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Introduction

Tembang Sunda is an embellished kind of singing, accompanied by a few instruments, in West Java. It is usually solo singing, in which soloists may alternate, each singing one or two stanzas. The accompaniment is provided by a large zither (*kacapi indung*), a flute (*suling*), a small zither (*kacapi rincik*), and a two-stringed spiked fiddle (*rebab*). Sometimes other instruments are used for the accompaniment. Tembang Sunda, 'Sundanese *tembang*', is therefore not the same as the purely vocal form, called *tembang* or *tembang macapat* by the Javanese and *beluk* or *macapat* by the Sundanese. 'Tembang Sunda' is now more generally used than the term 'Cianjuran' (after the regency of Cianjur) which used to indicate this type of embellished singing. In 1962 it was decided at a meeting on the subject to promote the name 'Tembang Sunda' (Wiratmadja 1964:107). This name has the advantage of avoiding misunderstanding about the restriction of this kind of embellished singing to one particular Sundanese area: the Cianjuran style of singing nowadays is common in all the different areas of West Java. On the other hand, the new term is likely to create confusion, as some people tend to refer to many other types of Sundanese vocal music as 'Tembang Sunda'. Further, there is the difference with the Javanese word *tembang*, which denotes purely vocal music of which the lyrics are written in specific metres. In Tembang Sunda these Javanese metres are used, but there are also many songs that do not use them.

In the present article Tembang Sunda poems will be analysed in order to gain a fuller understanding of Sundanese culture. Tembang Sunda will be related to patterns of thought and the structure of society. The content as well as the form of the poems will be discussed. Some poems are reproduced with a translation in the Appendix.

The songs of Tembang Sunda are divided into the subcategories Papantunan, Jejemplangan, Rarancangan and Panambih. These subcategories may be mutually distinguished according to musical features and

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the form and content of the poems. The Papantunan songs are considered as the first in the Tembang Sunda repertoire and seem to have been created for the greater part in the first half of the 19th century. Later on the Jejemplangan, Rarancagan and Panambih were added to the repertoire, in that order. Over the past 50 years the number of Rarancagan and Panambih songs has greatly increased. In style and content the Papantunan songs are related to the long epic *pantun* stories. Hence the *pantun* stories will be discussed first to shed light on the roots of Tembang Sunda.

Nowadays singers of Tembang Sunda build up their own handwritten collections of texts. They carry these booklets with lyrics with them when going to give performances. The oral tradition, in which texts were learned by heart, is slowly changing into a tradition whereby musicians use written lyrics or notes when performing. Over the past thirty years some books with lyrics for Tembang Sunda have been printed, sometimes with the musical notation of the singing part, without the ornaments, in ciphers (see, e.g., Barmara & Ida Achman 1957; Djaja 1969; Natakusumah 1973(?); Achman 1976; Endang 1979; Somawidjaja & Hidayat Suryalaga 1982).

Roots of Tembang Sunda: From Carita Pantun to Papantunan Songs

Tembang Sunda most likely developed from the art of reciting long epic stories (*carita pantun*). These *pantun* stories contain myths and legends of the Sundanese people, such as the story about the origin of rice (the story of Sulanjana) and the initiation of the ancestors (the story of Mundinglaya di Kusumah). *Pantun* stories are told at feasts such as circumcisions, weddings or harvest celebrations. They are also narrated on occasions of the purification of some person, or a house or other objects (see also Eringa 1949:14-19; Pleyte 1910:XX-XXII). The story will then be recited from about eight o'clock in the evening until five o'clock in the morning. An offering is placed in front of the singer, and at the beginning of the evening incense is burnt. The singer accompanies himself on a *kacapi* or on a two-stringed fiddle, called *tarawangsa* (see, e.g., Pleyte 1907:25-33; Falk 1978:46-47). The strings of both these instruments are fixed in rather a unique way, which makes them typically Sundanese instruments. The monotonous chanting sometimes alternates with more elaborate kinds of song in between the long recitatives. It is not clear whether *pantun* stories have always been recited in this way. It is, however, clear that such stories existed already at the beginning of the 16th century, as they are mentioned in the Sanghyang Siksakanda ng Karesian (Atja and Danasasmita 1981b:14, 40), which was originally written in 1518. That the *pantun* stories may certainly be several centuries old is also indicated by the fact that the language of at least one of them – the Lutung Kasarung story – contains many words,

word meanings, and expressions that do not occur in modern Sundanese. Furthermore, the number of words taken from Arabic or Dutch is relatively small, according to Eringa (Eringa 1949:2).

It is not certain how long the *kacapi* has been used to accompany the recitation of *pantun* stories. In the Sundanese dictionary published by the Lembaga Basa & Sastra Sunda (1976) the primary meaning of the word *pantun* is given as *kacapi*. This may be an indication that the relation between the *kacapi* and the recitation of *pantun* stories is an old one. Eringa (1949:3) points to the proverb *kawas pantun teu jeung kacapi*, 'like a *pantun*(-singer) without a *kacapi*', used of someone who likes to give other people advice but who does not himself practise what he preaches. This proverb, according to Eringa, indicates that the *kacapi* is the standard instrument for accompanying a *pantun* recitation. The Baduy people of West Java still use exclusively *kacapi* to accompany their *pantun* stories.

From a musical point of view the Papantunan songs in Tembang Sunda correspond to these *pantun* stories: they resemble recitatives, are non-metrical, and the (main) instrument used to accompany them is the *kacapi*. This mode of singing is also employed for the Jejemplanan and Rarancagan songs. Only of the much later Panambih songs (literally: added songs) is the singing metrical and is the *kacapi rincik* used additionally for the accompaniment. Moreover, the content of many Papantunan songs, such as the well known songs Mupu Kembang (Picking Flowers), Pangapungan (Journey Through the Air) and Nataaun Gunung (Enumerating the Mountains), is taken from the *pantun* story Mundinglaya di Kusumah. The Papantunan songs, i.e. the songs taken from the *pantun* stories, are considered as forming the earliest repertoire of what is now referred to as Tembang Sunda. This tallies with the story that around 1840 the regent of Cianjur, Dalem Pancaniti, ordered four of his poets to make up songs based on episodes in the *pantun* stories which might be sung outside the context of such a *pantun* story to the accompaniment of a *kacapi* (oral communication by Pa Muchtarman, Cianjur, September 1982; a similar story is told by R. A. Darja in Wiratmadja 1964:98-99).

To give an example of the relation between a particular Papantunan song and a specific episode in a *pantun* story, different versions of the song Mupu Kembang will be discussed below (see Appendix, no. 3). The first version was transcribed from a recording by the present author of the *pantun* story Mundinglaya di Kusumah as recited by Pa Enjum. The song is about Déwi Asri picking flowers in a garden. There are three lines that seem to bear no relation to the theme of picking flowers, i.e. the lines mentioning three parts of the weaving-loom: *limuhan*, *baréra* and *galégér* (for an illustration of these parts see Pleyte 1912:58). To Pa Enjum, however, these three lines seemed to be very important. I had asked him to sing this section twice on an earlier occasion. Each time the

words designating the parts of the weaving-loom were exactly the same, whereas the words used to tell of the flower-picking were slightly different. Déwi Asri is apparently associated with weaving by Enjum, and in this respect she may be equated with Purbasari in the *pantun* story Lutung Kasarung and Déwi Sri in the *pantun* story Sulanjana (see also Pleyte 1912:5-12; Hidding 1929:38-46). Among other things, Purbasari learns to weave from her heavenly mother so that she may pass this art on to other people.

