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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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PART I

Codicology, Palaeography, and Language

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

Part I is arranged into three sections:

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

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

I.1 Codicology

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

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

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

I.1.1 The Box

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

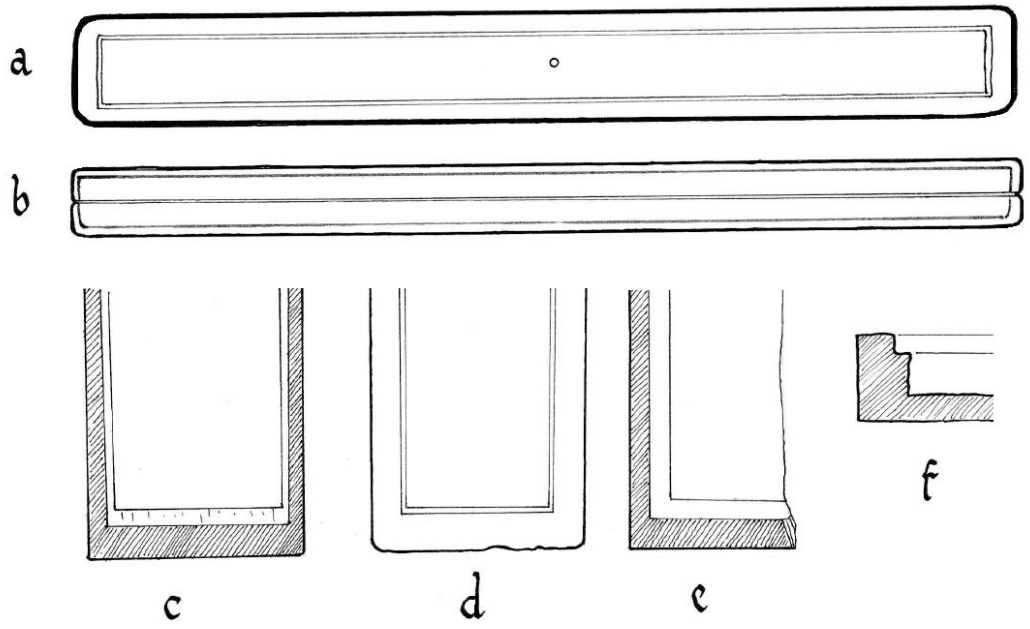


Figure I.1. Diagrams of the *kropak*: ***a)*** The largely undamaged exterior of the bottom piece – how the box would have appeared before the damage. Dimensions: 36.9 cm L X 4.2 cm W. The hole is bored 18.1 centimetres from one end and 18.7 centimetres from the other. ***b)*** The undamaged side of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

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

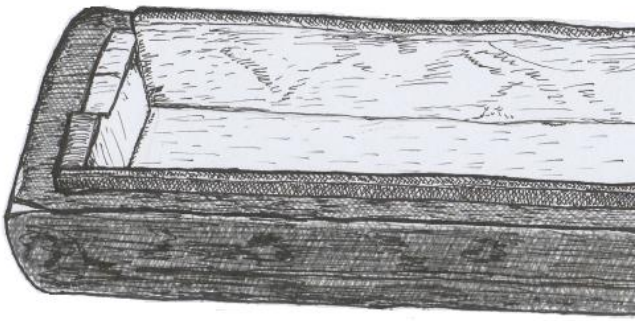


Figure I.2. A sketch of the interior of the bottom half, showing some of the damage to the tongue of the joint, the unlacquered and unfinished interior, and the scuffing of the lacquer on the outside.

