

SYAIR PERANG SIAK

**A COURT POEM PRESENTING THE STATE POLICY
OF A
MINANGKABAU MALAY ROYAL FAMILY IN EXILE**

Edited and Translated
by
DONALD J. GOUDIE

with essays on the text
by

Phillip L. Thomas

and

Tenas Effendy



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Monograph No. 17

Syair Perang Siak

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Donald James Goudie was born in Queensland, Australia, in 1935. He trained as a teacher in Newcastle, N.S.W., and since 1955 has spent his working life as a schoolmaster. He has served in that capacity at St. Andrew's Cathedral School, Sydney for the past fifteen years.

He has been a frequent traveller in Indonesia and Malaysia, collects books on that area, and has a special interest in traditional Malay literature – a preoccupation he would like to find more time to indulge.

PREFACE

What began as a simple plan to prepare a useful edition of *Syair Perang Siak* has extended over many years. There have been times of intense activity and prolonged periods when the task gave way to more pressing projects. It is fitting as the project is completed to acknowledge the many distinguished individuals and institutions that, during that time, have responded to my letters of request for information or guidance. Distinguished and busy individuals make obvious targets for enquiries, yet it is remarkable and gratifying that so many responded magnanimously without any prospect of personal benefit.

For their altruism and support in this venture I wish to thank Dr Russell Jones, Mr J.R. Forsyth, Sdr Tenas Effendy, Dr R. Roolvink, Professor Cyril Skinner, Dr Virginia Matheson, Professor Amin Sweeny, Professor M.C. Ricklefs, Drs G.L. Koster (who stimulated a renewed interest in the enterprise) and Professor A. Teeuw (who agreed to read the text and translation prior to publication).

Those who contributed their expertise should not of course be blamed for errors of fact and judgment which remain. Some, I'm sure, would disapprove and regret that their good advice had gone unheeded.

Then I must express my indebtedness to the libraries of Leiden University and the Museum Pusat, Jakarta, that carried on the work of van Angelbeek, Klinkert and von de Wall, collecting and maintaining the manuscripts and now making them available to the distant researcher by means of microfilm, and even allowing an unannounced foreigner on a tourist visa to see and handle their trust.

Many other libraries in the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Indonesia, the United States and Australia have welcomed the casual enquirer. Especially I wish to acknowledge my 'home' libraries that time and again have managed to provide the resources sought - the Fisher Library at the University of Sydney, the Mitchell Library at the State Library of New South Wales and the Australian National Library, Canberra.

Lexicographers can easily be taken for granted, but this work could not have been attempted if it were not for the wealth of detail and example gathered and preserved by Marsden, Klinkert, Wilkinson, Poeradarminta, Winstedt, Iskandar and others.

In response to a letter seeking information on oral presentation, Dr Phillip Thomas asked to see the syair text. His enthusiasm for it, his offer to append an article to it, and his continuing optimism and support were most encouraging. His insights give an added dimension to this work.

Although this task was a protracted one, it was not until the work had been deemed complete and sent to the publisher that two significant contributions were made which necessitated changes in the presentation.

The first of those two contributions was the finding by Drs Koster of a letter from Klinkert revealing the source of KL 154 1849 as Siak. This startling news (for the internal evidence of the syair could scarcely suggest such a source) led to a further despatch of

enquiries which in turn led to the most welcome response from Tenas Effendy which is appended to this work and which demonstrates a previously unsuspected but rich tradition of performance of the *Syair Perang Siak* alive within the Pelalawan/Siak court community until the Japanese occupation (1942-1945).

The remarkable feature of this for me (doubtless readers will draw other conclusions) is the enduring quality of the text. Tenas Effendy had many informants stretching their memories over a decade and still able to come to a consensus not only on the ordering of stanzas but also on the wording of stanzas. The internal evidence of KL 154 is that the scribe feels free to modify a verse without concern, yet Tenas Effendy's evidence is that within a flourishing community of performers there was not only perceived to be a model text but there was in fact a demonstrable fixed text. Perhaps this feature is attributable to the fact that the text had from the outset been written down (such is a premise of this edition) and that there was always a manuscript to which a reciter could refer during performance (fortunately this view no longer depends upon my own inference).

Tenas Effendy also contributed a solution to many awkward readings caused by apparent inaccuracies in the manuscript. He has drawn on his intimate knowledge of local Malay usages and many of his comments have been added as quotations in the footnotes.

These changes have been made since the work has been in the hands of the publisher so, while care has been taken to correct cross-references and word lists, it is likely that some inconsistencies remain undetected. I apologise for any inconvenience caused by them.

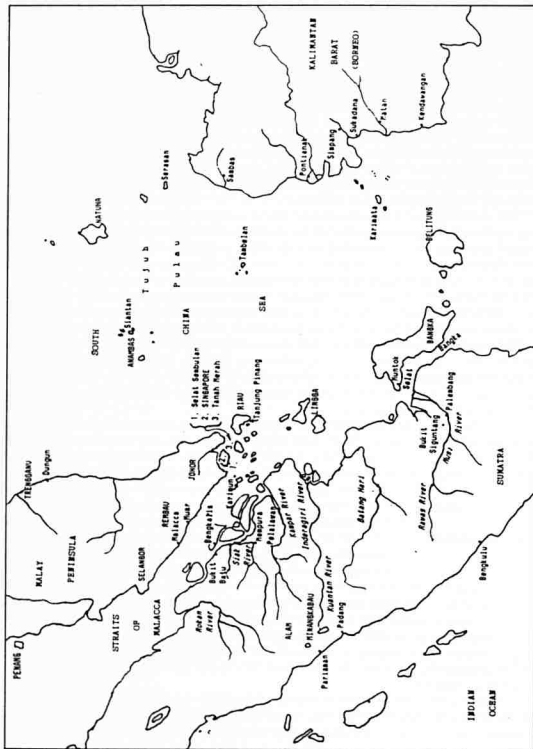
However, while these contributions have shed light on the provenance of the manuscript KL 154 1849 and the cultural community which maintained it, the primary focus of this edition has been to present KL 154 1849 as accurately and useably as possible. For me this includes the circumstances of its composition, for all texts begin with a meaning to be expressed and that meaning grows within a context of situation. The late alterations have given support and assurance to the major concerns of this edition; they have altered the lines of argument but not the argument itself.

A further contribution, which could not be incorporated within the introduction but is worthy of notice, was provided by Mr Ashley Turner who was introduced by Tenas Effendy to the Petalangan people to make a study of their musical forms. He was able to throw valuable light on problems concerning the performance of *syair* which had long caused concern and had seemed impossible to resolve. His experience has revealed that oral literature in *syair* and *nyanyi panjang* showing the relationship of the local people to the Malay kings is still an essential and important part of folk culture, and that the rhythms, melodies and techniques used for the presentation of *syair* vary, not according to the particular *syair* but according to the inclination of the presenter. The same *syair* may be heard presented in a variety of ways by different singers in different locations.

It was anticipated that most readers would not read through the introduction, but would read selectively to suit their own purposes and use it as a reference source. An effort was therefore made to make each section of the introduction self-explanatory. As a result, the introduction may appear repetitive to anyone attempting to read it through.

As my approach, judging by some reactions to it, was an individual one, it was also felt to be necessary to explain what was being done. It is hoped that such self justification is not found to be intrusive.

Finally I would like to express my gratitude to the Council of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for agreeing to publish this book and especially to Dr Mubin Sheppard, its editor, for his energy and cooperation in seeing the thing through.

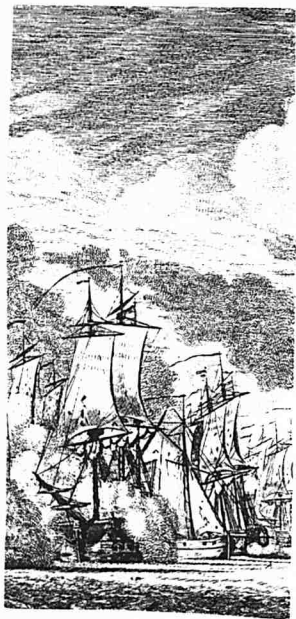


Central Sumatra and Southern Malay Peninsular

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INTRODUCTION



AN EXPLANATION OF TERMINOLOGY

The KL154 manuscript of *Syair Perang Siak*, as is typical of *syair* manuscripts, has two lines written side by side on the page. This line of writing is referred to here as a *verse*. A *verse* often forms a grammatical unit. Four *lines* are linked together by having a single end rhyme. Four linked lines are here called a *stanza*. A *stanza* often forms a unit of meaning and usually has a single grammatical subject.

The usage adopted in this work is that:

a *line* is a line as set out in the text,

a *verse* is two lines together (a-b or c-d), and

a *stanza* is a numbered unit of four lines.

Syair Perang Siak relates the stories of four sultans of Siak. These sultans are identified wherever reference is made to them by the title *Raja*. Other members of the royal family are given the title *Tengku*. Descendants of Sayid Uthman are given the title *Sayid*. This device of naming sultans *Raja* and members of the royal family *Tengku* is for the convenience of readers of this work in coping with many unfamiliar names. The title *Sayid* helps separate the new line of sultans. This is not precisely the Malay practice and does not occur in the text. *Raja* also occurs with different senses as parts of names or in quotations, but these instances should not cause confusion.

The fact that we have a manuscript means that someone wrote it down. The person who wrote out the manuscript is here named the *scribe*. It is probable that the *syair* had previously been composed by someone else. The composer is referred to as the *poet*. This does not rule out the possibility that the *scribe* modified the text.

If the *poet* did not witness the events, he got his information from an informant. There may have been many informants, but, if the *poet* was writing to specific instructions, then there was an informant closely associated with the editorial policy regarding how the material was presented. The editorial informant is referred to as the *owner* of the text.

For a major literary undertaking such as this there would need to be someone of substance who desired that the work be done and was willing to provide accommodation, support and remuneration for the *poet*. The person who instigated and backed the venture is referred to as the *publisher*.

There was a figurehead beneath whose mantle of authority and for whom all worked. He is referred to as the *patron*.

The work was designed for oral presentation so that when completed there would need to be someone to read, chant or sing it. That person is referred to as the *singer*. Those who listened are referred to as the *audience*.

These are terms of convenience to avoid unnecessary ambiguity within the present work. There is no implication in having seven terms that there were necessarily seven

individuals or groups. There are seven roles to be discussed. An individual may perform many roles.

In *Syair Perang Siak*, it will be argued,

the *scribe* of KL154 worked at Senapelan in Siak in 1849;

the *poet* came from Trengganu and worked at Tambelan in 1764;

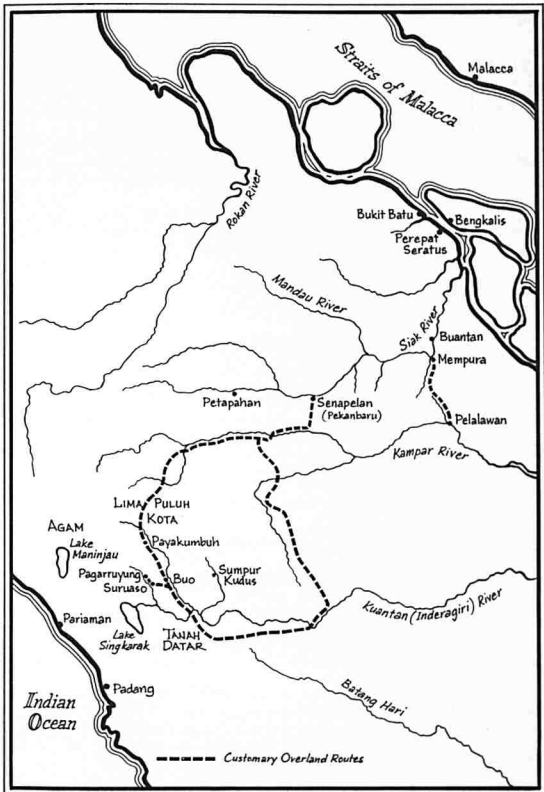
the *owner* was Tengku Abdullah, second son of Raja Mahmud;

the *publisher* was Tengku Busu, youngest son of Raja Kecil;

the *patron* was Raja Ismail;

the *singer* and *audience* were, in the first instance, Minangkabau from Siak in exile in the Tujuh Puluh and on the shores of the South China Sea after 1761.





North Sumatra showing the River Siak.

PERCEPTIONS OF THE TEXT

Amid current fundamental re-evaluations of the role of the student of literature, it will make for less ambiguity if there is first an editorial statement on the attitude taken here to the text as literature.

This book is about a literary event. That literary event took place within the life of a social group with political ambitions. The literary event was an oral presentation of a narrative poem. All that is left of the event is the text of the poem.

The author of a text destined for print postulates a reader - most likely a reader very similar to himself. He invites the reader into his psyche where the reader shares his experiences. The reader takes possession of the text. It becomes his own to do with as he will. Through time and across cultural boundaries there occur many literary events as readers respond to the author's story.

An orally presented text such as *Syair Perang Siak* must be seen quite differently. The poet does not need to postulate a reader. The recipients of the story are there about him. The poet is delegated to express their communal story. The literary event can occur only within that community while its membership and memory and aspirations are intact.

If the essential nature of such a traditional Malay *syair* is to be revealed in a printed edition then the cold embers of the written text must be rekindled, if only to a flickering life, within the mind of the reader. The text is not ours to do with as we will and adapt to our perceptions of literature. In the first instance the reader must attempt to rediscover the social and political setting, the enthusiasms, the motives, the ideals which drove the participants to this considerable work of literary expression. All who listened were interested participants. Not only the story but the events which fed it and the ambitions which drove it were the property of the audience as much as of the poet.

When a community gathers on a festive occasion and is arrayed in strict social order to participate in a literary event that expresses its self image, then that literary expression must be assumed to be highly sensitive to context. The context is the essence which the text is commemorating. The context cannot be left to one side while we consider the text as literature. Without the context there is no literary event.

Those who responded to the literary event were men of action. Political adventuring and armed combat were their lives' work and focus of interest. The perception of their literary expression as the product of a group of literati, self-consciously participating in a literary work for its own sake and focusing on its literary devices, is clearly a travesty of what actually occurred.

The poet, however skilled in his art and however much an individual artist, was servant to the community interest. He followed the beaten literary path through the forest of possible presentations because it was the line of least resistance. His only choice was to use the familiar techniques known to the community. Had he done it differently he would have attracted attention to the 'literariness' of his work. By following the conventions and using the

familiar techniques he was satisfying the expectations of his audience and making the literary work less visible. He was focusing attention on the content.

The literary event is self-contained, depending on nothing other than itself for its existence and justification. It was the creation not of a genre or other literary abstraction but of the predicament of a particular community. It was the community that was self-contained, providing from within itself all that was necessary to express itself in a literary event - using the language and forms that it had to hand, with no knowledge, outside the personal experience of the participants, of what had gone before or what was done in other communities and with no dependence on imperatives from outside.

This edition of *Syair Perang Siak* aims to open a small window on the group of people who first gathered at the court of a ruler in exile to share this literary expression of their situation, identity and aspirations. On that occasion it was likely that the singer and poet were the same person. The fact that he, and most of those present, cannot be named does not mean that they were any the less independent individuals, each in his own way an entrepreneur pursuing personal goals.

It is hoped that the prospect of a community involved in expressing itself in a literary event will add a little more depth to our view of the function of literature in traditional Malay society. Each individual is driven and constrained by the abstraction he holds of his world. But these abstractions are no more than the product of our experience. Our models and classifications cannot define but, like words, provide us with coarse tools for thought and communication. It is the accumulation of examples that defines. Definition must be left open to modification as each new example is experienced.

As an example of an under-represented category of *syair*, *Syair Perang Siak* may well test many definitions. *Syair Perang Siak* is the literary expression of a single family. Jealously guarded as family *pusaka*, such works are unknown outside the family and usually lost when the power of the family wanes and it loses its cohesion*. Yet such primary literary expressions, if they were indeed widespread, would provide better insights into the functions of literature within traditional Malay society than the more common texts of general interest which, of necessity, have been given most attention in literary histories.

One premise needs to be accepted: that the text we have from the 1849 manuscript is very close to the original text, believed to be composed in 1764 (except for the addition of Stanzas 529-575). Texts, it is true, are subject to change with each rewriting, but the viewpoint of events as expressed in *Syair Perang Siak* is quite different from the viewpoint of current local histories as revealed in official provincial publications. The *syair*, although copied within the domain of the son of a "usurping" sultan, presents the point of view of the exiled family. If no attempt was made to change such a fundamental antagonism, it is likely that the 1849 copy was a transcription only.

There is another factor. A manuscript takes on a different aspect to a text. A manuscript can become an artefact treasured for its magical power without reference to its content in the same manner as a *kris* may be treasured long after its usefulness in combat has passed.

The 1764 manuscript of *Syair Perang Siak* could therefore have received such care and attention that, in a stable home, it could easily have survived the 85 years till 1849. And so it is assumed that the 1849 text in its shape and form and most of its detail is a close copy of the 1764 text.

With regard to the *Syair Perang Siak*, we are fortunate in having other reports of the events recounted from both indigenous and foreign sources. At first encounter the words of the *syair* are often as meaningless as the transcription of a tapped telephone conversation.

* See for example DRAKARD (1986:52).

The other sources make it possible to identify people and places and events till, with reasonable assurance, the reader can begin to share in the significance and immediacy that the text had for its first participants, possibly in Tambelan where they had gathered to build their fleet.

With a closer analysis of its structure - the way events have been ordered, included and omitted, given prominence or passing reference - it becomes possible to make inferences about the cause to which the text is committed.

These inferences would be much less valid without an overview of events, without the kind of knowledge which the participants in the literary event had from personal experience and from personal contact with those who participated in the events being recounted.

Other sources and precise dates are therefore cited throughout this edition. They are not cited as judgments on the historicity of the *Syair Perang Siak*, declaring that a particular episode is true or false, accurate or inaccurate, useful or useless as an historical source. *Syair Perang Siak* needs no other validation than that it was accepted within its own community. It satisfied the felt needs of the members. Whether or not it fits neatly into one of our categories of history or edifying moral tales or any other, we must start with the premise that it was an acceptable literary form to its owners. The comparative citations from other sources are given with the sole purpose of allowing the reader of the printed text the opportunity to recognize (however dimly), using the background knowledge (however partial) of the original participants, the references and allusions and selectivity of the poet. It may then be possible to reflect upon the role and function of one piece of literature in a traditional Malay community.



کسره الله ابنته و تومها
دن دن صفت کد و همت مسمما
الحله الله فوجیه بیغ ملامی
بزرگن محله میله لا انبیای
اشغفر الله لهیب مؤتوبت
وفوق همت کفله نیر دن ضحان
فقت بزرگت دالب مملکوت
نیلد و فله غله دغه مات

مؤتوبت مولد فر نهما
فر همغون او جود مملین نهما
بهکب لاله توهن بیغ ملامی
جافت بر نادر بیغ میا میا
منتوا مغوب نی جافت لپت
فکر جان معصیت جافت نر
عیالده دملولو سوده پات
مقله فقیر منله قدر جارت

نر منلا قبضه مؤتوبت
بوندت بلوغه منجادی نکر
منلا مرصن کتیا ابنت
انده همت بوزین لاکب مؤتوبت
ایتوله نکر ای اصله مولات
نیلد و برچ کوشن خیرت
مرصین بوزین الف کفالغ
مصفن فجاج مبالغ مبالغ
کجو هر کوشن کفالو قلنت

ملد دملولو او فر بیغ بهاری
کایوت باپو اگر دین دوری
بنده مر بقا لپش بیغ ترشتو
او فرغ ملامت بر همت مؤتوبت
مرصین نیله لاکب مابرات
مقله او فرغ بشر مر تنهک
مؤلب دن کپ بر مبالغ
مصفن فجو کت نیله نر مبالغ
مرچ بوزین مر تنهک ن

WHAT WE HAVE AND HOW WE GOT IT

Access to the text of *Syair Perang Siak* is available from one source only. That manuscript, apart from one or two words, has been used exclusively in this edition.

The manuscript is listed in van Ronkel (1921:185) as 195 "Sja'ir Perang Siak I" KL 154. The 'KL' indicates that it came from the collection of H.C. Klinkert. It is currently held in the Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek.

The manuscript was a gift from van Angelbeek to Klinkert at Riau in 1864. Van Anglebeek had acquired it from the Yam Tuan of Siak.*

EXTERNAL FEATURES

- a) Dimensions of leaf. 20.5 cm x 16 cm
- b) Number of pages. Folios or leaves are numbered in pencil, apparently by the Dutch collector, and the first folio has "Sja'ir Perang Sijak" in Roman script. The final folio is 32. The text begins on folio 3 verso and ends on folio 31 recto. There is a colophon on folio 32 recto. There are 59 pages of text including the colophon. All pages unused by text are filled with a variety of jottings which are difficult to differentiate in the photocopy.
- c) Gatherings. Multi-section binding is used. There are eight sections of two sheets or four folios or eight pages.
- d) Paper. The first and last sections are white paper. The other sections are blue paper.
- e) Rulings. Lines and margins appear to have been made by the pressure of a form or mould. Ruling up in pencil is evident only in the colophon.
- f) Folio 2 verso has marginal designs in gold leaf. Folio 2 recto has a similar gold design in the central column.
- g) The writing is in Jawi script. It is fine and black ink is used.
- h) Layout. The syair is set out in the conventional way with two unbroken columns on a page. The syair is read across from column to column. There is no external indication of stanzas in the layout.

THE COLOPHON

The colophon has been reproduced here without the later marginal additions. It is in two parts - a central section surrounded by a circle giving the date of the copy and urging care with the manuscript, and eight radiating arms.

* Letter from H.C. Klinkert to the Executive Committee of the Dutch Bible Society dated Riau 2 September 1864.

I am indebted to Drs G.L. Koster of the Bureau Indonesische Studien, Leiden for a transcription of sections of this letter. The information, received in March, 1988, has necessitated a considerable revision of my conjectures about the later uses of the text. This will be explained below.

There are considerable differences between the handwriting style of the colophon and the body of the text but the variations may simply be expansive flourishes.

Central Section

a hijrat Nabi sy
 b hijrat Nabi sallallahu alaihi
 c wa salam seribu dua ratus enam
 d puluh enam tahun kepada tahun jim bila-
 e ngan Khamsiah waktu Loha jam pukul
 f sembilan dewasa itu pada menyatakan
 g surat Perang Siak Encik
 circle Mustafa orang Siak barang siapa meminjam surat ini baik-baik sedikit karena
 sahaya menyuratnya tiada sudah sehari adanya

"The Hegira of the Prophet, may God bless him and save him, 1266, the eighth year in the Thursday reckoning*, forenoon, the ninth hour is the occasion for publishing the book of the Siak wars of Encik Mustafa, a Siak man. Whoever borrows this book take some care with it because I wrote it not a day since."

AH 1266 begins on 17th November, 1849 and ends on 5th November, 1850.

Radiating Arms

The radiating arms make up four pantun.

S-N	Bunga malam mulia susun emas merah aria ningsun	- dikarang orang negeri Jawa - tuan timbangan badan dan nyawa
E-W	Merpati terpa hijau jikalau tuan ke langit hijau	- pecah berganti di dalam jadian - abang menanti di kaki awan
SE-NW	Jawa menulis siang terbang Jawa yang adil rela hilang	- Lukman tukang sifatnya - segan dengan tempatnya
NE-SW	Anak Maskat main kereta tuan terikat di dalam cita	- kereta lalu ke Kampung Gelam - haram tak luput siang dan malam

The reading is uncertain but the message appears to be:

1. You are my very life.
2. Wherever you go I shall wait for you.
3. We must accept our end when it comes.
4. You will ever remain in my thoughts.

The wording suggests a lover who has lost his beloved, but it may be worth considering the possibility that the sense of the *pantun* is suggestive of a people who have lost a prince.