The text reproduced under 3b below is also used in Tembang Sunda. It only stresses that Déwi Asri excels everybody at everything. The first two lines of the second stanza of this text are also found in Enjum (1974:80), representing a transcription of an earlier recording of the *pantun* story of Mundinglaya di Kusumah. Parts of the Tembang Sunda text reproduced under 3c are also to be found in three transcriptions of the *pantun* story Mundinglaya di Kusumah (see Enjum 1974:60, 63; Tamadipura 1970:81-82; and Pleyte 1907:130-131). The second and third stanzas describe the arrival of large numbers of people at the place where Suntenjaya is planning to marry Déwi Asri.

The flower-picking (*mupu kembang*) is symbolic of (the preparations before) marriage. The Old Javanese poem Arjunawijaya tells how the queen, who is picking flowers in the garden, is “like the goddess of the blossoming flowers in the garden coming down to the king” (Supomo 1977:215, 233-235). Before marriage, a girl should have learned how to spin, weave, work in the (rice) fields, and prepare food (rice). These three texts show that the content of the Tembang Sunda song Mupu Kembang is related to the episode of the marriage of Déwi Asri from the *pantun* story Mundinglaya di Kusumah.

Tembang Sunda is a continuation of the tradition in which the arts were very closely related to religion. Below we shall demonstrate that mysticism and ritual are still important in Tembang Sunda. Tembang Sunda seems sometimes to be used, like the *pantun* stories, for purifications (*ngaruat*). One respondent recalled that he had twice performed for someone who was possessed by a spirit (*kasurupan*). On these occasions the song Kidung, having magical powers (see also Robson 1983:294), was played. The patient was cured, and a mat in his room was discovered to be torn to shreds, ‘as though by the claws of a tiger’.

Formal Aspects of Tembang Sunda Poems

In Tembang Sunda songs the sung texts usually contain no repetitions, apart from now and then one or two words or a whole line. There are frequently used stopgaps, such as the words *geuning*, *anggeus* (i.e. really, surely, yes), *Radén*, *Juragan*, or *Dunungan* (titles for noblemen, also used by a man to address his wife and by a woman to address her husband), and *panutan* (i.e. guide, also used to address a husband or wife).

Usually the title of a song contains information about the melody to be played, and not about the text to be sung. Certain texts are definitely connected with a particular piece of music, but quite often singers will have made up their own words for this melody or borrowed a text from elsewhere, while the title of the song is not changed. However, especially in the case of the metrical Panambih songs, the song title may also contain the words of a newly composed text, although the music is taken from an existing song.

As the Tembang Sunda tradition is still very much an oral tradition, the names of the composers of the music and of the lyrics of most songs are unknown. Moreover, songs are often incorrectly attributed to a particular poet or composer. For instance, the well-known poem *Laut Kidul* (Southern Ocean), consisting of 23 stanzas, which appeared in the *Volksalmanak Soenda* of 1921, pp. 240-246, has long been attributed to Kalipah Apo (alias R. Haji Muhamad Suéb), whose name appears under the poem, viz. *kintunan juragan Kalipah Apo, Bandung*, i.e., 'sent by Mr. Kalipah Apo, Bandung'. Nowadays it is believed that Kalipah Apo indeed sent the script to the editor, but that the poem was written by R. Écé Majid from Cianjur (see Wiratmadja 1964:63-65; Rosidi 1966:17, footnote). There have been recent attempts to trace the names of various composers and poets. See, for example, the extensive list compiled with the assistance of Ali Djajakusumah in Suryalaga (Suryalaga 1979: 20-24).

Classical form; purwakanti

Classical Sundanese verse occurring in *pantun* stories possesses the following formal characteristics (Eringa 1949:102-120):

1. each line usually consists of 8 syllables;
2. there are many stylistic repetitive patterns, such as the repetition of vowels (assonance) and of first consonants (alliteration), and the use of the same sounds at the end of two or more words occurring close together (homoeoteleuton). The Sundanese (and Javanese) term for all these repetitive patterns together is *purwakanti*;
3. there is parallelism between lines.

These characteristics are also found in the texts of the two Papantunan songs *Téjamantri* and *Papatet* (*Papatat*) in Tembang Sunda (Appendix, nos. 1 and 2). Each line consists of 8 syllables, with the exception of the first line of the second stanza of *Téjamantri*. The first stanza of *Papatet* displays all the other stylistic characteristics of classical verse. Assonance is found in, for example:

line 1 (u and a): Gunung Galunggung kapungkur
 line 3 (a): Talaga Sukawayana
 line 5 (u): Ulah pundung ku disungkun
 line 7 (a): Tarima raga wayahna.

The 4th line contains an example of chiasitic assonance, i.e., the

repetition of vowel patterns in reverse order: *Rangkecik di tengah*, i.e. a-e-i and i-e-a. There is not much alliteration in this poem, although there is alliteration of the consonant *g* in the first line. An example of homoeoteleuton is found in line 2: *Sumedang katunjang*. An example of the third stylistic feature, parallelism, can be seen between lines 1 and 2: *Gunung . . . kapungkur* and *Gunung . . . katunjang*. Parallelism also occurs between lines 5 and 6: *Ulah . . .* and *Ulah . . .*. These *purwakanti* stylistic patterns occur very often in classical Sundanese verse. The repetitive features are so important here that sometimes a generally used word is replaced by an unusual synonym because the latter fits in better with the sound structure. As an example of this, Eringa (1949:117-118) quotes the well-known line from the *pantun* stories, "*Neda agung na paralun*", where *agung* is more assonant with *paralun* than the more usual word *ageng*. This Papatet text (Appendix, no. 2) also occurs, with minor variations, in Wiratmadja (1964:14), Endang (1979:38) and Kunst (1973:404-405) – the latter with a translation. In the publications of Wiratmadja and Endang the 6th line of the first stanza does not read "*Ulah melang teu ditéang*", but "*Sumoréang teu ditéang*". This strengthens the *purwakanti* character by adding a homoeoteleuton by changing a *pepet* into *é*. At the same time, however, the parallelism in the word *Ulah* between lines 5 and 6 disappears. In line 9 of the song Bébér Layar (Appendix, no. 10), the word *kamudi* (steer) may have been used instead of *juru mudi* (sailors), because it fits in better with the structure of the octosyllabic line.

Rarancangan poems and the pupuh metres

A considerable number of songs have words written in one of the *pupuh* (kinds of metre) which have been adopted from the Javanese (see, e.g., Hidding 1935:127; Salmun 1963:46; Rosidi 1966:10). Verses (*guguritan*) written in one of the *pupuh* patterns are referred to by the onomatopoeic name *dangding*. According to Javanese versification theory, each *pupuh* metre (designated in Javanese *macapat* metres) expresses a specific feeling. In the *Kidung Sunda* (Berg 1927), for example, the battle between the Sundanese and Javanese is related in the *Durma* metre, which is generally used to describe war scenes. The Sundanese use mainly the *pupuh* forms *Kinanti*, *Sinom*, *Asmarandana* and *Dangdanggula* for *Tembang Sunda*. The different metres are mutually distinguished, for the Sundanese and the Javanese, in the first place by:

1. the number of lines per stanza and the number of syllables to a line (*guru wilangan*),
2. the vowels of the final syllables of the lines (*guru lagu*).

