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When dad and mom are away from home...

Panji Paniba 11.20-45

WILLEM VAN DER MOLEN

ABSTRACT

Access to the pre-modern world of Classical Javanese literature (seventeenth-nineteenth centuries) starts with a sound knowledge of its idiom. “When dad and mom are away from home...” leads the novice through grammatical constructions and vocabulary not found in Modern Javanese literature. The light-hearted story providing these examples is taken from the *Panji Paniba*. This early nineteenth-century text belongs to a famous group of Javanese romances of chivalry going by the name of “Panji stories”, all set in the Hindu era of the East-Javanese kingdom of Kediri.

KEYWORDS

Panji; *Paniba*; Classical Javanese literature; traditional Javanese literature; Classical Javanese literary idiom.

A PANJI STORY¹

The text selected for this chapter is about two sisters, Těmběm and Paniba. According to the story, they live with their parents in Gumulang, a village located near the town of Tuban in northeast Java. Dad and mom go on a business trip; they urge their daughters to be sweet and not to quarrel. As soon as the parents have left, the girls start quarreling about the chores. Eventually, it comes to kicks and blows.

¹ I wish to thank the editors, Korrie Korevaart, and Edwin Wieringa for their critical remarks.

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The selection is taken from a text called *Panji Paniba*. The element “Panji” in the title refers to a large group of tales in Javanese literature known by the name of “Panji tales” or “Panji stories”. These started to be created from about 1400 onwards and have continued to be created up till now. The tales are always situated in East Java, in the days of yore (before the time of Islam). They are all built on the same plot, involving four related kingdoms and a princess who disappears and has to be found again.²

The *Panji Paniba* was written in 1817 in Surakarta court circles. It is one variation among many of the central theme of Panji stories. The text is called after Paniba, the girl who is the heroine of this one story. Actually, she is the disappeared princess who in our story for a time acts as the adopted child of the merchant couple in Gumulang, together with her sister. What happens to her is part of a divine master plan designed for saving the world from evil. But that perspective is beyond the horizon of the villagers of Gumulang.

A printed book of the *Panji Paniba* does not exist. It has come down to us from the pre-print era, when books in Java circulated in handwritten form. One manuscript, in Javanese script, reached the library of Leiden University. This is the source of the present text. It belonged to the estate of A.D. Cornets de Groot (1804-1829), a scholar of Javanese literature who lived in Solo. Illustration 1 shows a page from the Leiden manuscript.

The language of the *Panji Paniba* and its poetical format strike the modern reader as old-fashioned and difficult. Given its age, this surprises nobody. After all, access to traditional literature is never as easy as to modern literature: its unfamiliar language and background and the state of the textual material all turn reading such texts into hard work. In the case of Classical Javanese texts, the lack of proper tools like literary histories, dictionaries, and grammatical descriptions adds to the exasperation of the reader.

Being a handwritten text from the “Classical”, that is to say, pre-twentieth century, period, the *Panji Paniba* has its share in all these difficulties. However, as soon as one realizes that dealing with them is itself a source of enjoyment, this specimen of early nineteenth-century Javanese literature will not fail to charm even the most reluctant reader. One obstacle has been removed already in this article: the fragment, part of a manuscript in Javanese script, is printed here in Latin characters.

POETICAL FORMAT AND LANGUAGE

Literature in Java before the modern era used to be written in poetry, in a format which was then common, called *macapat*. The rules of *macapat* poetry prescribe a division of the text into cantos, divided in turn into stanzas. How many cantos or stanzas a text will have, is up to the poet. Each stanza has a fixed number of lines, each line a fixed number of syllables (but different for each line), and a fixed final vowel (again different in each line).

² In 2020 *Wacana* published a special issue in two volumes on Panji.

