THE

HISTORY

OF

JAVA.

BY THE LATE

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CHAPTER IX.

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

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

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

* "The religion of the Javans is in general Mahomedan, but mingled with many superstitious doctrines derived from the ancient Pagan worship. The Javans, however, are far from bigots to their religion, as other Mahomedans generally are. They are mild and tractable by nature, and although they do not easily forget or forgive an injury, they would be a quiet well disposed people under good laws and a mild government. The murders, and other crimes, which are now committed in some places, are to be attributed more to the present faulty administration than to any bad dispositions in the people. The same may be remarked of the indolence and indifference which now characterize them. Property in the land, with personal and commercial freedom and security, would soon render them industrious."—Hogendorp's Memoir on Java, 1800.
Pilgrimages to Mecca are common. When the Dutch first established themselves on Java, it was not unusual for the chiefs of the highest rank to undertake the voyage, as will be seen in the course of the native history. As soon, however, as the Dutch obtained a supremacy, they did all they could to check this practice, as well as the admission of Arab missionaries, and by the operation of the system of commercial monopoly which they adopted, succeeded pretty effectually. It does not, however, appear that this arose from any desire to check the progress of Mahomedanism on Java, or that it was with any view to introduce the doctrines of Christianity, that they wished to cut off the communication with Mecca; their sole objects appear to have been the safety of their own power and the tranquillity of the country. Every Arab from Mecca, as well as every Javan who had returned from a pilgrimage thither, assumed on Java the character of a saint, and the credulity of the common people was such, that they too often attributed to such persons supernatural powers. Thus respected, it was not difficult for them to rouse the country to rebellion, and they became the most dangerous instruments in the hands of the native authorities opposed to the Dutch interests. The Mahomedan priests have almost invariably been found most active in every case of insurrection. Numbers of them, generally a mixed breed between the Arabs and the islanders, go about from state to state in the Eastern Islands, and it is generally by their intrigues and exhortations that the native chiefs are stirred up to attack or massacre the Europeans, as infidels and intruders.

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

I have already mentioned, that every village has its priest, and that in every village of importance there is a mosque or building set apart adapted to religious worship. The usual Mahomedan service is performed; and the Panghulu, or priest, consulted, and decides in all cases of marriage, divorce, and inheritance. He is bound also to remind the villagers of the
proper season for the cultivation of the lands. He is remunerated by a tithe of the produce of the land, certain fees which are paid on circumcisions, marriages, divorces, and funerals, and presents which are usual at particular seasons and on particular occasions.

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

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

In their processions and rejoicings on religious festivals and other occasions, the Javans are free from that noisy clamour and uproar, which is usual with the Mahomedans of continental India. The ceremony of húsen hásen, which on the continent excites such a general noise throughout the country, here passes by almost without notice, and the processions of the Sepoys on this occasion, during the period of the British government on Java, excited the utmost astonishment among them, on account of their novelty, noise, and gaudy effect; but nobody seemed inclined to join in, or to
IMITATE THEM: INDEED THE JAVANS HAVE TOO CHASTE AN EAR TO BEAR WITH PLEASURE THE DISSONANT SOUNDS AND UNHARMONIOUS UPROAR OF THE INDIANS.


* THE JAVANS OBSERVE OF THE MAHOMEDANS OF CONTINENTAL INDIA, THAT THEY WOULD RATHER DRINK WINE THAN EAT PORK; WHILE THE JAVANS, ON THE CONTRARY, WOULD RATHER EAT PORK THAN DRINK WINE.

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

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

Singa Sari in the district of Målang, in the eastern part of the island.

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

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

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

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

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

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

**THE CHANDI KÓBON DÁLAM,**

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

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

† Récha is the term given by the Javans to all the remains of antiquity generally, but particularly to the images of their former worship.
and a half wide, and now ten feet long, so that allowing two feet for dilapidation, the thickness of the walls must have been more than twelve feet. This leads directly to an apartment twenty feet square, the terrace of which, or original floor, is now covered to an unknown depth with masses of stone fallen from the walls and roof. The present height of the interior of the building is about twenty-eight feet.

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

Excepting the two réchas, or porters, I saw no remains of statuary; but it is probable that images of Hindu deities lie buried in the rubbish. These porters or giants seem to have been posted as if to guard the approach to the sanctuaries of the gods. The hair of each is plaited and wound round his head, after the fashion of the mendicant priests of India. He wears large cylindrical ear-rings, like those of the Javan women, bracelets and necklace of beads. His waistband, which is very bulky and reaches almost to his knees, is confined by a chain of square links, and receives on the right side a small square-hilted dagger. Between his legs and under the waistband there passes a lungosa or kopina, the ends of which hang down before and behind. In his right hand he holds an octagonal club; in his left a snake, coiled and darting its tongue along the breast: small twisted snakes also form his armlets, and one passes over his left shoulder diagonally across the body, the head and tail forming a kind of knot. His head is broad; his forehead and chin short but wide; his eyes quite round, large, prominent, and staring; his lips thick; his mouth open, and shewing two very large dog teeth and four others of the upper jaw. Singular as the countenance is, it has generally an open good humoured expression. The Sepoy who attended me, and who had resided two years among the Bramins at Benares, and, of a corps of upwards of eight hundred Sepoys, was acknowledged to be the best acquainted
with such subjects, informed me that similar figures were common guardians of the entrance to the temples of India, and seemed perfectly well acquainted with their history, purpose, and distinctive accompaniments; but he was lost in surprise at the number, magnitude, and superior execution of those at Brambánan, to which he said that India could in no respect furnish a parallel. Every thing here, he said, was manifestly the work of the gods, as no human power could have effected such things. The temples at Brambánan are entirely composed of plain hewn stone without the least mixture of brick, mortar, or rubbish of any kind, even in the most extensive solid masses, or to fill up the floors and basements of the largest structures. Large trees have made their way through many of them, and give an air of high antiquity.

Close by the road side at Brambánan, and in front of the bánar's house, there are several pieces of sculpture deserving of notice. One is a very well executed relievo on two small stones, of about eighteen inches by five, within the bánar's kāmpung: it represents elephants completely caparisoned in the Hindu fashion. Another is a piece of sculpture representing the wide-extended mouth and erect curled proboscis of the elephant, having a figure (I believe of a Gópī or inferior deity or demi-god) seated in an erect posture on the animal's tongue, surrounded with a formidable array of teeth. This is found on either side of the top or bottom of flights of steps, grand entrances, or portal of all the Brambánan buildings. There is also a more finished specimen of the same kind as the last, but having instead of a Gópīa a lion, decorated with a necklace, to whose head descends from the lotos flowers which crown the elevated proboscis of the elephant, a very rich cluster of beads. Two stones are sculptured in relief with the figures of seven apes traversing a wood: they are each about two feet six inches high by two feet wide. These pieces are more damaged by time and weather than any others I met with, and perhaps more ancient. They appear to be entirely historical, and probably formed together the memorial of some legendary event, which the learning of my Brahmin did not reach: he seemed however positive that Ḥanumán was not of the number. The shield occurs twice, a reptile of the lizard kind led by a string once, and all the figures appear armed with sticks.
The only other piece of sculpture found here is of a headless naked figure, sitting on a double throne, surrounded with foliage, opposite the Bandáran at the corner of a field. The journal of Colonel Mackenzie, which had previously appeared in the Transactions of the Batavian Society, had so fully persuaded me that all these rude figures in a sitting cross-legged posture were Jain or Budhist, that I by accident only asked my companion if he knew what this was? To my astonishment he replied, that this, with all other similar images, were tupí wurri, or Hindus in the act of devotion, and that this figure was evidently a Brahmin (from the sacrificial or sacred string over his left shoulder) employed in tupisyá. I asked him whether it might be Budh? to which he replied, No; that Budh held a very low rank in the estimation of the Brahmins, who, in consequence of the schism between Brahmins and Budhists, did not choose to make tupisyá before him, or erect his likeness in their temples; and that, as all the temples at Brambánan were entirely Braminical, or had their origin from the same sect of which he himself was a member, it was not likely that any images of Budh should be found thereabouts. When we afterwards came to examine the temples at Lóro Jónran and other places, where the same figure complete appears seated in the small temples, surrounding the great central one, I pointed out to him the long-extended ears, short curled head of hair, and other marks, which I had understood served to distinguish the Jain or Budh images from all others. He said he was only more convinced that they were all simple Hindu devotees in the act of making tupisyá, in the presence of the principal deity enthroned in the grand temple in the midst of them; that this was frequently the case in India, and wherever practicable the Brahmins placed images of devotees, of exactly similar form and attitude, around the fanes of Brahma and their inferior gods; that what I called curled hair was nothing more than a peculiar kind of cap (topí he called it) worn by devotees when in the most sacred acts of tupisyá, which caps are common, he said, throughout Bengal or Hindustan, and are made for the purpose, by a particular class of people. I found the lower part of two counterpart decorated stones, having the part of the body of Ganésa in the centre of each.
They were extremely well executed and in good preservation.

CHÁNDI LÓRO JÓNGRANG; or TEMPLES OF LÓRO JÓNGRAN.

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

After repeated visits to the place, I am perfectly clear, that the temples of Jongrángan originally consisted of twenty separate buildings, besides the enclosures and gateway; that of these, six large and two small temples were within the second wall, and twelve small ones, exactly similar to each other, formed a kind of square about the exterior of the inner wall. The first temple that occurs on entering, is the small central one on the right hand of the present pathway; and though its roof is gone, a most beautiful terrace appears, which supported the building, and measures twenty-three feet six inches by twenty-two feet ten inches. At present the height of it is barely three feet and a half. The lower part contains five small niches on either side, profusely decorated and resting on small pilasters, each niche occupied by a lion, seated ex-
ACTLY SIMILAR TO THOSE DESCRIBED IN THE ELEPHANT'S MOUTH. THE INTERVALS BETWEEN THE NICHEs ARE VERY NEATLY FILLED WITH DIMINUATIVE PILASTERS AND OTHER ORNAMENTS, DISPLAYING REAL TASTE AND SKILL, WHICH AGAIN SUPPORT A DOUBLE FILLET PROJECTING ALL ROUND. ONE CARVED MOST BEAUTIFULLY, WITH A RUNNING FESTOONED BEADING, WITH INTERMEDIATE KNOTS AND PENDENTS, EACH FESTOON FILLED WITH A LIVELY REPRESENTATION OF A PARROQUET WITH EXPANDED WINGS, THE OTHER FILLET WITH A FANCY PATTERN MORE SIMPLE. ON THE OPPOSITE, OR NORTH SIDE, WAS A BUILDING SIMILAR TO THIS, BUT NOW A MOUND OF STONE.


THE IMAGE OF LÓRO JÓNgran HERE HAS EXACTLY THE SAME ATTRIBUTES AND ACCOMPANIMENTS AS THAT FOUND AT KUWíRAN, BUT IT IS LARGER, NOT AT ALL DAMAGED, PERFECTLY SMOOTH, AND WITH A POLISHED SURFACE: THE BUFFALO IS ENTIRELY RECUMBENT; THE CHARACTER OF THE COUNTENANCE, GENERAL FIGURE, AND ATTITUDES, ARE VERY DIFFERENT, AND THE SHAPE, ATTITUDE, AND VISAGE OF THE GODDESS, FAR LESS ELEGANT AND FEMININE. THE FIGURE AT BRAMBÁNAN IS SIX FEET THREE INCHES BY THREE FEET ONE INCH IN THE WIDEST PART AT THE PEDESTAL; THAT AT KUWíRAN IS THREE FEET NINE INCHES HIGH BY TWENTY INCHES. THE GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THIS GODDESS, AS READ TO ME BY THE BRAMIN FROM A Sanscrit paper he copied at Benares, will serve to illustrate both these images, in the literal precise manner in which I took down his words.

"Bhawáni, DÉvi, Socá, Juggudumba, Mahamya, Lutala, Phulmuttis, and Mata, are the designations of this powerful goddess, who resides at Shasi or Basini (Benares), at an angle of the sacred Ganges. Her adoration is called urchit with oblations of flowers, chundun, kundun, and mukt.
"In her hand she holds a *tulwar*, called *khurg*; round her neck she has a *mala* of *sumpurun*, *toolsi*, or *chundun*. Her weight is very great, and wherever her effigy is placed the earth trembles and becomes much heavier. The name of her buffalo is *Mahisa*, and the *Devth* who attempts to slay it is *Ussoor*. She sleeps upon a bed of flowers."

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

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

Proceeding over the ruins round to the west face of this building, you pass the intermediate angular projection, carved alternately in a running flower or foliage, which Colonel Mackenzie has called *Arabesque*, and with small human figures of various form and attitude in compartments, above representations of square pyramidal temples, exactly like those on so many of the entablatures of *Bōro Bōdo*, and similar, I understand, to the *Budh* temples of Ava, &c. &c., the whole extremely rich and minute beyond description. The western doorway is equally plain with the former, and the entrance is still lower. The apartment is ten feet two inches square, apparently more filled up (that is, the floor raised higher than the other), but in all other respects exactly the same. In front is seated a complete *Ganēsa*, of smooth or polished stone, seated on a throne: the whole a single block, five and a half feet high and three wide. In his hands he has a plantain, a circlet of beads, a flower, and a cup to which the end of his proboscis is applied: a hooded snake
encircles his body diagonally over the left shoulder. His cap is high, with a death's head and horned moon in front, and as well as his necklaces, waistband, armlets, bracelets, anklets, and all his habiliments, is profusely decorated. The only damage he appears to have sustained, is in losing all but the roots of his tusks.

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

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

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

The three large temples on the eastern line are in a state of utter ruin. They appear to have been very large and lofty,
and perfectly square. The upper terraces, just under the supposed entrances, were visible in some places, at the height of about sixty feet.

**CHÁNDI SÉWU, or THE THOUSAND TEMPLES.**

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

The character and expression of the face I have never met with elsewhere: it belongs neither to India nor to any of the eastern isles. The countenance is full, round, and expressive of good humour. The eyes are large, prominent, and circular; the nose is prominent and wide, and in profile seems pointed; the upper lip is covered with tremendous mustaches; the mouth is large and open, with a risible character, shewing two very large dog-teeth; the under lip thin, and the chin very strait and short; forehead the same; no neck visible; the breast broad and full, with a very prominent round belly; the lower limbs, as well as the arms, extremely short and
stout. But the most extraordinary appendage of these porters, is a very large full-bottomed wig, in full curl all over, which, however, the Brahmin assured me (and I really believe) is intended to represent the usual mode in which the Moonis are supposed to dress their natural hair; these gigantic genii, whose duty it is to guard the sanctuaries of the gods, requiring as formidable an appearance as possible. In other respects the images are in the Hindu costume. The lungota passes between the legs, the ends of it decorated, hanging down before and behind, over the waistband, and a curious square-linked chain, which encircles the waist. A snake entwines the body diagonally over the left shoulder, the tail and head twisted on the left breast. A small ornamented dagger is stuck in the girdle on the right loins. A pointed club of an octagonal form is held up in the right hand, and rests on the knee; the left hand, dropped down his side, grasps a circled snake, which seems to bite the fore-part of the left arm. The necklace is of filagree-work (such as is called star); and the ears, which are large and long, are decorated with the immense ornamented cylindrical ear-rings worn by the Javan women of the present day. Round the two arms are twisted snakes, and round the wrist bracelets of beads. The waist-band extends nearly to the knees. From the waist upwards the figure is naked.

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

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

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

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

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

We now come to the great temple. You ascend from each of the cardinal points by a flight of fourteen stone steps, all rough hewn, and now mostly disjointed or displaced. The length of each flight was about sixteen feet to the edge of the upper step, the breadth eight over all, and the height about ten feet, that being the elevation of the terrace of the temple. The walls of this elevated terrace projected on either side of the steps, so as to form with the walls that received the steps three sides of squares, which the Sepoy who was with me immediately said must have been intended for small tanks, one at each side of every flight of steps, for the devotees to purify themselves in before their appearance
at the shrine of the deity. On the third step from the bottom, on each side of it, was a figure of Hastu Singh (or the lion seated in the elephant’s mouth), looking outwards and having a very fine effect. The same figures, facing outwards, supported each side of the four entrances to the vestibules. The terrace has a breadth of three feet and a half, clear of the walls of the temple all round, and as far as I could discern in the ruin, following the angles of the edifice.

The form of the building, like that at Loro Jóngaran, is a cross, with the same intermediate angular projection, in order to afford room for the grand central apartment. Entering from the east you pass through a portal, five feet eight inches in width by five feet nine inches in length (which is the thickness of the walls), into an outer vestibule, twelve feet wide by ten deep. The walls of this vestibule are ornamented with three niches, a large and two smaller ones, with pointed arches, and all the profuse decoration of Hindu architectural sculpture. In most of these niches remained the throne of the inferior deities, who the Sepoy said must have originally occupied them: not one was now to be found. The throne was generally a single stone, decorated in front with a vase and profusion of flowers, filling the whole space in a natural easy manner. Leaving this room you pass on through a door-way four feet five inches in width, and four feet in depth (the thickness of the wall), but of uncertain height, to a second vestibule, fourteen feet nine inches wide, and four feet four inches deep. At either end of this vestibule is a door, twenty-six inches wide in the clear, four feet two inches deep in the passage or width of the wall, and barely five feet and a half high, which communicates with the surrounding terrace. This vestibule is perfectly plain, with the exception of a raised spiral fluting, which surrounds the large portal or gate leading into the central apartment, and terminates near the bottom steps in the representation of the elephant’s mouth and trunk, simply cut in relief on the wall, with no other addition but several strings of beads descending from the top of his proboscis. The roofs of the vestibules or limbs of the building, though entirely fallen, were originally shaped like the Syrian, that is pointed and falling down to the upper cornice of the walls, with a gentle double swell or
curve. The northern limb is an entire mass of confusion and ruin; but the description just given of the double vestibule on the east side of the temple, answers with a very trifling variation of dimensions to those on the south and west, but that instead of the large and spacious portal to be seen on the east, there are five very lofty niches let into the main walls about a foot, with pointed Indian arches, standing on square pilasters of the same fashion, the capitals of each of which are supported by a small, squat, doubled-up human figure, having its arms embowed over its head, which my Cicerone informed me was very common in the like situations in India. He concluded also, that images of the gods had occupied the niches in front against the main walls of the temple, on the north, south, or west sides; but we saw not one, and only the centre niches had even the thrones remaining. The niches and pilasters are surmounted with a very deep elaborate projecting cornice, crowned again with five representations of small temples on each side, and immediately over these are seen the two swells or curves of the original Syrian roof.

So far we have gone on a level with the external terrace or platform which surrounds the whole; but on the east side you ascend by a flight of eight steps, at least six feet high, through the spacious portal before mentioned, which is twelve feet high from the top of these stairs, and six feet eight inches wide in the clear, formed entirely of massive blocks of stones, well squared. The depth of the passage or thickness of the wall is ten feet. The top of the portal, which is flat or square externally, surmounted in the centre with a very large and terrible gorgon visage, changes with the ascent of the stairs, in a very artful manner, to the pyramidal form, internally, formed by the overhanging of the stones to resemble inverted square steps closed at the top with a single stone. You thus find yourself in the sanctum sanctorum, the spot which has rewarded the toil and zeal of many a weary pilgrim. My expectations were raised, and I imagined I should find the great and all-powerful Brahma seated here, in glory and majesty proportionate to the surrounding splendour and magnificence of his abode. Not a single vestige, however, remains of Brahma, or of any other deity. The apartment is a plain,
unadorned square, of twenty-one by eighteen feet. Four feet from the eastern wall or door is a raised platform, three feet and a half high, extending all across the room (north and south), surmounted with a deep projecting capital or crest, to ascend which are two small flights of six steps each, situated at the extremities on either hand. The walls of this sanctuary, to the height of about forty feet, rise square and plain, and are composed of uniform blocks of greyish stone, well squared, and fitting closely without cement, grooved into each other, according to the general manner of all the buildings at Brambánan. Above this is a projected cornice of three or four stones, from which the roof assumes the pyramidal form of overhanging stones, or inverted steps, to the height of ten feet nearly; thence it rises perpendicular, plain and square, for about ten feet more, and hence to the top in an octagonal pyramid of overhanging stones, approaching each other gradually by tiers or layers, for nearly fifteen feet more, where it closes finally with a stone, about two and a half or three feet across.

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

Of the small temples, at least two-thirds are strewed along the ground, or are mere ruined heaps of stone, earth, and jungle. On the third quadrangle no more than six large heaps of dilapidation remain: fields of palma christi, sugar-cane, and tobacco, occupy the place, and many detached spots on the site of the temples. Not one, in fact, is at all perfect: large trees and many kinds of herbage have shot up and split
them asunder. They are covered with the foliage which has hastened or produced their destruction, certainly prematurely; for the stone itself, even externally, and where it would be most perceptible, on the sculpture, exhibits not the least token of decay. The whole devastation is caused by a most luxuriant vegetation. Towering directly over the temples the waringin, or stately banyan, is conspicuous, both for its appearance and the extraordinary damage it has caused. In short, hardly twenty of the temples give a satisfactory notion of their original form and structure.

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

Returning from Chándi Séwu towards Lóro Jöngran, about half-way on the left of the road, two hundred yards distant, are the remains of a small assemblage of temples, which, on examination, proved to consist originally of a small square of fourteen temples, with a larger one in the centre. Five temples were on the east and west faces, and four on the north and south, including throughout those at the angles. The only difference, however, between these temples and the small ones of Chándi Séwu was, that they were rather smaller, and the elevated terraces raised much higher, those of Chándi Séwu not being a foot above the ground, while these were raised nearly four feet, and had a small flight of steps and a door-way inwards towards the middle temple. The exterior
of all these buildings was perfectly plain, excepting a very simple square pilaster and cornice surmounting it. The central building alone possessed the very same kind of decorative sculpture which is seen on those of Chándi Séwu, was about twice the size of its neighbours, and about four feet larger either way than those of Chándi Séwu, from which it only further differed from having no porch. I shall only add to this brief notice, that the whole site of this cluster seems comprised in an area of eighty feet by sixty; that the spaces between the temples of this quadrangle are equal to the extent of each building; that only nine of the exterior temples, of which one is a mere heap of stones, exist in any form indicating their primitive order or position; and lastly, that no statuary of any kind remains, to indicate the deity in whose honour they were erected, except the relievos in the eleven niches round the central building, which certainly seemed, as the Bramin asserted, to be of the tribe of Gopias, or demi-gods and goddesses, which occupy the walls of the two hundred and ninety-six temples of Chándi Séwu.

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

REMAINS at DINÁNG'AN, or RÁNDU GÜNTING.

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

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

The external appearance of this edifice is really very striking and beautiful. The composition and execution of its outer surface evinces infinite taste and judgment, indefatigable patience and skill. Nothing can exceed the correctness and minute beauties of the sculpture throughout, which is not merely profuse, but laboured and worked up to a pitch of peculiar excellence, scarcely suitable to the exterior of any building, and hardly to be expected in much smaller subjects in the interior of the cabinet. It originally stood upon an elevated terrace of from four to six feet in height, of solid stone. The exterior dimensions of this building are fifty-seven feet and a half by thirty-three and a half, measured along the walls just above the terrace or line of the original basement, which is divided obviously enough into three parts,
by the centre projecting nearly a foot, and the general cor-
respondent composition or arrangement observable in each.
The door in the centre is four feet eight inches and a half
wide, surmounted with the wide-gaping, monstrous visage,
before described at Chándi Séwu, from which runs round each
side of the portal a spiral-fluted chord, ending near the bottom
in a large sweep or flourish, inclosing each a caparisoned
elephant in a rising posture; the space left over its hinder
quarters being filled with the face of a munnooK, or human
being, all in the usual style of relief. At either side of the
door the original coat of stone has fallen, as far as the ex-
tremities of the vestibule, which covered the whole central
compartment of the east or front of the building. In the
middle of each of the other divisions is an aperture or window,
nearly a square of eighteen inches, having a very deep and
projected double resemblance of a cornice beneath, resting on
the upper fillet of the terrace, while the same single projection
crowns the top of the window, surmounted with a more lofty
and elegant device of two elephants’ heads and trunks, embel-
llished and joined in a most tasteful way, with a profusion of
other devices. On either side of the windows is a small double
pilaster, having a space between for the figure of a small
garúda, an effigy well known by the Hindus, which is human
down to the waist, and has the body, wings, and talons of an
eagle. Beyond the second pilaster, on each side of the win-
dows, is a large niche rising from the terrace to the cornice or
division between the upper and lower story. The niche is
sunk in the wall about four inches, and is formed by the ad-
joining pilasters rising straight to their capitals, whence the
top of the niche is formed by a very beautiful series of curved
lines, leaving the point clear in the centre, which I can hardly
compare to any thing but rounded branches of laurel, or some
such foliage. This is crowned with a square projecting fillet,
which reaches the central cornice dividing the two floors.
Beyond the last pilaster of the niches, a single stone brings
you to the angle of the building, which is covered from top to
bottom with the running arabesque border, most delicately
executed. On entering the building, the mind of every one
must be fully satisfied that it was never constructed for, or
dedicated to, mere religious purposes. The arrangement is
entirely adapted to the domestic residence of a great Hindu chieftain or raja.

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

CHÁNDI KÁLI BÉNING.

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

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

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

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

The exterior sides of the vestibules occupy an extent of eleven feet and a half, in the centre of which is a niche, much larger and deeper than those in the front, being about six feet high and two wide, and one deep in the clear, supported on either side by a real Hindu pilaster, already described, and the top of the niche surmounted with the gorgon head and pyramidal temple, equally well known by description. Each
of these niches was formerly occupied with solid statues, I imagine of Gopia. On either side of these single niches are the same series of terminating pilasters (three in number), which occur also on the fronts of the vestibules, of which the centre one is a very magnificent running arabesque, from top to bottom; the two others are plain without any variation.

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

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

The temple which I have just described stands close to the north side of the village of Káli Béning, east of which is the river of that name; and as I had never before heard of any thing further in this quarter, I fancied my work was over, I was, however, most agreeably surprised, on being told by my Javan guides that there was something more to be seen directly south of the village behind us. We accordingly passed through it, and barely one hundred and fifty yards from the temple, in a high sugar-cane and palma christi plantation, we came suddenly on two pair of very magnificent gigantic porters, all facing eastwards, each having stood about twelve feet from the others. The pedestals of all these statues are nearly covered, or rather entirely sunk into the ground. The height of each figure, from the top of the pedestal, is five feet one inch and a half, and breadth at the shoulders three feet six inches. They are generally much better executed, defined, and consequently more marked and striking in their appearance, than those I had seen. The countenance is much more marked and expressive, the nose more prominent and pointed, the eyebrows meeting in a formidable frown. The hair flows all round and down the back in large ringlets and curls, and on the ankles, instead of
beads, are the small circular bells common in India, under the name of googoor. These figures are called Gopolo. Behind the second pair of porters, or west of them, is a heap of ruins of brick and mortar, which proved on examination to be the remains of an ancient hall of audience or state, originally standing on fourteen pillars, with a verandah all round it standing on twenty-two pillars. The porters guarded this building exactly in the centre of its eastern front: the nearest pair scarcely thirty feet distant from it. The greatest length of the building was east and west. The inner apartment over all gave forty-seven feet in length, including the pillars: the width of the hall was twenty-eight feet and a half in the same way. A verandah, of twelve feet and a half wide all round over the pillars, surrounded the hall.

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

BÓRO BÓDO.

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

* So termed by the people of the neighbouring villages. Bóro is the name of the district, bódo means ancient.
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fallen in, only about twenty feet high. This is surrounded by a triple circle of towers, in number seventy-two, each occupied by an image looking outwards, and all connected by a stone casing of the hill, which externally has the appearance of a roof.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Here, according to the tradition of the Javans, are to be found the ruins of *Arjéna*, *Gatut Kácha*, *Bóma*, *Derma Karáma*, *Sa Děva*, and other characters who figured in the *Bráta Yúdha*, or war of the *Pándus*.
rounding country, which is some thousand feet above the level of the sea, are found the remains of various temples, idols, and other sculpture, too numerous to be described in this place. A subject in stone, having three faces, and another with four arms, having a ball or globe in one hand and a thunderbolt in another, were the most conspicuous.

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

At no great distance from this crater, in a north-west direction, is situated a plain or table-land, surrounded on all sides but one by a ridge of mountains about a thousand feet above it. At some very remote period it was perhaps itself the crater of a vast volcano. On its border are the remains of four temples of stone, greatly dilapidated, but manifestly by the effect of some violent shock or concussion of the earth. The largest of them is about forty feet square: the walls are ten feet thick, and the height about thirty-five feet. The only apartment which it contains is not more than twenty feet square, and has only one entrance. The roof is arched to a point in the centre, about twenty feet high above the walls, so that the whole building was almost one solid mass of masonry, composed of the most durable cut stone, in blocks of from one to two feet long and about nine inches square. Yet these walls, so constructed, are rent to the bottom. It was particularly observable, that little or no injury had been done by vegetation, the climate being unfa-
vourable to the *waringen*, whose roots are so destructive to the buildings of the lower regions. The entablatures of these buildings still exhibit specimens of delicate and very elegant sculpture. Several deep excavations are observed in the neighbourhood. These, it is said, were made by the natives, in search of gold utensils, images, and coins, many of which have, from time to time, been dug up here.

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

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

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

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

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

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

KEDIRI, &c.

"In the districts of Jagarága, Charúban, Ráva, Kalàng-
bret, Trengáli, Pranarága, and Magetán, these antiquities
are dispersed solitary at occasional points, and consist prin-
cipally of images or réchas. The remains of buildings, and
of towns and cities, generally distinguished by the name of
Kota-bedáh, are also noticed; but Mádion, Kértasaña, Ke-
déri, and Srengášt, contain very important and interesting
antiquities.

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

Commencing my notices from the westward, I have to
point out in Mádion four monuments, or stones covered with
inscriptions: these, with several pedestals and other remains
of ancient buildings, have been collected and employed at
Manuspáti, the capital of Mádion, lately established by Ráden
Róngga, the well known rebel of the Yugya-kerta court. On
the largest of these monuments the characters of the inscrip-
tion are still in a great degree distinguishable, and these I
have carefully taken off; on the others, which are smaller,
the characters, although completely perceivable, are too much
obliterated by the decomposition and decay of the substance
of the stone to afford a copy. Besides these inscriptions; re-
 mains of buildings, pedestals, and réchas of different sizes,
have also been collected from various parts of this province,
and employed to decorate a well and bath near the capital.
After a considerable interruption, which contains no remains
at present, I discovered, in a direction almost due east from
Manuspáti, in the district of Anjóy, a monument with an in-
scription in a more perfect state. In form this, as well as the
others, resembles the common tomb-stones of our burial grounds, exceeding them only in size: its dimensions have been carefully taken. Four sides are covered with characters; two of these were in a state sufficiently preserved to be copied with only occasional deficiencies. This stone was placed near a chándi, of which the ruins only remain. It was two stories high, built of elegant bricks, according to the usual plan and distribution. In size, it nearly agrees with that of Jábung, near Probolinggo. It is obvious, that both the dimensions and the general plan of the numerous chándis found in these eastern districts, built of these materials, are similar; at least they do not exhibit that variety, both in size and distribution, that is observed among the larger edifices built of stone.

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

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

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

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

In an eastern direction from the capital of Kediri, the antiquities of Sénulu and of Prudung are the most remarkable. Sénulu is situated near the district of Tiga-wángi, in a forest, the condition of which indicates an undisturbed vegetation for many successive ages. The dimensions of the principal edifice, now remaining nearly entire, are comparatively inconsiderable, but the workmanship is executed in a style of elegance, equal to that of any antiquity found on the island. By the present inhabitants the building is denominated a chánkup, which word, in as far as it admits of a precise translation, denotes a place of burial or a repository of the dead. It appears to resemble, in its general scheme, several of the other principal antiquities of Java, being a solid massy structure, without any internal apartment or chamber, as a chándi, but affording, on the summit, an extensive platform or place of devotion, to which one of the sides is appropriated to furnish an ascent, while the others are perpendicular. The access to the chánkup was from the west. Not only the sides of the stairs, but the perpendicular walls of the building, are ornamented
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by entablatures, the internal divisions of which are covered by elegant sculpture, while the projections are carved into a great variety of forms, which can only be represented clearly by a drawing. A few images, removed from their original situation, are dispersed through different parts of the surrounding area, displaying an exquisite workmanship. On the sum-
mit remains an highly elegant reservoir of water of uncommon dimensions. The plan of this building is a nearly regular square, the sides of which are about thirty-six feet in length.

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

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

In proceeding from Sêntul, in an eastern direction, to the ex-
tronymity of the province of Kedîrî, solitary remains of an-
tiquity are occasionally found; and it is probable that these extend, without considerable interruption, towards the cele-
brated antiquities of Mălang. Among these, tâgus or land-
marks are also observed.

The chândi of Prădung is situated about eight miles south-
west of Sêntul. Though constructed entirely of brick, this edifice deserves particular notice. It exceeds in its dimen-
sions and importance all other edifices built of the same ma-
terials that I have seen. Besides a principal apartment, the entrance to which is from the west, it contains in the east, the north, and the south, smaller apartments on the same floor,
whose entrance corresponds to the niches usually observed in
the walls. The projecting base containing the stairs has been
destroyed, and one ascends at present to view the interior of
the chándi by a ladder, the height of about twenty feet. The
dimensions of the ornaments and figures on the sides corre-
respond to the size of the building, and the sculpture is executed
in a superior style. Following a southern direction, réchas,
reservoirs of water, mortars, fragments of buildings and orna-
ments, are found at almost every village. Near the boundary,
but within the province of Sreng'át, a chándi of brick, of the
usual size, still remains entire near the village Genéngan.

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

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

Proceeding in a nearly north-east direction, I visited the
antiquities at Penatárán. These, if not of the first rank, must
doubtless be considered as belonging to those of second im-
portance and interest, both on account of extent and execu-
tion; but a complete and accurate description would require
a detail too extensive for my present purpose. The greatest
part of these antiquities is now in ruins. Their general plan indicates an appropriation both to purposes of devotion and habitation. They comprize an extensive area of an oblong form, which was surrounded by an external wall of which the foundations can be traced throughout, and the whole was divided into three compartments. The principal edifice is situated in the eastern compartment, and was only accessible after passing three separate gates, which are all discernible, although much decayed. They are individually guarded, as at Chándi sáhu and Singa-sári, by porters resting on their hams, while a knee is drawn up to support the hand clasping a club of proportionate size. The principal gate, in ancient times probably the only entrance, is of huge dimensions, and guarded by porters of gigantic size. This led to the first subdivision of the whole area, in which two elevated plains, of an oblong form, confined by walls rising above the surrounding territory, and in all probability the floors of former places of dwelling, are the most interesting objects that now remain.

One of these plains extends to the north-east extremity, having been in contact with the external wall, as appears from its relative situation to the gate, and to the foundations that still exist; this is of great dimensions: the other inclines more to the middle of this compartment, and is somewhat less in extent. Both exhibit the appearance of having supported a building, and are elevated at present about three feet above the level of the surrounding forest, while the same depth is concealed by a layer of vegetable mould, accumulated during many successive ages. The sides of the smaller plain are covered with elegant sculpture in relief, the detail of the design of which would alone require a considerable time. Four entrances are indicated by as many flights of steps, the sides of which are elegantly decorated, and the pedestals still remaining at regular intervals along the confines, having the form of truncated pyramids, appear to shew that it was covered by a roof supported by wooden pillars, somewhat in the style of the pasébens of the present Javans. Similar pedestals are likewise placed in regular order along the sides of the large plain, which has the same number of entrances as the smaller, of which those in the north and south are guarded by porters of comparatively small stature.
The second compartment is less extensive than the western: a small chándi of excellent workmanship, built of stone, here attracts particular notice. The remains of various buildings, pedestals, and broken ornaments, are also observed, and it is probable that others are concealed by the forest and mould which covers this compartment, which must be considered as the vestibule to the third or eastern division, containing the principal edifice: this of the various remains of the whole area deserves the most attention. It is indeed a surprising and a wonderful work: both the labour required in the construction, and the art displayed in the decoration are incalculable. The general base is a large square, but each of the sides has a particular projection in the middle, the largest being in the west, where the ascents are placed, by which the outline exhibits twelve angles. It belongs to the same class of buildings as that at Sénul, containing no chamber or vacancy within, but exhibiting a solid mass, highly decorated at the sides, and affording externally places of devotion. It consists of three different compartments, successively of smaller dimensions. Two pair of steps, one to the north, the other to the south of the most projecting part of the western side, lead to the area furnished by the lower compartment, the form of which agrees with the general base. From the middle of the most projecting part of the western side of this area, a single flight of steps conducts to the second, and is immediately continued to the third area on the summit of the whole building. The second compartment does not agree in form with the general base, but by means of the diverging of the sides in a direction opposite to the most projecting parts of the lower area, it furnishes in the west a plain before the steps, and in the north, the south, and the east, extensive areas or squares, which were probably destined for particular worship. By the form of the second compartment the second area is likewise modified; but to demonstrate this a plan would be required; and I shall only add, that the upper area was a regular square, but as appears from the remains of various foundations, subdivided into partitions.

Here the figure of Bráma (the récha with four faces) is placed alone, of a workmanship and finish superlatively excellent. It is to be remarked in this place, that besides this,
only one image is found on this structure, attached to the walls of the second compartment, facing the smaller area on the base, from which it appears to have been worshipped. I shall not enter into a detail of the sculpture which covers all the sides of the three compartments: its diversity far exceeds the bounds of my examination or description. In the intelligent visitor it excites astonishment, and displays a degree of art and of taste, equal, as far as my opportunities for observation have extended, to that of any of the other remains of antiquity found on Java.

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

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

Proceeding further east, the ruins in the district of Mâlang next attract our attention. These I visited in 1815.
RUINS AT SINGA SARI, &c. IN THE DISTRICT OF MALANG.

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

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

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

On entering the chândi, to which we ascended by stones which had evidently been once placed as steps, we observed a very deep excavation, and a large square stone upset and thrown on one side. We ordered it to be filled up and the large stone replaced. There was a round hole passing completely through the centre of this stone, which, whether it had been an altar, the pedestal to some image, or a yôni, we could not ascertain.
Without the building, on part of the ruins which appeared to have been the lower terrace, we noticed two porters, with clubs in their hands, resting on the shoulder. The features were entirely defaced, and the images rude; but we easily recognized their similarity to the porters at Brambánan. They were, however, not above three feet high.

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

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

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

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

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

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

At the distance of about a hundred yards from this spot, we were conducted to a magnificent Ganésa of a colossal size, most beautifully executed, and in high preservation.
The pedestal is surrounded by skulls, and skulls seem used not only as ear-rings, but as the decoration of every part to which they can be applied. The head and trunk are very correct imitations of nature. The figure appears to have stood on a platform of stone; and from the number of stones scattered, it is not improbable it may have been inclosed in a niche or temple.

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

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

Having visited all that could be traced in the vicinity of Sínga Sári, we proceeded on to Máláng, distant thirteen pails from Léwangs, and in the evening we visited the ruins of Sápit-úrangs, usually called Kotah Bédah, or demolished fort, the site of the last establishment of the refugees from Majapáhit.

The wall of this fortification is of brick, and the foundation is traced without difficulty. We rode round it within side, and as far as we could calculate it could not measure less than two miles round. It is of an irregular figure, but in a position rendered remarkably strong by two rivers, which run their course round three-fourths of the wall, and then unite.
The depth from the wall to the rivers is from fifty to a hundred feet, and in some places still more; in many parts the descent is nearly perpendicular. Where the rivers do not encircle the walls, a deep moat is cut from one river to the other, which is easily flooded by stopping the course of either river. It is about seventy-five feet wide and not less than fifty deep, even in its present state, filled up no doubt considerably, and in many parts cultivated. There appear to be several dwellings, if not villages, within the walls, and a good deal of cultivation, principally of tobacco.

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

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

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

This temple is just within the skirts of a forest.

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

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

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

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

Previously to leaving Málăng we took sketches of two images brought in from the fort, and also of the image of a man, peculiar from the manner in which the hair was tied. At Málăng, also, I received from the Tumung'gung a small square stone-box, containing a golden lingam; this had been discovered three months before, about a cubit under ground, by a peasant, while digging for stones to build his cooking
place. The lingam had originally two very small red stones within it, something like rubies; one of them was lost before it was delivered to me, the other by the party examining it.

TEMPLES AT SÚKU.

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

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

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

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

The approach is from the west, through three porches or gateways, of which the outermost alone is now standing; but enough remains of the second and third to indicate a similarity of construction. This porch is a building of about six-
teen feet high, in tolerable preservation, of a pyramidal form. The entrance is seven feet and a half high, and about three feet wide; a gorgon head forms the key-stone of the arch. The ascent is first by seven, and shortly after by three steps; and in relief, on the centre of the flooring under the porch, is a representation of the male and female pudenda.

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

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

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

Lying on the first terrace we observed several scattered stones, having various devices sculptured on them, some of human figures, one of a tiger wanting the head, which had been broken off, and several of elephants and oxen. On one we noticed the representation of a man on horseback, followed by five spearmen and a páyong bearer. We then ascended
by five steps to the second terrace, on which were also some scattered ruins of buildings and sculpture. Ascending again three steps we came to the third terrace, when the principal building appeared in front; at the distance of about ninety feet. The ruins of several other temples and buildings also appeared in irregular heaps on each side of its front.

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

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

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

Near these, on the south side of the entrance, stand the remains of two temples, in one of which we discovered the ashes of fire recently kindled. The natives who attended informed us that the peasantry of the neighbouring villages were still in the habit of burning incense and kindling fire in this temple, and that when they suffered under or dreaded any misfortune, they made an offering of this nature in the hope of averting it. The building is about seven feet square, and on all sides various images are sculptured on it.
The other building, which is still further south, has a terrace in the centre, the steps ascending to which are still perfect. The building appears to retain nothing of its original pyramidal form, except at the south-east corner.

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

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

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

* See No. 7 of the Plate, from the ruins of Subru.
† See No. 2, same Plate. ‡ See No. 1, same Plate.
§ See No. 3, same Plate.
|| An establishment consisting of a certain number of men and horses always kept in readiness for the public service.
cock. This figure occurs frequently in relief with some variation: sometimes with a fan-tail, and its wings extended, so as almost to form a circle*; in another the face appears devoid of flesh, and the figure is standing with one foot on an elephant and the other on a tortoise†.

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

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

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

* See No. 4, same Plate.  † See No. 6, same Plate.
‡ See No. 8, same Plate.
§ See No. 10, same Plate: others of the same kind were subsequently discovered at Kedrī and farther east.
above the point, with a circle and other ornaments in the centre, so as to represent the sun; to the right of this is a representation of the moon in the first quarter; and further again to the right a small circle, representing a star: the whole in relief, very correctly executed, and in good preservation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Chándi Banyukúning (yellow water), which are so

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

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

The traditions of the country concerning the former seats of government, enable us to trace at this day the site of Médang Kámálan, Jang’gála, Gegélang or Singa Sári, Dahá or Kedíri, Pajajáran, and Majapákit, existing in remains of immense tanks, heaps of building materials, and other unequivocal vestiges of former cities.

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

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

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

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

A village adjacent is called Tra Wúlan, or Tráng Wúlan (the light of the moon): here we found the tomb of Pútri Chámpra. Proceeding through three regular squares, each enclosed with a wall, and in each of which were erected several pendápas or sheds, we came to the interior on ascending a few steps. On the right side of this enclosure, and elevated a few feet, was the tomb of the princess and her nurse; the tomb being in the Mahomedan style, and having upon it, in ancient Javan characters, the date 1320, perfectly
distinct and in relief. On the other side are the tombs of 
Kiâi Tumâng'gung Jáya Bôya, Den Mas, and nine other 
chiefs whose names are mentioned. The tomb is religiously 
guarded by several priests.

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

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

The only collection which appears to have been made by 
Europeans of these interesting remains of antiquity, previously 
to the establishment of the British government in 1811, was 
by Mr. Engelhard, formerly governor of Semârang. In the 
garden of the residency of that station, several very beautiful 
subjects in stone were arranged, brought in from different 
parts of the country. Of them, and of several others, which 
appear to have been brought into some of the native villages 
from the vicinity of the different temples, drawings have 
been taken, and the representations of Ganész† and Dûrga 
(called Lora Jîngran), both from subjects as large as life, 
wrought in close-grained stone, will serve to convey some no-
tion of the beauty and delicacy with which they are executed.

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

* See Plate from subjects in stone, No. 5.  
† See Plate.  
‡ See Plate from a subject in stone, brought from Brambanay.
neighbourhood of Batavia. The period at which they were collected is not known, and the subjects in general are not so well executed as those found in the eastern parts of the island; but it is remarkable, that the Chinese, whose form of worship is at present so different from that of the Hindus (however similar it may have been formerly) should in a foreign land thus prize and appreciate the idols of the people whom they affect to hold in contempt.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* See Plate.
"The Pandita is able to check the evil course of men, by washing away their evil inclinations, and he can shew them the right way, and prevent covetousness and slander by his good advice. 1863."

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

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

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

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

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

Several prior dates, as 116, 363, 847, 773, are mentioned in the body of these inscriptions, which seem to refer to historical events of preceding centuries; but the dates above mentioned, with some others, appear in the usual place to shew the actual date of the inscription itself.

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

* See Plate of an inscription in the district of Balongan.  † See Plate.
the stones collected at Swrabaya, were made by Captain Davey at my request, with the assistance of the Panambahan of Sumenap *.

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

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

The country of Gegélang (Singa Sári) flourished in the time of Páníji.

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

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

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

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

* See Appendix I.
† See a fac simile of one of them in the Plate.
‡ See Plate of an ancient inscription at Suku.
where would be the use of advice; when they are receiving
advice, they have a confidence in doing what is right, but
afterwards they follow their natural inclinations. There-
fore, oh ye men of the city, be advised by this, not to follow
such dispositions, but to do what is required of you by the
times and the customs of the country, and be not singular."

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Naga</th>
<th>koba</th>
<th>visaya</th>
<th>jalma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Snakes</td>
<td>move</td>
<td>work</td>
<td>men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That is to say, “snakes are moving while men are working;” alluding to the two snakes which appear entwining together between and above the two men who are mastering an animal. The coin with the date 1489, bears a Javan inscription of Pangérán Rátu, the title by which a prince of Bantam, who reigned in that year, is recognized by the Javans.

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

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

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

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

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

The ruins at Majapahit and its vicinity are distinguished by being principally, if not entirely, of burnt bricks, a circumstance which justifies us in assigning an anterior date to most of the edifices constructed of a different material. The date found on the ruins at Suku, and some few other places, may
be an exception to this rule; but the sculpture of these is
course and rude compared to the magnificent remains in stone
found elsewhere. On this account it is reasonable to con-
clude, that the arts at that period had considerably declined.
The edifices and sculptures at Singa Sári were probably exe-
cuted in the eighth or ninth century, that being the period of
the greatest splendour of this state; and as the style and de-
corations of the buildings, as well as the execution of the
sculpture, appear very nearly to resemble those of Brambáman,
Bóro Bódo, &c. it is probable that the whole were constructed
about the same period, or within the same century, or at any
rate between the sixth and ninth century of the Christian era.

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

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

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

In the archives of the princes of Java are deposited his-
tories of their country, extending from a remote antiquity to
the latest date. It is principally from abstracts of these, made at my request, in three different parts of the country, by the Panambáhan of Sámenap, the late Kiái Adipáti of Demak, and the secretary of the Pangéran Adipáti of Sára-kéra, all distinguished among their countrymen for literary attainments, that the two following chapters have been compiled. The abstract presented by the Kiái Adipáti of Demák being the most continuous, forms the main stream of the narrative.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Supposed to have been a crow or raven.
† A rude instrument of music still in use, particularly in the Sánda and mountainous districts.
‡ The Dýgas of Borneo still hold particular kinds of birds in high veneration, and draw omens from their flight, and the sounds which they utter. One of the principal of these is a species of white-headed kite, which preys on fish, snakes, and vermin. Before the Dýgas enter on a journey or engage in any war, head-hunting, or indeed any matter of importance, they endeavour to procure omens from these kites, and, for this purpose, invite their approach by screaming songs, and scattering rice before them. If these birds take their flight in the direction they wish to go, it is regarded as a favourable omen; but if they take another direction, they consider it as unfavourable, and delay the business until the omens are more suitable to their wishes.—Transactions of the Batavian Society, vol. vii.
§ The manner in which the mountaineers of the Sánda districts still spring and shout to the sound of this rude instrument, as already described,
HISTORY OF JAVA.

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

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

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

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

corresponds with this account; and on occasions of public rejoicings or ceremony, the native princes of the eastern part of the island frequently introduce a party of wild men, with dishevelled hair, and covered with leaves, shaking the ángkháng, and shouting, springing, and distorting their limbs in the rudest manner: the object being to exhibit the original inhab-
itants, in contrast with what they have been rendered by civilization.
The accounts of the real character of *Aji Sāka* are various. Some represent him as a great and powerful prince, who established an extensive colony on Java, which a pestilence afterwards obliged him to withdraw; whilst others consider him as a saint and deity, and believe that on his voyage to Java he sailed over mountains, islands, and continents. Most, however, agree in attributing to him the first introduction of letters, government, and religion; the only trace of anterior civilization being a tradition, that before his time there existed a judicial code, under the title of sun and moon, the punishments of which appear not to have been severe: a thief was bound to make restitution of the property stolen, and to pay in addition a fine in cattle or produce; and if the theft was considerable, he became the slave of the injured party or his relations, without, however, being transferable to another master: murder was not punished by death, but by a heavy fine, and perpetual servitude in the family of the deceased. This code *Aji Sāka* is represented to have reformed; and an abstract collection of ordinances, said to have been made from his instructions, is believed to have been in use as late as the time of *Janggāla* (A.D. 900), and even of *Majapāhit* (A.D. 1300).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"In the year 1018 the Chándí Séow (thousand temples) at Brambánan were completed.

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

1. Jang'gála, of which the prince was Ami Luhúr.
2. Kedíri, Lémbu Ami Jáya.
3. Ny'aránovan, Lémbu Ami Sésa.
4. Sing'a Sári, Lémbu Ami Lúch.

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

"Pánji Súria dying, he was succeeded by his son, Pánji
HISTORY OF JAVA.

"Lebkan, who removed the seat of government from Jang'-gâia to Pajâjran. This took place in 1200.*"

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

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

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

"In the year 1801, Swra-kerta being no more, the seat of government will be removed to Katâng'ya, which being afterwards demolished, the seat of government will be removed in 1870 to Kârang Bâya.

"In 1950, the seat of government will be removed to Kedâri, where it was of old. The Pringi people (Europeans) will then come, and having conquered Java, will establish a government in the year 1955.

"The Prince of Kîng, however, hearing of the conquest and ruin of Java by the Pringis, will send a force which will defeat and drive them out of Java; and having given up the island once more to its Javan government, will, in the year 1960, return to his own country.

"On regaining possession of the country, the new Javan government will desert the former capital of Kârang Bâya, as being an unlucky site, and remove it to Warlagin Kâbu, which is near the mountain Ngâmârta Léya. This will take place in 2020.

"By the year 2100 there will be an end of Java entirely."
be considered as the first settlers professing the Brahminical faith; but whatever authority this inference may derive from the knowledge we possess of the religious revolutions which have taken place elsewhere, and however probable it may be, that the followers of Búdha were at an early period established on Java, we apprehend that the conclusion will derive but little support from a chronology which, on the slightest investigation, will be found borrowed from continental India. Even the names of the principal characters, who are thus represented as having ruled Java for a period of so many centuries, will be readily traced in the accredited lists of Indian sovereigns*; and when it is considered, that the princes of Java pretend to derive their descent from Ḍarakaśīt, the descendant of Ārjuna, that the scene of the celebrated war of the Pandava, which forms the subject of the most popular poem in the country, as well as that of the great Indian poem, called the Mahabārata, is believed to have been laid on Java, and that not only the countries mentioned in that war, but the dwelling places and temples of the different heroes who distinguished themselves in it, are at the present day pointed out on Java, it is easy to account for the indistinctness and inaccuracy of the line drawn between the princes of India and those who may have actually ruled on Java.

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

"The kērta yōga was of one hundred thousand years duration; the trēta yōga was of ten thousand years; the duapāra was of one thousand years; the sandinika (which began A.D. 78) is now in its course."

The kērta yōga is considered to have terminated with the expulsion of Vishnu from Suralāya. The trēta yōga commences with his becoming incarnate in the person of Ārjuna

* Vide Asiatic Researches.
HISTORY OF JAVA.

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

Mánu Manásá,
Trítrésta,
Parikéna,
Sutápa,
Sápútram,
Sákri,
Pulasára,
Abiása,
Pándu Déwa Náta.

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

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

The following account of princes, commencing with Tri- trésta, who is believed to have established his government at Gíling Wési, at the foot of the mountain Se Míru, with the dynasties which they severally established, and the dates at which they respectively succeeded to the government, while it shews the manner in which these islanders have inter- woven their fabulous history with that of the continent, will
prove how little credit is due to those accounts, which furnish local details during a period so remote and obscure.

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

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

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

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

* See account of Watu Gánung in vol. i. Literature.
"Gutáma, who removed from Giling Wési while yet unmarried, and went to a country (Astína), which was possessed by an elephant that desired the princess Endrádë in marriage. He fought and killed the elephant, and married the princess, and afterwards proceeded to Lagrestina.

"There was a Pandita of Gúnung Jálì, in the country of Kling, who had a son called Ráden Dása Wirìä, who, when twelve years of age, having obtained leave of his father to go to Java, took up his abode at the foot of the mountain Lánu. His son, Dása Báhu, when ten years of age, determined to make himself independent, and travelled with one hundred followers, until they smelt the dead elephant which had been killed by Gutáma. There he established himself, calling his capital Gája-huia, or Astína Pára. This was in the year 810.

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

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

"Abíása was married to a woman advanced in years, by whom he had three sons: Drésta Ráta, who was blind; Pándu Déwa Náta, who was very handsome; and Ráma Widára, who was lame. After twelve years he retired, and transferred the government to his second son.
"Pándu Dēwa Náta, at the age of fourteen, then succeeded as sovereign of Astína, and married Déwi Kánti, daughter of Bánu Ketí, Prince of Madúra, by whom he had three sons, Kánta Dēwa, Séná, and Jínáka. Dēwa Náta also married Madrín, daughter of the Prince of Mandarága, and died, leaving her pregnant. She was delivered of two sons, and died also; but Déwi Kánti gave the children milk, and called the one Sadéwa and the other Nakála. At that time the children of Pándu Dēwa Náta were very young; Drésta Ráta was therefore nominated protector during their minority; but instead of resigning the kingdom to them, he gave it to his own son, Suyudána; who, becoming sovereign of Astína, the five children were sent by Abiása, with a thousand families, to establish a new country, to which they gave the name of Amérita.

Suyudána married the daughter of the Prince of Mandarága, by whom he had a son, and the country became great, flourishing, and happy. There was none more powerful; and the dependant chiefs were the Princes Kérna of Aváng'ga, Bisma or Dēwa Kráta, of Kúmbina, Jáya Páta of Dála Sejána, Jákar Sána of Madúra, and Sália, of Mandarága. But Pánta Dēwa and his brothers in the country of Amérita were not satisfied: they wished for their father's inheritance, and sent their cousin, Krésna of Diara-wáti, to confer with Suyudána, and to demand their rightful possessions. For the sake of peace with their cousin, they offered to accept of half: but Suyudána rejected their demand and replied, 'that without the decision of the sword they should have none.' Then began the war called Bráta Yúdha, because it was a contest for their just rights. The war lasted long, and during its continuance the sons and followers of both parties were nearly all killed: at last Suyudána himself fell, after a reign of fifty years*. Pánta Dēwa then became sovereign of Astína in the year 491; but after two years he transferred the government to Pariksit, son of Abimányu, and grandson of his brother Jénáka. After defending the country successfully against the giant Usí Aji, of Surabáya, whom he slew, he

* See vol. i. Poetry—Brata Yudha.
"was succeeded by his son Udayána, who died after a reign "of twenty-three years. His son Jáya Dérma succeeded. "This prince had two sons, named Jáya Miśána and Ang'- "ling Dérma. The former succeeded his father after a reign "of twenty-seven years, and died at the expiration of five "years. During the reign of Jáya Miśána there was a dread- "ful pestilence and a violent earthquake, which destroyed "the country, and his son removed to Miláwa, where he be- "came a tápa. "To this country Ang'ling Dérma had already removed "with three thousand families, during the lifetime of his "brother, and was acknowledged as sovereign of Miláwa "Páti, where he reigned in prosperity for ten years. At the "expiration of this period, it is related that his princess "burnt herself, in consequence of being refused the knowl- "edge of a certain prayer, by which she might understand "the language of all animals. The prince afterwards be- "came insane, wandered about, and was transformed into a "white bird. "The son of Jáya Miśána, Jáya Purúsa, begat Púspa "Jáya, who begat Púspa Wińáya, who begat Kasúma "Wińitra, who again begat Ráden Aji Nirmála, who reigned "for twenty years at Miláwa Pati, but in whose days the "country was greatly afflicted with pestilence. In conse- "quence of this, his son, Bistra Champáka, departed with "his followers, and proceeded to Mêndang Kamálan, where "he abode as a Pandita. He had, however, a son, named "Ang'ling Dérma, from whom descended Aji Jáya Báya, "who became sovereign of the country, and gave it the name "of Púrva Chirita; under his government the country greatly "increased, he acquired large possessions, and all under his "administration was flourishing and happy. It is related of "him, that he dictated the poem of the Bráta Yúdha, by "order of Dëwa Batára Gáru, in the year 701. He was "succeeded by his son, Salápar Wáta, in 756, whose son, "named Kandiáwan, afterwards came to the government, "under the title of Jáyu Langkára. This last named prince "had a sister, called Chándra Suára, four sons, Subráta, "Pára Yáta, Játa Wída, and Su Wída, and a daughter, "named Pambáyun. His Pátek was named Jáya Singára,
“and among his dependents were Gaja Iráwan of Ludáya,  "Lémbu Sáren Gúna of Jang'gála, Wíra Tikta of Kedíri,  "and the Arias of Síng’a Sári and Ngaráwan.

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

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

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

* To this popular account of the early and fabulous history of Java, it may be interesting to add the equally popular and generally received
But other accounts, which attempt to draw a line between the Indian and Javan princes, date the commencement of the ancient history of Madura, formerly called Mandura, and in the basa, or court language, Mandurêtäma.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Who ruled on Java, according to the Manuscript ascribed to Aji Jâya Bâya, in the Possession of the present Susuhuman.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Accession, Javan Year</th>
<th>Seat of Government</th>
<th>Sovereigns</th>
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<td>Wirâta</td>
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* The Chandi Sewu, or one thousand temples at Brambânàn, according to this chronology, are supposed to have been completed in the year 1018.

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

Who reigned on Java, according to the Manuscripts of the Eastern Parts of Java, Sumenap, and Bali, as collected by Nāta Kusumā, the present Panembahan of Sumenap.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Accession, Javan Year.</th>
<th>SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.</th>
<th>SOVEREIGNS.</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Giling Wesi</td>
<td>1 Trirésta.</td>
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<td>6 Dása-báhu.</td>
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<td>9 Pándu Déwa Náta.</td>
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<td>25 Subráta, or Déwa Kasúma.</td>
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<td>1158</td>
<td>Majapáhit</td>
<td>32 Jáka Susúru, or Brá Wijáya.</td>
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<td>33 Prábu Anom.</td>
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<td>35 Prábu Kánya, a Princess married to Dámar Wúlan.</td>
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<td>36 Lémbu Añí Sání.</td>
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<td>37 Bráma Túnggun.</td>
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<td>38 Ráden Alit, or Browijáya.</td>
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HISTORY OF JAVA.

The following is the chronology of the Javan princes, according to the legends abstracted by Kiai Adipati Adi Mang'gala, formerly Regent of Demak, and in which the Javan princes commence in the sixth century.

<table>
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<th>Date of Accession, Javan Year.</th>
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<td>525</td>
<td>Méndang Kamulan</td>
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<td>2 Ardi Kasúma.</td>
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<td>3 Ardi Wijáya.</td>
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<td>4 Rési Dénang Géndis.</td>
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<td>846</td>
<td>Jang'gala</td>
<td>5 Dèwa Kasúma.</td>
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<td>6 Lémbu Ami Luhúr.</td>
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<td>7 Panji Kértar Pati</td>
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<td>1000</td>
<td>Pajajáran</td>
<td>8 Panji Maisa Tandránan, or Laélán.</td>
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<td>9 Múnding Sári.</td>
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<td>10 Múnding Wángi.</td>
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<td>1221</td>
<td>Majapáhit</td>
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<td>13 Bro Kamára.</td>
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<td>14 Ardi Wijáya.</td>
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<td>16 Anákka Wijáya.</td>
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"When Prábu Jáya Báya of Astína died, he was succeeded by his son and descendants, named Ami Jáya, Jaya Ami Sána, Páacha Dria, and Kasúma Chítra. During the reign of the last of these princes, either the seat of government had been removed, or the country had changed its name, for it was then called Kú'rat or Gú'rat; and it having been foretold that it would decay and go to ruin altogether, the prince resolved to send his son† to

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

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

--- Arjúna, 6 Ami Jáya,
1 Binanyu, 7 Ami Sama,
2 Parakísit, 8 Chítra Suná,
3 Udána, 9 Pácha Dria,
4 Gandra Yana, 10 Kasúma Chítra,
5 Jáya Báya, 11 Sawela Cháta,
"Jáwa, and possessing the written account of Aji Sáka, "which had been preserved in his family, he gave it to his "son, and embarked him with about five thousand followers "for that island. Among these followers were Jálma-táni, "Jálma-úndági, Jálma-újam-dudákan, Jálma-pangniárík, "Jálma-prajúrit; that is to say, people skilled in agricult-
"ture, artificers, men learned in medicine, able writers, and "military men.
"
"They sailed in six large ships and upwards of a hundred "small vessels, and after a voyage of four months reached "what they conceived to be the island of Jáwa, and many "landed; but as it did not accord with the account given by "Aji Sáka, they re-embarked. In a few months, however, "they came in sight of an island with a long range of moun-
tains, and some of them, with the prince at their head, "effected a landing at the western extremity, while a part "were driven to the southward. They soon met with the "grain jáwa-wut, as described by Aji Sáka, and ascertained "that they had at last reach reached their destination: then "opening the book of Aji Sáka, the days of the week and "the panchavára* were named. The prince, however, did "not long remain in this part of the island; for on clearing "the forest, a lingering sickness appeared among his fol-
"lowers, and many died from drinking the water: so he "moved to the south and east, in quest of a more salubrious "position, and with the hope of falling in with their com-
"panions. These they found at that part of the island now "known by the name of Matárem, when the high priest "opening the book of Aji Sáka, and referring to the pro-
"phhecy, that Jáwa should become an inheritance to the "descendants of Prábu Jáya Báya, he summoned the whole "party together, and formally proclaimed the prince sovereign "of the country, under the title of Browijáya Savélá Chála. "The name of Méndang Kamúlan was then given to the "seat of government.
"
"The prince now found that men alone were wanting to "render it a great and flourishing state, and he accordingly

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

In some of the accounts, the father of Sawélá Chála is named Bália Achar; and previously to the establishment of Méndang Kamúlan, Sawélá Chála himself is usually known by the name of Anwáp.

"Nothing, however, is represented to have tended more to the prosperity of this establishment, than a supposed union which is said to have taken place between the family of Sawélá Chála and that of Aru Bándan, a prince who had recently arrived from the Moluccas, and established himself on Balambángan. Hearing of the arrival of Sawélá Chála, this prince, with his followers, proceeded to Méndang Kamúlan and submitted to his authority, on condition that the eastern provinces, including Balambángan, should be confirmed to him and his descendants. According to the tradition of the country, this prince was principally induced to submit, in consequence of the other party being able to explain the inscription and signs of Aji Sáka, which he himself could not, and in consequence of the production of the writings, in which it was prophesied that the country should become the inheritance of the family of this prince. "Sawélá Chála, after a long and prosperous reign, was succeeded by his son, Ardi Kasúma; and he again, on his death, by his son, named Ardi Wijáya."
"During the sovereignty of these princes, the country advanced in fame and prosperity, and the city of Méndang Kamúlan, since called Brambánan or Prambánan, increased in size and splendour. Artists, particularly in stone and metals, arrived from distant countries; the temples, of which the ruins are still extant, both at this place and at Bóro Bódo in Kédu, are stated to have been constructed during this period, by artists invited from India; and the remains of the palace, situated on a range of low hills near the site of the thousand temples, still attest the existence of this first capital of Java.

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

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

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

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

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

* "King Me succeeded his brother (as Emperor of Japan) in the year of Synmu, of Christ 540.
" He was a very religious prince, and very favourably inclined to the foreign pagan Buddo worship, which during his reign spread with great success in Japan, inasmuch that the emperor himself caused several temples to be built to foreign idols, and ordered the idol of Budo, or Fotoge, to be carved in Fakkusai, that is in China.
" My Japanese author mentions what follows, as something very remarkable, and says, that it happened in the thirty-first year of his reign, and contributed very much to the advancement of the Buddo religion. About a thousand years ago, says my author, there was in
Dewa Karima is represented by the Javan writers to have been a prince of great talent and enlarged views, and by his

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

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

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

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

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

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

Déva Kasúma, on the return of his children from India, divided his kingdom among them. To the eldest, Ami Luhúr, he gave the succession to Jang'gála, with a jurisdiction of limited extent; to Ami Jáya he gave the country of Gégélang or Singa Sari; to Lémbu Meng'árang he gave the country Ngárúwan or Browéño, and to Lémbu Ami Luhúr he gave

"Touitecs," says that eminent author, "appeared first in 648, the Chichimecs in 1170, the Nahualites in 1178, and the Aztecs in 1196. The Touitecs introduced the cultivation of maize and cotton; they built cities, made roads, and constructed those great pyramids which are yet admired, and of which the faces are very accurately laid out. They knew the use of hieroglyphical paintings; they could found metals and cut the hardest stones, and they had a solar year more perfect than that of the Greeks or Romans. The form of their government indicated that they were the descendants of a people, who had experienced great vicissitudes in their social state." "But where," asks Humboldt, "is the source of that cultivation; where is the country from which the Touitecs and Mexicans issued?"—Humboldt’s Political Essay on New Spain.
the country of Dahá or Kediri; so that, when he died, the island of Java became divided into four kingdoms. His daughter, who was the eldest of his children, and named Déwi Kilé Súchi, remained unmarried, and performed a conspicuous part in the transactions of those days. The temples at Sing’a Sari, the ruins of which still remain, are stated to have been constructed by that princess.

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

According to some of the romances, a prince from Nûsa Kanchâna, or the Golden Isle, with numerous followers, and accompanied by two princesses from Nûsa Rêtna arrives at Jang'gâla about this period, and giving himself out for the long-lost Pânji, imposes on the credulity of the father, who receives him as his son. This prince is represented as the son of a Bramâna possessing supernatural gifts, which enable him to succeed in the deception, and is said to have been lord of many rajas, among whom were Bâka, Mordâda, and many others who are named. He is reported to have had a sister, named Angrêna Suâra, excelling in beauty, and in every respect resembling the princess Angrênê, who with her nurse accompanied his four wives and numerous concubines to Java.

Klâna Jáyang Sâri now resuming his name as the real Pânji, his father, the prince of Jang'gâla, proceeded to Kediri with the auxiliaries brought over by the impostor, when a combat takes place between the two princes, and the true Pânji becomes manifest.

According to other accounts, the storm in which Pânji was supposed to have perished, occurred when the princess Angrênê was living. She is cast on the Bâli shore, where assuming a male habit, and becoming a favourite of the prince, she in time obtained the sovereignty of that island under the title of Jáya Ang'ling Dâra. Pânji is thrown on the south shore of Java, and afterwards sent by his father to reduce the refractory chief of Bâli, in whom he recognizes Angrênê. In another romance his second wife, Chândra Kirâna, is represented as becoming chief of Bâli, under the title of Kuda Nara-wâng'a.

It is also related, that, about this period the Prince of Stnga-sâri being attacked by the Bâlians under Klâna Râng'ga Pâspîta, and defeated in an engagement near Arâra Bidâli, applied for assistance to Jang'gâla and Browéorno. The forces sent as auxiliaries from Jang'gâla, were defeated, and it was not until the arrival of a celebrated warrior from Browéorno, that the Bâlians were obliged to retreat. The river which flowed by the scene of action still
bears the name Káli Géti, from its stream having been converted into blood on this occasion.

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

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

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

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

This belief, together with the miraculous transformations and supernatural events attributed to the interference of the Hindu deities, while heightening the colours of these compositions may have rendered them more popular subjects for dramatic exhibition, but it has deprived them of nearly all
authenticity and value as historical records. Perhaps the only inferences, with respect to the hero of them, which we can be justified in drawing, is that the prowess, enterprizes, and accomplishments of this chieftain, who has been termed the Charlemagne of the East, far excelled those of his cotemporaries, and that he visited Bâti. It appears also, that during this period some government was established in the other islands of the Archipelago, in which a similarity of religion, character, and usages prevailed. As descriptive of the manners and customs of the country, and as affording incontestible evidence, not only of the existence of the Hindu religion on Java, but of its universal diffusion as the prevailing worship of these islands at this period of their history, these traditionary remains possess a high value; and with the traces of foreign influence still to be found in their languages, and in the numerous monuments of the arts, will materially contribute to the developement of their earlier history, while they throw light on the character of the people, and the progress that had been made in civilization.

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Then the prince selected forty nobles of the country, and forty virgins of noble family. He summoned Maha Raja Merlang of Indragiri, and the Raja of Pálembang, the Raja of Jambi, and the Raja of Línga, to attend him to Majapahit: all the young warriors attending the prince, and all the great men remaining for the government of the country.

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

"Among the chieftains who accompanied the Raja of Malacca was the celebrated Häng Tuáh or Lassamana, who was highly admired, and exhibited wonderful feats.

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

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

"By the princess he had a son, named Radem Galang, who was killed one day by a man running amok."—Maleyan Annals.
lifetime of his father: Prába Jáya Sangára, chief of Má-dára (then called Núsa Antára, or the island lying between), jealous of the power of Jang'gála, is said to have landed, and in a desperate action killed Pánji with an arrow from his own bow, in fulfilment of a prophecy which foretold that he would be invulnerable, except to the iron staff of Jáya Langkára, of which, it is added, this prince had manufactured his arrow. The account of this affair, as related in the Madúra traditions, is as follows:

"Then the prince of Núsa Antára, called Klána Prábu Jáya, consulted with Gúra Bramána Kánda, and others of his council, on the probability of his being acknowledged as chief prince over the adjacent countries. Gúra observed, that while Déva Kasúma lived he could not permit the attempt; but the prince informing him that intelligence had been received of the death of that prince, then said, 'Gúra, it is well; you are permitted to effect your object by force, if necessary, but in the first instance try nego-

A letter written on the leaf of a tree was then dispatched, and when the messenger arrived at Jang'gála, he found the prince Angráma Wijáya seated on his setingel, attended by his patéhs, Kúda Navársa and Brája Náta. At that time they were discussing the prince's intention of transferring his title to his son, Ino Kérta Pati*. The question was not decided when the messenger appeared. The prince declined reading the letter himself, but desired his minister to do so. As soon as Brája Náta read the demand of the prince of Núsa Antára to be acknowleded the superior, and the threat that he would lay waste the lands of Java in case of refusal, he became enraged to the highest degree, and without communicating the contents tore the letter, and seizing the messenger by the neck, threw the pieces in his face, and desired him to return to his master. After his departure Ino Kérta Páti arrived, and being apprized of the circumstances, entreated his father to permit him to go over in disguise to Núsa Antára. On the return of the messenger to Núsa Antára, he reported the result of his mission, when preparations were

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

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

"Brája Náta immediately acquainted his prince with the "fall of Ino Kértá Patí, who thereupon rose and rushed into "the thickest of the fight. The prince of Jang'gála attacked "the prince of Núsa Antára with his kris, and slew him. "Gúru Bramána Kánda seeing his prince slain, wished to "escape, but his supernatural power was no more; and being "seized by the prince of Jang'gála, he was put to death, with "all the people of Núsa Antára, who did not save themselves "by flight. Thereupon Agráma Wijáya assembled his "council as before the war, and seated upon his setingel de-"clared, that as Ino Kértá Patí was no more, it was his in-"tention to nominate his grandson, Máiisa Laléan, to suc-"ceed him. Máiisa Laléan accordingly became chief of "Jang'gála in the year 927, and after a time made his uncle, "Brája Náta, Tumúnggung of Jang'gála, and retired him-
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self to the district of Kédú. He had a son, named Banjá-
ran Sari, who succeeded him, after whom were Múda-
ningkung, and Múda Sári, who had a son called Ráden
Pánkas, who succeeded to the government of Java in the
year 1084. This prince established his capital at Paja-
járan.”

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

Kúda Laléan, accompanied by his mother Chándra
Kirána, proceeded west as far as Blóra, where he laid the
foundation of a new capital, under the designation of Méndang
Kamúlan, the name of the ancient capital of the island.
From thence, however, owing to the treachery of his minister
Báka, who aspired to the sovereignty, he was soon obliged to fly, and to take refuge with a devotee, until the chief of Giling Wési, named Prau Chátor, going to war with Báka, an opportunity was afforded him of regaining his authority. Uniting with the forces of that chief, he succeeded in overpowering Báka, and laying waste his capital, which he afterwards burnt.

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

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

Kúda Laléan having been requested by the chiefs of Bányu Mas, Lúrung Téng'a, and Tégal, to render them assist-
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ance against the Chinese, who, by their extortions and oppressions, had thus early become troublesome to the people of the country, attacked them, and killing their chief, relieved the inhabitants of these districts from their oppressions. From this period the Chinese have been dispersed over the whole island.

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

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

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

It was seven years before he was enabled permanently to establish his authority; and soon after he had done so, his elder brother returned, who having resided in India and having become a convert to the Mahomedan faith, is known by the title of Háji Púrwa. He was accompanied by an Arab from the country of Koúje, who was descended from Sáyed Abú, and attempted in vain to convert his brother and family to the same faith. The troubles which were occasioned by their intrigues, and the endeavours which they used to effect
their purpose, and which are allegorically described by the rapid growth and destructive effects of the lagôndî plant, were such as led to the removal of the capital further westward. In this new site it still retained the name of Pajajáran, being situated in the district of Bógor and in the vicinity of the modern Buitenzorg, the country residence of the European governor of the colony.

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

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

The next chief of Pajajáran was Münding Wáng'i, who succeeded to the government about the year 1179. He had four legitimate children; the eldest a daughter, who refusing to be married was banished to the southern coast, where her spirit is still invoked, under the title of Ratu Kûdul; the second, also a daughter, was born white and diseased, and was in consequence sent to an island off Jakatra (named from this circumstance Pálu Pátri), from whence she is said to have been carried away by the white men, who according to the Javan writers traded to the country about this period; the third a son, named Aria Babáng'a, who was appointed Râja of Gálû; and the fourth Raden Tandúran, who was destined to be his successor in the government. He had also a son by a concubine; but in consequence of the declaration of a devotee, who had been unjustly executed by Münding Wáng'i, that his death would be avenged whenever the prince should have a child so born, he was desirous of destroying him in his infancy, but not being able, on account of the extreme beauty of the child, to bring himself to kill it with his own hands, he enclosed it in a box, and caused it to be thrown by one of his Mántris into the river Krâwâng. The box being carried down the stream was discovered by a fisherman, who brought up the child as his own, until he arrived at twelve years of age. Finding him then to possess extraordinary abilities, he carried him to Pajajáran for further instruction, and placed him under the charge of his brother, who was skilled in the working of iron and steel. To the boy he gave the name of Baniák Wédi.
The youth soon excelled in the manufacture of all kinds of iron-work, and in the wild tradition of the country, he is said to have fashioned the red hot iron with his fingers. In a short time he was made chief of the Pándi, or ironsmiths, and admitted to the familiar intercourse of his father, Múnding Wang'í. Having constructed an iron chamber or cage, which particularly attracted the attention of the prince, he succeeded in persuading him to sleep in it, when closing the door, he, according to some accounts, burned him alive; or, according to others, caused him to be thrown into the South Sea at Kán-dang Wési, thus fulfilling the prophecy of the devotee.

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

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

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

Ráden Tandúran was first assisted by the people of Túban, who hearing of the arrival of a prince of royal descent, imme-
diately flocked to his standard. Afterwards Aria Babang'a, who had been driven from Gânu by the forces of Chiong Wanâra, joined his younger brother, Râden Tandâran, and was appointed to the charge of the eastern districts along the Solo river, under the title of Aria Panâlar. In a short time considerable emigrations took place from Pajajâran, in consequence of the heavy demands made upon the people. Among others, Bráma Dedâli at the head of eighty Pändi, or iron-smiths, with their families, are said to have deserted their country. They were pursued as far as the river Pamûli in Brébes, but effected their escape, and were received with open arms at Majapâhit.

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

An ineffectual attempt was made by Râtu Déwa, a native of Kunîng'an in Chérîbon, who, on the departure of Aria Ba-
bang’u, had been entrusted with the administration of Gálu, to maintain an authority independent of Majapáhit; but he lost his life in the struggle, and his widow, Torbítu, who persevered, and was for a time successful, was at length overcome, and went over to Majapáhit.

According to the traditions of the Sunda people, these two brothers, Chiong Wénara and Raden Túndūran, were descended from a prince of Gálu, and their empires were divided by the river of Brebes, thence called Chi Pumalî, or the River of Prohibition.

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

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

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

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

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

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

"he was greatly pleased, and being entreated by Chiong Wanara to enter and examine whether or not there might be still something wanting to render it more complete; without suspecting any treachery, he did as he was requested. No sooner was he fairly in, than Chiong Wanara closed and locked the door, saying, at the same time to Raja Galu,

"Now is fulfilled the prediction of Ajar of Bukit Padang, whom you caused to be unjustly put to death." The Raja answered from within the cage, 'I submit to this just judgment.'

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

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

"The combat was then renewed with the same vigour as before, and they continued fighting towards the westward, until they came to a row of trees (jasar), where they halted. On being asked by his brother the name of those trees, Chiong Wanara answered paku: Raden Aria Bang'a then said, 'the name of the place must be Pakuan Pa-ja-jar-an.' The two brothers then recommenced fighting, till they came to a river of Brebes, where being both much fatigued, they rested by the side of its water.

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

"Raden Aria Bang'a then said to his brother: 'Do thou go to Pakuan Pejajaran while I go to Majapahit.' They accordingly separated, Raden Aria Bang'a proceeding to Majapahit, and Chiong Wanara
"The history of the kingdom of Tumopel, being an account of the origin and rise of the kingdom of Majapahit,
returning to Bajong Galu, for the purpose of visiting his father in the
cage.
"When Chiong Wanara arrived at Bajong Galu, and found the cage
empty, his astonishment was very great. He then addressed himself to
one of his people, named Ke Jampang, and asked what was become of
Raja Galu. Ke Jampang replied, 'he went out of the cage of himself,
without the assistance of any one, and has returned to his usual place
of residence at Surya Luka, where he now is, having assumed the name
and title of Guru Putra Hinga Baya.'
"When Chiong Wanara heard all this he thought he might as well
throw away the empty cage, which he accordingly did, on the beach of
the south coast, from whence the place is called Tana Kandang Wesi, or
the land of the Iron Cage.
"Chiong Wanara forthwith invited Ke Jampang to accompany him to
Surya Luka, in search of his father, Guru Putra Hinga Baya.
"In a short time they arrived at Surya Luka, and Chiong Wanara sur-
rendered himself, entreating his father's forgiveness for what had passed.
"Guru Putra then said, 'to a certainty there must be two kingdoms on
the island of Java, of which the (intermediate) boundary will be the
river Pamali. The kingdom of Raden Tundran will be to the east-
ward, and shall be called Majapahit; that of Chiong Wanara will be to
the westward, and shall be called Pakuan Pejajaran: the latter king-
dom will cease first (tando dahulu).' Whence the people under Chiong
Wanara were called Orang Sunda, and their language Sunda.
"Guru Putra then gave Chiong Wanara a black monkey-skin jacket,
which the latter forthwith put on, and immediately became in appear-
ance like that animal. He at the same time gave him the name of Guru
Minda-sida tando Prabu Latung Kasarong, and furnished him with some
rice-seed, and appointed Ke Jampang to be his follower.
"Guru Minda and Ke Jampang then took their departure: and when
they came to a place not far from Bajong Galu they set out about sowing
their rice-seed, distributing it among all the poor people of the place for
that purpose.
"Pandi Chacha Domar and all the Peng'gawas, as well as all the people
of Bajong Galu, who were attached to Chiong Wanara at the time he
went to see Guru Putra Hinga Baya of Surya Luka, being without a
sovereign, went all of them to the eastward, to reside in the country of
Majapahit.
"When Prabu Latung Kasarong had given orders for the sowing of the
rice, he and his follower, Ke Jampang, proceeded to a place on the south
sea coast, called Keda Pondok, where Ke Jampang being left to settle, the
place took its name from him, and was ever after called Chutak Jampang.
"After Prabu Latung Kasarong had left Ke Jampang at Keda Pondok
he went through the woods, till coming near Pakuan Pejajaran he found
"written on the day of Reepati (Thursday,) the 10th of the 5th season. Date wisaya rasa toya wasitan (literally 1465.)

"a very large tree, called pondi, situated on the banks of the river Chiliwong. He remained under it to rest himself, and gave the place the name of Kampung Pondi.

"Kunu Mangubumi, of Jambudipa, in the district of Jelebud, had several children, all of them females. The youngest was called Purba Sari, and was established in the interior, near the tree called gading, from which the kampung so called took its name.

"Having placed his youngest daughter, Purba Sari, in the interior of the country, he was desirous to send out people to shoot birds with a pellet, and accordingly created and appointed one a pellet-shooter, who went regularly every day to shoot, agreeably to the order of Kunu Mangubumi. One day the pellet-shooter came to the large pondi tree, and observing on it what he supposed to be a large black monkey, he wished to shoot it, whereupon Prabu Latung Kasarong, whom he mistook for the monkey, thus addressed him: 'Don't shoot at me; you had better go home and tell your master to come here to me himself.'

"When the pellet-shooter perceived that the black monkey was gifted with speech he stood aghast and astonished beyond measure, and returned immediately to his master to acquaint him with the circumstance.

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

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

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

"When Nidi Purba Sari became Prabu Latung’s wife, he laid aside the black monkey’s skin with which he was clothed, and immediately resumed his former and usual beautiful appearance.

"He afterwards received the name of Niang Galarang, and established himself at Pakwan Pajajaran, where the Batutulis (inscribed stone) now is, and which was the seat of government of the Maha Raja Prabu Niang Galarang. After this his wife became pregnant, and Prabu Niang
"In the kingdom of Tumápel there reigned a king, named and styled Rátu Sri Jáya Purúsa, who in his demise was

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

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

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

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

"Prabu Silawang'i, when he had got a number of wives and peng'gawas,
"returned to Pakuan Pajajaran, bringing them all with him, as also his
"two sons, and his man Ke Jampang, who was then called Purwa Kala.

"In returning to Pakuan Pajajaran, Prabu Silawang'i first went to a place
"on the south coast, called Nusa Kambangan, and there embarking in a
"vessel with all his family, he sailed westward, till they came to the
"anchoring place, to which was given the name of Palabuan Ratu (Wyn
"Coops Bay), and having disembarked, they all proceeded to Pakuan
"Pajajaran.

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

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

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

In the course of a little time one of his highness's wives, named Niai Mantri
Manek Mayang Sunda, the sister of Ke Marugal Sung Mantri Ayung, became
pregnant, and in due time brought forth a beautiful boy, who was called by
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succeeded by his son, known by the name and title of Sri Láksi Kirána, who on dying left two sons, the elder named and styled Sang Sri Siwabúda, who succeeded to the throne; the younger Ráden Wirjáya, who was remarkable for the beauty of his person.

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

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

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

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

Sri Siwabúda being informed that his kingdom was invaded by the sovereign of Kedíri, appointed his younger his father Raden Guru Gatangan, and who was made Raja Muda of Pakuan Pajojaran, with the name and title of Prabu Guru Gantangan.

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

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brother, Ráden Wijáya, to command the forces, and meet
the enemy coming from the west. Instead of marching out
himself to meet the attack from the south he remained in
his kadáton, and amused himself with his concubines.
This enjoyment, however, was soon interrupted; for Mundárang
having reached the kadáton obliged him to come
out and meet him, and on his making his appearance, Mundárang
and his followers lost no time in deciding his fate.
Sri Siwabáda was accordingly killed before the palace gate.
Ráden Wijáyu and Jáya Kátong had by this time fought
several battles, as well as skirmishes, in which a great
number of men were killed on both sides.
They continued to oppose each other when Mundárang
came up and attacked Wijáya in the rear. This soon de-
determined the victory in favour of Kediri, and obliged Wi-
 jáya to fly to Súmenap for the safety of his person, where
he remained in the house of Wira Rája, to whom he gave
a full account of all the circumstances.
Among the spoils which Mundárang had taken from the
palace was the beautiful wife of Wijáya, who was after-
wards delivered to the sovereign of Kediri. He was very
much struck with her beauty, and proposed to make her
his lawful wife.
This proposal was however refused, and the king, instead
of being offended by the refusal, adopted her as his
daughter.
Ráden Wijáya had by this time remained a good while
with Wira Rája at Súmenap, and was then advised by him
to repair to Kediri, that Jáya Kátong might forgive him,
and employ him in some way or other. He accordingly
went over to Jáya Kátong, who received him very kindly;
and he had not remained long at Kediri when Jáya Kátong
granted him an extensive forest, with which he might do
as he liked.
Wijáya, with a view of making a large town in the
forest, sent a messenger to Wira Rája to get some assist-
ance. Wira Rája accordingly sent over a good many
people to Wijáya, who, after procuring every thing neces-
sary for such an undertaking, began to cut down the forest.
While they were at work they found a large mája tree
“loaded with fruit, but when they tasted the fruit they found
it quite bitter; whence the place was called mája pāit,
(literally the bitter mája.)
“Ráden Wijáya, after making Majapáhit a very large
town, assumed the title of Bopáti Sang Browijáyá, having
for his Páteh a son of Wíra Rája, whose name and title
was Kiaáí Páteh Ráng'ga Láwé.
“The population of Majapáhit increasing very rapidly,
Browijáya thought, that with the aid of Wíra Rája he
should be able to invade Kedíri. He accordingly sent a
messenger to Wíra Rája to request some assistance. Wíra
Rája willingly sent a considerable force to Browijáya, and
after the two armies had joined together Browijáya began
his march to Kedíri.
“Jáya Kátong, on being informed that a considerable
force from Majapáhit was coming to invade his kingdom,
immediately sent out a band of fighting men to meet the
enemy. Several battles were fought in which many fell on
either side.
“Jáya Kátong, previous to the invasion of Browijáya, had
promised his guest, the King of Tátar *, whose name and
title was Srí Laksemána, to give him his adopted daughter
(wife to Browijáya) in marriage. This was however de-
layed. Several times did Laksemána press Jáya Kátong
to fulfil his promise, but he never received a positive
answer.
“Laksemána therefore being informed that Browijáya of
Májapáhit had attacked Kedíri, forthwith sent a letter to
him, saying that he would co-operate with the people of
Majapáhit, provided Browijáya would be on good terms
with him.
“Browijáya on receiving this intelligence was very much
delighted, and accordingly returned a letter of approbation
to Laksemána.
“Laksemána and his followers then joined Browijáya,
and fought several battles with Jáya Kátong, in which a
great number of men, as well as chiefs, were killed on both
sides.
• The Javan traditions furnish no information respecting the locality of
this state.
"In the heat of the action Jáya Kátong and Laksemána met, and a fierce encounter took place between these chiefs. Jáya Kátong threw his javelin at Laksemána, but missed him; and Laksemána, in return, struck him on the breast with his poisoned spear, and killed him on the spot.

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

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

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

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

"It happened that Raja Sekander, the son of Raja Darúb of Rum, of the race of Makaduniah, the name of whose offspring was Zulkarnéini, wished to see the rising of the sun, and for this purpose came to the confines of the land of Hind. There was a Raja in Hindustan, named Raja Kideh Hindu, who was very powerful, and whose empire extended over the half of Hindustan. Immediately on the approach of Raja Sekander, Raja Kideh Hindu sent his prime minister to collect his forces, and marched out to meet him. The armies engaged, and a battle ensued, as is fully recorded in the history of Raja Sekander. Raja Kideh Hindu was defeated and taken prisoner, after which he was sent back to his own country. This Raja Kideh had a daughter: after sending his minister, Perdama
Under the second prince of Majapâhit, called Brokamâra or Brow'âya the second, the manufacture of arms of various

"Mantri, to consult with the minister of Raja Sekander, he gave her in

"marriage to Raja Sekander, on condition of receiving three hundred

"thousand dinars of gold.

"Raja Sekander, after tarrying ten days in honour of the ceremony,

"pursued his journey towards the rising sun, attended by his bride. On

"their return, however, her father requested her to remain some time with

"him: Raja Sekander consented and took his leave.

"The princess was already pregnant by Raja Sekander, but he was un-

"acquainted with this circumstance; nor was the princess herself aware of

"it, till a month after her return to her father. At the expiration of her

"time, the princess was safely delivered of a son, whom Raja Kideh Hindi

"named Aristan Shah.

"Raja Arista Shah was in course of time married to the daughter of

"the Raja of Turkistan, by whom he had a son, named Raja Aftus.

"After an absence of forty-five years, Raja Sekander returned to Maka-

"dumiah, and Raja Kideh Hindi died, leaving as his successor Raja Arista

"Shah, who (or rather whose dynasty) reigned three hundred and fifty

"years. After him reigned the following princes in succession:

"Raja Aftus, who reigned one hundred and twenty years.

