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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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## Appendix A: *Primary Source Citations*

Primary sources quoted or cited in the text are presented here in their original languages. The references are numbered A1- A75 below and with superscript numerals – e.g. ‘<sup>A52</sup>’ – flagging them in the main body of the text. I have included below only those languages I can read or have reliable information for; as I cannot read Arabic or Persian I have relied on translations for those, but most of the Chinese, European, and Indo-Malaysian sources can be found below. Editions and manuscripts are noted in brackets after the transcription. I have made unashamed use of digitised manuscripts rather than editions wherever possible, particularly with the European sources; manuscripts are both more fun and more *real* than edited texts (if you ask me). In those cases the transcriptions/transliterations are my own, as are the translations (unless other noted). For the Chinese material I have relied on collaborative digital editions (described in the Introduction – section 0.3.2). For Pires’s *Suma Oriental* I have cited the folio numbers from the Paris manuscript (Bibliothèque de l’Assemblée nationale, 1248 (ED 19)) as well as the page numbers and transcriptions in Rui Manuel Loureiro’s recent edition of the text (Pires 2018); this is both more accurate and easier to read than the well-known edition by Armando Cortesão (1944). For Conti/Bracciolini I have used an early manuscript dated to 1460 – Rome, BAV, Urb.lat.224 – which has been digitised; the relevant sections are on ff.46r-46v. For Varthema I am using an edition printed in Venice in 1535 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, It. sing. 1095). For Odoric I have used a few different manuscripts because of the peculiar variability of the text. Other sources are noted in brackets below or described in the Introduction.

\*

**A1.** ‘In þat<sup>327</sup> Ile growyn alle man<sup>9328</sup> of spyces more plentyous þã<sup>329</sup> ellys qwere, as gyngure and alle othyr spycis. Alle þing is þer in plente but wyn’ (London, BL, Harley MS 3954, f.38v).

**A2.** ‘Hee Çumda de jemte cavaleyrosa [e] guerreira no maãr. Dizem que tamtos por tamtos mais que os Jaãos sam homês de bõos corpos, homêes baços, robustos’ (Pires 2018:190; Paris MS, f.147v).

**A3.** In Bosch’s transliteration (1941:49):

//Ini *sabdakalānda rākryañ juru pangā-*

*mbat i kawihāji pañca pasāgi marsā-*

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<sup>327</sup> ⟨þ⟩ = *th*. ‘That’.

<sup>328</sup> ‘Manner’.

<sup>329</sup> tilde = nasal vowel/consonant (e.g. ⟨grãt⟩ = *grant*). N.B.: In some Portuguese texts a tilde seems to signify very little, and need not always correspond to a nasal.

ndeça barpuliḥkan hāji su-  
nda// (Bosch 1941:49.)

My translation, based on Bosch’s Dutch version: *‘This is the commemoration (containing) the order of the Rakryan Juru Pangambat (issued) in 854 [932 CE] decreeing the restoration of the king of Sunda.’*

- A4.** ‘L’habito suo al modo del Cairo’ (Varthema 1535[1510]:f.64v).
- A5.** ‘天氣長熱如夏’ (Mǎ Huān, 61).
- A6.** ‘... wōk sēngah gawaya lulāya śalya cihna / goḍeya plawaga wiḍāla gaṇḍakāḍi.’ (Pigeaud 1960:I:37).
- A7.** ‘jaka urang tandang bajalan basaja, bawa min[u]m makan lalukan’ (Tanjung Tanah manuscript, f.13.1).
- A8.** ‘да ролесоу оуних мамоны да wбезъаны . да по дорогамъ людеи дероут. йноунихъ ночи родорогамъ не смѣють ѳздити . wбезъанъ дѣла да момонъ дѣла’ (Trinity Recension [1563], f.383r).
- A9.** ‘A cidade homde o rey estaa ho mais tempo do año hé a grande cidade de Dayo. Tem a cidade as casas d’olla & madeira bem obradas. Dizem que a casa do rey hé de trezentos e trinta esteos de pão da grosura de huñ tonell he d’altura de cimço braças cada huñ, de fremoso emmadeiramento sobre os esteos, e muyto bem obrada casa’ (Pires 2018:191; Paris MS, f.147v).
- A10.** ‘架造屋宇，悉用木植，覆以椽櫚皮，籍以木板，障以藤篾’ (Zhào Rǔkuò, 新拖國 1.11.1).
- A11.** ‘Isti, de pannis quos emunt, faciunt ad modum cortinarum parietes’ (London, BL, Additional MS 19513 – Jordanus 1839:51).
- A12.** ‘dharmâgön riñ usāna koñjuk asamīpa walahar asamun tikun hawan runtuh śīrṇa tikan supit makara tan kahuniña lalayanya meh rēbah kadyânēmbih ikañ cawintēn asaput mukha winilēt i pañjrah in latā lwir śokāñlih atīrikañ wiiwarapāla maguliñan akuṇḍah in lēmah’ (*Śiwarātrikalpa* 3.1 – Teeuw et al. 1969:72).
- A13.** ‘nañ lor batur ni turunanya šeṣabu lmahnya sāmpun aratā jrah nāgapuspa tanēmnya len tañ i natar mmasmy asalaga heñ niñ gupuntēn ikānañ pabhaktan aruhur lmahnya katilar alwā natārnya dukutēn hnūnya suktēn hibēk lumulumut’ (*Deśawarnana* 37.4).
- A14.** ‘國王居之’ (Mǎ Huān, 54).

**A15.** ‘...este hé o principall pate da Jaõa’ (Pires 2018:206; Paris MS, f.151v).

**A16.** ‘Chegados somos [a] Agracii, ho grande porto de trato, o melhõr de toda a Jaõa, omde os guzarates e Calecut, bemgalas, syames, chiis, lequios amtigamemte soyam navegũar’ (Pires 2018:213; Paris MS, f.153v).

**A17.** ‘lawase rajĕg wĕsi du-  
k pinĕrĕp kapĕtĕg de-  
ne woñ mĕđañ ki hĕmpu ra-  
ma karubuh alabuh gĕni ha-  
rĕbut bumi kacaritane  
babañan mara mari setra  
hanañtan baño ~  
1363’

‘A long time Rajegwesi had existed when it was attacked and overwhelmed by people from Medang. Ki Mpu Rama was defeated and threw himself into the fire. They were fighting over land. A story is told of a corpse going to the cemetery, challenging a stork ~ (1441 CE)’ (reading based in part on Nugraha 2012:69; translation adapted from Lydia Kieven’s [Kinney, Kieven, and Klokke 2003:272]; the last few lines are extremely obscure and other translations are possible).

**A18.** ‘Sam ladrões, tem lamcharas, amdam a salteeãr. Sam todos jemtiõs’ (Pires 2018:219; Paris MS, f.155r). ‘They are robbers; they have lancharas [a type of ship]; they go plundering; they are all heathen’ (Cortesão 1944:202).

**A19.** ‘Inter istam Indiam et Majorem, dicunt esse feminarum insulæ solarum, et solorum hominum, ubi non possunt diu vivere homines illis mulierum, et ẽ contrario’ (London, BL, Additional MS 19513 – Jordanus 1839:57).

**A20.** ‘Dizem que defromte de Piramã esta huuã ilha [...] ẽ que nam há senom molheres, nam tem homees’ (Pires 2018:185-186; Paris MS, f.146r).

**A21.** ‘國有三等人:一等回回人, 皆是西番各國為商, 流落此地, 衣食諸事皆清致; 一等唐人, 皆是廣東、漳、泉等處人竄居是地’ (Mǎ Huān, 64).

**A22.** ‘...makādinīñ añeka nūṣātutur’ (*Deśawarṇana* 14.2).

**A23.** ‘Passado este lugar, da banda da costa pera Malaca, está outro porto de mar del-rei de Sião que se chama Queda, em que tambem ha muitos naos e grão trato de mercadorias donde cada ano veem tratar outras naos de mouros de todas partes’ (Barbosa 2000[1516]:351-352).

**A24.** ‘... Et veramēte credo che qui arri-  
uano piu nauili che in terra del mōdo & maxīe che

qui vëgono tutte le sorte de specie & altre mercãntie  
assaissime’ (Varthema, f.65r).

- A25.** ‘malaqua em esta cidade ha todas  
as mercadarias que vem a qua-  
liquit . s . crauos, & benjoym, & le-  
nholoe, & sandalos estoraq̃, &  
Ruy barbo, & marfim, &  
pedras preciosas de  
muita valia, & plas, & al-  
mjzquer, &  
porçolanas Fi-  
nas, & outras muitas mer-  
cadarias todas amor par-  
te vem de fora contra a trãa  
de chins’ (Modena, Biblioteca Estense, C.G.A.2).

