥꦶꦠꦤꦺꦴꦩꦸꦲꦼꦧ ꦫꦩꦥꦸꦗꦲꦶ꧉ꦲꦼꦪꦭꦼꦏ꧀ꦗꦼꦁꦧꦲꦸ꧈ꦧꦮꦥꦶꦱꦥꦶꦲꦶꦩꦼꦩꦩꦫꦧꦕꦪꦮꦾꦩꦏꦏꦶꦲꦶꦱꦤ꧀ꦠꦫ ꦫꦱꦩꦸꦭꦏꦶꦠꦏꦤꦺꦴꦥꦶꦕꦶ꧈ꦥꦸꦲꦤꦶꦲꦶꦱꦤ꧀ꦩꦸꦭꦥꦶꦢꦗꦶ꧈ꦩꦸꦥꦫꦭꦤ꧀ꦩꦲꦼꦲꦤꦲꦶꦩꦼ ꦭꦫꦭꦤ꧀ꦩꦕꦫꦩꦥꦶꦮꦾ꧈ꦩꦸꦮꦸꦭꦸꦮꦸꦮꦂꦒꦩ꧈ꦩꦥꦸꦥꦸꦲꦶꦩꦸꦲꦩꦸꦫꦲꦤ꧀ꦫꦥꦿꦸꦫꦪꦤ꧀ꦏꦩꦕ ꦫꦩ꧈ꦩꦠꦤ꧀ꦩꦭꦕꦥꦿꦸꦩꦩꦕꦫꦩꦩꦏꦏꦫ꧈ꦱꦲꦲꦫꦩꦗꦱꦲꦶ꧈ꦫꦭꦫꦮꦼꦭꦭꦶꦩ ꦥꦸꦭꦸ꧈ꦲꦤꦶꦧꦸꦲꦶꦱꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦩꦸꦲꦶꦩꦲꦧꦲꦶꦩꦫꦩꦩꦩꦶꦗꦶꦥꦿꦸꦠꦫꦲ꧈ꦲꦢꦩꦥꦿꦸꦗꦲꦩ ꦲꦶꦫ ꦫꦥꦤ꧀ꦠꦫꦩꦗ꧉ꦲꦼꦪꦭꦼꦏ꧀ꦗꦼꦁꦧꦲꦸꦱꦩꦭꦼꦩꦼꦥꦿꦸꦫꦪꦤ꧀ꦏꦶ꧈ꦭꦁꦲꦸꦲꦸꦱꦕꦲꦶꦗꦶꦥꦸꦭꦁ ꦗꦶꦧꦸꦩꦗꦩꦥꦩꦸꦩꦥꦥꦗꦲꦗꦶꦥꦿꦸꦩꦼꦁꦏꦾꦱꦸꦲꦸꦤꦤ꧀꧉

143\. ꧅ꦩꦁꦗꦶꦧꦸꦩꦗꦩꦥꦭꦁꦪꦩꦠꦸꦥꦠꦶꦠꦶꦥꦸꦲꦸꦤꦤ꧀ꦥꦠꦶꦭꦸ꧈ꦫꦪꦏꦭꦶꦠꦶꦠꦲꦶ ꦩꦥꦫꦠꦤ꧀ꦩꦸꦩꦼꦁꦏꦾꦱꦸꦲꦸꦤꦤ꧀ꦥꦩꦸꦱꦫꦫꦧꦸꦩꦧꦗꦶ꧈ꦥꦫꦏꦥꦱꦪꦶꦠꦶꦧꦲꦶ ꦭꦏꦩꦸꦩꦁꦗꦶꦧꦸꦭꦁꦲꦥꦿꦸꦭꦼ꧈ꦲꦠꦸꦭꦸꦩꦫꦫꦤ꧀ꦱꦗꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸꦩꦼꦁꦏꦾꦱꦸꦲꦸꦤꦤ꧀ꦫꦠꦤ꧀ ꦠꦶꦲꦕꦱꦗꦶ꧈ꦲꦩꦗꦱꦫꦩꦱꦱꦫꦫꦫꦩꦧꦫꦥꦤ꧀ꦩꦸꦭꦭꦱꦭꦧꦗꦶꦲꦶꦩꦼꦩꦲꦏꦶꦧꦸ ꦫꦠꦤ꧀ꦠꦶꦲꦕꦱꦗꦶ꧈ꦥꦫꦏꦥꦩꦫꦏꦠꦸꦠꦠꦶꦭꦁꦱꦪꦶꦲꦠꦶꦱꦕꦶꦏꦶꦠꦸꦏꦶꦠꦸ꧈ꦩꦼꦁꦏꦾ ꦱꦸꦲꦸꦤꦤ꧀ꦩꦫꦏꦠꦸꦥꦸ꧈ꦲꦶꦱꦥꦸꦥꦸꦗꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸꦲꦸꦩꦧꦗꦶꦲꦶꦩꦼꦩꦲꦏꦶꦧꦸꦠꦧꦩꦸꦩꦕ ꦏꦲꦶꦩꦼꦱꦪꦶꦠꦸꦭꦸ꧈ꦭꦁꦱꦪꦶꦥꦥꦗꦏꦭꦱꦗꦲꦩꦸꦫꦠꦤ꧀ꦠꦶꦲꦗꦏꦶꦫꦩꦱꦗꦫꦩꦱꦗꦶ꧉ ꦩꦼꦁꦏꦾꦱꦸꦲꦸꦤꦤ꧀ꦲꦏꦸꦥꦸꦥꦠꦶꦥꦫꦏꦥ꧈ꦲꦲꦲꦥꦫꦭꦫꦩꦫꦥꦥꦥꦲꦠꦶꦱꦕ ꦲꦶꦭꦥꦸꦏꦶꦠꦸ꧈ꦥꦫꦏꦥꦧꦠꦸꦩꦸꦥꦠꦶꦗꦶꦠꦩꦸꦥꦸꦧꦭꦥꦥꦗꦶꦫꦱꦭꦢꦶꦥꦸꦲꦗꦭꦸꦲꦶ ꦥꦏ꧉ꦩꦼꦁꦏꦾꦫꦲꦏꦏꦭꦏꦠꦶꦭꦗ꧈ꦲꦧꦫꦏꦶꦥꦫꦏꦩꦗꦶꦥꦏꦱꦩꦥꦩꦸꦲꦶꦩꦼꦱ ꦪꦶꦱꦶꦫꦥꦗꦤ꧀ꦲꦱꦲꦶꦩꦸꦲꦶꦩꦶꦲꦶ꧈ꦫꦠꦤ꧀ꦠꦶꦲꦕꦏꦶꦭꦏꦭꦥꦠꦸꦭꦁꦥꦸ꧈ꦫꦩꦫꦥꦲꦶꦩꦸ ꦧꦭꦶꦱꦩꦲꦶꦠꦶꦏꦶ꧈ꦭꦲꦕꦥꦩꦼꦫꦩꦼꦫꦩꦲꦶꦫꦩꦫꦥ꧉ꦥꦏ꧀ꦧꦠꦸꦩꦭꦩ꧈ꦩꦼꦁꦏꦾ ꦭꦏꦶꦩꦧꦭꦶꦗꦶ꧈ꦫꦩꦫꦥꦥꦥꦭꦩꦕꦥꦸꦫ꧈ꦲꦠꦶꦢꦶꦩꦠꦠꦸꦭꦶꦗꦲꦧꦏꦲꦶꦗꦶꦥ꧈ꦠꦸ ꦫꦧꦏꦏꦸꦥꦸꦧꦾꦏꦗꦲꦶꦭꦩꦸꦧ꧈ꦢꦶꦏꦶꦩꦠꦸꦠꦸꦥꦱꦩꦲꦶꦩꦥꦫꦠꦤ꧀ꦩꦸ꧈ꦲꦥꦶꦫꦠꦤ꧀ꦩꦸ ꦥꦩꦥꦶꦲꦸꦠꦲꦶꦩꦸꦠꦤ꧀ꦱꦗꦫꦠꦤ꧀ꦱꦗꦩꦸꦩꦸꦥꦥꦠꦸꦗꦶ꧈ꦫꦲꦫꦥꦸꦫꦩꦫꦥꦢꦶꦥꦫꦲꦗꦶ꧉ ꦥꦏ꧀ꦱꦩꦥꦩꦕꦩꦸꦭꦸꦩꦲꦪꦶꦩꦏꦠꦶꦲꦠꦱꦠꦥꦠꦫꦏ꧈ꦱꦠꦶꦠꦶꦠꦗꦲꦶꦧꦗꦶ꧈ꦫꦠꦤ꧀ ꦠꦶꦗꦩꦫꦪꦩꦏꦗꦏꦶꦱ꧈ꦱꦱꦧꦗꦶꦠꦶꦧꦗꦭꦁꦪꦩꦠꦸꦭꦸꦩꦸꦩꦲꦶꦭꦧꦕꦗꦩꦸ ꦧꦏꦶꦲꦶꦧꦶꦥ꧈ꦧꦠꦸꦥꦠꦶꦲꦪꦭꦼꦏ꧀ꦗꦼꦁ꧈ꦫꦪꦭꦧꦕꦗꦲꦶꦥꦸꦭꦸꦠꦸꦫꦩꦫꦠꦤ꧀ꦠꦶꦲꦏꦱꦭꦸꦪꦶ ꦭꦸꦩꦼꦁꦏꦾꦱꦸꦲꦸꦤꦤ꧀ꦱꦩꦭꦼꦠꦶꦏꦗ꧈ꦱꦠꦱꦭꦸ꧈ꦫꦠꦤ꧀ꦠꦶꦫꦭꦠꦶꦩꦶꦗꦥꦥ꧉

144\. ꧅ꦲꦼꦪꦭꦼꦏ꧀ꦗꦼꦁꦱꦠꦶꦠꦗꦱꦗꦲꦶꦏꦭꦶꦗꦪꦶꦥꦸꦲꦠꦸꦏꦶꦩꦁꦗꦶꦧꦸꦩꦸꦭꦁꦠꦸꦏꦶꦲꦸꦗꦶꦠ ꦥꦠꦶꦩꦸꦮꦸꦭꦸꦮꦸꦩꦸꦪꦩꦏꦫꦏꦗꦶꦥꦸꦩꦒꦲꦸꦱꦗꦩꦸꦥꦿꦸꦩꦼꦁꦏꦾꦱꦸꦲꦸꦤꦤ꧀ꦫꦠꦤ꧀ꦠꦶ ꦩꦏꦱꦭꦸꦪꦶꦭꦸꦧꦮꦥꦶꦱꦥꦶꦲꦶꦩꦼꦩ꧈ꦩꦼꦁꦏꦾꦱꦸꦭꦸꦏꦶꦩꦲꦠꦸꦫꦩꦠꦶꦥꦭꦸꦠꦶꦲꦶꦩꦸ ꦮꦸꦩꦸꦱꦧꦭꦩꦠꦫꦥꦩꦲꦠꦸꦫꦩꦒꦧꦏꦮꦫꦠꦸꦭꦶ꧈ꦫꦪꦩꦗꦧꦒꦮꦫꦥꦸꦗꦲꦶꦩꦸꦮꦸꦏ

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145. [illegible]

146. [illegible]

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147. [illegible]

148. [illegible]

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149.

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150. [illegible]

151. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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152. [illegible]

153. [illegible]

154. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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155. [illegible]

156. [illegible]

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157. [illegible]

158. [illegible]

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159. [illegible]

160. [illegible]

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ꦩꦁꦏꦺꦤ꧀ꦱꦸꦭ꧀ꦠꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦁꦥꦏꦺꦩꦁꦥꦲꦶꦁꦭꦩꦶꦁꦲꦶꦁꦤ꧀ꦠꦤ꧀ꦤꦥ꧈ꦤꦏꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦤ꧀ꦤꦥꦮꦸꦮꦺꦴꦤꦸꦮꦸꦤ꧀ꦭꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦃꦮꦤ꧀ꦒꦿꦢ꧀ꦤꦠ꧀ ꦮꦶꦤꦸꦃ[…]

161\. ꧋ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦱꦶꦤꦸꦲꦸꦤ꧀ꦏꦁꦗꦼꦁ […]

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162. [illegible]

163. [illegible]

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164. [illegible]

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165. [illegible]

166. [illegible]

167. [illegible]

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168. [illegible]
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169. [illegible]
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170. [illegible]

171. [illegible]

172. [illegible]

173. [illegible]

174. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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175. [illegible]

176. [illegible]

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177. [illegible]

178. [illegible]

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179. [illegible]

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180. [illegible]

181. [illegible]

182. [illegible]

183. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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184. [illegible]

185. [illegible]

186. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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187. [illegible]

188. [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

189. [illegible]

190. [illegible]

191. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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192. [illegible]

193. [illegible]

194. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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195. [illegible]

196. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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197. [illegible]

198. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

199. [illegible]

200. [illegible]

201. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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202. [illegible]

203. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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204. [illegible]

205. [illegible]

206 [illegible]

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[illegible]

207. [illegible]

208. [illegible]

209. [illegible]

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ꦥꦸꦥꦸꦃ꧇ ‖ꦏꦼꦩꦼꦭꦸꦱꦶꦮꦤꦤꦥꦸꦢꦪꦠꦺꦴꦪꦠꦤꦪꦸꦁꦲꦠ꧀ꦯꦤꦺꦴꦪꦾꦸꦪꦸꦩꦼ
ꦥꦸꦩꦺꦴꦏꦼꦠꦼꦥꦸꦢꦲꦁꦩꦺꦴꦏꦩꦸꦪꦥꦶ꧉

ꦲꦶꦁꦢꦤꦺꦩꦶꦲꦁꦏꦸꦮꦸꦩꦶꦥꦸꦁꦩꦺꦴꦏꦩꦸꦪꦥꦶ꧈ꦩꦺꦠꦸꦩꦼꦭꦸꦠꦸꦭꦶꦠꦶꦤ꧀ꦠꦼꦤꦶꦤꦸꦥꦱꦁꦤꦮꦩꦺꦴꦤꦩꦼꦩꦼꦭꦸ
ꦩꦺꦴꦏꦼꦭꦶꦭꦶꦩꦼꦤꦩꦼꦁꦩꦸꦏꦩꦸꦪꦥꦶꦲꦤꦶꦩꦶꦩ꧈ꦲꦶꦁꦲꦶꦁꦢꦺ꧈ꦲꦶꦩꦸꦁꦲꦤꦥꦸꦠꦸꦮꦸꦏꦺꦠ꧀ꦢꦼꦥꦲꦭꦸ
ꦁꦤꦶꦩꦼꦩ꧈ꦠꦸꦮꦱꦤꦶꦠꦸꦁꦩꦸꦁꦲꦩꦸꦢꦁꦲꦶꦤ꧀ꦱ꧀ꦏꦲꦶꦩꦸꦩꦤꦮꦶꦩꦼ꧈ꦱꦢꦺꦏꦏꦩꦸꦪꦸꦁꦥꦶ
ꦁꦢꦥꦥꦢꦺꦠꦩꦼꦮꦶꦤꦩꦁꦩꦼ꧈ꦱꦶꦥꦸꦪꦩꦁꦤꦺꦤ꧀ꦪꦸꦁꦥ꧈ꦪꦱ꧀ꦲꦭꦸꦠꦶꦱꦠꦁꦱꦤꦩꦼꦠꦸ
ꦲꦶꦩꦸꦲꦤꦱꦏꦤꦱꦏꦶꦩꦸꦭꦶꦢꦶꦤ꧀ꦱꦪꦠꦤꦪꦸꦠꦩꦸꦭꦸꦪꦏꦩꦲꦶꦁꦩꦁꦩꦼ꧈ꦩꦶꦱꦱ

ꦁꦥꦸꦥꦺꦴꦱꦶꦢꦺ꧈ꦁꦪꦁꦩꦼꦁꦲꦢꦤꦲꦩꦁꦥꦢꦁꦠꦭꦶꦤ꧀꧈ꦁꦮꦩꦏꦩꦲ꧈ꦱ꧀ꦠꦠꦏꦸꦮꦸꦥꦁꦩꦼ꧈
ꦲꦶꦠꦠꦶꦱꦶꦁꦩꦸ꧉ꦤꦠꦸꦩꦼꦥꦸꦭꦏꦪꦶꦱꦸꦭꦶꦥꦠꦶꦩ꧈ꦪꦁꦪꦢꦱꦸꦠꦸꦁꦲ ꦕꦶꦱꦁꦲꦭꦸ
ꦁꦩꦸꦪꦁꦥꦢꦩꦸꦲꦶꦱꦩꦺꦢꦺꦩꦺꦢꦺꦁꦠꦢꦶꦁꦩꦼꦢꦸꦩꦸꦏꦶꦩꦺꦩꦺꦪꦁꦤꦸꦢꦸꦢ꧉ꦁꦩꦸꦏꦩꦸꦪꦥꦶꦁꦪꦱꦶ
ꦩꦸꦭꦶꦢꦠꦶꦩꦺ꧈ꦲꦶꦩꦶꦲꦶꦢꦺ꧈ꦲꦶꦩꦸꦪꦸꦏꦁꦥꦢꦲꦩꦁꦠꦢꦸꦲꦶꦭꦤꦩꦸꦩꦺꦪꦾꦸꦪꦸꦩꦼꦁꦩꦺ
ꦁꦥ꧉ꦤꦠꦸꦩꦼꦥꦸꦭꦸꦠꦶꦩꦺꦭꦶꦢꦪꦁꦭꦁꦤꦩꦸꦩꦸꦭꦁꦠꦢꦠꦶꦩꦏꦠꦶꦪꦏꦠꦁꦠꦢꦱꦏꦶꦩ
ꦪꦏꦶ꧈ꦲꦶꦥꦶꦁꦠꦸꦁꦪꦥꦸꦩꦸꦩꦸꦥꦠꦶꦩꦼꦠꦩꦏꦁꦪꦏꦮꦩꦸꦠꦸꦲꦏꦶ꧈ꦁꦪꦢꦱꦩꦼꦩꦼꦏꦠꦩ
ꦥꦩꦸꦪꦸꦲꦶꦩꦺꦥꦸꦩꦸꦭꦸꦩꦸꦭ꧉ꦁꦩꦸꦏꦩꦸꦪꦥꦶꦲꦶꦏꦭꦶꦢꦩꦁꦪꦢꦭꦸꦏ꧈ꦤꦠꦸꦩꦼꦥꦸꦭꦸꦢꦺꦩ
ꦁꦥꦢꦁꦏꦢ꧈ꦲꦶꦩꦸꦭꦸꦩꦏꦶꦪꦲꦲꦁꦪꦁꦏꦩꦏꦩꦸꦭꦸꦩꦸ꧉

210\. ‖ꦁꦩꦸꦏꦩꦸꦪꦥꦶꦁꦩꦠꦶꦭꦸꦏꦸꦭꦶꦭꦸꦭꦸꦏꦪꦭꦸꦁꦥꦢꦭꦸꦩꦏꦶꦱꦶꦏꦭꦸꦭꦸꦥꦸꦭꦸꦲꦩꦏꦢꦱꦶꦢꦱꦶ
ꦩꦼꦢꦲꦩꦸꦭꦶꦤꦩꦸꦠꦸꦩꦼꦥꦸꦭꦸꦱꦲꦱꦠꦶꦩꦼꦭꦸꦭꦸꦥꦶꦢꦺꦲꦶꦁꦠꦶꦩꦁꦠꦢꦩꦸꦲꦶꦩꦏꦲꦁꦠ
ꦭꦶꦥꦏꦩꦶꦩꦏꦩꦏꦢꦲꦶꦪꦩꦸꦱ꧈ꦢꦺꦩꦸꦥꦶꦩꦏꦶꦠꦶ꧈ꦁꦩꦸꦏꦩꦸꦪꦥꦶꦲꦠꦶꦩꦺ꧈ꦲꦶꦩꦶꦲꦶꦢꦺ꧈ꦠ
ꦠꦶꦠꦏꦩꦼꦠꦶꦪꦩꦸꦪꦏꦱꦁꦩꦢꦲꦶꦥꦸꦥꦸꦭꦪ꧈ꦤꦩꦼꦩꦺ ꦥꦱꦤ꧈ꦠꦭꦶꦩꦺꦱꦶꦁꦠꦱꦸꦩꦸ
ꦁꦤꦩꦏꦩꦸꦲꦩꦼꦪꦸꦥꦁꦩꦺꦥꦸꦢ꧈ꦱꦥꦏꦸꦭꦸꦁꦩꦺꦢꦩꦺꦢꦠꦸꦠꦶꦁꦩꦺꦢꦁꦥ꧈ꦁꦥꦢꦲꦶꦪꦠꦏ
ꦪꦏꦪꦩꦶꦁꦲꦢꦏꦲꦩꦏꦸꦥꦶꦁꦢꦲꦶꦁꦩꦺꦢꦁꦥ꧉ꦤꦠꦸꦩꦼꦥꦸꦭꦸꦠꦸ꧈ꦪꦶꦩꦺꦠꦶꦩꦏꦩꦼꦩꦺꦏ
ꦪꦱꦶꦁꦭꦸꦪꦁꦥꦢꦩꦸꦪꦩꦼꦥꦶꦥꦠꦶꦩꦼꦠꦩꦏꦁꦪꦏꦮꦭꦸꦩꦸꦭꦶꦥꦸꦭꦸꦩꦸꦩꦸ꧈ꦲꦶꦱꦶꦥꦶ
ꦥꦏꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦏꦭꦸꦩꦸꦭꦶꦩꦸꦪꦠꦲꦶꦠꦥꦠꦥ꧈ꦲꦶꦪꦩꦼꦩꦸꦭꦁꦥꦏꦭꦠꦶ꧈ꦱ꧀ꦠꦲꦶꦪꦸ
ꦭꦸꦠꦲꦶꦢꦺꦩꦏꦶꦏꦶꦥꦭꦪꦠꦩꦏꦩꦩꦪꦶꦭꦶꦥꦶꦏ꧉ꦁꦩꦸꦏꦩꦸꦪꦥꦶꦠꦶꦩꦺꦪꦭꦶꦢ꧈ꦲꦶꦩꦶꦲꦶꦢꦺ꧈
ꦲꦶꦩꦸꦥꦪꦶꦠꦸꦭꦶꦢꦪꦏꦶꦪꦠꦸꦩꦺꦪꦸꦥꦶꦥꦶꦩꦺꦱꦸꦩꦁꦠꦢꦠꦩꦭꦸꦁꦩꦏꦁꦱꦸꦩꦏꦁꦩ꧉

211\. ‖ꦁꦩꦸꦏꦩꦸꦪꦥꦶꦭꦢꦺꦪꦩꦺꦠꦸꦲꦠꦩꦸꦢꦁꦠꦢꦱꦠꦶꦏꦭꦸꦭꦸꦁꦪꦢꦱꦸꦪꦸꦢꦥꦤꦭꦸꦩꦸꦱꦥꦸꦪꦸꦪꦸ
ꦏꦶꦲꦶꦥꦏꦠꦶꦠꦶꦱꦸꦩꦁꦏꦠꦏꦩꦼꦠꦭꦸꦱꦸꦩꦼꦩꦼꦭꦶꦮꦤꦶꦏꦢꦥꦶꦠꦶꦩꦸꦁꦥꦢꦭꦸꦩꦏ
ꦠꦏꦥꦱꦶꦥꦏꦠꦶꦠꦶꦱꦸ꧈ꦁꦩꦸꦏꦩꦸꦪꦥꦶꦁꦪꦏꦭꦏꦠꦸꦢꦺꦠꦶ꧈ꦱꦠꦸꦥꦸꦥꦠꦸꦥꦸꦩꦏꦠ
ꦥꦸꦭꦸꦩꦸꦲꦪꦏꦶꦱꦩꦶꦪꦁꦏꦩꦼꦥꦸꦩꦼꦠꦶꦠꦭꦸꦩꦶꦩꦼꦱꦁꦭꦸꦩꦏꦠꦢꦁꦠꦢꦮꦁꦠꦢꦠꦶꦭꦸ
ꦩꦸꦱꦸ꧈ꦱꦸꦩꦼꦩꦼꦭꦶꦮꦤꦲꦠꦶꦩꦺ꧈ꦁꦩꦸꦏꦩꦸꦪꦥꦶ꧈ꦪꦁꦏꦩꦼꦩꦁꦲꦢꦁꦭꦢꦪꦠꦶꦭꦸꦁꦩꦩ
ꦱꦁꦭꦸꦩꦼꦩꦶꦏꦮꦩꦸ꧈ꦲꦶꦩꦸꦲꦏꦁꦩꦸꦢꦩꦶꦲꦶ꧈ꦥꦏꦥꦭꦶꦁꦲꦢꦏꦠꦶꦩꦸꦪꦁꦏꦢ ꦥꦸꦲꦶꦩꦢꦩ
ꦮꦪꦶꦁꦩꦢꦁꦩꦼꦢ꧈ꦲꦶꦥꦶꦠꦸꦩꦸꦠꦩꦭꦸꦱꦶꦩꦸꦲꦶꦭꦸꦩꦶꦏꦭꦸꦢꦁꦮꦁꦩꦸꦢꦁꦥꦱꦸꦪꦶꦢꦺꦠꦸꦭꦸꦱꦸ
ꦩꦏꦠꦸ꧈ꦪꦁꦏꦢꦥꦱꦸꦩꦸꦲꦶꦱꦠꦶꦠꦢꦁꦠꦠꦁꦲ꧈ꦲꦁꦮꦢꦪꦶꦩꦸꦪꦠꦏꦪꦸꦲꦩꦸꦲꦥꦸ

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212. [illegible]

213. [illegible]

214. [illegible]

215. [illegible]

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[illegible]

216. [illegible]

217. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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218. [illegible]

219. [illegible]

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220. [illegible]

221. [illegible]

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222. [illegible]

223. [illegible]

224. [illegible]

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225. [illegible]

226. [illegible]

227. [illegible]

228. [illegible]

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229. [illegible]

230. [illegible]

231. [illegible]

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232. [illegible]

233. [illegible]

234. [illegible]

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235. [illegible]

236. [illegible]

237. [illegible]

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238. [illegible]

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240. [illegible]

241. [illegible]

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242. [illegible]

243. [illegible]

244. [illegible]

245. [illegible]

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246. [illegible]

247. [illegible]

248. [illegible]

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249. [illegible]

250. [illegible]

251. [illegible]

252. [illegible]

253. [illegible]

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254. [illegible]

255. [illegible]

256. [illegible]

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257. [illegible]

258. [illegible]

259. [illegible]

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260. [illegible]

261. [illegible]

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262. [illegible]

263. [illegible]

264. [illegible]

265. [illegible]

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ꦧꦸꦮꦃ꧉ ꦏꦺꦴꦤꦺꦴꦁꦏꦼꦤ꧀ꦤꦺꦴꦫꦤꦱꦤ꧉ ꦲꦶꦏꦸꦁꦱꦼꦴꦁ ꦲꦤꦼꦴꦒꦼꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦏꦸꦁꦮꦶꦠꦤꦼꦴꦂ ꦩꦼꦤ꧀
ꦤꦺꦴꦤꦺꦴꦧꦸꦏꦸꦫꦂꦲꦶꦤ꧀ꦏꦸ꧈ ꦠꦸꦧꦸꦤꦸꦤ꧀ꦤ ꦠꦼꦤꦼꦁꦠꦶꦒꦼꦴ ꦧꦸꦏꦼꦴ꧉

ꦏꦁ ꦲꦤꦺ ꦮꦺꦴꦤꦸꦤ꧀ꦱ ꦥꦸꦁꦲꦤꦸꦁꦠꦶꦁꦲꦶꦁꦏꦼꦴ ꦥꦿꦧꦸꦩꦤꦥ ꦧꦸꦩꦸꦩꦸ ꦲꦼꦤ꧀꧈ ꦭꦸ ꦲꦼꦁꦲꦤꦼꦠꦤꦥ꧈ ꦏꦤꦺꦤꦺꦴꦁꦒꦼꦴꦭ
ꦭꦸꦧꦧꦒꦫꦲꦤꦸꦠꦶꦥꦸꦱ ꦒꦸꦤꦏꦏꦤꦺꦂꦠꦭ꧈ ꦤꦼꦠꦼꦴꦂꦲꦼꦴꦂꦩꦼꦂꦤꦸꦤꦶꦁꦧꦒꦸ꧈ ꦤꦱꦭꦩꦠꦸꦧꦸꦩꦸꦩꦸ
ꦮꦸꦏꦸꦁꦲꦶꦲꦶꦲꦶꦃꦲꦶꦁꦥꦥꦶꦱꦧꦶꦏꦸꦧꦸꦩꦸꦂꦠꦮꦪ꧉ ꦱꦱꦧꦂꦤꦶꦁꦭꦧꦶꦤꦥꦼꦴꦂꦤꦶꦩꦤꦶꦁꦥꦥꦶ꧈ ꦭꦸꦲꦼꦁ
ꦧꦼꦴꦲꦼꦴꦲꦼꦴꦲꦶꦁꦧꦠꦥꦶꦱꦸꦤꦥꦼꦴꦂꦤꦶꦩꦤꦶꦁꦧꦸꦏꦶꦲꦤꦸꦁꦠꦶꦁꦲꦶꦁꦲꦸꦠꦥꦱꦲꦸꦏꦶꦭꦸꦲꦤꦱꦤꦏ
ꦩꦒꦥꦶꦠꦒꦱꦶꦧꦸꦭꦲꦼꦁꦲꦺꦥꦏꦏꦏꦩꦸꦱꦶꦧꦒꦭꦠꦶꦧꦒꦭꦸꦩꦸꦤꦶꦩꦒꦶꦁꦲꦼꦁꦠꦼꦠꦶꦤꦸꦧꦒꦂ
ꦮꦸꦧꦸꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦧꦠꦥꦶꦱꦸ꧈

266. ꧋ ꦏꦤꦺꦤꦺꦴꦁꦒꦼꦴꦭ ꦲꦩꦸꦤꦶꦁꦩꦸꦤꦶꦁꦩꦸꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦧ꧈ ꦩꦥꦥꦂꦲꦩꦏꦏꦏꦒꦥꦼꦴꦤ꧀ꦩꦸꦲꦶ
ꦠꦸꦒꦧꦺꦴꦥꦏꦶ꧈ ꦱꦸꦥꦤꦺꦂꦱꦶꦥꦂꦲꦩꦱꦤꦩꦸꦩꦸꦥꦶꦩꦸꦱꦏꦶꦩꦺꦴꦥꦩꦸꦲꦠꦶꦥꦿꦧꦸꦱꦏꦶꦩ꧈
ꦭꦸꦲꦼꦁꦭꦸꦧꦧꦒꦫꦥꦼꦴꦤꦼꦤ꧀ꦥꦸꦩꦤꦶꦁꦲꦶꦁꦏꦤꦲꦼꦴꦩꦸꦲꦶꦠꦸꦒꦧꦺꦴꦥꦏꦶ꧈ ꦤꦲꦂꦱꦶꦩꦶꦁꦧꦩꦸꦫ꧈
ꦲꦩꦸꦲꦶꦩꦶꦥꦶꦱꦒꦩꦸꦥꦶꦫꦲꦶꦱꦥꦥꦥꦩꦸ꧈ ꦠꦶꦩꦲꦶꦱꦶꦫꦮꦶꦥꦥꦸꦫꦲꦶꦲꦏꦏꦒꦧꦲꦤꦲ
ꦠꦸꦒꦧꦺꦴꦥꦏꦶ꧈ ꦱꦶꦤꦺꦩꦸꦤꦏꦂꦱꦶꦲꦥꦤꦩꦸ꧉

267. ꧋ ꦱꦥꦸꦮꦸꦧꦸꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦤꦼꦤ꧀ꦥꦸꦩꦤꦶꦁꦏꦤꦲꦼꦴ꧈ ꦩꦸꦲꦶꦠꦸꦒꦧꦺꦴꦥꦏꦶꦱꦥꦶꦏꦠꦭꦤꦼꦴꦂꦲꦶꦩꦤꦶꦁ
ꦧꦱꦶꦤꦒꦭꦶꦁꦏꦤꦺꦤꦺꦴꦁꦒꦼꦴꦭꦭꦸꦲꦼꦁꦥꦸꦏꦂꦲꦶꦲꦏꦩꦒꦏꦩꦸꦩꦶꦁꦧꦱꦶꦮꦸꦲꦶꦲꦶꦩꦤꦧꦶ
ꦤꦭꦠꦭꦩꦧꦭꦱ꧈ ꦥꦸꦩꦮꦶꦥꦏꦲꦶꦁꦱꦠꦲꦶꦤꦶꦏꦲꦼꦁ꧈ ꦩꦤꦺꦂꦱꦒꦏꦲꦶꦁꦱꦠꦱꦶꦲꦶꦲꦶ
ꦲꦶꦲꦶꦧꦒꦩꦸꦤꦱꦭꦩꦧꦭꦱꦥꦲꦶꦥꦥꦤꦩꦂꦩꦸꦲꦺꦤꦶꦏꦲꦼꦁ꧉ ꦩꦸꦲꦶꦠꦸꦒꦧꦺꦴꦥꦏꦶꦱꦏ
ꦩꦶꦥꦸꦩꦤꦠꦭꦠꦥꦶꦧꦤꦺꦭꦠꦲꦶꦧꦱꦶꦮꦸꦩꦤꦏꦲꦒꦩꦶꦁꦲꦼꦁꦲꦶꦁꦲꦶꦥꦪꦂꦏꦲꦶꦁꦱꦠ
ꦤꦱꦭ꧈ ꦭꦸꦲꦼꦁꦲꦏꦸꦧꦸ꧈ ꦤꦥꦂꦭ꧈ ꦥꦧꦸꦤꦩꦂꦱꦸꦲꦶꦁꦱꦠꦲꦶꦩꦸꦲꦥꦤꦲꦂꦏꦲꦤꦲꦂꦱꦸ꧈ ꦤꦱ
ꦭꦲꦩꦸꦲꦶꦁꦩꦒꦤꦲꦂꦱꦠꦧꦱꦩꦲꦶꦩ꧈ ꦮꦶꦥꦏꦲꦶꦁꦱꦠꦤꦏꦂꦲꦶꦩꦒꦱꦂ꧈ ꦏꦤꦺꦤꦺꦴꦁꦒꦼꦴꦭ
ꦥꦶꦱꦲꦶꦁꦩꦠꦧꦸꦲꦶꦧꦶꦩꦸꦂ꧈ ꦲꦶꦲꦶꦏꦧꦤꦥꦼꦴꦒꦺꦴꦥꦶ꧈ ꦲꦩꦸꦮꦶꦥꦥꦸꦫꦲꦶꦲꦏꦏꦒꦧꦲꦤꦲ
ꦲꦠꦸꦒꦧꦺꦴꦥꦏꦶ꧈ ꦤꦥꦂꦲꦥꦧꦶꦤꦩꦂꦤꦩꦸꦂꦤꦲꦂꦏꦲꦶꦩꦸꦮꦶꦲꦩꦲꦶꦲꦶꦤꦥꦂꦲꦶꦤꦩꦸꦂꦧꦸꦲ
ꦏꦂꦲꦶꦩꦱꦤꦩꦸꦩ꧈ ꦒꦲꦥꦤꦠꦭꦸꦤꦩꦸ꧉ ꦏꦤꦺꦤꦺꦴꦁꦒꦼꦴꦭꦭꦸꦲꦼꦁꦲꦥꦸꦩꦸꦭꦥꦲꦶꦲꦶꦲꦶꦤꦲꦲ꧈
ꦩꦸꦲꦶꦠꦸꦒꦧꦺꦴꦥꦏꦶꦲꦶꦏꦂꦲꦥꦲꦶꦥꦸꦭꦩꦥꦂ꧈ ꦱꦠꦶꦭꦱꦲꦶꦥꦸꦭ꧈ ꦏꦤꦺꦤꦺꦴꦁꦒꦼꦴꦭꦲꦩꦸ
ꦩꦸꦩꦸꦩꦸꦩ꧈

268. ꧋ ꦭꦧꦶꦭꦧꦶꦏꦤꦺꦤꦺꦴꦁꦒꦼꦴꦭꦧꦶꦥꦸꦥꦥꦼꦴꦤꦲꦂꦱꦸꦤꦮꦩꦲꦶꦥꦲꦭꦸꦤꦩꦸꦂꦩꦸꦤꦧꦶꦲꦏꦶ꧈ ꦲ
ꦭꦸꦲꦶꦏꦏꦭꦩꦸꦲꦱꦶꦧꦸꦭꦸꦭꦸꦲꦲ꧈ ꦤꦥꦏꦏꦭꦸꦥꦒꦏꦩꦸꦱꦥꦶꦭꦸꦲꦼꦁꦠꦏꦶꦠꦏꦤꦩꦂ
ꦠꦏꦠꦧꦸꦧꦸꦩꦸꦩ꧈ ꦏꦤꦺꦤꦺꦴꦁꦒꦼꦴꦭꦥꦏꦂ꧈ ꦱꦶꦩꦸꦤꦩꦂꦤꦩꦸꦂꦠꦶꦩꦱꦂ꧈ ꦥꦶꦩꦸꦧꦸꦤꦩꦂꦠꦶꦤꦩꦒ
ꦠꦂ꧈ ꦱꦥꦶꦲꦩꦸꦩꦸꦩꦸꦤꦥꦂꦩꦸꦤꦥꦂꦠꦒꦼꦂ꧉ ꦏꦤꦺꦤꦺꦴꦁꦒꦼꦴꦭꦭꦸꦲꦼꦁꦧꦩꦸꦩꦸꦮꦸꦧꦸꦏꦶꦲꦶ
ꦏꦶꦪꦱꦩꦠꦩꦸꦲꦩꦸꦤꦺꦂꦱꦲꦩꦲꦶꦠꦼꦭꦸꦥꦸꦩꦸ꧈

<u>269.</u> ꧋ ꦲꦶꦏꦸꦁꦱꦼꦴꦁꦲꦤꦼꦴꦒꦼꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦏꦸꦁꦮꦶꦭꦩꦸꦩꦸꦩꦸꦩꦸꦤꦥꦂꦩꦸꦩꦲꦶꦧꦠꦥꦶꦱꦸꦱꦠꦱꦧꦒꦩꦒꦥ
ꦥꦿꦧꦸꦱꦠ꧈ ꦥꦱꦼꦴꦲꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸꦤꦺꦤꦺꦴꦁꦒꦼꦴꦭꦲꦶꦲꦶꦱꦧꦒꦸꦩꦼꦭꦸꦲ꧈ ꦲꦶꦲꦶꦏꦮꦶꦩꦧꦤꦺꦤꦠꦏ
ꦩꦏꦶ꧈ ꦠꦶꦏꦤꦺꦤꦠꦏꦩꦏ ꦗꦮ꧈ ꦱꦩꦥꦩꦤꦺꦤꦠꦏꦏꦮꦏꦭ꧈ ꦏꦱꦭꦤꦺꦤꦠꦏꦩꦧꦶ

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270. [illegible]

271. [illegible]

272. [illegible]

273. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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274. [illegible]

275. [illegible]

276. [illegible]

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277. [illegible]

278. [illegible]

279. [illegible]

280. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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281. [illegible]

282. [illegible]

283. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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284. [illegible]

285. [illegible]

286. [illegible]

287. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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288. [illegible]

289. [illegible]

290. [illegible]

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291. [illegible]

292. [illegible]

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[illegible]

293. [illegible]

294. [illegible]

295. [illegible]

296. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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297. [illegible]

298. [illegible]

299. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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300. [illegible]

301. [illegible]

302. [illegible]

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303. [illegible]

304. [illegible]

305. [illegible]

306. [illegible]

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66: [illegible]

[illegible]

307. [illegible]

308. [illegible]

309. [illegible]

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310. [illegible]

311. [illegible]

312. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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313. [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]
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314. [illegible]
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315. [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
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[illegible]
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316. [illegible]
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[illegible]

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317. [illegible]

318. [illegible]

319. [illegible]

320. [illegible]

[illegible]

321. [illegible]

322. [illegible]

323. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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324. [illegible]

325. [illegible]

326. [illegible]

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[illegible]

327. [illegible]

328. [illegible]

329. [illegible]

330. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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331. [illegible]

332. [illegible]

333. [illegible]

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ꦒ꧈ ꦲꦤ ꦱꦢꦏ ꦲꦤ ꦠ ꦲꦼꦤꦶꦢꦲꦼꦒ꧀ ꦲꦼꦭꦶ ꦲ ꦠꦶꦁ ꦪ ꦧꦠ ꦧꦶ ꦱꦾ꧈ ꦢꦧ꧀ꦢꦏ꧀ꦏ ꦲꦶꦗ ꦧꦸ ꦥꦿꦶꦏ ꦲꦶꦗ ꦧꦸ ꦲꦾ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦲꦺꦴ ꦲ ꦪ ꦒ

ꦢꦺꦴ ꦏ ꦲꦏ꧀ꦏ ꦏ꧈ ꦲꦤ ꦧꦶꦤ꧀ ꦧꦠ ꦧꦶ ꦒ ꦥꦶ ꦧꦶ ꦏ ꦥꦿꦸ ꦗ꧈ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦏꦶꦤ꧀ ꦱ ꦪ ꦗꦲ ꦱ ꦪꦶꦢꦱ ꦒ꧈ ꦲꦤ ꦧꦶ ꦠꦢꦲꦼꦤ꧀

ꦲꦼꦭꦶ ꦲ ꦠꦶꦁ ꦏ ꦪꦿꦶ ꦏ ꦲꦾ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦲꦺꦴ ꦠ ꦲꦤ ꦠꦶꦤ꧀ ꦲ ꦪꦺꦴ ꦒꦏ꧀ꦗ ꦪꦼꦤ꧀ ꦠꦏ꧀ꦏ ꦢ ꦲꦼꦤꦶ ꦗꦿꦶ꧈ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦏꦶꦤ꧀ ꦥ ꦪꦿꦺꦴ ꦪꦸ ꦱꦾ ꦲꦶꦗ ꦧꦸ

ꦲꦾ꧈

334. ꧋ꦲꦺꦴ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦏꦗ ꦭꦸ ꦲ ꦠ ꦏꦾꦺꦴ ꦪꦶꦢꦧꦤ꧀ ꦱ ꦠꦶꦢꦗ ꦥ ꦲꦤ꧈ ꦥ ꦏ ꦱ ꦲꦼꦭ ꦲ ꦧꦸ ꦧꦶ ꦲꦼꦭ ꦒ ꦥꦶ ꦪ ꦥꦿꦶꦗ ꦱ ꦥ ꦢꦏ꧀ꦏ

ꦥ ꦕꦪꦶꦢꦱꦤ꧀ ꦥ ꦲ ꦕꦒꦧ꧈ ꦭꦲꦶꦁ ꦠ ꦢꦏꦶ ꦲꦤ ꦪ ꦧꦶ ꦧꦸ ꦪꦶ ꦏꦺꦴ ꦏꦗ ꦏ ꦥꦏꦗꦼ꧈ ꦏꦗ ꦏ ꦥꦏꦗꦼ꧈ ꦢꦲꦤ꧀ꦢꦥ

ꦭꦸ ꦢꦏ꧀ꦏ ꦪ ꦏꦺꦴ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦠ ꦲꦗ ꦤ꧀ ꦥꦺꦴꦢꦥ ꦠ ꦲꦾ ꦠ ꦭ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦪ ꦠ ꦏ ꦲꦼꦭꦢꦠ ꦤ꧀ ꦱꦺꦴ ꦠ ꦥ ꦏ ꦱ ꦲꦼꦭ ꦲ ꦲꦾ ꦏ ꦥ

ꦲꦶꦗ ꦲꦾ ꦠ ꦧꦸ ꦲꦶꦗ ꦲ ꦱꦶ ꦏꦺꦴ꧈ ꦢꦲꦤ꧀ꦢꦥ ꦒ ꦥꦶ ꦧꦢꦱ ꦲꦼꦗ ꦥ ꦧꦶ꧈ ꦢꦧꦢꦲꦼꦁ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦪ ꦠ ꦏ ꦪ ꦠ ꦲ ꦲꦺꦴ ꦪ

ꦏꦾꦺꦴ ꦱ ꦧꦶ ꦠ ꦤ꧀ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦥꦶ ꦏꦺꦴ꧈ ꦧꦸ ꦧꦶ ꦱꦾ꧉ ꦧꦸ ꦪꦶ ꦏꦺꦴ ꦏꦗ ꦏ ꦥꦏꦗꦼ ꦪ ꦭꦸ ꦲꦤ ꦕꦏꦶ ꦲꦤ꧈ ꦭꦲꦶꦁ ꦥꦿꦸ ꦒꦢꦏ꧀ꦏꦤ꧀ ꦱ ꦕ

ꦲꦾ ꦱ ꦪꦺꦴ ꦱ ꦪ ꦗ ꦲꦼꦭ ꦪꦢꦲꦼꦭꦤ꧀ ꦲꦼꦭ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦧꦶ ꦥ ꦭꦾ ꦢꦥꦤ꧀ꦢꦏ꧀ꦏ ꦲꦶꦗ ꦧꦶ ꦧꦶ ꦪꦺꦴ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦠ ꦲꦼꦗ ꦤ꧀ ꦥ ꦱꦶ ꦱꦶ꧈ ꦧꦸ ꦧꦶꦢ

ꦢꦲꦼꦒ꧀ ꦲꦼꦭꦸ ꦲ ꦏ ꦏꦶ꧈ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦲꦺꦴ ꦱ ꦪ ꦗ ꦲꦼꦭꦢꦏ ꦤ꧀ ꦥ ꦧꦶ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦪ ꦠ ꦧꦶ ꦱꦾ ꦱ ꦪꦶ ꦧꦸ ꦪ ꦠ ꦠ ꦭꦸ ꦢ ꦏ ꦕꦒ

ꦧ꧈ ꦪꦶ ꦭ ꦒꦒ ꦪꦶꦭꦶ ꦧꦸ ꦲꦼꦭ ꦪꦶ ꦏꦺꦴ ꦏꦗ ꦏ ꦥꦏꦗꦼ ꦠ ꦪꦸꦲꦺꦴ ꦧꦶ ꦠ ꦏꦶ꧉

335. ꧋ꦧꦶꦁ ꦱ ꦪꦺꦴ ꦲ ꦧꦸꦭꦶ ꦧꦸ ꦲꦼꦭ ꦪꦶ ꦏꦺꦴ ꦏꦗ ꦏ ꦥꦏꦗꦼ꧈ ꦲꦺꦴ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦏꦗ ꦭꦸ ꦥ ꦤ꧀ ꦪ ꦧꦶ ꦏ ꦢꦒꦢꦏ꧀ ꦧ ꦏꦗꦢꦒꦤ꧀ꦢꦏ꧀꧈ ꦠ

ꦏꦶ ꦲꦤ ꦲ ꦠ ꦲꦼꦤꦶ ꦲꦼꦗ ꦱꦸ ꦭ ꦠ ꦭꦸ ꦢꦏ꧀ꦏ ꦠ ꦧꦸ ꦭ ꦧꦸꦭ ꦲꦼꦤꦶ ꦲ ꦱꦶ ꦏꦺꦴ ꦧꦶ ꦧꦸ ꦲꦼꦭ ꦭ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦪ ꦠ ꦧꦶ ꦱꦾ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦲꦺꦴ ꦠ

ꦢꦥꦤ꧀ ꦲꦼꦭ ꦧꦶ ꦲ ꦠꦶꦁ ꦲꦺꦴ ꦱꦢꦠ ꦒ ꦪꦶ ꦭꦶ ꦧꦸ ꦲꦾ ꦱꦺꦴ ꦠ ꦠꦏ꧀ꦏ ꦥ ꦤ꧀ ꦠ ꦲ ꦪ ꦧꦶ ꦧꦸ ꦪꦶ ꦏꦺꦴ ꦏꦗ ꦏ ꦥꦏꦗꦼ꧈ ꦢꦠꦤ꧀

ꦧꦶꦲꦼꦭ ꦧꦶ ꦭ ꦲ ꦠ ꦲꦼꦭꦶ ꦪ ꦤ꧀ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦥ ꦱꦾ ꦢ ꦤ꧀ ꦠ ꦲꦾ ꦲꦤ ꦲꦺꦴ ꦲꦾꦺꦴ ꦠ ꦲꦢꦲꦤ ꦪꦢꦥꦤ꧀ ꦲꦾ ꦠ ꦪꦺꦴ ꦏꦶꦢꦒꦢꦏꦺꦴꦢ

ꦢꦪꦺꦴꦤ꧀ ꦱ꧉ ꦏꦢꦒꦢꦏ꧀ ꦧ ꦏꦗꦢꦒꦤ꧀ꦢꦏ꧀ ꦪ ꦭꦸ ꦲꦤ ꦕꦏꦶ ꦲꦤ꧈ ꦭꦲꦶꦁ ꦪꦺꦴ ꦲꦤ ꦧꦸ ꦱ ꦪ ꦗ ꦲꦶꦗꦸ ꦏꦶ ꦲꦼꦭ ꦧꦶ ꦧ ꦲꦼꦭꦸ

ꦪꦶ ꦏꦺꦴ ꦏꦗ ꦏ ꦥꦏꦗꦼ꧈ ꦭ ꦪ ꦗ ꦤ꧀ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦒꦒ ꦪꦶ ꦭꦸ ꦪ ꦏꦶ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦧꦶꦢꦲꦶꦗꦤ꧀ ꦠ ꦲꦾ ꦭꦲꦶꦁ ꦪ ꦱꦺꦴ ꦥꦿꦸ ꦠ ꦲ ꦕꦺꦴ ꦠ

ꦠꦢꦏꦤ꧀ꦢꦏꦤ꧀ꦢꦥꦤ꧀ ꦤ꧀꧉

336. ꧋ꦗꦒꦥꦶ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦠ ꦭꦪꦸꦲꦼ ꦠ ꦲꦾ ꦧꦸ ꦧꦶ ꦲ ꦗ ꦏ ꦗꦒꦥꦶ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦲꦺꦴꦢꦒꦢꦏꦺꦴ ꦲꦤꦢꦏ ꦏ ꦤ꧀ ꦪ ꦧꦶ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦪ ꦠ ꦧꦶ ꦱꦾ

ꦱ ꦪ ꦗ ꦲ ꦕ ꦪꦶ ꦪꦶ ꦥꦺꦴ ꦥ ꦥꦺꦴꦢꦠꦤ꧀ ꦱꦾ ꦪ ꦲꦗ ꦧꦶ ꦲꦤ ꦭꦸ ꦢꦏ꧀ꦏ ꦲꦾ ꦭꦲꦶꦁ ꦱ ꦪꦶ ꦠ ꦠꦢꦠꦤ꧀ ꦱ ꦕꦢꦠꦤ꧀

ꦱ ꦕꦒꦧ꧉

337. ꧋ꦧꦸ ꦪꦶ ꦏꦺꦴ ꦏꦗ ꦏ ꦥꦏꦗꦼ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦲꦺꦴ ꦪ ꦱꦺꦴ ꦥꦿꦸ ꦠ ꦢꦲꦼꦒ꧀ ꦲꦼꦭꦶ ꦲ ꦠꦶꦁ ꦧꦶꦢꦲꦶꦗꦤ꧀ ꦠ ꦲꦾ ꦠ ꦥꦢꦏ ꦲꦼꦭꦸ ꦤ꧀ ꦪ ꦧꦶ ꦧꦸ ꦪꦶ

ꦏꦺꦴ ꦠ ꦭ ꦥ ꦗ ꦭ ꦥꦾ ꦠ ꦪꦿꦶ ꦪ ꦤ꧀ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦭꦸ ꦪ ꦲꦶꦁ꧈ ꦲꦤ ꦧꦶꦤ꧀ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦥꦸꦢꦲꦶꦗꦤ꧀꧈ ꦲꦼꦏꦶ ꦲꦗꦢꦏ꧀ꦏ ꦲꦗꦲꦼꦭ ꦒ ꦥꦶ ꦱ ꦲꦤ ꦥ

ꦲ ꦕ ꦠ ꦭ ꦲꦶꦗ ꦧꦸ ꦲꦾ ꦧꦸ ꦪꦶ ꦏꦺꦴ ꦠ ꦭ ꦥ ꦗ ꦭ ꦥꦸꦭꦶꦁ ꦪꦺꦴ ꦲꦤ ꦧꦸ ꦪ ꦪ ꦏꦶ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦭꦸ ꦪ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦗꦒꦥꦶ ꦲꦶꦗ ꦧꦸ

ꦲ ꦠꦶ ꦲꦶꦗꦸ ꦏꦶ ꦤ꧀ ꦱ ꦪ ꦗ ꦢꦲꦼꦭꦸꦢꦭ ꦱ ꦠꦶꦁ ꦥ ꦪꦿꦶ ꦒ ꦭꦸ꧈ ꦪꦺꦴ ꦱꦶ ꦥ ꦧꦶ ꦥꦸ ꦒꦶ꧈ ꦭꦲꦶꦁ ꦧꦶ ꦲꦾ ꦧꦸ ꦲꦼꦭꦸ ꦲꦾ ꦧꦶꦁ

ꦲꦺꦴ ꦲꦤ ꦱꦢꦏ꧀ ꦲꦼꦭ ꦪ ꦤ꧀ ꦥꦶ ꦏꦼꦤ꧀꧈ ꦲ ꦏ ꦏꦶ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦭꦸ ꦪ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦱ ꦪ ꦗ ꦲꦼꦭ ꦏꦼ ꦏ ꦤ꧀ ꦏ ꦧ ꦤ꧀꧈ ꦢꦠ ꦥꦿꦶꦗ ꦲꦶꦗ ꦧꦸ ꦲꦶꦗꦢꦲꦗ

ꦢꦪꦺꦴꦤ꧀ ꦠ ꦲꦾ꧈ ꦧꦸ ꦪꦶ ꦏꦺꦴ ꦠ ꦭ ꦥ ꦗ ꦭ ꦥꦾꦲꦼꦭꦶ ꦲ ꦠ ꦪꦿꦶ ꦪ ꦤ꧀ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦥꦸꦢꦲꦶꦗꦤ꧀꧈ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦏꦶꦤ꧀ ꦠꦶꦪ ꦤ꧀꧈ ꦗꦒꦥꦶ ꦲꦶꦗ

ꦧꦸ ꦲꦼꦭꦸ ꦪ ꦲꦶꦁ꧈ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦥꦸꦢꦲꦶꦗꦤ꧀ ꦱ ꦪ ꦗ ꦲꦼꦭ ꦏꦼ ꦏ ꦤ꧀ ꦏ ꦧ ꦤ꧀꧉ ꦢꦠ ꦥꦿꦶꦗ ꦲꦶꦗ ꦧꦸ ꦲꦶꦗꦢꦲꦗ ꦤ꧀ ꦢꦪꦺꦴꦤ꧀ ꦠ ꦲꦾ ꦧꦸ ꦪꦶ ꦏꦺꦴ ꦠ

ꦭ ꦥ ꦗ ꦭ ꦥꦸꦭꦶꦁ ꦪꦺꦴ ꦱꦸ ꦭꦸ ꦧꦶꦤ꧀ ꦪ ꦧꦶ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦧꦶꦢꦲꦶꦗꦤ꧀ ꦠ ꦲꦾ꧈

338. ꧋ꦧꦸ ꦪꦶ ꦏꦺꦴ ꦏꦗ ꦏ ꦥꦏꦗꦼ ꦠ ꦲꦾ ꦲꦼꦭꦶ ꦲꦼꦭꦶ ꦥ ꦭ ꦕꦲꦶ ꦧꦶꦢꦲꦶꦗꦤ꧀ ꦠ ꦲꦾ ꦠ ꦠꦶ ꦥꦺꦴ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦥ ꦪ ꦭꦺꦴ꧈ ꦗꦒꦥꦶ ꦲꦶꦗ ꦧꦸ

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342. [illegible]

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ꦝꦪꦃ꧋ ꦕꦸꦫꦸ ꦲꦶꦏꦁ ꦥꦏꦸꦤ꧀ꦤꦤ ꦲꦸꦲꦸ ꦱꦶꦲꦸ ꦤꦸꦤꦶ ꦤꦸꦱꦼꦕꦸꦩ꧀ ꦲꦺꦴꦫ ꦥꦲ ꦕꦸ꧈

ꦥꦏꦸꦫꦱ ꦮꦫꦥ꧀ꦤꦸꦤ ꦗꦶꦁꦥ ꦥꦿꦼꦴꦁ ꦲ ꦕꦸ ꦤꦤꦶ꧀ꦫ ꦮꦱꦶꦁ ꦪꦶ꧀꧈ ꦲꦼꦴꦤꦸꦤ ꦗꦤꦺꦤ ꦥꦿꦸꦫꦲ ꦤ ꦱꦶꦁꦥꦶꦂ ꦁ ꦲꦶ ꦥꦸ ꦤ ꦗ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦪ ꦲ ꦥꦶ ꦱꦸ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦤꦁ ꦱꦫꦲ ꦤ ꦤꦶ ꦮ ꦤ ꦗꦶꦁ ꦤꦁ ꦲꦫꦥ꧀ꦕꦸ꧈ ꦤꦁ ꦤꦺꦶ ꦏꦸ ꦤꦸ ꦤ ꦗꦤ ꦤꦁ ꦤꦁꦸ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦸ ꦤ ꦗꦶꦁꦫꦱ ꦮꦱꦶ ꦥꦸ ꦩꦸ ꦪꦶꦺ ꦏꦁꦸ ꦏꦸ ꦏ ꦥꦏꦸꦫꦶ꧈ ꦤ ꦤꦺꦶ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦸ ꦱ ꦗꦤ ꦗ ꦪ ꦏꦶꦁ ꦲꦶ ꦥ ꦏꦶ ꦤ ꦗꦥ ꦲꦶꦺꦏꦂ ꦥ ꦱꦶ ꦥꦸ ꦕꦸ꧈ ꦱꦂ ꦲ ꦲ ꦪ ꦏꦶꦁ ꦲꦶ ꦱ ꦤ ꦥ ꦲꦸ꧈ ꦲ ꦕꦸ ꦤꦶꦺ ꦲ ꦤ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦪ ꦲ ꦥꦶ ꦱꦸ ꦲꦶꦺ꧈ ꦲ ꦪꦶꦺ ꦤꦸ ꦤꦺꦶ ꦱꦶ ꦪꦶ ꦥꦸ ꦩꦸ ꦪꦶꦺ ꦏꦁꦸ ꦏꦸ ꦏ ꦥꦏꦸꦫꦶ꧈ ꦤꦁ ꦤꦺꦶ ꦏꦸ ꦤꦸ ꦩꦸ ꦤꦺꦶ ꦲꦁ ꦏ ꦏ ꦲꦸꦂ ꦥ ꦲꦶꦺ ꦥ ꦏ ꦱ ꦩꦸ ꦤ꧈ ꦱꦸ ꦮ ꦥꦶ꧈ ꦪ ꦥꦿꦶꦸ ꦱ ꦥ ꦲꦸꦁ ꦥꦸ ꦱ ꦮ ꦲ ꦥ ꦏ ꦮꦶ ꦕꦸ꧈

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357. [illegible]

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361. [illegible]

362. [illegible]

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365. [illegible]

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366. [illegible]

367. [illegible]

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368. [illegible]

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373. [illegible]

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375. [illegible]

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383. [illegible]

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384. [illegible]
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385. [illegible]
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386. [illegible]
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387. [illegible]
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394. [illegible]

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424. [illegible]

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426. [illegible]

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432. [illegible]

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434. [illegible]

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ꦭꦭꦃ꧋ꦏꦶꦫꦲꦸꦩꦤꦺꦴꦏꦺꦴꦤꦤꦸꦗꦸꦥꦾꦲꦼꦤ꧀ꦠꦺꦤ꧀ꦝꦺꦤꦤ꧉