* A.H. 1266 coincides with Jimakir, the eighth Year in the Javanese Windu cycle of eight (BALAI POE-STAKA 1932:16). The calendar changed from *Khurup Khamsiah* to *Khurup Arbangiah* (from Thursday to Wednesday reckoning) after *Tahun Ehe* (1820) but there were regional variations and the Jakarta calendar did not conform till after *Tahun Be* (1863) (STIBBE 1927:Deel 5 - 413; RICKLEFS 1974:54-55 n. 42; RICKLEFS 1978:223,234).

DESCRIPTIVE NOTE

At the top of folio 2 recto is a note in Jawi script by the guardian of the manuscript. The hand shows considerable differences from the text and from the colophon.

"Ini surat Perang Siak Encik Mustafa orang Siak Kampung (?) m-r-w-la-ng-n diamnya di Pekan Baru Sungai Senapelan 1268 sanat."

This note, dated two years later, repeats the information in the colophon that the manuscript is the story of the Siak wars and the scribe was Encik Mustafa. "Pekan Baru" and "Senapelan" are place names on the Siak River. "Senapelan" is an old name for Pekanbaru and the site of Raja Alam's tomb where it still stands in good condition. It has not been possible to identify "Senapelan" as the name of a river but settlements are typically made at the mouths of tributary streams.

THE SCRIBE

In the study of this manuscript it quickly becomes evident that the scribe as well as the poet, has his own technical constraints which are separate from those of the poet. The poet has to find final rhymes and make lines balance in a way that will give the listener expectations about how a verse or stanza will end and so sustain a positive listening attitude.

The scribe is no less constrained by the requirements of his craft and pride in his workmanship. A scribe sets himself the task of having all lines of equal physical length to fit precisely into the space provided. The result is that normal spelling can be quite distorted with the stretching and compressing of words, giving a letter usually omitted, or indicated with dots only, its full isolated form. Two words can be compressed with one syllable doing double duty in successive words.

Spelling can also be made capricious and unpredictable by the requirement for clear visual end rhymes as distinct from sound rhymes. The scribe does not number stanzas or group lines into stanzas. His sole guide to the pairing of verses to form a stanza is the end rhyme. This becomes evident in considering Stanzas 268 and 342 where verses have been omitted. On both occasions the mistake has been made by the scribe when successive stanzas have had the same end rhyme. The need to translate sound rhymes into clearly delineated visual rhymes leads the scribe to some individual spellings with prominence being given to a penultimate or antepenultimate letter.

Footnotes illustrate these and other spelling peculiarities to permit testing of editorial decisions which have had to be made about the most likely reading of a word. Such decisions may not appear to be justifiable from the manuscript.

A second constraint which the scribe imposes on himself is the number of lines to a page. On five pages commencing folio 18 recto, nineteen lines only were written per page. The scribe, noticing his errors, repeated the last verses on each page. One might have expected him to repeat the first verse of the next page and so complete the final stanza on each page but the completion and unity of a two verse stanza appear not to have been the major considerations for the scribe. He desired pages of equal length.

The repetition of these and other verses highlights another phenomenon of the manuscript which might otherwise pass as an untestable observation. The text appears to have many additional *alif* in unexpected places. They are often smaller in size than the usual *alif* and tend to be written directly above a letter. When lines are repeated these *alif* are not repeated. A photocopy does not differentiate the two forms of *alif* and a single examination of the manuscript did not reveal any difference in ink.

The additional unexpected letters have been called 'small alif' and recorded as '(a)'.

A sample count of the incidence of small alif has shown that it occurs much more frequently with *ra* and *wau*. The next most frequently associated letter is *ya*. A reasonable

inference may then be drawn that the small alif is used to aid the singer. Above *ra* it acts as a *tanda mati* indicating a closed syllable as in *ber-* and *ter-*. With *wau* and *ya* it serves to indicate that these should be read as vowels. These uses are not absolutely consistent and the small alif may have other functions.

There are no other diacritical marks used in the manuscript.

The script is so inconsistent in its spelling and so concerned with the shape and appearance of a word that it would be unwise to give letters a precise phonetic value and attribute variations in spelling to variations in speech or dialect. Kathirithamby-Wells and Muhammad Yusoff Hashim (1985:xiii-xvi) can write confidently of the "phonology in the *Syair Mukomuko*" and present graphemes as phonemes, but a one-to-one relationship between grapheme and phoneme, between the written word and its phonetic pronunciation would be too bold an assumption in this case. It is a Minangkabau practice to give all words which occur in Malay their Riau spelling and attempt a phonetic representation only with exclusively Minangkabau words which have no conventional Riau form (DJAMARIS 1982:346-347). Such words do not occur in this text. Therefore, even if its owners and the scribe continued to use distinctively Minangkabau pronunciations, the reader cannot be aware of them from this manuscript.

OTHER MANUSCRIPTS

1. There are two copies of the 1849 manuscript KL154.

a) **v d W 273** in the collection of the Museum Pusat, Jakarta.

This is listed in van Ronkel (1909:349) as CDLXX "Sja'ir Radja Siak". It was bequeathed by H. von de Wall to the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Von de Wall died in Riau on 2nd May, 1873.

b) **KL 153**, like KL154, is in the collection of the Leidsche Universiteits Bibliotheek on permanent loan from the Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap.

This manuscript is listed in van Ronkel (1921:85) as 196 "Sja'ir Perang Siak II". It was copied for H.C. Klinkert who worked for the Dutch Bible society as a translator and later as a lecturer.

The colophon indicates that the manuscript was completed in Riau on the 13th day of Jamadi 'lawwal, a Saturday at 10 o'clock AH 1281 which is equivalent to 15th September, 1864.

The manuscript was probably copied by Encik Moemin the son of the "Hoogepriester" at the Riau mosque.*

2. Tenas Effendy has reported the existence of two manuscripts in Pelalawan on the Kampar River in Sumatra.

a) A very old manuscript by Encik Abdullah from Trengganu kept at the palace of Sultan Syarif Harun Abdurrahman Fakhruddin (1940-1945) at Pelalawan. It was lost in the Revolution of 1945-1949.

b) A copy of (a) made in 1937 by Tengku Johan bin Ibrahim. This manuscript was seen by Tenas Effendy. The guardian of this manuscript died recently and the manuscript cannot be located.

Here is an extract from Tenas Effendy's letter from Pekanbaru on 1 November,

* Letter from H.C. Klinkert to the Executive Committee of the Dutch Bible Society dated Riau 2 September, 1864. See above page 13.

1974. It is the only evidence for the existence of the Pelalawan manuscripts.

"Dalam arsip Kerajaan Pelalawan (kerajaan ini berakhir th 1945) terdapat sebuah naskah *Syair Perang Siak*, yang tiap tiap tahunnya dibacakan di istana Pelalawan dengan suatu "upacara khusus". Menurut Sultan Syarif Hasyim bin Abubakar Fakhruddin (1892-1930) naskah syair tersebut adalah naskah *asli* yang beliau warisi turun temurun. Naskah ini menurut beliau ditulis oleh *Encik Abdullah (Encik Lah)* yang berasal dari *Terengganu* (Malaysia). (Keterangan ini diperdapat dari bp. Tengku Said Umar, cicit Syarif Hasyim yang selama beberapa tahun menjadi Sekretaris pribadi beliau.)

"Setelah Syarif Hasyim mangkat, naskah disimpan oleh Tengku Said Osman, sebagai Pemangku Sultan (1930-1940). Setelah putera Syarif Hasyim yang bernama Tengku Said Harun dilantik sebagai Sultan Pelalawan dengan gelar Syarif Harun Abdurrahman Fakhruddin (1940-1945). naskah ini disimpan oleh beliau.

"Sebelumnya, yakni th.1937, naskah ini disalin oleh Tengku Johan bin Ibrahim.

"Dalam masa perjuangan revolusi phisik bangsa Indonesia 1945-1949, naskah aslinya disimpan oleh Tengku Long Esah, adik kandung Syarif Hasyim. Setelah beliau meninggal dunia, naskah ini disimpan oleh menantunya yang juga merupakan keluarga terdekat Sultan, yakni Tengku Tonel (Jaksa Kerajaan Pelalawan). Dalam masa revolusi itu, penduduk Pelalawan meninggalkan kota Pelalawan, tidak terkecuali keluarga T. Tonel. Dalam pengungsian itu naskah asli bersama salinannya disimpan oleh putera T. Tonel yang bernama Tengku Nazir Said Alwy.

"Berakhirnya masa revolusi. T. Nazir kemudian menjadi Kepala Kecamatan, yang berpindah-pindah, sehingga arsip kerajaan Pelalawan dan naskah-naskah diatas kurang diperhatikan. Maka baru-baru ini, saya menemui T. Nazir yang sekarang berada dikota Pekanbaru, menanyakan tentang naskah asli itu. Yang baru berhasil dijumpai adalah salinannya. yang ditulis oleh Tengku Johan."

3. Under the auspices of the Provincial government of Riau, Tenas Effendy has published a modernised version of *Syair Perang Siak*. Working from oral tradition and adapting the text to current social and political needs, Tenas Effendy continues many of the practices and techniques of the traditional Malay poet.
 - a) "*Syair Perang Siak*" disusun kembali oleh TENAS EFFENDY
Badan Pembina Kesenian Daerah Propinsi Riau
Pekan Baru 5 Mei 1969
 - b) As an obvious economy measure its reprinting has been included in the volume OK NIZAMI DJAMIL and DJOHAN SJARIFUDDIN SH
"Selayang Pandang Antropologi Budaya Riau"
Badan Pembina Kesenian Daerah Propinsi Riau
Pekan Baru 1972 pp 35-119

Tenas Effendy begins a brief historical background to his version of the syair with a single paragraph on his sources.

"Dengan memberanikan diri kami menyusun kembali syair PERANG SIAK dalam

bentuk dan bahasa yang lebih sederhana. Disamping itu telah pula dilengkapi dengan beberapa nama yang menjadi pelakon dalam syair tersebut, yang diangkat dari peninggalan-peninggalan lama, baik berupa cerita dari mulut kemulut, maupun dari silsilah Raja-raja Siak Sri Inderapura yang dimulai dari Sultan pertama: [Raja Kecil]...sampai kepada Sultan terakhir ..., dan beberapa bahan lainnya yang kami dapati dari koleksi istana kerajaan Pelalawan."

PROVENANCE

The provenance of the manuscripts of *Syair Perang Siak* will be treated more broadly later in the Introduction when dealing with the function of the text in its social and political milieu.

Here is a reconstructed outline of a possible sequence of events in the history of these manuscripts.

1. After his expulsion from Siak on 17th June 1761 (NETSCHER 1870:126) Sultan Ismail went eventually to Siantan (COD OR 7304:475) where he claimed the right of *kerah* and established his authority over the people (MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:126).
2. Tengku Busu and Tengku Abdullah, acting on his behalf, made contact with the Sultan of Trengganu to gain his financial support, and a marriage between Raja Ismail and a daughter of the Sultan of Trengganu was arranged.
3. Raja Ismail established a base at Tambelan (COD OR 7304:476). There the main purpose was the construction of ships. However, the opportunity may have been taken, prior to Raja Ismail's marriage, to have a poet, brought from Trengganu, compose a dynastic poem stating the claim of the exiled heirs of Sultan Mahmud to the throne of Siak.
4. In August 1779, after the death of Raja Alam, Raja Ismail returned to Siak taking with him his wife from Trengganu (MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:363-364) and therefore doubtless his household property including *Syair Perang Siak*. Other members of his family remained in Kalimantan Barat, the Tujuh Puluh, Karimata and their widespread settlements around the South China Sea where the text may well have been kept by such a stalwart of the family as Tengku Busu who settled in Bangka on the Straits and later in Kendawangan (COD OR 7304:493, 513; MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:147).
5. Sultan Ismail's son, Sultan Yahya, was driven out of Siak by Sayid Ali*, in 1791.

The Siak fugitives with their households fled from the impending attack by Sayid Ali and took refuge in Pelalawan. A young Raja Akil (whose story the *Siak Chronicle* becomes) was in the party. Pelalawan was then ruled by Tengku Abdullah who is believed to have been the young man who accompanied Tengku Busu on the mission to Trengganu as described in the final stanzas of the syair. Gathered in Pelalawan were all the leading characters of the *Siak Chronicle* and their worldly goods.

Then came an attack from Sayid Ali's brother, Sayid Abd al-Rahman. The Siak family was driven out and Sayid Abd al-Rahman became ruler of Pelalawan. (COD OR 7304:547-552; MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:206-210; NETSCHER 1870:139ff)

* The previous adventuring lifestyle of Sayid Ali may be conveniently glimpsed in Andaya (1979:341-2). His activities are given at greater length in the *Siak Chronicle* (COD OR 7304:522ff).

6. The text was from that time maintained in the courts of Siak and later Pelalawan. See below the article by Tenas Effendy (pp 255-266).
7. A Siak manuscript, KL154 1849, was procured by van Angelbeek from the Yam Tuan of Siak. (A secondary wife of the Yam Tuan was the source of several of Klinkert's other manuscripts.)
 The Siak manuscript was held at Senapelan (Pekanbaru) so it may well have been in the possession of the Yam Tuan Muda, Tengku Putera, a nephew of the Yam Tuan Besar, Sayid Ismail 1827 - 1864. The site of the capital had been moved downstream to Siak Sri Inderapura by Sayid Ismail's expansionist father, Sayid Ali. Tengku Putera, the son of Sayid Ibrahim, had persistently contested his uncle's right to the throne of Siak. Tengku Putera's threat to Sayid Ismail provided openings for English and Dutch intervention and led eventually to the Contract of 1858 and the absorption of Siak within the hegemony of the government of the Netherlands Indies. (SCHADEE 1919:66-81; TENAS EFFENDY & NAHAR EFFENDY 1972:40-41)
8. When H.C. Klinkert, an agent of the Dutch Bible Society, went to Riau in 1864 to study the Malay language in its 'pure' form and translate the Bible into that language, he was given the manuscript KL154 1849 by van Angelbeek. (STIBBE 1919:244; von de WALL 1870: 305-307)
9. Two copies were made in Riau at the time - KL153 1864 and von de Wall 273. H.von de Wall also at that time resided in Riau.
10. Klinkert's collection was the property of the Bible Society and was placed on loan in the library of Leiden University (van RONKEL 1921:vi). The von de Wall collection was bequeathed to the Museum of the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, now the Museum Pusat, Jakarta (van RONKEL 1909:ii).

Additional information and alternative perspectives on items 4 - 7 may be found below in Tenas Effendy's "Sedikit Catatan tentang: *Syair Perang Siak*".



THE PLACES AND TIMES OF WHICH THE TEXT TELLS

The *Alam Minangkabau*, the world of the Minangkabau people on the mountain backbone of Central Sumatra, is isolated from its near neighbours and was largely unaffected by the flow of trade and peoples which for many centuries passed by. To the West, a steep and difficult descent leads to a narrow strip of coast with few indigenous products other than those brought down from the highlands. To the East, rivers have created and dissect broad, sparsely populated, low-lying plains of tropical forest and mangroves. Beyond the mangroves ancient trade routes passed East to China, Java and the Spice Islands and West to India, the Arab world, Africa and Europe.

For the most part there was little incentive for Minangkabau people to look beyond the fertile comfort of their closely farmed and productive mountain valleys and plains.

Contact with the outside world fluctuated. The pressure of increased population on limited land resources, aggressive expansion of a neighbouring power and the interest of foreigners in local products all affected movement to and from the Minangkabau Highlands and contact with outsiders.

To see the text of the *Syair Perang Siak* in perspective it is necessary to place it in a background of Minangkabau society and politics, European trade and expansion in the region, and the fortunes of the Johor Sultanate.

MINANGKABAU SOCIETY

The *Alam Minangkabau* is divided into three regions or *luhak* - to the West, Agam; to the East, Lima Puluh Kota and Tanah Datar. From the eastern *luhak* flow four rivers and their tributaries - Rokan, Siak, Kampar and Inderagiri.

In the North of Tanah Datar near its boundary with Lima Puluh Kota are historic settlements of royal origin, superimposed on the matrilineal Minangkabau society since the middle of the Fourteenth Century. According to Malay texts, this royal house traced its descent from Sang Sapurba, eldest of the three princes, descendants of Iskandar Zulkarnain, who came miraculously to earth upon Bukit Siguntang near Palembang. Originally patrilineal, a succession dispute in 1683 resulted in a change to a matrilineal principle of accession (ANDAYA 1975:276,329-331). The old system had three kings - the Raja Alam at Pagarruyung, Raja Ibadat at Sumpur Kudus, and Raja Adat at Buo (DOBBIN 1975:78). In the new system the Queen Mother, Puteri Jamilan at Pagarruyung, replaced the Raja Adat and had responsibility for appointing the Raja Alam. The second king was at Suruaso. At the opening of our story, therefore, royal authority was firmly established at Pagarruyung. The *syair* associates Raja Kecil with the Raja Alam at Pagarruyung and other contemporary sources show Raja Kecil claiming the support of the Puteri Jamilan.

Apart from the royal house, all else was matrilineally organised. Inheritance of Minangkabau land, the major source of economic power, and other lineage *pusaka* passed from

mother to daughter. Power therefore resided within the matrilineage. A man's primary social and economic role was as a brother to a property controlling woman. The kings were referees rather than potentates, often powerless to enforce their decisions against a wealthy and vigorous lineage. But that has little bearing on our story for the Raja Alam at Pagarruyung is significant here for his legitimacy and ancient lineage.

Our text is concerned not with those who stayed but with those who left. The role of a man was ambiguous and recognised as difficult. In a large communal matrilineage house a husband was a respected guest unable to be active in household duties. A brother felt the constraint to avoid his sisters' husbands. To accommodate these recognized difficulties there was the institution of *merantau*. A man could spend a season or years in outer territories or in foreign parts to make his fortune and return when he had financial independence.

Groups of expatriate Minangkabau grew up in foreign places but such was the strength of the Minangkabau social code that the emigrant, freed from the economic imperatives of his homeland's social structure and rules of land ownership, continued to maintain his sense of identity with the homeland through his lineage. All Minangkabau could name their *Suku* and so relate directly to their position in the homeland. And so it was that Raja Kecil had a clearly defined status in a ready made group of followers when he descended to Bengkalis in the second decade of the Eighteenth Century.

THE EUROPEANS

Our interest in European intrusion is divided into two parts: 1970-1790 and 1810- 1850. These two periods are separated by the Napoleonic wars and represent quite different aspects when viewed from the standpoint of a local ruler in the region of the Straits of Malacca.

In the first period, European forces, though powers to be reckoned with, were not insuperable obstacles to local independence. The foreigners from afar were transitory birds of passage and subject to the same irresistible dominance of seasonal winds as the locals. Their interests for the most part lay elsewhere. As surely as they came, they went, or sheltered within their fortresses awaiting the arrival of ships from China, from India, from Java.

The British came from India and clung uncomfortably to Bencoolen (Bengkulu), seeking pepper off the beaten track on Sumatra's west coast. The Dutch, besides their west coast base at Padang to control traffic in goods from the highlands, were established at Malacca on the Straits. But, since they had taken *A Famosa* from the Portuguese in 1641, that base had been in decline. From the earliest days of Dutch shipping to the Indies they had used a more reliable and less seasonally restrictive route. Passing South of the Cape of Good Hope, they utilized the Westerlies to get across the Indian Ocean, and turning North when they believed they had reached the appropriate meridian they ran before the South East trade winds which brought them, with luck and careful navigation to the Straits of Sunda. And so Dutch ships were able to reach Batavia in a shorter time without risking the chancy winds and changing, uncharted banks of the Malacca Straits which traditionally had provided the sea route from India to China. Malacca was reduced to the role of an outpost supplying Batavia with local produce.

Dutch and British were not the only Europeans. Portuguese, French and Danish captains were also ready to support the cause of a local ruler in return for trading advantage.

After the Napoleonic wars the situation changed. Both the Netherlands and Britain returned with vigour to the task of ensuring dominance in the region. Their rivalry led to greater territorial claims. The British, recently established at Penang, added Malacca and Singapore to their control and began to exert an influence on the peninsula kingdoms and Borneo. The Dutch began to establish the same territorial control of production at stations in

Sumatra and Borneo and islands between that they had long maintained on Java.

The struggles in places were long, but the result seemingly inevitable. Only the most sanguine and determined indigenous ruler held out against them.

In 1710 an ambitious nobleman like Raja Kecil could pursue his ambitions where he would, making and breaking alliances when he could, depending on his own ability and power to establish his Sultanate.

In 1810 an ambitious nobleman like Raja Akil, saw that his best hope for power lay with the activities of the European invaders whose decisions were made elsewhere. His ability and energies could be effective only if he utilized the power of the foreigners and accepted the authority of others.

THE JOHOR SULTANATE

The Straits of Malacca formed an obstacle for ships plying between India and China. Equatorial windshifts, doldrums, and sudden squalls made negotiating narrow channels of the straits a hazardous undertaking. Added to the risk was the danger to merchant vessels of attack by light, fast *perahu* or war canoes manned by scores of fighting men. The multitude of low, mangrove covered islands along the Sumatran and Malayan coasts provided cover for attackers to lie in wait and a network of passage ways for small craft to escape with their booty. The Straits and nearby islands attracted seasonal adventurers from distant parts in addition to the local Orang Laut who sought their livelihood from these waters.

A succession of petty kingdoms sprang up and prospered for a time giving some legitimacy to the control of local and international traffic, and replacing haphazard appropriation of passing ships or ships in difficulties by regularly taking customs duties as a kind of protection insurance.

One of these kingdoms grew to become a substantial trading centre offering port and storage facilities, a collection point for local produce and the opportunity for merchants to buy and sell in security. Although this kingdom moved from site to site and prospered and declined in response to the volume of trade from China or the West, there remained a sense of continuity. New kings identified themselves with ancient names. At Srivijaya, near present day Palembang, was established the governing myth of a contract between Sri Tri Buana and Demang Lebar Daun, the local chief. Three brothers, descendants of Iskandar Zulkarnain, came miraculously upon Bukit Siguntang. One was accepted by the local people, the Orang Laut, as ruler. The other two founded kingdoms elsewhere. The site of this capital moved eventually to Malacca. There in 1511 Portuguese attacked and captured the flourishing international mart. The Sultans of Malacca relocated again at Johor and, despite fluctuating fortunes, the royal line continued with uncontested authority, in local eyes, down to 1699. In August of that year Sultan Mahmud Syah was assassinated as he was being carried to the mosque. His bizarre and sadistic behaviour had put an intolerable strain on those in his court, but for the local people the contract between Sultan and subjects remained true.

The Sultan, apparently without heir, was succeeded by his Bendahara, his Chancellor. And so the uncertainty of years of rule by a deranged king was exacerbated by the lack of a legitimate successor, a true heir to the descendant of Iskandar Zulkarnain who had arrived on Bukit Siguntang centuries before.

The Dutch at Malacca were suffering some frustration. They had been instructed to take no military action except in defence of their trade. They could profit only from taxation. Moreover in 1641 they had been party to a peace treaty between Johor and Aceh which gave control of the Rokan and Siak to Johor (ANDAYA 1975:82).

When the China tea trade subsequently demanded gold, to satisfy the Chinese tea merchants, the Dutch were unable to trade competitively for the Minangkabau gold and were unable legitimately to tax gold shipments from Siak bearing the Johor *cap* (LEWIS 1970:40-

49). The Dutch at Malacca looked for opportunities to profit from the gold and tin mines in the upper reaches of the Siak River.

British, Danes and Portuguese visited Johor all looking for opportunities for alliance and preferment, Lanun made their periodic visits. But a new force began to take more than a passing interest in Straits politics. Bugis adventurers and mercenaries had been alienated from their homelands in Sulawesi by the Bongaya Treaty of 1668 which gave the Dutch a monopoly of the spice trade (MOORHEAD 1963:19). Some had settled in Selangor where tin and piracy provided a livelihood. After the death of Sultan Mahmud Syah in 1699, some Bugis replaced disaffected Orang Laut in their duties of patrolling, fighting and rowing. Clad in chain mail, practised in warfare and led by five brothers, Bugis fighting men became a unified and influential force in local affairs.

