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Mother's tongue and father's culture

A late nineteenth-century Javanese versification of Master Zhu's Household Rules (*Zhuzi Zhijia geyan*)

EDWIN P. WIERINGA

ABSTRACT

The *Serat Tiyang Gegriya* or “Book for people on running their homes and households” is a Javanese versification of the famous seventeenth-century Chinese treatise *Zhuzi Zhijia geyan* (“Master Zhu’s Household Rules”), better known in the Anglophone world as “Maxims for managing the home” or “Family regulations”. Propagating the basic principles of Confucian ethics, this small treatise instructed generations of Chinese readers, presumed adult males, lessons in proper behaviour. Today, Master Zhu’s little compendium is among the most reprinted works of classical Chinese popular literature. The *Serat Tiyang Gegriya* exists in the form of a manuscript, written in Surabaya in 1878, and was subsequently published ten years later in the same city. The appearance of this popular Confucian tract in Javanese seems to have been born of a perceived sense of crisis and alarm at the decline of “Chineseness” among the Chinese minority in a foreign land, the upshot of the seemingly inexorable process of acculturation taking place in the Sino-Javanese community at the end of the nineteenth century. Paradoxically, however, the *Serat Tiyang Gegriya* itself is a fine product of acculturation, transmitting Chinese moral teachings in the form of the Javanese *piwulang* genre, or lessons on how to live a good life, composed in the mother tongue of the mothers of the intended readers as this group was unable to understand Chinese, the language of their fathers and paternal ancestors.

KEYWORDS

Confucianism; Java; Surabaya; overseas Chinese; identity politics; *Zhijia geyan*; Zhu Bolu; *Sam Ping Ing Taé*; Butterfly Lovers; *Liang Zhu*; *Serat Ang Dok*; *Jati Kusuma*; acculturation; *piwulang*.

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INTRODUCTION¹

In the late nineteenth century, the famous seventeenth-century Chinese prose treatise *Zhijia geyan* by the Confucian Master Zhu Bolu, better known in the Anglophone world as “Maxims for managing the home” or “Family regulations”, was translated into Javanese and transformed into the Javanese metrical system of *tembang macapat*, which was the main vehicle for traditional writing in Java. Why was this short Confucian prose tract, which is so deeply imbued with Chinese culture and values, turned into a Javanese poem totalling 203 short lines in all? As far as I know, the earliest surviving witness to the text is found in a paper miscellaneous codex, which once belonged to the Dutch expert on Austronesian languages Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk (1824-1894).² After his death, it was bequeathed to the Library of Leiden University where it is shelf-marked as Cod[ex] Or[ientalis] 3996. This Javanese adaptation, entitled *Serat Tiyang Gegriya* or “Book on people running their homes and households”, was written in 1878 in the East Javanese harbour city of Surabaya. This episode in itself gives rise to several more “whys”: why this period and why this particular place? Furthermore, who was supposed to read it or, perhaps more to the point, listen to it?

In their general survey of Sino-Indonesian manuscript literature, the Australian Indonesianists Ann Kumar and Ian Proudfoot (1996: 209) argue that the “juxtaposition” in the Leiden manuscript Cod.Or. 3996 of the “feminist romance” of the Butterfly Lovers (Chinese: *Liang Zhu*) with the *Serat Tiyang Gegriya*, ‘a short didactic poem on good housekeeping’, would suggest that this manuscript was intended for Javanese-speaking *peranakan* women.³ Perhaps Western women’s magazines with such telling titles as *Good Housekeeping* might have inspired this idea. However, the intended readership for the original Chinese text was definitively male, and I see no reason to assume otherwise for the Javanese situation. The Chinese original and its Javanese adaptation contain several precepts about dealing with women (wives, widows/divorcées, concubines and minor wives, unmarried virgin girls, daughters), which clearly presupposed a male perspective in that day and

¹ This is a thoroughly revised, updated, and expanded version of a paper which was still at the stage of a first draft when it was initially presented at the workshop “Translation in Asia: Theories, practices, histories”, 5-6 March 2009, organized by the Asia Research Institute and the Department of Malay Studies, National University of Singapore. I express my gratitude to Profs Jan van der Putten and Ronit Ricci for inviting me to this workshop, as well as to the participating scholars who provided stimulating comments. The conducive environment of the National Library of Singapore, in which I could work in the winter semester of 2019-2020 thanks to the George Lyndon Hicks Fellowship for Southeast Asia collections, enabled me to finish this article. I thank Prof. Dr. Lutz Bieg, now emeritus of the East Asian Institute, University of Cologne, for the information pertaining to Sinological matters in the early stage of writing. Dr Jochem van den Boogert, Leiden University, kindly commented upon the final draft. Last but not least, thanks go to Rosemary Robson (BA Hons.) for the correction of my English.

² See Groeneboer (2002: 1-31) for an account of his life and works with further references to earlier biographies.

³ The Malay/Indonesian term *peranakan* denotes the descendants of unions between Chinese men and indigenous women.

age. As Kaplan (1971: 4) notes, the ideal family which Master Zhu portrays is “quintessentially patriarchal and hence betrays his hostility to any vestige of female influence”.

Furthermore, the characterization of the juxtaposed text *Butterfly Lovers* as a “feminist romance” is a very modern reinterpretation of an old folktale in which the lovers transform into butterflies after Zhu Yingtai has joined Liang Shanbo in his grave. The dominant modern interpretation tends to be strongly influenced by the Western idea of romantic love, viewing the tale as a “celebration of love”, which propagates “the simple message that in the old society young people’s search for true love was doomed because of the evil patriarchal system” (Idema 2012: 13). However, traditional audiences, by contrast, seem to have read it as a cautionary, moralistic tale “warning against the danger of inappropriate passion” (Idema 2012: 13). The desire of young men and women for a marriage based upon romantic love without parental intervention would only emerge as a very prominent theme in pre-war modern Indonesian literature in the 1920s (Teeuw 1979: 54), hence this Western importation considerably postdates our 1878 manuscript.

Such modern, Western-derived ideas as socially disruptive romantic passion and a conflict between the generations are diametrically opposed to the duty of *xiao* (‘filial piety’), such a dominant theme in Confucianism, which is (of course also) specifically addressed in the *Serat Tiyang Gegriya*: see, for example, stanzas 16-19 (below), in which a man is urged not to listen to his wife; not treating one’s parents seriously is condemned as uncivilized; and the father chooses the marriage partners for his children. All of this makes it doubtful that the intended readers of the 1878 manuscript would have appreciated the story about the failed relationship between Liang Shanbo and Zhu Yingtai as propagating “free love” or being “feminist” in any way.

The reception of Confucianism in Indonesia has attracted considerable academic attention. When it comes to Indonesian political discourse on religion, Confucianism has a rather chequered history. In the post-Independence period, the Indonesian state initially accepted Confucianism as an official religion, but this status was withdrawn in 1952, only to be reinstated in 1965. Shortly afterwards, however, as part of the New Order’s post-1965 anti-Chinese regulations and sentiments, “Chinese devotional practices” were banned from public view, and in 1979 Confucianism was officially de-recognized, forcing its adherents to adopt another religious affiliation, as adherence to one of the country’s five officially recognized religions (Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Roman Catholicism, and Protestantism) is mandatory for all Indonesian citizens. However, the tables were turned again in 1998 with the fall of Soeharto’s New Order government and this induced the gradual abolition of the discriminatory anti-Chinese policies, and Confucianism was officially re-recognized as Indonesia’s sixth religion in 2006.