ꦩꦸꦗꦸ꧈ꦲꦺꦥꦿꦭꦶꦱꦤꦸꦗꦸꦩꦭꦶꦫ꧈ꦲꦤꦸꦩ꧀ꦏꦤꦩꦭꦲꦤꦤꦫꦺꦥꦿꦲꦸ꧈ꦝꦶꦏꦤꦤꦏꦸꦱꦸꦧꦶꦱꦤꦩꦫꦤꦲ
ꦏꦤꦺꦏꦺꦏꦏꦸꦲꦸ꧈ꦩ꧀ꦲꦶꦱꦶꦫꦲꦤꦲꦶꦤꦩꦤꦲꦸ꧈ꦲꦸꦲꦶꦤꦩꦤꦤꦲꦸꦲꦸꦭꦶꦭꦸꦏꦲꦲꦶꦱꦝꦶ
ꦲꦸꦲꦶꦩꦶ꧈ꦤꦏꦤꦲꦸꦺꦥꦿꦲꦸꦩꦸꦩ꧀ꦏꦤꦩꦤꦭꦸꦤꦧꦤꦺꦏꦏꦸꦲꦸꦧꦲꦸꦏꦺꦏꦸꦤꦤꦸꦩꦲꦶꦱꦩꦸ
ꦲꦺꦱꦸꦱꦫꦤꦩꦤꦏꦤꦭꦩꦲꦤꦩ꧉ꦲꦏꦩꦭꦶꦫꦏꦸꦩꦗꦏꦶꦏꦶꦲꦗꦏꦏꦲꦶꦏꦱꦧꦸ
ꦩꦗꦧꦶꦩꦏꦤꦧꦲꦩꦸꦲꦶꦪꦺꦥꦸꦗꦩꦭꦶꦪꦸꦪꦲꦶꦏꦿꦶꦱꦝꦺꦱꦧꦶꦧꦩꦏꦗꦩꦶꦝꦺꦤꦤ꧈
ꦲꦸꦲꦶꦏꦲꦶꦏꦤꦲꦸꦱꦧꦸꦩꦗꦧꦶꦩꦲꦸꦏꦿꦶꦏꦸꦩꦲꦶꦏꦭꦩꦸꦧꦲꦸ꧈ꦧꦶꦭꦱꦥꦸꦲꦸꦧꦸꦏꦶ
ꦱꦲꦶꦏꦫꦲꦶꦱꦶꦏꦸꦩꦗꦧꦶꦤꦩꦥꦸꦧꦸꦲꦶꦩ꧀ꦩꦸꦧꦲꦸꦥꦶꦱꦫꦱꦤꦪ꧉

499. ꧋ꦩꦱꦏꦶꦤꦪꦱꦲꦶꦩꦸꦲꦸꦩꦸꦤꦸꦏꦸꦤꦭꦗꦩꦶꦲꦶꦏꦶꦭꦗꦏꦭꦲꦸꦥꦸꦩꦸꦤꦤꦲꦝꦶꦤꦥꦶ
ꦱꦧꦶꦭꦸꦧꦧꦲꦫꦲꦶꦏꦝꦺꦲꦶꦲꦶꦫ꧈ꦲꦶꦩ꧀ꦭꦸꦧꦧꦲꦫꦤꦤꦫꦲꦸꦩꦲꦶꦏꦥꦤꦲꦸꦩꦸꦲꦸꦧꦲꦸ
ꦲꦸ꧈ꦲꦤꦤꦧꦲꦩꦲꦶꦱꦥꦩꦏꦲꦩꦲꦸꦲꦏꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸꦗꦫꦲꦶꦲꦸꦲꦸꦫ꧈ꦏꦏꦥꦸꦥꦸꦧꦶꦩꦲ
ꦲꦸꦏꦭꦸꦏꦏꦲꦸꦭꦧꦲꦫꦲꦶꦥꦸꦲꦸꦪꦩꦸꦧꦲꦸꦲꦸ꧈ꦤꦤꦤꦲꦺꦩꦸꦱꦧꦶꦭꦸꦧꦧꦲꦫꦲꦶꦥꦶꦩꦶ꧈ꦲꦸ
ꦲꦸꦏꦶꦲꦶꦤꦩꦤꦭꦫꦏꦩꦏꦏꦥꦸꦲꦸꦥꦸꦤꦲꦸꦫꦩꦸꦲꦶꦺꦲꦸꦩꦸ꧈ꦱꦏꦲꦸꦏꦸꦲꦶꦪꦲꦶꦏꦏꦲꦸꦱꦸ
ꦩꦤꦧꦶꦭꦺꦲꦸꦏꦶꦲꦸꦥꦶꦲꦸꦲꦸꦲꦸꦩꦺꦲꦸꦏꦶꦲꦸꦥꦶꦤꦲꦶ꧈ꦲꦩꦸꦩꦸꦤꦭꦶꦤꦪꦫꦱꦲꦶꦱꦶꦏꦲꦸ
ꦩꦸꦏꦤꦤꦤꦲꦶꦲꦶꦝꦺꦤꦤ꧈ꦤꦤꦤꦲꦺꦩꦲꦶꦭꦤꦤꦫꦲꦸꦩꦲꦶꦤꦩꦤꦭꦫꦏꦩꦸ꧈ꦱꦥꦸꦲꦸ
ꦲꦸꦏꦶꦲꦶꦝꦺꦤꦤ꧈ꦲꦺꦭꦗꦏꦤꦤꦲꦸꦤꦗ꧈ꦲꦸꦥꦶꦲꦸꦤꦏꦲꦶꦤꦥꦫꦱꦝꦶꦤꦤꦏꦏꦭꦗꦧꦶ
ꦧꦶꦏꦸꦩꦸ꧈

500. ꧋ꦏꦏꦥꦸꦲꦶꦤꦩꦗꦩꦶꦏꦲꦶꦏ꧈ꦩꦲꦲꦸꦤꦲꦸꦲꦶꦫꦩꦤꦤꦏ꧈ꦤꦥꦸꦫꦲꦶꦏꦿꦶꦪꦲꦸꦥꦸꦲꦸꦤꦏ
ꦲꦶꦤꦥꦫꦱꦝꦶꦤ꧈ꦏꦭꦩꦸꦧꦲꦸꦱꦧꦶꦩꦸꦧꦤꦺꦲꦸꦭꦗꦏꦺꦥꦾꦶꦪꦶꦧꦸꦏꦏꦶꦱꦲꦏꦸꦏꦸꦏꦸꦏꦸ
ꦧꦏꦶ꧈ꦏꦏꦥꦸꦲꦩꦸꦩꦸꦩꦸꦱꦏꦿꦲꦤꦩꦸꦫꦩꦸꦲꦶꦏꦿꦶꦪꦲꦸꦥꦸꦲꦸꦤꦏꦲꦶꦤꦥꦫꦱꦝꦶꦤꦤꦲꦸ꧉

501. ꧋ꦤꦲꦏꦶꦧꦶꦥꦸꦩꦏꦏꦥꦸꦧꦶꦤꦪꦱꦲꦶꦤꦲꦸꦤꦩꦲꦶꦏꦭꦺꦥꦶ꧈ꦲꦸꦥꦶꦩꦲꦶꦏꦭꦩꦸꦧꦲꦸꦲꦸ꧈
ꦲꦩꦸꦩꦸꦲꦶꦧꦏꦺꦪꦤꦱꦫꦤꦩꦸꦩꦤꦏꦲꦶꦏꦏꦥꦸ꧈ꦧꦏꦺꦪ꧈ꦱꦧꦶꦤꦩꦫꦥꦤꦏꦫ
ꦲꦸꦲꦸꦥꦸꦱꦸꦫꦲꦩꦧꦏꦶ꧉ꦩꦸꦲꦶꦧꦏꦺꦪꦲꦸꦏꦩꦸꦩꦸꦭꦩꦸꦥꦸꦏꦸꦲꦸ꧈ꦧꦶꦱꦫꦤꦲꦸꦧꦲꦶꦩ꧀
ꦤꦥꦫꦩꦸꦩꦗꦩꦶꦥꦲꦶꦧꦶꦲꦸꦥꦸꦩꦲꦶꦝꦶꦧꦩꦸꦱꦧꦸꦩꦸꦥꦭꦸꦤꦏꦲꦩꦗꦤꦪ꧈ꦲꦥꦶꦲꦏ
ꦲꦶꦤꦲꦸꦏꦏꦲꦶꦥꦶꦏ꧈ꦲꦶꦱꦥꦸꦲꦸꦩꦱꦧꦶꦲꦸꦧꦸꦤꦭꦸꦫꦩꦸꦲꦶꦥꦸꦧꦸ꧈ꦲꦸꦥꦶꦩꦲꦶꦲꦸꦏꦩꦸ꧈
ꦏꦏꦥꦸꦱꦩꦭꦩꦸꦱꦸꦩꦲꦶꦏꦭꦶꦫ꧈ꦩꦸꦲꦶꦧꦏꦺꦪꦭꦝꦺꦩꦲꦩꦲꦸꦤꦤꦫꦱꦸꦤꦥꦶꦲꦶꦝꦶ
ꦧꦩꦸꦩꦥꦏꦶꦏꦲꦸꦧꦲꦸꦧꦶꦏꦸꦤꦲꦏꦏꦥꦸ꧈ꦏꦤꦏꦲꦶꦤꦥꦫꦱꦝꦶꦥꦩꦲꦩꦲꦸꦧꦲꦝꦶꦤ
ꦥꦶꦧꦥꦸꦤꦸꦤ꧉

502. ꧋ꦩꦸꦲꦶꦤꦲꦫꦏꦤꦥꦫꦱꦩꦭꦶꦫꦩꦸꦲꦶꦤꦲꦫꦏꦏꦺꦪꦱꦧꦶꦲꦸꦏꦩꦲꦶꦏꦺꦥꦿꦸ꧈ꦤꦪꦩꦸꦤ
ꦤꦤꦺꦥꦿꦸꦲꦸꦏꦺꦪꦲꦶꦧꦤꦩꦱꦩꦤꦤꦩꦸꦱꦫꦱꦩꦶꦱꦸꦤꦺꦥꦶꦏ꧈ꦏꦭꦶꦫꦲꦩꦶꦩꦶꦲꦸꦲꦶꦩꦝꦶꦏꦶ꧈
ꦲꦧꦶꦭꦶꦫꦥꦥꦩꦲꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦶꦪꦱꦲꦤꦝꦶꦩꦸꦏꦤꦥꦩꦤꦧꦶꦭꦤꦲꦸꦥꦫꦲꦶꦥꦶꦏ꧈ꦤꦥꦫꦤꦏ
ꦲꦸꦲꦏꦶꦭꦤꦏꦶꦭꦶꦥꦸꦩꦤꦲꦸꦧꦥꦏꦥꦱꦩ꧈ꦩꦭꦶꦫꦧꦩꦸꦪꦸꦤ꧈ꦲꦶꦏꦤꦧꦪꦸꦤ꧈ꦱꦩ

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559. [illegible]
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560. [illegible]
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561. [illegible]
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565. [illegible]

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566. [illegible]

567. [illegible]

568. [illegible]

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569. [illegible]

570. [illegible]

571. [illegible]

572. [illegible]

573. [illegible]

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574. [illegible]

575. [illegible]

576. [illegible]

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577. [illegible]

578. [illegible]

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579. [illegible]
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580. [illegible]
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581. [illegible]
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582. [illegible]
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583. [illegible]

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586. [illegible]

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589. [illegible]

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594. [illegible]

595. [illegible]

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596. [illegible]

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600. [illegible]

601. [illegible]

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604. [illegible]

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605. [illegible]

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612. [illegible]

613. [illegible]

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617. [illegible]

618. [illegible]

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619. [illegible]

620. [illegible]

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623. [illegible]

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629. [illegible]

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631. [illegible]

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635. [illegible]

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638. [illegible]

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668. [illegible]

669. [illegible]

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ꦪꦧꦸꦃ꧋ꦏꦿꦲꦫꦲꦫꦤꦔꦧꦁꦤꦫꦏꦏꦫꦏꦿꦱꦗꦿꦏꦶꦪꦤꦔꦶꦤꦁꦏꦏꦶꦪꦤꦫꦏꦏꦤꦔꦮꦶꦪꦮꦶꦪꦏꦶꦭ꧉

ꦏꦶꦠ꧀ꦱꦱꦥꦢ꧈ꦥꦶꦏꦺꦲꦫꦲꦾꦲꦫꦲꦾꦧꦫꦥꦃꦤ꧀ꦗ꧀ꦲꦥꦸꦁꦏꦶꦧꦔꦸꦤꦔꦲꦫꦲꦿꦫꦏꦃꦤꦁꦏꦪꦶ꧈ꦲꦲꦼꦠ꧀ꦭ
ꦁꦥꦲꦤꦶꦿꦫꦤꦏꦶꦤ꧀ꦗ꧀꧈ꦥꦶꦁꦤꦁꦧꦶꦏꦏꦱꦿꦶꦫꦧꦱꦶꦧꦶꦥꦸꦁꦥꦁꦱꦸꦏꦿꦸꦤꦤꦏꦶꦤꦔꦸꦗꦶꦤ꧈ꦤꦏꦫꦲꦃ
ꦱꦔꦶꦁꦏꦏꦶꦢ꧈ꦱꦁꦱꦪꦥꦶꦥꦢꦥꦿꦶꦢꦲꦫꦲꦃꦱ꧀ꦥꦿꦸꦫꦲꦃꦱꦲꦶꦥꦸꦗ꧀ꦥꦶꦱꦸꦧꦶꦁꦤꦏꦺꦥꦲ꧀
ꦪꦫꦲꦏꦤꦔꦸꦏꦺꦲꦤꦸꦤꦿꦶꦤꦿꦏꦺꦪꦤꦿꦲꦏꦺꦤꦿꦸꦤꦿꦤꦶꦏꦿꦶꦪꦗꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦗ꧀ꦥꦶꦁꦏꦶꦢꦧꦶꦲꦫꦫꦲꦿꦧ
ꦫꦥꦃꦤ꧀ꦗ꧀ꦪꦸꦧꦸꦏꦶꦥꦶꦁꦏꦿꦸꦪꦤꦲꦼꦠ꧀ꦏꦤꦿꦶꦏꦢꦥꦶꦁꦏꦶꦭꦺꦏꦤ꧀ꦗ꧀ꦱꦺꦲꦤꦱꦶꦏꦢꦏꦶꦏꦶꦪꦤꦲꦫ
ꦫꦥꦃꦤꦿꦶꦗꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦗ꧀ꦲꦥꦶꦱꦸꦧꦶꦁꦭꦏꦺꦪꦏꦶꦥꦶꦁꦫꦭꦫꦥꦿꦫꦪꦥꦸꦥꦸꦱꦶꦤ꧀ꦗ꧀ꦪꦫꦲꦏꦤꦔꦸꦏꦺꦥꦶꦁ
ꦤꦁꦧꦶꦏꦏꦱꦿꦶꦲꦫꦤꦿꦶꦗꦶꦫꦪꦃꦱꦲꦤꦶꦁꦏꦿꦶꦪ꧈ꦭꦏꦺꦲꦶꦏꦏꦤꦿꦸꦲꦪꦏꦶꦧꦲꦥꦶꦱꦸꦗ꧀ꦪꦸꦧꦸꦏꦶꦥꦶꦁ
ꦧꦲꦥꦶꦱꦔꦲꦿꦏꦏꦶꦁꦧꦱꦶꦪꦔꦏꦶ꧈ꦫꦥꦃꦤꦿꦶꦤꦔꦶꦁꦥꦿꦶꦤꦥꦿꦶꦪꦭꦸꦲꦗꦶꦤꦸ꧈ꦲꦗꦶꦏꦶꦤꦿꦸ
ꦲꦗꦶꦁꦭꦸꦥꦿꦶ꧈ꦥꦶꦁꦤꦁꦧꦸꦲꦥꦶꦁꦏꦏꦪꦸꦗ꧀꧈

689. ꧋ꦱꦥꦸꦁꦥꦲꦿꦶꦲꦲꦸꦤꦪꦫꦲꦏꦤꦔꦸꦏꦺꦲꦁꦱꦭꦲꦶꦲꦸꦭꦸꦧꦶꦁꦲꦼꦏꦿꦸꦢ꧈ꦫꦥꦃꦤꦿꦶꦫꦤꦿꦸꦃꦫꦧꦔꦃꦥꦗ
ꦤꦶꦠ꧀ꦏꦤꦔꦫꦫꦥꦃꦱꦸꦗ꧀ꦱꦤꦶꦁꦧꦶꦁꦏꦶꦭꦸꦥꦢꦥꦶꦁꦧꦺꦲꦗꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦗ꧀ꦲꦏꦶꦧꦶꦥꦸꦤꦲꦤꦭꦥ꧈ꦫꦲꦁꦏꦏꦿꦶ
ꦗꦏꦤꦗ꧀ꦱꦲꦱꦫꦲꦲꦤꦗꦶꦏꦏꦶꦢ꧈ꦲꦥꦶꦲꦲꦪꦶꦥꦸꦫꦤꦸꦤꦲꦤꦤꦿꦸꦤꦲꦲꦸꦭꦸꦧꦶꦁꦲꦼꦏꦿꦸꦢ꧈
ꦥꦶꦁꦥꦲꦿꦶꦲꦾꦗ꧀ꦭꦏꦺꦲꦶꦏꦏꦤꦿꦸꦲꦶꦥꦶꦤꦶꦤꦔꦏꦶꦥꦶꦁꦧꦲꦥꦶꦱꦸꦗ꧀ꦱꦲꦲꦧꦿꦶꦤꦿꦸꦫꦲꦃꦫꦧꦔꦃ꧈ꦲ
ꦲꦔꦏꦶꦁꦥꦁꦫꦏꦗꦗꦶꦥꦸꦤꦿꦶꦪꦁꦱꦫꦪꦲꦫꦫꦥꦃꦱꦸꦗ꧀ꦲꦏꦿꦸꦥꦲꦫꦲꦃꦱꦲꦶꦥꦸꦤꦔꦫꦫꦥꦃ
ꦱꦲꦫꦲꦃꦫꦧꦔꦃꦥꦶꦁꦤꦁꦤꦲꦲꦿꦸ꧉ꦥꦁꦱꦸꦏꦿꦸꦗꦶꦥꦸꦤꦶꦁꦤꦁꦱꦫꦪ꧈ꦥꦲꦫꦲꦃꦱꦲꦸꦲꦾꦫꦏꦪ
ꦭꦸꦗ꧀ꦪꦫꦲꦏꦤꦔꦸꦏꦺꦲꦥꦶꦱꦲꦸꦲꦾꦲꦥꦁ꧈ꦤꦱꦶꦤꦿꦸꦤꦲꦲꦤꦱꦸꦲꦗꦗ꧀ꦭꦏꦺꦲꦏꦶꦢꦲꦏꦶꦢ
ꦪꦲꦶꦥꦁꦫꦏꦗꦗꦶꦲꦤꦸꦭꦲꦫꦪꦲꦫꦫꦥꦃꦱꦲꦫꦗꦱꦲꦶꦥꦸꦗ꧀ꦥꦶꦁꦏꦶꦢꦲꦲꦥꦶꦱꦲꦧꦿꦶꦗ꧀
ꦥꦏꦲꦤꦸꦭꦔꦫꦫꦥꦃꦱꦲꦧꦶꦤꦶꦥꦲ꧈ꦱꦲꦲꦲꦪꦤꦔꦪꦤꦸꦗ꧀꧈

690. ꧋ꦫꦲꦃꦏꦶꦤꦔꦿꦸꦥꦶꦱꦿꦸꦧꦶꦭꦏꦺꦧꦶꦏꦢꦏꦶꦪ꧈ꦱꦲꦱꦥꦤꦶꦗꦶꦱꦱꦤꦶꦲꦲꦶꦤ꧈ꦪꦫꦲꦏꦤꦔꦸ
ꦏꦺꦲꦤꦿꦶꦫꦿꦸꦃꦏꦿꦸꦪꦏꦶꦤꦲꦱꦸꦏ꧈ꦫꦱꦃꦥꦤꦶꦏꦶꦥꦶꦁꦤꦁꦏꦤꦏꦁꦪꦸꦗ꧈ꦲꦧꦿꦸꦫꦲꦭꦤꦔ
ꦤꦶꦤꦲꦫꦱꦃꦭꦢꦥꦶꦥꦸꦤꦲꦪꦪ꧈ꦲꦪꦧꦶꦱꦿꦶꦥꦸꦱꦲꦶꦏꦏꦶꦢꦪꦗꦧꦗ꧀ꦥꦱꦤꦔꦏꦿꦸꦫꦪꦃ
ꦱꦲꦤꦶꦤꦲꦤꦏꦶꦲꦢ꧈ꦲꦥꦶꦗꦏꦏꦶꦥꦶꦁꦤꦲꦱꦸꦏꦱꦧꦔꦸꦤꦭꦸꦗ꧀꧉

691. ꧋ꦤꦱꦏꦶꦫꦪꦃꦱꦪꦫꦲꦏꦤꦔꦮꦶꦪꦮꦶꦲꦫꦫꦗꦃꦧꦗ꧀ꦗꦏꦢꦫꦥꦃꦤꦿꦶꦤꦔꦶꦁꦪꦗꦿꦸꦥꦶꦪꦤꦔꦶꦁ
ꦤꦏ꧀ꦥ꧈ꦤꦲꦪꦶꦥꦔꦶꦁꦥꦶꦫꦥ꧈ꦥꦶꦁꦤꦁꦤꦧꦏꦫꦪꦗꦱꦲꦮꦶꦏ꧈ꦥꦏꦥꦶꦫꦥꦱꦫꦗꦱꦲꦶꦥꦸꦫ
ꦫꦤꦃꦏꦶꦫꦤꦃꦤꦿꦶꦫꦤꦲꦃꦥꦤꦗ꧀ꦲꦧꦺꦏꦶꦫꦲꦃꦏꦶꦫꦤꦃꦤꦿꦶꦤꦔꦶꦁꦤꦁꦤꦥꦸꦧꦶꦗꦤꦗ꧀ꦤꦧꦾꦏꦫꦪꦗ
ꦱꦲꦮꦶꦏꦥꦶꦪꦗꦤꦔꦶꦁꦤꦁꦤꦶꦗꦱꦶꦢꦲꦤꦗ꧀꧈ꦪꦫꦲꦏꦤꦔꦮꦶꦪꦮꦶꦲꦫꦫꦗꦃꦧꦔꦏꦿꦸꦲꦥꦲꦏꦶ
ꦏꦫꦪꦗꦱꦲꦮꦶꦏ꧈ꦏꦿꦮꦶꦏ꧈ꦱꦪꦸꦭ꧀ꦱꦪꦸꦭ꧀ꦧꦸꦭꦗꦶꦥꦶꦁꦱꦥꦶꦤꦶꦲꦥꦥꦶꦱꦔꦪꦮꦶꦪꦏꦶꦧꦶ
ꦏꦺꦗꦶꦲꦸꦥꦧꦁꦤꦁꦏꦺꦥꦧꦤ꧀ꦗ꧀꧈ꦥꦶꦁꦤꦁꦤꦪꦲꦸꦧꦲꦾ꧈ꦤꦸꦭꦫꦸꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦗ꧀ꦲꦥꦶꦤꦸꦭꦥꦶꦁꦤꦁꦱꦧꦔꦸ
ꦤꦿꦶꦏꦶꦢꦤꦧꦱꦤꦥꦤ꧀ꦗ꧀ꦏꦫꦪꦗꦱꦔꦥꦃꦲꦏꦶꦢꦤꦧꦏꦫꦪꦗꦫꦱꦔꦃꦤꦿꦸꦥꦶꦪ꧈ꦏꦫꦪꦗ
ꦗꦶꦱꦶꦃꦤꦧꦏꦫꦪꦗꦗꦶꦥꦸꦲꦫꦏ꧈ꦏꦫꦪꦗꦱꦲꦤꦥꦃꦤꦧꦏꦫꦪꦗꦗꦶꦪꦥꦸꦫꦏ꧈ꦏꦫꦪꦗ
ꦱꦲꦪꦃꦤꦧꦏꦫꦪꦗꦱꦲꦪꦥꦸꦥꦿꦸ꧈ꦱꦫꦗꦱꦲꦶꦥꦸꦫꦗꦫꦁꦫꦥꦃꦤꦿꦶꦤꦏꦶꦢꦤꦧ꧉ꦪꦫꦲꦏ

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꧋ꦤꦥꦶꦥꦏ꧀ꦏꦒꦮꦺꦥꦥꦶꦁꦲꦾꦒꦪꦥꦸꦃ꧈ꦤꦶꦧꦥꦶꦥꦶꦥꦒꦱꦸꦫꦏ꧀ꦏꦤꦕꦶꦁꦤꦺꦥꦱꦸꦒ꧉

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ꦪꦪꦃ꧋ꦲꦏꦏꦶꦲꦂꦥꦏꦸꦏꦤꦲꦪꦠꦶꦁꦠꦱꦶꦿꦲꦸꦁꦪꦭꦱꦶꦿ꧉

ꦱꦱꦶꦿꦲꦸꦭꦶꦤ꧀ꦱꦂꦥꦶꦠꦠꦶꦱꦸꦲꦸꦗꦼꦤꦁ꧈ꦠꦲꦸꦪꦠꦸꦱꦲꦠꦶꦁꦲꦪꦤꦠꦼꦤ꧀ꦲꦸꦗꦠꦲꦤꦥꦁꦤ꧀ꦱꦶꦗꦶꦲꦂꦲꦶ ꦤꦪꦼꦤ꧀ꦱꦶ꧈ꦠꦠꦸꦠꦂꦪꦁꦠꦲꦸ꧈ꦤꦪꦲꦸꦠꦸꦤꦲꦸꦠꦲꦠꦶꦁꦤꦲꦤꦲꦸ꧈ꦱꦂꦠꦲꦥꦸꦲꦸꦤ꧀ꦥꦪꦤꦲꦸ꧉ꦮ ꦤꦠꦏꦲꦏꦺꦤ꧀ꦤꦪꦱꦶꦪꦏꦥꦁꦱꦸꦱꦶꦥꦠꦱꦶꦲ꧈ꦱꦠꦶꦪꦶꦤꦲꦸ꧈ꦲꦶꦪꦠꦲꦸꦲꦁꦗꦪꦶꦱꦶꦏꦥꦠ ꦪꦶꦲꦸꦠꦲꦸꦤ꧀ꦗꦥ꧈ꦭꦤ꧀ꦤꦲꦤ꧀ꦤꦥꦠꦶꦲꦪꦸꦤ꧀ꦥꦸꦤꦲꦸꦱꦪꦶꦗꦠꦥ꧉ꦠꦶꦲꦸꦠꦥꦁꦱꦸꦱꦶ꧈ꦠꦲꦲꦁ ꦤꦲꦁꦤ꧀ꦤꦲꦤ꧀ꦲꦸꦏꦠꦲꦸ꧈ꦠꦠꦮꦲꦱꦤꦱꦸꦱꦸꦤꦏꦤ꧀ꦏꦠꦸꦗꦥ꧈ꦤꦪꦲꦸꦠꦸꦤꦲꦸꦥꦶꦱꦸꦭꦤ꧀꧈ꦪꦠꦶ ꦤꦮꦱꦶꦠꦲꦸ꧈ꦲꦸꦭꦶꦗꦏꦱꦸꦤꦠꦤ꧀ꦮꦱꦸꦪꦏꦶꦱꦸꦤꦲꦤ꧀ꦠꦤ꧀ꦠꦲꦸꦥꦭꦮꦤꦱꦸꦤ꧀ꦱꦶꦭꦸꦤ꧀ꦲꦶ ꦤꦥꦁꦱꦥꦸꦤꦭꦤ꧀ꦗꦥ꧉ꦮꦤꦠꦏꦲꦏꦺꦤ꧀ꦤꦪꦱꦶꦪꦏꦥꦁꦱꦸꦱꦶꦥꦠꦱꦶꦲ꧈ꦭꦤ꧀ꦥꦤꦪꦤ꧀꧈ꦠꦶꦲ ꦲꦸꦲꦱꦤꦱꦸꦱꦸ꧈ꦤꦲꦤ꧀ꦤꦥꦠꦸꦠꦸꦠꦸꦠꦲꦶꦪꦶꦗꦱꦶꦲꦏ꧉ꦱꦱꦪꦲꦸꦤꦶꦠꦱꦶꦲꦪꦲꦠꦶꦲꦸꦭ ꦗꦶꦪꦠꦶꦤꦲꦸꦤ꧀ꦠꦕꦸꦤ꧀꧈ꦱꦂꦠꦤꦮꦤ꧀ꦠꦕꦭꦏꦤꦏꦥꦸ꧈ꦠꦸꦥꦶꦤꦲꦸꦤ꧀ꦠꦱꦤꦲꦸꦱꦲꦥꦸꦲꦸꦠꦶꦲꦸ ꦠꦲꦸꦱꦶꦿꦭꦸꦪꦥꦿꦲꦏꦥꦱꦶꦥꦸꦲꦸꦠꦥꦶꦭꦤꦏꦠꦱꦶꦠꦸꦲꦸꦠꦶꦲꦪꦗꦥꦠꦸꦠꦸꦗꦥꦶꦤꦠꦸꦤ꧀ꦠꦶꦲꦏ ꦏꦶꦱꦶꦱꦱꦶꦿꦲꦸꦥꦿꦥꦱꦶꦥꦲꦪꦱꦶꦱꦶꦭꦲꦸ꧈ꦮꦤꦠꦏꦲꦏꦺꦤ꧀ꦠꦠꦱꦶꦲꦪꦭꦶꦤ꧀꧈ꦱꦠꦶꦲꦼꦤ ꦤꦲꦤ꧀ꦤꦥꦥꦶꦱꦸꦭꦤ꧀ꦠꦶꦲꦱꦤꦱꦸꦤꦸ꧈ꦥꦤꦏꦱꦸꦤ꧀ꦲꦸ꧈ꦲꦸꦭꦶꦭꦠꦠꦸꦲꦼꦲꦼꦠꦠꦸꦠꦭꦶꦪꦪꦏ ꦥꦤꦤꦏꦤ꧀ꦲꦸꦲꦸꦪꦸꦠꦶꦱꦠꦶꦁ꧈ꦗꦶꦠꦸꦥꦠꦸꦤꦸꦠꦸꦲꦸꦭꦶꦲꦼꦏꦶ꧈ꦠꦲꦠꦶꦮꦭꦲꦗꦠꦏꦸꦪꦏꦱꦤꦥ ꦲꦶꦤꦥꦤ꧀꧈ꦠꦥꦶꦤꦠꦸꦤ꧀ꦠꦶꦠꦲꦸꦤ꧀ꦗꦥꦠꦸꦲꦸꦲꦤꦠꦤ꧀꧈ꦤꦪꦤꦱꦸꦤ꧀ꦤꦥꦤꦠꦤ꧀ꦏꦠꦸꦪꦸꦭꦶꦭꦸꦠ꧈ ꦠꦥꦠꦱꦶꦮꦲꦸꦭꦁꦠꦠꦶꦭꦶꦱ꧉ꦠꦶꦲꦸꦤꦥꦏꦤꦱꦸꦱꦤ꧀꧈ꦪꦠꦤꦭꦲꦸꦤꦠꦲꦶꦏꦼꦲꦶꦏꦶ꧈ꦠꦶꦠꦶ ꦪꦠꦶꦥꦤꦏꦲꦸꦲꦲꦶꦲꦲꦪꦤꦏꦲꦸꦱꦸꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦱꦪꦶꦱꦲꦶꦠꦪꦠꦸ꧈

765\. ꧋ꦲꦭꦱꦪꦱꦶꦿꦲꦗꦪꦲꦸꦱꦸꦠꦱꦸꦠꦶꦱꦶꦿꦲꦸꦏꦏꦥꦠꦸꦠꦸꦱꦗꦲꦸꦏꦶꦲꦗ꧈ꦮꦤꦠꦏꦲꦏꦺꦤ꧀ ꦏꦶꦏꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦠꦥꦶꦤꦠꦤ꧀ꦠꦶꦲꦸ꧈ꦥꦱꦸꦱꦶꦠꦸꦠꦸꦱꦗꦲꦸꦠꦲꦸꦤꦪꦲꦗꦤꦠꦏꦲꦏꦺꦤ꧀ꦠꦲꦗꦤ꧀ ꦥꦶꦭꦸꦗꦶ꧈ꦤꦠꦤ꧀ꦠꦶꦤꦲꦥꦥꦤ꧀ꦠꦲꦗꦤ꧀ꦲꦤꦮꦤ꧀ꦱꦗꦠꦶꦲꦸꦏꦏꦥꦱꦠꦶꦠꦸꦠꦸꦲꦸ꧈

766\. ꧋ꦥꦸꦥꦿꦸꦲꦶꦥꦸꦲꦗꦏꦥꦲꦶꦲꦼꦥꦸꦗꦶꦤꦱꦮ꧈ꦥꦲꦶꦏꦱꦸꦥꦸꦱꦸꦲꦸꦱꦪꦱꦸꦥꦲꦠꦸꦪꦮꦤꦠ ꦏꦲꦸꦲꦸꦏꦭꦏ꧈ꦲꦶꦲꦼꦏꦪꦶꦲꦥꦲꦠꦸꦪꦮꦤꦠꦏꦲꦸꦲꦸꦏꦶꦏꦠꦸ꧈ꦏꦤꦮꦲꦥꦪꦶꦮꦪꦶꦏꦶ ꦲꦸꦥꦗꦠꦠꦶꦭꦥꦸꦥꦿꦸꦲꦸꦱꦠꦸꦏꦶꦭꦸꦱꦪꦱꦸꦥꦲꦠꦸꦪꦠꦸꦪꦶꦏꦸꦏꦶꦲꦸꦥꦗ꧈ꦱꦱꦸꦲ ꦮꦠꦸꦪꦗꦲꦶꦲꦶꦲꦼꦲꦶꦠꦸ꧈ꦠꦲꦸꦪꦏꦤꦮꦤꦲꦥꦭꦪꦶꦪꦶꦗ꧈ꦲꦥꦲꦠꦸꦪꦮꦤꦠꦏꦲꦸꦭꦶ ꦥꦂ꧉

767\. ꧋ꦲꦶꦲꦭꦶꦲꦪꦥꦸꦠꦶꦱꦶꦠꦶꦲꦤ꧀ꦱꦠꦸꦱꦶꦱꦶꦿꦲꦶꦥꦸꦲꦗꦥꦿꦸꦗꦲꦶꦲꦼꦱꦪꦏꦤꦲꦗꦮ꧈ꦥꦏꦗꦮ ꦪꦶꦱꦪꦶꦤꦱꦤ꧀ꦥꦲꦗꦲꦶꦲꦪꦤꦠꦤ꧀ꦲꦗꦏꦂꦥꦲꦶꦥꦸꦲꦸꦱꦂꦠꦱꦪꦶꦠꦶꦥꦶ꧉ꦤꦥꦤ꧀ꦱꦶꦿꦲꦂꦥꦲꦶꦥꦸꦲꦏ ꦤꦲꦸꦪꦗꦤꦠꦏꦲꦸꦱꦸꦿꦲꦸꦏꦶꦏꦠꦸꦠꦪꦸꦲꦶꦥꦲꦶꦤꦮꦤꦏꦥꦸꦥꦸꦥꦿꦸ꧈ꦠꦲꦸꦪꦏꦤꦮꦲꦸꦪꦸꦮꦲꦸꦥ ꦪꦶ꧈ꦥꦱꦶꦿꦱꦗꦤꦭꦤꦭꦥꦲꦶꦥꦸꦲꦸ꧈ꦱꦥꦸꦲꦠꦸꦲꦶꦠꦲꦲꦶꦏꦥꦿꦸꦗ꧈ꦲꦠꦥꦸꦱꦗꦲꦸꦠꦶꦲꦶꦥ ꦗꦸꦥꦸꦠꦸꦲꦸꦭꦗꦶꦲꦏꦸꦗꦶꦏꦲꦶꦲꦶꦲꦗꦲꦠꦸꦏꦶꦭꦗꦤꦏ꧈ꦏꦤꦮꦲꦸꦪꦸꦠꦤꦪꦤꦪꦤ꧀ꦤꦥꦤ꧀꧈ꦲ ꦪꦶꦤꦠꦤ꧀ꦠꦶꦱꦸꦥꦥꦶꦠꦶꦱꦸꦮꦲꦶꦲꦤꦏꦤ꧀ꦱꦲꦸꦠꦸꦪꦸꦮꦤꦮꦤ꧀ꦱꦸꦥꦸꦲꦗꦠꦗꦶꦭꦶꦤ꧀ꦗꦶꦭꦶꦤ꧀꧈ꦱꦥꦸ ꦱꦪꦲꦸꦏꦤꦮꦲꦸꦪꦸꦠꦸꦪꦸꦱꦶꦿꦤꦱꦸꦤ꧀ꦲꦂꦲꦭꦶꦤ꧀ꦥꦸꦠꦶꦱꦶꦭꦶ꧉

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787. [illegible]

788. [illegible]

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805. [illegible]

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809. [illegible]

810. [illegible]

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825. [illegible]

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830. [illegible]

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894. [illegible]

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897 [illegible]

898. [illegible]

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ꦫꦲꦶ꧉

948. ꧋ꦩꦸꦲꦶꦕꦿꦤ꧀ꦠꦢ꧀ꦭꦲꦶꦭꦧꦺꦪꦲꦶꦲꦶꦁꦏꦿꦤ꧀ꦥꦼꦤꦶꦁꦭ꧈ꦪꦲꦶꦢꦱꦼꦭꦸꦕꦮꦩꦭꦲꦶꦮꦩ꧀ꦧꦼꦧꦶꦩ꧀ꦭꦱꦼꦧꦶ ꦲꦗꦼꦧꦶꦲꦶꦕꦢꦲꦤꦶꦕꦤ꧀ꦭꦶꦪꦤꦶꦤꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸꦲꦠꦠꦢꦥꦿꦤꦩꦤ꧀ꦱ꧈ꦱꦲꦱꦸꦏꦶꦢꦤ꧀ꦤꦼꦏꦸꦲꦸꦲꦸꦧꦼꦭ ꦱꦗꦩꦸ꧈ꦩꦸꦲꦶꦪꦲꦶꦢꦲꦤꦸꦩꦸꦩꦲꦶꦕꦿꦤ꧀ꦠꦩꦸꦲꦸ꧈ꦥꦸꦤꦸꦥꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦭꦲꦼꦧꦶꦩꦶꦃꦏꦧꦶꦱꦢꦪ ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦿꦤ꧀ꦏꦤ꧀ꦤꦠꦠ꧈ꦲꦲꦶꦪꦱꦸꦭꦶꦤꦶꦥꦸꦩꦒꦤ꧀ꦩꦸꦩꦪꦏꦶꦢꦲꦲꦶꦥꦸꦤꦶꦥꦸꦤꦶꦤ꧀ꦲꦺꦧꦶꦩꦒꦼꦢ꧉ ꦩꦸꦲꦶꦪꦲꦶꦢꦭꦧꦺꦪꦤ꧀ꦤꦭꦢꦪꦲꦶꦫꦪꦥꦶꦲꦶꦥꦶꦭꦭꦸꦩꦭꦶꦢꦲꦶꦲꦭꦶꦥꦸꦭꦸ꧈ꦲꦶꦠꦲꦶꦫ ꦫꦶꦱꦸꦲꦲꦺꦧꦶꦩꦃꦏꦩꦸꦲꦶꦕꦿꦤ꧀ꦠꦩꦲꦶꦲꦶꦭꦤ꧀ꦪꦤ꧀ꦲꦺꦩꦸꦲꦶꦩꦩꦥꦤ꧀ꦤꦭꦢꦲꦤ꧀ꦩꦏ꧀ ꦠꦭꦗꦼꦧꦶꦪꦩꦲꦗꦲꦭꦤꦶꦥꦸꦤꦶꦪꦭꦒꦶꦭꦥꦸꦏꦶꦩꦸ꧈

949. ꧋ꦪꦲꦶꦁꦏꦿꦤ꧀ꦏꦤ꧀ꦠꦠꦩꦭꦱꦶꦧꦭꦶꦩꦗꦥꦶꦠꦩꦩꦗꦩꦶꦪꦤ꧀ꦏꦼꦭꦢꦲꦩꦸꦩꦤ꧀ꦠꦭꦲꦪꦲꦶꦲ ꦩꦒꦶꦪꦪꦧꦶꦭꦗꦩꦶꦁꦏꦿꦤ꧀ꦥꦼꦤꦶꦁꦭ꧈ꦭꦧꦺꦱꦧꦤꦸꦥꦶꦏ꧈ꦩꦸꦲꦶꦕꦿꦤ꧀ꦠꦩꦤꦲꦒꦲꦧꦸꦭꦶꦥꦸ ꦱꦤ꧀ꦤꦼꦏꦸꦧꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸꦲꦭꦲꦶꦭꦤ꧀ꦪꦲꦩꦥꦢꦲꦶꦩꦏꦥꦶꦕꦢ꧈ꦲꦥꦶꦠꦤ꧀ꦤꦥꦸꦤꦶꦲꦩꦸꦧꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸ ꦤꦲꦺꦧꦶꦩꦸꦩꦤ꧀ꦮꦩꦪꦲꦶꦲꦩꦒꦶꦧꦶꦱꦢ꧈ꦲꦩꦸꦩꦪꦥꦶꦲꦶꦥꦸꦫꦩꦒꦩꦸꦩꦶꦲꦶꦱꦩꦶꦤꦭꦶ꧈ ꦪꦪꦧꦶꦭꦒꦶꦧꦺꦪꦲꦩꦸꦩꦶꦲꦶꦱꦩꦶꦩꦶꦤꦭꦩꦸꦪꦲꦶꦁꦏꦿꦤ꧀ꦏꦤ꧀ꦠꦠꦤꦩꦱꦶꦱꦩꦶꦩꦶꦥꦲꦶꦭꦤ ꦤꦪꦤ꧀ꦲꦩꦸꦭꦸꦧꦧꦺꦪꦲꦶꦱꦲꦶꦲꦢꦲꦶꦪꦩ꧈ꦲꦶꦩꦱꦧꦶꦲꦒꦤꦩꦥꦶꦪꦒꦪꦤꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸꦲꦭ ꦤꦶꦥꦸꦤꦼꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦤꦩꦼꦤ꧀ꦩꦒꦶꦩꦩꦸꦩꦸꦭꦗꦲꦸꦏꦶꦱꦸꦏꦶꦭꦸ꧈ꦩꦶꦥꦲꦶꦭꦤꦪꦤ꧀ꦲꦩꦒꦩꦸꦩꦸꦲꦶ ꦱꦶ꧈ꦩꦸꦲꦶꦕꦿꦤ꧀ꦠꦩꦗꦲꦪꦤꦫꦪꦥꦶꦱꦲꦭꦤꦶꦥꦸꦭꦧꦺꦥꦱꦸꦭꦸꦲꦶꦲꦶꦁꦏꦿꦤ꧀ꦥꦼꦤꦶꦁꦭ꧉

950. ꧋ꦲꦩꦸꦩꦒꦲꦶꦢꦱꦼꦭꦸꦕꦮꦩꦭꦲꦶꦮꦩꦸꦲꦶꦲꦸꦧꦶꦏꦸꦩ꧀ꦥꦠꦠꦭꦤꦲꦩꦤꦧꦒꦤꦶꦱꦶꦤꦲꦗ ꦩꦶꦲꦶꦩꦱꦶꦩꦸꦲꦸꦩꦸꦱꦸꦤꦤ꧀ꦲꦺꦱꦗꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸꦲꦧꦠ꧀ꦠꦏꦶꦩꦸꦥꦸꦩꦸꦲꦶꦲꦸꦧꦶꦏꦸꦩ꧀ꦥꦠꦠꦭ ꦤ꧈ꦲꦶꦩꦩꦧꦏꦿꦤ꧀ꦥꦿꦠꦸ꧈ꦩꦗꦩꦲꦤꦒꦩꦒꦩꦸꦲꦧꦶꦏꦶꦏꦠꦥꦥꦧꦶꦩꦒꦤꦶꦲꦭꦶ ꦱꦶꦤꦭꦶꦤꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸ꧈ꦱꦏꦶꦩꦗꦤꦥꦿꦠꦸꦲꦩꦸꦩꦸꦲꦩꦭꦶꦩꦸꦱꦲꦩꦸꦲꦶꦪꦲꦶꦢꦱꦼꦭꦸ ꦕꦮꦩꦭꦲꦶꦮꦩ꧀ꦧꦶꦏꦸꦩ꧀ꦥꦠꦠꦭꦤꦲꦥꦸꦲꦭꦶꦱꦶꦤꦭꦶꦥꦸꦤꦲꦭꦶꦏ꧈ꦥꦸꦩꦪꦤꦪꦩꦲ ꦥꦿꦤꦲꦭꦩꦒꦩꦸꦤꦮꦤꦩꦼꦤ꧀ꦩꦤꦠꦩꦗꦸꦏꦶꦭꦸꦲꦩꦧꦫꦲꦶ꧈ꦱꦸꦏꦶꦢꦤ꧀ꦤꦼꦏꦸꦲꦸ ꦲꦸꦧꦼꦭꦱꦗꦩꦸꦥꦸꦤꦩꦒꦭꦸꦲꦸꦢꦲꦶꦪꦧꦶꦭꦸꦧꦸꦧꦸꦱꦲꦱꦧꦶꦭꦶꦭꦶꦭꦒꦶꦥꦶꦏ꧉ꦲꦸꦲꦸꦱꦗꦭꦸ ꦧꦺꦧꦩꦲꦸꦱꦲꦲꦧꦶꦏꦶꦪꦏꦶꦩꦸ꧈

951. ꧋ꦪꦲꦶꦁꦏꦸꦩ꧀ꦥꦮꦸꦪꦲꦶꦤꦪꦱꦭꦏꦶꦤꦱꦸꦤꦼꦤ꧀ꦩꦒꦶꦩꦶꦥꦮꦭꦶꦏꦶ꧈ꦩꦭꦱꦧꦶꦩꦸꦩꦩꦗꦲ ꦭꦤꦶꦥꦸꦭꦭꦶꦢꦤꦲꦥꦪꦲꦶꦲꦶꦁꦏꦿꦤ꧀ꦥꦼꦤꦶꦁꦭ꧈ꦩꦧꦶꦤꦲꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦭꦶꦧꦶꦲꦶꦲꦒꦶꦩꦶꦥ꧈ꦲꦭꦩꦭꦶꦢ ꦤꦲꦥꦥꦲꦸꦩꦥꦠꦱꦩꦥꦩꦸꦲꦧꦶꦏꦶꦥꦸꦭꦭꦲꦶꦏꦸꦥꦏꦿꦤ꧀꧈ꦲꦶꦩꦲꦏꦶꦱꦒꦶꦥꦸꦱꦸꦩꦗ ꦪꦲꦶꦁꦏ꧈ꦤꦥꦤꦼꦤ꧀ꦩꦗꦕꦥꦶꦤꦶꦲꦶꦲꦶ꧈ꦱꦲꦶꦩꦸꦭꦸꦱꦧꦶꦩꦶꦩꦸꦧꦒꦩꦸꦩꦸꦧꦩꦸꦥꦶꦱꦶꦪꦲꦶꦧꦶꦠꦢ ꦲꦩꦸꦪꦲꦶꦧꦶꦥꦸꦤꦼꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦤꦩꦸꦧꦶꦩꦲꦸꦧꦸ꧈ꦲꦶꦩꦪꦥꦲꦶꦱꦶꦠꦥꦸꦲꦶꦲꦢꦪꦭꦸ꧈ꦭꦶꦱꦶꦪꦭꦸ꧈ ꦲꦸꦤꦩꦒꦲꦶ꧈ꦱꦶꦪ꧈ꦱꦱꦧꦒꦶꦲꦶꦏꦶꦲꦠꦒꦱꦏꦿꦲꦩꦸꦥꦱꦸꦭꦸꦭꦶꦢꦪꦲꦶꦲꦶꦪꦩ꧈ ꦲꦪꦧꦶꦏꦶꦱꦗꦶꦥꦸꦱꦭꦲꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦏꦿꦤ꧀꧈ꦤꦮꦩꦸꦭꦸꦤꦲꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦩꦗꦤꦩꦱꦲꦶꦧꦸꦧꦸꦱꦶꦪꦤꦲꦤ꧀

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958. [illegible]
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959. [illegible]
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961. [illegible]
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962. [illegible]

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967. [illegible]

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972. [illegible]

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973. [illegible]

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978. [illegible]

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982. [illegible]

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987. [illegible]

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988. [illegible]

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994. [illegible]

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996. [illegible]
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997. [illegible]
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998. [illegible]
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1001. [illegible]

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1002. [illegible]

1003. [illegible]

1004. [illegible]

1005. [illegible]

1006. [illegible]

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1007. [illegible]

1008. [illegible]

1009. [illegible]

1010. [illegible]

1011. [illegible]

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1016. [illegible]

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1020. [illegible]

1021. [illegible]

1022. [illegible]

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ꦏꦏꦺꦃ꧇ ꧋ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦱꦩꦶꦩꦸꦭꦸꦃꦗꦼꦔꦸꦩꦼꦔꦸꦤꦤ꧀ ꦗꦸꦲꦤ꧀ꦆꦤꦱꦏꦺ꧈ꦥꦿꦶꦪꦤ꧀ꦏꦿꦶꦤꦥꦼꦤ꧀ꦱꦏꦸꦏꦸꦩꦿꦶꦧꦸ
ꦏꦁꦗꦼꦁꦒꦸꦧꦼꦂꦤꦸꦂꦗꦺꦤꦼꦂꦫꦭ꧀ꦱꦩꦶꦏꦂꦱꦤꦤ꧀꧉

ꦲꦸꦧꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦧꦥꦺꦴꦮꦸꦲꦼꦚ꧀ꦗꦤꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦤꦠꦿꦲꦺꦴꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦠꦿꦲꦗꦶꦩꦤꦶꦥꦸꦤꦤ꧀ꦢꦼꦥꦸꦫꦶꦏꦸ꧉ꦲꦥꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦏꦁꦗꦼꦁꦒꦸꦧꦼꦂꦤꦸꦂ
ꦏꦂꦱꦤꦤ꧀ꦱꦩꦺꦤꦲꦧꦸꦥꦠꦿꦤꦩꦶꦤꦶꦩꦼꦩꦤ꧀ꦧꦺꦴꦠꦏꦶꦱꦩ꧀ꦧꦸꦁꦏꦸꦩꦺꦴꦁꦥꦸꦤꦶꦥꦸꦤꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦢꦺꦤ꧀ꦗꦶꦫꦩ꧈ꦤꦺꦴꦩ꧀ꦧꦁꦏꦸꦭꦶꦃꦏꦸꦠ꧀ꦮꦸꦭꦤ꧀
ꦱꦧꦸꦏꦸꦤꦤ꧀ꦧꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦥꦲꦩꦤꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦥ꧈ꦲꦺꦴꦩ꧀ꦧꦸꦠꦤ꧀ꦱꦤꦼꦥꦤꦶꦠꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦮꦼꦁꦏꦶꦥꦸ꧈ꦲꦺꦴꦩ꧀ꦠꦥꦤ꧀ꦥꦼꦤꦤ꧀ꦲꦧꦼꦤ꧀ꦒꦿꦺꦴꦏꦺ
ꦥꦼꦤꦶꦁꦲꦺꦴꦩꦸꦩ꧀ꦧꦼꦂꦏꦼꦭꦤꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦩꦼꦤꦸꦩꦥꦼꦁꦒꦿꦶꦃꦲꦺꦴꦩ꧀ꦥꦼꦁꦲꦶꦁꦲꦶꦏꦁꦥꦼꦭꦩꦶꦠ꧉ꦏꦮꦸꦭꦥꦤ꧀ꦤꦶꦏꦸꦏꦸ
ꦏꦺꦴꦩꦁꦥꦸꦤꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦥꦿꦶꦤ꧀ꦠꦃꦲꦤ꧀ꦤꦤꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦏꦶꦁꦥꦿꦥꦠꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦢꦼꦥꦺꦴꦤ꧀꧈ꦲꦸꦧꦸꦤ꧀ꦠꦼꦤ꧀ꦢꦺꦤ꧀ ꦗꦼꦁ
ꦒꦸꦧꦼꦂꦤꦸꦂꦗꦺꦤꦼꦂꦫꦭ꧀꧈ꦲꦺꦴꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦤꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦱꦼꦠꦼꦏ꧈ꦏꦁꦗꦼꦁꦒꦸꦧꦼꦂꦤꦸꦂ ꦗꦼꦤꦼꦂꦫꦭ꧀ꦲꦺꦴꦩ꧀ꦏꦼꦩꦸꦤ꧀ꦏꦼꦩꦼꦤ꧀ꦠꦿꦶꦱꦶ
ꦏꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦥꦿꦶꦪꦏꦤꦶ꧉

1023. ꧋ꦤꦧꦼꦤ꧀ꦥꦲꦶꦥꦸꦩ꧀ꦒꦸꦧꦼꦂꦤꦸꦂꦒꦶꦤꦸꦤꦧꦸꦱꦧꦼꦤ꧀ꦢꦸꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦏꦸꦲꦸꦥ꧈ꦏꦁꦗꦼꦁꦒꦸꦧꦼꦂꦤꦸꦂ ꦗꦼ
ꦤꦼꦂꦫꦭ꧀ꦤꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦧꦤꦸꦮꦤ꧀ꦗꦶꦤꦥꦠꦶꦱꦶꦏꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦥꦿꦶꦪꦏꦤꦶ꧈ꦧꦮꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦮꦤ꧀ꦤꦶꦱꦩꦤꦶꦧꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦸꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦥ
ꦱꦸꦏꦸꦩ꧀ꦩꦶꦏꦸꦤ꧀ꦥꦸꦮꦼꦤ꧀ꦲꦺꦴꦩ꧀ꦧꦠꦶꦱꦩꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦁꦥꦿꦶꦪꦏꦤꦶꦏꦤꦶꦪꦤꦶꦁꦧꦥꦺꦴꦮꦸꦲꦼꦚ꧀ꦗꦼꦤ꧀꧈ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦠꦼꦤ꧀
ꦤꦼꦤ꧀ꦱꦩꦶꦫꦤꦶꦁꦫꦤꦶꦫꦤꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦁꦮꦼꦤ꧀ꦧꦿꦶꦱꦸꦱꦶ ꦗꦺꦤꦼꦂꦫꦭ꧀ꦤꦤ꧀ꦢꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦏꦸꦠ꧀ꦧꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦱꦼꦏꦁ꧈ꦏꦼꦤꦶꦁ
ꦏꦼꦱꦢꦶꦤꦏꦏꦁ꧈ꦲꦶꦏꦠꦺꦴꦩ꧀ꦲꦶꦏꦁꦥꦸꦥꦤꦼꦤ꧀ꦠꦺꦴꦤ꧀꧉ꦱꦼꦏꦶꦁꦧꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦤꦤ꧀ꦢꦩꦼꦂꦱꦮꦸꦤꦤꦶꦁꦲꦶꦥꦸꦮꦸꦥꦼꦂꦤꦸ
ꦏꦿꦶꦪꦤ꧀ꦏꦿꦶꦧꦤ꧀ꦤꦼꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦤꦤꦤꦶꦥꦸꦤꦶꦱꦼꦏꦠꦼꦤꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦧꦥꦺꦴꦮꦸꦲꦼꦚ꧀ꦗꦼꦤ꧀꧈ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦠꦼꦤ꧀ꦠꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦤꦶꦏꦿꦶꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦸꦏꦸꦲꦸꦤꦠꦺꦴꦤ꧀
ꦏꦁꦏꦿꦮꦸꦭꦤꦶ꧈ꦲꦼꦩ꧀ꦲꦶꦤ꧀ꦧꦸꦤꦥꦸꦤꦶꦥꦶꦮꦸꦠꦤꦶꦲꦶꦁꦥꦶꦏ꧈ꦱꦼꦏꦶꦁꦧꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦤꦤ꧀ꦢꦲꦺꦴꦩ꧀
ꦤꦤ꧀ꦢꦩꦼꦂꦱꦮꦸꦤ꧀ꦲꦺꦴꦩ꧀ꦏꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦤꦼꦤ꧀ꦠꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦠꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦲꦼꦩ꧀ꦲꦶꦤ꧀ꦲꦼꦤ꧀ꦏꦶꦱꦩꦶꦏꦶꦢꦼꦏꦶꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦥꦶ꧉

1024. ꧋ꦏꦁꦗꦼꦁꦒꦸꦧꦼꦂꦤꦸꦂ ꦗꦼꦤꦼꦂꦫꦭ꧀ꦥꦿꦸꦤ꧀ꦧꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦸꦥꦶꦠꦶꦭꦶꦏꦸꦮꦤ꧀ꦲꦼꦒꦁꦗꦼꦁꦧꦥꦺꦴꦮꦸꦲꦼꦚ꧀ꦗꦼꦤ꧀ꦱꦼꦩ꧀ꦤꦼꦏꦸꦏꦸ
ꦤꦧꦸ꧈ꦲꦼꦩ꧀ꦏꦼꦤ꧀ꦢꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦱꦼꦥꦶꦥꦶꦠꦶꦢꦤ꧀꧉ꦏꦁꦤꦲꦶꦁꦧꦥꦺꦴꦮꦸꦤꦶꦲꦸꦱꦸꦤ꧀ꦤꦶꦢꦼꦁ꧈ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦥꦶꦠꦶꦥꦸꦠꦸꦲꦸ
ꦏꦲꦸꦏꦲꦸꦧꦸꦤ꧀ꦏꦤꦲꦶꦁꦏꦸꦧꦼꦂꦤꦸꦂꦗꦼꦤꦼꦂꦫꦭ꧀ꦥꦼꦤꦶꦁꦱꦺꦥꦸꦲꦶꦤ꧀ꦢꦸꦲꦶꦤꦤꦶꦲꦶꦲꦼꦤ꧀ꦏꦶꦥꦸꦥꦸꦁꦏꦤꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦏꦼꦏꦸ
ꦱꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦸꦥꦸꦤꦶꦤꦶꦥꦸꦠꦶꦢꦸꦩꦼꦤ꧀꧈ꦱꦼꦏꦶꦁꦧꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦤꦤ꧀ꦢꦩꦼꦂꦱꦮꦸꦤꦤꦶꦁꦲꦶꦥꦸꦮꦸꦥꦼꦂꦤꦸꦲꦶꦤꦤꦶꦥꦸꦤꦸꦧꦸꦤꦶꦥꦸꦥꦸꦩꦸꦤꦶ
ꦤꦺꦴꦩ꧀ꦧꦼꦤꦶꦥꦿꦶꦪꦏꦤꦶ꧈ꦏꦁꦗꦼꦁꦒꦸꦧꦼꦂꦤꦸꦂꦠꦼꦤꦶꦤꦼꦤ꧀ꦠꦼꦏꦢꦤ꧀ꦲꦼꦩ꧀ꦥꦠꦶꦢꦤꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦤꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦥꦸꦱꦸꦏꦸ
ꦏꦸꦩ꧀ꦩꦶꦤ꧀꧈

<u>1025</u>. ꧋ꦲꦺꦴꦩ꧀ꦧꦸꦤꦶꦤ꧀ꦤꦶꦏꦸꦩ꧀ꦤꦸꦱꦸꦏꦼꦤ꧀ꦥꦸꦲꦼꦤ꧀ꦥꦼꦩ꧀ꦧꦸꦥꦸꦤꦶꦲꦶꦁꦥꦿꦶꦪꦏꦤꦶ꧈ꦲꦺꦴꦩ꧀ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦸꦠꦶꦏꦸꦲꦸꦱꦸꦥꦤ꧀ꦗꦼꦤ
ꦤꦼꦁꦒꦸꦧꦼꦂꦤꦸꦂ ꦗꦼꦤꦼꦂꦫꦭ꧀꧈ꦲꦺꦴꦩ꧀ꦲꦶꦤ꧀ꦠꦼꦤ꧀ꦲꦼꦤ꧀ꦠꦶꦏꦸꦤ꧀ꦱꦼꦏꦸꦥꦸꦤꦼꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦸꦠꦶꦏꦸꦲꦸꦱꦸꦏꦸꦥꦼꦤꦶꦠꦤꦏꦸ
ꦥꦿꦶꦃꦏꦶꦠꦶꦥꦸꦏꦸꦲꦺꦴꦩ꧀ꦤꦧꦸꦤꦸꦏꦏꦼꦏ꧀ꦏꦼꦏꦸꦱꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦤꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦸꦠꦶꦮꦸꦥꦸꦠꦸꦤ꧉