The structures of the different metres can be indicated by noting down the number of syllables per line and the last vowel of each line of a stanza. Thus the respective structures of *Kinanti*, *Sinom*, *Asmarandana* and *Dangdanggula* are:

Kinanti	8u	8i	8a	8i	8a	8i			
Sinom	8a	8i	8a	8i	7i	8u	7a	8i	12a
Asmarandana	8i	8a	8é/o	8a	7a	8u	8a		
Dangdanggula	10i	10a	8é/o	7u	9i	7a	6u	8a	12i 7a

It is important to note that none of these *pupuh* metres include the Sundanese vowel *eu* at the end of the line, as Javanese does not have this vowel. Properly speaking, the syllables in each line are divided again into groups, in such a way that the words in that line cannot be broken off between these groups (Salmun 1963:50-54). This subdivision of a line is called *pedotan* by the Sundanese and Javanese alike. In the Javanese theory with regard to *pupuh* metres there is also a rule about the grouping of the lines within a stanza. This grouping of lines seems to be connected mainly with the melodic phrases within the stanza. A good poet will adjust the syntactic divisions of the stanza to this phrasing. For the most important metres in Tembang Sunda the groupings of the consecutive lines are (see Ras 1982:316):

Kinanti:	1+2 / 3+4 / 5+6
Sinom:	1+2 / 3+4 / 5+6 / 7+8 / 9
Asmarandana:	1+2+3 / 4+5+6+7
Dangdanggula:	1+2+3 / 4+5 / 6+7 / 8 / 9+10, or 8+9+10

The Sundanese authors Salmun (1963), Wiratmadja (1964) and Rosidi (1966) do not mention this rule governing the grouping of lines within the stanza. Satjadibrata (1953:48) mentions the rule exclusively for the Dangdanggula metre and suggests that it is meant only to create pauses for drawing breath. Apparently this rule is not actually applied by the Sundanese.

It is supposed that these Javanese verse metres, first found in Middle Javanese *kidung* literature, entered the Sundanese area around 1650 and were mainly used then by noblemen and Islamic teachers (see Rosidi 1966:12; Pigeaud 1967:225). In the 19th century *pantun* stories and historical stories (*babad*) were re-cast in *pupuh* metres. These long stories, written in Javanese metres rather than the classical Sundanese *pantun* form, were called *wawacan*. It is not certain when poems written in these *pupuh* metres were first used in Tembang Sunda. This was probably only at the end of the 19th century, as the poems of Papantunan and Jejemplangan songs, which are considered to be older, almost certainly did not use these metres originally. Tembang Sunda songs that use the *pupuh* metres exclusively are called Rarancagan. An important proportion of the Rarancagan is formed by the Dedegungan, i.e., Tembang Sunda songs possessing a melody taken from the Gamelan Degung repertoire and a text in one of the *pupuh* metres. In these Dedegungan songs, the title usually indicates which metre has been used: Sinom Degung, Asmarandana Degung, etc.

It is regretted by some Sundanese that Javanese *pupuh* metres have often been applied without any creativity and without proper under-

standing (see, e.g., Atmadinata 1980). Rosidi (1966:55) believes that for many Sundanese in the 19th and 20th centuries writing poetry meant “filling in the *pupuh* scheme with stereotype language”. Wiratmadja (1964:30-31) states that there are many poems written in the Dangdanggula metre that do not depict joy or grandeur, as they should do. Likewise there are many poems written in the Sinom metre portraying sadness instead of happiness or pleasure. And many poems in the Asmarandana metre do not deal with love. Wiratmadja is not concerned, however, about the fact that the character of the chosen metres is often out of keeping with the purport of the poem. He considers it more important that the rules about the number of syllables to a line and specifying the last vowels of the lines are properly observed. Wiratmadja stresses form rather than content. This is understandable if one bears in mind that poetry once had, and sometimes still has, a ritual function. Pigeaud (1967:21-22) remarks that some Javanese *macapat* metres and tunes “... may be descendants of incantations or songs, originally belonging to the ritual of ceremonies, in olden times celebrated”, and that “the characters of the *macapat* metres seem to be refinements introduced by Court poets” of Central Java in the 18th and 19th centuries.

An example of the chosen metre for a song not being, according to Javanese theory, in harmony with the purport of the words is found in the second stanza of the song Liwung (Appendix, no. 4). The Sinom metre should really be used to describe a state of happiness. This Liwung text should have been written rather in the Kinanti metre, which is used for expressing sorrow. Moreover, the Sinom metre, which has been used here, prescribes 7 syllables for the 5th and the 7th line, which rule has not been applied in this second stanza. Apparently, the classical form of 8 syllables per line, which is often found in Sundanese *pantun* stories, proved dominant over the Javanese metrical form. The same may be said with respect to the Sinom metre used in Manangis (Appendix, no. 6).

Sisindiran

A *sisindiran* is a poem in which figurative language (*sindir*) is used, or a figure of speech in which metaphoric language is used. *Sisindiran* are often found in Sundanese verse; in Tembang Sunda they occur mainly in the Panambih songs. They invariably consist of a *cangkang*, rind, skin, or figurative expression, followed by an *eusi*, content or real meaning. The association between the figurative words and the real meaning is indicated by means of a correspondence between the sound structures. If the sound patterns of the *cangkang* and *eusi* are parallel, the *sisindiran* is termed a *paparikan*. This is the case, for instance, in the following poem quoted by Enjum (1974:65) and Salmun (1963:62), where the first two lines constitute the *cangkang* and the third and fourth lines the *eusi*:

Sok hayang nyaba ka Bandung	Often I want to go to Bandung,
Hayang nyaho pabrik kina.	I want to see the quinine factory.
Sok hayang nanya nu pundung	Often I want to question an angry
	person,
Hayang nyaho mimitina.	I want to know how it started.

Such *paparikan*, consisting of 4 lines of 8 syllables each (as a rule), in Indonesian are called *pantun*. The Malay *pantun*, however, often has lines that do not contain exactly 8 syllables. The last 4 lines of Panglipur (Appendix, no. 9) also form a *paparikan*:

Ka Maos rék metik kembang	Go to Maos and pick flowers.
Kembangna kembang malati	Those flowers are jasmine flowers.
Sanaos langka patepang	Although we rarely meet,
Pamugi ulah rék lali	I hope you will not forget.

A similar version of this *paparikan*, and many others, can be found in Djaja (1969:69-75).

A *paparikan* may also consist of two whole stanzas, as in Liwung (Appendix, no. 4). The first stanza in the Sinom metre here is filled entirely with the names of flowers and constitutes the *cangkang*, whereas the second stanza forms the *eusi*. The filling of a whole stanza with the names of flowers is not exceptional in Tembang Sunda poems. The *cangkang* in this case may be described as a kind of introduction to what will be said (*eusi*). *Paparikan* in Tembang Sunda are not riddles, because usually the answer is also given in the form of the *eusi*. This is rather an elaborate way of saying things. The words of the *eusi* are “wrapped into” the *cangkang* so that they will not have too direct an effect. In the oral tradition of *réog* and the songs of dancing-girls (*ronggeng*), however, *paparikan* are used as a riddle game with one person giving the *cangkang* and another person trying to find the *eusi*. A particular *sisindiran* may become so well known that the *cangkang*, without the *eusi*, will become a proverb (Hidding 1935:116, 121).

