JAVANESE COURT SOCIETY AND POLITICS IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH
CENTURY: THE RECORD OF A LADY SOLDIER

PART I: THE RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL, AND
ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE COURT*

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One of the questions which have occupied the attention of observers of modern
Indonesian politics is the extent to which the contemporary conceptualization and
practice of politics shows a demonstrable legacy of colonial and, especially, pre-
colonial, "traditional" forms. 1 The legacy of older social and political forms has
also been discussed by students of other Asian polities, but it seems fair to say
that in the case of Java—the "majority tradition" of Indonesia—the discussion has
been characterized by a higher level of abstraction than has been the case for
other societies. In studies attempting to relate the traditional to the contemporary,
this has perhaps been due in part to the utility of presenting the former in a dis-
tilled and firmly characterized form in order to facilitate comparison. Yet a similar
level of abstraction, a concentration on theory rather than practice, conception
rather than reality, has also marked many studies not concerned to relate contem-
porary to traditional political behavior but simply to characterize the latter.
Clearly the extensive analyses of C. C. Berg, portraying Javanese political beha-
vior as the enactment of a periodicity based on the alternation of Buddhist and
Vaishnavite kingdoms at predictable intervals, fall into this category.2 Not all
writers, of course, have seen traditional Javanese political behavior as essentially
the enactment of the developments preordained by a religious schematization made
manifest in this world, but even those who have attempted to study in detail the
more "practical" side of political life, the administrative and political geography of
the kingdom, have tended to present a picture characterized, to a greater or lesser
degree, by a concentration on ideal structures and a depiction of a fixed, perfected,

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cal developments between 1784 and 1791, will appear in Indonesia 30 (October 1980).

Press, 1972), pp. 1-69; Section V, "Javanese Traditionalism," in Herbert Feith and
Lance Castles, Indonesian Political Thinking 1945-1965 (Ithaca: Cornell University
Press, 1970), pp. 178-200; and H. J. Benda's "Democracy in Indonesia, review of
Herbert Feith, The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia," Journal of
Asian Studies 22, no. 3 (1964), pp. 449-56, in which Benda argued that an un-
broken tradition must be seen as politically dominant.

2. Berg's major theoretical analysis is to be found in his "Het Rijk van de Vijfvou-
dige Buddha," Verhandelingen der Kon. Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen,
Afd. Letterkunde 69, 1 (1962) [for a summary see pp. 196 ff.], and Māya's Hemel-
vaart in het Javaanse Buddhisme, ibid. 74, 1 and 2 (1969) [summary pp. 52-53,
128, 138-39].
political order. It is only fair to say that such a picture is to a large extent the natural result of the kind of Javanese sources which we have available: sources which give either idealized schemata of the administration of the kingdom, or secondary constructs of the philosophical significance of political structures for the Javanese world-view. It is extremely difficult to find Javanese sources which show political theory adapting to a changing reality, for we have nothing comparable to the minutes, letters, and other administrative records which make possible the study of, let us say, the evolution of conciliar government in Tudor England.

Had different sources been available, no doubt different books would have been written. The only writer who has attempted the difficult task of integrating Javanese conceptualizations of the nature of the kingdom into a diachronic account of political change of a major order is M. C. Ricklefs, whose study is of particular importance for that attempted here. Even here, however, the peculiarly dual character of the sources used by Ricklefs—administrative, political, and economic records from the Dutch side, and literary and philosophical works from the Javanese side—has also brought about a corresponding duality in the finished study, in that we tend to see the unfolding of "real events" and historical change, day by day or year by year, through the Dutch rapportage, while the Javanese sources provide a secondary construct, the reflection of these changes in the Javanese world-view. In this article and the following one, an attempt will be made to redress this balance somewhat by looking at part of the period covered by Ricklefs from the perspective of a rather special Javanese source: one which is not a secondary, ex post facto construct, but a primary record probably unique among extant sources.

This work, used here as the central point of reference to which outside sources are related, is a diary: an example of a genre often considered absent from Java-

3. See, for example, Soemarsaid Moertono, *State and Statecraft in Old Java: A Study of the Later Mataram Period, 16th to 19th Century* (Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1968), and B. Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, vol. 2, *Ruler and Realm in Early Java* (The Hague: van Hoeve, 1969). While it would be untrue to say that Schrieke ignores historical change, he does see Javanese society as conforming to the same essential structure over a very long period ("the Java of around 1700 A.D. was in reality the same as the Java of around 700 A.D.", p. 100); and a similar outlook is implicit in Moertono, whose Javanese sources for his political geography are overwhelmingly of nineteenth-century origin, but are made to apply as far back as the sixteenth.


5. The manuscript itself is KITLV Or [Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde Oriental Ms.] No. 231 of the collection of the Institute at Leiden. It is in book form on Javanese bark paper, and comprises 303 large double pages (that is, when the book is opened only the left page is numbered, so that, according to modern convention, the diary would comprise 606 pages). All references to the diary will cite only the relevant page number, with L or R to signify the left or right side: for example, 311R, 300L.

The number of pages, 202, given in Dr. Th. G. Th. Pigeaud's catalogue, *Literature of Java* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1968), 2, p. 832, is not correct. The diary manuscript was in a state of disarray when it was presented to Dr. Pigeaud (who later presented it to the Koninklijk Instituut collection) by Mangkunegara VII. Its loose pages were put in order and bound, but the cover-page had suffered considerable wear. This cover-page contains four Javanese-script inscriptions in different hands—none of them that of the body of the manuscript—and one in-
nese records, and an example of unusual scope and interest, covering as it does a full decade (1781-1791) and being written at the court of Mangkunégara I, one of the major figures of eighteenth-century Javanese history, and one of the last of the "old style" princes to rise to eminence in the context of a political and military competition for power of the type that was never again to be possible for the Javanese aristocracy.

What is more, the diary was written by a member of a venerable Javanese institution which was also to pass away with the old style of life. She identifies herself in a short introductory note in prose, which forms the first lines of the manuscript itself: "Attention: the writer is a lady scribe and soldier, bringing to completion the story of the Babad Tutur, in the month of Siyam, on the 22nd day, still in the year Jimawal numbered 1717, in the city of Surakarta." This passage is followed by the first stanza of (macapat) verse, which reads: "The work then is in Mijil meter; its basis is something else, it follows a different story. Because of the length of the story it was written [in an abridged form in verse??] It was still a [the?] lady scribe who transmitted it." The descriptive material of the diary follows immediately, and there is no further information on the writer either here, at the beginning, or at the end of the manuscript. The small amount of inscription in Arabic script (pegon).

Beginning at the top of the page, the first Javanese-script inscription says that the work was written by Bagus Prawiratruna, the scribe of Sergeant Kock ("Sareyan Kok") of "Siti Rawi," and also mentions a milkman (tukang pérés) of Salatiga, whose name (Wiryadirana??) is not fully legible. This information presents problems. There seems to be no place called "Siti Rawi," and though this could be a metanym or transliteration for a different toponym, none of the major or minor Dutch military posts on Java seems plausibly indicated. ("Siti" is a synonym for lêmah, or bumî, "earth," a fairly common first element in Javanese toponyms, and "rawi" can be either a form of rawa, "swamp," or a literary word meaning "sun," and so, by extension, possibly some quality associated with the sun. One might tentatively suggest the Lemah bang, "red earth," district of Salatiga, since Salatiga is itself mentioned.) In addition, such a low-ranking officer as a sergeant would hardly have had a "Javanese scribe" assigned to him.

The second Javanese-script inscription, which is upside down, mentions a certain Adiwirya of Semarang (it appears to read: ngalamat s'Srat . . . tura yingkang rama adiwirya ing sumawis).

The third Javanese-script inscription seems to be just a line of têmbang verse with no particular reference to the diary (lambang raras tansah bronta kingkin, "harmonious form, endlessly longing," plus a couple of illegible words).

The last Javanese-script inscription apparently names a particular village, now faded out (punika atur (?) pratelanipun aędèkakah (?) eng dusun . . ).

The Arabic-script inscription repeats the information contained in the first Javanese-script inscription. Apparently the manuscript has passed through different hands, and the relationship between them is not clear.


Words in square brackets occurring in the Javanese text indicate the standard spelling of words which have either an archaic or an idiosyncratic spelling.

7. sérat lajèng kang sèkar pamijil / papanipun seos / urut carita seyos papane / saking panjang carita tînulis / maksih carik estri / kang nèrat nunurun //
formation which is given seems to suggest that the diary in its present form is a revision of an earlier version, probably an abridgement, since the "length" of the story which formed its basis is given as the reason for (re-)writing. The last entries in the diary are in fact from the first half of the month of Mulud 1718 AJ (November 1791 AD), that is, nearly half a year after the date, Siyam 1717 AJ, given in the opening passage, above. Presumably the authoress of the revised version which we have went on to extend the original text to cover the half-year period which had elapsed since it was written. The revision retained the diary form, for it consistently indicates the day, and, at least weekly intervals, also the date on which an event took place. There is not an entry, or provision for an entry, on every day, however, and the coverage of the first two years of the decade reported is much less detailed than is the case for the later years. Checked against Dutch archival records, the diarist's dates prove accurate, except for occasional slips. The introductory note describes the work as a continuation of another work, a "Babad Tutur"; I have not been able to identify this manuscript.10

It is clearly a matter of regret that the information given on the authorship of the diary should be so tantalizingly brief and cryptic: the authoress is not identified by her name, and it is not even clear whether the women referred to in the introductory note and in the first stanza of verse are one and the same person. Still, it does tell us that the diary represents the work of at least one of the members of a rather special institution, the prajurit estri corps of the old Javanese courts.

It was no innovation or idiosyncrasy on Mangkunegara I's part to keep such a corps, but in keeping with old established custom. The female guard of earlier Javanese rulers, the Sultans of Mataram, was remarked upon by the earliest Dutch visitors to the court (during the reign of Sultan Agung), and in the years covered by the diary the future Second Sultan of Yogyakarta also had such a corps, as Ricklefs has noted.11 Rijklof van Goens, who visited Mataram in the mid-seven-

8. The day of the seven-day week (Sunday to Saturday) is always given, sometimes in combination with the day of the five-day week (Lëgi or Manis, Paing, Pon, Wage and Kliwon), as in salasa-manis (Tuesday-Manis).

9. Because of the importance of the Friday prayer observances, discussed below, the date of the month is given on every Friday for which there is an entry, for example, dina wage jumungah/tanggal ping ném likur bēsar wulanipun, Friday-Wage the 26th of the month of Bēsar. The year is given on the first day of every new year, for example, nulya d[f]n sęptu wage salin wulan / tanggal pisan sasi sura / salin jimawal kang warsi / kuda eka syaraningrat: "then it was the day Saturday-Wage, the first day of the month of Sura. The year changed to Jimawal [the third year of the eight-year windu cycle] one horse, voice of the ruler [chronogram for 1717 AJ]." The year is also noted on the occasion of some particularly important event, such as the installation of a new ruler.

10. There are a number of late eighteenth-century Mangkunegaran Babad, but none seems appropriate. The British Library Manuscript No. Add. 12283 (see M. C. Ricklefs and P. Voorhoeve, Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain [London: Oxford University Press, 1977], p. 45) was written in 1705 AJ (AD 1779) on the occasion of Mangkunegara's 55th birthday, but it describes the wars leading to the partition of Mataram and ends in 1682 AJ (1756-57 AD). Another Mangkunegaran Babad, Add. 12280 (see ibid., p. 45) though from a later year (1727 AJ/1800 AD) also deals with these wars, breaking off after describing the building of the new kraton of Yogyakarta in 1756.

11. Ricklefs, Jogjakarta, p. 304, n. 42: apparently the Yogyakarta crown prince's
teenth century, given some interesting information on the corps as it existed then. He estimates that it contained about 150 young women altogether, of whom thirty escorted the ruler when he appeared in audience. Ten of them carried the ruler's impedimenta—his water vessel, sirih set, tobacco pipe, mat, sun-shade, box of perfumes, and items of clothing for presentation to favored subjects—while the other twenty, armed with bare pikes and blow-pipes, guarded him on all sides. He says that members of the corps were trained not only in the exercise of weapons but also in dancing, singing, and playing musical instruments; and that, although they were chosen from the most beautiful girls in the kingdom, the ruler seldom took any of them as a concubine, though they were frequently presented to the great nobles of the land as wives. They were counted more fortunate than the concubines, who could never entertain an offer of marriage so long as the ruler lived, and sometimes not even after his death. Van Goens does not describe members of the corps as accomplished in literature, but such accomplishment would not have been easily apparent to a foreign visitor. Valentijn, writing a description of the court of Mataram in the first decade of the eighteenth century, repeats van Goens' description almost word for word, adding, however, that the young women proved "not a little high-spirited and proud" when given as wives, knowing as they did that their husbands would not dare to wrong them for fear of the ruler's wrath.

European travelers give a number of accounts of a somewhat similar institution in seventeenth-century Aceh. The French admiral, Augustin de Beaulieu, who visited Aceh in 1620-21, reported that the Sultan of Aceh had 3,000 women as palace guards; he said that they were not generally allowed outside of the palace apartments, nor were men allowed to see them. The Dutchmen who sailed under Admiral Wybrandt van Warwijk in 1603, however, saw a large royal guard formed of women armed with blow-pipes, lances, swords, and shields, and a picture of these women is to be found in the journal of the voyage. On his visit to Aceh in 1637 the Englishman Peter Mundy saw a guard of women armed with bows and arrows. It is possible that women were employed for guard duties in other Indonesian courts, but the Javanese prajurit estri, the most cultivated and privileged group among the hierarchy of ranks which made up the female population of the court, are unlikely to have had close equivalents elsewhere.

It may also be worth remarking that in modern Javanese literature the representation of women in armed combat and on the battlefield occurs much more frequently than one might expect. It is particularly prominent in the Menak epic, with its apparently inexhaustible succession of episodes relating the career of the Islamic hero Hamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. The Javanese version is based on a Malay version fairly close to the Persian original, but it is very greatly expanded and interpolated, nowhere more so than in the description of the martial exploits of the women characters, which were already striking in the original. Especially remarkable in the Javanese version are the sections devoted to the "Chinese" princess (she is Chinese only in the Malay and Javanese versions) and to the lovely Rėngganis. The Chinese princess of the Menak story is probably the basis of the simile in the following passage, in which the diarist describes the prajurit estri corps on a ceremonial occasion, the reception of a Governor of the northeast coast:

On Thursday, Sawal the twenty-seventh, in the late afternoon the Governor and the Company officials came to the Mangkunėgaran. The Pangeran Dipati went to the factory to meet the Governor, taking the lady soldiers. They wore krises in the Balinese style, ornamented with gold filigree leaves, in a gold filigree belt. Their clothes were glittering. Those who went first were the Nyutrayu corps, on foot carrying bows and arrows.