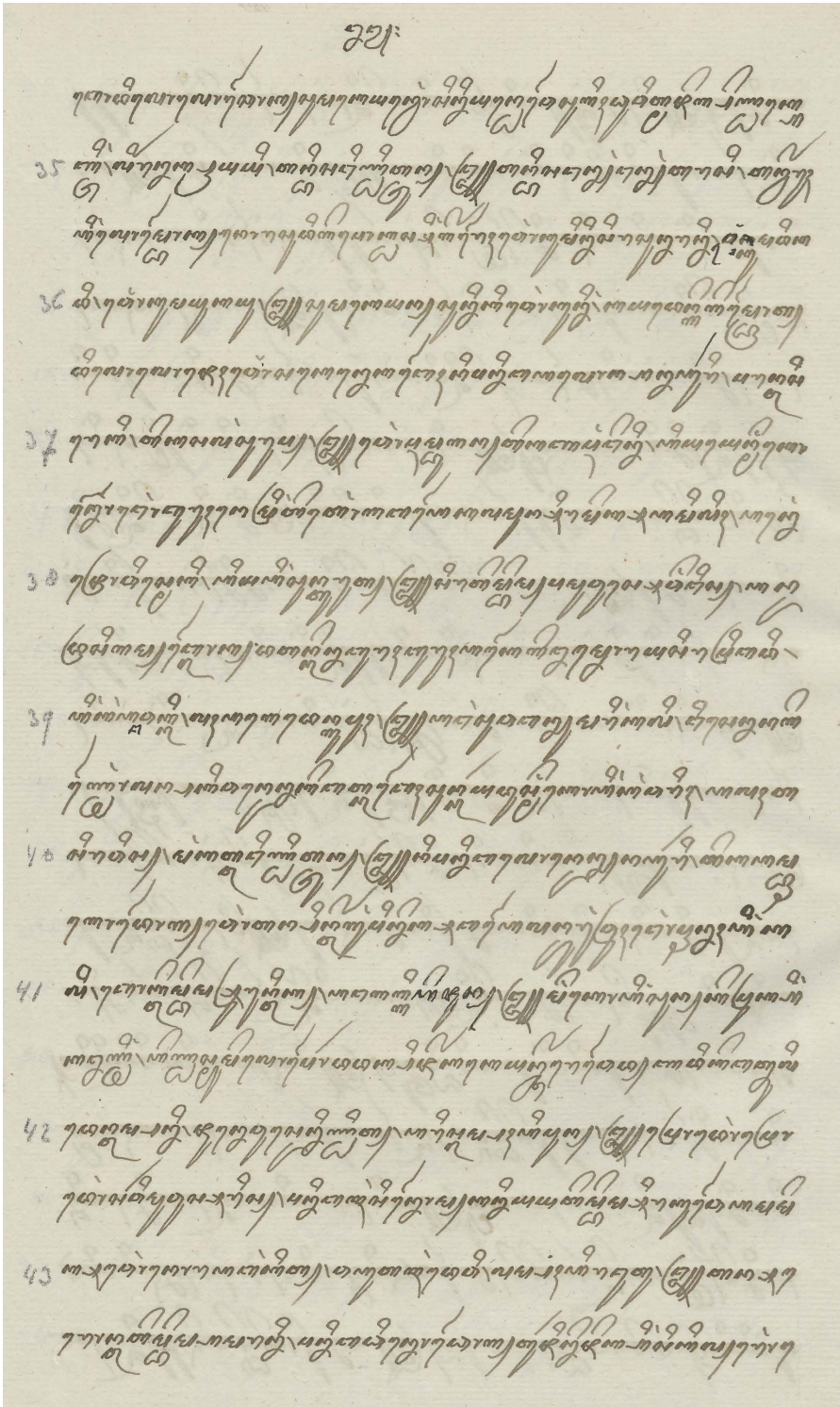


Illustration 1. Panji Paniba Ms Leiden University Libraries Or. 2029. Page 23, showing Stanza 11.35-43 (Courtesy of Leiden University Libraries).

These are the general rules of *macapat* prosody. They are realized in slightly different ways in each canto. In fact it is these slightly different ways, called “metres”, by which cantos are distinguished from each other. Each metre has its own name (and character, connoisseurs say).

Our selection is taken from a canto written in a metre called *Mijil*. Its formal features can be summed up by the formula *6 lines: 10i 6o 10e 10i 6i 6u*. This means that there are six lines to the stanza. The first line has ten syllables and ends in final vowel *i*, the second line has six syllables and ends in final vowel *o*, and so on. In cantos with a different metre, the final vowels and the number of lines and syllables are different. There are quite a few different *macapat* metres; lists can be found on the internet. Poems in *macapat* are meant to be sung, in performance but also when read to oneself. Each metre has its own melody. Examples can be found on the internet.

What makes the literary language of the nineteenth century look old-fashioned and strange is the use of constructions which nowadays no longer exist except in the form of isolated residues, and of words which apparently meant something else in those days than they mean now, or are simply unknown to us (a problem aggravated by the conscious use of so-called Kawi-words, literary words already obsolete by the nineteenth century, which were taken from older literature). Matters get further complicated because the poets constantly interfere with the forms of the words in order to meet the requirements of the metre, by adding and subtracting and merging, a policy sanctioned by tradition and regulated by convention but all the same bewildering for the beginner. Even the *ngoko/krama* distinction does not seem to work the way it should in *macapat* poetry.