- A26.** ‘文誕: 渤山高環, 溪水若淡, 田地瘠。民半食沙糊、椰子。氣候苦熱。俗淫。男女椎髻  
, 露體, 繫青皮布捎。日間畏熱, 不事布種。月夕耕鋤、漁獵、採薪、取水。山無蛇  
虎之患, 家無盜賊之虞。煮海為鹽, 釀椰漿為酒。婦織木綿為業。有酋長。地產肉荳  
蔻、黑小廝、荳蔻花、小丁皮。貨用水、綾絲布、花印布、烏瓶、鼓瑟、青磁器之屬’  
(Wāng Dàyuān, 88-89). ‘Wéndàn [Banda]. A tall ring of swollen mountains — the creek  
water seems fresh but the fields are barren. The people mostly eat sago and coconut. The  
climate is incessantly hot. Their customs are depraved. Men and women wear their hair in  
topknots and their bodies exposed with [only] natural bark cloth tied around them. During  
the day they fear the heat and don’t do any planting or sowing. On moonlit evenings they  
plough and hoe, go fishing and hunting, collect firewood, and fetch water. There’s no danger  
of snakes and tigers in the mountains and there’s no risk of robbers at home. They boil  
seawater to make salt and brew coconut milk into wine. Women work at weaving cotton. They  
have headmen. The land produces nutmeg, black servants, mace, and ‘clove bark’ [i.e. bark  
of *Cinnamomum culitlawan*]. [You should] trade goods like drinking water, damask twill  
cloth, floral print cloth, black jars, drums and zithers, and green porcelain.’

- A27.** ‘...é o principal porto onde nace os diamães, e os daqui são os milhores que ha nas partes da  
India’ (Barbosa 2000[1516]:407).

- A28.** ‘Tem esta terra de Piramam muito ouro, lenho aloes de butiqua, camfora de duas maneiras, beijoym, seda, cera, mell. Tem mantimentos em abastãça pera sua terra. Tem gramde trato com a terra de Çumda’ (Pires 2018:184; Paris MS, f.145v).
- A29.** ‘便拔此刀刺之，強者為勝’ (Mǎ Huān, 56).
- A30.** ‘(H)as homines inhumanissimi omnium crudelissimi<sup>330</sup> inhabitant, mures, canes, gatos, & spurciora quelibet animalia edentes. crudelitate exuperāt omnes mortales, hominem occidere pro ludo est, nulliq̄ supplicio datur’ (Conti/Bracciolini – Rome, BAV, Urb.lat.224, f.46r).
- A31.** ‘... credo che questi habitāti siano li piu fidi huomini del mondo’ (Varthema 1535[1510]:71v).
- A32.** ‘Dizem que a jemte de Çumda hé mais valente *que* ha de Jaõa. Estes sam boõs homees e verdadeiros’ (Pires 2018:194; Paris MS f.148v).
- A33.** ‘... klin̄ aryya sinhala paṇḍikira drawiḍa campa rēm̄n̄ kmir...’ (Wurjantoro 2018:288, line 14).
- A34.** ‘...ndah tan wihañ hyañ Brahmā Wiṣṇu magawe ta sira manuṣa; Imah kinēmpēlkēmpēlnira ginawenira manuṣa lituhayu pāripūrṇṇa kadi rūpaniñ dewatā. Mānūṣā jalu hulih sañ hyañ Brahmāgawe, mānūṣā histri hulih sañ hyañ Wiṣṇu gawe, paḍa lituhayu paripūrṇṇa...’ (*Tantu Paṅḍelaran* – Pigeaud 1924:57-58).
- A35.** ‘Custuma se em Çumda, *quamdo* ho rey morre, *queymaren* se suas molherēs e fidallguos seus, e asy *quamdo quallquer* dhy *pera* baixo morre, ã sua casa tambem se faz outro tamto. E ysto se querem, nom *porque pera* iso as molheres sejã convertidas por *penas* a morerẽ, somemte as *que* de seu moto *querem*, e as *que* nam, sam beguynas. Seguem apartada vida e nam casam dellas, outras casam tres [e] quootro vezes, sam estas poucas, estranhas na terra’ (Pires 2018:190; Paris MS, f.147v).
- A36.** ‘...e nã amdã sōos’ (Pires 2018:198; Paris MS, f.149v).
- A37.** ‘ambēk sang paramārthapaṇḍita huwus limpãd sakēng śūnyatā / tan sangkēng wiṣaya prayojana nira lwir sanggrahēng lokika’ (*Arjunawiwāha* 1.1).
- A38.** ‘Pitutor mahapandita · liñih benang aing ñapu · kumacacang di buruan. · Suka angenéng ayena · ñeeng mamaya ning kembang · nu mangka kahudang di angen’ (SA 242-247 – adapted from Noorduw and Teeuw 2006:222).
- A39.** ‘... le roy de ceste isle nous enuoya vne nef moult belle, ayant la proe et la poupe ouuree dor/. et sur la proe estoit vne ba-

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<sup>330</sup> Here ⟨q̄⟩ = *que*.

niere blanche et azuree avecques de plumes de paon a  
la poincte. Aulcuns sonnoient dinstrumens de tabours  
(f.58r)

Et vindrent avecques ceste nef deux Almadies, qui sont  
leurs barques a pescher. Et celle nef sappelle Prao. Qui est com-  
me vne fuste' (Beinecke MS 351, ff.57v-58r).

'ces nauires (appellees Prao) [...] qui sont leurs petites barques' (f.60v).

**A40.** 'et il estoient bñ en ceste coque ·vij<sup>c</sup>· autres homes marcheans' (Odoric – London, BL, Royal MS 19 D I, f.139v).

**A41.** '...una naue ouer çoncho de india...' (Fra Mauro *mappamundi* – caption #0019 in Falchetta's numbering).

**A42.** '... Naues fabricant quasdam lon-  
ge nostris maiores ad duum milium uegetum, quinis uelis totidemq̄ ma-  
lis' (Urb.lat.224, f.49v – lines 555-557 in Guéret-Laferté's edition).

**A43.** 'ie uoç di qe les sunt dou  
leigné qe ã apelle abbee 7 de çapin  
elle ont une couerte e sus ceste co-  
uerte i a ben en toutes les plusors l.  
lx. chanbre qe en cascune poet de  
morer un mercaant aaiçemant  
elle unt .i. timon. 7 iiij. arbres et  
maíntes foies hi gungent enco-  
re .ii. arbres qe se leuent emetêt  
toutes les foies quil uuelêt elle  
sunt clauée en tel maínere. car  
toutes sunt doubles' (Paris, BnF, Français 1116, f.71va).

**A44.** '...porq̄ [juncos] sã muitos alterosos' (Albuquerque 1576:373).

**A45.** '... l'on me dist lors que c'estoit le nauire le plus riche qu'il estoit possible de voir. Il y auoit dedans quelque cinq cents personnes, hommes, femmes & enfans, car les Indiens apportent la plus part tout leur mesnage sur la mer avec eux. [...] Ce nauire venoit de la Sonde, chargé de toutes sortes d'espiceries & autres marchandises de la Chine & de la Sonde: à voir seulement le mast de ce vaisseau, ie le jugeois le plus grand que j'eusse jamais veu' (Pyrard de Laval 1619:270).

**A46.** 'E nestes juncos trazem muito arroz e carnes de vacas e carneiros e porcos e veados chacinados, em jarras, e assi muitas galinhas e tambem outros mantimentos. [...] Nos quaes juncos trazem suas



mulheres e filhos e fazendas; nom teem outras casas e ali nadem e morrem’ (Barbosa 2000[1516]:362-363).

**A47.** ‘frequentissimus apud hos ludus est galli inuicē / pugnantes, hosc diuersi producunt ad pugnam, quisq̄ suum supera-/turum asserens, proq̄ alterius uictoria pecuniam etiam adstantes inui-/cem ponunt, pro cuius uoto gallus superat, pecuniam tollit.’ (Urb.lat.224, f.46v – lines 294-298 in Guéret-Laferté’s edition).

**A48.** ‘... kerana pada zaman itu tigabuah negeri yang sama besarnya, pertama-tama Manjapapahit, kedua Pasai, ketiga Melaka...’ (کتیگ فاسی کدوا فاهیت/منجافا فرتام ۲ بسرث سام یغ نگرې تیگابواه ایت زمان فد کارن) (ملاک) (*Sulalat al-salāṭīn [Sejarah Melayu]* – Text from London, BL, Or 14734, f.58v. Error in the original).

**A49.** ‘...& dos feridos com / erua não escapou nenhum, senão Fernão Gomes de Lemos, que em o / ferindo foy lógo queimado com toucinho, que depois de Deus lhe deu a / vida’ (Albuquerque 1576:371).

**A50.** ‘... venin... le plus perilleux qui soit’ (Odoric – as in Paris, BnF, Français 2810, f.105r).

**A51.** ‘The people are of goodly stature, and warlike, well prouided of swordes and targets [shields], with daggers, all being of their owne worke, and most artificially done, both in tempering their mettall, as also in the forme, whereof we bought reasonable store’ (Hakluyt 1589; the so-called ‘Drake pages’ were slotted in unnumbered in the original print between p.643-644, and this text is on the twelfth/6v).

**A52.** ‘實甲兵器械’ (Fèi Xìn, 26).

**A53.** ‘...et se combatent a eulx de lances et de saiettes sans fer. car ilz sceuent que fer ne les puet greuer. Et pour ce que ces gens ne sont mie bñ armez les naurent ilz et tuent souvent’ (Odoric – as in Paris, BnF, Français 2810, f.105v).

**A54.** ‘Sam estes homeões destas ilhas os mores ladroeões que todollos do mumdo, e sam poderosos, e tem muitos paraos. Navegam roubamdo de sua terra atee Peguũ e de sua terra atee Maluquo e Bamdam, por todalas ilhas, por Jaõa, e no mar trazem mulheres. Tem feiras omde despacham suas mercadarias que furtam, e vemdem os espravõs que tomã’ (Pires 2018:236; Paris MS, f.159v).