* * *

These broad brush strokes are intended only to evoke background scenery before which the story of the *Syair Perang Siak* can unfold. Nevertheless, these areas deserve closer examination and the following books which have been indispensable in the compilation of this outline would provide access for closer study.

For the Minangkabau, Dobbin (1975:77-89 and 1983:1-116) provides convenient, detailed and precise introductions and makes a difficult hidden area meaningful. The decline of the Johor Sultanate, the origins of Raja Kecil (founder of the Siak dynasty), his alliance with the Orang Laut and his conquest of Johor are given a full and extensive yet readable treatment in Andaya (1975).

The sections which follow in this account move from generalities to specific events. We are fortunate to have contemporary accounts which run parallel to the *Syair Perang Siak*.

As well as Andaya (1975) who covers the time of Raja Kecil, a readily accessible and readable account of the whole period and more is a translation of *Tuhfat al-Nafis* by Matheson and Andaya (1982). It follows the story of the Siak family, the descendants of Raja Kecil, in considerable detail. An advantage of using this translation is that it provides a wealth of detailed notes which put the narrative into clearer focus. A disadvantage of using *Tuhfat al-Nafis* is that it is a Bugis text and not sympathetic to the Siak cause.

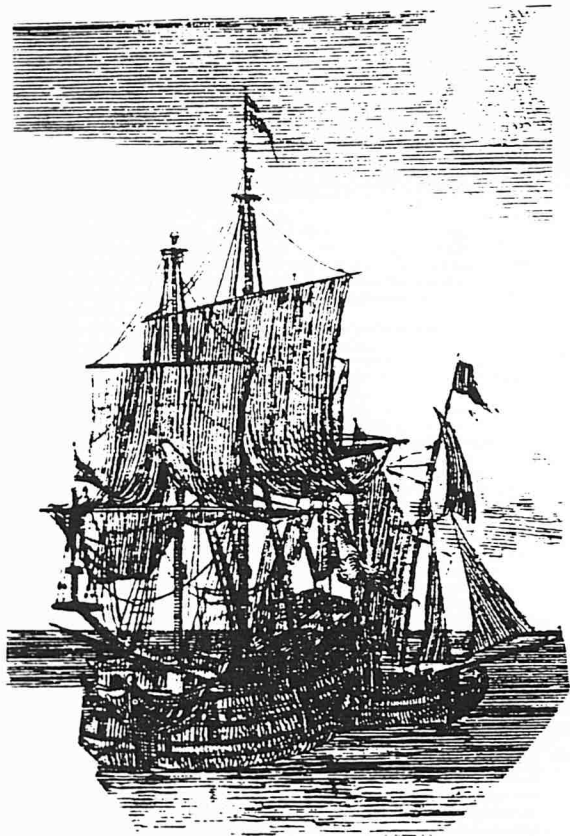
Raja Ali Haji, the author of the *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, used as a principal source, a Siak text. This is regrettably available only as a manuscript or on microfilm. It needs a machine and a facility in Jawi script to use it at all. Commonly known as the *Siak Chronicle* the copy used here (COD OR 7304) refers to itself as the *Sejarah Melayu*. It sees the Siak family as the successors of the Sultans of Malacca and Johor – a disputed issue which arises in the next section. Roolvink (1967:312) describes the *Siak Chronicle* as a "Hikayat Raja Akil". This text would make a most valuable companion to *Tuhfat al-Nafis* and deserves publication.

Very useful for its alternative view and precise dating but also inaccessible and in need of a reprint and English translation is E. Netscher's "De Nederlanders in Djohor en Siak..." (1870), based on reports and journals and correspondence held in the VOC archives at Malacca.

These three sources are often cited throughout this edition and a first hand knowledge of them would reward a reader interested in *Syair Perang Siak*.

The reader interested in literary forms should not suppose that, because the subjects of the text were of Minangkabau origin, the text is composed in a Minangkabau style. Even a hundred years after the events detailed in the text, descendants on Kalimantan still referred to themselves as Minangkabau. They were conscious of their origins but it is doubtful that they retained many of the social, cultural or literary conventions of their ancestors. Some old names are certainly retained and there may be other language clues to their linguistic past which are apparent to a Minangkabau speaker.





EVENTS WHICH INFORMED OR WERE IGNORED BY THE TEXT

At the suggestion of Puteri Jamilan, the Queen Mother at Pagarruyung, that he go to Siak and take Johor and avenge his father's death. Raja Kecil was tested for purity of descent and invested by the Yamtuan Sakti of Pagarruyung with the title 'Yang dipertuan Raja Kecil' and the authority to rule in the eastern *rantau* (COD OR 7304:422-425).

First he went to Bukit Batu near the mouth of the Siak River. He did not reveal his identity but traded in *terubuk* and *terubuk* roe and was fined by the traders of Bukit Batu. Indignant, he moved to Bengkalis where he found wealthy Minangkabau ready to accept his authority and support him in his plan to take Johor. He established a *suku* structure with four *penghulu* to govern. (NETSCHER 1870:50.54; COD OR 7304:425-426; MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:47-8,326)

While he was at Bengkalis, Bugis leaders, including Daeng Parani and Daeng Cellak, arrived. Raja Kecil already knew them from his time in Palembang (COD OR 7304:417-418), and they expressed the desire to aid in the taking of Johor if Daeng Parani could become *Yang dipertuan Muda* to Raja Kecil's *Yang dipertuan Besar*. That is, the Bugis desired the post of 'Underking', a role which they were shortly to use to control Johor-Riau during the reign of Sultan Sulaiman.

The Bugis returned to Selangor to prepare, but Raja Kecil contrived to take Johor without Bugis help. However he did not manage to escape involvement with the Bugis. By going ahead without them and thwarting their plans, he gained their enmity and was subjected to their attacks while he was in Riau. Eventually he was forced by Bugis pressure to give up his claim to the Johor Sultanate. As might be expected the *Tuhfat al-Nafis* (MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:48,326) gives an alternative account of Bugis involvement in the taking of Johor.

Also while at Bengkalis, Raja Kecil's forces were supplemented by the arrival of Orang Laut under the Raja Negara Selat, an Orang Laut official within the Johor political structure. Andaya (1975:188-9) associates leadership of the Orang Laut forces with Sri Bija Wangsa who had to be killed in 1699 before the assassins of Sultan Mahmud Syah dared to act (COD OR 7304:404-408; MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:42). That Sri Bija Wangsa's successor as Orang Kaya in charge of the Orang Laut forces defected to the invading Minangkabau before any fighting occurred (ANDAYA 1975:254).

The attachment of Orang Laut to the cause of Raja Kecil can be accounted for by the story that Raja Kecil was a son of Sultan Mahmud Syah whose assassination had shocked the Orang Laut and caused many to defect immediately.

Where and with whom that story originated is not easily discovered. When the Orang Laut arrived in Bengkalis a dispute arose. The Orang Laut claimed Raja Kecil as a descendant of the Johor royal house. The Minangkabau asserted his Minangkabau origin. Raja Kecil had to intervene to return their attention to preparation for the invasion of Johor but the *Siak Chronicle* does not reveal whether he corroborated the unlikely story of his ancestry (COD

OR 7304:427). The fact that the Orang Laut continued with him suggests that he did not deny it. The fact that the Minangkabau reacted to it with hostility suggests that the story that Raja Kecil was the son of Sultan Mahmud Syah of Johor was not current among the Minangkabau.

Who then was responsible for the story making Raja Kecil a posthumous son of Sultan Mahmud Syah of Johor?

The story is told in detail in the *Siak Chronicle*, accepted by Netscher, and recounted with due scepticism in the *Tuhfat al-Nafis* (COD OR 7304:408-416; NETSCHER 1870:48-50; MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:42-43). After Sultan Mahmud Syah had been fatally wounded, he lingered on long enough to fulfil several duties. One task was to leave an heir. In the absence of his fairy wife he was being attended upon by a concubine, Encik Apung, a daughter of the Laksamana, or Admiral of the fleet. By an unconventional method she conceived a son and was taken away by the Laksamana and the Raja Negara Selat to bring up her son under the care of the ruler at Muar. At the age of seven, the boy was taken back to Johor where he visited his father's tomb and was recognized as the late king's son. He subsequently spent time in Palembang, where again his princely qualities were recognized, and eventually went to Pagarruyung where he was adopted by the Puteri Jamilan, the powerful Queen Mother, before going off adventuring again.

This story both legitimises Raja Kecil's claim to Johor and provides the means of getting the support of the loyalist Orang Laut forces which had been alienated by the murder of Sultan Mahmud Syah.

Andaya (1975:271) quotes a letter from Raja Kecil to Malacca dated 22nd January, 1719 in which he does not mention that he was the son of Sultan Mahmud Syah of Johor but acknowledges the suzerainty of the Sultan of Pagarruyung. This is the attitude taken by the *Syair Perang Siak*.

Andaya also points out (1975:253) that it was the Bendahara Tun Abdullah, after an earlier visit to Bengkalis, who took back the story that a son of the murdered sultan was being sent by the Minangkabau ruler to avenge his father's death. Andaya points to the possibility of collusion between Raja Kecil and the Bendahara. The account of Raja Kecil's connection with the Johor Sultanate can therefore be seen as the invention of some of the leading figures of Johor hoping to profit from instability within Johor.

Nevertheless the whole of the *Siak Chronicle* account of Raja Kecil's origin need not be set aside. There is no need to reject Raja Kecil's connection with the Minangkabau royal house, or his visits to Palembang, Johor and Jambi (ANDAYA 1975:261-262).

This is the first of a number of occasions on which the *Siak Chronicle* account differs in attitude and selectivity from the *Syair Perang Siak* account. Others are noted in footnotes to the text. The *Siak Chronicle* has not yet been given a critical edition, but the colophon indicates that it was written in 1855 (that is, six years after the death of Raja Akil) at the direction of von de Wall, the Assistant Resident at Sukadana and so it was influenced by European notions of history and written records. On the other hand the *Syair Perang Siak* was probably composed about 1764 and was directed exclusively to the purposes and governed by the conventions of the society and culture within which it was composed.

Raja Kecil's stay in Riau from 1718-1723 as Sultan Abd al-Jalil Syah (COD OR 7304:431) was short-lived and intermittent. He was under constant threat from the Bugis and had to retire to Siak on more than one occasion leaving the centre of the sultanate at Riau deserted.

While in Riau he married Tengku Kamariah, the second daughter of Sultan Abd al-Jalil Syah, the Old Bendahara, now returned to his former role, the role he had held under the slain Mahmud Syah. This marriage was a tactical mistake because the elder daughter, Tengku Tengah, felt slighted and subsequently married the Bugis leader, Daeng Parani, and added considerably to the burdens of Raja Kecil.

When Raja Kecil was forced to flee Riau on the last occasion, he had to leave behind his

wife, Tengku Kamariah, and their son. From Siak, Raja Kecil had greater success in battle with the Bugis. After a successful sea battle in 1727 and an attack on Riau (ANDAYA 1975:308-310), Raja Kecil regained his wife and son, Raja Mahmud.

For the first time the four year old Raja Mahmud and the (?)twelve year old Raja Alam would have met, the older son having joined his father in Siak shortly before. Raja Alam was the son of the daughter of the Dipati of Batu Kucing. Raja Kecil had married her as a youth on a brief stay in Rawas upstream from Palembang (COD OR 7304:422). Raja Alam had joined his father after hearing in Palembang that his father ruled Siak (COD OR 7304:443).

Antagonism between these two sons was to set the pattern for Siak politics for years to come.

After Raja Kecil's success in 1727, there was a Bugis resurgence and an unsuccessful attack on Riau in 1728 was to be the last real effort that Raja Kecil made to regain control of Riau.

The Bugis on the other hand revelled in the uncertainty and lack of control over shipping through the Straits. They became a threat to the Dutch at Malacca.

In *Syair Perang Siak* the principal antagonists to the Siak family were the Dutch at Malacca. For all their success in driving out Sultan Ismail and his people, the events of 1761 were a hollow victory for the Dutch who profited little from their activities in Siak.

A 1641 Treaty gave Siak to Johor and a 1693 Resolution in Batavia prevented Malacca doing anything to offend Johor's proprietary right (ANDAYA 1975:178-9). Malacca could not share in a growing gold trade out of Siak because the fixed price it was allowed to offer was uncompetitive. Gold could be exchanged for cloth, but the Dutch could not compete in that commodity with Indian Muslims (LEWIS 1970:43).

After the Bugis defeat of Raja Kecil, Sultan Sulaiman, son of the Old Bendahara, and new Sultan of Johor, succumbed more and more to their power. As Daeng Parani stipulated (ARENA WATI 1973:67), the Yamtuan Besar would become as a wife, eating if she were given food, and the Yamtuan Muda would become as a husband deciding any matter which arose.

Sultan Sulaiman remained under the Bugis thumb till 1745 when the Yang dipertuan Muda, Daeng Cellak, died. His successor did not arrive for some years and Sultan Sulaiman took the opportunity to seek the aid of the Dutch Company at Malacca. And so began fifteen years of strife and fluctuating fortunes until Johor was brought once more under Bugis control in 1760 just before the death of Sultan Sulaiman.

Some events of that time are especially significant for our purposes. For Dutch support against the Bugis, Sultan Sulaiman reciprocated by handing over the territory of Siak (LEWIS 1970:181) even though he himself had at no time controlled Siak. Raja Kecil had been in control there since 1718. After he was driven out of Riau he had retained control of Siak.

However the Dutch, otherwise involved, did not act on their new rights until Raja Alam allied himself with the Bugis in 1748 and took Siak in 1753 and Dutch trade dwindled even further (LEWIS 1970:191). Raja Mahmud looked to Sultan Sulaiman, his mother's brother, for refuge and aid to regain his sultanate. He took an opportunist's line and offered to acknowledge Johor suzerainty in return for help. He had denied Johor suzerainty as recently as 1745 when Sultan Sulaiman had bartered away Siak in return for Dutch aid against his Bugis underking.

The Dutch Company at Malacca gave covert support to Sulaiman and his nephew, Mahmud, in return for safeguards to its Siak trade. In spite of this, combined Bugis-Minangkabau opposition made trade so difficult that the Dutch became desperate enough to take military action to curb their tormentors (LEWIS 1970:192-3). They drove Raja Alam out of Siak in 1755. The Bugis-Minangkabau axis responded by besieging Malacca in 1756.

The disputes and peace negotiations were protracted but the Dutch were quick to claim their price for returning Raja Mahmud to Siak. For Malacca the issue was simple - they had been given Siak in 1745 by Sultan Sulaiman and it was legally VOC territory. A base was built in 1756 at Pulau Guntung on the lower reaches of the Siak River to control Siak trade.

Raja Mahmud, newly returned to his domain, could not immediately deny them their reward. Soon, however, the restrictions imposed on Raja Mahmud's freedom, not only on the Siak River but also on the Kampar when he tried that alternative route, became too much of an imposition (LEWIS 1970:43-4,226).

Raja Mahmud reasserted his authority in Siak on 6th November, 1759 by capturing the Dutch garrison at Pulau Guntung and killing the occupants (COD OR 7304:463-466; MATHE-SON & ANDAYA 1982:96-7; NETSCHER 1870:104-6).

That event is not overtly mentioned in the *Syair Perang Siak* but the major part of the syair relates the Dutch response to Sultan Mahmud's action - the invasion of 1761.

Ironically, the Dutch would probably have withdrawn soon from their Pulau Guntung base which came too late and was unprofitable. The same year they withdrew from a similar base at Linggi (LEWIS 1970:220). The subsequent punitive expedition of 1761 was forced upon them to salvage a little of the lost esteem they had suffered in their Bugis wars and the easy overthrow of their Pulau Guntung garrison. They withdrew from Siak as soon as they could conveniently do so in May, 1765 (LEWIS 1970:221).

Dutch and Malay ideas of 'contract' were different. In the Malay world a contract could be maintained over centuries with a myth to support it and regular contact and activity to maintain it. A written agreement with a foreigner was a business arrangement to be used so long as it suited the purposes of the parties. For the Europeans, the written contract was binding over time, from across the globe, and despite changed circumstances. When Netscher (1870:127) concludes his account of the taking of Siak in 1761, he reveals the attitude taken by the Dutch to their capture of Siak - they were insisting on their contractual rights and sending in the bailiffs. "Thus on 17th June, 1761, the Kingdom of Siak was conquered by the United Dutch East India Company, which by right held that kingdom from the act of deed of Sultan Sulaiman in 1745". For Netscher, the occupation was the fulfilment of a contract with a putative overlord of Siak sixteen years earlier.

For the poet in *Syair Perang Siak* the occupation was the opportunist and ruthless use of might against a temporarily weakened king, but military might succeeded eventually only because the foreign invaders were led in the deciding battle by a king of equal legitimacy to the one overthrown. It was Raja Alam's legitimacy and not the might of the Dutch arms that was decisive.



EVENTS WHICH MAINTAINED THE TEXT INTO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

This section was intended to provide a background and justification for my favourite conjecture that the manuscript KL154 1849 was a product of the court of Raja Akil at Sukadana. The eleventh hour appearance of H.C. Klinkert's 1864 letter home to his employers* now places beyond question the source of the manuscript as Senapelan in Siak.

A survey of events after 1791 is therefore no longer important as a background on which to base speculations about the source of the manuscript. Nevertheless it is important for an appreciation of the text to know that the descendants of Raja Mahmud, although for the most part exiled from Siak, still remained a cohesive group with an awareness of their heritage and an intense interest in the issues canvassed by *Syair Perang Siak*.

Secondly, this section is allowed to stand because it points up the resilience of a text which could pass across a considerable political upheaval without significant alteration to its shape or content so long as the cultural milieu remained intact. This section provides an historical background for a consideration of how a text so clearly composed for the exiled Raja Ismail could serve the interests of those who expelled his son, Raja Yahya. A Siak view of the period is given in Tenas Effendy's appendix.

In 1761 Raja Ismail was driven out of Siak. Almost precisely thirty years later in 1791, his son, Raja Yahya, was driven out of Siak. This time there was no return.

Raja Ismail had been expelled by the Dutch Company at Malacca led at the moment of defeat by his uncle, Raja Alam. Raja Yahya was removed by a usurper of Arab descent who happened to be also a grandson of Raja Alam.

The text that served Raja Ismail's people in exile and kept alive the vision of their family's claim to Siak, could also have served the family members who fled with Raja Yahya in 1791. Raja Yahya himself had little inclination to contest his domain with the dominant Sayid Ali (supported by his forceful and enterprising father, Sayid Uthman) and he died at Dungun some years later (COD OR 7304:565,573).

However, there were other descendants of Raja Mahmud such as Tengku Endut, eldest son of Tengku Musa and Yamtuan Muda to Raja Yahya, who harboured the hope of one day returning to retake the family's inheritance (COD OR 7304:567). For the period in exile, the *Siak Chronicle* retains the use of Siak titles of office.

Upon the death of Raja Alam in 1779, Raja Ismail returned to Siak where Tengku Muhammad Ali had served for many years as Regent to his father, the late Sultan. Sultan Ismail was succeeded in 1781 by his son Raja Yahya who lived in dread of the notorious marauder, Sayid Ali bin Syekh (NETSCHER 1870:140). Sayid Ali had designs on the kingdom of Siak (COD OR 7304:537) and prepared to attack immediately he heard of the death of Tengku Muhammad Ali in 1791 (COD OR 7304:541).

* See above pp 13 and 17 and see below "Appendices" p 246 for the text of the letter.

Tengku Muhammad Ali and his wife, Tengku Ambang Besar, a daughter of Raja Mahmud, had, throughout all the civil strife over the years, remained as stabilising and continuing figures through the reigns of Mahmud, Alam, Ismail and Yahya and provided a link between Raja Alam's people and Raja Mahmud's people. A family member returning from adventuring would seek out Tengku Ambang and stay with her (COD OR 7304:521-522,535-536). Women are seen in the Siak Chronicle to have a distinctive and important, though not fully described, role.

With Tengku Muhammad Ali dead, the way was opened to Sayid Ali who before long had driven the Siak family from its domain for the last time (COD OR 7304:541-548; MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:206-210; NETSCHER 1870:143-145).

Sayid Ali was not without Siak connections. Although his father was an Arab, Sayid Uthman, his mother, Tengku Embung Badariah, was a daughter of Raja Alam and Daeng Khadijah (a daughter of the Bugis leader Daeng Parani) (MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:24). Then too he married Tengku Sayidah, a daughter of Tengku Musa (COD OR 7304:523; NETSCHER 1870:139) and had close connections with Tengku Musa's family, the prominent branch of the Siak family at the time. Tengku Musa's eldest son, Tengku Endut, was Yamtuan Muda to Raja Yahya and, his daughter, Tengku Aminah, was married to Raja Yahya (COD OR 7304:523).

Tengku Musa had entrusted one section of his family into the care of the Sultan of Pontianak so that his son, Raja Akil, could get his training in a foreign court. Without consultation or leave, Sayid Abd al-Rahman, a brother of Sayid Ali, plucked from the care of the Sultan of Pontianak that section of Tengku Musa's family. At Tambelan he handed them over to Sayid Ali who married one of Tengku Musa's daughters to his brother, and took the mother Tengku Salimah and fourteen year old Raja Akil back to Tengku Musa in Siak (COD OR 7304:530-6; MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:191).

Throughout his joint enterprises with Tengku Muhammad Ali, Tengku Musa and Tengku Endut, Sayid Ali took a high-handed independent approach. With the perspective of hindsight it is not difficult to infer that Sayid Ali, despite his apparent loyalty to the Siak house, was using his family relationships for his own purposes while gaining adherents by intimidation.

Tengku Musa, though annoyed by Sayid Ali, adopted an attitude of appeasement so that when Tengku Muhammad Ali died and Sayid Ali prepared an invasion fleet, Tengku Musa refused to allow Tengku Endut to prepare for the defence of Siak lest he should offend Sayid Ali by appearing the aggressor (COD OR 7304:541-544; MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:206-207). The result was that the descendants of Sultan Mahmud were soon seeking refuge in Kampar. When conditions deteriorated the young Raja Akil was sent off in charge of the women of the court on the three day overland trek to Pelalawan where Tengku Musa's elder brother Tengku Abdullah ruled. Tengku Abdullah's son, Tengku Muhammad, came from Pelalawan to escort them and met the Siak party between the Mempura and Pelalawan Rivers (COD OR 7304:548).

After the fall of Pelalawan (COD OR 7304:551), there began a series of adventures which led to Raja Akil in 1827 becoming Sultan of Sukadana, a position he held by appointment of the Dutch government at Batavia. At Raja Akil's death in 1849, his son was appointed by the Governor-General *Penembahan* rather than Sultan.

Raja Akil deserves a biography. His activities are recorded in the *Siak Chronicle*. He was well regarded by the British whom he served (COURT 1821:203ff) and reviled in a syair from Palembang when he supported a Dutch invasion there (WOELDERS 1975:197,388). The Dutch thought very highly of him.

Probably the best source of information apart from the *Siak Chronicle* is Blume (1843)

who collected first hand accounts of the time, but, as this work is not generally available, Veth (1856:150) is useful for his description of Raja Akil and subsequently a full account of matters of Dutch interest in Kalimantan. Family relationships are difficult to interpret and foreign writers should be treated with caution in this regard. Veth, for example, says that Raja Akil was a grandson (*kleinzoon*) of Raja Yahya. He was in fact a first cousin. From all sources it is evident that Raja Akil saw his company as the Siak Court in exile and from an early age saw himself as a potential ruler of Siak.