Now, for more than a century, there have been debates in Indonesia about the question of whether Confucianism is a philosophy, a moral system, or a religion with Confucius cast in such different roles as philosopher, lawmaker,

and prophet (Sutrisno 2017). Chambert-Loir (2015) has argued that Confucius's teachings were first translated into "religious concepts" in 1902, a mutation which he attributes to the influence of Western modernity. It should be emphasized that Confucianism's "religionisation" (Long 2019: 6) has been profoundly influenced by Western/Christian concepts of religion. When, in 1902, the Dutch Protestant missionary Lieuwe Tiemersma (1861-1944) averred that the "degeneration" of the Chinese had to do with their alleged lack of a proper religion, the counter-reaction of some diasporic Chinese in Java was to champion Confucianism as "the true religion" of the Chinese, and it was even praised as being superior to Christianity (Coppel 1989: 126). This confrontational "religious" polemic, which was more of a grim competition to assert ethnic and cultural superiority (pitting the West versus the East and vice-versa), bears the mark of a politically charged Western/Christian framework.

Chambert-Loir's argumentation that the translation into "religious concepts" of Confucius's teachings first took place in 1902, hangs on the definition of the adjective "religious", which should be regarded here as a historically conditioned Christian understanding of the term. This is not surprising as the Sino-Javanese Confucianists at that time wanted to hoist the Dutch evangelical pastor with his own petard. When the question of whether Confucianism was a religion gripped Java again in 1923 (Coppel 1989), this was once more a proxy for the superior status of Confucianism: the claim was made in the metropolitan Chinese-Malay newspaper *Sin Po* (in 1923) which said that "formerly" Confucianism had been considered a religion, but "wise people nowadays" regarded it as "a kind of teaching that is higher than religion, namely philosophy" (Wieringa 2014: 465). However, the hotly debated question of whether Confucianism was a religion was not yet an issue leaving its traces in our 1878 example. As Chambert-Loir (2015) points out, Confucianism was embraced in the late nineteenth century as a set of "noble, beautiful, and useful ... teachings" which could be used to restore a sense of "Chineseness" among the heavily acculturated mixed-race descendants of Chinese immigrants.

The pre-1902 *Serat Tiyang Gegriya* describes Confucius's "way of teaching" (*pamulangé*) as those of a "Chinese saint" (*wali Cina*) called "Cu Hu Cu" (stanza 1, see below). The term *wali* (from Arabic *walī*, 'friend of God' or 'saint') has its roots in Islam and is best known in Java because of the legendary history of the *wali sanga* or 'Nine Saints' who are believed to have been the founders of Islam in Java. The characterization of Confucius as a Chinese *wali* belongs to the sphere of religious discourse but, apart from this notable example, the narrative poem uses Islamic terminology only sparingly in the translation of Confucian teachings. The opening stanza also states that this saint 'taught his companions' (*mulang mring sekabatira*), using the verb *mulang* which is based upon *wulang* or 'instruction, teachings, lesson'. This word firmly places the text in the well-known Javanese genre of *sastra piwulang* or 'didactic or instructive literature'. In the traditional Javanese way of ordering texts, *piwulang* are "not just any kind of teachings" (Arps 1999: 436), but "lessons on social conduct

grounded in moral philosophy” (Arps 1999: 436). As Arps (1999: 444) has shown for the traditional ordering system of a Javanese library, the category of *piwulang* (‘teachings’) was clustered together with ‘religion; sacred or spiritual tradition’ (*agami*) and “esoteric science” (*ngelmu*), sharing the common denominator of what Arps (1999: 444) calls “spiritual scholarship”.⁴

The purpose of this contribution is to make the *Serat Tiyang Gegriya*, which is one of the earliest primary textual sources of the history of Confucianism in Indonesia, accessible for further study. This article is divided into two parts: firstly, after offering the necessary background information on the Chinese original, I provide a text edition and translation of its Javanese rendition. The second part addresses its co-texts and context, and devotes attention to its production as printed book, which took place in 1888, likewise in Surabaya.

A TEXT EDITION OF THE *SERAT TIYANG GEGRIYA*

The *Zhijia geyan* was originally written by Zhu Bolu who lived in Jiangsu Province from 1617 to 1688.⁵ Propagating the basic principles of Confucian ethics in the form of a string of maxims, his succinct guidebook has provided generations of Chinese readers, assumedly adult males, with a most popular concise “how-to” manual on proper behaviour. “The clear thrust of this tract”, as Richard Smith (1992: 69) aptly sums up, “is on the maintenance of family harmony, the preservation of status distinctions and social orders, and the subordination of family interests to those of the state”. Zhu’s instructions earned him the reverential title *Zhu Zi* or “Master Zhu”. Today, Master Zhu’s work is among the most commonly reprinted works of classical Chinese popular literature.⁶ Contemporary Hong Kong almanacs (*tongsheng*) usually feature didactic material, and this usually includes an annotated and illustrated version of the *Zhijia geyan*.⁷ Nowadays, this text needs to be heavily glossed as most modern readers of these almanacs experience interpretative difficulties when reading traditional literature. Nevertheless, the treatise remains highly popular, as is also indicated by such a modern adaptation as the comic book

⁴ The *krama* term *agami* (which is the more “ceremonial” variant of *agama* in *ngoko* or the basic level of Javanese) covers far more than the narrow Western notions of “religion”, including such categories as “tradition”, “culture”, and “law”. For a discussion of the appropriation of this Sanskrit loanword (*āgama*) in Indonesia, see Picard (2011). Incidentally, the Sanskrit term *āgama* is no less “difficult (...) to translate because of its polyvalency” (Wilke and Moebus 2011: 138 note 297).

⁵ However, some scholars place his death in 1689 (see Van Gulik 1961: 268 and Kaplan 1971: 2 using the older Wade-Giles spelling of his name as Chu Yung-ch’un).

⁶ On visits to Kuala Lumpur’s Chinatown in the early 2000s, I could easily buy the booklet *Zhijia geyan, Zengguang xianwen, Nüer jing – Zhijia xiuyang geyan shi zong* (“Ten family regulations and education tracts”), edited and commented by Zhu Li Zhushi, published in Shanghai in 1991 (publisher: Guji Chubanshe), in which Zhu Bolu’s *Zhijia geyan* appears on pages 1-4.

⁷ For example, the story appears in the *Guangjing tang* almanac for the year 2004 (Hong Kong: Hong Ming Brothers Printing Press, 2003) and in the *Yongjing tang* almanac for the year 2004 (Hong Kong: Wing King Tong Co., 2003), which I bought in Kuala Lumpur in the early 2000s. Most recently, during my research stay in Singapore in February 2020, that is shortly after the Chinese New Year (25-1-2020), I saw that these almanacs for the year 2020 still feature an annotated and illustrated version of the *Zhijia geyan*.

