

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.<sup>1</sup> 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 distilled 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 contemporary to traditional political behavior but simply to characterize the latter. Clearly the extensive analyses of C. C. Berg, portraying Javanese political behavior as the enactment of a periodicity based on the alternation of Buddhist and Vaishnavite kingdoms at predictable intervals, fall into this category.<sup>2</sup> 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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\* This is Part I of a two-part article. The second part, which will examine political developments between 1784 and 1791, will appear in *Indonesia* 30 (October 1980).

1. See, for example, B. R. O'G. Anderson, "The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture," in *Culture and Politics in Indonesia*, ed. C. Holt, et al. (Ithaca: Cornell University 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 unbroken tradition must be seen as politically dominant.

2. Berg's major theoretical analysis is to be found in his "Het Rijk van de Vijfvoudige Buddha," *Verhandelingen der Kon. Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde* 69, 1 (1962) [for a summary see pp. 196 ff.], and *Māyā's Hemelvaart in het Javaanse Buddhisme*, *ibid.* 74, 1 and 2 (1969) [summary pp. 52-53, 128, 138-39].

political order.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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:<sup>5</sup> an example of a genre often considered absent from Java-

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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.

4. M. C. Ricklefs, *Jogjakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi 1749-1792: A History of the Division of Java* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974).

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 Mangkunegara 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 T tutur, in the month of Siyam, on the 22nd day, still in the year Jimawal numbered 1717, in the city of Surakarta."<sup>6</sup> 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."<sup>7</sup> 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 in-

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scription in Arabic script (*pegon*).

Beginning at the top of the page, the first Javanese-script inscription says that the work was written by Bagus Prawiratrana, the scribe of Sergeant Kock ("Sareyan Kok") of "Siti Rawi," and also mentions a milkman (*tukang pĕrĕs*) 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 metonym 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 *lĕmah*, or *bumi*, "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 sĕrat . . . tura ying kang rama adiwirya ing sumawis*).

The third Javanese-script inscription seems to be just a line of *tĕmbang* 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 aĕĕĕkah (?) 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.

6. pmut kang anĕrat prajurit carik estri/anutugakĕn carita sĕrat babad tutur / ing wulan siyam / tanggal kalih likur / maksih taun jimawal / angganing warsya / 1717 / watĕn [wontĕn] nagari salakĕrta.

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

7. sĕrat lajĕng kang sĕkar pamijil / papanipun seos / urut carita seyos papane / saking panjang carita tinulis / maksih carik estri / kang nĕrat 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,<sup>8</sup> and, at least weekly intervals, also the date<sup>9</sup> 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 Tuteur"; I have not been able to identify this manuscript.<sup>10</sup>

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.<sup>11</sup> Rijklof van Goens, who visited Mataram in the mid-seven-

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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 (Lègi 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 nēm likur bĕsar wulanipun*, Friday-Wage the 26th of the month of Bĕsar. The year is given on the first day of every new year, for example, *nulya di[n]tĕn sĕptu 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 Mangkunĕgaran 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 Mangkunĕgara's 55th birthday, but it describes the wars leading to the partition of Mataram and ends in 1682 AJ (1756-57 AD). Another Mangkunĕgaran 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.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup>

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.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup> On his visit to Aceh in 1637 the Englishman Peter Mundy saw a guard of women armed with bows and arrows.<sup>16</sup> 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.

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corps was the occasion of "notoriety." See Koloniaal Archief [henceforth KA] 3708, Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie Overgekomen Berichten [henceforth VOCOB], 1789, Semarang to Batavia, August 19, Greeve's diary for August 13.

12. See H. J. de Graaf, ed., *De Vijf Bezantschapsreizen van Rijklof van Goens naar het hof van Mataram 1648-1654* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1956), pp. 259-60.

13. François Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, vol. 4, *Beschryving van Groot Djava ofte Java Major* (Dordrecht, Amsterdam: n.p., 1726), pp. 59-60.

14. See Beaulieu's account in *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca*, ed. John Harris (London: Bennet, 1705), 1, p. 744.

15. *Begin ende Voortgangh, van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, vol. 1, *Historische Verhael Vande Reyse gedaen inde Oost-Indien, met 15 Schepen voor Reeckeninghe vande vereenichde Gheoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie: Onder het beleydt van den Vroomen ende Manhaften Wybrandt van Waerwijck* (Amsterdam: n.p., [1644]), pp. 31-32 (of last fascicule).

16. R. C. Temple, ed., *The Travels of Peter Mundy 1608-1667*, 5 vols. (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1907-1936), 3, p. 131.

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,<sup>17</sup> 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 Rēngganis.<sup>18</sup> 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:

dina kėmis ing sawal kang sasi  
tanggal pitu likūr wanci asar  
dĕler sarta kump[ĕ] nine  
marang ing dalĕmipun  
wau kangjĕng pangran dipati  
marang laji [loji] amapag  
dĕler kang pinĕtuk  
bĕkta prajurit wanodya<sup>23</sup>

anyuriga ğuwung cara bali  
goğong rere[n]dan epek  
rere[n]dan  
ting galĕbyar busanane  
kang lumampah rumuhun  
wong nyutrayu ğarat  
jĕmparing

On Thursday, Sawal  
the twenty-seventh,<sup>19</sup> in the late afternoon  
the Governor<sup>20</sup> and the Company officials  
came to the Mangkunĕgaran.  
The Pangeran Dipati<sup>21</sup>  
went to the factory<sup>22</sup> to meet  
the Governor,  
taking the lady soldiers.

They wore crises 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,<sup>24</sup> on foot carrying  
bows and arrows

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 Rēngganis 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, Mangkunĕgara, 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 Mangkunĕgara's armed forces: see also below pp. 20 and 25.

anulya jayengasta  
tan rasukan mungguh [?? illegible]  
anulya pangran dipatya  
ginarëbëg ingkang prajurit pawestri  
tan ana papadanya

anglir dewa tēḍak saking langit  
ginarëbëg putri saking cina  
lir mangkana upamane  
wong sinēliran pungkur  
mung punika ingkang tut wuri  
kang bala kaṭah-kaṭah  
sadaya tan tumut  
prandene wong nononton tembak  
kang busana sruwa kēncana tulya sri  
prapta laji [loji] pinapag

tuwan upruk lan sagung upēsir  
mapan [error for mapag] mring  
kangjēng pangran dipatya  
sami tatabeyan kabeh  
dēler tabeyan  
lu[ng]guh  
sinasēgah anginum awis  
kang prajurit wanodya  
sami tata lungguh  
sinasēgah num-inuman  
nulya upruk nitih reta malbeng  
puri  
manggil anem dipatya

nulya tata kang prajurit  
estri  
sami ḍarat laji [loji] palataran  
tēḍak pangran dipatine  
lan dēler suka dulu  
kang prajurit astri [estri] abaris  
dyan anem dipatine  
lawan upruk rawuh  
ing laji [loji] sabalanira  
nulya pangran dipati sēpuh ngabani  
mring prajurit wanodya

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,<sup>25</sup> 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*<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> 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."

sarēng mungĕl drel prajurite  
 estri  
 kang ngabani pangeran  
 dipatya  
 sēmbada lawan rakite  
 ědrel ambal ping tĕlu  
 cingak idab ingkang ningali  
 dĕler goyang kang nala  
 kacaryan adulu  
 sasampunira mangkana  
 nitih kuda prajurite astri [estri]  
 rumiyin  
 nulya pangran dipatya  
 saha bala pan kondur rumiyin  
 kantun laji [loji] anem dipatya

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 Mangkunĕgara'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 Mangkunĕgaran, 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 Mangkunĕgara'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<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup>

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;<sup>31</sup> 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,<sup>32</sup> and a ferocious attack on the part of Mangkunegara's peacock, which actually managed to kill a visitor to his residence.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>) 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.<sup>35</sup> 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 Garēndi, 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*<sup>36</sup> in Sokawati (Sragen) to whoever could drive Mangkunegara and his associates from their base in that region, a task which the

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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 (Sěptu 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 Mangkunegara.<sup>37</sup> This was a formidable alliance: in the field Mangkunegara had acquired exceptional skill in the art of war, and his vivid personality drew men to him;<sup>38</sup> 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 Mangkunegara 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.<sup>39</sup> On July 28, 1750, Mangkunegara and Pangeran Singasari<sup>40</sup> attacked Surakarta: though the attack was beaten off, twenty-five Dutch troops and a large number of the Javanese auxiliaries were lost.<sup>41</sup> 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.<sup>42</sup> 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 Mangkunegara 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 Mangkunegara.<sup>43</sup>

Von Hohendorff now suggested to the Raad van Indië that Mangkunegara 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, Mangkunegara 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.<sup>44</sup>

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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.

