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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 III:

### *Place in Bujangga Manik*

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

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

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

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### *III.1 Listing Places*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### *Mountains as 'Pillars'*

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

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

### *Encyclopaedism*

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

<sup>250</sup> Cf. OJv *wukir* (cognate of *bukit*) – 'mountain' rather than 'hill' (OJED 2322:6).

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

‘... Pigs, barking deer, wild bulls, buffaloes, porcupines, chevrotains,  
Monitor lizards, monkeys, wild cats, rhinoceroses, and so on.’<sup>A6</sup>

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

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



### *III.2 Toponyms and Routes*

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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### *III.2.1 The Landscape*

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

'And in the woods there one finds baboons and monkeys and they attack people on the roads, so that no one dares travel at night because of [them].'<sup>8</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

Tomé Pires says, describing the palace of the king of Sunda:

‘The city has well-built houses of palm leaf and wood. They say that the king’s house has three hundred and thirty wooden pillars as thick as a wine cask, and five fathoms high, and beautiful timberwork on the top of the pillars. It’s a very well-built house’ (Corteseo 1944:168; Pires 2018:191).<sup>A9</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>254</sup> Interestingly, the term for ‘temple’ in Tikopia, *fare*, is cognate with OSd *balay* (Kirch 2000:107). Kirch (2000) speculates that houses in Tikopia became temples over time due to ‘a pervasive and presumably ancient cultural pattern [in Austronesian societies] in which the houses of the living become transformed into houses of the ancestors’ (2000:114).

<sup>255</sup> I am indebted to H  l  ne Njoto for this observation.

<sup>256</sup> Helen Creese says of OJv *kakawin*: ‘...although the names of the heroes, kingdoms, rivers, and mountains may be Indian, the world the poets are describing is [...] Javanese’ (2004:40).

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

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

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

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

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



tales of the fabulist ‘John Mandeville’ and which can thus be found in some of the oldest surviving texts on Java in English and Dutch.<sup>257</sup>

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

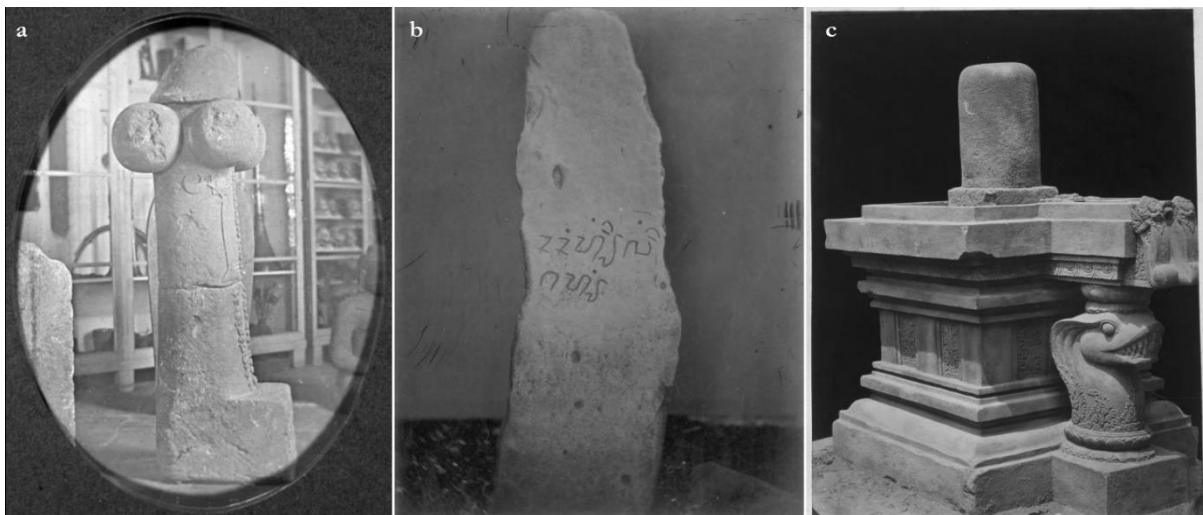


Figure III.3. Three *linggas* from Java (L-R): a) the gigantic phallus from Sukuh (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-60.843); b) a stone from Kawali labelled *sanghiyang ling/ga h(i)yang* (Kawali III – Leiden, UBL, KITLV 87616); and c) a decorated *lingga-yoni* from East Java (Leiden, UBL, PK-F-61.356).

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

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

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

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

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

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

### III.2.2 Javan Toponymy

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

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

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

### *Pakuan*

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

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

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

### *Jawa*

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

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

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

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

### *Jawa’s States and Cities*

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

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

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

<sup>258</sup> The issue is further confused by probable hoaxes (like that of ‘Poortman’/Parlindungan – Graaf and Pigeaud 1984).

<sup>259</sup> Malik Ibrāhīm is now considered the first of the Wali Songo, the saints credited with bringing Islam to Java.