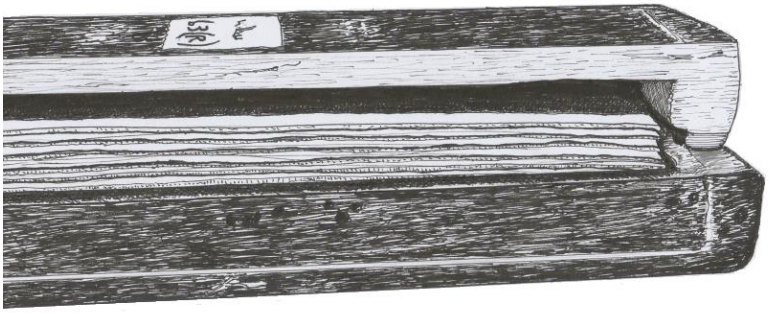


Figure I.3. A sketch of the damage to the *kropak*, showing the worn-down tongue; the damage to the top half, now visible in cross-section; and the empty space revealed by the loss of at least four of the leaves.

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

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

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

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

I.1.2 The Page

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

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

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

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

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

*

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

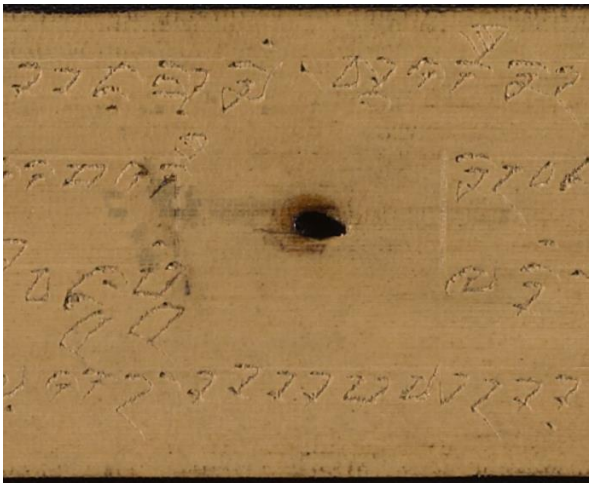


Figure I.5. The central hole and the line markings around it. MS Jav. b.3. (R), f.5v.

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

Preparing Lontar

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

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

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

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

I.1.3 Foliation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Marginal Numbers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I.1.4 The Age of the Manuscript

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

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

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

*

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

I.2 Palaeography

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

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

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

I.2.1 Terminology

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

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

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

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

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

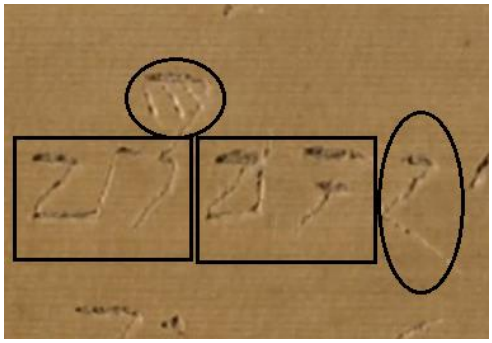


Figure I.7. The syllable ⟨hə t.⟩ *het* in the word *dipahetken* on f.31v. The rectangles delineate the *aksara nglegena* ⟨ha⟩ and ⟨ta⟩. *Sandhangan* are circled. The *sandhangan* at the top (Sd *paneleng*) changes the vowel to ⟨e⟩/[ə] and the final one (Sd *pamaéh*) cancels the vowel sound in ⟨ta⟩.

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

I.2.2 Features of Brahmic Scripts

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

General Characteristics

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

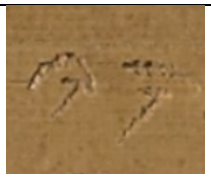
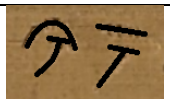
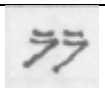
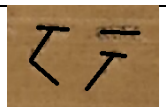
The Graphemes

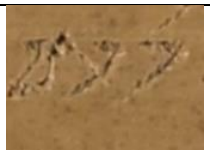
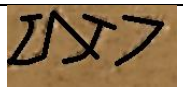
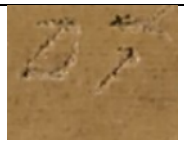
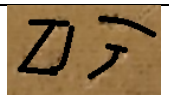
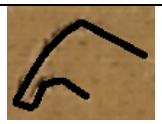
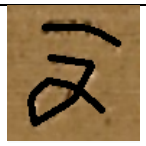
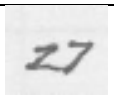
The marks found on the leaves of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Jav. b.3. (R) have been sorted into separate tables below: Consonantal *aksara nglegena* (Table I.3); *aksara swara* (Table I.4); *aksara pasangan* (Table I.5); special forms (Table I.6); *sandhangan*s (Table I.7); numerals (Table I.8); and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