From the age of eighteen years he kept in touch with Yahya's people in exile (COD OR 7304:553) until he found that group was headed nowhere (COD OR 7304:565). After Raja Yahya's death (COD OR 7304:573) he married a daughter of Raja Ismail, Tengku Badariah, and took the women of Raja Yahya's company to Sambas where they could be cared for by his elder brother (COD OR 7304:576). After the deaths of Tengku Musa and Tengku Abdullah, he nurtured the next in line to the Siak throne, Tengku Mahmud, though he tired of that task (COD OR 7304:577-8). When Tengku Mahmud died (COD OR 7304:583), the leadership role soon fell to him and he became a Major in the Dutch marines (COD OR 7304:639).

Even back in Siak in 1823, Sultan Ibrahim (1821-1827), the son and successor of Sayid Ali (1791-1821), knew of Raja Akil's ambitions to return to rule Siak and Dutch intentions of supporting his claim (ANDERSON 1971:342-343). Sultan Ibrahim who had ruled as Regent since his father retired in 1810 was given to opium smoking and piracy was common along the river. The Dutch had been denied access to Siak and were actively involved on the West Coast of the Alam Minangkabau (ANDERSON 1971:162-166). The time was ideal for a move back to Siak.

The purpose here is not to give an account of the period but to show that the descendants of Raja Mahmud in exile around the shores of the South China Sea had a feeling of identity and unity and still regarded themselves as the Minangkabau ruling family of Siak.

On an expedition to Simpang and Matan in 1822, a Dutch agent, Georg Muller was supported by Raja Akil and his fighting ships, and Muller's report, quoted in Veth (1856:153-4), shows that all Raja Akil's people were well versed in the stories of their own ancestors and were keen to relate their deeds. The impression given to Muller was of Aeneas, driven from Troy by the Greeks, in search of a new home. Aeneas of course was used by the Roman poet, Virgil, to trace the heroic origins of Rome for the Emperor Augustus.

Here is an extract from Muller's report.

"During our stay at Simpang in November, 1822, these Officers and people often spoke of a certain Sultan Mahmud. To the question: who was this Sultan Mahmud, Raja Akil seized the opportunity and with visible emotion said, 'He is the lawful heir to the throne of Siak, for he is the eldest son of our line. We acknowledge him as Sultan.' We listened with rapt attention as the speaker, like another Aeneas, related the struggle for Siak and the fortunes of the princes and descendants of that kingdom.

'For long,' thus he continued, 'our Fate has scattered us over the seas, after the conquest of our fatherland, until our Fortunes have united us again. Here I finally rediscovered my old and venerable father. He had from that time lived in grief and sorrow but will in the future, under my care, enjoy a better lot. I shall tend him and watch over him and I shall not be unworthy of the honour that I am descended from the same Siak line.'

"As the pious Trojan of former times carried his father away on his shoulders, so Raja Akil took his father (or rather his uncle, Mahmud) to Pontianak.

"Every crew member was full of talk of his ancestors. the word sailor is unknown among them; they are comrades and travelling companions. Every helmsman seems to be another Palinurus and sings the praise of his father and the leaders and princes of Siak, not forgetting their own adventures and perils... "

A difficulty with this account is the identity of 'Sultan Mahmud'. The most likely candidate is listed in the *Siak Chronicle* (COD OR 7304:453) as the eighth son of Raja Mahmud but von de WALL. (1862:113) lists only five sons of Raja Mahmud with descendants in Kalimantan. However, he fits the role given in the *Siak Chronicle* (COD OR 7304:567): "Tengku Mahmud...bertemu dengan Paduka Kakanda Tengku Musa dan Anakanda Yamtuan Muda". Tengku Musa was his elder brother and Tengku Endut and Raja Akil were his nephews. This agrees with Muller's account.

However the identity of the Sultan Mahmud in Muller's account is not crucial. He is not a major figure later in the *Siak Chronicle*. His death is announced briefly in an isolated sentence (COD OR 7304:583). His value for Raja Akil would have been that it was easier to promote the cause of another and then succeed him.

The *Siak Chronicle* is Raja Akil's story. According to the colophon it was first written in 1855 at the direction of the Assistant Resident, H. von de Wall (COD OR 7304:647). However it is noticeable that the bulk of the material occurs well before 1827. The promise by Batavia of the Sultanate in return for the expulsion of the Sultan of Matan takes only two pages 641-642 – and the campaign itself gets cursory treatment.

The wealth of early detail and the lack of later material suggests the possibility of an earlier text of the *Sejarah Melayu* (the name the *Siak Chronicle* uses to refer to itself (COD OR 7304:647)) possibly related to Raja Akil's ambitions to return to Siak. Such ambitions would have ended with the succession of Sayid Ismail, Sayid Ibrahim's son, in 1827. The manuscript v d W 191 (of which COD OR 7304: is an 1893 copy) could then be an updated version done for H. von de Wall in 1855.

As a setting for a presentation of the *Syair Perang Siak*, Sukadana, the seat of Raja Akil, Sultan Abd al-Jalil, would have provided a responsive environment. There literary activity was familiar. A reading of the text of the *Syair Perang Siak* would have found an audience receptive, not only to the finer points of style, to its edifying qualities or its instructional merits, but especially the audience would have responded to the substance and sentiments of the text which confirmed and enhanced the images that they held of their leaders' and their own ancestors and their own current status in the world. The attitudes and images of the *Syair Perang Siak* reflect accurately the views of themselves which were conveyed to Georg Muller in 1822 at Simpang, upstream from Sukadana.

However it was not at Sukadana that KL154 was read but at Senapelan (Pekanbaru) in Siak. Sayid Ali (1791-1827), who expelled the descendants of Raja Mahmud, was a vigorous expansionist sultan and absorbed twelve territories along the coast of Sumatra. He was as concerned to maintain the peace of his vast domain as he had been to disrupt its peace when it belonged to others, prior to his accession (TENAS EFFENDY & NAHAR EFFENDY 1972:39). At his retirement in 1810, Siak hegemony was acknowledged along the East Coast of Sumatra and that was the situation discovered by John Anderson (1971) on his mission in 1823. However in Siak itself Anderson found the situation not so clear cut, for Sayid Ibrahim, who was acting as regent, was weak and addicted to opium and himself needed a guardian (TENAS EFFENDY & NAHAR EFFENDY 1972:40).

In 1827, Sayid Ibrahim died and was succeeded by his brother, Sayid Ismail. Sayid Ismail's reign (1827-1864), despite its considerably greater length, had some notable parallels with the first reign of his namesake, Raja Ismail (1760-1761, 1779-1781). Where Raja Ismail's succession was contested, so too Sayid Ismail's succession was contested by his nephew, Tengku Putera, son of Sayid Ibrahim. Just as Raja Ismail's reign was threatened by a foreign power, so too Sayid Ismail was threatened first by an Englishman, Wilson, whom he had employed to protect him from Tengku Putera, and then by the Dutch whose aid he enlisted to rid him of the Englishman. The Dutch of course were an even more determined foe for their

willingness to assist had attached to it claims to treaty rights dating back to 1745 which they now sought by way of recompense. And so at last the Siak dynasty, begun by Raja Kecil in 1723, lost its independence by the Contract of 1858 (TENAS EFFENDY & NAHAR EFFENDY 1972:40-41; SCHADEE 1919:66-81).

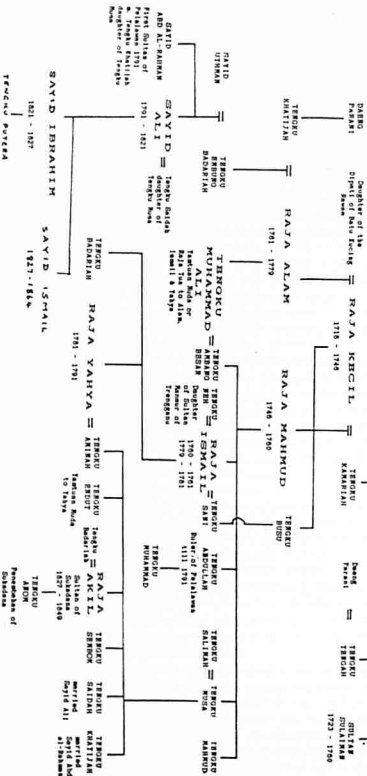
However the dynasty continued to flourish at Siak Sri Inderapura under the wing of the Dutch government which benevolently, though with its own interest in mind, saw to the education of young heirs to the throne. The last sultan acknowledged the Republic from its inception in 1945 and died at Rumbai in 1968 (TENAS EFFENDY & NAHAR EFFENDY 1972:45-47).

The vigour of literary activity at the Siak and Pelalawan courts in this later period until 1940 and the importance of *Syair Perang Siak* in that literary activity is developed in Tenas Effendy's article appended below.



DESCENDANTS OF RAJA KECIL
FIRST SULTAN OF SIAK

SULTAN ABD-AL-JALIL SYAHI STAR
OF JONGK
1699 - 1716
OLD BERDANDA



There are no more than a small selection of individuals to aid in the reading of *Syar' Fering Star*.

THE PEOPLE OF THE TEXT AND THOSE OFF STAGE

These biographical notes are designed to facilitate a reading of *Syair Perang Siak*. The events recounted in *Syair Perang Siak* may have had minimal impact on the lives of some of those listed and their biographical notes do not therefore give a full or balanced picture of them. The Sultans of Siak are listed chronologically; others are listed alphabetically.

The Sultans of Siak

RAJA KECIL

Raja Kecil (or Kecik) was also known as Tuan Bujang, Sultan Abd al-Jalil Syah and Marhum Buantan. He was born in 1700 or earlier and died in 1746. At the time he invaded Johor in 1718 there was a story current that he was a posthumous son of Sultan Mahmud Syah of Johor (qv). His youthfulness in that account, should not be regarded as an impediment to its veracity. The story was believable at the time and there are many indications that full warrior status was entered upon very early by today's conventional military standards, and retirement from active involvement was also early.

From other contemporary sources however it seems more likely that he was of Minangkabau origin and was from the household of Puteri Jamilan at Pagarruyung. He had adventured in Palembang, Johor and Jambi prior to returning on this occasion to the *rantau* - this time to the Siak River. There he traded in fish before uniting the Minangkabau and other elements in Bengkalis against Johor. Antagonism to Johor probably resulted from an increasing Johor interest and effectiveness in implementing its hegemony over the region.

As a result of his invasion of Johor he established himself as Sultan of Johor from 1718 to 1723. There he was under constant pressure from Bugis forces and returned to Siak where he established himself as its first sultan with his *negeri* at Buantan. He ruled from 1723 to 1746, though in his later years he was incapacitated by an irrational melancholia said to have been brought on by the death of his wife (COD OR 7304:448).

His children included Raja Alam (qv), Raja Mahmud (qv) and Tengku Busu (qv).

RAJA MAHMUD

Raja Mahmud was also known as Tengku Buang, Sultan Mahmud Syah, Sultan Abd al-Jalil Muhammad (or Muzaffar) Syah, and Marhum Mempura Besar

A son of Raja Kecil, he was born in Riau early in 1723 to Tengku Kamariah (qv). When he himself was forced to abandon his capital, Raja Kecil left his wife and son in Riau, apparently in the expectation of returning. He left them there again after an attack in 1725 and eventually in 1727 took Tengku Kamariah and Raja Mahmud back to Siak with him. Raja Mahmud died in 1760 shortly after taking the Dutch base at Pulau Guntung.

Raja Mahmud's antagonism with his elder half brother Raja Alam (qv) set the pattern

for Siak political life. Raja Mahmud looked to his mother's people, the Johor Malays, for support while Raja Alam made alliances with Bugis from Bone. Both Raja Mahmud and Raja Alam used and were used by the Dutch at Malacca in alliances of convenience.

Raja Mahmud was preferred by Raja Kecil as his successor. This was probably a result of Raja Kecil's love for Tengku Kamariah whose death was said to have deranged him. Although it is a text of the descendants of Raja Mahmud, the *Syair Perang Siak* makes no mention of such a preference. The *Syair Perang Siak* is concerned to refute any suggestion of Johor hegemony over Siak, and Tengku Kamariah was a Johor princess.

Raja Mahmud established his *negeri* at Mempura and called it Inderapura. Raja Mahmud's children and grandchildren were numerous and were the owners of the *Syair Perang Siak*. His children included Raja Ismail (qv), Tengku Ambang Besar (qv), Tengku Abdullah (qv), Tengku Abd al-Rahman, Tengku Musa (qv) and Tengku Mahmud (qv). Included among his wives was a daughter of Daeng Mattekuh. She was the mother of Raja Ismail (MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:23). Daeng Mattekuh was from Wajo and an enemy of the five Bugis brothers from Bone (MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:327).

RAJA ISMAIL

Raja Ismail was a son of Raja Mahmud. His mother was a daughter of Daeng Mattekuh. He was born about 1745. His names include Sultan Ahmad Syah, Sultan Abd al-Jalil Rahmat Syah and Marhum Mangkat di Balai. He was not yet an adult when his father died in 1760 and the Dutch invaded. One of the principal themes of *Syair Perang Siak* is that, despite his youth he showed kingly qualities by inspiring his people to a spirited defence of his realm.

After his expulsion from Siak in July 1761, he led the life of an adventurer until Raja Alam died. He then returned to Siak and ruled from 1779 till his death in 1781. His capital was at Mempura.

While he was in exile, Raja Ismail made an alliance with Sultan Mansur of Trengganu. That alliance is believed to have been the immediate stimulus for the composition of *Syair Perang Siak*.

Included among his wives were Tengku Sani, daughter of Tengku Busu (qv), and Raja Neh (qv). Among his children were Raja Yahya (qv) and Tengku Badariah who married Raja Akil (qv).

RAJA ALAM

Raja Alam was the eldest son of Raja Kecil. He was born to a daughter of the Dipati of Batu Kucing in Rawas, probably about 1712 and he died at Senapelan (Pekanbaru) in about 1779. His titles include Raja Rabb al-Alam (MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:23), Sultan Alamuddin Syah and Marhum Bukit.

Although *Syair Perang Siak* does not acknowledge him as Sultan of Siak until after the fall of Siak to the Dutch in 1761, control of Siak alternated between Raja Alam and his younger half brother, Raja Mahmud, on five occasions between 1746 and 1760.

Raja Alam retired from active political life in 1765 and left the running of the state to his son Tengku Muhammad Ali (qv).

Raja Alam's *negeri* was at Senapelan where his tomb now stands in the grounds of a mosque.

He married Daeng Khatijah, a sister of Daeng Kemboja, the first Yamtuan Muda of Riau - that is the *de facto* ruler of Riau during the time of Sultan Sulaiman (qv).

His children included Tengku Muhammad Ali (qv) and Tengku Embung Badariah (qv) who married Sayid Uthman (qv). It was that marriage from which came the line of sultans that reigned in Siak from 1791 to 1945.

TENGGU MUHAMMAD ALI

Tengku Muhammad Ali was a son of Raja Alam who administered Siak from the time of his father's retirement from active political life in 1765 till the return of Raja Ismail in 1779. He died in 1791.

His titles include Sultan Muhammad Ali Abd al-Jalil Muazzam Syah. Sultan Abd al-Jalil Mualam Syah and Marhum Pekan.

Syair Perang Siak does not acknowledge Tengku Muhammad Ali as a Sultan of Siak. The original reason was that the *syair* was composed, it is believed, in 1764, the year before Tengku Muhammad Ali became administrator of the Sultanate. The reason why that attitude was maintained is that the *syair* is a statement of the claim of Raja Ismail to succeed Raja Alam. Any acknowledgement of Tengku Muhammad Ali as a primary legitimate successor to Raja Alam would undermine the central purpose of the text.

However the Dutch at Malacca readily pardoned Tengku Muhammad Ali for his part in the defence of Siak against them in 1761 and acknowledged his accession to the throne. The Dutch of course would have had cause to be grateful to Tengku Muhammad Ali and his wife Tengku Ambang Besar (qv), for the *Siak Chronicle* attributes the success of the invasion of Mempura to their treachery. The story goes that they heard of a Dutch threat to exile Raja Alam to Ceylon if the invasion failed, and so, while Tengku Ambang Besar watered the Siak gunpowder, Tengku Muhammad Ali scuttled his ship. That explanation is repeated in the *Tuhfat al-Nafis* (MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:125-126). *Syair Perang Siak* has no mention of Tengku Muhammad Ali's defection, though the fact that he is left in Stanza 450 to take delaying action and is not mentioned again may be an implicit acknowledgement that he was not at the defence of Mempura.

Tengku Ambang Besar was a daughter of Raja Mahmud and her marriage with Tengku Muhammad Ali provided one sure link between the two branches of the Siak family. Just as Tengku Muhammad Ali was accepted back by Raja Alam after 1761 so he was accepted back by Raja Ismail after 1779. There was initial flight and delay, but the reconciliations were made.

It was Tengku Muhammad Ali's death in 1791 that signalled the final breach within the family. Sayid Ali became the dominant force among the followers of Raja Alam, and Raja Yahya, always intimidated by Sayid Ali, had to flee the country.

Tengku Muhammad Ali held the post of Panglima Besar and/or Yamtuan Muda under Raja Ismail, Raja Alam and Raja Yahya. For a short time in 1784 he was involved with Sayid Ali in an attempt to take over Selangor and became briefly Sultan of Selangor.

RAJA YAHYA

Raja Yahya, son of Raja Ismail, was born about 1760 and died in 1791 while taking refuge in Trengganu.

His names and titles include Tengku Sulong, Sultan Ahmad Syah, Sultan Yahya Abd al-Jalil Muzaffar Syah, Marhum Mangkat di Dungun.

He succeeded Raja Ismail in 1781 but was continually threatened and harassed by the aggressive and ambitious Sayid Ali (qv), who, on the death of Tengku Muhammad Ali, was unrestrained and manoeuvred and bluffed Raja Yahya's followers out of Siak. There was no major battle and Raja Yahya showed little inclination to retake his domain even though Sayid Ali appears not to have made a legal claim to the throne until Raja Yahya's death. The burden of pursuing the claim of the descendants of Raja Mahmud to the Siak throne fell to Raja Yahya's uncles and cousins.

Raja Yahya married Tengku Aminah (qv), a daughter of Tengku Musa (qv) and sister of Raja Akil (qv) who became leaders of the family in exile. Raja Yahya's *Yangdipertuan Muda* was Tengku Endut, Tengku Musa's eldest son.

SAYID ALI

Sayid Ali's titles include Sultan Abd al-Jalil Syaifuddin and Marhum Kota Tinggi.

Sayid Ali was the son of an Arab, Sayid Uthman (qv) and Tengku Embung Badariah (qv), a daughter of Raja Alam (qv) and a Bugis princess. He therefore had some, though not a great deal, of the blood of the Minangkabau family of Siak.

He was a feared adventurer. When Tengku Muhammad Ali perceived the hopelessness of their invasion of Selangor and left, Sayid Ali stayed on as his regent until driven out. He was ambitious for power and got from Raja Yahya the post of Chief of Bukit Batu in 1788. His approach everywhere was one of piracy and plunder rather than stable government. However, once he became Sultan of Siak in 1791, his methods extended the hegemony of the Sultanate along the East Coast of Sumatra and he was a strong ruler. The impact of his rule was remembered and, long after his death and the decline of Siak, acknowledgements of Siak suzerainty came from vassal states.

During his reign the descendants of Raja Mahmud in exile had little hope of reclaiming their inheritance.

He relinquished office in favour of his son Ibrahim in 1810, and died in 1821.

Sayid Ali had used the family of Tengku Musa (qv) to get close to the centre of power in Siak. He was at times an associate of Tengku Musa. His brother Sayid Abd al-Rahman (qv), unbidden, took charge of Tengku Musa's wife and children in Kalimantan and both Sayid Ali and Sayid Abd al-Rahman married daughters of Tengku Musa.

SAYID IBRAHIM

Sayid Ibrahim, a son of Sayid Ali, was a weak ruler and given to smoking opium. His rule after 1810 and the death of Sayid Ali in 1821 gave Raja Akil, son of Tengku Musa, some hope of retaking Siak. That hope was finally lost in 1827 when Sayid Ibrahim died and was succeeded by his brother, Sayid Ismail (1827-1864).

SAYID ISMAIL

Sayid Ismail was also a son of Sayid Ali. During the reign of Sayid Ibrahim and after his own accession he was in conflict with Tengku Putera, Sayid Ibrahim's son. It was that conflict which led to his invitation to the English and Dutch to intervene and, eventually, to the Treaty of 1858 which effectively handed Siak over to Dutch control.

The manuscript KL154 1849 was copied at Senapelan during his reign.

Kin, Connections and Contemporaries

Sayid ABD AL-RAHMAN

Sayid Abd al-Rahman was a son of Sayid Uthman (qv) and a brother of Sayid Ali (qv). He had the same buccaneering attitude as Sayid Ali. He was associated with Tengku Muhammad Ali and Sayid Ali in their conquest of Selangor. He subsequently in 1789 went to Kalimantan and engaged in piracy before taking up residence with Tengku Musa's wife, Encik Salimah (COD OR 7304:531). When ordered to leave by the Sultan of Pontianak in whose care Encik Salimah and her family, including Raja Akil, had been placed by Tengku Musa, he did so, taking Tengku Musa's family with him. He raided down the coast until he reached Tambelan and there he married Encik Salimah's daughter, Tengku Khatijah (COD OR 7304:532). See also Matheson and Andaya (1982:191,374).

In 1791, Raja Yahya fled from Siak to Pelalawan before the intimidatory stance of Sayid Ali. Sayid Abd al-Rahman went to Pelalawan with twenty *perahu* and was met with the first

show of resistance from Raja Yahya's people. He defeated them and took over Tengku Abdullah's *negeri* subsequently becoming the first sultan of Pelalawan (COD OR 7304:550-552).

To this event is attributed the presence of *Syair Perang Siak* within the pusaka of the royal house of Pelalawan.

Tengku ABDULLAH

Tengku Abdullah was a son of Raja Mahmud and younger brother of Raja Ismail. He was therefore young at the time of the Dutch invasion of Siak in 1761. However he is featured in the *Syair Perang Siak* account of the battles and had his own ship. His exploits are recorded extensively in the *Siak Chronicle* and the *Tuhfat al-Nafis*.

In 1791 he was ruler at Pelalawan when Raja Yahya fled there before Sayid Ali. His *negeri* was later taken by Sayid Abd al-Rahman (qv).

Tengku Abdullah is dealt with elsewhere in this Introduction, especially in 'The Origin and Function of the Text', because he is believed to have been the owner of *Syair Perang Siak*. That is, he supervised and instructed the poet in the content and attitudes adopted in the text.

Two of his sons were Tengku Muhammad (qv) and Tengku Idris who had a son Tengku Said who served with Raja Akil (COD OR 7304:588,591) and may well have written the *Siak Chronicle*.

Raja AKIL

After the fall of Siak to Sayid Ali in 1791, the *Siak Chronicle* becomes Raja Akil's story and has been called a 'Hikayat Raja Akil' (ROOLVINK 1967:312).

He was a son of Raja Musa and so a grandson of Raja Mahmud and great-grandson of Raja Kecil.

His mother was Encik Salimah from Serasan and her family lived under the protection of the Sultan of Pontianak in Kalimantan until Sayid Abd alRahman (qv) appropriated them and eventually returned them to Tengku Musa in Siak. Raja Kecil was 14 years old at the time and he was less than warmly welcomed by his father (COD OR 7304:536). It can be inferred then that he was born about 1775. He died in 1849.

It was the custom for royal princes to have their upbringing in the court of another ruler. Besides forging alliances, and preventing rivalries developing between half brothers, this practice prevented a boy becoming pampered and arrogant, for it would have been impossible for a courtier or subject to deny a prince's wish within his father's domain. Raja Kecil describes the problem in Stanza 85a-b.