All these qualities apply to the *Panji Paniba*. In grammar, for instance, the prefix *ka-* and the infix *-in-*, reduced in present-day Javanese to a few fixed cases, are one normal way to create passive forms, next to the familiar *di-* and *dipun*, and in addition to yet another word, *den*. So we have *tinilar* in stanza 20d and *kaniaya* in 42c, instead of *ditilar* and *dianiaya*. *Den* is used for the passive but also for the imperative, similar to *sing* in Modern Javanese: *den tampani* (45d), *den gupuh* (38f).

Likewise, in the active voice the prefix *a-* (‘in the possession of’, attached to nouns) and infix *-um-* (used to make verbs from nouns), both petrified in Modern Javanese, are here in full swing. See for example *alinggih* in 20e (on the basis of the noun *linggih* ‘seat’) and *lumaku* (from *laku* ‘walk’) in 43e. Nasalisation of initial *s* may yield *ny* but also *n*: *anyaponi* in 24e, *nauri* in 23a.

The conjunctive with *-a*, as in *bisaa* (33a), is very much in use, not only for the imperative mood. We find a peculiar construction with the preposition *de* ‘by’, borrowed from Old Javanese, where modern Javanese has *lehe* or *nggone*: *denira lumaris* (20a). Old-fashioned words are *sira* (‘you’, an honorific), *bangkit*, *mring* (meaning ‘by’), *-ing* instead of modern *-e* or *-ipun*, *ing* as an object or subject marker, and many more.

Whenever prosodic requirements clash with lexical reality, the forms of the words are adjusted by lengthening, compressing, or merging: *jun* and *ějun*

(31f and passim, 40f); *olah-olah* and *lah-olah* (32d, 28d); *wismeki* and *wisma iki* (20d, 22a). Stopgaps help in a similar way. So do synonyms: *esuk* in 33f but *enjing* in 34d, to meet the requirements of the final vowel.

Much of what is touched above is still unclear and needs further research. It is crucial to recognize the base forms of the words and find them in the dictionaries. There are several dictionaries, all of which are needed as no one offers sufficient information by itself. Stuart Robson and Singgih Wibisono's modern *Javanese-English dictionary* (2002) addresses modern usage but in addition also provides information on literary words. Very useful for those who know modern Javanese is Poerwadarminta's *Javanese-Javanese dictionary* (1939). Both dictionaries are accessible on the internet. A specialized Kawi-Javanese dictionary was composed in the nineteenth century by C.F. Winter Sr. and R.Ng. Ranggawarsita (1988). It is incorporated in the as yet unsurpassed Javanese-Dutch dictionary of J.F.C. Gericke and T. Roorda (1901), originally also written in the nineteenth century. The latter is also accessible on the internet. Rare words are sometimes offered by Jansz (1932). At the end of this chapter a list is added of those words not or not completely covered by Robson and Wibisono's dictionary, taken from Gericke-Roorda.

Regrettably, no full grammatical description of the idiom concerned exists as yet (I refer in passing to the introductory remarks in Ras's Dutch-language introduction to modern Javanese. See Ras 1982: 308-337). The commentary to the text discusses some problems of translation and spelling.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

(Spelling: *ě* corresponds with *e*, *e* with *é* and *è*, *d* and *t* with *dh* and *th* in Robson and Wibisono.)

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 20 | <p><i>Sampun lěpas denira lumaris
ki juragan kang wong
gantya ingkang kawuwusa maleh
ingkang tinilar aneng wismeki
pan lagya alinggih
karone sang ayu</i></p> | <p>Finally the merchants, husband and wife, set off.
Let us now turn our attention again to the ones left behind in the house.
The two girls were sitting together.</p> |
| 21 | <p><i>Sira Těmběm awěcana aris
Paniba saměngko
payo pada pěpanduman gawe
lah ta mara sira pilih ěndi
apa ta ing jawi
rěřesikanipun</i></p> | <p>Těmběm said sweetly:
"Well, Paniba, come, let us divide the work.
Okay, which one do you choose: the business of cleaning outside,</p> |