"Raja Askayinât,..............do.....three years.

"Raja Karidas, ......................do.....twelve years.

"Raja Amastubusu, ...................do.....thirteen years.

"Raja Zamzeius, .....................do.....seven years.

"Raja Khuras Khainat .............do.....thirty years.

"Raja Ahat Sakayinât.

"Raja Kuda Zuguhan, son of Amastubusu.

"Raja Nikubus, who reigned forty years.

"Raja Ardasir Migan, who married the daughter of Raja Nushirwan Adel,

"sovereign of the west, by whom he had a son, named Raja Derm Nus.

"Raja Tarsiia Burdaras, son of Raja Zamarst.

"The last of these princes married the daughter of Raja Sulam of Amidan

"Nagara. This Raja Sulam was the mightiest prince of the land of

"Hind, and of all the Rajas under the wind. By the princess, his

"daughter, Raja Narsa had three sons:

"Raja Herian, who reigned in the country of Hindostan:

"Raja Suren, whom Raja Sulam appointed in his own place; and

"Raja Pauden, who reigned in Turkestan.

"After a short time Raja Sulam died, and his grandson, Raja Suren,

"reigned in his place in Amidan Nagara, with still greater authority than

"his predecessors, and all the lands of the East and West, except China,

"acknowledged him.

"Then Raja Suren formed the design of subjugating China, and for this

"purpose marched towards that country. Two months he marched on

"without any obstruction, and every country submitted, till he ap-
descriptions was brought to the highest perfection; and the first damasked krises were now made by the pândi (smiths)

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

"Raja Suren had by the daughter of Raja Chulen a daughter, named Chandu Wami Wasis, and by Patri Gang'ya he had three sons, one of them named Bichitram Shak, another Palikutani, and the third Nilamanam.

"Palikutani succeeded to the government of Amden Nagara, and Nilamanam was appointed to the government of Chandukani: but on the eldest son, Bichitram Shak, was only conferred a territory of small extent, which so displeased the young prince, that he resolved to abandon the country. He accordingly embarked with twenty vessels, fitted out with all the appurtenances of war, determining to conquer all the maritime countries; but his fleet was dispersed by a storm, and part of them returned to their country.

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

"After some years Sang Sepurba was seized with a desire to view the ocean, and went in search of a good situation for a new settlement, leaving the younger brother of Demang Lebar Daon in the government of Palembang; and the fleet being prepared, they set sail from the river of Palembang, and after steering six days and nights towards the south, arrived at Tanjung pura, where Sang Sepurba was very honourably received by the raja, and a thousand chiefs introduced him into the country, seated him on the throne, and honoured him like a prince. As soon as
from Pajajáran, who became so distinguished that they were appointed to the charge of districts with a thousand chácha each. The kris, which was afterwards placed on the tomb of Susúnan Góri, is said to have been manufactured at this time from a piece of old iron found by the prince.

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

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

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

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

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

"The successors of Sang Nita Utama were Paduka Sri Wikrama, Sri Rama Wikrama, and Sekander Shah, who, being driven out of Singa pura by the Majapáhit forces, afterwards established the city of Malaca. His successor, Mahomed Shah, first embraced Mahomedanism, in the year 1276."—Malayan Annals.
putting to death the prime minister, eventually fell a sacrifice to the just revenge of the minister's son.

This prince, however, is distinguished by the extent of his conquests, and for the victory he obtained over Sri Sin Derja, King of Singapura on the Malayan peninsula, whose subjects lived by piracy, but by this event became tributary to Majapahit.

To him succeeded the fifth prince of Majapahit, named Mertha Wijaya, whose minister, Gaja Mada, became celebrated for his virtues and abilities, and for the code of regulations which at this day exists under his name. In his reign the conquest of Indragiri, or Sumatra, which had begun by his predecessor, was successfully completed.

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

One of the sovereigns of Majapahit, according to the Malayan annals, had two sons by the daughter of the Raja of the mountain Sa Guntang; the eldest named Raden Ino Mertha Wangsa, and the younger Raden Mas Pamari. The eldest succeeded to the government of Majapahit, the authority of which then extended over the whole of Java, and all the Rajas of Nusa Tamara (probably Bali) likewise paid allegiance for half their lands. The sovereign of Majapahit heard of the extensive country of Malacca which did not owe him allegiance, and sent a large fleet against it, under the command of Demang Wiraja. The Javans, however, did not succeed: they were forced to retreat to their prahus and to return to Majapahit.

Through the wisdom of the minister, Gaja Mada, who was continued in office, and the prudent direction of Alit Wijaya, the kingdom of Majapahit rose to the highest pitch of wealth and glory. Several nations on Sumatra, and among them the people of Palembang, as well as the inhabitants of the southern states of Borneo, who had no regular government at that
period, obtained from him protection against the people of Lámpung, and in return acknowledged the supremacy of Majapáhit. The authority of this empire now extended eastward over Balambángan and Balí, and westward over what was then termed the kingdom of Súnda, which included the western districts of Java, part of Sumatra, and all the islands situated in the straits. The inhabitants of the islands situated in the straits of Sunda consisted for the most part of the dregs of all nations, who having fled from the wars, or having been otherwise obliged to desert their own country, had elected a chief, under whom they committed extensive depredations by sea and land.

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

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

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

Méerta, or according to others, Alit Wijáya, left two children, a daughter named Kanchána Wúnga, and a son named Angka Wijáya, who according to some accounts administered the government jointly. The princess, however, is better known as an independent sovereign, under the title of Prábu Kánya Kanchána Wúng'ú. It is related, that during this reign the chief of Balambángan, named Ménak Jéng'ga, made a successful attack on Proboling'go, and reduced under his authority all the countries which had been dependent on Majapáhit, as far west as Tuban, so that the capital was
nearly surrounded by enemies. In this state of affairs, Mênak Jêng'ga offered terms, on condition of obtaining the hand of the princess in marriage; but she, disgusted by the deformity of his person, and a stench that exhaled from his body, not only rejected his suit, but declared she would give her hand to the man who would destroy him. Dámar Wúlan, the son of a tópa or devotee, named Údára, and a descendant of Aria Babânga, obtained a single victory over the rebels at Probolinggo, and cut off the head of Mênak Jêng'ga: he was rewarded by the hand of the princess; and all the provinces again fell under the authority of Majapáhit. According to some accounts, Dámar Wúlan had also been successful in repelling an invasion from Kambódja.

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

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

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

The Raja of Chérmen having consulted with his relations whom he found at Léran, deputed his son, Slédak Mahómed, to proceed to Majapáhit, and apprise the king of his in-
tended visit. He afterwards set out himself, with all his
party, among whom were forty holy men, his relations, who
had come with him from Sábrang.

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

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

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

* The long graves which are still pointed out near Léran.
might be shortened. The princess shortly afterwards died, and was interred near the graves of her relations.

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

Angka Wijáya, desirous of meeting again with Raja Chérmen, arrived at Lérán three days after his departure, and hearing of the death of the princess, observed, that he thought the religion of Rajá Chérmen would have prevented such a calamity as the premature death of the pútri (princess), that it would have enabled her to hold out against the sickness of Java, and that he must now think meanly of it: to which Muléna replied, that such ignorance was only the consequence of worshipping Déwas instead of the true God. Angka Wijáya became highly enraged at this retort; but being pacified by his followers, returned to Majapáhit, without taking any further notice of it. This happened in the year 1813.

Múlana Ibrahim, who remained in charge of the tombs of the deceased, afterwards removed from Lérán to Gresik, which, however, had not become a separate state. Here he died, twenty-one years after the departure of the Raja of Chérmen; and here his tomb, which is known by the name of Gapárá Wétan, is still to be seen. He died on Monday, the twelfth of Rabíulawal, in the Javan year 1834.

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

The king taking pity on her, the more so as she was a

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

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

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

Previous, however, to this marriage, Angka Wijáya is said to have had an intrigue with a woman, of whom there are various accounts, some describing her as a witch, re-
siding on the mountain Láwu, and others as a rasákse. The fruit of this illicit connection was a son, called Aria Démár. Unknown to his father, this youth distinguished himself at an early age, by bringing together all the wild animals of the forest, as an amusement for the prince and his family. In consequence of an exploit so hazardous, he was first appointed chief of a province, and afterwards promoted to the command of an army proceeding again
_Báli_, during a war in which the forces of _Majapáhit_ suffered great loss, but were ultimately successful*. The capital, called _Klónkong_, was surprised and carried, and the chief himself, with the whole of his family, except one sister, put to the sword. She being very beautiful, was sent to _Majapáhit_. The island of _Báli_ became tributary to _Majapáhit_.

_Aria Dámar_, on his return, presented the various arms which had been taken as tokens of his success; and his conduct being highly approved of, he was appointed _Adipáti_, or chief, of _Palémbang_ on Sumatra.

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

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* The occasion of the war with _Báli_ is thus related:—*" At this period "the royal family of _Báli_ consisted of three brothers; the eldest of whom "was named _Maya Dináwa_; the second, _Dewa Macnawel_, who was the "chief; and the youngest, _Kabu Wikaha_. _Kabu Wikaha_ is said to have "been of extraordinary size, and to have had a head like a hog, devour- "ing the flesh of that animal in great quantity. He was, moreover, very "wicked and destructive, regardless of the rights or property of any one. "On this account the people became dissatisfied with his sway, and his "brothers, desirous of getting rid of him, advised him to proceed to "Majapahit, in order to obtain in marriage _Loro Jongrang_, of the family "of _Browijaya_, a lady whom they represented as of a stature similar to "his own. The _Raja of Báli_, as a further inducement to him to go, sent "an embassy to make the request; but _Browijaya_, considering it as the "forerunner of war, made his preparations accordingly. He sent for a "celebrated painter, named _Sung'ing adi Warna_, and putting down the "dimensions of a large woman, such as had been requested, desired him "to paint the figure of a most beautiful woman of the same size, and when "it was done dismissed the ambassadors, accompanied by _Aria Damar_, "who had especial instructions to make observations of every thing in "_Báli_, so that the way might be clear for hostilities, should the same "become necessary."
of Sánda, the inhabitants of which were continually committing deprivations in the territories of Palémbang. He proceeded into the Lämpung country, but before he could reduce it to subjection, internal commotions obliged him to return to Palémbany, where the Chinese princess was now delivered of a son, to whom he gave the name of Ráden Pátaḥ. He had afterwards a son by this princess, whom he named Ráden Húsén; but observing that the people of Palémbang disliked the princess, on account of her Chinese extraction, he took from one of the first families of the place another wife, whose son might become his successor, and resolved to send Ráden Pátaḥ and Ráden Húsén to Majapáhit.

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

Arriving at Grésik he proceeded to Majapáhit, where he was kindly received by the prince, and by his relative the princess of Chámpra. Angka Wijáya, notwithstanding he disapproved of his religious principles, and himself refused to become a convert to them, conceived such an attachment for his person and such a respect for his character, that he assigned to him three thousand families, and formed an establishment for him at Ampel, situated in the vicinity of Surabáya, where he allowed him the free exercise of his religion,
with permission to make converts of those who were inclined. In a short time Ráchmat gained the affection of all those placed under him, and most of them were by degrees converted to the faith, whence he acquired the title of Sunan, meaning, according to some, "messenger from God," or he of whom requests are made, and which title, indifferently termed Sunan or Susuhunan, the sovereigns of Java have since continued to assume *. As a further testimony of his regard for Ráchmet, the prince of Majapáhit gave to him in marriage the daughter of his first Klawon, whose brother, Wila Tikta, he had appointed chief of Túban. By this wife Ráchmat had three children, a daughter and two sons, who were afterwards appointed Adipátis of Bónang and Drájat, now called Lasem and Sedáyu.

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

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

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

* Súnan, in the Javan language, means the ridge pole of the roof; and tiang the pillars or supports of a house. The former is the term adopted by the sovereign! the latter is applied to the common people or men in general.
a Pandita from Säbrang, who would cure her, and afterwards become her husband.

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

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

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

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

The prince, greatly vexed, and enraged at the havock thus made among his subjects, told his minister that it
must be in consequence of his daughter being pregnant by
the Pandita; and that, as soon as the child should be born
he was determined to make away with it.

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

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

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

Ráden Páku then went to Gíri, and having cleared a
spot, a mosque and dwelling were soon erected. Numerous
proselytes being attracted thither, he was called Prábu
Salmáta, and sometimes Susúnan Rátu Ainul Yákin, but
more commonly Súnan Gíri. He was afterwards appointed
by the king of Majapáhit to be chief of the province of
Grésik, in the same manner as Susúnan Ampel had been
previously appointed. He was born A. J. 1855. Prábu
"Aryak Kramafti, his companion, afterwards assumed the
title Susanan Bonang, under which name he was a distin-
guished character in subsequent transactions."

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

When Lémbo Pétang, son of Angka Wijáya, by the
Princess of Champa, was appointed to the charge of the
island of Madura, under the title of Panambákan, the Sénan
Giri deputed Sheik Sárif, commonly called Kalipka Kusén,
to accompany him, in order to make converts on that island.
This missionary was buried at Aros Báya, where he had
built a mosque, and is generally known on Madura by the
name of Pangéram Sárif.

In the meantime the name of Majapáhit stood high among
surrounding nations; and at no time was the authority of that
state more extensively acknowledged. Some disturbances,
had taken place on Báli, promoted by chiefs of dis-
tricts, who oppressed their subjects, and interfered with the
authority of each other. These commotions were so exas-
perated by the difficulties which arose in collecting the tribute,
that the prince was obliged to send an army thither, under
the command of Adóya Ningrat, the Adipásti of Pájang
Pengging, who soon restored order and tranquillity. In
return for this and other eminent services he obtained in mar-
riage Rátu Tempo, the legitimate daughter of Angka Wijáya.
Déra Agung Kístut, a natural son of the prince by the
princess of Báli, being then appointed chief of that island,
proceeded thither with a select force, and continued tributary to Majapáhit until its downfall.

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

"Every time that the Prince of Majapáhit received accounts of the success of Rátu Pêng'ging his alarm and uneasiness increased; for in these accounts it was stated that he wanted no further assistance, as he met with but little opposition, all the rajas of Sábrang submitting to him, among whom were those of Makásar, Góa, Búnda, Sembáwo, Endé, Timor, Ternáte, Súlu, Síram, Maníla, and Búrni, in short, he and his followers conquered wherever he went, being themselves invulnerable.

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

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

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

In a short time Ratu Pemying reached Majapahit, with
numerous princes in his suite, in proof of what he had
written, that all the rajas of Sabrang had submitted, and
were willing to obey the will of Majapahit. Ratu Pemy-
ging then informed the prince, that in the conquest of Pa-
lumbang the raja of that country had been killed, and that
he had himself appointed a person to administer the govern-
ment provisionally, until the Prince of Majapahit should
nominate a new raja.

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

After the marriage had taken place the prince assembled
all his chiefs, and placing Ratu Pemying, now his son-in-
law, on the setingel, appointed him in their presence, under
the title of Prabu Anom, to a joint administration of the
country with himself.

The prince, however, some time after, became jealous of
the authority of this chief, and removed him to Pemying,
afterwards called Pajang.

During the administration of Lembu Pétang on Maduara,
Sumanap with the subordinate islands became a separate
province under Járan Panilan, a native of Pamakasan,
who, by his skill and courage, had raised himself to the
rank of commander of the Majapahit cavalry, and was
married to an illegitimate daughter of the prince.

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

The prince afterwards gave one of his daughters, the
sister of Chákra Nagára, in marriage to a celebrated com-
mander, named Járan Línau, who was appointed Adipáti
of Lokáno, and appointed Pánji Diwirio chief of Prana-
rága, with the title of Batára Kátong.

The prince falling ill of a complaint, declared by the
physicians to be incurable, was advised, as the only means
of recovery, to cohabit with one of his female slaves, a
woolly-haired girl. The fruit of this intercourse was a son,
who, on account of his birth, was called Búndan Kajáwan.

This child, shortly after its birth, was delivered over to
Kiái Géde Tárup Siséla, chief of the prince’s sáwa, or rice
lands, with directions to bring it up as a foundling.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It was now that Ráden Pátah, finding advisers who were perhaps less scrupulous than the revered Súnan Ampel, gave vent to his deep-rooted animosity against his father, and formed a league with the assembled missionaries to make war upon the pagan empire of Majapáhit. In consequence of this confederacy, which was joined by all those who had
embraced the Mahomedan faith, with the exception of Húsen and his followers, who remained true to the prince, a numerous army was soon collected at Demák, where Ráden Pátaḥ openly declared war.

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

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

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

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

To the latter part of the message Aria Dámar replied, "that it was the will of God to extirpate paganism, and to esta-
"blish the doctrine of Mahomed; that therefore, if Húsen,
who was a Mahomedan, still continued to assist the in-
fidels, he must abide by the consequences, and that he, as
his father, would in such case take no vengeance for the
death of his son, should it ensue."

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

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

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

Thus in the year 1400 fell the great capital of Java, the
boast and pride of the Eastern Islands: thus did the sacred
city of Majapáhit, so long celebrated for the splendour of its
court and the glory of its arms, become a wilderness. "Lost
and gone is the pride of the land."

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

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

Kédélang sirna warnáni nagára

\[\text{2} \quad \text{0} \quad \text{4} \quad \text{1}\]

To be seen nought form city *

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

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

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

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

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

" In coming from Chuan-cha (Emwi) by sea one first makes Cham-Sya.
" The people of that country are of a strange appearance, and exceed-
ingly ugly."
Nothing certain is known of the fate of the prince of Mata-japâhit. According to some accounts, he, his family, and

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"they wear a coat and a long cloth. The men invariably wear a short weapon at the waist, which is of exquisite workmanship.
"Their laws never punish by corporal infliction. They take no account of the measure of a man's offences; the criminal, in all cases, is secured with rattans, and then put to death by stabbing him.
"In their traffic they use the money of China, but of a coinage older than the present times. These coins bear a value double of what they do in China.
"The inhabitants of the country have names, but no surnames. They are of a quarrelsome disposition. In their persons they are ill-favoured and filthy. Their colour is a bluish black. Their heads are like those of large monkeys, and they go bare-legged. They believe in evil spirits.
"In sitting and sleeping they neither use chairs nor beds; in eating they use neither spoons nor chop-sticks. With respect to food, they do not reject snakes, caterpillars, worms, and insects. They do not scruple to eat and sleep with their dogs.
"In their marriage ceremonies it is the practice for the man to go to the house of the woman, where he stays five days; at the end of this time the bride is received with music and noise at the house of the bridegroom. The bride wears no coat, her hair is loose, her feet are bare, and she wears a piece of silk round her bosom. Sometimes she wears ornaments of gold, pearls, and precious stones.
"With respect to the dead, some are thrown into the water, some burnt, and some buried; all this according to the will of the person expressed before his death. The exports of the country are gold, silver, pearls, rhinoceros' horns, elephants' teeth, tortoise-shell, beetle-nut, black pepper, sapan wood, garu wood, kanglong, cotton, Sundit birds, green pigeons, and doves of various colours, parrots of various colours, red, green, and white, with white deer and white monkeys."
Mulána Ibrahim, who died twenty-one years after the arrival of the Raja Chérmen in 1318, is 1394; and as the princess of Champa must have been living at the period of Aria Dámar's being sent to Palémbang, when that prince had at least attained the age of puberty, the accession of Angka Wijáya to the throne of Majapáhit must have been anterior to the year 1320, and a reign of eighty years more than exceeds the limits of probability. All the accounts which are given of the fate of this prince and his family agree in stating that the princess of Champa, who must, if living, have been nearly a hundred years of age, fell into the hands of the conquerors, and found an asylum with the Súnan Bónang of Túban: but this statement is disproved by the recent discovery at Majapáhit of the tomb of this princess, who appears to have been buried according to the Mahomedan custom, and on whose tomb-stone the date 1320 is found, in the old Javan characters, in the highest state of preservation.

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

"About twelve months after the establishment of the supreme authority at Bintára, or Demák, the people of the more eastern provinces again reverted to the standard of Browijáya, who had received assistance from his son established on Báli; upon which Pangérán Aria of Kúdus and Húsen were directed to proceed against them with a powerful army. A desperate engagement took place near Málang, in which the Pepáti Síndu Rája was killed. The Mahomedan forces were however victorious, and following up their success, they pursued the Majapáhit people to Grojógan (Balambángan,) whence Browijáya and those of his followers who still adhered to his fortune took refuge in boats, and fled to Báli. This event happened in the Javan year 1408."

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

"When the people of Majapáhit were defeated, and obliged to fly their capital, the Páteh of Majapáhit took refuge at a place now called Sing'gára, to the south-west of Málang, where he met with protection from a devotee,
named Kiâi Gédé Seng'gâra, who becoming attached to
him gave him his daughter in marriage.
"After the death of the Pâta of Majapâhit, and of Kiâi
Gédé Seng'gâra, the son of the former disagreeing with his
wife, quitted Seng'gâra, and built a small village at Gedâ-
dang, where afterwards he constructed a fort, and assumed
the name of Râng'ga Permâna.
"In a short time this new country was known by the name
of Šãpit ârang: its inhabitants commenced the manufacture
of bricks, of which the walls of the town and ramparts were
completed; they then dug a moat or ditch round the whole,
and rendered it a place of great strength.
"The fame of this new establishment had no sooner reached
the ears of the Mahomedan chief of Demâk, who had now
assumed all the authority formerly possessed by Maja-
pâhit, than he sent his forces against it. The people of
Šãpit ârang remaining however within their fortification,
the besiegers continued a long time before the place without
being able to make any impression upon it, and were about
to retire, when it occurred to them that a stratagem might
be successful. This was to catch ten doves or pigeons,
which in the course of the day might come from without
the fortification in search of food, and, after fastening to
their tails lighted brands, to let them loose into the city.
The project succeeded, for the birds, flying towards their
homes, set fire to the buildings within Šãpit ârang, (which
were constructed of light materials,) and all was confusion.
The conflagration becoming general alarmed the people,
who fled in every direction; the prince proceeded eastward
as far as Cânung Buréng (a rising ground within sight of
the town,) where he is supposed to have perished, as no-
thing was afterwards heard of him. The besiegers then
took possession of the place, which since that period has
been called Kôts Bedak (the deserted fort.)"

All the chiefs and priests went to Gîri on their return from
Seng'gâra, to offer up thanks for their victory. The Sûnan
was much indisposed when they arrived, and soon after died,
at the age of sixty-three years. The tomb of the Sûnan Gîri
is still kept in a state of preservation, and highly reverend. It
is remarkable for still containing the puñâta kris, which he
desired should be placed near his grave, and to which super-
stition has attached many virtues.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Known by the name of Kemándang.
† The Bedui are to be found at three different places in Bantam. At Gumung Perahidáng, where the chief is called Girang Pokon, there are twelve families; at Gumung Párangkujang, where the chief's name is Wankang, there are forty men and women; and at Gumung Bungbang, where the chief is called Kiang, there are twelve families. In the Rawayans, the name given to the place in which they respectively reside, this exact number is constantly preserved, by the removal of any increase that may occur, and by supplying any deficiency from those without who have not embraced the Mahomedan faith.
Among the articles removed from *Majapáhit*, and still preserved with superstitious veneration, was the *paséban*, or hall

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

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

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

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

The *Bedui* are the descendents of those who on the fall of *Pajajaran* escaped into the woods, and who refused to change their religion, remaining firmly attached to that of *Prabu Seda*. There is a tomb of one of them which they hold sacred, and which they will not allow any one but themselves to approach, even to this day. In after times, when the *Bedui* submitted to the Sultan of Bantam, and shewed no disposition to oppose the Mahomedans, they were exempted from the necessity of becoming converts,
of audience, a large building, supported by a double row of lofty pillars. This was placed in front of the mosque at Demák, where it is still to be seen. At Kúdus there is a carved door belonging to the place of worship which Browijáya used to attend; and in the burial places at Túran, and several of the eastern districts, are still to be found relics of a similar kind, which are reverenced as sacred.

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

"The Pangérán Kúdus then departed alone, and having entered the dálam was observed by a female attendant of the chief, who demanded his name and errand; to which he replied, that he should have the honour to make himself known to her master. The female observed that the prince was ill, and in mourning for the death of one of his best friends, Kiáí Gédé Tingkir. Pangérán Kúdus then desired her to tell her master that he was a messenger from the Almighty, who brought good tidings. Having thus obtained admittance to the chief, he informed him that he was commissioned to require his immediate attendance at Demák, and in case of refusal to put him to death. But Kábu Kanigára still persisted in his refusal, and delivered
"his kris into the hands of the Pangér, who immediately wounded him in the arm, of which he shortly expired. He had however previously stipulated, that as his wife was pregnant, the circumstances of his death should be kept secret from her, and that her life should be preserved. The widow shortly after quitted the dālam, and found an asylum with the widow of Kiái Gédé Tingkir, where she was delivered of a son, destined to perform a conspicuous part in the transactions of those days."

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

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

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

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

Before the year 1421, the whole island of Java had submitted to the authority of Pangér Tranggána, the chiefs of the several provinces, from Bantam to Balambágan, presenting themselves at his court, and universal tranquillity was
restored. The Mahomedan religion was now firmly established throughout the island: the mosque was completed, and treaties of amity and peace were concluded with the princes of Borneo, Palémbang, Bâti, Singapûra, Indragiri, and other states of the Archipelago, which had become independent of Javan authority after the fall of Majapâhit.

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

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

It is necessary here to advert to Jáka Tëngkir, the offspring of Kâbu Kaniqâra, a chief who had been put to death by order of the first sultan of Demák. It having been foretold that he would one day become sovereign of Java, he was taken by his mother to Demák in his eleventh year, where he soon found means to ingratiate himself with the Sultan, who gave him the name of Pânji Mas, and caused him to be instructed in the Mahomedan religion and in the precepts of Jâya Langkâra, appointed him to the command of the body guard consisting of eight hundred men, and afterwards, in the
year 1449, gave him his daughter in marriage, with the admi-
mistration of the province of Pájang, where, with the permis-
sion of the Sultan, he built a kráton; but afterwards having
put to death a person who had arrived from the Kedá,
applying for an appointment in the body guard, he was
banished to the forests. During his exile he visited a village
named Bányu-biru, near the Solo river, where he was in-
structed by a Pandita how to conduct himself for the future,
the holy man predicting, at the same time, that he would be-
come sovereign of Java and hold his court at Pájang.

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

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

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

The Sultan of Demák, besides several natural children,
had two sons and four daughters. Of these daughters one
was married to a Madurese prince, who resided at Lampung;
another, Bailiga, to a son of the Sultan of Chéribon, who was
the chief of Bantám; a third to Ráden Pánji, who after the
return of the Sultan from Chéribon was appointed chief of
Pájang pêng'ging; and the fourth to the son of Pángérân Kediri, who was chief of Japura.

Pángérân Tranggâna, the third Sultan of Demâk, died in the year 1461, having previously made a division of his dominions among his children.

His eldest son, Aria Râng'ga, was appointed Sultan of Prawâta, to which was annexed all the land to the eastward along the Solo river, as far as Surabâya, together with Demâk and Semârang. His son-in-law, Pángérân Hadâri, was made Sânan of the Kali Niâmat, and possessed all the districts of Japúri, Páti, Rémbang, and Jawâna. The Adipâti of Pájang Pêng'ging (Râden Pânji) received the title of Brêbo Páti of Pajang and of Matârem, with the lands attached to it. His son, Mas Timor, was appointed Adipâti, with the lands of Kedú and Bágalen. His son-in-law, the prince of Madiârâ, was made chief of Madiàra, Suménâp, Sédéyâ, Grésik, Surabâya, and Pasúruan. His youngest son, Râden Panángsang, was appointed chief of Jîpang.

The Sultan of Chéribon, better known by the name of Sánan Gúnung Jâti, died in 1428, at an advanced age, leaving three sons by his wife, the princess of Demâk, and one son and a daughter by a concubine. His eldest son, Hásen, succeeded him as Sultan of Chéribon and of the provinces lying between the Chi-târum river and Têgu, and stretching in a southern direction to the Kéndang hills, so as to include all the Priáng'en districts and lands lying to the east of the Chi-târum. From this prince are descended the present Sultans of Chéribon. To his second son, Baradin, he left the kingdom of Bantam, which extended westward from the river of Tâng'ran, to the south-east part of Sumâtra, including all the islands in the straits of Sûnda. From him are descended the present kings of Bantam. His third son, named Chenâmmpui, died when young, and was buried at Mándu in Chéribon. To his natural son, Kâli Jâtan, he assigned the lands lying between the Chitârem and Tang'ran rivers, which had formerly formed part of Chéribon and Bantam. This prince assumed the title of Raja of Jokârtâ or Jákatra, fixing his capital near the kâmpung of that name, where he and his descendants continued to reign, until they
were expelled, in the year 1619 of the Christian era, by the Dutch, who established on its ruins the modern Batavia, the capital of their possessions in the East Indies.

The tomb of the Susunan Gûnung Jâti, situated on the mount so called, at a short distance from the present town of Chéribon, is still an object of the highest veneration and respect.

Thus was the ancient empire of Java divided under no less than eight separate and independent governments. Bantam, Jokârta, Chéribon, Prauwâta, Kaliniámât, Pajang Kedâ, and Madûra; the several chiefs of which, in general, either assumed the title of Kiâi Gédé or Sultan, or the more religious distinction of Sûnan.

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

"The Adipâti of Jipang, by the advice of Sûnan Kûdus, dispatched one of his body guard, named Râkut, to Sultan "Prawâta, with orders to watch an opportunity and assassinate him. On the arrival of Râkut, it happened that the Sultan was labouring under an indisposition; but when he was sufficiently recovered, he went one evening after prayers, and sat down at the second gate of the dâlam, his "wife standing behind and holding his head, accompanied only by some female attendants. At that moment, Râkut "went up to him, and declared his commission; to which "the Sultan replied, 'I am aware that my time is come; "execute your orders, but do not hurt any one but me.' "Upon this, Râkut drew his kris and stabbed him; after "which, retreating a few steps, it occurred to him that the "chief might not be actually dead; and returning with an "intention of completing his purpose, he missed his aim, "and struck the wife. The prince observing this, imme- "diately threw his kris at the assassin, which, striking him
"in the leg, threw him on the ground, where he was soon dispatched by the people, who were assembled by the cries of the women."

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

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

The chief of Pájang having communicated with his sister, the widow of Súnan Káli Niámát, who had made a vow never
to rest or to leave her home until the death of her husband, brother, and sister, should be avenged, informed his Panambáhan, that if they could find a suitable opportunity to take revenge on Ráden Penánsang, they had his full consent. The meeting which took place between the parties is thus described.

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

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

From this period the provinces of Jipang became subject to the chief of Pájang; and his sister at Kali Niamat, being informed of this success by Panambáhan expressed her readiness to fulfil a promise which she had made, of conferring upon him all her lands and property, Panambáhan declined
accepting this offer, alleging that he had only obeyed the orders of his sovereign. He however received from her, on this occasion, two pusáka rings, in one of which was set a large diamond, in the other a ruby, which had formerly belonged to the house of Majapáhit.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The relations of the deceased appearing at the court of the
Sultan of Pájang, he appointed his son, Anghebái Sáta Wi-
jáya, to succeed him as chief of Matárem, conferring upon
him, at the same time, the command of all the troops of the
empire, under the title of Kiái Gédé Agung Senapáti Inga-
lága, commonly distinguished by the single title of Senapáti,
joining him annually to present himself at his court on the
feast of Múlut.

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

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

He now placed guards at the limits of his territories, burnt
some of the adjacent villages, and assumed an attitude of
complete independence, subjecting by degrees many of the
neighbouring districts. Ambassadors were immediately sent
from Pájang to demand an explanation. They were in the
first instance duped by the flattering manner in which they
were received; but afterwards discovering the real state of
affairs, and reporting it to the Sultan their master, he is re-
presented as having called his son before him, and having
said, "the will of Providence rules all events. Senapáti will
" not, during my life, commence hostilities against me, but
" after my death he will render you subject to him. Yield to
" his power, on which depends your happiness and that of
" your descendants." At length, however, the chiefs of Tú-
ban and Demák, apprehensive of the growing power of Ma-
tárem, prevailed upon him first to banish the Tumung'gung
Pájang, as the instigator of this feud, and afterwards to send
a considerable force against Matárem. The Tumung'gung,
however, was rescued by forty chosen men dispatched by Se-
napáti, and a stratagem induced the forces of Pájang to re-
treat. The Pájang forces consisted of five thousand men,
commanded by the Sultan's son: those of Senapáti did not
exceed eight hundred. The latter seeing that it was rash to
risk an engagement against such a superiority of numbers,
particularly as the few troops he had raised on the emergency were altogether unexperienced and undisciplined, while those of Pajang were in the highest order, halted at a short distance from Brambānan, where the enemy’s forces were encamped. During the night he burned all the villages in the vicinity, and set fire to the reeds and long grass at some distance from Brambānan, and to the rear of the enemy’s camp, by which means he persuaded them that the Matārem forces had taken their departure, in order to obtain Pajang by surprise.

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

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

Being summoned by Rāden Benāwa, son of the deceased, Senapātī immediately repaired to Pajang, where he found already assembled Pangéran Kudus and the principal chiefs of the country, who after the funeral proceeded to the election of a new sultan. Senapātī was for investing the son of the deceased with the authority enjoyed by his father, but the Sānān Kudus, who though he had been the cause of his son’s death, still breathed vengeance against the Pajang family, for the ignominious manner in which the punishment was carried into effect, opposed this nomination, and favouring
the pretensions of Sultan Demak, that chief was duly proclaimed Sultan of Pajang, Raden Benawa being appointed chief of Jipang. From this period the different states which had acknowledged the supremacy of Pajang successively broke off from their allegiance.

The new Sultan of Pajang commenced his career by removing from office most of the Pajang chiefs, and replacing them by his adherents from Demak, which occasioned a general discontent. At last Raden Benawa, who was not inclined quietly to submit to the loss of his kingdom, succeeded in inducing Senapati openly to adopt his cause, and join the forces which he could himself send from Jipang and the discontent of Pajang.

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

Senapati, after this success, proceeded to carry the kraton by assault, and having entered the front gateway, the wife of the sultan came forth, entreat ing that her husband’s life might be spared; but Senapati reminding her that he was the friend of her father, and had nothing to fear, desired her instantly to produce her husband, which being complied with, he informed the sultan that the people of Pajang being displeased with him he could no longer remain sovereign, but that he and his followers might return to Demak as soon as they pleased, the sovereignty being now conferred on Raden Benawa.

Search was made for Raden Benawa without effect, but that chief was duly proclaimed as sultan, and the brother of Senapati appointed to administer the country until his arrival.
The retreat of Ráden Benáwá being at length discovered, and that chief declining to accept the government of Pájang, his brother Pangéran Gája Búmi, was appointed sultan in his room. The latter shortly after died, and was succeeded by the son of Benáwá, Ráden Sidáwíni, on whom the title of Pangéran Pájang was conferred.

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

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

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

The Adipáti of Surabáya, who had held the supreme authority over all the eastern districts, as Widána to the sultan of Pájang, no sooner heard of these preparations, than he directed all the subordinate chiefs with their forces to assemble at Jípang, there to await the arrival of the army from Matárem; but at the moment when a general engagement was about to take place between the two armies, an open letter was delivered to both chiefs from the Súnan Gíri, requesting them to desist, and proposing an arrangement, by which the eastern provinces were to become subject to
Matárem, but to continue under the immediate administration of the Adipáti. This arrangement was agreed to by both parties, but the Adipáti soon repented of it, who in consequence was preparing for hostilities, when an open rupture was again averted by the interference of the Súnat Gíri; but soon after being joined by the forces of Pranarága and Madion, the Adipáti assembled his troops and marched to invade Matárem.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The days of Sénapáti, the founder of the Matárem empire; and of the dynasty which still retains a nominal rule on Java, were now brought to a close, after a reign of continued warfare. As the founder of the last native empire on Java, his memory is naturally held in high estimation; but he is also respected for the discipline he introduced into his army,
and the valour, ability, and noble-mindedness which he displayed throughout. With the Javans he is considered as another Alexander, and he is the first in their modern history who is considered to have understood the art of war.

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

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

This prince reduced the provinces of Madion and Pranarága, and built a palace, the walls of which are still standing at Krápiak, a place at the foot of a range of hills lying along the South Sea, a short distance from Matárem. He died after a reign of twelve years, esteemed on account of the general tranquillity which prevailed after the firm establishment of his government.

He was succeeded by his eldest son, named Panambáhan Merta Púra, in the year 1540; but this prince not being able to conduct the government, on account of his infirm state of health, or more probably removed by the intrigues of his family, who declared him to be insane, made way for his younger brother, who was raised to the throne in the following year.

This prince, distinguished by the title of Agung, or the great, commenced a flourishing reign by a signal victory over the Surabáyan and Madurese forces, by which he brought the eastern provinces of Málang, Untung, Jápán, Wirasába, Pasúruan and Surabáya, under subjection; and following up
his success, subdued all the eastern provinces, as far as Balambángan. Dissensions arising at this period between the people of Bantam and those of the Súnda districts, the chief of Súmedang applied to Matárem for assistance; and being invested by the sultan with the chief authority over those districts, soon brought the whole of the western chiefs, alarmed at the approach of Matárem arms, to acknowledge his supremacy. A force was now sent to Madúra, and that island being conquered was united to his dominion, which then extended through all Java and Madúra. An enemy, more powerful than any with whom he had been accustomed to contend, and destined to strip his posterity of all but the semblance of sovereignty, now appeared. The Dutch, availing themselves of the divisions and convulsions by which the empire had been previously distracted, had established themselves at Jákatra.

On their first arrival at Bantam, the prince of that country was absent on an expedition against Palémbang, which country, as well as a great part of the north and west coast of Sumatra, was then subject to his sway. They found the influence of the Portuguese, who had previously established a factory there, on the decline, and with little difficulty entered into a treaty with the chief, on whom the administration of the country was provisionally conferred during the absence of the prince. By this treaty, the contracting parties agreed to trade honestly and fairly with each other, and to afford mutual assistance in case of being attacked by an enemy.

Complaints, however, were soon made of the high tone which the Dutch assumed, and of the insolence of their menaces. Hostilities ensued, and according to the Dutch account, upwards of a hundred of the natives were killed or wounded. The consequence was, that they were obliged to quit Bantam. Touching at Jákatra, Japára, Túban, and Sidáyu, they had an affair with the Madurese, but ill calculated to make an impression in their favour. The prince of that country, anxious to pay his respects to the Europeans, requested, through his interpreter, to be permitted to visit the principal person among them, and an arrangement was accordingly made that he should be received on board a particular ship. As the prince left the shore with his suite, accom-
panied by their women and children, the Hollanders became alarmed at the appearance of so numerous an assemblage, and observing that they did not appear to be proceeding direct to the ship pointed out for their reception, discharged three guns. The terror occasioned by the report threw the procession into the utmost confusion, all the people in the boats falling as if killed. The crews of the other European vessels taking these guns as a signal for action, threw themselves with such impetuosity upon the native boats, that out of this numerous assemblage only twenty-one are said to have escaped. Among the slain was the prince, and his interpreter or high priest, and their bodies, as soon as discovered, were thrown with indignity into the sea.

It is remarkable, that the leading traits which distinguish the subsequent administration of the Dutch on Java (a haughty assumption of superiority, for the purpose of overawing the credulous simplicity of the natives, and a most extraordinary timidity, which led them to suspect treachery and danger, in quarters where they were least to be apprehended) were manifested in their earliest transactions in this quarter. On their first arrival at Bantam, we find the clerks of their trading vessels styling themselves captains; and such was the state and consequence assumed by Houtman, the chief of the expedition, who took the title of Captain Major, that a Portuguese, who had known him before, asked him significantly if he had been created a duke since he last saw him. The murder of the unfortunate prince of Madura and his followers (for it can be called by no other term) was as detestable and unjustifiable as the subsequent massacre of the unfortunate and unoffending Chinese in the streets of Batavia. In neither case was there a plea to palliate the crying guilt, but such a degree of danger, as the basest cowardice could alone be sensible of.

This aggression did not pass unpunished, for the Dutch Admiral having allowed some of his men to land near Arosbaya, then the capital of the island, they were seized by the Madurese, and their enlargement was not effected without the loss of many lives and the payment of a liberal ransom.

Bantam was already a place of considerable trade: Chinese, Arabs, Persians, Moors, Turks, Malabars, Peguans, and in a
word, merchants from all nations were established there. The principal produce for the European market was pepper. With this province the Dutch renewed their commerce in the year 1598 A.D., and four years afterwards they obtained permission to establish a factory there. In the following year, accordingly, they erected a permanent building, and formed a commercial establishment. At this time they had granted passes to the vessels belonging to the chief of Túban; and, in 1609, they left an agent at Grésik. A second treaty was now entered into with the king of Bantam, in which the States General stipulated to assist him against foreign invaders, particularly Spaniards and Portuguese; and the king on his side agreed to make over to the Dutch a good and strong fort, a free trade, and security for their persons and property, without paying any duties or taxes, and to allow no other European nation to trade or reside in his territories. The Dutch observing the serious differences which occurred among the chiefs of Bantam during the minority of the sovereign, made overtures, in the same year, to the prince of Jákatra, and removed to that province soon after.

In 1612, a convention was entered into between them and the prince of Jákatra, by which a free trade was allowed to them, together with an eligible place to reside at; both parties contracting to assist each other in war on the territory of Jákatra. It was moreover stipulated, that all goods should pay duty, except such as were imported in Dutch ships, or Chinese junks; and that the prince should prohibit the Spaniards and Portuguese from trading with his dominions.

On the 19th January, 1619, a further treaty was made with the same prince, confirming the former contracts, and stipulating that the fort should remain in its present state until the arrival of the Governor General, and that the English should be obliged to build their factory, and the other nations their houses, at a certain distance from the fort; but on the 1st of February following, in consequence of the success of the English, who had espoused the cause of the native chiefs, we find a convention entered into by the prince of Jákatra, the commanding officer of the English, and the commandant of the Dutch fort, by which the latter promised to deliver over
the fort to the English, and the treasure, merchandize, &c. to the prince: the English agreeing to furnish the Dutch garrison with a ship and a safe conduct for six months.

On the 11th March, a contract was entered into between the king of Bantam and the commissioners of the Dutch Company, still in the fort of Jákatra, whereby the former promised to protect the Dutch against all hostile attempts, and to permit the re-establishment of a free trade on its former footing. The Dutch, on their part, agreed to keep the fort in good order, and to abandon the same on the arrival of their ships, when they would also deliver to the king (in return for the protection he afforded them) one-fourth of the Company's property, and one-half of the ordnance, &c.

In consequence, however, of the arrival of reinforcements from Europe, under Koen, and of the political understanding which then existed between the English and Dutch nations, the Dutch still maintained their ground, and in the month of August following laid the foundation of their establishment at Jákatra on an extensive scale. They had previously, in the years 1618 and 1619, plundered and laid in ashes the town of Japára, because the chief of that province had, in the former year, taken possession of the factory, made prisoners of the Dutch, and sent them into the interior.

The Javan historians considering the Dutch in the light of other foreign nations, who were in the habit of trading to the sea coasts, do not furnish us with any information concerning the disputes which took place at Bantam, or in the first instance at Jákatra. Even in their accounts of the occasion of the first hostilities which took place with the sultan of Matárem, they convey rather a notion of what is the general impression regarding the first establishment of the Dutch, than any particulars calculated to throw light on the history of that period. "The Dutch," say they, "before they arrived at Jákatra, had formed an alliance with the sultan of Bantam. They subsequently treated with the English, and with Pangéran Jokárta; but in a short time they found the way to play off a foul stratagem on the latter. In the first place, when they wished to ascertain the strength and resources of Jákatra, they landed like mátá-mátas (peon or messengers), the captain of the ship disguising himself with a
turban, and accompanying several Khójas (a term by which the natives of the Coromandel coast are distinguished). When he had made his observations, he entered upon trade, offering however much better terms than were just, and making more presents than were necessary. A friendship thus took place between him and the prince: when this friendship was established, the captain informed the prince that his ship wanted repair; and the prince, at his request, allowed the vessel to be brought up the river. There the captain knocked out the planks of the bottom and sunk the vessel, to obtain a pretence for farther delay, and then requested a very small piece of ground, on which he might build a shed, to store the sails and other property, while endeavours should be made to raise the vessel. This request was also complied with. The captain then made a wall or mound of mud, so that nobody could know what he was doing, and in the mean time courted the friendship of the prince. He afterwards waited on the prince, and requested as much more land as could be covered by a buffalo's hide, on which he might build a small póndok. This being complied with, he cut the hide into strips, and claimed all the land he could enclose with them. To this also the prince, after some hesitation, consented. The captain then went on with his buildings, engaging that he would pay all expenses. When the fort was finished, the mud wall was removed; batteries were unexpectedly displayed, and under their protection the Dutch refused to pay a doit. War then commenced, in which the Dutch were reduced to such an extremity, as to be obliged to use stones in lieu of balls, which were expended. Even this resource failed; and, as a last expedient, bags of the filthiest ordure were fired upon the Javans, whence the fort has ever since borne the name of Kóta tání.

Such is the aversion of the Javans for the Khójas, as well on account of their general character as of their conduct on this occasion, that it is a proverb among them, "If you meet a snake and a Khoja in the same road, kill the Khoja first, and afterwards the snake."

Another account is as follows. "The Dutch having obtained the desired spot built on it a store-house, and formed a garden for vegetables. When Pangéran Jokárta inquired
why they did this, they replied, they must have their conve-
niences, and that it was not the custom of the Dutch to live
and eat like the Javans. The Pangérān was satisfied with
the reason given, and allowed the work to proceed; but they
had no sooner completed several buildings, by means of the
people landed from their ships, than they began to surround
them with a battery. The Pangérān again was roused, and
inquired the reason of this, to which they replied, that there
were a great many traders about to arrive, and that it was
necessary to protect their property from thieves. When the
batteries were completed they planted cannon in them: the
Pangérān inquired the reason of this preparation, to which
they only replied, it was to keep off bad people.

"In a short time, however, when the Dutch had increased
in numbers, they fired one of the guns, and the ball dis-
charged from it fell in front of the Pangérān's palace. The
Pangérān inquired why they did so, to which they replied,
they were only trying how far the gun would carry, in order
that they might be able to assist the Pangérān, should he be
attacked by an enemy. The Pangérān, however, was not
satisfied with this reason, and demanded a fine of two
thousand dollars for the insult, which the Dutch immediately
paid. But it was not long before they fired another gun, the
ball of which went over the palace, on which the Pangérān
became highly incensed, and demanded a fine of four thou-
sand dollars, threatening if it was not paid forthwith, to write
to the sultan of Matárem, who would order them immediately
to be driven from the island. To this menace the Dutch said
nothing, but paid the money, which the Pangérān received
with delight. The Dutch, at last, fired a gun, the ball of which
fell within the palace, on which the Pangérān conceiving
it to be their intention to attack him, immediately considered
them as enemies, and collected his people, in order to fall
upon them and destroy them without delay. As soon as the
Dutch saw the people thus assembled, they fired from their
batteries, dealing slaughter all around, and obliged the Pan-
gérān and his people to retreat out of the reach of the shot."

While these events were in progress in the western pro-
vinces, a serious revolt took place in the central and eastern
districts, in consequence of the intrigues of Aria Mandúra,
the favourite and chief minister of the sultan, who by means
of his treacherous conduct to the chief of Pájang, had obtained the administration of that province for himself. The chiefs of Madúra and Surabáya availing themselves of the disturbance thus occasioned at Pájang, declared their independence of Matárem, and were not reduced to subjection till two armies had been sent to the eastward against them.

Not long afterwards, the chief of Surabáya, Tumúnggung Sapánjang, having refused to give up two beautiful horses which the sultan demanded of him, an army was sent to compel his obedience; but the chief being reinforced from Madúra, repulsed the Matárem forces, obliging them to return to their capital.

The sultan, who had hitherto shown himself anxious to maintain a good understanding with the Dutch, and consented to their enjoying a free trade to the different parts of Java, with permission to establish a factory at Japára, is represented as having acted upon their advice in the present juncture, in marching to the eastward in person with his whole forces; but they no sooner saw him undertake the expedition, than availing themselves of the opportunity, they took possession of Jákatra.

He immediately sent two armies against them, under the command of Tumúnggung Wíra Kusúma, and a battle ensued, in which the Javan chief, with about ten thousand of his followers, were either slain or drowned in the river Chilúang. Tumúnggung Náta Jawána coming up afterwards, collected the fugitives, and joining them with his forces surrounded the town. He posted troops on all the roads towards the south and west, at the distance of cannon-shot from the town, at the same time cutting channels to lead off the streams by which the Dutch were supplied. After an unsuccessful attack made by the chiefs Mandúra Réja and Wíla Tikta, for which they were put to death by their commander, a sally was made on the part of the besieged with so much success, that Tumúnggung Jawána determined to break up with his army, and no further attempt against the Dutch was made until the year 1629, A. D.

"In this year a second army from Matárem, composed of Javans and Madurese, appeared before Batavia. The siege lasted for a considerable time, and the assaults on the town and fort, as well as the sallies of the besieged, were very
bloody. Anxious to know the fate of his army, the sultan dispatched his uncle, Pangéran Purbáya, to Batavia, to obtain information. This chief having destroyed the Dutch factory at Japára, embarked in a swift sailing práhu of the size of the trunk of the largest teak tree, which when seen at a distance looked like a serpent on the sea. On reaching the bay of Batavia, Purbáya perceived three ships at anchor. Two of them, after firing upon him, were sunk, and notwithstanding the fire from the third he brought his práhu safe up to Jákatra, when he was fired upon from the fort. On this Purbáya with three followers landed from the práhu, and passing like a shadow to the Dutch fort, which he touched with his hands, proceeded on to the Javan lines, where he informed them that he had come by order of the sultan, to give them a proof how near they might approach the Dutch fort. He then hastened back to Matárem and reported the disastrous state of the war, on which the sultan withdrew his forces to Kaliwángu."

The Dutch sent an ambassador with rich presents, and the war ended in the Javan year 1551.

During the latter part of this prince's reign the country appears to have enjoyed tranquillity, the only two occasions in which it was disturbed being the revolt of the chiefs of Balambángan and Súmedang, which may be considered as the extreme points of the Matárem dominion, Jákatra and Bántam having been effectually separated from them.

Sultan Agung is represented, even by the Dutch, as a well informed and enlightened prince. He extended his dominion not only over all Java and Madúra, but carried his conquests to Lándak and other states on Borneo. He died in the Javan year 1568, and was succeeded by his son, Pangéran Aria Prábu, or Aria Matárem, then twenty-six years of age.

This prince, on account of his mother being a princess of Chéribon, succeeded, to the prejudice of his elder brother: he held his court at Pléret, and is represented as the most severe and tyrannical of Javan sovereigns. During a visit made by the chief of Chéribon to Matárem, he received the distinction of Abdul Ráchman Sahiden, in addition to the title of Susúnan Amangkúrat Senapáti Ingalága, which he had
assumed on his accession. On this occasion it is stated, that he again conferred on the sultan of Chéribon all the eastern districts of the island to the westward of Túgu, the supposed limit of the Majapáhit empire, that is to say the districts of Brébes, Tegál, Pamálan, Ulujámi, Wiradésa, Pakalón’án, Bátang, Kendál, and Kaliwúngu. The Dutch had already firmly established their capital at Batavia, and secured an influence in many of the former dependencies of Java, particularly at Sukadána on Borneo and Palembang on Sumatra.

During the troubled reign of this prince, the Dutch appear first to have entered into a written agreement with the acknowledged sovereigns of Java. A treaty was ratified at Batavia in the second year after his accession, on the 24th September 1646, the conditions of which were that the Susuhúnan should be informed annually, by an ambassador, of the nature of the curiosities which had arrived from Europe; that all priests, or other persons, whom he might be desirous of sending to foreign countries, should be conveyed thither in the Company’s ships; that all persons who should desert to either country, for the purpose of evading their debts, should be given up; that the Company and the Susuhúnan should assist each other against their common enemies; that the vessels of the Susuhúnan’s subjects should be allowed to trade to all places under the Company’s authority, except Ambon, Banda, and Ternáte, and that those bound to Malácca, or places situated to the northward of that settlement, should be obliged to touch at Batavia and to apply for passes.

A treaty was also entered into on the 10th July 1659, between the Dutch and the sultan of Bantam, through the mediation of the ambassadors of the Pangéran of Jámbi, in which it was stipulated, that all prisoners of war and deserters should be mutually restored, with the exception, on the part of the sultan, of those who had embraced the Mahomedan faith more than three months previous to that date, those who had submitted to circumcision since that date to be sent back, or if slaves and unwilling to return, the sultan to pay the value of them to their masters: that the Dutch should, as heretofore, have a permanent residence at Bantam, for which purpose the same building was to be given which
they had occupied before the war, free of rent, and this building to be secured, at the sultan's expense, against any hostile attempts: that the river of Untung Jáwa should form the boundary of the Bantam territory.

Certain provisions were made also to prevent illicit trading.

Shortly after his accession, the chief of Balambángan, aided by forces from Bali, again revolted, and an army was sent against him. The troops, however, were no sooner set in motion, than a plot was concerted against the prince's life, with the knowledge of his younger brother, Alit; but intelligence of it being communicated to the prince, Aria Salingsing, who had been the instigator of the plot, was with his son beheaded, on the spot where a new kráton was erecting. On the intercession of Pangerán Purbáya, the prince was disposed to be lenient to his brother, as well on account of his age as a strong affection which he bore towards him. Ascending the royal eminence, the prince ordered the heads of the parties to be brought, and summoning his brother Alit into his presence, placed the heads before him, saying, "behold the reward of those who have attempted to overthrow my authority. "Bring before me without delay all your followers." The Pangerán immediately retired, and not knowing what was to be the result, immediately assembled all his adherents and attendants, and informed them of what had passed, when they unanimously agreed to amók the Susúman's party, urging that, as soon as the Matárem people saw them commence to amók, they would join them. The Pangerán, who was quite a youth, gave into the plan, and they forthwith proceeded to the alun alun, where they were not joined by a single man of the Matárem people. They however commenced amók, and the people fled in every direction, until Pangerán Chákra Níngrat of Madúra approached Alit, kissed his feet, telling him it was the order of the prince, who was aware of this proceeding, that his person should be seized, but on no account wounded or hurt, and implored him to surrender; but Alit, disregarding his proposal, drew his kris and stabbed the Pangerán, who died on the spot. The Madurese, who witnessed this scene, immediately fell upon Alit, who was soon dispatched. The Susúman was deeply affected at the loss of his brother,
and in the violence of his agitation, on receiving the account of what had passed, wounded himself in the left arm; and from this period, the Javan historians state, "that he never forgave an offence however trifling. When he was unhappy, he always put to death those who were the cause of his unhappiness, and on the slightest occasions was subject to the most violent gusts of anger."

It is related that the prince evinced great sorrow for the loss of his brother, and that when the time of mourning had expired, he wreaked his vengeance on the supposed authors of this calamity, by a massacre unparalleled in the annals of the country. A rigorous investigation was instituted to ascertain the abettors and accomplices in this attack against the prince's life, and for this purpose a commission was appointed under the direction of his favourites. The chiefs of the four quarters of the capital were directed to inscribe the names of all the priests within their respective divisions, under pretext that the prince intended to confer certain marks of distinction upon those who resided at Matárem, but in fact to prevent their escape; for no sooner were the registers made than a cannon was fired from the palace, as a signal to commence the slaughter, and within less than half an hour all the priests, whether guilty or innocent, with their wives and children, amounting to upwards of six thousand souls, were inhumanly and indiscriminately butchered.

On the following morning when the Susúnan appeared in public, he seemed much agitated, and remained without saluting his courtiers or uttering a word for the space of an hour. He then addressed himself to his uncle Purbáya, saying that the priests, who ought to have set an example to others, had conspired against his life; and to cover the atrocity of the massacre, he brought forward three or four priests, who had been purposefully saved from the general slaughter, and from whom it was easy to obtain whatever evidence best suited his purpose.

In the war against Balambágan, although the Matárem forces were successful in obtaining possession of the capital, the chief and his principal adherents fled to Bálí. Wíra Gúna was anxious to follow them; but a serious illness breaking out among the troops, he was obliged to withdraw them,
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and retreat with the few who had survived, in number not exceeding a thousand. On reaching Kédiri, intelligence was sent to Matárem of the failure of the expedition, when the Susúnan immediately ordered the chief, Wira Gúna, with all his family, to be put to death, under the pretext of punishing his want of success, but in reality to satisfy a revenge, which he had long been anxious to gratify against this chief, on account of his having, during the life-time of his father, preferred a complaint against him for carrying off one of his concubines.

It is said that the father of his first rátu (queen) having a pet fowl, which had been produced from a jungle hen and a domestic cock, brought it as a curiosity into the krátón and gave it to the Susúnan. The Susúnan conceiving it to be an omen, that as soon as the Pangérán Adipáti became of age he would quickly obtain the throne, assembled his pengáva and informed them of his apprehensions. The Pangérán on hearing of it, immediately called all his family together, to the number of sixty persons, who, on the first day that the Susúnan appeared in public, sat themselves down in tears under the waringen tree. The Susúnan inquiring their object, they called God and the Prophet to witness, that they were innocent of the bare thought of any thing which should alarm the mind of the Susúnan, and intreated that, if he anticipated sorrow or misfortune from them, he would put them to death immediately, and avert the apprehended calamity. The Susúnan desired them not to listen to people who told them such stories, and retired. Some time afterwards, the Pangérán Adipáti fell desperately in love with a young woman, who from her infancy had been brought up under an aged mónti for the royal embrace. Becoming dangerously ill on her account, he at length communicated the cause to his grandfather, Pangérán Bákit, who prevailed on the mónti to part with her for two thousand rings, one thousand dollars, and a káti of gold. The young pair were immediately married. As soon, however, as the Susúnan became apprized of the transaction, he caused his son, the Pangérán Adipáti, to appear before him with his young bride, and then directed him, in his presence, to stab her to death. He afterwards
banished his son, and sentenced the Pangéran Pákik, with all his family, to capital punishment; and this aged chief, with his wife, Rátu Pándan, and his relations, to the number of forty, were accordingly put to death on the alun alun.

It is even related, among the atrocities committed by this prince, that he violated his own daughter, Rátu Bráwa, who was affianced to the son of Panambáhan Giri Láya of Chéri-bon, and that on the death of one of his wives, Rátu Pámá-lang, he confined sixty of her attendants in a dark room, and deprived them of food until they all died.

The injustice and severity of the Susánan became still greater as he advanced in years. His fits of anger became more frequent, and the day and night were employed in barbarous executions. Life enjoyed no security: every one was upon his guard, and fears and apprehensions wrought among people of the highest and the lowest rank. At length the attention of the chiefs having been directed to the Pangéran Adipáti, who had evinced a kind disposition in the presents he was continually making to the poor, they implored him to assume the government; and the young prince, entering into their views, formed an agreement with the celebrated chief, Trúna Jáya, who was the nephew of the Bopáti of Madára, Chákra Ningrat. It was by these means arranged, that while Chákra Ningrat was at Matárem, Trúna Jáya should forthwith proceed to Madára, and there heading the Madurese and the people of the eastern provinces, first rear the standard of rebellion, while the young prince himself, to preserve appearances, should remain at the court of his father, in seeming ignorance of what was going on. No sooner had Trúna Jáya, in prosecution of this plan, declared the independence of Madára, than there arrived at Pasúruan a considerabl force from Makásar, headed by Dáin Galéngsong and Dáin Manápok. An army sent against them from Matárem was repulsed, and the provinces of Pásúruan, Probolinggo, Wira-sába, and Jápan, submitted to their arms.

The first establishment of the Makásars in Java, appears to have taken place A.D. 1675, when a chief from Celebes, named Kráin Monte-maráni, with numerous followers, left his country in discontent and settled in Java, to the eastward
of Surabáya, near Besúki, where he collected all the vagabonds of the country, and committed great depredations by sea and land.

In this dilemma, and finding himself unequal either to dislodge the Makásar establishment or to reduce the Madurese to submission, the Susúnan dispatched his son, Pangérán Págar, to the Dutch, A.D. 1676, with various presents, soliciting their aid.

A second army was immediately assembled, and directed to proceed by the route of Japóra, where, according to the Javan accounts, the chiefs had instructions to ask the assistance of all the white people who had factories there, Dutch, French, and Portuguese, and in case of refusal, to drive them from the country. On this occasion the Dutch commandant at Japóra is represented as having said, "that this application on the part of the Susúnan, was what the Dutch had been long anxious for, and that he was ready to obey his orders and sacrifice his life in his service."

This army was not more successful than the former in reducing the revolted provinces to submission; but by the aid of the Dutch, who had embarkd a considerable force from Japóra, the Makásar chief was driven from his post: all the wounded were brought to Japóra. They also saved the body of their chief, Pra Wira Trúna, who was killed on the occasion, and sent it to Matárem.

It appears that the assistance sent by the Dutch on this occasion, consisted of four ships and several smaller vessels with troops, which were reinforced at Japóra by the Susúnan’s troops and vessels. "Having arrived to the northward of Madúra, they landed the troops, during the night, in the forest, and in the morning sent a present to the Makásar chief, requesting his permission to take in fresh water, of which they stood in need, alleging it to be their intention to depart immediately. This request being granted, the guns were landed, and batteries thrown up behind the water-casks. An attack was then made upon the enemy’s works, and in a few days the whole were demolished, the chief, Krain Montemaráni killed, and numerous prisoners taken."

On this intelligence reaching Matárem, the Susúnan assembled all his family and chiefs, and directed another
attack to be made upon the hostile forces. A third army was soon assembled at Japára, where the Dutch were ready to join them: in the mean time, however, Trúna Jáya formed an alliance with the Makásars.

The Pangéran Adipáti, who was appointed to a command in this army, had charge of the rear division, which he had so arranged as to be able to act as emergency might require; but he was soon released from his doubts, for Trúna Jáya forgetting the agreement which he had entered into with this prince, no sooner saw himself thus successful in the eastern provinces, than he assumed the sovereignty himself, and caused himself to be installed, under the title of Prábu Máduréta Senapáti Ingalága, and confirmed his alliance with the Makásars by giving his daughter in marriage to their chief, Dán Galéngsong.

The conditions of this alliance are said to have been, that Trúna Jáya should be placed on the throne of Matárem, Dán Galéngsong appointed chief of Surabáya and Pasúruan, Dán Manápok, chief of the eastern and western districts of Balambángan, and Sheik Kajúran, a crafty Arab chief of Madúra.

After a desperate engagement, the forces of Trúna Jáya were again successful. As a last effort, therefore, the venerable Pangéran Purbáya, uncle of the Susúnan and nearly eighty years of age, summoned all the chiefs to follow him, and going himself into the field of battle, performed extraordinary feats of valour, till his horse having been shot under him, and having himself for some time fought on foot, he was overpowered, and his scattered forces compelled to retreat towards Matárem.

Trúna Jáya being now in full possession of Surabáya and the eastern districts, pursued his success as far as Japára. Here, however, he was effectually resisted by the chief, Angébaí Wángsa-dípa and the Dutch, and obliged to retreat.

As another division of his army, under Ráden Dánang Wichána, rapidly approached Matárem, the Susúnan again applied to the Dutch, who sent one of the members of government, Admiral Speelman, to assist him with a considerable force by land and sea. The admiral left Batavia in December, 1676, A.D., and shortly appeared before Chéribon, reducing
to submission the coast districts from thence to Japâra. The fruit of this success, on the part of the Dutch, was the contract of February 1677, of which the chief stipulations were:— that the Sustânan and Dutch should assist each other against their common enemies, on condition that the expenses of the war should be repaid by the party assisted: that the Dutch jurisdiction at Batavia should extend to the Krâwâng river, and the Javans living to the westward of a line drawn from that river to the southern shore, should be considered on the Dutch territory: that the Dutch should be allowed to export and import all species of goods and merchandize duty free, and to establish a factory on any spot which they might deem convenient: that Makâsars, Malâyus, and Moormen, who had not Dutch passes, should not be permitted to trade or settle in the states of the Sustânan: that the Sustânan should engage to reimburse the Dutch for the expense incurred in assisting him against the Makâsars and Madurese, amounting to two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and three thousand lasts of rice, deliverable at Batavia: that in the event of a peace being concluded between his highness and his enemies, through the mediation of the Dutch, his highness should abide by their decision; but, that if no accommodation was effected by the 30th July following, he should pay to the Dutch monthly the sum of twenty thousand reals, for the expenses of the war: that the Dutch should station an adequate force on Japâra hill, in order to preserve that place for the Sustânan, which force was also to be maintained at the expense of his highness.

Admiral Speelman was invested by the Sustânan with full powers to act against the Madurese and Makâsars, and to conclude such treaties with them as he should deem proper, without any restriction whatsoever, and all the Sustânan's subjects were commanded to join the standard of the admiral wherever he might arrive.

In May following the allied forces of the Dutch and the Sustânan gained a victory over Trína Jáya, who was obliged to fly to Kediri, leaving behind him upwards of a hundred pieces of cannon.

At length, the enemy being still in possession of all the central provinces, and the trifling force which it was in the
power of the Susúnan to raise being defeated in every
skirmish, fear and dismay struck the remnant of the Matárem
forces; and the invading army having subdued Pájang, were
entering Matárem, when the Susúnan, seeing no hope for
safety except in flight, assembled his family in the dead of
the night, and collecting the regalia, quitted his capital with
his four sons, and mounted on an elephant, took a westerly
direction. This was in the Javan year 1600.

On the next day (June 1677) the hostile troops entered
Matárem, when a force was immediately detached in pursuit
of the fugitive prince, who had pushed on to the Kéndang
hills, and halted at Kájinár, with an intention of making a
stand. Hearing of the strength of the pursuing force, how-
ever, he left his family at that place, and proceeded with only
his son, the Pangéran Adipáti, to the village Pasíráman,
where being seized with a mortal complaint he soon died.
On his death-bed, informing his son that he felt his end ap-
proaching, he thus addressed him: "You must assume the
"sovereignty of Java, which has descended to you from your
"forefathers. Make friends with the Dutch, and by their
"assistance you may be enabled to reduce the eastern pro-
"vinces to submission. I deliver over to you part of the
"sacred pusáká and regalia of the country; and now let my
"body be carried to a spot where the earth is fragrant, and
"there let it be buried."

In conformity with the wish of the deceased his body was
carried across the country towards Tégál, in search of a spot
where the earth was sweet-scented, and deposited a few miles
inland from the town. The tomb is still held in high venera-
tion; and it is from this circumstance that this prince is dis-
tinguished by the appellation of Susúnan Tégál-wáng'i, or
Tégál-árum; árum and wáng'i signifying fragrant.

The rebel forces had, in the mean time, taken possession of
Matárem, and found among the articles of plunder the crown
of Majapáhit, with several other parts of the regalia, which
had been left behind in the hasty departure of the prince,
together with two of his daughters, named Keleting Wáng'u
and Keleting Káníng. The plunder was immediately dis-
patched to Kediri, where the rebel chiefs had established
their head quarters, and equally divided between Tráng Jáya
and Dain Galëngsong, with the exception of the regalia and of the daughters of the Susánan, whom Trána Jáya espoused.

The loss on the side of the Matárem people is estimated at fifteen thousand killed, and on the side of the eastern people at somewhat less.

It is said in some accounts that the late Susánan having failed to persuade his son, Pangérán Adipáti, to assume the government, gave to another of his sons, Pangérán Púgar, the pusáka kris, máisa núlar, and the spear kidí paléret, in consequence of which Pangérán Púgar, with his brothers, returned to Bágelen, where, assuming the title of Susánan Se-nápáti Ingalága Abdul Rúchmen Sahídín Panatagáma, he assembled a considerable force, and proceeding to Matárem regained possession of it.

After the interment of the deceased Susánan at Tegál, Márta Láya, the chief of that province, urged the Pangérán Adipáti to assume the government, and first to establish himself at Tegál, until he had collected a sufficient force to attack the eastern people, offering his services to collect for him as many people as would be required; but the prince still declined, not having the courage to attempt the recovery of the authority that belonged to his family, and requested Márta Láya to procure for him a vessel, in which he might proceed to Mecca, being resolved to relinquish for ever the cares of government, and to become a Háji. Márta Láya, although he had vessels at his disposal, evaded a compliance with the prince's request, in the hope that he might alter his resolution, and still be induced to assume the government. The prince retired to Bányumas, and performed a penance in one of the mosques. He is said on the seventh day to have fallen asleep, and to have dreamt, "that the roof of the mosque opened, as if it were carried up in the air, when a full and bright moon appeared, which diffused its lustre over all Java, after which it approached and entered his breast." Encouraged by this omen, the prince changed his determination, and recollecting the words of his father, bethought himself of obtaining the assistance of the Dutch. He in consequence dispatched two messengers to Batavia for aid.

The prince then sent orders to Márta Láya at Tegál to collect as many forces as possible; he likewise dispatched
trusty people to the *Désa Dúnān*, in search of the flower called *vijáya mála*; there being a superstitious notion among the Javans that if in their distress they are able to obtain this flower, whatever they undertake will prosper.

*Mártā Láya* immediately exerted himself with great zeal and effect to assemble his adherents, in the hope that by shewing a large force he might induce the prince to relinquish his idea of receiving succour from the Dutch. On the arrival of this succour at *Tegál* he addressed him publicly as follows:—

"Sire, I have felt excessive shame in hearing that your highness is desirous of soliciting aid from the Hollanders, as if you were yourself in want of men. I am now ready, with numerous followers, to perform whatever you please, if you will only confer upon me the necessary authority. Give me but your orders and I will myself extirpate your enemies." The prince replied, "What signifies your shame, *Mártā Láya*? I have requested assistance from the Dutch, because it is always agreeable to rely on one's friends; and it was foretold by my great grandfather, *Sul-tan Agung*, that the Dutch would assist his descendants." *Mártā Láya* was silent. The messengers now returned with the *vijáya* flowers, on which the prince assumed the title of *Susúnan Amandékrat Senápáti Ingálága*, &c.; and soon afterwards the Dutch agreed to give him the assistance required.

When the Dutch force was landed, the *Susúnan* received the visit of the admiral and officers in state. The Dutch officers being introduced, stood in a row with their hats in their hands; but *Mártā Láya*, considering it disrespectful that any one should stand in the presence of the sovereign, ordered them immediately to sit down in the manner of the Javans, and was proceeding to compel the admiral to do so, when the *Susúnan*, seeing the confusion in which all were thrown, applied to his late ambassador to the Dutch for an explanation. When he learnt that they shewed respect by bowing their heads only, he was satisfied, and desired *Mártā Láya* not to interfere with them.

"The *Susúnan* then inquired the name of the commander, who after informing him that he had the rank of admiral, approached him, saying, that he was ordered by the government
of Batavia to proceed to Tegál, with a force of Europeans, Makásars, &c., and to afford him every assistance he might require in the establishment of his authority. There were landed valuable presents for the prince, among which was very splendid apparel as worn by the Hollanders, to which the prince took such a liking that he immediately clothed himself in it. The Dutch force was then divided, and the admiral embarked with one division for Japára, while the other accompanied the prince, who proceeded by land to Pakalóngan, and afterwards with his followers by sea to Japára."

"On the arrival of the admiral at Japára, he inquired of Wángsa Dipa, the chief of that place, who had rendered assistance in repelling the rebels, at the time they attacked Japára? To which the latter replied, 'The successful resistance was principally owing to the conduct of the French, English, and Dutch factories.' The admiral then consulted with his officers, and observing that the English and French seemed to be preferred to the Dutch, or at any rate considered on the same footing, he called the chiefs of the French and English factories, and presenting them with twenty thousand dollars, said it was the gift of the Susúnan, who directed that they would quit Japára. The chiefs of the two factories took the money, but did not wish to depart, alleging that there were no vessels to convey them away; to which the admiral replied, that in that case he had the further orders of the Susúnan to provide them with a vessel. The people belonging to the two factories were then, with all their property, public and private, embarked on board a Dutch transport. The vessel sailed, but nothing more was ever heard of the English and French who were embarked in her. The Dutch then repaired their instruments of war."

Another account is as follows: "When the admiral arrived at Japára, he found there two foreign vessels, an English and a French ship, the officers of which said they had put in there in distress, and could not proceed further on account of the bad state of their ships. They also represented that they had assisted the Dutch when the rebels attacked Japára. The admiral thanked them for the service they had rendered, and presented them with ten thousand dollars, and
ordered them to proceed to their own country in one of his vessels."

"On the arrival of the Susúnan at Japára, he was joined by a considerable force from Tegál and Demák; and among those who were most active in the support of the Susúnan's authority was Má́rta Láýa, whose aversion to the Dutch still continued. The admiral, apprized of his sentiments, applied to the Susúnan for his destruction, supporting his application by a written request to the same effect from the government of the capital, and threatening an immediate departure to Batavia in case of non-compliance.

"To accomplish this end, the Susúnan first attempted to send him to Kédiri against Trúna Jáya; but Má́rta Láýa obtaining information of the demand made by the Dutch for his life, refused to attend the summons, on the pretence of sickness. His disobedience so enraged the Susúnan, that he ordered his instant death, which was effected in the following manner. Má́rta Púra having received the orders of the prince to put Má́rta Láýa to death, went to his house, accompanied by two hundred followers. Má́rta Láýa having been apprized of the Susúnan's anger, he collected an equal number of men.

"When Má́rta Púra approached him he was seated on a yellow carpet with a drawn kris in his hand, and being informed that he was to be put to death by order of the Susúnan, Má́rta Láýa replied, 'If it is the wish of the prince that it should be so, do your duty, I am prepared.' Má́rta Púra then drew his kris and stabbed Má́rta Láýa in the belly; but while he did so his neck received in return the kris of Má́rta Láýa, which separating the throat in two, killed him on the spot. The two chiefs were no sooner wounded than the followers of both parties rushed on each other, and a most bloody and obstinate engagement ensued, which lasted till the bodies of nearly the whole lay weltering round those of the chiefs."

Measures had already been taken for the dispersion of the rebel forces in Kédiri. A Makásar chief, named Krúin Ka-
dádrang, in the service of the Dutch, discovered his relationship to the Makásar chief Galéngsong, and offered to bring
him to terms. He was in consequence dispatched secretly to Kediri, where he had an interview with the Makásar chief, who was his brother. On the part of the Dutch, he promised that they would assist him on Celebes. He hesitated to come over immediately, lest he should betray Trána Jáya, but promised to join the allied forces when they should arrive and attack Trána Jáya.

Having thus secured an interest with the Makásars, one division of the Dutch forces, under the admiral, embarked for Surabáya, and the other, with the Susúnan, commenced their march by land. A decisive battle took place at Kediri; on the evening previous to which, it is asserted the Dutch had a communication with Dain Galéngsong, to know his intentions, when the latter told them, "Attack me to-morrow, "and I will make arrangements for the flight of my forces." Accordingly the next morning, before the daylight, the Dutch troops marched to the hostile camp, where they found no preparations for resistance. Dain Galéngsong immediately ordered a retreat, and fled himself the first, leaving behind him all the plunder that had been taken at Matárem, and among other things the crown of Majapáhit.

The siege of Kediri, according to the Dutch accounts, lasted fifty days, and it was at last taken by assault, Trána Jáya making his escape. Great riches were found in the interior of the palace, and many chests of Spanish dollars, besides ingots of gold and the most valuable part of the regalia. The Susúnan claimed nothing but the crown of Majapáhit, leaving the remainder to be distributed among the troops.

When the crown was delivered to him, it appeared that its most splendid ornament, the large centre diamond, was missing. This the Susúnan immediately noticed, and inquiries were set on foot; but to the great affliction of the Susúnan and all the Javan chiefs, the jewel was never recovered *.

Nine Makásar chiefs afterwards surrendered to the Dutch on the 9th December, when they received pardon, and a promise that they should be sent to Makásar.

After this Trána Jáya collected all his forces, and mar-

* A Dutch officer is accused of having purloined it.
shalled them upon the plain, as if to receive the enemy; but
on the approach of the Dutch troops from the left and the
Javans from the right, his army was panic struck and fled in
various directions, he himself with his two wives escaping to
Antang. The Susunun allowed the Dutch soldiers to plunder
and possess themselves of every thing left by the rebels.

Cháakra Ningrat having quitted his place of banishment
and joined the Susunun, was sent to urge the submission of
his half-brother, Trúna Jáya. Cháakra Ningrat accordingly
went in search of Trúna Jáya, accompanied by a very few
followers, and having found him at Antang he addressed him
as follows. "Brother! what are you doing and whither
would you fly? depend upon it, if you persist in your re-
"istance to the will of the Susunun, he will disappoint your
"expectations, and if you compel him to send people to
"arrest you, you will excite his implacable displeasure. I
"have come to you as quickly as possible, for my heart yearns
"towards you, and I dread lest you should come to any mis-
"fortune. If you wish it, I will go and meet the Susunun.
"Bring your two wives, who are both the sisters of the
"Susunun, throw yourselves together at his feet, ask for-
"giveness for any offence you have committed, and perhaps
"he will be merciful towards you and grant you pardon. If
"you come alone in that way, the Susunun cannot act against
"you, for are you not married to his sisters?" Trúna Jáya
reflected upon what Cháakra Ningrat said, and was inclined
to follow his advice, saying, "I return abundant thanks to you
"for your kindness towards me. Your advice is good and I
"will follow it: I will follow you, accompanied by my wives." Trúna Jáya with his wives afterwards accompanied Cháakra
Ningrat to Kedíri.

"Cháakra Ningrat then led Trúna Jáya with his wives to
the hall of audience, where the Susunun was seated with the
admiral and numerous Dutch officers. Trúna Jáya on this
occasion did not wear his kris, but rolled a chindi cloth round
his body, as if he were a prisoner.

"They fell at the feet of the Susunun, imploring forgive-
ness for the offence of Trúna Jáya, on which the Susunun
said, 'It is well! Trúna Jáya, for this time I forgive you.
' Go without and clothe yourself in becoming apparel, and
then return to me, when I will present you with a kris, and instal you as my minister, in the presence of all assembled.' The Susúnan then gave orders that he should be served with apparel. The heart of Trúna Jáya became highly elated: he went out and received the apparel from the Susúnan's people, and then returned into the presence, but without wearing a kris, as the Susúnan had intimated his intention to present him with one.

"As he approached, the Susúnan desired his women to bring him the kris named Kidáí belábar, which was still unsheathed. As soon as it was delivered into the hands of the Susúnan, he said to Trúna Jáya, 'Know, Trúna Jáya, that I have given my word that I would never sheathe this kris except in your body; receive now your death from it in punishment of your offence.' Trúna Jáya was silent, while the Susúnan standing up approached and stabbed him with his kris in the breast. Returning then to his throne he seated himself, and ordered his people who were assembled to finish the work which he had begun, whereupon they all fell upon Trúna Jáya, the unfortunate wretch, stabbing him in a thousand places and cutting his body to pieces. They then severed the head from the trunk, rolled it in the mud, made a mat of it, and at last cast it into a ditch by the express order of the Susúnan. The admiral and all the Dutch officers and party were present at this execution; but though they appeared astonished at the conduct of the Susúnan, they remained quiet spectators of it."

Such is the account given by the Javans, without reference to the share which the Dutch had in the transaction; but from the Dutch accounts it appears that Trúna Jáya delivered himself up under a stipulation with the Dutch that his life should be spared. A young officer of the name of Jengker, who had been placed by the General (Cooper) in charge of the Susúnan's guard, was sent by the Susúnan to treat with Trúna Jáya, without any communication with or authority from his commanding officer. Valentyn says positively, that Jengker promised him pardon, and assured him of his life; but Cooper, annoyed that the credit of taking this chief should thus have been wrested from him by a junior officer acting without authority, exasperated the Susúnan against Trúna
Jáya, and threw that unfortunate chief in his way at a moment when his passion was at its height. This catastrophe, says Valentyn, is to be ascribed to no one but the jealous Cooper, who brought it about, in order that his bad conduct, oppressions, and extortions, which were well known to Trúna Jáya, and which he had intended to complain of, should remain concealed.

Trúna Jáya, at the time of his surrender, was dressed in a Portuguese jacket, and wore on his head a black turban edged with lace. He gave short and pertinent answers to the questions put to him. On his coming before Jengker he fell at his feet, saying, that in his youth it had been predicted that, however great his fortune might be, still he should, at one time of his life, be taken prisoner, and that since this was his destiny, he rejoiced in having fallen into the hands of a person so well known for his humanity. He then presented to him his kris with a golden bow, requesting Jengker to keep them in token of his esteem. Jengker lifted him up, promised that his life should be spared, and further, that all his influence with the Dutch government and the Susúnan should be used in his behalf. It is alleged in the Dutch accounts, that the immediate cause of the Susúnan's conduct on this occasion, was the irreconcilable hatred which Trúna Jáya still evinced towards that prince, who, he said, had in his youth encouraged him to the steps he had taken, and afterwards abandoned him.

Trúna Jáya surrendered on the 25th December, 1679, A.D., and general tranquillity ensued, which however was not of long duration. The Panambáhan Gíri having in his possession the kris deposited in the tomb of the first Súnan, it was demanded of him by the Susúnan as royal property; but the Panambáhan not being inclined to part with it, and disapproving of the conduct of the Susúnan, who was guided by Dutch councils, and had even adopted their dress, replied, that he did not wish to know any thing of the Susúnan, or to be acquainted with him; that he wished to wear the kris, kálam múning, himself, and that he preferred his own dignity to that of such a chief. The Susúnan, enraged at this answer, proceeded to Gíri with his Dutch allies, where an engagement took place and the Gíri people were obliged to fly: the Panambáhan was taken and put to death. In this affair, a
cousin of the Sénan Káli Jága of Aditángo, who had followed the Susúnán, distinguished himself in destroying the brother of the Punambáhan Pangérán Singa Sári, who was running ámok, and doing much mischief; as a reward for which service the Sénan, in the presence of the Dutch commander, declared that, for ever after that, the descendants of that chief should be permitted to reside at Aditángo'o, and not be called upon to perform any duties of the state.

The whole of the eastern provinces having now submitted, the Susúnán returned to Semárang, where when he had made acknowledgments to the Dutch for the assistance they had rendered him, the commander requested that he would give them a small piece of ground at Semárang to build a fort upon, which would not only be convenient for the protection of their trade, but would enable them to come to the assistance of the Susúnán, if necessary, at a shorter notice.

The admiral having promised that he would station a suitable force at Semárang, which the Susúnán might at any time employ as he thought proper, obtained the permission he applied for.

The Javans have a superstitious belief, that when once misfortune has fallen on a place so generally as to extend to the common people (which was the case at Matárem), it will never afterwards prosper; it was therefore determined by the Susúnán to change the seat of empire, and some were for fixing it at Semárang, but at last it was determined to erect it in the wood Wána Kértá, in the district of Pájang, which was good land but uninhabited.

The new capital was called Kértá-súra, the walls of which are still to be seen on the road to Súra-kértá, the present capital of the Susúnán.

During all these transactions Pangérán Pugár remained at Matárem. The Susúnán now, for the first time, sent him information of his establishment, and required his attendance at court. The Pangérán, who having heard that the Susúnán was in the constant habit of dressing after the Dutch fashion, had been strengthening himself as much as possible, under an impression, that the Susúnán supported by the Dutch was not his brother, but a foreigner, whom they had raised to answer their own purposes, received this intimation with great
surprise, and sent two of his family to ascertain the truth. The messengers, who were interested in upholding the separate authority of their master, determined to encourage his mistake, and they represented the Susúnan as a foreigner from Sábrang, elevated by the Dutch. Upon this report the Pangérán informed the Susúnan that he could not proceed to Kértasúra, as he preferred remaining at Matárem, where he was established as the legal sovereign. A force, consisting of Dutch and Javan troops, was in consequence marched against Matárem; at first the troops of Kértasúra were defeated, but in a second attack they were more successful, and the Pangérán was obliged to take to flight.

By means of the Adipáti, the Pangérán was afterwards assured of the Susúnan being his brother, when he agreed to go to Kértasúra, provided the Susúnan would throw off his Dutch dress and appear in his native costume. To this the sovereign consented, and publicly received his brother with the greatest demonstrations of joy and affection.

The authority of the Susúnan was now firmly established, and general tranquillity prevailed for some years.

A new character now appears on the stage, under the title of Surapáti. This man, whose name was Si Untung, had been the slave boy of a Dutchman at Batavia, of the name of Mor, who is represented to have been of low origin, but to have been advanced to the highest dignities, even a seat in the high regency, by means of the riches and influence he had acquired through the services of this slave, to whom he became, in consequence, much attached. Mor, however, discovering an improper intimacy between Untung and his natural daughter, chastised him severely, and afterwards had him confined in the public block or stocks. Untung contrived to effect his escape from them during the night, and to release his fellow prisoners. They then fell upon the guard which came to mount at daylight, and taking them unawares massacred the whole. Being thus committed, Untung bent his course to the high lands, and afterwards to Chéribon. While in the high lands he formed a connection with a formidable party from Bantam, where a civil war had been excited, in consequence of the Dutch having elevated to the throne a son of the deceased king, contrary to the express
directions of the father. One of the brothers, Pangéran Purbáya, was prevailed upon to join a certain Abidin, a fanatic rebel, who had raised about two thousand followers, and with him passed through Jasingá and the Jákatra and Preángan highlands, increasing their numbers as they went.

Abidin having proposed to proceed by that route to Matárem, there to stir up the Susúnan against the Dutch, the Pangéran being tired of the journey surrendered to the Dutch force sent against them; but Abidin stood a severe engagement, and was only induced to surrender by means of an artifice practiced upon him. An European officer belonging to the Dutch troops disguised himself as an Arab, and being well versed in the Arabic and Malauy languages, obtained an interview with Abidin, to whom he represented, that having himself been once taken prisoner by the Dutch he had been so well treated that he would advise him to go and surrender himself. The unfortunate man took his advice, and was conveyed to the commanding officer, then at Chikálong, who immediately forwarded him to Batavia, whence he was sent to the Cape of Good Hope for the rest of his life.

The party of runaway slaves under Untung, who had now assumed the name of Santána being surprized by the Dutch force, were by special orders from Batavia allowed to remain undisturbed for the present. The chief appears to have been useful to the Dutch, and to have been employed, in order the better to secure the surrender of Pangéran Purbáya. When the Dutch officer went with a small party to receive the submission of this chief, he found that he had already tied his spears together (the sign of surrender) and kept no arms but his kris. Ignorant of the customs of the country, the officer demanded that the Pangéran should also deliver this weapon and his personal ornaments. The demand created the utmost astonishment in the Pangéran, who instantly asked if it was not sufficient humiliation to a prince of the royal blood that he and his people had given up their arms. Santána entertained of the Dutch officer not to urge the delivery of the kris, and to consider "that the bird, although caught, was not "yet in the cage," but to no purpose: the officer persisted in his demand, and insulted Santána in presence of all who were there assembled. The Pangéran seeing that resistance
was now vain, promised compliance next morning; but during the night, to the inexpressible mortification of the officer, he effected his escape. The rage of the officer now fell so violently upon Santána, that a quarrel ensued. Santána and his followers fell upon the Dutch party and killed many of them; the officer however escaped. Santána then moved towards Chéríbon, where he had an affair with a chief, named Ráden Surapáti, which being reported to the sultan, that chief was put to death, and his title of Surapáti conferred upon Untung. Surapáti then proceeded towards Kértasúra to beg assistance against the Dutch, leaving several of his followers in Bányumas, under the direction of two chiefs, who soon became dreaded as noted kramans or rebels. At Kértasúra he found protection from the prime minister, to whom he related all the particulars of the story, with the exception of that part which related to the establishment he had formed in Bányumas. This district being now declared in a state of revolt, he offered to bring it to submission, and was employed by the Susúnan for that purpose; he accordingly proceeded secretly to Bányumas, where, aided by the plan he had before laid, he caused the heads of the two krámans to be secretly cut off in the night, and the rebels to disperse; when returning to Kértasúra and producing the heads, he was received into the highest favour by the Susúnan.

The Dutch hearing of his fortune, demanded from the Susúnan that his person should be given up; but the reply of the Susúnan was, “that Surapáti having thrown himself on his protection and performed a signal service to the empire, he could not give him up; but that if the Dutch wished that he should be arrested, they were at perfect liberty to arrest him in any part of his dominions.”

The Dutch accordingly sent a force, consisting of four hundred Europeans and six hundred islanders, under the orders of one Tax, an officer who had incurred the suspicion of having purloined the centre diamond from the Majapáhit crown, and on whom, according to the impression which pervades the Dutch accounts, the Susúnan had determined to be revenged.

On the approach of the Dutch troops, the Susúnan, alarmed lest they should succeed in arresting Surapáti, determined to
afford him every assistance, and for that purpose directed, that when they arrived, the Ráden Adipáti (prime minister), who had given his daughter in marriage to Surapáti, should openly espouse his cause, and proceed, in the first instance, to attack the lines of the Adipátis of Madúra and Surabáya, who after a skirmish should retreat to the alun alun in confusion, exhibiting all the appearance of a defeat, while the united party of the Ráden Adipáti, and Sarapáti should appear to threaten the kráton. The Pangéran Púgar being strongly attached to Surapáti, received orders, that if, in the affair with the Dutch, the party of Surapáti and the minister should be worsted, he should render them assistance, by sending his people to them clothed in white, the distinction adopted by Surapáti.