**A55.** ‘Qui nõ se vsa artegliaria de sorte alcuna ne mãco la sanno fare’ (Varthema 1535[1510]:71r).

**A56.** ‘Estes jaos som homens mui engenhosos em officios mecanicos e grandes artilheiros; fazem muitas espingardas e espingardões e assi outros muitos arteficios de fogo’ (Barbosa 2000[1516]:386).

**A57.** ‘...[de Abreu] foy o primeiro que feriram com hum pilouro de espingardam que lhe deu pelas queixadas & leuoulhe muitos dentes, cõ parte da língua’ (Albuquerque 1576:378).

- A58.** ‘Et si uoç di tout uoíremãt  
qe nos en aportames de celle seme-  
se a uenese 7 le semínames sor la ter-  
re si uoç di quil ní nasquí noiant  
e ce a uint por leu froit’ (Paris, BnF, Français 1116, f.77ra).  
*‘And I tell you truly that we brought some of these [brazil] seeds to Venice and sowed them in  
the earth there. Indeed I tell you that nothing ever grew, and that was because of the cold.’*
- A59.** ‘... e· vna singular virtu a ssaperlo·  
ben· fare· essappi· chella piu· âte di belle· giovani a  
farlo· che non e· a huomeni pchelle si stãno di continuo· ï  
chasa et ferme· 7 ãno le mani· piu· delicate’ (Florence, Laurentian Library, MS Plutei 78.23,  
f.53r – Cennino Cennini, 1437).
- A60.** ‘遇賓客往來無茶，止有檳榔待之’ (Mǎ Huān, 63)
- A61.** ‘上春取為軟檳榔，夏秋採幹為米檳榔，小而尖為雞心檳榔。扁者為大肚子。悉能下氣，鹽漬為鹽檳榔’ (Fan 2010[1175]:250).
- A62.** ‘...e levam em retorno [...] ùa drogaria que antre nós não ha, a que chamam pucho e outra cacho e outra mangicão [...] que trazem do levante, e outras mercadorias que, per via de Meca, veem a Cambaia e daí a Malaca’ (Barbosa 2000[1516]:360-361).
- A63.** ‘...em barris de cobre estanhados, a qual se vende a peso com o barril’ (Barbosa 2000[1516]:351).
- A64.** Polo’s complete list:  
‘il ont peure e nocces moscee 7 espí  
e ganlanga e cubebe e garofali 7  
de toutes cheres espicerie qe len  
peust trouer au mōde’ (Paris, BnF, Français 1116, f.74vb).  
*‘They have pepper and nutmeg and spikenard and galangal and cubeb and cloves and every  
rich spice that one can find in the world.’*
- A65.** ‘龍腦香樹，出婆利國 [...] 樹高八九丈，大可六七圍，葉圓而背白，無花實。其樹有肥有瘦，瘦者有婆律膏香，一曰瘦者出龍腦香，肥者出婆律膏也。在木心中，斷其樹劈取之。膏於樹端流出，斫樹作坎而承之’ (Duàn Chéngshì, *Miscellaneous Morsels from Youyang*, ch.18, digitised here: <https://archive.org/details/06047415.cn/page/n142/mode/2up> [accessed 15-08-2020]).

‘The dragon’s brain perfume [i.e. camphor] tree comes from Borneo. [...] The tree is eight or nine zhàng [25-30m] tall and the girth can be six or seven handspans. The leaves are round with white backs. There are no flowers or fruit. There are fat and thin trees; the thin one has Barus<sup>331</sup> fragrance, [though] some say the thin one has dragon’s brain while the fat one has Barus fragrance. [The substance] is inside the wood; cut down the tree and [you can] take it. Oil flows out from the tree, and it is carried in clefts hewn from [the wood].’

- A66.** ‘Ffor he hadde yeue his Gailler drynke so  
Of a clarree, maad of a certeyn Wyn  
With Nercotikes and opýe of Thebes fyn  
That al that nýght, thogh þt men Wolde hým shake  
The Gailler sleep, he mýghte noght awake’ – from the Hengwrt Chaucer (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS 392D). *The copyist – sometimes identified as Adam Pinkhurst (see de Hamel 2018:426-465) – has inserted a note in the margins: ‘Opiũ Thebaicum’ ‘Theban opium’.*
- A67.** ‘En ceste isle [Timor] on trouue le sandal blanc, et non ailleurs’ (New Haven, Yale University Library, Beinecke MS 351, f.91r).  
‘Tout le sandal et la cire que marchandent ceulx de Iaua et de Mallaque vient de ce lieu’ (f.91v – wax [cire] being another of Timor’s major exports).
- A68.** ‘Dizem os mercadores malaios que Deus criou Timor de samdallos e Bamdam de maças e as de Maluco de crauo, e que no mumdo nom hé sabido outra parte em que estas mercadarias aja, somemte nestas’ (Pires 2018:221; Paris MS, f.155v).
- A69.** ‘...dan yang dari timur pun datang dari Bandan dan Siran dan Larantoka masing-masing dengan persembahnya, ada lilin ada cendana ada mesui ada kayu manis ada pala dan cengkih, terlalu banyak bertimbun, dan lagi beberapa daripada ambar dan kesturi’ (*Hikayat Raja Pasai* – Jones 1987:71).
- A70.** ‘Somemte que na ilha de Papua, que sera oitemta leguoas de Bamdam, dizem que há os omeës das orelhas grandês, que se cobrem com ellãs. Numca vy que[m] vise outro que as vise. Jaz ysto no pouco que hee asy’ (Pires 2018:233; Paris MS, f.159r).
- A71.** ‘... Isti hñt boues  
fortissimos hñtes caudas plenas  
pilis sicut equí & ventres pilo-  
sos & dorsa. Bassiores sunt alíís  
bobz in tibiís. sed forciores multũ.

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<sup>331</sup> 婆律 *Pólù* (MC *ba-lwit*), meaning Barus in Sumatra (Kroll 2017:348). ‘Barus fragrance’ and ‘dragon’s brain’ should be the same thing, but Duàn distinguishes them.

Isti trahunt magnas domos mo-  
alloꝝ. & hñt cornua gracilia lon-  
ga acuosa acutíssima. ita qđ o-  
ptet semp secare summítates eoꝝ.  
Vacca nō pmíttít se inũngí n(isi) can-  
tetur ei. Hñt et(iam) naturam bubu-  
li quia sí uident h(omine)m índutum  
rubeis. insiliūt ín eum volen-  
tes int'ficere' (William of Rubruck – Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 066A, f.83v).

**A72.** 'Nem tu menos fugir poderás deste,  
Posto que rica e posto que assentada  
Lá no grémio da Aurora, onde naceste  
Opulenta Malaca nomeada.  
As setas venenosas que fizeste,  
Os crises com que já te vejo armada,  
Malaios namorados, jaus valentes,  
Todos farás ao Luso obedientes' (Camões 2016[1572]:283).

**A73.** 'Maling (basi) kuraysani lima mas (dandanya)' (Tanjung Tanah manuscript 19.4-5).

**A74.** 'а хоросанцемъ да-/ють а лафу потенкъ на днѣ . ѝ вели-/комоу ѝ маломоу' (Troitsk Recension, f.381v).

**A75.** '中國歷代銅錢通行使用' (Mǎ Huān, 57).

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Appendix B: *Place Names and Place Name Elements*

Table B.1. Common elements in place names.

<i>Morpheme</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Notes</i>
ageng	big, large	OJv <i>agön</i> ‘big, great, strong’ (OJED 517:9).
agung		
alas	territory, region; forest	In OJv this usually means ‘forest’ (OJED 47:4), but it appears to have a wider application in OSd.
añar	new, fresh	OJv <i>hañar</i> ‘new’ (OJED 588:2).
añcol	promontory, headland	As in MSd (Rigg 1862:15 <i>sub</i> Anchol).
arega	mountain peak	OJv <i>arga</i> ‘mountain’ (OJED 125:3), probably from Skt <i>agra</i> ‘summit, peak, beginning’ (etc.) (Monier-Williams 1899:6 <i>sub</i> ágra).
bala	strength, power	OJv <i>bala</i> (OJED 194:6), from Skt <i>bala</i> (Monier-Williams 1899:722).
barang	thing, commodity, goods	Probably AN, perhaps PMP *baraŋ ‘marker of indefiniteness’ (ACD 690).
barat	west	Ultimately PAn *SabaRat ‘south wind’ by way of PMP *habaRat ‘southwest monsoon’ (Blust 2013:4).
batang	tree trunk, log; spear; a unit of land; corpse	(Rigg 1862:43 <i>sub</i> Batang) – the word has many meanings, many of which can be reconstructed to PMP *bataŋ (ACD 6481).
batu	stone	PMP *batu ‘stone’, PAn *batux ‘stone’.
benghar	rich, wealthy	MSd <i>beunghar</i> (KUBS 61 <i>sub</i> beunghar).
betung	a large type of bamboo ( <i>Dendrocalamus asper</i> )	This bamboo is more usually referred to as <i>awi bitung</i> in MSd; <i>betung</i> is the Malay/Indonesian name (Dransfield and Widjaja 1995:80-83).
bojong	river islet	Rigg (1862:60 <i>sub</i> Bojong) ‘the land contained within the sharp turn of a river, or stream of water. Land projecting into water, a promontory; also an islet in a river.’
bukit	mountain, hill, peak	This word is normally translated as ‘hill’ in Malay and Sundanese but in <i>Bujangga Manik</i> it can refer to both hills and mountains. It has essentially the same meaning as <i>gunung</i> . I have translated it as ‘peak’.
caringin	fig tree	Compare OJv <i>wariñin</i> ‘fig tree ( <i>Ficus indica</i> )’ (OJED 2208:9). The (w > tʃ) sound change is responsible for the initial (c).
ci-	river	Proclitic form of Sd <i>cai</i> ‘water’, ultimately PMP *wahiR ‘ibid’ (ACD 5891). Used in the names of rivers but also in the names of settlements.
cinta	thought, care, anxiety	From Skt <i>cintā</i> (OJED 328:5).
dalem	inner; palace	From PAn and PMP *dalem (ACD 7088).