- 22 *Miwah sajěroning wisma iki
anauri alon
rětna Paniba arum wuwuse
Těmběm pagawean ingkang ěndi
nganggo jěro jawi
paran kang sinambut* or everything inside the house?"
Paniba answered softly,
in a friendly tone:
"Which work, Těmběm,
goes with inside or outside?
What is it one has to take up?"
- 23 *Cupana sěndu denya nauri
apa sira tongong
nora wěruh ing pagaweane
wong tinilar mring si biyung iki
dagang mring pasisir
sira lawan ingsun* Cupana answered snappily:
"Are you silly?
Don't know what work there is to do!
The point is, Mum left us behind
on her business trip to the coast
to take care, you and me,
- 24 *Kinon tunggu neng wisma pribadi
sayěkti wong roro
bēcik pađa bubuwaning gawe
lamun sira milih ingkang jawi
iya anyaponi
palataran iku* of the house ourselves.
As a matter of fact we are two,
so it is best to divide the work.
If you choose outside,
then you have to sweep
the yard
- 25 *Miwah angangsu marang ing kali
angiseni gěntong
měnyang pasar tuku sabarange
iya kabeh kang den měmatěngi
kalamun sireki
ing jro pamilihmu* and fetch water at the river,
fill the pitcher,
go to the market to buy whatever,
all the things which have to be cooked.
If you choose
inside,
- 26 *Olah-elah pagaweaneki
barang kang ginođog
yěkti sira kang aduwe gawe
rětna Paniba nauri aris
nurut ingsun iki
apa sakarěpmu* then doing the cooking will be your task.
Whatever needs to be boiled,
you will have to do it, for sure."
Paniba answered sweetly:
"I'll follow along,
whatever you wish.
- 27 *Nanging ta den sěmbada sireki
ingsun milih ing jro
sigra Těmběm aloning wuwuse
lamun sira milih jroning panti
sayěktine uți
pagaweanamu* But be reasonable.
I choose inside."
Immediately Těmběm said, slowly:
"If you choose inside the house,
you will really
be busy all the time.
- 28 *Nora koběr pijěr měmatěngi
pěpangananing ngong
angur sira neng ajaba bae
ingsun ingkang lah-olah pribadi
nuruti ing ati
sadoyananingsun* You will have time for nothing else
except preparing my meals, all the time.
It is better if you work outside.
I'll do the cooking myself,
to my heart's content,
exactly how I like it.

- 29 *Lamun sira ingkang mēmatēngi
manawa tan condong
iya lawan karēp ingong kiye
nora wurung sira ngong gablogi
lan ingsun grauti
sun cokot sun kērmus*
- If you do the cooking,
if it is not
how I want it,
then without fail I'll hit
and scratch you wherever I can;
I'll bite you, I'll munch you up!
- 30 *Lah ta sira sun bubuhi jawi
angiseni gēntong
lan tētuku mēnyang pasar gēde
ngamek kayu pan iya sireki
aris anauri
Paniba sang ayu*
- Okay, I assign you the outside.
To fill the pitcher
and to do the shopping in the big market,
to get wood: that's for you."
Beautiful Paniba
answered softly:
- 31 *Priye Tēmbēm kalamun sireki
pandumu mēngkono
sayēktine ngong tan pintēr bae
mēnyang pasar nganyang-anyang
mami
lan nora kuwawi
ingsun anginḍit jun*
- "How can you assign the tasks
that way, Tēmbēm?
Really, I am simply not competent
to go to the market and to bargain
and I am
not strong enough
to carry a water crock
- 32 *Miwah nora bisa ipil-ipil
iya raganing ngong
yen panuju tēmbēm lawan kowe
angur ta olah-olah wak mami
pan ingsun turuti
apa sadoyanmu*
- and I am unable
to gather things bit by bit.
If by any chance it ... with you,
I prefer to do the cooking.
Because I will make
whatever you like,
- 33 *Saking ora bisaa nglakoni
yen ngiseni gēntong
datan kēlar satēmēne bae
alimana sira ngong wenehi
limang kupang picis
sabēn pēndak esuk*
- rather than not being able to do it
if I would have to fill the pitcher.
I am not strong enough; that is how it is.
Sorry. I'll give you
fifty coins
every morning."
- 34 *Anauri Tēmbēm sēmu runtik
babo dilēlocok

sumakeyan wong siniyan dewe
sugih duwit majēg pēndak enjing

lir anak prayayi
tan bisa anginḍit jun*
- Tēmbēm, enraged, answered:
"That's the limit! I'll pound you to a
pulp!
Braggs that she is the favourite.
Enough cash to get her way every
morning!
Like an upper-class child!
Can't carry a water crock,