When the Dutch arrived, to cover appearances, a new prime minister was appointed. The commander requested assistance from the Susúman, who pointed out to him the apparent state of affairs, and induced him to believe that he was himself in danger from the attack of Surapáti. Under this impression, Tak made his arrangements; and the Dutch troops appeared on the front alun alun at eight o'clock in the morning, when they were immediately attacked by Surapáti. After four hours of hard fighting, Surapáti was repulsed; but reinforcements being sent by Pangéran Púgar, and by the whole population of the city, the Dutch were completely destroyed. Tak, at his last extremity, ordered out from the fort two hundred soldiers remaining there; but as they could not join their companions, they were immediately surrounded and cut up. Of the two thousand men, eleven hundred and eighty-three lost their lives; and among them Tak, who was mortally wounded in the neck by the celebrated pusáka spear of Pangéran Púgar. The weapon was found blunted at the point by the chain jacket which Tak is said to have worn on the occasion.

The Susúman now directed the Ráden Adipáti and Surapáti to take refuge in the province of Pasúruan, and assume the habit of devotees; while to the Adipátis of Madúra and Surabáya orders were given to follow them at a certain distance, burning the villages and laying waste the country, as if
in pursuit of an enemy. When Surapáti reached Patsran, he took the name of Adipáti Wira Nagára.

The few Dutch who had survived made their escape to the fort of Japára, which was then more extensive than that at Sembrang.

After this the Susúnan wrote to the commanding officer at Japára, informing him that Tak, with all the party, had been killed by the Ráden Adipáti and Surapáti, who had also attacked him, but that they had at last driven them to the eastward, by the force he had collected under the Adipátes of Madára and Surabáya. He also informed him that he had elected a new prime minister, in lieu of the one who had espoused the cause of Surapáti. The Susúnan, fearing lest this story might not be believed, and that he might be suspected of having assisted Surapáti, sent with this letter five pikuls of birds' nests, forty oxen, and other articles of value, which he entrusted to the care of a priái gándok (a messenger of distinction) named Jága Rágá, with instructions to mark well the thoughts of the commander or officer who was the chief of Japára, and if he shewed the least suspicion of the part the Susúnan had taken, mainly to deny it, and firmly to insist that the Susúnan was true-hearted to the Hollanders. He moreover promised to his ambassador, that if he succeeded in averting the anger of the Dutch, he would reward him on his return.

This messenger accordingly proceeded to Japára, when the chief officer, after reading the letter, said he had heard the Susúnan was of one heart with Surapáti; to which Jága Rágá replied, that what he had heard was false, and that perhaps the story might have originated in the part taken by the Ráden Adipáti, whose attachment to Surapáti was well known. He then referred to the circumstance of the country's being laid waste by Surapáti on his flight to the eastward, in proof of his enmity. The commander heard this explanation with patience, and after receiving the presents, with which he was much pleased, returned for answer to the Susúnan, that he had first heard that he was favourable to Surapáti, but was now convinced, from the explanation afforded, that these reports were unfounded, and that he was satisfied of the lasting attachment of his highness to the Dutch. He then
thanked him for his present, and in return sent one thousand ducatoons, with an assortment of velvets and cloth. The messenger having thus succeeded, was raised to the rank and station of Tumúng'gung of Japâra, by the name and title of Kiái Tumúng'gung Mártâ Púra.

The next indignity offered to the Dutch was by this man, who laid hold of a half cast Dutch soldier at Japâra, and insisted upon his sitting on the ground on his hams and dancing the tandák, after the fashion of the Javans, for his amusement. The Dutch, highly incensed, demanded the immediate release of the man; but the Tumúng'gung refusing, an application was sent to the Susúnan, requesting that Mártâ Púra might be put to death. The Susúnan immediately sent for Pangéran Púgar and his minister, and desired them to communicate with Mártâ Púra, and if they found he had the courage to oppose the Dutch to give him assistance under hand, or to promote his success by some stratagem, in the same manner as he had done to Surapáti; but if not, to let him be sacrificed, as a punishment for his cowardice. He then replied to the commodore, saying, that he had sent his own people to arrest Mártâ Púra, and to deliver him to the commander, who might act with his person as he thought proper. When the minister arrived at Japâra it was agreed that Mártâ Púra should be invited into the Dutch fort, and there apprehended early next morning; but in the meantime the agents of the Susúnan had a secret interview with the chief, who declared himself ready to oppose the Dutch, and it was determined that their pretending to seize him should be a signal for all to join and amók the Hollanders: but in the morning the heart of Mártâ Púra failed him. He twice refused to quit his retreat, and when at last he came into the presence of the party, he appeared trembling and pale, and his knees tottered under him, so that he was scarcely able to stand. They then gave him a chair to sit down upon, and plied him with wine. An officer having taken his kris from behind him, he rose from his chair and attempted to escape, but was bayoneted by a soldier on his way. The agents of the Susúnan, enraged to see him so thoroughly frightened, gave him no assistance, but ordered the dogs to devour his carcase. When the Susúnan heard of the cowardly conduct of Mártâ
Para he ordered that it should be publicly prohibited, on pain of his severest punishment, to harbour or afford assistance to his relations or children.

Afterwards the former Tumung'gung of Japára, Sécha Na-gára, was replaced, and a communication was, through him, made to the Dutch, intimating the willingness of the Susúnan to co-operate against the Surapáti, in consequence of which orders were given for the Dutch troops to proceed from Batavia. When the Susúnan had thus drawn the Dutch into a second attack upon this chieftain, he is represented "as being "most delighted at the prospect which it afforded, that on "the present occasion more of the Dutch troops might be "sacrificed, in the same manner as in the recent affair at "Kérita Súra."

The Adipáti of Surabáya and Madúra were immediately dispatched to Pasúruan to meet the Dutch, but having waited some time in vain for the arrival, a mock battle took place with Surapáti, when it was arranged that the Kérita Súra troops should take to flight, burning and laying waste the country as they retreated. A regular communication appears to have been kept up during the whole time between Surapáti and the Susúnan, who allowed him quietly to possess himself of the adjoining districts of Múlang and Mádion. The Ráden Adipáti Aúrang Kasúma died about this time.

The Dutch troops now arrived in the eastern districts, and the commandant of Japára applied for the assistance of the Susúnan; but the latter, alleging that his chiefs had been recently beaten and obliged to retreat from Pasúruan, urged delay, on the plea of waiting a more favourable opportunity of attack.

In the meantime family feuds disturbed the peace of the kráton. The hereditary prince, Pangérán Adipáti Amángku Na-gára, had married the daughter of his cousin, Pangérán Púgar, but after the expiration of the forty days he disregarded her, and she returned to her father's protection. One of the most distinguished characters at the court was the son of the prime minister. The hereditary prince, jealous of the universal admiration which he enjoyed, determined to lower him by the infliction of the greatest disgrace which could be endured. Naturally of a fiery disposition, he became exces-
sively enraged at an accident which occurred to him while hunting in the forest of Rānda Wahāna, and which occasioned a lameness in his legs. As soon as he returned home he sent for this youth, whom he immediately ordered to be bound and severely flogged with a rattan; he then directed him to be tied to a tree abounding with ants, which soon covered his body; a favourite mode of inflicting cruel punishment. There the young man suffered dreadfully, but his tortures were not at an end: he was afterwards flogged till he nearly expired, and then sent to the house of his father, the prime minister, who, although much enraged, was obliged to suppress his resentment. Determined afterwards to revenge himself, he seduced the wife of the Pangéran Adipáti, who had returned to her father's house, as above stated. The connection was discovered, and all parties were put to death.

The Susúnan becoming now dangerously ill, from an affection of the spleen which he had contracted at the time of the massacre of the Dutch under Tak, called into his presence his eldest son, the Pangéran Adipáti, his brother, Pangéran Púgar, and his two firm adherents, the Adipátics of Madéra and Surabáya, and thus addressed them: "The time which is allotted to me in this world has nearly expired; but before I depart let me impress upon you all the necessity and advantage of your mutually supporting each other. If you hold together, then will the sovereignty of Java become pure and strong. The Adipátics of Madéra and Surabáya will be as the surface of the támpe (or sifter) on which rice is cleansed from the husk; the Pangéran Púgar as the woóngku (or rim of the sifter); and the Pangéran Adipáti will be as the one who sifts or fans the rice. When the Pangéran Adipáti ascends the throne, let him attach himself to the other three, by which means he will cleanse and strengthen his government, even as the rice is cleansed from the husk in the támpe. Let him study the writings of Niti Prája, Niti Sastrá, Srúti, Asta Bráta and Jáya Lángkara; to abandon his vicious habits, never to ill use his wives, and to be kind and constant to his present wife (another daughter of the Pangéran Púgar)."

In a short time the Susúnan died. The Pangéran Adipáti, who was destined to succeed him, excited much disapproba-
tion and disgust by his ungrateful neglect of the customary rites due to the body of the deceased, and his indecent eagerness to ascend the throne before it was even vacated. The practice of the country required him to wash and purify the corpse with his own hands; but he left the task to the women, while he shut all the gates of the kráton and seated himself in front on the setingel. The deceased was buried at Megíri, and his widow, Rátu Kanchána, attended the procession, distributing money as she past along, to the amount of one thousand dollars and more.

As soon as the body was removed the Pangéran Adipáti assembled all his chiefs, and addressed them to the following effect: "All ye who are present bear witness, that the Pangéran Adipáti Amángku Nagára has succeeded to the sovereignty of his late father, Susúnan Mangkúrat, and as ye acknowledged and respected the father, now do the same to the son;" to which they all ejaculated assent. To this Ráden Subráta, who wished to shew his attachment to the young prince by raising him in the eyes of the people, added, "the sovereignty descends to you by the will of the Almighty; it has not been assumed by yourself;" but no one answered. All the chiefs present, however, approached the prince and kissed his feet, in proof of their acknowledgment of his authority. The new Susúnan then declared Rátu Kanchána his queen, and nominated the principal officers of state; and as soon as he returned to the dálam addressed three letters, one to the Governor General of Batavia, one to the commandant at Japára, and one to the commandant at Semáráng, informing them of his having assumed the sovereignty in succession to his ancestors. He likewise entrusted a letter for Batavia, and another for the Governor General, to the care of Captain Knol at Semáráng.

On first granting their support to the deceased prince, the Dutch required that he should enter into a bond, dated 10th October 1677, confirming the treaty of the 25th February preceding, and acknowledging a debt to the Dutch of thirty thousand dollars, together with three thousand kóyans of rice, as a security for which he was required to mortgage to the Dutch all the sea-ports from the river Kráwang to the eastern extremity of the island. The whole revenues of these places,
including in particular all the rice deliverable to the state, were also to be received by the Dutch in diminution of this debt.

At the same time, also, the Susúnan was called upon to execute a deed of cession, confirming the act of the 28th February preceding, and setting forth that his father, having already verbally expressed an intention to make over to the Dutch his rights on the kingdom of Jákatra (or land lying between the river of Untúng Jáwa and Kráwang and the northern and southern sea-coasts), the said grant was further confirmed, and the whole of the province of Jákatra ceded accordingly, the inhabitants who wished to remain being ordered to acknowledge the Dutch as their lawful sovereign, but all being at liberty to place themselves under the Susúnan and to leave the Dutch territory, till the expiration of twelve months after the publication of this act.

By this deed of cession, the Susúnan also ceded to the Dutch, in acknowledgment of the services rendered by Admiral Speelman against the rebels, the country between the Kráwang and Pamanúkan rivers, in a straight line to the South Sea, with all the immunities and privileges attached to it.

This document further prohibited the importation of cloths and opium by any one except the Dutch, and contained the appointment of Adipáti Mandaráka to be chief of Tegáli and the western, and Éria Uráwa to be chief of Jápara and the eastern sea coast.

On the 15th January 1678, a charter was procured from the Susúnan, placing the sugar trade of Japára entirely in the hands of the Dutch. A grant was made them of the management of the town and jurisdiction of Sámrrang and the village of Kaligwáí, that is to say, the right of appointing governors of their own at those places, without the least interference on the part of the Susúnan; on condition, however, that the revenues should be duly accounted for and paid to his highness's officers by those of the Dutch. But as his highness was still in debt to the Dutch, those revenues were provisionally taken in diminution of the debt.

In Bantam the Dutch had made various treaties with the princes.
On the 17th April 1684 a contract was signed with the sultan of Bantam, by which it was stipulated, among other articles, that the contract of the 10th July 1659 should be renewed and confirmed; that the sultan should give no kind of assistance to the enemies of the Dutch, and undertake nothing hostile against their allies, particularly the Susúnan and the prince of Chérizon; that the Tâng'ran river, from its mouth to its origin, and from thence a line drawn from south until it meets the South Sea, should be the boundaries fixed upon between the Dutch jurisdiction and the Bantam country, it being understood that the whole of the Tâng'ran or Untong Jáwa river, with its mouths, should be the property of the Dutch, together with six hundred rods of land to the northward from fort Bábakan to the sea, with liberty to erect such pággars, or forts, on the western banks of the river, as should be deemed necessary for purposes of safety; the inhabitants of the Bantam side to be permitted to fish in the river, and to appropriate its waters to the purposes of cultivation, but no vessels to be allowed to enter the river from the sea without Company's passes; that the claims of the Dutch on the government of Bantam should be reduced to twelve thousand rix dollars, or one-eighth of its original amount; that his highness should give up all claims to the principality of Chérizon; that the fourth article of the contract of 1659 should remain in force, and consequently that no ground or factory rent should be paid by the Dutch, but that the sultan should give as much ground gratis, as the purposes of the factory might require; that his highness should conclude no contracts with other powers contrary to the present treaty.

On the same day, however, a bond was executed by the Sultan, in favor of the Dutch, for the payment of the expenses incurred in assisting his highness against the rebel sultan, and his friend the British resident, who it is stated in this document would have received the punishment due to his conduct but for the interference of the Dutch, to whose protection he was indebted for the moderation with which his highness had restricted his punishment to a final removal from Bantam. This obligation states the sultan's debt to be six hundred thousand rix-dollars, which he promises to pay
either in specie or pepper, or by remission of duties; and he also grants therein to the Dutch the sole trade in pepper and cloths, in the countries of Bantam, Lampung, and Silebar.

On the 26th April 1684, a deed was executed, by which the sultan of Bantam's debt of six hundred thousand rix-dollars was remitted, on condition that the Company should enjoy the privileges mentioned in the bond of the 17th instant; but whenever the above privileges were violated on the sultan's part, the Dutch held themselves justified in requiring payment of the debt in question.

On the 15th February 1686, an agreement was entered into with the sultan of Bantam, by which, among other stipulations, the Dutch engaged to assist the sultan against his rebellious subjects, with men, ammunition, and vessels, on condition that he would pay the expense; it being stipulated that they should not leave their factory during the night; that they should not be permitted to walk outside the town without the sultan's and the Resident's permission; that they should not enter the houses of the natives, much less stay there during the night; that they should not take away any articles in the bazars without duly paying for the same; that they should not enter any gardens or premises without permission from the proprietors; that they should not enter any temples without previous leave; that they should not detain any females in their houses, nor stop them in the streets; on meeting the sultan in the streets, that they should shew his highness the accustomed honours; that they should not stop whenever the sultan or sultana bathed in the river, but pass without looking at their highnesses; that they should not interfere with the disputes and judicial proceedings of the natives. By the eighteenth article it was mutually agreed, that offenders, of either party, should be punished according to their respective laws, and each by his own nation; and that the whole of the black and white pepper produced at Bantam should be sold to the Dutch at a fixed price.

On the 4th December 1687, on the occasion of the accession to the throne of a new sultan of Bantam, an act of renovation of all former treaties was passed, together with a renewal of the bond for six hundred thousand dollars, and of
the deed remitting the same, on condition that the privileges heretofore specified were granted to the Dutch at Bantam.

On the 3d March 1681, on occasion of the elevation to the throne of another sultan, an act of renewal was passed of the contracts concluded at different periods between the Dutch and the sultans of Bantam.

On the 6th January 1681 an agreement was signed with the three chiefs of Chéribon, setting forth the gratitude of those princes for the signal services rendered them by the Dutch, and their determination to follow the Dutch Company's advice under all circumstances, and to assist the Dutch government whenever their aid might be required, on condition that they should, in like manner, be assisted by the Dutch in cases of emergency, each party bearing the expense of all armaments undertaken for his benefit. The three princes promised to live upon good terms with the Susúnan.

In the event of one of the three princes, or other persons, committing any acts prohibited by the present articles, or derogatory to his highness the Susúnan, it was agreed, that such conduct should be punished with the utmost severity.

The other stipulations of importance were, that no fortifications should be erected by the princes without the consent of the Governor-General, who should have leave to build a factory at Chéribon, and to cause all species of merchandize to be imported duty free. That all pepper growing in the kingdom of Chéribon should be disposed of to the Dutch at the bazaar price; that the trade in sugar and rice should be free to all, upon payment of an export duty of two per cent. to the princes; that vessels belonging to powers at war with the Dutch should not be permitted to enter the ports of Chéribon, but be dealt with as enemies.

On the 7th September 1680, another contract was entered into with the princes of Chéribon, by which all former differences were declared to be forgotten, and Panambában, Chéribon, and sultan Anom, promised to respect and honour their elder brother, sultan Sépu, as the first-born of their Panambáhan Kidai Giri Layah. Sultan Sépu promised, on the other hand, not to slight his brothers in any way, but on the contrary to treat them, on every occasion, with the deference due
to their rank. It was agreed, that there shall be one place only for holding tournaments, where the royal brothers would appear every Saturday in their state dresses, attended by their mántris, and that, to prevent disputes, they should be seated to the right and left of sultan Sépu, and all the mántris below; but that, should indisposition prevent one of them from attending the tournament, they should send due notice thereof on the Saturday morning. At the tournament the sultan only had the right to speak; but sultan Sépu not being present, that right was to devolve on the second, and in his absence on the third chief. In the event of all the princes being prevented from attending, the eldest sons of sultan Sépu and Anom should make their appearance, and the command devolve on the Pangéran. That in consequence of frequent disputes having arisen among the princes, with reference to the appointment and supercession of prime minister, the right of nominating to that office was vested exclusively in the governor-general of Batavia. That in the event of any difference occurring between the princes, which they could not adjust themselves, the resident of Chéribon should be requested to act as arbitrator on the part of the Dutch. That should one of the princes refuse to comply with this article, the other brothers should on no account molest him, but simply report the matter to the Batavian government, through their ambassadors. The dissenting prince should, however, in that case, voluntarily place himself in the resident's custody, who should not be permitted to convey him out of Chéribon.

Mr. Middlekoop mentions, that during the reign of this prince, the principality of Madúra was conferred by the Susúnan on Chákra Dínigrat; but the inhabitants of Súmenap being discontented with this choice, they informed the Susúnan that they would rather die than submit to that authority; upon which the Susúnan thought proper to divide that country into two parts, giving to Chákra Dínigrat the western district, and the eastern, or Súmenap district, to Mas Yáng Wúlan, who took the name of Yúdha Nagára. In the year 1688, the whole island of Madúra revolted, and became subject to the Dutch government.

But to return to Pangéran Adipáti Amângku Nagára,
usually called *Mangkúrat Más*. The authority of this prince seems to have been attacked almost immediately after his accession to the throne; for *Ráden Súria Kasúna*, a son of the *Pangéran Púgar*, having accompanied the procession which attended the body of the late *Susúnan* to the grave, persuaded many of the party to declare him sovereign of Java, under the title of *Súnum Panatagáma*. The *Susúnan Mangkúrat Más* no sooner heard of this, than he became highly enraged with his uncle, the *Pangéran Púgar*, and sent back to him his daughter, the queen *Ratu Kanchána*. He afterwards ordered the *Pangéran* with his wives and children into his presence, and commanding them to be seized, publicly exposed them on the *alun alun*, in a pen or railing made for that purpose, which the Javans call *betek*. *Ráden Súria* was apprehended.

On the one hundredth day after the death of the late *Susúnan*, the wives of the chiefs being assembled to prepare a customary feast, intended "to give a blessing to the journey of the deceased," the *Susúnan* conceived a passion for *Ayu Pakúwati*, the wife of the *Adipáti* of Madúra, and availed himself of his power over her to gratify it. She, however, soon made her escape, and reported the particulars to her husband, who in revenge concurred with the *Adipáti* of *Semárang*, in urging the *Pangeran Púgar* to assume the sovereignty. "So large a party," said these chiefs, "being in favour of your pretensions, you can never be condemned for assuming the government; for as with men who drink a bottle of wine, if there are few of them they must necessarily become intoxicated, but if there are many, truly it is nothing at all."

Being assured by the *Adipáti* of *Semárang*, that the Dutch were not cordial friends of the present *Susúnan*, the *Pangéran* was at last prevailed upon to escape with his family and a chosen band to *Semárang*, where the Dutch received him, and conditionally proclaimed him sovereign of Java.

As soon as the *Susúnan Mangkúrat Más* was informed of the departure of the *Pangéran*, he applied to the commissioners at *Semárang* to have him delivered up; but received for reply an intimation, that he was under the protection of the Dutch, and that if the *Susúnan* wanted him he must
come for him himself. Enraged at this evasion, he ordered that Ráden Súria Kasúma, the son of the Pangéran, should immediately be put to death. The young prince was accordingly brought into his presence for the purpose, when a great eruption suddenly took place from Merúpi, the mountain emitting a sound louder than thunder, and flame which enlightened all Kértá Súra. The Susúnan thinking that his end was approaching, sent the young king back into confinement, when the sounds immediately ceased, and the mountain emitted no more flame. The Susúnan conceiving all danger at an end, once more ordered the execution of the prince, but a more violent eruption than the first instantly rent the mountain asunder. The alarm of the Susúnan was increased, and considering this was a gáro-gáro, or sign, that the prince was favoured by the Almighty, he altered his intentions, received his intended victim into favour, and appointed him a Pangéran, under the title of Pangéran Ang'ebái Saléring Péken, with an assignment of one thousand cháchas of land.

He appointed the Adipáti of Madura, under the name of Panambáhan Chakra Ningrat, chief over all the coast districts, from Brébes to Banyuwángi, and the Tumung'gung of Surábaya, under the name of Adipáti Jaeng Rána, to be his Páteh. To the Tumung'gung of Semárang he also gave the title of Adipáti Súra Adimang'gála.

Immediately after his accession he had written to the Dutch government; but it appears that the letter was not forwarded from Semárang to Batavia until after the Pangéran Púgas had taken part against him. According to the Dutch accounts, the ambassadors of both parties arrived nearly at the same time at Batavia, were admitted to audience the next day, and were received, not like ambassadors, but rather as messengers.

The objections urged by the Dutch to the acknowledgment of the Susúnan were the following:—1st. Because he was a great tyrant, and well known to have instigated his father to a rupture with the Dutch, and to have himself menaced hostilities against them, as soon as he should have mounted the throne. 2d. Because his embassy did not consist of princes of his family, and the prime minister, as usual, but of two
common regents only. 3d. Because the letter which communicated his father's death, and announced his own accession, although it contained a request for protection against his enemies, did not apply for their sanction or confirmation, nor declare his readiness to renew the contracts, to acknowledge the debts, and to fulfil the engagements formerly stipulated, though he ought to have known that this was the basis upon which alone the Dutch could have recognized his title as sovereign of Java. 4th. Because letters had been intercepted, in which he invited the prince of Madura to join him against the Dutch, calling them his mortal enemies, whom he intended to expel from the island of Java.

These combined circumstances induced the Dutch government not to acknowledge him as successor to his father, although they, with a view to gain time until the arrival of a fleet expected from Holland with a reinforcement of troops, wrote to him, merely declining to receive his ambassadors as such, and requiring him to send others, whose family connections and rank might entitle them to more consideration, and with whom they might treat.

After it was arranged that Pangéran Págar should become sovereign, the three chief Dutch authorities then at Semarang waited upon him, to inform him thereof, at the same requiring that, in return for the assistance intended to be afforded him, he should, on assuming the authority, cede to the Dutch the provinces of Demák, Japôra, and Tégal, in compensation for the expenses they might incur on his account. Pangéran Págar feeling no inclination to comply with these conditions, though anxious to avoid a rupture with the Dutch, proposed, instead of a cession of territory, that he should become generally responsible for all the expenses of the war; "for," said he, "if it is through the assistance of the Dutch that I am placed upon the throne, of course it would not be becoming in me to refuse them any thing they require: but with respect to this request, is it not better that, at present, we attend to what is necessary to secure the throne, and afterwards talk of minor matters? I am willing to pay all the expenses which it may occasion to the Dutch." With this the commissioners were satisfied; and the troops having
arrived from Europe, it was resolved, on the 18th of March, 1704, to place Pangérán Púgar upon the throne, and to maintain him on it.

The Dutch ships and troops having reached Semárang in April, and the part they intended to take being now for the first time manifest to Susinan Mangkúrat Mas, he dispatched three messengers to the Dutch representative at Semaráng, with the sum of seventy thousand dollars in specie, and authority to renew former contracts, and comply with every requisition which the Dutch might make, provided they would acknowledge his succession to the throne; but these messengers had only reached Tinker when they fell in with the Dutch troops, and were obliged to secure their safety by flight, leaving the money behind.

The Pangérán Púgar was publicly installed by the Dutch at Semárang* on the 19th of June.

The districts of Demák, Grobógan, Siséla, and all the lands beyond Semárang as far as Un'gárang, were immediately taken possession of by the Dutch, and the troops of the Susí-nan Mangkúrat Mas, which had moved towards Semárang, were forced to retreat on Kerta Súra.

Before the departure of the Pangéran, the Dutch had again pressed him to cede the provinces of Semárang, Tégal, and Japóra, but by the advice of the Panumbáhan of Madóra and his principal chiefs, he still refused compliance, and they were not able to obtain any decided promise from him, beyond reimbursement for the expenses of the war. When they were arrived, however, at Ung'árang, the prince happening to be alone, unattended by any of the Bopáti, the Dutch commander seized the opportunity which he had been so long watching for, to assure him how truly and sincerely the Dutch were inclined to assist him, not only on the present occasion, but hereafter, whenever he might require their aid. "The "Dutch," added he, "are in great want of rice, and request "your highness will have the kindness to grant them a thou- "sand koyans (two thousand tons) a year without payment."

* From the circumstance of this installation having taken place at Semárang, two wödringen trees are allowed to distinguish the ahn ahn of the regent.
The Pangéran made no reply: he wished for time to think upon it; but the chiefs of the Dutch came up to him, and returned him many thanks and compliments for his having thus, as they said, agreed to their request. The prince, though he wished to say he had not given his promise, yet felt ashamed, after the thanks and compliments he had received, to express what he thought. He therefore bowed his head and was silent. They then entreated him to draw out his assent in writing, and to affix his seal to it, as a proof of his voluntary surrender of the present. With this he complied.

The paper was no sooner obtained, than the Dutch officers again returned their thanks. They then withdrew, and the troops being under arms, a salute was fired on the occasion. When this circumstance came to the ears of the Adipáti of Semárang, he hastened to the Pangéran, and thus addressed him, "Be not offended, my prince, if I presume to "open your eyes to the proceedings of these Hollanders, "who are so rapacious in their demands. They had already "consulted with me on the subject of this rice, and they "knew the opinion of your advisers to be against it, they "therefore watched for their opportunity to find you alone. "I little thought you would have taken upon yourself to act "thus, without consulting your chiefs. I imagined the "Dutch were satisfied with the answer I had given them, and "would not have thought of going to you about it." The Susúnan gave him in return the history of the grant, and promised faithfully that, if ever they made another request of the kind, he would send for his advisers immediately.

Before the Dutch moved towards the interior, they contrived to bribe Jága Díníngrat, the chief who commanded the Kértasúra troops, and with his assistance possessed themselves without difficulty of the fortified stations of Pedak-páyang, Ungáráng, and Selatiga. The main force of the Kértasúra troops, consisting of about forty thousand men, was encamped in a strong position, not far from the latter place. After making considerable resistance, they were obliged to retreat in confusion, and the combined army prosecuting its march towards the capital, carried Asem by assault, and reached Kértasúra shortly after Susúnan Mang-
kwrat Mas had quitted it. All the chiefs who remained sub-
mitted to the new authority, and were received under its pro-
tection, with the exception of the son of Pangéran Púgar,
who was strangled. Susúnan Mangkwrat Mas, called also
Susúnan Pinchang, on account of his lameness, was at this
time about thirty-four years of age. His reign was short, but
remarkable for severity and cruelty.

Pangéran Púgar was fifty-six years of age when he as-
cended the throne. He had seven legitimate children, Pan-
géran Matáran, Ang’ebái Léreng Púser (who had remained
with the deposed Susúnan), Jága Rága, Mángku Nagára,
Mángku Búmi (who was declared hereditary prince, and suc-
cceeded his father), Blitar, and Tepa Séna.

The title assumed by Pangéran Púgar, with the concurrence
of the Dutch, was Susuhúnan Pakabúana Senapáti Ingalága
Abdul Ráchman Panatagáma, which may be rendered “The
“saint who is the nail of the empire, the chief commander
“in war, the slave of God, and propagator of the true faith.”

An occurrence which took place shortly after the assump-
tion of the government by this prince is noticed by the Javan
writers, and argued highly in favour of the justice and im-
partiality of this prince.

The wife of Mérta Yúdha, writer to the Susúnan, and
nephew of the Adipáti of Semárang, presented herself before
him, alleging that her life was endangered by the cruel treat-
ment of her husband, and imploring that she might be divorced
from him, or protected against his ill usage. The Susúnan
inquiring into the particulars, ascertained from the testimony
of the woman herself, that she was attached to Pangéran
Adipáti, the son of the Susúnan, who had frequently visited
at her house in the absence of her husband, and that the se-
verities she had suffered were the consequence of the rage
which a discovery of that fact had occasioned. He called
upon the Pangéran Adipáti to say if it was correct; and the
prince, being ashamed to tell a falsehood, acknowledged the
fact: wherefore his father reproved him in the strongest
terms, and cautioned him not to be guilty of a like transgres-
sion a second time. Then calling for Mérta Yúdha, he thus
addressed him: “Mérta Yúdha, your wife has come to me
“requesting my interference to procure her a divorce from

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"you, or that I should prohibit you from again ill-treating her in the same severe manner you have before done, on account of her attachment to my son, the Pangérán Adipáti." To which Mérta Yúdha replied, "Respecting this affair, allow me to explain. She committed an offence towards me, and she now comes to you to complain of me, saying I had beaten her until she was nearly dead. That I did beat her is true, but that I did so until she was nearly dead is utterly false. I beat her when I was enraged; but, as my anger subsided, I quickly became kind to her again; and yet she has the audacity to request a divorce. This completes three offences; in the first, place she committed the fault; in the second, she has told a falsehood; and in the third, she has requested a divorce. These points I submit to the justice of your majesty." The Susúnan, then reflected that as the Pangérán Adipáti's conduct had been the cause of this woman's offence, it would not be just to punish her, without also punishing his son; and being disinclined to be severe with him on account of his youth, he felt at a loss how to decide with justice. At length, seeing but one way to get rid of the difficulty, he thus addressed Mérta Yúdha: "Enough, Mérta Yúdha; the fault rests with my son the Pangérán Adipáti, and your wife cannot be condemned to punishment, unless my son be also condemned. Now I have not the power to condemn my son, on account of his youth; therefore, I publicly request your pardon for my son's offence. If you wish to be divorced, the permission is granted, and I will provide you with another wife. You want her immediately—it is well;—but I have no women at present except my own, none but the Rátu and my own daughters. Make your choice, and whichever you prefer of them, I will present to you in marriage. Place your confidence in what I say, and believe that I say no more than what I will do."

Mérta Yúdha, struck with astonishment, knew not how to reply. At last, after bowing his head several times to the ground, he declared that he was overcome by this act of magnanimity; that he forgave the young prince from his heart, and would willingly receive his wife back again, and treat her with kindness. The Susúnan then dismissed the parties, giving
them advice as to their future conduct, and presenting them with a sum of money and several rich presents. Métra Yúdha and his wife, say the Javan writers, afterwards lived most happily together, and never ceased to praise the justice and magnanimity of the prince.

In the spring of 1705, the Dutch government again sent a force to Semárang, which was joined by seven thousand Madurese, under the command of Panambáhan Chákra Dinígrat.

At this time Surapáti, who, after his first arrival at Mätárem, had offered to surrender, again made an application to the Dutch for protection, and offered to send six thousand auxiliaries, promising at the same time to conduct himself as a faithful subject; but his offer was rejected.

On the 5th October, 1705, a contract was entered into by the new sovereign with the Dutch, by which, 1st, the contracts of the 24th September, 1640, and 20th October, 1677, and all privileges and immunities granted by Susúnan Mang-kiráti Másto Messrs. Speelman and Cooper, were confirmed. 2d. His highness ceded to the Dutch the district of Gebáng as situated within the following boundaries; viz. "From the "mouth of the Dónan, on the southern shore, in a westerly di- "rection along its banks as far as Pasúruan, where there is an "inland lake; thence along the north-eastern sea-shore to the "mouth of the river Che-brom, and further on along the north-"eastern side of an accessible swamp to Che-satía, near the "village Madúra, thence in a north-easterly direction over the "mountains of Dáyu-lukur to mount Sumána or Subáng, and "then south-east over the mountains of Bonkok, where a nor-"therly direction is taken, and continued to the river Losári, "and further on along the banks of that river to its mouth on "the northern coast of the island." 3d. The Susúnan acknowledged Chéríbon as an independent state, in consequence of that country having, in 1680, been saved by the Dutch from the ravages of a banditti. 4th. The Susúnan resigned to the protection of the Dutch the countries of Súmenap and Pa- makúsan, stated to have been forced on them during the reign of Susúnan Tégúl-arom, by the chief Yúdha Nagúra. 5th. The Susúnan renewed and confirmed the cession of Se- márang and Kaligawe, as stated in the transfer of 16th
January, 1678. He further ceded to the Dutch the ports of Torbōyā and Gumālak, on condition that the tolls continued to be collected for his own benefit, as at Sāmārant. The Dutch, on the other hand, agreed to restore about fifty villages which belonged to Demāk and Kaligāwe.

It was agreed that the tolls on goods imported into, or exported from, the Susūnan’s dominions by the Dutch, should be levied according to the above-mentioned contract of 25th February, 1677, and that the Susūnan should in future require a duty of three instead of two per cent. from individuals trading with Dutch passes, it being left to his highness to fix the duties to be levied on goods belonging to persons who were not furnished with licences from the Dutch. 7th. The Dutch obtained liberty to establish factories in every part of the Susūnan’s dominions, for which sufficient lots of vacant ground were to be given them, to answer every purpose of safety and convenience, and also to establish yards for building vessels. The Javan chiefs were bound to supply the Dutch at all times, payment being made for the same, with timber, labourers, &c. but they were to pay no capitation, and only to be considered as Company’s subjects, as long as they should be employed by the Company. 8th. His highness promised to supply the Dutch with as much rice as should be required, at the market price, the Dutch being also at liberty to purchase that article from his highness’s subjects, who were also allowed to export rice to Batavia, and all countries at peace with the Dutch. 9th. Pursuant to the contract of 1677, the Susūnan agreed to continue to shut his ports against Makāsars, Būgis, Malāyus, Bālians, and other foreigners, except such as should obtain the permission of the Dutch. 10th. It was agreed that the Dutch, and all persons authorized by them, should continue to enjoy the exclusive privilege of importing and selling opium and clothes, as granted to them by Susūnan Mangkūrat, on the 20th October, 1677: that the native chiefs should carefully prevent all encroachments on this monopoly, and that all seizures of prohibited goods made by them and by the Company’s servants, should be for the profit of his highness, to whose discretion it was left to re- munerate the officers making the seizure. 11th. That all seizures made at sea by the Company’s cruisers should be for
the sole benefit of the captors, although afterwards brought into his highness’s ports. 12th. The Susúnan’s subjects were to be prohibited from trading otherwise than with Company’s passes, and their trade eastward was restricted to Bálí and Lómbok, northward to Borneo and Banjarmásin, and westward to Bantám, Lámpung, Jámbi, Indragíri, Johór and Malácca. They were prohibited from visiting the eastern governments, or Búton, Timor, Bíma, &c., on pain of confiscation of vessels, cargo, &c. It was declared, that whenever his highness should be desirous of sending vessels to these quarters on his own account, the Dutch should attend to his wishes, as far as might be consistent with their regulations. 13th. The balance remaining due to the Dutch of the debts of his highness, adverted to in the contracts of 25th February and 15th October, 1677, was remitted, together with the sum to be paid to Captain Jonker for the delivery of the rebel Trúna Jáya, and all other claims of the Dutch on his highness, for expenses incurred in re-establishing him on the throne, &c. on the express condition that this contract should be faithfully observed; otherwise the said claims and pretensions to retain their former validity. In consideration of this important remission, his highness promised to supply the Company during twenty-five years, commencing in 1706, with eight hundreded lasts of good rice annually, deliverable at Batavia by his highness’s own vessels. An article was afterwards added to this treaty, by which it was stipulated, that no other European nation than the Dutch should ever be permitted to trade or build factories on Java.

On the 11th October, 1705 *, a further agreement was entered into by his highness, by which he promised to bear the expense of keeping a detachment of two hundred men of the Dutch troops at Kértá-súra, for his highness’s protection and security, amounting to thirteen hundred Spanish dollars per month.

On the 12th July, 1706, a treaty for determining the boundaries between the territories of the Susúnan and those of the Dutch was entered into.

* Contract with M. de Wilde.
The deposed prince, Susunang Mangkârat Mas, after flying from his capital, proceeded to the eastern districts, and join-
ing Surapâti, reduced the eastern provinces under their authority, and appeared confident of success, being possessed of immense treasures in specie and jewels, which he had carried off with him.

In 1706, however, the army of Surapâti was defeated by the allied Dutch and Javan forces, and Kediri was taken. Subsequently, the large combined army of Mangkârat Mas and Surapâti was put to the rout and dispersed. Surapâti shortly after died in the mountains of Bângil, according to some accounts, of the effect of his wounds. He was suc-
cceeded in office by his son, Pangâting, who took the name of Adipâti Wira Nagâra, and being allied by marriage to the chiefs of Kediri, Balambâng'an, and Grêsik, brought many of the eastern districts again to acknowledge the authority of Mangkârat Mas. Additional forces were, in consequence, sent from Batavia by the Dutch, which arrived at Semârang in 1707, and immediately proceeded, first to Kêrta-súra, and then to the eastward. Falling in with the enemy of Mâdion, they put him to flight, and continued their march to Sura-
bâya, where the disturbances which had broken out on the island of Madûra obliged them to halt.

On the death of the native chief of Madûra his eldest natural son, Sâstra Nagâra, had declared himself his suc-
cessor, and placed troops round the island to oppose the landing of his uncle, Râden Sûria Nagâra, who had been appointed to the succession by the Dutch. The Dutch, how-
ever, found means to satisfy both parties, by conferring the separate charge of Sûmpang on Sâstra Nagâra.

At Sûmenap they met with greater difficulty. The native chief, Nâga Sidérma, had been stabbed by his secretary: the secretary was afterwards killed by the slave of the chief. A tumult was thus excited, and the Dutch commanding officer having given offence to the principal inhabitants they pro-
ceeded with a large proportion of the population to the northern part of the island. The Dutch at length succeeded in establishing the infant son of the deceased as chief of Sû-
menap, with the title of Râden Tumûng'gung Prîng'ga Ka-
súma, under the guardianship of his mother, Rátú Sidáyu. With these proceedings the campaign closed for that year.

In the following year, 1708, the Dutch sent further reinforcements to the eastward, and preparations were making for opening the campaign, when the fugitive Susúnan, hearing of the arrival of the Dutch at Súrábáya, sent ambassadors to their representative (Knol,) soliciting his pardon, and an assignment of some lands, independent of any other authority than that of the Dutch government. No sooner had he been promised this than he came to Súrábáya, where he was received on the 17th July by Knol, who delivered to him a letter of pardon written in the Dutch and Javan languages, promising to him the independent possession of a district as a principality, subordinate only to the Dutch government. But, alas! these concessions were soon found to be nothing more than a stratagem to get possession of the prince’s person. The unfortunate Susúnan, unsuspecting of the treachery, was quietly embarked at Súrábáya on the 24th August, and with his three sons, his wife, concubines, and attendants, conveyed to Batavia.

The Dutch accounts relate, that as soon as the prince arrived at Batavia, the commissioners, who had received him on board and accompanied him to the castle, demanded that he should deliver up his kris before being admitted to an audience, which he refused to do. When, however, introduced to the high regency, who had been especially assembled for his reception, he prostrated himself at the feet of the governor-general, surrendered his kris, and implored the fulfilment of the conditions on which he surrendered. The governor-general replied, that Mr. Knol had not been authorized either

* The native writers relate a strange proceeding of the Dutch commandant in this war.

"As soon as the Dutch commander arrived at Pasúram he assembled the people, and offered a reward of one thousand dollars to any one who would bring him the body of the deceased chief Súrapúti. The body was accordingly brought in a perfect state of preservation, on which the commandant ordered it to be placed upright in a chair, as if still living. He then approached it, took it by the hand, and made his obeisance to it as to a living person: all the officers and men followed the example. After this they burnt the body, and having mixed the ashes with gunpowder, fired a salute with it in honour of the victory."
to grant him a pardon or to make promises, yet that government would take the matter into consideration: his *kris* was then returned to him. He was lodged in the castle as a prisoner of war, and soon afterwards transported to Ceylon.

The account of this transaction by the Javan writers is as follows:

"The *Susúnan Mangkúrat Mas* and the *Adipáti Wira Nagára* (son of *Surapáti*) had not been long at *Málang* before they were attacked by *Pangéran Blitar*, and forced to seek safety in the forests with only a few followers. There they suffered severely from disease; and most of them dying, the rest removed to the land of *Blitar*, whence the *Susúnan* sent a letter to the chief Dutch authority at *Surabáya*, asking him why the Dutch had thus assisted the *Pangéran Púgar* against him, and deprived him of the sceptre which had descended to him from his ancestors, adding that he was himself equally the friend of the Dutch, that he had never harboured a thought injurious to them, and that if they still believed that he had been guilty of a fault against them, it would be well if they would point it out that he might exert his utmost to make amends: for this they might fully depend on him; 'therefore,' said he, 'let the Dutch place confidence in me, let them consider my youth, and that it is yet but a short time that I have been a sovereign.' To this the Dutch authority replied, 'If the *Susúnan* wishes to act thus, and his intentions are good, let him come to *Surabáya.*' *Susúnan Mangkúrat* then requested, that if the Dutch would not again place him on the throne, they would assign him a province, in which he and his family might reside in peace. A promise being given to that effect he immediately proceeded to *Surabáya*, where he was received with all honours and the customary salutes, and afterwards entertained with the Dutch officers in the *Passangráhan* of the *Adipáti* of *Surabáya*. The Dutch authority at last said to him, with the utmost kindness and softness of speech, 'If the *Susúnan* has no objection, I am anxious that we should go to *Semárang* to see the commissary; from thence the *Susúnan* can at once proceed to *Kétra-súra*, and request the Dutch again to acknowledge him as sovereign of Java.' The *Susúnan*
immediately assented to this arrangement. He was then,
with his family and followers, embarked on board a ship;
but instead of being conveyed to Semáранg, he was taken
to Batavia, and afterwards banished to Ceylon."

It appears, that after the arrival of Mangkúrat Mas at
Ceylon he found means to dispatch letters of complaint to the
prince of Orange and the Court of Directors in Holland. Two
Mahommedan priests were charged with the mission, but the
letters being intercepted, the messengers were subjected to
severe punishment.

With Mangkúrat Mas was lost the celebrated makóta, or
crown of Majapáhit. The regalia of the sovereigns of Java,
with the exception of this important article, were duly deli-
ered over, by order of the Dutch, to the acknowledged sove-
reign Pakabúana, but nothing more was ever heard of the
crown, and since that time the princes have worn a cap, as
described in another place. As the Dutch were now become
supreme on Java, a crown was perhaps but an empty pageant.
It cannot, however, escape notice, that this proud ornament
of state should first have been deprived of its brightest jewel,
and afterwards, as there is too much room to suspect, filched
by the Dutch, who probably stripped it of its remaining
jewels, and melted down the gold for its value!

The removal of Mangkúrat Mas did not, however, extin-
guish the flame of internal discord which still blazed forth in
the eastern provinces of Java, and which increased till the
year 1712-13. The Suśúnān sent several embassies to Ba-
tavia, requesting assistance against the chiefs of Balambángan
and of the island of Madúra, as well as against the sons of
Suropáṭi, who had their hiding places in the mountains. On
this occasion the Dutch sanctioned the nomination of the
Pangéran Mángku Nagára as the hereditary prince, and pro-
mised the required succours against the rebels, but took care
to point out the value which they put upon their assistance:
a piece of policy which, on no occasion, they seem to have
forgotten. They adverted to the immense sums they had at
different times advanced, and the extent of the obligations
which the Suśúnān lay under to them, admonishing him to
act with greater circumspection in future, and to adopt such
measures as might put a stop to the civil wars and commotions which desolated the country.

It was not long, however, before various circumstances concurred to render the rebels still more formidable. The chiefs of Surabáya, Probolingo', and Kédiri, as well as those of Madúra and Balambang'an, united at the instigation of the chief of Wináng'un (whose life had been unjustly attacked,) in a league to shake off the yoke of the Susúnan, and at the same time to rid themselves of the Dutch, whose aim they conceived to have been eventually to depose the Susúnan, and to render themselves sovereigns of the whole island.

A circumstance is related by the native writers, which is said to have contributed essentially to the distractions which at that time existed in the country.

"The Dutch requested that the Susúnan would immediately put the Adipáti Jaiác Rána of Surabáya to death, alleging that he was attached to the cause of the rebels, and that if an example were made of this chief, it would strike fear into the others. On this the Susúnan became excessively grieved at heart, for he was sincerely attached to the Adipáti; and now that the Panambáhan of Madúra, who had been as his right hand, was dead, if he were to lose the Adipáti of Surabáya also, who had been as his left hand, he would in truth find that he had lost both hands. He wished, therefore, to refuse compliance with this request; but at the same time feared, that if he disappointed the Dutch, there would be an end of his friendship with them. On these two accounts he gave the subject his deepest consideration. At length he wrote a letter to the Adipáti, informing him of the request made by the Dutch; and to the Dutch at Batavia he wrote in reply, that he wished to reflect upon the affair, until the time appointed for the chief to pay his usual visit to the capital should arrive.

"As soon as the Adipáti of Surabáya received these tidings he assembled his brothers and his Pátek, named Wíra Tantáha, and showed them the letter. His brothers immediately advised that they should unite and oppose any one, whoever it might be, who should attempt the life of the Adipáti; for, said they, 'Is it not better to die nobly

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in war, and to let one's enemies know how dearly the death of our brother is to be purchased, than to be quietly killed in one's bed? they will only know of the death and not of its value.' But the Páteh replied to them, 'What you say is correct, and in the service of the state we are bound to act as you advise; but this is a request made by the general, that the Adipáti should be put to death. Is it not better that he should deliver himself up? for if he does not there will be a rupture between the general and the Sustánan, and then (which God forbid) the land of Jáwa will be destroyed, and universal misery will follow. You have now, for a long time, enjoyed happiness and a good name, and now that you have grown old in honour, it would not be fitting in you to do any thing that could bring sorrow or ruin on your sovereign, or that would disgrace your followers or descendants, which would be the case if you now got a bad name.' The Adipáti was well pleased with the advice of his Páteh, and after considering for a short time, then addressed him, 'What you say is true, oh Páteh! I am old, and have not long to live. It is indeed right that I should deliver up my life for the benefit of my sovereign and the character of my family.'

This resolution being taken, the Adipáti shortly after set out for Kértastra, accompanied by his brother and about two thousand followers. When he arrived, the Sustánan inquired how he wished to act; to which he replied, that he preferred to die rather than to be the cause of misfortune to his sovereign or to the people of Java; that he was now old; that if his life was spared on this occasion he could not expect to live many years, and that he was already satisfied with this world. The Sustánan then said, if such was his determination and wish, he must of course follow it, but urged him to speak his mind freely, adding that he would think of it, and do what would turn out best for him: but the Adipáti replied, that he had no other wish than what he had already expressed; that it was much better that he should die, than become the cause of misfortune to others. All he requested was, that after his death the Sustánan would not be forgetful of his family and children, and that until his son was of a proper age, his brother, Ráden Jáya Puspita, might succeed him in his public
administration. The Susunān then said, "It is well. If the "Dutch again make the demand you must prepare for your "fate; and I promise you that, in that case, your request shall "be complied with." At the expiration of about a month, during which period the Adipati clothed himself in white and gave himself up entirely to his devotions, another letter arrived from the Governor General, making a peremptory demand that the Adipati should be immediately executed. The Susunān then sent for the Adipati, and directed that he should be brought into the dālam. Dressed in white, he immediately attended the summons. When he reached the entrance sri meng'ānti, he quitted his followers, who were not allowed to come further but remained without; and the people who guarded the entrance of the krāton, having received the orders of the Susunān to that effect, seized him, and plunging their weapons into his body, immediately dispatched him. They then carried out the corpse and gave it to his followers, charging them to give it proper burial. They were all struck with deep grief at the sight, for the Adipati was much beloved. They interred the body at Lawe; but immediately afterwards the brother, with about two thousand followers, assembled in the alun alun, determined upon vengeance, and the disturbance was not quelled until the Susunān entered into an explanation. He then appointed Jáya Puspita to succeed provisionally to the administration of his deceased brother, and otherwise conciliated the parties, who were at last induced quietly to return to Surabaya; not, however, without a determination of one day being revenged on the authors of this calamity. On receiving the appointment from the Susunān, while Jáya Puspita returned their grateful acknowledgments for this mark of kindness, they as openly avowed that they would never rest in peace, until they had given a due return to whoever was the cause of their brother's death.

"In pursuance of this determination, Jáya Puspita took an early occasion to league with other discontented chiefs, and soon became the most formidable enemy to the tranquillity of the country.

"The forces of the Susunān were completely defeated in a pitched battle, and the rebels made themselves masters of
several important provinces to the eastward of Pasúruan. which place they also besieged until the arrival of the Dutch auxiliaries. They were then driven beyond Panarúkan; but being reinforced from Bálí, soon forced the combined Dutch and Javan troops to retreat again to Pasúruan.

The effect of this civil war was now severely felt at Batavia. The country was laid waste, cultivation was neglected, and a great scarcity of rice was felt at Batavia. This induced the Dutch to march a more considerable force in 1717, and again to take an active part in re-establishing the tranquillity of the country.

On the arrival of this force at Madura, it was found that the chief of that island had made two unsuccessful attacks on the troops of Pamakásan and Súmenap, and been forced at last to leave his capital with his son, brother, wives, and relations, and seek safety with the Dutch.

"When Pangéran Chákra Deníngrat," say the Javan authors, "saw that nothing more was to be done against his enemies, he resolved to throw himself on the protection of the Dutch; and a Dutch ship arriving at Madura, he dispatched a letter, soliciting their assistance. This letter the captain forwarded to Surabáya, and received the instructions of the admiral to take the chief and his family on board, and convey them to that capital. The captain immediately sent a messenger on shore to the Pangéran, informing him of the wishes of the admiral, and inviting him to come on board with his family. Pangéran Chákra Deníngrat, who was unconscious of treachery or duplicity, and consequently void of suspicion, with a joyful heart accepted the invitation, and, accompanied by his family, immediately went off in a small fishing-boat. When arrived alongside of the ship, the followers who carried the upachára (emblems of state) were ordered to go on board: after them the Pangéran himself ascended, and then his wife, Ráden Ayu Chákra Díningrat. When the Pangéran came upon deck, Captain Curtis took him by the hand, and delivered him over to one of his officers, who immediately led him into the cabin. The captain remained till the Ráden Ayu had ascended, and as soon as she came on deck he likewise took her by the hand, and after the European manner kissed her cheek. Not understanding the custom she became
alarmed, and thinking that Captain Curtis was offering an insult to her, screamed out, and called aloud upon her husband, saying, "the Captain had evil intentions." The Pangéran hearing the cries of his wife became furious, and drawing his kris rushed out, and without further inquiry stabbed the Captain. The attendants of the chief, who had come on board with the state ornaments, following the example of their master, raised the cry of amók and immediately fell on the crew of the vessel. The latter, however, were too powerful for them, and in a short time the whole of the Madurese party were killed, together with the chief and his wife.

When a question arises respecting the chastity of the Javan women, this story is usually referred to.

The rebels, both in the eastern provinces of Java and on Madúra, were joined by auxiliaries from Báli. Those, however, on Madúra were soon overmatched by the Dutch troops, and obliged to fly again to Báli. Jáya Puspita was more successful. Moving from Surabáya through the central districts towards Kértasúra, he subjected the provinces of Jopan, Wirasába, Kedíri, Módion Sukawáti and the neighbouring districts. While his head quarters were at Kedíri, he was joined by Pangéran Dipa Nagára one of the sons of the Susúnan, who setting himself up as sovereign of Java, under the title of Panambáhan Héru Chákra Senapáti Pantagáma appointed Jáya Puspita to be his Páteh, with the title of Ráden Adipáti Panatagáma, and commenced the establishment of a government at Módion.

An army was sent from Kértasúra against Módion, under the command of Pangéran Blitar, another son of the Susúnan; but before they reached that place the Pangéran was summoned to return, in consequence of the severe indisposition of his father. This prince died in the Javan year 1648, and was buried at Megíri. He had previously written to the Dutch authorities, requesting them to select one of his three sons Pangéran Adipáti Amángku-nagára, Pangéran Purbáýá, or Pangéran Blitar, to succeed him in the government.

Thus ended the reign of a prince, which had had been one constant scene of commotion and rebellion, directed perhaps not so much against the authority of the prince himself, as
against the Dutch, who now took so active a part in the affairs of Java, that the power of the native sovereign was merely nominal.

The Javan writers, whether from a desire to exclude from the regal line a prince who thus became the mere puppet of the Europeans, or from a conviction of the truth of the circumstance, seem anxious to prove that he was not the real son of Susúnan Tégál Arom, as related, but a son of the Pangéran Kajúran, father-in-law of Trúna Jáya, and who afterwards, when he established himself in the southern hills, took the name of Panambáhan Ráma. The story runs, that the Hátu of Mangkúrat being delivered of a deformed and imperfect offspring, the Susúnan secretly sent the child to Kajúran, who was supposed to deal in witchcraft, and that the Pangéran took the opportunity of destroying it, and substituted his own child in its place. This child, however, was born of a daughter of Pangéran Purba, the younger brother of Sultan Agong; so that on the mother’s side it was of royal extraction. "But," say the Javan writers, "as the present princes of Java are descendants from Pakubuána, this story is not talked of in public; although in private societies there are many who put faith in it."

On the 13th of December, 1705, articles were agreed upon with the Sultan of Bantam, to ensure the weight and quality of the pepper to be delivered.

On the 9th of October, 1708, a further contract was entered into with the sultan, with the view principally of renewing and confirming the contracts, bonds, deeds of remission, &c. entered into and concluded with his predecessors.

In August, 1731, another contract was entered into with the sultan, of which the following were the most interesting articles.

That all Búgis, Maláyus, Javans, and other native traders, shall be allowed freely to dispose of their wares at Bantam, without any interference on the part of the Dutch Resident, provided they do not trade in articles which constitute the Company’s monopoly. The subjects of Bantam shall be permitted to trade to Java on condition that they do not abuse the confidence thus placed in them by engaging in illicit commerce. The sultan promised to adopt immediate measures
for increasing the annual deliveries of pepper to the Company, and engaged to hold out every possible inducement to the Lámpung people to extend the cultivation of the article, instead of depressing them by unnecessary acts of severity. A deed was also executed about this time ceding Pálo Pán-jang to the Dutch, for the purpose of keeping an establishment on it for assisting vessels in distress.

On the 9th December, 1733, a further contract was entered into with the sultan of Bantam, by which many regulations were made respecting the pepper monopoly.

Being called upon to renew the bond for the sum of six hundred thousand Spanish dollars in favour of the Dutch, the sultan, after previously stating whence this lawful debt originated, bound his kingdom and revenues for the same, and at the same time conferred on the Dutch the exclusive trade in pepper and other privileges. The deed of remission, bearing date 28th April, 1684, was further renewed, by which a conditional remission of the above-mentioned bond was granted. An act of donation from the price of ground, called kámpung báli, was at the same time granted.

Of the three sons of the deceased Susúan, the Dutch government made choice of the Pangéran Adi-páti Amángku Nagára, as his successor; he was accordingly publicly installed, under the title of Susúnán Prábu Senapáti Ingálága Abdul Ráchman Sahídin Panatagáma.

The first and principal event in this reign was the rebellion of the younger brothers of the prince, Pangéran Purbáya and Blitar, occasioned principally by their being deprived of the lands and honours which they had enjoyed during the lifetime of their father. They first raised a party in the capital, and made an attempt, during the night, to enter the kráton and put the Susúan to death, but being repulsed, they fled to Matárem, and collecting their followers, the youngest (Blitar) assumed the title of Sultán Ibni Mustápha Pákubúana Senapáti Ingálága Abdul Ráchman Patagáma. His brother, Purbáya, was satisfied with a secondary authority, under the title of Panambáhan Senapáti Ingálága.

In a short time the provinces of Bányumas, Matárem, and Kedú, submitted to these chiefs, and a union taking place with the party under Panambáhan Héru Chákra, the
authority of the newly elected Susúnan became endan-
gered.

Pangérán Aria Matárem, uncle of the Susúnan, at the
same time quitted Kértá Súra, and reared the standard of
rebellion in Grobógan and Blóra. This chief was, however,
soon after decoyed into the hands of the Dutch in the fol-
lowing manner.

"The Pangérán was induced to go to Páti, and after-
wards to Japára, on an understanding that the Dutch would
raise him to the throne, where troops were immediately
assembled, apparently for that object, but in reality to secure
his person. On his arrival at the fort with his family, he was
received with salutes of cannon and small arms, and sepa-
rated from his followers, who were excluded. After he had
been seated a short time, the gates of the fort were shut, and
the Pangérán and his sons were disarmed, and placed in
close confinement. He died in a few days. When the gates
of the forts were closed, the followers of the Pangérán sus-
pecting the treachery, would not disperse, until many were
destroyed and the rest fired upon."

The Dutch force uniting with those of the Susúnan, the
rebels, who were now united under the sultan Ibni Mustápha,
were defeated, and obliged to retreat to Kedíri. Here they
were pursued, again beaten, and driven in disorder to Má-
lang. The sultan fled to Gánung Dampúlan with only a
few followers, while Panambáhan Senápáti and Panam-
báhan Héru Chákra rallied their remaining forces at Lamá-
jang. The Dutch army now returned to Kértá Súra, and the
tranquillity of the country was once more for a short time
restored.

Sultan Ibni Mustápha having returned to the village of
Kálí Gángsa, was seized with a violent illness and died, and
his family and followers, worn out with fatigue, conveyed the
body to Kértá Súra, and threw themselves on the mercy of
the Susúnan. Notwithstanding this unconditional submission,
their chief, Jáya Bráta, was immediately put to death, and
his body thrown into the river: the body of the deceased
sultan, however, received honourable interment.

The rebels established at Lamájang still held out, and it
was not until the arrival of a considerable Dutch force at

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Surabáya that they were induced to submit. According to the native writers, "The Dutch commander wrote from Surabáya to the rebel chiefs at Lamájang, informing them that he had been ordered to the eastward with a formidable force purposely to destroy them, and that if they did not quietly submit, he would force them to do so, in which case no quarter should be given, adding at the same time, that if they were willing to submit quietly, they should be received with favour, treated with kindness, and want for nothing during their lives. The chiefs seeing no prospect of success from further opposition, were induced to close with these terms. Accordingly Panambáhan Senápati and Héru Chákra, with Adipáti Náta Pára, attended by only a few followers, surrendered themselves at Surabáya, where they were received with great honour, the firing of cannon and musketry, and by the sound of the gamelan, which struck up on their approach. It was not long, however, before their persons were placed in confinement, and they were embarked on board a ship from Batavia, from whence Panambáhan Héru Chákra and Adipáti Náta Pára were afterwards banished to the Cape."

The only circumstance from which the peace of the country appears to have been subsequently disturbed during the reign of this prince, was by a kráman, or rebel, named Ráden Ibrázim, who gave himself out as a descendant of Surapáti; but this movement was instantly suppressed, and all that arose out of it appears to have been an attempt on the life of the Suráman, made by a woman, who with a small party endeavoured to force her way into the kráton, but with several of her followers was killed in the attempt. The authority of the prince was now fully established; and in return for the services rendered by the Dutch in the late war, he was required to enter into a new treaty with the Dutch, containing the following, among other less interesting stipulations.

In acknowledgment of the services lately rendered, and also to his highness's forefathers, and in consideration of the considerable quantity of rice still owing by him to the Dutch, on the deliveries stipulated by the contract of 1706, his highness now promised to deliver to the Company annually at Batavia, with his own vessels, for a period of fifty years,
to commence from the year 1734, a quantity of one thousand koyans of good rice, or its equivalent in money, it being at the same time understood that the Dutch are not bound to take money for any proportion of the said annual delivery, except when it was sufficiently proved that a failure of the crop of rice rendered it impossible to supply the whole quantity.

That with the view to encourage the cultivation of pepper, the Dutch should, in future, pay five rix-dollars for each pikul of that article; while, on the other hand, the Susúnan engaged to issue an edict, directing the total annihilation of the coffee culture, with the exception of a few plantations near the houses of the regents, for their own amusement and consumption, but by no means for trade, on severe penalties. The Susúnan moreover authorized the Dutch to cause all plantations, without distinction, in the low countries, on the coast, or in the mountains, to be destroyed, and to confiscate, for their joint profit, any quantity of coffee which might be found, for purposes of trade, in the hands of any of his highness’s subjects, at the expiration of six months from the date thereof. That his highness should direct the coast regents to deliver, in the year 1734, the annual quantity of timber for repairing and extending the forts of Semaráng and Japára, the other materials being furnished by the Company. The seventh article stipulated for the delivering annually about ten thousand beams of teak timber (specified) at Japára, Demák, Waltri, and Brébes, the same to be duly paid for on delivery; and the Dutch engaged to assure themselves that the regulation should be complied with, by causing the residents of the timber places to transmit the receipts and other vouchers relative thereto, while, on the other hand, the Susúnan promised to take care that the timber should be of good quality and of the stipulated dimensions.

The Dutch remitted to the Susúnan the arrears on account of the quantity of rice (the delivery of which was stipulated by the contract of October, 1705), consisting of no less than 6,587 koyans; and also the sums advanced by them in the wars and during his minority, on condition that, on the part of the Susúnan, all previous treaties, deeds, and charters, contracted and granted by his highness’s predecessors, should
be fulfilled by him; in default whereof the above pretensions were to regain their full force and value. It was further agreed that the Dutch should remain in possession of their former commercial privileges at Java, his highness promising to render the Dutch trade still more flourishing and considerable, and to increase the deliveries of cotton thread. His highness further bound himself to supply every day two hundred and forty báturns, or Javan labourers, for the service of the fort, free of expense to the Dutch.

The act which closed the reign of this prince, and which affords good evidence of the undisturbed state of public affairs at the period, was a visit to the burial-place at Bútah, where Kíái Agong Bútuh, and sultan Pájang had been interred. The Javans have such a superstitious veneration for this spot, that they declare it is never overflowed, notwithstanding the waters rise to a considerable height round it, and that it is lower than the adjoining ground. Here the prince was taken ill, and after a long confinement died, in the Javan year 1657.

He was succeeded by his son, under the title of Susúnan Pakubuána Senapáti Ingálága Abdul Ráchman Sáhedín Panatagáma, who ascended the throne when he was only about fourteen years old, and was yet unmarried.

The young prince was entirely under the superintendence of Dánú Réja, his father's prime minister, until, as he attained maturity, he by repeated acts shewed a disposition to shake off the control of that chief. He was desirous of appointing Chákra Ningrat to be Widána of the eastern districts of Pa-súruan, Bángil, and Probolingo; but that chief being on bad terms with the minister Dánú Réja, the Susúnan privately, and without the knowledge of the minister, wrote to the Governor-general at Batavia, requesting his sanction to the measure. Shortly after this the Susúnan made a further application to the Dutch, that they would remove from Java the person of Pangérán Ria Mángku Nagára, on a plea that he had been discovered in an improper intimacy with one of his concubines. On this occasion the minister, Dánú Réja, was dispatched to Batavia; and the interview he had with the Governor-general is thus related by the native writers:—

"The General was displeased with Dánú Réja, because he had not adjusted these two affairs; and afterwards, when he
went to Batavia with presents from the Susúnan, the General asked him if he was willing that Chákra Ningrat should be Wídána of the three districts? Dánu Réja, not aware of the application made by the Susúnan, replied, that if that chief was entrusted with so extensive an authority he should tremble, as the heart of Chákra Ningrat would thereupon become great; for he had already been married to the Susúnan's sister. The General observed, that it was easy to remove this uneasiness from his mind. 'Let,' said he, 'this chief be under the authority of the Dutch only. Let him pay the money tribute to the Susúnan, but in other respects let not the Susúnan trouble himself about him. Let him look to the Dutch only for keeping him under due restraint.' To this Dánu Réja replied, 'If such is the wish of the General, I cannot follow it, because I fear that hereafter the Susúnan would object to such an arrangement, and, repenting of having followed the General's advice, would be justly enraged against me and my successors, for having in any way consented that Chákra Ningrat, or these lands, should be placed under the immediate authority of the Dutch.' A pause then ensued. At length the General resumed, and in a peremptory and angry manner demanded of the minister, why he had not prevented the Susúnan from applying for the banishment of his brother, Ria Mángku Nagára, observing that it had not yet been proved, that he was guilty of any offence against the Susúnan. Dánu Réja replied, 'The offence of the Pangérán is clear and decided; it is known to many that he had an attachment for the Susúnan's concubine.' He therefore requested he might be banished the island, adding, that he would request the Susúnan to make a proper provision for his maintenance. The General conceiving that Dánu Réja was not inclined to follow his wishes, became enraged, and desired him not to trouble himself further about the Pangérán, saying that, whether he was banished or not, was not his business; it depended entirely on the government. He then dismissed him to his pén-dok, where the minister was allowed to remain upwards of a year, until the death of the General, when, on the elevation of his successor, he was directed to return to Kérita-súra. While thus detained at Batavia, he was repeatedly visited by
some of the counsellors, urging him to accede to the wish of
the General respecting the lands; but he continued to use to
them the same arguments he had before used to the General."

After the return of *Dánu Réja* to *Kértá-súra*, he is repre-
sentated as having had an interview with *Wangsarána*, a cele-
brated devotee, who resided in the first *Kalángbrit*, and who
foretold the misfortunes which were to ensue.

On demanding of this tágpa what would be the future fate of
*Kértá-súra*, he replied, "that it was destined to misfortune,
"destruction, and sorrow: *Ráden Más Sujána* and *Ráden
"Mas Sáyed* will however profit by it." This *Ráden Sujána*
was a younger brother of the *Susúnan* by a concubine, and
afterwards took the name of *Pangérán Mangkubúmi*. *Ráden
Mas Sáyed* was a cousin to the *Susúnan*, son of his elder
brother, *Pangérán Mangku-nagára*, who had been sent to
Batavia with a request that he might be banished. They
were both at this time youngest children (*timur*).

This prophecy made a deep impression on the mind of the
minister; and his uneasiness became still greater, when one
day a woman, named *Niái Súka Wáti*, came to him from her
mistress, *Rátu Agong*, the mother of the *Susúnan*, saying that
the *Rátu* had just dreamt that she beheld the moon descend
from the heavens and rest on the top of the large *dúku* tree in
the *kráton*; and that this had no sooner occurred, than that
*Ráden Mas Sujána* immediately came, and seizing hold of
the moon swallowed one-half of it, the other half slipping
from his grasp, and resuming its place on the top of the tree:
the *Rátu* then awoke and found it daylight. These were the
first signs of what was soon to befall *Kértá-súra*.

The fate of the minister was, however, to be first decided;
for on the occasion of the *Susúnan* raising a chief, named
*Súra-Díngrat*, to be *Bopáti* of *Pakalúngan*, with a thou-
sand *cháchas*, without the knowledge of the minister, the
latter refused to acknowledge him in that capacity; in con-
sequence of which the *Susúnan* requested the Dutch to arrest
him, and banish him from the island. As soon as the Dutch
had consented to do so, the unfortunate minister was dis-
patched to *Semárang* on a special embassy from his master,
where he was decoyed into the Dutch fort and confined. He
was soon after embarked for Ceylon, in the same vessel which
conveyed Pangéran Ria Mángku Nagára, at whose feet he fell, acknowledging the justice of his own punishment, for having assisted in the banishment of that chief, who had in fact committed no fault. The Susúnan then appointed Nátu Kasúma to be his minister.

Accounts were now received from Ceylon of the death of the ex-Susúnan Mangkúrat Mas, and at the request of the Susúnan, the family of the deceased were permitted to return to Kérta-súra. On these were conferred distinguished titles and considerable assignments of land. To Mángku Nagára the Susúnan gave the name of Wíra Mengála, with one thousand cháchas of land; to Mángku Níngrat he gave the name of Pangéran Tépa Sána, with nine hundred cháchas; and to Ráden Jáya Kasúma he gave the title of Pangéran, with three hundred cháchas. Pangéran Purbáya, who had assumed the title of Panambáhan Senápáti Ingalága, shortly after died at Batavia, and his body was conveyed to Megíri. The eldest son of this chief married a younger sister of the Susúnan, and received the title of Pangéran Purbáya, with an assignment of sáwa. The Susúnan became much attached to him, and at length followed his counsel in all things. "What was right was declared wrong, and what was wrong, "right, just as he pleased, and the Susúnan believed it."

This increasing influence of the Pangéran Purbáya alarmed the minister, who secretly acquainted the Dutch with it, and by their interference the Pangéran Purbáya was removed from the councils of the prince, and obliged to fix his residence at a distance from the capital.

Various signs now foreboded approaching war and misfortune, and led the people to expect that Pangéran Tépa Sána would attempt to regain the throne of his ancestors. The Susúnan and his ministers entirely disregarded these signs; but Pangéran Wíra Mengála sought the friendship of the Dutch commandant, in the hope of obtaining his assistance.

At this time occurred the rebellion of the Chinese at Batavia; and as the Dutch accounts of the transaction are far from complete or satisfactory, I shall quote two Javan records without variation. One of them is as follows:

"The city of Batavia was now in the highest state of prosperity: traders came from all quarters, merchandize was
in abundance, and the slaves were numerous. The latter be-
coming arrogant, in consequence of the wealth and power of
their masters, committed outrages on the Chinese, in the first
instance by beating them, and afterwards by attempting their
lives. At first there were but few who committed these out-
rages, but at last they formed themselves into parties and
committed more public acts of hostility. The Chinese applied
to the European officers in authority, to put a stop to these
outrages, or to punish those who committed them: they could,
however, obtain no redress, the slaves testifying with one
accord that the Chinese were the aggressors. The Chinese
finding they could not obtain justice from the great people,
assembled near the sugar mills at Gandária*, to the number
of more than a thousand, and chose a chief, with the deter-
mination to oppose the Dutch and the slaves; but as yet they
thought it advisable not to do so openly, and therefore com-
mittcd their depredations in small parties during the night.
The Dutch, as soon as they heard of this, empowered several
natives from Sábrany (of the opposite coasts and islands) to
take up the Chinese who were at Gandária; these people
succeeded in apprehending the Chinese one by one, and as
soon as they gave them over to punishment they received a
reward of six ducatoons for each. In this way they secured
about two hundred. These were immediately embarked on a
vessel to be banished to another country, but when they had
got out to sea they were all thrown overboard. Many of them
who could not swim perished; but a few having succeeded in
reaching the shore, found their way to Gandária, and related
to their companions how they had been treated. The Chinese,
upon this, concluding that the Dutch had resolved to extirpate
their race, now openly prepared their warlike instruments,
gave notice to their countrymen at Batavia of the manner in
which the Dutch had determined to destroy them, and re-
quested that those who were willing to join them would im-
mediately repair to Gandária. The Chinese in other quar-
ters, equally harassed by the slaves, against whom they could
gain no redress, became of one mind, when they received the
intelligence of their countrymen having been thrown over-

* A village in the vicinity of Batavia.
board by the Dutch, and when they reflected that the destruction of their race was determined; they therefore collected quietly at Gandária, until their numbers amounted to upwards of five thousand. Here the whole placed themselves under the orders of a chief, named Sipanjang."

The other account is as follows:

"It is related of Batavia, that General Valkenier was excessively liberal in his favours to the Chinese. The consequence of this was, that of all the races then resident at Batavia, with the exception of the Dutch, none were so wealthy as they. Whatever was profitable fell into their hands, while the other races, the natives of the country and the adjacent islands established there, found it difficult to discharge the duties and demands made upon them. On this account all these races became discontented with the Chinese; and as it is usual with the latter for their hearts to swell as they grow richer, quarrels ensued, and disputes continually took place between the parties. These increased, until complaints were carried before masters of slaves, where slaves were concerned, and before the regular courts, where free people were concerned. But the Chinese being always defeated in these suits, and fined for their conduct, they assembled in bands, for the purpose of revenging themselves, and began to plunder the villages in the neighbourhood of the town. This happened in the Javan year 1663 (ginarasa-mobah jalma) *

"It is related that at this time there was at Batavia a certain Edel Heer, the Baron Van Imhoff, who had arrived from Ceylon. On his arrival at Jokarta, he learned from General Valkenier the particulars of the conduct of the Chinese, who were thus committing depredations in the villages; he said there were too many Chinese at Batavia, and proposed that a proportion should be sent to Ceylon. This was accordingly agreed to by the high council, and a search was in consequence made to take up the poorest of these, that they might be transported to Ceylon. The expences, in the first instance, were to be advanced by the Dutch, who were afterwards to be reimbursed when the Chinese should have acquired the means at Ceylon. The Chinese captain was accordingly di-

* Meaning, "ability was now inclined to move or shake mankind."
rected to beat the *gong*, and give public notice of this order; but there was not one Chinese inclined to follow it: and in order to carry the proposition of Van Imhoff into effect, it was agreed to arrest all the Poor Chinese. This order was given to the captain of the Chinese, but he declined to arrest his countrymen. Van Imhoff then inquired by what distinction of dress he might know the rich from the poor? The captain replied, "the clothing of the Chinese which may be consi-
"dered a proof of their being poor, is black (blue)." Upon
this the governor directed the *Bailieu* to arrest all Chinese so
dressed; and the *Bailieu* again entrusting the execution of
this order to his *Máta Máta*, who belonged to the races ini-
mical to the Chinese, the latter, to gratify particular enmities,
arrested many who did not wear blue, some of them of the
most respectable families. The Chinese, in general, were
much offended, when shortly the whole of those who were
arrested, were embarked on board ship apparently for Ceylon;
but they had been only a few days at sea, when they were
*amók'd*. Most of them were killed, and the rest were thrown
overboard. Of these some escaped to land, and arriving se-
cretly at Batavia, communicated to their countrymen the par-
ticulars of the cruel treatment of the Company towards them.
On this all the chiefs of the Chinese entered into an agree-
ment to raise the standard of rebellion against the Dutch,
and to endeavour to carry the fort of Batavia. There were,
however, one or two who did not chuse to become the enemies
of the Dutch.

"A Chinese named *Liu Chu*, informed the government of
what was going on among his countrymen, for which he re-
ceived a reward of eighty ducats, and other valuable presents,
with a promise of future patronage. This man went as a spy
to the Chinese at *Gandária*, and endeavoured to persuade the
chief to submit to the Dutch, promising him free pardon; but
*Sí-pánjang* suspecting that, however fair might be the pro-
mises of the Dutch in the first instance, they would not fail
to revenge themselves upon him, by seeking out some offence
of which to accuse him, would not listen to these overtures.
The Dutch then ordered, that of the Chinese who were at
Batavia, such as wished to join their countrymen at *Gandária*
might do so, but that such as wished to follow the Dutch, must
shave their mustaches as a sign, and deliver up all their sharp instruments of every description, even to the smallest knife, and neither burn a lamp nor make a fire at night. All the Chinese within the city were inclined rather to remain in their houses, and conform to the wish of the Dutch according to this order, than to quit their houses and join their companions at Gandária. The Dutch troops were now making preparations in the fort, and shut the gates of the city, hearing that the Chinese from Gandária were approaching. These came towards Batavia in three parties, burning and laying waste every thing in their way, until they arrived close under the walls, in numbers not less than ten thousand. Some of the guns being inefficient, the Chinese became bolder, and made a furious attack in which they were repulsed with great slaughter. In this affair the Chinese are estimated to have lost one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine lives. They retreated in confusion, but assembled again at Gáding Meláti.

"The next morning the Dutch landed all the sailors from the shipping in the roads, and having confined the Chinese to their houses, according to the regulation, the Dutch government gave orders for their own people, the free black inhabitants, and the native Christians belonging to the fort, to slay all the male Chinese, old and young, who were within the city. Of these, amounting to nearly nine thousand souls, only one hundred and fifty escaped to join their countrymen at Kámpung Meláti. The property of all the Chinese was seized by those who committed the slaughter, not one of whom was killed, the Chinese having previously, as before related, delivered up their weapons to the Dutch.

"After this the Dutch troops, to the number of eight hundred Europeans and two thousand natives, under the orders of the Baron Van Imhoff, proceeded to Kámpung Gáding Meláti, where the Chinese under Si-Panjang had entrenched themselves in considerable numbers, and soon drove them from this position. The Chinese then retreated to Paning-gáran, where also they were defeated. The loss of the latter affair was on the part of the Dutch four hundred and fifty, on that of the Chinese eight hundred."

While these transactions were going on at Batavia, many of the Bopáitis of the coast provinces had arrived at Kértā
Sūra, to present themselves at court, according to custom, at the ensuing mālud. The Bopāti of Demāk informed the minister, Nāla Kasima, that before he quitted his district, the Chinese, in considerable numbers, had assembled in arms and elected a chief of their own nation, named Singseh. The Bopāti of Grobōgan also reported, that the same thing had taken place in his district, in consequence of their having heard that the Dutch at Batavia were determined to destroy every Chinese on the island. On this the minister waited upon the Susúnan, and informed him of these commotions. The Susúnan replied, that he had already heard of what was going on at Batavia, and was much surprized that the general had not sent him any intimation of the insurrection. The Rāden Adipāti observed, that perhaps it would not come to any thing, and that very probably the disturbance would subside of itself. To this the Susúnan replied: "if so, it was "well; but if the war was brought into his country, what was "he to do? He feared this was to be apprehended, or why "should the Chinese on his lands be thus preparing to defend "themselves against the Dutch. It is proper at any rate," added the Susúnan, "that we should agree with all the "Bopātis who were assembled, whether it would be most ad-"visable to assist the Dutch or the Chinese, for if the war is "to be brought into my country, it appears to me that this "point must soon be determined. In the mean time should "this event happen, let them fight between themselves, don't "let us interfere or assist: don't drive the Chinese away." On this the Rāden Adipāti observed, "that if the general re-"quested their assistance, they were bound, according to "treaty, to afford it." The Susúnan replied, "if the general "requests assistance from me in men, it is an easy matter, "and we can readily chuse the right course, but he must not "force me to render assistance." The Rāden Adipāti then said, "as this was the wish of the prince, he would assemble "the chiefs and be ready to give assistance to the Dutch, "should they request it." The Susúnan replied, "very well, "let them agree how to act."

The Rāden Adipāti then proceeded to his house, where, assembling the chiefs, the point was discussed as follows. The Rāden Adipāti having informed them of the desire of
the Susúnan, that they should agree how to act, in the event of the war between the Chinese and Dutch being brought into the Susúnan's country, whether they should assist the Dutch or the Chinese. The Adipáti of Pakalóng' an, Jáya Ningrat, first delivered his sentiments. "I think it is best," said he, "that the Susúnan should assist the Dutch, but on condition they should release him from all the burthens which have been imposed upon his ancestors." The Ráden Adipáti said, "That is good; but I must remain of opinion, that the Chinese who are on Java do not concern our affairs as to the Dutch: they are not under my orders; they are only engaged in trade; they have done good, and brought profit to Java: why must we assist the Dutch, and destroy the Chinese?" Depáti Jáya Ningrat replied, "It is true the Chinese do not interfere with our business, and it is our own fault that we have anything to do with the Dutch. Is it not better to take this opportunity of ridding the Susúnan of the excursions he is under to the Dutch? Let us assist them; they are strongest. The Dutch are as iron, the Chinese as tin: therefore it is better to assist the party most likely to be victorious." The Ráden Adipáti observed, "that it was on account of the Dutch being so strong that he thought it wrong to assist them; for," added he, "if we do they will only become more powerful and great, when perhaps we shall not be able to oppose them, and must remain entirely at their mercy. Is it not better, therefore, to destroy their strength while they are not too powerful for us?" The Depáti Jáya Ningrat then said, "If on this account we do not like to assist the Dutch, let us not assist the Chinese, but remain neutral, and leave them to fight it out among themselves." The Ráden Adipáti said, "That would not be according to the will of the Susúnan: he wishes to take part with one or the other, and he only asks which." The other Bopáties inclined to the advice of Jáya Ningrat; but observing the desire of the Ráden Adipáti to assist the Chinese, were silent, concluding that the part he took was in conformity with the wish of the Susúnan. The Tumáng'gung of Grobogán, Ráden Mérla Púra, then said, "We are as the people who bear two burthens: the Dutch are on the right shoulder, the Chinese on the left;
"if we throw off one the other still remains. If we can ac-
accomplish it, why should we not get rid of both? In the first
instance, let us assist the Chinese, and get rid of the
Dutch; when that is done we can easily get rid of the
Chinese also." Depati Jaya Ningrat replied, "It is very
well for you to wish this, but perhaps you are not suffi-
ciently strong to effect it. In an affair of this importance
we should consider the consequences. If we succeed, it is
well; but if we destroy one party we commit an offence
against the Almighty: what then if we destroy both parties,
who have done us no harm? You must have read in
history what has happened in the land of Java, and what
occurred to those who injured others who did not offend
them. Recollect, for instance, the case of Jaing Rana of
Surahaya, who was put to death unjustly: was his death
not avenged, and for this one innocent life was there not
afterwards a retribution of sixteen lives?" Merita Pura was
embarrassed, and knew not what answer to make. The Raden
Adipati laughed, and was followed by all the chiefs; he after-
wards said, "This is the effect of experience. Merita Pura
is a young man, and not able to contend in argument with
Adipati Jaya Ningrat, his elder." However, Raden Merita
Pura, taking a cup of tea, recollected himself, and prepared
to reply. After drinking the tea, and replacing the cup, he
immediately addressed Adipati Jaya Ningrat: "How can
you talk thus? Is it not better to finish the business at
once, and not by halves? Of what use is it to talk of pre-
cedents? What was the case formerly is one thing; the
present affair is altogether different: they cannot be com-
pared together. We have now our own master, whose
wishes we must follow. We must make a new example,
and leave others to act up to it." The Raden Adipati then
demanded of all the other Bopatis their opinion in this affair,
to which they replied, "Let us advise the Susunan to follow
his own inclination, either to assist the Dutch according to
treaty, on condition that they cancel all obligations, &c. on
the part of the Susunan to the Dutch, or to assist the
Chinese in destroying the Dutch, and after that to get rid of
the Chinese altogether, or allow them to remain, as the
Susunan may think proper.""
This opinion was on the next day carried to the Susúnan by the Ráden Adipáti, who further suggested, that it would be well to encourage the Chinese to act against the Dutch; that when the war took place it would be easy to perceive which was the best side to assist, and that the Susúnan should appear to remain neutral for the present. The Susúnan having listened to this advice approved of it. He in consequence directed that Mérta Púra should quietly return to his province, and should encourage the Chinese to act against the Dutch, and promise them, that in the event of their success the Susúnan would join them. He also directed that the other Bopáti should make preparations for collecting their forces.

In pursuance of these orders Mérta Púra secretly proceeded to Grobógan, and communicated with the chiefs who had been elected by the Chinese, named Inchi Máchan and Máda Tik. The Chinese of Grobógan immediately wrote to Singeh, the chief at Tánjung Welahan, who was equally pleased with this promise of support. The Chinese from Grobógan then went and joined those at Tánjung Welahan, it being arranged that Mérta Púra should make a sham attack upon them, from which they should appear to fly.

Mérta Púra then wrote to the Dutch commander at Semdrang, telling him that he had orders from the minister to attack the Chinese, and requesting to be supplied with ammunition, which was immediately sent. The Dutch were completely deceived. They furnished Mérta Púra with twenty muskets, eight carbines and eight pistols, and eight barrels of powder: they also sent thirty Dutch soldiers. Mérta Púra commenced the attack before they came, and thus secured the retreat of the Chinese. On this occasion he shot three horses with ball, and shewed them to the Dutch as having been wounded under him.

In the mean time the commandant at Semdrang, deceived by the assurances of Mérta Púra, requested the officers at Kértu Súra to call upon the Susúnan for assistance. He directed that Mértu Púra should be reinforced, but that the chief who commanded the party should receive secret instructions not to annoy the Chinese in earnest, but to act as
Mértu Pára had done. With respect to the Chinese at Kórtu Pára, he directed that they should be informed that on the next morning the Javans would make a sham attack upon them, when they must retreat and join a party of Chinese assembled at the Désa Sarója in Kédú, to which place they would be pursued, and from whence the Javan chief was to return, saying, that on account of their numbers he could advance no further.

Secret orders to this effect were immediately given to all the chiefs. The Adipátsis of Páti, Demák, and Kédú were at the same time directed to go and make a false attack upon the Chinese at Tánjung Waláhan, and afterwards to retreat to Semárang, as if beaten, in order that the commander might believe that the Susánan was determined to assist the Dutch.

The captain and lieutenant of the Chinese at Semárang having been put in confinement by the commandant, all the Chinese at that place joined their countrymen at Tánjung Waláhan. The Chinese then moved to Kárang Anyer, where they were attacked. The Javans retreated to Semárang, and were assisted by the Dutch. The chief, Singseh, in concert with Mértu Pára, now laid siege to Semárang.

The commander at Kórtu Súra requested assistance against the Chinese at Ambaráwa, which was granted, with the same instruction to the chiefs as in the former instances. These marched as far as Saliáiga, where they held secret communication with the Chinese; but the chief, Aria Pringaláya, caused ten Chinese to be put to death while both parties were about to meet privately, and sent the ten heads to Kórtu Súra, which were delivered to the commandant. This at first exasperated the Chinese leader at Semárang, but he was soon pacified.

At this time the Susánan discovered that one of the sons of Mangkárat Mas, Tépa Sána, was carrying on an intrigue with the commandant of the fort at Kórtu Súra, and caused him to be bow-stringed. Wíra Méja and Ráden Garendi, the two sons of Tépa Sána, with his other relations, joined Pangéran Wíra Meng’ala, and quitted Kórtu Súra: they were well received by the Chinese.

The Chinese, besides laying siege to Semárang, had also
by this time taken and destroyed Rémbang. Jawána and Demák were abandoned by the Dutch troops, and a want of provisions was felt through the country.

Affairs had come to this pass, when the Susúnan resolved to massacre the Dutch garrison at Kértá Súra. The Javans were collected under the fort, as by order from the Susúnan, in readiness to march against the Chinese, when one of them who had entered within the walls fired a shot. The cry of amók was given, and many lives were lost on both sides; but the plan did not succeed, and it was not till after he was reinforced by the Chinese that he could effect his object. On the renewal of the attack, the garrison was compelled to surrender. The commanding officer and some others were barbarously murdered in cold blood; the rest of the troops, with their wives and children, made prisoners, and distributed among the Javans: the greatest part of the men being circumcised and forced to adopt the Mahomedan religion.

The Dutch authorities, in endeavouring to account for this act, incline to an opinion that the Susúnan was (not without an appearance of probability) immediately impelled to it by many acts of oppression and injustice exercised against his subjects, by a total disregard of all his representations for redress, by an evident intention on the part of the Dutch to become masters of the whole island, and by the harsh and uncivil conduct of the Resident towards the first men of the court, which was the more obnoxious from his being the son of a Javan woman, and for that reason, and the illegitimacy of his birth, much despised by the natives.

When this intelligence reached Semárang, the Dutch began to open their eyes. The first step that was taken was to pass a decree, absolving the Pangérán of Madúra from his allegiance to the Susúnan. This decree was formally signed by the government of Semárang, and accepted by the Pangérán, who being married to a sister of the Susúnan, returned his wife back to her brother. No sooner had he declared himself the ally of the Dutch, than he ordered all the Chinese on the island of Madúra to be put to death, and embarking his forces immediately, took possession of Sidáyu, Tubán, Jipang, and Lamúng’an. At Grésik about four hundred Chinese were put to death.

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The Chinese, in the meantime, finding themselves reinforced by the Javans, spread over the whole country without encountering opposition, and laid siege at the same time to nearly all the Company's settlements along the coast, from Tégal to Pasiruan.

After many feeble and unskilful attacks on the fort of Semárang, and the loss of many lives, the united forces of the Javans and Chinese were compelled to raise the siege.

A negociation was now brought about by means of the Pangóran of Madúra, who represented to the Dutch that the attack upon the fort, as well as the subsequent part taken by the Javans, was solely at the instigation of the minister, Náta Kasúma, and that the Susúnan himself was personally averse to these measures. The Susúnan, according to the Dutch accounts, regretted the precipitate steps he had taken, either as beginning to fear that the Dutch might again, as in former wars, obtain the ascendancy, and make him pay dear for his temerity; or, which appeared to him most likely, apprehending that the Chinese, who, though comparatively few and unused to arms, had hitherto taken the lead in every affair of consequence, and evinced their superiority to the Javans in ability and courage, should become too powerful, and might, in concert with some discontented chiefs, think fit to depose him. From one or other, or both of these motives, the Susúnan desired to renew his alliance with the Dutch.

The Dutch, on their part, considering the precarious state of the time and circumstances, found it advisable to enter into amicable relations, and accordingly concluded a peace, by which were ceded to them the island of Madúra, the seacoast, and Surabáya, with all the districts to the eastward, as Balambáng'an, and Rembáng, Japára, and Semárang, with all their subordinate posts.

