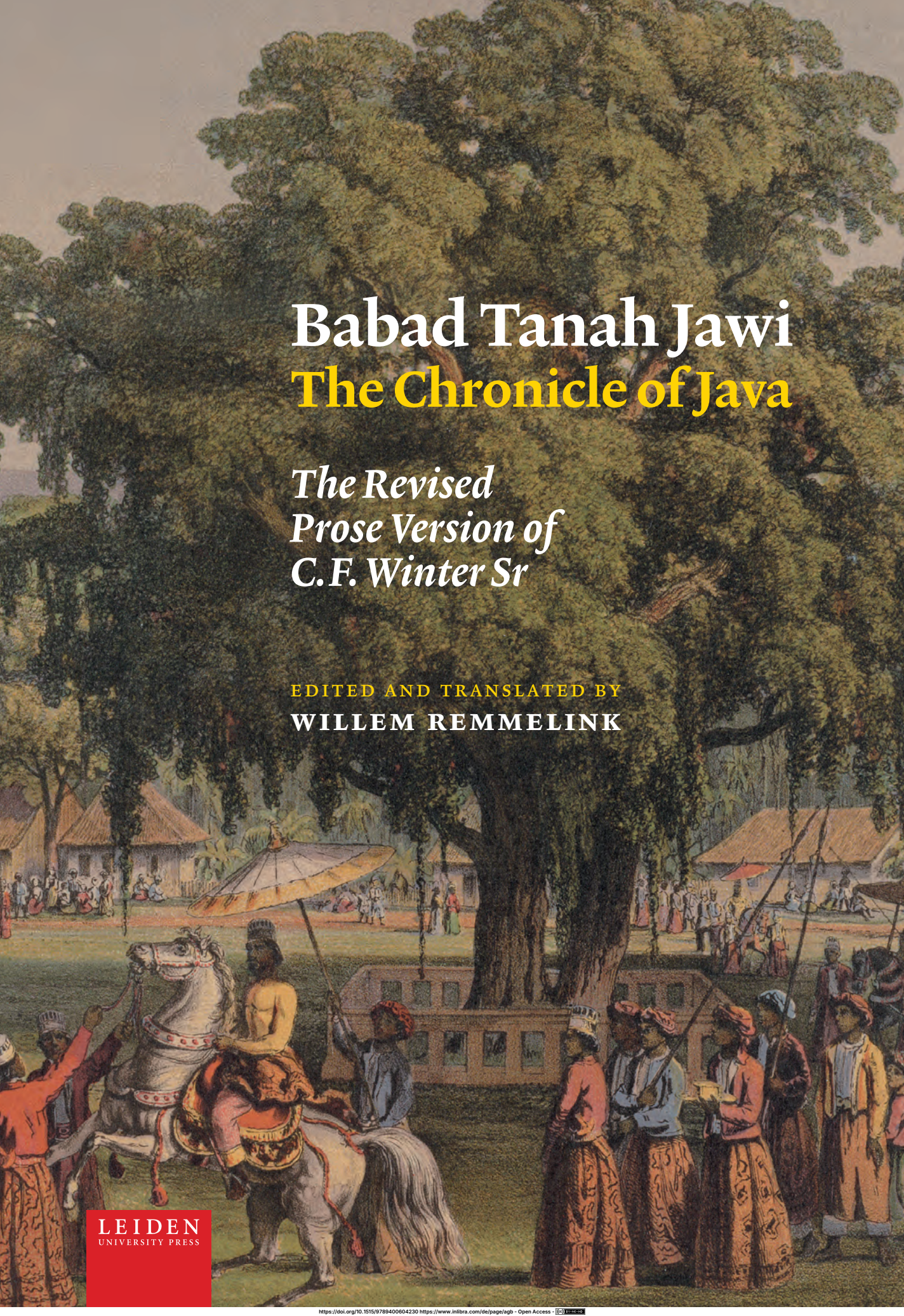




Babad Tanah Jawi The Chronicle of Java

*The Revised
Prose Version of
C.F. Winter Sr*

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
WILLEM REMMELINK

LEIDEN
UNIVERSITY PRESS

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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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Javanese font: *Rengganis* © W. van der Molen

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



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

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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 legitimization 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 legitimization, 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 legitimization 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

(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 legitimization 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 legitimization 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 legitimization 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.

