JAVA IN THE 14TH CENTURY

NĀGARA-KĒRTĀGAMA

VOLUME II
I. A TEMPLE, SEE P. VIII.
JAVA IN THE 14TH CENTURY
A STUDY IN CULTURAL HISTORY

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

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

by

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

ILLUSTRATED WITH DRAWINGS BY PROFESSOR TIL. P. GALESTIN

PUBLICATION COMMISSIONED AND FINANCED BY
THE NETHERLANDS INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL RELATIONS

II
NOTES ON THE TEXTS AND THE TRANSLATIONS

THE HAGUE - MARTINUS NIJHOFF - 1960
The complete work is in five volumes:

VOLUME I
JAVANESE TEXTS IN TRANSCRIPTION

VOLUME II
NOTES ON THE TEXTS AND THE TRANSLATIONS

VOLUME III
TRANSLATIONS

VOLUME IV
COMMENTARIES AND RECAPITULATION

VOLUME V
GLOSSARY, GENERAL INDEX
VOLUME II

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction .......................................................... XI

List of abbreviations ................................................... XIII

Notes on the text and the translation of the Nāgara-Kērtāgama:

Chapter 1 — Introduction, the Royal Family of Majapahit about 1350 A.D. ........................................... 3
Chapter 2 — Majapahit, the Capital, about 1350 A.D. ........... 18
Chapter 3 — Tributaries and neighbours of Majapahit, establishment of the Royal authority by emis
saries taken from the ecclesiastical officers ......................... 31
Chapter 4 — The Royal Progress of 1359 from Majapahit through the eastern districts of Java, and back to Singasari .................. 35
Chapter 5 — Notes on the Kings of the House of Rājasa, from 1182 till 1343, and on their religious domains ............... 55
Chapter 6 — The Royal Chase in the neighbourhood of Singasari ................................................................. 63
Chapter 7 — The return from the Royal Progress of 1359, from Singasari to Majapahit .................. 68
Chapter 8 — The Royal Progresses of 1360 and 1361 to Tīrīb, Sōmpur and Bāltar .............................................. 73
Chapter 9 — The posthumous ceremony in honour of the Rājapatnī in 1362, her shrines and her cult .................. 75
Chapter 10 — The Royal Progress of 1363 from Majapahit to Simping and back ................................. 84
Chapter 11 — Gajah Mada’s death in 1364. The new officials ................................................................. 85
Chapter 12 — List of domains belonging to the Royal Family and to religious communities .................. 88
Chapter 13 — Organization of the clergy and Royal authority ................................................................. 92
Chapter 14 — The annual Court festival in Majapahit .. 95
Chapter 15 — Conclusion .................................................. 103
Notes on the texts and the translations of the Nāgara-Kērtāgama colophons ......... 107

Notes on the texts and the translations of the Minor Writings:

Nawanatya .................................................. 111
Rājapatigundala ........................................... 120
Purwādīgama preamble ................................. 126
Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa .................................. 127

Notes on the texts and the translations of the Charters:

Sarwadharma charter of 1269, found in Pēnampihan ...... 133
Decree Jaya Song, about 1350 A.D., found in Bendosari ...... 135
Ferry Charter of 1358, found in Trawulan and Pēlēm ........ 137
Batur charter, found in Batur .................................. 139
Biluluk charters of 1366—1395, found in Bluluk .......... 140
Rēnēk charter of 1379, found near Majapahit ............. 142
Walāndit charter of 1381—1405, found in Pēnañjangan ... 146
Patapen charter of 1385, found in Trawulan ................ 148
Karang Bogēm charter of 1387, found in Trawulan ....... 149
Katiñen charter of 1392, found in Trawulan .......... 151
Shela Maññi charters of 1394—1396 .......................... 152

Illustrations: drawings by Professor Galestin after stone reliefs of 14th century East Javanese temples and after an old Balinese painting:

I. Frontispiece: A birds' eye view of a temple compound belonging to a monastery, showing the principal Divine Abode, with a roof in many storeys, and four open pavilions, four-pillared, with a fifth pillar in the centre. The whole is enclosed by a high wall. The small pavilion outside the enclosure is a one-pillared shrine used for religious ceremonies probably connected with the worship of guardian spirits. Drawn after a stone relief of Candi Jago .............. II

II. A prince sitting on a low dais in a park in the company of one attendant, holding in his right hand a token of his master's dignity, probably a cuspidor, and a pair of dogs. The prince is receiving homage presents, probably food, offered by six men on their raised right hands. The men are ceremonially introduced by a speaker who is making the añjali salutation in front of the prince. Behind them are sitting eight gentlemen of rank in two rows, accompanied by two servants with their hair in pigtailed, evidently prototypes of the panakawans (Sēmar c.s.) of the Javanese wayang theatre. The six men and the speaker are kneeling in a reverential posture; the others are sitting on the ground, talking together rather freely. Drawn after a stone relief of Candi Jawi ....... 108
III. Procession of a bride, probably a princess, carried by two men in a palanquin, followed by two women and preceded by a young man carrying a state sunshade. The procession is headed by an ordained religious woman of high rank acting as a guardian. She has a sacerdotal headdress and she wears a long robe covering the breasts. She is supervising the two young girls of rank who walk in front, acting as bridesmaids (patah). Two men of the common people who are looking on are putting their fists into their mouths as an expression of wonder and admiration. The dog walking near the palanquin is an auspicious companion; probably that is the reason why he is given such a prominent place. Drawn after a stone relief of the pœndapa terrace of Caãdzi Panataran ... 132

IV. Five men of the common people, under the supervision of their master, a trader, riding on horseback, conveying wooden planks, to be used as building material, loaded on a cart and on a bullock’s neck. The animal is revolting against the too heavy load. Freely drawn after an old Balinese painting from Klungkung, South Bali, illustrating a tale from the Tantri, the Old Javanese version of the Indian Pañcatantra ... 153
INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

Batur: Batur charter, ed. Dr F. D. K. Bosch, Oudheidkundig Verslag 1915, p. 144.


Bll.: Biluluk charters, ed. van Stein Callenfels, Oudheidkundig Verslag 1918.

C.: Codex Orientalis 5023 Leyden University Library, containing the Nāgara-Kērtāgama text.

Col.: Colophons of the Nāgara-Kērtāgama text in codex 5023 Leyden.

comm.: Commentaries on the Nāgara-Kērtāgama, the Minor Writings and the Charters, in vol. IV.


F.: Ferry Charter, ed. van Stein Callenfels, Oudheidkundig Verslag 1918 (Trawulan plates I) and Brandes-Krom, Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden, vol. II, 1913, p. 255.


I.N.I.: Inscripties van Nederlandsch-Indië, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1940.
Jav.: Javanese, especially the Javanese language.
Kbg.: Karang Bogem charter, ed. van Stein Callenfels, Oudheidkundig Verslag 1918 (Trawulan plates V).
K.B.N.W.: Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek door Dr H. Neubronner van der Tuuk, † 17 augustus 1894, uitgegeven door Dr J. Brandes, 4 volumes, Batavia, 1897—1912.
K.O.: Kawi Oorkonden, Inleiding en Transcripties, door Dr. A. B. Cohen Stuart, Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1875.
Kr. note: Aannteekeningen door Dr N. J. Krom: notes appended to Professor Kern's Nāgara-Kṛtāgama edition of 1919.
Kunst-Goris: Mr J. Kunst, met medewerking van Dr R. Goris, Hindoe-Javaansche Muziek-instrumenten, speciaal die van Oost Java, Studiën over Javaansche en andere Indonesische muziek, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1926.
m.c.: Metri causa: conforming to the rules of (Indian) prosody.
modern Jav.: the Javanese idiom of the Muhammadan Kingdoms of Central Java in (comparatively) modern times, since about 1600 A.D., as distinguished from Old Javanese.
Naw.: Nawonatyta, codex orientalis 5091, Leyden.
Old Jav.: the idiom of the pre-Muslim, Hinduistic Kingdoms of (Central and) Eastern Java, lastly Majapahit, 9th till 16th century, as distinguished from modern Javanese.
O.V.:
Oudheidkundig Verslag, Oudheidkundige Dienst (Archeological Service) in Nederlandsch-Indië, uitgegeven door het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

Par.:
Pararaton (Ken Arok), of Het Boek der Koningen van Tunapêl en van Majapahit, uitgegeven en toegelicht door Dr J. L. A. Brandes, 2de druk, bewerkt door Dr N. J. Krom, met medewerking van Prof. Mr Dr J. C. G. Jonker, H. Kraemer en R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, deel 62, 1920.

Pdg.:
Purwâdïgama preamble, quoted in Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek sub voce đarmâdïyaalsa.

Prasasti:
Prasasti Indonesia, diterbitkan oleh Dinas Purba-kala Republik Indonesia, I: 1950, II: 1956: Old Javanese and Old Malay inscriptions, edited by Dr J. G. de Casparis, with Dutch translations and notes.

Prb.:
Professor Raden Mas Ngabehi Dr Poerbatjaraka, Aantekeningen op de Nāgarakṛtāgama, Bijdragen Koninklijk Instituut, vol. 80, 1924.

Ptp.:
Patapan charter, ed. van Stein Callenfels, Oudheidkundig Verslag 1918 (Trawulan plates IV).

Rkp.:
Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa, codex orientalis 1850 Leyden.

Rnk.:
Rênêk charter, ed. Stutterheim and Pigeaud, Djawa, vol. 6, 1926.

Rpg.:
Rajapatîgūndâla, codex orientalis 5056 Leyden.

Sdh.:
Sarwadharma charter, ed. Brandes-Krom, Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden, vol. II, 1913, p. 188.

Skt.:
Sanskrit.

Slm.:
Shela Mandî charter, ed. Cohen Stuart, Kawi Oorkonden, 1875, p. 11.

St.:

Tantu:

T.B.G.:
Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, uitgegeven door het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, since 1853.
Verh.B.G.: Verhandelingen van het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, since 1779.

Volksvertoningen: Dr Th. Pigeaud, Javaanse Volksvertoningen, Bijdrage tot de Beschrijving van Land en Volk, uitgave Volkslectuur, Batavia, 1938.


CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION,
THE ROYAL FAMILY OF MAJAPAHIT

about 1350 A.D.

Cantos 1—7, 21 stanzas.

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

1—1—2: Ke: sākṣme. C has sākṣmeng, which makes good sense.
1—1—3: The enclitic ta is often left untranslated by Kern and others. It seems preferable to render it as "now" or "surely" in all places where C has it, even though it is often not more than a stop-gap.

1—1—4: Hyang and sang hyang do not only indicate divinity, but also superhuman, supernatural power, possessed by a variety of beings, things and places, v. gl. It is translated: Spirit, spiritual and holy, sacred (sacer). In modern Jav. aeng means: miraculous. The usual translation of iṅiṣṭī (from iṣṭi) is: wished for. "Ideal" seems to make good sense in this place; but cf 37—2—3 Ke reads hana, m.c. Ke's identification of waya with wāhya: external, is open to objection. The Nāg. elsewhere has wāhya, properly spelled, v. gl. Waya means: to be present, which makes good sense in this verse. The word is used three times in the Nāg., v. gl. Reiteration of hana would have spoiled the euphony in 1—1—4. Tēmāk means: to become, to appear as. Incarnation (Ke's translation) is mārti, v. gl.
Canto 1, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: byāḍi and väïṣṇava in accordance with Skt; nirguṇa m.c. and indicated by the context. Ke translates it: without attributes. In this verse Nirguṇa is a name, though, v. comm.

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

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

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

1—3—2: Ke: bhūpati m.c. In the present edition bhūpati is translated: Ruler, and nātha: Protector, the original Skt meaning. Čṛḷ nātha, Illustrious Protector, is the common title of viceroys and vice-queens. Haji and ratu are the only original Javanese words in this group. If it is used without adjunct (a name) haji refers quite often to King Hayam Wuruk, the poet’s master; it seems to mark an intimate personal relation. It is rendered: my lord, our lord, my lady, our lady.

In a note on canto 44 Ke mentions some related words in Philippine languages, all meaning: king: Bisaya hadi, Tagalog hari, Bikol hade, Pampanga ari. Perhaps in 14th century Java haji used as a predicate or a title of Royalty was specifically Kaḍīri idiom, v. comm. on canto 44, Haji Jaya Katwang. Wiżesa often refers to the King; in that case it is translated: powerful. In modern Jav. wiżesa always has this meaning, v. gl.

1—3—3: Ke: sākṣāt, Skt spelling. The Skt meaning of sākṣāt: manifestly, makes good sense in this verse as well as elsewhere in the Nāg. The modern Jav. meaning: as it were, does not fit well, v. gl.

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

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

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

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

1—4—4: Ke: \textit{anand}, Skt \textit{nanå}. The meaning of \textit{gun
tur} is: to collapse. Kern mistook it for \textit{mag
turvan}, which means: to boom. \textit{Himav
dan} is a poetical expression for mountain. In C the \textit{paten} is often written behind \textit{n}, irrespective of grammar or logic, only in order to avoid any possible misunderstanding or misreading caused by ligatures to the small \textit{aksara} \textit{n}. In the text (vol. I) the \textit{paten} is rendered by a sloping dash. \textit{Tanpa gap} and \textit{tan hanagap} are expressions going with mentions of death or mortal fright, v. gl. and KBNW sub \textit{agap}. Modern Jav. \textit{mågap} means: to gasp. Kern's translation: powerless is a mistake.

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


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

1—5—4: Ke: \textit{durjana} and \textit{wiryya sang prabhu}, Skt spelling. C's long û in \textit{prabhu} is a mark of respect.

\textit{Canto 2, stanza 1, verse 1}: Ke: \textit{råjapatni}, Skt spelling. Ke fails to translate \textit{ndan}. \textit{Nda}, \textit{ndah} and \textit{ndan}, placed at the beginning of a verse, mark the continuation of the narrative. In the present edition these words are rendered as: now or: then. In some places they seem to be used only as stop-gaps. \textit{Çri} is always translated: Illustrious, with capital initial. Ke rendered it sometimes by "doorluchtig", i.e. Serene. \textit{Çri} is not to be translated: Majesty, for its use is not limited to the Sovereign. It is a predicate of all members of any Royal family, v. gl.
In the present edition sirā is always rendered by: He or She or They, Him or Her or Them, all with capital initials (unless the word is used as a predicate, v. gl.). As a consequence of this use of capital letters the translation in some places offers a singular aspect, showing “He” and “he” close together while referring to the same person. In those cases the Javanese text did not express “he” by a pronoun. It has been intercalated only to make the English sentence intelligible. The use of the pronoun sirā and the suffix -sirā marks respect, either for divine Beings, Princes and Princesses of the Blood Royal or for eminent secular and spiritual lords, v. 10—2—4. In some places (e.g. just here, 2—1—1) sirā seems to be used as a stop-gap. Sirā is also used as a predicate before a noun, a title or a name, out of respect. In this case it is comparable with sang, which is always rendered as: honoured. Sirā as a predicate is rendered as: worshipful; it marks a less exalted rank than Črá, v. gl. In the 14th century Ráṣapánti, Queenly Ruler, was the title-and-name of the ancestress of the Maja-pahit Royal family, not to be translated.

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

2—1—2: Ke: bhaṭāri, bhagavatī and chattrā: Skt spelling and m.c. Paramabhagavatī must be the name of a goddess, v. comm. and chpt on Royal family in vol. IV.

2—1—3: Ke: cīwari wṛddhamunḍi, Skt spelling.

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

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

2—2—2: Ke: menggōng, a slip of the pen. Both gōng and gōng (with long ə) are used in C. Anggōng and anggōng are rendered as: to practise unremittingly. Modern Jav. anggung means: perpetually. The usual meaning of Skt susța: pleased with, content with, makes good sense where it is used in the Nāg. Joy (Ke’s translation) is expressed by: suka, v. gl. Bhakti means: submissiveness; modern Jav. běkti
means: respect and: homage. The Skt meaning of bhakti: religious devotion, love of the Deity, is not found in the Nāg.

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

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

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

Canto 3, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: Ṛājapatiṇīgvarī, Skt spelling. Tēkwan means more than just: and. In most cases it is to be rendered as: naturally, v. Zoetmulder, Ādiparwa, p. 204; in some places it seems
to be used as a stop-gap (in fact.). Probably tēkvan is the same word as modern Jav. tēkon: character, nature. Ke's translation: "she considered her as her mother" suggests that the Rājapatni in fact was not Tribhūwan's ibu. Of course ibu means mother as well as aunt, and mātāmahā: grandmother as well as great-aunt. The translation: treating her as a mother is a better rendering of the sense of the text. In the present edition īcvarā and īcvarī are rendered by: Master and Mistress. The words are mostly used as honorific adjuncts, connected with names.

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

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

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

Canto 3, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: āpagēh, m.c. Ke: "the Viceroy".
**CHAPTER ONE - THE ROYAL FAMILY**

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

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

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

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

Canto 4, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: Jivana, m.c.
4—1—3: Ke: Dahānopameng (rā)pa ring, m.c. The interpolation of rā makes good sense. Ke links anopameng rāpa with ring sadgūṇa without any connecting word, which is unusual. Perhaps the verse is corrupt; the meaning is clear, though. Sīrvi and its derivatives refer to the relation between subjects and Princes in a general sense; it is rendered as: to obey. Sēva, on the other hand, means: to serve, to wait upon.
4—1—4: Ke: samasa(ma) kalawon hafing Jivana, m.c., with interpolation of ma. Neither Kern’s translation: “as if she were a Queen” nor Krom’s: “as co-Princess” take full account of the meaning of Īvīr: aspect. It is obvious that Sudewi in this verse is the name of a goddess. On the comparisons of the members of the Royal family with gods and goddesses, v. the chpt on the Royal family in vol. IV.

Canto 4, stanza 2, verse 2: Ke: pāramajñottama, m.c., translated by Kern: “peerless among the most excellent great scholars”. English “among” can not be rendered in Javanese simply by ing. Moreover pāramajña is an unusual expression. Probably the verse is corrupt; a better reading is: anopameng rāpa wījīottama. There must exist a parallelism between the descriptions of the Princess and the Prince in 4—1 and 4—2. The verses 4—1—3 and 4—2—2 both contain first a reference to the personal appearance of the princely pair (anopameng rāpa), then an epithet referring to their intellect (sadgūṇa and wījña). Wījña is used frequently in the Nāg., v. gl.
4—2—3: Ke: nṛpe; nṛpati has one syllable too much. Ke: ekapakṣā-pagēk. C left an open space at the end of the verse.
4—2—4: Ke notes that three syllables are missing in this verse. He transcribes: sira wihikan i - - thāni but he does not offer a solution. Krom proposes to interpolate: wrānnaneng, referring to wrānān, 79—2—1. Wrānana means: literary description; this does not fit into this verse. A more plausible reading is: wihikan i solahing thāni, which makes good sense. Thāni means: cultivated peasants’ land. In modern Jav. wong tanī is the common word for peasant.

Canto 5, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: rājñī, Skt spelling.
5—1—2: Ke: anurāga, Skt spelling.
CHAPTER ONE - THE ROYAL FAMILY

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

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

5—2—2: Kr note: munggwi, m.c.

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

Canto 6, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: Penak, with note: Penan in the text is a mistake. Krom put this right: penan no doubt means: brother-in-law. In modern Jav. īpe is brother- or sister-in-law. Ke: labdhābhīśeka prabhu, m.c. As a rule Kern translates kāpwa by: all. It seems preferable to reserve “all” for the common kābeh and sakweh and to render kāpwa as: equally, which makes the best sense in most places where it is used, v. gl.
6—1—2: Ke: “the doughty Princess who rules in Lasēm”. Sang rājñī Lasēm is the best reading, parallel to sang rājñī pratiṣṭe Pajang of 6—2—1. Sang is a honorific predicate used only before names or titles of persons or personifications. Sang rājñī Lasēm: the honoured residence of Lasēm (as Kern would have it) is unidiomatic. Suṇrama: doughty (Dutch: wakker) is not a suitable epithet for the beautiful Princess Indudewi of Lasēm: it is a masculine epithet. In 6—1—2 it belongs to Prince Rājasawardhana to whom the stanza is dedicated. It is remarkable that the two Prince-Consorts of the King’s generation are mentioned together in two stanzas after their wives, whereas in 3—2 and in 4—2 the two Prince-Consorts of the elder generation, King Hayam Wuruk’s father and his maternal uncle, seem to be closely connected with their wives; v. the chpt on the Royal family. The senior Princes were of more importance at Court than their juniors.

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

6—2—2: Ke: khyātī, Skt spelling; suṣūlapagēḥ, m.c.
6—2—3: Ke: deuṛā, m.c.

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

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

6—3—2: Ke: Nāgarawardhani pratiṣṭa rājñīkanyakānopaṭama, m.c.
6—3—3: Kr note: i Mataram, m.c. Princess Nāgarawardhani is called haji (mylady), probably because she was the heiress-apparent to the throne.

6—3—4: Evidently paningkah is another word for son-in-law, v. gl. sub tingkah. Ke’s translation “supreme judge” is unfounded.
Canto 6, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *nupati* and *munggwing*, m.c.
6—4—3: Kr note: *sunga* and *nagaratunggalan*. *Nagara*, *nagari* and *nagar* are used indiscriminately in the Nāg., meaning: town, i.e. a King’s or Prince’s compound with the surrounding compounds and manors of relatives and servants. The words also refer to the townsfolk. *Nagara* etc. is the opposite of *deca*, *pradeca*, meaning: district, especially: rural district, and of *thāni*, meaning: peasants’ cultivated land. The *pura* or *purī* is the chief compound in the centre of a *nagara*, v. 17—3—1, 2. *Rājya* is rendered by Royal compound, Royal residence.
6—1—4: Mangisapvi is not derived from *sapu*: broom (as Kern would have it) but from *kisapu*. Prb’s translation: they hold in their laps, no doubt is right.

Canto 7, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *dinakara* and *prabhu*, m.c.
7—1—2: Ke: *tanisra*, Skt spelling; C’s *rinawasan* is better Jav. than Ke’s *rinabhasan*.
7—1—3: Ke: *tusāng* and *sātwika*; *pangkajānam* instead of *pangajānam*. Ke explains that red lotus-flowers open in the sunlight, whereas the white ones close up at the same time. *Satya* *sātwika* does not mean: in sincere truth (as Kern would have it). The words are adjuncts of *kujana* *kumuda*. Probably the meaning in this place is: the bad people are reformed: they have grown faithful and true to the King. *Satya* *sātwika* goes well with *aman*: quiet, settled down, the other adjunct of *kujana* *kumuda*. It should be noted that the demonstrative *ikanang*: there, evidently is used in this place to separate the good people on the poet’s side from the bad people (the King’s enemies, at home or abroad) on the other side of an imaginary line. Prb reads: *pangkaja* *mamikanang*; he supposes that *mamikanang* contains a derivation of *wikan*: to know. But then, in the Nāg. the original form *wiḥikan* is used, v. gl., not the modern Jav. form *wikan*. It is remarkable that the same simile, of the two kinds of flowers, is used also in Nāg. 83—1, but there the bad people are compared to the red flowers and the good to the white ones, because the King is compared to the moon.
7—1—4: Ke: *grōma*, Skt spelling. *Sthiti* means: stable, order, orderly, like Skt *sthiti*. *Dhāna* means: wealth; the almost homonymous *dhanā* means: rice. *Grōma* is to be rendered as: village. *Sakrana* means: according to custom. Kern’s translation does not bring out the whole of the simile. The villages are compared with water. The villages are the homes both of good and bad people, and the water is where
the two kinds of lotus-flowers grow. The villages bring forth wealth (or: rice); so does the water on the ricefields. The wealth (or: rice) is offered to the King; the rice-plants grow and offer their grain to the Sun; the King is compared with the Sun.

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

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

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

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

7—3—2: Ke fails to translate *para*. In the Nāg. *para* is not merely an indicator of the plural number, as it is in modern Jav. *Para* means: common, in common; it is also used substantively, meaning: the common people, the commoners. In modern Jav. this original meaning still is found in the expression: *sēga para*: rice for the common people. Connected with titles or names of offices *para* is always to be rendered as: common. In 7—3 the opposition of the *para putrihā*, the common maidens, to the *mukhyā*, the chief lady of the King's zenana, is obvious. In the Nāg. *para* never is used with reference to persons of the Blood Royal. Certainly this is not a coincidence: *para*, common, does not go with Royalty. In some places in the Nāg. *para*, connected with the name of an office, refers to a singular number, like modern Jav. *paraṇāki*; v. gl. *parakawi*. The translation: common is most appropriate in those cases. Skt *para*: foreign is found only in a few places in the Nāg. In a note on 98—1—1 Ke points out some parallels of Jav. *para*. He remarks that *parakawi* (common poet) is expressive of some humility while *rakawi* (honoured poet) is not. Both are used by Prapaṅca referring to himself. As parallels of *parakawi* and *paraṇāki* Ke mentions several words in Philippine languages: Bicol *paragwahit*: scribe; Bisaya: *palauña*: agricultural labourer; *palainum*: drunkard; Tagalog: *palaan nito*: idolater. According to Kern those Philippine parallels (*para- and pala-*) prove that the *r* of Javanese *para* (common) is of another origin than the *r* of Javanese *ra* (honorific, *rakawi*), for the latter *r* is related
to ḍ (cf. ḍanghyang). Ke's translation of *putrikādika*: princesses etc. suggests that the ending *ādika* is synonymous with *ādi*. In the Nāg. *ādi*, etcetera, is frequently used, v. gl., and so is *ādika*, i.e. Skt *adhika*, especially as an honorific ending to titles and names. In 7—3—2 *putrikādika* is the right reading; this *adhika* is rendered as: superior. Often it is no more than a stop-gap, though. *Putrikā*, translated by Ke: princesses, is better rendered as: maidens. In other places in the Nāg. it means: daughter, v. gl. The common women of the King's *zenana* were not Princesses of the Blood Royal. Probably many of them had been offered as tribute to the Court, v. 31—4.

7—3—3: Ke: *Parameṣvarī*, Skt spelling. Ke fails to translate *swo-. Kr points out that Parameṣvarī must have been a daughter of Wijayarājasa with a wife of lower rank. If she had been a daughter of the Princess of Dāha the poet certainly would have mentioned it in canto 5. *Swaduhita* indicates that Parameṣvarī was an "own" daughter of the Prince of Wēṅgkēr. Parameṣvarī must be her title-and-name. Kr suggests that Susumnādevi is the personal name, but he overlooks *awarya*. Susumnā is the goddess to whom Parameṣvarī is compared.

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

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

7—4—2: Ke: *rājī, Skt spelling; siniwung m.c.*

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

7—4—4: Ke: *dewatt, m.c. and atēmu ahlēm*. *Atēmus* is a future tense and *ahlēm* does not need a prefixed *a-*, v. gl. At the time that the Nāg. was written Kusumawardhanī and Wikramawardhana apparently still were children. Though it is stated that they manifestly were a god and a goddess the identity of their divine counterparts is left unspecified.
CHAPTER 2 - MAJAPAHIT, THE CAPITAL

about 1350 A.D.

Cantos 8—12, 21 stanzas.