A second type of *sisindiran* is formed by the *wawangsalan*, which are also called *bangbalikan*. The *cangkang* of a *wawangsalan* give a paraphrase of some word which is not mentioned in the text. The sound structure of this particular word will correspond with that of a word (or usually only the last part of this word) in the *eusi*. Hidding (1935:111) speaks of the ‘double layers’ of the *cangkang* in the *wawangsalan*: one has to peel off two layers in order to reach the kernel. In the Panambih song Budak Ceurik, reproduced in Achman (1976:108-109), two *wawangsalan* are given in the first stanza:

Kalong cilik saba gedang	A small bat searching for <i>papaya</i> ,
Sumedot rasaning ati	My heart is upset.

The word meant in the first sentence is *cocodot*, denoting a small bat.

Daun tuhur na tangkalna	Dry leaves on the trees,
Ari ras bati nalangsa	Remembering it makes me sad.

The word meant in the first sentence is *kararas*, denoting dry banana leaves.

Themes of the poetry

Nostalgia

When Sundanese people are asked to describe what is expressed by Tembang Sunda, they will say first of all that it is nostalgia (*waas*). Nostalgia for the former kingdom of Pajajaran, which existed from the beginning of the 14th century to the end of the 16th century, is clearly expressed in the words of the Papantunan songs Téjamantri and Papatet (Appendix, no. 1 and no. 2). Tembang Sunda developed as an art for nobles, most probably in the first half of the 19th century. The Papantunan songs often describe the glorious past of Sunda, i.e. of the noblemen (*ménak*) of Sunda, as many of the *pantun* stories do. Performances of Tembang Sunda start with the singing of the text *Daweung ménak Pajajaran*, i.e., “Let us contemplate the noblemen of Pajajaran”, or some similar such text. Sometimes a more elaborate text is used, such as:

Mukakeun panto bongongong	The door will be opened wide.
Jalan gedé sasapuan	The big road is swept clean.
Sok émut jaman kapungkur	We constantly remember bygone times,
Waktos urang sasarengan	When we were together.

What is remembered is the time and the world of the Hindu kingdoms, where the king, an incarnation of Visnu, and his subjects lived (tried to live) in harmony. If the reciprocal relation was indeed a good one, and if priests, farmers, hunters, landowners, and the king performed their respective duties, the country was prosperous and peaceful (see also Atja and Danasasmita 1981b:22-23, 48-49).

Mountains

In many Papantunan songs mountains are mentioned, such as Mount Gumuruh in the text of Téjamantri (Appendix, no. 1). This points to the importance of mountains in the Sundanese cognitive system (see also Hidding 1935:34-35). A mountain as a symbol for the relation with the gods is well known from the *gunungan* of the *wayang*. Nowadays mountains are still used as places for gathering strength by meditating (*tapa*) for one or more nights. For the arts, the Gunung Padang are often chosen as places for a night's meditation. There are a number of hills

called Gunung Padang in West Java, namely near Sukabumi, near Ciwidey, near Bagolo (Central Java?) and near Ciamis. On these mountains are found megaliths, sometimes arranged in special patterns. On the Gunung Padang near Ciwidey lies a big stone shaped like a *kacapi*. The number of persons in the Tembang Sunda world of Bandung who set out for such meditation nowadays is, however, very limited. They are exceptions. An informant at Cianjur (Pandi, September 1982) formulated his opinion as follows. It is not necessary to climb a mountain physically if you want to contemplate. The phrase 'climbing a mountain' may be meant symbolically. Performing Tembang Sunda in the right way is "climbing the mountain of the arts". This includes, for instance, beginning the performance in the proper way, like beginning a *pantun* story recitation or a *wayang* performance, by asking the permission of the forefathers and the gods for bringing the old arts to life (see also the text of Papatat Ratu in Djaja 1969:13). In the Sundanese text Sanghyang Siksakanda ng Karesian people are advised to follow those with real understanding of what they are doing in society, those who *tapa di nagara*, i.e., practise asceticism in the kingdom (see Atja and Danasasmita 1981b:9, 35 and 1981c:31, 38). Performing Tembang Sunda properly is important for society and may be described as *tapa di nagara*. The word *tapa* is used in a similar sense in the Carita Parahyangan in the expression *pideungeuneun satapa*, meaning literally "future companion in asceticism", which is a veiled expression for future husband (Noor-duyn 1962:422 footnote 19, 406-407, 410-411).

The poem Laut Kidul (Southern Ocean) consists of 23 stanzas, of which numbers 1, 2 and 3 are reproduced in the Appendix (no. 5) below. It seems that the poet, when writing this poem, was in some elevated place at or near Mount Gedé, so that he could overlook the greater part of West Java. The important mountains of the area are mentioned, and the myths and history of the region evoked. This text of Laut Kidul, written in the *pupuh* Dangdanggula, is often used for the song Bayubud. But it is also used in other songs: e.g. Pancaniti (Endang 1979:78; manuscript Sukri and Néndén Asyani 1981a:73; Natakusumah 1973(?):62), Dangdanggula Degung (Natakusumah 1973(?):52) and Panangis Degung (manuscript Sukri and Néndén Asyani 1981a:91). In fact, it may be used in any song if the number of lines is right.

The sea

The text of Bébér Layar given in the Appendix (no. 10) describes how a boat is sailing off to sea. This is a sight which apparently makes people feel melancholy. People seem to feel uneasy when they can see nothing but the horizon and the wide sea with its waves. The Sundanese live mainly in mountainous regions, and possibly this is the reason why they feel uneasy in the open. However, the opposition between mountains and the sea seems to be a more fundamental one. In the Javanese poem

Kidung Sunda it is told how difficult and dangerous a sea journey is. Moreover, when the Sundanese king arrived at the seashore to board a ship to Majapahit, there suddenly appeared bad omens. A red glow coloured the sea and near the shore the water resembled blood. The crows squawked ominously and spat blood. These were all signs that the Sundanese king would not return again, but would die in Majapahit (Berg 1927:66, 76). These ominous signs foreboding death – the appearance of blood in the water and a black crow cawing over the water – are also mentioned in a Sundanese song recorded by Kartomi (1973: 241). In the above-mentioned stanzas of Bébér Layar the Sundanese poet shares the Javanese poet's feelings about the sea. The text of the Tembang Sunda song Sinom Degung (Endang 1979:56) says about a boat: "Its pennant is waving, It is waving as though it is sad, On and on the Bangbang Koléntang boat tumbles into the sea". A poem of Rajamantri (manuscript Sukri and Néndén Asyani 1981a:15) says: "The quail is singing forebodingly in the middle of the sea". The image of the sea apparently is used to strengthen the feeling of uneasiness. Above, it was explained how the mountains, by contrast, are places for asceticism (*tapa*), for finding spiritual refreshment. They stand for the relation of man with the upper world, as the sea stands for his relation with the lower world, the chthonic forces. Man's life is ruled by these cosmic powers. Like blossoms, it is carried away by the winds, as a frequently used *sindir* says (see, e.g., Endang 1979:81). In daily life, of course, the sea will not always be seen as a dangerous force. It will also be regarded as a medium to be used for transport and to be dominated by man. But in the poems the mountains and the sea still have the same symbolic meaning as before. These two attitudes coexist on different levels (compare also Lombard 1980:328).