1026. ꧋ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦏꦼꦏꦸꦱꦶꦠꦸꦁꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦱꦩꦶꦩꦸꦭꦸꦃꦗꦼꦔꦸꦩꦼꦔꦸꦤꦤ꧀ꦱꦸꦮꦸꦤꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦤꦶꦩ꧀ꦧꦸꦲꦶꦥꦸꦤꦶꦱꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦲꦸ
ꦤꦼꦠꦸꦠꦶꦮꦸꦧꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦢꦼꦤꦶ꧈ꦥꦥꦸꦲꦼꦩꦶꦁꦏꦤꦶꦥꦿꦶꦪꦏꦤꦶꦤꦶꦲꦶꦁꦏꦸꦠꦶꦏꦸꦠꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦧꦸꦲꦼꦤꦤꦶꦱꦩ꧀ꦭꦶ꧈
ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦢꦼꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦤꦸꦱꦸꦥꦤꦸꦤꦸ꧈ꦲꦺꦴꦩ꧀ꦲꦸꦧꦢꦼꦤꦸ꧉ꦏꦼꦥꦶꦠꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦤꦸꦫꦠꦶ꧈ꦥꦸꦠꦏꦼꦤꦼꦩ꧀ꦲꦼꦤꦶꦩ꧀ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦱꦶ
ꦩꦸꦠꦼꦲꦼꦤ꧀ꦠꦶꦏꦼꦩ꧀ꦥꦶꦠꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦩꦸꦤꦥꦤꦸꦂꦩꦤꦠꦶꦩꦶꦏꦠꦶꦏꦸꦧꦸꦲꦠꦶꦤꦶꦏꦸꦠꦸ꧈ꦏꦼꦤꦸꦤꦶꦤꦼꦤ꧀
ꦤꦸꦥꦶꦏꦸꦩꦸꦲꦶꦁꦤꦼꦤꦸꦥ꧈ꦤꦸꦲꦶꦤꦼꦤ꧀ꦤꦸꦲꦶꦤꦼꦤꦶꦲꦶꦁꦏꦼꦏꦸꦠꦶꦢꦼꦤꦶ꧈ꦲꦺꦴꦩ꧀ꦲꦸꦏꦸꦩꦶꦲꦺꦴꦩ꧀ꦏꦁꦗꦼꦁꦒꦸꦧꦼꦂꦤꦸꦂꦲꦺꦴꦩ꧀
ꦤꦸꦤꦼꦤꦸꦱꦸꦧꦸꦤꦲꦶꦁꦏꦸꦠꦶꦏꦸꦠꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦲꦸꦩꦸ꧈ꦱꦲꦸꦥꦸꦲꦶꦩꦶꦲꦺꦴꦩ꧀ꦏꦁꦗꦼꦁꦒꦸꦧꦼꦂꦤꦸꦂꦲꦺꦴꦩ꧀ꦤꦸꦤꦼꦤꦼꦤꦸꦥꦼꦤꦼꦏꦺꦴꦩ꧀ꦠꦼꦩ꧈ꦱꦶꦲꦺꦴꦩ꧀
ꦏꦁꦗꦼꦁꦒꦸꦧꦼꦂꦤꦸꦂ ꦗꦼꦮꦺꦴꦩ꧀ꦏꦶꦤꦼꦏꦸꦤꦺꦴꦩ꧀꧈ꦤꦸꦮꦼꦤꦸꦱꦸꦤꦼꦤꦸꦤꦼꦲꦶꦩꦸꦤꦸꦲꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦤꦼꦠꦺꦴꦩꦼ꧈ꦱꦶꦲꦺꦴꦩ꧀ꦏꦁꦗꦼꦁꦒꦸꦧꦼꦂꦤꦸꦂ ꦗꦼꦤꦼꦂꦫꦭ꧀ꦤꦁ

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1027. [illegible]

1028. [illegible]

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[illegible]
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1029. [illegible]
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[illegible]
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1030. [illegible]
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[illegible]
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[illegible]
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1031. [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1032. [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1033. [illegible]

1034. [illegible]

1035. [illegible]

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ꦏꦏꦺꦃ꧋ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦱꦶꦤꦸꦮꦸꦤ꧀ꦤꦸꦥꦠꦼꦥꦸꦱꦏ꧈ꦲꦶꦥꦏꦺꦤꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦮꦶꦥꦿꦤꦠ
ꦲꦤꦠꦸꦤ꧀ꦭꦲꦶꦁꦲꦶꦥꦺꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦏꦏꦤ꧉

ꦠꦩꦠ꧀ꦏꦠꦼꦤ꧀ꦏꦁꦥꦸꦤꦏꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦁꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦥꦶꦤ꧀ꦥꦶꦤ꧀ꦤꦁꦏꦁꦠꦼꦥꦶꦥꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦤ꧀ꦤ꧈ꦥꦤ꧀ꦩꦿꦶꦠ꧈ꦩꦴ
ꦠꦥꦤ꧀ꦏꦺꦤꦺ꧈ꦤꦏ꧀ꦤꦶꦁꦠꦤꦶꦥꦸꦏꦠꦥꦶꦏꦶꦤꦠꦶꦤꦤ꧀ꦥꦸ꧈ꦤꦺꦩꦶꦥꦿꦸꦲꦤ꧀ꦤꦺꦩꦱ
ꦤꦸꦩꦩꦥꦼꦁꦠꦸꦥꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦱꦶꦠꦶꦲꦤꦤꦶꦁꦥꦠꦶꦠꦶꦥꦸꦏ꧉

꧋ꦠꦩꦠ꧀ꦏꦠꦼꦤ꧀ꦥꦤꦤ꧀ꦏꦤꦃꦠꦸ꧉

[illegible]

1036. [illegible]

1037. [illegible]

1038. [illegible]

1039. [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1040. [illegible]

1041. [illegible]

1042. [illegible]

1043. [illegible]

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ꦩꦩꦢ꦳ꦃ꧈ ꧋ꦱꦤ꧀ꦠꦺꦤ꧀ꦠꦿꦭꦶꦥꦸꦂꦏꦶꦫꦁꦒꦮꦤꦤꦶꦔꦿꦸꦱ꧀ꦧꦶꦴꦤ꧀ꦥꦸꦕꦏꦶ (ꦧꦸꦮꦤꦧꦸꦮꦤ) ꦲꦏꦏꦭꦸꦱꦼꦂ ꦭꦸꦩꦿꦏ꧀ꦠꦸꦧꦸꦱ꧀ꦱ꧈ ꦭꦺꦴꦲꦶꦧꦶꦱꦂꦲꦶꦤ꧀ꦤꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦠꦺꦴꦱꦶꦩ꧀ꦮꦠꦸꦤꦁꦒꦶꦴꦤ꧀ꦥꦸꦕꦏ꧉

ꦤꦩꦏꦶꦲꦶꦴꦤ꧀ꦥꦸꦕꦏꦶ꧈ ꦲꦶꦲꦶꦪꦲꦶꦠꦩ꧀ꦧꦂꦧꦸꦮꦶꦱꦗꦧꦸꦱꦸꦤꦗꦧꦶꦱꦸꦪꦸꦪꦸꦲꦶꦴꦤ꧀ꦥꦸꦕꦏꦶ
ꦱꦧꦸꦱꦸꦤꦗꦫꦺꦏꦶꦲꦸꦫꦏꦶꦱꦗꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧈

1044. ꧋ꦲꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦝꦶꦤꦗꦤꦺꦴꦕꦏꦤꦗꦫꦶꦱꦥꦶꦪꦸ ꦲꦪꦔꦿꦸꦧꦸꦗꦤꦗꦤꦺꦴꦤꦗꦏꦲꦠ꧈ ꦠꦏꦕꦭꦧꦶ꧈ ꦲꦼ
ꦧꦶꦤꦗꦏꦤꦺꦴꦢꦶꦱꦤ꧀ꦠꦼꦤ꧀ꦝꦶꦫꦶꦥꦸꦤꦗꦶꦧꦸꦮꦶꦱꦸꦥꦸꦫꦠꦤ꧀ꦱꦤ꧀ꦩꦏꦶꦩꦤ꧀ꦝꦶꦁꦲꦸꦲꦶꦴꦠꦩꦭꦶ
ꦏꦶ꧈ ꦥꦿꦶꦝꦶꦤꦤꦗꦶꦲꦩ꧀ꦧꦂꦧꦸꦮꦶꦱꦸꦱꦪꦸꦱꦧꦸꦱꦸꦤꦗꦧꦶꦕꦥꦸꦗꦤꦸꦲꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦏꦱꦪꦸꦏꦶꦏ꧀ꦭꦶ
ꦝꦶꦤ꧀ꦝꦶꦤꦗꦤꦺꦴꦕꦏꦤ꧀ꦤꦭꦶꦂꦠꦲꦧꦶꦤꦪꦤ꧀ꦱꦗꦶꦤꦩ꧀ꦧꦤ꧈ ꦱꦤ꧀ꦠꦺꦤ꧀ꦠꦿꦤꦗꦫꦶꦱꦥꦶꦪꦸ ꦲꦪꦲ
ꦕꦶꦤꦤꦱꦤ꧀ꦏ꧈ ꦱꦤ꧀ꦠꦶꦤ꧀ꦠꦶꦪꦤ꧀ꦤꦶꦤꦱꦕꦤꦠꦕꦂ꧈ ꦠꦠꦲꦩ꧀ꦧꦤꦗꦩ꧀ꦧꦤ꧈ ꦤꦪꦤꦗꦧꦶꦧꦸ
ꦱꦗꦤꦺꦴꦕꦏꦤꦗꦫꦶꦱꦥꦶ ꦲꦭꦶꦥꦸꦱꦤ꧀ꦠꦼꦴꦔꦶꦴꦕꦸꦧꦶꦴꦤ꧀ꦥꦸ꧈ ꦲꦤꦠꦤ꧀ꦲꦤꦗꦶꦴꦤ꧀ꦥꦸꦕꦏꦶ꧈ ꦲ
ꦏꦏꦭꦸꦤꦗꦭꦸꦩꦿꦏ꧀ꦠꦸꦧꦸꦱ꧀ꦱꦱꦤꦸ ꦲꦥꦩꦤꦕꦩ꧀ꦱꦥꦶꦲꦶꦕꦭꦭꦕꦼꦏ꧀ꦏꦂꦧꦸꦤꦗꦲꦶꦝꦶ
ꦤꦕꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦭꦧꦸ꧉ ꦥꦏꦲꦶꦁꦱꦧꦶꦱꦲꦼꦧꦶꦤꦗꦶꦲꦤꦕꦤ꧀ꦝꦸꦂꦤꦗꦫꦺꦤꦸꦥꦏꦤꦺꦴꦢꦶꦭꦢꦶꦱ
ꦧꦶꦲꦤꦩ꧀ꦧꦂꦕꦏꦸꦥꦸ꧈ ꦱꦤ꧀ꦠꦺꦤ꧀ꦠꦿꦤꦗꦫꦶꦱꦥꦶꦪꦸ ꦲꦪꦲꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦝꦶꦩꦏꦶꦤꦗꦿꦸꦔꦶꦥꦸꦤꦗꦶꦤꦺꦴꦏ
ꦪꦶ꧈ ꦤꦶꦁꦏꦂꦲꦤꦺꦴꦤꦗꦶꦠꦧꦗꦩꦪꦶ꧈ ꦭꦢꦶꦁꦏꦂꦲꦶꦤꦼꦴꦩꦶꦤꦥꦸꦂꦝꦶꦤꦗꦶꦲꦶꦕꦶꦔꦶꦥꦸꦤꦸꦱꦶꦴ
ꦲꦤꦏ꧀ꦧꦭꦶꦂ꧈ ꦤꦪꦤꦗꦤꦺꦴꦥꦿꦶꦔꦶꦕꦔꦶꦥꦸꦤꦗꦩ꧀ꦧꦤ꧀ꦠꦿꦶꦴꦂꦲꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦱꦶꦴꦤ꧀ꦠꦤꦤꦂꦤꦱꦗꦤ꧀ꦠꦿ
ꦱꦥꦶꦂꦝꦶꦕꦶꦏ꧉

1045. ꧋ꦱꦤ꧀ꦠꦺꦤ꧀ꦠꦿꦪꦤꦲꦤꦧꦸꦤ꧀ꦠꦺꦤ꧀ꦠꦿꦤꦗꦫꦶꦱꦥꦶꦲꦤ꧀ꦠꦿꦸꦤꦗꦫꦶꦤꦏꦤꦭꦏ꧉ ꦩꦸꦁꦲꦶꦴꦭ꧀
ꦥꦤꦭꦂꦤꦤꦂꦤꦱꦗꦫꦶꦤꦗꦲꦶꦂ꧈ ꦲꦩ꧀ꦧꦭꦧꦶꦏꦼꦴꦪ ꦥꦿꦭꦸꦥ꧉ ꦩꦸꦁꦲꦶꦤꦪꦂꦕꦝꦺꦪ
ꦤꦲꦤꦧꦸꦲꦧꦶꦏꦼꦴꦥꦶꦏꦏꦭꦏ꧉ ꦤꦏꦂꦕꦪ ꦥꦿꦸꦤꦥꦏꦶꦕꦩ꧀ꦧꦲꦝꦶꦱꦥꦶꦭꦸꦧꦸꦏꦥꦸ꧈
ꦤꦶꦧꦸꦱ꧀ꦩꦶꦏꦶꦔꦿꦸꦥꦏꦶꦕꦩ꧀ꦧꦲꦧꦶꦏꦼꦴꦕꦶꦤ꧀ꦝꦸꦥꦪ꧈ ꦱꦤꦪꦲꦶꦫꦶꦲꦶꦤ ꦲꦭꦶꦥꦸꦏꦤꦗꦲꦶꦫꦶ
ꦲꦶꦤ ꦪꦸ ꦲꦪꦤꦗꦧꦶꦤꦲꦤꦧꦸꦔꦿꦸꦏꦼꦴꦏꦂꦲꦤꦗꦶꦱꦥꦤꦲꦗꦤꦿꦸꦥꦸꦤ꧈ ꦩꦸꦁꦲꦶꦴꦠꦩꦭ
ꦭꦶꦏꦶꦤꦱꦧꦶꦔꦿꦸꦧꦶꦝꦶꦥꦸꦂ꧈ ꦤꦥꦲꦶꦲꦶꦱꦲꦏꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧈

1046. ꧋ꦱꦤ꧀ꦠꦿꦶꦧꦸꦂꦲꦤꦗꦸ ꦲꦪꦲꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦝꦶꦥꦂꦲꦕꦭꦪꦪꦂꦲꦤꦸꦩꦸꦁꦲꦶꦴꦠꦧꦶꦏꦼꦴꦏꦶꦔꦿꦸꦥꦪꦤ
ꦥꦥꦂꦲꦤꦗꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦭꦸꦤꦗꦤꦺꦴꦝꦶꦲꦶꦪꦲꦶꦭꦸ꧈ ꦩꦸꦁꦲꦶꦴꦠꦧꦶꦏꦼꦴꦧꦸꦥꦸꦕꦏꦤꦥꦥꦂꦲꦩ꧀ꦲꦶ
ꦲꦶꦤꦥꦸꦂꦪꦧꦸꦱꦸꦲꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦭꦸꦤꦗꦤꦺꦴꦝꦶꦲꦶꦪꦲꦶ ꦥꦿꦶꦩꦱꦲꦤꦝꦶꦥꦸꦤꦸꦲꦶꦤꦥꦥꦂꦲ
ꦤꦗꦧꦶꦭꦸꦧꦸꦧꦸꦗꦂ꧈ ꦱꦺꦴꦲꦤꦱꦭꦶꦧꦶꦭꦸꦲꦶꦤꦲꦶꦭꦸꦤꦗꦤꦺꦴꦤꦗꦸꦪꦸꦱꦗꦱꦪ꧉ ꦤꦥꦂ
ꦤꦩ꧀ꦧꦶꦲꦶꦤꦥꦥꦂꦲꦩ꧀ꦲꦶꦲꦶꦲꦩ꧀ꦧꦂꦱꦼ꧈ ꦩꦸꦁꦲꦶꦴꦠꦝꦶꦱꦥꦶꦭꦸꦧꦸꦏꦥꦸꦥꦸꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦤꦭꦢꦶ
ꦲꦲꦶꦲꦶꦤꦥꦂꦝꦶꦤꦗꦶꦧꦶꦏꦿꦸꦩꦸꦁꦲꦶꦲꦶꦪꦲꦶꦠꦩ꧀ꦧꦂꦱꦼ꧈ ꦲꦼꦧꦶꦝꦶꦲꦶꦪꦸꦱꦸꦤꦗꦲꦶ
ꦥꦲꦶꦕꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦏꦶꦲꦶꦴꦤ꧀ꦥꦸꦏꦏꦤꦥꦸꦂꦲꦶꦤꦱꦧꦶꦲꦶꦴꦩꦭꦲꦶꦩꦸꦁꦲꦶꦴꦠꦝꦶꦱꦥꦶꦭꦸꦧꦸꦏ
ꦥꦸꦲꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦤꦂꦱꦗꦫꦺꦤꦗꦫꦺꦲꦶꦤꦏꦶꦱꦗꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧈

1047. ꧋ꦤꦭꦱꦧꦝꦶꦤꦗꦏ ꦲꦪꦱꦥꦶꦧꦸ ꦥꦿꦶꦧꦶꦝꦶꦲꦶꦪꦲꦭꦶꦲꦗꦶꦴꦤ꧀ꦥꦸꦏꦏꦤꦥꦸꦂꦲꦶꦤꦥꦂꦤ
ꦱꦂꦲꦶꦭꦕꦂꦭꦿꦶꦪ꧈ ꦩꦸꦱꦸꦭꦸꦲꦶꦧꦸꦥꦸꦧꦶꦱꦸꦕꦩ꧀ꦝꦶꦥꦲꦶꦱꦤ꧀ꦠꦿꦶꦧꦸꦂꦲꦤꦗꦸ ꦲꦪ꧈ ꦱꦤꦂ
ꦱꦸꦩꦏꦶꦲꦶꦴꦤ꧀ꦥꦸꦏꦏꦤꦲꦶꦕꦭꦗꦸꦧꦶ꧈ ꦕꦭꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦤꦗꦥꦿꦸ ꦲꦤꦧꦶꦴꦤ꧀ꦲꦩ꧀ꦝꦶꦲꦶꦏ꧀ꦲꦤꦗꦫꦶꦴꦭ

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[illegible]

1048. [illegible]

1049. [illegible]

1050. [illegible]

1051. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

1052. [illegible]

1053. [illegible]

1054. [illegible]

1055. [illegible]

1056. [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1057. [illegible]

1058. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

1059. [illegible]

1060. [illegible]

1061. [illegible]

1062. [illegible]

1063. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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1064. [illegible]

1065. [illegible]

1066. [illegible]

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[illegible]

1067. [illegible]

1068. [illegible]

1069. [illegible]

1070. [illegible]

1071. [illegible]

[illegible]

1072. [illegible]

1073. [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1074. [illegible]

1075. [illegible]

1076. [illegible]

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[illegible]

1077. [illegible]

1078. [illegible]

1079. [illegible]

1080. [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1081. [illegible]

1082. [illegible]

1083. [illegible]

1084. [illegible]

1085. [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1086. [illegible]

1087. [illegible]

1088. [illegible]

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ꦏꦏꦪꦃ꧅ꦭꦔꦭꦶꦔꦥ꧀ꦲꦺꦂꦤ꧀ꦩꦶꦤ꧀ꦥꦸꦠꦸꦫꦶꦱꦸꦤꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦱꦸꦮꦸꦱꦩꦶꦁꦢꦶꦏ꧀ꦥꦸꦫꦸꦒ꧉

ꦱꦱꦺꦴꦏ꧀ꦏꦭꦶꦁꦤꦒꦫꦶꦏꦏꦏꦱꦺꦴꦏ꧀ꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦲꦏ꧀ꦏꦫ꧈ꦥꦭꦏꦼꦩꦤꦒꦫꦭꦶꦁꦲꦺꦴꦏꦼꦩꦱꦠ꧈ꦥ
ꦩꦠꦔꦶꦤ꧀ꦠꦼꦤ꧀꧈ꦥꦶꦱꦶꦠꦶꦭ꧈ꦲꦺꦴꦏ꧀ꦩꦥꦶꦱꦸꦒꦲꦩꦒꦫꦶꦥꦸꦮꦸꦩꦥꦶꦱꦸꦒ꧈ꦲꦸꦥꦤꦸꦱꦸꦱꦸꦠꦶꦫꦺꦴꦏꦸꦏ꧀
ꦲꦶꦭꦶꦁꦲꦺꦴꦠꦶꦭꦏꦶ꧈ꦔꦪꦩꦲꦶꦁꦲꦏ꧀ꦱꦶꦫꦸꦲꦸꦩꦲꦤꦁꦲꦂꦢꦤꦢꦤꦢꦩꦲꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦲꦶꦁꦱꦶꦫꦸꦗꦪ꧈ꦱ꧀ꦲ
ꦥꦭꦶꦁꦩꦏꦼꦤ꧀ꦠꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦔꦤ꧀ꦱꦲꦶꦁꦲꦏ꧀ꦥꦲꦸꦥꦲꦸ꧈ꦭꦺꦏ꧀ꦤꦺꦴꦴꦸ꧈ꦱꦶꦫꦸꦲꦸꦩꦸꦱꦸꦔꦺꦴꦁꦏꦤꦺꦴꦤ꧀
ꦠꦶꦭꦢꦸꦤꦶꦭꦏꦶ꧈ꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦥꦔꦥꦁꦏꦶꦩꦲꦶꦏꦺꦏꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸꦔꦪꦩꦲꦤꦺꦤꦸꦤꦤꦶꦁꦥꦸꦠꦶ
ꦩꦏꦤꦁꦤꦸꦤꦁꦔꦱꦔꦺꦴꦲꦶꦁꦤꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦠꦶꦭꦢꦸꦤꦸꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦥꦔꦭꦁꦲꦶꦩꦸꦱꦲꦸꦥꦺꦩꦥꦶꦗꦁꦲ
ꦩꦱꦔꦲꦸꦔꦭꦁꦲꦶꦩꦤꦸꦥꦭ꧈ꦲꦸꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦁꦤꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦠꦶꦭꦢꦸꦤꦸꦔꦤꦁꦱꦤꦺꦤꦗꦁꦲꦶꦲꦶꦏ꧀ꦲ
ꦩꦤꦔꦤꦁꦱ꧈ꦲꦶꦁꦔꦭꦺꦴꦲꦶꦁꦤꦶꦁꦤꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦠꦶꦭꦢꦸꦤꦸꦤꦸꦤꦩꦸꦤꦁꦩꦤꦏꦸꦲꦺꦴꦂꦲꦺꦴꦂꦏꦶꦲꦶꦏ꧀
ꦲꦶꦁꦲꦏ꧀ꦔꦭꦁꦲꦶꦏꦶꦥꦸꦱꦸꦱꦲꦥꦺꦲꦺꦴꦤꦢꦸꦤꦸꦤꦸꦩꦤꦁꦲꦶꦥꦸꦠꦶꦩꦱꦪꦔꦤ꧀ꦤꦏꦲꦤ
ꦔꦥꦁꦩꦸꦲꦤꦶꦏꦭꦔꦲꦏ꧀ꦏꦭꦤꦭꦺꦴꦂꦏꦶꦲꦸꦠꦶꦭꦲꦶꦁꦤꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦠꦶꦭꦢꦸꦤꦸ꧈ꦏꦏꦥꦲꦺꦏ꧀
ꦱꦏꦶꦥꦭꦢꦶꦩ꧈ꦧꦿꦸꦭꦸꦲꦶꦠꦶꦔꦩꦁꦔꦥ꧉ꦏꦏꦥꦭꦺꦭꦢꦶꦩꦪꦲꦶꦥꦲꦶꦁ꧈ꦥꦩꦤ
ꦔꦤꦸ꧈ꦱꦲꦶꦲꦶꦔꦩꦁꦔꦥꦔꦺꦁꦔꦏꦁꦲꦶꦁꦩꦤꦶꦤꦔꦥꦢꦔꦲ꧈ꦔꦲꦁꦺꦤꦸꦔꦪꦔꦥꦤꦤꦺꦴꦲ
ꦒꦥꦸꦱꦩꦸꦩꦒꦩꦥꦔꦸꦁꦲꦶꦁꦏꦢꦶꦥꦱꦸ꧈ꦩꦸꦲꦶꦥꦲꦶꦁꦤꦸꦤꦸꦩꦸꦲꦶꦭꦶꦁꦲꦺꦥꦸꦭꦩꦶ
ꦩꦲꦶꦁꦲꦺꦂꦥꦤꦤꦸꦤꦸꦲꦤꦺꦤꦸꦤꦸꦔꦪꦺꦂꦢꦩꦠꦶꦏꦿꦶꦪꦲꦶꦥꦸꦩꦔꦤꦺꦤꦸꦤꦸꦠꦪꦤꦩꦸꦲ
ꦥꦶꦲꦔꦢꦶꦭꦢꦸꦥꦸꦩꦔꦤꦺꦤꦸꦱꦲꦺꦂꦩꦶꦢꦶꦥꦸꦩꦔꦤꦺꦲꦤꦺꦤꦸꦤꦸꦲꦶꦁꦲꦏ꧀ꦏꦿꦶꦪꦠꦶ
ꦲꦶꦁꦱꦩꦶꦁꦩꦪꦔꦠꦔꦸꦱꦧꦶꦲꦿꦶꦁꦲꦠꦶꦔꦏꦢꦶꦏꦿꦶꦪꦢꦶꦥꦸꦩꦠꦪꦤꦩꦠꦪꦤꦸꦩꦸꦤ
ꦔꦥꦶꦲꦤꦺꦤꦸꦤꦸꦤꦸꦤꦸꦫꦸꦢꦲꦸꦩꦸꦩꦔꦤꦱꦔꦔꦩꦤꦧꦶꦥꦺꦱꦸꦭꦸꦱ꧀ꦲꦠꦶꦠꦶꦥꦸꦔꦁꦲꦶꦥ
ꦩꦸꦤꦔꦤꦱꦸꦏꦏꦶꦤꦺꦤꦸꦔꦸꦤꦶꦠꦶꦩꦲꦶꦭꦭꦸꦥꦶ꧉ꦧꦿꦸꦭꦸꦲꦺꦴꦂꦲꦏꦶꦥꦸꦱꦸꦩꦶꦩꦔꦏꦶꦁꦩꦶ
ꦥꦸꦩꦸꦲꦶꦥꦲꦶꦁ꧈ꦏꦏꦥꦭꦺꦲꦥꦺꦴꦲꦶ꧉ꦧꦿꦸꦩꦲꦶꦪꦩꦸꦲꦶꦥꦲꦶꦁꦲꦔꦢꦶꦩꦤ꧀ꦱꦩꦶ
ꦲꦺꦴꦂꦤꦸꦤꦸꦥꦺꦤꦭꦸꦩꦶꦩꦪꦔꦤꦺꦩꦸ꧈

1089. ꧅ꦱꦥꦺꦴꦩꦸꦲꦶꦥꦲꦶꦁꦱꦿꦸꦗꦪꦱꦥꦸꦩꦔꦤꦶꦔꦏꦢꦶꦤꦸꦤꦸꦥꦸꦥꦩꦶ꧈ꦔꦔꦤꦶꦩꦔꦩꦥꦶ
ꦩꦶꦲꦶꦲꦶꦲꦶꦱꦲꦶꦁꦲꦏ꧀ꦱꦶꦲꦶꦲꦶꦥꦩꦮꦠꦶꦏꦿꦶꦪꦢꦶꦥꦸꦩꦠꦪꦤꦩꦠꦪꦤꦩꦸ꧈ꦥꦲꦶꦁꦱ
ꦱꦿꦸꦗꦪꦲꦔꦢꦶꦩꦲꦶꦭꦶꦁꦩꦥꦲꦢꦶꦤꦥꦶꦤꦤꦸꦥꦗ꧉

1090. ꧅ꦲꦩꦶꦥꦶꦱꦧꦸꦭꦩꦶꦁꦲꦏ꧀ꦱꦶꦔꦲꦸꦮꦥꦶꦁꦲꦠꦶꦲꦺꦴꦪꦥꦩꦒꦥꦗ꧈ꦲꦥꦔꦩꦁꦢꦶꦲꦸꦥꦶꦏꦸ
ꦥꦺꦴꦗꦸꦪꦸꦤ꧈ꦲꦶꦁꦲꦏ꧀ꦩꦔꦥꦁꦩꦶꦏ꧀ꦔꦥꦁꦢꦶꦩꦶꦁꦗꦶꦪꦸ꧈ꦲꦶꦔꦔꦩꦔꦔꦶꦏꦸꦲꦶꦁꦥꦭꦺꦴ꧈ꦩꦭꦶꦁ
ꦲꦶꦁꦗꦸꦠꦶꦱꦸꦲꦶꦏꦲꦶꦁꦥꦶꦭꦭꦸ꧈ꦩꦸꦲꦶꦲꦸꦥꦶꦏꦸꦗꦏꦔꦥꦩꦸꦩꦭꦶꦁꦩꦸꦲꦶꦗꦪꦏꦿꦺꦴꦭ
ꦩꦭꦥꦁꦲꦩꦔꦸꦲꦲꦶꦁꦤꦭꦶꦔꦭꦩꦸꦲꦸꦥꦩꦧꦿꦸꦭꦧꦿꦸꦭꦸꦏꦶꦢꦶꦥꦸꦩꦥꦠꦶꦢꦶ꧈
ꦱꦶꦲꦏꦔꦏꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦁꦥꦸ꧈ꦱꦤꦪꦥꦲꦸꦱꦥꦺꦴꦲꦶꦁꦲꦶꦭꦏꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸ꧈

1091. ꧅ꦲꦸꦥꦸꦤꦸꦧꦿꦸꦭꦧꦥꦸꦩꦥꦸꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦥꦸ꧈ꦭꦺꦲꦲꦶꦲꦶꦲꦶꦁ꧈ꦲꦺꦭꦺꦭꦩꦶꦱꦶꦪꦢꦶꦲꦶꦁꦲꦶ
ꦥꦸꦩꦭꦲꦶꦁꦥꦥꦶꦱꦸ꧈ꦗꦤꦥꦶꦲꦶꦁꦥꦥꦶꦱꦲꦶꦁꦲꦏ꧀ꦔꦥꦁꦢꦶꦩꦲꦶꦁꦲꦶꦲꦸꦥꦸꦥꦩꦸꦲꦶꦲꦸꦥꦶ
ꦏꦸꦗꦪꦗꦥ꧈ꦔꦥꦁꦔꦩꦢꦶꦤꦏꦿꦶꦥꦁꦲꦩꦱꦗꦪ꧈ꦱ꧀ꦲꦏꦿꦭꦩꦲꦸꦥꦸꦱꦸꦤ꧈ꦲꦸꦥꦶꦩꦱꦔꦠ

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1092. [illegible]

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1094. [illegible]

1095. [illegible]

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1096. [illegible]

1097. [illegible]

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1100. [illegible]

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1101. [illegible]

1102. [illegible]

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1103. [illegible]

1104. [illegible]

1105. [illegible]

1106. [illegible]

1107. [illegible]

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1108. [illegible]

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1110. [illegible]

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1112. [illegible]

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1115. [illegible]

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1116. [illegible]

1117. [illegible]

1118. [illegible]

1119. [illegible]

1120. [illegible]

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1121. [illegible]

1122. [illegible]

1123. [illegible]

1124. [illegible]

1125. [illegible]

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1126. [illegible]

1127. [illegible]

1128. [illegible]

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1129. [illegible]

1130. [illegible]

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ꦤꦪꦲꦕꦤꦕꦸꦱ꧀ꦲꦶꦁ꧈ꦧ꧀ꦫꦲꦶꦁꦲꦶꦁꦗꦼꦱꦸꦏꦭꦺꦩꦶꦁꦏꦛꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦧ꧀ꦫꦲꦶꦁꦲꦶꦁꦏꦩꦧꦥꦶꦲꦁꦲꦤ꧀ꦲꦤ꧀꧈ꦕꦤꦕꦲꦶꦤ
ꦤꦸꦫꦸꦁꦢꦺꦪꦥꦶꦱꦸꦭꦶꦲꦤ꧀ꦤꦤ꧀ꦤꦤ꧀ꦕꦭꦺꦩꦤ꧀ꦤꦶꦏꦤꦪꦲꦪꦲꦥꦸꦩꦸꦠꦸꦭꦶꦩꦶꦁꦏꦛꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦲꦠꦺꦴꦂꦏꦶꦥꦸ
ꦤꦲꦸꦂꦠꦶꦲꦤ꧀ꦱꦸꦧꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦤꦕꦸꦂꦠꦶꦲꦶꦲꦶꦱꦸ꧈ꦲꦩꦸꦠꦶꦲꦠꦺꦴꦂꦪꦕꦸꦥꦸꦲꦶꦥꦸꦲꦤ꧀ꦱꦧꦺꦴꦲꦸꦤꦸꦤꦸꦁꦲꦸ
ꦱꦶꦕꦸꦠꦸꦧꦧ꧀ꦫꦲꦶꦁ꧈ꦤꦪꦲꦸꦩꦸꦲꦱꦶꦤꦶꦤꦸꦧꦤꦪꦸꦂꦲꦤ꧀꧈

1136. ꧋ꦏꦤꦺꦲꦸꦏꦭꦺꦭꦭꦲꦶꦁꦠꦲꦸꦠꦠꦸꦩꦏꦕꦺꦪꦤꦶꦩꦸꦥꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸꦪꦩꦸꦧꦱꦺꦏꦶꦩꦸꦠꦸꦱ
ꦧꦺꦴꦲꦸꦥꦏꦶꦱꦤ꧀ꦤꦶꦪꦲꦶꦁꦠꦏꦤ꧀ꦏꦤꦺꦲꦸꦏꦭꦺꦥꦶ꧈ꦱꦱꦧꦺꦴꦲꦶꦤ꧀ꦕꦤꦧꦺꦴꦲꦤ꧀ꦩꦶꦏ
ꦠꦸꦭꦺꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦤ꧀ꦤ꧀ꦕꦸꦕꦸꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸꦠꦶꦭꦺꦴꦠꦶꦥꦸꦪꦠꦶꦏꦤꦺꦲꦸꦏꦭꦺꦥꦶ꧈ꦧꦸꦥꦶꦱꦏꦶꦤꦸ
ꦲꦶꦕꦤꦶꦲꦱꦺꦏꦶꦗꦢꦶꦫꦗꦲꦤꦏ꧀ꦠꦸ꧈ꦏꦤꦺꦲꦸꦏꦭꦺꦥꦶꦕꦤꦪꦤ꧀ꦏꦕꦸꦂꦲꦏꦏꦶꦥꦸꦧꦠꦶꦲꦶꦁ
ꦠꦸꦱꦶꦩꦸꦠꦸꦲꦤ꧀ꦤ꧀ꦤꦶꦭꦲꦶꦤꦶꦁꦥꦸꦲꦶꦁꦠꦸꦏꦶꦥꦸꦲꦺꦴꦲꦶꦥꦶ꧈ꦱꦠꦸꦧꦺꦴꦲꦶꦕꦤꦪꦠꦧ
ꦏꦶꦥꦶꦪꦠꦤ꧀ꦤꦶꦁꦤꦠꦥꦸꦤꦏꦪꦭꦲꦶꦁꦱꦶꦠꦸꦲꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦥꦶꦲꦺꦴꦕꦥꦸꦲꦶꦲꦺꦴꦱꦸꦲꦱꦶꦥꦸ
ꦲꦲꦶꦁꦠꦸꦱꦧꦺꦴꦭꦧꦺꦴꦤꦠꦲꦤ꧀ꦥꦸꦥꦤꦺꦤꦸꦤꦶꦭꦸꦂꦠꦶꦤꦲꦸꦱꦸꦠꦶꦲꦏꦏꦶ
ꦲꦸꦥꦸꦏꦏ꧈ꦤꦕꦱꦤꦲꦱꦲꦤꦤꦧꦤꦪꦸꦂꦲꦶꦲꦏꦏꦶꦲꦶꦥꦸꦲꦤ꧀꧈ꦱꦧꦺꦴꦲꦶꦭꦭꦸꦏ
ꦤꦺꦲꦸꦏꦭꦺꦥꦶꦱꦸꦤꦶꦥꦶꦲꦶꦥꦸꦤꦶꦤꦸꦠꦶꦲꦶꦪꦠꦶꦪꦲꦶꦥꦸꦲꦶꦁꦠꦸꦏꦧ꧈ꦥꦺꦴꦤꦶ
ꦱꦠꦶꦤꦧꦭꦶꦤꦧꦸꦭꦸꦂꦲꦶꦪꦠꦶꦠꦸꦱꦶꦏꦸꦥꦸꦲꦸꦠꦧꦺꦴꦲꦶ꧈ꦧꦶꦲꦸꦭꦱꦠꦶꦱꦶꦏꦶꦥꦸꦲꦶꦤ꧀ꦲꦸꦭꦺꦤꦶ
ꦤꦱꦸꦥꦸꦠꦶꦱꦺꦏꦶꦗꦢꦶꦫꦗꦲꦤꦏ꧀ꦠꦸ꧈ꦧꦺꦴꦤꦪꦤꦸꦧꦺꦴꦲꦶꦩꦏꦠꦱꦠꦶꦏꦸꦲꦶꦤꦸꦥꦸꦏ
ꦏ꧈ꦱꦺꦴꦠꦱꦠꦶꦠꦸꦩꦸꦧꦺꦴꦱꦏꦶꦱꦸꦩꦸꦥꦸꦥꦸꦠꦶꦤꦸꦥꦸꦲꦤ꧀ꦲꦥꦏꦶꦕꦺꦴꦏꦶꦤꦲꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦪꦸꦤꦸ
ꦲꦸꦠꦶꦲꦏꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦥꦸꦏꦏ꧈ꦲꦥꦶꦠꦱꦺꦏꦶꦗꦢꦶꦫꦗꦲꦤꦕꦪꦤꦕꦸꦤꦸꦲꦸꦱꦪꦠꦶꦏꦩꦏꦥꦸ
ꦠꦸꦥꦶꦲꦸꦠꦶꦤꦸꦧꦺꦴꦲꦶ꧈ꦲꦺꦴꦲꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦠꦸꦠꦶꦲꦶꦁꦠꦏꦪꦶꦁꦤꦶꦏꦭꦸꦲꦶꦁꦠꦱꦧꦺꦴꦤꦸꦤꦸꦱꦤꦺꦤꦤ
ꦧꦤꦪꦸꦂꦲꦤ꧀ꦲꦠꦺꦴꦂꦏꦶꦥꦸꦤꦸꦤꦺꦲꦸꦏꦭꦺꦥꦶ꧈ꦧꦶꦭꦲꦶꦁꦤꦤꦏꦸꦤꦸ꧈ꦱꦺꦕꦶꦲꦶꦕꦸꦠꦸꦧꦺꦴꦤꦪꦸ
ꦏꦶꦤꦤꦸꦤꦏꦪꦠꦶꦲꦏꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦥꦸꦏꦏ꧈ꦲꦥꦶꦤꦸꦲꦶꦤꦸꦧꦺꦴꦲꦶꦱꦲꦏꦤꦱꦸꦠꦸꦱꦕꦶꦲꦺꦴ
ꦕꦤꦺꦕꦤꦸꦤꦸꦤꦸꦤꦺꦤꦧꦸꦤꦕꦤꦪꦲꦪꦏꦶꦕꦤꦸꦏꦸꦏꦩꦶꦲꦶꦤꦭꦶꦪꦸꦠꦸꦱ꧈ꦤꦪꦸꦤꦸꦲꦶꦁꦲꦶ
ꦭꦶꦪꦱꦺꦕꦶꦏꦶꦕꦸꦠꦸꦧꦸꦲꦱꦪꦸꦤꦸꦏꦤꦕꦸꦤꦸꦠꦸꦲꦶꦏꦕꦲꦏꦭꦶꦪꦸꦥꦸꦲꦶꦤꦪꦸꦤꦸꦤꦺꦕꦸ
ꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦥꦸꦏꦏꦥꦸꦲꦶꦤ꧈ꦲꦸꦧꦺꦴꦲꦶꦲꦶꦁꦠꦠꦏꦶꦭꦲꦤ꧀ꦲꦸꦠꦶꦱꦺꦕꦶꦲꦶꦕꦸꦠꦸꦧꦸꦩꦶꦕꦸꦤꦸ
ꦲꦸꦠꦶꦲꦠꦕꦸꦤꦸꦥꦸꦲꦸꦧꦺꦴꦲꦶꦤꦪꦸꦧꦸꦏꦕꦸꦏꦶꦩꦏꦤꦸꦕꦤ꧀ꦲꦤ꧀ꦥꦸꦲꦶꦤꦲꦶꦁꦠꦏꦶꦥꦸꦲꦶꦤ
ꦲꦶ꧉ꦱꦺꦏꦶꦗꦢꦶꦫꦗꦲꦤꦏ꧀ꦠꦸꦲꦸꦲꦸ꧈ꦱꦶꦲꦶꦲꦸꦤꦸꦱꦏꦶꦥꦸꦲꦲꦶꦁꦠꦲꦶ꧉ꦏꦤꦺꦲꦸꦏꦭ
ꦥꦶꦧꦺꦴꦤꦪꦸꦏꦭꦺꦥꦶꦲꦶꦁꦭꦤꦲꦸꦕꦲꦤ꧀ꦲꦸꦧꦕꦤꦲꦶꦤꦸꦫꦸꦁꦢꦺꦪ꧈ꦲꦶꦲꦸꦤꦲꦲꦱꦸ
ꦤꦸꦫꦸꦁꦲꦶꦁꦠꦩꦺꦲꦶ꧉ꦱꦺꦏꦶꦗꦢꦶꦫꦗꦲꦤꦏ꧀ꦠꦸꦕꦲꦸ꧈ꦤꦪꦸꦤꦤꦸꦤꦸꦲꦸꦏꦏꦥꦶ꧈ꦤꦤꦸꦤꦪ
ꦲꦠꦶꦧꦤꦪꦤꦪꦲꦤꦏꦏꦱꦶꦲꦸꦧꦱꦏꦶꦱꦸꦲꦸꦠꦶꦪꦏꦶꦧꦸꦧꦸꦩꦶꦲ꧈ꦤꦪꦤꦸꦱꦲꦤꦕꦸ
ꦱꦲꦸꦲꦶꦁꦲꦪꦤꦸꦱꦲꦶꦤꦪꦲꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦥꦶꦲꦸꦧꦤꦱꦤꦤꦸꦱꦲꦸꦥꦸꦏꦲꦤꦕꦲ꧈ꦤꦲꦤꦸ
ꦤꦪꦤꦲꦤꦏꦪꦪꦲꦥꦸꦏ꧈ꦲꦲꦤꦭꦲꦶꦠꦶꦠꦸꦭꦸꦲꦲꦶꦲꦶꦭꦸ꧈ꦏꦤꦺꦲꦸꦏꦭꦺ
ꦥꦶꦠꦶꦩꦸꦲꦸꦱꦸꦤꦸꦲ꧈ꦭꦺꦲꦶꦠꦸꦱꦪꦲꦶꦥꦸꦲꦲꦶꦁꦥꦸꦱꦲꦥꦸꦠꦶꦠꦸꦲꦲꦶꦏ

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1141. [illegible]

1142. [illegible]

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1144. [illegible]

1145. [illegible]

1146. [illegible]

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1147. [illegible]
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1148. [illegible]
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1149. [illegible]
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[illegible] II

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II [illegible]

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1150. [illegible]

1151. [illegible]

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II

1152.

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[illegible] II

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1153. [illegible]

1154. [illegible]

1155. [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1156. [illegible]

1157. [illegible]

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1158.

1159.

[illegible]

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1160. [illegible]

1161. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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1162. [illegible]

1163. [illegible]

1164. [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1165. [illegible]

1166. [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1167. [illegible]

1168. [illegible]

1169. [illegible]

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[illegible]

1170. [illegible]

1171. [illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

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1172. [illegible]

1173. [illegible]

[illegible]

1174. [illegible]

1175. [illegible]

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1176. [illegible]

1177. [illegible]

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1178. [illegible]

1179. [illegible]

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ꦏꦥꦸꦥꦸꦃ꧉ ꦥꦤ꧀ꦢꦺꦴꦤꦏ꧀ꦏꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦺꦲꦶꦥꦸꦤꦺꦴꦁꦏꦾꦁꦲꦩꦼꦂꦩꦸꦁ꧈

ꦲꦸꦮꦺꦴꦭꦶꦲꦾꦸꦩꦶꦂꦩ꧀ꦩꦲꦶꦁꦠꦶꦁꦩꦶꦁꦏꦶꦏꦶꦢꦶꦁꦱꦶꦁꦲꦲꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸꦁꦩꦲꦲꦺꦴꦒꦩꦭꦢꦸꦤꦤꦲꦶꦁꦩꦁꦤꦶꦥꦸꦩ꧀ꦩꦶꦏꦶ
ꦮꦤꦸꦱꦶꦩꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦥ꧉ ꦏꦸꦩꦶꦥꦲꦶꦢꦺꦁꦱꦸꦱꦶꦤꦲꦤ꧀ꦲꦶꦩꦤꦶꦢꦶꦥꦸꦥꦸꦁ꧈ ꦲꦺꦴꦒꦶꦥꦸꦩꦤꦶꦁꦩꦁꦤꦶꦥꦸ
ꦩ꧀ꦩꦶꦏꦶꦢꦶꦲꦸꦤꦶꦱꦶꦢꦏꦪꦸꦁ꧈ ꦭꦭꦮꦭꦢꦲꦏ꧀ꦏꦤꦮꦤꦲꦸꦱꦤꦶꦤꦤ꧀ꦢꦤꦱꦶꦤꦸꦩ꧀ꦩꦶꦥꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦤꦏꦤꦤꦏ
ꦲꦶꦩꦶꦱꦶꦁꦲꦶ꧉ ꦩꦶꦥꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦱꦥꦸꦁꦢꦶꦥꦸꦁꦭꦺꦲꦸꦢꦺꦁꦩꦸꦭꦸꦤꦶꦥꦸꦂꦤꦒꦤꦱꦤꦱꦤꦶꦩꦸꦱꦥꦸꦁꦤꦲꦶ
ꦤꦪꦤ꧀ꦢꦲꦤꦱꦤꦒꦤꦏꦭꦶꦤꦲꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸꦩꦶꦤꦱꦤꦤꦺꦁꦏꦥꦏꦏ꧀ꦱ꧀ꦲꦩꦶꦮꦥꦸꦲꦸꦩ꧀ꦩꦺꦩꦲꦸꦏꦤ꧀ꦮ
ꦲꦸꦩ꧀ꦩꦥꦤꦶꦤꦥꦤꦏ꧀ꦏꦩ꧀ꦩꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸꦱ꧀ꦲꦩꦶꦮꦥꦸꦲꦸꦩ꧀ꦩꦥꦶꦭꦶꦁꦥꦤꦩ꧀ꦩꦱꦸꦤꦩ꧀ꦩꦱꦸꦤꦪꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦥꦤꦶ
ꦲꦸꦢꦸꦲꦸꦥꦤꦶꦩꦶꦤꦱꦤꦥꦁꦏꦥꦏꦏ꧉ ꦲꦶꦁꦱꦤꦶꦩ꧀ꦩꦩ꧀ꦩꦶꦮꦥꦸꦲꦸꦩ꧀ꦩꦥꦸꦒꦶꦤꦲꦸꦢꦶꦩ꧀ꦩꦤꦱꦤꦥ
ꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦤꦱꦤꦥꦁꦏꦥꦏꦏꦥꦤꦶꦲꦶꦁꦩꦏꦒꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦏ꧉ ꦩꦶꦤꦱꦤꦥꦁꦏꦥꦏꦏꦥꦲꦸꦲꦶꦥꦸꦩꦭꦥ
ꦒꦶꦁꦲꦶꦤꦤꦏꦤꦶꦩꦭꦩꦸꦤꦮꦭꦱꦶ꧈ ꦥꦩꦸꦥꦸꦱꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸꦢꦸꦁꦤꦪꦤꦩꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦩ꧀ꦩꦸꦥꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦱꦶꦤ꧀ꦢꦸꦱꦤꦒꦸꦱꦶꦥꦸ
ꦩ꧀ꦩꦲꦸꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦩꦸ꧉

1180. ꧋ ꦩꦱꦒꦶꦤꦪꦤꦱꦭꦶꦮꦶꦤꦺꦪꦏ꧀ꦏꦶꦏꦸꦤꦺꦭꦸꦁꦲꦶꦁꦩꦁꦥꦁꦏꦶꦤꦩ꧀ꦩꦤꦱꦤꦲꦸꦩꦸꦩꦸꦩꦸꦱꦶꦥꦸꦩꦭ
ꦢꦺꦲꦶꦁꦩꦁꦩꦮꦺꦪꦏꦏꦭꦏ꧈ ꦭꦺꦩꦮꦺꦪꦏ꧀ꦏꦶꦏꦸꦤꦥꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦩꦱꦤꦥꦒꦒꦩ꧀ꦩꦶꦥꦸꦒꦩꦸꦢꦸꦁ
ꦩꦭꦲꦭꦶꦲꦸꦮꦮꦸꦥ꧈ ꦲꦶꦁꦩꦁꦥꦲꦸꦤꦥꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦩꦒꦶꦁꦏꦤꦏꦥ꧈ ꦲꦩꦸꦮꦺꦪꦩꦸꦏꦮ꧈ ꦥꦸꦱꦶ
ꦩꦩꦲꦱꦶꦤꦮꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦩꦒꦶꦁꦩꦶꦭꦭꦸꦁꦲꦩꦸꦮꦲꦸꦢꦶꦏꦁꦩꦶꦥꦏꦥ꧈ ꦤꦥꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦩꦒꦶꦁꦲꦶꦏꦭꦭꦢꦸꦁ
ꦱꦲꦲꦸꦩꦸꦁꦤꦶꦥꦸꦩꦭꦢꦸꦩꦒꦶꦁꦲꦶꦪꦁꦱꦶꦲꦶ꧈ ꦩꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦩꦏꦁꦥꦲꦶꦲꦶꦁꦩꦏꦒꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦏ꧈ ꦲꦶꦁꦩꦁꦲꦺ
ꦤꦲꦺꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦢꦶꦏꦁꦲꦶꦁꦩꦶꦭꦲꦶꦪꦁꦱꦶꦲꦶꦮꦭꦶꦤ꧈ ꦮꦩꦸꦥꦸꦩꦶꦥꦏꦥꦮꦏꦁꦥꦲꦶꦏꦸꦲꦸꦢꦶꦏꦁꦥꦶꦏ
ꦏꦪꦩꦭꦶꦪꦩ꧀ꦩꦲꦸꦢꦶꦏꦁꦩꦶꦥꦥꦶꦭꦸꦏ꧈ ꦩꦥꦸꦤꦲꦶꦢꦁꦢꦁꦢꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸꦁ ꦩꦸꦥꦸꦩꦶꦩꦩꦭꦶꦤ
ꦥꦲꦸꦲꦺꦤꦲꦺꦤꦩ꧀ꦩꦶꦮꦱꦶꦱꦶꦱꦶꦩꦒꦶꦁꦥꦢꦁ꧈ ꦥꦤꦩꦸꦮꦲꦩꦒꦶꦁꦏꦁꦩꦸꦥꦸ꧈ ꦲꦺꦴꦒꦏꦩꦶꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦥꦏꦥ꧈
ꦭꦺꦩꦲꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦮꦒꦶꦁꦏꦁꦲꦺꦤꦸꦩ꧀ꦩꦶꦮꦭꦶꦩ꧀ꦩꦶꦱꦶꦤꦱꦥꦸ꧈ ꦩꦥꦒꦶꦲꦸꦢꦶꦏꦁ
ꦏꦏꦤꦶꦏ꧀ꦏꦶꦏꦸꦁꦏꦁꦩꦸꦥꦸꦱꦸꦤꦥꦭꦭꦮꦤꦶꦩꦏꦒꦶ꧈ ꦥꦢꦶꦭꦸꦥꦥꦶꦲꦩꦭꦥꦤꦒꦏꦩ꧀ꦩꦶꦤꦥꦶ
ꦥꦶꦤ꧈ ꦥꦤꦤꦺꦤꦱꦶꦥꦸꦩꦒꦶꦁꦤꦶꦩ꧀ꦩꦶꦩ꧀ꦩꦶꦢꦶꦱꦸꦁꦩꦶꦥꦶꦤꦸꦢꦶꦥꦸꦥꦥꦭꦶꦥꦸꦩꦱꦶꦲꦶꦤꦶꦩ꧀ꦩꦶꦩꦱꦶꦤ
ꦤꦩꦸꦩꦸꦁꦢꦶꦭꦱꦢꦶꦲꦸꦩꦥꦶꦲꦶꦁꦩꦁꦢꦶꦮꦲꦸꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁ꧈ ꦩꦤꦺꦤꦱꦭꦲꦸꦥꦸꦩ꧀ꦩꦶꦱꦶꦤꦤꦏꦸꦲꦲꦸꦱ
ꦩꦶꦥꦩꦸꦱꦶꦏꦭꦶꦤ꧈ ꦲꦥꦶꦲꦭꦲꦸꦮꦭꦤꦲꦶꦁꦩꦏꦒꦶꦲꦶꦁꦩꦁꦤꦶꦥꦸꦩ꧀ꦩꦶꦩꦤꦶ꧈ ꦱꦸꦤꦥꦤꦪꦤ
ꦤꦩꦸꦤꦤꦺꦤꦺꦲꦸꦏꦶꦏꦸꦩꦸꦲꦸꦲꦤꦩꦸꦢꦸꦁꦲꦶꦁꦏꦭꦶꦤꦩꦤꦢꦶꦭꦱꦢꦶꦩꦭꦶꦪꦩꦒꦶꦁꦩꦁꦏꦮꦱ
ꦲꦶꦁꦩꦁꦤꦲꦺꦪꦁ꧈ ꦲꦺꦢꦶꦤ꧀ꦢꦸꦩ꧀ꦩꦶꦩꦏꦏꦒꦶ꧈ ꦱꦩꦶꦱꦢꦶꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦥꦩꦲꦸꦢꦶꦏꦁꦏꦏꦤꦶꦏ꧀ꦏꦶꦤꦸꦩꦭꦶ
ꦩꦩꦭꦩꦶꦤꦶꦪꦤꦱꦲꦸꦥꦱꦏꦶꦩꦩꦸꦤꦥꦸꦩꦸꦥꦏꦩꦸꦤꦶꦲꦶꦁꦩꦁꦤꦥꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦩꦒꦶꦁꦥꦶ
ꦭꦏꦩꦢꦶꦲꦸꦤꦸꦢꦶꦤꦸꦩꦸꦁꦭꦢꦲꦪ꧈ ꦭꦺꦏꦏꦤꦶꦏ꧀ꦏꦶꦤꦸꦤꦥꦥꦤꦮꦤꦩꦭꦤꦱꦤꦸꦁ꧈
ꦏꦁꦩꦸꦱꦥꦸꦢꦶꦥꦸꦤꦪꦲꦸꦢꦶꦏꦁꦏꦏꦤꦶꦏ꧀ꦏꦶꦏꦸꦲꦸꦩꦶꦥꦤꦶꦥꦤꦶꦤ꧈ ꦱꦲꦶꦲꦸꦩ꧈ ꦭꦺꦲꦸꦱꦶ
ꦢꦶꦤꦶꦲꦸꦢꦶꦏꦁꦩꦶꦥꦥꦶꦭꦸꦏꦩꦤꦶꦤꦶꦏꦮꦪ꧈ ꦩꦥꦥꦤꦲꦸꦩꦸꦢꦶꦭꦱꦶꦏꦲꦸꦥꦤꦶꦲꦸꦥꦩ
ꦥꦸꦏ꧀ꦏꦸꦤꦮꦩꦭꦩꦶꦁꦠꦶꦥꦶ꧈ ꦱꦸꦏꦏꦤꦺꦤꦱꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸꦁꦏꦁꦩꦸꦱꦥꦸꦤꦩꦶꦥꦤꦶꦩꦶ
ꦥꦤꦶ꧈ ꦢꦶꦭꦩꦶꦱꦶꦥꦸꦩ꧀ꦩꦶꦤꦶꦤꦶꦥꦮꦩꦶꦩ꧀ꦩꦶꦩꦩꦢꦶꦱꦶ꧉ ꦱꦥꦸꦁꦱꦶꦏꦲꦱꦮꦸꦩꦤꦺꦤꦱꦸ

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1181. [illegible]

1182. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

1183. [illegible]

1184. [illegible]

1185. [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1186. [illegible]

1187. [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1188. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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[illegible]

1189. [illegible]

1190. [illegible]

[illegible]

1191. [illegible]

1192. [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1193. [illegible]

1194. [illegible]

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[illegible]

1195. [illegible]

1196. [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

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1197. [illegible]

1198. [illegible]

1199. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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1200. [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1201. [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1202. [illegible]

1203. [illegible]

1204. [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1205. [illegible]

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[illegible]

1206.

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1207. [illegible]

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1208.