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

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

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

8—1—3: Ke: bhrahmasthāna. According to Kern brahmasthāna is the Indian mulberry-tree, Morus alba, modern Jav.: bēsaran. To be expected in this place would be: aṣṭaṅga, Ficus religiosa, modern Jav.: waringin, because the terraces (Skt: bodhimaṇḍa) usually belong
to those trees, according to Kern. This may be true. Buddhi in this verse is the name of a second kind of tree: Ficus Rumphii, modern Jav. wudi. This makes better sense than Kern's: pathani-buddhi. Inapi: well cared for, from api (v. gl.), refers to the care that was taken to keep the rows of trees in good form, by regular trimmings. This can still be observed in modern times in the Central Javanese capitals Surakarta and Yogyakarta. Cara-cara is mentioned in several other places in the Nag., v. gl. Probably it is the name of some decoration made of leaves or flowers. It is rendered tentatively as: festoons, floral decorations.

8—1—4: Ngka tonggwan is to be analysed as: ngka ta unggwan. To mount guard (Ke's and St's translation) is matunggu, v. gl. A tanada is a subaltern officer; the word is rendered by: headman, v. gl. Karakasan is the name of a place: a guard-house or redoubt. Krakasan is the name of a town in Eastern Java. Sabha is a meeting of the Princes with their subjects, and the place where the meeting is held: an open field, not enclosed like a yard. Sabha is rendered in the present edition by the Indian "durbar", v. 85—1, and gl. Purasabha is the meeting-place belonging to the Royal compound. It is not to be confounded with wunguntur: the main courtyard inside the wall of the Royal compound, and still less with pasewwan: a private guard-house belonging to a group of Royal servants who are "in waiting", v. gl.

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

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

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

8—2—3: Ke note: "kannah for kaehnah, but the right spelling is karnnah". KBNW also: arnah. The double n is only to be explained by presuming a preceding r. Kr note: ing pekhen, m.c. Ke: dahan.
Aichele (BKI, 113, 1959, p. 331) translates lor-kidul: on all sides. This metaphor, an abbreviation of lor-kidul-kution-wetan, is fitting in poetical descriptions. In the prosy Nāg, the words have their literal meanings. Kānnaḥ lor (cf. kānnaḥ wetan, 8—4—1) and kidul ing pēkēn are two different indications, both referring to the situation of the long hall. Rakēt means: close by. Crowded (Ke’s and St’s translation) is: sēk, sēṭk, v. gl. There is no indication in the text (e.g. a word meaning: many, or a numeral) that in this verse the poet refers to a plurality of buildings. It seems probable that he meant one open hall, very long.

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

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

8—3—2: Ke: bhujangga, m.c.; alēnggh is a slip of the pen. Mananghil is a Court term, meaning: to be in waiting. It refers to Royal servants who have to hold themselves in readiness to take up their duties or to execute orders. In the meantime they are sitting and amusing themselves, eating or sleeping, as the case may be, in the guard-houses (wesma panangkilan, guard-houses, mentioned 8—3—2, or pasewan, 8—5—1) appointed to their group. Persons of the Blood
Royal do not manangkil. Marćk, on the other hand, to approach, as a Court term means: to enter into the Royal Presence. It is said of the Princes too, v. gl. Bhujangga and mantri are chancery terms for the two classes of Royal servants at the Majapahit Court: the clerks or ecclesiastical officers and the mandarins holding secular offices. The best rendering of mantri would be the modern Jav. priyayi, meaning: a gentleman (however poor he may be) who holds some office. The old Portuguese rendering of the Skt mantri: mandarin is used in the present edition. Probably the bhujanggas and the mantris had their own panangkilans in which to sit in waiting. Kern's translation: scholars and Royal ministers, can not be correct because of the very humble place of the panangkilans mentioned in 8—3—2, on the outskirts of the outer courtyard. The meaning of para: common, is very clear in this verse. The places of the higher officials of course were nearer the centre of the Royal compound.

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

8—3—4: Ke: sābhūvama, m.c. Ke thinks of an eclipse (grahana) in Phālguṇa (February-March), which would be an odd coincidence. Kr draws attention to the ceremonies in Phālguṇa mentioned in cantos 83 and 84; he thinks that grahana can have the meaning: dark half of the month. St adopts this idea. As a matter of fact, the usual meaning of grahana: eclipse, does not make sense in this verse. The only plausible emendation for: ri kālanaing grahana is: ri kālanaing cāravana. In 8—3—4 the two great annual religious ceremonies of the Majapahit Court are mentioned: the Črāvana-Bhādra (July-August-September) ceremony, referred to in canto 63—4 and the Phālguṇa festival (February-March), described extensively in cantos 83 and 84. On the inter-
relationship of the two great annual ceremonies v. comm. Amrayācītani bala: to purify the Royal servants (on a fixed date, not dependent on an incidental eclipse) is partially described in KBNW sub voce jaya (Jayasunu). In cantos 63, 83 and 84 prayaćcitta is not used. It is not doubtful, however, that the annual ceremonies i.a. had the function of Iustrations and purifications, v. the chpt on religion in vol. IV.

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

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

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

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

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

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

8—5—4: *Rī tengah* is to be separated from *natar*. “In the centre of the yard” would be: *rī tengahing natar*, v. gl. sub *tengah*. *Pasatan* is the name of the *margapasa* (small halls). * Açangkhya*, innumerable, can only refer to *margapa*. To make it an adjunct of *sata*: cock (assuming that *pasatan* is a derivative of *sata*, Ke: birds, followed by Kr and St) seems forced. Moreover *mawurahan* refers to the noise of a human crowd. The screeching of the kind of cock that is kept by Javanese connoisseurs is called *cēker*, v. KBNW. The usual meaning of *pasatan* (from *sat, asat*: dry): a change of clothes especially after a bath, makes good sense in this verse. KBNW does not mention *pasatan* sub *sata*. Probably the *bales* all around were washing places and bathrooms built on the bank of a small circular canal made for that end, the *īderan*. 
The *manḍapas* were dressing-rooms where people who came from afar could change before entering the inner part of the Royal compound. Perhaps the *manḍapas* were also used as guest-houses. On the improbability of the valuable cocks having their place in the outer courtyard v. comm.

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

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

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

8—6—4: Ke: *sēk* and *mākēmit anu mapekṣa*. *Agilir mākēmit* is
to be separated from an umapecsa wāra. This verse is of particular interest; it gives some information on the organization of the service at the Majapahit Court, v. comm.

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

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

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

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

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

Canto 9, stanza 3, verse 1: Kr notes: ring pascima and umareng Mṛtyucaṣaya cakakwah, m.c. "Death's Country" is south.

9—3—2: Ke: witrabhṛtyān, m.c. In this verse Witrabhṛtya probably means: the retinue (bhṛtya) of the Princess of Wirabhūmi. The retinue of her father the Prince of Paguhan is mentioned in 9—3—4. On the reason why these Princes are mentioned in this stanza v. comm. Neither Ke's nor St's translations of witrabhṛtya make good sense. A
sumantri of course is higher in rank than a mantri, v. gl. The following word; amaava is rendered: vested with authority, v. KBNW. This fits well with: pinituha: considered as an elder.

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

9—3—4: Ke: sang and nityakāla′n, m.c.

Canto 9, stanza 4, verse 2: Ke: vitānābhināwa, m.c. Ke: mupuulan. Papuulan makes good sense in this verse, though.

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

9—4—4: Ke: vitānāḥprameya, m.c.

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

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

10—1—3: Pañca and mañca go with names of offices (cf. pañca
The words are probable related to modern Jav. kañca. All three are to be rendered as: Fellow. Pañcas or mañcas seem to be members of a group, v. gl. Kr note: mapatih instead of mapagèh. Attention is drawn to the prefix a- or ma- of some names of offices (apatihi, mapatih). Presumably the use of the form with prefix a-marks respect, v. gl. sub a-. On the functions of the five Fellows of the Court administration v. the comm. on the Nawanatya.

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

10—2—2: Ke: paradèmung; Kr note: sakāla, m.c.
10—2—3: Ke’s and St’s translation of makinjan: to limit is a mistake; the meaning is: to have a limit. Waték is not frequently used in the Nāg. It is rendered as: what belongs to; it is not merely an indicator of the plural number. Amaték means: to draw, to pull, v. gl.
10—2—4: It is worthy of remark that in this verse (and in 10—3—4) the suffixed pronoun -nira does not refer to persons of the Blood Royal but to officers and clergymen of the highest rank, v. note 2—1—1.

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

10—3—2: Ke: witōna.
10—3—3: Kr note: sapta madulur, m.c. On dharmadhyaakṣa and upapatti v. the chpt on religion in vol. IV.
10—3—4: Both Ke and St connect ārya with lēkas. Ārya is a predicate and a title; in Javanese the connection lēkas ārya: honourable conduct, is impossible. The Javanese for: honourable conduct would be: lēkasning (sang) ārya: conduct of the (honoured) Honourables.

Canto 11, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: çohhita.

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

11—1—3: Ke: yugala. Instead of nṛpatī, nṛpa is to be read, m.c.

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

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


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

---

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

12—1—2: Ke: Brahmanājādhika. Sira is used as a predicate before the title of an eminent spiritual lord. Dwīja is the title of a member of one of the four religious denominations: wīpā, rēṣī, śaiva, boddhā, v. the chpt on religion in vol. IV.

12—1—3: Both Ke and St think that Rāṅgkanadasi is a name, which is improbable. Prb interprets anawung sanghā as sangkapāni: a Brahmanical priest (Par. glossary), which is far-fetched. Kṛ draws attention to Nāḍhī in 64—3—3. Probably the right reading of the corrupt verse is: mukyang anawang sang kāki pāṅghkwing nāḍi. Nawung: to have a cock-fight, does not make sense in this verse. Nāwung (from sawang) means: to look intently at. KBNW sub sawang interprets ŋawung: to sacrifice, while being at home, to a deity who is at some distance, e.g. in a plantation. This proves that nāwung is a term of religious worship. Instead of kāka, kāki: old man, equivalent to Father, is read: in 64—4—1 the great age of the mpuṅku of Nāḍi is mentioned. Lastly, instead of the utterly meaningless rāṅgkan, pāṅghkwing is to be read. The Javanese characters r and ṛ are not dissimilar. Pāṅghkwing Nāḍi, i.e. mpuṅku īng Nāḍi, rendered as: Monsignor of Nāḍi, makes good sense in this verse.

12—1—4: Punggawas probably are distinguished serving-men, dis-
tant relations of the Royal family. By sagotra is meant: all people related to the Royal family by birth or by marriage, v. comm.

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

12—2—2: Ke: Çaci, Skt spelling.

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

Canto 12, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: utara, Skt spelling. Kr note: kuvuv āhalip, m.c.

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

12—3—3: Ke: narendra dhira and nity ōpatih, Skt spelling; Daha.

12—3—4: Ke: khyāting râṭ, Skt spelling.

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

12—4—2: Ke: aprabhu, Skt spelling.


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

Canto 12, stanza 5, verse 2: Ke: utama, Skt spelling; kâboddhan and acry âtātâ. Ke's wrong translations: Shiwaite and Buddhist temples have been corrected by St. On the relation between the Shiwaite and the Buddhist bishop v. comm.

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

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

Canto 12, stanza 6, verse 1: Ke: Tikta-çritphalânopama, Skt spel-
ling. The double comparison with the moon and the sun refers to the compounds of the King and of Wêngkêr-Daha. Ke's and St's translations, suggesting that one compound was compared with the moon and the sun at the same time, are to be discarded, v. comm.

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

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

12—6—4: Ke: mahañiha, m.c., v. comm.
CHAPTER 3 — TRIBUTARIES AND NEIGHBOURS OF MAJAPAHIT

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

Cantos 13—16, 15 stanzas.

Canto 13, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: pramuka.
13—1—4: Ke (p. 13): Tamihang.
Canto 13, stanza 2, verse 3: Kr note: lōwan, m.c.
13—2—4: Ke: Kuta Waringin, m.c.

Canto 14, stanza 1, verse 3: Kr note: Sawakā, m.c.
14—1—4: Ke: makapramuka ta(ng), m.c.
14—2—2: Ke: Lēngkasuka.
14—3—2: Kr note: Bāli.
14—3—3: Ke: makamuke, m.c.
Canto 14, stanza 4, verse 2: Ke: nikalun.
14—4—3: Ke: pramuka.
Canto 14, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: Makasar.
14—5—2: Ke: i(ng) Salaya, m.c. C: mukar with indistinct k (?)
Ke: Muar.
14—5—3: Ke: athawā.
14—5—4: aneka nūsa makes better sense than C's angeka nūsa.
Canto 15, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: Ḡṛ-narāpati.
15—1—2: Ke: Dhammanagarī
15—1—3: Ke: Marutma.

Canto 15, stanza 2, verse 1: Kr note: nūse, m.c. Ke: tanani kvir (mistake). C’s reading makes good sense. Prb’s emendation of Ke’s wrong reading restored the right reading of C.
15—2—2: Ke: Yakadharāṇi rakwekano, m.c.
15—2—3: Ke: samudrānanggun and Čakakālanyu, m.c., translated: “the Čākayear 4—1”. Kr note: “a mistake for 1—4”. C has the numbers 4—2—1, in Balinese script, written under the words; they make the date 124 Shāka, v. comm. Nanggun (from tanggun) refers to two men carrying together a heavy load that is suspended on a pole they hold at the ends, hence nanggun has the numerical value: two. Berg (R. p. 255) proposes to read: samudrānunnggang bhūmi Kēta, to be translated: an ocean (of warriors) lay upon the country of Kēta, supposed to represent the data 1174 Shāka, i.e. 1252 A.D. This emendation is superfluous and moreover very doubtful. The meaning of anunnggang (Berg’s superfluous emendation for nanggun) is: to ascend, to mount, and the name of the district is Kēta, with a t, v. gl. Kēta means: such, precisely; it draws attention to the preceding word, v. gl.

Canto 15, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke fails to translate rabdhā; its meaning: to begin, to get ready to do a thing, makes good sense in this verse. Dvāpa refers to large countries, continents; it marks an opposition to the nūsūpranāsa of 13—1—1 and the deśāntara of 15—1—1.
15—3—2: Prb proposes to read: sahūdhara, connecting it with the expression: soddhara haji found in an ancient charter and in the Ferry Charter of 1358 A.D. (line 2 of plate 8 recto). This seems forced. Pāhuḍana wījil is to be emended: bāhuwidha (correct Skt: bahuvidha) wījil, which makes good sense in this verse (cf. 40—4—2: sahāhana wījil).

Canto 16, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: bhujangga n-.
16—1—2: Ke: alaka. The meaning of jaga don is: to fix one’s eyes on a goal, which makes good sense in this verse. Ke’s translation is confusing.
16—1—4: Tampà nasara is the counterpart of tan swang alaka, both referring to the ecclesiastical officers. Erring Shiwaism (Ke's translation) is a metaphor that is inconceivable in Javanese.

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


16—2—3: Kr note: hinilahilan, m.c.

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

16—4—4: Ke translates wiku as: monk. On the question whether monasticism and celibacy flourished in Java v. the chapter on religion
in vol. IV. The best rendering of \textit{wiku} seems to be: ordained priest, 
because ordination (\textit{sangaskāra}, Skt: \textit{sanskāra}) of \textit{wikus} is often mentioned (e.g. in the Tantu Panggēlaran).

\textit{Canto 16, stanza 5, verse 1: Irika} refers to the preceding stanza.
\textit{16—5—2: Ke: kapwa.}
\textit{16—5—3: Ke: ṭuṭalangghana.}
\textit{16—5—4: Jaladhi} is the name of one of the \textit{pangalasan}-companies of 9—1—4. The demonstrative \textit{ikanang} refers to that place.
CHAPTER 4 — THE ROYAL PROGRESS OF 1359,
from Majapahit through the eastern districts of Java,
and back to Singasari.

Canto 17—38/3, 83½ stanza.

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

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

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

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

17—2—2: Ke: suka.
17—2—4: Ke: āstām.

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

17—3—2: Ke: mewewinug ng and mangiděri kaṇṭa. Ke's translation of
kuwuning bala: camps of troops, is a mistake, v. gl.

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

17—3—4: Ke: kūr udyaṇa and jinajahira. -ira certainly refers to
the King, not to the public in general (Ke's translation).
Canto 17, stanza 4, verse 2: Ke: Sīmu. Kr note: ingle Jalāgiri, m.c. 17—4—3: Kr note: ni sawung, m.c. Ke's translation: festive gatherings is a mistake; the verse refers to cockfights, v. comm.

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

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

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

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

Canto 17, stanza 7, verse 1: Ke: gaśānga and Bhādrā.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Canto 17, stanza 10, verse 1: Ke: tambe and winarṇa. Ke's translation of kūṭi: hermitage, seems too literary. Kūṭi is a term of the Buddhist clergy; probably it was a hall or a cloister, less important than a vihāra, a Buddhist monastery.

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

17—10—3: Ke: Ratnapangkaja, kūṭi Pangkaja.

17—10—4: Ke: Kusw-haṅar i sāmīpa.

Canto 17, stanza 11, verse 1: Kr note: ri Pañcaçāra, m.c. Ke: Kapulungan.
17—11—2: Ke: amēgil and Tira.

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

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

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


18—1—4: Ke: duḍw ang. In this and similar cases, at the beginning of sentences and verses, duḍu, originally meaning: different, is to be translated: setting aside. Since amēgēp does not make good sense the emendation amēgēk (from pēgēk: near) is preferable.

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

18—2—2: Ke: ika duḍu ring samantri samantri.

18—2—3: Ke: mantrimukyāpatih and prayālung.

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

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

18—3—2: Ke: ndan.
CHAPTER FOUR - THE ROYAL PROGRESS

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

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

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

Canto 18, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: prabhu sakačanirāsangkya.

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

18—4—3: Ke: ngunizweh Ľcvarī.

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

Canto 18, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: rinacana swarnāna raina.

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

18—5—3: Ke: kirīṇeng.


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

18—6—2: Ke: kow wy animpong, Sawungon and wandhuwargga.

18—6—4: Ke: dqātēng i and ring, m.c.

Canto 18, stanza 7, verse 1: Ke: mārgga kaywanya. Ke’s and Prb’s translation: situated at the border of the highway, is in contradiction with the preceding asimpar: out of the way. Kaparēk makes little sense in this verse; it is to be emended: mamarēk, v. comm. Prb links 18—7—1 up with 18—6—4; he identifies the out-of-the-way land with
Matañjung, which is improbable. The out-of-the-way lands are referred to by pratyekṣaṇa in 18—7—2.

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

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

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

18—8—2: Ke: kāmukan.

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

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

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

19—1—3: Prb’s reading: lēbuḥ nīkāgēnēti, and his translation of agēnēti: soft, fit well in this place.

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

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

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


19—2—4: Ke reads: andonđok, from andon: to stay, and đok: place, spot. Prb reads: andondon, “a frequentative of andon, meaning: to go for a walk” (better: to visit constantly, in order to perform some function). Probably andondok (and dinondok of 31—4—2, instead of the impossible đanondok) is to be connected with modern Jav. dodok:
a spy. It should be translated: to have a look at. Ke is right in explaining Trasungay from tras, ḍṇās: head and sungay: river. In Javanese parlance the head of a river is its source. But then in this place Trasungay and Capahan no doubt are names of places.

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

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

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

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


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


Canto 21, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: kahawain.

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

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

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

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

21—2—3: Kr note: lōwun, m.c.

21—2—4: Ke: udadhi, Skt spelling.
Canto 22, stanza 1, verse 2: Kr note: rata-rata, m.c. Prb reads: magēnēt inambah ing ratha, adding one short syllable after magēnēt, as the metre requires.
22—1—3: Ke: sarasija, Skt spelling, and paḍāśkar.
Canto 22, stanza 2, verse 1: masuravayan, modern Jav. srawan, means: to wave hands, which fits well in this place. The sea and the lake are represented as friendly neighbours.
22—2—3: Ke: Bajraṅga and cinarccakēn, m.c. Prb corrects Ke’s translation very aptly.
Canto 22, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: yateka.
22—3—2: the meaning of kṣaṇa in the Nāg. idiom seems to be: after some time, v. gl.
22—3—3: Ke: hinalintang; Prb: humalintang. It seems preferable to read: bhavisyati halintang, because only the formations halintang, hinalintang and khalintang are recorded in the Nāg., v. gl.
Canto 22, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: sakṣaṇa, Skt spelling.
22—4—2: Ke: namēnāmēṅg (by mistake) and anglēṅgōr. Prb’s reading anglēṅgōng is better.
22—4—3: Ke: sahniri (by mistake) and nawilāsa, because of Skt.
22—4—4: Ke translates karang: coral-polyps. No doubt Prb is right in translating: rocks.
Canto 22, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: rakawi.
22—5—2: Ke: anguttara and Tumbu.
22—5—3: Ke: anganty amēgil.
22—5—4: Ke: narendra and amogha. The usual meaning of (a)-mogha: thereupon, so, thus, makes good sense in this place, v. Zoetmulder, Āḍiparwa.

Canto 23, stanza 1, verse 2: Kr note: Paḍangan lawan Sēcang, m.c.
23—1—3: Ke: kkahawan.
23—1—4: Ke: anguttareng.
Canto 23, stanza 2, verse 2: Ke: prabhu sakṣaṇānlaku.
23—2—3: Ke: ḍatēṅg ta — ugsil, with note: one syllable short. Muusses (O.V. 1923, p. 36) reads: ḍatēṅg tan ongsil uvitan, which
seems unidiomatic. After DATōNG one expects RI(NG) or ING. Therefore in this place one should read: DATANG RI TANGSIL. TANGSIL is a likely name for a locality.

23–2–4: Ke translates: they came into a deep ravine. JURANG ḌAŁČN must be a geographical name. Deep is ADALČN, v. gl.

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

23–3–2: Ke: SADVĪNGANDNIG. PRB: DARYGAMĀRUPK.

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

---

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

24–1–1: PRB is right in reading: SAWRNANGLAITYANG.

24–1–2: Ke: warana; PARANA makes good sense. PRB fails to translate MAMāGIL ČĪGHRA LUNARIS.

24–1–3: Ke: PRĀPTĀ, M.C.

24–1–4: PRB: RABAD is modern JAV. GRĪBĒD, the noise of a marching crowd. The identification and the translation seem doubtful. Better reading: SURABHA (76–4–3 a Buddhist domain of that name is mentioned) SARABHASA NG WGWANG ANGING.

**Canto 24, stanza 2, verse 1:** This is the only place in the NĀG. where the original JAV. word for sun: NGWAI, is used. MANDA is rendered: bad sight.

24–2–2: Ke: RI SADVĪNGNYĀNDL. CANDYAN (from CANDI, monument) is the name of a place. ANDL is related to modern JAV. DĀDĀL: to have difficulty in getting through an opening.

24–2–3: Ke: NGUṬTARA, M.C.


---

**Canto 25, stanza 1, verse 1:** Ke: TANNGEH and ADULUR, M.C.

25–1–2: Ke: ĀPUPUL, M.C.

25–1–3: PRB thinks that TĀLĀKRĒP is a name.

25–1–4: Ke fails to translate IRĪKA. PAKUWWAN might be a name.

**Canto 25, stanza 2, verse 1:** KR note: AMAṉCANA GAROMUNGGW, M.C.

AMAṉCANA GAR is a chancery term, v. comm.

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

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

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

Canto 26, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: mukhyādhipatī and sangng, m.c.
26—1—3: Ke: pāda and tuṣṭa. Hatur-hatur is a chancery term: a present as homage.

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

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

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

26—2—4: Ke notes: the verse is two syllables short. Prb's reading: yekā kirti seems plausible. The scribe's omission was caused by the
preceding ryyak and the following kirti: three k’s. On the meaning of kirti v. comm. The usual meaning of towi: also, too, makes good sense in this verse. Pasenaha is a chancery term, v. comm. It is a corruption of Skt sanmaha: bond, link.

Canto 27, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: tikṣya, Skt spelling.
27—1—2: Ke: sākṣat dewata-dewati, m.c. and Skt spelling.
27—1—3: Ke: Apsara’n, Skt spelling.
27—1—4: Ke: kleça hidepnikang and tibra, Skt spelling. The usual meaning of kawengan: marveling, makes good sense in this verse.
Canto 27, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: narendraskasakan; Kr note corrects: narendra kasukan, m.c.
27—2—3: Ke: bábīyayan kārakētan and umalat (a mistake). Rakīt and ċrama are names of dances and games, v. comm.

Canto 28, stanza 1, verse 3: Ke: ri Balambangan andēlan. Prb takes Andēlan for a name; probably he is right.
28—1—4: Ke: sa-Yavakṣiti, Skt spelling, and apupul.
28—2—1: Masirāśiran is a derivation of śira(n); it is to be rendered: trying to outdo each other.
28—2—3: Ke: wastra and asusun; hasusun is a mistake of a scribe who did not mind his k’s; v. note on hupapatti, 25—2—3.
Canto 28, stanza 3, verse 2: Dadar is a Court term for a present (textile), v. comm.
28—3—3: Ke: parakawī sinungan. Mīlu, to join, to take part in, is to be connected with the following verb, in this case: sinungan. Parakawi refers i.c. to the poet Prapaṇca; the same in 98—1—1, v. note on 7—3—2.
28—3—4: Ke: tuṣṭa tīkang paramajana ngalēm. C’s reading makes good sense, only kang is to be intercalated.

Canto 29, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: siwuhēn.
29—1—3: Ke: asahing. Prb’s reading, following C: asih, makes good sense. Ing diuīr makes better sense than angdiuīr.
29—1—4: Ke: āmulyani. The usual meanings of mulyani: to appraise, kirti: praiseworthy, valuable work, and tēṅgōt; to keep, to
put into keeping, make good sense in this verse. Prb’s translation of *tinumbas* (bought): he died, is most unusual.

*Canto 29, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *cittanghvi rasika‘n* and *mahasahas*. 29—2—2: *Nyāma* means: in order to. Ke’s translation: for, because, is a mistake.

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

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


---


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

*Canto 30, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *mantri Kēṭa paḍo marēk ḍayam*. Kr note: *paḍa marēk nayyam*. Probably the original reading is: *paḍa marēk nāmya sājñā*. Kwehning at the beginning of a sentence is to be rendered: how many . . . ! 30—2—2: Ke: *Wiraprāṇādhi nika*; Kr note: *sang Caiva*, m.c. 30—2—3: Ke: *sēk*.

---

*Canto 31, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *Kēṭa*, with note: the following caesura makes the a metrically long. A simpler explanation of the long a is to assume that the next word is *amōēh*, v. gl. 31—1—2: Ke: *ika kāhawon*. 31—1—4: Ke: *Gēbang Kṛpiṅśām*. Prb’s reading: *Gēbang Kṛpē,*
Gēlam is probably right. The usual meaning of kāryya, modern Jav.
gawe: ceremony, fits well in this place.

Canto 31, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: apagēh.
31—2—2: C does not contain any indication that the deceased was
a woman. Perhaps Ke is right, though, in translating the verse in that
sense, v. comm.
31—2—3: Ke: adhika. The usual meaning and construction of
nimitta: motive, make good sense in this place. Kāryya haji, without
ning between the words is a compound, rendered: Royal ceremony.
31—2—4: Kr note: ing, m.c. Prasiddha in the Nāg. is an officiating
priest, a celebrant, v. gl.