According to the Javan accounts, this treaty was concluded without the knowledge of the minister, Náta Kasúma, who with the Javan and Chinese forces still lay encamped not far from Semárang: and it was agreed upon by the Susúnan, at the request of the Dutch, that the Chinese should be kept in ignorance of what was passing, in order that they might be the more easily massacred by their supposed friends the Javans. Náta Kasúma, however, no sooner heard of the con-
ditions on which the peace had been concluded, and of the intention to massacre the Chinese, than he took part with them, and revealed the whole plot. To preserve appearances, however, he made a sham attack on the Chinese, in which the sick alone were sacrificed. The rest moved off unmolested to the eastward, meditating vengeance against the Susúnan, by whom they had been thus deserted. Their principal force was now assembled in the districts of Páti and Jawána, where they were joined by many of the chiefs who had hitherto been attached to their cause. Here they proclaimed as Susúnan Ráden Mas Garéndi, son of Pangéran Tépa Sána, who had recently been put to death by the Susúnan, and grandson of Susúnan Mangkurat Mas, who had died at Ceylon. He assumed the title of Susúnan Mangkurat Mas Prábu Kúnung, but is usually distinguished by the name of Susúnan Kúnung. This prince was about ten years of age, and therefore the transactions which ensued are to be attributed to his ministers, Mangunónang and Mérta Púra, and to the Chinese chiefs, Singsih and Pánjang.

Náta Kasúma, the minister, still feigning allegiance, returned to Kértá Súra; but the part he had taken being discovered, he was sent to Semárang on a false mission, as was customary in such cases, and there entrapped by the Dutch and conveyed to Ceylon.

The Chinese, with their emperor, now marched with great expedition to Kértá Súra, in order to attack the Susúnan, and met with but little resistance. The troops of the Susúnan, under the command of Ráden Prínga Láya, were defeated, Kértá Súra was surprised, and the Susúnan was obliged to leave his court, and treasures to the enemy. His queen, sister, and children, on horseback, together with his mother, carried by two Europeans, under the conduct of two Dutch officers, through a back gate of the dálam, were pursued and overtaken. The Susúnan and the hereditary prince only were enabled to save themselves by flight.

It was not likely that an alliance between the Chinese and Javans, people so different and hostile to each other, could be of any long duration. While the Chinese became relaxed in their discipline, and indulged in every species of irregularity, the fugitive emperor, being now joined by the Dutch and Ma-
durese, received the submission of many of the rebel chiefs, and pardoned them; but he refused to pay attention to the offers of submission made by the Chinese. The prince of Madúra, at length, succeeded in making himself master of Kétra Súra, from whence the Susúnan Kuning was obliged to fly, after a reign of four months.

The Chinese being afterwards defeated in a pitched battle at Asém, retreated to Brambáinan, and the Susúnan again arrived in his capital. When, however, the prince of Madúra, who was by no means well inclined to the Susúnan, found himself in possession of Kétra Súra, he made an attempt to raise to the throne Pangéran Angebai, the Susúnan's brother. The Susúnan was once more obliged to quit his capital, and it was not until after much negociation between the Dutch and the Javans, that he was re-established. Whether this attempt on the part of the Madurese prince was serious, or only intended to render the sovereign more complying to the demands of his allies, is not known. The negociation, however, as was usual in similar cases, turned out highly advantageous to the Dutch interests, a treaty being dictated by them without the walls of the palace, and before the prince was permitted to enter it.

The Chinese, who had meanwhile remained at Brambáinan unmolested for two whole months, were now joined by Páku Nagára, a man noted among the Javans for his eminent abilities, and distinguished afterwards for the conspicuous part he acted in what is called "the war of Java," and through his means the party were enabled still to make a stand: they were at length, however, defeated by the Dutch troops, and compelled to retreat over the southern hills. A general amnesty being proclaimed, and the Chinese having availed themselves of it, the ex-emperor at length surrendered to the Dutch at Surabáya, by whom he was banished to Ceylon, where he died. This event happened in the Javan year 1667, and terminated the Chinese war.

After a few months the Susúnan, in conformity with ancient custom, removed the seat of government from Kétra Súra to the village of Solo, about six miles distant, where a palace was built. The new capital was called Súra Kétra, and is the present residence of the emperors of Java.
On the subsequent accession of Mr. Imhoff to the post of governor-general, he was of opinion that, notwithstanding the favourable terms of the treaties granted by the Susúnan, sufficient atonement had not been made to the Dutch nation for the outrage committed against the Christian religion, and the barbarous treatment of the garrison of Képta Súra. He therefore required that the two principal ringleaders should be delivered up and punished; and to ensure compliance, measures were taken for seizing upon the Susúnan and his son, and bestowing the throne on the eldest son of Pangéran Mángku Nagára. But the Susúnan thought it prudent to comply, and delivered over two priests to the Dutch; and a new treaty was on this occasion concluded with the Susúnan. Fresh disturbances soon succeeded. The Pangéran of Madúra, Chákra Deningrat, a man of a selfish and haughty character, considered himself, in consequence of the part he had taken, so far exalted above the other chiefs, that he neglected to make his annual appearance at court. Of this the Susúnan complained to the Dutch, who interfered, but without effect. The Pangéran, who, as before stated, had taken possession of the provinces of Sídáya, Túban, Jipang, and Lamúng’an, now refused to restore them either to the Susúnan or the Dutch, to whom they had been ceded, claiming them, as well as all the plunder he had obtained at Képta Súra, as conquered property. Determined to keep them by force, he engaged in his service a number of men from Bái, and fortified the island Menári, so as to command the harbour of Surabáya.

He now commenced open hostilities by attacking a Dutch vessel, and putting to death several European seamen. Two thousand Madúrese entered the district of Surabáya, burnt some villages, and laid the country waste; and five thousand Bálíans were posted on the frontiers of Pamakásan. After having been twice or thrice defeated, the Pangéran made a sudden attack upon Súmenap and Pamakásan, and gained a complete victory over the natives fighting under a Dutch commander, who lost six thousand men on the occasion, the chief being obliged to fly the country.

It was not long before the Dutch regained possession of Súmenap and Pamakásan, on which occasion a brother-in-
law of the Pangéran, with two chiefs, submitted to them; but the Dutch troops were no sooner withdrawn, than those provinces again fell under the authority of the Pangéran, who laid them waste with fire and sword. The Dutch tried in vain to dislodge him. Rémbang was now besieged by an army of five thousand Madúrese and Javans. Lúsém, Pájang-kungung, and all the villages as far as Paradésa, were in possession of the Pangéran, who made himself master also of the fort of Rémbang, and of the building yard established there; but his fortune suddenly changed. The prince was, in his turn, defeated in several engagements, and at length compelled to fly from Java; and the Dutch forces landing on Madúra, took the capital Sámpang, by storm, and in a short time made themselves masters of the whole island.

In this extremity, the prince of Madúra still refused to come to terms, and went with his sons, Sásra and Rána Deníngrat, to Banjermásin on Borneo, where he engaged his passage on board an English ship bound to Bencoolen; to which place he had previously, on his affairs taking an unfavourable turn, sent his son, Ráden Tumúng'gung Wira Deníngrat, to request assistance from the English, and procure men and warlike stores. His plan, however, of proceeding to Bencoolen was frustrated; for the sultan of Banjermásin, on application from the Dutch, sent him, with his son Sásra, to Batavia, whence the father was banished to the Cape of Good Hope, and the son to Ceylon.

In effecting a settlement of the country, the Dutch were compelled to appoint another son of this prince, Súra Di-ningrat, to succeed as chief of Madúra, under the name of Sëcha Deníngrat. In the year 1758, this chief was also appointed Widána, or chief, of several of the eastern districts.

But, however these successes on the part of the Dutch might tend to the immediate tranquillity of the country, the authority of the Susúnan had been seriously shaken. The prince possessed neither the esteem nor attachment of his subjects. To his evil star it was attributed that the empire had not only lost much of its ancient grandeur, but was brought to the brink of ruin. The chiefs no longer placed
any confidence in him; they despised the man who had granted such humiliating terms to the Dutch, and who, to obtain their temporary aid, had thus sacrificed the permanent integrity of the empire: they, therefore, were inclined to make an effort to regain what had been lost.

The principal character and prime mover in this rebellion was the Pangéran Mungkubúmi, a younger brother of the Susúnan. During the Chinese war he had obtained considerable experience, and was distinguished for boldness and enterprize of character. On the Chinese being driven from Kéarta Súra, he had thrown himself on the protection of the Dutch, and was now residing with his brother at Kéerta Súra. Next to Mangkubúmi, the most prominent character in the war of Java was Páku Nagára, who was also called Mas Sáved but perhaps better known as the grandfather of Práng Widóno. After the defeat of the Chinese at Brambánan, this prince had also returned to court; but being coldly received, again reared the standard of revolt, and escaping into the southern mountains assumed the title of Susúnan Adi Prakúsa.

Mangunónang, the minister of Susúnan Kúning, and Mérta Púra, had established themselves in the province of Sukawáti, refusing to come into any terms. They invited Mangkubúmi to come over to them, and promised their assistance in raising him to the throne. Mangkubúmi accepted their invitation; but finding himself deceived by them, he, by his own exertions and those of the son of Mérta Púra, obtained possession of that province, and established himself under the title of Pangéran Adipáti of Sukawáti. He was, however, afterwards induced to listen to terms offered him by the Susúnan, who again received him into favour, and conferred upon him the independent government of Sukawáti. But these terms were not granted by the emperor without exciting the jealousy and apprehensions of the minister Pringa Láya, who easily availed himself of an early opportunity, when the Governor-General, Van Imhoff, was on a visit to Súra Kértá, to represent the danger arising from any subject possessing so independent and extensive authority, as that recently granted by the Susúnan to Mangkubúmi.

It was accordingly determined to deprive Mangkubúmi of
this tract of country, and the resolution was personally communicated to him in the hall of audience. The chief feigned obedience; but in the course of the night, secretly quitted the capital, and assembling his party proceeded to Sukawati, where he again reared the standard of rebellion. From the flight of this prince is dated what is usually termed the war of Java, which took place in the Javan year 1671.

The Dutch now took an active part in the war, but found that they had enemies to contend with who possessed considerable ability and enterprise, and who in the past disturbances of the country had gained much experience. Páku Nagára was, in the first instance, defeated, and fled for protection to Mangkubúmi, who received him kindly, gave him his daughter, Rátu Bandóra, in marriage, and appointed him his Pateh, or minister. The united forces of these two chiefs resisted the attacks of the Dutch for about twelve months, when Mangkubúmi assumed the title of Susúnan Matárem; but a dispute arising between him and Páku Nagára, who demanded his own nomination as presumptive successor, Mangkubúmi took back his daughter, and the chiefs parted in enmity.

While Mangkubúmi lay with his forces at Bunáran, a village on the south coast, and distant about ten miles from the present Yûgya Kértá, intelligence was received of the death of the Susúnan; and such was the extensive power of Mangkubúmi at the time, that the body of the deceased could not be removed to the consecrated burial place at Megirí in the southern hills, on account of his forces, and was in consequence interred near the tomb of Jáka Tingker, sultan of Pájang, at Lawian, near Sura Kértá, whence this prince received the appellation of Susúnan Séda Lawigan.

Mangkubúmi had evinced a desire to come to terms, and gave assurances to the governor of his attachment to the Dutch, but demanded that his son should be proclaimed Pangérán Adípati Matárem (heir apparent); a condition to which the Dutch would not listen.

The reduced state of the Susúnan's authority before his death, and the distracted condition of affairs, afforded an opportunity too favourable to be overlooked by the Dutch, of at once attaining the grand object of all their political inter-
ference, the sovereignty of the country. A weak prince on
his death-bed was, under existing circumstances, easily
brought to any terms, in the hope of continuing even the no-
minal succession in his family. He was compelled, by a
formal official deed, "to abdicate for himself and his heirs,
"the sovereignty of the country, conferring the same on the
"Dutch East India Company, and leaving it to them to dis-
"pose of it, in future, to any person they might think compe-
"tent to govern it for the benefit of the Company and of
"Java." After recommending his children, and especially
the heir apparent, to the protection of the governor, the un-
fortunate monarch expired. This singular and important
deed was dated on the 11th December, 1749*.

From this deed is derived the right by which the Dutch
East India Company subsequently granted in fee to the

* During the reign of this prince, on the 9th of September 1738, a con-
tact was entered into between the Dutch and the sultan of Bantam, of
which the following were the chief articles.

1st. The Dutch having deemed it necessary to send a detachment to Lamp-
ung Tulang Béwang, in order to save that province from total ruin, the
sultan promised to cause a fort, or pêger, to be erected at his expense, on
the spot which should be deemed most eligible for that purpose, either on
the Palembang river, or any where else.

2d. That the sultan should keep this fort in constant repair at his own
expense.

3d. That the sultan should repay to the Dutch the expense of main-
taining a small establishment, consisting of a resident, a commandant,
one sergeant, two corporals, twenty-four privates, one drummer, and
three artillery men.

4th. That the ground on which the fort was to be built, should be
ceded to the Dutch, with an extent of one hundred roods in every direc-
tion. This ground to revert back to the sultan, in the event of the
Dutch establishment breaking up, in the same manner as had taken place
in regard to Lampung Sambongka.

6th. With a view to hold out due encouragement to the industry of the
Lampung people, it was agreed that, previously to exporting their pepper
to Bantam, they should state the quantity to the Company's resident, who
should furnish them with a certificate, enabling them to obtain early pay-
ment, pursuant to the existing contracts.

7th. The Company's servants at Bantam and Lampung Tulang Béwang,
were authorized to confiscate any quantity of pepper which was exported
from the latter place, unprovided with a certificate from the resident.
native princes, the administration of those provinces which still continued under native government.

On the death of this unfortunate prince, Mangkubúmi caused himself to be formally proclaimed Susúnan Pakubúana Senápáti Matárem, in the presence of a more numerous assemblage of the princes and chiefs than attended the investiture of the new Susúnan raised by the Dutch. He sent ambassadors to the Dutch governor with many assurances of attachment and fidelity, requesting to be acknowledged as sovereign, and soliciting that the body of the deceased might be delivered to him, for the purpose of solemn interment.

The son of the deceased Susúnan, however, was preferred, and at the age of nine years was raised to the throne, under the title of Pakubúana the third.

The enmity of the rebellious chiefs to each other soon vented itself in open hostility, and a pitched battle ensued, in which Mangkubúmi was defeated and driven to the westward. Soon, however, recruiting his forces, he returned, and had two successful engagements with the Dutch, one at Jánar, a village in Báglen, the other at Tidar, a hill in Kedú. In the battle of Jánár the Javan forces allowed the brunt of the action to fall upon the Dutch, who were completely routed: of those who had escaped the sword many were drowned in an adjoining marsh, and the rest were murdered in great numbers by the country people. The affair of Tidar was of less importance. The forces of Mangkubúmi were sometimes reduced to a few hundred, and at other times amounted to as many thousands, the chiefs and people deserting him in his distress, and flocking to him in his prosperity. After three victories obtained over the Dutch, he marched towards the northern coast, fell upon Pakalóng'án, and plundered the place.

Mangkubúmi now carried all before him, and was once at the gates of Sólo, which capital the Javans represent to have been saved from plunder by the superstitious veneration for the gun níaí stòmi, which the rebels no sooner descried on the alun-alun than they sounded a retreat. The Dutch, in the hope of allaying his displeasure, had given the Susúnan the choice of his officers of state, and prohibited the resident
from taking his seat on the throne with him (an indelicate assumption which had previously given the greatest disgust to the Javans); but after nine years of harassing warfare it was still found impracticable to reduce the rebellious chiefs, or to restore the country to order. The Dutch, therefore, availing himself of the abdication in their favour executed by the deceased Susúnan, listened to the proposals of Mangkubúmi, who offered peace, on condition that one half of Java should be ceded to him. A meeting took place at Gingánti, a village not far distant from Súra-kértá, at which were present the Susúnan, Mangkubúmi, and the governor of the north-east coast of Java, when a treaty was signed.

One of the conditions of this treaty was, that Mangkubúmi should use his utmost exertions to subdue Páku Nagára. In conformity with this condition he immediately proceeded against him; but Páku Nagára making his appearance with his whole force, obliged him to retreat and conceal himself in a cavern, while his troops, flying in every direction, allowed his camp to be burned. Mangkubúmi, however, soon collected his forces again. The Dutch offered a reward for the head of Páku Nagára, who was obliged to proceed to the eastward, being pursued and his whole force finally overthrown. He still refused to submit, and the celebrity of his name and exploits was sufficient to recruit his ranks.

In the year A.D. 1755, Mangkubúmi was solemnly proclaimed by the Dutch Governor, under the title of Sultan Amandkubuana Sénapáti Ingalága Abdul Ráchman Sahédin Panatagáma Kulifatólah.

The united forces of the Susúnan and Sultan now resumed the attack upon Páku Nagára; several of his chiefs were forced to submit, and he himself, after having prolonged the war for upwards of two years, seeing no favourable chance or hope of ultimate success, at last sent his brother to the Susúnan, requesting that certain districts and the southern mountains might be granted to him for his support, promising on that condition to lead a quiet and peaceable life for the future. In reply to this he was informed, that the partition of the lands had already taken place; that part of these lands might, however, be granted, but that it was first necessary he should make his appearance at court. To this he assented; and it
being stipulated that the Susúnan should pay him the com-
pliment of receiving him at the distance of half an hour's
walk from Sura-kértá, he came in, and throwing himself at
the feet of the Susúnan was kindly raised again, desired to
sit on the bench, and assured that he had nothing to appre-
hend.

Peace was then concluded, on the conditions that Páku
Nágára, commonly called Mas Sáyed, should assume the
rank and title of Pangéran Adípáti Mángku Nágára, with an
assignment of land to the extent of four thousand cháchas,
in the districts of Kadwang, Malésa, and the southern moun-
tains.

Thus ended, in the year 1758, a war which had lasted
twelve years, in which the finest provinces of the island were
laid waste, thousands slain on both sides, and the indepen-
dence of the empire finally annihilated. The expenses in-
curred by the Dutch on account of the war, from the year
1746 until the peace, amounted to 4,286,006. 12. 8. florins; 
but, in the result, they acquired, if not the acknowledged so-
vereignty of the whole island, at least an effectual controul
over its future administration.

The Susúnan, on his death, was succeeded, in the Javan
year 1714, by his son, the present Susúnan, under the title of
Susúnan Pakubuána the fourth.

The sultan established his capital a few miles distant from
the ancient capital of Matárem, at Yágya-kértá (Djocjo
Carta) the present residence of his successors. He died,
after a long reign, in the Javan year 1718, and was succeeded
by his eldest surviving son, under the title of Amangkubuána
the second. This prince was deposed by the British govern-
ment in the year 1812, and succeeded by his son, Amangku-
buána the third, who dying, was again succeeded, in 1815,
by his son, a child of nine years of age, the present sultan,
Amangkubuána the fourth.

Pangéran Prang Widóno, still residing at Sára Kértá, is
the grandson of Pangéran Adípáti Mángku Nágára, and con-
tinues to enjoy the independent administration of the lands
assigned to him at the settlement in 1758.

By the final settlement of the country in 1758 the Dutch
reserved to themselves the direct administration of all the pro-
vinces lying on the northern sea-coast, from Chéridon to the eastern extremity of the island of Madúra; but the inland and southern provinces stretching from the islands of Chéridon to Málang, were restored to the native princes, between whom the lands were divided in nearly equal portions by cháchas, according to the population and the peculiar usage of the country, four thousand cháchas from the share of the Susúnan being set apart for Mangku Nagára.

The terms on which the successors of these princes were permitted to exercise the sovereignty, suffered no material alteration until the year 1808, when Marshal Daendels officially declared that the clauses of the existing treaties, by which those princes held their territory in fee from the Dutch, were void, and that in future he should consider them as independent princes, having no other relation to the European government than such as must of necessity exist between a weaker and stronger state in the immediate neighbourhood of each other. At this time the court of Yúgya Kértá, sensible of owing its establishment chiefly to the military success of its founder, and the weakness of the Dutch and the Susúnan, and that it never fully submitted to the terms of the treaty of 1755 (which it is even stated were imposed upon the sovereign by a false translation in the Javan language) evinced a desire of independence and an appearance of internal strength, which called for the immediate interference of the European authority. Marshal Daendels, therefore, marched to Yúgya Kértá with a considerable force, and a negotiation being opened, a treaty was entered into, by which the reigning sultan consented to resign the administration of the country into the hands of his son, who was appointed to exercise the same under the title of regent, and to cede certain provinces.

But the stipulations of this treaty, thus entered into, had not been carried into effect, when in the month of August, 1811, the British forces arrived in Java. The sultan, it is true, had ostensibly resigned the administration to his son, but he still took his usual place on the throne, and not one of the districts ceded by treaty to the Dutch had then been actually transferred.
LINE OF THE
MAHOMEDAN SOVEREIGNS OF JAVA,

Who have ruled subsequently to the Destruction of the Hindu Government of Majapâhit down to the Javan Year 1742, corresponding with the Christian Year 1815.

SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.

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Sovereigns of Demák ......................... 4
of Pajang .................................... 2
of Matárem ................................... 4
of Képta Súra ............................... 4
of Súra Képta ............................... 4

The present Susúnan is consequently the eighteenth in succession from the first Mahomedan sovereign, and not perhaps less than the fortieth from the first Hindu prince. The average reign during the Mahomedan government is nineteen years. Taking the same average for the period of the Hindu government, its origin would be four hundred and eighteen years anterior to the destruction of Majapáhit, A.J. 1400, and may be referred to the close of the tenth century of the Javan era, or the middle of the eleventh century of the Christian era.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS,

Which have occurred in Java (from the Traditions and Records of the Javans.)

1 Arrival of Aji Sáka in Java.
10 The date of (or probable establishment at) Núsa Bárong.
   ...................................... Núsa Tambini.
   ...................................... Bawéan.
The date of (or probable establishment at) The mountain Múria.
The great mountain of Tegat.
The mountain Brómo.
The mountain Semiru.
The mountain Súmbing.
The mountain Hála Hála.
The mountain Láwu.
The mountain Bénkok.
On the southern mountains.
The mountain Wilis.
The mountain Pendam.
The mountain Prawáta.
The mountain Arjúna.
The mountain Ingel.

Building of Chándi Máling.
The introduction of maize or Indian corn into Java.
The date of (or probable establishment at) The mountain Merápi.
The date of (or probable establishment at) The mountain Anyer.

Building of Singa-sári.
Death of Niái Sáka wáti.
Burning of the temples at Gúnung Wédi.
Construction of buildings in the western mountains.

It is related, that in former times the islands of Sumatra, Java, Báli and Sumbáwa, were united, and afterwards separated into nine different parts; and it is also said, that when three thousand rainy seasons have passed away, they will be re-united.

Building of the Chándi Séwá, or thousand temples, at Brambánan.

Date of Telága Páser in Banyumas.
Randu Kuning in ditto.
Separation of the lands of Palémbang and Java.
In the island of Báli.
Appearance of Pulo Mengaré (near Surabáya) above the sea.
Separation of the lands of Báli and Balambángan in Java.
Date of (or probable establishment at) Pagunúnúngun.
1218 Building of the temples at Káli Bening near Brambánan.
1260 Separation of the lands of Giling Trawángan and Báli.
1273 The fall of stones from a mountain.
1280 Separation of the island of Séla Páráng (also called Lumbok or Sasak) from Sumbawa.
1300 Establishment of the court of Pajajúran.
—— Erection of a stone temple at Salatiga.
1308 Construction of the tank at Pengging near Ambarawa.
1352 Date of Telágá Mengémbel.
1860 Building of the temples at Bóro Bódo in Kedú.
1400 Destruction of Majapáhit.
1403 Establishment of the court at Demák.
1419 Establishment of Gegélång.
1421 Establishment of Surabáya.
1429 The fall of Bányu Pindah.
1427 The burning of Pálok by women.
1482 Era of Kaniten.
1483 Era of the Prince of Páti.
1439 Destruction of Pánjer by fire.
1440 Death of Kayubráhit.
1441 Kajóran surrounded.
1443 Death of the three princes.
1448 Conquest of Kediri by Susáman Ingálága.
1449 ——— of Túban.
1450 ——— of Wirosári.
1451 ——— of Gégeláng.
1452 ——— of Mendáng kúngan.
1454 The site of Surabáya changed.
1455 Conquest of Pasúruan.
1462 ——— of Panarákan.
1464 Defeat of the sons of the chiefs of Lamáng'an, Bítar, and Wirasába.
1465 Conquest of Panangángan.
1466 ——— of Pamenáng.
1467 ——— of Sing'ga.
1468 ——— of Balambáng'an and Banyuwángi.
1469 Conquest and burning of Sing'ara, a dependency of Balambáng'an.
1470 Conquest of Jápán.

VOL. II.
1471 Arrival of the prince of Giri, in the district of Kediri.
1494 Foundation of the gardens of Pungkuran at the foot of the mountains.
1473 Destruction by fire of Dahá, and the disappearance of the prince called Prawáta, at that place.
1474 The elevation of another prince.
1475 War of Surowári.
—— Kiái Wirasóma proceeds to Jipang.
1476 The falling down of Banyu píndah.
1478 Conquest of the district of Blóra.
—— ———— of Baléga in Madúra.
1499 Disappearance of the Adipáti of Kediri and his princess, after embracing the Mahomedan religion.
1500 Conquest of Katujan, Wirasába, and Pranarága.
1502 Swords and javelins first made use of.
1503 The establishment of the court at Pájang.
1506 Occurrence of a great earthquake.
1509 First destruction of Pájang.
1510 Destruction of Demá̄k, when the chiefs and people took themselves to their vessels, and put to sea.
1512 Dahá conquered by Senapáti.
1513 The people of Jipang carried into captivity after the battle of Kalidáddung; actions in Panaráwan and Pranarága.
1515 Construction of Kótah Batu Pátah (or White-walled Castle) at Matárem.
1517 Battles of Jatasári, &c. fought by Senapáti.
1521 Death of Panambáhan Senapáti, at Jenar (Matárem).
—— The palace at Kértá being burnt, the seat of government is removed to Púra.
—— The Panambáhan of Chéribon comes to Matárem.
1522 The Adipáti of Pugar, son of the Senapáti, removed to Demá̄k, where he ascended the throne. After remaining there a year, there happened an eclipse of the sun.
1525 Sultan Krápeak surrounds and attacks Demá̄k.
—— While the war was carrying on at Grésik, Sultan Krápeak died at Matárem.
1526 Battle of Kaliránan.
HISTORY OF JAVA.

1582 Death of Adipati Merta Laya.

1586 The people of Mataram attack Malang, under Sultan Kerta.

1540 The election of Panambahan Senapati at Mataram as Sultan.

1541 The age of Singa Pade.

1545 The Madurese war.

1547 A great sickness at Mataram, and the erection of the throne of Mataram.

1552 The war of Pati, and the erection of the Mataram tower.

1553 The first Batavian war.

1555 The measuring of time, and the second Batavian war.

1560 The people of the eastern districts assembled at Mataram to perform required services.

1561 Conquest of Balambangan, and submission of Raden Kumbang.

1562 The Sultan removes to Tumbayat, and a great granary of corn is destroyed by fire at Gading.

1564 The Chéribon war, and the first appearance of the Princé people (Europeans) at the court of Mataram.

1565 The anger of the prince towards the minister of Palém-bang, and the appearance of the Bünjar (Masin) people at the court of Mataram.

1566 The second great sickness appears at Mataram, and the construction of the large gun, called Kial Guántur Agni. An artificial lake made at Pléret.

1568 Death of Sultan Kerta, and succession of his son.

1569 The march of the Mataram people to Bali and Balambangan, and the submission of those people.

1571 The construction of the mosque, and the marriage of the Sultan with the princess Kránon. The Kálang move to the east of the Súlo river.

1572 The establishment of the court at Pléret, and the Su-súnan's desire for maidens. The chiefs of all ranks, the soldiers, the natives of the coast, and the inhabitants of the country, were each ordered to marry two wives.

1573 The appearance of the Chéribon minister with a pre-
sent of an elephant; also that of the minister of Jâmbi (on Sumatra), bringing accounts of the death of the Sultan. The first embassy from the Hollanders arrived at Matárem, bringing a present of four pieces of artillery.

1574 The second embassy from the Hollanders, with various presents.

1575 Great inundation at Matárem, and the appearance of a comet.

1576 The subjection of the Sukadána people (on Borneo).

1577 The subjection of the Siám people, and a present from the Company (the Dutch) of a horse of large size.

1579 The marriage of the Pangéran Adipáti with the daughter of Mángun Jáya.

1580 The Rámpok of an elephant.

1581 Death of Pangéran Purbáya.

1582 The introduction of copper pichis (a small coin).

1584 Death of Ráden Tópa Šána.

1585 Death of the Chērībon prince in Matárem, and the murder of Mērta Nāta.

1586 The appearance of a comet.

1587 The banishment of the Pangéran Adipáti to Lipúra, to convert himself and do penance.

1588 Death of the Rátu.

1592 Order of the Susúnan to Aria Purbáya to kill Wira Mang'gala.

— Explosion of the powder magazine, by which the sentries were killed in a shocking manner.

— The period when Europeans came to Matárem with a present of two horses.

1594 The Susúnan's desire for maidens.

— An uncommon eruption from a volcano, throwing out a great quantity of fire with sand and stones.

1595 The arrival of the Búgis people at Demóng and the march of the Matárem forces joined with those of Manchanagara and the sea-coast.

1596 The return of them, with the separation of Madura, Sumenap, and Grésik from the Matárem obedience. They join the rebel Truna Jaya.

1600 They join together and attack Matárem and destroy it,
the Susúnan leaving the court with the Rátu and family, after having burnt the same; death of the Susúnan at Tegál Wángi, and election of his son Mangkúrat.

1601 Mangkúrat marches over Japára to Kediri, to exterminate the rebel Trúna Jáya, with the assistance of the Company.

1602 Kediri taken and Trúna Jáya surrenders.

1603 Trúna Jáya killed. The Susúnan goes to Pájang and establishes his court at Kerta Súra. Pangérán Púgar rebels against him, but is defeated and flies to Baglen.

1604 Insurrection of the rebel Raju Nárúnád at Salingo, and the destruction of the kráton by fire. The subjection of Pangérán Púgar to the Susúnan.

1605 The arrival of ambassadors from Johór and Palèmbang at Kértá Súra with a present of an elephant.

1606 Marriage of the Susúnan with a princess of Gíri.

1607 Age of Wáña Kasúma.

1608 Circumcision of the Pangérán Adipáti, and preparations made for a great chase at Kértá Súra.

1609 Death of Captain Tak and other Europeans, and the rebellion of the eastern people, who join Surápáti. Several personal combats on the Paseban to divert the Susúnan.

1612 The deplorable state of the court of Kértá Súra.

1613 Fire in the mosque at Kértá Súra.

1614 Excursion of the Susúnan to Manchingan.

1610 March of the Balambángan people coming from the south across Kediri, where they assassinate men and women.

1620 The Balambángan people march to Pasúruan, but are attacked at Pachátan and repulsed, with a loss of one thousand men.

— The court at Kértá Súra surrounded with a wall of stone.

1621 The conquest of Pranarága.

1622 Death of Ráden Súkra and the illness of the Susúnan.

1623 Kamagetan attacked by the people of Bálí.
1624 Personal combat between the Javans Téka and Jandia, who were both killed.

1625 March of the Susúnan to Matárem, and embassy sent by the Susúnan to Mecca, in order to obtain the rank of Haji.

1626 Death of Susúnan Mangkúrat.

1628 His son succeeds, and Raden Súria Karsúma usurps the rank and title. The latter is defeated by the people of Kérita Súra and taken prisoner. Pangéran Púgar is arrested, and afterwards released. Being offended he proceeds to Semárang.

1630 The people of the western sea-coast conquer Kérita Súra and expel the Susúnan from his dâlam, who goes to the east, where he joins Surapáti with a thousand followers.

1630 Arrival of the Europeans at Kérita Súra, who upon finding it deserted, appointed Pangéran Púgar as Susúnan.

1631 The court of the exiled Susúnan held at Kediri.

1633 Pangéran Purbáya marches against the exiled Susúnan and conquers him. Surapáti is killed. He marches with the Admiral towards Pasúruan, where he is again victorious. The exiled Susúnan delivers himself up to the Admiral, who sends him to Surabáya, from whence he is sent with his Rátu and minister, Jaeng Rána, to Batavia.

1634 Appointment of Jáya Puspita as Adipáti of Surabáya.

1635 Appointment of Tumúng'gung Chákra Jáya as minister, who is sent to Batavia in the following year.

1637 Journey of the Susúnan to Matárem.

1641 Journey of the Susúnan to Gáding.

1642 First expedition of the Commodore to Surabáya. Conquest of Surabáya, in which the Admiral, Van der Lee, is killed. Appointment of Brinkman as Admiral.

1643 Death of the Susúnan Pakubuána the first, and the succession of his eldest son.

1644 Rebellion of Pangéran Blitar in Matárem, and the expedition of Admiral Brinkman against him, wherein the Admiral gained a complete victory.
1645 Flight of Pangéran Blitar to Kamagétan. His death, and the transport of his body to Kértta Súra.
1648 Arrest of Pangéran Purbáya Aría, Dípa Nagára, and Surapáti, who were all sent to Batavia, from whence Pangéran Aría was afterwards recalled.
1651 Embassy of Tumány’gung Níti Nágara to Batavia, and the death of Pangéran Purbáya.
1652 Journey of the Kiái Adipáti to Semárang, to pay the debt of the Susúnan to the Company.
1653 Arrest of Pangéran Aría Mángku Nagára, and his being delivered up to the Company.
1655 Death of Pangéran Mángkubúmi, and the arrival of the Commodore at Kértta Súra.
1656 The Kiái Adipáti dispatched to Semárang.
1657 An eruption from a volcanic mountain which emitted flame for three days.
1658 The Kiái Adipáti sent to Semárang, where he is arrested in the Dutch fort. Arrival of the Commodore at Kértta Súra.
1659 Raden Adipáti Nata Kasúma sent to Batavia.
1662 The Raden Adipáti sent to Batavia, and arrival of the Commodore at Kértta Súra.
1664 Journey of the Susúnan to Matárem.
1667 Conquest of Kértta Súra.
1668 Conquest of Prándu Láwang.
1670 Removal of the court of Súra Kértta to Sólo, which place is since called Súra Kértta Diníngrat.
1671 Arrival of General Imhoff at Súra Kértta.
1675 Death of Súsunan Pakubúana the second, and the time when Pangéran Aría Mangkubúmi proclaimed himself Susúnan.
1676 Battle of Mangkubúmi at Jenar. Conquest of Pakálongan by him.
1682 Interview between the Susúnan and Pangéran Mangkubúmi. Peace established. The lands divided, and the Pangéran made Sultan of Yúgya Kértta Adíningrat.
1685 Rebellion of Pangéran Aría Mánku Nagára at Súra Kértta. The Susúnan occupies his new palace.
1686 Arrival of Pangéran Juru at Sura Kétra, and flight of Pangéran Anom.
1690 The Susúnan assists in the erection of the triumphal pillars of the mosque.
1692 The dâlam is surrounded by a stone wall.
ACCOUNT
OF
THE SEVERAL PRINCIPAL DIVISIONS
OF
JAVA AND MADURA.

In several parts of this work, and in particular when treating of agriculture and revenue, reference has been made to the changes introduced by the British government in the internal management of the country, and to the information of a statistical nature which was collected with regard to its resources.

It may not be uninteresting to the reader to possess, in a compressed form, the result of the surveys and inquiries which were then set on foot, as far as the same were completed at the close of the British administration on Java. The Appendix L. contains a copy of the proclamation and of the general instructions issued by the government; the latter will sufficiently explain the principle on which the tables for the eastern districts were compiled.

BANTAM.

Bantam, once rich in its pepper plantations and the emporium of the Archipelago, had, in consequence of the restrictions of the Dutch company and the vicinity of Batavia, lost all its trade and importance, long before the arrival of the British.

The succession of the throne of Bantam was generally disposed of by the influence of the Dutch government: but the administration of the country and the collection of the port duties were till very lately entirely entrusted to him. This European influence, though strongly resisted in the first instance, had been long acquiesced in, till an attempt of the Dutch government, in the year 1808, to draw additional benefit from this province, gave occasion to an insurrection. The successive measures of introducing the cultivation of coffee into that part of the island, of opening the communication by means of new roads, and of constructing a new harbour, first
at Mew Bay, and afterwards at Merak Bay, imposed new and unusual burthens on the people; and so many deserted from the public works that an order was issued to the Resident, requiring him to inform the sultan that his first minister should be held responsible for the due execution of the public task assigned to the sultan's subjects. The desertion still continuing, an order still more peremptory was issued to the Resident, requiring him to call upon the sultan to deliver up his first minister immediately. In carrying these orders into execution, the Resident having imprudently risked his person, was murdered. This fatal accident was the occasion of sending a considerable military force to Bantam, by which an immediate and thorough change in the native government was effected. The reigning sultan was removed from the throne and banished to Amboina, and a relative was raised to the sovereign power.

This prince was placed under regulations dictated by the Dutch; for so fallen had the sovereigns of this once flourishing and powerful kingdom now become, that the form and solemnity of a treaty was not deemed necessary. The sultan ceded part of his territories to the westward, adjacent to the environs of Batavia, the bad administration of which had frequently given occasion to disturbances in the Batavian districts. The new sultan was allowed to administer the rest of his dominions under the superior rule of the Dutch government.

The public works to be carried on in Bantam, and the unusual burthens they imposed on the people, continued however to excite, from time to time, disturbances and insurrections. On one occasion a detachment, consisting of a lieutenant and eighteen dragoons, were surprised and murdered by the inhabitants. Several native Pangbrans and chiefs fell victims to the same spirit of discontent and revenge, and another change in the person of the sultan was thought advisable; the new sultan was in consequence allured on board a vessel, and conveyed to Batavia, and in his place another chief was installed sultan of the high lands of Bantam, the Dutch reserving to themselves the direct administration of the low lands.

The country, however, remaining still in a disturbed state,
the Pangnan Akmet united under his banner the discontented people of all descriptions, in a more regular opposition to the European authority. From this time an extraordinary military force was constantly kept in Bantam: all attempts, however, to arrest the person of Akmet failed. His influence increased so much that proposals were made to him of a cession of part of the country: these, however, not being listened to, it was determined to abandon the interior to his depredations, until the inhabitants themselves, wearied of his arbitrary proceedings, might seek refuge with the European government.

The Dutch force being withdrawn from Bantam, Akmet availed himself of the presence of the British cruisers, during the blockade in 1811, to strengthen his influence by an intercourse with them, which he easily effected by furnishing them with supplies plundered by him from the inhabitants. By the cruisers he was considered as an unfortunate prince, maintaining his independence against the Dutch; and when the British troops landed, the sultan was his prisoner, and all Bantam under his controul.

At the conquest of Java by the British forces the extensive tracts of this fertile province were thus in the hands of a lawless rebel, the inhabitants were in a state of revolt, and universal anarchy and distrust had prevailed for several years. All idea of raising a revenue on account of government had been abandoned; and the general settlement of the country under European controul, was the most that could be hoped for.

In the year 1813 the sultan voluntarily resigned the administration of the country into the hands of the British government, in consideration of an annual pension of ten thousand Spanish dollars. With the detailed system of land revenue introduced into this province, an accurate survey was made of all the northern divisions; and a settlement having been made with each individual cultivator, the extent of population stated in the annexed table, as far as these districts are concerned, may be considered as in general correct. The population of the southern districts is estimated; and it may be observed, that the total population rather exceeds than falls short of what is stated.
### GENERAL ACCOUNT of the POPULATION of BANTAM.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Number of principal villages</th>
<th>Number of Houses</th>
<th>Householders</th>
<th>Married Women</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Total Population in each District</th>
<th>Number of Buffaloes</th>
<th>Ploughs</th>
<th>Separate Lease for 1815</th>
<th>Quantity of Land</th>
<th>Computed Total Population</th>
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**ESTIMATED POPULATION of the SOUTHERN DISTRICTS..........................**

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<td>Sajira</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kosik</td>
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**Total Population**

**231604**
BATAVIA.

Of the splendour and magnificence which procured for this capital the title of the Queen of the East, little is now to be found. Streets have been pulled down, canals half filled up, forts demolished, and palaces levelled with the dust. The statd-house, where the supreme court of justice and magistracy still assemble, remains; merchants transact their business in the town during the day, and its warehouses still contain the richest productions of the island, but few Europeans of respectability sleep within its limits.

The following table comprizes all fixed residents within the city and its immediate suburbs, to the distance of about two miles. The municipal regulations of this part of the island having been continued in force, and the execution of them, for the most part, delegated to Dutch authorities, it is to be apprehended that the return of the population now given may be found deficient in accuracy. A poll-tax being levied on the Chinese, and other town duties rendering it the interest of the parties to withhold information as to the exact numbers, it is also probable that the total amount considerably exceeds that now given: certainly it does not fall short of it.

Account of the Population of the City of Batavia and its Suburbs.

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>737</td>
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<tr>
<td>Descendants of Europeans born in the Colony</td>
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<td>779</td>
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<td>318</td>
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<td>1,549</td>
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<td>1,663</td>
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<td>111</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Timorese and Butanese</td>
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<td>Peránkans or half-cast Chinese</td>
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<td>Chinese</td>
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<td>4,275</td>
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<td>Slaves</td>
<td>7,001</td>
<td>7,238</td>
<td>14,239</td>
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<td><strong>Grand Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>47,217</strong></td>
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</table>
ENVIRONS OF BATAVIA.

The lands comprehended under the denomination of the Batavian environs (Ommelanden), originally formed the principal part of the Jakatra dominions. The native chiefs were early deprived of the administration by the cautious policy of the Dutch, and the lands subsequently sold in property to Europeans and others. According to an official valuation in 1813, the amount of property in houses and lands, belonging to individuals, in the city of Batavia and its environs, including the private estates near Buitenzorg, exceeded eleven millions of rix-dollars silver, and the taxes were levied on that estimate. Various systems of government had been attempted in this district before the arrival of the British in 1811, but so inefficacious were they, that it was considered unsafe for Europeans to travel without arms. As a measure of police, a portion of this division, formerly comprized within the Ommelanden, was recently annexed to the regency of Buitenzorg, and formed into a separate administration. For the population of these two divisions, as they now stand, see General Table, Vol. I, page 62, Table II.

BATAVIAN OR PRIANGEN REGENCIES.

Each of these regencies was administered by a native chief, immediately dependent on government, and without any power beyond his district. The chiefs, however, were mostly allied by frequent intermarriages, and traced their descent from different chieftains of the ancient empire of Pajáran. Separated, on the one hand, from the dominions of the Susinan and sultan by the country of Chéribon, and on the other from Bantam by the Batavian environs, their power never became formidable to the European government. The coffee monopoly in the Western Districts having been maintained on its former principle during the period of the British administration, the inhabitants of these districts were precluded from feeling the effects of the system introduced into the more eastern districts; but as it was in contemplation,
eventually, to render the change general throughout the island, preparatory measures were taken, and a survey of these districts being made, the annexed statistical table was framed. The produce stated in the table is estimated according to the native returns; these districts likewise furnish an annual quantity of about seventy-five thousand hundred-weight of coffee for the European market.
## GENERAL ACCOUNT of the POPULATION and CULTIVATION of the PRIANGEN REGENCIES, including KRAWANG and INDRAMAYU.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of the Regencies and Divisions</th>
<th>Number of Villages</th>
<th>Cultivators</th>
<th>Not Cultivators</th>
<th>General Population</th>
<th>Buffaloes</th>
<th>Horses</th>
<th>Ploughs</th>
<th>First Sort.</th>
<th>Second Sort.</th>
<th>Third Sort.</th>
<th>Coffee Ground.</th>
<th>Total Produce</th>
<th>Value of Total Produce</th>
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**Totals**: 3519 3518 55769 53766 48977 7705 7927 3019 8451 543106 47971 3534 8115 107245 5777 17226 18279 1794 8889 40849 84977 783 110 80849 1071258 326956 1401 72150
CHERIBON.

CHERIBON.

Chéribon fell under the European influence in the year 1666, and has now been subject to it one hundred and fifty years. It was among the first cessions made to the Dutch by the princes of Matárem.

This province had, like Bantam, been in a state of continued insurrection for many years preceding the arrival of the English. The importance of the town of Chéribon has considerably declined, partly in consequence of these commotions, and partly of epidemic fevers which prevailed some years ago.

The extensive and fertile province of Chéribon did not, under the administration of the Dutch Company, yield those profits which were expected from its great natural resources; especially of indigo, coffee, and teak timber. The Sultans of Chéribon, descended from one of the founders of the Mahomedan religion on Java, and on that account objects of religious veneration among the more orthodox Mahomedans, were always left in the entire management of the native administration. The coffee and other produce exacted from the people, was delivered by the Sultan, and paid for to him. Under this system, the residents of Chéribon enjoyed an annual income of from eighty to one hundred thousand dollars (£23,000), while the Sultans were every year more and more impoverished. At length an insurrection broke out in 1800, the ostensible reason of which was the unjust removal of Sultan Kanóman, who had been banished by the Dutch to Amboina, and the real cause probably the great oppression of the common inhabitants, occasioned by the distress of the Sultans, and the indiscriminate admission of too many Chinese in the interior of the country. The reinstallation of Sultan Kanóman, in 1808, by Marshal Daendals, did not appease the minds of the people; and the unwillingness or inability of that prince to restore the public tranquillity, led to an entirely new organization of the country.

When the island was conquered by the British troops, the rebel, Bágus Rángen, still maintained himself in the eastern parts of Kráwang, in perfect defiance of the power of govern-
ment, sternly rejecting the offers of pardon and oblivion which were on that occasion offered to him, and eluding or defeating all attempts to destroy or ensnare him. Such was the veneration in which this man was regarded by the people of these districts, and such the dread in which he was held by the native chiefs (through whose means alone his apprehension was to be accomplished), that he remained in perfect quiet and security, maintained a correspondence with the disaffected throughout the province, secured his regular supplies of ammunition and provisions from all parts, and even from the town of Chéribon, and tranquilly prepared for the ensuing rainy season, to appear again in arms and ravage the country.

In a few months after the establishment of a British resident in the district, the person of Bágus Rángen was secured, and the country reduced to a perfect state of tranquillity, in which it remained during the whole period of the British administration.

The following extracts from the report of the gentleman* intrusted with the introduction of the land revenue system into Chéribon, may serve to illustrate the state of this province:

"There is, perhaps, with the exception of the environs of Batavia and Bantam, no part of the island of Java which has so severely felt the bad effects of mismanagement as the district of Chéribon. These effects are visible in the character of the people, who, even among the Javans, are remarkable for a careless indifference to the pursuit of gain, for indolence, for want of energy, and for a credulity and ignorance, rendering them perpetually a prey to delusion. Within the last forty years, in particular, a series of mismanagement and oppression is said to have wrought a most unfavourable change in the character of the people, to have destroyed the habits of industry, and consequently to have changed even the aspect of the country, so that it is no longer to be recognized as the fruitful district which it is once represented to have been. Within the last seven years, famine, mortality, and civil commotion, have contributed to aggravate the evils of mismanagement, and in one or other form have desolated some of the finest parts of the district.

* Mr. Crawfurd.
"The history of the civil commotions alluded to afford a striking illustration of the character of the inhabitants. It certainly gives no countenance to the representation of those observers who ascribe to the Javans in general a character of the most invincible apathy, stupidity, and indolence, as if these qualities had been irrevocably engrafted upon their very natures. A better knowledge of their real character enables us to draw very different inferences, and to ascribe to them a much larger share of sensibility, than could from reasoning be expected to result from the apparently overwhelming causes which contribute to degrade their faculties and blunt their energies and exertions.

It is an instructive fact, highly worthy of remark, that the successive commotions and insurrections which have for many years disturbed the peace of Chéribon, have uniformly had their origin in the Javan districts, where the rights of private property in the soil were almost entirely overlooked, that they have only occasionally extended from the Javan to the Sunda districts, and have never reached the Priang'en lands, where property in the soil is fully acknowledged and respected.

The taxes which fell upon agriculture were so various, and at the same time assumed such a variety of shapes, that it is impracticable to state in a word the actual portion which by law or custom fell to the share of the sovereign.

The most material, however, are comprehended in the following catalogue, to which are added, others falling equally upon agricultural industry, though not constituting a direct source of revenue to government:

1. The contingent, called in the language of the country, gántang. This is usually estimated at fifteen parts in one hundred of the rice crop; but it was, in truth, arbitrarily assessed, according to a rough conjecture of the capability of the country. In such of the Priang'en lands as continued to be directly administered by their own native chiefs, the amount paid to the latter was determined with some accuracy to be one tenth of the gross produce, embracing, as in the first case, the rice crop only.

2. A poll tax, or rather a tax on families, called by the natives of this part of the country, pagalántang. Part was
"levied on account of government, and part on account of
the chiefs.

"3. Market duties or tolls. These were literally levied on
every article vended in the markets, embracing as well the
whole produce of their agriculture, as that of their petty arts
and manufactures.

"4. A tax on the slaughter of buffaloes, necessarily affect-
ing the price of food, and discouraging the rearing of an
animal indispensable to a successful prosecution of the la-
bours of agriculture.

"5. The charge of lodging and feeding travellers, and
transporting troops, baggage, and stores of all descriptions.
This is termed in the native language, sūguh, or the rites
of hospitality.

"6. The obligation to construct and repair bridges, roads,
and public buildings, throughout the country.

"7. The obligation to cultivate and deliver, at inadequate
rates, certain foreign productions, which the actual condi-
tion of the country, the habits of the people, and still less
their interests, could never have prompted them to under-
take, if permitted freely to pursue their own interest. Coffee
was the chief of these products.

"8. In speaking of the taxes which fall upon the husband-
man and the land, the Zakat must not be forgotten. This is
nominally a tithe, or tenth. The payment is indeed op-
tional, but from religious motives seldom withheld. Every
tenth sheaf of the rice crop is allotted to religious purposes,
but every man measures its size according to his own piety.
Its amount was of course very variable, but almost always
materially smaller, and generally indeed not half the size,
of the ordinary sheaf. This practice gives rise to a well
known distinction between the ordinary sheaf and that al-
lotted for the clergy, when the grain is brought to market."

The table annexed was framed on the introduction of the
detailed system; but it not being practicable, on account of
the extent of the province, for the European officer to visit
every part of the district, many of the particulars are stated
upon estimate; particularly the quantity of cultivated land
and amount of produce, which, it is to be apprehended, are
rather over-rated. The return, however, of the population
may be considered more accurate.
### General Account of the Cultivation

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<th>Divisions</th>
<th>Sawah</th>
<th>Value of Sawah</th>
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<td>- Junga</td>
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<td>Raja Galu</td>
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<td>Forest Districts</td>
<td>156 Junga</td>
<td>600 Junga</td>
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<td>Total</td>
<td>2770 Junga</td>
<td>4074 Junga</td>
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<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
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<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Attached to the Cultivation of the Soil</th>
<th>Employed in other Occupations</th>
<th>Total Number of Horses</th>
<th>Total Number of Poultry</th>
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*Note: The values listed are likely indicative of a count or measurement related to the population or economic activities.*

*Digitized by Google*
### AND POPULATION OF CHERIBON, 1815.

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### CHINESE.

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</table>
EASTERN DISTRICTS.

The Dutch, in acquiring these extensive and valuable provinces on the sea coast, were considered to have acquired the same right as had previously been enjoyed by the native sovereigns, and deemed it advisable to continue the long-established principles and forms of native government. In the same manner, therefore, as the emperors of Java were looked upon as the ultimate proprietors of the land in their dominions, the Dutch Company were considered as possessing the same right with respect to the provinces under their immediate administration; and the princes of Java having been in the habit of entrusting the government, police, and revenue of the different provinces to inferior chiefs, the same system was adhered to under the Dutch. The native system of drawing again the revenues of government from these inferior chiefs, by means of contributions in kind, in money, and by occasional fees and presents, was also maintained; a portion of the common class of inhabitants under the native government being assigned to the performance of different sorts of public works, transports for government, the repair of the roads, the construction of public buildings, the guarding of public stores, the loading and unloading of government vessels, the cutting of grass, the cutting of fire-wood, the keeping a police guard, and other offices, the same principle was adopted under the management of the Dutch, and as under the native form of administration a reward for these feudal services was granted, by the use of an assignment of rice fields allotted either to individuals or to certain classes of workmen, but withdrawn from them as soon as the public duty ceased to be performed, the same mode of remuneration was also adopted by the Dutch.

These principles of administration being combined with the mercantile interests of the Dutch Company, gave rise to certain contracts, which the native chiefs of the different districts (termed by the Dutch Regents) were compelled to enter into on their appointment, for the annual delivery to the Company, either without payment, which was called a contingent, or for a price far below that of the market, which
was termed a *forced delivery at a fixed price*, of such quantity of rice, pepper, cotton, indigo, and other articles, as the market and present state of trade and commerce made most desirable; while the planting of coffee and the cutting of teak timber was always considered as a feudal service, for which, besides the use of a certain portion of rice fields, allotted to the individuals or villagers employed, a certain payment was made, about equivalent to the expenses of transportation to the government yards or storehouses.

The administration of the Eastern Districts, including Madura, was vested in a *governor and council for the north-east coast of Java*. The governor was, at the same time, director of the Company's trade, and resided at Semarang. Subordinate to this government was that called Gezaghebeer and council, established at Surabaya, the chief place of the east point of Java; while in the other principal districts along the coast, as at Tegal Pekalongan, Japura, Jawana, &c. residents were fixed: no direct correspondence from the eastern part of the island was maintained with the government of Batavia, except by the governor, usually termed the governor of Java, or by the governor and council. Even the residents at the native courts of Sura Kerta and Yugya Kerta, only communicated with government through him. By him the succession to the throne of the Susunan and of the sultan was generally determined; the appointments of native chiefs and regents were made on his proposal; the Company's farms and duties for the Eastern Districts were sold by him; and though he had literally no salary whatever from the treasury of government, he was supposed to draw from his situation a yearly revenue of between three and four hundred thousand dollars. At the same time the correspondence with the Eastern Districts was neither very regular nor very expeditious, and the management of the Company's affairs in those districts was as much a mystery to the chief government at Batavia, as the governor of Semarang chose to make it.

This system continued, without any essential alteration, until after the arrival of Marshal Daendals in 1808.

Some of the contingents, such as indigo, cotton yarn, pepper, &c. to which, however, the regents had not without
great reluctance submitted for many years, were then indeed partially abolished; but, on the other hand, all the peculations of the Dutch servants residing along the coast, who had for their own private emolument raised the deliveries, chiefly of rice, at some places to double, and at others to more than double the quantity legally assessed on the regents, at the same time paying for them at some places two-thirds, and at others only half the price assigned by the government, were at once transferred and confirmed to government, by a single decree, ordering, without previous inquiry or reserve, that all the produce which had been usually delivered to the respective residents along the coast, under whatever denomination, should, in the same quantities and with their surplus weight, be for the future delivered to government, and that no higher prices should be granted for the same than that which the residents used to pay.

Equally inconsistent and oppressive in its consequences was a measure by which, on the one hand, the wages of private labour and services were raised to an unusual price, while on the other, the public works, the public transports, and the plantations of coffee, were carried on either gratuitously or at the former inadequate rate. This regulation raised the price of all the first necessaries of life, and principally of rice, which the common classes of the inhabitants felt as a heavier grievance than any they had ever experienced from the former system. Till then, the colonial administration had always, as far as was consistent with their own monopoly and forced delivery of produce at fixed rates, taken particular care to keep down the price of rice and salt as much as possible.

But a measure, still more pernicious in its consequences, was that by which the native regents were each of them subjected to a contribution in hard cash, while at the same time the power of levying taxes on the inhabitants of these districts was left in their hands; a system which, in all cases, afforded them a pretext, and in many an apology, for the most vexatious oppression.

The commendation which is due to this administration is rather founded on those arrangements which had a tendency to prevent peculations in the inferior European servants in
every department, and on the abolition of the subordinate governments of Semarang and Surabaya. Fixed salaries were allowed to the residents; they were prohibited from keeping private vessels, and from all trade in the products of their districts. The sale of the government farms and duties was made public, and in a great measure free from corruption, by which means they were immediately raised to more than three times the former amount: each branch of public expenditure and receipt was fixed and ascertained; new and practicable roads were established; the appointment of every native, from the first rank as low as a Demáng, was reserved to the government alone; the Javan custom of pawning the person for a small sum of money was prohibited; fees and presents were abolished. By such measures, a much more regular, active, pure, and efficient administration was established on Java than ever existed at any former period of the Dutch Company.
JAVA.

The following tables are abstracted from the detailed reports furnished during the course of the survey made by the British government. In some particulars they may be deficient and inaccurate, as sufficient time had not been given to complete the detailed survey of the country directed by the Revenue Instructions; but the general results may, for the most part, be depended upon.
## General Account of the Cultivation and Population of Tegal

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General Account of the Cultivation and Population of Tegal—Continued.

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REMARKS.

Average Value of a Jung of Cultivated Land, Java Rupees 79.
### GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE CULTIVATION

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### POPULATION

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AND POPULATION OF PAKALONGAN, 1815.

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Cultivation and Population of Semarang.—continued.

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**Totals**
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**REMARKS.**—Average Value of a Jung of cultivated Land...7 Bup. 46½.
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- Land in use in Villages
- Capable of being cultivated
- Unfit Land
- Jungle Land
- Land not in use in Villages
- Estimated Produce (in Rupees)
- Estimated Value of Produce (in Rupees)
- Total estimated Value (in Rupees)
Cultivation and Population of Kedu—continued.

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Note: The values in the table represent the number of houses, household members, families, and the average value of a Jung of cultivated land for different divisions and provinces.
### GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE CULTIVATION AND POPULATION OF JIPANG AND GROBOGANG, 1815.

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## General Account of the Cultivation and Population of Jipang and Grobogan, 1815—continued.

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### GENERAL REMARKS.

Under the head of "Government Lands," is given the extent of the ground attached to the house in which the Tumang'ang or chief of the district formerly lived, the *alam alam*, or what is commonly termed the *paséhas*, likewise the extent of the public road. Most part of the land inserted under the head of "Jungle Land" is capable of being converted into *smewak* and *tegal* lands, and the reason for such land not being found in a state of cultivation, the soil being in general very rich, is the want of population.

#### REMARKS.

Average Value of the produce of a Jung of cultivated Land, Java Rupees 11, 24 stivers.
## GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE CULTIVATION

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### GENERAL

The best sawah of Japara yields from twenty-six to twenty-one amats of pari per jung; but be to each jung more than sixteen, which this calculation is made on. The tegals are calculated.

The best sawahs of Kudus produces from thirty-one to twenty-five amats per jung at the first year. The cultivators in this district, generally speaking, plant their lands with other cultivation, this division being lands of a very inferior quality, and situated high, it has been found that amats per jung.

The division of Pati is much larger than the others, and the best sawah produces from a quantity of land which produces but little, and the sixth fourteen amats per jung throughout.

The division of Jawana has a great quantity of sawah, and the last may be rated at twenty-six to thirty-two amats per jung. The river of Jawana, it is not calculated to produce more than seventeen amats of pari in two rupees, which is the price at the time of harvest through. This statement comprehends all assignments to native chiefs and village officers, and the average value of the produce of a jung of cultivated land, thirty-one Rupees.
AND POPULATION OF JAPARA, AND JAWANA, 1816.

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REMARKS.

There being a quantity of sawah of a very poor soil, it has been found, that the average will not at ten amats per jung.

Crop, and should the farmer sow his seed early, it will produce a second crop in the course of the after procuring a crop of pari, such as jogon, kateo, kapas, and the indigo plant. The third of the average does not exceed more than twenty amats per jung. The tegals are also rated at ten thirty to twenty amats per jung, and in some few places yields a second crop; but in conse-

of the crops being often destroyed by the wild hogs, the average cannot be rated higher than eight to thirty amats per jung; but a small part of this being poor, and also being subject to com-
as much as amats per jung throughout.

The out the Residency.

From the actual measurement of the sawahs and tegals.
### GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE CULTIVATION

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|     | District of Sidaya |
|     |                    |
| 1   | Tambangan          | 14031           | 7217  | 6804    | 2843                                   | 208                         | 3810              | 79             | 1585                          | 13952       |
| 2   | Kudokan            | 16327           | 7863  | 6364    | 2341                                   | 1116                        | 4116              | 194            | 1887                          | 16133       |
| 3   | Prijak             | 12646           | 6335  | 6311    | 2340                                   | 434                         | 2866              | 136            | 1421                          | 12533       |

|     | **Total**          |
|     | **115442**         |

|     | District of Lamongan |
|     |                     |
| 1   | Tengahan            | 10430           | 5323  | 5107    | 2090                                   | 14                          | 2456              | 308            | 3567                          | 10332       |
| 2   | Gunung Kendang      | 8434            | 4344  | 4090    | 1856                                   | 2068                        | 1357              | 50             | 2637                          | 6905        |
| 3   | Bengawan Jeru       | 6905            | 3340  | 3365    | 1300                                   | 14                          | 2014              | 1106           | 18707                         |             |

|     | **Total**          |
|     | **115442**         |
| CHINESE AND OTHER FOREIGNERS. |  
|-------------------------------|---|
| amacıyla, other employed in  |  
| Class of Cultivators.        |  
| Females.                     |  
| Males.                       |  
| TOTAL Chinese, &c.           |  
| Number of Plough.            |  
| Number of Horses.            |  
| Bundloues.                   |  
| Remarks—Average Value of a Jung of cultivated Land... 42 Java Rupees. |  

**JAVANS.**

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**STATEMENT OF THE POPULATION OF THE TOWN OF SURABAYA.**

| Number of Horses | Number of Horses | Number of Horses | Number of Horses | Number of Horses | Number of Horses | Number of Horses | Number of Horses | Number of Horses | Number of Horses | Number of Horses | Number of Horses | Number of Horses | Number of Horses |
|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| 132              | 6379             | 1745             | 2830             | 5938             | 6941             | 771              | 540              | 3019             | 3070             | 94776            |                  |                  |                  |                  |

**Remarks:**
- Average Value of the produce of a Jung Land, 44 Rupees.
# GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE CULTIVATION

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| Total Javanas. | 61729 | 30401 | 31321 | 13380 | 9155 | 14325 | 2746 | 6426 |
| Class of Cultivators. | 500 | 127 | 343 | 371 | 9 | 78 | 169 | 202 |
| Employed in other Avocations. | 197 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |

| Total Javanas. | 107752 | 53635 | 54077 | 29045 | 9283 | 26785 | 7887 | 11828 |
| Class of Cultivators. | 1000 | 14 | 520 | 512 | 558 | 84 | 19 | - |

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**Total** | 104390 | 50583 | 53807 | 38289 | 20364 | 57765 | 4663 | 18609 | 109290 | 49797 |

### GENERAL

In the district of Probolinggo the population is but scanty, when compared to the extent of land; people are procured from a neighbouring country to work it; in the divisions adjoining the Besuki. Besuki.—This district is indifferently watered, and has very little land fit for culture, that is, the land is not the same; the population of this district is extremely scanty. Bandawasa, including Pugan, is a very extensive district but scarcely inhabited; the soil is the same; the population is not very extensive. Lamajang, an extensive district on the South Coast; the land is very well watered, level, and present; but could it be increased, Lamajang would be a very productive district.
AND POPULATION OF BESUKI, 1815.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JAVANS</th>
<th>CHINESE and other FOREIGNERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
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REMARKS.

The country is, in general, well watered, and there is abundance of land fit for cultivation, could district there are very extensive teak forests, which run inland.

Not now under cultivation; the population is more numerous for its size than any of the adjoining holders, that the population would be induced to emigrate to the neighboring districts of less watered; and towards that adjoining the Banyuwanzi district, there is scarce a small rivulet to extremely wet and productive, and with a greater population would be one of the finest districts in and extremely well adapted to the purpose of cultivation, but the population is very scanty at
### GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE CULTIVATION

<table>
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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Names of Divisions</th>
<th>Number of Villages</th>
<th>Land in Villages</th>
<th>Land not included in Villages</th>
<th>Cultivated Land</th>
<th>Sacra.</th>
<th>Tangal.</th>
<th>Free Land</th>
<th>Coffee Grounds</th>
<th>Tank Forests</th>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>456 0</td>
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<td>733 1</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Names of Divisions</th>
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<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Attached to Cultivation of Land</th>
<th>Employed in other Avocations</th>
<th>Number of Buffaloes</th>
<th>Number of Horses</th>
<th>Number of Plooga</th>
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### AND POPULATION of BANYUWANGI, 1815.

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### CHINESE and other FOREIGNERS.

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**REMARKS.—Average Value of a Jung of cultivated Land, 70 J. Rupees.**
M A D U R A.

This island having been ceded to the Dutch, in the same manner as the other possessions on Java, the Sultan of Madura and the chiefs of Pamakasan and Sumenap were always considered by them in nearly the same light as the other regents along the coast, with the exception only of a higher title and some more personal consideration granted especially to the Sultan of Bankalan, usually styled the Sultan of Madura, both on account of his birth and of some important services rendered in the war of Java, from 1740 to 1748.
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<th>Sumpang</th>
<th>Parmaikan</th>
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**Jungs of Land**

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**Trees**

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**General Account of the Cultivation and Population of Bangkalan.**
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</tr>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
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</table>

**Names of Divisions:**

- **MADURA:**
  - Bangaliam: 447
  - Balliga: 68
  - Sampang: 86
  - Total: 529

- **PARMAKARAN**
  - Total: 961

**Note:** The table contains population data for different divisions, sexes, and age groups.
GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE CULTIVATION AND POPULATION OF SUMENAP.

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<th>GEBANG TREES.</th>
<th>Lontar or Sewánian Trees.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Riau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gita Gading</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gita Eyung</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kangar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NATIVE PROVINCES.

This extensive portion of the island was divided, agreeably to the settlement of 1754, between the Susuhánan and Sultan. It consists of a number of separate provinces or districts. Those still belonging to the Susúnan are:

In an Eastern Direction from the Capital:
1. Sríngat and Blitar (forming one province).
2. Kediri.
3. Pranarága.
4. Pacht.
5. Charúban.
7. Jagarágá.

And the smaller Districts of
1. Anju.
2. Lorog.
3. Pangol.
4. Sumbren.
5. Rongkòk.

In the Western Direction from the Capital:
1. Banyumas.
2. Dayu Lákur.
3. Aya.
5. Pamarden.
6. Pasir.

Besides several smaller districts.

The ground on which the fort of Sura Kértá is built, with a small part of the adjoining territory, has been ceded to the European government, as has been also that portion of the immediate site of the forts of Boyaláti and Klaten, which was formerly the property of the Susúnan. These dominions are divided among,

1. The eight active Tumúng'gungs, or Regents, (the first of which is the Raden Adepáti, or prime minister), who constantly resides at court.
2. The Tumúng'gungs residing in the distant or Mancha Nagára districts.
3. The princes of the blood.
4. The particular favourites of the Susúnan.
5. (Which only respects the smaller territories) a number of Demangs and Mantris.

A considerable portion of the provinces of Matárem and the adjoining districts, towards the southern part of the island, called by the Javans Ardi Kidul, or southern hills, of the province of Kadiuwang and of the district of Sukawáti containing altogether four thousand cháchas, having been ceded by the predecessors of the present Susúnan, under the settlement of 1752, to the prince Mangku Nagóra, are still held and exclusively enjoyed by his successors, the Pangérang Aria Prábo Prang Wedóna.

The eight active Tumung'gungs, who reside constantly at court, and belong to the state and household of the Susúnan, are Tumung'gungs of the exterior (Tumung'gung Jawi), and Tumung'gungs of the interior (Tumung'gung lebat). The four former are mostly charged with external commissions or orders, or those that do not immediately concern the household of the prince; the four latter, or internal Tumung'gungs, are mostly occupied near the person of the Susúnan, and have alternately the care of the watch of the Kráton at night.

The following tables exhibit the result of a census taken during the British government in Java; but as the information they convey rests principally upon native authority, the same reliance cannot be placed upon them as upon the tables for the provinces under the immediate direction of the European government. There is no reason, however, to believe they are essentially wrong, as they were framed with great care and every attention to accuracy, on the part of the native officers employed.
### Population of the Territory of the Susuhunan, 1815.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Banyumas</td>
<td>48206</td>
<td>50140</td>
<td>39264</td>
<td>3933</td>
<td>176847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mancha-nagara, Eastern or distant districts</td>
<td>21013</td>
<td>24926</td>
<td>24054</td>
<td>24432</td>
<td>98416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pajang Mataram, Baglen, Jaban Ranka, Sukawati, and Southern Hills</td>
<td>106999</td>
<td>111743</td>
<td>132420</td>
<td>138544</td>
<td>489406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjects of Prangwedono in the last mentioned districts</td>
<td>26764</td>
<td>28347</td>
<td>22117</td>
<td>24625</td>
<td>101853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the capital (Emperor's subjects)</td>
<td>26834</td>
<td>29446</td>
<td>18111</td>
<td>20687</td>
<td>95079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto (Prangwedono's subjects)</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>2036</td>
<td>1711</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>7693</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto (Europeans and descendants)</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto (Chinese and descendants)</td>
<td>586</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>1545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto (Slaves and descendants)</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>233400</td>
<td>247228</td>
<td>239086</td>
<td>253904</td>
<td>972727</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Population of the Territory of the Sultan, 1815

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of the Districts or Divisions of the Sultan’s Territories</th>
<th>Married Men</th>
<th>Married Women</th>
<th>Unmarried Men</th>
<th>Unmarried Women</th>
<th>Young Men about 15 years of age unmarried</th>
<th>Young Women about 16 years of age unmarried</th>
<th>Boys under 16 years of age</th>
<th>Girls under 16 years of age</th>
<th>Male Children at the breast</th>
<th>Female Children at the breast</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yugyakuta</td>
<td>8697</td>
<td>9065</td>
<td>1596</td>
<td>2252</td>
<td>2592</td>
<td>3255</td>
<td>3225</td>
<td>3599</td>
<td>1531</td>
<td>1528</td>
<td>37339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matarem</td>
<td>28834</td>
<td>28935</td>
<td>5998</td>
<td>6985</td>
<td>5897</td>
<td>6695</td>
<td>19875</td>
<td>18966</td>
<td>9832</td>
<td>8708</td>
<td>140735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pajang</td>
<td>19382</td>
<td>19486</td>
<td>2635</td>
<td>2910</td>
<td>3237</td>
<td>4401</td>
<td>4281</td>
<td>5202</td>
<td>2297</td>
<td>2699</td>
<td>66530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sima, Gagatan, and Sukawati</td>
<td>9974</td>
<td>9974</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>1232</td>
<td>1748</td>
<td>1739</td>
<td>6310</td>
<td>6718</td>
<td>2028</td>
<td>2558</td>
<td>42647</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Hills</td>
<td>2359</td>
<td>2447</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>769</td>
<td>628</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>1431</td>
<td>569</td>
<td>596</td>
<td>10229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romo and Baglen</td>
<td>28624</td>
<td>28681</td>
<td>1787</td>
<td>3691</td>
<td>6097</td>
<td>7560</td>
<td>15273</td>
<td>20330</td>
<td>4340</td>
<td>5831</td>
<td>122914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ledok and Gowong</td>
<td>25792</td>
<td>25447</td>
<td>1893</td>
<td>4060</td>
<td>3600</td>
<td>3685</td>
<td>11614</td>
<td>8533</td>
<td>4660</td>
<td>5142</td>
<td>94426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lurung Teng’a</td>
<td>7365</td>
<td>7365</td>
<td>785</td>
<td>1076</td>
<td>1360</td>
<td>1412</td>
<td>4523</td>
<td>3537</td>
<td>1729</td>
<td>1718</td>
<td>30870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mancha-nagara (Eastern or distant districts)</td>
<td>24862</td>
<td>25161</td>
<td>2423</td>
<td>4655</td>
<td>6050</td>
<td>6046</td>
<td>15706</td>
<td>20390</td>
<td>4491</td>
<td>4258</td>
<td>114042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>155889</strong></td>
<td><strong>156561</strong></td>
<td><strong>17908</strong></td>
<td><strong>27344</strong></td>
<td><strong>31350</strong></td>
<td><strong>36421</strong></td>
<td><strong>81324</strong></td>
<td><strong>88706</strong></td>
<td><strong>31477</strong></td>
<td><strong>33038</strong></td>
<td><strong>660018</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chinese, &c. .................................. 1309

**Total** .................................. 660327
RETURN of the POPULATION of the DISTRICT of PACHITAN, on the South Coast, ceded to the BRITISH GOVERNMENT in 1813.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIVISIONS</th>
<th>Men.</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Boys.</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Division</td>
<td>1656</td>
<td>1673</td>
<td>1439</td>
<td>1306</td>
<td>6074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Division</td>
<td>4194</td>
<td>4275</td>
<td>5260</td>
<td>2935</td>
<td>16604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>22678</strong></td>
<td><strong>22678</strong></td>
<td><strong>22678</strong></td>
<td><strong>22678</strong></td>
<td><strong>22678</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDICES.
APPENDIX.

APPENDIX, A.

The annexed documents, as far as they can be relied on, afford evidence of an extent of mortality in Batavia, as compared with the number of inhabitants, that was perhaps never exampled, for the same space of time, in any other quarter of the world.

The Table No. I., incomplete as it is, was drawn out with as much exactness as the original lists and registers still in possession would admit of. In explanation of some inconsistencies which are exhibited in it, it is necessary to observe, that on the occasion of the capture of this island, part of the most valuable papers were lost or destroyed, and amongst them the register in which was stated the Chinese population, and the number of their deaths and marriages annually, which is the reason why no mention is made of them in this table.

The first and third columns contain only the numbers of European inhabitants.

The last column, which shews the deaths of the Natives and Slaves, is probably a list of the deceased slaves only; because there was a separate list kept of the natives who died annually in the Batavian jurisdiction, which, however, was for a long time incorrect, and at last destroyed in 1811.

It is also probable, that the column of deaths generally does not extend farther than in the town and immediate suburbs; and the other two columns of baptisms and marriages extend over the town, suburbs, and environs together.

The specific lists kept in the different hospitals were likewise lost. This is to be particularly lamented, because they would have shewn how many of the European deaths were inhabitants, military persons, strangers, or sailors or marines from the ships of the different nations in Batavia Roads, who all sent their sick men into the hospitals of Batavia, who, when dead, were comprehended in the number of European deaths. This circumstance explains the incorrectness which appears to exist in the two statements of the living and deceased Europeans.

The Table No. II. was discovered among the records of the Dutch government at Batavia, and in the absence of a more official document, may, perhaps, on that account, be entitled to some confidence.
APPENDIX.

TABLE, No. I.

List of the Population, Marriages, Baptisms, and Deaths, in the Town and Suburbs of Batavia, from 1700 to 1813, as far as the same could be ascertained from the Registers, &c. after the Conquest of Java in 1811.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Within the Walls</td>
<td>In the Suburbs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700</td>
<td>1,675</td>
<td>20,072</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>32,478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1701</td>
<td>1,715</td>
<td>19,084</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>48,972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1702</td>
<td>1,756</td>
<td>19,883</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>45,452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1703</td>
<td>1,836</td>
<td>18,580</td>
<td>534</td>
<td>47,123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1704</td>
<td>1,899</td>
<td>22,150</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>49,351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1705</td>
<td>1,771</td>
<td>19,762</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1706</td>
<td>1,923</td>
<td>21,899</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>49,483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1707</td>
<td>1,826</td>
<td>21,632</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>47,026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1708</td>
<td>1,769</td>
<td>20,622</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>54,628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1709</td>
<td>1,681</td>
<td>20,600</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>55,581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1710</td>
<td>1,716</td>
<td>20,560</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>58,761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1711</td>
<td>1,723</td>
<td>21,617</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>57,843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1712</td>
<td>1,656</td>
<td>21,638</td>
<td>448</td>
<td>65,865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1713</td>
<td>1,566</td>
<td>19,007</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>69,110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1714</td>
<td>1,644</td>
<td>19,758</td>
<td>553</td>
<td>66,092</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1715</td>
<td>1,663</td>
<td>22,242</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>64,667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1716</td>
<td>1,516</td>
<td>18,947</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>60,296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1717</td>
<td>1,443</td>
<td>18,966</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>59,831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1718</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>19,411</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>68,082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1719</td>
<td>1,610</td>
<td>21,156</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>67,792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1720</td>
<td>1,477</td>
<td>20,520</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>67,044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1721</td>
<td>695</td>
<td>11,252</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>67,339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1722</td>
<td>1,606</td>
<td>23,716</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>66,079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1723</td>
<td>1,562</td>
<td>23,428</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>62,966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1724</td>
<td>1,615</td>
<td>23,752</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>72,218</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>In the Vicinity and Environs.</th>
<th>In the Reformed Churches, and since 1746, in the Lutheran Church.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1726</td>
<td>2,452 22,814 304 76,893 58 118 616 994 487</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1727</td>
<td>2,452 22,814 304 76,893 58 118 616 994 487</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1728</td>
<td>2,452 22,814 304 76,893 58 118 616 994 487</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1729</td>
<td>2,452 22,814 304 76,893 58 118 616 994 487</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1730</td>
<td>2,452 22,814 304 76,893 58 118 616 994 487</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1731</td>
<td>2,452 22,814 304 76,893 58 118 616 994 487</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1732</td>
<td>2,452 22,814 304 76,893 58 118 616 994 487</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1733</td>
<td>2,452 22,814 304 76,893 58 118 616 994 487</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1734</td>
<td>2,452 22,814 304 76,893 58 118 616 994 487</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1735</td>
<td>2,452 22,814 304 76,893 58 118 616 994 487</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1736</td>
<td>2,452 22,814 304 76,893 58 118 616 994 487</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* It appears, that subsequent to this year, no general list was kept, a list only of the number of children christened in the reformed churches being found among the registers.
### APPENDIX.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POPULATION.</th>
<th>MARRIAGES.</th>
<th>BAPTISMS.</th>
<th>DEATHS.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Within the Walls and immediate Suburbs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1737</td>
<td>1,317</td>
<td>19,612</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1738</td>
<td>1,350</td>
<td>13,213</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1739</td>
<td>1,296</td>
<td>18,502</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1740</td>
<td>1,420</td>
<td>14,141</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1741</td>
<td>1,388</td>
<td>13,977</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1742</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1743</td>
<td>1,481</td>
<td>14,609</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1744</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1745</td>
<td>1,617</td>
<td>14,926</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1746</td>
<td>1,697</td>
<td>13,662</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1747</td>
<td>1,624</td>
<td>13,864</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1748</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1749</td>
<td>1,541</td>
<td>14,600</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750</td>
<td>1,520</td>
<td>14,278</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1751</td>
<td>1,439</td>
<td>13,674</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Within the Town and all the Suburbs.

| 1752 | 1,513 | 14,596 | 311 | 75,152 | 135 | 600 | 1,858 | 562 |
| 1753 | 1,568 | 15,710 | 326 | 76,611 | 132 | 467 | 1,789 | 1,642 |
| 1754 | 1,575 | 15,891 | 358 | 93,375 | 136 | 563 | 1,729 | 617 |

| 1755 | 1,599 | 16,466 | 390 | 95,938 | 146 | 424 | 2,532 | 630 |
| 1756 | 1,604 | 15,925 | 310 | 96,792 | 143 | 410 | 1,729 | 647 |
| 1757 | 1,629 | 16,356 | 373 | 103,443 | 137 | 465 | 1,557 | 561 |
| 1758 | 1,560 | 16,855 | 447 | 106,151 | 128 | 468 | 1,781 | 656 |
| 1759 | 1,572 | 16,943 | 377 | 111,273 | 97 | 437 | 1,451 | 636 |
| 1760 | 1,634 | 16,765 | 410 | 109,393 | 124 | 450 | 1,403 | 664 |
| 1761 | 1,490 | 16,298 | 305 | 113,289 | 376 | 471 | 1,110 | 880 |
| 1762 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 1763 | 1,507 | 16,282 | 447 | 113,009 | 112 | 436 | 2,001 | 1,134 |
| 1764 | — | 16,008 | 413 | 117,207 | 131 | 297 | 1,607 | 585 |
| 1765 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 1766 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 1767 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 1768 | 1,642 | 15,256 | 273 | 106,507 | 93 | 329 | 1,933 | 537 |
| 1769 | 1,271 | 15,430 | 389 | 114,760 | 124 | 368 | 1,669 | 667 |
| 1770 | 1,183 | 13,192 | 328 | 123,869 | 128 | 392 | 2,671 | 2,672 |
| 1771 | 1,105 | 12,233 | 300 | 121,380 | 93 | 245 | 2,425 | 622 |
| 1772 | 1,011 | 12,743 | 348 | 112,346 | 108 | 301 | 2,437 | 2,256 |
| 1773 | 1,061 | 13,473 | 342 | 107,500 | 98 | 284 | 2,029 | 534 |
| 1774 | 933 | 12,134 | 367 | 108,215 | 97 | 280 | 2,452 | 866 |
| 1775 | 1,165 | 13,512 | 328 | 125,636 | 214 | 307 | 2,997 | 3,007 |
| 1776 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 1777 | 896 | 10,661 | 279 | 140,332 | 98 | 277 | 1,594 | 2,031 |
| 1778 | 1,137 | 12,206 | 238 | 135,532 | 104 | 253 | 1,804 | 2,131 |
| 1779 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 1780 | 747 | 13,681 | 278 | 129,943 | 113 | 259 | 1,418 | 1,435 |
| 1781 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |

* Since this year no specific list to be found.
# APPENDIX.

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<td>282</td>
<td>119,297</td>
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<td>8,121</td>
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## TABLE, No. II.

**List of Deceased and Buried in the several Burial Places at Batavia, from the Year 1730, till the Month of August, 1752.**

[Translated from a Document discovered among the Records of the Dutch Government at Batavia.]

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<tr>
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<td>November 3,965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>December 3,739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1731 48,450</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3,862</td>
<td>January 3,699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>3,889</td>
<td>February 3,706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>4,268</td>
<td>March 3,827</td>
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<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>4,404</td>
<td>April 3,833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>4,597</td>
<td>May 3,711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>June 3,788</td>
<td>July 4,480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>August 4,537</td>
<td>September 4,916</td>
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<td></td>
<td>October 4,512</td>
<td>November 4,413</td>
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<td>December 4,430</td>
<td>49,810</td>
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APPENDIX.

1744.

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1746.

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The unhealthiness of the climate of Batavia is connected, in the minds of many, with the fabulous properties of the poison tree of Java, and many are so ignorant of the island as to consider the climate of Batavia as a fair example of that of Java in general. History attests that this city has been highly pernicious to the health both of Europeans and Natives, almost from its foundation, and recent experience concurs with the testimony of history. The mines of America, when they were first discovered, did not more strongly allure the Spaniards, nor urged them to sacrifice more relentlessly the lives of the unsparing natives to their burning thirst of gold, than the monopoly of Java and the Spice Islands led the Dutch Company, in the track of wealth, through danger, injustice and oppression. Though the unhealthiness of Batavia was at all times known and formidable, there were times when the mortality became extraor-

1747.

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1748.

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>4,864</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1749.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>4,870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>4,452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>4,332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>4,506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>4,425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>4,589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>4,656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>4,174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>4,398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>4,684</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>4,537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>4,893</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1750.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>4,546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>4,352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>4,417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>4,619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>5,227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
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<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>5,277</td>
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<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>5,134</td>
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<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>4,872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>4,580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>4,626</td>
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<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>4,508</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1751.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Month</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>4,543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>4,128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>4,163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>4,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>3,967</td>
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<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>4,967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>6,904</td>
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<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>5,666</td>
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<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>5,699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>5,344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>4,612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>4,533</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1752.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Numb. of deceased</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>3,923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>3,941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>4,272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>4,116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>4,468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>4,385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>4,369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>4,514</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During twenty-two years and eight months, the total number of deaths, 57,130.

Grand Total...1,119,375.
APPENDIX.

Binary and alarming. Although not prone to any speculation, except that of merchants, or to any inquiry, except for a new market or a more lucrative channel of trade, the Company's Government in India was sometimes forced to institute inquiries into the cause of this insalubrity, and to speculate about the possibility and the means of removing it. Passing by other occasions, there exists on the records of the High Regency a reply to queries about the unhealthiness of Batavia, dated the 14th of October 1753. This paper states that between 1732 and 1738, the greatest number of casualties happened. It assigns, as a great cause of the insalubrity complained of, the situation of the town in a bay, confined on the west and east by projecting points of land, and inclosed in front by a cluster of small islands. The space between the town and the sea is chiefly mud, left by the retreating of the sea: a swamp surrounds the town. The mouths of the rivers are generally covered with underwood and a species of tree peculiar to swamps. The vegetation of these low grounds, it is added, cannot but retain impurities of the most noxious kind. The space which is formed at the mouths of the rivers Taing'ram Ang'ki is an entire swamp, covered with shrubs which emit exhalations of an impure nature: these are interspersed with the burying grounds of the natives, and the effluvia of these places is felt at some distance. It was believed that the earthquake of 1699, by forcing mud from under the earth and blocking up the mouths of the rivers more than formerly, contributed to increase the previously existing unhealthiness. The lime kilns in the neighbourhood, the close plantations of trees that prevent a free circulation of air, the stagnation of the rivers from the bars of mud or sand which obstruct their outcourse into the sea, the kind of water which the inhabitants are compelled to drink, the narrowness of their houses, and the dirt and filth accumulated in the numerous canals that intersect the town, have all their due share of pernicious efficiency assigned them in this report. The buildings, it is said, are admirably adapted to keep out the fresh air, and to retain that which is putrid or noxious. To remedy the evils felt, a new construction of houses is recommended, and a frequent pruning or entire extirpation of the trees.

The fever, which excited this inquiry, commenced in 1733 and lasted till 1738, and, during its continuance, two thousand of the Company's servants and free Christians annually died. In 1739 its violence abated; but it broke out again in 1744, and continued with little diminution or variation to the date of the report in 1753.

Without stopping to inquire whether it would be easier to remove disease from Batavia, or the inhabitants of Batavia from disease, I shall take the liberty of quoting an extract from a report on the climate of some parts of Java, drawn up by Mr. Robertson, the late Superintending Surgeon, which appears to me to afford a satisfactory account of the causes of the insalubrity of the capital. After giving a statement of the mortality that prevailed in an Indianman, a part of the crew of which landed at Batavia, he thus proceeds.

"Such is the melancholy instance of the noxious climate of Batavia,
which came within my own observation. That it was not epidemic is
clearly evinced, from its not extending its influence to those who attended
the sick, nor to the rest of the crew, all of whom escaped its attack and
remained healthy. Among the Dutch who remain in the town, fevers
are, I understand, very prevalent at all seasons, notwithstanding their
being, in a manner, inured to the climate, and most of them have a
sallow sickly appearance. It is not uncommon, in riding through the
streets, to meet three or four funerals daily.

The Chinese, however, who are very numerous, suffer more than any
class of the people; perhaps, from the worse situations of their houses,
the manner in which these are crowded, the closeness of their apart-
ments, and their gross manner of living. The number of casualties
among them, I am told, is incredible, especially during the dry season;
and if one may judge from the extent of their burial ground, and the
number of their tumuli, it cannot admit of a doubt. The preceding
facts are, I conclude, sufficient to establish the truth of the noxious
character the climate of Batavia has so long obtained, and I shall now
proceed to the causes which have been often investigated, and seem well
ascertained, though the knowledge of them has led to little exertion for
their removal.

The baneful effects of marsh miasmata on the human system is well
known, engendering intermittent and remittent fevers, dysenteries, and
visceral obstructions. Batavia, built almost in a swamp, surrounded by
marshes in all directions, trees and jungles, which prevent the exhala-
tions being carried off by a free circulation of air, is peculiarly obnoxious
from this cause. Opposite the mouth of the river, and extending
a great way to the westward, is a mud-bank, which, in many parts at
low water, is uncovered by the sea, and is daily accumulating from the
quantities of mud and animal and vegetable matter carried down by the
river during its reflux. Again the sea, often at spring tides, overflows
the adjacent country, and, on its receding, leaves the soil covered with
slime and mud, which, exposed to the action of the sun, soon suffers
decomposition, and impregnates the atmosphere with its noxious ex-
halations, which are carried by the sea breeze over Batavia, where the
trees and jungles surrounding the houses prevent their being dissipated.
During the heat of the day these exhalations are more diffused and
comparatively innoxious, but when the sun withdraws its influence they
become more condensed, and amalgamating with the descending even-
ing dews form a morbid atmosphere around the houses of the inhabi-
tants. This hypothesis will readily account for a fact well known, that
people whose commercial concerns require their presence in Batavia
during the day, and who retire during the night into the country, escape
this endemic, while scarcely any who sleep in the town, even for a
night, unless those who, by a long residence, are inured to it, escape.
In the ingenious and sensible work formerly alluded to (Mr. Johnson's),
I find this hypothesis so clearly and perspicuously expounded, that I
must take the liberty of quoting it.
APPENDIX.

"... The cause why the stench emitted by marshes and vegetable matter in a state of decomposition is more perceptible immediately after sunset, is not that the vapours are disengaged in greater quantities then than during the day, but the marshes retain their heat for some time after the sun's rays are withdrawn, and consequently continue to emit vapours through the atmosphere, as during the high temperature of the day by the sun. They therefore meet the descending dews, condensing and forming a thick fog, which hovers over the swamps, accompanied by a noxious and disagreeable odour. The miasmata exhaled during the day, in all probability, descend with the dews of the evening, which, meeting and combining with those that continue to be disengaged from their source, must form a concentration highly capable of affecting the constitution. Marsh effluvia become at a certain distance from their source innoxious. Dr. Hunter observes, 'a few feet in height gives a comparative security in the same buildings.' This will be accounted for by the supposition, that as the miasmata exhaled during the day descend in the evenings, they become more and more concentrated, till meeting the exhalations from the still reeking marshes, a dense stratum of highly impregnated atmosphere is found contiguous to the surface of the earth: hence the salubrity of sleeping in upper apartments. This leads to another practicable inference of considerable importance, that when necessity compels exposure to these marshes, we should select that point of time least likely to meet those miasmata, whether ascending or descending. This period seems to extend from three to six in the afternoon: that is, after the greatest heat of the earth and air, and consequently the greatest evaporation, and before the condensation and return of such exhalations as rose during the day, and which combine with those still issuing from the heated soil for some time after sunset.'