The Chinese code of success by Fu Chunjiang (born in 1974 in Chongqing, China), published in Singapore, in which this Chinese illustrator has exemplified Master Zhu's maxims through illustrations (Zhu Zi 1998).⁸

Not being a Sinologist, my interpretation of the Javanese transformation *Serat Tiyang Gegriya* was greatly facilitated by English translations of the Chinese original. In contrast to the Javanese original, my English translation has no literary quality whatsoever and is made by a (Dutch) philologist who has aimed to produce a rather "exact" translation for academic readers, emphasizing the contents without capturing the aesthetic of the original (compare Harry Aveling's article in this issue in which he argues for a literary translation for a modern non-academic audience). I have made use of the (no less "literal") renderings by Evan Morgan (1912: 184-193, accompanied by the Chinese text), Martin Palmer et al. (1986: 163-166), Edward H. Kaplan (1971), and especially by David K. Jordan, professor emeritus of anthropology at the University of California-San Diego (retired in 2004), who has put his interpretation on the Internet, where it is accompanied by the full Chinese text in traditional and simplified characters, and full Pinyin Romanization. Within the context of China resources, his site can be found at <http://pages.ucsd.edu/~dkjordan/chin/chtxts/JuBorlu.html>; an English-only version as pdf file is <http://pages.ucsd.edu/~dkjordan/chin/chtxts/JuBorlu-English.pdf> (accessed on 29 August 2020).⁹ My edition is based on the manuscript version (hereafter M), while variant readings from the booklet published in 1888 (hereafter P) are indicated in the footnotes.

⁸ A copy is available for reference in the National Library of Singapore (call number English 398.9951 ZHU). Understandably, this Singapore publication can easily be found in other Singaporean public libraries as well, see the website World.cat.org (<https://www.worldcat.org/title/chinese-code-of-success-maxims-by-zhu-zi/oclc/41585135>).

⁹ When I first was doing research on this topic, I also came across an Indonesian translation made by Stevan Raharjo, which circulated among several newsgroups on the Internet (see for instance, http://www.mail-archive.com/budaya_tionghua@yahoo.com/msg05229.html, last accessed on 03-03-2008). However, his own blog (http://stevan.blogs.friendster.com/stevans_blog/) no longer exists and this translation is no longer to be found on the Internet.

- Serat Tyang Gagriya*¹⁰
- 1 *Wonten carita winarni
pamulangé*¹¹ *wali Cina*
- Cu Hu Cu wali nami* [page 49]
né
*mulang mring sekabatira
kang dèrèng kertiyasa
kabèh anak putu kantun*
- padha mirengna punika*
- 2 *Byar rahina pesthi tangi
japoni*¹² *pomahanira
mrih resik kanan-kéringé*¹³
jaba-jero sukci tata
- luguh wé*¹⁴ *omah-omah*
- lerep padhang yèn wis dalu
iku mengku bale-omah*
- 3 *Yèn mahrip wayahé wengi*¹⁶
*kanca batur kancing lawang
pesthi pinirsanan dhéwé*
- kang binukti dina-dina
lawan ana grahita
teka ngendi sangkanipun
senadyan wetuné sawah*
- Book on People Running their Homes
and Households
- There is a story which is told
about the way of teaching of a Chinese
saint.
- Cu Hu Cu (that is Confucius) is the
saint's name.
- He taught his companions,
who were still ignorant,
and [continues to teach] all his
backward descendants.
Listen to this, all of you!
- At daybreak make sure to get up,
sweep the house and yard,
so that it is completely clean
the inside and outside should be clean
and orderly.
- Such is the way of running one's home
and household.
- Take a rest at dusk.¹⁵
That is taking care of the house and
yard.
- At sunset, in the evening
the servant locks the door,
[but] certainly you should check it
yourself.
- Concerning your daily food,
you should understand
where it comes from,
even though it is a product of the rice-
fields.

¹⁰ Such is the way the title is spelled in M (page 48).

¹¹ P *mulangané*.

¹² P *nyaponi*.

¹³ P *kanan-kèrinè*.

¹⁴ The orthography of M is clearly based on hearing. P *lungguhé*.

¹⁵ *Lerep* is of course a spelling variant of *lereb*, 'to take a rest'. I have interpreted *padhang yèn wis dalu* (literally, 'light/bright when night has fallen') as a description of 'dusk'.

¹⁶ P *niti*.

- 4 *Nora gampang wus cumawis
andhang kang rinasuk badan*

*dumèh jarit mung saksuwèk¹⁷
pikiran pinangkanira
kapas dadi busana
anggité jalma pinunjul¹⁸*

wruh sangkané barang-barang
Preparing clothing,
in which the body is dressed, is not
easy,
even if it is only a cast-off.
Think about its place of origin:
[of how] cotton becomes garment.
It belongs to the thoughts of a superior
human being
to know the origin of all kinds of
things.
- 5 *Barang rakité wong urip¹⁹*

prayitna durungé²⁰ béka

yèn wis béka iku kasèp

*kudhung sadurungé²¹ udan
aja kasèp kudanana*

*yèn wis ngelak ngedhuk²² sumur
iku kasèp wruhanira*
All kinds of planning is being a
human being:
be careful you do not run into
trouble.
Once you are already in trouble, it is
too late.
Cover the head before it rains.
Don't leave it too late, and be caught
in the rain.
Digging a well after being thirsty:
this is too late, be aware of this.
- 6 *Pirantiné yèn wong urip
pesthi ngéman barang-barang
dadi cukup temahané
yèn dhayoh alul gembyakan
aja awèt kumpulan
dipunsukci suguh tamu
pirantiné omah-omah*
As concerns equipment, human beings
care deeply for all kinds of objects,
but a sufficiency of them should do.
If your guests are keen partygoers,²³
don't let the gathering last too long,
be upright in serving your guests,
in the use of household utensils.
- 7 *Dina-dina kang binukti
nganggé tata kira-kira*

*[page 50] aja ngugung²⁴ sakarepé
aja lali pakepbonan
ngopèni jangan-jangan
aja mélik wisma panggung
wisma rinukmi su<ng>gingan*
and the daily food,
the rule of reasonableness should be
applied;
don't surrender to all your wishes.
Don't forget the garden,
take good care of the vegetables.
Don't covet a gazebo,
a house painted in gold.

¹⁷ P *sasuwèk*.¹⁸ P *pinujul*.¹⁹ P *urib*.²⁰ P *yitna sakdurungé*.²¹ P *sakdurungé*.²² M *ngetdhuk*.²³ According to Gericke and Roorda (1901 II: 624), *gembyakan* means "vroolijke omgang hebben met iemand, joelen, vroolijke gezelschappen bezoeken". I have interpreted *alul* as 'expert in', see Pigeaud (1938: 6) and Poerwadarminta (1939: 7).²⁴ P *gunggung*.