Canto 31, stanza 3, verse 1: Wīḍi-wīḍāna are offerings, v. comm.
31—3—2: Upabhoga-bhajana are cloths and food, v. comm.
The reading: magirang: in high spirits, seems the best. It fits in with
the sense of the following verse. Amātya is not to be identified with
patih, as both Ke and Prb do. Amātyagaya and sāmyasangghya are
opposites. Amātya refers to the upper class of society, sāmya to the
lower class.

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

Canto 31, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: Narendra and seṣṭa, m.c.
31—4—2: Ke: dhanondok, with note: corrupt. On ndondok v. note
on 19—2—4.
31—4—4: Ke: kanyānulus, Skt spelling. Probably in this verse ulih
means: prize brought home from an expedition, cf. modern Jav. oleh-
oleh.

Canto 31, stanza 5, verse 2: Ke: Kēbwan-agēŋ and Kāmbang-
rawī.
31—5—3: Ke: gohahalēp.
31—5—4: Ke: amagaha nareçware and Nālādhika, m.c. Nāla is
the name, adhika is an epithet.

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

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

31—6—4: Ke: anuntēn.

Canto 32, stanza 1, verse 2: Makumutu-kumutu is to be rendered: have a bivouac. Kumutu is: manor.

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

32—1—4: Ke: paḍa kasukan, m.c.

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

32—2—2: Ke translates paḥalānyan: mine, thinking of Malay pĕnggalian: digging or quarry. No doubt Prb is right in connecting paka-lyan with kali, river, v. comm.

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

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

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

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

32—3—2: Ke: lalita, m.c. Lulwi is rendered: reckless. Probably the word is related to tulwi, tuluy, modern Jav. tuli, original meaning:
through, thorough. Lalu: passing, excessive, is to be read instead of lala, which does not make sense. Ke's translation of lala: merry, founded on Skt lalati: to play, is to be discarded. Menēk (from indē) perhaps is to be rendered: pensive; its meaning is not quite clear.

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


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

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

32–4–3: Ke: parāb, m.c.

32–4–4: Ke: sinamarsamar, m.c. Ke suggests that paṅkākṣara refers to the name Prapaṅka. Prb's explanation is better, v. comm.

Canto 32, stanza 5, verse 1: Bwat-rantēn, bot-rawi is to be rendered: constructed pond, tank. Prb is right in translating paṭiga by: balustrade, parapet, v. 8–2–2. On inasabn v. comm.

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

32–5–3: Ke: andung karawira and mēnār caracaranya. Kr note corrects: andwag karawira in accordance with C.

32–5–4: Ke: awwaḥ i ṭadūnaya n.-

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


32–6–4: Ke: Čiwapada. Ke translates miḥat: looking at. Miḥat in this verse is: excellent; probably it is related to modern Jav. miyatanī: effective, potent. Bangun: shape, and ěwir: aspect, might be rendered: like, resembling, as if, in several places in the Nāg. In the present edition it is thought preferable to translate those words literally, though.
Canto 33, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: mahas ring agrama, m.c.
33—1—2: Ke translates sang maharsi mapalinggih: the sitting Maharsi. Maharsi is the title of the Head of the hermitage or friary, rendered: prior, and mapalinggih, occupying the see, is an epithet.
33—1—3: Asung, to present, is used intentionally instead of hatur, ceremonial offering to a superior, because the King was no more than a guest at the friary, v. comm.
33—1—4: Ke: kasukan.

Canto 33, stanza 2, verse 1: Kr note: gumunitang, m.c. Gumunite is better, because it contains an indication (i) of the following object.
33—2—3: Ke: acangkramalaeng asing kalangon. Kr note corrects: kalangon in accordance with C. Both forms are found in the Nag., v. gl.
33—2—4: Ke: kawångan.

Canto 33, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: sutapan.
33—3—2: Ke: hēlahēla, m.c.
33—3—3: Ke: pada, m.c.
33—3—4: Ke: mamañcana and akung. Mamañcana is a good reading, v. KBNW.

Canto 34, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: narendra and sāksēka ng agramoruk, m.c.
34—1—2: Ke: pringnyakusangīh. C: abēn makes good sense, it is modern Jav. abūk: swollen.
34—1—4: Ke: angluh, m.c.

Canto 34, stanza 2, verse 1: Prb: asrēg. Asrēt, modern Jav. sërēt, stiff(ly), rough(ly) (working), in this case: jolting, fits well in this verse.
34—2—2: Ke: kamārgga, Skt spelling.

Canto 34, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: amañcana gari, m.c.
34—3—2: Ke: para, m.c.
34—3—3: Ke: kapwāhatur, m.c.
34—3—4: Ke: fails to translate nāma; the original meaning of nāma: name, makes good sense in this verse, v. comm.

Canto 34, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke translates: rather long. The usual meaning of ardha is: very.
34—4—2: Sakwus-kwuwu in this verse refers to a plurality of kuwuws (manors), not to a plurality of kwu-wkuwu (camps), as Ke trans-
lated it. The meaning of lolya (lawlyoa) seems to be: absorption.
34—4—4: Ke: bāny, corrected by Kr note: ngāny.

Canto 35, stanza 1, verse 2: Ke translates dhamārga: highway. Probably it was a road over a dyke where the carts could proceed only one after another. In Sundanese dörmaga is a dam or dyke.
35—1—3: Ke: Kēfung-pēluk, Kr note: nikanang, m.c.
35—1—4: Ke translates rājadharma: Royal residence. The usual meaning of dharma: religious domain, makes good sense in this verse.
Canto 35, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: kunang. In the Nāg. kunang is often used at the beginning of a sentence, meaning: concerning, as to; kunāng as a rule is used as an enclitic particle after a word, meaning: indeed, v. gl. Ke’s mistake in translating kulwan was corrected by Krom, note.
35—2—2: Kr note: ri ḫarbaru, m.c. Ke: bhūḥ, Skt spelling, and pradege Hujung, m.c.
35—2—3: Ke: sthāpaka. Berg (R. p. 265) suggests that the angga punpunan are not lands but manuscripts. The meaning of angga is clear, v. gl.
35—2—4: Berg translates: among the manuscripts that were shown (by a connoisseur?) was a fine specimen. Skt rasika, translated connoisseur, is nowhere found in Javanese texts. On the Jav. rasika v. gl. “Fine specimen” is not a correct translation of supraçāsti.
Canto 35, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: ikang i lēpit, translated: what was in the folded leaves. A folded leaf would be: lēpitan. Prb is right in taking Hēpit for the name of one of the possessions of the cloister. Probably Hāpit (meaning: situated between two others) was the original name of the locality. Berg thinks yathāswa does not make sense; he reads yathārtha. On swa as a noun v. gl. and KBNW, and on Berg’s translation v. comm. Uhlenbeck-Teeuw’s emendation yathālwa seems unnecessary, v. comm. Yathāswa saribak-wukirnya wīsayaṅga looks like a quotation from the charter.
35—3—2: Kr note: sawah ikang Balunghura, m.c. Ikeng is a better reading. Ke, Prb and Berg translate: partly in Markaman; Uhlenbeck-Teeuw: the other half in Markaman. The usual meaning of satēngak: one half of a whole, makes good sense in this verse.
35–3–4: Ke: purākṛta. Neither Ke nor Prb recognized Skt purākṛta: work done in former times, i.e.: merit acquired in a former incarnation. The usual meaning of daridra: indigent, makes good sense in this verse. Berg (R. p. 157) translates: but not having done (enough good) works in a former incarnation he did not have the good fortune to be able to retire into a monastery, and that monastery: Šarbaru. The latter part of Berg’s translation is arbitrary. Uhlenbeck-Teeuw’s translation: he would have made for the kuṭi, is founded on the false supposition that Prapaśca was a powerful bishop at the time he wrote the Nāg., v. comm.


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

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

35–4–4: Ke: Kēzung-Biru ri kasurāngganān, m.c. and Skt spelling.

---

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


36–1–4: Ke and Prb: paḍa magarjīta ng wuwa. Paḍaha, drum, fits well in this place, v. gl. Wawān is a carrier, bearer or platter for sacred objects; it is often mentioned.

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

36–2–2: Ke: Čaiwa. Ke: nāligh, with note: corrupt, one syllable too much. Kr (note) thought that nāligh contains the name Nāla. Prb’s emendation: sang āryya linggih i hiring no doubt is right. Prb’s translation putting the common wihus on a par with the āryas is wrong, though. Just as elsewhere there was only one ārya, v. comm. Here
(iki) draws attention to the special circumstances in Kagêntangan, v. comm.

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

Canto 37, stanza 1, verse 2: Ke: dwârâtiçobhita samekale, m.c., and nîkâparîmita. On mekâla and yawa v. comm.

37—1—3: Timumpa-tumpa means: terraced, v. gl. Ri têpi: at the sides, refers to the buildings (yâça), as distinct from the temple-tower (prâsâda) in the centre.

37—1—4: Ke reads instead of nâhikusuma: nágakusuma, i.e. Michelia champaka, nagasari. Prb’s emendation ahikusuma is metrically impossible.

Canto 37, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: prâsâda, Skt spelling, and i têngah asmu, m.c.

37—2—2: Ke: Shîwa’s abode is not on mount Meru but on mount Kailâsa. The usual meaning in the Nâg. idiom of pratiṣṭa: divine abode, statue, fits well in this verse.

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

37—2—4: Ke: kinabhaktyan inâ sauhuvana, m.c.

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

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

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

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

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

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

37—4—3: Kr note: ikanang, m.c.

37—4—4: Ke: natarânya and dukutên, corrected by Kr: sukêtên. Dukut is a good reading, v. gl.

Canto 37, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: angranuki, corrected by Kr:
anranēhi. Probably cawiri, cawintēn is the name of some tree or plant, cf camarā.


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

37—5—4: Ke: tanaryy akusikan.

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

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

37—6—4: Ke: aṭpadā, Skt spelling, and Ṇ ing manēmu, m.c., corrected by Kr note: lanāvēlas manēmu.

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

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

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

38—1—2: Ke: rinacana.

38—1—3: Ke: ika len kusuma.

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

38—2—2: Ke: arkka.

38—2—3: Ke: ahijo, m.c.

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

Canto 38, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke fails to translate yaya: yet.
CHAPTER 5 — NOTES ON THE KINGS OF THE HOUSE OF RAJASA,
from 1182 till 1343, and on their religious domains.

Cantos 38/3—49, 47½ stanzas.

Canto 38, stanza 3, verse 3: Ke: rakawi ywa, m.c.
38—3—4: Ke: ring. Prb’s emendation: gotra saphala dunungën makes good sense. Tuswi, rendered: too, refers to the preceding word, not to the following one, v. gl. The usual meaning of gotra: family, fits well in this verse.

Canto 38, stanza 4, verse 1: Kr note: ing çaçi, m.c. Ke: sahasra, Skt spelling.
38—4—3: Ke: angkadhara panagara, m.c., which does not make sense, neither does Prb’s emendation: anggakara panasara. Perhaps the best reading is: tan angga cara panasara, v. gl. sasar.
38—4—4: Ke: kasaṭpadanira. Kr note: kyati rikang mpu huttama. As huttama instead of uttama is unusual in the Nāg., kyati pu Mongguh uttama probably is the best reading. Maoḍpada as a clergyman’s epithet (derived from Skt ṣaḍpada: bee) is rendered: diligent.

Canto 38, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: kalanggama ywa si walatmira. The usual meaning of wulat, modern Jav. ulat: expression of the face, makes good sense in this verse.
38—5—2: Ke: haji.
38—5—3: Ke: ağrayān, Skt spelling.
38—5—4: Ke: aparāna ta. Pasāgāh is a chancery term: food to be offered as regalement by country gentlemen to Court officers, representing Royal authority. It is an acknowledgment of the poet’s Court rank.

Canto 38, stanza 6, verse 1: Ke: ndon and tuhatuha.
38–6–2: Ke: paṭa dhinaruma, m.c.
38–6–3: Ke: mukya, Skt spelling.
38–6–4: Ke: pūrụwakaṭā nirān Giripatiṣvarasuta.

Canto 39, stanza 1, verse 1: Neither Ke nor Prb noticed that Mung-
guh is the name of the abbey, v. gl.
39–1–4: Ke emends: kaçāstraṇān.
Canto 39, stanza 2, verse 2: Ke: swacitta, Skt spelling.
Canto 39, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: kawindrān rumēngō. The future
tense rumēnguwa makes good sense in this verse.
39–3–2: Ke: sugyaṇ and mithyā, Skt spelling. Instead of wuṇg
rēngō, which does not make sense, pangṛēngō is to be read, as in
49–7–2; it may be rendered: oral tradition.
39–3–3: Kr note: sang jana, m.c. Prb’s emendation: jūṇa sang
wṛḍḍa makes better sense.
39–3–4: Ke: nyāna sugyādhikā, m.c.

Canto 40, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: yuddhaikavtra, Skt spelling.
40–1–2: Ke: sākṣāt devātmakāyoniya and Girindra, Skt spelling.
40–1–3: Ke: kaptvārēs.
40–1–4: Ke: Čṛi-Ranggah and sūrātidakṣa, Skt spelling.
Canto 40, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: pārũwata Kawi.
40–2–2: The usual meanings of angghēḥ: fixed relation, legal state;
of kruṇ: manor; and of inādhēḥ: vanquished, a dependency, make good
sense in this verse. Ke’s translation of inādhēḥ wuṇg: pressed by
people, is unidiomatic. In the Nāg. idiom the author of an action is as
a rule indicated either by the particle ing or by tēkāp, placed after the
verb in the passive voice.
Canto 40, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke emends: narendraṅ.
40–3–2: Tattwopadeṣa is the name of a Shiwaite doctrine, v.
comm.
40–3–3: Ke: anusup pājar, re-emended by Kr note: anusup ing
pājar, m.c. Pārṣvaṇāṇya looks like a name (Lonely Side).
40–3–4: mukya ng refers to the following word, as usual, v. gl.
Canto 40, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: girigirin.
40–4–2: Ke: pasewa.
40–4–3: Ke emends: samasamanēkanāthātiṣṭakta.
40—4—4: Ke: mwang and sukeng rät. Instead of kusu juru, juru kusu is to be read, v. comm.
Canto 40, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: wiwbawa, m.c.
40—5—2: Kr note: Yavadharani, m.c. Ke: jöng niräs chaatra ning rät, Skt spelling.
40—5—4: Ke: dhinarma. Prb’s suggestion that Usänä is the name of the domain (dharma) is improbable. The usual meaning of ing usänä: in olden times, fits well in this verse.

Canto 41, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: siniwi.
41—1—2: Ke: rat, m.c.
41—1—3: Ke: Çakäbda and Girindrabhawana, Skt spelling. Ke identifies tilaka: mark, especially on the forehead, with bindu: dot, as a number: nought.
41—2—2: Ke: Narasingha, m.c.
41—2—3: Ke: sirängphilangakën and mätī çtrya sahana.
41—2—4: Ke: paränmuka and sakala.
Canto 41, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: Wisṇu ngabhisika.
41—3—2: Ke: samasta parasāmya, m.c.
41—3—3: Ke: prakācita; Kr note: prakaçita, m.c.
41—3—4: Ke: Narasinghamūrtti and surapada, m.c.
Canto 41, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: Çakäbda kanawihvanikṣiti, m.c. and Surālaya, Skt spelling.
41—4—2: Ke: Çiwaimbba len Sugataiwimba munggw i Jajaghu.
41—4—3: Ke: Narasinghamūrtti and surapada, m.c.
41—4—4: Ke: uttama, Skt spelling.
Canto 41, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: kathâkêna mwäh narendra Kräna nögaröngphilangakën, Skt spelling.
41—5—2: Kr note: rikanang, m.c. Ke: Çakäbda bhujagoçācikṣaya.
41—5—3: Ke: Malayu.
41—5—4: Ke: rika dewamùrttinira. Prb’s reading: ri kadayamùrttinira makes better sense. Mara, meaning: going, to go, is used as a
particle, i.a. to emphasize the preceding word. In modern Jav. tēka, meaning: coming, to come, can have a similar function. Ngūni, before, is to be rendered in this verse: before that time. Kālahan means: demise. Defeat is kālah, v. gl.

Canto 42, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: Çakābda and amāti, m.c.
42—1—2: Kr note: nika, m.c. For pīnalēh v. gl. alēh, related to modern Jav. lumuh: to loathe.
42—1—3: Ke: anggawiyatarkka. Kr note: motusan i tanah i Bālī, m.c.
42—1—4: Ke: narendra, m.c.
Canto 42, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: samangkana tikang.
Canto 42, stanza 3, verse 2: Ke: Kali. The usual meanings of āpan: for (causal), of tētēś: accurate, clear-sighted, and of nimittaniran: His motive to..., was..., fit well in this stanza. "Therefore, for that reason" (Ke's and Prb's translation of nimittaniran) is rendered in the Nāg. idiom by: (nā) hetunya, v. gl. Very often the Nāg. stanza of four verses is to be divided into two halves of two verses each, containing in one verse an initial sentence and in the next one the final principal sentence (unless, of course, each verse makes a complete sentence of its own, which is the case in the majority of Nāg. stanzas).

Canto 43, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: rikang and prabhu.
43—1—2: Ke: Çakābda and dīwaça ny antuk, m.c. In the chronogram gogendutri ga stands for aga: mountain.
43—1—4: Ke: śaḍabhijñadhāraka and prabhu. The usual meanings of dhāraka: to stand firm, and of dewaprabhu: divine King, fit well in this verse. On Śaḍabhijñā v. comm.
Canto 43, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: narendra and Çri-Çākyasinghāstiti.
43—2—2: Ke: paṅcaçīla kṛtasangskārabhiṣekakrama. The usual meaning of kṛtasangskāra: having observed the ceremonies, makes good sense in this verse.
43—2—3: Ke: Jñābhiṣekanira and Jñānabajreçwara, Skt spelling.
43—2—4: Ke: tarkka and Çrinātha.
43—3—2: Ke: Subhūti, Skt spelling, and hāti.
43—3—3: Ke’s rendering of sthiti by: wellfare is incorrect; it should be rendered: order, orderliness.

43—3—4: Ke: ēstām tang gaṇyāsatra nitya madulur ddānenīvō ring praį. Ke translates gaṇyāsatra: hospitals for religious persons, which is improbable. No doubt Prb is right in considering C’s original gaṇa-cakra as a technical term of Tantrism, v. comm. The usual meaning of nitya madulur: always successively, fits well in this verse.

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

43—4—2: Kr note: nipuu, Skt spelling.

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

43—4—4: Ke: paṇḍālaikacatra dwaprabhu, Skt spelling.

Canto 43, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: Čakābdhijanāryyama and Jīnendrālaya, Skt spelling.

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

43—5—3: Ke: kalahan.

43—5—4: Ke: halēpyottama.

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

43—6—2: Ke: Arddhanareçwari.

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

43—6—4: Ke: Wairocana.

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

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


Canto 44, stanza 2, verse 2: Ke: Jayasabha ng-anggantyana. As the metre requires the last ō of Jayasabha to be metrically long Ke again
brings forward the caesura to make it so. By reading Jayasabhāṅg, i.e. Jayasabha ang the difficulty is solved in a simpler way. For ang (the article) v. gl.

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

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

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

44—3—3: Ke: wipatha.

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

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

44—4—2: Ke: mogha.

44—4—3: Ke: manitw anggēhnīra.

44—4—4: Ke: ārdha mwang mwang Tatar. Sārdham is good Skt.

Canto 45, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: alilang, m.c.

45—1—2: Ke: masarūparavi Cākābāda.

45—1—3: Ke: siniweng and anurāga.

Canto 45, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: siniwi.


45—2—3: Ke: payugalan.

45—2—4: Ke: surawadhī, Skt spelling. Ke intercalates in his translation an unnecessary “beautiful”.

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

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

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

46—1—4: Paramesvarī, Mahādevī, Jayendrādevī and Rājapātnī are titles and names of functions.

Canto 46, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: ārdhāparāṭī.

46—2—3: Ke: Narasinghamūrti awēka; Ke’s mistake in making
Lêmbu Tal a Princess has been corrected by Prb (O.V. 1915, p. 1). Suprâma is a masculine epithet.
46—2—4: Ke: Bodhâpratistâpâgîh.

---

Canto 47, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: narendra.
47—1—2: Ke: nâ, m.c.
47—1—3: Ke: saïkacitta. The usual meanings of nâ: such, thus, of don: aim, purpose, and of rîsîp: pleasure, make good sense in these verses.

Canto 47, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: narendra varuñan.
47—2—2: Ke: mastvâkên. Kr and Prb are right in making King Kêrtarâjasa the grammatical subject of mastvâkên. On ñdrenswart v. comm.

47—3—2: Ke: pinratiṣṭa.

---

Canto 48, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: narendra, prabhû and nagarî, m.c.
48—1—3: Ke: surawadhâ, Skt spelling.
48—1—4: Kr note: sirân, m.c.

Canto 48, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: Çâkâkâla, pakṣa and caritañ. Ke translates: in the Çâka-year 1238, with note: mukti, release, is synonymous with wimokṣa. In Buddhism the number of wimokṣas is eight.
48—2—2: Ke: prabhû n, m.c.
48—2—3: Ke: Nambi. According to the Pênanggungan charter (Inscriptions N.I. 1940, p. 37) the name was Tambî. Kr note: ring, m.c.
48—2—4: Ke: kaïprawîranîra sang narendra sînîwî, m.c.

Canto 48, stanza 3, verse 2: Ke: Wînna wiimbha, Skt spelling.
48—3—4: Ke: Suka-Nlîa and Sugata wiimbha, Skt spelling.

---

Canto 49, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: Çâkâbdendu, m.c.
49—1—2: Ke: Jwana and narendra, Skt spelling.
49—1—3: Ke: gumantriṅkang Tiktomālîra râjîi, m.c.
49—2—2: Ke: manggalya and wiçeṣa, Skt spelling. Prb’s translation of manggalya: bringing fortune, is right.
49—2—3: Ke: rājīt, Skt spelling.
49—2—4: Kr note: runakṣṇa. Runakṣṇa kāryya means: to mind the customary ceremonies. Kr note remarks that the Rājapati is the grammatical subject of angratwakēn. The literal meaning of angratwakēn: to make Ratus, makes good sense in this verse.
Canto 49, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: aghnīswari, with note: ari stands for hari.
49—3—3: Kr note: jagadraṃkṣaṇa. Tēvēk means: moment, time (of an event) and sumrah: to pass over.
49—3—4: Ke: mantry aunāma Madātyanta wijña, Skt spelling.
Canto 49, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: ring Çakābdesu-māsākṣi-nābhi, Skt spelling.
49—4—2: Ke: duccila nīca, Skt spelling.
49—4—3: Ke: wināsa, m.c.
49—4—4: Ke: salvīr ing and wiçāta, mod. Jav. visata, which seems better than Kr’s emendation: wiçasta, translated: cut down.
Canto 49, stanza 5, verse 2: Ke: nirāṅgrēṣ.
49—5—4: The usual meaning of athawā, modern Jav. utawa: and also, makes good sense in this verse.
Canto 49, stanza 6, verse 1: Ke: wawang and narendra.
49—6—3: Ke: mawas and māryyānawēṣa. The usual meanings of awas; clear, and of pāpakarma: evil karma, i.e. sinfulness, fit well in this place.
49—6—4: Ke: mawas winācā.
Canto 49, stanza 8, verse 1: Ke: sakramānārjjawānling, m.c.
49—8—2: Ke: amvitānoliheking.
49—8—3: Ke: rātri, m.c. Kr note: ring pakuwonan, m.c. Ke’s translation neglects rātri.
49—8—4: Kr note: Čṛt narendra, m.c.
CHAPTER 6 — THE ROYAL CHASE
IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF SINGASARI

Cantos 50—54, 25 stanzas.

Canto 50, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: mahās.
50—1—3: Ke: Nandanañavana (Indra's pleasure-ground), with note: C has Nandakawana, a mistake.
50—1—4: As a rule the Skt comparative degree in -tara was understood as a superlative in Old Javanese literature, v. KBNW, Balinese glosses. Kayon is rendered: growth, for the hunting-ground was not a dense jungle, v. comm.

50—2—2: Ke note: rangkōt is modern Jav. rēngkēt, also rēngkēd, rungkud. Kr note: marangkōt, m.c.
50—2—4: Ke: kegu.

Canto 50, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: matunwatunvan.
50—3—2: Ke: pasurak.
50—3—3: Ke: nikā, a mistake.
50—3—4: Ke: sākṣat Kāṇḍawwana, Skt spelling, and ngūni.

Canto 50, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke translates tonton: one saw. Nonton does not mean: to see, but: to look at. Tonton is a so-called passive imperative or gerundive, like modern Jav. kon: to be commanded to do a thing. Tonton is to be rendered: to be observed, or: look at! Datan wēri rātnya is a standard expression; wēri = wruh i(ng).
50—4—3: Kr note: āpan, m.c. The usual meaning of āpan: for (reason) makes good sense in this verse. Ke's reading minggata abalabar is unidiomatic; balabar is the usual form, cf 50—2—1. Therefore the right reading is: minggata balabar, v. comm.

Canto 50, stanza 5, verses 1 and 2: Gobraja: corral, and turṣabha-pura: bull's compound, fit well in these verses. Ke's opinion that mythological places are meant is not right.
50—5—3: Ke translates cihna by: hare, with note: Skt  çaça, hare, is the mark, cihna, in the moon: çaçāṅka or çaçīn. As neither hares nor rabbits are frequent in East-Java probably the chevrrotin (Jav. kaïcil, Malay pêlanduk) is meant. On 50—5—4, guṇḍaka v. comm.

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

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

Canto 51, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: mrgendrādhipa.

51—1—2: Ke has a note on toh; it is often to be rendered: well then. Quotations from the poems Sutasoma (folio 94b): toh ndy anung niti, Smaradahana: toh ndy ang duhka sakeriya, Bhāratayuddha (33—4): toh ndyānun naya ng enake kita, Bhomakāwya: toh, rahryan opati, ta paran (probably better reading: opatih aparān) tīkāngulaha ningwang amawo bhunwana. Ke translates also: come now!, quoting: Bhomakāwya (110—12): prabhū toh haywa sandeha, Rāmāyaṇa (5—7): yata walāsēnta, toh kirakiran pējahanaya huwun. Another translation of Kern’s is: please, or: please, tell me; quotations: Arjunawiwāha (stanza 149): ibu, toh, rumuhuna kita, and (stanza 176): indung, toh, syapa ta kitiā māsku.

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

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

51—2—2: Ke: wawang.

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

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

51—3—2: Ke: wiṭaha.

51—3—3: Ke: kunēng.

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

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

51—4—2: Ke: durjjanānunang dēlōn. Prb’s translation is better than
Ke's. *Anung dëlön* may be translated literally: the thing that is to be observed.

51—4—3: Ke: *mangëwa kunëng*. Neither Ke nor Prb saw that *wâhya*: exoteric, materialistic, worldly, has for opposite the spiritual considerations of stanzas 5 and 6.


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

51—5—2: Angirlingana is the subjunctive mood belonging to angirlingi. Angirlingi, modern Jav. *ngeringi*, means: to show respect. To accompany (Ke's translation) is angirling, v. gl.

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

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

51—6—2: Ke: *wîçeśaprabhu*.

51—6—3: Ke: *awâs* and *pëjahâ*.