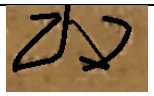
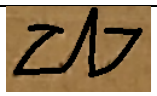
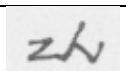
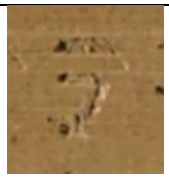
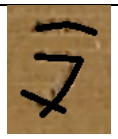
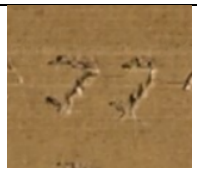
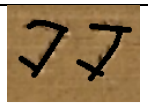
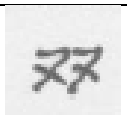
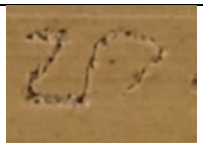
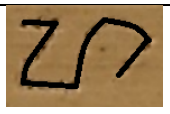
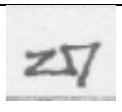
Aksara Nglegena

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

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

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

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

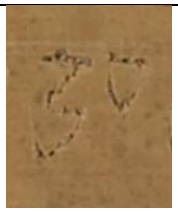
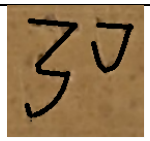
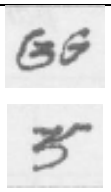
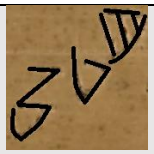
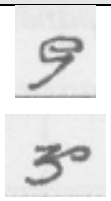
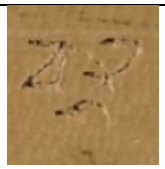
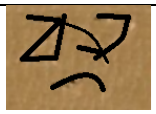
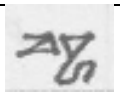
			ba	**ba**
			ma	**ma**
			ya	**ya**
			ra	**ra**
			la	**la**
			va	**wa**
			sa	**sa**
			ha	**ha**

Aksara Swara

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

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

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

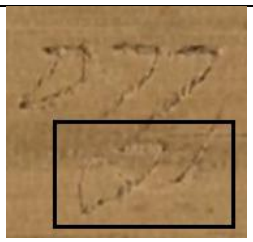
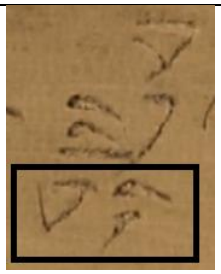
Aksara Swara	*Highlighted*	*Darsa (1997)*	*IAST*	*My Transliteration*
			a	**a**
			ə/ĕ[51]	**e** ⟨a^{e}⟩
			e	**é**
			i	**i**
			o	**o**
			u	**u**

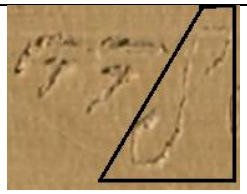
[51] This vowel is not found in Sanskrit and so it has no consistent IAST representative. The forms here are those used in the transliteration of Old Javanese, which does use the sound and graph.

Aksara Pasangan

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

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

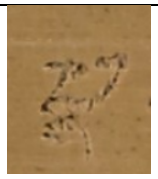
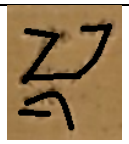
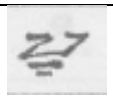
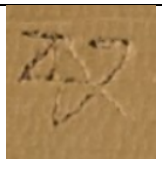
Aksara Pasangan	*Separate*	*Darsa (1997)*	*IAST*	*My Transliteration*
		-	ca	**ca**
		-	na	**na**
		-	ba	**ba**
		-	ma	**ma**