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17. The facts of Hamzah's career have been enormously elaborated and expanded in the epics it inspired, which have a striking resemblance to cowboy serials and are not always esteemed by educated Muslims. Both Arabic and Persian versions exist, and the Malay and Javanese versions derive from a Persian original: see Ph. S. van Ronkel, De Roman van Amir Hamza (Leiden: Brill, 1895), pp. 91-98, 165-66, 176, 184, 245-51.

18. For a synopsis of the Rėngganis story, an original Javanese composition which grew out of the Menak material, see R. M. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, P. Voorhoeve and C. Hooykaas, Indonesische Handschriften (Bandung: Nix, 1950), pp. 1-17.

19. The year was 1714 AJ and the date converts to July 31, 1788.

20. The Governors of Java's northeast coast, the most important of the Company's officials so far as the central Javanese courts were concerned, are usually referred to by the diarist as "the Dĕler," which is derived from Dutch edelheer, the title they bore as members of the Governor-General's Council.

21. That is, Mangkunėgarara, who is nearly always referred to in the diary simply by his title, "Pangeran Dipati."

22. This word is used in its original sense of "An establishment, such as a trading station, where factors or agents reside and transact business for their employers."

23. To be metrically correct, this verse should have two more lines.

24. The Nyutrayu and Jayengasta (see next line) were names of corps in Mangkunėgarara's armed forces: see also below pp. 20 and 25.
and then the Jayengasta corps, not properly [?] dressed, and then the Pangeran Dipati, ceremonially escorted by the lady soldiers, without peer, like a god descended from heaven, attended by princesses from China: that is the [only] comparison. The picked men went behind --only these brought up the rear, for the ordinary soldiers were none of them taken along. Even so the spectators crowded around; the all-gold clothing was really beautiful. They arrived in the factory and were met by the Resident, 25 and all the officers, coming to meet the Pangeran Dipati. They all greeted one another; the Governor paid his compliments and sat down. They were offered arak 26 to drink. The lady soldiers sat down in the correct fashion and were offered drinks. Then the Resident went to the palace in a carriage, to summon the heir to the throne. 27

Then, correct in their ranks, the lady soldiers descended to the compound of the factory. The Pangeran Dipati descended, and the Governor, delighted at the sight of the lady soldiers in their lines. The heir to the throne and the Resident arrived, at the factory, with the escort. Then the Pangeran Dipati 28 gave the order to the lady soldiers.

25. The V.O.C. (First) Resident at Surakarta is referred to, here and elsewhere in the diary, as the "upruk," from Dutch opperhoofd, "head" (of mission), the designation generally used in the V.O.C. letters of this period.

26. Arak is a strong drink prepared from a base of sugar-cane and a glutinous type of rice.

27. That is, the future Pakubuwana IV, who is referred to here as "the younger Pangeran Dipati," in contradistinction to "the elder Pangeran Dipati," i.e., Mangkunegara.

28. Lit. "the elder Pangeran Dipati."
The salvos of the lady soldiers sounded in unison; it was the Pangeran Dipati who gave the order. They were well-matched and in time as they fired a three-fold salvo. The watchers were astonished and amazed, and the Governor was staggered, and completely captivated by the sight. After this, the lady soldiers mounted their horses first, followed by the Pangeran Dipati who withdrew first, with all his armed men, leaving the heir to the throne at the factory.

Once home, the corps changed from the gold masculine clothing they had worn for these maneuvers into plain white women's clothes—and proceeded to archery practice. Later, the Governor came to Mangkunégaras's residence where an elaborate entertainment awaited him, and where the lady soldiers again displayed their skill with firearms. The diarist comments on this occasion that none of the Company officers had seen anything like them in Surakarta, Yogyakarta, or Semarang.

Since the diarist was herself a prajurit estri and takes an unmistakable pride in the different achievements of the Mangkunégaran, her claims to a disciplined skill at arms might be regarded with indulgence. But the Governor, Jan Greeve, for whose benefit this exhibition was made, also wrote a diary of his visit to Surakarta, and the entry for Thursday, July 31, included descriptions of this reception at the Dutch factory and of the later entertainment at Mangkunégaras's residence. Of the first, he says that the three-fold salvo was fired "with such order and accuracy as must cause us to wonder"; and of the second that the women "dragoons" "once more fired a three-fold salvo from their hand weapons with the utmost accuracy, followed by various firings of some small [artillery] pieces which had been placed to the sides, after which he went to see the Dalem and the house, both fashioned after a very wonderful style of architecture. . . ." This was, moreover, a period when skill with firearms was by no means universal among Javanese troops: when Greeve visited Yogyakarta the following month he recorded that the crown prince's troops were so unhandy in this respect that they exploded one of their weapons, wounding a European artilleryman.

This diary resembles others from different milieux in that the reader will find on most pages a miscellanea of information without inherent unity and not in continuous narration, with the exception of certain portions reporting important political developments. Much of what is noted can only be described as odds and ends; and, like the journalists of the future, the diarist displays a particular interest in misadventures, whether major or minor. Those she recorded include kraton fires, some serious; the collapse of kraton buildings, whether in the aftermath of fire

29. In the Dutch "dalm," from Jav. dalem, noble or princely residence.

30. See entries of Thursday, July 31, and Wednesday, August 13, in Greeve's diary, which is found under Semarang to Batavia, August 19, in KA 3708, VOCOB, 1789.

31. See 68, 157-59, 178, 183-84, 198-99. See also the letter of Governor Greeve to Batavia, March 14, 1789, in KA 3754, VOCOB, 1790, mentioning a serious fire
or from other causes; brawls in the marketplace; floods; epidemics; and more occasional and striking occurrences such as the most unwelcome pregnancy of an unmarried princess of Pakubuwana III's family, and a ferocious attack on the part of Mangkunegara's peacock, which actually managed to kill a visitor to his residence.

In this first article, a more systematic presentation is attempted, sorting the data contained in the diary into a number of classifications relating to those subjects for which its testimony is especially illuminating, rather than simply presenting them in the chronological order in which they occur. Since the entries are often concise to the point of being impenetrable to an outsider, and the diarist herself makes no attempt to provide either context or a resume of previous developments, this has been supplied from other sources where these are available.

1. Mangkunegara I (1726-1796) and the Mangkunegaran Kraton

The diary opens at a late period of Mangkunegara's career—he was approaching sixty—but it testifies to the continuing significance of the pattern and nature of his earlier life. A brief review of this may therefore be useful.

Mangkunegara was a son of Pangeran Arya Mangkunegara, Pakubuwana II's brother, who was banished to the Cape in 1728. In his youth he was called first Suryakusuma and then Pangeran Prang Wadana. In European accounts, however, he is usually referred to as Mas Said. From very early manhood he was to choose the life of a warrior: though only fourteen when the "Chinese war" broke out in 1740, he was one of the party of the aristocracy who joined the Chinese against the Dutch. He did not surrender with the "Chinese" Sunan (Sunan Kuning or Raden Mas Garendi, who was eventually exiled to Ceylon) in 1743, and remained at large with a number of other princes, insolently close to the capital, Surakarta. Pakubuwana II offered 3,000 cacah in Sokawati (Sragen) to whoever could drive Mangkunegara and his associates from their base in that region, a task which the

in the Mangkunegaran. Fire was a constant hazard in the old Indonesian cities and is the major reason for the loss of all old kraton buildings.

32. 31R.

33. 300L. Even if the Javanese should be read as a plural, this is still a remarkable feat for one or more peacocks. The diarist solemnly concludes that the man must have been a bad character: otherwise, none of the God-fearing Mangkunegaran domestic animals would have harmed him.

34. Mangkunegara celebrated his 59th birthday early in the period covered by the diary, on (Septu Wage) 4 Arwah 1709 AJ (23R); so that he was born on 4 Arwah 1650 AJ, which is April 7, 1726. This date is confirmed by another Mangkunegaran manuscript, Add. 12283 (see above n. 10) where the opening passage notes that it was written in Arwah 1705 AJ on the occasion of Mangkunegara's 55th birthday.

35. See, for example, P. J. F. Louw, De Derde Javaansche Successie-Oorlog (Batavia: Albrecht & Rusche, 1889). To avoid inconvenience to the reader, I have used "Mangkunegara" throughout, even at the risk of an occasional anachronism—though it should be noted in this connection that Javanese (as opposed to Dutch) sources claim that this title and dignity were assumed very early, at the end of the Chinese war and certainly before they were "bestowed" by the V.O.C. in 1757. (See, for example, Babad Petjina [Semarang: van Dorp, 1874], p. 412.)

36. On the nature and value of the unit cacah, see below pp. 27-28.
ruler's half-brother Pangeran Arya Mangkubumi undertook. Though Mangkubumi was successful, Pakubuwana's Javanese and Dutch advisers counseled him against fulfilling the promise he had made; and so his half-brother left the court and joined forces with Mangkunëgara. This was a formidable alliance: in the field Mangkunëgara had acquired exceptional skill in the art of war, and his vivid personality drew men to him; he and Mangkubumi attracted the larger part of elite support away from the ruler who had unwisely allowed Mangkubumi to be publicly humiliated. In the first two years of the war which followed, the V.O.C., with little help from the wretched ruler it was supporting, made very slight overall progress, despite victories in individual engagements. In 1748 the situation went from bad to worse. The alliance between the two rebel princes was confirmed by the marriage of Mangkunëgara to Mangkubumi's eldest daughter. The "fear" and "superstitious reverence" which, according to Dutch contemporaries, they evoked among the common Javanese insured that large numbers of followers could be enlisted to their cause. On July 28, 1750, Mangkunëgara and Pangeran Singasari attacked Surakarta: though the attack was beaten off, twenty-five Dutch troops and a large number of the Javanese auxiliaries were lost. After this, the two princes changed to a tactic of isolating Surakarta. Though the fortunes of war were mixed and the Company's forces inflicted a number of defeats, the situation in Surakarta itself was wretched, with rice and other basic commodities fetching exorbitant prices. At one period, indeed, the Company's governing body considered abandoning the kingdom of Mataram to the enemy forces. But the alliance whose force then seemed irresistible did not hold. In the last months of 1752 there were reports of differences arising between the two princes, a development which might almost have been predicted, since their alliance had been based on Mangkubumi's self-interest rather than on shared principles or objectives, and neither man was of the temperament to contemplate taking second place in whatever settlement would be made. At this juncture the Dutch commandant, von Hohendorff, began to enter into correspondence with Mangkunëgara with a view to winning him over; these negotiations were protracted, and though the prince did not break them off neither did he call a halt to the war. On February 10, 1753, the crown prince himself, Pangeran Buminata, fled the capital to join forces with Mangkunëgara.

Von Hohendorff now suggested to the Raad van Indië that Mangkunëgara might be offered the position of crown prince (since Buminata had conveniently forfeited his claims to this), and this proposal was accepted. At the conference of July 28, however, Mangkunëgara demanded to be installed not as crown prince but as ruler. He had just defeated Mangkubumi and his forces in an engagement east of Surakarta, and seems to have felt that he was well placed to dictate the terms of peace to the Company, whose prospect of imposing a military solution he absolutely discounted.

37. On the developments which led Mangkubumi to take this step see Ricklefs, Jogjakarta, pp. 39-46.
38. Hartingh described him as a small, well-made man whose eyes shone with fire and vivacity. See Louw, Derde . . . Oorlog, p. 17.
39. See ibid., pp. 18-33, for the developments of these years.
40. Half-brother of Pakubuwana II.
42. Ibid., pp. 54-55.
43. Ibid., p. 73.
44. Ibid., pp. 80-81.
Though this confidence in his military superiority and in his ability to attract followers was not unreasonable, the hard line and inflexible demands Mangkunegara pursued in these negotiations seem to show a certain lack of awareness of the danger presented by rivals who were more willing to compromise. He had been told more than once by V.O.C. representatives that there was already a ruler; and he should have realized that the Company was irrevocably committed to maintaining Pakubuwana III, whom it had installed as ruler on his father's death: actual deposition (as opposed to a reduction in his territory or authority) was not to be contemplated. Mangkunegara's insistence on a price higher than the Company felt it could pay opened the way for another, more realistic, claimant, to, in Louw's words, "pluck the fruits of his initiative." When Mangkubumi asked for only half the realm as the price of making peace, the Company saw him as the better prospect. It seems that, after negotiations between the V.O.C. and Mangkubumi were clearly under way, Mangkunegara sent a letter to his former ally, attempting to bring about a reconciliation and suggesting that they should attempt to partition Java between them; but Mangkubumi refused to reestablish relations, and the enmity between the dynasties founded by the two princes was to become a Javanese legend. Warfare between Mangkunegara and Mangkubumi continued in earnest, with both sides suffering heavy losses; the V.O.C. saw that the best option open to them was to agree to Mangkubumi's demand for half of Mataram; and at the beginning of 1755 the kingdom was formally and finally divided into two.

Despite the fact that the rulers of both the half-kingdoms thus created (the Sunan of Surakarta and the Sultan of Yogyakarta), and the V.O.C., all directed their military forces towards Mangkunegara's defeat, this was a surprisingly long time in coming. Indeed, he nearly succeeded in burning the new kraton at Yogyakarta and inflicted heavy losses on a Dutch force in the Blora woods, the commander himself, Captain van de Poll, being among the dead. The situation can be described as a stalemate, in which Mangkunegara was unable to prevail against the combined forces standing in the way of his conquest of Java, while these forces could not succeed in overwhelming him. During the continuing negotiations, Mangkunegara now reduced his demands, asking only for equal treatment with Pakubuwana III and Mangkubumi—that is, for a division of the kingdom into three, rather than two, parts. Such an arrangement was unacceptable to the two princes who had had the political realism to make a bargain with the V.O.C. earlier; and the Company therefore refused to allow this rearrangement, perhaps calculating that to annoy two princes in order to accommodate one would be an unprofitable move. Eventually, Mangkunegara agreed to submit to Pakubuwana III, becoming a subject of Surakarta in return for a grant from the Sunan of 4,000 cacah situated in the Kaduwang, MatSsih, and Gunung Kidul regions, and the "high title" of Pangeran Adipati (A)Mangkunegara, Senapati Ing Ayuda. He and his followers built the Mangkunegaran kraton in the city of Surakarta itself.