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

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

---

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

52—1—2: Ke: *yan humarëk*. Prb reads: *anghañayan*, modern Jav. *açeyan*: to trot. As the *h* of *humarëk* is out of place and to trot does not make good sense probably the verse is corrupt. The reading *anghañangâ n* (i.e. *anghañanga an*) *umarëk* seems the best. *Umarëk*
has the usual Court meaning: to enter into the Presence of Royalty. It refers to 51–7–3, 4: the advice to seek death by the King’s hands in order to be released from reincarnation in animal shape.

_Canto 52, stanza 2, verse 1:_ Kr note: _tucapa ng_, m.c. _Mamawaswa_ means: bringing horses, not: on horseback (Ke’s translation). Probably _mamawasu_: bringing dogs, is the better reading. The dogs are mentioned in 52–4–1.

52–2–2: The usual meaning of _manuj_: to aim at, fits well in this verse.

52–2–4: Ke: _tatanpabisa_. Ke in his translation neglects _riniobut_.

_Canto 52, stanza 3, verse 1:_ Ke: _karungnya_.

52–3–3: Ke: _amisah_. Instead of C’s _ampah_, _amr_ (i.e. _amër_ from _vër_ is to be read. The difference in Javanese script between _pa_ and _r_ is slight.

52–3–4: Ke: _paqa_, m.c.

_Canto 52, stanza 4, verse 1:_ Ke: _çwa n-amamuk iniratnya_. Prb: _çwana mamuk_. Kr note: _ikanang çwa n amuk kinirat or hinirat_, m.c. Perhaps the best reading is: _ikang asw an amuk kinërëtnya_. _Çwana_, dog, does not fit in the metre. _Irat_ or _kira_ is not mentioned in KBNW, whereas _kërët_ is.

52–4–3: Ke: _anglwangi_.

_Canto 53, stanza 1, verse 2:_ Ke: _winangswan_, with note: perhaps the right reading is _winangswahan_. _Winangswan an_ is a possible reading too. Ke: _ginayur ing gayor_.

53–1–3: Ke: _angëbék_. _Angëk_: KBNW s.v. _lek_: _alëk_: disgusted (?) is proposed as an emendation.

53–1–4: Ke’s reading _aninga_ instead of _anibā_ is a mistake.

_Canto 53, stanza 2, verse 2:_ Ke: _kimuta_.


_Canto 53, stanza 3, verse 2:_ Ke: _kaburayut_.


53–3–4: The usual meaning of _mrepëki_: to approach, makes good sense in this verse.

_Canto 53, stanza 4, verse 1:_ Ke: _paramantray and wahanâsrang_.

53–4–2: Ke: _amanđèm_.

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

53—4—4: Ke: *kṛṇa* *kṛṇa*, a mistake. For *īnva* Ke refers to modern Jav. *nguyahnya*.


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

---

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

54—1—2: Ke: *pathya*.

54—1—3: Ke: *mungsi*.

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

*Canto 54, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *kṛṣṇasūra* and *ciṅnādinya*. The usual meaning of *adhina*, i.e. *adhina*: the most excellent of them, fits well in this verse.

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

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

54—2—4: Ke: *tanḍagap*.

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

54—3—2: Ke: *hetunya*.

54—3—3: Ke: *bhujanggomarēk*. 
CHAPTER 7 — THE RETURN
FROM THE ROYAL PROGRESS OF 1359,
from Singasari to Majapahit.

Canto 55—60, 25 stanzas.

Canto 55, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: jēnēk.
55—1—3: Ke: ripukula, Skt spelling.
55—1—4: Ke: tatan.
Canto 55, stanza 2, verse 1: Kr note: swanagara, m.c.
55—2—2: Ke: mutah Talijungan.
55—2—4: Ke: Dada Mārgga Ronlang i pagēr Talaga pahaṅangan tēkēka. Prb’s reading: Dadamar Garantang i Pagēr-Talaga Pahaṅangan is more likely.
Canto 55, stanza 3, verse 1: Prb’s separating Tambak and Rabut-Wayuha seems right.
55—3—2: Ke: Bhāṇarāgiṇa and Padamayan, m.c. No doubt Prb is right in taking Bhāṇarāgi for the right form of the name.
55—3—3: Ke: Jajawar i; Kr note: Jajawa ri. Kumukus is a name; the word does not mean: spitting fire (Ke’s translation) but: smoking.

Canto 56, stanza 1, verse 2: Ke: prabhu, m.c. Ke’s translation of kirtti: monument, is not right, v. comm.
56—1—4: Ke: hetunyāṅgduwaya.
Canto 56, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: cihneng. C’s reading cihnang, i.e. cihn na ng, fits well in this verse.
56—2—3: Ke: tan hanolya nikā; Kr note: tan hanolyana nika, m.c.
Perhaps *tan* hanoly *aḥiṭ ika* is the best reading. The meaning of *aḥiṭ*: modern Jav. *aut*, is: narrow, small, with the connotations: trilling, hidden. *Pratimā* is a statuette, v. comm.

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

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

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

*57—1—3*: Ke: *sutaṭa, sucaṭa* and *grāwakāṁindita*, Skt spelling.

*57—1—4*: Ke: *maciryaṁ mahāpaṇḍita*.

*Canto 57, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *mahā* and *succha mēgīl*. Kr note: *succha*mēgīl, m.c. Ke: *ring sudharmma dalēm*, m.c.


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


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

*57—4—2*: Ke: *sucanīṭ*, m.c. Kr note: *bajraghaṣāง, m.c.*

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

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

*Canto 57, stanza 5, verse 2*: Ke: *bale nyāsa kapvudhika*. Bale nyāsa does not make sense. *Balesyaakak (i.e. açaka) pratidhika* is a more likely reading.
57—5—3: Ke: ri dalēm. Both Ke and Kr have noted the deficiency of three syllables. Inmpacāra çobhārjja sēk nāgapuspānēdēng seems a likely reading.

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

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

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

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

58—1—2: Ke: maṇḍē(ɡi), kalangēn umahas and wanadeça lēngōng.

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

58—1—4: Ke: inikēt.

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


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

Canto 58, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: nṛpati n-mārupal.

58—3—2: Ke: mukya.

58—3—3: Ke: nṛpati n-tanadoh.

58—3—4: Ke: kāpwa sadampati.

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

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

59—1—3: Ke: katēmu.

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

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

59—2—4: Ke: kimuta and arddha. Prb's translation of paṇḍarat by
pedestrian is unusual. Gawaya (Ke’s reading), wild cattle, bañteng, is improbable because those animals are untameable; surely they can not be led on a rope. The most likely reading is: kībo gaway apaṇḍarat, v. comm. Instead of marang, which does not make sense, pirang is to be read.

59—3—3: Kr note: nṛpati lasām and mangkat uwayne, m.c. Mangka muwayne is better.

Canto 59, stanza 4, verse 1: Kr note: ring Dahā nṛpati Wēṅkēr, m.c.
59—4—3: Ke: pēnuh.
59—4—4: Ke: sāyudha. Prb translates bhaṭa-maṇtri: head-mantris. Skt bhaṭa, warrior, makes good sense in this verse. But then, as bhaṭa is only found twice in the Nāg. perhaps the well-known bala should be read instead.

Canto 59, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: tāmbing.
59—5—2: Ke: ayō manganti, with note: stands for: ayēm manganti. C’s reading ayōm anganti is right.
59—5—4: Ke: i panaṃnika. C’s reading: i ghanasnika makes good sense.

Canto 59, stanza 6, verse 1: Ke: adōh.
59—6—2: Ke: makaburayut and rāṛāṭuṅhā.
59—6—3: The meaning of lirang: sugar-palm, according to KBNW, makes good sense in this verse.

Canto 59, stanza 7, verse 1: Ke: narendra. Ke’s translation of kala-ṣaṅgka: cymbals and clarions is to be corrected: trumpets and conches, according to Kunst-Goris, Hindu-Javanese musical instruments, Batavia 1926.
59—7—2: Ke: mararēm.
59—7—3: Ke: nirātri and ri ṃgaṭ, m.c.
59—7—4: Ke: garrddabhaṭṣṭra, Skt spelling.

Canto 60, stanza 1, verse 3: Ke: marica, kasumbha and kalaṇa.
60—1—4: Kr note: instead of kalar three short syllables are required. Probably kalaṇa is the right reading.
Canto 60, stanza 2, verse 1: Kr note: mamikul ~ abwat. Mamikumikul abwat seems a likely reading.

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

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

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

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

60—3—2: Ke: haku and kamaŋ answan.


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

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

60—4—2: Ke: falēm, a mistake.

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

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

In C the cantos 60 and 61 are not separated by the usual double pada. As canto 60 has 12 feet in a verse and canto 61 has 13 the scribe overlooked the difference in metre.
CHAPTER 8 — THE ROYAL PROGRESSES OF 1360 AND 1361

to Tirib, Sompur and Blitar.

Cantos 61 and 62, 6 stanzas.

Canto 61, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: lunghā. Kr note: nrēpa tan, m.c. 61—1—4: Ke: sarsōk, m.c. C's hylas is to be corrected: ryalas. C has: di nang nyākweh with written under it: nwa hwang. That can only mean that the scribe thought, after all, that the best reading was: dinwan hwangnyākweh which makes good sense indeed. Dinwan should be read dinon, m.c. Ke's emendation: dinulunyākweh is unmetrical and unnecessary.

Canto 61, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: ring Čāka, m.c. 61—2—2: Kr note: Čī nāthānūja, m.c. 61—2—3: Ke: lālītya. The usual meaning of jambat: a long time, makes good sense in this verse.

Canto 61, stanza 3, verse 1: The usual meaning of jaujan: trifling, slow, fits well in this verse. 61—3—2: Prb's rendering of poryang: meagre, poor, makes good sense in this verse.

61—3—3: Ke: rātryanher.

Canto 61, stanza 4, verse 1: Kr note: manganiṅ Sāmpeṅ, m.c. 61—4—2: The usual meaning of swēccha: desiring, makes good sense in this verse. Anāmbi (from sambī) means: to combine.

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

61—4—4: Ke: mātra, Skt spelling.

Canto 62, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: parimāṇa, m.c. Kapwa makes better sense than tapwa.
62—1—2: Ke: tīnēpan samāpta and pāraṇādī. Ke’s emendation samāpta makes good sense.
62—1—3: Ke: inambil.
62—1—4: Probably Gontong-Wiṣṇurare is a double name for one place.
Canto 62, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: ryyantuk. Probably the places were called: Jukung-Iro and Yānabajra, cf Yānatraya.
CHAPTER 9 — THE POSTHUMOUS CEREMONY IN HONOUR OF THE RĀJAPATNĪ IN 1362,

her shrines and her cult.

Cantos 63—69, 30 stanzas.

Canto 63, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: mantrī. Apūpol, in company, refers to the fact that in this chapter Čṛi Nātha is a plural: the Royal Family.

63—1—2: Ke: āryyādīnya. Perhaps ādīnya, i.e. adhīnya, is the better reading.

63—1—3: Ke: mantryāpatīh.

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

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

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

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

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

Canto 63, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: narendra. Subhaya stands m.c. for sobhaya.
63—3—2: Ke translates: tang para daṣṭu: the husbandmen, with note: Skt kuṣumbin. Rural communities probably is the best translation, v. comm. Both Ke and Prb tried to find translations for aputhi and suṣyana. Aputhi and Suṣyana are the headmen's names. The epithet viṇja: clever, makes good sense in this verse.

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

63—3—4: Kr note: byāyanung, m.c. Ke: ginōṣṭi and narendra. Sinaḍasaḍa (C's sinaḍasaḍa is a case of popular etymology) is a chancery corruption of sanāḍāda sanmāha: ready, available, mentioned in KBNW s.v. snāḍā and snāha, cf pasēnaha, 26—2—4.


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


Canto 64, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: guḥhakāla, m.c.

64—1—2: As any connection (i or ing) between maṭya and wिtāna is missing the translation of Ke and Prb: in the centre of the wिtāna cannot be right. Maṭya refers to sabhā in the preceding verse.

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

64—1—4: Ke: singhāsaṇātyadbhuta, Skt spelling. The usual meaning of sanmuka: opposite to, fits well in this verse. Prb's opinion that paḍa refers to the wिtānas is right.

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

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

64—2—3: Ke: mantri bhujaingga and talpany. Talpa is to be rendered: bench, v. comm.
64—2—4: Ke: bhṛtyasanggha taralagnyāsangkya. The usual meaning of asun: with storeys, makes good sense in this verse.

Canto 64, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: pājādhika. Gāvne narendra is a compound, synonymous with rājākārya: Royal function.

64—3—2: Ke: sāksīng. Maṇḍalālekha is the name of a ceremony.

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

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

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

64—4—2: Ke: satcīṣya, Skt spelling.

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

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

Canto 64, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: sūtrapātheshewo, Skt spelling. Irikan gswah is the best reading. Gswah is rendered: soul, though that is unbulldhistic. Neither Ke’s nor Prb’s translation of swah (heaven and sky) makes sense in this verse, v. comm.

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

64—5—3: Prb’s identification of puspā with the puspā: flowerbody, of 67—2—3 is right.

64—5—4: Ke: dhyāna, Skt spelling.

——

Canto 65, stanza 1, verse 2: Ke: gāṅkha, gājīrjan and asangkya, Skt spelling. Gājīrjan is a better reading, v. comm.

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

65—1—4: Ke: amūja sakram, m.c.

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

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

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

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

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

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

65—3—4: Ke: artha, Skt spelling.


65—4—2: Ke: madulur dhanawitarana.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

65—6—4: Ke: narendra.
Canto 66, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke’s translation of dīna Bhāṭāra by: Sunday (the Lord’s day) is to be dismissed as improbable in the Nāg. idiom. Bhāṭāra is Narapati’s title.

66—1—3: Ke: bhāwa kākidung, which does not make sense. Prb’s translation: an episode from a poem, is forced. Evidently the verse is corrupt. Winarūṇa bang mwang ahirēng seems a likely emendation, v. comm.

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

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


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

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

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


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

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

66—4—3: Ke: gṛi-rāja. Gṛi rājeronang is a better reading. Gṛi rāja is unusual as a title of the King. It is a plural: all the Princes are meant. In this verse bini has the original meaning: woman. Mangigēl has bini for grammatical object, v. comm.

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

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

66—5—3: Ke: anyat. Ke note: bhāṭa stands for Skt bhaṭa, cf. 59—4—4. The meaning of mapatra is: to ask for, eager for. Perhaps it is related to modern Jav. nganta-anta: to look out for. Instead of magēla-
gēlapan, which does not make sense, (gēlaḥ means lightning, not thunder: Ke) migēl-igēl (v. KBNW s.v. igēl) apan is to be read.

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

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

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

67—1—4: Ke: sang śīr-raja sanāgarāstu. No doubt the Royal name Rājasaṇāgara is to be read here. Kr and Prb noted it.

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

67—2—2: Ke: Prajñāpāramitā and ring. Uṃantuk is used out of respect, modern Jav. krama inggīl. The usual word mulūh is used in the next verse.


67—2—4: Kr note: sakweh sang cāru, m.c. Sakweh nging cāru seems a better reading. Cāru, offering, does not deserve the honour of the predicate sang. Ke: dinum and sanggha.

Canto 67, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: ādhāra and narendra.

67—3—2: Berg (R. p. 161) translates pinrih: Jñānawidhi was worked up. The usual meaning of amrih: to have in mind to do a thing, makes good sense in this verse, v. gl. Berg's other translation in the same book (p. 260): he wanted it to be completed, is better.


67—3—4: Ke: mabrahmayaśī, the name of another ceremony. The usual meaning of tēhēr, modern Jav. tur: at once, next, fits well in this verse.
Canto 68, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: wīdita (not mentioned in KBNW) and sampradāya sthiti, Skt spelling.
68—1—2: Ke rightly infers from the fact that the next verse begins with mewang that 68—1—2 must be missing. Kr note proposes to read: sang cīri Janggalanātha ring Kahuripan — — — — — B; v. comm.
68—1—3: Ke: tāvēk ing, a mistake. Berg (R. p. 36) translates: Java then consisted of two parts, which is incorrect. On the meaning of tāvēk v. gl.
68—1—4: Ke: pānak and prabhū.
Canto 68, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: yogīcvara, Skt spelling. Perhaps pēgat is used out of respect instead of the usual putus.
68—2—2: Berg (R. p. 36) translates inusir: who was asked for help. The whole of stanza 2 is eulogy of Bharāḍa. The actual story only begins with stanza 3.
68—2—4: Ke: kyūti hyang Mpu Bharāḍa wodha riyattādi. Ring atttādi is a better reading.
Canto 68, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: rahyang, amarwāng and langghana.
68—3—2: Ke: hīṅgānyēki and cinhīna.
68—3—3: Ke: kulwān and arṣṇa. Aichele (BKI, 113, 1959, p. 335) translates ng lor-kidul too freely: the wide country, cf 8—2—3. All four points of the compass are mentioned in this verse.
68—3—4: Ke: kadyādoh and bhāmi Javārwā prabhū. Berg (R. p. 37) translates very freely: as far namely (one might say) as go the coasts that enclose the sea. The translation of kadyādoh: as far (one might say) as, is open to grave doubts. The usual meaning of kadi: like, fits well in this verse. Uhlenbeck-Teeuw’s translation is right, though tāvēk ing is best rendered: (at the) moment of the completion of (an action etc., cf. modern Jav. tuwuk: satiated).
Canto 68, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: ngke ring tiṅtikī, with note: mistake for Skt tiṅtītī: tamarind. Berg (R. p. 193) supposes that tiṅtik is synonymous with tuktuk and toktok, meaning: crown, top. As tiṅtītī is not mentioned in KBNW whereas tiṅtik is (though with a derived meaning: clitoris) Berg may be right. Kr note: sakeng, m.c. Ke: ambora.
68—4—2: Ke, Berg and Uhlenbeck-Teeuw all translate: the village of Palungan. Deça in the Nāg. idiom is to be rendered: rural district, v. gl. Probably instead of Palungan, Pulungan, the well-known Kapulungan, is to be read. In C the writing is not clear.
68—4—3: Ke: kamal.
at the moment that he still was in the sky. Change of grammatical subject in a sentence is unidiomatic in Javanese. The usual meaning of pântara: interstice, makes good sense in this verse, and so does the usual meaning of têkwan: naturally. Munggwâ ri is a better reading than munggwîrî.

Canto 68, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: tugwâ ânggoh and tambay. Tugwâânggoh is to be analysed: tugwâ aânggoh. Tugwâ is given the affixed -a to mark the intention. Both the usual meaning of ânggoh: fixed relation, fitting in some system, office, and of tambay ing: the beginning of, make good sense in this verse. Berg’s translation (R. p. 37) is altogether too free, disregarding the grammatical construction: (therefore the tree) was considered as a beacon (of danger) and from that time onwards people became so afraid that they wanted to leave their dwellings.

68—5—2: Ke: hetunyân and bhûmt Javâtunggala. Berg (R. p. 37) translates too freely: Therefore the temple was founded, which could make Java healthy and united. Temple is not a correct rendering of dharma, nor healthy of waluy(a).

68—5—3: Ke: sthityâ and sabhûmi. Berg’s free translation: so that the people would not go away (from their places) misses the point. Linggar seems to be used only metaphorically in the Nâg. idiom. In this verse it seems to be a stop-gap.

68—5—4: As sakala in the Nâg. idiom usually means: exoteric sakalahabhûmi is best translated: all countries on earth. No doubt the expression refers to the two moieties of the realm.

In C the cantos 68 and 69 are not separated by the usual double pada. As canto 68 has 19 feet in a verse and canto 69 has 20 the scribe overlooked the difference in metre.

Canto 69, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: Prajñâpâramitâpuri.

69—1—2: Ke: grî Jñânavidhy apratiṣṭha. Neither Ke nor Berg bring out clearly enough that apratiṣṭha is the name of a ceremony. 69—1—3: Ke: labdhâweṣa. Kr note: labdhâweṣa, which is a fixed epithet. Ke: sarvâgâvâmasìja. The meaning of sotan seems to be: for, because.

69—1—4: Ke: sâksât, Bharâga and ni twas narendra. Twas narendra, without connection (i or ing) between the words, would be a compound. Probably tṛpti ning sang narendra is a better reading.
Canto 69, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: tekīri and rājapatnīn-dhinarmma. Muṅg tekīri is to be analysed: muṅg ta iki iri, v. comm. Berg's free translation (R. p. 37) with insertions and stressing in accordance with his theories: But this here in Bhayalangō is the place where H.M. the Rājapatnī is laid to rest, is unwarranted by the text.

69—2—2: Berg translates: For Jānawidhi was ordered to perform (the ceremonies). “For” is not in the text.


Canto 69, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: pīṇājā and saruvadeça.

69—3—2: Ke: Woṣapurī pakuwvan i habhaktyvan. Yāvat woṣapurī pakuwvan akabhaktyvan seems to be the best reading, v. comm.

69—3—3: Ke: amātya brahma, which does not make sense. Evidently the verse is corrupt. Amātya grāma is a plausible emendation.

69—3—4: Ke: mukti and wiṣeṣeng.
CHAPTER 10 — THE ROYAL PROGRESS OF 1363
from Majapahit to Simping and back.

Canto 70, 3 stanzas.

Canto 70, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: anilaştānah, with note: a word having the value twelve is wanted. Probably it was ina; sun, m.c. written with a long a. Prb (O.V. 1921, p. 28) reads: anilāstecne, i.e.: anilā-asṭo-ina-i. Anilaşttenā seems the most idiomatical reading.

70—1—2: Ke: The usual meaning of angalih: to move, fits well in this verse, cf. 61—4—4. The respectful pronoun sira can only refer to the dharma, the religious domain. As a rule sira refers to persons. The application to the sacred abode of a revered ancestor is thinkable, though.

Canto 70, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: Čtvāgama, m.c.

70—2—2: Adhiśṭhāna is the name of a ceremony: erection, cf. adhiśṭhita, 56—1—3. Ke’s translation: to hold an office, is unacceptable.


Canto 70, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: pura, Skt spelling.

70—3—2: Ke: ādhinantri, Skt spelling. Kr note: Gajahmada, m.c.

70—3—4: The usual meanings of vyakti: accurate, clear (modern Javanese yēktī: true) and of antuk: come home, make good sense in this verse. Probably in this verse antuk has the same sense as ulih in 31—4—4: prize brought home from an expedition.
CHAPTER 11 — GAJAH MADA'S DEATH IN 1364.
THE NEW OFFICIALS

Cantos 71 and 72, 9 stanzas.

Canto 71, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: sabhurwana, m.c.
71—1—2: Ke: irikang Çakâbda, m.c. Ke and Kr note: the chronogram consists of the words rasa, tanu and ina. The next word is āça: distressed, mentioned in KBNW.
71—1—3: Kr note: ing samastabhurwana, m.c. Sateâra, covetous, selfish and masik ing samasta bhurwana, loving the universal world, are opposites. Prb is right in reading tuhun i kadiwacittanira instead of Ke's tuhun ika diwacittanira. The usual meaning of tuhun: true, verily, makes good sense in this verse.
71—1—4: Ke: atutur and juga ginöng, erroneously omitting tanq.
Canto 71, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: pahön narendra haji rama sang prabhu. Haji refers to King Hayam Wuruk himself, as usual. If haji is not taken in this sense Hayam Wuruk would be missing in this list of the nine members of the dynastic council, which is improbable. The terms father, mother and sister are to be understood in the Javanese sense: members of the elder and of the same generation. Apparently Ke did not see this.
71—2—2: Ke: ibu, athawânuja and tumut.
71—2—3: Instead of gumunadoṣa, sagunadoṣa seems a better reading.
Canto 71, stanza 3, verse 1: Kr note: kête, m.c. Këlang seems a better reading.
71—3—3: Ke: sôdhuv and narendra. The usual meaning of sôdhuv: virtuous, fits well in this place: it often has the sense of faithful, loyal.
Prb’s reading amätya sañ, six amätyas, is to be rejected, for amätya is not the name of an office, but rather of a class of people.

71—3—4: Ke: pituhuněn and parawiwäda tanpanasara. The usual meanings of mucañ: to say, to mention, and of wëruñ: to know, to see, to take care of, make good sense in this verse. Parawiwäda is a parallel of modern Javanese parapadu (para: common).

Canto 72, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: gupta.
72—1—2: The usual meaning of wiweka: discernment, makes good sense in this verse.

72—1—3: Ke: wṛddhamantri, Skt spelling.
72—1—4: Ke translates atmä räja: the King’s intimate. No doubt Kr and Prb are right in taking Atmaräja and Tançëng for names.

Canto 72, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: inḍık i narendra, translated: near. Prb reads: andika, translated: speech, in accordance with modern Javanese andika. Neither translation makes really good sense. Anḍik i narendra seems a better reading. Anḍik (not mentioned in KBNW) is to be identified with modern Javanese anḍek: companion, mate. No doubt anḍek is related to modern Javanese kaṇṭi: in company with.

72—2—2: Ke tries to translate wira manḍalika. No doubt Kr and Prb are right in taking Wëрамaṇḍalika for a name.

72—2—4: Ke: mañama tumanggung.

Canto 72, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: wira, m.c.

72—3—2: Ke: nityaśadhipati, Skt spelling.
72—3—3: Ke: ri Dömpo, m.c.

72—3—4: Ke: sēk alwang, m.c. Prb’s reading anglwang seems better.

Canto 72, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: ni pangädi sumantri. Prb’s reading: ni sang adhisumantri is better. For adhi instead of adhi v. 72—3—1: ādhiguna.

72—4—2: Ke calls aṣṭapadda corrupt. He proposes to read aṣṭapāta, Skt aṣṭapātaka: judge. Probably Prb is right in reading: hastapāda haji: hands and feet of our lord. Martha A. Muusses’s emendation aṣṭapā: eight-footed (spider), connected by her with “the eight aspects of a King’s rule” is far-fetched. The usual meaning of don: purpose, makes good sense in this verse.

72—4—3: Mowwat is to be translated literally: to convey, to bring in.

72—4—4: Ke: uṣapatti, usual spelling. Both Ke and Prb fail to
translate *ndan*, which opens a new sentence. *Makering* (from *iring*) is to be rendered: to have for company, for following, which makes good sense in this verse.

*Canto 72, stanza 5, verse 1*: Kr note: *patih Dami.*

72—5—2: Prb reads: *hinajyan*, translated: obeyed. *Haji*, our lord, in the Nāg. idiom as a rule: King Hayam Wuruk, seems inappropriate as apposition to *yuvamantri*: junior mandarin. Moreover one would expect *hinaji*, not *hinajyan*. *Ngajeni*, to value, seems to belong to a younger idiom then the 14th century Nāg.'s. Probably the right reading is *rinakryan*, from *rakryan*, the usual predicate, rendered: Right Honourable, of an important *vizir*.

72—5—3: Both Ke and Prb fail to translate *tikang*. Probably *patih Tikang* (perhaps to be emended *Tihang*; “Stand-ready”) is the official name and *mpu Singha* the personal name with title (cf. *mpu Tanḍing*, *mpu Nāla* and *patih Dami*).

72—5—4: Ke: *sakawėkas naranātha*. In the Nāg. idiom *kawėkas* means: left behind, and the omission of *i* or *ing* before *naranātha* would be unidiomatic. *Sapawėkas* seems a better reading.

*Canto 72, stanza 6, verse 1*: Kr note: *an samangkana*, m.c.