Love

A theme that often occurs in Tembang Sunda is love. This also holds for other kinds of Sundanese and Javanese poetry, and has a long tradition. The songs Manangis, Sedih Asih, Angin Peuting and Panglipur (Appendix, numbers 6, 7, 8 and 9) are examples of this. The texts of Manangis and Sedih Asih are written in *pupuh* metres and belong to the Rarancangan class. As has been remarked before, the metre used in Manangis is Sinom, which according to the rules of Javanese prosody is not the right metre for expressing sadness. The metre used in Sedih Asih is more appropriate, namely Kinanti. The songs Angin Peuting and Panglipur are not written in any of the *pupuh* metres and form part of the Panambih, or 'added songs'. Nowadays the Panambih are the most popular songs of the Tembang Sunda repertoire. This may be partly because of the regular beat of the music and partly because there is much greater freedom of expression in these texts, which do not have to be written in

any of the *pupuh* metres. Often the lyrics of the Panambih songs display the characteristics of classical Sundanese verse.

Social and political comment

Usually Tembang Sunda songs do not contain direct comments on society. However, like *wayang* performances, Tembang Sunda has also on occasion been used to draw attention to, e.g., the family planning program via radio. The relevant texts are set to Tembang Sunda melodies and broadcast. One text broadcast in 1973 is about saving money; it is set to the *pupuh* Asmarandana and the melody of Mupu Kembang: "To save is important for our progress, Saving is good, One of the best things to do, For us and for the government, So that we may reach a high standard of living, Both now and in the future" (from the manuscript Sukri:1973).

In Barmara and Ida Achman (1957:15) are found texts commenting on political situations. Wiratmadja (1964:50) gives the following stanza, written in the *pupuh* Kinanti, expressing the desire for harmony between village and city people:

Najan abdi kembang kampung,	Although I am a flower from the
	village,
Kahoyong mah tangtos sami,	My wishes are surely the same.
Masih butuh ku pangriksa,	I still need to be looked after,
Ulah apilain teuing,	Don't behave as if you don't know me!
Kembang kampung kembang	Village flowers and city flowers
kota,	
Sami dadamelan gusti.	Are both created by God.

From the moment the Dutch moved out of Indonesia, the Darul Islam led by Kartosuwiryo tried to set up an independent Islamic state in West Java. In 1962 the Darul Islam movement became more and more isolated. In a final attempt to crush the movement, the Indonesian army launched the Operation Pagar Bitis, that was aimed at the total isolation of the Darul Islam guerilla troops from the population. In the context of this operation a special Tembang Sunda song was broadcast by the radio station in Bandung every hour for one week. The song, Jemplang Karang, invited the Darul Islam guerilla fighters to come home again and to unite with their brothers and sisters of the Indonesian state:

Naha henteu bisa balik	Why can't you come back?
Balik ka tekad ka tukang	Back to the purpose of former days?
Babarengan meuseuh haté	We will cleanse our hearts,
Mersihan diri jeung rasa	Cleanse our body and spirit.
Ulah tetep dina sasar	Don't stay on the wrong track,
Kajurung napsu ngaberung	Led by the wrong desires.
Ulah sasab teterusan	Don't go on erring.

This text, in the *pupuh* Asmarandana, was written by Oyo Undang in 1962 (from the manuscript of Sukri and Néndén Asyani 1981a:64). The music was composed by Endoh.

The poetry as an expression of Sundanese identity

The language

In the 16th-18th centuries the originally Sundanese region was almost entirely brought under Javanese culture. In the nineteenth century this started to change: there was a revival of Sundanese literature and a retreat of Javanese culture (see Pigeaud 1967:225). Around 1850, however, the Javanese language was still the official written language in the Priangan area (Holle 1870:289, footnote). In the Moslem religious schools, *pasantrén*, the Javanese language was used alongside the Arabic language (see foreword by R. A. Kern in Moestapa 1946). Before Independence, the Sundanese upper classes often spoke Dutch rather than Sundanese. Coolsma (1910:X-XI) reports in the preface to his dictionary that the Sundanese told him at the end of the 19th century that they did not have a proper language of their own. They refused to speak Sundanese to him, as they felt that their language was unsuitable for expressing one's thoughts properly. The Malay language was considered better for this purpose, according to Coolsma. These remarks point in the first place to the fact that the Sundanese have long been colonized. This caused them to use the language of the rulers in certain social contexts (see also Atmadinata 1981 and Sastrahadiprawira 1929).

Tembang Sunda songs, however, never are and presumably never have been sung in any language other than Sundanese. I have only heard one exception, on a commercial cassette tape, where a few Dutch words are used in a song (Tape T1 1977). There may be a few other exceptions where the Indonesian language is used in performances on official occasions. The non-use of the Indonesian language in Tembang Sunda songs cannot be explained by supposing the singers to be unable to speak Indonesian, because many of them use this official language daily. Rather, the Sundanese consciously or unconsciously choose their own language when wanting to express themselves in Tembang Sunda. They are proud of their art of singing. Tembang Sunda songs apparently are too closely tied to the Sundanese culture and too much part of the Sundanese identity to be sung in any other language than Sundanese. Also, as was said above, Tembang Sunda still constitutes very much an oral and not a written tradition.

The relation between the Sundanese and Javanese

One important event in the period of the Pajajaran kingdom was the humiliation of the Sundanese by the Javanese in the 14th century. The Javanese poem *Kidung Sunda* tells how the king of Sunda went to

Majapahit with his family and followers in order to celebrate the marriage of his daughter to king Hayam Wuruk of Majapahit. After arriving at Bubad, near Majapahit, it became clear that there was a serious difference of opinion between the Sundanese and the Javanese about their respective statuses. The Sundanese wanted to be treated as the equals of the Javanese. Prime minister Gajah Mada of Majapahit made it clear to them, however, that he regarded the Sundanese kingdom as a vassal state of Majapahit. There followed a clash between the two armies. The Sundanese, who were in the minority and were not prepared for this war, were slaughtered en masse with their king. The Sundanese princess and the wives of the slain noblemen committed suicide (Berg 1927). The historical event described in the *Kidung Sunda* is also mentioned briefly in the Sundanese *Carita Parahiyangan* (Atja and Danasasmita 1981a:15, 35). The Sundanese text presents a different point of view and a far less dramatic description of this historical event. It says that the daughter of Prebu Maharaja (Prabu Wangi) wanted to marry an important man, not a Sundanese man. Hence “many people went to Java”, and this resulted in the battle at Majapahit.

These two different descriptions of the same historical event throw some light on the relation between the Sundanese and the Javanese. The Sundanese were, as they still are, in a minority position. They admired Javanese culture and adopted quite a few cultural features from the Javanese. Around 1500 “. . . Javanese culture and Javanese institutions were considered by the Sundanese as the primary sources of their higher education in the field of religion, and going to the east was a natural thing to do for a young Sundanese man who wanted to acquire knowledge and learning” (Noorduyn 1982:418). At the same time the Sundanese have always tried, with some measure of success, to remain independent of the Javanese. A possible example of this in Sundanese music may be the fact that cipher notation, which already existed in Central Java, was not simply adopted by the Sundanese, but in the 1920’s was reversed by Kusumadinata: the highest note was indicated by the figure 1 and not 7, and so on (see Brandts Buys 1940:151-153).