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darma	duty, morality, law, etc.	Skt <i>dharma</i> ‘ibid’.
gajah	elephant	From Skt <i>gaja</i> ‘ibid’.
galuh	jewel, gem; title for princesses	Skt <i>galū</i> ‘a sort of gem’ by way of OJv (Monier-Williams 1899:351 <i>sub galū</i> ; OJED 480:10). In Sundanese this is most famous as the name of a historical region in eastern Priangan.
guha	cave	Skt <i>guha</i> ‘hiding place, cave, cavern’ by way of OJv (Monier-Williams 1899:360 <i>sub guha</i> ; OJED 548:16).
gunung	mountain	As in MSd, Malay/Indonesian, etc. The ACD does not supply a protoform.
haji	king	OJv <i>haji</i> ‘king, royalty, prince’ (OJED 572:9).
hiyang	god, ancestor	Probably a native MP term. The ACD reconstructs it to PWMP *qian ‘ancestor, deity, divinity’ (ACD 4518) but WMP is no longer considered a valid clade. Its precise ancestry is unclear. Cognates of the OSd term can be found in MSd, OJv, Malay/Indonesian, Toba Batak, etc.
hujung	tip, endpoint; foot of a mountain	From PMP *quzuŋ ‘mountain peak, cape of land; tip of anything’ (ACD 4797), with reflexes in OJv, Malay/Indonesian, etc.
hulu	source (of a river); head	From PAn *quluh > PMP *qulu. Reflexes in OJv, Malay/Indonesian, etc.
jati	teak	The same form is found in OJv, Malay/Indonesian, etc.; it could also be connected to Skt <i>jāti</i> ‘rank, caste, family, race; character of a species’ (Monier-Williams 1899:418; OJED 732:3; Rigg 1862:170).
jaya	victory, conquest, triumph	Skt <i>jaya</i> ‘conquering, winning’ (Monier-Williams 1899:412; OJED 735:4).
kalang	arena, circle	Rigg (1862:190) defines <i>kalang</i> as ‘field of battle’, but ‘circle’ and ‘arena’ are its more usual meanings. It also appears to refer to a group of people with a specialised occupation, possibly woodworking, in OJv (OJED 772:5).
kandang	pen, cowshed	<i>Kandang</i> has this meaning in both OJv and MSd (OJED 790:1; Rigg 1862:195).
kayu	wood, timber	The same meaning and form in OJv, Mal., MSd – all from PAn *kaSiw > *kahiw ‘wood, tree’ (ACD 7794, 7795).
kidul	south	A loan into Sd from OJv (OJED 864:4).
lemah	soil, land	In both OJv and MSd with the same form and meaning (OJED 1004:9; Rigg 1862:249).
lingga	a <i>linga</i> (aniconic representation of Śiva)	From the Skt (Monier-Williams 1899:901).
luhur	high, elevated	In both MSd (Rigg 1862:258) and OJv (OJED 1052:1).
maja	a tree ( <i>Aegle marmelos</i> ), or the fruit of the same	Well-known as part of the name ‘Majapahit’. OJED (1091:8) attributes a Skt origin to the word and Rigg (1862:264) suggests it comes from <i>majja</i>

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		‘marrow, producing marrow’ (Monier-Williams 1899:773 <i>sub</i> Majja). The first vowel is sometimes nasalised ( <i>manja</i> in some Malay dialects). It is probably also found in the word <i>ma(ñ)jakané</i> ‘oak gall powder’.
mandala	region, district; disk, something round	A Sanskrit word with many meanings – originally <i>maṇḍala</i> ‘disk, territory, province, circumference’ etc. (Monier-Williams 1899:775; OJED 1099:12).
manik	jewel, gem; bead	Found in many island Southeast Asian languages with the same form and meaning (Mal., MSd, OJv, etc.), originally from Skt <i>maṇi</i> ‘jewel, gem’ (Monier-Williams 1899:774). The word even appears (as <i>маник</i> ) in Afanasij Nikitin’s Old East Slavic account of India and Southeast Asia (written ~1472).
medang	a historical region (located S of Merapi)	From OJv <i>mēḍaṅ</i> , which appears in some early inscriptions, including side B line 32 of the Añjukladaṅ inscription (Jakarta, Museum Nasional, inv. no. D.59; Wurjantoro 2018:225-238), where it has the form <i>mḍaṅ</i> . The etymology of the name is disputed.
mulah	(probably) beginning, origin, root	Presumably from Skt <i>mūla</i> (Monier-Williams 1899:826; OJED 1157:6).
munding	buffalo	A native Sundanese word for the buffalo or kerbau (Rigg 1862:288).
nusa	land, country; island	An extensive discussion of this word can be found in Part III. It is often translated as ‘island’, and this is one meaning that it has in some contexts (e.g. Nusa Barong). In <i>Bujangga Manik</i> , however, and probably in early Indo-Malaysian texts more broadly, it seems to mean ‘land’, ‘country’, or even ‘polity’ (cf. <i>nusantara</i> ).
pa-...-an	place of...	This circumfix is used to make toponyms from either nouns or verbs: Pacéleṅgan (‘place of wild pigs’), Pakalongan (‘place of fruit bats’), Pakañcilan (‘place of chevrotains’), Panéñjoan (‘place for looking out from’), etc.
pada	home, abode, place	There are several possible meanings of this word, but the most likely origin is Skt <i>pada</i> ‘position, rank, station, site, abode, home; heaven’ (Monier-Williams 1899:583; OJED 1223:2).
padang	bright, light, clear	As in MSd (KUBS 323 <i>sub</i> padang) and OJv ( <i>paḍaṅ</i> ‘clearness, brightness, light’ [OJED 1225:7]). This occurs in the now well-known prehistoric site of Gunung Padang in Cianjur.
pahit	bitter	From PMP *paqit ‘bitter’, which has reflexes in Malay, Jv, Sd, etc. Famously part of the name ‘Majapahit’.
paken	nail, pin; firmness, stability	In MSd <i>pakeun</i> means ‘ingredient, substance, material’ (KUBS 326 <i>sub</i> pakeun). Its use in toponyms seem more likely to come from OJv

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		<i>pakĕn</i> , which OJED derives from <i>pakö</i> ‘nail, pin; (fig.) what gives firmness and stability’ (1236:15; 1236:12).
palah	-	The derivation is not clear. Possibly from Skt <i>phala</i> ‘fruit’ or <i>pāla</i> ‘guard, protector’ (1239:10)?
panas	hot	Often found in <i>Cipanas</i> ‘hot water, hot spring’, a common place name in West Java. From PMP * <i>panas</i> ‘warm, hot’ (ACD 3794).
pañca	five	From the Sanskrit.
payung	umbrella	A common word in the archipelago’s languages. It seems to be native MP but borrowings between the region’s languages, particularly from Malay, have made reconstruction more complicated (ACD 11194).
pura	palace	From Skt <i>pura</i> ‘fortress, castle, city, town’ (OJED 1451:2) – incidentally cognate with Greek <i>πόλις</i> .
rabut	sacred	OJED (1471:2): ‘prob.: sacred place, object with extraordinary (magic) power’. Found in the old name for Panataran, <i>Rabut Palah</i> .
rañca	marsh, bog	Rigg (1862:394): ‘Rancha, a swamp, any boggy land abounding in water’ (also KUBS 384). Related to Mal. <i>rawa</i> ‘swamp’, exhibiting the PMP * <i>w</i> > Sd *(n)tʃ sound change.
ratu	king	From PMP * <i>datu</i> ‘lineage priest (?)’ (ACD 6857). Cognates are common throughout the archipelago.
sagara	ocean, sea	From Skt <i>sāgara</i> ‘ibid’ (Monier-Williams 1899:1198; OJED 1591:2).
saung	shed, hut	Rigg (1862:433) ‘Saung, a shed, a small temporary building, such as put up in a sawah or garden’.
séla	rock, stone	Skt <i>śaila</i> ‘made of stone, stone, rocky’ (Monier-Williams 1899:1089) by way of OJv <i>śela</i> (OJED 1749:6).
suka	happy, prosperous	From Skt <i>sukhá</i> ‘ibid’ (OJED 1837:2; Monier-Williams 1899:1220).
taji	spur (for cockfighting)	Found with this meaning, and as a common element in toponyms, in Malay/Indonesian, OJv, MSd, etc. (OJED 1902:2; Rigg 1862:473).
tajur	orchard	Rigg (1862:474 <i>sub</i> Tajur) ‘To make a plantation of fruit trees’.
talaga	lake, pond, pool	OJv <i>talaga</i> ‘ibid’ (OJED 1907:1), from Skt <i>taḍāga</i> (variants: <i>taḍāka</i> , <i>taṭāka</i> ) ‘tank, pool, pond’.
tañjung	cape (land jutting into the sea); a kind of tree ( <i>Mimusops elengi</i> )	An extremely common place name in the western archipelago. In OJv <i>tañjuñ</i> means ‘a part. kind of tree ( <i>Mimusops elengi</i> ) with small fragrant flowers’ (OJED 1945:2). Rigg (1862:483) gives both the tree and the meaning of ‘cape’ or ‘headland’, the latter being also found in Malay.
tegal	field, open field	OJv <i>tĕgal</i> (OJED 1973:3).
teluk	a bend in a river; a bay or bend in the coast	As in MSd (Rigg 1862:490) and OJv ( <i>tĕluk</i> ‘bay, inlet’ [OJED 1983:3]). Similar forms are found in other MP languages and the ACD reconstructs a