72—6—2: Ke: *langgêng apagēh*, m.c.
CHAPTER 12 — LIST OF DOMAINS
belonging to the Royal Family
and to religious communities

Cantos 73—78, 21 stanzas.

Canto 73, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: atiyatna, m.c.
73—1—2: Ke: kasinghit and ågama. The usual meaning of asinghit: to incline to, makes good sense in this verse.
73—1—4: Ke: sakala, m.c.
Canto 73, stanza 2, verse 2: Ke: ikang m.c. and nirengapi.
73—2—3: In praçāstiyan the suffix -a (subjunctive mood) is clearly discernible. The grammatical form praçāstiyan could be explained in different ways; the meaning is clear, though.
73—2—4: Ke: tēmahā, m.c.
Canto 73, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: makādi, m.c.
73—3—2: Ke: Tuban. Kr note restores Tuḍan. As mangādi (not mentioned in KBNW) makes no sense suḍormma is to be read, v.
73—3—4: Ke: Pugēr; both Kr and Prb restore: Pagēr.

Canto 74, stanza 1, verse 1: Antahpurā is the name of a domain, v. gl.
Canto 74, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: saptawingca, m.c.
74—2—4: Wiku rāja, synonymous with wiku haji, seems a better reading than wiku rājya.

Canto 75, stanza 1, verse 1: Prb’s reading wruherika is plausible.
75—1—3: Ke: dhirotāha. Ke’s remark that the verse is unmetrical
is right. Kr note reads: dhīrotsāha sadā kuminkin i parārtha swastha sang cṛṇ narendra, which makes good sense.

75—1—1: Ke: tan mukti. Svakāryya is to be connected with the following ri gēnga (subjunctive mood).
Canto 75, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: narendra.
75—2—2: Ke: Čāiwādhyaśa sirāṁg, m.c. and runakṣā, m.c.
75—2—4: Ke: rakṣāke, m.c.

Canto 76, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: hvir ning, m.c., Kañci.
76—1—2: Ke: Kuṭa laṁba. Kuṭa laṁba is quite plausible.
76—1—3: Kr note: parhyangngan, m.c. Ke: Harinandanottamasuka, Skt spelling.
Canto 76, stanza 2, verse 1: Kr note: ing Jaya, m.c. Ke: Sphatikēyang (?). Perhaps Prb is right in reading Sphatike Yang. As in the the Nāg. idiom the old form Hyang still was in use -e Hyang would be the correct reading.
76—2—2: Ke: Dayamuka, a slip of the pen for Jayamuka, restored by Kr.
76—2—4: Ke: Rati-Manmathāgrama. Kr note: Kulā Kaling, m.c. and Batu plutih pwa teka, m.c. Kulang-kaling seems a better reading; in modern Jav. kolang-kaling is the name of the fruit of the sugar-palm. Many localities in Java are named after trees.
Canto 76, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: kawinayānu, m.c. Kr note: Wipulāram Ke Kuṭi, m.c.
76—3—2: Ke: Yānatraya rājadhānya. Probably Yānatraya and Rājadhānya are two separate names.
Canto 76, stanza 4, verse 1: No doubt Prb is right in taking Barīyang for the name of a place.
76—4—4: Anwaya, Skt: progeny, is not mentioned in KBNW. Probably it is a chancery term. Ke: sōk instead of sōn.

Canto 77, stanza 1, verse 2: Ke: Icānabajra and tātā. Prb is right in reading Nadiṭatā.
77—1—3: Ke: Boddhimāla. Kr note: Amrītasabhā, m.c. Bang-bangir i, m.c.
77—1—4: Kr note: dārī and Nandinagara, m.c.
77—2—2: Kr note: Māgēnēng, m.c.
Canto 77, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: len teng, m.c.
77—3—4: Ke: pācarccan.

Canto 78, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: i ~ Sumpud. Ikanang Sumpud seems a plausible reading.
78—1—3: Ke: sabha, Skt spelling.
78—1—4: Kr note: ning sarāt. Prb links up this verse with the next stanza, which is unusual in the Nāg. Instead of kotama the usual uttama is to be read.
Canto 78, stanza 2, verse 2: Ke: stma ta — pratiṣṭa. Prb is right in supposing a negation before pratiṣṭa. As tanpa pratiṣṭa would be unmetrical tan apratiṣṭa is the only plausible reading.
78—2—4: Ke: kaçaśvāṅgakūrān.
Canto 78, stanza 3, verse 3: Ke: Kājar Dāna haṇār. Kr note: Jalagiri, m.c.
Canto 78, stanza 4, verse 1: Prb is right in taking Dharmmāṛṣī for the name of a place.
78—4—2: Ke: Gandhātṛap. Kr note restores: Gandaṭṛp. Gandākṛp is a plausible reading, for kṛṛp, dense, is often found in names of places in connection with the name of a tree. Ke: Haracālā Amgu. As nampu is the name of a medicinal herb Haracālā Nampu is the right reading. No doubt kakadang-hajyan is a chancery term, a derivation of kadang-haji: Royal kinsman. The usual meaning of gahan: noted, makes good sense in this verse.
Canto 78, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: kālap ing. Kr note: kalap, m.c. Kalating seems a plausible name of a place. Wanga Īṣṇu is a chancery term.
78—5—2: Ke: Tanggulyan.
78—5—3: Ke: Kēlūt. Mēḍang hulun hyang is a chancery term.
78—5—4: Andēl Mas seems a plausible name of a place.
Canto 78, stanza 6, verse 1: The usual meaning of anēlat (from sēlat): to have a place between two others, makes good sense in this verse.


78—6—3: Ke: kacaṇḍikān. C’s kasangghikān is to be retained. The usual meaning of bhukti: evidence, legal proof, makes good sense in this verse. Neither Ke nor Prb saw this.

Canto 78, stanza 7, verse 1: Sūgara and Kukūb are names of places.

78—7—2: Ke: ṛṣi, Skt spelling.


78—7—4: The usual meanings of mangāçraya: to look for support, and thāni: peasants’ land, make good sense in this verse. As lṛa is not often used substantively perhaps lveṛnya is the right reading. Ke’s translation of jenggan: vegetable soup, is a misunderstanding. The soup is called jangan in modern Javanese.
CHAPTER 13 — ORGANIZATION OF THE CLERGY AND ROYAL AUTHORITY

Canto 79—82, 14 stanzas.

Canto 79, stanza 1, verse 1: The usual meaning of adēg: establishment makes better sense in this verse than Ke's and Prb's translation: state. 79—1—2: Ke: hulunhyang (?), by Kr restored: hulun hyang. Hilahila hulun hyang seems to be synonymous with mēdang hulun hyang. 79—1—3: Ke: sapramāṇa and nispramāṇa; the suffixed -a refers to the eventuality. Ginēgwan, kept, does not make good sense in this verse. Perhaps sinikwan, censured (from sib) is the right reading. 79—1—4: Ke: mantuk and ingng Āryya. Kr note restores: i sangng Āryya. The meaning of sinalakahēēn: declared to be in the wrong (salah) fits well in this verse.


Canto 79, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: nūṣāntare Bāṭy amatēhān i sācāra ring. Kr note: apāpateḥ i, m.c. Prb's reading: amatēḥ anut i makes the best sense. Anut is better orthography than anut, though. 79—3—2: Ke: dharmma mwang grāma lawan. Kr note: lāwān, m.c. Grāma instead of ḍrāma (Ke's hypothesis) is unusual. Probably the right reading is grāma. The usual meaning of adēg: establishment makes good sense in this verse.

79—3—4: Ke: wruh ri, to be rendered: to have the supervision over.
Canto 80, stanza 1, verse 2: Berg (R. p. 138) connects ng Adirajya Kuturan and translates: Kuturan's super-kraton. This translation is unusual, and moreover the number of six kubajradharas mentioned in the next verse is not made full. As Badung is a well-known place this seems a more plausible reading than Bahung.

80—1—4: Ke: makādi, m.c. Probably Rājāsanmata, "Royal Delight", is a name.

Canto 80, stanza 2, verse 1: Probably the name is Sulang-Lēmah. As lēmah means (piece of) flat land (v.gl.) lēmah i Lampung would be an unusual expression. The country of Lampung would be bhūmi or tanah Lampung, cf. bhūmi or tanah Java.

80—2—2: Ke: Grēhasthādharā and amatēh. As the whole of stanza 2 refers to one Sumatran sanctuary called Tathāgataputra the following gērhasthādharā is an apposition.


80—2—4: Ke: abhūmi guddha, Skt spelling.

Canto 80, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: sapramāna and naraṇati, Skt spelling. Kr note: mapagēh, m.c. This stanza and the next one refer to King Hayam Wuruk, the Prahu.

80—3—2: Ke: kārtti and sakāwakanya. The meaning of kāwakan: embodiment, form, makes good sense in this verse.

80—3—3: Ke: swabhāwa and wibhuh, Skt spelling. Swabhāwa ni sang uttama seems a better reading than swabhāwa sang inuttama.

80—3—4: Ke: kārtti and prabhu, Skt spelling.

Canto 80, stanza 4, verse 1: Kr note: taya ning, m.c.


80—4—4: Ke: sabhūwana, m.c.

Canto 81, stanza 1, verse 1: Gōng ny ūrambha is an exclamation: how great is the undertaking!

81—1—2: Ke: rinakṣeniwō. The meaning of pūravacāra: ancient customs, makes good sense in this verse.

81—1—3: In the Nāg. idiom utsāha means: diligent and yatna: zealous. The meaning of don: aim, fits well in this verse.

Canto 81, stanza 2, verse 2: Ke reads: tējē, fixed. C's reading tēgē is to be connected with srēgē: conscientious. Atutur, mindful, is found in some more places in the text at the end of a verse.
Canto 81, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: paḍa sthitīṃ gāsana, Skt spelling. 
81—3—3: Ke: suṣṭa, Skt spelling.
81—3—4: Ke: wācyā, Skt spelling and swakāryyāpāgāh.
Canto 81, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: jetana catur sujānma. Probably C's reading janmi catur: four groups of people (Skt janmin) is right. 
81—4—2: The usual meaning of gati: course, going, makes good sense in this verse.
81—4—3: Ke: swasīla.

Canto 82, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: siniwi.
82—1—2: Ke: norang, m.c.
82—1—3: Ke: amvangi. The usual meaning of amwang: to take care of, makes good sense in this verse. Agaww means: to make, to build, Ke's translation: to observe (virtues) is unidiomatic, v. comm.
82—1—4: Ke: penak ċṛt narendra pratuha. Penan means: brother-in-law, v.gl. Probably pramuhā (not mentioned in KBNW) is a term of relationship meaning: calling another senior (atuhā), i.e. junior in relation to another member of the family belonging to the same generation. In fact King Hayam Wuruk's sister the Princess of Pajang and his maternal cousin the Princess of Lasēm both were his juniors, so their husbands, the King's "brothers-in-law", were considered his juniors too. They are mentioned in the next stanza.
Canto 82, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: dhammāparímita, Skt spelling. There is no reason to put the translation in the plural as Ke does.
82—2—2: Ke: nāthe.
82—2—3: No doubt Kr note is right in thinking that this verse must refer to King Hayam Wuruk's first brother-in-law the Prince of Paguhan. Probably the name Paguhan is hidden in Sīhāna just like the name Matahun is hidden in Watsari (Skt watsara: year: Javanese tahun). ċṛt nāthe Sīhāna seems a plausible emendation, v. comm.
Canto 82, stanza 3, verse 1: Asira-siran means: to try to outvie each other (KBNW sub sīraṁ).
82—3—3: Munīwara is a plural like the preceding pitgāna. If any person in particular was meant some predicate like sang would be necessary.
82—3—4: Ke: prabhu, m.c.
CHAPTER 14 — THE ANNUAL COURT FESTIVAL IN MAJAPAHIT

Cantos 83—91, 45 stanzas.

Canto 83, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: singh.
83—1—2: Ke: čarat, Skt spelling.
83—1—3: Ke: sajanāsik, Skt spelling.
Canto 83, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: rabdhkaranang, m.c.
83—2—4: Pañjyangītwa, Lekan and Tangar are titles connected with functions, not to be translated as Ke tried to do. The usual meaning of umungup: to arise, to appear, makes good sense in this verse. It is worthy of record that in C the character ngū is written in afterwards. It is not blackened like the other characters. This is a proof of accuracy either on the part of the original scribe or of some later reader, trying to correct an error in the text after the writing was finished.

Canto 83, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: dwija parama mahākāvyā aṇindyaḍagaṃajña. Of course Ke meant to write: mahākāvyāṇindyaḍagaṃajña.
83—3—2: Kr note: kawruhira, m.c. Ke: mahākāvyā naivyikādi, Skt spelling. As mahākāvyā in this verse does not make sense, rikāng sāngkya is to be read, v. comm.
83—3—3: Ke: śatkarmaśuddha, Skt spelling.
83—3—4: Ke: aśām grī Viṣṇu sakete čama japa. The usual meaning of śakta, powerful, makes good sense in this verse. So does C’s reading sāmajāpa (Skt: sāman).

Canto 83, stanza 4, verse 1: Kr note: hetuvyañantarang, m.c.
83—4—3: The usual meanings of sangkān: origin, and of milu: to join, to go in company, fit well in this verse. Pota seems a better reading than potra.

Canto 83, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: Phalgaṇa, Skt spelling.
83—5—2: Ke: mantri, m.c.
83—5—4: Ke: waṇik ring, and atēp sarwabhāḍanyə. Atēp makes good sense in this verse.
Canto 83, stanza 6, verse 2: Ke: angkên dinembuh sasaki and niwedya.
83—6—3: Ke: Çaïwa, Skt spelling.
83—6—4: Ke: anwët ingng and swastha ni.

Canto 84, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: wiji: came out. Probably C's reading i wiji refers to the time of day: sunrise, about 6 a.m.
84—1—2: Ke: midër ing, because the subjunctive mood midërëng does not fit well in this verse. Ke: kanakadëi, Skt spelling.
84—1—3: Ke: mahawan lantaran. Kr note: lantaran an (?), m.c. The translations of lantaran (substituted for C's lañtarana) by forerunner (Ke) or procession (Prb) are doubtful. The verse is corrupt. Probably the correct reading is: jänṭana mahawan kañṭa pura n atuntun. Lañtarana and kañṭa pura n are easily interchangeable.
84—1—4: Ke: bhujanggödëi and angiring. Çiwañbhujjangga, translated by Ke: Shiwaite clergy, is an impossible compound, found nowhere in the Nág. Prb reads saciwa instead of saçiwa, which would have been an improbable error in Javanese script. No doubt the beginning of verse 4 is corrupt like the end of verse 3. The clergy (bhujanggà) as such did not take part in the procession, v. comm. Probably the original reading is in accordance with canto 83—5—2 and canto 84—5—4: mãnrë sing adhika ring bhumi Jawa manganggo dadar angiring sök.

Canto 84, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: paḍahi. C's reading with -a is found in many places. Paḍaha, mṛḍangga, çangka and tarayan are names of musical instruments. Trufika (Ke) or truti tika is difficult to explain.
84—2—2: Ke: manguccarana ng abhiwàda, Skt spelling.
84—2—4: The usual meaning of gahan: noted, makes good sense in this verse.

Canto 84, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: manimaya, m.c.
84—3—3: Both Ke and Prb: apûja hyang. Kr note restores C's reading: arēja. Probably arējâhyang is the correct reading. Instead of trisura Prb reads: Tripura, Shiwa (?). Perhaps instead of Tripurasurendrä, the name of a goddess, Tripuraharendrä is to be read, v. comm.
84—3—4: Ke: bhañça, vëwang and mûlya, Skt spelling.

Canto 84, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: çrit and pinakagra. Whereas laku is used with reference to the Princess of Pajang, in 84—5—1, referring to the Princess of Lasêm, lampah is used. As the latter Princess was the inferior in rank of the former one, it is evident that in the Nág. idiom lampah was not suggestive of high rank. Laku and lampah were merely
interchangeable synonyms as they are in modern Javanese. In canto 84 use of either of the two is dictated by the metre.

84—4—4: Prb reads instead of paṭahādi (corruption of paṭahādi: drums etc.); paṭākādi (penants etc.); paṭāka is unmetrical.

Canto 84, stanza 5, verse 2: Ke: sāmātyābala. Kr note is right in dropping saṃrā, m.c.

84—5—3: Ke: pararājā and sābharitā. No doubt C’s reading jīwanānapurājā is right.

84—5—4: Ke: sa Yāvāwani mangiring. Črī bhūpati is the King’s title.

Canto 84, stanza 6, verse 2: Ke: çakaṇa. In a note Ke points out that the verse is corrupt: three syllables are missing. Prb reads: pinggir ni lēbuh ikā sōk paṇa maṇajār. The absence of a locative preposition before pinggir is unidiomatic. Probably the correct reading is: ring pinggir lēbuh ikā sōk paṇa maṇajār.


Canto 84, stanza 7, verse 4: Ke: amuṣpānjali. Pamēgēt is found only in this place in the Nāg., v. comm.

Canto 85, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: Caitra. The meaning of the chancery term maṇulung rahī is explained by the poet himself: ahem apupul.

85—1—3: Ke: miłw ang.

85—1—4: Ke: āstām.

Canto 85, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke’s translation of lāmlam: greedy, is incorrect. The meaning is: fascinated, seduced.

85—2—3: Ke note: wastrādyaraṇa is corrupt: one syllable is missing. Ke reads: wastrādyaharaṇa. Wastrādyaharaṇa seems to make better sense, v. comm.

85—2—4: Ke fails to translate -nya of dewastvādinya.

Canto 86, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: narendra. Kevwan narendra is to be considered as a compound (without connecting link, -ing etc.).

86—1—2: Ke: vevantēn.

86—1—3: Ke: swānā. No doubt C’s reading is right. Sihāna singha is to be identified with singhāsana, v. 84—3—1 and 84—4—2. Apa- dudwan, with differences, refers to the palanquins of the Princely
couples. *Mawahana* (m.c. for *mawāhana*) makes better sense than *makahawan*.

86—1—4: The usual meaning of *anorakēn*: surpassing, makes good sense in this verse.

*Canto 86, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: akvā.

86—2—2: Ke: madhyakroțhara, Skt spelling.

86—2—3: Ke’s translation of *madhyārddhakroṣa* is: more than a half *kroça*. Skt ardha; half, seems to make good sense in this verse.

86—2—4: Ke: mantri sasōk. Kr note: sar sōk, m.c.

*Canto 86, stanza 3, verse 2*: Ke: inukiran athāparwa. Probably Prb’s reading: inukir akathā parwa, is right.

86—3—4: Ke: Caitramāsa, Skt spelling.

__

*Canto 87, stanza 1, verse 3*: Ke: suantrā.

87—1—4: Ke: sadawatā. Probably saďawata (written with  Decompiled content)

*Canto 87, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: netrawisaya, Skt spelling.

87—2—2: Ke: atombokan inadw. Better sense makes: atombok kanin *adw*, which serves as an explanation of *prang puruh*: fight by blows, in opposition to *prang tanđing*: fight by competition, i.e. match.

87—2—3: Ke: moghāngdati suka, m.c.

87—2—4: Ke: lawasirā, m.c. Lawasiran seems a better reading. Pat mwang tri, four and three, is a paraphrase of seven, used in this verse m.c.

*Canto 87, stanza 3, verse 1*: Ke: ryyulih.

87—3—3: Kr note: pahglwangning. Ke: Caitra, Skt spelling. As *grāma* (Ke’s idea, rendered tentatively: champion) is unmetrical, *grāma* (village community) is to be read instead of *grāma*.

__

*Canto 88, stanza 1, verse 2*: Ke: dinulur nikōdhipati. Kr note: dinulur nikādhipati — ring, m.c. Probably the best reading is: dinulur-nikān adhipatin ring eŋjing umarēk.

88—1—4: Ke: paďānumwīt.

*Canto 88, stanza 2, verse 1*: Both andyan and handyan are used in C, which is remarkable. In the Par. and in modern Jav. both raden and rahaden are found.

88—2—2: Ke: he kita. Aniwuy anātha ri haji means literally: Protector-obedient, i.e. loyal, with reference to our lord.
88—2—3: kaweyyan asing angdani hajenganing pradeça seems to make better sense than C’s reading.

88—2—4: Ke: damärgga, m.c. Ke’s translation of setu by bridges is corrected by Prb: the meaning is: dams.

Canto 88, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: asing tinandur ika ājñähyla.

88—3—2: Prb’s translation of pinakaramäkäñ: made into karäman property, is right. Probably the last words of the verse are to be read: tanpa dadya wlaaha. The modern Javanese words wêlaho, wlaaha, lahan mean: unprofitable, useless, which makes good sense in this verse.

88—3—3: amaradeça, a derivation of Skt paradeça: other districts, is to be translated: to go to other districts, v. comm.

88—3—4: Ke: usirëñ.

Canto 88, stanza 4, verse 1: Instead of humaywani, humaywani is to be read.

88—4—2: Ke: mahänasa riha and sadä. Prb’s translation of mahänasar ika: the transgressors, seems plausible. Probably ring pëjah çäçi sädä is to be translated: at the end of the month Äñäñhya, the 12th month, June-July, v. comm.

88—4—3: aäidra lawanan seems a plausible reading, v. comm.

88—4—4: Ke: prabhu, Skt spelling.

Canto 88, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: nagare-, Skt spelling, and sumantën. Upaçama is the correct Skt spelling.

88—5—2: Ke: soma and wişama. The verse contains a play upon the words sâmya and wişama, therefore sâmya is to be retained.

88—5—3: No doubt Prb’s interpretation of palawang as the name of a tax is right. Probably the correct reading is: hanäniléwat: aní-niléwat, from sëlléwat, might be a variant of haliwat: to pass by.

88—5—4: Ke: soma. The last words of this verse sâmyalaksana refer to soma-wişama in the beginning of the King’s speech. Pasëgëñ is the name of a kind of tax, v. next stanza.

Canto 89, stanza 1, verse 2: Ke: yan padang. C’s reading padang: light, makes good sense in this verse.

89—1—3: Ke: sáhasika.

89—1—4: Ke: tut sasinambut. C’s reading: sasinambat makes better sense. Tät is an imperative. In modern Jav. the suffix -ën would be used.

Canto 89, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: singha, m.c.

89—2—2: Ke: upäjëwa, Skt spelling.
89—2—3: Ke: nika and tēkāṅgrēkēka. Prb reads instead of waya: weya, which is unmetrical. The usual meaning of waya: to exist, to be present, makes good sense in this verse, where it is used in opposition to taya.

89—2—4: Ke: hetunikān.
Canto 89, stanza 3, verse 3: Ke: ang anangkil.
89—3—4: Ke: rōg.
Canto 89, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: vitāna, Skt spelling.
89—4—2: Ke: para wadana.
89—4—3: Ke: tikang ṭah, m.c.
89—4—4: Ke: tikang, m.c.
Canto 89, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: madhupa, Skt spelling.
89—5—2: Ke reads: mīna lawan tikang aṇḍa hāja ring aji loka-
purāṇa, translated: fish, eggs and goats. Prb’s reading: aṇḍah ojaring aji is more plausible. Being aquatic animals fish and duck were considered related meats.
89—5—3: Ke: wiyung alpa, m.c. Kura, tortoise, seems a better reading than kara (Ke: donkey).
89—5—4: Phala is a better reading than cala.

Canto 90, stanza 1, verse 2: Ke: saruvwarajasa. Prb: saruvwarasaja. C’s reading rajatha (mis-spelled Skt rajata: silver) makes good sense in this verse. Instead of bhojana, bhājana (plate) is to be read.
90—1—3: Ke translates matsya seq.: fishes of the land and of the water, adding a note on the use in Skt of the word matsya with reference to quadrupeds, e.g.: kudyanatsya: lizard. No doubt in the Nāg. idiom matsya is merely a substitute of Jav. īwah, which means meat in general, fish included.
Canto 90, stanza 2, verse 1: The reading kura (tortoise) instead of C’s kara makes good sense, cf. canto 89—5—3.
90—2—2: Ke: sakterika and tuṣṭa. Winahan is a derivative from īwah: flood. Instead of tamah, which does not make good sense, tēmah is to be read.
Canto 90, stanza 3, verse 2: Ke: twak nyū twak sīvalan arak, translated: palmwine from coconut-trees, toddy, arak. Probably arak is to be linked with hana.
Canto 90, stanza 4, verse 2: Ke: dhātuv, Skt spelling.
90—4—3: Ke: tanpāṇya ng and wway.
Canto 90, stanza 5, verse 1: Kr note: prahprah cri nepati n awah suka n pamukti, m.c. Prah means: universal.

90—5—2: Kr note: sakta sapinaran, m.c. Sakta ya pinaran makes better sense. Larik means liquor, v. comm.

90—5—3: Ke: kasengkow (?). Probably the meaning is: covered up (from sengku). As alah does not make sense in this verse Prb reads ulah. Probably ri salah is the best reading.

90—5—4: Ke: wörö wörö. The duplicated form wörö-wörö means: bemused, and: merry, hoyish. Drunk is mawörö, v. gloss. and KBNW. 

Lagi has the modern Javanese sense: just at the point of.

Canto 90, stanza 6, verse 2: Ke: linakwakënya. C's reading linangwakënnya seems more idiomatic, v. KBNW sub langô.

90—6—3: Ke: anginum.

90—6—4: As alah does not make sense in this verse perhaps sowenyalaga is to be read. Laga, battle, might refer to the competition of the two (groups of) singers, v. comm.

Canto 91, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: saha buyut nikana macèmacèh m.c. Probably the jurwiyangin was a female dancer, v. comm.

91—1—2: Ke: umambili. Prb's translation of ring çwara: with the sound (of music) seems doubtful. In the Nág. idiom çwara (written with ç) seems to have the meaning: text of a song.

91—1—4: Ke: hetunikán winoh wasana. Though grammatically right Ke's translation: the wadas were given clothes, makes little sense. Probably instead of tang, ring should be read.

Canto 91, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: ri wèkasan, a mistake. The meaning of alarih seems to be: to drink liquor.

91—2—3: Titir is to be connected with pangidung.

91—2—4: Ke's and Prb's translations of manulanggapi: to join, are unsatisfactory. In modern Javanese slanggapan ujar means: to enter into conversation. Probably manulanggapi is a technical term belonging to the musical performance. Slanggapi seems to be related to tanggapi: to catch, v. comm.

Canto 91, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: narendra, m.c. and angani.

91—3—2: Ke: ing padapa, m.c.

91—3—4: Ke calls his translation of angungèr i hati: heart-stirring, pathetic, a mere guess. Probably anguñèri hati is a better reading. 

The sense of piercing or boring continuously in one spot. In modern
Javanese the word is only used metaphorically: to hurt a person’s feelings by throwing a suspicion upon him.

_Canto 91, stanza 4, verse 1_: Ke: ṣrīya, Skt spelling.

_Canto 91, stanza 4, verse 2_: Ke: ṣrīya, Skt spelling.

_Canto 91, stanza 4, verse 3_: Ke: an para handyan, and: sīpa, a mistake. The emendation ṣīwan (Völksvertönungen, par. 465) is superfluous.


_Canto 91, stanza 5, verse 2_: Ke: rikang witōna, m.c.

_Canto 91, stanza 5, verse 3_: Ke tried unsuccessfully to translate ṣōri, gitada and lēkēs, technical terms belonging to the musical play, v. comm.