Continuity and change

In *Tembang Sunda* songs King Siliwangi is often mentioned. Some scholars believe that the Sundanese king who died at Bubad in 1357, Prabu (king) Wangi, was later named Siliwangi or Silih Wangi, after the legendary king of the Sundanese (Pleyte 1907:10). Sutaarga (1965), however, dates Prabu Siliwangi from 1474 to 1513. Noorduyn (1982: 421-422) mentions the place Jalatunda as being called the *sakakala*, i.e. “place preserving the memory of”, Silih Wangi. The story of the journey of Bujangga Manik, in which Silih Wangi is mentioned, is placed at about the end of the 15th century or the beginning of the 16th century (Noorduyn 1982:414). As Sutaarga (1965:8, 23) remarks, most noble families

in Sunda claim their genealogies to go back to King Siliwangi. An example of this is to be found in the story of the regent of Cianjur (Stockhausen 1863). The songs about the glorious past (set mainly in the kingdom of Pajajaran) seem to play an important role in the description of the identity of Sundanese noblemen.

Tembang Sunda used to be learnt and sung mainly by noblemen. People in Cianjur still remember stories about ordinary people 'stealing' songs by sitting below a house all night long, listening to a rehearsal of the songs by noblemen. The restrictions with respect to the instrumental accompaniment may have been less rigorous for men right from the beginning. At the beginning of the present century a process of democratization began in the world of Tembang Sunda. Since then ordinary people have been given an opportunity to sing and play Tembang Sunda as well (see also Wibisana *et al.* 1976:732 and R. A. Darja in Wiratmadja 1964:103-104). At the beginning of this century women, too, were gradually allowed to learn to sing Tembang Sunda songs. Up to now the playing of the accompanying instruments has been very much a men's business, although women are nowadays also beginning to be active in this field.

The participation of ordinary people in Tembang Sunda has brought about a change in the repertoire. Although songs about the Pajajaran kingdom still form part of it, other themes have been introduced as well, such as the complaints of a woman about her husband (see, e.g., Appendix, no. 7). Personal experiences and feelings, e.g. in connection with love, may be expressed in the song texts, but recent social and political events are rarely discussed in Tembang Sunda. Society is viewed from a distance. Direct comments on recent events are given rather in *kawih* songs, i.e. the songs sung in popular forms such as *kacapian*, *kliningan* and *jaipongan*. The *jaipongan* seems to have become popular in wider circles than just that of the Sundanese in Indonesia. It has characteristics similar to those of the very popular *dangdut*, which is widely used for, among other things, expressing social and political criticism of present-day society (Frederick 1982). Above, a few examples were given in which Tembang Sunda songs were, by way of exception, more or less directly concerned with recent events or situations.

Art is, by its very nature as a representation, an expression of something, partially a reconciliation with reality or a confirmation of the *status quo*. Certain songs of the Tembang Sunda repertoire seem to serve as a legitimization of the position of the nobility, and thus of the hierarchy. It would not be correct, however, to consider Tembang Sunda as an art form that is strongly ideological and, in Adorno's terminology (1976: 42), "preventing people from reflecting on themselves and their world". In its own way, Tembang Sunda provides an opportunity for the individual to become conscious of the organization of society, which is changing gradually. In Tembang Sunda, people search for the roots of

Sundanese culture, the culture that was inherited from their ancestors. During a Tembang Sunda evening, the following lines will often be sung after the singing of some Papantunan songs and before proceeding to that of the class of Jejemplangan songs:

Nyukcruk parung meulah bantar	We are wading through the shallows of the river, in between the deeper parts.
Birit leuwi peupeuntasan	Downstream of the deep part in the river is a place to cross.

These words indicate the attempt to come to grips with the essentials of life, although this may be very difficult. In another text (manuscript Sukri and Néndén Asyani 1981a: 160) this type of reflection on oneself and the world, resulting in a purification of the heart, is expressed in the following way:

Muka lawang sigotaka	I open the door of heaven.
Pangirut panyuat budi	This is a means of looking at ourselves.
Medal sari ti kahiyangan	The best of heaven comes out:
Pangruatna Nyi Pohaci	The purifier Nyi Pohaci.
Sampeureun baring supagi	Later I'll take it with me
Dina uwung-uwung layung	In the sunset sky.
Layung sari nu dihanca	The beautiful sunset sky will always come again,
Hancaeun usiking ati	Again and again it will touch the heart.
Ati wening-weningna nu boga hanca	The heart is purified when it undergoes this.

The way in which people reflect on themselves and their world in Tembang Sunda is very closely related to the tradition of mysticism: it is *tapa di nagara*.

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suggestions for the English translations of the texts, and corrected quite a few impurities in my English.

APPENDIX

1. Téjamantri (name of a woman)

Subcategory Papantunan. From *Volksalmanak Soenda* 1927:132.

Nya gunung banyuan ratu	That mountain is the holy place of the king,
Lebak panyangkaan ménak (geuning, Juragan)	The valley is the place of the noblemen (really, Sir).
Ratu diriung ku gelung	The king is surrounded by his ministers.
Ménak digéndéng ku angkéng	Noblemen wear weapons around their waists.
Dipeuseulan ku pinareup (anggeus, Radén)	They are massaged by women's breasts (yes, <i>Radén</i>).
Kawantu ratu kapungkur	Really, the kings of former times
Nyieun sakawenang-wenang (2x)	Did what they liked. (2x)
Cenah mana geuning salaki kuring	They ask who my husband really is.
Lain ménak pupulasan (geuning, Juragan)	He is not a nobleman in disguise (really, Sir).
Lain cacah kuricakan	He is not a man of low standing.
Terusan Gunung Gumuruh	He is an inheritor of Mount Gumuruh
Pencaran Balik-salaka (anggeus, Radén)	And descendant of Balik Salaka (yes, <i>Radén</i>).
Mustika ti Pajajaran	He belongs to the flower of Pajajaran.
Sumangga kuring pulangkeun	Please, let me go home,
Pulangkeun ka Pajajaran	Take me home to Pajajaran.

2. Papatet (Patterns?)

Subcategory Papantunan. From *Volksalmanak Soenda* 1927:30.

Gunung Galunggung kapungkur	Mount Galunggung lies to the rear.
Gunung Sumedang katunjang	Mount Sumedang extends as far as
Talaga Sukawayana	Lake Sukawayana.
Rangkecik di tengah leuweung	<i>Rangkecik</i> grows in the midst of the forest.
Ulah pundung ku disungkun	Don't be annoyed when treated unkindly,
Ulah melang teu ditéang	Don't be anxious when not visited.
Tarima raga wayahna	Reconcile yourself to it, resign yourself,

Ngancik di nagara deungeun   For you are living in a foreign country.

Gunung Gedé siga nu nandé	It seems as if Mount Gedé
Nandéan ka badan kuring	Is catching my body.
Gunung Pangrango ngajogo	Mount Pangrango squats
Ngadagoan kuring wangsul	Waiting for me to return home,
Wangsul ti pangumbaraan	Back from my wanderings.
Kebo mulih pakandangan	The buffalo returns to the stall.
Nya muncang labuh ka puhu	The nut falls at the foot of the tree.
Pulangkeun ka Pajajaran	Take me home to Pajajaran.

