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LITERARY DATA ON THE POSITION OF MALAY IN JAVA

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Trade through maritime lines in Indonesia, since the early centuries of the Christian era, was presumably a very important means for deeper interaction between peoples, and thus may become an impetus for further acculturation processes. The rate of interaction between peoples from different countries during the pre-airline times is plausibly higher in coastal areas, which are more easily accessible to foreigners travelling by sea. In this discussion it is taken for granted that trade relations with foreigners should only happen in well-developed towns, in which there were multiethnic communities. The most crucial problem in interaction with foreigners is language as a means of communication. The Malay language has been supposed to be the *lingua franca* in Indonesia and some other countries in Southeast Asia. A piece of data from 18th century Java to be presented in this paper is meant to show that Malay as the *lingua franca* was not only used occasionally, through interpreters, and as a choice conditioned by a specific need, but moreover, it had penetrated into the Javanese literary texts. This latter development could be perceived as a function of the persistence of the use of Malay in Javanese communities through the centuries.

The problem to be presented in this short review is the use of certain kinds of speech as an indicator of inter-group relationships within a society. A preliminary data to be used to illustrate the problem is taken from a Javanese literary work of the 18th century of the *pepesisir literature* category. The Javanese word *pepesisir* means "coast" or "coastal area" (Pigeaud 1982:461), while in terms of bureaucratic administration, the *pepesisir* areas are included into the territorial category called *mancanagara* (literally meaning "friend towns", "foreign towns", "friend countries" or "foreign countries") which comprises the outermost circle of a concentric scheme of spheres of a kingdom, around the king and his abode as the centre (Moertono 1985:130-1; Soemardjan 1981:28-31). What had been left in the 18th century literary work could be no other than an imprint of earlier processes.

The *Sêrat Jayalêngkara*

The *pešisir* text of the 18th century to be exposed presently is that found in the manuscript titled *Sêrat Jayalêngkara*, a collection of the Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, number LOr 5767. The text of this manuscript has been transliterated by Sri Sukeš Adiwimarta and F.X. Rahyono. This transliteration' has been done within a research project called Sastra Jawa Abad Ke-18 Masehi: Analisis Isi dan Tinjauan Sejarah Kebudayaan (Javanese Literature of the 18th Century: Content Analysis and A View on Cultural History), conducted at the Faculty of Letters, University of Indonesia, 1988/1989, with Edi Sedyawati as team leader. The working out of each of all the manuscripts in that project consisted of: a description of the manuscript and references to other manuscripts with more or less the same title; a description of all the letters used in the manuscript; an abridgement of the text; a content analysis based on pre-defined categories; and a transliteration using a strict diplomatic editing technique. Quotations from that text given in the present paper are based on Adiwimarta's and Rahyono's work, but the spelling is changed into the standard one. The diplomatic edition is not retained because the present purpose is not to discuss spelling matters. A standardized spelling will be more convenient for the non-philologist reader.

The *Sêrat Jayalêngkara* in all its versions and variations is supposed to be written in East Java. Pigeaud (1970:73) stated that poetical works using the title *Jayalêngkara* should be included within the category of "East Javanese *pešisir* literature"). The manuscript used as source for this paper (LOr 5767) is stated to be of East Javanese origin (Pigeaud 1968:339), while another manuscript having the same name, namely LOr 9029 of the same Leiden collection, is written in a script of typically East Javanese style, and moreover contain specifically East Javanese idioms (Pigeaud 1968:516).

The manuscript LOr 5767 was written in 1719 of the Javanese Era (which is equivalent to 1792 A.D.). The year 1719 was indicated twice in the text, in the form of chronograms, namely *wiwarekungaji natha* (opening – tail – recite – king; mentioned in page 2 stanza 10), and *thata tunggal saphthani janma* (order – single – seven – man; mentioned in page 145 stanza 1190). C. F. Winter had stated that *Sêrat Jayalêngkara (wulang)* was composed in the beginning of the 17th century by, or for, the prince Pangeran Pekik of Surabaya, the brother in law of the great Sultan Agung of Mataram (Pigeaud 1968:339). Another manuscript having the title of *Jayalêngkara Sunyawibawa*, which was found in Palembang and made of *daluwang* (a sort of paper manufactured in Panaraga), is supposed to have originated from Panaraga, East Java (Poerbatjaraka e.a. 1950:17-25). Other manuscripts

of the same title are supposed to be younger and of Central Javanese origin, an example of which is a manuscript written in Yogyakarta, probably in the first half of the 19th century (Pigeaud 1970:73-74).