41. Louw, *Derde . . . Oorlog*, p. 38.

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."<sup>45</sup> 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,<sup>46</sup> 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.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> and inflicted heavy losses on a Dutch force in the Blora woods, the commander himself, Captain van de Poll,<sup>49</sup> 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.<sup>50</sup> 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, Matěsih, and Gunung Kidul regions, and the "high title" of Pangeran Adipati (A)Mangkunegara, Senapati Ing Ayuda.<sup>51</sup> He and his followers built the Mangkunegaran kraton in the city of Surakarta itself.

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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).

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It is already more than twenty-six years since Mangkunegara 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 Mangkunegaran 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.<sup>52</sup> Naturally enough much of the diary focuses on Mangkunegara 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 Mangkunegaran 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.<sup>53</sup> Mangkunegara himself was a ruler whose personality made a particularly strong impression on those around him.<sup>54</sup> 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 Mangkunegaran unity expressed itself.

## 2. *The Religious Life of the Kraton*

The religious life of the Mangkunegaran occupies a surprisingly large and prominent proportion of the material recorded. We see that Mangkunegara himself, occupied as he was with so many other activities, used to write out the Kuran<sup>55</sup> (and that his cousin's son, the future Pakubuwana IV, asked for, and received one of the copies he had made),<sup>56</sup> as well as the *Kitab Turutan* and *Tasbeh*.<sup>57</sup> He

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52. See below pp. 24-25.

53. These are the *tingalan ageng* and the *tingalan alit* (*ngoko* forms *weton gēde* and *weton cilik*) noted frequently in the diary. Mangkunegara's *tingalan alit* (small birthday) was on the day Akad-Manis (Sunday-Manis; according to the system used, Manis, or Lēgi, 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 Mangkunegara 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.<sup>58</sup> 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 Mangkunegara 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 Mangkunegara 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 *slametan* (*sidḡkah*) 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<sup>59</sup>). The Friday ritual was, however, sometimes observed with more ceremony than at others. Mangkunegara and his followers frequently kept watch the preceding night, listening to *santri* reciting the Kuran or performing the *dikir*<sup>60</sup> 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*.

malih asalat jumungah  
wus ping satus tigang dasa ngabḡkti  
sasanga ing pujulipun  
ing kaliwon jumungah  
ing rabiylakir pitu tanggalipun

He performed the Friday prayer again,  
worshipping for the hundred-and-thirty-  
ninth time,  
on Friday-Kliwon<sup>61</sup>  
the seventh of Rabingulakir.<sup>62</sup>

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cure the Sunan's illness (127R).

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 Godsdienstonderwijs op Java en Madoera en de daarbij gebruikte Arabische boeken," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde* (henceforth *TBC*), 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.

tumpěng tigang dasa sanga  
 ujude ingkang kanduri  
 salaměta pangran dipatya  
 salaměta putra wayahnya sami  
 salamět sabalanipun  
 wong salat gangsal  
     bělah  
 pujul siji . . .

. . . . .  
 . . . . . (100R-101L)

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 . . . . .

satěnipun [sontěnipun] malēm  
     jumungah ing dalu  
 mēlek malih ingkang bala  
 kang sěpuh pangran dipati

ander munggeng palataran  
 jěmparingan dalu sami den-tohi  
 samya đikir wadya  
     kaum  
 sindenan gagamělan  
 gongsa kěndang papanganan  
     těngah dalu  
 watěn [wonten] ingkang tatayungan  
 enjinge asalat  
     malih

wus ping kalih atus salat  
 pujul ping salawe prah  
     angaběkti

There were thirty-nine *tumpěng*,<sup>63</sup>  
 and the purpose of the *slamětan*  
 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<sup>64</sup>

who circled the courtyard.  
 They placed bets on their skill at archery,  
 while the kaum soldiers<sup>65</sup> said the đikir  
     in unison.  
 There was singing, and playing a *gamělan*<sup>66</sup>  
 of gongs and drums, and there was a meal  
     at midnight.  
 Some performed a *tayungan*.<sup>67</sup>  
 In the morning they went to the prayer  
     once again--

it was the two hundred  
 and twenty-fourth time the worship had been  
     done,

63. A *tumpěng* is a cone of rice surrounded by side dishes, prepared for a *slamětan* or banquet.

64. Mangkuněgara 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 Mangkuněgara's army, see below p. 21.

66. The word "*gamělan*" 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 *gamělan* 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.

kaliwon jumungahipun  
bĕsar tanggal sawĕlas  
salawe prah tumpĕng ing  
sidĕkahipun  
ulam sapi lir kurĕban  
salamĕt pangran dipati

on Friday-Kliwon  
the eleventh of Bĕsar.  
There were twenty-four tumpĕng at the  
sidĕkah<sup>68</sup>  
with the meat of the cow as the sacrifice  
for the welfare of the Pangeran Dipati.

. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .

kehnya kang salat ing  
masjid<sup>69</sup>  
pan tigang atus sawidak  
pujul papat ingkang asalat masjid

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

. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . . (166R)

It will be noted that this observance took place on the night of 10th Bĕsar, the date of the Garĕbĕg Bĕsar,<sup>70</sup> which would have been the occasion for a specially festive gathering.

The "dedication" of the slamĕtan following the Friday prayer varies: Mangkunĕgara 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.<sup>71</sup> Less frequently the slamĕtan is dedicated to one or more of the following: the different classifications of *nabi*--the six *nabi kalipah* and the 313 chosen *nabi*<sup>72</sup>--the four Companions,<sup>73</sup> and the different classifications of *wali*--the nine *wali*;<sup>74</sup> the "ten

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

69. The five lines omitted give details of wages paid by Mangkunĕgara to his soldiers.

70. The Garĕbĕg Bĕsar, one of the three main annual court festivals, celebrates the pilgrimage and Abraham's offering up of Isaac. See J. Groneman, *De garĕbĕg's te Ngajogyakartā* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1895), p. 40.

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, *sinĕliran*) to be messengers (*rasul*); the six foremost 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).

wali of the north and west" and the "twenty wali."<sup>75</sup> Also mentioned specifically are Nabi Kilir and Umar Maya,<sup>76</sup> as well as the Sultan of Pajang and Kyai Ageng Lawiyan.<sup>77</sup> Others occasionally nominated are the cultivators of the soil and the original settlers;<sup>78</sup> the girls of the court and the *priyayi*;<sup>79</sup> or simply "all those performing the prayer."<sup>80</sup>

### 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.<sup>81</sup> The diarist records on numerous occa-

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74. See, for example, 154R, 243L, 247R, 263R. The nine wali are the apostles of Islam on Java. Javanese lists of these wali do not always name the same nine: see Ricklefs, *Jogjakarta*, n. 12, pp. 4-5, for an account of these variations. The lives of some of the wali have been described in D. A. Rinkes' series of articles in *TBC*, 52-55 (1910-13).