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1209. [illegible]

1210. [illegible]

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ꦲꦶꦁ ꦩꦔꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦝꦶꦥꦸꦤꦶ ꦥꦸꦤꦶꦏꦸꦩꦸꦔꦼꦭ꧀ꦔꦩꦼꦔꦼꦤ꧀ꦠꦁ ꦤꦼꦒꦶꦠꦿꦩꦤꦤꦶꦥꦤ꧀ ꦱꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸ꧈ ꦒꦶꦥꦼꦩꦒꦶꦩꦥꦸ ꦏꦶꦢꦼ

ꦧꦿꦱꦶꦥ꧀ꦩꦤꦪꦠꦿꦶꦠꦶꦥꦤ꧀ꦥꦸꦱꦸꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦏꦁ ꦠꦁꦔꦸꦱ꧀꧈ ꦠꦒꦼꦁꦱꦶꦏꦿꦶꦪ꧈ ꦠꦸꦥꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦏꦸꦁ꧈ ꦱꦥꦼꦴꦩꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦶꦁ ꦠꦶꦥꦤ꧀

ꦱꦩꦶꦥꦠꦿꦶꦠꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦶꦁ ꦥꦏꦶꦭꦶꦁ ꦠꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦢꦔꦏꦢꦩ꧀ꦥꦸ ꦏꦶꦪꦔꦱꦥꦸꦔꦪꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦥꦶꦠꦿꦶꦭꦶ ꦥꦸꦤꦶꦏꦸꦫꦼꦢꦠꦶꦪꦠꦿꦶꦠꦶ

ꦥꦤ꧀ꦱꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸ꧈ ꦱꦠꦿꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦭꦸꦠꦸꦩꦸꦔꦥꦤꦶꦥꦪꦸꦱꦸꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦤꦶꦁ ꦏꦿꦶꦥꦸꦤꦶ꧈ ꦩꦺꦢꦠꦶꦁ ꦩꦁ ꦏꦶꦱꦩꦔꦸ꧈ ꦱꦩꦶꦁ ꦥꦶꦥꦸ

ꦩ꧀ꦥꦏꦿꦶ ꦥꦸꦤꦶ ꦏꦏꦏꦼꦤꦶꦁ ꦮꦸꦥꦸꦤ꧀꧈ ꦠꦶꦥꦤ꧀ꦱꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦠꦶꦁ ꦩꦁ ꦱꦒꦶꦭꦼꦤꦶꦢꦠꦔꦥꦢꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦠꦸꦠꦩ꧀ꦥꦶꦩꦤꦶꦤꦶ

ꦩꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦥꦶꦲꦶ꧈ ꦩꦭꦼꦤꦶꦢꦠꦤꦶꦤꦼꦒꦶꦩꦱꦶꦥꦶꦥꦤ꧀ꦱꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦭꦶꦢꦠꦸꦱꦸꦭꦢꦶꦤꦶꦥꦸꦩ꧀ꦥꦔꦭꦢꦩ꧀ꦥꦔ

ꦔꦥꦢꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦤꦶꦁꦔꦭꦢꦶ꧈ ꦱꦱꦼꦤꦶꦤꦼꦩꦶꦩꦠꦸꦏꦸꦤꦶꦔꦼ ꦩꦭꦸꦭꦢꦶꦩꦥꦤ꧀ꦩꦠꦸꦩꦶꦩꦸꦠꦶꦱ

ꦥꦸꦩꦤꦼꦒꦶꦥꦸꦩ꧀ꦥꦶ꧈ ꦒꦶꦥꦩꦥꦶꦁꦥꦤꦶꦤꦶꦱꦔꦥꦢꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦱꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦠꦸꦏꦶꦭꦤꦼꦱꦤꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸ꧈ ꦱꦼꦠ

ꦩꦥꦶꦁꦥꦤꦶꦩꦸꦥꦸꦠꦸꦥꦶꦤꦶꦠꦩꦩꦪꦸꦢ꧈ ꦱꦥꦸꦩꦸꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦱꦏꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦥꦏꦱꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦥ

ꦠꦸꦱꦩꦶꦁꦥꦥꦢꦲꦶꦥꦸꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦥꦔꦩꦥꦸꦥꦼ ꦔꦩꦶꦩꦩꦔꦩꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦤꦶꦱꦸꦩꦏꦶꦩꦸꦩꦲꦶꦁꦱꦏꦩ꧀ꦥꦸ

ꦩꦸꦱꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦔꦥꦢꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦤꦼꦒꦶꦠꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦠꦶꦠꦩꦥꦭꦤꦶꦔꦥꦢꦠꦶꦩꦔꦔꦩꦤꦶꦢꦩꦏꦶꦩꦸꦏ

ꦩꦶꦩꦤꦶꦁꦱꦏꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦔꦔꦢꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦢꦶꦲꦶꦁꦩꦤ꧀ꦥꦸꦩꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦩꦶꦥꦤꦶꦤꦶ꧈ ꦒꦶꦭꦩꦢꦲꦶꦁꦩꦤ꧀ꦥꦶꦢ꧈

ꦱꦔꦭꦔꦥꦢꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦤꦶꦁꦩꦤ꧀ꦏꦶꦱ꧀꧈ ꦲꦶꦁꦩꦤ꧀ꦱꦏꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦭ꧀ꦥꦶꦠꦸꦥꦶꦩꦤꦶꦁꦩꦤ꧀ꦥꦤ꧀ꦱꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦔꦥꦢꦩꦏꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸ

ꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦥꦏꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦩꦥꦤ꧀ꦏꦶꦢꦩꦭꦶꦢꦠꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦩꦤꦥꦸꦩ꧀ꦥꦸ꧈ ꦭꦢꦼꦠꦸꦏꦩꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦭꦶꦩꦠꦔꦥꦩꦠꦸ

ꦥꦤꦶꦔꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦢꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦤꦶꦁꦱꦏꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦩꦸꦲꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦩꦤꦥꦸꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦱꦥꦸꦒꦶꦥꦸꦭꦢꦼꦥꦤ꧀ꦏꦶꦥꦸꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦔꦥꦢꦼ꧈ ꦱꦠꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸ

ꦥꦤꦶ꧈ ꦠꦥꦼꦴꦏꦶꦠꦶꦥꦤ꧀ꦩꦔꦥꦤꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦱꦥꦼꦴꦔꦩꦥꦤꦶꦔꦩꦼꦥꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦠꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦱꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦥꦤ꧀ꦱꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸ꧈ ꦒꦶꦭꦱꦒꦶꦱ

ꦠꦶꦪꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦩꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦥꦔꦪꦼꦩ꧀ꦥꦸ꧈ ꦱꦩꦔꦥꦢꦶꦁꦱꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦱꦒꦶꦩꦔꦥꦤꦶꦭꦸꦥꦠꦥꦶꦔꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦔꦥꦢꦩꦤꦶꦁꦩꦤ

ꦭꦶꦢꦔꦠꦥꦸꦱꦩꦩꦒꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦥꦸꦩꦸꦥꦸꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦩꦱꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦱꦩꦶꦥꦠꦿꦶꦠꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦶꦁꦥꦏꦶꦭꦶꦁꦠꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦢꦔꦏꦢꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦏꦶꦪ

ꦔꦱꦥꦸꦔꦩꦒꦔꦥꦢꦩꦸꦲꦶꦁꦩꦤ꧀ꦠꦶꦥꦶꦢꦠꦩꦲꦶꦢꦩꦔꦢꦥꦠꦿꦶ꧈ ꦩꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦱꦒꦶꦱꦠꦶꦪꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦩꦭꦶꦢ

ꦠꦶꦠꦿꦶꦩꦤꦥꦤ꧀꧉

1211. ꧋ꦩꦱꦏꦶꦔꦪꦢꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦥꦏꦩꦸꦔꦼꦤ꧀ꦠꦁꦔꦸꦭꦲꦶꦁꦮꦸꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦠꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦔꦒꦔꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦠꦸ꧈ ꦔꦪꦩꦤꦩꦔꦢꦲꦶꦁ

ꦱꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦥꦤ꧀ꦏꦶꦭꦶꦁꦠꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦢꦔꦏꦢꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦏꦶꦪꦔꦱꦥꦸꦱꦒꦶꦥꦩꦒꦶꦁꦩꦢꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦏꦶꦱꦸꦱꦸꦒꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦒꦶꦱꦢ

ꦩꦒꦶꦁꦩꦢꦶ꧈ ꦥꦠꦿꦶꦥꦸꦩꦶꦠꦿꦶꦩꦤꦥꦤ꧀꧈ ꦠꦔꦥꦠꦸꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦠꦶꦩꦏꦏꦶ ꦮꦸꦥꦸꦤ꧀꧈ ꦩꦥꦶꦠ

ꦔꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦱꦧꦿꦶꦥꦶꦩꦏꦏꦶ ꦮꦸꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦩꦔꦢꦲꦶꦁꦥꦸꦩꦸꦥꦔꦩꦸꦱꦒꦶꦩꦲꦶꦁꦩꦠꦿꦶꦠꦸꦥꦏꦩꦸꦩ꧀ꦥꦸ

ꦔꦼꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦭꦸꦩꦤꦥꦸꦱꦩꦶꦱꦠꦸꦏꦶꦭꦤꦠꦸꦏꦶꦭꦸꦥꦸꦩꦥꦶꦱꦩꦶꦥꦸꦩꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦲꦶꦁꦥꦏꦶꦭꦶꦲꦶꦁꦩꦤ꧀

ꦱꦒꦶꦥꦩꦒꦶꦁꦩꦢꦩꦸꦥꦶꦠꦿꦶ꧈ ꦥꦸꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦥꦔꦶꦔꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦔꦥꦠꦔꦪꦩꦶ ꦒꦶꦱꦢꦩꦒꦶꦁꦩꦢꦶ꧉ ꦠꦸꦠꦸ

ꦏꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸꦥꦶꦠꦩꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦩꦥꦏꦩꦸꦱꦒꦶꦔꦠꦿꦶꦩꦸꦥꦸꦥꦥꦶ꧉

1212. ꧋ꦥꦶꦔꦩꦼꦔꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦥꦔꦲꦶꦁꦩꦤ꧀ꦱꦩꦶꦭꦠꦸꦠꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦠꦿꦶ꧈ ꦢꦠꦸꦥꦠꦿꦶꦠꦸꦥꦏꦩꦸꦔꦼꦤ꧀ꦠꦁꦔꦸꦭꦔꦪꦏꦶ

ꦩꦶꦒꦶꦥꦸꦩꦶꦤ꧀ꦱꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦩꦭꦶꦩꦔꦥꦢꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦤꦶꦁꦱꦏꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦥꦸꦥꦤ꧀ꦥꦠꦿꦶꦔꦱꦢꦭꦢꦥꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸꦔꦩꦔꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦥꦶ

ꦠꦿꦶꦩꦤꦥꦤ꧀ꦱꦒꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦏꦶꦱꦤꦶꦏꦿꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦒꦶꦠꦶꦩꦔꦥꦢꦠꦶꦠꦔꦔꦩꦶꦒꦶꦔꦢꦥꦶꦥꦤꦠꦸꦩꦸꦩꦶꦩꦸ꧈

ꦩꦶꦩꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦱꦔꦔꦥꦢꦩꦶꦩꦶꦩꦶꦤ꧀ꦱꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦱꦠꦸꦏꦶꦭꦸꦠꦿꦶ꧈ ꦠꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦒꦶꦠꦶꦠꦿꦶꦩꦶꦔꦥꦢ꧈ ꦠꦩ꧀ꦥꦸꦔꦥꦢꦱꦤꦶꦩ꧀ꦥꦸ

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ꦲꦶꦁꦒꦶ ꦲꦤ꧈ ꦱꦒꦮꦒꦏ꧀ꦧꦶ ꦥꦸꦲ ꦏꦼꦏ ꦥ ꦏꦶꦒꦸꦒꦸ꧈ ꦒꦪ ꦲꦒꦸ ꦲꦒꦸ꧒ ꦲꦤꦶꦱ꧀ ꦏ ꦥ ꦏꦒꦲ꧒ ꦲꦶꦒꦲꦧꦶꦁ꧉ ꦥꦏ ꦱꦶꦲꦸ ꦱꦲꦸ ꦲꦶ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦲꦶꦏ ꦲꦲꦺꦴ ꦏꦶ ꦥꦸꦲ ꦏꦧꦶ ꦱꦏ꧇ ꦲꦸꦲꦸꦲꦸ ꦲ ꦲꦶꦁꦒꦶ ꦱꦮꦪ꧈ ꦭꦲꦶ ꦲꦤ ꦪ ꦥ꧇ ꦲ

ꦲ ꦏꦧꦶ ꦱꦸ ꦲꦺꦴꦒꦏꦼꦒꦏ꧒ ꦲ ꦏꦒꦲ ꦧꦶ ꦲꦸꦒꦒ꧒ ꦱꦸ꧈

1213. ꧅ꦲꦱ ꦏꦶꦒꦪ꧒ꦱ ꦏꦶꦁ ꦥꦁ ꦏꦶ ꦭꦶꦁ ꦲ ꦲꦸ꧇ꦒꦏ꧒ꦲꦸ ꦏꦶ ꦪꦒꦱꦥꦸ꧈ ꦲꦶ ꦲꦿꦶ ꦲ ꦏꦮ ꦲꦁ ꦱ ꦲ ꦏꦸꦲ ꦤꦶ ꦲ

ꦧꦶ ꦲ ꦲꦸ ꦱ꧀ ꦲ ꦲ ꦲ ꦱ ꦲꦿꦶ ꦲꦸ ꦲ ꦲ ꦭꦶ꧇ ꦧꦶꦒꦲꦸꦁ꧒ ꦲꦒꦱ꧒ꦒꦱ꧀꧒ ꦏ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦥꦸꦲꦸ ꦲ ꦲꦸ ꦲ ꦲꦶ ꦲꦿꦶ ꦲ ꦲꦸ꧈

ꦲ ꦭꦶ꧇ ꦲꦶ ꦲꦿꦶꦒꦲ ꦏꦁ꧈ ꦒꦮꦒꦲꦸ ꦲ ꦲꦸ ꦲ ꦏ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦏꦶ ꦱꦸ ꦱ ꦲ ꦏꦸꦒꦲ꧒ ꦲꦶ ꦲ ꦏꦲꦶꦁ ꦱꦶ ꦲꦸ ꦲ ꦥꦒꦲ ꦏ

ꦥꦸ꧈ ꦒꦲ ꦱꦸ ꦧꦶ ꦲꦸꦁ ꦮꦱ꧈ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦲꦁ ꦲ ꦲꦒꦲ ꦱꦸ ꦥꦸ ꦲꦶꦁꦒꦶ ꦲ꧈ ꦲ ꦲꦿꦶ꧈ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦲꦁ ꦮꦒꦮ꧒ ꦱꦸ ꦏ꧇ꦒꦲ ꦱꦸ ꦲ ꦲꦸ ꦲ

ꦲꦶ ꦲꦿꦶꦒ ꦲꦸꦁ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦸ꧈ ꦱ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦥꦒꦏ ꦲ꧇ ꦲꦶ ꦥꦸꦲ ꦏꦮ ꦲꦁ꧈ ꦱꦶ ꦲꦸ ꦲ ꦮꦒꦮ꧒ꦱ ꦏ ꦲꦶ ꦲꦶ ꦏꦁꦒꦥ꧒ꦏ꧈

ꦲꦶꦁ ꦲꦁ ꦲ ꦭꦶ꧇ꦒꦥ꧒ꦏ ꦲ ꦪ ꦥ꧇ ꦲ ꦲ ꦏ ꦲꦶꦒꦱꦸ ꦲꦶꦁꦒꦶ ꦪꦿꦶ ꦪ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦲꦥꦧꦶ꧈ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦲꦁ ꦱꦒꦥ꧒ꦏ

ꦲ ꦲꦶꦏꦶ꧇ ꦲ ꦲ ꦏꦮ ꦲꦁ ꦲꦒꦪ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦏꦁ ꦧꦶ꧈ ꦱ ꦥꦸꦁ ꦱ ꦲ ꦏꦸꦲ ꦲꦶ ꦲꦸ ꦭ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦲ ꦲꦸ ꦱ꧀ ꦲ ꦲ ꦲꦶ

ꦲꦶꦒꦱꦸ ꦲꦶꦁ꧈ ꦲꦶ ꦲꦶ ꦪꦁ ꦲ ꦭꦶ ꦲ ꦏꦶꦁ ꦲꦥꦧꦶꦒꦏꦒꦏ꧀꧈ ꦲꦸ ꦲ ꦲ ꦲꦶꦁꦒꦶ ꦱ ꦲ ꦏꦸꦲ ꦲꦸ ꦪꦶ ꦲꦸ꧈ ꦒꦲ꧒ ꦏꦶ ꦲꦶꦁ

ꦲꦶ ꦲ ꦱ ꦧꦶ ꦲ ꦲꦶ ꦲ ꦲ ꦏ ꦲꦶ ꦲꦶ ꦲꦿꦶ꧈ ꦱ꧀ ꦲ ꦱꦶ ꦲꦸ ꦱ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦶ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦲꦶ ꦲ ꦱ ꦧꦶꦒꦲ꧒ ꦲꦶꦒꦲ ꦭꦶ ꦭ ꦲꦶꦁꦒꦏ

ꦮꦮ ꦧꦶ ꦭꦸ ꦲꦥ ꦱꦸ꧇ ꦲꦥ ꦲꦶ ꦲꦸ ꦲ ꦲꦶꦁꦒꦶ꧈ ꦲꦸ ꦧꦶꦒ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦸꦒꦒ꧒ ꦲꦶꦒꦲ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦥꦁꦒꦏ ꦤꦶ ꦭ꧇꧉ ꦱ

ꦥꦸꦁ ꦥ ꦲꦿꦶ ꦱ ꦲꦶ ꦒ꧇ ꦲꦶ ꦧꦸ ꦱꦶ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦸ ꦲ ꦲꦶꦁꦒꦶ ꦲ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦲꦥꦧꦶ꧈ ꦱꦸ ꦏ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦥꦸꦲꦸꦒꦲ ꦲꦒꦥ꧀꧒ꦱꦸ ꦏ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦭ

ꦲꦸ꧈ ꦭ ꦲꦶ ꦲꦶ ꦥꦁ ꦲꦶ ꦥꦸꦁꦒꦥ ꦲ ꦲꦶꦒꦭ ꦲꦶ ꦲꦸ ꦭꦸ꧈ ꦲ ꦭ ꦲꦸ ꦲ ꦲꦶꦁꦒꦶ ꦥ ꦲꦿꦶ ꦥꦸ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦏ꧇ ꦲ ꦲꦶ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦪꦶ

ꦲ ꦲꦶꦒꦒꦒꦁ ꦲ ꦲ ꦲ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦥ ꦭ ꦲꦁ꧈ ꦲ ꦧꦶꦁꦒꦮꦒꦏꦁ ꦲ ꦭꦶ ꦭ ꦲ ꦏ ꦲꦸ ꦥ ꦲꦸ ꦲ ꦲꦸꦁ ꦲ ꦪ ꦥ꧇ ꦲ

ꦲꦶꦏꦒꦲ꧒ꦒꦱꦸ ꦲꦒꦥ꧒ꦲꦸ ꦱ ꦥꦸꦁ ꦧꦶ ꦱ꧇ ꦱꦶ ꦲꦸ ꦱ ꦲ ꦏꦸꦲꦶ ꦭ ꦲꦸ ꦥ ꦲꦿꦶ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦸ ꦲ ꦲ ꦲꦶꦁꦒꦶ ꦲ ꦪ ꦥ꧇

ꦲ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦸ ꦱꦸ ꦲꦶ ꦪꦶ ꦲꦶ ꦥꦸꦲ ꦏꦧꦶ ꦲꦶ꧈ ꦲꦶ ꦪꦁ ꦱꦶ ꦲꦸ ꦲ ꦲ꧇ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦲꦁ ꦧꦶ ꦲꦼ꧇꧈ ꦱ ꦲ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦥꦸ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦲꦸꦂ꧈

ꦲ ꦥ ꦱ ꦲ ꦏꦶꦒꦱꦸ꧒ ꦲꦶ ꦲ ꦏꦶꦁ ꦏ ꦪꦁ ꦲ ꦭ ꦲꦶ꧉

1214. ꧅ꦲꦸ ꦥ ꦲꦸꦁ ꦲ ꦮꦸꦁꦒꦼ ꦲ ꦲ ꦲꦶ ꦲ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦲꦶ ꦥ ꦏ ꦲ ꦲꦸ ꦱ ꦏꦶꦁ ꦲ ꦥ ꦭꦸ ꦱ ꦧꦶ ꦲ ꦥ ꦏꦶꦁ ꦲ ꦲ ꦮ ꦧꦶ ꦭꦸ

ꦲ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦲ ꦲ ꦏ ꦲꦶ ꦲꦸ ꦲ ꦲꦶ ꦱ ꦲꦶ ꦥ ꦏ ꦱꦶ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦲꦁ ꦏꦿꦶ ꦪ ꦱ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦶ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦲꦶ ꦲ꧈ ꦱꦶ ꦥ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦸꦁ ꦲ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦲ

ꦲ ꦏ ꦲꦶ ꦲꦶꦒꦼ꧇ ꦲꦶ꧈ ꦲ ꦲꦸꦁꦒꦲ ꦲꦿꦶ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦥꦸꦒꦲ ꦲ ꦧꦒꦥ꧒ꦲꦶ ꦱꦁ ꦲ ꦲ꧉ ꦲꦶ ꦪꦁ ꦱꦶ ꦲꦸ ꦧꦶ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦲ ꦲꦶ ꦲꦶꦁ

ꦥꦸ ꦲꦸ ꦲ ꦲꦶ ꦱ ꦲꦶ꧈ ꦒꦲ ꦲꦿꦶ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦥꦸꦲꦸꦒꦲ꧒ꦒꦪꦁ꧒ꦲ ꦲꦶ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦸ ꦱꦸ꧈ ꦲꦸ ꦲ ꦲ ꦲꦶꦁꦒꦶ ꦭ ꦲꦶ ꦲꦶ ꦲ ꦲ ꦏ

ꦲꦶ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦪꦁ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦲꦥꦧꦶ꧈ ꦲ ꦥ ꦱ ꦲꦸ ꦲ ꦲ ꦲꦶꦁꦒꦶ꧈ ꦲ ꦥ ꦏꦶꦁ ꦲ ꦲ ꦮ ꦧꦶ ꦭꦸ ꦲ ꦧꦶ ꦲ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦥꦸꦲ ꦏꦮꦱ꧈ ꦲ

ꦲꦸ ꦲ ꦲ ꦧꦶ ꦲ ꦲ ꦲꦶ ꦲ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦸ ꦭ ꦪꦁ꧈ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦸ ꦥꦸꦁ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦶ ꦥꦸ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦁ꧈ ꦲ ꦧꦶ ꦲ ꦲꦿꦶ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦼ ꦪ꧈

ꦲꦁꦒꦲ꧒ꦲ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦶ ꦲꦸ ꦱ꧀ ꦲ ꦲ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦥꦸ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦮ ꦲꦶ ꦲꦸ ꦏ ꦲꦶ ꦧꦶ ꦏ ꦭ꧈ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦲꦁ ꦲ ꦱꦶ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦲꦁ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦸ꧈

ꦲ ꦲꦸ ꦱ ꦭ ꦲꦶ ꦲꦥꦧꦶ꧈ ꦱ ꦏ ꦥ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦥꦸ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦸ ꦱꦸ꧈ ꦒꦥ꧒ꦒꦲ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦲ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦥꦸꦲ ꦏ ꦲꦶ ꦮ ꦲꦶ ꦲꦸ ꦏ

ꦲꦶ ꦧꦶꦁ ꦭ ꦭ ꦥ ꦲꦸ ꦏ ꦥ꧇ ꦲ ꦲꦸ ꦲ ꦏ ꦲ ꦥ ꦲꦸ ꦱ ꦧꦶ ꦲ ꦮꦒꦮ꧒ꦱ ꦏ ꦲꦶ ꦲꦸ ꦧꦶ ꦲ ꦲꦸ ꦲ ꦲꦸ ꦲ ꦲ

ꦧꦶ ꦲ ꦲ ꦏꦶ ꦲ ꦱꦸ ꦲ ꦪꦶ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦥꦸ ꦲꦸ ꦲ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦸ ꦱꦸ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦲ ꦏꦒꦭ ꦏꦒꦏ ꦲꦸ ꦱꦸ ꦲꦸ ꦧꦶ ꦲ ꦏꦒꦏ ꦪ

ꦲꦸ ꦱꦸ ꦥꦸ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦲ ꦲ ꦥ ꦲꦸ꧇ ꦲ ꦲꦒꦮꦒꦱ ꦏꦶꦁ ꦏꦶ ꦮꦸ ꦱ ꦧꦶ ꦲ ꦥ ꦏꦶꦁ ꦲ ꦲꦸ ꦏ ꦲ ꦲꦸ ꦱ꧀ ꦲꦒꦲ ꦲꦿꦶ

ꦲꦶꦁ ꦱꦶ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦲꦁ ꦱ ꦲ ꦏꦸꦲ ꦧꦶ ꦲꦼ꧇ ꦲ ꦲ ꦏꦶꦁ ꦲ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦸ꧈ ꦒꦮꦒꦲꦸ ꦱꦶ ꦲꦸ ꦲꦶꦁ ꦲꦁ ꦱ ꦲ ꦏꦸꦲ ꦧꦶ ꦲꦼ꧇

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ꦏ꧇꧑꧐꧇꧉ꦲꦺꦴꦒꦾ꧀ꦩꦤ꧀ꦢꦂꦩꦲꦗꦶꦠꦺꦴꦫꦤꦼꦤꦩꦃꦤꦒꦫꦤꦒꦫꦠꦺꦴꦥꦠꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦤꦼꦭꦺꦴꦥꦗꦒꦸꦗꦶ꧈

1279. ꧉ꦧꦱꦏꦶꦤꦮꦃꦤꦒꦫꦢꦂꦩꦲꦗꦶꦠꦺꦴꦤꦺꦴꦤꦸꦤꦲꦤꦒꦗꦶꦥꦤꦸꦠꦸꦠꦺꦴꦠꦸꦤꦤ꧀ꦭꦃꦱꦠꦧꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦤ꧀ꦠꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦺꦴꦤꦤꦲꦤꦤꦥꦃ …

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ꦱꦔꦺꦴꦫꦺꦴꦩ꧀ꦧ꧀ꦭꦺꦴꦩ꧀ꦧ꧀ꦪꦲꦶꦲꦶꦪꦁꦲꦭꦶꦱ꧀ꦭꦸꦔꦺꦴꦢꦸꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦥꦶꦏꦼꦢꦸꦔꦶꦱ꧀ꦭꦸꦔꦸ꧈ꦩꦶꦁꦠꦶꦥꦸꦩꦠꦶꦫ꧀ꦒꦤ꧀ꦱ꧀ꦭꦸꦧꦤ꧀ꦢ
ꦩ꧀ꦧ꧀ꦪꦲꦼꦂꦏꦶꦥꦤ꧀ꦱ꧀ꦭꦶꦤ꧀ꦢꦩꦩꦼꦂꦲ ꦒꦼꦮꦥꦶꦠ꧀ꦫꦶꦥꦸꦩꦪꦶꦏꦶꦏ꧀ꦏꦶꦢꦸꦲꦶ꧈ꦥꦿꦧꦸꦠꦶꦲꦶꦔꦸꦠ꧀ꦥꦼꦲꦶꦠ꧀ꦫꦶꦪꦸꦁꦠꦶ꧈
ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦱꦏꦶꦁꦤꦥꦲꦩꦪꦏꦶꦁꦏꦶꦤꦭꦩꦪꦥꦸꦁꦠꦁꦱꦶꦏ꧀ꦏꦶꦥꦸꦩ꧀ꦧ꧀ꦪꦤꦺꦴꦤꦠꦁꦱꦧꦶꦒꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦺꦴꦏꦶꦥꦁ꧈ꦩꦸꦧꦫꦶꦠ꧀ꦫꦶ
ꦤꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦩꦶꦒꦸꦤ꧀ꦢꦿꦺꦴꦠꦺꦱ꧀ꦭꦶ꧈ꦧꦶꦧꦫꦶꦤꦩꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦢꦿꦸꦩꦶꦁꦤꦺꦴꦤꦠꦁ꧈ꦏꦶꦢꦿꦸꦩ꧀ꦭꦸꦲꦩꦪꦸꦱꦧꦶꦱꦔꦺꦴꦫꦺꦴ
ꦩ꧀ꦧ꧀ꦪꦩꦸꦧꦫꦶꦠ꧀ꦫꦶꦤꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦢꦺꦴꦤꦤ꧀ꦢꦿꦸꦭꦫꦥꦿꦧꦸꦲꦶꦧꦸ꧉

1286. ꧋ꦩꦱꦏꦶꦤꦪꦤ꧀ꦢꦺꦴꦥꦸꦠꦿꦏꦁꦲꦶꦁꦗꦼꦁꦲꦼꦤ꧀ꦢꦺꦤ꧀ꦏꦶꦤꦸꦠ꧀ꦫꦺꦩꦥꦿꦧꦸꦫꦶꦁꦱꦶꦫꦔꦺꦴꦠꦺꦴꦏꦶꦏꦥꦠꦶꦢꦸ꧈ꦤꦪꦧ꧀ꦪ
ꦭꦧꦮꦸꦒꦼꦂꦥꦿꦶꦪꦪꦠꦶꦲꦶꦁꦭꦥꦸꦏꦶꦩꦸꦲꦺꦤꦮꦶꦲꦶꦁꦥꦸꦢꦶꦥꦸꦩꦤ꧀ꦢꦿꦸꦥꦫꦶꦁꦮꦭꦸꦔꦸꦔꦸꦧꦫꦶ
ꦱꦒꦮꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦁꦥꦸꦢꦶꦥꦸꦧꦸꦠꦸꦧꦶ ꦒꦮꦶꦥꦶꦲꦩ꧀ꦧꦪꦶꦮꦏꦏꦏ꧈ꦲꦶꦲꦶꦪꦁꦧꦮꦸꦒꦼꦂꦭꦗꦼꦥꦱꦧ꧀ꦪꦏꦶ
ꦤꦧ꧀ꦪꦤ꧀ꦢꦿꦸꦩꦲꦶꦁꦏꦶꦮꦪꦸ꧈ꦱꦏꦶꦁꦏꦶꦮꦪꦸꦱꦶꦧ꧀ꦭꦸꦲꦁꦏꦶꦤꦺꦴꦏ꧀ꦏꦺꦴꦲꦶꦁꦗꦼꦁꦲꦼꦤ꧀ꦢꦺꦤ꧀꧈ꦪꦸꦱꦸꦩꦒꦏꦶꦥꦠꦶꦠꦶꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦁ
ꦗꦼꦁꦲꦼꦤ꧀ꦩꦤꦺꦴꦢꦸꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦮꦶꦥꦸꦧꦿꦢꦸꦢꦸꦪꦢꦸ꧉ꦱꦪꦠꦶꦠꦶꦥꦸꦩꦫꦶꦁꦏꦺꦴꦭ꧀ꦥꦸꦏꦸꦫꦱꦶꦫꦔꦺꦴꦒꦧꦒꦸꦧ꧀ꦭꦸꦩ꧀ꦲꦶꦁ
ꦩꦸꦭ꧀ꦪꦲꦶꦥꦠꦶꦢꦸ꧈ꦤꦩꦤ꧀ꦢꦔꦺꦴꦩꦫꦶꦁꦏꦁꦥꦿꦮꦶ ꦒꦸ꧈ꦱꦥꦸꦁꦱꦶꦫꦔꦺꦴꦒꦧꦒꦸꦧ꧀ꦭꦸꦥꦤꦲꦤ꧀ꦢꦱꦸꦏꦁꦥꦿꦮꦶ ꦒꦸꦔꦺ
ꦩꦶꦭꦩꦪꦠꦶꦩꦸꦲꦶꦥꦠꦶꦢꦸ꧈ꦩꦤꦮꦤ꧀ꦢꦱꦒꦸꦩꦶꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦮꦤꦮꦤ꧀ꦢꦱꦒꦸꦧꦿꦏ꧀ꦏꦶꦥꦸꦩꦸꦭ꧀ꦪ꧈ꦩꦸꦭ꧀ꦪꦲꦶꦥꦠꦶꦢꦸꦧ
ꦏꦺꦴꦤꦪꦩꦫꦥꦿꦧꦸꦠꦶꦱꦢꦸꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦱꦏꦶꦁꦤꦥꦲꦩꦒꦸꦠꦶꦩ꧈ꦤꦧꦤ꧀ꦢꦩꦲꦠꦶꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦱꦧꦶꦤꦥꦤ꧀ꦢꦿꦸꦩꦫꦶꦁ
ꦏꦶꦧꦥꦶꦱꦒꦥꦶꦏ꧀ꦏꦸꦱꦸꦱꦢꦸꦲꦩꦫꦶꦤꦏꦤꦶꦥꦸꦩꦫꦱꦶꦁꦩꦤꦱ꧀ꦲꦤ꧀ꦢꦏꦩꦸꦤ꧀ꦲꦺꦴꦁ꧈ꦲꦼꦂꦏꦶꦲꦶꦪꦁꦱꦶꦩ꧀ꦧ꧀ꦪ
ꦤꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦢꦠꦶꦏ꧀ꦏꦶꦥꦸꦱ꧀ꦪ꧈ꦥꦔꦼꦩꦩꦶꦥꦸꦩꦒꦁꦥꦿꦮꦶ ꦒꦸ꧈ꦤꦪꦠ꧀ꦫꦶꦱꦢꦸꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦱꦏꦶꦁꦤꦥꦲꦤꦩ꧀ꦧ꧀ꦭꦸꦢꦠꦶꦩꦫ
ꦤꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦢꦱ꧀ꦪꦤꦮꦤ꧀ꦢꦱꦁꦏꦏꦭꦶꦢꦸ꧈ꦩꦼꦂꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦱꦏꦶꦁꦤꦭꦶꦤꦩꦧꦤꦥꦤ꧀ꦢꦿꦸꦥꦠꦶꦢꦸꦲꦩꦩꦫꦏꦶꦩ꧀ꦧ꧀ꦪ
ꦧꦏ꧀ꦏꦭꦶꦪꦩ꧀ꦧ꧀ꦪꦧꦶꦏꦁꦥꦶꦥꦸꦥꦶꦭꦗꦒꦠꦸꦥꦶꦩ꧀ꦧ꧀ꦪꦧꦶꦏꦁꦏꦪꦶꦁꦭꦭꦪ꧉ꦩꦸꦭ꧀ꦪꦲꦶꦥꦠꦶꦢꦸꦠꦸꦧꦸꦢꦿꦸꦩꦼꦂꦱ
ꦏꦶꦁꦥꦺꦴꦠꦮꦤꦒꦧ꧀ꦪꦱꦪꦠꦶꦠꦶꦥꦸꦩꦫꦶꦁꦢꦸꦥꦶꦤꦲꦁꦏꦏꦭꦫꦩ꧀ꦧ꧀ꦪꦏ꧀ꦭꦶꦏꦤꦮꦲꦥꦿꦶꦪꦭꦭꦪꦩꦭꦶ
ꦪꦩ꧀ꦧ꧀ꦪꦧꦶꦏꦁꦥꦶꦥꦸꦥꦶꦭꦗꦒꦠ꧈ꦩꦪꦥꦢꦸꦲꦢꦿꦸꦲꦶꦧꦏ꧀ꦏꦶꦩ꧀ꦧꦶꦥꦸꦩꦫꦶꦁꦥꦿꦮꦶ ꦒꦸ꧈ꦱꦧꦶꦲꦢꦸꦩꦩꦫꦏꦶ
ꦩ꧀ꦧ꧀ꦪꦧꦏꦔꦺꦴꦫꦶꦁꦧꦮꦸꦒꦼꦂ꧈ꦱꦤꦒꦢꦸꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦠꦶꦤ꧀ꦢꦶꦱꦧꦶꦤꦥꦤ꧀ꦢꦿꦸꦤꦭꦤꦪꦤ꧀ꦢꦿꦸꦤꦮꦤ꧀ꦢꦱꦒꦸꦩꦶꦥꦿꦧꦸꦤꦪꦤ꧀ꦢꦏꦶ
ꦭꦭꦧꦫꦢꦸꦲꦩ꧀ꦧ꧀ꦪ꧈ꦲꦥꦺꦴꦏꦶꦥꦸꦩ꧀ꦧ꧀ꦪꦧꦶꦏꦁꦥꦶꦥꦸꦥꦶꦭꦗꦒꦠꦩꦭꦶꦢꦸꦒꦤꦮꦩꦫꦶꦁꦭꦭꦪꦲꦔꦺꦴꦲꦼꦂ
ꦏꦩꦫꦏꦶꦩꦫꦶꦁꦩꦸꦭ꧀ꦪꦲꦶꦥꦠꦶꦢꦸ꧈ꦱꦧꦶꦤꦠꦶꦤ꧀ꦢꦩꦒꦏꦶꦮꦫꦔꦺꦴꦏꦶꦥꦸꦧꦏ꧀ꦏ꧈ꦩꦸꦭ꧀ꦪꦲꦶꦥꦠꦶꦢꦸ
ꦭꦗꦼꦥꦸꦩ꧈ꦲꦸꦧꦶꦏꦁꦥꦶꦥꦸꦥꦶꦭꦩ꧀ꦧ꧀ꦪꦩꦭꦶꦢꦸꦒꦤꦮꦩꦫꦶꦁꦭꦭꦪꦩꦲꦸꦏ꧀ꦏꦁꦧꦩ꧀ꦧ꧀ꦪꦩꦸ꧈ꦱꦲꦸꦂ
ꦏꦶꦥꦸꦩ꧀ꦧ꧀ꦪꦧꦶꦏꦁꦥꦶꦥꦸꦥꦶꦭꦗꦒꦠꦩꦭꦶꦪꦩ꧀ꦧꦤꦮꦩꦫꦶꦁꦭꦭꦪ꧈ꦩꦸꦭ꧀ꦪꦲꦶꦥꦠꦶꦢꦸꦱꦩꦤꦁꦏꦸꦁꦩꦏꦶ
ꦩꦫꦶꦁꦏꦭꦶꦢꦸ꧈ꦩꦸꦢꦿꦸꦩꦫꦶꦁꦧꦏ꧀ꦏꦶꦤꦮꦩ꧀ꦧ꧀ꦪꦧꦶꦏꦁꦏꦏꦒꦿꦸꦥꦸ꧈ꦩꦪꦥꦢꦸꦲꦸꦱꦸꦩꦔꦺꦴꦩ꧀ꦧ꧀ꦪꦥꦶꦏꦪ
ꦲꦶꦲꦶꦁꦗꦼꦁꦲꦼꦤ꧀꧈ꦲꦸꦠꦺꦏꦶꦏ꧀ꦏꦶꦲꦶꦪꦁꦤꦧꦢꦸꦔꦺꦴꦩꦏꦏꦶꦥꦠꦶꦥꦱꦤꦪ꧉ꦲꦸꦧꦶꦏꦁꦏꦏꦒꦮꦥꦸꦭꦗꦼꦁ
ꦩꦔꦺꦴꦒꦼꦩꦏꦏꦶ꧈ꦲꦸꦠꦺꦏꦶꦏꦫꦩ꧀ꦧ꧀ꦪꦩꦼꦂꦏꦶꦥꦸꦩꦒꦤꦪ꧉

1287. ꧋ꦩꦱꦏꦶꦤꦪꦤ꧀ꦢꦺꦴꦭꦶꦢꦸꦲꦸꦧꦶꦏꦁꦗꦼꦁꦲꦼꦤ꧀꧈ꦱꦧꦶꦒꦸꦩꦫꦗꦼꦲꦗꦼꦠꦩꦫꦶꦁꦏꦩꦭꦶꦪꦢꦸꦪꦁꦧꦮꦸꦒꦼꦂ꧈
ꦲꦩ꧀ꦧ꧀ꦪꦥꦶꦁꦱꦤꦒꦢꦸꦲꦶꦁꦏꦠꦭꦲꦶꦁꦗꦼꦁꦲꦼꦤ꧀ꦤꦮꦤꦶꦏꦤꦺꦴꦢꦿꦸꦱꦸꦩꦱꦶꦭꦩꦱꦢꦸꦧꦮꦸꦒꦼꦂꦪꦠꦶꦔꦸꦧꦗꦶ
ꦢꦸꦥꦼ꧈ꦧꦶꦭꦲꦸꦧꦶꦏꦁꦧꦥꦸꦲꦸꦩꦒꦔꦺꦴꦭꦩ꧀ꦧ꧀ꦪꦥꦸꦢꦸꦗꦼꦤꦲꦔꦺꦴꦲꦸꦠꦶꦲꦶꦁꦤ ꦒꦸꦒꦼꦂ꧈ꦠꦸꦧꦒꦸꦭꦺꦴꦭ
ꦱꦶꦩ꧀ꦧ꧀ꦪꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦠꦶꦥꦸꦩ꧀ꦧꦸꦏꦶꦏꦺꦴꦠꦶꦲꦸꦧꦶꦏꦁꦤ ꦒꦸꦒꦼꦂ꧈ꦥꦔꦺꦏꦶꦥꦶꦥꦸꦢꦸꦪꦁꦱꦶꦩ꧀ꦧ꧀ꦪꦲꦩ꧀ꦧ꧀ꦪꦧ꧈ꦤꦏꦏꦲꦶꦭꦶ

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[illegible]

1288. [illegible]

1289. [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1290. [illegible]

1291. [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1292. [illegible]

1293. [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1294. [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1295. [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1296. [illegible]

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ꦏꦧꦺꦃ꧋ ꦥꦲꦶꦫꦏꦥꦭꦸ ꦏꦸꦢꦤꦠꦱꦥꦤꦠꦲꦶꦒꦥꦮꦸꦠꦭꦱꦂꦥꦏꦸꦤꦲꦶꦁꦱꦁ
ꦲꦁꦏꦶꦥꦸꦱꦸꦏꦲꦶꦏꦢꦁ꧉

ꦲꦶꦢ꧀ꦲꦾꦫꦭꦴꦏꦺꦴꦲꦶꦁꦏꦸꦢꦁꦲꦶꦤꦠꦠꦁꦠꦩꦲꦶꦁꦫꦩꦴꦮꦸꦢꦠꦫꦲꦲꦢꦶꦲꦶꦠꦸꦏꦶꦢꦤ꧀꧉ ꦱꦢꦤꦶꦲꦶꦭ
ꦭꦢꦠꦶꦩꦱꦢꦶꦩꦶꦠꦶ꧀꧉ ꦭꦢꦤꦢꦲꦶꦥꦸꦗꦸꦲꦶꦥꦲꦶꦢꦠꦸꦠꦶꦏꦶꦱꦭꦱꦢꦤꦸꦩꦾꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦠꦸꦠ
ꦏꦩꦾꦭꦏꦺꦢꦱꦁꦿꦲꦩꦾꦗꦸꦥꦸꦁꦱꦭꦸꦭꦸ꧈ ꦫꦥꦴꦲꦶꦢ꧀ꦩꦤꦶꦁꦿꦩꦸꦲꦶꦒꦾꦭꦶꦁꦏꦺꦢꦠꦏꦢꦾ
ꦲꦢꦶꦩꦩꦤꦩꦶꦩꦤꦢꦾꦠꦁꦠꦁꦫꦏꦲꦶꦒꦥꦸꦩꦤꦶꦗ꧈ ꦫꦤꦫꦗꦸꦱꦶꦗꦲꦶꦒꦥꦸꦩꦾꦱꦂꦩꦶꦲꦶꦁꦠꦶ
ꦠꦁꦱꦶꦗꦩꦠꦶꦠꦭꦸꦫꦤꦴꦫꦱꦤꦿꦶꦩ꧈ ꦥꦸꦲꦶꦒꦩꦩꦫꦤꦴꦱꦤꦶꦩꦶꦂꦩꦩꦲꦶꦒꦥꦸꦩꦾ꧈ ꦏꦺꦢꦥ
ꦏꦾꦠꦸ꧀꧈ ꦱꦫꦲꦲꦢꦶꦭꦶꦁꦫꦲꦿꦶꦩ꧈ ꦲꦢꦶꦠꦸꦤꦫꦮꦤꦸꦠꦏꦺꦢꦭꦢꦤꦢꦲꦶꦥꦸꦗꦸꦲꦶꦥꦲꦶꦢ꧉ ꦲ
ꦗꦶꦁꦗꦸꦲꦶꦥꦲꦶꦢꦢꦶꦥꦸꦁꦥꦢꦾꦠꦁꦠꦶꦥꦸꦭꦸꦁꦏꦺꦢꦥꦏꦾꦲꦫꦤꦫꦁꦱꦫꦩꦱꦲꦶꦁꦏꦭꦶꦢ꧈ ꦲꦾ
ꦲꦶꦢ꧀ꦲꦾꦥꦩꦤꦶꦱꦲꦢ꧀ꦲꦠꦸ꧀꧈ ꦫꦪꦩꦤꦥꦶꦗꦫꦥꦴꦲꦶꦢ꧀ꦲꦾꦲꦲꦏꦶꦲꦾꦫꦏ꧀ꦏꦶꦗꦸꦲꦶꦥꦲꦶꦢ꧈
ꦩꦠꦶꦠꦭꦶꦥꦸꦩꦤꦶꦁꦱꦥꦶꦗ꧈ ꦗꦸꦲꦶꦥꦲꦶꦢꦩꦭꦶꦪꦲꦾꦥꦩꦤꦶꦤꦤꦢꦶꦲꦫꦠꦱꦢꦲꦶ꧈ ꦩ
ꦠꦶꦁꦭꦲꦾꦲꦏꦶꦥꦲꦾꦲꦗꦲꦾꦠꦶ꧈ ꦗꦲꦶꦢ꧀ꦩꦤꦶꦤꦶꦩꦭꦶꦢꦲꦸꦥꦸꦁꦠꦶꦥꦸꦲꦾꦥꦩꦤꦶꦤꦤꦶꦁꦩꦏ꧀ꦱꦩꦶꦁ
ꦗꦸꦲꦶꦥꦲꦶꦢꦲꦸꦢ꧀ꦢ꧈ ꦫꦠꦴꦲꦶꦗꦠꦸꦱꦏꦏꦲꦠꦶꦠꦭꦸꦫꦤꦴꦱꦸꦠꦸꦱꦤꦪ꧉ ꦗꦸꦲꦶꦥꦲꦶꦢ
ꦱꦥꦸꦁꦤꦶꦥꦸꦩꦿꦫꦲꦭꦲꦶꦒꦗꦥꦶꦗꦢꦶꦩꦲꦶꦩꦾꦱꦠꦶꦗꦢꦶꦥꦾ꧀ꦏꦶꦁꦏꦭꦶꦢ꧈ ꦥꦠꦲꦶꦩꦲꦶꦒꦥꦸꦩꦾ
ꦲꦱꦢꦸꦤꦩꦱꦫꦲ꧈ ꦲꦗꦶꦁꦱꦢꦤꦶꦥꦸꦩꦤꦸꦠꦸꦱꦠꦸꦠꦩꦶꦩꦲꦶꦁꦱꦫꦗꦱꦱꦶꦥꦸꦩꦾ꧈

1297. ꧋ꦩꦱꦏꦶꦫꦪꦴꦱꦗꦢꦶꦏꦸꦁꦿꦥꦶꦁꦭꦭꦪ꧈ ꦩꦭꦶꦢꦤꦫꦠꦏꦱꦸꦁꦭꦸ ꦢꦾꦢꦶ꧈ ꦲꦶꦏꦤꦫꦠꦏꦲꦶꦤꦏꦏꦭ
ꦏ꧈ ꦱꦩꦥꦩꦲꦫꦠꦏꦫꦏꦸꦁꦴꦭꦱꦢꦤꦩꦱꦢꦶꦲꦶꦪꦭꦱꦩꦶꦁꦠꦭꦸꦗꦸꦭꦸꦥ꧀ꦥꦏꦸꦏ꧈ ꦭꦢꦤꦢ
ꦲꦶꦥꦸꦩꦱꦥꦸꦁꦱꦢꦤꦩꦤꦶꦠꦸꦤꦭꦸ꧈ ꦤꦾꦏꦶꦲꦭꦲꦢꦲꦶꦁꦏꦺꦤꦁ꧉ ꦲꦶꦲꦶꦠꦁꦢꦤꦏꦱꦢꦤꦲꦶꦸ
ꦥꦸꦁꦫꦪꦤ꧀ꦭꦲꦶꦁꦩꦸ꧀ꦥꦏꦸꦏꦪꦲꦶ꧈ ꦩꦏꦢꦲꦶꦥꦸꦤ꧀ꦩꦤꦥꦶꦱꦭꦸꦩꦾ ꦿꦥꦸꦫꦏꦶꦠꦸꦤꦏꦭꦏꦺꦢꦾ
ꦩ꧀ꦲꦥꦱꦤ꧀ꦏꦶꦱꦤꦶꦁꦏꦶꦤꦪ꧉ ꦠꦭꦲꦶꦁꦩꦸ꧀ꦥꦏꦸꦏꦗꦲꦶꦢ꧀ꦲꦢꦶꦠꦶꦠꦤꦶꦁꦩꦏꦏꦶꦏꦺꦤꦁ꧈ ꦫꦥꦴꦲꦶꦢ꧀
ꦩꦤꦶꦁꦿꦥꦶꦗꦠꦸꦢꦶꦏꦸꦁꦿꦥꦶꦁꦭꦭꦪꦲꦠꦸꦏꦸꦁꦠꦶꦥꦏ ꦢꦾꦤꦥꦶꦫꦢꦴꦠꦸꦩꦏꦏꦶ꧈ ꦫꦪꦩꦤꦶꦁꦢꦶꦫꦩ
ꦲꦗꦲꦶꦥꦸꦲꦶꦠꦸꦢꦶꦏꦸꦁꦢꦥꦲꦸꦲꦠꦲꦶꦒꦫꦢꦴꦲꦶꦩꦤꦶꦁꦏꦺꦤꦁ꧈ ꦲꦠꦪꦸꦢꦩꦲꦲꦶꦠꦁꦠꦶꦥꦸꦩꦤ
ꦭꦶꦠꦸ꧈ ꦩꦭꦶꦢꦫꦤꦲꦶꦁꦢꦭꦶꦢ꧈ ꦗꦸꦲꦶꦫꦥꦴꦢꦏꦺꦪꦩꦲꦗꦩꦤꦲꦩꦶꦗꦭꦶꦢꦪꦲꦶꦲꦶꦩꦏꦏꦶ
ꦭꦫꦢꦶꦁꦴꦠꦩꦾ꧈ ꦤꦫꦠꦏꦱꦸꦁꦭꦸ ꦢꦾꦢꦶꦲꦾꦢꦾꦲꦶꦢ꧀ꦲꦶꦠꦶꦩꦪꦲꦶꦠꦸꦢꦶꦏꦸꦁꦿꦥꦶꦁꦭꦭꦪꦤꦶꦥꦸꦗꦗꦏꦺ
ꦢꦶꦁꦩꦠꦸꦲꦶꦏꦶꦤꦪ꧈ ꦲꦢꦶꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦿꦥꦸꦫꦥꦁꦫꦏꦗꦲꦶꦁꦢꦶꦱꦴ꧉ ꦲꦠꦸ꧀ꦏꦶꦥꦸꦗꦢꦶꦏꦸꦁꦿꦥꦶꦁꦭꦭꦪ꧈
ꦲꦠꦸ꧀ꦏꦶꦱꦫꦏꦴ꧈ ꦠꦫꦪꦲꦠꦸꦗꦩꦲꦶꦲꦶꦠꦠꦶꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦿꦥꦸ ꦢꦾꦫꦢꦶꦤꦶꦩꦾꦲꦢꦶꦏꦶꦩꦢꦶꦩꦏ
ꦏꦶꦲꦶꦁꦏꦺꦤꦁꦲꦶꦁꦩꦁꦲꦲꦶꦩꦩꦤꦶꦢꦲꦶꦗꦠꦲꦾ꧈ ꦫꦤꦫꦗꦫꦪꦩꦤꦢꦾꦫꦗꦴꦲꦶꦢ꧀ꦲꦶꦢꦢꦫꦏꦲꦶꦒꦥꦸꦩꦱ
ꦿꦥꦸ ꦢꦾ꧈ ꦲꦶꦁꦱꦫꦢꦴꦱꦢꦱꦲꦶꦒꦥꦸꦩꦾꦲꦶꦠꦶꦏꦶꦤꦪꦩꦶꦗꦢꦶꦏꦸꦁꦲꦫꦫꦫꦏꦗꦾꦩꦠꦶꦁꦫꦪꦩꦤꦶꦁꦢꦾꦫ
ꦫꦩꦲꦿꦥꦶꦴꦫꦪꦲꦶꦢꦺꦠꦠꦶꦭꦸꦥꦸꦠꦶꦱꦴ꧈ ꦢꦗꦥꦶꦩꦤꦩꦩꦤꦶꦁꦏꦁꦿꦥꦸ ꦢꦾ꧉

1298. ꧋ꦩꦱꦏꦶꦫꦪꦴꦱꦗꦸꦲꦶꦥꦲꦶꦢꦱꦠꦭꦲꦶꦒꦥꦸꦩꦤꦢꦩꦶꦁꦲꦶꦭꦭꦤꦩꦶꦁꦠꦸꦠꦏꦩꦾꦱꦭꦠꦶꦠꦶꦥꦸ
ꦩꦤꦶꦁꦤꦫꦥꦫꦏꦴꦠꦩꦾꦭꦏꦺꦱꦢꦶꦢꦱꦁꦿꦲꦩꦾꦩꦶꦠꦸꦢꦶꦏꦸꦁꦏꦺꦏꦶꦥꦶꦱꦠꦭꦲꦶꦒꦥꦸꦱꦸꦁꦫꦏ
ꦩꦤꦶꦁꦥꦸꦤꦶ꧈ ꦥꦏ ꦢꦾꦤꦥꦶꦥꦱꦶꦱꦶ꧀ꦱꦢꦶꦫꦱꦴꦥꦩꦤꦶꦁꦩꦶꦥꦲꦶꦢ꧈ ꦏꦶꦁꦫꦏꦢꦱꦂꦲꦩꦥꦶꦲꦩꦤ
ꦤꦠꦸꦁꦱꦢꦶꦲꦶꦠꦢꦫꦤꦫꦗꦫꦥꦏꦾꦤꦥꦶꦲꦶꦒꦥꦸꦩꦤꦢꦩꦶꦲꦾꦩꦠꦶ꧈ ꦭꦏꦺꦱꦢꦶꦲꦢꦶꦏꦶꦢꦲꦶ꧉ ꦗꦸꦲꦶ

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1303. [illegible]

1304. [illegible]

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1305. [illegible]

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1307. || [illegible]

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1309. [illegible]

1310. [illegible]

1311. [illegible]

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1314. [illegible]

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1316. [illegible]

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1322. [illegible]

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ꦏꦼꦗꦸꦃ‖ꦲꦶꦁꦏꦁꦱꦶꦫꦲꦸꦫꦶꦁꦥꦂꦏꦫꦏꦠꦶꦏꦤ꧀ꦝꦶꦥꦤꦼꦒꦫꦢꦺꦴꦤ꧀ꦢꦺꦴꦒꦪ
ꦧꦥꦏ꧀ꦏꦶꦫꦥꦿꦁꦏꦸꦏꦶꦫꦶꦁꦒ꧉

ꦱꦸꦭꦺꦩꦤ꧀ꦏꦼꦧꦤ꧀ꦝꦶꦒꦪꦼꦢꦺꦴꦒꦪꦏꦠꦶꦏꦤ꧀ꦝꦶꦥꦶꦤꦁ꧈ꦲꦤꦩꦶꦁꦭꦺꦩꦱꦒꦪꦲꦶꦠꦶꦥꦿꦶꦁꦝꦶꦪꦼꦮꦸꦤ ꦲꦶꦁꦥꦺꦏꦒꦤꦩꦿꦩꦭꦶꦼꦫꦏꦧꦶꦫꦒ꧈ꦲꦤꦸꦏꦺꦴꦩꦿꦶꦁꦲꦸꦝꦶꦥ꧈ꦒꦪꦤꦱꦶꦁꦩꦁꦏꦮꦶꦏꦮꦶꦱꦤꦪ ꦱꦧꦶꦩꦥꦿꦸꦩꦺꦥꦶꦤꦁꦠꦶꦥꦸꦩꦿ꧈ꦏꦁꦥꦿꦁꦱꦸꦒꦤ꧀ꦏꦭꦸꦥꦼꦪꦲꦶꦠꦶꦩꦶꦝꦶꦪꦼꦮꦸꦤꦱ꧀ꦲꦩꦶꦫꦏꦧꦶꦫ ꦒ꧈ꦒꦪꦩꦿꦶꦁꦝꦶꦪꦼꦢꦺꦴꦒꦪꦼꦱꦿꦶꦥꦿꦩꦤꦶꦁ꧉

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‖ꦒꦩ꧀ꦧꦂꦱꦶꦤ꧀ꦢꦸꦤꦺꦩꦭꦶꦪꦤꦥꦿꦁꦏꦸꦏꦶꦫꦶꦁꦤ꧉

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1377. [illegible]

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[illegible] II [illegible]

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1378. [illegible]

1379. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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1380. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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1381. [illegible]

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[illegible]

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1382. [illegible]

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Glossary

Index

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Glossary

abdi	servant
abdi dalem	servant at court
adipati	1 = *bupati*; 2 title, e.g. Pangéran Adipati Anom: Crown Prince
ajar	ascetic
alip	the first year in the Javanese eight-year cycle (*windu*)
alun-alun	the great grassy square in front of the court or the residence of a *bupati*
arak	alcoholic beverage, brandy
bau	measure of area: *ca* 1.75 acres
bé	the sixth year in the Javanese eight-year cycle (*windu*)
bedhaya	female court dancers; the dance performed by them
bekel	an official in the countryside
béndha	a certain dark brown hard-shelled fruit
bésan	parent(in)-in-law of one's child
besar	the twelfth month of the Islamic calender
biyang	mother; woman of low status
bupati	a high official administrating a certain activity within the court of certain region outside the court, regent, see also *wedana*
cemara	a certain evergreen tree, casuarina
cepaka	frangipani
cik	*encik*
dal	the fifth year in the Javanese eight-years cycle (*windu*)
demang	1 village head; 2 title of a court official; also used as title for the local representative of an apanage holder who himself resides at court
déwa	Balinese title
dhacin	unit of weight: *ca* 61.76 kg
dhuku	a fruit tree, 15-20 m high
dikir (dhikir)	(to recite) a certain Islamic chant repeatedly
dodot	ceremonial batik garment with a train
embah	term of address for old man or woman
embok (mbok, bok)	term of address for mother
encik	term of address for foreign Arab or Chinese merchants
gadhung	certain kind of tuber
gamelan	an ensemble of Javanese instruments, mainly percussion
gedhong	building; group of court officials mainly responsible for financial and administrative affairs, divided into a left and right half, each under a *wedana gedhong* who formed with the two *wedana kaparak* the four *bupati macapat*, the highest officials at court.
Grebeg (Garebeg)	Javanese festival; Grebeg Mulud celebrates the birth of the Prophet Muhammad (12 Mulud) and was the main event of the Javanese political year when all officials, including the *bupati* of the *mancanagara* and *pasisir* had to present themselves at the court to pay homage to the king. Grebeg Puasa (1 Sawal) celebrates the end of the fasting month, and Grebeg Besar (10 Besar) celebrates Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his son and the pilgrimage to Mecca
haji	a person who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca
jaka	young unmarried man
jaksa	public prosecutor
jati	teak (wood, tree)
jawi	outside, i.e. outside the kraton, specifically the outer officials (*bupati jawi*) of the *nagari ageng*
jé	the fourth year in the Javanese eight-year cycle (*windu*)
jimakir	the eighth year in the Javanese eight-year cycle (*windu*)
jimawal	the third year in the Javanese eight-year cycle (*windu*)
jumadilawal	the fifth month of the Islamic calender

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kabayan	a village official in charge of security
kadipatèn	the residence of the Crown Prince
kain	1 garment worn by ladies; 2 fabric, cloth
kalantaka	small, indigenous cannon
kaparak (keparak)	group of court officials mainly responsible for military affairs, divided into a left and right half, each under a *wedana kaparak* who formed with the two *wedana gedhong* the four *bupati macapat*, the highest officials at court.
kapatihan	residence of the *patih*
karya	= *bau*, or later 4 *bau*
katanggung	group of court officials
kaum	religious official in charge of the mosque
kemiri	candlenut
kesambi	a tree yielding wood for charcoal
ketib	assistant to a *pangulu*
kidang	roe deer
kilèn	west
kiwa	left
kliwon	assistant or deputy of a high official
kodhok ngorèk	a three-toned gamelan played on solemn occasions
koyan	unit of weight: *ca* 30 picul of 62 kg
kraton	court, palace complex
kris	Javanese dagger or small sword with a straight or undulating blade; often considered to have supernatural powers
kustup	kind of cloth?
kyai (ki)	title applied to eminent males, religious teachers, or revered heirlooms
lebet	inside, i.e. inside the kraton, specifically the inner officials (*bupati lebet*) of the *kraton*
legi	a day of the Javanese five-day market week
lurah	chief or head, especially village chief, but also used for the chief of a group of officials, e.g. Ki Lurah as a term of address for the *patih*
lurik	Javanese cotton fabric with a striped pattern
macapat	also *mancapat*; the four neighbouring villages (around one's village); *bupati macapat* the four highest officials (*gedhong* and *kaparak*)
magang	apprentice official
maja	a certain tree or its fruits; the wood used for kris hilts
mancanagara	the outer interior regions around the *nagari ageng*
mandhasiya	the 14th *wuku*
mantri	an official
mas	title or term of address for older brother or minor nobility
mijil	a verse metre, longing and anxious of character
modin	religious official; one who calls to prayers
muharam	also *mukharam,* the first month of the Islamic calender
mulud	the third month of the Islamic calender
nagari ageng	the greater centre of the realm administered by the eight *wedana jawi*
ngabèhi	title for higher officials
nyai	respectful term of address to older woman
pagelaran	an open hall where the king holds audience
pager bumi	a brick wall
paing	a day of the Javanese five-day market week
pamijèn	group of court servants
panakawan	follower, servant
panatus	lower ranking official
pandhita	a great teacher, title of Sunan Giri
panèket	low ranking official
panembahan	very high title for princes, kings, or religious figures
panèwu	middle ranking official
pangéran	title for princes, religious figures, or high ranking *bupati*
pangulu	chief religious official
panji	aristocratic title
paséban	audience hall
pasisir	coastal regions

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patih chief minister
pendhapa large square pavillion with a raised floor, open sides, and an elaborate roof in front of a traditional Javanese house of a person of rank or institution.
pon a day of the Javanese five-day market week
prabayeksa a large hall in the palace
prabu king, monarch
priyayi member of the Javanese official class, respected person
pun familiar title: *krama* for *si*.
pusaka heirloom, revered object (e.g. kris, spear) passed down from one's ancestors, often considered to have supernatural powers
rabingulakir the fourth month of the Islamic calender
radèn aristocratic title; when followed by mas it indicates a higher degree of nobility; when used by females it is followed by ajeng or ayu
raja king
rangga low ranking court official or administrative title
rebo Wednesday
rejep (rejeb) the 7th month of the Islamic calender
ruwah the eighth month of the Islamic calender
santana family, kinsman
santri student of Islam in a school, strict follower of Islamic rules
sapar the second month of the Islamic calender
sawo a small tree and its fruit
sayid title given to descendants of the Prohet
sembah a gesture of high esteem made to a superior by holding the hands before the face, palms together, thumbs approaching the nose, and bowing the head slightly
si deprecatory person marker, or familiar title: *ngoko* for *pun*.
sitinggil raised terrace with audience hall on the northern side of the palace where the king appears in state
sléndhang a cloth worn over one shoulder or diagonally across the body (used for carrying)
soka a flowering tree
sorahsari kind of cloth?
sulasih *selasih*, a kind of flower
sumarsana a kind of flower
sunan title applied to the apostles of Islam in Java (the nine wali), and to the king; also *susuhunan*
sura the first month of the Islamic calender
syarif title of a male descendant of the Prophet Muhammad
tengen right
tumenggung title applied to a *bupati*
tuwan title of respect for Europeans, Arabs, *haji*
ulama Islamic scholar
wagé a day of the Javanese five-day market week
wali one of the nine apostles of Islam in Java; collectively *Wali Sanga*
wang monetary unit, 10 doits
wariagung one of the 30 *wuku*
waringin banyan tree
wawu the seventh year in the Javanese eight-year cycle (*windu*)
wayang shadow-play or the puppet used in the shadow-play
wayang bèbèr wayang performance using a picture scroll
wayang gedhog shadow-play depicting the adventures of the hero Prince Panji
wedana (wadana) high adminstrative official; *wadana* seems to be the preferred term for the *bupati* of the *kraton* and the *nagari ageng*
wergu a kind of rattan
wétan east
windu a period of eight (Javanese) years
wora-wari hibiscus
wuku one of 30 seven-day periods, each with its own name, which make up a 210-day cycle

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Index

The numbers within brackets refer to the paragraph numbers in the text, not to page numbers. With a few exceptions, all persons are listed under their last known name and title. This also applies to references within the entries.