_Canto 91, stanza 6, verse 2_: Kr note: girahyasēn ikang umulat, m.c.

_Canto 91, stanza 6, verse 3_: Ke: ṣōri.

_Canto 91, stanza 6, verse 4_: Ke: gitā, m.c.

_Canto 91, stanza 7, verse 2_: On upābhāryya Ke remarks: perhaps assistant. Probably Prb is right in reading saphala instead of sawala.

_Canto 91, stanza 7, verse 3_: Ke: amātyawangga, Skt spelling. Kr note: suwicaksāna, m.c. Ya wicaksāna seems more idiomatic.


_Canto 91, stanza 8, verse 1_: Ke: nawanātya. The Nawanatya text is edited in the present book. The usual meaning of tinapak: traced, followed, seems to fit well in this verse. Tinēwēkakēn is derived from tēwēk: conclusive moment, conclusion. Probably tēwēk is related to tēwēk: satisfied.

_Canto 91, stanza 8, verse 2_: Ke: pēgat.

_Canto 91, stanza 8, verse 4_: Ke: hetunicang. Kr note: kamānuṣan angangēnan. The reading ing angēnangēn seems more plausible.

_Canto 91, stanza 9, verse 1_: Ke: arkka, Skt spelling, and irikā.

_Canto 91, stanza 9, verse 4_: Ke: i dalêm.
CHAPTER 15 — CONCLUSION

Cantos 92—98, 18 stanzas.

Both the wording and the orthography of cantos 92—98 seem to show more divergencies from the rules of Skt and Old Javanese spelling and metre than the preceding cantos. Probably C’s predecessor in the line of manuscripts was damaged at the end which is of frequent occurrence with palm-leaf books.

Canto 92, stanza 1, verse 2: Ke: tå tahhan ta dahat, m.c. which is unusual. Tan hangkora dahat seems to make better sense in connection with the rest of the verse.

92—1—3: Ke: anvam and mahārddhika. Anvam tāpwa ta kabhawatān seems a better reading. Probably kabhawatān, burdened, refers to the burden of the Royal task. Ke’s supposition that it refers to the burden of sensual desires seems singularly out of place in the frame of Javanese ideas on kingship.

92—1—4: Ke: sūddha, Skt spelling.

Canto 92, stanza 2, verse 1: Kr note: māhuwusun, m.c. dùdug and ambara.

92—2—2: Ke: jagoddhita, Skt spelling.

92—2—3: Ke: byakātā mangguh and samāhita, Skt spelling.

92—2—4: Ke: kēta, m.c. Perhaps kēta katona is a better reading. Ke’s reading saṭā is a mistake. Kr note corrects it: C has sadā, which makes good sense. The most idiomatic reading seems to be: kēta katona nguniweh winuwusana tikang sadā maṛēk. In KBNW the form angnwususi is not mentioned. Mawnuwusi is a poetical expression in modern Javanese, though.

Canto 92, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: kaprakaṣita, m.c

92—3—2: Ke: swara stuti, Skt spelling.

92—3—4: Ke: astwōninwa and bhūmimaṇḍala, Skt spelling.

Canto 93, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: pāṇḍīleng and kastawan Črī narendra.
93—1—2: Ke: bhog RESULTS, Skt spelling. Ke's translation of agaway and sira: made for him, is unidiomatic. It is impossible to express the sense of the dative case in Javanese solely by the preposition i. Sang bhikṣu gawoyanira seems a better reading.

93—1—3: Ke remarks in a note that C's tonggwainira is a substitute for tonggwanmira. Kr note: Kāñcipurī, m.c.

93—1—4: Ke: Sahādayaṇavat and cuddha, Skt spelling.

Canto 93, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: ñastām, Skt spelling. Kr note: sahana sang m.c.


93—2—3: mukyā (future tense, or subjunctive mood) makes little sense. Perhaps mukyān is the correct reading.

Canto 94, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: maparab and pura. Parakāwīdvarā being a Skt compound, para perhaps has the Skt meaning: other.

94—1—2: Ke: mitwamarṇya ri kastawā nṛpati, which is a substitute for kastawon nṛpati.

94—1—3: Ke: pakēna nika.

94—1—4: Ke narendra, Skt spelling. C's long ṛ is a token of respect.

Canto 94, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: Čākādri, m.c. Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1958, p. 228) found the exact date: 30/IX/1365 Julian calendar.

94—2—2: Ke: narendra, Skt spelling.


94—2—4: Probably pangkwat is derived from hwat, humwet, meaning: to increase in intensity. In modern Javanese angot means: to have again a fit of an old illness.

Canto 94, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: niruwā teki lawasnirāsring. As it is improbable the poet used the respectful pronoun sira with reference to himself, lawasnirasing seems a better reading.


94—3—3: Ke: caturtihi Bhāṭmaṭaraṇāntya. Probably the last book was called Sugataparuswawarṇya (Ke: Sugataparwa).

94—3—4: Ke: lambang.

Canto 94, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: pangikēteng. As a technical term of the poets mangikēt can have the sense of celebrating a person in a poem.

94—4—2: Ke: muastawa haji.

94—4—3: Ke: cōkōa, Skt spelling.
94—4—4: Ke: wilaja. The usual meaning of Skt wilajja: shame, seems to fit well in this verse. Niçcaya dadin guyu-guyun makes better sense than C's yadin. In modern Javanese dad si guyon means: to become an object of ridicule.

Prb (BKI 78, 1922, p. 452—460) declared cantos 95—98 to be spurious. He did not attempt a translation. Another opinion on this matter is to be found in the present author's chapter on the structure of the Nāg. in vol. IV.

Canto 95, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: awak. The usual meaning of purik: aspiration, and of alēh, angalēh: to dislike, make good sense in this verse. Kr note thinks that adyah, noble, refers to the poet himself. KBNW has several quotations sub dyah. Usually adyah seems to refer to ladies. The prefixed a- is to be compared with the a- of āpatīh and modern literary Javanese aprabu (sang aprabu). Perhaps it gives an honorific connotation to the words.

95—1—2: Ke: tuna ring, a plausible emendation. According to KBNW the meaning of rētu is: sullen.

95—1—3: Ke: satya, Skt spelling. Katilar instead of matilar seems to make better sense.

95—1—4: Ke: wiphala, Skt spelling.

Canto 95, stanza 2, verse 2: Ke: tan vrūh aghrēṇiṇālēh. Kr note: aghrēṇiṇālēh, m.c. which does not make good sense. Tan vrūh ing gry an inalēh seems a better reading. Inalēh ning alara is a duplicate of inalēh ing adyah of 95—1—1.

95—2—3: As dudāga makes no sense (the long ā is out of place) perhaps jugānu is to be read. Mahāmuni without any honorific predicate is a noun, not the Buddha's title (Ke's suggestion).

95—2—4: Ta humur seems to make better sense than tan umur. Ke connects the abstract kriyādvaya as subject with the verb umur: to go away. In Javanese abstractions are very seldom personified in this manner.

Canto 95, stanza 3, verse 1: Perhaps the reading tan pahi muwang atapa: not different are people practising asceticism, is more idiomatic than C's tan pahi muwang atapa: not different from ascetics.

95—3—2: Probably amatī is a derivation from ati, cf. modern Javanese ngati-ati: to mind.
95—3—4: The original meaning of watēk, amatēk: to draw, to attract, makes good sense in this verse. Ke: nāma nika, m.c.

Canto 96, stanza 1, verse 1: Kr note: pracācad, m.c. Perhaps cēcēd is the name of a kind of bird.

96—1—2: The meaning of Jav. puca: separated, fits better in this verse than Skt pucca: tail. The cheek separated from sleep refers to insomnia. Probably praṇāṃpāṇā is to be connected with plēng: vanished. Forgotten. Perhaps pracongcong is related to modern Jav. clongclongan and clongclongan: walking insolently, and to clunāntan: behaving insolently.

Canto 96, stanza 2, verse 1: Kr note: tatah tatah tātēn, tētēs tan tāt tan ing tutur, m.c. The reading tatah tātā n tātēn tan tētēs tan tāt ing tutur would make better sense.

96—2—2: Kr note: taniri, m.c. Ke: tuhun, a mistake. C's tutun, derived from tutu, fits well in the alliterating verse.

Canto 97, stanza 1, verse 2: Ke: tama sansara and sanmala. Kr note: tyāgā, m.c.

Canto 97, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: yaça sang Winadānunisi, m.c. Wisanggaya is a negation of sanggaya: anxiety.

97—2—2: Ke: ribra, Skt spelling.

Canto 97, stanza 3, verse 1: Kr note: prangnyā, m.c. Ke: wāhu.

97—3—2: It is doubtful whether ġānyā prih, in Javanese, even in these enigmatical verses, can have the meaning: aspiring to ġāya (Ke's translation). The usual meaning of ġānyā: empty, seems to fit well in this verse. Probably gal stands for tunggal: number one. Masa followed by a subjunctive mood, as indication of an improbable case, is unusual in Old Javanese literature. In modern Jav. it is common. Kr note: prihnyā, m.c.

Canto 98, stanza 1, verse 1: Kr note: juga is to be left out, m.c.

98—1—3: Ke: sahanānuh. Kr note: sahanānukanaka, m.c.

98—1—4: Kr note: cinara ri dalēm, m.c.
THE NAGARA-KERTAGAMA COLOPHONS

In Codex 5023, Legatum Warnerianum, Leyden University Library, the Nāg. text is followed by two colophons (p. 135). Evidently both were added to the text by Balinese scribes. The orthography is mannered. As a mark of distinction several long vowels (ä, ë) are written in places where they do not belong.

Colophon I.

The first colophon’s Old Javanese grammar is not very good. Kacaya denira or kacayanira would be more idiomatic than kacayeng sira.

Colophon II.

The second colophon’s orthography and grammar show even more clearly its author’s unfamiliarity with classic Old Javanese. The spelling dyanira instead of denira is a monstrosity. The use of the high-class pronoun sira, -nira with reference to the author himself is contrary to good manners such as were cultivated at the 14th century Majapahit Court. The 18th century Balinese author showing off his deficient knowledge of Sanskrit grammar (sämpūrnāya instead of sampūrnāya) is pathetic.

Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1958, p. 229) found the exact date: 20/X/1740.

The words beginning in the codex on p. 134b (kābda) up to and including i ḍusun (95—1—1) are found also, with some clerical errors, on p. 136b. The rest of this page is blank. Evidently the lines were rejected by the scribe as containing too many mistakes, but the reverse side of the leaf, p. 137a, was afterwards utilized for the next text. The scribe thought it a pity to throw away a good palm-leaf.
II. A PRINCE RECEIVING PRESENTS, SEE P. VIII.
MINOR WRITINGS

NOTES
NAWANATYA

according to Ms. Or. Leyden 5091.

Codex 5091 is a palm-leaf manuscript belonging to the Lombok collection, like the Nāg. codex. The writing is sufficiently clear and the palm-leaves are well preserved. The text is often difficult to translate owing partly to the unfamiliarity of many technical terms and for another part to the scribe’s numerous mistakes. No doubt the Nawanatya text which was read at the Majapahit Court has been emended and enlarged considerably in the course of the following centuries, and several generations of Javanese and Balinese scribes have been at work on it. Nevertheless we must be thankful that we have this mutilated text to give us an idea of what the Majapahit Nawanatya probably was like.

The selections that are published and translated in the present book are made with a view to the elucidation of difficult Nāg. passages. The Nawanatya passages that are skipped are few in number. Their contents is mentioned shortly in the commentary in vol. IV.

A subdivision in paragraphs has been introduced into the translation in vol. III in order to facilitate the reading.

p. 1a (selection 1): The orthography of Skt in codex 5091 is very irregular. Long a’s are written in many places where they do not belong. In Javanese words initial h is used often in words beginning with a vowel in the same manner as is usual in modern Javanese. The spelling Hawanatya (or Awanatya) found twice in p. 1a no doubt is a mistake for Nawanatya. It was suggested to some former scribe by the initial words: nihan awanatya, which should be read: nihan nawanatya.

p. 2b (selection 2): In the list of technical terms of grama, a display of fighting passes and runs, mbuntulu seems to be the right reading for mbantala, v. comm.
p. 3a: As linggapāhala does not make sense linggapraṇāla, i.e. Lingga-
and-Yoni in the Nāg. idiom, seems a plausible emendation.
p. 3a: Instead of hana mējangana bhaṣa probably hanamēṃg-amēṃg-
an abhaṣa is to be read.
p. 3b: Pajēng-pajēngan, not mentioned in KBNW, is to be connected
with hajēng: beauty, ahaṇēng: beautiful. The meaning seems to be:
various things of beauty. The expression is used once more in p. 10a.
p. 3b: The grammatical construction den kadi hanēmu, rendered:
let it be as if one finds, is much more common in modern Javanese than
in the older idiom.
p. 3b: Hangku kābrabhun is to be read hamangku kāprabhun in
accordance with hamangku bhūmi.
p. 3b: Pragiswaka is a corruption of Skt prāḍwivāka, rendered:
giving equitable judgment.
p. 3b: Probably in connection with the following sarwawāga, instead
of sarwawa haṣṭra, sarwawa gāstra should be read.
p. 3b: The words sama, hupāya, samahita, parahita, mangulusi
drong rodra are corrupt; the most plausible emendation seems to be:
sāmanupāya, sāmyika, parahita, mangulus ing drohi rodra. The
meaning of mangulus (from hulus) seems to be: to outwit, v. KBNW.
p. 3b: In p. 22a mawding lokika, the reverse of tan ajrih ring lokika,
is used referring to a wise man. Probably the reading of p. 22a is the
right one. Indifference for the opinion of the world (Skt laukika) is
not considered a virtue in a society of the structure prevailing in 14th
century Java.
p. 4a: The rendering of the expression kahot ing salagan: superior
above his entourage, is tentative.
p. 4a: Sāmyoswanga seems the most plausible emendation of sami
wanga, which does not make sense.
p. 4a: No doubt dampa rakta could be read dampar rakta. In p. 4b
and 11b the form dampa is used again, though, and in the latter place
the meaning state-palanquin becomes evident. In the Nāg. singhāsanas,
portable lion thrones, are mentioned. As a rule a dämpar is a low bench.
p. 4a: Pawahan is a defective spelling; pawahan, modern Javanese
pawohan, a set of several small pots and boxes for the ingredients of
the betel quid, is meant.
p. 4a: Though the original meaning of anugraha is favour, in this
Nawanatya place privilege granted by Royalty seems to be the best
rendering.
Pandita rājya is to be emended: pandita rāja, a synonym of wiku haji, found frequently in the Nāg.

According to KBNW (s.v. tambara) the meaning of tan bhara seems to be: unsettled, insecure. Probably it refers to tabooed places not open to the public because of supernatural influences being at work there.

p. 5a: (selection 3): Probably rāja waha ratu is corrupt. Atawa seems a plausible emendation.

As sadya does not make sense in this place probably  grandi should be read instead, which is the opposite of sabbha.

Pandita addi is to be read: panditadi.

p. 5a: Instead of kusuma sawarana probably kusuma sawana is to be read.

The usual meaning of natya (Skt nati) seems to be: respect. Smita (Skt: smile) has in Javanese the meaning: expression of the face, physiognomy. Pariyaya is Skt paryeya: circulation; in Javanese it has the sense of knowledge of the ways of the world, tactful behaviour.

Instead of yoga ana probably ana yogya should be read.

p. 9b: KNBW is vague on the meaning of pilen (from tengen: right). Modern Javanese nengenake: to be interested in, seems to justify the translation of pilen: interests.

p. 9b: Probably the first rāja of rāja larangan rāja kapa-kapa is superfluous. Rāja larangan, a hybrid compound, does not make sense. The expression rāja kapa-kapa, rendered tentatively: kings of yore, is found also in the title of the Praniti Rāja Kapa-kapa, one of the minor writings published in the present book.

p. 9b: As prigraha does not make sense parigraha is to be read instead. Probaly the word refers to the household and the zenana.

p. 9b: Instead of panglesung, which does not make sense, perhaps panglesu should be read. Panglesu (from lesu: powerless, tired, lēson: to go to rest) is not mentioned in the dictionaries. Paleson means resting-place. It seems probable the last sentences of the paragraph on the commander-in-chief refer to his retirement from office.

tumrap (from trap) seems to refer to a bird settling on a branch. The translation "to rise in rank" is founded on Par. 26-35:
sang ārya Tilam, apatih ring Daha, mati. Gumanti sira Gajah-Mada, tinĕrapakên apatih ring Daha, meaning: the Honourable Tilam, vizir in Daha, died. The worshipful Gajah-Mada succeeded him, being raised in rank to be vizir in Daha.

p. 10a: No doubt so rakryan is to be read sor rakryan. The last words of the paragraph are not very clear. Probably Javanese readers familiar with Court titles had no difficulty in understanding them, though. The title-name Ārya Adhikāra belongs to a more exalted rank than rakryan tumēnggung.

p. 10a: Bawahan seems to be a better reading than tawahan.

p. 10a: Tança wan is corrupt; probably tança yawa is the correct reading.

p. 10a: Ringgitan refers to the women who are mentioned in the next sentence. In modern Javanese ringgit is used in ceremonial idiom (krama) i.e. in the sense of professional female dancer.

p. 10a: Pamicakuran is not mentioned in the dictionaries. The translation "fishing-party" is founded on the preceding mention of hunting-parties. According to KBNW in modern Bali pècakur is a bamboo bench used by fishermen.

p. 10b: Hauwe suka should be read aueh suka.

p. 10b: Atisangan does not make sense. Probably the correct reading is opisangan. In KBNW (s.v. Sanggit and pisang) pisangan is mentioned as a title-name of female courtiers or servants at Court.

p. 10b: Dēma kalihewu is to be read: dēmak kalihewu.

p. 10b: The expression sapècaking hasta, literally: anything having hands' marks on it, perhaps refers to the products of (female) craftsmanship (in the Royal compound).

p. 10b: Probably aturan refers to the ceremonial invitations addressed to Royalty to appear in public mentioned in p. 11a (angaturi).

p. 11a: In the expression saruwakriya the word kriya means: artisan. This is the usual meaning in modern Javanese.

p. 11a: In Nāg. 63—4—3 anikēl-nikēl is used also, presumably referring to the making of plaited bamboo-work.

p. 11a: The translation of dadar-dadaran: floormats is tentative.

p. 11a: Sung sang prabhù: sung is to be eliminated.

p. 11a: Patēh-patēhan is not mentioned in the dictionaries. The translation: harmonizing pairs of maidens is founded on the meaning of patah in the modern Javanese Court idiom: brides-maids, maids of honour, always appearing in pairs.

p. 11a: The nga in the next sentences, as a rule an abbreviation of
ngaranya: namely, by name, in this place no doubt is a clerical error: the Javanese number 2 must be meant. In the Royal procession pairs are very much in evidence.

p. 11a: Kinacwangi is corrupt. Probably the ending upi is to be read nga, representing once again the Javanese number 2. Perhaps kinacwa is to be read kinacwa. Kucwo or kocwa is a Javanese corruption of Skt kosa: treasure. Kinacwa “considered as a treasure” or “richly ornamented” might be the name of a beautifully made box containing the King’s valuables. At the modern Javanese and Balinese Courts boxes were in use for this end, but they had other names.

p. 11b: Samaran is to be read samiran. Samir is the name of a neck-band still in use at the modern Javanese Courts as a mark of distinction worn by Royal servants who are in active service in the King’s presence.

p. 11b: The translation of the words parék lan sang ing dalen is uncertain. Probably by “the honoured ones who are in the Interior” the ladies of the Royal zenana are meant. Perhaps the serving-women were relatives of zenana-ladies.

p. 11b: The differences between basahan and wédihan in the 14th century Majapahit Court idiom is not quite clear. If mentioned together probably the basahan refers to a kain (loin-cloth) worn next to the skin, its lower border visible, under the more ornamental wédihan.

p. 11b: Probably hajénar asta should be read: ajénar hasta: yellow of hands, i.e. with hands made yellow (by means of a sacred paste, modern Javanese: boreh).

p. 11b: Hanglukuhakén is to be read: anglungguhakén.

p. 11b: According to KBNW (s.v. sékar) loose flowers are used in ceremonies. Probably anglungguhakén sékar ura is the name of a rite of initiation before beginning the ceremonial procession.

p. 12a: Rasa-rasa, rendered: reflection, is the sense of the loose flower rite. The words rasorasa nga may be corrupt, though.

p. 12a: The words palinggih arupit, rendered: the seat is close, probably refer to the King’s manner of sitting in the state palanquin assuming a god-like appearance. The original meaning of rupit is: narrow. Perhaps in some cases it has the sense of solemn, dignified.

p. 12a: Pangabhaktya is to be read pangabhaktyan; according to KBNW (s.v. bhakti) the word refers to a final ceremony marking the end of a major celebration.

p. 12a: Gamanti is to be read: gumanti.

p. 12a: Perhaps galangan is to be read: galungan.

p. 12b: The translation of winawonya: “his revenues” is founded
on the occurrence of references to the mandarins' revenues or salaries in the preceding and following paragraphs. The original meaning of *winawa* is carried away.

*p. 12b*: *Aprayoga knasikēp* probably is to be read: *amrayogakēn* aṣikēp.

*p. 12b*: *Hanor tasor* is corrupt. Perhaps the correct reading is: *anor tan kasor*, rendered: “he vanquishes and is not vanquished”. *Anor* is an unusual form, the usual form being *anorakēn*. *Anor* may have been in use in a set phrase, though.

*p. 12b*: *Wiroring prang* is corrupt; *wira ring* seems the plausible emendation.

*p. 13a*: *Magawa tang* is to be read: *magawa watang*.

*p. 13a*: What a *jiŋring* decorated lance was like is unknown. Though the expression is mentioned in KBNW the meaning is not made clear.

*p. 13a*: *Ḍaḍap* was originally a small oblong kind of shield covering the fore-arm.

*p. 13a*: *Patith rahi*, to be rendered: face- or forehead-covering, perhaps was a kind of cap or head-dress.

*p. 13a*: The jacket with raised tips on the shoulders (*kalambi sinimpaning-simpaning*) was still worn by dancers in Eastern Java in the beginning of the 20th century. In the 14th century the wearing of jackets was exceptional.

*p. 13a*: *Ambulungan* appears to be a long narrow loin-cloth that is passed between the legs, called in modern Javanese *cowet*.

*p. 13a*: Probably *buntal* was the name of a rather short pike as distinguished from the *watang* (modern Javanese *tumbak*), the long lance.

*p. 13a*: The *tameng*, rendered as a “buckler”, probably was a round shield.

*p. 13a*: The difference in the 14th century Majapahit Court idiom between a *singēl* head-cloth and a *sungkul* head-dress is not clear.

*p. 13a*: *Tampak waja*: “marks of steel (instrument)”, probably is the name of a pattern of woven textile used for the *sungkul* head-dress.

*p. 13a*: *Garuḍa marēp*: the “Griffin flying ahead”, is a shape of head-dress still known in modern Java by connoisseurs of wayang puppets. *Garuḍa mungkur*: the “Griffin turning his back”, is more usual, though.

*p. 13a*: *Camara* as a rule refers to a tuft or a wisp. The pike with *camara* probably was tasseled, though.

*p. 13a*: The corrupt *parēphayunira* is to be read: *parēng palayunira*. 
p. 13a: The original meaning of pujétan seems to be: twisting and turning. The word apparently is used as a technical term of manly sport, therefore the rendering: wrestling seems appropriate. In modern Javanese gëlutan is the usual word for wrestling.

p. 13a: The form pinakaranγga: used as ranγga, shows the original meaning of ranγga: companion, partner. Probably the word is related to laga and lawan.

p. 13a: For gawyakēn must be read ginasawyakēn.

p. 13b: The word tīga (usual meaning: three) in the ancient Court title mantri tīga (usually understood as meaning: the Three Mandarins) seems to be explained in this Nawanatya paragraph as referring to the mandarins’ function at Court. Probably tīga is taken in the sense of: clearly visible to the surrounding world. The meaning of patīga: parapet of a terrace or a tower, is in accordance with this fundamental sense. *Amarra matīga: dividing into two or three parts, also belongs to the explanation of the mantri tīga title. Probably the sense is: giving explanations (of the King’s words or wishes).

p. 13b: Langka is not mentioned in KBNW. Perhaps yya langka is to be read balaka: simply, stressing the preceding words.

p. 13b: As labda does not make sense in this place probably gūbdā is to be read.

p. 13b: Čāstra is used twice in this sentence. Probably the first čāstra is a mistake for cōsana, which makes better sense in this place.

p. 13b: Wiryanupabhāra is to be emended: wṛyenupabhārya. Upabhārya is found in the Nāg., v. glossary.

p. 13b: Sahekanγya is to be read: pahékanγya.

p. 13b: Awakweh is to be read: atawa kweh.

p. 13b: The high-class pronoun sīra must refer to the Right Honourable the master of the guardsmen.

p. 13b: Amayakna is to be read amahayokna (from payu, hayu). Amahayokakēn rendered: to make something good, is not mentioned in KBNW. The meaning is not doubtful, though.

p. 14a: Pinakayakeniru is derived from ayakan: men who are called out for active service.

p. 14b: Batur is not used in the Nāg. with reference to serving-men. According to KBNW in the 14th century idiom the word was used especially referring to the clergy.

p. 14b: Wiraghatha is an impossible name. Probably Wiranātha is to be read instead.
p. 17b: (selections 6, 7): Lingsir kunang does not make sense in this place. Probably langsir kuning is the right reading.

p. 18a: Bhakta-bhaktan is rendered: various requisites. In this word bhakta, as a rule in the older idiom meaning: food, seems to have the sense of: carried away, like the modern Javanese békta, bektan.

p. 18a: Instead of sahesira, pahasira is to be read.

p. 18a: The translation of anglinggani puspa by: offer humble greeting is tentative. A puspa rite (probably with a flower held between the two hands in aţi jali position) is mentioned repeatedly in the Nāg.

p. 18a: The translation of paślan: ceremonial sitting position, is in accordance with the modern Javanese use of the word sila for: sitting cross-legged in a rigid ceremonial position. The sacrificial immobility (tan owah) has been observed even in modern times at the Central Javanese Courts on similar occasions.

p. 18b: Sahati does not make sense. Probably sahangguli is the correct reading.

p. 21b (selection 8): Probably wisayetama is to be read: wisaya tmanah.

p. 22a: The translation of hengan: "confusion" is tentative. Perhaps the sense is: jealousy.

p. 22a: Sangadi is explained tentatively in KBNW by "greeting". In modern Javanese the meaning is: pretending.

p. 22a: Pacaraning manah is to be read: apacaraning manuh.

p. 22a: On the expression mawësing lokika v. note on p. 3b.

p. 22a: Rehana probably should be read: wehana.

p. 22b: Mangkana safu is to be read: mangkana sāfu.

p. 22b: Wani lawan makes better sense than wana lawan.

p. 22b: Pariwananén is not classical Javanese: the Skt word is paravaca.

p. 22b: The translation of angëmőh (from këmőh) by: swamping is tentative. In modern Javanese ngëmu (from këmu) has the sense: containing moisture.

p. 22b: Hawai does not make sense. Probably the correct reading is: anggawani.

p. 23a: As donan (from don) does not make sense in this place probably adonan is the right reading. In KBNW (s.v. adu) adu-advan is explained as referring to the carrying off of enemies’ heads, v. comm.

p. 23a: Amaçeša is to be read amiçeša.
p. 23a: Amrañangi is to be read: amrañangi (from baranang).

p. 23b: Probably tan damakna is to be read: tan dēmakna (from dēmak).

p. 23b: Perhaps instead of mewēh ring buddhi: mewēh tang buddhi is to be read.

p. 23b: Kinahan is to be read: kinahanan (from hana).

p. 23b: The grammatical form den eling is not of frequent occurrence in the 14th century Majapahit idiom.