Jayalêngkara data

- Internal data found in the 18th century *Sêrat Jaya7engkara* (LOr 5767) are as follows:
- (1) the text begins with "Bismillah hirrakmanirrahim" ("in the name of God The Compassionate and The Merciful", a characteristically Moslem utterance to begin any deed);
 - (2) the writer's name is *Jayasêstra*; he addressed himself as *habdi* (servant);
 - (3) at the beginning of the text the writer praised his king (*susunan ingsun*, "my venerable one") whom he called *Susunan Ing Surapringga* (the venerable in Surapringga), described as a. o.: that his countenance was like Nabi Yusup's (*Jwir nabi Sup citrane*), that the writer was never tired of praising the king's determination, or courage, in extinguishing the unbelievers (*dereng bosên wang amuji, kang kasuran Jêng Susunan, denny a angrusak kapid*); the king was described as being the king of heaven (*kadya ratu saking swarga*) and truly he was the descendant of gods (*hestu pituruning hyang*), but also he was like God who stayed in the world (*kadi Suksma haneng dunya*);
 - (4) the text also mentioned about two personages with the title of *panêmbahan*, who were *Panêmbahan Maduratna* and *Panêmbahan Cakradiningrat*; the first mentioned was circumscribed as being like a *wali 'Allah* king, who was able to revive dead people, and if people went to him he was able to open up their mind or intellect, however stupid they were originally (*hanguripakena ing pêjah, Iwir ratu waliyullah, wong sabodo punggungipun, yan siwi dadi tarbuka*);
 - (5) this poetical text was written on the day of Manis, the *wuku* Bala (?), at 10 o'clock, the date was the 8th of the bright lunar half, in the month of Ramelan, in a Dal year, in the seasonal time unit called Sadasa, in the Javanese year 1719.

The story told in the text focused on a main character whose name was *Raden Jayalêngkara*, who was the son of a king. Before succeeding his father to rule the kingdom, he made his personal preparations by seeking knowledge and wisdom. He did this while disguising himself. The prince was also called *Raden Ino*; and sometimes his parents addressed him using the term *Manthri*. The kingdom was called *Sunyawirya*, and the king, thus the father of the prince, bore the name of *Bhatara Santhajana*, also known as *Pandita Kalasunya*. The enemies the price had to face were the kings (*ratu*) of five other kingdoms (*praja*); they were

namely: Santabuwana from *Singosari*, Ourbala from *Pringgabaya*, Oursanta from *Wisantara*, Prabutama from *Sunnalabha*, and Singantara from *Tumasik* (text page 69, stanzas no. 584-7). In his endeavor to conquer those enemies Jayalêngkara was assisted by several persons, among others *Wirasmara*, a banished person who had once saved by Jayalêngkara, and thenceforth became his follower. In his wanderings, Jayalêngkara was accompanied by *Sujanma*, or also called *Sujalmi*, the adopted son of a *patih* (vizier). What is noteworthy in this case is that either Sujanma or his attendant, Sutali, appeared in this text as uttering their speech in Malay. This was especially the case by the time they were about to face the enemies. The first speech was by Sujanma, who was sent to speak in the town (to claim that the princess was his wife by way of challenging? and in order to be heard by all the people?). His words were as follows:

Dihabarkên hurang mahuh hasawitah, raden tinggal disinih,
sama ki-lakinnah, pukul siyang tarannyah, Tumasik hurang
sadikit, hurang nê m laksah, byahik pukul malêm hadik(593).
Jangan adah nahik kudah nang kumbirah, jangan dah muncih
bêsih, kudah putung butunah, bhawah katanah radyan, kah
Sujalmah dangan adih, sembunih kitah kaluh pisanah juri(t)(594).
bidah kitah turut pgi sungguh habang, tahuh payah hurang
kêcil, banah rang nê m laksah, rang satuh tidah knah, kaluh
Allah kasi bahik, sapa nang tahuh, hurang nah nang sadikit (595).
Sungguh sunggu nah hab,hg prêkatan sayah, hurang ituh nang
lahin, tidah ngakuh tuwan, sama bangs arna kitah, samahsamah
hituh hadih, kalah duh saya, rang sablah tdah mati (596).
Sudah sadikit samanah tidah banyak; hapa jadinah hini,
bahik masuk kutah, samuhah brêntih sajah, bisuk bulih
hibar bahik, mahu mêncurih, tidah lahin dngên sini (597).

The second speech was by Sutali, Sujanma's attendant, while he was about to arrange his troops to help Jayalengkara. His words, in acting as a rebel, were as follows:

Suru pêgih masuk nagrih Pringgabayah, Sujalmah katah
bahik, man lêkas majalan, pgah nang Pringgabayah, Sujalmah
katah bahik, hurang sribuh bawah bahik, sampih bininah,
katah rang Pajang lari (609).

Hitu hmas sakatih dikarjah hubat, suk bisuk kitah
saprêthkên bapah, Pragalbah hitu sajah, kaluh malêm bakal
lahin, hapinah karjah, bukah tupih Sutali (610).

Raden katah habang wirah di lah diyah, pgih santarah
nagrih, srêdadu samuhah, saprêth bapah Galbah, hitu
habang mas sakatih, diyah hakatah, hurang Lasêm nyang lari (611).

Bukah tupih nang tuwannah lantah jalan, sred aduh sribu
pegih, rangnah birah putra, tuwan Pratali hudah nang
pigêng tumbak nyang karih, rang tidah hawah, namanah
hurang hinih (612).

Nang punnah papatih hurang sama laska, rang tigah ratus
bahik, thuwannah Nirbayah, ning Pringgah dah dituwan,
Nirwestih hadah Sujalmi, nihs ratus sahurah, rang nang
dipigêngini (613).

Pratali yudah katah yah tuwan sayah, sayah katah sadikit,
samah tuwan tigah, dari hurang salêksa, nang mimikul
barang ngini, nang hampat ribuh, pipikul bêrattheni (614).

Tuwan kasih kasih kahin samah huwang, rang bul ih sukah
hati, kaluh tuwan sukah, hurang kecil samuhah, nang
magantih kaluh hinih, hurang knang jalan, tuwan tikah
katyeni (615).

Katutupan tahuh sipêk nang majalan, têbih hitu pratatih,
sayan katutupan, lèbbih sribbuh kênnyah, lah hiyah bhapah
nang baik, bahik di jalan, hituh sru printhah baik (616).

Bhapah Nirwesthi Nirpringgah dan Nirbayah, nans ribuh
hituh baik, diyah tmennyah hurang, pipikul sajah...

Prolonged process of Islamization

Some facts that could be-picked up from the Jayalêngkara text mentioned previously are as follows. First of all, it has been demonstrated that the author, and supposedly also the intended reader of his work, were adherents of Islam. The conquest of Singosari, Pringgabaya, Wisantara, Sunnalabha and Tumasik kingdoms could be symbols of a more basic ideal

principle of "the conquest of *Buda* (political) powers", the problem of which was presumable felt as still being actually in the second half of the 18th century A.D. The actuality of this issue was put through the description of the king (whom the author served and praised) as being a person that "*dennya ngrusak kapor kahot*" (his deed is extremely well in disconcerting the *kafirs*).

