Bujangga Manik: or, Java in the fifteenth century: an edition and study of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Jav. b. 3 (R)

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BUJANGGA MANIK

or, Java in the Fifteenth Century

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A Note on the Text

This work includes words and quotations in several languages, some of which are not written in the Roman alphabet. The transliteration of Old Sundanese is discussed at length below. Old Javanese is presented as in Zoetmulder's *Old Javanese-English Dictionary* (OJED – 1982). Indic and Dravidian languages are transliterated according to the International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration (IAST). Literary Sinitic ('Classical Chinese') is transliterated using Hanyu Pinyin (except where other Sinitic languages/topolects are used). Middle Chinese spellings are taken from Kroll (2017), 'Phags-pa Chinese/Yuán Mandarin ones from Coblin (2007) and Pulleyblank (1991), and Míng Guǎnhuà/Mandarin ones from Coblin (2000). Old East Slavic is presented in Cyrillic or where necessary in Scientific transliteration (as in ISO 9:1995). Arabic is transliterated according to the Library of Congress standard. The spellings in medieval and early modern European texts have not been regularised, except where I have been unable to access an original text and have relied on the already-regularised spelling in an edition. Editions and manuscripts for the primary sources cited are explained in the Introduction, and primary source quotations in the original may be found in Appendix A; these are marked in the text with superscript 'A' with the relevant number as listed in the appendix (e.g. '[A61]'). Translations are my own unless otherwise indicated. References to lines in *Bujangga Manik* are given in the form 'BM [number]'. Dates are in the Common Era unless otherwise specified. All botanical identifications are taken from *The Plant List* (http://www.theplantlist.org/) and *World Flora Online* (http://www.worldfloraonline.org/); the latter is intended to be more complete in tracking and listing synonyms than the former, but as of the writing of this thesis *The Plant List* appears to have more complete information for many Southeast Asian species.

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Abbreviations

3PRON. – *A third-person pronoun not marked for number or gender (*siya*).*

ACD – *Austronesian Comparative Dictionary.*

ACT – *Active or agent-focus verb.*

AN – *Austronesian (language family).*

BAV – *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana*.

BKI – *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde.*

BL – *British Library.*

BM – *in italics:* Bujangga Manik *(the text); not in italics: introduces line numbers in* Bujangga Manik.

BP – *Before Present.*

CE – *Common Era.*

CMP – *Central Malayo-Polynesian (hypothesised language family).*

CP – Carita Parahiyangan *(OSd prose text).*

GNB – *Greater North Borneo (proposed branch of Malayo-Polynesian).*

Jv – *Javanese.*

kab. – kabupaten *('regency' – regional subdivision in Indonesia).*

MC – *Middle Chinese.*

MP – *Malayo-Polynesian (language family).*

MSd – *Modern Sundanese.*

OJED – Old Javanese-English Dictionary *(Zoetmulder 1982).*

OJv – *Old Javanese.*

ÖNB – *Austrian National Library (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek).*

OSd – *Old Sundanese.*

PAn – *Proto-Austronesian (reconstructed language).*

PASS – *Passive or patient-focus verb.*

PIE – *Proto-Indo-European (reconstructed language).*

PMP – *Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (reconstructed language).*

PNRI – *Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia (the National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta).*

RR – The Sons of Rama and Rawana *(OSd poetic text).*

SA – Sri Ajñana *(OSd poetic text, aka 'The Ascension of Sri Ajnyana').*

SD – Séwaka Darma *(OSd poetic text).*

Sd – *Sundanese*.

SEP.PART – *Separating particle*.

Skt – *Sanskrit.*

SSKK – Sanghyang Siksakandang Karesian *(OSd prose text).*

TTms – *Tanjung Tanah manuscript.*

UBL – *Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden (Leiden University Library).*

WMP – *Western Malayo-Polynesian (now-rejected language family).*

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INTRODUCTION

In August 1511 the Portuguese *conquistador* Afonso de Albuquerque conquered the wealthy Sultanate of Melaka on the Malay Peninsula with a small force of European and Indian soldiers. The battle was hard-fought, with many of Albuquerque's men succumbing to poisoned blowgun darts and bullet wounds, and the eventual Portuguese victory was secured through a combination of brutal street fighting and negotiation with the city's many ethnic factions. Soon after the conquest an expedition under the command of Antonio de Abreu, who had been shot in the mouth during the battle, was sent to Banda and Maluku in eastern Indonesia, the fabled islands where alone nutmeg and clove trees grew. In 1513 another expedition was dispatched to Java in hope of establishing alliances with non-Islamic powers on the island – powers like the Hindu kingdom of Sunda in what is now West Java, Banten, and Jakarta. For the first time shipments of eastern Indonesian spices began to make their way to Europe in the hulls of European ships, bypassing the well-developed network of ports around the Indian Ocean that had relayed the goods to the north and west throughout the Middle Ages. Soon – particularly after the first circumnavigation of the world by the Magellan-Elcano fleet in 1519-1522 – ships were arriving in the archipelago with cargo from the Americas; the European newcomers initiated and mediated contacts between Southeast Asia and the Western Hemisphere, introducing new crops to the archipelago and forever altering the environment and demography of the entire region. The European presence exacerbated tensions between Muslim and non-Muslim people and polities and assisted paradoxically in the dramatic spread of Islam throughout the islands. The succeeding four centuries in island Southeast Asia were defined by the impact of American crops and European contact and colonialism.

The *conquistadores* had been attracted to the region by the desire to wrest from Muslim hands the trade in luxury goods: Spices, certainly, but also silks, porcelains, talking birds, and precious stones. Since the return of Marco Polo to Venice at the end of the thirteenth century Europeans had read of an island called *Jaua* or *Iava* or *Iana* that was the biggest in the world, visited constantly by massive Chinese and Indian ships and abounding in spices of all kinds (Figure 0.1). Later reports added fantastical details: The Franciscan friar Odoric of Pordenone (c.1330) claimed that the Great King of Java had seven crowned kings as vassals and lived in a palace made of gold and silver, while Niccolò de' Conti, a Venetian merchant whose adventures were recorded for posterity in the middle of the fifteenth century, described two islands two weeks' sail east of Java – *Bandan* and *Sondai* – where nutmeg and cloves grew in profusion and white parrots the size of seagulls (white or sulphur-crested cockatoos) could be procured.

Figure 0.1. Java as imagined in medieval Europe: a treasury surrounded by spice-producing plants. From a manuscript of the travels of Marco Polo in the recension of Thibault de Cépoy (c.1333-1340). London, British Library, Royal MS 19 D I, f.122r.

The archipelago had been known across Afro-Eurasia for centuries as a source of fabulous wealth and exotic luxury, inspiring the Sanskrit name for Southeast Asia – 'Land of Gold' (*Suvarṇabhūmi*) – and spurring reports that reached as far as the Roman Empire in the first century of islands named *Chryse* and *Argyre* where the soil comprised gold and silver respectively. The tenth-century Arabic writers al-Mas'ūdi and Abū Zayd al-Sīrāfī wrote of a *mihrāj*, or 'great king' (from Sanskrit *mahārāja*), whose kingdom, *al-Zābaj*, was the most powerful and densely populated of all those between India and China, and the fifteenth-century Russian traveller Afanasij Nikitin heard in India of an island in the east called *Šabat* (шабат) – etymologically 'Java' but more likely to have been Sumatra – where elephants were sold by the cubit and 'everything is cheap' ('все дешево'). As a fifteenth-century English version of the *Travels of John Mandeville* put it, in Java grew 'all manner of spices more plenteous than elsewhere, like ginger and all other spices. Everything is there in plenty but wine'.[A1] These reports were garbled attempts at truth: The situation of the archipelago at a pivotal point on the seaways between the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean meant that it was constantly visited by people and traversed by ships and goods from across Afro-Eurasia, the regular cycling of the monsoon winds lending a predictability to ocean travel to and from the islands even while ineradicable piracy introduced unavoidable risk; and the region really did possess an abundance of valuable commodities, including benzoin, camphor, cloves, cubebs, mace, nutmeg, and white sandalwood, consumed hemisphere-wide in a bewildering array of different recipes.

In 1292-3 Java was assaulted by a force sent by the Yuán (Mongol) Emperor of China, Qubilai Qan. The invasion was repelled but it led to the founding of a new incarnation of the Javanese state and a new capital at Majapahit in what is now the Indonesian province of East Java. Under its mid-fourteenth-century king, Hayam Wuruk, and his prime minister, Gajah Mada, this Hindu-Buddhist kingdom aggressively expanded its borders as the preceding Javanese polity, Siṅhasari, had attempted to do decades earlier. By 1365, when the Javanese writer Mpu Prapañca wrote his *Deśawarṇana* ('Depiction of the Districts', aka the *Nagarakrtagama*), a work that survives in manuscripts of considerably later date, Majapahit claimed territory as far east as New Guinea and as far north as North Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, thriving on the international trade in the archipelago's extraordinary produce – although in truth these claims of suzerainty far outside Java are hard to verify. Little in the way of documentary evidence has survived from Java itself when compared to the more complete historical record of contemporaneous societies in temperate climes, and no local texts whatsoever are known from Indonesia east of Sumbawa from before 1521.[1] Works describing daily life and the social texture of the archipelago before the arrival of the Portuguese are also rather lacking: Local voices and concerns are known to us through obtuse medieval inscriptions, a handful of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts, and (usually Balinese) copies of longer texts dating to the colonial period, most within a fairly restricted range of surviving genres. We do not know about the impact of the Black Death on Java or the rest of the archipelago, or even whether the Black Death had any impact at all. We have no medieval Javanese cookbooks to consult. The main reason for this is climatic: Java's hot, humid climate and abundance of leaf-chewing insects are not conducive to the preservation of organic manuscript material. Manuscripts rarely lasted more than a single century (Creese 2004:13).

Javanese power appears in any case to have diminished rapidly from the beginning of the fifteenth century up to the arrival of the first Portuguese ships in Southeast Asia in 1509, with Melaka rising as a new Muslim power on the Malay Peninsula, and port-cities on Java's north coast – notably what had by c.1475 become the Sultanate[2] of Demak – filling the vacuum left by Majapahit's decline. The historiography of this period is one in which legends of Muslim saints and scraps of information gleaned from foreigners' accounts have largely taken over from true documentary history. What emerges from the texts that we do have is a world of violence contrasting starkly with the gleaming palace of the Javanese king described by Odoric. An inscription from Mount Lawu in Central Java dated 1441 (1363 Śaka) speaks of internecine war; Niccolò de' Conti, in the area at roughly the same time, says that people in Java killed one another for fun.

[1] See e.g. Barnes (2001:280) for Majapahit colonies in eastern Indonesian folklore, however.
[2] Whether Demak is appropriately described as a 'sultanate' at the time is unclear, as the title of 'sultan' does not appear to have been used in Java at this time, although it was elsewhere in the archipelago (Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan, p.c.).

This was approximately the situation when the Portuguese came to Southeast Asia, with divided local kingdoms and cities vying with one another for the riches of international commerce. For much of the history of this period we are reliant on texts written by Portuguese soldiers and visitors, and for much of the rest we depend on texts written or copied decades – in many cases centuries – after the events they purport to descibe. The arrival of Portuguese ships itself triggered greater changes, and Indo-Malaysian material culture and daily life were soon radically altered by the combination of European colonialism, Islamic expansion, and the introduction of American commodities and ideas ('the Columbian Exchange') that struck the region at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The medieval past is almost lost to us; we cannot simply project our understanding of the modern region into the Middle Ages, and the documentary record is lacking. The onset and fusion of these processes thus marks a distinct break between modern Southeast Asian culture and that of the Southeast Asian Middle Ages – a poorly documented but hugely important place and period in world history.

0.1 Background

Bujangga Manik is an Old Sundanese narrative poem about a Hindu ascetic's travels composed in West Java during the unrest and transition of the late fifteenth century. It is a *codex unicus*, its sole surviving *lontar*-leaf manuscript, MS Jav. b.3. (R), having been preserved in the Bodleian Library at the University of Oxford since 1627. The unfinished text, consisting of 1630 extant lines, most of them eight syllables long, inscribed *scriptio continua* on both sides of thirty thin leaves, opens a rare window onto a world otherwise known through the eyes of foreign observers and later copies of potentially unreliable chronicles in local languages.

Bujangga Manik has been known to the wider world since the late twentieth century, when it was first analysed by the Dutch scholar Jacobus Noorduyn. Its encyclopaedic character and naturalism, and its terse presentation of daily life and material culture, make it a useful corrective to accounts of medieval Indo-Malaysia that concentrate on political history and legend. The text is dated to the fifteenth century on the basis of its references to the polities of Melaka, Demak, and Majapahit, which only co-existed in the mid-to-late fifteenth century. The Portuguese, who conquered Melaka in 1511, are not mentioned, providing a *terminus ante quem* for the poem's composition; precisely when the text was composed is unknown, although differences between *Bujangga Manik* and the ethnohistoric record place it earlier in the fifteenth century, perhaps around 1470 or so. The name 'Bujangga Manik' was bestowed by Noorduyn: it is merely one of the three names by which the poem's protagonist is known, although a text apparently named *Bujangga Manik* is mentioned in another Sundanese *lontar* text, the *Sanghyang Swawarcita* (Jakarta, PNRI, L626), indicating that that may have been the poem's original

title. There is no title or author attached to the manuscript and no colophon explaining its creation due to the absence of the manuscript's theorised final folio(s). As it was collected by an English merchant in the 1620s, almost certainly on the coast of Banten or West Java, it is unlikely the scriptorium in which it was written can be conclusively identified.

This work will examine *Bujangga Manik*/MS Jav. b. 3. (R) from several perspectives: as a physical object made of wood, cordage, and palm leaves; as a handwritten text in a particular form of Old Sundanese script; as a poem documenting an early stage of the Sundanese language; as a literary work representing the productive collision of indigenous and 'Indianised' narrative and spiritual traditions; and, perhaps most importantly, as a window onto a hitherto poorly understood late-medieval period in the history of the Indonesian archipelago. I aim to make the poem – the manuscript of which has now been digitised – more accessible both to people in Indo-Malaysia and to scholars working on the late Middle Ages elsewhere in Afro-Eurasia.

In this introduction I will describe what *Bujangga Manik* is about, provide a necessarily brief literature review, give some background on Sunda (where the poem was composed), and dissect the theoretical assumptions behind my analysis of the work. The thesis is divided into six main parts: Part I is concerned with the codicology, palaeography, and language of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Jav. b.3. (R), the *Bujangga Manik* manuscript, including detailed descriptions of its box, leaves, script, and language. Part II contains the edited Romanised text of the poem with an original page-facing English translation and accompanying footnotes. A short discussion of the transliteration of Old Sundanese precedes the edited text.

Parts III, IV, V, and VI are concerned with different aspects of the contextualisation of the text. Part III, *Place in Bujangga Manik*, is about the role of place and place names in *Bujangga Manik*, and as these are the poem's defining feature this section is also concerned with the categorisation of *Bujangga Manik* within Old Sundanese and, indeed, Austronesian literatures. This builds on work I began in my 2017 MA thesis. In this section I also examine the route followed by the ascetic, largely following Noorduyn (1982), as well as the features of the landscape a traveller through Java and Bali would have seen and experienced in the fifteenth century.

Part IV, *People in Bujangga Manik*, discusses the people who populate these places, from their (usually brief) physical descriptions to their probable roles and duties. The poem has few named characters and most appear only briefly; the only character present throughout is Bujangga Manik himself. There are nonetheless some interesting features to be drawn out with the assistance of the ethnohistoric sources. Part V, *Travelling by Sea*, is concerned with the ships, crews, and passengers described in *Bujangga Manik*, including the enormous *jong* or junk on which the ascetic travels from Bali back to Java. The ethnic and religious composition of the crews receive particular attention. Part

VI, *Things in Bujangga Manik*, is a description of the smaller items of material culture of late-medieval Java as they appear in the poem, including particularly perfumes, narcotics, metals, and dyestuffs.

Three appendices summarise key information: Appendix A contains original-language texts of the primary source quotations that appear at different points in the thesis, numbered from A1 to A75. Appendix B summarises the poem's toponymic information using both tables and maps. Finally, Appendix C summarises the poem's botanical information (to the extent that genera and species can be identified from the text).

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0.1.1 The Text

Although *Bujangga Manik* is about a man's quest to attain godhood, the story itself is undramatic. It begins as Jaya Pakuan ('Pakuan's victory'?), a nobleman from Pakañcilan in Sunda (near modern Bogor, West Java, Indonesia), travels east into Javanese-speaking territory to learn how to develop himself spiritually and become an ascetic. The bulk of the story is told in the first person from his perspective, and his voyage east is narrated in the form of a list of places through which he walks. After studying at the Javanese sanctuary of Rabut Palah (identifiable with the Majapahit sanctuary now known as Candi Panataran, built and enlarged at various points between 1197 and 1454), Jaya Pakuan feels homesick and returns to Kalapa (modern-day Jakarta, then the pre-eminent Sundanese port-city) by ship, acquiring a new name, *Ameng Layaran* 'sailing novice', in the process. After arriving home, his mother and another noblewoman, Ajung Larang, conspire to marry him off to the latter's daughter, Jompong Larang, who has fallen for him owing to his handsomeness, attire, and ability to speak Javanese. Ameng Layaran is presented with marriage prestations, all of which he rejects along with the prospective bride. Now named Bujangga Manik (~'jewel serpent', although *bujangga* could have a number of other meanings), he disowns his mother for attempting to corrupt his spiritual path and leaves for the east again, carrying a book entitled *Siksaguru* ('instructions of the teacher'), as well as a walking stick and a rattan whip. He passes numerous mountains, goes to the Majapahit capital, and makes it as far as Bali in search of peace and quiet (which he nonetheless fails to find).[3]

After travelling around East and Central Java, again narrated in the form of listed place names, the ascetic ends up back in Sunda, where he ascends Mount Papandayan, a volcano south of present-day Bandung. From the summit he enumerates the mountains and villages of Java and the renowned places of the known world from *Dilih* (Delhi) to *Cina* (China) and *Ba(n)dan* (Banda in eastern Indonesia). Bujangga Manik's vision from the mountaintop appears to be a manifestation of his spiritual accomplishment, part of a theme in the poem linking holiness with knowledge of the mundane world. Following this ascent he retires to a hermitage, where he dies. His death, or final liberation from the

[3] This may be the first recorded instance of a complaint about overcrowding in Bali.

cycle of rebirth (*kamoksahan*, from Skt *mokṣa*), is framed as an accomplishment, a task completed after ten years of concerted effort. Bujangga Manik then ends up in a well-organised and settled afterlife replete with beautiful foliage.

After a lacuna lasting two folios, the ascetic finds himself at the entrance to heaven guarded by Dorakala, the door guardian. Dorakala eventually allows Bujangga Manik to enter due to the ascetic's physical and spiritual perfection. Bujangga Manik then proceeds through a land resembling a more perfect version of his own world. After another lacuna, the poem ends with the ascetic sitting atop a white yak (*camara putih*), listening to heavenly instrumental music as lightning and rainbows light up the scene. As the text ends mid-sentence, it is clear there was more to the poem than has survived in the manuscript. It is unlikely these leaves will ever be recovered, and so the enigmatic image of a Sundanese ascetic riding a yak through a bejewelled blossoming heaven represents the finale of the text as it now stands.

In its listing of so many place names, *Bujangga Manik* makes use of an ancient Malayo-Polynesian trope wherein a description of a journey or of geographic knowledge is narrated by means of listed toponyms (similar to what James Fox [1997a, 1997b] called a 'topogeny'; see my 2017 MA thesis on the same subject). The text will seem unfamiliar and perhaps even boring to a reader unused to this structure, but the focus on place is one of the poem's more intriguing aspects. *Bujangga Manik* is a rich 'encyclopaedic' text: The world encountered by the ascetic is brought vividly to life by references to items of material culture and things-in-the-world, including different types of curtains; the woods and rattans used to build inter-island ships; the ethnic origins of the ships' crews; the many kinds of betel and areca; spices and perfumes from Persian oak galls to massoy bark from New Guinea; and the names of hundreds of rivers, settlements, and volcanoes in Java and beyond. Few animals appear in the poem and humans in general are portrayed as a nuisance to be avoided.

As there are comparatively few dateable texts from this period in island Southeast Asian history, one of the aims of this work is to mine *Bujangga Manik* for its trove of information about material culture and daily life, and to compare this information with that taken from other textual sources, especially the Portuguese geographical/ethnohistoric texts written shortly after Albuquerque's conquest of Melaka in 1511, and also with the archaeological record, in particular the numerous contemporaneous shipwrecks in the Java Sea and elsewhere in the region.

0.1.2 The Literature

The academic literature on *Bujangga Manik* is not extensive, the most important work being the 2006 transliteration and English translation with an introduction and notes in *Three Old Sundanese Poems*, a landmark of English-language scholarship on West Java, by Noorduyn and Andries Teeuw (2006). The manuscript was found to be a Sundanese (rather than Javanese) text in the middle of the

twentieth century by Noorduyn, who wrote an article in the *BKI* detailing the ascetic's journey through Java in 1982. This marked the first extensive academic discussion of the text. A later publication in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* discussing the Bodleian palm-leaf manuscripts shelf-marked 'MS Jav.', including MS Jav. b.3. (R), was published in 1985; this deals with the collecting history of the manuscript and may be considered the final word on that subject. Noorduyn found that the texts had been donated to the Bodleian in 1627 by Andrew James, a merchant from the Isle of Wight, and he noted that at the time the texts were described collectively as *vetustissima* 'most ancient', implying that they were considerably older than the date of 1627 suggests. While we cannot come to any firm conclusions as to the manuscript's precise age, it is quite possible that the manuscript itself dates to the fifteenth century.

Noorduyn had transliterated the text in the Bodleian, but microfilm of the manuscript was later sent to Indonesia, where it was later examined and transliterated by the Sundanese scholar Undang Darsa. The two transliterations largely agreed and, edited and introduced by Teeuw (assisted by Stuart Robson and Wim van Zanten, among others), formed the basis of the 2006 publication, which included the Romanised text of *Bujangga Manik* with a side-by-side English translation. Two other equally early Old Sundanese poems, which Noorduyn and Teeuw christened *The Ascension of Sri Ajnyana* (aka *Sri Ajñana* – SA) and *The Sons of Rama and Rawana* (RR), were published in the same volume (Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006). An Indonesian translation of this book followed in 2009, pushing *Bujangga Manik* into public consciousness. References to *Bujangga Manik* are now routine in discussions of early Indonesian and Sundanese literature (see e.g. Gallop and Arps 1991:74; Zahorka 2007; M. Danasasmita 2001). The poem has even been the subject of a musical review at a Jakarta venue.[4] I worked on the poem for my MA thesis (A. J. West 2017), concluding that its deployment of listed toponyms ('topogeny') was part of a widespread pattern or trope in Austronesian or more specifically Malayo-Polynesian literatures, something I explain in more detailed in section III.1 of this work.

Academic discussion of Old Sundanese palaeography and codicology has been surprisingly limited, in contrast to the work that has been done (especially recently by Aditia Gunawan and Ilham Nurwansah) on editing Old Sundanese manuscripts. Concise English-language overviews of Sundanese codicology can be found in Ekadjati (1996) and Gunawan (2015), although in my dissection of the codicology of *Bujangga Manik* I have also relied on studies of Balinese and Javanese manuscripts (Hinzler 1993; van der Meij 2017; van der Molen 1983; Rubinstein 1996). The most widely cited study of Old Sundanese script is brief and based on later inked texts, quite unlike the early inscribed palm-leaf manuscript of *Bujangga Manik* (Darsa 1997). This short study was used as the basis for Noorduyn and Teeuw's (2006:433-435) discussion of Old Sundanese script as well. Tables presenting variants of

[4] Natakusumah, Kareem. 30 May 2015. *Berita Satu*. '"Bujangga Manik", Kolaborasi Musikalisasi Sastra Indonesia-Prancis.' http://www.beritasatu.com/budaya/278549-bujangga-manik-kolaborasi-musikalisasi-sastra-indonesiaprancis.html. (Accessed 11-08-2020.)

this script from Old Sundanese manuscripts can be found in Indonesian-language works, including Ma'mur Danasasmita's history of Sundanese literature (2001), but they give little indication of how the script worked in practice and provide little information about ductus, composition of the letters, or the scripts' origins. There is now a thriving culture of studying and discussing Sundanese manuscripts on the internet, however, particularly on Facebook, led in part by the excellent amateur scholar Panji Topan Bahagia, and a recent visual analysis of several Old Sundanese scripts has been put together by Eka Noviana (2020).

In the next section I will provide a brief overview of the landscape of West Java and the nature of the Sunda kingdom in which *Bujangga Manik* was written. The historiography of this region is rather fraught, reliant on a small number of sources, many of them of comparatively recent date. Controversies of dating and interpretation are normal and accounts of the history of the Sunda kingdom can differ dramatically depending on the writer's inclination, and the description below is only one interpretation of the sources.

0.2 Sunda

The island of Java is home to two major languages with tens of millions of speakers (arguably three, if Malay/Indonesian is included), both of them in the Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family: Javanese, spoken in Central and East Java, and Sundanese, spoken in the west. Javanese has many more speakers and a considerably older and larger written record, with inscriptions going back to the eighth century; written Sundanese is evidenced only from the fourteenth century on. Because Javanese has a much more extensive literature, and because it was collected along with two other Javanese palm-leaf manuscripts in the 1620s, the *Bujangga Manik* manuscript was initially believed to have been Javanese as well (Noorduyn 1985). The 'Jav.' shelfmark reflects this.

Sundanese is one of the most-spoken languages of the Austronesian language family, with over 30 million speakers. It is closely related to Malay and more distantly to Javanese, but both the modern language and the Old Sundanese represented in *Bujangga Manik* contain a host of loanwords from different stages of Javanese. The vast majority of Sundanese speakers live in West Java, now the most populous province in the Republic of Indonesia, as well as in Banten Province to the west, which has a significant Javanese-speaking minority. At the time *Bujangga Manik* was composed Sundanese was also spoken on the coast in Jakarta, now the capital of Indonesia and then a busy port known as Kalapa (and to the Portuguese as *Calapa*), and the toponymy of western Central Java also suggests that Sundanese was also spoken further east. Together Jakarta, Banten, and West Java make up around 47,000 square kilometres of land area (Whitten, Soeriaatmadja, and Afiff 1996:7) – a little larger than

the Netherlands. Today most Sundanese people are Sunni Muslims, a result of a series of invasions and conversions between the sixteenth century and today. A small minority in the mountains of West Java, known to the outside world as the Baduy or Badui (ostensibly from Arabic *badawī* [بَدَوِي] 'Bedouin' [Rigg 1862:31]) and to themselves as *Urang Kanékés*, keep their own religious traditions, albeit with some Islamic influence (Hasman and Reiss 2012; Waterson 1997:96; Wessing 1977; 1978; 1979).

Sundanese people have often been stereotyped as hardy people of the highlands, and indeed were frequently called *orang gunung* 'mountain people' by the people of the coast in colonial times (Ekadjati 1995:9). Thomas Raffles, who accompanied British forces invading Java in 1811, noted that

> '[t]he *Súndas* exhibit many features of a mountainous race. They are shorter, stouter, hardier, and more active men, than the inhabitants of the coast and eastern districts. In some respects they resemble the Madurese, who display a more martial and independent air, and move with a bolder carriage than the natives of Java' (Raffles 1817:I:67 – italics in original).

Raffles further compared the difference between the Javanese and Sundanese to that between the English and Welsh respectively, believing that Sundanese was 'the most ancient vernacular of the country […] a simple uncultivated dialect, adapted however to all the purposes of the simple and uneducated mountaineers who speak it' (Raffles 1817:I:399). Such comments are echoed in later texts as well (see e.g. Kunst 1968:1).

The notion of the Sundanese as hardy mountain people lacking a sophisticated high culture and international connections does not accord with either the extant Old Sundanese texts or the ethnohistoric record, however, from which they emerge as reasonably well-connected and prosperous, at home on the sea as well as in the mountains. The Portuguese apothecary Tomé Pires, who visited Sunda in the first expedition to the island in 1513, remarked that

> 'Sunda is [a land of] chivalrous and bellicose seafarers. They say more so than the Javanese, all in all, that they are men of goodly figure, ruddy, robust men' (adapted from Cortesão 1944:167, 413).[A2]

In the interim between Pires' time and Raffles', Sunda's ports were conquered by largely Javanese-speaking Muslims, and Sundanese speakers ceased to be 'bellicose seafarers' – thought of thereafter as unsophisticated and possibly idolatrous mountain folk (in spite of the eventual profusion of mosques and religious schools in Sunda's mountain districts).

In Sundanese, Javanese, and Malay, the word 'Java' (*Jawa*) used to be reserved exclusively for the Javanese-speaking portions of the island. West Java (Mal/Ind, Sd *Jawa Barat*) was known simply as *Sunda* (whence 'Sundanese') even in European languages until the nineteenth century. The origin of the word 'Sunda' is mysterious: Jonathan Rigg, writing in West Java in the middle of the nineteenth century, speculated that the term could have come from the combination of *tunda* 'to set aside, to put'

and *saha* ‘a particle and prefix signifying union’, whence *Sunda* ‘a place of deposit, an entrepôt’ (Rigg 1862:464) – although this seems unlikely on morphophonological grounds. Others believe it to derive from Sanskrit *śuddha* ‘clean; pure; white’, applied originally to a mountain or mountains near Bandung and used as a *pars pro toto* for the Sundanese-speaking parts of the island (Ekadjati 1995:3). The Dutch geologist R. W. van Bemmelen (1934; 1949) argued that the name was coined after the white ash blown out by an exploding supervolcano, the huge volume of which would have rendered the land itself white – whence *śuddha*/Sunda. This prehistoric volcano, *Gunung Sunda* (‘Mount Sunda’), is the theorised ancestor of Tangkuban Perahu, an active volcano near Bandung prominent in Sundanese folklore (Whitten, Soeriaatmadja, and Afiff 1996:97).

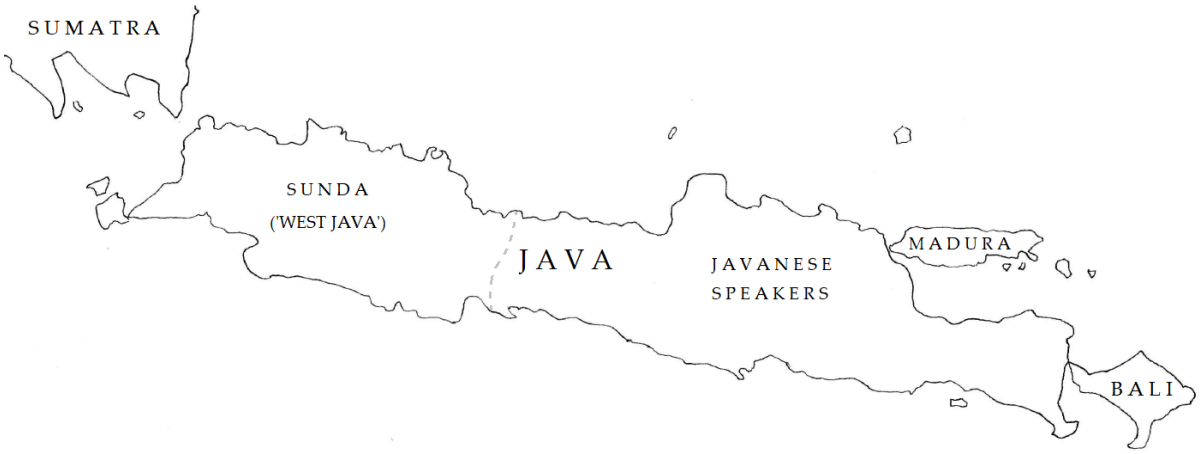

Fig. 0.2. A sketch map of Java.

Volcanism in West Java has had a powerful impact on the region’s economic and agriculture development. The ejecta from Sunda’s volcanoes is predominantly andesite, richer in silica and more liable to cause volcanic explosions when compared to the more basaltic lava and consequently gentler eruptions in Central and East Java’s volcanoes. There are different physiographic regions in West Java, but overall Sunda’s soils are poorer in nutrients than those found in the rest of the island as a result of this more acidic andesitic ejecta (Cribb 2000:19; Whitten, Soeriaatmadja, and Afiff 1996:95). Volcanic explosions have transformed the landscape since the time *Bujangga Manik* was composed, and other changes in the landscape over the centuries can also be attributed to volcanic activity; soft volcanic rock causes Java’s short rivers to silt up easily, and their deltas tend to grow outwards from the shore while their banks narrow. Demak in Central Java – a key player in the Islamisation of Java c.1500 – was once a coastal city, but it is now over twenty kilometres from the sea. The river mouth at Banten, reported by the Portuguese to be wide and navigable in the 1510s, is now large enough only for small boats to pass (Cribb 2000:14). Such progradation of the coastline is common in islands with high rainfall and a tall mountain cordillera so close to the shore; a similar situation prevails on the south coast of New Guinea, for instance (Skelly and David 2017:xx).

Sunda is a rainy land. Bogor, the medieval capital of the Sunda kingdom, has been said to experience 322 thunderstorms a year – a world record, it is claimed – but these storms are normally represented by heavy rain rather than lightning (Cribb 2000:21; Vlekke 1945:xiv). Java is just seven degrees south of the equator, and seasonal variation manifests less in temperature differences and more in wind direction and rainfall. The dry season in East Java can last as many as nine months in the middle of the year; in much of West Java it lasts less than a month (Whitten, Soeriaatmadja, and Afiff 1996:124). Government studies in agroclimate label the region around Bogor 'permanently wet'; much of the rest of West Java is classed as 'permanently moist'. Only the northern plain near Jakarta is categorised as 'seasonally dry' (Whitten, Soeriaatmadja, and Afiff 1996:128). This near-constant rainfall means that the soil is leached of its nutrients more quickly than in Central and East Java (Cribb 2000:19). Combined with the already nutrient-poor ejecta of Sunda's volcanoes, it is not surprising that the region had a lower premodern population density than the Javanese-speaking parts of the island.

The landscape *Bujangga Manik*'s ascetic would have wandered through in the fifteenth century would have been more verdant, wilder, and potentially more hostile to a lone traveller than modern Java. The island once counted among its wildlife a number of large mammals, including tigers (*Panthera tigris sondaica*, Sd *maung*), leopards (*Panthera pardus melas*, Sd *maung tutul*), Javan rhinoceroses (*Rhinoceros sondaicus*, Sd *badak*), and banteng (a species of wild cattle – *Bos javanicus*, Sd *banténg*). All survived in large numbers into the nineteenth century, when Dutch and local hunters contributed to their near extermination. Elephants (*Elephas maximus sondaicus*, Sd *gajah*) also used to live in Java, and they are mentioned in *Sanghyang Siksakandang Karesian* (SSKK), an Old Sundanese text whose oldest dated manuscript was copied in 1518, as having been tamed to serve in war, a practice inspired directly by Indian traditions (Trautmann 2015:ch.7). Monkeys, of which Java is home to several species, are mentioned as a hazard on the archipelago's roads in several medieval texts written by foreigners, though they are rarely mentioned as such in Javanese or Sundanese works. It is remarkable that none of these potentially dangerous animals are recorded directly in *Bujangga Manik*, standing in marked contrast to the more fraught portrayal of the landscape in later texts, like the seventeenth-century Javanese Islamic narrative *Serat Jatiswara* (Behrend 1987). Volcanic activity *per se* is also noticeably absent (although the poem is one of the oldest texts to mention Krakatau [OSd *Rakata*] by name). Indeed, the only hazard mentioned on the road is fatigue (BM 60-61).

0.2.1 The Sunda Kingdom

Sunda was home to at least two named kingdoms in the Middle Ages. These are, however, rather poorly documented and, in contrast to the relief-covered temples and other ruins ('*candi*') of Central and East Java, famed archaeological sites in Sunda are few and far between. The first kingdom in the region was known as Tārūmanagara, the oldest polity attested on the island of Java, dating to the early/mid-first millennium. The connection between this early kingdom and the later polity of Sunda,

which is first evidenced epigraphically in the tenth century and which survived into the sixteenth, is not known precisely; we have little to go on aside from folklore. Folklore also posits a third Sundanese kingdom known as Galuh, centred in eastern Priangan (as in the *Wawacan Sajarah Galuh*, a pseudo-historical text written in Ciamis between 1847 and 1851 [Ekadjati 1996:125]); all the early evidence suggests, however, that this was a district of Sunda and not a kingdom.

In this section I will tease apart the layers of oral tradition and contemporary evidence to show what we know, and how we know what we know, about medieval Sunda. It would be hard to overstate the importance of oral tradition in the public understanding of Sundanese history in West Java, or its significance in structuring early interpretations (e.g. Raffles 1817), particularly as manuscripts and inscriptions only began to be studied by outsiders towards the end of the nineteenth century. I will begin here with a discussion of the archaeological and documentary records, addressing some of the persistent framings of medieval Sunda derived from oral tradition afterwards.

Physical Remains

West Java does not abound in ruins and inscriptions as Central and East Java do. While the earliest inscriptions in Java, dated to the fifth century on palaeographic grounds, have been found in the west, they are few in number and refer enigmatically to a kingdom, Tārūmanagara, based on the Citarum ('indigo river', from Sd *tarum* 'indigo' and *ci-*, a cliticised form of *cai* 'water'). A small number of *candi*s[5] remain from this period, but even those – like Cangkuang, near Garut, and Batujaya, in Karawang, on the coast – are hard to date. Batujaya appears to have been built in the early first millennium, and is thus around a thousand years older than *Bujangga Manik*, while Cangkuang seems to be somewhat younger. A mix of Buddhist and Hindu ritual objects have been found at these sites, many of which can be seen in the Museum Sri Baduga in Bandung.

Other Sundanese archaeological sites are more enigmatic and harder to interpret than these recognisably *candi*-ish structures. Such sites are scattered throughout West Java and typically consist of rammed-earth embankments and standing stones; some of the stones are inscribed, though most are not. Many of these stones appear to represent *lingga*s (Skt *liṅga*) – aniconic or phallic representations of the god Śiva (OSd *Siwa*) (Blurton 1992:76-84) – but it is difficult to say whether *all* of them represent *lingga*s and to what extent indigenous religious beliefs melded with Śaivist practice in their erection. Standing stones are put up elsewhere in the Austronesian world, a practice hyperdiffusionist anthropologists in the early twentieth century dubiously tried to connect to a global 'Megalithic' tradition (W. J. Perry 1918; Bellwood 1997:153). Some of the stones are reminiscent of standing stones in Austronesian-speaking southern Taiwan, for instance, and of the sacrificial stones encountered in many parts of eastern Indonesia (e.g. Keo in Flores, discussed in Forth 2001:58-61). It may be that

[5] The Indonesian word *candi* is now used to refer to almost any stone structure from the pre-Islamic period, whether Hindu, Buddhist, or otherwise.

Sundanese people were already erecting standing stones and re-analysed such stones as representing Śiva after contact with Indian religions.

We know that some of these stones represented *lingga*s because some of them say so – they are inscribed with the word *lingga*. These inscribed stones are found only at a small number of sites, the most notable of which is known as Astana Gedé ('Great Cemetery'), about a kilometre outside Kawali in *kab.* Ciamis, West Java, where there are six inscriptions, most barely a sentence in length, along with the remains of probable noble residences and other ritual features. These are now inside a well-maintained complex in a patch of forest. There are several standing stones – some labelled as *lingga*s, some clearly intended as such – and a sort of altar, the *Palinggih*, which local folklore maintains was used as the coronation stone of the 'kings' of Galuh or Sunda, as well as a deep pool surrounded by stones some hundred metres or so from the main site and claimed to have been used by the royal family as a bathing place. The stones are believed to have been erected and inscribed in the fourteenth century, although there are no inscribed dates at the site. Several Islamic tombs at Kawali attest to its importance into the sixteenth century, when Muslim missionaries were reportedly sent from the Sultanate of Cirebon on the north coast of Java to convert the Sundanese to Islam. A survey of the Astana Gedé site can be found in a short book by Nina Herlina (2017; see also Hasan Djafar 1995).

Other sites are even less clearly dateable. Some are probably prehistoric, as with the Taman Purbakala Cipari site in *kab.* Kuningan, where there are some stone box or slab graves (Bellwood 1997:290), and the site at Gunung Padang (*kab*. Cianjur), often believed to have some relationship with the Sunda kingdom but which is more likely to have been built before the Common Era (Bellwood 1997:290).[6] A little down the road from Kawali is a site known as Karang Kamulyan, which consists of a set of undated and frankly mysterious stones in various formations. These formations have been given an equally enigmatic set of names (e.g. *Sang Hyang Bedil* 'The Holy Gun'). The similarity of many of the stones with those at Kawali, and the fact that it was probably a rammed-earth fort, ostensibly like Kawali (Panji Topan Bahagia, p.c.), suggests that the site is also possibly dateable to the fourteenth century. A discussion of the possible function of Karang Kamulyan may be found in Munandar (2017:67-102). These sites appear to have been in use for long periods, though, and so-called 'megalithic' Sundanese statues often show Hindu influence; one statue from Cikapundung, northeast of Bandung, now in the Museum Sri Baduga, even bears a date equivalent to 1341 CE (Bellwood 1997:290).[7] Miksic (2010:276, citing N. J. Krom) says that this art style derived in large part from Central Javanese-era (c.700-928) precedents without later East Javanese influence.

[6] Gunung Padang has the dubious distinction of having been featured on an episode of the History Channel's *Ancient Aliens* (season 9, episode 10, originally aired in 2015), a TV show that purports to reveal evidence of alien contact in prehistory.
[7] The museum calls the statue *arca tipe Pajajaran*, a 'Pajajaran-type statue'.

Inscriptions

The language of the Kawali inscriptions is Old Sundanese, evidently closely related to the variety found in *Bujangga Manik*, but in fact the earliest inscriptions in West Java are in Sanskrit and, aside from place names, Sundanese is unattested until the late Middle Ages. Sunda is infrequently encountered in medieval travel texts, and the extant literature in Old Sundanese amounts to a handful of works and inscriptions on both stone and copperplate. Only a couple of the inscriptions may be securely dated, as with the Rumatak inscription (dated 1333 Śaka, equal to 1411 CE[8]): most dates have been established by comparison with Sundanese oral traditions recorded in the nineteenth century, as with the stones at Kawali.

The date of the most famous of all Sundanese inscriptions, the Batutulis inscription (aka 'Batutulis Bogor' inscription) now within the city limits of Bogor, is in doubt due to poor preservation of the relevant letters. The chronogram is a *candrasengkala*, meaning that the date is represented by words that stand for numbers in a positional notation system, a cryptic and traditionally Javanese way of inscribing dates based on the Śaka era (see Raffles 1817:I:416 for an early description and van der Meij 2017:443-446 for a list of terms). The word representing the century on the Batutulis is difficult to read and quite controversial; I favour an interpretation placing it in the early fourteenth century (1255 Śaka, or 1333 CE), making it the oldest extant text in Sundanese, although an alternative interpretation dates it to 1455 Śaka (1533 CE), which would make it the latest significant non-Islamic inscription on the island of Java (Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006:1). This stone is *in situ* and is accessible from the centre of Bogor by public transport. It is treated as a sacred object and visitors must remove their shoes before entering the small hut that now houses it. There are other stones at the site, including two that must be *lingga*s and one with a triangular indentation that is interpreted as a *yoni* (an aniconic/vulvic representation of the goddess Śakti).

The total number of Old Sundanese inscriptions of any significant length is in the low double digits. Few have wholly legible Śaka dates and must be dated on grounds of content and palaeography. The Kabantenan copperplates (Jakarta, Museum Nasional, inv. nos. E.42-E.45), perhaps the most significant of these, likely date to within a century or so of the Batutulis. While some inscriptions have come to light only recently, including the fascinating Nagara Pageuh copperplate inscription (Aditia Gunawan, p.c.), several key inscriptions have disappeared, including the Kebonkopi II stone inscription of 932 (854 Śaka), which was transliterated and photographed before the Second World War but disappeared in the tumult (Zahorka 2007:30). The inscription is a brief text in a mix of Old Malay and Old Javanese discovered near Bogor that provides the earliest-known use of the name *Sunda* in the

[8] The Śaka calendar is a solar one of South Asian origin, and Śaka dates can be converted into Common Era ones reasonably easily: the calendar begins in 78 CE, and to derive the Common Era date one simply adds 78 to the Śaka numerals (e.g. 1400 Śaka = ~1478 CE). As the Śaka year begins on Gregorian March 21st/22nd, the year is approximately established by this simple method. See Casparis (1978).

region (Bosch 1941). The short text indicates that Sunda was a kingdom and not merely a region or ethnic group, as it had its own king (*hāji Sunda*, from OJv *haji* 'king, prince' – OJED 572:9).[A3] The use of Old Malay may point to some sort of connection with the Sumatran kingdom of Śrīvijaya (Andaya 2001:321; Zahorka 2007:31).

Manuscripts

According to Aditia Gunawan, there are 2058 surviving Sundanese manuscripts in archives and libraries around the world, the greatest number stored in the PNRI in Jakarta.[9] Old Sundanese palm-leaf manuscripts – vaguely defined as those in 'Old Sundanese' language and script and usually dealing with non/pre-Islamic topics – make up a small minority of these (see Gunawan and Holil 2010 for an overview). The extant Old Sundanese manuscripts may be divided into prose works and poems, and further into texts written on *lontar* (for ordinary use) and those written on *gebang* (for storage in an archive – Sd *kabuyutan*). These texts span the period between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries.

A list of the longer Old Sundanese texts known to scholars can be found on *Kairaga.com*, a website dedicated to the study of Sundanese manuscripts run by Ilham Nurwansah,[10] as well as in Gunawan and Holil (2010). Similar (but less complete) lists can also be found in Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006). The most prominent prose works noted in the latter are *Carita Parahiyangan* and *Fragmen Carita Parahiyangan* (Jakarta, PNRI, L406), narrative histories of Sundanese royalty dated to the sixteenth century (Atja and Danasasmita 1981b; Noorduyn 1962); *Sanghyang Siksakandang Karesian* (or 'SSKK' – PNRI, L630), a compendium of knowledge on *gebang* leaves with a colophon dating the text to 1518 (Atja and Danasasmita 1981c); *Amanat dari Galunggung*[11] (Jakarta, PNRI, L632, probably fifteenth-century), a set of religious instructions given by one Rakéyan Darmasiksa, only six leaves of which survive (Atja and Danasasmita 1981a; Danasasmita et al. 1987); *Kawih Paningkes* (PNRI, L419), a text containing religious advice; *Jatiniskala* (PNRI, L422), another set of religious instructions, this time for attaining 'the true state of immateriality'; and *Ratu Pakuan* (PNRI, L410), a historical text (Atja 1970). Other manuscripts are, however, frequently brought to light by archivists and philologists, particularly in the last decade; another manuscript of the *Sanghyang Siksakandang Karesian* has recently reemerged in the PNRI, this time on *lontar* leaves (L624 – see Nurwansyah 2020b) and another fascinating prose text, *Sanghyang Sasana Mahaguru* (PNRI, L621), is currently being edited by Aditia Gunawan (see his earlier version – Gunawan 2009). Texts written in Sundanese scriptoria but in Old

[9] As outlined in an article on his Academia.edu page: Gunawan, Aditia. 2011. Naskah Sunda: Khazanah, akses, dan identitas. *Academia.edu.* https://www.academia.edu/5533911/_2011_Naskah_Sunda_Khazanah_Akses_dan_Identitas. (Accessed 19-08-2020.)

[10] Nurwansah, Ilham. 2020. Penelitian Naskah Sunda. *Kairaga*. https://web.archive.org/save/https://www.kairaga.com/naskah-sunda/penelitian?fbclid=IwAR2FY3mFBBb1_vX0vGF_GdsU1rocKd5I8wetTRXFfC6p1LmvZs8Gad0ANUE. (Accessed 11-08-2020).

[11] The title of this text is an Indonesian description of the contents – there is no title attached to the *kropak* itself.

Javanese are also known, as with the *Sanghyang Hayu*, a religious text in the same inked script as the *gebang*-leaf SSKK, dated 1431 Śaka (1509 CE). The *Dharmma Pātañjala*, an Old Javanese version of the *Yoga Sūtras of Patañjali* with a colophon dating it to 1467 CE (now Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Schoemaan I 21), is perhaps the most famous of these (Acri 2011), although there are others, including a recension of the Old Javanese *Bhīma Svarga* (Gunawan 2016).

Bujangga Manik (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Jav. b.3. (R)) is one of several surviving Old Sundanese poems in octosyllabic metre. Others include *The Sons of Rama and Rawana* (named by Noorduyn and Teeuw, aka *Pantun Ramayana* – originally Jakarta, PNRI, L1102, now in the Sri Baduga Museum, Bandung), an Old Sundanese narrative poem based on the lore of the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* (Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006); *Sri Ajnyana* (Jakarta, PNRI, L625), telling the tale of a god who for his sins has been made to wander the mundane world; *Séwaka Darma* (Jakarta, PNRI, L408), a narrative poem written by a nun about a student's lessons in attaining liberation (*kalepasan*), probably dated to the fifteenth century; several of the Ciburuy texts, known from photographs and diplomatic transcriptions of leaves from Sundanese *kabuyutan* (archives or repositories of old texts), of unknown age; and *Poernawidjaja's Hellevaart*[12] (two manuscripts of which, Jakarta, PNRI, L416 and L423, survive), apparently an eighteenth-century adaptation of the Old Javanese *Kuñjarakarṇa*, a copy of which from Merapi-Merbabu is one of the oldest Javanese manuscripts in existence (fourteenth century – Casparis 1975:94; Kern 1922; van der Molen 1983). Together these Old Sundanese texts reveal a largely Hindu kingdom ruled from Pakuan, modern-day Bogor, and influenced by Javanese language and literature.

In addition to these local manuscripts and inscriptions useful information is also to be found in descriptions written by foreigners to the region. The account of Sunda written by the Chinese administrator Zhào Rǔkuò (趙汝适, aka *Rǔguā*) in c.1225 is the oldest of these. Zhào says that the people of Sunda 'have a penchant for robbing and plundering, [so] foreign merchants rarely come to trade'.[13] He also notes, however, that Sunda produced fine black pepper (胡椒, *Piper nigrum*), better than in East Java, a point corroborated almost three centuries later by Duarte Barbosa (2000[1516]:382) and by the terms of 1522 treaty between Sunda and Portugal, in which a thousand sacks of pepper (*mill saquos de pimenta*) were among the tribute supposed to have been sent from Sunda to the Portuguese (Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Gav. 15, mç. 8, n.º 2). Barbosa says that the other major 'commodities' traded in Sunda's ports were enslaved human beings (*escravos*). Portuguese sources, principally Tomé Pires, tell us that Sunda possessed several ports of international standing, including

[12] 'Purnawijaya's journey to Hell.' The Dutch title was given by Pleyte (1914).
[13] See my 2019 translation of the text from Zhào's *Zhūfān Zhì* (諸蕃志): West, A. J. 2019. Zhao Rukuo's account of Sunda. *Medium*. https://web.archive.org/web/20191222110824/https://medium.com/@siwaratrikalpa/zhao-rukuos-account-of-sunda-748ab2c0f40b?. (Accessed 11-08-2020).

Jakarta and Banten, and, oddly, was known for the volume of its commerce with the Maldives (*ilhas de Diva* – Cortesão 1944:172; Pires 2018:192; Noorduyn 1976) – a claim finding some corroboration in François Pyrard de Laval's (admittedly later) report of a ship from Sunda, filled with spices and the largest he had ever seen, wrecked in the Maldives (1619:270-271).

Pantun and Pajajaran

Much of what is thought to be known of early Sundanese history is derived from later oral traditions, chiefly comprising the *carita pantun* (Sd *carita* 'story', from Skt 'deeds, adventures' and Sd *pantun* 'rhyme'), tales in a generally octosyllabic metre told by a lone storyteller accompanied by his own zither over the course of a single night (Meijer 1891; Rosidi 1973; Williams 2001:39-40, 145; van Zanten 1984:290; 2008). Most are romances. Such stories have only been set down in writing since the nineteenth century, although *pantun* existed in pre-colonial and pre-Islamic times: the words *pantun*, *ma(n)tun* 'to tell *pantun* stories', and *prepantun* 'a *pantun* storyteller', as well as a list of titles given to *pantun* stories, can be found in *Sanghyang Siksakandang Karesian*, the aforementioned sixteenth-century Old Sundanese prose work (Atja and Danasasmita 1981c:10, 14). The exploits of pre-Islamic Sundanese royals represent the main subject matter of such stories, as in the classic *pantun Mundinglaya di Kusumah*, although there are others that recount the adventures of gods who have fallen from heaven, as with *Lutung Kasarung*, the story of a deity who falls to earth and becomes a monkey (specifically a Javan lutung, *Trachypithecus auratus*) (Eringa 1949; van Zanten 1984:291).

The royal figure most commonly encountered in *carita pantun* is Siliwangi, King (MSd *prabu*) of Pajajaran. In such stories Pajajaran (Sd 'place of rows/alignment'), the name given in oral tradition to the Sunda kingdom, is a kind of Camelot, and Siliwangi is its Arthur: a powerful and morally upright king whose rule represents a golden age. Siliwangi's folkloric importance is so great that his name has been given to a regiment of the Indonesian army as well as to countless roads, shops, and companies throughout West Java. Siliwangi is mentioned in *Bujangga Manik* under the name *Silih Wangi* (BM 321 and 733), and it is apparent from these references that he was a legendary (and certainly deceased) figure by the time of the poem's composition in the fifteenth century. This conflicts somewhat with Siliwangi's traditional characterisation.

Interpretation of *pantun* has changed over time: In the nineteenth century, Siliwangi was believed to have lived in the thirteenth century, as evidenced by London, British Library, MSS Malay F 1, a Malay-language text presenting the genealogy of the kings of Pajajaran written in Batavia in 1887.[14] Jonathan Rigg's 1862 *A Dictionary of the Sunda Language of Java*, an important source for Sundanese language and literature, and one the only sources to have preserved the name 'Bujangga Manik' prior to the modern analysis of MS Jav. b.3. (R), also places Siliwangi in the thirteenth century,

[14] http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=mss_malay_f_1_f001r (accessed 14-01-2019).

dating the founding of Pajajaran to coincide roughly with the establishment of the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit in 1293 (Rigg 1862:333). In modern times, however, attempts have been made to connect Siliwangi with the *Sri Baduga Maharaja* mentioned in the Batutulis inscription and to claim that the inscription is of sixteenth-century date (as in Zahorka 2007; see also Danasasmita 1973; Pleyte 1911). In some *pantun* Siliwangi leads the Sundanese to convert to Islam; if these traditional stories were correct the king could not have reigned two centuries or more before the first large-scale conversions, and so the dates appear to have been emended to fit better with the newly invented tradition. The evidence for Siliwangi is assessed in an article by Agus Aris Munandar (2017:1-42), who concludes that it is not possible to identify him with any known Sundanese king. The legend of Pajajaran is nonetheless found in several colonial European accounts of Sunda, including Raffles's *History of Java* (1817) and Rigg's 1862 *Dictionary*, both written before the decipherment of the Old Sundanese inscriptions and manuscripts – which perhaps shows how important the *pantun* tradition has been in the historiography of Sunda.

The name 'Pajajaran' is recorded in some medieval inscriptions (specifically the Kabantenan copperplates and Batutulis inscription) – but, while the word 'Sunda' appears several times in *Bujangga Manik*, the name 'Pajajaran' never does. On the Ciéla map, an eighteenth-century Sundanese map in Cacarakan (modern Javanese) script from Garut, West Java, *Pajajaran* is the name of a town identifiable with Bogor; it is not the name of a kingdom (Panji Topan Bahagia, p.c.). In sixteenth-century Portuguese sources the kingdom is known as *Çumda* (*vel sim*), and in the earliest Javanese sources, too, *Sunda*/*Suṇḍa* and not Pajajaran is found (as in *Deśawarṇana* [42.2], *Kidung Sunda* [Berg 1927], and others – Ekadajti 1995:7).[15] On the Miller Atlas (aka 'Atlas Miller' or 'Lopo Homem-Reineis Atlas' - Paris, BnF, GE DD-683), a set of Portuguese maps dating to 1519, the area is labelled *SVNDA INSVLA*. The Selden Map – Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Selden Supra 105, a seventeenth-century Chinese map depicting the coastlines of China and Southeast Asia, ostensibly based on earlier material (Brook 2013) – gives *shùndā* (順搭) as the name of West Java, and the aforementioned thirteenth-century account by Zhào Rǔkuò refers to Sunda as the country of *Xīntuō* (新拖國 Yuán-era Mandarin: sin-tʰɔ [Pulleyblank 1991]). 'Sunda' also appears in a 1489-90 seamanship manual by the Arabian navigator Aḥmad ibn Mājid (أحمد بن ماجد), as both *Sundah bāri* (سنده بارى), the Strait of Sunda between Java and southeastern Sumatra, and *Jabal Sundah* (جبل سنده), 'Mount Sunda' (Tibbetts 1981:498).[16] Evidently *Sunda* was the most common name for the region we now call West Java and for the kingdom established there in the Middle Ages in both foreign and local texts. Galuh, supposedly a kingdom in the east of West Java and referenced sporadically in some Old Javanese inscriptions and Old Sundanese

[15] In later Javanese chronicles, *Pajajaran* became an important name and concept, and is used consistently in the *babad*s as the name for Sunda. It was even used by the Javanese as a way of referring metonymically to the Dutch, whose capital in the archipelago, Batavia, was in what had been Sundanese territory (Ricklefs 1974:371).
[16] The precise referent of the phrase 'Sunda Mountain' is unclear, although Tibbetts presents several theories.

manuscripts, does not appear in these foreigners' accounts, and the impression they give is of a unitary Sundanese kingdom. This is also the impression given by *Bujangga Manik*. Pajajaran appears to have been one of the names by which the capital was known.

It has been claimed that Sunda's capital shifted between different towns, most notably Kawali in Sunda's east and Bogor (Pakuan, Pajajaran, or Pakañcilan) in the west, resulting from a dependence on dry rice – a crop which requires fields to lie fallow for long periods, especially in mountainous regions of poor soils like West Java (Andaya and Andaya 2015:105; Ekadjati 1995:6; Miksic 2010:278). As there is little evidence of any site other than Pakuan having been designated a capital by the Sundanese, however, this seems rather unlikely; Kawali probably was not a capital, and the word *prebu*, applied in the Kawali inscriptions to the area's ruler(s), probably did not mean 'king' (Noorduyn 1976:470). In any case, the capital seems to have been known colloquially by the name *dayeuh* 'city' in Sundanese, perhaps from proto-Austronesian *daya 'upriver, towards the interior' (ACD 7210). Tomé Pires, the aforementioned sixteenth-century Portuguese apothecary, referred to the capital as *Dayo*, placing it 'two days' journey' from *Calapa* (modern-day Jakarta), fitting the location of Bogor (Cortesão 1944:173; Pires 2018:194).[17]

Folk interpretations of the past can be extremely flexible and it is not wise to rely on oral tradition when interpreting the evidence of six centuries ago.[18] *Carita pantun* cannot be considered to faithfully record the politics and way of life of the medieval Sundanese, and although the tales are invaluable documents of later Sundanese thought and culture in themselves, I suggest that we would be making an orientalist mistake if we assumed that Sundanese *pantun* were inherently more reliable than, say, European oral traditions in the reconstruction of the medieval past.

Sunda and Java

Sunda may have been a Javanese vassal under the Siṅhasari kings in the thirteenth century (as stated in the *Deśawarṇana* [42.2]), but it seems to have remained politically independent of Java in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Sunda is not listed as a vassal of Majapahit, the powerful late-medieval Javanese state (1292-c.1500?), in either the Classical Malay *Hikayat Raja Pasai* (thought to date to c.1390) or the *Deśawarṇana*, composed by Prapañca in 1365 (Jones 1987; Robson 1995). Both texts list toponyms in eastern and western Indonesia as Javanese dominions, including Malayu, Maluku,

[17] In fact the distance is walkable in half that time if one walks hard, as the Urang Kanékés still do. It is about an hour by slow commuter train from Gambir in the centre of Jakarta.

[18] Even where sources are plentiful folk memories can be swiftly transformed – see, for instance, the change in attitudes to Richard III of England (r.1483-1485) in the early twenty-first century, after his skeleton had been exhumed from a car park in Leicester. Richard III had been thought of as a cruel, murderous hunchback, but his exhumation prompted thousands of people to line the streets to welcome his remains into Leicester Cathedral in 2015.

and Banda – but in the late Middle Ages Sunda appears to have been claimed by nobody except the Sundanese.

However, according to a small number of Javanese and Sundanese texts, notably the probably sixteenth-century *Carita Parahiyangan* (Atja and Danasasmita 1981b), *Kidung Sunda* (Berg 1927), and *Pararaton* (a text with a complex history – see Sastrawan 2020), an important conflict took place between Java and Sunda in the year 1357. The *Pararaton* refers to this as the *pa-Suṇḍa Bubat*, and it is usually known today as the Bubat Incident or the Battle of Bubat. The premise of all the accounts is that Hayam Wuruk, the Javanese king, was supposed to marry a Sundanese princess, but a disagreement occurred when she arrived at Bubat, north of the Majapahit capital (mentioned incidentally in BM 801). The *Carita Parahiyangan* says that *pan prangrang di Majapahit* 'so [the common people] fought in Majapahit' because of a refusal to marry (*mumul nu lakian di Sunda*). The account in the *Kidung Sunda* is considerably more elaborate and suggests that some among the Sundanese delegation egregiously insulted Gajah Mada, Hayam Wuruk's prime minister. All the Sundanese are then said to have been killed. This is not mentioned in the *Deśawarṇana* nor, for that matter, in *Bujangga Manik*, but the story's appearance in both Javanese and Sundanese texts strengthens its claim to truth. The event is often claimed to have coloured Java-Sunda relations into the modern era (see Muhibbuddin 2018).

Sunda was nonetheless receptive to influences from Java in the Middle Ages, and the depiction of Java (*Jawa*) in *Bujangga Manik* suggests that it was considered a civilised place; to 'speak Javanese' (*carék Jawa*) appears to have been a mark of sophistication and an attractive characteristic in a noble spouse (BM 328). As noted above, manuscripts in Old Javanese are known to have been written in Sunda in the fifteenth century, and the account in *Bujangga Manik* suggests that travelling east to study at Javanese sanctuaries was a possibility for Sundanese people at the time.

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Sunda's early years are murky due to a lack of epigraphical evidence, but by the fourteenth century it appears that Sunda was an independent kingdom based at or near modern-day Bogor, strongly influenced but never politically dominated by the more populous Javanese to the east. Black pepper and enslaved people were reportedly its main exports, although neither features frequently in local texts. The upper crust were what we would now probably call Hindus, as Hindu deities and practices are referenced in the surviving Old Sundanese texts; Prapañca seems to imply in the *Deśawarṇana* (16.2) that Buddhism was not practised in Sunda in his day, and certainly few identifiably Buddhist artefacts are known from the region after the Tārūmanagara period. Pires reports that by the time of the 1513 Portuguese expedition to Java the Sundanese would not allow many Muslims into their country for fear that they would do to Sunda what had already happened in Java (Cortesão 1944:173; Pires 2018:195) – a fear that would ultimately prove justified. Having previously agreed to an alliance with Portugal in 1522, commemorated by the erection of a *padrão* at Kalapa, now in the Museum Nasional (inv. no.

18423/26), Sunda was conquered by the armies of coastal Java's Muslim polities in a piecemeal conflict between the 1520s and 1570s (Zahorka 2007:47ff.). The Banten Sultanate, based in what had been Sundanese territory, completed the conquest in 1579 (Cribb 2000:89).

The sparse historical record, overwhelmingly royal and spiritual, tells us only very little of what people ate and drank, what kinds of families they lived in, what laws they followed and how they followed them, or the status of gender non-conformists and religious minorities. There is no significant numismatic evidence. There are no extant records of court cases or soup recipes and no songbooks, liturgies, or martial arts treatises. The texture of life in medieval Sunda must be inferred from references in what survives, and *Bujangga Manik* is a particularly interesting source in this regard. In the next section, I will turn my attention to the theoretical backdrop behind my analysis of the text, the essential principle behind which is that Sunda – and the Indo-Malaysian archipelago more generally – was part of a much wider medieval world that stretched across the entire Afro-Eurasian hemisphere.

0.3 Approaching Bujangga Manik

Bujangga Manik is a terse text and its 1630 surviving octosyllabic lines, containing at most six phonological words apiece, do not allow much elaboration. The poem is nonetheless surprisingly informative about life and times in late-medieval Java. In Parts III-VI of this work I will attempt to place *Bujangga Manik* in a wider medieval context. Below I will discuss the nature of this contextualisation and justify the use of the oft-controversial term 'medieval' in this work.[19]

By the 'Middle Ages' I mean simply 'Afro-Eurasia before the Columbian Exchange'; *Bujangga Manik* is a 'medieval' work because it was written before Afro-Eurasia and the Americas came together as a globe in the wake of Christopher Columbus' first voyage in 1492 and, more pertinently to the local situation in Southeast Asia, before the arrival of the first Portuguese ships in 1509. The historical importance of *Bujangga Manik* lies in the fact that it was written before Southeast Asia was reshaped by the introduction of new plants, animals, and pathogens from the Americas – a process accompanied by the establishment of the first European colonies and a backlash from Islamic polities in the region, both of which led to radical changes in life and culture in Sunda and elsewhere. Island Southeast Asia has been transformed over the last five centuries by this combination of colonialism, Islam, and the Columbian Exchange; this transformation, combined with the paucity of manuscript texts, has meant that the world in which *Bujangga Manik* was composed is no longer easily accessible. In my view this

[19] The term has been applied to Indonesia in the past – Vlekke, for instance, speaks of 1045-1222 as 'the Javanese Middle Ages' (1945:39), similar to Wisseman Christie's application of it (1993) – but inconsistently and with local rather than hemispheric framing.

world is properly described as 'medieval' instead of merely 'traditional', 'pre-colonial', or 'pre-modern': This was a hemisphere of increasing interaction, as will be seen in the analysis of the material culture of Sunda as described in *Bujangga Manik*, but there was little-to-no interaction between the Americas and Afro-Eurasia at the time. The relative lack of textual evidence of everyday life from the tropics means that we must be more creative in our methods than historians of the temperate world when attempting to access this medieval Southeast Asian world (as I argue in A. J. West 2019), but it also means that works like *Bujangga Manik* are more important witnesses to it than they may seem *prima facie*. I will begin here by explaining what I mean by 'Hemispheric Middle Ages' before examining some more practical aspects of the contextualisation of this Old Sundanese poem.

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0.3.1 The Hemispheric Middle Ages

When *Bujangga Manik* was composed in the mid-to-late fifteenth century CE, Afro-Eurasia was coalescing into a single cultural-economic space in which long-distance trade and intercontinental cultural/linguistic connections were unexceptional. Africa, Eurasia, and island Southeast Asia were linked to varying degrees in disease, commerce, religion, and language, among much else. Cloves (*Syzygium aromaticum*) and nutmeg (*Myristica fragrans*) – commodities from Maluku and Banda respectively, both in eastern Indonesia – routinely found their way into texts of all kinds in medieval Europe, China, North Africa, and the Middle East, as did Sumatran camphor and Javan cubebs (Figure 0.3). Before 1500 it would have been possible to find a speaker or reader of Arabic in Oxford, Delhi, Beijing, Kilwa Kisiwani, Gresik, and Ternate, not to mention the Middle East and Central Asia. Travel between all these centres was not unusual: in the fifteenth century several Europeans – among them Niccolò de' Conti in the 1430s and Ludovico di Varthema at the tail end of the century – made well-documented voyages to India, Africa, Central Asia, and China, and the so-called 'treasure ships' (寶船 *bǎochuán*) under Admiral Zhèng Hé (鄭和) were voyaging as far as East Africa and Mecca up to the 1420s (Bracciolini 2004[1448]; Levathes 1994). Undocumented voyages of similar distance and duration must have been immeasurably more common than the sparse textual record suggests. Southeast Asia was a lynchpin of this hemispheric interconnectivity, not ancillary to it and, indeed, it is commonplace to suppose that Malay or other Indo-Malaysian sailors were a driving force behind the Indian Ocean/South China Sea trade that made up a significant chunk of the hemispheric economy at this time (see e.g. Hall 1985; Hoogervorst 2011; see also the literature on the 'southernization' of the medieval world – Allsen 2019:6; Shaffer 1994).

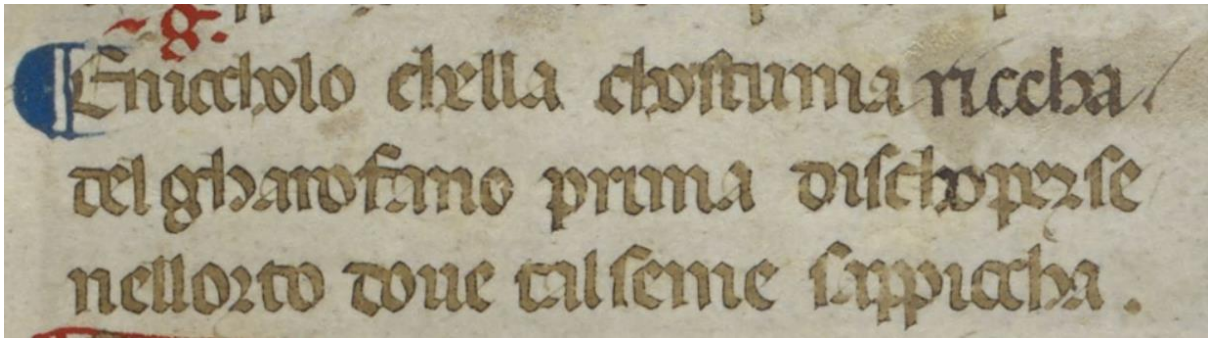

Figure 0.3 – Cloves (*gharofano*) from eastern Indonesia appear in Dante's *Inferno* (1308-1320 – canto XXIX, line 128), where a decadent new use for them in roasting meat is said to have condemned Niccolò Bonsignori of Siena to Hell. London, BL, Egerton MS 943, f.53r.

Given these inter- and intracontinental connections, the 'Global Middle Ages' has emerged as a rising movement in medieval studies – expanding the concept of the Middle Ages to encompass the whole world rather than merely Europe and the Mediterranean.[20] There has been criticism of the term as Eurocentric, based as it is on Petrarch and Bruni's notion of a 'Middle' period between 'Classical' antiquity and the 'Renaissance' – and the word 'medieval' is of course often used as a pejorative. 'Medieval' and 'Middle Ages' nonetheless serve as simple and *comparatively* content-free shorthands for the period up to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Columbian Exchange and inchoate European imperialism transformed the planet at large. These terms are already in common use in the historiography of the Middle East and Africa, and arguments have also been put forward for regularising the use of 'medieval' in the historiography of South Asian (see Ali 2014), where traditionally the term has been used in reference to an 'Islamic' period beginning in the early second millennium and continuing in some cases until the Battle of Plassey and the fall of the Mughals (emphatically *not* how I am using the word here). Ultimately 'medieval' is preferable to any alternatives yet suggested for referring to Afro-Eurasia before the Columbian Exchange, and it has an added advantage in Southeast Asia, where periodisation has too often taken religion as a focal point (e.g. the 'Hindu-Buddhist' or 'pre-Islamic' period) in a region where religious syncretism has long been the norm and where Muslims, Hindus, and heathens of various stripes – and even Jews and Christians – have mingled for centuries.

I too take issue with the idea that the Middle Ages was 'Global', however – not because the term is inappropriately European but because the medieval world was emphatically *hemispheric*. Before Columbus, and with the exception of short-term contact between medieval Scandinavians and pre-Columbian North Americans, the world was broadly divided into two hemispheres with little direct interaction between them: Afro-Eurasia on the one hand and the Americas on the other. In a certain

[20] See http://globalmiddleages.org/ (accessed 21-01-2019) for a set of current projects under the Global Middle Ages rubric. Other projects to have made use of the term include the November 2018 special edition of *Past & Present* (volume 238); Hermans (2020); and Peter Frankopan's keynote address at the 'Interconnected Medieval Worlds' conference (UC Santa Barbara, 2017).

sense human history could only be described as truly 'global' beginning in the sixteenth century. 'Hemispheric Middle Ages' is thus my preferred term, and there is precedent for this in Monica Green's use of the term 'history in a hemispheric mode' with reference to the 'Global' Middle Ages (Green 2017).[21]

Island Southeast Asia in the fifteenth century was a microcosm of the Hemispheric Middle Ages. The Sultanate of Melaka on the Malay Peninsula was particularly diverse and, in Southeast Asian terms, unusually well-documented. Portuguese sources written shortly after Albuquerque's conquest of Melaka in 1511 tell us that the city's population (of between 100,000-200,000 people – Thomaz 1993:71) was extremely multicultural: Melaka had districts reserved for Persians, Chinese, Thais, Armenians,[22] and people from the Ryukyu Islands; the military was run by a Javanese mercenary; and the Italian traveller Ludovico di Varthema tells us that the people of Melaka dressed 'in the style of [the people in] Cairo'[A4] (cf. the comments on Southeast Asian dress in Jákl and Hoogervorst 2017:212). People came to Melaka to trade from Seram, Luzon, Makassar, Pegu, all over India, southern China (in spite of imperial bans on overseas trade known as 海禁, pinyin: *hǎijìn* [Lam 2002:43]), and East Africa – known in Old Javanese and Old Sundanese as *jěñgi*/*jenggi* (OJED 740:4); occasional European visitors like Ludovico made an appearance. There may even have been a small Jewish population in the city. We know from *Bujangga Manik*, too, that ships voyaged to Melaka from other parts of the archipelago as a matter of routine – and it is clear from the poem that cosmopolitanism was less an ideological position and more a fact of life.

The Columbian Exchange, Colonialism, Islam

Albuquerque's conquest of Melaka ended this period in the archipelago's history and introduced the region to a global post-Columbian *modern* world in which European ships and people could be found on nearly every continent, and in which cloves – to take but one example – were no longer traded in long multi-ethnic relays from Maluku to Alexandria (etc.) but now travelled aboard European ships from their sources to Lisbon and beyond. This represented a radical transformation of the archipelago's economy and culture, and it can be compared to changes that happened elsewhere in the world as part of the Columbian Exchange.

The Columbian Exchange is or was a global phenomenon in which sustained contact between Afro-Eurasia and Americas brought about change on a massive scale to every sphere of human life, especially in cuisine and epidemiology but also in the balance of power and the global economy (Crosby 1972). It was not instantaneous and to some extent the process is not over, but in a proximal sense it

[21] As I understand it, Green's views differ from mine on this subject. I outline my view of the 'Hemispheric Middle Ages' here: West, A. J. 2019. The Hemispheric Middle Ages. *Medium*. https://medium.com/@siwaratrikalpa/the-hemispheric-middle-ages-part-i-173779f237f6 (accessed 18-06-2020).
[22] Whether actual Armenians or (so-called) Nestorian Christians from Iraq is unclear (Thomaz 1993:81).

began when Christopher Columbus first went to the Caribbean in 1492, as from that point on contact between the hemispheres did not abate. There were enormous differences between the two halves of the planet in the availability of plants and animals prior to this; among many other things, the Americas had bell peppers, manioc, quinoa, tomatoes, tobacco, and turkeys, while Afro-Eurasia had rice, millet, garlic, peas, dates, and aubergines. Before 1492 no one in Afro-Eurasia had ever seen a tomato or corn husk and nobody in the Americas had seen a lemon or dairy cow. The differences were perhaps greatest in disease and especially disease resistance: Afro-Eurasians harboured and were often immune to diseases indigenous Americans did not and were not, including smallpox, measles, and plague. The consequences of the two hemispheres coming together at an ecological and demographic level were thus enormous (see Mann 2011 for a fascinating overview). It is not wrong to think of these post-Columbian interactions as inaugurating a new era in global human history (which I would refer to simply as 'modernity').

Island Southeast Asia was as profoundly affected by the Columbian Exchange as anywhere else on the planet. Modern recipes in the region commonly call for chilli (Malay *cabe*/*cabai*, formerly the name for a species of pepper, *Piper retrofractum*), peanuts (Malay *kacang*, originally meaning simply 'nut'), and maize (*jagung*, formerly referring to 'sorghum', *Sorghum bicolor*), and some of these products have been indigenised to the extent that they are regarded as having local rather than exotic origins: In Biak, off the coast of New Guinea, origin myths recorded in the early twentieth century say that tobacco – *Nicotiana* spp., another Amazonian product like peanuts and chillis – was the first plant to grow after the creation of the world by Tefafu, the creator deity (Kamma 1975:A:20). Smoking tobacco is now more popular among men in Java than the traditional pastime of chewing betel, and indeed kills more Indonesians than nearly any other cause (Rooney 1993:67). While some of these things are commonly known to be post-Columbian arrivals, it is not uncommon for editors of early Indo-Malaysian texts to translate terms whose meanings have changed since the Middle Ages with their post-Columbian/modern meanings, perhaps because of the strength of this indigenisation.[23] It will be noted that no American products of any kind occur in *Bujangga Manik*.

When examining life in Southeast Asia beyond disease and cuisine, though, it can be difficult to disentangle the Columbian Exchange from the effects of European colonialism, and in any case the latter mediated the former: it was often through the Portuguese or Dutch that New World species were introduced to the Indo-Malaysian archipelago. The transformations wrought by European colonial powers are well-documented: the planting of tea and coffee as cash crops in Java orchestrated by the Dutch (neither was planted in Java prior to early modernity, even though both are Old World species); the intensification of wet rice agriculture on as many islands as could bear it (Geertz 1964); the use of Roman letters to write Indo-Malaysian languages; the destruction of native Javanese shipyards,

[23] See e.g. Pigeaud's translation of OJv *cabe* as 'capsicum' in the second Biluluk copper-plate charter (1960-63:I:116, III:167).

formerly used for building ocean-going *jong*s (Manguin 1980; Reid 1992); and much else. In parts of eastern Indonesia Europeans had a profound impact on local flora and fauna, notably introducing the domestic cat (*Felis catus*) to Flores and Timor (Forth 2016:98). There is simply no part of life in the archipelago that has not been touched in some way by colonialism and the Columbian Exchange.

Islam, which probably first found large numbers of adherents in the archipelago in the thirteenth century, has also had a comparable transformative effect on certain parts of the region. Several foreign accounts mention that well into the fifteenth century people in Java and Sumatra regularly ate bugs and other non-halal foods; though it is possible to find these in Java today, they are considerably less popular. Pork has all but disappeared from menus outside Bali and Christianised parts of the archipelago. The rhythm of life and the sounds of the landscape must also have been transformed by the presence of mosques in towns and villages throughout the island and the introduction of the *adhan*. Like the Columbian Exchange, the introduction of Islam was not instantaneous and was affected by and integrated into existing pre-Islamic ways of life (Riddell 2001:101), and it is particularly notable that places that seem to have harboured religious communities in the pre-Islamic period have retained this reputation for religiosity into the Islamic period.[24] Nonetheless, the combination of colonialism, Islam, and the introduction of American species in early modernity has resulted in widespread and fundamental changes to life and society in Sunda/Java since the time *Bujangga Manik* was written – and it is in this context that the text's true importance is revealed.

The fifteenth century, or parts of it, has often been included within the rubric of 'early modernity' in Southeast Asia. It is notable that the recent *History of Early Modern Southeast Asia* by Andaya and Andaya (2015) takes 1400 as the beginning of the period, and Reid's Southeast Asian 'age of commerce', so-called, starts in 1450 (or perhaps with the first of Zhèng Hé's voyages – Reid 1992:186) and ends in 1680 (as in Reid 1988). It is undeniable that there was considerable continuity in Southeast Asia from the fifteenth century into the sixteenth, but it seems to me that the changes wrought by European colonisation and the Columbian Exchange are underestimated by an approach that seeks the roots of early modernity in Southeast Asia at some point prior to 1511 – and there is in any case more evidence of continuity between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Java than is often thought (as argued by J. G. de Casparis 1997).

Manuscript Scarcity

The fifteenth century in island Southeast Asia is a particularly poorly documented period. Indigenous texts are few and far between; those that were composed at this time, like the last Old Javanese *kakawin*, the *Śiwarātrikalpa* ('observance of the night of Śiva' – Teeuw et al. 1969), are

[24] The area around Mount Galunggung in West Java, for instance, where the pre-Islamic Old Sundanese religious text *Amanat dari Galunggung* appears to have been composed, is today home to a large number of *pesantren* (religious schools) and Qur'an reciters.

preserved in manuscripts copied centuries after their original composition. Few *manuscripts* (as opposed to *texts*) date to this period save for the late-fourteenth-century Tanjung Tanah manuscript (TTms, aka *Nītisārasamuccaya*), a short legal text in Malay written in a Brahmic ('Pallavo-Nusantaran') script and archived in a house in Kerinci, Sumatra (Kozok 2015), and perhaps some of the earliest Old Javanese manuscripts from the Merapi-Merbabu archive in Central Java (van der Molen 1983; Wiryamartana 1993; Wiryamartana and van der Molen 2001) and the aforementioned *kabuyutan* of Ciburuy in West Java.[25] Fewer inscriptions are known from Java and Sumatra in this period compared to earlier times and, indeed, few of any significant length are known after 1486 (Casparis 1997:52; Noorduyn 1978). Those that do exist, like the enigmatic stone inscriptions from Sukuh and Ceto in Central Java, provide only sparse and impressionistic descriptions of events.

The reason for the scarcity of manuscripts is that the climate did not and does not make it easy to preserve organic matter over long periods of time. Java is not far from the equator and is subject to year-round high heat and humidity. As the fifteenth-century Chinese translator Mǎ Huān put it, '[in Java] the weather is always as hot as summer'.[A5] Insects abound, and many of them munch on manuscripts. In temperate climes it is possible to preserve a manuscript for a thousand years by doing little more than placing it in a box.[26] In the tropics manuscripts must be deliberately preserved; those that have survived were either kept as heirlooms (as with the Tanjung Tanah manuscript, preserved above a hearth, where smoke deterred insects) or stored at altitude, where heat is less of a problem, as perhaps with the Merapi-Merbabu collection.

The Indian Ocean was in some sense the beating heart of the medieval world, and that made Indo-Malaysia an indisputably key part of the Hemispheric Middle Ages, and in the fifteenth century its people lived in some of the best-connected and most cosmopolitan towns in Afro-Eurasia – but it is a place we can only dimly see in the historical record. *Bujangga Manik* is a useful corrective for this, but to unlock its treasures it must be placed in a wider context, a context accessible through ethnohistoric and archaeological data. In approaching the history and society of this poorly documented time and place useful models can be found in the techniques used to study pre-Columbian societies by historians of the Americas – comprising philology writ large, fusing textual analysis with archaeological, ethnographic, and ethnohistoric evidence. This is what I refer to as a 'pre-Columbian' approach to island Southeast Asia, although in truth it is close to what at an earlier time would simply have been labelled 'philology'.

[25] Digital copies of many of these manuscripts, of indeterminate date, can be found online courtesy of the British Library: https://eap.bl.uk/project/EAP280/search (accessed 18-06-2020). Some of these have been studied by Suryani et al. (2017).
[26] There is of course more to it than this, but it is true that manuscripts do not *necessarily* decay in temperate zones in the way they do in humid lowland tropical and equatorial regions.

A 'Pre-Columbian' Approach

The incompleteness of the medieval Indo-Malaysian historical record forces us to use unorthodox methods to forge a complete picture of the past – unorthodox, at least, from the perspective of Europe-focused manuscript-based narrative history. To give an example: Leonard Andaya made consistent use of oral history and linguistics alongside ethnohistoric sources, most of them in Portuguese, in piecing together the history and society of the islands around Halmahera before and during contact with Europeans in early modernity in his *World of Maluku* (1993). In an Indonesian context this approach was new and potentially controversial ('unusual and sometimes a tad too ambitious, but […] generally effective', in the words of Charney [1996:146]). In the study of other poorly documented places, however – places like pre-Columbian Mesoamerica and the pre-colonial Pacific – the use of transdisciplinary frameworks is accepted as an inarguable necessity.

The methods developed for the study of such times and places are templates that could productively be followed by scholars of the medieval (pre-Columbian Afro-Eurasian) tropics. In truth these methods are not so different from those of Victorian classical philologists, who used a wide range of methods available to them, including folkloristics, ethnography, and archaeological research, to historicise, contextualise, and better understand ancient writings, or to 'make sense of texts' (as Sheldon Pollock puts it – 2009:934). A well-evidenced claim is after all one about which multiple independent lines of evidence concur, and this is especially so when researching subjects as complex as human history and society. The expansion of philological practice into ethnography and history in the broadest sense is anticipated, too, by Bernard Arps (2016), whose work on a contemporary Javanese *wayang* performance of the *Dewa Ruci*, a play/text with fifteenth-century origins, is likewise an attempt to re-insert an old text back into the world from which it came, exploring how and why it was produced in the first place.

In researching the pre-Hispanic Mēxihca civilizations (the 'Aztecs'), it is not sufficient to rely on post-conquest documents – so-called 'ethnohistoric' sources, like the *Historia General* of Bernardino de Sahagún – to put together a coherent picture of social life on their own. Sahagún was after all a Franciscan friar describing indigenous Mēxihca religion that conflicted with his own Catholicism, and which was often seen by other European observers as Satanic and idolatrous (albeit less so, perhaps, by Sahagún himself – see the discussion in Dodds Pennock 2008). Archaeological interpretation alone may be misleading as well; no archaeologist of pre-Columbian Mexico expects to operate without acknowledging evidence from ethnohistory and ethnography (see M. Smith 2017). Ethnography among modern Nahua people – the great bulk of whom are Catholic, and who have been influenced by Spanish-speaking colonists and overlords for the past five centuries – is equally unlikely to lead to significant insights on its own (Sandstrom 2000). If we want to know about poorly documented societies we cannot expect one type of evidence to provide all the answers – and this has

been taken to heart by those working on pre-Columbian America in a way that it has not among those working on the medieval tropics.

Among Americanists it is commonplace to test conclusions from the archaeological record against the ethnohistoric sources, and to incorporate linguistic evidence and ethnography to verify or falsify claims about times and places with little extant documentation. An excellent example of this method, albeit on a different continent, is Thomas Besom's *Of Summits and Sacrifice* (2009), in which claims about Inca human sacrifice made in the sixteenth-century Spanish ethnohistoric texts are tested against the archaeological evidence (and show a remarkable concordance, strengthening rather than falsifying the Spanish claims). The Pacific archaeologist Patrick Kirch calls this trans-disciplinary mélange 'triangulating' the evidence (Kirch 1984, 1997). In my view, this is an approach that *must* be used in studying fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century Indo-Malaysia to put flesh on the bare bones of the manuscript record.

In pre-Columbian America and the pre-colonial Pacific, the intention is often to study the entirety of pre-colonial or pre-Columbian history, extending in some cases far into prehistory and beyond the conventional range of ethnohistory (as in Kirch 1997). With *Bujangga Manik*, however, I am chiefly interested in reconstructing life and times in a more restricted period (Indo-Malaysia, and Java more specifically, in the fifteenth century), and so both the nature of the evidence and the objective of the project is different. Nonetheless, the triangulation of evidence is a vital part of this thesis, particularly in Parts III-VI.

Bujangga Manik is a pre-colonial, pre-Columbian Indonesian text. It is 'pre-Islamic' in that it shows us a world before most people in Java and Sunda converted to Islam (although Muslims do appear in the background). The poem preserves an image of life in the archipelago prior to the impact of the Columbian Exchange, European political overlordship, and Muslim spiritual dominance – in the context of a medieval Afro-Eurasia and a pre-Islamic, pre-colonial Sunda. This is the context in which I will place the poem's information about daily life and material culture. Opening up the text in this way requires the use of a considerable amount of comparative material from medieval texts written across the hemisphere; I will provide a brief overview of these in the next section. (Texts that do not feature here will be described when relevant.)

0.3.2 The Sources

While I will make use of evidence from archaeological sites not mentioned in the preceding sections on the archaeology of Sunda, particularly Javanese temples (and their reliefs) and medieval shipwrecks in Southeast Asian waters, I will focus here on written sources, of which there are broadly speaking two types, each with their problems and biases: local Indo-Malaysian sources, mostly in Old Javanese and

Classical Malay (in addition to the Sundanese texts discussed above), and ethnohistoric texts in a wide range of different languages from Literary Sinitic (Classical Chinese) to Old French.

