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Concerning the reliability of Tomé Pires data on Java

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Eén antwoord op die vraag vermeldt hij zelf en wel op p. 40, daar waar de keuze van Yogya als stad voor het eerste congres gemotiveerd wordt met de reden dat het naar een citaat uit een artikel van Petrus Blumberger geacht werd de plaats te zijn "where the heart of Java beats". Een tweede antwoord in poëtische vorm maar dan meer gebaseerd op de realia hierboven genoemd, kan echter luiden dat "Boedi Oetomo" zich in Yogyakarta beschermd kon achten door de gouden parasols van de Vorsten tegen directe zonnesteken, die het Nederlands-Indisch Gouvernement haar in de Gouvernementslanden zou kunnen hebben toebrengen omdat dáár geen Gouvernementsregentenpayungs haar voor die steken zouden hebben kunnen behoeden.

Mijn zo vriendelijke en bescheiden Japanse collega vatte deze korte "bijdrage" op als een aanvulling op zijn belangwekkend boek. Het is aansluitend bij het beeld in de titel van zijn aan historiana zo overvloedige werk tenslotte belangrijker te weten hoe de schemering van het Indonesisch nationalisme in haar werk is gegaan dan te beseffen uit welk Landschap en zijn (politieke) cultuur zij precies omhoog gerezen is.

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#### CONCERNING THE RELIABILITY OF TOMÉ PIRES' DATA ON JAVA

Since the appearance of Armando Cortesão's edition and English translation of Tomé Pires' *Suma Oriental*, the description of Asia written in 1512-1515, of which the sole surviving complete manuscript copy remained undiscovered until shortly before World War II (1937), the historian specializing on the beginning of the 16th century has had at his disposal a source the extraordinary value of which at present hardly needs further clarification. Particularly as far as the Indonesian Archipelago is concerned, this work has exceeded all expectations of those scholars who, like Rouffaer, were previously familiar only with Ramusio's incomplete, and not always accurate, Italian translation (Rouffaer 1899: 145-147), which lacked precisely the part dealing with the Indonesian Archipelago. So, for instance, Rouffaer's assumption that the original manuscript, which he in his time was still obliged to think "irretrievably lost", was written in ca. 1545, was based on a passage of Ramusio's translation which, as it has turned out, does not correspond to the Portuguese text (Cortesão 1944: 35).

Mrs. Meilink-Roelofs' book *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630* (The Hague 1962) is one obvious example of the wealth of new information which the *Suma Oriental* can provide.

Another such example is the book by H. J. de Graaf and Th. G. Th.

Pigeaud entitled *De eerste Moslimse vorstendommen op Java* (The First Islamic States of Java), which appeared in 1974. Both in the authors' general observations and in their treatment of the history of the individual princedoms in the 16th century, Tomé Pires' book rightly occupies first place among the sources for the history of Java of that period. In their Introduction they mention this work and the indisputably contemporary information which it contains as the first of seven "primary sources" which were of importance for their researches (p. 14). In the following chapters, moreover, it is very often these data of Pires' which provide the historical basis for their exposition, against which subsequently the information from the Javanese legendary tradition is checked, sometimes with remarkable success.

There are two respects in which the authors consider Pires' information of limited value, however. In the first place, he shows little or no interest in the spiritual aspects of the culture, in particular the religion, Islam. For these subjects they hence refer to the Javanese saints' legends, their sixth "primary source" (p. 17), although they consider these selfsame pious legends of little value for historiography (p. 28), on the other hand, and draw important data regarding the origin of the Muslim princedoms in the ports on Java's north coast precisely from Pires (p. 27).

In the second place, they are of the opinion that some of Pires' renderings of geographical and personal names are difficult to explain as a result of his unfamiliarity with Indonesian languages (p. 14). On this point, I feel, they definitely underestimate Pires, and it would be regrettable if a slur were to be cast on Pires' reputation on this technical, but by no means unimportant point. For, taking into account his lack of familiarity with languages like Javanese and Sundanese, which made it impossible for him to use texts written in these languages — if he ever cast eyes on such texts — independently, it is certainly remarkable that this Portuguese should have so accurately recorded many of the names and titles that were brought to his attention, presumably from only hearing them spoken, and obviously in his own spelling.

Let me give a few examples to illustrate this. According to Pires, the contemporaneous Muslim ruler of Surabaya had received from the chancellor of Majapahit an honorific title rendered by him as "Jurupā Galacam Jmteram" (pp. 196/434). This De Graaf/Pigeaud interpret hypothetically as "Surapati Ngalaga ing Těrung" (p. 158), referring to the 17th century "adventurer" Surapati, and even to the title of Sėnapati Ngalaga of the first Muslim ruler of Mataram (p. 290). If one adheres to Pires' own spelling, however, only providing the "c" with a cedilla, it is quite obvious that we have in the first part of this honorific the well-known Javanese title "juru pangalasan", which Pigeaud in his edition of the *Nawanatya* (1960-1963 III: 121, 125) translates with "master of the guardsmen", which is not far removed from Pires' own translation as "the excellent captain". So, instead of the corruption of which the authors accuse Pires, we have here an interesting piece of data on the use of this Old Javanese title even as late as the 16th

century. A more felicitous idea of theirs, on the other hand, is that of interpreting the second part of this honorific as "ing Těrung", i.e., "in or from (the place) Těrung", and thus establishing a connection with the *pěcat tanđa* of Těrung mentioned for this period in the Javanese tradition as playing a prominent part in the fight of the Muslims against Majapahit, even though it is impossible to relate the latter's name, Arya Sėna, to the honorific mentioned by Pires, as the authors try to do (via Sėnapati). Hence it still remains questionable whether these personages mentioned by Pires and the Javanese tradition are, in fact, mutually identifiable.