"A second, and, I think, an equally powerful cause, is the stagnant water of the canals, which, in all directions, intersect the city. In the first place, they are filled with filth of every description; there is scarcely at times any perceptible current in them to carry off that filth; and lastly, the sluices are frequently kept shut, for the purpose of swelling the waters above them to irrigate the fields, while those below, which intersect the town, become almost dry, leaving an extensive surface of mud, and every kind of putrid matter, to be acted upon by the sun, raising the most pestilential vapours, with which, as before observed, the atmosphere gets thoroughly impregnated.

"As a third cause, the state of the houses may be considered, and the mode of living of the Dutch. Houses that are untenanted are seldom opened, and thus collect much filth and foul, damp, pernicious vapours. Those that are inhabited are generally shut up in the day time, most of them being glazed, thus preventing a free circulation of air; and in the lower story of most of the houses, the walls are covered some feet from

* Mr. Robertson's observation and experience led him to give it a greater latitude, from eight or nine in the morning till twelve, and from three to six in the afternoon.
APPENDIX.

"the ground with a greenish coat, and on entering the apartments a
stranger experiences a kind of chilly feel, and a damp raw kind of
smell. Although it cannot be enumerated among the causes, yet I
cannot help thinking the Dutch mode of medical practice, in as far as
it is inefficient to counteract the diseases of this climate, must tend to
increase the number of fatal terminations.

"The Dutch practitioners, little in the habit of theorizing, continue
the same practice in every form of disease, and they are particularly pre-
judiced against the use of mercury, opium, and other powerful medi-
cines, in consequence relying solely on the most simple and inert re-
medies. Some few of them, of more enlarged understanding, adopt the
English mode, and seem sensible of its superior efficacy.

"A fourth, and, I am convinced, a very general cause, especially of the
diarrhoeas and dysenteries, which seldom fail to attack new comers, is
the water. This most essential article is taken either from the canals
or wells, and it is equally bad when passed through a filtering stone.

"It retains a brackish, hard, unpleasant taste, and if allowed to remain
some time in vessels without previous boiling, generates small animal-
cule. Such, I conceive, are the most probable and principal causes of
the insalubrity of Batavia; though there are, I doubt not, others con-
tributing, which elude observation. It is generally received, though I
think an erroneous opinion, that the rainy season is the most un-
healthy. The most unhealthy appears to me to be that immediately
after the cessation of the rains; and the older and more experienced
Dutch residents have observed, that in years when there has been a
long continued drought, disease has been more than usually prevalent,
and they look forward with anxiety for the accession of the rains, as the
means of resisting its baneful dissemination.

"Weltvreden, at a distance of not more than three miles, being less
exposed to these causes, excepting the water, is exempt, in a great
measure, from its prevailing endemic fever; though diarrhoeas are com-
mon, especially among those newly arriving, but they are seldom of a
serious or alarming nature.

"Among the troops stationed at Weltvreden and Cornelis, diseases
are not more frequent than in the healthiest parts of India which I have
visited; though for some months since the Bái expedition, the casual-
ties in the 78th regiment have been numerous. At Chemangis, about
twenty-two miles from Batavia inland, a battalion of Sepoys is stationed,
where, from the returns I have received, it appears they enjoy com-
paratively good health, and have very few casualties, though a much
larger quantity of rain falls than in the vicinity of Weltvreden. It is
on an elevated commanding situation, and open and clear of jungle for
a considerable extent around."

In support of the opinion which has been given of the general salu-
brity of the climate of Java, the abstract returns of sick, &c. among the
troops serving on Java and its dependencies, for the last two years, are
annexed, together with a statement of casualties, in His Majesty's 78th
regiment, while serving on the continent of India and in Java.
APPENDIX.

GENERAL ABSTRACT of the MONTHLY RETURN of SICK on the Island of JAVA and its Dependencies, from 1st November, 1813, to 30th October, 1814.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>No. of Troops</th>
<th>European</th>
<th>Native</th>
<th>Remaining on the 1st</th>
<th>Discharged</th>
<th>Fever</th>
<th>Syphilis</th>
<th>Other Diseases</th>
<th>Total Disease</th>
<th>Fever</th>
<th>Flux</th>
<th>Syphilis and Gonorrhoea</th>
<th>Other Diseases</th>
<th>Unera</th>
<th>Other Diseases</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Proportion of Sick</th>
<th>Proportion of Deaths to Cures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nov.</td>
<td>2,265</td>
<td>5,196</td>
<td>938</td>
<td>977</td>
<td>961</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>1 to 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec.</td>
<td>2,307</td>
<td>4,963</td>
<td>908</td>
<td>908</td>
<td>974</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>1 to 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan.</td>
<td>2,066</td>
<td>5,386</td>
<td>955</td>
<td>955</td>
<td>893</td>
<td>661</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>8 to 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb.</td>
<td>1,233</td>
<td>4,965</td>
<td>677</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>677</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>9 to 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar.</td>
<td>2,154</td>
<td>5,845</td>
<td>744</td>
<td>733</td>
<td>836</td>
<td>619</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>11 to 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr.</td>
<td>1,818</td>
<td>4,969</td>
<td>682</td>
<td>682</td>
<td>606</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>10 to 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May.</td>
<td>1,761</td>
<td>6,509</td>
<td>848</td>
<td>876</td>
<td>805</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>801</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>9 to 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>1,877</td>
<td>5,790</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>934</td>
<td>820</td>
<td>1130</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>9 to 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>1,682</td>
<td>3,583</td>
<td>1,089</td>
<td>890</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>947</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>7 to 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug.</td>
<td>1,560</td>
<td>5,735</td>
<td>947</td>
<td>945</td>
<td>775</td>
<td>2117</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>6 to 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept.</td>
<td>2,200</td>
<td>5,903</td>
<td>1,157</td>
<td>915</td>
<td>916</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>7 to 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct.</td>
<td>2,538</td>
<td>5,561</td>
<td>1,076</td>
<td>876</td>
<td>1,018</td>
<td>924</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>8 to 12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GENERAL MONTHLY AVERAGE of SICK and CASUALTIES on the Island of JAVA and its Dependencies, from 1st November, 1813, to 31st October, 1814.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average of the Strength of Corps and Detachments</th>
<th>Average of Sick</th>
<th>Average of Cures</th>
<th>Average of Deaths</th>
<th>Average Proportion of Sick to Well</th>
<th>Average Proportion of Deaths to Cures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7,470</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>633</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1 to 8:66</td>
<td>1 to 9:80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MONTHLY AVERAGE of FATAL DISEASES, from 1st November, 1813, to 31st October, 1814.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deaths during the Year</th>
<th>Fevera</th>
<th>Flux</th>
<th>Other Diseases</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>514</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>514</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Monthly Average...... 9$\frac{1}{5}$ 25$\frac{5}{12}$ 8$\frac{1}{4}$ 48$\frac{10}{12}$
APPENDIX.

GENERAL ABSTRACT of the MONTHLY RETURNS of SICK on the ISLAND of JAVA and its Dependencies, from 1st November, 1814, to 31st December, 1815, inclusive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1814</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov.</td>
<td>2,680</td>
<td>2,406</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>794</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>743</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>185</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>9 to 9 3/4</td>
<td>1 to 90 3/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec.</td>
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<td>2,506</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>727</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>929</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 3/4</td>
<td>1 to 71</td>
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<td>2,106</td>
<td>2,232</td>
<td>684</td>
<td>823</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>11 4/5</td>
<td>1 to 24 3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb.</td>
<td>2,611</td>
<td>2,932</td>
<td>714</td>
<td>601</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>11 2/3</td>
<td>1 to 33 3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar.</td>
<td>2,172</td>
<td>5,700</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>642</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>448</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>12 3/4</td>
<td>1 to 57 3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr.</td>
<td>2,560</td>
<td>5,481</td>
<td>692</td>
<td>706</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>13 1/3</td>
<td>1 to 54 3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>2,062</td>
<td>5,069</td>
<td>558</td>
<td>782</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>14 3/4</td>
<td>1 to 46 3/4</td>
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<td>5,669</td>
<td>691</td>
<td>689</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>15 1/2</td>
<td>1 to 31 3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>1,449</td>
<td>5,287</td>
<td>609</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>78</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>16 3/4</td>
<td>1 to 48 3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug.</td>
<td>1,530</td>
<td>4,886</td>
<td>584</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>17 1/4</td>
<td>1 to 36 3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept.</td>
<td>1,354</td>
<td>4,955</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>101</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>18 1/4</td>
<td>1 to 56 3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct.</td>
<td>1,296</td>
<td>4,770</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>19 1/4</td>
<td>1 to 29 1/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov.</td>
<td>881</td>
<td>4,604</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>407</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>20 1/2</td>
<td>1 to 32 3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec.</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>3,170</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>21 1/4</td>
<td>1 to 34 3/4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B.—The monthly returns from Macassar for November and December, and of the 5th Volunteer Battalion Javan Corps, and of a Detachment of H.M. 78th for December, had not been received when this table was framed.

GENERAL MONTHLY AVERAGE of SICK and CASUALTIES on the ISLAND of JAVA and its Dependencies, from 1st November, 1814, to 31st October, 1815, inclusive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average of the Strength of Corps and Detachments.</th>
<th>Average of Sick.</th>
<th>Average of Cures.</th>
<th>Average of Deaths.</th>
<th>Average Proportion of Sick to Well.</th>
<th>Average Proportion of Deaths to Cures.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7,407</td>
<td>690</td>
<td>626</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1 to 11 17/18</td>
<td>1 to 29 18/18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX

State of His Majesty's 1st Battalion 72nd Regiment, showing the Effective Strength and Number died (including those died of Wounds) killed in Action, &c. Half-yearly, from 16th February, 1797, five days after the Regiment's landing in India, to 26th December, 1816.

Serondole, 13th March, 1816.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head Quarters of the Regiment and Dates.</th>
<th>Effective Strength on the under-men-</th>
<th>Casualties.</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>PERIODS.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dec.</td>
<td></td>
<td>dead,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>killed,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&amp;c. &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1,537 81 1,618

Of Six Companies at Serondole, died from 26th December, 1815, to 15th March, 1816...... 1
Of One ditto...... Solo...... ditto...... ditto...... 2... ditto...... 2... ditto...... 15th ditto...... 6
Of Three ditto...... Weltevreden, ditto...... ditto...... ditto...... ditto...... 6

Of the above six died at Weltevreden, one died in consequence of a fall.

Total.................. 9

* Five days after our arrival in India.
APPENDIX.

NOTE by N. CURRIB, Esq. Surgeon of His Majesty's 78th Regiment, on the foregoing Table.

When the 78th regiment first arrived at Java, the men had been long confined on board ship, living on salt provisions, and were afterwards exposed, not only to the fatigues and privations incident to actual warfare, but also to the inclemency of the weather in a tropical climate. All these causes produced a tendency to disease, and when the regiment arrived at Surabáya the quarters were bad; and being in the middle of the town, free access could at all times be had to spirituous liquors. The number of diseases and of casualties was consequently great; but it diminished gradually, as the men were successively accommodated with good barracks at De Noyo. The whole were comfortably lodged in plastered barracks in March or April, 1813, and in May and the following month a very sensible reduction of deaths took place, as may be seen by the abstracts of those months. During the preceding months of January, February, March, and April, the deaths were numerous, but the greater proportion was among the men of a detachment of about two hundred men that joined in January, and continued to be very sickly during those four months. Almost all the men of this detachment had, when attacked, violent diseases.

A very remarkable instance of the bad effects of exposure to night air while asleep, occurred when part of the regiment was sent, in September, 1814, from Weltevreeden to Chemangis, where the barracks were built of wattled bamboo, and the men lying with their heads to the walls, received the current of air directly in their heads. Fifty were seized with a highly inflammatory fever in the course of three days. Delirium was always the first symptom in every case, and it was necessary to bleed several of them largely before they could be sent to the hospital. By referring to the returns it will be seen that almost every increase of sickness happened after a change of quarters, as in the detachment above-mentioned, and after the removal of the regiment from Surabáya to Ung'aran and Siędol in October, 1813, after the expedition to Bali at Weltevreeden in June, 1814, and to Chemangis in September 1814. An increase of sickness always took place after the use of spirituous liquors on particular holidays, as Christmas, &c.; and on the contrary, the good effects of not exposing the men to morning dews or wet, and of regularity in diet, may be seen in the healthiness of the regiment after the men got settled in good barracks at Surabáya and Weltevreeden.

Java need no longer be held up as the grave of Europeans, for except in the immediate neighbourhood of salt marshes and forests, as in the city of Batavia, and two or three other places on the north coast, it may be safely affirmed that no tropical climate is superior to it in salubrity. By its insular situation, the temperature of the atmosphere is low and equable, and from its lofty mountains it possesses this great advantage, that in a few hours' travelling a climate of any degree of cold may be found.
APPENDIX B.

JAPAN TRADE.

The empire of Japan has, for a long period, adopted and carried with effect all the exclusive maxims of Chinese policy, with a degree of rigour unknown even in China itself. Previously to the expulsion of the Portuguese and the extirpation of Christianity in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the Japanese trade was reckoned by far the most advantageous which could be pursued in the East, and very much superior to either the Indian or Chinese trade. After the expulsion of the Portuguese, a very extensive trade was for some permitted to be carried on by the Dutch, on account of the benefits which the Japanese imagined themselves to have received from that nation during the Portuguese war, and especially the detection of a formidable conspiracy of some of the Japanese princes to dethrone the emperor, the correspondence relative to which was intercepted at sea. It was for these services that the Dutch originally procured the imperial edict, by which they were permitted to trade to Japan, to the exclusion of all other European nations. This public act of their ancestors, the Japanese have repeatedly declared that they will not cancel; but they have done every thing but formally cancel it, for a more limited and less free trade never was carried on by one rich nation with another.* For more than half a century, the Dutch trade has been limited to two yearly ships from Batavia, the cargoes of both of which scarcely ever exceeded the value of 300,000 dollars, and their only profitable returns are Japan copper, and a small quantity of camphor. To shew themselves impartial in their restrictions, the Japanese have limited the traffic of the Chinese, the only eastern nation whom they suffer to trade with them at all, in a similar manner to that of the Dutch, and they suffer no more than ten Chinese junks to visit Nangasaki in the year. The trade of those two favoured nations is also limited to the port of Nangasaki.

In pursuance of their exclusive maxims, and conformably to the terms of their agreement with the Dutch, the Japanese have, on every occasion, followed an uniform line of conduct, and rejected, in the most peremptory manner, the various overtures of different nations of Europe, refusing equally to have any intercourse, negotiation or commerce, with any of them. It must also be admitted, that the whole foreign trade of Japan, compared with the riches of the country, is absolutely trifling; nor is there any rich or powerful body of them, like the Hong merchants of China, at all interested in its continuance. The yearly presents, whether offered to the governor of Nangasaki or the emperor, are of no great value, and rigidly limited by law and usage; and as the government of Japan is much stronger and more vigilant than that of China, no such abuses can be ventured on at Nangasaki as those which exist at Canton.

The commercial intercourse of the Dutch at Japan was established by an imperial edict in their favour from the emperor Gonging Soma, in the year 1611.

* For the regulations by which the trade is limited, see KEMPSTER'S History of Japan.

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APPENDIX.

The first Dutch factory was established at Hirando, but in the year 1641 it was removed to Nagasaki. The number of the Dutch ships, and the kind of merchandise which they imported, were then left entirely to the discretion of the parties; the merchandise was disposed of to the best advantage, and the returns consisted of such articles as were expected to yield the greatest profit. They were subject only to the municipal regulations of the country, without any further restraint or incumbrance whatever. The trade remained in this state till the year 1671. In the Dutch records of this period, the only complaints made against Japanese authority relate to restrictions laid upon them in matters of religion.

In the beginning the returns from Japan consisted of silver and copper; and the former being coined, was received according to the current value in that country, where the coins and weights went by the same name as in China, viz. katis, tahils, mas, and kandarins. Ten mas were worth a tahil, sixteen tahils a kati, and one hundred kati weighed one hundred and twenty, or one hundred and twenty-one, pounds Dutch, equal to a mark.

There were two sorts of silver, of which the fine was called zona, and coarser bar-silver, generally distinguished by the Dutch under the terms of heavy and light money. This was at first carried to account at the rate of sixty-two stivers and a half per tahil, no difference being made in the books of that time between the two kinds; but in the year 1635, the common or bar-silver, was fixed at fifty-seven stivers the tahil. Both kinds, according to this regulation, were considered by the Dutch as calculated too high for an article of merchandise, and consequently were not much in demand in the western parts of India, to which it was at first sent by the Company.

The attention of the Dutch being, however, afterwards attracted to the trade in gold from Japan, orders were issued to the factors in the year 1640, requiring gold as a return, to the amount of from ten to twelve hundred thousand florins. These orders were executed with the best success; and a wish seems, on this occasion, to have been expressed by the factory, that Japan might, as formerly, be permitted to supply from one hundred to one hundred and fifty chests of gold kobang, shang, and sebos. Gold and silver were, at this time, the principal articles in the returns from Japan. Their copper was not much in demand, probably because it was so little known in India or Europe; yet the directors, in their requisition for the year 1655, state the price of Japan copper having risen from thirty-six to forty-six florins per hundred pounds weight, and an order having been sent to Japan for twenty thousand pikuls of that metal, the same rendered great profit.

In 1644, requisitions were made from Surat for two thousand pikuls, from Coromandel for one thousand pikuls, and from Batavia for four thousand pikuls of copper; and in reply it is stated, that it would not be difficult to furnish the quantity required; that the Japan copper consisted of both sheet and bar copper, of which the former was purchased at twenty tahils the pikul, or twelve stivers (inferior silver) per pound, being twenty per cent. cheaper than European copper.

The gold, after being coined, was found a very profitable article, being
APPENDIX.

purchased at a favourable rate. In the beginning the kobang was pur-
chaséd for six tahi eight mas, and for six tahi seven mas; and, as appears
from the books of 1669, 1670, and 1671, was within those years even
purchased as low as five tahi six mas, and five tahi eight mas, from the
great men of the country, or from merchants, according to circumstances.
During two of these years, more than one hundred thousand kobangs were
obtained, which rendered a profit of one million of florins.

In 1671, an edict was issued by the Japanese government, prohibiting
the further exportation of silver; but the profit on the gold being so con-
siderable, the restriction on the exportation of silver was a matter of in-
difference to the Dutch, who still were enabled to obtain their returns in
the more profitable articles of gold and copper.

The exchange of the kobang was now fixed by the Japanese government
at sixty-eight mas; and the free and unrestricted trade which the Dutch
had hitherto enjoyed, was subjected to an arbitrary valuation of the import
cargoes, and limited first with respect to the articles of merchandize, and
afterwards with respect to its extent.

The loss of the island of Formosa in 1661, is supposed to have given
the first shock to the credit of the Dutch at Japan. Not long after that
event they experienced many instances of opposition, and several preju-
dicial alterations in the trade.

"They (the Japanese) were consequently," observes Mr. Imhoff, in his
Memoir on the Japan Trade, "no longer under any apprehension of
being annoyed by us, while, if we had remained in possession of For-
mosa, we were and might have continued masters of the navigation and
trade between China and Japan. In that opinion I am still further con-
" firmed, when I consider, in the first instance, that the prejudicial
" change with respect to our situation at Japan, although it took place
" only several years after the loss of Formosa, had been already in agita-
" tion some time before; and, secondly, that notwithstanding the con-
" fidence of the Japanese in their own superiority, which they always
" evinced, that arrogance did not conceal altogether a certain fear of us,
" very evident from their great precautions. This fear has, however,
" since decreased, and if we may trust to the records, has frequently been
" succeeded by brutality.* It is an undeniable truth, that if a nation
" renders itself respected and formidable it will flourish, and that other-
" wise it is but little esteemed."

The decline of the trade seems not at first to have been much attended
to. "Whether the Japanese," says the same writer, "at that period
" obtained advice of the advantages we derived from the trade, or that the
" bad conduct of our servants gave occasion to further restrictions which
" succeeded each other, we do not know, yet it is undeniable, that first
" in the year 1685 our trade was limited to three hundred thousand
" tahiis, of which two-thirds were to consist of piece goods and weighable

* "We were obliged to submit to many insults, and it frequently happened that the governors
declined receiving our representations, hinting that we might leave Japan altogether and not
return again. From the records also we perceive the despotic regulations resorted to by the
Japanese respecting our nation, in consequence of our having at that time but little power in
India."—Imhoff:
APPENDIX.

"articles, and the other third of silks. This was confirmed in 1689, and
"we were allowed to export only twenty-five thousand pikuls of copper,
"whereas our exports of that article formerly had been regulated accord-
"ing to our requisition. In the year 1700, the number of our ships was
"limited to four or five, in lieu of six or seven as were formerly sent, ac-
"cording to circumstances."

The profits of the trade at this period would yet have deserved attention
had not a change in the current coin rendered the year 1700 still more
disadvantageous. In 1692 and 1693 and afterwards, rich cargoes were
sent to Japan which returned considerable profits, and the funds were
again laid out in copper, as far as thirty thousand chests or pikuls. The
new stipulation of twenty-five thousand chests was of little importance
with the Dutch, who knew how, as they confess, to obtain by bribes from
the governors and their servants a still further quantity. In the year
1685, the system of receiving the Dutch merchandize by valuation was
discontinued; and although it was introduced again in the year 1698, it
was once more abolished in the following year.

Various causes are assigned for the change in the current coin which
took place about this period; but whether, as was supposed by the Dutch,
the knowledge of the Dutch profits upon the kobang opened the eyes of
the Japanese, or that their long intercourse with Europeans rendered them
more attentive to their own interest, or that the Chinese, who are
known to be very expert in the art of coining, proposed that measure
to them, or that the easy compliance of the Dutch in all former in-
stances, and while they issued the most injurious orders against their
commerce, made them believe that they might purchase their friend-
ship at a cheaper rate than hitherto, or, as seems most probable, it was
principally occasioned by other and more weighty causes not yet dis-
covered, it is certain that in the year 1696 appeared, for the first time, a
new kind of kobang, of one-third less in value than the old, although
tendered to and received by the Dutch at the same rate. Here then was
said to commence the iron age.

The new kobang was assayed at thirteen carats six or seven grains, while
the old kobang was twenty carats eight and a half, nine, or even ten
grains; yet the Dutch were obliged to receive the former at the rate of
sixty-eight mas like the old, which weighed thirty-one stivers, and making
a difference upon one thousand of seventy-two marks. The old kobang
rendered a profit of twenty-five per cent., but the new produced a loss of
fifteen or sixteen per cent. on the coast of Coromandel, where it was re-
coining. Some of the old kobangs being however estimated at the same
rate with the new, the Dutch still continued to derive some profits from
the gold, until the introduction of a third kind of kobang, denominated the
small kobangs, took place.

In 1710 the Japanese resorted to this further change in the coin, by
reducing the weight of the kobang nearly one half, the value being twenty-
five kanderins, while that of the former was no less than forty-seven kand-
derins. This caused a loss of from thirty-four to thirty-six per cent., the
Dutch being obliged to receive the same at the rate of sixty-eight mas;
APPENDIX.

the former kobangs, of inferior alloy only, were in consequence still preferable. From 1710 to 1720, both sorts were in circulation; but the repeated complaints of the Dutch were at last, in 1720, so far attended to, that the old kobangs, of the same alloy and weight, were again introduced. The latter, however, were called double kobangs, and they were charged in the Dutch accounts at thirteen takils six mas, which was twice as much as in former times, so that they became still less profitable than the small kobangs, of which two thousand weighed seventy-six marks, while one thousand of the old coin only weighed seventy-two marks, and would consequently, when received in lieu of two small kobangs, have produced a loss of thirty-seven seven-eights per cent.

When an attempt was made, in 1714, to oblige the Dutch to receive the small kobang at the same rate as the old, the exportation of copper was limited to fifteen thousand chests, as was the number of ships to two or three, according to the quantity of copper in store.

A fourth kind of kobang was introduced in 1730, about five per cent. better than the third or small kobang, but the trade continued rapidly to decline until the year 1744.

The loss of many valuable ships and cargoes, a reduction in the selling price of the articles of merchandise which they imported, and an increase of charges attending the visits to the Imperial Court, and the maintenance of their establishment in Japan, contributed to render this period particularly disadvantageous to the Dutch trade. Their submissive conduct at the Emperor's Court was of no avail, nor did their presents of horses, dogs, and other curiosities, produce any better effect. There was no longer any possibility of exporting kobangs, as in former times, for the balance of their accounts. The quantity of copper which they were allowed to export annually had been fixed in 1721 at ten thousand chests, yet even that quantity they were unable to obtain in 1743, so that, together with the high exchange of the takils, their establishment in Japan now actually subjected them to a loss, and it was accordingly proposed at this period that it should be abandoned, unless some favourable change could be effected.

The charges had considerably increased during the last year. The cargoes were of less value and of an inferior quality, so that their profits were reduced to less than one quarter of what they had been: their expenses on account of the Japan trade were at the same time two hundred thousand florins annually. During the last thirty years their profits amounted to five hundred thousand, and for some years to six hundred thousand, but latterly not to two hundred thousand florins per annum.

Thus, to sum up the disasters of this trade, after having been allowed to remain free and unrestrained for a period of sixty years, the cargoes in the year 1672 were subjected to an arbitrary valuation, and about the same time the exchange of the kobang was altered. A tax was laid upon

* It is remarkable, that when the Dutch were formerly in the habit of sending seven and eight ships to Japan, but few losses took place; whereas afterwards, when only two or three were sent and the navigation better known, many were lost. The cause assigned is their being latterly overlaiden with private trade.
the cargoes in 1685, and further increased in 1689. In 1698 the new kobang was introduced: in 1700 they were limited to four ships annually: in 1710 an exchange still more disadvantageous was fixed: in 1714 their exportation was reduced to fifteen thousand pikuls of copper; in 1717 an order was issued, limiting the trade to two ships only: in 1710 the third, and in 1730 the fourth sort of kobang were introduced: and in 1743 the Dutch were limited to one ship and to one-half of the cargo.

The Dutch, in deliberating upon the measure of abandoning the trade, in the year 1744, trace all their disasters in this commerce, to their having tamely submitted, in the first instance, to take the kobang of reduced value at the same rate as the old one. It then occurred to them, that if serious remonstrances had been made in the beginning, their firmness might have prevented the subsequent losses. "In the first instance," says Mr. Imhoff, "our commerce was carried on as by a people groping in the dark, neither knowing the actual price of purchase or sale; because the kobang being the standard coin of the country, that kobang ought to have been calculated in proportion to the value of the takis, and it would have appeared that since 1710 for forty stivers inferior silver, thirty stivers superior silver were received, and all articles of trade not disposed of with a profit of sixty-three per cent. rendered a loss. And this being the case with most of the cargoes that were sent to Japan after the period above mentioned, we ought either to have relinquished that commerce, or had recourse to such means as might have tended to re-establish the affairs of the Company. Instead, however, of so doing, fruitless remonstrances and solicitations were employed, which finally produced this effect, that the Japanese, during the latter years, granted us, by way of charity, an additional sum of six thousand takis upon the sale of our cargoes."

From the deliberations which took place at this period, it appears that the proposal then under consideration of relinquishing the trade, was rather intended as a provisional and political measure, to induce the Japanese to admit them to more favourable terms in future, than brought forward with the view of finally abandoning or relinquishing the trade altogether.

The public opinion of the time was, that the Japanese had recourse to these measures of restriction for no other purpose, but to oblige the Dutch to depart from the country; but it occurred to the Dutch government, that a nation which treated strangers in so despotic a manner, had no need to resort to such shifts to dislodge them. Another opinion was, that the restrictions laid on the trade proceeded from political motives, of which the first and most important was their hatred against all the different persuasions of the Christian religion without exception; but the government were inclined to consider these reasons as deserving of little notice. "There is no probability," observes Mr. Imhoff, "that, in the present enlightened age, it can be a consideration, even with the Japanese, of what persuasion merchants are, who neither attempt to

* "It is no where evident," says Mr. Imhoff, "that the Dutch ever gave cause to the Japanese to hate them for being Christians: they seem rather to have been accused of indifference towards their religion, although I suppose that the writers on that subject are not altogether correct."
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"propagate their religion with a view to promote their interest, nor to "endanger the safety of the state, of neither of which they appear ever "to have been suspected." The governor-general was further of opinion, that the Japanese could derive no advantage from the expulsion of the Dutch, as they would thus be cut off from all correspondence with Europeans, and thereby become subject to greater inconveniences than at present, being exposed to the visits of others, whose great increase in those regions was not unknown to them; for, as he states, it is notorious that the Japanese government took annual information of all that passed in the world, and that the Dutch servants had orders to answer their queries faithfully, in order that contrary reports might not injure their credit, by which the Japanese were well aware that if the Dutch withdrew, others would soon settle in the country.* Instead, therefore, of attributing the conduct of the Japanese to either of these causes, the governor-general laid it entirely to the account of their interested desire to take every possible advantage of the weakness of the Dutch, who, by admitting the first imposition, laid themselves open to all that followed.

In his very able and interesting memoir "On the Trade of Japan and "the Causes which occasioned its Decline,"—"It is by no means surprizing," says Mr. Imhof, "that the Japanese, when they altered the "kobang, likewise made a change in the delivery of the copper, observing "that our exchange remained always the same, and the prices of our "merchandise unalterably fixed. We cannot pass unnoticed, that this "wrong calculation has been the cause that, on our part, many valuable "articles of commerce, which were from time to time tendered to us by "the Japanese, were declined. Among those articles was yellow copper "or brass, Japan porcelain, of which musters were sent in 1736, and "camphor, which we might have exported from thence, if our return "cargoes had not been complete. Whether the sovereign right to regulate "the trade of their country is not equally vested in the government "of Japan with any other nation, I will leave undecided. Seeing us "patiently submitting to all kinds of restrictions, inattentive in keeping "our accounts in a regular order, they were encouraged to put us to the "last shift. I am not inclined to dwell upon our surprising indifference, "which was concealed at the same time under the cloak of mystery, from "whence so many evil consequences resulted. I am of opinion, that it "cannot be either the interest or inclination of the Japanese to obliged us "to relinquish all intercourse with their country, provided our trade be "carried on within narrow bounds, and they are not losing upon the "articles delivered to us in payment for our cargoes. It is not possible "that they can have any profit on the copper, if it is sold for less than "one kobang. The mines certainly cannot be worked at a cheaper rate "than formerly; and what profit do the vendors of the copper derive "from our merchandise, after it has fallen into the hands of the inter- "preters to government and others? Nothing is more natural, therefore,

* "Our peaceable conduct at Japan, and the alarm given to that country by the Russians, "pleased greatly in our favour; and as it will be impossible for them to find other Europeans more "tractable than ourselves, they can certainly have no reason to desire our departure from thence, "although it may be undeniable that Japan stands in no need of foreigners."—Imhoff.
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"than that our exportation of copper from Japan should have become a
burden to that class of people, and that their complaints contributed to
the restrictions to which we are now subject. There is no doubt, that
if the Japanese could keep up the communication without allowing us
a single chest of copper, they would willingly grant us six thousand
*takils as a gratification, over and above the stipulated price for our
cargo."

In considering the reforms to be introduced into the management of
the trade in future, the first point which attracted attention was a better
calculations of the coin, with reference to the intrinsic value, and a calcula-
tion being made upon a new basis, allowed a higher price to be paid for
the copper than before. It was estimated, that if the Dutch could an-
nually procure twenty thousand pikul of copper at twenty takils, the
Japan trade would still be lucrative, allowing the profits on the outward-
bound cargoes to be merely sufficient for the support of the factory.

But in order to purchase and to pay for such a quantity of copper, the
governor-general observes, "it is necessary that government should
strictly comply with the requisitions from Japan, because our failures
therein have brought us into such discredit with the Japanese, that they
do not any longer place confidence in our promises. We have passed
our word from year to year, that the quality and the quantity of our
merchandise should be better assorted, without ever attending to it.
Even at this moment, the supply differs so very much from the quan-
tity required, that it will be extremely difficult to convince the Japan-
ese that they shall be better served in future; and still it must be done,
because if we wish to obtain the value of eight hundred or four hundred
thousand takils of copper annually, besides camphor and other articles,
different measures must be resorted to. We are hardly able, at present,
to supply one-third of that amount, and load the ships with coarse
goods.

"We have no doubt but other productions of Japan might also be pro-
cured at a cheaper rate than at present. Camphor may be purchased in
abundance at thirty takils the pikul, and it is probable the same could
still be obtained on more favourable terms, if we advert to what it cost
formerly; in which case it would become a profitable remittance to Hol-
land, and render one hundred per cent., or thereabouts.

"The white copper (tutenague) has been tendered to us at sixteen
takils per pikul, but has not been accepted, the price being considered
too high. If, however, we can dispose of it merely at the same price
as the yellow copper (brass), which yields according to the price cur-
rent before us 41.43 f. per 1001b., it will not only be acceptable, but
even render a reasonable profit of fifty per cent.

"Iron was formerly imported here from Japan, and might perhaps be
procured at a moderate price, which for the sake of the small distance
between us and that country would be very desirable.*

"Sulphur was also declined in 1726, on account of its being charged

* "In 1637 the Japanese iron was purchased at two Spanish dollars, and sold at Batavia for five
and a half Spanish dollars the pikul. On account of the smallness of the profit, no annual re-
quision was made for one thousand pikuls only."
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"too high; yet it might still become an article worth attention, especially
if it were purified in Japan. And who knows how many other valu-
able productions might be drawn from that extensive country, besides
those already mentioned, and which would be very acceptable, in an
" economical as well as a mercantile point of view?"*

The following facts are collected from the considerations at this time.

That in former times the commerce of foreign nations at Japan
amounted to ten millions of florins, and since then for many years to
3,150,000 florins, of which the Chinese share was two-thirds, and the Dutch
one-third; and it was consequently presumed, that in so extensive a country
as Japan, merchandise might still be disposed of to the value of one
million, especially if it was paid for in the productions of the country.

That one of the causes of the decline of the trade was the conduct of
the Company's servants, and the extent to which the private trade of
individuals was carried. The directors of the trade at Japan had been
selected from a very inferior class of society, and the peculations on over-
weight of the copper, &c. formed the subject of a regular complaint made
by the Japanese to the Dutch government.

That the trade of the Chinese to Japan had been reduced from eighty
to twenty junkas in the year, the number then allowed.

In concluding his valuable and interesting Memoir, the Baron Van
Imhoff declares it to be his firm belief, that Japan was, in every respect,
what it had been formerly; that the same quantity of merchandise might
be disposed of there as in former times, and that returns of equal value
might be obtained; that although the profits should be less at present,
there could be no reason to relinquish that trade; that the means of the
Dutch were certainly inferior at that moment to what they had been, yet
that if they adhered to the measures proposed (namely, clear accounts,
correctness and honesty of conduct, and a good assortment of cargoes),
which were easy, and could not expose them to any risk or danger, they
might hope for a favourable issue.

In the course of all these deliberations, the Dutch seem to have con-
cluded that the debasement of the coin was resorted to by the Japanese,
solely with the view of affecting their trade, and never to have reflected
that so important a change in the intrinsic value of the standard coin of
the country, might have been occasioned by political causes, of far greater
magnitude to the Japanese than the paltry gain to be obtained on the
traffic of the Dutch cargoes. It is most probable that the empire of
Japan, at the periods when these changes took place, wished to check the
exportation of the precious metals of the country. In the first instance,
we perceive a prohibition against the exportation of silver. The loss of
this metal was first felt, because the principal exports were at first made
in this coin; but it is never hinted that this prohibition was occasioned
by any desire to take an undue advantage of the Dutch: on the contrary,
this measure was not found to affect the Dutch trade at all. The same
causes, however, which first led to a prohibition regarding silver, operated
afterwards in an equal degree with respect to gold; and it is easy to

* From Japan was formerly exported timber, wheat, rice, ambergris, raw-silk, cotton, &c.—
Imhoff.
account for the rise in the value of this metal, and the consequent changes in the coin, by the scarcity which ensued. Let us but reflect on the enormous exportation of the precious metals, which took place from Japan at the period when the trade was unlimited, and we shall find abundant cause for these changes in the coin, without accusing the Japanese of resorting to the measure as an imposition on the foreign merchant. "The exports at one period," says Mr. Imhoff, "amounted to ten millions of florins." These were principally made in the precious metals and in the coin of the country; and when the trade fell exclusively into the hands of the Dutch, it had been usual to export at first from one hundred to one hundred and fifty chests of silver, and subsequently the trade admitted of no less than two hundred chests of gold coin being exported instead of the silver. On a moderate calculation, therefore, the exports of the former period were about one million sterling, and those continued by the Dutch could not be less than from half a million to a million sterling in each year; so that, during a period of sixty years, the total export would have amounted to from thirty to sixty millions of pounds sterling, and this does not include what found its way to China and other neighbouring countries.

The discovery of the mines of America reduced, in the sixteenth century, the value of gold and silver in Europe to about one-third of what it had before been: and might not the extensive drain on Japan have produced in that country an opposite effect of the same magnitude? If the gold and silver annually imported into Spain and Portugal, which did not commonly exceed six millions pounds sterling, produced this effect on the circulating medium, and the price of the precious metals throughout all Europe, in one country of which alone the circulating gold and silver amounted, by some accounts to eighteen, and by others to thirty, millions. Is it not easy to conclude, that a directly contrary and equally extensive effect must have been felt in Japan? and that this effect must have been felt in a still higher degree, while operating on the confined circulating medium of one nation, than while operating on that of the numerous nations of Europe, who again found means to dispose of large quantities by remittances to the eastern world?

The extensive circulation of money throughout the populous and rich empire of Japan, and the facility with which the drains upon it could be supplied from the mines, was perhaps the cause that, in the first instance, the exportation of the precious metals was not sensibly felt; but afterwards, when probably the mint could not keep pace with the demand, and what is not unlikely, the demand was even too heavy for the mines, the intrinsic value of the coins increased in proportion to the scarcity; and it is not surprising that the Japanese should have entertained an apprehension lest the mines would become exhausted. Whether there were any immediate grounds for such an apprehension is uncertain; but it is generally believed that an edict was issued to discontinue working, first the silver, and afterwards the gold mines, but not until the nominal, and perhaps the real, value of both metals, and particularly of the latter, had

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* Wealth of Nations.  
† Ibid.
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been nearly doubled, as in the instance of the kobang of the original value being offered to the Dutch for two kobangs.

That the Dutch perhaps owe the loss of this valuable trade, in a great measure, to the incapacity and worthlessness of their own servants, cannot but be admitted; for had they, on these continued reductions in the value of the current coins, adverted to the political cause, and calculated their commercial transactions according to the intrinsic, instead of the nominal, value, they would not have subjected themselves, unknowingly, to a loss of sixty per cent. upon the proceeds of all their exports: nor would they have shewn their weakness and ignorance to the Japanese, but they would immediately have devised the advantage of other returns from Japan, in articles, the exportation of which might, at the same time, have improved the industry and prosperity of that empire; and the Japanese, finding them equally intelligent and enterprising under all circumstances, while they felt an interest in the continuance of the trade, would have respected the nation by whom it was carried on. If, however, by these means, the European character and the value of foreign trade thus declined in the estimation of the Japanese, how much lower must that of the Dutch nation have fallen, when after once dictating the prices of all articles both bought and sold, we find them obtaining at last an advance on their proceeds of the outward cargo, by way of charity, and the Japanese themselves appealing against the peculations and corruptions that were carried on! When we see the Dutch, without power and without respect, dictating in the mighty empire of Japan an arbitrary and extravagant price for their commodities, in the same manner as they did at home, is it surprising that we should find the Japanese having recourse to a fixed valuation? When we observe the illicit trade to Japan carried on by private individuals, to such an extent, that Valentyn, a Dutch author of the highest authority, says it was so interwoven with the constitution of the Company, and so extensive, that it formed the principal part of the trade, and could never be prevented, and that the Dutch ships were frequently lost by being overladen with cargoes of this kind, we cannot be astonished at the decline of the prosperity of the Company, or the degradations which were imposed upon its agents. The Dutch factory was, and is, in fact, a sink of the most disgraceful corruption and peculation which ever existed. The factor to obtain his own ends, submits to every possible degradation, and the government of Batavia knows only just as much of what is going on at Japan, as it is his interest to tell them. In this work it has become a painful duty to advert occasionally to the shameful scenes of fraud and corruption carried on under the very eyes of the government of Batavia, and in the dependencies in the more immediate vicinity of that metropolis, where their residents enjoyed such extensive powers, and were so removed from control and responsibility, that their interests constantly interfered with their duties, and the struggle between principle and opportunity generally ended in a resolution to make fortunes, to connive at each other's peculations, and keep their own secret. If this was the case on the island of Java, the seat of government, what must it not have been in a country so remote as Japan, where the con-
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nection and intercourse were so peculiar? It is not surprising, that in
the accounts of such a factory, the government at home should find
nothing but intricacy and obscurity. It was the interest of the factor to
keep every thing involved in mystery, and no where was there a better
opportunity for doing so.

But had the shameful and disgraceful conduct of these people been felt
only in its effects upon the past, it would be trifling, compared to what
they are calculated to produce on the future. The unmanly degradation
to which these factors have submitted at the caprice, and often for the
amusement of the Japanese, in order to gain their own ends, seem to have
established an effectual bar against the future extension of the trade by the
Dutch nation, who will find it difficult, if not impracticable, ever to be
again respected in Japan. Unless, therefore, the Dutch have magna-
nimity enough to abandon this trade, when they find it of little compara-
tive value to them, or when they see it must be conducted on principles
derogatory to the dignity of the illustrious House of Orange, it is to be
feared, that the day is far distant, when the opportunity will be afforded
of opening a liberal and honourable communication between Europe and
this interesting and important empire. Perhaps this will not happen
until, according to Humboldt, the two great oceans shall be united by
means of a channel across the Isthmus of Darien, when the productions
of Nootka Sound and of China will be brought more than two thousand
leagues nearer to Europe and the United States, and when alone any
great changes can be effected in the political state of Eastern Asia; “for
“this neck of land,” observes that writer, “the barrier against the waves
“of the Atlantic Ocean, has been for many ages the bulwark of the
“independence of China and Japan.”*

From the year 1750 no essential alteration appears to have taken place
in the trade: the utmost exertions of the Dutch were required to provide
the cargoes, and whenever they succeeded, return cargoes were always
provided, to the extent of two or three ships in the year. In order to
afford a better view of the nature and extent of the restricted trade thus
carried on, the accounts of two of these expeditions to Japan are annexed,
from which it will appear, that in the voyage of 1804-5 the Company
exported from Batavia to the Japan market commodities to the amount
of 211,896 rix-dollars in value; that the charges attendant on the ship-
ment and freight amounted to 167,500 rix-dollars (including 2,915 rix-
dollars on account of customs), making the whole expenses of the voyage,
with the prime cost of the articles, amount to 379,397 rix-dollars. These
articles, when sold in Japan, brought 160,378 rix-dollars; but the
expenses and disbursements at Japan in one year for the establishment,
the loss on the weight of the sugar, and the expense of making the journey
to Japan, reduced that sum to 92,426 rix-dollars. The return cargo
brought to Batavia the sum of 886,554 rix-dollars, or a profit of 507,147
rix-dollars on the adventure. The cargo and return of 1806, and the
expense of the establishment, cost the Company 393,582 rix-dollars,
(including 2,846 for customs), and the sales and other receipts produced

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569,089, leaving a balance of 175,505 rix-dollars in favour of the adventure.

A more correct judgment may perhaps be formed from the result of the adventures undertaken from Batavia during the provisional authority of the British government. The first of these was intimately connected with a political object, to which the mercantile adventure was made subservient, and both were undertaken without those previous arrangements which would have insured a better assorted and cheaper cargo. The articles were purchased on the spot and at the moment, and the vessels engaged at a very high rate of freight. In the first, in particular, the sugar being of inferior quality, there was a loss in the weight, and it was otherwise less profitable than it would have been, had the assortment been of the same quality which the Dutch company were in the habit of sending. The freight alone amounted to the enormous sum of 82,309 Spanish dollars. From the outward-bound cargoes it was necessary to pay the debts of the former government, amounting to 48,648 Spanish dollars; and this, with other disbursements and necessary provisions, rendering the proceeds of the outward-bound cargo insufficient to furnish the amount requisite for the payment of the copper; the Dutch factor availed himself of the opportunity to supply the deficiency of fourteen hundred pikuls at the rate of twenty-five dollars per 120½ pounds, amounting to 25,000 Spanish dollars; differing from the rate paid to the Japanese of 12,3·5 tahils, or ten rix-dollars per pikul, to an extent of fifteen rix-dollars against government. Besides this, the whole of the outward cargo was not sold: several articles of merchandise remained undisposed of at Japan, amounting to 19,688 Spanish dollars, to be accounted for in the ensuing year. All these operated essentially to reduce the profits of a voyage, which depended exclusively on the return cargo.

The results of these voyages, however limited as the profits were, appear fully sufficient to shew the importance of this trade to Batavia, even as it at present stands, considering that it affords a market for so large a quantity of the produce of the country, and that when the government seemed disinclined to send a further adventure on their own account, there were not wanting numerous individuals anxious to obtain a license to undertake the trade, and to run all the risks attached to it.*

* "Our commercial relations with Japan are of a very peculiar nature. Every one knows ours is the only European nation admitted to it, what humiliations we are obliged to suffer for it, and what expenses we incur by our embassies to the court of Jedda. This trade was once very lucrative, but in the latter years I think it has done little more than cover the expenses incidental to it, and considering the loss of ships and people, is certainly not such as to justify an exposure to so many humiliations. Notwithstanding this, we have not been inclined to resign the trade; nor indeed is it either necessary or prudent to do so. But I am at a loss to know how the government of Batavia will be able to account for sending there, in the years 1797 and 1798, a strange ship bearing an American flag, by way of pretence, though really an English vessel, and commanded by Captain Stuart, a real Englishman, though possessed of an American pass, although he belonged to Madras or Bengal. To abandon this trade would be ridiculous, but as it is subject to such regulations in Japan as it will be hardly possible to get rid of, it may be impracticable to make it quite free and open. To pursue it on account of the state or of a company will never answer the purpose, I therefore venture to propose the sale by public auction, to the highest bidder, at Batavia, of a license or pass for one or two ships, of limited burthen, to trade there, either for one or more years, as may be preferred. The chief of Decima should be appointed and maintained by the government, and should act as a kind of consul, and proceed on the embassy to
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In the year 1616, the English obtained a grant from the emperor, containing the privileges for a general trade with Japan, in consequence of which a commercial establishment was formed there by the Company.

In obtaining those privileges, one great object with the Company appears to have been to introduce themselves to a connection with the Chinese, and to carry on a general trade between India, China, and Japan; but finding themselves disappointed in their endeavours to form connections with China, and sustaining heavy losses in consequence of their trade with Japan, they determined, in 1623, to abandon their establishment there.

From that time, until the year 1673, no attempt appears to have been made by the English Company to renew their intercourse with Japan. The attempt made at that period entirely failed of success, owing, it was stated, to the king of England having married a daughter of the king of Portugal. About the same time the Company, with a view to the same object, formed an establishment on the Island of Houten; but after struggling with great difficulties, sustaining heavy losses, and being totally disappointed in their expectations of communicating with Japan, the factory was ordered to be withdrawn in the year 1682.

At a subsequent period (in the year 1699), the Company having established a regular communication with China, their supra-cargoes were instructed to use every endeavour in their power to promote an intercourse with Japan, for the purpose of introducing woolens, &c. into that country, but without any appearance of success.

A select committee of the East-India Company, appointed in 1793 to take into consideration the export trade of Great Britain to the East Indies, after detailing the cargo of a Dutch ship from Japan in the year 1664, which consisted principally of copper, camphor, silk-stuffs, and chinaware, conclude their report by observing, that, in their opinion, the trade with Japan never can become an object of attention for the manufactures and produce of Great Britain; for supposing, they observe, that woolens, lead, and curiosities for a cargo to Japan, could be made to £8,000, what is to be required in payment? About £30,000 or £32,000 value in copper, an article which is also the produce of Great Britain, and which must be disposed of in India, to the prejudice of their own mines. Thus Great Britain would gain, on the one hand, £8,000, whilst the loss, on the other, would be £32,000.

"Jeddo, if it were required. But beyond this, the whole system and regulation of the trade should be left wholly to the owners of the ships, with the exception of such rules as the Japanese laws may render necessary with regard to our trade.

"The yearly embassies, which are so very expensive, are already dispensed with by the Japanese; and as they would be useful from time to time, it might be advisable to obtain permission, for the future, to perform them only once in every ten years, or to have it fixed for each new resident or consul to undertake it once during his stay.

"It will not be easy to obtain any other privileges or freedom of consequence, for whatever some of our latter servants there may have wanted to make us believe on this point, it is very clear that the Japanese are very indifferent whether we go there or not, and consider their permitting us to do so merely as an indulgence on their part. It cannot be doubted, that as soon as this trade is opened to individuals, they will find means to make the profits of it worth the risk and danger; and in proportion as these profits become more valuable, the value of the licenses will increase."—Heringdorp,
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This opinion, however, would appear to have been formed on a very partial view of the subject, and with reference to the limited nature of the trade as it then existed; but it would be as unfair to judge of the value of the Japan trade to the British nation from this narrow view, as it would be to decide upon that subject merely from the result of the adventures to Japan undertaken during the recent provisional government of Batavia, which, besides other disadvantages, were, for political reasons, carried on with a scrupulous regard to the restrictions under which the trade of the Dutch had latterly laboured.

It is objected to a direct communication with Japan, and the consequent exportation of British merchandize by British ships, that, in all probability, it would entirely put a stop to the present exportation of woollens by the Chinese, and that, in proportion as the exports from Great Britain to Japan increased, those from Great Britain to China might be expected to diminish; the Japanese being, at present, almost exclusively supplied with British woollens by means of the Chinese: that, however, the demand for teas would continue the same, and therefore the defalcation in exports to China must be made up in bullion, or by drafts on Bengal.

It is admitted that the Bengal government might provide for this additional demand, by disposing of the copper brought from Japan in the Calcutta market; but this, it is stated, would prove a considerable check to the consumption of one of the most valuable articles of export from Great Britain, and therefore it has been inferred, that the final result of the trade with Japan would, in all probability, be the exchange of our woollens for copper, which we have already in abundance, instead of bartering them for teas, which, in the present state of Great Britain, will be always required.

But this argument seems evidently to have been grounded on a supposition that copper must always form the principal, if not only, article of commerce with Japan. An inference by no means borne out by the history of the Dutch trade; in the course of which, it is expressly stated by the Baron Van Imhoff, who appears to have given the subject the most mature and deliberate consideration, and to have been aided by much local information, that the Japanese would willingly pay a sum of money to be excused from the delivery of any copper at all.

But admitting that a connection between Great Britain and Japan might not be attended with all the commercial profits which might be expected from a consideration of the productions of the two countries, would it not, in a political point of view, be of the most essential importance to her interests in China, which are acknowledged by all to be so important? Might we not expect from the Chinese a more respectful and correct conduct than has been customary with them, if they knew that we were in some measure independent of our connection with them? and is it not important, that in case of our actual exclusion from China, there should still be a channel open for our obtaining commodities, with which we are at present supplied by that country?
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**Voyage to Japan (in the year**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1,500,000 lbs. of Sugar, second sort, calculated at its selling price of 8½ each pikul, amounting to</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charges of one per cent.</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37,500 lbs. of Tin</td>
<td>101,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,000 do. Cotton Thread, at 55 R.Drs. per pikul</td>
<td>7,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30,000 do. Black Pepper, 10½ do.</td>
<td>1,760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30,000 do. Cloves 60 Stivers per pikul</td>
<td>3,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,987 do. Seed Cloves 60 do.</td>
<td>37,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30,000 do. Lead 20 Stivers per pikul</td>
<td>3,733 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000 do. Sappan Wood 6 do.</td>
<td>4,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000 Pieces Patna Chints 50 Scivers per corgie.</td>
<td>4,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,651 do. Clothes in sorts 6 do.</td>
<td>9,009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 do. of Woollens of sorts</td>
<td>5,149 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82 do. Long ells of sorts</td>
<td>3,278 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110 do. Perpetuans</td>
<td>3,863 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,137 do. Camlets</td>
<td>7,773 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,500 do. Ducatoons</td>
<td>5,833 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Presents are calculated at</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.Drs.</td>
<td>211,896 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Add the following Charges incurred on account of the above-mentioned merchandise, viz.

Amount of Coolies and Frow-hire attending the purchase of articles, calculated at two per cent. on the whole amount, being R.Drs. 32,888 = Sp. D. 777 18
For bringing and lodging the same in the stores, one per cent 388 33
Custom Duties, &c. at 7½ per cent 2,915 8

Amount of Charges 4,081 11

Total of the Cargo with the Charges 215,977 14

Yearly allowance to the Resident at Japan, consisting of 700 pikuls Copper, to be paid by Government, at 25 R.Drs. each 17,500
Freight of Ships employed, 1,216 tons, at 96 Sp.D. each 145,920 163,420

Total Expense on Account of the Adventure 379,397 14
To balance in favour of the Voyage 507,147 24

Total R.Drs. 886,544 38

N.B. A considerable part of the profit above stated, ought properly to be credited and introduced into the currency of
### APPENDIX.

#### 1804-5) IN ACCOUNT CURRENT CONTRA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount Sale at Japan of the following Articles</th>
<th>[Rix-Dollars]</th>
<th>Rix-Dollars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1,500,000 lbs. of Sugar, at 7 tabsi the 120½ lbs. (each tahil being equal to 40 Sivers) amounting to</td>
<td>72,388 40</td>
<td>72,388 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37,500 do. Tin, at 25 tabsi each pikul of 120½ lbs.</td>
<td>6,463 14</td>
<td>6,463 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,000 do. Cotton Thread, 25 do.</td>
<td>689 20</td>
<td>689 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30,000 do. Black Pepper, 15 do.</td>
<td>3,102 18</td>
<td>3,102 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30,000 do. Cloves... 150 do.</td>
<td>31,023 36</td>
<td>31,023 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,987 do. Seed Cloves, 40 do.</td>
<td>823 34</td>
<td>823 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30,000 do. Lead........ 10 do.</td>
<td>2,068 12</td>
<td>2,068 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000 do. Sapan Wood, 5.5 do.</td>
<td>3,791 36</td>
<td>3,791 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000 Pieces Patna Chintz, 2 tabsi each piece</td>
<td>3,333 16</td>
<td>3,333 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,651½ do. Cloths in sorts</td>
<td>4,689 19</td>
<td>4,689 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 do. of Woolens of sorts, 90 tabsi</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82 do. of Long Els of sorts, 30 do.</td>
<td>2,060</td>
<td>2,060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110 do. Perpetuans........ 25 do.</td>
<td>2,291 32</td>
<td>2,291 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,137 do. Camlets .......... 4 do.</td>
<td>5,965</td>
<td>5,965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,500 do. Ducatoons... 2.5.2.5. do.</td>
<td>7,364 28</td>
<td>7,364 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Presents are calculated at</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R.Dra.</th>
<th>157,045 19</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The surplus of the Trade calculated</td>
<td>3,333 16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Making together | 160,378 35 |

Wherefrom must be deducted:

The Amount of Expenses and Disbursements at Japan in one year, for the Establishment, &c. and also the loss on the weight of the Sugar | 51,285 32 |

The Amount of Money and Merchandizes required for making the journey to the Court of Jeddo | 16,666 32 |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Remaining to be employed for the purchase of Copper and Camphor..</th>
<th>67,952 16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Particulars as follows:</td>
<td>92,426 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8,475 pieces of Copper, at tabsi 12.3.5. each</td>
<td>87,221 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 do. Camphor, do. 21 do.</td>
<td>3,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,000 chests for Copper, do. 2.8.1.5.5. do.</td>
<td>1,146 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 bales for Camphor</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,525 planks for Dunnage, at tabsi 18 each 100.</td>
<td>378 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Amount as above to | 92,426 19 |

The above Copper, and that delivered by the Resident being stamped into lumps, amount to | 933,369 38 |

Deduct Charges of the Mint. | 71,000 |

Remain | 862,369 38 |

The Amount of 200 pikulas Camphor, to be sold at 36 Sivers per pound | 24,175 |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>R.Dra. 886,544 38</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

To the Mint, the whole of the copper received from Japan being stamped into lumps, Java at a rate above its intrinsic value.
APPENDIX.

Voyage to Japan (in the Year)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dr.</th>
<th>Voyage to Japan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To 1,269,679 lbs. of Sugar at 61 Sp. D. per pikul</td>
<td>Rix Dollars 63,483 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25,000 do. Tin 18 do.</td>
<td>3,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102,000 do. Sapan Wood, 4½ do.</td>
<td>3,672</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12,000 do. Cloves, first sort, 2 Rep. per lb.</td>
<td>11,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,087 do. do. second do. 2½ do.</td>
<td>4,769 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000 do. Pepper 11½ Sp. D. per pikul</td>
<td>906 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 do. Nutmegs 4½ per lb.</td>
<td>187 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6,000 do. Cotton Thread 4½ per pikul</td>
<td>1,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6,082 Eells of Woolens</td>
<td>26,777 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,842 do. Kerseymeres</td>
<td>7,546 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>778 do. Plush</td>
<td>2,064 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59 do. Fusians</td>
<td>963 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 do. Roselets</td>
<td>519 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 do. Durants</td>
<td>76 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 do. Carpets, English</td>
<td>44 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,612 do. Kerseys</td>
<td>2,691 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61 do. Morins</td>
<td>906 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,900 do. Chints, Bengal</td>
<td>10,048 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>590 do. do. Guzerat</td>
<td>523 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179 do. Cabayahs, Malabar</td>
<td>369 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220 do. Palempores</td>
<td>462 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 do. Salempores</td>
<td>84 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>514 do. Fish Skins</td>
<td>540 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96 lbs. of Saffron</td>
<td>2,459 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122 do. Quicksilver</td>
<td>205 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,300 do. Spanish Liquorice</td>
<td>680 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15,181 do. Catchu</td>
<td>2,705 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,143 do. Elephants' teeth</td>
<td>3,577 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,500 do. Ducatoons</td>
<td>4,593 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presents</td>
<td>2,092 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House Expenses</td>
<td>2,525</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHARGES AT BATAVIA.

To Godown, Prow and Cooley hire 2,846 |
Customs, House Duties 2,846 |
Freight of two Ships employed, at the rate of 100 Spanish Dollars per ton 99,539 32 |

To Charges, viz. JAPAN.

Present to the Emperor 3,800 |
Expenses conveying the same to the Roompot 7,000 |
Payments to the inferior Officers of the Court 4,800 |
Annual Salary of the Company's Servants 1,345 |
Annual Table Expenses for do. 3,750 |
Expense landing and storing Cargo 3,030 |
Removal on the weighed Articles of the Cargo, at five per cent. 2,045 |
Commission on Cargo, 5 per cent. 7,143 |
Annual Rent of the Island occupied by the Company's Servants 3,407 |
Annual Salary of the Japanese to guard the said Island 1,480 |
Presents to the inferior Officers, to procure permission of a further exportation of Copper, 5,000 pikuls being allowed only annually 216 |
Petty Charges 148 30 |

To 700 pikuls of Copper, at 18½ Sp. D. per pikul of 18½ lbs. 18,125 |
7,580 do. 13½.5. tables per do. 60,389 40 |
640 do. Camphor, at 18.5. tables per do. 7,350 |
Bales 413 8 |
4,500 Chests for Copper 751 16 |
2,900 Planks for Dunage 87 32 |
82,297 32 |
To Amount borrowed from the Treasury 5,428 |
To Balance in favour of the Voyage 175,505 34 |

Total 569,089 62
## APPENDIX.

### JAPAN.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Rix-Dollars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By sold 1,269,679 lbs. of Sugar, at 7 tahils per 120½ pieces</td>
<td>45,907</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,500 do. Tin</td>
<td>3,226</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102,000 do. Sapan Wood, 5.5. tahils per lb.</td>
<td>2,897</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12,000 do. Cloves, first sort, 150 do.</td>
<td>9,297</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,087 do. do. second do., 40 do.</td>
<td>1,051</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000 do. Pepper</td>
<td>774</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 do. Nutmegs</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6,000 do. Cotton Thread</td>
<td>774</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6,082 Eils of Woollens, 7 per 2½ per pikul</td>
<td>9,255</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,842 do. Kerseymeres, 4.8. do.</td>
<td>2,960</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>778 do. Plush</td>
<td>920</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59 Pieces of Fustians, 3.2. per piece</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 do. Roselets of 2033½ Eils. 1. 6. per 2½</td>
<td>677</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 do. Durants, 190½-1. 2. do.</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 do. Carpets, English</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90 do. Kerseys, at 18 tahils per pikul</td>
<td>1,012</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 do. Morin, 1. 9. 6. do.</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,900 do. Chintz, Bengal</td>
<td>6,125</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>590 do. do. Guzerat, 1. 4.</td>
<td>553</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179 do. Cabayahs, Malabar, 1. 9. 4.</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220 do. Palempores</td>
<td>618</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 do. Palempores</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>814 do. Fish Skins, 200 tahils</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96 lbs. of Saffron</td>
<td>2,731</td>
<td>2²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122 do. Quicksilver, 100 tahils per 720½ lb.</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,200 do. Spanish Liquorice, 532 lb.</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15,181 do. Chitchu</td>
<td>2,351</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,143 do. Elephants' Teeth, 230 do.</td>
<td>2,545</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,500 Pieces of Ducatoons, 8,836 tahils</td>
<td>5,552</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presents from the Emperor</td>
<td>2,812</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash borrowed from the Imperial Treasury to complete the cargo</td>
<td>5,428</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>108,797</strong></td>
<td><strong>62</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### BATAVIA.

**Amount Sales Copper**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>R.Drs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8,238½ Pikuls, say 50 Drs. per pikul or 125 lb.</td>
<td>411,942</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount Sales Camphor, at 40 Stivers per lb.</td>
<td>48,350</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** | **560,089** | **62** |
APPENDIX.

Voyage to Japan (in the Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Spanish Dollars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To 1,836,270 lbs. of Soft Sugar</td>
<td>86,141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18,750 do. Black Pepper</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34,349 do. Pig Lead</td>
<td>2,668.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26,461 do. Roll do.</td>
<td>1,960.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164,000 do. Sapan Wood</td>
<td>3,290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87,611 do. Tin, or 700.0.8 pikuls, at 17 per pikul</td>
<td>11,901.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,563 do. Elephants' Teeth</td>
<td>1,748.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 do. Egyptian Mummy</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15,000 do. Cloves, at 100 per pikul</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12,500 do. Nutmegs, at 100 per pikul</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15,0134 do. Cotton Thread</td>
<td>4,804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>514 Pieces of Thornback Skins</td>
<td>276.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,019 do. Patna Chints</td>
<td>6,348.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 do. Coast Chints fine</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166 do. Printed Cottons</td>
<td>2,060.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 do. Cambries</td>
<td>490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,610 do. Surat Palampores</td>
<td>6,210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>623 do. Silks in Sorts</td>
<td>2,926.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225 do. Woollens in Sorts</td>
<td>10,916.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>298 do. Long Eils</td>
<td>4,078.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231 do. Perpetuans</td>
<td>2,977.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54 do. Camblets</td>
<td>1,400.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,500 do. Ducattoons</td>
<td>4,342.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>179,033.32</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Paid the Chief of the Factory at Japan for 1,400 pikuls of Copper delivered to Government 25,000

**CHARGES.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Spanish Dollars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bags for the Sugar, Pepper and Cloves; Caasks, &amp;c. &amp;c.</td>
<td>6,292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Packing cases</td>
<td>713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coolies employed on board the Vessels and in the Magazines, packing the Cargoes</td>
<td>2,032.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prows employed landing the Cargoes</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extra Clerks and Mandores</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Several Articles on Account of the Adventure</td>
<td>163.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food for the Elephant and other Animals</td>
<td>263.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camphor and packing Cloths, &amp;c.</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid the Commissioners for landing the Copper, &amp;c. at Batavia</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prows employed landing the cargoes</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freight of the Ship Charlotte for nine Months, at 6,600 per Month</td>
<td>59,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freight of the Ship Mary for eight Months, at 6,000 Siceca</td>
<td>22,900.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>94,117.48</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Balance in favour of the Voyage 2,93,150 80

Total Sp.D. 342,125
## APPENDIX

### 1813) IN ACCOUNT CURRENT CONTRA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Value, Spanish Dollars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cargo brought from Japan, viz.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>902,452 lbs. of Japan Copper, at 31 per pikul</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>223,727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60,437 do. Camphor, at 50 Stivers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>45,785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,208 do. Pitch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>670,112</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Debts of the former Dutch Government paid to the Emperor of Japan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value, Spanish Dollars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Debts</td>
<td>48,648</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value, Spanish Dollars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Woollens, &amp;c. remaining at Japan for the next Year</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash in the Treasury for do.</td>
<td>4,688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advanced to the Commanders of the Vessels and other Persons at Japan, to be repaid at Batavia</td>
<td>3,678</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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Total Sp. D. 342,126
TRANSLATION OF A MODERN VERSION OF THE SŪRIA ĀLEM.

There was a certain raja of the west, named Śāng Prābu Sūria Ālem, who, being duly qualified, did, in the establishment of divine justice, frame a code of judicial regulations, consisting of fifteen hundred and seven articles, which being afterwards digested and reduced to the number of one hundred and forty-four, were by him made known and explained to all the people of the countries under his authority, thereby diffusing knowledge and righteousness where ignorance and wickedness before prevailed.

These regulations were also firmly established, and were put into practice without any respect of persons, not excepting the relations and kindred of Śāng Prābu himself; so that, if the left hand offended, satisfaction was demanded by the right, and vice versa, for such is the law of God.

These judicial regulations originated in no ambitious views, nor was their author, when he framed them, influenced by feelings of either regard for his friends or hatred towards his enemies; neither was he actuated by any selfish considerations: his sole object was the establishment of true justice, founded on divine principles.

I.

Of the Duty of the Jāksa.

In the first place, he must possess a sufficient knowledge of the law, to know how to act in regard to cases which may come before him, which of the parties ought to be made to pay, what are and what are not proper subjects for a law-suit, deciding against the person who would bring forward any thing of the latter description. If the Jāksa is found ignorant of these matters, he shall have his tongue cut out.

In the second place, if the Jejémang (the next in order to the Jāksa) shall, in acting for the Jāksa, prove deficient in a knowledge of his duty, he too shall either have his tongue cut out, lose both his ears, or have red-hot pincers applied to his lips.

In the third place, any incorrect statement in writing shall be punished by the loss of both hands.

Should neither of these sentences be carried into effect, the Jāksa ought, at all events, to be banished the country.

This punishment, however, may be mitigated by the Rāja, who, having compassion on the Jāksa, may recall him after one year's exile.

Should the Rāja suffer to pass unpunished such a total dereliction of duty on the part of the Jāksa, as stated, difficulty and distress will necessarily arise in those times...
APPENDIX.

II.

The establishment fixed by Śāng Prāṇa for the Jāksa consisted of twelve persons, viz. two Jejénanga, two writers, six Mdta Mditas, and two men whose business is to be in constant attendance on the court.

The fees authorised to be taken by the Jāksa from persons who have any business to settle, are forty-four for the Jāksa himself, three thousand for the Jejénanga, eight thousand for the writers, one thousand for those in attendance in the court, and eight thousand for and on account of the state. That for the Panghulu is left to the liberality of the party.

If the Jāksa shall not conform in practice to what is here laid down, it is required that he be disgraced and branded in the common market-place.

If any one shall find fault with the conduct of the Jāksa, without being able to substantiate his charges against him, and shall make the same public, that person shall be fined agreeably to the rank and quality of the accused, viz. fifteen thousand (pichis).* The reason of so large a sum being awarded is, because the Jāksa is the chief of the Māṇtris.

The Bopāti is, as it were, the door to the Jāksa, the Kabdyam that to the Bopāti, and the Panghulu that to the Raja. These four form a body, through which every thing is minutely investigated.

Let it be understood, that the Raja, who fills so exalted and conspicuous a situation, is not without something to do. What he says is the result of observation and deliberation. His disposition and way of thinking is that which he has received at the hands of the Almighty, who dwelleth where no one knoweth, at whose hands the wicked will meet with their deserts.

III.

The Tri-rāsa-upāya, as known among men, comprehend three things, which are intimately connected with each other, but which, nevertheless, must not be confounded, viz. 1. Hukum; 2. Pṛéntah; 3. Kasūsakan†.

Where a sentence is very severe, or of a nature which will not admit of its being fulfilled, a mitigation or commutation thereof can only take place, by a careful consultation of what is written in the book of laws.

IV.

Of the Dāsa Wigna.


There are degrees of those which are to be known and observed.

* Pichis, a small tin coin.
† 1. Hukum, the law of God; 2. Pṛéntah, the law of the soverigne; 3. Kasūsakan, oppression (of the people from the law of the prince).
APPENDIX.

V.

Of the Gántur Gání.

Under this head is comprehended five things, viz. 1. The customs of the country; 2. The orders of the sovereign; 3. Loss by an enemy; 4. A change of the Raja and of his orders; 5. Difficult queries given by one country to another to solve.

Under the head Mal come three things, viz. Water, land, and people. The water is necessary to keep alive what has been planted in the land. Mankind take all that comes, good as well as bad.

VI.

The term mal properly means cloth, money, and gold; which three articles, above all others, are the grand and most frequent subjects of law-suits, that arise out of the various transactions which take place among men.

VII.

In law-suits there are seven circumstances of material consequence, viz. 1. Where the cause being good can be taken up and supported; 2. When the articles can be minutely described; 3. When the articles, as well as the persons, can be pointed out; 4. When marks can be shewn; 5. When the party suing has been an eye-witness; 6. When all those things happen to take place; 7. When confession is made of what is the subject of the law-suit.

VIII.

Of the Precious Stone, and that in which it is set.

To these may be compared the Raja and his people. The former is in a dependant state. Those who surround him are the Pandita, the Bopdri, and the Jáksa: and those immediately entertained by himself are, 1. One who possesses his confidence; 2. A Jérutéls skilled in writing; 3. An interpreter well versed in language; 4. A good messenger; 5. An intelligent doorkeeper; 6. A person who knows in what a want of manners consists; 7. An experienced general.—Then will the country flourish.

IX.

The Jáksa is, according to his character, distinguished by the following appellations, viz. Wiá páksa, when he inclines to the side whence he receives most bribes; 2. Pátra kálá, when he goes by what he is told, without duly weighing and considering the merits of the case himself; 3. Ami jáya, when he punishes the guilty with severity; 4. Permása, when he awards the just sentence of the law as it is written, without lenity or severity.

X.

There are three things which ought not to be allowed to exist in a country, viz. 1. Witchcraft, particularly at critical junctures. The fine to be imposed in such cases is forty thousand; and if any thing is lost, it is to be laid to the charge of the persons who practise that art.

2. Should the Adipdri be the person, he shall be treated according to the
APPENDIX.

Sabda suvāra, i.e. he shall be dismissed from his office, and his officers and relatives will be considered as implicated in the crime.

3. Should the Mātris be found guilty of witchcraft, they shall be fined one hundred thousand.

XI.

Of the boundaries or Limits of Lands named Tāgu.

By which is meant landmarks, such as stones, trees or fences, or whatever else serves to form an enclosure.

This may and does often become a subject of litigation, especially where any thing has been planted: 1. With respect to lands of inheritance; 2. With respect to such as have been given away; 3. With respect to those which have been purchased; 4. With respect to those in which something has been planted.

Disputes arising on any of those subjects are proper to be litigated; and in settling them, besides examining such witnesses as there may be, it will be necessary to consult the old men of the village, as well as the Lāra who collects the annual land revenue, before a decision can be given.

The true proprietor of a piece of land under dispute, will be he who can prove his having enclosed it; and the true proprietor of any crop will be he who can prove his having sown or planted it.

Proof is to be obtained by administering an oath, which is done by immersion in water, or by drinking it.

XII.

He in whose hands is vested the power of administering justice, must be well acquainted with the nature of the ten following things, and know how to proceed in regard to them, viz. 1. Informations; 2. Grounds for a lawsuit; 3. The proper time for trial; 4. The occupation and condition of the parties; 5. The object sought by the parties; 6. The prosecution; 7. The defence; 8. Pleading not guilty; 9. Evidence; 10. Eye-witnesses.

XIII.

A sufficiency of evidence alone will obtain a favourable decision; and when the witnesses brought forward to prove any fact do not, upon examination do so, the party who summoned them ought to be cast and also fined.

XIV.

With regard to the Panche bāka, which is the case of a woman accused by four men of fornication; if, on examination, these four men do not agree in their testimony, they ought to be put to death, or else fined agreeably to the Jāna tretsna, which leaves it to those who have charge of the woman to determine the extent of the fine.

XV.

There are two descriptions of orders, viz. 1. Purūsa, or those which come from the Raja or from an enemy; 2. paparēntahan, or those of the Bopāti.

If the Bopāti is more severe or more lenient than he ought to be, he
APPENDIX.

shall be fined one hundred thousand, or else agreeably to the Sābda swadra, which is the arbitrary will of the Sovereign.

XVI.

The following are thirty different cases of law-suits, viz.

1. Amra kādany, where one who is accused of theft, points at either another person or the accuser himself.

2. Kundāng chīrī, where a person presents a paper to the court, with something additional written under the signature and date of it.

3. Meny'ānuk pung'guṅg, where a person destroys his property while he has a law-suit pending.

4. Mutuṅg pamāliṅg, where a person, during the course of a law-suit, leaves his master or chief and goes to another.

5. Sāna dēnta, where a person concerned in a law-suit either magnifies or lessens the state of the case.

6. Ny'ādrīka Pātra, where a person denies his own hand-writing.

7. Nidra permāṇa, where a person, intending to kill another, goes and lives on terms of intimacy with him.

8. Dēmar kitālah, where a person, on first making a complaint of his own accord, brings evidence in support of it.

9. Ngariṅka wārnā, where a person has a law-suit, which another than his own chief is acquainted with the merits of.

10. Sārma ning' jāyā, where a person objects to his own witnesses.

11. Perlīga, where a person finds a thing and does not take it to some proper person where he lives.

12. Gēnti wālāng, i. e. the case of a person who is the first to bring evidence.

13. Sudēsīt kemā, i. e. a thing belonging to two persons and found by a third; the point forthwith litigated, and decided in favour of the former, each of whom hopes to get it: the thing, however, cannot be restored to either, or to any of their relations; it must be appropriated for the purpose of assisting in defraying the expenses of the state.

14. Sāksi ruwemābi, where a person first of all calls upon only one person as a witness, and afterwards, when the cause is decided, wishes to adduce further evidence.

15. Sasāstra perdiṭa, where a person presents a written statement of his grievances without a date to it.

16. Ang'īka-rājā, where a person engaged in a law-suit speaks hesitatingly, and at the same time refers to some respectable person for the truth of what he would assert.

17. Chinī ropāṭha, where a person acts in a compulsory manner towards the people or relations of another.

18. Kāpra-lāga, where a person, in reply to a question put to him, refers to one who is dead.

19. Abhādu pāya, or the case of a breach of promise.

20. Nīleb lāra, where the object of the law-suit is for the recovery of duties, or any thing else a long time due.
APPENDIX.

21. Madöt räketan, when of two witnesses in favour of any litigating party, one is not forthcoming at the time of trial.

22. Sämönug wölün têper, where a person prefers a complaint of a specific nature, and afterwards superadds other circumstances.

23. Ting'gal pergán, where a person concerned in a law-suit remains quiet and keeps himself back.

24. Pâñcha perkásæ, where those engaged in a law-suit display rage and cunning.

25. Andra wîchâna, where before a case is decided, a constant intercourse is held with the Jâksa by one of the parties.

26. Perchâya-rasi, where a person prosecuted before the court points out the love and regard which some great man has for him.

27. Kàtöya rasa, where a person, while his case is pending, makes presents to the Jâksa.

28. Kasåria chådna miråda wachâna, where a person refuses to abide by the sentence of the Jâksa.

29. Kâtöya râsa úpaya, where a person, before his cause is decided, makes a present of something to the Raja, the Bopâti, and Panghikâ.

30. Kasabdâ malîcha permâna, where a person denies what he has once publicly declared.

With respect to the thirty foregoing cases, it will be for the Jâksa to consider and determine when a law-suit can, and when it cannot, be instituted.

XVII.

Here follow eight more cases, viz.

1. Cuptta sâbda permâna, where one of four persons engaged in a law-suit, being deputed to act for the others, it appears, on examination of the witnesses, that the affair cannot be settled with this one person.

2. Hamîk meng tan wirîng wîsa, where a witness, on re-examination, gives a different account from that which he gave when previously examined by the Jâksa. In such case the Jâksa must endeavour to discover which is the most plausible account of the two.

3. Kavoîhit târa, where opposition takes place between the witnesses, or between those whose cause it is, and others who have been eye-witnesses of what is the subject of litigation.

4. Bhâning hânâmpuh tîya, where a person is assisted by one who is in the administration of justice.

5. Ny'âdang tárka, where, on a trial taking place, the deposition of a party differs from the account previously taken down by the Jâksa. In this case, such party should be cast.

6. Ny'aling'ga pandóya, when one takes for witnesses worthless persons who cannot be depended on or believed.

7. Bhuddâ, where a person changes, tears, or makes an erasure in any paper.

8. Kabâsi sâbda parâya, where a person shamelessly makes free with what belongs to another, who is neither a friend nor relation.
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XVIII.

Of cases where a Law-Suit cannot be instituted.

These are five in number, viz. 1. Where the evidence is not clear; 2. Where an article which has been lost by one person is found in the possession of another, who cannot tell whence he got it; 3. Where the evidence of the witnesses produced by any party varies from that of the parties themselves; 4. Where no evidence exists. In this case, the party who can give the most plausible story will obtain a decision in his favour; 5. Where the agent of another in any law-suit is cast.

XIX.

A law-suit will be instituted with success under any of the five following circumstances, viz.
1. Tāta, where the declarations of all those who support the suit are uniform and connected.
2. Tāti, when the time of the deed or action is known.
3. Kārs, where the object of the suit is universally allowed to be good and just.
4. Sanpāra, where there is a readiness to swear to what is asserted.
5. Dupāra, where probability and plausibility exist.

XX.

Of things sent by one person to another, and destroyed under circumstances which admit of no redress, called Pāncha Siddhā, of which there are five cases, viz. 1. Where it is occasioned by lightning; 2. When by the attack of an enemy; 3. By being sunk; 4. In consequence of an order from the Raja; 5. By fire communicated from an adjoining house.

XXI.

There are three things which, from their baneful nature, are universally deprecated, and considered and treated as inimical to the welfare of man, viz. 1. Theft; 2. The injury which crops are liable to sustain from the depredations of noxious animals; 3. The mischief which is to be apprehended under water, from crocodiles or the like.

XXII.

In a law-suit, the successful party obtains damages of the one that is cast. As the agitation of the leaves marks the presence of the wind, so does the stir and noise of contending parties shew the existence of a law-suit.

XXIII.

There are two cases where it will go hard with any party, viz. 1. When a mark or proof can be given, as well as evidence produced; 2. Where in a violent dispute between two chiefs respecting the boundaries of their lands, one of them is the first to bring weapons with him: such a one must be found guilty, and will be cast. The fine to be levied, in such
APPENDIX.

case, will, according to the rank of the parties, be one of the following:
1. Utáma, or that awarded to chiefs, viz. one hundred and forty thousand;
2. Diáda madēn, or that awarded to those of an inferior degree, viz. seventy
    thousand; 3. Nésta, or that awarded to the common people, viz. forty-
    five thousand.

XXIV.

Sentence of guilt will be awarded to any party under the three following
circumstances.
1. Cháya våámi, where advice has been received from the Jákra.
2. Príng’ga ráksa, where the assistance of the officers of the court has
    been received.
3. Andía ráksa, where a case which has been decided is revived in the
    instance of the party that was cast, in consequence of other people’s ad-
    vice. In such case, if the party which formerly gained the suit fail to
    appear on the day appointed for a second trial, they shall be cast; and in
    like manner will it be with the other party, if they fail to attend. For such
    proceeding, however, the Jákra shall be fined fifty thousand.

XXV.

1. Wiláit sábda báksa márábdá upáya, where a person sues another who is
    connected with the business of the suit, but who is not the responsible
    person, and only from his being the more eligible person is attacked on
    account of his means. In such case the prosecutor will lose his cause.
2. Sáka våápa, where a person incurs the obligation of paying for any
    thing he has lost or destroyed, and refuses to do so according to a proper
    valuation which shall be fixed thereon. In such case he shall be cast.
3. Gándíá pátí, where the Jákra is silenced in a discussion with one of
    the parties who dispute a point with him. The Jákra, in such case, shall
    be found guilty, and fined forty thousand.
4. Bhásíng máya permbáma, i.e. if a thief, who is pursued, runs into
    certain premises, by a gap in what serves to enclose them, the proprietor
    thereof will be held responsible for one-third of the amount stolen.
5. Nyámíbdá pátí, i.e. a person having pursued, without effect, a thief
    whom he had surprised in the act of stealing, and the tools of the thief,
    which in his hurry to escape are left behind, are in the meantime found
    in the house of any one, the owner of the house shall be held guilty.
6. Lukítá báktí, i.e. the person in whose possession thieves’ tools shall
    be found, will be held guilty of any robbery which may, at the time, have
    been committed.
7. Síma mamángsa táta upáya, i.e where a person pursues a thief into
    the premises of another, without acquainting him with the circumstance.
    In such case guilt will be attached to the former.
8. Gána léna ámit mángad tan wérín kámá, i.e. when a malicious com-
    bination is formed to accuse and prove guilty one who is an object of
    hatred. The persons who so conspire shall be held guilty.

XXVI.

Of cases where a cause will be lost, there are twenty-five in number, viz.
1. Hína sáksí, where the witnesses are worthless disreputable persons.
2. *Hina sâbda*, where a thing is lost, and the owner thereof does not give information thereof to his chief.

3. *Hina klâna*, where a person finds a thing and does not make it known.

4. *Hina wang*, where a person whom another deputes to act for him, in any law-suit, is deficient in what is required of him.

5. *Kagûndang sâksi*, where a witness produced by one party is the declared enemy of the other.

6. *Hang'imbu chinâ*, where a person who has been robbed gets hold of the thief's tools without making it known that he has done so.

7. *Ng'edong sâksi*, when a person brings false witnesses whom he has suborned.

8. *Hakûto sâksi*, where the witnesses have been bribed.

9. *Hakâddang sâksi*, i.e. where a person instructs his witnesses what to say previous to their examination.

10. *Sâbda laksâna*, i.e. where a thing is stolen within certain premises, and a person residing therein shall refuse to concern himself about the matter. Such person shall be made to make good one-third of the property lost.

11. *Hamâtang bubâkam*, i.e. where a person makes one of his enemy's people his agent. Such person shall be cast.

12. *Sidam wâruit*, i.e. where persons concert in concealing an unlawful pregnancy and in producing an abortion. Such persons shall incur a fine of one hundred and fifty thousand each; the whole of the people of the village where it took place shall each be fined fifty thousand; and every person of the village opposite to it shall be fined twenty-five thousand. All persons, too, who, though living at a distance, are still under the authority of the chief of the village when the thing happened, shall be each fined four thousand. A person of great means shall be fined one million.

13. *Tatarâpam raja pepdâi*, i.e. if a person is found dead without its being known how he came by his death, nothing can be done; and it will rest with the Raja to cause the body to be disposed of in any way he may deem proper. If a corrupted dead body, found in a certain village, is first discovered by people of another village, the whole of the persons belonging to the former shall be each fined fifty thousand. Should those persons have endeavoured to conceal the dead body, they shall each, in that case, be fined one hundred thousand. If it is in a field where the dead body is discovered, and that by others than the proprietors of the land, the fine to be imposed upon the latter shall be one hundred thousand. If the dead body is first discovered by a person of the village, and he immediately, by sounding an alarm, summons all the people of that village to see and bear witness thereof; and if those persons afterwards, on examination, deny the fact, the whole of them shall be fined fifty thousand. The favourable testimony of thirteen women, however, will get them off from the said fine.

14. *Ngépi g'âi*, i.e. a person is wounded and sounds the alarm: many people quickly repair to the spot, but see no appearance of any one by whom the wound could have been inflicted; presently is heard the sound of
APPENDIX.

another alarm, at a different place, by persons who declare they have just wounded a thief who has escaped from them, producing at the same time proof of the fact: in such case the person who first sounded the alarm shall be considered the thief. If there is found a person who has been wounded somewhere, but without its being known where or when, and without there being any thing to lead to a suspicion of his being a thief, nothing can be done to him.

15. Ang'güs sàra, i.e. a wound having been proved to have been inflicted by any party who has been prosecuted for the same, if the skin only is broken, the fine to be imposed shall be four thousand. If it is a flesh wound, the fine shall be eight thousand; if a bone be broken or sinews cut, forty thousand: but if the injury done to the wounded party be of such a nature as to deprive him of the means of earning a livelihood, the offending party must, in that case, provide for him.

16. If a person wounds a thief, and can shew marks of his having done so (as a bloody weapon), and if it has been done in the presence of many people, and it has been plainly seen whither the thief betook himself, and an alarm is presently sounded in the place to which the thief fled, and a person then declares he has just received a wound, such person shall be accounted the thief.

17. Wardáya chuménda, i.e. if a person is observed to pass through a village with thieves' tools in his possession, although nothing be stolen, that person shall be accounted the thief.

18. Artísí wàdîtà dan dèrma dênda, i.e. the disputes of ministers with ministers, priests with priests, and pundítà with pundítà, must be decided according to the Wartárja sawung eng kerta, i.e. by taking into consideration their different dispositions and natures, as well as their proneness to falsehood.

19. Trítà chándrang guìra radítà, i.e. the law (in the inflexibility and unchangeableness of its nature) resembles the sun, moon, and water. Whoever acts in opposition to the law, must be found guilty and punished accordingly.

20. If any person be courageous enough to seize or kill a thief, he ought to receive a reward of four thousand. If the thief has a master, the latter ought to be fined twenty-four thousand.

21. If a person enter a village at an improper hour, and is thrice challenged without making any reply, he shall be considered as a thief. A person skulking behind a door or fence, under similar circumstances, shall be considered in the same light.

22. Nêya résmi, i.e. a respectable person who may endeavour to screen a thief, shall be fined agreeably to the wátâra, viz. one hundred thousand. If the delinquent is a person of the middle class, he shall be fined eighty thousand; if a person of the lower orders, forty thousand.

23. Tri malási nagára comprehends three things, which are iminical to the welfare of a country, viz. 1. Corrupt judges; 2. Breach of promise or agreement; 3. Wígu wígúṣa, i.e. Where the Raja, or others who are in
APPENDIX.

authority, inconsiderately decide or give hasty orders about any thing, whereby much mischief never fails to follow.

24. This section is the work of the Pândita, Páḍvága Chánde Guáná, and contains seven articles, viz. 1. Súria wíguna, i. e. the Raja’s court is like the sun, whose refulgent rays spread in all directions and penetrate through every thing. 2. Aníá súria kastáka, i. e. the displeasure of the Raja in his court is like the heat of the sun, which causes those who are exposed to it to faint away. 3. Kasíla tréná perldáya, i. e. when sentence of death is passed on any one by the Raja in his court, it must be carried into effect, as in the case of Kadárya sangára, where a person commits fornication or adultery with any of the Raja’s household; or Káma sítá antáka, where a person forgets himself and wrangles in the court of the Raja; or Kabérna antáka, where a fight takes place, by which death or severe wounds are inflicted; or Madhávuá tíma, i. e. where a person endeavours to ruin another, by endeavouring to make him appear guilty; or Ańy‘a pólá vábdá, where a person, after receiving a distinct order from the Raja himself, incurs blame by executing it in a different manner from what he was told, in consequence of the advice of his chief; or Jaládri kaperchánda láwát dípa, i. e. the effects of the Raja’s displeasure against any one cannot be transferred to another.

XXVII.

1. Dínand karúban wáng, i. e. the just and lawful revenues or duties, and no more, must be levied.

2. Gégér kapála, i. e. where a person disregards the prohibitions of the Raja.

3. Gurúttí gandárda, i. e. several people are assembled together, and one of them happens to lose something: whoever is the first to quit the party, shall be considered guilty of having stolen it; and if there is incontestible evidence of this, he shall be made to pay two-fold.

4. Góra géttí ng’émítrís, i. e. where an unqualified person decides cases from his own knowledge of the manner of proceeding.

5. Wardása tupa, i. e. no case ought to be settled but by a proper and equitable decision.

6. Yang’a líng’ga suría, i. e. when a Pándita does not shew the accustomed respect to the Raja.

7. Lómam sangára, i. e. when a person mistakes the road he ought to be put right, and not chastised for any trespass he may have made unwittingly.

8. Támjung támrap líng sélá, i. e. whoever shall give protection in his house to fornicators or adulterers shall forfeit his property.

9. Tírha kásáíng píta, i. e. where the wise or skilled assist, with their advice, those who live by fraud, when under a prosecution.