3. Mupu Kembang (Picking flowers)
Subcategory Papantunan.

- a. Excerpt from the *pantun* story Mundinglaya di Kusumah as recited by Enjum, Ujungberung, on the night of 5-6 September 1981. Recorded by the author.

Déwi Asri nanding leuwih	Déwi Asri outshines
Baraja Inten Gumilang	The weapon Bright Diamond.
Nu geulis teges mapay	The beautiful one passes not unseen.
Ka taman sari mapayna	She goes into the flower garden,
Ka kebon kembang nu geulis	The lovely one goes to the flower garden.
Ngalaan kembang	She picks the flowers,
Cuprimanis(?) jeung daliah	<i>Cuprimanis(?)</i> and dahlias.
Diajukan ku limuhan	Pushed down by the <i>limuhan</i> ,
Dikeprakan ku baréra	Cut off by the <i>baréra</i> ,
Dikohéran ku galégér	Rooted up by the <i>galégér</i> .
Manis seungit angin-anginan	Sweet scent is coming in gusts
Nyambuung ka pakarangan	And filling the compound.

- b. Text from manuscript Sukri and Néndén Asyani 1981a: 11.

Bur burinyay, bray baranyay	Suddenly there is brightness in the dark;
Jiga béntang kabeurangan	It is like the morning stars,
Siga ciibun maruntang	Like suspended meadow drops.
Lain ciibun maruntang	Not really like suspended meadow drops,
Jiga déwata keur leumpang	Like the gods passing by.
Déwata sotéh manusa	The gods are really men.
Déwi Asri tanding leuwih	Déwi Asri outshines them.

- c. Text from Endang 1979:42-43.

Sada gugur di kapitu	The sound of thunder in the rainy season,

Sada gelap ngadasaran Dur bedugna néng loncéngna	After a thunderbolt. The beating of a mosque drum and ringing of bells.
Ketuk sada ungkut-ungkut	The <i>ketuk</i> sounding like the <i>ungkut-ungkut</i> bird,
Kendang sada ciang-ciang Sada tepak Radén Santang Jaman digénggong taraté	The drum with the sound of a cricket. It sounds like Radén Santang's beat At the time the lotus flower is being shaken.
Burudul ménak ti kidul	Many noblemen were coming from the south,
Aleutan para Tumenggung Candakna parabot degung	And a long line of Regents. They brought the <i>degung</i> instruments with them.
Tutup kendang kulit lutung	The drum cover was from a <i>lutung</i> - monkey skin,
Dirarawat hoé wulung Dipirig ku hujan subuh	Tautened with black rattan. They were accompanied by the early morning rain,
Ditepak ku nu jarankung	And applauded by the tall men.
Burudul ménak ti kalér	Many noblemen were coming from the north,
Aleutan para Dipatén Candakna parabot ronggeng	And a long line of <i>Adipati</i> . They brought the instruments for the <i>ronggeng</i> dance.
Tutup kendang kulit banténg Dirarawat hoé loréng	The drum cover was from a bull's skin, Tautened with brown-black spotted rattan.
Dipirig ku hujan soré	They were accompanied by the afternoon rain,
Ditepak ku nu parendék	And applauded by the short men.

4. Liwung (Confusion)

Subcategory Rarancagan. *Pupuh Sinom*. From manuscript Sukri and Néndén Asyani 1981a:82.

Kacapiring jeung jalaprang Campaka jeung mandakaki Kembang wungu jeung kananga Cantigi reujeung malati Érmawar kembang gambir Campaka selong jeung tanjung	<i>Kacapiring</i> and <i>jalaprang</i> , <i>Campaka</i> and <i>mandakaki</i> , The <i>wungu</i> flower and <i>kananga</i> , <i>Cantigi</i> and jasmine, Roses and the <i>gambir</i> flower, <i>Campaka selong</i> and <i>tanjung</i> ,

Eros kayas eros bodas	Pink roses and white roses,
Beureum paul jeung nu gading	The red, blue and ivory-coloured ones
Adumanis paselang jeung sumarsana	Vie in turn with the <i>campaka</i> flowers.
Caang bulan tigas layang	The moon is in its last quarter.
Katingal ti pulo Rakit	It can be seen from Rakit island.
Aduh gusti pileuleuyan	Oh my husband, farewell!
Samar yasa tepang deui	It is uncertain whether we will meet again,
Sasarengan sareng abdi	Whether you and I will be together.
Jalaran geus séép waktu	As time has already run out,
Nu puguh abdi sorangan	I am certainly alone.
Gering ati balas mikir	My heart is sick because of this continuous worrying.
Ngalanglayung palangsiang kaléléban	Perhaps it will languish, overwhelmed with sorrow.

5. Laut Kidul (Southern Ocean, Indian Ocean)

Subcategory Rarancagan. *Pupuh Dangdanggula*. From *Volksalmanak Soenda* 1921:240-246, stanzas 1, 2 and 3. Ascribed to Écé Majid.

Laut Kidul kabéh katingali,	The Southern Ocean can be seen far and wide,
Ngembat paul kawas dina gambar,	Light blue it stretches, as in a picture.
Ari rét ka tebéh kalér,	To the north can be seen
Batawi ngarunggunuk,	Batavia, silhouetted against the sky.
Lautna mah teu katingali,	The sea cannot be seen there,
Ukur lebah-lebahna,	At that place
Semu-semu biru,	There is only a blue hue.
Ari rét ka kalér-wétan,	To the north-east
Gunung Gedé jiga nu ngajakan balik,	Mount Gedé seems to call us back,
Méh baé kapiuhan.	And I am overcome by my feelings.
Matak waas pacampur jeung sedih,	It makes you nostalgic and sad
Gunung-gunung kabéh narémbongan,	To see all those mountains.
Gunung Pangrango ngajogo,	Mount Pangrango is squatting
Bangun nu diharudum,	And seems to be wrapped in a shawl.
Ngadagoan nu tacan sumping,	It is waiting for those who have not yet arrived.
Nyeri duméh ditiar,	It is sad because it has been deserted,

Mani alum nguyung,	So that it has withered and become ailing.
Nguyung wuyung karungrungan,	Suffering and sorrow have settled in.
Ngan dijieun Pangrango cicirén nagri,	Pangrango has become only a symbol for a country:
Nagara Pajajaran.	The country of Pajajaran.
Pajajaran tilas Siliwangi,	Pajajaran was abandoned by Siliwangi.
Wawangina nu kari ayeuna,	He is still famous today.
Ayeuna nya dayeuh Bogor,	Today there is the city of Bogor,
Batutulisna kantun,	And Batu Tulis has remained.
Kantun liwung jaradi pikir,	Left also is confusion in our minds.
Mikir nu disadana,	We think about what has been said about it.
Hanteu surud liwung,	Our confusion does not lessen.
Teuteuleuman kokojayan,	Again and again we get a ducking when we are swimming
Di Ciliwung nunjang ngidul Siliwangi,	In the Ciliwung, which runs south of Siliwangi's country.
Nuus di Pamoyanan.	We will dry in the sun at Pamoyanan.

6. Manangis (Crying)

Subcategory Rarancagan. *Pupuh* Sinom, with 8 instead of the prescribed 7 syllables in lines 5 and 7. From manuscript Saodah 1981:69.