45. Ibid., p. 81.
46. Ibid., p. 91.
47. On the details of the partition, see Ricklefs, Jogjakarta, pp. 61-95.
48. Ibid., p. 91.
49. See J. K. J. de Jonge, De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost-Indie (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1878), 10, p. LXXVII.
50. See Ricklefs, Jogjakarta, p. 91.
51. The terms of the settlement with Mangkunegara are to be found in Hartingh's letter of March 29, 1757, reporting the outcome of their talks (KA 2802, VOCOB, 1758).
It is already more than twenty-six years since Mangkunégara laid down his weapons when the diary begins, yet we find in it strong echoes of those mid-century years of war. His court would still have included some who in their youth had chosen to fight by his side, and, even apart from this, something of the character of the period when court and army were on the move seems to have persisted. We see this in the descriptions of the great ritual celebrations of its unity: the tournaments where the Mangkunégaran soldiery competed in horsemanship and other military arts, and the theatrical and dance performances which now, three decades later, still reenacted in dramatic form the victories of past battles. Naturally enough much of the diary focuses on Mangkunégara himself—on his deeds rather than his thoughts (only in moments of acute political crisis do we hear him express his feelings, usually, in these times, of bitterness or resignation)—and especially on his role in maintaining this corporate life. Much of the regular ceremonial of the court, not only in the Mangkunégaran but presumably also in the other Javanese courts, was to honor the ruler himself, most notably the celebrations to mark his birthdays. There were two kinds of birthday, the "big" or annual birthday and the "little" birthday which occurred once every thirty-five days on the occurrence of the particular combination of five-day-week and seven-day-week days on which he was born. Mangkunégara himself was a ruler whose personality made a particularly strong impression on those around him. It was he who maintained the court's standards for war (still at this period personally drilling his men), the arts (he himself instructed his court dancers), and for religion, the third area in which Mangkunégaran unity expressed itself.

2. The Religious Life of the Kraton

The religious life of the Mangkunégaran occupies a surprisingly large and prominent proportion of the material recorded. We see that Mangkunégara himself, occupied as he was with so many other activities, used to write out the Kuran (and that his cousin's son, the future Pakubuwana IV, asked for, and received one of the copies he had made), as well as the Kitab Turutan and Tasbeh. He

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52. See below pp. 24-25.

53. These are the tingalan agéng and the tingalan alit (ngoko forms wétan géde and wétan cilik) noted frequently in the diary. Mangkunégara's tingalan alit (small birthday) was on the day Akad-Manis (Sunday-Manis; according to the system used, Manis, or Légi, is either the first or second day of the five-day week).

54. Even on his Dutch adversaries of the mid-century wars: see the account given of the occasion of his final submission to the Sunan (Kort Verhaal van de Javasche Oorlogen Sedert den Jare 1741 tot 1757, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap [henceforth VBG], 12 [1830], pp. 239 ff.), when Hartingh was surprised at the vitality the prince retained at the conclusion of years of warfare which had brought hardship, sickness and hunger to his forces.

55. He also, on occasion, wrote jimat, that is, phrases, formulae (usually Arabic) and diagrams written on pieces of paper or cloth and thought to convey special protection. They were carried by soldiers or people engaged in risky undertakings and were specially valued if made by a person who had reached a high level of religious knowledge and practice.

56. 117R. On another occasion Mangkunégara assembled 400 santri to recite the Kuran for the benefit of the ailing Pakubuwana III, after dreaming that this would
was a generous patron of the mosques and of the *kaum* community. Even more striking is his maintenance of *ibadat*, the public observances of Islam. He instructed his people on the correct procedure for performing the prayers, and indeed the whole framework of the diary itself is organized around the periodicity of the weekly *jumungahan*, the observances of Friday prayer. The diarist has kept count of the occasions on which Mangkunégarà attended the *jumungahan* in the period covered by the diary: 388 times in all, over about ten-and-a-half Javanese years.

Her descriptions of these *jumungahan* always record certain things: the number of times Mangkunégarà had now attended Friday prayer since the time the diary began; the number of worshippers present at the mosque; and the person or persons for whose spiritual benefit the *sidégkah* (given after the mosque service was dedicated (except of course in the fasting month, when the common meal was not partaken of and instead money was distributed as an act of charity)). The Friday ritual was, however, sometimes observed with more ceremony than at others. Mangkunégarà and his followers frequently kept watch the preceding night, listening to *santri* reciting the Kuran or performing the *dikir* in unison, as well as enjoying more secular amusements. Translated below are two descriptions, one of a simple and one of a more elaborate *jumungahan*.

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*Malih asalat jumungah*

=wus ping satus tigang dasa ngabékhti*

=sasanga ing pujulipun*

=ing kaliwon jumungah*

=ing rabiylvakir pitu tanggalipun*

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He performed the Friday prayer again, worshipping for the hundred-and-thirty-ninth time, on Friday-Kliwon.

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57. The *Kitab Turutan* were schoolbooks for children who had mastered Arab script, and contained simply a small part (at most one juz) of the Kuran. See L. W. C. van den Berg, "Het Mohammedaansche Godsdiestonderwijs op Java en Madoera en de daarbij gebruikte Arabische boeken," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde* (henceforth *TBG*), 31 (1886), pp. 518-55; esp. p. 519. The *Tasbeh* is the rosary, with which the names, or eulogies, of Allah are repeated, usually 100 times.

58. See, for example, 115R and 238 for gifts of money, rice, and clothing (*klambi* and *jubah*, the latter a garment worn by mosque officials) to mosques in and around Surakarta. The *kaum* community were Javanese and people of other nationalities especially devoted to Islam, and living in the mosque quarter.

59. For example, 150L, 240.

60. *Dikir* (Ar. *dhikr*, "reminding oneself" of God): a sort of Islamic litany, of which both the form and the content vary. The *dikir* may be said loudly or to oneself; as a solitary exercise or in a group or circle, as here. The content of the *dikir* may be simply the name of God (Al-lah) or one of its synonyms, or may include a number of verses of the Kuran. Finally, different techniques (breathing exercises, body movements) may be performed in order to facilitate the inner experience which the *dikir* is designed to produce. For a treatment of *dhikr*, which is of special importance in Muslim religious practice, see G. C. Anawati and Louis Gardet, *Mystique Musulmane*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Vrin, 1968), pp. 187-234.

61. Kliwon is the fifth or first day of the five-day week (according to the system used).

62. The fourth of the twelve Muslim (lunar) months.
There were thirty-nine tumpeng, and the purpose of the slamstan was the welfare of the Pangeran Dipati and of all his sons and grandsons and of all his army. Those at the prayer numbered four hundred and fifty one.

In the evening and through the night before Friday a vigil was kept by the army of the senior Pangeran Dipati who circled the courtyard. They placed bets on their skill at archery, while the kaum soldiers said the dikir in unison. There was singing, and playing a gamelan of gongs and drums, and there was a meal at midnight. Some performed a tayungan in the morning they went to the prayer once again—it was the two hundred and twenty-fourth time the worship had been done.

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63. A tumpeng is a cone of rice surrounded by side dishes, prepared for a slamstan or banquet.
64. Mangkunegara is referred to here as "the senior" Pangeran Dipati because at this period the same title was borne by the crown prince of Surakarta, the future Sunan Pakubuwana IV.
65. On the kaum or santri component of Mangkunegara's army, see below p. 21.
66. The word "gamelan" is used by the diarist for any sort of musical ensemble, including an orchestra or ensemble of European instruments. It seems that on specially festive occasions both Javanese and European gamelan played, sometimes overlaid by cannon salutes (see, for example, 265R-266L for a description of a large party given by Pakubuwana IV to mark the restoration of good relations with the Company).
67. The tayungan dance was a dance of ornately-costumed archers: see Th. Pigeaud, Javaanse Volksvertoningen (Batavia: Volkslectuur, 1938), p. 427. In the twentieth century it was performed by a group of courtiers, but in the diary it is performed by the soldiery.
on Friday-Kliwon
the eleventh of Bēsar.
There were twenty-four tumpëng at the
sidēkahë68
with the meat of the cow as the sacrifice
for the welfare of the Pangeran Dipati.

The number of those who performed the
prayer at the mosque
was three hundred and sixty-
four, performing the prayer at the mosque.

It will be noted that this observance took place on the night of 10th Bēsar,
the date of the Garēbēg Bēsar,70 which would have been the occasion for a spe­
cially festive gathering.

The "dedication" of the slamētan following the Friday prayer varies: Mangku-
nēgara himself is most frequently named, either alone or in combination with his
children and grandchildren and/or with his army. The army's welfare is often
independently nominated; next in order of frequency come the ancestors.71 Less
frequently the slamētan is dedicated to one or more of the following: the different
classifications of nabi—the six nabi kalipah and the 313 chosen nabi72--the four
Companions,73 and the different classifications of wali—the nine wali;74 the "ten

68. The ritual meal after the Friday prayer is referred to either as a kēnduri
(from the Persian) or as a sidēkah (from the Arabic), as in the first passage.

69. The five lines omitted give details of wages paid by Mangku­
nēgara to his sol­
diers.

70. The Garēbēg Bēsar, one of the three main annual court festivals, celebrates
the pilgrimage and Abraham's offering up of Isaac. See J. Groneman, De garēbēg's

71. "Luhur sadaya": see, for example, 167R, 183L, 244L, 251L, 265L.

72. In Sunni tradition the following enumeration of prophets has become accepted
(though it is not found in the Kuran): there are 124,000 nabi in all, of which 313
have been chosen (in Javanese, sinētran) to be messengers (rasul); the six fore­
most are Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad, after whom no
more prophets appear. See C. Snouck Hurgronje, Verspreide Geschriften (Bonn,
Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder, 1923), 1, p. 405.

73. Sahabat sakawan: the Companions of the Prophet who subsequently became
the first four caliphs (see, for example, 243L, 263R).
wall of the north and west" and the "twenty wall." Also mentioned specifically are Nabi Kilir and Umar Maya, as well as the Sultan of Pajang and Kyai Ageng Lawiyan. Others occasionally nominated are the cultivators of the soil and the original settlers; the girls of the court and the priyayi; or simply "all those performing the prayer."

3. The Kraton as a Household

Despite this marked commitment to Islam, Mangkunegara was neither ascetic nor puritanical. Indeed, he was frequently in breach of the Kuranic prohibition on the drinking of alcoholic beverages. The diarist records on numerous occa-
sions that he was "drunk" or "very drunk," on one occasion rather charmingly noting that on his return from a celebration he was "not drunk, only rather tired." The following two passages are examples of a number of descriptions of Mangkunėgara entertaining his sons and soldiers:

Assembled were all the dēmang and tumėnggung and all the punggawa and the lurah, as well as the [Pangeran Adipati's] sons. They joined together in cockfighting; drinks were served and they ate and drank to the accompaniment of gamelan music and sinden singers. They were all far gone in drink.

There were two sets of gamelan on the mandapa, a slendro and a pelog, played in turn, and alternated with suluk songs, [so that there was both] sinden and suluk. The Pangeran Adipati was drunk. His son, the lord of Pranaraga, came with his wife, and became very drunk too. After he arrived they began cockfighting, accompanied by sinden singers. They took their pleasure for the whole day.

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century Aceh, according to an English visitor, alcohol from rice (rather than grapes or fruits) was not considered as prohibited: see Albert Hastings Markham, ed., The Voyages and Works of John Davis (London: Hakluyt Society, 1880), p. 151.

82. For example, 98R, 102L, 133R, 161L, 162R, 169L, 264R, etc. Governor Greeve also noted on one occasion that Mangkunėgara had excused himself from talks on the grounds that he had drunk too much: see Greeve to Batavia, September 24, 1790 in KA 3833, VOCOB, 1792.

83. Pangran dipati tan wuru/amung ragi kēsēl kewala (269L).

84. Titles of officers in Mangkunėgara's armed forces: tumėnggung is the most senior, followed by punggawa, dēmang, and lurah.

85. A pavilion (with roof but without enclosing walls) in front of the kraton used for reception of guests and entertainment: modern form pēndapa.

86. Slendro and pelog are the two main tone systems of Javanese music.

87. Sindēn usually refers to vocal music (in tēmbang macapat, the same type of verse in which the diary is written) sung by a female singer in conjunction with dance movements. Suluk (also in tēmbang macapat) are best known as the set pieces sung by the dalang at prescribed intervals during a wayang performance (see, for example, J. Kunst, Music in Java, 3rd ed. [The Hague: Nijhoff, 1973], 1, pp. 318 ff.), but there are also self-contained songs, not part of a dramatic performance, called suluk, which often express religious or philosophical concepts. A number of collections have been published.
They set birds\textsuperscript{88} to fight and drank tea, after the tea, rice brandy (arak): they were all far gone in drink. The Pangeran Adipati drank too; and then food and drink was served, in which the Pangeran Adipati joined, joined in eating and drinking. After they had eaten together his sons played dice with the Pangeran Adipati.

The lurah, and the d\textsuperscript{90}emang, rangga, tum\textsuperscript{89}enggung and ngabei set cocks to fight on the mandapa; they became quiet as soon as the oboes sounded. The Pangeran Adipati's sons played the gam\textsuperscript{89}elan on the platform\textsuperscript{89} and it was the Pangeran Adipati who played the k\textsuperscript{90}endang,\textsuperscript{89} accompanied by a sin\textsuperscript{90}en singer. It was very lively; at five o'clock they stopped and dispersed.

The diary contains a large amount of interesting material on the structure of Mangkunegara's family and of his household and army. His own family was very large, as was usual for a Javanese aristocrat. Although the diarist does not record their exact number, it is clear that the kraton housed a considerable population of s\textsuperscript{91}ir. The position of these women requires some further definition. Some European writers have often translated the term s\textsuperscript{92}ir, an abbreviated form of sin\textsuperscript{93}iran "chosen (ones)" as "concubine" (in Dutch works, bij\textsuperscript{94}it or bijwijf), while others have seen some such term as "secondary wife" as preferable. Neither usage gives a satisfactory representation of the actual position of the s\textsuperscript{96}ir. It is clear from the diary that it was the practice to marry a s\textsuperscript{96}ir only when she became pregnant: this is recorded on a number of occasions,\textsuperscript{91} sometimes involving more than one s\textsuperscript{96}ir. Only then did she become a "wife"\textsuperscript{96} and might be divorced after some time if it was necessary for the prince to marry another woman, since his marriages had to be kept within the Muslim limit of four at any one time. On the other hand, the designation "concubine" wrongly suggests that there was a social

\textsuperscript{88} Female quails (g\text-superscript{97}mak) as well as cocks were used as fighting birds.