- 35 *Tan bisa nganyang-anyang tĕrasi
tan wĕruh ing lombok
nora sudi gĕwok dasing gĕreh
wong kumini sira sun arani
wong kumadi-kadi
wong kumayu-kayu* can't bargain for *trasi*,
doesn't know what a lombok looks like,
not prepared to poke in fish heads!
Childish, that is what I call you,
niminy-piminy,
boasting about your good looks,
- 36 *Sumakeyan sun iki wong kuning
kaya den gĕgĕmbrot

dilĕlojeh wong sakene kabeh
ni Paniba alon anaauri
paran ta sireki
tĕka salang surup* boasting 'I have a fair skin'. Like you're
a dish of vegetables sprinkled with
coconut
to be ladled by everyone around."
Paniba answered in a soft voice:
"How come you
get me wrong?"
- 37 *Wong rĕmbugan tĕka nyĕrĕngĕni
iya yen mĕngkono
ngong buruhne mring tĕtangga bae

kalamun sira mĕksa amilih
aneng jro wismeki
iya ingsun turut* You explode while we are still discussing.
If it is like that,
I'd better take service with the
neighbours.
If you nevertheless choose
working inside the house,
okay, I comply."
- 38 *Sira Tĕmbĕm pamuwuse wĕngis
andadra si gamblok
datan kĕna burah-buruhake
gĕlĕm nora ya sira pribadi
ingkang angawaki
lah age den gupuh* Tĕmbĕm said angrily:
"This parasite is getting worse.
It is impossible to make her do anything.
Do you want to roll up your sleeves
yes or no?
Come on, quickly, hurry!"
- 39 *Angangsua banyu maring kali
ngisenana gĕntong
lan pakiwon den akĕbat kabeh
sun karyadus mĕngko ingkang warih

ha lah ta sira wis
mangkata ngindit jun* Go and get water at the river,
fill the pitcher
and do the loo, quickly, all of it.
I need the water in a moment to take a
bath.
Hah, time for you to work! Enough!
Get going with that water crock!"
- 40 *Ni Panibalon denyanauri
tĕka ambrĕgodog
wong tan pintĕr gung pinĕksa bae

lan durung wruh ngong pĕrnahing kali
bok Tĕmbĕm sru runtik
angagagi ĕjun* Paniba answered softly:
"Oh my! You ambrĕgodog.
I told you I can't, but you just keep
pressing me,
and I don't know yet where the river is!"
Tĕmbĕm became furious.
She threatened with the water crock:

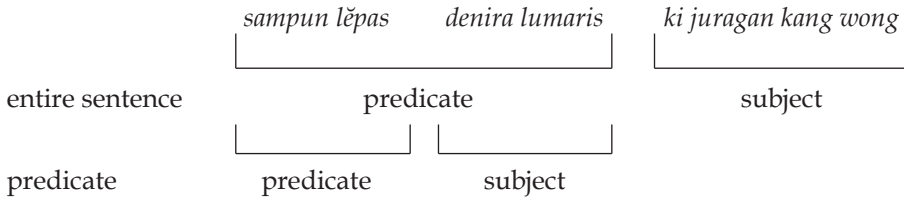
- 41 *Měngko ingsun kěpruk ing kělěnting
ěndasmu mēlor
dadak pijēr kakeyan cērewed
nya dikēbat nuli den tampani
june wus den inđit
aris lampahipun* “I’ll smash your swaggering head
with the jar,
'cause too much talking, it never stops!
There, get away!” Paniba caught
the water crock, put it upon her hip
and walked slowly away,
- 42 *Prodong-prodong sarwi muwus aris
Paniba sang sinom
kaniaya Těmběm sira kuwe
aměměksa wong nora abangkit
wau ta sang dewi
lampahira ngutu* whining, softly speaking,
young Paniba,
tormented: “Těmběm, you
are forcing someone who is not up to it.”
The lady
walked on without looking to right or
left.
- 43 *Tan saranta Těmběm amarani
Paniba đinođog
tur jinějěk ing sikil rongkong
dadak kakeyan uni si baring
yen lumaku rinđik
lir mēntas den gabrul* Impatient, Těmběm went after her.
She started punching Paniba,
kicked her bottom.
“‘Cause too much noise, the fool!
When she walks she does it slowly,
as if she realizes she’s just been cheated.
- 44 *Wong sadesa ing Gumulung iki
samyā anggěgojog
polahe kaya wong pantěs dewe

ni Paniba kajrungup ing siti

karengkangan tangi
kalěntinge rěmuk* Everybody in Gumulung
knocked her up
but she behaves as if she is prim and
proper.”
Paniba was toppled and fell on the
ground.
While she was struggling to her feet
the jar crashed.
- 45 *Sira Těmběm angulungi malih
ěnya iki lođong
ingkang nora bisa pěcah-pěceh
lođong pring pětung wus den tampani
wau ta sang dewi
aris lampahipun* Těmběm passed another jar:
“Here, a tube
that cannot break to pieces.”
The girl
caught the bamboo tube
and shuffled away.