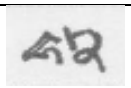
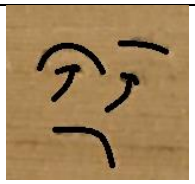
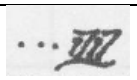
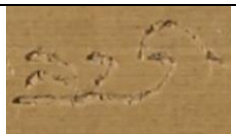
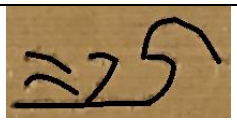
			ya	**ya**
			va	**wa/ua/o** (see above)

Special Forms

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

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

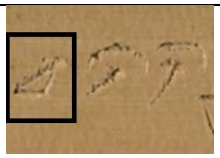
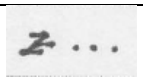
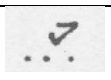
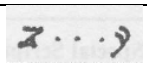
Special Form	*Highlighted*	*Darsa (1997)*	*IAST*	*My Transliteration*
			r̥	**re**
			l̥	**le**

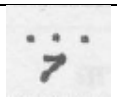
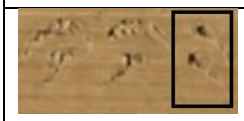
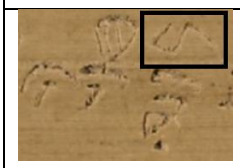
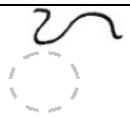
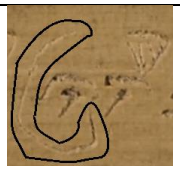
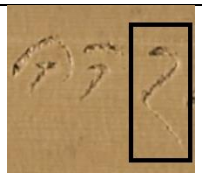
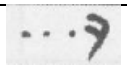
			ṭa	**tra**
			k	**k**
		-	mpa	**mpa**

Aksara Sandhangan

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

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

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

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

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

The Uses of the Pamaéh and Panolong

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

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

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

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

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

⟨ba wa ing a pu sa' ta bi⟩

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

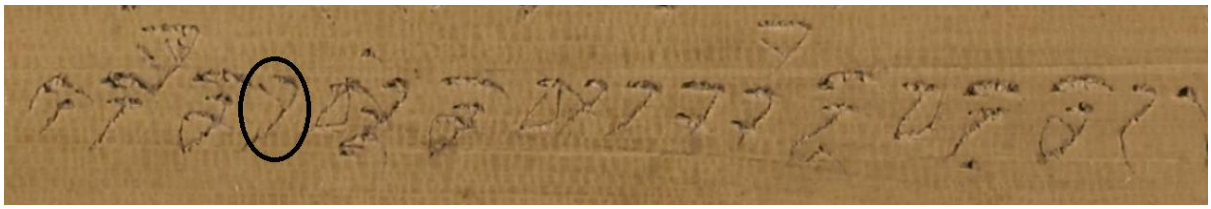


Figure I.10. A line taken from f.9v illustrating the use of the *panolong* (circled). It ought to be read *ken aing naña si utun*, but the characters are: ⟨ke na' ing na ña si u tu n.⟩.

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

⟨ke na' ing na ña si u tu n.⟩

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

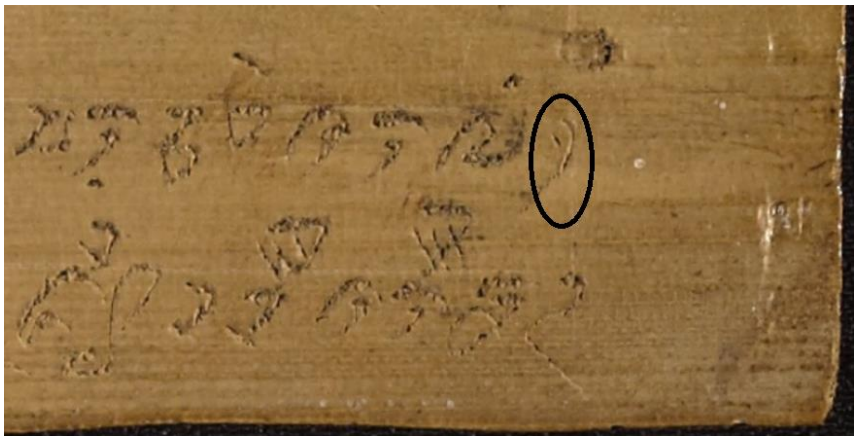


Figure I.11. An example of the use of the *panolong* at the end of the page lines. Third line of f.5r.