- 8 *Sawah eloh aja mélik*²⁵
*aja ngendhilih*²⁶ *sawah mapan*
dadi béka temahané
*randha banjret*²⁷ *tatakrama*

wong wadon jaganana
nora wurung ngrimak-ngrimuk

wekasan amrih asmara
- 9 *Selir ayu cèthi*²⁸ *lindri*

tamtu dudu rara kenya

batur wadon jamak baé
aja nganggo ayu éndah
utawa selir garwa
*ésuk-suré*²⁹ *pahès pupur*

iku uga jaganana
- 10 *Candhiné leluhurnèki*³⁰

*nadyan tepbih let negara*³²

aja lali setdhekahé
iya kang sukci senyata
*aja saji sawiyah*³³
*nadyan anak putu besus*³⁴
*aja lali ngaji <s>astra*³⁵
- Don't covet a fertile, well-irrigated rice-field.
Don't seize well-situated rice-fields, they will prove a nuisance in the end.
As for widows/divorcées who might be tempting you with good manners, beware of [these] women.
They will inevitably attempt to seduce you,
in order to end up having sex.
Pretty concubines and beautiful maidens
are certainly not unmarried virgin girls.
Take only ordinary female servants, not the pretty and beautiful ones.
As for concubines and [minor] wives: from dawn to dusk they spend their time applying make-up,
take heed of that as well.
Concerning the temple³¹ of your ancestors,
although far away, separated by countries,
do not forget their celebrations, truly venerated offerings,
not just ordinary ones.
Although descendants may be noble, don't forget to [have them] study literature.

²⁵ P *milik*.

²⁶ P *ngedhilih*.

²⁷ P *banjret*. *Banjret* nor *banjret* are listed in the dictionaries. I take it to be *banjet*, which is explained in Pigeaud (1938: 24) and Poerwadarminta (1939: 28) as "tempting; matchmaker", while the verb *mbanjret* means 'to go around all over the place (especially in search of something)' (compare, Gericke and Roorda 1901 II: 658).

²⁸ M *cèthi*.

²⁹ P *ésuk-soré*.

³⁰ P *leluhur dhingin*.

³¹ Or should *candhi* perhaps be interpreted here as 'grave, tomb', thereby emphasizing its role in the ancestral cult? The dictionaries allow both possibilities. Compare Oetomo (1987: 190) who translates the line *yèn mati awor sakcandhi* as 'When they are dead, they're buried together'.

³² P *senadyan tepbih ya pindhah*.

³³ P *sakwiyah*.

³⁴ The printed edition is closer to the Chinese original, namely: *nadyan bodho anak putu* ('although descendants may be stupid'). The translation by Oetomo of *besus* as 'noble' seems fitting in this context. According to the dictionaries, *besus* means 'neat and fine (dress, home); courteous, distinguished, aristocratic (manners)'. The same word is used again in the penultimate line of stanza 17.

³⁵ P *aja ora ngaji sastra*. M reads *astra*, 'weapon', but clearly *sastra* must be meant here.

- 11 *Adekgé awak kang sukci
rina-wengi kanthil ngawak*

*mrih tiru anak-putuné
mulang putu mulang anak*

aja memulang nasar

udanegara kang manut³⁶

anak-putu mangsa bangga
- 12 *Sepbarang kang aja³⁷ mélik
yèn ketjaba sukci tata
aja pijer arep bahé
dhahar nginum suka-suka
aja kaprem ing nikmat*

*aja ngumbé arak wu-[page 51]
ru duđu lakuné³⁸ utama*
- 13 *Nyandhak³⁹ kulak mikul
ngindhrit
aja milih cepak énak*

*dadi kalah temahané
yèn ana tangga mesakat⁴¹*

*bisa adona⁴² welas
dadi klakuzwan⁴³ pinunjul
yèn wong metcok metcukilan⁴⁴*
- Your position should be impeccable,
your descendants clinging to you day
and night,
in order to emulate you.
Teach your grandchildren, teach your
children.
Don't teach them to take the wrong
path.
If your descendants follow the social
norms,
how can they possibly become
unmanageable?
- Don't covet things,
which are beyond the venerated rules.
Don't just be covetous.
When you eat and drink or are feasting,
the delicacies should not cause to lose
sight of this.
Don't drink intoxicating liquors;
this does not qualify as virtuous
conduct.
- When you do business with porters,
carrying things,⁴⁰
don't choose the nice things which are
close at hand;
you will lose out in the end.
If you have neighbours, who are in
trouble,
you may take pity on them
It is a feature of outstanding behaviour
if others profit too.

³⁶ P *anut*.

³⁷ P *raja*.

³⁸ P *duduk lakuhan*.

³⁹ P *candhak*. In M the syllable /*nya*/ is written with the so-called *aksara murda*, which is rarely used in Javanese writing.

⁴⁰ The translations of the Chinese text are rather dissimilar: "Do not try to take advantage of the hawker" (Morgan 1912: 188); "When trading with peddlers, do not take advantage of them" (Kaplan 1971: 8); "When you do a little trading, do not cheat your customers" (Palmer et al. 1986: 164); "Do not take advantage of a vendor as he carries his wares on a shoulder pole" (Jordan's translation); "Jika membeli sesuatu dari pedagang keliling, janganlah mengambil untung dari mereka" (Stevan Raharjo). The expression *nyandhak kulak* is not included in Gericke and Roorda (1901), but Pigeaud (1938: 573) and Poerwadarminta (1939: 624) explain *candhak-kulak* as "to engage in business". I have interpreted *mikul* as *wong mikul*, 'porter' (compare Gericke and Roorda 1901 II: 259 under *pikul*); *ngindhrit* (< *indhrit*) means 'to carry at the waist or hip'.

⁴¹ A variant of *musakat* (compare Malay *musakat*; Arabic *mashaqqā*).

⁴² *Adona* is simply a spelling variant of *adana* (< *dana*) here; it does not make sense to think of *adon* (< *adu*) with suffix *-a*.

⁴³ P *klakuhan*.

⁴⁴ This expression is apparently not included in Gericke and Roorda (1901), but it is explained

- 14 *Yèn wong ngiwit nganthi cethil*⁴⁵ Of people, who are frugal to the degree
of avarice,
nadyan sugih bisa bandha although having the means and wealth,
kèh-kèhané nora awèt their riches will not remain.
pernatané omah-omah When the rules for the household
gèsèh udanegara deviate from the social norms,
*nganggo karepé begedut*⁴⁶ through obstinacy,
yaiku lamaté sirna this will be a portent of approaching
downfall.
- 15 *Kakang adhi paman bibi* Among older and younger siblings,
uncles and aunts,
angur ngalah ingkang loman it is preferable to give in and be
generous,
dadi guyup temahané so harmony will prevail.
*kereng tata ngalah bandha*⁴⁷ Decorum should be strict: give in to
your relatives.
*ingkang anom trapsira*⁴⁸ The young should be well-mannered,
jaba-jero undha-usuk well-versed in all speech levels.⁴⁹
*yèn guyup dadi*⁵⁰ *sentosa* If there is harmony, there will be
stability.