COMMENTARY

20ab. Stanza 20 marks the border between two passages, about the parents preparing to leave the house and the quarreling girls respectively. The first sentence of the stanza runs from *sampun lěpas* to *kang wong*, covering the first two lines of stanza 20. It is a composite sentence, of the type also found in present-day Javanese: the predicate (*sampun lěpas denira lumaris*) is a complete sentence by itself, with a subject and a predicate. See the graph below:



The normal order within composite sentences is: first the subject, then the predicate, both at the level of the overall sentence and in the sub-sentence. For stylistic or metrical reasons the order may be reversed, as is the case in stanza 20. The present selection contains many examples of composite sentences.

20a. *Lěpas* ‘discharged’ can be said of arrows, but also of actions like *lumaris* ‘to go on one’s way’. Besides this *lěpas* I there is a different word *lěpas* II which means ‘to go far’, said of sound in present-day Javanese, in older Javanese also of a journey. Both meanings, of *lěpas* I and *lěpas* II, fit in the context. The effect on the narrative is different, however. In the first case the story continues without interruption, in the second case there is a lapse of time after the departure of the parents – not reflected in the story – before the narrator turns to the girls.

Denira in Classical Javanese, like *lehe/nggone* in Modern Javanese, nominalizes the verb: *denira lumaris* ‘their going away’.

wong ‘person, human being’ can also mean ‘adult’ as distinct from ‘child’. Here, the adults are leaving while the children – mentioned in line 20f – are staying at home.

20c. The word *gantya* (from *ganti* + *-a*) is in the irrealis. The irrealis is formed by adding *-a* to a word. Line c contains another irrealis: *kawuwusa*. The irrealis is used to express a possibility, a wish, or a future act or event. Line c literally says: “let change what should be said”. Note that the added *a* does not always stand for an irrealis; it may also serve to meet the requirements of the metre, by adding a syllable.

maleh in Classical Javanese is a regular variant of *malih*. It comes in as a handy alternative to meet the prosodic requirement of final *e* in this line.

20e. *pan* ‘for, as’ is a shortened form of *apan* common in poetry. Most often, it is a stopgap.

20f. *sang ayu* is a common expression in Classical Javanese for ‘girl’ or ‘girls’.

21a. There are two different words *sira*: the pronoun for the second person (‘you’) and the marker for the third person (in the series *si, ki, ni...*). Both happen to occur in this stanza. In the expression *sira Těmběm* it is the marker; in the phrase *sira pilih ěndi* of line d the pronoun is used. Both pronoun and marker are neutral from the social point of view. There is no English equivalent for the marker *sira*.

aris means ‘softly, friendly, composed’. It is the ideal way of speaking in polite conversation. *Alon* ‘slowly, softly’ in stanza 22 expresses another nuance of this ideal. So does *arum* ‘sweetly and pleasantly’ (basic meaning: ‘fragrant’), also in stanza 22.

21bc. Note Těmběm's use of the voiceless bilabial stop *p* while addressing her sister in the second and third line: *Paniba, payo, paḍa pēpandumān*. There is a sharp edge in her tone right from the beginning.

22. Paniba's innocent question has to do with her sheltered youth. Těmběm's patience is challenged by it. Contrary to Paniba, Těmběm has always been responsible for her share in the household. She takes Paniba's question for a trick to avoid hard work.

23a. *Cupana sēṅḍu denya nauri* is a composite sentence. *Denyā* like *denira* nominalizes verbs: 'her answering'.

Cupana is another name for Těmběm. The names *Cupana*, Těmběm, and *Paniba* all have a meaning. *Cupana* is a verbal form. The verb *ngěcupi* means 'to claim something'; *cup!* means 'mine!', as in a game. The imperative *cupana* 'claim!' expresses the hope of Těmběm's parents that even for her – not the fairest girl in town – someday a lover will show up. Těmběm is rendered by the dictionaries as a certain type of (male) clown. Jansz specifies the mask used by that clown: "mask with a very flat nose and very plump cheeks", a specification which corresponds with the description of Těmběm's appearance elsewhere in the text. Pigeaud (1938) Illustrations 14 and 94 show examples of the mask. *Paniba* ('what makes someone fall') describes what happens to men when they see *Paniba*, because she is so beautiful.