75. 55L. As the veneration of wali (representatives of God or "saints") became more and more widespread in Islam, the idea of a hierarchy (or rather, a number of different hierarchies) of saints also developed. The pinnacle of these hierarchies was usually the "pole" wali (the *kuṭb*). The present writer does not know of any system in which there are ten wali at each of the cardinal points of the compass, though in some Turkish and Algerian systems one finds a disposition of four "pillar" wali at these points; and in other systems one finds also a classification of forty wali. On the different wali systems, see M. Th. Houtsma, A. J. Wensinck et al., *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden, London: Brill/Luzac, 1934), 4, pp. 1109-10.

76. 55L. On the cult of Nabi Kilir (Ar. Al-Khaḍir or al-Khiḍr), the "green immortal," and its origins in the Kuran and the Alexander romances, see H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers, eds., *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1957), pp. 232-35. In Java, Nabi Kilir is best known in his role of presiding over the sphere of water. Umar Maya is the most faithful and constant companion of Amir Hamzah in the Hamzah epic, known in Java as the *Menak*.

77. 266R. According to Javanese tradition, Pajang has the distinction of being the first Islamic sultanate in central Java. Kyai Ageng Ngënis (father of Ki Pamanahan, the first ruler of Mataram in traditional accounts) was buried at Lawiyan and is presumably the "Kyai Ageng Lawiyan" honored here. See *Babad Tanah Djawi*, ed. W. L. Olthof (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1941), Jav. text p. 46. Another possibility is Pakubuwana II, whose grave is at Lawiyan. See H. J. van Mook, "Koeta Gedë," *Koloniaal Tijdschrift*, 15, p. 359.

78. *Sakehing bumi, cakal-bakal sadaya*: for example, 216R, 253R, 278L.

79. 249L, *manggung-katangung priyayi*. J. F. Gericke and T. Roorda (*Javaansch-Nederlandsch Handwoordenboek* [Amsterdam: Müller, 1901]) define the *manggung* as young girls taken into the kraton with a view to their later becoming *sëlir* (see below p. 18) of the ruler. J. W. Winter, in his description of Surakarta in 1824, ranks them as "concubines of the third class" in the court hierarchy. J. W. Winter, "Beknopte beschrijving van het hof Soerakarta in 1824," *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde* (henceforth *BKI*), 54 (1902), p. 52.

80. For example, 243R.

81. There are, of course, differing interpretations of the Kuran. In seventeenth-

sions that he was "drunk" or "very drunk,"<sup>82</sup> on one occasion rather charmingly noting that on his return from a celebration he was "not drunk, only rather tired."<sup>83</sup> The following two passages are examples of a number of descriptions of Mangkunegara entertaining his sons and soldiers:

. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .

pěpěk dēmang tuměnggung  
pra punggawa pra lurah sami  
miwah kang para putra  
sarwi ngaběn sawung  
larih anginum adahar  
sis[n]denan gamēlan tur  
den-si[n]deni  
sadaya wuru panjang

Assembled were all the *dēmang* and *tuměnggung*  
and all the *punggawa* and the *lurah*,<sup>84</sup>  
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 gamēlan music and  
*sinden* singers.  
They were all far gone in drink.

kalih rancak gamēlan mandapi  
salendro pelog ganti tiněmbang  
sinelanan susuluke  
sisinden sarta suluk  
wuru kangjěng pangran dipati  
kang putra pranaraga  
datěng estri jalu  
tūmut wuru-wuru panjang  
sarawuhnya ngaběn sawung  
den-si[n]deni  
sukan-sukan sadina (133R)

There were two sets of gamēlan on the *mandapa*,<sup>85</sup>  
a *slendro* and a *pelog*,<sup>86</sup> played in turn,  
and alternated with *suluk* songs,  
[so that there was both] *sinden* and *suluk*.<sup>87</sup>  
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 Mangkunegara 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 kēsěl kewala* (269L).

84. Titles of officers in Mangkunegara's armed forces: *tuměnggung* 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 *pěndapa*.

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

87. *Sinden* usually refers to vocal music (in *těmbang 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 *těmbang 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.

ngaběn pēksi ngingum wedang  
wusya wedang ngingum awis  
sami wuru-wuru panjang  
nginum pangran adipati  
anulya ḍāhar larih  
pangran adipati tumut  
tumut ngingum ḍaḍahar  
sawusya aḍahar sami  
para putra ḍaḍu lan pangran  
dipatya

They set birds<sup>88</sup> 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.

punggawa lurah pra dēmang  
rongga tumēnggung ngabei  
ngaběn sawung munggeng  
ngandapa  
yen larih salompret muni  
putra pangran dipati  
ngagamēlan munggeng luhur  
pangeran adipatya  
kang ngēndang tur  
den-si[n]ḍeni  
langkung ramē pukul gangsal  
wisn bubar. (222R)

The lurah, and the dēmang,  
*rangga*, tumēnggung 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 gamēlan on the platform<sup>89</sup>  
and it was the Pangeran Adipati  
who played the *kēndang*,<sup>90</sup> accompanied by a  
sinden 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 Mangkunēgara'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 *sēlir*. The position of these women requires some further definition. Some European writers have often translated the term *sēlir*, an abbreviated form of *sinēliran* "chosen (ones)" as "concubine" (in Dutch works, *bijzit* or *bijwif*), while others have seen some such term as "secondary wife" as preferable. Neither usage gives a satisfactory representation of the actual position of the *sēlir*. It is clear from the diary that it was the practice to marry a *sēlir* only when she became pregnant: this is recorded on a number of occasions,<sup>91</sup> sometimes involving more than one *sēlir*. Only then did she become a "wife"<sup>92</sup> 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

88. Female quails (*gēmak*) as well as cocks were used as fighting birds.

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

90. The *kēndang*, either alone or together with the *rēbab* (two-stringed bowing lute) guides the tempo of the gamēlan, and, because of this function, is "the instrument par excellence of the lurah *gēnding*, the leader of the orchestra." (Kunst, *Music of Java*, 1, p. 212.)

91. See, for example, 144L, 202L (more than one *sēlir* taken in marriage), 226R.

92. J. W. Winter, writing of the Sunan's court in 1824, says that it was customary for a *sēlir* 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 sēlir* (*sēlir* 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 *sĕlir* of the central Javanese courts were free women to whom the princes were not married. It appears that the rulers of Bantĕn resolved this problem by taking their *sĕlir* 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.<sup>93</sup> This does not seem to have occurred in central Java: in fact, according to an 1824 account, the *sĕlir* were chosen from among the daughters of Pangeran and Bupati.<sup>94</sup> The diarist sometimes further defines the *sĕlir* as *abdi sĕlir*. Though use of the word *abdi* (subject, servant, retainer) certainly indicates that their relationship to Mangkunĕgara 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 Mangkunĕgara's service, both female and male.

The diarist does not record the actual number of Mangkunĕgara's *sĕlir* (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.<sup>95</sup> 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 unlikely 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.<sup>96</sup> There was, of course, a very wide spread in the ages of each generation--Mangkunĕgara had adult sons and even adult grandsons--and a good deal of overlap between generations, so that the sons born to Mangkunĕgara in this period were contemporaries of some of his grandsons (such as Raden Mas Saluwat, born to Mangkunĕgara's son Pangeran Padmanagara and his *garwa padmi*--his wife of equal rank--on 17 Jumadilawal 1713 AJ/March 7, 1787 AD).<sup>97</sup>

Very occasionally, an important event in the life of the young children is mentioned, such as the celebration marking the completion of the first three years of life of one of his daughters;<sup>98</sup> or her circumcision six years later.<sup>99</sup> Once, Mangkunĕgara had three carbines made as heirlooms for three of his young sons.<sup>100</sup>

93. See P. J. Veth, *Java* (Haarlem: Bohn, 1875-82), 1, pp. 356-59, and L. W. C. van den Berg, *Inlandsche Rangen en Titels op Java en Madoera* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1887), p. 64.