Raja Akil worked in Belitung, Bangka and Palembang with the Englishman, Court, about 1817 and later with the Dutchman, Muntinghe, who became Commissioner for Palembang and Bangka in 1817. For his efforts he was reviled in *Syair Perang Palembang* or *Syair Perang Menteng* written in 1819-1820 (COURT 1821:203ff; ATJA 1967:1-7,312-34; WOELDERS 1975:197). He later assisted the Dutch in Kalimantan where he had grown up. With the rank of major, he led a fleet of his Minangkabau people in police work against piracy. For his services he was rewarded in 1827 with the Sultanate of Sukadana - one of the domains he had captured for the Dutch. The elevation was a gift of the Dutch government at Batavia and was not to become hereditary. 1827 was the year that Sayid Ibrahim, Sultan of Siak, died and was succeeded by Sayid Ismail (1827-1864) thus ending Raja Akil's hopes of reclaiming Siak.

Raja Akil is often favourably portrayed in contemporary Dutch sources. He was clearly ambitious. He married Tengku Badariah a daughter of Raja Ismail so that his own children would be direct descendants of both Raja Mahmud and Raja Ismail. He was quick to make the point to all who would listen that his family was the royal family of Siak and their position had

been usurped by an Arab. Sukadana became his substitute for Siak.

With Raja Akil's death and the demise of the Sultanate, the family lost much of its remaining cohesion based on its political or economic or ceremonial functions.

Tengku AMBANG BESAR

Tengku Ambang Besar was the eldest child of Raja Mahmud. As wife to Raja Alam's son Tengku Muhammad Ali, she stayed in Siak when her male relatives were forced into exile. There are occasions mentioned in the *Siak Chronicle* where the homeless or returning family members sought refuge with her. The fact that she is specifically mentioned so often shows her position as a central figure within family affairs with much of the status of eldest daughter within the Minangkabau social structure. See also the note on Tengku Muhammad Ali.

Tengku AMINAH

Tengku Aminah was a daughter of Tengku Musa (qv). By marrying her to her cousin, the weak Raja Yahya (qv), Tengku Musa brought his royal son-in-law closer into his sphere of influence.

Old BENDAHARA

The 'Old Bendahara' of Johor became Sultan Abd al-Jalil Riayat Syah (1699-1718). When the childless Sultan Mahmud Syah of Johor was assassinated in 1699, Johor was left without an heir to the throne. The position fell to the 'Old Bendahara' (the vizier or prime minister). He was given to asceticism and religious practices and much of the government of Johor was left to the vigorous Raja Muda. It was the initiatives and enterprise of the Raja Muda in controlling Siak and Kampar trade that resulted in the Minangkabau-led rebellion of Raja Kecil and began the sequence of events related in *Syair Perang Siak*.

When Raja Kecil took over Johor, the Sultan was returned to his old position as Bendahara, but he inevitably became a rallying point for disaffected elements and had to escape to Pahang where he was killed by Raja Kecil's followers.

The Old Bendahara's children included Sultan Sulaiman (qv), Tengku Tengah (qv) and Tengku Kamariah (qv).

Tengku BUSU

Tengku Busu (also known as Ibrahim) was the youngest son of Raja Kecil (COD OR 7304:443). He is a shadowy figure in the *Tuhfat al-Nafis* where he is wrongly identified as a brother of Raja Ismail (MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:126,147). A youngest brother of Raja Ismail would have been a child at the time of the Dutch invasion. The *Siak Chronicle* gives him greater definition. However he is prominent in and closely identified with the *Syair Perang Siak*. There he is the *Ayahanda* in the frequent phrase '*Ayahanda dan Kakanda*' which designates the custodial partnership of Tengku Busu and Tengku Muhammad Ali during Raja Ismail's minority. To them fell the burden of organizing Raja Ismail's defence of Siak in 1761. Tengku Busu was singled out by Raja Mahmud on his death bed for particular instructions on the conduct of the family's affairs (COD OR 7304:470) and the *Syair Perang Siak* specifically names Tengku Busu as the one who guides Raja Ismail at the moment of Raja Mahmud's death (Stanzas 173-174).

The Postscript to the *Syair Perang Siak* especially gives prominence to Tengku Busu who is shown as the strong central figure holding together the family in exile. It may therefore be inferred that Tengku Busu was instrumental in having the syair written, for the syair was written with the purpose of holding the family together by giving it a sense of its

history and destiny.

Tengku Busu remained close to the centre of power within the Siak family. He was uncle, father-in-law and guardian to Raja Ismail and grandfather of Raja Yahya and Tengku Badariah. Through his granddaughter, Tengku Badariah, he was linked with Raja Akil (qv). Raja Akil's father, Tengku Musa, went to seek out Tengku Busu at his residence in Kendawangan. Failing to find him there, he followed him to Palembang. There he found him dead. Tengku Musa returned Tengku Busu's corpse to Kendawangan (COD OR 7304:513) where Tengku Busu had early in the exile set up residence within the domain of the Sultan of Matan (COD OR 7304:493).

Tengku Busu provided a settled refuge for family members to retire to. His settled life and his close connection with the syair make it probable that he kept a manuscript of *Syair Perang Siak* in Kalimantan.

Tengku EMBUNG BADARIAH

Tengku Embung Badariah, a daughter of Raja Alam and a Bugis princess, married an Arab, Sayid Uthman. That marriage was the source of the lines of sultans of both Siak and Pelalawan after 1791. Those sultans were referred to by the Minangkabau family in exile as the 'Arab usurpers'. The first two sultans were Sayid Ali (qv) in Siak and Sayid Abd al-Rahman (qv) in Pelalawan.

Tengku KAMARIAH

Tengku Kamariah was the second daughter of the Old Bendahara (qv). Being more attractive than her elder sister she was preferred by Raja Kecil when he conquered Johor Riau in 1718. Their marriage antagonised the elder daughter, who married Raja Kecil's enemy Daeng Parani.

Tengku Kamariah, abandoned by Raja Kecil in Riau with her son Raja Mahmud, was courted by Daeng Cellak (soon to become the second Yamtuan Muda of Johor in 1728) and agreed to marry him if he could produce Raja Kecil's head. She then wrote to Raja Kecil insisting that he take her by force of arms or she would not go. This had the desired effect. Raja Kecil attacked Riau in 1727 and took back to Siak his wife and son (COD OR 7304:440-442).

Tengku Kamariah's death is said to have left Raja Kecil deranged (COD OR 7304:448).

Sultan MAHMUD SYAH

Sultan Mahmud Syah was the last of the line of Johor sultans who traced their ancestry back to the Sultans of Malacca and before. He was assassinated by his nobles in 1699 as he was being carried aloft to the mosque. The nobles felt the full effect of his callous and sadistic behaviour but the Orang Laut, the sea people, who had served the sultans over the years, remained loyal to his cause.

The mortally wounded sultan, according to a number of stories, showed a reluctance to die because he had not fulfilled his duty of siring an heir. On his death bed he used an individual technique and by the initiative of a concubine is said to have fathered Raja Kecil.

Tengku MAHMUD

Tengku Mahmud was one of the younger sons of Raja Mahmud (qv) (COD OR 7304:453). He reappears in the *Siak Chronicle* only after the fall of Pelalawan in 1791 when the Siak party meet him on Belitung. As a senior member of the family he is referred to as Paduka Ayahanda Tengku Mahmud (COD OR 7304:563).

At the death of Tengku Musa and Tengku Abdullah (COD OR 7304:577), Tengku Mahmud, then at Tambelan, is taken up by Raja Akil as pretender to the Siak throne. Eventually Tengku Mahmud proves a burden to Raja Akil and is abandoned at Kota Ringin (COD OR 7304:578).

Sultan MANSUR

Sultan Mansur was the second sultan of Trengganu, confirmed in that position by Sultan Sulaiman (qv) of Johor in 1740. He was a strong supporter of the Malay cause against the Bugis. When Tengku Busu (qv), Raja Ismail's envoy, visited him shortly after 1761 with a proposal of alliance, he had not long returned from Johor where he had spent much of his time. The alliance was cemented with the marriage of Sultan Mansur's daughter, Raja Neh (qv) to Raja Ismail. He died in 1793 (MOORHEAD 1963:91-95).

Tengku MUHAMMAD

Tengku Muhammad was the second son of Tengku Abdullah. He had literary interests and was a *dalang* (puppeteer). He assisted the Siak family in its flight from Mempura to Pelalawan in 1791. He maintained a close association with Raja Akil until he settled in Rembau.

Tengku MUSA

Tengku Musa was a son of Raja Mahmud. He remained close to the centre of power, in Siak. Although too young to leave Siak in 1761, he soon defied Tengku Muhammad Ali, took his leave of his elder sister and left to join Raja Ismail in exile (COD OR 7304:489).

His eldest son Tengku Endut became Yamtuan Muda to Raja Yahya. His daughter, Tengku Aminah, married Raja Yahya. Another son was Raja Akil (qv) who became Sultan of Sukadana in 1827. To his extensive family fell much of the burden of maintaining the Siak family after the death of Raja Ismail.

The Sayids courted his favour and married two of his daughters. The vigour and toughness of the Sayids was too much for the legalistic Tengku Musa. When Sayid Ali gathered an armed force, ostensibly to pay homage to Raja Yahya, and Tengku Endut began defensive preparations, Tengku Musa became angry with his son and forbade such action. He argued that defensive works against a subject would put Raja Yahya in the role of aggressor. The result of Tengku Musa's delicacy was that the Minangkabau family were soon driven from Siak and Pelalawan, never to return (COD OR 7304:543-545).

Tengku NEH

Tengku Neh or Tun Tipah (MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:352) was the daughter of Sultan Mansur of Trengganu chosen to marry Sultan Ismail to cement the alliance with the Siak family in exile. The contract was made in 1764 but it was some years before the marriage, possibly in 1771.

Tengku PUTERA

Tengku Putera was a son of the weak and sickly Sayid Ibrahim 1821-1827 (qv). When his uncle, Sayid Ismail (qv), succeeded his father in 1827, he waged a campaign to take the throne. His activities forced his uncle to seek English and Dutch aid.

Tengku SALIMAH

Tengku Salimah (or Selamah) was a wife of Tengku Musa from Serasan. She was the

mother of Raja Akil (qv). Tengku Musa left her and her family under the protection of the Sultan of Pontianak. Sayid Abd al-Rahman (qv) used them as a means of getting closer to and dominating Tengku Musa (qv). He appropriated the group, married her daughter, Tengku Khatijah and took charge of Raja Akil before returning him to Siak.

Tengku SANI

Tengku Sani was a daughter of Tengku Busu (qv). Her marriage to Raja Ismail enhanced Tengku Busu's authority. Her son was Raja Yahya the last of the Minangkabau family's sultans in Siak.

Sultan SULAIMAN

Sultan Sulaiman was a son of the Old Bendahara (qv) and succeeded Raja Kecil as Sultan of Johor (1723-1760). His reign was for the most part dominated by his Bugis Yamtuan Muda. He was allied to Sultan Mansur (qv) whose position as Sultan of Trengganu he legitimised. Raja Mahmud, the son of his sister, Tengku Kamariah (qv), looked to him for assistance against Raja Alam and his Bugis allies.

Tengku TENGAH

Tengku Tengah, the eldest child of the Old Bendahara (qv) was rejected by Raja Kecil in favour of her younger sister, Tengku Kamariah (qv). Incensed at that humiliation she married Daeng Parani and made Raja Kecil's stay in Riau difficult.

Sayid UTHMAN

Sayid Uthman was an Arab adventurer. He married Raja Alam's daughter Tengku Embung Badariah (qv) and they founded the line of Sultans of Siak and Pelalawan from 1791 beginning with Sayid Ali in Siak and Sayid Abd al-Rahman in Pelalawan.

In Siak sources he is credited with the expansion of the Siak sultanate to encompass twelve neighbouring domains on the East Coast of Sumatra.

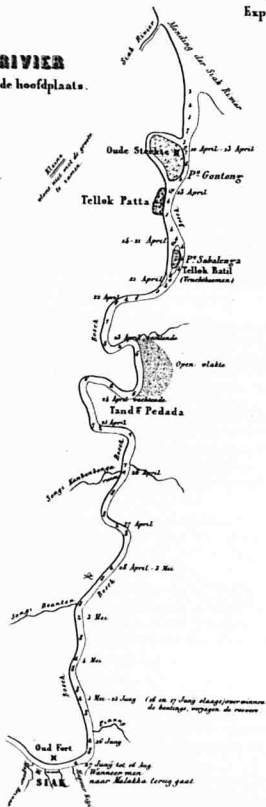


Expedite 7 April van Malakka komt den
11^{en} April voor P^o Gontang ten anker
Expedite in den jare 1761.

GROOTE SIAK RIVIER

van de monding tot aan de hoofdplaats.

$\frac{1}{200,000}$.



A map of the lower Siak river, made by the Commissioners on the advancing Dutch fleet in 1761.

The map was printed in Netcher, 1870. Plate xxiv.

WHAT THE TEXT SAID TO ITS AUDIENCE

Syair Perang Siak is portrayed here as a political statement uniting a social community with a common ideology designed to give a firm platform for concerted action. In particular, this literary work is seen as the product of the Minangkabau Malay ruling house of Siak in exile, migrating around the shores of the South China Sea.

If that estimate of the text is correct, if, when the poet sat down to compose this *syair* of 528 stanzas, his thoughts were focused on how best to promote the interests of the owner/publisher/patron, then this preoccupation should be revealed in the way the text is built up. An analysis of those items selected and those items emphasised in the text should disclose the matters to which the poet was directing his audience's attention as it was gathered before its leader on a ceremonial occasion while collecting resources on a distant shore or under the protection of a foreign king.

The text falls naturally into stories. The word 'story' is chosen to translate *kisah* for that is how each of the major sections of the text begins - "Tersebutlah kisah..." (Stanzas 5a, 110a, 228a). The poet announces: "Here is a story...".

For convenience, the text is here divided into six parts. Four of the parts relate events in the reigns of the four sultans and are decided by the use of the honorifics of kingship. During a Sultan's reign he is given an array of grandiose honorifics. When a sultan is mentioned during the reign of another he is given a kinship term relating him to the current sultan or after his death, with a term beginning *Marhum*. On this basis Raja Alam, whose story appears to be part of Raja Kecil's, is given a separate story, for, when he departs Siak, he is treated as an independent ruler in exile.

To the stories of the four sultans are added the Exordium and the Postscript. Although Raja Ismail is still pretender to the Siak throne in the Postscript, it is not added to his story because roles change and this part serves other subjects.

Each story is divided into sections for the convenience of the reader. Where a section is dense with facts and allusions, a summary is provided. If, however, a section has a mainly descriptive, narrative or emotional function and develops only one or two ideological notions, a summary of the subject matter is omitted.

This is an attempt to persuade the text to communicate now the messages it gave to the audience that listened to the recital at the court of Raja Ismail in 1764.

EXORDIUM

The Exordium invokes the name of God and seeks blessing on His Prophet (1,2). It affirms the poet's good intentions (3) under royal patronage (4).

The theological purpose of submitting the work as a service (*ihsan*) to God is that final punishment for inadvertent transgressions can be avoided if there is a real intent to serve truth. The fact that the Sultan has provided the source of information proclaims the accuracy of the facts presented.

RAJA KECIL'S STORY

Bengkalis was a thriving centre but had no king (7,8). Confronted by Johor and Bugis pretensions, the local people preferred a Minangkabau ruler from Pagarruyung (9-11). The ruler himself sacrificed all on this new venture (12-14). Raja Kecil alone suffered much and enjoyed unique experiences before he reached Bengkalis (15-19). All Bengkalis accepted him and he united his kingdom (20-21).

Much is established in this opening section. Kingship is presented as the ideal form of government. The person of the legitimate king unifies and embodies the state. Bengkalis was a large centre which was incomplete without a king and properly took steps to get a fitting ruler. The need for a symbolic head of state set apart from his people is taken up again in Stanzas 548 and 549 and provides a major reason for the existence of this syair. Here, at the beginning, is a kingdom without a king; at the end, there is a king without a kingdom. The syair states the claim of that king for his kingdom.

The major conflict in the Straits of Malacca in the Eighteenth Century was the opposing claims of the Minangkabau and Bugis for pre-eminence. The fact that the old overlord of Bengkalis, Johor, was ruled by Bugis provides a need for Bengkalis to establish its independence from Johor.

The ruler chosen is the Raja Alam at Pagarruyung which puts the legitimacy of the incoming ruler beyond question. The Minangkabau rulers traced their descent from Iskandar Zulkarnain, the archetypal king, just as did the Sultans of Johor. Indeed it was the eldest of the three brothers, Sang Sapurba, who became the Raja Alam of Minangkabau.

The difficult and lone journey for Raja Kecil serves to follow the literary convention that a ruler who founds a dynasty spends time in the wilderness practising asceticism and preparing spiritually for his office. A truly legitimate ruler can then unite his people through their submission to him as ruler and cause them to prosper by the justice of his rule. Raja Kecil is shown to have united his people and caused them to prosper. His legitimacy is thus confirmed in practice.

One thing that is not mentioned or alluded to is the story current in Johor, that Raja Kecil was the son of the assassinated Sultan Mahmud Syah of Johor. The stressing of descent from Pagarruyung and omission of any mention of descent from Johor affirms Raja Kecil's successor, Raja Mahmud, as a ruler of Siak by right of his Minangkabau descent and not by right of descent from Johor or his mother's status as daughter of a Johor sultan. To establish the independence of Siak from Johor suzerainty was essential in resisting Dutch claims to Siak, for Dutch claims were based on the fact that Johor ceded Siak to Malacca in a treaty of 1745.

* * *

Raja Kecil acted immediately to plan an attack on Johor and he gained full support (22-23). Preparations were made (24-26) and the fleet set off in fine style (27-30) calling at Perepat Seratus (31) Karimun Anak (32) Selat Sembulan (33) and Tanah Merah (34). There Raja Kecil prayed and the local people were mobilised and final preparations were made while they waited to join the attack up the Johor River (35-39). The ruler of Johor was absorbed in playing chess (40,41,43) when the Minangkabau attacked (42). The king fled helplessly (44) and left nothing of value behind (45).

This section is more lyrical and concerned with evoking a sense of heroic adventure and the anxieties experienced before the invasion.

However there are some political points made leading up to a most fundamental issue

raised in the last stanza. The section reinforces the efficacy of Raja Kecil's rule (22-23), and his submission of his actions to God (27,34,36) and his descent from Iskandar Zulkarnain (35). It also makes a point of stressing a stopover at Perepat Seratus (29-31) a port apparently off the direct route from Bengkalis to Johor. This may be a veiled jibe at neighbouring Bukit Batu towards which, it will become apparent, Raja Kecil felt antagonism. It may also be that Perepat Seratus was an Orang Laut base which the poet sought to honour. Andaya (1975) develops in detail the dependence of the Johor Sultanate on the Orang Laut for rowing, patrolling and fighting. When Raja Kecil arrives at Tanah Merah he is able to claim *kerah (corvee)* from the local people (36) - that is, he was acknowledged by the Orang Laut as a rightful lord. This may be a covert reference to the story of Raja Kecil's descent from Sultan Mahmud Syah of Johor.

A telling parallel is drawn between the efficacy of the mystical power of Raja Kecil and that of the ruler of Johor. At Tanah Merah Raja Kecil set his people to make all arrangements while he himself prayed, slept and generally had little to say or do (36-39). So too the ruler of Johor was engrossed in his chess and took no notice of advice or the sounds of battle. The results of the two rulers' inaction stand in stark contrast. The ruler of Johor was forced to flee into the forest lost and alone. Raja Kecil was swept into control.

Finally comes the crucial point. The people of Johor left behind their valuables - but there was nothing of value left. A sign of true kingship is that it attracts wealth. A just and rightful king is apparent from the flourishing realm he rules and from his own magnificence and opulence. Nothing of the kind was found at Johor. Clearly Johor was a false and ill-founded kingdom easily swept aside by a true king.

At the moment of victory the account leaves Johor. Raja Kecil's stay in Riau, his marriage to Tengku Kamariah, a daughter of the deposed Johor Sultan, the birth of their son, Raja Mahmud, and the clashes with the Bugis, forcing his withdrawal from Riau, are ignored. The poet has no interest in associating Raja Kecil and his family with Riau-Johor. The poet's interest lies in the separation of Siak and Johor. It has been established beyond doubt that Siak owes nothing to Johor and Johor can have no claim to suzerainty and no right to alienate Siak's sovereignty. If Johor has no just claim on Siak, then Dutch Malacca can have received no rights in Siak from Johor.

* * *

Raja Kecil wished to build his own demesne (47) and consulted his people who again acceded to his wishes despite the hardships involved (48-51). The site chosen was Buntan which was largely virgin forest (5,52). The work was difficult but again Raja Kecil's leadership gained the unquestioning adherence of the local people (53-55).

When the city was completed and fortified (56) it became a magnificent centre of trade under Raja Kecil's just rule (57-60). Despite the throng, all business was conducted in peace and good order (61-65).

Local government was founded on the Minangkabau *suku* structure (66) and Raja Kecil's chancellor was an outstanding young man (67-69).

This section, by depicting the splendid and flourishing trading city built by Raja Kecil, draws a vivid contrast with the decadent and barren kingdom of Johor so easily destroyed in the last section.

By showing Raja Kecil to build his own city from virgin forest, the poet associates his action with the founding of great kingdoms of the past. The same literary convention is used to describe Vijaya's clearing of the forest of Trik to establish Majapahit, Maliku'l-Saleh at Pasai (HILL 1960:63-64) and Sultan Iskandar Syah at Malacca (WINSTEDT 1938:82).

The Minangkabau origin of the king is again reinforced by the establishment of social organization on the patterns inherited from the Alam Minangkabau - at least the names are

the same - (54,66) and again the rightness and justice of Raja Kecil's rule is proved in practice (57-65).

It is a phenomenon of the text that there are allusions which are accessible only to the initiated. The identity of Raja Kecil's young minister (67-69) would have been known to the audience in 1764, forty years later, and his descendants would have appreciated the appearance in the presentation of their father or grandfather, but the reader at this distance must be content, as with many of the poet's allusions, to remain in ignorance.

* * *

Raja Kecil had two sons of equal rank who were jealous of each other and rivals (70-71). He delighted in his sons and the grandchildren they gave him (72-73). The discord between the brothers divided the kingdom (74-75). Disputes broke out and many suffered (76-78). All sections of the community became involved (79-80). When fighting broke out (81) the sultan heard of it and sent for Raja Alam (82-83) whom he blamed for taking action inappropriate to his status (84-85). Raja Alam accepted responsibility and chose to leave, and Raja Kecil decreed that it should be so (86-87) despite the pleas of others (80).

The equality of the princes stressed here is not confirmed by other sources which show Raja Alam to be an *anak gundik* and Raja Mahmud an *anak gahara* because of his mother's status as a princess of the Johor royal house (von de WALL 1862:113) The poet therefore again attributes no significance to Raja Mahmud's descent from the Johor royal house. The poet's message is the central importance of a unified state under a single ruler, a unity which was lost during the time of Raja Alam and Raja Mahmud causing chronic hardships.

A nice feature of this section is the mention of Raja Kecil's grandchildren. These form the generation for whom the syair was composed and so the poet has delicately included them within the portrait of their grandfather, the founder of the dynasty. Included among the grandchildren were Raja Ismail the patron of the text, Tengku Abdullah, believed to be the owner of the text, and Tengku Musa the father of Raja Akil for whom the *Siak Chronicle* was written. Also included would be Tengku Muhammad Ali, Tengku Ambang Besar and Tengku Embung Badariah who remained in Siak. Each one of Raja Mahmud's sons would doubtless see the notice as a reference to himself.