(under *mecuk mecukilan*) as “*medegebruiker zijn, mee profiteren*” in Pigeaud (1938: 280), and as “*mèloe ngrasakaké énaké mèloe nganggo*” in Poerwadarminta (1939: 313).

⁴⁵ M *cethil*.

⁴⁶ M *bekgetdut*; P *bagetdut*.

⁴⁷ The translation “sacrificing your wealth [for it]” does not seem to make sense here. I interpret *ngalah* as ‘to give in’ and *bandha* as *bandhu* (‘relatives’). It should be noted that *metri causa* the final vowel should be /a/ here.

⁴⁸ P *trapsila*.

⁴⁹ This approaches the 23rd maxim of the original Chinese text in Jordan’s translation: “Between old and young, women and men, decorum should be strict and speech dignified” (<https://pages.ucsd.edu/~dkjordan/chin/chtxts/JuBorlu.html>). The *undha-usuk* system concerns the different speech levels of Javanese, expressing hierarchical politeness.

⁵⁰ P *yèn jujur pesthi*.

- 16 *Aja ngandel ujaré èstri*⁵¹
nora ngéman sanak-kadang
*ngedohna*⁵² *kulit-dagingé*
- ya dudu jalma utama*
*mélik gambar pahésan*⁵³
yèn ngènthèngna rama-ibu
*klita dunya abot bandha*⁵⁴
- 17 *Ya dudu jalma utami*
*pan kasepbut*⁵⁶ *jalma rucah*
titènana ing akiré
lan malih yèn ngentas bocah
- nglakèkna anak kenya*
milih mantu ingkang besus
*aja mélik*⁵⁷ *tukon kathah*⁵⁸
- 18 [page 52] *Anak lanang lamun rapbi*
pilihna èstri kang setya
*aja mélik*⁵⁹ *ayu bahé*
aja dumèh gawa bandha
- yèn milik dadi nistha*
- tepfung wong sugih pinunjul*⁶⁰
*dermih*⁶¹ *asor ngerpa-ngerpa*⁶²
- Don't put trust in what a wife says.
 Not caring about the relatives,
 keeping flesh-and-blood relatives at a
 distance,
 doesn't make a virtuous human being.
 Don't go chasing after rainbows,
 but thinking lightly of your parents,
 fixated⁵⁵ on worldly riches:
 such a person is not a virtuous being,
 but will be called uncivilized;
 think about the final outcome.
 And, furthermore, if you marry off
 your child,
 that is, marry off your virgin girl,
 choose a worthy son-in-law;
 don't covet a large bride price.
 When your son is about to marry,
 choose a faithful wife.
 Don't just look for beauty,
 don't fancy yourself because of precious
 wedding gifts,
 coveting them makes you
 contemptible.
 If you meet rich, prominent people,
 and you lower yourself, humbly
 begging,

⁵¹ P *ngandel ujaré pawèstri*.

⁵² M and P *ngetdohna*.

⁵³ *Paésan* means 'mirror'. The theoretical possibility that *paésan*, 'grave-marker' (variant of *maésan*) could be meant here, does not make sense in this context. The mirror analogy is most common in Javanese mystical literature (Zoetmulder 1995: 376, 377) and could perhaps have been used here to point out the difference between "illusion" and "reality": the parents are the "real thing", whereas worldly riches only appear real. The Chinese original reads: "If you put great weight on wealth and yet are stingy toward your parents, you are not the son of your father" (Kaplan 1971: 8).

⁵⁴ P *klita bandha abot donya*.

⁵⁵ *Klita* is explained in Gericke and Roorda (1901 I: 493 under *kulita*) as "gehecht, verkleefd".

⁵⁶ P *ya kalepbu*.

⁵⁷ P *milik*. Gericke and Roorda (1901 II: 506) list *milik* only as a variant of *mélik*. According to Pigeaud (1938: 282) and Poerwadarminta (1939: 315), *milik* can also mean "(rightful) property".

⁵⁸ P *katthah*.

⁵⁹ P *milih*.

⁶⁰ P *pinujul*.

⁶¹ P *gremèh*. *Dermih* is here a variant of *dermi* (*krama* of *derma*).

⁶² The verb *ngerpa-ngerpa* is here a variant of *ngrepa-ngrepa* (< *repa*).

- 19 *Senadyan dipunwèwèhi
wus nyoga⁶³ wirangé driya
sepira kahundhakané*
- yèn tepung wong dama nistha
angkuh sarwi deksura
mundhak sepira jume[n]dhul
dadi siya asil apa*
- 20 *Klakuhané yèn wong urip
rebut⁶⁴ padu larangana
padu mungga⁶⁵ perdatané
wekasan pesthi cilaka
camah batdhané muspra
yèn kumpulan métra⁶⁶ karuh
larangana⁶⁷ sugih ujar*
- 21 *Kakéyan ujar niwasi
nora wurung ngiles tata
ngilangna kepbatinané
sentosa ngengkos⁶⁸ wong lola
iku wekasan béka
cangkem arep yèn tinurut
dadi durga ngangsa-angsa*
- 22 *Ingon-ingon dèn-pragati
iku aja pisan-pisan
yén nganggo beneré dhéwé
tanpa rembuk kang prayogya
akèh tiwas kepbéka
akèh perkara keduwung
tan nganggo udanegara*
- although you may receive gifts,
your shame will be enormous,
how much will [your shame] have
increased?
If you meet with low, inferior people,
and you are arrogant and inconsiderate,
how will that make you look?
It is cruel, and what's the use of it?
- As part of human behaviour
lawsuits should be but rare occurrences:
quarrels can end up before a court,
certainly resulting in misfortune,
all respect and wealth dissipated.
When meeting acquaintances,
don't be a chatterbox.
- Excessive talking leads to misfortune,
inevitably you will transgress etiquette,
forfeiting your composure.
If you treat orphans callously,
this will lead to problems.
If you follow your mouth,
you will be gripped by the danger of
lust,
domestic animals will be slaughtered,
don't ever do that.⁶⁹
Considering oneself to be right,
without proper discussion,
will lead to great misfortune,
many regretful troubles,
being mannerless.

⁶³ P *wis nyongga*. The basis of *nyoga* is *soga*.

⁶⁴ M and P *rebut*.

⁶⁵ P *mugah*.

⁶⁶ P *mitra*.

⁶⁷ M and P *larangona*.

⁶⁸ My interpretation of *ngengkos* (< *engkos*) is based upon the explanation in Gericke and Roorda (1901, I: 425-426 under *kronkos*), that is "iemand overbluffen, en minachten, met minachting behandelen; meesterachtig, aanmatigend, in den waan van meerderheid vrijpostig behandelen enz".

⁶⁹ The Chinese original reads in Jordan's translation: "Do not so lust after fine food that you needlessly kill cattle and fowl" (<https://pages.ucsd.edu/~dkjordan/chin/chtxts/JuBorlu.html>).