94. Winter, "Beknopte Beschrijving," p. 52.

95. Ibid., p. 52. The Sunan kept other women as *srimpi* 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.

Mangkunegara'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.<sup>101</sup> The diarist claims that Mangkunegara liked to make his servants happy,<sup>102</sup> 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;<sup>103</sup> and from other sources it seems that Mangkunegara was vexed by an exodus of retainers to the Sultan of Mataram's court.<sup>104</sup> By far the most prominent group among Mangkunegara's retainers, at least in the picture of his court presented here, were the *bala*. Mangkunegara's army was large, and it was growing. The diarist records the creation over this period of no less than twenty-four corps of *prajurit*<sup>105</sup> (fighting men). All of these corps had their own names, either denoting martial qualities ("Ferocious Lions"), or associated with legendary heroes.<sup>106</sup> 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 Mangkunegara.<sup>107</sup>

Mangkunegara clearly spent much time with his army, training them in horsemanship<sup>108</sup> and in the use of traditional and modern weapons.<sup>109</sup> One incentive for the cavalry to learn accuracy in their movements was Mangkunegara's custom of throwing money from a stage to the riders below: those lacking in coordination

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101. 268L.

102. 81R.

103. See also 68R where two Mangkunegaran 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 Mangkunegara'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, Mangkunegara'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 Mangkunegara but was actually apprehended in Cirebon (see Siberg to Batavia, December 20, 1783, KA 3545, VCOB, 1784).

105. 10L, 11R, 12R, 15L, 15R, 23L, 26L, 37L, 39R, 40L, 135L, 204L, 209L, 215L, 216L, 238L, 246R, 248R, 258R, 265L, 269L.

106. For instance, "Perang tanding," "Wong Prawira," "Menakan," "Dasamuka," "Dasarata," "Kanoman," "Tanuastra," "Trunasura," "Singakurda," etc.

107. See, for instance, 201R and 204L, where the *lurah* were all grandsons of Mangkunegara. 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.<sup>110</sup> He also made every effort to see that his armed forces were well equipped, acquiring larger horses to replace the cavalry's current mounts,<sup>111</sup> and at least trying to acquire the most modern firearms, by soliciting the good offices of Company officials.<sup>112</sup>

It is noteworthy that Mangkunegara had at least three corps of prajurit recruited exclusively from the santri/kaum community. These were the "Wong Pra-wira" (forty men under two lurah and two *kabayan*), the "Trunaduta" and the "Suragama" (also apparently forty in number).<sup>113</sup> They are described as "*santri ngiras prajurite*,"<sup>114</sup> 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.<sup>115</sup> Court followers in general lent a hand where it was needed; even the *sëlr* were not merely mistresses and mothers but helped in such tasks as feathering arrows and painting arrow sheaths.<sup>116</sup> 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, Mangkunegara 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 Mangkunegaran soldiery frequently gathered for performances of these martial dances. The following passage describes a special celebration, the *kënduren mulud*, one of the observances held

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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 Mangkunegara on his forthcoming trip to Semarang. This was after Mangkunegara had lost many firearms in a serious fire in the Mangkunegaran 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 Mangkunegara'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 Mangkunegara'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.<sup>117</sup>

. . . . .  
. . . . .

nulya ing sēnen kang dina  
nēm likur mulud kang sasi  
pangeran adipati  
kang bala mangan angin  
dēmang punggawa lurah  
lurah lēbēt lurah jawi  
lan sasabēt gajihyān miwah  
kang sawah

Then on the day Monday  
the 26th of the month of Mulud  
the Pangeran Dipati's  
army took food and drink together;  
the dēmang, punggawa, and lurah,  
both inner and outer lurah,<sup>118</sup>  
and the sabēt,<sup>119</sup> both those who were paid in  
wages and those holding rice-land,

223L sarēng masjid ler  
muludan  
kaum satus sami ḍikir  
sawusya ḍikir ko[n]dangan  
tuwuk tur barkat  
kaḍuri  
sarēng pangran dipati  
miyos ningali kang nayub  
kang kasukan mandapa  
pinarēk nginggil ing kursi  
paringgitan pra sēlir kaṭah  
angayap

gathered in the north mosque for the Mulud  
ceremonies.  
A hundred of the kaum recited ḍikir mulud<sup>120</sup>  
and afterward were invited  
to eat their fill and gain blessing from the  
slamētan.  
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;<sup>121</sup> all his sēlir  
attended him.

busana rēmpēg sadaya  
babadongan cana sami  
pra sēlir larīh sadaya  
tarap pra putra lit-alit  
wayah kanan lan kerī  
atap pra sēlir ing pungkur  
ningali kang kasukan

They were dressed all alike,  
wearing white *badong*.<sup>122</sup>  
All the sēlir were present,  
along with the young children,  
the grandchildren of the right and of the left.<sup>123</sup>  
The sēlir sat behind in orderly formation,  
watching the revellers,

117. The *kēnduren mulud* is a slamētan 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 Garēbēg Mulud.

118. 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.

119. *sabēt*, with a literal meaning of sword, is clearly used by the diarist as the title of a junior military functionary, attached to a lurah.

120. The *ḍikir 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.

121. The *paringgitan*, "place of the *ringgit*" (i.e., of the wayang) is situated between the *mandapa* and the royal or princely residence.

122. The *badong* is a sort of breast-plate, part of ceremonial court and wayang dress.

123. Grandchildren of the right are descendents through the primary wives, and of the left, descendents of sēlir.

bala kasukan mandapi  
titindihe pangran surya prang  
wadana

the soldiery enjoying themselves on the mandapa.  
Their leaders were Pangeran Surya Prang  
Wadana<sup>124</sup>

lan tumenggung ing kaḍuwang  
sadaya tan pēgat larih  
sarta mangap ḍadaran  
tumul larih kangjēng  
gusti  
yen larih salpret [slopret] muni  
ingkang amēdal rumuhun  
ingkang baḍaya priya  
suka pratama kang gēnding  
alit-alit pipitu sisi[n]ḍen priya

and the Tumenggung of Kaḍuwang.<sup>125</sup>  
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 *baḍaya*.<sup>126</sup>  
The *gēnding* was "With Highest Rejoicing,"<sup>127</sup>  
and the singers were seven small boys

kayuyun ing polahira  
sarta urmat mriyēm muni  
murub muncar kang busana  
nulya ringgit munggeng kēlir  
alit-alit pawestri  
kang busana abra murub  
sakawan pelag-pelag  
ingkang ringgit munggeng kēlir  
akēkējēr anglir parjak [prenjak]  
tinajenan

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<sup>128</sup> 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 fight.<sup>129</sup>

mandah agēng adiwasana  
jogede mēmēt tulya sri

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

124. Mangkunegara I's grandson and successor.

125. Probably Mangkunegara's deputy in his appanage lands in Kaḍuwang, and apparently second-in-command of the Mangkunegaran armed forces.

126. The best known court *baḍaya* 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 *gēnding* (gamelan melody) does not appear in the list of *gēnding* given in an anonymous article in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (henceforth *TNI*), 14, 2 (1852), pp. 257-80, 346-67 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 *gēnding*.

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 (*kēlir*) 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.

maksih rare tan sama  
lir kadi tan ngambah siti  
kēbat cukat tarampil  
kacaryan sakeh kang dulu  
wusya nulya kang mēdal  
kang baḍaya jalēr malih  
pan diradamēt sisindene  
priya

duk mēnang prang pranaraga  
baḍaya ingkang ginēḍing  
rakit ing prang kasatriyan  
pangran dipati jēmparing  
susunan mangkubumi  
kawon kang bala keh lampus  
nulya ganti kang mēdal  
pawestri ringgit sarimpi  
kang ginēḍing duk aprang  
yogya mataram

223R duk aprang pangran dipatya  
angamuk ngagēm jēmparing  
kang mungsuh mayor walanda  
kumpni lan bugis bali  
wong jawa pra dipati  
prang ngayogya kang arubut  
wusya sarimpi nulya

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 baḍaya,  
Diradamēt,<sup>130</sup> whose accompaniment was provided  
by a male singer.