Nevertheless, the Hindu concept of kingship persisted to some extent. This fact is demonstrated by the expression in the text, mentioning that "the king is paralleled to *Suksma* in this world". The term "*suksma*", which literally means "soul", refers to the concept of "Soul of the Universe", coined as *Brahman* in the Hindu religious texts. This concept was especially expounded in the Upanisad's. *Brahman* has been defined as The Ultimate Reality. In later Hindu religious literature The Ultimate Reality has been personified as the god (*dewa*). Thus, in our text the Hindu idea of "the king as god incarnate" is also found, of which the expression was "the king is like the king of Swarga (the abode of gods in Hindu cosmology), truly he is the descendant of god".

These seemingly contradictory facts need some explanation on. In the first instance there seemed to be a firm determination to Islamize the Javanese society, but on the other hand a conservative attitude of clinging to Hindu concepts, and thence expectably also values, was still on hand. A possible interpretation for these facts is that the decision to preserve the concept of king as an incarnation of a supernatural power was meant as a strategic device. It had been confirmed by proofs, at least as the ancient rulers had perceived it, that this device had been effective in ruling the people. Thus, it could as well be used by the ruler to convert his people into Islam.

The function of Malay in Javanese society

Another fact worth noticing is the use of Malay within this Javanese narrative. It suggests that the author of *Jayalengkara* had a sufficient command of Malay. Furthermore, it could be assumed that the writer of this manuscript, and so much so most people around him, who were expected to read his work, were bilinguals.

It is noteworthy that the speech in Malay described in this *Jayalengkara* text is of the oral language variety, not at all identical to the literary variety which is represented by the examples of Malay literature so far known. A colleague from Banjarmasin, Drs. Ramli, recognized this Malay part of the *Jayalengkara* as being of local Banjar dialect of Malay, especially of the upstream regions. It differs indeed from the literary Malay of, for instance, the *Hi kay at Banjar* (cf. Ras 1968).

In his work on the text *Hikayat Banjar*, J.J. Ras has pointed to internal evidences from the text that suggested a close association of the Banjarese Malays with cultural traits and names of East Javanese provenance, especially related to Kling/Koripan/Kadiri/Daha (Ras 1968:182-200). The Old Javanese text of 14th century, *Nagarakrêtagama*, mentioned Tanjung Nagara with its capital town Tanjung Puri (ancient names referring to Banjar) as a dependency of the kingdom of Majapahit which was based in East Java. It could then be assumed that relationships between East Java and Banjar might have begun from the Kadiri era, then still maintained in the 14th century, and the effects of which was still in operation during the 18th century.

The fact of bilingualism referred to a situation where people within a certain community felt the urgent need for intensive direct communication between two groups of language bearers. In this case it might be between those having Javanese, and those having the vernacular Banjar Malay as their respective mother tongues. The choice of the oral register of Malay to be inserted into this Javanese text was probably indicative of its function as 'the other language' to be used in daily communication. The command of a vernacular Malay by the people of (the coastal areas of) East Java could be taken as an evidence that they were real bilinguals. They learned Malay for practical use, and not only as textual language (of which there are other evidences of their familiarity). This summation could be taken as a hypothesis to be tested by other surveys on *pepesisir* literature and other written documents.

Malay as a second language

A further question to be posed is in what situations was Malay used in East Javanese coastal area communities? The prevalent assumption was that since 'time immemorial' Malay had functioned as a mediating means of communication between people of different ethnicity, especially those who met each other in coastal towns. They met specifically for the sake of trade.

A remarkable fact is that there are indeed several regions in Indonesia that had been the cradle of Malay literature. The capital towns of these regions have a direct access to the sea. Among the most important of these regions are Aceh, Deli-Serdang, Riau, West Kalimantan, Banjar, Kutai, and Bima. The position of the Malay language in society was, however, diverse in the respective regions. In some regions, such as Deli-Serdang and Riau, Malay had always been the indigenous, local language. In other regions, such as Aceh and Bima, Malay literature was developed while another, indigenous local language persisted as a means of daily communications. Nonetheless, these processes of Malaynization are still

open to further scrutiny. There might be some change of status assigned to Malay: from a subsidiary second language to be used only for interpersonal communication with people from a different ethnic group, to a basic second language to be mastered so well as to be used in literary expression, and therefore became a means to fulfill spiritual and aesthetic needs. Syamsuddin (1982:292-300) has made an historical study on how a Malay ethnic group that propagated Islam came to be integrated within the society in the kingdom Sima on the island of Sumbawa, by the king's consent, in early 17th century. It must be through their agency that Malay literature developed later in the kingdom of Sima.