- 23 *Yèn ngiles permata adil*
ngalingi wong dosa ala
lawas-lawas- [page 53] s kèmbèt
dhéwé
yèn ngandel ujar panas
sapa wruh ujar wara
pesthi aja mèlu-mèlu
pikiran ingkang utama
 If you transgress against the rules of justice,
 hiding among evil sinners,
 you will eventually incriminate yourself.
 If you put trust in heated words,
 who is aware it is not just words?
 Be sure not to get dragged in,
 reflect upon what is good.
- 24 *Rebut⁷⁰ beneré pribadi*
gerjekikgan⁷¹ tan purun ngalah

sapa wruh sisipé dhéwé

pikiran terang ping tiga
iku jalma utama
utawi⁷² welas tetulung
yén wis dana aja ngucap
 If you are determined to be right,
 quarrelling without being willing to concede,
 who knows, mightn't you be wrong yourself?
 Thinking clearly three times
 will make you a virtuous person.
 If you lend assistance out of compassion,
 or if you have presented a gift, don't talk about it.
- 25 *Yèn tanpa⁷³ sih aja lali*

sabarang-barang⁷⁴ perkara
ngajangi⁷⁵ amba wiyosé

yèn darbèni kepberagan⁷⁶
kajèn sinuba-suba
aja mindho kaping telu
yèn nujoni pawong sanak
 If you receive kindnesses, don't forget them.
 In all things, allow room for an outcome.
 Consider that there might be repercussions.
 If you have been made joyful,
 accept it with due honour,
 not for a second or a third time.⁷⁷
 If your close friends happen to

⁷⁰ M and P *rebut*.

⁷¹ P *gregjegan*. The word *gerjekikan* is not included in the dictionaries, but I have interpreted it as a variant of *grejegan*, 'to quarrel'.

⁷² P *utawa*.

⁷³ P *tampi*.

⁷⁴ M and P *separang-barang*.

⁷⁵ M *ngatjangi*.

⁷⁶ P *kabéranan*.

⁷⁷ Translations of the Chinese text read: "Leave room for repentance in every affair, (in other words, do not press any man too hard) and once you have obtained your desire, you should not proceed further" (Morgan 1912: 190-192); "In all dealings with people, leave them room to retreat honourably. When you have gained what you intended, do not press for more" (Kaplan 1971: 9); "Let others have a little leeway. When you are happy do not show off" (Palmer et al. 1986: 166); "In all things allow spare ground. Having obtained the objectives, don't go further" (Jordan); "Apa pun yang anda lakukan, berusaha meluangkan waktu untuk memikirkan kondisi-kondisi yang tak terduga. Jika anda berhasil dalam suatu usaha, janganlah terlalu mengharapkan keberhasilan itu akan terulang kembali" (Stevan Raharjo).

- 26 *Tampa kasi<ng>giyan betcik
aja kemirèn⁷⁸ nyenyikang⁷⁹
dadi drengki penganggepé
lamun dulu⁸⁰ pawong sanak
prihatin katiwasan
aja marwata gumuyu
ngaku betcik titènana* encounter good luck,
don't be envious, casting them out,
as if you wish them ill.
If you see your close friends
in distress, down on their luck,
don't laugh heartily.⁸¹
Be careful in claiming to be kind:
- 27 *Yèn guwalna⁸² betciknèki
pesthi dudu betcik nyata
dhasar ala⁸³ yèn kinubèn⁸⁴* if good deeds are embraced,
they are surely not truly good.
It is inherent in the nature of evil that
it is kept silent about.
*ala wetdi wruh sesama
iku ala⁸⁵ senyata
yèn dulu wanita ayu
kasmaran miki⁸⁶ mengarah* Evil which fears to be known by others
is truly evil.
If you see a beautiful woman
and fall in love, thinking of claiming
her,
- 28 *Kuwalesan anak rabi
ngandhut serik nyidra samar
dèn-tagih⁸⁷ anak putuné
sepbatih jujur pernahata⁸⁸
nujoni bukti kurang
tansah bungah guyup lulut
tan cidra udanegara* it will bring retribution on your wife
and children.
Bearing grudges and secretly using
ruses
will [have to] be repaid by your
descendants.
A household which is honest and
well-run,
can accidentally run short of food,
but it will always be happy and
harmonious.
If you don't cheat on the social forms,

⁷⁸ *Kemirèn* must be a variant of *kemèrèn* or *kumèrèn*, 'jealous, envious'.

⁷⁹ *Nyenyikang* < *sikang*, a variant of *singkang*.

⁸⁰ P *yèn adulu*.

⁸¹ The word *marwata* is derived from *parwata*, 'mountain', functioning to denote a large degree in comparisons ('as big as a mountain'), see Gericke and Roorda (1901 II: 239).

⁸² P *ngungalna*.

⁸³ P *aja*.

⁸⁴ P *kinubèn*.

⁸⁵ The word *ala* is written with three dots (*cecak telu*).

⁸⁶ P *pikir*.

⁸⁷ M *dèn-tagih*.

⁸⁸ P *pranata*.

- 29 *Pesthi retjekiné luwih* good fortune will certainly be abundant;⁸⁹
- na- [page 54] dyan nora sugih* your wealth might not be financial,
dinar suka sugeng temahané but in terms of happiness and well-being.
- ngaji madhep mring gurunya* Study under your teacher,
ngapbdi madhap⁹⁰ mring nata give good service to the king.
trima ganjarané ulun Accept your allotted fate,
turuten iku utama obeying what is virtuous.

THE TEXT'S CO-TEXTS AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The Javanese poetic reworking called *Serat Tiyang Gegriya* is included in the unique Leiden manuscript Cod.Or. 3996 containing three texts of Chinese origin, all cast in Javanese verse-forms:

1. *Sam Pik Ing Taé*, a versified version of "The butterfly lovers" (pp. 1-38);
2. *Serat Ang Dok*, a versified version of "Little boy's discussion", in almanacs also simply known as "The child" or "Child talk" (pp. 38-48);
3. *Serat Tiyang Gegriya*, a versified version of the "Family regulations" (pp. 48-54).

The final line of the *Serat Ang Dok* indicates that the next text will be in the verse-form *asmarandana*. This strophe, which reads *getunku lir brangta kingkin* (translated by Oetomo 1987: 192 as "My regret is like intense yearning"), contains what is known in handbooks of Javanese *tembang* verse-forms as a typical *ukara sasmita* or 'sentence signalling a change of verse-form'. Here the cues *brangta*, 'passion' and *kingkin*, 'sorrow', both allude to the element of *asmara* or 'passion' in the next verse-form *asmarandana*.

Brief catalogue descriptions are given in Brandes (1901: 91-92 and 1915: 55-56, 80), Juynboll (1911: 109-110, 114), and Pigeaud (1968: 179), while more than thirty years ago, Oetomo (1987: 181-197) published the second text in transliteration with an annotated English translation. In none of these publications, however, is mention made of the existence of a fourth text in the manuscript (on page 54), perhaps because it was crossed out. It appears to be the beginning of the *Jati Kusuma* story, breaking off abruptly in the fourth stanza (verse-form *asmarandana*). The *Jati Kusuma* romance is characterized by Poerbatjaraka (1950: 80) and Pigeaud (1967: 219-222) as belonging to the Islamic literary heritage of the North Coast districts of East Java and the island of Madura. We know from the first text that the Leiden manuscript Cod.Or. 3996, written in Surabaya in 1878, originated from this particular area

⁸⁹ The idea in the Chinese original is that "If you pay your taxes early, then even if there is nothing left in your pockets, you can still attain full happiness" (Kaplan 1971: 10).