The victory in battle in Pranaraga<sup>131</sup>  
was portrayed in song and dance,  
when the knightly warriors joined battle,  
and the Pangeran Dipati loosed his arrows.<sup>132</sup>  
Susunan<sup>133</sup> Mangkubumi  
was defeated, and many of his army killed.  
Next appeared  
four female *srimpi*<sup>134</sup> 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.<sup>135</sup>  
It was the battle for possession of Yogyakarta.<sup>136</sup>  
After the *srimpi* dancers,

130. Diradamēt appears to have been something of a star among the Mangkunēgaran 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 Mangkunēgara 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. lxxix-lxxiii). Ponorogo and Madiun were taken by a combined effort of Mangkubumi and the V.O.C. in 1755. After the wars, however, the Mangkunēgaran retained a connection with Ponorogo, where Mangkunēgara's sons were granted appanage lands by the Sunan of Surakarta.

132. It seems that Mangkunēgara 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. Mangkunēgara 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 Mangkunēgara's forces (now significantly depleted) in 1756: see *Kort Verhaal*, pp. 219, 228.

taledek tiga kang mijil  
kang lëbëti rumiyin ingkang  
ngabëksa

pangran surya prang wadana  
sarta kang mariyëm muni  
nulya tumënggung kaḍuwang  
punggawa lurah gumanti  
pra dëmang ganti-ganti  
ganti lan papatihipun  
putra ma[n]cana-  
gara  
pangajëng majëgan  
ganti  
wusya ganti kang para lurah  
balanjan

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

. . . . .  
. . . . .

three dancing women appeared.<sup>137</sup>  
The first to join in the  
bëksa<sup>138</sup>

was the Pangeran Surya Prang Wadana.  
After the cannon was sounded  
then came the Tumënggung of Kaḍuwang,  
succeeded by the punggawa and lurah  
and the dëmang, turn by turn,  
followed by the Patih<sup>139</sup>  
and the younger generation from the outlying  
regions.<sup>140</sup>  
The headmen and those holding land in lease  
followed,  
and afterwards the lurah who were paid money  
for their upkeep;<sup>141</sup>

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

137. *taledek* is a general term for dancing girls and women without the same specialization in courtly dance forms as the *baḍaya* and *srimpi* dancers.

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, *TNI*, 14, 2 (1852), p. 278.

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.

140. Putra ma[n]canagara: 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.

141. The diarist classifies the lurah, here as elsewhere, by the form of payment they received: *sawah* land, or money wages.

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).

143. These were cavalry corps.

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.

145. That is, rice with the usual accompanying dishes.

#### 4. The Mangkunĕgaran 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 Mangkunĕgara incurred. With this and information from outside the court we can go some way towards establishing the relationship between Mangkunĕgara's income and his expenditures, though the data are not always as precise as one would wish.

On the subject of Mangkunĕgara'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 Mangkunĕgaran was not yet recognized as an independent, hereditary principality, as it was later to be. Mangkunĕgara, though a mighty subject, was nevertheless still in the service of the Sunan of Surakarta; and there was therefore no separate contract between the Mangkunĕgaran and the V.O.C. such as bound the Sunan or the Sultan of Yogyakarta.<sup>146</sup> Hartingh's letter of March 29, 1757, reporting the outcome of his talks with Mangkunĕgara, 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, Matĕsih and Kaĕduwang. He had also requested the "high title" of Pangeran Adipati Mangkunĕgara.<sup>147</sup> There should have been a charter (*piagĕm*) from the Sunan confirming this grant, but this appears to have been lost (as indeed were almost all of the documents regulating the Mangkunĕgaran's economic relationship with the other principalities or with the Dutch government).<sup>148</sup> According to Rouffaer, Mangkunĕgara actually received 4081 cacah;<sup>149</sup> and in 1772 a conference was held between Pakubuwana III, Mangkunĕgara, and Governor J. R. van den Burgh, on which occasion Mangkunĕgara 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., Panjĕr) and Pamarden.<sup>150</sup> According to the report of this conference, he already held the

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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 Neerlandico-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 Mangkunĕgaran 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 Mangkunĕgaran 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 Panjĕr appears here is perhaps that the two districts (which are adjacent) were described in Javanese as "Panjer lan Pamarden," that is, "Panjĕr and Pamarden."

wadana-ship of Banyumas;<sup>151</sup> 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 Mangkunegara by 1772 were of the following sizes, reckoned in cacah: Banyumas 2,029 cacah; Panjër 1,180 cacah; Pamarden 504 cacah--thus, a total of 3,713 cacah over and above his original grant.<sup>152</sup>

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.<sup>153</sup> The produce of village land was conceptually divided into five parts. One part was allotted to the *bèkèl*, 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.<sup>154</sup> In the seventeenth century, one *jung*<sup>155</sup> of land was estimated to produce one Spanish dollar, or *real*,<sup>156</sup> in tax per annum--being the value of the two-fifths

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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 Mangkunegara's control.

153. Rouffaer, "Vorstenlanden," pp. 299-311.

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*<sup>157</sup>--now produced a real per annum.<sup>158</sup> Since, for purposes of calculating production and taxation, a *cacah* was equivalent to a *bau*,<sup>159</sup> 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*, *děmang*, etc.) and the remaining three-fifths to the ruler.<sup>160</sup>

Mangkunegara's lands lay initially partly in the nagara agung and partly in the mancanagara. Those in the Matěsih and Gunung Kidul areas were in the nagara agung; those in Kăduwang, Banyumas, Panjěr 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.<sup>161</sup> According to Rouffaer's systemiza-

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Eyre & Spottiswoode, (c.) 1893], pp. 281-83, Appendix A; John Crawford, *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries* [London: Bradbury & Evans, 1856], p. 285; and E. Netscher and J. A. van der Chijs, *De Munten van Nederlandsch Indië*, VBG, 31, 2 [1864].)

157. Strictly speaking, there are five *bau* to a *jung*, but since the one-fifth of a *jung* allotted to the *běkěl* 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, Mangkunegara 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--Mangkunegara 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 Mangkunegara 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 Mangkunegara'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 (Mangkunegara's) share is 93%.

Thus, it seems that about 7 percent of the tax revenue of Mangkunegara's lands went to the Sunan. The majority of Mangkunegara's lands<sup>162</sup> had recently been reclassified as nagara agung. This reclassification had been *greatly* to Mangkunegara'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 Mangkunegara'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 Mangkunegara's lurah and other officers who were paid in land.<sup>163</sup> It seems that a lurah in Mangkunegara's army might expect to receive about 17 jung in lease, plus the loan of a buffalo to work this land.<sup>164</sup> Deducting the Sunan's

162. I.e., Kaduwang (1,150 cacah), Banyumas (2,029 c.), Panjër (1,180 c.), and Pamarden (504 c.)--a total of 5,213 cacah out of the 7,354.

163. See Rouffaer, "Vorstenlanden," p. 304, for the basis of this calculation. In fact, Mangkunegara 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 Mangkunegara himself may be thought to have derived from taxing his landholdings.

One other source of monetary income should be mentioned: it appears that Mangkunegara 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.<sup>165</sup> 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.<sup>166</sup>

This calculation of an "annual cash income" from Mangkunegara'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.<sup>167</sup> Thus there was considerable 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.<sup>168</sup> 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 Bésar 1717 AJ<sup>169</sup> (August 1791), thirty *amet*<sup>170</sup> of rice arrived from the Mangkunegaran 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 Mangkunegara's servants, the Patih and the wadana, family members,<sup>171</sup> the army, and religious functionaries, namely the *pěngulu*, *marbot*,<sup>172</sup> *kětib*,<sup>173</sup> and *jamsari*.<sup>174</sup> Again,

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parcel of land. It seems that Mangkunegara had some difficulty in ensuring that his subordinates paid their share of the tax, since dismissals and replacements among his lurah and *děmang* 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 Mangkunegara had asked for 4,000 *cacah*, confirming Rouffaer's calculation that one *cacah* = one real in tax revenue.

167. See "Vorstenlanden: Gegevens betreffende bestuur en rechtspraak in het prinsdom Mangkoenagaran (1867-1913)," *Adatrechtbundels*, 25 (1926), p. 79.