10. Bermára mánq’un líga, i. e. where a person concerned in a law-suit which has been brought forward, is in the habit of absenting himself when his presence is required. Such person must be awarded guilty.
11. Dāndang tumādīping kāyon, i.e. a person from one place comes and lays claim to another: the people of the latter all testify that the claimant has no right or title to that spot or place. In such case, the said claimant will be cast.

12. Andāka katāwan widsa, i.e. if a person engaged in a law-suit shall abscond, from an apprehension of being cast, it will be even so with him.

13. Kūdang lumdīr patīgal sudra, i.e. every person must be held responsible for crimes committed, or wrong done, by any one in their service or employ.

14. Hanio kāna, i.e. a servant or dependant of one person having committed a fault, runs for protection to another, who, when applied to, will not give him up. The person who affords such protection, if prosecuted, will be cast.

15. Hāng līng'ga pralīya, i.e. a person who does not himself appear before the court in his own behalf, but leaves his case to be managed by the officers of the court, shall be cast.

16. Simbār tumādīping sēla, i.e. where the witnesses produced in any case are persons unknown, and without any fixed place of residence, the party who brings them shall be found guilty, or cast, as the case may be.

XXVIII.

The situation and feelings of those in favour of whom sentence is pronounced is Ṥrīta prdrūs tāru lāta. Ṣrīta signifies water, the qualities of which are clearness, and a disposition to proceed straightforward, which nothing will check or overcome. Those who are thus like unto water, let them be ever so humble and poor, shall not fail to be successful in any cause in which they may be engaged. The lowly, who are thus successful, shall have as much cause to rejoice as the rich (prdrūs), who are the reverse, shall have to be depressed. The former resemble a stately tree (tāru), whose base and roots are great and spreading, with fragrant blossoms and many creepers (lāta) to entwine and support it.

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1. Chāndrā kalamākram bīda, i.e. the situation or state of one against whom sentence has been pronounced, however great he may be, is like the moon when obscured by clouds: like her, his countenance is overcast and gloomy.

2. Aṃadon dēria, i.e. a person engaged in a law-suit, who shall change his outward appearance, shall be cast.

3. Penchal'ga anjuddāna, i.e. if one of the wise shall, for the purpose of invalidating the evidence of his adversaries, make any alteration in the disposition of his house or premises, he shall, on conviction thereof, be condemned.

4. Andāka penjang'ga amōyong, i.e. one of the wise who has instituted a suit, and becoming himself sick at the time appointed for trial, shall fail to make known whether he wishes the business to be settled or postponed, shall lose his suit.
5. *Andaka kitram*, i. e. if such party shall fail to appear when summoned, he will be cast, even should he be otherwise in the right.

6. *Ambāti nika amigantaka*, i. e. a person who, taking the law into his own hands, shall seize the property of another, in payment of a debt due to him, shall be held responsible for the same.

7. *Siti tisabla*, i. e. if a person, in search of any thing he has lost, shall enter a different village to that to which he belongs, without giving due notice to the chief thereof, he shall be held responsible for any misdeed which may at the time have been committed, and if any thing important, he shall be made to pay two-fold.

8. *Ang'rika māya*, i. e. a person who, being in company with a thief, receives a hurt or injury from persons while in the act of apprehending him, cannot obtain redress.

9. *Kabrāna pdi*, i. e. a person who accuses another, and is himself the more guilty of the two, shall be condemned.

10. *Pātra lakṣāna amāng'um satmāta*, i. e. a person who, in order to get something which is not his own, shall alter what is written in any paper, must be condemned.

11. *Kabāli sāra*, i. e. a person who superadds in court something which he urges with violence, shall be condemned.

12. *Kitram māng'gen kāyōn*, i. e. one person sends another to demand payment of a debt which is disavowed, a law-suit ensuing, if he who sent the other to demand payment has no other evidence to produce but that person, he shall be cast.

13. *Māntra kāchung tāka*, i. e. if a person engaged in a law-suit produces, for the second time, before the court, a paper which, on examination, appears to be written in a different hand from what it was before, although the purport, in both cases, be exactly the same, the person who produced such paper shall be cast.

14. *Sangmāga amamāng'sa tamp'a taldwang an'g'alek'am tērka*, i. e. a person, such as a *Māntri* or *Bopdā*, deputes another to act for him in a law-suit: the person so deputed has no authority to produce of his having been so. If the cause is lost, the person who deputed the other cannot bring it forward again.

15. *Kaputung'an pikulān*, i. e. if the witnesses of a person engaged in a law-suit shall leave him and go to his adversary, the former shall be cast.

16. *Prāja kobāli mūrdha*, i. e. when the circumstances of a case which one person brings forward are contradicted by those who have an opportunity of knowing them, the former shall be condemned.

17. *Bermara amri sari*, i. e. if a person to whom another is indebted shall, on the supposition of inability to discharge the debt, proceed to seize the property of that other, without previously demanding payment of the debt, he shall be cast.

18. *Sōma amot amamāng'sa tamwir ring bāya*, i. e. a person in office, who exceeds his authority, ought to be condemned.

19. *Krūwang lindan'g'an perudā*, i. e. if person whose cause is good, and whose evidence is complete and satisfactory, shall insist upon a severe punishment against his adversary, he shall be cast.
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20. Gabus boten ng'lem, i.e. when stolen goods are discovered, the Raja ought to cause them to be restored to whom they belong.

21. Gwodita Samirina, i.e. those who conceal the wife or children of another, ought to be put to death by order of the Raja.

22. Sálung alebu dian, i.e. if the relations of one whose guilt is manifest, shall apply to have the punishment awarded transferred to a substitute, they shall be condemned.

23. Apátra ina perchéya, i.e. a person obtains permission from the Raja so proceed against another, and afterwards, from some consideration, neglects to do so, while that other, in the meantime, appears before the Raja and declares his innocence of what is alleged against him, stating that, if he were guilty, his chief would not have failed to bring him forward: in such case, the former shall be condemned.

24. Perwátá brámamátra, i.e. if a person is found guilty of circulating false reports, or of magnifying any piece of intelligence, so as to create a great alarm in the country, and put all the people in a ferment, he shall be fined four hundred and four thousand.

ABSTRACT of some of the LAWS which, according to the tradition of the Javanis, were in force against the inhabitants, previous to the supposed arrival of Aji Saka.

(Collected by Mr. Middelkoop.)

OATHS

Were administered by repeating certain words after the Priest, accompanied by a motion of the head and body, the hands being folded.

ORDINARY FINES

Were levied according to the following gradations:—

When a subordinate or petty chief, who had people under him, committed a crime, the fine was ........................................... 5
The eldest son of a prince .............................................................. 5
The son of a chief ................................................................. 2½
A Prince or Raden without employment .................................. 1½
A Menak or Rang'ga holding a public office and transacting public duty ................................................................. 5
A Menak or Rang'ga restricted from the performance of public duty 1½
A Menak or Rang'ga who administered a small tract of country .... 1
Children of a chief Rang'ga or Menak ......................................... 2½
An ambassador (ordinary) of a prince or principal chief .......... 2½
An ambassador extraordinary .................................................... 1½
Children of the above .......................................................... 1¼
A male subject ................................................................. 1½
A female subject .............................................................. 1

* The money here alluded to is the coin of Palembang, subsequently introduced by Raden Patah, in consequence of his connexion with Palembang. Rice appears to have been the principal medium of exchange previously to this period. The pickis is a small tin coin, of which two hundred make a wang, and twenty-eight wangs are equal in value to a Spanish dollar.
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Persons having forfeited their right of liberty through misdemeanours, and thus become dependant upon another, pay fifty pickis.

All the above fines might be paid in money, goods, gold, silver, horses, buffaloes, and other necessary articles.

THEFT AND ROBBERY.

A free subject having committed a robbery, he was delivered up (on detection) to the chief or tribunal of the place to which he belonged; and if unwilling to restore the stolen goods, or unable to pay the value, he was to be delivered over to the person whom he had robbed, and made to serve him as a bondsman: but no claim whatever was enforced upon the wife or children, who did not, on this account, forfeit their liberty. It was, however, lawful to deprive a thief of his life when caught in the act.

When a robbery was committed by a person in a state of servitude, the proprietor of such person's services was bound to pay the value of the stolen property, or to deliver the person over to the injured party; but on being caught in the fact, and the thief being put to death, the proprietor was no further liable.

Robberies having been committed in the day time, were punished by a fine or by servitude.

If one or more stolen buffaloes were killed in or near a village, and sufficient proof thereof adduced by the owner, the village people were condemned to pay the value of such stolen cattle, unless they produced the thief or thieves.

HOMICIDE AND MURDER.

A free person who killed a male dependant, was punished by a fine of two and a half tahils: one who killed a female dependant was fined three and a half tahils.

If in an affray between two free persons the one killed the other, and the offender was seized in the act, he could be put to death by the relations or friends of the deceased; but if he succeeded in taking refuge with the head of a village, he was only liable to a fine of five tahils if the deceased was a male, and three and a half tahils if a female.

When a prince, chief, or petty chief, was murdered by one of his subjects, the party was punished by death, for having killed his superior.

But a prince or head chief had the right to deprive his subjects of their lives whenever he chose, though, when one of their sons, either a Menak, Rang'ga, or other chief, put to death a free person or dependant, he was bound to pay to the friends or master of the deceased two and a half tahils, besides a fine for a male person five, and for a female three and three quarters tahils. These persons were not liable to be put to death, although caught in the fact.

In case, however, that a prince or chief caused to be put to death a dependant who was not guilty of any offence for which he deserved such punishment, the prince or chief was bound to make good half of the estimated value of the deceased's property, beside being condemned to servitude, and a fine of ten tahils.
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Amok being cried, it was lawful for every one to destroy such as ran amok; but in the event of its being a false alarm, and any one was killed by the crowd, the person that exclaimed amok was liable to be fined.

In a crowd or assemblage of people, if a dispute ran so high that one party was killed in the affray, and lay dead on the ground, the offending party was exempt from fine, but punished by the prince according to the circumstances of the case.

ADULTERY.

A man having received information that his wife had committed adultery, was restricted from believing it, even if he was told by credible persons, unless he found her in the act; he might then deprive her of life. If she escaped, however, and concealed herself among her friends and neighbours, it was not lawful to put her to death; but on complaint being made by her husband, she was prosecuted and punished according to the circumstances of the case.

A man found guilty of adultery was liable to a fine of ten takils, and the woman to the same. Being unable to discharge the sum, they were transferred to the servitude of another, who was willing to pay the amount of the fine, which was then given to the husband of the adulteress.

An adulteress causing her husband to be put to death was also to suffer death.

A man having run away with the wife of another, on her being seized by her husband at their abode, both parties could be put to death; but if they were not discovered for a length of time, during which they kept themselves quiet and had begotten children, the adulterer was only liable to pay, as well for himself as for the woman, a fine of ten takils. He was, however, bound to forfeit the half of the children so begotten for the benefit of the lawful husband, to whom they were transferred in servitude.

DIVORCE.

Lawfully married persons wishing to separate from each other, each retook the property brought at the marriage, and an equal division was made of what had been gained since the marriage. This included the children; the eldest was always to remain with the mother, the second with the father. After the separation on the decease of either, the whole effects were to be taken possession of by those children who, at the separation, had come to the share of the deceased; but they were also obliged to pay the debts of the deceased, whatever the same might amount to. When the number of children was unequal, the odd one was to fall to the share of the wife; but such as were imperfect or deformed were excluded from the division, and maintained by both parties.
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APPENDIX, D.

PROCLAMATION.

For the satisfaction of the inhabitants and people of Java, the following provisions are made public, in testimony of the sincere disposition of the British government to promote their prosperity and welfare. The refusal of their late government to treat for their interests, although disabled by the events of war from affording them any further protection, has rendered the consequent establishment of the British authority unconditional. But an English government does not require the articles of a capitulation to impose those duties which are prompted by a sense of justice and a beneficent disposition. The people of Java are exhortcd to consider their new connection with England as founded on principles of mutual advantage, and to be conducted in a spirit of kindness and affection.

Providence has brought to them a protecting and benevolent government; they will cheerfully perform the reciprocal duties of allegiance and attachment.

1. His Majesty's subjects in Java will be entitled to the same general privileges as are enjoyed by the natural-born subjects of Great Britain in India, subject to such regulations as now exist, or may hereafter be provided, respecting residence in any of the Honourable Company's territories.

2. They will have the same privilege and freedom of trade to and with all countries to the east of the Cape of Good Hope, and also with His Majesty's European dominions, as are possessed by natural-born subjects of Great Britain.

3. Dutch gentlemen will be eligible to all offices of trust, and will enjoy the confidence of government, according to their respective characters, conduct, and talents, in common with British-born subjects.

4. The vexatious system of monopoly, which is understood to have heretofore prevailed, in some instances to an oppressive and inconvenient extent, will be revised, and a more beneficial and politic principle of administration will be taken into consideration as soon, and to such extent, as full information on the subject can be obtained, as established usage and habit may admit, and as may be consistent with a due regard to the health and morals of the people.

5. The Dutch laws will remain provisionally in force, under the modifications which will be hereinafter expressed, until the pleasure of the supreme authorities in England shall be known; and it is conceived that no material alteration therein is to be apprehended.

The modifications to be now adopted are the following:

First. Neither torture nor mutilation shall make part of any sentence to be pronounced against criminals.

Secondly. When a British-born subject is convicted of any offence, no punishment shall be awarded against him, more severe than would be inflicted by the laws of England for the same crime. And in case of doubt
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concerning the penalty by English law, reference shall be made to the Honourable the Recorder of Prince of Wales Island, whose report shall be a sufficient warrant for awarding the penalty stated by him to be agreeable to the laws of England. No sentence against any British-born subject, for any crime or misdemeanor, shall be carried into execution, until a report shall have been made to the lieutenant-governor.

Thirdly. No sentence of death against any person whatever shall be carried into execution, until report shall have been made to the lieutenant-governor.

Fourthly. The lieutenant-governor will have the power of remitting, moderating, or confirming, all penalties; excepting inconsiderable fines, short imprisonment, or slight corporal punishment.

Fifthly. British-born subjects shall be amenable to the jurisdiction of the Dutch tribunals, and to the Dutch laws in all cases of civil complaint or demands, whether they be plaintiffs or defendants.

Sixthly. All British-born subjects shall be subject to the regulations of police, and to the jurisdiction of the magistrates charged with the execution thereof, and with the maintenance of the peace and of public tranquillity and security.

Seventhly. All persons belonging to or attached to the army, who are by their condition subject to military law, shall, for the present, be tried for any crimes they may commit only by courts-martial, unless sent by the military authorities to civil courts.

Eighthly. It being necessary in all countries that a power should exist of forming regulations in the nature of legislative provisions, adapted to change of circumstances, or to meet any emergency that may arise, and the great distance of the British authorities in Europe rendering it expedient that the said power should, for the present, reside in some accessible quarter, it is declared, that the lieutenant-governor shall have full power and authority to pass such legislative regulations, as, on deliberation, and after due consultation and advice, may appear to him indispensably necessary, and that they shall have the full force of law. But the same shall be immediately reported to the governor-general in council in Bengal, together with the lieutenant-governor's reasons for passing the said regulation, and any representations that may have been submitted to him against the same; and the regulations so passed will be confirmed or disallowed by the governor-general in council with the shortest possible delay. The mode in which the lieutenant-governor shall be assisted with advice will hereafter be made known, and such regulations will hereafter be framed as may be thought more conducive to the prompt, pure, and impartial administration of justice, civil and criminal.

Regulations respecting the paper currency, as well as the relative value of coins circulating in Java, will be published in a separate paper of this date.

Done at Molenvliet, the 11th September, 1811.

By His Excellency the Governor-General of British India.

(Signed) MINTO.
APPENDIX.

REGULATION,
A.D. 1814,

PASSED BY THE HON. THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL,
On the 11th of February, 1814,

FOR THE MORE EFFECTUAL ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN THE

PROVINCIAL COURTS OF JAVA.

The Honourable the Lieutenant Governor in Council being deeply impressed with the necessity of framing one adequate, impartial, and consistent code, for the prompt and equitable administration of justice, in the provincial courts of this island, with a view to give to all ranks of people a due knowledge of their rights and duties, and to ensure to them an enjoyment of the most perfect security of person and property, has been pleased that the following regulation be enacted; which, by assuming as its basis, rather the ancient usages and institutions of the Javans, than any new innovations founded on European systems of internal government, may confidently be expected to be, at once the most pleasing to them, and the best adapted to the existing state of their society.

1. The Resident shall be the Chief Judge and Magistrate in his districts; but the administration of police and justice, in the towns of Batavia, Semdrang, and Surabdya, shall, as heretofore, be entrusted to the particular Magistrates and other officers appointed by government for those places.

2. The Bopdis, or chiefs of districts, and all other public officers, who may be retained to carry on the duties of this department, are placed under the immediate authority and control of the Resident himself, or of his Deputy duly empowered by him. These various duties, whether relative or direct, will be clearly defined in the course of the following sections.

3. To render more easy the attainment of justice, and to carry on better the general police of the country, a subordinate jurisdiction shall be constituted in the following manner.

4. The Residency shall be divided into such number of districts, as extent of land, population, former custom, or other circumstances may render necessary. Each of these shall be consigned to the care of a Bopdi, or native chief, with such an establishment, as being deemed by the Resident adequate to the purpose, and by him submitted to government, shall have received their sanction.

5. These districts, again, shall be subdivided into divisions, the extent and limits of each of which will be clearly marked out and made known.
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Their size must, of course, entirely depend on the greater or less propinquity of the villages they contain, and on the more or less numerous population by which these are inhabited; but, generally speaking, no division shall be less than ten, or more than twenty, square miles in extent. It must also be observed, that the limits of the division follow those of the villages; it being quite contrary to a system of good police, that inhabitants of the same place should be subject to different authorities.

6. In each division there shall be fixed a station of police, to which shall be appointed a competent officer, with such number of inferior Mātris, Peons, &c. as shall be deemed necessary for the execution of the various duties allotted to his office, and the due maintenance of the tranquillity of his division.

7. In each village there shall be a Head-man (whether recognized under the name of Penting'gi, Bakal, Lurah, Kwon, Mandor, or otherwise, according to the custom of the country), to be freely elected by the inhabitants of the village itself from among themselves; the only requisites on the part of government being, that he actually reside and hold land in it. Should any of these be found unfit to carry on their respective duties, or other good objection arise to their being continued in the posts they hold, a representation to such effect will be made by the Resident to the villagers, who will accordingly proceed to the nomination of some other person, who, if approved of by the Resident, shall then receive his confirmation.

8. These Head-men shall, in every respect, be considered as the representatives of the villages, and shall be held responsible for all such acts committed within them, as fall justly under that controlling and preventive power vested in them by their fellow-inhabitants.

9. This mode of election and consequent power, it must be observed, are no new introductions, but subsist in immemorial usage, and their nature and limits are well understood by the Javans throughout the island.

10. The Heads of villages will receive and carry into execution all such orders as government, either directly by the Resident, or through the medium of the Bopādis and officers of divisions, may be pleased to issue to them; and they will furnish, at all times, such oral or written information as may be required from them.

11. The care of the police, in their respective villages, shall be entrusted to their charge; and for the due preservation of peace, the prevention of offences, and the discovery and arrest of offenders, they are required to be particularly careful that a sufficient night watch be regularly maintained. For this purpose they are authorized to require each of the male inhabitants to take his turn in the performance of this duty; and, at any time, to call on all to aid in the pursuit and apprehension of offenders, or to execute generally any of the other duties that may occur.

12. The Heads of villages will also be held responsible for the amount of all property belonging to travellers, which may be lost within their villages, provided, however, that the same shall have been placed under
their charge; and they are required to take charge of all travellers' pro-
PERTY which may be brought to them for that purpose.

13. They are directed to keep a register of all persons under their
authority, describing the name, age, country, occupation, size, and appear-
ance of each individual, with any other remarks that may be deemed ne-
necessary. They will also, with the assistance of the village priest, form a
register of the births, marriages, and deaths, which occur within their
jurisdiction.

14. These will be drawn up every six months, according to forms to be
furnished to them by the Resident. A copy of each will be retained in the
village, and another will be forwarded to the police officer of the station,
to be kept by him as records, and to furnish the grounds of such reports
as he may be called on to give in.

15. Whenever a stranger arrives for the purpose of settling in a village,
or any one of its former inhabitants abseonds, the head of it is required to
furnish immediately to the officer of the division a detailed account of the
particulars relative to either circumstance, who will accordingly take such
measures for the apprehension or pursuit of either, or forward such intel-
ligence to his superiors, as the case may require.

16. Any person producing the express permission of the Resident, shall
be allowed to settle in a village; but without this, or unless he can pro-
cure two respectable inhabitants to become securities for his good beha-
viour, he shall not be permitted to do so.

17. As well heads of villages as officers of divisions are required to keep
a watchful eye upon all new settlers, to ascertain, if possible, their several
characters, from their former places of abode; and to observe, most par-
ticularly, the conduct of such individuals as have no ostensible means of
earning a livelihood. They will, too, follow vigilantly the motions of
armed persons, preventing them, as much as they can, from travelling
together in large bodies; and, as far as may be practicable, they ought
to hinder individuals of every description, but most especially such as are
armed with spears, swords, &c. from travelling at all after eight o'clock at
night.

18. After this hour they are authorized to stop, and detain in their cus-
tody till the next morning, all such persons as may, by having with them
more than usual property, or in any other way, justly give grounds for
suspicion. But on a summary examination, should nothing further ap-
pear against them, they must, on no account, keep them detained beyond
eight o'clock the next morning; nor ought detention at all to take place,
if the account they first give of themselves be deemed satisfactory.

19. Should any thing further appear against them by complaint or other-
wise, they will then be proceeded with as with other accused persons, re-
relative to whom directions will be given in a subsequent section.

20. In the above case only, it is competent to the officers of police to
apprehend any person of their own authority, unless detected in the actual
perpetration of crime; or to release any person once apprehended.
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21. It having been represented, that though when the inhabitants are settled in one place, in habitations contiguous to each other, the duty of the head of a village becomes easy of execution, yet that it is extremely difficult for him to perform it adequately, when, from caprice or other cause, any of its members are allowed to leave the main part, or désert, to go and reside in lonely and remote spots, forming thereby small settlements of two or three cottages only together, termed dakas, which being necessarily, from their distance, without the guard of night watches, &c. must frequently become liable to be attacked and plundered, or more often, perhaps, from the absence of all controul, will themselves form the resort and shelter of robbers and other abandoned characters; and, on the other hand, it not being wished to repress too much this outsetting, as by the creation of new villages (which must owe their formation to such small beginnings), a great part of the land, at present waste, may be brought into cultivation; it is ordered, that the following be the line of conduct to be observed in these cases.

22. The head of a village shall, in every instance, report to the officer of division when such an out-settlement takes place; who shall then proceed to the spot, and forming a committee of three heads of villages (not to include the one in which the circumstance occurred) shall judge whether or not it be expedient, for the benefit of agriculture, to permit its continuance, and measures shall be taken accordingly. If the new settlement be allowed to remain, a vigilant eye must be kept over its infant state, both by the officer of division and head of the neighbouring village; and when it shall have grown to a size that may admit of this, it ought to be separated from the authority of the mother village, and a similar constitution be bestowed on it.

23. It is the duty of heads of villages, generally, to preserve tranquillity, as far as their authority extends, to obey zealously the orders of their superiors, to furnish every useful information, and, in short, to contribute all in their power to the establishment and preservation of a good state of police.

24. Their rewards for this will be a certain portion of land in each village, and the favouring eye and protection of government.

25. The police officers of divisions are to be considered as immediately under the authority of the Bopdits. They will furnish to these all such accounts, reports, &c. as may be required, and will act always on the orders received from them, or, of course, directly from the Resident himself.

26. To the Bopdits, or chiefs of districts, they will forward every six months abstract accounts of births, marriages, and deaths which have occurred in their division, and of the general state of cultivation and population, with such remarks accompanying them as may seem requisite.

27. Of these and other papers forms will be furnished them, and they will prepare them from the general account obtained from heads of villages, whom they will, at any time, require to supply them with such further information as may be deemed necessary.
28. On every Saturday they will give in to the Bopati, or chief of the district, a detailed statement of the occurrences of the preceding week, the crimes committed, offenders apprehended, number of new settlers, their employment, from whence arrived, what individuals have emigrated, causes of emigration, and, in short, whatever has happened out of the common track of occurrences.

29. The officers of divisions shall be held responsible for the due administration of the police within their respective jurisdictions; and to enable them better to execute their assigned duties, the heads of villages are placed immediately under their authority. They shall accordingly be watchful that these vigilantly and zealously perform such services as may be allotted to their situation; and they shall report fully to the Bopati of the district, on the conduct of any heads of villages who may prove negligent of their charge, or in any way appear remiss in the execution of the duties entrusted to them.

30. They shall, on no account, exert their police authority in any undue interference with the collection of the revenues, that being considered a distinct department, to which they will only render their assistance when called upon under the distinct rules laid down in another Regulation for the guidance of their conduct in it; here only it is considered that they are to lend their aid at such times, and in such manner, as may be expressly pointed out to them in orders from their superiors. But they are at all times, on a regular application being made to them by the inferior officers of revenue, to take charge of, and give effectual escort to, treasure passing from or through their divisions; and after receipt of the same, they will be held responsible for it until such treasure shall have been by them delivered to the next constituted authority.

31. The persons, and other inferior servants attached to their offices, shall, of course, be employed in the serving summons, apprehending offenders, giving escort, and in other regular duties; but when not in any way thus engaged, they shall, as leisure admits, be sent to make the rounds of the division; acquiring, by this means, not only competent information of all that is transacted within it, but serving also, by this occasional and uncertain visitation, materially to prevent the undertaking of nefarious acts.

32. As before observed, the officers of divisions, and those subordinate to them, shall only, of their own authority, apprehend such persons as are taken actually in the commission of crime. They are never empowered to seize others (with the exception of those mentioned in Section 18 of this Regulation) but when a written order for that purpose has been received from their superiors, or when a regular charge of an original nature has been given in against them by any respectable individual.

33. In these cases, they will take suitable measures for the apprehension and securing of the persons complained of; and when once apprehended, they will, on no account of their own authority, again liberate them.

34. Should the persons have been so arrested in consequence of orders received to that effect, the officers of divisions will, in forwarding them to
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their destinations, be careful to observe such instructions as they may have received on the subject.

35. But should the prisoners have been apprehended on complaints, or other proceedings originating in the division itself, they will, on their arrival at the police station, cause to be written a clear and summary statement of the offence alleged, and of the facts in the case which have come under their observation, whether witnessed by themselves, or borne testimony to by any persons present.

36. They will then, with this statement accompanying, forward under a sufficient guard the prisoner or prisoners, together with the persons complaining or aggrieved, and the witnesses of the facts, towards the chief town of the district where the Bhopal resides.

37. Under no pretence whatsoever, shall any persons be detained at the police station longer than twenty-four hours after their arrest.

38. Should the division in which the arrest has taken place be not that in which the chief town of the district is situated, the officers of it shall make over the charge of persons and papers to the police officers of the division next in the way; and, in similar manner, they shall be forwarded on from station to station, to the chief town of the district, or from thence to the principal seat of the residency.

39. In this transmission, the officers of divisions will take particular care that as little delay as possible occur; any unnecessary infringement on the personal liberty of the subject, being that of which this government will ever be most jealous.

40. Whenever a human body is found dead, of which it is not certainly known that the death was natural, or even though such illness precede it as might be considered as possibly the cause, should any suspicious circumstances or appearances attend the death, it will become the duty of the head of the village in which this may occur, to take cognizance of the fact; and ordering it so that every thing remain in the state first found, he shall report the circumstances, without delay, to the officer of the division, who will immediately appoint a commission of three heads of villages, assisted by himself or officers, to proceed to the actual spot where the body lies, and there make due inquiry into every particular that may serve to elucidate the affair. For this purpose, such evidence will be taken as may, in any way, be thought to bear on the subject.

41. When the investigation is completed, the persons appointed for the inquest shall deliver to the officer of division a statement of what they have done, seen, or heard, and annex to it the opinion they have finally formed of the manner of death, or degree of guilt any where attaching.

42. The officer of division shall forward this statement, without delay, to the superior authorities; from whom, in return, he will receive instructions.

43. But should any degree of guilt be imputed, in the opinion expressed by the commissioners acting on this inquest, the officer of division shall, without loss of time, proceed to apprehend the suspected person or per-
sons, and take such other measures upon that opinion, as he would, had a
complaint to the same effect been regularly lodged.

44. As it is most necessary that the cultivators of the soil, and other
industrious inhabitants of a village, should not, on every frivolous or
inconsiderable occasion, be taken away from their labours to attend a dis-
tant seat of justice, where, even though it be more equitably and impar-
tially administered, the benefit of this is, in many cases, quite counter-
balanced by the loss of time and expenses of the journey and suit,—it is
ordered, that there be a subordinate jurisdiction constituted, by means of
which the distribution of justice will be rendered far more easy to the
governing power, and the acquisition of redress will be presented to every
one aggrieved, with the greatest facility, and the least possible expense of
money or time.

45. The heads of villages are required to look on themselves, and to act
with regard to the persons under their control, as fathers of families; to
maintain, to the extent of their power, a spirit of harmony and tranquillity
in the villages entrusted to them; to curb every approach to feud and lit-
gation; and, with the aid of their officers, to interpose their authority in
settling, with justice and impartiality, all such petty quarrels as may arise
among the inhabitants.

46. Should, however, the dispute be of sufficient magnitude to entitle it
to higher consideration, courts are regularly established to which it may
be referred.

47. The officers of division shall, at least once a week, or oftener, attend
in some open place at the station of police, with their mandrines, or other
subordinate servants, for the purpose of inquiring into and deciding on all
such complaints as may be given in to them, for petty offences committed
within their divisions, as abusive language and inconsiderable assaults or
affrays.

48. These, if satisfactorily proved, they shall be authorized to punish,
by fine not exceeding ten rupees, of which fine the one-half shall be given
to the individual or individuals aggrieved, the other be carried to the ac-
count of government.

49. They shall also be empowered to hear and determine on all such
petty civil cases as may be referred to them, provided the amount at issue
exceed not the sum of twenty rupees.

50. And further, they shall investigate the trifling disputes that may be
brought before them about trespass, nuisance, the irregular distribution of
water, encroachment on boundaries, and other such minor grievances of
usual occurrence in villages.

51. Whether civil or criminal, they shall not, in any case, be authorized
to arrest or imprison.

52. But the complaint having been given in, the person complained of,
if not present, shall be summoned to appear by the next day of sitting,
when the cause shall be heard and decided on without delay. In failure
of attendance on the part of the plaintiff, the case shall be dismissed; on
the part of the defendant, the cause shall be proceeded with as parte. The sentence, whatever it may be, shall be carried into execution, by means of the authority vested in the heads of villages.

53. Should any persons refuse to obey their award, they shall be committed for trial before the Resident, who will not only cause the original sentence to be carried into execution, but, at his discretion, order a punishment suited to their contumacy.

54. An appeal may be made in the usual manner, in civil cases, from the officer of the Division’s Court to that of the Bopatí at the chief town of the district; and any complaint for unjust or arbitrary proceeding, on the part of the subordinate police officers, will likewise be received there.

55. Of every proceeding of this court a regular record shall be kept; one copy to remain at the police station, and another to be forwarded to the chief of the district.

56. A fee of half a rupee from each party shall be levied prior to hearing the cause, to be divided among the officers of police; and ten per cent. on the amount of the sentence in civil cases is, according to the custom of the country, to be taken from the loser of the suit, to be carried to the account of government.

57. The officers of divisions will be held fully responsible for a zealous and conscientious discharge of the important duties entrusted to them, and shall meet with exemplary punishment, in the case of any negligence or corruption being established against them.

58. To the Bopatí, or heads of districts, is consigned the general superintendance and care of their respective districts. But as these high officers must frequently be required to attend at the place where the Resident himself lives, that their districts may not suffer any inconvenience from their absence, they are empowered to delegate their full authority to their deputies, or Pádésa, who shall preside in their courts, and issue and receive orders, in every respect, like themselves.

59. They shall, every six months, furnish to the Resident abstract accounts of the state of cultivation and population within their districts, according to forms which will be given to them, and accompanied with such remarks as may suggest themselves.

60. On every Monday morning they shall deliver to the Resident a detailed statement of the proceedings of the foregoing week, containing an account of new settlers, persons emigrated, offences committed, offenders apprehended, and in short, of every thing remarkable.

61. The heads of districts shall receive all orders directly from the Resident, and take due measures for carrying them into immediate execution. The officers of divisions, heads of villages, and all other police servants within the district, are placed immediately under their control; and they will most vigilantly watch over the conduct of them, reporting instantly to the Resident every instance of negligence or crime that may fall under their observation.

62. They will be open to receive complaints or petitions of every de-
scription; reporting and issuing the necessary orders on them without delay.

63. In forwarding persons apprehended within their districts to the seat of the residency, they will be particularly careful that the least practicable delay occur; no prisoner, on any account, being detained by them, of their own authority, for a longer space of time than twenty-four hours.

64. In forwarding persons, papers, or treasure, they will observe the mode prescribed in Section 38 of this Regulation.

65. On the receipt of an inquest report from the officers of divisions, it shall be submitted to the chief Jâksa and Pangkala of the district for their opinion, and on this opinion the necessary measures shall be taken.

66. At the chief town of each district a regular court shall be established, in which the Bopâti or, in his absence, the Pâtrek, shall preside, assisted by the Jâksa, Pangkala, and other law officers appointed.

67. This court shall be held in some open spot in the town, at least twice a week, or oftener, if necessary.

68. Its authority shall, however, be confined entirely to civil matters; all cognizance of criminal cases, beyond that already allotted to the officers of divisions, being vested solely in the court where the Resident himself presides.

69. In the Bopâti's court shall be received appeals from those of the officers of divisions, on institution of which the appellants shall pay a fee of one rupee.

70. Before deciding on these causes, the record of the former trial shall be read, and such new evidence taken as may be produced.

71. If the former sentence be reversed, the costs which shall have been kept in deposit shall be refunded to the appellant, and levied from the other party.

72. And in confirming it, an enhancement of these costs is left to the discretion of the court; provided, however, the whole never exceed fifteen per cent. on the sum originally sued for.

73. A second appeal to any other authority shall, in no instance, be permitted.

74. The Bopâti's court shall be competent to receive complaints in civil cases, where the amount at issue is not less than twenty, nor exceeds fifty, rupees.

75. This complaint being filed, a copy of it shall be sent to the person complained of, with an order to answer it at most within a week; and, on receipt of this answer, notice shall be given on what day (at farthest a week from the time of the receipt) the cause will be tried. Such witnesses as are necessary will be summoned; and, on the day prescribed, the complaint and answer being read, and evidence being taken, the court shall give its decision.

76. In failure of the complainant's appearance, the cause shall be dismissed; and on the part of the defendant, if he give not in his answer as required, or appear not when summoned, the case shall be proceeded with, and sentence given on ex parte evidence.
77. The Bopdti, or his deputy, shall require the Jdksa and Panghulu to assist him with their advice throughout the trial, and to expound the law where it is not sufficiently clear. Should their opinions concur with that of the president of the court, he shall pass his decision, and carry it into execution without further delay; but when their opinions are at variance with his, he shall, previously to pronouncing sentence, refer the case, with the several reasons detailed which have influenced each opinion, to the Resident, who shall consult with the chief Jdksa and Panghulu of the residency, and return his orders on the subject.

78. A fee of one rupee shall be taken from each party, on giving in the complaint and answer; and ten per cent. on the amount of the sentence shall be levied from the loser of the suit. The fees to be divided among the officers of the court, and the costs to be carried to the account of government.

79. All proceedings are to be carefully noted down, and preserved as records. One copy to be kept in the archives of the Bopdti, and another to be forwarded to the Resident.

80. An appeal, in causes originating in this court, shall lie to that of the Resident; provided notice of the appeal being intended to be made, be given in on the day of trial, and the appeal itself be made within a week after.

81. In this case the costs shall, nevertheless, be immediately levied, and held in deposit till the appeal be decided on. Sufficient security shall also be given for the amount of the sentence.

82. Moreover, on the first institution of all civil cases, in this and every other court, good security must be taken for the amount of possible costs, both from the complainant and person complained of.

83. The Bopdti will be held responsible for the faithful and just discharge of these his high duties. To him does government look, not only for the vigilant administration of police, and impartial distribution of justice throughout his district, but for the zealous execution of every measure that can at all conduces to the preserving that district in a flourishing and happy state.

84. The duties attached to the office of Resident itself are fully explained in the general instructions given to that officer on his first entering into his situation. In this regulation only such parts of the charge committed to him will be dwelled on, as belong properly to the judicial department of his service, to his deliberative and executive powers as chief judge and magistrate of the province.

85. As, however, the due exertion of these powers may require a much larger portion of time than can be possibly devoted to them by a single individual, and more particularly, as much of his attention must be directed to other objects, he is empowered to delegate their full participation to his deputy or assistant, whether in presiding in his court, or in issuing and receiving such orders and instructions as the government of his residency may render necessary.

86. The several Residents, and their deputies or assistants, previously to entering upon the execution of the duties of their office, shall take and
subscribe the following oath before the Honourable the Lieutenant-governor in Council, or such person as he may appoint to administer the same.

"I, ________, solemnly swear that I will truly and faithfully execute "the duties of my office; that I will administer justice to the best of my "ability, knowledge, and judgment, without fear, favour, promise, or hope "of reward; and that I will not receive, directly or indirectly, any pre-"sent, either in money or in effects of any kind, from any party in any "suit or prosecution, or from any person whomsoever, on account of any "suit, prosecution, or other legal proceeding to be instituted, or which "may be depending, or have been decided, in any court under my juris-
diction; nor will I, directly or indirectly, derive any profits from my "station, except such as the orders of government do or may authorize me "to receive.—So help me God."

87. The presidents of other subordinate courts shall take and subscribe before the Resident, oaths of a similar nature and form, to be administered by the priests, according to the custom of the country.

88. The Jáksa and Panghulu shall likewise be required to take and subscribe an oath in the following form:

"I, ________, Jáksa (or Panghulu), do solemnly swear, that I will faith-"fully execute the office entrusted to me; I will answer truly to the ques-
tions put to me in writing, or by word of mouth, by any judge of the "courts to which I belong, declaring or writing down freely, without fear "or partiality, what is the written acknowledged law or local long esta-
blished usage; and I will declare or give in writing nothing that is not "warranted by the law or custom. And I promise and swear not to ac-
cept of any consideration, in money or otherwise, for any opinion or "declaration of the law or custom I may deliver, as Jáksa (or Panghulu) "of any court."

89. In the sixth clause of the Proclamation by government, dated 21st January, 1812, provision was made for the establishment of a Landraad's court; but, in the present state of circumstances, government deeming it advisable that a considerable extension of the powers vested in that court should be given, for the more prompt and effectual administration of jus-
tice, it is ordered, that the following sections be considered as an enlarge-
ment and modification of that clause, and that in lieu of the landraad there-
in appointed, there be constituted a court, to be in future called the Re-
sident's.

90. This court shall be composed in the following manner. The Re-
sident or his assistant shall sit in it as sole judge or magistrate. The Bopditis of the several districts, or their deputies, shall attend to assist the Resident, through every stage of the proceedings, with their advice, or with such information as he may require. The head Jáksa and Panghulu shall be in waiting to expound, where necessary, the law, to state the lo-
cal usage, and to take down notes of the evidence. The Jáksa of that district in which any crime has been committed, shall be the public prosecu-
tor, where no private one appears. The other native officers shall be such as have been used heretofore to compose courts of this nature.
91. This court shall be held at least twice in every week, or oftener if necessary, in the Passerben, or Residency public court-room, for the purpose of hearing complaints of every description that may be brought before it, of examining into all offences reported to have been committed, and trying all causes, whether civil or criminal, that occur in the Residency; with the exception only of those that will, in a subsequent section, be pointed out, as belonging to another and higher authority, the Court of Circuit.

92. The court shall be held open from the hour of ten in the fore to that of three in the afternoon.

93. For greater precision, the court days may be fixed to the Monday and Thursday of every week. It is, however, left to the Resident to alter these days of sitting, whenever he may deem that there is sufficient reason for so doing, observing, in such cases, to give public notice of the intended change at least one court day preceding it.

94. The chief Jáska, who will have the custody of all persons apprehended and brought into the town until regularly committed to gaol, shall immediately, on opening the court, present to the Resident a list of such prisoners as have been confided to his care since the last court day, stating from whence they came, what the nature of the offence alleged against them, the names of the witnesses brought to prove it, and other necessary information connected with their apprehension.

95. The Resident shall then commence on the investigation of the cases, ordering in each that the report of the officer of division, and original complaint, be first read, and proceeding afterwards to the examination of the witnesses.

96. Should it appear to the Resident that there is not sufficient evidence against the accused, and should the complainant not be able to adduce any further, the prisoner shall be immediately released out of custody.

97. But should the complainant state that he can produce more witnesses, he shall be required to enter into a penalty-bond for their appearance on a given day (that day to be as little distant as possible, nor, if practicable, to exceed a week from the time of this first examination), and the prisoner shall, in this case, be admitted to bail, provided the offence be of a bailable nature.

98. If the offence charged against him be one that does not admit of bail being taken, the Resident shall sign a warrant to the gaoler, to receive and hold him in safe custody until he shall be discharged by due course of law.

99. On the second examination, should the innocence of the prisoner appear sufficiently clear, he shall be forthwith released; but should, on either the first or second day of inquiry, such presumption of guilt be established, as to render necessary a regular trial, the prisoner shall stand fully committed for it, and be remanded to gaol, there to remain until that day of trial arrive.

100. If the crime imputed to him be murder, treason, gang-robery, or any other for which the sentence may amount to death, the Resident shall
not himself proceed further in the case, but commit him to prison, to take his trial before the Court of Circuit, of which more shall be said hereafter.

101. Should the offence with which he is charged be one of any less magnitude than capital, the Resident shall, in ordering him to jail, notify to the prisoner on what day his trial shall come on before himself. That day must not, without some good and sufficient reason, to be reported to government, exceed the distance of a week from the day of his commitment to prison.

102. On the day of trial, the prisoner being brought up, the former proceedings shall be read, and the witnesses again examined, and such further evidence, on the part of the prosecution, be taken as may be necessary. The prisoner shall then be called on for his defence, and the witnesses adduced by him be heard and examined.

103. The Resident shall finally sum up the evidence, and stating the reasons that have influenced his opinion, and the law of the case, pronounce sentence accordingly.

104. In these, and all other cases, whether civil or criminal, which come before him, the Resident shall be guided in his decisions by the existing native laws, and ancient customs of the island; provided the same be not decidedly at variance with the universal and acknowledged principles of natural justice.

105. In every instance where the opinions of the Panghulu and Jâksa are in accord with the judgment of the Resident, and in which the punishment fixed to the crime does not amount to imprisonment or transportation for life, the sentence of the Resident shall be final, and be immediately carried into execution.

106. But whenever the opinions of the Panghulu and Jâksa shall be in opposition to that of the Resident, or in which the punishment of the crime shall amount to imprisonment or transportation for life, all the proceedings shall be immediately transmitted to government, with the Resident's statement of the reasons and regulations on which he has formed his opinion; but he shall delay the pronouncing sentence, until the approval of the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor shall have been obtained.

107. In all cases whatever of trial before this court, the Resident shall transmit to government, in English, a statement of the offence charged against the prisoner, the substance of the evidence on the prosecution and defence, the law of the case as it exists in the regulations of government, or in the written or customary laws of the island, and the particular reason on which he has formed his own opinion. The Jâksa and Panghulu are required to take notes of the evidence, and to state their respective opinions on the case in the vernacular language; which document, signed by them, shall be transmitted to government by the Resident, together with his own statement of the case.

108 The civil jurisdiction of this court shall be constituted as follows:

109. It shall be competent to receive original complaints of every de-
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scription, and to try such appeals as may be made to it from the decisions of the Bopati's court.

110. On receipt of this complaint, if the amount at issue exceed not twenty rupees, the Resident, at his pleasure, may refer it to be inquired into and tried by the court of the officer of the division in which the matter complained of occurred; or should the amount be not above fifty rupees, he may make it over to the authority of the Bopati's court of that district in which the subject at issue has originated. But all complaints which concern a sum of money exceeding this, must be tried only by the Resident's court.

111. It is also competent to this court alone to take cognizance of any suits, however trivial the amount at issue, which may be considered as involving in them any of the rights of government.

112. In trying appeals from the Bopati's courts, after reading the proceedings on the former trial, and re-examining such old, or hearing such new evidence as may be adduced, the judgment which shall then be passed shall be considered as final.

113. In reversing the former decree, the appellant shall have refunded to him the costs which have been kept in deposit, and these shall be then levied from the other party; but if confirming the former judgment, it shall be left to the discretion of the Resident to enhance those costs as he may think fit: provided, however, that the whole sum do not exceed fifteen per cent. on the amount of the sentence.

114. The appellant, on the institution of the suit, shall pay such fees as are customary in the institution of original suits; but the other party shall not be charged with any fees whatever.

115. When an original complaint is given in, it shall be filed, on a fee of one rupee being paid, and sufficient security given for the possible amount of costs.

116. A copy of this shall then be sent to the person or persons complained of, who shall be required, within a certain given time, not to exceed a fortnight, to send in the answer; at which time they will also pay a fee of one rupee, and give good security for the amount of possible costs.

117. On receipt of this reply, a day shall be appointed for the trial of the cause, notice of which shall be given to each of the parties; and both they and such others, witnesses or accessaries, as may be necessary, shall be summoned to attend on that day. The cause shall then come to a regular hearing, and be decided on, according to the mode already laid down for the inferior courts.

118. On the decision of the suit, a fee of two rupees from the gainer, and of one from the loser of it, shall be received; and costs, at the rate of ten per cent. on the amount of the sentence, being the custom of the country, shall be levied from the party against whom the decision has been given.

119. In all causes originating in the Resident's court, an appeal shall be permitted to the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor; provided that notice of such intention be given on the day of trial, that the costs be
lodged in court, and sufficient security offered for the amount of the sentence, or that amount be paid in, to be kept in deposit until the appeal shall have been determined on.

120. Appeals from the Resident's decisions are limited to the space of one month from the day of trial.

121. The Honourable the Lieutenant-governor will, of course, after due investigation, alter, reverse, or confirm the former sentence, with remission or enhancement of costs, as to him shall seem best.

122. Whenever the two parties in a civil suit, in any stage of it previous to the decree, shall give in to any of the courts an agreement signed by both, stating that they are willing that all further judicial proceedings in the case be dropped, as being satisfied with what has already passed, or mutually content to settle whatever further is requisite between themselves, or by the arbitration of friends, the court shall place this paper among their records, and cause the proceedings in such suit to be immediately closed.

123. In these cases, half costs, or five per cent. only on the amount of the suit, shall be levied. Of this the two parties shall pay an equal share, or two and a half per cent each, with a fee also of a rupee each to the court.

124. All fees will be divided among the officers of the court, and all costs be carried to the account of government, for the purpose of defraying the expenses to which they are put in the establishment of these courts.

125. The same attention shall be paid to the opinions of the Jdkaa and Panghulis in civil as in criminal cases; namely, that when at variance with that of the Resident, reference shall be made to the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor, accompanied by the detailed statements, and the decision only carried into execution when his instructions, in reply, shall have been received.

126. A record of each trial shall be kept in the archives of the court, consisting of the original complaint, the reply to it, a statement of the proceedings that ensued, and the judge's final decision.

127. Copies of any of these shall be given to any one who may apply for them, on the payment of half a rupee for each paper.

128. Registers shall be framed from these records, one in English and one in the vernacular language (of course separate ones for civil and criminal matters), stating the charges, names of parties, of witnesses, nature of evidence, sentence passed, &c. according to forms to be furnished to the Resident; and of these, one copy shall be kept in the court, and another shall be transmitted, before the 5th of every month, to the Honourable the Lieutenant-governor.

129. A register shall also be framed, and sent at the same time, of all persons apprehended, but afterwards released, stating their names, crimes imputed to them, nature of evidence for and against, and reasons for releasing them.

130. Quarterly reports shall likewise be furnished by the Resident of the general state of the districts entrusted to his care; and every six
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months abstract accounts must be forwarded of the increase or decrease of population, the general condition of the cultivation, number of new settlers and persons emigrated, and generally of whatever relates to the details of his administration, with such remarks and comments as he may deem necessary.

131. In summoning persons to attend his court, he shall have a certain regard to the loss or inconvenience those persons may sustain in being taken away from their usual employments or duties. The cultivator of the soil, in particular, is not unnecessarily to be brought from his fields; and, in many cases, a slight delay of trial may be better than causing the industrious inhabitant to lose the fruits of his labour by attendance at court, when harvest, or other rural duty, demands his presence and entire attention. This, however, is an evil that cannot always be guarded against; but it ought to be so, to the extent of the Resident’s power, and as far as the satisfying the more important ends of justice will admit of.

132. As an additional check to its occurrence, a discretionary power is vested in the Resident, of punishing by fine the complainant in such suits as may, in the opinion of the Resident, be satisfactorily established to have owed its origin to grounds merely vexatious, and this fine will of course be given to the person who has suffered by the process.

133. As it is most essential that access to justice and redress be rendered as easy and free as possible to the injured, the Residents are ordered to receive at all times, and to pay the utmost attention, to every petition that may be presented to them.

134. But as, in the ordinary course, the officers or servants of government, or others, may, from interested, partial, or resentful motives, find means to debar approach to the Resident in his house, he shall cause a box to be placed at the door of the court, into which petitions may be dropped; of this he shall himself keep the key, and, on going into court, open it with his own hand, and have the contents read to him. He shall, at the same time, in the open space before the court, invite the giving in to him any complaints from persons who may consider themselves as aggrieved.

135. It must be observed, that in all causes which come into the courts, the respective parties in them shall plead in their own behalf. It not having been heretofore usual to employ Vakeels, or native lawyers, for this purpose; no persons of this description shall be admitted: And it is trusted that litigation will be considerably reduced and discouraged by this measure, as the trouble of it will then fall heavily and entirely on the principals themselves; that class of people not being allowed to exist, who, as deriving from litigation their sole subsistence, may fairly, and without invidiousness, be considered as having some interest in increasing the business of the courts.

136. The Resident is particularly enjoined to pay the greatest attention to the state of the persons in confinement by his orders.

137. There shall be one gaol only in each Residency, and that at the place where the Resident himself resides. He shall visit it at least once a fortnight, and redress all complaints that may be preferred to him by the
prisoners of ill treatment, punishing amply every instance that shall come
to his knowledge, of misconduct in the gaoler or other officers in charge
of the prison.
138. He shall take, too, the necessary measures for the preservation of
the health and cleanliness of the prisoners; requiring the Surgeon of the
Residency to visit them at least once a day, and to administer to the sick.
The Surgeon shall be further directed to deliver in a monthly report to
the Resident on this subject, stating the number of sick, nature of disease,
cause of it where assignable, and result of his medical operations in the
several cases. To this may be added any suggestions that may be deemed
beneficial.
139. The internal arrangements of the gaol ought to be so ordered,
that the prisoners shall not be confined together promiscuously, but dif-
ferent apartments be allotted, not only for persons of different sexes, but
also for those in confinement for different gradations of offence. For the
following descriptions of prisoners, separate wards ought to be formed.
Prisoners under sentence of death. Prisoners confined under sentence of
the Court of Circuit or of the Resident. Prisoners committed to take
their trial before the Court of Circuit. Prisoners committed to take their
trial before the Resident. And one spacious and airy apartment should be
reserved for such persons as are awaiting the preliminary examination in
the court.
140. All prisoners or witnesses detained in criminal cases shall be main-
tained at the expense of government. But the subsistence of persons con-
fined on civil accounts shall be furnished in the usual manner by the com-
plainants in those suits.
141. The rate of maintenance must depend on the general price of food
in the district where the confinement takes place. It ought to be suf-
ficiently ample to secure the necessaries of life, but by no means any thing
further; it ought not, in short, to be higher than the price for which the
lowest description of labour could be obtained. On this principle the
Residents will regulate the allowance for prisoners, and when settled and
approved of by government, it shall be considered as fixed, and be publicly
made known.
142. The Residents finally shall see that the prisoners receive all the
comforts compatible with their respective situations, and that the allow-
ance granted by government, or others, for their support, be properly
applied.
143. With respect to the authority of the Resident's Court over Euro-
peans, Chinese, or other foreigners, though it has not heretofore been
ordered that they be amenable to any but the courts of justice in Batavia,
Semarang, and Surabdyia; yet as great inconvenience may be, and has
been experienced, from their being under a separate jurisdiction from their
fellow-inhabitants, and as it is the wish of government that they be allowed
to partake of every benefit afforded to its other subjects, of which a prompt
and easy access to justice must be considered as the chief, the following
orders are issued respecting them.
APPENDIX.

144. No Europeans, Chinese, or other foreigners, at present settled, or who, in future, may wish to settle in the interior, shall be allowed to reside in any part of the country without the immediate limits of the towns of Batavia, Semarang, and Surabaya, unless they present themselves to the Resident, to be regularly enrolled in a register to be kept for that purpose, and obtain from him a license for remaining. This license shall not be granted, unless each individual enter into a penalty-bond of five hundred rupees, that he will abide by the civil decisions of the Resident's Court to that amount; but if this be agreed to, the license shall on no account be withheld, unless the Resident can, and does, give such reasons for withholding it as the government shall approve of. No fee whatsoever shall be given for these licenses.

145. Should it, at any time, happen that a cause, in which more than five hundred rupees is at issue, should come before the Resident, wherein a foreigner living in the interior is concerned, the Resident shall call on him to execute a further bond, which may cover the amount of the suit; and in case of refusal to do so, he shall not be permitted any longer to reside within his jurisdiction.

146. After taking out these licenses, foreigners shall, in every respect, be considered in the same light as other inhabitants, and sue and be sued precisely in the same manner as the natives.

147. Should any foreigner, after these precautions, refuse to abide by the decision of the Resident, a report on his conduct shall be forwarded to government, and he shall instantly be made to leave the interior, and be prosecuted for the amount of the penalty he has incurred, in the established manner, in the courts of justice at Batavia, Semarang, and Surabaya.

148. In criminal cases, where a foreigner is charged with any offence, the Resident shall execute the duties of a justice of the peace, issuing a warrant for his apprehension, examining into the evidence adduced, and, according to circumstances, releasing him forthwith, or committing him to take his trial before the Court of Circuit.

149. It must be understood, that the term here of "foreigners" is intended only to include Europeans, Chinese, Arabs, Mussulmen from the various parts of India, or, in short, the natives of any country that is without the limits of the Malayan Archipelago. But as there will resort to the coasts of Java, in small trading vessels, very many of the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands, to whom the entering into bonds, or being subject to other such legal forms, would prove a serious inconvenience, serving perhaps eventually to discourage them considerably from engaging in such commercial adventures, which it is rather the wish of this government in every way to promote; and as by the religion, laws, and usages of this and the various islands in the vicinity, being, both in form and substance, nearly identified (differing only in some few instances in shades slight and of little moment), it cannot be considered as repugnant to the principles of justice, that they be at once held amenable to the jurisdiction established for this island, during their continuance on it; and it is therefore ordered, that they be looked on and proceeded with in
manner no way differing from that prescribed for the actual natives of Java.

150. In the event of the death of any British inhabitant or passenger within his district, it is the duty of the Resident to place the seals of office immediately on the effects of the deceased, after defraying the expense of interment, and to report the same immediately for the further orders of government; and, in the event of the death of Burghers, Chinese, Musulmen, or others, he will be guided by the laws and regulations existing on that head. In all cases, he will be careful that no injustice be practised in this important subject, and that where arrears are due to government, no property be transferred or sold until the same have been satisfied, or until the pleasure of government is known.

151. The Court of Circuit has already been established by the fifth clause of the Proclamation by government, dated the 21st January, 1819. But as the taking away at once the president and one member from the courts of justice rendered those courts, in their absence, incompetent to carry on the current business of their districts, and as a more particular definition of the duties attached to this department is deemed necessary, the following sections must be considered as an enlargement and modification of that clause.

152. In order to ensure the regular, certain, and impartial administration of justice throughout the different districts of the island, one member of the Supreme Court of justice at Batavia, and of the courts of justice at Semarang and Surabaya, shall four times in the year, at stated periods, or oftener if necessary, make a circuit through the districts, under the jurisdiction of their respective courts, for the purpose of hearing and trying all such offences and criminal cases within the same, as shall have been made over to them by the magistrates appointed for that purpose.

153. Previously to entering upon the execution of the duties of his office, each of these judges shall take and subscribe, before the Honourable the Lieutenant-governor in Council, or any person appointed by him to administer the same, an oath in the same form as already laid down for the Residents in section 86 of this Regulation.

154. Upon the arrival of the judge of circuit, the Resident or magistrate shall have in readiness to deliver to him a list of the persons committed to prison, or held to bail, for trial, together with the copies of the charges preferred against each, their confessions, if any have been made (but these, it must be observed, must always be received with circumspection and tenderness), or if they have pleaded not guilty, the depositions of the witnesses, and all other proceedings held by him in the respective cases, previously to their commitment to prison, or being held to bail.

155. He shall likewise submit to the judge of circuit, on his arrival at the station, a separate list of all such persons as he may, within the last three months, have apprehended and discharged for want of sufficient evidence against them; that is, of all such as would, had presumption of guilt been sufficiently established, have been made over to the court of circuit for trial.
APPENDIX.

156. The judge of circuit shall then proceed to hold his court. Such officers shall belong to it as he may have brought with him for that purpose, and he shall be attended by all such others belonging to the Resident's establishment, as he may deem necessary.

157. The court shall be held in the Paserbae, or usual chief room of justice belonging to the station; and the Resident, in carrying on any judicial or magisterial proceedings, during the continuance of the judge of circuit at his station, shall use for that purpose some other convenient place.

158. On opening the court the head Jakes shall present a list of persons summoned to act as jurymen; out of which five shall be taken in the usual manner, and be empanelled.

159. The persons composing this jury ought to be as near on an equality as to rank in life with the prisoner as possible. But no one under the rank of a head of a village shall be competent to act as a jurymen, as persons below that office, or in the very lower orders of life, cannot be supposed to possess either independence or knowledge sufficient to qualify them to execute justly the duties of the situation. The person senior in dignity among them shall be appointed to act as foreman; and, for this purpose, it may be as well that one of higher rank than the other four should be always selected in the first nomination of the jury.

160. A right of challenge shall belong, as in the English courts, to both the prosecutor and the prisoner.

161. The head of the village in which the offence is alleged to have been committed, shall not be permitted to act as jurymen in the trial.

162. No other prescribed disqualification exists against persons of that or higher rank; the right of challenge being deemed sufficient to secure the forming of a competent, unbiased, and independent jury.

163. The cause shall then be proceeded with; and sentence being passed, it shall become the duty of the Resident to see that it be carried duly into execution, a warrant for that purpose being given to him, under the seal and signature of the judge of circuit.

164. The circuit judge, throughout the conduct of the cause, in his mode of proceeding, of summing up the evidence, receiving the verdict of the jury, and passing sentence on the prisoner, shall be guided entirely by the established rules of his court, the regulations of government, and the general instructions he will receive.

165. And with respect to the law which must guide him throughout, he must, in the first instance, take down the native law in the case as may be expounded by the Pangkika and Jaisa; and modify thereon his decision, according to the provisions of the colonial law, and the acknowledged principles of substantial justice.

166. He shall not only try such cases as may have been made over to his court, previously to entering the district, but also any such as the Resident may make over to him while there.

167. He shall, on closing his court at each station, forward to the Honourable the Lieutenant-governor, a clear and full report of all his proceed-
ings, stating the names of the prisoners tried by him, the nature of the
evidence adduced on behalf of both prosecution and defence, the verdict
of the jury, and his consequent sentence thereon.
168. If, in any case, his opinion differ from that of the jury, he shall
detail the reasons which have influenced him in that difference; and he
shall always state any such circumstances as may warrant a mitigation, or
even total remission of the punishment.
169. The approval of these proceedings, and the instructions on them
from the Honourable the Lieutenant-governor, must be received prior to
his issuing his warrants to the Resident.
170. But as this communication, and the reply to it, may induce too
great a delay, the judge of circuit must, on shutting his court, remand
the prisoner to gaol, and move on himself to the next district he has to
visit; from whence he will be able to send back the warrants to the Resi-
dent, when an answer to his report shall have been received.
171. Accompanying this report, the judge of circuit shall forward to
government a detailed opinion on the state of the Residency, with respect
to its police, its general administration, and other circumstances connected
with its actual condition; suggesting, at the same time, any such improve-
ment as, in his opinion, would be conducive to its general prosperity.
172. It remains, finally, to be observed to the Residents, that as the
police of different districts must be, in some measure, adapted to various
circumstances and localities, they are authorized to enlarge upon these
general regulations for the administration of that department within their
respective jurisdictions, reporting their suggestions of improvement to
government. But it is recommended to those officers to become well
acquainted with the ancient usages and institutions of the people placed
under their authority; and in submitting their observations, they will be
solicitous rather to improve upon the solid foundations of ancient regula-
tions and customs, both acknowledged and understood by the people, than
to invent new systems of administration, which for some time must, of
necessity, be quite unintelligible to the inhabitants, and which, after the
experience of a few years, may probably be found to be by no means con-
genial to their genius or habits.
173. Copies of this Regulation shall be forwarded to the various officers
of government concerned in the carrying it into execution; and transla-
tions of it, in the Javan and Malayan languages, shall be furnished to the
Bopdis and other native officers. It shall be the duty of these to explain
and cause to be made known its purport throughout the country; and
for the doing this the more effectually, copies shall always lie on the tables
of the several courts, to be open for public reference and inspection.
### APPENDIX E.—No. 1.

A COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF THE MALAYU, JAVAN, MADURESE, BALI, AND LAMPUNG LANGUAGES.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>MALÁYU</th>
<th>JÁWA</th>
<th>BÁSA KRÁMA</th>
<th>SÚNDA</th>
<th>MADÚRA</th>
<th>SUMENÁP</th>
<th>BALI</th>
<th>LAMPUNG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>God</td>
<td>tňhan; álăh</td>
<td>yéwang widi; pang’éran; gusti; álăh</td>
<td>hongyéwang; sang-yéwang</td>
<td>pangéran</td>
<td>álăh</td>
<td>batára</td>
<td>álăh; gusti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creation</td>
<td>ka-jädian</td>
<td>ka-dädian</td>
<td>ka-dädian</td>
<td>ka-dädian</td>
<td>ka-dädian</td>
<td>ka-dädian</td>
<td>ka-jädian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eternity</td>
<td>kakálan</td>
<td>kaleng’gang’an</td>
<td>kakálan; lăng-gang’an</td>
<td>kakálan</td>
<td>lăng-gang</td>
<td>kükuan</td>
<td>kakálan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angel</td>
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<td>malákat</td>
<td>mala-ékát</td>
<td>mala-ékát</td>
<td>mala-ékát</td>
<td>mala-ékát</td>
<td>dewáta</td>
<td>mali-kát</td>
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<tr>
<td>Soul</td>
<td>jiwa; niáwa</td>
<td>niówo; yétno</td>
<td>súkma; niáwa</td>
<td>niába</td>
<td>niáwa</td>
<td>jiwa; átma</td>
<td>niá-wa</td>
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<td>Life</td>
<td>dűdup; hidoep</td>
<td>dűu</td>
<td>gesang</td>
<td>úd</td>
<td>úd</td>
<td>těp</td>
<td>hṳghe</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Demon or ghost</td>
<td>hantu</td>
<td>antu</td>
<td>dűu</td>
<td>antu</td>
<td>antu</td>
<td>antu</td>
<td>mamidi; antu</td>
<td>hantu</td>
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<td>bűwana</td>
<td>dűnia</td>
<td>dűnia</td>
<td>dűnia</td>
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<td>dűn-nía</td>
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<td>sűwarg’l</td>
<td>súrga</td>
<td>sűr-ga</td>
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<td>lăng’it</td>
<td>akása</td>
<td>cháhia</td>
<td>sadja; cháhia</td>
<td>cháhia</td>
<td>depta; cháhia</td>
<td>cháháya</td>
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<td>bintang</td>
<td>bintang</td>
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<td>bima-sákti</td>
<td>bima-sákti</td>
<td>bima-sákti</td>
<td>bima-sákti</td>
<td>bima-sákti</td>
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<td>bintang-þúng krúkus</td>
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</table>

Note: The table continues with additional entries for various words and their equivalents in each language. The table is comprehensive, listing words from English, Malay, Indonesian, Madurese, Balinese, and Lampung, providing a comparative vocabulary for these languages.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>MALAIGH</th>
<th>JAVA</th>
<th>BASA KRAJA</th>
<th>SINDA</th>
<th>MADURESE</th>
<th>BAJI</th>
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<td>temor-dya</td>
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</tr>
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<td>sutara</td>
<td>............</td>
<td>utara</td>
<td>............</td>
<td>............</td>
<td>............</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Island</td>
<td>pula</td>
<td>pula</td>
<td>............</td>
<td>pula</td>
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</table>
| Mountain | gunung | gunung | ............ | gunung | gunung | ............ | gunung | gunung | uthu-
| Stone | batu | batu | ............ | batu | ............ | ............ | ............ | ............ | ............ |
| Rain | djan | djan | ............ | djan | djan | ............ | djan | djan | djan |
| River | singai | kuli | bangawan | ......................................... | songai | ......................................... | tukad | bintang-aghil | ............ |

Memorandum.—The above Comparative Vocabulary was formed in the following manner.—Copies of the Vocabulary, in the Malayan character, arranged by the late Dr. Leyden, were circulated in different parts of Java, and completed in the different languages and dialects by the natives. After collections of these were made, several intelligent natives were, from time to time, assembled from different parts of the island, and also from Bali, Lampung, Madura, and Sumenap, and the Vocabulary in each language was carefully revised in concert with them, at the same time that it was re-compiled in the native and roman characters.
APPENDIX.

APPENDIX E.—No. I.—continued.

EXTRACT FROM THE DASA NAMA.*

1. Madia ning from ordinary thought comes knowledge of manges.
   f. b. Mángsa season, time.
   f. b. Kála time.
   k. Dók the same.
   b. Tak-kála the same.
   b. Panjenáng'an the time, as applied to the reign of a sove-
   reign or governor, a dynasty, a rule.
   f. b. Jáman the same.
   k. Titika, or kútika the same.
   b. Dáweg or dáwak present time.
   j. Láji future time.
   f. b. Waktu time.
   f. b. Usum the season of any thing, as the paddy season or
   fruit seasons, season for breed of cattle.
   f. b. Mángsa ren-
   dang season or time of rain.
   j. Ka-telu(3) commencement of the rain.
   j. Ka-pat(4) rains.
   j. Ka-lima(5) ditto.
   j. b. Ka-nam(6) ditto, rivers full.
   j. b. Ka-pitu(7) heavy rains.
   j. b. Ka-wólu(8) rains commence falling off.
   j. b. Ka-sáng'a(9) rains nearly over.
   Mángsa tranq dry or clear seasons.
   b. Kásá-dásá(10) commencement of dry season.
   j. b. Dasta autumnal, or season of the falling of the leaves.
   j. b. Sadá season of heavy dews.
   j. b. Kásá clear, dry, and cloudless season.
   j. Káro the season in which trees commence to throw out their
   leaves and flowers.

2. Mángsa ren-
   dang ing ardí the rainy season comes from the hills or
   mountains.
   k. Pawáka mountains from which wind comes.

k. Gíri stupendous, abrupt mountains, which create awe on look-
   ing on them.

k. Purwáta original mountains, the first or primitive
   mountains.

k. Chála mountain.

k. Mandála the base or foot of a mountain.

k. Liwáwan, or distant mountains.
   himáwan.

b. Ardí stupendous mountains.

j. Gúnung mountains or hills.

j. Kendeng low ranges of hills.

j. b. Sengkan the acclivity of a hill.

j. Módik the same.

j. b. Jújráng the space between two hills above the val-
   leys.

k. Sárung the valley or bottom of the space be-
   tween two hills.

j. Papéeng the steep part of a hill which cannot be ascended.

j. Héring or iring the same.

Ś. Ardí akatáh sála the hills have many stones.

b. Sélá stones, large stones.

j. b. Ka-ríkíl small stones, pebbles.

j. b. Kamlása small fine stones, gravel.

j. Wátu stones.

k. Máunik a kind of hard black stone.

j. b. Párang a sort of stone neither hard or soft.

k. Redjeng the same.

j. Gamping lime stone.

j. b. Wádas a kind of stone.

j. b. Chúrí a particular kind of stone, rather harder
   than redjeng.

k. Chánlí a sort of stone which when taken from the
   quarry is soft and easily cut, but afterwards becomes hard
   on exposure to air.

* f. is intended to shew that the word is used in the common or Javan dialect.

f. that it is used in the Basa or Basa Krems, the polite language.

f. that it belongs to the Kawa language; where two initials occur it is used in both.
## APPENDIX E.—No. II.

**Comparative Vocabulary of the Sanscrit, Kawi, and Pali.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Sānscrit</th>
<th>Kāwi</th>
<th>Pāli</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>eka</td>
<td>eka</td>
<td>ek-ka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>duī</td>
<td>duī</td>
<td>do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>tri</td>
<td>tri</td>
<td>tri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four</td>
<td>chātūr</td>
<td>chātor</td>
<td>chatwa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five</td>
<td>pancha</td>
<td>pancha</td>
<td>pancha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six</td>
<td>śaṣa or śat</td>
<td>śaṣa</td>
<td>śo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven</td>
<td>saptā</td>
<td>saptā</td>
<td>sap.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight</td>
<td>āśita</td>
<td>āśita</td>
<td>ā-tha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine</td>
<td>nāva</td>
<td>nāva</td>
<td>no-wa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten</td>
<td>dāsa</td>
<td>dāsa</td>
<td>thotsa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man (m.)</td>
<td>manūshya or manūsha</td>
<td>manūsa</td>
<td>manut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man (v.)</td>
<td>jāna, purisha</td>
<td>jāna, puriśa</td>
<td>burūta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>śtrī, varāṅgāna</td>
<td>śtrī, waranggāna</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>pīta or pītrī</td>
<td>pīta</td>
<td>bida.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>mātā or mātrī</td>
<td>mātā</td>
<td>manda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>māstākā</td>
<td>māstākā</td>
<td>kē.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eye</td>
<td>nētra, akhi, chākṣu</td>
<td>sōti</td>
<td>sē.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nose</td>
<td>nāsa, ghrānā</td>
<td>grāna</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hair</td>
<td>kēsa</td>
<td>kēsa</td>
<td>kēsa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teeth</td>
<td>dānta</td>
<td>dānti</td>
<td>thanta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belly</td>
<td>gerbha, udāra</td>
<td>gerba</td>
<td>ñtha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand</td>
<td>āstā</td>
<td>āstā</td>
<td>hat-tha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foot</td>
<td>pāda</td>
<td>pāda</td>
<td>bāt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blood</td>
<td>lōhita, sonita, rudhīra, &amp;c.</td>
<td>rāh, lūdāra</td>
<td>lōhīt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day</td>
<td>dīna, divāsa, &amp;c.</td>
<td>dīna, mēra</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Night</td>
<td>rātri, kūlam</td>
<td>rātri</td>
<td>rātri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sleep</td>
<td>nīdra</td>
<td>nīdra</td>
<td>nīta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dead</td>
<td>prēta, pārata, mrita</td>
<td>pārātra</td>
<td>muai.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>sīta</td>
<td>sēta</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>kāla</td>
<td>kāla, krīṇa</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>duashkrtā</td>
<td>duṣṭā</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>agni</td>
<td>agni, brāma, geni</td>
<td>ak-khi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>jāla, āpa, &amp;c.</td>
<td>jala, jalāndi</td>
<td>khongkha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone</td>
<td>sīla</td>
<td>sēla</td>
<td>sēla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hog</td>
<td>varāha, sukāra</td>
<td>wrāhas, sukāra</td>
<td>sūkon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bird</td>
<td>paksha</td>
<td>pakal</td>
<td>pakal, pakal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egg</td>
<td>anda</td>
<td>endog</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>min, māsya</td>
<td>mina, mataia</td>
<td>min.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>śūrya, prabhakara, ṛḍītya</td>
<td>śūrya, prabang-kāra, radīta</td>
<td>śūrya, śāhit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moon</td>
<td>chandra, sitāngsu</td>
<td>chandra; śiṅgšu</td>
<td>pera-chan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stars</td>
<td>tāra</td>
<td>tāra</td>
<td>dara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God</td>
<td>ñswāra (Lord), déva (a god)</td>
<td>déva (a god)</td>
<td>pra, pra-chao.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eating</td>
<td>bhojanam</td>
<td>bōja</td>
<td>swoi, chhan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# APPENDIX

## APPENDIX E.—No. III.

**Vocabulary of Kawi Words, with the Meaning Attached to them by the Panambahan of Sumenap.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Kawi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>God</td>
<td>sang yang-jagat-ke-râna, sang-yang-sukama, yang-widi, murbeng buana, yang-taâya, sang-yang-wisâsa, sang-yang-jagat, ráya, sang-yang-mânon, yang'ing jagat, mursa wî-sëza, hong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make, do; or work</td>
<td>ang'dé, andé, ayâsa, kiriti, panéron, a-mâng'un.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The work; what is made or done</td>
<td>winâng'un, inâmer, iniket.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pen</td>
<td>tanâser.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>delânschang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A vessel; pot; re</td>
<td>tapela, pranji, gátá.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heaven</td>
<td>sûra laîya, indra-kîla, sûra-loka surëndra, kayâng an.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situation, place; office</td>
<td>ling'ng'angâsa, pa-paáng-kan, pa-rama-sâna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World</td>
<td>rat, buána, marcha-pâda, jamandà, yatri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>patmánda, kâhînán, sâna, laîya, arâna, lóka, panápa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hell</td>
<td>tambrâ-gomika, ya-máni, tâmbrâ-múka, yama, pâpásâna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sky</td>
<td>gâgâna, diu, barâka, antarîkka, ambar-tâla, marútâma, marutâpa, margâvâtma, naûnîna, sam-bâra, bluma, akh, ngâh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atmosphere (between the sky and the earth)</td>
<td>wiat, ma'dia-gantang, tâwang, layâng.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light</td>
<td>prâba, kùmût-deô-jiu, tesa, têja, mâyâ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>bâmarâ, radita, prangga-pâti, ârûna, hâri, karâba, tâla, sùbandagni, angkâ, nâku, kanúman, asûman, diinnkâra, dáta-pâti, niwâsa, sûra, sara-sûman.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Kawi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moon</td>
<td>chândra, sadâra, sângka, idûpàti, sùma, sasâlan-châña, nísla, sitângau, sitârasmi, sâsi, ráti, basânta, indung.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The first day of the month (moon)</td>
<td>sukla-paksa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The sixteenth day of the moon</td>
<td>krîma-paksa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Names of the months riti-mâsâ, pûspita-warâ, kusúma-wichitra, pûspa-dàrâna, darma kusúma, anta wardi, rañûwandâni, warsan dâni, chakra kulâna, sândâya krâma, dirga moriâng, renji sâri, rasmân-dran dâni.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Neither east nor west sunia dâsârâ. |

Day | mahîra. |
Sunday | riti or dite. |
Monday | sóma. |
Tuesday | ang'gára. |
Wednesday | budhâ. |
Thursday | râspâti. |
Friday | sukrâ. |
Saturday | sanischâra. |

| Wind | marûta, sâmi-râna, pràbanchâna, anila, bâyu, lius, indria, pancha, warîyang, sàbâ-gâti, anila, gânda-wasta, nàsâmira, sara, pràl wâvûlra, sindung. |
| Clouds | widi-yúta, sadâli, dâwâta, ambûsun, ambakâ, samûta, gàna, toyâda, pâyûwáha, tràngga, ambu-morcha, ima-ima, jàlâdà, jàlâda, imang kamúra, imalâya. |
| Rain | warra, jàwah, truh, trah, ríra, wresli. |
| Dark | anda, tamêra, ãwuk. |
| Cold | mèrti, sâtis, ãtis. |
| Hot | usma, tikâna, landep. |
# APPENDIX E.—No. IV.

**Specimen of the Mystical Meaning, attached to the Letters of the Alphabet, &c. according to the Interpretation of the Panambahan of Sumenap.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LETTERS of the ALPHABET, &amp;c.</th>
<th>MEANING ATTACHED IN JAVAN.</th>
<th>ENGLISH.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ha</td>
<td>säh</td>
<td>it is or it was.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na</td>
<td>anâne</td>
<td>the test of.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cha</td>
<td>etcha-nâna</td>
<td>woman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ra</td>
<td>wâdon</td>
<td>that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka</td>
<td>iku</td>
<td>when.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Da</td>
<td>tatâlå</td>
<td>thou or thee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta</td>
<td>sira</td>
<td>alike or as a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>kâya</td>
<td>man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wa or va</td>
<td>wong</td>
<td>remove.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La</td>
<td>lanji</td>
<td>certainly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa</td>
<td>pasti</td>
<td>low.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dha</td>
<td>âsor</td>
<td>wish (to).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ja</td>
<td>kârrep</td>
<td>request.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ya</td>
<td>panedâne</td>
<td>do not want, or do not wish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nia</td>
<td></td>
<td>love, or to love.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma</td>
<td>tanârep</td>
<td>cannot help.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga</td>
<td>asmâra</td>
<td>bad or badness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ba</td>
<td>kâduk</td>
<td>thee or thou.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta</td>
<td>âla</td>
<td>it was, there was, or were a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nga</td>
<td>sira</td>
<td>a nobleman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha-na</td>
<td>wonten</td>
<td>named Aji sâka, or his name was Aji sâka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cha-ra</td>
<td>satria</td>
<td>was mentioned in the writing, or among the letters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka-da-ta</td>
<td>arâne Aji sâka</td>
<td>on the island of Jáwa, or in the city of Jáwa (hil).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa-wa-la</td>
<td>wâskâchop jero tála.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa-da-ja</td>
<td>sâking nusa jáwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ya-nia-ma</td>
<td>dâdi-bujângga</td>
<td>became a great writer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga-ba</td>
<td>ling buâna</td>
<td>in the world or of this world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta-nga</td>
<td>kâng kedeep</td>
<td>who know, or whose eyes are open.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hang</td>
<td>âpa</td>
<td>what.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nang chang</td>
<td>tinâlân</td>
<td>to tie or make fast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rang käng</td>
<td>gôdông'i Pandan</td>
<td>leaf of the Pandan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dang tang</td>
<td>kangginûba</td>
<td>which is made.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wang</td>
<td>dening wong</td>
<td>by the people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lang</td>
<td>dâdine</td>
<td>it became.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pang</td>
<td>âpang</td>
<td>branches.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pang</td>
<td>mulâne</td>
<td>because.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sang</td>
<td>tudûhe</td>
<td>it is pointing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dang jang</td>
<td>kâbângkit âne</td>
<td>his knowledge or art.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yang</td>
<td>gust</td>
<td>God or the Lord.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yang</td>
<td>bâgus</td>
<td>handsome or beautiful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nang</td>
<td>ling âláp</td>
<td>taken up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mang</td>
<td>mangkë</td>
<td>by and by, afterwards.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## APPENDIX.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LETTERS of the ALPHABET, &amp;c.</th>
<th>MEANING ATTACHED IN JAVAN.</th>
<th>MEANING ATTACHED IN ENGLISH.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mang</td>
<td>kaláyan</td>
<td>with or with the.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gang</td>
<td>árum</td>
<td>sweet with.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bang</td>
<td>kambang</td>
<td>flowers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tang</td>
<td>sinédeh or sinálah</td>
<td>to lay upon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngang</td>
<td>rambat</td>
<td>the hair.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hi-ni</td>
<td>kaláwan</td>
<td>with or by.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi-ri</td>
<td>túla pratánda</td>
<td>the mark or sign of writing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ki</td>
<td>iki</td>
<td>this.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Di-di</td>
<td>áji-sáka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si</td>
<td>kung apásian</td>
<td>who have given.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wi-li</td>
<td>wúrúk</td>
<td>to teach or give instruction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pi-di-ji</td>
<td>máring rátu</td>
<td>to the rátu or king.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yi-nyí</td>
<td>péda bestó-kena</td>
<td>every one might agree to it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mi-pi</td>
<td>niáta</td>
<td>clear, quite plain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bi-ti-ni</td>
<td>útilh kagáng'an</td>
<td>to have property.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hing</td>
<td>áng'ing</td>
<td>but.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ning</td>
<td>ánna</td>
<td>is, was, were.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ching</td>
<td>ka-ting'al</td>
<td>appear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ring</td>
<td>lámun</td>
<td>if or if it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King</td>
<td>lárá-bránta</td>
<td>the pains of love.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dlang</td>
<td>daddáran</td>
<td>in the way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ting</td>
<td>sang'at</td>
<td>very much.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing</td>
<td>bárag</td>
<td>any thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wing</td>
<td>kung wenang</td>
<td>suitable; proper.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ling</td>
<td>pang'ochap</td>
<td>word or words.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ping</td>
<td>ing'at</td>
<td>remember.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ding</td>
<td>suára</td>
<td>sound or voice, noise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jing</td>
<td>jeng'er</td>
<td>see or look at.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ying</td>
<td>bániu</td>
<td>water.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nying</td>
<td>mánah</td>
<td>the mind or heart.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ming</td>
<td>ewuh</td>
<td>don’t know what to do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ging</td>
<td>bódó</td>
<td>foolish or stupid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bing</td>
<td>gáwok</td>
<td>astonished or surprised.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ting</td>
<td>seng'it</td>
<td>hate or dislike.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nging</td>
<td>sira</td>
<td>you or thou, thee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu</td>
<td>ang'öndang</td>
<td>to call or bawl out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nu</td>
<td>ting teng'ah marga</td>
<td>on the way or at road.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chu</td>
<td>pegel</td>
<td>quite tired.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ru</td>
<td>ang'uláti</td>
<td>seeking for.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ku</td>
<td>ing'srun</td>
<td>me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du</td>
<td>kanching</td>
<td>buttons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu</td>
<td>kalámbl</td>
<td>garment or jacket.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Su</td>
<td>lu-wih</td>
<td>more or much more.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu</td>
<td>ewuh</td>
<td>lost, confused.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lu</td>
<td>sang'et</td>
<td>very much.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa</td>
<td>sosah</td>
<td>troublesome or tedious.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du</td>
<td>súne</td>
<td>crying, or the sound of crying.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ju</td>
<td>inman or eman</td>
<td>pity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yu</td>
<td>áyu</td>
<td>beauty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niu</td>
<td>sira</td>
<td>thou or you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu</td>
<td>tan-árep</td>
<td>do not wish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gu</td>
<td>meneng</td>
<td>be quiet or silent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bu</td>
<td>lemah</td>
<td>the earth or ground.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu</td>
<td>ngulád</td>
<td>behold or look at.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## APPENDIX.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LETTERS of the ALPHABET, &amp;c.</th>
<th>MEANING ATTACHED IN JAVAN.</th>
<th>MEANING ATTACHED IN ENGLISH.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ngu</td>
<td>ngupāya</td>
<td>seeking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hung</td>
<td>sembah</td>
<td>to make obeisance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nung</td>
<td>langgeng</td>
<td>eternal or for ever.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chung</td>
<td>sānget</td>
<td>very.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rung</td>
<td>mádep</td>
<td>to give up the mind to any thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kung</td>
<td>asmāra</td>
<td>thoughtful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dung</td>
<td>panehād</td>
<td>the offering.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tung</td>
<td>landep</td>
<td>sharp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sung</td>
<td>päpe-ring'e</td>
<td>his gift or present.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wung</td>
<td>málih</td>
<td>more.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lung</td>
<td>lukta</td>
<td>always.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pung</td>
<td>karēpl</td>
<td>desire, or his desire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dung</td>
<td>päda</td>
<td>the same as, or equal to.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jung</td>
<td>prau</td>
<td>a boat or vessel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yung</td>
<td>päyung</td>
<td>an umbrella.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niung</td>
<td>alra</td>
<td>thou or you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mung</td>
<td>ang'ëprih</td>
<td>wishes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gung</td>
<td>ăngung</td>
<td>great or large.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bung</td>
<td>gamlan</td>
<td>music.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tung</td>
<td>ting'ele</td>
<td>sound or voice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngung</td>
<td>alra</td>
<td>thou or you.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ACCOUNT OF CELEBES.

Celebes is an island of which hitherto the public has had but very scanty accounts. The part of it best known to Europeans is Makásar, situated nearly at the southernmost extremity of the western side: it was here the first European settlement on the island was established. On the south part of Celebes there are not any ascertained volcanoes, but some are said to exist in the northern division. Some of the mountains are very high. The Bontain mountain, called by the natives Lámpo Bátan (big belly), is the highest on the south part of the island, and being seen at the distance of one hundred and twenty miles, must be about eight thousand five hundred feet above the level of the sea.

The largest river on the southern limb is that called Chinrána, which formerly constituted the boundary between the kingdoms of Bóni and Lásu. It rises on the north side of the Bontain mountain, and runs northward as far as Mário, whence, inclining towards the north-east, it passes through part of Sóping, and then, turning to the east, enters Wófi, after having received a navigable stream from the Laut-Sálá, or Fresh-water Lake. After passing through Wófi it follows a south-east course, and falls into the bay of Bóni, a few miles below the town of Chinrána. This river is navigable for boats as far as Mário, and admits of the passage of prahus of five or six kyaws as far as the fresh-water lake. Along the whole of the coast, at no great distance from each other, smaller streams fall into the sea, some of them being so considerable as to admit of a navigation of five or six miles, and many of them at their mouths affording shelter to trading prahus. Among the most considerable are Baróbo, Láñé, and Kójung, to the east; Dówán, Lêmang, Halikóngkong, Pónge, and Jenepóto, on the south; and Chikoang, Tañé Jára, Sándra bóni, Gái, Télá, Máros, Benáng'a, Längkára, and Pontiána, on the west.

It has not been ascertained by whom, or at what particular time, the name of Celebes was conferred on this island. It is generally attributed to the Portuguese, and certainly is of foreign origin: none of the natives, except those who have intercourse with Europeans, recognize either the whole island or any part of it under this appellation; even among those who make use of the word, it is applied to Sumbáw, an island about two hundred and fifty miles to the south-west of it, as well as to what we call Celebes.

In the south-western limb of the island there are two principal languages, called by Europeans the Mákásar and Búgis, and by the natives Mengkásara or Mengkasdrá, and Wági or Ugi. The former, or some dialect of it, is spoken in all the districts extending from Bálus kámbo to Ségéré. The petty states included in this compass are Bálus kámbo, Bontain, Tara-
APPENDIX.

Búgis, Gúa, Móros, and Segère. The Búgis is much more general beyond and over the whole tract extending from Bóni to Láwu, comprehending the four great states of Láwu, Bóni, Wúgu, and Sóping, besides their numerous dependencies.

In Mándhar and its vicinity is spoken the Mándhar language. The centre and body of the island to the northward is distinguished by being inhabited by the Túrógias or Harafíras, who speak a more simple dialect, and are considered the aborigines of the island; and on the north-east corner of the island at Mándíu and Gúnung Télú, the inhabitants are distinguished by some peculiarities.

The following observations must be understood as principally referring to the south-western limb, the part of the island which fell under the influence of Makásar.

It is impossible to ascertain, with any degree of precision, either the origin of the inhabitants or their present numbers. From the most correct accounts that could be obtained, it would appear that the southern limb contains a population of about half a million; but from the quantity of land now lying waste, which bears the appearance of having been once cultivated, from the number of decayed and half-choked water-cuts, evidently once used for the purpose of irrigation, and the multitude of spots where ranges of cocoa-nut trees mark out the sites of villages and cottages no longer in existence, we may infer that the number of inhabitants has greatly declined. At present there seem to be no serious checks to population, except the wars and the lawless violence of the people, and what often occasions, and always aggravates them, slavery and the slave trade. The people seem to procure a sufficient subsistence without much exertion. The climate is salubrious, and there is abundance of water. Marriages are early. In the history of the island the years of famine are particularly noticed. The women are held in more esteem than could be expected from the state of civilization in general, and undergo none of those severe hardships, privations, or labours, that restrict fecundity in other parts of the world. Polygamy prevails, the number of wives being limited only by the means of the husband to purchase or support them. It is more difficult to procure a wife than a husband; a female slave bears a higher price in the market than a male; and the compensation fixed for the murder of a man is only thirty dollars, while that required for the life of a woman is forty.

It cannot be known with certainty, whence the aboriginal inhabitants of Celebes emigrated to this island. The countenances of the natives, particularly of the women, more nearly resemble the Tartar features than any other. There are no early or generally received traditions concerning the time when the island was first peopled, or the adventures of the first race. Each state, however, has its traditionary tales, most of which relate to remote antiquity, or to a condition of society very different from that which at present exists. In the Búgis states, the earliest stories refer to a period subsequent to the Galígas of Sauèra Gúding, and in the Makásar states to the Rupáníma of Ma Besúang, which will be mentioned here-
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after. The Gakgas contain an account of the peopling of Lbas or Lsidat from heaven.

The first of the two following accounts was given by the Bugis ambassador; the other is an extract.

"In the first place, there was a supernatural being of the female sex, "who, being married to Taja Rampa, a person sprung from under the "earth, had issue a boy and a girl, who were named Ledivati and Chuli-"puji.

"Chuli-puji married Lasikati, and by her had a son, called Leptau, who "had two or three other names besides, vis. Matan-tika, Malati-soprang, "and Pulu Datu Pamusu.

"Pamusu's place of residence was in the country of Teku, afterwards "known by the name of Boni. At this time Pamusu and all his children "dying, the country of the Bugis was left without a raja, and remained "so for about seven generations; at the end of which period a raja spring-"ing up among the Bugis themselves, government was again introduced "into the country.