⁹⁰ P *madhep*.

(Juynboll 1911: 109; Oetomo 1987: 181). According to the opening stanza of the fourth text, the copy of the *Jati Kusuma* was begun on Sunday, the market-day Wagé, 6 October 1878. The anonymous person who inscribed Leiden Cod. Or. 3996 must also have been the copyist of another manuscript in the Van der Tuuk collection, namely Cod.Or. 4202, which also contains a version of the *Jati Kusuma* romance. Both manuscripts share the same style of writing: especially noteworthy are the characteristic forms of punctuation, known as *pepadan* or metrical markers, which point to an identical hand.⁹¹ Moreover, according to the opening stanza of Cod.Or. 4202, it was copied on the same date as Cod.Or. 3996, namely on 6 October 1878 (quoted in Javanese script in Brandes 1901: 252).

Ten years later, the *Serat Tiyang Gegriya* was published anonymously in Surabaya with minor alterations under the title of *Punika layang wacan cariyosipun Cu Hu Cu (Wali Cinten)* or 'This is a book with a story of Cu Hu Cu (Chinese Saint)' (see Figure 1).⁹² This booklet of no more than seven pages in Javanese script bears the imprint of the "Gebroeders Gimberg & Company", which had then recently been taken over by a Chinese businessman called *Baba Tjoa Tjoan Lok* (Adam 1995: 64). The "Gebroeders Gimberg & Company" was one of the biggest printing companies in the Netherlands East Indies and its bankruptcy in 1886 took many contemporaries by surprise. According to Adam (1995: 64), the purchase of this firm was "symbolically significant" for the Chinese community: "It marked the beginning of Chinese participation in newspaper publication and ushered in a new era of development in the vernacular press. No longer were Eurasians and Europeans the only owners of newspapers." The publication of such a popular Confucian treatise as the "Family regulations" in Javanese in 1888 would seem to testify to a new self-awareness among ethnic Chinese in Java. Over the years, the Chinese-run press in the Netherlands East Indies would bring out more editions of the *Zhijia geyan* but all of them were in Malay: Salmon (1981: 511) mentions five Malay adaptations between 1888 and around 1938.

⁹¹ Kumar and Proudfoot (1996: 207) provide a clear photo of a page from Leiden University Libraries Cod.Or. 3996, featuring the typical metrical markers. Another example is published in Quinn (1987: 549).

⁹² Duly listed in the bibliographies of Poerwa Soewigna and Wirawangsa (1921: 101) and of Salmon (1987: 379, 389 note 12). The name of the city is given as Surapringga, which is a common poetic synonym for Surabaya. According to Salmon (1987: 379), the translation was made by M. Kartasubrata, but this claim seems to be based upon a misinterpretation of bibliographical details for another book in Poerwa Soewigna and Wirawangsa (1921: 90). However, as the registers at the end of Poerwa Soewigna and Wirawangsa (1921: 509, 519) also make clear, M. Kartasubrata only made a versification of the *Aji Saka*, published in Semarang in 1886, whereas our "Tjoe Hoe-tjoe" is listed among the works whose authors are unknown.

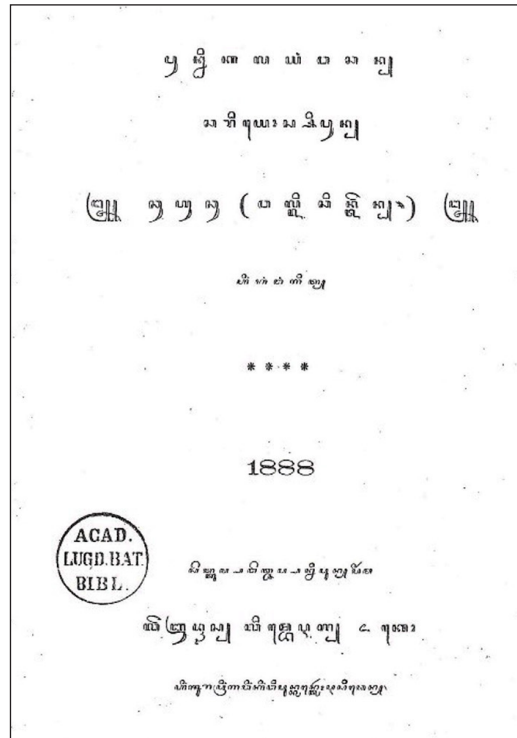


Figure 1. Title page of *Punika layang wacan cariyosipun Cu Hu Cu (Wali Cinten)*, published in 1888 by the “Gebroeders Gimberg & Company” in Surabaya (Leiden University Libraries 8204 D 5).

Nothing is known about the Javanese-language translator, but Oetomo (1987: 182) remarks that the *Serat Ang Dok* is “a literary piece in its own right”, and the same can be said about the *Serat Tiyang Gegriya*, which had flowed from the same pen. The composer of the Javanese version was not only conversant with all the literary techniques of traditional poetry, but had also mastered the conventional archaic poetic language. Remarkably, on several occasions, the poem exhibits the unusual phenomenon of run-on lines or enjambment. Keeping close to the original Chinese text, however, the Javanese adaptation tends to be rather obscure in several places. An additional difficulty for modern-day readers is the text’s idiosyncratic orthography. It seems that the copy was based on having heard it, which does not always make it easy to recognize the more common form of words. Of course, Oetomo (1987: 183) likewise faced what he called “spelling errors and inconsistencies”, but generally tended to ignore them. In my opinion, however, the writer followed his own rules in using anachronistic standards which cannot simply be considered as faulty. Consequently, I have retained the original orthography of the manuscript in my transliteration.

Oetomo (1987: 182, 194) has already pointed to the high degree of interculturalization which was achieved by the author of the *Serat Ang Dok*. Chinese concepts and understandings are also “Javanized” in the *Serat Tiyang Gegriya*:

for example, in the tenth maxim the Chinese original warns against the “intermediaries of lust and thievery” (Kaplan 1971: 7), referred to as *san gu liù pó* (‘three aunties and six grannies’).⁹³ In another work, namely the fourteenth-century *Chuogeng lu* (‘Notes written during farming breaks’) by Tao Zongyi (circa 1316-1402), it is said that “whoever has these mischief-makers about his house is sure to meet with trouble” (Mayers 1874: 298-299). This same author warned that respectable families should avoid them as if they were “snakes and scorpions” (Leung 1999: 102). The suspect women who are listed among the “three aunties and six grannies” were all associated to seduction and uncontained sexuality (Mann 2011: 146) and, in the Javanese text, they are united in the single figure of the *randha*, which refers to both widows and divorcées. The (male) reader of the Javanese text should take heed of widows/divorcées acting as match-makers. The *randha* have a bad reputation in Javanese literature as flirts, while *janda* (which is the Malay/Indonesian term) in contemporary Indonesian society are still stigmatized, presumed to be promiscuous and lascivious.⁹⁴

Confucius is not described as a “prophet” (*nabi*), as is usual in more modern texts in Indonesia, nor as a “wise man” or “sage” (*panembahan*) as in the *Serat Ang Dok*, but as a “saint” (*wali*) (see above). His disciples are called *sekabat* (strophe 1d), which is also originally an Islamic term (derived from Arabic *ṣaḥāba*) to denote the “companions” of the Prophet, that is, Muhammad’s close friends and associates who are considered as key-figures in the early history of Islam. The word *sekabat*, however, is by no means merely a *terminus technicus* with restricted use in a historical context, but it is also a common term for “close friend” in ordinary everyday speech.