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

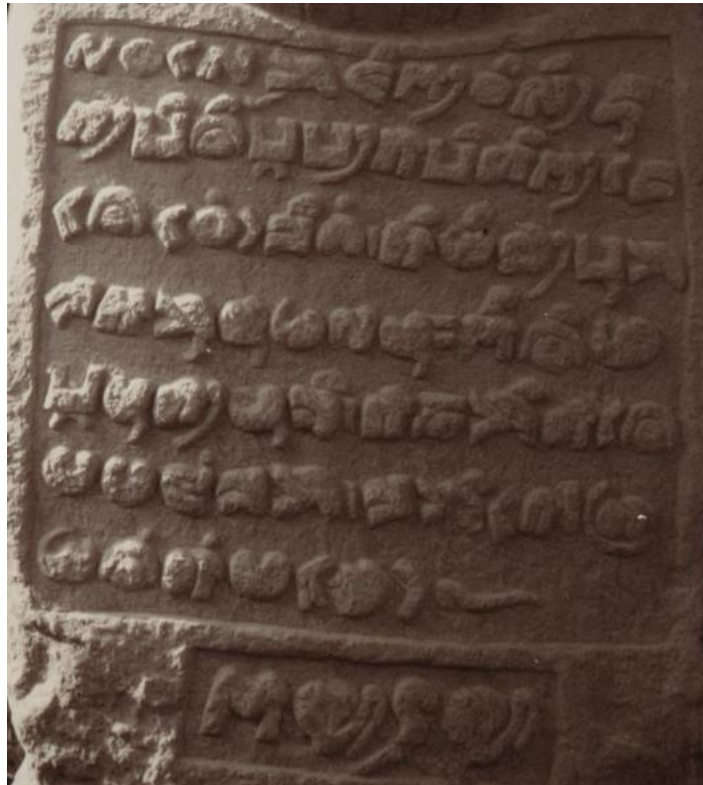


Figure III.4. One of the inscriptions from Candi Sukuh – 1363 Śaka or 1441 CE. The script is known only from Sukuh and Ceto. Much of the text is obscure. Leiden, UBL, OD-7168.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### III.2.3 Extra-Javan Place Names

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

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



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

### *Nusa*

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

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

### *The List*

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

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

*f.20r, line 2:*

...lamun dék nyaho dicaréék para nusa · carék Cina · Keling · Parasi · Mesir · Samudra ·  
Bangga|la · Makasar · Pahang · Palémbang · Siem · Kala(n)ten · Bangka · Buwun · Béten ·  
Tulangbawang · Séla · Pasay · Parayaman · Ngaradekan · Dinah · Andeles · Tégo · Molo|ko ·  
Ba(n)dan · Pégo · Malangbabo · Mekah · Burétét · Lawé · Saksak · Se(m)bawa · Bali · Jenggi  
· Sabini · Ngogan · Kanangen · Kumering · Sampang Tiga · Gumantung · Manu(m)bi ·

*f.20v:*

Bubu · Ñiri · Sapari · Patukangan · Surabaya · Lampung · Jambudipa · Séran · Gedah · Solot  
· Solodong · Bali<sup>261</sup> · Indragiri · Tañjungpura · Sakampung · Cempa · Baluk · Jawa<sup>262</sup>

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

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

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

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

<sup>261</sup> Bali appears twice.

<sup>262</sup> My transliteration here differs somewhat from the published text.

<sup>263</sup> The etymology of ‘Maluku’ (Moluccas) is controversial and the word is often said to come from Arabic (*jazīrat al-mulūk* ‘islands of kings’). It may be of local origin, however; *moloko*, notably the same form as found in OSd, means ‘mountain’ in Galelarese and Tobelorese (spoken in Halmahera), and it may have been an old name for Ternate (situated on a volcanic cone off Halmahera) (Adeney-Risakotta 2005:152n165; Andaya 1993:47; Monk, de Fretes, and Reksodiharjo-Lilley 1997:2).

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

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

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

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

<sup>264</sup> Compare also medieval Middle Eastern beliefs about the Baltic (e.g. al-Nuwayri 2016:32).

<sup>265</sup> The word is now a pejorative for people of Indian ancestry, particularly in Malaysia.

Chinese people had settled in Java by this time (‘people from Guangdong, Zhangzhou, Quanzhou and elsewhere who fled [their homes] and settled in this land’).<sup>A21</sup>

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

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

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

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

<sup>266</sup> Where *bār* is apparently derived from the Sanskrit *vāra* (Mackintosh-Smith 2017:93).

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>267</sup> The resinous heartwood of *Aquilaria malaccensis*. More commonly known as 'eaglewood', 'gaharuwood', or 'aloeswood' to historians of Southeast Asia.

<sup>268</sup> Another nutmeg, *M. argentea*, of ovoid shape, was also exported from New Guinea. See Ellen (2003:64).

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>269</sup> For the archaeology of medieval and early modern Banda see Lape (2000).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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