24c. *bubuwan* is a variant spelling of *bubuhan*.

26a. The manuscript has *olah-elāh* but this does not exist. Read *olah-olah* (*e* and *o* are easily confused in Javanese script).

pagaweaneki from *pagaweanā iki*: irrealis ('the work that should go with this').

27c. *sigra* Těmběm *aloning wuwuse*: a composite sentence. Note that *sigra* in Classical Javanese can also mean 'thereupon, then', without the connotation of instantaneousness the modern word has.

27f. *pagaweanamu*: if *a* is added to a word this may indicate the irrealis; it may also serve to meet the requirements of the metre (see stanza 20). The latter seems to be the case here.

28c. The initial *a* of *ajaba* is added to fill up the number of syllables.

28d. *lah-olah* is *olah-olah*, shortened for the sake of metre.

28e. *ing* marks *ati* as the object of the action.

28f. *sadoyananingsun*: to be split as *sadoyana* + *ningsun* 'exactly how I like it' or *sadoyanan* + *ingsun* 'all my favourite dishes'. The decision is up to the reader, because there is no separation between the words in Javanese script. The first interpretation seems to fit the context best, in view of stanza 29.

29e. 'wherever I can': this translation to account for the *-i* of *gablogi* and *grauti*, expressing intensity or plurality ('severely, all over the place').

31ab. The sub-clause *kalamun sireki pandumu mēṅkono* is a composite sentence.

31a. *kalamun* can also be the conjunctive 'that'; hence *priye kalamun*: 'how is it that'.

32c. The text has *těmběm* but the meaning of this word as given above in 23a does not fit, nor does Jansz's dictionary help us out this time. Should we think of *tamběm* 'indifferent': "if it does not make a difference for you"? If *tamběm*

was what the scribe of manuscript Leiden Or 2029 read in his example, the pun may have induced the mistake. This psychological type of scribal error is common in manuscript traditions; Dain (1975: 44) contains examples from Greek and Latin literature.

33f. *saběň pěňdak esuk* literally: 'each in a morning's time, each time there is a new morning'.

34c. *siniyan*: variant spelling of *sinihan*.

34e. *prayayi*: variant spelling of *priyayi*.

35c. *das* = *ěňdas*.

35d. *kumini* = *kěmini*.

35e. *kumadi-kadi* is not in the dictionaries. In view of the pattern (a reduplicated verbal derivation with *-um-* on the basis of *kadi* 'like, as, as if') I took it to mean 'to pretend' or 'to keep up appearances'. The form *kumayu-kayu* 'to boast of one's beauty' in the next line is constructed in the same fashion. Els Bogaerts pointed out to me a similar *kumadi-kadi* in the *Menak Biraji*, in the last lines of Canto 13.23:

*Raden Pirngadi mojar
kumadi-kadi sireki
ingsun sanggup anguwisi yudanira*

Raden Pirngadi characterizes the words of his opponent (who in view of his age had advised him to call his dad) as bragging: *kumadi-kadi* (see Yasadipura 1934: 64).

36a. Těmběm's "citation" is seasoned by its double meaning: the expression *wong kuning* according to Gericke-Roorda is used for addressing one's adored one.

36b. *gěmbrot* according to Robson and Wibisono is "a dish made with shredded coconut with boiled vegetables". In view of the context the verbal derivation *den gěgěmbrot* must mean 'to prepare' or 'to serve' such a dish but this derivation is not given by the dictionaries. Gericke-Roorda qualifies *gěmbrot* as a dish of the poor, which would make Těmběm's allusion all the sharper. Or does it derive from a different *gěmbrot*, 'bulky, ponderous (physique)', as a mean allusion to getting pregnant?

36c. *nglojeh* means 'to stab, to pierce'; *lojehan* is rendered as 'whore' by Gericke-Roorda.

sakene from *sa-* + *kene*: 'all those here'.

38a. Composite sentence.

38b. The meaning 'parasite' of *gamblok* is not given by the dictionaries. I base my interpretation on the meaning 'to cling to' given by Robson and Wibisono and the commentary in Gericke-Roorda: "for example of a child which constantly wants to be carried or to suck [...], etc.; (fig.) to keep insisting and urging (to sell so. st.)". A translation closer to Těmběm's idiom might be 'bullshitter'.

38c. The indication of the passive in *burah-buruhake* is left out for metrical reasons.