The fundamental problem of the longer locally written texts is that the surviving manuscripts often date to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and are thus questionable as witnesses on the Middle Ages. This is notably not true of the *Nītisārasamuccaya*, the Tanjung Tanah manuscript, a legal text whose sole surviving manuscript – a copy on *daluwang* from the late-medieval kingdom of Dharmaśraya and now housed in Kerinci, Sumatra – has been radiocarbon-dated to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century (Kozok 2015). It is, however, true of the vast bulk of the surviving Classical Malay material. Some of these texts, like the Classical Malay *Sulalat al-salāṭīn* or *Sejarah Melayu* ('Malay Annals' – for a full translation see Brown 1952), contain obvious anachronisms when describing pre-1511 events, like the use of words like *senapan* for 'gun' – in that case derived from the Dutch *snaphaan* ('pecking rooster', English 'snaphance'), which referred to a kind of mechanism that only began to appear on European guns in the middle of the sixteenth century. This is perhaps unsurprising as the 'standard' text appears to have been put together in the early seventeenth century and its oldest surviving manuscript dates to 1799 (Chambert-Loir 2017a, 2017b). Other useful Malay texts presenting similar problems include the *Undang-undang Melaka* (Liaw 1976) and the *Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai* (Jones 1987) – the former a legal text supposedly representing the laws of pre-Portuguese Melaka but extensively modified in the centuries following its fall and the latter a narrative work imprecisely dated to the end of the fourteenth century (perhaps even as late as the seventeenth – Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan, p.c.) that recounts the history of Pasai, a medieval kingdom in North Sumatra also known from ethnohistoric texts in other languages. A list of relevant Classical Malay texts with their probable dates of composition and the dates of the oldest surviving manuscripts can be found on the Malay Concordance Project website.[27]

Many of the same problems affect the Old Javanese material, much of which is represented by manuscripts of recent date – although there are exceptions, like a manuscript of the *Kuñjarakarṇa* from Cirebon, whose colophon tells us was copied in 1256 Śaka (1334/5 CE). Many of the Old Javanese sources are *kakawin*s (long-form narrative poems with metres taken from Sanskrit models) and these necessarily represent elite Indianised (and probably almost entirely male) perspectives (the historiographical difficulties inherent to which are discussed at length in Creese 2004). Some of these, including the *kakawin Deśawarṇana* (Pigeaud 1960-63; Robson 1995), written in 1365, share traits with *Bujangga Manik*, notably the emphasis on place and place names (see Part III). Others contain useful and fascinating information about the landscape – not to mention theological matters – including the *Śiwarātrikalpa* ('the observance of the night of Śiva' – Teeuw et al. 1969) by Mpu Tanakuṅ, the last known Old Javanese *kakawin* written in Java (c.1470), which includes some wonderful descriptions

[27] Malay Concordance Project. http://mcp.anu.edu.au/Q/texts.html. (Accessed 18-06-2020).

of misty mornings and fallen temples. The text was based on a late-medieval South Indian model. A list of other *kakawin*s with dates and ascribed authorship may be found in Creese (2004:10).

Several Old Javanese prose texts can also help to contextualise *Bujangga Manik* (see Johns 1966 for Javanese literature at this time). The *Tantu Paṅgĕlaran* (fifteenth century – Pigeaud 1924) is of particular note as it makes use of a large number of toponyms, including several also found in *Bujangga Manik* (e.g. *Damalung*, the old name for Mount Merbabu in Central Java). The *Nawanatya* (fourteenth century?), an Old Javanese prose work outlining the obligations placed upon those wishing to visit the Majapahit capital, provides some interesting information about rituals and material culture. The text is known from Leiden, UBL, MS Or. Leyden 5091, a partial transliteration of which was published in Pigeaud's *Java in the 14th Century* (1960:I:81-86). A reference to a work with this title appears in the *Deśawarṇana*, which is securely dated to the fourteenth century, but it is not certain whether these works are one and the same. Of greater importance for the study of Java's political history is the post-1481 *Pararaton* (Brandes 1896; Phalgunadi 1996; Sastrawan 2020), a late Old Javanese historical narrative preserved in several Balinese manuscripts and one of the few extant local sources on the decline of Majapahit in the fifteenth century. In addition to these manuscript texts there are also a number of fifteenth-century inscriptions in Old Javanese, although there are fewer of these than in earlier periods, and none of significance after 1486 (around the time *Bujangga Manik* was composed). An inventory of dated inscriptions can be found in Nakada (1982); a number of both stone and copper-plate inscriptions have recently been published in transliteration and Indonesian translation by Edhie Wurjantoro (2018).

Manuscript material is much more likely to survive in temperate climes than in equatorial Southeast Asia, so medieval texts from Europe, the Middle East, and China often survive in manuscripts actually copied in the Middle Ages. Foreign accounts of Southeast Asia often focused on details of daily life – the processing of sago, for example – that do not appear to have been considered worthy of recording in local texts, and this makes such accounts particularly important for the study of daily life and material culture. Such ethnohistoric sources present other problems, however, including the possibility (and in some cases outright certainty) of fabrication or exaggeration, as with the description of Southeast Asia in the *Travels* of Sir John Mandeville or the account of the mythical kingdom of Ṭawālisī in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *Riḥla* (Gibb and Beckingham 1994:884-887). With Java in particular the problem is one of identification; names related to 'Java' were routinely applied to other Southeast Asian islands, or even the archipelago as a whole, so it is not always clear that medieval descriptions of 'Java' are in fact describing the island *we* know as Java. Medieval travellers from many countries were also wont to exaggerate the weirdness of the places they visited, and this accounts for at least some of the fabulous stories told of Southeast Asia before the arrival of the Portuguese.

Nevertheless, the medieval European sources on Southeast Asia contain much of interest (see O'Doherty 2013 for an overview). They begin with *Li Divisiment dou Monde* ('The Description of the World'), attributed to Rustichello of Pisa, writing on behalf of Marco Polo in around 1300. Although Polo probably did not visit Java himself, the *Divisiment* was the first work in a European language after Claudius Ptolemy's *Geographia* (c.150) to mention a place called 'Java' by name.[28] The version I have used in this thesis is the oldest manuscript of the so-called 'Franco-Italian' tradition – Paris, BnF, Français 1116, copied in c.1310.[29] After Polo came the *Relatio de Mirabilibus Orientalium Tatarorum* written in Latin c.1330 by the Friulian monk Odoric of Pordenone (Marchisio 2016), who famously describes the palace of the great king of Java as covered in gold and silver and of fabulous size.[30] A little over a century after Odoric the Venetian merchant Niccolò de' Conti recounted his travels around the Indian Ocean, including Java, to the Florentine humanist Poggio Bracciolini. This became the fourth book of Bracciolini's *De Varietate Fortunæ* (2004[1448]) – the first European text to describe the durian (in that case probably *Durio graveolens*), among others things.[31] Conti's testimony also inspired several captions on the Fra Mauro world map (Venice, c.1459).[32] The last traveller to describe island Southeast Asia in detail prior to the arrival of the Portuguese was Ludovico di Varthema, whose *Itinerario* was first printed in Rome in 1510.[33] Varthema claimed to have gone as far as Banda and Maluku, although whether he actually did so is not clear (see translation in Hammond 1963).

Several medieval Europeans maps also provide information of interest, including the Catalan Atlas (Paris, BnF, Espagnol 30), a multi-page world map drawn by the Mallorcan cartographer Elisha ben Abraham Cresques in 1375, based in large part on Odoric and Polo; the aforementioned Fra Mauro map, now in the Museo Correr in Venice (Falchetta 2006); and the so-called 'Genoese' world map of 1457 (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Portolano 1), based in part on Conti's written testimony. These maps frequently refer to commodities for sale in Southeast Asian ports, and two of them include descriptions of junks (see section V.2).

The 'Journey on the Three Seas' (Old East Slavic: *Хожєнїє за Трї Моръ*) by Afanasiy Nikitin (Афанасий Никитин), a man from Tver, is the only significant original medieval Russian work to

[28] It is not certain that Ptolemy's *Iabadiou* (Ἰαβαδιοῦ) actually referred to Java – it may have been Sumatra instead.
[29] A complete critical edition of the Franco-Italian version of the work in six volumes has been published (Boutet et al. 2009), but for my purposes Français 1116 (commonly known as 'F') is more appropriate – in part because it preserves the local toponyms more accurately than other texts.
[30] Odoric's *Relatio* is remarkable for the variation in its manuscript tradition. If there were an 'original' text, it was modified so swiftly and completely that it can no longer be reconstructed from the extant manuscripts.
[31] See my short article on the topic: 'Knowledge of the Durian' https://medium.com/@siwaratrikalpa/knowledge-of-the-durian-39f89a6c871f (accessed 19-06-2020).
[32] A complete edition of this account was put together by Michèle Guéret-Laferté in 2004. The version I use in this work is Rome, BAV, Urb.lat.224, a manuscript of 1460. It has been digitised and is therefore easily accessible. The relevant sections begin on f.46r.
[33] I am using an edition printed in Venice in 1535 here (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, It. sing. 1095), largely because it has been digitised and is therefore easily accessible. It differs only in abbreviations from the 1510 text.

contain extended descriptions of Southeast Asia. Nikitin visited India in the 1460s and died on his return at Smolensk in 1472. In his diary Nikitin recorded some basic facts about 'Java' (*шабат* ⟨šabat⟩ – whether Java or Sumatra is not clear) received secondhand while in India, perhaps from someone familiar with Arabic sources. The relevant sections of this text have been translated by Vladimir Braginsky (1998:374-375), and a critical edition complete with a facsimile of the 1563 Troitsk Recension (*Троицкий Список*) has recently been published by Sebastian Kempgen (2020).

Often more useful than these bona fide medieval sources, however, are the early-sixteenth-century Portuguese descriptions. These begin with the the Cantino Planisphere (Modena, Biblioteca Estense, C.G.A.2), a world map drawn in or before 1502 and based on Arabic sources. This contains information not found on earlier maps, including the earliest known European reference to Singapore. The post-1511 sources contain the most information about the archipelago, however, for obvious reasons. Foremost among these is the *Suma Oriental*, an account of Asia written in Melaka before 1515 by the Portuguese apothecary Tomé Pires, which survives in two manuscripts, the most complete of which is in Paris (Bibliothèque de l'Assemblée nationale, 1248 (ED 19) – Cortesão 1944; Pires 2018; Ptak 2018). Duarte Barbosa's account, written in India in around 1516 and traditionally known as *O Livro de Duarte Barbosa*, contains similar descriptions of the Indo-Malaysian archipelago, including a brief but interesting account of Sunda. In this work I have used the critical edition edited by Maria Augusta da Veiga e Sousa (Barbosa 2000 [1516]). The *Commentarios do grande Afonso Dalboquerque* by Brás de Albuquerque, Afonso's son, also has much to say about the archipelago at the time of the conquest. The text was first published in 1557 and revised in 1576. The work was based on the elder Albuquerque's letters and the recollections of his companions, and is thus some distance removed from the events it purports to describe. I have used a copy of the 1576 text now in the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University (see Earle and Villiers 1990:25-49 for the text's history). Antonio Pigafetta's account of the first circumnavigation of the world under Magellan is another useful early-sixteenth-century source, although unlike these others accounts the author was an Italian in the service of Spain rather than Portugal, and the principal manuscript witness for the text, and the one used in this thesis, New Haven, Yale University Library, Beinecke MS 351, was written in French in 1525.

The Chinese sources most commonly exploited by historians of Southeast Asia are records of embassies and tribute described in dynastic histories (e.g. the *Míng Shílù* [明實錄] – Wade 2005).[34] These are informative with regard to toponyms and political history but are perhaps less useful for the purpose of elucidating the trappings of daily life. Descriptions of foreign lands are more valuable in this regard, particularly the account of the thirteenth-century administrator Zhào Rǔkuò (趙汝适), known

[34] The Southeast Asian sections of the *Míng Shílù* have been translated by Geoff Wade and hosted online: *Southeast Asia in the Ming Shi-lu. An open access resource.* Singapore: Asia Research Institute and the Singapore E-Press, National University of Singapore. http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/ (accessed 19-06-2020).

as the *Zhūfān Zhì* (諸蕃志, lit. 'Record of All Barbarians', c.1225 – Hirth and Rockhill 1911); the *Dǎoyí Zhìlüè* (島夷誌略 – 'Summary Record of the Island Foreigners', c.1349) by the traveller Wāng Dàyuān (汪大淵 – 'the only record written from the viewpoint of a Chinese trader-traveller' [Heng 2001:134]); the *Yíngyá Shènglǎn* (瀛涯勝覽 – c.1451) by the translator Mǎ Huān (馬歡), who took part in several of the 'treasure ship' voyages in the early fifteenth century under the command of Zhèng Hé (Mills 1970); and the *Xīngchá Shènglǎn* (星槎勝覽) by Fèi Xìn, also a traveller on the treasure ships (Fei 1996). These include extensive descriptions of Java and other parts of the Indo-Malaysian archipelago, in some cases comprising the first texts written about certain islands and regions (as with Wāng Dàyuān's account of Banda and Zhào Rǔkuò's of Sunda).[35] Not all of these texts are available in up-to-date translations, although collaborative critical editions based on the Qīng-dynasty *Sìkù Quánshū* (四庫全書) texts can be accessed on the Chinese Text Project website (see Heng 2019 for the challenges and opportunities presented by the digitisation of this Chinese material).[36] The Mao Kun map (鄭和航海圖 *Zhèng Hé hánghǎi tú* 'Zheng He navigational map'), a set of maps depicting Afro-Eurasia published in 1621 as part of the military treatise *Wǔbèi Zhì* (武備志) by Máo Yuányí (茅元儀) but supposedly based on information from the early-fifteenth-century voyages of Zhèng Hé (鄭和), is another interesting Chinese source from the perspective of Chinese interactions in the region, and it includes a number of toponyms not encountered in other texts. A 1644 copy of the atlas has been digitised and hosted online by the Library of Congress.[37] Also relevant is a Chinese-Malay ('Melaka language') word-list compiled alongside glossaries in twelve other languages at the end of the fifteenth century for the mid-Míng-dynasty Interpreters Institute (會通館). London, SOAS Library, MS 48363 is a particularly early version of the text; this served as the basis of an annotated translation by Edwards and Blagden (1931; see also A. C. West 1988:23-24).

There is surprisingly little Middle Eastern material on Southeast Asia in this period (see Wheatley 1966:216-251). The most important medieval works in Arabic on the region are the ninth- and tenth-century texts of al-Mas'ūdi, Abū Zayd al-Sīrāfī, and Sulaymān the Merchant, which were copied and used in cartography throughout the Middle Ages, with the most significant original information added to these between the tenth and thirteenth centuries being the accretion of fantastic

[35] I translated and annotated this description here: West, A. J. 2019. Zhao Rukuo's account of Sunda. *Medium.com.* https://medium.com/@siwaratrikalpa/zhao-rukuos-account-of-sunda-748ab2c0f40b (accessed 21-06-2020). A complete translation of the *Zhūfān Zhì*, citing my post for the description of Sunda, has recently been put online: Yang, Shao-yun. 2020. A Chinese gazeteer of foreign lands. https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/39bce63e4e0642d3abce6c24db470760. (Accessed 21-06-2020).
[36] For Fèi Xìn's *Xīngchá Shènglǎn* see https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=436710 (accessed 21-08-2020). Mǎ Huān's *Yíngyá Shènglǎn* see: https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=566144 (accessed 19-06-2020). Wāng Dàyuān's *Dǎoyí Zhìlüè*: https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=232328 (accessed 19-06-2020). Zhào Rǔkuò's *Zhūfān Zhì*: https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&res=520299 (accessed 19-06-2020).
[37] Mao, Yuanyi. 1644. *Wu Bei Zhi*. Washington D.C., Library of Congress, E701.M32.1. https://www.loc.gov/item/2004633695/ (accessed 19-06-2020).

lore and scribal errors (Hourani 1995:83; al-Sirafi 2017; see Rapoport and Savage-Smith 2018 for the cartographic tradition). For the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, however, there are a small number of useful original sources, particularly the *Riḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, written in the late fourteenth century (see Gibb and Beckingham 1994:873-887 for the sections on island Southeast Asia), and the works of Aḥmad ibn Mājid (c.1432-c.1500), including 'The Book of the Benefits of the Principles and Foundations of Seamanship' (كتاب الفوائد في أصول علم البحر والقواعد – *Kitāb al-Fawā'id fī uṣūl 'ilm al-baḥr wa'l-qawā'id*), a sailing manual written in 1489-90 documenting the routes used on the Indian Ocean from an Arabian perspective (Tibbetts 1981).

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My approach in this thesis is to compare and contrast references in as many texts in as many languages and from as many traditions as possible to make inferences about life and things in late-medieval Java, using *Bujangga Manik* as a starting-point and vital emic perspective. The description above does not exhaust the available sources by any means and is intended only as an overview. The nature of research on the medieval tropics, where many fewer manuscripts texts are available than in the temperate world, necessitates an intensive rather than extensive approach to the sources we do have – an excellent recent example of this being Elizabeth Lambourn's detailed examination of the luggage list of Abraham Ben Yiju, a North African Jewish merchant in South India in the twelfth century (Lambourn 2018). Archaeological evidence is also vital, and for my purposes East Javanese temple reliefs depicting articles of material culture – clothing, houses, weaponry – are particularly important (see Kieven 2013 for an in-depth study of reliefs roughly contemporary with the composition of *Bujangga Manik*; Kinney, Kieven, and Klokke 2003 contains a large number of excellent photographs and descriptions as well). The images of reliefs and temples used in this thesis will principally be taken from photographs of the former Archaeological Survey of the Netherlands Indies (*Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië*, abbreviated as 'OD') now held by Leiden University Library (UBL).[38]

This information applies principally to the contextualisation of the text of *Bujangga Manik* in the last three parts of the thesis. Before these, however, I will examine the constitution and features of the manuscript (Part I) and present the edited text and English translation (Part II).

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[38] The overview of the OD Collection on the Leiden University Library website has more details: Gerda Theuns-de Boer, Marie-Odette Scalliet, and Silvia Compaan-Vermetten. 2012. *Collection Photographs Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië.* https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/1887211. (Accessed 21-06-2020.)

PART I

Codicology, Palaeography, and Language

Here in Part I I will show how the manuscript is constituted physically, how it ought to be read, and how its writing system works, before analysing the text's phonology, lexis, syntax, and metre. My aim is to make the manuscript legible to any interested parties and to render any conclusions reached about the text more verifiable and this project necessarily more empirical.

Part I is arranged into three sections:

1. The first deals with the *codicology* of MS Jav. b.3. (R) – the physical properties of the manuscript from its box (*kropak*) and leaves to its line markings and foliation.
2. The second section concerns the *palaeography* of MS Jav. b.3. (R). This is an attempt to document the features of the 'Old Sundanese' *lontar* script inscribed on the leaves. I aim to describe the writing system so thoroughly that a layperson could study the description and be able to transliterate the inscribed text. A short section on the script's probable origins follows the description.
3. The third and final section of Part I concerns the use of *language* in the poem. This includes a description of the phonology, vocabulary, and syntax of *Bujangga Manik*. The intent here is not to produce a complete reference grammar of Old Sundanese but to show how the interpretation of the text in Part II was arrived at and how it could be improved in the future.

These sections are arranged so that each builds on the one preceding it. Part II is intended to put the interpretations of social and cultural life derived from information in *Bujangga Manik* on a firmer footing and to provide a well-developed case study of Old Sundanese bookbinding, script, and language for further study and comparative research.

I.1 Codicology

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Jav. b.3. (R) is a manuscript consisting of 30 leaves of the *lontar* palm (*Borassus flabellifer*) inside a teak (*Tectona grandis*) box lacquered black on the top and sides. As with

other Southeast Asian palm-leaf manuscripts, the leaves were once attached by cords, but their original order appears to have been disrupted at some point and the reading order is not obvious from the current physical arrangement. Nor is it immediately clear to non-specialists how the leaves should be oriented and turned, and when the manuscript was digitised about half the images were taken with the leaves upside-down as a result.

In this section I will discuss the materials of the box and leaves; the foliation of the manuscript (that is to say, how the leaves are supposed to be arranged in relation to one another); their dimensions; the line markings on them; the age of the manuscript; and how each leaf should be read. There are some significant issues with the foliation that will require extended comment. The folios themselves are, as with most palm-leaf manuscripts, not bound into a book or codex shape recognisable to European or Chinese codicologists and are instead separate leaves with three holes punctured in the centre and at each end by which they can be tied together so they do not come apart. *Pace* Dick van der Meij's claim that Sundanese *lontar* manuscripts bear only one hole in the centre of the leaves (2017:153), *Bujangga Manik*, like other Sundanese manuscripts, in fact has three such perforations.

I.1.1 The Box

The manuscript is contained within a box or *kropak* (see van der Meij 2017:211-220), which is made of two roughly equal-sized components made of lacquered teak joined to one another by a single tongue-and-groove joint. This *kropak* wholly encases the leaves and affords a greater level of protection from the elements than the more-common method of binding palm-leaf manuscripts with simple flat boards. There has, however, been some damage to the box: the lacquer (presumably sap of *Toxicodendron vernicifluum*) is scuffed on the tops and sides; the tongue of the interior joint has been worn down on the inside of the bottom piece; and a long section roughly 1 centimetre wide has split off one side, exposing the leaves. When complete, however, the manuscript would have been contained in a snug box 36.9 centimetres long, 4.2 centimetres wide, and 2.5 centimetres high. The *kropak* was probably made for the manuscript, as it fits tightly – the leaves will not fall out of their own accord – and seems to have a cavity suited perfectly for the number of leaves originally present (at least thirty-four, given the surviving thirty leaves and the apparent loss of four others). A shallow decorative line border with a width of one millimetre has been impressed into the box on the four long sides parallel to and roughly 0.6 millimetres away from the edges. This is the only apparent decoration aside from the application of a thin layer of black lacquer to the outside (Figure I.1). The inside of the box is bare and untreated, and even when one takes into account the damage to the object it is clear that significantly less care and attention went into the interior. The surface is not planed smooth. There has also been some staining from the application of glue or shellac (perhaps after acquisition by the Library).

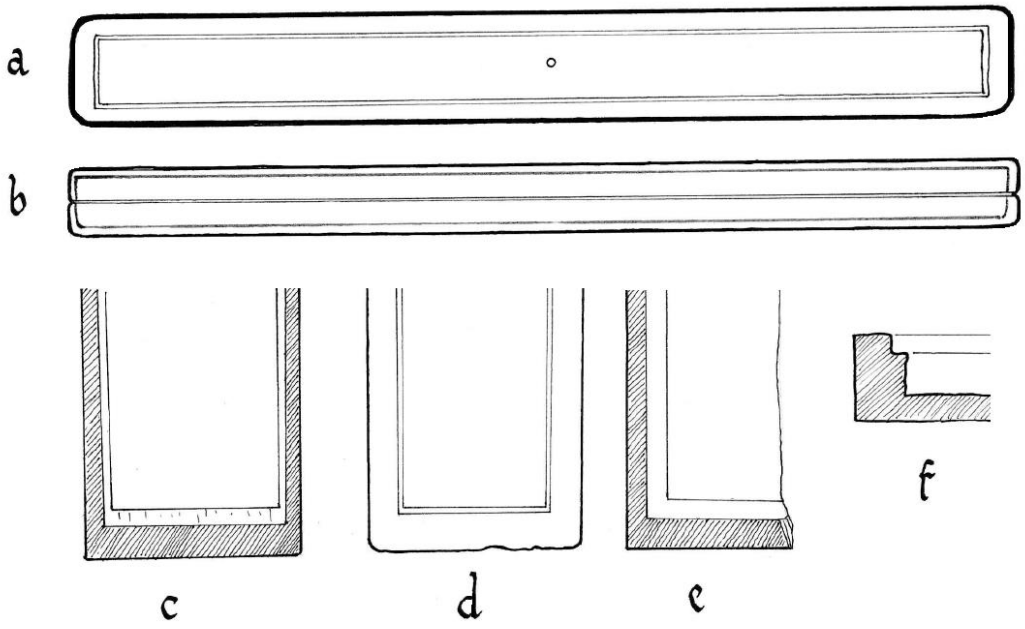


Figure I.1. Diagrams of the *kropak*: ***a*)** The largely undamaged exterior of the bottom piece – how the box would have appeared before the damage. Dimensions: 36.9 cm L X 4.2 cm W. The hole is bored 18.1 centimetres from one end and 18.7 centimetres from the other. ***b*)** The undamaged side of the box – again showing how the box would have appeared before it was damaged. Note the close seal between the two parts. Dimensions: 36.9 cm L X 2.52 cm H. ***c*)** The interior of the bottom half of the box. Hatching indicates the presence of lacquer. The area next to the hatching is the tongue of the tongue-and-groove joint (see Figure I.1.2). ***d*)** The lacquered exterior of the bottom half showing the shallow incised decoration. ***e*)** The interior of the damaged top half, of which roughly a centimetre of material has broken off the side. 3.2 cm W at the end. ***f*)** The structure of the groove in the top half – a cross-section of *e*. Here hatching only indicates the area of the cross-section. Dimensions: 1.7 cm H at the end; the groove is 0.35 cm deep and 0.25 cm wide.

The two sides of the box were connected to one another with a type of tongue-and-groove joint – a common feature on Sundanese *kropak*s. A tongue originally about three millimetres in height and a millimetre or two wide protruded around the inside walls of the bottom section, although it is now badly worn down and in some parts has disappeared entirely (Figure I.2). A corresponding groove has been cut on the inside of the top piece. When intact this would have ensured a close fit between the two halves all the way around (Figure I.3). A hole roughly a millimetre across has been bored near the centre of each half – 18.1 centimetres from one end and 18.7 from the other – corresponding neatly to the off-centre holes of the leaves and probably originally threaded with cords.

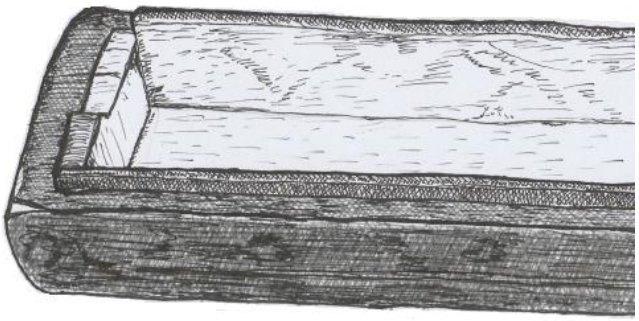


Figure I.2. A sketch of the interior of the bottom half, showing some of the damage to the tongue of the joint, the unlacquered and unfinished interior, and the scuffing of the lacquer on the outside.

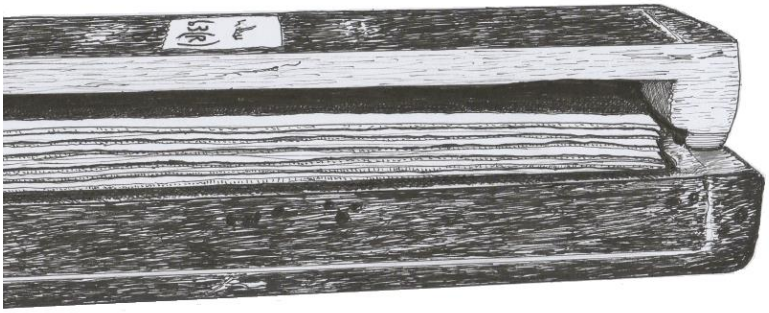


Figure I.3. A sketch of the damage to the *kropak*, showing the worn-down tongue; the damage to the top half, now visible in cross-section; and the empty space revealed by the loss of at least four of the leaves.

Raechelle Rubinstein (1996:133-134), whose discussion of *lontar* texts forms the basis for many of my remarks here, says that Balinese *kropak*s and boards are usually made from one of three possible timbers, '*sawo* (*Mimusops*[39] *kauki*), teak (*Tectona grandis*), [or] *intaran* (*Azadirachta indica*),' and this seems to apply to Javan palm-leaf manuscripts as well, narrowing down the range of possible woods considerably. The bare untreated wood on the inside of the box is a light brown with a coarse striated texture consistent with teak (*T. grandis*, Malay/Sd/Jv *jati*). Research in online xylotheques – specifically those of Kew Gardens[40] and the Tervuren Xylarium Wood Database[41] at the Royal Museum

[39] This tree has been reassigned to the genus *Manilkara*.
[40] https://www.kew.org/science/collections/economic-botany-collection/explore-the-collection/wood-collection-xylarium (accessed 15-01-2019). See also here for a large number of good-quality images of teak wood grain; the wood in MS Jav. b.3. (R) is somewhat lighter than average but it is identifiable as teak: http://web.archive.org/web/20200304094817/http://www.hobbithouseinc.com/personal/woodpics/teak.htm (accessed 04-03-2020).
[41] http://www.africamuseum.be/research/collections_libraries/biology/collections/xylarium (accessed 15-01-2019).

for Central Africa in Tervuren, Belgium – appear to confirm that suspicion. Teak is, in any case, durable and weather-resistant, and because of its ruggedness even without oiling it was often used in ship construction in medieval Southeast Asia (as, indeed, in the description of the ships in BM 898). The same wood was also used in other Old Sundanese manuscript boxes/*kropak*s, including that of a pair of texts called *Serat Séwaka* (Jakarta, PNRI, L633 – Ilham Nurwansah, p.c.), the colour of the interior of which is strikingly similar to that of MS Jav. b.3. (R) (as indeed is the structure of the *kropak*).

The use of teak, the lacquering, and the tight seal between the two halves of the box suggest that the manuscript was put together with care and that effort was made to protect the fragile leaves from the humid environment of West Java. The damage, too, is suggestive: It is unlikely the majority of this damage was incurred during the manuscript's stay in the Bodleian, as other seventeenth-century acquisitions have not been damaged in this way; MS Jav. b.1., another of the manuscripts from West Java donated by Andrew James in 1627, is in excellent condition. The original cataloguer's description of the manuscript as *vetustissima* 'most ancient' suggests that the lacquer was already scuffed and the side split off prior to purchasing.

I.1.2 The Page

Several palm species are said to have lent their leaves to the creation of Sundanese manuscripts, including – as Ekadjati lists them – 'palmyra (*lontar* [*Borassus flabellifer*]), sugar palm (*enau* [*Arenga pinnata*]), coconut palm (*kelapa* [*Cocos nucifera*]), pandanus (*pandan* [*Pandanus* spp.]), and thatch palm (*nipah* [*Nypa fruticans*])' (1996:103). The latter appears to have been a misidentification, however; so-called 'nipah' manuscripts are instead made of *gebang* (or *gewang*) palm (*Corypha utan*), and in a Sundanese context these were usually written on with ink and a reed pen (see the elegant argument in Gunawan 2015). The most common manuscript material between Lombok and Sumatra, as Aditia Gunawan points out, is the leaf of *Borassus flabellifer*, known in Sundanese and Malay as *lontar*, a loanword from Old Javanese combining Javanese *ron* 'leaf' with Sanskrit *tal* '*Borassus flabellifer*' (and having subsequently undergone metathesis) (Gunawan 2015:250). *Lontar* and *gebang* are the two main surviving varieties of Old Sundanese writing support; MS Jav. b.3. (R) is certainly an example of the former. Part of the Old Sundanese prose work *Sanghyang Sasana Mahaguru* (Jakarta, PNRI, L621, f.14v) states explicitly that *lontar* (*taal*) manuscripts were intended to be handled and used for public readings and that inked *gebang* manuscripts were the more highly valued type 'suitable for putting in an archive' (*pikabuyutanen*). The colouration, size, and the style of the manuscript as a flat four-lined inscribed (rather than inked) text with three holes for cords all confirm that *Bujangga Manik* is written on *lontar* (Rubinstein 1996:133). It must have been intended for public recitation and reading.

Lontar palms – described by James Fox as 'massive dioecious palm[s] with solitary trunk[s] and thick, broadly based, spiny-edged leafstalks that mount wide, fan-like fronds' (1977:209) – grow in the drier parts of South and Southeast Asia, and they have a range of uses that go beyond providing

writing materials: the rachis can be tapped for sugar, the leaves can be woven into mats and clothing, and the sturdy timber is used in construction.[42] *Lontar* palms occasionally appear in Old Javanese *kakawin* as proverbially thick and massive objects, as in the late-fifteenth-century *kakawin Śiwarātrikalpa* (21.1), where Antaka's club is compared to a *lontar*: 'he grasped his club, great as a *lontar* palm [*tal*], and hard as a thunderbolt' (*sambut gadā nira satal kadi bajra riṅ twas* – Teeuw et al. 1969:107). Few *lontar* trees grow in West Java due to its rainy climate, and the leaves for many manuscripts were probably imported from further east (Ekadjati 1996:103). Madura, the low-lying island immediately of Surabaya in East Java, has a particularly dry climate perfect for the cultivation of *lontar* palms, and even after paper had long superseded *lontar* as a medium for writing in Java, *lontar* products – mats made from twined leaves, for example – were still being exported from the island to population centres further west (Fox 1977:223-227). It is possible (but hopelessly unverifiable) that Madura was the source of the leaves used in the *Bujangga Manik* manuscript. *Lontar* can certainly be seen further west; on a train journey from Jakarta to Yogyakarta in 2018 I noticed *lontar*s appearing on the landscape shortly after leaving Purwokerto in Central Java.

MS Jav. b.3. (R) is in most respects typical of a Javan *lontar* manuscript. The leaves are roughly 35 centimetres long but rather narrow – around three centimetres wide – meaning that the letters (*aksara*s) themselves are between about three and five millimetres in height. The leaves do not taper; each leaf is approximately the same width throughout its length, and deviation from this is due to damage rather than intent. When the end of the page is reached the leaf is turned over from top-to-bottom – that is to say, along the *y* axis rather than the *x* axis (Figure I.4).

Figure I.4. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Jav. b.3. (R), f.30, showing the way in which the leaf should be turned when reading the text. f.30r is on the bottom and f.30v is on the top. Identifying damage is highlighted.

*

[42] See Fox's *Harvest of the Palm* (1977) for the *lontar*'s important role in subsistence arboriculture in Roti and Timor.

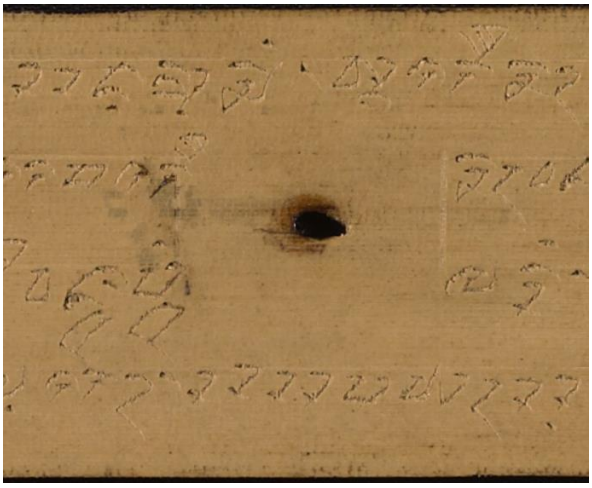


Figure I.5. The central hole and the line markings around it. MS Jav. b.3. (R), f.5v.

On all but one of the leaves, and as normal with this type of *lontar* manuscript, four straight lines have been incised longitudinally on both sides of the leaves approximately seven millimetres apart. The central holes in the leaves are marked off by faint lines drawn seven millimetres to the right and left of the hole (Figure I.5), and the holes on the far left and right of the leaves are outside the inscribed margins. These line markings are faint on some folios – including the first page of text, f.1v – but they nonetheless serve to order all of the text except for one aberrant line in a different hand to the rest of the text on f.17r (see section I.2.7). In common with other Southeast Asian palm-leaf manuscripts, the *aksara*s are placed below these lines, not on or above them, meaning that when graphemes are stacked on top of one another, as occasionally happens, the stacks protrude downward from the marked lines. The script is read from left-to-right.

Preparing Lontar

Balinese *lontar* processing – a living tradition – has been described by Rubinstein (1996:136-137) and in more complete form by Hedi Hinzler (1993:446-450). While there are no guarantees that modern Balinese processing was the same as medieval Sundanese practice, there are few other fruitful avenues open to us, and as the leaves were probably imported anyway it is unlikely the earlier stages of processing were performed by Sundanese people.

The objective of processing the leaf is to turn it into a useable writing surface that will resist insects and humidity (Hinzler 1993:446). The *lontar* leaves are cut and sun-dried whole, changing their colour from green to yellow, before they are soaked in water, changed daily, for three to four days. The leaves are dried again in the sun and trimmed, the central rib removed to create a flat surface; they are then cut into the shape appropriate for the kind of manuscript they are destined for (less prestigious texts would receive worse-quality and smaller leaves) and boiled ‘in a herbal solution for approximately eight hours’ (Rubinstein 1996:136). They are cleaned and dried again before being moistened and left to cool in the evening air. The leaves are then pressed flat in bundles in a device designed for the purpose

(known in Balinese as a *pamlagbagan*) over the course of a week. After this process is complete, holes are cut into three points along the leaves' spines and they are carefully planed along their entire length to make them flexible. The line markings are then added. In Bali this is done with a *panyipatan*, a tool 'made from two bamboo sticks joined by threads of equal length' (Rubinstein 1996:137). In nearly all cases four lines are marked onto each leaf, as we find in MS Jav. b.3. (R); these lines also mark off the margins of the pages, which normally contain page numbers (on the left-hand side of the page – see Rubinstein 1996:139) and the two holes on either side. Manuscripts, both finished and uninscribed ones, are often stored above the hearth, where the smoke serves to gently preserve the leaf and repel insects. *Lontar* manuscripts are usually inscribed with a knife. In Sundanese the knife is named *péso pangot*, or simply *pangot* (*péso* meaning 'knife'), an implement mentioned in SSKK as one of the *ganggaman sang pandita* 'weapons of the sage'.

Lontar manuscripts may appear humble compared to contemporary European and Islamicate manuscripts – MS Jav. b.3. (R) is no *Très Riches Heures*. The making of a *lontar* manuscript has nonetheless been recognised for some decades as a precision craft. The line markings, as Willem van der Molen showed (1983:90-93), are consistently drawn and are frequently accurate to within a millimetre, and the use of such consistent measurements across multiple manuscripts can even be used to identify the output of the same scriptorium. The holes in Balinese *lontar* manuscripts are placed slightly off-centre so that when the manuscript is picked up by its cord it will 'lean to the right; otherwise it has been picked up upside-down' (Rubinstein 1996:133); this is also the case with MS Jav. b.3. (R), where the 'central' hole is six millimetres off-centre.

I.1.3 Foliation

The foliation of MS Jav. b.3. (R) is a little messy and, while I have a managed to arrive at an ordering of the material that accords with what seems to me is the 'original' order of the text, there are nonetheless some peculiar points requiring explanation.

The published transliteration in Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006) is correct with regard to the reading order of the material but incorrectly supposes that the first side of text is on folio 1 *recto*, when, as usual with Javan palm-leaf manuscripts, f.1r is blank. The text begins on f.1v. This perturbs the foliation such that half the text is ascribed to the wrong leaf in the 2006 text. Moreover, it seems that more folios are missing than are accounted for in the published version. The Bodleian digitisation of the material[43] was also peculiarly ordered, at least from the perspective of reading the text, although most of the peculiarities appear to have resulted from the apparent disorder of the leaves of the

[43] The digitisation was finished on April 16 2018 and subsequently amended, on the basis of my recommendations, on May 24, 2018. It can be found on the Digital Bodleian site: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/Discover/Search/#/?p=c+0,t+,rsrs+0,rsps+10,fa+,so+ox%3Asort%5Easc,scids+,pid+ad204470-7490-4316-a015-1063f1513523,vi+c45ef672-cbfb-4ab4-bc77-eb2fdf97dd08. See *Introduction* for more information.

manuscript at the time of digitisation. At some point somebody must have shuffled the leaves and left them in the wrong order. Half of the images were hosted upside-down as the leaves had been turned along the *x* axis before the photographs were taken. I prepared a short dossier explaining the problems with the digitisation and the curators corrected the hosted images on that basis, turning certain images the right way up and adopting the reading order as the order of the photos hosted on the site. However, the Bodleian curators retained their original foliation in the catalogue notes in order to give a semblance of the current physical order of the manuscript. This means that three foliations of MS Jav. b.3. (R) can be encountered:

1) my foliation, which I have used in the transliteration in Part II;

2) the one in Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006), which preserves the reading order but not the physical order and is a little off-kilter due to f.1r; and

3) the Bodleian foliation, which replicates the current physical order of the leaves but not the reading order (presumably the original arrangement of the leaves).

I have put together a table (Table I.1) attempting to show the concordance between the current series of images on the Digital Bodleian site (the first column); my revised foliation of the manuscript (the second column - **bold**); the foliation as found in the published transcription in Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006) (the third column); and the foliation used in the Digital Bodleian notes (the fourth column). Notes have been added where necessary to explain any outstanding issues with the manuscript, including the absences of the theorised folios 28, 29, 32, and 34 and the presence of the Sundanese numerals explained below (the fifth column).

Table I.1. Foliation of Bodleian MS Jav. b.3. (R).

1. Digital Bodleian Image No.	*2. Revised Foliation*	*3. Foliation as per Noorduyn & Teeuw (2006)*	*4. Digital Bodleian Foliation*	*5. Notes*
2	**1r**	-	?v	Not in Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006). The page is blank, now marked with a Bodleian stamp.
3	**1v**	1r	?r	A question mark ⟨?⟩ appears pencilled in the margin, almost certainly added by a Bodleian curator.
4	**2r**	1v	1v	
5	**2v**	2r	1r	A pencilled '1' and an OSd ⟨1⟩ appear in the leftmost margin.
6	**3r**	2v	2v	
7	**3v**	3r	2r	Pencilled '2' and OSd ⟨2⟩ on left.
8	**4r**	3v	3v	Discolouration – bottom, right of centre.

9	**4v**	4r	3r	Pencilled ‘3’ and OSd ⟨3⟩ on left.
10	**5r**	4v	4v	Water damage? Darkening and yellow discolouration.
11	**5v**	5r	4r	Pencilled ‘4’ and OSd ⟨4⟩ on left.
12	**6r**	5v	5v	
13	**6v**	6r	5r	Pencilled ‘5’ and OSd ⟨5⟩ on left.
14	**7r**	6v	6v	
15	**7v**	7r	6r	Pencilled ‘6’ and OSd ⟨6⟩ on left.
16	**8r**	7v	7v	
17	**8v**	8r	7r	Pencilled ‘7’ and OSd ⟨7⟩ on left.
18	**9r**	8v	8v	
19	**9v**	9r	8r	Pencilled ‘8’ and OSd ⟨8⟩ on left.
20	**10r**	9v	9v	
21	**10v**	10r	9r	Pencilled ‘9’ and OSd ⟨9⟩ on left.
22	**11r**	10v	10v	Small patch of water damage.
23	**11v**	11r	10r	Pencilled ‘10’ and OSd ⟨10⟩ on left. Small patch of water damage.
24	**12r**	11v	11v	
25	**12v**	12r	11r	Pencilled ‘11’ and OSd ⟨11⟩ on left.
26	**13r**	12v	12v	Some dark patches, top-left.
27	**13v**	13r	12r	Pencilled ‘12’ and OSd ⟨12⟩ on left.
28	**14r**	13v	13v	
29	**14v**	14r	13r	Pencilled ‘13’ and OSd ⟨13⟩ on left.
30	**15r**	14v	14v	
31	**15v**	15r	14r	Pencilled ‘14’ and OSd ⟨14⟩ on left.
32	**16r**	15v	15v	Cord attached to central hole.
33	**16v**	16r	15r	Pencilled ‘15’ and OSd ⟨15⟩ on left.
34	**17r**	16v	16v	Vegetable fibre around leftmost hole – species unknown but resembles bast more than e.g. coir. An interstitial line of text is found between lines 3 and 4 left of central hole.
35	**17v**	17r	16r	Pencilled ‘16’, OSd ⟨16⟩ on left. Natural fibre in leftmost hole.
36	**18r**	17v	17v	
37	**18v**	18r	17r	Pencilled ‘17’ and OSd ⟨17⟩ on left.
38	**19r**	18v	18v	Diagonal crack on left.
39	**19v**	19r	18r	Pencilled ‘18’, OSd ⟨18⟩ on left.
40	**20r**	19v	19v	Yellow patch right of central hole.
41	**20v**	20r	19r	Pencilled ‘19’, OSd ⟨19⟩ on left.

42	**21r**	20v	20v	Brown blotches.
43	**21v**	21r	20r	Pencilled ‘20’, OSd ⟨20⟩ on left.
44	**22r**	21v	21v	Natural fibre in leftmost hole.
45	**22v**	22r	21r	Pencilled ‘21’, OSd ⟨21⟩ on left. Natural fibre in leftmost hole.
46	**23r**	22v	22v	
47	**23v**	23r	22r	Pencilled ‘22’, OSd ⟨22⟩ on left.
48	**24r**	23v	23v	Long crack, bottom right.
49	**24v**	24r	23r	Pencilled ‘23’ and OSd ⟨23⟩ on left. Long crack, top right.
50	**25r**	24v	26v	Discolouration, top right.
51	**25v**	25r	26r	Pencilled ‘26’ and OSd ⟨24⟩ on left.
52	**26r**	25v	25v	Dark patch near the top, left of centre.
53	**26v**	26r	25r	Pencilled ‘25’, OSd ⟨25⟩ on left.
54	**27r**	26v	24v	Long crack, bottom left.
55	**27v**	27r	24r	Pencilled ‘24’, OSd ⟨26⟩ on left. Long crack, top left.
56	**30r**	29r	29v	The numerals on the verso identify this as f.*30*, not f.29.
57	**30v**	29v	29r	Pencilled ‘29’, OSd ⟨29⟩ on left. If f.1 has no number and f.2 has OSd ⟨1⟩, we are missing two folios between f.27 and f.30.
58	**31r**	30r	30v	
59	**31v**	30v	30r	Pencilled ‘30’, OSd ⟨30⟩ on left.
60	**33r**	32r	32v	Chunks taken out of top and bottom on left.
61	**33v**	32v	32r	Pencilled ‘32’, OSd ⟨32⟩ on left.

This first folio in particular confused the curators at the Bodleian. The verso has a question mark ⟨?⟩ pencilled into the margin, and the Digital Bodleian site continues to list this folio as ‘folio ?’. Folio 1v nonetheless begins with a piece of punctuation that serves to introduce the first line of a text (Fig. I.6 – see section I.2.3) and it is in any case clear that this piece of text is the start of the narrative, commencing as it does with Jaya Pakuan leaving the palace. Similar punctuation marks may be seen in contemporary or earlier Old Sundanese texts, as in the late-fourteenth-century Kebantenan copperplates (Hunter 1996:11) and the encyclopaedic *Sanghyang Siksakandang Karesian* (Ekadjati 1996:107 figure 123), as well as in the eighteenth-century Old Sundanese text *Carita Waruga Guru* (Ekadjati 1996:122). Less elaborate punctuation serves to introduce texts elsewhere in Indonesia, as in – among others – the Rejang *Ka-Ga-Nga* texts from South Sumatra, which are remarkably similar to the mark at the beginning of the Kawali I inscription (Jaspan 1964:17). A blank f.1r is also standard in Sundanese manuscripts, both *lontar* and *gebang*. It should be clear, then, that f.1v is the first page of text in MS Jav. b.3. (R).

One of the reasons the Digital Bodleian version retains its original foliation in the online notes is due to the numbers found outside the inscribed textual margins. These numbers are not on their own a useful guide to the ordering of the pages, as they appear to follow convention and begin on the *second* folio rather than the first and appear on the *versos* rather than the rectos, but they do have some implications for our understanding of the manuscript and, more particularly, of its lacunae.

Marginal Numbers

Numbers appear in the leftmost margins of the versos of nearly all the folios of MS Jav. b.3. (R). A discussion of the Sundanese numerals themselves is found below, but in this section I intend to show what these marginal numbers imply about the foliation of the manuscript. Importantly, these numerals suggest that *two* leaves are missing after folio 27 – not one as previously believed. The numerals do not appear in Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006).

Figure I.6. The numbers in the leftmost margin of f.27v. The numeral at the top is ⟨2⟩ and the numeral in the black box is ⟨6⟩ - not ⟨4⟩ as implied by the European '24'.

The most visible of the marginal numerals are the pencilled European[44] numbers presumably added to the manuscript by a Bodleian curator assessing the foliation. Above or around these, however, are numerals in the Old Sundanese script. For the most part the two sets agree with one another. The exceptions are my folios 25v and 27v: the pencilled numbers identify the former as folio 26 and the latter as folio 24, while the Old Sundanese numerals are ⟨24⟩ on the former and ⟨26⟩ on the latter (Figure I.6). This difference suggests that the curator numbered the folios in the order that they found them rather than following the Old Sundanese system.

As with other Old Sundanese manuscripts, there are no numerals on the first folio, whether on the blank recto or the inscribed verso, and the numbering (both the European and Old Sundanese) begins on f.2v with a number ⟨1⟩. This means that the Old Sundanese page numbers are a digit behind the revised foliation. The leaf labelled '1'/⟨1⟩ is actually the second folio; the one labelled '2'/⟨2⟩ is actually

[44] That is to say so-called 'Hindu-Arabic' numerals such as are used in Europe. The Old Sundanese numerals are also descended from the 'Hindu' positional notation system and so 'Hindu-Arabic' seems an inappropriate designation for the European numbers here.

the third; and so on throughout. Following this reasoning, the leaf labelled '29'/⟨29⟩ ought to be folio *30* in the revised ordering, rather than f.29 as Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006) and the Bodleian both have it. This means that two folios, and not one as supposed by Noorduyn, are absent between ff.27 and 30, and one is missing between ff.31 and 33. The manuscript is unfinished, lacking at least one more folio at the end. MS Jav. b.3. (R) is therefore missing a minimum of *four* leaves: 28, 29, 32, and 34.

This larger lacuna has implications for the numbering of the metrical lines. Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006) give *Bujangga Manik* 1757 lines in total, with 1629 surviving lines and two proposed missing folios. Taking the larger lacunae and the average number of lines per leaf (55) into account, I end my edition of *Bujangga Manik* on line 1809 instead. In Table I.2 I give the line numbers and the number of lines per leaf for each of the extant folios. These are the numbers I have adopted in my transliteration of *Bujangga Manik*, beginning with line 1 on f.1v and ending with line 1809 on f.33v. As it is unlikely the missing leaves have survived elsewhere since 1627, these numbers will have to suffice as an estimate of the poem's original length.

Table I.2. Line numbers and the number of lines per leaf (in parentheses) in Bodleian MS Jav. b.3. (R).

Folio No.	*Lines*	*Folio No.*	*Lines*	*Folio No.*	*Lines*
f.1	1-29 (*29*)	f.11	525-579 (*54*)	f.21	1093-1153 (*60*)
f.2	29-92 (*63*)	f.12	579-636 (*58*)	f.22	1153-1212 (*59*)
f.3	92-149 (*57*)	f.13	636-691 (*55*)	f.23	1212-1268 (*56*)
f.4	149-204 (*55*)	f.14	691-748 (*57*)	f.24	1268-1324 (*55*)
f.5	204-257 (*53*)	f.15	748-804 (*56*)	f.25	1324-1378 (*54*)
f.6	257-311 (*54*)	f.16	804-859 (*55*)	f.26	1379-1430 (*53*)
f.7	312-362 (*49*)	f.17	859-918 (*59*)	f.27	1430-1479 (*49*)
f.8	362-418 (*56*)	f.18	918-979 (*61*)	f.30	**1589-1641** (*52*)
f.9	418-470 (*52*)	f.19	979-1035 (*56*)	f.31	**1642-1697** (*55*)
f.10	471-525 (*54*)	f.20	1035-1093 (*58*)	f.33	**1753-1809** (*56*)

I.1.4 The Age of the Manuscript

Unfortunately the risks of radiocarbon-dating MS Jav. b.3. (R) outweigh the benefits and the Bodleian curators have decided against subjecting the fragile leaves to the invasive procedure. The date-range for the creation of the manuscript, between the mid/late fifteenth and early seventeenth centuries, is still poorly calibrated, and the results of any form of chemical dating are likely to be inconclusive. However, as mentioned above, the manuscript was described as 'most ancient' (*vetustissima*) upon its acquisition by the Library, and there is significant damage to the box enclosing the leaves, including scratches in the lacquer, a section missing from the lid, and wear on the inside tongue-and-groove construction. It is unlikely that this damage was received while in the care of the Library, if only because other items of similar age in the Bodleian have not suffered quite such dramatic wounds. I would suggest

that the manuscript was made at least several decades before 1627, although we probably cannot be more precise than that. The palaeographic evidence is of unfortunately little help here, although it should be noted that the *kropak* is extremely similar in design to other Old Sundanese *kropak*s, including that of the *gebang* SSKK, which bears a colophon dating it to 1518. Nothing precludes the manuscript from dating to the time of the composition of the text – i.e. to c.1470.

It is not known how *Bujangga Manik* came into Andrew James' hands, but it may be presumed that he purchased it on the coast – probably at Banten, where the English had a factory. It may be that the manuscript was taken as loot during the conquest of Hindu Sunda between the 1520s and 1570s and brought to the coast, although there is little in the way of positive evidence for this.

*

To summarise: MS Jav. b.3. (R) consists of *lontar* (*Borassus flabellifer*) leaves arranged in a stack inside a black-lacquered teak (*Tectona grandis*) box. There are 30 extant folios (1-27, 30-31, and 33) and four missing folios hypothesised on the basis of punctuation, metre, language, and the marginal numbers (28, 29, 32, and 34). All of the leaves are punctured in three places along the central *x*-axis and are inscribed un-charcoaled on both sides, with the exception of folio 1, the recto of which is blank. Faint ruled marks delineate the written space, and numbers in Old Sundanese script are found in the leftmost margins of the versos of every leaf but folio 1. The leaves, almost certainly imported from outside Sunda, were once strung on a cord through the central hole, and were read by turning the page over from bottom to top once the end of the side was reached. Much of this is entirely standard for Southeast Asian *lontar* manuscripts, and aside from the absence of charcoaling or inking MS Jav. b.3. (R) is an unremarkable *lontar* text in the western Indonesian tradition. Indeed, many of these features are also found in the oldest surviving palm-leaf manuscripts from mainland Southeast Asia, the earliest of which is a Jātaka fragment in Pali from Thailand dated to 1477; this is also four-lined, unlike later manuscripts from the mainland, which can have as many as thirteen lines of text (five being standard).[45]

I.2 Palaeography

In this section I will examine the script and writing system of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Jav. b.3. (R). The script – a Brahmic one, related to the great majority of writing systems in pre-colonial Indo-

[45] For this information I am indebted to the participants in the palm-leaf roundtable at the International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS) in Leiden on July 17, 2019 – particularly Volker Grabowsky, Silpsupa Jaengsawang, and Alexey Kirichenko.

Malaysia[46] – is a particularly old and uninked example of what is now conventionally called 'Old Sundanese script' (Malay/Sd *aksara Sunda kuno/kuna*), the most prominent study of which was based on later inked manuscripts (Darsa 1997). As such, the *lontar* script found in MS Jav. b.3. (R) requires a more detailed discussion than its identification as 'Old Sundanese script' might suggest.

I.2.1 Terminology

A terminological point should be made at this point regarding 'scripts', 'writing systems', and 'hands', following Sproat (2000). By *script* I mean 'a set of distinct marks conventionally used to represent the written form of one or more languages' (Sproat 2000:25). A *writing system*, by contrast, is the way a script is used to write a particular language. In an Indo-Malaysian context this distinction is particularly fraught but nonetheless necessary: lots of related scripts have been used to write dissimilar languages, each of which have their own writing systems, and lots of languages in the region have been written in a range of distinct scripts, including Sundanese. The Old Sundanese language first appears to have been written in variants of Javanese scripts, and these had probably evolved – or been deliberately molded – into identifiably Sundanese forms by the end of the fourteenth century. There are at least two distinct scripts found in surviving Old Sundanese manuscripts, with significant variants within those categories, and there are a few more on top when Old Sundanese inscriptions are included.

A *hand* is used here to refer to an individual's way of writing a script; this is perhaps a less relevant category in the context of medieval Southeast Asia than in medieval Europe or the Middle East as few manuscripts have survived to allow us to differentiate hands. In the *Bujangga Manik* manuscript, however, *two* hands can be differentiated: one makes up the bulk of the text and the other, also an 'Old Sundanese' one, is found in only a peculiar interstitial pair of lines on f.17r. A cursory analysis of this hand is found below. The main text of MS Jav. b.3. (R) appears in any case to have been written by a single scribe.

Scripts are made up of *graphemes*, the smallest units of writing in a script. Graphemes are not precisely analogous to phonemes in a spoken language and they do not necessarily map neatly on to one another,[47] and there has consequently been some discussion of the utility of the grapheme concept (see Sproat 2000:28). Nevertheless, 'grapheme' serves here as a convenient label for all the different kinds of marks that can be encountered when reading a Southeast Asian manuscript – perhaps more useful in this context than when describing an alphabet, for reasons that should become clear. In the study of Indonesian manuscripts these different graphemes have conventional labels, most derived from the traditional Javanese terminology. Here the Sundanese names will be used for the diacritics, although

[46] The principal exception is Jawi, a version of the Arabic script adapted for writing Malay first attested in a stone inscription from Terengganu, Malaysia, dated to the beginning of the fourteenth century.
[47] This can be demonstrated with reference to many English words – e.g. 'ought', which consists of five graphemes ⟨o u g h t⟩ but only two phonemes /ɔ:t/.

some Javanese terms have been retained in order to accord better with the existing literature on Indo-Malaysian writing systems, including the term *sandhangan* with its modern Javanese spelling.[48] These terms will be defined in detail below but two stand out as requiring definition at this point: *aksara* (Malay, Jv, Sd 'letter; script', from Skt *akṣara*), which refers to the primary syllabic characters ⟨ka ga nga⟩ (etc.) used in the Old Sundanese scripts, and *sandhangan* (Jv 'clothing'), which refers to the diacritics that modify the *aksara*s. *Sandhangan* are found in various positions around the *aksara*s and are generally smaller and less prominent than them (Figure I.7).

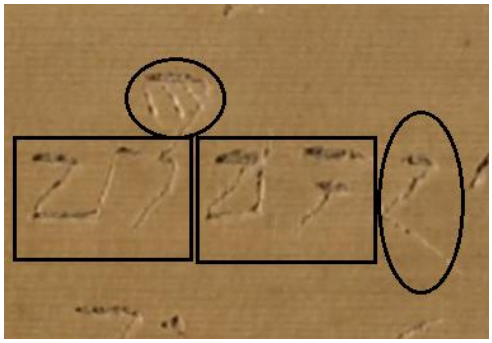


Figure I.7. The syllable ⟨hə t.⟩ *het* in the word *dipahetken* on f.31v. The rectangles delineate the *aksara nglegena* ⟨ha⟩ and ⟨ta⟩. *Sandhangan* are circled. The *sandhangan* at the top (Sd *paneleng*) changes the vowel to ⟨e⟩/[ə] and the final one (Sd *pamaéh*) cancels the vowel sound in ⟨ta⟩.

*Aksara*s come in two flavours, conventionally called *nglegena* and *pasangan* respectively. *Aksara nglegena* – 'naked *aksara*s' – are used in the vast majority of cases; *aksara pasangan* ('paired *aksara*s') are used to create consonant clusters (e.g. ⟨kt⟩), usually with one *aksara* stacked on top of the other. In many Javanese scripts all the *aksara*s have *nglegena* and *pasangan* forms, but the Old Sundanese scripts, including the one used in MS Jav. b.3. (R), only make use of a small number of *aksara pasangan*, most differing in only minor ways from their *aksara nglegena* counterparts.

I.2.2 Features of Brahmic Scripts

The script used in MS Jav. b.3. (R) is derived ultimately[49] from Brahmi, a South Asian script of uncertain origin best known from the Edicts of Aśoka (250-232 BCE). Brahmi was an *abugida* or 'alphasyllabary' (Sproat 2000:45) or a 'semisyllabary' (Behrend 1996:161) – a script in which, instead of representing phonemes, as ideally in an alphabet, the basic graphemes represent *syllables*. As mentioned briefly above, in Indo-Malaysian languages whose scripts derive from Brahmi, the primary

[48] This is an academic rather than political decision and does not imply Javanese authority over Sundanese subject matter. The Sundanese term for *sandhangan* is *rarangkén*, but this is considerably less well-known to non-Sundanese scholars than *sandhangan*.

[49] Whether Brahmi had an earlier Near Eastern ('Southern Semitic') ancestor is a matter of some controversy. While it seems plausible that Brahmi letters were themselves derived from Proto-Sinaitic and *ultimately* from Egyptian hieroglyphs, whether by direct inspiration or stimulus diffusion, it is not a firm conclusion. For the purposes of this text the Old Sundanese scripts may be considered to derive 'ultimately' from Brahmi. See Salomon (1998:19-30).

syllabic graphemes are known as *aksara*s (from Skt *akṣara* ‘letter, syllable’). Each *aksara* represents a consonant paired with an inherent vowel (usually /-a/) or alternatively an independent vowel (known in Javanese as *aksara swara*, from Sanskrit *svára* ‘sound, voice’). The syllable /ka/, for instance, is represented using only one grapheme ⟨ka⟩ in Brahmic scripts, as is /a/ in a syllable-initial position or when preceded by a glottal stop ⟨a⟩.

These *aksara*s are modified by subsidiary graphemes – the *sandhangan* ‘clothing’ mentioned above – that change the inherent vowel of the *aksara* or modify it in other ways. The *sandhangan* can be used to:

- ‘kill’ the inherent vowel (⟨ka⟩ → ⟨kØ⟩);
- change it from ⟨-a⟩ to another vowel (⟨ka⟩ → ⟨ku⟩);

or perform functions that would be the purview of independent graphemes in alphabetic writing systems, like adding a glottal fricative [h] ⟨ka⟩ → ⟨kah⟩ or a velar nasal stop [ŋ] ⟨ka⟩ → ⟨kaŋ⟩ to the syllable coda.

The *sandhangan* signs can be found *above* the *aksara*, as with ⟨-i⟩ and ⟨-ng⟩; *below* it, as with ⟨-u⟩; to the *right* of it, as with ⟨-h⟩; or *both left* and *right* of it, as with ⟨-o⟩. These signs are generally smaller than the *aksara*s in most Brahmic scripts, although in MS Jav. b.3. (R) and in OSd manuscripts generally the *sandhangan*s are quite large and may occasionally be confused with *aksara nglegena*. Below I will use the modern Sundanese names of these *sandhangan*/*rarangkén* signs as given in Darsa (1997) and Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006:433-435), and the models Darsa and Noorduyn used will appear in the tables of graphemes below (Tables I.3-I.9).

I.2.3 Describing the Writing System in MS Jav. b.3. (R)

General Characteristics

An overview of the salient features of the script is worthwhile before examining the forms of the graphemes. Readers intending to grapple with the script themselves should probably skip ahead to the tables of characters, referring back to these points if they encounter problems with the intepretation of the text.

- The script is made up of 18 *aksara nglegena* ⟨ka ga nga ca ja ña ta da na pa ba ma ya ra la wa sa ha⟩; five *aksara swara* ⟨a é i o u⟩; seven *aksara pasangan* ⟨ca na ba ma ya wa mpa⟩; four special forms ⟨re le tra k⟩; eight *aksara sandhangan* (*pamaéh*, *panolong*, and ⟨é i u e h ng r -r-⟩); and ten numerals ⟨1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0⟩. There are also three punctuation marks ⟨· /0/ //0//⟩.
- The text is written *scriptio continua* in the sense that words within the same metrical line are not distinguished by spaces or punctuation. However, a short dash or dot is used to indicate the beginning and end of the metrical lines.

- MS Jav. b.3. (R) makes no distinction between ⟨e⟩ and ⟨eu⟩. Current Sundanese orthography has both ⟨e⟩, representing the sound [ə], and ⟨eu⟩, representing [ɤ] (similar to Old Javanese ⟨ö⟩), but this distinction is not typically marked in Old Sundanese manuscripts. Aditia Gunawan suggests that it is '[neither] necessary nor […] desirable to distinguish between the two in transcription' (2015:251).
- There is also no independent vowel (*aksara swara*) for ⟨e⟩. This sound appears as a *sandhangan* vowel ⟨-e⟩ above the *aksara swara* ⟨a⟩ instead.
- There are three ways to transcribe the sound [o]:
    - using the *taling-tarung* combination found in Javanese scripts (Sundanese: *panolong*), in which the *aksara* is placed between two characters, the one on the left (*panéléng*) normally representing ⟨é⟩ and the one on the right normally representing a long vowel in Javanese scripts and the *panolong* in Old Sundanese (see below);[50]
    - with the *aksara pasangan* ⟨wa⟩, which sometimes also represents that sound – whether it should be interpreted as [wa], [ua], or [o] depends on the metre and the modern Sundanese pronunciation;
    - using *pasangan* ⟨wa⟩ in combination with a *panéléng* (*sandhangan* ⟨é⟩) preceding the *aksara*. Unlike *pasangan* ⟨wa⟩ on its own, this only ever seems to represent the sound [o].
- There are two ways to 'kill' the inherent vowel of *aksara nglegena* ⟨ka⟩ in MS Jav. b.3. (R):
    - using a *pamaéh* after the *aksara*, the same method used with every other *aksara* (see below); or
    - by deploying a special character consisting of a ⟨ka⟩ with an additional dash underneath – shorter than the dot used to represent a *sandhangan* ⟨-u⟩ (*panyuku*) and positioned closer to the centre. In Darsa's type script of Old Sundanese, this appears as a separate and more elaborate grapheme ⟨k⟩ (Darsa 1997; Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006:434). In MS Jav. b.3. (R) it is less elaborate and similar in form to ⟨ku⟩.
- No long vowels are marked in the script – a considerable difference between the Old Sundanese scripts and the ones used to write Old Javanese and Old Malay (in which long vowels, not present in Malay phonology, are nonetheless marked in the script – see Mahdi 2015).
- No aspirated or retroflex forms ⟨dha tha ṇa⟩ (etc.) are found, either – a major difference between Old Sundanese scripts and Javanese ones. This cannot be explained on a purely phonological basis: while it is true that Old Sundanese lacked retroflexes and aspirates, so did Old and Classical Malay, and retroflexes are nonetheless found in Old Malay texts. Medieval Sundanese

[50] The use of one element either side of the *aksara* to represent [-o] is a feature of the Brahmi script and is found in the great bulk of Brahmic scripts in both South and Southeast Asia.

scholars must have made a deliberate decision to eliminate these *aksara*s from the script, even when writing Sanskrit loans (except in some specific cases, as in the *gebang* SSKK).

- A grapheme with the same form as the OJv *aksara* ⟨ṭa⟩ (representing retroflex /ṭ/) is found in the MS Jav. b.3. (R) script but it should be pronounced [tra] – a consonant cluster with an inherent vowel – rather than as a retroflex.
- Nasal stops are not always marked in the text but may be interpolated on the basis of modern Sundanese pronunciation. Precisely why they do not always appear – as in the subject of the first line of the poem, ⟨ma ha pa di ta⟩ for *mahapandita* – is not known. Usually the missing phonemes/graphemes are homorganic nasals before stops, but this does not on its own explain the absences. Hypothesised nasals are marked in the transliteration with round brackets (…) – e.g. *mahapa(n)dita*.
- Occasionally the *panolong* is found at the end of a line of text, perhaps to indicate that the end of the *orthographic* line of text on the page does not represent the end of the *metrical* line.
- Disyllabic complex graphs with only one *aksara nglegena* present are occasionally encountered. This happens when an *aksara nglegena/pasangan* combination is modified by *sandhangan* such that the resulting complex graph actually represents *two* syllables – something that cannot/does not happen in Old Javanese. An example would be the ⟨miyang⟩ in *Tamiyang* in BM 128 in which the *aksara* ⟨ma⟩ is modified by a combination of *pasangan* ⟨ya⟩, *sandhangan* ⟨ng⟩ (*panyecek*), and *sandhangan* ⟨i⟩ (*panghulu*). *Aksara pasangan* are normally used in consonant clusters and do not contribute an additional vowel, but in these cases two vowels are present – and for metrical reasons the sounds cannot be collapsed into one as in Javanese (e.g. ⟨ya⟩ → ⟨é⟩). This principle is also found in inscriptions, as in the *hiyang* on Kawali inscriptions III and IV. It means that transliterating Old Sundanese according to the International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration (IAST), as some propose (Acri and Griffiths 2014), would result in misreadings; the -*miyang* above would be written -*myiṃ* in IAST, rather different from the likely OSd pronunciation.
- Successions of like vowels (as in ⟨twah ha an⟩ *tohaan* 'lord') are separated in the modern spoken language by glottal stops and do not represent long vowels (Robins 1983:59). In Old Sundanese scripts these glottal stops are not explicitly marked but should perhaps be considered inherent features of the *aksara swara*s; such a feature is known for Javanese *aksara swara*s of the Islamic period (Bernard Arps, p.c.).
- Finally, two Old Sundanese hands are present in MS Jav. b.3. (R), one of which appears in an odd interstitial line between lines 2 and 3 on 17r. This hand more closely resembles (a cursive version of) the Old Sundanese script outlined by Darsa (1997), drawn from more modern inked manuscripts, and on that basis I believe it was inscribed later than the rest of MS Jav. b.3. (R). It is not present in the Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006) transliteration, and my tentative

interpretation of the line comes from discussion with Sundanese specialists Aditia Gunawan, Ilham Nurwansah, and Panji Topan Bahagia in June 2018. It appears to be a pair of metered lines commenting on lust and asceticism by a relatively unskilled scribe.

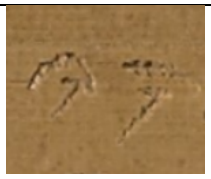
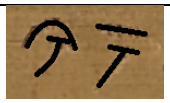
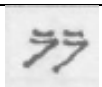
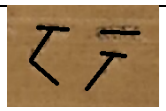
The Graphemes

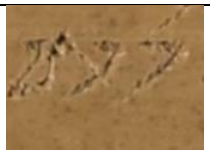
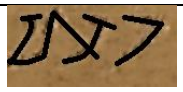
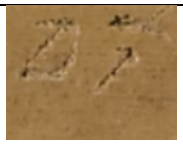
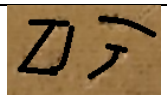
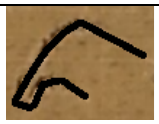
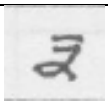
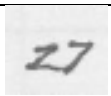
The marks found on the leaves of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Jav. b.3. (R) have been sorted into separate tables below: Consonantal *aksara nglegena* (Table I.3); *aksara swara* (Table I.4); *aksara pasangan* (Table I.5); special forms (Table I.6); *sandhangan*s (Table I.7); numerals (Table I.8); and punctuation (Table I.9). An image from a clear folio of MS Jav. b.3. (R) (first column) is compared side-by-side with the same image overlain with black lines to bring out the form (second column), followed by images of the version found in Darsa (1997) and Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006:433-435) (third column); and two transliterations (fourth and fifth columns), one in the International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration (IAST) and the other a system closer to modern Sundanese orthography. The principles behind the transliteration used in this edition are discussed in the introduction to Part II. For the probable phonetic values of these graphemes see part I.3.2 below. A table comparing the MS Jav. b.3. (R) script with other Old Sundanese scripts follows the description of the graphemes.

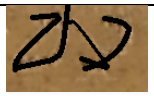
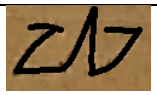
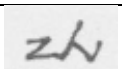
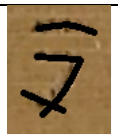
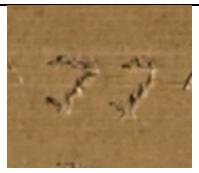
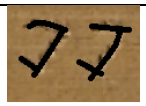
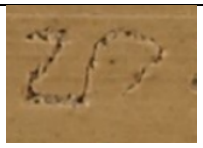
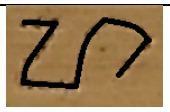
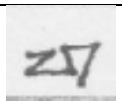
Aksara Nglegena

The order of the Old Sundanese script at the time of *Bujangga Manik*'s composition is not known but the *aksara*s are here arranged according to that of the modern version of the Sundanese script: *ka, ga, nga, ca, ja, ña* (*nya*), *ta, da, na, pa, ba, ma, ya, ra, la, wa, sa,* and *ha*. Each *aksara* will be represented by an image taken from photographs of particularly clear folios; most examples have been taken from f.7r.

Table I.3. Aksara nglegena *in MS Jav. b.3. (R).*

Aksara	*Highlighted*	*Darsa (1997)*	*IAST*	*My Transliteration*
			ka	**ka**
			ga	**ga**

			ṅa	**nga**
			ca	**ca**
			ja	**ja**
			ña	**ña**
			ta	**ta**
			da	**da**
			na	**na**
			pa	**pa**

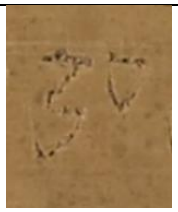
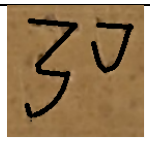
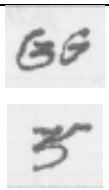
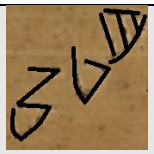
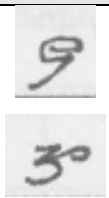
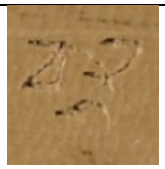
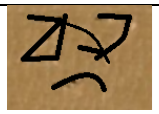
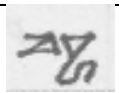
			ba	**ba**
			ma	**ma**
			ya	**ya**
			ra	**ra**
			la	**la**
			va	**wa**
			sa	**sa**
			ha	**ha**

Aksara Swara

*Aksara swara*s stand for independent vowels. Here (Table I.4) they are ordered according to the list in Darsa (1997). *Aksara swara* ⟨e⟩, the second grapheme in the table, is exceptional in that it

only appears as a *sandhangan* ⟨-e⟩ attached to *aksara swara* ⟨a⟩. As noted above, *aksara swara* should probably be thought of as preceded by an unmarked glottal stop.

Table I.4. Aksara swara *in MS Jav. b.3. (R).*

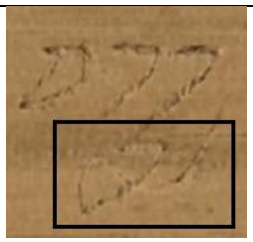
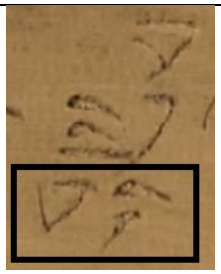
Aksara Swara	*Highlighted*	*Darsa (1997)*	*IAST*	*My Transliteration*
			a	**a**
			ə/ĕ[51]	**e** ⟨a^{e}⟩
			e	**é**
			i	**i**
			o	**o**
			u	**u**

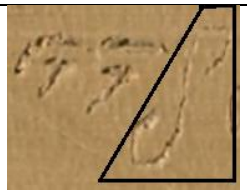
[51] This vowel is not found in Sanskrit and so it has no consistent IAST representative. The forms here are those used in the transliteration of Old Javanese, which does use the sound and graph.

Aksara Pasangan

Aksara pasangan are used to create consonant clusters. The *aksara nglegena* is usually on top, just under the ruled headline, and the *aksara pasangan* is usually placed underneath. In most cases the *pasangan* form is identical to the *nglegena* one; Table I.5 shows only those forms that differ. The combinations *-nca-* and *-nja-* (in modern Sundanese orthography and the normalised transliteration) always use the *aksara nglegena* ⟨ña⟩, representing a palatal nasal – ⟨ñca⟩ and ⟨ñja⟩. This originates in Brahmi usage and, indeed, in Indian phonological theory. *Aksara* <ca> and <na> both lose their top strokes when used as *aksara pasangan*; <ba> acquires a unique form; <ma>, <ya>, and <wa> all closely resemble contemporaneous Javanese forms.

Table I.5. Aksara Pasangan *in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Jav. b.3. (R).*

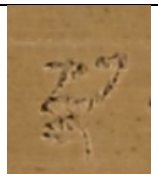
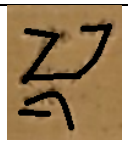
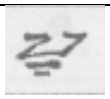
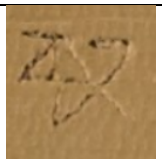
Aksara Pasangan	*Separate*	*Darsa (1997)*	*IAST*	*My Transliteration*
		-	ca	**ca**
		-	na	**na**
		-	ba	**ba**
		-	ma	**ma**

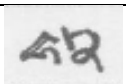
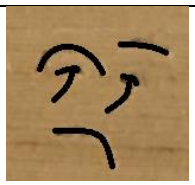
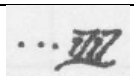
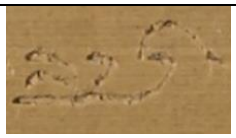
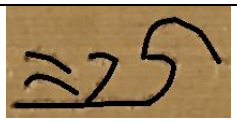
			ya	**ya**
			va	**wa/ua/o** (see above)

Special Forms

There are five special graphemes in the script in MS Jav. b.3. (R). They represent unique combinations of sounds that *could* be written in other ways but usually are not (Table I.6). Two of them feature an inherent vowel which is not ⟨a⟩ but ⟨e⟩; the others are special consonant forms. The third grapheme in the table below, ⟨tra⟩, is of particular interest: Derived from a variant of the Javanese *aksara* ⟨ṭa⟩, which represented a retroflex consonant not present in Old Sundanese phonology, in *Bujangga Manik* (and other OSd texts) it is clearly intended to represent the sound [tra], as in *sutra* 'silk, thread'. The fifth item in the table is an amalgam of ⟨ma⟩ and ⟨pa⟩; as the final component of *aksara* ⟨ma⟩ is similar to the first of ⟨pa⟩ the two parts are easily combined, but they take on a unique form when put together.

Table I.6. Special forms used in the script in Bodleian MS Jav. b.3. (R).

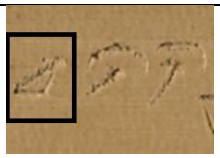
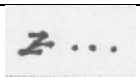
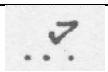
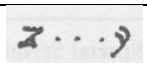
Special Form	*Highlighted*	*Darsa (1997)*	*IAST*	*My Transliteration*
			ṛ	**re**
		 	ḷ	**le**

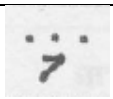
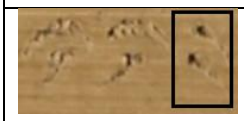
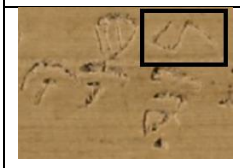
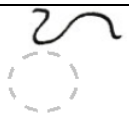
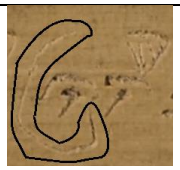
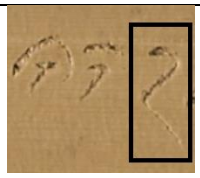
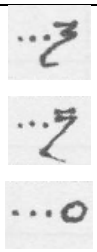
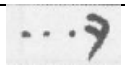
			ṭa	**tra**
			k	**k**
		-	mpa	**mpa**

Aksara Sandhangan

Aksara sandhangan ‘clothe’ *aksara nglegena*, changing their attributes. As mentioned above, *aksara*s can take on a number of *sandhangan*s that will change or add features, and on occasion this can create a complex graph representing more than one syllable even though only one *aksara nglegena* is present (a feature not found in the scripts used to write OJv and Skt). It is conventional with Brahmic scripts to use *aksara* ⟨ka⟩ as the base for illustrating the functions of the *sandhangan*, and I will follow this convention with the examples below. The drawings in the second column represent idealised forms of the *aksara sandhangan* as found in MS Jav. b.3. (R). In the order of the graphemes in Table I.7 I follow Darsa (1997) and Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006:434):

Table I.7. Aksara sandhangan *in MS Jav. b.3. (R).*

Sandhangan	*Separate*	*Darsa’s Version*	*Name*	*IAST*	*My Transliteration*
			*panéléng*	e	**é**
			*panghulu*	i	**i**
			*panolong*	o	**o**

			*panyuku*	u	**u**
			*paneleng*	ə	**e**
			*pangwisad*	ḥ	**h**
			*panyecek*	ṃ/ṁ[52]	**ng**
			*panglayar*	r	**r**
			*panyakra*	-r-	**-r-**
			*pamaéh*	.	The *pamaéh* is not marked in my transliteration; it cancels the inherent vowel of an *aksara* and its presence is marked by absence.
			*panolong / avagraha* (Skt)	’	For the use of the ‘*avagraha*’ – actually the right-hand side of the *panolong* – see below. I have not marked it explicitly in the transliteration.

[52] The latter is used in the more up-to-date Indic transliteration in ISO 15919.

The Uses of the Pamaéh and Panolong

A brief aside is necessary to explain the uses of the *pamaéh* and (second half of the) *panolong* (or, as in Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006, the *avagraha*). The *pamaéh* is simple: It cancels the inherent vowel of an *aksara*. This allows a word to end in a consonant, and it can also be used to form consonant clusters without using *aksara pasangan*. An example of the use of the *pamaéh* can be seen in Figure I.8:

Figure I.8. The use of the *pamaéh* (examples from f.9v). **L:** The word *kilat*, where the *aksara* ⟨ta⟩ is modified by the *pamaéh*, killing the inherent vowel. **R:** The word *ditañña*, where the *aksara* ⟨ta⟩ is unmodified by *pamaéh*, meaning that it is pronounced *with* its inherent vowel as [ta].

The *panolong* performs at least two functions in MS Jav. b.3. (R), the most common of which is as the second part of the split digraph for *sandhangan* ⟨o⟩. In Javanese scripts this function is taken by the grapheme normally indicating a long vowel (Jv *tarung*); as no long vowels occur in Old Sundanese (or at least in *Bujangga Manik*) this function is not found. The other use of the *panolong*, one not found in the Javanese scripts, is to introduce a gap between the consonant of an *aksara nglegena* and its vowel at word boundaries. This can be thought of as 'doubling' the affected *aksara* while cancelling the vowel of the first iteration, but because consonant gemination probably was not a feature of Old Sundanese phonology in practical terms the *panolong* simply serves to separate the inherent vowel from the consonant of the *aksara* it modifies. This is an unusual feature but its use is fairly straightforward, and it seems to have been used principally to save space on the page. I have provided two examples below.

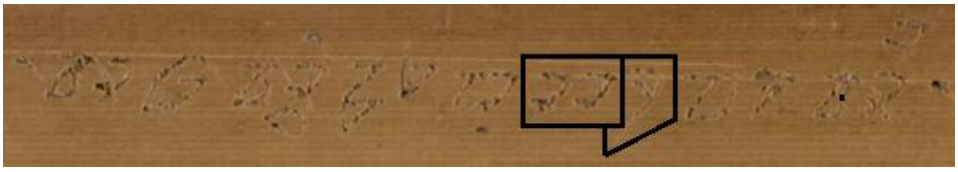


Figure I.9. A line from f.17r: *bawaing apus satambi* 'I have a book with me'.

Figure I.9 shows an example taken from BM 863 on f.17r. The line ought to be read *bawaing apus sata(m)bi* 'I brought a book with me' – but only one *aksara* ⟨sa⟩ is present. The text actually reads (where an apostrophe represents the *panolong*):

⟨ba wa ing a pu sa' ta bi⟩

The *panolong* tells us that the features of the *aksara* ⟨sa⟩ are spread across the words *apus* and *sata(m)bi*. This is simpler than writing the *aksara* twice with a *pamaéh* to cancel the vowel in between. This phenomenon can only occur at word boundaries, and it is reasonably common: almost every instance of the phrase *cunduk ka* 'arrived at (toponym)' is formed using an *panolong*, for instance.

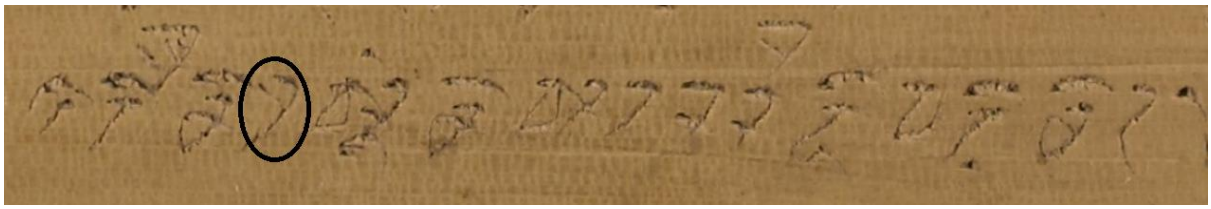


Figure I.10. A line taken from f.9v illustrating the use of the *panolong* (circled). It ought to be read *ken aing naña si utun*, but the characters are: ⟨ke na' ing na ña si u tu n.⟩.

In Figure I.10 we have BM 456 on f.9v.2: *ken aing naña si utun* 'I'll ask my boy'. Using an apostrophe to represent the *panolong*, the text actually says:

⟨ke na' ing na ña si u tu n.⟩

The word boundary between *ken* (~'let') and *aing* ('I, me') is marked by the *panolong*, such that even though the [a] of *aing* is formed by the inherent vowel of the ⟨na⟩ at the end of *ken* it ought to be considered part of the next word. The [n] of the ⟨na⟩ is part of the word *ken* while the [a] is part of the word *aing*. One could transliterate the pair as *ke**n** **na**ing* following the same principle found in *apu**s** **sa**ta(m)bi* and the pronunciation would probably be unaffected. An alternative method of writing the same line would be to use a *pamaéh* after ⟨na⟩, thereby cancelling the inherent vowel, and then writing *aing* with an initial *aksara swara* ⟨a⟩, as *passim* in MS Jav. b.3. (R). The *panolong* is more efficient and just as clear, however.

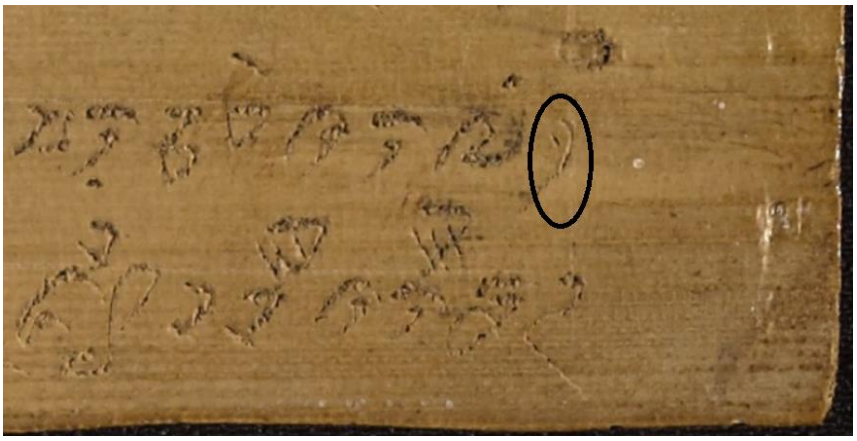


Figure I.11. An example of the use of the *panolong* at the end of the page lines. Third line of f.5r.

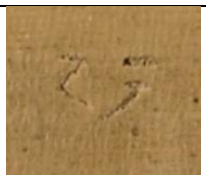
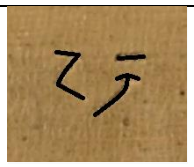
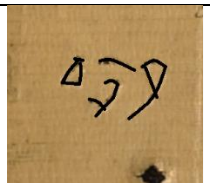
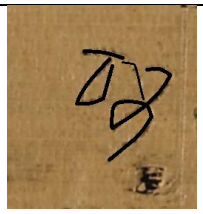
The *panolong* also appears at the end of some orthographic lines on the far right-hand side of the leaf to indicate that the metrical line has not finished and continues onto the next orthographic line (e.g. at the end of the third line in f.5r in the middle of the word *kalangkang* – Figure I.11). This use is

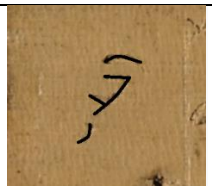
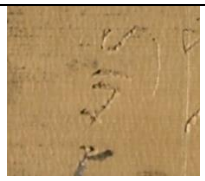
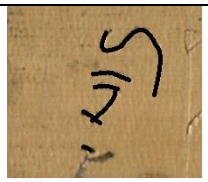
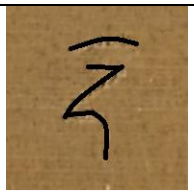
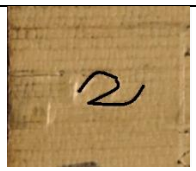
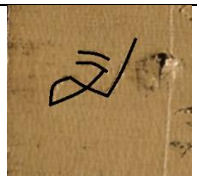
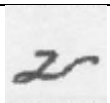
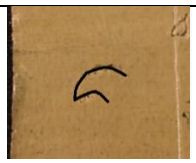
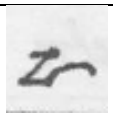
not entirely consistent but it occurs frequently enough to suggest that it was a normal part of Old Sundanese orthography.

Numerals

The only numerals to appear in MS Jav. b.3. (R) are in the left-side margins of the versos of 29 of the 30 extant leaves. A system of base-10 positional notation derived from South Asian models was used in medieval Java as elsewhere in the late medieval world, meaning that the number 10 is denoted by two numerals ⟨1⟩ and ⟨0⟩, and this concept is employed in the manuscript's OSd numerals. However, the numerals in MS Jav. b.3. (R) are all syllables written using the same Old Sundanese script found in the rest of the manuscript – e.g. ⟨1⟩ is just *aksara* ⟨ga⟩. These syllables do not represent the Sundanese words for the numbers; they appear to be rather arbitrarily chosen combinations of sounds, although there may be an underlying rationale (which it is beyond the scope of this thesis to explore). This system is unusual for a medieval Javan number system – numeral graphemes 0-9 based on Indian forms are more common, as are *candrasangkala* chronograms in which words represent numbers – but it is also found in other Old Sundanese texts. By the seventeenth century or so the numerals had evidently turned into more arbitrary symbols, however; see ⟨2⟩ and ⟨9⟩ in Darsa's script in particular.

Table I.8. Old Sundanese numerals in Bodleian MS Jav. b.3. (R).