Another striking example is furnished by the name of the small realm of "Canjtam", which according to Pires' indications must have been located somewhere in the vicinity of present-day Pasuruhan, East Java, though the name is not identifiable with any place name in that area still known at present. The authors conjecture that Gėđing, a place already mentioned in the *Nāgarakrtāgama*, must be meant (p. 186), evidently without realizing that they themselves have brought together the necessary material for the correct identification in the passage (p. 183) where they mention an *adipati* of Kanitėn, who was a vassal of the ruler of Pasuruhan! Hence here again there is no question of a corruption, but rather of an accurate rendering in Portuguese spelling (for the final syllable cf. the Portuguese name Bantam for Bantėn) of a topographical name which existed in Pires' time but went out of use later on.

Some of the toponyms mentioned by Pires are not always spelt consistently in his book, which, after all, has come down to us in only a single secondary manuscript. In these cases one will obviously have to choose the most likely variant, which sometimes poses no difficulties. So he calls the capital of what was still a "heathen" state in the interior of Java, the last remains of the ancient kingdom of Majapahit, first Dayo (pp. 175/417), then Daya (pp. 190/430), and finally Daha (pp. 191/430), while of course not Dayo but Daha, the well-known alternative name for Kėđiri, is the only correct form, which would definitely not have occurred in Pires' book just this once if he had not heard it pronounced like this. For this reason alone the speculations about an etymological connection with the Sundanese word *dayeuh*, "town", which does underlie the name Dayo listed by Pires for the capital of the kingdom of Sunda, are out of place (pp. 52, 253).

Likewise the name "Chamdy" (pp. 166/412), "Chamda" or "Chande" (pp. 198/436) mentioned by Pires with reference to a small East Javanese principedom is not identifiable with Sađėng, as De Graaf/Pigeaud suggest (p. 188), but should be respelt, in accordance with Portuguese pronunciation, as "Tjandi", i.e., the Javanese word for "temple", which frequently also occurs as a village name in Java, though not (or no longer), as far as we know, in the easternmost part of Java.

Pires provides an interesting piece of information relating to West Java where he mentions (pp. 167/413) that the viceroy of the kingdom of Sunda bore the title "Cocunam", which, when respelt, produces the well-known title Susunan, i.e., Susuhunan. This furnishes proof, there-

fore, that this title was in use much earlier in West Java than, as far as we know, in the Javanese-speaking part of the island, and that it was not used first as a religious title here, as it seems to have been in the latter area. This piece of data of Pires' is confirmed by Old Sundanese literature, insofar as it contains more than once the expression *susuhunan kadatuan* for "master (or mistress) of the kraton".

Pires was certainly aware that the language of the Sunda region was different from that of the remaining part of Java. For example, he mentions that the title of the "lords captains of cities and places and ports" is *pate* (i.e., *pati*) in Java, but *paybou* or *paibou* in the language of Sunda, "because the language of Sunda is not that of Java" (pp. 167-168/413). This also is an important piece of information, if it can be assumed that this title is a Sundanese form of the Sanskrit word *prabhu*, "lord, ruler", which in Old Javanese was used as a title only for the supreme ruler of the Javanese kingdom, whereas in Sundanese, according to this information of Pires', it was the title of the local rulers at the district level. This is unexpectedly confirmed by one of the Old Sundanese Kawali stone inscriptions, which, though they do not bear a date, probably date from the 15th century. In it the title *parëbu* is used for a king called Wastu, who reigned in the *kuta*, that is, the town, of Kawali, a small district in the eastern part of West Java. Pires' information implies that Wastu was no more than a local ruler. Hence his seemingly exalted title of *prabhu* should not be taken to indicate that he in any way was the supreme ruler of the Sundanese kingdom. A similar confirmation is to be found in the much later copper-plate inscription of Cipamingkis, written in Javanese and probably dating from the 17th century, in which a certain Wargajaya is appointed head, or *paboné* (i.e., *pabo* or *pabon* with the Javanese article *-né* or *-é*), of the small place of Dayeuh Luhur (Cipamingkis) (cf. Pleyte 1916). If these three words *parëbu*, *paibu* and *pabo* are indeed mutually connected, they appear to show a progressive loss of the original *r*, which is a linguistically interesting development not uncommon in Sundanese.

The above will demonstrate, it is hoped, that among the many useful data on Java supplied by Tomé Pires, his details on toponyms and titles are certainly not to be neglected either.

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### *Rectification*

CHAIRIL ANWAR AS TRANSLATOR (BKI 132, pp. 355-357)

My attention has been drawn to the fact that Prof. G. J. Resink identified the original of 'Djenak Berbenan' as far back as 1958, in his article 'Chairil Anwar dan Rainer Maria Rilke' (*Siasat* XII, no. 590, 1 oktober 1958, p. 27). In the second edition of his book *Chairil Anwar: Pelopor Angkatan 45* (Djakarta, 1959), Jassin used Resink's findings, and reproduced Rilke's original poem. Of all this I was unaware. I offer my sincere apologies to Messrs. Resink and Jassin. However, as Prof. Resink pointed out at the end of his article that comparison of the German original and its Indonesian translation could provide insight into Chairil Anwar, the translator, I want to make amends by dedicating, as a modest token of my esteem, the relevant part of my 'Korte Mededeling' to the original discoverer.

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