A

Abimanyu son of Arjuna, father of Parikesit, killed in action [19]

Abiyasa son of Palasara, father of Pandhudéwanata [19]

Adam Prophet [1]

Adibaya Nyai Ageng, daughter of Getaspandhawa [95].

Adilangu 1. village, residence of Sunan Kalijaga [127, 287, 288], the holy graves there indispensable for Java [893].

Adilangu 2. Panembahan, = Pangéran Natapraja.

Adilangu 3. Panembahan, = Panembahan Wijil.

Adiningkung Prabu, son of Prabu Anom, king of Majapahit [43].

Adisara young woman sent by Senapati to Panembahan Madiyun [280, 281, 283, 285, 286].

Adiwarna village [1347].

Ageng 1. Ratu, = Ratu Kulon

Ageng 2. Ratu, wife of Mangkurat IV, has a dream about the future greatness of Pangéran Mangkubumi [1179]

Agrayuda 1. son of Tumenggung Pasingsingan, rebels, killed [403, 405, 406].

Agrayuda 2. = Tumenggung Reksanagara

Agung 1. Sultan, Mas Rangsang, Prabu Pandhita Nyakrakusuma, eldest son of Panembahan Krapyak, succeeds him [329-331], magically powerful [332], campaign against eastern Java [334-342], conquers Wirasaba [343-347], defeats Pangéran Surabaya [348-353], conquers Pasuruhan [354], Pajang [355-357], Tuban [359], Madura [360-362], and Surabaya [363], kills the bupati of Pathi [367], marries Pangéran Pekik to his younger sister Ratu Pandhansari [375], conquers Giri [375-377], failed expedition to Jakarta [378-390], peace with the Dutch [391], conquers Blambangan, Sumedhang, and Ukur [392-396], his children, dies, buried in Magiri [399], showed respect to the unborn Mangkurat II [484], kraton in Karta [398, 1043].

Agung 2. Déwa, Balinese commander [393].

Agung 3. Déwa, Balinese commander [1018].

Ajibarang village in Banyumas [472, 473, 592, 593].

Akik Radèn Ajeng, daughter of Pangéran Purbaya 3, goes with him to Ceylon [1204].

Alang-alang Bètèng, fortress near Batavia [580, 582, 585, 1144].

Alap-alap Tumenggung, conquers Kadhiri together with Pangéran Wiramanggala [301], sent on to Rawa and Jagaraga [303], conquers Lumajang and Renong [337], sent to help the bupati of Pathi [350], to Pathi to collect the spoils [368, 370, 371].

Alduwèlbèh Admiral; commander of the Dutch troops for Mangkurat II [491-495], gets rid of the the English and the French [497, 498], accompanies Mangkurat II [502], demands the death of Adipati Martalaya [507, 508], to Madura [510, 514, 515], to Kadhiri [519, 520, 523, 524, 534], rumored to be the father of Mangkurat II [539, 540], joins the attack on Pakubuwana I [544, 545, 548, 549, 551, 557, 566, 568], to Batavia, receives Cirebon and Pasundhan in reward [572].

Ali Radèn Mas, son of Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara and Radèn Ayu Ragasmara [1165].

Alit 1. Radèn, = Brawijaya

Alit 2. Pangéran, = Pangéran Danupaya 1.

Alit 3. Radèn Mas, = Pangéran Mangkuningrat.

Alit 4. Ratu, daughter of Pakubuwana II [1189, 1348].

Alpiser Natanahil Dutch commander in Semarang [1244].

Ambiya Radèn Mas, son of Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara [1165], also Sambiya.

Ambonese [447, 491, 938, 1215, 1284, 1304, 1369].

Ambuh village [1337-1339, 1342, 1345].

Aminah Radèn Ajeng, daughter of Mangkurat IV [1155], married to the bupati of Kaliwungu

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[1159], divorced [1170], remarried Arya Pringgalaya [1174].
Amongpraja servant of Pangéran Tepasana [1264].
Ampèl 1. holy grave [538].
Ampèl 2. village on the road to Semarang [779. 1341, 1342].
Ampèldenta 1. Sunan, Radèn Rahmat, son of Brahimasmara, marries daughter of Ki Gedhé Manila [54], visited by Sèh Walilanang [55], father of Prabu Nyakrakusuma, teacher of Prabu Sètmata, Sénapati Jimbun, and Raden Husèn [56, 61], advises the interregnum of Sunan Parapèn [89].
Ampèldenta 2.place where Sunan Ampèldenta establishes himself [53].
Andaka River [340].
Andakara Kyai, = Tumenggung Wiradigda
Andayaningrat Adipati, Kyai Ageng Pengging, marries daughter of Brawijaya, father of Ki Kebokanigara and Ki Ageng Pengging, ancestor of Sultan Pajang [96, 99].
Andayaningsih Radèn Ayu, concubine of Pakubuwana II [1348].
Andayasmara Radèn Ayu, concubine of Pakubuwana II [1348].
Andayawati Radèn Ayu, concubine of Pakubuwana II [1348].
Angga Kyai, headman of the Suranata corps [699].
Anggadimeja Radèn, = Pangéran Blitar 2.
Anggadirja messenger from Surabaya [1364], accompanies Captain Orgondrop to Surabaya [1367], leads reinforcements to Pranaraga [1377].
Anggadiwirya = Wiryadiningrat.
Anggajaya 1. Kyai, commander of Mataram, sent with Radèn Panji Karsula [493]
Anggajaya 2. from Surabaya, in the service of Mangkurat II [489, 510], receives Admiral Alduwèlbèh [514], defeats the Madurese [515], becomes bupati of Pasuruhan [526, 527], joins the stabbing of Trunajaya [536].
Anggakatawengan = Tumenggung Katawengan 2.
Anggakusuma son of Kyai Wirakabluk, servant of Mangkurat III, married to Radèn Ajeng Banowati who divorces him [1189].
Anggatruna servant of Pangéran Tepasana [1264].
Anggawangsa = Tumenggung, Adipati Jangrana
Anggawirya servant of Pangéran Tepasana [1264].
Anggayuda Radèn, = Pangéran Natakusuma
Anglingdriya son of Pancadriya, father of Sawélacala [19].
Anom 1. Prabu, son of Radèn Susuruh, king of Majapahit [40], has Patih Wahan murdered [41], killed by Dipati Udara [42].
Anom 2. Prabu, = Kraèng Galésong [502].
Anom 3. Pangéran, Adipati, title of crown prince, = Pangéran Krapyak, Mangkurat II, Mangkurat III, Mangkurat IV, Pakubuwana II, Pakubuwana III.
Antagopa messenger of Mangkurat III to Captain Kenol [800, 806].
Antakusuma 1. = Kyai Gundhil (Gondhil)
Antakusuma 2. cloth of Déwi Nawangwulan [74].
Antang Mount, last refuge of Trunajaya [525, 526, 528, 529], [877].
Antawirya Radèn Mas, = Pangéran Prangwadana.
Arbo Baudin Captain of the Company militia in Batavia [1214].
Ardikarun guardian of Jayaparusa and Jayalalana [658, 659].
Aretman Seargeant in the party of Captain Orgondrop [1318].
Arjuna son of Pandhudéwanata, father of Abimanyu [19].
Aru-aru village [104].
Arya 1. Pangéran, bupati of Wirasaba, killed by Sultan Agung [344, 347].
Arya 2. Radèn, = Tumenggung Suranata 2.
Asem (Ngasem), [844, 845, 851, 1341, 1343].
Asmarandana Ngabèhi, kliwon Kaparak Kiwa [1165], escorts Pangéran Purbaya to Sekararum [1201], killed in action on the Sitinggil [1273], = Ki Samarandana?
Asthabrata Serat, book taught by Mangkurat II to his son [680].
Astina 1. realm of Pandhudéwanata [19].
Astina 2. assembly point for the expedition against Jakarta [378, 379].
Awijaya Sultan, Mas Krèbèt, Sultan Pajang, Jaka Tingkir, birth and naming [101], raised by the widow of Tingkir, disciple of Ki Ageng Séla [105-107], gains the favour of the Sultan of Demak, head of the Tamtama [108, 110, 111, 113], exiled [114], wanders [115], stays with Kyai Ageng Butuh and Kyai Buyut Banyubiru [115-120], returns to Demak [121], fights crocodiles

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[122-124], regains favour by fighting buffalo [125, 126], succeeds as Sultan Demak [129, 130], disciple of Sunan Kalijaga and Sunan Kudus [135, 138], adopts Sénapati [137], invulnerable [143], visits Kudus [145-147], visits Ratu Kalinyamat [148, 149], announces a contest to kill Arya Panangsang [150, 153-155], chooses a woman from Kalinyamat and puts her in the care of Kyai Pamanahan [167], (later Sénapati marries her [179]), grants after mediation by Sunan Kalijaga Mataram to Pamanahan [169], proclaimed Sultan Pajang by Sunan Parapèn [180, 181], summons in vain Sénapati to Pajang 190-192], has Radèn Pabélan killed [228, 229], attacks Mataram, but retreats [231-235], falls ill, dies [236-241], succeeded by Adipati Demak [243], later by Pangéran Banawa [261].

Ayamwuruk son of Adiningkung, king of Majapahit [43].

Ayunan Radèn Ayu, daughter of Pakubuwana I [681].

B

Bagawanta River [471].

Bagus 1. Radèn, = Sénapati

Bagus 2. Déwa, Balinese chief, ally of Jayapuspita [930].

Bahrawa domain, (Lembahrawa) [824, 1180, 1235, 1247, 1250-1252, 1270, 1309, 1331, 1381].

Bajra Carik, = Tumenggung Tirtawiguna

Baka Ratu, = Karungkala [19].

Baki village [1362, 1366].

Bala son of Watugunung [3].

Balabar Kyai, heirloom kris, given to Mangkurat II by his father [473], used to kill Trunajaya [534], demanded from Mangkurat III [886], carried by Pakubuwana II [1353].

Balatér = Blitar 4.

Baléga domain in Madura [344].

Balèlèng 1. Panji, Balinese commander [393].

Balèlèng 2. Murah Panji, Balinese ally of Jayapuspita [978], joins him in Kaputran [989], helps defeat Commander Gobyo [991, 992], has the title panji taken away from Sasranagara [1007], joins the march to meet Panembahan Érucakra [1018, 1019].

Balélumur Kyai, a coach [44].

Bali 1. Island, (Nusakambangan) [393, 411, 485, 527, 923, 924, 945-947, 968, 978, 1003, 1007, 1018, 1101, 1112, 1131].

Bali 2. Juragan, = Tumenggung Tohjaya

Balinese [254, 393, 394, 402, 411, 574, 815, 930, 932-934, 945, 976, 978, 989, 995, 997, 998, 1000, 1003, 1021, 1062, 1076, 1085, 1135, 1246, 1258, 1318, 1381].

Banawa Pangéran, Ratu Pajang; son of Awijaya [171], wants to attack Mataram [185], as envoy to Sénapati [213, 215-219], becomes bupati in Jipang after his father's death [237, 240, 242-244], joins Sénapati [247-254], becomes Ratu Pajang [259-262], dies soon, succeeded by Pangéran Tumenggung Gagakbahni [270].

Banawa River, [1347, 1363].

Bandar Ki, brother of the widow of Kaligunting, mantri of Radèn Susuruh [33, 39].

Bangah Arya, son of Sri Pamekas, king of Galuh [21], conquered by Pajajaran, defeats Pajajaran with his brother Radèn Susuruh [38], changes name to Arya Panular [39].

Bangil [865, 866, 1171].

Bangsantaka Ki, court official stays loyal to Pakubuwana II and joins the flight to Pranaraga [1344-1347, 1363, 1367, 1375, 1376].

Bangsapatra 1. = Adipati Lumarap.

Bangsapatra 2. Ki, court official stays loyal to Pakubuwana II and joins the flight to Pranaraga [1345, 1346, 1356, 1367, 1376].

Bangsri Nyai Ageng, daughter of Kyai Ageng Séla [134].

Banjarandhap kraton corps [1344, 1345].

Banjaransari son of Kudalaléyan [21].

Banowati Radèn Ajeng, daughter of Pangéran Tepasana 3, married to Anggakusuma, son of Kyai Wirakabluk, divorces him to marry Puspadirja of Batang [1189].

Banten 1. Adipati, son-in-law and ally of Awijaya [231].

Banten 2. man from Banten [264].

Banten 3. piece of cloth from Banten [1166].

Banyakpatra Kyai, = Adipati Mangkupraja.

Banyakwidhé 1. Arya, Siyungwanara, son of Sri Pamekas from concubine [23-25], brought up by Kyai Buyut of Krawang [26], goes to Pajajaran [27-30], kills his father [31], defeats his half-brother Radèn Susuruh [32], becomes king in

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Pajajaran [33], defeated by his half-brothers [38, 39].
Banyakwidhé 2. Arya, captures Radèn Suryakusuma [776], sent by Mangkurat III to support Demak [800], leader in the fight against Pakubuwana I at Kalicacing [831].
Banyubiru Kyai Buyut, teacher of Mas Manca and Jaka Tingkir [118-120].
Banyudana [610, 611, 613-615, 617, 1182, 1340, 1343].
Banyumas 1. [472, 481, 483, 484, 486, 592-594, 597, 598, 698, 1011, 1046, 1197, 1201, 1318].
Banyumas 2. Adipati, defeated by Wiranagara (Untung Surapati), reinstated [593, 597, 598, 600, 601].
Banyumas 3. Adipati, supports the expedition against Surabaya [927, 994].
Banyumas 4. Tumenggung, sent by Mangkurat III to help Tegal [800], sent against Pakubuwana I [815].
Barabudhur Mount, [910].
Barongkos village, [932].
Baru 1. Kyai, pike of Sultan Agung [367, 368], inherited by Mangkurat II [473], carried by him [518], demanded from Mangkurat III [886].
Baru 2. Chinese in Kartasura, father of Suradiwangsa [1353].
Baruwang Kyai, 1. kris of crown prince [1345], 2. kris of Pakuwuwana II [1382].
Basuki [1138, 1139].
Batang 1. Adipati, married to daughter of Adipati Mandaraka [329].
Batang 2. Adipati, = Pusparudita
Batang 3. [939, 1168, 1189, 1207, 1208, 1246, 1254, 1330].
Batavia [484, 485, 491, 493, 572, 573, 581, 585, 586, 588, 596, 597, 599, 602, 617, 651, 667, 669, 737, 761, 801, 802, 805, 809, 823, 864, 891, 895, 928, 938, 993, 1026, 1028, 1126, 1141, 1142, 1144, 1147, 1148, 1152-1154, 1160, 1161, 1166-1169, 1171-1174, 1180, 1181, 1184, 1186-1188, 1199, 1203, 1204, 1210-1214, 1217-1219, 1278, 1281, 1284, 1295, 1299, 1302, 1318]. Also Jakarta.
Baturana village [1065].
Baureksa 1. Tumenggung, one of the commanders of the expedition against Jakarta, killed by Sultan Agung [390].
Baureksa 2, Tumenggung, = Tumenggung Wirajaya.
Baureksa 3. Lord of the crocodiles, defeated by Awijaya [122].
Bauwarna Prabu Jaka Sunan Bauwarna = Radèn Mas Suryadi.
Bayalali [816, 838, 842, 1337, 1343, 1367].
Bayangkaki Mount [1376].
Bebanar village [1072].
Beladho Mas, = Pangéran Riya Mangkunagara
Bèlem 1. one of the eight captains during the siege of Jakarta [381].
Bèlem 2. Captain, in Jepara, fights against Trunajaya [456].
Bengawan River [1289].
Benggol Captain, [1116].
Bérawa Kyai, sword presented to Captain Orgondrop [1367].
Besar panakawan [1345, 1346].
Bésing Captain, sent out against Pangéran Cakraningrat 3 [1003], commander in Surabaya during the absence of Brikman [1050, 1085].
Bethok Kyai, kris of Sunan Prawata [140].
Bicak 1. Ki, wayang performer, killed by Ki Ageng Séla [132].
Bicak 2. Kyai, small gong appropriated by Ki Ageng Séla after the murder of Ki Bicak, heirloom [132, 233, 314, 779, 886].
Bicak 3. village [1322, 1324, 1325, 1338, 1367].
Bima [708].
Binarong Tumenggung, Kyai Nindakarti, involved in the killing of Tumenggung Martapura in Jepara [495, 642, 645-647, 649].
Bintara forest where Radèn Patah settles, later Demak [62, 65, 66, 85-89].
Blambangan [55, 56, 336, 392-396, 402, 403, 410-413, 452, 1019, 1258].
Blimbing Mas, son-in-law of Sénapati Kadhiri [302].
Blitar 1. Pangéran, son of Pangéran Juminah, sent out against Trunajaya, helps Panembahan Purbaya [329, 453, 454].
Blitar 2. Pangéran, Radèn Anggadimeja, kinsman of Mangkurat III, helps him at Kaliwungu and Kalicacing [766, 800, 831].
Blitar 3. Pangéran, Sultan, Radèn Mas Sudama, son of Pakubuwana I [681], raised in rank [810], receives appanage [859], conquers Malang [884-886, 888, 890, 892, 893] becomes wadana

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kaparak kiwatengen [913], his daughter Radèn Ayu Wulan marries Pangéran Riya Mangkunagara [914], dispatched against Jayapuspita [1012, 1022, 1023], defeats Adipati Sasranagara [1024], to Kartasura when Pakubuwana I falls ill [1025-1027], offended by Mangkurat IV [1030-1032], asks the help of the Dutch in vain [1034, defeated [1034-1038], with Pangéran Purbaya to Mataram [1039-1041, 1043], proclaimed king with the title Sultan Ibnu Mustapa Pakubuwana Sénapati ing Alaga Ngabdurrahman Sayidin Panatagama in Kartasekar [1044], promotions and enlargement of subjected lands [1045-1047], defeated [1070, 1072-1074], flees to Kedhu [1075, back in Mataram [1077], at Mrebung [1082, 1091], failure of his rebellion predicted, [1093-1096] flees to Madiyun [1102], to Kadhiri [1114, 1115], Malang [1117] and Dhumpul [1119], dies [1121].

Blitar 4. Pangéran, (Balatèr), Radèn Mas Subrangta (Subrangti), son of Mangkurat IV [1155], raised in rank [1161]. [In Dutch sources he is called Blitar. “Balatèr” looks like a nickname, probably referring to his dubious reputation].

Blitar 5. domain [274, 887, 1353].

Blora [277, 1030, 1287, 1289, 1291, 1363].

Bocor Kyai, a leaseholder who tests the invulnerability of Sénapati [198, 199].

Boga village [1347].

Bokong Nyai Ageng, daughter of Getaspandhawa [95].

Bonang Santri, Sunan = Prabu Nyakrakusuma.

Bondhankajawan = Kyai Ageng Tarub 3

Bonggol Captain, sent to meet Panembahan Purbaya [1138].

Brahim Radèn, Ibrahim Wiranagara, younger brother [?] of Tirtanata 1, remains behind in Dhumpul after the surrender of his siblings [1139], attacked, defeated, flees, raids Kadhiri [1146], attacked, flees, returns to Malang, attacked, disappears [1149], Governor General inquires after him [1169], summoned by Pakubuwana II during his flight to Pranaraga [1367].

Brahimasmara Makdum, converts king of Cempa to Islam, marries daughter of the king [45], father of Radèn Rahmat and Radèn Santri [52].

Brajanala kraton gate [849].

Brama Bathara, son of Bathara Guru [1], sent down to rule Gilingwesi [19].

Bramani daughter of Bathara Brama [19].

Brangkal village [1356, 1366].

Brangkas village [1370, 1371, 1380, 1382].

Brangti Radèn Ajeng, daughter of Mangkurat IV, marries Radèn Sukrama [1159].

Bratanjung son of Lembuamisani [43].

Bratayuda horse of Sénapati [255].

Brawijaya 1. Radèn Alit, son of Bratanjung, last king of Majapahit, his patih is Gajahmada [43], marries a princess from Cempa [44], takes Éndhang Sasmitapura as concubine [46], father of Arya Damar [49], father of Radèn Patah from the Chinese princess whom he gives away to Arya Damar [50, 59], father of Kyai Ageng Tarub 3 with a Wandhan woman who heals him of a venereal disease [63], adopts his own son Radèn Patah [66], sends Kyai Ageng Tarub 3 to Tarub [76], lays siege to Giri twice [79-82], attacked by the Muslims, ascends to heaven [88], his daughter married to Andayaningrat [96].

Brawijaya 2. Panembahan = Sunan Pakubuwana II.

Brebes [948, 1090, 1188, 1246, 1282, 1304].

Bregas village [1235, 1239, 1247, 1381].

Brekat Kyai, saddle [1345].

Brikman Captain, killed by Wiranagara (Untung Surapati) [624, 625].

Brikman Admiral, leader of the Dutch expeditionary army against Jayapuspita [938, 939, 960], to Surabaya [963], starts the attack [964, 971-976], captures Surabaya [979-981], has commander Gobyo removed [990-993], sends out Major Gustap [999-1003], goes to Mangkurat IV [1049, 1050], kills Pangéran Kudus [1051-1054], to Semarang [1055], to Kartasura [1058, 1059], captures Kartasekar [1069, 1071, 1072, 1076], returns to Kartasura [1076, 1078], frees Danureja [1078, 1079], marches against Mrebung [1090,1091], again to Kartasura [1104, tricks and kills Pangéran Arya Mataram [1106-1109], pursues Panembahan Purbaya and Pangéran Blitar 3 [1110, 1111], conquers Madiyun, Kadhiri, and Malang [1115-1120], returns to Kartasura [1120, 1122], receives Panembahan Purbaya in Semarang [1141].

Bro Major, in Jepara, fights against Trunajaya [456].

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Buginese [254, 491, 574, 583, 662, 707, 815, 938, 1181, 1215, 1246, 1284, 1304, 1369].
Bulu village, = Tindak
Bumi 1. Radèn Mas, = Pangéran Buminata 1.
Bumi 2. one half of Kedhu [1232, 1339].
Bumija one half of Kedhu [1159, 1202].
Buminata 1. Pangéran, = Radèn Mas Bumi; eldest son of Mangkurat III [741], dies [766].
Buminata 2. Pangéran, Radèn Mas Sekti (Sakti), son of Mangkurat IV [1155], raised in rank, marries, Radèn Ajeng Tembelèk, receives apanage [1159, 1160, 1162], dies, his younger brother Radèn Mas Karaton receives his title [1161].
Buminata 3. Pangéran, Radèn Mas Karaton, son of Mangkurat IV receives title of Buminata [1155, 1161, 1162], becomes [right] wadana santana and increase in apanage lands [1175], escorts the head of the Dutch factory [1182], marries Radèn Ajeng Sumilah, a daughter of Pangéran Tepasana [1189], deployed in Banyudana [1340], avoids the fleeing Pakubuwana II and submits to Sunan Kuning [1347, 1349], advises Pangéran Ngabèhi and other brothers to submit [1349, 1354].
Bunjaladriya Kyai, = Ebunjaladri
Burarèh Radèn, son of king of Cempa [52], marries daughter of Adipati Téja [54].
Buratsari Nyai, asked to bring Radèn Mas Said to the kraton [1165].
Burham Major, leader of the expedition against Wiranagara in Pasuruhan [668, 669, 672].
Busungmernung deputy chief of the Makassarese [437, 453, 470].
Butuh 1. Kyai Ageng, disciple of Sitijenar [98, 100, 102], meets Awijaya [115-117], predicts his future power and teaches him [123].
Butuh 2. village, grave of Awijaya (Jaka Tingkir) [242], visited by Pangéran Pekik [372, 542], visited by Mangkurat IV [1149].
Buwang Kyai, = Tumenggung Natayuda 1.
Buyung Captain, [1116].
Buyut 1. Kyai, of Krawang, finds and takes care of Arya Banyakwidhé 1 [26, 27].
Buyut 2. Nyai, of Krawang [26].

C

Caket = Soré
Cakra Radèn Mas, youngest son of Panembahan Krapyak [329].
Cakrajaya 1. Tumenggung, Ngabéhi, son of Danureja, kliwon of Sèwu, bupati of Batang, fights wild buffalo [1206], promoted [1207], fights Chinese [1246], name used in a ruse [1254].
Cakrajaya 2. Captain of the Dutch auxiliary troops [1214].
Cakrajaya 3. = Adipati Danureja.
Cakranagara 1, Pangéran, Radèn Mangunjaya, messenger of Mangkurat II to Pandhita Giri [539], appointed bupati of Sumenep [540].
Cakranagara 2. Radèn, = Pangéran Cakraningrat 4.
Cakranagara 3. Radèn, bupati of Pamalang [1304].
Cakraningrat 1. Adipati, Panembahan, uncle and guardian of Trunajaya, bupati of Sampang [431], dispatched against Trunajaya [450], captured and exiled to Lodhaya [469], reinstated and sent out again against Trunajaya [527-533], his role in the faked rebellion of Wiranagara (Surapati) [604, 605, 613, 615, 616, 620-622], sent out against Pasuruhan [666, 670, 671], father of Radèn Demang Pasisir [674], forgives Wiranagara the death of Radèn Demang Pasisir [677-679], fakes a retreat [695, 696], receives Ratu Wétan as wife, adviser of Mangkurat II [697], his wife Radèn Ayu Pakuwati raped by Mangkurat III [767, 768], sympathizes with the plans of a rebellion by Pakubuwana I (Puger) [768, 769, 771, 772, 774], goes with permission of Mangkurat III to Madura [774], rises in rebellion [795-797], father of Pangéran Cakraningrat 2, and Radèn Sasradiningrat [798], receives the title Panembahan at the installation of Pakubuwana I [808, 809, 810], father of Tumenggung Natadiningrat (= Sasranagara 2?) [810], joins the attack on Kartasura [825, 828, 836, 837, 841, 846, 849], pursues Mangkurat III [855, 857, 859], commands two expeditions against Pasuruhan [864, 866, 868, 875], dies on the way back [883].
Cakraningrat 2. Pangéran, Sasranagara 2, eldest son of Panembahan Cakraningrat, receives one-third of Madura [894], fights with his son-in-law Arya Dikara of Pamekasan, abandoned by Pangéran Cakraningrat 3 [965, 967, 968], flees to the Dutch but killed in a misunderstanding [969, 970, 971], his wives handed over to the

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king [1005, 1165].
Cakraningrat 3. Pangéran, Radèn Suradiningrat (= Natadiningrat ?), son of Panembahan Cakraningrat, sent against Demak by Pakubuwana I [811], leader in battle at Salahtiga [828, 832, 834, 835, 840], rewarded for his courage [840], allies with the Dutch against Pangéran Cakraningrat 2 [965-970], becomes bupati of Madura [972, 973], commands the left wing at Surabaya [979], dispatches Cakraningrat 4 against Déwa Ketut [997], betrayed [998], recovers his domain [1003, 1004], dispatched against Pangéran Purbaya [1110, 1114, 1130, 1132, 1133], discusses succession of Pakubuwana II [1152], speaks ill of Patih Danureja [1160], demands kris of Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara [1166], Governor General discusses his case [1171], turns down Patih Natakusuma's belated request for cooperation [1238], instructs his son Tumenggung Secadiningrat [1276], the latter informs him of his defeat [1290], sends the captured messengers of the Sunan to Surabaya [1295], turns down Mangunoneng 4 [1368].
Cakraningrat 4. Pangéran, Radèn Jimat, Pangéran Jimat, Radèn Cakranagara; sent by his brother Pangéran Cakraningrat 3 against Déwa Ketut [997], joins Déwa Ketut [998], defeated, flees to Bali [1003], joins Adipati Natapura [1112], defeated in battle [1113, 1114], surrenders together with Panembahan Purbaya and taken to Kartasura [1140], jailed, hangs himself [1145].
Cakraningrat 5. Radèn Ayu, wife of Cakraningrat 2 [970].
Calpitu village at the foot of Mt. Lawu [119].
Campakamaling village [1149].
Candrakirana Déwi = Déwi Galuh.
Candramenggala = Candranagara.
Candranagara Tumenggung, Kyai Candramenggala, attendant of Pakubuwana II, appointed wadana Kaparak Tengen, demoted [1175].
Candrawilasita follower of Pangéran Purbaya 3 [1197, 1204].
Cangkiran village [1371].
Cape of Good Hope, [1128, 1144, 1188, 1285].
Carat Mount [876, 878].
Carebon = Cirebon
Caremé village [1372].
Caruban [739, 1264, 1353].
Carubuk Kyai, kris of Awijaya (Jaka Tingkir) [146].
Cathis Radèn Ayu, former wife of Panembahan Purbaya [1356].
Cemarasèwu village [1347].
Cemaratunggal Ajar, princess of Pajajaran, resides on Mt. Kombang, predicts Radèn Susuruh's future [33-37].
Cempa 1. [44, 45, 50, 52, 63].
Cempa king of, gives daughter in marriage to Brawijaya, converts to Islam [44, 45].
Cepaga village near Kartasura [779].
Cepaka Ajar, predicts destruction of Pajajaran [22].
Ceylon [1144, 1185, 1186, 1188, 1189, 1197, 1204, 1208, 1254, 1264, 1283].
Chinese [50, 51, 59, 376, 754, 770, 796, 815, 1166, 1170, 1210-1219, 1222-1228, 1231, 1232, 1234, 1235, 1238, 1239, 1242-1247, 1250-1254, 1256, 1259, 1267-1270, 1275-1278, 1281, 1283-1289, 1291, 1292, 1294, 1296, 1298, 1300-1303, 1306-1308, 1310, 1311, 1313, 1316-1319, 1321-1324, 1327, 1331-1333, 1336, 1338-1343, 1345,1347, 1348, 1350,1351, 1353-1355, 1359-1362, 1366-1367, 1369-1371, 1375, 1379-1382].
Cianjur [585].
Cirebon 1. Pangéran, marries Ratu Mas, daughter of Raden Patah [109].
Cirebon 2. Pangéran, marries daughter of Radèn Trenggana [129].
Cirebon 3. Sultan, has his adoptive son Surapati 1 killed [589], and adopts Untung as Radèn Surapati 2 [590].
Cirebon 4. Adipati, his daughter [423].
Cirebon 5. domain of Sunan Gunungjati, Sunan Kalijaga establishes himself there [58], leaves again [127]; the admiral receives it from Mangkurat II [572], Untung (Surapati) goes there [584, 586, 589].
Cirebon 6. (Carebon) granted to the Company [572,737].
Citra Ki, employs the antidote against the poison of Pangéran Silarong [413].
Citraboma Ki, servant from Kartasura [1376].
Citradiwirya Ki, Ngabéhi, bupati of Magetan, meets Pakubuwana II and escorts him to Magetan [1347, 1350, 1352], duped by his nephew, his scribe, dismissed as bupati of Magetan [1357], joins Pakubuwna II in Pranaraga [1379].
Citramenggala Ki, servant from Kartasura [1376].

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Citrasoma 1. son of Kusumawicitra [19].
Citrasoma 2. Adipati, wadana gedhong of Pakubuwana I [859], becomes bupati of Jepara [894], army commander [937, 953], involved in the plot to deceive Pangéran Arya Mataram [1107], in pursuit of Panembahan Purbaya [1132,1137], consulted by Adipati Danureja [1177], foils the plot of Mangunoneng 4 to kill the husband of Radèn Ayu Taman [1194], opposes Pangéran Purbaya 3 [1195, 1203, 1204], reports on the outbreak of the Chinese rebellion [1218-1220], joins the failed defense of the kraton [1345], as messenger of Mangunoneng 4 to Semarang, his son had in the meantime replaced him as bupati of Japara [1369, 1371].
Citrawangsa patih of Tumenggung Tirtawiguna [1318].
Citrawati wife of Sunan Kuning [1348].
Co Encik, Chinese leader [1287, 1292].
Culik Kyai, kris of Adipati Mandaraka [314].
Cumbring Nyai, market vendor, meets Pakubuwana I [688].

D

Daha (old name for Kadhiri) [863, 1130, 1146, 1149].
Dakawana Ki, messenger of Mangkurat I [407].
Dalem Kyai, Kyai Dilem, because of his wife killed by Mangkurat I [414-416].
Damar 1. Arya, Ki Dilah, son of Brawijaya and Sasmitapura, king of Palembang receives the pregnant Chinese princess from his father, begets by her Radèn Husèn [46-51, 59].
Damar 2. Radèn Mas, = Pangéran Riya Mangkunagara
Dana Kyai Mas, rebel against Pakubuwana I in Ngénta-énta, son-in-law of Kyai Ageng Pacukilan, captured and killed [909-911].
Danalaya park in Mataram [319].
Danaraja Mount, residence of Ratu Kalinyamat [141, 148, 150, 151, 164, 166, 167, 457].
Dangdangwacana Ngabèhi, sent to Mount Wilis [1382].
Danupaya 1. Pangéran, Pangéran Alit, son of Sultan Agung, raised by Tumenggung Danupaya, rebels, kills among others the bupati of Sampang, killed in action [399, 402, 403, 406-410, 431].
Danupaya 2. Tumenggung, sent out against Blambangan, guardian of Pangéran Danupaya 1 (Alit), kills himself after the latter's death [402, 403, 406, 411, 412].
Danupaya 3. Pangéran, Radèn Mas Regu, son of Mangkurat IV [1155], raised in rank, marries [1159], receives apanage [1162], deployed in Banyudana [1340], flees to Mataram [1349].
Danureja Adipati, Kyai Setrajaya, Adipati Cakrajaya, patih of Pakubuwana I, Mangkurat IV, and Pakubuwana II, leads Pakubuwana I (Puger)'s flight from Kartasura [770, 780], becomes patih jawi at Pakubuwana I's accession [810], his actions as patih [859, 870, 893, 895, 896], also patih lebet [912], leads the war against Jayapuspita [927, 928, 933, 937, 939, 940, 941], besieges Surabaya [943, 945, 946, 950, 952], attacks [953], defeated [957, 958, 960], receives Admiral Brikman [963], drives Jayapuspita from Surabaya [974, 979], advises to dismiss Gobyo [993], continues the war under Mangkurat IV [1029], recalled to Kartasura because of the rebellion of Pangéran Blitar [1049, 1050, 1055], suspected of treason and arrested in Semarang [1058], released through the intercession of Brikman [1078-1080, 1087], raised in rank with the title Adipati Danureja [1089], marches against Mrebung [1090, 1098], back to Kartasura [1104], rescinds the appointment of the bupati of Semarang made by the Dutch commander [1124-1127], envoy to Semarang [1128], decision to chase Panembahan Purbaya from Lumajang [1130], has Mas Brahim chased from Malang, defuses the threat of the rebel from Nusatembini [1149], the dying Mangkurat IV instructs him to proclaim his son Radèn Mas Prabayasa after his death [1151], despite some opposition proclaims Pakubuwana II [1152-1154], defuses the Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara problem [1156, 1157], spoken ill of [1160], returns from Semarang with the envoys sent to Batavia and the body of Panembahan Purbaya [1161], as envoy to Batavia, has a hard time there [1168, 1169, 1171-1174], worries about the mental state of the Sunan [1177], prediction about the future [1179], the Tirtanata affair, leading to his dismissal and exile [1180-1185], shipwrecked and rescued by Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara [1186].

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Darmayuda 1. Tumenggung, bupati of Pasuruhan, dispatched against the Makassarese [438, 439].
Darmayuda 2. of Sampang, one of Trunajaya's commanders, defeated, killed [502, 515, 516, 525].
Dasamuka Prabu [1269].
Demak 1. Sultan, 1 = Radèn Patah, 2. = Pangéran Sabranglèr, 3. = Radèn Trenggana, 4. = Pangéran Prawata
Demak 2. Adipati, son-in-law and ally of Awijaya, succeeds him as Sultan Pajang, employs mercenaries, is deposed [231, 243, 244,245, 248, 254, 257-259, 272, 301].
Demak 3. domain [66, 90, 99, 100, 107, 108, 111, 113-115, 117, 120, 123, 126-129, 131, 132, 245, 252, 254, 256, 257, 259, 287, 308, 310, 320-323, 325, 456, 488, 497, 501, 773, 786, 800, 802, 805, 808, 811, 813, 893, 913, 914, 937, 1051-1054, 1087, 1106, 1159, 1190, 1228, 1229, 1235, 1240, 1243, 1246, 1265, 1268, 1275, 1282, 1298, 1308-1311, 1313, 1315-1318, 1321, 1322, 1327, 1330, 1336, 1348, 1369-1371, 1380].
Demung near Pajarakan, invaded by the Makassarese [437-439, 443, 445, 446, 450].
Dengkèng River, travelled by Jaka Tingkir [121, 312, 314].
Dersanan village [1041, 1043, 1046, 1056, 1069].
Dèwi 1 Radèn Ajeng, married to Padmanagara of Demak, probably mistake for Dèwi 2 [1348].
Dèwi 2. Radèn Ajeng, daughter of Mangkurat IV [1155], married to the bupati of Brebes [1159].
Dhadhapan Rangga, subordinate of Panembahan Kajoran, killed in action [655].
Dhadhaptulis marries daughter of Kyai Pamanahan [170].
Dhadhungawuk wants to enlist in the Tamtama corps, killed by Jaka Tingkir [113].
Dhanci Company messenger [1301].
Dhandhangmungsuh spear of Arya Panangsang [159].
Dhandhangwacana leader of Trunajaya's Madurese [453], sent to collect Panembahan Kajoran [458], captures Adipati Cakraningrat [462, 469], pursues Mangkurat I [470], defeated by Pakubuwana I (Puger) [477], [502, 512], dies in battle [525].
Dhayaluhur domain [994, 1011].
Dhobras Radèn, son of Pangéran Pekik, has love affair with Radèn Ayu Singasari, murdered by Pangéran Singasari 2. [422].
Dhukut son of Watugunung [3].
Dhumpul [1119, 1139, 1146, 1169].
Dhungkul Mount [876, 877].
Dikara 1. Arya, of Pamekasan, fights his father-in-law Pangéran Cakraningrat 1 [965].
Dikara 2. Arya, member of the Martalulut, sent to strangle Pangéran Wiramenggala and Radèn Wiratmeja [1275, 1276].
Dilah Ki, = Arya Damar
Dilanggu village [1069, 1071].
Dilem Kyai, = Kyai Dalem
Dipanagara 1. Pangéran, = Panembahan Érucakra
Dipanagara 2. Pangéran, = Pangéran Martasana 2.
Dipanagara 3. Pangéran Arya, Pangéran Martasana, Radèn Mas (S)utara, son of Mangkurat IV [1155], raised in rank marries Radèn Ajeng Jèmblem [1159], receives apanage [1162], divorced [1170], name changed to Pangéran Arya Dipanagara, kliwon of Pangéran Ngabèhi, apanage increased [1175], sent with Arya Pringgalaya against the Madurese [1294, 1297], recalled [1312], deployed at Banyudana [1340], insists on following the fleeing Pakubuwana II [1349], arrives in Kaduwang [1358], retreats with Pakubuwana II to the mountains [1375], returns with him to Pranaraga [1379].
Dipanagara Panji, kinsman of Trunadilaga [676].
Dipapraja Radèn Panji, prevents a real attack on Pasuruhan [877].
Dipasana apprentice official with Pangéran Purbaya, conducts a raid on Adipati Suradiningrat of Tuban, apprehended [1195], made to fight a tiger [1196], installed as bupati in Tuban by the Madurese [1286], has to flee [1290], returned to Tuban [1293].
Dipasanta 1. Pangéran, Radèn Mas Mesir, son of Pakubuwana I, called Radèn Mas Martataruna, raised in rank [681, 691, 716, 810], rises in rebellion and strangled [1129]. Also = Upasanta?
Dipasanta 2. Pangéran, Radèn Mas Sardin, son of Mangkurat IV [1155], raised in rank [1161], dies [1176].
Dipataruna Radèn Mas, = Pangéran Érucakra
Dipayuda Ki, bupati of Pamardèn (Pamredèn), joins the defense of Salatiga [1336, 1339, 1343], reports defeat [1344], sent out again [1345].

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Diramanggala Ngabèhi, as envoy to Jayapuspita [919, 921].
Domba horse of Ngabéhi Tambakbaya, captured by Sultan Agung [357].
Donan [485].
Doplang Radèn Ajeng, daughter of Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara and Radèn Ayu Ragasmara [1165].
Drana village [104].
Dul Kahar Captain of the Company militia in Batavia [1214].
Dul Katip Captain of the Company militia in Batavia [1214].
Dul Manaf Captain of the Company militia in Batavia [1214].
Dulangmangap crack troops of Jayapuspita [983, 986].
Dulkup 1. Captain, commander of the Dutch in Jepara [444].
Dulkup 2. Commissioner, in Semarang, receives Brikman and others [1055], exceeds his authority [1124-1128], effects the surrender of Panembahan Purbaya [1136-1138], successfully objects to death penalty for Panembahan Purbaya [1141].
Dumilah princess of Mount Dumilah, daughter of Sunan Lawu [1376].
Durahman Ki, devout Muslim, son-in-law of Ki Muhammad [1376].
Durgajaya Radèn, kinsman of Trunadilaga [676, 677].
Dutch [376, 380, 381, 383-391, 442, 444, 451, 456, 457, 473, 484, 491-493, 506, 507, 545, 547, 551, 556, 557, 560, 567, 574, 576, 590, 596, 606, 607, 624, 632, 640, 642, 650, 710, 738, 786, 788, 790, 792, 801-803, 805, 806, 823, 826, 827, 853, 855, 867, 872, 883, 888, 895, 897, 898, 903, 938, 970, 980, 1026, 1037, 1048, 1053, 1128, 1130, 1140, 1177, 1200, 1259, 1269, 1270, 1275, 1277, 1279, 1283, 1307, 1310, 1313, 1331, 1345, 1353].
Dwarawati [703].

E

Ebun Kyai, advises Wiranagara (Untung Surapati) to flee to Cirebon [584], given the title Ebunjaladri [592].
Ebunjaladri Kyai, Kyai Ebun, Bunjaladriya, deputy commander of Wiranagara (Untung Surapati) [592], promoted [594], kills Saradenta and Saradenti [595, 599, 600], and Radèn Demang Pasisir [674], killed in action [885].
Ékawangsa Ki, panèket official of the Kaparak corps, fights wild buffalo [1206].
Elik 1. Rangga, Chinese leader [1287], killed in action [1292].
Elik 2. Chinese of mixed-descent, younger brother of Suradiwangsa [1353].
Emas 1. Pangéran, son of Mangkurat III, returns from exile [1188].
Emas 2. Captain, son of Adipati Suradimenggala of Semarang [1214].
Émop = Émuf.
Émuf Pan der Ardiyan Yan Wilem Baron Pan Émuf [1210, 1212, 1214-1216].
Émup = Émuf.
Éndranata 1. Tumenggung, Kyai Gadamastaka, bupati of Demak [325], killed [371].
Éndranata 2. Tumenggung, Martajaya, offers his services to Mangkurat II [488], to Demak [497], becomes bupati there [501], defeats the Madurese [510. 511], at the siege of Kadhiri [524].
Èndro one of the eight captains during the siege of Jakarta [381].
Éng Encik, subordinate of Sapanjang [1213, 1215].
English eliminated [498].
Énta-énta (Ngénta-énta), village in Mataram, rebellion of Radèn Suryakusuma and Kyai Mas Dana [755, 909, 910].
Eping Cik, = Ping Bulung
Epo Cik, = Cik Po.
Érucakra Panembahan, Radèn Mas Sungkawa, son of Pakubuwana I, Radèn Mas Dipataruna, Pangéran Dipanagara {681, 691, 716, 810], receives appanage [859], dispatched against Jayapuspita [1012-1018], receives with the latter eastern Java [1019], becomes Panembahan Érucakra Sénapati ing Alaga Ngabdurrahman Sayidin Panatagama, in Madiyun [1020-1022], his commander in battle Sasranagara [1023], defeated [1024], still in rebellion [1031, 1033, 1057, 1060-1068, 1103], joins eventually Pangéran Blitar 3, and Pangéran Purbaya, flees with them, to Lumajang [1119, 1131, 1136, 1139], surrenders [1140], exiled to Cape of Good Hope [1144, 1188], father of Radèn Ayu Kusuma [1193].

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Etik 1. Mudha Tik, Éyang Tik, Pun Etik, Cik Etik, one of the leaders of the Pasisir Chinese [1218, 1222, 1224, 1227, 1242, 1277, 1278, 1308, 1322, 1324, 1336, 1340, 1342].

Etik 2. Chinese who hid Mas Garendi (Sunan Kuning} [1275, 1311, 1313]..

Éyang Etik = Etik 1.

F

Fager Major, member of the welcoming committee for Patih Danureja [1169].

Fakenir Pergo Ardiyan, Pakenir, director junior member of the Council of the Indies [1154, 1171], Governor General [1172, 1173, 1181, 1210].

Fanbandhem Lieutenant, killed in action at Surabaya [980].

Fanderlin Lieutenant, killed in action at Surabaya [980].

French eliminated [498].

G

Gadamastaka Kyai, = Tumenggung Éndranata 1.

Gadhungmalathi camp of Sapanjang [1213-1215].

Gagakbahni Tumengggung, Radèn Tompé, son of Kyai Pamanahan [137], raised in rank [263], appointed Adipati Pajang, dies, buried in Mataram [270].

Gagakpranala Ki, captures Pangéran Dipasanta 1 [1129], killed in action [1362], the same?

Gagakrimang horse of Arya Panangsang [156].

Gagatan village [1265].

Gajahmada patih of Brawijaya [43. 44, 47, 50, 51, 79, 81, 88].

Gajahpramada 1. Tumenggung, appointed bupati of Pagelèn by Pangéran Puger (Pakubuwana I) [475], killed in battle [552, 555].

Gajahpramada 2. Tumenggung, sent to assist Adipati Lumarap [1069].

Galaganjur gamelan [216, 1175].

Galésong Kraéng, Prabu Anom 2, head of the Makassarese who occupy Pajarakan and Demung [437], victories [440, 441], joins Trunajaya [445], defeat together Mangkurat II [446, 450-453], to Kadhiri [461, 462], brother of Kraèng Naba [502 503, 513], killed by Trunajaya [516].

Galuh 1. Déwi = Candrakirana [21].

Galuh 2. kingdom [21, 38].

Galungan son of Watugunung [3].

Gambuh group of court servants [1345, 1356].

Gandakusuma Mas, son of Yudanagara of Banyumas, master of horse of Pangéran Purbaya 3 [1197, 1201].

Gandaprana horse of crown prince [1345].

Gandariyasèwu sugar mill near Batavia where the rebellious Chinese assemble [1210-1213, 1215, 1216].

Gandasuli messenger of Patih Natakusuma to Madura [1238].

Gandawati wife of Sunan Kuning [1348].

Ganjur Kyai, chief of the Suranata, relative of the widow of Tingkir, receives Jaka Tingkir in Demak [108. 110].

Gapit kraton gate [851, 1037, 1270, 1271].

Gardapati commander of Cakraningrat 3 [1238].

Garebeg = Grebeg.

Garem Biyang, maid of Embok Martayuda [819].

Garendi Radèn Mas, = Sunan Kuning 2.

Garjitawati in Mataram [1204, 1206].

Garon Nyai, attendant of Pakubuwana II [1345].

Garwakandha 1. Kyai, = Tumenggung Jayabrata

Garwakandha 2. Tumenggung, nephew of Ki Wiraguna, becomes wadana Sèwu [1199], shows fear fighting a banthèng calf [1206], dismissed [1207].

Garwakandha 3. brother-in-law of Mangunoneng 4, made bupati Panumping [1354], sent to attack Kaliwungu [1371], reinforces Lemahbang [1381].

Gathayu 1. Resi, fifth son of Kandhiawan, king of Koripan [19, 20].

Gathayu 2. heirloom saddle [260].

Gedhangan village [1347].

Gedhong Kyai, mantri of Pajang, helps Sénapati, killed in battle [256. 257].

Gegelang realm of Lembupangarang [20], Mangkurat III flees through its forest [862, 1110], Pakubuwana II visits the place [1350].

Gelathik village [869].

Gembong [382, 883, 1130, 1137, 1138, 1140].

Gemulak Ngabèhi, = Ngabèhi Sastrawijaya.

Gemulak place near Semarang [1128, 1318].

Gendhing 1. Bupati, commander of the eastern Javanese army against Sénapati [308].

Gendhing 2, Bupati, incites Pangéran Puger of Demak against Panembahan Krapyak, killed in

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battle [321, 323].
Gendhingan village [1348].
Gendrayana son of Yudayana [19].
Genter Radèn Mas, = Pangéran Arya Panular 3.
Genthong village near Pasuruhan [696].
Genting village [1066].
Genukséla village [1244].
Gerdyug one of the eight captains during the siege of Jakarta [381].
Gerit Ki Mas, = Tumenggung Sindureja
Getasaji village, residence of Kyai Buyut Banyubiru [118].
Getaspandhawa Kyai, son of Kyai Ageng Tarub 3 and Nawangsih, has 7 children [95].
Géyong Chinese lieutenant of Semarang [1235].
Gilingwesi kingdom of Watugunung [3,4, 8-10, 14-17, 19].
Giri 1. Santri, Sunan, = Prabu Sètmata.
Giri 2. Pandhita, = Sunan Parapèn.
Giri 3. Pandhita, refuses to submit to Mangkurat II, defeated and strangled [539, 540].
Giri 4. Radèn, Madurese leader [1287].
Giri 5. [79, 81, 84, 87, 169,180, 183, 185, 186, 271, 272, 275, 276, 348, 375-377, 539, 540, 697, 921, 1100, 1194, 1288].
Girilaya market [1178, 1204].
Giring Kyai Ageng, Kyai Ageng Padèrèsan, friend of Sénapati who drinks his magic coconut juice [175-178], revolt of his descendants [657].
Giwang Kyai, horse-cloth [1345].
Gobyo Commander, Semarang, dispatched against Jayapuspita [939, 940, 943, 953], reports to Brikman his defeat [960, 963], combative [979, 982], defeated when acting unilaterally and relieved of his command [990-993].
Gogodog [453].
Gondhil = Gundhil
Gondrop = Orgondrop
Goplem chief of the Jayantaka corps [1254, 1270].
Governor General [491-493, 551, 582, 583, 602-605, 619, 667-669, 737, 761, 783, 802, 803, 805, 809, 823, 826, 864, 895, 900, 1142, 1154, 1169, 1171-1173, 1181-1184, 1188, 1199, 1200, 1203, 1204, 1210, 1211, 1212, 1214, 1216, 1218, 1219, 1281, 1295, 1299].
Gowong distinctive social group specialized in woodworking [1012, 1270, 1272].
Grebeg festival [670, 1179, 1188, 1218, 1223, 1224].
Gresik (Garesik) [49, 51, 54, 56, 274, 339, 344, 378, 510, 540, 921-924, 930, 931, 944, 945, 948, 952, 962, 979, 1050, 1149, 1282, 1286, 1293, 1246].
Grobogan [125, 272, 462, 540, 928, 1057, 1081, 1106, 1220, 1222, 1224, 1225, 1227, 1229, 1282, 1310, 1313, 1316, 1322-1324, 1327, 1351, 1367, 1370, 1379, 1380, 1382].
Grompol village, [463, 1012, 1015, 1016, 1360, 1363, 1367].
Gubug village [1322, 1327, 1330, 1336].
Gugur village [1347].
Gulu cannon of Mataram [438].
Gumarang Kyai, Kyai Gupita, heirloom kris of Retna Jumilah [291].
Gumbreg son of Watugunung [3].
Gumpang village near Kartasura [1278].
Gunawangsa Ki, chief of the Gowong people [1270, 1272].
Gundhil (Gondhil), Antakusuma, holy jacket made by Sunan Kalijaga [90], presented to Sénapati [287, 288, 290], Mangkurat III refuses to hand it over [886], Pakubuwana II uses it as pillow [1347].
Guntur Radèn Mas, son of Pangéran Ngabèhi Loringpasar (Radèn Suryakusuma) [1188].
Gunturgeni cannon of Mataram [438, 555, 1277].
Gunung Radèn Mas, son of Pangéran Ngabèhi Loringpasar (Radèn Suryakusuma) [1188].
Gunungjati Sunan, brother-in-law of Sunan Kalijaga [58].
Gunung Kidul [175, 232, 233, 234, 249, 251, 653, 657, 660, 755, 793, 1149].
Gupita Kyai, Kyai Gumarang, heiloom kris renamed Kyai Gupita by Sénapati [293].
Guru Bathara, son of Sang Hyang Tunggal [1, 2, 8-13, 15-18].
Gustap Major, Dutch commander at Surabaya [981], defeats Jayapuspita [987, 999, 1000, 1002], defeats Cakraningrat 3 [1003, 1004].

H

Ham 1. Matiyus da Ham, Governor General, passed away [1172].
Ham 2. Chinese scribe, sent away from Kartasura [1232], sent to talk to the bupati deployed in Bahrawa, killed [1250-1253].
Hirpèkusdiman Governor General [761].

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Hukman Onder factory head, member of the welcoming committee for Patih Danureja [1169].
Husèn Radèn, Adipati Terung, son of Arya Damar and the Chinese princess [59], flees with his half-brother Radèn Patah to Java, converted to Islam by Sunan Ampèldenta [60, 61], Adipati of Terung [61], summons Radèn Patah to Brawijaya [65, 66], together with the latter in revolt against Brawijaya [85-87], father-in-law of Sunan Kudus [103].

I

Ijo Radèn Ajeng, daughter of Pangéran Purbaya 3, stays behind in Kartasura [1204].
Imagiri Magiri, cemetery of the royal house of Mataram [399, 410, 467, 748, 755, 1027, 1151, 1165, 1177, 1178, 1204, 1205, 1345].
Impun Radèn Ayu, daughter of Pakubuwana I [681], adopted by Mangkurat II [735], married to Mangkurat III [742], sent back to her father [754].
Inten 1. = Iten
Inten 2. Kutha, Diamond Fortress, Castle of Batavia [280, 303].
Irawan servant of Pangéran Tepasana [1264].
Iten Radèn Ajeng, (Inten), daughter of Mangkurat IV [1155], marries Pangéran Purbaya (Demang Urawan) [1176].

J

Jabir Radèn Ajeng [1348].
Jadipa Tumenggung, bupati of Pasuruhan, killed because of cowardice [915, 916].
Jagabaya 1. sent by Sultan Agung to Pathi [368].
Jagabaya 2. village [477].
Jagabaya 3. corps of soldiers [1343].
Jagamenggala son of Kyai Adipati Martapura [438].
Jagapati son of Kyai Adipati Martapura [438].
Jagaraga [301, 303, 349, 358, 739, 863, 927, 928, 1110, 1353, 1372].
Jagasura corps of soldiers raised in Tegal [487, 1030, 1296, 1345].
Jagatamu village [456, 457, 498].
Jahisman Lieutenant, sent against Tegal [811].
Jajanggu Kénthol, Kyai, = Adipati Jayasupanta.
Jakarta [378-380, 382-384, 387, 390, 981, 1127, 1128, 1219, 1295]. Also Batavia.
Jakatuwa kris of Adipati Martapura [509].
Jakim Dutch lieutenant at Surabaya [981].
Jakub dog of Brikman, fed the genitals of Adipati Lumarap, renamed Lumarap [1071].
Jakup Bèlem Pan Drèn Admiral, member of the welcoming committee for Patih Danureja [1169].
Jakuwès one of the eight captains during the siege of Jakarta [381, 384].
Jaladra servant of Adipati Pragola 2, follows him in death [369].
Jalumampang patih of the crocodile king Baureksa, killed by Jaka Tingkir [122].
Jambu 1. Radèn, = Pangéran Mangkubumi 1.
Jambu 2. village [782, 1375].
Jamurdipa village [1347].
Janapura Radèn [1366], = Sujanapura 4.
Janas Ki, blacksmith, copies Sunan Bonang's krisses for Sunan Kudus [93].
Jangkéwuh kinsman of Pangéran Cakraningrat 1, defects [965, 966]
Jangkungpacar Kyai, kris [41].
Jangrana 1. Adipati, Tumenggung, Anggawangsa, from Surabaya, joins Mangkurat II [489, 502], spy [510], sent out against Trunajaya, captures the cannon Nyai Satomi [514], defeats the Madurese [515], becomes bupati in Surabaya [520], sent out against the Makassarese [526, 527], joins the stabbing of Trunajaya [536], his role in the faked rebellion of Wiranagara [604, 605, 613, 615, 616, 620], to Jepara [645, 646], sent out against Panembahan Kajoran [654], again a faked attack on Pasuruhan [666, 670], pillar of Kartasura [680], sides with Pakubuwana I [768, 769, 772, 773], sent out to pursue the latter, joins him [781], to Surabaya [795-797, 799, 800], present at the inauguration of Pakubuwana I [808], made adipati and kliwon [810], joins the march against Kartasura [825], commander [829, 836, 846, 848], pursues Mangkurat III [855], expeditions against Pasuruhan [864, 875], Dutch request his death, does not resist [895, 897-901], succeeded by his brother Jayapuspita [903].
Jangrana 2. Tumenggung, Jaka Tankeban, son of Tumenggung Jangrana 1 [899, 954], commander [983, 985], raised in rank by Panembahan Érucakra [1020], commander under Jayapuspita [1021], after surrender exiled to Ceylon [1144].