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, Personalalia, 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.

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 way⁷ 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 babad⁹

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. Rummelink W.G.J., 2006, 'How authentic is authentic?' W. van der Molen (ed.), *Milde Regen; Liber amicorum voor Hans Teeuw bij zijn vijftigste verjaardag op 12 augustus 2006*. Nijmegen: Wolf Legal Publishers, pp. 188-208.

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.

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 Rangawarsita 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 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 Rangawarsita, 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.

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 Amangkura 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 eyeing 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

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.

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: Aantekeningen.

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

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

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.

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 Rangawarsita 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

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 Neerlandocentric. 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 the 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.

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 van de 15de en 16de eeuw*. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhof. Verhandelungen 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. Verhandelungen 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. Verhandelungen 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. Verhandelungen 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.

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.

Rommelink, 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 Rommelink, 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.

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

Rommelink, 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.

Rommelink, 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.]

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-Japanese 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. Verhandelungen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen 51.4.

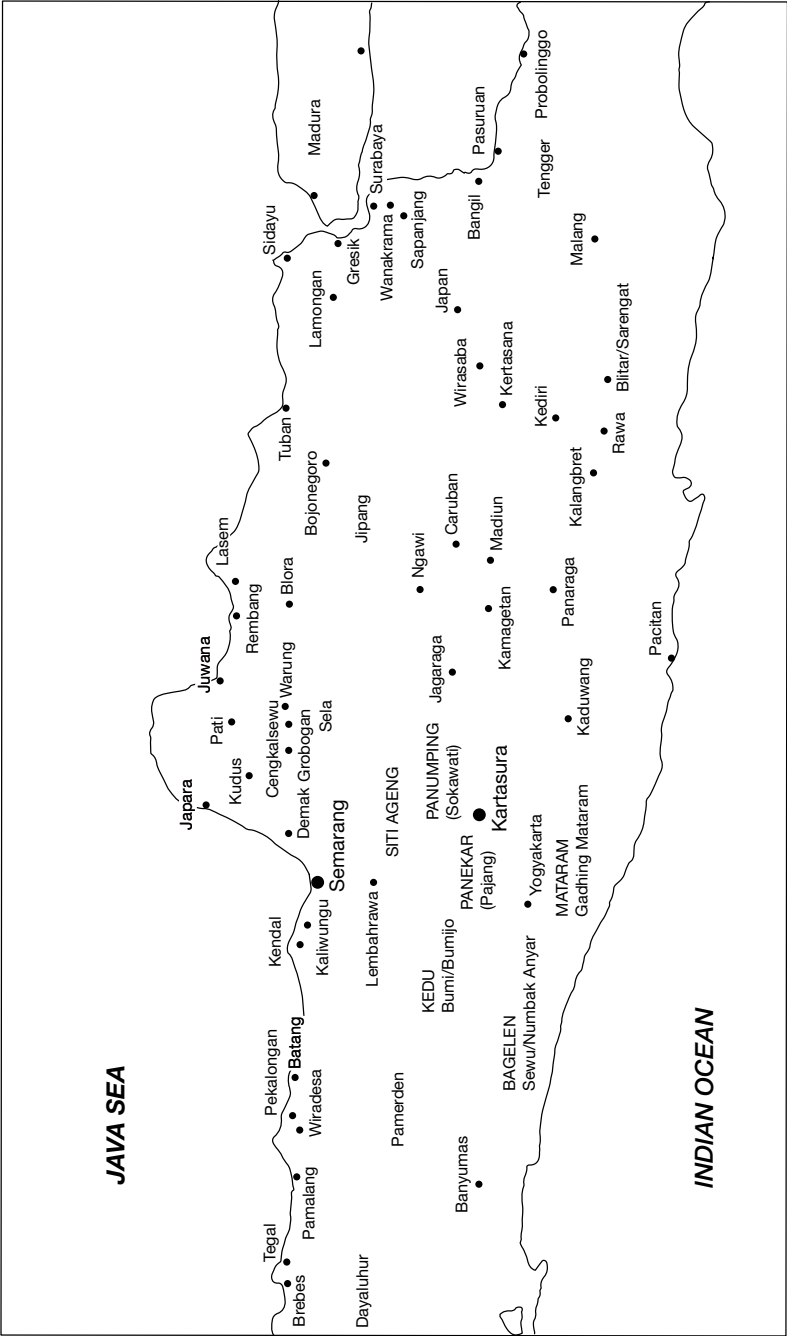
Chronological List of Javanese Kingdoms and Kings