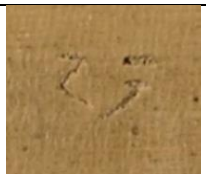
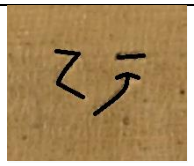
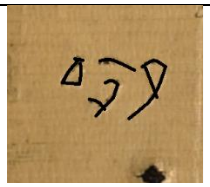
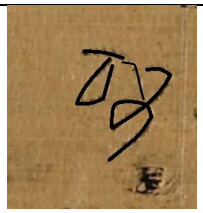
The *panolong* also appears at the end of some orthographic lines on the far right-hand side of the leaf to indicate that the metrical line has not finished and continues onto the next orthographic line (e.g. at the end of the third line in f.5r in the middle of the word *kalangkang* – Figure I.11).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

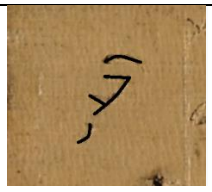
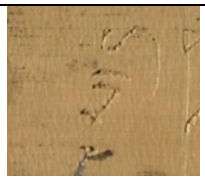
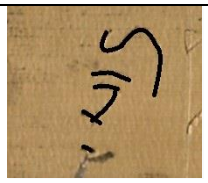
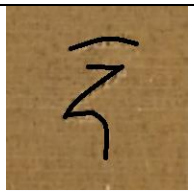
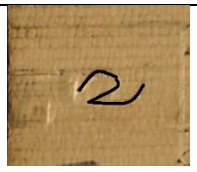
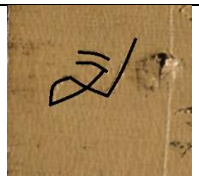
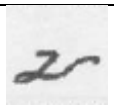
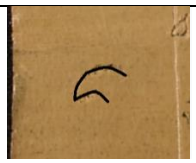
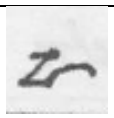
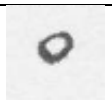
not entirely consistent but it occurs frequently enough to suggest that it was a normal part of Old Sundanese orthography.

Numerals

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

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

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

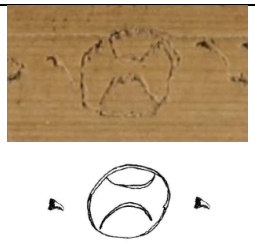
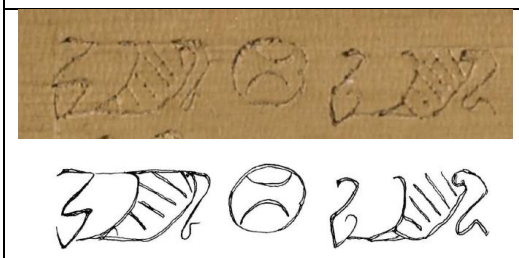
			4	**ru**
			5	**rur**
			6	**u**
			7	**la**
			8	**ca**
			9	**da**
			0	**0** This zero consists of a simple circle, much like zeroes in other parts of medieval Afro-Eurasia. It cannot be broken down into components and has no apparent phonetic value.