In the 18th century East Javanese case of the present discussion, it seems that Malay had still the function of a subsidiary second language. In other periods alike, Malay had never raised into such vigor as to become a literary language in Java, the cause of which might have been the stable function of Javanese itself as a means for different levels of communication.

The Malay speech inserted in the Jayalêngkara Javanese text showed that it was considered as a register, a language variety allocated for a specific social situation. In the present quotations of the Jayalêngkara text it seems that the specific situation was that of "heading the war", and the social relation was of a foreigner addressing the masses (Sujanma as well as Sutali in the town of the enemy). Those Malay speeches should be considered as functioning as a register although it must indeed been recognized as another, second language.

Another instance of a Malay speech in the same function within a Javanese text is given by the following quotation. This quotation is taken from the text *Manik Maya* (manuscript LOr 2101) which was written (not necessarily meaning composed) by the end of the 18th century in Surakarta, Central Java. The speech was the words of Ki Tuwa who was very much annoyed by Putut Jantaka. This last mentioned one was from time to time always changing his appearance while Ki Tuwa chased him. The challenging words of Ki Tuwa were as follows:

Hiya cobak jangngan lari, kalu saya sudah gussar,
hamungsuham Putut malotau, jangan satu maski duwa, kalu sama
gorengngan, yen badigal branni sunggu, gwa makan lan nasi
wadang (25);

Kalu sdah dapêt sakali , dwa ka li takut mangapa, mapan
sudah tate bentair, ya sakali saja tidak, guwa nepangngi
buta, kendati hada saribu, sama laki takut apa (27).

In this last example the situation was the same as the previous ones, namely that of "heading for the war/fight", but the social relation between the speaker and his 'interlocutor' differs at a certain point. In the former examples from the Jayalêngkara the speaker acted as a foreigner, addressing a mass of people of an indefinite number, whereas in the example from *Manik Maya* the speaker addressed one definite person, although that person spoken to was in a hidden or disguised state.

The two quoted texts were written in the same period. The Jayalêngkara was written in 1792 A.D., and the *Manik Maya* in 1794 A.D. They were, however, the products of different localities. The first one originated from an East Javanese coastal area, while the second one was written in a Central Javanese inland area. It is probably this last mentioned difference which made the difference in the variety of Malay adopted in the respective works. The words appearing in the *Manik Maya* had the spellings that are more in agreement with those of the Malay literary texts. On the other hand, the *Manik Maya* Malay was more subjected to the Javanese idiomatic patterns, such as the use of the words *mangapa* or *apa* at the end of a phrase (in *takut mangapa* and *takut apa* of stanza 27), which is comparable to the use of *baya* and *mapa* in Javanese phrases. These words semantically contain a question, even though in these phrases are contrarily used to emphasize determination. Moreover, Javanese words such as *hamungsu*, *yen*, *lan*, *tate*, and *nepangi* were inserted within Ki Tuwa's Malay speech.

Those facts may lead to the presumption that within the Surakarta court circles the Malay known was that of the literary variety. As to which region of Malay origin was it linked, is yet to be investigated. At variance with it, the Malay known in coastal East Java was evidently the vernacular Malay of probably Banjar origin. It is expected, however, that the literary variety of Malay was also known to the literati in East Javanese centres of culture.