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 *běđug* (great drum) at the times of prayer.

early in Mulud 1718<sup>175</sup> (late October 1791), one amet of rice was delivered to the Resident. At this time Mangkunegara 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 Mangkunegara's sons in their own districts. Immediately after this distribution was made, however, Mangkunegara had to buy rice from the market: the diarist explains that there was a shortage of rice at this time<sup>176</sup> (perhaps also the reason behind Mangkunegara's despatch of rice to his sons in their appanages). One thousand one hundred and forty *tompo*<sup>177</sup> of rice were bought at a cost of 114 real. Half this quantity was distributed among the *dēmang*, *lurah*, *rangga*, *punggawa* and *tumenggung* in Mangkunegara's service and among his sons and grandsons, and the other half was offered in a *slametan*.

We see therefore that the rice was distributed on different bases: to those of Mangkunegara'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 Mangkunegara 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.<sup>178</sup>

We can conclude, therefore, that Mangkunegara'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:

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173. Usually a number of *kětib* were assigned to assist the *pěngulu* in his duties.

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 Mangkunegaran (see "Vorstenlanden: Gegevens," *Adatrechtbundels*, 25 (1926), pp. 75-76 and 91-92). One may tentatively suggest a derivation from Turkish *yeniceri*, "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 Trimingham, *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 *pěsantren* whose clientele was mainly the sons of the Surakarta aristocracy (and which is still in existence).

175. 302R-303L.

176. 303R (*mila aněmpur bėras /sěmana kang bėras awis*).

177. A *tompo* is another measure of rice, also exhibiting considerable local variation in actual weight. In Surakarta usage there were 24 *tompo* to 1 *amet* (see Gericke and Roorda, *Javaansch-Nederlandsch Handwoordenboek*, and Raffles, *History of Java*, 2, Appendix M).

178. See Greeve to Batavia, July 29, 1790 in KA 3802, VOCOB, 1791.

1. 6 Sapar: wages (amount specified) paid to newly created prajurit corps.<sup>179</sup>
2. 20 Mulud: payment of *anggris* and *duwit* to the value of 1,560 [real?]<sup>180</sup> (to the abdi in general).
3. 24 Mulud: 1,408 real<sup>181</sup> (to the soldiery).
4. 28 Mulud: wages (amount unspecified) paid to newly created prajurit corps.<sup>182</sup>
5. 17 Rabingulakir. As above, number 4.<sup>183</sup>
6. 7 Jumadilawal. 345 [real?] to the bala kaum.<sup>184</sup>
7. 12 Arwah. 200 real to the soldiers; 6,000 *duwit* to the lurah.<sup>185</sup>
8. 11 Sawal. 1,600 [real]: half were real *anggris*, half real *batu*,<sup>186</sup> (to the soldiery).
9. 17 Sawal. 1,000 real in the form of *duwit* (to the soldiery).<sup>187</sup>
10. 17 Sawal. 300 real (to the sons, grandsons and great-grandsons, and to the serving girls).<sup>188</sup>

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179. 258R.

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

181. 264: mulud tanggal salawe prah / kala dina kěmis manis / kangjěng pangeran dipatya / paring bala ngěmping gajihe / gagajihe ing be[n]jěng / bakda siyam mangke nuhun / prandene pinaringan / sewu arta kang gagajih / pujul kawan atus lawan walung [wolung] reyal //

182. 265L.

183. 269L.

184. 269R: nulya dina kěmis kang tanggal pipitu / jumadelakir [error for jumadilawal] kang wulan / kangjěng pangeran dipati // gajihe bala kakauman / dasarambat kalawan dasawani / pijigan panaměngipun / lawan wong dasamuka / dasarata sami ngěmping gajihipun / tigang atus kawan dasa / gangsal ing siyam sapalih //

185. 277R: . . . nulya e[n]jingipun di[n]těn akad paing / ing wah tanggal ping rolas // paparing kangjěng pangran dipati / pasumbang pamalēm sangu siyam / mring bala bala[n]jan kabeh / kang arta kalih atus / reyal sami awarni *duwit* / sarěng paring paněbas / banon be[n]jang katur / lurah bala[n]jan sadaya / tēlas něnēm ewu ingkang arta *duwit* / para lurah sadaya // dene sangu paring siyam be[n]jěng / sajajare bala[n]jan sadaya / kaum mahas sajajare / kang sabin datan antuk / . . .

186. 282L: salasa inggara [anggara] kasih / sawal tanggal ping sawēlas / gagajih wadya balane / jěng gusti pangran dipatya / jajar gajihyan jaba / tēlas arta sewu pujul / nēm atus sewu pujulnya // sapalih kinarya *anggris* / sapalih batu kang arta / seos wong ngěmping gajihe / seos gajihe wulan bēsar / jumadilakir wulan / seos bakda siyam mulud / saking kātaha kang bala //

187. 282L: nulya sēnen manisipun / sawal tanggal ping pitu las // ka[ng]jěng pangeran dipati / gagajih kang bala-bala / bala kang ngěmping gajihe / gajihe mulud ing be[n]jang / sawal nuhun ěmpingan / gajihe bebas benjang mulud / nuhun mangke pinaringan // sewu real warni *duwit* / sarta pujul sangang real / maksih watěn [wontěn] ingkang dereng / ngěmping gajihe mulud / saking kātaha kang bala / . . . The meter (Asmarandana) of the middle verse lacks two lines but the sense seems unimpaired.

188. 282R: sarta sarěng ngěmping gajihe / para putra buyut wayah / manggung

11. 24 Sawal. 400 real and 700 anggris (to the lurah).<sup>189</sup>
12. 14 Běsar. 1,025 real (to the soldiery).<sup>190</sup>

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-kuněgara'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.<sup>191</sup>

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.<sup>192</sup> 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.<sup>193</sup> They were known to the English as "cobs."<sup>194</sup> What exactly the diarist means by real anggris is uncertain. According to Crawford, this term was used for the Spanish dollar in general, because, in his opinion, it was much used by English traders.<sup>195</sup> It is possible, however, that the diarist uses it for a specific type of Spanish dollar.<sup>196</sup> In any case, the different types of Spanish dollar

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katanggung sakabeh / gajihe mulud ing be[n]jang / pinaring wulan sawal / tėlas arta tigang atus . . .

189. 282R: nulya sėnen kang dina / salawe prah tanggalipun / ing sawal pangran dipatya // gajihe bala ngěmping gajihe / lurah lan sasabětira / lurah lėbět jawi kabeh / ngěmping sawal pinaringan / mulud kang gajihe bebas / nora gajihe be[n]-jang mulud / sakawan atus kang reyal // pujul pitung atus anggris / reyal lan duwit sadaya / . . .

190. 288L: sarěng gagajih kang bala / sėmana pangran dipati // tėlas arta sewu reyal / mapan pujul salawe genya gajihe / . . .

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.

193. See Netscher and van der Chijs, *Munten*, pp. 1-2.

194. See Chalmers, *History of Currency*, pp. 390-91.

195. Crawford, *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 *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 *stuiver*,<sup>197</sup> 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 remain, 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 ("*ngěmping gaji*"--see entries 3, 5, 8, 9, and 10), often at the request of those concerned, so that we may conclude that Mangkuněgara'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 Mangkuněgara'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 *paningsět*<sup>198</sup> for his daughter, who was being given in marriage to Mangkuněgara's son.

What does this analysis of Mangkuněgara'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 Mangkuněgara's income, which would have been for a large part in kind, was converted into cash for his expenditure was via the sale of agricultural produce, principally rice, to Chinese and other buyers.

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sections on Spain and the Spanish colonies; and Aldo P. Basso, *Coins, Medals and Tokens of the Philippines* (Menlo Park, Cal.: Chenby, 1968), p. 19.