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Jangrana 3. Ngabèhi, younger brother of Jayapuspita [954, 983], killed in action [985, 986, 988].
Janur Rangga, a leader in the march on Kartasura [1336].
Japan[180, 273-275, 300,344, 353, 439, 440, 925, 927, 1001, 1002, 1007, 1018, 1021, 1060, 1061, 1064, 1086, 1101, 1112, 1118, 1248, 1291, 1292].
Jaranpanolèh ancestor of Trunajaya [523].
Jaswa Captain, in Kartasura when Pakubuwana I dies [1026], present at the installation of Mangkurat IV [1028], refuses to help Pangéran Blitar 3 [1037].
Jati Nyai Ageng, daughter of Kyai Ageng Séla [134].
Jatijajar [230].
Jaya Ki, panakawan [1345, 1346].
Jayaantaka = Jayantaka.
Jayabaya son of Gendrayana [19].
Jayabrata Tumenggung, Kyai Garwakandha, leader in battle of Pangéran Blitar 3 [1023], incites him to rebel [1030], frees his son Ragum [1036], raised in rank [1045], at Mrebung [1091, 1097], accompanies the body of Pangéran Blitar 3 to Kartasura [1121].
Jayacapa Ki, horse of Pakubuwana II [1345].
Jayadirana 1. son of Jayasanta, killed in action on the Sitiggil [1273].
Jayadirana 2. Ki, brother-in-law of Mangunoneng 4 [1358].
Jayakusuma 1. = Tumenggung Tirtanata 2.
Jayakusuma 2. Radèn, son of Mangkurat III, younger brother of Pangéran Tepasana 3 [1188], his son Radèn Mas Surada [1189], killed together with his brother Pangéran Tepasana 3 [1258, 1260, 1263].
Jayalalana son of Wanakusuma, rises in rebellion [658-660], killed [665].
Jayamenggala corps of kraton soldiers [1254, 1262, 1296, 1320].
Jayamijaya son of Jayabaya [19].
Jayamiséna son of Jayamijaya [19].
Jayanagara = Jayaningrat 2.
Jayaningrat 1. Tumenggung, Adipati, Pusparaga, half-blood Chinese from Semarang, raised in rank [754], wants to become bupati in Semarang [770], told to fight at Ungaran [815], submits to Pakubuwana I [824], bupati of Pekalongan [894], in action against Surabaya [953], his opinion concerning the succession of Pakubuwana II [1152], criticizes the actions of Patih Danureja [1160], asked to look for a cure against Pakubuwana II's depression [1177], dies, succeeded by his eldest son [1180].
Jayaningrat 2. Adipati, = Jayanagara, eldest son of Jayaningrat 1 and son-in-law of Patih Danureja [1180], involved in the removal of Pangéran Purbaya [1195, 1203], reports on the Chinese rebellion [1218], opposes supporting the Chinese [1219-1221, 1230, 1231], sent with his troops to Semarang [1233, 1235-1237, 1240, 1242], ostensibly defeated after faked actions against the Chinese [1243, 1244], again a faked action [1245-1247], reports that the Company realized that the Javanese were not fighting for real [1256], his actions concerning Pangéran Wiramenggala [1256], displeased with the conduct of the war and shocked by the killing of Pangéran Tepasana he offers his resignation [1269], replaced by his son-in-law Sumadiwirya, takes poison and dies [1283, 1295].
Jayaningrat 3. Adipati, Radèn Bagus (Su)Pama, Radèn Sumadiwirya, son of Patih Natakusuma, son- in-law of Adipati Jayaningrat 2, replaces the the latter [1269, 1283, 1311], again a faked action against the Chinese, his father Patih Natakusuma surrenders to the Company [1326, 1330].
Jayantaka corps of soldiers [1254, 1262, 1270, 1272, 1296, 1298, 1321].
Jayaparusa 1. son of Wanakusuma, rises in rebellion, killed [658-660, 662, 663, 665].
Jayaparusa 2. corps of soldiers [1262, 1321].
Jayapati = Tumenggung Sujanapura 2.
Jayapuspita Arya, younger brother of Tumenggung Jangrana 1 [799], receives lands near Surabaya [810], also sent out against Tugu [811, 828, 832], leader in battle at Salahtiga [834], rewarded for his bravery [840], succeeds his brother who has been killed at the request of the Dutch [898, 900, 902-907], rises in rebellion [917-919, 921, 925, 927], lays siege to Surabaya [954], wins in battle [959], defends Surabaya [976], miracles [977, 978], evacuates Surabaya [980, 981, 983, 984, 986-988], retreats to Kaputran [989], defeated by Major Gustap [1000-1002], demotes his brother Sasranagara [1007], receives eastern Java together with Panembahan Érucakra [1013,

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1018, 1019], becomes Adipati Panatagama in Japan [1020], ordered to subjugate Panembahan Érucakra [1060, 1061], dispatches Adipati Natapura against Kartasura [1086], dies [1101].
Jayaraga Pangéran, fourth son of Sénapati [269], bupati in Panaraga [325], rebels, exiled to Masjidwatu [326-328].
Jayasamodra Demang, [1165].
Jayasamudra Ki, follower of Pangéran Purbaya 3 [1201].
Jayasanta Ngabèhi, sent after the envoy to Batavia who was late in returning [1160], sent to Pangéran Purbaya in Sekararum [1203], takes part in the attack on the kraton guard, killed in action, including his son Jayadirana [1273].
Jayasantika Kyai, kliwon of Kudus, envoy to Batavia [1168].
Jayasudarga Kyai, ordered by Mangkurat IV to conquer Pagelèn [1090, 1092]
Jayasudirga Tumenggung, wadana jawi (Numbakanyar), escorts body of Ratu Kancana 4 to Imagiri [1192], part of the attack party on the fort of Kartasura [1270], beaten to death [1272], his sons too young to succeed him [1276].
Jayasupanta Adipati, = Jajanggu, brother of Pangéran Mas of Kadhiri [300], raised in rank [308], idem? Radèn Jayasupanta = Adipati Sujanapura 1.
Jayataka elite soldiers of Sénapati [280].
Jayatruna messenger [1380, 1382].
Jayawinata Kyai Tumenggung, bupati of Mataram, defeated by Kyai Mas Dana [909], comes to the aid of the Kartasura army in Surabaya [994], loses part of his apanage [1170].
Jayèngastra corps of soldiers [1262, 1296, 1321].
Jayèngkéwuh servant of Radèn Demang Pasisir, killed in action [674].
Jayènglatri corps of soldiers [1262, 1296].
Jebadbètri Kyai, an ox-cart [44].
Jembaran Captain, [1116].
Jèmblem Radèn Ajeng, Radèn Ajeng Salamah, daughter of Panembahan Purbaya, younger sister of Ratu Kancana, marries Pangéran Martasana 4 [1159], divorces, remarried to Radèn Natawijaya (Patih Natakusuma) [1170, 1174].
Jenar = Purwaganda.
Jenes River [1347].
Jenggala realm of Lembuamiluhur [20], place near Surbaya [1289].
Jepara [19, 58, 383,420, 438, 442-444, 449-451, 453, 456, 457, 493, 497-499, 505, 512, 541, 603, 605, 609, 629, 631-634, 636-638, 641-643, 666-669, 754, 761, 801-805, 823, 875, 876, 894, 937, 953, 1087, 1106, 1107, 1133, 1135, 1137, 1194, 1304].
Jimat 1. Radèn, Pangéran, = Pangéran Cakraningrat 4.
Jimat 2. Kyai, caretaker of the royal cemetery at Imagiri [1205].
Jimbun Sénapati, = Radèn Patah.
Jimbungan village [104].
Jimus panakawan [1345, 1346].
Jipang 1. Adipati = Pangéran Arya Panangsang.
Jipang 2. bupati, = Pangéran Banawa.
Jipang 3. domain [130, 143, 162, 164, 243, 244, 246-248, 250, 894, 926, 927, 929, 930, 932, 934, 935, 940, 941, 949, 1006, 1130, 1247, 1248, 1286-1288, 1290, 1292-1294, 1297, 1353, 1367].
Jiwaraga = Tumenggung Martapura 3.
Jolang Radèn, = Panembahan Krapyak.
Jombaléka ascetic in Calpitu, father of Mas Manca [119].
Jombla = Wiryadiningrat.
Jrodo one of the eight captains during the siege of Jakarta [381].
Judhipati corps of soldiers raised in Pekalongan [499].
Jugulmudha patih of Mahapunggung [19].
Juldah place of origin of Sèh Walilanang [55].
Julungpujut son of Watugunung [3].
Julungwangi son of Watugunung [3].
Jumanten Radèn Ajeng, daughter of Mangkurat IV [1155], marries Radèn Wiratmeja 2, the widower of her elder sister Radèn Ajeng Tajem [1176].
Jumilah Retna, daughter of Panembahan Madiyun, becomes wife of Sénapati [282, 291-294].
Juminah Pangéran, fifth son of Sénapati [269, 329].
Jurukithing Panembahan, son of Adipati Mandaraka, reaches a high age, defeats Pangéran Madura [329, 333, 362].
Jurumartani Adipati Mandaraka, son of Nyai Ageng Saba, cousin and brother-in-law of Kyai Pamanahan, disciple of Sunan Kalijaga [135, 136], joins the attack on Arya Panangsang [154, 156, 160, 161, 163, 164], to Mataram with Kyai Pamanahan [168, 171], guardian of Sénapati and his brothers, adviser of Sénapati [187, 188,

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189, 194, 195, 201, 203, 204, 232, 233, 242-244, 257, 259], teacher of Radèn Rangga [266, 267], raised in rank [269], adviser [272, 279, 280, 287, 288, 294, 309, 311, 314, 316], proclaims Pangéran Krapyak [318, 320], 4 children [329], adviser of Mas Martapura [331], buried in Mataram [333].
Jurutaman 1. a spirit, servant of Sénapati, kills Awijaya without being noticed [239, 241].
Jurutaman 2. albino, servant of Pangéran Krapyak, killed by Sultan Agung [319, 413, 763].
Juwana [456, 937, 1282, 1316].

K

Kabakalan [854].
Kabangkèkan [857].
Kabaréyan abode of spirits [18].
Kabayan Kyai, a mantri kabayan from Jepara, with Tohjaya to Lumajang [1133, 1135].
Kadarèn village [1347].
Kademèn village, 2nd place of exile of Pangéran Purbaya 3 [1203].
Kadhangkrang Kraèng, major of the Makassarese and Ambonese auxiliaries for Mangkurat II [491].
Kadhaton Radèn Ayu, daughter of Pakubuwana II [1187, 1348].
Kadhawung 1. Radèn, son of Kyai Pamanahan [137].
Kadhawung 2. Radèn, = Radèn Demang Tanpanangkil [322].
Kadhiri 1. realm of Jayabaya and Lembupeteng [19, 20].
Kadhiri 2. domain, [21, 40, 42, 180, 274, 300-305, 307, 308, 339, 363, 392, 441, 461, 469, 478, 502-504, 510, 512, 515, 516, 518, 521, 522, 526, 653, 869-871, 875, 876, 925, 951, 1018, 1921, 1114, 1115, 1118, 1146, 1149, 1183].
Kadipatèn Ratu, = Ratu Kancana 3.
Kaduwang [458, 847, 857, 859, 860, 864, 1008, 1010, 1012, 1022, 1023, 1103, 1264, 1353, 1358, 1361, 1363, 1364, 1366, 1367, 1374, 1379].
Kajengtigan village [1341].
Kajoran 1. Panembahan, Panembahan Rama, grandfather of Mangkurat II [430], father-in-law of Trunajaya [431-434, 436], flees to Trunajaya [458, 460-462], disappears to Sonyasirna [535], magically powerful, defeated, disappears into the void [653-656].
Kajoran 2. place [459, 460, 462, 463].
Kakajang village [1111].
Kakum village [1347].
Kaladuta boat of Panembahan Purbaya 1 [383].
Kalammunyeng magical kris of Sunan Giri (Prabu Sètmata) [80], demanded by Mangkurat II [539].
Kalang distinctive social group specialized in wood-working [1012, 1270, 1272], a woman from this group taken as concubine by Mangkurat III [698].
Kalawéyan Kyai Buyut, in Semarang, father of Suraadimanggala [541].
Kaleng Demang, messenger of Pakubuwana I to Mangkurat II [564-566].
Kalepu [1069, 1071].
Kaletingkuning Radèn Ayu, sister of Mangkurat II, captured by Trunajaya [529].
Kaletingwungu Radèn Ayu, sister of Mangkurat II, captured by Trunajaya, sent ahead to Mangkurat II [529-531, 533, 537], wife of Adipati Sindureja and mother of Radèn Sukra [703, 706, 730].
Kaliajir village [465, 552, 1074].
Kalibanthèng village [1245, 1246,1254].
Kalibening village [552].
Kalibuthak village [104].
Kalicacing village [816, 830, 832, 1248, 1336].
Kalicari place near Semarang [1224].
Kalidhadhung village [279].
Kaligandhu village [1232, 1336, 1338-1340].
Kaligawé 1. Demang, mantri from Semarang, joins Tohjaya to Lumajang [1133, 1135].
Kaligawé 2. place near Semarang [1224].
Kaligunting village of the widow to whom Radèn Susuruh flees [32, 33].
Kalijaga Sunan, Jaka Said, son of Ki Gedhé Manila [53], turns bandit, made to repent by Sunan Bonang, meditates at the Kalijaga river near Cirebon, brother-in-law of Sunan Gunungjati [58], role during the building of the mosque of Demak [90], sends Awijaya to Demak [108], resides in Adilangu [127, 132], teacher of Awijaya [135], rival of Sunan Kudus [138], forces Awijaya to give Mataram to Kyai Pamanahan [168, 169], meets Pamanahan [174], advises Sénapati to build a stone wall [211], gives Sénapati the jacket Kyai Gundhil [287, 288].

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Kalijirak village [598].
Kalinyamat 1. Pangéran, married to Ratu Kalinyamat, daughter of Radèn Trenggana, killed [129, 141].
Kalinyamat 2. Ratu, sister of Sunan Prawata [141], vow to have Arya Panangsang killed, asks Awijaya (Jaka Tingkir) to kill Arya Panangsang [148, 149-151, 164], fulfills her vow [166, 167].
Kalinyamat 3. realm, offered as a reward for killing Pangéran Arya Panangsang [151, 166, 179, 217, 264].
Kalitambang village [739].
Kalitan village [847, 848].
Kaliwungu 1. burial place of Mandurareja and Baureksa [390].
Kaliwungu domain [390, 800, 808, 939, 948, 1149, 1159, 1170, 1242, 1245, 1246, 1282, 1283, 1320, 1326, 1327, 1330, 1371].
Kaloran Déwa, Balinese chief, conquers Gresik for Jayapuspita [923, 924], supports him later as well [930], returns to Bali under safe conduct [945-947].
Kaluwak Radèn Ajeng [1348].
Kamagetan = Magetan.
Kamal 1. Kyai, chief religious official of Pakubuwana I [479].
Kamal 2. village in Madura [883].
Kamandhungan gate of the kraton [732, 901, 1037].
Kamlathèn village [1083].
Kampak village [1319, 1323, 1324, 1328, 1337, 1338].
Kan Chinese captain of Batavia, tries to reason with Encik Sapanjang [1212].
Kancana 1. Ratu, wife of Mangkurat II, her nephew Sumaningrat, [742, 748].
Kancana 2. Ratu, concubine of Mangkurat III from Onjé, receives title [754].
Kancana 3. Ratu, = Ratu Kadipatèn, wife of Mangkurat IV [1150, 1162].
Kancana 4. Ratu, Ratu Mas, daughter of Panembahan Purbays [1141], wife of Pakubuwana II [1151, 1155, 1166, 1168, 1170], gives birth to a boy who dies [1176], manages to attract the distraught king and gives birth to a healthy son [1177, 1178], advances the career of her brother Pangéran Purbaya [1188, 1191], dies after a difficult pregnancy [1192].
Kandheg village [1023, 1224].
Kandhiawan son of Mahapunggung [19].
Kandhuruwan 1. Radèn, son of Radèn Patah [109].
Kandhuruwan 2. bupati, installed by Adipati Pragola 2 [365].
Kandhuruwan 3. Tumenggung, wadana Sèwu, sent against Panembahan Purbaya 2, and Pangéran Blitar 3 [1090], has their horoscopes cast [1093, 1094, 1095], dies after having been cursed by Pangéran Purbaya 3 [1199].
Kanitèn bupati, servant of Adipati Pasuruhan, defeated by Sénapati, killed by Adipati Pasuruhan [296-298].
Kapalon village [312].
Kapanasan 1. forest where Kyai Ageng Tarub II is born [69].
Kapanasan 2. market near Kartasura where Pakubuwana II makes a pilgrimage [1204].
Kapasan 3. village near Surabaya [954].
Kapetengan corps of soldiers [1296].
Kapraban village near Surabaya [989].
Kapundhung market near Kartasura [688].
Kaputatan village [1370].
Kaputran village near Surabaya [989-991].
Karang village [166].
Karanganyar 1. in Pagelèn [472].
Karanganyar 2. near Semarang [1242, 1245, 1283].
Karangasem village [1345].
Karanglo Kyai Ageng, welcomes Kyai Pamanahan in Mataram, predictions about his descendants [173, 174].
Karaton Radèn Mas, son of Mangkurat IV, = Pangéran Buminata 3.
Karé Nyai Ageng, daughter of Getaspandhawa [95].
Karèng one of the eight captains during the siege of Jakarta [381].
Karonuban Panji, deputy chief of the Makassarese [437].
Karsula Radèn, Panji. commander against the Makassarese, receives Japan, dies there [438-441].
Karta kitha, kraton of Sultan Agung [398], abandoned [402], becomes kraton Kartasekar of Pangéran Blitar 3 [1043].
Kartabangsa leader in battle of Pangéran Blitar 3 [1036].
Kartadipa apprentice official under Arya Pringgalaya 3 [1324].
Kartanagara 1. Tumenggung, = Adipati Mangkupraja.

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Kartanagara 2. Tumenggung, son of Adipati Mangkupraja [1122, 1182], dies [1220, 1221, 1283, 1295].
Kartas Captain on the ship sent to Madura, killed in incident 967-970].
Kartasana [274, 1248, 1353].
Kartasari 1. Kartasekar, Madéganda, Karta, kraton of Pangéran Blitar 3 [1043, 1044, 1063, 1067], captured by Brikman [1070, 1075, 1076], visited and renamed by Mangkurat IV [1149].
Kartasari 2. Radèn, son of Tumenggung Mataun of Jipang [1294].
Kartasekar = Kartasari 1.
Kartasura [544, 546, 547, 549-553, 559-565, 569, 571, 572, 596-598, 600-602, 604, 605, 612, 615, 619, 630, 631, 641, 652, 655, 656, 658-661, 666, 669, 679, 680, 688, 690, 696, 697, 701-703, 736, 737, 739-741, 748, 750, 755, 758, 761, 763, 769, 770, 772, 773, 776, 779, 781, 783, 786, 792, 794, 795, 799, 800, 802, 806, 807, 810-815, 817, 825, 830, 832, 834-837, 839, 843, 845, 846, 851-854, 856-858, 860-864, 868-871, 875, 877, 883-885, 887-890, 892, 893, 895, 898, 899, 903, 908-910, 913, 915, 917-919, 922, 925-927, 944, 951, 952, 955, 959, 961-963, 984, 988, 994, 1005, 1009-1011, 1021, 1025, 1026, 1028, 1030, 1031, 1033, 1034, 1036, 1039, 1046-1048, 1050, 1057, 1060, 1062, 1065, 1069, 1071, 1073, 1076, 1078, 1080-1083, 1085-1087, 1092, 1093, 1096, 1098, 1102, 1104, 1105, 1107, 1109-1111, 1113-1115, 1117, 1118, 1120-1122, 1124-1126, 1129, 1130, 1136, 1140-1143, 1145, 1147, 1149, 1153, 1154, 1161, 1163, 1166, 1170, 1172-1175, 1179, 1180, 1182, 1184, 1185, 1188-1190, 1195, 1201-1205, 1208, 1218, 1224, 1227, 1235, 1238, 1247, 1249, 1250, 1252, 1254, 1267, 1270, 1276-1278, 1281, 1283, 1285, 1286, 1294, 1295, 1297-1302, 1305, 1310-1312, 1315, 1317, 1318, 1320-1323, 1326, 1327, 1331-1340, 1342, 1343, 1345, 1347-1351, 1353, 1354, 1358, 1359, 1362-1364, 1366-1370, 1372, 1374-1376, 1379, 1381, 1382].
Kartawirya 1. Ki, Tumenggung, kinsman of Mangunoneng 4 [1315], leads in the march on Kartasura [1336], made chief of the leaseholders [1354], dispatched to Nguter [1358, 1359], defeated [1362], reinforced [1366].
Kartawirya 2. arrives with Sutamenggala from Kartasura.
Kartayuda 1. Panji, Demang = Sasranagara 1.
Kartayuda 2. Radèn, leader of the Madurese [1287], killed in action [1289].
Kartimasa brother of Pangéran Mas of Kadhiri, raised in rank with title Saradipa (former title of his brother) [300, 308].
Kartinala Ngabèhi, son of Tumenggung Sumabrata [1029].
Kartiyuda = Tumenggung Surantani
Karungkala third son of Kandhiawan, also called King Baka [19].
Kasar Ki, heirloom kris of the husband of Radèn Ayu Taman [1198].
Kasur kris of Adipati Martalaya [509].
Katanggung kraton office [1345].
Katawengan 1. Tumenggung, bupati of Kadhiri, leads the troops of Mangkurat III, defeated [869].
Katawengan 2. Tumenggung, Ki Anggakatawengan, appointed bupati in Kadhiri [1183].
Katipes village [1189].
Kayulandhéyan abode of spirits [18].
Kebodhengen kris of Kyai Bocor [198].
Kebokabiri Kyai, mantri of Sasranagara 1 [1017].
Kebokanigara son of Andayaningrat, dies as a Buddhist ascetic [96. 97].
Kebokenanga = Kyai Ageng Pengging 2.
Kebonagung village [1102].
Kedhu domain [196, 197, 230, 476, 479, 488, 495, 496, 525, 538, 815, 854-856, 875, 927, 1046, 1075, 1082, 1090, 1092, 1232, 1235, 1331, 1339, 1354].
Kedhungrombong village [1283].
Kedhungsrengéngé residence of the crocodile king Baureksa [122, 124].
Kedhupingit village of Dhadhungawuk [113].
Kedhutrayem = Trayem.
Kedunggudèl village [1347].
Kélas Dutch lieutenant of the Kartasura garrison [1279, 1283].
Kelir Mount [416].
Kembanglampir Kyai Ageng, father of the mother of Kyai Ageng Tarub 2 [67-69], village [168].
Kembar Mas, the twin sons of the bupati of Blambangan, succeed their father [393, 394].
Kencèng Demang, ordered to expel Panembahan Érucakra [1965, 1066].
Kendhal domain [939, 1246, 1282, 1318, 1320, 1326, 1330].

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Kendheng mountain range [115, 186, 321, 764, 1265, 1319, 1322].
Kener [610, 611, 779].
Kenol Captain, Commissioner, in Semarang [754], wants to make Pakubuwana I king [770, 783], goes to meet him [788-791], deliberates in Semarang and Batavia about his recognition [800-804, 806, 807], present at his proclamation [809], sent out to Demak [811], becomes commissioner [823], concludes with Sepilman a contract with Pakubuwana I [826], stays in Kartasura [858], expeditions against Pasuruhan [864, 866, 868], has the body of Wiranagara (Surapati) cremated [880-882], builds a fort in Gembong, returns to Semarang [883].
Kenthèng village [842, 843, 1343].
Ketug Radèn Mas, = Radèn Mas Arya Purwawijaya.
Ketut Déwa, Balinese chief, plunders Madura [995], joins Pangéran Cakraningrat 3 [998], flees to Bali [1003, 1112].
Khakim Kyai Pangulu, leader in battle of Jayapuspita [954].
Kidul Nyai Rara, queen of the South Sea, marries Sénapati and promises him help [206-210, 232], also marries Sultan Agung [398].
Kidul Ngabèhi, patih of Wiranagara, sent to help Mangkurat III, flees to Daha, killed in action [860, 863, 885].
Kidung horse of Patih Natakusuma [1298].
Kilèn Radèn Ayu, minor wife of Pakubuwana II [1345, 1348].
Kiping village [1009, 1012-1015].
Klofdiansah Dutch commander in Semarang [1154].
Kolor interpreter in Semarang, killed in action [1246].
Kombang Mount, abode of Ajar Cemaratunggal [33, 35].
Konangpasir soldier from Sampang [621].
Kondur Demang [1273].
Konthing Mas, follower of Pangéran Purbaya 3 [1201].
Konyit Dutch commissioner and envoy to Kartasura, arrests Patih Danureja [1181, 1182, 1184, 1185].
Koripan realm of Gathayu [19], village [563].
Koster Captain, Kartasura [1154].
Krakal village in Kadhiri [302].
Kramawijaya Ngabèhi, bupati of Japan, son of Mataun 1, killed in action [1292].
Kramayuda Demang, of Karang, his daughter a concubine of Pakubuwana II, but wanted by Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara, which led to his exile [1166].
Krapyak Panembahan, Radèn Jolang, Pangéran Dipati Anom, sixth son of Sénapati, appointed as successor [269], wounded near Pathi [311, 312, 316, 318], defeats the rebellious Pangéran Puger and Pangéran Jayaraga [320-324, 326-328], five children [329], dies [330].
Krasbun Captain, marches against Jayapuspita, killed in action [939, 980].
Krèbèt Mas, = Awijaya
Kudalaléyan son of Panji, king of Pajajaran [21].
Kudus 1. Kyai Ageng, father of the father of Kyai Ageng Tarub 2 [67].
Kudus 2. Sunan, chief official of the newly erected mosque of Demak [90], has a kris of Sunan Bonang copied [93], kills Kyai Ageng Pengging 2 [103, 104], rival of Sunan Kalijaga [138], incites Arya Panangsang to kill Sunan Prawata and Awijaya [139-144], confers with Awijaya [145-147], proclaims Adipati Demak as king [243, 244].
Kudus 3. Pangéran, Pangéran Pancawati, conquers Demak but killed in action [1051-1054].
Kudus 4. Arya, bupati of Kudus, as envoy to Batavia [1187, 1188], joins the deliberations on the revolt of the Chinese [1218, 1220].
Kudus 5. domain [141, 144-146, 324, 456, 457, 517, 937, 964, 1051, 1087, 1138, 1168, 1228, 1234, 1282, 1316].
Kudusan village [1346].
Kulalah Daèng, leader of the Company's Muslim troops [1281].
Kulawu son of Watugunung [3].
Kulon Ratu, mother of Mangkurat III, disrupts the pregnancy of other wives, later called Ratu Ageng [752, 753].
Kumbakinumbar Kyai, royal gun [1177].
Kumbarawi royal gun [438, 1277].
Kunci artificial hill within the kraton [1038].
Kuning 1. Sunan, = Pangéran Arya Mataram.
Kuning 2. Sunan, Susuhunan Mangkurat Prabu Kuning Sénapati Ingalaga Ngabdurrahman Sayidin Panatagama, Radèn Mas Garendi, son

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of Pangéran Tepasana 2, grandson of Suman Mangkurat III, predicted to become king [1189], flees Kartasura after the stangulation of his father [1264], escapes the killing of his uncle and brother, saved and hidden by a Chinese called Etik [1275], searched for by Patih Natakusuma and Mangunoneng [1311], set up as king by the Chinese and their Javanese allies [1313, 1315], reinstalled in Pathi [1316], pleased with the military successes [1327], news about the involvement of Patih Natakusuma and the latter's quandary [1328-1331], news of Natakusuma's arrest shocks him, decision to continue the war [1336], occupies the palace in Kartasura [1348], [1349, 1350, many officials submit to him [1354], orders counterattack at Nguter [1358, 1366], and Pamagetan [1369], tries to entice the supporters of Pakubuwana II to deliver him [1373, 1375, 1379].
Kuningan son of Watugunung [3].
Kunthara patih of Kandhiawan [19].
Kurantil son of Watugunung [3].
Kuruwelut son of Watugunung [3].
Kusuma Radèn Ayu, daughter of Panembahan Érucakra, wife of Pakubuwana II who dislikes her [1193].
Kusumawicitra son of Jayamiséna [19].
Kutha Mas, = Tumenggung Tirtanata 2.
Kuwel village [562, 566].
Kuwu abode of spirits [18].

L

Lafèl Captain, also Pan Pèlser, Dutch captain in Kartasura, hated by the Javanese [1218], [1279, 1301]. [passim].
Lamongan domain [274, 339, 344, 799, 800, 810, 921, 929, 948, 949, 962, 978, 1006, 1050, 1130, 1136, 1282, 1287-1289, 1293, 1297, 1352].
Lampèr village near Semarang [1237, 1243, 1244, 1246, 1318, 1331].
Landhep Dèwi, wife of Watugunung [3].
Langgar Pangéran, son-in- law of Radèn Trenggana [129].
Langkir 1. son of Watugunung [3].
Langkir 2. Radèn Mas, son of Mangkurat IV, = Pangéran Prangwadana 2.
Langsur village [1347].
Lapèl = Lafèl.
Laroh village [1010, 1012, 1068, 1103].
Laroh Embok, mother of Pangéran Riya Mangkunagara [779].
Lasem domain [58, 180, 274, 239, 349, 450, 936, 937, 1282, 1311, 1315, 1316, 1358, 1362].
Lawéyan Lawiyan, village [136, 229, 847, 1347].
Lawiyan = Lawéyan.
Lawu 1. Mount [119, 306, 452, 737, 738, 1008, 1019-1022, 1033, 1347, 1375].
Lawu 2. Sunan, appears to Pakubuwana II [1376].
Layapan village [1320-1322, 1326, 1328].
Layar Captain of the Company militia in Batavia [1214].
Le[m]busa[n]gara Madurese leader [1287, 1292].
Leksajaya messenger / spy of Martapura 4 [1322].
Lemahabang = Lemahbang
Lemahbang Lemahabang, village [1235, 1239, 1381, 1382].
Lembah Radèn Ayu, eldest daughter of Pakubuwana I [681], marries against her will Mangkurat III [682, 683, 686, 687, 692], returns to her father's home [698, 699], Radèn Sukra falls in love with her [711-715], strangled [719-728], [742].
Lembahrawa = Bahrawa.
Lembu Kyai, = Tumenggung Mangkuyuda 3.
Lembuamiluhur son of Gathayu, king of Jenggala [20, 21].
Lembuamisani son of Ayamwuruk [43].
Lembupangarang son of Gathayu, king of Gegelang [20].
Lembupeteng 1, son of Gathayu, king of Kadhiri [20].
Lembupeteng 2, = Kyai Ageng Tarub 3.
Lènder Major, sent to meet Panembahan Purbaya [1138].
Lènggang Radèn Ajeng, daughter of Panembahan Purbaya, marries Pangéran Ngabèhi [1159].
Lengkara Déwa, Balinese commander [393].
Lim Co Encik, Chinese who divulges the Chinese rebels' plans [1212].
Lindhu Radèn Mas, son of Mangkurat IV, with Panembahan Purbaya in Lumajang [1131], eventually returned to Kartasura [1141, 1142, 1147, 1155].
Lipura favourite spot of Sénapati [191, 200, 201], place of exile of Mangkurat II [428].

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Liyang Po Cik, = Cik Po.
Lodhaya abode of spirits [18], place of exile of Panembahan Cakraningrat [469, 526, 527].
Logènder village [542].
Lonthang Mas, son of Panembahan Madiyun, flees to Surabaya, becomes bupati of Japan [282, 300].
Lopait village [825, 1248, 1251].
Lor Ngabèhi, patih of Wiranagara, sent to help Mangkurat III [860], flees to Daha [863], killed in action [885].
Loringpasar Pangéran Ngabéhi, = 1. Suryakusuma, 2. Pangéran Ngabèhi 2.
Lowanu village [1129].
Lumajang [274, 337, 915, 1119, 1130-1132, 1138, 1139].
Lumarap 1. Adipati, Bangsapatra, ordered by Pangéran Blitar 3 to conquer Pajang [1045, 1046], killed in action against Brikman [1069, 1071].
Lumarap = Jakub.
Lurungdhadha place near Batavia [1214].
Lurungtengah Nyai Ageng, eldest daughter of Kyai Ageng Séla [134].
Luyu village [860, 863].

M

Mabélah Daèng, leader of the Company's Muslim troops [1281, 1369].
Macan 1. Kyai, small gong of Sunan Kudus [103].
Macan 2. Pun, Cik, Encik, one of the leaders of the Pasisir Chinese [1218, 1222, 1224, 1242, 1322, 1325, 1336, 1338, 1339].
Macanbawuk crack troops [1251].
Macanguguh Kyai, heirloom horse bit [260, 1345].
Macankuning Panji, Balinese commander [393].
Macanlola Rangga, mantri of Sasranagara [1017].
Madéganda = Kartasari.
Madiyun 1. bupati, Pangéran, = Pangéran Timur.
Madiyun domain [130, 278-286, 289-291, 293, 295, 300, 306, 329, 348, 349, 739, 862, 863, 1008, 1016-1018, 1021-1024, 1033, 1103, 1110, 1112-1114, 1159, 1291, 1292, 1350, 1351, 1353, 1357, 1360, 1361, 1378, 1382].
Madura domain [180, 274, 339, 341, 359, 360-362, 434-436, 445, 450, 452, 510, 669, 773, 791, 795, 798, 802, 810, 812-814, 825, 832, 833, 835, 837, 843, 846, 848, 849, 866, 875, 879, 883, 894, 928, 945, 953, 965-970, 973, 975, 980, 995, 997-999, 1003-1005, 1050, 1110, 1112, 1114, 1145, 1152, 1159, 1175, 1238, 1276, 1282, 1286, 1290, 1295, 1299, 1354, 1368].
Madurese [436, 442, 445, 453-457, 459, 460, 463-465, 468, 477, 479, 497, 504, 506, 511, 512, 514-517, 524, 525, 528-530, 669, 674, 676, 677, 786, 811, 8128, 829, 833, 838, 843, 845, 857, 860, 866, 868, 895, 965, 998, 1003, 1076, 1113, 1114, 1130, 1139, 1238, 1251, 1286-1289, 1291-1295, 1297, 1352, 1368].
Maduretna 1. Panembahan, = Trunajaya.
Maduretna 2. Ratu, Radèn Ajeng Sitisundari, younger sister of Pakubuwana II [1175], married to Pangéran Cakraningrat 3 [1345], sent to Madura [1348], tries to flee the kraton [1155], caught by the Chinese [1159].
Maésanular Kyai, kris given by Brawijaya to Kyai Ageng Tarub 3 [76], given to Pakubuwana I [472], copied by Mangkurat II [699].
Magetan domain [1103, 1104, 1110, 1187, 1248, 1347, 1350, 1352, 1357, 1373, 1378, 1379, 1382].
Magiri = Imagiri.
Mahadéwa Bathara, son of Bathara Guru [1].
Mahapunggung Sri, son of Suwélacala [19].
Majalegi village [848, 850].
Majapahit [37-40, 44, 46, 47, 49, 52, 53, 60, 61, 76, 79, 81, 82, 87-89, 96, 107, 119, 676, 677, 955].
Majaranu village [929].
Majasanga village [1343].
Majasem village [1376].
Majasta Ki Buyut, father of Ki Wila [120], accompanies Jaka Tingkir [121], [125].
Majenang village [124, 1187, 1190].
Makamdawa village [1345].
Makassarese [254, 438, 440-442, 445-448, 453-456, 481, 484, 491, 502, 503, 506, 516, 525-527, 574, 583, 815, 938, 1215, 1246, 1284, 1299, 1304].
Makincing Dhaèng, subordinate chief of Kraèng Galésung [437, 453].
Maktal son of Watugunung [3].
Malaka [55, 56].
Malang 1. in Pekalongan, also Pamalang [57, 592, 1090, 1246, 1304, 1330].
Malang 2. in Pasuruhan, also Pamalang [274, 338, 879, 884, 885, 890, 893, 1117-1121, 1146, 1149].
Malang 3. Ratu, Ratu Wétan, daughter of Ki Wayah, wife of Ki Dalem, mother of Natabrata [414, 419], concubine of Mangkurat I [415], dies [416].

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Malangsumirang bupati in Pranaraga under Pangéran Jayaraga [325].
Malaya 1. Demang, Adipati of Sampang, killed by Pangéran Danupaya (Alit) [408], father of Trunajaya [431, 434].
Malaya 2. place on Madura [1003].
Maléla Kyai, kris given by Brawijaya to Kyai Ageng Tarub 3, cursed [76].
Malinjon village [551, 1097, 1098, 1100].
Maloka Nyai Ageng, daughter of Sunan Ampèldenta, mother-in-law of Radèn Patah [62].
Manahil son of Watugunung [3].
Manangèng village [1244].
Manca Mas, Tumenggung Mancanagara, son of Ki Jombaléka, disciple of Ki Buyut Banyubiru [119, 120, 122], patih of Pajang 136], goes to Kudus [145], envoy to Mataram [213, 215, 218, 219].
Mancanagara Tumenggung, = Mas Manca.
Mandaraka 1. Adipati, = Jurumartani.
Mandaraka 2. Adipati Arya, envoy of Mangkurat II to Batavia [485, 491-494], becomes patih [495, 597, 507-510], dies [518, 520].
Mandaraka 3. Ngabèhi, uncle of Radèn Sukra, kills the latter [734].
Mandhalika Radèn Arya, patih of Pakubuwana I [479], incites him against Mangkurat II [545, 547, 549], commander [552], killed in battle [556].
Mandhasiya son of Watugunung [3, 1177].
Mandura 1. Pangéran, eldest son of Adipati Mandaraka (Jurumartani), father of Pangéran Mandurareja and Pangéran Upasanta, dies, buried in Gambiran [329, 333].
Mandura 2. Pangéran Arya, inspects fort after surrender [1279], sent to Tegal [1296], dies in battle [1304, 1305].
Mandura 3. Arya, follower of Sunan Kuning [1366].
Mandurareja 1. Pangéran, son of Pangéran Mandura [329], for a while allied with Adipati Pajang [355, 357], commander of the failed attack on Jakarta [378-380, 382, 384-386, 389], killed by Sultan Agung [390].
Mandurareja 2. Adipati, Tumenggung, sent by Mangkurat III to support Demak [800, 813], stays loyal to Mangkurat III [859], extradited and demoted by Pakubuwana I [890].
Mandurareja 3. Arya, sent by Mangkurat IV to assist Tumenggung Mangkuyuda 3 in Kedhu [1090].
Mangaré island [510, 514, 1290].
Mangkubumi 1. Pangéran, Radèn Jambu, son of Kyai Pamanahan [137], raised in rank [263], installs Panembahan Krapyak [316, 318], father of Adipati Sokawati and Bagus Péthak [329].
Mangkubumi 2. Adipati, Radèn Wirataruna, servant of Pakubuwana I [479].
Mangkubumi 3. Pangéran, Radèn Santareja, defeats the army of Pangéran Blitar 3 and Panembahan Purbaya 2 [1083].
Mangkubumi 4. Pangéran, Radèn Mas Sujana, son of Mangkurat IV [1155], raised in rank, marries Radèn Ajeng Manik from Madiyun [1159], receives apanage [1162], kliwon santana [1175], prophecies about his future [1179, 1186], seconded to Pringgalaya against the Madurese [1294, 1297], recalled [1312], deployed against the Chinese [1340, 1341], flees to Mataram [1349], refuses to submit to Sunan Kuning [1354], flees to the Company in Semarang [1355].
Mangkudirana Ngabèhi, kliwon of Bumi [1232].
Mangkujaya [1382].
Mangkukusuma = Radèn Tumenggung Mangkupraja.
Mangkunagara 1. Pangéran, = Pangéran Wiramenggala.
Mangkunagara 2. Pangéran Dipati Anom, = Mangkurat IV.
Mangkunagara 3. Pangéran Riya (Arya), Mas Baladho, Radèn Mas Damar, son of Mangkurat IV with a concubine [779], marries Radèn Ajeng Wulan a daughter of Pangéran Blitar 3, adopted by Pangéran Purbaya, receives title Pangéran Riya Mangkunagara [914], becomes Pangéran Adipati Anom under Pangéran Blitar 3 [1045], defeated by Brikman [1073,1074], at Mrebung [1091, 1097], flees [1102], sent to Kartasura after the surrender and exile to Batavia of Panembahan Purbaya [1141, 1142], given his old name back and an apanage [1143], his brothers [1150], his father wants him to divorce [1151], excluded from the succession [1152, 1155], the king visits his residence [1156-1158], Radèn Ajeng Wulan becomes his main wife [1159], [1160], his children, the prediction of the future greatness of

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his son Radèn Mas Said [1164], his wife Radèn Ajeng Wulan dies [1165], accused of having an affair with one of the king's wives and exiled [1166], sees Danureja in Batavia [1169], request to have him exiled to Ceylon [1171], rescues the exiled Danureja on his way to Ceylon [1186].

Mangkunagara 4. Pangéran, Radèn Sumawijaya, bupati of Madiyun [1350, 1361, 1378, 1379, 1382].

Mangkuningrat Pangéran, = Pangéran Tepasana.

Mangkupraja 1. Adipati, Kyai Banyakpatra, Tumenggung Kartanagara, patih lebet of Pakubuwana I [810], deposed [912], conquers Winongan [915], fight for Jipang [927-929, 932, 935], heads for Surabaya [940-943], his scribe Carik Bajra demanded by the king [950], after defeat at Sapanjang flees to Semarang [961, 962], again patih lebet [1029], promoted to Adipati Mangkupraja, campaigns against Pangéran Blitar 3 [1047], receives Brikman 1059], conquers Kartasekar [1071, 1072], returns to Kartasura [1076], attacks Mrebung [1090], commander [1111], dies 1120], his son made bupati with the title Tumenggung Kartanagara [1122].

Mangkupraja 2. Radèn Tumenggung, Mangkukusuma, brother of Tumenggung Mangkuyuda, appointed bupati of Bumija [1202], joins the pursuit of Pangéran Wiramenggala [1264, 1266-1268], joins the march against Semarang [1283], joins the fake attack on the Chinese [1308], with Pringgalaya against the Chinese [1319], sent against the Chinese at Salatiga [1336], defeated at Kaligandhu and flees [1339], sent out by Sunan Kuning against Kaliwungu, deployed at Ungaran and Lemahabang [1371, 1381].

Mangkurat Patih, Ki Wanapala, patih of Radèn Patah [90], dies, succeeded by his son Wanasalam [109].

Mangkurat I Susuhunan Mangkurat Sénapati ing Alaga Abdurrahman Sayidin Patatagama, Pangéran Adipati Anom, Pangéran Adipati Arya Mataram, son of Sultan Agung, son-in-law of Pangéran Pekik, succeeds as king [399, 400], builds a new kraton in Plèrèd [402], orders an attack on Blambangan [402], defeats his brother Pangéran Danupaya (Alit) [403-410], kills Pangéran Silarong [413], takes Ratu Malang as concubine [414-416], has 5 children [417], last king in Mataram [419], changes in character [429], defeats against the Makassarese [437-449], sends his son Mangkurat II against the Makassarese [450, 459], flees to Banyumas [466-468], dies in Pasiraman [471-473], buried in Tegalwangi [474].

Mangkurat II Susuhunan Mangkurat Sénapati ing Ngalaga Ngabdurrahman Sayidin Panatagama, Pangéran Adipati Anom, eldest son of Mangkurat I and the princess from Surabaya [417], will ruin Mataram [419], love affair with the wife of Pangéran Singasari 2 [422], refuses to marry the daughter of the bupati of Cirebon [423], affair with Rara Oyi, exiled to Lipura [424-428], Panembahan Kajoran offers him the help of Trunajaya [430-436], sent out against Trunajaya 450-452], defeated [453-455], marches against Kajoran [459, 460], marches against the attackers of Mataram [464, 465], refuses to reconquer Mataram [471-472], succeeds his father (rumour of poisoning) [473], wants to make pilgrimage to Mecca, cancelled because of his dream [481, 482], succeeds as Mangkurat II [483], has the flower Wijayakusuma fetched [485], asks Batavia for help [485], goes to Tegal [486], receives the Dutch [491-494], to Jepara [499], marches against the Madurese [510-512], captures Kadhiri [517-525], has Tranajaya captured, kills him personally [526-537], goes to Surabaya [538], rumored to be the son of the Dutch admiral [539], defeats Pandhita Giri and others who spread the rumor [540], decides to move the kraton [542, 543], summons in vain Pakubuwana I [544-550], defeats him [551-559], reconciliation [562-570], takes Wiranagara (Surapati) into service [596, 570, 601], the latter's faked rebellion [605-607, 612-638], rewards him with Pasuruhan [629], settles his differences with Selupdriansah [631-636], has Tumenggung Martapura killed [638-650], crushes rebellion of Panembahan Kajoran and Wanakusuma [653-665], fake attack on Wiranagara (Surapati) [666-679], instructs his son Mangkurat III [680], marries him to his cousin Radèn Ayu Lembah [685-687], has Pakubuwana I (Pangéran Puger) remove the disasters that befell Kartasaura [688-690], allows Panembahan Cakraningrat to flee from Pasuruhan [695-697], has models made of heirloom weapons [699, 700] embellishes the

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town of Kartasura and has a new mosque built [701, 702], has Radèn Sukra killed [727-734], adopts Radèn Ayu Impun and a niece of Radèn Ayu Puger [735], demanded payment of the war costs by the Governor General [737,738], new attack on Wiranagara [739], ill [740], dies [746, 747], buried in Magiri [748].

Mangkurat III Susuhunan, Sénapati ing Alaga Sayidin Panatagama, Pangéran Adipati Anom, Mangkurat Mas, Pun Kencèt (the cripple); son of Mangkurat II, taught by the latter [680], marries his cousin Radèn Ayu Lembah [685-687], changes the name of her brother [691-694], Radèn Ayu Lembah flees to her father's home [698], maltreats Radèn Sukra [703-706], informs on Radèn Ayu Lembah [720], 4 children [741], marries Radèn Ayu Impun [742], succeeds his father [749-751], informs the Dutch of his succession [754], has Pakubuwana I temporarily locked up because of the rebellion of Radèn Suryakusuma [756-760], redirects the Dutch black magician to Pakubuwana I [763], makes many enemies [767-773], allows Panembahan Cakraningrat to go to Madura [774], has Jangrana I pursue Pakubuwana I [781], has Wirawangsa killed and Suryakusuma locked up [793, 794], countermeasures against the rebellion of Pakubuwana I [800], frees Radèn Suryakusuma [807], defeated [845], follows the advice of Pangéran Arya Mataram and flees to Kaduwang [846, 847], goes via Laroh [857], behaves intolerably in Pranaraga [861], to Madiyun and Kadhiri [862, 863], surrenders after a long flight and taken to Batavia [876-879, 885-891].

Mangkurat IV Susuhunan Prabu Sénapati ing Alaga, Ngabdurrahman Sayidin Panatagama, Radèn Mas Surya, son of Pakubuwana I [681], renamed Radèn Mas Suryaputra [691], Mangkurat III changes his name to Radèn Wangsataruna [691], father of Pangéran Riya Mangkunagara, flees with Pakubuwana I [779], becomes Pangéran Adipati Anom [810], seduces the wife of Ngabèhi Martayuda [818-822], receives appanage [859], his son [914], succeeds his father [1028], orders Adipati Danureja to continue the war, promotions and demotions [1029], measures against Pangéran Blitar 3 and Pangéran Purbaya [1030], has Adipati Danureja arrestted [1058], receives Brikman [1059], has Pangéran Érucakra pursued [1065, 1066], has the army attack Purbaya and Blitar 3 [1079-1076], frees Danureja [1078], takes Tumenggung Tohjaya into service [1084, 1085], raises Danureja in rank [1089], dispatches Tumenggung Tohjaya against Adipati Natapura [1098], raises Adipati Mangkupraja's son in rank and nullifies the appointment of Ngabèhi Martapura as bupati of Semarang [1122-1127], sends Danureja to Semarang [1129], decision to drive Purbaya from Lumajang [1130], wishes to have Purbaya killed, but the Dutch iintervene and he is exiled to Batavia [1141], insists on having his son Radèn Mas Lindu returned [1147], makes a pilgrimage to Mataram [1149], makes a pilgrimage to Butuh [1150], his children [115], becomes ill and dies [1151].

Mangkuyuda 1. Tumenggung, of Sampang, leader of Trunajaya's Madurese [453, 455], patih of Trunajaya [462], captures the kraton of Mataram [468, 470], defeated, to Kadhiri [478, 502, 513], killed in battle [525].

Mangkuyuda 2. Tumenggung, Kyai Wangsacitra, appointed bupati in Kedhu by Mangkurat II [496], killed in action during the siege of Kadhiri [525], his sons Tumenggung Mangkuyuda 3 en Tumenggung Natayuda [538].

Mangkuyuda 3. Tumenggung, Kyai Buwang, son of Mangkuyuda 2 [496], in service of Mangkurat II, becomes bupati of Kedhu [538], defeats Raja Namrud and Pangéran Pamenang [571], sent out against Panembahan Kajoran, [645], sent by Mangkurat III to help Kaliwungu [800], fails in his mission [812], maintained by Pakubuwana I [859], defeated by Pangéran Blitar 3 and Pangéran Purbaya receives help [1075, 1090], escorts the Dutch commissioner [1185], escorts the returning family of the exiled Sunan Mangkurat Mas [1188], escorts the body of Ratu Kancana to Imagiri [1192], leads the vanguard of the army sent to Semarang [1283], advances on Semarang [1283, 1284], in the battles around Semarang [1298, 1308], part of the army of Pringgalaya [1319], sent against the Chinese at Salatiga, defeated after a fierce fight [1336, 1339, 1340].

Mangundara Radèn, patih of Cakraningrat 3 [1238,

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1290, 1293].

Mangunjaya 1. bupati installed by Adipati Pragola 2 [365], escapes and saves the latter's son Radèn Rangga [369].

Mangunjaya 2, Ngabèhi, mantri of Surabaya, father of the girl Oyi [420, 424],

Mangunjaya 3. Radèn, = Pangéran Cakranagara

Mangunjaya 4. Ki, Radèn, guides Pakubuwana II to Magetan, asks permission to return to Kartasura as a spy [1347], reports by letter [1351], = Mangunjaya 5?

Mangunjaya 5. Radèn, Sumawijaya, son in law of Adipati Suradiningrat of Pranaraga, appointed bupati in Pamagetan [1357], in conflict with his uncle Sumaningrat [1373], appointed bupati of Kaduwang with the title Radèn Mangunrana [1382], = Mangunjaya 4?.

Mangunnagara 1. joins Adipati Martapura in guarding Jepara [438]. stays loyal to Mangkurat III on his flight [859], extradited and demoted by Pakubuwana I [890].

Mangunnagara 2. Tumenggung, Kyai Martadipa, becomes wadana gedhong [1029], informs the Dutch about the attack of Pangéran Blitar 3 [1037], conquers Tembayat together with Tumenggung Tohjaya [1100], sends the rebel from Nusatembini to the Kapatihan [1149], shocked by the dismissal of Raden Tumenggung Sumabrata [1161], mentioned by the Governor General [1171], escorts the body of Ratu Pakubuwana to Imagiri [1177], escorts the Dutch envoy to Semarang [1185], escorts the returning family of the exiled Sunan Mangkurat Mas [1188], escorts the body of Ratu Kancana to Imagiri [1192], becomes bupati Sèwu [1207], part of the attack party on the fort of Kartasura [1270], killed in the attempt [1272], succeeded by his son [1276].

Mangunnagara 3. Tumenggung, son of Tumenggung Mangunnagara 2 [1276], joins the march on Semarang [1283, 1308], joins Pringgalaya [1319, 1322, 1323], deploys with Pringgalaya at Ambuh [1337], deploys at Tanawas [1338].

Mangunoneng 1. Tumenggung, conquers Surabaya for Sultan Agung [363, 364].

Mangunoneng 2. Tumenggung, Wija: appointed bupati of Pathi by Mangkurat II [510], part of de party sent out to kill Tumenggung Martapura [642, 645, 646].

Mangunoneng 3. Tumenggung, former bupati of Pathi, follower of Pangéran Blitar 3 [1042], captures Pathi, submits to Patih Danureja, becomes bupati in Pathi [1056], plays a duplicitous role in the capture of Pangéran Arya Mataram [1081, 1106-1108], killed [1149].

Mangunoneng 4. Tumenggung, Rangga Pramana, Dipati ing Pathi, bupati of Pathi, dismissed [1170], chief in Siti Ageng, asked by Pangéran Purbaya to find a wife for the Sunan, bungles it [1194], a chief of the night guards [1162], guardian of Radèn Sumadiwirya, a son of Patih Natakusuma and prospective bupati of Pekalongan [1262], promoted to Rangga Pramana in Pekalongan [1283], told by patih Natakusuma to raise a rebellion in Pathi and install Mas Garendi as king [1311], occupies Pathi [1314], joins Martapura, becomes patih of Mas Garendi with the title Dipati ing Pathi [1315], re-enacts the installation of Mas Garendi as Sunan Kuning [1316], drawn battle at Layapan [1321], watches over Sunan Kuning in Gubug [1322, 1327], informs Patih Natakusuma of the installation of Radèn Mas Garendi [1330], decides with Martapura to continue the revolt and to march on Kartasura [1336, 1338-1340], the first to enter Kartasura, collects the women of the kraton [1342, 1348, 1351], sets up a new administration [1354], under attack by troops from Pranaraga [1358], first time routed [1366], conflict with Martapura about his letter to Cakraningrat [1368], Martapura steals his dagger, considers to offer his submission to the Company [1369], Sapanjang confronts him about his supposed submission to the Company [1371], sends a letter to Pranaraga [1375], receives reply from Pranaraga [1379].

Mangunrana Radèn, = Radèn Magunjaya 2.

Mangunyuda 1. Radèn, brother of Sumaningrat 2 [1373].

Mangunyuda 2. Ngabèhi, kliwon (Siti Ageng Tengen?) [1263, 1270].

Manik Radèn Ajeng, marries Pangéran Mangkubumi 4 [1159].

Manila Ki Gedhé, also called Tumenggung Wilatikta (=Majapahit), father of Kalijaga, father-in-law of Sunan Ampèldenta [53].

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Mantili Putri [1269].
Mantu Encik, Chinese leader [1366].
Manumanasa son of Parikenan [19].
Manyaran village [1103].
Maospati Tumenggung, follower Sunan Kuning [1371, 1372].
Marakèh son of Watugunung [3].
Maréwa Dhaèng, deputy chief of the Makassarese [437, 453, 455, 462, 470].
Martabaya Ki, panèket official of the Gedhong corps, fights wild buffalo [1206].
Martadipa Kyai, = Tumenggung Mangunnagara
Martajaya = Tumenggung Éndranata 2.
Martajiwa court official [1345].
Martakusuma 1. = Tumenggung Sujanapura 4.
Martakusuma 2. = Radèn Mas Sambiya, also Ambiya, second son of Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara, younger brother of Radèn Mas Said [1165], promoted [1280].
Martalaya 1. bupati, Saradipa, brother of Pangéran Mas, bupati of Kadhiri [308], sent to evict Pangéran Jayaraga 326], commander of Sultan Agung against Wirasaba [343, 345-347, 353], conquers Pasuruhan [354].
Martalaya 2. Adipati; bupati of Tegal, where he buries Mangkurat I, ordered to build a ship for Mangkurat II [481], objects to asking the help of the Dutch [484, 486], quarrels with a Dutch officer [493], sent on a mission to Kraèng Galésong [502, 504], killed at the request of the Dutch [507-509].
Martalaya 3. Radèn, Pangéran, bupati of Madiyun, given the title Pangéran [1350], sends a spy to Kartasura [1351], in action against the Chinese [1361], in action against Pamagetan [1378, 1379, 1382].
Martalulut group of court officials responsible for executions [371, 901, 1275].
Martanagara patih of Wirasastra of Demak [1369, 1370].
Martapura 1. Radèn Mas, son of Panembahan Krapyak, succeeds him for a short time [329-331].
Martapura 2. Kyai Adipati, Ngabèhi Wangsadipa, receives Jepara, his sons [438, 443], defends Jepara against Trunajaya [451, 456, 457], receives the Dutch allies of Mangkurat II [498-500], raised in rank [501], joins the mission to Kraèng Galésong [502, 504], kills Martalaya, dies himself as well [509].
Martapura 3. Tumenggung, Kyai Jiwaraga; mediates between Mangkurat II and Commander Selupdriansah, becomes bupati of Jepara killed at the request of the Dutch and his family banished [633-652].
Martapura 4. Tumenggung, Tumenggung Sujanapura, bupati of Grobogan, reports on the activities of the Chinese in the Pasisir [1218], disagrees with Adipati Jayaningrat and wants to support the Chinese, sent back to Grobogan to secretly support the Chinese [1219], summons the Chinese leaders [1222], pretends to help the Company [1224,1225], Patih Natakusuma initially misunderstands the ruse, but then praises him [1226, 1227], feels relieved by the response of the patih [1229], faked fight with the troops from Kartasura [1235], another faked fight and it becomes known that Martapure has changed sides [1242, 1243, 1246], defuses the situation around the killing of the Chinese scribe [1252, 1253], handles the situation of Pangéran Wiramenggala who had fled to the Chinese, and agrees to disagree with Adipati Jayaningrat [1267-1269, 1275], attacks Semarang [1283, 1284, 1298], remains resolved to support the Chinese even though the Sunan has switched to support the Company [1307], sent by the patih with a letter to Kartasura, but feeling suspicious returns to Grobogan at night [1310], proclaims Radèn Mas Garendi as king [1313], joins with Mangunoneng 4, receives title Tumenggung Sujanapura (barely used in the text) [1315], a drawn battle with the patih [1321], meets the attack of Arya Pringgalaya [1322-1325], fights a winning battle against the vanguard of Patih Natakusuma [1327], sends a letter to Natakusuma to request orders [1330], receives the news of the arrest of Natakusuma, decides to march on Kartasura [1336], employs a ruse at Kampak [1338], temporizes the attack on Kartasura [1339], writes a letter to Mangkuyuda 3 to undermine his resolve [1340], final push on Kartasura [1342], enters Kartasura [1348], takes authority over Mataram [1354], discusses who to send against the enemy at Nguter [1358], conflict with Mangunoneng 4, steals his cherished dagger [1368, 1369], informs

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on Mangunoneng 4's attempt to submit to the Company [1371].
Martasana 1. Adipati, son of Pangéran Pringgalaya [329].
Martasana 2. Pangéran, son of Mangkurat I [417], sent to help reconquering Mataram [472], dies [480].
Martasana 3. Adipati, Radèn Rangga, follower of Pakubuwana I [479].
Martasana 4. Pangéran, Radèn Mas Utara, son of Mangkurat IV, marries Radèn Ajeng Jèmblem [1159], receives apanage [1162], divorces [1170], name changed to Pangéran Arya Dipanagara, becomes kliwon santana [1175].
Martasana = 4. Pangéran, Radèn Mas (S)utara, son of Mangkurat IV, = Pangéran Arya Dipanagara.
Martasura 5. Tumenggung, ordered by Panembahan Purbaya to subject Banyumas [1046].
Martataruna 1. Radèn Mas, = Pangéran Dipasanta
Martataruna 2. Radèn, arrests the deposed bupati of Batang [1254], chief of the Jayamenggala corps [1320].
Martatruna court official [1346]. = Martataruna 2?
Martawangsa Radèn, bupati of Pranaraga, castrated by Mangkurat III, rises in rebellion against the latter [861, 862].
Martayuda 1. Embok, wife of Ngabèhi Martayuda, has an affair with Mangkurat IV [819-822].
Martayuda 2. Ngabèhi, scribe of Pakubuwana I, son of Suraadimenggala, his wife has an affair with Mangkurat IV [819-822], also called nephew and son-in-law of Suraadimenggala, his appointment as bupati of Semarang cancelled by Mangkurat IV [1123, 1124, 1126, 1127], returns to Semarang [1285].
Martayuda 3. Ki, follower of Patih Natakusuma [1331].
Mas 1. Lieutenant, son of Adipati Suradimenggala of Semarang [1214].
Mas 2. Ensign, son of Adipati Suradimenggala of Semarang [1214].
Mas 3. Sergeant, son of Adipati Suradimenggala of Semarang [1214].
Mas 4. Encik, Chinese leader [1287, 1292].
Mas 5. Ratu, eldest daughter of Radèn Patah, married to Pangéran Cirebon [109].
Mas 6. Pangéran, bupati of Kadhiri, four brothers, dies [300].
Mas 7. Ratu Mas, = Ratu Kancana 4.
Masahar Kyai Buyut, overseer of the rice fields, raises Kyai Ageng Tarub 3 (Bondhankajawan) [63, 64], who follows him to Majapahit and later entrusts him to Kyai Ageng Tarub 2.
Masaran village in Gunung Kidul [755].
Masjidséla in Nusakambangan, place of exile of Pangéran Jayaraga [327], wijayakusuma flower [490].
Mataram 1. Arya, brother of Arya Panangsang, disappears [159, 164].
Mataram 2. Kyai Ageng, = Kyai Pamanahan.
Mataram 3. Pangéran Adipati Arya, = Mangkurat I.
Mataram 4. Tumenggung, sent out against Blambangan [402, 411, 412].
Mataram 5. Pangéran Arya, Pangéran Arya Panular, Sunan Kuning; younger brother of Pakubuwana I [479], carries the regalia [552], promoted and receives apanage [629], pays respect to Mangkurat II's body [746], dispatched by Mangkurat III against Pakubuwana I [838, 839], submits to him [841], fakes a flight [842, 844, 845], advises Mangkurat III to flee [846], back to Pakubuwana I [847, 848], maintained in his position by the latter [859]. After the latter's death proclaims Mangkurat IV [1027 1028], advises against Pangéran Blitar's plans to revolt [1031, 1032], rises in rebellion in Pathi [1057], as Sunan Kuning captured by Brikman with the help of Tumenggung Mangunoneng 3 and killed [1081, 1106-1109].
Mataram 6. Pangéran Arya, Radèn Mas Pamadé, younger brother of Pakubuwana II, promoted and receives apanage [1161, 1162], deployed in Banyudana [1340], flees to Mataram [1349], submits to Sunan Kuning [1354].
Mataram 7. [63, 153-155, 161, 163, 164, 166-171, 173-175, 178, 179, 183, 185-191, 194-197, 202, 203, 209-216, 219, 230-232, 234, 238, 239, 244-248, 251, 253, 259-262, 265, 269-275, 277-279, 281, 283, 287, 291, 298-309, 311, 312, 314-316, 318-323, 325-327, 331-335, 338-350, 352-357, 359-375, 377, 379, 383, 390, 391, 394-396, 400, 401, 403, 406-408, 410-412, 414, 416, 419-422, 426, 429-431, 433-437, 439-442, 445-455, 457-460, 462-466, 470, 472, 473, 475-481, 483, 488, 489, 503, 512-514, 523, 529, 539, 542, 545, 548, 551, 590, 688, 689, 701, 736, 755, 801,

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802, 908, 909, 1029, 1039, 1043, 1044, 1047, 1058, 1060, 1061, 1067, 1069, 1071, 1072, 1077, 1083, 1086, 1091, 1092, 1102, 1149, 1169, 1170, 1192, 1201, 1204, 1207, 1218, 1269, 1285, 1327, 1331, 1339, 1345, 1347, 1349, 1354, 1358, 1362].