Numeral	*Highlighted*	*Darsa (1997)*	*European Numeral*	*Pronunciation*
			1	**ga**
			2	**ro**
			3	**le**

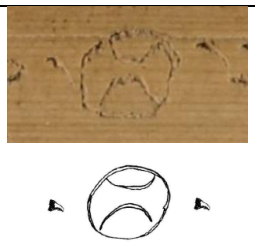
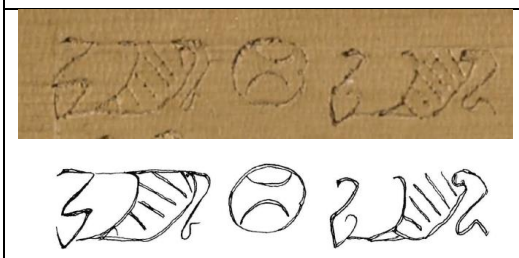
			4	**ru**
			5	**rur**
			6	**u**
			7	**la**
			8	**ca**
			9	**da**
			0	**0** This zero consists of a simple circle, much like zeroes in other parts of medieval Afro-Eurasia. It cannot be broken down into components and has no apparent phonetic value.

Punctuation

By far the most common punctuation mark is an octosyllable marker in the form of an interpunct ⟨·⟩ found at the beginning and end of the vast majority of metrical lines in the manuscript. There are some exceptions to this scattered throughout MS Jav. b.3. (R) – places where the mark should

probably be present but is not, the bulk of these probably due to space limitations. These have been marked in the transliteration using round brackets (·). Other punctuation marks are used less freely: Only three ⟨//0//⟩ and eight ⟨/0/⟩ marks are found in the text. Both of these marks appear to indicate that a break has occurred in the story.

Table I.9. Punctuation marks used in Bodleian MS Jav. b.3. (R).

Punctuation Mark	*Transcription*	*Notes*
	· (*interpunct*)	By far the most common mark, this is used in MS Jav. b.3. (R) to divide the text into metrical lines (usually but not invariably of eight syllables).
	/0/	This mark is most similar to a Javanese *pada adeg-adeg* in that it serves to divide the text into sections or chapters (although not entirely consistently). Note that this mark is always preceded and followed by the octosyllabic marker/interpunct. Found before lines 158 (f.4r), 332 (f.7r), 398 (f.8v), 548 (f.11r), 609 (f.12v), 1279 (f.24r), 1294 (f.24r), and 1430 (f.27r).
	//0//	This mark is followed by an interpunct in every case, although in its appearance in line it is not preceded by one. Found before lines 1 (f.1v), 456 (f.9v), and 1357 (f.25v).

*

I.2.4 The Correction of Errors

A small number of error corrections appear in MS Jav. b.3. (R), most of which have been marked in the transliteration in italics placed within square brackets. There are three common kinds of correction in MS Jav. b.3. (R), at least two of which can be found in other Indo-Malaysian palm-leaf manuscripts (see van der Meij 2017:314-340 for an overview of the subject). None of these involve scratching out the offending syllable or striking it through, a method found reasonably frequently in paper manuscripts.

The first method is to create a nonsense syllable – a syllable impossible in Old Sundanese orthography – in order to cancel the syllable as a whole. This is done by providing the syllable with too many *sandhangan*, usually a *panyuku* ⟨-u⟩ and a *panghulu* ⟨-i⟩ together, a technique known from Javanese manuscripts dating back to the sixteenth century (van der Meij 2017:324) and often used in the Balinese tradition, where it is known as *suku-ulu* marking. Three examples of this from MS Jav. b.3. (R) can be seen in Figure I.12:

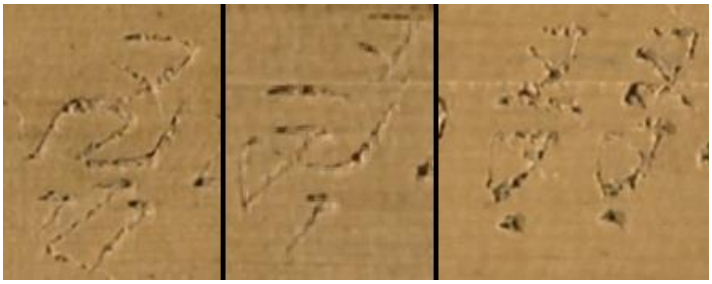


Figure I.12. L-R: f.27v.3; f.20v.1; f.9r.2. As can be seen in the first two examples, the *panyuku* in error-*aksara*s is frequently given its full and unambiguous form – a crooked bar – instead of merely appearing as a dot as it usually does in MS Jav. b.3. (R).

Dick van der Meij does not record the use of the second method of error correction in Javanese and Balinese manuscripts. This involves the use of a small cross above the headline to indicate that two *aksara*s have been written in the wrong order, as can be seen in Figure I.13, where the scribe has written ⟨a ing bu⟩ instead of ⟨a bu ing⟩ for the phrase *a(m)buing* 'my mother'. The cross appears above the headline in anticipation of the incorrectly ordered text to indicate the error and prompt the reader to read the *aksara*s in a different order. This is not the same use to which such crosses appear to have been put in Javanese and Balinese manuscripts, where they serve simply to indicate the presence of a mistake indicated by other means (van der Meij 2017:328).

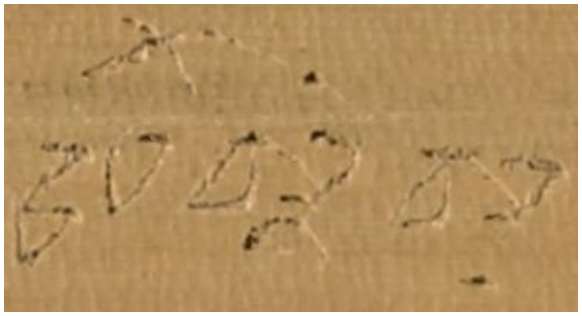


Figure I.13. f.12v.4: ⟨a^{X} ing bu⟩, an error for *a(m)buing*. A cross has been used to indicate that two *aksara*s should be swapped.

The third method of correction employed by the MS Jav. b.3. (R) scribe was to convert one *aksara* into another by adding strokes. The resulting text can present difficulties in reading, although context usually makes these surmountable. A pair of examples can be seen in Figure I.14:

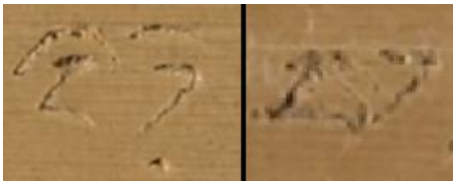


Figure I.14. L-R: f.15v.3 (<gu> converted into <ku>) and f.18r.3 (<pa> turned into <ma>).

*

I.2.5 The Second Hand

The description above concerns the dominant hand in Bodleian MS Jav. b.3. (R), but another, seemingly younger, hand occurs in what appears to be a piece of off-hand interlinear commentary on the left-hand side of f.17r in between the second and third lines (Figure I.15). This pair of octosyllabic lines has yet to be conclusively deciphered and does not appear in Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006). I believe it is a more recent hand than that found in the rest of the text, although it is hard to be certain of that. It is nonetheless clear that it was added by a different scribe after the completion of the main text.

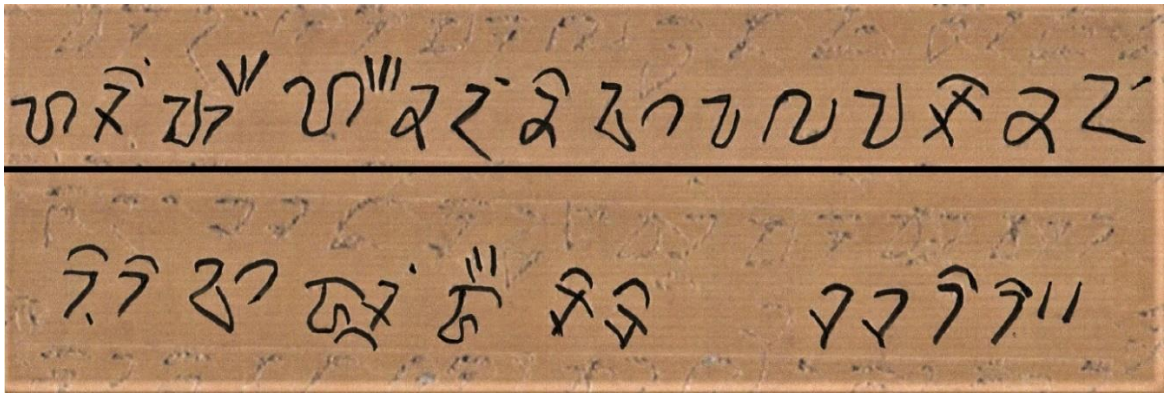


Figure I.15. The interlinear commentary on f.17r. The two parts are in fact placed above the same headline; I have stacked them for reasons of space, and to separate the text into the component octosyllabic lines.

My interpretation of these lines was arrived at in collaboration with Sundanese scholars Aditia Gunawan of the PNRI, Ilham Nurwansah of the Dreamsea Project, and Panji Topan Bahagia, an amateur scholar based in Garut. After making contact on Twitter, I alerted Panji to the existence of these interstitial lines and sought his help in understanding them. Within hours he had produced an interpretation of the line as a commentary on Bujangga Manik's rejection of the female ascetic in lines 860-868, which he posted to Facebook, where the discussion continued. I believe this interpretation to be accurate, although the details are confusing and it took us a while to arrive at a satisfactory transliteration. The decipherment hinges on the first word, *hurung* 'glowing, blazing up' (Rigg 1862:152.6), which echoes the poem's notion of romance between men and women as as inevitable as a fire spreading to dry thatch. Ilham Nurwansah noted that there are punctuation marks for the octosyllabic lines; Gunawan pointed out that the third *aksara* is almost certainly ⟨tə⟩ *te* 'not'; I

contributed the interpretation of the final word in the first section as *ngalérén*, from OJv *aleren* ‘to stand still, stop, halt, rest, dwell’ (OJED 1022:7.1). Some problems remain, however.

Several of the graphemes can be compared to those found in the rest of the text; the seventh and twelfth *aksara*s closely resemble *aksara* ⟨nga⟩ as found in other Old Sundanese texts, including the rest of MS Jav. b.3. (R) (Figure I.16). I believe, too, that the confusing portion near the end of the second line is ⟨ra ra⟩, two *aksara* ⟨ra⟩ in succession (Figure I.17).

Figure I.16. A comparison of *aksara* ⟨nga⟩ in the main text of Bodleian MS Jav. b.3. (R) (right) with what appears to me to be the same character in the interstitial line on f.17r (left).

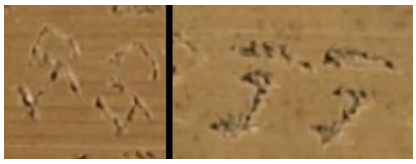


Figure I.17. A comparison of what appear to be doubled *aksara* ⟨ra⟩ in both the main text of MS Jav. b.3. (R) (right) and the interstitial line in f.17r (left).

After we had identified the first two words in the second line as ⟨ku nga ing⟩ *ku ngaing* ‘by me’, it became clear that the final word would have to be a passive verb, meaning that what appears to be ⟨de⟩ is probably ⟨di⟩ instead. Other problem areas are the ⟨hen na⟩ in the first line and the ⟨kah⟩ at the end; one would expect ⟨-ken⟩ to be the final syllable of this phrase – the same formula, *ku ngaing dirarasaken*, appears in BM 862 and BM 1301.

I tentatively decipher the lines as:

⟨hu rung te he n. na nga lé ré n. · ku nga ing de ra ra sa kah⟩

hurung te hen na ngalérén. · ku ngaing d(i)rarasak(en)

With some accounting for the possibility of poor grammar and penmanship, I translate it as follows:

‘the burning does not abate · I have experienced it’

Again, this appears to be a comment on the metaphoric treatment of lust in *Bujangga Manik*. A more precise interpretation eludes us all at present, in any case.

*

I.2.6 Comparing Old Sundanese Scripts

Sundanese writing culture has been nothing if not diverse. The language has been written in a number of different scripts in addition to the one outlined above, including *pégon*, a variant of the Arabic script initially developed for writing Javanese (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries); *cacarakan*, a form of the modern Javanese alphasyllabary (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries); the Roman alphabet (nineteenth century to the present); and finally a codified form of Old Sundanese script developed in the 1990s by a committee in West Java and now used alongside the Roman alphabet on road signs and for a limited range of other official purposes. The 'Old Sundanese' script(s) is/are defined in opposition to these.

The scripts used to write the Old Sundanese language are rather diverse themselves, however, and there is more to them than the simple appellation of 'Old Sundanese script' may suggest. Below I will argue that *Bujangga Manik* is written in a unique hand of the Sundanese uncharcoaled inscribed *lontar* script that was created from a hybrid of forms taken from the script represented on the Kawali stones and the Sundanese inked *gebang* script respectively. These forms have all been treated in the past as variants of 'Old Sundanese' script, and while it may be true in a Ship-of-Theseus sense that these are 'the same' script, they are sufficiently different in practical terms to justify separate treatment and classification. I will explain this below.

What Makes a Script a Script?

Scholars of Indonesian palaeography have historically had a propensity to 'lump' rather than 'split'[53] when classifying writing systems – see, for instance, the eclectic collection of scripts and writing systems labelled 'Kawi' in J. G. de Casparis's landmark *Indonesian Palaeography* (1975). These scripts are 'the same' in that their formal properties (i.e. being alphasyllabaries, using similar grapheme inventories) are the same, but they are very often not 'mutually intelligible', in the sense that being able to sight-read one would not necessarily allow one to be able to read others – surely a basic heuristic for distinguishing hands or scripts.[54] 'Kawi' is a misleading label and it gives a false impression of the uniformity and legibility of pre-colonial Javanese texts; 'Old Sundanese' is only marginally better. Tim Behrend makes a similar point with regard to the modern forms of so-called 'Javanese script': the diversity of styles

> 'almost makes it seem that "Javanese Script" is in fact the name of a family of scripts, and not just one. Indeed, certain forms or styles of the so-called Balinese, Sasak, and Madurese scripts

[53] See Simpson (1945:22-23) for the distinction between 'lumpers' and 'splitters'.
[54] Mutual intelligibility is a problematic way to differentiate languages and dialects because it is affected by other factors, like attitude and prior exposure, and the mutual intelligibility of scripts is surely subject to the same issues. As a basic first-order heuristic, however, it seems sound: Can you read *this* script based on your knowledge of *that* script? How long does it take to acquire competence in it? How secure is your interpretation?

might be easier for some literate Javanese to read than selected examples of "Javanese" script originating from a distant place or time' (Behrend 1996:162).

In European palaeography the criteria for naming and differentiating scripts are more strictly applied, and I suggest that they be studied as models for research on Southeast Asian writing systems; the terminology and precision employed allows for circumvention of the vexing question of the definitions of 'script' *vs* 'hand' (etc.) *per se*. Scripts and hands are defined according to a variety of still-unstandardised typologies and the names employed in such systems can be unwieldy – e.g. *littera gothica cursiva anglicana documentaria media* 'an English [late-]fourteenth century cursive […] of a type used for both documents and books, of medium quality' (Brown 1993:96) – but they are at least attempts to accurately characterise the range of types that can be encountered without excessive 'lumping'. These scripts are defined according to the size of the minims, the thickness of ascenders and descenders, the arrangement on the page, and even the flatness or otherwise of the 'feet' of the letters (see e.g. Brown 1993:82) – and such fine differentiations assist in the accurate dating of text and in the study of the social lives of scripts and hands (which blanket categories like 'Kawi' obscure).

Old Sundanese Script(s) and Hands

I would therefore suggest along these lines that a category as capacious as 'Old Sundanese script' is rather useless for scholarly purposes. At least two broad categories of 'Old Sundanese' script are differentiated by scholars: *Lontar* script, the kind cut into *lontar* (*Borassus flabellifer*) leaves, as in MS Jav. b.3. (R), and *gebang* script, a type written with pen-and-ink on the leaves of the *gebang* palm (*Corypha utan*). This corresponds to the distinction Ekadjati (1996:106) makes between 'square' and 'rounded' scripts respectively. That the distinction between the two was made in late-medieval and early modern Sunda is supported by the reference in *Sanghyang Sasana Mahaguru* (PNRI, L621, f.14v) mentioned above. That the two scripts were used contemporaneously is supported by the survival of at least one text, the *Sanghyang Siksakandang Karesian* (SSKK), in both *lontar* (PNRI, L624) and *gebang* versions (PNRI, L630).

The *gebang* script is often called *aksara Buda gunung* or *aksara Buda* '(mountain) Buddhist script', and variants of it are also found in some of the oldest surviving Old Javanese manuscripts; indeed, a form of this script is preserved on the Gajah Mada inscription, a text inscribed in East Java in 1351, strongly suggesting a Javanese origin. MS Jav. b.3. (R) uses an Old Sundanese *lontar* script, and these tend to vary in only minor ways, some of them summarised in Holle's 1882 *Tabel van oud- en nieuw-Indische alphabetten*: In some cases (as with Jakarta, PNRI, L626 – *Sanghyang Swawarcinta*) the text has been charcoaled to enhance the *aksara*s, while in others (as with some of the Ciburuy manuscripts only now being digitised) the *sandhangan* are very different, with the *panghulu* (*sandhangan* -i), for example, being represented by two short horizontal strokes stacked one on top of

the other. As the variation is nonetheless minor it seems fair to classify the *Bujangga Manik* script as an uncharcoaled Old Sundanese *lontar* script.

It may be instructive to compare the script in MS Jav. b.3. (R) described above with those in the figures below. Figure I.18 shows one of the earliest known Old Sundanese texts, the Rumatak inscription (1411); Figure I.19 shows one of the inscriptions at Kawali in Ciamis, West Java, possibly dated to the fourteenth century; Figure I.20 is taken from a photograph of the first page of a Sundanese paper manuscript written at the beginning of the eighteenth century, identical to the 'Old Sundanese' type-script outlined by Undang Darsa (see above); and Figure I.21 is a photograph of an excerpt from the *gebang* manuscript of *Sanghyang Siksakandang Karesian*, dated 1518. All four of the script-forms in these images have been referred to as 'Old Sundanese script' in the past, although it should be apparent that they are visually distinct and 'mutually incomprehensible': I suspect it would not be possible to read them all satisfactorily armed only with the description of the *Bujangga Manik* script above.

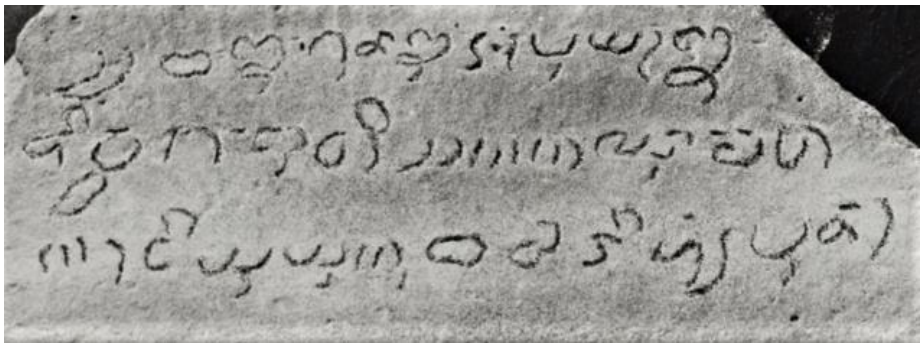


Figure I.18. The text on the Rumatak inscription of 1333 Śaka. Adapted from Leiden, UBL, KITLV 162747.

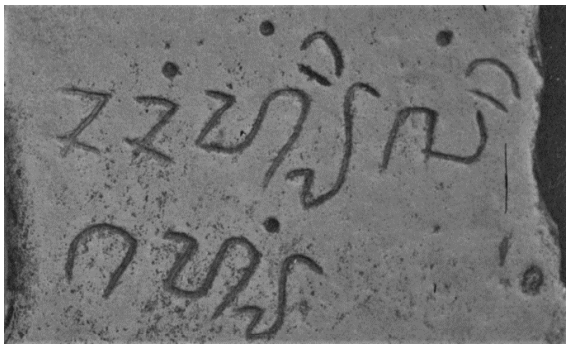


Figure I.19. The Kawali III inscription: *sanghiyang lingga hyang*. Adapted from Leiden, UBL, KITLV 87616.

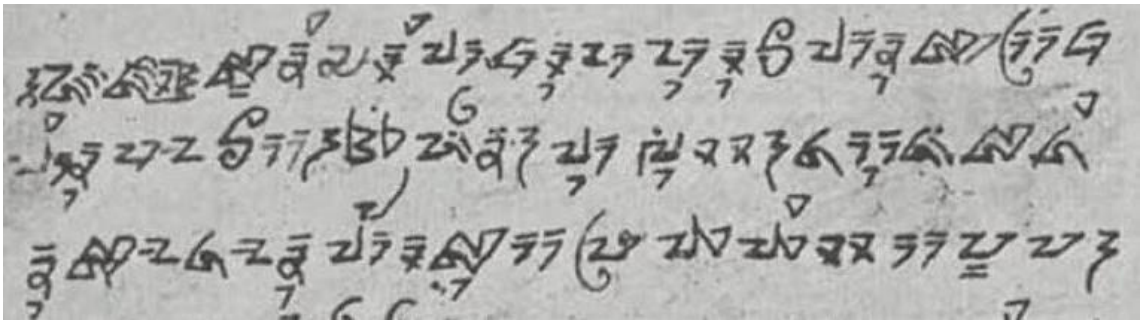


Figure I.20. Part of the first page of *Carita Waruga Guru* (Leiden, UBL, Jav. MS No. 74) – an eighteenth-century inked Old Sundanese manuscript written in what appears to be an adaptation of the *lontar* script (Pleyte 1913:362).

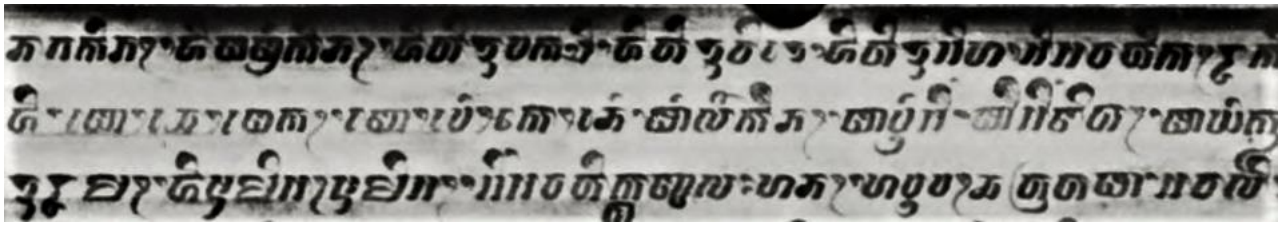
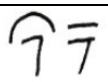
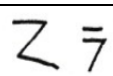


Figure I.21. A section of text from the *gebang* manuscript of *Sanghyang Siksakandang Karesian* (1518). Leiden, UBL, KITLV 162235.

The materials on which the texts were written differ: The Rumatak inscription is cut into a piece of andesite, as are the Kawali texts; *Carita Waruga Guru* is written in ink on *daluwang* (paper mulberry bark); and this manuscript of *Sanghyang Siksakandang Karesian* is written on *gebang* leaves. The differences between the scripts run deeper than this, however, and the variation in the forms of the 'Old Sundanese scripts' cannot be explained by attempts at writing the 'same script' on different surfaces. This can be seen in Table I.10, which shows the *lontar* script in MS Jav. b.3. (R) (fifth column) in side-by-side comparison with the *gebang* script from *Sanghyang Siksakandang Karesian* (fourth column); the script on the probably fourteenth-century Kawali stones (which is incidentally very similar to the script on the Kebantenan copperplates – third column); and the script on the Batutulis inscription from Bogor (dated 1333 CE, and similar to the Rumatak type – second column):

Table I.10. A comparison of the graphemes in the Batutulis and Kawali inscriptions with those in MS Jav. b.3. (R), complete with equations of the components employed in the latter.

Grapheme	*Batutulis Bogor*	*Kawali*	*SSKK* (gebang)	*MS Jav. b.3. (R)*
ka				
ga				

nga				
ca				
ja				
ña				
ta				
da				
na				
pa				
ba				
ma				
ya				
ra				
la				
wa				
sa				
ha				
k		–	-	

ca (*pasangan*)	–	–		
na (*pasangan*)	–	–		
ba (*pasangan*)	–	–		
ma (*pasangan*)	–	–		
ya (*pasangan*)				
wa (*pasangan*)		–		
re				
le	–	–		
tra	–	–		
mpa	–	–		
a				
é	–	–		

i				
o	–	–		
u	–			
-i				
-e	–			
-u				
-é				
-o				
-ng				
-h	–			
-r	–			
-r-		–		
-ø				

panolong / avagraha	–	–		
0	–	–		

It should be clear, then, that the 'Old Sundanese' scripts used to write Old Sundanese were not all of one type, and should be distinguished carefully. In the case of MS Jav. b.3. (R) we are dealing with a particular hand of *lontar* script, whose proximate origins I will now attempt to disentangle.[55]

Origins of the Lontar Script

Comparison of the graphemes in Table I.10 suggests that MS Jav. b.3. (R)'s *lontar* script is a hybrid. Some of *BM*'s *aksara*s closely resemble those on the Kawali stones (specifically ⟨nga ca da na ya ra sa a⟩ and some of the *sandhangan*) while others appear to be derived from forms found in the *gebang* script (including ⟨ka ga ta ba ha é⟩). There are some differences in grapheme inventory between these scripts, too; the *gebang* script has equivalents for all the graphemes employed in the *lontar* script (as well as some not noted in the table above, including very occasional retroflex consonants), but the *avagraha* is absent from the script used in the Kawali inscriptions. The MS Jav. b.3. (R) script has an angular uniformity not present in the other scripts, and many of the zig-zagging elements repeat across different *aksara*s.

I suggest that the script in MS Jav. b.3. (R) is the product of a fusion of forms from both the Kawali and *gebang* scripts (or scripts similar to these), with the resulting forms 'standardised' through the use of the same or similar strokes and components across the script. The Kawali-type script appears to be the source for most of the *aksara*s in the *lontar* script; this was probably originally used for writing on *lontar* leaves, as it also appears with few differences on the Kebantenan copperplates (see Hunter 1996:Fig.11), and it probably developed locally in Sunda over the course of the Middle Ages, presumably from Javanese precedents. Hunter (1996:10) suggests that this early Sundanese script 'probably evolved' ultimately from a Central Javanese Kawi of the ninth century. It is notable that long vowels and retroflex and aspirated consonants had been lost from the grapheme inventory of Sundanese scripts by the time of the first Old Sundanese inscriptions in the fourteenth century.

Other features of the *lontar* script are not found in the Kawali-type script and seem to come from adaptations of the *gebang* script, which appears to have had a proximate origin in fourteenth-

[55] A work on the origins and development of the Old Sundanese script(s) has just been completed by Eka Noviana (2020). This contains descriptions and analyses of the characters found on various media, including stone, bamboo, lontar, and gebang. Some features of her descriptions disagree with mine – her attribution of a sixteenth-century date to the Batutulis inscription, for instance – but either way I became aware of the work only after writing this section and shortly before submitting this thesis to the examiners.

century East Java, as mentioned above. The *aksara*s ⟨ka ga ta⟩ in the *lontar* script all have a characteristic component on the right-hand side, and it seems that this results from an attempt to write the *gebang* form of these characters on *lontar* using the same ductus (Figure I.22):

Figure I.22. Three aksaras ⟨ka⟩, ⟨ga⟩, and ⟨ta⟩ in different texts. From **L** to **R**: ***(1)*** as inscribed into the Gajah Mada inscription (East Java, 1351 CE – Leiden, UBL, OD-741a); ***(2)*** as found in the *aksara Buda gunung* or *gebang* script; and ***(3)*** the variants used in MS Jav. b.3. (R).

This would appear to explain the appearance of these *aksara*s, and it suggests that the *lontar* script as found in MS Jav. b.3. (R) represents a conscious amalgam of these two scripts.

That is not the complete story, however. The features on the *left*-hand side of ⟨ga⟩ and ⟨ta⟩, for instance, do not seem to have resulted simply from attempts to write the *gebang* versions on *lontar*. It will be noted that the left-hand component in ⟨ta⟩ is the same as the *panéléng*, and that it is also found in the *aksara*s ⟨ba⟩, ⟨le⟩, ⟨ña⟩, and others (Figure I.23); the leftmost component in ⟨ga⟩ is identical to the form of the *pamaéh*; and ⟨ra⟩, ⟨sa⟩, and the right-hand side of ⟨ba⟩ all share a component that looks like a barred '7'. These components repeat throughout the script, accounting for the apparent uniformity of the letters used in MS Jav. b.3. (R) and for the aesthetic consistency of the script as a whole.

Figure I.23. The same component appearing on the left-hand side in various graphemes of the MS Jav. b.3. (R) script. **L**-**R**: ña, ta, ba, ya, *panéléng*.

I suggest that the Old Sundanese scripts were the products of *deliberate* attempts at standardisation by scholars in medieval Sunda, first by excising characters unnecessary for the writing of Sundanese (retroflexes, long vowels, and the like) and secondly by combining *aksara*s from multiple scripts, rearranging their strokes and components to ensure an evenness of form and style.

*

In my view, therefore, the dominant MS Jav. b.3. (R) writing system makes use of a unique hand of Old Sundanese uncharcoaled inscribed *lontar* script, a family of scripts which resulted from the apparently deliberate standardisation of the fusion of a Kawali-type script (which probably developed locally in Sunda from Central Javanese-era precedents) with forms adapted for the *lontar* writing surface from the inked *gebang* or *Buda gunung* script (which probably developed in East Java in the fourteenth century). It was written left-to-right into the manuscript's leaves using a *pangot*, and differs substantially in the forms of its graphemes and the sounds they represented from scripts then in use in Central and East Java. Though manuscripts of this sort appear to have been intended for public recitation and were less highly valued than their *gebang* counterparts, the script used in *Bujangga Manik* nonetheless appears to have been the product of a fascinating process of script development that occurred locally within Sunda in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

I.3. Language

In this section I will look at some of the features of the language used in *Bujangga Manik*. The intent is not to explain every divergence from modern Sundanese; Old Sundanese is not clearly the direct lineal ancestor of modern Sundanese and it appears to be a specific and somewhat-Javanised register that may or may not have corresponded well with the language spoken by ordinary people at the time. I hope instead to describe the language on its own terms such that someone new to the text – but perhaps with some understanding of Malay/Indonesian or a related language – could identify the parts of speech and common vocabulary items and make steps towards their own interpretations. I cannot hope to address all of the relevant features of the language, particularly the many affixes and the multifarious uses of reduplication, nor all of the (sometimes exceptional) use cases in *Bujangga Manik*; for the former the reader should consult the literature discussed in I.3.1, and about the latter I hope there will be continued discussion in future works. I have noted some of the linguistic oddities in the notes to the translation in Part II.

I will begin with an overview of the features of Old Sundanese as encountered in *Bujangga Manik* before looking briefly at the origins of Sundanese and its relationships to other languages in the Austronesian language family. I will then go over salient features of phonology and syntax, present some of the derivational affixes applied to nouns and verbs, discuss the poetics of *Bujangga Manik*, and provide a short overview of the greetings and other colloquial expressions used by the poem's characters. The description of and principles behind my transliteration of the text can be found in the introduction to the transliteration and translation in Part II.

I.3.1 Overview

The language used in *Bujangga Manik* is rather simple. Almost every line consists of an independent eight-syllable sentence comprising a verb and a subject, although some consist entirely of noun phrases or serialised verbs. Subjects are frequently dropped. Many of these lines are formulaic and are repeated throughout. The majority of lines are verb-initial, as in Old Javanese; this feature may have already been archaic when *BM* was composed, as word order in modern Sundanese is generally SVO (as with modern Javanese and Malay). *BM* contains few if any complex sentences with multiple dependent clauses, and metrical lines are typically related to one another through parataxis. There are also no compulsory inflections for tense, gender, evidentiality, or number, although an optional infix (-*ar*-) can be applied to verbs and adjectives (and less commonly nouns) to denote a plural subject. As with most of its closest relatives, however, including Malay and Javanese, Sundanese makes use of several derivational affixes that can be applied to nouns, verbs, and adjectives, changing their valency, voice, or word class (among much else). There are significantly more of these in Sundanese than in Malay, however.

Phonologically the Old Sundanese language differs slightly from modern Sundanese, notably in lacking the vowel /ɤ/ (represented in modern Sundanese spelling as ⟨eu⟩). As noted in section I.2 above, this vowel is not marked in the scripts used in Old Sundanese texts; as the script in *BM* appears to have been modified deliberately to more accurately reflect Sundanese phonology at the time, we may infer that the vowel itself was not present in the spoken language. In any case, the most significant difference between modern Sundanese and Old Sundanese is that modern Sundanese has two language levels – meaning that the vocabulary (and even syntax) used when speaking formally or to elders (*basa lemes* 'refined language') is different to that used when speaking informally or to those younger than oneself (*basa kasar* 'rough language') (see Anderson 1998). There is no indication that such language levels were in use when *BM* was composed, and indeed it has been suggested that they only became part of ordinary Sundanese speech in the twentieth century (Müller-Gotama 2001:3).

Resources for the study of Old Sundanese (OSd) are limited and, while glossaries of common OSd terms not found in MSd have been put together (e.g. Danasasmita et al. 1987:133-174; Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006:331-429), there is as yet no comprehensive dictionary of the language. Nor has there been a complete grammatical survey, although the brief description in Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006:29-112) covers many of the major points. For the interpretation of OSd we are therefore reliant on dictionaries and descriptions of the modern language. Foremost among the former are Danadibrata's *Kamus Basa Sunda* (2006) and the *Kamus Umum Basa Sunda* ('KUBS' – Lembaga basa jeung sastra Sunda 2007), both Sundanese-Sundanese dictionaries; Sierk Coolsma's *Hollandsch-Soendaneesch woordenboek* ('Dutch-Sundanese dictionary' – 1913); Hardjadibrata (2003), a Sundanese-English dictionary; and Jonathan Rigg's *Dictionary of the Sunda Language of Java* (1862), a Sundanese-English

dictionary. Rigg's dictionary does not appear to have been consulted by Noorduyn and Teeuw, but his interpretations occasionally appear to have greater value for the study of OSd than those in other dictionaries, and the work has some ethnographic and historical value as well. No modern reference grammar of Sundanese has yet been published, although there are a number of older or more limited descriptions, including Coolsma's *Soendaneesche spraakkunst* ('Sundanese grammar' – 1904); Hardjadibrata's analysis of Sundanese syntax (1985); Franz Müller-Gotama's excellent-but-brief description of Sundanese (2001); and Robins' *Sistem dan struktur bahasa Sunda* ('The system and structure of the Sundanese language' – 1983), a collection of essays on Sundanese grammar notable for its table of common affixes with examples (94-129).

Comparative material from related languages is vital in the absence of a complete Old Sundanese dictionary. The profusion of Old Javanese (OJv) vocabulary in (and possible grammatical influence on) Old Sundanese means that OJv materials are essential, particularly Zoetmulder's *Old Javanese-English Dictionary* (OJED[56] – 1982). Malay is close to Sundanese lexically and a number of words of Malay origin can be identified in *BM* (although the lexical and phonological similarities between the two languages make it difficult to conclusively identify loans). Dictionaries of Malay are also helpful, therefore, especially Wilkinson's encyclopaedic 1932 *Malay-English Dictionary*.[57] For Sanskrit terms I have relied upon Monier-Williams (1899), and for Tamil and other Dravidian languages I have used Burrow and Emeneau's *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* (1984). A small number of loans from other languages are also present: The word *masui* 'massoy' (see section V.3.3) may be from a language of Southeast Seram or the Gorong Archipelago in Maluku, for instance (Roy Ellen, p.c.), and there are also a few words of Arabic or Persian origin in the poem, including one, *ke(r)tas* 'paper', originally from Greek. The *Austronesian Comparative Dictionary* (ACD) compiled by Robert Blust and Stephen Trussel (2016 [2010])[58] is also a useful resource, as it supplies comparative information that can assist in the interpretation of peculiar OSd forms not found in the modern language. Used together these resources can strengthen our interpretations of OSd texts, including *Bujangga Manik*, but it should nonetheless be clear that these interpretations are at times tentative and contingent in the extreme. There is little doubt that the interpretation and translation of *Bujangga Manik* will change, in its details at least, as more work is done on other OSd material.

[56] Accessible online: Zoetmulder, P. J. 1982. *Old Javanese-English dictionary*. Leiden: KITLV. http://sealang.net/ojed/index.htm (accessed 03-07-2020). I found Willem van der Molen's *An Introduction to Old Javanese* (2015) especially helpful as a concise overview.
[57] A searchable version is accessible online: Wilkinson, Richard James. 1932. *A Malay-English dictionary*. SEALang Library. http://sealang.net/malay/dictionary.htm (accessed 03-07-2020).
[58] Online edition: https://www.trussel2.com/acd (accessed 03-07-2020).

I.3.2 Origins

Sundanese is a member of the Austronesian (An) language family, one of the world's primary language families. Austronesian probably originated on the island of Taiwan in the mid-Holocene, with a branch of it, now known as Malayo-Polynesian (MP), expanding into island Southeast Asia and the Pacific c.4200 BP (as suggested by the archaeological evidence – Bellwood 2013:193-194). Every Austronesian language historically spoken outside of Taiwan is Malayo-Polynesian, including Sundanese, Malay, and Javanese as well as Hawaiian, Malagasy, and many others (for overviews of the family see Adelaar and Himmelmann 2005; Blust 2013; Kikusawa 2015).

The relationships between the Malayo-Polynesian languages have yet to be fully worked out: Sundanese and most of the other languages of western Indonesia and Malaysia have in the past been grouped in a proposed Western Malayo-Polynesian (WMP) family (as in Bellwood 1997:96-127), but the only characteristic appearing to unite this grouping was the use of a nasal prefix to form agent-focus or active verbs (e.g. Sundanese *tanya* > *nanya* 'ask'). WMP has now been broken up, with some support instead given to a smaller clade called 'Western Indonesian' (WI) alongside a number of other separate branches (A. D. Smith 2017a, 2017b). The situation is clearer at a lower level. Sundanese is now grouped by most linguists within the Greater North Borneo (GNB) family proposed by Robert Blust (2010) and expanded upon by Alexander Smith (2017a). Sundanese is thus significantly more closely related to the Malayic languages, Cham, and the languages of northern Borneo than to Javanese, the language with which Sundanese has long shared the island of Java. Under an earlier proposal by Alexander Adelaar (2005), the language had been placed in a branch called 'Malayo-Sumbawan', although Adelaar has now put his support behind GNB instead (2019). In Smith's proposal Sundanese is a GNB language along with Malay, while Javanese occupies its own branch within Western Indonesian. (Under Adelaar's Malayo-Sumbawan family Sundanese was also grouped with Malay and not Javanese.)

The evidence for the Greater North Borneo proposal is principally lexical; for philological purposes this is important as it means evidence from Malay, certainly the best-known and best-studied of all the GNB languages, is likely to be helpful in reconstructing the meanings of hapaxes and problematic terms. Characteristic of GNB languages is the replacement of PAn *pitu 'seven' with *tujuh*, a feature of both Malay and Sundanese but not Javanese (as in OJv *pitu*) and also evident in Old Sundanese (e.g. BM 97). A reader of *BM* with knowledge of Malay/Indonesian will recognise many words in the text, including *di* 'in, at', *datang* 'come', and *pañjang* 'long', among many others. Malay and Sundanese are similar in other ways – forming patient-focus/passive verbs with the prefix *di-*, for instance, and using unmodified adjectives as stative verbs. Javanese has, however, had a significant influence on the development of Sundanese at several points in its history, and a large number of OJv loanwords are evident in *Bujangga Manik*.

The term 'Old Sundanese' (OSd) is applied to a stage of the language represented by a written literature spanning the period c.1300-c.1700, roughly between the inscribing of the Batutulis stone and the introduction of new forms of modern-Javanese-influenced literatures in *pégon* and Javanese script in the eighteenth century, after which Old Sundanese appears to have fallen out of use. There are some differences between Old and modern Sundanese, including the aforementioned acquisition of the vowel /ɤ/ or ⟨eu⟩, but some formulae used in poetry recorded in modern times have almost exact parallels with formulae in *Bujangga Manik* and in other OSd texts.[59] The line separating OSd and MSd is somewhat unclear, therefore, and OSd is perhaps defined more by the use of Sundanese script and the non-Islamic subject matter of the surviving texts than by strictly linguistic criteria.

I.3.3 Phonology

Sundanese phonology is conservative, retaining most proto-Malayo-Polynesian phonemes unchanged (with the important exception of /w/, which underwent an interesting sound change in prehistory). The phoneme inventory of Old Sundanese appears to have been essentially the same as that of Malay/Indonesian, and as represented in *BM* the language has six vowels and nineteen consonants including the glottal stop (which is not explicitly marked by the script but whose presence may be inferred). No long vowels, aspirated stops, or retroflex consonants are found in the script used in MS Jav. b.3. (R), although they *can* occasionally be encountered in OJv and Skt loanwords in other OSd texts. (Whether they were pronounced according to their original values is not clear.) I have decided to omit them from the tables and discussion below, as this section is intended as a description of the language of *Bujangga Manik* rather than the OSd corpus as a whole. The phonemes that do appear in the poem are in any case laid out in Tables I.11 and I.12 using their IPA approximations; the symbols in angled brackets are the letters used to represent the phonemes in the transliteration.

Table I.11. The consonants of Old Sundanese as found in Bujangga Manik.

	Labial	*Alveolar*	*Post-alveolar/Palatal*	*Velar*	*Glottal*
Nasal	**m** ⟨m⟩	**n** ⟨n⟩	**ɲ** ⟨ñ⟩	**ŋ** ⟨ng⟩	
Voiceless plosive/affricate	**p** ⟨p⟩	**t** ⟨t⟩	**tʃ** ⟨c⟩	**k** ⟨k⟩	**ʔ**
Voiced plosive/affricate	**b** ⟨b⟩	**d** ⟨d⟩	**dʒ** ⟨j⟩	**g** ⟨g⟩	
Fricative		**s** ⟨s⟩			**h** ⟨h⟩

[59] Compare, for instance, BM 470-495 with the MSd poem in Rosidi (1995:146-148).

Central approximant			**j** ⟨y⟩	**w** ⟨w⟩	
Lateral approximant		**l** ⟨l⟩			
Trill		**r** ⟨r⟩			

Table I.12. The vowels of Old Sundanese as found in Bujangga Manik.

	Front	*Central*	*Back*
Close	**i** ⟨i⟩		**u** ⟨u⟩
Mid	**e** ⟨é⟩	**ə** ⟨e⟩	**o** ⟨o⟩
Open		**a** ⟨a⟩	

The precise values of these phonemes at the time are unclear, and there have certainly been some changes in Sundanese pronunciation since the composition of the text, particularly with regard to nasalisation (see Müller-Gotama 2001:11) and vowels. All the vowels can appear initially, medially, and finally. Sequences of like vowels were probably separated by a glottal stop, as in MSd (Müller-Gotama 2001:11), and vowels indicated in the script by *aksara swara* probably had underlying initial glottal stops (e.g. *ruum* [ruʔum]). MSd and OSd forms are often identical, but the vowels can differ unpredictably (as can the consonants, albeit less often). One could compare OSd *deuk* [dəʔuk] (BM 60) with MSd *diuk* ‘sit, be seated’, or, inverted, OSd *bikas* ‘hoist’ (BM 942) with MSd *beukas* [bɤkas] ‘go off, release; mark, trace’. Some of this unpredictable variability may be due to a combination of diachronic change, dialect differences, or Javanese or Malay influence, but either way it means that some leeway must be given for interpretations of OSd *hapax legomena*. The word *cugenang* (BM 287), for example, is only attested in toponyms in MSd, but I suggest that it is related to MSd *cungakang* ‘lift something by its tip’, which has several variants, including *cungkedang* and *cunggakang* (Danadibrata 2006:151; KUBS 100). Arguments such as these are not watertight, however, and further studies in Sundanese dialectology and historical phonology may change our understanding of these OSd texts considerably.

An interesting Sundanese sound change not shared by other MP languages is the development of PMP /*w/ into Sundanese /tʃ/ (written ⟨c⟩), which is sometimes pre-nasalised. This occurs most notably in *cai* ‘water’ (and its proclitic form *ci-*), from PMP *wahiR ‘fresh water, river’ (ACD 5918).

More work will be needed to understand the contexts in which the change occurred; loanwords and dialect variants appear to confuse the issue and reflexes of the same protoform both exhibiting and not exhibiting the change can be found in MSd. The terms *batang* and *catang* occur in different contexts in modern Sundanese, for instance, and both come from the PMP root *bataŋ 'fallen tree, log' (ACD 6481), in the latter case by way of OJv *wataṅ* (OJED 2220:10). (This implies, incidentally, that the sound change occurred after Javanese began loaning words into Sundanese, although precisely when this occurred is difficult to ascertain.) The phoneme /w/ does occur in OSd and in *BM*, however; all such appearances seem to be loans, most from OJv (but also *warna* 'form, appearance' [BM 1314], from Skt *varṇa*, and *wedil* 'gun' [BM 97], from Tamil *veṭil* [வெடில்]).

OSd syllable structure is not substantially different from that of MSd (nor from Malay/Indonesian, for that matter). With the exception of a number of polysyllabic loanwords, chiefly but not exclusively from Sanskrit (e.g.Skt *ākāśa* > *akasa* 'sky' [BM 1623]), most OSd words are built on disyllabic roots modified by derivational affixes (e.g. *timur* 'east' > *nimurken* '(going) eastwards' [BM 1467]), as in MSd. Several monosyllabic words with a CV structure represent prepositions (*ti* 'from', *di* 'in, at, on', *ka* 'to', etc.), and some verbs are based on monosyllabic roots (*ser* 'spin, whirl' [BM 1410]), although these are rare. Some monosyllabic words may be loanwords (*jong* 'large ship', from OJv and possibly ultimately from Minnan Chinese), although this is not diagnostic. Syllables may end in glides or approximants (-*w*, -*y*), as in *tuluy* 'then' (BM 210), as well as in nasal stops, which are inconsistently marked in the script. The longest words in *BM* consist of five syllables (e.g. *sapilaunan* 'take care' [BM 963]), although longer words can be encountered in other OSd texts (e.g. *pikabuyutanen* 'appropriate for putting in an archive' in *Sanghiyang Sasana Mahaguru*, based ultimately on the root *buyut* 'elder; relative three generations removed from ego [great-grandparent/great-grandchild]').

I.3.4 Syntax

A typical line of *Bujangga Manik* is both a syntactic and metrical unit consisting of an eight-syllable sentence with a subject and a predicate. This is not true of all lines, however, as some consist of simple noun phrases with no complements, and the absence of the octosyllabic line marker ⟨·⟩ may in *some* cases indicate that multiple lines ought to be read together as a single unit. A metrical line may contain more than one sentence (*hir na angin bar na layar* 'the wind rose, the sail swelled' [BM 937]), but lines are rarely formally related to one another; relationships between lines are largely paratactic. There are no inflections and relationships between arguments are established through word order. Adjectives invariably follow the nouns they modify (e.g. *kamuning Keling* 'South Indian *kamuning* wood' [BM 107]). The majority of lines are predicate-initial or VSO, as in Old Javanese and Tagalog (and in stark contrast to MSd [Müller-Gotama 2001:31]):

(1.1)	masang	wedil	tujuh	kali
	ACT-engage	gun	seven	times

'The guns fired seven times' (BM 97)

The subject comes second and, if it is a pronoun, is frequently attached to the verb as an enclitic or bound pronoun (subject to metrical requirements). Here is an example with the free 1.SG pronoun *aing*:

(1.2)	me(n)tas	aing	di	Cikéñcal
	ACT-cross	I	on	Cikéñcal

'I crossed the Cikéñcal River' (BM 134)

And an example with the bound form *-ing*:

(1.3)	me(n)tasing	di	Cihaliwung
	ACT-cross-1SG	on	Cihaliwung

'I crossed the Ciliwung River' (BM 141)

Serial verb constructions are common. These may violate the VSO principle outlined above, as with BM 873 (where we might expect *dék aing numpang ka Bali*):

(1.4)	aing	dék	nu(m)pang	ka	Bali
	I	want	ACT-travel	to	Bali

'I want to travel to Bali'

There are a small number of other exceptions to the verb-initial sentence structure outlined above. This may be due to topicalisation (or possibly scribal error), but it is notable either way that such lines more closely correspond to MSd than OSd syntax. An example of SVO word order can be seen in BM 965 (sentence 1.5); here the reader/listener might expect to hear the pronoun *aing* 'I, me', and not *siya* 'she, he it, they', and it may be that the pronoun has been fronted for emphasis:

(1.5)	siya	turun	ti	parahu
	3PRON.	descend	from	ship

'He left the ship' (BM 965)

Separating particles, like OJv *ta* and *pun* or the *ma* frequently encountered in OSd prose, are rare in *BM* outside of copula sentences.[60] OSd has no copula verb, and the particle *ta* is used to separate copula subjects and complements:

(1.6)	itu	ta	bukit	Caremay
	that	SEP.PART	peak	Caremay

'That is Mount Ciremai' (BM 1196)

As in OJv, however, this particle is not obligatory. It is left out if it would cause the line to exceed eight syllables:

(1.7)	itu	Tangkuban Parahu
	that	Tangkuban Parahu

'That is Mount Tangkuban Parahu' (BM 1203)

The same applies to the optional definite article *na*, which precedes the noun (as in BM 937, mentioned above). Subject pronouns may likewise be dropped if the line is too long.

Existential sentences are created by the existential markers *waya*, *aya*, and *anten* 'there is/are', as in *a(n)ten lewih ti sakitu* 'there was more than that' (BM 381). There are no postpositions, only prepositions, most but not all of them monosyllabic. Verbs, nouns, and adjectives may all be negated by *hante* 'no, not, without' (see BM 624, 632, and 633 for examples of all three), or by *hamo* and its common short form *mo* 'no, will not, in no way'. These negators immediately precede the negated:

(1.8)	na	ura(ng)	ha(n)te	dibapa
	DEF.ART	person	NEG.	PASS-father

'The person without a father' (BM 627)

There is a single relative pronoun, *nu* 'that, which, who' (from PMP *anu). It is common throughout. *Nu* can be used without an antecedent to form a copula subject, as in *nu ni(m)ba urang Kalapa* 'those who bailed were Kalapa people' (BM 117).

I.3.5 Nouns

Most of the nouns in *Bujangga Manik* comprise unmodified di- or trisyllabic roots, although they are subject to a complex set of derivational affixes (see Robins 1983:94-129 for a list and Müller-Gotama 2001:12-26 for analysis of MSd derivational morphology). There are affixes that turn verbs

[60] See van der Molen (2015:6-7) for separating particles in OJv.

into nouns or nouns into different kinds of nouns (e.g. *buyut* 'elder, grandfather' > *ka-buyut-an* 'sanctuary, archive'), and nouns can be made into verbs by applying affixes as well, particularly the passive (PASS) prefixes *di-* and *ka-* and allomorphs of the pre-nasalised active/agent-focus (ACT) affix described below. Active verbs formed from nouns can themselves be transformed into nouns; *pani(m)ba* 'bailer, scoop' in BM 933, for instance, is formed from *nimba* 'to bail, scoop (ACT)', which in turn comes from *timba* 'bucket, pail'. Reduplication of roots does not usually indicate pluralisation, although initial syllable reduplication (*jojo(m)pong* 'hairdo' < *jompong* 'mane (of a horse) [BM 257]) is common with both verbs and nouns with a range of different possible meanings (see Robins 1983:111 for examples). Pluralisation is instead marked on verbs and adjectives by the optional infix *-ar-*. As in MSd, nouns are followed by modifiers, whether nouns or adjectives, and possessive pronouns can be attached to nouns as enclitics. Nouns can be preceded by an optional definite article *na* (for which see Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006:53-59).

The noun affixes are summarised in Table I.13 and illustrated with examples from *BM*; several of these can be applied to both nouns and verbs and, as Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006:42) note, it can be difficult to say whether a verb or noun is intended due to the 'poetical compactness' of OSd texts. The list has been taken in large part from Robins (1983) and Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006:33); a number of the affixes discussed in those works are absent from *BM*, and Table I.13 shows only those that appear in the text:

Table I.13. A summary of common noun affixes in Bujangga Manik.

Affix	*Example*	*Function & Notes*
-an	*jajah* 'inspect on foot, examine' > *jajahan* 'district, territory' (BM 713)	Most frequently used to form nouns from verbal roots, although it can be applied to nouns as well.
-en	*tuñjuk* 'point, show' > *tu(ñ)juken* 'way/means of showing' (BM 1292)	Similar to *pi-…-en* – 'something to be used as something, serve as, be used as'.
ka-…-an	*datu* 'chief, king' > *kadatuan* 'palace' (BM 237)	Used to make nouns from other nouns, verbs, or adjectives.
paN-	*esi* 'content' > *pangesi* 'inhabitant, something contained' (BM 1605)	Can be applied to both nouns and nasalised verbs to make concrete nouns.
pa-…-an	*panday* 'blacksmith' > *Papa(n)dayan* 'place of blacksmiths' (a mountain – BM 1177)	Forms abstract nouns from adjectives and nouns; common in toponyms, where it means 'place of *x*' (e.g. *Pakuwukan* 'place of wild cats').

paN-…-an	*impi* ‘to dream > *pangi(m)piyan* ‘a dream, dreaming’ (BM 649)	The activity of, ‘…-ing’
pi-…-an	*laun* ‘gentle’ > *sapilaunan* ‘take care (?)’ (BM 963)	Rare and obscure in OSd – this is the only example in *BM*. Robins (1983:118-119) notes only the use of this circumfix to make locations from other nouns (e.g. *pianakan* ‘womb’ < *anak* ‘child’). See also Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006:43).
pi-…-en	*kaén* ‘cloth’ > *pikaénen* ‘textiles, material to be used as cloth’ (BM 506)	‘Something to be used as/for something else’
sa-	*dalem* ‘palace’ > *sadalem* ‘the whole palace’ (BM 8)	‘the whole…’, ‘one…’; ‘wearing a…’; etc.

Modern Sundanese personal pronouns vary by number and politeness but not gender, and they are frequently multisyllabic, especially the polite (*lemes*) variants. The polite third-person singular pronoun, for instance, is *manéhna*, lit. ‘its/her/his self’, formed by modifying *maném* ‘self’ with the third-person singular bound pronoun *-na*; the third-person plural, *maranéhna* ‘they’ (lit. ‘their selves’), uses the same form modified by the plural infix *-ra-*. In OSd, however, the situation is rather different, and the personal/possessive pronouns used in *BM* and other OSd texts, seemingly in formal or honorific situations, would now be considered *kasar* (‘rough’) speech. These pronouns are not marked for gender and can have both singular and plural referents. The free forms are summarised in Table I.14 and the more limited bound forms, found as enclitics, are shown in Table I.15. The latter type can be used to indicate possession (*anaking* ‘my child’) but they more commonly signify the subject of the verb to which they are attached (*ngalalaring ka* ‘I passed through’ [e.g. BM 783]).

Table I.14. Old Sundanese free pronouns as they appear in Bujangga Manik.

Person	*Singular*	*Plural*
1	aing, kami	urang, kami
2	siya, kita	kita
3	siya, iña	

Table I.15. Old Sundanese bound pronouns as they appear in Bujangga Manik.

Person	*Singular*	*Plural*
1	-ing	-rang
3	-na, -ana	

Kami and *kita* are found in OJv with the same meanings. *Urang*, meaning 'person/people', is also used as a personal and possessive first-person plural pronoun 'we/our', as in the title *taan urang* 'our lord/lady' (BM 308). *Iña* occurs more frequently with the meaning 'there' (*di iña*) than as a personal pronoun, but it does appear in *BM* in its pronominal sense (e.g. BM 1625: *iña nu ngingetken rasa* 'they who reflect upon (their) feelings'). *Kami* appears only twice, *kita* eleven times, and *siya* fourteen times under both its second- and third-person meanings. It is possible that *aing* could also be a first-person plural pronoun; BM 96, *bijil aing ti muhara* 'I emerged from the harbour', for instance, may make more sense if we take *aing* as referring to the ship on which the ascetic is travelling and its crew. I have invariably translated *aing* as 'I, me', however, as this seems to be its usual meaning. As in MSd the bound 3SG pronoun *-na* has an allomorph, *-ana*, which is used after the noun suffix *-an* (e.g. *dayehan* 'settlement' > *dayehanana* 'its/their residence').

A final point on *aing*/*-ing*: OSd does not have an arealis form, unlike OJv, which forms arealis clauses through the application of the suffix *-a* to nouns, verbs, or adjectives indiscriminately (van der Molen 2015:32-34). As far as I know, this is not found in OSd. A small number of *BM*'s sentences, however, have a cliticised 1SG pronoun *-éng* rather than the usual *-ing* in contexts where an arealis meaning would be appropriate. An example of this may be found in *hidepéng karah mo waya* 'I had thought there would not be' (BM 971), where *hidep* is an OJv loan (from *hiḍĕp* 'the mind as the seat of cognition' [OJED 623:1]) – but the form is found with native OSd words as well, as in *lamun diturut carékéng* 'if my words be followed' (BM 551, 580). It is possible that the *-éng* is the result of elision via sandhi (à la OJv) of the OSd bound 1SG pronoun *-ing* and the OJv arealis suffix *-a*. An arealis interpretation is speculative but it is otherwise rather hard to explain this phenomenon; *aing* is not regularly contracted to *éng* outside of such contexts.

I.3.6 Verbs

As noted above, verbs can be formed from nouns and adjectives through the use of affixes, a reasonably thorough discussion of which can be found in Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006:32-40). There are many possible modifications to verb roots; most increase valency or change the meaning of the verb rather than adding information about tense, gender, evidentiality, or number (with the exception of the aforementioned *-ar-* infix). The most important distinction is between passive and active affixes.[61] Transitive verbs may be made definitively passive by adding the prefixes *di-* or *ka-* or the circumfixes *di-…-an* or *ka-…-an* to the root; in MSd the latter is more common than *ka-*, which is notably similar to the OJv passive prefix, but all four can be found in *BM*. *Di-* is the most common of these. As can be seen in Table I.17 below, *di-* also has a variant (there labelled *di-*[2]) which can be applied to intransitives, rendering them stative verbs, although the most common use of the prefix is in forming passive verbs.

[61] Although it could be argued these affixes indicate patient-focus and agent-focus verb forms respectively, the passive/active terminology is standard in studies of Sundanese grammar (e.g. Müller-Gotama [2001:31-33]).

The agents of passive verbs can be added with the preposition *ku* 'by' (e.g. *didulur ku pupur kapur* 'be accompanied by limestone face powder' [BM 382]); this preposition can also be used in the same sense with unmodified intransitives (e.g. *bogoh ku nu mawa iña* 'be attracted by/admire those it carried' [BM 115]), implying that intransitives without affixes should be analysed as passive or patient-focused. With active verbs *ku* can also be used to mean 'with' or 'by means of', as in *ngaburang ku ramo* 'make spikes with the fingers' (BM 306).

Active verbs are typically formed by nasalisation of the initial consonant of the root after which other affixes may be added, including the transitiviser *-ken* (MSd: *-keun*).[62] There are three allomorphs of this nasal prefix, summarised in Table I.15:

Table I.16. The nasalised verbal affix in Bujangga Manik.

Morpheme	*Allomorphs*	*Sounds Affected*	*Examples*
N-	replacement by the homorganic nasal	initial voiceless stops and affricates and /s/: *c-, k-, p-, s-, t-*	*carék* > *nyarék* *kahanan* > *ngahanan* *pecat* > *mecat* *sebut* > *nyebut* *temu* > *nemu*
	nga-	voiced stops (*b, d, g, j*) and *h, l, r, w,* (*y*)*	*burang* > *ngaburang* *dangdanan* > *ngadangdanan* *giling* > *ngagiling* *jajar* > *ngajajar* *husir* > *ngahusir* *laan* > *ngalaan* *rasa* > *ngarasa* *wastu* > *ngawastu*
	ng-	initial vowels	*adeg* > *ngadeg* *ukir* > *ngukir* etc.

* *y-* > *ngay-* is unattested in *Bujangga Manik*.

If initial vowels are taken to have a preceding glottal stop in OSd then the last category in Table I.15 should be included within the first, i.e. as having their glottal stops replaced by the homorganic nasal /ŋ/. MSd analyses (Hardjadibrata 1985; Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006:33) typically treat them separately, however. In any case, there are several exceptional cases that would appear to violate the rules outlined in Table I.16, including *maca* < *baca* 'to read' and *mangkat* < *angkat* 'to depart' (see Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006:33 for more); most of these appear to be OJv loans. Another rarer method of forming active or agent-focus sentences is the infix *-um-*; this is also found in OJv, and at least some of the cases in which it appears in *BM* seem to be OJv loans as well: *gumanti* 'on the contrary' (BM 973) from OJv

[62] This nasalisation of active/agent-focus verbs is the closest Sundanese gets to inflection. Müller-Gotama (2001:19-20) nonetheless argues that it ought properly to be considered derivational.

‘replace, succeed’ (OJED 489:8.2), for example, or *gumilap* ‘gleam, glisten’ (BM 1782 – OJED 525:4.1).

An interesting structure found in both OSd and MSd uses *benang* (MSd *beunang*) ‘result, product; get’ with a nasalised verb to create a passive meaning – e.g. *li(ñ)car benang ngaj(e)rinang* ‘the skirting boards were painted red (with dragon’s blood’) (BM 152). In *BM* and other OSd texts we also find *batri* filling the role of *benang* in such sentences, as in *batri mauc di haregu* ‘worked by stroking on the breastbone’ (BM 476). *Batri* seems to have no direct equivalent in MSd, although Danasasmita et al. (1987:136) suggest that it carries an implication of effort and fatigue, and Aditia Gunawan (p.c.) proposes a relationship with MSd *bati* ‘profit’.

The list of verbal affixes in Table I.17 below is taken from Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006:32-33), Hardjadibrata (1985), Müller-Gotama (2001), and Robins (1983). Examples are all taken from *BM*. Affixes addressed in detail above are omitted from the table.

Table I.17. A summary of common verbal affixes in Bujangga Manik.

Affix	*Example*	*Notes*
di-[2]	*tapa* ‘asceticism, seclusion’ > *ditapa* ‘be in seclusion, practise asceticism’ (BM 841)	A ‘stative’ verb formed from an intransitive. This is a rare affix but it is also found in MSd (e.g. *digawé* ‘(be at) work’).
di-…ken	*tinggal* ‘remain, be left’ > *diti(ng)galken* ‘leave (something) behind’ (BM 90)	*-ken* acts as a transitiviser, increasing the valency of the verb. A variant involves the reduplication of the first syllable of the root: *dinanagaken* ‘be formed into the shape of a dragon (*naga*)’ (BM 899).
N-…-ken	*inget* ‘awareness, memory’ > *ngingetken* ‘reflect upon (something)’ (BM 1625)	The active/agent-focus form of the type above.
di-…-an	*tali* ‘rope, cordage’ > *ditalian* ‘be tied up with’ (BM 365)	The *-an* suffix appears to have several uses. See Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006:37).
ka-…-an	*lempang* ‘go, walk, travel’ > *kale(m)pangan* ‘to have been walked by’ (BM 51)	This forms resultative passives.
ba-	*layar* ‘sail’ > *balayar* ‘to sail’ (BM 95)	This form may have been a Malay loan, taken from the *ber-* prefix in Malay (cf. the *ba-* for *ber-* in the Tanjung Tanah manuscript [Kozok 2015; Mahdi 2015]). The root goes back to PAn *layaR (Bellwood 2013:208n50).
mi-	*dua* ‘two’ > *midua* ‘to part’ (BM 952) *dadampar* ‘seat’ > *midada(m)par* ‘be supplied with seats’ (BM 907)	This is the active/agent-focus derivation of *pi-*, the functions of

		which are multifarious and often obscure.
dipi-	*kingkila* ‘sign, omen’ > *dipikingkila* ‘be taken as the sign to do something’ (BM 939)	A variant with *-ken* is found in other OSd texts (but not in *BM*). In *BM dipi-* seems to mean ‘be taken as (something)’.
mang-…-ken	*bongbong* ‘an opening made in the jungle’ > *ma(ng)mongbongken* ‘to (do something so as to) open up the jungle’ (BM 617)	Still somewhat mysterious in OSd. Coolsma (1904:80-81) suggests that it means ‘to do something on behalf of something else’.
ñang-…-ken	*wétan* ‘east’ > *ñangwétanken* ‘to walk eastwards’ (BM 242)	Also occurs without *-ken*. It seems to refer to movement in a particular direction.
pa-	*jeeng* ‘vision, seeing’ > *pajeeng benget* ‘see each other’s faces’ (BM 17)	A reciprocal – ‘to [verb] each other’.
sa-	*diri* ‘leave’ > *sadiri* ‘having left’ (BM 24)	Implies completed action, and may be related to the idea of wholeness expressed by the equivalent noun prefix *sa-*. Cf. Malay *se-*.
Root reduplication + …-en	*tépok* ‘to pat’ > *tépok-tépoken* ‘to pet each other’ (BM 326)	Also a reciprocal, apparently an affectionate one.

Finally, a number of common verbs in *Bujangga Manik* form phrasal verbs with prepositions. These phrases are invariant and are used in formulae which make up much of the poem. *Cunduk* ‘arrive’, *datang* ‘come’, *nepi* ‘approach’, *ngahusir* ‘proceed’, and *ngalalar* ‘pass through’ all take the preposition *ka* (lit. ‘to’); *me(n)tas* ‘cross’ and *deuk* ‘sit’ take *di* (lit. ‘in, at, on’); and *diri* ‘leave’ takes *ti* (lit. ‘from’). These prepositions and their complements follow the subject (if present), as in *ngalalaring ka Larangan* ‘I passed through Larangan’ (BM 786). The poem’s focus on places and travel between them means that many of the formulaic lines found in *BM* are of this type.

I.3.7 Metre and Poetics

Throughout this work I have referred to *Bujangga Manik* as a poem. It has no rhyme, however, nor a consistent pattern of alliteration. There are few parallelisms. It is poetry or verse in that it is artificially constrained by rules that mark it off as different from ‘normal’ non-poetic language (as used in M. L. West 2007:26; cf. the poetry described in Fox 2005) – but even that is somewhat questionable. The poem’s only metrical requirement is that every line should be a largely independent unit of language (a sentence or noun phrase) comprising eight syllables.[63] It is difficult to draw an absolute distinction

[63] Compare the syntactic/metrical overlap described for Javanese *kidung*s by Gonda (1958).

between poetry and prose in OSd literature; much of the *Sanghyang Siksakandang Karesian*, a text commonly described as 'prose', in opposition to the 'poetry' of *BM* et al., is arranged into octosyllabic lines separated by interpuncts, and could thus be considered 'poetic' (although 'violations' of the the octosyllabic principle, if that is what they are, are considerably more common in SSKK and other 'prose' works). It seems unlikely that the people of fifteenth-century Sunda actually spoke to one another using strict eight-syllable lines, however, and in that sense the poetry of *BM* is likely to have been distinct from ordinary speech. The corollary is that 'prose' and 'poetry' are somewhat artificial categories when applied to OSd.

Was *Bujangga Manik* composed orally? Certainly it shows every sign of having been recited or intoned, and its octosyllabic structure is, as mentioned in the introduction, similar to that of modern *carita pantun*, which are indeed orally transmitted (cf. Lord 1987). *BM* survives in written form, however, and while it draws on a tradition of telling stories infused with place and place names that must have oral antecedents (see Part III), similar things could be said of most written literature. *BM* appears to have been composed and/or set at a definite point in history and the gap between the composition and the copying of the surviving manuscript does not appear to have been large. It is even possible that the manuscript itself dates to the fifteenth century, when other surviving Sundanese manuscripts are known to have been copied. Whether it was originally transmitted orally or not therefore seems moot.

The text is made up of formulaic lines, though, and *BM*'s poetry is most evident when it is read aloud. Many of *BM*'s formulae also occur in other OSd texts that may or may not be of similar date and age, and some have parallels in MSd *carita pantun*. These are not limited to the aforementioned formulae based on verbs of motion; others, including such seemingly obscure lines as *diteñuh ku aér mawar* 'sprinkled with rose-water' (BM 389, 502), also crop up elsewhere. A complete study of OSd formulae and their relationships with modern *pantun* has yet to be conducted, and such an endeavour may have to wait for the publication of more manuscript material. It seems likely, however, that *most* of *BM*'s lines can also be found in other Sundanese texts and oral compositions.

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I.3.8 Greetings and Parting Phrases

The conversations that occur in *BM* are, with one exception, rather brief. Most involve the use of basic functional language – greetings and other phatic expressions. The most respectful of these greetings occurs when Jompong Larang visits Bujangga Manik's mother, bringing gifts as a first step towards negotiating a marriage to her son. Jompong greets her prospective mother-in-law by saying *sangtabé namasiwaya* (BM 447); *sangtabé* is a Javanised form of the Sanskrit *kṣāntavya* 'pardon me' (OJED 903:8; Monier-Williams 1899:326 *sub kshantavya*), and *namasiwaya* is a Sundanisation of the

the Śaivist mantra *namaḥ Śivāya* 'salutations unto Śiva'. It is notable that the greeting used by one seemingly high-status Sundanese woman to speak to another (of even higher status) is Javanised Sanskrit. In BM 446 it is said that this expression is 'entirely proper' (*sakayogyana*).

A more common greeting is *samapun*, which occurs six times (BM 318, 960, 962, 1019, 1634, 1645). Like *sangtabé*, *samapun* means 'forgiveness' or 'beg your pardon'; the first element is the Skt *kṣamā* 'patience, forgiveness' (OJED 902:6), and the second Sd *pun*, likewise meaning 'forgive(ness)' or 'pardon' (as in MSd – KUBS 375). Rigg (1862:386) notes that *pun* is 'often used at the commencement of an invocation', and it is reportedly still used for opening and closing ceremonies in Kanékés communities (Hasman and Reiss 2012:12). It is presumably derived from PMP *ampun 'pardon, forgiveness' (ACD 175 – cf. Malay *ampun*). Jompong Larang uses the phrase in speaking to her mother (BM 318); Dorakala, the guardian of heaven, greets Bujangga Manik's holy soul by saying *samapun* (BM 1634); and the ship's captain Séla Batang says *samapun* to say goodbye to the ascetic, whom he refers to by the title *mahapa(n)dita* (BM 960). The *precise* meaning of the phrase is difficult to ascertain; it seems to mean 'forgive me', 'hello', and 'goodbye' depending on the circumstances. The same can be said of *sumanger*, a word Bujangga Manik uses when parting angrily from his mother after rejecting Jompong's attempt at negotiating a marriage. *Sumanger* comes from PMP *sumaŋed 'soul of a living being' (ACD 8815); in MSd it appears to have been replaced by its Malay cognate *semangat* (Danadibrata 2006:658; KUBS 455; Rigg 1862:461 *sub* samang'at [sic]; see Winstedt 1950:19). Both forms mean 'spirit' or 'soul'. In BM 643 the meaning is evidently a parting phrase akin to 'farewell'.

Another parting phrase used by the ships' captains is *rampés nu sapilaunan*, which Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006:377 *sub* laun) translate as 'good luck, farewell!'. It appears to have been a respectful way of saying goodbye. *Sapilaunan* is derived from *laun* 'slowly, gently' (Rigg 1862:245; KUBS 257), and a more literal translation of the entire phrase might be 'good is (he) who takes care' (although the meaning of the *pi-…-an* circumfix is unclear – see Table I.13 above). The expression is in any case entirely Sundanese, and it is hard to imagine a Javanese captain sailing between Java and Bali being aware of or using it. Of course, *Bujangga Manik*'s metrical constraints mean that it is difficult to judge whether or not its greetings and expressions – or, more broadly, *any* of the language in it – reflects Sundanese as actually spoken in the late fifteenth century.

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Bujangga Manik's Old Sundanese sentences are short and simple. The constraints of an octosyllabic metre on a language built around disyllabic roots; the lack of inflections or other markers of formal syntactic relationships; the dropping of subject pronouns; and the relative obscurity of the text's language and the paucity of resources for its study present significant challenges of interpretation and translation. The text's frequent recourse to formulae aids in decipherment, however. The differences between Old and modern Sundanese are slight enough that modern Sundanese materials can be applied

(with caveats) to texts like this one, and the presence of Old Javanese loanwords and the close relationship between Sundanese and Malay open up other avenues down which philological research on Old Sundanese literature can proceed. Many questions remain with regard to the vocabulary and (to some extent) grammar of Old Sundanese, but it is by consulting such materials that I have arrived at the translation of *Bujangga Manik* found in the next part of this work.

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PART II

The Transliteration and Translation

of

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Jav. b.3. (R)

aka Bujangga Manik

The transliteration of early Indo-Malaysian texts has become a controversial subject in the last few years, and some remarks on transliteration are required here. The reason for the controversy is more to do with disciplinary boundaries than with any difficulties in the interpretation of the scripts used in the texts or the phonologies of the languages themselves. As can be seen above, Old Sundanese had a small phoneme inventory and the functions of its script(s) are reasonably clear and consistent. OSd phonology also seems to have been close to that of MSd, and it would not be inappropriate to use modern orthography as a basis for the transliteration of the Old language – although in my view Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006) took this too far, interpolating a seventh vowel, ⟨eu⟩, unwarranted by the orthography of OSd as it appears in the surviving texts. Nevertheless, I see no particular reason to follow Indological standards and transliterate OSd according to the International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration (IAST) or something akin to it, as Acri and Griffiths (2014) argue. It would only serve to complicate matters, and in any case OSd orthography diverges from typical Brahmic scripts in the representation of certain features, notably in the spellings of words like *siya* and *hiyang* in which only one *aksara nglegena* is present but two syllables are represented (as explained in section I.2). Some *aksara*s have different pronunciations in OSd and OJv as well, particularly *aksara* ⟨ṭa⟩ which – as described above – was adopted in OSd for writing the consonant cluster [tr] (e.g. *sutra* ‘silk’ – IAST *suṭa*). These features are more obscured than revealed by rigid adherence to Indological expectations.

An interesting proposal has recently been put forward by Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan (2020) whereby Sanskrit (and other Indic) loanwords in OJv and OSd would be transliterated using IAST and native words would be given in a system closer to that of the earlier Old Javanese standard (as found in OJED) – so, for instance, ⟨v⟩ should be used in *svasti* ‘luck’ (from Skt) but ⟨w⟩ should be used in *wwaṅ* ‘person’ (from OJv). While I agree that some knowledge of proper Sanskrit pronunciation must have

been present even in late-medieval Java, perhaps to the extent that words of Skt derivation were pronounced differently by many OJv native speakers, for OSd – and for *BM* more specifically – this approach seems unnecessary. While some OSd manuscripts contain occasional OJv and Skt loanwords that are spelled using special characters – aspirated or retroflex consonants not otherwise found in OSd phonology or orthography – this is *not* true of *Bujangga Manik*, which is written entirely according to OSd standards. There are no retroflexes, aspirates, or long vowels. I am loath to introduce complicating elements into what ought to be a simple situation, and it seems superfluous to include variant readings of the same characters based on etymology.

Transliteration should be a pragmatic affair intended to open texts up to their readers rather than a Procrustean bed imposed on disparate languages, and I expect there are readers who would like to read the original text for pleasure and not simply as an academic exercise. The system I use below is an attempt to balance readability and fidelity to the text as written. Tables I.11 and I.12 above present the equivalencies between the phonemes and the letters used in the transliteration, and tables and descriptions of the letters (*aksara*s) of the script can be consulted in Part I.2. These should give an idea of how the text is to be read and the correspondences between my transliteration and the lines inscribed into MS Jav. b.3. (R). Below I have summarised further principles behind my text of *BM* and its English translation:

- Disagreements between my transliteration and that of Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006) are noted in the footnotes. I have used *N* to refer to the 2006 text as a whole (e.g. 'N: *mahapandita*').[64] Only disagreements that constitute divergent readings are noted; other differences from N and from MSd orthography that result from the application of different principles are not noted (e.g. *esi* instead of N's *eusi*).
- Velar nasals are denoted by the digraph ⟨ng⟩. This is used for both the *aksara* ⟨nga⟩ and the *panyecek*, the distinction between the two marked by their position in the syllable. Where both occur in the script, as they frequently do in intervocalic positions, I have used only one ⟨ng⟩; it is extremely unlikely that these were pronounced as geminates in spoken OSd.
- Palatal nasals are denoted by ⟨ñ⟩ in all cases. This is not as in MSd spelling, which uses the digraph ⟨ny⟩ before vowels and ⟨n⟩ in consonant clusters. It seems important to mark the distinctions between different kinds of nasals as they appear in the manuscript, and in the manuscript a palatal nasal appears before palatals in consonant clusters. The reading of ⟨ny⟩ would be unclear to many readers in such cases, so I have opted for e.g. *pañjang* ('long') rather than *panjang* (MSd, N) or *panyjang*.

[64] The text was in fact a collaborative effort between Noorduyn, Teeuw, Undang Darsa, Stuart Robson, Wim van Zanten, and others, but Noorduyn's readings were used as the basis of the published text. I do not want to imply by the use of his initial that he was the only contributor.

- Glides are often marked in the manuscript but left out in N. I think it best to note their presence. Where N has *sia*, for instance, I have opted for *siya*, as both the vowel ⟨i⟩ and the glide ⟨y⟩ are frequently marked in the manuscript and, where they are not, the word is usually lacking the ⟨i⟩ and not the ⟨y⟩. Thus also *h(i)yang* and *séyah* rather than *hiang* and *séah*.
- The pronoun *aing* 'I, me' frequently occurs with an epenthetic initial consonant or glide. After the verb *mungkur*, for instance, it often has the form ⟨raing⟩. After pronouns *aing* acquires the form ⟨ngaing⟩ (e.g. *ku ngaing* 'by me'). In the former case N leaves out the ⟨r⟩ but in the latter N opted for *ngaing*. This seems inconsistent and it may obscure an interesting feature of OSd orthography, especially if we assume that *aksara swara* are intended to be preceded by a glottal stop. I have therefore opted for *raing* and *ngaing* (and other similar spellings) where those appear in the manuscript. This affects other words as well, notably the *ngatma* in BM 1634 (from Skt *ātma*).
- N differentiates between the two vowels ⟨e⟩ and ⟨eu⟩; this distinction is not marked in OSd orthography and I follow Aditia Gunawan's recommendation not to make it in the transliteration. Where ⟨e⟩ and ⟨u⟩ occur together they should be read as distinct vowels separated by a glottal stop – e.g. *deuk* [dəʔuk].

The nasals require sensitive handling: Nasalisation of vowels is common in MSd, even those not preceding nasal stops (Müller-Gotama 2001:11), and some common words in modern Sundanese and Javanese have variants with or without nasals (e.g. *usir* and *ungsir* in Javanese, cf. OSd *husir*). Nasal stops are often absent where they would be expected in this and other OSd manuscripts. The word *le(m)pang* is never spelled with ⟨m⟩ in MS Jav. b.3. (R), but on comparative grounds it must have been pronounced with the nasal and not as *lepang* (cf. OJv *lampah* [OJED 971:12], MSd *leumpang*). On the other hand, the word *sudah* is spelled without a nasal in *BM*; Noorduyn inserted an ⟨n⟩, *su(n)dah*, basing his decision on other OSd texts, particularly *The Sons of Rama and Rawana*, in which the word is spelled ⟨sundah⟩. I have opted to leave the ⟨n⟩ out of the transliteration on the grounds that it may represent a difference in dialect. The source of the word is Sanskrit *śuddha* (Gonda 1973:565), which notably lacks a nasal stop, as does Malay *sudah*. An editor could in any case easily arrive at a different decision with regard to this and other nasals.

The text is arranged according to the following principles:

- The text below is arranged by folio, such that the OSd text of each leaf (both recto and verso) appears on one page with a facing English translation. Metrical lines are separated by interpuncts representing the marks used in the manuscript. Where those are not present and must be conjectured, I have encased them in round brackets (·). Line numbers appear every five metrical lines and are noted in square brackets in smaller font – e.g. [805].
- Each side of each leaf has four rows of text inscribed across it; a vertical bar | in the transliteration indicates the end of each such row.

- Elements that probably should be in the text but are not are indicated by round brackets () – e.g. *mahapa**(n)**dita*. Elements that are in the text but probably should *not* be are indicated by square brackets [] – e.g. *duh ameng **[ta]** ti mana éta* (BM 250), where the *ta* does not fit metrically. As *BM* is a codex unicus, all of these emendations are essentially conjectural.
- The scribe's own corrected errors are noted in italics within square brackets – e.g. [*niu*]. I have kept these in the edited text both to aid in studies of OSd error correction and to better represent the text as it actually appears in the MS.
- Ellipsis … indicates a lacuna of any length.
- Proper nouns are capitalised in both transliteration and translation, although it should be noted that some toponyms could be either proper nouns or descriptions – e.g. *leweng langgong* 'dense forest' (BM 130).
- *BM* contains three types of speech: (1) that of an external narrator; (2) that of Bujangga Manik, who recounts his journeys in the first person (as, briefly, does Jompong Larang); (3) and that of the people who converse with Bujangga Manik. These different speakers are not marked in the manuscript itself and must be inferred. In the transliteration I have not indicated these different speakers and have kept to the text as found in the MS. In the translation, however, (1) I have presented the narrator's voice without punctuation to indicate it; (2) I have put what I believe to be Bujangga Manik's non-diegetic first-person narrative in single quotation marks **'**…**'**; and (3) I have placed all diegetic speech, including conversations between characters and Bujangga Manik's comments to himself (e.g. BM 63-64), in double quotation marks **"**…**"**.
- The commentary in Parts III-VI should cover plenty of the poem's content, so I have kept footnotes to a minimum. Some titles and the names of plants and musical instruments are left untranslated. For these the reader should consult the relevant sections of the commentary.

The translation is 'literal' in that I have attempted to convey my interpretation of the meaning as clearly as possible; it is not intended to be a lyrical translation. The interpretation of Old Sundanese will improve as more texts are published and translated, and some of my interpretations will doubtless be invalidated by future research. There are several challenging sections and in some cases several interpretations are possible. Though this is the second published English translation, it is still nonetheless preliminary.