\textsuperscript{89} This refers to the raised inner square stone floor of the open audience hall where the festivities are taking place.

\textsuperscript{90} The k\textsuperscript{96}endang, either alone or together with the r\text-superscript{96}bab (two-stringed bowing lute) guides the tempo of the gam\textsuperscript{90}elan, and, because of this function, is "the instrument par excellence of the lurah g\text-superscript{96}nding, the leader of the orchestra." (Kunst, Music of Java, 1, p. 212.)

\textsuperscript{91} See, for example, 144L, 202L (more than one s\textsuperscript{91}ir taken in marriage), 226R.

\textsuperscript{92} J. W. Winter, writing of the Sunan's court in 1824, says that it was customary for a s\textsuperscript{92}ir to be married when pregnancy was first clearly evident, at about three months. (Winter, "Beknopte Beschrijving," p. 51.) She would then be known as a garwa s\textsuperscript{92}ir (s\textsuperscript{92}ir wife).
stigma attached to these women. It is true, however, that their position was not
conformant to Islamic law, under which a man may have sexual relationships with
only two categories of women: his wives and his slaves. The sèlir of the central
Javanese courts were free women to whom the princes were not married. It ap-
ppears that the rulers of Bantèn resolved this problem by taking their sèlir only
from the villages of royal slaves, that is, those villages which during the period
of Islamization had refused to embrace the new religion and had thereupon been
declared to be slaves. This does not seem to have occurred in central Java: in
fact, according to an 1824 account, the sèlir were chosen from among the daugh-
ters of Pangeran and Bupati. The diarist sometimes further defines the sèlir as
abdi sèlir. Though use of the word abdi (subject, servant, retainer) certainly
indicates that their relationship to Mangkunègara was seen as one of service rather
than of any kind of partnership, it is not the word used for slaves (budak, or
some synonymous term such as wong dodolan, "sold man"), and is used by the
diarist to designate most of those who were in Mangkunègara's service, both female
and male.

The diarist does not record the actual number of Mangkunègara's sèlir (or
their names: no individual personality emerges), and it is not possible to say
whether he kept to the twelve the Sunan restricted himself to in 1824. During
the decade of the diary, however, at least fifteen children were born to him.
Since thirteen of the fifteen whose births are recorded were boys--a rather un-
likely sex ratio--it is probable that other, female, children were born whose births
were not sufficiently memorable to be noted. Of the fifteen children whose births
are recorded, six died very young. There was, of course, a very wide spread
in the ages of each generation--Mangkunègara had adult sons and even adult
grandsons--and a good deal of overlap between generations, so that the sons born
to Mangkunègara in this period were contemporaries of some of his grandsons (such
as Raden Mas Saluwat, born to Mangkunègara's son Pangeran Padmanagara and his
garwa padmi--his wife of equal rank--on 17 Jumadilawal 1713 AD/March 7, 1787
AD).

Very occasionally, an important event in the life of the young children is men-
tioned, such as the celebration marking the completion of the first three years of
life of one of his daughters; her circumcision six years later. Once, Mang-
kunègara had three carbines made as heirlooms for three of his young sons.

93. See P. J. Veth, Java (Haarlem: Bohn, 1875-82), 1, pp. 356-59, and L. W. C.
vanden Berg, Inlandsche Rangen en Titels op Java en Madoera (Batavia: Lands-
drukkerij, 1887), p. 64.
95. Ibid., p. 52. The Sunan kept other women as srimpì and as manggung.
96. 29L, 35L-R, 84L, 140L, 176R, 234R.
97. 103L. For this birth, the diarist notes the name of the wuku (one of a cycle
of 30 seven-day weeks each supposed to have special properties like the Zodiac
signs), the patron saint (Dewa), the bird, and the tree appropriate to the time of
birth, information necessary for prognostication by the traditional system.
98. 201L.
99. 192R.
100. 283R.
Mangkunégara's retainers (abdi) figure as prominently in the diary as do his family. They were numerous and their professional tasks varied. As well as those responsible for the more mundane domestic tasks and for waiting and serving, fetching and carrying, there were kris-makers, goldsmiths, grooms, riding-masters, payung bearers, and masters of traditional theater on his payroll.101 The diarist claims that Mangkunégara liked to make his servants happy,102 but evidently not all of them were satisfied, and there was certainly an element of compulsion; some abdi who tried to decamp were seized and brought back;103 and from other sources it seems that Mangkunégara was vexed by an exodus of retainers to the Sultan of Mataram's court.104 By far the most prominent group among Mangkunégara's retainers, at least in the picture of his court presented here, were the bala. Mangkunégara's army was large, and it was growing. The diarist records the creation over this period of no less than twenty-four corps of prajurit105 (fighting men). All of these corps had their own names, either denoting martial qualities ("Ferocious Lions"), or associated with legendary heroes.106 The number of men per corps seems to have varied between thirty and forty-four, usually with two lurah in charge. In some cases, the lurah were blood relations of Mangkunégara.107

Mangkunégara clearly spent much time with his army, training them in horsemanship108 and in the use of traditional and modern weapons.109 One incentive for the cavalry to learn accuracy in their movements was Mangkunégara's custom of throwing money from a stage to the riders below: those lacking in coordination

101. 268L.
102. 81R.
103. See also 68R where two Mangkunégaran headmen are dismissed for receiving "Mataram spies," presumably sent to foment trouble and discontent.
104. See Ricklefs, Jogjakarta, pp. 232-34. Ricklefs attributes the trickle of court musicians, artisans, etc., away from Mangkunégara's court to his diminished appeal for elite support in terms of legitimation and status. It would seem however that his economic position must have been the main reason for this phenomenon for, as we shall see below, Mangkunégara's finances were stretched beyond their limit and his followers were continuously asking for advances on their wages. In general, it seems that the flight of retainers from one court to another was for personal reasons (money, love affairs, etc.) and major figures did not change sides for purely political reasons. In December 1783 the Sultan's secretary Setrawiguna, who had been embezzling money, fled from Yogyakarta. He was expected to seek refuge with Mangkunégara but was actually apprehended in Cirébon (see Siberg to Batavia, December 20, 1783, KA 3545, VOCOB, 1784).
107. See, for instance, 201R and 204L, where the lurah were all grandsons of Mangkunégara. At this time and throughout the nineteenth century, it was common for lesser ranking members of the large families of Javanese princes to be employed in posts of greater or lesser prestige in the kraton.
108. See, for instance, 86L, 103L, 117R, 134R, 144L, etc.
109. See, for instance, 144L.
of eye and hand missed the bonus. He also made every effort to see that his armed forces were well equipped, acquiring larger horses to replace the cavalry's current mounts, and at least trying to acquire the most modern firearms, by soliciting the good offices of Company officials.

It is noteworthy that Mangkunégrara had at least three corps of prajurit recruited exclusively from the santri/kaum community. These were the "Wong Prawira" (forty men under two lurah and two kabayan), the "Trunaduta" and the "Suragama" (also apparently forty in number). They are described as "santri ngiras prajurite," santri also serving as soldiers, and, as the "bala kaum," appear in almost all descriptions of the jumungahan observances, reciting the Kuran, and performing dikir.

Although the primary duty of the prajurit corps may have been to keep themselves in training and ready for action—which some of them did in fact see during this decade—they also performed nonmilitary tasks, such as planting rice, repairing the buildings of the kraton, carrying out irrigation works, and even removing night soil. Court followers in general lent a hand where it was needed; even the sélir were not merely mistresses and mothers but helped in such tasks as feathering arrows and painting arrow sheaths. And although they received wages for their work—their military duties, their other labors, their role in maintaining the ceremonial éclat of the kraton—there was little of the modern division between time-bought-by-the-employer and private hours: as we have seen, Mangkunégrara and his soldiers not only regularly performed the observances of Islam together, but they also enjoyed "after hours entertainment" in company. In this culture, dancing for an audience did not carry the suggestion of doubtful masculinity it has had in ours: on the contrary, a real man was expected to cut a good figure in the bëksa or tayungan, and the Mangkunégraran soldiery frequently gathered for performances of these martial dances. The following passage describes a special celebration, the kënduren mulud, one of the observances held

110. See, for instance, 103L, 169L, 253L, 259L, 265L, 266L, etc.

111. The Kanoman, Miji, and Nyutra or Nyutrayu corps were cavalry corps; see 47L and 137L.

112. On one occasion (186L) the then Resident of Surakarta promised to obtain 200 "Company carbines" for Mangkunégrara on his forthcoming trip to Semarang. This was after Mangkunégrara had lost many firearms in a serious fire in the Mangkunégraran complex of buildings. The prudent Governor Greeve, however, decided to postpone the supply of these weapons (in his letter, 140 pair carbines, 60 rifles with bayonets, and 100 pistols) until after the succession to the throne of the heir to the Sultanate of Mataram (Greeve to Batavia, March 14, 1789, KA 3754). This was a precaution against Mangkunégrara's attempting forcibly to obtain this throne for himself. (These events will be dealt with in Part II of this article on the political history of the period.) This succession did not in fact take place until April 1792, three years later.

113. See 11R and 15L (the second passage is not completely legible).

114. 11R. These companies of santri soldiers must have been part of Mangkunégrara's formidable armed following during the mid-century wars, for an account of these campaigns mentions on one occasion a "band . . . consisting entirely of priests" under his command. See Kort Verhaal, p. 200.

115. 208L.

116. 144L, 222L.
during the month of Mulud in commemoration of the death, as also the birth and life, of the Prophet.\footnote{The \textit{kenduren mulud} is a slam\textit{etan} held, as is clear from the passage quoted, on the 26th of the month, thus some days later than the more public ceremony of the Gar\textit{ebs}g Mulud.}

\begin{itemize}
\item nulya ing s\textit{en}en kang dina
\item n\textit{em} likur mulud kang sasi
\item pangeran adipati
\item kang bala mangan anginum
\item d\textit{em}ang punggawa lurah
\item lurah l\textit{eb}et lurah jawi
\item lan sasab\textit{et} gajihyan miwah
\item kang sawah
\end{itemize}

Then on the day Monday, the 26th of the month of Mulud, the Pangeran Dipati's army took food and drink together; the d\textit{em}ang, punggawa, and lurah, both inner and outer lurah,\footnote{In Javanese classifications of official position, it was common to divide a given category of official into inner vs. outer, right vs. left, or north vs. south.} and the \textit{sab\textit{et}},\footnote{\textit{sab\textit{et}}, with a literal meaning of sword, is clearly used by the diarist as the title of a junior military functionary, attached to a lurah.} both those who were paid in wages and those holding rice-land, gathered in the north mosque for the Mulud ceremonies.

\begin{itemize}
\item sar\textit{e}ng masjid ler muludan
\item kaum satus sami \textit{di}kir
\item sawusya \textit{di}kir ko[m]dangan
\item tuwuk tur barkat kan\textit{d}uri
\item sar\textit{e}ng pangran dipati
\item miyos ningali kang nayub
\item kang kasukan mandapa
\item pinar\textit{e}k ninggil ing kursi paringgitan pra s\textit{e}lir k\textit{a}tah
\item angayap
\item busana r\textit{e}mp\textit{e}g sadaya
\item babadongan cana sami pra s\textit{e}lir larih sadaya
\item tarap pra putra lit-alit
\item wayah kanan lan keri
\item atap pra s\textit{e}lir ing pungkur ningali kang kasukan
\end{itemize}

A hundred of the kaum recited \textit{di}kir mulud\footnote{The \textit{di}kir mulud is a special feature of the Mulud celebrations, involving the recitation of Muhammad's life in verse, with members of the mosque congregation joining in the recital during the refrains and eulogies.} and afterward were invited to eat their fill and gain blessing from the slam\textit{etan}.

\begin{itemize}
\item When the Pangeran Dipati came from his rooms to see the dancers and revellers on the mandapa, he was seated in state on a chair in the paringgitan;\footnote{The paringgitan, "place of the ringgit" (i.e., of the wayang) is situated between the mandapa and the royal or princely residence.} all his s\textit{e}lir attended him.
\item They were dressed all alike, wearing white \textit{badong}.\footnote{The \textit{badong} is a sort of breast-plate, part of ceremonial court and wayang dress.}
\item All the s\textit{e}lir were present, along with the young children, the grandchildren of the right and of the left.\footnote{Grandchildren of the right are descendents through the primary wives, and of the left, descendents of s\textit{e}lir.}
\item The s\textit{e}lir sat behind in orderly formation, watching the revellers,
\end{itemize}
the soldiery enjoying themselves on the mandapa. Their leaders were Pangeran Surya Prang Wadana. 

and the Tumenggung of Kajuwang. All served drinks without pause, and they were continuously eating. The Pangeran Dipati took a turn at serving the drinks. 

With the sound of oboes the first to appear were the male badaya. The gendang was "With Highest Rejoicing," and the singers were seven small boys charming in their movements, saluted by the sound of the cannon. Their clothing caught the light like the glow of fire. Then as figures on a screen came small girl dancers their clothes a glowing red, four in number, all extremely beautiful. These figures on the screen fluttered as swiftly as a pair of spurred warblers set to flight.

If they should be fully grown, how captivatingly beautiful would their dancing be!

**124.** Mangkunagara I's grandson and successor.

**125.** Probably Mangkunagara's deputy in his appanage lands in Kajuwang, and apparently second-in-command of the Mangkunagara armed forces.

**126.** The best known court badaya dance is that performed by a group of nine female dancers, but male dancers also performed dances known by this name. For some information on these dances, see Pigeaud, *Volksvertoningen*, pp. 273 ff.

**127.** This gendang (gamelan melody) does not appear in the list of gendang given in an anonymous article in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (henceforth *TNI*), 14, 2 (1852), pp. 257-80, 346-87 and 393-434 (see pp. 419-21), nor in the later list in Kunst, *Music of Java*, 2 (see index). It is probably one of the older and more elaborate gendang.

**128.** This type of dance—of a group of girls or women before a screen—is described by the diarist on a number of occasions, but does not appear to have been noted in European accounts of the different dance forms of the Javanese courts; nor is it known to Dr. Th. G. Th. Pigeaud from his extensive experience of the present century (personal communication). Nevertheless, the fact that the krama word ringgit (here translated as "figures") is used both for wayang puppets and for female dancers suggests that it was the screen (kélir) which was once seen as the link between the live and the inanimate figures whose performance it displayed.