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		‘WMP’ term *teluk ‘curved, as a shoreline’ (ACD 10473).
timbang	weigh; balance	A common form in western Indo-Malaysia. The ACD relates it to a PWMP protoform (now presumably to be interpreted as a Western Indonesian form).
umbul	spring, fountain	The ACD reconstructs this to PWMP *umbul ‘spring, fountain’ (ACD 5795), although as noted above WMP is no longer considered a valid clade. In OJv <i>umbul</i> means ‘arise’ (OJED 2118:6), perhaps from an original meaning of ‘spring’.
wangi	fragrant, fragrance	OJv <i>wani</i> ‘fragrance’ (OJED 2196:5). Ultimately PAn *baŋeSiS > PMP *baŋehih ‘fragrant’ (ACD 804, 10960).

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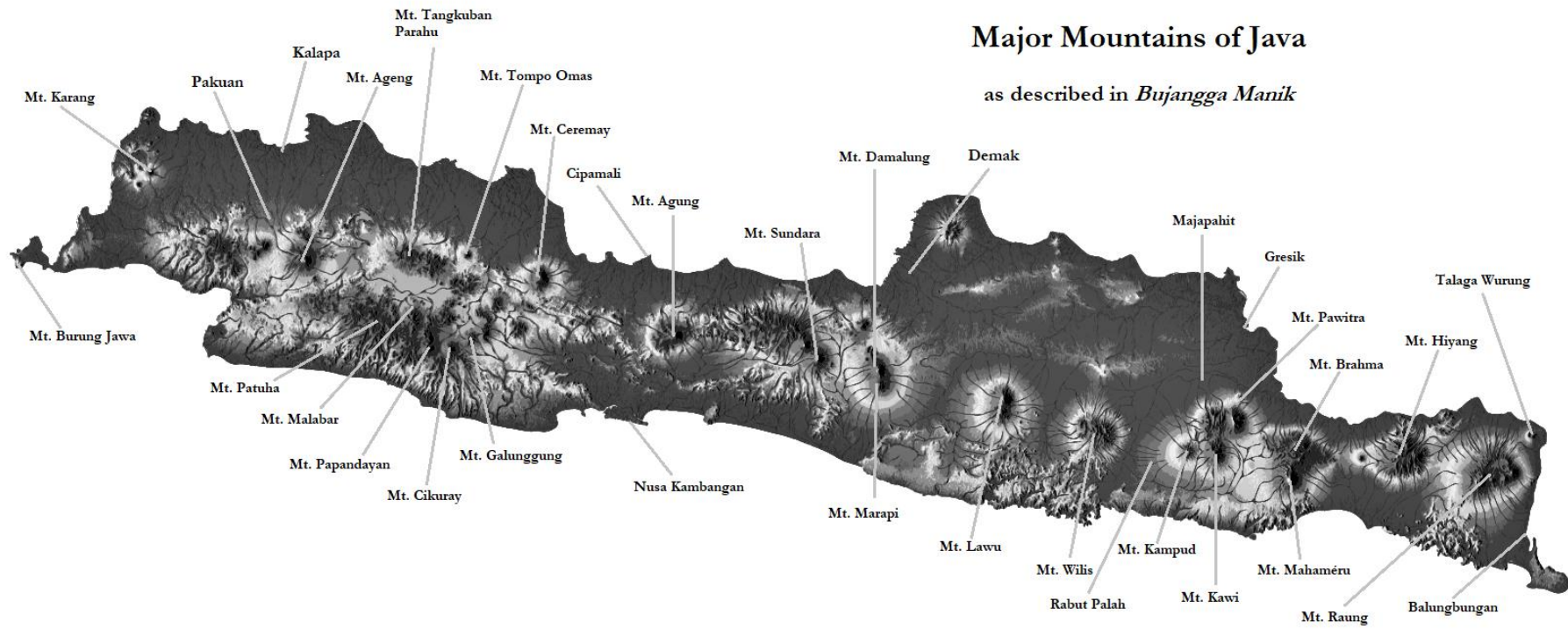


Figure B.1. Mountains in Java as described in *Bujangga Manik*, as well as some of the more prominent human settlements. Relief map adapted from OpenStreetMap® created by user Goran tek-en and provided by the OpenStreetMap Foundation (OSMF). Accessed (12-08-2020) from Wikimedia Commons – ‘Java Relief Map’.

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Java\\_Relief\\_Map.svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Java_Relief_Map.svg).

Table B.2. The names of rivers in *Bujangga Manik*

<i>Name in BM</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Modern Name</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Cangku	793	Madiun	Preceded by the word <i>bagawan</i> , plausibly interpreted as '(great) river' (OJv <i>bañawan</i> ).
Cibérang	1110	Bedog	Noorduyn comments that both the modern name and that in <i>BM</i> mean 'chopping knife' or 'cleaver'.
Cibula(ng?)rang	739	Cigunung?	Probably a tributary of the Pemali (BM: <i>Cipamali</i> ).
Cicaréngcang	1378	Calancang?	Difficult to identify, but possibly related to the peak of Calancang to the south of Tampomas.
Cicomal	746	Comal	Flows into the Java Sea between Pemalang and Pekalongan.
Cigentis	703	Cigentis	A river in <i>kab. Karawang</i> .
Cihadéya	1377	<i>unidentified</i>	–
Cihaliwung	49, 141, 685, 1355	Ciliwung	The source is said to be on <i>bukit Ageng</i> (Mount Gedé/Pangrango).
Cihéya	1347	Cihéa	Now also the name of a village in <i>kab. Cianjur</i> .
Cihoé	701	Cihoé	A tributary of the Cipamingkis, itself a tributary of the Cibeet, in turn a tributary of the Citarum.
Cijerukmanis	75, 722	Cijeruk	BM: 'Sweet orange river'.
Cikéñcal	134	<i>unidentified</i>	–
Cikutrapi(ng)gan	1151	Ciputrapinggan	The modern name occurs on the Ciéla map, which may suggest that the BM name should be emended to <i>Putrapinggan</i> .
Cilamaya	716	Cilamaya	Flows into the Java Sea about 80 kilometres east of Jakarta.
Cilengsi	695	Cileungsi	A tributary of the Kali Bekasi, which flows to the east of Jakarta into the Cikeas and thence into the Java Sea.
Cili(ng)ga	55	Cilingga	A stream in <i>kab. Purwakarta</i> .
Cilohalit	1155	Alit	<i>Loh</i> comes from OJv <i>lwah</i> 'river' (OJED 1070:10).
Cilohku	1127	Luk Ulo	Central Java. Flows into the Indian Ocean.
Cilohparaga	1114	Praga/Progo	Flows into the Indian Ocean SW of Yogyakarta.
Ciluwér	136	Ciluwar	'Muddy river' (MSd).
Cimanuk	73, 720	Cimanuk	'Bird river'.
Cimari(ñ)jung	1366, 1376	Cimarinjung	The source is said to be <i>bukit bulistir</i> 'bald mountain'.
Cimedang	1150	<i>unidentified</i>	A river of the same name lies much further to the west than the river in BM.
Cipakañcilan	243, 421	Cipakancilan	Apparently flowed through the 'length of the royal residence as is confirmed by [Danasmita's 1979 reconstruction', according to Noorduyn (1982).
Cipakujati	747	<i>unidentified</i>	'Teak nail river'.
Cipamali	81, 735	Pemali/Brebes	'Taboo river'. The boundary between Sunda and Java according to <i>Bujangga Manik</i> . The word

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			<i>pamali</i> comes ultimately from PAn * <i>paliSi</i> ‘taboo, ritual restriction’ (ACD 3774).
Cipanas	131	Cipanas	‘Hot water’. A common name for hot springs in West Java but also the name of a river.
Cipaterangan	1139	<i>unidentified</i>	–
Cipunagara	70, 717	Cipunegara	On the Ciéla map this is called <i>Cicupunagara</i> , but the modern name is closer to that in BM. See Noorduyn (1982).
Cirabutwahangan	829	Pinangan	‘Holy ravine river’. Noorduyn (1982) identified this river based on its location according to the narrative.
Cironabaya	797, 1076	Brantas	Noorduyn concludes that this must be the Brantas River, formerly an important waterway in East Java.
Cisanti	1379	Cisanti	The name of a lake south of Bandung.
Cisarayu	1132	Serayu	Rises east of Purwokerto and flows south, coming out into the Indian Ocean east of Nusa Kambangan.
Cisaunggalah	1340	<i>unidentified</i>	A river in the historical region of Saung Galah, West Java.
Cisinggarung	79, 729	Cisinggarung	Near Ciremai in Kuningan, West Java.
Cisokan	1348, 1402	Cisokan	The source is said to be <i>gunung Ratu</i> .
Cita(n)duyan	1148	Citanduy	In BM reference is made to the estuary or harbour on the river ( <i>muhara Cita(n)duyan</i> ), which in modern Indonesian is also named <i>muara Citanduy</i> .
Citarum	68, 708, 1284, 1344	Citarum	‘Indigo river’. An important river in Sundanese history. The source is said to be on Mount Sembung, probably a peak of Mount Malabar.
Ciwatukara	1118	Bagawanta / Bogowonto	Noorduyn mentions that a village named Watukara can still be found in the area.
Ciwinten	702	-	No modern name, but the river appears on the Ciéla map under the name <i>Cimintan</i> .
Ciwulan	1154, 1164	Cikembulan	‘Moon river’.
Ciwuluyu	788, 1099	Bengawan Solo	Java’s longest river.