Punctuation

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

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

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

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

*

I.2.4 The Correction of Errors

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

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

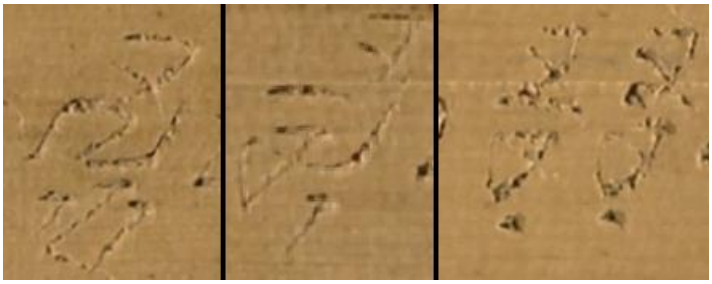


Figure I.12. L-R: f.27v.3; f.20v.1; f.9r.2. As can be seen in the first two examples, the *panyuku* in error-*aksara*s is frequently given its full and unambiguous form – a crooked bar – instead of merely appearing as a dot as it usually does in MS Jav. b.3. (R).

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

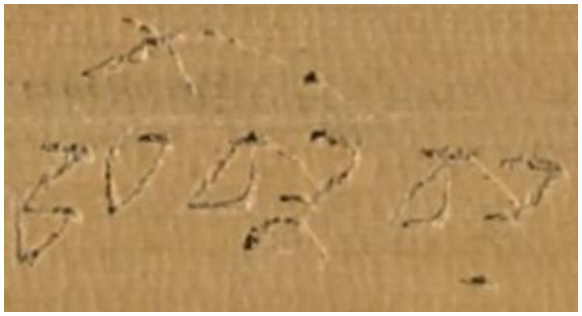


Figure I.13. f.12v.4: ⟨a^{X} ing bu⟩, an error for *a(m)buing*. A cross has been used to indicate that two *aksara*s should be swapped.

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

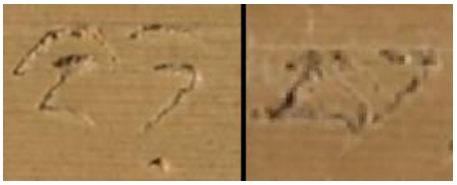


Figure I.14. L-R: f.15v.3 (<gu> converted into <ku>) and f.18r.3 (<pa> turned into <ma>).

*

I.2.5 The Second Hand

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

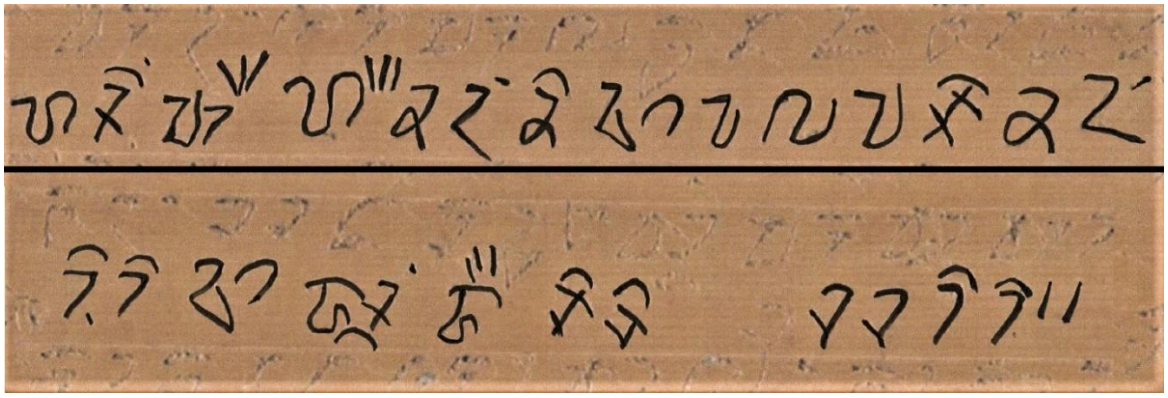


Figure I.15. The interlinear commentary on f.17r. The two parts are in fact placed above the same headline; I have stacked them for reasons of space, and to separate the text into the component octosyllabic lines.

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

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

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

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

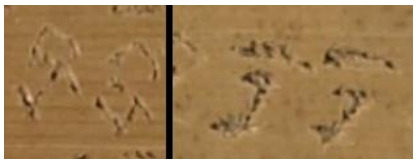


Figure I.17. A comparison of what appear to be doubled *aksara* ⟨ra⟩ in both the main text of MS Jav. b.3. (R) (right) and the interstitial line in f.17r (left).