197. Netscher and van der Chijs, *Munten*, p. 66. The Dutch *duit* was accounted at 8 to the *stuiver*.

198. The *paningsět* 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*," *TNI*, 5, 1 (1843), pp. 459-86, 546-613 and 690-744) describes the *paningsět* as comprising a few items of silverware (p. 573); but in the present case it involves a large sum of money (and is termed "*arta pamapag*," money-of-the-meeting, i.e., of the bride). The amount is given (100L-R) as *ardana rěginira ęmas sadaya pan pangaji tigang ewu walung [wolung] atus nęm belas*, "riches entirely 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 1½ to 8½ 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, Mangkunegara 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, Mangkunegara 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."<sup>199</sup> 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 Mangkunegara'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 Mangkunegara's court was not suffering from a large-scale exodus, that significant numbers of followers (who were subsequently enlisted in the Mangkunegaran 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 Mangkunegara's dependents.

Given the unhealthy relationship between his income and expenditure, what could Mangkunegara do? It was not in his power to increase the size of his land-holdings 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.<sup>200</sup> In the nineteenth century, the cultivation and processing of sugar and coffee was a major element in the Mangkunegaran's finances.<sup>201</sup> Another way in which the economic fortunes of Mangkunegara'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 "Mangkunegaran 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 cavalymen, 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.<sup>202</sup> Even with these new developments, however, the Mangkunegaran fortunes went through some difficult times in the course of the nineteenth century.<sup>203</sup>

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199. Ricklefs, *Jogjakarta*, p. 234.

200. See van Overstraten to Batavia, November 3, 1792, KA 3859, VOCOB, 1793.

201. See Rouffaer, "Vorstenlanden," p. 273.

202. On the Mangkunegaran Legion see S. A. Drijber, "Het Legioen van Mangkoe Negoro," *Indisch Militair Tijdschrift*, 31, 7-12 (1910), pp. 306-11.

203. In the 1880s, government loans to the Mangkunegaran could not be repaid,

So from the late eighteenth century onwards, the economic viability of the Mangkunĕgaran 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 Mangkunĕgaran, 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 Mangkunĕgara'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,<sup>204</sup> 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.<sup>205</sup> 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 Mangkunĕgaran, 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 Mangkunĕgaran 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<sup>206</sup>--are described, as is the ceremonial surrounding special festivities such as royal marriages. On 14 Jumadilakir 1713 AJ (April 3, 1787)<sup>207</sup> Mangkunĕgara's son, Raden Suryakusuma, married the Sunan's daughter, Raden Ayu Supiyah, a marriage of considerable political importance. Mangkunĕgara had dedicated two slamĕtan to his future daughter-in-law, and Suryakusuma had put away his various sĕlir and three children in order to receive the princess "with a

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and Mangkunĕgara 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 Mangkunĕgara 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 Madoera."

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 Pĕngging canal, which appears to have been a constant source of trouble, needing frequent repairs: see 66L, 96R, 101L, 127L, 185L.

207. 104R.

pure heart."<sup>208</sup> Two of the children (like their mothers "in a pitiful state")<sup>209</sup> were adopted by Mangkunegara himself, and the third by Pangeran Surya Mataram.<sup>210</sup> The marriage was followed by a number of receptions, and on 22 Jumadilakir, cannon salutes from the Mangkunegaran and the senior kraton announced that the consummation of the marriage had now taken place.<sup>211</sup>

While the rhythm of Mangkunegara's life seems to have been dominated by the observances of the weekly *jumugahan* (Friday prayer), the Sunans appeared as regularly for the *sĕton* as the mosque.<sup>212</sup> The *sĕton* 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<sup>213</sup>--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.<sup>214</sup>

The royal tigers were also used as a form of execution for rebels and criminals:<sup>215</sup> 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."<sup>216</sup>

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208. *Eklas kang galih* (100L).

209. *Saklangkung kawlas ayun* (100L).

210. Mangkunegara'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 bĕdah kuĕa*, "sign that the citadel is breached."

212. *Sĕton* is derived from *sĕptu*, Saturday. In Yogyakarta similar spectacles were held on Mondays, and hence called *sĕnenan*.

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 Mangkunĕgaran. When the Sunan held the rampogan sima, Mangkunĕgara usually arranged for cock or quail fighting<sup>217</sup> 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.<sup>218</sup> On two occasions the diarist notes with pride Mangkunĕgara's exemption from this prohibition, an exemption which was, she claims, obtained for him by the intercession of the "Kumpĕni" (the V.O.C.).<sup>219</sup> 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.<sup>220</sup>

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.<sup>221</sup> 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 Mangkunĕgara.<sup>222</sup> Within kraton society a breach of protocol was deeply resented, as when Mangkunĕgara'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.<sup>223</sup>

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;<sup>224</sup> and the last descriptive

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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. 31R: *lan sawarnane kasukan / nagri sala den-awisi / amung sawĕwĕngkonira / kangjĕng pangeran adipati / kang batĕn [botĕn] 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 *Realia. 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 Mangkunĕgara 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 reconciliation with the V.O.C.<sup>225</sup> 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  
taun je tanggal sadasa  
prabu sala e[n]jing miyos  
ameng-ameng acangkrama  
mëndēt ulam bangawan  
dumatēng rantan sang prabu  
pukul pitu angkatira

miyosipun saking puri  
tan ngangge urmat sanjata  
narendra ical urmate  
ical wawanguning nata  
miyose sasaking pura  
kori ing pasowan kidul  
tumut sang ratu kancana

upruk lan para upēsir  
tumut dragundēr kapalan  
patih wadana mantrine  
pra sēntana estri priya  
lan sagagamanira  
nitih tandu lawan ratu  
sang nata nitih turongga

On Sunday-Pon,<sup>226</sup> Sapar<sup>227</sup>  
the tenth, in the year Je<sup>228</sup>  
the ruler of Sala came out [from his palace]  
to go on a pleasure trip,  
intending to catch fish in the Sala river  
at the royal fishing-grounds.<sup>229</sup>  
The time of his departure was seven o'clock.

He left the palace  
without the salute of guns:  
the king put aside all ceremony  
and regal distinctions.  
He came out of the palace  
by the door of the south audience-hall.  
The Ratu Kancana<sup>230</sup> went with him.

The Resident and all the officers  
went too, the dragoons on horseback.  
The Patih, the wadana and mantri  
and the royal relatives, female and male,  
with an armed escort,  
rode in palanquins, as did the queen.  
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 dictionary, 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 princess of Yogyakarta (see Part II). The bride was a daughter of the Tumēnggung of Pamēkasan (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 requested 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).

tamtama kapalan sami  
 carangan wong prawirengan  
 darat wong kawan dasane  
 ĵajarira tumalatar  
 satus lan wong macanan  
 wong nyutra usar ing ngayun  
 lampahe mantri wadana

watĕn [wontĕn] sarĕng watĕn  
 [wontĕn] kari  
 santana datan atata  
 salang tu[n]jang ing lampahe  
 pangeran ing purubaya  
 nusul kantun lampahnya  
 mangkudiningrat tan tumut  
 tumut santana sadaya

ĵĕng gusti pangran dipati  
 datan tumut acangkrama  
 eca aneng dalĕme dewe  
 caosn dalĕm baita  
 pipitu ginubahan  
 kajang ing papayonipun  
 gamĕlan munggeng baita

sarancak samargi muni  
 sarancak muni ing darat  
 pangran purubayane  
 kang sinepa panĕmbahan  
 kantun ing puri pisan  
 tan dangu (? illegible)  
 praptane nusul  
 lĕnguk-lĕnguk pasanggrahan

lir pendah sarana sĕkti  
 ....<sup>234</sup> kahe pangran purbaya  
 kinĕḍep-kĕḍepa tyase

The Tamtama<sup>231</sup> 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 gamĕlan on the boats

which played as they went along,  
 and another set playing on land.  
 Pangeran Purbaya,  
 who may be compared to a Panĕmbahan<sup>232</sup>  
 was at first left in the palace,  
 and followed on not long  
 afterwards (?).  
 He sat down to rest in the pasanggrahan.<sup>233</sup>

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

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

232. *Panĕmbahan*, "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.