By way of a comparison, mention could be made of the reverse occurrence: the use of Javanese in Malay literature. Mostly it was only words that were picked up from the Javanese vocabulary to give a certain 'colouring' for situations whenever there was an interaction with or among people from Java or any other place identified as being Javanese. The first person singular pro noun *manira* in combination with the second person singular pronoun *pakanira*, which are archaic Javanese pronouns, were used for those ends in the Malay texts *Hikayat Patani* and *Hikayat Banjar*. In the *Hikayat Patani* the two pronouns were reservedly used in the conversation between two officials of the *sultan ratu* of Palembang (Teeuw & Wyatt 1970:88). To give a more pronounced Javanese atmosphere to the conversation, terms used to denote certain things were taken from the Javanese, such as *paseban* to denote the king's

audience hall, and *lawang sêketeng* to denote door-gate (Teeuw & Wyatt 1970:88-9). When it referred to a Malay palace, the word used to denote the king's audience hall was the usual Malay word *balairung* (Teeuw & Wyatt 1970:92). It is remarkable in this case that one of the two manuscripts used for edition mentioned regularly *ra'yat Jawa Palembang* rather than just *ra'yat Palembang* (Teeuw & Wyatt 1970:28-36; 238-9). It can be observed in this case that Palembang was seen as "Javanese". In this work, another form of first person singular pronoun, namely *beta*, was reservedly used for yet another cultural sphere, Siam (Teeuw 15 & Wyatt 1970:96, 118).

The same pronouns, *manira* and *paknira*, were also used, and more frequently so, in the *Hikayat Banjar*. The two pronouns were used in conversations involving non-Malay persons, such as people from Tangga Hulin, the *juragan* Dampuwang, *patih*s from different countries, a merchant from Garasik, the Mangkunagara prince, the Sultan of Mataram, or the *dipati* of Madura (Ras 1968:338, 360, 402, 422, 452, 484,518). In most cases, in this text the two pronouns were used by a person addressing another, lower in rank. Only in one case was the conversation using those pronouns among equals.

According to Javanese rules, both *manira* and *paknira* should only be used by a person addressing some other person of lower rank. This rule was in general followed by the *Hikayat Banjar*, but not strictly followed by the *Hikayat Patani*. Anyway, in both Malay texts special words of address were used for persons of specific ethnic groups. Another Malay work, the *Sejarah Melayu*, displayed as well Javanese personal pronouns like *menira* and *kula* (both meaning "!" or "me") in describing conversations of the peoples from *Manjapahit*, while for regular Malay conversations *patik*, *aku*, or *hamba* were used (Shellabear 1950: 92, 98, 103). On the other hand, in the *JayaIengkara* quotation given earlier a specific Malay word, *tuwan*, was used as second person singular pronoun. These facts may lead us to the conclusion that in inter-ethnic communications people, while addressing, tend to use the personal pronouns taken from the language of the addressee.

Studies in social relationships between different ethnic groups along the Silk Road could furthermore be pursued on the theme of understanding and misunderstanding. The following small example from the *Sêjarah Melayu* would close this paper by illustrating that in interactions between people of diverging cultures understanding and misunderstanding can happen at the same time. In the episode of Hang Tuah visiting *Manjapahit* a row of precise terms for various kinds of Javanese art were mentioned. They are *bêrtandak*, *mêngigal*, *bêrwayang*, *bêrpêrang pupoh*, *mêngidong*, and *bêrkêkawin*. Nevertheless, within the same

part of the narrative, a poem was quoted in which the first lines were in (supposedly) Javanese and the second lines in Malay, of which the Javanese part is hard to understand (Shellabear 1950:99-100). The poem was:

*Awan surah tanggapan pênglipur saban dina katan paran
dina duna guki;*

Ya'ani ini sereh sambut olehmu akan pênglipor rasa
berahi, sahari-hari dilihat, sungguh dêmikian pun rindu
juga.

*Ebar sang ra'u kabeh dina laksmana lamaku pênjurit ratu
Malayu;*

Sabor sêgala anak dara-dara mêlihat laksmana bêrjalan,
hulubalang raja Melaka.

*Ki gadong panggong dina Sangka Ningrat teka Sangka
Ningrat teka penjurit ratu eng Daha;*

Ertinya: Gêmpa orang di atas panggongan sebab melihat
Sangka Ningrat datang itu, hulubalang ratu Daha.

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