**129.** "lir prenjak tinajenan," "like the prenjak bird fitted out with spurs" is a literary simile frequently used to describe dancers whose movements are too swift to be pinned down by an adversary.
For already as children they have no peers: their feet seem not to touch the ground, so swift and well-trained they are. All who saw them were entranced. When they had finished, there appeared another male badaya, Diradamět,¹³⁰ whose accompaniment was provided by a male singer.

The victory in battle in Pranaraga¹³¹ was portrayed in song and dance, when the knightly warriors joined battle, and the Pangeran Dipati loosed his arrows.¹³² Susunan¹³³ Mangkubumi was defeated, and many of his army killed. Next appeared four female srimpi¹³⁴ dancers. They sang of the time of the battle of Yogyakarta-Mataram when the Pangeran Dipati fought, attacking fiercely, with bows and arrows. His opponents were a Dutch Major, the Company troops, the Buginese and Balinese, the Javanese and their Dipati.¹³⁵ It was the battle for possession of Yogyakarta.¹³⁶ After the srimpi dancers, ¹³⁰. Diradamět appears to have been something of a star among the Mangkunëgara dancers: he is mentioned by name also on 146R (depicting the same battle) and 277L.

¹³¹. Ponorogo and Madiun, then the two most populous and prosperous districts of Java, were conquered by Mangkunëgara in the first half of 1752. In the following year, after his alliance with Mangkubumi had changed to a lasting enmity, the two princes fought several engagements in east Java, and Mangkubumi was decisively defeated (see Louw, Derde . . . Oorlog, pp. 57-66; Kort Verhaal, pp. 160-206; and de Jonge, Opkomst, 10, pp. lxix-lxxiii). Ponorogo and Madiun were taken by a combined effort of Mangkubumi and the V.O.C. in 1755. After the wars, however, the Mangkunëgara retained a connection with Mangkunëgara's sons were granted appanage lands by the Sunan of Surakarta.

¹³². It seems that Mangkunëgara was renowned for his skill as an archer.

¹³³. The ruler of Yogyakarta's official title was Sultan, rather than Sunan (that of the rulers of Surakarta).

¹³⁴. A court dance, usually performed, as here, by four female dancers. Mangkunëgara himself instructed his srimpi dancers (see, for example, 202).

¹³⁵. (A)dipati (Sanskrit adhipati, commander, ruler) was a title of high-ranking regional commanders. The Javanese referred to are those who by this stage were fighting under Mangkubumi.

¹³⁶. This would refer to one of two attacks on Mangkubumi's new royal residence made by Mangkunëgara's forces (now significantly depleted) in 1756: see Kort Verhaal, pp. 219, 228.
taledek tiga kang mijil
kang lebëti rumiyin ingkang ngabëksa

three dancing women appeared.\textsuperscript{137}
The first to join in the bëksa\textsuperscript{138} was the Pangeran Surya Prang Wadana.

pangran surya prang wadana
sarta kang mariyém muni
nulya tumënggung kaðuwang
punggawa lurah gumanti
pra demang ganti-ganti
ganti lan papatihipun
putra ma[n]cana-gara
pangajëng majëgan
ganti
wusya ganti kang para lurah
balanjana

was the Pangeran Surya Prang Wadana. After the cannon was sounded then came the Tumënggung of Kaðuwang, succeeded by the punggawa and lurah and the demang, turn by turn, followed by the Patih\textsuperscript{139} and the younger generation from the outlying regions.\textsuperscript{140}

The headmen and those holding land in lease followed, and afterwards the lurah who were paid money for their upkeep;\textsuperscript{141}

kang para raden sakawan
wong jayengasta sinëîr
miji nyutrayu kanoman
mung sasabëtira sami
ganti-ganti lebëti
wusya kandëg mangan sëkul
ko [n]dur pangran dipati

The four Raden,\textsuperscript{142} the select Jayengasta corps, the Miji, Nyutrayu, and Kanoman corps,\textsuperscript{143} with just the sabët\textsuperscript{144} together, entered the dance turn by turn. When the dance finished they had a meal of rice,\textsuperscript{145} and the Pangeran Dipati retired.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[137.] taledek is a general term for dancing girls and women without the same specialization in courtly dance forms as the baðaya and srimpi dancers.
\item[138.] The bëksa described here involved all the males present in taking a turn to dance with the taledek. The order of the dance was determined by rank, with each dancer "handing over" to the person immediately junior to him. Hence the dance is begun by Pangeran Surya Prang Wadana, followed by the other commander of the army. See anonymous article, \textit{TNI}, 14, 2 (1852), p. 278.
\item[139.] It is interesting to see that Mangkunëgara's Patih (the highest ranking "civil" official) takes his turn after the first four ranks of military officers.
\item[140.] Putra ma[n]cana-gara: the sons of the mancanagara, the regions beyond the area of the court and its immediate region (nagara agung). It is also possible that this is a slip of the pen for "putra mangkunëgaran," Mangkunëgara's sons.
\item[141.] The diarist classifies the lurah, here as elsewhere, by the form of payment they received: sawah land, or money wages.
\item[142.] This probably refers to the four lurah of the Samaputra corps, all grandsons of Mangkunëgara and bearing the noble title of Raden (see 204L).
\item[143.] These were cavalry corps.
\item[144.] On the term sabët, see note 119 above. Because they were the most junior of the military officers, they take their turn last here.
\item[145.] That is, rice with the usual accompanying dishes.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
4. The Mangkunégaran Finances

Clearly, the maintenance of such a large establishment must have been expensive. One of the most interesting features of the diary is that it includes a record of much of the monetary expenditures Mangkunégaran incurred. With this and information from outside the court we can go some way towards establishing the relationship between Mangkunégaran's income and his expenditures, though the data are not always as precise as one would wish.

On the subject of Mangkunégaran's income, the diarist gives very little information indeed; and the information available from the records of the V.O.C. is not as useful as that provided for the two major Javanese principalities. This is because at this period the Mangkunégaran was not yet recognized as an independent, hereditary principality, as it was later to be. Mangkunégaran, though a mighty subject, was nevertheless still in the service of the Sunan of Surakarta; and there was therefore no separate contract between the Mangkunégaran and the V.O.C. such as bound the Sunan or the Sultan of Yogyakarta.146 Hartingh's letter of March 29, 1757, reporting the outcome of his talks with Mangkunégaran, notes simply that he had promised to obey the Sunan and to appear at court on the days required by custom, and had accepted in return 4,000 cacah situated in Gunung Kidul, Matésh and Kaduwang. He had also requested the "high title" of Pangeran Adipati Mangkunégaran.147 There should have been a charter (piagém) from the Sunan confirming this grant, but this appears to have been lost (as indeed were almost all of the documents regulating the Mangkunégaran's economic relationship with the other principalities or with the Dutch government).148 According to Rouffaer, Mangkunégaran actually received 4081 cacah;149 and in 1772 a conference was held between Pakubuwana III, Mangkunégaran, and Governor J. R. van den Burgh, on which occasion Mangkunégaran promised to obey faithfully the orders of the Sunan and of the Company; to appear at the Sunan's court whenever required; and not to assemble more followers--especially armed followers--in the kraton or Dutch factory than was allowed according to "old Javanese custom." In return, the Sunan appointed him wadana of the districts of "Pandjerlan" (i.e., Panjér) and Pamarden.150 According to the report of this conference, he already held the

146. For the contracts signed during this period by the Sunan and the Sultan, see KITLV H [Hollands: Western language manuscript] 363, Tractaten gesloten met de zelfbestuurders van Surakarta en Yogya Batavia 1755-1830. See also volume 5 of F. W. Stapel, Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum, BKI 96 (1938), and ibid., vol. 6 (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1955).

147. Hartingh to Batavia, March 29, 1757 in KA 2802, VOCOB, 1758.

148. The deeds whereby the Mangkunégaran in 1813 received another 1000 cacah (from the Sultan's lands?) and 500 more from the Dutch government in 1830, as well as the documents relating to the rationalization of the Mangkunégaran and Sunanate lands in c. 1903, are all missing. See G. P. Rouffaer, "Vorstenlanden," Adatrechtbundels 134 (1931), pp. 258-59 and 269.

149. Ibid., pp. 240-41.

150. Letter of F. van Straalendorf, P. Boltze, Raden Adipati Sasradiningrat and Adipati Suradimenggala, in van den Burgh to Batavia, August 20, 1772, KA 3256, VOCOB 1773. The reason for the strange form in which the district of Panjér appears here is perhaps that the two districts (which are adjacent) were described in Javanese as "Panjer lan Pamarden," that is, "Panjér and Pamarden."
wadana-ship of Banyumas;151 at this period the Bupati of Banyumas held the office of wadana mancanagara kilen, that is, the official in charge of collecting the tribute payable by the western mancanagara. (The lands of the Javanese principalities were classified into two groups: the nagara agung, regions immediately adjacent to the capital, in which the appanage lands of princes and office-holders were concentrated; and the mancanagara, more distant regions where the land was theoretically the ruler's own property but was managed for him by local governors (the Bupati and their subordinates) who received a percentage of its yield.) The three regions delegated to Mangkunégarā by 1772 were of the following sizes, reckoned in cacah: Banyumas 2,029 cacah; Panjér 1,180 cacah; Pamarden 504 cacah—thus, a total of 3,713 cacah over and above his original grant.152

Calculating a notional income from these lands is, as will become apparent, not entirely straightforward. The Javanese system of landholding and taxation regulations was as complicated as any, and is made unusually inaccessible by the lack of adequate records. We may begin with a statement of the general principles in operation, as set out by Rouffaer.153 The produce of village land was conceptually divided into five parts. One part was allotted to the békél or village head. The remaining four-fifths was equally divided between the cultivator and the monarch—or, as we may prefer to put it, the "state treasury." For it is clear that the two-fifths to which the ruler was entitled did not, in fact, all accrue to his personal income; and it is in attempting to calculate who shared in this royal two-fifths and in what proportions, that the real difficulty lies.

Rouffaer also gives a formula by which the income from land—which would be, it goes without saying, largely in kind—can be converted into a money figure.154 In the seventeenth century, one jung155 of land was estimated to produce one Spanish dollar, or real,156 in tax per annum—being the value of the two-fifths

151. Ibid.
152. The figures are taken from the land settlement of 1773: see Schrieke, Indonesian Sociological Studies, 2, p. 367, n. 311. Ricklefs, Jogjakarta, discussing the meaning of cacah in terms of manpower (p. 425 n.), has not noted this increase in the number of cacah under Mangkunégarā's control.
154. Ibid., pp. 301-2.
155. Rouffaer gives one jung = 2500 square Rhenish rods [Rijnlandse roeden of 3.767 m] (ibid.), but there seems to have been considerable local variation—up to a factor of 10—until Daendels introduced a standard "government jung" (see Thos. Stamford Raffles, History of Java, 2 vols. (1817; reprint ed., Kuala Lumpur, New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), 2, Appendix M.
156. The hard Spanish dollar (peso duro) was for long the standard unit of exchange on Java and the surrounding regions, where it was generally known as the real, an abbreviation of real de a ocho, "eight-real piece." (Other names include Jav. ringgit; pasmat, a corruption of Spaansche mat; and piaster.) In Europe, it was very close in value to the Dutch rijksdaalder: both maintained a value which varied only between £0.22 and £0.23 over the period 1651-1781 (see John J. McCusker, Money and Exchange in Europe and America 1600-1775: A Handbook [Williamsburg, Va.: University of Carolina Press, 1978], Table 1.1). In the Indonesian region, however, the Spanish dollar was the preferred currency and always enjoyed an advantage (c. 25-40 percent) over its official value vis-à-vis Dutch monies. (See Robert Chalmers, A History of Currency in the British Colonies [London:
due to the ruler. By the period with which we are concerned, however, one bau—that is, one quarter of a jung—now produced a real per annum. Since, for purposes of calculating production and taxation, a cacah was equivalent to a bau, each cacah also produced one real per annum for the state treasury. Mangkunegara's lands, therefore, produced 4081 + 3713 real in tax per annum.

But to whom did this tax go? Turning again to Rouffaer, we find that different systems for the allocation of taxes allegedly operated in the nagara agung and in the mancanagara. In the nagara agung, where, as we have noted, the appanage lands of princes and office-holders were located, the ruler ceded his entire right to tax to the appanage-holder. In the mancanagara, the royal two-fifths (calculable at one real per cacah per annum) was divided up as follows: one-fifth of this tax to the Bupati; one-fifth to the district heads (ngabei, demang, etc.) and the remaining three-fifths to the ruler.

Mangkunegara's lands lay initially partly in the nagara agung and partly in the mancanagara. Those in the Matésih and Gunung Kidul areas were in the nagara agung; those in Kaduwang, Banyumas, Panjër and Pamarden were in the mancanagara. His power to draw tax from these lands should, therefore, have differed between the two categories. In the 1773 land settlement, however, all the latter regions were reclassified as nagara agung. According to Rouffaer's systemization,

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157. Strictly speaking, there are five bau to a jung, but since the one-fifth of a jung allotted to the békël does not produce tax, the Javanese land registers do not take it into account and reckon four bau to the jung. Rouffaer, "Vorstenlanden," p. 301.

158. Rouffaer attributes this to a decline in value of the Spanish dollar ("Vorstenlanden," p. 303) in central Java. This is contrary to all other evidence (see references in n. 156 above), which indicates that the real maintained its value. Rouffaer has probably been confused either by the fact that what was called the "real" in Java was actually the piece-of-eight, a multiple of the Spanish unit of currency known in Europe as a real. Though this latter real did indeed decline throughout the eighteenth century, the piece-of-eight was maintained at its old value (by calculating its worth as equivalent to 10 and then 11 real); or by the fact that the exchanges in Spain used a "notional" (i.e., noncoin) piece-of-eight as a unit of accounting. This notional piece-of-eight (known as the peso de cambio) declined in value at the same rate as the (European) real. (See McCusker, Money and Exchange, pp. 99-100.) It is clear that in Java we have to do with the silver dollar itself and not with the notional accounting money used in Spain. There is no evidence that the silver dollar was accepted at a lesser value: it was certainly not reduced to anywhere near a quarter of its value, which would have had to be the case if its devaluation was the reason for the increase in taxation noted here. It is more likely that we have to do with an increase in taxation pure and simple: itself an interesting phenomenon.