Mataram 8. Haji, [1296].

Mataun 1. Tumenggung, Kyai Sangka, patih, later bupati of Jipang, previously a servant of Pakubuwana I [1006], takes Kyai Wangsawana with him to Danureja [1179], asks about the rebellious Chinese in the Pasisir [1218], invited by Adipati Jayaningrat to discuss the situation [1220], joins the army of Pringgalaya to Salatiga [1247, 1248, his role in the killing of scribe Ham [1250-1253], faces the Madurese in Jipang and defeats them [1287, 1289], defeated and killed [1291, 1292], his son succeeds him [1297].

Mataun 2. Tumenggung, bupati of Jipang, son of Tumenggung Mataun 1 [1297], joins Pakubuwana II in Pranaraga [1353].

Mataun 3. Kyai, patih of Jipang, killed [157-159, 161, 162].

Mayang Tumenggung, married to daughter of Kyai Pamanahan [137, 170], father of Radèn Pabélan [220, 224, 228], sent to Semarang, abducted by Sénapati [230].

Mayang village near Pajang [238].

Medhangkungan son of Watugunung [3].

Mega Ki, follower of Pangéran Purbaya 3 [1201].

Megatsari Radèn, bupati of Pathi [1159. 1314].

Melambang village where Panembahan Kajoran stays [653-655].

Memenang village [1353,1356, 1366].

Mendhang mythical realm [2, 12].

Menjanganbang ruby of Ratu Kalinyamat, given to Kyai Pamanahan [166].

Merapi Mount, abode of spirits [18, 36, 203, 204, 232-234, 399, 422, 790, 807, 1047, 1201, 1204].

Mesir Radèn Mas, = Pangéran Dipasanta

Mirmagati knows five languages, sent with the mission to Galésong [502, 504].

Mlayakusuma Arya, second cousin of Pakubuwana II, grandson of Pangéran Arya Mataram by his son Suryataruna, goes by the name Mas Surata, called Radèn Tirtakusuma, promoted to bupati Siti Ageng next to Arya Pringgalaya [1175], to Semarang to welcome Dutch envoy [1182], role in the Tepasana killing [1254, 1257, 1260, 1261, 1263], pursues the escaped Pangéran Wiramenggala [1264-1268, 1275, 1276], joins siege of Semarang [1283], his guns captured by Company, fails to recapture them [1285], his lines broken by Company [1298], informed that the Sunan switched support to Company [1308], joins the attack of Arya Pringgalaya on Grobogan, defeated [1319, 1322, 1323], recalled to Kartasura, redeployed to Kampak [1337, 1338], in the service of Sunan Kuning ordered to meet the attack from Kaduwang [1366], suspected of wanting to switch sides [1367], leads attack on Pranaraga [1382].

Mrebung village, [1082, 1090, 1091, 1094, 1097, 1102].

Mudha Cupyan Chinese leader [1235, 1239], blocks road between Semarang and Kartasura [1247], dispatches scribe Ham [1250-1253], ordered to attack Semarang [1371].

Mudha Tik = Etik 1.

Muhammad Ki, of Majasem, father-in-law of Ki Durahman [1376].

Mum Commandant, commander of the Company army [1380].

Mundhingsari son of Banjaransari [21].

Mundhingwangi son of Mundhingsari [21].

Mungkung River, village [1009, 1012, 1017].

Mur Captain, buyer of Wiranagara (Untung Surapati), his daughter seduced by the latter [573-575].

Muruh village [1358].

N

Naba Kraèng, major of the Makassarese and Ambonese auxiliaries for Mangkurat II, brother of Galésong, persuades him to defect [491, 502-505].

Nagasari village [1349].

Naladirja of Gresik, with Pakubuwana II on his flight [1346], accompanies Captain Orgondrop to Surabaya and Semarang [1367, 1377], joins him on his expedition to Brangkas, as messenger to Pranaraga, sent back with letter to Semarang [1380, 1382],

Nambi Ki, brother of the widow of Kaligunting, mantri of Radèn Susuruh [33].

Namèngyuda kraton corps [1344].

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Namrud Raja, rebel whose support Pakubuwana I temporarily seeks, killed [560, 571].

Narada Sang Hyang, messenger of Bathara Guru [2, 8-13, 15-18].

Narantaka corps of soldiers [1262, 1296, 1321].

Natabrata Pangéran, son of Ratu Malang [419], claims that Mangkurat II is a son of the admiral 547-549].

Natadiningrat Tumenggung, eldest son of Panembahan Cakradiningrat, sent out against Tugu (= Sasranagara 2? = Suradiningrat?) [810, 811].

Natadirja = Radèn Sukra

Natakusuma 1. Pangéran, Radèn Anggayuda; santana of Pakubuwana I [479], believes that Mangkurat II and Pakubuwana I are really brothers and stays with Mangkurat II [547-549], defects to Pakubuwana I [847], maintained by the latter [859], dies, succeeded by his son Pangéran Arya Pringgalaya [908].

Natakusuma 2. Adipati, Radèn, Radèn Natawijaya, son of Pangéran Pringgalaya, of Mataram, becomes panèwu pamijèn [1029], conquers Tembayat together with Tumenggung Tohjaya [1100], deployed in Magetan and the forest of Gegelang [1104, 1110], at the arrest of Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara [1166, 1167], marries a younger sister of Ratu Kancana [1170, 1174], promoted to patih with the title Adipati Natakusuma [1183], sent to Batavia [1187], again sent to Batavia to pick up the children of Mangkurat Mas [1188], in the shadow of Pangéran Purbaya [1190], reports on the opposition against Pangéran Purbaya [1195. 1196], consulted about the handling of Pangéran Purbaya [1200], guards the state during the Sunan's pilgrimage [1204], dismisses rumours about Pangéran Tepasana [1209], discusses the revolt of the Chinese and advises to support them in secret [1218, 1219], is angry with Tumenggung Martapura until he learns of his ruse [1227], reminds Martapura to keep matters secret [1229], cannot create unanimity among the bupati [1230], sends some troops at the request of the Dutch [1231], tells the Chinese in Kartasura to leave [1232], sends Adipati Jayaningrat with his troops to Semarang [1333, 1334], belatedly consults Adipati Cakraningrat who turns him down [1238], pleased about the the attack on Semarang [1247], dispatches Pringgalaya and others to Salatiga [1248], has the dismissed Tumenggung of Batang and his younger brother arrested on the orders of the Sunan [1254], has Pangéran Tepasana and his younger brother Jayakusuma killed [1260, 1261], sends troops to pursue Pangéran Wiramenggala [1264], decision to attack the fort of Kartasura and to kill Wiramenggala [1270-1277], issues orders to attack all Company positions in Java [1282], advises to kill the Company officers in Kartasura [1283], stalemate in Semarang [1285], the Sunan orders him to lead the troops in Semarang himself and to send another army to face the Madurese [1294], marches off to Semarang [1296], fakes fights in Semarang, but defeated [1298], loses the support of the Sunan [1299], told to support the Company [1302], but still supports the Chinese [1303, lets the Chinese escape [1308], hatches a plan to put Mas Garendi on the throne [1311], summoned to Kartasura [1312], sent out again to Semarang [1318], fights to a draw at Layapan [1321], and again at Toyana [1327], Sunan decides to have him arrested by the Company [1329], thinks about changing sides, but then hands himself over to the Company [1331].

Natakusuma 3. Radèn Ayu, wife of Natakusuma 2 [1348].

Natapraja Panembahan, of Adilangu, taken along with Mangkurat II [517], kills Radèn Singasari of Giri [540].

Natapura 1. Adipati, Panji Surèngrana, younger brother of Jangrana I and Jayapuspita, bupati of Lamongan [810], leader in battle of Pakubuwana I [828, 834, 835], rewarded [840], advises Jangrana I to resist [898], pays homage in Kartasura [917], attacks in vain Gresik for Jayapuspita [921-924], conquers Sidayu and Tuban [926], tries to occupy Jipang, defeated [929-932, 934-937], driven out of Lamongan [949], defeats the troops near Sapanjang [961], receives Murah Panji Balèlèng in Lamongan [978], advises Jayapuspita to retreat [988, 989], defeats with others commander Gobyo [991, 992], defeated by Major Gustap [1000], objections to his 'panji' title [1007], raised in rank with the title Adipati Natapura by Panembahan Érucakra [1020], remains commander under Jayapuspita [1021],

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marries Mas Ayu Tiksnasari [1086], attacks Kartasura 1098], to Japan where Jayapuspita dies [1101, joins Panembahan Purbaya [1112-1114], flees with the latter to Lumajang [1131, 1139], surrenders together with Panembahan Purbaya and taken to Semarang [1140] exiled to Ceylon [1144].

Natapura 2. Radèn, son of Tumenggung Mataun of Jipang, bupati of Warung [1294].

Natawijaya Radèn, 1 = Adipati Natakusuma, 2 = son of Adipati Natakusuma [1298, 1331, 1348].

Natayuda 1. Tumenggung, Kyai Buwang, son of Mangkuyuda of Kedhu, taken into service by Mangkurat II [496], promoted [538], sent against Panembahan Kajoran [654], sent to support Kaliwungu by Mangkurat III [800], defeated [812], maintained by Pakubuwana I [859].

Natayuda 2. Radèn Tumenggung, bupati of Bumija, his daughter marries Pangéran Pamot [1159], escorts the body of Ratu Kancana to Imagiri [1192], replaces Pangéran Purbaya as kaparak tengen, but keeping his position as head of the jaksa, his position as bupati Bumija taken over by a brother of Tumenggung Mangkuyuda [1202], on the Sitinggil during the siege of the fort [1270, 1271], killed in the fight with the Company kraton guard [1273].

Natayuda 3. Tumenggung, son of 2? Follows Sunan Kuning [1346, 1371, 1372].

Nawangsih Rara, daughter of Kyai Ageng Tarub 2, marries Kyai Ageng Tarub 3 her foster brother [72, 78, 94, 95].

Nawangwulan Déwi, nymph, wife of Kyai Ageng Tarub 2, mother of Nawangsih [72, 73].

Nayadarma servant of Sultan Agung, kills Adipati Pragola 2 with pike Kyai Baru [367, 368].

Nayahita bupati in Pranaraga under Pangéran Jayaraga [325].

Nayakarti messenger of Sénapati Kadhiri to Sénapati [300].

Nayamenggala messenger [1302, 1366].

Nayatruna 1. mantri of Mangkurat I, sent out to search for a beautiful woman [420, 421].

Nayatruna 2. = Tumenggung Rajamanggala.

Ngabèhi 1. Pangéran, = Radèn Suryakusuma.

Ngabèhi 2. Pangéran, Radèn Mas Sandéya, son of Mangkurat IV [1150-1152, 1155], raised in rank, married [1159], receives apanage [1160], [left] wadana santana, apanage increased [1175], escorts commander [1187], stays in Kartasura to guard the king [1194], deployed at Banyudana [1340, 1341], flees to Mataram [1349] submits to Sunan Kuning [1354].

Ngahu Encik, subordinate of Sapanjang [1213].

Ngalengka [1269].

Ngasem = Asem.

Ngawi village [1110, 1111, 1353].

Ngenis Kyai Ageng, youngest child of Kyai Ageng Séla, father of Kyai Pamanahan, adopts Ki Panjawi, takes up residence in Lawiyan [134-136].

Ngénta-énta = Énta-énta.

Ngerang Kyai Ageng, son-in-law of Kyai Ageng Tarub 3, disciple of Sitijenar, friend of Kyai Ageng Pengging, meets Awijaya in Butuh, predicts his kingship [95, 98, 100, 102, 116, 123].

Ngrakudan (Rangkudan) village [1320, 1331].

Ngusman Daèng, leader of the Company's Muslim troops [1281].

Nguter Uter, village south of Kartasura [307, 1068, 1358, 1359, 1362, 1363, 1366, 1374, 1380]; near Demak [1321].

Nindakarti Kyai, = Tumenggung Binarong.

Nirbaya corps of soldiers [1296].

Nirmala corps of soldiers [1296].

Nirwati horse of Radèn Sukra [708].

Nitinagara Radèn Tumenggung, Rangga Wirakrama, envoy to Batavia, after his return raised in rank, becomes bupati Gedhong Kiwa [1161], escorts Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara to Semarang [1167], the Governor General questions his elevation [1171], relieved of his post, becomes panèwu jawi [1175].

Nitipraja Serat, book taught by Mangkurat II to his son [680].

Nitisastra Serat, book taught by Mangkurat II to his son [680].

Nrangkusuma Adipati, uncle of Mangkurat II, sent to Mataram 495, 496], sent out together with the Dutch [497, 510, 514, 519], becomes patih [520], builds the kraton in Kartasura [543], takes in Wiranagara (Surapati) [596-598, 601], told to side with Wiranagara against Tak [606-608], fights Tak [616, 617, 619, 623, 625, 628], joins Wiranagara to Pasuruhan [629, 630].

Numbakanyar one half of Pagelèn [1270].

Numbakcemeng elite corps of Sénapati [297, 298].

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Nurasa son of Nurcahya [1].
Nurcahya Son of Sis [1].
Nusakambangan = Bali, [485, 490, 945, 1131].
Nusatembini a rebel from, deceived by Danureja [1149].
Nyakrakusuma Prabu, Sunan, Santri Bonang, son of Sunan Ampèldenta, travels to Malaka [56], meets Sunan Kalijaga [58], advises to toss up again the package that fell from heaven [90], has two krises made of his staff [91-93, 287].

O

Ogwis Lieutenant in the party of Captain Orgondrop [1318].
Olor = Tunggulwulung [205].
Ompak River, [174, 204, 233, 234].
Onder Diprus Major, member of the welcoming committee for Patih Danureja [1169].
Ondorop 1. Sergeant, in Jepara [444].
Ondorop 2. = Orgondrop.
Ondrop = Orgondrop.
Onjé in Banyumas, Mangkurat III takes a concubine from there and elevates her to official wife [698, 708, 754].
Orgondhrop = Orgondrop.
Orgondrop Ondorop, Ondrop, Gondrop, Orgondhrop, Ensign, Captain, sent to meet Patih Natakusuma, offers himself as future captain in Kartasura [1311, 1312], to Kartasura [1318], sends letter to Semarang to ask for help [1332], receives wife [1335], advises to flee to Surabaya-Semarang, helps Pakubuwana II out of the kraton [1345, 1350], told to be nice to Adipati Suradiningrat [1353], advises Pakubuwana II not to refuse former servants [1363, 1364], decision to leave for Surabaya, Semarang, presented with sword by Pakubuwana II [1367], arrives in Surabaya [1377], in Semarang [1380], defeats Chinese in Ungaran and Grobogan [1380-1382].
Oyi Rara, daughter of Ngabèhi Mangunjaya, reserved by Mangkurat I, in the care of Ngabèhi Wirareja [420, 421], demanded by Pangéran Pekik 424-426], seduced by Mangkurat II [427], killed by order of Mangkurat I [428].

P

Pabélan Radèn, son of Tumenggung Mayang, seduces Ratu Sekarkadhaton, killed [220-229].
Pacé domain [1264, 1353].
Pacikeran part of the kraton [1149].
Pacitan domain [1008, 1347].
Pacukilan Kyai Ageng, father-in-law of Kyai Mas Dana, killed [909, 911].
Padèrèsan Kyai Ageng, = Kyai Ageng Giring.
Padmanagara Tumenggung, one of the three bupati of Demak, dispatched to 'support' Semarang [1233] sent back to Demak and told to support Mas Garendi once he had been proclaimed [1311, 1316], [1348], [1370].
Padonan = Pandonan.
Padureksa = Pangeran Tepasana.
Padurungan village near Semarang [1246, 1252].
Pagagakan village [1113].
Pagelèn domain [19, 196, 197, 472, 475, 476, 479, 488, 495, 558, 560, 561, 755, 758, 815, 1011, 1090, 1092, 1321, 1331, 1358].
Pagongan [902].
Pahang son of Watugunung [3].
Paiton River, [448].
Pajang 1. Adipati, wants to defect, plots rebellion with Pangéran Mandurareja [355-358, 363, 364].
Pajang 2. domain [90, 119, 129, 130, 135-138, 142, 143, 145-148, 158, 160, 161, 164, 167-170, 172, 179-181, 183, 185, 188-190, 192-194, 196-198, 203, 213-215, 217-220, 230-232, 234-239, 242-243, 245-249, 251-254, 256, 258-261, 270-272, 282, 301, 311, 314, 322, 350-353, 355-358, 363, 364, 372, 458, 462, 463, 479, 488, 542, 1012, 1046, 1265, 1327, 1339, 1346, 1347, 1362].
Pajangkungan domain [1282, 1354].
Pajarakan 1. invaded by the Makassarese [437], 2. place near Taji [465].
Pakacangan [274, 344, 360, 1287].
Pakéling horse of Wiranagara (Surapati) [867].
Pakiringan village [1382].
Pakis Nyai Ageng, daughter of Getaspandhawa [95].
Pakisdadu Nyai Ageng, daughter of Kyai Ageng Séla [134].
Pakubuwana Ratu, main wife of Pakubuwana I, mother of Pangéran Blitar 3, Pangéran Purbaya, and Mangkurat IV [821, 1038, 1165, 1176-1178].

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Pakubuwana I Susuhunan, Pangéran Puger, second son of Mangkurat I [417], given task to retake Mataram [472], sets himself up as king in Jenar (Purwaganda) with the title Susuhunan Ngalaga Ngabdurrahman Sayidin Panatagama [475, 476], defeats the Madurese, in Mataram [477, 479], refuses to recognize Mangkurat II [545, 546, 549], defeated twice near Kartasura [552-556, 558, 560-562], reconciliation [563, 564, 566, 567], takes again his former name of Pangéran Puger [570], sides with Wiranagara (Surapati) [604-607, 613, 617], kills Captain Tak [627, 628], advises Mangkurat II to maintain peace with the Dutch [632], kills Jayalalana [661, 664, 665], called a pillar of the state [680], marriage of the eldest of his twelve children Radèn Ajeng Lembah with Mangkurat III [681-683, 685, 687], frees Kartasura of plagues [688-690], orders his sons to be obedient to Mangkurat III [693], marriage of Radèn Ajeng Lembah a failure [692, 698], she is killed on his orders [720-726], wants to refuse payment of the war costs to the VOC [737], defeats Wiranagara, recalled [738, 739], sucks up the royal light of Mangkurat II [746, 747], proclaims Mangkurat III [750, 751], in detention because of the rebellion of Radèn Suryakusuma [756, 757], released [760], defeats the black magician of the Dutch [763-765], decides to rise in rebellion [768-773, 775], flees Kartasura [777-782], goes to Semarang [783-787], welcomed by Suraadimanggala and Captain Kenol [788-792], after many objections accepted by the Dutch [801-803, 805], proclaimed king with the title Susuhunan Pakubuwana Sénapati ing Ngalaga Ngabdurrahman, Sayidin Panatagama [808, 809], promotions [810], orders the reconquest of Kartasura [811], reconciles his scribe Ngabèhi Martayuda with his wife [821, 822], concludes a treaty with Sepilman without his advisers [823, 826, 827], defeats Tumenggung Sumabrata near Salahtiga [832-837], captures the kraton of Kartasura [849-851], promotions and demotions [859], expeditions to Pasuruhan and Malang [864, 875, 884], demands the surrender of heirlooms and opponents [886, 889, 890, 892, 893], new promotions and demotions 894], has Tumenggung Jangrana killed at the request of the Dutch [895-901], restores the mosque of Demak [913], measures against the rebellion of Jayapuspita [919, 927, 939], takes Tumenggung Tirtawiguna into service as head of the scribes [950, 952], receives the news of the defeat near Surabaya [960], promotions [1006], takes at the request of the Dutch measures against Pangéran Purbaya [1011], sends Pangéran Blitar 3 and Pangéran Érucakra (Dipanagara) against Jayapuspita and leaves him eastern Java [1012, 1013, 1019], becomes ill, arranges the succession, dies, buried in Magiri [1025-1027],

Pakubuwana II Susuhunan, Sénapati Ingalaga Ngabdurrahman Sayidin Panatadinan, Radèn Mas Prabayasa, Pangéran Adipati Anom, son of Mangkurat IV [1150, 1151], ascends the throne despite doubts about his age [1152-1154], his 26 brothers and sisters [1155], does not sit on the throne out of respect for Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara [1156], visits the house of the latter [1157, 1158], raises his siblings in rank [1159], raises the rest of his brothers in rank and gives them apanages [1161, 1162], the Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara affair, has the latter exiled [1164-1167], deeply distressed after the deaths of both his son and adopted son shuns his duties and even the queen, reunites with the queen who gives birth to the future crown prince [1176-1178], exiles Patih Danureja [1180-1182], receives the Dutch envoy [1182, 1185], sends Patih Natakusuma on an embassy to Batavia [1187], and again to pick up the descendants of Mangkurat III [1188], the rise in power of Pangéran Purbaya, the brother of the queen [1188, 1190, 1191], the queen dies in childbirth [1192], the Pangéran Purbaya affair, ending with his exile to Ceylon [1193-1204], pilgrimages to Kapanasan and Mataram [1204, 1206, 1207}, rumours about the supposed ambitions of Pangéran Tepasana [1208, 1209], the revolt of the Chinese in Batavia [1210-1217], inclined to support the Chinese [1218], adopts policy of outwardly supporting the Company, but inwardly the Chinese [1219-1253], decides to have Pangéran Tepasana and others killed after resurgent rumours about their ambitions and connections with the Company [1254-1263], the escape of Pangéran Wiramenggala who falls into the hands of the

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Chinese [1264-1269], spooked by Patih Natakusuma that the Chinese might set up a rival king decides to openly support the Chinese and attack the Dutch fortress in Kartasura [1270], decision to attack all Dutch strongholds in Java [1282], sends Patih Natakusuma to Semarang in a last effort to turn the tide of the war [1294], after the defeat of Patih Natakusuma [1298] and pushed by the queen mother and Tumenggung Tirtawiguna, decides to make peace again with the Company [1301], the Chinese and their Javanese allies (secretly supported by Patih Natakusuma) install Mas Garendi, a son of Tepasana, as Sunan Kuning [1311, 1313-1315, 1330], decides to have the Company arrest Patih Natakusuma [1329, 1331], unable to withstand the attack on Kartasura by the Chinese and their Javanese allies, flees the kraton [1344, 1345], flees to Magetan and on to Pranaraga [1346, 1347, 1350, 1351], attempts to retake Kartasura, after initial success defeated at Kaduwang and flees back to Pranaraga [1365, 1366], retreats into the mountains, receives spiritual help from Sunan Lawu [1375, 1376], abdicates and assumes the title Panembahan Brawijaya, his son given the title Prabu Jaka Sunan Bauwarna, sets out for a second attempt on Kartasura [1382].

Pakubuwana III = Radèn Mas Suryadi.

Pakunagara = Pangéran Wiramenggala.

Pakuncèn village in Kadhiri [301].

Pakundhèn [905].

Pakuningrat = Pangéran Tepasana.

Pakuwati Radèn Ayu, wife of Panembahan Cakraningrat, raped by Mangkurat III [767].

Palabuhan River [522, 1115].

Paladadi village [354].

Palar village, the chief of which predicts Panembahan Purbaya 2 and Pangéran Blitar 3's fate [1095-1096].

Palaraban place for visitors to announce themselves [661].

Palasara son of Sakri [19].

Palémbang Arya Damar becomes king of Palémbang [49, 51], Radèn Patah flees Palémbang [59].

Pama (Supama) Radèn Bagus = Adipati Jayaningrat 3.

Pamadé Radèn Mas, son of Mangkurat IV = Pangéran Arya Mataram 6.

Pamagangan kraton office [1345].

Pamagetan = Magetan.

Pamalang = Malang.

Pamanahan Kyai, Kyai Ageng Mataram, son of Kyai Ageng Ngenis, married to eldest daughter of Nyai Ageng Saba, disciple of Sunan Kalijaga [135], appointed chief of the Tamtama [136], has 7 children, among others Sénapati [137], accompanies Awijaya (Jaka Tingkir) to Kudus and Kalinyamat [145, 146, 148-151], joins the attack on Arya Panangsang [154-156, 160, 161], pretends to have killed Arya Panangsang together with Ki Panjawi [163], chooses Mataram as his reward [164], rewarded by Ratu Kalinyamat [166], finally receives Mataram [168, 169], on his way there [170-172] treated to food and drink by Ki Karanglo [173], meets Sunan Kalijaga [174], founds Mataram and changes his name to Kyai Ageng Mataram [175], drinks the magic coconut juice of his friend Kyai Ageng Giring [177, 178], with Sénapati to Awijaya (Jaka Tingkir) because of Sénapati's dally with the reserved woman of Awijaya [179], joins the visit to Giri [180], the kingship of his descendants predicted [183], dies [186, 187], the descendants of Kyai Ageng Giring [657, 658].

Pamanggaran village [1347, 1349].

Pamantingan abode of spirits [18, 36, 90].

Pamardèn Pamredèn, domain [994, 1011, 1336, 1339, 1343, 1344].

Pambayi Captain, [1116, 1130, 1138].

Pambèbèr Kyai, owner of Wiranagara (Untung Surapati) [573].

Pamecut Kyai, royal gun [1177, 1277].

Pamekas 1. Sri, son of Mundhingwangi, father of Arya Bangah, Radèn Susuruh, and Banyakwidhé, drowned by the latter in the River Krawang [21].

Pamekas 2. Radèn, youngest son of Radèn Patah [109].

Pamekasan domain [360, 362, 965, 967, 973, 979].

Pamelaran village [1287].

Pamenang 1. Radèn Mas, son of Panembahan Krapyak [329].

Pamenang Pangéran, stays with Raja Namrud, killed [560, 571].

Pamot Pangéran, Radèn Mas Subekti, son of Mang-

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kurat IV [1155], raised in rank, marries [1159], receives apanage [1162], deploys in Banyudana [1340], insists on following Pakubuwana II [1349], joins him [1356], retreats with him into the mountains [1375], returns with him to Pranaraga [1379].
Pamredèn = Pamardèn.
Pamresan village [1077, 1082].
Pamuk name of horse [1229].
Panangsang Pangéran Arya, son of Pangéran Sédainglèpèn, bupati of Jipang, refuses to submit to Awijaya (Jaka Tingkir) [130], favourite student of Sunan Kudus [138], has Sunan Prawata and the husband of Ratu Kalinyamat killed [139-141], failed attempt on Awijaya [142, 143], receives Awijaya in Kudus [144, 146, 147], attacked and killed by Sénapati and others [156-161].
Panarukan [445].
Panatagama Adipati, = Jayapuspita.
Pancadriya son of Citrasoma [19].
Pancawati village [1051].
Pancawati Pangéran, = Pangéran Kudus.
Pancod village [1347, 1382].
Pandhan(sari) 1. Ratu, daughter of Panembahan Krapyak, wife of Pangéran Pekik, sister of Sultan Agung, mother-in-law of Mangkurat I, fetches the girl Oyi together with her husband, killed [329, 375, 377, 425, 426].
Pandhansari 2. Radèn Ayu, concubine of Pakubuwana II [1348].
Pandhudéwanata son of Abiyasa, king of Astina [19].
Pandonan village in Sukawati, = Padonan [1061, 1033].
Panekar = Pajang [912].
Panembahan Brawijaya = Sunan Pakubuwana II.
Panenggak Radèn Mas, = Pangéran Mangkunagara.
Pangalasan 1. mantri of Sénapati [214, 246].
Pangalasan 2. servant of Adipati Pragola 2, follows him in death [369].
Pangambengan village near Semarang [1283, 1285].
Pangulu Mas, banished with his wife to Ayah, his son executed [1204].
Paninggaran place near Batavia [1215, 1216].
Panitikan market [1178, 1204].
Panjawi Ki, adoptive son of Kyai Ageng Ngenis, disciple of Sunan Kalijaga [135], chief of the Tamtama [136], with Awijaya (Jaka Tingkir) to Kudus [145, 146, 148-151], joins the attack against Arya Panangsang [154-156, 160, 161, 163], receives Pathi as reward [164, 165].
Panjer Adipati, ally of Pangéran Puger 1, killed in action [321, 323].
Panji 1. son of Lembuamiluhur, married to Candrakirana [21].
Panji 2. kris of Panembahan Purbaya [454].
Panuhun eldest son of Kandhiawan [19].
Panular 1. Pangéran Arya = Pangéran Arya Mataram.
Panular 2. Pangéran Arya, pays homage to the body of Mangkurat II [746], defects to Pakubuwana I [847], maintained by the latter [859], present at Pakubuwana's deathbed [1027], father of Radèn Suradiningrat [1047].
Panular 3. Pangéran Arya, Radèn Mas Genter, son of Mangkurat IV, raised in rank [1161], deployed against the Chinese at Banyudana [1340].
Panular 4. Arya, = Arya Bangah.
Panular 5. Arya, sent by Sultan Agung to plunder Pathi [368].
Panumping Sokawati [1320, 1324, 1354].
Papa Radèn Mas, = Pangéran Prangwadana 1.
Parangtritis place on the south coast [211].
Parapèn Sunan, Sunan Giri, grandson and successor of Sunan Giri, defeated by Gajahmada [81, 83, 84], joins Radèn Patah [87], rules for forty days after the fall of Majapahit [89, 90], proclaims Awijaya Sultan [180-182], predicts the greatnes of Mataram [183, 185, 186, 190, 219, 271], mediates between Sénapati and Pangéran Surabaya [275, 276], disapproves of Pangéran Surabaya's plan to attack Mataram [348], defeated but set free by Pangéran Pekik, adopts a Chinese as son [375-377].
Pardèmes Dutch captain at Surabaya [981].
Parembun place in Pagelèn [1296, 1331].
Paridan = Tumenggung Martapura 4.
Parijagan village [1289].
Parikenan son of Tritrustha [19].
Parikesit son of Abimanyu [19].
Parisel Ugo Parisel, Perisel, Guper Isel, Dutch commissioner in Batavia {1214, 1215], ordered to Se-

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marang [1281], in Semarang [1284], [passim].
Paronggahan [937, 944, 949].
Partawijaya Ki, told to stir up Lasem [1311, 1315].
Parwata = Prawata.
Pasagi bupati, commander of the eastern Javanese army against Sénapati, killed in battle [306, 308].
Pasar Gedhé market in Mataram, where Pakubuwana II makes a pilgrimage [1204].
Pasérénan village [1362].
Pasingsingan Tumenggung, guardian of Pangéran Danupaya (Alit), father of Agrayuda 1, incites Pangéran Alit to rebel, killed [403, 405, 406].
Pasiraman village in Bayumas where Mangkurat I passes away [473].
Pasisir Radèn Demang, son of Panembahan Cakraningrat, joins Major Burham for the expedition against Pasuruhan [669], killed in action because he did not know that it was just a sham war [672-675, 677, 678].
Pasundhan Sunda lands, granted to the Company [572, 737].
Pasuruhan domain [180, 274, 295-299, 335, 339, 344, 354, 382, 392, 438, 526, 527, 536, 629, 630, 651, 666, 669-672, 674, 676, 677, 695, 696, 737-739, 796, 797, 860, 863-866, 868, 872, 875, 877-881, 883, 884, 895, 915, 916, 1130, 1137, 1139, 1140, 1146, 1149, 1171, 1367.
Patah Radèn, Sénapati Jimbun, Adipati Bintara, son of Brawijaya and Chinese princess [59], flees with his half-brother Radèn Husèn to Java, converted to Islam by Sunan Ampèldenta [61], marries the latter's granddaughter, settles in Bintara [62], adopted by his own father [66], rises up against Brawijaya, becomes king of Majapahit 86, 87, 90], summons Ki Gedhé Pengging, has him killed two years later [99, 103, 104], dies, leaving six children behind [109].
Patalan village [268].
Patanèn Nyai Ageng, daughter of Kyai Ageng Séla [134].
Patérongan place near Semarang [788, 789, 1298, 1302, 1306, 1311, 1318].
Pathi 1. Kyai Ageng, = Ki Panjawi.
Pathi 2. Dipati ing Pathi = Mangunoneng 4.
Pathi 3. domain [153-155, 163-166, 169, 180, 264, 265, 272, 294, 309-315, 349, 350, 365-369, 371, 450, 456, 472, 510, 937, 1042, 1056, 1057, 1081, 1106, 1159, 1170, 1194, 1228, 1234, 1282, 1311, 1313-1316, 1330, 1346, 1354, 1358, 1362, 1366, 1369, 1371, 1379].
Patras commissioner, member of the welcoming committee for Patih Danureja [1169, 1171, 1184].
Patrawisa guardian of Radèn Sukra [708].
Patut Lake, made on the orders of Sunan Parapèn [184].
Pawindan village [1346].
Payak village at the foot of Mount Antang [526, 527].
Pekalongan domain [499, 894, 939, 1180, 1235, 1282, 1283, 1331].
Pekik Radèn Mas, Pangéran, son of Pangéran Surabaya, sent to Sultan Agung as token of submission [363], brought to Mataram [372-374], marries Ratu Pandhansari [375], defeats Sunan Parapèn [376, 377], father-in-law of Mangkurat I, grandfather of Mangkurat II [372], suspected of disloyalty [399, 418] forgiven [419], father of Radèn Dhobras [422], fetches the girl Oyi for Mangkurat II [425-427], killed with his followers [428], [430, 542].
Pèlser Pan Pèlser = Lafèl.
Pengging 1. Kyai Ageng, = Adipati Andayaningrat
Pengging 2. Kyai Ageng Pengging, Kebokenanga, son of Andayaningrat, disciple of Sitijenar, refuses to pay homage to Demak [99-101], father of Awijaya, visits the widow of Kyai Ageng Tingkir [102, 103], killed by Sunan Kudus [104], his son resembles him [115].
Pépé 1. village [104].
Pépé 2. River [1283].
Perangkasap crack troops of Cakraningrat 3 [1238].
Perisel = Parisel.
Péthak Bagus, son of Pangéran Mangkubumi, bupati in Madiyun [329].
Picis 1. River, travelled by Jaka Tingkir [121].
Picis 2. village [1086, 1098, 1101, 1358, 1359].
Pilham Major, one of the officers of Admiral Alduwèlbèh [493].
Ping Bulung Cik, Ngabèhi, Eping, Chinese leader [1235], receives title Ngabèhi {1242], 1246, 1277, 1278, 1308, 1321, 1322, 1327, 1336, 1338-1340, 1342, 1343].
Plaosan village [1347].
Plèrèd 1. Kyai, pike given by Brawijaya to Kyai Ageng Tarub 3 [76], used by Sénapati [161],

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used by Pakubuwana I [472, 556, 628, 661, 833], copied by Mangkurat II [699, 700], held by Pakubuwana II [1345].
Plèrèd 2. kraton of Mangkurat I [402, 410], captured by Trunajaya [466, 467], recaptured by Pakubuwana I [477, 479, 488,544], beseiged by Mangkurat II [553-559], [561].
Po Cik, Chinese leader [1235, 1242, 1277].
Prabakesa commander of Cakraningrat 3 [1238].
Prabasetya commander of Cakraningrat 3 [1238].
Prabayasa Radèn Mas, = Pakubuwana II.
Prabu Jaka Sunan Bauwarna = Radèn Mas Suryadi.
Praga River [467].
Pragola 1. bupati of Pathi, angry about the marriage of Sénapati with Retna Junilah [294], attacks Mataram, defeated [309-315].
Pragola 2. bupati of Pathi, ally of Sultan Agung [350], revolts, killed [365-367, 368-371].
Pragota Tanah, Gunung, place to the south of Semarang [1246, 1275, 1283].
Pragunan [274].
Pramana 1. Rangga, bupati of Wirasaba [300], later mentioned as patih of Wirasaba under Pangéran Arya [344, 347].
Pramana 2. Rangga, bupati of Lamongan [1006].
Pramana 3. Rangga, = Tumenggung Mangunoneng 4.
Prambanan [19, 231, 311, 312, 314, 551].
Pranaraga domain [325-327, 329, 349, 363, 428, 739, 861-864, 1008, 1009, 1012, 1022-1025, 1114, 1220, 1262, 1289, 1293, 1356-1358, 1364, 1366, 1367, 1373, 1375-1380, 1382].
Pranasuta = Tumenggung Sumabrata 2.
Pranataka = Adipati Sindureja.
Prangbakat son of Watugunung [3].
Prangwadana 1. Pangéran, Radèn Mas Papa [681], son of Pakubuwana I (Pangéran Puger), called Radèn Mas Antawirya [691], pursues Radèn Sukra [716-718], searches Radèn Ayu Lembah's bed [721 722], asks for clemency [725], unwilling to hand over kris [756], flees with Pakubuwana I [779], raised in rank [810], kills a Dutch ensign and is killed as a rebel [853, 856].
Prangwadana 2. Pangéran, Radèn Mas Langkir, son of Mangkurat IV [1155], raised in rank [1161], deployed in Banyudana [1340], flees to Mataram and on to Semarang [1349, 1354, 1355].
Prapag village [561].
Prawata 1. residence of Sultan Demak [120, 125, 140, 369].
Prawata 2. realm, offered as a reward for killing Pangéran Arya Panangsang [148, 151, 166], Chinese encamped at Prawata [1218, 1228].
Prawata 3. Pangéran, Sultan, son of Radèn Trenggana and his successor as Sultan Demak [129, 130], student of Sunan Kudus [138], killed at the instigation of Arya Panangsang whose father he had killed [139, 140], [141, 142, 148].
Prawata 4. Parwata, village, assembly place of the rebellious Pasisir Chinese [1218, 1224, 1228].
Prawirataruna Radèn, son of Pangéran Pringgalaya [329], idem (?) commander of the army against the Makassarese [442-445], killed in action [447, 449].
Prayan village where the waters have various flavours [1350].
Prenggiwangsa daughter of Gathayu, married to Lembuamijaya, king of Singasari [20].
Pringgabaya [274].
Pringgalaya 1. Pangéran, seventh son of Sénapati [269], sent to evict Pangéran Jayaraga [326, 327], his sons [329].
Pringgalaya 2. Pangéran Arya, son and successor of Pangéran Natakusuma [908], defeats Kyai Mas Dana [909, 910], = Pringgalaya of Mataram, father of Radèn Natawijaya.
Pringgalaya 3. Radèn Arya, Radèn Tumenggung, deployed with Radèn Natawijaya in Magetan [1104], marries Dèn Ayu Aminah [1174], escorts the Dutch envoy back to Semarang [1185], one of the main advisers of Pakubuwana II [1218, 1220, 1221, 1230, 1231], deployed at Salatiga against the Chinese [1247, 1248], has the Chinese scribe Ham killed [1250-1252], returns to Kartasura [1276], joins the siege of the fort [1276], receives the surrender of the garrison, the captain is put at his disposal [1279], is ordered to have the captain killed [1283], in conflict with the patih [1286], ordered to march against the Madurese [1294], occupies Jipang [1297], recalled [1312], marches to Kampak to counter the Chinese [1318, 1319], defeated by Tumenggung Martapura 4 [1322-1324], expresses his suspicions about the patih [1328], ordered to redeploy to the north of Bayalali [1337, 1338], swept along in the flight of his army

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[1343], joins Pakubuwana II in Kaduwang [1358, 1363], his wife Radèn Ayu Pringgalaya wakes up Pakubuwana II and urges him to flee from Kaduwang [1366].

Pringglaya 4. Tumenggung, a Chinese of mixed-descent called Ki Selobogan given the title Tumenggung Pringgalaya [1354], deployed at Grompol [1360, 1361], withdraws to Kartasura [1363].

Priyembada Mas, son of Pakubuwana II [1176, 1177].

Pudhakmiring commander of Cakraningrat 3 [1238].

Pudhakpayung village, north of Ungaran [785, 788, 1371].

Puger 1. Pangéran, second son of Sénapati [269], bupati of Demak, rebels against Panembahan Krapyak [320-322], caught and brought to Kudus [323, 324].

Puger 2. Pangéran, Radèn Tembaga, younger brother of Pangéran Krapyak [322].

Puger 3. Pangéran, = Pakubuwana I.

Puger 4. Radèn Ayu, Ratu Pakubuwana I [735, 742].

Pujawati Mas Ayu [1348].

Pujawati wife of Sunan Kuning [1348].

Pulangjiwa 1. Radèn Panji, commander of the Madurese, killed in action [339, 341].

Pulangjiwa 2. with others dispatched against the Makassarese [442].

Pulangjiwa 3. stays loyal to Mangkurat III, killed [890].

Punggawa village [1382].

Punta Radèn Mas, son of Pangéran Singasari 2., rises in rebellion in Tegalarum, killed [743].

Purbajaya court official [1346].

Purbaya 1. Pangéran, Panembahan, third son of Sénapati [269], commander of the Mataram army [307], adviser of Mas Martapura and Sultan Agung [330, 331, 345, 346, 372, 373], dispatched against Jakarta [383, 384, 387, 388, 390], proclaims Mangkurat I [399, 400] , becomes his adviser [404, 405, 407, 408], killed in battle against Trunajaya [450, 453-455].

Purbaya 2. Pangéran, Panembahan, Radèn Mas Sangka, Panembahan Sénapati ning Prang; son of Pakubuwana I, raised in rank [810], receives appanage [859], expedition against Pasuruhan [864, 868-871], conquers Pasuruhan in the second expedition [875, 876, 878-880, 883], adopts Pangéran Riya Mangkunagara [914], suspected by the Dutch [1011], appointed as second successor [1026, 1027], joins Pangéran Blitar 3 after some hesitation [1032-1032, 1037-1042], makes Blitar 3 Sultan [1044-1047, 1049, 1056, 1058], with difficulty persuades Pangéran Érucakra to join him [1060, 1061, 1063, 1067], expelled from Kartasari by the Dutch [1070-1074], flees to Kedhu [1075-1076], assembles again a large army in Mataram [1077, 1082], gives Mas Ayu Tiknasari in marriage to Adipati Natapura [1086], in Mrebung [1091], his rebellion fails but his grandson's kingship twice predicted [1093-1097], flees eastwards [1102, 1103, 1110, 1112-1117], ends up in Lumajang [1119], pursued by the Company and the Sunan [1130], persuaded to surrender 1131-1133, 1136-1140], exiled to Batavia [1141-1144], his daughters follow him [1147, 1148], one daughter marries Pakubuwana II [1151, 1155], dies in Batavia [1161], his sons [1162].

Purbaya 3. Pangéran Arya, Radèn Mas Umbaran, Radèn Mas Purwakusuma, Demang Urawan, son of Panembahan Purbaya 2 [1162, 1175, 1176, 1188], favourite of Pakubuwana II, amasses power, called tiger in the land [1190], wants the Company's kraton guard removed from the Sitinggil [1191], stays with his sister, the dying queen, day and night [1192], orders Mangunoneng to find a wife for the king [1194], the Dipasana incident [1195, 1196], feels uncertain about his position, predicts Radèn Mas Said's future [1197], the Tumenggung Kandhuruwan incident, Company informed [1199], the Sunan reluctantly decides to demote him, exiled to Sekararum under his old name Radèn Mas Purwakusuma [1200, 1201], under Dutch pressure moved to Kademèn [1203], the Pasisir bupati request the Company to demand banishment, exiled to Ceylon [1204].

Purna Nyai Ageng, daughter of Getaspandhawa [95].

Purwacarita realm of Suwélacala [19].

Purwaganda = Jenar in Pagelèn, new name of residence of Pakubuwana I (Puger) [472, 475, 476].

Purwakusuma Radèn Mas, = Pangéran Arya Purbaya 3.

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Purwawijaya Radèn Mas Arya, Radèn Mas Ketug, son of Panembahan Purbaya, given apanage [1162].
Puspadirja Raden, younger brother of Tumenggung Puspatenaya of Batang, marries Radèn Ajeng Banowati, daughter of Pangéran Tepasana 3 [1189], becomes close to the uncle of his wife Pangéran Wiramenggala [1208], gets entangled in the latter's schemes, arrested and put to death together with his brother [1254, 1255].
Puspakancana horse of Sénapati [290].
Puspakusuma Ki, son of Arya Jayapuspita, fights the Chinese at Teras [1343], joins Pakubuwana II [1347].
Pusparaga = Tumenggung Jayaningrat 1.
Pusparana Radèn, eldest son of Radèn Sumaningrat 2 [1373].
Pusparudita Kyai, bupati of Batang [894].
Puspatenaya Tumenggung, bupati of Batang, dismissed [1207], together with his younger brother Puspadirja arrested and killed [1254].
Puspawati wife of Sunan Kuning [1348].
Puspawijaya patih of Adipati Jayaningrat 2 [1283].
Puspayuda Ki, servant and scribe of Pakubuwana II, tells Captain Orgondrop to be nice to Adipati Suradiningrat [1353], as messenger to Semarang [1374], with Captain Orgondrop to Ungaran [1380], sent to Pranaraga to report and sent back to Semarang [1381, 1382].
Putih Encik, Chinese leader [1287, 1292].
Puwun village, gathering place of the rebellious Chinese [1218, 1222, 1224, 1227].

R

Ragasmara Radèn Ayu, daughter of Cakraningrat 2, married to Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara [1165].
Ragisuta court official [1345].
Ragum Son of Tumenggung Jayabrata, in jail, freed by his father [1030, 1036].
Rahidin Sèh, lived in Ampèldenta, buried in Pamalang [57].
Rahmat Radèn, = Ampèldenta
Rajamanggala 1. bupati, installed by Adipati Pragola 2 [365].
Rajamanggala 2. Tumenggung, Nayatruna; pretends to have killed Jayaparusa, raised in rank [663].
Rajaniti Tumenggung, bupati Mataram, attacks kraton guard [1270, 1271, 1273], receives the scribe of the fort in custody [1279], has the latter killed [1283], part of the army that marches on Semarang [1296], sets up camp near Semarang [1298], Patih Natakusuma discusses with him the order to make peace with the Company [1302], sent out against the Chinese [1308], sent to defend Salatiga [1336], disagreement about the tactics, flees with his troops [1339], informs Sunan of his defeat [1340], Martapura 4 moves into his residence [1348, 1354], captured by Chinese but ransomed [1351], escapes from Kartasura, shows up at the camp of Pakubuwana II [1363], sent to Pasuruhan [1367].
Rama 1. Panembahan, = Panembahan Kajoran.
Rama 2. Bathara [1269].
Randhulawang [214-216, 232].
Randhuwatang Kyai, spy of Mataram who sends the army of Pangéran Surabaya the wrong way [349].
Rangga 1. Radèn, son of Sénapati and the reserved woman of Awijaya, strong and a good dancer, humiliated by his father he goes to Pathi, dies [179. 217, 218, 264-269].
Rangga 2. Pangéran, bupati in Pranaraga under Pangéran Jayaraga, succeeds him as bupati [325-327].
Rangga 3. Radèn, son of Adipati of Pathi (Pragola 2) [369].
Rangga 4. Radèn, = Adipati Martasana
Rangga 5. Radèn Mas Surata, son of Mangkurat IV [1155], promoted [1161]. Sent out against the Madurese with his brothers [1294, 1297, 1312], deployed with his brothers in Banyudana [1340], flees to Mataram [1349], and on to Semarang [1350, 1355].
Rangkud agent of Arya Panangsang, kills Sunan Prawata, dies himself, too [139, 140].
Rangkudan = Ngrakudan.
Rangsang Radèn Mas, = Sultan Agung.
Ranuita Demang, bupati of Kadhiri, receives Radèn Mas Brahim, recalled to Kartasura and killed [1146, 1149].
Ratujalu made bupati in Kadhiri by Pangéran Surabaya, defeated [300, 302].
Rawa [301, 303, 471, 1264, 1353].

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Regu Radèn Mas, son of Mangkurat IV, = Pangéran Danupaya.
Reksanagara 1. Tumenggung, Agrayuda 2, younger brother successor of Adipati Martalaya of Tegal [510], defies Pakubuwana I [808], sent out against Mangkurat III [811].
Reksanagara 2. Tumenggung, bupati of Tegal, attacks the Company trooops [1304].
Reksapraja Ngabèhi, kliwon of Arya Wiryadiningrat [1221], leads attack on fort of Semarang [1285], one of the leaders at Toyana [1326], flees from Toyana [1327], retreats [1331].
Rembang domain [450, 452, 501, 510-512, 1282, 1316].
Rèncèh forest near Tarub [107].
Rengganis wife of Radèn Martakusuma (Tumenggung Sujanapura 4}, killed in Magetan [1187].
Renggasari Radèn Ayu, concubine of Pakubuwana II [1348].
Renong [337].
Resamuka mountain from where Radèn Patah and Radèn Husèn depart for Java [61].
Retnaasmara Mas Ayu, given to Captain Orgondrop in marriage [1335].
Retnadiérawati Radèn Ayu, concubine of Pakubuwana II [1348].
Retnadiwati Radèn Ayu, Sunan wishes to give her in marriage to Téling [1319].
Retnasari Radèn Ayu, concubine of Pakubuwana II [1348].
Roban abode of spirits [18].
Roma [994, 1011, 1221].
Rondhon horse of Patih Natakusuma [1298].
Ruki village [1189].

S

Saba Nyai Ageng, daughter of Kyai Ageng Séla, mother of Adipati Mandaraka, mother-in-law of Kyai Pamanahan [134, 135].
Sabar Radèn Mas, son of Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara [1165], mantri anom with title Radèn Wiryakusuma [1280].
Sabranglèr Pangéran, Sultan Demak, son and successor of Radèn Patah, dies shortly after accession [109].
Sabukalu Chinese of mixed-descent, one of the Chinese leaders [1227, 1242, 1283, 1284, 1298].
Sadé Déwa, Balinese chief, ally of Jayapuspita [930].
Sagarayasa Lake [1263].
Said 1. Jaka, = Sunan Kalijaga.
Said 2. Radèn Mas, Radèn Mas Peksi (Seksi), Radèn Suryakusuma, second son of Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara and Radèn Ajeng Wulan [1164, 1165], predictions about his future [1179, 1186, 1197], made mantri anom with the title Radèn Suryakusuma [1280].
Sakadi Radèn Mas, son of Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara and Radèn Ajeng Wulan [1165].
Sakri son of Sakutrem [19].
Sakutrem son of Manumanasa [19].
Salahtiga = Salatiga.
Salamah Radèh Ayu, wedded to Radèn Tumenggung Natawijaya [1174], = Radèn Ajeng Jèmblem.
Salatiga Salahtiga [815, 816, 838-840, 843, 1248, 1252, 1270, 1275, 1331, 1336, 1337, 1381].
Salawur village [1149].
Salinga in Pagelèn, residence of Raja Namrud [560, 571].
Salobog = Selobogan, = Arya Pringgalaya 4.
Salokantara Ajar, killed in Blambangan by Pangéran Silarong, his revenge [395, 413].
Saloringpasar Radèn Ngabéhi, = Sénapati.
Salukat Demang, spy of Arya Pringgalaya [1251].
Samarandana Ki, bupati of Kadhiri [1149], = Asmarandana?
Sambiya Radèn Mas, also Radèn Mas Ambiya, = Radèn Martakusuma 2.
Sambo Bathara, son of Bathara Guru [1].
Samboja Ki, his widow takes care of the future Prabu Sètmata [56].
Sampang Kyai Ageng, father of Pangéran Langgar, son-in-law of Radèn Trenggana [129].
Sampang domain [378, 382, 384, 386, 402, 408, 409, 431, 434-436, 452, 455, 456, 463, 468, 478, 481, 525, 528, 621, 622, 774, 786, 787, 795, 796, 798, 799, 802, 805, 883, 1130, 1145, 1175, 1238].
Sampura Mount [526, 527].
Sanasèwu village [1070].
Sandéya Radèn Mas, son of Mangkurat IV, = Pangéran Ngabèhi.
Sandhanggarba second son of Kandhiawan [19].
Sanggung village [561, 566].
Sangka 1. Radèn Mas, = Pangéran Purbaya 2.

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Sangka 2. Kyai, = Tumenggung Mataun 1.
Sanjata Adipati, = Ngabèhi Tambakbaya.
Santareja Radèn, = Pangéran Mangkubumi 3.
Santayuda of Cengkalsèwu [1347].
Santri 1. Radèn, youngest son of Brahimasmara, marries daughter of Adipati Téja [52, 54].
Santri 2. Radèn, = Pangéran Singasari.
Sapanjang 1. Tumenggung, installed as bupati of Surabaya, brings Pangéran Pekik to Mataram [363, 364, 372].
Sapanjang 2. Captain, Encik, Cik, leader of the rebellious Chinese, fights the Dutch around Batavia [1210-1213, 1215], flees to Kartasura and joins the siege of the fort [1278, 1283, 1284, 1298], worries about the position of Patih Natakusuma [1300, 1303], told that the Sunan wants to side with the Company [1307], flees to Demak [1308, 1309], agrees to the elevation of Mas Garendi as Sunan Kuning [1313, 1315, 1316], attacks the Kartasura army at Layapan [1321] guards Sunan Kuning [1322], decision to attack the Kartasura troops at Toyana [1327], after the arrest of Natakusuma decision to march on Kartasura [1336, 1338, 1339, 1342], his activities in Kartasura [1351, 1367, 1371].
Sapanjang village [942, 951, 961, 1021, 184, 1086].
Sapujagad heirloom spear [1345].
Saradenta and Saradenti Prabu, village heads in Ajibarang [593], made kings by Wiranagara (Untung Surapati) [594], killed [600].
Saradipa 1. brother of Pangéran Mas of Kadhiri, raised in rank = Martalaya 1.
Saradipa 2. Ngabèhi, of the Suranata corps [1344].
Sarageni corps of kraton soldiers, more specifically gunners [438, 1273, 1277, 1343].
Saratruna 1. = Tumenggung Tirtawiguna.
Saratruna 2. servant of the crown prince [1345].
Sarawèdi Kyai, headman of the Suranata corps [699].
Sardin Radèn Mas, son of Mangkurat IV, = Pangéran Dipasanta.
Sarebed village [1131, 1134-1137].
Sarengat domain [1264, 1265, 1353].
Sari Kyai Mas, bupati of Demak, resists Adipati Pathi [308, 310].
Saroja village [1232, 1250].
Sasi Radèn Ayu, daughter of Mangkurat III [741].
Sasmitapura Èndhang, giant, mother of Arya Damar by Brawijaya [46].
Sasradiningrat Radèn, son of Panembahan Cakradiningrat [798].
Sasranagara 1. Panji Kartayuda, Demang Kartayuda; younger brother of Tumenggung Jangrana [799], urges him to oppose the Dutch [898], pays homage in Kartasura [917], makes conquests on behalf of Jayapuspita [925], conducts a guerrilla against the besiegers of Surabaya [951], defeats the army near Sapanjang [961], receives Murah Panji Balèlèng in Lamongan [978], advises Jayapuspita to join forces with Murah Panji Balèlèng [988, 989], defeated by Major Gustap [1000], his panji title changed to demang [1007], subjects area to the east of Mount Lawu [1008, 1009], receives Panembahan Érucakra [1013-1019], raised in rank [1020], made commander of Panembahan Érucakra [1021], defeated by Pangéran Blitar [1021-1024], dies after attack on Panembahan Érucakra [1061-1064].
Sasranagara 2. Pangéran Cakraningrat 1 [894], (= Tumenggung Natadiningrat?).
Sasranagara 3. Tumenggung, Wirasraya, patih of Surabaya, promoted to Tumenggung Sasranagara by Pakubuwana II [1350], sends support and presents [1364], sends reinforcements [1377].
Sasrawinata grandson of Panembahan Cakraningrat, receives one-third of Madura [894], together with Suryawinata bupati of Grobogan [928], later Surabaya [1006].
Sastrawijaya Ngabèhi, Adipati, Ngabèhi of Gemulak, appointed bupati of Semarang [1127, 1128, 1246, 1256].
Satomi Nyai, heirloom cannon of Mataram, captured from Trunajaya by Tumenggung Jangrana [513, 514, 520].
Satrutapa group of agents of Pangéran Purbaya 3.
Sawakul Demang, mantri of Radèn Mlayakusuma [1298].
Sawo Mount/village, retreat of Pakubuwana in Pranaraga [1367, 1375, 1376, 1379].
Sawojajar kraton corps [1344, 1345].
Sawunggaling 1. bupati, installed by Adipati Pragola 2 [365].
Sawunggaling 2. Demang, messenger of Suraadimanggala to Pakubuwana I [770, 783, 784].
Sawunggaling 3. Tumenggung Secanagara 2.