According to Damais the scribe’s date at the end of the Nawanatya probably is 4/VIII/1691 A.D. This date was in the wuku Kulawu, though, not in the wuku Ḍukut.
The Rājapatiguṇḍala is the second of three texts on the organization of the clergy in 14th century Java which are assembled in codex 5056, Leyden University Library. The first text is called Dewaçāsana, the name of the concluding text is Pratasti Bhūwana. In the present author’s edition of the Tantu Panggēlaran Dutch summaries of the three texts have been published. The present English translation of the Rājapatiguṇḍala is complete. The other texts have been left out because some restriction seemed advisable. The Rājapatiguṇḍala is the only one that is mentioned in the Nāgara-Kērāgama.

Like codex 5023 that contains the Nāgara-Kērāgama text, codex 5056 is a manuscript on palm-leaf belonging to the Lombok collection, and unique, as far as known. The script of both manuscripts is sufficiently clear, and the codices are well preserved. In the Rājapatiguṇḍala text the scribe’s mistakes and omissions are much more numerous than in the poem, though.

The Rājapatiguṇḍala is in prose, and its idiom is the Court speech that is used in the Royal charters and the lawbooks. Grammatical forms resembling modern Javanese are scarce (e.g. den kon). Remarkable is the profuse use of the suffixed -a indicating a subjunctive mood. It is possible that the author (or some scribe) meant to embellish his text by means of those subjunctive forms. The superfluous long a’s i’s and a’s and the ç’s instead of common s’s are also to be explained as mannerisms.

The numerous mistakes and omissions make the text very difficult to understand. Therefore the translation can only be approximate. In some sentences the query-marks are legion. Probably the Rājapatiguṇḍala text, like the Nawalaya text, are copies, made at the order of some Balinese Prince, of manuscripts that had been preserved in Bali in a corrupt state for several centuries after the fall of the Majapahit dynasty. Several emendations have been made by the present editor.
in order to make the meaning of the corrupt passages somewhat clearer. The principal emendations are the following.

p. 13a: Adityāha is to be read: ādityāya.

p. 13a: Siddhya trīga dewāya probably is a corruption of siddhattīdāga-
dewāya.

p. 13a: Prauṣṭa, rendered: entry, is not mentioned in KBNW. It
seems to be a chancery term marking the beginning of a text. The
following Javanese lekhas is an explanation of its meaning.

p. 13a: Candacīvajñāna is corrupt. Sādācīvajñāna seems a likely
emendation. Sādācīvāsmtī is mentioned in KBNW (s.v. Čiwa).

p. 13a: Wruha does not make sense in this place. Probably some
words explaining the object of the knowledge (vruh) have dropped
out. The sentence beginning with wruha was meant to be a Javanese
paraphrase of the preceding Skt compound ending in jñāna.

p. 13a: Probably samāptavānugraha is to be read: samāptanugraha.

p. 13a: Sapolah does not make sense in this place. A plausible
emendation is sampolik, rendered: accorded favour, meant to be a
Javanese paraphrase of the preceding Skt anugraha.

p. 13a: Wākī haji is to be read wadwa haji.

p. 13a: Hanaraji does not make sense. Perhaps anak raja is the
correct reading.

p. 13a: Sahalanira is to be read: sabalanira.

p. 13a: Probably the correct reading of the next sentence is: brahma-
dewayajñāha sang raja maṇḍala. The expression brahmayajñā is used
in the Nāg., v. glossary.

p. 13a: Āgraha is to be read: āgraya.

p. 13a: Sang hyang maṇala is a mistake for seng hyang maṇḍala.

p. 13b: Tan kahirarakna is to be read: tan kahilangakna.

p. 13b: Apan yan ahidēp arūpaha yowwma seems the best reading.

p. 13b: Swahawaka does not make sense. Probably swabhāwa is the
original reading.

p. 13b: As wūcya is out of place here wewa is to be read instead.

p. 13b: Gambicwara does not make sense. Perhaps gambhīrecwara
is meant.

p. 13b: Between tusning and wunang some words are missing. Perhaps
the original reading was: tusning wunang māṅkana wunang. The words
wunang and wunang are easily confounded.

p. 13b: Catujanma is to be read caturjanma. Probably caturjana is
a better reading. In the Nāg. (81—3—1) caturjana is used in the sense of four classes of the laity.

p. 14a: Çewa yan tanpangaskāra is the correct reading.

p. 14a: Probably hakris is to be read: pakris.

p. 14a: Tumawaçã is to be read: kunawaçã.

p. 14a: Anglêtuhi çewa refers to the ordained clergy in general. In modern Bali this use of the word scewa or sewa is quite common.

p. 14a: Banuwuluka does not make sense. Perhaps the original reading was something like tansah alaku.

p. 14b: Adum apilih, literally: make divisions and selections, is rendered tentatively: take what one likes. The expression seems to refer to the privileges of ecclesiastical gentlemen of high rank.

p. 14b: Tan pidda is to be read: tan sidha.

p. 14b: Sangkroo does not make sense. Perhaps the original reading was: sangkara, referring to the issue of mixed marriages.

p. 14b: Utpatha is to be read: utpāta.

p. 14b: As raçikanya does not make sense probably rasakanya (from rasak) is to be read. In KBNW angrasaki is mentioned with reference to the placing of offerings for spirits on a mat on the ground.

p. 14b: Probably ampēkana is to be read tampēkana.

p. 14b: Hanwidi does not make sense. Perhaps yan winidi is the original reading.

p. 15a: Makawana is difficult to explain. Perhaps matêmahan is to be read instead.

p. 15a: The mis-spelled word drving probably is to be read dërwe ing. Dërwe (Skt drauwa) is not in common use in classical Old Javanese in the sense of: to possess. In modern Javanese dũwe is quite common.

p. 15a: Sênjang is related to modern Javanese sêndang.

p. 15a: Simpurung is rendered: steeple-roofed pavilion on account of its relation with modern Javanese cêmpurung (not mentioned in KBNW). Quotations in KBNW (s.v. lañcub and sangara) show that a wikus simpurung, i.e. a simpurung priest, was considered as a priest of small sanctity.

p. 15a: Gilang-gilang, rendered: sitting stone, probably is the name of a type of small sitting-place consisting (originally) of a flat rock provided with a roof so as to make a small pavilion. The use made of flat rocks for seats is well known.

p. 15a: Pahyasan, rendered: dressing-place, perhaps refers to small structures erected near bathing-places on the banks of rivers to be used
by people who had bathed to rest for a while and to put their dress in order.

p. 15a: \textit{Atirthanining jagat} probably is to be read \textit{patirthanining jagat}.

p. 15a: \textit{Mněng kang pramananing rat} does not make sense. Probably the correct reading is \textit{wěnang kapramanan ing rat}.

p. 15a: As \textit{anadahakinkin} does not make sense probably \textit{anafaah akinkin} is the original reading.

p. 15a: \textit{Jumput} is rendered: “especially reserved” on account of the meaning of the verb \textit{jumput}. The implications of the word used as a chancery term are as yet unknown.

p. 15a: \textit{Kuluwut} is rendered tentatively: enfolded, enclosed. Perhaps the word is related to modern Javanese \textit{klobot} and \textit{kobut}. A remote relationship with \textit{kweu}, rendered: manor, is not improbable. What \textit{kuluwut} meant in the 14th century chancery idiom is unknown.

p. 15a: \textit{Kanglang} is to be read: \textit{kalang}, and \textit{kalanggyan}; \textit{kalagyan}.

p. 15a: \textit{Kapurawangçan}, rendered: land of descendants and relatives, seems to refer to land set aside for the support of relatives of the original owner of a domain. The explanation of \textit{kapurângçan} in KBNW (s.v. \textit{putrangç}) implies this.

p. 15a: As \textit{dalun} is not mentioned in the dictionaries perhaps \textit{talun}, rendered: newly opened land, is to be substituted for it.

p. 15a: Probably \textit{patara tanya} is to be read: \textit{nاتara tanya}.

p. 15b: \textit{Po sira sang mangawara} perhaps is to be emended: \textit{pwe sira sang yogiçwara}.

p. 15b: \textit{Yaçakacarintika} is corrupt. A likely emendation is: \textit{yata kacarika}. In KBNW (s.v. \textit{sanga}) the expression \textit{mali kacarik} is mentioned with reference to a curse called down upon a person. Probably this word \textit{carik} is related to \textit{sarik}: curse.

p. 15b: Evidently the sentences are in disorder. The sentence beginning with \textit{tan kawaraha dening sarat} is repeated needlessly. Before \textit{karèşyan} the words \textit{sang rësi amuktiha} have been dropped.

p. 15b: As \textit{noreng taşkakan} does not make sense perhaps \textit{norang} is to be read instead.

p. 15b: \textit{Tan darmmangaran} probably is to be read \textit{tan darmma ngarañanya}.

p. 15b: \textit{Hananing sarwawanma} perhaps is to be emended: \textit{kahananing}.

p. 16a: \textit{Lawanagara} is to be read: \textit{lawan nagara}.

p. 16a: \textit{Uwahana} probably is a mistake for \textit{upahana}.
p. 16a: Probably yan kakongkon is the original reading. Di(nag)gu is related to modern Jav. jenggo: remain silent.

p. 16a: Patyanira pa is to be read patyanira pwa.

p. 16a: The sentence beginning with kërmi sampeka is defective. The sense is lost.

p. 16a: Kunang ka is to be read kunang ta.

p. 16a: Taku probably is to be read: teku.

p. 16a: Angilangakhën is to be read: angilangakhën (cf. eling).

p. 16a: Kërthapara probably is to be read: kërtaawara.

p. 16a: Haga manik is rendered Jewel Mountain. It seems to be an epithet of Java.

p. 16a: Probably the twice repeated tapanira is to be read patapanira. The sentence is in disorder. The list of denominations contains both sogatas and bodhhas, which is unusual. No difference in use between the two terms has been ascertained as yet.

p. 16a: The frequent use of sang before names in this part of the Rājapatigunta is not in accordance with the rule of the Majapahit Court idiom where sang is an honorific predicate (rendered: honoured) belonging to courtiers. Probably this misuse of sang is to be ascribed partly to the rather negligent style of the notes that are the substance of the Rājapatigunta, partly to mistakes of later editor-scribes. In the translation the rendering of sang ("honoured") has been given up in all those cases where it seemed to have become meaningless in the Javanese text.

p. 16a: Sandura is corrupt. Satinandura perhaps is the original reading.

p. 16a: Sahagangon is difficult to explain. Perhaps sagagang is the original reading.

p. 16a: Probably paduluran is to be read saduluran.

p. 16b: Mangusitahan does not make sense. Pangupajtwan seems a plausible reading.

p. 16b: The translation of dërwe yaca: personal property, is founded on the meaning of the modern Javanese word yasan: land owned by farmers in their own right, as opposite to communal lands.

p. 16b: Wīṣyanērttha is to be read wīṣamērta: venom-death. Probably the expression refers to the risk incurred by people who did not respect sacerdotal property.

p. 16b: Ujar kela is difficult to explain. Perhaps kela is related to bela, referring to outsiders joining in a ceremony and participating in its cost for economy’s sake.
p. 16b: Sihidi before wiku probably is a mistake. It should be left out.

p. 16b: As ngéud does not make good sense in this place probably ngélad is to be read instead.

p. 16b: Sagata probably is to be read sanggata.

p. 16b: Yan sampun does not make sense. Probably pan sampun is the original reading.

p. 16b: Kríthasaya stands for kértasamaya.

p. 16b: Dúpan does not make sense. Perhaps dwan, i.e. don is the original reading.

p. 16b: Ring ngadana does not make sense. Ring anádi seems a plausible emendation.

p. 17a: Sarupahan is corrupt. Probably some words referring to disregard of the precepts have been dropped.

p. 17a: Pěpěcat is to be read pěpěcut.

p. 17a: Hutaha is to be read svutaha.

p. 17b: Tumaha is to be read: tumamaha.

p. 17b: Çri Bha(ga)ti is to be read: Çri Bhatati, sang ratu.

p. 17b: Paññata is to be read paññita.

p. 17b: The Skt invocations are corrupt. Perhaps çorabhyaḥ is to be read sûrabhyāḥ: to the gods, and ajitadharma: ajitadharmāya: to Invincible Dharma. Garddhipatayaya perhaps might be read saruvahdhipatyay: to Overlord Sarwa.

p. 17b: Phalaḍḍaṇḍa perhaps is a mistake for palu ḍeṇḍa.

p. 17b: Perhaps labdhawarna is a better reading than labdawara.

p. 17b: Cintamani is the usual spelling of the name.

p. 17b: The last corrupt Skt invocation sadastuti te namaḥ svāhā perhaps is to be emended: sadāstuti te namaḥ svāhā.

p. 18a: Rājanagara probably is to be read rājya nagara.
PURWĀDIGAMA

Preamble.

The Purwādigama is one of the Old Javanese Balinese law-books. These books contain juridical definitions, they give some rules of conduct and sometimes they explain law-cases. Mostly the contents is incoherent. Probably many chapters of law-books found in Balinese manuscripts of recent date have their origin in the Majapahit era or before.

The preamble of the Purwādigama according to Dr H. N. van der Tuuk’s Kawi-Balinesesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek (sub voce ṣarım-madayaksa) has been included in the present book because it contains an interesting list of title-names of law-officers. In the Preface of Brandes’ Register op de proza-omsetting van de Babad Tanah Jawi (i.e. an index to the names found in the great Javanese History) of 1900 the Purwādigama preamble is found included also.

The expression bhujangga Çiwan ṁṇakasthawira ring nagara proves that the Purwādigama belongs to the Shiwaite literature of Bali.

Sthawira is an unusual word; in this place ṁṇakasthawira is a ceremonial expression.

The long title Adhismaṣṭrasaroddhṛta probably means: the Essence taken from the book Adhigama. The Sanskrit word adhigama could be rendered in this context as “findings”. This explanation of the name is in accordance with the fact that the Pūrvādhigama and the other known law-books are not more than manuals or notebooks compiled by authors of different ages.
The text of the *Ajar ing Rāja Kapa-kapa* mentioned in the Nāg., canto 85, is unknown to the present author. Probably it was a text in Old Javanese prose resembling the Nawanatya, and dating from the same time, the 14th century. In the 18th century several Old Javanese texts that seemed of interest were rewritten in modern Javanese metres by scholars who were attached to the Court of Central Java. The prose was changed into poetry using the modern Javanese metres that were in vogue at the time. Two modern Javanese versions of the *Ajar ing Rāja Kapa-kapa* are known, one in the metre Ḍaṅgāng-gula the other in Asmaradana. Both have been published, but not translated, by Brandes as appendix III to his *Register op de prosa-omsetting van de Babad Tanah Jawi*, i.e. an index of names in the prose version of the Javanese History (*Verh. Bat. Gen.* 51, 1900). Brandes found both versions in a manuscript belonging to the Netherlands Bible Society, no 80 I.

The modern Javanese version in the Ḍaṅgāng-gula metre is the more reliable of the two. The other one is defective. As a substitute of the Old Javanese *Ajar ing Rāja Kapa-kapa* which is not available, this modern Javanese Ḍaṅgāng-gula version is included in the present Nāg. edition. Brandes' text has been emended in some places by readings taken from ms. or Leyden 1850. This codex does not contain the Asmaradana version. The spelling of Javanese in the transcription of this modern text is the Sanskrit-Old Javanese spelling used in transcriptions throughout the present book. The regular Romanized spelling of modern Javanese is based for the greater part on the Dutch spelling. Using two different orthographies might lead to confusion.

Both in the beginning and at the end of the modern Javanese versions *Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa* is given as the name of the text. *Kapa-kapa* is otherwise unknown either as a noun or as a name. Perhaps the most plausible hypothesis is that *kapa-kapa* means: once upon a time, of old. It might be related to *kapan* (when, interrogative) and to *kapan-kapan* (at some time). The meaning of the name *Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa*
would be: Management of the Kings of Old, and the Old Javanese name *Ąjar iną Rāja Kapa-kapa* would mean: Teaching of the Kings of Old. The Nawanatya has: *pitiṅēn sanś prabhu, raja laraiyān, raja kapa-kapa*. As this does not make sense it is proposed to leave out the first *raja* which probably came in by dittography. The meaning is: the Prabhu's interests, the prerogatives of the Kings of Old. The last words might contain an explanation of the preceding expression, which is an unusual one.

In the *Rājapatiguṇḍala* the Illustrious Bhatati (probably the same person as the 13th century Singasari King Kērta-Nagara) is referred to repeatedly as *sang ratu ring alawas*: the honoured *Ratu* of Yore. This is not a sufficiently strong foundation for the identification of the *Raja Kapa-kapa* with the well-known King of Singasari. The interpretation of *kapa-kapa* as meaning: of old, is made the more plausible, though, by the finding of the expression *ring alawas* (to be rendered: of yore) in a similar context. The ascription of texts on social order like the *Rājapatiguṇḍala* and the *Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa* to ancient Kings is a common proceeding. The question whether *Raja Kapa-kapa* originally referred to one particular King (be it Kērta-Nagara of Singasari or another) or to the Kings of Old in general is left unanswered.

Javanese scholars of the 18th and 19th centuries explained *Raja Kapa-kapa* as the name of an otherwise unknown *adhipati*, the author of the book. This is but an explanation ad hoc. *Kēkapa*, a Javanese wooden saddle, does not carry us any further.

In the following notes *Praniti* will be used exclusively for the *Ḍangang-gula* version.

The *Praniti*’s author, who lived probably in the 18th century, seems to have had a copy of the original *Ąjar* which was still well legible. His version probably gives a good idea of the contents of the original. Writing poetry, he was compelled to form short sentences in accordance with the metre, and this makes the text difficult to understand. It should be noted that the *Praniti* does not contain one word of Arabic origin, except *tammat* (end) in the last stanza. This makes it probable that the author followed his Old Javanese model, which, of course, was free from Arabic influence, as closely as possible, often using the same words.

It is remarkable that the *Praniti*’s author did not mention the fact that he was rewriting an Old Javanese original. The author of the *Asmaradana* version called attention to his own work in a last stanza: *Duk wahunne sakin kawi, manke tinambayhan jarwa, sinawan-sawunj*
gēṇḍāne, macapat nuju hasmara, rīṇ reh sarju wyoṣ sitaw, sakīṇ mula
tar pīnugut, makirya nulak kewala. Translation: In olden times, from
the kawi idiom, now turned into modern Javanese, and composed in a
macapat metre, alluding to Love, in order that it might be pleasant and
also clear. From the original nothing has been cut off. I made it a point
of honour only to follow my model. (The “allusion to Love” is an
allusion to the name of the metre, Asmaradana, which means: Gift of
Love).

The Asmaradana version contains some other information that is
not found in the Praniti, but has its origin in a faulty understanding
of the original. The Praniti, on the other hand, contains in stanza 9
several words (adīpati kawu, anden bupuyut pangalasan) which are
skipped in the Asmaradana version. These words are of some interest
for the Nāg. commentary.

In Brandes’ Register the two versions of the Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa
are followed by a text in modern Javanese prose called Wadu Aji: the
Lord’s Serving-men. The Wadu Aji seems to be the work of a Javanese
scholar of the 19th century. It is a kind of commentary on the two
versions of the Praniti, with some additions of small value. It is of no
interest for the present book.

The Praniti in Dāṇḍang-gula metre has 10 stanzas, the Asmaradana
version has 18, but these are shorter ones. The text is to be divided into
four parts: an introduction of 2 stanzas dealing with the meaning of
the word mantri, a discussion of the mantris mancanagara (2 stanzas),
a similar discussion of the mantris bujangga (2 stanzas), a superficial
discussion of Royal officers of lower rank (3 stanzas) and a concluding
stanza. Stanzas 1—4 and Nawanatya p. 9a—14b, i.e. the beginning of
the Nagarakrama chapter, have much in common. In the commentary
the points of interest will be discussed.

The following notes refer to emendations of Brandes’ edition.

In stanza 4 Brandes has: anampurnakēn nēnggih parentahing papatya,
cod. 1850 has: anampunakēn. Both readings are possible and the
meaning remains the same. It seems more in accordance with the kanu-
ruhan’s functions as described at some length in the Nawanatya, though,
to read anampakakēn parentah: to deliver orders. The reading kanu-
ruhan instead of kanuruhan is the common one in modern Javanese.

In stanza 5 the metre requires the reading: amanguri bupuhane. The
following words do not make sense. The best emendation is: angēṃpuni
mantri bujangga samya: acting as ēṃpu (master) of the mantris
bujangga altogether, though angēṃpuni is an unusual form. The author
of the *Wadu Aji* has: *angkurahi para wadya jëksa*: being the Chief of the King's servants the *jëksa*'s, which probably goes back to this place of the *Praniti*.

In the first verse of *stanza 6 papatni* should be read instead of *manguri*, for the following explanation *wani mati* can only refer to *papatni*. The last verses of this stanza are far from clear. It is proposed to read: *Leha nèngghu, twirnya ulah amet ulam, lawan malih punika wangënning mantri, bujanggarya tangarnya*. This makes the group of eight *mantris bujangga* that is mentioned in the *Purwadigama* complete. Their functions will be discussed in the commentary.

The stanzas 7—9 contain some names of offices that are otherwise unknown: *pasëpan, palimpingan, pakulutan* (Brandes has: *pakulutan*), *swantani*. The *Wadu Aji*'s explanations are too obviously made ad hoc to be reliable. In stanza 7 *Arya Pamotan* is mentioned as an inferior of the *mantris bujangga*. In the *Praniti* his place in that group is taken by the *Papatni*, unknown to the *Purwadigama*’s author.

The words *asor saking puniki* in stanza 7 and *malih insoripun* in stanza 9 which refer to inferiority in rank lead to the conclusion that all the *mantris* from the *patih* in stanza 3 to the *ubuyut pangalasan* in stanza 9 are placed in order of rank from high to low. This is a help for forming an appreciation of the Court offices. Probably the last words of *stanza 8 pura angraramunya* are corrupt. *Kang raramutnya* perhaps is a plausible emendation. *Angramuti* is a word belonging to an old Eastern Javanese idiom. It means: to take care of; it is related to *emut*: to mind, to remind.

The second verse of *stanza 9* should be read: *kalih bëlah ewu pañca tanđa*. The expression *pañca tanđa* is found in the *Nāg*, canto 88—1—3.

The last words of stanza 9 do not make sense. They should be read: *pinakantyaning katha*, meaning that the *ubuyut pangalasan* is the end of the list.

Brandes' text has in the beginning of *stanza 10*: *para lurah*. The reading of cod. 1850 makes better sense. The words refer to the custom of taking turns in the execution of office. It is also mentioned in the *Nāg*, canto 8—6—4.

Probably in the last verse *mawah* is to be read *mauwah*. 

III. BRIDAL PROCESSION OF A PRINCESS, SEE P. VIII.
SARWADHARMA CHARTER
1296 A.D.

According to Brandes' communication in the Notulen van de Directie-
vergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap, vol. 36, 1898, the seven
plates of the Sarwadharma charter were found in that year on the
Pênampihan estate in the Wilis massif, district of Tulung-Agung,
Kadiri. The text as edited in the present book is copied from Brandes'
transcription which has been published by Krom in 1913 (Oud-
Javaansche Oorkonden, II, p. 188) without translation or commentary.
Brandes seems to have transcribed the text from photographs. Some
mistakes may be ascribed to that fact. The letters and words that are
printed in italics were marked by Brandes as not quite clear. On the
whole the text is in a good state.

In several places short vowels are written instead of long ones
(mantri-mantri) and mistakes are made in Javanese and Sanskrit
words. The doctor's name ḍaṅg ḍārya Čīwanātha is given to two
different persons in successive lines (plate 2 recto, line 6 and 7). In one
place (plate 3 verso, line 4) the words ring wiṣaya punpunan sang
hyang sarwadharmanma are reiterated by mistake. Remarkable is the
use in some places of the unusual form byēt instead of the usual bwat.
Perhaps these facts are sufficient to warrant the supposition that the
seven plates found in 1898 are not originals but copies of the standard
text as drawn up by the Royal chancery. Probably the bronze copies
were made by order of the abbatial family of a domain benefitting by
the Royal charter with the intention that they would be kept by later
abbots as heirlooms and title-deeds. Unfortunately Pênampihan in the
Wilis hills has not been identified with any domain of the clergy
mentioned in the Nāgara-Kērtāgama.

In the following notes on the text as edited in vol. I of the present book
only emendations of some importance for the right understanding of
the sense of the words are proposed. The minor mistakes in the spelling
are neglected.
Plate 1 verso, 5: tarpita seems a better reading than narpita.
Plate 2 recto, 5: pamgêt ing jamba. Both Jamba and Jambi are found in the texts, v. glossary.
Plate 3 recto, 3: pamajängkën takun.
    recto, 6: sakaladharma.
    verso, 2: enak ta kaniçcayan ika.
    verso, 4: Either ring wiçaya punpunan sang hyang sarwadharma is reiterated by mistake, or the words have taken the place of a short sentence mentioning the reverential address (hatur) to the King.
Plate 4 recto, 2: devarwangça.
    recto, 3: indnakahēn.
    verso, 4: papinḍah panti.
    verso, 5: tumutātukva sapanut sahanani.
    verso, 6: tan ṣgat kawijilaksana.
Plate 5 recto, 5: apungguta (?).
    verso, 7: ṣjah anirara.
Plate 6 recto, 1: kēmbang kuning ri harēpan.
    recto, 7: ri sanmuka para tanḍa.
    verso, 1: suvarṇa.
    verso, 7: kawulikan.
Plate 7 recto, 2: sandhya and jñāti.
    recto, 4: dṛṣṭvā.
    recto, 5: andho.
    recto, 6: kuhāt.

According to Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1952, p. 72) the date of the Sarwadharma charter is 31/X/1269 A.D.
DECREES JAYASONG

about 1350 A.D.

Incomplete.

The five copperplates were found in Béndosari (district of Trénggalek, residency of Kâdiri) in 1896. The first plate is lost, therefore the date is not known. Krom's suggestion (T.B.G. 53, p. 417) that the plates were issued between 1350 and 1365 seems very probable. Brandes' transcription has been published as no LXXXV in Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden II, 193. The plates are in a good condition. The mistakes of the scribe are not numerous and easy to correct.

As to the idiom it is sufficient to refer to the notes on the Ferry Charter of 1358 also edited in the present book. The antiquated spelling muang instead of mawang is an affectation of the Court scribe.

The text of the Decree is remarkable for the insertion of two speeches. The first person is referred to as ungsun, which is a noun (tuhatuha ni ungsun). Its original meaning is unknown. In modern Javanese ingsun is a pronoun. No doubt the litigants used very humble terms while referring to themselves in their speeches addressed to their judges. In modern Javanese, on the other hand, ungsun is only used by Royalty. In some Eastern Javanese dialects the pronoun is still in common use, though.