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

I tentatively decipher the lines as:

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

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

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

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

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

*

I.2.6 Comparing Old Sundanese Scripts

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

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

What Makes a Script a Script?

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

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

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

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

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

Old Sundanese Script(s) and Hands

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

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

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

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

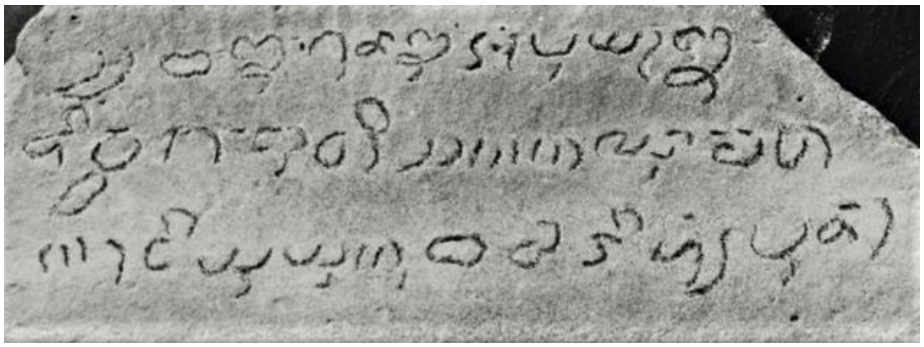


Figure I.18. The text on the Rumatak inscription of 1333 Śaka. Adapted from Leiden, UBL, KITLV 162747.

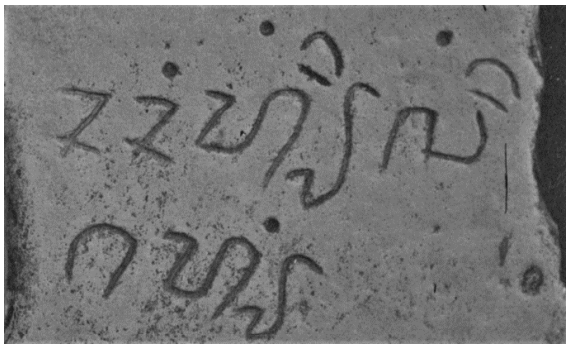


Figure I.19. The Kawali III inscription: *sanghiyang lingga hyang*. Adapted from Leiden, UBL, KITLV 87616.

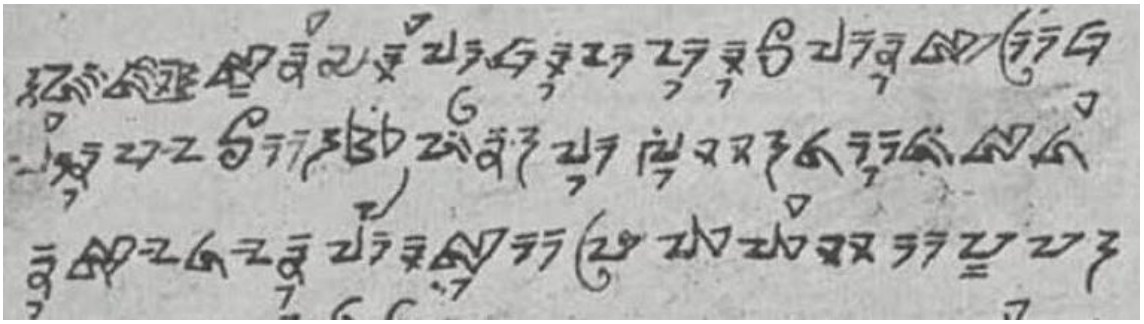


Figure I.20. Part of the first page of *Carita Waruga Guru* (Leiden, UBL, Jav. MS No. 74) – an eighteenth-century inked Old Sundanese manuscript written in what appears to be an adaptation of the *lontar* script (Pleyte 1913:362).