"On one occasion there came a storm of thunder and lightning, so "violent as to rend the earth and cause it to rock like a boat tossed by "the waves of the sea. On the thunder and lightning abating, and the "earth ceasing to be longer agitated, there was observed in the middle "of a plain, dressed in white, one of human shape, who was generally "supposed to be a supernatural being, and to whom many people went "up in a body, saying to it, 'remain then here and fly not about from "place to place.' To them the being replied, 'what you say is well; "but you cannot take me from your raja, as I am myself but a slave. "If, however, you are really desirous of having a raja, there is my "master at your service.' The Boni people then observed to the being,"how can we make a raja of him, whom having never seen, we cannot "tell what he is like?' 'If,' answered the being, 'you do really desire "it, he shall be shewn to you.' They said, 'we do earnestly wish it, "and request thou wilt be so kind as to carry us where we may see him "of whom thou speakest.'

"When these people of Boni, together with the being who led them, "had reached the open plain called Matajam, there came on a violent "storm, accompanied with thunder and lightning, which rent and shook "the earth. There arose, at the same time, a thick fog, which totally "obscured every thing.

"As soon as the storm was over, and the earth no longer continued to "be rent and shaken by the thunder and lightning, the clearness which "immediately succeeded discovered to the view, seated on a stone, four "supernatural beings, of whom three were separately employed in hold-"ing the umbrella, fan, and siri-box of the other, who was dressed in "yellow. The being dressed in yellow then said to him in white, 'What "would'st thou?' The being in white replied, 'I have conducted "hither those people of Boni whom you now see before you;' and then "said to the Boni people, 'Behold my master, of whom I spoke to you.'
Those people went up to the supernatural being in yellow, and thus addressed him: 'We, the slaves of your mightiness, have come to present ourselves before you, to solicit that you will favour and oblige us, by remaining among us as our raja, and that you will not continue to wander about from place to place.'

The being complied with the wishes of the people of Béni, and settling at Matajam had issue five children, of whom the first was a son and the four succeeding ones daughters. One of the daughters was married to a man of Palaka. The son was married to a Béni woman.

After being forty years in Béni, the supernatural being disappeared, and was succeeded by the son, who, in point of size and height, had not his equal in Béni, neither could any one be compared to him for strength or valour, or for the adulation which was paid him. He was the first who introduced the manufacture of krisse, which he could model out of pieces of iron, by means of his fingers alone.

Bitara Géru was the eldest son of Dêwata Pîtau by Dêwi Pákoki, and inhabited the seventh heaven. Dêwata Pîtau had a brother, called Géru Réialy, who held the rule of the region under the earth. Dêwata Pîtau had nine children in all.

When Bitara Géru was sent down upon earth by his father, Dêwata Pîtau, he was provided with the following articles, viz. Télâtingpêba, Sîri ataka, Telarova, Wampum, Wamu, Châchu-bama.

From these, which were scattered about, every thing living and dead, in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, which are to be found in the country of Lawat, originated. Preparatory to this, Dêwata Pîtau having compounded a medicine, of which the juice of chewed betel was an ingredient, rubbed Bitara Géru all over with it, which immediately occasioned him to swoon. Dêwata Pîtau then put his son into a hollow bambu, and, having rolled this up in a piece of cloth, and caused the gates of the sky to be opened, he hurling sent down his son to earth, amidst a tremendous storm of thunder, lightning, wind, and rain, which arose on that occasion. Having reached about half way between the earth and sky, Bitara Géru (dreadfully alarmed at the situation he was in) threw abroad all the articles which had been given to him, agreeably to the instructions of his sire. After his arrival on the earth, Bitara Géru remained for three days and three nights shut up in the bambu, without food or drink. By his exertions, however, the bambu at last burst, when, getting out, he wandered through the woods till he came to the side of a river, where he met with a king of the gods dressed in yellow. One night there arose a violent storm of thunder, lightning, wind, and rain. On its clearing up there was seen a fine country, with a superb palace and fort, and houses, &c. &c. of the most beautiful structure. In this beautiful country Bitara Géru sat himself down as sovereign, with a complete establishment, and gave it the name of Lawat.'

No account can be procured of any intercourse having subsisted be-
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between this island and Western India or China, prior to the introduction of Mahomedanism. No inscriptions or other monuments, indicating the former prevalence of the Hindu worship over Celebes, have as yet been found. Their not having been found, however, is no proof that they do not exist, for the wars that have lately prevailed have prevented Europeans from exploring in search of such objects in that part of the country where they are most likely to present themselves. The best informed natives call themselves descendants of Hindus, and the names of their divinities, Batara Gna, Baruna, &c. seem to indicate either a common origin or a former intercourse. It is also remarkable, that some of the inhabitants of Léwa and the neighbouring state of Boatsis are said to dress in the same manner as the Hindus of Western India, and that Hindu temples are reported to exist in some parts of this state. Brahma and Budha have, however, never been heard of; and though Déwa are often mentioned, their attributes are equally unknown.

The intercourse of these islanders with the natives of Java seems to have been ancient and frequent. The earliest records of the Bégis and Mékasar states denote not only an early communication with Java, but render it highly probable that a colony from Java settled in the south-west limb of Celebes. In no other way can we account for the transfer of the names of places from the former to the latter island, such as those of Majapâhit, Grésik, Japán, and some others. In the genealogy, too, of the sovereigns of Léwa, one of the first of their Déwa princes is said to have been married to a princess of Majapâhit on Java.

Though some of the Bégis states have a good deal of trade, they principally depend upon themselves for subsistence. The mode of husbandry is, of course, very rude, and feudal institutions stand in the way of their improvement; but private property in the soil is established, and lands are held in free tenure or by rent-hold. The amount of the rent, in the latter case, is generally one-third of the produce, paid in kind; the cultivator is entitled to one-third, and the owner of the buffaloes or bullocks which assist is entitled to the remaining third. Labourers employed to reap are paid a sixth of what they collect. No class is excluded from a proprietary right in the soil, and the proprietor can dispose of his land by sale whenever he chooses.

The people of Celebes are active and enterprising traders; the character of a merchant is held in esteem, and the sovereign princes reckon it no disgrace to enter into commercial speculations. Unfortunately, however, they are actuated by the narrow spirit of the trader, to the prejudice of the liberal policy of the monarch, and make their power subservient to their love of gain, by establishing in their own favour monopolies against their subjects. Monopolies are common in every state on the island, but most of them are only of a temporary nature. The sovereign of Léwa monopolizes the trade in brass; the Raja of Sóping that of siri (betel leaf), which yields him three hundred dollars a month; and the Raja of Sedendreng that of salt and opium.

So strong is the spirit of commercial enterprise among the inhabitants
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of this island, that they frequently borrow sums for the purchase of commodities on which they expect profit, and stake their personal liberty, and that of their families, on the success of an adventure. In their trading voyages each person in the prâhâ has his own share of the cargo, and conducts business on his own account: each person likewise carries his own provisions; the latter practice, especially, is never departed from. The owner of the vessel agrees to undertake the voyage with a number of people, great or small, in proportion to its size, and apportions the vessel among them in the following manner. The two jâru mádîs, or steeremen, receive one pétah (or division) before the sankétan, and the whole space abaft of it; the owner is entitled to two pétahs in the broadest part of the boat; and the two jâru bâtus to the whole space between the masts; the remaining pétahs are divided among the crew, from whom the owner, or sakída, receives a freight of one-tenth or one-twentieth of the price of all the commodities they sell, according as they are bulky or small, in proportion to their value. The jâru mádîs and jâru bâtus only pay one-half of the proportion of freight paid by the rest of the crew. Sometimes the owner supplies the crew with an advance of money for an adventure, and receives at its termination not only re-payment of his loan, but a third of the profits of the speculation.

The principal articles of trade are cotton, which is imported from the surrounding islands, and re-exported after being manufactured into cloths, known by the name of Búgis cloths, which are in great demand throughout the Archipelago, and, in general, of a more delicate texture than those manufactured in Java; birds' nests, trîpang (sea slug), shark's fins, tortoise-shell, ágar ágar, hides, and other articles calculated for the Chinese market, are collected in considerable quantities, and furnish return cargoes for the annual Chinese junks which visit Celebes. Gold is obtained on Celebes, but in much smaller quantities than on Borneo or Sumatra.

Although the Búgis, in general, are considered as great traders, the foreign commerce seems to be almost exclusively confined to the people of Wáju. These people are settled in considerable numbers in all the trading ports, from Acheen to Manilla, and it is they who form the crew of almost all the Búgis prâhus that navigate the eastern seas.

Several Búgis prâhus from Mdkasar annually visit the northern coast of New Holland and the Gulf of Carpentaria in search of trîpang, and sometimes a small party is left to collect the trîpang in readiness for the arrival of the prâhus in the following year.

The Búgis, indeed, is the great maritime and commercial state of the Archipelago. The cargoes of their vessels, particularly in opium, gold, and cloths, often amount to fifty or sixty thousand dollars each, and the people who navigate and are concerned in them are acknowledged to be fair and honourable traders.

The natives of the southern limb of Celebes are of a light active form of body, generally well made, and rather below the middle stature. They are said to be revengeful; but during the period of the British govern-
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ment at Mákásar, few, if any, examples occurred to support such an assertion. Certain it is, that in no single instance, was the death of those who fell in a recent war between the two parties of the Mákásar nation, avenged by their relations, although the persons by whose hands they had fallen were perfectly well known.

They attach themselves to their chiefs principally for their own convenience, but, in some cases, they have evinced a devoted fidelity. They often change their chief, but scarcely any thing can induce them to betray the chief they have left. In no instance has the prādu of a Dutchman or Chinese been carried off when navigated by Mákásar or Bágis people. Agreements once entered into are invariably observed, and a Bágis is never know to swerve from his bargain. "That natural politeness which characterises the various nations distinguished by wearing what is termed the Malayan kris, is nowhere more forcibly exhibited than among the inhabitants of Celebes. Their minor associations are held together by all the attachment and warmth which distinguished the clans of North Britain:—the same bold spirit of independence and enterprise distinguishes the lower orders, whilst the pride of ancestry and the romance of chivalry are the delight of the higher classes. Attached to the chase as an amusement, rather than as the means of subsistence, the harvest is no sooner reaped, than each feudal lord, with his associates and followers, devotes himself to its pursuits. The population being equally at the command of the feudal lord, whether in time of peace or war, agricultural pursuits, beyond a bare subsistence, are but little attended to." On the other hand, they are throughout notorious thieves, and scarcely consider murder as a crime. Instances of cold-blooded barbarous murders frequently occurred within two miles of the European fort, previously to the arrival of the British and the abolition of the slave trade. The unfortunate people who had been kidnapped and brought down to Mákásar for sale, were often murdered to prevent discovery where a ready sale was not found.

Many of their customs are also extremely savage. The head of an enemy of rank is invariably severed from the dead body, and instances have more than once occurred of the heart being cut out and eaten by the conquerors. They are fond of the blood and raw flesh of animals. Lávur dára, which is the liver and heart of a deer, cut into slices and mixed raw with the warm blood, is esteemed their favourite dish.

The present form of government in all the states, except Wágis, appears to be legal, fettered by a powerful aristocracy who elect the monarch: in Lávus, particularly, the sovereign possesses a title, with more pomp and state attached to it than any other on the island, but with scarcely a shadow of authority. In Sídendreng he is the most despotie, which has enabled him to become the richest and best armed prince in the island. A species of feudal system prevails throughout; but it does not extend to property in the soil. Each individual of a state considers himself the liege subject of some petty chieftain, who is himself equally bound to a more powerful one, and so on, by a regular chain, to the sovereigns of
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Góa, (Makásar), Bóni, Láwe, Sóping, Sedédiring, or Tántsé, or to the aristocracy of Wíjú.

In each sovereignty there are two classes of nobility, called Pasaçe¿ŋʼam and Pañelé. The Pasaçe¿ŋʼam are the barons of the state, and may be considered in every respect as subjects, being obliged to obey all orders they receive from the sovereign, whereas the Pañelé are independent petty chieftains (who have probably again under them both Pasaçe¿ŋʼam and Pañelé), who have attached themselves to a particular sovereign, but are only obliged to do fixed feudal services, such as to assist with their followers in case of war, to attend the public feasts given by the sovereign, and to assist in building and repairing the palace of state. In Sóping each Pañelé is obliged to furnish and keep up at all times one effective soldier, called jua, for the immediate protection of the sovereign.

When the sovereign wishes to give orders to his Pañelé, he summons him to his presence by a messenger who bears a biła-biła; the biła-biła is a leaf of the kóntar with a number of knots on it, specifying the number of days at the expiration of which the vassal is required to attend. The Pañelé receives it seated in the midst of his head people, with his right hand on the handle of his kris, and as soon as he has got it rises, draws his kris, and swears on it to be faithful to his sovereign. To neglect this summons is a breach of allegiance.

The provinces under European authority are purely feudal; the Dutch, as sovereign, considering themselves as sole proprietor of the soil, and the regents, or feudal lords, being at all times liable to immediate removal and dispossess, should they neglect to perform the feudal service required, of whatever nature it may be.

The sovereign is chosen from the royal stock by a certain number of counsellors, who also possess the right of subsequently removing him; and such is their influence, that the sovereign can neither go to war or adopt any public measure, except in concert with them. They have the charge of the public treasure, and also appoint the prime minister. The prince cannot himself take the personal command of the army; but the usage of the country admits of a temporary resignation of office for this purpose, in which case a regent succeeds provisionally to the rank of chief, and carries on the affairs of government in concert with the majority of the council. Women and minors may be elected to any office of the state; and when this takes place, an additional officer, having a title which literally means a support or prop, is appointed to assist.

In Bóni the prince is elected by the Orang-píts, or seven hereditary counsellors. In Góa (Makásar) the prince is chosen by ten counsellors, of whom the first minister, termed Bechéra Béta, is one; this last officer is himself appointed by the council of nine, termed the nine standards of the country, but in the exercise of his office possesses very extraordinary powers: it is said he can remove the sovereign himself, and call upon the electors to make another choice. The inferior chiefs, or Krasas, who administer the dependent provinces, are appointed by the government, and not elected by a council, although in the exercise of their office their
power is in like manner limited; the number of the council varying in
different states. When the prince in council has decided upon war, the
assembled chiefs, after sprinkling their banners with blood, proceed to
take a solemn oath, by dipping their kris into a vessel of water, and
afterwards dancing around the blood-stained banner, with frantic gesture,
and a strange and savage contortion of the body and limbs, so as to give
the extended kris a tremulous motion, each severally imprecating the ven-
geance of the deity against his person, if he violates his vow to extermin-
ate the enemy, to conquer or die.

The proportion of the crop which falls to the share of the landlord has
already been stated. In some districts a sixth, and in others a tenth,
belongs to the sovereign; but in general the landlord, the capitalist, and
the cultivator, may be considered to share between them the whole pro-
duce of the land. The monopolies which the chiefs assume to themselves
have also been noticed. Besides these there are a few imposts in bazare,
which, with some other pecuniary emoluments, accrue to the chiefs, but
they are, for the most part, rather to meet their personal expenses than
to defray those of the state, and consequently hardly deserve the name of
public revenue.

The arms formerly used for offence by the inhabitants of Celebes were
the saporan, or tube through which the poisoned dart is blown, the kris,
spear, klawang (cutlass,) bullet, and pabang: to them may now be added
muskets, musketoons, and small cannon. Those for defence were chain
armour (baju rasti) and two kinds of shields, the one long the other
round, made of very tough light wood, and bound together very strongly
by pieces of split rattan.

The Mahomedan religion is professed in all those parts of Celebes which
have any pretensions to civilization, and the Koran, of course, is the
standard of law and worship, as far as it is known. According to the
records of Makasar, the Mahomedan religion was introduced there about
the year 1603, by Khateb Tungal Datu Bandang, a native of Mendojakabon
on Sumatra. Nearly all the inhabitants of the south-west limb are MAho-
medans, but of the centre and the other limbs of the island only a very
small portion have been converted. There are Mahomedan schools in all
parts of the south-west limb, but the Arabic language is only learnt by
those designed for the priesthood. They do not consider themselves as
belonging either to the sect of Omar or Ali, but as followers of the law of
the prophet, without regard to either. Circumcision is performed on
both sexes; on the males at ten or twelve years of age, on the females at
six or seven.

It has been related, that the change of religion on Celebes happened
just after the arrival of the Portuguese, who are said to have offered
Christianity at the same time that the Malayus offered Mahomedanism.
The king of Makasar is said to have been doubtful which of these systems
he should adopt, till he consulted the wisest men in his dominions, who
advised him to embrace the religion of the Koran in preference to that of
the gospel, stating as an argument in its favour, that it had arrived first,
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and that God would never permit error to arrive before truth. But this does not appear on the records of Makāsar.

The public feasts formerly held, sometimes for weeks together, appear to have been for political rather than religious purposes: at present the Mahomedan fasts and feasts are observed. Formerly the dead were generally buried, but in some instances burnt. There is still to be seen in Lamānu a burial-place belonging to the royal family, containing jars or urns with the ashes of their ancestors, which are held sacred, indeed almost worshipped, at the present day. The Būgis name for the places of burial used before they were converted to Islamism is Patūmān, or the place of burning. It is not known that any tribes of the Tūdjās burn their dead at present: they are said to deposit them in excavated rocks on the sides of hills, and to be so anxious to be buried among their relations, that if a man of rank dies in a distant part of the country, the body is salted to preserve it, and, in that state, carried back to his own residence. Very little is known of these people by the inhabitants of the south-western limb, but they are universally considered as the first inhabitants of the island. They are a very fine race of people: the women particularly so. It is said they will not suffer strangers or Mahomedans to reside among them, and that the custom of procuring a certain number of human heads previous to marriage is as prevalent among them as with the Dū sąs of Borneo, and the Harafūras of the Eastern Archipelago in general.

Each state has its own system of 'aws, but they nearly concur in the following principles. Each sovereign generally possesses the right of putting to death any of his subjects, except the members of his own family. Should any one of these commit a crime and escape into another territory, he cannot be touched, but if taken in his own country he must be brought before the bechāra, who alone are capable of passing sentence on him.

Each petty state has its bechāra, composed of the principal people, both Passefing' an and Palēlē. All disputes between its followers are decided by it: it also judges and passes sentence in cases of theft, murder, and adultery, and decides all cases respecting the legal right to property; but an appeal may be made to the court or bechāra of the principal state, the members of which are called the Kapīla Bechāra. The decision of any bechāra is subject to the approval of the sovereign, where he is not himself a party interested: indeed he may, in general, supersede the authority of this court by deciding promptly, but it behaves him to attend strictly to the adat bidāsā, or ancient customs of the state, in his decision, for the bechāra has the power to remove the sovereign and elect a new one. The same persons at all times decide on the fact and the law.

It is difficult to ascertain which of the dialects spoken on Celebes has most claim to antiquity. I have already stated, that the Makāsar and Būgis are considered as the two principal languages of that part of the island known to Europeans. The Makāsar, the Būgis, and Mandharase, which may be considered as dialects of the same language, use the same character with some trifling variations. The Tūdjās or Harafūras of
Celebes have a fourth language, probably the most original, but it is not known whether they are at all acquainted with writing.

Each nation considers its own the most ancient character. The Makásar alphabet is less complete than the Bégis, which consists of twenty-two letters, varied by six vocal sounds. The form of the character is peculiar, and more nearly resembles that of the Bétas on Sumatra than any other we know of. It is difficult to decide whether the Bégis or Makásar language is the most ancient. Many words have the same meaning in both, and many others differ so little* as to be evidently of the same origin; but the Bégis has often six or seven synonyms, whereas the Makásar has never more than two, and seldom more than one. Some of the Bégis words bear strong evidence of Hindu origin, as sóda from sóna, gold; paráma from bráhma, fire; which is not at all the case with the Makásar.

La Galiga, the reputed son of Sawóra Gdéêng, is considered the author of the history of Sawóra Gdéêng, which is a kind of heroic poem, and is read in a chanting voice, with a pause at the end of every fifth syllable. The measure consists of a dactyl followed by a trochee, as Sáwírá Gdéêng to Málampáí, (Sawóra Gdéêng the great). He is the only author whose name is commonly known; and all books, even the most modern, which are written in the same manner, are called after him Galiga, although, properly speaking, the term should only be applied to the history of the heroes who are supposed to have lived previous to the seven generations of anarchy which subsisted at Bóni. Sultána Zenaab Zakeyat Udiú, the seventeenth sovereign of Bóni subsequent to the anarchy, is said to have written an historical poem, containing the exploits of all the sovereigns of Bóni, from the reign of Mítá Se Sámpe, the memúron of Matújam, down to her own time; but it is not to be procured on the western side of Celebes. It appears, however, that every Bégis family of high rank possesses a very authentic history of that period, collected from the records of the court of Bóni.

The author of the Rúpáma is not known, nor indeed is the name of any Makásar author known. The Rúpáma is considered by the Bégis, as well as the Makásars, to be of equal antiquity with the Sawóra Gdéêng. Copies of both these works have been obtained.

In the account given by Dr. Leyden, in his valuable paper on the Indo-Chinese nations,† upwards of fifty literary compositions in the language of this country are enumerated, most of which serve either to celebrate the deeds of their national heroes, or are of an amatory character. Besides these they possess codes of laws, or rather customs, said to be of considerable antiquity. The Koráns has been translated into the Bégis language. The use of rhyme is much less frequent than among the Makáyus; and it has been observed by Dr. Leyden, that "the melody of the "verse depends on the rhythm, and the measure of some of the historical

* See Comparative Vocabulary annexed, including the dialects of the south-west limb of Celebes, and some of the islands in its vicinity, on which Bégis settlements have been formed.
† Asiatic Researches.
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"poems has, in this respect, considerable similarity to some of the speci-
mens of Sanscrit verse." The Bégis songs are very numerous, and in high estimation throughout the Archipelago.

They have no books on science, philosophy, or astronomy. The only stars they are acquainted with, are Jupiter (called Peldi), the Pleiades (called Wörong Pörong), Sirius and Orion (Jäng'an Jeng'as, or the Fowl), the Great Bear (Jonga Jong'aya), Navis (Belikaispon), and Antares (Lom-báro). They navigate their prdésus by these stars, some of which must always be in sight, if the weather be clear.

The Makóars use the Mahomedan names for the months. The Bégis divide their year of three hundred and sixty-five days into twelve months, beginning on our sixteenth of May. Whether this division of the year has taken place since the arrival of Europeans or not, is uncertain; but it is more than probable it has, as, with all this correctness, it does not appear they have any era; at least since the introduction of Mahome-
danism, the Hegira seems to be used. The Bégis names of the months, and the number of days they contain, are as follow:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sarovane</th>
<th>30 days</th>
<th>Mangasatéwe</th>
<th>30 days</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Padrowáne</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Mangalompanse</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sujewi</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Naya</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pachkac</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Palagenae</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poste</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Bévakas</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangaseren</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Jetait</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some division of time into months and years must have taken place at a much earlier date; as some of the earliest of the present line of kings, and the length of their reigns, are particularly mentioned.

I have before stated that slavery is practised on the island, and that the states not only supply slaves for domestic consumption (if I may use that phrase), but for export and commercial traffic. There are examples of whole villages becoming slaves, and there is scarcely a state or family of rank on the island that has not its assortment of these degraded beings, many of whom are reduced to this condition by the most cruel and insi-
dious means.

Of the thousands exported annually from Makóas, the greatest portion consisted of persons who had been kidnapped by people acting under the authority of the European Residents, or the princes of the country.

The sale of their subjects constituted one chief source of the revenue of the Rajahs; and the factors at the different Dutch residencies traded in slaves. It is reported of one factor that he exported nine hundred in a year. The payment or contribution to be made to the Dutch, was either measured in gold, silver, or slaves. In a treaty made between the people of Géa and Admiral Speelman, we find that they promised to pay so much of the precious metals, or one thousand slaves. Those slaves that were obtained by law or descent, were called Dágem; those kidnapped, Páras.

The respective prices for slaves at Makóas were as follow:—
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For a grown lad, legitimately obtained... 20 dollars.
For a young woman, ditto.............. 40
For a grown lad, kidnapped................ 10
For a young woman, ditto.................. 20

It appears from the report of a commission appointed to inquire into the abuses of the slave trade in Celebes, addressed to the council of policy, and dated Maksar, the 21st September, 1799, that the Dutch government of Batavia, from the year 1699 (the period of the first Dutch settlement at Maksar), had sent repeated orders for the prevention of abuses in the slave trade in Celebes; with what effect, the following extract from the same report will shew.

"The abuses which have successively crept in, and the intrigues which are now practiced to obtain slaves, are so manifold and perplexing, that it would be very difficult for us to enumerate or to trace them. In attempting such a detail with all the precision and attention possible, we should still ignorantly omit some things, and depict others in too faint and indulgent a light, the grounds of our information being often superficial and precarious; for, it is to be remembered, that the enormities which are committed in this trade conceal themselves in the dark, and it is only by accident that some traces of them can occasionally be discerned. For these reasons, the undersigned request that they may be excused for confining themselves to the most common and notorious abuses, which, being faithfully recorded, may still afford sufficient evidence of the dreadful and detestable crimes which spring from avarice, and of the frightful shapes in which she perpetually displays herself, instigating and exciting the vengeful and blood-thirsty passions of the natives, and creating a fertile source of trouble and mischief.

"The making of a slave transport, if properly viewed, consists in nothing more than this:—A person, calling himself an interpreter, repairs, at the desire of one who says that he has bought a slave, to the Secretary's office, and accompanied by any native, who, provided with a note from the purchaser, gives himself out as seller. For three rupees a certificate of sale, in the usual form, is immediately made out; three rupees are also paid to the notary, two rupees put into the hands of the interpreter, the whole transaction is concluded, and the purchaser has thus become the lawful owner of a free-born man, who very often is stolen with his (the purchaser's) concurrence and co-operation. He does not, however, trouble himself about that, because the stolen victim is already concealed where nobody can find him. The transaction also very seldom becomes public, because never were found more faithful receivers than the slave-traders. It is a maxim with them, never, as they call it, to betray their prison; a phrase which we shall presently have the honour more fully to explain. But what will be thought of the value of those public instruments, to which the name of Slave Transports is attached, when at times it is found that both purchaser and seller are fictitious, and that they are united in one league with the interpreter. By such means it is obvious, that the right of...
property upon a stolen man may be acquired with as much ease as if
he were pinioned before the door or within the yard of the pretended
purchaser, and with no greater cost than the small sum of one rupee, or
something more, according to circumstances, which must be put into
the hands of him who gave himself out for the seller. To find a per-
son for this purpose does not require a long search, for it is a very easy
trade to pursue, and there are numbers of the most profligate of the
natives continually roving about who do nothing else, and maintain
themselves exclusively upon such small profits; even the slaves of the
inhabitants being bribed, suffer themselves, for a small fee, to be thus
employed. The victim himself, who is stolen and sold, is never ex-
amined, nor do the Dutch or native interpreters at all concern them-
selves about the matter; they are not much afraid of the risk of their
responsibility; so that, at any time, it were possible to prepare before-
hand as many transports as might be required.

Let us further represent to ourselves this, our town of Makáer, filled
with prisons, the one more dismal than the other, which are stuffed up
with hundreds of wretches, the victims of avarice and tyranny, who,
chained in fetters, look forward with despair towards their future
destiny, and taken away from their wives, their children, their parents,
their friends and comforts, languish in slavery, helpless and miserable!
We may picture to ourselves the condition of one (and how often do
such instances occur) who perhaps saw his aged father lose his life by
his side, in attempting to rescue the pride and comfort of his declining
years, whilst the survivor, incapable of further resistance, is torn from
him, robbed irrecoverably of what is most precious to every human be-
ing, and carried away, in a condition more dreadful than death itself, a
condition of despair and uncertainty, in which that moment only shall
produce a change, when he is resigned for a trifle to the arbitrary will of
a master, who has paid the stipulated price, and acquired the right of
placing him amongst the number of his domestic animals, treating him
at times no better than he would do those creatures.

If we would lift up another corner of the curtain, a scene no less
afflicting presents itself. Here we discover wives lamenting the loss of
their husbands, children missing their parents, parents missing their
children, who, with hearts filled with rage and revenge, run frantic
through the streets and before our doors, to do all that the filial love of
children for their parents, the tenderness of parents for their offspring
can inspire, in order, if possible, to discover where their dearest pledges
are concealed. Often, very often, is all their labour and trouble in vain,
being obliged to return back hopeless and comfortless to their afflicted
friends and relations. Sometimes, indeed, the profoundest secrecy is
not proof against their indefatigable scrutiny, and if they do by any
chance learn where a father, mother, a son or daughter, a husband or a
wife, is kept in concealment, hope revives within their bosoms, and
absorbed in the prospect of becoming their deliverers and saviours,
every sacrifice is considered trifling, by means of which they can regain
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“possession of the objects of their anxious care. But, alas! these unhappy people have not as yet reached the end of their sufferings; an obdurate purchaser, deaf to all the pleadings of distress, will be prepared coolly to make his advantage of it, and proportionally to enhance the ransom of his victim, till, by extorting an exorbitant price, he may plunge the unhappy relative from a moderate property into indigence, or, which is still worse, burden him with debts, which, sooner or latter, will reduce himself, and perhaps his whole family, to slavery!

“it must not be thought, that when these wretched people have thus carried their point, and when, to furnish the sum demanded, they have sold their houses and goods, or even pawned themselves*, that, after the payment of the ransom agreed on, the matter is finished. No! the trader will not deliver up the pretended slave until he departs for Batavia: and if we ask, why? it is, that his prison may not be betrayed; that is to say, that it may not become generally known throughout the country, what numbers of stolen people he keeps shut up within his prison, and that the cry of vengeance against many execrable acts that are concealed in the dark, may not every where be heard, by which many villains would become notorious. A son is therefore only exhibited to the afflicted father: he sees him in a pitiful condition linked with fetters, and it is frequently at such a moment that the ransom is agreed on. The grief wherewith a father’s heart is pierced at such a sight, the rapid succession of his emotions from grief and despair to hope and longing, when contrasted with the deliberate calmness with which a covetous purchaser knows how to take advantage of the poor man’s distress; the indifference, the obstinacy, with which he persists in his bloody demand of each rix-dollar, each stiver, nay almost of each penny; in a word, every thing that can have any relation to such a striking spectacle, can be more easily conceived than described, and we have said enough to exhibit the abomination of proceedings, which cannot fail to have a most pernicious influence upon society.

“But it may be said, the laws and regulations speak in favour of the oppressed. We have shown above, in what manner government have endeavoured, from time to time, to provide against such abuses, and to this we beg leave to refer; but where avarice is predominant, laws, reason, rights, humanity, all that is sacred, are too often compelled to yield. Besides, various obstacles conspire, which time and local circumstances have engendered, so that in spite of the most salutary statutes (which are indeed so far nominally in force) the evil cannot be effectually checked; and experience has taught us, that the most rigorous orders which government could devise, would be insufficient to make a due provision against the increase of these abuses.

“Those, whose fate we have now hastily drawn, are not always stolen by foreign nations at distant places. No: about and near the houses of our own inhabitants, in our kampongs, within our own town, it very often happens. A numerous gang of villains, known by the name of

* Meaning their services for a stipulated period or for life.
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"bondsmen (perpandeling), with a number of whom every slave-trader is
careful to provide himself according to his means, are most useful in-
struments in procuring slaves in the easiest and cheapest way; and
being instructed in all the arts of villainy, and eager for prey, they rove
about in gangs during the night and at unseasonable hours, and if suc-
cessful in overpowering some one, they carry the victim to their em-
ployer, or to any purchaser, and it is very seldom that any thing more is
heard of it, than that such a one has lost his slave, or that such a native
is missing. The stolen man, woman, or child, is already chained and
shut up within the prison of some slave-trader, which is never visited.
The slaves for foreign markets are always carried on board at night;
and if a stolen person were either free-born, or the slave of an inhabi-
tant, he dares not make himself known as long as he is in his ravisher’s
hands, for, in that case, they would kill him immediately, even were it
before the door of the person who wanted to buy him, whilst the rob-
bers would have no difficulty in getting out of the way, and beyond the
reach of justice.

"Those who are trained to this business, whether bondsmen or slaves
(for even amongst this latter class of people thieves of men are often
found), are very fertile in all kinds of intrigues to accomplish their ends;
for except casual victims, who sometimes fall by accident into their
clutches, a considerable time will often elapse before they succeed in
securing the object they have marked out for their prey, because the
devoted creature is frequently on his guard; and as it cannot be done
openly without great precaution, for he would certainly sacrifice his
own or their lives to preserve his liberty; they, therefore, lie in wait
for him a long time, endeavouring by indirect means to make acquaint-
ance with him, in order to gain his confidence, and then, we will not
say always, to conduct or allure him into the house of the slave-trader,
or otherwise, as is sometimes the case, to lead him to a remote spot, or
at least to some distance from his house, when he immediately finds
himself attacked by two or three of these ruffians, who have long pre-
viously agreed with his pretended friends, and before he has time to put
himself into a posture of defence, or to take hold of his kris, it is already
wrested from him, and his hands are tied behind his back. To cry for
help would be immediately fatal to him, he is therefore compelled to be
quiet, and to suffer himself to be sold as a slave by the ruffians who had
previously arranged where to carry him.

"Why such violations are so seldom made public, and thieves of men
are so rarely detected, many sufficient reasons may be assigned. For
instance: the profound secrecy of the prisons; the clandestine manner
in which slaves for traffic are carried on board in the dark of the night;
the sinister manner in which the purchase is transacted and confirmed;
the facility with which the villains are able to escape, when after some
time the theft becomes notorious; the difficulty of making satisfactory
inquiry about a crime, of which but a few of the perpetrators and their
accomplices are generally within the reach of justice, whilst the stolen
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"person is still more rarely present, so that it generally happens, in such
"a case, that the most guilty get off; the still greater uncommonness of
"offenders of this sort being caught in the very act, so as to fall at once
"into the hands of justice; and, finally, the secret protection which some
"native petty princes, living upon plunder, afford to their subjects. All
"these, and many other circumstances, combine to facilitate the practice
"of kidnapping, which thus goes on almost undisturbed, and generally
"unpunished!

"A rich citizen, who has a sufficient number of emissaries called bonds-
"men, carries on his trade much more easily than a poor one does. The
"latter is often obliged to go himself to the Kámpong Búyís or elsewhere,
"to take a view of the stolen victim and to carry him home; whilst the
"former quietly smokes his pipe, being sure that his thieves will, in
"every corner, find out for him sufficient game, without his exerting
"himself otherwise than indirectly. The thief, the seller, the interpreter,
"are all active in his service, because they are all paid by him. In some
"cases the purchaser unites himself with the seller, on purpose to deceive
"the interpreter; whilst, in other cases, the interpreter agrees with the
"thief and pretended seller, to put the stolen person into the hands of the
"purchaser! What precautions, what scrutiny, can then avail, when we
"reflect, that the profound secrecy of the prisons, and the strict precau-
tions in carrying the slaves on board, are equalled only by the licenti-
ousness with which the transports are fabricated?

"A distinction ought, however, to be made between such illegal and
"criminal practices, and a more moderate trade in slaves, many of whom,
"it is true, are stolen, but not in our vicinity, nor in the districts of the
"Company. The remainder are generally such as, according to the se-
"parate laws and customs of the native nations of Celebes, have in some
"way or other forfeited their liberty, either in war, or for some misde-
"meanour, or on account of debts. These are likewise higher in price,
"so that the trader cannot have so much gain upon them; they may also
"appear at broad day-light, an interpreter may with security answer for
"them. Such slaves can be brought on board very quietly in the day
"time; the frequency of murder, as in other cases, is not much to be
"dreaded, and our town has considerably less danger to apprehend from
"these than from the class before mentioned."

The report concludes by recommending specific measures, and express-
ing an opinion, that "it would not be inexpedient, if, but for one year,
"the exportation of slaves from hence were suspended."

In the following year, the residents received instructions from the high
regency, in which several of their predecessors were accused of having
"assumed a despotick sway over the natives, plundered those over whom
"they had been placed to protect them, and of having even dared, with
"the assistance of the native chiefs, whom they have found means to de-
"bauch, to put the natives in irons, and to sell them as slaves."

Mr. Chassé, when governor of Makásar, much to his honour, attempted
to put a stop to manstealing in the neighbourhood of his residency. He
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did not, however, succeed to any extent. When the British arrived, it appeared that numbers of plunderers were roaming about for the supply of the slave market, which was still open; so that the inhabitants of the villages adjacent to Makdsar, never dared to approach, except in parties of at least five or six armed men. An equal caution prevailed throughout the country.

To enforce the British abolition laws, there was formed at Batavia, in the beginning of the year 1816, a society called the Java Benevolent Institution, and in the course of the year this society published an account of its proceedings, containing, among other interesting matter, “Remarks upon Makdsar, &c. compiled from the information of Lieutenant Owen Phillips, assistant resident there.” This paper concludes as follows:

“The laws recognized between the Dutch Company and the states of Bõni and Gâa may be considered a fair criterion of their general spirit and tendency. They were agreed to in an early period of the Dutch establishment, when Admiral Speelman concluded a treaty with those states, and they have not since undergone any material alterations. The penalties therein prescribed were required to be paid in money or property of any description, at the arbitrary rates fixed by the same laws, and which appear on the whole to be extremely favourable to the individual; debtors or convicted felons, in default of payment, becoming bondsmen. But the temptation to corruption afforded by an open market and an increased demand for slaves for traffic, introduced a practice of condemning, first to bondage, and then fabricating for three dollars a certificate of slavery; a practice which, although not recognized in the laws subsisting between the European and native powers, was yet generally known to prevail, and if not formally sanctioned, was openly tolerated under the former system.

Whilst these laws are administered in the native states by their coun-
cils or bechdras, the administration of justice in the Company’s terri-
tories was vested in the Regent, under the superintendence of the Drost, but who has usurped the power of actually deciding, particularly in cases where he is interested in the condemnations, from the right which the judge enjoys, of a moiety of the property arising from the sale of persons condemned to slavery, or in the appropriation of a certain number of them to his own use! The abuses arising out of these unlawful usurpations appear to have attained a great height in 1799, when the commission was appointed to inquire into them; but (as in the case of restraints which had from time to time been imposed by law) that inquiry did little more than recognize the right of control over the actors and participators in such abuses; a right which could readily and profitably be compromised by men who, from habit, were actuated by little determined abhorrence of such crimes, and no steady resolution to eradicate them. To this cause alone must be attributed the difficulties stated by the commission to be opposed to the due ex-
cution of the laws, and to the suppression of the enormities that were generally practised; and although partial reforms were effected,
APPENDIX

"According to the disposition and principles of the persons who presided
"successively in Makāsar, the enormous gains to be derived from the
"toleration of corruption was a powerful obstacle to its removal: and
"it may be said of the abuses and enormities detailed by the commission
"in 1799, that although perpetuated with more or less aggravation, as
"the controlling authority was more or less conscientious and vigilant,
"no radical removal of them took place, nor were the suggestions of
"that commission carried into effect, except partially within the town of
"Makāsar.

"On the establishment of the British government, the practice and
"mode of kidnapping within the town of Makāsar had, in some degree,
"been restricted and ameliorated; but this did not extend to the country.
"Some limitations had therefore been imposed on the connivance and
"direct participation of the public functionaries; but bondsmen were
"still generally employed as man-stealers, and the practice of concealing
"in secret prisons, of assassinations to prevent detection, and of midnight embarkations, were but little controlled or inquired into, as may
"be sufficiently inferred from the laxity of the public tribunals, and
"the rare instances of any infractions of these laws being punished by
"them.

"The introduction of the prohibitory laws by the establishment of
"the British government, naturally operated to cause a sudden and com-
"plete suspension of the open traffic; and although individuals are still
"clandestinely carried from Makāsar, the number is so small, that the
"utmost vigilance has hitherto been unable to convict the perpetrating,
"especially as the numerous gang of bondsmen and man-stealers, though
"compelled at present to resort to other avocations, are yet at the call
"of corrupt employers, and live in the hope that occasion may again
"offer of freely returning to their pursuits, without apprehension of any
"consequences. This truth will be more generally appreciated, if we
"explain the course through which these people are led to engage in the
"desperate trade of kidnapping. The bondsmen, who are thus em-
"ployed by slave-traders, are generally dissolute adventurers from the
"native states, who repair to Makāsar, perhaps, with a little property
"which they lose by gambling; their next resource is to borrow from
"some one of the numerous Dutch or Chinese speculators (slave-traders)
"a sum of money, and which is only to be had at the exorbitant interest
"of fifty per cent. or, as expressed in the local terms, 'one weng per
"'month on the Spanish dollar.' A debt thus solidly contracted is
"not likely to be retrieved by patient industry. But were such a dis-
"position to prevail, the opportunity is scarcely afforded, and the obliga-
"tion is generally allowed to accumulate until the debtor is about to pay
"the price in his captivity. To retrieve himself from this dire alterna-
"tive, he has recourse to the trade of kidnapping, and the ready employ-
"ment he meets with, added to the sudden gains which he hopes to
"acquire, stimulate him to repair his fortunes in this irregular and
"desperate pursuit. Such are the bondsmen who are the active agents
"of slave traders in Makāsar; and while the abolition has had the two-
APPENDIX.

"fold effect of diminishing their numbers and of checking their depredations, it must be obvious that this salutary reform can only endure whilst the spirit which produced it is fostered. The commission in 1799 forcibly depicted the utter incompetency of the most rigid prohibitions, in restricting the barbarities which then prevailed: but there is yet a stronger fact, which bears equally upon the traffic, on whatever footing it might be re-admitted; it is, that the resources arising from what were considered legal condemnations to slavery, would be totally inadequate to supply the market under any probable limitations. As the demand increased, the more frequent condemnations on frivolous pretences would naturally ensue, if indeed such a practice in any degree could be considered legal: but the temptations to open violence arising from the numerous accessories, and the direct or indirect participation of public functionaries, added to the comparative cheapness of stolen men, are such strong inducements to revive ancient abuses, under an actual demand, that no hope could be entertained of controlling them. On the other hand, the maintenance of the abolition laws, as they have hitherto tended to correct in a remarkable degree the monstrous practices which obtained, must, in their ultimate operation, effectually reform, not only the habits and dispositions of the inhabitants of Makassar, but check those frequent condemnations which, in the native states, may be chiefly imputed to the advantages that were generally made of them. To illustrate, in a familiar instance, the effect of this amelioration brought about by the silent operation of the prohibitory laws; on the first arrival of the English, the inhabitants of the adjacent villages did not dare to come to Makassar in parties of less than five or six men well armed. This was equally the case throughout the country, as there was an open sale for almost any number of people that could be stolen. The case, however, is now entirely altered, at least within the influence of the British authority. Men, women, and children, are now to be seen moving singly about the country in all directions, without fear and without arms. Formerly a man going on a hunting party, or a peasant to till his ground, went armed as if going to war; at the present day numbers of people may be seen in the paddy fields without a spear amongst them. I may add, that these effects are not confined to the Company's provinces, but are felt nearly throughout the states of Gia, Telu, and Tarata, where there can be no doubt that a few years would be sufficient to realize, under the present system, a great increase to population, and the more important introduction of commerce and civilization.

"The principal pirate settlements are Kâli and Telâ Telî, situated on the north-west coast. The depredations of these hordes are generally carried on between Java and the Straits of Saleyer; their haunts are the islands near Saleyer, also Gâmny Api, and the isles at the entrance of the Bay of Sembôwa, and in general the small isles included between the coasts of Java to the west, Borneo to the north, and Celebes to the east."
## APPENDIX F.—continued.

A COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF THE BUGIS, MAKASAR, MANDHAR, BUTOR, SASSAK, BIMA, SEMBAWA, TEMBORA, AND ENDE LANGUAGES.

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<td>mang'an</td>
<td>mákan</td>
<td>ka-s.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX F.—continued.

A COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF THE GUNUNG TALU, MENADU, TERNATI, SANG'IR, SIRANG OR CERAM, AND SAPARUA LANGUAGES.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>GUNUNG TALU</th>
<th>MENADU</th>
<th>TERNATI</th>
<th>SANG'IR</th>
<th>SIRANG or CERAM</th>
<th>SAPARUA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>limbóto</td>
<td>esah</td>
<td>rimo</td>
<td>sembua</td>
<td>tekúra</td>
<td>isáhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
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<td>bua</td>
<td>rómo-didi</td>
<td>dáruá</td>
<td>dua</td>
<td>runu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>bône</td>
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<td>ra-ang'i</td>
<td>tâtelu</td>
<td>tólu</td>
<td>óru</td>
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<tr>
<td>Four</td>
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<td>épà</td>
<td>ráha</td>
<td>épà</td>
<td>pát</td>
<td>ha-an</td>
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<tr>
<td>Five</td>
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<td>lima</td>
<td>nôma-tôha</td>
<td>lima</td>
<td>lim</td>
<td>rima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six</td>
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<td>ánnam</td>
<td>rára</td>
<td>sông</td>
<td>ñan</td>
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<td>Seven</td>
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<td>pilú</td>
<td>tómdí</td>
<td>pilú</td>
<td>ñáru</td>
<td>hítu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight</td>
<td>delápan</td>
<td>wálú</td>
<td>tof-kang'í</td>
<td>wálú</td>
<td>delapántë</td>
<td>wáru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine</td>
<td>sambilan</td>
<td>sióh</td>
<td>aiyu</td>
<td>sióh</td>
<td>sailántë</td>
<td>siwah</td>
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<td>mapúlu</td>
<td>yâgi-mó́i</td>
<td>napúlu</td>
<td>bútúsa</td>
<td>úhu-táhi</td>
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<td>yâgi-romdí</td>
<td>dunampúlu</td>
<td>dua-púlu</td>
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<td>Hundred</td>
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<td>ma-háitus</td>
<td>râtu-mó́i</td>
<td>marásu</td>
<td>ñárú</td>
<td>butúngno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ma-ribú</td>
<td>ribú-móí</td>
<td>saríbu</td>
<td>ríhúne</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>manúsia</td>
<td>tau-máta</td>
<td>kâwu</td>
<td>tûma-tûwu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man (vir.)</td>
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<td>nónau</td>
<td>esé</td>
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<tr>
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<td>wewóné</td>
<td>fohékeh</td>
<td>babini</td>
<td>mapinára</td>
<td>pipináu</td>
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<tr>
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<td>áma</td>
<td>bâba</td>
<td>tába</td>
<td>niba-bára</td>
<td>amáni</td>
</tr>
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<td>yâya</td>
<td>rína</td>
<td>binésan</td>
<td>ináni</td>
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<td>dopólo</td>
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<td>ma-áni</td>
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<td>máta</td>
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<td>ma-áni</td>
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<td>nirung</td>
<td>ñundung</td>
<td>frung</td>
<td>idônte</td>
<td>irini</td>
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<td>ENGLISH</td>
<td>BUNONG TALU</td>
<td>TERNATI</td>
<td>MENADU</td>
<td>SIRANG OR CERAM</td>
<td>SAPARIA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hair</td>
<td>wiba-lhia</td>
<td>rimbak</td>
<td>rimbak</td>
<td>rimbak</td>
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</tr>
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<td>ang-bang</td>
<td>ang-bang</td>
<td>ang-bang</td>
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</tr>
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<td>a-bing-lhia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Day</td>
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<td>u-ling-lhia</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>mala-lhia</td>
<td>mala-lhia</td>
<td>mala-lhia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blood</td>
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<td>hia-lhia</td>
<td>hia-lhia</td>
<td>hia-lhia</td>
<td>hia-lhia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eye</td>
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<td>a-lang-tea</td>
<td>a-lang-tea</td>
<td>a-lang-tea</td>
<td>a-lang-tea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ear</td>
<td>mala-tea</td>
<td>mala-tea</td>
<td>mala-tea</td>
<td>mala-tea</td>
<td>mala-tea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Face</td>
<td>a-lang-ag</td>
<td>a-lang-ag</td>
<td>a-lang-ag</td>
<td>a-lang-ag</td>
<td>a-lang-ag</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blood</td>
<td>hia-lhia</td>
<td>hia-lhia</td>
<td>hia-lhia</td>
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<td>hia-lhia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: The table continues with more entries.*
## APPENDIX G.

### NUMERALS ACCORDING TO THE CHANDRA SANGKALA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rúpa</th>
<th>form, shape, appearance, face of any thing.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chandra</td>
<td>moon at the 15th day, moon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sási</td>
<td>new moon, month of the year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhi or nebe</td>
<td>the navel, completion of the month.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bómi</td>
<td>the earth, or piece of land.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Búda</td>
<td>ancient; original.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rón or Gódong</td>
<td>leaf of a tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Médi</td>
<td>abstraction, devotion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eku</td>
<td>tail of any thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dára</td>
<td>large stars, planets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jalma or Jamâna</td>
<td>mankind.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eka</td>
<td>one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wák</td>
<td>the body.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sáta</td>
<td>child.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siti</td>
<td>black earth, earth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awání</td>
<td>courageous, hair of the body.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wúlan</td>
<td>the moon, at the 14th day, full moon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yáta</td>
<td>then, forthwith, there-upon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tung’gal</td>
<td>one.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TWO.

| Nítra | the eye lids, the eye. |
| Chaksu | the inner corner of the eye. |
| Náyâna | sight. |
| Sikára | the palm of the hand. |
| Búja | the upper part of the arm near the shoulder. |
| Páksa | the jaw-bone. |
| Drésí or destí | the eye-brow. |
| Háma | the outer corner of the eyes. |
| Lochána | the lips. |
| Charána | the side of the cheek-bone. |
| Kerna | the ears. |
| Karni | the inner part of the ear. |
| Anâmba | the act of closing the hands in obeisance. |
| Talîng’án | the lobe of the ear, the ear. |

| Mâta | the eye, the pupil of the eye. |
| Tang’an | the hands, the arms. |
| Súku | the feet, or soles of the feet. |
| Lár | wings. |
| Dói | two. |
| Lóro | two. |

### THREE.

| Bahning | fire (of a furnace). |
| Pawáka | fire (from a volcano). |
| Sithing | fire (struck from a flint). |
| Guná | fire (from friction of wood). |
| Dahána | the fire which pervades every thing that has life, extensive fire, fire that has never been extinguished. |
| Tri-ningrána | fire (of the work-room). |
| Uta | a leech. |
| Buja-lána | alligator or crocodile. |
| Hüti | worm of the earth. |
| Játa | flame of fire. |
| Wéda | fire or heat confined in a vessel, as in a cooking vessel. |
| Anála | the fire which giveth warmth to the heart, the fire of passion, the fire which giveth warmth to passion. |
| Gni | fire (to a match). |
| Utáwa | fire. |
| Kéa | great fire. |
| Léna | fire or flame of a lamp. |
| Puyika | fire and ashes, mixed. |
| Tíga | three. |
| Uning’a | a torch. |

### FOUR.

| Wédang | hot water. |
| Segára | the sea. |
| Kerti | well water. |
| Súchi | water after it is used. |
| Jaláderi | water from a lake, or where fresh water mixes with the sea. |
| Hádi | mountain water, rare or pure water. |
APPENDIX.

Warna ........ colour.
Wéh ........... water which descends from a mountain.
Samódra ......... sea water.
Jaládi .......... tank or pond water.
Ernáwa .......... spring water.
Toyádi .......... dew water.
Wahánas .......... flood or quantity of water.
Waudádi ......... juice from trees, as toddy, &c.
Sindu ........... milk.
Wári .......... cocoa nut-water, water.
Dik ............... glutinous sap taken from trees, as the Indian rubber, &c.
Tásik ............. sweat, applied to the sea on the coast.
Bányu ........ water.
Chatur .......... four.
Pápat ........... four.

FIVE.
Báta .......... a rasaka or hobboglin, also a lion.
Pandáwa ........ the five sons of Pandu.
Táta ........... breath issuing from the nostrils.
Gádi ........... ditto mouth.
Wisáya .......... air produced as in belows, &c.
Indri ......... air which refreshes or revives.
Astra .......... the air created by the passing of a missile weapon, or by the wielding of a sword.
Sára .......... the same, created near the point or edge of the weapon.
Marúta ......... air which conveys scents of any kind.
Pawána .......... strong wind.
Bána .......... hurricane, violent wind.
Margána .......... favourable wind in one’s course.
Sámi-rána ......... the wind that checks perspiration.
Waráyang ......... the point or edge of the wind which strikes any thing.
Pancha .......... five.
Báyu .......... wind that circulates in the human body.
Wisíkan .......... whispering wind.
Gúling’án .......... air circulating in a room.
Lima .......... five.

SIX.
Mangsa ........ season, the seasons, prey of a wild beast.
Sadrásas .......... the six tastes, (sweet, sour, salt, bitter, pungent or aromatic, hot, as pepper).
Wináyang ......... to range, following in order, (which is done according to the six notions of things).
Gána .......... silk worm, bee.
Ret-tu .......... the feeling or taste of any thing not pleasant, as pain in the leg, mixed good and bad.
Ang’gas .......... the trunk of a tree standing after its branches and leaves are decayed and fallen.
Sáyag .......... an inclining tree.
Karng’a .......... the sense of hearing.
Sandá .......... clear, light.
Sandi .......... plan, project, scheme, completed.
Búdia .......... disposition, inclination, ability.
Ka-nénam .......... six.
Ráza .......... taste.

SEVEN.
Ardi .......... mountains near the sea, mountains.
Parwáta .......... several mountains together.
Turángga .......... a steed, horse.
Giri .......... mountain or great hill.
Rékai or resi .......... a pandita, or holy or learned man.
Aksa .......... buffalo.
Baksu .......... bull or cow.
Mándála .......... a mountain which is rent or split.
Chálá .......... a mountain which shows its shape, &c. clearly.
Hemáwan .......... the summit of a mountain.
Gúra .......... cow, great noise.
Sápta .......... seven.
Pandita .......... a holy man.
Géngalára .......... the buzzing noise of flying insects.
Yamúni .......... the sound of a lover courting his mistress.
Kúda .......... horse.
Wiku .......... an instructor.
Pitu .......... seven.

EIGHT.
Nága .......... serpent.
Panágan .......... the dwelling of a snake, the skin which a snake has shed.
APPENDIX.

Sariva ...... guana.
Bánu ...... tekké.
Tánú ...... camelion.
Mérti ...... lizard.
Kunjára ...... place of confinement, prison.
Gájah ...... elephant.
Dipángga ...... an elephant fully caparisoned.
Samádia ...... an elephant prepared for being mounted.
Hasta ...... elephant.
Mang’gála ...... an elephant with his tusks grown.
Diráda ...... an enraged or savage elephant.
Herd ...... female elephant.
Matáng’ga ...... a large elephant.
Bramána ...... a pandita from Sabrang or opposite coast.
Limän ...... a tame elephant.
Kála ...... time.
Was, áwas ...... a scorpion.
Ula ...... a snake.

NINE.
Ruðra ...... a muddy hole.
Trástra ...... the hollow of a tube, a hollow in any thing.
Trásti ...... the same.
Múka ...... the face, the mouth.
Gapára ...... the gate or doorway of a palace.
Wlwára ...... a doorway, the opening of a case.
Díára ...... the gateway of a fort.
Drúsa ...... doorway into a holy place, or place of misfortune.
Yútu ...... the eye of a needle, or the like.

Gátra ...... a small hole or cell in the earth, made by insects.
Guá ...... a cave.
Wadána ...... the front of a door.
Léng ...... all kinds of holes or hollow places.
Láwang ...... doors of every description.
Sóng ...... a long passage underground.
Babáhan ...... the hole made for the entrance of a thief.
Náwa ...... nine.

CYPFER.
Búma ...... decayed grass, dried grass, hay.
Sónya ...... solitude, quiet.
Gegána ...... endless space, as between the earth and the sky, indefinite space.
Ng’ambára ...... flight.
Widik widik ...... that which is seen or heard but not known, as thunder.
Malétik ...... to fly off, drop off, any thing small which is knocked off from what is greater.
Sirna ...... gone, vanished.
Lang’it ...... that of which one has an idea but cannot see clearly, as the sky.
Kásia ...... the air, atmosphere.
Maláyewa ...... to run off.
Windu ...... the period of revolving, a cycle.
Sakáta ...... a carriage.
Iláng ...... gene, lost, past.

EXAMPLE.

Búma, netra, guí, bányu, marúta, sádáss, ardí, nága, láwang, lang’it.
Earth, eyes, fire, water, air, taste, hill, snake, doors, sky.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0
APPENDIX H.

TRANSLATION OF THE MÁNEK MÁYA.

CHAPTER I.

Before the heavens and earth were created, there existed Sang yang Witséa (the all-powerful). This deity, remaining in the centre of the universe, inwardly and earnestly desired of the Almighty Ruler to grant a wish that he had. A dreadful conflict of the elements ensued, in the midst of which he heard a repetition of sounds, like the rapid striking of a bell. On looking up he saw a ball suspended over him, and on his laying hold of it, it separated into three parts: one part became the heavens and earth, another became the sun and moon, and the third was man, or mánek máya.

All having made obeisance to the Sang yang Witséa, he addressed himself to Mánek máya, and said, "Hereafter thou shalt be called Sang yang Gáru; and placing entire confidence in thee, I give up the earth and all that is attached to it, to be used and disposed of according to thy will and pleasure." Having spoken thus, Sang yang Witséa vanished.

The earth being in great distress, unfixed and liable to be driven to and fro by every gust of wind, anxiously petitioned of Sang yang Witséa that its situation and condition in the universe might be fixed. The sun, moon, and sky, deeply affected with the distress in which the earth was, all came to lend their assistance; a violent hurricane at the same time arose, and, by their united influence, the earth became still and fixed, the contending waters then receiving their saltness and disposition to turbulence. The continual presence of the sun and moon occasioned perpetual day. Sang yang Gáru, empowered by the deity, then directed that those two luminaries should show themselves alternately, relieving each other by turns; the sun dispensing light and heat during the day, and at the close thereof entering into the bosom of fire; the moon continuing to light the earth by night, for fifteen days in a month, and descending in due season into the bosom of the waters.

At the request of Sang yang Gáru, the deity granted that he should have nine male and five female children born unto him, without the assistance of a mother.

One of the sons, called Mahadéwa, being furnished with one of the daughters, called Mahadévi, as a wife, was sent to preside in the east. He was, moreover, provided with a fort and palace of silver, a sea of coconut milk, and a white párí bird. His letters were ka, na, cha, ra, and ka, (the five first letters of the Javan alphabet), and his day, léyi (which signifies sweet).
APPENDIX.

The second son, Sang yang Śambu, was sent to preside in the south: the daughter allotted to him for a consort was Sangydna. His krāton was of copper; his bird was a dhramana kite; his sea was of blood; his letters were da, ta, sa, wa, and la; his day pāhing.

The third son, Sang yang Kamajīya (the most beautiful), was sent to preside in the west: the daughter allotted to him for a wife was Dewi Ratēh (which signifies the most beautiful female). His krāton was of gold; his sea was of honey; his bird was a kapādōng, or yellow minor; his letters were pa, da, ja, ya, and nia; his day was pon.

The fourth son, Sang yang Wisnu, was sent to preside in the north: the daughter allotted to him for a wife was Sri. His day was wāde; his krāton was of iron; his sea was indigo; his bird was gīga, or crow; his letters were ma, ga, ba, ta, and nga.

The fifth son, Sang yang Bdyu, was appointed to preside over the centre of the earth: the daughter allotted for his wife was Dewi Śūmi. His krāton was of bell-metal; his day was khivon; his letters were ga, lang, nia, ma, ma, la, pa, ya, and a; his sea was of hot water; his bird was a goget.

The four remaining sons were appointed to preside in the north-east, north-west, south-west, and south-east quarters, respectively.

The god of the north-east was Sang yang Pretanjīla, and the letter attached to him was named b'ya.

The god of the south-east was Sang yang Kuera, and the letter attached to him was named narārinya.

The god of the south-west was Sang yang Mahayākti, and the letter attached to him was named gandēa.

The god of the north-west was Sang yang Śhova, and the letter attached to him was named norwiti.

These arrangements being made, Sang yang Gūru went under the earth to put things to rights there. The earth consisted of seven regions, one under the other, like so many folds. In the first region he appointed the goddess Déwi Pratīvi to preside; in the second region, a god named Sang yang Kustka; in the third region, a god named Sang yang Gdny'ga; in the fourth region, a god named Sang yang Sindūla; in the fifth, Sang yang Dasampdlan; in the sixth, a god named Sang yang Manikdra; in the seventh region, a god named Sang yang Anta Boga, and who was head over all the others.

Then Sang yang Gūru returning from under the earth, and observing that it was depressed towards the west, and elevated towards the east, summoned all the deities to a consultation respecting what might be the cause of this inclination. The deity of the west said that it was in consequence of a large mountain that was towards the west, and whose weight bore down the earth in that quarter. Sang yang Gūru then directed that the mountain should be removed from the west and placed in the east, so as to preserve the earth in due balance. All the deities were accordingly forthwith dispatched to effect the same.

Sang yang Gūru, at the same time, got Sang yang Wisēsa to create him
APPENDIX.

a Vulcan or Empu, whose name was Ramākī. Of this Vulcan, his mouth served to supply fire, his right and left hands served respectively to hold and beat his work, while his knee answered the purpose of an anvil.

CHAPTER II.

Besides Sang yang Gūru, Sang yang Wisėa created another degree of mankind, viz.: Sang yang Derma Jīka, who, having humbled himself before Wisēa, petitioned him to bestow on him a son, which was granted, and his son's name was Chādur Kamāka.

Chādur Kamāka having previously done penance, petitioned Wisēa to grant him a son, which he did, and his son's name was Sang yang Kane-kapūtra. This Kanekapūtra, who was superior in abilities to all the other created beings, being grown up, was sent by his father to do penance in the ocean, who gave him at the same time a precious stone, called rēna dūmīla, fraught with the wonderful power of rendering its possessor insensible to hunger, cold, thirst, &c. and which completely fortified him against the effects of water, fire, &c. Chādur Kamāka also instructed his son to remain quiet and silent during his penance.

CHAPTER III.

The deities who were sent to remove the heavy mountain which weighed down the west end of the earth, were so fatigued with the labour it cost them, that they were all very thirsty. In looking out for wherewithal to quench their thirst, they discovered issuing from the side of the mountain a clear stream, of which they all drank and died shortly after, the water being impregnated with poison.

Sang yang Gūru himself having come to the mountain, and being also very thirsty, drank from the poisonous stream; perceiving, however, in time that the water was not good, he immediately vomited it, and so saved his life. The only bad effects of it was a blackness which remained about his throat, and from which he received the appellation of Niša Kānṭa. The water was called chāla kūta, which signifies the most potent poison.

On a further search, Sang yang Gūru discovered another stream issuing from the summit of the mountain, and of which the water was of an aromatic and excellent quality. The name of this water was kamanādīṇa, and was so called from its having the property of bringing the dead to life.

Instructed by Wisēa, Sang yang Gūru drank of the life-giving water, and at the same time carried with him some of it, in order to give it to those deities who had died in consequence of their having drunk of the death-giving stream. On the water being applied to their lips they all immediately revived.

What remained of the mountain on removing it from the west to the east formed the hill called Tempaka (at Chirīngi, in Bantam).

In the course of the conveyance of the mountain towards the east, a piece of it dropt off, and became the large mountain in Bantam, called
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Géunung Kérdang. Other pieces falling off became the mountains Hala Húm, near Pajajarám, Géunung Gézel, the mountain called Chérmi (which is in Chérbon), and the Géunung Gégung, (which is in Tégdél).

The fragments which continued to fall all the way along, on either side of the large mountain, during its conveyance from the west to the east, formed the two ranges of hills stretching along the south and north coasts, and known by the name of Géunung Kéndang.

Two large pieces fell off and formed the Brothers, called Sindóro and Sindóri, or Símbing. The deities employed in transporting the mountain stopped to rest themselves in that part of the country afterwards known by the name of Kédú; and the perspiration which then ran off their bodies was the cause of that country being so well supplied with water.

These deities seeing Ramádi above in the clouds, at his ease compared with them who were working so hard, asked how he came to be there so much at his ease? He replied, that he was ordered by Sang yang Gérw to remain there and work for the gods. High words, and at last a battle, ensued, in which all the deities were defeated. So great was the power of Ramádi, whose mouth sent forth flame, and whose breath was fatal to those exposed to its beneful influence.

* Sang yang Gérw interposed his authority, and having appeased the combatants, the deities returned to the work of carrying the mountain. More pieces of the mountain dropped, and formed the mountains Merépí and Meribón, into which the volcanic fire they have ever since contained was then breathed from the nostrils of the fiery vulcan Ramádi.

Ramádi then asked Wisésa to give him a son, which was granted, and his son's name was Bráma Kaddí. Bráma Kaddí resembled his father in every respect, and was equally powerful and formidable.

Other pieces of the mountain dropt, and formed the mountains Lébon, Wílis, Antung, and Khat, besides a number of small hills. What remained of the mountain when it had reached the east, was set down and formed the Géunung Semítra (which is in the country now called Proboling'go), the height of which reached the sky.

Having removed the mountain from the west to the east end of the island, the several deities presented themselves before Sang yang Gérw, who then ordered them to take téja-grained wood, earth, and stones, for the purpose of making him a heaven of the most transcendant beauty, it being his intention to, vie with the Almighty himself; and in order that he might be on an equality with the Almighty, he gave orders for the construction of a báli márcba kínda, which should resemble the áras of the most divine; and like unto the Súrya Párdos he made the Súrya Loka. To resemble the Yámání he formed a kíwak; corresponding to the Wailal, or hell of perishing cold, he made Endut Biyagóba, or the place of filth; similar to the bridge Seratal mastakím he made the bridge Ogágit. He at the same time made himself as many jawdítas as the Almighty himself had mâlaikat (or male angels), also 100,001 wídaddíris (or female angels), the odd one being Batári Rádeh. Sang yang Gérw further provided himself with a consort, whose name was Batári Uma.
All this having been accomplished, the Jawatás and Widaddris assembled under the dili marc'hu kindo, and began to drink of the tera komandúa, or invigorating beverage, which soon made them quite happy.

While they were still quaffing, Rémbu Chaduang, one of the Rasáskea (who are the dregs of creation) having observed them, descended from above and joined the party. When one of the Jawatás, called Chádra, perceived this, he made a motion to Wísnu to apprise him of it. Before therefore the beverage, which the rasáskea had applied to his lips, had time to descend into his stomach, Wísnu shot an arrow into his throat and stopped his passage. The head only of the Rasáskea (being all that experienced the effects of its immortalizing quality) re-ascended, and became the devourer of the sun and moon (observable at eclipses); the whole of the rest of the body perished. Hence originates the great noise and clamour which is always made on an eclipse of the sun or moon, the object of those who make it being to drive away the animal which on those occasions attacks the luminaries, and thereby produces what are termed eclipses.

(The scene which follows is too indecorous to be inserted).

Sang yang Gáru immediately dispatched all the deities to destroy it, and to prevent its growing into any thing gross or unnatural.

The deities accordingly went forth and commenced their attack, darting all their missile weapons at it. Instead, however, of suffering from the effects of their weapons, it only increased in size, and forthwith began to assume a shape, of which the weapons called chádra dekésanu formed the head, those called lampaung manggala formed the two shoulders, and those called gáda the rest of the body. The former being now complete, and of a very terrific appearance, all the deities were greatly afraid and ran away from Sang yang Kála, the name of the monster, as it continued to pursue them. The deities fled to Sang yang Gáru for protection and assistance, informing him of what had happened, and telling him, at the same time, that the Sang yang Kála was advancing in order to inquire and find out who was his father.

The Rasáskea immediately made his appearance, having eyes like the blasing sun, hair long, lank, and clotted with filth and dirt, his body covered all over with hair like a wild beast, and large tusks sticking out of his jaws.

Thus disfigured, he stood before Sang yang Gáru, and asked him who he was? The latter replied, that he was a powerful being and the ruler of many deities. "If that be the case," said Sang yang Kála, "then "must thou be able to tell me who my father was?" Gáru then said, "I know thy father, and will inform thee who and where he is, provided "you comply with what I shall require of thee."

Sang yang Kála assented, and then inquired what it was that Gáru wished him to do. "That," said Gáru, "I will point out to you, and if "you fail to do it, I will instantly devour you. You must, in the first "place, however, make obeisance to me." While the Rasáskea was in the act of prostrating himself before Gáru, the latter plucked two hairs from
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his head: upon which the former opening wide his mouth, Géru thrust his hand into it, and wrenched out his tusks and the poison which was at their roots. The poison he deposited in a small vessel, and of the tusks he formed two weapons, called lümpung and neng’gdia, so heavy that it required seven hundred men to lift one of them.

Sang yang Géru then confirmed to the Raadka the name of Sang yang Kéla: after which, becoming greatly enraged with his consort, he seized and held her by the toe, upon which she began to bellow, and was immediately transformed into a female monster, receiving the name of Dérja. He then gave her to Sang yang Kéla for a consort, and allotted them for a place of residence the island called Jása Kambang, where they continued to live very happily.

Sang yang Géru then ordered the deities, Bráma and Wíswa, to go and destroy the forty children of Rémé Chelung, the devourer of the sun and moon. They accordingly destroyed all the children except one, named Púwít Jamiéka, whose severe penance alone saved him.

After this Géru saw in his sleep an appearance like a rainbow, and which seemed to be portentous of some great event. Sang yang Thámú being sent by Géru to make inquiries respecting the nature and meaning of this sign, which, from its being in the water, he termed súba sita, Thámú went under the water, and saw there a devotee, who, notwithstanding his situation, was quite unwet from the water, and undergoing the penance of remaining perfectly still and quiet.

Géru being informed of this, and feeling jealous of what the devotee might gain by his penance, became very desirous of causing him to break his vow: he accordingly sent a number of Dewdtaas and Widadáris to tempt the hermit. On their reaching the spot where the latter was, they were not asked to sit down, and were completely disregarded by the hermit. Bráma, who was one of those sent, then observed to the hermit, that such haughty and neglectful conduct was highly unbecoming, and that if it proceeded from ignorance, on his part, of the rank of the persons sent to him, he begged to inform him that they were the messengers of the Great Deity, and ought to be attended to.

These words making no kind of impression on the hermit, who continued obstinately silent, the deity, Sang yang Síwa, then advanced, and addressing himself to the hermit, spoke thus: “Holy hermit, be not offended with what Bráma has just said to thee. I come not to disturb or annoy you, but merely to apply to you for the means of curing the sickness of Batári Uma, who has been taken very ill.” Neither this, nor any other of the devices which the rest of the deities successively had recourse to, succeeded in making the hermit break his silence. The deities, however, being determined to do all in their power to make the hermit break his vow of uninterrupted silence, Sang yang Símbú took a vessel of water and emptied it upon him, while others, at the same time, began to belabour him with sticks. Notwithstanding all this, the hermit persevered unshaken in his resolution of maintaining
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a dead silence. Seeing this, Sang yang Bāhu came up and began to
batter his head with stones, which, instead of doing any injury to
that usually tender part, were only broken themselves into many pieces.
Brāhma had then recourse to fire, which he heaped about the hermit,
so that he was, for a considerable time, entirely concealed from the
view, by the vast flames thereof, and supposed to be completely destroyed.
When the fire had done burning, however, the hermit was observed to
continue in the same situation as before, uninjured by the destructive
element, and, like gold, only the more pure and beautiful.

Astonished and exasperated at all this, the deities then began to assail
the hermit with all their various weapons, viz. 1. chakra; 2. kōnta;
3. karaddha; 4. neng'gala; 5. pārdu; 6. kimpu; 7. pasopātī, and
8. triniṭa. The body of the hermit proved invulnerable. The deities
then, quite confounded and ashamed of their failure, returned to Gūrū,
and informed him of all that had been done.

Sang yang Gūrū then went himself to the hermit, and asked him what
it was he wished to obtain by his penance, telling him at the same time,
that if he was desirous of having beautiful and accomplished virgins,
he had plenty at his service. Receiving no reply, Sang yang Gūrū then said
to him, "I know what the object of this penance is, and I should possess
very limited power if I did not know every wish of thy heart. Thou
art ambitious of supplanting me in the power and rule which I hold in
heaven; but thou deceivest thyself. Wert thou to do penance for one
thousand years, while I should continue to enjoy myself in a series of
uninterrupted pleasures, thou wouldst never be able to come near to me
in power or glory; for after Teja or Chaya (which signifies light or
brightness), Bumi (the earth), and Lāngī (the sky), I stand the next
eldest work of creation; and the power superior to these just men-
tioned is Sang yang Wīśeśa, who is the eldest and greatest of all." Upon
this the hermit could contain himself no longer, but, bursting into
laughter, said, "Thou art wrong, and what thou hast said of Sang yang
Wīśeśa, is true of the Almighty himself only, whose displeasure thou
hast consequently incurred by what thou hast just stated. Know that
I am Sang yang Kanekāpūtra; and to prove to thee that I know better
than to believe what thou hast said of Sang yang Wīśeśa, I would only
ask thee who could have been the cause of those sounds which were
heard by Wīśeśa before the heavens and earth were. Without doubt
they were occasioned by a power older and greater than him."

On this Gūrū was silenced, and had not a word to say. He then en-
treated Kanekāpūtra to tell him who this eldest and most powerful being
was, proposing, at the same time, that he should go with him, and become
joint ruler over the deities in heaven. "These sounds," answered Sang
yang Kanekāpūtra, "were the voice of the Almighty, signifying his will
that there should be created things of an opposite nature to each other,
"as male and female, above and below, father and mother, beautiful and
ugly, &c. &c.—every thing created having its opposite, except thee and
me, who are one and the same."
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Sang yang Kanekaputra and Sang yang Gúru then ascended to heaven, and seated themselves on the Bali márchu kánda. After they had remained there for some time, Sang yang Gúru perceiving a case belonging to Sang yang Kanekaputra, to remain constantly shut, inquired of him the cause thereof, and was told by him that it contained the most precious of all precious stones, which had the wonderful power of making the possessor of it feel neither hunger, cold, nor thirst, &c. and which fortified him against the effects of water, fire, &c.

When Sang yang Gúru heard this, he requested to have the stone; but Kanekaputra told him it was of so subtle a nature, that it would pass through the hands of innumerable people, and would never remain with any one but him destined to be the possessor of it. Sang yang Gúru asked Kanekaputra to part with the stone, and give all the other deities an opportunity of getting it, provided it should not remain with him. Kanekaputra then threw up the precious stone, and Gúru caught hold of it. It not only passed through his hands, but also through the hands of all the deities who successively caught and attempted to retain it. The precious stone then falling down upon the first region of the earth, where presides the deity Pratîvi, dropped successively through all the others, without the presiding deities Bagâwan Kuska, Sang yang Gángga, Sîndûla, Drampûlan, and Manik Kôga, being able to retain hold of it, till, coming to the last region, Anta Bogo, the presiding deity, who was in shape like a dragon, opened his mouth and swallowed it.

Sang yang Gúru then asked Sang yang Kanekaputra what he should do to become possessed of the precious stone? Kanekaputra replied, he must go and search for it as far as even the seventh region of the earth. Sang yang Gúru approved of this, but at the same time wished that Kanekaputra should go himself, accompanied by all the deities. Kanekaputra accordingly set off, and on his arrival at the different regions, was successively told by the presiding deities, that the rétna dumîla had alit through their hands, and had passed down into the seventh and lowest region. When he came there, he and all the deities who accompanied him, were kindly received by Anta Bogo. Kanekaputra then told Anta Bogo that Gúru was desirous of having the precious stone, and would be greatly obliged by his giving it up to him. Anta Bogo declined compliance, and immediately his body became extended so as to encircle the whole of his region. It is further reported that he had ninety nostrils. Kanekaputra perceiving that Anta Bogo was making a display of the power he possessed, gave orders for all the deities to enter his body by his various nostrils, and to make search for the vessel called chûpu mânek astugîni, in which the rétna dumîla was deposited.

Wisësa seeing what had taken place, reprimanded the parties concerned for their folly and mistake, and at the same time ordered that they should all forthwith depart out of the body of Anta Bogo. He next desired that the body of Anta Bogo should be carried away by the deities, in the same
manner in which they had formerly carried the mountain. On their way with it to Sang yang Gúru, the body decreased gradually in size, till it vanished entirely.

Kanekapátra was highly incensed against Anta Bógo for his provoking conduct, and was just going to complain of it to Sang yang Gúru, when, to his surprise, he perceived Anta Bógo himself under the seat of Sang yang Gúru.

Sang yang Gúru seeing Kanekapátra's displeasure increase, he requested he would not be offended with Anta Bógo, as his conduct was merely intended for a little merriment. Sang yang Gúru then desired Anta Bógo to deliver up the chípu mánek astagína, which he accordingly did.

Sang yang Gúru not being able himself to open the chípu, handed it over to Kanekapátra; but neither he nor any of the other deities, who successively attempted to open it, could succeed. Anta Bógo was then applied to: but he said, that so long as he had had the chípu, it opened and shut of itself, without his knowing how. Holding up the chípu, Sang yang Gúru then threw it down with great violence; upon which it broke in pieces, and vanished from the sight. The chípu, and the réma dumíla which it contained then became, the former a Bddi simarakdáta, the latter a virgin, to whom Sang yang Gúru gave the name of Tema-Wáti, and who continued to remain in the Bddi simarakdáta till she grew up. Sang yang Gúru afterwards taking a fancy to this virgin, wished to make her his wife. She consented, on condition of his giving her such proof as she required of his divinity and power, and that was by his supplying her with three things, viz.: 1. A suit of elegant apparel, which would last her for ever without being in the least tarnished; 2. A meal which would cause her never to feel hunger more; 3. A musical instrument called gatóplak, of the most melodious sound. All these Sang yang Gúru promised to get for her on her agreeing to prove faithful to him.

In furtherance of his intentions, he ordered the deity Chíra idya to go to Níka Kambíngán and call Sang yang Kdla. When Sang yang Kdla came, Sang yang Gúru desired him to bring his son, called Kdla Gamárag, in order that he might dispatch him in search of the three things required by the virgin, Tema Wáti.

To induce Kdla Gamárag to exert himself in procuring them, Sang yang Gúru told him, that if he should be successful, he would be rewarded by the privilege of coming to heaven whenever he chose, without molestation from the other deities.

Kdla Gamárag then took leave, bellowing and making a great noise, so as to alarm and bring out all the deities, whom, as they stood in his way, he insulted and disgraced by striking some, and spitting in the faces of and treading upon others. Highly indignant at such base treatment, the deities, one and all, pronounced a curse upon him, that he should never be allowed to defile heaven with his presence, and that he should be transformed into a wild beast.

Kdla Gamárag then proceeded to a place called Tíman Banjáram Sári,
where he saw Dévé Sri (the wife of Wísmu) bathing in the asure main, (or Seyóra Nila). Enamoured by the enchanting display of the naked beauties of that lovely female, his whole soul was fired with such an irresistible desire, and so rivetted and attracted was he, that he unconsciously rushed forward towards her, when she, greatly terrified, and leaving all her clothes behind, ran off with all speed to her husband. Kóla Gamáranıg pursued the lovely fugitive till she reached the abode of her husband Wísmu, and being informed on inquiry of him that she was his wife, Kóla Gamáranıg demanded her of him. Wísmu consented to let him have her, provided she herself would consent. The question being put to her she refused to go to Kóla Gamáranıg, who then said that her not liking to come to him was all a pretence, and nothing more than one of those tricks which the female sex are constantly in the habit of practising. On Kóla Gamáranıg’s attempting to carry her away by force, Wísmu whispered her to run off to Mendang Kamílan, and enter and take refuge in the body of the king’s wife, called Dérmá Nástiti. Wísmu at the same time disappeared. Kóla Gamáranıg followed, and continued to pursue her over hill and dale, and, through jungle and forest, till becoming tired and exhausted, she was on the point of being overtaken, when Wísmu, causing his weapon to be changed into the root end of a rattan, it got entangled about the legs of Kóla Gamáranıg, and threw him down. Notwithstanding that, however, Kóla Gamáranıg still attempted to pursue her, when she, aware of the advantage she then had over him, cursed him, and pronounced him to be a hog, which he immediately became. Kóla then attempted to stand upright, but he could not. Resolved, however, not to desist from the attempt to obtain the object of his desire, he said within himself, that he would follow and pursue her into whatever recess she might betake herself. Coming to a river, he saw the image of what he now was.

When Sri reached Mendang Kamílan she entered the body of Dérmá Nástiti’s wife, who was most beautiful. Wísmu at the same time went into the body of the king himself, and assuming the title of Prábu mang ngukitíkan, became the first king of Java. Sang yang Gúru being informed of the fate of his messenger, Kóla Gamáranıg, sent again to the virgin, Trésma-Wáti, to entreat her to become his. This, however, she positively refused, on any other terms than those she had already made known to him. Upon this, Sang yang Gúru began to embrace her. The resistance she made, joined to the rough and violent manner in which he proceeded, caused her to expire in his arms. He then sent for Kanekapátra to carry her body to Mendang Kamílan, and there bury it in the wood, called Kéntring Kendayána, which he ordered to be previously put in order for its reception.

The body being buried there, from its head sprung up a cocoa-nut tree, • • •. From the hands grew up plantain trees, from the teeth Indian corn, from other parts pari, &c. &c. The pari was guarded by • • • and over these three was placed a head called Ráden Jáka. Sang yang Pretanjála, the deity of the north-east, anxious to know
where Wissu was, ascended into the air, and having looked down and seen some fine rice growing, he immediately descended in the shape of a bird, and began to devour it. Ràden Jàka perceiving this, threw a stone at the bird and frightened it away.

Kàla Gâmadrâg (the hog) having ascertained where Sri was deposited, went to the wood Kêntring Kêndoyàna, and began to eat of what grew there. When Wissu saw this, he changed his weapon from the root end of a bambu into that of pointed bambu stakes, which being trod upon by the hog, caused blood to issue.

The birds which came to eat the pari, and which were frightened away by those who guarded it, flew up into a tree, which, from the retreat it afforded to the birds, received the name of Arën (Lîrêna, signifying a place of refuge). Ràden Jàka Purîng then ordered the protectors of the pari to make a flight of steps up the tree, and to lop off the branches. In doing this, the juice which issued from the tree being tasted, was found to be sweet and capable of making sugar, which was then first discovered.

Some of the juice of the tree being carried and presented to Wissu, was ordered by him to be taken to Sang yang Gûru by Kanekapûtra.

On Kanekapûtra's opening the hollow bambu in which it was contained, previously to presenting it to Sang yang Gûru, the fermented liquor flew up into his face, and caused him, when he tasted it, to put out and smack his lips with pleasure and satisfaction. Sang yang Gûru then ridiculed him for his simplicity, and pronouncing in ironical terms his opinion thereof, the words were irrevocable, and Kanekapûtra then had his lips turned up, his hinder parts pointed and projected, a gruff voice and a pot-belly.

Of the children of Pêtut Jântîka, the first was in form like a white rat and about the size of a dog, and was named Tìkusu Jênànda: he had an innumerable host of followers. The second was in shape like a hog, and was named Dêmâh: he also had thousands of followers. The third was in shape like Kûtîla, and had likewise many followers. The fourth was like a buffalo, and was called Maisa Dimu. The fifth and sixth were Kàla Sêring'î and Kàla Mûstî, and resembled the male and female bidâneg, or wild bull and cow. The next was Ujâng, and was in shape like a kî-dang, or small deer. The next, Kirandé, was like a stag. The next, were like sea and land tortoises.

All were greatly distressed for want of food, and annoyed their parent by constant craving for it. The father then told them to go to Méndang Kâmîlan, where they would find all sorts of produce; enjoining them, however, to take nothing without first asking for it. The children, one and all, immediately answered in an assenting voice, and forthwith repaired to Méndang Kâmîlan, where they arrived in the middle of the night, and being very hungry began to help themselves to what they saw before them, without leave or ceremony. The persons who guarded the pari (Gûru shook) heard the noise they made, and were at a loss to know what it was. At last one of them came out with a torch in one hand, and a
large knife in the other. When the son that was like a hog saw him, he ran towards him to attack him, and received a cut in the head, which, as he was invulnerable did him no harm. When the jùra sówah found that he could not cut the hog, he immediately assembled all his fellows, who commenced an attack upon the hog, and whose numerous torches made the night as light as the day. Unable, however, to hurt him, they went with Rûden Jëka Purîng to report to Prûbu Mëndang Kamilam what had happened. The king then gave orders for all his people to go with whatever weapons they could muster, and use their utmost endeavours to kill the animals which had got amongst and were destroying the various plants. With the king at their head, all the people who could be assembled went forth to destroy the noxious animals. When the latter saw the host approaching, they made a vigorous charge and dispersed the enemy, who were unable to make any impression on their invulnerable bodies, but received themselves many wounds in various parts of the body. The king then recollecting something prophetic of the event, instantly retreated with all his people, pursued by the victorious animals to a considerable distance.

The king then dispatched his younger brother, the Jûra Sówah Rûden Jëka Purîng, to his old friend at Mëndang Agung, who was called Andong Dadëpan, and also to Ké Gedé Pengûkîr, who was along with the former, to solicit their assistance in extirpating the wild animals, which had, as they must well know, overcome the king and all his people. Andong Dadëpan and Ké Gedé Pengûkîr were found sitting. Another, named Rûden Sêngken, then came up, as also Rûden Jëka Purîng himself, who kissed the feet of the two first mentioned, having his own feet kissed in turn by Rûden Sêngken.

Rûden Jëka Purîng then began to inform them of all that had taken place; but Andong Dadëpan told him there was no occasion to proceed, as, from his divine power, he was perfectly acquainted with the circumstances.

Andong Dadëpan and Ké Gedé Pengûkîr signified to their respective sons, that they wished them to call their warriors, whose names were Wâyu yang and Chândra Máwa. The first, who belonged to Andong Dadëpan, was black, short, stout, round-shouldered, pot-bellied, with a short neck, large ears, whence exuded a waxy substance, red eyes, a projecting forehead, a snub nose, with long hair hanging over his forehead. The second, who belonged to Ké Gedé Pengûkîr, was short, of an awkward appearance, having a long neck and a small head.

When those two extraordinary persons made their appearance, their masters placed them under the orders of Jëka Purîng, and at the same time furnished him with a short spear and a stick, instructing him, when he unsheathed the former, to keep it always pointed towards the ground. Rûden Turinam and Sêngken, which were the names of the sons of the two warriors, also presented Jëka Purîng with a bambu cane, with which they instructed him to beat violently, when he should be in need of their assistance, promising that they would immediately be with him.
Jdke Puring then returned to the king of Méndaung Kemailam, and presented to him the two warriors, &c. The king then ordered all his people to prepare for an attack upon the wild beasts, which was not attended with any better success than before.

The two warriors, who had remained behind drinking, the one cocoa-nut water, and the other rice water, being perceived by the queen (Déwi Dérma Nasttiti), were reprimanded by her for skulking, while all the others were engaged in fight, and were accordingly recommended by her, in the event of their not choosing to bestir themselves, to return whence they came.

Ashamed of themselves, the two warriors began to weep, and having entreated her forgiveness, they repaired with the rapidity of lightning to the scene of action. When they reached it, Wdýu yang had himself washed with rice water, and the dirt which was scraped off his body was formed into a black dog, with a streak of white extending from the tip of his nose along the ridge of his back, to the extreme point of his tail. This dog was called B'tang Wdýung yang. Chôdéra Méwêa having had his body cleaned with cocoa-nut water, the dirt which was got off it became a white cat, with a corresponding black streak from the tip of its nose to the end of its tail.

This wonderful dog and cat were then directed to go and attack these destructive animals. Commencing with the hog, the dog, after having dispatched him and all the more fierce and strong animals, killed the monkeys, and others which he could not follow up the trees they ascended, by the powerful sound of his voice alone; while the cat busied herself in putting an end to the rats, and such other animals as she was peculiarly calculated to destroy.

Kalâmu'kitti and K'da Serâng'gi, distressed and enraged on account of the death of their brothers (the noxious animals), who had thus been exterminated, petitioned their father, Pútu Janttika, to permit them to go and revenge themselves on the authors of such a dire calamity. This being granted, these powerful personages, whose bones were as hard as iron, their skin like copper, sinews like wire, hair like needles, eyes like balls of fire, feet like steel, &c. went forth, and in the strength of their rage made a road for themselves, by tearing up trees by the roots, and removing every other obstacle which stood in their way.

The two K'dëas attacked them with such fury, that the warriors flew up into the air, and then darting down, carried off the almost dead dog and cat, which they then put down again in a place of safety at some distance, where they washed their bodies with cocoa-nut and rice water, and rubbed them with bambu leaves. In shaking themselves to dry their skins, a number of hairs fell out of both dog and cat, and became respectively so many more animals of the same species.

All of the dogs and cats thus produced commenced an attack upon the K'da, but without being able to make any impression on them. Compared to them, they were only like so many ants by the side of the mountain Merápi.
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Raden Jaka Purung perceiving that the dogs and cats were no match for the Kulas, immediately began to beat with the bâmbu which was given him to use in times of distress. Raden Sengkaw and Turimau forthwith made their appearance. Being armed each with a rattan, seven cubits in length, and of a most exquisite polish, they beat the Kulas till they were nearly dead. Widyu yang and Chandrâ Mâwâ then secured the two Kulas with ropes, and tied them to a tree.

On recovering from the miserable state into which they had been beaten, the two Kulas began to lament this unhappy fate. Their father, Pâtut Jentâka, hearing their cries, determined to attack the enemy himself. Proceeding with Ujong Ramdi, he found on his way a large square stone, measuring ten fathoms: throwing this stone high up in the air, and placing himself under it, so as to receive it upon his head, the stone, instead of breaking his head, was itself broken into several pieces.

At this mighty deed he became transformed into a large and frightful monster. In this new shape he attacked the enemy, who being dreadfully alarmed at this horrid appearance, betook themselves for protection to their master the king.