One of the two main features of this section however is the fact that Raja Kecil's equal love for his two sons resulted in division within the kingdom. What had been an exemplary kingdom came almost to destruction, not by misrule, but by a natural and human foible - the love of a father for his sons, a love which clouded his judgment as a ruler. This theme occurs also in the *Negaraktagama* where Airlangga created generations of discord by his even-handed policy towards his sons (SHRIEKE 1955:16-17).

The other important revelation here is that Raja Alam accepted the onus of responsibility and chose to leave Siak. In so doing he was effectively handing over the right to succeed to his younger brother. It is made clear that Raja Kecil encouraged him in that decision.

The section ends in the typical way that recurs throughout the text. The poet pauses in the narrative and addresses himself personally and directly to his audience. For the audience listening to a chanted presentation with a repetitive rhythm, such a break serves as a warning of a change in the subject in much the same way that a chapter heading serves the reader of a book.

By the end of Raja Kecil's story the audience has had impressed on it that Bengkalis sought out a ruler from Minangkabau, who was a legitimate heir to the line of Malay kings, and their choice proved his worth by unifying the people, overwhelming Johor with ease, and

establishing his own successful city state. The audience would thus be reassured in the conviction that Raja Kecil's heirs had the right to rule Siak without acknowledging any dependence upon Johor and with an inalienable right to their own territory.

Raja Kecil's story finally decrees who should succeed. It was Raja Mahmud who had the blessing of his father to stay in Siak and succeed to the throne.

Raja Kecil's story is dense with information and attitudes and serves to set the stage and prepare the audience with a frame of reference to enable it to appreciate what follows.

RAJA ALAM'S STORY

Raja Alam summoned his people and gave them the chance to go with him (90-92) but as he left he admonished those who stayed not to dwell on the matter for he was going away for a long time (93-94). He made his peace with all but his brother because the gulf which separated them could not be crossed (95). He set off amid sorrow and distress (96-100) and everywhere he called he was greeted with affection but again he admonished all not to follow him but to understand the difficult road which lay before him, separated from his land and people (101-108).

At first sight Raja Alam's story is a lyrical section on the theme of separation so common in Indonesian literature, but it is also a necessary part of the total plan which the poet is developing. Raja Ismail is, at the end of the text, driven out of Siak. Who could expel a rightful ruler from his domain? There is but one solution and that is the solution which the poet uses in Stanzas 482-486. It was necessary for a ruler of equal legitimacy to lead the attack on Siak and that is what Raja Alam did and so effected the conquest of Siak for the Dutch.

The poet here presents Raja Alam as a true heir to the throne, caused to leave only by Fate's irresistible decree - he and his brother were by nature irreconcilable. The poet thus allows himself a way of removing Raja Ismail without appearing to denigrate Raja Ismail or suggest that there was anything amiss with his personal qualities or his rule.

RAJA MAHMUD'S STORY

When his brother left the country, Raja Mahmud was troubled and sought a resolution, but before anything could be achieved his father, Raja Kecil, died and he was powerless to do anything further (111-116). The regalia of office was prepared and Raja Mahmud became Sultan and all paid him homage as the true king (115,119-122).

Raja Mahmud's story opens with Raja Mahmud's accession to the throne at which time all acknowledge him. Raja Kecil's death is glossed over (113) and the subsequent protracted disputes between the brothers are not referred to at all (COD OR 7304:451+). Lewis (1970:181-192) describes five occasions on which the control of Siak changed hands between 1746 and 1755. So it can be inferred that the poet wished to present Raja Mahmud as the one undisputed heir to Raja Kecil's throne. The principle that kingship must be one and indivisible made Raja Alam's potential for succession irrelevant during Raja Mahmud's lifetime.

* * *

Raja Mahmud sought the advice of his people and decided to move upstream to Mempura where he founded Inderapura (123-126). So great was its success that the Dutch at Malacca took an interest in it (126-127). Raja Mahmud did not seek a quarrel but it was his fate which he could not avoid and it was a difficult time in Inderapura (128-136). Raja Mahmud had no alternative but to prosecute a Holy War (132).

This small section of text conceals many events and the poet has trouble separating out

his allusions. Events and ideas crowd together. Within the ambit of ten stanzas are all the disputes with Raja Alam, the establishment of a Dutch base at Pulau Guntung and Dutch restrictions on local trade by way of the Siak and Kampar Rivers, and the eventual annihilation of the Dutch garrison.

The move to Mempura is a retreat for protection against unexpected attack, to be closer to the source of gold and tin supply at Petapahan, and to allow for the ready use of the Pelalawan back door to Siak.

Although the poet would have expected his audience to know of all these things and recognize his brief and undeveloped allusions, the events had no part to play in his account of Raja Mahmud's story and so should not now be stressed. The Sultanate has already been legitimized within Raja Kecil's story and the founding of a new *negeri* needs no emphasis here.

* * *

Since the death of his father, Raja Mahmud's manner had changed (117) and now he was overcome by a malady which gave him fever and painful coughing, lassitude and loss of appetite till the whole country knew his hour was near (134-138). Raja Mahmud felt sorry for his sons (139). Doctors were called but proved useless (140-141, 144, 147, 149). The Sultan's condition worsened (142), the palace folk were moved (143), the Princes tried to get him to eat and he tried to oblige them but he could eat little (144-146).

Raja Mahmud eventually brushed aside their remedies for he knew there was no cure and began to issue his final injunction (151-152). He instructed his children on the performance of religious duties, care of their subjects, and treason (153-155). To Raja Ismail he especially stressed the need for agreement with his brothers (156-157).

The people were distraught (158-159). A seance was performed to save him for the sake of Raja Ismail (160-166). Despite his condition Raja Mahmud felt concern for his children (168-170). When Raja Mahmud was dying, Raja Ismail ran forward and had to be restrained by Tengku Busu his uncle (171-174).

This section dealing with the illness and death of Raja Mahmud stands in marked contrast to the recording of Raja Kecil's death in Stanza 113. While Raja Kecil's achievements are recorded, his death takes but a line. Raja Mahmud's deeds are glossed over but his illness, death and later, his mourning and burial are described in detail. It becomes apparent that Raja Mahmud's role in the text is quite different from that of Raja Kecil.

Despite Raja Mahmud's condition he was solicitous and concerned about the lot of his children and they were very attentive to him. Raja Mahmud was well aware of the difficulties his children would have to face after his death. His children were conscious of their dependence on their father. The seance was organized for the sake of Raja Ismail (160) and at the end Raja Ismail could not bear to be from his father. In Raja Mahmud's final injunction to Raja Ismail there is no suggestion that he should defer to Raja Alam or vacate the throne on his return.

Throughout Raja Mahmud's story one point is reiterated. Raja Ismail was youthful, still dependent on his father, and unprepared for rule. This description of Raja Mahmud's illness and death insistently underlines that idea. The audience is overwhelmed by a deep sense of loss. The sultan upon whom all depended was gone prematurely and his children were orphaned and left to fend for themselves in a hostile world. In 1764 those children of Raja Mahmud were the leading figures in Raja Ismail's party abroad on the South China Sea. Raja Mahmud's eight sons included Tengku Abdullah, Tengku Musa, Tengku Abd al-Rahman and Tengku Mahmud (whom Raja Akil meets up with 55 years later) as well as Raja Ismail himself. For them the evocation of the loss of their father and almost immediately afterwards

their exile from their homeland would have brought a strong sense of injustice, an injustice that demanded a remedy.

Into this vacuum the poet introduces a new figure and names him Tengku Busu (174). He is to become the guardian not only of Raja Ismail but of the ideal of a Siak royal family united under one acknowledged ruler. He is believed to be the publisher (instigator) of the text and is given honoured treatment by the poet.

* * *

On the death of Raja Mahmud great crowds came to mourn (175-176). The people sang their song of lamentation (176-193) which included praise for the ruler (178,186-188,190), affirmation of his religious probity and royal descent (179-180,185), the effect of his passing on natural phenomena (182-184), the seriousness of his loss to his people (177,180-181,188-189,191-193).

The royal governesses sang their lament (195-202) which focused on the effect of Raja Mahmud's passing on his children who were not yet independent (195) - their upbringing and problems (196) and their sense of loss and troubled spirits (197-198). The Sultan's passing also robbed the royal governesses themselves of a sense of purpose and reason for existence (199-202). The palace servants mourned (203).

For the audience the impact of this section lay principally in its lyrical quality, stirring emotions and instilling a sense of loss.

Nevertheless the political themes of the text continue to be developed and reiterated. Raja Mahmud is shown once more to be the rightful ruler and heir to Raja Kecil's domain by virtue of his descent and by the entire nation's acceptance of his rule, and by his impeccable religious credentials

His subjects are devastated and have lost their sense of direction and purpose. Especially so are his children at a loss because they are as yet ill-prepared for the high offices for which they are destined and unready to withstand the trials that they will inevitably face.

* * *

Religious leaders prepared Raja Mahmud's body and his children placed him in his coffin (204). Raja Ismail was enthroned and all paid homage (205). Raja Mahmud's children built a litter and with difficulty accompanied their father's body to the grave (206-207). The procession accompanied him with due ceremony (208-213) with the Sultan carried by his listless children (212). The forms of burial were properly completed (214-215). Raja Ismail was distressed (216) and returned sorrowful to his palace (217-218).

This apparently simple and precise narrative description of Raja Mahmud's funeral, has one outstanding feature. The role played by his children is far beyond what might be expected in a typical funeral. The poet repeatedly introduces them into the narrative (204, 206, 207, 212). Raja Ismail is especially associated with the account including his accession to the throne, an event normally associated with a sultan's funeral (205, 216-218).

At the end of Raja Mahmud's story which has contained no account of his deeds, the audience is left with the overwhelming sense of the grandeur of the late sultan, the magnificence of his court, his undisputed claim to the sultanate and the singular role he filled within the state. By stressing his stature and the dependence of the entire state upon his person, the poet has emphasised the sense of loss and helplessness at his parting. Especially are his children deprived of any means of protection and support.

For his eight sons in exile, this story with its detailed recounting of events, in which it so often associates them with their father, would have evoked beguiling images of the occasions

and the places - images depending on sharply defined memories because they were very soon afterwards to leave Siak.

It is clear now that the text belongs to the descendants of Raja Mahmud. The descendants of Raja Kecil have been separated into two irreconcilable camps. The person of Raja Mahmud has been highlighted because it is his claim to the throne of Siak that Raja Ismail depends upon. It is not sufficient to state the claim of Raja Kecil because Raja Kecil's son has driven them out and now occupies the throne. The claim of Raja Mahmud has become paramount for the poet and he states that claim in a panegyric focused on Raja Mahmud's dying, death and burial.

The poet's lengthened personal remarks addressed directly to his audience (219-227) indicate a major break in the story.

RAJA ISMAIL'S STORY

When Raja Ismail began his reign he was sorrowful (228) and unable to perform all the duties of office (229). None of his brothers contested the succession (230) but they followed the injunctions of their late father (231). Tengku Busu and Tengku Muhammad Ali together acted as regents (232, 233).

Word came from Malacca that the Dutch had allied themselves with the young sultan's uncle, Raja Alam, and sought vengeance for his father's action (233-234) after they heard that his father had died (236). Raja Alam was preparing the fleet (235).

Raja Ismail was not dismayed and sought advice (237) and Tengku Busu and Tengku Muhammad Ali assured him of their steadfast leadership and preparedness (238-241). The officials and populace assured him of their loyalty and determination to resist the enemy (242-244).

Raja Ismail's story begins by at once reiterating his youthful inexperience and helplessness. However his reign is uncontested and he has the full support of his guardians, officials and people. Again, there is no suggestion that Raja Alam has a prior claim to the throne.

The attack of the Dutch is prompted and facilitated by the knowledge of Raja Mahmud's death and made dangerous by their alliance with Raja Ismail's uncle, Raja Alam.

* * *

Stanzas 245-277 tell of the mobilisation of the Siak forces and list each notable and describe his prowess. The recognition of the leaders in Raja Ismail's force would have had a stimulating effect on those men and their sons who remained in Raja Ismail's company in exile. The praise of the combatants provided an affirmation of the significance of their roles and an encouragement to continued service.

Included in the list were Raja Ismail's younger brothers Tengku Abdullah (258), Tengku Musa (260) and Tengku Abd al-Rahman (261). If Raja Ismail himself was not yet an adult his brothers were even younger and so are listed for their status rather than for their fighting ability.

Raja Lontar (262) and Syekh Salim (263) are given prominence. Raja Lontar appears to be a prince of another state and Syekh Salim is noted for his religious distinction. And so the poet has added foreign and religious support to the cause. Syekh Salim was with Raja Mahmud in the attack on Pulau Guntung (COD OR 7304:465, MATHESON & ANDERSON 1982:97).

* * *

Defensive works were undertaken with stockades (281-283) and cannon (283-285), a boom across the river (287-288) and a floating fortress (289) and all were manned and the people trained (284, 290-292).

The purpose of this section is to show the resolution of the entire populace to stand firm (286) as the tempo of action begins to build up to the forthcoming battles.

* * *

The people of Siak (293-295) knew of the arrival of the invasion fleet when the inhabitants of Bukit Batu fled to the protection of Raja Ismail (296-297). Raja Ismail declared that they should go to meet the foe (298-300) and when his guardians cautioned that they were less well equipped (301) he insisted that they should take the initiative (302) and his view carried the day (303). As a result there was great excitement and anticipation (304-309). Raja Ismail declared a Holy War against the invading infidel and gave instructions for the carrying out of the campaign (308,310-311).

In Stanza 238 Raja Ismail sought advice and was guided by his counsellors who saw to the defensive preparations. Now that the Dutch invasion is under way, it is the young Raja Ismail who becomes the natural leader encouraging bold action, despite the cautious warnings of his elders. The people enthusiastically follow his lead.

The people of Bukit Batu flee at the first sight of the invading fleet and go directly to the young sultan for protection. The people of Bukit Batu are portrayed in a Poor Light both in this text and in the *Siak Chronicle*. The ill-feeling stems from the time when Raja Kecil was fined there in his early days trading in Siak. His oath of enmity encompasses his descendants (COD OR 7304:425, 448, 472-473; MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:48,60).

* * *

Stanzas 312-327 present a heroic picture of the Siak fleet in battle array surging downstream without pause to face the enemy at Pulau Guntung. Again it is Raja Ismail who is shown to lead and inspire (312, 315, 318, 323, 324). In appearance and manner he reminds the people of his father, Raja Mahmud (320-321). Thus the poet recalls for the audience the recent death of the sultan upon whom they had depended. Leadership qualities are inherited and Raja Ismail is showing himself to be a fitting successor to his father.

* * *

Aboard the Dutch fleet the Commissioner and Raja Alam watched the triumphant approach downstream of Siak fleet. The Commissioner was surprised by its warlike aspect and made ready his forces (328-330). That made the men of Siak more excited (331).

Tengku Sayid, feigning friendship, spied on the Siak forces (332-333) and Tengku Muhammad Ali tried to counteract his move at Pelalawan (334).

Battle lines remained static for fifteen days (336-337).

There are two allusions here. One is elucidated in the *Siak Chronicle*, the other must be guessed at.

The Dutch Commissioner is surprised because Raja Alam had assured him that the new sultan was only a boy and would provide no resistance. Here is the *Siak Chronicle* account: "Maka kata Kapitan kapal, 'Orang Siak ini terlalu keras hatinya...' [and after six months of hostilities] "...Kapitan kapal pun terlalu marah kepada Yamtuan Raja Alam. 'Dan Tuan Raja bilang Negeri Siak boleh diambil tiga jam karena rajanya kanak-kanak kecil.'" (COD OR 4307:473-474; MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:124)

Tengku Sayid may perhaps be identified with Sayid Uthman whose son, thirty years later, was to expel Raja Yahya from Siak. Netscher (1870:117) records that Sayid Uthman,

commanding eighteen of Raja Alam's ships, headed for Pelalawan to block off Raja Ismail's overland line of escape. Sayid Uthman was a brother-in-law of Tengku Muhammad Ali though it seems most unlikely that he would pay a social call on his way to Pelalawan via Mempura. The fact that manuscript KL154 was written in a kingdom ruled by Sayid Uthman's grandson, Sayid Ismail may well account for the cloudiness of this allusion. The fact that it has persisted is tribute to the permanence of the original text. (See below pp 260-266).

* * *

In stanzas 338-365 all elements from both sides join with enthusiasm in the first engagement near Pulau Guntung (347) on 13th April (NETSCHER 1870:118-119). Netscher records a half hour engagement but the occasion is used here to create the atmosphere of pitched battle and name some leading participants. At the end of the day the Siak leaders returned to Raja Ismail to report and it was he who decided that they should continue to resist any further advances (362-363).

* * *

The Dutch were prevented advancing by Siak resistance (366-367). One impetuous Siak captain moored nearer the Dutch and had to run before gunfire (368-370). Tengku Busu forbade going to his assistance and Tengku Muhammad Ali was annoyed because he put personal pride before the good of all (371-372).

This section conceals the fact that the Dutch had advanced from Pulau Guntung to Pulau Sabalenga.

* * *

In stanzas 373-389 three matters are raised - the advisability of bringing the *Kota Berjalan* into the battle, the battle plan for the next day, and the manner of drawing up the fleet. Raja Ismail is advised by all that they will support the *Kota Berjalan* at any cost (375-378) and he decides on a full commitment to battle (380-382). As always Raja Ismail's leadership inspires confidence in his followers (383-384). The battle order appears to be that Raja Ismail should hold the western side of Sabalenga Island. On the eastern side Tengku Busu was on the left flank nearest the island, the *Kota Berjalan* was in midstream. As the Dutch advance was up the eastern side of the island. Raja Ismail does not enter the battle till Stanza 414 (NETSCHER 1870:120). There is no mention of Tengku Muhammad Ali, the Commander-in-chief, except for *Kakanda* in stanza 389b. Tengku Muhammad Ali was with Raja Ismail and his brothers.

* * *

Stanzas 390-408 tell how the Dutch focused their attack on the *Kota Berjalan*, and destroyed it. The section depicts the spectacle of battle but keeps close to the chronology of the events as confirmed by Netscher (1870). The current takes the ships locked in battle towards the Teluk Batil (eastern shore) but the anchored *Kota Berjalan* becomes isolated from its supports (402-407). Tengku Busu as he had promised crossed over to defend the *Kota Berjalan* (403-404) but it was destroyed (408).

* * *

When Syekh Salim's boat ran aground he became an easy mark for Dutch gunners but he continued to engage them (409-412). Eventually he was able to break free and an eddy took him around the island (413). There Raja Ismail saw him and immediately advanced to help him by attacking the Dutch (415). Tengku Abdullah and Tengku Abd al-Rahman fought with vigour (417-419). Tengku Muhammad Ali followed their lead (420-421).

Syekh Salim's misadventure serves to take the battle from the eastern channel around the island to where the battle had not yet been joined. It is Raja Ismail and his brothers, who are yet very young, that take the initiative and attack the Dutch line to rescue Syekh Salim. Tengku Muhammad Ali, the Commander-in-Chief, follows their lead. Although holding high office and responsible with Tengku Busu for the defence of Siak, Tengku Muhammad Ali is not depicted as a strong character in the text. He, of course, did not go into exile but stayed with his father, Raja Alam.

The text makes no mention of the story that Tengku Muhammad Ali later scuttled his ship, and his wife, Tengku Ambang Besar, watered the powder when the Dutch threatened to exile Raja Alam to Ceylon. That story is a prominent feature of the brief *Siak Chronicle* account of the invasion of Siak (COD OR 4307:474; MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:125-126).

The prominence of Raja Ismail and his brothers over Tengku Muhammad Ali is remarkable if the text was subject to changes by Tengku Muhammad Ali. (See below pp 260-261).

* * *

In Stanzas 424-447 the tone of the battle changes from one of heroic adventure to one of satiety with the horrors of battle. Even the leaders are shocked (428). Many of the smaller boats have to retire despite the urgings of their leaders (437-438). Even strong men like the *Mata-mata* who had so awed the troops (274,365) give up fighting (432). The point being developed is that at the height of the battle when continuing becomes unbearable and ordinary men choose to break off, the nobility, whatever their age and experience, maintain their fighting spirit (438-444). The poet gives Raja Ismail the credit for the survival of all but one man.

The function of this section is to depict in vivid detail the horror that had to be endured before the impact of the Dutch guns. Although themselves not enough to intimidate the nobility or drive a rightful ruler from his throne, yet they were enough to make ordinary mortals quake in terror.

* * *

Stanzas 445-459 record the relentless Dutch advance from Pulau Sabalenga to Sungai Pinang rising up each day on the tide. The only Siak nobleman to be associated by the poet with the retreat is Tengku Muhammad Ali (450).

* * *

Stanzas 460-471 describe the careful preparations for the defence of Mempura (Inderapura) and the renewed spirit of the defenders once they assembled behind the boom. No blame for the impending defeat could be attributed to poor government or lack of preparation.

* * *

Stanzas 472-480 tell of sending down the prepared fireships against the Dutch fleet waiting inactive around the bend at Sungai Pinang. Tengku Busu proposes taking this offensive action but the Dutch manage to extricate themselves from their predicament. This is the first occasion that Raja Ismail has not initiated action (301-303, 363, 376, 381-382).

* * *

The next brief section (482-489) has a crucial function in the narrative. Silent and unseen since Stanza 109, Raja Alam, tired of delay, proposes an immediate direct attack on Mempura. His manner and role (482) are the same as that of Raja Ismail and he achieves the same result - the enthusiastic support of all others (483-485). Raja Alam reassures the Dutch captains by offering to lead the charge himself (486). And so the die is cast. The audience knows there are changes coming. Raja Ismail was not seen to take part in sending down the fireships and the next time a reigning king is mentioned ('Baginda Sultan' 482), it is Raja Alam being referred to and not Raja Ismail. Raja Ismail does not reappear in the narrative till Stanza 509 and in Stanza 514, when he leaves Siak, he is referred to with the pronoun *ia*, the only time in the text that a sultan does not receive a fitting honorific. The purpose is to avoid associating the king's majesty with flight rather than to demean Raja Ismail.

The Dutch had been unable to enter Raja Ismail's demesne and there was a stalemate. It took a son of Raja Kecil to remove him. Clearly no blame could be attached to Raja Ismail. Clearly his claim to Siak could not be impaired by defeat by his uncle, when his uncle was supported by the ruthless might of the Dutch guns.

The attitudes the poet has carefully nurtured in the audience now take their full effect at the moment of truth. Raja Kecil's two sons were of equal status and their equal greatness caused their disputes. Nowhere does the poet demean the status of Raja Alam. His departure from Siak was honourable and affectionate. Neither brother could prevail, and separation was the only solution. Raja Ismail had inherited his father's kingly qualities and no invader could have succeeded against him. However, just as Raja Kecil had tipped the balance in favour of Raja Mahmud by reminding Raja Alam of his burden of responsibility to his kingdom, so now the balance is tipped in favour of Raja Alam by the horrific power of the Dutch guns which the poet has just described so vividly. Only the noblest could stand before them. There is no mention of a reminder, sent by Raja Alam to Raja Ismail, of Raja Mahmud's desire that Raja Alam should succeed him. This text acknowledges no such injunction by Raja Mahmud.

* * *

The final stage of the Siak War, the Dutch attack on Mempura (490-505), tells of the heroic last ditch stand of the Siak forces. The Dutch committed all (490) and when there was resistance (491-492) their attack became desperate with a ruthless and callous indifference to all including their own men and themselves (492-493,495). Although shocked (496) the defenders rallied to the attack and the battle raged till the bitter end when fighting made no sense (504). Although Raja Ismail's name is not associated with this battle, its presentation could give no cause for shame to the participants. All acquitted themselves with honour and valour. The matter had already been decided. Nothing the defenders could do would change the outcome.

In the poet's remarks ending the section (506-508) a major question is raised. If Raja Ismail is no longer Sultan of Siak, what people does he rule? (506c-d) It is that question which is taken up after Stanza 529. Just as a kingdom needs a king (9-10) so a king needs a kingdom.