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f1r [blank]

f.1v //0// · saur sang mahapa(n)dita[65] · kumaha girita ini · mana sinarien teing · téka cedem cekrem teing · [5] mo ha(n)te nu kabé(ng)kéngan · saur sang mahapandita · di mana éta gesanna · e(n)der nu | cerik sadalem · séok nu cerik sajero · [10] midangdam sakadatuan · mo lain di Pakañcilan · tohaan eker nu ma(ng)kat (·) P(e)rebu Jaya Pakuan · saurna karah saki|ni · [15] a(m)buing tatanghi ti(ng)gal · tarik-tarik dibuhaya · pawekas pajeeng benget · kita a(m)bu deng awaking (·) héngan sapoé ayena · [20] aing dék le(m)pang ka wétan · saa(ng)ge|s ñaur sakitu · i(n)dit birit sudah diri · lugay sila sudah le(m)pang · sadiri ti salu panti · [25] saturun ti tungtung surung · ulang panapak ka lemah (·) kalangkang ngab(i)yantara · rejeng deng dayehanana · mukaken

[65] N. has *mahapandita*.

f.1r [blank]

f.1v //0// · [1] The *mahapandita*[66] said: · "What's all this commotion? · why, most unexpected · this utter gloom and doom? · [5] It must be that people are upset." · The *mahapandita* said: · "Where's this happening? · The trembling of the palace weeping · the shaking of the court weeping · [10] the king's residence lamenting: · (it can be) none other than Pakañcilan · a Lord[67] is just now leaving." · Master[68] Jaya Pakuan · this is what he said: · [15] "Mother, stay and keep watch · (though) you pull and pull out of love · this is the last time we'll see each other · you and me, mother. · The deadline's today. · [20] I'm walking to the east." · After having said that · (he) raised his rump and left · stretched his crossed legs and walked. · Having left the pavilion · [25] (he) descended from the edge of the bamboo floor · (and) put his feet on the earth. · His shadow came with him · together with its residence. · (He) opened up

[66] A title, from Skt *mahāpaṇḍita* – lit. 'great pundit/sage'.
[67] *Tohaan* – a title. Not gendered, but here translated as 'lord' and 'lady' as necessary.
[68] *Prebu* – a title. See section IV.1.

f.2r panto kowari · [30] sau(n)dur aing ti U(m)bul (·) sadiri ti Pakañcilan · sadatang ka Wi(n)du Cinta · cu(n)duk aing ka Mangu(n)tur · ngalalar ka Pañcawara · [35] ngahusir ka lebuh ageng · na le(m)pang sace(n)dung kaén · séok na janma nu ñarék[69] (·) to|haan nu dék ka mana · mana sinarien teing · [40] téka le(m)pang sosorangan · ditaña ha(n)te dék ñaur · nepi ka Paken Caringin (·) ku ngaing téka kaliwat · ngalalar ka J(e)rah[70] Anak · [45] datang ka Tajur Ma|ndiri · sacu(n)duk ka Suka Berus[71] · datang ka Tajur Ñanghalang · ñanglandeh aing d(i)[72] Engkih · me(n)tasing di Cihaliwung · [50] sana(ñ)jak aing ka Bu(ng)gis[73] · ku ngaing ges kale(m)pangan · nepi ka Talaga Hening · ngahusir raing | ka Pesing · na le(m)pang megat moréntang · [55] me(n)tas aing di Cili(ng)ga · sane(pi) ka Putih Birit · pañjang ta(ñ)jakan ditedak · ku ngaing dipe(n)ding-pe(n)ding[74] · sadatang aing ka Puñcak · [60] deuk di na mu(ng)kal datar · teher ngahihidan[75] a-

f.2v wak · teher s(i)ya né(ñ)jo gunung · itu ta na bukit Ageng (·) hulu wano na Pakuan · [65] sadiri aing ti iña · datang ka alas Éronan · nepi aing ka Cinangsi · me(n)tas aing di Citarum · ku ngaing ges kale(m)panga|n · [70] me(n)tas di Cipunagara · lurah Medang Kah(i)yangan · ngalalar ka Tompo Omas · me(n)tas aing di Cimanuk · ngalalar ka Pada Benghar · [75] me(n)tas di Cijerukmanis · ngalalar raing ka Conam [*niu*] · katu|kang bukit C(e)remay · sacu(n)duk ka Luhur Agung · me(n)tasing di Cisinggarung · [80] sadatang ka tungtung Su(n)da · me(n)tasing di Cipamali · datang ka alas Jawa · ku ngaing ges kaideran · lurah-lirih Majapahi|t · [85] palataran alas Demak · sanepi ka Jati Sari · datang aing ka Pamalang · di iña aing te hebel · katineng na tuang a(m)bu · [90] lawas teing diti(ng)galken · tosta gera pulang dei · mumul

[69] N: *carék*.
[70] N: *Nangka*. MS is difficult to read here.
[71] N: *Suka Beureus*.
[72] MS: ⟨da⟩
[73] N: *Banggis*.
[74] N: *dipeding-peding*.
[75] N: *ngahididan*.

f.2r the bamboo gate. · [30] ‘After I had withdrawn from Umbul · had left Pakañcilan · had come to Windu Cinta · I arrived at the outer courtyard. · Passing through Pañcawara · [35] (I) proceeded to the main road · walking with a cloth on my head. · The sound of the people who spoke: · “Where’s this lord off to? · Why, most unexpected · [40] is he walking all alone?” · Questioned, (I) didn’t want to say. · (I) got to Paken Caringin · by me it was passed. · Passing through Jerah Anak · [45] coming to Tajur Mandiri · having arrived at Suku Berus · coming to Tajur Nyanghalang · going downhill at Engkih · I crossed the Cihaliwung. · [50] Having ascended to Bunggis · by me it was walked · (I) got to Talaga Hening · I proceeded to Pesing. · Walking straight ahead · [55] I crossed the Cilingga · (and) had got to Putih Birit · a long ascent to be tackled · by me step by step. · After I had come to Puñcak · [60] (I) sat on a flat boulder · then fanned

f.2v my body.’ · Then he looked out on the mountains: · “That there is the Great Mountain · head of the settlement of Pakuan.” · [65] ‘After I had left from there · (I) came to the area of Éronan · I got to Cinangsi · I crossed the Citarum. · By me it was walked. · [70] (I) crossed the Cipunagara · the district of Medang Kahiyangan · passing through Tompo Omas · I crossed the Cimanuk · passing through Pada Benghar · [75] (I) crossed the Cijerukmanis. · I passed Conam · looked back at Mount Ceremay. · Having arrived at Luhur Agung · I crossed the Cisinggarung · [80] Having come to the farthest point of Sunda · I crossed the Cipamali · (and) came to the land of Java. · I wandered through it: · the districts of Majapahit · [85] the plain of the region of Demak. · Having got to Jati Sari · I came to Pamalang. · I wasn’t there long · I missed my dear mother · [90] left behind too long · It’d be best to hurry home · (But I was) unwilling

f.3r ñorang urut aing · itu parahu Malaka · tur(u)n aing ti Pamalang · [95] tuluying nu(m)pang balayar · bijil aing ti muhara · masang wedil tujuh kali · bung[76] na goong brang na gangsa · séyah na ge(n)dang sarunay (·) | [100] séok nu kawih tarahan · nu kawih a(m)bah-a(m)bahan · ba(n)tar kali buar pélang · surung-sarang suar gading · mañura ditedas u(ñ)cal · [105] mibabahon awi go(m)bong · mitihang awi ñowana · | kamudi kamuning Keling[77] · apus dangdan hoé muka (·) paselang deng hoé omas · [110] pabaur hoé walatung · tihang layar kayu laka · hurung benangna ngahi(ng)gul · s(i)yang benang ngaj(e)rinang · beteng bogo|h ku sakitu · [115] bogoh ku nu mawa iña · nu badayung urang Ta(ñ)jung · nu ni(m)ba urang Kalapa · nu babose urang Angké · bosé rampak bosé layang · [120] dengen bosé susu landung · balayar satengah bulan · ba-

f.3v ñat aing di Kalapa · ngaraning Ameng Layaran · u(n)dur raing ti parahu · [125] sadatang ka pabéyaan · ku ngaing ges kale(m)pangan · ngalalar ka Ma(n)di Rañcan · datang ka A(ñ)col Tamiyang · ngalalar raing ka Sa|mprok · [130] sacu(n)duk ka leweng langgong · me(n)tas aing di Cipanas · ngalalar ka Suka Kandang · ku ngaing ges kale(m)pangan · me(n)tas aing di Cikéñcal · [135] sacu(n)duk aing ka Luwuk · me|(n)tas aing di Ciluwer · sacu(n)duk ka Petey Kuru · ngalalar ka Ka(n)dang Sérang · sacu(n)duk aing ka Batur · [140] ku ngaing ges kale(m)pangan · me(n)tasing di Cihaliwung · sacu(n)duk ka Paken Tubuy · | ngalalar ka Paken Tayem · sacu(n)duk ka Paken Teluk[78] · [145] sadatang ka Pakañcilan · mukaken panto kowari · ngahusir ka lamin ading · lamin ading pañcatulis · balé réñcong[79]

[76] N: *ing*. ⟨i⟩ and ⟨bu⟩ are easily confused.
[77] N: *kamudi kamudi Keling*.
[78] N: *sacu(n)duk aing ka Batur*.
[79] N: *réncéng*.

f.3r to retrace my steps. · There was a Melaka ship · I went down from Pamalang · [95] and right away sailed as a passenger. · I came out of the river mouth · the guns fired seven times · the gongs boomed, the flat gongs branged · the din of drum and shawm · [100] the sound of work songs · which were sung as we left port: · "Smooth river, sound[80] of a cargo boat" · "Bamboo flooring, ivory torch" · "Peacock badly wounded by a deer." · [105] Fitted with a boom of *gombong* bamboo[81] · spars of young bamboo · a rudder of South Indian *kamuning* wood · rigging of *muka* rattan · alternating with golden rattan · [110] mixed with *walatung* rattan · a mast of *laka* wood · glowing with a 'writhing fish' pattern[82] · (like) dawn, made so by dragon's blood.[83] · I stopped admiring these things · [115] to admire those it carried. · Those rowing were Tañjung people · those bailing were Kalapa people · those paddling were Angké people · sets of paddles, flying paddles · [120] with 'saggy breast' paddles. · Sailing for a fortnight · I

f.3v alighted at Kalapa. · My name was Ameng Layaran. · I withdrew from the ship. · [125] (I) had come to the customs house. · By me it was walked. · Passing through Mandi Rañcan · coming to Añcol Tamiang · I passed through Samprok. · [130] Having arrived at a dense forest · I crossed the Cipanas · passing through Suka Kandang · by me it was walked. · I crossed the Cikéñcal · [135] having arrived at Luwuk · I crossed the Ciluwer. · Having arrived at Petey Kuru · passing through Kandang Sérang · having arrived at Batur · [140] by me it was walked · I crossed the Cihaliwung. · Having arrived at Paken Tubuy · passing through Paken Tayem · having arrived at Paken Teluk · [145] having come to Pakañcilan · (I) opened up the bamboo gate · (and) proceeded to the marital hut[84] · the fully painted marital hut · the decorated hall

[80] Based on OJv *bor* 'descriptive particle (for the emergence of fire and its sound)' (OJED 252:11). Extremely speculative interpretation. *Buar*, *bor*, *bwar* – none of the possibilities are found in MSd.
[81] See Appendix C for identifications of plant and animal species.
[82] Based on Mamat Sasmita's interpretation of *ngahi(ng)gul* as a pattern based on a writhing fish. See Gunawan (2019:88).
[83] *J(e)rinang* – a red-coloured resin taken from certain rattan species or, in this case perhaps, the natural colour of the *laka* wood (*Myristica iners*) itself. See Appendix C.
[84] The term here, *lamin ading*, is tricky. It refers to a freestanding house, likely related to weddings and marriage.

f.4r pangrékaan · [150] pamikul benang ngahi(ng)gul · pangheret benang miseret · li(ñ)car benang ngaj(e)rinang · suhunan benang marada · saré galar betung tuha · [155] dijejetan kawat Jawa · u(ng)gah tohaan ka manggung | · pa(ng)guh lu(ng)guh di palangka · /0/ · a(m)buing kaso(n)dong ngeyek · buat nu di tepas bumi · [160] eker ngeyek eker meber · eker ñula(ng)gé mihané · nelem nuar ñangkuduan · ngara(ñ)cét ka|(n)téh pamulu · ngela sepang ngangen hayam · [165] ñoréyang ka lamin ading · ngadele Sali(ng)ger beheng · katuluyan dele teteh · saur a(m)buing sakini · itu ta egen si utun · [170] ayena | cu(n)duk ti timur · ayena datang ti wétan · datangna ti Rabut Palah · anaking dedeukanan · anaking papalayanan · [175] aing dék ñiar sepahen · na heyek tuluy ditu(n)da · dipauc[85] apus

f.4v dada(m)par · loglog caor ti na to(ng)gong · diri hapit ti na pingping · [180] kedalan diri ti da(m)pal · net na(ñ)jer ngajuga hangsa · saasup s(i)ya ka bumi · ñi(ng)kabken kasang carita · | e(n)der na rarawis kasang · [185] kumare(ñ)cang kumare(ñ)cong · ni(ng)gang ka na papan ja(n)ten · bogoh ku na ngaran kasang (·) kasang tujuh kali ñi(ng)kab · kasang seni tambi lu(ng)sir · [190] kasang Pahang ta(m)bi laka | (·) bédong dita(m)bi bayabon · balang ditambi kaca(m)bang · sau(ng)gah ka manggung ra(ñ)jang · gapay ka karas larangan · [195] dicokot na pasileman · (pasileman) pasi bo(n)téng[86] · digapay | sereh tangkayan · pinang ta cangcian kénéh · pinang tiwi pinang ading · [200] ker mejeh patemu angen · tuluy ngaha(ñ)ceng sepahen · dituruban sara(n)tangan (·) benang ngaharémas · a(ng)ge-

[85] N: *diparac*.
[86] N removed this line. It can be reconstructed by comparison with 359, a similar line.

f.4r built of branches. · [150] The frame was done with a 'writhing fish' pattern · the cross-beams stuck fast · skirting boards red from dragon's blood · a gilded ridge pole · flooring mats of old bamboo · [155] interwoven with Javanese wire.' · The lord ascended to the top · (and) gracefully sat on the bed. · /0/ · 'My mother was found weaving · doing that on the veranda of the house · [160] making ready and tying up threads for dyeing · netting and rolling the thread on the *pihané*[87] · dyeing black, yellow, and red[88] · pressing the flossy yarn · boiling brazilwood, stewing *hayam* (wood?).[89] · [165] (She) glanced towards the marital hut · looked, craning her neck · then looked intently. · This is what my mother said: · "Look, there's my boy now! · [170] Now arrived from the east · come now from the east.[90] · He's come from Rabut Palah. · Sit yourself down, my child. · Have a rest, my child. · [175] I'll look for the betel quids."' · The weaving was set down · the frame's cords

f.4v were stretched out · the backstrap[91] wiggled off her back · the cloth beam left her lap · [180] the footrest left her soles. · She got up, rose like a goose. · After she had entered the house · she drew the curtains decorated with stories. · The curtain tassels rustled · [185] rattling and clattering · (as) they hit the teak boards. · (I?) admired the (many) kinds of curtains: · Curtains folded seven times · delicate curtains edged with silk (*lungsir*) · [190] Pahang[92] curtains edged with *laka* red · *bédong* edged with *bayabon* · net mesh edged with *kacambang*. · Having ascended to her bedroom · (she) fetched her private writing board[93] · [195] the betel tray[94] was taken · (she) fetched betel leaves by the branch · areca nuts still on their twigs · *tiwi* areca, ivory areca · [200] in harmony with one's thoughts. · Then she portioned out the betel · (and) enclosed it in a lidded hamper[95] · done up with gilding. · After

[87] A device around which yarn is threaded to form a pattern for weaving. A diagram can be seen in Gunawan (2019). See also Rigg (1862:374-375) and Danadibrata (2006:530).
[88] N has '*blue*, yellow, and red'; 'black' is Aditia Gunawan's interpretation.
[89] N: 'making chicken soup' but *hayam* is probably a dyestuff.
[90] OSd has two words for 'east' in OSd: *timur* (Sd) and *wétan* (OJv).
[91] *Caor* – backstrap used to apply pressure to the bars of the loom.
[92] 'Pahang' may refer to Pahang or the Malay Peninsula as a whole (as in OJv).
[93] *Karas* is tricky; it is not found in MSd. In OJv it means 'writing board' (OJED 1805:3), which can be compared to BM 260 (*karas tulis*). N interpreted *karas larangan* to mean 'private chest', suggesting that the betel tray was kept therein, but this is not a given (see discussion of betel paraphernalia below – section VI.1.2).
[94] Tricky. 'Betel tray' is from N.
[95] N prefers 'ceremonial cloth' for *saratangan*, but cf. Malay *rantang* 'lidded hamper' (Wilkinson 1932 #28927).

f.5r s ngaha(ñ)ceng sepahen (·) [205] dicokot pamérés jati · a(ng)ges nu mérésan ra(m)but · digapay na e(m)bal[96] ageng · dicokot kupa saranggey (·) die(n)tepkan (·)[97] [210] tuluy e(ñ)cem ka na pe(n)te | · tuluy sari ka na pipi · ti(m)b(u)r(u) na kahiyasan[98] · sajingjing boéh cali(ng)cing · saka(n)dar boéh harega · [215] saturun ti manggung rañjang · garudag di tengah imah · garedog di balik pan|to · karekét ni(ñ)cak tarajé · ulang panapak ka lemah (·) [220] kalangkang ngab(i)yantara · rejeng deng dayehanana · séyah na lemah katiñcak · e(n)der na Ratu Bañcana · ngeraken[99] tuang kalang|kang · [225] cab ruy tapih mebet keneng · ngeret ka na bitis konéng · ngahusir ka lamin ading · u(ng)gah tohaan ka manggung · deuk téohen palangka · [230] na sepahen diya(ng)seken (·)

f.5v saur a(m)buing sakini · anaking nu mucang onam · saurna Ameng Layaran (·) a(m)bu aing sadu mucang · [235] i(ng)ken mangka o(ng)koh mucang · caréken si Jo(m)pong Larang · saturun ti kadatuan · nga|lalar Carogé Ageng · ñangla(n)deh ka Pañcawara · [240] mukaken pa(n)to kowari · ngalalar ka Paken Dora · le(m)pang aing ñangwétanken · me(n)tas di Cipakañcilan · sacu(n)duk ka Paken Te|luk · [245] sadatang ka Pakañcilan · mukaken panto kowari · dingaran si Jo(m)pong Larang · ñoréyang ka lamin ading · carékna si Jo(m)pong Larang · [250] duh ameng | [ta] ti mana éta[100] · ameng ta datang ti wétan · sakaén poléng puranténg · sasali(m)but sulam Baluk · sasa(m)pay sutra Cina · [255] sapecut hoé walatung · dige(m)peng-ge(m)peng ku omas · jojo(m)pongna madé

[96] Or *ebal*, which Danadibrata (2006:53, 188) gives as a rarely heard form of *bal*, a ball of India rubber (sap of *Ficus elastica*) filled with air. An implement for applying making up? But cf. Malay *ambal* 'rug, carpet'?
[97] N added *ka na ceuli* 'to the handles'. I am not convinced the extra words are required, or even that *dientepkan* should be separate. These lines are difficult to interpret.
[98] MS has *ti ba ra na*; N emended this to *timburu nu*.
[99] N: *ngeunakeun*.
[100] Longer than eight syllables but grammatical.

f.5r she had arranged the quids · [205] (she) took a teak comb · (and) after that combed her hair with it. · She took hold of a large rug · (and) taking a branch of *kupa* · perched it on top.[101] · [210] Then she made up her face · then she powdered her cheeks. · The adornments were enviable · with a hanging *calingcing* cloth · with a length of precious cloth. · [215] (She) had descended from the bedroom · rattling through the middle of the house · shimmying behind the door · creaking she set foot on the ladder · (she) put her feet on the earth · [220] (and) her shadow came with her · together with its inhabitant. · The din of the trod-on ground · (as) shuddering Ratu Bañcana · hastened forward her esteemed shadow. · [225] Chap, whee! the sarong hit her heels · cutting into (her) yellow calves. · Proceeding to the marital hut · the Lady[102] ascended to the top · (and) sat down on the couch. · [230] The betel quids were offered.

f.5v · 'My mother spoke as follows: · "Take a quid, my child." · Ameng Layaran said: · "Mother, pardon me for chewing."' · [235] Let's leave them chewing alone.[103] · Jompong Larang spoke out: · 'Having descended from the palace · (I) passed through the great hall. · Going downhill to Pañcawara · [240] opening up the bamboo gate · passing through Paken Dora · I walked eastwards. · Crossing the Cipakañcilan · having arrived at Paken Teluk · [245] having come to Pakañcilan · (I) opened up the bamboo gate.' · The one named Jompong Larang · glanced towards the marital hut. · Jompong Larang spoke: · [250] "Oh! Where is that novice from? · The novice who came from the east · with a *puranténg*-pattern cloth · with a sacred thread of Baluk embroidery · with a Chinese silken shawl · [255] with a whip of *walatung* rattan · banded with strips of golden (rattan) · his mane looking

[101] Based in part on N's emendation. The metre and punctuation are odd here, with no separation between 207 and 208 (or, for that, 209).
[102] The same title applied to Bujangga Manik – *tohaan*, a non-gendered noble title.
[103] It is interesting that there is no punctuation here to mark a break in the narrative.

f.6r to(ng)gong · teher lu(ng)guh di pala(ng)ka · sila tumpang deng sideha · [260] ngagigirken karas tulis · teher ñepah lumageday · dingaran si (Jom)pong Larang · na bogoh hamo kapalang · diilikan dibudiya|n · [265] didele diteteh-teteh · ti manggung dikaha(n)dapken · ti ha(n)dap dikamanggungken · bogoh ku na pangawakan · giling bitis pa(ñ)cuh gelang · [270] taréros na tuang ramo · para(ñ)jang | na tuang ta(ng)gay · be(n)tik halis sikar dahi · suruy hu(n)tu be(n)tik tungtung · sumaray dadu ku sepah · [275] dingaran si Jo(m)pong Larang (·) gupuh sigug ga(m)pang kaer · le(m)pang bitan | gajar[104] Jawa · sadatang ka kadatuan · tohaan kaso(n)dong nge(y)ek (·) [280] eker ngeyek eker meber · eker ñula(ng)gé mihané · nelem nuar ñangkuduan · ngara(ñ)cét ka(n)téh pamulu · tohaan

f.6v na Ajung Larang (·) [285] Sakéyan Kilat Bañcana · ngaléké ébréh na cangkéng (·) cugenang tuang pinarep · teherna lu(ng)guh di kasur · ngagigirken ebun Cina · [290] ebun Cina diparada · pamuat ti a|las pe(n)tas · tohaan Ajung Larang · ñoréyang ti jokjok panon · ngadele Sali(ng)ger beheng · [295] katuluyan dele teteh · itu ta egen si Jo(m)pong (·) na naha éta béjana (·) mana | gera-gera teing · dingaran si Jo(m)pong Larang · [300] cat-cat gék deuk di lemah (·) saur taan Ajung Larang (·) Jo(m)pong naha béja s(i)ya (·) mana sinarien teing · dingaran si Jo(m)pong La|rang (·) [305] umun sadekung ka manggung · bérés ngaburang ku ramo · carékna si Jompong Larang · taan urang Ajung Larang (·) Sakéyan Kilat Bañcana · [310] ra(m)pés teing jeeng aing · la(n)tara teing nu kasép (·)

[104] *Gajar* is odd but N interprets it as ‘elephant’ (normally *gajah*).

f.6r all heaped up · remaining seated on the couch · cross-legged and resting on one arm · [260] abutting a writing board · unwinding, continuing to chew." · The one named Jompong Larang · her attraction was unimpeded. · (He was) regarded, surveyed. · [265] Overpowered she beheld him · from top down to bottom · from bottom up to top. · (She) admired his figure: · Round calves, graceful anklets · [270] his fingers all tapering · his nails all long · the curve and separation of his eyebrows · his comb of round-edged teeth · crooked and pale red from chewing betel. · [275] The one named Jompong Larang · hurried, rigid, easily frightened · walking like a Javanese elephant · had come to the palace. · The Lady[105] was found weaving · [280] making ready and tying up threads for dyeing[106] · netting and rolling the thread on the *pihané* · dyeing black, yellow, and red · pressing the flossy yarn. · The Lady

f.6v Ajung Larang · [285] Sakéyan Kilat Bañcana · was carelessly dressed, her waist visible · her breasts propped up. · She sat, too, on a quilt-mattress · abutting a Chinese box · [290] a gilded Chinese box · cargo from overseas. · Lady Ajung Larang · glanced out of the corner of her eyes[107] · looked, craning her neck · [295] then looked intently. · "Look, there's Jompong now! · What might her message be? · Why such haste?" · The one named Jompong Larang · [300] went up the stairs (and) sat on the floor. · Lady Ajung Larang said · "Jompong, what's your message? · Why (come) so unexpectedly?" · The one named Jompong Larang · [305] gave greetings on bended knee · making neat spikes with her fingers. · Jompong Larang spoke: · "Our Lady Ajung Larang · Sakéyan Kilat Bañcana · [310] very good is what I saw. · A handsome one so overwhelming ·

[105] Jompong's mother.
[106] N: 'engaged in weaving, in ikat dyeing'. MSd *meubeur* is not 'dyeing' but tying up threads *in preparation for* dyeing (Coolsma 1913:76 *sub* BĚUBĚUR).
[107] *Jokjok* – N says that this is not found in MSd, but the meaning of 'corner' seems clear from context (cf. Mal *pojok* 'corner'). Rigg (1862:177) has 'the place for putting rice in a native's house' for *jokjok*; it is hard to relate this to eyes or glancing.

f.7r iña kasép iña pélag (·) ker mejeh pasiepan deng (·) taan urang Ajung Larang · [315] saur taan Ajung Larang (·) Jo(m)pong saha ngaranna · sanémbal si Jo(m)pong Larang · samapun ngaranna Ameng Laya|ran · la(n)tara teing na kasép · [320] kasép manan Bañak Catra · lewih manan Silih Wangi · liwat ti tuang ponakan · agengna sé(ng)sérang panon · [ker mejeh] pauc-paucen | di a(ñ)jung[108] · [325] timang-timangen di rañjang · tépok-tépoken di ko(m)bong · édék-édéken di réngkéng · teher bisa carék Jawa · w(e)ruh di na esi tangtu · | [330] lapat di tata pustaka · w(e)ruh di darma pitutur · bisa di sanghi(y)ang damma · /0/ · saa(ng)ges kapupulihan (·) taan urang Ajung Larang · [335] Sakéyan Kilat Bañcana · tuluy minger tuang hi-

f.7v dep (·) na rasa kalejon bogoh · na rasa karejay hayang · na he- [*aiu*] -yek[109] tuluy ditu(n)da · [340] dipauc apus dada(m)par · loglog caor ti na tonggong · diri hapit ti na pingping · keda|lan diri ti da(m)pal · net na(n)jer ngajuga hangsa · [345] saasup s(i)ya ka bumi · ñi(ng)kabken kasang carita · e(n)der na rarawis kasang (·) kumare(ñ)cang kumare(ñ)cong (·) ni(ng)gang ka na papan ja(n)ten | · [350] bogoh ku na ngaran kasang (·) kasang tujuh kali ñi(ng)kab · kasang seni ta(m)bi lungsir · kasang Pahang ta(m)bi laka · bédong dita(m)bi bayabon · [355] balang dita(m)bi kaca(m)bang · sau(ng)gah ka | manggung ra(ñ)jang · gapay ka karas larangan · dicokot na pasileman (·) pasileman pasi bo(n)téng[110] (·) [360] digapay sereh hesenan · tohaan tuluy nu né(k)ték · nu né(k)ték

[108] Longer than eight syllables but grammatical.
[109] A nonsense syllable intervenes.
[110] N removed this line. It is eight syllables long, however, and while the meaning is still doubtful it is not obvious that this was written in error.

f.7r he's handsome, he's extraordinary · in harmony with the wishes of · Our Lady Ajung Larang." · [315] Lady Ajung Larang said · "Jompong, what's his name?" · Jompong Larang replied: · "Forgive me – his name's Ameng Layaran. · A handsome one so overwhelming · [320] more handsome than Bañak Catra · more than Silih Wangi · beyond your (Lady's) nephews.[111] · His height is alluring to the eye · just right for stroking one another on the veranda · [325] caressing one another in bed · petting one another in private · cuddling one another in our room. · (He) can also speak Javanese · knows the contents of the scriptures · [330] (things) rarely heard in the order of the books · knowledgeable in *dharma* and doctrine · skilled in the holy *damma*."[112] · /0/ · After this account · Our Lady Ajung Larang · [335] Sakéyan Kilat Bañcana · then turned it over in her

f.7v mind · the feeling of being overcome by attraction · the feeling of the working[113] of desire. · The weaving was then set down · [340] the frame's cords were stretched out · the backstrap wiggled off her back · the cloth beam left her lap · the footrest left her soles. · She got up, rose like a goose. · [345] After she had entered the house · she drew the curtains decorated with stories · the curtain tassels rustled · rattling and clattering · they hit the teak boards. · [350] Attractive were the kinds of curtains: · curtains folded seven times · delicate curtains edged with silk (*lungsir*) · Pahang curtains edged with *laka* red · *bédong* edged with *bayabon* · [355] (and) net mesh edged with *kacambang*. · Having ascended to her bedroom · (she) fetched the private writing board · the betel tray was taken · the betel tray and cucumber slices.[114] · [360] (She) fetched betel leaves one by one[115] · which the Lady then folded · which in folding

[111] *Ponakan* 'nephew(s)'. The term is not gendered and number is not indicated. Is this a reference to a preference for cousin marriage?
[112] A form of *dharma* with doubled ⟨mma⟩.
[113] *Karejay* – connected to MSd *jorojoy* '(of desire) to suddenly appear', or perhaps to Skt *kāryá*.
[114] N removed this line.
[115] N went for 'pack of betel' (*seureuh heuseunan*). As the last word (*hesenan*) is doubtful in meaning I have chosen to interpret it along the lines of MSd *ésé* 'piece, individual'. Such vowel changes are not unprecedented, and the line works with the formula in BM 197 ('betel leaves by the branch'). Aditia Gunawan suggests comparison with MSd *deuheus* 'nearby', thus 'the betel offered/made near'.

f.8r menang salawé · nu m(a)uc[116] menang sapuluh · ngaga(n)tul menang dalapan · [365] ditalian ra(m)bu tapih · diletengan leteng karang · leteng karang ti Karawang · leteng susuh ti Malayu · pamuat aki puhawang · [370] dipinangan pinang | tiwi · pinang tiwi ngubu cai · pinang ading asri kuning · ker mejeh patemu angen · dipasi nu kalakatri · [375] pasi lepas jadi dua · pasi gantung jadi telu · pasi (re)mek[117] jadi g(e)ne|p · dihañceng di pasileman · ra(m)pés na benang ngahañceng · [380] dituruban sara(n)tangan · a(n)ten lewih ti sakitu · didulur ku pupur kapur · candana ruum sacupu · bunga resa di na | juha · [385] dédés dengen ma(ñ)jakané · jaksi dengen kamisadi · jaksi pa(n)dan deng kameñan · dua buah ca(ng)ci lenga · diteñuh ku aér mawar · [390] narawastu agur-agur (·) bubura pe(n)tas sa-

f.8v gala · aya liwat ti sakitu · digapay na e(m)bal ageng · dicokot na boéh limur · [395] dicokot na sabuk wayang · keris maléla sapucuk · awaya saréyana(na) · pahi dengen buah re(m)bey | · /0/ · saur taan Ajung Larang · [400] Jo(m)pong s(i)ya pulang dei (·) ini bawa pa(ngi)riming · bawa ma ka tuang a(m)bu · ci(ng) kurang na picaréken · sepahen panaña tineng · [405] ti na taan Ajung Larang · | Sakéyan Kilat Bañcana · lamun puguh katanggapan (·) tohaan majar ka luar · majar nu datang ku manten · [410] dingaran si Jompong Larang (·) saa(ng)ges katala|tahan · sale(m)pang ti kadatuan · le(m)pangna sasuhun ebun (·) teher nanggey pasileman · [415] teherna saais boéh · ngalalar carogé ageng · ñanglandeh ka Pañcawara · mu-

[116] The MS has *muuc*.
[117] The first syllable appears *below* the ⟨ma⟩.

f.8r made twenty-five · which in combing out made ten · rolling quids made eight · [365] tied up with threads from a *tapih*'s fringe · salted with lime made from rocks · rock lime from Karawang · sea snail shell lime from Malayu · elder sea captains' cargo. · [370] (The quids) were areca'd with *tiwi* areca · *tiwi* areca expressing water · ivory areca, radiant yellow · just in harmony with one's thoughts. · (They) were chopped with betel scissors: · [375] Chopped free they became two · chopped while hanging they became three · chopped into pieces they became six. · (They) were arranged on the betel tray · (They) were arranged nicely. · [380] (They were) enclosed in a lidded hamper. · There was more than this: · (These quids) were accompanied by limestone face powder · a round box[118] of fragrant sandalwood · *resa* flowers in a container[119] · [385] civet and oak gall powder · *jaksi* with *kamisadi* · *jaksi* pandan with benzoin · two branches of sesame · sprinkled with rosewater · [390] vetiver (and?) agar-agar · foreign perfumes

f.8v all. · There was more than that: · A great rug was fetched · the silk (*limur*) cloth was taken · [395] the *wayang*-decorated waistband was taken · (and) a *keris* blade of crucible steel. · There were so many things[120] · together with a selection of fruits. · /0/ · Lady Ajung Larang said: · [400] "Jompong, you go back again. · This I entrust (you) to bring · bring it (all) to the esteemed mother.[121] · And don't miss out what you have to say: · "(These are) quids to ask for your thoughts · [405] from Lady Ajung Larang · Sakéyan Kilat Bañcana. · If they are indeed accepted · the Lady says she will come out · (she) says that she'll come over herself."" · [410] The one named Jompong Larang · after these instructions · had walked from the palace. · She walked carrying the box on her head · and also holding the betel tray in her hands · [415] and also with the cloth on her back. · '(I) passed through the great hall. · Going downhill to Pañcawara · opening

[118] From Tamil *cĕppu* (Burrow and Emeneau 1984 #2772).
[119] *Juha* 'container' is known from other OSd texts where it contains cosmetics; Danasasmita et al. (1987:146) translate it as 'wadah (utk. bedak), cupu'. N tentatively went for 'vase' here, but that does not work in other OSd contexts.
[120] Darsa emended the text from *awaya* to *adwaya*, Skt 'non-duality, unity'. In N this line is translated as 'all of them wonderful (?)'. I have interpreted this word instead as a variant of *waya* 'there is', although this is about as speculative as Darsa's intervention.
[121] *Tuang ambu* – see section IV.1 for the interpretation of this and other kinship terms.

f.9r kaken pa(n)to kowari · ngalalar ka Paken Dora · [420] le(m)pang ngaing ñangwétanken · me(n)tas di Cipakañcilan · sacu(n)duk ka Paken Teluk · sadatang ka Pakañcilan · mukaken pa(n)to kowari · [425] dinga|ran si Jo(m)pong Larang (·) ngahusir ka tepas bumi · tohaan kaso(n)dong lu(ng)guh [di kasur] · ñoréyang Sali(ng)ger beheng (·) katuluyan dele teteh · [430] saurna na tuang a(m)bu [*niu niu*] · itu ta egen si | Jo(m)pong (·) na naha éta béjana · ruana sasuhun ebun (·) teher na(ng)gey pasileman · [435] saur tohaan sakini · Jo(m)pong ra(m)pés deukanan · gera nu u(ng)gah ka manggung · sau(ng)gah si | Jo(m)pong Larang · na sepahen diangseken · [440] saur tohaan sakini · Jo(m)pong naha béja s(i)ya · mawaken aing sepahen · sané(m)bal si Jompong Larang · bérés ngaburang ku ramo · [445] umun

f.9v teher s(i)ya ñebut · né(m)balan sakayogyana · sangtabé namasiwaya · pun kami titahan taan [ti kadatuan][122] · taan urang Ajung Larang · [450] Sakéyan Kilat Bañcana · sepahen | panaña tineng · lamun puguh katanggapan · tohaan majar ka luar · majar nu datang ku ma(n)ten · [455] saurna (na) tuang a(m)bu (·) ken aing naña si utun · //0// · saur a(m)buing sakini (·) | Rakaki Bujangga Manik (·) Rakéyan Ameng Layaran · [460] utun kita ditañaan · ditañaan ku tohaan (·) ku na taan Ajung Larang · Sakéyan Kilat Bañcana · éta | sepahen di imah (·) [465] bawa si Jo(m)pong bihini · ti dalem ti na tohaan · sepahen diwéla-wéla · dihañceng di pasileman · dituruban sara(n)tangan · [470] ra(m)pés na benang ngaha(ñ)ceng ·

[122] Longer than eight syllables but grammatical.

f.9r up the bamboo gate · passing through Paken Dora · [420] I walked eastwards. · crossing the Cipakañcilan · having arrived at Paken Teluk · having come to Pakañcilan · (I) opened up the bamboo gate.' · [425] The one named Jompong Larang · proceeded to the veranda of the house. · The Lady was found sitting on a quilt-mattress.[123] · (She) glanced to the side, craning her neck · then looked intently. · [430] The esteemed mother said: · "Look, there's Jompong now! · What's her message? · Looks like she's carrying a box on her head · and holding a betel tray in her hands." · [435] The Lady said this: · "Jompong – you're welcome to sit. · Come up to the top right away." · Jompong Larang had gone up. · The betel quids were offered. · [440] The Lady said this: · "Jompong, what's your message · bringing me betel quids?" · In response Jompong · made neat spikes with her fingers · [445] and got on her knees,

f.9v then pronounced · replying in full propriety: · "Pardon me, in homage to Śiva! · So![124] We are sent by the Lady from the palace[125] · Our Lady Ajung Larang · [450] Sakéyan Kilat Bañcana · (with) betel quids to ask for your thoughts. · If they are indeed accepted · the Lady says she will come out · says that she'll come out herself." · [455] The esteemed mother said: · "I'll ask my boy." · //0// · My mother said this:[126] · "Venerable Bujangga Manik[127] · Rakéyan Ameng Layaran · [460] Boy, you've been asked · been asked by the Lady · by Lady Ajung Larang · Sakéyan Kilat Bañcana · Those betel quids in the house · [465] Jompong just brought them · from the palace, from the Lady · betel quids as can be seen · arranged on the betel tray · enclosed in a lidded hamper. · [470] They're beautifully arranged. ·

[123] Longer than eight syllables but grammatical.
[124] *Pun* – a word found at the beginnings of invocations.
[125] Longer than eight syllables but grammatical.
[126] Back to Bujangga Manik's perspective.
[127] This is the first time in the text that the protagonist is referred to as 'Bujangga Manik'. It is interesting that his own mother calls him *rakaki* 'venerable'.

f.10r naha ngaran(n)a ku ha(n)te · ga(n)tal tu(ng)gal ga(n)tal Jawa · tékték batri ñaré-ñaré · batri ñela batri ñelu (·) [475] batri ngagiling di pingping · batri mauc di haregu · dianggesken di | pinarep · ditaliyan ra(m)bu tapih · panali na boñcah laki · [480] paken berejakah hayang · tékték si ratu manggaé (·) mo méré mo ma kadaék · ga(n)tal si ratu manglayang · | mo méré mo ma kahayang · [485] batri ngaraket-palidken (·) batri no(ng)gong-siloken[128] · benang ñila-bataraken · tékték kasih pala kasih (·) jurung-jarang kapur si(ñ)jang (·) [490] se|kar agung pala bukan · lulu(ng?)kut deng kadal meteng · ratu ga(n)tal di Pakuan · pinang tiwi pinang ading · pinang tiwi ngubu cai · [495] batri ñengcem di kasturi · kapur Barus di na cupu · bunga resa di na juha ·

f.10v dédés dengen ma(ñ)jakané · jaksi dengen kamisadi (·) [500] dikukup ratna ko(m)bala · dua buah ca(ng)ci lenga (·) diteñuh ku aér mawar · narawastu agur-agur · bubura pe(n)tas sagala · [505] sepahen bawa | si Jo(m)pong · éta dengen pikaénen · pikaénen buah rembey · sepahen panaña tineng · ti dalem ti na tohaan · [510] anaking haja lañcanan · karuña ku na tohaan · lamun ki|ta majar daék · aya lewih ti sakitu · pangirim ti na tohaan · [515] a(n)ten limur pikaénen · sabuk wayang na pakéen · keris maléla sorénen · lamun ki|ta majar daék · a(n)ten lewih ti sakitu · [520] di kiriman sesebutan · kapur Barus ta(m)ba geruk · batri ñe(ng)cem di cipinang · dibalunan ku hasiwung · ngaran(n)a rakit candana · [525] a-

[128] N has *no(ng)tong-silo(ka)keun*. The MS has ⟨gong⟩. See also Rosidi (1995:148).

f.10r What kinds aren't there? · Single quids, Java quids · quids worked continuously · (those) worked in spurts, worked one after the other · [475] worked by rolling on the thighs · worked by stroking on the breastbone · (and) finished off on the breast · tied up with threads from a skirt's fringe · the means for tethering a young man · [480] for a bachelor's desire · quids prepared for a king[129] · not given unless wanted · quids (called) the soaring king · not given unless desired · [485] worked into drifting rafts · worked with the back turned towards the sun[130] · made sitting cross-legged like a god · betel quids of love, the fruit of love · helped along by camphor and cloths[131] · [490] great flowers (and) opening fruits · "mosses" and "pregnant lizard" · king of quids in Pakuan · *tiwi* areca, ivory areca · *tiwi* areca expressing water · [495] having been soaked in musk[132] · Barus camphor in a round box · *resa* flowers in a container ·

f.10v civet and oak gall powder · *jaksi* with *kamisadi*[133] · [500] covered with gems and tassels · two branches of sesame · sprinkled with rosewater · vetiver (and?) agar-agar · foreign perfumes all. · [505] The quids Jompong brought · those and the fabrics · fabrics and a selection of fruits · betel quids to ask for my thoughts · from the palace, from the Lady. · [510] My child, don't resist · having compassion for the Lady. · If you say you want it · there'll be more than all that · sent from the Lady. · [515] There'll be silk (*limur*) for making into cloth · a *wayang* figure sash for wearing · a crucible steel *keris* to wear at your side. · If you make it known that you agree · (then) there'll be more than that · [520] among the symbolic gifts: · Barus camphor, the remedy for malice · soaked in areca water · wrapped in cotton wool · named a "sandalwood raft". · [525] My

[129] 480-482 are obscure. I broadly follow Darsa (also Aditia Gunawan, p.c., who suggests 'the king' for *si ratu*).
[130] This line is similar to Rosidi (1995:148, line 3), as Teeuw and Darsa noted.
[131] N has 'rare camphor for cloths'; I prefer an interpretation based on MSd *jurung* 'assist/befriend', although the translation is still somewhat doubtful and the line obscure.
[132] *Kasturi* 'musk', from Skt *kastūrī* (ultimately PIE *kestor 'musk', cf. Greek κάστωρ 'beaver'). To be differentiated from *dédés*, an MP word for 'civet', musk produced by civet-cats.
[133] *Kamisadi* - a mystery.

f.11r naking mulah mo sebut (·) karuña ku na tohaan · lamun kita majar daék · a(n)ten liwat ti sakitu · tohaan majar ka luar · [530] majar nu datang ku ma(n)ten · baruk carékna to|haan · lamuning datang ka luar · aing dék miken awaking · dék ña(m)ber bitan na helang · [535] ngarontok bitan na méong · ménta ditanggapan jalir · anaking haja lañca|nan · karuña ku na tohaan · sugan s(i)ya hamo ñaho · [540] tohaan gelis warangan · ra(m)pés rua ra(m)pés tuah · teher gelis u(n)dahagi · hapitan karawaléya · cu|uk[134] ragi hideng telem · [545] ceta hamo diajaran · na gelis bawa ngajadi · na é(n)dah sabor[135] ti pangpang · ha(n)te papahiyanana · /0/ · sané(m)bal na berejakah · [550] eh a(m)bu kumenep teing · lamun di-

f.11v turut carékéng (·) dara barang pati(ng)timken · éta na carék larangan · sugan hamo kaawakan · [555] le(m)pang bawa pulang dei · le(m)pang rejeng deng si Jo(m)pong · ka dalem ka na tohaan · sepahe|n ta bawa dei · buah rembey bawa dei · [560] piburaten pihiyasen (·) éta bawa pulang dei · pikaénen pisabuken (·) kalawan keris maléla · le(m)pang bawa pulang dei · [565] éta carék | sesebutan · carék cangkrim na tohaan · aing ñebutan ngaran(n)a · carék di na rakit sakit · carékna di na candana · [570] tohaan sakit salama · carékna di na cipinang (·) | éta cimata tohaan · carékna di na hasiwung · leles awakna tohaan · [575] balas mitineng awaking · sakit mu(ng)ku dilañcanan · héman ku benanging bakti · ku talatah nu mitutur · ta-

[134] N emends this to *buuk*. I am not so sure. Could be related to *curuk* ‘finger’.
[135] N has *sabot*.

f.11r child, don't fail to show · your compassion for the Lady. · If you make it known that you agree · (then) there'll be more than that. · The Lady says she'll head out · [530] says she'll come herself. · How the Lady[136] speaks of it! · "If I come outside · I will devote myself · I'll swoop down like a hawk · [535] leap like a tiger · asking to be seen as your lover." · My child, don't resist · having compassion for the Lady. · Perhaps you don't know: · [540] (She's) a beautiful nubile lady · (with) good looks and a good character · beautiful and skilled too · (with a) tough grip (on the loom) · (her) fingers and body understand dyeing · [545] expert without having been taught. · Beauty she has carried since birth · loveliness sown from the beginning.[137] · She is without compare." · /0/ · The bachelor replied: · [550] "Ah, mother is very single-minded. · If my

f.11v words had been obeyed · discussing any maiden · that would be forbidden speech. · May it not come to pass! · [555] Go and bring (these things) back again. · Walk together with Jompong · to the palace, to the Lady. · Take back the betel quids · take back the fruit selection · [560] those unguents, those adornments. · Take them back! · The textiles, the sashes · together with the crucible steel *keris* – · go and take them back again. · [565] They speak in symbols · speak the Lady's riddles. · I'll tell you what they mean: · The word in the raft (*rakit*) is sickness (*sakit*) · the sandalwood says that · [570] "the Lady is always sick". · The word in the areca water (*cipinang*) · that's the Lady's tears (*cimata*). · The cotton wool speaks of · the weakness of the Lady's body · [575] caused by her longing for me · a sickness that cannot be resisted. · I love the results of my piety · the directives which have been prescribed · the

[136] i.e. Jompong.
[137] A difficult line – *sabor* 'sown, scattered', cf. PMP *sabuR 'sow, scatter' (ACD 9605); *pangpang* 'on high; cause, reason' cf. MSd *pangpangna* (Danadibrata 2006:496). N has 'fair since she came forth from the womb' based on *sabot*, a misreading.

f.12r latah mahapandita · [580] lamun diturut carékéng · le(m)pang bawa pulang dei · le(m)pang rejeng deng si Jo(m)pong · ka dalem ka na tohaan · datang ma kita ka dalem (·) [585] mulah salah bawa béja · pihalang rerekan aing · a|(ng)kul-a(ng)kulken ku carék · ma(ng)ka cita sa(m)bat wala (·) samodana ka tohaan · [590] a(m)bu picaréken kita · aja rang si utun mumul · palias pista codéya[138] · ha(n)te acan | kapiteneng · me(n)ding hayang berejakah · deng dei kakara cu(n)duk ti gunung · [595] kakara datang ti wétan · cu(n)duk ti gunung Damalung · datangna ti Pam(e)rihan · datang ti lurah pajaran · [600] asak benang ngojar[139] warah (·) | asak benang maca siksa · pageh benang maleh pateh · tuhu benang nu mitutur · asak benang pangguruan · [605] ma(ng)kaing[140] diri deng jugi · mana le(m)pang deng tétéga · nurut dengen déwaguru · pa(n)dita deng nu pu-

f.12v rusa · wageyéng ameng sagala · /0/ · [610] paéh aing hamo mangku(k)[141] (·) aing di na dayeh ini · ja kitu tuah a(m)buing · a(m)buing salah ngarambut [ka pamunuhan][142] · magahan jalan ka sema · [615] ngaliarken | tales gatel · dék di urang cacab tapa · ma(ng)mongbongken mangutasken (·) jalan ka na kapapaan · a(m)bu soréyang bengeting · [620] ku naha ña mana kitu · mo nili(k) na huis putih (·) | mo ñasar na awak tuha · salah pangajar ka boñcah · ha(n)te panggerahan aing · [625] teteing ogé teteing · na urang anak pahatu · na ura(ng) ha(n)te dibapa · aya dii(n)dung kasarung · manghuluke|n ku boboñcahen · [630] a(m)buing[143] katarujangan · téka geyung ha(n)te ñepah · were ha(n)te nginum tuak · téka sasar ha(n)te gering · a(m)bu ja mo kita édan · [635] manana ca(n)teng bahuleng · ho-

[138] N. has *nodéa*, an inexplicable hapax.
[139] N has *ng[w]ajar*, assuming the *pasangan* ⟨wa⟩ to be an error (which it may be).
[140] MS has *mangkuing*. N is right to emend this to *mangka*.
[141] The ⟨-k⟩ is N's emendation, making *mangkuk* 'be perched on, live with (etc.)'. An alternative is to read it as is – *mangku* 'to be held on the lap, carried (etc.)', cf. OJv *pańku** (OJED 1261:10).
[142] This line is longer than eight syllables but is entirely grammatical.
[143] The beginning of this line is actually *aingbu*; the scribe has added an X-shaped mark above the word to indicate that the last two syllables should change places.

f.12r directives of the *mahapandita*. · [580] If my words are followed · (you will) go and take (everything) back again. · Go together with Jompong · to the palace, to the Lady. · When you come to the palace · [585] don't bring the wrong message. · Forestall my interrogation (by the Lady?) · bolster (my message) by your speech. · Though her heart may lament · be kind to the Lady. · [590] Mother, you must say: · "We shouldn't do it; my boy is unwilling." · Heaven forbid reluctant love be compelled. · That should not even be dared. · (I) prefer to be a bachelor. · [595] And, again, I have just arrived from the mountains · just come come from the east · arrived from Mount Damalung · come from Pamrihan · come from the district of hermitages. · [600] Instructed well in the teachings · well-read in the instructions · firmly imbued with the rules[144] · true to what has been instructed · thorough the result of my instruction. · [605] That's why I left with the yogis · why I walked with the ascetics · followed along with the *déwagurus* · the *pandit*s and the saintly

f.12v ones.[145] · My companions would all be monks." · /0/ · [610] "My death won't settle on · me in this city. · But that's my mother's mischief · my mother wrongly drew me to this place of killing · taught me the way to the cemetery. · [615] (She) spread the "itchy taro"[146] · among those immersed in ascetic practice · tantamount to opening up and and clearing the jungle · for the road to sinfulness. · Mother, look at my face · [620] how has it come to this? · Let's not regard (your) white hair · nor probe (your) old body. · (You) taught the lad wrongly · not for my happiness[147] · [625] (It's all) much too much! · To be an orphan · someone without a father · to have a mother gone astray · to guide me out of childhood. · [630] My mother felt overwhelmed[148] · so became dizzy without chewing betel · intoxicated without drinking palm wine · so became crazed without being ill. · Mother, you are indeed not mad. · [635] That's why (you're) so stable and have a firm grasp.[149] · (But) it turns

[144] N's interpretation.
[145] *Nu purusa*. N has 'sages'.
[146] A metaphor for spreading rumours (MSd: *taleus ateul*).
[147] Based on *panggerahan* as related to MSd *gerah* 'happy' rather than OJv *grah* 'weak, powerless' (OJED 540:17).
[148] *Katarujangan* – 'overwhelmed' is based on Rigg (1862:483 *sub* Tarajang). Undang Darsa suggested emending the text to *tarañjang* 'naked, exposed'.
[149] This line is obscure.

f.13r réng nini[ng]ing te pantang · bihari basana ñiram · horéng dihakanken jantung · horéng sawan jalalang · [640] horéng dihakanken be(n)ter · dihakanken lauk mijah · horéng manana sakitu · a(m)buing kara|h sumanger (·) paw(e)kas pajeeng benget (·) [645] a(m)bu kita deng awaking · sapoé ayena ini · pajeeng benget deng ngaing · mo ñorang pacarék dei · mo ma ti na pangi(m)piyan · [650] pajeeng benget di bulan | · patempuh awak di [awak di] angin · saa(ng)ges ñaur sakitu · dicokot ka(m)pék karañcang · diesiyan apus ageng · [655] dihurun deng Siksaguru · itek aing pañcasirah · sape|cut hoé walatung · a(m)buing tatanghi ti(ng)gal (·) tarik-tarik dibuhaya · [660] dék le(m)pang ka Balungbungan · wétanen Talaga Wurung · di na tungtung lemah ini · di tungtungna tébéh wétan · ñiar

f.13v lemah pamasaran · [665] ñiar tasik panghañutan · pigesanen aing paéh · pigesanen nu(n)da raga · i(n)dit birit sudah diri · lugay sila sudah le(m)pang · [670] sadiri ti gesan calik · sa|turun ti tungtung surung · galasar di panahtaran · sadiri ti salu panti · samu(ng)kur ti Walang Sangha · [675] mukaken panto kowari · sadiri ti Pakañcilan · na U(m)bul Medang katukang · [*niu*] | ka to(ng)gongna Umbul So(ng)gol · samu(ng)kur ti Lewi Nutug · [680] sadiri ti Mulah Malik (·) éta jalan ka Pasagi · na jalan ka Bala I(n)dra · diri aing ti paniis · samu(ng)kur a|ing di Tubuy · [685] me(n)tasing di Cihaliwung · na(ñ)jak ka sanghiyang Darah · nepi ka Caringin Be(n)tik · sana(ñ)jak ka Bala Gajah · ku ngaing ges kale(m)pangan · [690] na(ñ)jak aing ka Mayanggu · ngalalar ka

f.13r out my grandmother did not keep the taboos · back when she was pregnant. · It turns out that banana flowers[150] were eaten up · it turns out she had the 'squirrel fits'[151] · [640] it turns out *beunteur* fish[152] were eaten up · spawning fish were eaten up. · It turns out that this is why. · So, mother – peace![153] · It's the last time we'll see each other face-to-face · [645] you, mother, and me · this day today · meeting face-to-face with me. · Never again will we speak · except in dreams · [650] seeing each other's faces in the moon · grasping each other's bodies on the wind." · After having said that · the open-work container was taken · containing within it a great book · [655] bundled with *Siksaguru*. · 'My walking stick was five-headed · with a whip of *walatung* rattan. · "Mother, stay and keep watch · (though) you pull and pull out of love · [660] (I) shall go to Balungbungan · east of Talaga Wurung · at the end of this land · at its easternmost end · looking for

f.13v a land of exile · [665] looking for a sea to be cast away on · a place for me to die · a place to set my body down." · I raised my rump and was already gone · stretched my legs and was off walking. · [670] Having left where I was sitting · and descended from the end of the flooring · (I) glided through the courtyard. · Having left the pavilion · having turned away from Walang Sangha · [675] I opened up the bamboo gate. · Having left Pakañcilan · looking back on Umbul Medang · on Gonggong and Umbul Songgol · having turned away from Lewi Nutug · [680] having left Mulah Malik · that's the way to Pasagi · the way to Bala Indra. · I left Paniis. · After I had turned away from Tubuy · [685] I crossed the Cihaliwung · ascending to holy Darah · approaching Caringin Bentik · having ascended to Bala Gajah. · By me it was walked. · [690] I ascended to Mayanggu · passing through

[150] This taboo is recorded in later dictionaries. *Jantung* also means 'human heart', interestingly.
[151] An unexplained turn of phrase – 'squirrel convulsions' or 'fits', apparently another kind of taboo. The animal in question, *jalalang*, is the black giant squirrel (*Ratufa bicolor*) – rodents c.40 centimetres long with black fur on their backs and buff underparts (Shepherd and Shepherd 2012:118).
[152] *Barbodes binotatus*, the common barb. A silvery freshwater fish found in many Southeast Asian rivers.
[153] *Sumanger* – lit. 'soul, spirit' (cf. Mal *semangat*, etc.), here 'farewell' or 'goodbye'.

f.14r Ka(n)dang Sérang · na jalan ka Ratu Jaya · ku ngaing ges kale(m)pangan · datang ka Kadu Kadaka[154] · [695] me(n)tas aing di Cilengsi · ñangkidul ka gunung Gajah · sacu(n)duk ka bukit Caru · sakakala Tuhan | Cupak · ñangwétan ka-Citerep-ken · [700] datang ngaing ka Tandangan · me(n)tas aing di Cihoé · me(n)tas aing di Ciwinten · nepi aing ka Cigentis · sana(ñ)jak aing ka Go|ha · [705] sacu(n)duk aing ka Timbun · sacu(n)duk ka bukit Timbun · datang ngaing ka Mandata · me(n)tas aing di Citarum · ngalalar ka Ramanéya · [710] sanepi ka bukit Se(m)pil · ka to(ng)gongna bu|kit Bongkok · sacu(n)duk ka bukit Cungcung · na jajahan Saung Agung · ku ngaing ges kale(m)pangan · [715] le(m)pang ngaing ñangwétanken · me(n)tasing di Cilamaya · me(n)tas di Cipunagara · lurah

f.14v Medang Kahi(y)angan · ngalalar ka To(m)po Omas · [720] me(n)tas aing di Cimanuk · ngalalar ka Pada Benghar · me(n)tas di Cijerukmanis · ngalalar raing ka Conam · caremay a(ng)ges katukang · [725] ti(m)bang dengen Hujung Barang (·) | Kuningan Darma Pakuan · pahi a(ng)ges kale(m)pangan · sacu(n)duk ka Luhur Agung · me(n)tasing di Cisinggarung · [730] sadatang ka tungtung Su(n)da · nepi ka Arega Jati · sacu(n)duk ka Jalatunda · sakaka|la Silih Wangi · samu(ng)kur raing ti iña · [735] me(n)tasing di Cipamali · ka kidul na gunung Agung · ka kéñca lurah Barebes · ngalalar ka Medang Agung · me(n)tasing di Cibula(ng)rang · [740] ngalalar ka Gu|nung Larang · dusunen lurah Gebuhan · ngalalar aing ka Sangka · ka Suci ka Agi-Agi · ka Moga Dana K(e)reta · [745] samu(ng)kur raing ti iña · me(n)tas aing di Cicomal · me(n)tas di Cipakujati · ngalalar-

[154] N has *Kanaka*.

f.14r Kandang Sérang · the road to Ratu Jaya. · By me it was walked. · Coming to Kadu Kanaka · [695] I crossed the Cilengsi · going south to Mount Gajah · having arrived at Caru Peak · the memorial for *Tuhan*[155] Cupak · (I) went east, went Citerep way. · [700] I came to Tandangan · I crossed the Cihoé · I crossed the Ciwinten · I approached the Cigentis. · After I had ascended to Goha · [705] after I had arrived at Timbun · having arrived at Timbun Peak · I came to Mandata · I crossed the Citarum · passing through Ramanéya · [710] having approached Sempil Peak · to the back of Bongkok Peak · having arrived at Cungcung Peak · the territory of Saung Agung. · By me it was walked. · [715] I walked eastwards · I crossed the Cilamaya · crossed the Cipunagara · (in the) district

f.14v of Medang Kahiyangan. · Passing through Tompo Omas · [720] I crossed the Cimanuk · passing through Pada Benghar · crossing the Cijerukmanis · I passed Conam. · Looking back on (Mount) Caremay · [725] Timbang and Hujung Barang · Kuningan Darma Pakuan · (I) had walked through them all. · Having arrived at Luhur Agung · I crossed the Cisinggarung. · [730] (I) had come to the end of Sunda · approaching Arega Jati · having arrived at Jalatunda · the memorial to Silih Wangi. · After I had turned away from there there · [735] I crossed the Cipamali · to the south Mount Agung · on the left the district of Barebes. · Passing through Medang Agung · I crossed the Cibularang. · [740] Passing through Gunung Larang · back country of the district of Gebuhan · I passed through Sangka · passed through Suci, passed through Agi-Agi · passed Moga Dana Kereta. · [745] After I had turned away from there · I crossed the Cicomal · crossed the Cipakujati. · I passed

[155] *Tuhan* ‘God; lord’ in modern Malay/Indonesian (related to OSd *tohaan*).

f.15r ing ka Sagara · nepi aing ka Balingbing · [750] jajahan Arega Séla · na Kupang dengen na Batang · ka kéñca na Pakalongan · sacu(n)duk aing ka Gerus · na Tinep deng na Tumerep · [755] ku ngaing ges kale(m)pangan · datang | ka lurah Tabuhan · cu(n)duk ka Darma Tumulus · ngalalar ka Kali Go(n)dang · sacu(n)duk ka Mano Hayu · [760] ngalalar ka Pajinaran · nepi aing ka Pañjalin · sacu(n)duk aing ka Se(m)bung · ngalalar ka Paka(n)da|ngan · sadatang ka Pa(n)danara(ng) · [765] nu(ñ)juk gunung ñangkidulken · itu ta na gunung Rahung · ti kulonna gunung Dihéng · itu ta gunung Sundara · itu ta na gunung Kedu · [770] ti kidul | gunung Damalung · iña na lurah Pantaran · itu gunung Karungrungan · sakakala na batara (·) basa mitineng batari · [775] ti wétan bukit Marapi · sakakala Darmadéwa · iña lura-

f.15v h Karangiyan · diri aing ti Danara(ng) (·) datang aing ka Pidada · [780] sadatang ngaing ka Jemas · ka kéñca jajahan Demak · ti wétan na Welahulu · ngalalaring ka Pulutan · datang ka Medang Ka|mulan · [785] sacu(n)duk ka Rabut Jalu · ngalalaring ka Larangan · sadatang ngaing ka Jempa[156] · me(n)tasing di Ciwuluyu · cu(n)duk ka lurah Gegelang · [790] ti kidul Medang Kamulan · cu(n)duk ka bangba|rung gunung · sadatang ka Jero Alas · me(n)tas di bagawan Cangku · ngalalar raing ka Daha · [795] samu(ng)kur raing ti iña · sacu(n)duk aing ka Pujut · me(n)tas di Cironabaya · nga|lalar ka Rambut[157] Merem · sacu(n)duk aing ka Wakul · [800] sadatang ka Pacéléngan · ngalalar raing ka Bubat · cu(n)duk aing ka Mangu(n)tur · ka buruan Majapahit · ngalalar ka Dar-

[156] N has *Jempar*.
[157] The ⟨m⟩ in *Rambut* appears to have been converted from ⟨ba⟩.

f.15r through Sagara · I approached Balingbing · [750] territory of Arega Séla · of Kupang and of Batang. · On the left was Pakalongan. · Having arrived at Gerus · at Tinep and at Tumerep. · [755] By me it was walked. · Coming to the district of Tabuhan · arriving at Darma Tumulus · passing through Kali Gondang · having arrived at Mano Hayu · [760] passing through Pajinaran · I approached Pañjalin · I had arrived at Sembung. · Passing through Pakandangan · having come to Pa(n)danara(ng) · [765] (I) pointed southwards to the mountains: · "That there is Mount Rahung[158] · Mount Dihéng to the west · that there is Mount Sundara · that there is Mount Kedu · [770] to the south, Mount Damalung · over there the district of Pantaran · that's Mount Karungrungan · the memorial of the god · when longing for the goddess · [775] to the east is Marapi Peak · the memorial of Darmadéwa · there the district

f.15v of Karangiyan." · I left Danara(ng) · I came to Pidada · [780] I had come to Jemas · to the left the territory of Demak · to the east of Welahulu. · I passed through Pulutan · coming to Medang Kamulan. · [785] Having arrived at Rabut Jalu · I passed through Larangan · I had come to Jempa · I crossed the Ciwuluyu. · Arriving at the district of Gegelang · [790] to the south of Medang Kamulan · arriving at the threshold of the mountains[159] · having come to Jero Alas · crossing the Cangku River[160] · I passed through Daha. · [795] I had turned away from there · I had arrived at Pujut · crossing the Cironabaya · passing through Rabut Merem · I had arrived at Wakul. · [800] Having come to Pacéléngan · I passed through Bubat. · I arrived at the great courtyard · at the square of Majapahit · passing through Dar-

[158] N suspects that this is an error for Mount Prahu near Dieng in Central Java.
[159] N has 'Bangbarung Gunung', as if it were a toponym. It would be an ungrammatical name for a mountain, however, and *bangbarung* means 'threshold'.
[160] *Bagawan*, probably a corruption of *bangawan* '(great) river' (OJED 206:1).

f.16r ma Añar · [805] na Karang Kajramanaan · ti kidulna Karang Jaka · sadatang ka Pali(n)tahan · samu(ng)kur ti Majapahit · na(ñ)jak ka gunung [*siu kwai niu* ·] Pawitra · [810] rabut gunung Gajah Mu(ng)kur · ti ké(ñ)ca | na alas Gresik · ti kidul gunung Rajuna · ku ngaing ges kale(m)pangan · ngalalar ka Patukangan · [815] datang ka Rabut Wahangan · le(m)pang ngaing ñangwétanken · la(m)bung gu|nung Mahaméru · disorang kalérenana · datang ka gunung B(e)rahma · [820] datang ngaing ka Kadiran · ka Tandes ka Ranobawa · le(m)pang ngaing ngalér ngétan · sacu(n)duk aing ka Dingding (·) éta | hulu déwaguru · [825] samu(ng)kur raing ti (i)ña · datang ka Pañca Nagara · sacu(n)duk aing ka Sampang · sanepi aing ka Ge(n)ding · me(n)tas di Cirabutwahangan · [830] sadatang ngaing ka Lésan · iña lurah

f.16v Pajarakan · le(m)pang aing ngidul wétan · ngalalar ka Kaman Kuning · ngalalar ka gunung H(i)yang · [835] disorang kalérenana · sadatang ka gunung Arum · na lurah Talaga Wurung · ti kalérna Panarukan (·) | ka kéñcana Patukangan · [840] sadatang ka Balungbungan · di iña aing ditapa · sa(m)biyan ngerenan palay · teher(ing) m(e)rela(k) najur · teher(ing?) na(ñ)jerken li(ng)ga[161] · [845] tehering puja ñangraha · puja ña|pu mugu-mugu · ma(ng)ña(m)bat-walaken maném · di (i)ña aing te hebel · satahun deng sataraban · [850] téka waya na bañcana · datang tiyagi (wa)don[162] · na rua mamarayaen · té|ka béka mulung lañcek · carékna kaka lañceking · [855] Rakaki Bujangga Manik · haup aing ebon-ebon · aing na pitiagien · manan hésé ku mamaném · rusuh ku na panga-

[161] This line is shorter than eight syllables; *-ing* makes the line scan.
[162] Even after emending *don* to *wadon* this line is still one syllable short. Aditia Gunawan (p.c.) suggests *datang* ***ti*** *tiyagi (wa)don* '(disaster) came from the female ascetic', but the definite article *na* or separating particle *ta* would also be appropriate.

f.16r ma Añar · and [805] Karang Kajramanaan · to the south of Karang Jaka. · Having come to Palintahan · having turned away from Majapahit · ascending Mount Pawitra · [810] the holy mountain of Gajah Mungkur · to the left the land of Gresik · Mount Rajuna to the south. · By me it was walked. · Passing through Patukangan · [815] coming to Rabut Wahangan · I walked eastwards. · The flanks of Mount Mahaméru · were passed along the north side. · Coming to Mount Brahma · [820] I came to Kadiran · to Tandes, to Ranobawa. · I walked northwards, eastwards · I had arrived at Dingding – · that's the seat of an abbot. · [825] I had turned away from there. · Coming to Pañca Nagara · I had arrived at Sampang. · I had reached Gending. · Crossing the Cirabutwahangan · [830] I had come to Lésan · there the district of

f.16v Pajarakan. · I walked southwards, eastwards · passing through Kaman Kuning · passing by Mount Hiyang · [835] (which) was passed along the north side. · Having come to Mount Arum · the district of Talaga Wurung · to its north Panarukan · to its left Patukangan · [840] I had come to Balungbungan.[163] · There I was in seclusion · while recuperating from fatigue. · I then gardened and planted · I then raised a *lingga* · [845] I then made ready for worship · worshipped by sweeping diligently[164] · lamenting to myself. · I wasn't there long · a year and a bit. · [850] There was then an ordeal. · A female ascetic came · in the guise of kinship. · Apparently that nuisance had adopted me as her elder brother.'[165] · She spoke: "Elder brother! · [855] Venerable Bujangga Manik! · Look on me as a nun. · I'm here to become an ascetic – · that's better than struggling with myself · troubled by human

[163] Modern Blambangan, known in the Portuguese accounts as *Bulambuam*.
[164] The word 'diligently' here is in fact *mugu-mugu*, a hapax and a peculiar one. N thought it was derived from *puguh* 'assuredly, definitely', which it may be.
[165] Pithier in the original.

f.17r wakan · [860] héman ku na karuaan · carékna Bujang(ga) Manik · ku ngaing dirarasaken · bawaing apus sata(m)bi · ngaran(n)a na Siksaguru · [865] carék di na apus téya · kad(i)yangganing ring geni · lamun padeket deng | e(ñ)juk · mu(ng)ku burung éta senget · kitu lanang dengen wadon · [870] sadiri aing ti iña · le(m)pang ngaing kalautken · sugan aya nu balayar · aing dék nu(m)pang ka Bali · sadatang aing ka laut | [hurung tehenna ngalérén · ku ngaing dirarasak*ah*][166] · [875] kumululiling turut tasik · kumacacang turut tañcang · nañaken nu dék ka Bali · momogana téka waya · kasa(m)pak aki puhawang · [880] na puhawang Séla Batang · dék me(n)tas ka nusa Bali · dé|k tuluy layar ka Bangka · aing dék nu(m)pang ka Bali · saurna Bujangga Manik (·) [885] Rakéyan Ameng Layaran · akiing juru puhawang · aing dék nu(m)pang ka Bali · lamuning datang ka iña (·) aya panggerahan a-

f.17v ing · [890] carék aki Séla Batang (·) lamun hayang nu dék me(n)tas (·) sui dipawalangati · u(ng)gah onam ka parahu · tu(m)pak di na jurung pangkuh (·) [895] deuk di gagarebongan · saa(ng)ges u(ng)gah ka ma(ng)gung parahu · bo|goh ku tawas [tawas] parahu · parahu jati diukir · ka luhur dinanagaken · [900] téka be(n)tik ti kamudi · bogoh aing ku parahu · ra(m)pés benang ngadangdanan · mibabahon a|wi go(m)bong · mitihang awi ñowana · [905] mipanggiling haur kuning · misaré kawung cawéné · midada(m)par haur séyah · kamudi kamuning[167] Keling · tihang layar kayu laka · [910] hurung benangna ngahi(ng)gu|l · siyang benang ngaj(e)rinang · apus dangdan hoé muka · pabaur hoé walatung · diselang deng hoé omas (·) [915] tali bubut kenur Cina · carénang dayung na e(n)teng · dayung salawé salaya · beteng rees ku sa-

[166] This pair of lines appears in the interstices and seems to have been added later in a different hand.
[167] N has *kamudi*.

f.17r bodies · [860] in love with outward appearances." · Bujangga Manik spoke: · "I've felt this myself. · I brought a book with me. · Its name is *Siksaguru*. · [865] This book speaks of this: · "Just as with fire · if it approaches sugar palm fibre · it will not fail to ignite it · so it is, men with women."" · [870] 'After I had left from there · I walked seawards · in case there were anyone sailing. · I wanted to travel to Bali. · I had come to the sea [*Interlinear note:* the burning does not abate · I have experienced it][168] · [875] went around following the coast · roamed about following the shore · inquiring for one who would go to Bali. · It happened that there was one. · (I) encountered an elder captain · [880] Captain Séla Batang · who was crossing to the island of Bali · (and who) would then sail to Bangka. · I wanted to travel to Bali.' · Bujangga Manik said · [885] Rakéyan Ameng Layaran: · "Grandfather, master seaman · I want to travel to Bali. · If I get there · there'll be (something

f.17v to show) my gratitude." · [890] Grandfather Séla Batang spoke: · "If your desire is to cross · (I) insist that you not be anxious. · Come right onto the ship · come up to the passenger deck[169] · [895] (and) sit in the cabin." · 'After I had gone up to the deck · I admired the shape of the ship · the ship of teak built · to the top in the form of a dragon · [900] that curved around from the rudder. · I admired the ship: · The rigging was done well · (it was) fitted with a boom of *gombong* bamboo · with spars of young bamboo · [905] with yellow bamboo rollers[170] · with a floor of sugar palm saplings · with seats made of *séyah* bamboo · a rudder of Indian *kamuning* wood · a mast of *laka* wood · [910] glowing with a 'writhing fish' pattern · (like) dawn, the result of dragon's blood · the rigging was made of *muka* rattan · mixed with *walatung* rattan · alternating with golden rattan · [915] the halyards were Chinese rope · the oars pocking the mirror (of the sea) · twenty-five oars on each side. · (I) stopped marvelling at those

[168] See section I.2.5.
[169] This line is tricky; *jurung pangkuh* has not been satisfactorily deciphered.
[170] *Panggiling* – defined by Rigg (1862:347) as 'a roller; […] name of the long bambu, with a short spoke through the lower end, by which, in native sea-going boats the mat sail is rolled up perpendicularly, and which can thus be partly or wholly furled or reefed, according to the wind'.

f.18r kitu · bogoh ku nu mawa iña · [920] bibijilan para nusa · nu badayung urang Marus · nu babosé urang Angké · nu balayar urang Bangka · juru batu urang Lampung · [925] juru mudi urang Jambri · juru wedil urang Bali · juru panah | urang Cina · juru tulup ti Malayu · juru amuk ti Sale(m)bu · [930] pamerang urang Makasar · juru kilat urang Pasay · nu ni(m)ba jo(m)pong sagala · pani(m)ba u(n)dem salaka · putih kajang pucuk nipah · [935] langgang ti|hang pakajangan · na layar ma(ñ)je(r)[171] ke(m)bang · hir na angin bar na layar · masang wedil[172] tujuh kali · sarunay dipikingkila · [940] bung[173] na goong brang na gangsa · goong kuning tumalapung · kingkila nu bikas | layar · séyah na ge(n)dang sarunay · séok nu kawih tarahan · [945] nu kawih a(m)bah-a(m)bahan (·) ba(n)tar kali buar pélang · buat di manggung parahu · balayar taraban poyan · sadatang ka nusa Ba-

f.18v li · [950] saurna Bujangga Manik · akiing juru puhawang · éboh midua rahayu · é(boh) ta[174] urang papasah · dahini kaén aing · [955] ini pangwidiyan aing · éboh midua rahayu · kita ma ma(ng)gih k(e)reta · awaking | ma(ng)gih rahayu · carék aki Séla Batang · [960] samapun mahapa(n)dita (·)kami néma pangwidiyan · samapun mahapa(n)dita · ra(m)pés nu sapilaunan · saa(ng)ges ñaur sakitu · [965] s(i)ya | turun ti parahu · sacu(n)duk s(i)ya ka dayeh · ti iña lunasing usma · moha teing nu ti hela · téka sarua réyana · [970] na lanang dengen na wadon · hidepéng karah mo waya (·) ja dini di te|ngah nusa · gumanti lelewih oman · réya ma(na)n urang Jawa · [975] ti(m)bun manan di Malayu · di (i)ña aing te hebel · satahun deng sataraban · pulang dei ka uruting · sacu(n)duk ka si-

[171] The ⟨ma⟩ was converted from ⟨pa⟩.
[172] MS has *wedel*.
[173] N has *ing*.
[174] Scribal error; *éta* does not work here, but *éboh ta* does.

f.18r things · (and) admired those carried there · [920] originating from many countries: · Those rowing were Marus people[175] · those paddling were Angké people · those sailing were Bangka people · the experts in sounding were Lampung people · [925] the helmsmen were Jambri people · the master gunners were Balinese · the master archers were Chinese · blowgun masters from Malayu · master duellists from Salembu · [930] the warriors were Makasar people · the masters of the sheets were Pasay people · those bailing were all youths · their bailers silver coconut shells. · White were the roofing mats of *nipah* sprouts · [935] wide apart the matting poles · the sail stood upright like a flower. · The wind rose, the sails swelled. · the guns fired seven times · the shawms were treated as a signal · [940] the gongs boomed, the flat gongs branged · the brass gongs interrupted them · the signal for loosing the sails. · The din of drum and shawm · the sound of work songs · [945] which were sung as we left port: · "Smooth river, … cargo boat". · Stowed aboard the ship · sailing for part of the day · (I) had come to the country of Ba-

f.18v li.' · [950] Bujangga Manik said: · "Grandfather, master seaman · let's go our separate ways · let's part properly. · Here's my cloth · [955] it's what I owe. · Let's part properly · you finding good fortune · me finding goodness." · Grandfather Séla Batang spoke: · [960] "My respects, *mahapandita*. · We accept your gift · My respects, *mahapandita*. · Take good care of yourself." · After saying these things · [965] he[176] alighted from the ship. · After (that) he had arrived at the city. · 'There my passion was exhausted. · (I was) more bewildered than ever. · It turned out there so many · [970] the men and the women. · I hadn't thought there would be – · alas! here in the middle of the land · (there were) instead many, many more · more people than the Javanese · [975] more heaped up than in Malayu · I wasn't there long · a year and a bit. · Retracing my steps back · having arrived at the

[175] 'People' replicates non-gendered OSd *urang*, although it sounds a little odd here in English.
[176] That is, Bujangga Manik.

f.19r si laut · [980] kasa(m)pak aki puhawang · puhawang Béla Sagara · dék balayar ka Palé(m)bang · dék tuluy ka Parayaman · saurna Bujangga Manik · [985] Rakéyan Ameng Layaran · akiing juru puhawang · aing | dék nu(m)pang di kita · dék si(n)dang di Balungbungan · carék aki(ing)[177] puhawang (·) [990] lamun puguh nu dék nu(m)pang (·) ulah dipiwalangati · ra(m)pés gera ka parahu · sau(ng)gah haing ka manggung · deuk di gaga|rebongan · [995] bogoh ku tawas parahu · parahu patina ageng · jong kapal buka dalapan · pa(ñ)jangna salawé depa · sadiri ti nusa Bali · [1000] saur puhawang sakini · boñcah pari|ket-pariket (·) parahu réya buatna · sugan ni(n)dih mu(ng)kal ma(n)di · sugan mangpéng karang bé(ng)péng · [1005] sugan ni(ng)gang karang bajra · sugan nebu(k) karang nu(ng)gul · sugan no(ñ)jo(k) karang añcol (·)

f.19v sugan mebet karang seket · karuña ku na tohaan · [1010] Rakaki Bujangga Manik · kakara numpang di urang · balayar sapoé réngrép · sacu(n)duk ka Balungbungan · saurna Bujangga Mani|k · [1015] akiing juru puhawang · éboh ta urang papasah · éboh midua rahayu · carékna aki puhawang · samapun mahapa(n)dita (·) [1020] ra(m)pés nu sapilaunan · saturun ti na jong tutu|p · diri aing ti parahu · sacu(n)duk ka gunung Raung [*miu*] (·) ka lurah Talaga Wurung · [1025] samu(ng)kur raing ti iña · sacu(n)duk aing ka Baru · éta na lurah katégan · sadiri aing ti i|ña · ngalalar ka Padang Alun · [1030] cu(n)duk ka gunung Watangan · nu awas ka nusa Barong · samu(ng)kur aing ti iña · datang aing ka Sarampon · sacu(n)duk aing ka Cakru · [1035] sadiri aing

[177] The scribe originally wrote ⟨aingki⟩. An X-shaped mark appears above.

f.19r seashore · [980] (I) encountered an elder captain · Captain Béla Sagara · (who) was sailing to Palémbang · (and) was then going to Parayaman.' · Bujangga Manik said · [985] *Rakéyan* Ameng Layaran: · "Grandfather, master seaman · I want to travel with you · want to stop at Balungbungan." · The elder captain spoke: · [990] "If you're sure about wanting to travel (there) · don't be anxious. · It's all good – come right on the ship." · 'After I had gone up to the top · (I) sat in the cabin.[178] · [995] (I was) impressed by the ship's shape · a particularly large ship – · a junk eight (fathoms) across · twenty-five fathoms in length.' · Having left from the land of Bali · [1000] the Captain said this: · "Quick about it, lads! · The ship's got a heavy cargo. · Perhaps (we'll) run aground on dangerous rocks · (we) may strike exposed rocks · [1005] (we) may hit diamond-hard[179] rocks · (we) may knock against rising rocks · (we) may bump into protruding rocks ·

f.19v (we) may be dashed on sharp rocks. · Have compassion for the Lord · [1010] venerable Bujangga Manik · sailing with us for the first time." · (We) sailed for a whole day. · Having arrived at Balungbungan · Bujangga Manik said · [1015] "Grandfather, master seaman · let's go our separate ways · let's part properly." · The elder Captain spoke · "My respects, *mahapandita*. · [1020] Take good care of yourself." · 'Having descended from the closed junk · I left the ship · Having arrived at Mount Raung · at the district of Talaga Wurung · [1025] (and) after I had turned away from there · after (that), I had arrived at Baru · that's the district of a hermitage. · After I had left from there · I passed through Padang Alun · [1030] (and) arrived at Mount Watangan · which faces the land of Barong. · After I had turned away from there · I came to Sarampon. · After I had arrived at Cakru · [1035] (and) after I had left

[178] The precise meaning of this is unclear, but it appears to be related to OJv and MSd words for 'covered (wagon)' (cf. OJv *grěboṅ*).
[179] *Bajra* – 'diamond; thunderbolt', an object of superlative hardness.

f.20r ti iña · le(m)pang aing marat ngidul · datang ka lurah Kenep · cu(n)duk ka Lamajang Kidul · ngalalar ka gunung H(i)yang · [1040] datang a(ing) ka Pacira · la(m)bung gunung Mahaméru · disorang kidulenana · sadatang ka Rano|bawa · ngalalar ka Kayu Taji · [1045] samu(ng)kur raing ti iña · sacu(n)duk aing ka Kukub · datang ngaing ka Kasturi · cu(n)duk ka Sagara Dalem · ngalalar ka Kagenengan · [1050] sumengka ka gunung Kawi · diso|rang kidulenana · sadatang ka Pamijahan · le(m)pang aing kabaratken · ngalalar ka gunung Añar · [1055] cu(n)duk aing ka Daliring · sadatang ka gunung Ka(m)pud · datang ka Rabut Pasajén · éta | hulu Rabut Palah · kabuyutan Majapahit · [1060] nu dise(m)bah ku na Jawa · maca (a)ing Darmawéya · pahi deng Pa(n)dawa Jaya · ti iña lunasing jo(m)brah · aing bisa carék Jawa · [1065] bisa

f.20v aing [*ciu*] ngaro basa · di iña aing te hebel · satahun deng sataraban · ha(n)te betah kage(n)teran · datang nu puja ngañcana · [1070] nu ñe(m)bah ha(n)te pegatna · nu ngideran ti nagara · le(m)|pang ngaing marat ngidul (·) nepi aing ka Waliring · ngalalaring ka Polaman · [1075] datang aing ka Balitar · me(n)tasing di Cironabaya · ngalalar ka Pasepahan · ka Luka ka Saput Talun · sadatang | [datang] ka Pajadangan · [1080] ngalalaring ka Kalang Brét · sacu(n)duk ka Pasugihan · di pipirna gunung Wilis · ku ngaing tébéh kidulna · datang ngaing ka Dawuhan · [1085] ngalalar ka gunung Lawu (·) iña | na lurah Urawan · samu(ng)kur raing ti iña · le(m)pang aing marat ngidul · ngalalar ka Pamanikan · [1090] sadatang ka Sida Lepas · ña(ng)landeh aing ka Oyong · samu(ng)kur ti gunung Lawu · datang ngaing ka Ca(m)paga-

f.20r from there · I walked southwestwards · coming to the district of Kenep · arriving at South Lamajang · passing through Mount Hyang. · [1040] I came to Pacira. · The flanks of Mount Mahaméru · were passed by the south. · Having come to Ranobawa · I passed through Kayu Taji. · [1045] Having turned away from there · after I had arrived at Kukub · I came to Kasturi · arriving at Sagara Dalem · passing through Kagenengan · [1050] rising up at Mount Kawi · (which) was passed by the south. · Coming to Pamijahan · I walked westwards · passing by Mount Anyar. · [1055] I arrived at Daliring · had come to Mount Kampud · came to Rabut Pasajén[180] – · that's the head of Rabut Palah · the sanctuary of Majapahit · [1060] which is venerated by the Javanese. · I read the *Darmawéya* · together with the *Pandawa Jaya*. · From there I was fully satisfied.[181] · I could speak Javanese. · [1065] I could

f.20v translate the language. · I wasn't there long · a year and a bit. · Not tolerating the rumbling · of those who came to offer up gold · [1070] who paid homage without break · who wandered over from the capital · I walked southwestwards. · I got to Waliring · I visited Polaman · [1075] I came to Balitar · I crossed the Cironabaya. · Passing through Pasepahan · Luka, and Saput Talun. · having come to Pajadangan · [1080] I passed through Kalang Brét. · Having arrived at Pasugihan · on the side of Mount Wilis · which I passed by its south · I came to Dawuhan · [1085] I passed through Mount Lawu · there (in) the district of Urawan. · After I had turned away from there · I walked southwestwards · passing through Pamanikan[182] · [1090] (and), having come to Sida Lepas · I descended at Oyong. · Having turned away from Mount Lawu · I came to Campaga-

[180] 'Holy Place of Offerings' – cf. OJv *saji* 'requisites, esp. for rituals and ceremonies, offerings' (OJED 1600:5).
[181] The term here, *jo(m)brah* 'sum, whole', may be an Arabic loanword (cf. Malay/Indonesian *jumlah*), although the origin is uncertain. Aditia Gunawan favours a derivation from MSd *jarambah* 'go/play far away from home' (p.c.).
[182] 'Place of Beads (or Jewels)', from *manik*.

f.21r n · ngalalar ka Pamaguhan · [1095] sacu(n)duk aing ka Pahul · samu(ng)kur raing ti iña (·) datang (a)ing ka Caturan · sacu(n)duk aing ka Roma · me(n)tasing di Ciwuluyu · [1100] iña na lurah Bobodo · ngalalar raing ka | Taji [ka Taji] · nepi ka gunung Marapi · disorang kidulenana · cu(n)duk aing ka Janawi (·) [1105] éta lurah déwaguru · le(m)pang aing marat ngidul (·) sanepi aing ka Wedi · ngalalar ka Singhapura · sadatang | ngaing ka Ma(ta?)ram · [1110] me(n)tas aing di Cibérang · datang ka lurah Paguhan · ngalalar ka Kahuripan · ka gédéngna Rabut Bésér · me(n)tas di Cilohparaga · [1115] sanepi aing ka Pahit (·) | sadatang ka Taal Pegat · nepi aing ka Kulisi · me(n)tas di Ciwatukura · ngalalar ka Pakuwukan · [1120] sacu(n)duk ka lurah Danuh · datang ngaing ka Lanabang · ka Wawarah[183] [ka] Tadah Haji[184] · ka Tarungtung

f.21v ka Walakung · sadatang(ing) ka Kalangan · [1125] sanepi ka Pamarisan · datang ngaing ka ta(m)bangan (·) me(n)tas aing di Cilohku · na(ñ)jak ka gunung Sangkuan · datanging ka (A)dipala · [1130] le(m)pang (aing) ka-baratken · datang ngaing ka Sa|wangan · ka muhara Cisarayu · ku ngaing ges kale(m)pangan · datang ka Ma(n)dala Ayah · [1135] le(m)pang ngaing turut pasir · datang ka Pala Buaja · mu(ng)kur ti Tegal Popoken · sadatang ka Karang | Siling · me(n)tas di Cipaterangan · [1140] sadatang ngaing ka Mambeng (·)cu(n)duk ka Dona Kalicung · gédéng alas Nusahé · me(n)tas di Sagaranak(an?) · ngalalar ka Batu Lawang · [1145] di pipi(r)na batu tulis · karang | tu(ng)gul [·] karang bajra[185] · sacu(n)duk aing ka Bakur · ka muhara Cita(n)duyan · ku ngaing ges kale(m)pangan · [1150] datang ngaing ka Cimedang · me(n)tas di Cikutrapi(ng)gan · cu(n)duk aing ka Pana(ñ)jung · ka gédéng nusa

[183] N has *Jawarah*.
[184] Grammatical but longer than eight syllables.
[185] I have retained this pair as a single line in spite of the MS.

f.21r n. · I passed through Pamaguhan. · [1095] After I had arrived at Pahul · (and) after I had turned away from there · I came to Caturan. · I had come to Roma. · I crossed the Ciwuluyu[186] · [1100] there in the district of Bobodo. · I passed through Taji · got to Mount Marapi · (which) was passed by its south · (and) I arrived at Janawi · [1105] that's the district of a *déwaguru*.[187] · I walked southwestwards. · Having got to Wedi · I passed through Singhapura. · I had come to Ma(ta?)ram.[188] · [1110] I crossed the Cibérang · coming to the district of Paguhan. · Passing through Kahuripan · (and) the steep slopes of Rabut Bésér · crossing the Cilohparaga · [1115] I had got to Pahit. · Having come to Taal Pegat · I got to Kulisi. · Crossing the Ciwatukara · passing through Pakuwukan · [1120] having arrived at the district of Danuh · I came to Lanabang · to Wawarah, (to) Tadah Haji · to Tarungtung,

f.21v to Walakung. · I had come to Kalangan. · [1125] Having got to Pamarisan · I came to the ferry. · I crossed the Cilohku. · Ascending Mount Sangkuan · I came to Adipala. · [1130] I walked westwards. · I came to Sawangan · to the mouth of the Cisarayu. · By me it was walked. · Coming to Mandala Ayah · [1135] I walked along the ridge. · Coming to Pala Buaja · turning away from Tegal Popoken · having come to Karang Siling · crossing the Cipaterangan · [1140] I had come to Mambeng. · I arrived at Dona Kalicung · uplands of the region of Nusahé. · Crossing the Sagaranakan · passing through the rock gates[189] · [1145] on whose side was a rock inscription · banner rock, diamond-hard rock. · I had arrived at Bakur · at the mouth of the Citanduyan. · By me it was walked. · [1150] I came to the Cimedang. · Crossing the Cikutrapinggan · I arrived at Panañjung · uplands of the land of

[186] Bengawan Solo River.
[187] *Déwaguru* – the head of a religious community, ~'abbot'.
[188] Noorduyn (1982) suggests emendation after the historical region of Mataram.
[189] *Batu Lawang*, lit. 'Gate Rock(s)' – from OJv *lawaṅ* 'door, gate' (OJED 993:7).

f.22r Wuluhen · me(n)tas aing di Ciwulan · [1155] bañating di Cilohalit · na muhara Pasuketan · ta(ng)geran na Hujung Pusus · ku ngaing ges kale(m)pangan · ka to(ng)go(ng)na gunung Co(n)dong (·) [1160] di pipi(r) gunung Parasi (·) ku ngaing (té)bé|h kidulna · sacu(n)duk ka Hujung Galuh (·) ngalalar ka Geger Gadung · me(n)tas aing di Ciwulan · [1165] le(m)pang aing marat ngalér (·) sadatang ka Saung Agung[190] · sadiri aing ti iña · Saung Galah kale(m)pangan · kapungkur | gunung Galunggung · [1170] katukang na Panggarangan · ngalalar ka Pada Benghar · katukang na Pamipiran · ngalalar ka Ti(m)bang Jaya · datang ka bukit Cikuray · [1175] ñangla(n)deh aing ti iña · datang ka Ma|ndala Puntang · sana(ñ)jak ka Papa(n)dayan · ngaran(n)a na Pané(ñ)joan · ti iña aing né(ñ)jo gunung · [1180] déné[191] ja dangka ri kabéh · para manuh para dangka · pani(ng)gal Nus(i)ya Larang · aing milang-melang i-

f.22v ña · ti kidul na alas Danuh (·) [1185] ti wétan na Karang Papak · ti kulon Tanah Balawong · itu ta na gunung Ageng · ta(ng)geran na Pager Wesi · éta na bukit Patuha · [1190] ta(ng)geran na Majapura (·) | itu bukit Pam(e)r(i)han[192] (·) ta(ng)geran na Pasir Batang · itu ta na gunung Kumbang (·) ta(ng)geran alas Maruyung · [1195] ti kalér alas Losari · itu ta bukit Caremay (·) tanggeran na Pada Benghar · ti kidul | alas Kuningan (·) ti barat na Walang Suji (·) [1200] iña na lurah Talaga · itu ta na To(m)po Omas (·) lurah Medang Kah(i)yangan · itu Tangkuban Parahu · tanggeran na Gunung Wangi · [1205] itu ta gunung Ma|rucung (·) ta(ng)geran na Sri Manggala · itu ta bukit Burangrang (·) ta(ng)geran na Saung Agung · itu [ta na] bukit Burung Jawa · [1210] ta(ng)geran na Hujung Barat · itu ta bukit Bulistir (·) ta(ng)geran na gu-

[190] N. emends this to *Saung Galah*. I prefer to keep to the MS.
[191] N. has *déréja*.
[192] MS has *pamrehan*.

f.22r Wuluhen. · I crossed the Ciwulan. · [1155] I alighted at Cilohalit · the harbour of Pasuketan · pillar of Hujung Pusus. · By me it was walked · to the back of Mount Condong · [1160] on the side of Mount Parasi · which I skirted to the south. · Having arrived at Hujung Galuh · passing through Geger Gadung · I crossed the Ciwulan. · [1165] I walked northwestwards · having come to Saung Agung · (and) after I had left from there · walking through Saung Galah · turning away from Mount Galunggung · [1170] looking back on Panggarangan · passing through Pada Benghar · looking back on Pamipiran · passing through Timbang Jaya · coming to Cikuray Peak · [1175] I went downhill there · coming to Mandala Puntang. · Having ascended Papandayan[193] · its [other] name "Panéñjoan" · from there I surveyed the mountains · [1180] and the settlements all over as well.[194] · All those human beings and all those settlements · remnants of the Forbidden One.[195] · I enumerated them

f.22v there in turn: · "In the south the area of Danuh · [1185] in the east Karang Papak · in the west Tanah Balawong. · That one's Mount Ageng · pillar of Pager Wesi. · That there's Patuha Peak · [1190] pillar of Majapura. · That's Pamrehan Peak · pillar of Pasir Batang. · That one's Mount Kumbang · pillar of the Maruyung area · [1195] to the north the Losari area. · That's Caremay Peak · pillar of Pada Benghar · to the south the area of Kuningan · to the west Walang Suji · [1200] there the district of Talaga. · That one's Tompo Omas · district of Medang Kahiyangan. · That's Tangkuban Parahu · pillar of Mount Wangi. · [1205] That's Mount Marucung · pillar of Sri Manggala. · That's Burangrang Peak · pillar of Saung Agung. · That one's Burung Jawa Peak · [1210] pillar of Hujung Barat. · That's Bulistir Peak · pillar of Mount

[193] 'Place of Smiths' – a volcano near Garut.
[194] N read *déréja*, but the MS has ⟨de ne ja⟩. I read the first as *déné* (cf. OJv *denya*, OJED 390:3.1). The remainder of the line is also OJv. *Dangka*, which N translates as 'settlements', could refer specifically to religious communities (cf. OJv *ḍaṅka* – OJED 363:7).
[195] *Nus(i)ya Larang* – presumed by N to be Śiva.