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

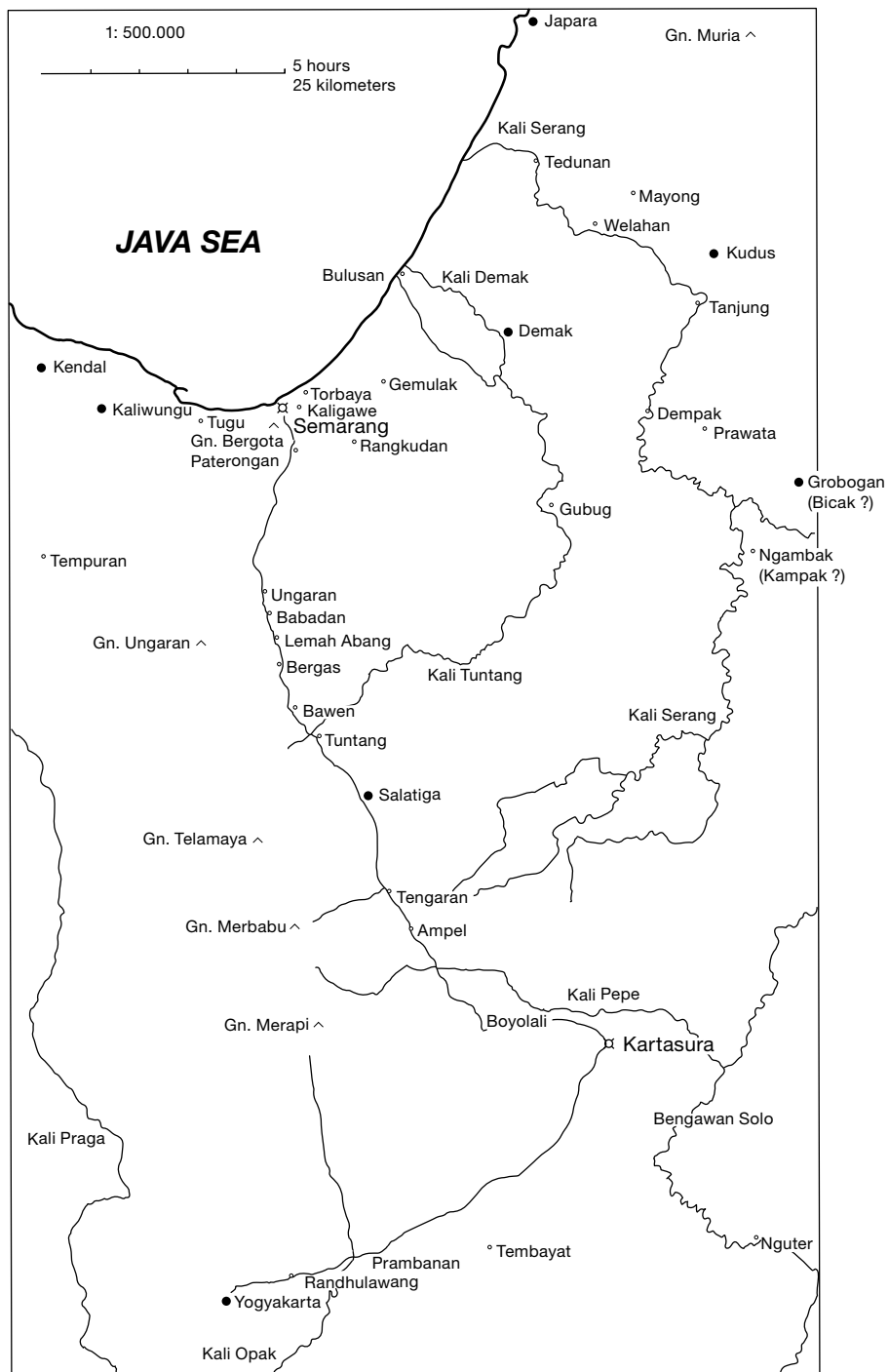
Conversion Table Javanese Era (A.J.) to Common Era (C.E.)*