* * *

Raja Ismail's departure for Pelalawan and then off to travel afar (509-520) is treated in much the same way as Raja Alam's departure many years before (91-108). The grief of separation from loved ones and homeland and the difficulties of life in foreign parts fill the mind of the departing Raja Ismail who again, as a king-at-large, is referred to with a fitting honorific (516).

Raja Ismail's story reassures the audience of the right of his claim to the Siak throne and the injustice of his overthrow. The audience is shown an uncertain youth transformed into a decisive leader as soon as an enemy fleet enters his territory. He is not daunted though many others panic and even the noblest have doubts. His leadership is able to unite the nation and instil a fighting spirit that will not yield before the most daunting adversary. His government in sound and his preparation is thorough. Nothing would have enabled the Dutch ships to break through the boom under the withering firepower of the steadfast and determined defenders and enter Mempura, nothing save for one thing. The poet had made clear the ever-present dilemma that haunted the Siak family. There were two potential heirs to Raja Kecil's throne. When Raja Alam added the weight of his authority to the naked might of the Dutch guns and the ruthlessness of the Dutch captains, the balance was tipped against the young Raja Ismail so recently deprived of the protection of his father. But clearly his kingly qualities and right to rule were incontestable.

The lengthy remarks which the poet directs to the audience (521-528) signal the close of the text. *Bismillah* signals the start of a new text. However the narrative continues on directly.

POSTSCRIPT

After leaving Pelalawan, Raja Ismail was overwhelmed by grief (532-534) and it fell to Tengku Busu to maintain the court in exile (535). All his people avowed their continuing loyalty to Raja Ismail in whatever he decided to do (536-546). This pleased the young Raja Ismail (547).

Raja Ismail then declared his intention to lay aside his special status (548) but Tengku Busu begged him not to do so (549). However Raja Ismail persisted in his plan (550).

It then fell to Tengku Busu to find an alternative solution and he did. He suggested that Raja Ismail take a wife, that is he place himself under the patronage of another ruler (551-554).

Raja Ismail was sceptical but did not reject the plan and sought advice from others (555-557). The owner of the text urged the soundness of the policy (558-559) and the Syahbandar of Bukit Batu pointed out that although their interests were insignificant such a move would benefit them all (560-561) and Tengku Busu supported that view (563-564) and so it was decided (565).

Tengku Busu was given the task of taking the request for a daughter in marriage to the Sultan of Trengganu and he asked that a young man go with him (566). The two envoys presented the request to Sultan Mansur (567-571). Sultan Mansur accepted provided Raja Ismail became his subject and gave assurance that he would loyally defend Trengganu from any repercussions of Raja Ismail's actions (571-573).

The young emissary was quick to reassure him (574) and Tengku Busu declared his willingness to give his life for the cause (575).

Though clearly a later addition to the text it cannot be definitely determined at what stage this section was added. The choice and use of words suggest a different poet. In stanza 558 the *wazir yang hina* spoke before the king in response to Raja Ismail's request for advice from his menteri (557c). *Wazir yang hina* is the term the poet used to refer to himself in Stanza 531. In Stanza 574 the poet reveals that he himself (*fakir yang bahari*) is one of the "wazir...dua orang" (567b) who went to Trengganu as envoys of Raja Ismail. It is clear then

that the Postscript at least was composed by a young minister in Raja Ismail's court who accompanied Tengku Busu to Trengganu to seek an alliance with Sultan Mansur.

When compared with Stanza 422c where there is a contiguous association of the poet with the names of the princes Tengku Abd al-Rahman and Tengku Abdullah, and Stanza 470b where the poet implies direct observation of events, this association of poet and minister is quite explicit.

It is proposed that Tengku Abdullah added the Postscript shortly after the completion of the original text.

Although Raja Ismail is still the subject of the story, the focus of attention shifts somewhat. Raja Ismail who had up till this time taken the initiatives is now reluctant to maintain the forms of a royal court in exile. Tengku Busu has the burden not only of keeping affairs in order (535) but of encouraging Raja Ismail to continue to accept the role of temporal and spiritual leader and symbolic head of state from whose authority the political structure could justify its existence.

Sultan Mansur of Trengganu was the leading opponent to Bugis inroads into the Straits of Malacca at that time. As such he was the most obvious source of succour for the Siak party. He could provide a secure base where the Siak court could maintain its royal style and status and from which it could set off on its adventuring.

Tengku Busu may have come up with an eminently sensible solution to their predicament, but his plan runs counter to the instructions which Raja Mahmud gave him on his death bed. The *Siak Chronicle* records that Raja Mahmud instructed Tengku Busu that he was not to allow his sons to work for a Malay king. It would be preferable according to Raja Mahmud for them to subject themselves to the Chinese or the Dutch (COD OR 7304:470). That of course is what Raja Akil did, fifty years later.

By adding these 47 stanzas, Tengku Abdullah not only seized the opportunity to record the important role Tengku Busu and he, his protegee, were to take in the new order but he also gave some clues to the source and timing and purpose of the original text of *Syair Perang Siak*.

SUMMARY

For present purposes it is not significant whether people listened to the work in its entirety or even whether the work was read in its entirety although the tradition handed down in Pelalawan suggests that it was (DJAFAR 1972:24). All that remains to us is a manuscript and that manuscript is the subject of study. One or two poets and one or more scribes wrote down the work, including a postscript. The first copier would have seen the postscript in a different hand. Those are the premises on which this edition is based. It is the text, the total work which the copier deliberately chose to copy in the court of the ruler at Senapelan, that is under scrutiny.

It is valuable therefore to get an overall view of the shape of the text which can best be provided by a summary.

A RAJA KECIL STORY (85 stanzas)

- 1a The people of Bengkalis needed a king.
- b They rejected Johor with its Bugis power base and went to Pagarruyung for a true king.
- c Raja Kecil underwent the conventional preparation for kingship.
- 2a Raja Kecil proved the independence of Siak from Johor by capturing it with ease and finding it impotent and barren.

- b Following convention, Raja Kecil carved a *negeri* for himself at Buntan out of virgin forest.
- c Raja Kecil's kingship ensured just government on traditional lines.
- 3a Raja Kecil delighted in his two sons and the grandchildren they provided.
- b The two sons quarrelled and because of their rank and personal qualities divided the kingdom.
- c Raja Kecil blamed Raja Alam who accepted responsibility and agreed to leave Siak.

B RAJA ALAM'S STORY (20 stanzas)

- 1a Raja Alam made peace with all except his brother.
- b He admonished those who stayed to forget him and stressed that he was going to a life of difficulty.

C RAJA MAHMUD'S STORY (109 stanzas)

- 1a Raja Mahmud desired a resolution but it was too late.
- b Raja Kecil died and Raja Mahmud was made sultan and was acknowledged by all.
- 2a Raja Mahmud moved to Mempura where he established a thriving settlement.
- b The Dutch became jealous and caused trouble.
- c Raja Mahmud had no alternative but to prosecute a holy war.
- 3a Raja Mahmud suffered a chronic illness for which no cure could be found.
- b Raja Mahmud felt sorry for his children and admonished them to perform religious duties, care for their subjects, and avoid treasonable activity.
- c Even as he was dying, Raja Mahmud felt concern for his children and Raja Ismail felt the loss most deeply but was cared for by his uncle, Tengku Busu.
- 4a All the people within the court and without praised Raja Mahmud's life and mourned his passing.
- b The royal children were left unprotected.
- 5a Raja Mahmud was ceremonially buried with his children prominent in proceedings.
- b Raja Ismail was distressed and sorrowful.

D RAJA ISMAIL'S STORY (293 stanzas)

- 1a Raja Ismail was young and needed the support of Tengku Busu and Tengku Muhammad Ali but his succession was uncontested.
- b When the Dutch heard that Raja Mahmud had died, they allied themselves with Raja Alam and prepared to attack.
- c Raja Ismail was not dismayed and was advised that all was in readiness.
- 2a Raja Ismail was supported by fine warriors from all sections of the community.
- 3a Defensive works were established and soldiers were trained.
- 4a When news of the invaders' arrival at the mouth of the Siak reached them, Raja Ismail, against advice urging caution, chose to take the initiative and was supported in his plan.
- b Raja Ismail declared a holy war and took the leadership in policy making.
- 5a Raja Ismail led his fleet downstream.
- b Raja Ismail's demeanour called to mind his father, Raja Mahmud.
- 6a The Dutch commissioner was surprised at the warlike aspect of the Siak fleet.
- b The Dutch prepared for battle and the Siak forces became more excited.
- c The Dutch did not advance and the battle lines remained static for many days.
- 7a The adversaries joined in pitched battle at Pulau Guntung.

- b The leaders reported to Raja Ismail who decided to continue resistance.
- 8a Siak resistance effectively held back the Dutch progress.
 - b One man behaved foolishly.
- 9a Raja Ismail decided to bring the floating fortress into play and his forces gained confidence.
 - b Defensive positions were established at Pulau Sabalenga where Tengku Busu held one side of the island with the floating fortress while Raja Ismail held the other side with Tengku Muhammad Ali, the commander-in-chief, in a subordinate role accompanying him.
- 10a The Dutch concentrated their attack on the floating fortress which was isolated because of its immobility and destroyed.
- 11a Raja Ismail went to the aid of Syekh Salim in distress and so led his forces into battle.
 - b Raja Ismail's brothers fought with vigour and Tengku Muhammad Ali followed their lead.
- 12a The horrors of the battle were overwhelming.
 - b The leaders could not persuade the smaller boats to hold their positions.
 - c Many gave up the battle but the nobility fought on.
 - d Raja Ismail brought all save one safely through the battle.
- 13a The Dutch advanced relentlessly and Tengku Muhammad Ali was unable to hold them back.
- 14a The defensive works were prepared at Mempura with great care.
- 15a When the Dutch were unwilling to attack Mempura, Tengku Busu advocated sending fireships down but they proved ineffective.
- 16a Raja Alam inspired the hesitant Dutch by offering to lead the attack.
- 17a The Dutch committed all and the defenders responded.
 - b In the face of firm resistance the Dutch became desperate and ruthless.
 - c The defenders fought till fighting made no sense.
- 18a In grief Raja Ismail left loved ones and departed for Pelalawan.

E POSTSCRIPT (47 stanzas)

- 1a Overwhelmed by events, Raja Ismail was unable to give his mind to planning and Tengku Busu maintained the court in exile.
 - b All vowed to continue in Raja Ismail's service.
 - c Raja Ismail wished to renounce his status but Tengku Busu persuaded him to ally himself with the Trengganu court by marriage.
 - d Tengku Busu and a young companion persuaded the sultan of Trengganu to accept this alliance.

Without placing too great a demand on the meagre evidence provided by the manuscript, it is possible, with reasonable assurance, to reduce this summary further to a brief though subjective precis.

Raja Kecil's story provides a sure foundation for the dynastic line of Siak sultans.

Raja Alam's story provides an explanation for later misfortune.

Raja Mahmud's story extends Raja Kecil's legitimacy to his heirs, enhances the stature of the dynastic line, and places Raja Ismail in an impossible predicament.

Those stories provide all the necessary elements and only the elements necessary to prepare a contemporary audience to respond with understanding and sympathy to Raja Ismail's story. Raja Ismail's story, by describing in detail the events of his short reign, justifies his succession; shows how earlier events placed him in an inherently impossible position;

reveals the inexorable hand of fate acting against him despite his best endeavours which exceeded the expectations of friend and foe alike; and thrusts into the foreground a rightful king inspiring his people to the very end before succumbing to the inevitable consequence of the unmerited predicament in which he had been placed.

Can *Syair Perang Siak* be anything other than a declaration of Raja Ismail's claim to the Siak throne and the injustice of his deposition?





QUESTIONS OF USE AND VALUE FOR THE TEXT'S INHERITORS

If the conclusion of the previous section is correct, if, indeed, *Syair Perang Siak* is a declaration of Raja Ismail's claim to the throne and of the injustice of his deposition, then it would seem to be necessary to explain the unlikely provenance of the manuscript KL 154 from Siak in 1849 and show that there really was a rift between the 'Sayid' line and the descendants of Raja Mahmud in exile, and to show how the 'Sayid' line could benefit from readings of Raja Ismail's text. As is typical of dynastic disputes in the region where sites of capitals can be readily moved, the fact of power transfer is quickly acknowledged, and change at the top usually has little impact on the lives of the adaptable populace, so in the case of Siak after 1791, a dynamic sultan led an expanding nation to unprecedented eminence and prosperity and few would have looked back with regret. The dynastic change the *syair* text leads us to consider is therefore no more than a change of ruler and family at the top. Nor were the new rulers without a reasonable claim to the throne. They were, in part, descended from Raja Kecil; they had married into the rival family; they had the religious authority of their descent from the Prophet; and they were, to begin with, vigorous and successful. The 'Sayid' line had no need to fear Raja Ismail's text but it remains a puzzle that they accepted and used it so fully and readily.

Tenas Effendy's "Sedikit Catatan tentang: *Syair Perang Siak*", although it does not answer all questions and raises some new puzzles, yet it removes the obligation to argue these questions in detail. The evidence of traditions which Tenas Effendy uncovered through his extensive interviews with a galaxy of Pelalawan and Siak notables, though filling in a wealth of detail, does not fundamentally dispute the view taken here concerning the origin of the text. The confirmation that the successors to Raja Yahya after 1791 did in fact ceremonially read a text substantially the same as that composed for Raja Ismail in 1764 makes the effort to explain why they did so superfluous for the present purpose.

The aim here is not to arrive at absolute certainties but to provide a context of situation within which the text can be seen in a social and political setting.

All that needs to be done therefore is to point up some of the issues raised by Tenas Effendy and comment briefly on their relevance for the views developed from the text's internal evidence.

The first quite astounding fact is the number of people who knew *Syair Perang Siak* well enough to recite. There were six principal informants about the wording of the text. They knew the text well enough to recite it in whole or in part and knew it with sufficient precision to be able to come to unanimous agreement on the detail of most stanzas. From this, one may infer that there were considerable differences between their technique and the technique of oral composition described by Lord (1971). (Tenas Effendy does not, of course, address himself to this issue.)

Each of the six principal informants bore the title *Tengku* indicating that they were direct descendants of the sultan, and each of them was of advanced years when interviewed in 1958.

By contrast, the next generation did not know the *Syair Perang Siak* or remember hearing it recited. The Japanese occupation after 1940 formed an impassable line of demarcation. Neither manuscripts nor performance survived the occupation and its aftermath. But then, the royal court did

not survive these disruptions either. We are indeed fortunate that Tenas Effendy chose to conduct his investigations when he did or all trace and knowledge of a vigorous tradition of recitation of this syair would have been lost. It is worth stressing that a social and political upheaval lasting but a few years could cause all trace of manuscript and practice to be lost within a generation.

It is remarkable that the evidence Tenas Effendy's informants provided is so precise. The actual date of the ceremonial performance at the royal court of Pelalawan and the year and reason for its demise are given. This must give reassurance about the accuracy of the information. The existence of special ceremonial days at the beginning of each year for performance of this particular syair increases the likelihood that the poem was read in its entirety on such formal occasions, if not when performed for the family circle.

The story of the corpse of Said Osman (Sayid Uthman - the architect of Siak expansion during the reign of Sayid Ali) being brought back to Siak while a recitation of the *Syair Perang Siak* was used to conceal his death, is a startling irony and vividly reveals the new role the text came to perform. Sayid Uthman, it will be remembered, supported the Dutch and Raja Alam in 1761 when they drove Raja Ismail out of Siak, as fully recorded in poem. Indeed it is possible that Sayid Uthman is covertly and inimically depicted as the deceitful Tengku Sayid in Stanzas 332-33. (See also p 55-56.) From this we can infer that, by the time of Sayid Uthman's death, *Syair Perang Siak* had the function of honouring the fighting men of Siak and had lost its original function of presenting the case for Raja Ismail's right to rule Siak.

The knowledge of *Syair Perang Siak* in Siak during the reign of Tengku Muhammad Ali - that is, before the return of Raja Ismail in 1779 - shows that there was an interaction between those in exile and those in Siak. Tenas Effendy makes some valid points about Tengku Muhammad Ali's response to the text - his close relationship with Raja Ismail, the urgings of his wife, Raja Ismail's sister, and his interest in healing the breach within the community. KL 154, however, stands in strong contrast to other Siak accounts in its attitude to the overthrow of Raja Ismail. This text does not show Raja Ismail accepting Raja Alam, in accordance with Raja Mahmud's injunction, as soon as Raja Alam contacted him. Indeed, *Syair Perang Siak*, although it gives considerable space to Raja Mahmud's deathbed instructions, makes no mention of any requirement that Raja Ismail should give up the throne to Raja Alam immediately upon his return to Siak, as do other Siak accounts. In the syair, Raja Ismail and his people fought to the bitter end until fighting made no more sense.

Tengku Muhammad Ali may have changed the text by removing recriminations against his father, but it is improbable that he reconstructed the text. It is true that the text honours Tengku Muhammad Ali but it does not flatter him. Indeed it has an ambivalent attitude towards him. *Syair Perang Siak* alone of all sources does not acknowledge Tengku Muhammad Ali as a sultan of Siak. A rewriting would surely have adjusted that defect. He was given the title Panglima Besar and other sources credit him with the major role in the taking of the Dutch fort at Pulau Guntung despite the presence of both Raja Mahmud and Raja Ismail. *Syair Perang Siak* on the other hand gives him a prominent role in planning the defence of Siak, as befits the Commander-in-Chief, but a secondary role in the actual fighting. It is his ward, the young Raja Ismail who provides the decisive leadership when the Dutch eventually arrive. Raja Ismail also leads the charge at the battle of Sabalenga while Tengku Muhammad Ali follows the young princes, Tengku Abdullah and Tengku Abd al-Rahman, into battle. The last we hear of Tengku Muhammad Ali is in Stanza 450 when he fails in the task of holding back the Dutch advance while defensive positions are established at Mempura. His defection to his father's side is not referred to.

Tenas Effendy makes a crucial point when discussing Raja Ismail's failure to remedy the cuts made by Tengku Muhammad Ali in the text: "Menurut informasi yang saya peroleh, Ismail *tidak* merobahnya karena: pertama, beliau sudah merasa puas dapat kembali menduduki tahta Siak." That is precisely the conclusion arrived at after an analysis of the internal structure of the syair. It was written to achieve Raja Ismail's return to the Siak throne.

THE ORIGIN AND FUNCTION OF THE TEXT

The Postscript to the text is the story of those who produced the text and in the Postscript their motivation is revealed.

Raja Ismail was so stunned by his expulsion from Siak that he took no part in affairs (531) which he left to Tengku Busu (533-535), until one day he called his court together. All present expressed their willingness to serve Raja Ismail and maintain him as before, but the young ruler had other ideas. His first words to his people were:

"Kita ni sama muda-muda
pekerjaan jangan dibeda-beda." (548c-d)
"We are all young men together,
so let us make no distinctions in our duties."

Tengku Busu at once urged him not to consider such a diminution of his status and role within the community, but Raja Ismail was adamant and it fell to Tengku Busu to find a suitable alternative.

The problem for the exiles was how to maintain Raja Ismail's kingly status and the court which depended on it, without a kingdom (506c-d). Raja Ismail's solution was to abandon all pretensions to kingship and lead the life of any other adventurer with his band of followers. The implication was that he and his heirs would also abandon hope of returning to rule in Siak.

Part of the solution Tengku Busu found was alliance with the Sultan of Trengganu. The other Part of his solution was *Syair Perang Siak*. The alliance with Trengganu gave a secure territorial base and financial backing. The *Syair Perang Siak* provided an authenticating and sustaining ideology.

Tengku Busu's major task, after the Sultan of Trengganu had agreed to Raja Ismail marrying his daughter, was to produce an ideology which took up all the issues necessary to show Raja Ismail's kingly qualities, his prior claim to the throne of Siak over his uncle, Raja Alam, and his cousin, Tengku Muhammad Ali, and the independence of the Siak Sultanate from Johor suzerainty and so its right to freedom from domination by Johor's treaty partners, the Dutch at Malacca.

The Postscript provides clues to the identity of the owner of the *Syair Perang Siak*, the one to whom Tengku Busu gave the task of producing the text. From the *Siak Chronicle* we know that the older emissary who went to Trengganu on Raja Ismail's behalf was Tengku Busu, youngest brother of the late Raja Mahmud and son of Raja Kecil (COD OR 7304:475-476). But the *Siak Chronicle* makes no mention of a second emissary. However the second emissary identifies himself for us in the postscript. He is the *wazir yang hina* (531,558) and *fakir yang bahari*(574), a youthful minister of Raja Ismail, composer of the postscript, and therefore custodian of the text.

The prince proposed for this role is Tengku Abdullah, the second son of Raja Mahmud.

At first sight Tengku Abdullah is an unlikely candidate – quarrelsome and bellicose and with a reputation for invulnerability which on one occasion prevented the Bugis, surrounding him on his sinking ship, from carrying through their advantage (COD OR 7304:484-485). Certainly he would

have the confidence to assure the Sultan of Trengganu that he need fear no eventuality while he and his comrades were at hand (Stanza 574).

The recent revelation of Tenas Effendy (See below p 256) that a manuscript of *Syair Perang Siak* was taken to Pelalawan from Siak in 1827 reduces, for the purpose of tracing the text, any significance in the fact that Tengku Abdullah ruled in Pelalawan in 1791. It is too speculative to consider the possibility of a prior manuscript in Pelalawan. However it adds to the picture of Tengku Abdullah to note that in 1791 when Raja Yahya and his followers were driven out of Siak, for the last time, by Sayid Ali, Tengku Abdullah sent his son, Tengku Muhammad, to escort them from Mempura. Then a "very desperate battle was fought at Kampar with the former king, who fled, and fortified that place" (ANDERSON 1971:177). The last battle which the descendants of Raja Mahmud fought for Siak was fought at the *negeri* of Tengku Abdullah. See also the *Siak Chronicle* (COD OR 7304:550-552).

The *Siak Chronicle*, however, does provide an anecdote which shows that Tengku Abdullah's family had literary interests. Amid their wanderings after the fall of Siak in 1791, Raja Akil accompanied Tengku Muhammad, the son of Tengku Abdullah, to Rembau. Tengku Muhammad decided to settle there, and married. As part of the celebrations there was music and a *wayang* (shadow play) performance. Tengku Muhammad himself was the *dalang* for the *wayang* (COD OR 7304:573-574). The role of *dalang* is a demanding one. Performances are typically of long duration and the *dalang* alone is the shaman, puppeteer, storyteller, and provides all the voices and leads any musical accompaniment. Such skills are not readily learned without a commitment of time and effort and an environment to nourish the learning.

To add to the circumstantial evidence connecting Tengku Abdullah to the literary activity of the Siak family are two more glimpses of his interest and influence in literary pursuits. During a battle with the Bugis, Tengku Abdullah had to be forcibly removed from his foundering ship by Raja Ismail's messengers sent to get him, and the *perahu* fell into the hands of the Bugis. The captors took possession of a box of writing equipment belonging to Tengku Abdullah (MATHE-SON & ANDAYA 1982:133). It is possible of course that a box of writing equipment was standard equipment on Malay *perahu*, but Tengku Abdullah's is the only boat mentioned as having one.

And then, the colophon of the *Siak Chronicle* affirms that it was written in 1855 by Tengku Said at the instigation of Tuan von de Wall, Assistant Resident at Sukadana. Von de Wall's pedigree of the Siak family in Sukadana lists "Tengkoe Said, gepensioneerd officier van de marine", a grandson of Tengku Abdullah (von de WALL 1862:117). It is therefore likely that Tengku Abdullah's grandson, after serving with Raja Akil (COD OR 7304:588,591), wrote the manuscript, v d W 191, the *Siak Chronicle*.