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Table B.3. The names of mountains in *Bujangga Manik*.

<i>Name in BM</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Modern Name</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Ageng	<i>bukit</i>	63; 1354	Gedé / Pangrango	Source of the Cihaliwung (modern Ciliwung).
Agung	<i>gunung</i>	736	Slamet	This is the only ‘great mountain’ in the area and thus the only plausible candidate for the name. ‘Slamet’ is originally from the Arabic <i>salāmah</i> (سلامة).

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Añar	<i>gunung</i>	1054	<i>part of Kelud</i>	Noorduyn (1982) connects this to <i>Pararaton</i> (29:34), in which a ‘new mountain’ ( <i>gunuñ añar</i> ) forms in the year 1298 Śaka (1376 CE), probably at Kelud.
Arum	<i>gunung</i>	836	<i>unidentified</i>	‘Sweet/fragrant mountain’. Noorduyn suggests it could be an old name for Mount Ringgit, west of Panarukan.
A(n)ten	<i>gunung</i>	1212	Anten	In Banten province in what was then the west of Sunda.
Bajogé	<i>bukit</i>	1386	<i>unidentified</i>	Difficult to identify.
Banasraya	<i>bukit</i>	1217	<i>unknown</i>	A mountain ~1200 metres tall in Banten province, west (as BM says) from Mount Kosala.
Bongkok	<i>bukit</i>	711	Bongkok <i>or</i> Bangkok	A hill under 900 metres in height SW of Purwakarta, West Java.
Brahma	<i>gunung</i>	819	Bromo	Part of the Tengger massif in East Java, along with Semeru (BM: <i>Mahaméru</i> ).
Bulistir	<i>bukit</i>	1211	<i>unidentified</i>	–
Burangrang	<i>bukit</i>	1207	Burangrang	<i>Tanggeran</i> of Saung Agung. A 2000m peak west of Tangkuban Parahu in West Java.
Burung Jawa	<i>bukit</i>	1209	<i>unknown</i>	The peak on Ujung Kulon, Java’s southwestern extremity, known in the text as <i>Hujung Barat</i> (with the same meaning as the modern name).
Caremay, Cremay	<i>bukit</i>	77; 724; 1196	Ciremai / Cereme	West Java’s highest point.
Caru	<i>bukit</i>	697	<i>unidentified</i>	–
Catih	<i>bukit</i>	1220	<i>unidentified</i>	–
Cawiri	<i>bukit</i>	1260	Bukit Cawiri	A beauty spot just on the western side of the West/Central Java border.
Cikuray	<i>bukit</i>	1174	Cikuray	A peak in West Java, near Galunggung and Papandayan.
Cintamanik	<i>gunung</i>	1240	Cintamanik	Appears to be in West Java, although context is not conclusive in these enumerative sections. Probably the hill/settlement of this name NW of Bogor.
Co(n)dong	<i>gunung</i>	1159	<i>unidentified</i>	–
Cungcung	<i>bukit</i>	712	<i>unidentified</i>	–
Damalung	<i>gunung</i>	770	Merbabu	The same as <i>Pam(e)rihan</i> , identified in both <i>Tantu Pañgèlaran</i> (Pigeaud 1924:69, 219) and the Ngadoman inscription (dated 1449). Appears also in a number of OSd texts, including SA.
Dihéng	<i>gunung</i>	767	Dieng	The well-known peak/plateau in Central Java.
Gajah	<i>gunung</i>	696	<i>unidentified</i>	–
Gajah Mu(ng)kur	<i>gunung</i>	810	Penanggungan	<i>Pawitra</i> (BM 808) has the same referent. Both refer to Mount Penanggungan, whose slopes are packed with surviving temples and other archaeological sites.

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Galunggung	<i>gunung</i>	1169	Galunggung	In West Java. Mentioned occasionally in other OSd texts (notably the one now named <i>Amanat dari Galunggung</i> ).
Guha Ba(n)tayan	<i>gunung</i>	1258	<i>unidentified</i>	–
Gu(n)tur	<i>gunung</i>	1387	Guntur	Near Garut, West Java.
H(i)yang	<i>gunung</i>	834	Argapura / Iyang	In East Java – see Figure B.1.
Hijur	<i>gunung</i>	1234	<i>unidentified</i>	–
Hulu Mu(n)ding	<i>bukit</i>	1222	<i>unidentified</i>	–
Jreding	<i>gunung</i>	1254	<i>unidentified</i>	–
(Ka?)lér	<i>gunung</i>	1246	Kaler	Probably the mountain of this name in <i>kab.</i> Tangerang province, going by the context.
Ka(m)pud	<i>gunung</i>	1056	Kelud	A mountain in East Java west of Mount Kawi.
Karang	<i>bukit</i>	1215	Karang	A tall mountain in Banten province.
Karesi	<i>bukit</i>	1335	<i>unidentified</i>	–
Karungungan	<i>gunung</i>	772	Ungaran	An eroded stratovolcano in Central Java.
Kawi	<i>gunung</i>	1050	Kawi	A large mountain near Malang, East Java, with well-known ancient sites on its slopes.
Ké(n)dan	<i>gunung</i>	1389	Kendang?	Certainly in West Java,
Kedu	<i>gunung</i>	769	Sumbing	Central Java.
Kembang	<i>gunung</i>	1228	<i>unidentified</i>	A common toponym in West and Central Java; context suggests this is in West Java, but it might not be.
Kosala	<i>bukit</i>	1219	Kasola	Probably the mountain in Banten province.
Kumbang	<i>gunung</i>	1293	Kumbang	A mountain just east of the West/Central Java border.
Langlayang	<i>bukit</i>	1336	Manglayang	A hill near Bandung.
Lawu	<i>gunung</i>	1085; 1092	Lawu	Candis Sukuh and Ceto are on the mountain's western flanks.
Mahaméru	<i>gunung</i>	817	Semeru	East Java – Java's highest peak. Equated with the sacred Mount Meru, abode of the gods.
Malabar	<i>bukit</i>	1385	Malabar	A prominent mountain in West Java.
Manik	<i>gunung</i>	1265	<i>unidentified</i>	Reportedly faces Nusakambangan, so not the Gunungmanik in West Java.
Marapi	<i>bukit</i> and <i>gunung</i>	775 (b); 1102 (g)	Merapi	The only mountain referred to as both a <i>bukit</i> and a <i>gunung</i> .
Marucung	<i>gunung</i>	1205	Maruyung?	Mt. Maruyung is a mountain in Central Java, near the border with West Java.
Naragati	<i>bukit</i>	1213	<i>unidentified</i>	–