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

234. The first syllable of this line is illegible.

wong salakarta sadaya ja  
na wani maringwang  
ingsun kang ju[n]jung prabu  
aja na ingsun pan sirna

"All you people of Salakarta<sup>235</sup>  
be not bold with me!  
It was I who raised the ruler;  
without me the king will disappear!"

298L lampahe sri narapati  
sarawuhe pasanggrahan  
baris gagaman rakite  
mung kadok [koḍok] ngorek  
kang ngurmat  
tēḍak sri naranata  
pinarak pinggir ing banyu  
upruk upēsir sadaya

The king proceeded on  
and when he arrived at the pasanggrahan  
the armed escort drew up in their ranks.  
Only the *koḍok ngorek*<sup>236</sup> gave a ceremonial  
welcome.  
The king went down  
to the edge of the water, escorted  
by the Resident, and all the officers.

lan ratu munggeng ing kursi  
patih wadana santana  
tarap munggeng ngandap andher  
ḍawuh timbalan sang nata  
panjalan mēṇḍētana  
ulam ruru[m]pon ing banyu  
sawusya tēlas kang ulam

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,

tēḍak nata mring banawi  
lan upruk lumban baita  
lan para upēsir kabeh  
sang nata munggeng baita  
marang ruru[m]pon ngandap  
sarta gamēlan tinabuh  
papatih mantri wadana

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 gamēlan was struck.  
The Patih, mantri, and wadana

darat sami ajagani  
yen kandas gered baita  
gamēlan sarta sindene  
kasukan lumban bangawan  
ēnti tyas sukanira  
gagaman malatar  
agung  
jajari pinggir bangawan

kept watch on shore,  
and if the boat ran aground they pushed it off.  
A singer sang with the gamēlan  
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 mangkubumi  
rayi nata langkung  
suka  
sarawuh ruru[m]pone  
pinarak pinggir ing  
toya

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.

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 *koḍok ngorek* ("croaking frog") ensemble can be described as a primitive or archaic form of gamēlan. It continued to be used at the Javanese courts for certain ceremonial purposes. For a description of the *koḍok ngorek*, see Kunst, *Musik in Java*, 1, pp. 260-65.

ruru[m]pon pinēndētan  
wusya tēlas ulamipun  
nata kondur masanggrahan

The dam was emptied,  
and when the fish were finished  
the ruler went back into the pasanggrahan.

gamēlan kang darat muni  
mapag watēn [wontēn]  
masanggrahan  
barung tambur salomprēte  
anulya sang nata ḍahar  
upruk pēsir sadaya  
sēntana kang agēng tumut  
babangku kursi aḍahar

The gamēlan 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.

ḍahar tan pēgat alarih  
tan ngangge urmat sanjata  
wusya ḍahar sigra baḍol [boḍol]  
ko[n]dur anitih baita  
upruk pēsir sadaya  
sami anunggang parahu  
gagaman lumampah ḍarat

As they ate, drinks were served without pause  
but with no ceremonial salutes.<sup>237</sup>  
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.

sarawuhe batu radin  
tēḍak saking ing baita  
nitih kuda sakondure  
nata anitih kareta  
datan urmat sanjata  
angadaton wanci surup  
bala kang ngiring bubaran

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.

\*\*\*\*\*

299L . . . . .  
. . . . .  
amangsuli caritane  
duk sunan sala acangkrama  
mring bangawan rarantan  
duk arsa ingangkatipun  
kapal dalēm kinambilan

returning to the story  
of the Sunan of Sala's pleasure trip  
to the dam on the river:  
when they were about to leave,  
the royal mount was being saddled

daragēm ulēs turanggi  
pun palugon wastanira  
dēlalah budi bēṭate  
kakapal [error for kakapa]  
dalēm wasiyat  
ki rēmēng wastanira  
tiba tugēl pēcah rēmuk  
langkung duka prabu sala

--it was a chestnut horse  
called Battlefield--  
and as luck would have it, it was in a temper.  
The saddle was a royal  
heirloom  
called "The Dark One,"  
and it fell, and broke all to pieces.  
The ruler was greatly angered.

duk wontēn ing rantan malih  
wēlandi angrēbut  
dēgan

Again, when they were at the dam  
some Dutchmen were scrambling for young  
coconuts,

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.

katiban dĕgan ĕndase  
walandine kulabakan  
malih wong kawan dasa  
kasepak kuda kang baŭuk  
kang nepak kapal barangan

wasta maesa malati  
kasepak baŭuke pĕcah  
prabu sala sarawuhe  
kapal ginantung ing latar  
wiwit ga[n]tung salasa  
ing jumungah dereng lampus  
tan sinungan ngumbe mangan

duk rumiyin anglĕrĕsi  
sĕptu miyos  
pawatangan  
kagĕm dalĕm turanggane  
pĕtat ucul kakambilan  
paŋ kalĕbĕt dilalah  
umangkat sako[n]duripun  
cangkrama tan ngangge  
urmat

ical wawangunan narpati  
pangran purbaya winarna  
marang papatih dĕlinge  
sun-dĕnda patih janingrat  
jaraŋ siji ta sira  
mulane tan aweh wĕruh  
299R duk mangkat nata cangkrama

ingsun iki mangkat kari  
purbaya ana ing sala  
kapaĕakĕn tunggak bae  
ature patih janingrat  
milanipun kawula  
tan kabĕr [kobĕr] ngaturi wĕruh  
bingung kaŭah padamĕlan

tan kabĕr [kobĕr] atur udani  
lan angger mongsa  
kilapa  
otĕr wong sanagarane  
yen sunan mangkat cangkrama  
pami kula matura

and one was hit on the head as the coconut fell.  
The Dutchman fell all of a heap.  
Also, forty<sup>238</sup> people  
were kicked in the head by a horse.  
It was the horse of some traveling players,

called Jasmine Buffalo.  
[One who]<sup>239</sup> 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,<sup>240</sup> 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,

238. Sic. Perhaps the "forty" is an error for some other qualifier of 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.

winastan wong sasar-  
susur  
manawi kang paribasan

I would be called a man who does not know the  
proper thing,  
like the proverb,

ingsun den-wehi udani  
ingsun wus wěruh piyambak  
kalingane purbayane  
kaparentah mring janingrat  
gěde kandel janingrat  
kalawan ta malhipun  
pangran purbaya neng sala

'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

mangke wus nampni kardi  
barang prakawis ing praja  
wěnan macot [mocot] lan agawe  
janingrat mangke kasimpar  
lir kadi wong galadag  
yen sampeyan maksa mundut  
dēnda kang kapal satunggal

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.<sup>241</sup>  
If you insist on taking  
the fine of one horse,

saking barkating narpati  
janingrat tan kirang kapal  
dīnēnda nuhun dukane  
malah purbaya kadēnda  
kantun angkat narendra  
neng sala siněpuh-sěpuh  
kinarya gědig manggala

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.

punapa ta kongsi kari  
wong kinarya paněmbahan  
mokal tan mirsa angkate  
wong sanagara pan mirsa  
kendēl pangran purbaya  
kalěrsan sauripun  
kiya patih jayaningrat

How could he have been left behind,  
someone made a Paněmbahan?  
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, Suryaměrjaya 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 Suryaměrjaya 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. Suryaměrjaya and another of his brothers immediately called on the Resident to present a gold bowl worth 140 [real] and to express the pious hope that the advancements would indeed be made.<sup>242</sup> When Governor Greeve came to Surakarta about a month later, Mangkunegara sent four of his daughters 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.<sup>243</sup>

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 Suryaměrjaya 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]ěnggalek as well?"<sup>244</sup> Even at this the Sunan did not demur, and this region was added to the appanage of Suryakusuma, who received the title Pangeran Purbanagara.<sup>245</sup> 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 Trěnggalek. 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.<sup>246</sup> 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.<sup>247</sup>

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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 Těnggalek 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.