f.23r nung A(n)ten · itu bukit Naragati (·) ta(ng)geran na Batu H(i)yang · [1215] itu ta na bukit Karang (·) ta(ng)geran na [alas] Kurung Batu[196] · itu bukit Banasraya · ta(ng)geran na alas Sajra · ti barat bukit Kosala | · [1220] itu ta na bukit Catih · ta(ng)geran na Catih H(i)yang · itu bukit Hulu Mu(n)ding (·) ta(ng)geran na Demaraja · ti barat bukit Parasi · [1225] ta(ng)geran na Tegal Lubu · ti wétan na Sédaca|ra · nu awas ka alas Si(n)day · éta ta na gunung Kembang (·) gesan tiyagi sagala · [1230] ti kidul na alas Maja · éta na alas Rumbia · ti barat na Wates Mener (·) ta(ng)geran na Bojong Wangi · | itu ta na gunung Hijur (·) [1235] ta(ng)geran na Kutra Jaya · itu ta na gunung Su(n)da (·) ta(ng)geran na Karangk(i)yang · itu ta na bukit Karang (·) ta(ng)geran na alas Karang · [1240] itu gunung Cinta Manik (·) ta(ng)geran na alas Rawa · itu ta

f.23v na gunung Ke(m)bang (·) ta(ng)geran Labuhan Ratu · ti kalér alas Pañawung · [1245] ta(ng)geran na alas Wa(n)ten · itu ta na gunung (Ka?)lér (·) ta(ng)geran alas Paméksér · nu awas ka Ta(ñ)jak Barat | · itu ta pulo Sangh(i)yang · [1250] helet-helet[197] nusa Lampung · ti timur pulo Tampurung · ti barat pulo Rakata · gunung [t]di[198] tengah sagara · itu ta gunung J(e)reding · [1255] ta(ng)geran na | alas Mirah · ti barat na léngkong Gowong · itu ta gunung Su(n)dara (·) na gunung Guha Ba(n)tayan · tanggeran na Hujung Kulan · [1260] ti barat bukit Cawiri · itu ta na | gunung Raksa (·) gunung Sri Mahapawitra · ta(ng)geran na Panahitan · ti wétan na Suka Darma · [1265] ti barat na gunung Manik · awas ka nusa Kambangan · nusa Layaran · nusa Di-

[196] Longer than eight syllables but nonetheless grammatical.
[197] The first ⟨he⟩ here was written as *aksara* ⟨ta⟩ then converted into ⟨ha⟩.
[198] The ⟨da⟩ appears underneath the ⟨ta⟩ (written in error).

f.23r Anten. · That's Naragati Peak · pillar of Batu Hiyang. · [1215] That one's Karang Peak · pillar of the Kurung Batu area. · That's Banasraya Peak · pillar of the Sajra area. · To the west is Kosala Peak. · [1220] That's Catih Peak · pillar of Catih Hiyang. · That's Hulu Munding Peak · pillar of Demaraja. · To the west Parasi Peak · [1225] pillar of Tegal Lubu. · To the east Sédacara[199] · which faces the Sinday area. · That there's Mount Kembang · place of all the ascetics. · [1230] To the south the area of Maja. · That's the area of Rumbia. · To the west the boundary of Mener · pillar of Bojong Wangi · that one's Mount Hijur · [1235] pillar of Kutra Jaya. · That one's Mount Sunda · pillar of Karangkiyang. · That one's Karang Peak · pillar of the Karang area. · [1240] That's Mount Cinta Manik · pillar of the Rawa area. · That one's

f.23v Mount Kembang · pillar of Labuhan Ratu. · To the north the Panyawung area · [1245] pillar of the Wanten area. · That's Mount (Ka?)lér · pillar of the Paméksér area · which faces Tañjak Barat. · That one's the Holy Island · [1250] halfway to the land of Lampung · to the east the island[200] of Tampurung · to the west the island of Rakata · mountain in the middle of the ocean.[201] · That's Mount Jreding · [1255] pillar of the Mirah area · to the west Gowong Bay. · That's Mount Sundara · Mount Guha Bantayan · pillar of Hujung Kulan. · [1260] To the west Cawiri Peak. · That one's Mount Raksa · Mount Sri Mahapawitra · pillar of Panahitan · to the east Suka Darma · [1265] to the west Mount Manik · facing Nusakambangan · the land of sailors · the land of

[199] N has *Sédanura*.
[200] *Pulo* (cf. Malay *pulau*), which contrasts with *nusa* 'land, country; island'.
[201] *Pulo Rakata* is the island/volcano commonly known as Krakatau or Krakatoa.

f.24r lih · nusa Bini · [1270] nusa Keling · nusa Jambri[202] · nusa Cina Ja(m)budipa · nusa Gedah deng Malaka · nusa Ba(n)dan Ta(ñ)ju(ng)pura · [1275] Sakampung deng nusa Lampung · nusa Baluk nusa Buwun · nusa Cem|pa Ban(i)yaga · Langkabo deng nusa Solot · nusa Parayaman · /0/ · [1280] beteng bogoh ku sakitu · saa(ng)gesing milang gunung · sale(m)pang ti Pané(ñ)joan · sacu(n)duk ka gunung Se(m)bung · éta | hulu na Citarum · [1285] di iña aing ditapa · sa(m)biyan ngerenan palay · tehering puja ñangraha · puja ña(pu) mugu-mugu · tehering na(ñ)jerken li(ng)ga · [1290] tehering ñi(y)an hare|ca · teher ñi(y)an sakakala · ini tu(ñ)juken sakalih · tu(ñ)juken nu ka pa(n)deri (·) maring aing pa(n)tég hañca · /0/ · [1295] a(ng)ges aing puja ñapu (·) liñ(i)h benang ngaing ñapu (·) ku-

f.24v macacang di buruan (·) nguliling asup ka wangun · ngadungkuk di palu(ng)guhan (·) [1300] di (s)iwi[203] teher samadi · ku ngaing dirarasaken · ku ngaing dititinengken · benang ngaing adu angka · nu mang|ka kasorang tineng · [1305] ku ngaing dipajar iña · langgeng tita deng purusa (·) ña mana kasorang tineng · kéna kitu nu ti hela · guna sang mahapandita · [1310] nu bisa mu(ñ)cakan tapa · milih | miji di sarira · ngawastu rasa wisésa · nurutken sakaja(n)tenna · ha(n)te kabawa ku warna · [1315] atos wani alot rasa · laksana mahapurusa · ña mana pam(i)ya|ktaan · a(ng)ges ngud(i)yan sarira · Rakaki Bujangga Manik (·) [1320] ngalér ngidul marat nimur · di tengah kapala cakra · ñ(i)ar pigesanen matuh · ñ(i)ar lemah pamut(i)yan · ñ(i)ar cai

[202] The metrical markers here seem intended to mark the list of place names as different from the rest of the text. I have thus preserved them here.
[203] N. has *dibiwi* here, emended then to *disiwi* – but ⟨si⟩ appears to have been the intent of the scribe anyway. This is not so much Noorduyn's emendation as a hasty correction by the scribe.

f.24r Delhi · the land of women · [1270] the land of Keling · the land of Jambi · the land of China, of Jambudipa · the lands of Kedah and Melaka · the land of Bandan, of Tañjungpura · [1275] Sakampung and the land of Lampung · the land of Baluk, the land of Buwun · the land of Cempa, Baniyaga · Langkabo and the land of Solot · the land of Parayaman."' · /0/ · [1280] '(I) stopped admiring all of this. · After I had enumerated the mountains · (and) having walked (down) from Panéñjoan · having arrived at Mount Sembung · that's the source of the Citarum · [1285] there I was in seclusion · while recuperating from fatigue. · I then made ready for worship · worshipped by sweeping diligently. · I then raised a *lingga* · [1290] I then made a statue · then made a monument: · This shows everyone · shows for posterity · (that) I was on the way to completing my task. · [1295] I finished worshipping by sweeping · made clean by my sweeping · restlessly

f.24v around the yard. · (I) went around and entered the building · (and) hunched over[204] on the seat in silence · [1300] in reverence, then in meditation. · I contemplated · I thought things over.[205] · The result of the weighing up of my thoughts · to which my longing was committed: · [1305] I learned there · imperishable permanence with the Supreme Being (*purusa*). · That's what my I had longed for.' · Because that's how it ever was: · the virtue of *mahapandita*s · [1310] who had been able to reach the peak of asceticism · choosing to focus on the self · realising the supreme essence · obeying their innate reality · not carried by appearances · [1315] firm in courage and abiding intention · marks of a great sage · which he manifested. · After exerting his body[206] · venerable Bujangga Manik · [1320] went northwards, southwards, westwards, eastwards · in the middle of his head *chakra*: · 'Searching for a place to remain · searching for a land of abstinence[207] · searching for water

[204] The verb here is *ngadungkuk* 'to sit quiet cowered in a heap, with the head hanging down as if in deep thought or in trouble' (Rigg 1862:300). It comes from a PMP root *duŋkuk, reconstructed by Blust with the meaning 'hunched over' (ACD 2283). N went for 'sat in silence'.
[205] Lit. 'it was contemplated by me / it was thought over by me'.
[206] *Sarira* – a Sanskrit word for 'body' or, less often, 'self'. In this it is similar to the OSd *awak*.
[207] *Pamut(i)yan* – 'abstinence, sobriety, purity'. Ultimately from *putih* 'white'. Compare MJv *mutihan* 'place where pious Muslims live'.

f.25r pamorocan[208] · [1325] pigesanen na aing paéh · pigesanen nu(n)da raga · di (i)ña aing te hebel (·) satahun deng sataraban · me(n)ding katepi ku aré (·) [1330] datang nu ti lala(n)dehan · me(n)ding waya na bañcana · sadi(ri) a|ing ti iña · le(m)pang ngaing ngalér barat · tehering milangan gunung · [1335] itu ta bukit Kare(s)i · itu ta bukit Langlayang · ti barat na Palasari · ngalalar ka bukit Pala · sadatang ka kabu|yutan · [1340] me(n)tas di Cisaunggalah · le(m)pang ngaing ka-baratken · datang ka bukit Paté(ng)géng · sakakala Sang Kur(i)yang · masa dék ñitu Citarum (·) [1345] burung te(m)bey ka|s(i)yangan · ku ngaing ges kale(m)pangan · me(n)tas aing di Cihéya · me(n)tas aing di Cisokan · datang ka lurah Pamengker · [1350] cu(n)duk aing ka Mananggul · ngalalar ka Li(ng)ga Lemah · tuluy datang ka É-

f.25v tonan[209] · na(ñ)jak ka Le(m)bu Hambalang · sadatang ka bukit Ageng · [1355] éta hulu Cihaliwung · kabuyutan ti Pakuan · sangh(i)yang Talaga Warna · //0// · eh kumaha awaking ini · mu(ng)ku | ñorang tulus datang (·) [1360] ngahusir ka i(n)dung bapa · [*éiu*] ngahusir ka pa(ng)guruan · awaking ka Hujung Kulan · ja réya hadanganana · le(m)pang ngaing ñangkidulken · [1365] ngahusir bukit Bu|listir · éta hulu Cimari(ñ)jung · sakakala Patañjala · ma(n)ten burung ngadeg ratu (·) di (i)ña aing te hebel (·) [1370] satahun deng sataraban · me(n)ding katepi ku aré · | datang nu ti lala(n)dehan · me(n)ding waya na bañcana · sadiri aing ti iña · [1375] le(m)pang ngaing ngidul wétan · me(n)tasing di Cimari(ñ)jung (·) me(n)tasing di Cihadéya · me(n)tasing di Cicaréngcang ·

[208] N has *pamorocoan* – a typo.
[209] N has *Éronan*.

f.25r to slip away on · [1325] a place for me to die · a place to lay down my body. · I wasn't there long · a year and a bit. · Increasingly approached by outsiders · [1330] who came from the lowlands · increasingly there was trouble. · After I had left from there · I walked northwestwards · (and) I then enumerated the mountains. · [1335] "That's Karesi Peak. · That's Langlayang Peak · with (Mount) Palasari to the west." · Passing through Pala Peak · having come to a sanctuary · [1340] crossing the Cisaunggalah · I walked westwards · (and) came to Paté(ng)géng Peak · memorial to Sang Kuriyang · when he wanted to dam the Citarum · [1345] (and) failed at the first light of day. · By me it was walked. · I crossed the Cihéya · I crossed the Cisokan · Coming to the district of Pamengker · [1350] I arrived at Mananggul. · Passing through Lingga Lemah · then coming to É-

f.25v ronan · ascending to Lembu Hambalang · (I) had come to Ageng Peak · [1355] that's the source of the Cihaliwung · sanctuary of Pakuan · the sacred Coloured Lake.' · //0// · '"Ah, what's up with my body? · (It's) unable to walk straight ahead." · [1360] Proceeding to my mother and father · proceeding to the place of my teacher · my body (went) to Hujung Kulan · because many were things waiting there. · I walked southwards · [1365] proceeded to Bulistir Peak · that's the source of the Cimariñjung · the memorial to Patañjala · when he failed to become king. · I wasn't there long · [1370] a year and a bit. · Increasingly approached by outsiders · who came from the lowlands · increasingly there was trouble. · After I had left from there · [1375] I walked southeastwards · I crossed the Cimariñjung · I crossed the Cihadéya · I crossed the Cicaréngcang ·

f.26r me(n)tas aing di Cisanti · [1380] sana(ñ)jak ka gunung Wayang · sadiri aing ti iña · cu(n)duk ka Mandala Betung · ngalalar ka Mulah Benghar · ñanglandeh ka Tigal Luar · [1385] katukang bukit Malabar · ka(gé)déng[210] | bukit Bajogé · sacu(n)duk ka gunung Gu(n)tur (·) ti wétan Mandala Wangi · nu awas ka gunung Ké(n)dan · [1390] ngalalar ka Jampang Manggung · sadatang ka Mulah Mada · ngalalar ka Ta|pak Ratu · datang ka bukit Patuha · ka sangh(i)yang Rañca Goda · [1395] dipunar dijiyan batur · kapuruyan ku mandala · di iña aing te hebel · satahun deng sataraban | · sadiri aing [ti i] ti iña[211] · [1400] sacu(n)duk ka gunung Ratu · sangh(i)yang Karang Caréngcang · éta hulu na Cisokan · la(n)dehan bukit Patuha · helet-helet Li(ng)ga Payung · [1405] nu

f.26v awas ka Kreti Haji · momogana téka waya · nemu lemah kabuyutan · na lemah ngali(ng)ga manik · teherna dék sri ma(ng)liput · [1410] ser manggung ngali(ng)ga payung · ñangharep na Bahu | Mitra · ku ngaing ges dibabakan (·) dibalay diu(n)dak-u(n)dak (·) dibalay sakulili(ng)na · [1415] ti ha(n)dap ku mu(ng)kal datar · ser manggung ku mu(ng)kal bener · ti luhur ku batu putih · diya|wuran manik asra · carénang helet-heletna · [1420] wangun tujuh guna aing · padangan deng pakayonan · dengen la(m)bur pamepehan · roma(n?) h(i)yang paténgtongan · la(m)bur ta | dua ngadengdeng · [1425] taman mihapitken dora · tajur eker ngara(m)pésan · eker dék sereng dibuah · na keke(m)bangan sar(i)yang · na wangun te acan bobo · [1430] balay ha(n)te

[210] The *aksara* ⟨ga⟩ appears to have been forgotten by the scribe and reinserted below the ⟨da⟩.
[211] The ⟨ti i⟩ is repetitious – scribal error.

f.26r I crossed the Cisanti · [1380] (and) had ascended Mount Wayang. · After I had left from there · arriving at Mandala Betung · passing through Mulah Benghar · going downhill at Tigal Luar · [1385] looking back on Malabar Peak · to the slopes of Bajogé Peak · having arrived at Mount Guntur · to the west Mandala Wangi · which faced Mount Kéndan · [1390] passing through Jampang Manggung · having come to Mulah Mada · passing through Tapak Ratu · coming to Patuha Peak · to sacred Rañca Goda · [1395] (where) land had been cleared (and) a *batur*[212] built · reserved for a religious community. · I wasn't there long · a year and a bit. · After I had left from there · [1400] (I) had arrived at Mount Ratu · sacred Karang Caréngcang · that's the source of the Cisokan · downhill from Patuha Hill · halfway to Lingga Payung · [1405] which

f.26v faced Kreti Haji. · And suddenly there it was: · (I) found the land of a sanctuary. · The land had a jewelled *lingga*. · Then, wanting to provide it with a splendid cover · [1410] it became a parasol *lingga*, whirling upwards · facing Bahu Mitra. · It was colonised by me. · It was paved in terraces · paved all the way around · [1415] from below with flat rocks · whirling upwards with true rocks · from the top with white stone[213] · strewn with beads and gems · pocked between them. · [1420] Seven buildings for my use: · a kitchen and a woodshed · with a place for threshing.[214] · A god's figure standing upright[215] · standing in front of two buildings[216] · [1425] doors either side of a garden · plants thriving · on the cusp of bearing fruit · the flowers in full bloom. · The buildings hadn't yet fallen apart · [1430] the pavilions hadn't

[212] A raised stone platform.
[213] N has 'marble'. The term is *batu putih*, lit. 'white stone/rock'. In modern Indonesian this refers specifically to tuff, a common volcanic stone.
[214] This is Noorduyn's interpretation, based on MSd *peupeuh* 'to strike, knock, hit'. The glossary in Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006:395) suggests that this is more to do with pressing oil than threshing rice or millet.
[215] N left this untranslated. Both N and Undang Darsa interpreted *roma* here as meaning 'hair', but in MSd and modern Indonesian the word can also mean 'figure' or 'form'. Although the interpretation is somewhat speculative, I am inclined to view this as a reference to a *lingga*.
[216] This is a tricky one. N has '[t]wo buildings stood in the way (?)'.

f.27r acan urug · /0/ · sate(m)bey datang ka masa · datang ka ukur-ukuran · ditapa salapan tahun · kasapuluh pa(n)tég ha(ñ)ca · [1435] awak eker berat pa(n)deng[217] · eker mejeh ngara(m)pésa|n · lamun bulan lagu tilem · panon poé lagu surup · berang kasedek ku wengi · [1440] tutug tahun pa(n)tég hañca · nu pati di walang suji · nu hilang di walang sanga | · awak ña(m)pay ka na balay (·) mikarang hulu gege(n)dis · [1445] paéh ñanghulu ka lañcan · pati yaing ha(n)te gering · hilang tanpa sangkan lara · mecat sakéng kamo|ksahan · diri na aci wisésa · [1450] mangkat na sarira ageng · ngaloglog a(ng)ges nu poroc · atma mecat ti pasa(m)bung · aci mecat ti na atma · pahi masah kale(m)pangan ·

f.27v [1455] ragaing ñurup ka petra · kali wara[218] jadi déwa · pasa(m)bung ñurup ka suwung · atmaing dalit ka lentik[219] · sarua dengen déwata · [1460] tuluy ñorang jalan caang · nemu jalan | gedé bongbong · u(ng)gal sa(m)pang dila(m)buran · lamun[220] lebak dicukangan · sumaray ditata(ngga?)an · [1465] maléréng dipasigaran · tapak sapu bérés kéméh | (·) bare(n)tik marat nimurken · [*liuwa*] golang-golang situ mu(ng)kal · patali patalu(m)bukan · [1470] ke(m)bang patah cumaré(n)tam · nambuluk apuy-apuyan · tajur pinang pu|marasi · pinang tiwi pinang ading · pinang tiwi kumarasi · [1475] pinang ading asri kuning · di tengah bantar ngajajar · ha(ñ)juang sasipat mata · ha(n)delem salaput hulu · ha(n)dong bang deng ha-

f.28r (ndong ijo ·) […]

A lacuna of two leaves appears here.

f.28v […]

[217] N has *pading*, which would be an unexplainable hapax. I prefer to amend it to *pa(n)deng*, a variant of *pandang*.
[218] N keeps these together as one word: *kaliwara*.
[219] The *le* in *lentik* is written with an *aksara* ⟨la⟩ and *sandhangan* ⟨e⟩ rather than with the special form ⟨le⟩.
[220] N has *laun*.

f.27r yet tumbled down.' · /0/ · Soon the time came · the appointed (time) came. · Nine years in seclusion · in the tenth the task was completed. · [1435] '(My) body was then weary of gazing · was then done with flourishing. · When the month was at its darkest · (and) the day's eye was setting · (and) daylight was chased by night · [1440] the year ended, the task completed: · the dead one was in *walang suji*[221] · the deceased one was in *walang sanga*. · The body was draped on a low wall · with a walking stick cushioning his head. · [1445] 'Dead, my head resting facing forwards[222] · I died without illness · deceased without cause of suffering · being released through final liberation (*kamoksahan*). · The supreme essence (*aci wisésa*) left · [1450] the great body (*sarira ageng*) departed · shaken free it finally slipped away. · The soul was released from its bonds · the essence was released from the soul · equally separate and gone. ·

f.27v [1455] My body (*raga*) set into ghostliness. · (It was) time to become a deity: · my bonds were absorbed into the void · my soul vanished into minuteness · just like that of a god. · [1460] Then (I) happened upon a cleared road · found a great open road · with buildings at every crossroads · when (there was) a valley it was bridged · steep ground was cut into steps. · [1465] (I) cast glances in both directions[223] · the broom's traces were still neat · curving westwards and eastwards. · Pavilions, dams, boulders · joined in continuous rows · [1470] lines of flowers sticking close together · displaying colourfully[224] like fireworks · areca plants spreading like *parasi* · *tiwi* areca, ivory areca · *tiwi* areca in full bloom · [1475] ivory areca, radiant yellow · lining up in the middle of the riverbank · *hañjuang* high as your eyes · *handelem* up to your head · [1479] red *handong* and

f.28r (green *handong*)

[221] N leaves this untranslated; I have chosen to do the same to avoid jaundicing the interpretation of these two cryptic names, *walang suji* and *walang sanga*. It is possible they carry a meaning of 'margin' or 'limbo'.
[222] I take this to mean that, in dying, Bujangga Manik's head slumped onto his walking stick. The walking stick interpretation is taken from Rigg (1862:126 *sub* Gĕgĕndhir).
[223] N has 'descents with flights of steps', linking the uncertain terms to the meaning of the previous lines. I have linked them instead to the following lines, and based my interpretation on OJv *liriṅ* 'glance, look' (OJED 1039:5) and *sigar* 'a half, one of two sides' (OJED 1760:3).
[224] *Nambuluk* – based on Blust's PWMP *tambuluk 'puffy area around the throat of some birds' (ACD 5494). 'Glittering (?)', as N has it, does not seem quite right here.

f.29r […]

f.29v […] [1589] (ha-)

f.30r at di janma [*diu*] sajagat · [1590] biha(ri) basa ngahanan · masa di mad(i)yapada · Rakaki Bujangga Manik (·) ngarasa maméh ditaña · umun teher si(y)a ñebut · [1595] né(m)balan saka|yogyana · ñarék sekar angen-angen · némbalan sang Dorakala · mumul ma(ng)ñaréken maméh (·) sugan bener jadi bélot · [1600] sugan ra(m)pés jadi gopél | · sugan so(r)ga jadi papa · sugan pangrasa ku dapet · sugan pangrasa ku te(m)bey · mumul misaksi na janma · [1605] pangesi buana ini · janma di mad(i)yapada (·) sa|riwu saratus tu(ng)gal (·) kilang sa(hiji) mo waya · janma nu teteg di carék · [1610] réya nu papa naraka · kilang déwata kapapas (·) ku ngaing dipajar réñéh · ja daék milu ngah(arac?)[225] (·)

f.30v ja daék dibaan salah · [1615] ku nu dusta jurujana · kucawali hé(ng)gan hiji (·) saksiing sangh(i)yang berang · saksiing sangh(i)yang peting · candra wulan dengen wé(n)tang · [1620] dengen (sang)h(i)yang pratiwi · i|tu nu ngingu mirengeh · pratiwi nu lewih ilik · akasa nu liwat awas · hidep nu ñaho di bener · [1625] iña nu ngingetken rasa · itu nu ngingu na bayu · éta nu milala sabda · iña nu | mirengeh tineng · nu milala tua(h) janma · [1630] bisa di bélot di bener · ñaho di gopél di ra(m)pés · hé(ng)gan sakitu saksiing · carék aki Dorakala · samapun sangh(i)yang | ngatma · [1635] mu(ng)ku aing mire(b)utan[226] (·) ja na rua mu(ng)ku samar · na awak hérang ngalé(ng)gang · na rua diga déwata · kadi asra kadi manik · [1640] na awak ruum ti candu · mahabara ti candana (·)

[225] The leaf has broken off at the bottom. The final *aksara* is probably ⟨ca⟩, but it may have a *virāma*. *Haraca* (or similar) would be one syllable too long. N has *ngahuru* 'burn (something)', but I find this somewhat doubtful. I suppose it is possible that the leaf was intact when he handled it.
[226] N's emendation. The MS has *mirehutan*.

f.29r […]

f.29v […] [1589] · "…kind

f.30r to all the people of the world? · [1590] formerly when living · back in the Middle World?" · Venerable Bujangga Manik · felt himself being questioned. · Then on his knees he responded · [1595] replied in full propriety · spoke from the heart · replied to honoured Dorakala: · "(I'm) unwilling to speak for myself · lest straight become crooked · [1600] lest good become bad · lest heaven become hell · lest (my) feelings close tight[227] · lest feelings be taken as the foundation. · (I'm) unwilling to call human witnesses · [1605] the inhabitants of this world · humans of the Middle World. · One thousand one hundred and one · (among them) there's not even one · a human resolute in speech. · [1610] Many are the hell-bound sinners · even the gods are under attack. · I accuse them and drive them out · as they want to join in …[228]

f.30v · as they want to be carried away wrongfully · [1615] by malign evildoers. · There is, however, a lone exception: · My witness is the sacred daylight · my witness is the sacred night. · The radiant moon and the stars · [1620] and the sacred Earth · those who take care and watch. · The far-seeing Earth · the farsighted Sky · the Mind that knows what is true · [1625] those who reflect on their feelings · those who attend to the vital airs[229] · those who pay attention to the voice · those who watch over their thoughts · who pay attention to human sin · [1630] learned in truth and in falsehood · knowledgeable in bad and in good · those are my only witnesses." · Elder Dorakala spoke: · "My respects, O sacred soul. · [1635] I won't quarrel · as your appearance is not indistinct: · A body distinctly swaying[230] · with the appearance of a deity · like gems (*asra*) and jewels (*manik*) · [1640] a body more fragrant than opium · more valuable than sandalwood

[227] Where *dapet* = 'fixed, glued' – cf. OJv ḍapĕt (364:6), MSd *dapit*.
[228] The leaf is broken here. N has *ngahuru* 'burning', but I cannot see that in the MS.
[229] *Bayu* – lit. 'wind' but also 'vital air' etc.
[230] N has 'clear and bright', but *lénggang* is to do with sinuous movement or a masculine swagger (cf. Mal, OJv, MSd), and I feel it should particularly be interpreted as such when preceded by the active prefix *nga-*.

f.31r amis ti kulit masui[231] · kitu pamulu nu bener · éta na ki(ng)kila so(r)ga · [1645] samapun sangh(i)yang ngatma · Rakaki Bujangga Manik · le(m)pang sakarajen-rajen · s(i)ya ka na kaso(r)gaan · sa|mu(ng)kur raing ti iña · [1650] le(m)pang na(ñ)jak ñangto(ng)gohken · husir kéh na taman hérang · dibalay ku p(e)ramata · pa(ñ)curan ta(m)baga sukla · cangkorah salaka pirak · [1655] ditungtung ku | cudiga · pésék dipopokan omas · pañi(m)beh u(n)dem salaka · ma(n)di ngabreséka maméh · nu ma(n)di ngalaan késang · [1660] a(ng)ges ma s(i)ya nu ma(n)di · ulah kara(ta)ken teing · | s(i)ya di na taman hérang · aya ra(m)pés na husiren · husir la(m)bur ngurung jalan (·) [1665] dilulurung besi wulung · diselang deng purasani · dipasek ku besi kebel · tihang gading benang ukir · tatapa-

f.31v kan goong Jawa · [1670] d(i)balay ku kaca C(i)na · d(i)s(e)la(ng) ku batu kr(e)sna · d[…] p[…] p[…] g[…] t[…] ru st[…] l[…] · d(i)s(e)la(ng) d(e)ng(e)n pramata · m(i)pam(i)kul p(i)rak apu · [1675] d(i)lay(e)san ku aduan · m(i)hat(e)p[232] | sirap ta(m)ba(ga) · mipamaras omas ngora · disaréyan ku panamar · dipiwaton omas kolot · [1680] diselang ku pirak apu · dijejetan omas Cina · diselang deng kawat Ja|wa · e(n)teng Jawa dipahetken (·) u(ng)gal tihang lambur éta · [1685] diña paranti dihyas · mémeh ñorang kasorgaan · di iña na pihiyasen · naha ngaran(n)a ku ha(n)te · e(n)teng Jawa | pinarada · [1690] sisir gading batri ngukir · pamiñakan kaca Cina · esina lenga wangsana · kapur Barus di na cupu · bunga resa di na juha · [1695] dédés di na u(ng)keb gading · candana ruum sacupu · pucuk

A lacuna of a single leaf follows.

f.32r […]

f.32v […]

[231] The ⟨su⟩ appears to have been converted from an *aksara swara* ⟨i⟩.
[232] The top of the leaf is broken, cutting off the uppermost *sandhangan* on the first line. Line 1670 is a mystery; the other lines are formulaic, and N's interpretations appear sound.

f.31r · sweeter than massoy bark. · That's the face of one who is true · that is the sign of heaven. · [1645] My respects, O sacred soul · venerable Bujangga Manik · Walk where you wish · you may enter heaven."[233] · 'After I had turned away from there · [1650] I walked, climbing upwards · proceeding – look! – to a bright garden · paved with gemstones. · Waterspouts of bright copper · a silver basin · [1655] ending in a spout · a place for washing coated in gold · with a silver scoop for a ladle. · (I) bathed and cleansed myself.' · "The bather removes sweat · [1660] After you've finished bathing · don't go wherever you like · you, in that bright garden · there's a good place to proceed towards. · Proceed to the building blocking the road · [1665] paved with black iron · alternating with Khorasani (iron) · wedged in place with long-lasting iron · (with) poles of carved ivory ·

f.31v Javanese gongs for their foundations · [1670] inlaid with Chinese glass · alternating with rock-of-Kṛṣṇa · […] · alternating with gemstones · with capitals of lime-white silver · [1675] with rafters of paired elements[234] · roofed with copper shingles · with the appearance of light gold · floored with coverings · with floorboards of dark gold · [1680] alternating with lime-white silver · interwoven with Chinese gold · alternating with Javanese wire. · Javanese mirrors are chiselled · onto every pole of that building · [1685] there for the purpose of beautification · before passing into Heaven. · The adornments there · what kinds are there not? · Gilded Javanese mirrors · [1690] ivory combs worked with engravings · Chinese glass cruets · containing excellent sesame (oil) · Barus camphor in a round box · *resa* flowers in a container · [1695] civet in a lidded ivory pot · a round box of fragrant sandalwood · [1697] *pucuk*..."[235]

Another leaf is missing here, resulting in another significant lacuna.

f.32r […]

f.32v […]

[233] N has Dorakala's speech continue after this point.
[234] A tricky line; the key term, *aduan*, is not wholly clear.
[235] *Pucuk* means 'sprout' or 'shoot' (of a plant), but it was also the name in the archipelago of a botanical product derived from a Himalayan species (*Saussurea costus*). Context may suggest the latter.

f.33r [1753] tresna · Rakaki Bujangga Manik · [1755] tuluy dirawu dipangku (·) diais dipagantiken · diu(ng)gahken ka sudangan · ti sudangan ka wangsana · wangsana carana gading (·) [1760] tu(m)pak di camara putih · camara | lili(ng)ga omas (·) dikikitiran ku mirah · diwé(n)tang-wé(n)tang ku omas · dipuñcakan manik[a *niu*] asra · [1765] dibalay ku mutéhara · diselang pramata mirah · pramata ko(m)bala hi(n)te|n (·) na sarba é(n)dah sagala · pakarang cacaritaan · [1770] carita Darma Kañcana · ti manggung kula(m)bu hurung · ti ha(n)dap kulambu lé(ng)gang · pahetna naga patengteng · di tengah naga wérati · [1775] ti ha|(ndap na)ga pahe(m)pas · merak ngigel di puñcakna · na sarba é(n)dah sagala · liwat na sarba mul(i)ya · atita amahabara · [1780] murug mu(ñ)car pakatonan · branang s(i)yang sarba warna · gumilap luma-

f.33v rap-larap (·) sarua sekar pamuja[236] · ruana sangh(i)yang ngatma · [1785] diwereg ku tatabehan · goong ge(n)ding diba(n)dungken · gangsa pabaur deng caning · tatabeh(an) saréyana · sangh(i)yang pabura(ñ)cahan[237] · [1790] gang|sa rari dirinduken · sa(m)peran aluy-aluyan · payung hapit sutra Keling · tunggul bungbang kiri kanan · lu(ng)sir putih ngaba(n)daley · [1795] uñut[238] mungpung sama dulur · bitan | ku(n)tul sri manglayang · payung lu(ng)sir puñcak gading · payung ke(r)tas puñcak omas · payung hatep sutra Keling · [1800] galéwér parada Cina · na bantele ratna urey · taluki | ratna kañcana · camara lili(ng)ga omas · tapok[239] térong omas ngora · [1805] pu(ñ)cak mirah naga ra(n)tay · pajalé ratna sumanger · kilat padulur deng téja · diliung ku kuwung-kuwung · [1809] di i-

f.34r (ña) […]

At least one leave is missing after f.33v. This is the end of the manuscript as it stands today.

*

[236] N: *pamaja*.
[237] N has *pabura(n)caheun*.
[238] This word is an enigma; I am tempted to emend it to *hañut*. See VI.1.3.
[239] The ⟨k⟩ here appears to have been converted from an *aksara* ⟨ta⟩. It closely resembles ⟨i⟩.

f.33r [1753] …thirst.[240] · Venerable Bujangga Manik · [1755] then was picked up and carried in their arms · and on their backs, one after the other · brought up to the platform · (and) from the platform to the seat · a seat made of ivory[241] · [1760] on the back of a white yak · a yak with a golden knob · spangled with rubies · starred with gold · topped with jewels and gems · [1765] inlaid with pearls · alternating with gemstones and rubies · gemstones, tassels, diamonds · all altogether extraordinary; · curtains (decorated) in the form of a story · [1770] the story of *Darma Kañcana* · glowing gauze curtains on high · swaying gauze curtains from below; · carved with dragons facing one another · an aloof dragon in the middle · [1775] dragons overlapping from below · a dancing peacock on its top · the whole altogether beautiful · the whole beyond value · exceedingly expensive · [1780] blazing and glittering before one's eyes · every colour shining bright · gleaming

f.33v and flashing past. · Resembling an offering flower[242] · the appearance of the sacred soul. · [1785] (He was) stirred by percussion instruments[243] · gongs and *gending*s overlaying one another[244] · flat gongs mixed in with *caning*s[245] · numerous percussion instruments · sacred place of *burañcah*[246] instruments · [1790] the smaller flat gongs were played steadily · in response, resounding altogether. · Flanking South Indian silk umbrellas · *bungbang* banners left and right · trailing white silk (*lungsir*) · [1795] all carried away together · like great egrets in splended flight. · Silk (*lungsir*) umbrellas (with) ivory tops · gold-peaked paper umbrellas · thatch umbrellas (with) South Indian silk · [1800] dripping with Chinese gilt · (and) a rim of tumbling jewels · (with) gold jewelled muslin. · A fly-whisk with a golden knob · an emerging aubergine of light gold · [1805] the top a chain of dragon rubies · (and) blessed *pajalé* jewels[247]. · The accompanying lightning and its afterglow · ringed by a rainbow · [1809] there

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[240] *Tresna* (N: 'love') comes from Skt *tṛṣṇā* 'thirst, desire', ultimately PIE *ters- 'to be dry' (whence also English 'thirst').
[241] As I see it the description from here down to line 1782 concerns the ivory seat or the yak and its decorations.
[242] N read the word here as *pamaja*, derived from *maja* (*Aegle marmelos*), whose blossoms may be the flowers referred to here. However, there is a faint *panyuku* below the *ma* – *pamuja* 'offering'.
[243] N has 'instrumental music', a suggestion of Wim van Zanten.
[244] I interpret *ge(n)ding* as a kind of gong, as in OJv (OJED 514:12), rather than as a melody (as in modern Javanese).
[245] *Caning* – a bronze metallophone (Jv: *saron*).
[246] An OJv word (OJED 275:16). Its referent is unfortunately unknown.
[247] Possibly related to words for Job's tears (*Coix lachryma-jobi*), a cereal grown for its seeds.

[…]

The text ends abruptly here.

*

PART III:

Place in Bujangga Manik

Bujangga Manik is full of long lists of place names. Most are the names of rivers, mountains, and settlements in Java/Sunda encountered by the ascetic on his journey; others are ethnonyms or toponyms relating to places outside Java. The reader may find *BM* a difficult text to categorise – or even enjoy – due to its reliance on these place name lists; they are such a prominent feature that answering the questions of how and why *BM* uses place is tantamount to answering the question of what kind of text *BM* even is.

In my MA thesis I argued that the listing of toponyms in *Bujangga Manik* was a manifestation of a common trope in Malayo-Polynesian literatures, both oral and written, which appears in a range of different genres found across the Indo-Malaysian archipelago and the Pacific (A. J. West 2017). The listing of place names does not constitute a genre in its own right – but the trope nonetheless appears to have an ancient history in MP literatures, with examples of essentially the same form found in oral compositions from Hawai'i, the Solomon Islands, and elsewhere in the Indo-Malaysian archipelago. A reader of *Bujangga Manik* may find still find the text monotonous, but the possibility that its form reflects an ancient indigenous literary form is nonetheless rather interesting. I outline this argument in section III.1 below as part of a broader discussion of place as it appears in *Bujangga Manik*.

I will also provide an overview of the ascetic's routes across Java (discussed in greater detail in Noorduyn's 1982 article) and examine some of the more interesting places featured in the text, both Javan and extra-Javan, in section III.2. To further contextualise these places I will give a brief sketch of the landscape of fifteenth-century Java-Sunda as it is known to us from contemporary sources, noting in particular changes that have occurred since that time and describing interesting features of the human and natural landscape where relevant.

*

III.1 Listing Places

Sunda was an 'Indianised'[248] kingdom. The religion practised by the elite was some variety of Hinduism, and references to the Hindu pantheon can be found in many OSd texts. (Buddhist ones are notably absent; the Hindu-Buddhist synthesis for which late-medieval Java is well-known appears not to have been present.) *BM* implies that a Śaivist mantra (OSd *nama siwaya*, from Skt *namaḥ Śivāya*) was used as a greeting, at least on formal occasions (BM 447); the Old Sundanese script(s) is/are derived from an Indian source; stories of Rāma and Rāvaṇa are found in OSd texts; and an OJv translation of a Sanskrit text on yoga is one of the better-known surviving texts to have been copied in Sunda (Acri 2011). The phenomenon of carving the foot- and handprints of kings and gods into rocks, common in Sunda (and much less so in Java), has its origins in an early Indian practice (Bisschop 2004:20). Even the name 'Bujangga Manik' comprises two Sanskrit loanwords.

Bujangga Manik is written, however, in Old Sundanese, a language in the Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family, and not in Sanskrit or another Indic language. Direct contacts between India and Sunda were probably limited, at least after the Tārūmanagara period, and, although demographic data are difficult to come by, most of the people who lived in Sunda were probably native Sundanese. It is unlikely that many of them were literate in Sanskrit, and the Sanskrit loanwords in *BM* and other OSd texts often appear to have been loaned indirectly via OJv. (It is also noteworthy that Bujangga Manik knows and can translate OJv [BM 1061-1065], but Sanskrit itself is not mentioned.) It would not be right to characterise Sunda in this period as an extension of India or to treat its culture and literature as having been inevitably derived from Indian models.

BM's focus on and listing of mundane place names in particular has no clear parallels in Indian literary tradition, unlike the narrative structures of other texts written or copied in Sunda at the time. Journeys and quests can of course be found in many Sanskrit and other South Asian texts, including some, like the *Gaṇḍavyūha* sutra, which were certainly known in medieval Java (as evidenced by reliefs at Borobudur – Fontein 1967, 1992:34), and travelogues from later periods are known from India as well (although these do not appear to have any Southeast Asian literary links – in any case see e.g. Alam and Subrahmanyam 2007, which covers the period up to 1800). Lists of toponyms *do* occasionally occur in Indian texts as well, as in the *Skandapurāṇa*, a text whose earliest-known manuscript dates to the ninth century and which includes a list of place names ordered by travel between them (Bisschop

[248] Cœdès (1948) in fact used the term 'Hinduised' (*hindouisés*) to refer to the Southeast Asian civilizations influenced by India and Sanskrit culture, and this is probably a more accurate position to take on Indian influence in the region. See also Trautmann (2015:ch7).

2004:12). The differences are clear, though, when one looks at the details: Unlike the *Skandapurāṇa*, which focuses exclusively on spiritual and supermundane places, *BM* is centred on mundane place names, only some of which are said to be holy. The journeys that link *BM*'s toponyms crisscross the island of Java and cannot easily be characterised as circumambulation or *pradakṣiṇa* (as in the *Skandapurāṇa*). *BM*'s ascetic is not intending to visit holy people to learn from them as Sudhana does in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* sutra – indeed, he hopes to remain as far away from other people as possible.

BM's narrative structure thus appears to have few connections to anything in Classical Indian literature, and it would sit uncomfortably within early modern Javanese genre conventions (as in Setyawati 2015). Other literary traditions have made use of lists of place names in one form or another, and in a European context reference might be made to Horace's *Iter Brundisinum* (Musurillo 1955) or Oswald von Wolkenstein's *Durch Barbarei Arabia* (Vienna, ÖNB, Wolkenstein-Handschrift A, f.49r; Müller 2011:234-239; von Wolkenstein 2007:196-203). There is no realistic possibility that these texts are connected to *BM*, of course, and there are in any case some significant differences; Wolkenstein's is a list of countries rather than of villages and streams, and Horace's is more a satire than a simple itinerary. *Bujangga Manik* stands out from these other examples. It is not, however, wholly *sui generis*.

Lists of place names are nonetheless unusually common in the literatures of Malayo-Polynesian-speaking societies, particularly so when describing journeys or recounting the acts of ancestors. The anthropologist James Fox labelled such narratives 'topogenies', basing his analysis on the use of such lists in the oral traditions of Roti and Timor in eastern Indonesia (Fox 1997a, 1997b). The classic topogeny is a myth about the origins and migrations of a clan's or lineage's progenitors in which places feature prominently and are often combined with genealogical information to strengthen claims to land or other kinds of rights – and it is indeed easy to find examples of such stories in the literary traditions of languages in different branches of the Malayo-Polynesian family: in Hawai'i (Beckwith 1951; 1970:354-355); in Malaita, in the Solomon Islands (Guo 2001:77-78); in West Timor (McWilliam 2002); in Rejang *surat ulu* texts (Jaspan 1964:5); and elsewhere in South Sumatra (Sakai 1997). Fox expanded the concept of the 'topogeny' to encompass almost any recitation of named places, however, and it is unclear what the defining features of topogenies are aside from an emphasis on place and toponyms.

My view on 'topogenies', as described in my MA thesis (2017), is that toponym lists in MP literatures *are* related to one another, and that their similarities should not be reduced to mere family resemblance, but that they do not form a literary genre – that texts (oral or written) in the Malayo-Polynesian world employing the device of listed place names are not one kind of text. Such lists constitute a *trope* rather than a genre: a device used to tell stories and recount events, something an

audience can expect to encounter and that helps them orient themselves in the text and its world.[249] The compositions that make use of this toponym-listing trope may be incantations, as in Sulawesi (Waterson 2012:405); they may be intended to give geographical information, as with the lists used to teach nautical lore in the Caroline Islands (Gladwin 1970:205-207; Riesenberg 1972:22); they may be historical narratives, as with a pair of texts from Sikka in east-central Flores analysed by E. D. Lewis (1999); they might be modern Minang pop songs (Barendregt 2002); or they may even be Hindu narrative poems, as with *BM*. Lists of mundane place names are also encountered in medieval Javanese texts; the *Deśawarṇana* contains lists of places in Java linked by travel between them (e.g. cantos 19-25) as well as lists of places outside Java that described as Javanese vassals (13-15). This is in addition to the Hawaiian, Rejang, Malaitan, and Timorese compositions mentioned above which better fit with Fox's original vision of the 'topogeny'. These are all discussed in more detail in A. J. West (2017).

The expressions used in listing places and narrating journeys in compositions from different MP communities are often strikingly similar. Compare, for instance, *BM*'s verbs-of-motion formulae with the oral traditions recorded by Guo Peiyi on Malaita in the Solomon Islands, the original language of which is Langalanga, a distant relative of Sundanese in the Southeast Solomonic branch of MP:

> "'…they came out from Feratala and came down to a place called Ore Ore. Keldai came out from Feratala to Ore Ore. Keldai came to a place called Mauro. After he left Maru then he came to a place called Fakarua…'" (Guo 2001:78).

Or see the language used in what Jaspan called the 'Bemanai Clan Chronicle', a text on *daluwang* (paper mulberry [*Broussonetia papyrifera*] bark) from South Sumatra dating to the mid-eighteenth century:

> '…Gadja Meram stayed in the village of Rukam; Gadja Biring went to Pupuk; Gadja Merik went to Pundjau; Gadja Gemeram went to Muara Ganau; Gadja Beniting went to Tjita Mandi…' (Jaspan 1964:28-29, 64).

Areal influence is not possible across this area: Hawai'i, the Solomons, and Sunda (etc.) are simply too far apart. The similarities must be due to shared ancestry. The ultimate reason *BM* contains long passages of listed place names is because MP-speaking communities appear to have *always* put such lists in their compositions. This may go back to an *Ur*-'topogeny' wherein genealogies and toponyms were mixed as part of lineage-based claims to land and title, but the examples of 'topogeny'-like compositions in the ethnographic record are varied and go beyond advancing such claims. *BM* is not an exception in this regard.

The prominence of place names in these narratives may imply a particular relationship between the people and the land, something Fox emphasised in his original formulation wherein the connection

[249] Such tropes can be used in narratives of many kinds over long periods of time – see e.g. the Indo-European literary motifs in Watkins 2001; M. West 2007).

between genealogy and toponomy created a hierarchy of places akin to the social hierarchies found in Austronesian- or MP-speaking societies (1997b:91). *BM*'s reference to the places surveyed from Papandayan's summit as 'remnants of the Forbidden One' (BM 1182) suggests that the entire landscape was considered holy – not just hermitages and sacred sites. It is difficult, however, and beyond the scope of this study, to reconstruct an ideology of place from *BM* alone.

Mountains as 'Pillars'

A curious feature of the *BM* is the section between lines 1184 and 1265 in which the ascetic looks out from his vantage point on Mount Papandayan and enumerates all the mountains in Sunda (and some outside of it), labelling them the *tanggeran* 'pillars' of their respective communities (discussed in Noorduyn and Teeuw 1999). What this means is not entirely clear, although it appears to represent the peak of Bujangga Manik's worldly knowledge before his retirement and death, seeming to fuse Śaivist veneration for mountain peaks with an Austronesian interest in the same. The role of mountains in orienting the landscape has been documented in other MP-speaking communities (see e.g. R. H. Barnes 1974; Howell 1995:154; cf. the studies in Senft 1997), and it is commonplace for specific mountains to be sacred to certain communities (like Bukit Seguntang for the rulers of Śrīvijaya [Andaya 2001:320]). As Noorduyn and Teeuw (1999:214) note, *BM*'s mountains are referred to as either *bukit*s or *gunung*s; in Malay/Indonesian *gunung* means 'mountain' and *bukit* 'hill', but in *BM* there does not appear to be a significant distinction between them; Merapi is referred to as both *gunung* and *bukit* (BM 1102 and 775).[250] *Bukit* is no longer common in Sundanese, and Noorduyn and Teeuw believed it was used because of Malay influence, but I suspect Malay *bukit* and OSd *bukit* share the same form because of their common GNB ancestry (going back, incidentally, to PAn *bukij 'mountain' [ACD 1506]).

The mountains do not appear to be listed in any particular order – the view flits from west to east seemingly at random and their heights concerned do not seem to be relevant, although some mountains around what is now Bandung are mentioned in a cluster, including Tompo Omas, Ceremay, Patuha, and Tangkuban Parahu, as are the mountains of what is now Banten province, like Mount Anten near the city of Banten and *Burung Jawa* 'Javanese bird', a peak on *Hujung Barat* – modern Ujung Kulon in Java's far southwest. After this come a number of unidentified peaks that seem to be in Kanékés/Baduy areas, and then some in Central Java, including Sundara (modern Sindoro). The names and identities of these mountains, insofar as they are known, can be found in Appendix B.

Encyclopaedism

The trope of listing toponyms overlaps with the 'encyclopaedism' frequently encountered in Austronesian literatures, including Indo-Malaysian ones. Lists of commodities, perfumes, weapons, and much else are common in medieval and early-modern Javanese and Malay literature, leading Vladimir

[250] Cf. OJv *wukir* (cognate of *bukit*) – 'mountain' rather than 'hill' (OJED 2322:6).

Braginsky to propose that attention to seemingly irrelevant detail is the principal indigenous component of Classical Malay literature, something generally absent from the Persian and Arabic sources on which Malay texts were frequently built (Braginsky 1993:45; see also Bausani 1962:178-179; Day and Derks 1999).[251] OJv texts are also wont to contain such 'irrelevancies', as in the list of animals in the *Deśawarṇana* (50.5 – adapted from Robson 1995:60):

> '... Pigs, barking deer, wild bulls, buffaloes, porcupines, chevrotains,
> Monitor lizards, monkeys, wild cats, rhinoceroses, and so on.'[A6]

BM includes a great deal of this – there are more named varieties of betel than there are named characters, for instance, and we hear more about the gifts Jompong Larang brought to the ascetic's mother than about Jompong herself. (These aspects of material culture are explored in Part VI.) Constant reference to the real world and items in it creates verisimilitude, situating the ascetic's journey to death in a tangible place and time. Although *BM* is fiction – it contains, after all, first-person descriptions of heaven – it is set in the recognisably real world of late-medieval Java. Little in the poem could be considered 'supernatural' until the ascetic's death, and even the heaven to which he ascends is treated in the same detail-oriented manner and contains essentially the same things as our mundane 'Middle World' (*mad(i)yapada* – BM 1591, 1606).

There are in any case limits to the capacity of Indic/Sanskrit literary comparisons to explain the features of medieval Indo-Malaysian cultural history, and the literary and religious traditions found in *Bujangga Manik* are at least as 'Austronesian' as they are 'Indianised'. Nowhere is this more evident than in the structure of the text itself.

III.2 Toponyms and Routes

The routes taken by the ascetic Bujangga Manik through Java have been covered in a detailed article by Noorduyn (1982), in which he was assisted by Bernd Nothofer, and with regard to the identification of places in Java little more can be added. In this section I will, however, summarise Noorduyn's conclusions and discuss probable changes in Java's landscape since the poem's composition (III.2.1). After this I will summarise the poem's geographical information and toponymy, briefly describing the major places mentioned therein. In III.2.2 I will focus here on the better-known Javan toponyms – Java, Demak, Majapahit, Balungbungan, etc. – before looking at the places outside Java in section III.2.3. For details of the route the reader should consult Noorduyn's article (which can also be found as an

[251] On the other hand, painstaking attention to material cultural detail is also found in Vijayanagara-era Kannada poetry (Dallapiccola 2003:3). This feature is not exclusive to Indo-Malaysian literatures.

appendix to Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006, albeit without the hand-drawn map [1982:417]). I have summarised some of the details in Appendix B as well, particularly the identifications of the rivers and mountains. Some of these are still unidentified.

*

Thanks to Noorduyn the ascetic's routes are easily summarised. On his first trip, Jaya Pakuan – then the ascetic's name – leaves Pakuan, the capital of Sunda and identifiable with the northernmost parts of modern-day Bogor, heading east along the Puncak Pass north of Mount Gedé/Pangrango. He crosses the Cipamali ('Taboo River', now the Brebes), causing him to enter Javanese territory (*alas Jawa*), most of which, it seems, was governed by Majapahit. No concrete information is given about the ascetic's final destination on this journey, although it is implied that he travelled to Rabut Palah (Candi Panataran in East Java) and stated with certainty that he went to Damalung (Mount Merbabu in Central Java). He appears to have studied at one or both of these places. He becomes homesick, however, and walks to Pamalang (Pemalang) on the north coast of Central Java, from where he takes a ship (*parahu*) to Kalapa (modern-day Jakarta). From Kalapa he then walks to Pakañcilan, the royal district of Pakuan and the starting point of his journey, where a woman, Jompong Larang, falls in love with him.

After rejecting Jompong, the ascetic travels east again, hoping to arrive at Balungbungan (Blambangan) in the far-eastern corner of Java. He sets out through the territory of Saung Agung and past the mountain of Tompo Omas ('basket of gold', modern-day Tampomas) in *kab.* Sumedang, before heading through Kuningan, still in Sunda, where he comes to Arega Jati ('teak mountain'), apparently home to a bathing place (*jalatunda*) and a memorial to the Sundanese hero Silih Wangi. Still tending east, the ascetic passes several mountains, including *Gunung Agung* 'great mountain' (i.e. Mount Slamet), and comes into the vicinity of *Pa(n)danara(ng)*, which Noorduyn (1982) identified with Semarang. Heading south he comes near Damalung again and enters Medang Kamulan, a historical region near what is now Yogyakarta renowned in Javanese *kidung*s. He again heads east, passing a number of mountains and historical regions, notably Mount Lawu on the Central/East Java border; Daha, where the Majapahit court is said to have retreated after the encroachment of the coastal sultanates in the early sixteenth century; and Mount Wilis. He crosses the Cironabaya (the Brantas River) and goes to Majapahit by way of Bubat, site of a semi-legendary massacre of Sundanese soldiers by the Javanese in the fourteenth century. From Majapahit he walks to Pawitra (Mount Penanggungan), home to several medieval *candi*s, noting incidentally that the port of Gresik lay to the north. He finally makes it to Balungbungan (BM 840), where he sets himself up as a hermit. Perturbed by the arrival of a friendly woman who wishes to become an ascetic herself, he walks to the shore and takes a ship to Bali.

Disliking the hubbub of busy Bali, after only a year or so Bujangga Manik takes a *jong* (junk) back to Java. In a final lengthy journey, he wanders through Java looking for somewhere appropriate to

practise asceticism, passing through several religious sites in East Java, some of which – like Dingding, the seat of an abbot (*déwaguru*) – are explicitly labelled as such. Some important mountains are noted in this stretch of the journey, including Brahma (Bromo) and Mahaméru (Semeru) in the Tengger massif (still essential in the ritual lives of non-Muslims in the region today – Hefner 1990:33). He visits the renowned Majapahit sanctuary of Rabut Palah (Candi Panataran); the poet describes it as 'venerated by the Javanese' (BM 1060). Here Bujangga Manik reads some texts in Javanese (the *Darmawéya*, unidentified, and the *Pandawa Jaya* 'victorious Pandawas', perhaps a reference to the *kakawin Bhāratayuddha*, the OJv *Mahābhārata*) but, disturbed again by noisy humans, he eventually leaves. Continuing westward he wanders past mountains and villages, passing through the region of Galuh (BM 1162). Finally he arrives at Mount Papandayan ('place of smiths') in *kab*. Garut, West Java, where he has his aforementioned vision of the world. He sees Java's major peaks and their associated settlements laid out before him, and even the countries of the world as far west as Delhi and as far east as Banda.

After this the ascetic travels about forty kilometres west to Mount Patuha. Near its slopes he encounters a *kabuyutan* ('sanctuary, archive') with a jewelled *lingga*. Here he sets up his final hermitage with several buildings and a garden, and after ten years of meditation at the site he dies without illness, undergoing liberation (*kamoksahan*) and becoming a god.

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III.2.1 The Landscape

The ascetic must have used ferries[252] to cross larger rivers, but *BM* gives the impression that the ascetic shuns human contact whenever possible and walks everywhere alone. A traveller would not have been alone at all times, of course, and must have relied on strangers for help; villagers may even have been legally obligated to help travellers in Java as they were in Sumatra: The fourteenth- or fifteenth-century Malay *Nītisārasamuccaya* (the 'Tanjung Tanah' manuscript, f.13) says that 'if there is a traveller or simple wanderer, bring him drink and food, and allow him on his way' (Kozok 2015:76).[A7] In any case, modern-day Urang Kanékés are known for travelling on foot, other forms of transport often being prohibited, and Hasman and Reiss (2012:33) report that Kanékés people can walk over 50 kilometres in one day. Pires reports, though, that it took two days to cover the roughly 50 kilometres between *Calapa* (Kalapa/Jakarta) and *Dayo* (Pakuan), so this should be seen as exceptional. There are few hints of travel difficulties in *BM* – no accounts of wild animal attacks or ankles sprained on jagged rocks or other injuries – but the descriptions of footbridges and well-cut steps in steep hillsides in the heavenly landscapes of both *BM* and *Sri Ajnyana* (SA 377-380) suggest that travel in the earthly realm *was* difficult, and that an easily traversed landscape was literally heavenly.

[252] For which a well-known source is the OJv copperplate Ferry Charter of 1358 (Pigeaud 1960:I:108-112).

Java's landscape is characterised by innumerable volcanoes both large and small, and it is sometimes claimed to be the most volcanically active island in the world (Whitten, Soeriaatmadja, and Afiff 1996:93). The north coast between Jakarta and Semarang is a plain, as flat and featureless as Holland, although mountains, most of them andesite stratovolcanoes, can often be seen to the south. This plain has expanded over the centuries as the short rivers flowing into the Java Sea have silted up, but the northern coastal plain (*palataran*) is mentioned in BM 85. Heading south from this plain leads one into the mountains, although further east there are many more fertile plains and valleys (Cribb 2000:19). The fact that foreign visitors tended to approach Java from the north, with densely forested mountains in the distance and a large inland population evidenced by Java's wealth and demand for foreign goods, gave rise to a belief among many in the medieval world that Java was the largest island in the world (Polo: *la greingnor isle / qe soit au mõde* – Paris, BnF, Français 1116, f.74vb), a belief that was not dispelled in Europe until the middle of the sixteenth century (Figure III.1).

Figure III.1. Java (*Lytil Jaua* 'Little Java') stretching to the south in a south-up map of Southeast Asia in the *Boke of Idrography*, an atlas made for Henry VIII of England by the French cartographer Jean Rotz (London, BL, Royal MS 20 E IX, f.9v – c.1535-1542). Cf. Java (*Jaua maior*) on the Queen Mary Atlas of 1555-1559 (London, BL, Add MS 5415 A, f.18r).

The soil in much of West Java is often rust-red and leached of nutrients – a function of the high rainfall and year-round high heat the region receives (see Kricher 1989:73; Sutlive 1978:15-16 for concise explanations of the process). Dry rice, usually grown on unterraced hillsides, is still a popular crop in Sunda just as it must have been in earlier times, in part because the region's oligotrophic

laterite/latisols will not support wet rice fields. As one travels from west to east, the dry season grows longer and the problem of leaching is dramatically lessened, resulting in richer soils conducive to irrigated wet-rice agriculture and dry-seeking plants like *lontar* palms (*Borassus flabellifer* – whose leaves were used to make the *BM* manuscript). The soil in the east is a deeper brown, and a person travelling from west to east would surely have noticed the change. The concurrent higher human population density in the east would also have been obvious, and indeed *BM* comments disapprovingly on the number of people living in Java and Bali (BM 968-975). Java probably had a lower population density than most of Europe at the time, however, and much lower than China or the Indo-Gangetic Plain (Reid 1988:11-17).

The dangers of Southeast Asia's fauna were known across the medieval world. The Russian traveller Afanasij Nikitin (c.1472) mentions that monkeys and 'baboons' attacked travellers on the roads in Шабат (*šabat*), a name related to 'Java' but which probably referred to Sumatra (or equatorial Southeast Asia in general). Monkey attacks were particularly feared at night:

> 'And in the woods there one finds baboons and monkeys and they attack people on the roads, so that no one dares travel at night because of [them].'[A8]

The possibility of monkey attacks in Java and the need to placate the creatures is also mentioned by thirteenth-century Chinese administrator Zhào Rǔkuò, who says that 'in the mountains [of Java] there are lots of monkeys who do not fear humans' (山中多猴不畏人). A trip to the woods in Java is sufficient to show that this aspect of the landscape has not changed. As noted in the Introduction, however, other animals, including such dangerous ones as wild cattle (*banténg*), tigers, and wildcats, are now less common than they once were. Presumably Bujangga Manik carries a rattan whip (BM 255) for fending off such animals.

In medieval Sunda one would likely have seen dry rice fields framed by banana trees (*Musa* spp.), sugarcane (*Saccharum officinarum*), taro (*Colocasia esculenta* and *C. antiquorum*), and yams (*Dioscorea alata*), as well as decorative plants like *Cordyline fruticosa* and *Codiaeum variegatum*. Irrigated rice paddy would have been significantly more common in the east of the island. Coconut palms (*Cocos nucifera*) were likely no less common than they are today; the slender stalks of areca palms (*Areca catechu*) would doubtless have been more frequently encountered due to the earlier importance of betel chewing (since replaced by tobacco [*Nicotiana* spp.] as the local narcotic of choice). Aquaculture has a long history in Java, particularly farming of the giant gourami (*Osphronemus goramy*) and the *lele* (*Clarias batrachus*); a necklace from the tenth-century Wonoboyo hoard (now in the Museum Nasional) made up of golden *lele* fish testifies to the importance of the fish in the Middle Ages, culinary and otherwise.

Java's landscape has undergone significant changes over the last six centuries, however. Volcanic eruptions in particular have violently rent the land. Papandayan, the mountain from whose summit the ascetic sees a vision of the world, is a volcano, and an active one; it exploded in August 1772, killing three thousand people and permanently altering the landscape, losing millions of tonnes of material from its summit (Whitten, Soeriaatmadja, and Afiff 1996:99). Any view from the summit that may have been visible in the Middle Ages is lost to us. Progradation of the coastline also means that what were port-cities in *BM*'s day are now many kilometres inland, including Demak and Banten. American plant species have changed the character of fields and roadsides; papaya (*Carica papaya*) and manioc (*Manihot esculenta*) are commonly seen fringing fields, as are chilis (*Capsicum annuum*) growing in gardens. Forestry campaigns have also noticeably altered the landscape: A visit to the craters of Tangkuban Parahu, for instance, the volcano twenty kilometres north of the modern city of Bandung, involves a drive through a forest of pine trees. These are *Pinus merkusii*, the Sumatran pine, a species not native to Java. The trees were planted in the 1970s as part of a regreening programme (Whitten, Soeriaatmadja, and Afiff 1996:135-136).[253]

Java's urban profile has been transformed as well. Some towns that were once major centres have shrunk to become villages, like Bujangga Manik's destination of *Balungbungan* (modern Blambangan, now a small satellite of Banyuwangi). Domestic architecture has also changed: Most houses in medieval Java were thatched – notwithstanding the survival of some terracotta tiles from what must have been higher-profile residences – and most had walls of wood, cloth, and woven palm leaves. Little survives archaeologically of such houses, although references in the extant literature suggest tiled stone-walled houses were rare if present at all (e.g. *Deśawarṇana* 26.2 and 32.6; Miksic 2013:112). Low-density urban sprawl probably characterised island Southeast Asia's major cities at this time, with houses separated from one another by gardens and orchards instead of densely packed together behind city walls (as in much of temperate Afro-Eurasia) (Cribb 2000:63).

BM's domestic sections suggest that a Sundanese noble's house (*imah* or *bumi*) was built on piles (or 'stilts'), a structure one would ascend (*unggah*) a ladder to enter. This is in common with most traditional dwellings in the archipelago from Sumatra to New Guinea and into the Pacific, a tradition that probably began in Neolithic southern China and which has been largely abandoned in Java under modern Chinese and European influence (Blust 2013:13; Kirch 1997:47; Waterson 1997:1, 15-16). Houses built on low piles can still be seen at Kampung Naga near Tasikmalaya, though, and the Kanékés/Baduy build their houses on piles as well (Hasman and Reiss 2012:16-19). Reliefs at Borobudur suggest that pile-houses were also common in the Central Javanese period (Figure III.2).

[253] There is no local name for the trees, and they are referred to as *pinus* (from the Latin generic name).

Figure III.2. A house depicted in a relief on the north side of the first gallery of Borobudur, Central Java, mid-ninth century. Note the bulbous tops of the piles intended to prevent ingress of vermin (cf. Chen 1968:284-285). Author's photograph, November 2018.

> Tomé Pires says, describing the palace of the king of Sunda:
>
> 'The city has well-built houses of palm leaf and wood. They say that the king's house has three hundred and thirty wooden pillars as thick as a wine cask, and five fathoms high, and beautiful timberwork on the top of the pillars. It's a very well-built house' (Cortesão 1944:168; Pires 2018:191).[A9]

Writing almost three centuries earlier, Zhào Rǔkuò (c.1225) says that the people of *Xīntuō* (新拖 – i.e. Sunda) 'all build their houses using wooden poles, roofing them with palm bark, with flooring of wooden planks and screens made from strips of cane'.[A10] The 'wooden poles' (木植) are probably piles on which the house was built. Piles have a number of advantages, serving to raise the house above water in case of flooding, allow for a freer flow of air, and protect the inhabitants from enemies and vermin (see Waterson 1997). Other buildings not intended for human habitation are also built on stilts, including the traditional Sundanese *leuit* 'rice barn' (Hasman and Reiss 2012:15). These buildings (OSd: *leit*) are mentioned in the *Sanghyang Siksakandang Karesian* (L630, f.2r, line 1); I doubt their design has changed much since. The *parañjé* 'chicken coop', another piece of Sundanese architecture mentioned in SSKK, was probably placed between the piles under the floor of the house (Rigg 1862:354 *sub* Paranjé).

Other words for buildings are harder to precisely envision, particularly *lamin ading*, a free-standing house probably related to wedding rites or marriage. It has beams, a skirting board, and space for furniture (*palangka* 'couch, bed'). *Ading* is a variant of *gading* 'ivory', but *lamin* is not found (or is uncommon) in MSd. In some of the Bornean Malayic languages, *lamin* means 'longhouse', which suits the context, although longhouses themselves are principally a Bornean phenomenon. Wilkinson's 1932 Malay dictionary gives 'bridal pair; household' for the derived term *kelamin* (#19816), and the use of *pelaminan* for 'bridal dais' in modern Malay/Indonesian is well-known. Jiří Jákl (p.c.) notes that similar terms may be found in Old Javanese court poetry with the meaning 'wedding pavilion'. The original referent of *lamin* may thus have been the married couple, with the meaning of 'house' or 'longhouse' an extension resulting from houses being built for a couple upon their marriage, a practice attested elsewhere in the MP-speaking world (e.g. Bloch 2005:39-45). *Balay* also presents some pitfalls, as it can refer to houses or pavilions, possibly for religious functions (cf. OJv *bale*, from PMP *balay [ACD 513]); to low walls and paving (*dibalay* – BM 1413); or to couches/beds (as in parts of eastern Indonesia – Andaya 1993:80). Rigg (1862:34) reports that it was also used in reference to 'ancient and sacred spot[s], for making offerings and prayers'.[254]

Cloth was part of the furniture and indeed the construction of island Southeast Asian houses, as *BM's* lists of curtains (*kasang*) attest. Controlling air-flow through the home was important in a hot and humid climate like Java's; hanging openings with cloth was a simple and attractive way of doing this.[255] The fourteenth-century Bishop of Quilon in India, Jordanus of Catalonia, says that people in the islands to the east, including Java/Sumatra (*Jana*), 'make their walls from cloth' (1839[~1330]:51; Yule 1863:30-31).[A11] We should not imagine that the wooden and palm-leaf architecture of Java at this time rendered the landscape monotone.

By the fifteenth century some of the 'Hindu-Buddhist' monuments that can be seen today were already in ruins (perhaps because of poor construction techniques – Dumarçay 1986:3). The *kakawin Śiwarātrikalpa*, composed in the 1470s and thus contemporary with *BM*, contains a great deal of description of the landscape of Java[256] at this time, including a fascinating image of a ruined temple that the protagonist – an illiterate hunter – passes (3.1):

> 'A great temple-complex from ancient times rose near a mountain stream, and the path there was lonely / The curved trunks of the water-elephants had fallen and crumbled, and for lack of care its wall had almost tumbled down. / The monster-heads seemed to be weeping as their

[254] Interestingly, the term for 'temple' in Tikopia, *fare*, is cognate with OSd *balay* (Kirch 2000:107). Kirch (2000) speculates that houses in Tikopia became temples over time due to 'a pervasive and presumably ancient cultural pattern [in Austronesian societies] in which the houses of the living become transformed into houses of the ancestors' (2000:114).
[255] I am indebted to Hélène Njoto for this observation.
[256] Helen Creese says of OJv *kakawin*: '…although the names of the heroes, kingdoms, rivers, and mountains may be Indian, the world the poets are describing is […] Javanese' (2004:40).

> covered faces were overgrown with a profusion of creepers / And as though sad and weary the temple-guardians were lying rolled over flat on the ground' (Teeuw et al. 1969:73; see also Zoetmulder 1974:205-206, 359-366).[A12]

A similar description of a tumbledown temple can be found in the *Deśawarṇana*, written a century earlier, implying that temples ruins could be found in East Java even at the height of the Majapahit period:

> 'See how to the north of the platform of the stair its remaining earth is already level; / The *nāgapuspa* planted there are spreading and others in the courtyard are sprouting and budding. / Outside the gate the refectory is high, but its grounds are abandoned, / Its broad courtyard is covered with grass, its path is overgrown with weeds and full of mosses' (37.4 – Robson 1995:50).[A13]

It would, however, be a mistake to exaggerate the ruination of Java's temples in the fifteenth century. Other temple sites were certainly in use when *BM* was written, including Candi Panataran, known in the poem as *Rabut Palah* and said to be 'venerated by the Javanese' (BM 1060 – see Kieven 2013 for an interpretation of the site's reliefs). The ascetic is annoyed by the noise of the temple's many visitors, so Rabut Palah must still have been busy even in the 1470s; inscriptions suggest it was still being renovated as recently as 1454. On his return journey from Bali to Sunda the ascetic passes several religious sites in East Java, some of which survive today, particularly Candi Kendalisodo on Mount Penanggungan (known in the poem as *Pawitra* and *Gunung Gajah Mungkur*). This was built in the fifteenth century and features a terraced sanctuary and meditation cave, with some walls decorated with reliefs depicting Pañji stories (Kinney, Kieven, and Klokke 2003:260-265). Mount Lawu in Central Java, which is mentioned only in passing and at which Bujangga Manik does not appear to have stopped, is also home to two enigmatic temple sites, Sukuh and Ceto (or Cetho), both built in the fifteenth century. The former has been interpreted as a 'state temple' for opponents of the Majapahit centre, although this is speculative (Kinney, Kieven, and Klokke 2003:272). Either way the temples existed in the 1470s, and an inscription dated to 1472 from Ceto attests to the presence of an active community there.

Other monumental buildings could be seen at Majapahit itself (i.e. the capital near what is now Trowulan in East Java), particularly what the *Deśawarṇana* (8.1) describes as the 'awe-inspiring royal palace' (*purādbhuta*) with a wall of red brick built 'thick and high' all the way around it (Robson 1995:29). Garbled descriptions of such grand and busy sites were probably responsible for Odoric of Pordenone's well-known if fanciful early-fourteenth-century claims of a resplendent palace made of gold and silver in which the great king of Java supposedly lived – claims which made their way into the

tales of the fabulist 'John Mandeville' and which can thus be found in some of the oldest surviving texts on Java in English and Dutch.[257]

*Lingga*s are occasionally encountered by the ascetic on his travels. A *lingga* is an aniconic or phallic representation of Śiva, the premier Hindu deity worshipped in Java in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A typical Javanese *lingga*, like the Indian models on which it was based, comprised a rounded stone cylinder with an octagonal base, often surmounting a larger *yoni* (an aniconic/vulvic representation of the goddess Śakti), an example of which can be seen in Figure III.3. In Java (as in India), however, *lingga*s varied dramatically in size and shape. A *lingga* in the form of a broadly anatomically correct phallus was found at Sukuh, for instance; it is thought to have been placed atop the main temple building, which has therefore been interpreted as a huge *yoni* (Kinney, Kieven, and Klokke 2003:268). In West Java the oldest known *lingga*s have the traditional rounded-cylinder shape – several of these from the first-millennium site of Candi Batujaya can be seen in the Museum Sri Baduga – but those of the later Sunda kingdom are rough-hewn, more like standing stones found in other parts of Indonesia than Indian *lingga*s.

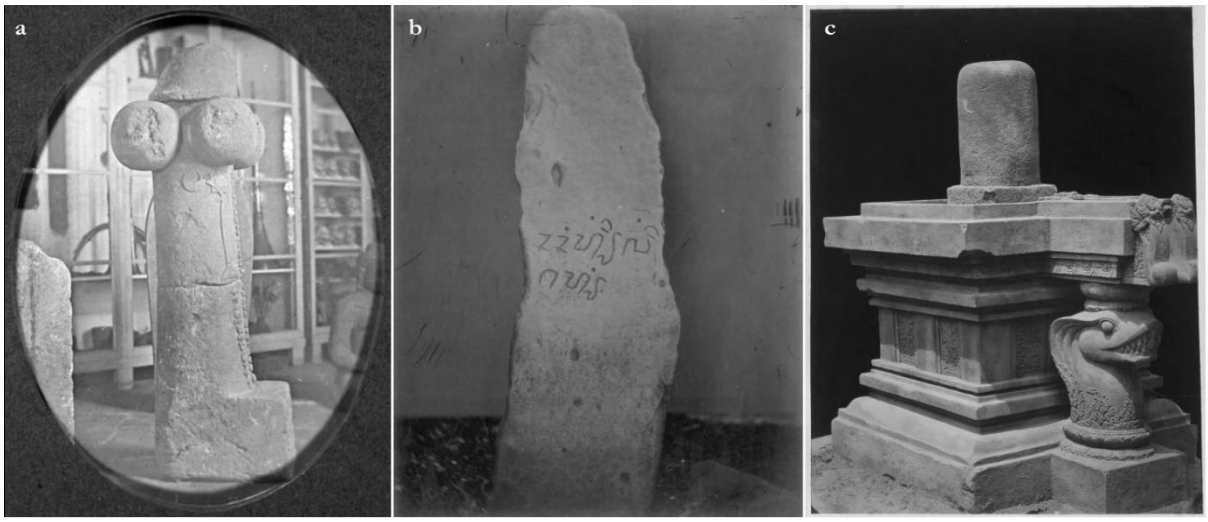

Figure III.3. Three *lingga*s from Java (L-R): a) the gigantic phallus from Sukuh (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-60.843); b) a stone from Kawali labelled *sanghiyang ling/ga h(i)yang* (Kawali III – Leiden, UBL, KITLV 87616); and c) a decorated *lingga-yoni* from East Java (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-61.356).

Two of the Kawali stones are known to be *lingga*s because they are inscribed with the word '*lingga*'. Sundanese *yoni*s are also shaped rather differently, usually consisting of a triangular indentation at the base of the *lingga*. Examples of these can be found below the Batutulis inscription – which may force us to interpret the inscription itself as a kind of *lingga* – and at Kawali (Herlina

[257] See, for instance, London, British Library, Harley MS 3954, f.38v, an early-fifteenth-century Middle English Mandeville, or The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 131 B 14, f.99r, a Middle Dutch version of Mandeville dated 1462 (for which see Cramer 1908). The Dutch Mandeville – the earliest MS of which is Cape Town, National Library of South Africa, Grey Coll. 4 b 17 (Sjoerd Levelt, p.c.) – is probably the oldest Dutch text to mention Java by name.

2017:18; Munandar 2017:277). *BM* also describes some *lingga*s as 'jewelled' (*li(ng)ga manik* – BM 1408), although precisely what this means is unclear. In BM 1289 the ascetic puts up a *lingga* himself, and the verb used (*na(ñ)jerken* 'raise, erect') suggests that this was akin to a standing stone. Either way we cannot be sure what to picture when the poem uses the term *lingga* in each case, and such stones are not now typically encountered by travellers across the island except at archaeological parks and national monuments.

The references to *sakakala* are also rather unclear. The word comes from the Sanskrit *śakakāla* 'Śaka era' by way of OJv 'chronogram' (OJED 1603:5), and in some OSd texts it does appear to carry a similar meaning of '(in) the reign of (so-and-so)', as in the first plate of the Kebantenan I copperplates (Jakarta, Museum Nasional, inv. no. E.42a). In *BM sakakala* appear to be memorials to legendary figures, however. Six pre-existing *sakakala* (BM 698, 733, 773, 776, 1243, and 1367) are encountered by the ascetic, who also builds a *sakakala* himself (BM 1291 – *teher ñi(y)an sakakala*). This suggests that these *sakakala* were physical objects – inscription stones, perhaps?

One of the *sakakala*s commemorates Sang Kuriang (BM 1243), whose appearance in *BM* seems to be the oldest reference to the legend in Sundanese literature. In the tale, the wild man Sang Kuriang, who has been separated from his parents and lived in the wilderness since he was a baby, encounters his mother as an adult and falls in love with her. He asks to marry her. She realises that Sang Kuriang is her child and sets him several impossible tasks – to dam the Citarum River in one night, for example (alluded to in BM 1244-1245), and to build a boat before daybreak – that he must complete before she will agree to the marriage. As expected, Sang Kuriang fails, leading him to kick over the boat he had been working on in rage (whence Mount Tangkuban Parahu [BM 1203], lit. 'overturned boat'). Remarkably, this story appears to have retained its essential form in Sundanese oral tradition for at least five-and-a-half centuries.

Another *sakakala* commemorates *Silih Wangi*, the legendary king Siliwangi (BM 733). This *sakakala* was located at a place called Jalatunda (*not* the well-known tenth-century bathing place known as Jalatunda/Jolotundo near Mojokerto) near Arega Jati ('teak mountain' – unidentified) just on the Sundanese side of the Cipamali in Kuningan. Why Silih Wangi would be commemorated there is unknown, but the reference suggests in any case that Siliwangi/Silih Wangi was already legendary in the fifteenth century. He cannot therefore be identified with a late-fifteenth- or early-sixteenth-century king (as modern Sundanese tradition would have it).

III.2.2 Javan Toponymy

Bujangga Manik's toponyms can be divided into Javan and extra-Javan ones – 'Javan' (as opposed to 'Javanese') meaning place names in Java *and* Sunda, and 'extra-Javan' meaning the names of places off the island. The former far outnumber the latter. In this section I will take a brief look at

the structure of Java's toponyms as they appear in *BM* before addressing some of the more prominent place names in the political history of the island, among them Pakuan, Jawa, Majapahit, Demak, and Gresik. In the following section (III.2.3) I will examine the extra-Javan places. The identities of the mountains and rivers that feature in *BM* are summarised in Appendix B and the details of the route can, as mentioned above, be found in Noorduyn (1982) and Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006).

I have also listed the more common place name elements in *BM*'s Javan toponyms in Appendix B (Table B.1) with their probable etymologies, but I shall summarise their features here. The Javan toponyms are usually made up of two morphemes containing two or three syllables apiece, a pattern found elsewhere in the region (*Kuala Lumpur* 'muddy estuary' in Malaysia or *Fatu Le'u* 'medicine rock' in West Timor) and common in Java's modern toponymy, although such names are now often written using one orthographic word (e.g. *Wonosobo* 'forest meeting place', from Skt via OJv). Of these elements most are Javanese or Sundanese but, while *BM*'s structure and approach to place may be based on indigenous concepts, many are Sanskrit (or from other Indic languages). Monomorphemic toponyms can also be found in the text, although these are rarer (and noticeably less common than in *kakawin*). Some place names have their origins in myth, as with Tangkuban Parahu (lit. 'overturned boat' [BM 1202]), a volcano north of present-day Bandung claimed to have been formed when the aforementioned Sang Kuriang kicked over the boat he was building in a rage. Others are more prosaically descriptive, like Gunung Agung 'Great Mountain', the old name for Mount Slamet in Central Java (BM 736).

Pakuan

Having already examined the name 'Sunda' in the Introduction, I shall start the examination of *BM*'s political toponymy with Pakuan, Sunda's capital city. The Sunda kingdom and its capital are both known in oral tradition as *Pajajaran*, but a more common designation for the capital in OSd manuscripts and inscriptions is *Pakuan*. Pakuan occurs alone in the Kebantenan II copperplates (Jakarta, Museum Nasional, inv. no. E.43) and it is the only form found in *BM*. It is almost certainly identifiable with the location of the modern city of Bogor, about forty kilometres south of Jakarta (*Kalapa* – not 'Sunda Kelapa' as is popularly claimed), the kingdom's principal port. *Pakañcilan* ('place of chevrotains') seems to have been a district of Pakuan, home to the palace (*dalem* or *jero*) in which Bujangga Manik grew up; this is thought to have been in the north of the modern city (Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006:443). *Pakuan Pajajaran* appears in the first of the Kebantenan I copperplates (inv. no. E.42a *recto*), suggesting that Pajajaran and Pakuan were different names for the same region or conurbation, and the occurrences of Pajajaran on the (seventeenth-century?) Ciéla map and ⟨Padjadjaram⟩ on a chart drawn by the Dutch cartographers Isaac de Graaff and Pieter Scipio in 1695 (The Hague, Nationaal Archief, VEL1172 – *Landkaart van Batavia na de Zuydzee*), both on the Ciliwung (*BM*'s Cihaliwung), suggest that Pajajaran was the name of a region around Pakuan, the old Sunda capital. In the latter case the reference to *'T Fort Padjadjaram* 'Pajajaran Fort' in the area around Bogor corresponds to the discovery

of remnants of a fortress and several statues there (Andaya and Andaya 2015:105). The capitals or capital regions of Southeast Asian polities were often used as *pars pro toto* for the polity (cf. Majapahit), whence perhaps the later use of Pajajaran for the kingdom.

Pakuan does not occur in foreigners' accounts until the arrival of the Portuguese, and even then not under that name. Tomé Pires uses the name *Dayo* or *Daio* (Cortesão 1944:168), and the word appears on some sixteenth-century European maps (e.g. the 1555-1559 Queen Mary Atlas). *Dayo* (probably pronounced [daju] – Snow and Burke 1996:173-174) is doubtless derived from Sd *dayeuh* (OSd *dayeh*) 'chief town, capital', perhaps from PAn *daya 'upriver, towards the interior' (ACD 7210). The word may have been a nickname and it does not appear to have been exclusive to Pakuan; the derived form *dayehan* occurs in the Kebantenan copperplates (E.42a *verso*), where it refers to the establishment of religious communities (Zahorka 2007:35-36). There is little question, however, that *Dayo*, *Pakuan*, and (some of the time) *Pajajaran* referred to essentially the same place: the Sundanese capital on the Ci(ha)liwung.

Jawa

Travelling east from Pakuan Bujangga Manik crosses the Cipamali and enters the territory of Java (*alas Jawa*), a name which was known internationally, but was poorly understood, in the Middle Ages. The origin of the word 'Java' (Sd, Mal., Jv *Jawa*) is a complicated topic that has generated a great deal of controversy in recent years, and I do not wish to wade into that dispute (for which see Mahdi 2013). It is in any case clear from *BM* that *Jawa* referred exclusively to the Javanese-speaking parts of the island. Sunda was not part of *Jawa*, and there does not appear to have been a name for the island as a whole. This seems to have been the norm in Southeast Asian texts, including Javanese ones, and it can be connected to a wider trend in MP geographies that focused more on settlements and people than on islands *per se* (see below). *Jawa* in *BM* is an *alas* – a term that in OJv meant 'forest' and came from PMP *halas 'forest' (Blust 2013:13) but which in OSd seems to have meant a 'region' or 'territory' of varying size; the *alas* of *Jawa* contained the *alas* of *Demak*, as Noorduyn (1982:415) notes.

Terms related to or derived from *Jawa* referred to a several different entities in medieval texts from outside Southeast Asia. Sumatra was often known by a *Jawa*-like name, particularly in the fourteenth century, as in Polo's *Jaua le menor* 'smaller Java' (Français 1116, f.3r) and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *al-Jāwa* (Gibb and Beckingham 1994:876). Afanasij Nikitin's Шабат (*šabat*) is probably derived from *Jawa*, perhaps via Arabic, and likewise seems to have referred to Sumatra. The idea that there were *two* Javas was popular; Polo contrasts *Jaua le menor* with *la grant isle de Jaua* 'the big island of Java' (i.e. Java) and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa likewise distinguishes *al-Jāwah* from *Mul Jāwah* (i.e. Java – Gibb and Beckingham 1994:883). Niccolò de' Conti's mid-fifteenth-century accounts, meanwhile, distinguish two Javas, one big (*Giaua maȝor* on the Fra Mauro map) and one small (*Giaua menor*), the latter of which was supposed to be Java (the former unidentified but sometimes associated with Borneo; it cannot

be Sumatra as Conti refers to that as *Sciamutera* – Guéret-Laferté 2004:114-115). Odoric of Pordenone, by contrast, reserves his Java-like name for the island now known as 'Java', calling it an 'island' (*ylle* in Royal MS 19 D I, f.141r), and we find the same usage in Chinese texts, where 爪哇 (pinyin: *Zhǎowā*) and the earlier 闍婆 (pinyin *Shépó*, MC *dzyae-ba*) seem to have referred to the entire island (as on the Mao Kun map) or, in several accounts, including Mǎ Huān's, to both an island and a 'state/kingdom' (國). Such uses continued into the sixteenth century, and Sunda is notably depicted as wholly separate from Java on the Portuguese Miller Atlas (1519 – Paris, BnF, GE DD-683). Confusion appears to have resulted from both the aforementioned difficulties of the etymology of *Jawa* itself (which may originally have referred to parts of Sumatra, Java, or even Borneo – as argued by Sergey Kullanda [2006]) and, perhaps more importantly, from the fact that island Southeast Asians did not often confer names on the islands they lived on.

In *BM* the border between Sunda and Java is established at the Cipamali ('taboo river' – modern Pemali or Brebes River), now in Central Java. Curiously, Tomé Pires places the border at the Cimanuk (*chemano*) much further to the west and, indeed, says that this border was claimed to have been laid down by God himself (Cortesão 1944:166-167). A parsimonious explanation for the difference between these two claims may be that when *BM* was composed the border was further east, Javanese speakers having encroached on coastal Sundanese territory in the meantime, part of the Muslim expansion across Java during the fifteenth century. Pires could simply have been mistaken, however.

Jawa's States and Cities

Though *Jawa* was evidently an ethno-linguo-geographical identifier, foreigners in the Middle Ages took it to refer to the kingdom that dominated it. This may have reflected the circumstances in Java for much of the Majapahit period (1293-c.1500?), when a kingdom based at Majapahit (modern Trowulan) in East Java does indeed appear to have governed all of *Jawa* such that 'Java' and 'Majapahit' were essentially synonymous. Mǎ Huān uses 'Majapahit' (滿者伯夷 pinyin: *Mǎnzhěbóyí*, early Mandarin: [mɔn-tʂia-paj-ji] [Pulleyblank 1991]) to refer to the capital; it is, he says, 'where the king of the country lives' (Mills 1970:86).[A14] *BM* uses 'Majapahit' in both senses. In BM 801-804 the ascetic approaches the city via Bubat, a grand open space to the north of the city linked to it by a royal highway (*rājamārga* – as in *Deśawarṇana* 86.2). The city itself is not described in any detail, and it is curious that Bubat is similarly neglected, as the massacre of a Sundanese delegation at the site in the fourteenth century – described, however, only in later sources (*Carita Parahiyangan*, *Pararaton*, and *Kidung Sunda*) – is one of the more famous events in Sundanese history.

Precisely when Majapahit hegemony over Jawa came to an end is unclear (see Djafar 2013; Noorduyn 1978 for the evidence).[258] The last non-Islamic ruler mentioned in inscriptions is Śrī Girīndrawardhana dyah Raṇawijaya, who appears as the benefactor in the Padukuhan Duku and Jiyu inscriptions of 1486 and who was apparently ruler of Majapahit (Casparis 1997:52). By the 1513 Portuguese expedition to Java, though, it is apparent that the 'heathen' (*gentio*) kingdom of Java had moved from Majapahit to Daha (i.e. Kaḍiri, cf. BM 794 – Cortesão 1944:175, 190n3; see also Pigafetta's *Daha* [f.93v]). Majapahit still seems to have been an important entity when *BM* was written – its capital intact, its non-Islamic religious sites bustling, and its territory apparently stretching right up to the border with Sunda (BM 84). BM 85 (*palataran alas Demak*) suggests, though, that Demak, an Islamic sultanate in Central Java known in Portuguese as *Demaa* or *Dema* (Cortesão 1944:159), had established itself as a place of some importance. The beginning of Demak's ascent, perhaps initially under the leadership of a Chinese Muslim, is dated to the 1470s, its great mosque having been built in 1479 (Cribb 2000:45; Graaf and Pigeaud 1974:46). Ibn Mājid, who called the city *d-m-k* (دمك), says c.1489 that it was '"the capital of the kingdom"', although, as Tibbetts notes, 'which kingdom is not stated' (1981:499). In Pires' day the lord of Demak was the 'the chief *pate* [lord] in Java' (Cortesão 1944:184; Pires 2018:206).[A15] These differences between *BM* and the ethnohistoric texts suggests that the poem was written in the 1470s or 1480s, when Majapahit was still vibrant but Demak had nonetheless been established.