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Sayid Mahbub [1296, 1298].
Sayid Nguluwi Bapekih Arab Muslim teacher, captured by the Company [1256].
Secabau from Blora, offers his service [1363].
Secadiningrat = Suryadiningrat, bupati of Sidayu.
Secadirana leader in battle of Pangéran Blitar 3, killed in action [1023, 1036, 1037].
Secagora one of the guardians of Trunajaya, killed together with him [532, 535].
Secanagara 1. Kyai, messenger of Mangkurat II to Jepara [666, 667], joins Major Burham to Madura [669].
Secanagara 2. Tumenggung, Sawunggaling, patih of Surabaya, fights the Chinese in Semarang, wounded [1246], fights the Madurese in Surabaya [1293], promoted to Tumenggung Secanagara by Pakubuwana II [1350], sends support and presents [1364], sends reinforcements [1377].
Secanirbaya corps of soldiers [1262].
Secanirmala corps of soldiers [1262].
Secapati Ki, evicted from his house to accomodate the returnees from Ceylon [1188], interpreter, flees with Pakubuwana II, but stays behind [1347]. Same person?
Sedahrama village [1345].
Sédainglèpèn Pangéran, son of Radèn Patah, father of Arya Panangsang [109, 130].
Segawé village [1347].
Sèh Kyai, headman of the Suranata corps [699].
Sekandha Embahan, ascetic on Mount Wilis [1382].
Sekararum village, place of exile of Pangéran Purbaya 3 [1201, 1203, 1204].
Sekarbala village [1363].
Sekardalima heirloom gong [44, 76, 260].
Sekarkadhaton Ratu, daughter of Awijaya, seduced by Radèn Pabélan [220-222, 226, 228].
Sekti Radèn Mas, son of Mangkurat IV = Pangéran Buminata.
Séla 1. Kyai Ageng, son of Kyai Getaspandhawa? [95], teacher of Awijaya, his dream about the latter [107], attack on Demak fails [128], catches the lightning [131], obtains gong Kyai Bicak [132], 7 children, dies [134].
Séla 2. [105, 106, 128, 160, 161, 166, 167, 1291].
Sélandaka Kyai Ageng, finds the baby Kyai Ageng Tarub 2 [70].
Selap village [1047].
Selobogan Ki, = Tumenggung Pringgalaya 4.
Selupdriansah Commander of Jepara, his reaction after the death of Tak [631, 633-635], demands the death of Tumenggung Martapura [639, 640, 648, 650], receives Kyai Secanagara and requests the help of Batavia against Wiranagara [666, 667].
Semanggi River [357, 463].
Semanggi village [1012, 1065, 1066].
Semangun Captain of the Company militia in Batavia [1214].
Semarang [230, 462, 463, 540, 541, 544, 572, 605, 609-611, 680, 754, 770-772, 782, 783, 786-790, 792, 795, 797, 800-802, 804-806, 808, 810, 814, 817, 819, 823-826, 830, 850, 853, 858, 864, 868, 883, 888, 895,-897, 919, 920, 922, 923, 927, 928, 933, 938, 939, 960, 962, 963, 1007, 1048, 1054, 1055, 1058, 1078, 1079, 1087, 1123, 1125, 1127, 1128, 1130, 1133, 1135, 1138-1143, 1147, 1154, 1161, 1166, 1167, 1169, 1172, 1173, 1181, 1182, 1184, 1185, 1188, 1196, 1219, 1223-1225, 1227-1231, 1234, 1235, 1237, 1242, 1244-1247, 1256, 1266, 1275, 1277, 1281-1286, 1294-1296, 1298, 1300-1302, 1304, 1307, 1310-1312, 1317, 1318, 1329, 1331, 1332, 1336, 1345, 1349, 1354, 1360, 1364, 1367, 1369-1371, 1374, 1377, 1380, 1382].
Sembawanese auxiliary troops of the Company [1369].
Sembuyan [1008].
Semedhangan village [1347].
Sénapati (Ing Ngalaga Sayidin Panatagama), Radèn Bagus, Radèn Ngabèhi Saloringpasar, son of Kyai Pamanahan, adopted by Sultan Pajang (Jaka Tingkir) [137], appointed chief of the Tamtama [145], joins Awijaya (Jaka Tingkir) to Kudus [148], joins the attacks on Arya Panangsang and kills him [160-164], joins his father to Mataram [171], marries a woman reserved by Awijaya, their son Radèn Rangga [179], succeeds Kyai Pamanahan [187, 188], builds a stone fortress [189], refuses to pay homage [190-195], wins the leaseholders over to his side [196, 197], his supernatural powers 198, 199], prediction of his greatness [200-204], marries Nyai Rara Kidul [205-210], chided by Sunan Kalijaga [211, 212], again summoned to Pajang [213-219], abducts Tumenggung Mayang [230], repels Awijaya 231-235], visits the latter’s body [237-242],

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conquers Pajang [243-261], becomes Sultan in Mataram [262], his children [269], attacks eastern Java [271-274], chooses the vessel [275, 277], attacks Madiyun 278-286], receives the jacket Kyai Gundhil [287, 288], marries Retna Jumilah [289-294], conquers Pasuruhan, Rawa, and Kadhiri [295-304], has a wall built around Mataram [305], another attack by the bupati from eastern Java [308], dispatches Pangéran Krapyak, conquers Pathi [309-315], dies [316, 317].

Sénapati Kadhiri eldest brother of the bupati of Kadhiri Pangéran Mas, adopted by Sénapati [300-305], killed in battle agains Adipati Pasagi, buried in Wedhi [306-308].

Sendhi Kyai, = Tumenggung Urawan.

Senggama Personal servant of Martapura 4 [1369].

Sepilman Admiral, envoy to Pakubuwana I, concludes a treaty with him [823, 826, 827], present at the capture of Kartasura [848-851], back to Semarang [858].

Seprèh village [1352].

Sepuh Ratu, first wife of Mangkurat IV, mother of Pakubuwana II, ousted by Amangkurat who replaces her with her younger sister, Ratu Kancana [1150, 1151, 1155].

Serangbaya messenger [1380, 1382].

Sérénan village [1347].

Sèt Prabu, royal title of Wisnu [1].

Sétankober kris of Pangéran Danupaya (Alit) [408].

Sètmata Prabu, Santri, Sunan Giri, son of Sèh Walilanang, taken care of by the widow of Ki Samboja, disciple of Sunan Ampèldenta [55, 56], defeats Gajahmada [79, 80], dies [81], magic powers of his grave [82, 83].

Setrajaya = Adipati Danureja.

Setrawijaya messenger of Pangéran Tepasana 3 [1205].

Séwabangsa lower official of the Kapatihan [1264, 1331]. = Surabangsa?

Séwaka Radèn, brother of Radèn Ajeng Manik [1159].

Séwanagara Radèn, patih of Cakraningrat 4 (Radèn Jimat) [998], flees with him to Bali [1003], taken to Kartasura and returned to Madura [1145].

Sèwu one half of Pagelèn [1199, 1206, 1207, 1270].

Sèwujaya messenger and spy of Martapura 4 [1322].

Sidayu 1. domain [180, 274, 344, 926, 927, 933, 979, 1050, 1149, 1238, 1248, 1251, 1253, 1276, 1282, 1286, 1287, 1289, 1290, 1293, 1294, 1297].

Sidayu 2. Rangga, killed in action against Trunajaya [453].

Sika Encik, Chinese leader [1287].

Silarong 1. Pangéran, conquers Blambangan, kills Ajar Salokantara, killed in revenge by the latter [392, 395, 396, 410, 413].

Silarong 2. Pangéran, prompts Trunajaya to obey Mangkurat II [534].

Silarong 3. Pangéran, Radèn Mas Yadi, son of Mangkurat IV [1155], raised in rank [1161], deployed in Banyudana [1340], flees to Mataram and on to Semarang [1349, 1354, 1355].

Sima village [104, 1265].

Simun Lieutenant, of the Kartasura garrison [1143], Major, receives Patih Danureja in Batavia [1169].

Sindupati 1. Ngabèhi, from Tegal, envoy of Mangkurat II to Batavia [485].

Sindupati 2. Ngabéhi, Ki Sutamenggala, messenger Natakusuma to Sunan [1301, 1302], flees kraton with Pakubuwana II [1345-1347], raised in rank [1350], joins Captain Orgondrop to Surabaya and Batavia [1367, 1377], and Ungaran [1380].

Sindureja 1. bupati, installed by Adipati Pragola 2 [365].

Sindureja 2. Adipati, Tumenggung, Pranataka; servant of Mangkurat II, as messenger to Panembahan Kajoran [430], finds the flower Wijayakusuma [485, 490], raised in rank [495], advises to hand over Wiranagara (Surapati) [604, 605], sent to meet Captain Tak [610, 611, 614], accompanies him to Kartasura [617, 618, 619], 620, 622], appointed patih [629], informs Jepara about Tak [631], to Jepara to kill Tumenggung Martapura [641-652], father of Radèn Sukra by Radèn Ayu Kaletingwungu [703], supports Sukra without success [706, 707, 712, 718, 727-734], adviser of Mangkureat II [737, 738], dies [744], a son of his raised in rank [766].

Sindureja 3. Tumenggung, son of Sindureja 2 [766], keeps his rank [859].

Sindureja 4. Tumenggung, = Ki Mas Gerit [1045], ordered by Pangéran Blitar 3 to subject Kedhu [1046].

Singabarong Buginese soldier of Mangkurat II

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[662].
Singajaya informs Pakubuwana II about the enemy [1336].
Singanada guardian of Radèn Sukra [708].
Singanagara group of court officials [371, 901].
Singapatra informs Pakubuwana II about the enemy [1336].
Singaranu 1. Tumenggung, ordered to conquer Sumedhang and Ukur [396].
Singaranu 2. Radèn, Tumenggung, kliwon of Tumenggung Pringgalaya [1221, 1251], kills the Chinese scribe Ham and some of his escort [1252], replaces Tumenggung Jayasuderga [1276], joins the march on Semarang [1283], joins the fake attack on the Chinese [1308], escorts the Company kraton guard to Semarang [1317], joins Pringgalaya in his attack on the Chinese in Grobogan [1319, 1322], dies in action [1323, 1327, 1328], replaced by his son [1337].
Singasari Realm of Lembuamijaya [20], Radèn Susuruh heads there [36].
Singasari 1. Pangéran, Radèn Santri, son of Kyai Pamanahan, father of Radèn Mas Wujil [137, 263, 329].
Singasari 2. Pangéran, son of Mangkurrat I [417], unfaithfulness of his wife [422], sent out against Trunajaya [453], sent out to help reconquering Mataram [472], dies [480], father of Radèn Mas Punta [743].
Singasari 3. Radèn Ayu, wife of Pangéran Singasari 2, has love affair with Radèn Dhobras [422].
Singasari 4. Radèn, defender of Giri, killed in action by Panembahan Natapraja [540], his granddaughter Radèn Ayu Taman [1194].
Singasari 5. Pangéran, Radèn Mas Sunaka, younger brother of Pakubuwana II, raised in rank [1161], receives apanage [1162], deployed in Banyudana [1340], submits to Sunan Kuning [1349, 1354].
Singasari 6. Raden, messenger of Pakubuwana II [1204].
Singasura crack troops of Cakraningrat 3 [1238].
Singawijaya of Kendhal [1318].
Singkal village near Kadhiri [518, 520].
Singsèh Captain, main leader of the Pasisir Chinese [1217, 1222, 1225, 1227-1229, 1231], beats off faked Javanese attacks [1235, 1241, 1242], attacks Semarang [1245, 1246], informed of the killing of scribe Ham [1253], receives the fugitive Pangéran Wiramenggala [1267], hands the latter to the Javanese [1269, 1270, 1275], provides reinforcements for the attack on the fort of Kartasura [1277], renewed attack on Semarang [1284, 1285], beaten back from Semarang [1298, 1300, doubts actions of the Javanese [1303, 1307-1309], decision to proclaim Mas Garendi [1313, 1315, 1316], attack on the troops of Patih Natakusuma [1321, 1322, 1327], sends letter to the latter [1330], decision to march on Kartasura [1336, 1338, 1339, 1342], informed of the possible disloyalty of Radèn Mlayakusuma [1367].
Sinta Dèwi, wife of Watugunung [3-5, 15, 16].
Sirnayuda from Kudus, sent out to forage [964].
Sis son of Adam [1].
Sisik Ki, a gun [1298].
Siti Ageng general area between Pajang and Demak, divided in a left (kiwa} and right (tengen) half [1175, 1194, 1354, 1360].
Sitijenar Pangéran, Islamic teacher [98].
Sitisundari Radèn Ajeng, = Ratu Maduretna.
Situyé one of the eight captains during the siege of Jakarta [381].
Siwalan village [351, 352].
Siyungwanara = Arya Banyakwidhé 1.
Smaraningsih Radèn Ayu, concubine of Pakubuwana II [1348].
Soka 1. servant of Ratu Sekarkadhaton [222, 225].
Soka 2. Déwa, Balinese chief, ally of Jayapuspita [930].
Sokawati 1. Adipati, eldest son of Pangéran Mangkubumi [329].
Sokawati 2. domain (Sukawati), submits to Trunajaya [458, 462], subjected by Sasranagara [1009, 1010], base of Panembahan Érucakra [1033, 1060, 1061].
Sonyasirna where Panembahan Kajoran went [535].
Soré River, Caket, river near Kudus, also Sorécaket [147, 156, 159, 160].
Srenggara Radèn Ayu, concubine of Pakubuwana II, taken by Sunan Kuning [1348].
Sri Dèwi, daughter of Bathara Guru [1].
Srigati Radèn, son of Bathara Wisnu [10-13].
Srimanganti gate, audience place of the kraton [746, 1143, 1157, 1271, 1279, 1345].
Subadirana Mas, messenger of Patih Natakusuma

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[1227].
Subekti Radèn Mas, son of Mangkurat IV, = Pangéran Pamot
Subrangta Radèn Mas, (also Subrangti) son of Mangkurat IV, = Pangéran Balatèr (Blitar).
Subrangti = Subrangta.
Subrastha Kyai, royal gun [555, 1177, 1277].
Suciyan Rara, daughter of Gathayu [20].
Sudama Radèn Mas, = Pangéran Blitar 3.
Sudarma Radèn, brother of Radèn Ajeng Manik [1159].
Sudimara village [1349].
Sudira Radèn Mas, = Radèn Suryakusuma.
Sujana Radèn Mas, son of Mangkurat IV, = Pangéran Mangkubumi 4.
Sujanapura 1. Adipati, = Radèn Jayasupanta, sent to join Tumenggung Suratani [335], conquers Tuban for Sultan Agung [359], killed in action against Madura [361].
Sujanapura 2. Tumenggung, Jayapati, son of Adipati Martapura succeeds him in Jepara [510].
Sujanapura 3. Adipati, captures Pangéran Prangwadana, bupati of Jepara [855, 856], dies [876]. = Tumenggung Sujanapura 2?
Sujanapura 4. Tumenggung, Radèn Martakusuma, head of the kraton, exiled to Majenang, his wife Rengganis killed [1187], recalled from exile and made one of the bupati of Demak, marries Radèn Ajeng Umik, the widow of the late bupati of Demak and sister of Pakubuwana II [1190], joins the march on Semarang [1283], joins the attack of the fortress of Semarang [1285], part of the fake attack on the Chinese [1308, 1309], in the battle at Layapan [1321], supports Natakusuma if he wants to revolt [1331], receives permission from the commissioners to return home [1355], submits to Sunan Kuning [1360], faces the troops from Madiyun [1361], deployed at Grompol [1363], deployed at Kaduwang [1367], one of the leaders in an attack on Pranaraga [1382].
Sujanapura 5. = Tumenggung Martapura 4.
Sukawati = Sokawati.
Sukra Radèn, Natadirja, son of Adipati Sindureja and Kaletingwungu [703], maltreated by Mangkurat III [704, 705], tries to seduce Radèn Ayu Lembah wife of Mangkurat III [708-727], wants to attack the kadipatèn after her death [728], is killed himself [729-734].
Sulanjari village [1370].
Sumabrata 1. Tumenggung, adviser of Mangkurat II [729, 732], becomes patih jawi [744], raises objections at the coronation of Mangkurat III [749-751], discredits Pakubuwana I [754, 756, 757], asks forgiveness for Pakubuwana I [759. 760], reports the flight of the latter [778, 779], opposes the latter at Salahtiga [830, 831], defeated [837], flees to Kartasura [838, 839], remains loyal to Mangkurat III [859, 862], defects in the end, becomes bupati in Kartasura [869, 870], as messenger to Jayapuspita [903, 904, 906, 919, 921], dies, father of Kartinala [1029].
Sumabrata 2. Tumenggung, = Pranasuta, merchant in Kartasura, made tumenggung [1048], dismissed as bupati Gedhong Kiwa [1161]
Sumabrata 3. Tumenggung, = Adipati Suradiningrat 4.
Sumadipura son of Pangéran Kudus, killed in action [1053].
Sumadiwirya = Adipati Jayaningrat 3.
Sumaningrat 1. Radèn, nephew of Ratu Kancana 2, marries adopted daughter of Mangkurat II [742].
Sumaningrat 2. Radèn, = Sumaningrat 1? former [?] bupati of Pamagetan, because of illness cannot meet Pakubuwana II on his flight, his wife serves food and drink [1347], follows Sunan Kuning [1373], challenged by his nephew Radèn Mangunjaya [1373], seems to pursue Pakubuwana II [1378], faced by Pangéran Mangkunagara and Pangéran Martalaya of Madiyun [1379], wants to submit, but only accepted after showing up in person, leads the army of Pakubuwana II against the Chinese in Kaduwang [1382].
Sumaningrat 3. nephew and scribe of Citradiwirya [1357].
Sumawicitra patih of Pangéran Purbaya 3 [1197, 1204].
Sumawijaya 1. Radèn, = Pangéran Mangkunagara, bupati of Madiyun.
Sumawijaya 2. = Radèn Mangunjaya 5.
Sumawijaya 3. Mas, patih of Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara, joins him in exile [1167].
Sumawijaya 4. son of Tumenggung Sutanagara of Kaduwang [1366].

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Sumendhi servant of Mangkurat II, sent to Panembahan Kajoran [430].
Sumenep domain [274, 344, 360, 540, 967, 973, 979, 1130].
Sumengit Ki, messenger of Mangkurat I, killed by Pangéran Danupaya (Alit) [407].
Sumilah Radèn Ajeng, daughter of Pangéran Tepasana 3, marries Pangéran Buminata 3 [1189].
Sumurbacin village near Semarang [1246].
Sunaka Radèn Mas, son of Mangkurat IV, = Pangéran Singasari.
Sungkawa Radèn Mas, = Pangéran Érucakra.
Sungsang son of Watugunung [3].
Sura Ki, blacksmith from Tuban, makes two krises for Sunan Bonang [91].
Suraadimanggala Adipati, Martanaya, Mas Rangga Yudanagara, Rangga Semarang, son of Kyai Buyut Kalawéyan [541], receives Captain Tak [609], pillar of the realm [680], nurses grievances against Mangkurat III, invites Pakubuwana I to Semarang [770], receives him [782-785, 787, 792], advocates his cause with the Dutch (himself half Dutch?) [801-805], raised in rank [810], reproaches Pakubuwana I for concluding a contract with the Dutch without involving him [823, 827], dies [1123-1127]. Also Suradimenggala [1214].
Surabangsa = Séwabangsa?
Surabaya domain [61, 87, 180, 274-277, 300, 339, 340, 344, 348, 349, 357, 358, 360, 363, 364, 372, 374-378, 417, 418, 420, 424, 426, 436, 444, 445, 452, 458, 461, 489, 502, 510-514, 519, 520, 538, 539, 542, 612, 669, 768, 786, 795, 797, 799, 802, 810-812, 825, 832, 833, 835, 837, 8443, 846, 848, 849, 864, 866, 875, 879, 886, 887, 891, 892, 894-896, 898-900, 903, 906, 907, 917, 919, 920, 922, 929, 931, 940, 942-944, 946, 948, 949, 951, 953-955, 963, 964, 967, 970, 971, 973, 974, 976-978, 985, 987, 988, 991-994, 996-1000, 1002-1004, 1006, 1021, 1029, 1049-1052, 1057, 1058, 1062, 1078, 1084, 1085, 1087, 1098, 1100, 1106, 1118, 1119, 1130, 1149, 1183, 1235, 1246, 1282, 1289, 1293, 1295, 1343, 1345, 1347, 1350, 1364, 1367, 1374, 1377].
Surada Radèn Mas, son of Radèn Jayakusuma 2 [1189], [1264, 1275], 1313].
Suradadaha (Suradedaha) Ki, messenger to invite Pakubuwana II to Pranaraga [1350], commander at Nguter, initial success [1358, 1359, 1361-1363], defeated [1366], besieges Magetan [1382].
Suradigdaya chief of the night guards [1262].
Suradilaga Radèn, son of Wiranagara (Untung Surapati) [874], defeated [877, 878, 885], flees, joins Pangéran Purbaya [1115], flees to Lumajang [1119], helps persuading Pangéran Purbaya to surrender and surrenders himself as well [1131-1139], sent to Batavia and exiled to Ceylon [1140, 1144].
Suradimenggala Ngabèhi Martayuda 2 [1214, 1285]. Rangga Tiksnawijaya probably his son.
Suradiningrat 1. Radèn, = Pangéran Cakraningrat 3.
Suradiningrat 2. Radèn, son of Pangéran Arya Panular 2, commander [1111], dies [1120, 1122].
Suradiningrat 3. Tumenggung, = Tumenggung Tirtanata.
Suradiningrat 4. Adipati, Tumenggung Surabrata, bupati of Pranaraga, consulted about the depression of Pakubuwana II [1177], discusses the response to the Chinese revolt [1220], secondary part in the killing of Pangéran Tepasana [1262, 1263], leads the Mancanagara troops to Surabaya, retreats after the defeat of Tumenggung Mataun of Jipang [1286, 1289, 1293], invites Pakubuwana II to Pranaraga, strongly opposes the plan to go to Surabaya, raised in rank [1350, 1352], his daughter marries Pakubuwana II and the start the counter attack on Kartasura [1353, 1358, 1365], defeated at Nguter, flight back to Pranaraga [1366], after the return of the Dutch party via Surabaya to Semarang, advises the king to retreat into the mountains [1367], informs the king of the letter from Mangunoneng 4 to arrest him [1375, 1379], advises the king to return to Pranaraga [1379].
Suradipura 1. son of Pangéran Kudus, killed in action [1053]..
Suradipura 2. Tumenggung, sent with Tirtawiguna to Semarang to appease the Company [1318, 1371],
Suradirja (Suradireja) Ki, messenger to invite Pakubuwana II to Pranaraga [1350], commander at Nguter, initial success [1358, 1359, 1361-1363], defeated [1366], besieges Magetan [1382].
Suradiwangsa Chinese of mixed-descent, joins with his younger brother Elik Pakubuwana II,

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seconded to Ngawi [1353].
Surahim = Adipati Wiranagara 3.
Surajaya Ki, Ngabèhi, patih of Patih Natakusuma [1227, 1254, 1270, 1274, 1296, 1298, 1301, 1331].
Suralaya 1. kraton of Bathara Guru [1, 5-8, 10-15].
Suralaya 2. Tumenggung, Radèn, bupati of Brebes, married to Radèn Ajeng Dèwi [1159], as envoy to Batavia [1187, 1188], reports on the Chinese revolt [1218, 1220], consulted by Adipati Jayaningrat [1269], defends Tegal [1304], with Patih Natakusuma at Talgaji [1326], reads the letter in which Natakusuma is invited to lead the rebels [1330].
Suralegawa Ngabèhi of Sarengat [1265].
Suramenggala Demang, younger brother of Rangga Kaliwungu, replaces Mangunoneng 3 [1149].
Suramenggala 2. Ki, son of Tumenggung Wiraguna 3, killed in action [1323].
Suranagara Radèn, court servant [1345-1347].
Suranata 1. Tumenggung, joins Cakraningrat in collecting Trunajaya [531], joins the killing of Martapura [642, 645, 646].
Suranata 2. Tumenggung, Radèn Arya, marries Radèn Ajeng Umik, sister of Pakubuwana II, becomes bupati of half of Demak [1159], dies [1190].
Suranata 3. Tumenggung, third bupati of Demak, with the other two bupati of Demak told to march against the Chinese [1233], told to join Sunan Kuning [1311, 1316, 1322, 1369, 1370].
Suranata 4. group of court officials (religious affairs) [699, 904, 1263, 1344, 1345, 1348].
Surandriya Ki, messenger of the Sunan, captured in Tuban, sent on to Madura, then to Surbaya, then to Semarang, then to Batavia, back to Semarang [1295], finally as go-between to Kartasura [1299, 1301].
Surangga Kyai, senior servant of Radèn Suryakusuma [755].
Surantaka 1. servant of Adipati Pragola 2, follows him in death [369].
Surantaka 2. Ngabéhi, bupati of Sarengat [1265].
Surantaka 3. Ki, head of the Sawojajar corps [1344].
Surantani Tumenggung, Kartiyuda, brother-in-law of Mangunoneng 4, made bupati Gedhong [1354, 1371, 1372].
Surapati 1. Radèn, adopted son of Sultan Cirebon, killed by the latter [586-589].
Surapati 2. Radèn, = Wiranagara 1 (Untung Surapati).
Surapati 3. Radèn, son of Wiranagara (Untung Surapati) [874], defeated [877, 878, 885], flees, joins Pangéran Purbaya [1115], flees to Lumajang [1119], helps persuading Pangéran Purbaya to surrender and surrenders himself as well [1131-1139], sent to Batavia and exiled to Ceylon [1140, 1144].
Suraprameya 1. servant of Adipati Pragola 2, follows him in death [369].
Suraprameya 2. envoy of Pakubuwana II to Batavia [1160], the deposed bupati of Batang confined in his residence [1207, 1254].
Surata 1. = Pangéran Rangga 5.
Surata 2. = Arya Mlayakusuma.
Suratani Tumenggung, sent to conquer eastern Java [334, 335, 337, 338], drowns 340, 342].
Suratanu chief of the Tamtama [228].
Surawiguna Ki, court official, flees the kraton [1344-1346], rejoins Pakubuwana II [1363].
Surawijaya Tumenggung, Ngabèhi Wirasantika, mantri, kills among others Kyai Bunjaladriya [885], becomes bupati of Jipang [894, 941], defeated at Sapanjang [961], dies [962].
Surawikrama Ki, to be installed as bupati of Sidayu [1287, 1291].
Surayata messenger of Sunan Prawata, killer of Pangéran Sédainglèpèn [140].
Surayuda Ki [1263, 1272, 1274, 1296, 1331], leader of the troops from Parembun (Pagelèn). Also Sutayuda?
Surèngrana 1. Panji, = Adipati Natapura.
Surèngrana 2. Radèn Tumenggung, bupati of Surabaya [1183], during the siege of Semarang [1235, 1246].
Surtikanti Radèn Ayu, concubine of Pakubuwana II [1348].
Surya Radèn Mas, = Mangkurat IV.
Suryadi Radèn Mas, son of Pakubuwana II [1178], appointed crown prince [1204], joins his father on flight to Pranaraga [1344-1347, 1350], elevated as Prabu Jaka Sunan Bauwarna [1382], future Pakubuwana III.
Suryadiningrat Tumenggung, also Secadiningrat, son of Pangéran Cakraningrat 3, bupati of Sidayu, sent with Pringgalaya to attack the Chi-

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nese at Bahrawa [1247, 1248, 1250, 1251], returns to Sidayu [1276], defeated [1289], flees to Mangaré [1290], recovers Sidayu [1293].

Suryakusuma 1. Radèn, Radèn Mas Sudira, Pangéran Ngabèhi, son of Pakubuwana I [681, 682], favourite of Mangkurat III [691, 693, 694], involved in the killing of Radèn Ayu Lembah [721, 723-725], his magical powers [740], escorts the body of Mangkurat II to Imagiri [748], rises in rebellion against Mangkurat III [755, 756], defeated [758], captured [776], locked into a cage [794], freed because of supernatural signs, receives the title Pangéran Ngabèhi [807], joins his father, receives appanage [852, 859], flees to Tegal exiled to Cape of Good Hope [1128], dispute about his maintenance costs [1128], his body returned to Java [1188].

Suryakusuma 2. = Radèn Mas Said.

Suryaputra Radèn Mas, = Mangkurat IV.

Suryataruna son of Pangéran Arya Mataram, father of Arya Mlayakusuma [1175].

Suryawinata grandson of Panembahan Cakraningrat, receives one-third of Madura [894], accompanies Adipati Mangkupraja, together with Sasrawinata bupati of Grobogan [928], later Surabaya [1006].

Susuruh Radèn, son of Sri Pamekas, destined to be king of Pajajaran [21], fights Arya Banyakwidhé, flees away [32, 33], meets Ajar Cemaratunggal [34-36] founds Majapahit [37], defeats Pajajaran [38], becomes ruler of Java [39, 40].

Sutadipa Ki, [1382].

Sutagati court official [1345, 1346].

Sutamenggala 1. Ki, = Ngabéhi Sindupati 2.

Sutamenggala 2. a servant who arrives from Kartasura [1376].

Sutanagara Tumenggung, bupati of Kaduwang [1366].

Sutara = Utara.

Sutawijaya 1. Ngabèhi, son of Demang Urawan 2, does not succeed him, becomes panèwu jawi [1175].

Sutawijaya 2. Ngabèhi, son of Patih Natakusuma, tries to make his father retreat [1298], sent to Demak [1317, 1318, 1320], leads the Kartasura troops against the Chinese at Toyana [1326], forced to flee [1327].

Sutawirya servant of Pangéran Tepasana [1264].

Sutayuda Ki, member of the Kapatihan, willing to fight Mas Brahim, arrests the rebel from Nusatembini [1149], follower of Pangéran Purbaya [1197], visits him during his exile in Sekararum [1201], mantri of the Kalang people, member of the raiding party on the fort of Kartasura [1270, 1272], attendant of the crown prince during the flight from the kraton, gets wounded and flees [1345]. All the same person? Also Surayuda?

Suwanda Nyai, chief of the female court servants [729, 730].

Suwélacala son of Anglingdriya, ruler of Java, called Purwacarita [19].

T

Tajang panakawan [1345, 1346].

Tajem Radèn Ajeng, daughter of Mangkurat IV [1155], marries Radèn Wiratmeja 2 [1159], dies [1176].

Taji gateway to Mataram [172-174, 307, 412, 459, 463, 465, 551, 552].

Tak Captain, sent to capture Wiranagara (Untung Surapati) [603-605], to Semarang [609], welcomed by Adipati Sindureja [610, 611, 613-615, 617, 618]], fights Wiranagara [619, 620, 622, 623, 625], killed by Pakubuwna I [628, 629, 631, 634], who is blamed for it [802].

Talangpati crack troops of Jayapuspita [986].

Talgaji = Telagaaji.

Talijaya messenger [1380, 1382].

Taman 1. Radèn Ayu, granddaughter of Radèn Singasari 4 of Giri, although already married, proposed as a candidate wife for Pakubuwana II, the murder of her husband by Mangunoneng 4 bungled, Radèn Ayu Taman herself gets killed [1194], her husband vows revenge [1198].

Taman 2. village [1358, 1362].

Taman Sokawelahan garden in Kartasura [1348].

Tambakaji Kyai Pangulu, leader in battle of Jayapuspita [954].

Tambakbaya 1. Ngabèhi, Adipati Sanjata, horse demanded by Sultan Agung [356], commander of the army of Pajang 357], flees to Surabaya, son-in-law of Pangéran Surabaya [358], killed by Sultan Agung [363, 364].

Tambakbaya 2. Tumenggung, [563].

Tambakbaya 3. Nyai, go-between for Radèn Ayu

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Lembah and Radèn Sukra [719], killed together with her [723, 726].
Tambakbaya 4. Ngabèhi, mantri of Sasranagara [1008]. = [1382]?
Tambakuwos village [323].
Tambir son of Watugunung [3].
Tamtama crack troops of Demak [111-115, 117, 125, 126, 128, 136, 145, 228, 229].
Tanawas village [1338].
Tanduran village [1367].
Tangkeban Jaka, = Tumenggung Jangrana 2.
Tangkisan village [1072].
Tanjung = Tanjung Welahan.
Tanjung Welahan starting point of the Chinese revolt in the Pasisir [1217, 1222, 1225, 1227, 1228, 1231, 1234, 1235, 1240, 1243, 1316, 1367].
Tanpagembung corps of soldiers [1262, 1320]. Also Tanpagempung.
Tanpanaha Demang, messenger of Suraadimanggala to Pakubuwana I [770, 783, 784].
Tanpanangkil 1. Radèn Demang, son-in-law of Sénapati [269].
Tanpanangkil 2. Pangéran Demang, Radèn Kadhawung, younger brother of Pangéran Krapyak [322].
Tanparaga corps of soldiers [1262, 1321].
Tanumanggala son of Kyai Adipati Martapura [438].
Tapa Radèn Mas, son of Mangkurat I, predicted to become bupati of Pathi [417, 472, 473].
Tarub 1. Kyai Ageng Tarub 1, his widow raises Kyai Ageng Tarub 2 [71].
Tarub 2. Kyai Ageng Tarub 2, grandson of Kyai Ageng Kudus [67-71], marries the nymph Nawangwulan [72], loses her, their daughter is Nawangsih [73, 74, 75], raises Kyai Ageng Tarub 3, takes him as son-in-law, dies [94].
Tarub 3. Kyai Ageng Tarub 3, Bondhankajawan, Lembupeteng 2, son of Brawijaya with a Wandhan woman, raised by Kyai Buyut Masahar [64], brought to Kyai Ageng Tarub 2 [76-78], marries his foster sister Nawangsih [94], father of Ki Getaspandhawa and a daughter, dies [95].
Tédhéng Johanis Tédhéng, second-in-command of Émuf [1216].
Tegal [450, 473, 474, 481, 484-487, 490, 492, 493, 497, 499, 510, 512, 534, 541, 800, 805, 808, 811, 812, 939, 948, 956, 1090, 1128, 1180, 1235, 1246, 1282, 1296, 1304, 1305].
Tegalarum gravesite of Mangkurat I [474, 1200].
Tegalsari village [1382].
Téja Adipati, father-in-law of Radèn Burareh and Radèn Santri [54], bupati of Tuban, joins Radèn Patah [87].
Téjalaku Ajar, killed by Mangkurat II and released [518].
Téjawati wife of Sunan Kuning [1348].
Telagaaji (Talgaji, Tlagaji) village [1320, 1326, 1327, 1331].
Télamaya Mount, Jaka Tingkir makes pilgrimage there [107].
Téling Johan Harman / Arman / Man Téling, Tilen, Tilem, Dutch commissioner in Batavia {1214, 1215], ordered to Semarang [1281], in Semarang [1284, 1299], [passim]. Sunan wishes to present him with a wife [1319].
Tembaga Radèn, = Pangéran Puger 2.
Tembayat holy grave [236, 1066, 1067, 1100, 1349].
Tembelèk Radèn Ajeng, daughter of Pangéran Blitar 3, marries Pangéran Buminata 2 [1159], after his death marries Pangéran Tepasana [1188].
Tembiring village [813].
Tèng Mulu Encik, headman under Sapanjang [1213, 1215].
Tengaran village, strategic gorge on the road between Semarang and Kartasura [1336, 1339, 1340].
Tepasana 1. son-in-law of Sénapati [269].
Tepasana 2. Padureksa, as messenger of Sultan Agung joins the expedition to Blambangan, raised in rank [392, 396].
Tepasana 3. Pangéran, Radèn Mas Alit, Pangéran Mangkuningrat, Pangéran Pakuningrat, third son of Mangkurat III [741, 766], sent out against Pakubuwana I [877], returns from exile in Ceylon and renamed Pangéran Tepasana, given an apanage, the right to have a ceremonial umbrella, and the widow of Pangéran Buminata [1188], has five children, his daughter marrries Puspadirja of Batang, another daughter eventually marries Pangéran Buminata, his son Radèn Mas Garendi predicted to be become king for a short while [1189], worries caused by his elder brother Pangéran Wiramenggala [1205, 1208, 1209], trapped and killed [1254, 1255, 1257, 1258. 1260-1263], his children flee

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with Pangéran Wiramenggala [1264], questions about his killing [1269], his remaining two sons [1275, 1313].

Teras village [1341, 1343, 1347].

Terbaya (Trebaya) place near Semarang [1194, 1246, 1283, 1284, 1298].

Termala (Tremala) village [1322, 1332].

Ternatese (actually Tanetese, from the small kingdom of Tanete in southern Sulawesi) [447, 491, 938].

Terung Adipati, = Radèn Husèn.

Tiksnanagara to be installed in Kaliwungu [1371].

Tiksnarengga Radèn Ayu, concubine of Pakubuwana II [1348].

Tiksnasari Mas Ayu, woman given in marriage to Adipati Natapura [1086].

Tiksnawati Radèn Ayu, concubine of Pakubuwana II [1348].

Tiksnawijaya Rangga, son of Suradimenggala of Semarang (Martayuda 2), serves as go-between between Patih Natakusuma and Company [1302, 1304, 1306, 1311], [1355, 1381]. Probably the same as Rangga Yudanagara 3 [1317].

Tilarsih Radèn Ayu, concubine of Pakubuwana II [1348].

Tilem = Téling.

Tilen = Téling.

Timah Tesir Jongkok Captain, member of the welcoming committee for Patih Danureja [1169].

Timbel spy of the Sunan in the Surapraméya residence [1254].

Timur Pangéran, Pangéran Madiyun, son of Radèn Trenggana [129], bupati of Madiyun [130], opposes Sénapati, flees to Wirasaba [291].

Tindak village, formerly Bulu, in Majenang [124].

Tingkir 1. Kyai Ageng, disciple of Sitijenar, friends with Kyai Ageng Pengging 2, gives Awijaya the name Mas Krèbèt, dies, his widow raises Awijaya [98, 100, 101, 102].

Tingkir 2. Jaka, Mas Krèbèt, Sultan Pajang, = Awijaya.

Tingkir 3. village [102, 105, 108, 116, 117, 542, 1336].

Tirisan village [1356-1358].

Tiron Arya, stays loyal to Mangkurat III on his flight [859], extradited and demoted by Pakubuwana I [890, 894].

Tirtakusuma 1. Radèn, of Winongan, rises in rebellion, defeated [915].

Tirtakusuma 2. Radèn, = Arya Mlayakusuma.

Tirtanata 1. son of Wiranagara (Untung Surapati), joins Panembahan Purbaya 2 [1115], flees to Lumajang [1117, 1119], remains behind in Sarebed [1136, 1137], joins the surrender of Panembahan Purbaya [1139].

Tirtanata 2. Tumenggung, Mas Kutha, Jayakusuma, younger brother of Jayaningrat 2, bupati of Bahrawa made bupati in Tegal, chased away by the local people, made mantri in Kartasura, bribes Tumenggung Tirtawiguna and Wirajaya to make him bupati in part of Pekalongan with the title Tumenggung Suradiningrat, on the orders of Patih Danureja demoted and dismissed, leading to the fall of Danureja [1180], as Tumenggung Suradiningrrat appointed in Tuban [1183], raided by Dipasana [1195], killed by the Madurese [1286, 1295].

Tirtawiguna Tumenggung, Ngabéhi, Saratruna, Carik Bajra, scribe of Adipati Mangkupraja, becomes chief of the scribes under Pakubuwana I [950, 952], raised in rank (Ngabéhi) [1029], at proclamation Pakubuwana II [1154], envoy to Batavia [1168], raised in rank (Tumenggung) [1175], bribed by Tirtanata 2, writes letter for Danureja's dismissal [1180], at the reception of the Dutch envoy [1182], envoy to Batavia [1187], again envoy to Batavia [1188], advises on the exile of Pangéran Purbaya 3 [1200], with Arya Pringgalaya 3 main adviser of Pakubuwana II [1218], avoids the discussion on whether to support the Chinese or not [1219-1221, 1230, 1231], Pangéran Wiramenggala hopes for help from him [1259], guards kraton gates during attack on fortress [1270, 1271], replies to letter of the captain [1279], the lieutenant put at his disposal [1279], refuses to give advice in the matter of Madura [1286], presents the letter of the patih about his "draw" in battle [1298], presents the letter of the Dutch commissioners [1299], and another letter of the patih [1300], conspires with queen mother to reconcile Sunan with Company [1301], order to the patih to reconcile with the Company [1302], Martapura 4 visits Sunan, patih recalled [1310, 1311], discusses with patih and Sunan the offer of Captain Ondorop [1312], to Semarang and stays there to represent the Sunan [1318], informs Sunan about the sus-

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picions of the Company concerning the patih, decision to have the patih arrested [1329], arrest of the patih [1331], urges Company to reinforce Kartasura [1333, 1334], in Semarang during Pakubuwana II's flight to Pranaraga [1354], meets Pangéran Mangkubumi and his brothers, request to return denied by the Company [1355], consulted by the Company [1371].

Tlagaji = Telagaaji.

Tohjaya Tumenggung, Ngabéhi, Juragan Bali, merchant from Gresik [931], assists Adipati Natapura [933, 934, 944-946, 950], defects to Pakubuwana I, becomes Ngabèhi Tohjaya [952], flees in the battle of Surabaya [957, 958], sent to forage [964], stays in Surabaya [1050], taken into personal service by Mangkurat IV [1084, 1085], conquers Tembayat [1100], rewarded with the domain of Lamongan and the tumenggung title [1105], sent to Kadhiri in pursuit of Panembahan Purbaya [1116], marches to Gembong [1130], as envoy to Lumajang to persuade Panembahan Purbaya to surrender [1132-1140], sent after Mas Brahim [1149], retakes Lamongan [1287, 1288], reinstalled in Lamongan [1297], summoned by Pakubuwana II to Pranaraga [1352], in Kaduwang [1366].

Tohjiwa Rangga, bupati of (Pa)malang, defeated [338].

Tohpati 1. bupati, installed by Adipati Pragola 2 [365].

Tohpati 2. Panji, leader in battle of Pangéran Blitar 3, killed in action [1023, 1036, 1037].

Tolomondo secretary in the party of Captain Orgondrop [1318, 1345].

Tolu son of Watugunung [3].

Tompé Radèn, = Tumenggung Gagakbahning.

Tonar Dutch captain at Surabaya [981], also sent out against Cakraningrat 3 [1003], and after Panembahan Purbaya 2 [1116, 1138].

Toyona village [1326, 1327, 1330, 1336].

Trajukuning village [1347].

Trayem Kedhutrayem [462, 463, 465].

Tremala = Termala.

Trenggana Pangéran, son of Radèn Patah, succeeds him after Pangéran Sabranglèr dies [109], adopts Jaka Tingkir [111], summons Sunan Kalijaga to Demak [127], 6 children [129], dies [130].

Tritrustha son of Bramani [19].

Trunadilaga Radèn, younger brother of Trunajaya, wants to attack Pasuruhan, but does not know that the war is a sham [675, 676, 677].

Trunajaya Radèn, = Panembahan Maduretna Panatagama, son of Demang Malaya, son-in-law of Panembahan Kajoran [431, 432], ally of Mangkurat II [433-436] and Kraèng Galésong [445, 450, 451], makes himself king [452], defeats Mangkurat II [453-455], bases himself in Kadhiri after fetching Panembahan Kajoran [458, 461], conquers Mataram [462-466], exiles Panembahan Cakraningrat [469], loses Surabaya [502, 512-515], kills Galésong [516], expelled from Kadhiri 521-525], lured from Mount Antang by Panembahan Cakrningrat [526-532], killed, his body mutilated [533-537].

Trunalanang crack troops from Sidayu [1251].

Trunalawung crack troops of Cakraningrat 3 [1238].

Trunasura corps of Kapatihan soldiers [1149].

Trunawijaya court official [1346].

Tuban domain [87, 91, 180, 213, 216-219, 231, 234, 274, 339, 344, 349, 359, 501, 510-512, 926, 933, 934, 936, 937, 940, 944, 949, 1050, 1138, 1159, 1183, 1195, 1196, 1282, 1286, 1287, 1289, 1293, 1295].

Tugu village near Semarang [812, 1245, 1355, 1371].

Tumapel village [1288, 1289].

Tundhungmungsuh cannon of Pangéran Mangkubumi 2 [1083].

Tunggal Sang Hyang, son of Sang Hyang Wenang [1].

Tunggulmetung fourth son of Kandhiawan [19].

Tunggulwulung Olor, fish left alive by Sénapati [205].

Tunjungan [995, 998, 1003].

Tuntang River, with strategic bridge on the road between Kartasura and Semarang [782, 1251-1253, 1381].

Turunsih Radèn Ayu, concubine of Pakubuwana II, taken by Sunan Kuning [1348].

U

Udanarum Kyai, small gong in Pengging [104].

Udara Dipati, son of Patih Wahan, dipati of Kadhiri [40].

Ujungsabata kills Patih Wahan [41].

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Uluk diamond of Ratu Kalinyamat, given to Kyai Pamanahan [166].
Umar Radèn Mas, son of Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara and Radèn Ajeng Wulan, adopted by Pakubuwana II [1164, 1165], becomes ill and dies [1176, 1177].
Umbaran Radèn Mas, = Pangéran Arya Purbaya 3.
Umik Radèn Ajeng, daughter of Mangkurat IV, [1155], married to Radèn Tumenggung Suranata of Demak [1159].
Ungaran [785, 815, 824, 825, 1296, 1298, 1353, 1367, 1371, 1380, 1381].
Untung = Radèn Tumenggung Wiranagara.
Upagsa Dutch captain [1173].
Upasanta 1. Pangéran, son of Pangéran Mandura [329].
Upasanta 2. [859] = Dipasanta?
Urawan 1. Tumenggung, Kyai Sendhi, servant of Mangkurat II [495], attacked by Ajar Téjalaku [518], advises about the building of the Kartasura kraton [542, 543], reconcilites Mangkurat II and Pakubuwana I [557, 563, 564, 566, 567].
Urawan 2. Kyai Demang, urges Mangkurat IV to release Danureja [1078], shocked by the dismissal of Radèn Tumenggung Sumabrata [1161], the Governor General asks after him [1171], dies [1175].
Urawan 3, Demang, = Pangéran Arya Purbaya 3.
Urutsèwu [471].
Utara Radèn Mas, (also Sutara), son of Mangkurat IV, = Pangéran Martasana.
Uter Nguter, village
Uwuh Radèn Ajeng [1348].

W

Wahan Patih, Ki Wiro, brother of the widow of Kaligunting, patih of Radèn Susuruh, assassinated [33, 39, 40, 41, 42].
Waladana place of exile of Pangéran Silarong [413].
Walilanang Sèh, from Juldah, visits Ampèldenta, marries daughter of king of Blambangan [55], father of Prabu Sètmata, teaches him at Malaka [56].
Wami one of the eight captains during the siege of Jakarta [381].
Wanagiri Kyai, senior advisor of Pangéran Blitar 3 [1044, 1045].
Wanakarta forest where the kraton of Mangkurat II will be built, renamed Kartasura [372, 419, 542-544].
Wanakrama village [991. 992, 996, 999-1002].
Wanakusuma Kyai, descendant of Kyai Giring, father of Jayaparusa and Jayalalana, disappears without a trace [657-659, 661, 664].
Wanapala 1. Ki, = Patih Mangkurat.
Wanapala 2. Kyai Ageng, servant of Sénapati Jimbun (Radèn Patah) [99].
Wanasalam Patih, son of Patih Mangkurat, becomes patih of Radèn Trenggana [109, 128].
Wandhan woman from ~, brought with her by the princess from Cempa, mother of Bondhankajawan with Brawijaya [63].
Wanèngpati Panji, kinsman of Trunadilaga [676].
Wanèngsekar Panji, kinsman of Trunadilaga [676].
Wanglu Nyai Ageng, daughter of Getaspandhawa [95].
Wangsacitra Kyai, = Tumenggung Mangkuyuda 2.
Wangsadipa 1. Ngabèhi, Kyai Adipati Martapura.
Wangsadipa 2. from Kalegèn, replaces Cakrajaya, son of Danureja, as kliwon Sèwu [1207].
Wangsadirja Kyai, = Tumenggung Wiranagara.
Wangsadita Ki, court official [1363].
Wangsadriya Pangéran, Panembahan Érucakra stays in his house [1066, 1067].
Wangsagati court official [1345, 1346].
Wangsajaya Ki, messenger of the Sunan, captured in Tuban, sent on to Madura, then to Surbaya, then to Semarang, then to Batavia, back to Semarang [1295], finally as go-between to Kartasura [1299, 1301].
Wangsamanggala messenger of Pangéran Arya Mataram to Pakubuwana I [839].
Wangsaprana leader of Trunajaya's Madurese [453, 462].
Wangsataruna 1. Radèn Mas, = Mangkurat IV.
Wangsatruna 2. Radèn, joins Pakubuwana II on his flight but stays behind[1347].
Wangsawana Kyai, Sèh, ascetic who predicts the future greatness of Radèn Mas Sujana (Pangéran Mangkubumi) and Radèn Mas Said (Pangéran Mangkunagara) [1179].
Wargamenggala Demang, patih of Tumenggung Martapura 4 [1224, 1225].
Warigagung son of Watugunung [3].
Warigalit son of Watugunung [3].

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Waringinpitu abode of spirits [18].
Warsah Radèn Ajeng [1348].
Warung domain [277, 1248, 1289, 1291, 1294].
Wates village [1366].
Watugunung king of Gillingwesi [3, 4, 8, 14-17, 19].
Wayah Kyai, wayang gedhog puppeteer whose daughter becomes a concubine of Mangkurat I [414].
Wayang son of Watugunung [3].
Wedhi village [308, 852].
Wenang Sang Hyang, son of Nurasa [1].
Weru village in Gunung Kidul [251, 252].
Wétan 1. Ratu, = Ratu Malang.
Wétan 2. Ratu, princess from Giri, former wife of Mangkurat II, given to Panembahan Cakraningrat [697].
Wibisana [1269].
Wija = Tumenggung Mangunoneng 2.
Wijayakusuma flower [485, 490].
Wijil 1. Panembahan, of Adilangu, present at the accession to the throne of Pakubuwana I [808].
Wijil 2. Mount where Pangéran Tepasana and Radèn Jayakusuma are buried [1263].
Wijil 3. Pangéran [1344, 1345].
Wila Ki, = Wilamarta, son of Ki Buyut Majasta [120], companion of Jaka Tingkir, appointed bupati [136], envoy to Sénapati in Mataram [190-193].
Wilaja Nyai, chief of the female court servants
Wilamarta Ngabèhi, = Ki Wila.
Wilatikta Tumenggung, = Ki Gedhé Manila.
Wilis Mount [1137, 1382].
Winongan [335, 337, 338, 915, 916].
Wirabumi 1. Panji, bupati in Pranaraga under Pangéran Jayaraga [325].
Wirabumi 2. Panji, one of the commanders of Mataram sent against the Makassarese, killed in action [442, 453].
Wiracana Tumenggung, wadana gedhong under Pakubuwana I [859, 895], restores the mosque of Demak, dies, succeeded by his brother [913].
Wiradigda 1. Tumenggung, Andakara, servant of Mangkurat II, as messenger to Panembahan Kajoran [430], raised in rank [495].
Wiradigda 2. Ngabèhi, one of the leaders of the Kartasura army [1326, 1327, 1331].
Wiradikara Mas, messenger of Patih Natakusuma [1227, 1229].
Wiradirana messenger from Surabaya, sent back with a request for reinforcements [1364].
Wiradirja 1. Radèn, brother-in-law and messenger of Panembahan Érucakra [1013-1015].
Wiradirja 2. Ngabéhi, one of the leaders in the attack on the fortress of Semarang [1285].
Wiragatèn village [1345].
Wiragati son of Kyai Adipati Martapura [438].
Wiraguna 1. Tumenggung, sent out against Blambangan [402, 411], dies [412].
Wiraguna 2. Tumenggung, becomes patih lebet [744, 759], opposes Pakubuwana I at Ngasem [844], flees [845], stays loyal to Mangkurat III [859], extradited and demoted by Pakubuwana I [890, 894].
Wiraguna 3. Tumenggung, [wadana Panumping] [1199], participates in the attack on Semarang [1283, 1298, 1308], escorts the Kartasura Company guard to Semarang [1317], marches with Arya Pringgalaya to Grobogan [1319, 1322] killed in action [1323, 1324], death reported to Sunan Kuning [1327] and Pakubuwana II [1328].
Wiraguna 4. Tumenggung, son of Wiraguna 3, deploys in Ambuh [1337].
Wirajaya 1. Ngabèhi, killed in action against Trunajaya [453].
Wirajaya 2. Tumenggung, Nggabéhi, wadana lebet [Kaparak], shocked by the dismissal of Tumenggung Sumabrata 2 [1161], in a bribery case with Tumenggung Tirtawiguna which leads to the downfall of Patih Danureja [1180], part of the escort of the Dutch envoy [1182], sent to Pangéran Purbaya to order his exile [1200], sent to the fort to inform the captain of the arrests of Puspadirja and Puspatenaya, the captain informs him of the chests that Pangéran Wiramenggala had entrusted to him, orders the killing of Puspadirja and Puspatenaya [1254], guards the kraton gates during the attack on the guard and the fortress [1270, 1271, 1273], verifies Arya Pringgalaya's account of Patih Natakusuma and advises the Sunan to put the patih at the disposal of the Company [1328, 1329, 1331], advises on the defense of Kartasura [1336], opposes the king's going out to battle, offers to go himself, but flees once outside the kraton [1344, 1345, 1346], submits to Sunan

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Kuning, renamed Baureksa [1351, 1354], leads the attack on Kaduwang [1366, 1379].
Wirajaya 3. Tumenggung, a leader of the Javanese following Sunan Kuning [1336].
Wirajaya 4. Tumenggung, = Wirajaya 3? a man from Pajangkungan chosen by Sunan Kuning to replace Wirajaya 2 [1354].
Wiraka [1008, 1363].
Wirakabluk Kyai, loyal servant of Mangkurat III, father of Anggakusuma [1189].
Wirakanca his house [1345].
Wirakarti Ngabèhi, chief of the Tamtama [228, 229].
Wirakrama 1. Rangga, = Radèn Tumenggung Nitinagara.
Wirakrama 2. messenger of Patih Natakusuma to Madura [1238].
Wirakusuma Ki, member of the raiding party on the Kartasura fort [1272].
Wiramanggala Pangéran, Tumenggung, conquers Kadhiri for Sénapati [301, 303].
Wiramantri from Demak, offers his services to Mangkurat II, [488].
Wiramenggala Pangéran, Radèn Mas Panenggak, Pangéran Pakunagara, Pangéran Mangkunagara, second son of Mangkurat III [741, 766], sent out against Pakubuwana I [877], returns from exile in Ceylon, renamed Pangéran Wiramenggala, demoted [1188], tries to visit Imagiri ahead of the king [1205], sees signs that he or his brother should ascend the throne and approaches the Company [1208], the rumours reach the king [1209], conspires with Puspadirja the son-in-law of his brother [1254, 1259], flees Kartasura after the strangling of his younger brothers [1264, 1265], reaches the camp of the Chinese [1268, 1269], reported to Kartasura [1270], the Sunan sends his executioner and has Wiramenggala strangled [1275, 1276, 1313].
Wiranagara 1. Radèn Tumenggung, Untung, Radèn Surapati 2, as slave boy bought by Captain Mur [573], seduces his daughter [574], jailed but gets free with his fellow prisoners and conducts a guerrilla against the Dutch [575-583], flees to the Sultan of Cirebon who adopts him [584-591], gets into favour with Mangkurat II [592-601], Company asks for his extradition [602-605], accepts the order to fight Captain Tak [606-608], fake rebellion against Mangkurat II [609-618], fight against Tak [619-628], receives Pasuruhan as reward [629], his conduct there [630], a new faked attack on him, defeats Major Burham and kills Radèn Demang Pasisir, apologizes for the latter, attacked by Radèn Trunadilaga, drives Panembahan Cakraningrat in a faked fight to Kartasura [666-679, 695-697], refuses to join the rebellion against Mangkurat III [796, 797], sends the latter help [860, 863], dies after a heroic fight against the Dutch and Javanese 864-868, 872, 873], his sons [874], his grave, his grave found, his corpse cremated [881, 882].
Wiranagara 2. Tumenggung, sent by Pakubuwana I against Tegal [811].
Wiranagara 3. Adipati, Mas Surahim, eldest son of Wiranagara 1 (Surapati) [874], = Surapati 3.
Wiranagara 4. Panji, bupati of Tegal, killed in action at Surabaya [956].
Wiranagara 5. Tumenggung, Kyai Wangsadirja, follower of Pangéran Blitar 3 [1045], sent to assist Adipati Lumarap [1069], flees [1071], has Pangéran Purpaya's horoscope confirmed [1095, 1096].
Wiranagara 6. Tumenggung, bupati of Tegal, attacks Company troops [1304].
Wiranagara 7. Tumenggung, bupati of Lasem under Sunan Kuning [1358].
Wiranagara 8. a relative of Suranata of Demak, accompanies Company troops against the Chinese [1369, 1370].
Wiranagara 9. = Radèn Brahim.
Wirantaka court official [1345, 1346].
Wirapati 1. Ngabèhi, sent by Sultan Agung to plunder Pathi [368].
Wirapati 2. Ki, = Tumenggung Wirareja 2.
Wirapraba Adipati, son of Adipati Mandaraka, dies, buried in Gambiran [329, 333].
Wirareja 1. Ngabèhi, guardian of the girl Oyi [421, 424], handed over to Mangkurat II [425, 426], exiied to Pranaraga and killed [428].
Wirareja 2. Tumenggung, Adipati, Ki Wirapati, counsellor of Pakubuwana II, made wadana Gedhong Tengen [1207], guards kraton gates during attack on fortress [1271], joins Pakubuwana II on his flight to Pranaraga [1345-1347], raised in rank [1350], [1352-1354, 1356, 1363, 1365-1367, 1375, 1378, 1379, 1382].

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Wirasaba domain [180, 274, 291, 300, 343-347, 875, 894, 925, 927, 1353].
Wirasantika Ngabèhi, = Tumenggung Surawijaya.
Wirasastra Tumenggung, one of the three bupati of Demak, dispatched to 'support' Semarang [1233-1235, 1240], breaks and runs during the siege of Semarang [1298], acts as go-between [1299, 1301, 1320, 1369].
Wirasemita Kyai, bupati of Wirasaba [894].
Wirasetra Tumenggung, sent by Mangkurat III to support Demak [800, 813].
Wirasraya = Tumenggung Sasranagara 3.
Wiratanta mantri of Tumenggung Jangrana 1 [898].
Wiratanu Ki, mantri of Sasranagara [1008].
Wirataruna 1. Radèn, = Adipati Mangkubumi.
Wirataruna 2. Ngabèhi, kliwon of Mlayakusuma, escorts Pangéran Purbaya 3 to Sekararum [1201], pursues Pangéran Wiramenggala [1265].
Wiratmeja 1. Radèn, son of Pangéran Tepasana 3 [1189], flees Kartasura [1264, 1265, 1267, 1270], strangled [1275].
Wiratmeja 2. Radèn, bupati of Pathi, married Radèn Ajeng Tajem [1159], after death of Tajem, marries Radèn Ajeng Jumanten [1176], 1346].
Wirawangsa 1. with others dispatched against the Makassarese [442].
Wirawangsa 2. rebel in Gunung Kidul, killed by Mangkurat III [793].
Wirawangsa 3. Tumenggung, sent by Mangkurat III to support Demak [800, 813].
Wirayuda village head of Pamanggaran [1347].
Wiro Ki, = Patih Wahan.
Wiryadiningrat Tumenggung, Radèn Arya, Jombla, Anggadiwirya, son of patih Natakusuma, appointed wadana Panekar [1221], marches on Semarang, deployed in Pangambengan [1283], defeated [1285], attacks Chinese [1308, 1318], defeats Chinese [1321], ill [1331].
Wiryakusuma Radèn, = Radèn Mas Sabar.
Wisageni Dhaèng, deputy chief of the Makassarese [437].
Wisarsa wife of Sunan Kuning [1348].
Wisnu Bathara, son of Bathara Guru, Prabu Sèt, [1, 2, 8-14, 18].
Wotan village [1309, 1313, 1315, 1316, 1322].
Wringinkuncung village [1350].
Wugu son of Watugunung [3].
Wujil Radèn Mas, son of Pangéran Singasari, bupati in Pranaraga [329].
Wukir son of Watugunung [3].
Wulan Radèn Ajeng, daughter of Pangéran Blitar 3, married to Pangéran Arya Mangkunagara 3 [914], Mangkurat IV wants him to divorce, but does not succeed [1151], becomes his main wife [1159], mother of Radèn Mas Said [1164], dies in childbirth and buried in Imagiri [1165].
Wular Demang, patih of Lembuamisani [43].
Wuragil Ki, relative of Ki Buyut Banyubiru, companion of Jaka Tingkir [120], appointed bupati [136], envoy to Sénapati [190-192].
Wuyé son of Watugunung [3].

Y

Yadi Radèn Mas, son of Mangkurat IV, = Pangéran Silarong 3.
Yanis Captain Wilem Yanis, Semarang [1246].
Yudakarti mantri of Mangkurat I, sent out to search for a beautiful woman [420, 421].
Yudanagara 1. Rangga, = Adipati Suraadimanggala.
Yudanagara 2. Tumenggung, bupati of Banyumas, follower of Pangéran Arya Purbaya [1197], joins the surprise attack on the fort of Kartasura [1270], escapes [1272].
Yudanagara 3. Rangga, probably the same as Tiksnawijaya, son of Martayuda 2.
Yudayana son of Parikesit [19].

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