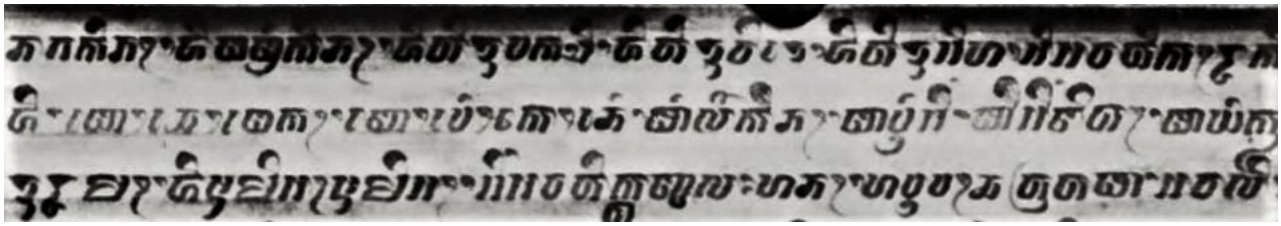
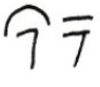
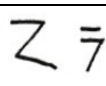
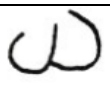
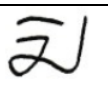


Figure I.21. A section of text from the *gebang* manuscript of *Sanghyang Siksakandang Karesian* (1518). Leiden, UBL, KITLV 162235.

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

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

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

nga				
ca				
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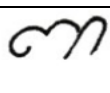
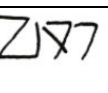
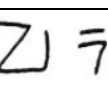
ña				
ta				
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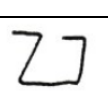
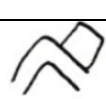
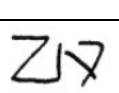
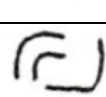
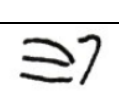
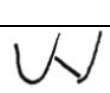
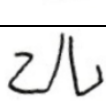
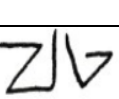
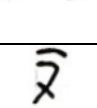
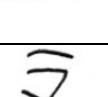
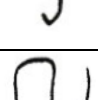
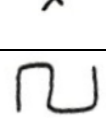
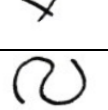
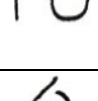
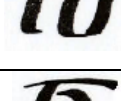
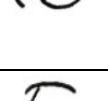
pa				
ba				
ma				
ya				
ra				
la				
wa				
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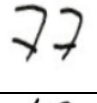
ha				
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na (*pasangan*)	–	–		
ba (*pasangan*)	–	–		
ma (*pasangan*)	–	–		
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wa (*pasangan*)		–		
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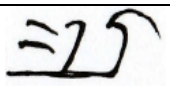
mpa	–	–		
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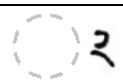
-o				
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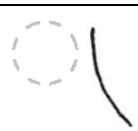
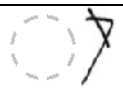
-r	–			
-r-		–		
-ø				

panolong / avagraha	–	–		
0	–	–		

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

Origins of the Lontar Script

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*

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

I.3. Language

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

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

I.3.1 Overview

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

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

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

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

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

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

I.3.2 Origins

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

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

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

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

I.3.3 Phonology

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I.3.4 Syntax

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

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

'The guns fired seven times' (BM 97)

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

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

'I crossed the Cikéñcal River' (BM 134)

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

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

'I crossed the Ciliwung River' (BM 141)

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

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

'I want to travel to Bali'

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

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

'He left the ship' (BM 965)

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

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

'That is Mount Ciremai' (BM 1196)

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

(1.7)	itu	Tangkuban Parahu
	that	Tangkuban Parahu

'That is Mount Tangkuban Parahu' (BM 1203)

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

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

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

'The person without a father' (BM 627)

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

I.3.5 Nouns

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I.3.6 Verbs

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I.3.7 Metre and Poetics

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

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

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

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

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

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I.3.8 Greetings and Parting Phrases

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

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

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

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

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

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

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