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Pala	<i>bukit</i>	1338	<i>unidentified</i>	–
Palasari	–	1337	Palasari	A hill SSW of Tompo Omas.
Pamrihan	<i>bukit</i>	597; 1191	Merbabu	In BM 1190 it is spelled <i>Pam(e)rehan</i> . Another name for Mount Damalung (modern Merbabu).
Pané(ñ)joan	–	1178	Papandayan	Another name for Papandayan.
Papa(n)dayan	–	1177	Papandayan	The volcano from which Bujangga Manik has his vision of the mountains and the world. West Java.
Parasi	<i>gunung</i>	1160	<i>unidentified</i>	–
Paté(ng)géng	<i>bukit</i>	1342	Patenggang	Near Bandung. Associated with the legend of Sang Kuriang.
Patuha	<i>bukit</i>	1189; 1393; 1403	Patuha	A volcano SW of Bandung. Bujangga Manik dies at a hermitage near the mountain.
Pawitra	<i>gunung</i>	809	Penanggungan	East Java – aka <i>Gajah Mungkur</i> . The word is from Skt <i>pavitra</i> ‘holy’.
Puñcak	–	59	Puncak	A mountain pass in West Java.
Raung	<i>gunung</i>	766; 1023	Raung	Noorduyn thinks the first occurrence is a mistake, and that the mountain named ‘Rahung’ there is Mount Prahū, Central Java.
Rajuna	<i>gunung</i>	812	Arjuna	A volcano in East Java south of Surabaya.
Rakata	<i>gunung</i>	1252- 1253	Krakatau; Rakata	Appears as <i>pulo Rakata</i> ‘Rakata Island’, further elaborated on in BM 1252, where it is called <i>gunung di tengah sagara</i> ‘mountain in the middle of the ocean’.
Raksa	<i>gunung</i>	1261	Raksa	The mountain on Panaitan Island in the Sunda Strait. Also named <i>Sri Mahapawitra</i> .
Ratu	<i>gunung</i>	1400	<i>unidentified</i>	Said to be the source of the Cisokan, in the vicinity of Mount Patuha.
Sangkuan	<i>gunung</i>	1128	Karang Bolong?	By the context Noorduyn tentatively suggests the hill on the coast at Karang Bolong, Central Java.
Se(m)bung	<i>gunung</i>	762; 1283	nr. Malabar	Source of the Citarum, and this presumably one of the secondary peaks of Mt. Malabar.
Se(m)pil	<i>bukit</i>	710	<i>unidentified</i>	–
Sri Mahapawitra	<i>gunung</i>	1262	Raksa	‘The great holy’ mountain – modern Raksa, the hill on Panaitan Island in the Sunda Strait.
Su(n)da	<i>gunung</i>	1236	Sunda	Part of the Tangkuban Parahu volcano.
Su(n)dara	<i>gunung</i>	768; 1257	Sindoro, Sundoro, Sundara	A large volcano in Central Java.
Talaga Wurung	–	661, 837, 1024	Baluran	Now a national park in the extreme east of Java.

Appendix B

Tangkuban Parahu	–	1203	Tangkuban Parahu	A large active volcano north of Bandung. Well-known in Sundanese folklore.
Timbun	<i>bukit</i>	706	<i>unidentified</i>	Certainly in West Java.
To(m)po Omas	–	719; 1201	Tampomas	West Java. It is sometimes claimed that the name means ‘without gold’ ( <i>tanpa omas</i> ), but the OSd name is actually ‘gold basket’.
Wangi	<i>gunung</i>	1204	Wangi	West Java. Tangkuban Parahu is said to be the ‘pillar’ of Mount Wangi, so presumably also the name of a community (?).
Watangan	<i>gunung</i>	1030	Watangan	East Java – on the Indian Ocean coast opposite Nusa Barong.
Wayang	<i>gunung</i>	1380	Wayang	Part of the Wayang-Windu complex in West Java.
Welahulu	–	782	Muria?	Probably the same mountain as the <i>Wlahulu</i> in <i>Tantu Pangëlaran</i> (Pigeaud 1924:69, 124, 126, 214). Possibly Mount Muria on the north coast of Central Java.
Wilis	<i>gunung</i>	1082	Wilis	A large volcano in East Java.

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Appendix C: *Plant and Animal Species and Products*Table C.1. Plant and animal species and products in *Bujangga Manik*.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Lines</i>	<i>Species &amp; Notes</i>
aér mawar	389, 502	Rosewater (distilled from the petals of <i>Rosa</i> spp.), imported from the Middle East in tinned-copper containers. In <i>BM</i> , sprinkled on sesame branches.
agur-agur	390, 503	Jelly ('agar-agar') made from seaweed in the genus <i>Eucheuma</i> , probably <i>E. spinosum</i> or <i>E. muricatum</i> . Not the same as <i>Gracilaria</i> agar-agar.
awi gombong	105, 907	<i>Gigantochloa pseudoarundinacea</i> , a bamboo with thick straight green culms often featuring cream and yellow stripes. Used for the boom of a sailing vessel.
awi ñowana	106, 904	The precise referent here is unclear; ñowana is presumed to be related to OJv/Skt <i>yowana</i> 'young'. A bamboo, used for one or other of the spars of a sailing vessel.
benter	640	A fish – <i>Barbodes binotatus</i> , the common barb. Reportedly taboo to eat while pregnant.
buah rembey	398, 507, 559	'Mixed fruits' – presumably a fruit selection. Locally available fruits in West Java would include salak ( <i>Salacca zalacca</i> ), after which a mountain is named, and rambutan ( <i>Nephelium lappaceum</i> ), and of course many others.
bunga resa	384, 497, 1694	An unidentified species of flower. Very tentatively the flower of an <i>Amomum</i> species.
bungbang	1793	An unidentified species of bamboo (cf. OJv <i>bunbañ</i> - OJED 274:2; MJv <i>wungwang</i> 'a bamboo pipe open at both ends' – Robson and Wibisono 2002 #29778).
calingcing	213	<i>Averrhoa bilimbi</i> , a small tree producing edible fruits. Probably refers to a pattern rather than a dye.
camara putih	1760, 1761	A white yak ( <i>Bos grunniens</i> ).
candu	1640	Probably opium, derived from the opium poppy ( <i>Papaver somniferum</i> ), perhaps imported from Egypt. Alternatively: a fragrant unguent of another kind.
cangkudu	162, 282	<i>Morinda citrifolia</i> – produces a red/purple/brown dye. Used as a verb – ñangkuduan 'dye with <i>cangkudu</i> '.
dédés	385, 498, 1695	Civet – a musk-like perfume taken from several mammal species while still alive, including <i>Viverricula indica</i> , a local civet cat. To be distinguished from musk ( <i>kasturi</i> ).
eñjuk	867	A fibrous horse hair-like product of the <i>kawung</i> palm ( <i>Arenga pinnata</i> ), used in thatch.
gading	103, 1668, 1690, 1695, 1759, 1797	Ivory, presumably local elephant ivory but could have been imported as well. Used for a range of different purposes in <i>BM</i> .
handelem	1478	<i>Graptophyllum pictum</i> . An ornamental plant with medicinal uses.
handong / hañjuang	1477, 1479	<i>Cordyline fruticosa</i> . Another ornamental plant with medicinal uses.
haur kuning	905	Lit. 'yellow bamboo'. There are several yellow bamboo species, but the most likely is the common <i>Bambusa vulgaris</i> , often used in a nautical context (Dransfield and Widjaja 1995:74-75). Used to roll up the sails.

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hur séyah	907	Lit. ‘rustling bamboo’ – species unidentified.
hoé muka	108, 912	The species here is unidentified. Rigg calls it ‘very brittle and worthless’ (1862:149 <i>sub Hoih</i> ).
hoé omas	109, 914	Lit. ‘golden rattan’. Rigg (1862:149) says that <i>hoé omas</i> is ‘a small variety, of no particular use’. The species is unidentified.
hoé walatung	110, 255, 657, 913	<i>Calamus caesius</i> , aka <i>sega</i> or <i>taman</i> rattan, a multi-stemmed small-diameter cane commonly used for ‘cores, ropes, splits and washed sticks which are then used as webbings, weavings, binds, basketry, or furniture components’ (Mohmod 1992:239; see Mohd., Dransfield, and Manokaran 1992). ‘The common rattan of commerce,’ as Jonathan Rigg put it (1862:149 <i>sub Hoih</i> ). Bujangga Manik’s whip is <i>walatung</i> rattan, and it is one of the rattans used in the rigging of the <i>parahus</i> .
jaksi	386, 387, 499	A variety of pandan ( <i>Pandanus tectorius</i> ). Its use in <i>BM</i> is unclear.
jantung	638	Banana flowers ( <i>Musa</i> spp.) – also means ‘(human) heart’. It is taboo to eat them.
jati	898	Teak – <i>Tectona grandis</i> . Used in the construction of the ships’ hulls.
jerinang	113, 152, 911	‘Dragon’s blood’ – the red resin from a number of different rattan species, most in the genus <i>Daemonorops</i> . It is used in <i>BM</i> as an active verb form <i>ngaj(e)rinang</i> ‘painting with dragon’s blood’, probably as a simile, describing parts of buildings and ships.
kacambang	192, 355	<i>Ardisia tenuifolia</i> , whose berries, according to Rigg (1862:183), produce a black dye.
kameñan	387	Benzoin – an incense made from the resin of <i>Styrax benzoin</i> , a Sumatran tree.
kamuning	107, 908	<i>Murraya paniculata</i> , a tree often used in the archipelago for its strong and attractive yellow timber. Used in <i>BM</i> in the ships’ rudders.
kantéh pamulu	163, 283	Cotton wool – <i>Gossypium arboreum</i> .
kapur Barus	496, 521, 1693	Camphor from the timber of <i>Dryobalanops aromatica</i> . Exported from Barus in North Sumatra.
kasturi	495	Musk – to be distinguished from ‘civet’ ( <i>dédés</i> ). Used to flavour a betel quid. Probably imported from Inner Asia.
kawung cawéné	906	‘Sugar palm saplings’, where <i>kawung</i> = <i>Arenga pinnata</i> , an important tree with lots of uses (sugar, thatch, timber, etc.).
kayu laka	111, 909	(In this case) <i>Myristica iners</i> , a tall forest tree native to Java with reddish wood, here used for the main mast of a ship. <i>Kayu laka</i> can also refer to ‘the lower stems and roots of a large liana’, <i>Dalbergia parviflora</i> , but that is almost certainly not the meaning here (Donkin 1999:12; Heng 2001).
kulit masui	1642	Bark of the massoy tree ( <i>Cryptocarya massoy</i> ) from western New Guinea. Used as a perfume.
kupa	208	A plant with edible fruits – <i>Syzygium polycephala</i> .
laka	190, 353	In these lines probably lac – a red insect dye ( <i>Kerria lacca</i> ). But this is also the name of the root of a liana and of a tall forest tree (see <i>kayu laka</i> ).
lenga	388, 501, 1692	Sesame ( <i>Sesamum indicum</i> ) – in one case as sesame oil (probably) and in the others as branches of sesame sprinkled with rosewater.
leteng	366, 367, 368	Calcium oxide derived from both limestone ( <i>BM</i> ) and shells ( <i>BM</i> ), used as a component in betel quids. Brought to Pakuan from Karawang (W. Java) and southern Sumatra.
lungsir	189, 352, 1794, 1797	Probably a kind of silk cloth (made from the cocoons of the silk moth, <i>Bombyx mori</i> ).