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

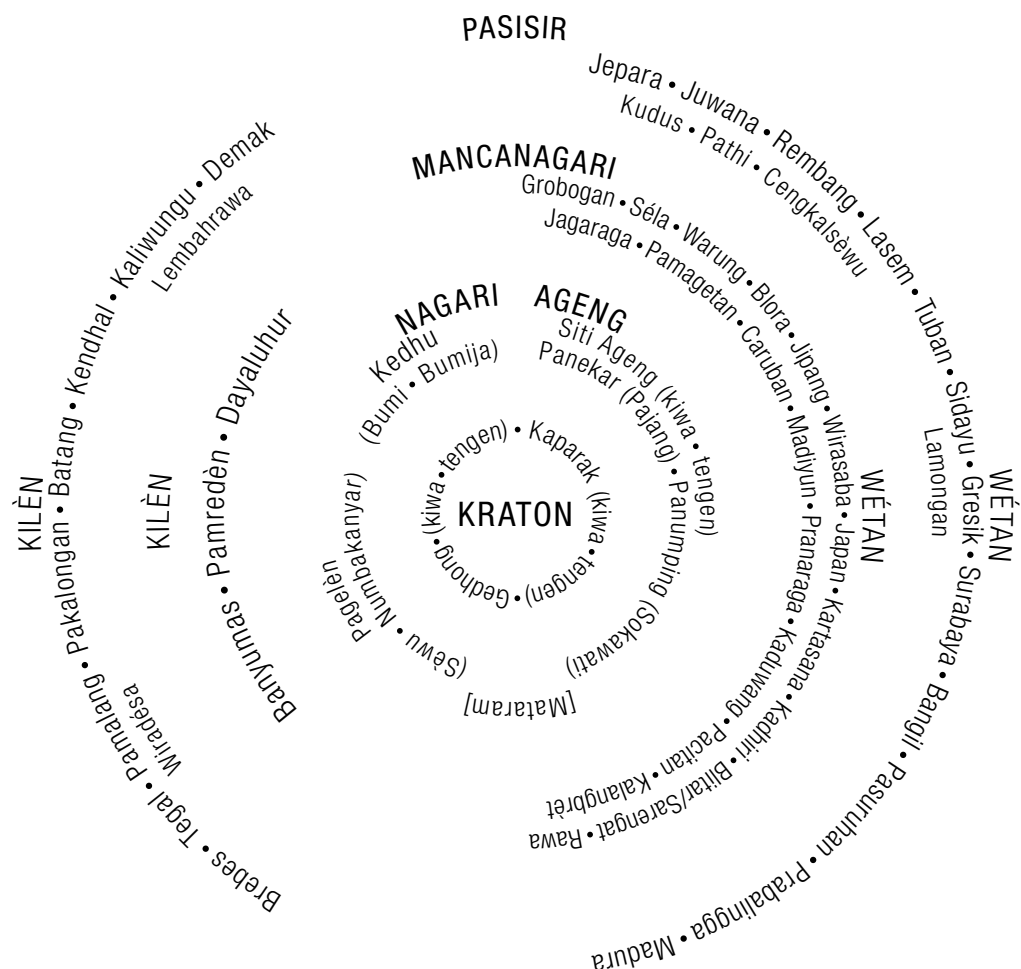
* In 1633 Sultan Agung promulgated a new dating system, combining the previous Indian luni-solar system with the Muslim lunar system, and thereby creating a unique Javanese-Muslim dating system. For the details, I refer the reader to Appendix I of M.C. Ricklefs' *Modern Javanese Historical Tradition; 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.



Map of central and eastern Java



Map of the Semarang – Kartasura area



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*

(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.

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 corvée 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.

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.



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



Prabu Watugunung of Gilingwati