Paingan atuh paingan	I really understand, yes I do!
Teu tebih ti sangka ati	It is not far from what I guessed.
Gusti kagungan panyawat	My husband has a disease,
Panyawat nu langkung lantip	A disease that is hidden to others.
Teu kaop lepat saeutik	He cannot stand the slightest mistake.
Gusti babarian bendu	My husband is easily made angry
Sarupi mundut lantaran	And always asks me for explanations.
Mundut pirak (da) sareng abdi	You want to divorce me,
Tangtos meureun gusti mah ngaraos hina	My husband, perhaps because you feel humiliated by this situation.
Sok hayang aya nu béla	I often want someone to stand by me,
Anu nyaah (da) kana diri	Who loves me,
Anu temen sayaktosna	Who is really faithful,
Nu asih terang jeung galih	Who loves with heart and soul.
Na matak naon mun manggih	Why should I not find him?
Paneda abdi dikabul	Let my prayer be answered!
Resep temen ngawulaan	I would like to follow him faithfully,
Sasarengen (da) siang wengi	To be with him day and night.

Aduh Gusti paneda énggal
laksana

Oh Lord, let my prayer be answered
soon!

7. Sedih Asih (Unhappy love)

Subcategory Rarancagan. *Pupuh* Kinanti. From manuscript Sukri and Néndén Asyani 1981a:111.

Sukur mun tulus ka batur

I would be glad if you would find
another

Balikanan ka sim abdi

Instead of me.

Abdi mah jalmi walurat

I am a person of no importance,

Teu gaduh keur meuli-meuli

Who has nothing to offer.

Angguranan ayeuna mah

It would be better now

Milari nu sanés deui

To look for someone else.

Jungjunan naha teu émut

My husband, why don't you think

Ka nu nganti beurang peuting

Of the one who is waiting day and
night?

Nyiksa téh bet pupuasan

You are torturing me unceasingly.

Asa teungteuingeun teuing

Why are you doing so?

Ti batan jeung dikakaya

Rather than being tormented,

Mending gé ngasingkeun diri

It would be better to seclude myself.

Mun kitu abdi rék wangsul

If this is how things are, I will go home,

Ngantunkeun kabeurat ati

To leave you alone, my beloved.

Teu kuat nandanganana

I am not strong enough to bear this.

Bati ngerik sedih ati

It makes me very sad and depressed.

Teungteuingeun kadar awak

Why is my fate like this?

Asih téh bet henteu sami

Love will not be the same.

8. Angin Peuting (Evening wind)

Subcategory Panambih. Written by Barman Syahyana. From manuscript Sukri and Néndén Asyani 1981b:58.

Cing atuh kuring deukeutkeun

Oh, let me come close

Jeung manéhna tuh di ditu

To her (him), who is over there.

Sanajan raga paanggang

Although our bodies are separated,

Batin mah hayang padeukeut

I want our spirits to be close

Haté tetep sasarengan

And our hearts to remain together.

Tapina ku harianeun

But no attention is being paid!

Bulan téh nyumputkeun

The moon is hiding my beloved.

deudeuh

Ninggalkeun kuring sorangan

It leaves me alone,

Dibaturan dibaturan

Kept company only by

Hiliwirna angin peuting	The softly blowing evening wind.
Cing atuh kuring tepungkeun	Oh, let me meet
Jeung anjeunna nu miasih	With her (him) who loves me!
Geus lami urang paanggang	We have been separated for a long time.
Najan batin mah teu jauh	Although our spirits are not far apart,
Ngan hayang patepung teuteup	I want to meet you in person.
Tapina ku teungteuingeun	But no attention is paid!
Bet jauh tina teuteupan	My wish is not at all fulfilled.
Jauhna panyawang kuring	I keep staring into the distance.
Kuring keueung ngan sorangan	I am very lonely,
Dibaturan angin peuting	Kept company by the evening wind.

9. Panglipur (Comfort)

Subcategory Panambih. Written by Uking Sukri around 1973. From manuscript Sukri and Néndén Asyani 1981b:2.

Tengah peuting (duh dunungan)	In the middle of the night (oh my beloved)
Keur jemplang-jempling	It is very quiet.
Kantun ting carileuk béntang	Only the stars are staring at me
Cahaya bulan moncorong	And the moonlight is shining.
Cahya béngras nyaangan nu	Its clear rays illuminate
Keur ngabungbang	Those who are outside during the night.
Hayang lipur pikir rungsing	I want comfort for my present troubles
Reujeung bingbang	And despair.
Duh panutan, rék dijugjug	Oh my beloved, I want to visit you,
Puguh jauh	But you are very far away.
Rék ditéang puguh anggang	I want to see you, although you are very far away
Sanajan loba kamelang	And although I am very anxious.

Tengah peuting (duh dunungan)	In the middle of the night (oh my beloved)
Keur jemplang-jempling	It is very quiet.
Aya hariring nu nyanding	There is a soft humming, like
Mawa béja ti nu anggang	Tidings being carried from the one who is far away.
Kadé lali pasini anu kamari	Don't forget the date we made yesterday!
(Paribasa)	(The proverb says:)
Ka Maos rék metik kembang	Go to Maos and pick flowers.
(Duh panutan)	(My beloved),

Kembangna kembang malati	Those flowers are jasmine flowers.
Sanaos langka patepang	Although we rarely meet each other,
Pamugi ulah rék lali	I hope you will not forget.

10. Bébér Layar (Hoisting the sail)

Subcategory Panambih. Usually 8 syllables per line. From manuscript Sukri and Néndén Asyani 1981a:212-213.

Matak waas titingalan	It will make us melancholy
Plungplong taya aling-aling	To see freely around us, without any obstructions,

Nyawang sakuriling bungking	To look at everything around us.
Sagara ombak-ombakan	The ocean is rolling,
Katojo ku cahya bulan	Illuminated by moonlight.
Ombakna umpal-umpalan	Its waves are swelling.
Katingal ti kaangangan	From afar we can see
Ombak lir ngadeukeutan	The waves, that seem to be coming toward us.

Kamudi keur tatan-tatan	The sailors are ready
Dék nurunkeun parahuna	To push the boat off.

Bébér layar tarik jangkar	The sail is hoisted and the anchor raised.

Léong daratan ditilar	It starts sailing and leaves the mainland.
Matak waas matak kelar	This evokes nostalgic feelings.
Ngambah lautan Cidamar	Sailing along the Cidamar Ocean,
Nya haté bét samar-samar	The heart becomes uncertain,
Ras émut di Sindangbarang	It starts thinking of Sindangbarang.
Parahuna ting suruwuk	The boat sails fast,
Beuki tengah beuki jauh	Further out, further off.
Ngambang nganclang di sagara	It is sailing over the ocean.
Ngerab-ngerab bandérana	Its flag is waving.

Hawar-hawar kakupingna	Faintly can be heard
Sora degung jeung sulingna	The sound of the <i>degung</i> and <i>suling</i> ,
Dipirig ku hariringna	Accompanied by soft singing.
Ninggang pisan wirahmana	It blends most beautifully.
Nya ieu pisan laguna	Therefore this song
"Bébér Layar" katelahna	Is called "Bébér Layar".

Lengas-lengis sora suling	The sound of the suling is melancholy,
Lir meupeurih nu prihatin	And makes sad people even sadder.
Sora degungna ngelewung	The sound of the <i>degung</i> is deep.
Ngalilipur nu keur bingung	And comforts those who are upset.

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