With reference to the thirty-first maxim, the original Chinese text is very succinct and reads in Jordan’s translation: “In social intercourse, avoid excessive talking; excessive talking causes losses.”⁹⁵ The Javanese text adds a warning to this about the resultant loss of one’s *kebatinan*, which I have tentatively translated as ‘composure’, but it is unclear how *kepbatinané* (normal spelling: *kebatinanê*) would have been understood by the intended audience. Nowadays, *kebatinan* is perhaps best known as “the practice of contemporary Javanese mysticism”, but it can also be understood as “the essence of the inner man”, and even as “the essence of Javaneseness” (see Stevens and Schmidgall Tellings 2004: 98 for these and other meanings in modern Indonesian). The word derives from Arabic *bāṭin*, meaning ‘inner, inward’ and ‘hidden, secret’, hence also ‘esoteric’, which is used in opposition to *lahir* (Arabic *ẓāhir*) or

⁹³ The translation “three aunties and six grannies” stems from Firth (1999: 268). As Jordan explains, this expression refers in traditional Chinese literature to “extra-familial female troublemakers”, namely Buddhist nuns (*ni*), Taoist nuns (*dào*), and female fortune-tellers (*guà*), whereas the “six kinds of old women” are brokers (*yā*), match-makers (*méi*), spirit mediums (*shì*), women who pray in exchange for money (*qián*), herbalists (*yào*), and midwives (*wen*), see <https://pages.ucsd.edu/~dkjordan/chin/chtxts/JuBorluEnglish.html>.

⁹⁴ The stigma of the *janda* in contemporary Indonesian society is the topic of a special issue of the journal *Indonesia and the Malay World*, co-edited by Lyn Parker and Helen Creese (2016).

⁹⁵ See <https://pages.ucsd.edu/~dkjordan/chin/chtxts/JuBorlu.html>.

'outward, literal, exoteric'. The dual concept *lahir-batin* has been described as being "a fundamental and all-pervasive idiom for Javanese conceptualization of one's self" (Nakamura 2012: 183).

Another intriguing "everyday" word is *sukci* (normally spelled *suci*), which in modern Javanese dictionaries is explained as 'holy, sacred' and nowadays belongs to religious discourse: *Roh Suci* 'Holy Ghost' and *kitab suci* 'holy book' (used for the holy writ of both Islam and Christianity) are well-known examples. However, this is a Sanskrit loanword (*śuci*), which has also entered the Malay/Indonesian language, and other (earlier) meanings express such ideas as 'clean, pure, untainted' which in a religious context could assume the meanings of 'immaculate, chaste, holy'. As we cannot assume that *sukci* was intended (and understood) at the time of writing as 'holy, sacred', I have chosen to translate it as 'upright' (line 6f), 'venerated' (10d) and 'impeccable' (line 11a).

The case seems to be different for the verb *ngaji*, which normally means '(to learn) to recite the Qur'an', to which Oetomo (1987: 182, 194) has drawn attention in his discussion of Islamic terms in the *Serat Ang Dok*. In the Chinese original, children are summoned *jīngshū bù kě bù dú* ('to read the Classics'), which is translated in the *Serat Tiyang Gegriya* as *ngaji sastra*. The choice of the word *ngaji* is in my opinion particularly felicitous, because it also has acquired the connotation of 'to study (religion, that is, Islam)'. The word *sastra*, meaning 'writing; literature' in Modern Javanese, is derived from Sanskrit *śāstra*-, that is "a book or treatise of divine authority, a manual of rules, a religious or scientific treatise" (Gonda 1998: 295). As Gonda (1998: 631) explains, in old-fashioned Javanese usage *sastra* applied to literature in general, whereas *kasusastran* not only meant 'literature', but also 'knowledge acquired by reading books' and even 'good and refined manners'. "[T]he study of literature", Gonda (1998: 631) states, "was justly supposed to lead to culture and refinement". Hence *ngaji sastra* is a most fitting Javanese translation of the Chinese exhortation to study the Classics.

The use of these culture-specific terms indicates that we are dealing with a translation oriented towards the target literature, what might be called a reader-/listener-oriented or "domesticating" translation. Lacking indications from the text itself, we can only hypothesize about the reason for the production of the *Serat Tiyang Gegriya* (and the *Serat Ang Dok*, for that matter). The historical context might help us understand why this cultural translation took place in Surabaya in 1878. As case studies by Claudine Salmon (1996, 2005) have made clear, interest in Confucianism had begun much earlier in Surabaya than elsewhere in the Netherlands East Indies and the Malay Peninsula. According to Salmon (2005: 139), a process of "resinicization" began in Surabaya in the mid-nineteenth century, as a reaction to the "peranakanization" or even merging of the Chinese into the local society. Salmon (1996: 195-199) has discussed some texts in Chinese from Surabaya of the 1860s, in which it is clearly indicated that conversion to Islam was perceived as a serious threat to the survival of Chinese identity. In the early 1880s, a second wave was the

revival of Confucianism as “a tool to spread Chinese education and culture and, in so doing, to reassure the Chinese and strengthen the nation at a time when the empire was humiliated” (Salmon 2005: 139).

Taking my cue from Salmon’s research on “identity politics” activities taking place in the last decades of the nineteenth century in Surabaya, it can be hypothesized that the production in Surabaya of the manuscript which has found its way into the vaults of Leiden University Libraries as Cod.Or. 3996 was related to increasing anxiety among conservative segments in the local Chinese community about assimilation. Paradoxically, however, the *Serat Tiyang Gegriya*, first composed in 1878 and subsequently published in 1888, is a fine product of acculturation, having all the trappings of a genuine Javanese text on *piwulang* (‘moral teachings’), even using such popular Islam-related terms as *wali* (‘saint’) and *ngaji* (‘to study [religion]’). Those who strove to “preserve” what was deemed as core value orientations of Chineseness must have realized that the Javanization of the Sino-Javanese community had already reached the point at which the only way to address the intended readers successfully was in the mother tongue of the latter’s mothers, and not in Chinese, the language of their fathers and paternal ancestors.⁹⁶

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⁹⁶ See also Kwartanada (2011) who draws attention to the paradox that the attempt to reinvent a “Chinese identity” in this period in Java did not make use of the Chinese language and script but Romanized Malay.

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