Demak was not the only Islamically oriented Javanese port in *BM*'s day, nor the only one mentioned in the text. Gresik, a city near Surabaya reportedly established by Chinese settlers and 'the oldest and most respected Islamic centre in the pasisir [i.e. Java's north coast]' (Reid 1992:189), is mentioned in BM 811. The ascetic does not visit Gresik but passes some distance to the south, so it is notable that it is singled out for comment. Gresik was known internationally before the arrival of the Portuguese – Ibn Mājid calls it *Jarshik* (جرشيك) (Tibbetts 1981:498) and Mă Huān refers to it as 'New Village' (新村 – sometimes also 廝村 'latrine village' [Mills 1970:86]) – and it is described by Pires, who calls it *Agracii* (*vel sim*), as 'the great trading port, the best in all Java'[A16] (Cortesão 1944:431). Gresik's association with Islam goes back to the early fifteenth century at the latest, with the arrival of Malik Ibrāhīm, the probably Persian Muslim teacher who died at Gresik in 1419 (822 AH). His tomb was made of stone from Khambhat (Cambay) in Gujarat and bears an Arabic inscription (Casparis 1997:52; Tagliacozzo 2009:87).[259] The city was evidently extremely multicultural and of great importance in late-medieval trade, particularly in cloth imported by Gujaratis (Pires' *guzarates*). Noorduyn's comment that 'Islam is completely absent' from the content of *Bujangga Manik* (Noorduyn

[258] The issue is further confused by probable hoaxes (like that of 'Poortman'/Parlindungan – Graaf and Pigeaud 1984).
[259] Malik Ibrāhīm is now considered the first of the Wali Songo, the saints credited with bringing Islam to Java.

and Teeuw 2006:438) is strictly correct in that Islam is not mentioned *per se*, but Muslims, both foreign and local, are nonetheless present in the background.

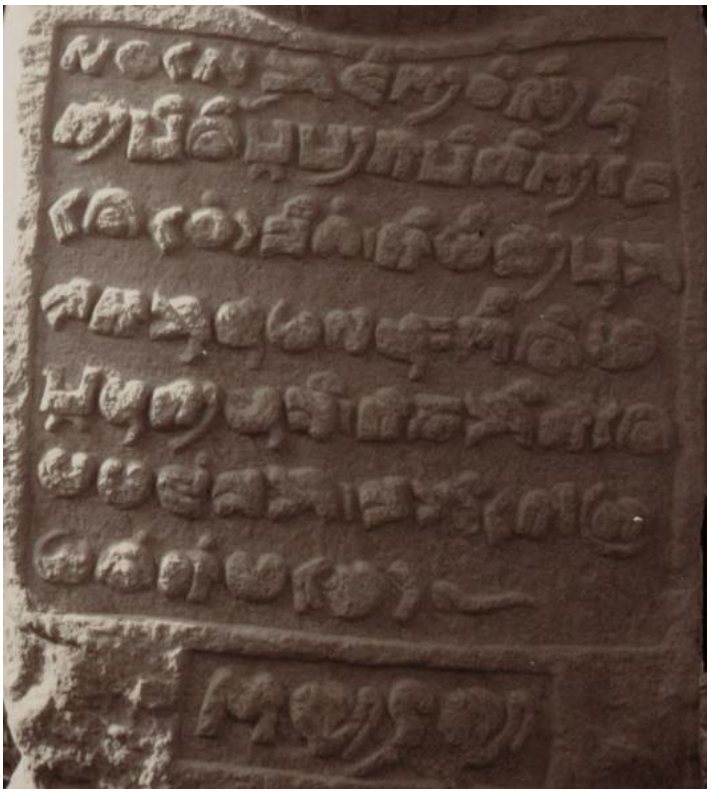

Figure III.4. One of the inscriptions from Candi Sukuh – 1363 Śaka or 1441 CE. The script is known only from Sukuh and Ceto. Much of the text is obscure. Leiden, UBL, OD-7168.

BM mentions other historical regions – Gegelang (789), Medang Kamulan (790), and Urawan (1086) – that appear as 'kingdoms' in several historical and para-historical narratives from Java, particularly in the Pañji stories (Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006:447-448). *BM* gives few indications of their status, although the implication of BM 84 is that the various *lurah*s of Java (including e.g. Gegelang) *were* in some sense under Majapahit suzerainty. Various long-fifteenth-century sources nonetheless suggest that state power in Java was weak at the time, and there are indications of intra-Javanese violence in the accounts of Conti (1448), Varthema (1510), and Pires (1515) and in some inscriptions – notably that on the Garuḍa statue from Sukuh dated 1441, which describes an attack on Rajěgwěsi by the people of Měḍaṅ (Medang) (Figure III.4).[A17]

Chinese sources from earlier in the century, and even as early as 1379, suggest that the Javanese kingdom was already divided into at least two parts and that the unity of Majapahit under the ruler of Hayam Wuruk and Gajah Mada, and its ability to project power outside Java (implied in *Deśawarṇana* 13-15), did not last long after their deaths.[260] In the *Pararaton* there is a reference to a war between the

[260] In particular the well-known reference in the *Ming Shilu* to the presence of two palaces in Java, one western and one eastern (dated 8th November 1379): Wade, Geoff (trans). Southeast Asia in the Ming Shi-lu: an open

eastern and western regions in the year 1406 (1328 Śaka) known as the *Rĕgrĕg* (of uncertain meaning – see OJED 1529:5), perhaps corroborating the Chinese account. The war was won by the Majapahit centre (or 'western palace' – Jv *kaḍaton kulon*), with the pretender Wīrabhūmi of the 'eastern palace' (*kaḍaton wetan*) having been defeated and killed. Majapahit may have been permanently weakened by this war, although as it is only noted in the *Pararaton* and obliquely in some Chinese sources not much can be said for certain. Either way the sparkling descriptions of Java by foreigners in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries – Polo's account of Java's immense wealth; Odoric's of the Great King's golden palace; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's of the extraordinary loyalty of the king's guards (Gibb and Beckingham 1994:883-884) – are replaced in the fifteenth century by dismay at the violence of everyday life (as in both Conti and Mă Huān).

The 'eastern palace' was probably simply another palace in Majapahit controlled by another branch of the royal family (Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan, p.c.), but by the time the Portuguese had arrived a power had arisen much further east, at Blambangan in the eastern salient. This is *BM*'s *Balungbungan*, the destination of the ascetic's second journey. Even in the sixteenth century this was not an Islamic sultanate, and Pires credits the lord of Balungbungan – *bulambuam*, similar to the OSd name (Cortesão 1944:435; Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006:451) – with having prevented the complete Islamic conquest of the island. Balungbungan was the preeminent port in the eastern salient, and Pires notes the abundance of its crops and its lord's horses (Cortesão 1944:198, 435-436; Pires 2018:217).

About Bali, finally, *BM* has surprisingly little to say. The island's local toponyms are not mentioned in the text, and we are simply told that Bali is too crowded – more densely populated than southern Sumatra or Java (BM 967-977). Pires gives similarly few specifics, calling it *Baly* and grouping it with its neighbours as just another island full of heathen pirates.[A18]

Java at the time of *BM* was well-populated, politically divided, in the midst of religious change, and rife with violence. Interestingly, though, little of this can be seen in the poem. Vastly more toponyms than personal names appear in the text; humanity is an apparent afterthought. Few people are encountered, and those Bujangga Manik does meet – the female ascetic in Balungbungan, the ships' captains – are friendly and caring, not at all what one would expect from reading the ethnohistoric accounts.

III.2.3 Extra-Javan Place Names

BM mentions a number of places outside Java, particularly during Bujangga Manik's vision from Papandayan (BM 1266-1279), an interlude discussed at length in Noorduyn and Teeuw (1999). In this section I will describe and contextualise these extra-Javan toponyms in order of appearance using

access resource. Singapore: Asia Research Institute and the Singapore E-Press, National University of Singapore. http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/reign/hong-wu/year-12-month-9-day-29. Accessed 29-07-2020.

comparative evidence from other medieval and early modern texts. (Extra-Javan toponyms not featured in this list are discussed elsewhere – e.g. section V.2.3). The analysis below first requires the dissection of a troubling term, however – *nusa*, conventionally but inaccurately rendered as 'island'.

Nusa

Islands were not always named in medieval Indo-Malaysia. Indeed, it is rare for larger islands to have names of their own in the Austronesian-speaking world: Sumatra is named for the Sultanate of Samudra (*aka* Pasai), not the other way around, and the modern name of Madagascar (even in Malagasy – *Madagasikara*) is that conferred on it by Marco Polo, which seems to have resulted from a garbled understanding of Mogadishu in Somalia (Room 2006:230). As noted above, *Jawa* does not appear to have referred to the entire island of Java before modern times, and *BM* does not supply a name for the island – only for its constituent parts, *Sunda* and *Jawa*. Terms for 'island' in *BM* and other such texts can therefore present challenges, and it should perhaps not be surprising that foreign observers in the Middle Ages misunderstood the archipelago's toponymy.

The key is *nusa*, a word which now means 'island' in Malay, Sundanese, and other Indo-Malaysian languages, and which Blust reconstructs to proto-MP *nusa 'island' (ACD 7054). This evidently does not refer to islands as we know them in *BM*, however: In the list in BM 1266-1279 China is a *nusa*, as are Delhi and Lampung – none of which are islands in any meaningful sense. Similar uses in medieval and early modern Indo-Malaysian texts make it doubtful that *nusa* meant simply 'island'. In the Javanese *Caritanira Amir*, for instance, the derived term *nusantara* refers to vassals or allies of the Persian emperor; these kingdoms were not islands as we now use that term, and *nusantara* did not refer to the Indo-Malaysian archipelago (Bernard Arps, p.c.). This suggests that OJv *nūsāntara*, defined by Zoetmulder as 'the other islands' (OJED 1203:24, *Deśawarṇana* 13-15) and commonly used in modern Indonesian (*Nusantara*) as a non/anti-colonial name for the Indo-Malaysian archipelago, originally referred to the relationship between a polity and its vassals. It was *not* a purely geographical term. A different conceptual framework appears to have been applied to land in island Southeast Asia as compared to other parts of Afro-Eurasia: Islands *per se* do not appear to have been considered salient, unless they were particularly small (e.g. *Nusa Kambangan* [BM 1266] and *Nusa Barong* [BM 1031]). The important larger entities seem to have been settlements and polities rather than the islands on which they sat. This may help explain differences between local and foreign texts, particularly the application of '(Little) Java' to Sumatra in Polo and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

The List

BM 1266-1279 is thus a list of *nusa*. Some of these *nusa*, like Banda, are tiny, and some, like China, are vast, but all seem to have been considered significant. Interestingly, the octosyllabic metre is largely abandoned here, separating the list off from the surrounding text. A similar list appears in the

Deśawarṇana (13-15), and another can be found on ff.20r-v of the *gebang* manuscript of SSKK (PNRI, L630), where all the places are said to be *nusa*. The latter is worth quoting in full:

> *f.20r, line 2*:
>
> …lamun dék nyaho dicarék para nusa · carék Cina · Keling · Parasi · Mesir · Samudra · Bangga|la · Makasar · Pahang · Palémbang · Siem · Kala(n)ten · Bangka · Buwun · Béten · Tulangbawang · Séla · Pasay · Parayaman · Ngaradekan · Dinah · Andeles · Tégo · Molo|ko · Ba(n)dan · Pégo · Malangkabo · Mekah · Burétét · Lawé · Saksak · Se(m)bawa · Bali · Jenggi · Sabini · Ngogan · Kanangen · Kumering · Sampang Tiga · Gumantung · Manu(m)bi ·
>
> *f.20v*:
>
> Bubu · Ñiri · Sapari · Patukangan · Surabaya · Lampung · Jambudipa · Séran · Gedah · Solot · Solodong · Bali[261] · Indragiri · Tañjungpura · Sakampung · Cempa · Baluk · Jawa|[262]

Some of these *nusa*s are unidentified, but important ones not mentioned in *BM* include *Jenggi* 'Africa', from Persian *Zangi* (زنگی); *Mesir* 'Egypt' (Arabic *Miṣr* [مِصر]); *Mekah* 'Mecca'; *Parasi*, presumably Persia; *Banggala* 'Bengal'; *Siem* 'Thailand' (cf. Khmer *siəm* ᨠᩅᩣᩴ; Portuguese *Sião*); *Pégo* 'Bago' in southern Myanmar, then a port known to the Portuguese as *Pegu*, to Ibn Mājid as *Fījū* (فِيجو), and to Afanasij Nikitin as певгоу; *Se(m)bawa* 'Sumbawa' in Nusa Tenggara Barat; and *Moloko* 'Maluku' in eastern Indonesia, source of all the medieval world's cloves.[263] The selection in *BM* clearly did not exhaust Sundanese knowledge of the world c.1500.

Twenty names appear on the *BM* list, the first of which is *Nusa Kambangan*, a tiny island off Java's south coast now home to a notorious prison. After that comes 'Sailors' Land' (*nusa layaran*), a reference to Kambangan or perhaps another location in the archipelago. The list continues:

> nusa Dilih · nusa Bini · [1270] nusa Keling · nusa Jambri · nusa Cina Ja(m)budipa · nusa Gedah deng Malaka · nusa Ba(n)dan Ta(ñ)ju(ng)pura · [1275] Sakampung deng nusa Lampung · nusa Baluk nusa Buwun · nusa Cem|pa Ban(i)yaga · Langkabo deng nusa Solot · nusa Parayaman · /0/ ·

Dilih probably refers to Delhi, then the capital of the Delhi Sultanate under the Lodi dynasty. The name was known across western Afro-Eurasia: Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who knew it as *Dihlī* (دهلي), says that Delhi was 'the largest of all the cities of Islam in the East' in his day (Mackintosh-Smith 2002:160),

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[261] Bali appears twice.
[262] My transliteration here differs somewhat from the published text.
[263] The etymology of 'Maluku' (Moluccas) is controversial and the word is often said to come from Arabic (*jazīrat al-mulūk* 'islands of kings'). It may be of local origin, however; *moloko*, notably the same form as found in OSd, means 'mountain' in Galelarese and Tobelorese (spoken in Halmahera), and it may have been an old name for Ternate (situated on a volcanic cone off Halmahera) (Adeney-Risakotta 2005:152n165; Andaya 1993:47; Monk, de Fretes, and Reksodiharjo-Lilley 1997:2).

and it appears under the name *Delli* on the contemporaneous Catalan Atlas (1375 – Paris, BnF, Espagnol 30, f.11) as a very wealthy place with a *solda* 'sultan' who owned many elephants. In the sixteenth-century Portuguese accounts we find the *renho de Deli* 'Kingdom of Delhi' (e.g. Barbosa 2000[1516]:91). All these names derive from Hindustani *Dillī*.

Nusa Bini presents some difficulties (cf. SSKK's ⟨sabini⟩). No place with this name can be identified, although Coolsma (1913:82) says it refers to a mythical 'Island of the Amazons' (cf. OJv, Malay *bini* 'wife'). This is not an uncommon motif in medieval texts; Polo describes an *ysle de femes* 'Island of Women' (f.90v) in the Indian Ocean, and on the Catalan Atlas it is said that Java (*ILLA IANA*) is itself home to a 'kingdom of women' (*recno femarum*). Jordanus says there are women's and men's islands in the Indian Ocean, and that men cannot live on the women's island and *vice versa* (1839[~1330]:57).[A19] Zhào Rǔkuò (c.1225) also mentions a 'land of women' (女人國) with the same characteristics, and Pires says that local folklore told of an island near Nias (*Maruz Minhac*) where only women lived (Cortesão 1944:162).[A20] *BM*'s *Bini* is not exceptional in this context.[264]

Keling probably refers to South India. This term originated with the name of the ancient kingdom of Kalinga in Odisha, but in Southeast Asia it was used for South Indian people, places, and things in many texts of this period.[265] *Jambri* in the same line refers to Jambi in Sumatra, where the people speak Malay and remains of pre-Islamic buildings and statues have been found – specifically at Muara Jambi, 'the most extensive and probably most important archaeological site in Sumatra' (McKinnon 1985:28; see also Schnitger 1939). Jambi is sometimes claimed to have been the capital of Śrīvijaya after the late eleventh century, although there is little consensus on this (Andaya 2001:321; Wolters 1970:5). It appears in the *Deśawarṇana* (13.1 – *Jāmbi*) as a Malay land pledged to Majapahit. The spelling in *BM*, *Jambri*, is peculiar, but the <-r-> is also found in BM 925, where *Jambri* appears as the home of the ship's helmsman, so this probably is not a scribal error.

Cina is China, as in modern Indo-Malaysian languages. How it came to mean this in the archipelago and in South Asia, and thus also in Portuguese, first appearing in Barbosa's *Livro* (2000[1516]:409), is not precisely known. It was not used as an autonym by the Chinese. Related forms are found in the languages India and the Middle East, and Afanasij Nikitin notably also refers to China by its Persian or Hindustani name, *čini* (чини). *Cina* is often thought to derive from Qín (秦), the name of the Sinitic state that conquered much of what is now China in 221 BCE (see e.g. Laufer 1912; Wade 2009:7-12), although some scholars have always been sceptical, and Geoff Wade (2009:13-20) provocatively proposes that the Sanskrit name *Cina* was originally inspired by the name of a Lolo/Yi clan, *ʐina*, in what is now China's far southwest. *Cina* is either way a common topo-/ethnonym in *BM*, applied to gilded boxes, master archers, and a *nusa* – unsurprisingly, as according to Mǎ Huān many

[264] Compare also medieval Middle Eastern beliefs about the Baltic (e.g. al-Nuwayri 2016:32).
[265] The word is now a pejorative for people of Indian ancestry, particularly in Malaysia.

Chinese people had settled in Java by this time ('people from Guangdong, Zhangzhou, Quanzhou and elsewhere who fled [their homes] and settled in this land').[A21]

Jambudipa first appears c.250 BCE in a Minor Rock Edict of Aśoka, some of the very earliest Brahmic inscriptions, as *Jambudīpasi*, where it appears to be a reference to the land of India as a whole (Hultzsch 1925:169-171). The term has a notable continuity of form and meaning between the Edict and *BM*; Noorduyn and Teeuw (1999:217) identify its referent in the poem as the Indian subcontinent. The name comes from the Sanskrit *dvīpa* 'island' and *jambu* 'fruit of *Syzygium cumini*', and it *can* refer to the entire terrestrial world, especially in Buddhist cosmologies, although there is little to indicate such a meaning in *BM*.

Gedah, or Kedah in northern peninsular Malaysia, is home to some of the oldest inscriptions in maritime Southeast Asia, with evidence of Hindu and Buddhist sites dating to the fifth century (see Jacq-Hergoualc'h 1992). The same form occurs on the SSKK list, and indeed Kedah frequently appeared in medieval texts from across Afro-Eurasia, including – as *Kalah Bār* 'the district of Kedah'[266] – in the first book of the *Accounts of China and India* compiled by Abū Zayd al-Sīrāfī at the beginning of the tenth century, where it is said that the region was subject to the Great King of Zābaj, probably referring to Śrīvijaya (al-Sirafi 2017:9). The *Deśawarṇana* (14.2) lists *Kĕda* as 'among the various islands [*nūṣa*] that remember their duty', implying Javanese suzerainty.[A22] By the beginning of the sixteenth century the situation was different, as Barbosa notes that Kedah was then controlled by Siam (Pires says the same – Cortesão 1944:105):

> 'Past this place, along the coast on the way to Melaka, is another sea-port of the King of Sião called *Queda*, where there are also many ships and great trade in merchandise, where each year Muslims ships come from all parts to trade' (Barbosa 2000[1516]:351-352).[A23]

Malaka is Melaka (Malacca), the great port-city on the Malay Peninsula referred to elsewhere in *BM*. Likely founded at the close of the fourteenth century, and notably not mentioned by Prapañca, by the turn of the sixteenth it was known across Afro-Eurasia – as in Portuguese *Malaqua*, Chinese 滿剌加 (pinyin: *Mǎnlájiā*), and Arabic *Malāqah* (ملاقة) (see Wheatley 1966:306 for the date of Melaka's founding). These names all came from the Malay *Melaka* (ملاك), a species of myrobalan (*Phyllanthus emblica*) after which the city was named. Melaka was extremely wealthy and unusually diverse, with resident merchants from across the hemisphere, including Hindus and Muslims but also Christians and Jews (like the moneylender Khoja Azedim, apparently living in the city at the time of the conquest in 1511) (Thomaz 1993:82; see also Wheatley 1966:307-325). Melaka's Sultans claimed descent from Iskandar Zulkarnain (Alexander the Great), by which they inserted themselves into Islamic and wider Afro-Eurasian traditions (Ng 2019). By c.1450 they were minting their own coins bearing Arabic

[266] Where *bār* is apparently derived from the Sanskrit *vāra* (Mackintosh-Smith 2017:93).

inscriptions (Shaw and Mohammad 1970:2-4). Foreign travellers often found the city unsafe and Muslim visitors like Ibn Mājid found Melakan Islam rather un-Islamic, with wine sold in the markets and non-halal food consumed by local Muslims (Thomaz 1993:79). The outskirts are said to have abounded in orchards and private estates (Malay *dusun*, Portuguese *duções*), however, and Melaka's strategic position on the Strait meant that ships travelling between China and western Afro-Eurasia had to pass it. Its low duties and favourable topography – a 'defensible hill close against a mangrove-free shore dominat[ing] a sheltered estuary' (Wheatley 1966:308) – made it an ideal entrepôt. Varthema said of Melaka (*Melacha*)

> '… and truly I believe that more ships arrive there than at any other land on Earth, and especially that there come every type of spice and huge amounts of other merchandise'.[A24]

This is echoed on the Cantino planisphere (Modena, Biblioteca Estense, C.G.A.2), a Portuguese map of 1502:

> '*Malaqua* – in this city is all the merchandise that comes to Calicut, like cloves, benzoin, lignaloes,[267] sandalwood, storax, rhubarb, ivory, precious stones of great value, pearls, musk, fine porcelain, and many other goods, the great part [of which] come from abroad, from the land of the Chinese.'[A25]

BM's easternmost toponym is *Ba(n)dan* – the Banda Islands in eastern Indonesia, just south of Ambon. Banda is tiny, with roughly half the land area of The Hague, but it was the medieval world's only source of true[268] nutmeg and mace, both products of the tree *Myristica fragrans* that are mentioned in medieval texts from across the hemisphere, including – from the fourteenth century alone – an Egyptian aphrodisiac recipe (al-Nuwayri 2016:226), a medicine for hunting falcons described by the Spanish knight Pero López de Ayala (BAV, Ott.lat.3324, f.60v), and even a section of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (in the Tale of Sir Thopas). Nutmeg is notably absent from *BM* and it rarely features in OJv texts, though names for the islands nonetheless appear in texts from across medieval Afro-Eurasia, including OJv and OSd ones: OJv *Wwaṇḍan* (*Deśawarṇana* [14.5]), Malay *Bandan*, Latin *Bandan* (Bracciolini 2004[1448]), Venetian *bandã* (the Fra Mauro map, c.1460), and Portuguese *Bandão* (*vel sim*). The islands first appear in Chinese, briefly in the *Dàdé Nánhǎi Zhì* (大德南海志) of 1304 and with more description in Wāng Dàyuān's *Dǎoyí Zhìlüè* (島夷誌略, c.1349), under the name 文誕 (pinyin: *wéndàn*, 'Phags-pa: [ʊundan]).[A26] 'Banda' is often interpreted as derived from Persian *bandar* (بندر) 'port, emporium' (as in Ellen 2003:65, cf. Banda Aceh) but all of the earliest names end in [n], which makes this doubtful. Banda's importance as an entrepôt, especially for imported Indian

[267] The resinous heartwood of *Aquilaria malaccensis*. More commonly known as 'eaglewood', 'gaharuwood', or 'aloeswood' to historians of Southeast Asia.
[268] Another nutmeg, *M. argentea*, of ovoid shape, was also exported from New Guinea. See Ellen (2003:64).

cloths, clearly emerges from the sources, however (for Pires's description see Cortesão 1944:205-209; Pires 2018:222-225 – ff.155v-156v in the Paris manuscript).[269]

Ta(ñ)ju(ng)pura is Tanjungpura in southwestern Borneo, across the Java Sea from Java/Sunda, a place that features heavily (as *Tanjung Pura* تنجوڠ فورا) in the *Sulalat al-salāṭīn*. Zhào Rǔkuò (c.1225) mentions a Javanese vassal called *Dānróngwǔluō*, presumably a phonetic transliteration of *Tañjungpura* (丹戎武囉 – 'Phags-pa [tan-ryuŋ-ʊu-lɔ]), where the people preferred piracy to trade. The *Deśawarṇana* (13.2) reports that *Tañjungnagara*, probably referring to Tañjungpura and listed among the Malay territories, was 'subject and obedient' to Majapahit. Barbosa says of *Tourjoãopura* in Borneo (2000[1516]:407) that 'it is the principal port where diamonds are produced, and among them are the finest in the Indies',[A27] a claim repeated by Pires (who calls the place *Tamjompura*) and others (see Cortesão 1944:223-224; for Bornean diamonds see Spencer et al. 1988). Diamonds (*hi(n)ten*) are incidentally mentioned in *BM* 1767 as decorating the heavenly yak.

Sakampung (modern Sekampung) and *Lampung* both occur on the SSKK list. Sekampung is now a district of Lampung province in southern Sumatra, just across the Sunda Strait, but Pires describes it (under the name *Çacampom*) as an independent domain, saying that Sekampung's 'trade with Sunda is large […] They say that it is in sight of Sunda' (Cortesão 1944:158; Pires 2018:182). He says that the land produces cotton, gold, honey, wax, pitch, rattan, pepper, rice, meat, fish, wines, and fruit. Lampung appears in the depiction of the southern coast of Sumatra on the Mao Kun map under the name 港邦攬 (*Lǎnbāng gǎng*, read right-to-left), and it features in the *kakawin Deśawarṇana* (13.2) as one of the 'Malay lands' (*kṣoṇī ri malayu*) that had pledged fealty in some way or other to Hayam Wuruk. In the 1370s, however, Lampung sent its own embassies to China along with black pepper as tribute (Wolters 1970:60-61).

Baluk and *Buwun* both appear in SSKK and the former is found in BM 253: *sulam Baluk* 'Baluk embroidery'. Villages named Baluk can be found in both East Java (*kab.* Magetan) and Bali (*kab.* Jembrana); given that the other places listed are all outside Java the latter seems a more realistic interpretation. Gunawan (2019) suggests that *Baluk* can be identified with Balochistan in what is now Pakistan, which is possible. Buwun may be identifiable with Buwun Mas in West Lombok, although this is speculative and it is difficult to see why these places would be considered important enough to be listed.

Cempa is Campa (commonly known as 'Champa'), a region of southern Vietnam originally home to the Cham people. Cham is an MP language closely related to Malay, and Campa's connections with the archipelago were old and enduring: Ships in the Middle Ages appear to have sailed directly from Campa to Java, and the two frequently occur together in medieval travel texts (as with Polo's

[269] For the archaeology of medieval and early modern Banda see Lape (2000).

Cianba – Français 1116, f.3r). The *Deśawarṇana* (15.1) claims that *Campa* is among those countries that are 'always friends' of the Javanese (Robson 1995:34), and in later Javanese literature wise men, particularly Islamic ones, were often said to have come from Campa, as with Sunan Ampel, one of the Wali Songo who are said to have brought Islam to Java in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as well as the wise protagonist in one recension of the seventeenth-century Javanese *Serat Jatiswara* (Behrend 1987:101). *Baniyaga* may be modifying *Cempa* in this line – 'Campa of the traders' (cf. Malay *beniaga* 'trade', OJv *baṇyaga* 'merchant', from a Middle Indo-Aryan source [Hoogervorst 2017; OJED 205:11]) – although this is not certain.

Langkabo is the Minangkabau Highlands in West Sumatra, known in OJv as *Manangkabwa* (*Deśawarṇana* 13.1) and Portuguese as *Menancabo* (Cortesão 1944:113). The region was renowned for its gold production and had complicated relationships with Java and the Malay lands (see Wolters 1970:57-58). *Solot* could be one of two places, neither in Sumatra: 1) the Sulu Archipelago, now in the Philippines, as probably with the *Solot* in canto 14.1 of the *Deśawarṇana*, or 2) Flores / the Solor Archipelago, also mentioned under that name in *Deśawarṇana* (14.5) alongside others in eastern Indonesia and known in Portuguese as *Solor*. Cortesão (1944:202) suggests that *Solor* referred specifically to Flores (whose modern name comes from the Portuguese for 'flowers') rather than Solor, which seems likely – Barbosa (2000[1516]:404-405) says that *Solor* is a 'very large' island known for its pearls, matching Flores. *Parayaman* brings the list back to West Sumatra (which may make the identification of *Solot* with an eastern Indonesian island doubtful). *Parayaman* can be identified with modern Pariaman, a port connecting the Minangkabau Highlands to the Indian Ocean. It is the destination of Captain Béla Sagara's junk (BM 983 – see Part V.2), and Pires – who called it *Pirjaman* (*vel sim*) – says it was a 'rich kingdom' (*o riquo regno de Piramã* – Pires 2018:183) bordering Minangkabau country with a heathen king and populace. Pires goes on to say:

> 'This land of Pariaman has plenty of gold, apothecary's lignaloes [i.e. aloeswood/gaharuwood], camphor of two kinds, benzoin, silk, wax, honey; it has foodstuffs in plenty for its own land; it does a great trade with the land of Sunda' (Cortesão 1944:160).[A28]

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Economic and cultural links appear to have gone beyond the limits of concrete toponymy and geographical knowledge in medieval Sunda. *BM* refers to massoy bark from New Guinea and Aleppo oak galls from the eastern Mediterranean, neither of whose places of origin are mentioned. This seems normal for both the medieval and modern worlds, and not a phenomenon exclusive to the archipelago: Commodities from Java were being consumed in Europe and the Middle East before detailed knowledge of the island even reached them, for instance. In the Middle Ages cubebs (*Piper cubeba*) only grew in Java – there and nowhere else – but the Abbasid-era cookbook of Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq recommends eating them to soothe a sore throat (Nasrallah 2010:138), and thirteenth-century Danish canon Henrik

Harpestræng says in his *Yrtæbok*, decades before Polo returned to Venice, that cubebs (*kobebæ*) are good against constipation (Copenhagen, Det Konglige Bibliotek, NKS 66, f.31v). *BM* is not exceptional in this regard, and it appears from Pires' *Suma Oriental* that local people had a better grasp of the archipelago's geography than we find in surviving local texts.

Mundane places are in any case at *BM*'s core. The text seems to be a Hindu manifestation of a Malayo-Polynesian trope, a productive fusion of Indian spiritual substance and Southeast Asian literary style, one that aids in our understanding of the geography of the Indo-Malaysian archipelago in the late Middle Ages.

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PART IV:
People in Bujangga Manik

Bujangga Manik has a small cast of characters. Human beings are evidently not the poem's focus. Indeed, Noorduyn (1982:438) sees in its emphasis on toponyms a tacit message that people are to be avoided by those seeking spiritual insight 'whenever possible, even when travelling through the world'. When talking with the heavenly door guardian Dorakala, Bujangga Manik's soul says that he will not call witnesses from the Middle World to vouch for him because

> '… one thousand one hundred and one · (among them) there's not even one · a human resolute in speech. · Many are the hell-bound sinners · even the gods are under attack. · I accuse them and drive them out' (BM 1607-1612).

While there is little evidence in *BM* of a classic Hindu ascetic's revulsion at the body and its effluvia (Olivelle 1995:188-210), the text portrays people as a nuisance to be avoided. The ascetic's distaste at living in a monastic community centres on the number of visiting outsiders (*aré* – a term still used by the Urang Kanékés for non-Baduy lowlanders [BM 1327, 1369]), and he complains that Bali is too densely populated (BM 971-979). His interactions with the ships' captains are pleasant and respectful, and indeed none of the people he meets are openly hostile, but the desire to leave the human world is nonetheless clear.

As noted above, Java in the fifteenth century appears to have been riven with political divisions even if much of the island was nominally loyal to Majapahit, and interpersonal violence is notable in foreigners' descriptions in this period. Mǎ Huān, describing the situation early on in the century, says '[when there is a misunderstanding] they at once pull out these knives[270] and stab [each other]. He who is stronger prevails' (Mills 1970:88).[A29] Executions by *keris* were a daily occurrence. Niccolò de' Conti, in Poggio Bracciolini's *De Varietate Fortunæ* (2004[1448]:112-117), claimed that debtors were often enslaved by their creditors, that a person buying a new sword would test it on passers-by, and that

> '[o]f all peoples these [Javanese] are the most inhumane and cruellest. They eat mice, dogs, cats, and any other foul animals. They surpass all other mortals in cruelty. They kill people for fun without repercussions'.[A30]

[270] This is a reference to the *keris*, which Mǎ describes as having been worn by Javanese men of all ages, from three-year-olds to centenarians, albeit using the word 不剌頭 (pinyin: *bùlátóu*), from the Malay *beladau* 'curved dagger' (Mills 1970:87n6; Wilkinson 1932 #3064).

Barbosa (2000[1516]:371) and Pires (Cortesão 1944:418, 494; Pires 2018:197) likewise refer to the practice of 'running amok', wherein a person in a fit of rage or desperation attempted to kill as many people as possible before being brought down in an act of suicide (memorably described centuries later by Alfred Russel Wallace [1877:174-175]). Barbosa says such particularly murderous people were called *amoucos* or *amocos*, which can be compared to the *juru amuk* 'master duellists' in BM 929, listed among the crew of the ship on which the ascetic travels to Bali. Indeed, the ships in *BM* are remarkably well-defended – by Chinese archers, warriors from Sulawesi, and the *juru amuk* from the Masalembu Islands – suggesting that violence (at sea, at least) was something against which precautions had to be taken.

On the other hand, Ludovico di Varthema (1535[1510]:f.70v) believed the Javanese to be 'the most faithful people in the world'[A31] – although he and his (Chinese?) Christian companions eventually fled the island because of their cruelty (1535[1510]:71v-72r). Portuguese accounts note the haughtiness of the Javanese but they have positive things to say about the Sundanese – 'the people of Sunda are more valiant than those of Java[; they are] good and truthful people', Pires says.[A32] Mǎ Huān says that three groups lived in Java at the time: the local population (土人), who ate creepy-crawlies, chewed betel rather than drinking tea, and often killed one another; Muslims (回回人), probably including Middle Eastern and South Asian settlers; and immigrants from Guǎngdōng, Zhāngzhōu, and Quánzhōu in southern China (廣東、漳、泉等處人). The customs of the latter two groups appear to have been more acceptable to Mǎ, a Muslim Chinese man. Java had been a rather multicultural place for centuries, in any case, as several earlier inscriptions attest, including part of the eleventh-century Patakan inscription (Jakarta, Museum Nasional, inv. no. D.22 – Wurjantoro 2018:287-292; see also Hall 2011:152-153), which lists among taxpayers in Java merchants from kingdoms and ethnic groups in Sri Lanka, Campa, Cambodia, and North and South India.[A33] This is echoed in *BM* in the listed ethnicities of the ships' crewmen (BM 920-931).

In this section, I will look at the humans of *BM*, specifically their titles and kin terms (IV.1) and then their physical descriptions, characterisations, and and actions in the poem (IV.2). The ships' captains will be looked at in section V.2; only the core characters are discussed here.

IV.1 Titles and Kinship Terms

As in many other Austronesian languages, titles in Old Sundanese are not typically gendered, making it difficult to properly render them in English.[271] Both men and women may be *tohaan*, for instance, a word best translated as 'Lord' or 'Lady' – related to Malay *tuan* 'lord' and *tuhan* 'god' and probably originally from PMP *qatuan 'deity' (ACD 4365). This term is applied to Bujangga Manik before he even leaves Pakuan (BM 12), and must be a noble title, not a term for an elder (cf. MSd *toha*, a word for elder aunts and uncles). *Taan* appears to be a short form, applied on its own and as *taan urang* 'Our Lady' to Ajung Larang, the mother of Jompong, the woman who falls in love with Bujangga Manik.

Some OSd titles are from Sanskrit and OJv. In MSd the word *prabu* is used to denote kings and princes – as in *Prabu Siliwangi*, the standard name in *pantun* for the legendary king (Ekadjati 1996:122). This comes from Sanskrit *prabhu* 'lord, king' (OJED 1378:8). In OSd, however, we find the word *prebu* instead – a different spelling and likely a different meaning, although the ultimate origin is the same. Noorduyn (1976:470) connects *prebu* to *paibou* or *paybou*, Pires' transcription of what he says was the Sundanese name for a local lord, equivalent to the Javanese '*pate*' (i.e. *patih*) (f.147v – Cortesão 1944:413; Pires 2018:191) – and thus *not* a prince or king. *Prabu* seems to be a later borrowing from Javanese. I have translated *p(e)rebu* in its sole occurrence, as a title for Jaya Pakuan before he heads east (BM 13), as 'Master'.

Rakéyan is another noble title, in this case derived from OJv *rakryan*, used 'before the name or the categorical noun (*apatih*, *tumĕṅguṅ* etc) [or] in courteous address, often to a younger person' (OJED 1491:7). In *BM* it appears exclusively before *Ameng Layaran*, one of Bujangga Manik's names, and only after the name 'Bujangga Manik' has been adopted. Bujangga Manik's mother uses it to address him in descending order of politeness:

> *Rakaki Bujangga Manik (·) Rakéyan Ameng Layaran · utun kita ditañaan* (BM 458-460)
> 'Venerable Bujangga Manik · Noble Ameng Layaran · my boy, you've been asked…'

Utun probably means 'boy' as a term of address (as in MSd – Danadibrata 2006:732; cf. PWMP *utuq 'vocative term for boys' [ACD 5880]), and when Bujangga Manik's mother uses *utun* it is typically preceded by *si*, an anti-honorific used with some kinship terms (implying familiarity) and with the names of demons and lowly people (implying disrespect). *Si utun* is also used in modern *carita pantun*

[271] Titles are notoriously difficult to translate between languages. A fascinating book-length argument by Christian Raffensperger (2017) suggests that the difficulties in translating early Rus' titulature, for example, have had profound effects on the popular understanding of medieval eastern Europe.

for the story's hero, usually a nobleman of 'Pajajaran' (Rigg 1862:524), but in *BM* it does not appear to carry this implication.

Other titles are given to religious figures, including *mahapandita* 'great sage', given to the sage at the beginning of the tale and to Bujangga Manik himself (by Captain Séla Batang – BM 960) after his travels to the east. The word is Sundanised Sanskrit – *mahā* 'great' and *paṇḍita* 'learned man, seer, ascetic' (source of English 'pundit'). *Déwaguru*, meaning 'superior of a religious community' ('abbot/abbess') in OJv (OJED 396:4), is another Sanskrit-derived title; it is applied to the unnamed heads of East Javanese religious communities (BM 824, 1105). The word *ameng* is applied to Bujangga Manik by Jompong Larang in BM 250, and it is part of the name he adopts after sailing from Pemalang to Jakarta, 'Ameng Layaran'. It appears to have referred to a category of religious practitioners – *ameng* features in a list alongside *wiku* 'monks' and *tiyagi* 'ascetics' in *Sri Ajnyana* (SA 394), for instance. OJv *amĕṅ* and MSd *ameng* both mean 'to play' or 'to amuse oneself' (Coolsma 1913:15; OJED 64.9), and in MSd it has a particular implication of childishness and immaturity. I have therefore tentatively translated it as 'novice'. It may be, however, that the terms are unrelated.

Kinship and Gender

Several kinship terms occur in *BM*, including *bapa* 'father' (*dibapa* 'have a father' – BM 627), *ambu* 'mother', and *nini* 'grandmother'. Kinship terms in western Indo-Malaysia are often generational, so the term for e.g. 'mother' likely also meant 'women of ego's mother's generation' (as in Malay/Indonesian). Other OSd generational terms include *anak(ing)* '(my) child' and *aki(ing)* '(my) grandfather', the latter of which the ascetic uses to address the ships' captains. *Rakaki* 'venerable', a word applied to Bujangga Manik himself, is from the OJv cognate (*kaki* 'grandfather, old man; venerable' [OJED 767:1]) with the OJv honorific *ra-*. Finally, *lañcek* 'elder sibling' is used by the female ascetic at Balungbungan to address Bujangga Manik, perhaps to circumvent accusations of romantic desire. In MSd the word (*lanceuk*) carries the same meaning; distinguishing kin by relative age is common in MP languages (cf. Malay/Indonesian *kakak*/*adik*).

Tuang 'revered' precedes some kin terms, as in *tuang a(m)bu* 'revered mother' and *tuang ponakan* 'revered nephew(s)/niece(s)' (BM 322), the latter a particularly interesting use. The word can be connected to OJv *twaṅ* 'reverence, awe' (OJED 2090.7 – see Noorduyn and Teeuw [2006:52-53] and Eringa [1949:70-72]), although it is used in MSd with a slightly different focus – e.g. *tuang-kuring* 'your very humble servant' (Rigg 1862:503). *Tuang a(m)bu* is used by both Ajung Larang (BM 402) and Bujangga Manik (BM 89) in reference to the latter's mother, suggesting that the phrase simply meant 'revered' or 'honoured' – but *tuang* may have been particularly relevant when referring to in-laws or marriageable classes. Jompong uses the term *tuang ponakan* 'honoured nephew(s)' when describing Bujangga Manik to her mother Ajung Larang, saying that he is more handsome than Silih Wangi, Bañak Catra, and *tuang ponakan* (BM 322), her mother's 'revered nephews'. *Ponakan* seems

to be a loan from OJv *kaponakan* 'nephew, niece' (OJED 800:1), apparently often used in reference to the children of ego's sister. Jompong may have referred to her mother's nephews (i.e. her own cousins) in this context because she would ordinarily have been expected to marry one of them. Ajung's use of *tuang a(m)bu* when telling Jompong to bring the gifts to Bujangga Manik's mother, now Jompong's prospective mother-in-law, also suggests a connection between *tuang* and marriage alliance.

We cannot glean much from this about the nature of such marriages or precisely whom the marriageable class included, but it suggests that nobles in Sunda were expected to marry their cousins. Indonesian societies show a bewildering range of types of marriage alliance – matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, wherein men are expected to marry their classificatory mother's brother's daughters and women their father's sister's sons, is common in eastern Indonesian and upland Sumatra, for instance, but far from universal even there (see e.g. Forth 2001:104; R. Needham 1987:136; Renes 1983:226-227), and it is rare in western Indonesia (Fox 1989:34). Without more data we can only speculate about marriage alliance in medieval Sunda. Jompong is in any case able to assert her own choice, as is Bujangga Manik, although the fact that *larang* 'forbidden' occurs in Jompong's name may be a clue to the poet's views on the appropriateness of the proposed match.

The status of women in medieval Java is difficult to divine from the extant sources. Most depictions of women, and more particularly of marriage, are found in the OJv *kakawin*, which almost invariably describe the lives of noble women and draw on Sanskrit literature for models of how to describe women's lives and bodies; the extent to which they reflected the situation in Java itself is debatable (Creese 2004:89). From these and other sources, though, it seems that women in Java were able to inherit land in their own right, preside over legal cases, and rule as sovereigns (Creese 2004:35-36). They are frequently depicted in *kakawin* as literate, although Helen Creese (2004:39) comments that '[i]f a distinctive women's writing ever existed in the Indic courts of Java and Bali, it has been irretrievably lost'. Interestingly, the OSd text *Séwaka Darma* is believed to have been written by a woman, Buyut Ni Dawit (Danasasmita et al. 1987:1). The fifteenth-century OJv work *Tantu Paṅgĕlaran* says that men and women were made by different gods – men by Brahma and women by Wiṣṇu – but that they are 'equal in beauty and perfection' (Pigeaud 1924:57-58).[A34] In modern Kanékés/Baduy communities men and women are considered equal but with separate spheres of activity – men expected to prepare rice fields and construct buildings and women expected to weave and dye cloth (as elsewhere in the archipelago), prepare betel quids for ceremonies (as in *BM*), and harvest the rice once grown (Hasman and Reiss 2012:9; cf. Karim 1992:8). The depictions of women and gender roles in *BM* are consistent with this.

Pires says that sati ('suttee') was practised in Sunda but that it was not compulsory:[272]

[272] See Geertz [1980:100] for a description of sati in nineteenth-century Bali.

> ‘It is the custom in Sunda for the king’s wives and nobles to burn themselves when he dies; and so when anyone of lower rank dies in his house the same thing is done, that is, if they wish to do so, not because the women are persuaded by words to die, only those who want to do it of their own accord. And those who do not are [anchoresses] leading a life apart and people do not marry them. Others marry three or four times. These few are outcasts in the land’ (Cortesão 1944:167).[A35]

Bujangga Manik says that he grew up without a father (BM 627), his father presumably having died. His mother seems not to have burned herself alongside her husband’s body, consistent with Pires’ description of the voluntary nature of the practice. Assuming Pires was right, the ascetic’s mother could not have married again.

IV.2 The Characters

Bujangga Manik is framed by the speech of a sage (*mahapandita*) in Pakuan, who overhears crying and wailing in the palace at the leaving of Jaya Pakuan, the poem’s protagonist. The frame story is not reprised and the *mahapandita* is not heard from again. Jaya Pakuan, who goes by three names over the course of the story (*Ameng Layaran* and *Bujangga Manik* being the others), clearly dislikes human contact. Other aspects of his personality can be seen in his words and deeds, and his physical appearance is described briefly upon his return to Pakañcilan (BM 269-274). The ascetic’s mother, referred to once as Ratu Bañcana, features as an important secondary character, spurring the ascetic’s eastward journey. Jompong Larang (BM 236), who falls for the ascetic after he returns to Pakañcilan, and her mother, Ajung Larang (aka Sakéan Kilat Bañcana – BM 284), who arranges the marriage negotiations, are also essential to the plot; Jompong’s proposal perturbs the ascetic, prompting him. These people, including the ascetic in his first incarnation, are all described as *tohaan* ‘lords/ladies’.

Later, when Bujangga Manik is ensconced in his hermitage near Balungbungan, he is approached by an unnamed *tiyagi (wa)don* ‘female ascetic’, who wants to join him (BM 851). This, too, causes Bujangga Manik to pick up his things and leave, in this case for Bali, where the sheer number of people leads him to sail back to Java in frustration. Other characters include the two ship captains, Séla Batang and Béla Sagara, discussed in Part V, and Dorakala, the guardian of heaven (BM 1594) – the only supernatural character to have a speaking role in the surviving leaves. Legendary figures are mentioned occasionally – Silih Wangi, Banyak Catra, Sangkuriang, and the mysterious Tuhan Cupak[273] – but only nine people have speaking roles and only eight of them are named. An additional group of

[273] This may be a reference to the story of Cupak Gerantang in the folk theatre of Bali and Lombok, but in those stories Cupak is not a positive figure or a lord. I am at a loss to interpret Tuhan Cupak’s *sakakala*.

people ask Jaya Pakuan where he is going (BM 37-39), but their speech is described onomatopoeically as *séyah* 'rustling, tumbling of a waterfall', and the ascetic does not respond.

Bujangga Manik

The poem's ascetic protagonist has three names at different points in his life, retaining two of them until the end. The first name is *Jaya Pakuan* 'Pakuan's victory' (BM 13); the second is *Ameng Layaran* 'sailing novice' (BM 123); and the third is *Bujangga Manik* (BM 457). It is as *Rakaki Bujangga Manik* ('The Venerable Bujangga Manik') that the ascetic is usually addressed at the height of his earthly powers; he is also referred to as a *mahapandita*. Noorduyn adopted *Bujangga Manik* as the name of the text for this reason, but, interestingly, a text named 'Bujangga Manik' is mentioned in another Sundanese lontar text, the *Sanghyang Swawarcita* (PNRI, L626), suggesting that *BM* was known by the name at the time of its composition. The name certainly survived in Sunda in the interim: Rigg (1862:67.15) says, long before the modern publication of the poem, that Bujangga Manik was 'the name of Ratu Guriang, or the king of the moutain [sic] spirits'. This suggests that *BM*'s (missing) finale recounted Bujangga Manik's transformation into a king of the spirits (Rigg's *Ratu Guriang* – where *guriang* = *guru* 'teacher' + *hiyang* 'god, ancestor').

The ascetic is described in his youth – as an *ameng* 'novice' – by an infatuated Jompong Larang (BM 269-274). She says that he has round calves, graceful anklets, curved eyebrows, teeth stained red from betel-chewing, and long fingernails. (Rigg [1862:480] notes that in his day Sundanese aristocrats grew their nails long to show that they did not engage in manual labour.) Jompong also refers to the *ameng*'s *jojo(m)pong*, which seems to mean a 'tuft of hair'; in modern Sundanese this word is used for the mane of a horse. It may imply that Bujangga Manik wore a *śikhā* (a tuft of hair associated with adherence to Hindu doctrine). After this the ascetic's physical appearance is not referred to again until after his death. While travelling the ascetic wears a cloth (*sace(n)dung kaén*) on his head and later on is said to carry a *walatung*-rattan (*Calamus caesius*) whip and a five-headed walking stick. Examples of East Javanese-era mendicants' metal walking stick finials hung with bells (*khakkhara* in Sanskrit) survive in museums, including a fourteenth-century one in the Museum Nasional (inv. no. 6067 – Fontein 1990:270-271). Bujangga Manik's stick might not have been anything like this, though.

The protagonist aspires to an ascetic life, in any case, and he becomes a great sage (*mahapandita*) some time before his death (BM 1307). The word for 'ascetic (practice)' is *tapa* (cf OJv *tapa* – OJED 1945:5, from Skt *tapa*), a term still used in Sundanese and other Indo-Malaysian languages. Tomé Pires uses the same word, *tapas*, in referring to the mendicants and ascetics of Java, although Pires's comment that such ascetics 'do not go about alone' does not accord with the seemingly solitary life depicted in *BM* (Cortesão 1944:177).[A36] Bujangga Manik's ascetic life involves renunciation of sex and marriage, withdrawal from humankind, disregard for external appearances, and meditation on the divine, as well as worship of the *lingga*, a Śaivist practice, in an attempt to die without

illness (i.e. Skt *mokṣa*, OSd *kamoksahan* 'liberation') and merge with the 'great soul' (OSd *atma*, from Skt *ātman*) to become a god (*jadi déwa*), a task he achieves after ten years at his hermitage near Mount Patuha (BM 1434). The ascetic ideal is summarised at the beginning of the eleventh-century *kakawin Arjunawiwāha* (1.1):

> 'The mind of the scholar who understands the highest truth has already penetrated the Void and passed beyond / His intentions do not flow from a desire for the objects of the senses, as if he were concerned with the things of this world' (*kakawin Arjunawiwāha*, 1.1 – Robson 2008:38-39).[A37]

Little in *BM*'s asceticism suggests disgust at bodily functions or the body *per se*, contrasting starkly with bodily revulsion in Indian asceticism (Olivelle 1995) – although in spurning Jompong and the female ascetic at Balungbungan Bujangga Manik is evidently determined to renounce both the body physical and body social. His rejection of the human world is not total – he still converses with the ships' captains – but his motivation is nonetheless to do away with feelings and appearances to grasp an underlying monist reality.

Figure IV.1. A palm-rib broom at Karang Kamulyan in Ciamis, West Java. Author's photo, November 2018.

An interesting aspect of asceticism in *BM* and other OSd texts is that of sweeping-as-meditation or worship-by-sweeping (*puja ñapu* – BM 846, 1288). This appears to have been of some importance, as the marks of the broom (*tapak sapu* – BM 1466) are among the things Bujangga Manik sees as he passes from our Middle World (*mad(i)yapada*) upon his *kamoksahan*. Brooms (*sapu*) made of the ribs

of palm leaves bound together to form a handle are common throughout the archipelago and can be seen in use at Sundanese sacred sites to this day (Figure IV.1). *Sri Ajnyana* features a more explicit description wherein the process of sweeping itself leads to insight:

> 'The lessons of the eminent sage · were a yard swept · clean all over. · Now my mind was full of joy · seeing the lustre of the flowers · which made my mind recover' (SA 242-247 – Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006:222).[A38]

Once Bujangga Manik has crossed into heaven he encounters the door guardian Dorakala, who, after some convincing, lets the ascetic enter on the grounds that his body or self (*awak*) is 'more fragrant than opium · more valuable than sandalwood · sweeter than massoy bark' (BM 1637-1639). Approximately the same phrases appear in the OSd poem *Séwaka Darma*, except that the subject is not *awak* 'self; body' but *aci* 'essence': *acina ruum ti candu · mahabara ti candana* 'their essence is more fragrant than opium, more valuable than sandalwood' (Danasasmita et al. 1987:28).[274] This is the reward of asceticism. As the Orthodox Christian theologian Kallistos Ware reminds us (1995:3-15), asceticism should not be reduced to renunciation for renunciation's sake: Ascetic practice in *BM* often seems positive rather than negative, representing less withdrawal from the body and more positive emphasis on the divine or underlying reality, from which feelings and appearances are but distractions.

Dorakala is not described in any detail – we might have more information had f.29 survived. The name is derived from Sanskrit *dvara* 'door' (related to English 'door' via PIE *d^{h}wṓr) and *kāla*, whose original meanings included 'time', 'black', and 'death', but which came to be applied to the heads or masks of demons that decorated the lintels of doors at temples in early medieval Java (alongside other terms, particularly *dwarapāla*, *cawintĕn*, and *kīrtimukha* – see Fontein 1990:136-137). It is clear from his name and deeds, anyway, that he guards the entrance to heaven.

Jompong Larang

Jompong Larang ('forbidden youth') appears to be the daughter of a noblewoman named Ajung Larang ('forbidden beauty', cf. OJv *ajĕṅ* 'goodness, beauty' [OJED 33:8]?). In BM 276-277 she is said to be 'hurried, rigid, easily frightened' and to 'walk like a Javanese elephant' (although the interpretation of the word *gajar* 'elephant (?)', is not certain). My translation of Jompong's physical description in BM 539-548 is based on Aditia Gunawan's interpretation (2019), wherein the most important traits relate to weaving and dyeing, essential aspects of womanhood in pre-modern Indo-Malaysia, contrasting starkly with that in Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006). Noorduyn treated *warangan*, for instance, as a word for a yellow-ish skin tone. It is better connected to OJv *waraṅ*, though, whose meanings are all related to marriage (OJED 2204:11), whence 'nubile'. Noorduyn's 'invulnerable' for

[274] The published text reads ***n**aha bara ta c**in**a(n)dana*, but I suspect these are typos. I would correct the text of *SD* to accord more closely with *BM* in this section in any case.

the word *karawaléya* (BM 543 – from Skt *kāravēlla* 'gourd', re-interpreted in OJv to mean 'breadfruit; tough, invulnerable' [OJED 806:5]) also seems less plausible than Gunawan's interpretation of 'tough grip (on the loom)'.

Jompong does not appear again after her rejection by Bujangga Manik, although he interprets the gifts she brings to suggest that she is constantly sick and weeping (BM 569-573). The poem gives no indication as to whether this is true or not.

Bujangga Manik's Mother

Weaving is an essential part of the poem's presentation of its female characters, and Bujangga Manik's mother is first encountered weaving and dyeing cloth (BM 159-165), as is Jompong's mother, Ajung Larang. Bujangga Manik's mother – whom he calls *a(m)bu* or *a(m)buing* '(my) mother' – is described as having 'yellow calves' (BM 226); Noorduyn translated the word for 'yellow' here as 'golden', presumably because 'yellow' is not flattering, but 'yellow' is nonetheless more accurate. She powders her cheeks and wears 'expensive cloth' while preparing betel quids for her and her son. She clatters through the house, her *tapih* (tube skirt) slapping at her heels, presumably carrying the betel and other items, including a branch of *kupa* fruit (BM 208 – *Syzygium polycephala*[275]).

It appears Bujangga Manik's father is no longer around; perhaps this is what made his mother wayward and 'drunk without drinking palm wine (*tuak*)' (BM 632). In one instance she is referred to as *Ratu Bañcana* 'queen of deception' (BM 223 – OJv *bañcana* 'deception, fraud [etc.]', from Skt – OJED 210:1), presumably a comment by the poet rather than a name. It is said that her mother, Bujangga Manik's grandmother (*nini*), broke taboos (*pamali*), including eating *benter* fish (*Barbodes binotatus*, the common barb – Rigg 1862:53) and banana flowers (*jantung*, also meaning 'human heart') while pregnant, causing her daughter to go astray. The ascetic sees her acceptance of Jompong's proposal as deceitful and wrong and, in the most dramatic and consequential interaction in the story, he rejects the entire idea, telling his mother that this is the last time they will see each other. He takes an open-work bag, puts the book *Siksaguru* ('teacher's instructions') inside, and sets out east with his walking stick and whip, looking for a place to die (BM 652-667).

Ajung Larang

Ajung Larang, who is also known as *Sa(ng?)kéyan Kilat Bañcana* (a tricky phrase – 'bearing calamitous lightning'?), is Jompong's mother. She is described in similar terms to Bujangga Manik's mother: She weaves, dyes cloth, prepares betel quids, and rises 'like a goose' when getting up to enter the house. She is weaving when Jompong goes to speak to her. In BM 278-283, she is said to be sitting

[275] Formerly *Jambosa cauliflora*. The German explorer Justus Karl Hasskarl described *kupa* (*koepa*) thus: 'The wood is beautifully red, strong, heavy, [and] coarse and can be used as timber in construction; the fruits are sweet and sour and are eaten' (Hasskarl 1845:85 – my translation).

on a *kasur* (a quilt-mattress made from a cloth stuffed with cotton wool) beside a gilded Chinese box while 'carelessly dressed', her waist visible. Ajung Larang arranges the betel quids to be sent over to Bujangga Manik to propose the marriage, and she tells her daughter what to say to make the *tuang ambu* amenable to the request. It is notable that the entire process is initiated and controlled by women, and male involvement is not required at any point before Bujangga Manik's rejection of the proposal.

*

People are not the focus of *Bujangga Manik* and it contains few named characters. The moral message is that people are deceptive and easily deceived, and to indulge one's passions is to be led away from the path to heaven. We can nonetheless extract certain interesting features of fifteenth-century Sundanese society from the poem's portrayals of its human characters, particularly regarding gender roles and ascetic practice, and the personality of each individual comes across in the nuances of their deeds and descriptions (to the extent that we can understand them).

In the next section I will examine the portrayal of the ships on which Bujangga Manik sails. Unlike many OJv *kakawin*, which depict sea travel as perilous and ships as often wrecked, *BM* seems to delight in the details of naval construction and the multicultural world of the ship.

*

PART V:

Travelling by Sea

Three ships are described in *Bujangga Manik* as the ascetic travels by sea at various points in his life. These sections are unusual in offering us indigenous accounts of the construction of at least two kinds of seaworthy vessels: *parahu* and *jong*. The former – smaller and less powerful boats – are described in the ethnohistoric texts as similar to fustas or galleys, reliant on sails and oars to power them along. The latter were enormous ocean-going ships with woven rattan sails, comparable in size to the biggest Genoese cogs or European carracks of the sixteenth century. The conclusions derived from these sections of *BM* are supported by the (principally Portuguese) ethnohistoric evidence and to a lesser extent by medieval wrecks excavated in Southeast Asian waters. I will examine the ships' design and construction in section V.1.

In section V.2 I will look in detail at *BM*'s description of the mariners and crew. *BM*'s ships are peopled by gunners, warriors, and mariners; the crews are multi-ethnic; and the vessels seem to have been built locally, although the larger junk may have come from outside Java. When they leave harbour songs are sung, gongs are hammered, and cannons are fired. It is apparent from that the most important cargo on the last ship is Bujangga Manik himself, the sage (*mahapa(n)dita*), even though he only joins the ship for a day. These ships were fascinating *places*; more than just transportation, Javanese junks in particular hosted entire communities of people from birth to death, and the smaller craft described in *BM* are extraordinary for the peoples, languages, and religions that must have mingled on board.

V.1 The Ships

Here I will describe *Bujangga Manik*'s ships – their dimensions, their designations, and the materials from which they were made (summarised in Table 1 in Appendix C). Some of the bamboos and rattans are obscure, found neither in dictionaries nor in the technical literature on the topic (in spite of some elaboration in this regard – see Dransfield and Manokaran 1993; Dransfield and Widjaja 1995). In keeping with its 'encyclopaedic' nature, however, some technical description does occur in *BM*, and the martial/nautical focus of many ethnohistoric sources allows a somewhat coherent image of late-medieval island Southeast Asian shipping to be synthesised.

Parahu

The first two ships are known as *parahu*; this word simply means 'boat' or 'ship' (from PAn *paraqu [ACD 3836]; cf. Mal *perahu*, OJv *parahu* [OJED 1280:3]). In itself the word provides few indications about the type of ship described, and in BM 1022 *parahu* is also used once in reference to the third ship, a *jong*, so it may have served as the generic word for all boats or ships. (Rigg [1862:380 *sub* Prahu] defines it as 'a general term for all vessels afloat'). Sixteenth-century European accounts tended to differentiate *p(a)rahu*s and *jong*s, however – see, for instance, the illustrations in Willem Lodewycksz's *De eerste schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië* (1595-1597, in Donkin 2003:146, Fig.18), in which the Javanese *prahu* is distinguished from smaller fishing boats and from the *jong*, which is larger and has two rudders. Lodewycksz's *prahu* lacks outriggers, and, like a Moluccan *orembai*, has an upward-curved stern and prow. Pigafetta also describes the *parahu* (*Prao*) as a small vessel, but sometimes a beautiful one, in one case ornamented with gold leaf, a white-and-blue flag, and peacock feathers at the prow (Beinecke MS 351, f.57v, f.60v).[A39] Pigafetta compares the *parahu* to the *fuste* (f.58r), a galley powered by both rowers and sails (originally Venetian *fusta*, loaned into languages around the Mediterranean [Kahane and Kahane 1982:145]), fitting well with the descriptions in *BM* and suggesting that the word *parahu* had both specific and general referents.

The First Parahu

The first *parahu* has no named captain and the crew seem to be Sundanese. The ship takes Jaya Pakuan from Pemalang, Central Java, to Kalapa, a voyage of about 330 kilometres, and the ship is described as *parahu Malaka* 'a Melaka ship' – whether headed to Melaka or built there it is hard to say. Evidently cannons and percussion instruments are present on board, as these are fired and played respectively as the *parahu* leaves the harbour. Work songs (*kawih tarahan* [BM 100] – see below) are sung, presumably by the crew; most are unidentified and we have no music or lyrics for them, although their enigmatic titles survive (BM 102-104). *Kawih* seems to have been a generic term for 'song' in OSd, occurring several times in SSKK and in the titles of several palm-leaf texts from Ciburuy, notably the *Kawih Katanian* 'song of farming' (Ilham Nurwansah, p.c.). In MSd it has a more restricted usage (Williams 2001:46-47).

This *parahu* is equipped with a lone rudder of South Indian *kamuning* wood. *Kamuning* is *Murraya paniculata* (formerly *M. exotica*), a tree with streaked yellow wood (as in MSd; OJv *kamuniṅ* [OJED 787:8]; Malay *kemuning* – from PMP *kamuniŋ [ACD 3097]). *M. paniculata* is grown for its timber, the sapwood of which is yellow (the heartwood being darker).[276] The *parahu* also had a main

[276] *M. paniculata*'s timber is described on the North Carolina State University 'Inside Wood' project website (http://insidewood.lib.ncsu.edu/ *sub Murraya paniculata*, accessed 18-01-2019) as having dark heartwood and yellow sapwood. Presumably the timber for a rudder would come from trees with large boles and plenty of heartwood; we should probably imagine a broadly yellow rudder streaked with dark heartwood. Noorduyn misread the line, incidentally, interpreting it as *kamudi kamudi Keling* 'her rudder was an Indian one'.

mast of *laka* wood with rattan rigging (a feature of other Indonesian vessels, as on Moluccan *kora-kora* [Ellen 2003:149]). While the word *laka* is used for many species (some of which were traded out of the archipelago – see Heng 2001), the most likely here is *Myristica iners*, a forest tree with buttresses and stilt roots common in Javan freshwater swamp forest (Rigg 1862:240; Yamada 1997:59-61).[277] This mast is described as 'glowing with a "writhing fish" (*hi(ng)gul*) pattern', the translation here based on Mamat Sasmita's interpretation of *hi(ng)gul* as a pattern depicting a writhing fish (Gunawan 2019:88; cf. the reference to *hihinggulan* in SSKK – Danasasmita et al. 1987:84, 107). A second mast is of *ñowana* bamboo; in spite of the work on Sundanese names for bamboo varietals in Dransfield and Widjaja (1995) and Rigg (1862), among others, this is unidentified. It may mean simply 'young bamboo'.

The Second Parahu

The second *parahu* is described in much the same way as the first, using many of the same formulae. The description incorporates more detail, however, and the ship has more crew from more disparate locales. Bujangga Manik joins the vessel somewhere on Java's eastern salient and gets off at Bali – a journey of at most twenty kilometres. From Bali the *parahu* was then headed to Bangka, about 1000 kilometres away off the Sumatran coast. The *parahu* has a captain named Séla Batang[278], and the ship is made of teak carved in the form of a dragon rising upwards (*jati diukir · ka luhur dinanagaken* – BM 897-898), agreeing with the depiction of the *parahu*'s upward-curving prows in Lodewycksz's *eerste schipvaart*. Its deck is made of *kawung* or sugar palm (*Arenga pinnata* – aka *aren*) overlain with *séyah* ('rustling') bamboo. *Kawung* wood has been used to make bowstaves in the archipelago, implying that it has plenty of tensile strength, and the palm is used for a range of other purposes as well (see Andaya 1993:76). *Séyah* is an onomatopoeia; it is not clear what species this is.[279] The cabin walls are made of *nipah* sprouts (*Nypa fruticans*, another sugar palm common in saltwater swamp).

This *parahu* appears to have a cabin for passengers (*gagarebongan* – OJv *grĕboṅ* 'type of closed wagon' [OJED 543:5]; MSd *gerebong*, an old word for a covered space for passengers [Danadibrata 2006:223; KUBS 142]), a feature also found on the *jong*. The verb used when Bujangga Manik goes aboard is *deuk* 'sit' (BM 895, 994) – apparently the international standard on the medieval Indo-Pacific. Elizabeth Lambourn says that in his *Musannaf* the Omani jurist al-Kindi (d.1162) 'stipulated that passengers should remain seated so as not to annoy others or damage cargo' (2018:208),

[277] See also the *Flora Malesiana* entry - http://portal.cybertaxonomy.org/flora-malesiana/node/5974. *The Plant List* labels *M. iners* 'unresolved'; the competitor name is *Palala iners*.
[278] 'God's rock'? Cf. OJv *śela* 'mountain, stone' (OJED 1749:6) and MSd *batang* 'a nearly obsolete term for a Deity' (Rigg 1862:43 *sub Batang*). *Batang* could have many meanings depending on whether the word is analysed as OJv, Mal, or Sd, including 'branch', 'a measurement based on the size of a bamboo cylinder', or even 'corpse'.
[279] It is clear from Rigg's lists that the names of bamboos and rattans have changed over the centuries.

further noting that the '[medieval] Persian term for a passenger on a ship, *kashtī nishastan*, meant literally "one who sits on a ship"'.

The Jong

The *jong* captained by Béla Sagara[280] departs from Bali for the eastern salient of Java; it is said to be sailing to Palembang and from there to Pariaman on the west coast of Sumatra, presumably via the Sunda Strait (a journey of almost 3000 kilometres). The route would have taken the *jong* past Krakatau (aka Krakatoa, OSd *Rakata*). The ship is referred to as a *parahu* and at one point as *jong tutup* 'closed *jong*'; what this means is difficult to say, although it may mean simply that the *jong* was ready for departure (BM 1021). It is also referred to as *jong kapal*, where *kapal*, another word for 'ship', is probably present for metrical reasons.[281] *Kapal* derives from Tamil *kappal* (கப்பல்) 'sailing vessel'; the word does not appear in the earliest Tamil literature but cognates in other Dravidian languages, including Toda *kopol*, make it likely to be of Dravidian origin (Burrow and Emeneau 1984 #1022).

Pierre-Yves Manguin pioneered research on Southeast Asian shipbuilding traditions in the 1980s, concluding that *jong*s built in Java and Pegu were among the biggest and most sophisticated ships in the medieval world, with greater burthens (carrying capacities) than the Portuguese *nau*s that arrived in the region in the sixteenth century (1980, 1984; see also Reid 1992). Excavations and ethnohistoric sources tell different stories, though: Manguin had initially written about junks based on the Portuguese sources, which do indeed indicate the existence of Javanese shipyards and locally produced monster trading vessels (Manguin 1980). The Portuguese texts focused on the features of Southeast Asian ships indicative of local genius, including sails made of woven rattan, doubled rudders, and hulls comprising multiple layers of tropical hardwood (particularly teak – *Tectona grandis*) held together by wooden dowels. However, certain features of the ships known archaeologically from wrecks in Southeast Asian waters, including the use of watertight bulkheads in the hold, are clearly Chinese, and nails are much more commonly found at wreck sites than the ethnohistoric record suggests (Manguin 1983, 1984; 1985). *Jong*s identified archaeologically and showing a mix of all these elements are referred to as 'hybrid' junks (Flecker 2007).

Descriptions of many wrecked junks can be found in Miksic (2013:198-204); few can be ascribed to 'pure' Southeast Asian or Chinese categories, although the use of tropical hardwood in construction is diagnostic of Southeast Asian origin and a lack of dowelling is more consistent with Chinese builds, with true hybridisation only occurring during and after the reign of Yǒnglè (d.1424), the period of the treasure fleets under Zhèng Hé. The Chinese type is exemplified in the Turiang, wrecked off the east coast of the Malay Peninsula in the late fourteenth century and the Southeast Asian

[280] 'Ocean sacrifice'? Cf. OJv *bela* 'to lay down one's life' (OJED 239:9) and *sāgara* 'ocean' (OJED 1591:2).
[281] There are comparatively few monosyllabic words in *Bujangga Manik*. *Jong* must have presented the poet with a few metrical headaches.

type in the Longquan, also wrecked in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century (Miksic 2013:200; Sjostrand and Barnes 2001). European and Middle Eastern descriptions of *jong*s antedate the true 'hybrid junk' of the fifteenth century, but the word *jong* probably encompassed all these types.

The *jong*'s dimensions are described in BM 997-998: 'a *jong* eight [fathoms] wide · its length twenty-five fathoms'. The assumption that a medieval Sundanese fathom (*depa* – MSd *deupa*, 'a fathom, as much as a man can embrace with two arms extended' [Rigg 1862:106] – from PAn *depah 'fathom' [ACD 7748]) was equivalent to an imperial one (6', or 1.83 metres) is questionable, but if we convert the dimensions into metric on the basis of the modern fathom then *BM*'s *jong* would be about 46 metres long and 15 metres wide.[282] Such a ship would be consistent with ethnohistoric texts but less so with archaeological evidence: Most known hybrid junks are around thirty metres in length and not much more than eight metres wide at their broadest, about the same size as a sixteenth-century carrack or an eleventh-century Byzantine *dromon* (Delgado 2011:190-191) – e.g. the Bukit Jakas (30-32m long, 1400-1460); Longquan (30m x 8m, fifteenth-century); Royal Nanhai (28m x 7m, c.1465). We must thus allow for some exaggeration on the poet's part.

Jong (OJv *joṅ*) may be from Chinese 船 (pinyin: *chuán*; MC *zywen*; Old Chinese *Cə.lon). This etymology is accepted by Jones (2007:137), although some scholars have always been sceptical, in part because the earliest OJv attestation of *joṅ* antedates the arrival of the first Chinese fleets (Manguin 1980:266-267; Miksic 2013:100; OJED 748:4; Yule 1903:472). Linguistic reconstructions strengthen the claim but are not conclusive (e.g. the proto-Mǐn reconstruction in Baxter and Sagart [2014:190]). It is not out of the question that *jong* was an early Mǐn/Hokkien Chinese loan and not an indigenous term. Manguin notes that the word *jong* is found in Classical Malay literature, including the *Sulalat al-salāṭīn* and *Undang-undang Melaka*, as well as several OJv works, but that 'no technical information at all may be gathered from these texts' (1980:266-267).[283] Either way the word was probably loaned into other Afro-Eurasian languages from Malay. It has always referred to ocean-going four- or five-masted ships carrying hundreds of merchants and sailors and enormous amounts of cargo, and references to such *jong* ('junks') or to ships fitting their description can be found in a range of medieval texts.

[282] Clifford and Swettenham's *Dictionary of the Malay Language* includes as a sample sentence for *dĕpa* 'fathom' the line *Depa aku tak sampai enam kaki* 'my *depa* does not equal six feet' (1894:410). *BM*'s *depa* may have been similarly short.
[283] This was before the initial publication of *Bujangga Manik*, of course.

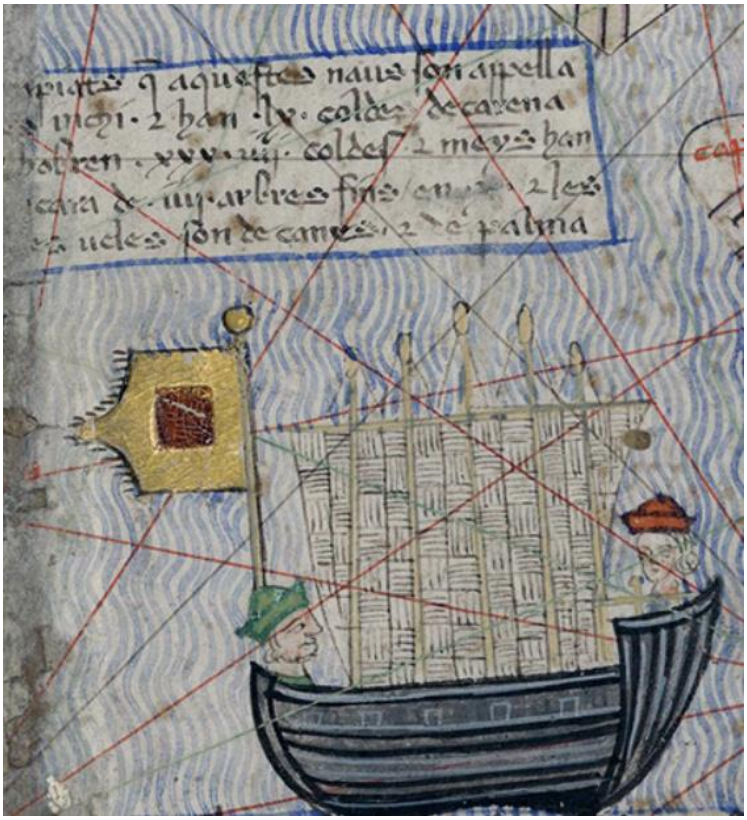

Figure V.1. A ship with a woven rattan sail depicted on the Catalan Atlas (Paris, BnF, Espagnol 30, f.4r – 1375). Henry Yule believed the word for 'junk' in the first word in the second row of the text box, ⟨inchí⟩, to be an error for *jũchi*, derived from Malay *jong* by way of Arabic.

'Junk' (*vel sim*) is reported to first appear in Europe in Odoric's *Itinerario* (1331) and once, as *junko*, in the disordered recollections of fourteenth-century traveller Giovanni de' Marignolli (Yule 1903:472). The word does not appear to have been familiar to fourteenth-century readers of Odoric's text, and in at least one case – Jean de Vignay's 1351 French version (London, BL, Royal MS 19 D I, f.139v) – the word for 'junk' mutated into ⟨coque⟩ (English 'cog'), a kind of European ship; cogs were also huge, so the confusion is perhaps understandable.[284] Odoric says that seven hundred merchants were travelling on board.[A40] The word also occurs on the Catalan Atlas (1375-1377), as ⟨inchí⟩, believed by Yule to be a copyist's error for ⟨jũnchi⟩ (Figure V.1). It appears likewise on the Fra Mauro *mappamundi* (Venice, c.1459) as ⟨çoncho⟩.[A41] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa frequently uses the word *junk* (جُنك, pl. جُنُوك *junūk* – Lee 1829:172) for such ships and describes the vessels as having woven bamboo sails (presumably rattan – Yule 1903:472). Other medieval accounts describe similar vessels but do not use the word. Niccolò de' Conti remarks that the ships of 'India' (including Java) 'are much bigger than ours [in Italy], carrying two thousand tons with five sails and as many masts'.[A42] He also notes the use of bulkheads to divide the hull into watertight segments, a feature remarked on as early as the twelfth

[284] Such ships were legendary for their size; the fifteenth-century Italian traveller Cyriac of Ancona wrote a letter to his friend Andreolo comparing a Genoese cog to an enormous whale, for instance (2003[1444]:20-24).

century by the Chinese essayist Zhū Yù (朱彧 – J. Needham 1986:463), as well by Polo, whose description of (pre-hybridisation) Chinese ships says that they had four masts (sometimes six), a single rudder, and some fifty or sixty cabins, each to accommodate a single merchant.[A43]

In early modern works the word 'junk' is more common. In Pigafetta's account *jong* appears consistently as *Iunce* (e.g. Beinecke MS 351, f.61r) and in Portuguese sources they are referred to as *juncos*. The *conquistadores* found it difficult to defeat *jong*s as their own ships were too low to board the *jong*s' decks and shot could not pierce their multi-layered hulls. Albuquerque's men resorted to wearing *jong*s down by firing at their masts and rudders. When assaulting Melaka, Albuquerque used a *junco* as a platform for attacking the city's main bridge because 'junks are very tall [vessels]' (Earle and Villiers 1990:74).[A44] François Pyrard de Laval, who saw the wreck of a junk from Sunda (*la Sonde*) in the Maldives in the early seventeenth century, says:

> 'They tell me that this was the richest ship that it was possible to see. There were five hundred people aboard – men, women, and children, as the Indians bring the better part of their households onto the sea with them. […] This ship came from Sunda, loaded with all sorts of spices and other merchandise from China and Sunda; seeing only the mast of this vessel, I judged it the biggest I had ever seen' (1619:270).[A45]

Southeast Asian junks were claimed to be such large ships that people could live their entire lives on board. Barbosa (1516:362-363), corroborating Pyrard de Laval's claim and speaking specifically of Javanese vessels, says:

> 'And these junks carry a lot of rice and the meat of cows, sheep, and pigs and slaughtered deer in jars, and also many chickens and other victuals […] They bring their wives and children and property aboard; they have no other home, and there they are born and die.'[A46]

We should not imagine a *jong* as hosting a transient collection of grizzled mariners; these ships were communities, doubtless including women and children. Games must have been played on board, and Barbosa's mention of chickens may indicate that cockfights also took place; cockfighting was certainly a common pastime in Java in the Middle Ages.[285] Conti describes it thusly (Bracciolini 2004[1448]:116-117):

> 'Often [practised] among [the Javanese] is the game in which cocks fight one another. They each bring roosters to the fight, each claiming that their own will be the winner, and those present in turn bet money on the victory of one of the two; whoever bets on the winning rooster takes the money.'[A47]

[285] Robert Blust (2002:96-98) suggests that the sport was introduced to Southeast Asia from India in prehistory.

Less brutal games of chance must also have been played.[286] Two dice of black wood with bone inserts have been recovered from the thirteenth-century shipwreck at Pulau Buaya in Riau (Miksic 2013:133), and dice games (OJv *dyūta*, from Skt) would probably have been played on board – as perhaps would card games. Over the course of the fifteenth century playing cards became increasingly popular across Afro-Eurasia (Dummett 1976). Packs of cards survive from fifteenth-century Europe (e.g. the Ambraser Hofämterspiel – Vienna, Kunstkammer, inv. nos. 5077-5124) and Egypt (the Mamluk-era set in the Topkapı Sarayı, Istanbul – Dummett and Abu-Deeb 1973), having spread from China. Most were used in trick-taking games. No playing cards have survived from medieval Indo-Malaysia, but *ceki*, a trick-taking game associated with the archipelago's Chinese community, is mentioned in the c.1492 Chinese-Malay phrasebook (Edwards and Blagden 1931:734 #257). The Malay equivalent of 棋 (*qí*, normally 'board game') is given as 竹吉 (pinyin: *zhújí*), the early Míng Guǎnhuà pronunciation of which was [tşuʔ kji], close indeed to *ceki* (Coblin 2000:311; 2007:125).

V.2 Crews and their Tools

Going by the poem's descriptions, half a dozen languages and religious traditions must have been represented among the crew on the second *parahu*, which featured (probably) Acehnese-speaking Muslims from Pasai in northern Sumatra and heathen warriors from Makassar (*Makasar*) in Sulawesi. *BM* tells us they 'came from many lands' (*bibijilan para nusa*), using the same word for 'land' or 'country', *nusa*, as that found in *BM*'s description of the world (BM 1266-1279 – see section III.2.3). The crews are referred to in two ways: Some are simply as 'those who (verb)' (e.g. *nu badayung* 'those who row'), and all of the crew on the first, smaller, *parahu* are so designated. The second class of crew on the second *parahu* are the *juru* 'experts', including the *juru wedil* 'master gunners', *juru tulup* 'blowgun masters', and *juru batu* 'plumbline experts', all from different places in the archipelago (and China, or resident Chinese communities). The use of *juru* to refer to trained seamen is found also found in Malay, from which *BM*'s terms may derive; Wilkinson (1932 #14762) lists several nautical *juru*, some of which appear in *BM*.

The first *parahu* has no named captain and Jaya Pakuan does not request to come aboard: it is simply said that *tuluying nu(m)pang balayar* 'then I sailed as a passenger' (BM 95). The simplest vessel, this Melaka-bound boat appears to have had a largely Sundanese-speaking crew from Kalapa and Angké.[287] The second *parahu*, however, has a captain (*juru puhawang* cf. Old Malay, OJv *puhawaṅ*

[286] See the enigmatic games discussed in Creese (2004:57).
[287] Evidently the name *Angké*, now part of Jakarta, is older than the 1740 massacre of the Chinese in Batavia after which it is sometimes claimed to have been named.

[OJED 1432:1]), Séla Batang, who offers the ascetic a seat in the cabin. Bujangga Manik addresses him as *akiing* 'my grandfather' and promises him a gift upon arrival in Bali (BM 888-889); this turns out to be a cloth (*kaén*, BM 954-955).[288] The *jong*, the last ship on which Bujangga Manik travels, is captained by one Béla Sagara, who asks for no payment and who respectfully refers to the ascetic as *mahapandita* 'great sage' (BM 1011). The conversations with the captains are the most pleasant of the ascetic's interactions and the poet appears to have respected sea captains, as can be told from the reference to valued goods as 'elder sea captains' cargo' in BM 369.

Here I will introduce the *parahu*s' crew according to their origins – Sumatrans, Sulawesians, and so on – noting their roles on board, their tools, and other relevant features.

*

Crew Members from Sumatra and Environs

The *lingua franca* on board was probably Malay. Some of the crewmen in *BM* would have been native speakers, particularly mariners from in and around Sumatra, and we know from other sources that Malay had become the *lingua franca* of the archipelago by the sixteenth century (e.g. the Malay letters sent by the Sultan of Ternate in 1521 and 1522, now Lisbon, Torre do Tombo, Reforma das Gavetas, liv. 30, f.132 and 133 – Gallop 1994:123). No Javanese speakers are listed among the passengers or crew – remarkable on ships sailing from locations in Java – but several from Sumatra and neighbouring islands are, including rowers from Nias, experts in rigging from Pasai, and blowgun masters from southeastern Sumatra (BM 921-932) Chinese, Makassarese, and Sundanese mariners were also present, and in such a multicultural environment a common language of communication must have been essential. Malay filled this niche nicely.

Marus, source of the oarsmen (*nu badayung*), is probably Nias or islands near it off the west coast of Sumatra; Pires referred to Nias as *Maruz* or *Maruz Mjnhac* (Cortesão 1944:162), and Ibn Mājid appears to call it *Mārūs* (ماروس – Tibbetts 1981:491). The name does not appear in the *Deśawarṇana*, and there is the slim possibility that it could refer to Maros in South Sulawesi. Bangka (Pires' *Bamca*) is off the southeastern coast of Sumatra facing Palembang, capital of Śrīvijaya. The Old Malay Kota Kapur inscription stone, now in the Museum Nasional, Jakarta (inv. no. D.80), attests to the presence of Malay speakers on the island since the late seventh century. The people from Bangka are said to be 'those sailing' (*nu balayar*); they may have been passengers rather than sailors. The helmsmen (*juru mudi* – cf. *kamudi* 'rudder') are said to be from *Jambri*, a place near the Sumatran Malay heartland (discussed in section III.2.3 above).

[288] Java had a cash economy and Chinese cash was in common use, so this should not necessarily be considered a typical transaction. 'Javanese' cash (*caxas de Jaoa*) is included among the Sundanese tribute to Portugal in the 1522 treaty. Cloth was historically used as currency in other parts of the archipelago, however.

Juru batu (lit. 'stone expert') probably refers to crewmen responsible for plumblines and sounding the depths; *batu* ('stone') refers to the weight on the end of the line (cf. Mal *juru batu* '[a seaman] attending to anchoring and sounding' [Wilkinson 1932 #14762]). Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006:261) translate the term as 'boatswain', although in English that name refers to those responsible for the maintenance of equipment. These mariners are *urang Lampung* – from Lampung in Sumatra, just across the Strait of Sunda (discussed in section III.2.3 above).

The *juru kilat*, which Noorduyn and Teeuw translate as 'boatswain's mates' (as in Wilkinson 1932 #14762), are said to have been *urang Pasay* 'Pasay people'. The term *kilat* here comes from or is otherwise related to OJv *kilat* 'rigging; or part of it (sheet)?' (OJED 868:4); these *urang Pasay* may have been responsible for the sails (see Appendix C for identification of the species). *Pasay* or Pasai is in what is now Aceh province in northern Sumatra, and it was also known as *Samudra*, whence 'Sumatra'. Pasai was one of the archipelago's oldest Islamic sultanates, the tomb of Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, dated 1297, attesting to the presence of Muslim rulers in the region since at least the thirteenth century (Miksic 2013:129; Moquette 1913; Thomaz 1993:70). Fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Islamic inscriptions have been found in the area, including the Minye Tujuh inscription containing the oldest-known Malay *syair* (781 AH = 1380 CE – van der Molen 2007). According to the *Sulalat al-salāṭīn* Pasai was initially more powerful than Melaka and second only to Majapahit (Samad Ahmad 1979:93; Wolters 1970:2-3).[A48] It is thus likely that the riggers on the second *parahu* would have been Acehnese- and Malay-speaking Muslims.

Pires knew Pasai as *Paçe* (*vel sim*), and it was evidently a multicultural place even before the arrival of the Portuguese, home to '*Rumes*,[289] Turks, Arabs, Persians, Gujaratis, Kling, Malays, Javanese, […] Siamese, [and] Bengalees' (Cortesão 1944:142). It was probably in Pasai (*Sciamutera*) that Niccolò de' Conti ate durian (Bracciolini 2004[1448]:96-97: *durianum*; Fra Mauro *mappamundi* [c.1459]: *duriã*), an experience he seems to have remembered fondly.[290]

Malay Blowgun Masters

A blowgun or blowpipe is a long tube through which a dart, often poisoned, is propelled by the force of the breath. In the fifteenth century they were in use throughout Eurasia as evidenced by manuscript illustrations in Europe and the Middle East (Figure V.2) – but blowguns were probably invented in island Southeast Asia, perhaps in Borneo, by MP-speaking people (Bellwood 1997:150; Jett 1970).

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[289] A term related to 'Roman' and probably here referring to either Ottoman Turks or Mamluks; the latter is meant by Afonso de Albuquerque in his letters (Earle and Villiers 1990:289), but Pires seems to mean Turks (and Greeks?) from Constantinople.

[290] Putting the two Conti accounts together, I argue that Conti's durian was a red-fleshed durian, probably *Durio graveolens*, rather than the more common *D. zibethinus*: West, A. J. 2020. Knowledge of the durian. *Medium*. https://medium.com/@IndoMedieval/knowledge-of-the-durian-39f89a6c871f. (Accessed 02-08-2020).

Figure V.2. **L:** A relief of a man shooting a blowgun. Borobudur, Central Java, ninth-century. Author's photo, November 2018. **R:** An early illustration of a blowgun from a manuscript of *Livre des prouffitz champestres et ruraulx* ('treatise on rural economy') by Pietro de Crescenzi, 1470-1475 (Cranstone 1949). Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms-5064, f.265r.

Al-Mas'ūdi describes the use of blowguns at sea in Southeast Asia in the tenth century (2007[947]:94) and blowguns appear in reliefs on Borobudur centuries before the first references in Persia and Europe (Figure V.2). A name for the device can be reconstructed to PMP (*sumpit, ACD 8279). A Malay reflex, *sumpitan*, was something of a medieval Wanderwort, undergoing various contortions to become Malayalam *tūmbitān*, Arabic *zarbaṭānah* (زربطانة), French *sarbacane*, and Italian *cerbottana* (Hoogervorst 2011:95; Hornell 1924:326, 334; White 1960:521-522; Yule 1903:795). By the fifteenth century the name was applied around the Mediterranean to a type of thin-barelled cannon (e.g. Greek ζαραβοτανε – Chalkokondyles 2016[~1465]:129; Gould 2000:210). When the Portuguese sources describe Malay weaponry they use a word for 'blowgun', *zarabatana*, that had Malay roots (Earle and Villiers 1990:89; White 1960:521-522).