40a. Composite sentence. *Panibalon*: from *Paniba alon*.

40b. There are two words *ambrėgodog*, one meaning ‘covered with rash (of skin)’, the other ‘to massage the whole body’. Neither fits the context, unless a word of abuse is meant, but that would be very unlike Paniba. In view of the next line one would expect something like ‘impatient’ or ‘inconsiderate’. Yosephin Apriastuti Rahayu, in a personal communication, refers to modern *nggodog* ‘to keep urging, to force (with undiminished enthusiasm)’; see Gericke-Roorda *nggodogi* ‘tugging, heaving (at a rope)’. Edwin Wieringa, referring to the first meaning and to *mbrėgidig* ‘to shiver, get goosebumps from’ (see the dictionary of Van Albada and Pigeaud 2014), proposes “Your’re giving me the creeps!” (personal communication).

40c. There are two words *gung*: ‘very’ and ‘continuously’, which are both possible. The first one connects with what precedes, the second one with what follows (*tan pinter gung* ‘not able at all’ or *gung pineksa bae* ‘you just keep pressing’).

41c. *kakeyan*: alternative spelling for *kakehan*. So *cėrewed* for *cėrewet*.

41d. *dikėbat*: passive voice in the sense of an imperative.

43e. *lumaku* = *mlaku*.

43f. *den gabrul* ‘acquired without due payment’: explanation in the next line.

44b. *samya* = *sami*.

TRADITIONAL WORDS OR MEANINGS SUPPLIED BY GERICKE-ROORDA (1901)

ajėg

majėg ‘to have a standard order for meals’.

alim

ngalimi ‘to forgive’.

ayu

sang ayu ‘the girl’.

kumayu ‘conceited, to give o.s. airs’.

bėrgėdud ‘persisting in one’s error, deaf to advice, thick-skinned’.

ambėrgėdud ‘to persist in one’s error, be deaf to advice, have a thick skin’.

bok polite entitlement of lower-class women.

buruh ‘labourer’.

ambėburuh ‘to work or look for work as a labourer’.

amburuhake ‘to have work done by a labourer’.

de word for nominalizing verbs.

dewi

sang dewi entitlement of ladies of high rank.

dum

pandum ‘division’.

pėpanduman ‘to divide among each other’.

ganti ‘to change, be changed’.

gėwok ‘to claw, to scratch, to grub with one’s fingers’.

gojog

anggojog ‘to rinse; to pump; to bonk’.

gung ‘continuously; very’.

ing I ‘at, on, in, by, with’.

ing jro ‘inside’.

marang ing ‘to, to go to’.

ing II indicator of object and personal names.

-ing III (*-ning* after a vowel) poss. suffix of 3d person.

-ira (*-nira* after a vowel) ‘his, her, their’.

jėjėk ‘a kick’.

anjėjėk ‘to kick’.

jėro, jro

ing jro ‘inside’.

sajėroning ‘inside’.

kadi ‘like, as; as if’.

kumadi-kadi not in the dictionaries (but see the commentary to line 35e).

kalamun ‘suppose; that’ (conjunctive).

kėbat

ngėbat ‘to snatch away’.

kupang the tens digit.

kuwe ‘that’.

laku

nglakoni ‘to carry out’.

locok

dilocok term of abuse.

lojeh

lojehan ‘whore’.

marang ‘to, to go to’.

marang ing ‘to, to go to’.

mring 'to, to go to; by'.

-mu 'your'.

-ning see *-ing* III.

-nira see *-ira*.

-nya II pers. suffix of the 3rd person.

paran 'which? how? why?'

pělopor 'being smashed, to pieces (head, so that the brains flow out); drivel, bragging'.

mělopor 'to be thus smashed or to pieces' (head); to swagger, blather'.

raga

raganingong 'I, me'.

rětna honorific person marker before female names.

rongkong 'bottom'.

sang

sang ayu 'the girl'.

sang dewi entitlement of ladies of high rank.

sěřěng

sěřěngěñ 'angry'.

nyěřěngěni 'to be angry with'.

sigra 'thereupon, then'.

sih

ngasihi 'to favour'.

sinom

sang sinom poetic appellation of a woman or girl of high birth.

sira neutral marker applied to persons or things.

tamběm 'deaf (of so. pretending not to hear), indifferent to, unbidable'.

tilar

anilar 'to leave (behind)'.

tuju

panuju 'by chance'.

wak

wak mami 'I, me'.

wěngis 'angry'.

wong 'adult'.

wuwus

panuwus 'speaking'.

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