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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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 *linggas* (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 *linggas* 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 باری), 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).

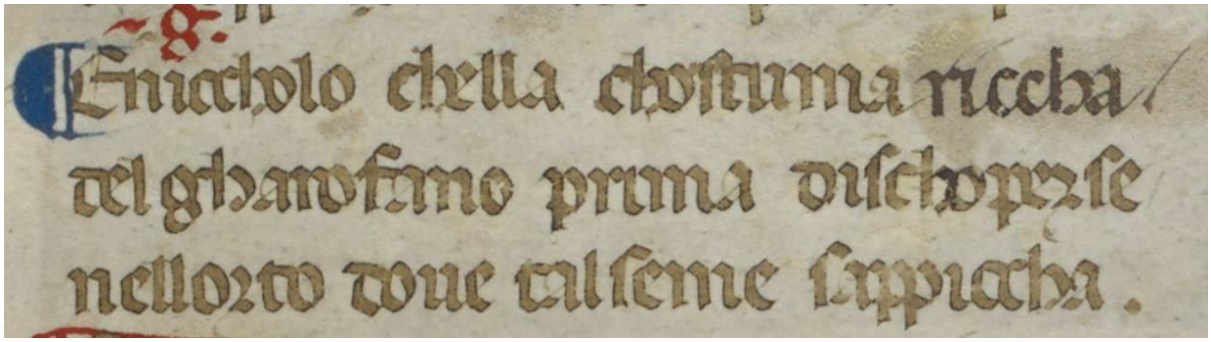

Figure 0.3 – Cloves (*gharofano*) from eastern Indonesia appear in Dante's *Inferno* (1308-1320 – canto XXIX, line 128), where a decadent new use for them in roasting meat is said to have condemned Niccolò Bonsignori of Siena to Hell. London, BL, Egerton MS 943, f.53r.

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 Морѧ*) 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.)