Although *sumpitan* does exist in Sundanese (Rigg 1862:463), in *BM* the word for 'blowgun' is *tulup*, probably from OJv (OJED 2058:1; cf. MSd *tulup*; see also Jákl 2017). Perhaps the use of one or the other was forced by the metre; all the modifiers of *juru* 'expert' are disyllabic, and *pañumpit*, the alternative name for a blowgunner attested in SSKK, would be too long to fit. The *juru tulup* are said to be *urang Malayu*, probably meaning people from Malayu/Jambi in Sumatra. *Malayu* here may have referred to Malays as an ethnic group, as that usage is found in the Portuguese sources, the Malay historical literature, and (perhaps, although this is debatable) the *Deśawarṇana* (13.1 – *kṣoṇī ri Malayu*). Nowadays blowguns are not considered characteristically Malay weapons and are associated more with the Austroasiatic-speaking peoples of the Malay Peninsula (Orang Asli) and the Kubu/Lubu in Sumatra (Baer 2016; Blust 2013:12; Moszkowski 1909; Skeat 1902; Winstedt 1950:7) – but it is clear from Portuguese texts that Malays in Sumatra and the Peninsula used blowguns in war. The blowgun was considered the Malay weapon *par excellence* by the *conquistadores* and dart wounds were considered invariably fatal – with the exception of one Fernão Gomes de Lemos, hit by a dart at Melaka, whose

wound was 'scalded with salted pork fat as soon as he received it, and that treatment, after God, was his salvation' (Earle and Villiers 1990:73).[A49]

Southeast Asian dart poisons are sometimes claimed to be the most powerful on Earth, due in part to confusion surrounding *upas*, an OJv word meaning simply '(plant) poison' (Cranbrook 1997:4-6; Hannigan 2018; OJED 2135:5; Yule 1903:952-958). The *upas* legend was already spreading in the Middle Ages, and it can be found in Odoric's description[291] of the darts used by the inhabitants of Bintan (*Panten*) as bearing 'the most dangerous poison that there be'.[A50] In fact Southeast Asian dart poisons appear to have drawn on a range of ingredients, not simply the notorious sap of the *upas* tree (*Antiaris toxicaria*) (see Zahorka 2006). Among additives to the *upas* formula applied to modern darts Hall (1928:50) lists 'the poison fangs of snakes, stings of scorpions, arsenic, [raw] *Pangium edule* (Reinw.) [i.e. *keluwak*] which contains prussic acid [hydrogen cyanide], and various comparatively harmless ingredients such as pepper, tobacco, capsicum, and onion' (tobacco and capsicum not, of course, being available in the fifteenth century).

Fighters from Makassar and Masalembu

Masalembu (*kab*. Sumenep) is a tiny archipelago north of Madura in the Java Sea. It is difficult to find any information about Masalembu beyond government statistics and few books on the islands have been published. Paul Piollet's *Salemboe Indah* (1997), a photo essay with a short introduction, is a rare exception, and preserves the name found in *BM*, *Salembu*, in its title. Salted fish has been the mainstay of the islands' economy; piracy was once common. The current population is largely Madurese, but the *bupati* of Sumenep, interviewed in 1951, claimed that the population had once been Buginese-speaking, oriented more towards Sulawesi than Madura (Piollet 1997:12-13). In BM 929 Salembu features as home of the *juru amuk* 'duellists'. *Amuk* (MSd *amuk* 'fight furiously'; OJv *amuk*, from *wuk* 'furious attack' – OJED 2322:1) is the source of Portuguese *amoco* and English 'amok', (Barbosa 2000[1516]:371; Cortesão 1944:418, 494), the name for one who challenges others to duels or who goes on a murderous rampage before being brought down themselves in an act of suicide – similar to Conti's description of interpersonal violence in Java some decades earlier. It seems likely, anyway, that the Salembu duellists fought hand-to-hand.

These duellists are paired with *pamerang urang Makasar* 'Makassarese warriors' (from *perang* 'war', cf. OJv *praṅ* 'fight, combat, battle' [OJED 1398:15]). Makassar is now Indonesia's fifth largest city. The peninsula on which it sits has long been Sulawesi's most densely populated region, subject to deforestation and dense human settlement since at least the fourteenth century and located on the route

[291] From Odoric it entered Mandeville's (hoax) *Travels*, the author of which elaborated on Odoric's original in various ways. In some Mandeville manuscripts an antisemitic coda was added to this section (see Hannigan 2018). London, BL, Harley MS 3954, f.39r adds that the dart poison is to be feared 'ffor treacle [i.e. theriac] may not help yu'.

between Maluku and Java (Andaya and Andaya 2015:112; Bougas 2007; Pelras 1999:9-10, 12). Medieval Makassar was only sparsely documented, with brief references in the *Deśawarṇana* (14.5) and *BM* forming some of the region's only records before early modernity; writing had probably been introduced to South Sulawesi by the fifteenth century but no manuscripts from this period have survived (Caldwell 1988:11). In the sixteenth century, however, Makassar grew to become one of the archipelago's most important ports (Cribb 2000:102).[292] The Makassarese language is in the South Sulawesi branch of MP and is only distantly related to Sundanese and Malay (Smith 2017b:494). Before the conversion of the region's rulers to Islam in 1605, people in Makassar probably had rather different religious traditions to the Hindu-Buddhist sects of Java and Sunda, with traces surviving in the traditional literature of South Sulawesi (particularly the Buginese *La Galigo* – Koolhof 1999) and perhaps in the practices of more isolated peoples in the Sulawesian uplands like the Sa'dan Toraja (see Cribb 2000:102; Macknight, Paeni, and Hadrawi 2020; Nooy-Palm 1986; Pelras 1996).

Little information about Sulawesian weaponry survives from this period but several sources depict or discuss arms elsewhere in the archipelago, particularly the *Sanghyang Siksakandang Karesian* (L630, f.17r), Brás de Albuquerque's *Commentarios* (1576:382), the OJv *Nawanatya* (Leiden, UBL, Ms. Or. Leyden 5091, f.2v – Pigeaud 1960:I:81-82), and reliefs, like the Sukuh forge relief (Leiden, UBL, OD-7115) (see Rahardjo 2011:140-142 for earlier Javanese weapons). Modern Indo-Malaysian weapons can also be a guide to medieval ones, although there is always the possibility of outside influences on recent designs (see van Zonneveld 2001 for an overview). The Javanese are described in foreign sources as having produced excellent weapons – good enough that when Francis Drake stopped in Java in 1580 he 'bought reasonable store' of steel weapons.[A51] Fèi Xìn says too that Java 'ha[d] substantial military equipment and mechanical arms' (Fei 1996:45).[A52] Java is poor in iron and the raw material for local arms production had to be imported from China, Sulawesi, and elsewhere; iron, including ingots for forging, is frequently found at shipwreck sites. Roughly 340 tonnes were recovered from the Yuán-era Java Sea shipwreck off Lampung, for example (Mathers and Flecker 1997:70; Miksic 2013:135).

The sources mention similar arrays of weaponry, including the well-known *keris*, which appears in BM 396 (and elsewhere) and is depicted in the early-fifteenth-century forge relief from Sukuh, as well as (single-edged?) swords (OSd *pedang*), shorter cutting weapons (like *golok*s, mentioned in SSKK), spears of several kinds (Albuquerque distinguishes a type that he calls *lanças de Iaoa* 'Java lances'), and parrying shields (*tameṅ*s and *ḍaḍap*s, for which see Maxwell 2019). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa refers to 'a knife like a billhook' being used at the Javanese court (Gibb and Beckingham 1994:883); this was known in OJv as *kuḍi* (OJED 909:2) and in Sundanese as *kujang*. The *kujang* has become an emblem of Sunda – it can be seen in the coats-of-arms of several towns in West Java, including Bogor,

[292] See the books and papers collected by the OXIS Project for the foundations of these developments: The OXIS Group. https://oxis.org/research/oxis/. (Accessed 02-08-2020.)

and *kujang*-shaped pendants are sold at tourist shops – but in SSKK it is mentioned as a 'peasant's weapon' (*ganggaman sang wong tani*), and it was clearly used by the Javanese (Figure V.3 – see Munandar 2017:43-51).

Figure V.3. The forge relief from Candi Sukuh, Central Java early/mid fifteenth century. Leiden, UBL, OD-7115. Note the weapons in the background, particularly the *kuḍi* near the front and the non-wavy forms of the *keris*.

Armour is mentioned in some sources but it is seldom depicted in reliefs. Albuquerque says *laudeis de lamina* were captured at Melaka, probably meaning coats of plates and mail similar to the (nineteenth-century?) armour photographed by Isidore van Kinsbergen in Kuningan (UBL, KITLV 87611). This may have been equivalent to OJv *kray* 'coat of mail' (OJED 899:4), which is also mentioned in the c.1492 Chinese-Malay phrasebook as the equivalent of 甲 'armour' (吉剌尾 pinyin: *jíláyǐ*, early Míng Guǎnhuà ~[kji-la-i] – Edwards and Blagden 1931:734 #266). Armour nonetheless seems to have been uncommon, and several sources say that Southeast Asian pirates wore amulets under the skin, believing this protected them from iron weapons. Odoric says that ships' guards took to fighting 'with spears and arrows without iron, as they know iron cannot harm [the pirates]. And because these people are not well-armoured they wound and often kill them'.[A53] This may have had more to do with the scarcity of iron than with the amulets' powers, though, and wooden and bone weapons are known from later times in eastern Indonesia (even where forging was practised – e.g. Sumba [R. Needham 1987:32-33]).

Piracy of course answers the question of why ships would need guns and guards – and the people of Makassar were often counted among the archipelago's pirates (Wolters 1970:11).[293] Pires asserts that:

> '[t]hese [Makassar men] are greater thieves than any in the world, and they are powerful and have many *paraos*. They sail about plundering, from their country up to Pegu, to the Moluccas and Banda, and among all the islands around Java; and they take women to sea. They have fairs where they dispose of the merchandise they steal and sell the slaves they capture' (Cortesão 1944:226-227).[A54]

Master Gunners from Bali

The poem refers to 'guns' (*wedil*, cf. Malay, MSd *bedil*) three times, each time on board ship. *Wedil* is probably from Tamil வெடில் *veṭil* '[e]xplosion of gunpowder, a shock' (Winslow 1862:399; Burrow and Emeneau 1984 #5473), although the specific referent is not known. Several cannons have been excavated from fifteenth-century shipwrecks in island Southeast Asia, including the Bakau wreck in the Java Sea (1400-1420s) and the Lena Shoal wreck off the coast of Palawan in the Philippines (1480s). Some of these cannons are bronze, others iron, while most of the forms are evidently Chinese, with short barrels and bulbous chambers designed to absorb the shock of ignition. Some were designed to fire arrows rather than bullets (Goddio 2002:41, 239-241; Wade 2016:21).

The ethnohistoric sources add confusing points. Varthema claimed that 'no artillery of any kind is used [in Java], nor do they know how to make it'.[A55] Pigafetta tells us on the contrary that cannons could be found in Brunei and were fired frequently during the *Victoria*'s time in the port (Beinecke MS 351, f.60r), and Barbosa says that the Javanese were skilled gunsmiths.[A56] Albuquerque (1576:382) says that Melaka's gun foundries were as good as those of the Germans – renowned gunsmiths at the time.[294] Three thousand artillery pieces were captured after the conquest, including – interestingly – one thousand cannons *da feição dos nossos berços* 'of the [same] style as our *berços*'.[295] A *berço* was a small-calibre breech-loading swivel gun invented in Europe in the fourteenth century; Portuguese *berços* came in three bore sizes (Gould 2000:209-210). They were certainly unknown in China until the early sixteenth century when they were introduced by the Portuguese (and known as 佛朗機砲 pinyin: *fúlǎng jīpào* 'Frankish cannon') (Andrade 2016:142-143). It stretches credulity to suppose that they

[293] Christian Pelras believes claims of Buginese and Makassarese piracy are overblown, however, calling the reputation of the Buginese in this regard 'entirely without foundation' (1996:3-4).
[294] See e.g. the comments of Laonikos Chalkokondyles, an Athenian who wrote a world history following the 1453 Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. In Book 5 of his account he claims that it was widely believed that the Germans had invented firearms and that they 'spread gradually from the Germans to the rest of the world' (Chalkokondyles 2014[~1465]:383). Pietro Bembo (2007:9, 57), writing in the sixteenth century, makes similar comments.
[295] Earle and Villiers (1990:89) give 'calibre' for *feição*, but 'style' is more accurate.

were common in Southeast Asia before then, although the design may have been adopted by local gunsmiths between the first Portuguese contact and the conquest in 1511.

Figure V.4. A breech-loading cannon from Java. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 1986.503.

A Javanese-made bronze breech-loading cannon with an animal-face motif and a *Surya Majapahit*-like symbol cast over the trunnions in the Metropolitan Museum of Art adds to the confusion (inv. no. 1986.503 – Figure V.4). Based on the symbol the Met implausibly places the cannon in the fourteenth century (when breech-loading cannon were invented in Europe), but the symbol is itself difficult to date and it cannot be diagnostic in this way. Anti-personnel breech-loaders later became popular across Southeast Asia (Manguin 1976; Sint Nicolaas 2007; Wooley 1947); this gun could easily have been made in the sixteenth century or later.[296]

By 1500 the serpentine, an S-shaped iron trigger that lowered a match or hot iron into a handgun's touchhole, was common in Europe, first evidenced in a German manuscript of 1411 (Vienna, ÖNB, Codex 3069, f.38v), and Portuguese sources also refer to handguns/muskets in Southeast Asian contexts (e.g. '*muitas espimguardas*' – Barbosa 2000[1516]:374). The *Sulalat al-salāṭīn*'s claim that guns were unknown among Malays before the arrival of the Portuguese is false, and muskets were certainly used by both sides at Melaka in 1511: António de Abreu, who only months later led the first expedition to Maluku, was shot in the face by a gun, losing part of his tongue and several teeth.[A57] *BM*'s *wedil* probably encompassed both 'cannon' and 'musket' (cf. OJv *bĕḍil* 'firearm (old type)' – OJED 232.10) and either way would probably have been anti-personnel weapons with small bores, some perhaps shooting arrows or darts.

The master gunners (*juru wedil*) are said to be Balinese. Interestingly, one of Clifford Geertz's informants from Tabanan, Bali, remarked of pre-colonial Bali that '[t]here were certain specialists (*juru bedil*) who held the few guns there were, and they were placed in the very front of the fight' (Geertz

[296] The breech-loaders may have been made by Europeans and brought to the archipelago. This is not as implausible as it sounds; Varthema (1535[1510]:78v) says that two Italian gunsmiths were employed by the Zamorin of Calicut c.1500, and at least one gun sent by the Zamorin to the Sultan of Melaka was captured by the Portuguese in 1511 ('hum tiro grãde que o Rey de Calicut mandara ao Rey de Malaca' – Albuquerque 1576:382). Conti (Bracciolini 2004[1448], lines 656-662) noted as far back as the 1440s that Europeans were known in Asia for their gunsmithing skills. See also the cannons on the sixteenth-century Xuande wreck (Goddio et al. 2002:239).

1980:254). By late pre-colonial times these guns were probably imported rifles (Geertz 1980:91, 206), but it is interesting that the term *juru bedil* was also used in Bali itself.

Chinese Master Archers

By the fifteenth century Chinese communities had grown to considerable size across western Indo-Malaysia and Chinese people often held important posts in the region's port-cities. When Zhèng Hé arrived in Palembang (舊港 'old port') in 1407 he found that what had been the capital city of a Malay kingdom, Śrīvijaya, had been turned into a pirate republic run by a Chinese man, Chén Zǔyì (陳祖義), who had taken over after the city's previous ruler, Liáng Dàomíng (梁道明), had left for China. Chén was brought to China and executed (Wolters 1970:73-75). The size of the Chinese population meant that post-Chén Palembang could not be considered a wholly foreign country by the Míng; it instead became a 'Pacification Superintendency' (宣慰使司 pinyin: *xuānwèi shǐsī*), equivalent to a state on China's borders (Wade 2016:22). In *BM*, however, the only reference to Chinese people, as opposed to goods, comes in BM 927 – *juru panah urang Cina* 'the master archers were Chinese'.

Chinese archery traditions seem to have been conservative in the Middle Ages. There were reportedly fourteen different schools of archery in the early sixteenth century but specifics of their teachings have not survived, and the most commonly cited manual in the Míng had been written over seven centuries earlier in the Táng dynasty by Wáng Jū (王琚), a contemporary of seventh-century CE Empress Wǔ Zétiān (624-705). Wáng Jū's teachings had been transmitted through a Sòng-dynasty encyclopedia, *The Guided Tour through the Forest of Facts* (事林廣記 *shìlín guǎngjì*) by Chén Yuánliāng (陳元靚), and they formed the basis of all extant archery manuals into the Qīng. Lǐ Chéngfén's (李呈芬) *Archery Classic* (射經 *shèjīng*, written 1646) – which quotes liberally from Wáng's then-millennium-old text – noted that archers were frequently illiterate, so the lack of Míng-era material is perhaps unsurprising (Selby 2000:278).

In Wáng's method (described in Selby 2000:196-210), the bowstring was drawn with the thumb; for infantry shooting, as on a ship, Wáng recommended the 'Chinese method' (中國法 – as opposed to the 'nomad/barbarian method' 胡法), wherein the middle finger secures the thumb with the index finger standing erect along the string. The thumb was normally protected by a thumb-ring, and in the Míng there was a fashion for ornamented stone thumb-rings with raised ridges around the middle (see Selby 2000:xvii for images), although most were leather or horn. Mǎ Huān (76) says that the beak of the 'crane's crest bird' (鶴頂 – *Buceros bicornis*, great hornbill), sourced from Palembang, could be used to make *jǐjī* (擠機), which Mills (1970:101) interprets as archers' thumb rings; *BM*'s *juru panah*s' thumb rings might have been made using such local materials. The string was drawn to below the ear, and the arrow was drawn so that the arrowhead 'mounted the thumb' (上指). In infantry shooting the

bow was held upright and the feet were placed slightly apart.[297] Upon release the bow was allowed to spin forward, finishing parallel to the ground.

The materials of a Chinese bow were described in *The Rites of Zhou* (周禮 *zhōu lǐ*), supposedly written in the Zhōu dynasty but more likely to date to the early Hàn (as an 'Old Text' [古文經] – see discussion in Selby 2000:90-91; Nylan 1994). A bow required a wooden core supported on the belly by horn (to resist compression) and on the back by animal sinews (to resist expansion) glued together with isinglass. The nocks were cut into horn or wooden inserts at either end; in English longer non-moving inserts are referred to as 'siyahs', although these were less common on early Míng-era bows (Loades 2016:6-8, 20). The whole was bound with silk and coated with lacquer to protect it from the elements, including humidity (cited specifically in *The Rites of Zhou*). Archery with handbows (rather than crossbows) was common on Chinese ships into the nineteenth century: Later Míng woodcuts clearly show bows with elongated siyahs on ocean-going 'Fujian ships', and bows are known to have been carried on Sòng-era ships too (see Lam 2002:Fig.27; Miksic 2013:101). Composite bow are significantly more powerful than self-bows, and it is easy to see how an archer with a Chinese bow trained in a Wáng Jū-like system could have been an asset on fifteenth-century Indonesian shipping.

Figure V.5. **L:** A self-bow depicted at Prambanan, Central Java, ninth century – author's photograph. **R:** a composite bow in a relief depicting part of the *Arjunawiwāha* at Candi Kedaton, Probolinggo, East Java, c.1370 – Leiden, UBL, OD-3402.

The 1292 Mongol invasion (see Bade 2013) may have brought a similar archery tradition to Java, although as composite bows were used throughout Afro-Eurasia they could have come to Java in

[297] Specifically the posture was described as: 此為丁字不成八字不就 'almost a "丁" and not quite a "八".'

any number of ways. Bows from other Indonesian islands are typically wooden or bamboo self-bows shooting long unfletched arrows – e.g. the Tanimbarese weapons in Drabbe (1940:93, plates XII and XXXII) – and they and the Indian-style self-bows depicted in Central Javanese-era reliefs (Figure V.5) were probably less effective than the bows used by Mongol and Mamluk archers. Recurved composite bows are depicted in reliefs throughout the Majapahit period; a relief at Candi Panataran depicting Indrajit as a horse archer[298] (see Gommans 2018) has received particular attention, but similar bows are depicted elsewhere.[299] This could have been mere fashion, but these reliefs suggest that horn-wood-sinew composite bows *were* known in Java in the fifteenth century.

Bailing Water

Bailermen – people who bail water from the boat – are mentioned on both *parahu*s. On the first they are identified as coming from Kalapa, but on the second *parahu* they are referred to simply as *nu ni(m)ba* (BM 932, 933 – '[those] who bail', from PMP *timba 'vessel for drawing water' [ACD 10323]). Their bailers (*pani(m)ba*) are said to be *salaka* 'silver'; such utilitarian items are normally of wood or bamboo. Noorduyn and Teeuw translate BM 932, *nu ni(m)ba jo(m)pong sagala*, to mean that the bailermen were 'crested' (as in Coolsma 1913:145 *sub* DJOMPONG, from a word for a horse's mane). *Jompong* has other meanings in MSd, however, particularly 'youth' or 'pubescent boy'. Rigg (1862:177) also gives 'servant of nobles', which is a plausible interpretation; the foreign sources suggest slaves and servants laboured on ships, and Sunda certainly took part in the slave trade. The more usual word for 'slave' in OSd is *hulun*, however, as in SA 253 (*réya hulun mo kasuruh* 'there is no point in commanding many slaves' – from PMP *qulun 'outsiders' [ACD 4668]). 'Youth' is perhaps a better reading.

Musicians?

While several musical instruments are mentioned in both *parahu* descriptions (BM 98-104 and BM 939-946), no musicians appear in the text. All of these musical references come as the first and second *parahu*s are leaving their respective harbours, and include a range of percussion and woodwind instruments as well as the human voice. The songs (*kawih tarahan*) seem to have been sung by the crew, although the interpretation is complicated by the enigmatic word *tarahan*. In BM 944 Noorduyn and Teeuw left the term untranslated ('*tarahan* songs'), although in BM 100 they translated the entire phrase as 'shanties'. Presumably the origin is *tahan* 'to endure, to bear' (Rigg 1862:472) with the *-ar-* plural infix – 'endurance songs'? Working songs?

The instruments on the ships – many of which have been discussed in a recent article by Ilham Nurwansah (2020a) – comprise *goong* (nipple gongs); *gangsa* (probably flat gongs; N went for

[298] First taken note of by UGM archaeologist Adieyatna Fajri (Jarrah Sastrawan, p.c.).
[299] A particularly clear example can be seen in a relief at Panataran – Leiden, UBL, KITLV 87862.

‘cymbals’); *goong kuning* (‘yellow gongs’, presumably of a brass-like copper alloy, possibly with gold inclusions – Goddio 2002:238); *ge(n)dang* (drums); and *sarunay* (shawms). Additional musical terms occur at the text’s finale while Bujangga Manik is in heaven (BM 1785-1790): *ge(n)ding* (an OJv word that, according to Kunst [1968:5], ‘has no specific meaning’; Danasasmita et al. [1987] translate it as ‘gamelan players’); *caning* (a kind of metallophone known in Javanese as *saron* – Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006:329; van Zanten 1995:525; see also Kunst 1968:78-81); *tatabehan* (‘instrumental music’ – Kunst 1968:3-4); and *pabura(ñ)cahan* (‘place of *burañcah* instruments’, *burañcah* being an OJv word for unknown instruments found in the *Kuñjarakarṇa* – OJED 275:16).

Figure V.6. A relief at Sukuh (Central Java, mid-fifteenth-century) showing a nipple gong. Leiden, UBL, OD-7133.

‘Gong’ is a colonial-era loanword in English, probably from Malay, and *BM*’s *goong*s (cf. Mal *gong*, OJv *goṅ* [OJED 535:14]) were not known in medieval western Afro-Eurasia. These gongs were probably bossed or nipple gongs; the vast majority of gongs recovered from shipwrecks of the fifteenth century are bossed gongs with only small differences in design (Nicolas 2009:62-63; Goddio 2002:237), and gongs of that type appear in reliefs (Figure V.6). These have been recovered in large numbers; 51 bossed gongs were excavated from the fourteenth- or fifteenth-century Phu Quoc wreck, for example (Nicolas 2009:65). *BM*’s *gangsa*s (Skt *kaṅśa*, cf. OJv *gaṅsa* [OJED 492:6]) may have been simple flat gongs, found at maritime archaeological sites from the ninth century on. No drums (*ge(n)dang*, cf. OJv *kĕṇḍaṅ* [OJED 849:3], MJv *kendhang*, Malay *gendang*) have been recovered from wrecks, presumably because they were made of organic materials, but their appearance on reliefs at several Javanese *candi* suggests they would have been similar in style to those in a modern *gamelan* ensemble – asymmetrical drums tuned with cords. Some of these instruments can be seen in several reliefs of musical ensembles on the main temple at Panataran (e.g. Leiden, UBL, KITLV 28255 and KITLV 28254 – see also Kunst 1968:120-123 for a chronological list of instruments depicted in Javanese reliefs).

The ancestor of the modern oboe, the shawm was a popular instrument across medieval Eurasia – probably as far east as Ternate, where by the sixteenth century shawms were played at ceremonies for

the installation of a sultan (L. Andaya 1993:64). The English name derives tortuously from Latin *calamus* 'reed', but the Sundanese one, *sarunay* (cf. Malay *serunai*, MJv *sruni* [Robson and Wibisono 2002:700]) is from Middle Persian *sōrnay* (سورنای) compound word referring to reed instruments (سور) used at a feast (نای) (Mackenzie 1971:78 *sub sūr*).[300] Kunst (1968:Fig.9) sees a possible shawm (or end-blown flute) in a relief at Borobudur, and a couple at Panataran and Jago (1968:Figs.50, 55), although he says '[w]e cannot be quite sure that the instruments shown are shawms' (1968:28). Interestingly, given that the *sarunay* in *BM* is played as cannons fire and gongs are hit, in Middle English an alternative name for the shawm was *bumbard*, from *bombard* 'cannon'.[301] The *sarunay* must either way have been chosen for its commanding sound, able to compete with and complement the din of guns and gongs.[302]

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Bujangga Manik shows that life at sea in fifteenth-century Southeast Asia was extremely multicultural. People from some of the tiniest and most poorly documented islands of the archipelago rubbed shoulders with folk from some of Eurasia's greatest ports, and Chinese-inspired guns and bows could be found alongside Persia-derived shawms and native gongs. Although only briefly glimpsed, these marine communities are some of *BM*'s most fascinating sections. Each ship appears to correspond to Bujangga Manik's spiritual authority at different points in his life, starting with a humble, slow-moving craft crewed by local Sundanese mariners and ending with the biggest ship of all, a medieval *jong*, a ship larger than almost any other in the world. The grandeur of the ships increases as the ascetic gains greater understanding. After coming to Balungbungan in BM 1013, Bujangga Manik heads to Rabut Palah again in order to read the Javanese holy texts. After this he goes back to West Java, ascending the volcano, Papandayan, and has a vision of the entire known world. This is the peak – literal and figurative – of his insight, and it flows directly from his journey from Bali on the *jong*, a physical manifestation of the ascetic's spiritual accomplishment.

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[300] The shawm seems to have been popular throughout Eurasia, with descendants in Chinese (嗩吶 *suǒnà*) and Cuman (*suruna*) as in the thirteenth-century *Codex Cumanicus* (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Cod. Mar. Lat. DXLIX), one of the earliest records of a Turkic language in Europe (Kuun 1880:103, 297).
[301] *Middle English Dictionary*. Robert E. Lewis, et al. (eds). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952-2001. Online edition in *Middle English Compendium*. Frances McSparran, et al. (eds). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Library. 2000-2018. https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED5471. (Accessed 23-08-2020.)
[302] A shawm recovered from the Mary Rose appears to have been rather quieter – a 'still' shawm with a gentler, less shrill sound (Myers 1983). This says little about instruments in Southeast Asia, but it is a reminder that medieval and early modern instruments may have few parallels in the modern world.

PART VI:

Things in Bujangga Manik

Bujangga Manik's documentation of material culture in fifteenth-century Java goes beyond ships and housing. Lists of perfumes, flavourings, dyes, metals, and glass items make up significant chunks of both the mundane and heavenly parts of the poem, with many of the same commodities being found in Sunda and in *sorga*, an idea encountered in other OSd texts (e.g. SA 469-674). In this section I will examine some of these commodities, noting their places of origin and particularly their roles in the medieval world. Many of the Indo-Malaysian commodities referred to in *BM* are discussed at length by Tom Hoogervorst (2011) and are well-known in the literature on the region. Others – particularly those from outside Indonesia – are less well-documented, and about those I have gone into more detail. I will start by looking at plants, animals, and botanical products in various contexts (VI.1) before moving on to metal, glass, and other manufactured goods (VI.2).

Indo-Malaysian historiography is dominated by political history and the (often dubious) exploits of elite heroes like Hayam Wuruk, Hang Tuah, and Siliwangi. Histories of 'Hindu-Buddhist' Java focus on diplomatic missions to China and the acts of kings and religious figures recorded in local inscriptions. Ordinary lives and interests are often left by the wayside. This is to the detriment of our understanding of the region as a whole, and it is also – if you ask me – rather boring, barely connected to life as it is actually lived. In the absence of the exhaustive documentation of daily life required for medieval microhistories, we must look for ways to slot ordinary people back into Southeast Asian history. Commodities offer us just such a path. As Joshua Specht (2019) has recently argued, commodities and their movements allow us to write global histories connecting disparate communities that do not rely on elite linkages. Plant products are often used by the rich and powerful – as, indeed, in *BM* – but they are grown, harvested, and transported by people who do not otherwise feature in the historical record.

Merchants travelled across the Indian Ocean on relatively predictable routes dependent on the regular cycling of the southwest and northeast monsoons (see Wheatley 1966:xviii-xx). 'Predictable' does not mean 'fast' – a round-trip from India to China and back would take three years using the monsoon cycle – but departures could be timed by the winds and currents. Ships from India to Melaka sailed between April and August, for example, while ships from Melaka to China departed between June and August (Miksic 2013:37-38). The monsoon cycle seems to have been discovered in the late first millennium BCE (see Hourani 1995:24-26), and exploiting the winds was a skilled activity for

experienced but mostly anonymous sailors and navigators (see Lewis 1973 for fifteenth-century travel on the Indian Ocean). Many of the commodities mentioned in *BM* came from outside the archipelago – harvested by anonymous skilled peasants elsewhere in the hemisphere – and they must have been brought to Sunda by sailors expertly traversing seas made dangerous by storms and piracy. References to commodities in texts like *BM* are much more than the dull cataloguing of irrelevant minutiae; they instead constitute traces of the lives and labour of people otherwise unheard and of the hemispheric connections they facilitated.

VI.1 Plants and Animals

In contrast to other medieval Indo-Malaysian texts like the *Deśawarṇana* and *Pararaton*, *BM* contains few references to animals or even animal products.[303] Plants and botanical commodites take centre stage instead. These include Barus camphor, sandalwood, various bamboos, a couple of kinds of timber, and different types of incense. Animals appear infrequently and obliquely, chiefly in the form of civet (*dédés*) and in the taboos Bujangga Manik accuses his grandmother of having broken. The Portuguese sources' lists of trade goods corroborate *BM*'s items; they all seem to have been fashionable commodities on the Indian Ocean in the long fifteenth century.[304]

In this section I will examine the plants and animals used in textile production (VI.1.1); those among Jompong Larang's gifts to Bujangga Manik (VI.1.2); those growing in the land Bujangga Manik's soul enters upon his death (VI.1.3); those Dorakala uses to describe the appearance of the ascetic's soul (VI.1.4); and the more enigmatic items found in heaven proper, including the yak Bujangga Manik is said to ride. Textiles in OSd texts have already been amply discussed by Aditia Gunawan (2019) but, as elsewhere, I will focus on the hemispheric context of the goods described.

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VI.1.1 Textiles

Ameng Layaran returns home to find his mother outside working on several stages of textile production, from cleaning cotton to dyeing yarn (BM 158-164), and as noted above, weaving and dyeing feature strongly in *BM*'s depictions of women. A number of dyes are mentioned here, and others come up when describing the curtains (*kasang*) hung about the house. The weaving of cotton cloth has a long history in island Southeast Asia, and a specific term for 'weaving cloth', *tenun, can be reconstructed

[303] A list of the plants and animals mentioned in the *Pararaton* can be found in I Gusti Putu Phalgunadi's translation (1996:46-47).
[304] 'Long fifteenth century' used here in a rather different sense to that in Cooper and Mapstone (1997).

to PAn (ACD 8734). Cloths were certainly made in large numbers in Sunda in the Middle Ages, although none have survived from this period. Textiles from other islands have been radiocarbon-dated to the fifteenth century, however, including a beautiful heirloom cloth from Lampung (perhaps made in Java) that has been dated with 98.5% confidence to 1403-1501 (R. Barnes 2010:36), as well as several from Sulawesi and Timor. Weaving was traditionally an activity for women and it is sometimes described in the ethnographic literature on eastern Indonesia as the female equivalent of headhunting (as in Hoskins 1996:23 – see also B. W. Andaya 2004; R. Barnes and Kahlenberg 2010:12-13, 28-29).

Aditia Gunawan has already examined the intricacies of textiles and textile production in OSd texts, including *BM*, in a recent article (Gunawan 2019), and I do not see much purpose in simply replicating his findings here. I will, however, go over some of the botanical components of dyeing and weaving as found in the poem, particularly in their medieval/hemispheric context.

Fabric

The basic material of native Indo-Malaysian weaving traditions is cotton (*Gossypium arboreum*), which appears to have been used by MP speakers since prehistory (although there are no PMP terms for cotton, and it was probably introduced from India – Boivin et al. 2013:216; Reid 1988:90).[305] The fabrics in the poem go under different names and they are not always easy to interpret even when attested in OJv sources; *bayabon*, for instance, is identified in OJED as 'a particular kind of cloth' without specifics (229:1). *Boéh*, which now means '(white) cotton cloth' in Baduy Sundanese (Hasman and Reiss 2012:103), is used in OSd to refer to cloths of different materials and patterns – twenty-five types of *boéh* are listed in SSKK, for instance. Types of *boéh* in *BM* include *calingcing* (Sd for *Averrhoa bilimbi*, a small fruit tree, here probably a pattern rather than a dye – BM 213), and *lungsir*, plausibly interpreted as 'silk' (BM 189, 352, 1794, 1797 – cf. OJv *luṅsir* 'a kind of cloth (silk?)' [OJED 1062:3]). *Luṅsir* often features alongside *sutra* in OJv texts and is usually interpreted as 'satin' or 'silk cloth'. Another term, *limur* (BM 394, 515), is also presumed to be a kind of silk (cf. OJv *limar*, *limur* – OJED 1029:1). Unfortunately it is not clear what distinguished the two, and I have rendered them both as 'silk' in the translation (with the original in brackets).

China, home of sericulture, has long been associated with silk – so much so that '(Maritime) Silk Road' has been adopted as an umbrella term for trade out of China in late antiquity and the Middle Ages – but by the fifteenth century silk was also being produced across Afro-Eurasia from Japan to Italy. Cloths were certainly being woven from silk in the archipelago at this time; the fifteenth-century heirloom cloth from Lampung mentioned above was made with silk warp and cotton weft. Afanasij Nikitin reports that silk (шелкъ [*šelkŭ*]), was produced in 'Java' (f.382v), and Pires mentions that parts of Sumatra produced silk, including Pasai (Cortesão 1944:144). That said, Pires also mentions cloths

[305] Before cotton, cloth was probably woven from the fibres of *Musa textilis* (abacá or 'Manila hemp'), documented ethnographically across the Austronesian-speaking world (including Taiwan – Chen 1968:166).

of many kinds (most of them silks) as among the goods imported into Sunda (Cortesão 1944:169), and it is clear from other sources that enormous amounts of cloth (silk and cotton) were being imported into the archipelago as a whole, as far east as Banda and Maluku. The shawl Bujangga Manik is wearing when seen by Jompong Larang is described as *sutra Cina* 'Chinese silk' (BM 254) and one of the types of umbrellas found in heaven is made of *sutra Keling* 'South Indian silk' (BM 1799) – *sūtra* being the Sanskrit word for 'thread' (cognate with English 'sew'), whence the meanings 'silk' and 'collection of aphorisms, sutra'.

Dyes

The dyes mentioned in *BM* also seem to be vegetable-based. Three dyestuffs are used as verbs in BM 162 and 282, *nelem nuar ñangkuduan*, where, following Aditia Gunawan's interpretation, I have translated them as 'dyeing black, yellow, and red'. These verbs describe the activities of Bujangga Manik's mother and Ajung Larang. Only the third dye can be identified conclusively with a single species (see Gunawan 2019 for the others): *cangkudu* (*Morinda citrifolia*), the outside of the root of which is ground to produce a red (or brown) dye throughout the archipelago (cf. Malay *mengkudu*, OJv *wuṅkuḍu* – OJED 2331:2).[306] Other dyes are mentioned when describing the curtains, including *kacambang*, which is apparently to be identified with *Ardisia tenuifolia*, whose berries produce a black dye (according to Rigg 1862:183), and *laka*, which elsewhere in *BM* refers to the wood of *Myristica iners* but which here probably refers to lac, an imported dye derived from the secretion of an insect (*Kerria lacca*) which to this day carries '[a]n aura of luxury' in Bali (Nabholz-Kartaschoff 2010:195).

One of the most interesting dyes mentioned is *sepang* 'brazilwood'. This is the wood of the brazil or sappan tree (*Caesalpinia sappan*) that produces a red colour due to the presence of a chemical called brazilin (also found in a South American species, *Paubrasilia echinata*, whence the name of Brazil). *Sepang* goes back to PMP *səpaŋ, and it has relatives in Malay (*sepang*) and Javanese (*secang*), as well as in Chinese, where the word for 'brazil' is *sūfāngmù* (蘇枋木 – MC *su-pjang-muwk*, often shortened to 蘇木). This is often translated as 'sappanwood', but it was known by the name 'brazil' (*verzin*, *berçi*, etc.) in medieval Europe, where it was used for dyeing cloth and for making paints, just as it was in India and the Middle East. Brazil was exported from South and Southeast Asia, particularly from Sumatra, where the tree grows natively, and it has even been found among the cargo at medieval Southeast Asian shipwrecks (like the Longquan junk – Miksic 2013:201). Marco Polo attempted to grow a brazil tree in Venice from Sumatran seeds; they did not sprout, which Polo attributed to the colder climate.[A58]

[306] Blust reconstructed a PWMP protoform *baŋkudu '*Morinda citrifolia*' (ACD 6843). WMP is no longer considered a valid clade, however.

Brazil is combined with other ingredients as it otherwise swiftly turns brown (Medlej 2020:56). It must be used freshly made. The Italian artist Cennino Cennini (c.1360-c.1427) recommended mixing kermes (a red insect dye) with brazil to strengthen blue paint in his *Libro dell'Arte* (c.1400), noting, as in *BM*, that skilled women were the best dye-mixers:

> '… it is an unusual ability to know how to make [brazil] properly. And know that making it is an occupation for pretty girls rather than for men; for they are always at home, and reliable, and they have more dainty hands' (Cennini 1960[~1400]:39).[A59]

Hayam, mentioned after *sepang* in BM 164, is unidentified. N went for 'making chicken soup' for the phrase *ngangen hayam* (cf. MSd *angeun*, the name for a soup or stew), but Aditia Gunawan is probably right to see this as the name of a dye and the line as a parallelism. He suggested to me that *hayam* could be *saliara* (Malay/Indonesian *tahi ayam* – *Lantana camara*), but this is a post-Columbian introduction and could not have featured in a fifteenth-century text.

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VI.1.2 Jompong Larang's Gifts

Jompong Larang gives a number of valuable gifts to Bujangga Manik's mother in hope of securing him as her husband. These gifts are not a dowry; dowries (payments from the bride's family to the groom's) are rare in an Indo-Malaysian context, and bridewealth (gifts provided by the groom's family to the bride's) is considerably more common (in both western and eastern Indo-Malaysia – e.g. Winstedt 1950:60-61). Jompong's gifts should best be seen as initial prestations – more akin to a marriage proposal than bridewealth or dowry (Rooney 1993:37-38). Such gifts are an important part of marriage negotiations elsewhere in the archipelago, and, indeed, characterise relations between lineages even in situations that do not involve marriage (see e.g. Cooley 1962:26-50 for Ambon).[307] The most important gifts – in terms of the number of lines of description devoted to them (BM 358-379, BM 463-494) – are betel quids. The association between marriage and betel is widespread in the archipelago, so this is not unexpected (e.g. Creese 2004:62 for quids as love tokens in OJv *kakawin*; Keane 1997:147 for Sumba).

Ajung Larang (on Jompong's behalf) adds a number of more exotic commodities to the presents, and these are all said to be 'perfumes from overseas' (*bubura pe(n)tas sagala*, BM 391) – indicating perhaps that commodites' exotic origins were as important in Sunda as they were elsewhere in the medieval world (see Freedman 2005). Several human-made products are added, including a waistband decorated with *wayang* figures, a *keris*, and a silk (*limur*) cloth. A fruit basket (*buah rembey*

[307] The Dutch missionary Louis Onvlee, for instance, showed that the construction of a dam in Sumba was negotiated in the same way as a marriage between two lineages and involved the same initial gift-giving – see Onvlee (1949).

‘mixed fruits’, BM 397) is the final gift on the original list, although Ameng Layaran’s mother also mentions ‘jewels and gems’ and a ‘sandalwood raft’ (*rakit candana*), apparently made of camphor dipped in areca water and wrapped in cotton, in the later enumeration.

The gifts are a mix of local and foreign, botanical and artificial. There is some male-female symbolism apparent in some of the pairings, although some of the items appear to have been valued for their inherent properties (scent, medicine, etc.) and not for a particular symbolic role. I will address them here in the order in which they appear in the text.

Betel

Betel is a mild narcotic formerly chewed by both men and women and formerly popular in Java, where it has been largely replaced by tobacco. It is not the product of a single plant but of two (or more); a typical betel quid consists of a sliver of the seed of the areca palm (*Areca catechu*) wrapped in the leaf of a vine (*Piper betle*) trained to grow up areca trunks. Powdered lime (calcium oxide) is the most common addition to the quid, but other ingredients are sometimes added, including camphor, musk, gambir, and cloves (Rooney 1993:16).

Like many important Southeast Asian plant species, the areca palm was probably first cultivated in New Guinea, where its use appears to long antedate the arrival of Austronesian speakers (Kirch 1997:39-40). The palm has wild relatives in New Guinea, including *A. jobiensis* and *A. macrocalyx*, and their nuts are also chewed on the island (May 1984:143). There is no reliably reconstructed Austronesian or MP protoform for ‘areca’ or ‘betel’, and the absence of betel among the remains at Lapita archaeological sites in the Southwest Pacific suggests that its use outside New Guinea ‘may […] be a phenomenon of the last two thousand years’ (Kirch 1997:217; Rooney 1993:14; see also Hoogervorst 2011:131-140). In OSd the name for ‘areca’ is *pinang* and ‘betel’ is *sereh* (MSd *seureuh*); these words have counterparts in Malay (*pinang* and *sireh*/*sirih* respectively), although finding out where these terms came from is not easy.[308] Betel is still used on a daily basis in eastern Indonesia and is presented as a gift at a range of ceremonies and occasions. Its most common role in modern western Indo-Malaysia is in marriage ceremonies – Malay *meminang*, a verb derived from *pinang* ‘areca seed’, means ‘to ask in marriage’, for example (Rooney 1993:35) – a trait paralleled in eastern Indonesia and New Guinea. In fifteenth-century Java betel appears to have been considerably more common: Mǎ Huān says that ‘[the Javanese] receive passing guests without tea; they have only betel with which to entertain them’.[A60] Betel chewing had in any case spread outside the archipelago long before *BM*’s time, and it

[308] These terms lack clear Austronesian protoforms, so although they are widely shared in the Austronesian language family it is not obvious that they were known to the speakers of proto-Austronesian or even proto-MP. A dispersal of *pinang* to other MP branches (and other languages, including Chinese 檳榔 [pinyin: *bīnláng*]) from Malayo-Chamic has been proposed, with a possible Austroasiatic source.

was popular across mainland Southeast Asia, southern China (Fan 2010[1175]:127-28) and India (Dallapiccola 2003:13; Figure VI.1).

Figure VI.1. Betel chewing depicted in the *Ni'matnāma-i Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāhī*, a Persian-language cookbook written in the Malwa Sultanate, central India, at the end of the fifteenth century. London, BL, IO Islamic 149, f.100v. See Titley (2005).

Betel chewing requires certain tools and implements, although the paraphernalia exhibits significant geographical differences (see e.g. Beran 1988 for New Guinea; Rooney 1993:3 for Southeast Asia). In western Indonesia betel paraphernalia is based around the tray and receptacles for the various ingredients, as well as the specialised betel scissors (OSd *kalakatri*, probably from Tamil *kattari* கத்திரி 'scissors').[309] Some of the words used in *BM*'s betel descriptions are difficult to decipher, however, particularly *pasileman*: N interpreted this to mean 'betel tray' (related to OJv *silĕm* 'depth' – OJED 1766:11). It occurs in an apparent parallelism with the term *pasiboténg* (in N's transcription), however, which I would tend to interpret as *pasi bo(n)téng* 'cucumber slices' (MSd *bonténg* 'cucumber'). The phrase *dihañceng di pasileman* 'arranged in the *pasileman*' (BM 378) suggests something one could arrange something on top of, but *di* can also mean 'among' (cf. BM 1011) – betel quids arranged among slices of something? At a stretch this could be a reference to a citrus fruit, 'lime slices' (cf. MSd *limo* 'small sour orange or lime' [Rigg 1862:254]; OJv *limo* 'a citrus fruit', mentioned in the ninth-century OJv *Rāmāyaṇa* [OJED 1030:4] – see the discussion in Hoogervorst 2011:151-157). *Pasileman* and the *pasi bo(n)téng* may be coincidentally similar in form, though, and I have stuck with N's 'betel tray' interpretation in the translation.

Some of the phrases concerning betel processing are also rather tricky, particularly those using the term *batri* (BM 473-476, 485-486), which has a similar function as *benang* in making passive

[309] The oldest surviving betel cutter is a fourteenth-/fifteenth-century Thai example (Rooney 1993:54).

meanings from active verbs; Danasasmita et al. (1987:136) connect it specifically with hard work and fatigue, and I have adopted this interpretation. Other betel descriptions are paralleled in MSd: BM 471-495 is similar to that documented by Rosidi (1995:146-148) in a *pantun* recorded in modern times, particularly the notion of women rolling quids on their bodies and finishing them on the breasts (*nganggeuskeun dina pinareup* – cf. BM 477) before giving them to a man. The phrase *batri no(ng)gong-siloken* 'worked with the back turned towards the sun' (BM 486) has an almost exact parallel in the same text.

'*Tiwi* areca' and 'ivory areca' are probably different *A. catechu* cultivars, as they appear by those names as plants encountered on Bujangga Manik's way to heaven. *Tiwi* is hard to relate to any OSd, MSd, Malay, or Javanese terms, though I tentatively suggest that it is from Tamil *tīvi* (தீவி) 'tiger', used as a metonym for aggression and excitement (cf. *tīviram* 'pungency, sharpness' – for both see Winslow 1862:244). Areca seeds vary somewhat; the twelfth-century administrator Fàn Chéngdà (范成大) describes several popular kinds of betel in Guǎngxī, most of them imported from Hainan Island (Fan 2010[1175]:127-128):

> 'Those gathered at the time of Ascendant Spring [Shangchun] are made into "soft areca nuts". Those gathered in summer and fall and dried are made into "rice areca nuts". The smaller and pointy ones are made into "chicken-heart areca nuts". Oblate ones are made into "big bellies". All of these can give off an [identifiable] odor. Those preserved in a salty solution are made into "salty areca nuts".'[A61]

Other betel types appear to be the names of quids, including 'queen of Pakuan' and 'pregnant lizard' (BM 491). Unfortunately the referents of these are unknown. The quids included lime, specifically 'rock lime from Karawang' and 'sea snail shell lime from Malayu [southern Sumatra]' (BM 368-369). In the latter case the shells could have been taken from prehistoric middens in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula; this practice is attested for the nineteenth century (Earl 1863:120).

Chewing betel causes one's saliva to turn red when chewed, in any case, and frequent chewing leads to blackening of the teeth. It is also carcinogenic and can cause asthma attacks.

Resa Flowers

Resa flowers (*bunga resa*) are as yet unidentified, although the item occurs in other OSd texts, including *Séwaka Darma*. The fourteenth-century OJv *kakawin Pārthayajña* has the word *wĕsah*, interpreted by Zoetmulder as 'a rush-like plant (*Amomum maximum*?)'; a variant, *wrĕsah*, is also given in OJED (2247:1). The genus *Amomum* is in the ginger family (Zingiberaceae) and includes cardamom; *A. maximum* produces large aromatic white flowers, and it certainly grows in Java, so it could be the referent of *resa*. The container (*juha*) for the flowers is also obscure; N chose 'vase', but it is not clear what kind of receptacle a *juha* was.

Civet and Oak Gall Powder

Ma(ñ)jakané is the name of a product made from oak galls (i.e. growths created by certain species of wasp laying eggs in the leaf buds of oak trees) imported from Persia or the Mediterranean. Noorduyn and Teeuw give this word as *majakané*, but the name may have included the homorganic nasal based on the Portuguese evidence and the modern Malay and Javanese names (both *manjakani*); Rigg (1862:265) gives *Majakani*, however, defining it as 'gall nuts, imported from Persia' and providing a spurious Persian etymology. The forms found in Indo-Malaysia likely derive from *maja* ('bael', *Aegle marmelos*, but also used in the names of other plants) or possibly Persian *māzū* (مازو) 'a gall-nut' (Steingass 1892:1137; cf. Hindi/Urdu *mājūphal*, Malay *akar kani*). The gall-nuts in question came from *Quercus infectoria*, the Aleppo oak, native to the eastern Mediterranean (as noted by Wilkinson 1932 #22710). *Q. infectoria* galls are particularly high in tannins – up to 60% of the gall, compared to only 17% in English oak (*Q. robur*) galls – and were in demand for ink production in the Middle East (Medlej 2020:30). Gall-nuts were also used in medicines: The powder was combined with musk, ambergris, and other ingredients to make a preparation called *sukk*, and the fourteenth-century Mamluk encyclopaedist al-Nuwayri (2016:223-224) includes this *sukk* in a recipe for a jam to 'strengthen sexual appetite' (among other things).

In Barbosa's account *ma(ñ)jakané* appears as *magicam* or *mangicão*. He says:

> '…[western merchants] bring in exchange […] some drugs which we do not have [in Portugal] called *pucho*, *cacho* and *mangicão* that they bring from the Levant, and other commodities which, by way of Mecca, come to Khambhat and then to Melaka'.[A62]

This is thus one of the few Middle Eastern goods in *BM*. Trade between Southeast Asia and the Middle East was old even by the fifteenth century, as evidenced by the use of Byzantine and Sassanian glass in the manufacture of the fifth-to-seventh-century 'Jatim' beads from East Java, some of Java's earliest known exports (Lankton et al 2008; Francis 2002:134-136).[310] It is perhaps surprising that more Persian/Middle Eastern commodities are not mentioned.

The marketing for Resik V Khasiat Manjakani, a feminine hygiene product currently on sale in Indonesia, states that it contains '*Ekstrak Manjakani dari Persia*' and that it can help 'tighten the muscles of the feminine area', emphasising both the Persian connection and the feminine associations of the product.[311] Whether there was a connection between *ma(ñ)jakané* and women's health at the time of *BM* is difficult to say; *ma(ñ)jakané* appears only twice (in BM 384 and 497), in both cases paired

[310] This glass trade was also happening in the fifteenth century, with Venetian glass being brought to Melaka for bead production (Francis 2002:171).
[311] 'Pembersih kewanitaan dengan Ekstrak Manjakani dari Persia, membantu mengencangkan otot-otot kewanitaan, membersihkan dan menghilangkan bau tak sedap.' See http://www.kino.co.id/brands/personal-home-care/resik-v-manjakani/. (Accessed 18-10-2018).

with *dédés*, the musk[312] from a native civet-cat (*Viverricula indica*) likely now extinct in Java (cf. Malay *didis* – see ACD 2247). The civet may have been imported, however, explaining the line in BM 391 ('perfumes from overseas'); *V. indica* was spread around the Indian Ocean by humans in late prehistory (Boivin et al. 2013:215), and civet is known to have been used and traded elsewhere in South and Southeast Asia (see e.g. Dallapiccola 2003:12). Donkin (1999:2) names several civet species from Africa and Asia which were kept in captivity with the musk extracted while the animals were still alive. It may be premature to read a masculine/feminine dualism into the pairing of *ma(ñ)jakané* and civet, although such a dualism would not be unprecedented in initial marriage prestations in island Southeast Asia (cf. Onvlee 1949).

Ma(ñ)jakané also appears in *Séwaka Darma* (PNRI, L408), again alongside civet (*dédés*), although in the published text this is not explained (Danasasmita et al. 1987:28). Indeed, the line as published reads *dedes rase majaka nejasa*, splitting the final syllable from the word *ma(ñ)jakané*, and the text is left as-is in the accompanying Indonesian translation. *Jasa* in modern Sundanese is an intensifier – 'very' or 'extremely', usually in an negative sense (Rigg 1862:169; Coolsma 1913:130 *sub* DJASA) – but here it may simply mean 'excellent' *ma(ñ)jakané*. Here again Aleppo oak galls appear in a list of valued goods, perhaps supporting a long-fifteenth-century date for *Séwaka Darma*'s composition.

Jaksi *and* Kamisadi

Jaksi is a type of pandan (a plant in the genus *Pandanus*) whose leaves are used in weaving. In modern usage there are two varietals of *Pandanus tectorius* with the label, *jaksi bener* ('true *jaksi*') and *jaksi laut* ('sea *jaksi*'), both important in the mat- and hat-weaving trades (Hofstede 1925). *Jaksi* is still a preferred pandan for weaving in Priangan because of the smoothness of the leaves (Rahayu, Sunarti, and Keim 2008:312). Why this should be given as a gift is not entirely clear, although Rigg (1862:343) notes that '[pandan leaves], especially those about the flower, being shred fine and mixed with flowers, are worn in the hair by young natives when they are busy courting', which indicates some connection in Sunda between pandans and romance. In BM 385 and 498, *jaksi* is paired with *kamisadi* – a rather mysterious word. *Kamisadi* may be a type of pandan, but BM 499 – *dikukup ratna ko(m)balah* 'covered with jewels and gems' – may suggest militate against this. It could be a kind of fine (*adi*) robe (MSd *kamis* – Danadibrata 2006:313), in which case the word would come from Arabic *qamīṣ* (قميص) and ultimately from proto-Germanic via Latin. This is speculative, however.

Benzoin

N translates *kameñan* in BM 387 as 'incense', but it refers more specifically to benzoin (cf. OJv *měñan* [OJED 1136:9]; Mal *kemenyan* 'benzoin' [Wilkinson 1932 #16836]), a resin produced by trees

[312] Musk and civet should strictly speaking be differentiated (as in Lambourn 2018:77).

in the genus *Styrax*, particularly the Sumatran species *S. benzoin*. It is frequently referred to in the accounts of the Portuguese *conquistadores* under the name *beijoim*, a corruption of the Arabic *lubān jāwī* 'Sumatran frankincense' (Donkin 1999:11; cf. Barbosa's *lubamjavy*, and see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's comments [Lee 1829:199; Gibb and Beckingham 1994:876]). The Portuguese do not appear to have distinguished between the Sumatran and mainland Southeast Asian varieties (see e.g. Barbosa 2000[1516]:350). Benzoin is burned as incense, and in the archipelago it has been associated with magic (Endicott 1970:140; Winstedt 1950:25).

Sesame and Rosewater

In BM 389 and 502 two branches of sesame are said to be sprinkled with rosewater, the formula for which, *diteñuh ku aér mawar*, is encountered in other OSd texts, suggesting that rosewater was a valued commodity in late-medieval Sunda. Rosewater (*air mawar*) is also common in Classical Malay literature, and in fact the OSd word, *aér mawar*, is a transparent borrowing from the Malay, using Malay *aér* 'water' in place of Sundanese *cai*. The second part of the term, *mawar*, is a corruption of the Arabic *mā' ward* (ماء ورد) 'rosewater' (Nasrallah 2010:138), the first part of which means 'water' (from proto-Afroasiatic **ma'* 'water') and the second part 'rose', from Old Persian or Sogdian *ward* (and ultimately perhaps proto-Indo-European *wr̥dʰos, hypothesised source of Latin *rosa*).[313] This is therefore both an identifiable Malay *and* Arabo-Persian loanword.

Rosewater (*agoas rosadas*) appears in Barbosa's list of items traded at Melaka by the Javanese and Gujaratis, appearing after opium (*anfião*) and before saffron (*açafrão*), coral, copper, mercury (*azoigue*)[314], cinnabar (*vermelhão*), grains or chickpeas (*grãs*)[315], *solias* (a type of cloth), saltpetre (*salitre*), and iron (Barbosa 1516[2000]:363). A similar list appears in Barbosa's discussion of Siam, where it is said that rosewater was brought from Mecca and Aden and sold by weight in tinned copper casks.[A63] Such lists are common in both Pires's and Barbosa's accounts, not only describing goods at Melaka but also at Khambhat and Jeddah; these lists are often repetitious, with the same commodities appearing all the way around the Ocean's rim. Sesame (*Sesamum indicum*) grew locally in Java and elsewhere in the archipelago, presumably having been brought from India in prehistory – indeed, it is one of the earliest commodities mentioned in texts from the region, appearing in the fourth-century *yūpa* stones from Kutai in Borneo (Vogel 1918; Wisseman Christie 1995:260). It could easily have been imported as well. Interestingly, the combination of rosewater and sesame is occasionally found in medieval Middle Eastern recipes; the 'Frankish [or: European] roast' (الشواء الافرنجيّ) in a recently

[313] Hušang A'lam. Gol. *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. XI/1:46-52. Online version: https://iranicaonline.org/articles/gol. (Accessed 23-08-2020).
[314] The mercury trade appears in a number of Portuguese accounts, including Barbosa and Pires, and is corroborated by finds of mercury at shipwreck sites in the region. See Miksic (2013:139-140, 315-318).
[315] *Hobson-Jobson* (Yule and Burnell 2015:247) has an entry on this use of the word *grão* 'grain' for 'chickpea'. Whether it referred to chickpeas in Portuguese at the beginning of the sixteenth century is difficult to be sure, but in later uses the meaning is clear, and one of Afonso de Albuquerque's letters is cited as evidence.

translated thirteenth-century Syrian cookbook, in which a lamb is rubbed with salt, sesame oil, and rosewater and grilled over coals, is a good example (C. Perry 2017:80-81).

Narawastu (and?) Agur-agur

Next in the list are *narawastu* and *agur-agur* (BM 389 and 502). Noorduyn translated *narawastu* as 'spikenard', a term which in English normally refers to *Nardostachys jatamansi*, a plant from the Himalayas (Donkin 1999:49), but this is a troubling identification. Polo says that 'spikenard' (*espî*) was one of the commodities found in Java, but this probably did not refer to *N. jatamansi*.[A64] The word does not appear in OJv, but it is found in some Malay texts, including *Sulalat al-salāṭīn*. In Malay *narwastu* can mean 'spikenard' or 'frankincense', and it is used in the Malay Bible to translate the 'spikenard' used to anoint Jesus's feet, although Wilkinson's 1932 dictionary gives the species as *Andropogon nardus* and a Malay synonym as *serai wangi* (#24539). Rigg (1862:295) says *narawastu* is the 'name of a grass with odoriferous roots […] used as a perfume […] Andropogon Muricatus'. The genus *Andropogon* has been broken up significantly since these two authorities were writing, however, and *serai wangi* (cf. OJv *sĕre* [OJED 323:1]) is now said to be *Cymbopogon nardus*, citronella grass. Rigg's 'Andropogon Muricatus' is now classified as *Chrysopogon zizanioides*, or vetiver, and this is also the species given on Malay Wikipedia for *narwastu*. Vetiver grows in Java and elsewhere in South and Southeast Asia and it is edible, unlike citronella grass. This would seem to better suit the context.

This *narawastu* appears to have been used in or otherwise associated with a kind of seaweed-derived jelly (*agur-agur*). The English word 'agar-agar', derived from Malay *agar-agar* and related to OSd *agur-agur*, now refers to a jelly produced from algae of the genus *Gracilaria*. In Indonesia, however, such jellies appear to have been made from algae in the genus *Eucheuma*, particularly *E. muricatum* and *E. spinosum* (Tseng 1944:24). A search on the Malay Concordance Project site suggests that *agar-agar* appears by name in only a few Malay texts, none of them particularly early.[316] It is difficult to find information on the substance predating *BM* and it is popularly claimed (e.g. by the FAO [McHugh 1987]) that agar-agar was first produced in Japan in 1658 – three decades after the acquisition of MS Jav. b.3. (R) by the Bodleian and almost two centuries after the composition of the text. BM 390 seems to be the earliest reference to agar-agar by name anywhere.

Barus Camphor

Camphor is a white crystalline substance produced by several tree species, including *Cinnamomum camphora* from China and Northeast Asia and several tall gregarious forest trees in the genus *Dryobalanops* from island Southeast Asia, notably *D. aromatica* and *D. lanceolata* (see Donkin 1999; Hoogervorst 2011:185-188; Ptak 2000). The word 'camphor' is one of a handful of Malay (or other MP) words that entered European languages in the Middle Ages; *kapur*, the Malay word that was

[316] The Malay Concordance Project. http://mcp.anu.edu.au/Q/info.html. (Accessed 03-08-2020.)

loaned to the west, came from PMP *kapuR 'lime, calcium carbonate' (ACD 10045, whence also OJv *apu* 'lime', also found in *BM*). It seems to have been applied to any white powder resembling lime, including camphor.[317] Camphor appears as *kāfūra* (كَافُورًا) in the Qur'ān (76:5) and as *kāpūr* in the mid/late-first-millennium Zoroastrian *Greater Bundahišn* (Anklesaria 1908:118), as well as in a range of other texts in other languages. Southeast Asian *Dryobalanops* camphor trees were probably first described by Táng-era author Duàn Chéngshì (段成式, d.863) in chapter 18 of his 'Miscellaneous Morsels from Yǒuyáng' (酉陽雜俎) (Donkin 1999:54).[A65] In medieval Arabic texts camphor (كافور) was said to be

> 'used for heat-related conditions. In summertime, it is used to flavour dishes. It is believed to induce euphoria, check tooth decay, and prevent it from spreading. However, over sniffing it will cause insomnia, inhibit sexual desires, and whiten the hair. Its cold and dry properties can be balanced by mixing it with musk and ambergris' (Nasrallah 2010:655).[318]

Barus on the North Sumatran coast was famous across medieval Afro-Eurasia for its camphor (from *D. aromatica*) – so famous, in fact, that *kapur barus* 'Barus camphor', the form found in *BM*, became a generic word for 'camphor' in the archipelago, with the formula replicated in other languages (e.g. Polo's *canfara fa̧surí* – Français 1116, f.77ra) (see Drakard 1989 and 1990 for overviews of the region's history). In Arabic Barus was known as *Fanṣūr*, first appearing in the c.851 account of Sulaymān the Merchant (al-Sirafi 2017:5, 91; al-Mas'udi 2007:92), probably from the Malay *pancur* 'to flow', the name of a place near modern Barus.[319] Marco Polo used a variant of this name – which was frequently distorted by copyists, however, as in the *Fanfur* in the Irish version (formerly Derbyshire, Chatsworth House, now University College Cork, Boole Library, The Book of Lismore, f.130r). Al-Nuwayri said that the region's camphor was 'the finest of all types' (2016:209). It is notable in this context that *kapur Barus* is one of the few perfumes to appear in heaven in *BM* (BM 1693).

The camphor is said to be in a *cupu* – a small round lidded box made of metal, wood, or ivory (cf. OJv *cupu* – OJED 339:11). The word comes from Tamil *ceppu* (செப்பு – Burrow and Emeneau 1984 #2772; Winslow 1862:204), and is thus one of several Tamil loans into OSd, perhaps via OJv. Barus, known in Tamil as *Vārōcu* (வாரோசு), appears incidentally to have had strong South Indian connections in the Middle Ages, with Tamil inscriptions found there, including one dated 1088

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[317] 'Camphor' is often claimed to come from Sanskrit *karpūra*, but this appears to be a back-formation from the Malay-derived Pali name.

[318] Camphor was used for a range of different purposes in the Middle Ages, and in Europe and the Middle East it was a common ingredient in gunpowder – as in the 1411 Vienna Büchsenmeisterbuch (Vienna, ÖNB, Codex 3069, f.2v). See also Donkin (1999:161).

[319] Edmund Edwards McKinnon has doubted the identification of Pancur with Barus, arguing that it was further north, near Aceh. See his lecture: 2013. *Ancient Fansur, Aceh's 'Atlantis'*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-1F1JDyCAks. (Accessed 03-08-2020.) Tomé Pires explicitly connects the two, however (Cortesão 1944:161 – Paris MS, f.146r).

(Subbarayalu 2012:38-47). A Coptic priest writing c.1200, Abū al-Makārim, says that several Christian churches, among them one dedicated to the Virgin Mary, had been built in the area by 'Nestorians' (i.e. members of the Church of the East, which then included South Indian St Thomas Christians).[320] A letter from the Cairo Geniza suggests that a Jewish merchant died at Fanṣūr in the thirteenth century as well (Donkin 1999:114; Wolters 1970:208n38). Whether Christians still lived in the area in the fifteenth century is not known, but sporadic references in the accounts of Conti (Bracciolini 2004[1448]:138) and Varthema (1535[1510]:f.67v) suggest that there were Christian communities in the archipelago pre-1511.

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Bujangga Manik rejects Jompong Larang's gifts, seeing in them a disturbing symbolism: He says that the sandalwood raft (*rakit candana*) tells him that Jompong is 'always sick' (*sakit salama*). The areca water (*cipinang*) symbolises her tears (*cimata*). He does not want to hurt Jompong, telling his mother to let her down gently (BM 586) – but he does not love her, and instead professes love for the teaching he received at Damalung. Bujangga Manik thus begins his ascetic practice by rejecting Jompong, marriage, and worldly things (paralleled in SA 225-329).

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VI.1.3 Plants En Route to Heaven

After Bujangga Manik dies, his body and essences fall away and he travels to the afterlife as a soul or pure self (*atma*). This soul comes upon an open road in a beautiful settled land similar to the one it had just left behind, with buildings at each crossroads and ground swept clean by a broom. Several plants are described as growing in this land before the lacuna at the end of f.27; among these are *patah* flowers and two kinds of areca, as well as *ha(n)delem* (*Graptophyllum pictum*) and cultivars of *Cordyline fruticosa* known as *hañjuang* and *handong* (BM 1475-1477 – noted also among the heavenly plants in *Sri Ajnyana* [SA 536-593]). Further botanical items are mentioned by Dorakala, the door guardian; these are addressed separately below.

Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006:393) left *patah* untranslated; conceivably, it refers not to a species of plant but to plants arrayed in rows (cf. OJv *patah* 'arrangement (in lines)' [OJED 1317:5]). It is otherwise difficult to explain the term. The two types of areca, *tiwi* and *ading*, have been discussed above. The interesting part of the section describing them is the apparent simile comparing the areca palms to *parasi* (BM 1470), aka *Curculigo latifolia*, which can act as an artificial sweetener. Zoetmulder

[320] The text survives as one manuscript (dated 1368) divided into two - Paris, BnF, Arabe 307 and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 2570. The description of Barus' churches is in the undigitised Paris manuscript (f.110v – Evetts 1895:300, ١٣٩). The editor of al-Makārim's text, B. T. A. Evetts (1895), mistakenly attributed authorship to Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī, an error repeated in Adolf Heuken's article on Christianity in Indonesia (2008:5). In fact al-Armanī was the owner of the manuscript. See Zanetti (1995).

(OJED 1291:3) notes that *parasi* is listed 'among the delicacies' in the late OJv *Nawaruci* after *dodol*, a sweet made of palm sugar, coconut milk, and rice flour. Rigg notes that if a person drinks water after eating *parasi* 'it has a pleasant, sweet taste' (1862:354). The simile in *BM* may refer to the manner in which *parasi* leaves cluster together. It could also be an error for *kumarasi* 'blooming', as in BM 1474; *ku-* and *pu-* occasionally seem to be confused in *BM* (cf. *Cikutrapinggan*, the Ciéla map's *Ciputrapinggan*), so this interpretation is speculative.

Handelem (MSd *handeuleum*) is *Graptophyllum pictum* (synonym *Justicia picta*), a shrub with purple flowers native to island Southeast Asia and New Guinea. In New Guinea several parts of the plant are eaten as vegetables and it is also used medicinally to treat ulcers (May 1984:63; Nala 2003:33). The leaf is the useful part of the plant, still marketed under the Sundanese name *handeuleum* in modern Indonesian *jamu* (Beers 2001:185). Rigg notes that the plant 'is often planted over the after birth' (1862:141), although he does not elaborate.

Figure VI.2. Red *handong* (*Cordyline fruticosa*) in the Kuala Lumpur Botanic Garden. Photograph by Varvara Andrianova-West, November 2018.

Hañjuang and *handong* both refer to types of *Cordyline fruticosa* (cf. OJv *andoṅ* [OJED 79:5]; Mal *lenjuang*), a plant likely first cultivated in New Guinea (Kirch 1997:37). *C. fruticosa* is principally decorative and the red variety is frequently grown on the boundaries between paddyfields in Java – a practice paralleled in other parts of the Indo-Pacific (Figure VI.2; May 1984:51). In light of its presence at the boundary between life and death in *BM*, it is noteworthy that in modern Java the plant is often planted in cemeteries, a role also played by other ornamental plants (e.g. *Codiaeum variegatum*, 'garden croton') and found elsewhere in Indonesia and the Pacific (Nombo and Leach 2010:44).[321] *C. fruticosa*

[321] See Codrington's comments on decorative plants in island Melanesia, particularly crotons (*Codiaeum variegatum*) and 'dracaenas' (i.e. *C. fruticosa*) (1891:304).

has also been used medicinally; on the Rai Coast of Papua New Guinea, for instance, the heated sap is applied to treat sores (Nombo and Leach 2010:68-69).

C. fruticosa comes in several varieties. OJED notes the existence of both red and green forms, and Wilkinson's 1932 dictionary of Malay gives four varietals, 'red', 'green', 'white', and *batu* ('stone'). This variety is only hinted at in *BM*; BM 1479, the final line in f.27v immediately before the lacuna, has three missing syllables. It begins *ha(n)dong bang deng ha-* before being cut off. N reconstructed the next word syllable as *-ndong*, not unreasonably given the *panéléng* that ends the line in the manuscript. I would tentatively reconstruct BM 1479 as *handong bang deung handong ijo* (or: *héjo*) 'red cordyline with green cordyline', given the parallelism of *baṅ* 'red' and *ijo* 'green' in Javanese *kidung* (OJED 205:14.1).

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VI.1.4 'Signs of Heaven'

When Dorakala finally assents to Bujangga Manik's request to enter heaven (BM 1633-1648), he says that the ascetic's body is more fragrant than opium, more valuable (*mahabara*, from Skt/OJv *bhāra* 'heavy, weighty' [OJED 213:6]) than sandalwood (*candana*), and sweeter (*amis*) than massoy bark. These, Dorakala says, are the signs of heaven (*éta na ki(ng)kila so(r)ga*, BM 1641). These words find parallels in *Séwaka Darma* (see VI.2 above), suggesting that at least two of the substances in question were almost proverbial for their heavenliness in late-medieval Sunda, and all three substances are interesting as commodities in the medieval world.

Opium

Candu 'opium' probably comes from Tamil *caṇṭu* (சண்டு), originally 'chaff' or 'empty husk' and later opium for smoking (Winslow 1862:158). The word could alternatively refer to another kind of aromatic preparation (cf. Malayalam *cāntu* – Burrow and Emeneau 1984 #2448), but 'opium' appears to be the primary meaning of the term in the archipelago (OJv, MJv, Malay *candu*) and Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006) treat it as such.

The opium poppy (*Papaver somniferum*) originated in western mainland Eurasia, and across Afro-Eurasia it was used for medical (and recreational) purposes in the Middle Ages. The medieval trade in opium on the Indian Ocean is known in large part from the accounts of the Portuguese, in which the drug is known as some variation on *afião*, a loan from Arabic *'afyūn* (أفيون – from Greek ὄπιον). It is likely that opium came to Java from further west, perhaps from Egypt, where poppies were reported to grow in profusion and whence it was exported in huge volumes (Nasrallah 2010:748). It is this Egyptian opium to which Chaucer refers in *The Knight's Tale* ('fine Theban opium')[A66] (Emerson 1919:105), and the connection is further made explicit by Pires, who also uses the name 'Theban opium'

(*opio tebaiqo*) when describing northern Egypt (Cortesão 1944:9; Pires 2018:58). This is the only commodity in *BM* whose most likely origin is African.

Sandalwood

At least two kinds of Asian timber are known as 'sandalwood', including a red variety that comes from an Indian tree known as *Pterocarpus santalinus*. This was used throughout medieval Afro-Eurasia as a perfume and food colouring, and in OJv it was known as 'African sandalwood' (*candana jĕṅgi*) (Donkin 2003:110). The unmodified word *candana*, however, usually referred to white sandalwood (*Santalum album*) – a more valuable product. The name is from the Sanskrit *candana*, which has the same meaning and same form in OJv and OSd (Malay: *cendana*), and which probably came from a Dravidian source (Donkin 1999:14; Hoogervorst 2011:33; Burrow and Emeneau 1984 #2448).

S. album is a small parasitic tree native to the Indonesian archipelago. Although often claimed to be native to India, perhaps due to its cultural importance there (and the fact that the words for it are Dravidian), the tree is in fact from the Lesser Sundas, and early European sources do not mention India as a source of white sandalwood (although it has been transplanted there more recently, apparently with difficulty – Donkin 2003:15-17). Timorese sandalwood was particularly esteemed, and Antonio Pigafetta says, dubiously, that Timor (mentioned in the *Deśawarṇana* [14.5d]) was the sole producer of the product.[A67] Pires says:

> '[t]he Malay merchants say that God made Timor for sandalwood and Banda for mace and [Maluku] for cloves, and that this merchandise is not known anywhere else in the world except in these places' (Cortesão 1944:204).[A68]

Barbosa (2000[1516]:391-392) gives a similar description, saying that merchants from across Asia visited Timor to acquire the wood. Early fifteenth-century Chinese poems about Timor corroborate this, as does Wāng Dàyuān (116, 117), who visited the island (which he knew as 古里地悶 [pinyin: *gǔlǐ dìmèn*]) in the fourteenth century (Ptak 1983). The *candana BM*'s poet was familiar with was therefore probably harvested by non-Hindu-Buddhist people on Timor, where societies were based around weaving and headhunting (see Cunningham 1965; Hägerdal 2012; McWilliam 2007; Schulte Nordholt 1971). The fifteenth century represented a peak in the construction of fortified hilltop sites in Timor, incidentally, correlated with both competition for the sandalwood trade and El Niño-related drought (Lape and Chao 2008).

Massoy Bark

BM 1642 contains one of *BM*'s more intriguing commodities: *kulit masui* 'massoy bark'. Massoy (*Cryptocarya massoy*) is a forest tree that grows in western New Guinea, specifically on the

Bomberai Peninsula, a piece of land that juts out into the Banda Sea just east of Seram (see Ellen 2003:137-38; Rigg 1862:275). The northwestern part of the Peninsula is known as Onin, and this appears to have been the name by which the region was known in medieval Java; Ellen (2003:164-165) says that it is still used in Seram to refer to both Onin/Bomberai specifically and to New Guinea at large. Rumphius – one of the most detailed sources for massoy exploitation, albeit considerably later than *BM*'s time – says that massoy did not grow in Onin itself but was instead sourced from further east, and that outsiders were not allowed into the woods to gather massoy themselves (see also Marsden 1831:128-129; de Ricci 1884:14). Rumphius nonetheless conferred upon massoy the Latin name *Cortex Oninius* 'Onin bark' (2011:89). The etymology of 'massoy' is not known; where it grows it is reportedly known as *ai kor* (Rumphius' *aykora*), the first word clearly Austronesian (PAn *kaSiw [ACD 7794], cf. Mal, Sd *kayu*). Roy Ellen (p.c.) speculates that 'massoy' may have originated among the languages of the Gorong Islands southeast of Seram, as the people of these islands likely brought the bark to Java.

BM says that *kulit masui* is 'sweet'. The fragrance is often compared to coconut and cinnamon, but I smell an additional note akin to ethyl acetate or pear drops. Contact with the skin causes it to feel unbearably hot, and Beekman, Rumphius' translator, notes that the 'sap will cause itching blisters' (Rumphius 2011:89).[322] It nonetheless has a pleasant aroma. The earliest description of massoy use in Java is Miguel Roxa de Brito's in the 1580s; he says that the Javanese used the powdered bark as both perfume and medicine, '[grinding] it and rub[bing] their bodies with it, as an ointment, even when in good health, and they spend a lot of money on it each year' (Sollewijn Gelpke 1994:133; Ellen 2003:67-68). The earliest references to massoy in western Indo-Malaysia are older, though. Massoy is mentioned in the late-fourteenth- or early-fifteenth-century Malay *Hikayat Raja Pasai* alongside other commodities sent to Majapahit from eastern Indonesian vassals:

> '…and those from the east, coming from Bandan and Siran and Larantoka each with their offerings [i.e. as tribute], there's wax, there's sandalwood, there's massoy, there's cinnamon, there's nutmeg and cloves, lots of them all piled up, and yet more of ambergris and musk'.[A69]

A further reference is found in the *Deśawarṇana* (14.5), where *Wwanin* – i.e. Onin – appears as one of supposed Majapahit's dependencies. Onin's most important 'commodity' was probably enslaved people (alongside bird-of-paradise plumes – Ellen 2003:4, 134), but this *Wwanin* can nonetheless be interpreted as an oblique reference to massoy. This trade was probably in the hands of people from in and around Gorong and southeastern Seram, who transported the bark directly to Java (a distance of around 2,000 kilometres, taking about two weeks at sea, as noted by Conti and others [Ellen 2003:54; Rumphius 2011:90]). The Seram/Gorong people kept the Papuans ignorant of the prices massoy could

[322] I experienced this when I accidentally touched a vial of massoy oil to my nostril.

reach, trading the bark for trinkets and poor iron blades (Kamma and Kooijman 1973:1-2; Rumphius 2011:90).

New Guinea was known exclusively through foreigners' accounts until comparatively recently; these references to Onin and massoy are among the earliest mentions of the island or its products. They remind us that at least part of New Guinea was integrated into the regional economy in the late Middle Ages, part of a hemisphere of cultural and economic interactions stretching as far as Iceland, Zimbabwe, and Japan. Fifteenth-century Chinese ceramics have been found at sites in western New Guinea (Swadling 2003:136; see also Wright et al. 2013:29), and the growth of the sultanates of Ternate and Tidore, a result of the hemispheric clove trade, was felt as far east as Biak before the arrival of Europeans (see folklore to this effect in Kamma 1975.A:40-42; also Knauft 1993:32-33; O'Connor, Spriggs, and Veth 2006:16 for the south coast). It should not surprise us to read of Papuan products mingling with Egyptian and Chinese ones in medieval Java.

A reference in Pires' *A Suma Oriental* suggests that New Guinea was known by the name 'Papua' in Melaka at the time (although Swadling [1996:33] suggests this was a name for the Raja Ampat Islands specifically).[323] Papua seems to have been treated in island Southeast Asian folklore in much the same way Southeast Asia was in European and Middle Eastern traditions – as a place of monsters. Pires says:

> '…they say that in the island of Papua, which is about eighty leagues [≈444 kilometres] from Banda, there are men with big ears who cover themselves with them. I never saw anyone who saw anyone else who had seen them. This story should be given no more importance than it deserves' (Cortesão 1944:222).[A70]

New Guinea is the second-largest island in the world and its extreme geography – with mountains so tall they host glaciers barely 400 kilometres from the equator, and with extraordinary precipitation and cloud cover throughout (Marshall and Beehler 2007:3-8; Nightingale 1992:10-11) – meant that few inhabitants would have heard of Onin, let alone Java. The area around the Papuan Gulf was probably completely isolated from these developments, and indeed the archaeological evidence suggests that the south coast of New Guinea went through a protracted period of economic stagnation from the seventh century to the fourteenth represented by the absence of ceramic production (a period known to archaeologists as the 'Papuan hiccup' – Skelly and David 2017:488). The medieval world was bigger than commonly imagined, however, and it should not surprise us that parts of New Guinea were involved in trade with places as distant as Java at this time.

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[323] The distance recorded by Pires is compatible with either Raja Ampat or New Guinea, and shortly afterwards New Guinea came to be known as 'Papua' in any case.

VI.1.5 After Dorakala's Assent

Once Bujangga Manik is in heaven he walks uphill to a bathing place, where he removes sweat from his body. After this he is instructed to proceed along an iron path to another building fitted with ivory pillars and silver capitals, where he is supposed to beautify and perfume himself. The perfumes here are encountered elsewhere in the text – sandalwood, Barus camphor, and civet. A vial of sesame oil also seems to be present.[324] A leaf-length lacuna follows f.31v and the last line is incomplete; it begins with the word *pucuk*, used elsewhere in *BM* to mean 'sprout' or 'blade' but which here may refer to 'puchuk' (Barbosa's *pucho*) aka costus (*Saussurea costus*), a herb from the Himalayas common in the archipelago at the time (and particularly popular in China – Miksic 2013:100). The lacuna means we cannot be sure of this, however.

When the text resumes Bujangga Manik is being lifted onto a decorated palanquin atop a white yak (*camara* – from Sanskrit [Monier-Williams 1899:388]). Yaks (*Bos grunniens*) do not tolerate high heat or low altitude environments well (Bonnemaire 1984), and there is therefore little question of their ever having been shipped to Java; this may seem to place the identification of the *camara* in doubt. Yaks are mentioned, however, in early South Indian texts (as in the Old Tamil *Puṟanāṉūṟu* [புறநானூறு] – Hart and Heifetz 1999:84), and there are Sanskrit- or Pali-derived words for them in the languages of mainland Southeast Asia (e.g. Khmer *chaamrəy* ចាមរី), lands similarly inhospitable to yaks.[325] The verb *tumpak* 'mount, ride' does not work if the word here is 'fly-whisk' (Skt *cāmara*) rather than 'yak' (Skt *camara*). The seat on the yak's back is replete with gemstones and pearls (the poem's only reference to the latter – BM 1765), as well as curtains and carved dragons and peacocks. It has a *lingga* (phallus?) made of gold. Everything about it is said to be beautiful and expensive.

Bujangga Manik's sacred soul is compared to a *sekar pamuja*, a flower given as an offering at a temple. Seated on his yak he hears music played on metallophones and gongs, and the poem describes a lavish landscape of banners and umbrellas. The white silk banners, apparently attached to *bungbang* bamboo poles (species unidentified), are compared to the splendid movements of the great egret (*ku(n)tul*, *Ardea alba modesta*). Lightning, rainbows, and a celestial glow light up the scene as the text comes to an abrupt finish.

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[324] N interpreted this as '*asana* oil', where *asana* is a tree, *Terminalia tomentosa*. A derivation from *wangsa* 'noble' seems more likely.

[325] Yaks were known in medieval Europe, incidentally, albeit not by name. The thirteenth-century Flemish Franciscan William of Rubruck says: '[The Tanguts] have very strong oxen, with very hairy tails like horses and hairy bellies and backs. They are lower than other oxen but much stronger. They draw the great houses of the Mongols, and have slender, long, curved horns, so sharp that it is always necessary to cut off their points. The cows will not let themselves be milked unless sung to. They have the nature of bulls; if they see a man dressed in red they leap at him to kill him'.[A71]

There are some enigmatic terms here, including *uñut* (BM 1795), which I prefer to emend to *hañut* 'be carried away' (cf. OJv *hañut* 'throw sth. into the river, let it be carried away' – OJED 589:1). N treated it as a noun and left it untranslated. *Pajalé* (BM 1806) is also difficult to identify and might not be botanical, especially as it is paired with *ratna* 'jewels'. It may be related to Malay/Indonesian *jali*, however – a native Southeast Asian cereal, 'Job's tears' (*Coix lachryma-jobi*), from PMP *zelay (ACD 8724). The seeds of *C. lachryma-jobi* have been used for ornamentation in the archipelago for at least five thousand years (Glover 1971:17, cited in Fox 1977:75) and in New Guinea the seeds are still worn as beads (Craig 1988:14; Hoffman 2014:8; May 1984:82). This identification with Job's tears is conjecture, however, and the MSd name for the plant, *hanjeli*, may militate against it. There are also difficulties with BM 1804, *tapok térong omas ngora*, probably intended to describe the *lingga omas* ('golden *lingga*/phallus') in the preceding line. N interpreted it as 'térong calyxes of light gold'. *Térong* is the word for 'aubergine' in some dialects of MSd (Rigg 1862:494), and it may be relevant that Dempwolff (1938) originally reconstructed an MP protoform *teruŋ 'be cylindrical' (although this is rejected by Blust). *Tapok* could be MSd *tapuk* 'piled in a heap', or it may be related to OJv *tapuk* 'emerge' (OJED 1949:6), but it too is mysterious.

It is perhaps unsurprising that the items in heaven should be harder to identify than those on Earth. Nonetheless, it should be clear that many of these items are the same as earthly ones, and that in certain respects heaven as envisioned in medieval Sunda was a grander and more orderly version of the mundane world.

VI.2 Metals and Miscellaneous Items

A number of metal, glass, and paper items are mentioned at several points in *BM*, chiefly in the descriptions of heaven, where some of the paths (*lurung*) are said to be made of metal. Umbrellas and glass items also appear occasionally in the narrative. One metal object also features among the gifts Jompong Larang brings, however – a *keris*, a kind of ceremonial Javanese knife.

Keris

The *keris* ('kris') is a long Javanese dagger with a blade that broadens asymmetrically at the hilt, often with a flamberged edge and a short handle. The origins of the *keris* are murky, but the weapons appear in a number of *kakawin* and *kidung*s, as in the thirteenth-century *kakawin Sumanasāntaka* (28.7), where 'evil people' (*wwaṅ doṣa*) are said to 'roam about, carrying ropes and kris with which to stab' (*amawa tali lawan kris pamraṅ-mraṅña habalaṅan*) (Worsley et al. 2013:142-143). By the fifteenth century the weapons were being worn by Javanese men of all ages, as noted by

Mă Huān, Tomé Pires, and others, and they were exported as far east as Maluku (Andaya 1993:65). The prominence of the *keris* made it an icon of the region in European accounts. Camões refers to the *keris* (in the plural – *os crises*) in the *Lusíadas* (X:44):

> '[…] The poisoned arrows you've made,
> The *crises* with which I already see you armed —
> Amorous Malays, valiant Javanese,
> You will all make obeisance to the Portuguese.'[A72]

Keris today are famous for their curves, but the ones depicted in the Sukuh forge relief have leaf-shaped blades (Figure V.3 above), as does the fourteenth-century 'Knaud Kris' (Figure VI.3). The *keris* the *BM* poet was thinking of may thus have had a leaf- or tongue-shaped blade, although that is not certain: Some surviving sixteenth-century *keris* have the classic waves (*luk*), including one brought to Austria at the beginning of the seventeenth century (Vienna, Weltmuseum, inv. no. 91.919ab), as do some so-called *keris Majapahit*, at least some of which likely date to the Majapahit period (Frey 1988:8-11).

Figure VI.3. The 'Knaud Kris', the oldest dated Javanese *keris*, which bears a (now-faded) date equivalent to 1342. Interestingly, a man with a blowgun is depicted on the other side of the blade. Amsterdam, Tropenmuseum, inv. no. TM-6046-1.

Though they were certainly used in combat, medieval *keris* could be elaborately decorated, and they appear to have had ceremonial roles for as long as we have records of them. They are still given in payment for fines in Kanékés communities and the phrase *keris sapucuk* is still used when the weapons are given as gifts or in such payments (Hasman and Reiss 2012:104). They often have ritual and magical uses in communities both in and outside Java (e.g. Endicott 1970:163).

The *keris* is described as *maléla*. N translated this as 'plain steel', as in many modern Indo-Malaysian languages it means simply 'steel', but the word actually comes from *Malyāla*, referring to

Malayali people and Kerala in South India; the meaning ‘steel’ is derived (OJED 1095:8). South India was known across the medieval world, particularly in the Middle East, for its production of high-carbon crucible steel (the famed ‘wootz’, its English name probably derived from a word for ‘steel’ in a Dravidian language – cf. Malayalam *ukkụ* [ഉക്കു], see Burrow and Emeneau 1984 #661 [Bronson 1986; Pearson 1795; Srinivasan 1994]). The change from *Malyāla* to *maléla* is a product of OJv sandhi, so this must be an OJv loanword. That the word originally referred to Indian crucible steels seems likely, but whether it still referred to Indian steels specifically in the fifteenth century is debatable.