Raden Jaka Purung then coming out and pointing his unsheathed spear towards the ground, it immediately sent forth a large snake, in size like a tall tree, and whose poisonous breath was like the smoke of a crater. This snake was a species of the sâwah kind.

On Pâtut Jentâka's reaching the royal presence, he found that the king no longer appeared in his former and assumed character, but had returned to that of himself, viz. Wisnu. Jentâka was so much confounded and alarmed at this unexpected and wonderful event, that he was greatly terrified, and ran away to hide himself among the scarecrows in the rice fields. The king pursued him for a short distance, and then returned with all his people. On their way back one of the jûru sâwahs, called Kias Tûch, began to boast of Jentâka having run away from him, and the ludicrous manner in which he spoke of Jentâka occasioned great merriment among the party. While holding forth in his own praise, and in disparagement of Jentâka, he happened to come against the scarecrow where Jentâka was, upon which Jentâka immediately shewing himself, put on such a horrible look as quite petrified Kias Tûch, and made him drop apparently dead with fear. The king being informed of this then came up, when Kias Tûch seeing the king, and being no longer afraid of Jentâka, got up, and walked off. This circumstance occasioned all the people to laugh very heartily.

On the king's approaching Jentâka, the latter addressed him thus:

"I beg your pardon for what has happened. I have no wish or intention "to be your enemy: on the contrary, I am ready to become your humble "slave, and to do whatever you command me." The king accepted his proffered friendship and services, and told Jentâka that he would dispose of him as follows, viz. that he should reside under kimbungs (or granaries), and live upon such quantities of rice as should exceed that which the owner calculated upon having. That he, and all his family and posterity,
should also inhabit the troughs in which rice is beaten out, and the fire-
places of kitchens, also the front courts of houses, of the highways, and
dunghills, &c.

The king then commanded that all persons, after beating out rice, or
after washing it in the river, or after boiling it, should leave a small
quantity, as food for Jentika and his family.

The snake of the sa weakened species, above spoken of, having gone over all
the cultivated grounds which had been destroyed by the wild and noxious
animals, and caused them all to be restored to their former state, extended
itself along the ridges of the rice fields and died. The king hearing this
was greatly distressed, and on approaching to the place where the snake had
expired, instead of its dead body he beheld a beautiful virgin, elegantly
dressed out in maiden attire. The king was struck with her appearance,
and going up to her spoke thus: “Lovely damsel, my only life, behold
thy brother, who comes to carry you to the palace he has prepared for
you, and in which he will be ever happy to guard and protect you;
when there thou shalt reign sovereign mistress.”

The virgin, who was called the Lách Endah (or the most beautiful
damsel), replied that she felt much honoured by his handsome compli-
ments and kind intentions, and that she would be most happy and willing
to meet his wishes; but as a proof of the sincerity of his protestations of
love and affection, she required of him that he should come every morning
and evening to the rice fields, and that on his having done so she would
consent to be his wife. Having spoken to this effect, the lovely virgin
disappeared. The king was at first inconsolable for the loss of her, but
recovering himself, he returned to his palace with all his retinue.

The country became very rich and productive, living and provisions of
all kinds being very cheap and the people all good and happy.
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TRANSLATION of an INSCRIPTION in the ancient JAVAAN, or KAWI Character, on a Stone found near Surabaya, and sent from thence to Bengal, to the Right Honourable the Earl of Minto.

(Date) 506. Verily know all the world, that the Panditas wrote on this object of veneration describing the greatness of the Ratu, and that the whole is inserted on a stone prepared for the purpose.

When first this large stone was considered a place of worship, people were accustomed to swear by it: it was held in great respect, and considered a repeller of impurity. To this is added, with truth and sincerity of heart, a relation of the perfection of the monarchy, the provinces of which are flourishing. His empire is renowned for the excellence of its laws, and his knowledge most evident and undoubted: the Ratu's name Sri Widyaya, and place of residence Lorkoro. Certainly he is firm who gives stability to virtue. His Pepiti is named Brata Wismara, celebrated in the world: whose advice is constantly had recourse to by the Ratu, and necessary to him like the berel of the ring to the stone, because he assists him in the conduct of affairs, and is quickly heard by the Dewas. When at war he can increase the arms an hundred-fold to annoy the foe. And that Piti is admired by the women; but this does not withdraw him from attention to the country, and the Ratu confides in the conduct of the Piti, and the Ratu gave orders to make images. No other than archas were made, fifty in number, all erect; and they are deified, being placed to that end in order, on consecrated ground.

The Ratu is not sparing of his own property, and continues seeking the comfort of his chiefs. He arranges all kinds of pictures agreeable to their respective stations in the apartment of his queen. It is related of that kaddon, that figures of rhinoceroses are carved on the walls, which are railed with iron and barred across; its floor most clean and shining, a stream of water running along the foot of the wall, with a flood-gate to open or shut exactly where it should be; and the chief of the watchmen distributes the guard to their respective posts.

Be watchful of such knowledge as is real. The virtue of good men is like gold which is hoarded up; apparently they possess nothing, but in

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Letter from the late Earl of Minto, 23d June, 1813.
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reality what they develop is sharpened by addition: they are spoken of throughout their career as blameless until their death, their ashes are then adorned and embellished, as well as held in veneration, and the virtues these possess are very great and without fail. If difficulty should arise, do you ask assistance with a heart pure and undefiled; and if you have any urgent petition to make, do it with submission. Clothe yourself entirely clean, throw off what is not so, and what you have to bring forward let it be with propriety. When it is known to the deity what your wishes are, they will be quickly complied with openly to your satisfaction, and made to correspond with the devotion manifested. And the knowledge of what is requisite in sincere supplication is this: to punish yourself; to divest yourself of hearing; to reject evil-doing of all kinds; to have your eye fixed on one; to seek the road to the bestower of benefits; to desire without delay, and not to trifle. Yea, the formed stone which is reverenced, is to be considered only a veil between you and the real divinity. Continue to supplicate for whatever are your desires that they may be known: when the blood will have stopped three times your object will be gained; verily, it will be added to, there will be no obstacle to its full completion. By one saying your solicitation is directly expressed, and correctness of life is obtained. And what you say is like the sun and moon: in proportion as reverence is paid to the deity, men know that their supplication will be listened to, and the Batāra become familiar and much attached. Your existence will be as bright as the sun and its splendour, which is evident, truly beautiful. When you die you will be guarded and aggrandized, and not without companions. Such will be his lot who seeks the good of the country, for he furthers the happiness of the people.

Do you observe this course until you excel in it. Make figures of stone like human beings, which may be supplicated; persons who reject them will suffer sickness and ruin until their death, which will be most bitter: on that account it is necessary to entreat and pray for the favour of the Dēvas. Stones situated in places of worship are ornamented with many articles of state; they are feared by those who wish to ask forgiveness, and cannot be destroyed.

It is related, that only persons who are steadfast in the acquirement of letters, cause such as the following to be made (here follow fifteen cabalist-like characters, which are totally unintelligible): those will certainly serve the purpose of your forefathers, who have been the medium of existence; they are the veil which separates you from that which is exalted, and also written on the stone. Give credit to them in a moderate degree.

First, let all pray to and seek the favour of the deity in this and the next world, and each require an interpreter who will obtain his pardon: but he must reject fickleness to arrive at a discriminating heart. Speak with reverence to your parents, their existence is replaced by those who
are named after them. In the place of worship, when the ornament of
good works is shewn, it is mentioned in the same manner as delight, as
established gratification. It is difficult to cause advantage to the workings
of the heart; your faith, which you received from Sang yang Suddhika and
Sang yang Táya is acknowledged by the extent of your ability, and is
different from other feelings.

Different are the rewards of those who come to heaven; happiness is
bestowed on them; delightful their state; verily they have arrived in the
land of silver. Whatever your reward at your death may be fixed at,
when obtained it cannot be lost: all is settled, the whole is distributed,
as well as the certainty of death. Truly you are directed to a place which
is exalted, pointed out by Déwas, who preside at death and become your
guide; because the dead are mixed in a land which is wide and level, are
given occupations and quickly go, each flying to the first place until they
arrive at the seventh. Verily they at length come to the extremity with
those who accompany: there are none among them who have been ter-
rified: the existence of the body is dissolved and lost. There are none
acquainted with books who are terrified.

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Translation of another Inscription in the ancient Javan, or Kawi,
Character, on a Stone found in the interior of the District of Surabaya.

On the Face of the Stone.

The year of this inscription being made on a solid stone was 467, in the
season Katya. It was made by a Pandita skilful, and who performed
wonders; to relate, explain, and make known the greatness and excellence
of the Ráhu (prince), in order that your actions too may speedily become
clear and manifest; yes, that will be your kaddon. That Sri Rája, ever
surrounded by majesty and his family, observes a correctness of conduct
grateful to the pure Déwas, and by Mántris exalted by the Ráhu Bráma
W jóya, celebrated in the universe for his eminence, whose empire is firm
and not to be shaken. Such is the Ráhu; yes, he who caused to be in-
scribed on a stone all these his actions, observant to the utmost of the
forms of worship, moderate in his complaints of distress, whose appeals
are correct and most true and without guile, and have enabled the slave
to associate with the divinity, without there being a difference between
them. He is my father, who is implored and who caused my existence:
do not trifle; there is no one greater than he. What remains to you to
solicit, mention it with humility; yes, that too is what mankind must
observe. Do you watch and observe the duties of mankind, and you will
certainly profit; reject entirely sayings which are improper and untrue,
and avoid theft, robbery, anger, boasting of prowess and false promises,
for they are despicable, and their effect, like the atmosphere, giving heavy
rain which overflows, to the accomplishment of wishes, improving the
cultivation, making all fresh and equally bright and sparkling; but the
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wind of which is presently strong and cuts off the buds. If you ever wish to fortify your soul, go to the summit of a mountain, which is the place for earnest supplication in silence, awaken your firm and sincere heart, let there not be any dregs of your nature; but let the soul assume non-existence and pray. Be aware of the disorders of the demon of bad actions, who inimically annoys and muleads; undoubtedly, if you conduct yourself with firmness, you will approach to perfection, and seclusion will truly be there. Let there not be a mixture of discontent of mind. Cast away the veil however delicate it may be; truly it is better conversing with letters which have been written; what they convey to you will be most painful to the body, but your hopes will be accomplished. Do not give place to the evil thoughts which have occupied the minds of men and are most vexatious; fortify yourself so that you recede not; remember well the three established powers of mankind. Commune with the wise in words which are seen proceeding from the mouth; truly faith is different from what is heard of your corrupt body, which is the ornament of human life. Let the actions of superior men who seek stability be examples to you like the kāmagṛīṛī ant; the indication which you make cannot be disapproved, those persons certainly may be accounted near to the wishes of the country. Sometimes clear, sometimes obscure, yes, such indeed let your situation be, so that the train of your actions may become most direct and manifest, as by day the sun lights all places, so their benefit be not thrown away, and you may cast off care and sorrow. Truly the departure of life is most uncertain. Human nature, when it will not receive advice, is like a stony plain without grass, animals will not approach, all remain at a distance from it. I will teach you: pay attention and fail not to receive instruction, so that you approach most nearly; but first purify your heart which pays reverence, not reverence which is heard by the ear. Yes, that is indeed true devotion which I have taught you, and without which there is no purity, for a perfect heart is derived from the Deity. Words proceeding from the mouth are vain to the utmost, their effect not to be depended on. The devotion of a pure heart is like moonshine, not hot but cool and delightful; the beauties you see in which the stars are scattered over as though in attendance on the moon, adding to the grandeur of the scene. And also a person becoming a Rādūs commands his subjects and distinguishes good people from bad, for the limits of this country are all under his orders. The Rādūs selects from his subjects such as are eligible to be his associates, and they are four, who become the pillars of the state, and cause its happiness and welfare; he thereby shews a pattern for future Rādūs. Further, too, as you have been given life, do not reject the precepts of the Sāstra, which have been diffused through the world by the virtuous, but weigh them in your mind, for that is the duty of a slave; bad and good are from your Lord. So the wisdom of man is extended like the firmament, immeasurable even by the bird garśīda, which knows how to fly in the heavens, though he should arrive at the extremity of space; such is human wisdom. Do not be surprised at people's conver-
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sation, though it correspond not with the dictates of the Sāstra; yes, that is most injurious to morals. Even should one become a Rātus, if he knows not this he certainly will not succeed, he will not arrive at the height of his wishes; because the action of a vicious heart is different from the inclination of a pure one, which is in attendance on its Lord. And a living man should know the advantages of these places, which are, the earth, the sky, and the space between; for to-morrow, when dead, your body and soul will be there; before it knows the road it will change its habitation into a living being; there, if you find enjoyment, you may search for a place, because you have discernment from the heart. But a man who is so while he lives, effects it by abstinence and moderation in eating and drinking. Yes, in the time of Rātus Déarma Wangsa, when he began to benefit the country, that Rātus, it is related in history of former times, would not depart from his word, and all his subjects were devoted to him. And when the Rātus sat in his kaddön, his conversation with his wives was very sweet, as well as his playfulness with them. His wives were therefore much attached to him, and by the Rātus’s wisdom being so great, he was sought after by women, and was very watchful in his attentions to them: of that there is no doubt, and thus too the wisdom of the Pandita is like that of the bird garuda, in obtaining food without trouble from the very great power and sagacity which it possesses; the same arises from the Pandita. Yes, the reason of letters having been formed by the point of a knife is that you should recollect the way which is correct, and that is no other than reverence to the Batára; yes, devoting yourself to the Batára is the height of human excellence. While a man lives, he should day and night ask pardon from the Batára. For what was first written in letters, and they are a cause of eminence to him, was by the Pandita Pangéran Aji Saka; yes, he who has left his mark to the Rātus of Java, for those Rātus made places of worship, named Sangga Pama-langan, and placed in them drawings of their forefathers: but when they prayed they petitioned the Batára only for their existence, that when they died they should inhabit their places, quickly changing their bodies, because their former bodies had returned to the pristine state, that is to say, earth, water, fire, air. So says the Sāstra.

On the Left Side.

And the powers of letters, which are forty-seven, keep those in your mind, so that they be within you all of them. I will establish them in such a manner that they can be brought forth by your three fingers; those who are skilful may make good letters. Do not neglect the application of letters, give each its proper place, for those letters are most useful in the transactions of the people of this world during their continuance in it. Thus the use of letters to the nations of the world is to open the hearts of ignorant men, and to put in mind persons who forget; for I give directions to men who can write, in order that the whole of the knowledge I have in my breast may be known: and this I have taught you, because that knowledge is the essence of the body and illuminates it.
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And you who have wives and children to look after, do not make light of it, for a woman, if she truly do her duty to her husband, is invaluable; she is a printer of clothes, a spinner, weaver, sempstress, and embroiderer; a woman such as this do you cherish, for it will be creditable to you. If a married couple love each other, whatever they wish they can effect, that is the way by which you can attain your wishes. So too a woman towards her husband, even to death; yes, she follows to the pāstres (place of depositing the corpse) or the place of self-sacrifice; this is taught in letters which have been written on tablets; truly those writings are like histories, which explain every kind of science. But the fate of man cannot be learned or known by letters; such as a person's being able to acquire profit, knowledge, poverty or distress: of these there is no certainty. However, do not you reject the sayings of letters. It is your evil inclinations that destroy your bodies; for he who first made war, his magic was very great, because he could throw off the passions of mankind, like Arjuna, whose power in war and in mounting his chariot was celebrated, for he was guarded by all the Dewas; yes, he could become a tapa (a devotee, released from the wants, &c. incident to mankind) and pray fervently. Arjuna, when he became a tapa, annulled his body, his heart did not stray from his duty to the Dewas; his wishes were therefore complied with until his death; yes, Arjuna was indeed favoured by his Dewas. And on any one of your forefathers dying and ascending to heaven, do you immediately make a picture to personify that forefather; and do you adorn and provide it with all sorts of eatables, and respect it as your forefather who has descended to you, and will administer to all your wants: such will be the case with a person who pays respect to his forefathers. At night burn incense and many lamps: truly Sang yang Jagat (the omnipotent) and Sang yang Sūria (the sun) will be favourable to you; for Sang yang Sūria is the enlightener of the world, and every day gives light to darkness. A man who has arrived at the half of his term of life conceives well the separation of his soul from its covering; your existence is like that of the moon, that is to say, from the new to the full, and from that to its extreme wane on the twenty-ninth day of its age. When the moon is thus lost from the east, it will then certainly appear in the west, and recommence the first day of its age. While you live ask from those who know the setting of the soul; a person who knows that is certainly discovered by his actions. But it is best loosing that covering by four causes, water, fire, air, earth; if it is lost by means of those four, the body will certainly quickly be removed, in the same manner as gold which is purified, verily, its colour will become like that which is old. Thus the Pāścātma makes preparations for prayer. The best mode of praying is by familiarizing ourselves with seclusion, which is by excessively torturing the body; but if you should have been much reduced, your soul will not arrive at those three places. Should a man become a Rāju, his soul is one selected by the Dewas which has been introduced into a covering, and that covering is not a covering which has not been favoured by the Dewas, truly a covering which has been elevated by the
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Dewas, for its good fortune has been very great. The descendent of that good fortune from heaven is not like clouds dropping rain, which, if it fall, does so equally on all vegetations. Look at mankind; if you contemplate its state when living, its existence is no more than that of a herb which shoots up on the face of the earth. Concerning your soul, it is like dew, which hangs on the points of grass: such is its state.

On the Back of the Stone.

It is further related of the three particulars of his state, which it is requisite should be the ornament of a man, as well as of a man becoming a Rātu. Those three things are a handsome woman, arms, and a house; the first, because a woman is the dispeller of grief from a heart which is sad; the second, because arms are the shield of life; the third, because a house is medicine to a fatigued body. Let not a man be at a distance from the above-mentioned, for they are the ornament of a living man. This stone is the means of facilitating the access to the Dewas of your supplications, for human nature is feeble and very faulty towards the Supreme. And moreover, if you have formed any wish in the world, then ask assistance from that stone, and adorn that stone with all kinds of perfumes and eatables which are most grateful. If you do so, certainly the Batāra will be ashamed not to grant you whatever you desire, because the life and death of man are the same; but his body, to appearance, is worthless when deserted by the soul, and remains of no further use in the earth: it is better, therefore, that it should be lost, so that it return to its original. It is different when the soul is there during life. If you wish to seek for food there are many modes to adopt, so that you gain a subsistence, such as becoming a blacksmith. There are some who are goldsmiths; others who draw figures of different kinds; some practice cookery; those who understand no trade gamble; some thieve; some plunder. Yes, such as these are influenced by the passions, which are violent in their action and make the faculties morbid. Of the things forbidden by the Śāstra, the first is deceit; the second, pride; the third, hypocrisy: cast these away from you. If you are a good man, do not make a habit of mixing with the bad; for those bad persons have been marked by the Dewas, because they cannot do good. You do well in associating with learned people, who have followed the sayings of the Śāstra; make those your inseparable companions and attach yourself to them. But do you not despise the poor and the timorous, and do not be ashamed before the bold and the rich; do not very much elevate yourself, better you be humble amongst men: curb your passions, for your passions are an enemy within you. So, too, it is with pleasure and pain; they are like the mayang flower without fruit, truly as yet uncertain. It is the same with a living person who has not yet arrived at the end of life, he will be very much misled by his riches: there are poor who become rich. Like the state of a fool who is unconscious of his real situation, that fool suffers pain from himself, because his actions are of his own dictating. In his own mind he asks, Who is there like me? I have
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a gada (a warlike instrument), who dares cope with me? Such a person is like a mountain which thinks, "I am large! I am high!" Afterwards it is trodden under foot and defiled by all kinds of animals, but is unconscious; so too says the fool, but no one cares for him. As to the sign by which to know such a fool, you have it from his harsh speaking and obstinate heart; he is without politeness and has confidence only in his own powers. And that fool, if he become great, uses an umbrella on a moonlight night: surely, one who does so, has no shame, no sense; a white ant seeking its foot does not act in that manner. Let the wise man observe the conduct of the white ant, its caution in searching for food; even a large tree, an embrace in size, becomes consumed. So can men do who are united, whose wishes are similar, for there is no performance of living men so well executed as by unanimity. All great actions are owing to the union of many men, not to violence; for if your conduct be true and sincere, your heart, in whatever your wishes may be, will be enlightened by the Supreme. And besides, if in like manner you pray to and adore the Devas, certainly the Batāra and all the Devas will bestow favours on you. Such as I have mentioned are the precepts held out by virtuous men of former times: different from the subject of animals being brought up by men.

In case a man in the service of a Rātu be at length advanced to dignity by that Rātu, and is given a village, if he fail to weigh how much he should with propriety be in attendance on that Rātu, and this arise from being engaged in his own pleasures, he must certainly lose his situation. It is the same with a man being a Rātu who is not provided with scales, and investigates matters too superficially to benefit his subjects; he is, in truth, like a pond without water, which of course is entirely void of fish: account him one who has received favour. And again, do you evermore obey the commands of the Parāditas, and do not deceive your gurum (spiritual guide), or you will surely go to hell eternally. Better you obey your guru: your excellence will descend to your sons and grandsons, who will profit by your goodness. Oh! living man, do not fancy your life permanent, although you are great, little, rich, or poor. When you have arrived at the end of life your body will be corrupt, it cannot be otherwise: yes, all are earth. When alive, people gather together wherewithal to bury their body, so that it mix not with the earth, and that is only by paying reverence to the Batāra. All that live in the world are not like mankind, who have been given wisdom and excellence by the Batāra. Although the rātu (king) lion is said to be the chief of animals, yet he is held captive by man: the same with the garuda, the king of birds, which resides in the air, it is likewise subject to the commands of man. It is different with the sun, the moon, the earth, the sea, the air, the firmament, the stars; they certainly are not under the orders of man, but they are subject to be accounted good or evil in their course; like clouds which discharge rain, and that in the rainy season are delightful to the husbandman. But be it known to the cultivator, that he who superintends the implements of tillage is the son of a Devata, named Sang yang Kalamerta.
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he is very good, for he protects all the cultivation in the country. It is that Song yang Kalamerta who, from the first, has caused terror to all such subjects as do not obey the commands of Batâra Guru: because that Song yang Kalamerta has been empowered by Batâra Guru to destroy first all vicious persons; secondly, evil speakers; and thirdly, liars. These three vices do you reject; and you will do well in asking forgiveness from the Batâra, so that you avoid the fury of the Song yang Kalamerta.

On the Right Side.

And such is the case with merchants, who understand circulating money, and can calculate on the return it makes for five times; such as the profits of money laid out, and how much that will amount to which has been laid out, and how much the loss on that money will be, and how much the profit thereon, so that, by that means, they may be satisfied during life. Concerning those men who seek wealth: before they commence gaining all persons laugh at them; but when they profit, those who before laughed approach and ask their favour. Persons who profit are compared by Panditas to flowers after a shower of rain, in appearance very beautiful, but in existence not permanent. And let not a living man discontinue supplicating his Déwa, so that the favours bestowed on him by the Déwa may not leave him during life: but whether that living man be a poor man or a Râtu, let every one seek to acquire what is permanent, that by so doing there may be no other knowledge than that which is perceived within the heart. A great man and rich man who is wise, must commence with the road to knowledge, which is undeviating. Concerning real knowledge, with all its excellencies and utilities, it is respected by the virtuous: that real knowledge is certainly sent by the Déwa to favoured men. And do you not indulge your passions, as is forbidden by the Sastra; better had you preserve your heart pure, for that pure heart will for ever be your companion. And do you not associate and communicate with bad men, but remove to a distance from them. It is best as much as possible, to curb pleasure and ill-timed laughter; putting a check to them is far removed from a bad heart: the fault of a person fond of ill-timed laughter is that he suffers pain. It is unfortunate that man forgets such information as is worthy of being remembered, and collects such as is not worth remembering. In like manner, you eat food which should not be eaten, and do not eat that which is wholesome. A person acting thus is void of sense, and similar to a porter; although the viands are very agreeable to you, if you load yourself with them immoderately, the weight you carry will certainly distress your body. Moreover, if you meet with any thing of such estimation as to be worth imitating, do you immediately write it down, so that you thereby acquire a good name, and men may look up to you, and to the end that the Râtu may have confidence in you, because that Râtu can act well and ill; but let the Râtu not neglect the commencement, middle, and end, for there is nothing in the world of greater excellence than mankind; different from the existence of a Rasaksa, whose actions cannot be spoken of; like
those of a fish in the sea, which no one knows except the Omnipotent, who alone is acquainted with the truth thereof.

TRANSLATION of another JAVAN INSCRIPTION of the same description.

Truly the reckoning of the year when this was composed was 1216, named Miśir, written on a tablet the fifth of the moon on its wane, the mind tallying with the season, precisely in the Wukun Manda Kung'an. It is a description of the kraton and its arrangements, put into writing in the country of Manupati, of which the chief is exalted, merciful, wise, and discerning; at this period, the greatest in the world, and adapted to the situation he fills and its duties; on that account, women say they are fond of him: powerful, skilful, a sovereign whose commands to his subjects are undisputed, unequalled in politeness, guarded by genii, and having a large army, all-skilful in their profession when at war: the arrangements of his troops superior, and they and their arms excellent; his army, too celebrated. At that time those troops guarded well his country, and the orders issued by his relations were correct. That Rātu never punished his children: he was good, and did not inflict punishment on them.

It is related of the Sri Mahārāja that he intended going to the high mountains: leaving his country and arriving at the declivity, the boundary of Gedung Peluk, his army soon met the enemy, and engaged. So it is related in history.

That army of the Sri Jayas being established, the Rātu formerly considered beneficial to the country, giving firmness to the country of Kediri. What the Sri Jaya says is certain; all the people are glad; a large and faithful army is established there.

Be cautious but firm; the Sri Mahārāja cannot injure the descendants of Prabu; great their wisdom, impatient their way, extensive their power. Young men fearless and bold; the army followed, and were taken by the enemy, because the Sri Nara Nata so intended. Sri Kerta Najara, when he died, died like a Buda man. Formerly, Sri Jaya Katong came from Gegelegang, and entered like a man in desperation; sent to Kerta Niaka requesting assistance of foreigners, and desired them to advance in front. Sri Kerto Najara went into that country, and assembled the arms of the Sri Jaya Katong, with the son-in-law and brother-in-law of Ng'uda Raja and the Sri Nara Nata. Of Sri Nara Najara and Ng'uda Raja they were seated in the centre, their brightness shining in the halting place; their symmetry like Sura Denawa, majestic as well as awfully powerful, and their hearts at rest. Such was the truth. They were prevented by the magic of fire; supremely powerful the Sri Mahārāja; the enemy's army was destroyed by fire. The Yewang Derma advanced and assisted in the labours of the Rātu. Kerta Jaya was beaten and fled, his power
destroyed, afterwards the whole army fled, and met the army of the insurgents. A Mastri rallied the good army, that the Mastri might be able to fight; the battle was commenced in Sela Sirising. The Sri Maharaja coming to his ground, was firm at the foot of the mountains, and he came to Yewang Derma to request food for his people and chiefs: he got as much as he wished with an open heart. Thus may that army continue until the end of time, until death, in the fulfilment of their wishes.
APPENDIX K.

ACCOUNT OF BALI.

To the east of Java lies the island of Bali. This interesting spot exhibits the same mineralogical structure as Java, and probably at one period composed a part of the same island. Possessing the same climate and a similar soil, having mountains of a proportionate height, and streams equally fitted for the purpose of irrigation, it enjoys the same degree of fertility; but having an iron-bound coast, without harbours or good anchorage, it has been in a great measure shut out from external commerce, particularly with traders in large vessels.

Like Madeira, it seems naturally situated for being a tributary to Java. But the most striking features in the character and institutions of its inhabitants are owing to that long independence on the greater island and its fortunes, which has preserved to them many traces of their original condition, many of their distinctive laws and religious rites.

The natives of Bali, although of the same original stock with the Javans, exhibit several striking differences, not only in their manners and the degrees of civilization they have attained, but in their features and bodily appearance. They are above the middle size of Asiatics, and exceed, both in stature and muscular power, either the Javan or the Maldive. Though professing a religion which in western India moulds the character of the Hindu into the most tame and implicit subserviency to rule and authority, and though living under the rod of despotism which they have put into the hands of their chiefs, they still possess much of the original boldness and self-willed hardihood of the savage state.

Their general indifference to the oppression which they endure, their good humour and apparent satisfaction, together with their superior animation and energy, give to their countenances, naturally fairer and more expressive than those of the Javans, a higher cast of spirit, independence, and manliness, than belongs to any of their neighbours. They are active and enterprising, and free from that listlessness and indolence which are observable in the inhabitants of Java. To a stranger their manners appear abrupt, unceremonious, coarse, and repulsive; but upon further acquaintance this becomes less perceptible, and their undisguised frankness commands reciprocal confidence and respect. Their women, in particular, who are here on a perfect equality with the men, and not required to perform many of the severe and degrading labours imposed upon them in Java, are frank and unreserved. In their domestic relations their manners are amiable, respectful, and decorous. The female character, indeed, seems to have acquired among them more relative dignity and esteem than it could have been expected to have attained where polygamy has been long established.
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The conduct of parents to their children is mild and gentle, and it is requited by unreserved docility and obedience. To their chiefs they show a respectful deference: among themselves they stand on a footing of equality, and feeling no dependence pay little homage. The abject servitude of Asia has not proceeded further with them than necessary obedience to indispensable authority. Their prince is sacred in their eyes, and meets with unreserved obedience; but their minds are not broken down by numerous demands on their submission, nor are their manners polished by the habit of being frequently with superiors. An European or a native, therefore, who has been accustomed to the polite and elegant manners of the Javans, or with the general courtesy of the Malayus, is struck with the unceremonious, rude, and uncivilized habits of the people of Bali.

In the arts they are considerably behind the Javans, though they seem capable of advancing rapidly. They are happily not subjected to a frame of government so calculated to repress their energies, or to waste their resources. They are now a rising people. Neither degraded by despotism nor enervated by habits of indolence or luxury, they perhaps promise fairer for a progress in civilization and good government than any of their neighbours.

They are strangers to the vices of drunkenness, libertinism, and conjugal infidelity: their predominant passions are gaming and cock fighting. In these amusements, when at peace with the neighbouring states, all the vehemence and energy of their character and spirit is called forth and exhausted. Their energy, their modes of life, and their love of independence, render them formidable to the weaker states in their neighbourhood, and secure them against all attacks from any native power in the Indian Archipelago. What they now are it is probable that the Javans once were, in national independence, as well as in religious and political institutions.

The island of Bali appears to be divided at present into seven different states, each independent of the other, and subject to its own chief.

The population of these states is estimated to amount in all to above eight hundred thousand souls. This estimate is formed from the numbers of males whose teeth have been filed, which in the different states stood in round numbers as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Klungkong</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karang Asem</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badung</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biling</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabanan</td>
<td>40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mengwi</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giangar</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taman Bali</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>215,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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As the operation of filing the teeth immediately precedes puberty, this list of course excludes all males who have not arrived at that period, as well as all females whatever. From the early age at which marriages are contracted, those who have undergone the operation may for the most part be considered as having entered into family connections*, and a calculation of four to a family will give the same result. This great population has doubtless increased since the abolition of the slave trade.

Of this heptarchy, Klôngkong is admitted to be the most ancient sovereignty. Its princes are said to have originally emigrated from Java, and a period is recorded when the whole island of Bdlis acknowledged their authority. Even still they retain evidences of their former dignity, and traces of their former influence. Among the regalia are still preserved a kris, and other articles that belonged to Majapahit, and the other princes of the island recognise them as the stock from whence they sprung, though they limit their fealty to general respect, and jealously maintain their own independence.

Bdlis is generally supposed to have been originally peopled from different parts of Celebes. The first person who is said to have established the religion and government which still exist, was Dëwa Aryan Kénti, son of Râja Browijâya of Majapahit in Java. The cause of his quitting Java is related by the Balian as follows.

"The father of Browijâya was informed by his head Bramâna, that it "was written in a sacred book that after the expiration of forty days the "title of Râja of Majapahit should be extinct: to which the Raja gave "such implicit credit, that at the expiration of that time he caused himself "to be burnt alive. His son, not daring to disobey the sentence of the "book, removed to Bdlis with a number of followers, and established his "authority at Klôngkong, taking the title of supreme sovereign, which "title still continues hereditary in the Rajas of Klôngkong."

The inhabitants of Bdlis, like those of Java, are principally employed in agriculture. The fertility of the island may be inferred from the number of people maintained on so limited a spot. Rice is the chief produce of the soil, and of course the chief article of subsistence.

From the mountainous nature of the country, advantage cannot so easily be taken of the periodical rains for the purpose of the rice irrigation, but the lands are irrigated by an abundant supply of water from streams and rivers. In some places, as in Kârang Asem, two crops of rice are obtained in one year; but over the greater part of the island only one. In the dry season the edowahs yield a crop of maize. The natives reckon from fifty to sixty fold of increase in the rice cultivation no extraordinary produce. The women are not employed, as in Java, to plant the pârî: their assistance in the field is only required to reap it. The implements of husbandry are of the same simple construction as those on Java, and nearly similar in form.

Bullocks of the Bâsteng, or wild breed, and of very fine quality, are

* In the estimate is probably included the population of those districts on the island of Sasak or Lombok, which are subject to the chiefs of Bali.
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almost invariably used in husbandry. The price of a pair of oxen of this kind, fit for the plough, is generally about six Spanish dollars, and seldom exceeds eight. The ordinary price of a pikul (133½ pounds English) of rice, is about three-fourths of a Spanish dollar.

The tenure by which land is held differs widely from that which exists at present in the native provinces of Java. The sovereign is not here considered the universal landlord; on the contrary, the soil is almost invariably considered as the private property of the subject, in whatever manner it is cultivated or divided. It may be sold, let, pledged, devised, or otherwise disposed of, at the option of the proprietor, and without any reference to the will of the superior. The divisions of this property are generally very minute, and the mode of measurement not very defined, and there are instances of great irregularity, even in the application of the same mode of measurement.

The measure of land is expressed by the quantity of seed required to sow it, and said to be so many ténas. Some proprietors possess fifty ténas, while others hold not more than one or two. The private estate of the elder Raja of Biling did not exceed a few hundred ténas, nor did that of the younger much surpass it.

But though the prince is not considered as actual proprietor of the land of his dominions, he receives a certain share of the produce in the way of tax. This tax is either paid in a small Chinese coin, called képeng, or in kind, at the rate of about five ténas of produce for every tén of seed sown.

Though in the lower districts the food of the people is universally rice, in the higher and more mountainous parts they subsist principally on sweet potatoes and Indian corn. The principal animal food that they use is swine flesh, which is found in great abundance. The price of a grown hog seldom exceeds a dollar, and scarcely ever amounts to a dollar and a half.

The habitations of the Bálians differ from those of the Javans, in being generally constructed of mud walls and surrounded by walls of baked or unbaked bricks; in consequence of which, and the peculiar formation of the entrances and doorways, the principal towns are said to resemble the Hindu towns on the continent of India.

The arts are little practised. Though the island produces cotton of the most excellent quality, and in great abundance, the natives have not generally learned the art of painting or printing the cloth, which they manufacture from it. The women here, as on Java, are the manufacturers of all the cloth used by their husbands or families. Their principal manufacture is in krisés and warlike instruments; they make fire-arms, and ornament the barrels, but purchase European locks.

The principal exports are rice, birds'-nests, coarse cloths, cotton yarn, salted eggs, ding-ding, gambir, and oil: the principal imports are opium (which the inhabitants are unfortunately much addicted to), káyu pélet, betel-nut, ivory, gold, and silver. The Bálians dislike a sea-faring life, and hold the profession of a merchant in disrepute. Their fairs and
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markets are few and little frequented. The trade that was at one time carried on with the greatest success was the traffic in slaves. The usual price of a male slave was from ten to thirty dollars, of a female from fifty to one hundred. This disgraceful traffic, it may be hoped, will soon be entirely annihilated. While it existed in its full vigour, all prisoners taken in war, all who attempted to evade the laws by emigration, all insolvent debtors, and a certain class of thieves, were subjected to the sad condition of slavery. These laws still subsist, and are enforced, as formerly, for the purpose of procuring the home supply; but the diminution of the foreign demand must limit exceedingly their exercise, and in a short time ameliorate the state of the unhappy individuals who had suffered by them.

But the most interesting character of the Bélians arises out of the frame of their government, the code of their laws, and the system of their religion. I have, in one part of this work, particularly described, and in others repeatedly alluded to, the traces of Hinduism on Java; and if these traces had not been decided and manifest in themselves, their interpretation would have been rendered manifest by what occurs in Bélí.

In Bélí not more than one in two hundred, if so many, are Mahomedans, and the great body of the people profess the creed and observe the institutions of a religion which has become extinct in the rest of the

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* Having repeatedly had occasion, in the course of this work, to advert to the slave trade, and the sources whence the supplies of slaves were obtained, it may not be uninteresting to introduce to the reader a native of Papua, or New Guinea, stolen from his country in the course of this traffic. The lad represented in the plate came into my service at Bélí under very peculiar circumstances, and has accompanied me to England. Since his arrival he has excited some curiosity, as being the first individual of the woolly haired race of Eastern Asia who has been brought to this country. It is known, that on the Malayan Peninsula, in Luzon, Borneo, and most of the larger islands of the Eastern Seas, there are occasionally found in the mountainous tracts a scattered race of blacks entirely distinct from the rest of the population. Some have conceived them to be the aborigines of these countries; others considering them as of the African race, adduce them in proof of an early and extensive intercourse between Africa and these islands. I shall content myself with observing, that they appear at the present day to form the bulk of the population of Papua or New Guinea. The following remarks upon the individual now in England, whom we sometimes call Papua, and sometimes (more to his satisfaction) Dick, were obligingly communicated to me by Sir Everard Home, Bélí.

**"The Papuan differs from the African negro in the following particulars. His skin is of a lighter colour, the woolly hair grows in small tufts, and each hair has a spiral twist. The forehead rises higher, and the bind head is not so much cut off. The nose projects more from the face. The upper lip is longer and more prominent. The lower lip projects forward from the lower jaw to such an extent that the chin forms no part of the face, the lower part of which is formed by the mouth. The buttocks are so much lower than in the negro as to form a striking mark of distinction, but the calf of the leg is as high as in the negro."**

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* Couto, on the 3d chapter of the 3d book of the 4th Decada, gives an account of the discovery of Papuas by Don Jorge de Meneses (about the year 1589 or 1583) who, in a calm was hurried by a strong current with extraordinary rapidity to the eastward, until he arrived at a country inhabited by a race as black as negroes, or the natives of the southern coast of Africa, from the Cape of Good Hope to Mosambique; they visited the king on shore, who was as black as the others. The monsoon detained Meneses here some months, during which time he had a friendly intercourse with the natives, who became very familiar, supplying him in better with what he wanted; but they informed him that in the interior there were men who eat human flesh.

**"Here," says he, "our people saw both men and women as white and as fair as Germans, and on asking how those people were called, they answered 'Papuas,' and on account of the little knowledge which we had at that time of the country, we concluded that they were islands. But from what we afterwards understood, this must be the country which Marco Polo, the Venetian, calls Lechac, and which he says is very rich in gold."**
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Archipelago. On Java we find Hinduism only amid the ruins of temples, images, and inscriptions; on Bâli, in the laws, ideas, and worship of the people. On Java this singular and interesting system of religion is classed among the antiquities of the island. Here it is a living source of action, and a universal rule of conduct. The present state of Bâli may be considered, therefore, as a kind of commentary on the ancient condition of the natives of Java. Hinduism has here severed society into casts; it has introduced its divinities; it has extended its ceremonies into most of the transactions of life; it has enjoined or recommended some of its severest sacrifices, such as the burning of a widow on the funeral pile of her husband; but yet the individual retains all the native manliness of his character and all the fire of the savage state.

By this system the Bâlians are divided into four casts: 1. The Bramâna, 2. Rûsi or Satria, 3. Wisia, and 4. Sudra. The princes of the island are generally, but not always, of the Bramâna cast: the present Raja of Bûling is of the second class. The government is despotick, there being no check on the will of the chief nor any sharer of his power. He is assisted in his internal administration by a head Parbâkal; and in the general affairs of his government, the management of foreign correspondence, and the superintendence of his foreign relations, by an officer called Râden Tumên'gung.

The system of village government is established here as on Java. The constitution of each village is the same. The head, or chief, is termed Parbâkal, and the assistant Kalian Têmpek: these officers are invariably selected from among the people of the village which they are appointed to govern. The office of Parbâkal is considered hereditary, if the successor is competent; and on a vacancy occurring, the Parbâkal recommends the successor of a Kalian Têmpek.

Under the head Parbâkal, who is termed Parbâkal Râja, are several inferior Parbâkals, as assistants to that officer in conveying his orders to the heads of villages; and under the Râden Tumên'gung is placed a similar establishment, consisting of about a hundred persons, with the rank and title of Kalian Têmpek.

Many of the Parbâkals of villages in Bûling have the title of Gûsti, which descends in their families, and which serves to distinguish them as nobles. These probably originated in their conduct in war. The command of the military is at present vested in a chief of the Bramâna cast, styled Râja Bângen Senapati; Bângen being the district which contains the principal Braminical establishment. He seems to receive honours and respect next to the Rajah himself.

The heads of kampongs in which foreigners reside are termed Pang'gâwa; and in speaking collectively of the heads of villages, the Raja uses the term Papan'gâwa.

The administration of justice is generally conducted by a court, composed of one Jâkasa and two assistants: in addition to whom, in the deter-

* This description is taken from Bûling, one of the independent states, and with slight variations may be considered as applicable to all.
mination of any cause of importance, several Bramánas are called in. Their decisions are guided by written laws. The civil code is called Deśáma, the criminal code Agáma. Before these courts three or four witnesses are required to substantiate any criminal charge. Their witnesses are examined on oath, and people of any cast are competent to take such oath and to be so examined. The form of administering the oath requires of the person who takes it to hold a basin of water in his hand, and after repeating, “may I and my whole generation perish, if what I allege is not true,” to drink the water.

The form of procedure requires the prosecutor or plaintiff to be heard first on oath: his witnesses are next examined, then the prisoner or defendant and his witnesses, after which the court decides on a general view of the whole of the evidence submitted to its consideration. No torture is employed to procure evidence: mutilation is unknown. The usual punishments are death, confinement, and servitude. The laws, in some instances, are severe, in others lenient. In the execution of the punishment awarded by the court there is this peculiarity, that the aggrieved party or his friends, are appointed to inflict it: for though the judge steps in between the prosecutor and person whom he pursues, so as to restrain the indiscriminate animosity of the one and to determine the criminality of the other, the Bálions have not advanced so far in the refinement of criminal justice, as to consider criminal offences in the nature of offences perpetrated against the state, and punishable by its officers.

Theft and robbery are punished by death inflicted by a kris; murder and treason are punished in some cases by breaking the limbs of the convict with a hatchet, and leaving him to linger some days in agony till death ensues. Adultery is punished with death in the man and perpetual servitude to the prince in the woman. This severity restrains the crime; but in the small state of Bálising there occur sometimes several trials for it during the year.

The Raja must confirm every criminal sentence before it is executed, and every civil decision that involves the servitude of the party. Confiscation of the culprit’s property follows capital punishment only, the amount of which is divided between the prince and judges. In other cases there is no confiscation.

The laws of Bái differ from those of Java with respect to marriages and divorces. In the former island, divorces are permitted under no circumstances whatever; in the latter, almost every caprice is sufficient to procure one. In Báli the husband generally buys his wife by paying a sum of money to her parents: thirty dollars is the common price. If unable to pay this sum, he becomes, as in the patriarchal times of scripture, the servant of the party to whom he thus becomes indebted, and resides along with his wife in the house of his father-in-law. His services are received in diminution of the dowry; and if he acts so as to please the family of his wife, the exaction of it is either in part or in whole remitted.

Without entering into any theory concerning the history of the religious system of Báli, or any detailed comparison of it with systems in India, the following notices may be thought interesting.
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The inhabitants, as before stated, are divided into castes, named Bramána, Sátria, Wiśia, and Sudra. The Bramásas are of two descriptions, Brahma Séwa and Bramána Búda. The former are most respected, and refrain from eating all animal food, except that of ducks, goats, and buffaloes: hogs' flesh and that of the cow are forbidden. The Bramána Búda eat indiscriminately of animal food.

The Bramána Séwa are said not to perform worship in the temples: this is left to the lowest orders, generally the Sádhrs. The worship of the lower orders, as performed in the temples, cannot be called Hindu. In these temples, which are very numerous, mud figures are placed, representing the tutelar deities of each particular country.

The Bramásas of all descriptions are held in great respect, and never condescend to pay compliments to any person whatever. The respect in which they are relatively held, seems to be in proportion to the age of the person, and his supposed learning and accomplishments. A Bramána may eat from the hands of another of a similar age, but not from those of a junior.

The Bramána are said not to worship idols, nor do they perform public worship in the temples, but in their private houses only.

A Bramána may marry a woman of an inferior order, but the offspring of such a marriage is called Bujýaga, which forms a distinct class.

There is in Bálī a class of outcasts, called Chandálas, who are not permitted to reside in villages; are generally potters, dyers, dealers in leather, distillers, and retailers of ardent spirits. The dancing women are of the Wiśia and Sudra castes.

A Bramána cannot be in any servile occupation. He cannot sit on the ground, nor perform obeisance to any other class.

The religion of Bálī has been considered as of two descriptions, that of Budh and that of Bráma. The Buddhists are said to have come first to the country. Of the Bramásas of Séwa nine generations are said to have passed over since their arrival. The name of the principal Bramána of the caste of Séwa, who first settled on Bálī, is said to have been Wiśu Rdhu: he came from Teisingána, and his way is said to have touched at Majapáhit.

The Rajas of Bálī are generally of the Sátria caste; but this does not always hold.

From information obtained at Biling, it would appear that the greater part of the population of Bálī follow the worship of Séwa. The Buddhists are said to be rare, and the names of three districts only could be stated, where the Buddhists religion is supposed to prevail.

The sacrifice of the widow on the funeral pile of her husband is frequent. All classes may perform this sacrifice, but it is most common with the Sátria. Force is said never to be had recourse to on these occasions. The number of women who sacrifice themselves is extraordinary:—the father of the present Raja of Biling was followed by no less than seventy-four women. The dead body is usually preserved in these cases for many months, and even for a year. The corpses is preserved by daily fumigations with benzoin.

The bodies of the dead are burnt, except in the case of children before
they have shed their teeth, and of all persons dying of the small pox: as in the latter case the body cannot be preserved, and it is usual, even with the lower orders, to keep the body for two months. Among some, however, it is said to be usual to throw the dead bodies into the sea.

The flesh of the cow is eaten by all except the Brandnas who have led a life of austerity: these refrain from eating even rice, and live wholly upon roots and fruit.

The Buddhists are said to be so little scrupulous in their diet, as to eat not only the flesh of the cow, but even that of dogs and all other animals. Milk is never used as an article of food.

These particulars respecting the religious observances of the Bálians were obligingly communicated to me by Mr. Crawfurd, who visited the island in 1814. In the following year I visited Būling myself; but my stay was too short to obtain any very detailed information on this interesting particular, further than a collection of their different manuscripts, which have been brought to this country, and already adverted to under the head of Javan literature.

On inquiring into the rank of their deities, they replied at once:

The first is Batāra Gāru.
The second Batāra Brāma, emblematical of fire.
The third Batāra Wisnu, emblematical of water.
The fourth Batāra Sēwa, emblematical of air.

Besides these they have several other deities, not however termed Batāra, as:

Déwa Géde Segara, the deity of the sea.
Déwa Géde Dālam, emblematical of death.
Déwa Géde Bālī Agung, the deity in whose temple (which is near the kadaton of the Raja), the common people on particular days pay worship.
Déwa Géde Gēnumg Agung, a deity still more generally worshipped, and to whom all the Rajas and people of Bālī pay adoration.

The deity Mahadēva is known and mentioned in the religious books, but is not an object of worship.

Batāra Gāru is considered as the highest object of worship below the divinity. Sang yang Tāng'gal (the Lord who is one).

I shall close this account of the religion of Bālī with the following literal translation of an account of the Hindu religion, furnished to me by an intelligent Mahomedan, a native of the island.

"The religion of Būdh, as it exists on Bālī, is divided into Sākālam and Niskālam. The first regards all worldly concerns, such as the orders of the prince, the laws of the land, &c., including the common affairs and transactions of life; the second comprehends all the duties and ceremonies of religion, the conducting of which is in the hands of the Mapera-wita, or learned Brahmins called Padênda.

"The different kinds of worship attached to this division of the religion, are those of Batāra Permisti Gāru, Batara Nārāda, Batara Sang yang Tāng'gal, and all his descendants; of all of whom images are made,
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"some of gold, some of silver, some of bell-metal, and some in iron; and
"to whom are dedicated temples and places for the reception of their images
"on Gāmung Agung, Gāmung Bātu, Gāmung Baturkahu, and Gāmung Pradung;
"but it is Gāmung Agung that is the famous place for them; and those
"figures are the objects of worship to all the princes of Bāli.
"When there happens to be a mabāntan, which signifies a festival on
"some grand occasion, all the Rajas, with their families, descendants, and
"subjects, repair to Gāmung Agung and invoke all the deities, the Maper-
"wita Bramāna being summoned to attend and conduct the ceremonies.
"On occasions of less importance, those images only of the deities
"which are behind their houses are worshipped, a Maperwita Bramāna
"being called to attend and officiate.
"At the Pembākaran, or place where the bodies of the princes are
"burned, there are also figures of the different deities, in places made for
"their reception.
"Marriages (mabandāngan) are sanctified by their being borne witness
"to by the Maperwita Bramānas, as well as all the deities who are invoked
"on the occasion.
"On the new moon, and on the eighth and twenty-third of the month
"all the deities are worshipped, every one joining in the ceremonies.
"Should any of the Rajas attend on those days, he of the greatest rank
"and power orders the attendance of the Maperwita Bramānas. Great
"offerings being made to the deities, thousands of people are afterwards
"fed with their consecrated fragments. On these occasions the Maper-
"wita Bramāna, called Padēnda, administers to the people holy water,
"which they both drink and perform ablutions with.
"On the day of the new year, the deities are worshipped, ablutions
"performed, and offerings made. Cloths and money, &c. are offered twice
"a year, Bramāna Padēnda attending and invoking the deities.
"On the day tāmpak klīwon, the Bramāna Padēnda performs prayers,
"using holy water.
"When it is tāmpak wāyang, which means the new year wāyangs, offer-
"ings are made and placed at all the outer doors, but no worshipping
"takes place.
"At the annual festivals of tāmpuk kāndang, there are offerings made on
"account of all the different animals.
"There is also the fast of Nwmadātu, which lasts a day and a night,
"during which time food and sleep must be abstained from. This fast
"must be held on the first or the fifteenth of the month."

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PROCLAMATION, declaring the Principles of the Intended Change of System.

The Right Honourable Lord Minto, previous to his departure from Java, having adverted to the general system of the administration, and of the internal management established under the former government of this island, was pleased to suggest and recommend such improvements, as upon correct information, and an adequate knowledge of the state of society amongst the native inhabitants, might be deemed conducive to the advancement of individual happiness and of public prosperity.

With a view to promote so desirable an event, the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor in Council nominated a Committee, of which Lieutenant-Colonel Colin Mackenzie was president, who, with the zeal, talent, and industrious research which characterize that officer, obtained, with the aid of the members of the Committee, authentic statistical accounts of this island; while the fund of valuable information, thus acquired, has been increased from other respectable channels of communication.

The Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor in Council has, therefore, after the most mature consideration, deemed it advisable to establish an improved system of political economy throughout this island, with the intention of ameliorating the condition of all its inhabitants, by affording that protection to individual industry, which will insure to every class of society the equitable and undisturbed enjoyment of the fruits of labour; and while it is confidently expected that private happiness and public prosperity will be advanced under this change of system, such alterations and amendments will be hereafter adopted, as experience may suggest, or the improving habits and manners of the body of the people may seem to require.

The following principles form the basis of the new arrangements, and are made public for general information.

1. The undue influence and authority of the native chiefs have been restricted; but government will avail themselves of their services in the important department of the native police, which will be arranged upon
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fixed principles, adapted to the habits and original institutions of the people. A competent provision in lands and in money has been allotted to such chiefs, and it therefore naturally becomes both their duty and their interest, to encourage industry and to protect the inhabitants.

2. The government lands will be let generally to the heads of villages, who will be held responsible for the proper management of such portions of the country as may be placed under their superintendence and authority. They will re-let these lands to the cultivators, under certain restrictions, at such a rate as shall not be found oppressive; and all tenants under government will be protected in their just rights, so long as they shall continue to perform their correspondent engagements faithfully; for it is intended to promote extensive industry and consequent improvement, by giving the people an interest in the soil, and by instituting amongst them an acknowledged claim to the possession of the lands, that they may be thus induced to labour for their own profit and advantage.

3. The system of vassalage and forced deliveries has been abolished generally throughout the island; but in the Batavian and Preangen Regencies such a modification of the former arrangements has been carried into execution, as it was found practicable, under existing circumstances, to introduce; and provisionally the Blandong system will be continued to a certain extent in the central Forest Districts.

4. To encourage the cultivation of so important an article of export as coffee may become, when the trade of Europe and America may be thrown open to free competition, government have stipulated to receive any surplus quantity of that commodity from the cultivators, at a reasonable and fixed rate, when a higher price for it cannot be obtained in the market.

5. To extend free trade and commerce, and to promote a spirit of enterprise and speculation amongst the inhabitants, the Bhoom farms have been abolished, the duties upon the principal articles of export have been taken off, and it is intended to modify and amend the custom-house regulations before the 1st January next. The toll-gates and transport duties of the interior have been diminished as much as possible, and in the gradual progression of improvement they will be finally abolished.

6. Every facility will be afforded towards obtaining teak timber for the construction of small craft, and of such additional tonnage as, upon the improved system, will be undoubtedly required.

7. Government have taken upon themselves the exclusive management of the salt department. It appears, that the inhabitants in most parts of the island paid a very irregular and exorbitant price for this necessary article of consumption; while the system adopted by the farmers was radically vicious, and equally oppressive and vexatious to the people, as it was detrimental to the immediate interests of government.

Such an improved system for the supply of salt will be immediately adopted, as may appear advisable; and in this and every other arrangement, the government propose the advancement of the interests and the
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happiness of the people at large, and the promotion of the public prosperity of this colony.

Given at Batavia, this 15th day of October, 1813.

By me, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Island of Java and its Dependencies,
T. S. RAFFLES.

By order of the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor in Council,
C. Assey,

Secretary to Government.

COUNCIL CHAMBER,
Oct. 15, 1813.
APPENDIX L. No. II.

REVENUE INSTRUCTIONS.

The Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor in Council having taken into mature consideration the state of the Land Revenue of this Island, and being impressed with the necessity of establishing one uniform, equitable, and adequate system for its assessment and realization, has been pleased to direct that the following instructions be sent to the Residents, Collectors, and other officers, to whom are consigned the charge of the several provinces under his authority.

1. It is the object of government to separate, in a great measure, the revenue from the judicial branches of the internal administration, it being deemed that a more lucid and simple arrangement of the public business will be formed thereby; and that the relieving the residents from a part of their at present too extensive and complicated duties, will ensure so much easier and better execution of the remainder, as fully to counterbalance any additional expense that may be incurred by the adoption of the measure.

2. For this purpose it has been resolved, that collectors shall be appointed immediately to the various districts, whose office shall consist in the sole and entire superintendence of the land revenue, and to whom therefore shall be made over by the Residents the complete charge of that department, with all such papers, documents, &c. as are in any way connected with it.

3. In some instances, however, from strong local, political, or other reasons, it is considered advisable, that several branches of the public duty remain still vested for a time in the Resident alone. As this necessity shall cease, care will be taken, by the introduction of separate collectors, to attain uniformity. But, in the mean time, it is particularly enjoined to such Residents as are continued in this double capacity of revenue and judicial superintendents, to take due care that these several branches be not blended in the execution, but that each part of their duty be discharged according to the department to which it belongs, and that their several proceedings be recorded in their proper departments only, distinct from all others.

4. A similar line of conduct will be observed in the maintenance of the establishments necessary for carrying on the business of these several departments; these establishments being kept as much apart, and as much confined to their distinct details, when the duties of collector and judge and magistrate are exercised by the same person, as when there are different officers appointed for the superintendence of each.
5. Those Residents, therefore, to whom will still be entrusted the collection of the land revenue, will consider the following instructions to collectors as addressed to themselves in that capacity. Each collector shall forward to government a list of such establishment (with the salaries to each individual that he would recommend) as he deems adequate to carrying on the business in his head office, where the general papers, accounts, &c. will be prepared, and which will be conducted under his own immediate inspection.

6. This establishment may consist of one native assistant and such number of writers (Javans and English) passes, and other servants, as may be necessary. This native assistant ought to be a man of rank, respectability, and information, that he may be at once competent, by his knowledge of the manners, characters, and habits of the native inhabitants, to assist the collector in advising measures best suited to each occasion, and by the estimation in which he is held by the people, to lend a considerable aid in carrying those measures duly into execution.

7. His salary may amount to from one to two hundred rupees per month, or a quantity of land equal to such sum may be allowed him rent free.

8. It may be advisable to employ for this situation some of the Bopatis, Pathehs, or Tumunggungs, who have been, but are not now, in the actual service of government. This, as salaries or pensions are, in many instances, already allowed in the manner of sinecures, may prove a considerable saving to government; and, at the same time, the having a duty annexed to their present receipts, which will carry with it a considerable degree of authority and consequence, may be more pleasing to many, than the idle enjoyment of a sum of money, for which they must feel that they are at present making no adequate return.

9. For the outer establishments, those necessary for carrying on the details in each village or division, it is not intended to create any new officers; those at present entertained, and who have as yet very well executed the double duties of police and revenue, being deemed the most competent and best fitted for continuing to manage the business of these several departments.

10. It is not the additional expense which would arise from the appointing a new description of revenue officers, that is alone considered in this arrangement. The formation of a distinct revenue establishment throughout the interior is, on many other accounts, deemed an innovation that would be attended with considerable trouble, that would prove less pleasing to the inhabitants themselves, and that would not be nearly so adequate to the management of the collections, as the collection of the combined establishment at present existing.

11. The head inhabitant of a Javan village has, from immemorial usage, been considered to have vested in him the general superintendence of the affairs relating to that village, whether in attending to the police, settling the minor disputes that occur within its limits, or of collecting its revenues, or more often its services. For this purpose, his office has been
elective, and the powers he exercises entrusted to him by his fellow inhabitants.

12. A writer, priest, and other subordinate officers and servants, completed its regular establishment. From harassing wars, long oppression, feudal tyranny, and European innovation, it is true that, in many parts of the country, scarcely a vestige remains of that species of constitution; but it is universally acknowledged that such was once its pure form throughout the island, and such is it still existing in many places.

13. This simple mode of village administration Government cannot but admire and entirely approve of; and deeming it at once the best suited to the genius of the people, and as promising to be the most conducive to the interest of the ruling power, they have resolved that such system shall be acknowledged and encouraged, by every means in their power, throughout the provinces under their authority.

14. The head inhabitant therefore (whether recognized under the name of the Petingi, Bukul, Lura, Kuwu, Mandor, or otherwise), according to the custom of the country, shall have entrusted to him the management of the revenue concerns of his village; a duty which his personal influence, and minutely intimate acquaintance with the situations and concerns of the several inhabitants of it, will render him better than any other qualified to discharge. He shall furnish such accounts and statements as he may from time to time be required to do; and shall obey such orders as he may receive directly from the collector or his assistant, or from the officer of the division in which his village is situated.

15. These officers of division shall likewise be continued in the double capacity of superintending both the judicial and the revenue proceedings within the limits of their official range. This practice, indeed, is consonant with the immemorial customs of the country, and deemed most calculated to render benefit in the conduct of either department.

16. By the judicial regulation lately enacted, the officer of division has been empowered to settle such minor disputes as may be considered as belonging to the revenue branch, such as the determining contested boundaries, trespass, irregularity in the dispositions for irrigation, &c. and by extending this authority so as to empower him to take regular cognizance of all transactions respecting revenue collections, and to inspect whenever he pleases the several village accounts, it is deemed that his office will become one of very great utility; serving, in future, by its records, to refer to on every occasion, when it may be wished to ascertain the precise nature of any permanent property or local usage within the division.

17. To them, therefore, shall be considered in every way subordinate the heads of villages; and it is trusted that they will prove a most useful check on them.

18. The officers of division shall furnish to the collector all such papers as may be required, and shall diligently execute any orders that they may receive, either from him or from his native assistant.

19. Respecting the salaries for these inferior servants of government,
they have already been in most instances fixed; certain allotments of land, rent free, or sums of money monthly, being given to them.

20. The money salaries of those servants who are connected with the Resident, shall be continued to be paid by him as they are at present.

21. The allotments of land shall fall under the collector's superintendence, and he shall set down among the charges of collection, sums of money equal to what would be the monied rent of those lands were they not free. For this purpose, they shall be assessed, and regularly entered among the other lands in the general lease of the village: but the collection of this assessed rent shall not be actually made; it shall only appear in the accounts, as that it had been realized, and paid to the several officers.

22. For the other officers attached to the collector, namely, those in his head office, some it is concluded will be paid by portions of land being made over to them, others by monthly sums of money. The accounts of the former will be settled as already mentioned. The salaries of the latter will be drawn for by bills on the Resident, who will continue to be the sole treasurer of the district.

23. The collector will accordingly forward to him the several sums of money he may receive in his collections, whenever they amount to five hundred rupees.

24. It is trusted that the placing the heads of villages and officers of divisions, in some measure, under two authorities, to whom they must separately report, will not be attended with any eventual evil or confusion. When these arrangements become well matured, and the exact limits of their several duties clearly defined, the subordinate officers will not find any difficulty in their execution. For the attainment of this desirable end, however, much must depend upon the conduct of the Resident and collector. They are placed in these districts, not as persons who are to serve in any way as checks upon each other, but who are required to act together for the general good; mutually to assist each other to the extent of their power, and by preserving between themselves a good understanding, to carry on better their respective duties.

25. Should, in any case, a disagreement of opinion arise on any subject between them, a reference will be immediately made to the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor, who will without delay pass on it his decision.

26. It need hardly be observed, that the collectors will possess no magisterial authority whatsoever: application will be regularly made by him to the Resident, as judge and magistrate, whenever it becomes necessary to call on that officer for aid in either capacity, whether to punish the misconduct of servants, or to realize by civil suit any part of the dues of government. The process to be observed, in either case, will be precisely similar to what is prescribed where the two parties in the suit are private individuals: government by no means wishing to enjoy themselves any better security of right, than that which they would ensure to the meanest of their subjects, nor to possess a greater facility of redress than is provided by their regulations to be offered to any individual who shall consider himself as aggrieved.
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27. As the first step towards the introduction of an adequate system of internal administration, it becomes positively necessary that government should be furnished with the fullest and completest view of the actual resources of the country.

28. The minutest details must be collected, arranged, and considered, before any system can be properly reduced to practice, or any assessment can be justly made.

29. But when once this body of information is obtained, the business of the revenue settlement will become comparatively light, and will be able to be proceeded with on the clearest and most equitable principles. It will serve too, on all future occasions, as a complete collection of the most valuable data to which to refer back for any purpose, or on which to ground any measures that may, in future, be deemed advisable. The obtaining this, government are fully aware, must be a work the most laborious: but placing the fullest reliance on the zeal, industry, and talents of those officers through whom they expect to derive such information, they look forward with confidence to its accomplishment in a manner as complete, and in a period as short as is possible, where inquiries are to be made at once so minute and so extensive.

30. It must be considered too, that however heavy, at first, this compilation may prove, it will ultimately most materially save both the time and trouble of the collectors. Daily occurrences will constantly require that information which it is now desired should be at once obtained; and by possessing such a standard for conducting the business, a simple reference to it will very often be sufficient, when otherwise there would arise a necessity for instituting inquiries of the same nature, numberless and troublesome, on every new, however trivial, occasion. Every collector, in short, who is anxious to perform well the duties entrusted to him, must wish to be in possession of such a mass of information as is now proposed to be collected.

31. The best mode to be adopted will be as follows:

The collector, attended by his native assistant, and such servants as are necessary, must himself proceed to the chief station in each division, where he will cause to be assembled the head inhabitants of the several villages contained in it. To these he must clearly explain the nature of the information desired; and through their means it is expected that it will be obtained without difficulty.

32. Whenever it may be necessary, the collector will visit the village itself, and on the spot cause such inquiries to be made as are requisite.

33. The officers of survey, lately attached to the Residents, will accompany the collectors through this tour, and give such professional aid as may be desired.

34. They will make one general survey of the whole collectorship, forming therefrom a map, on an uniform scale of one English inch to an English mile: in this the limits of each village and of each division will be accurately defined, and the direction and situation of forests, rivers, roads, mountains, &c. will also be correctly delineated.
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35. By this general plan, the collector will know exactly the amount of land to be accounted for by each village; and the several lesser sums, as they will be thus brought together, will serve to prove the truth of the aggregate statement.

36. These surveyors will further take any such lesser surveys or measurements as they may be directed to do by the collectors.

37. The papers to be furnished by each village are three; forms for which are the enclosures marked A, B, and C. Some observations are necessary in explanation of these.

38. From the detailed papers of cultivators, and householders not cultivators, will be framed the general account of the village. The reason for separating the inhabitants into these two classes is obvious. It is wished that the exact resources of the country may be seen at one view, to know what part of the population are actually employed in the cultivation of the soil, and to learn in what way the remainder are disposed of. It is also considered but just, that to equalize in some measure the payments from all ranks of people, a tenement tax (or more properly a small rent for the ground on which their houses stand) should be levied from those who contribute nothing to the land rents.

39. But as the extension of this through all the petty villages might be deemed vexatious, and as, in reality, in those very small communities the payment by any party is virtually a payment by the whole of the inhabitants, it is resolved that such tax shall not be levied there. But there is no reason for including in this indulgence the inhabitants of towns; these, as in some places already ordered, should by means of such tax contribute their just share of the payments to government.

40. The assessment and collection of this shall form part of the collector's duty. The principle on which it must proceed will be to divide the houses into three classes, according to their size and the general circumstances of their owners.

41. These will be assessed according to the class, at three, two, or one Javan rupee per annum; and where, in any instance, from the indigence of the householder, even this small payment could become a hardship, the collector shall not include him at all in the assessment. This measure will secure a considerable revenue to government, and by experience in some districts already, it is known that it will not be considered as vexatious or unjust by the inhabitants: they will deem it no hardship to pay so small a sum annually, to be secured in the unmolested possession of the ground and enclosure in which their houses stand: more especially now that they are freed from all forced deliveries and services, without adequate payment either to government or to the native chiefs, and are left at liberty to enjoy the fruit of their labour.

42. The paper C. requires few observations: it explains itself. Every householder shall have a number given to him; for in registering names alone, very great confusion may arise, not only by the same being possessed by numerous individuals, but by the singular practice which frequently occurs among the Javans, of persons, from the most capricious motives,
assuming new appellations. The number being once fixed on each, there will be no difficulty in always identifying them.

43. In the paper B., for the same reason above given, a number will be added to each individual cultivator's name; that is, to each who will, in the detailed system to be carried into effect, become an actual renter of land from government.

44. With respect to the quantity of land, of produce, or of money, as it is most desirable that there should be one uniform standard for the whole island, to which every other measurement, weight, or currency may be reduced, a circular letter has been written, dated 11th February, 1814, on the subject of currency, weights, and measures, and the collectors will be in future strictly guided by that, keeping their accounts only in the terms therein authorized.

45. In estimating the produce, the average of several former years will be the surest criterion. All sawah lands will be considered solely as to what quantity of paddy they might produce. Where other species of cultivation occurs, it shall nevertheless be estimated only with reference to this standard, or what might have been the value of the crop had the land been sown with rice.

46. In similar manner, the tegal lands (under which description are comprehended all lands not subject to irrigation) shall be estimated, in their produce, at what would be the quantity of maize from them were that the sole crop.

47. These two kinds of cultivation are the most usual throughout the island for these descriptions of land, and will be easy to form an assessment where these two are only considered. The profit or loss, in substituting other crops, must be the sole concern of the individual cultivators.

48. In the value of the produce, the prices for both the paddy and the maize must be taken as they exist in the cheapest season of the year, and actually procurable on the spot.

49. By assuming other rates than these, as for instance, the prices the articles may bear in periods of the year when a greater scarcity prevails, or at what they would sell were they disposed of in large towns, a false estimate will be taken; and depending on such contingencies, a failure in the realization of the assessed revenues might frequently occur.

50. In the remarks that may be made opposite to each cultivator, if necessary, any circumstance may be entered that may be deemed by the collector deserving of mention;—but principally will fall under this column the statement of such reasons as entitle the individual to a remission of rent, such as the being an officer of government, a pensioner, &c. The general account A. will throw into one view the whole resources and actual state of the village.

51. Each of these villages must have a number given to it by the officer of division.

52. On the principles of complete survey, even the smallest quantity of land must be accounted for; and the general division into such as are or are not in use, naturally suggests itself. These are again subdivided into
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other classes. The "cultivated land" will be formed by bringing toge-
ther the totals of the paper B.; "free land" will include generally all
such as are at present enjoyed by the village inhabitant, free of assess-
ment, as the area of the village itself, with its gardens, commons, &c.
The "coffee grounds" still remaining in the possession of government
will be next entered; but it will be the duty of the collectors to let these
out, where they can, like other lands, to be converted to whatever pur-
pose the tenants may please.

53. The extent of the "teak forests" must likewise be given; and to
this will follow what are termed "government lands," that is, generally,
whatever is held by them for their own or the public benefit, exclusive of
the two foregoing classes. In the "general remarks" it will be necessary
to advert to the particular nature of this entry, specifying what lands
have formed it.

54. Of "lands not in use," the most important part is that which
specifies what are capable of being cultivated. The several qualities of
these cannot in every instance be quite correctly defined; but as far as
practicable, it is desirous to arrange them in the manner pointed out, that
is, into the two general descriptions of Sawah and Tegai. Next will
follow lands decidedly "unfit;"—and finally, what are termed "jungle
lands;" these are such as do not produce teak. "In the general remarks,"
it will be necessary to take notice of this latter class, specifying, as far as
possible, to what kind of land they belong, whether by clearing they
might be susceptible of cultivation, or are naturally unfit for it. The
remaining heads in the paper need no observation: they explain them-
selves, and will be at once filled up from the accounts B, and C.

55. Each officer of division shall, from these village accounts, frame
one general one of the district under his authority. The form is shewn
in the paper D. The only additional information to be furnished by him
in it, is the quantity of lands lying waste and uninhabited, which have not
been portioned out into villages; and in the "general remarks" sub-
joined, it will be necessary to advert to these, pointing out their nature,
and the reasons for their being in such desert state.

56. Each division shall be regularly numbered.

57. The account marked E. is intended to give to government one
general view of the whole collectorage; at once showing into how many
divisions it is portioned out, and in each of those how many villages there
are, the general population under its several descriptions, the total amount
of land, what quantity of it is cultivated, how much is capable of being
so, the estimated value of the entire produce, the riches of its inhabitants,
which are chiefly comprised in the number of buffaloes and horses pos-
sessed by them, &c. &c. And attached to these, any such observations
may be made as may suggest themselves to the collectors.

58. The collection of papers thus framed, will, it is deemed, put govern-
ment fully in possession of all the information they require.

59. On the first attempt by the British power to introduce an amended
system of land revenue through this island, from our paucity of informa-
tion on the subject, and the extreme caution with which it was necessary to proceed, it was thought requisite to have recourse to an intermediate class of persons between the actual sovereign and the cultivator of the soil, or to let out the whole lands of each village to its principal inhabitant.

60. But by this mere grant of lease, it was not by any means understood that any acknowledgment was made of proprietary right to the soil existing in those heads of villages. It was simply a step, arising from the necessity of the occasion, from the impracticability of at once entering upon a more detailed plan, and which at the moment of its adoption was meant to be considered as temporary, to be no longer adhered to, if, on the acquisition of further knowledge, a more particular system of management should be deemed advisable.

61. The nature of landed tenure throughout the island is now thoroughly understood. Generally speaking, no proprietary right in the soil is vested in any between the actual cultivator and the sovereign; the intermediate classes, who may at any time have enjoyed the revenues of villages or districts, being deemed merely the executive officers of government, who received those revenues only from the gift of their lord, and who depended on his will alone for their tenure. Of this actual proprietary right, there can be no doubt that it originally vested solely in the sovereign; but it is equally certain, that the first clearers of the land entitled themselves, as their just reward, to such a real property in the ground they thus in a manner created, that whilst a due tribute of a certain share of its produce for the benefit of being well governed was paid to the sovereign power, that in return was equally bound not to disturb them or their heirs in its possession. The disposal of this government share was, therefore, all that could justly depend on the will of the ruling authority, and consequently the numerous gifts of lands made at various periods by the several sovereigns, have in no way affected the right of the actual cultivator:—all that any government could alienate was merely its own revenue or share of the produce. This subject has come under full discussion; and the above result, as regarding this island, has been quite satisfactorily established.

62. The continuance, therefore, of the village system becomes only a matter of consideration, on the grounds of whether it is more beneficial than any other to government, or most likely to be conducive to the general prosperity and welfare of the mass of the population.

63. No doubt, however, remains on the mind of government on this question. The agency of the intermediate renters is considered as quite unnecessary to be adopted in future. It is deemed, that such a plan of settlement will leave the interest of the bulk of the people entirely at the mercy of a set of numerous petty chiefs, who, however well they may have hitherto conducted themselves, would certainly, in such case, possess an ability of injury and oppression, against which the ruling power would have left itself no adequate means of prevention or redress, and which
cannot therefore be permitted, consistently with the principles of good government.

64. It has, therefore, been resolved, that this intermediate system be entirely done away, the government determining to act, in future, through its immediate officers, directly with each individual cultivator, and to stand forward, in short, the sole collector and enjoyer of its own revenues. On every view, indeed, of the subject, the *tian-ag-hakitu* (or as it is termed in Western India, where it is understood to have been advantageously introduced, the *ryot-war* settlement) is considered as that which will at once prove most satisfactory to the people, and most beneficial to the government.

65. In the period that has elapsed since the first settlement, a sufficient knowledge has been obtained, by the most scrutinious investigation into the whole minutise of the revenue affairs of the country, to render government now fully competent to carry into execution that more detailed plan, which it was always in their contemplation to introduce, as early as might be practicable.

66. The several collectors will therefore take suitable measures for carrying into effect the desired change, as soon as this may, from local or other circumstances, be possible.

67. Of course, the expiration of the former leases must, in every instance, be awaited; but the several preliminary steps may be proceeded in without further delay. On no account must such leases be renewed.

68. As the term of the greater part of them will be closed by the ensuing *paasa*, and as the business of the assessment and survey, as above ordered, may with great advantage be carried on together, the principles on which that settlement will proceed will be briefly laid down here. Much however must be necessarily left to the discretion and judgment of the officers to whom its conduct will be entrusted, and on whose zeal, industry, and ability, this government fully relies.

69. As a general rule for the guidance of the collector, he shall continue in possession all such persons as he finds actually holding and cultivating land, and shall receive them as the renters from government in the new settlement. Even though such cultivators shall not be able to adduce proofs of any real property in the land, yet long occupancy, improving culture, and general good conduct while in its possession, are deemed to be claims of no weak nature, and certainly constitute a right, in equity and sound policy, of being considered preferably to any others, who have no such claims; and this right government is determined to respect.

70. It must, however, be clearly understood, that no positive rights of any nature will be infringed by this settlement. Every claim to property in land must be freely heard, and fully inquired into, by the collectors; and it is necessary, in doubtful cases, to submit the claim for the decision of the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor.

71. There have been, it is known, in many parts of the country,
APPENDIX.

grants from the sovereign of lands in perpetuity, which are regularly inheritable, and relative to which the original documents still exist. Of these some have been made for religious purposes, others as rewards or provision for relatives or the higher nobility. These alienations, as far as it was justly in the power of the sovereign to make them, will certainly not be set aside. Equity and good faith forbid it; but they equally enjoin, that the extent of these alienations be clearly defined, and that the rights of others be not compromised by them. The government share, where granted away, will not be claimed, for this affects the government alone. But there are certain other rights, those of the cultivators, which cannot be admitted to have been in the slightest degree affected by such grants; and in the enjoyment of them, therefore, they must be duly protected by the government. Such proprietors of revenue, as they may be termed, shall in short be allowed to act, with regard to the cultivators, only as government themselves act toward theirs; that is, receiving a fixed share of the produce: but whilst that is delivered, neither exacting more, nor removing any individual from his land.

72. On these subjects it will become the duty of the collector to be particularly careful and circumspect; to hear all claims, but to admit none lightly, giving to each the fullest investigation prior to acknowledging their validity.

73. When the collector shall have thoroughly acquainted himself with the actual state and resource of each village, he shall proceed, as quickly as he can, to the assessment of the land revenue, to be realized, not from the village generally, but from each individual cultivator inhabiting it.

74. The head of the village shall be considered as the officer of government to be employed in the collection of the revenue; for which a certain portion of land shall be allowed so him. In consideration of this, and possessing, as he will, due powers for its realization, he shall be considered as responsible for its whole amount. By this means, every advantage of the general village settlement will be obtained, without any of its evils.

75. It must be observed, that all allotments of land, whether as pensions or salaries, are to be made only provisionally; and in such grants the government share will be all that is to be affected by them.

76. One lease shall be made for the whole village, according to the form laid down in the enclosure F.

77. This will give to each individual a full knowledge of his rights, and of what are the only dues to be expected from him by government. No extortion or injustice can then exist, without being liable to instant detection and punishment. To attain still further this end, it is ordered, that a copy of this lease be lodged with the officer of division, and another be kept for public inspection in the village office.

78. The head of the village shall also give to each renter an exact account, according to the form in enclosure G.

79. By this the renter will know exactly the state of his affairs, and the examination of these lesser papers will at once discover any fraud on the
80. The officer of division will, in like manner, acknowledge on the back of the general lease the several sums received by him from the head of any village. The receipt of kind collections will, in the same way, be acknowledged at the collector's office, when they are delivered in.

81. The manner of assessing the government share will proceed, as far as practicable, as follows:

82. As the inferior descriptions of land require greater labour in their cultivation, and as the actual quantity of produce left from each for the use of the renter, is wished to be nearly the same, a different rate in assessing must be observed for each.

83. The following is considered as the fairest scale for fixing the government share from each species of land, and ought to be referred to, as much as possible, as the general standard:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>For Sawah Lands.</th>
<th>For Tegal Lands.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st sort, one-half of the estimated produce.</td>
<td>1st sort, two-fifths of the estimated produce.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d, one-half of the remaining produce.</td>
<td>2d, one-third of the remaining produce.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d, one-third of the remaining produce.</td>
<td>3d, one-fourth of the remaining produce.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

84. It must be expected, that less than this will be levied in many places for some time to come. Various reasons will induce a low rental being established at first, as the energies of many impoverished and long oppressed districts are to be brought forth by every encouragement that government can give; but when cultivation has reached what may be considered as its state of perfection, and the settlement is completely matured, the above must form the general rates of assessment.

85. Government think it necessary also explicitly to declare, that they will be satisfied when the land revenue shall be productive to them in these proportions, determining, at no future time, to raise that scale; that the inhabitants, being thus exactly acquainted with what will form the utmost demand on them, and resting in full confidence that government will not exact any thing further, may, in that security, enjoy their possessions in undisturbed happiness, and apply their utmost industry to the improvement of their lands, assured that, while they conduct themselves well, that land will never be taken from them, and that the more productive they may be able to render it, the more beneficial will it be to themselves.

86. The head of the village will deliver his money collections to the officer of division, in such instances as may be directed by the collector; but all payments in kind must be made actually into the collector’s office at the head station, the expenses of bringing it falling entirely on the
renters. This is done chiefly with a view to discourage such species of payments, government wishing to receive, as far as practicable, their revenues in money alone. In ordering this, regard has also been had to former custom, the contingent under the Dutch administration having always been thus delivered in.

87. The option of kind payment is still left to the renter on many accounts; in consideration, partly, of the present scarcity of specie throughout the country, partly as being agreeable to their ancient usages, which will always be paid the greatest attention to; but chiefly, as by leaving this double mode of payment open, the assessment, both in this and future settlements, will be able to be proceeded with on the justest and best principles. Enhancement or remissions will be equitably regulated by it; and, in short, by keeping the actual produce always in view, the shares of the government and of the cultivator must always preserve their due relation towards each other.

88. Pari or rice, however, are the only two articles to be received. Maize is considered, in estimating the produce of the tegal lands, to produce the justest assessment; but this must be invariably commuted for a money rent on fair principles. To sawah landholders only will the option of pari or rice deliveries be given. As cultivators, in most cases, hold some of each description of land, this distinction will not be felt as a hardship.

89. To guard against any failure in the estimated revenues, the value of the produce will be calculated at the sum which it commonly sells for in the village itself, immediately after the gathering in of the harvest; and the money commutation will proceed on this principle. The renters, therefore, will obviously be encouraged to pay money preferable to kind; but should they nevertheless give in the latter, the head of the village must, if he can, turn it into specie, so that the estimated value be obtained. Should, in spite of these precautions, any quantity of pari or rice arrive at the head station, the collector will deposit it in the storehouses, and report in what manner he is of opinion it can be most advantageously disposed of. Generally speaking, government wish to derive no extra profit from this branch of their revenues, and will approve of immediate sale, in every instance where the assessed price can be obtained.

90. As arrears are to be as much guarded against as possible, remissions of rent must sometimes be made. The mode of regulating these will be as follows. When such calamity of season or other cause, occurs, as may be supposed to entitle the cultivator to indulgent consideration in some deduction of rent, a report must be made by the head of the village before gathering the harvest, and the collector will then order the officer of division, or send some trusty servant from his own office, to survey the crop, and inquire into the causes of its falling short of the estimate. Such orders will afterwards be issued, whether remitting any part or the whole of the dues of government, or enforcing their strict collection, as may be deemed necessary. Whenever a real, unavoidable suffering has been sustained, a remission of rent must be granted, government deem-
ing it far preferable to conciliate their subjects by every reasonable favour, and even to submit to a slight loss, than to disaffect them by the continual harassing which the strict exaction of heavy arrears must occasion. Nor will, indeed, any real gain accrue from being thus always unrelenting; for, in most cases, the liquidation of the debts they may have incurred will only be effected by the sale of buffaloes, horses, and other property, on the possession of which must entirely depend the good performance of their future engagements; so that, in fine, by resorting to this measure, the debt may be discharged, but very frequently the cultivator will be lost.

91. As the first settlement, according to this amended system, cannot be expected to attain as accurate an assessment as is desirable, it is not deemed advisable that the leases to be granted should exceed the period of one year.

92. From the nature of the foregoing instructions, the collectors cannot fail to observe the importance and extent of the obligations imposed on them by the office intrusted to their charge. It is not enough that the government lay down the principles of a benevolent system intended to introduce the practical freedom which has been bestowed on all the nations subject to the honourable Company's dominions; it is with them that the application of these principles is entrusted, and to their temper, assiduity, judgment, and integrity, that the people have to look for the enjoyment of the blessings which it is intended to bestow upon them. They have, in short, the national character, as well of their own personal reputation, to support; and while the Lieutenant Governor in Council feels it unnecessary to rouse that spirit of public virtue in which it is the pride of a Briton to excel, or to advert to the shame that must follow a neglect of these important duties, he deems it proper to remark, that his most vigilant attention will be given to the progress of the great work which has been commenced, and that it will always afford him the highest gratification to bring to public notice, and reward the examples of industry, honour, and integrity, which he constantly expects to meet with.

(Signed) T. S. RAFFLES.

Buitensory, Feb. 11, 1814.
APPENDIX.

APPENDIX M.

MEMORANDUM respecting Weights, Measures, &c.

The weights and measures not only differ, both nominally and essentially, in the several districts of Java, but are often subject to such varieties, even within the same district, that the greatest confusion in accounts, and endless peculations, are almost inevitable. The native denominations and divisions are blended with the Chinese and European, and even the latter have been made to vary so much, that it is difficult to refer them to one common standard. The uncertainty of the native measures has, however, been considerably removed, by the reference constantly had by the Chinese to the weight of the article, instead of the bulk, which is the usual measure of the Javans.

The measure of weight which may be considered as the most general standard throughout the country, is the Chinese *kati*, equal to about 1¾ lb., or about 20 ounces avoirdupois; 100 *katis* make a *pikul* of 125 lbs. Dutch, or 133½ English, 30 *pikuls* or 3000 *katis*, being 3,750 lbs. Dutch. The Dutch standard *koyan*, however, is only 3,400 lbs., and in general is considered equal to a last, or two tons; but this weight, by which the rude produce of the country is generally calculated, is subject to innumerable varieties. In order to cover the wastage, it was the rule of the government that there should be one rate for receipt of goods, and another for their delivery. This varied according as the article was perishable or otherwise, or to the degree of peculation established by usage. This applied to all measures and weights by which goods were received and issued at the government stores, and the rates were different in different districts. A *koyan* among private individuals at Batavia is generally considered as 27 *pikuls*, equal to 253 *gantons*, or 2,700 *katis*; at Semarang as 28 *pikuls*, but by the natives generally as 30 *pikuls*. The *koyan*, however, by which the contingent was formerly delivered to government, at Demak was no less than 4,250 lbs. Dutch.

*Pári*, or rice in the husk, is generally calculated by the *amat*, and in some districts by the *sáng'ga*. When the *pári* is reaped, which is invariably done by snapping or cutting each separate straw a few inches below the husk, the sheaf or bundle as it accumulates is laid in the left hand, between the thumb and middle finger: the quantity which can be thus held is termed *sa agem*, which is therefore equivalent to a handful. Three of these make a *pochong*, a quantity which can be clasped between the two hands. The sheaf is then bound. Afterwards, when the grain and straw are dry, two of these *pochongs* are bound together in one larger bundle, which is termed *gedeng*. Four *gedengs* make one *bawon*, and five
APPENDIX.

gedengs one sang’ga: three bowon make one woom, and two woom one amat; the gedeng is sometimes four, five, and even sometimes nine katis.

In the Semarang districts alone, the amat varied from 200 to 600 katis in weight. In the western and Sunda districts pari is measured by the chain, of which there are the common and the mountain chain, the one being equal to 4,000 lbs. Dutch, the other about 1,000 katis. The kati, however, is the usual measure.

Land measure is by the natives regulated in general by the bowon, a measure of length, formed of the staff stick of the payong, or umbrella, which the Bapati, or native chief of a province, receives on his investiture. The length of this stick, when drawn from the umbrella, is termed a changkai, and is from nine to twelve feet. The principal divisions of land are into the bahs and jung. Four of the former make a jung; but these not only differ in size according to the length of changkai, but the situation of the land and the nature of the soil; the jungs of rich land, and in the vicinity of the principal towns, being much smaller than the poor lands situated at a distance. The endless varieties of these measurements it would be tedious to detail. One jung in the Semarang districts is equal to three others, to five, to six, seven, and even so many as ten, in other parts. From this perplexing inequality of measurement arose formerly, in many instances, the comparative disproportion of the cultivator’s contributions to the state, as each jung of every size was assessed with the payment of a fixed contingent. In many instances the jung was rather to be considered the measure, not so much of the land as of its produce.

The advantage of reducing these vague and uncertain measures to some fixed standard, had in some degree attracted the attention of the Dutch government, during the administration of Marshal Daendels, who directed that the lands in several districts should be measured according to an average jung of two thousand square rods or changkals of twelve feet Dutch. This measurement being generally known as the government jung, although it had only been very partially introduced in one or two districts, was made the standard in the recent agricultural survey of the country; and although it was not deemed advisable to introduce at the moment an entire change in the local usages of each district, the public officers were directed to refer to it on all occasions; and in the statistical and other returns, the local measurement of the place has accordingly been invariably reduced to this standard. The government jung of two thousand square changkals of twelve feet English, is equal to 6 3/4 English acres; and the government amat, by which the produce is weighed, being fixed at two thousand katis, is equal to two pikuls, or 266 2/3 lbs. English.

In reducing the coins circulating in Java into English money, in the course of this work, the Spanish dollar has been considered as equal to five shillings English, and the rupee to half a crown. In the local currency of Java, ten copper doits make one wangi (a small silver coin), and twelve wangis one rupee.
APPENDIX.

The following Table shews the current value of the different Coins circulating in Java:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4 doits</th>
<th>make</th>
<th>8 stiver.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 ditto or 2 stivers and a half</td>
<td>1 dubbeltje.</td>
<td>1 schelling.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 ditto or 7 stivers and a half</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 ditto or 15 stivers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63 ditto or 15 stivers and three quarters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120 ditto or 30 stivers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126 ditto or 31 stivers and a half</td>
<td>1 Batavian, Surat, or Arcot rupee.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132 ditto or 33 ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160 ditto or 40 ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190 ditto or 48 ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td>Half a sicca rupee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>240 ditto or 60 ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>264 ditto or 66 ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>312 ditto or 78 ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>320 ditto or 80 ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>528 ditto or 132 ditto, equal to</td>
<td>1 gold ducat.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2½ rix dollars...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>960 ditto or 240 ditto, equal to</td>
<td>Half a gold rupee,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 rix dollars...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920 ditto or 480 ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 gold rupee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Spanish dollars</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 American gold eagle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 ditto ditto...</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 doubloon.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N. B. The Java gold rupee is equal to sixteen Java silver rupees; the gold ducat fluctuates in value, but circulates in general for silver rupees.

THE END.

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AND OF

BENCOOLEN AND ITS DEPENDENCIES, 1817—1824;

WITH DETAILS OF THE

COMMERCE AND RESOURCES OF THE EASTERN ARCHIPELAGO,

AND

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BY HIS WIDOW.
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