159. On the nature of the equivalence of these terms, see Rouffaer, "Vorstenlanden," p. 301.

160. Ibid., p. 304.

161. Ibid., p. 240; Schrieke, Indonesian Sociological Studies, 2, p. 366 n. 311.
tion, therefore, Mangkunéagara should then have been ceded by the ruler the entire right to the tax payable in all his lands, which were now entirely within the nagara agung category.

Unfortunately, the evidence of the diary contradicts this formula. In 1788—well after the reclassification took place—Mangkunéagara made a request for an extra 600 cacah, or, if this was not possible, to be allowed to hold his existing lands tax-free. Clearly, then, he could not have enjoyed the exclusive right to tax his landholdings at that time, but must have paid a certain proportion to the Sunan. But what proportion? Rouffaer's formula is now clearly inapplicable, but perhaps a rough guide can be obtained by the following reasoning: if Mangkunéagara requested either an extra 600 cacah (from which the tax revenue would presumably be shared by him and the Sunan in the same proportion as before), or to have the tax due to the Sunan on the earlier 7,794 cacah remitted, we may assume that this was a "trade-off," and that the revenue sums involved were roughly equal. (It is unlikely that they would be exactly equivalent: 600 cacah looks very much like a "round figure.") Using the following procedure, let A stand for the Sunan's share and B for Mangkunéagara's.

\[ A + B = 1; \quad A = 1 - B \]

A's share of 7794 is

\[ 7794A = 7794(1 - B) \]

B's share of 600 is 600B. Since B's share of 600 compensates to B for A's share of 7794, equate the two:

\[ 600B = 7794(1 - B), \]

or

\[ (600 + 7794)B = 7794. \]

\[ B = 7794/8394 = 0.93. \]

Hence, B's (Mangkunéagara's) share is 93%.

Thus, it seems that about 7 percent of the tax revenue of Mangkunéagara's lands went to the Sunan. The majority of Mangkunéagara's lands had recently been reclassified as nagara agung. This reclassification had been greatly to Mangkunéagara's economic advantage as the Sunan claimed a much larger proportion of the tax (three-fifths) on mancanagara. The Sunan apparently, however, continued to exact a small proportion of the tax, even though all Mangkunéagara's lands were now in the nagara agung where, according to Rouffaer, the ruler had ceded his taxing rights to the appanage holder.

We may calculate, then, that 7 percent of the 7,794 real produced by these lands went to the Sunan, and a further 20 percent would have gone to pay those of Mangkunéagara's lurah and other officers who were paid in land. See Rouffaer, "Vorstenlanden," p. 304, for the basis of this calculation. In fact, Mangkunéagara had difficulty in preventing these men from retaining more than the percentage due to them (see n. 164).

164. 102L. Given the traditional saying that one bau (one-fifth or one-quarter of a jung, according to the method of calculation) of sawah land or 2 bau of dry land provides a sufficient living for a farmer and his family, 17 jung is a very large
7 percent (= 546 real) and the lurah's 20 percent (= 1559 real) from the original sum of 7,794 real we arrive at the figure of 5,689 real as the sum Mangkunēgara himself may be thought to have derived from taxing his landholdings.

One other source of monetary income should be mentioned: it appears that Mangkunēgara received a share of the 10,000 real per annum which the Sunan received from the V.O.C. for the lease of the pasisir. His share was apparently 400 real.165 Adding this to the income from his lands, we arrive at a figure of 6,089 real per annum. This income was to be considerably augmented when in the second half of 1790 the V.O.C. granted him an annual allowance of 4,000 real.166

This calculation of an "annual cash income" from Mangkunēgara's lands is, however, an oversimplification of the actual situation. Since harvests varied from year to year, so too did the money value of the tax levied. One writer notes that a gandek (envoy from the capital) was sent out to the region concerned to make an assessment of the tax due, based on the actual total production, for each harvest.167 Thus there was considerably variation in the amount of produce coming in, particularly in a period including some years of poor harvests, as was the case in the late 1780s to early 1790s.168 Secondly, the amount of produce arriving at the capital was divided out in a rather complex fashion, which was probably adjusted according to the perceived needs of the time. An example taken from the diary illustrates the complexities of distribution: in the second half of the month of Bēsar 1717 A.D.159 (August 1791), thirty amet170 of rice arrived from the Mangkunēgara lands and was divided out as follows: to the abdi balanjan (that is, those retainers who were paid in cash and kind as opposed to those paid in land); to the Resident; and to the Chinese and small traders (presumably for sale). A few days later more rice (quantity unspecified) arrived and was divided out among Mangkunēgara's servants, the Patih and the wadana, family members,171 the army, and religious functionaries, namely the pēngulu, marbot,172 kētib,173 and jamsari.176 Again, parcel of land. It seems that Mangkunēgara had some difficulty in ensuring that his subordinates paid their share of the tax, since dismissals and replacements among his lurah and dēmang are often recorded, and the reasons, where given, seem usually to be that they have not fulfilled their obligations, are behind in their payments, or have sold (or otherwise "lost") the buffalo loaned to them (see, for example, 154R and 185R).

165. 296.
166. It should be noted that Mangkunēgara had asked for 4,000 cacah, confirming Rouffaer's calculation that one cacah = one real in tax revenue.
168. See below p. 31.
169. 289R.
170. The amet was the chief unit of measurement for husked rice. Like the jung it exhibited considerable variation even within one region. Daendels introduced a standard measure here too, the "government amet" of 266-2/3 English pounds. (Raffles, History of Java, 2, Appendix M.) Previously it might have weighed up to three times this amount.
171. The santana, that is, the family members of more distant relations than children and grandchildren.
172. The mosque custodian, responsible for beating the bēdug (great drum) at the times of prayer.
early in Mulud 1718\textsuperscript{175} (late October 1791), one amet of rice was delivered to the Resident. At this time Mangkunégara himself and the prajurit estri went out to the villages to watch the harvesting. More rice was later given to the Resident and second Resident, and some to the Sunan and to Mangkunégara's sons in their own districts. Immediately after this distribution was made, however, Mangkunégara had to buy rice from the market: the diarist explains that there was a shortage of rice at this time\textsuperscript{176} (perhaps also the reason behind Mangkunégara's despatch of rice to his sons in their appanages). One thousand one hundred and forty tempo\textsuperscript{177} of rice were bought at a cost of 114 real. Half this quantity was distributed among the démang, lurah, rangga, punggawa and tumenggung in Mangkunégara's service and among his sons and grandsons, and the other half was offered in a slamétan.

We see therefore that the rice was distributed on different bases: to those of Mangkunégara's servants and officers who held no land in lease, as a supplement to their money wages (curiously similar to the system in use for Indonesian bureaucrats today); to the Sunan, in payment of his share of the land's produce; and to the Dutch, Chinese, and traders, for sale. On this occasion, there was not sufficient rice to meet the obligations to retainers and to the Sunan, and to fulfill "contracts" to the Dutch and Chinese for a certain quantity, and Mangkunégara ended up by having to purchase rice in the market.

The yield of the harvest which came in from Sura 1715 (October 1788) had also been insufficient, and rice had to be bought. In a letter of July 1790 Greeve mentions that the rice harvests of the preceding years had been poor, and predicted (the above evidence shows wrongly) that this one would be better.\textsuperscript{178}

We can conclude, therefore, that Mangkunégara's income from his lands was subject to considerably fluctuations depending on the size of the harvest in a particular year. Yet his cash commitments were substantial.

To get some idea of his annual monetary expenditure, we may take the figures given for 1717 AJ (1790/91 AD). He made the following payments:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{173} Usually a number of \textit{k étib} were assigned to assist the pëngulu in his duties.
\item \textsuperscript{174} No dictionary lists this word, which the context clearly shows must denote a religious functionary. It does not occur among the titles of religious functionaries in the nineteenth century Mangkunégaran (see "Vorstenlanden: Gegevens," \textit{Adatrechtsbundels}, 25 (1926), pp. 75-76 and 91-92). One may tentatively suggest a derivation from Turkish \textit{yenicert}, "janissary," since military corps modeled on these Turkish ones existed in the Javanese principalities and the Janissary corps had historical connections with religious orders (see, for example, J. Spencer Tringham, \textit{The Sufi Orders in Islam} [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971], pp. 80-81). In the local context, this functionary is very likely to have been associated with "Jamsaren" ("place of the Jamsari"), an old-established pësantren whose clientele was mainly the sons of the Surakarta aristocracy (and which is still in existence).
\item \textsuperscript{175} 302R-303L.
\item \textsuperscript{176} 303R (\textit{mila anémpur béras/sémama kang béras awis}).
\item \textsuperscript{177} A tempo is another measure of rice, also exhibiting considerable local variation in actual weight. In Surakarta usage there were 24 tempo to 1 amet (see Gericke and Roorda, \textit{Javaansch-Nederlandsch Handwoordenboek}, and Raffles, \textit{History of Java}, 2, Appendix M).
\item \textsuperscript{178} See Greeve to Batavia, July 29, 1790 in KA 3802, VOCOB, 1791.
\end{itemize}
1. 6 Sapar: wages (amount specified) paid to newly created prajurit corps. 179

2. 20 Mulud: payment of anggris and duwit to the value of 1,560 [real?] 180 (to the abdi in general).

3. 24 Mulud: 1,408 real 181 (to the soldiery).

4. 28 Mulud: wages (amount unspecified) paid to newly created prajurit corps. 182

5. 17 Rablingulakir. As above, number 4. 183

6. 7 Jumadilawal. 345 [real?] to the bala kaum. 184

7. 12 Arwah. 200 real to the soldiers; 6,000 duwit to the lurah. 185

8. 11 Sawal. 1,600 [real]: half were real anggris, half real batu, 186 (to the soldiery).

9. 17 Sawal. 1,000 real in the form of duwit (to the soldiery). 187

10. 17 Sawal. 300 real (to the sons, grandsons and great-grandsons, and to the serving girls). 188

179. 258R.

180. 264L: Ka[ng]jang pangeran adipati gagajih kang abdi-abdi / a[ng]gris kalawan duwit / tèlas sewu gangsal atus pujul sèket kang arta. . . . For a discussion of these coins (anggris and duwit), see below.

181. 264: mulud tanggal salawe prah / kala dina kêmis manis / kangjing pangeran dipatiya / paring bala ngémping gajih / gagajihe ing be[n]jing / bakda siyam mangke nuhan / prandene pinaringan / sewu arta kang gagajih / pujul kawan atus lawan walung [wolung] reyal //

182. 265L.

183. 269L.

184. 269R: nulya dina kêmis kang tanggal pipitu / jumadelakir [error for jumadelawa] kang wulan / kangjing pangeran dipati / gajih bala kakauman / dasarambat kalawan dasawani / pijing panaméngipun / lawan wong dasamuka / dasarata siam ngémping gajihipun / tigang atus kawan dasa / gangsal ing siyam sapalih //


188. 282R: sarta saréng ngémping gajih / para puta buyut wayah / manggung
11. 24 Sawal. 400 real and 700 anggris (to the lurah). \(^{189}\)
12. 14 Bêsar. 1,025 real (to the soldiery). \(^{190}\)

Two patterns are apparent in this table: first, the concentration of payments in the months of Mulud and Sawal. Taking the record of the diary as a whole, a pattern of half-yearly payment of salaries is confirmed. The second of these two payments was known as the gajihing (wulan) Siyam (Ramadan/fast month salary) but was actually paid in the following month, Sawal. Second, it is clear that the wages of the soldiery comprised a very large proportion of the total: in comparison, the amounts received by the other court servants (the abdi), and by Mang-kunêgara's own sons and further descendants, are quite small.

Totaling up the payments for 1717 AJ, we come up against the problem posed by the different currencies in which these are given. Unfortunately, the second half of the eighteenth century was a time of considerable confusion in the monetary situation in Java, when a great number of different types of specie, locally struck or imported from abroad, were in circulation without any well-established mutual relationships. \(^{191}\)

Secondly, the precise meaning of all of the Javanese terms used by the diarist may need some reconstruction. Most of the payments are specified in real, that is, in the Spanish dollars which were for so long the standard unit of exchange on Java and in the neighboring regions. \(^{192}\) As noted above, the annual payment made to the Sunan and the Sultan as rent for the pasisir and its incomes was made in Spanish dollars (10,000 to each ruler). In some entries the diarist describes the real more specifically as "real batu," or "real anggris." The first term may be taken to indicate the very rough, unfashioned pieces of silver which were provided with a stamp and exported from Spanish America, even as late as the eighteenth century. \(^{193}\) They were known to the English as "cobs." \(^{194}\) What exactly the diarist means by real anggris is uncertain. According to Crawfurd, this term was used for the Spanish dollar in general, because, in his opinion, it was much used by English traders. \(^{195}\) It is possible, however, that the diarist uses it for a specific type of Spanish dollar. \(^{196}\) In any case, the different types of Spanish dollar

\[^{189}\] 282R: nulya sênen kang dina / salawe prah tanggalipun / ing sawal pangran dipatya // gajih bala ngêmping gajih / lurah lan sasaêtira / lurah lêbêt jawi kabeth / ngêmping sawal pinaringan / mulud kang gajih bebas / nora gajih be[n]-jang mulud / sakawan atus kang real / pujul pitung atus anggris / real lan ëwít sadaya / . . .

\[^{190}\] 288L: sarêng gagajih kang bala / sêmana pangran dipati // têlas arta sewu real / mapan pujul salawe genya gajih / . . .

\[^{191}\] The situation was not finally corrected until the introduction in 1854 of a new regulation which brought about a notable improvement.

\[^{192}\] On the value of the Spanish silver dollar, see note 156 above.


\[^{195}\] Crawfurd, *Dictionary*, p. 285, sub "money."

\[^{196}\] Different mintings of the Spanish silver dollars carried different devices, for example, the earlier "pillar" dollars, the later "globe" dollars, and still later ones with the Spanish arms. See Chalmers, *History of Currency*, pp. 391-92; William D. Craig, *Coins of the World 1750-1850* (Racine, Wis.: Whitman, 1966),
noted by the diarist were in circulation at equivalent values, and were accepted
by her as such (see, for example, entry no. 8).