Khorasani Iron

Purasani is a corruption of *Khurāsānī* (Classical Malay *khersani*), which in Arabic and Persian is simply an adjective for things from Khorasan, a historical region of eastern Persia and Central Asia; al-Nuwayri says, for instance, that a melon varietal was known by the name (al-Nuwayri 2016:187). In *BM*, and more widely in island Southeast Asia, *purasani* (and others like it) came to refer to a specific steel, apparently from Khorasan (as in OJv – OJED 1452:8; Jákl and Hoogervorst 2017:210). It appears as *kuraysani* in the Malay *Nītisārasamuccaya*, a legal text written in the Sumatran kingdom of Dharmasraya; stealing it would result in a fine of five *mas* (Kozok 2015:70, 77; Mahdi 2015:210-211).[A73] This can be compared to Chinese 鑌鐵 (pinyin: *bīntiě*) ‘finely fused iron’ (Kroll 2017:24), which Mills (1970:88) says was ‘fine steel […] brought from Persia’, used in Java for the manufacture of *keris* (Mǎ Huān, 55). It can also be connected to ‘Damascus’ steel, a controversial term for what was probably Indian crucible steel pattern-welded with other metals to forge more attractive and cold-resistant blades. The first account suggesting that Indian steels were used in Persian blades dates to 1679 (Tavernier, cited in Bronson 1986:23), but accounts of Persian patterned steels are older (Polo refers to a metal called *ondanique* ‘wavy’ from Kerman, for instance – Français 1116, f.15r). That *purasani* is used in the architecture of heaven suggests that it was valued for its attractiveness as well as its strength.

Interestingly, Nikitin says that in ‘Java’ ‘Khorasani soldiers are paid a salary of one *tenka*[326] a day each, both the great and the lesser’[A74] and that people from Khorasan were encouraged to settle down and marry local women (Zenkovsky 1974:346).

Umbrellas

Umbrellas have a long history in Southeast Asia, appearing in some of the earliest extant reliefs. Although associated with ‘Indianised’ elite culture, the Sundanese word *payung* ‘umbrella’ is a native term (cf. Malay *payung*, Blust’s PWMP *payuŋ). Some of *BM*’s umbrellas are made of South Indian silk (*sutra*), and feature golden or ivory finials. Paper umbrellas are also mentioned: The word for

[326] An amount of money, probably from Tatar *tamga* ‘a tax levied by the Tatars; properly a seal on merchandise’ (Michell and Forbes 1914:xlii).

‘paper’, *ke(r)tas*, is from Arabic *qirṭas* (قرطاس), ultimately from Greek χαρτης ‘sheet of paper’. The word was in use in Malay at this time, as evidenced by the 1492 Chinese-Malay glossary, where the equivalent of 紙 ‘paper’ is given as 各路剌答思 (pinyin: *gèlùládásī*) (Edwards and Blagden 1931:734 #252). The meaning of *qirṭas* varied over time; Joumana Medlej (2020:14) notes that it originally referred to papyrus and was used as such in the Abbasid period, but in later contexts it meant ‘rag paper’, as in the twelfth-century Cairo Geniza texts discussed by Elizabeth Lambourn (2018:85n.*o*; 95).

Mirrors

The ‘gilded Javanese mirrors’ mentioned in BM 1689 as among the beautifying tools in the heavenly pavilion may have been similar to surviving East Javanese-era mirrors in modern museum collections, although most of these are said to date to before the fifteenth century. Such mirrors typically consisted of flat polished copper-alloy discs with convex backs attached to T-shaped handles, some of which bore inscriptions in a so-called ‘quadratic’ script (e.g. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. EA1991.71; see also Leiden, UBL, OD-35120; for other ‘quadratic’ inscriptions see Griffiths and Lunsingh Scheurleer 2014). Others were decorated with scenes from Hindu mythology, like a hollow-cast handle in the Museum Nasional depicting Garuḍa (inv. no. 5754 – Fontein 1990:276-277; Figure VI.4).

Figure VI.4. A copper-alloy mirror handle depicting Garuḍa paying homage. East Java, date unknown. Leiden, UBL, OD-3511; Jakarta, Museum Nasional, inv. no. 5754.

Chinese Manufactured Goods

China was the source of enormous quantities of manufactured goods in the Middle Ages, particularly ceramics, large amounts of which have been recovered from shipwrecks and other archaeological sites in Southeast Asia. *BM* features remarkably few words for them: We hear about

gilded Chinese boxes (*ebun Cina*), and the mysterious term *juha*, a container of some kind in which the *bunga resa* were apparently kept (BM 497, 1694), but the specifics of these are not clear. Thai and Vietnamese ceramics – which have also been excavated from sites in West Java (Andaya and Andaya 2015:105) – are similarly absent. Chinese copper cash (for which see Heng 2009:161-167) is known from many sources to have been used in Java at this time – Mǎ Huān notes that '[c]opper coins of […] successive [Chinese] dynasties are in current use universally' (Mills 1970:88).[A75] In *BM*, though, the only 'currency' mentioned is cloth (*kaén*), which Bujangga Manik uses to pay for his trip to Bali – a reminder, if any were needed, that texts and excavations often tell different stories.

Glass features several times, particularly Chinese glass. Unfortunately the glass industry in early-Míng China is poorly known and it is not possible to identify likely centres of production for the items mentioned in *BM* (Miksic 2013:338). Derek Heng's work on Sino-Malay trade (2009) does not even mention trade in Chinese glassware. It is possible this 'Chinese' glass actually came from somewhere else – *Cina* being used in some Indo-Malaysian languages as a synecdoche for all foreign lands (e.g. *Sina Jawa* 'China Java' in Adonara [R. H. Barnes 2004:32]) – but this seems unlikely given *BM*'s other Chinese references.

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PART VII:

Epilogue

> *'In the 1690s the Dutch described inscriptions, statues, remnants of a fort, and other buildings in the Bogor area of west Java, but there is little to show how people actually lived'* (Andaya and Andaya 2015:105).

> *'It must of course be realized that communications may have been difficult in mountainous West Java, and that the princedoms that existed there in various periods were never very powerful. In contrast, the central and eastern parts of the island were areas of lowland cultures and proud dynasties, where great power, sometimes controlling the entire Archipelago, had its seat…'* (Kunst 1968:1).

Bujangga Manik is a work of fiction, one in which an ascetic dies and ascends to heaven, narrating negotiations with a supernatural door guardian in the first person. It is not an eyewitness account or an autobiography. The assumption in this thesis is that the poem nonetheless presents a realistic view of daily life in Java and Sunda in the mid-to-late fifteenth century. The text's references show remarkable correspondences with those found in texts written by foreign observers of the late Middle Ages and early sixteenth century – and I would say that it is apparent from the references to all manner of imported objects, to merchant ships, and to foreign places as far afield as Delhi and Banda – and all the rest – that Sunda should not simply be characterised as a backwater. Late-medieval Sunda had its own literary traditions, its own script(s), and links with other peoples and societies across the hemisphere. The Sunda kingdom stretched from Banten to the Cipamali, making its money from commerce in black pepper and enslaved human beings. It may have had close links with the Maldives. Sundanese elites enjoyed rosewater and Barus camphor just as contemporaneous Egyptian elites did; Sundanese mariners knew about and used gunpowder; dyestuffs used to colour cloth in Pakuan were simultaneously being used by Italian 'Renaissance' artists to make paints. The medieval world was bigger than we tend to think: By the fifteenth century, plant and animal products from Indonesia were routinely traded in the markets of Africa, Asia, and Europe. People in Java knew of East Africa and India; they had heard of Papua; they knew Chinese people and products intimately. Traders from Seram travelled in their own boats to Java, where they could have encountered Chinese communities ensconced in every town on the coast, Makassarese warriors working as guards on local shipping, Muslims from Khambhat and Cairo who had arrived to buy cubebs or sell oak galls, Latin Christian travellers like Niccolò de' Conti, and perhaps (largely unattested) travellers from the Swahili Coast – or even a Śaivist ascetic from Sunda. These

connections went back centuries if not millennia. The history of the archipelago should not, to my mind, be written as a series of diplomatic missions or as the evolution of Indian-inspired religious and political institutions. The region was an integral part of half a world of economic and cultural interconnections. Understanding that hemispheric context enhances our understanding of Indonesia and understanding Indonesia enormously enhances our understanding of the Middle Ages as a whole.

Why was *Bujangga Manik* written? It is certainly more than a guide to the geography of Java, but it does seem probable that it had a didactic function. Its structure is seemingly rather ancient, the focus on place and place names emerging from an indigenous literary motif adaptable to many different kinds of text. Its depiction of ascetic practice and spiritual aspiration is simple but profound, combining an attempt to know the world and what it holds with renunciation of it, conveying its messages not through explicit preaching but rather through the characters' deeds and the poet's selective depiction of them.

As it stands, although it is the second crack at the poem, my translation of *Bujangga Manik* can only be described as tentative and provisional. Many features of the text, and of Old Sundanese literature in general, are still mysterious, including some of the grammatical structures and vocabulary. Other questions surround the interpretation. Why, for instance, are animals mentioned so infrequently? Why is sweeping the ascetic's activity *par excellence*? Were there really *jong*s forty-six metres long? It is hoped that, as research on Old Sundanese – and on the history and archaeology of the Indo-Malaysian archipelago as a whole – continues to improve, we will be able to answer questions like these more fully than I have been able here.

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Appendix A: *Primary Source Citations*

Primary sources quoted or cited in the text are presented here in their original languages. The references are numbered A1- A75 below and with superscript numerals – e.g. ‘[A52]’ – flagging them in the main body of the text. I have included below only those languages I can read or have reliable information for; as I cannot read Arabic or Persian I have relied on translations for those, but most of the Chinese, European, and Indo-Malaysian sources can be found below. Editions and manuscripts are noted in brackets after the transcription. I have made unashamed use of digitised manuscripts rather than editions wherever possible, particularly with the European sources; manuscripts are both more fun and more *real* than edited texts (if you ask me). In those cases the transcriptions/transliterations are my own, as are the translations (unless other noted). For the Chinese material I have relied on collaborative digital editions (described in the Introduction – section 0.3.2). For Pires’s *Suma Oriental* I have cited the folio numbers from the Paris manuscript (Bibliothèque de l’Assemblée nationale, 1248 (ED 19)) as well as the page numbers and transcriptions in Rui Manuel Loureiro’s recent edition of the text (Pires 2018); this is both more accurate and easier to read than the well-known edition by Armando Cortesão (1944). For Conti/Bracciolini I have used an early manuscript dated to 1460 – Rome, BAV, Urb.lat.224 – which has been digitised; the relevant sections are on ff.46r-46v. For Varthema I am using an edition printed in Venice in 1535 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, It. sing. 1095). For Odoric I have used a few different manuscripts because of the peculiar variability of the text. Other sources are noted in brackets below or described in the Introduction.

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A1. ‘In þat[327] Ile growyn alle man9[328] of spyces more plentyous þã[329] ellys qwere, as gyngure and alle othyr spycis. Alle þing is þer in plente but wyn’ (London, BL, Harley MS 3954, f.38v).

A2. ‘Hee Çumda de jemte cavaleyrosa [e] guerreira no maãr. Dizem que tamtos por tamtos mais que os Jaãos sam homẽs de bõos corpos, homẽes baços, robustos’ (Pires 2018:190; Paris MS, f.147v).

A3. In Bosch’s transliteration (1941:49):

//Ini sa*bd*akalānda rākryañ juru pangā-

mbat i kawihāji pañca pasāgi marsā-

[327] ⟨þ⟩ = *th*. ‘That’.
[328] ‘Manner’.
[329] tilde = nasal vowel/consonant (e.g. ⟨grãt⟩ = *grant*). N.B.: In some Portuguese texts a tilde seems to signify very little, and need not always correspond to a nasal.

ndeça barpuliḥkan hāji su-

nda// (Bosch 1941:49.)

My translation, based on Bosch's Dutch version: *'This is the commemoration (containing) the order of the Rakryan Juru Pangambat (issued) in 854 [932 CE] decreeing the restoration of the king of Sunda.'*

A4. 'L'habito suo al modo del Cairo' (Varthema 1535[1510]:f.64v).

A5. '天氣長熱如夏' (Mǎ Huān, 61).

A6. '… wök sěṅgah gawaya lulāya śalya cihna / goḍeya plawaga wiḍāla gaṇḍakāḍi.' (Pigeaud 1960:I:37).

A7. 'jaka urang tandang bajalan basaja, bawa min[u]m makan lalukan' (Tanjung Tanah manuscript, f.13.1).

A8. 'да ролесоу оуних мамоны да ѡбезьѭны . да по дорогамъ людеи дероут. ѝноунихъ ночи родорогамъ не смѣють ѣздити . ѡбезъѭнъ дѣлѧ да момонъ дѣлѧ' (Trinity Recension [1563], f.383r).

A9. 'A cidade homde o rey estaa ho mais tempo do anño hé a gramde cidade de Dayo. Tem a cidade as casas d'olla & madeira bem obradas. Dizem que a casa do rey hé de trezemtos e trinta esteos de pão da grosura de huũ tonell he d'altura de cimqo braças cada huũ, de fremoso emmadeiram*en*to sobre os esteos, e muyto bem obrada casa' (Pires 2018:191; Paris MS, f.147v).

A10. '架造屋宇，悉用木植，覆以椶櫚皮，籍以木板，障以藤篾' (Zhào Rǔkuò, 新拖國 1.11.1).

A11. 'Isti, de pannis quos emunt, faciunt ad modum cortinarum parietes' (London, BL, Additional MS 19513 – Jordanus 1839:51).

A12. 'dharmâgöṅ riṅ usāna koñjuk asamīpa walahar asamun tikuṅ hawan
runtuh śīrṇa tikaṅ supit makara tan kahuniṅa lalayanya meh rěbah
kadyâṅěmbih ikaṅ cawintěn asaput mukha winilět i pañjrah iṅ latā
lwir śokâṅlih atîrikaṅ wiwarapāla maguliṅan akuṇḍah iṅ lěmah' (*Śiwarātrikalpa* 3.1 – Teeuw et al. 1969:72).

A13. 'naṅ lor batur ni turunanya śeṣabu lmahnya sāmpun aratā
jrah nāgapuspa taněmanya len taṅ i natar mmasmy asalaga
heṅ niṅ gupuntěn ikānaṅ pabhaktan aruhur lmahnya katilar
alwā natārnya dukutěn hnūnya suktěn hiběk lumulumut' (*Deśawarṇana* 37.4).

A14. '國王居之' (Mǎ Huān, 54).

A15. '…este hé o p*ri*mcipall pate da Jaõa' (Pires 2018:206; Paris MS, f.151v).

A16. 'Chegados somos [a] Agracii, ho gramde porto de trato, o melhõr de toda a Jaõa, omde os guzarates e Calecut, bemgalas, syames, chiis, lequios amtigamemte soyam navegũar' (Pires 2018:213; Paris MS, f.153v).

A17. 'lawase rajĕg wĕsi du-
k pinĕrĕp kapĕtĕg de-
ne woṅ mĕḍaṅ ki hĕmpu ra-
ma karubuh alabuh gĕni ha-
rĕbut bumi kacaritane
babaṭaṅ mara mari setra
hanaṅtaṅ baṅo ~
1363'

'*A long time Rajegwesi had existed when it was attacked and overwhelmed by people from Medang. Ki Mpu Rama was defeated and threw himself into the fire. They were fighting over land. A story is told of a corpse going to the cemetery, challenging a stork ~ (1441 CE)'* (reading based in part on Nugraha 2012:69; translation adapted from Lydia Kieven's [Kinney, Kieven, and Klokke 2003:272]; the last few lines are extremely obscure and other translations are possible).

A18. 'Sam ladrões, tem lamcharas, amdam a salteeãr. Sam todos jemtiõs' (Pires 2018:219; Paris MS, f.155r). *'They are robbers; they have lancharas [a type of ship]; they go plundering; they are all heathen'* (Cortesão 1944:202).

A19. 'Inter istam Indiam et Majorem, dicunt esse feminarum insulæ solarum, et solorum hominum, ubi non possunt diu vivere homines illis mulierum, et ẽ contrario' (London, BL, Additional MS 19513 – Jordanus 1839:57).

A20. 'Dizem q*ue* defromte de Piramã esta huuã ilha […] ẽ q*ue* nam há senom molheres, nam tem homees' (Pires 2018:185-186; Paris MS, f.146r).

A21. '國有三等人:一等回回人，皆是西番各國為商，流落此地，衣食諸事皆清致；一等唐人，皆是廣東、漳、泉等處人竄居是地' (Mǎ Huān, 64).

A22. '…makādiniṅ aṅeka nūṣātutur' (*Deśawarṇana* 14.2).

A23. 'Passado este lugar, da banda da costa pera Malaca, está outro porto de mar del-rei de Sião que se chama Queda, em que tambem ha muitos naos e grão trato de mercadorias donde cada ano veem tratar outras naos de mouros de todas partes' (Barbosa 2000[1516]:351-352).

A24. '… Et veramẽte credo che qui arri-
uano piu nauili che in terra del mõdo & maxĩe che

qui vẽgono tutte le sorte de specie & altre mercãntie
assaissime' (Varthema, f.65r).

A25. 'malaqua em esta cidade ha todas
as mercadarias que vem a qua-
liqut . s . crauos, & benjoym, & le-
nholoe, & samdalos estoraq̃, &
Ruy barbo, & marfim, &
pedras preciosas de
muita valia, & ꝑlas, & al-
mjzquer, &
porçolanas Fi-
nas, & outras muitas mer-
cadarias todas amor par-
te vem de fora contra a trr̃a
de chins' (Modena, Biblioteca Estense, C.G.A.2).

A26. '文誕: 渤山高環，溪水若淡，田地瘠。民半食沙糊、椰子。氣候苦熱。俗淫。男女椎髻，露體，繫青皮布捎。日間畏熱，不事布種。月夕耕鋤、漁獵、採薪、取水。山無蛇虎之患，家無盜賊之虞。煮海為鹽，釀椰漿為酒。婦織木綿為業。有酋長。地產肉荳蔻、黑小廝、荳蔻花、小丁皮。貨用水、綾絲布、花印布、烏瓶、鼓瑟、青磁器之屬' (Wāng Dàyuān, 88-89). 'Wéndàn *[Banda]. A tall ring of swollen mountains — the creek water seems fresh but the fields are barren. The people mostly eat sago and coconut. The climate is incessantly hot. Their customs are depraved. Men and women wear their hair in topknots and their bodies exposed with [only] natural bark cloth tied around them. During the day they fear the heat and don't do any planting or sowing. On moonlit evenings they plough and hoe, go fishing and hunting, collect firewood, and fetch water. There's no danger of snakes and tigers in the mountains and there's no risk of robbers at home. They boil seawater to make salt and brew coconut milk into wine. Women work at weaving cotton. They have headmen. The land produces nutmeg, black servants, mace, and 'clove bark' [i.e. bark of* Cinnamomum culitlawan*]. [You should] trade goods like drinking water, damask twill cloth, floral print cloth, black jars, drums and zithers, and green porcelain.*'

A27. '…é o principal porto onde nacem os diamães, e os daqui são os milhores que ha nas partes da India' (Barbosa 2000[1516]:407).

A28. ‘Tem esta terra de Piramam muito ouro, lenho aloes de butiq*u*a, camfora de duas maneiras, beijoym, seda, cera, mell. Tem mamtimemtos em abastãça p*er*a sua terra. Tem gramde trato com a terra de Çumda’ (Pires 2018:184; Paris MS, f.145v).

A29. ‘便拔此刀刺之，強者為勝’ (Mă Huān, 56).

A30. ‘(H)as homines inhumanissimi omnium crudelissimiꝗ[330] inhabitant, mures, canes, gatos, & spurciora quelibet animalia edentes. crudelitate exuperãt omnes mortales, hominem occidere pro ludo est, nulliꝗ supplicio datur’ (Conti/Bracciolini – Rome, BAV, Urb.lat.224, f.46r).

A31. ‘… credo che questi habitãti siano li piu fideli huomini del mondo’ (Varthema 1535[1510]:71v).

A32. ‘Dizem que a jemte de Çumda hé mais valente q*ue* ha de Jaõa. Estes sam boõs homees e verdadeiros’ (Pires 2018:194; Paris MS f.148v).

A33. ‘… kliṅ aryya siṅhala paṇḍikira drawiḍa campa rĕmĕn kmir…’ (Wurjantoro 2018:288, line 14).

A34. ‘…ndah tan wihaṅ hyaṅ Brahmā Wiṣṇu magawe ta sira manuṣa; lmah kinĕmpĕlkĕmpĕlnira ginawenira manuṣa lituhayu pāripūrṇṇa kadi rūpaniṅ dewatā. Mānūṣā jalu hulih saṅ hyaṅ Brahmāgawe, mānūṣā histri hulih saṅ hyaṅ Wiṣṇu gawe, paḍa lituhayu paripūrṇṇa…’ (*Tantu Paṅgĕlaran* – Pigeaud 1924:57-58).

A35. ‘Custuma se em Çumda, q*ua*mdo ho rey morre, q*u*eymaren se suas molherẽs e fidallguos seus, e asy q*ua*mdo q*ua*llq*ue*r dhy p*er*a baixo morre, ẽ sua casa tambem se faz outro tamto. E ysto se querem, nom p*or*q*ue* p*er*a iso as molheres sejã comvertidas por p*en*as a morerẽ, somemte as q*ue* de seu moto q*u*erem, e as q*ue* nam, sam beguynas. Seguem apartada vida e nam casam dellas, out*r*as casam tres [e] quoatro vezes, sam estas poucas, estranhas na terra’ (Pires 2018:190; Paris MS, f.147v).

A36. ‘…e nã amdam sõos’ (Pires 2018:198; Paris MS, f.149v).

A37. ‘amběk sang paramārthapaṇḍita huwus limpad sakêng śūnyatā / tan sangkêng wiṣaya prayojana nira lwir sanggrahêng lokika’ (*Arjunawiwāha* 1.1).

A38. ‘Pitutur mahapandita · liñih benang aing ñapu · kumacacang di buruan. · Suka angenéng ayena · ñeeng mamaya ning kembang · nu mangka kahudang di angen’ (SA 242-247 – adapted from Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006:222).

A39. ‘… le roy de ceste isle nous enuoya vne nef moult belle, ayant la proe et la pouppe ouuree dor/. et sur la proe estoit vne ba-

[330] Here ⟨ꝗ⟩ = *que*.

niere blanche et azuree auecques de plumes de paon a
la poincte. Aulcuns sonnoyent dinstrumens de tabours
(f.58r)
Et vindrent auecques ceste nef deux Almadies, qui sont
leurs barques a pescher. Et celle nef sappelle Prao. Qui est com-
me vne fuste' (Beinecke MS 351, ff.57v-58r).
'ces nauires (appellees Prao) […] qui sont leurs petites barques' (f.60v).

A40. 'et il estoient bñ en ceste coque ·vij^{c}· autres homes marcheans' (Odoric – London, BL, Royal MS 19 D I, f.139v).

A41. '…una naue ouer çoncho de india…' (Fra Mauro *mappamundi* – caption #0019 in Falchetta's numbering).

A42. '… Naues fabricant quasdam lon-
ge nostris maiores ad duum milium uegetum, quinis uelis totidemq; ma-
lis' (Urb.lat.224, f.49v – lines 555-557 in Guéret-Laferté's edition).

A43. 'ie uoç di qe les sunt dou
leígne qe ẽ apelle abbee 7 de çapin
elle ont une couerte e sus ceste co-
uerte i a ben en toutes les plusors l.
lx. chanbre qe en cascune poet de
morer un mercaant aaiçemant
elle unt .i. timon. 7 iiij. arbres et
maíntes foies hi gungent enco-
re .ii. arbres qe se leuent emetẽt
toutes les foies quil uuelẽt elle
sunt clauee en tel maínere. car
toutes sunt dobles' (Paris, BnF, Français 1116, f.71va).

A44. '…porq̃ [juncos] sã muitos alterosos' (Albuquerque 1576:373).

A45. '… l'on me dist lors que c'estoit le nauire le plus riche qu'il estoit possible de voir. Il y auoit dedans quelque cinq cents personnes, hommes, femmes & enfans, car les Indiens apportent la plus part tout leur mesnage sur la mer auec eux. […] Ce nauire venoit de la Sonde, chargé de toutes sortes d'espiceries & autres marchandises de la Chine & de la Sonde: à voir seulement le mast de ce vaisseau, ie le jugeois le plus grand que j'eusse jamais veu' (Pyrard de Laval 1619:270).

A46. 'E nestes juncos trazem muito arroz e carnes de vacas e carneiros e porcos e veados chacinados, em jarras, e assi muitas galinhas e tambem outros mantimentos. […] Nos quaes juncos trazem suas

molheres e filhos e fazendas; nom teem outras casas e ali nacem e morrem' (Barbosa 2000[1516]:362-363).

A47. 'frequentissimus apud hos ludus est galli inuicẽ / pugnantes, hosc diuersi producunt ad pugnam, quisq̃ suum supera-/turum asserens, proq̃ alterius uictoria pecuniam etiam adstantes inui-/cem ponunt, pro cuius uoto gallus superat, pecuniam tollit.' (Urb.lat.224, f.46v – lines 294-298 in Guéret-Laferté's edition).

A48. '… kerana pada zaman itu tigabuah negeri yang sama besarnya, pertama-tama Manja~~pa~~pahit, kedua Pasai, ketiga Melaka…' (كتيگ فاسي كدوا فاهيت/منجافا فرتام٢ بسرڽ سام بڠ نگري تيگابواه ايت زمان فد كارن ملاك) (*Sulalat al-salāṭīn* [*Sejarah Melayu*] – Text from London, BL, Or 14734, f.58v. Error in the original).

A49. '…& dos feridos com / erua não escapou nenhum, senão Fernão Gomes de Lemos, que em o / ferindo foy lógo queimado com toucinho, que depois de Deus lhe deu a / vida' (Albuquerque 1576:371).

A50. '… venin… le plus perilleux qui soit' (Odoric – as in Paris, BnF, Français 2810, f.105r).

A51. 'The people are of goodly stature, and warlike, well prouided of swordes and targets [shields], with daggers, all being of their owne worke, and most artificially done, both in tempering their mettall, as also in the forme, whereof we bought reasonable store' (Hakluyt 1589; the so-called 'Drake pages' were slotted in unnumbered in the original print between p.643-644, and this text is on the twelfth/6v).

A52. '實甲兵器械' (Fèi Xìn, 26).

A53. '…et se combatent a eulx de lances et de saiettes sans fer. car ilz sce-
uent que fer ne les puet greuer. Et pour ce que ces gens ne sont mie bñ armez
les naurent ilz et tuent souvent' (Odoric – as in Paris, BnF, Français 2810, f.105v).

A54. 'Sam estes homeẽs destas ilhas os mores ladroeẽs que todollos do mumdo, e sam poderosos, e tem muitos paraos. Navegam roubamdo de sua terra atee Peguũ e de sua terra atee Maluquo e Bamdam, por todalas ilhas, por Jaõa, e no mar trazem molheres. Tem feiras omde despacham suas mercadarias que furtam, e vemdem os espravõs que tomã' (Pires 2018:236; Paris MS, f.159v).

A55. 'Qui nõ se vsa artegliaria de sorte alcuna ne mãco la sanno fare' (Varthema 1535[1510]:71r).

A56. 'Estes jaos som homens mui engenhosos em oficios mecanicos e grandes artilheiros; fazem muitas espingardas e espingardões e assi outros muitos arteficios de fogo' (Barbosa 2000[1516]:386).

A57. '…[de Abreu] foy o primeiro que feriram com hum pilouro de espingardam que lhe deu pelas queixadas & leuoulhe muitos dentes, cõ parte da língoa' (Albuquerque 1576:378).

A58. ‘Et si uoç di tout uoíremãt
qe nos en aportames de celle seme-
se a uenese 7 le semínames sor la ter-
re si uoç di quil ní nasquí noiant
e ce a uint por leu froit’ (Paris, BnF, Français 1116, f.77ra).
‘*And I tell you truly that we brought some of these [brazil] seeds to Venice and sowed them in the earth there. Indeed I tell you that nothing ever grew, and that was because of the cold.*’

A59. ‘… e· vna singhular virtu a ssaperlo·
ben· fare· essappi· chella piu· ãte di belle· giovani a
farlo· che non e· a huomeni ꝓchelle si stãno di continuo· ĩ
chasa et ferme· 7 ãno le mani· piu· dilicate’ (Florence, Laurentian Library, MS Plutei 78.23, f.53r – Cennino Cennini, 1437).

A60. ‘遇賓客往來無茶，止有檳榔待之’ (Mǎ Huān, 63)

A61. ‘上春取為軟檳榔，夏秋採幹為米檳榔， 小而尖為雞心檳榔。扁者為大腹子。悉能下氣，鹽漬為鹽檳榔’ (Fan 2010[1175]:250).

A62. ‘…e levam em retorno […] ũa drogaria que antre nós não ha, a que chamam pucho e outra cacho e outra mangicão […] que trazem do levante, e outras mercadorias que, per via de Meca, veem a Cambaia e daí a Malaca’ (Barbosa 2000[1516]:360-361).

A63. ‘…em barris de cobre estanhados, a qual se vende a peso com o barril’ (Barbosa 2000[1516]:351).

A64. Polo’s complete list:

‘il ont peure e noces moscee 7 espí
e ganlanga e cubebe e garofali 7
de toutes cheres espicerie qe len
peust trouer au mõde’ (Paris, BnF, Français 1116, f.74vb).
‘They have pepper and nutmeg and spikenard and galangal and cubeb and cloves and every rich spice that one can find in the world.’

A65. ‘龍腦香樹，出婆利國 […] 樹高八九丈，大可六七圍，葉圓而背白，無花實。其樹有肥有瘦，瘦者有婆律膏香，一曰瘦者出龍腦香，肥者出婆律膏也。在木心中，斷其樹劈取之。膏於樹端流出，斫樹作坎而承之’ (Duàn Chéngshì, *Miscellaneous Morsels from Youyang*, ch.18, digitised here: https://archive.org/details/06047415.cn/page/n142/mode/2up [accessed 15-08-2020]).

'*The dragon's brain perfume [i.e. camphor] tree comes from Borneo. […] The tree is eight or nine* zhàng *[25-30m] tall and the girth can be six or seven handspans. The leaves are round with white backs. There are no flowers or fruit. There are fat and thin trees; the thin one has Barus*[331] *fragrance, [though] some say the thin one has dragon's brain while the fat one has Barus fragrance. [The substance] is inside the wood; cut down the tree and [you can] take it. Oil flows out from the tree, and it is carried in clefts hewn from [the wood]*.'

A66. 'Ffor he hadde yeue his Gailler drynke so
Of a clarree, maad of a certeýn Wyn
With Nercotikes and opýe of Thebes fyn
That al that nýght, thogh þt men Wolde hým shake
The Gailler sleep, he mýghte noght awake' – from the Hengwrt Chaucer (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS 392D). *The copyist – sometimes identified as Adam Pinkhurst (see de Hamel 2018:426-465) – has inserted a note in the margins: 'Opiũ Thebaicum' '*Theban opium*'*.

A67. 'En ceste isle [Timor] on trouue le sandal blanc, et non ailleurs' (New Haven, Yale University Library, Beinecke MS 351, f.91r).
'Tout le sandal et la cire que marchandent ceulx de Iaua et de Mallaque vient de ce lieu' (f.91v – wax [*cire*] being another of Timor's major exports).

A68. 'Dizem os mercadores malaios que D*eu*s criou Timor de samdallos e Bamdam de maças e as de Maluco de crauo, e que no mumdo nom hé sabido outra parte em q*ue* estas mercadarias aja, somemte nestas' (Pires 2018:221; Paris MS, f.155v).

A69. '…dan yang dari timur pun datang dari Bandan dan Siran dan Larantoka masing-masing dengan persembahnya, ada lilin ada cendana ada mesui ada kayu manis ada pala dan cengkih, terlalu banyak bertimbun, dan lagi beberapa daripada ambar dan kesturi' (*Hikayat Raja Pasai* – Jones 1987:71).

A70. 'Somemte q*ue* na ilha de Papua, que sera oitemta leguoas de Bamdam, dizem que há os omeẽs das orelhas gramdẽs, que se cobrem com ellãs. Numca vy que[m] vise out*r*o q*ue* as vise. Jaz ysto no pouco q*ue* hee asy' (Pires 2018:233; Paris MS, f.159r).

A71. '… Isti hñt boues
fortissimos hñtes caudas plenas
pilis sicut equí & ventres pilo-
sos & dorsa. Bassiores sunt alíís
bobʒ in tibíís. sed forciores multũ.

[331] 婆律 *Pólǜ* (MC *ba-lwit*), meaning Barus in Sumatra (Kroll 2017:348). 'Barus fragrance' and 'dragon's brain' should be the same thing, but Duàn distinguishes them.

Isti trahunt magnas domos mo-
allo2ꝫ. & hñt cornua gracilia lon-
ga acuosa acutíssíma. ita qđ o-
ꝑtet semꝑ secare summítates eo2ꝫ.
Vacca nõ ꝑmíttít se inũngí n(isi) can-
tetur ei. Hñt et(iam) naturam buba-
li quia sí uídent h(omine)m índutum
rubeis. ínsiliũt ín eum volen-
tes int'ficere' (William of Rubruck – Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 066A, f.83v).

A72. 'Nem tu menos fugir poderás deste,
Posto que rica e posto que assentada
Lá no grémio da Aurora, onde naceste
Opulenta Malaca nomeada.
As setas venenosas que fizeste,
Os crises com que já te vejo armada,
Malaios namorados, jaus valentes,
Todos farás ao Luso obedientes' (Camões 2016[1572]:283).

A73. 'Maling (basi) kuraysani lima mas (dandanya)' (Tanjung Tanah manuscript 19.4-5).

A74. 'а хоросанцемъ да-/ють а лафу потенкѣ на дн҃ь . ѝ вели-/комоу ѝ маломоу' (Troitsk Recension, f.381v).

A75. '中國歷代銅錢通行使用' (Mǎ Huān, 57).

*

Appendix B: *Place Names and Place Name Elements*

Table B.1. Common elements in place names.

Morpheme	*Gloss*	*Notes*
ageng	big, large	OJv *agöṅ* ‘big, great, strong’ (OJED 517:9).
agung		
alas	territory, region; forest	In OJv this usually means ‘forest’ (OJED 47:4), but it appears to have a wider application in OSd.
añar	new, fresh	OJv *hañar* ‘new’ (OJED 588:2).
añcol	promontory, headland	As in MSd (Rigg 1862:15 *sub* Anchol).
arega	mountain peak	OJv *arga* ‘mountain’ (OJED 125:3), probably from Skt *agra* ‘summit, peak, beginning’ (etc.) (Monier-Williams 1899:6 *sub* ágra).
bala	strength, power	OJv *bala* (OJED 194:6), from Skt *bala* (Monier-Williams 1899:722).
barang	thing, commodity, goods	Probably AN, perhaps PMP *baraŋ ‘marker of indefiniteness’ (ACD 690).
barat	west	Ultimately PAn *SabaRat ‘south wind’ by way of PMP *habaRat ‘southwest monsoon’ (Blust 2013:4).
batang	tree trunk, log; spear; a unit of land; corpse	(Rigg 1862:43 *sub Batang*) – the word has many meanings, many of which can be reconstructed to PMP *bataŋ (ACD 6481).
batu	stone	PMP *batu ‘stone’, PAn *batux ‘stone’.
benghar	rich, wealthy	MSd *beunghar* (KUBS 61 *sub* beunghar).
betung	a large type of bamboo (*Dendrocalamus asper*)	This bamboo is more usually referred to as *awi bitung* in MSd; *betung* is the Malay/Indonesian name (Dransfield and Widjaja 1995:80-83).
bojong	river islet	Rigg (1862:60 *sub* Bojong) ‘the land contained within the sharp turn of a river, or stream of water. Land projecting into water, a promontory; also an islet in a river.’
bukit	mountain, hill, peak	This word is normally translated as ‘hill’ in Malay and Sundanese but in *Bujangga Manik* it can refer to both hills and mountains. It has essentially the same meaning as *gunung*. I have translated it as ‘peak’.
caringin	fig tree	Compare OJv *wariṅin* ‘fig tree (*Ficus indica*)’ (OJED 2208:9). The (w > tʃ) sound change is responsible for the initial ⟨c⟩.
ci-	river	Proclitic form of Sd *cai* ‘water’, ultimately PMP *wahiR ‘ibid’ (ACD 5891). Used in the names of rivers but also in the names of settlements.
cinta	thought, care, anxiety	From Skt *cintā* (OJED 328:5).
dalem	inner; palace	From PAn and PMP *dalem (ACD 7088).

darma	duty, morality, law, etc.	Skt *dharma* 'ibid'.
gajah	elephant	From Skt *gaja* 'ibid'.
galuh	jewel, gem; title for princesses	Skt *galū* 'a sort of gem' by way of OJv (Monier-Williams 1899:351 *sub galū*; OJED 480:10). In Sundanese this is most famous as the name of a historical region in eastern Priangan.
guha	cave	Skt *guha* 'hiding place, cave, cavern' by way of OJv (Monier-Williams 1899:360 *sub guha*; OJED 548:16).
gunung	mountain	As in MSd, Malay/Indonesian, etc. The ACD does not supply a protoform.
haji	king	OJv *haji* 'king, royalty, prince' (OJED 572:9).
hiyang	god, ancestor	Probably a native MP term. The ACD reconstructs it to PWMP *qiaŋ 'ancestor, deity, divinity' (ACD 4518) but WMP is no longer considered a valid clade. Its precise ancestry is unclear. Cognates of the OSd term can be found in MSd, OJv, Malay/Indonesian, Toba Batak, etc.
hujung	tip, endpoint; foot of a mountain	From PMP *quzuŋ 'mountain peak, cape of land; tip of anything' (ACD 4797), with reflexes in OJv, Malay/Indonesian, etc.
hulu	source (of a river); head	From PAn *quluh > PMP *qulu. Reflexes in OJv, Malay/Indonesian, etc.
jati	teak	The same form is found in OJv, Malay/Indonesian, etc.; it could also be connected to Skt *jāti* 'rank, caste, family, race; character of a species' (Monier-Williams 1899:418; OJED 732:3; Rigg 1862:170).
jaya	victory, conquest, triumph	Skt *jaya* 'conquering, winning' (Monier-Williams 1899:412; OJED 735:4).
kalang	arena, circle	Rigg (1862:190) defines *kalang* as 'field of battle', but 'circle' and 'arena' are its more usual meanings. It also appears to refer to a group of people with a specialised occupation, possibly woodworking, in OJv (OJED 772:5).
kandang	pen, cowshed	*Kandang* has this meaning in both OJv and MSd (OJED 790:1; Rigg 1862:195).
kayu	wood, timber	The same meaning and form in OJv, Mal., MSd – all from PAn *kaSiw > *kahiw 'wood, tree' (ACD 7794, 7795).
kidul	south	A loan into Sd from OJv (OJED 864:4).
lemah	soil, land	In both OJv and MSd with the same form and meaning (OJED 1004:9; Rigg 1862:249).
lingga	a *liṅga* (aniconic representation of Śiva)	From the Skt (Monier-Williams 1899:901).
luhur	high, elevated	In both MSd (Rigg 1862:258) and OJv (OJED 1052:1).
maja	a tree (*Aegle marmelos*), or the fruit of the same	Well-known as part of the name 'Majapahit'. OJED (1091:8) attributes a Skt origin to the word and Rigg (1862:264) suggests it comes from *majja*

		'marrow, producing marrow' (Monier-Williams 1899:773 *sub* Majja). The first vowel is sometimes nasalised (*manja* in some Malay dialects). It is probably also found in the word *ma(ñ)jakané* 'oak gall powder'.
mandala	region, district; disk, something round	A Sanskrit word with many meanings – originally *maṇḍala* 'disk, territory, province, circumference' etc. (Monier-Williams 1899:775; OJED 1099:12).
manik	jewel, gem; bead	Found in many island Southeast Asian languages with the same form and meaning (Mal., MSd, OJv, etc.), originally from Skt *maṇi* 'jewel, gem' (Monier-Williams 1899:774). The word even appears (as *маник*) in Afanasij Nikitin's Old East Slavic account of India and Southeast Asia (written ~1472).
medang	a historical region (located S of Merapi)	From OJv *mĕḍaṅ*, which appears in some early inscriptions, including side B line 32 of the Añjukladaŋ inscription (Jakarta, Museum Nasional, inv. no. D.59; Wurjantoro 2018:225-238), where it has the form *mḍaŋ*. The etymology of the name is disputed.
mulah	(probably) beginning, origin, root	Presumably from Skt *mūla* (Monier-Williams 1899:826; OJED 1157:6).
munding	buffalo	A native Sundanese word for the buffalo or kerbau (Rigg 1862:288).
nusa	land, country; island	An extensive discussion of this word can be found in Part III. It is often translated as 'island', and this is one meaning that it has in some contexts (e.g. Nusa Barong). In *Bujangga Manik*, however, and probably in early Indo-Malaysian texts more broadly, it seems to mean 'land', 'country', or even 'polity' (cf. *nusantara*).
pa-…-an	place of…	This circumfix is used to make toponyms from either nouns or verbs: Pacéléngan ('place of wild pigs'), Pakalongan ('place of fruit bats'), Pakañcilan ('place of chevrotains'), Panéñjoan ('place for looking out from'), etc.
pada	home, abode, place	There are several possible meanings of this word, but the most likely origin is Skt *pada* 'position, rank, station, site, abode, home; heaven' (Monier-Williams 1899:583; OJED 1223:2).
padang	bright, light, clear	As in MSd (KUBS 323 *sub* padang) and OJv (*paḍaṅ* 'clearness, brightness, light' [OJED 1225:7]). This occurs in the now well-known prehistoric site of Gunung Padang in Cianjur.
pahit	bitter	From PMP *paqit 'bitter', which has reflexes in Malay, Jv, Sd, etc. Famously part of the name 'Majapahit'.
paken	nail, pin; firmness, stability	In MSd *pakeun* means 'ingredient, substance, material' (KUBS 326 *sub* pakeun). Its use in toponyms seem more likely to come from OJv

		pakĕn, which OJED derives from *pakö* 'nail, pin; (fig.) what gives firmness and stability' (1236:15; 1236:12).
palah	-	The derivation is not clear. Possibly from Skt *phala* 'fruit' or *pāla* 'guard, protector' (1239:10)?
panas	hot	Often found in *Cipanas* 'hot water, hot spring', a common place name in West Java. From PMP *panas 'warm, hot' (ACD 3794).
pañca	five	From the Sanskrit.
payung	umbrella	A common word in the archipelago's languages. It seems to be native MP but borrowings between the region's languages, particularly from Malay, have made reconstruction more complicated (ACD 11194).
pura	palace	From Skt *pura* 'fortress, castle, city, town' (OJED 1451:2) – incidentally cognate with Greek *πόλις*.
rabut	sacred	OJED (1471:2): 'prob.: sacred place, object with extraordinary (magic) power'. Found in the old name for Panataran, *Rabut Palah*.
rañca	marsh, bog	Rigg (1862:394): 'Rancha, a swamp, any boggy land abounding in water' (also KUBS 384). Related to Mal. *rawa* 'swamp', exhibiting the PMP *w > Sd *(n)tʃ sound change.
ratu	king	From PMP *datu 'lineage priest (?)' (ACD 6857). Cognates are common throughout the archipelago.
sagara	ocean, sea	From Skt *sāgara* 'ibid' (Monier-Williams 1899:1198; OJED 1591:2).
saung	shed, hut	Rigg (1862:433) 'Saung, a shed, a small temporary building, such as put up in a sawah or garden'.
séla	rock, stone	Skt *śaila* 'made of stone, stone, rocky' (Monier-Williams 1899:1089) by way of OJv *śela* (OJED 1749:6).
suka	happy, prosperous	From Skt *sukhá* 'ibid' (OJED 1837:2; Monier-Williams 1899:1220).
taji	spur (for cockfighting)	Found with this meaning, and as a common elements in toponyms, in Malay/Indonesian, OJv, MSd, etc. (OJED 1902:2; Rigg 1862:473).
tajur	orchard	Rigg (1862:474 *sub* Tajur) 'To make a plantation of fruit trees'.
talaga	lake, pond, pool	OJv *talaga* 'ibid' (OJED 1907:1), from Skt *taḍāga* (variants: *taḍāka*, *taṭāka*) 'tank, pool, pond'.
tañjung	cape (land jutting into the sea); a kind of tree (*Mimusops elengi*)	An extremely common place name in the western archipelago. In OJv *tañjuṅ* means 'a part. kind of tree (*Mimusops elengi*) with small fragrant flowers' (OJED 1945:2). Rigg (1862:483) gives both the tree and the meaning of 'cape' or 'headland', the latter being also found in Malay.
tegal	field, open field	OJv *tĕgal* (OJED 1973:3).
teluk	a bend in a river; a bay or bend in the coast	As in MSd (Rigg 1862:490) and OJv (*tĕluk* 'bay, inlet' [OJED 1983:3]). Similar forms are found in other MP languages and the ACD reconstructs a

		'WMP' term *teluk 'curved, as a shoreline' (ACD 10473).
timbang	weigh; balance	A common form in western Indo-Malaysia. The ACD relates it to a PWMP protoform (now presumably to be interpreted as a Western Indonesian form).
umbul	spring, fountain	The ACD reconstructs this to PWMP *umbul 'spring, fountain' (ACD 5795), although as noted above WMP is no longer considered a valid clade. In OJv *umbul* means 'arise' (OJED 2118:6), perhaps from an original meaning of 'spring'.
wangi	fragrant, fragrance	OJv *waṅi* 'fragrance' (OJED 2196:5). Ultimately PAn *baŋeSiS > PMP *baŋehih 'fragrant' (ACD 804, 10960).

*

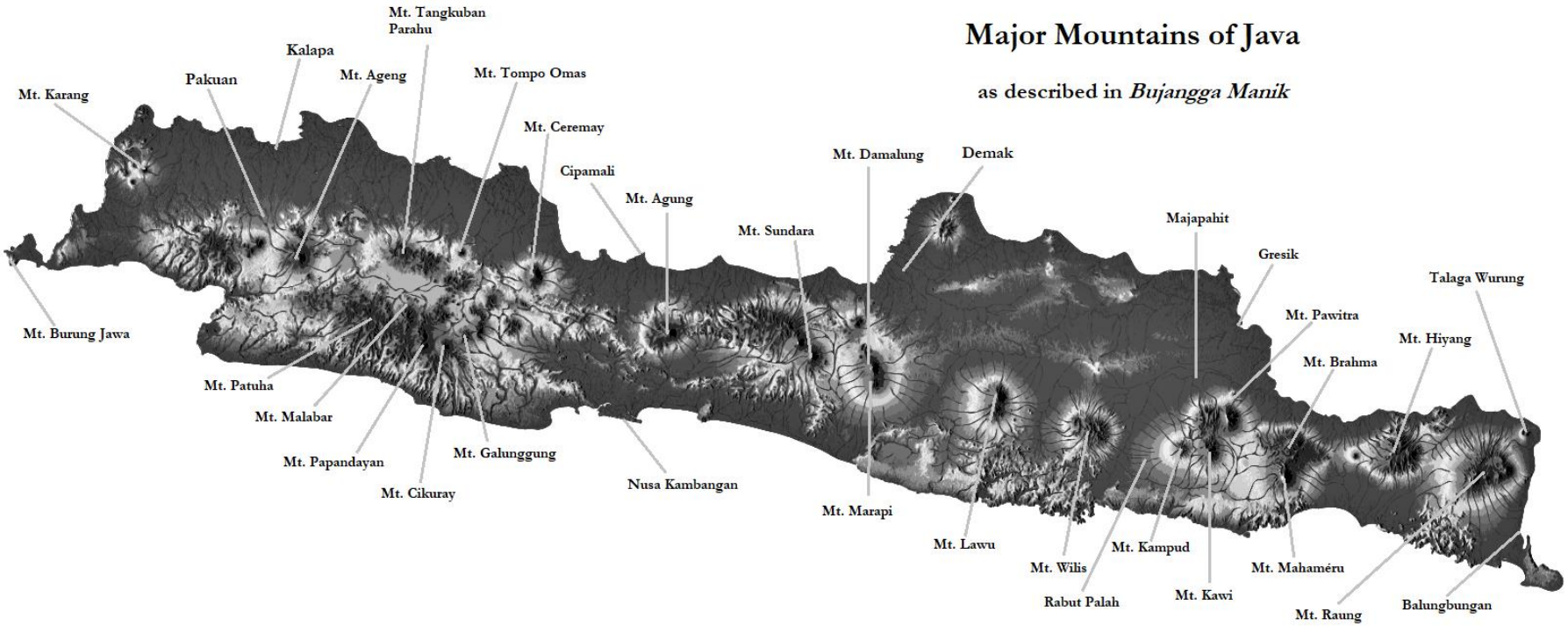

Figure B.1. Mountains in Java as described in *Bujangga Manik*, as well as some of the more prominent human settlements. Relief map adapted from OpenStreetMap® created by user Goran tek-en and provided by the OpenStreetMap Foundation (OSMF). Accessed (12-08-2020) from Wikimedia Commons – 'Java Relief Map'. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Java_Relief_Map.svg.

Table B.2. The names of rivers in *Bujangga Manik*

Name in BM	*Line*	*Modern Name*	*Notes*
Cangku	793	Madiun	Preceded by the word *bagawan*, plausibly interpreted as '(great) river' (OJv *baṅawan*).
Cibérang	1110	Bedog	Noorduyn comments that both the modern name and that in *BM* mean 'chopping knife' or 'cleaver'.
Cibula(ng?)rang	739	Cigunung?	Probably a tributary of the Pemali (BM: *Cipamali*).
Cicaréngcang	1378	Calancang?	Difficult to identify, but possibly related to the peak of Calancang to the south of Tampomas.
Cicomal	746	Comal	Flows into the Java Sea between Pemalang and Pekalongan.
Cigentis	703	Cigentis	A river in *kab*. Karawang.
Cihadéya	1377	*unidentified*	–
Cihaliwung	49, 141, 685, 1355	Ciliwung	The source is said to be on *bukit Ageng* (Mount Gedé/Pangrango).
Cihéya	1347	Cihéa	Now also the name of a village in *kab*. Cianjur.
Cihoé	701	Cihoé	A tributary of the Cipamingkis, itself a tributary of the Cibeet, in turn a tributary of the Citarum.
Cijerukmanis	75, 722	Cijeruk	BM: 'Sweet orange river'.
Cikéñcal	134	*unidentified*	–
Cikutrapi(ng)gan	1151	Ciputrapinggan	The modern name occurs on the Ciéla map, which may suggest that the BM name should be emended to *Putrapinggan*.
Cilamaya	716	Cilamaya	Flows into the Java Sea about 80 kilometres east of Jakarta.
Cilengsi	695	Cileungsi	A tributary of the Kali Bekasi, which flows to the east of Jakarta into the Cikeas and thence into the Java Sea.
Cili(ng)ga	55	Cilingga	A stream in *kab*. Purwakarta.
Cilohalit	1155	Alit	*Loh* comes from OJv *lwah* 'river' (OJED 1070:10).
Cilohku	1127	Luk Ulo	Central Java. Flows into the Indian Ocean.
Cilohparaga	1114	Praga/Progo	Flows into the Indian Ocean SW of Yogyakarta.
Ciluwer	136	Ciluwar	'Muddy river' (MSd).
Cimanuk	73, 720	Cimanuk	'Bird river'.
Cimari(ñ)jung	1366, 1376	Cimarinjung	The source is said to be *bukit bulistir* 'bald mountain'.
Cimedang	1150	*unidentified*	A river of the same name lies much further to the west than the river in BM.
Cipakañcilan	243, 421	Cipakancilan	Apparently flowed through the 'length of the royal residence as is confirmed by [Danasasmita's 1979 reconstruction', according to Noorduyn (1982).
Cipakujati	747	*unidentified*	'Teak nail river'.
Cipamali	81, 735	Pemali/Brebes	'Taboo river'. The boundary between Sunda and Java according to *Bujangga Manik*. The word

			pamali comes ultimately from PAn *paliSi 'taboo, ritual restriction' (ACD 3774).
Cipanas	131	Cipanas	'Hot water'. A common name for hot springs in West Java but also the name of a river.
Cipaterangan	1139	*unidentified*	–
Cipunagara	70, 717	Cipunegara	On the Ciéla map this is called *Cicupunagara*, but the modern name is closer to that in BM. See Noorduyn (1982).
Cirabutwahangan	829	Pinangan	'Holy ravine river'. Noorduyn (1982) identified this river based on its location according to the narrative.
Cironabaya	797, 1076	Brantas	Noorduyn concludes that this must be the Brantas River, formerly an important waterway in East Java.
Cisanti	1379	Cisanti	The name of a lake south of Bandung.
Cisarayu	1132	Serayu	Rises east of Purwokerto and flows south, coming out into the Indian Ocean east of Nusa Kambangan.
Cisaunggalah	1340	*unidentified*	A river in the historical region of Saung Galah, West Java.
Cisinggarung	79, 729	Cisanggarung	Near Ciremai in Kuningan, West Java.
Cisokan	1348, 1402	Cisokan	The source is said to be *gunung Ratu*.
Cita(n)duyan	1148	Citanduy	In BM reference is made to the estuary or harbour on the river (*muhara Cita(n)duyan*), which in modern Indonesian is also named *muara Citanduy*.
Citarum	68, 708, 1284, 1344	Citarum	'Indigo river'. An important river in Sundanese history. The source is said to be on Mount Sembung, probably a peak of Mount Malabar.
Ciwatukara	1118	Bagawanta / Bogowonto	Noorduyn mentions that a village named Watukara can still be found in the area.
Ciwinten	702	-	No modern name, but the river appears on the Ciéla map under the name *Cimintan*.
Ciwulan	1154, 1164	Cikembulan	'Moon river'.
Ciwuluyu	788, 1099	Bengawan Solo	Java's longest river.

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Table B.3. The names of mountains in *Bujangga Manik*.

Name in BM	*Type*	*Line*	*Modern Name*	*Notes*
Ageng	*bukit*	63; 1354	Gedé / Pangrango	Source of the Cihaliwung (modern Ciliwung).
Agung	*gunung*	736	Slamet	This is the only 'great mountain' in the area and thus the only plausible candidate for the name. 'Slamet' is originally from the Arabic *salāmah* (سلامة).

Añar	*gunung*	1054	*part of* Kelud	Noorduyn (1982) connects this to *Pararaton* (29:34), in which a 'new mountain' (*gunuṅ añar*) forms in the year 1298 Śaka (1376 CE), probably at Kelud.
Arum	*gunung*	836	*unidentified*	'Sweet/fragrant mountain'. Noorduyn suggests it could be an old name for Mount Ringgit, west of Panarukan.
A(n)ten	*gunung*	1212	Anten	In Banten province in what was then the west of Sunda.
Bajogé	*bukit*	1386	*unidentified*	Difficult to identify.
Banasraya	*bukit*	1217	*unknown*	A mountain ~1200 metres tall in Banten province, west (as BM says) from Mount Kosala.
Bongkok	*bukit*	711	Bongkok *or* Bangkok	A hill under 900 metres in height SW of Purwakarta, West Java.
Brahma	*gunung*	819	Bromo	Part of the Tengger massif in East Java, along with Semeru (BM: *Mahaméru*).
Bulistir	*bukit*	1211	*unidentified*	–
Burangrang	*bukit*	1207	Burangrang	*Tanggeran* of Saung Agung. A 2000m peak west of Tangkuban Parahu in West Java.
Burung Jawa	*bukit*	1209	*unknown*	The peak on Ujung Kulon, Java's southwestern extremity, known in the text as *Hujung Barat* (with the same meaning as the modern name).
Caremay, Cremay	*bukit*	77; 724; 1196	Ciremai / Cereme	West Java's highest point.
Caru	*bukit*	697	*unidentified*	–
Catih	*bukit*	1220	*unidentified*	–
Cawiri	*bukit*	1260	Bukit Cawiri	A beauty spot just on the western side of the West/Central Java border.
Cikuray	*bukit*	1174	Cikuray	A peak in West Java, near Galunggung and Papandayan.
Cintamanik	*gunung*	1240	Cintamanik	Appears to be in West Java, although context is not conclusive in these enumerative sections. Probably the hill/settlement of this name NW of Bogor.
Co(n)dong	*gunung*	1159	*unidentified*	–
Cungcung	*bukit*	712	*unidentified*	–
Damalung	*gunung*	770	Merbabu	The same as *Pam(e)rihan*, identified in both *Tantu Paṅgĕlaran* (Pigeaud 1924:69, 219) and the Ngadoman inscription (dated 1449). Appears also in a number of OSd texts, including SA.
Dihéng	*gunung*	767	Dieng	The well-known peak/plateau in Central Java.
Gajah	*gunung*	696	*unidentified*	–
Gajah Mu(ng)kur	*gunung*	810	Penanggungan	*Pawitra* (BM 808) has the same referent. Both refer to Mount Penanggungan, whose slopes are packed with surviving temples and other archaeological sites.

Galunggung	*gunung*	1169	Galunggung	In West Java. Mentioned occasionally in other OSd texts (notably the one now named *Amanat dari Galunggung*).
Guha Ba(n)tayan	*gunung*	1258	*unidentified*	–
Gu(n)tur	*gunung*	1387	Guntur	Near Garut, West Java.
H(i)yang	*gunung*	834	Argapura / Iyang	In East Java – see Figure B.1.
Hijur	*gunung*	1234	*unidentified*	–
Hulu Mu(n)ding	*bukit*	1222	*unidentified*	–
Jreding	*gunung*	1254	*unidentified*	–
(Ka?)lér	*gunung*	1246	Kaler	Probably the mountain of this name in *kab*. Tangerang province, going by the context.
Ka(m)pud	*gunung*	1056	Kelud	A mountain in East Java west of Mount Kawi.
Karang	*bukit*	1215	Karang	A tall mountain in Banten province.
Karesi	*bukit*	1335	*unidentified*	–
Karungrungan	*gunung*	772	Ungaran	An eroded stratovolcano in Central Java.
Kawi	*gunung*	1050	Kawi	A large mountain near Malang, East Java, with well-known ancient sites on its slopes.
Ké(n)dan	*gunung*	1389	Kendang?	Certainly in West Java,
Kedu	*gunung*	769	Sumbing	Central Java.
Kembang	*gunung*	1228	*unidentified*	A common toponym in West and Central Java; context suggests this is in West Java, but it might not be.
Kosala	*bukit*	1219	Kasola	Probably the mountain in Banten province.
Kumbang	*gunung*	1293	Kumbang	A mountain just east of the West/Central Java border.
Langlayang	*bukit*	1336	Manglayang	A hill near Bandung.
Lawu	*gunung*	1085; 1092	Lawu	Candis Sukuh and Ceto are on the mountain's western flanks.
Mahaméru	*gunung*	817	Semeru	East Java – Java's highest peak. Equated with the sacred Mount Meru, abode of the gods.
Malabar	*bukit*	1385	Malabar	A prominent mountain in West Java.
Manik	*gunung*	1265	*unidentified*	Reportedly faces Nusakambangan, so not the Gunungmanik in West Java.
Marapi	*bukit* and *gunung*	775 *(b)*; 1102 *(g)*	Merapi	The only mountain referred to as both a *bukit* and a *gunung*.
Marucung	*gunung*	1205	Maruyung?	Mt. Maruyung is a mountain in Central Java, near the border with West Java.
Naragati	*bukit*	1213	*unidentified*	–

Pala	*bukit*	1338	*unidentified*	–
Palasari	–	1337	Palasari	A hill SSW of Tompo Omas.
Pamrihan	*bukit*	597; 1191	Merbabu	In BM 1190 it is spelled *Pam(e)rehan*. Another name for Mount Damalung (modern Merbabu).
Pané(ñ)joan	–	1178	Papandayan	Another name for Papandayan.
Papa(n)dayan	–	1177	Papandayan	The volcano from which Bujangga Manik has his vision of the mountains and the world. West Java.
Parasi	*gunung*	1160	*unidentified*	–
Paté(ng)géng	*bukit*	1342	Patenggang	Near Bandung. Associated with the legend of Sang Kuriang.
Patuha	*bukit*	1189; 1393; 1403	Patuha	A volcano SW of Bandung. Bujangga Manik dies at a hermitage near the mountain.
Pawitra	*gunung*	809	Penanggungan	East Java – aka *Gajah Mungkur*. The word is from Skt *pavitra* 'holy'.
Puñcak	–	59	Puncak	A mountain pass in West Java.
Raung	*gunung*	766; 1023	Raung	Noorduyn thinks the first occurrence is a mistake, and that the mountain named 'Rahung' there is Mount Prahu, Central Java.
Rajuna	*gunung*	812	Arjuna	A volcano in East Java south of Surabaya.
Rakata	*gunung*	1252-1253	Krakatau; Rakata	Appears as *pulo Rakata* 'Rakata Island', further elaborated on in BM 1252, where it is called *gunung di tengah sagara* 'mountain in the middle of the ocean'.
Raksa	*gunung*	1261	Raksa	The mountain on Panaitan Island in the Sunda Strait. Also named *Sri Mahapawitra*.
Ratu	*gunung*	1400	*unidentified*	Said to be the source of the Cisokan, in the vicinity of Mount Patuha.
Sangkuan	*gunung*	1128	Karang Bolong?	By the context Noorduyn tentatively suggests the hill on the coast at Karang Bolong, Central Java.
Se(m)bung	*gunung*	762; 1283	nr. Malabar	Source of the Citarum, and this presumably one of the secondary peaks of Mt. Malabar.
Se(m)pil	*bukit*	710	*unidentified*	–
Sri Mahapawitra	*gunung*	1262	Raksa	'The great holy' mountain – modern Raksa, the hill on Panaitan Island in the Sunda Strait.
Su(n)da	*gunung*	1236	Sunda	Part of the Tangkuban Parahu volcano.
Su(n)dara	*gunung*	768; 1257	Sindoro, Sundoro, Sundara	A large volcano in Central Java.
Talaga Wurung	–	661, 837, 1024	Baluran	Now a national park in the extreme east of Java.

Tangkuban Parahu	–	1203	Tangkuban Parahu	A large active volcano north of Bandung. Well-known in Sundanese folklore.
Timbun	*bukit*	706	*unidentified*	Certainly in West Java.
To(m)po Omas	–	719; 1201	Tampomas	West Java. It is sometimes claimed that the name means 'without gold' (*tanpa omas*), but the OSd name is actually 'gold basket'.
Wangi	*gunung*	1204	Wangi	West Java. Tangkuban Parahu is said to be the 'pillar' of Mount Wangi, so presumably also the name of a community (?).
Watangan	*gunung*	1030	Watangan	East Java – on the Indian Ocean coast opposite Nusa Barong.
Wayang	*gunung*	1380	Wayang	Part of the Wayang-Windu complex in West Java.
Welahulu	–	782	Muria?	Probably the same mountain as the *Wlahulu* in *Tantu Paṅgĕlaran* (Pigeaud 1924:69, 124, 126, 214). Possibly Mount Muria on the north coast of Central Java.
Wilis	*gunung*	1082	Wilis	A large volcano in East Java.

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Appendix C: *Plant and Animal Species and Products*

Table C.1. Plant and animal species and products in *Bujangga Manik*.

Name	*Lines*	*Species & Notes*
aér mawar	389, 502	Rosewater (distilled from the petals of *Rosa* spp.), imported from the Middle East in tinned-copper containers. In *BM*, sprinkled on sesame branches.
agur-agur	390, 503	Jelly ('agar-agar') made from seaweed in the genus *Eucheuma*, probably *E. spinosum* or *E. muricatum*. Not the same as *Gracilaria* agar-agar.
awi gombong	105, 907	*Gigantochloa pseudoarundinacea*, a bamboo with thick straight green culms often featuring cream and yellow stripes. Used for the boom of a sailing vessel.
awi ñowana	106, 904	The precise referent here is unclear; *ñowana* is presumed to be related to OJv/Skt *yowana* 'young'. A bamboo, used for one or other of the spars of a sailing vessel.
benter	640	A fish – *Barbodes binotatus*, the common barb. Reportedly taboo to eat while pregnant.
buah rembey	398, 507, 559	'Mixed fruits' – presumably a fruit selection. Locally available fruits in West Java would include salak (*Salacca zalacca*), after which a mountain is named, and rambutan (*Nephelium lappaceum*), and of course many others.
bunga resa	384, 497, 1694	An unidentified species of flower. Very tentatively the flower of an *Amomum* species.
bungbang	1793	An unidentified species of bamboo (cf. OJv *buṅbaṅ* - OJED 274:2; MJv *wungwang* 'a bamboo pipe open at both ends' – Robson and Wibisono 2002 #29778).
calingcing	213	*Averrhoa bilimbi*, a small tree producing edible fruits. Probably refers to a pattern rather than a dye.
camara putih	1760, 1761	A white yak (*Bos grunniens*).
candu	1640	Probably opium, derived from the opium poppy (*Papaver somniferum*), perhaps imported from Egypt. Alternatively: a fragrant unguent of another kind.
cangkudu	162, 282	*Morinda citrifolia* – produces a red/purple/brown dye. Used as a verb – *ñangkuduan* 'dye with *cangkudu*'.
dédés	385, 498, 1695	Civet – a musk-like perfume taken from several mammal species while still alive, including *Viverricula indica*, a local civet cat. To be distinguished from musk (*kasturi*).
eñjuk	867	A fibrous horse hair-like product of the *kawung* palm (*Arenga pinnata*), used in thatch.
gading	103, 1668, 1690, 1695, 1759, 1797	Ivory, presumably local elephant ivory but could have been imported as well. Used for a range of different purposes in *BM*.
handelem	1478	*Graptophyllum pictum*. An ornamental plant with medicinal uses.
handong / hañjuang	1477, 1479	*Cordyline fruticosa*. Another ornamental plant with medicinal uses.
haur kuning	905	Lit. 'yellow bamboo'. There are several yellow bamboo species, but the most likely is the common *Bambusa vulgaris*, often used in a nautical context (Dransfield and Widjaja 1995:74-75). Used to roll up the sails.

haur séyah	907	Lit. 'rustling bamboo' – species unidentified.
hoé muka	108, 912	The species here is unidentified. Rigg calls it 'very brittle and worthless' (1862:149 *sub Hoih*).
hoé omas	109, 914	Lit. 'golden rattan'. Rigg (1862:149) says that *hoé omas* is 'a small variety, of no particular use'. The species is unidentified.
hoé walatung	110, 255, 657, 913	*Calamus caesius*, aka *sega* or *taman* rattan, a multi-stemmed small-diameter cane commonly used for 'cores, ropes, splits and washed sticks which are then used as webbings, weavings, binds, basketry, or furniture components' (Mohmod 1992:239; see Mohd., Dransfield, and Manokaran 1992). 'The common rattan of commerce,' as Jonathan Rigg put it (1862:149 *sub Hoih*). Bujangga Manik's whip is *walatung* rattan, and it is one of the rattans used in the rigging of the *parahu*s.
jaksi	386, 387, 499	A variety of pandan (*Pandanus tectorius*). Its use in *BM* is unclear.
jantung	638	Banana flowers (*Musa* spp.) – also means '(human) heart'. It is taboo to eat them.
jati	898	Teak – *Tectona grandis*. Used in the construction of the ships' hulls.
jerinang	113, 152, 911	'Dragon's blood' – the red resin from a number of different rattan species, most in the genus *Daemonorops*. It is used in *BM* as an active verb form *ngaj(e)rinang* 'painting with dragon's blood', probably as a simile, describing parts of buildings and ships.
kacambang	192, 355	*Ardisia tenuifolia*, whose berries, according to Rigg (1862:183), produce a black dye.
kameñan	387	Benzoin – an incense made from the resin of *Styrax benzoin*, a Sumatran tree.
kamuning	107, 908	*Murraya paniculata*, a tree often used in the archipelago for its strong and attractive yellow timber. Used in *BM* in the ships' rudders.
kanté̂h pamulu	163, 283	Cotton wool – *Gossypium arboreum*.
kapur Barus	496, 521, 1693	Camphor from the timber of *Dryobalanops aromatica*. Exported from Barus in North Sumatra.
kasturi	495	Musk – to be distinguished from 'civet' (*dédés*). Used to flavour a betel quid. Probably imported from Inner Asia.
kawung cawéné	906	'Sugar palm saplings', where *kawung* = *Arenga pinnata*, an important tree with lots of uses (sugar, thatch, timber, etc.).
kayu laka	111, 909	(In this case) *Myristica iners*, a tall forest tree native to Java with reddish wood, here used for the main mast of a ship. *Kayu laka* can also refer to 'the lower stems and roots of a large liana', *Dalbergia parviflora*, but that is almost certainly not the meaning here (Donkin 1999:12; Heng 2001).
kulit masui	1642	Bark of the massoy tree (*Cryptocarya massoy*) from western New Guinea. Used as a perfume.
kupa	208	A plant with edible fruits – *Syzygium polycephala*.
laka	190, 353	In these lines probably lac – a red insect dye (*Kerria lacca*). But this is also the name of the root of a liana and of a tall forest tree (see *kayu laka*).
lenga	388, 501, 1692	Sesame (*Sesamum indicum*) – in one case as sesame oil (probably) and in the others as branches of sesame sprinkled with rosewater.
leteng	366, 367, 368	Calcium oxide derived from both limestone (BM) and shells (BM), used as a component in betel quids. Brought to Pakuan from Karawang (W. Java) and southern Sumatra.
lungsir	189, 352, 1794, 1797	Probably a kind of silk cloth (made from the cocoons of the silk moth, *Bombyx mori*).

mañjakané	385, 498	Tannin-rich powder made from oak apple galls, specifically those of the Aleppo oak (*Quercus infectoria*). Used medicinally.
narawastu	390, 503	Probably *Chrysopogon zizanioides* or vetiver, a kind of fragrant grass, perhaps used to flavour a jelly (*agur-agur*).
nipah	935	*Nypa fruticans*, a sugar-producing palm, particularly common along the shore and in mangrove swamps. The roofing mats on the second *parahu* are made of *nipah* sprouts (*pucuk nipah*).
pinang	198, 199, 370, 371, 372, 493, 494, 1472, 1473, 1474, 1475	*Areca catechu*, the areca palm that supplies the 'nuts' (actually seeds) used in betel quids, alongside *sereh* (betel vine leaves). Comes in several varieties.
sepang	164	Brazilwood (*Caesalpinia sappan*), aka 'sappanwood'. Used as a dyestuff. It can produce a range of hues, but red is the most common.
sereh	197, 360	*Piper betle* – the betel vine, the leaves of which are used to make betel quids with pieces of areca seed (*pinang*).
sutra	254, 1792, 1799	Silk or silk thread, found in *BM* as a material in scarves (*sampay*) and umbrellas (*payung*). Comes in both Chinese (*Cina*) and South Indian (*Keling*) varieties.
tales	615	Taro (*Colocasia esculenta*), the corm of which was a staple food across the region. The word goes back to PMP *tales.
tuak	632	Palm wine – made from any number of palm syrups (including those of coconut, *kawung*, and *nipah*), usually tapped from the tree and left to ferment overnight to produce a mildly alcoholic beverage.

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Manuscripts

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS Peniarth 392D – *the 'Hengwrt Chaucer' (c.1400).*

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Schoemaan I 21 – *the OJv palm-leaf version of the Yoga Sutras of Patanjali, copied in Sunda in the late fifteenth century.*

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 066A – *contains a copy of William of Rubruck's account of the Mongols.*

Cape Town, National Library of South Africa, Grey Coll. 4 b 17 – *a Middle Dutch version of Mandeville. Probably the oldest extant Dutch text to mention Java by name.*

Copenhagen, Det Konglige Bibliotek, NKS 66 – *a c.1300 copy of a thirteenth-century Middle Danish herbal by Henrik Harpestræng.*

Cork, University College Cork, Boole Library, the Book of Lismore (formerly in Chatsworth House, Derbyshire) – *contains the abridged Irish vernacular Marco Polo.*

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Portolano 1 – *the so-called 'Genoese' world map of 1457.*

Jakarta, Museum Nasional, inv. nos. E.42-E.45 – *the Kebantenan copperplate inscriptions (OSd, perhaps fourteenth-century).*

Jakarta, PNRI, L406 – *contains both Carita Parahiyangan and Fragmen Carita Parahiyangan.*

Jakarta, PNRI, L416 & L423 – *two MSS of the OSd text Poernawidjaja's Hellevaart.*

Jakarta, PNRI, L408 – *Séwaka Darma, an OSd text.*

Jakarta, PNRI, L410 – *Ratu Pakuan, an OSd text.*

Jakarta, PNRI, L419 – *Kawih Paningkes, an OSd text.*

Jakarta, PNRI, L422 – *Jatiniskala, an OSd text.*

Jakarta, PNRI, L621 – *Sanghyang Sasana Mahaguru, an OSd text.*

Jakarta, PNRI, L624 – *Sanghyang Siksakandang Karesian (lontar version), an OSd text.*

Jakarta, PNRI, L625 – *Sri Ajnyana, an OSd text.*

Jakarta, PNRI, L626 – *Sanghyang Swawarcita, an OSd text.*

Jakarta, PNRI, L630 – *Sanghyang Siksakandang Karesian (gebang version), an OSd text.*

Jakarta, PNRI, L632 – *Amanat dari Galunggung, an OSd text.*

Jakarta, PNRI, L633 – *Serat Séwaka, an OSd text.*

Jakarta, PNRI, L1102 – *the former designation of The Sons of Rama & Rawana (aka Pantun Ramayana). The MS is now in the Sri Baduga Museum in Bandung.*

Leiden, UBL, Jav. MS No. 74 – *Carita Waruga Guru, a late OSd text.*

Leiden, UBL, MS Or. Leyden 5091 – *the manuscript of the OJv Nawanatya.*

Lisbon, Torre do Tombo, Gav. 15, mç. 8, n.º 2 – *original text of the Luso-Sundanese treaty of 1522.*

Lisbon, Torre do Tombo, Gav. liv. 30 – *the letters sent from Ternate to the King of Portugal in 1521 and 1522.*

London, BL, Additional MS 19513 – *contains the sole surviving manuscript copy of Jordanus's Mirabilia Descripta (c.1330) on f.3r-12r. Unfortunately not yet digitised.*

London, BL, Additional MS 5415 A – *the Queen Mary Atlas (1555-1559).*

London, BL, Egerton MS 943 – *an annotated early-fourteenth-century manuscript of Dante's Comedia ('Divine Comedy').*

London, BL, Harley MS 3954 – *a fifteenth-century MS of John Mandeville's supposed travels.*

London, BL, IO Islamic 149 – *the Ni'matnāma-i Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāhī, a Persian-language cookbook from India.*

London, BL, MSS Malay F 1 – *a Malay-language text presenting the genealogy of the kings of Pajajaran written in Batavia in 1887.*

London, BL, Royal MS 19 D I – *a collection of texts describing the east, including Alexander romances, Polo, Odoric, John of Plano Carpini, and others (1333-1340).*

London, BL, Royal MS 20 E IX – *the Boke of Idrography, a world atlas made for Henry VIII of England by the French cartographer Jean Rotz (1535-1542).*

London, SOAS Library, MS 48363 – *a Chinese-Malay word-list compiled in 1492 for the mid-Míng-dynasty Interpreters Institute (會通館).*

Modena, Biblioteca Estense, C.G.A.2 – *the Cantino planisphere, a Portuguese world map of 1502.*

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 2570 – *one part of Abū al-Makārim's thirteenth-century list of churches throughout the world. The Paris half is dated 1368.*

New Haven, Yale University Library, Beinecke MS 351 – *the oldest surviving manuscript (1525) of Antonio Pigafetta's account of the first circumnavigation of the world (1519-1522). The language is French.*

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Jav. b.3. (R) – *Bujangga Manik.*

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Selden Supra 105 – *the Selden Map.*

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms-5064 – *a manuscript of Pietro de Crescenzi's Livre des prouffitz champestres et ruraulx ('treatise on rural economy') (1470-1475).*

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Assemblée nationale, 1248 (ED 19) – *the Paris MS of Pires' Suma Oriental.*

Paris, BnF, Arabe 307 – *one part of Abū al-Makārim's thirteenth-century list of churches of the world. The Paris half is dated 1368.*

Paris, BnF, Espagnol 30 – *the Catalan Atlas (1375).*

Paris, BnF, Français 1116 – *the oldest-known manuscript of the Divisiment dou Monde (c.1310).*

Paris, BnF, Français 2810 – *a fifteenth-century French collection of travel literature, including Polo, Odoric, and Mandeville.*

Paris, BnF, GE DD-683 – *the Atlas Miller, a Portuguese atlas of world (1519).*

Rome, BAV, Ott.lat.3324 – *a fifteenth-century copy of Pero López de Ayala's Libro de la caza de las aves (1386), a falconry manual in Castilian.*

Rome, BAV, Urb.lat.224 – *contains works by Poggio Bracciolini, including De Varietate Fortunæ, the fourth book of which recounts Niccolò de' Conti's travels. Copied c.1460 by Niccolò di Antonio de' Ricci.*

The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 131 B 14 – *a Middle Dutch version of Mandeville.*

The Hague, Nationaal Archief, VEL1172 – *'Landkaart van Batavia na de Zuydzee', a map of part of West Java and Jakarta by Isaac de Graaff and Pieter Scipio (1695).*

Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Cod. Mar. Lat. DXLIX – *the Codex Cumanicus, a composite work of c.1300 describing Cuman language and culture through Persian, Latin, and Middle High German.*

Vienna, ÖNB, Codex 3069 – *The Vienna Büchsenmeisterbuch, a work of military technology (1411).*

Vienna, ÖNB, Wolkenstein-Handschrift A – *one of the manuscripts containing the songs of the Minnesinger Oswald von Wolkenstein.*

*

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*

Résumé

Alexander Joseph West (born Leamington Spa, UK, on the 19th of November 1987) is a citizen of Ireland whose schooling and upbringing took place chiefly in England. After taking his A-Levels at Peter Symonds Sixth Form College in Winchester (2006), he studied for a bachelor's degree in Chinese at the University of Leeds, graduating in 2010 with a 2:i. After that he did an MSc in social anthropology at Oxford University (2011), where he focussed on the ethnography of eastern Indonesia. West then trained as a teacher of English-as-a-foreign-language and worked in Oxford for several years, during which time he learned to read Jawi (Malay in Arabic script) and Old French, among other things. In August 2016, he got married and made the mistake of moving to the Netherlands to pursue an MA in Asian Studies, from which he graduated *cum laude* in 2017 with a thesis on the Old Sundanese narrative poem *Bujangga Manik*. He unsuccessfully applied for Ph.D funding in early 2018, hoping to produce a new edition and study of *Bujangga Manik* at the Institute of Area Studies at Leiden University. He decided to pursue the doctorate regardless, beginning on June 1st 2018 and submitting the thesis on the 22nd of September 2020. He worked as an English teacher throughout, first in The Hague and then online during the coronavirus pandemic.

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Summary

This thesis is an edition and study of *Bujangga Manik*, a narrative poem in Old Sundanese, a language of West Java (Sunda) in what is now Indonesia. The poem survives in a single manuscript, MS Jav. b.3. (R), which was deposited in the Bodleian Library at the University of Oxford in 1627. The text dates to the late fifteenth century CE, perhaps to 1480 or so – before the Islamisation of Sunda in the sixteenth century, before the establishment of the first European colonies in Southeast Asia in 1511, and before the accompanying impact of the Columbian Exchange. It is one of only a few witnesses to this period in Sundanese and, indeed, Indonesian history. This dissertation uses the text as a starting-point for a study of fifteenth-century island Southeast Asia in the round, using archaeological evidence and contemporaneous texts in a range of other languages, particularly Portuguese, Classical Chinese, and Old Javanese, to provide further information about the people, places, and material culture evinced in the text.

Bujangga Manik relates the travels of a fictional nobleman from Pakuan, the capital of the kingdom of Sunda, through Java and Bali, as he leaves his life and family behind in order to improve himself spiritually and become an ascetic – and, upon his death, a god. 'Bujangga Manik' is one of the three names by which this ascetic is known over the course of the text. During his travels, which are narrated in the first person, he gains in insight and spiritual authority. This culminates in a vision of the world seen from the summit of Mount Papandayan in West Java, after which the ascetic retires from travelling and establishes a hermitage. Here he meditates, sweeps the ground with a broom, and dies without illness a decade later, whereupon he ascends to heaven. The surviving manuscript comprises 30 *lontar* leaves, and at least four others are missing, including one (or more) at the end; the poem finishes mid-sentence, with the ascetic's soul riding a bejewelled yak while gongs and metallophones are beaten and lightning flashes in the sky. Many articles of material culture are described or referred to throughout the poem, including rosewater, cannons, and ocean-going junks, among many others, and the small cast of characters, most of them friendly and caring, provide a welcome counterpoint to the crude depictions of fifteenth-century Javan people found in accounts written by foreigners.

The centrepiece of the thesis is an extensively updated edition of the Old Sundanese text with an improved English translation (Part II), building on the work of Jacobus Noorduyn and Andries Teeuw, who first published a version of *Bujangga Manik* in 2006. An extensive study of the codicology, palaeography, and language of the manuscript and poem precedes the text (Part I), as does an Introduction intended to place *Bujangga Manik* in its proper historical context as part of a wider Afro-Eurasian hemisphere of interaction and exchange. The remainder of the thesis is an extended commentary on the poem's contents. This includes a discussion of the important theme of place and of the many place names that occur in the text (Part III); an overview of the poem's characters and their roles (Part IV); descriptions of the ships the ascetic travels on and their multi-ethnic crews (Part V); and

finally an analysis of the textiles, dyestuffs, perfumes, toiletries, narcotics, weapons, and other manufactured goods mentioned at various points in the text (Part VI). A brief epilogue summarises the conclusions of the thesis.

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Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift is een editie en studie van de *Bujangga Manik*, een verhalend gedicht in het Oud-Soendanees, een taal van West-Java (Soenda) in het huidige Indonesië. Het gedicht is bewaard gebleven in een enkel manuscript, MS Jav. b.3. (R), dat in 1627 werd gedeponeerd in de Bodleian Library aan de Universiteit van Oxford. De tekst dateert uit het einde van de vijftiende eeuw na Christus, misschien uit ongeveer 1480 – vóór de islamisering van Soenda in de zestiende eeuw, vóór de oprichting van de eerste Europese koloniën in Zuidoost-Azië in 1511, en vóór de bijbehorende impact van de Columbiaanse uitwisseling. Het is een van de weinige getuigen van deze periode in de Soendanese en inderdaad de Indonesische geschiedenis. Dit proefschrift gebruikt de tekst als uitgangspunt voor een algemene studie van het vijftiende-eeuwse insulair Zuidoost-Azië, met gebruikmaking van archeologisch bewijs en contemporaine teksten in een reeks andere talen, met name Portugees, Klassiek Chinees en Oud-Javaans, om verdere informatie te verschaffen over de mensen, plaatsen en materiële cultuur die in de tekst tot uiting komen.

De *Bujangga Manik* vertelt over de reizen van een fictieve edelman uit Pakuan, de hoofdstad van het koninkrijk Soenda, door Java en Bali, terwijl hij zijn leven en familie achter zich laat om zichzelf geestelijk te verbeteren en een asceet te worden - en, na zijn dood, een god. 'Bujangga Manik' is een van de drie namen waaronder deze asceet in de tekst bekend is. Tijdens zijn reizen, die in de eerste persoon worden verteld, verwerft hij inzicht en spiritueel gezag. Dit culmineert in een gezicht op de wereld gezien vanaf de top van de berg Papandayan in West-Java, waarna de asceet ophoudt met reizen en een kluizenarij opricht. Hier mediteert hij, veegt de grond met een bezem en sterft een decennium later zonder ziekte, waarna hij opstijgt naar de hemel. Het overgebleven handschrift bestaat uit 30 *lontar*-bladen en er ontbreken minstens vier andere, waaronder een (of meer) aan het einde. Het gedicht eindigt halverwege een zin, met de ziel van de asceet die op een met juwelen getooide jak rijdt, terwijl gongs en metallofonen worden geslagen en de bliksem de lucht verlicht. Veel artikelen van materiële cultuur worden in de loop van het gedicht beschreven of er wordt naar verwezen, waaronder rozenwater, kanonnen en oceaanwaardige jonken, en vele andere. De kleine groep personages, grotendeels vriendelijk en zorgzaam, vormt een welkom contrapunt voor de ungenuanceerd weergave van vijftiende-eeuwse bewoners van het eiland Java die men aantreft in verslagen van buitenlanders.

Het middelpunt van het proefschrift is een uitgebreid bijgewerkte editie van de Oud-Soendanese tekst met een verbeterde Engelse vertaling (deel II), voortbouwend op het werk van Jacobus

Noorduyn en Andries Teeuw, die voor het eerst een versie van de *Bujangga Manik* publiceerden in 2006. Een uitgebreide studie van de codicologie, paleografie en taal van het handschrift en gedicht gaat vooraf aan de tekst (deel I), evenals een inleiding bedoeld om de *Bujangga Manik* in zijn juiste historische context te plaatsen als onderdeel van een meeromvattend Afro-Euraziatisch halfrond met interactie en uitwisseling. De rest van het proefschrift is een uitgebreid commentaar op de inhoud van het gedicht. Dit omvat een bespreking van het belangrijke thema van plaats en van de vele plaatsnamen die in de tekst voorkomen (deel III); een overzicht van de personages van het gedicht en hun rollen (deel IV); beschrijvingen van de schepen waarop de asceet reist en hun multi-etnische bemanningen (deel V); en tenslotte een analyse van de textiel, kleurstoffen, parfums, toiletartikelen, verdovende middelen, wapens en andere producten die op verschillende punten in de tekst worden genoemd (deel VI). Een korte epiloog vat de conclusies van het proefschrift samen.

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Ringkasan

Tesis ini merupakan edisi dan kajian *Bujangga Manik*, puisi naratif dalam bahasa Sunda Kuna, bahasa Jawa Barat (Sunda). Puisi itu bertahan dalam satu naskah, MS Jav. b.3. (R), yang disimpan di Perpustakaan Bodleian di Universitas Oxford sejak tahun 1627. Teks tersebut berasal dari akhir abad kelima belas M, mungkin sekitar 1480 – sebelum Islamisasi Sunda pada abad keenam belas, sebelum berdirinya koloni Eropa pertama di Asia Tenggara pada tahun 1511, dan sebelum dampak Pertukaran Kolumbus yang menyertainya. *Bujangga Manik* adalah salah satu dari sedikit saksi tentang periode ini dalam sejarah Sunda dan sejarah Indonesia. Disertasi ini menggunakan teks sebagai titik awal untuk mempelajari kebudayaan Asia Tenggara abad ke-15 secara keseluruhan, menggunakan bukti arkeologi dan teks kontemporer dalam berbagai bahasa lain, terutama Portugis, Cina Klasik, dan Jawa Kuno, untuk memberikan informasi lebih lanjut tentang orang, tempat, dan budaya material yang muncul dalam teks.

Bujangga Manik menceritakan perjalanan seorang bangsawan fiksional dari Pakuan, ibu kota kerajaan Sunda, melalui Jawa dan Bali, saat ia meninggalkan kehidupannya yang lama dan keluarganya untuk meningkatkan diri secara spiritual dan menjadi seorang pertapa – dan menjadi seorang dewata setelah kematiannya. 'Bujangga Manik' adalah salah satu dari tiga nama yang digunakan petapa ini di sepanjang teks. Selama perjalanannya, yang diceritakan dalam bentuk orang pertama, dia memperoleh wawasan dan otoritas spiritual. Hal ini memuncak pada suatu pemandangan dunia yang dilihat dari puncak Gunung Papandayan di Jawa Barat. Sesudah itu pertapa Bujangga Manik menghentikan pengembaraannya dan mendirikan pertapaan. Di pertapaan ini dia bermeditasi, menyapu tanah, dan meninggal tanpa penyakit satu dasawarsa kemudian. Lalu dia naik ke surga. Naskah yang masih ada terdiri dari 30 daun lontar dan setidaknya empat lainnya hilang, termasuk satu daun (atau lebih) di

bagian akhir. Puisi itu berakhir di tengah kalimat, dengan jiwa sang pertapa mengendarai yak berhiaskan berlian sementara gong dan bunyi-bunyian lainnya dipukuli dan halilintar menerangi langit. Banyak artikel budaya material dijelaskan atau dirujuk di seluruh puisi, termasuk air mawar, meriam dan kapal jong, di antara banyak lainnya. Tokoh-tokoh *Bujangga Manik* yang kebanyakan ramah dan peduli menantang penggambaran yang tidak menyenangkan dari orang Pulau Jawa abad kelima belas yang ditemukan dalam catatan yang ditulis oleh orang asing.

Inti dari tesis ini adalah teks *Bujanga Manik* dalam bahasa Sunda Kuna yang diperbarui secara ekstensif dengan terjemahan bahasa Inggris baru (Bagian II), yang didasarkan pada karya Jacobus Noorduyn dan Andries Teeuw yang menerbitkan versi *Bujangga Manik* pada tahun 2006. Kajian dari kodikologi dan paleografi naskah dan bahasa puisi mendahului teks (Bagian I). Demikian juga sebuah pendahuluan yang dimaksudkan untuk menempatkan *Bujangga Manik* dalam konteks Asia Tenggara yang tepat sebagai bagian dari belahan Afro-Eurasia yang lebih luas. Sisa dari tesis adalah komentar tambahan tentang isi puisi. Ini termasuk diskusi tentang tema penting yaitu tempat, dan tentang banyak nama tempat yang muncul dalam teks (Bagian III); gambaran dari tokoh dalam cerita dan peran mereka (Bagian IV); uraian tentang kapal-kapal yang dinaiki pertapa dan awak multi-etnis mereka (Bagian V); dan terakhir analisis tentang tekstil, zat warna, wangi-wangian, perlengkapan mandi, narkotika, senjata dan barang buatan lainnya yang disebutkan di berbagai tempat dalam teks (Bagian VI). Epilog singkat merangkum kesimpulan dari tesis.

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