Another remarkable point is the frequent use of pun (aranipun, pun samasanak, etc.) just as in the modern Javanese idiom.

The only numeral that is written in full is sawidah pitu(ng), sixty-seven. It is probably a mistake for sawidake, which is the usual form. The interpretation of the lengthy Sanskrit epithets given to members of the Royal Family and prominent Royal servants is sometimes difficult. In the frame of the present book the making of comparisons with similar lists of epithets found in other charters seems unnecessary, however interesting it might prove to be from a historical point of view.

The following slight emendations in the Javanese text as edited in the Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden are suggested.
In plate 5 recto, line 5, instead of tan punika, which is an unidiomatic sequence of words, pan punika should be read.

In plate 6 recto, line 3, awidhita is a mistake for awidita.

In plate 6 verso, line 2, instead of pinunga, which does not make sense, sinungu should be read.
FERRY CHARTER

1358 A.D.

Of this Royal charter of originally eleven copperplates four plates have been published by van Stein Callenfels as Oorkonden van Travulan I in Oudheidkundig Verslag 1918, and one plate, found in 1902 in Pêlem, residency of Surabaya, and transcribed by Brandes, has found a place as no CXIX in Krom's Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden II, 1913. The plates are in good condition and the writing is clear.

The Ferry Charter is the longest of King Hayam Wuruk's charters that have been found. Its style and idiom mark it as a product of Court officials, and on these points the difference with the charters of Rënhék, Biluluk, Shela Maŋji etc. is clearly visible. Nevertheless the Ferry Charter contains some grammatical constructions that are related to modern Javanese. The infix -in- is considerably less used than the prefix ka- in the passive form of the verb. The suffixed pronoun -nya is often used in the modern Javanese manner, e.g.: denya ng anambangi. Pure Old Javanese would be: dening or denikang, good modern Javanese: dening kang or dening ingkang. Probably in the 14th century -nya was pronounced -ne, as it is written in the Biluluk etc. charters that do not affect the official Court style. Iriya in anambut iriya seems antiquated in a 14th century text. The Nâg. has riya in a similar construction in one place only: anut riya.

The official style of the Ferry Charter is accentuated by the use of many learned Sanskrit compound words as epîthêta ornantis going with titles of high officials. Parts of these epithets are found in the Nâg., v. gloss. This is another proof of the close connection between the Nâg. and the Court. In some cases the Sanskrit compounds in the charter are followed by Javanese explanations, and some single Sanskrit words are given Javanese translations, e.g.: sarwwe, ika ta kahëh. Probably the learned scholars of the Royal Court could not expect a ready understanding of their Sanskrit from inferior clerical officers.

In the translation in volume III of the present book the Sanskrit
epithets are put between quotation marks to distinguish them from the subsequent Javanese explanations.

The Ferry Charter contains some Javanese words and expressions that are unknown from elsewhere, and several others that have been found in other charters as well, but still are difficult to explain. They shall be discussed in the commentary on the charter in volume IV.

Only a few slight emendations in the Javanese text as edited by van Stein Callenfels and Brandes are suggested. The present author did not collate the published text with the original plates. The probability of finding better readings by means of a collation does not seem great.

In plate 1 verso, line 1, samërddhi is probably to be read: sam₃wrddhi.

In plate 9 recto, line 3, perhaps p₃råw³wapara is a defective spelling of p₃råwːpapaː : east-west.

According to Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1952, p. 76) the exact date of King Hayam Wuruk’s Ferry Charter (by him called Canggu Charter) is 7/VII/1358 A.D.
THE CHARTER OF BATUR

Fragmentary.

The charter consists of three copperplates, all fragmentary, found in 1915 near Batur, Kraaksan, province of East-Java. They are mentioned in the Notulen K.B.V.G. (Minutes of the meetings of the R. Batavian Society), 1915, p. 105, edited by Bosch in Oudheidkundig Verslag 1915, and further discussed by Krom in his Epigraphische Aantekeningen, T.B.G. 58, 1919, p. 161. In this paper Krom completed the names of some officials by comparing the charter’s list with the charters of Nglawang and Bëndosari. The complete names are used in the present edition.

The three fragments are registered as E 50. In addition to them one complete copperplate has been found. Its script is of a later period and the text is written in two distinct hands. It is illegible except for a few words. The name of the place Sađeng which is also found in the Nâg. is mentioned in it. It is registered as E 51.

The translation of the large fragment of E 50 does not offer many difficulties as it contains the usual preamble with titles and names. At the end of line 2 recto rangga should be supplemented to make the number of five mantris amañcanagaru complete.

The middlesized fragment contains the interesting part of the charter. At the end of line 1 recto manḍale kaiṭawa i talun should be supplemented in accordance with line 4 recto.

Ring puhun malama in line 2 recto is an expression used especially in charters. Labupanaya probably should be read īlabhopaṇaya.

At the end of line 3 recto māsa should be supplemented in accordance with the caṇṭramāsa of line 1 verso.

The sa at the end of line 4 recto probably is the beginning of the name Sâgara.

Line 5 recto might be read kapwunuruna kalasa pataranā.

The end of line 1 verso should be supplemented: pāñcadaçi.

The end of line 4 verso is to be completed with pāduka grī mahārāja.

Line 6 verso should be read sang sisda guru sanguni.

The contents of the small fragment is too slight to give information of much value. Çuklapak should be read çuklapaṇka.

Kalihân probably is to be identified with Kalyasēm.


CHAPTERS OF BILULUK

1366, 1391, 1395 A.D.

In Oudheidkundig Verslag (Report of the Archeological Service) of 1917 van Stein Callensfels published a note on some copperplates found in the district of Lamongan, near the village of Biluluk, and in the Report of 1918 he published transcriptions of three plates. They were probably issued by the same Prince of Wënkër who was the author of the Rënkëk plate, and consequently the idioms of the four plates are very much alike.

Notes on the plate of 1366.

Amomọtọt, which is not found in the dictionaries, has been translated: grabbing ears of rice from the fields (in passing), on account of the modern Javanese mubọt, which means: to tear off.

Siwihos is an "interchangeable form". The use of this kind of embellishment increased in the Majapahit era; it was known long before that time though, e.g. kantén instead of kali (river) in the well-known stone charter of Këlagen, issued by King Erlangga in 1037. The common form of siwihos must have been siwiji or swuiji. These words are not found in the known texts, but they are certainly related to the modern Javanese seje, which means: other.

The maledictions at the end of several Old Javanese charters have been translated long ago by Professor Kern. According to him, trayoda-çaṣakṣi, the thirteen witnesses, should be read: tridaṣa, the thirty, because only the thirty gods could be meant. Professor Krom, in his paper on the charter of Ngławang, issued by King Hayam Wuruk before 1365 (T.B.G. vol. 53, 1911, p. 414) pointed out that undoubtedly thirteen is the right reading, as lists of thirteen witnesses are found both in Sanskrit and in Old Javanese texts.

Instead of tunḍuli, tunḍun (back) should be read,
Notes on the plate of 1391.

Pamihos is another instance of the use of "interchangeable forms" in these texts; probably it stands for pamiji, which may have been a capitation tax collected at the time of the annual religious festival (puja). It is remarkable that the first plate has pamuja and the second one pamihos.

Notes on the plate of 1395.

Anampak (from sampak or tampak) is not found in any known Old Javanese text. The repetition excludes the possibility that it is a mistake. Meanwhile the meaning is clear: it only can mean: to get or: to take. The word is related to ngampak-ampak: to beg, found in some charters (v. glossary), to modern Javanese tampa: to receive, to accept and to the modern dialectical expression: kēsampak, meaning: fortunately found, at last.

The meanings of the numerous words belonging to the idiom of customary law that are found in this charter will be discussed in the commentary in volume IV of the present book.

According to Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1952, p. 76—78) the three dates mentioned in the Biluluk charters are: the first between 12/III/1366 and 28/II/1367, the second between 1/VII and 13/VIII 1391, and the third between 20/II and 21/III 1395 A.D.
CHARTER OF Rĕnĕk

1379 A.D.

The charter of Rĕnĕk has been the subject of a paper published by Dr Stutterheim and the present author in the Dutch periodical 'Djawa' under the title: Een Javaansche oorkonde uit den bloeitijd van Madja-pahit (vol. 6, 1926). Dr Stutterheim furnished the transcription and contributed some notes on the history and the epigraphy of the text. The present author offered a translation, a commentary on the contents and some philological notes.

Stutterheim's transcription is re-published in the first volume of the present book. The author took the liberty, however, to modernize the spelling so as to be in harmony with the spelling of the other transcriptions in that volume. The following introductory and historical remarks are excerpts from Dr Stutterheim's notes. Dr Stutterheim died in the beginning of the Japanese war, in 1943, in Batavia (Djakarta). The author feels confident of his old friend and colleague's approval of his making use of the above-mentioned transcription and notes for the present book. The epigraphical remarks are left out as being of minor interest for the majority of the readers.

The charter of Rĕnĕk is engraved on two bronze plates, bearing the Javanese numbers 1 and 2, 9 × 33,5 cm (3 3/4 × 12 3/4 inch) and extraordinarily thick: 4 mm (3/6 inch). They have five lines on each side, except the side containing the beginning, which has only four lines. The plates were sold to Mr F. B. Klaverweiden, M. D., of Surabaya, probably about the year 1920, by a Javanese pedlar who told him that they had been found buried in the earth in a field near the site of Majapahit. Afterwards H.H. the Pangeran Adipati Arya Mangkunagara VII, one of the minor semi-independent Princes in the period of Dutch sovereignty, acquired the plates for the collection in his palace at Surakarta.

It is beyond doubt that the Bhaṭāra ring Wĕngkĕr who is mentioned in the first line of the charter is the same person as King Hayam
Wuruk’s uncle the Prince of Wêngkêr whose activities in the field of agricultural jurisdiction are known from other charters (Kanḍângan) as well as from the Nâgara-Kêrtâgama (canto 88). According to the Pararaton he died in 1310 Shâka (1388 A.D.). The year of the charter of Rênék (plate 2b, line 4: ʂirah I) must be 1301 Shâka, the first year of the new century. This is well within the Prince’s lifetime.

The Ferry Charter mentions a Tambak, which was the place of a ferry. It is possible that the Tambaks of the charter of Rênék and the Ferry Charter are identical. The word means ‘dam’ and so it should be a common name in an irrigated country such as the Brantas Delta.

These excerpts from Stutterheim’s part of the Dutch paper on the charter of Rênék make its history sufficiently clear. The following notes on the text and the translation, the translation itself and the commentary on the contents in the next volumes of this book are taken from the author’s part of the same paper. The Dutch translation of 1926 needed emending in some respects. The present translation into English is harmonized with the other translations in this book.

Notes on plate 1, recto.

Wontên, instead of wawantên, is one of the many instances of modern Javanese spelling in this charter. The Nâg. has hardly any spellings of this kind. No doubt the discrepancy between poetry and prose, and between Court style and rustic idiom, must be taken into account. Spellings and idioms of charters such as this one are proofs that in the 14th century the Javanese language in Eastern Java had more modern forms than one would gather from the reading of poetry and Court literature. Punika and kâng are such forms. Suffixed -i¬ra and -ni¬ra are used in the same way as -e and -ne, -i¬pun and -ni¬pun in modern Javanese. The reservation of these suffixes for persons of the highest rank as practised in the Nâg. is discarded in the charter. Si¬ra is frequently used as a honorific predicate before names, even of people of low rank (lêmbah). Its use reminds one of the modern Javanese si or pun.

Nalampakanira, meaning ‘His Foot-soles’, an honorific predicate equivalent with the modern Javanese kâng-jêng, meaning ‘The Feet’, has passed into modern Javanese Court style as pakênrâ, a pronoun of the 2nd person. The most remarkable about the word is the initial nasal, whereas the usual form is talampan. A comparable case is the modern
Javanese punika, nearly always pronounced měnika. The translation 'His Grace' is chosen because of the connection with the Court.

Samasanak, family, is often used in charters, v. glossary.

Kaladan is a derivation from lad. Wélad is a knife made of bamboo, an ancient implement; therefore probably the original meaning of kaladan is: cut, clipped. The charter of Shela Mañjé (edited in the present book) has: tan alonga tan awunwuh, tan pongladana bhunine brayane, tan kalada: that it not shall diminish and not increase, that it not shall retrench the land of his neighbours and not been retrenched.

Iong is in modern Javanese: jeng, it is 28.386 m² or 7 acres in Central Java. But then about the Majapahit jeng nothing is known, of course.

Kilčujakuring probably is a corrupt chancery term connected with surveying. Salabak-wukirnya, with its low lands and hills, of Nāg. 35—3—1 would give good sense in this place.

In the first line angulihakén is used, and in the third mantuk. In modern Javanese mulih and mantuk are 'interchangeable words', both meaning: to go home, but mulih is used in the ngoko (common) idiom and mantuk in the krama (ceremonial) idiom. The charter does not yet make a very strict difference between ngoko and krama, neither does the Nāg.

Maring is a modern form for mareng, from mara ing, originally meaning: 'going to' or 'going for'. The remarkable use of the word as an indication of the object of an action (asraha... maring sawah) is well-known in modern Javanese.

Gěnti ri handon does not make sense. It is proposed to read: gěnti ring anden: they represented the andens, the gentry. The andens (Nāg.: hantyan, v. gl.) are opposed to the atuka, the elders of the commoners.

Notes on plate I, verso.

Punang is used in relation to a person, kong is used in general, v. glossary.

The spelling punika tta and puniku tto, with double tt, does not make sense. Probably it is only done to look important. The use of puniku in II recto 5 is correct, as referring to the persons that are just mentioned. In I verso 1 punika has the same sense. In modern Javanese punika is more frequently used than puniku or puniki. The buyut of
Talaga’s name probably was Tumpēk, ‘Saturday’, not Umpēk. In this case a double ĭt would not have been out of place.

The spellings hing Rēnēk, haṇṭēnēngi, hangalihi, hamalērakēn, with h’s instead of vowel ḍērās, are modern Javanese. Evidently in the charter’s idiom in the 14th century the h was mute at the beginning of a word. The contraction of warga haji to warga, wraga, is a consequence of the same fact.

Notes on plate II, recto.

The occurrence of the spellings wawang and wong in the same line (line 5) is remarkable.

Whereas many verbal forms of modern Javanese are used in the charter’s simple phraseology, the form with the infixed -in-, very common in the Nāg., is absent. On the other hand several verbal forms with prefixed ka- are found (v. gl.). Evidently in the 14th century idiom of the charter the infix -in- was already nearly extinct just as it is in modern Javanese.

Notes on plate II, verso.

Hamalērakēn (malērakēn in the same line) is a derivation from walēr, so the original meaning is: to fix a boundary, v. glossary.

Yen is the modern form for yen.

Para in parawangsa and parajinura seems to be merely an indication of a plurality, just as it is in modern Javanese. The sense of ‘common, commoner’, obvious in several places in the Nāg., cannot be attributed to para in this case, because the parajinuru and the parawangsa form the party opposite to the wong lēmbah, the low-born.

Samadaya, from Skt samudaya, assembly, just means ‘altogether’ in this place, like its derivation sēdaya, which is a ceremonial word for ‘all’ in modern Javanese.

According to Mr Damais, the author of the Études d’Épigraphie indonésienne published in B.E.F.E.O. 1951—1958, the date at the end of the Rēnēk charter probably is 9/IV/1379 A.D., but then the abbreviation of the day of the week should be read ḍa (i.e. ḍaneçcara: Saturday) instead of ba.
CHARTER OF WALANĐIT
1381—1405 A.D.

The charter of Walanđit has been edited and translated already in 1899 by Brandes (Notulen Directievergaderingen K.B.G., vol. 37, p. 64). The text in the first volume of the present book is a copy of Brandes' edition. The following notes, the translation in volume III and the commentary of the present author are at variance with his predecessor's opinion in some matters of minor importance. It does not seem necessary to point out all differences.

The charter is engraved on one bronze plate, 30 × 7.3 cm (12 × 3 inch). Though the text seems complete the plate bears the number one. Probably it is the initial one of a series of plates containing the texts of charters referring to Tengger districts. It is a copy, made in 1405 A.D., of an old charter ascribed to King Hayam Wuruk of Majapahit who is called by his posthumous name Wèkas-ing-suka (Limit of Bliss). According to the Pararaton King Hayam Wuruk died in 1389 A.D. The subsequent numbers of the series of plates may have contained other Tengger charters. Unfortunately they are lost.

The plate was found in 1880 or thereabout by a Javanese woman in a field in the district of Penañjangan in the Tengger massif in Eastern Java together with a bronze container for slaked lime used for betel chewing shaped like a phallus. Both objects were bought by Mr La Chapelle for the collections of the Bataviaasch Genootschap.

The idiom and the spelling of the charter of Walanđit are the same as are found in other charters of the time not belonging to the Court sphere. The indifference in respect of the h at the beginning of a word is remarkable. In one line are found the spellings hanagih and andikaringong. Evidently in the 14th century the h in that position was treated in the same manner as in modern Javanese speech. The combinations ya and wa of Old Javanese are superseded by e and o (rehane, ayo, wong), another point of conformity with modern Javanese. On the other hand the verbal suffix -a (hurwa, homatöra, kagugena) still has the
sense of an indication of a future tense (shall). In modern Javanese the suffix -a would be an archaism in those cases.

The charter's second part, the verso side, containing the detailed date in 1327 Shaka, shows some reminiscences of the Court style (irika divasan, tinambakken and the title talampakanira Bhafira Hyang Wekas-ing-Suka). No doubt the second part is an addition of 1405 A.D. made by the writer (probably a kanuruhan, v. charter of Renek, also edited in the present book) who was familiar with the Royal Court. The kabayan Marle and the buyut (a headman of a rural community) mentioned at the end were the men who acted for the common families (para warga) of Walaqdit ordering the copy of the old charter to be made on a bronze plate. No doubt they had to pay for it. The plate was intended to be kept as a heirloom in their families. Unfortunately the conclusion of the charter has become illegible as a consequence of erosion.

The text of the addition on the verso side of the plate has some mistakes: indikani instead of andikani and ireha instead of irehe. The reading of the names Mamanggis-Lili and Kacaba seems corrupt. Perhaps the names were Mamanggis-Hilir (i.e.-Downstream) and Kacubung, kacubung being the name of a well-known shrub (Datura fastuosa). The places have not been identified.

According to Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1952, p. 76—78) the first date of the Walandit charter is between 17/XI and 16/XII 1381 A.D. and the second date is 21/VI/1405 A.D. The second date was already calculated by Brandes.
CHARTER OF PATAPAN

1385 A.D.

This is no IV of the so-called Trawulan plates (v. the note on the Karang Bogém charter), also published by van Stein Callenfels in Oudheidkundig Verslag 1918. The script shows some peculiarities that belong to modern Javanese writing. The idiom is the same as that of the Biluluk and Karang Bogém charters. A part of the first line on the verso side is illegible.

The meaning of sumalah in this text is related to modern Javanese seleh.

Tumrap is found in the Nawanatya (v. glossary) used in the same sense: to rise in rank.

Pañêlêk is derived from cêlêk, a black dye, collyrium. Its original meaning is: black dyeing. On account of the places noted by van der Tuuk it seems probable that pañêlêk refers to a document on palm-leaf (with blackened writing, as usual) as distinct from a copperplate.

Ponahan, farm-yard, is a common word in modern Javanese, used in the same sense as in this text. The remarkable fact that umah and its derivates are very seldom found in the Nág. as well as in the other Old Javanese texts of the same era or older has been pointed out already. The Pararaton, on the other hand, has many places with umah.

According to Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1952, p. 78) the date in Jyaiśha 1307 Shāka is between 10/V and 8/VI 1385 A.D.
CHARTER OF KARANG BOGÆM

1387 A.D.

The copperplate of 1387 belongs to a group of plates that was found in 1918 in Trawulan, in the district of Mâdjâkêrtâ in Eastern Java. Van Stein Callenfels published a note on them and a transcription of some of them in Oudheidkundig Verslag 1918, p. 108, 143 and 169, calling them "the Charters of Trawulan". So the copperplate of 1387 has been known as "Trawulan V". As it seems more reasonable to call the plates after the places or the persons to whom they refer, the copperplate of 1387 is called "the Charter of Karang Bogæm" in the present book.

Like the Biluluk and the Rëñeék plates it contains a rescript addressed to a group of persons in authority in the province. A remarkable point about this plate is the script, which is of an unusual type and difficult to read. Van Stein Callenfels' transcription has a facsimile added. The idiom is the same as of the other plates. The style is lapidary, which renders the interpretation rather difficult.

The text is to be divided into two parts. The first part refers to Karang Bogæm and the second one to the fisheries. The connection between the two is the patih tambak (emendation for tamba) mentioned in line 2. In the first part the office of patih tambak, head of the fishponds, on the estate of Karang Bogæm is instituted, and in the second part the fisherman from Grêsik is appointed to that office.

The dëmnung shrub mentioned in line 3 could be either Codiaeum variegatum or Graptophyllum pictum. In modern Javanese dëmnung seems to refer as a rule to the second species.

Van der Tuuk in his KBNW mentions some places where wariga could refer to a sailor or to a trader. In the present text the translation "fisherman" seems preferable because of the fisheries mentioned in the second part. The etymology of the word is not clear. Wariga is found in some charters of great antiquity, e.a. the Kwak charter of 879 A.D. (Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden I, p. 14) among the
officials of rural communities assisting at a ceremony. The other meanings of the word, referring to chronology and divination, are well known. Perhaps it is related to modern Javanese ringga: wary and rigèn: skilful, dexterous.

Acan in line 5 is another name for the fish-preserve that usually is called trasi. The Malay name is bêlacak. Van der Tuuk mentions acan with the note: Sasak, i.e. the vernacular of the island of Lombok.

The last words of line 5 sarahi, atambak, sesine are difficult to explain. Sarahi atambak probably means: for each of the tambak-holders, i.e. for each tambak. A similar expression is found in the Ferry Charter (v. gloss.). The meaning of bobot sewu is: weighing as much as one thousand cash. The Chinese coins were used as money as well as for standard weight and even sometimes for standard measure. For this last end they were strung on a string. The Chinese bronze coins were in use in Bali till the middle of the 20th century; perhaps even longer. Their rate used to be about one seventh of a pre-war Netherlands East India cent, which works out at 1.750 cash for one gold U.S. $.

The emendation sesane (i.e. cesane) for sesine makes the rest of the sentence clear.

The meaning of anggogondok is unknown. Gondok means goitre; the word refers to something bulging. It is vain to try to find the meaning of anggogondok on such a base.

According to Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1952, p. 78) the date in the 7th month of the Old Javanese year, i.e. Māgha 1308 Shāka is between 20/1 and 19/11 1387 A.D.
CHARTER OF KATIĐEN

1392 A.D.

This copperplate of the local museum of Malang, province of East-Java, has been transcribed and translated into Dutch by Poerbatjaraka (T.B.G. 76, 1936, p. 387). The origin is unknown.

The idiom is the same as is found in the other rescripts.

The present English translation is not on all points in concordance with Poerbatjaraka's Dutch one.

His translation of the sentence tan ananing aningkah-aningkuha by: "ook mag niemand eenige (andere) regeling in welken vorm dan ook invoeren" (nobody should introduce any different regulation whatsoever) is based on the supposition that the verb is a derivate of tingkah, order. That seems doubtful. Tingkah means order of action (in modern Javanese: manner of action), not: order-regulation-rule (Dutch regeling). Aningkah-aningkuha as a derivate of tingkah is unidiomatic; one would expect an expression like the end of the Ferry Charter: yan hana uuulah-ulah sarasa sang hyang òśña haji praçaśti. The derivation from singkuh seems much more probable. The original meaning of singkuh is: left, and: back, metaphorically: underhand. The modern Javanese slingkuhan is an expression for: fraud.

The formations tan ananing anglarangana and tan ananing aningkah-aningkuha are unusual. In Old Javanese one would expect a sentence beginning with aywa ana: let there not be. The charter's sentences make one think of modern Javanese formations beginning with karē-ben ora anoa sing. The Shela Maṇḍi charter has: tan anani wong pati-pati angalapa.

According to Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1952, p. 78) the Shāka year of the Katiđen charter should be read 1314, and the date is between 24/III and 22/IV 1392 A.D.
CHARTERS OF SHELA MAṆḌI
1394, 1395, 1396 A.D.

The two copperplates contain three short rescripts. They were presented to the Directors of the Royal Batavian Society by the well-known Javanese painter Raden Saleh on his coming home from a tour of Java in 1865 or 1866. The transcription was made by Dr Cohen Stuart. The two plates were published as number IV in his Kauw Oorkonden (Old Javanese Charters) of 1875.

Dr Cohen Stuart found the texts difficult to read. His transcription is sufficiently clear, though, to allow one to make a plausible translation. Both the spelling and the idiom of these Majapahit texts of the end of the 14th century have several modern Javanese features. The aksaras of the vowels are often replaced by the aksara h (which was no longer pronounced as h at the beginning of words) provided with a mark for the vowel. The infix -in- in verbs as a formative for the passive voice is replaced by the prefix ka-. It is remarkable that -in- is only found in the title binayut; this use of the infix in relation to titles seems to be modern Javanese rather than Old Javanese. On all these points the Shela Maṇḍi texts conform to the Rĕnĕk, Biluluk, Patapan and Karang Bogĕm plates. The style is not lapidary, though, but rather prolix, showing several superfluous reiterations.

In plate I recto sahuman, which is unknown as the name of a district, perhaps should be read sahuban, all in the shadow of. Sakahuwan is used in this sense in the Walaṇḍit charter.

In plate I verso wukat probably is a mistake for wugat: back, end, v. glossary.

Rĕrambahĕl should be read sirambahĕl.

The name of the landmeasure that is half (?) a kikil seems to be jari (cf. ūhari).

In plate II recto pabuyutan (emendation for pabuyukan) refers to the persons who would take Darani's lands, his neighbours (brayan in plate I verso), the buyuts of Shela Maṇḍi. The pa-an formation for office-bearers is found also in pasĕdahan, paňharikan and palayangan.
The construction of the sentence tan anani wong pati-pati angalapa (the not-being of persons who have in mind to take) is unusual. Instead of tan anani one expects aja ana (there should not be). Pati-pati is related to ngati-ati (to mind). The meaning of the sentence is clear, though. The Kadijen charter has sentences constructed in the same way.

Ngapecsakna (emendation for ngupecsakna) is a derivation of Skt apekṣā which is not found in the Javanese dictionaries.

Déndahane is a future or subjunctive form of dénda (suffix -a) with the personal pronoun -ne annexed. This is unusual; in modern Javanese déndanea would be used. The explanation of déndahane as an -anderivation of dénda (déndaan) with -e annexed is improbable because there is no reason why déndaan should not be contracted to déndan.

Plate II verso contains many words and expressions that are known from other texts. Putajenau, however, has not yet been found elsewhere. The meaning is clear, and the etymology probably is: put from jumput (to pick) and aji, ajen (lord, the lord’s). Probably it is a synonym of the well-known draya-haji, which word is not used in the Shela Maṇḍi plates.

According to Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1952, p. 78) the date in plate I verso is between 3/III 1394 and 20/III 1395 and the date in plate II recto between 20/II and 21/III 1395 A.D.
"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY

GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book clean and moving.