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mañjakané	385, 498	Tannin-rich powder made from oak apple galls, specifically those of the Aleppo oak ( <i>Quercus infectoria</i> ). Used medicinally.
narawastu	390, 503	Probably <i>Chrysopogon zizanioides</i> or vetiver, a kind of fragrant grass, perhaps used to flavour a jelly ( <i>agur-agur</i> ).
nipah	935	<i>Nypa fruticans</i> , a sugar-producing palm, particularly common along the shore and in mangrove swamps. The roofing mats on the second <i>parahu</i> are made of <i>nipah</i> sprouts ( <i>pucuk nipah</i> ).
pinang	198, 199, 370, 371, 372, 493, 494, 1472, 1473, 1474, 1475	<i>Areca catechu</i> , the areca palm that supplies the ‘nuts’ (actually seeds) used in betel quids, alongside <i>sereh</i> (betel vine leaves). Comes in several varieties.
sepang	164	Brazilwood ( <i>Caesalpinia sappan</i> ), aka ‘sappanwood’. Used as a dyestuff. It can produce a range of hues, but red is the most common.
sereh	197, 360	<i>Piper betle</i> – the betel vine, the leaves of which are used to make betel quids with pieces of areca seed ( <i>pinang</i> ).
sutra	254, 1792, 1799	Silk or silk thread, found in <i>BM</i> as a material in scarves ( <i>sampay</i> ) and umbrellas ( <i>payung</i> ). Comes in both Chinese ( <i>Cina</i> ) and South Indian ( <i>Keling</i> ) varieties.
tales	615	Taro ( <i>Colocasia esculenta</i> ), the corm of which was a staple food across the region. The word goes back to PMP *tales.
tuak	632	Palm wine – made from any number of palm syrups (including those of coconut, <i>kawung</i> , and <i>nipah</i> ), usually tapped from the tree and left to ferment overnight to produce a mildly alcoholic beverage.

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- Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Schoemaan I 21 – *the OJv palm-leaf version of the Yoga Sutras of Patanjali, copied in Sunda in the late fifteenth century*.
- Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 066A – *contains a copy of William of Rubruck's account of the Mongols*.
- Cape Town, National Library of South Africa, Grey Coll. 4 b 17 – *a Middle Dutch version of Mandeville. Probably the oldest extant Dutch text to mention Java by name*.

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Cork, University College Cork, Boole Library, the Book of Lismore (formerly in Chatsworth House, Derbyshire) – *contains the abridged Irish vernacular Marco Polo.*

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Portolano 1 – *the so-called ‘Genoese’ world map of 1457.*

Jakarta, Museum Nasional, inv. nos. E.42-E.45 – *the Kebantenan copperplate inscriptions (OSd, perhaps fourteenth-century).*

Jakarta, PNRI, L406 – *contains both Carita Parahiyangan and Fragmen Carita Parahiyangan.*

Jakarta, PNRI, L416 & L423 – *two MSS of the OSd text Poernawidjaja’s Hellevaart.*

Jakarta, PNRI, L408 – *Séwaka Darma, an OSd text.*

Jakarta, PNRI, L410 – *Ratu Pakuan, an OSd text.*

Jakarta, PNRI, L419 – *Kawih Paningkes, an OSd text.*

Jakarta, PNRI, L422 – *Jatiniskala, an OSd text.*

Jakarta, PNRI, L621 – *Sanghyang Sasana Mahaguru, an OSd text.*

Jakarta, PNRI, L624 – *Sanghyang Siksakandang Karesian (lontar version), an OSd text.*

Jakarta, PNRI, L625 – *Sri Ajnyana, an OSd text.*

Jakarta, PNRI, L626 – *Sanghyang Swawarcita, an OSd text.*

Jakarta, PNRI, L630 – *Sanghyang Siksakandang Karesian (gebang version), an OSd text.*

Jakarta, PNRI, L632 – *Amanat dari Galunggung, an OSd text.*

Jakarta, PNRI, L633 – *Serat Séwaka, an OSd text.*

Jakarta, PNRI, L1102 – *the former designation of The Sons of Rama & Rawana (aka Pantun Ramayana). The MS is now in the Sri Baduga Museum in Bandung.*

Leiden, UBL, Jav. MS No. 74 – *Carita Waruga Guru, a late OSd text.*

Leiden, UBL, MS Or. Leyden 5091 – *the manuscript of the OJv Nawanatya.*

Lisbon, Torre do Tombo, Gav. 15, mç. 8, n.º 2 – *original text of the Luso-Sundanese treaty of 1522.*

Lisbon, Torre do Tombo, Gav. liv. 30 – *the letters sent from Ternate to the King of Portugal in 1521 and 1522.*

## Bibliography

London, BL, Additional MS 19513 – *contains the sole surviving manuscript copy of Jordanus's Mirabilia Descripta (c.1330) on f.3r-12r. Unfortunately not yet digitised.*

London, BL, Additional MS 5415 A – *the Queen Mary Atlas (1555-1559).*

London, BL, Egerton MS 943 – *an annotated early-fourteenth-century manuscript of Dante's Comedia ('Divine Comedy').*

London, BL, Harley MS 3954 – *a fifteenth-century MS of John Mandeville's supposed travels.*

London, BL, IO Islamic 149 – *the Ni'matnāma-i Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāhī, a Persian-language cookbook from India.*

London, BL, MSS Malay F 1 – *a Malay-language text presenting the genealogy of the kings of Pajajaran written in Batavia in 1887.*

London, BL, Royal MS 19 D I – *a collection of texts describing the east, including Alexander romances, Polo, Odoric, John of Plano Carpini, and others (1333-1340).*

London, BL, Royal MS 20 E IX – *the Boke of Idrography, a world atlas made for Henry VIII of England by the French cartographer Jean Rotz (1535-1542).*

London, SOAS Library, MS 48363 – *a Chinese-Malay word-list compiled in 1492 for the mid-Míng-dynasty Interpreters Institute (會通館).*

Modena, Biblioteca Estense, C.G.A.2 – *the Cantino planisphere, a Portuguese world map of 1502.*

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 2570 – *one part of Abū al-Makārim's thirteenth-century list of churches throughout the world. The Paris half is dated 1368.*

New Haven, Yale University Library, Beinecke MS 351 – *the oldest surviving manuscript (1525) of Antonio Pigafetta's account of the first circumnavigation of the world (1519-1522). The language is French.*

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Jav. b.3. (R) – *Bujangga Manik.*

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Selden Supra 105 – *the Selden Map.*

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms-5064 – *a manuscript of Pietro de Crescenzi's Livre des prouffitz champestres et ruraulx ('treatise on rural economy') (1470-1475).*

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Assemblée nationale, 1248 (ED 19) – *the Paris MS of Pires' Suma Oriental.*

Paris, BnF, Arabe 307 – *one part of Abū al-Makārim's thirteenth-century list of churches of the world. The Paris half is dated 1368.*



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Paris, BnF, Espagnol 30 – *the Catalan Atlas (1375)*.

Paris, BnF, Français 1116 – *the oldest-known manuscript of the Divisiment dou Monde (c.1310)*.

Paris, BnF, Français 2810 – *a fifteenth-century French collection of travel literature, including Polo, Odoric, and Mandeville*.

Paris, BnF, GE DD-683 – *the Atlas Miller, a Portuguese atlas of world (1519)*.

Rome, BAV, Ott.lat.3324 – *a fifteenth-century copy of Pero López de Ayala's Libro de la caza de las aves (1386), a falconry manual in Castilian*.

Rome, BAV, Urb.lat.224 – *contains works by Poggio Bracciolini, including De Varietate Fortunæ, the fourth book of which recounts Niccolò de' Conti's travels. Copied c.1460 by Niccolò di Antonio de' Ricci*.

The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 131 B 14 – *a Middle Dutch version of Mandeville*.

The Hague, Nationaal Archief, VEL1172 – *'Landkaart van Batavia na de Zuydsee', a map of part of West Java and Jakarta by Isaac de Graaff and Pieter Scipio (1695)*.

Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Cod. Mar. Lat. DXLIX – *the Codex Cumanicus, a composite work of c.1300 describing Cuman language and culture through Persian, Latin, and Middle High German*.

Vienna, ÖNB, Codex 3069 – *The Vienna Büchsenmeisterbuch, a work of military technology (1411)*.

Vienna, ÖNB, Wolkenstein-Handschrift A – *one of the manuscripts containing the songs of the Minnesinger Oswald von Wolkenstein*.

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