We find a total of at least 6,633 real (Spanish dollars) of different types paid
out here; but much more probably a total of 8,538, adding in the two payments
(nos. 2 and 6), where the amount is noted but the coinage is apparently not
specified. In the present writer's opinion, the diarist uses the word \textit{arta}, which
is commonly used to mean money in general, to denote the real specifically, and
has done so in these two entries. In addition, there is the single payment where
the amount is given in duwit (6,000). The Java duwit, unlike the Dutch coin after
which it was named, was accounted at 4 to the \textit{stuiver},\textsuperscript{197} thus 320 to the real, so
that this amount comes to the quite small sum of 18.75 real, bringing the total
amount of wages for which the actual amount is recorded to 8,556.75. There re-
main, however, three entries (nos. 1, 4, and 5) for which neither the amount nor
the coinage is recorded. One may suppose that the total wage bill, allowing for
these amounts and possible incompleteness in the diarist's records, must have been
in the vicinity of 10,000 real. It is also worth noting that a majority of the wage
payments recorded in the diary seem to have been advances ("\textit{ngemping gaih}"
\textsuperscript{-} see entries 3, 5, 8, 9, and 10), often at the request of those concerned, so that
we may conclude that Mangkunengara's men did not regard their wages as adequate,
and the old prince must have been under constant, if respectful, pressure for
further payments.

Furthermore, the wage bill was not Mangkunengara's only regular commitment.
The diarist records a continuing and considerable expenditure on presents, an
inescapable requirement of the life of the period, which will be discussed below.
He had in addition other expenses which, though not recurrent, might involve
very large amounts. In 1787, for instance, he had to pay gold to the value of
3,816 (real?) to the Sunan as the \textit{paningset}\textsuperscript{198} for his daughter, who was being
given in marriage to Mangkunengara's son.

What does this analysis of Mangkunengara's finances reveal? First, a perhaps
surprising degree of monetization: wages in cash amounting to c. 10,000 real; and
other large money payments, such as the gold coins as marriage-payment for the
Sunan's daughter. Presumably the means whereby Mangkunengara's income, which
would have been for a large part in kind, was converted into cash for his expendi-
ture was via the sale of agricultural produce, principally rice, to Chinese and
other buyers.

\textsuperscript{197} Netscher and van der Chijs, \textit{Munten}, p. 66. The Dutch \textit{duit} was accounted
at 8 to the \textit{stuiver}.

\textsuperscript{198} The \textit{paningset} is a present made to the bride when she is the daughter of a
Pangeran (or, as here, of the Sunan himself) and the groom is of lower rank.
C. F. Winter's article ("Instellingen, Gewoonten en Gebruiken der Javanen te
Soerakarta," \textit{TNI}, 5, 1 (1843), pp. 459-86, 546-613 and 690-744) describes the
paningset as comprising a few items of silverware (p. 573); but in the present
case it involves a large sum of money (and is termed "\textit{arta pamapag}," money-of-
the-meeting, i.e., of the bride). The amount is given (100L-R) as \textit{ardana \textit{reginira}
\textit{emas sadaya pan pangaji \textit{tigang} \textit{ewu walung [walung] atus n\textit{em} belas}, "riches en-
tirely in gold to the worth of 3816," and, as in other places where the currency is
not specified, it seems that the amount is understood to be in real. If, however,
3816 gold coins were paid, the sum would be anything from about \(1\frac{1}{2}\) to \(8\frac{1}{2}\) times
greater than 3816 real, depending on which gold coinage was involved.
Second, a rather dangerous balance between income and expenditure. With an income of about 6,000 real from his lands, Mangkunéagara was paying out about 10,000 real per annum on wages, not to speak of the sums required for participating in the obligatory round of present giving described below, and for other expenses unavoidable for a man of his station. Even when he began to receive a further 4,000 real per annum from the V.O.C., this sum would barely have closed the gap between his previous income and his wages bill.

The fact that the largest amounts for wages were paid to the soldiery raises another interesting point. At this period, Mangkunéagara was apparently losing more followers to the Sultan than he was attracting to his own kraton. Ricklefs has suggested that the preponderant direction of the movement of courtiers is an indication of which court was "stronger in terms of legitimation." The above analysis suggests that it should perhaps rather be explained in terms of relative economic strength and the ability to meet a large wages bill, which was clearly taxing Mangkunéagara's finances to their utmost. Particularly important was the capacity to pay the soldiery—who, as we have seen, received the lion's share of wages—in view of the implications this had for the relative military strength of the rival courts. One should note, however, that Mangkunéagara's court was not suffering from a large-scale exodus, that significant numbers of followers (who were subsequently enlisted in the Mangkunéagaran military forces) did come over to him from the Sultan's people, and that, as we have seen, a strong esprit de corps existed among Mangkunéagara's dependents.

Given the unhealthy relationship between his income and expenditure, what could Mangkunéagara do? It was not in his power to increase the size of his landholdings and, though he might have tried to obtain for himself a larger share of the tax-bearing capacity of his existing lands, it is questionable how far he could succeed in this. One way of increasing his income was to adapt to new opportunities and changed circumstances by beginning to produce those cash crops which could be sold to the V.O.C., and this he did. In a letter of 1792, we find him requesting the Company to provide instruction in the cultivation of pepper and indigo, which his men did not then know how to grow. In the nineteenth century, the cultivation and processing of sugar and coffee was a major element in the Mangkunéagaran's finances. Another way in which the economic fortunes of Mangkunéagara's descendants became dependent upon the colonial government was through the transformation of the highly developed military and equestrian expertise which we have already noted into the institution of the "Mangkunégaran Legion." This was established by Daendels in 1809 as a sort of cavalry reserve for the colonial army, and Raffles subsequently agreed to pay 1,200 real per month towards the maintenance of this force, which then consisted of 900 footsoldiers, 200 cavalrymen, and 500 mounted artillerymen. During the course of the nineteenth century, however, the Legion lost its potential serviceability as a real fighting unit, and by 1910 neither the infantry nor the cavalry could be considered fit to see service. Even with these new developments, however, the Mangkunéagaran fortunes went through some difficult times in the course of the nineteenth century.

199. Ricklefs, Jogjakarta, p. 234.
200. See van Overstraten to Batavia, November 3, 1792, KA 3859, VCOB, 1793.
203. In the 1880s, government loans to the Mangkunégaran could not be repaid,
So from the late eighteenth century onwards, the economic viability of the Mangkunégaran became increasingly dependent on its connection with the colonial government, with obvious implications for its political independence. It would be wrong to conclude at once that the same economic forces pushed the two larger principalities in the same direction. They had larger resources than the Mangkunégaran, and a separate investigation is necessary to establish whether these larger resources were a buttress of comparative independence (at least until the series of territorial annexations culminating in the truncation of 1830), or whether they merely produced Mangkunégaran’s problems on a larger scale. Certainly, it is clear that the Sunan shared some of these problems, in particular the constant difficulty of exerting effective control over his subordinates, with all that this implied for economic strength or weakness. The diarist repeatedly records royal decrees issued by the Sunan and his Patih providing for the chaining, beating, or imprisonment of officers and officials holding land in excess of the amount to which they were entitled, and this suggests that these decrees were not very effective. When the eastern mancanagara lands belonging both to Surakarta and to Yogyakarta were annexed by the colonial government in 1830, an investigation was made into the amount of taxation which the two courts had actually drawn from these lands. The figure arrived at represented less than 20 percent of the total revenues of the regions concerned, a notable contrast to the 40 percent which was claimed. This effectively demonstrates, in the economic sphere, how very far theoretical formulations such as those given by Rouffaer may be from actual practice. The diarist does not, however, provide the same detailed information on the Sunan’s finances as she gives for the Mangkunégaran, and no more can be said on the subject here.

5. Surakarta Court Life

The diarist does not concentrate exclusively on the internal affairs of the Mangkunégaran kraton, and the diary gives many fascinating sidelights on the general pattern of life, at least in the ambiance of the courts. The daily round and common task—especially building work in the kraton, and the maintenance of irrigation works—are described, as is the ceremonial surrounding special festivities such as royal marriages. On 14 Jumadilakir 1713 AJ (April 3, 1787) Mangkunégaran’s son, Raden Suryakusuma, married the Sunan’s daughter, Raden Ayu Supiyah, a marriage of considerable political importance. Mangkunégaran had dedicated two slamStan to his future daughter-in-law, and Suryakusuma had put away his various sérir and three children in order to receive the princess "with a

and Mangkunégaran V had to surrender the management of his financial affairs to the colonial government during the 1890s. Financial autonomy was retained thanks to the able management of Mangkunégaran VI. (See Mailrapporten 1890 no. 578; 1891 nos. 58, 320, 382, and 471; 1893 no. 197; and the Koloniale Verslagen for the 1890s sub "Java en Madura."

204. See, for example, 24R-25L, 30R, 32R.
205. The results of this investigation can be found in P. J. F. Louw and E. S. de Klerck, De Java-Oorlog van 1825-30, 6 vols. (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1894-1909), 6, p. 168.
206. Notably the Pêngging canal, which appears to have been a constant source of trouble, needing frequent repairs: see 66L, 96R, 101L, 127L, 185L.
207. 104R.
pure heart." Two of the children (like their mothers "in a pitiful state") were adopted by Mangkunëgara himself, and the third by Pangeran Surya Mataram. The marriage was followed by a number of receptions, and on 22 Jumadilakir, cannon salutes from the Mangkunëgara and the senior kraton announced that the consummation of the marriage had now taken place.

While the rhythm of Mangkunëgara's life seems to have been dominated by the observances of the weekly jumungahan (Friday prayer), the Sunans appeared as regularly for the sëton as the mosque. The sëton was a spectacle which usually began with a watangan (lance tournament) and ended with a rampogan sima, in which the Sunan's men, armed with pikes, formed a square around a tiger, advanced on it together, and killed it.

Very occasionally, a sima-maesa (tiger vs. buffalo) fight was held. In view of the symbolism often ascribed to this combat—the tiger representing the Dutch, the buffalo the Javanese—it may be worth noting that the future Pakubuwana IV arranged such a performance for Greeve, the Governor of the northeast coast, while his father lay dying. If this was really a sinister sign of his future attitude towards the Company, it appears to have had no effect on the Governor, who immediately afterwards promised the old Sunan that he would ensure his son's succession.

The royal tigers were also used as a form of execution for rebels and criminals: certainly, a cruel punishment for the victims, but surprisingly enough not always fatal. On one occasion two men, accused of entering the kraton without authorization, were set to fight three tigers. Though they were armed only with clubs, and "tired" tigers were exchanged for "fresh" and even "fierce" ones, they survived, though wounded, to be exiled, "knowing what life and death were."

208. Eklas kang galih (100L).
209. Saklangkung kawlas ayun (100L).
210. Mangkunëgara's grandson. These happenings will be discussed in Part II of this article.
211. 110R. This cannon salute—which seems to have been standard ceremonial to mark the consummation of royal marriages (see 90R on the occasion of the marriage of Pakubuwana IV when still heir-apparent)—is described as pratonda bèdha kuta, "sign that the citadel is breached."
212. Sëton is derived from sëptu, Saturday. In Yogyakarta similar spectacles were held on Mondays, and hence called sënenan.
213. See Ricklefs, Jogjakarta, pp. 274-75, 303-4, 345-46. An alternative explanation, however, sees the buffalo as representative of royal authority and cosmic order, and the tiger of chaos and chthonic forces, or the underworld.
214. 157R.
215. For example, 61L, 77L, 213L.
216. 272R-273L. The practice of setting criminals to fight tigers continued into the early years of the nineteenth century, and Raffles (History of Java, 1, p. 388) reports that if the man concerned escaped comparatively unscathed this was taken as proof of innocence by ordeal, and he was freed and even sometimes given the position of mantri.
The drama of these spectacles was not enjoyed in the Mangkunégaran. When the Sunan held the rampogan sima, Mangkunégarana usually arranged for cock or quail fighting\(^{217}\) to be held for his army. This spectacle was greatly valued, not only for the enjoyment it offered, but also because cock and quail fighting were among the awisan: the prerogatives of the Sunan and his family, forbidden to anyone else.\(^{218}\) On two occasions the diarist notes with pride Mangkunégarana's exemption from this prohibition, an exemption which was, she claims, obtained for him by the intercession of the "Kumpéni" (the V.O.C.).\(^{219}\) The exemption was perhaps a matter of particular pride because Pakubuwana III otherwise insisted on the rigorous observance of the prohibition on cock fighting, and on one occasion a number of his own abdi were imprisoned for a time for infringing it.\(^{220}\)

The aristocracy was extremely conscious of the need to maintain the external signs of gradations of rank—a typically aristocratic concern which was in this case somewhat unexpectedly reinforced by the attitude of a structurally nonaristocratic institution, the V.O.C. Perhaps because, once having committed itself to the maintenance of a certain constellation of Javanese princes, it saw the utility of allowing each star to shine with the appropriate luster, the company was punctilious in observing protocol.\(^{221}\) Invariably, when the Governor of the northeast coast visited Surakarta, he, the highest Dutch official present, would place himself by the Sunan, while the Resident accompanied Mangkunégarana.\(^{222}\) Within kraton society a breach of protocol was deeply resented, as when Mangkunégarana's sons were seated at a reception given by Pakubuwana IV in a position which did not take account of the fact that they were attending not in their personal capacities but as representatives (wakil) of their father.\(^{223}\)

The Javanese courts and the Dutch representation to the princely capitals participated in a number of joint functions, and at the period of the diary these seem not to have been the stuffy, formal affairs we know of from the second half of the following century. The musical background provided by both Javanese and Dutch ensembles has already been commented upon;\(^{224}\) and the last descriptive

\(^{217}\) Bets were usually placed on the outcome of these contests: see, for example, 99R, 183.

\(^{218}\) Most accounts of the awisan deal exclusively with the items of clothing which were reserved for royal usage: see, for example, Winter, "Beknopte Beschrijving," pp. 77-78, and Rouffaer's notes, pp. 161-64; also Ricklefs, Jogjakarta, pp. 163-65. At least at this period, however, the awisan were of wider scope.

\(^{219}\) lan sawarnane kasukan / nagri sala den-awisi / amung sawéwéngkonira / kangjéng pangeran adipati / kang batén [botén] den-awisi / kasukan sadayanipun / linilan tan awisan / atas parentah kumpni / . . . s.a. 101L.

\(^{220}\) 94R-95L.

\(^{221}\) It should be recognized, however, that the V.O.C. was equally concerned to regulate the state allowed to its different employees when they appeared in public: see the numerous edicts issued under the heading "Pragt en Praal" in Reelio. Register op de Generale Resolutiën van het Kasteel Batavia 1632-1805 (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1886), 3, pp. 82-83.

\(^{222}\) See, for example, the description of Governor Jan Greeve's visit (156-57 and 251R) where Pakubuwana IV and Greeve travel together in one carriage and Mangkunégarana and Resident Johan Fredrik, Baron van Rede tot de Parkeler, in another.

\(^{223}\) 267R.

\(^{224}\) See above p. 14.
passage of any length in the diary describes an al fresco entertainment, a pleasure
trip taken by Pakubuwana IV in company with the Dutch contingent, after his re-
conciliation with the V.O.C. This passage falls into two separate parts, with
the diarist returning to the subject after a couple of pages of recording domestic
matters. It seems that she must have received more information of events during
the outing and its aftermath. As a sketch of court life under the young Sunan, it
has its own interest and humor, and is reproduced here in full:

akad pon sapar kang sasi On Sunday—Pon, Sapar
 taun je tanggal sadasa the tenth, in the year Je
 prabu sala e[n]jing miyos the ruler of Sala came out [from his palace]
ameng-ameng acangkrama to go on a pleasure trip,
mendo tent ulam bangawan intending to catch fish in the Sala river
 jamateng rantan sang prabu at the royal fishing-grounds.
pukul pitu angkatira The time of his departure was seven o'clock.

miyosipun saking puri He left the palace
 tan ngangge urmat sanjata without the salute of guns:
narendra ical urmate the king put aside all ceremony
 ical wawanguning nata and regal distinctions.
miyose saking pura He came out of the palace
kori ing pasowan kidul by the door of the south audience-hall.
tumat sang ratu kancana The Ratu Kancana went with him.

upruk lan para upčisir The Resident and all the officers
 tumat dragundSr kapalan went too, the dragoons on horseback.
patih wadana mantrine The Patih, the wadana and mantri
 pra sčntana estrí priya and the royal relatives, female and male,
lan sagagamanira with an armed escort,
nitih tandu lawan ratu rode in palanquins, as did the queen.
sang nata nitih turongga The ruler rode on horseback.

225. The relationship between Pakubuwana IV and the V.O.C. will be described
in Part II of this article.

226. Pon is the third or fourth day of the five-day week, according to the system
used.

227. The second (lunar) month of the Muslim year.

228. Je is the fourth year of the Javanese eight-year (windu) cycle. In this case
it was 1718 AJ and the date here is equivalent to October 9, 1791 AD.

229. Rantan sang prabu: "rantan" in any possible sense is not listed in any dic-
tionary, but from the context here may be conjectured to mean a place in the river
where a pool had been artificially created to draw fish for the ruler's pleasure.

230. The Sunan's third wife. The marriage was arranged for him through the good
offices of Greeve, Governor of the northeast coast and in charge of the V.O.C.'s
relations with Surakarta, after Pakubuwana IV abandoned his plan to marry a prin-
cess of Yogyakarta (see Part II). The bride was a daughter of the Tuměnggung of
Paměkasen (Madura) and thus a sister of the Sunan's first wife. A third sister
was married at the same time to the Sunan's brother Mangkubumi, who had also re-
quested the V.O.C. to find him a wife. According to the diarist, neither marriage
was happy, though the Sunan put a better face on things than his brother, and
both feared to incur the Company's displeasure by a public breach (287–291; see
also Greeve to Batavia, February 28 and May 10, 1791 in KA 3833, VOCOB, 1792).
The Tamtama\textsuperscript{231} corps were all on horseback; a section of the Prawirengan corps, forty men, were on foot, beside the men of the Tumalatar, a hundred in number, and the Macanan men. The Nyutra men and the hussars were in front. The mantri and wadana proceeded along, some staying together and some getting left behind; the royal relatives did not keep in order but went along kicking into each other. Pangeran Purbaya followed later, for he was left behind. Mangkudiningrat did not go along; all the [other] royal relatives were there.

Our revered Pangeran Dipati was not in the party: he took his pleasure in his own residence. The royal boats were fitted out, seven of them, with curtains, palm-leaf walls and roofs. There was a set of gam\textsuperscript{2}lan on the boats which played as they went along, and another set playing on land. Pangeran Purbaya, who may be compared to a Pan\textsuperscript{232}mbanan\textsuperscript{232} was at first left in the palace, and followed on not long afterwards (?). He sat down to rest in the pan\textsuperscript{233}ggrahan\textsuperscript{233}.

As if by magical means was Pangeran Purbaya's . . . His feelings were made clear:

\textsuperscript{231} The Tamtama, as also the Tumalatar, Macanan, and Nyutra, mentioned below, were all prajurit corps of the Sunan's armed forces.

\textsuperscript{232} Pan\textsuperscript{232}mbanan, "he who is revered" is a higher title than Pangeran, "Prince," and the diarist sarcastically suggests that it would be appropriate to Purbaya's exalted position in Surakarta. He had been of considerable assistance to the Company in persuading Pakubuwana IV to surrender his unreliable counsellors and restore the relationship with the V.O.C. and in return for these services he had been presented with a ring. He did not write and thank Greeve for this gift: he had apparently expected a more considerable reward, perhaps in the form of title or lands (see Greeve to Batavia, December 13, in KA 3833, VOCOB, 1792). Purbaya was dead by March 1792 (see Governor van Overstraten to Batavia, March 2, 1792, in KA 3859, VOCOB, 1793) and the V.O.C. lost an ally.

\textsuperscript{233} A temporary shelter or rest-house erected for armies on the move, or for pleasure parties.

\textsuperscript{234} The first syllable of this line is illegible.
"All you people of Salakarta be not bold with me!
It was I who raised the ruler; without me the king will disappear!"

The king proceeded on and when he arrived at the pasanggrahan the armed escort drew up in their ranks. Only the kodok ngorek gave a ceremonial welcome. The king went down to the edge of the water, escorted by the Resident, and all the officers.

The queen sat on a chair. The Patih, wadana, and royal relatives sat in packed rows in the royal presence. The ruler gave the order: "Fishing boats, take the fish in the dam out of the water." When the fish were finished, the ruler went down to the river, and boarded a boat with the Resident and all the officers. As the ruler traveled by boat down to the dam, the gamélan was struck. The Patih, mantri, and wadana kept watch on shore, and if the boat ran aground they pushed it off. A singer sang with the gamélan as they took their pleasure on the river; their delight knew no bounds. The arm-bearing men were spread out in large numbers, lining the edge of the river.

Buminata and Mangkubumi, the younger brothers of the ruler, were greatly delighted. When they arrived at the dam, they were ceremonially escorted along the edge of the waters.

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235. The Sunan's capital is usually referred to either by its official name, Surakarta, or by the name of the old village which was its site, Sala (pronunciation and modern spelling Solo). In the diary, however, it is often referred to as Salakarta, a combination of the two forms.

236. The kodok ngorek ("croaking frog") ensemble can be described as a primitive or archaic form of gamélan. It continued to be used at the Javanese courts for certain ceremonial purposes. For a description of the kodok ngorek, see Kunst, *Music in Java*, 1, pp. 260-65.
The dam was emptied, and when the fish were finished the ruler went back into the pasanggrahan.

The gamélan on land sounded to receive them at the pasanggrahan, in concert with drums and oboes. Then the ruler was served a meal; the Resident and all the officers and the senior royal relatives joined him, sitting on benches and chairs.

As they ate, drinks were served without pause but with no ceremonial salutes. When they had finished eating they set out, returning by boat. The Resident and all the officers went by boat, [but] the armed men traveled by land.

When they arrived at mBatu Raden they descended from the boats and proceeded back by horse, the ruler traveling in a carriage, without ceremonial salutes. They came into the palace at sunset, and the accompanying army dispersed.

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237. From descriptions in the diary it is clear that it was customary for a salute to be fired when a round of drinks was served, both at the ruler's kraton and at the Dutch factory.
and one was hit on the head as the coconut fell.

The Dutchman fell all of a heap.

Also, forty\(^{238}\) people were kicked in the head by a horse.

It was the horse of some traveling players,

called Jasmine Buffalo.

[One who]\(^{239}\) was kicked in the head died.

When the ruler of Sala arrived [back]

he hung the horse in the courtyard.

It was hung there from Tuesday

and by Friday it was still not dead,

[though] it had not been given food or drink.

Once, it happened

that on a Saturday, when the royal party was

leaving for the tournament,

one of the royal horses

broke loose, and threw off its saddle,

seized by an unlucky whim.

Both leaving and returning

on the pleasure trip were without the ceremonial forms

and the regal distinctions.

About Pangeran Purbaya:

he said to the Patih:

"Patih Jayaningrat, I fine you

one horse,

since you did not inform me

when the ruler was leaving on the pleasure-trip,

and my departure was delayed.

Purbaya of Sala

was made to look like a cast-off!"

Patih Jayaningrat said:

"The reason that I
did not have the opportunity to inform you
[is that] I was distracted by so much work,

so I had no chance to inform you.

And, young worthy,\(^{240}\) how could you be mistaken?

All the people in the city were in a bustle

about the Sunan's pleasure-trip.

If I had told you,

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\(^{238}\) Sic. Perhaps the "forty" is an error for some other qualifier of \(\text{wong, man, person.}\)

\(^{239}\) The Javanese does not make it clear how many, but it is hard to believe that the horse managed to despatch more than one person with a kick in the head.

\(^{240}\) Angger: form of address, usually for a younger person of higher rank. Presumably Jayaningrat was older than Pangeran Purbaya.
I would be called a man who does not know the proper thing, like the proverb,' 'I am given to know [what] I already know myself.' How strange that Purbaya should be commanded by Jayaningrat! Great and trusted is Jayaningrat! And moreover, Pangeran Purbaya of Sala has now been given authority over all matters of state, having power to dismiss and to appoint. Jayaningrat is now cast aside like a serving-man. If you insist on taking the fine of one horse, by the beneficence of the king, Jayaningrat will not lack a horse, craving the king's mercy over this punishment. In fact Purbaya has been punished, by being left behind when the king departed. In Sala he is considered so very senior, and has been made the champion. How could he have been left behind, someone made a Panembahan? How could he possibly not hear the departure? Everyone in the city heard it." Pangeran Purbaya was silent: well-placed was the reply of Patih Jayaningrat.

One mode in which relationships between the different parties represented in Surakarta were formally expressed was exchanges of presents, which are recorded in great detail throughout the diary. According to the circumstances, they were statements of alliance, requests for advancement from a patron, rewards for services rendered, or efforts to conciliate the loser at the end of a round of political maneuvers. When a new Resident, Andries Hartsinck, arrived in Surakarta on June 19, 1788, accompanied by his young daughter and by the Resident of Semarang, he presented Mangkunegara with a carbine and gold cloth. Mangkunegara himself gave a diamond ring to each of the two Residents, and to Hartsinck's daughter; and a couple of days later, on the occasion of the Resident's installation, a piece of batik and a Balinese kris to Hartsinck himself and some fragrant oil to his daughter. According to the diarist, Hartsinck was very impressed by the favor done to him, and showed great honor to Mangkunegara. More was to follow:

241. The term used is {wong g(a)ladag}. The gladag were a specific classification with the obligation of providing transport for the ruler and his entourage, and other services, in return for which they were exempt from the usual levies. See Soeripto, Vorstenlandsche Wetboeken, p. 4.
Mangkunegara's sons, Suryamjaya and Suryakusuma, now gave Hartsinck a horse, complete with saddle and other accoutrements, and an ornate kris. Two days later, the diarist ingenuously records, the Resident sent a letter to Mangkunegara announcing that Suryamjaya would be appointed in Wirasaba and Suryakusuma would receive the title of Pangeran. This favor cannot have come unexpectedly, but must have resulted from the "discussions" which the diarist notes that Mangkunegara had been having with the Resident in the preceding days, but whose content is not recorded. Suryamjaya and another of his brothers immediately called on the Resident to present a silver and gold tray worth 140 real and ten broad and narrow kain with 10 headcloths; the sons gave Greeve a horse worth 60 real and a gold-ornamented kris worth 50 real, as well as making various gifts of clothing to those in his entourage.

When the Governor did meet the dying Sunan, the latter asked him to guarantee his son's succession. Greeve agreed, but followed this with a request for the appointment of Suryamjaya to Wirasaba, and elevation of Suryakusuma (whose appanage was in Ponorogo) to the rank of Pangeran. When the Sunan agreed to this, the Governor apparently added, in the diarist's rapportage, "What about T[r]Enggalek as well?" Even at this the Sunan did not demur, and this region was added to the appanage of Suryakusuma, who received the title Pangeran Purbanagara. Mangkunegara was then summoned by the Sunan and informed of the lands and rank bestowed on his sons, which he received with appropriate expressions of gratitude. Afterwards he joined the heir apparent on the mandapa: the future Pakubuwana IV asked his uncle for a gold bow and arrow, and promised that Suryakusuma's appanage would indeed be increased to include TrEnggalek. In the event, Mangkunegara gave him two gold bows, a quiver of arrows, and the saddle and other accoutrements of a horse.

So far, the direction of the present giving may suggest a one-way exchange or even bribery, but the Governor reciprocated Mangkunegara's favor with a return gift of lace clothing, a pair of fine rifles, and six bottles of rosewater, estimated by the diarist to be worth a total of 690 real. The Dutch on their side also considered present giving as one of the routine expenses of their representation at the courts, and adjusted the value of the gift to the political status of the recipient: see, for example, the entries under "schenkagie" in the accounts of the period. Perhaps there is something symbolic of the increasing divergence between the two civilizations in that in these exchanges of presents we find the Dutch requesting the hand-painted arrows and quivers which were a curiosity in their culture, and Mangkunegara and his fellow princes the modern firearms which were unobtainable in theirs.

242. That is, that the V.O.C. would ensure that the Sunan—in whose jurisdiction such appointments strictly speaking fell—duly announced the sons' promotions.
243. 150-56.
244. 158L lan TEnggalek awawuh.
245. The Sunan officially appointed the brothers on 24 Sawal 1714 AJ (July 28, 1788). The reason for the conferring of the rank of Pangeran on Suryakusuma was that he was married to the Sunan's daughter, who was at the same time given the title of Ratu.
246. As for instance in the volume KA 7035, VOCOB, 1789.
247. 207R.
This all-round exchange of presents (which certainly went back and forth in probably even greater measure between the Sunan's kraton and the V.O.C. factory, though this is not recorded in the diary) was an attempt by those involved to maintain smooth relationships, at least on a personal level, and to ensure that no unnecessary offense or slight exacerbated the tensions occasioned by conflicting material interests. It could not, of course, permanently reconcile those interests, and one of the most interesting aspects of the diary is the wealth of evidence it gives of what considerations did in fact draw the chief actors in Surakarta politics into positions of conciliation or alliance towards some parties, and of aggression towards others. This evidence, and the implications it may carry for patterns of political behavior outside the years of the diary itself, will be examined in the second part of this article.