With the Pelalawan Sultans having a direct and stable tradition leading back to 1791 there is no apparent reason to reject the evidence of Sultan Syarif Hasyim given to Tenas Effendy by the Sultan's great grandson, Tengku Said Umar, who had acted as the Sultan's private secretary. This evidence attributed the composition of the syair to a poet from Trengganu - Encik Abdullah. It is tempting to speculate that local tradition may have merged the homeland of the poet and the name of Tengku Abdullah.

A reasonable inference then is that Tengku Abdullah, a nephew and protege of Tengku Busu, was the owner of the text of *Syair Perang Siak* which he had a poet from Trengganu set out in verse, and to which he himself added a postscript to introduce the burden of maintaining the court which fell onto Tengku Busu and himself during the time in exile.

From Tenas Effendy we also learn something of how the syair was presented (DJAARAF 1972:24):

"In former days, when the *Syair Perang Siak* was to be read, special ceremonies were arranged (in the palaces of both Siak and Pelalawan) to honour the memory of the men who had fallen in battle. For the occasion, singers of pleasing appearance and fine voices were summoned to the palace to present the Syair.

"The respectful atmosphere was pervaded by the great variety of rhythms of the *syair* which gave rise to as many different feelings within the hearers. At the moments of sadness, tears would flow freely and sobs would fill the hall. But when the time of battle arrived in the *syair*, the martial rhythms brought out the fighting spirits which would not be still."

Syair Perang Siak was a court poem, a poem for a special occasion in the presence of the Sultan. There are contained within the text the common literary themes of separation and loss, but nothing of reunion. Perhaps therein lies the motivation for the text. The statement of separation leaves the text incomplete. It evokes the need for completion. It provides a stimulus to action which may lead to the restoration of the family to its homeland and which would supply the material for the final act in the drama.

A current problem is that the courts in which it was read in Siak and Pelalawan were the 'wrong' courts. The text belonged to the descendants of Sultan Mahmud but little of Sultan Mahmud's blood flowed in the veins of anyone in the court of the usurping Sayid lines. There is little information about how the text was modified to suit the needs of its new owners. What evidence there is suggests changes were minimal. Perhaps they were content to ignore its reference meaning, enjoy the emotive content and gloss over any lack of continuity from dynasty to dynasty as Indonesian histories tend to do. Tenas Effendy's recent version (TENAS EFFENDY 1972) of *Syair Perang Siak*, without losing the total structure or the identity of most stanzas, stresses the theme of the people's struggle against colonialism - a theme which unites all local factions against a foreign invader and plays down internecine factionalism.

We have seen that the text of KL 154 is precise and single-minded in building the case of the rights of Raja Mahmud's heirs to rule in Siak. It is to the text itself that we must look for guidance on the function of the text within the political community.

One observation that needs to be made is that the *syair* refers to itself only once by that name (Stanza 226) and there it stresses the fact, not that it is poetic, but that it is an orderly narration (*rencana*) and a chronicle (*setawarikh*). It goes on to deprecate its inexpert use of rhyme and metre. That may be a conventionally modest qualification, but the poet nowhere says that his material is faulty or inaccurate. He found it stressful and depressing and physically exhausting to do the task, but it was a task which could not be delayed (227d).

In the colophon and the custodian's descriptive note on the manuscript, the book is referred to as *Surat Perang Siak*. The expression *Syair Perang Siak* occurs only in Roman script added probably by van Angelbeek or Klinkert or a library cataloguer. It is the need of a foreigner to classify a mass of material that has made the fact that the text is a 'syair' significant and has made the title *Syair Perang Siak* useful. For him, the setting out of a *syair* into two regular columns on a page is an easy and obvious form of classification. The fact that the work is in verse becomes a distinctive feature. Verse to the mind of the customary reader of print suggests the poetical where sounds and rhythms and the juxtaposing of emotive words and images evoke emotional experiences in the recipient.

Certainly the poet and scribe were skilled craftsmen, jealous of their reputations and keen to produce a work which would find favour with their employers. In the same manner the worker in wood would wish the screen that he made to separate the women from the court to be attractive and pleasant to behold. The designs he carved in it would be delicate, intricate and regular. Yet none of these craftsmen would be employed in their crafts if the objects they worked on did not have a functional purpose and a meaning - a context of situation.

It cannot be assumed that the *Syair Perang Siak* can be fitted neatly into today's classifications. When the poet sat down to compose *Syair Perang Siak* he would not have had in his mind any separated categories of lyrical poetry or narrative poetry, legend or history, political propaganda or objective journalism. He had something to say and he had the conventions of his time with which to say it.

He knew his work would be read aloud so he chose to write it in verse which lends itself to the

task of maintaining the anticipation and attention of the audience in a variety of ways. It gives the opportunity to stress by repetition without appearing to labour the point. It is more pleasant to listen to, for 528 stanzas, if the work was read in its entirety, are not soon completed. Nothing about the accuracy or importance of the content can be read into the choice of verse as the medium for telling the stories.

At home in Siak the fishing grounds of Bengkalis downstream and the mines of Petapahan upstream had provided trade and wealth to maintain the Sultan at Inderapura with the pomp and ceremony that befitted his position. The paraphernalia of the court and the dignitaries in attendance provided physical and visible evidence of power and authority.

Tengku Busu and Tengku Abdullah returned from Trengganu to Siantan with their news of Sultan Mansur's acceptance of an alliance and the court moved to Tambelan where a temporary base was established so that a fleet could be prepared. The Siak court then had the security of a potential territorial base and financial backing from Trengganu. It still needed a clearly defined reference point giving assurance of its noble status and replacing the visible royal paraphernalia that had been in evidence at Inderapura. The Minangkabau could then enter their alliance confidently as proven equals and not as wandering adventurers. That, it is believed, was the task given to Tengku Abdullah who took back from Trengganu a poet to prepare a statement of the court ideology.

In exile without the visible signs of a royal court maintained by a regular flow of trade, *Syair Perang Siak* provided a myth to authenticate and sustain the Sultan's authority and the court dependent on that authority. The myth proclaimed the network of images and beliefs which this political community had about itself enabling it to cohere and act with unity of purpose.

As was evident in the analysis above of "What the text said to its audience", *Syair Perang Siak* spoke a clear and unequivocal message to the community. The founder of the dynasty, Raja Kecil, was descended from the purest line of kings who ruled in the *Alam Minangkabau* and he proved himself a just and fitting ruler. He proved the superiority of his line over the decadent and barren Johor line and in doing so showed that Siak could not be subject to Johor.

The founder of the dynasty had two sons of equal fitness to succeed, and that unhappy circumstance was Raja Kecil's dilemma and the source of all subsequent difficulties for the family. Raja Kecil chose Raja Mahmud to succeed him and his reign was troubled by external interference and conflict but, at his premature death, Raja Mahmud was the undisputed and unanimously acclaimed ruler of Siak. However his early death left a great vacuum in the lives of all his subjects. Especially were his young children unready for the work that lay before them, and unprotected.

The Dutch at Malacca took advantage of that moment of weakness to wreak vengeance on the young Raja Ismail for the righteous actions of his father, but they were taken aback by the vigorous defence of the young Sultan and his people who rallied to his cause. Despite their superior armaments the invaders were often hesitant and their attack upon Inderapura could not have succeeded had not Raja Alam led them in the final assault.

A youth who had proved himself a fit and rightful successor to his father was cast out of his rightful heritage. He had become a victim of the fateful division of the kingdom when his father and uncle had been unable to agree. A divinely appointed sultan had become separated from his sultanate. That separation demanded a reunion. It was the task of Raja Ismail's people to return him to Siak and complete the story.

As the Minangkabau, gathered before their leader at Tambelan or Trengganu, Siantan or Sambas, Bangka or Belitung, Sukadana or Karimata, listened to the unfolding of these events they knew that in their midst was the rightful ruler of Siak, deprived of his sultanate through no fault of his own, by a cruel twist of fate. They knew that they were descendants of those who served his father and grandfather and that they bore the same titles as those noble warriors of the past. They knew that it was their duty to serve the ruler in exile, to maintain him in due dignity and honour and to be ready when the time was ripe to return him to his sultanate.

The author of *Tuhfat al-Nafis* was certainly aware of the notion of history as an objective

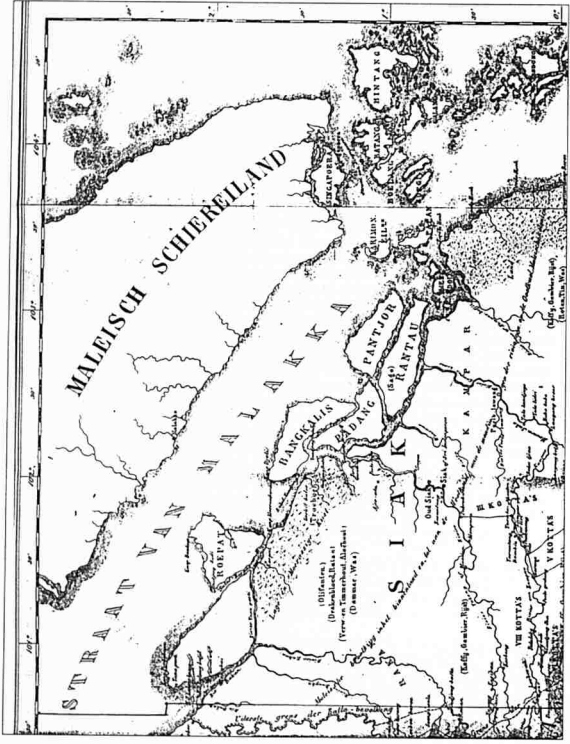
science. He disparages the *Siak Chronicle* for giving no years or dates or precise chronology (MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:96). Even the author of the 1855 manuscript of the *Siak Chronicle* as a servant of the Dutch government working at the behest of an official of the Dutch government would not have been unaware of the nature of the dated written report sent to Batavia for scrutiny and auditing. *Syair Perang Siak* however was composed ninety years before in a world more attuned to ever changing oral texts than to the more rigid precision associated with the printing press.

The poet who composed the *Syair Perang Siak* did not feel bound to separate 'history' and 'poetry'. Within the one work he was able to record facts, ascribe status, reward valour and loyalty, define appropriate behaviour, stir spirits, evoke pity or horror, establish goals to guide future action and a great deal more, all within the ambit of the expectations of those who listened to his single work. His work was an integral part of the community and it integrated the community. His work found its validity in the images, beliefs and aspirations of the community and it validated the community's sustaining myth. His work was a creation of the communal spirit and it recreated the communal spirit.

The poet's work cannot be judged only as history recounting objective facts, or moral or diverting tales uplifting and edifying the spirit, or beautiful sounds and word pictures appealing to the senses, without distorting the nature of the literary event. The text in context did all of those things but essentially the poet expressed the totality of the community for itself. He held up a mirror to the community which reflected its members' ideology and, by showing their past as they would wish to remember it and their status as they would wish it to be perceived, helped determine that they would act in such a way that they would realize what they aspired to.

The text was written in 1764 for Raja Mahmud's children in exile. It would have been able to serve equally well for Raja Mahmud's grandchildren in exile after 1791, if the *syair* was in fact taken into exile by Raja Yahya's people. It served to sustain the sultans of Siak, who replaced Raja Mahmud's descendants, when under a later threat of foreign domination and when in fact dominated by foreign powers. After 1850 or 1858, its usefulness would have diminished with the diminution of the independent role of the royal family in Sukadana or in Siak until it became no more than a museum artefact, a relic of a past life. Now in post revolutionary Indonesia, the text has found a new life and meaning as a reminder of the suffering of past generations under the tyranny of foreign invaders and the need to maintain local commitment to sustain the Republic.





A Dutch map showing Siak, the Straits of Malacca and part of the Malay Peninsula.

THE PRESENTATION OF THE TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Syair Perang Siak was written to be read in the royal court where those, whose story it tells, were present. It is an allusive text expecting much knowledge of places and people and events and ceremonial to be supplied from the personal experiences of the audience.

The manuscript KL 154 in a European university library is no more a literary event than a crown in a museum is a coronation. Both manuscript and crown need someone for whom the act is performed, someone to perform the act and a congregation of witnesses to affirm the significance of the act by its response to it.

One may admire the craftsmanship and the beauty of form and pattern of both manuscript and crown but, without a context to identify the people who used them and the purpose for which they created them, both manuscript and crown lack the fullness of meaning they once had.

The literary event cannot be re-created. The essential elements and the situation are long gone. But neither can the words be left to speak for themselves, for like random breezes playing on the strings of a musical instrument, they may make pleasing sounds but, unrelated to the total form and structure of the historical event, they lack a total meaning.

Just as a museum presents its crown in a tableau within a diorama to provide its viewers with a background knowledge of the times and places and personnel, so it is hoped that the Introduction has identified the people of *Syair Perang Siak*, placed them in their historical setting, and shown their predicament to which *Syair Perang Siak* was their response.

The problem still remains how to turn a text intended for oral presentation to an informed and experienced recipient audience into a printed book for a private reader probably with no experience of orally presented *syair* and minimal knowledge of the conventions of that form.

The listeners to the oral presentation, besides knowing the material on which the text was based, knew the rhythms and rhymes and the auditory textual cues which combined together to lead them through the story, maintaining their interest and attention by creating expectations and in due course confirming those expectations.

The private reader has had experience of interaction with the printed page and his expectations of what he will find there make him a skilled reader. He expects punctuation to aid him in quickly assembling the structure and meaning of sentences. He expects grouping into paragraphs, or stanzas, and chapters where he knows to expect a unity of subject matter.

A considerable amount of matter must therefore be added by the editor to make this text, designed with auditory cues for a skilled listening audience, readily useful to a private reader of printed text skilled in the rapid assimilation of print by using a quite different set of visual cues.

The purpose of detailing these editorial additions here is to alert the reader to what has been added so that the additions can be ignored should the reader wish to try to interpret the text in some other way.

THE TEXT

Folio or leaf numbers have been added in pencil to the manuscript. In this edition, page numbers have been used. To go from page number to folio number, add 1 to the odd page number and divide by 2. Page 15 is therefore the same as folio $(15 + 1) \div 2$ or 8.

The brevity of the line - usually four, at most six words - enabled the poet to write two lines across the page. The resultant two neat columns of lines to a page make economical use of paper. This practice also gives strength to the verse (couplet) and so detracts from the stanza. In the manuscript the only visual cue to the stanza is the end rhyme. Here the four lines of each stanza are written as separate quatrains and numbered.

A separated four-line stanza gives visual emphasis to the unity of meaning within a stanza. Typically a stanza deals with only one individual or event however simple or complex the point being made.

The Jawi or Arabic script of the manuscript does not distinguish upper and lower case letters nor does it show punctuation. All capitals and punctuation, including indications of direct speech are therefore editorial additions.

The spelling conventions used follow Poerwadarminta (1978).

The Jawi text continues, visually uninterrupted, from beginning to end, except for a one line space separating the Postscript at Stanza 528.

The text is divided into stories based on which Sultan is the subject of the story. The lack of identification of particular sultans in the text would make the narrative confusing even for those within its social milieu if each story were not discrete and separate with only one sultan given kingly titles within each story.

Each story is subdivided into shorter sections indicated by verbal cues or personal remarks directed by the singer to his audience. It may be a line like "Habislah sudah kisah dan peri..." (47a) or two successive stanzas such as Stanzas 109 and 110 - one to close a section, one to open the next - or even longer passages such as Stanzas 506-508. The length of the remarks indicate the significance of the break.

Here such divisions are given a visual grouping and supplied with an English heading. The choice of English for the headings is a reminder that the headings do not occur in the text.

To supply the private reader of print with additional visual cues there are a few breaks made in long passages where the narrative changes direction.

Notes to the Text

The footnotes to the text are designed to go with the manuscript rather than with this edition of the text. When confronted by a recalcitrant piece of text with minimal information on the page, the editor must use techniques other than recognition of the written letters to arrive at a most likely reading. The words chosen therefore determine which letters are seen to appear on the page - which letters own the dots, which lines are significant and which are ligatures or errors, which letters group together to form the word. Often therefore the spelling out of words in the footnotes is as much a matter of interpretation as the words chosen for the text.

Many footnotes to the text are therefore of value to the reader interested in Malay manuscripts rather than the reader interested in syair and *Syair Perang Siak* in particular. They illustrate the variations in spelling itemised by Mohd Yusof Md. Nor (1979:46-49). It would however be more productive of an understanding of how writing represents language if differing forms were regarded as *kelainan* (variations) rather than Mohd Yusof's *kesalahan* (errors).

Where variants forms of letters are habitually used they are shown in the footnotes on only one or two occasions.

The followings are the symbols used to transliterate the Jawi alphabet:

a or (a)	ب b	ت t	ث th	ج j	چ c
ح h	خ kh	د d	ذ dh	ر r	ز z
س s	ش sy	ص s	ض d	ط t	ظ z
ع ' e	غ gh	غ ng	ف f	ف o	ق q
ك k	ك g	ل l	م m	ن n	و w
ه h	• ç	ي y	ث ny		

Where the manuscript uses a spelling shown by Poerwadarminta as a non-preferred form, the preferred form is given in a footnote. Words which do not occur in Poerwadarminta or which have meanings that do not occur in Poerwadarminta are given a reference to the authority for the reading used.

The principal reason for having footnotes to the text is to allow the interpretations given to be checked. *Saat* (96b) and *sangat* (100a) have identical forms. Should they be read as different words?

A more fascinating aspect is to use the footnotes to observe the scribe at work making his representations of sound into visual forms which suit his visual rhymes.

The scribe is quite capable of making a perfectly distinct *qaf* and *wau-hamzah*. Gradually the distinction becomes blurred. The two dots become joined and turn into a reversed *hamzah*. *Qaf* and *wau-hamzah* become identical. The scribe is confronted by the implications of what he has been doing in Stanza 406 and has to change his practice.

To add to the significance and religiosity of the occasion, the scribe three times writes the normal Malay word *mati*, which he often spells as a normal Malay word, using peculiarly Arabic letters. These three 'Arabic' spellings are used to refer to the deaths of Raja Kecil and Raja Mahmud in Stanzas 120b, 205b and 252b.

Incidentally, this is one of the indications of the dependence of the manuscripts KL 153 and v.d.W 273 on KL 154. Both follow KL 154's spelling of *mati* on these occasions.

The reader is cautioned against using the footnotes without the manuscript to reinterpret the text or to make inferences about the dialect used by the scribe. A transliteration cannot represent the great variety of forms of each letter and ligature that the scribe uses.

THE TRANSLATION

How to translate the *Syair Perang Siak* is a vexed question. Perhaps what has to be decided is who will use a translation and for what purpose. What is certain is that its readership will be limited in number and diverse in interests. The translation must therefore try to suit the purposes of a broad spectrum of users and in attempting to do so will inevitably fall short of serving any reader well.

Perhaps the major issue is that the *Syair Perang Siak* is an historical narrative account with propagandist and advocative intentions composed by a poet who was concerned to develop language themes in sounds and word association as well as the owner's ideological themes.

A translation can serve the ideological themes best by emphasising and simplifying the narrative and providing the private reader with some of the information that the poet assumed his audience to have. That solution makes information gathering easier but takes away the character of the text based on the kinds of words used and their ordering and relative prominence.

A translation can never reproduce poetry. It could perhaps in the hands of a poet produce a new poem on similar themes. Meanings transmitted from language to language do not have available to them words with the same alliterative or onomatopoeic values. Nor do words in different languages with similar dictionary definitions have common associations or etymologies. The complex of associations which adhere to words through their use over time is not just language based. It is culturally based. The divergent trends of a language transferred to new environments is evidence of that. The best that one can hope to do is to leave words wherever possible in the same position within a line so that the shape of a stanza is apparent. Even then the demands of English for more frequent function words than Malay breaks down any clear Malay pattern. The only source for a study of the poetics of the *syair* is to be found in the Malay text.

Some common and simple examples of the translator's dilemma may better explain the problems. There are typical ways of referring to the fleets of ships in the *syair* - *kapal dan kici*, *kelengkapan* and *kenaikan*. Wilkinson's (1959) definitions show that *kapal* is a Tamil word for a decked ship, *kici* is an English word for a square rigged ship, *kelengkapan* is a form of *lengkap* (complete) indicating an armada or expeditionary force and *kenaikan* is a 'mount'. Any attempt to describe these vessels would destroy the shape of the line of poetry. A replacement of word for word would evoke wrong pictures. For example today's English word 'ketch' does not represent the same vessel as a *kici*.

Neither of those methods however would come close to the sense given the phrases in the text. The audience in the court of Raja Ismail would have had no doubt that *kapal dan kici* were the invading Dutch ships and *kelengkapan* indicated Raja Ismail's fleet and *kenaikan* stressed that the Sultan or a royal warrior was aboard. Yet to state those inferences directly is to impose a considerable amount of translator interpretation on the words used.

The *syair* records that the young Raja Ismail was dependent on his *ayahanda dan kakanda*. These words for 'father' and 'older sibling' are also generic terms for male relatives of father's generation and the classificatory group associated with older siblings. If the translator discovers from other sources that this repeatedly used phrase represents two particular individuals, should he use their names, Tengku Busu and Tengku Mubammad Ali, and offend against the shape and superficial impact of the line, or should he use a weak and uninformative 'Uncle and Cousin' and offend against the understanding which the singer gave to the audience in the court of Raja Ismail?

Raja Ismail is not named anywhere in the text but referred to by honorific - a fitting acknowledgement of the royal presence at the performance. One of his honorifics is *Duli Sri Pada* a fine sounding, ancient expression of respect and esteem. However, one wonders whether, when in Stanza 362 the royal warriors gather before the young Sultan Ismail, a translation of Line d such as "they besought the commands of the Dust of the Resplendent Foot" would gain for Raja Ismail quite the dignity and honour that the poet intended to bestow on him. A snigger may be a more likely response.

The reader will see that a variety of techniques has been used in the hope that some of the expressed wishes of those who would use the text are satisfied. The translator can only apologise for the resultant lack of continuity and the awkwardness of the English.

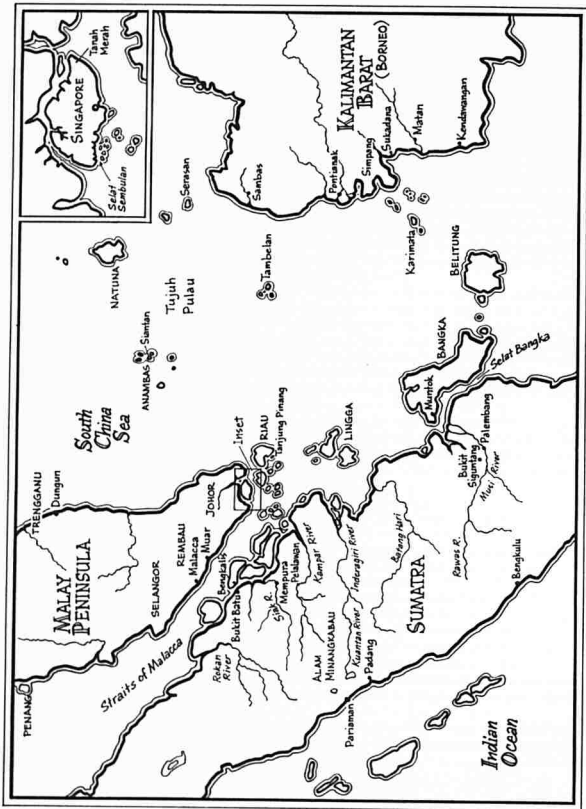
Notes to the Translation

The footnotes to the translation provide information about characters and places and events and ceremonials of the text to try to give today's reader some of the detailed knowledge, still available to us, which the poet was justified in assuming that his contemporary audience was familiar with.

It provides references to related items or usages in other parts of the text and explains how uncertain readings were justified.

There are also some observations about the production of the text. These include references to alternative versions of events from other sources.





Map of Central Sumatra and Southern Malay Peninsular.

**TEXT
AND
TRANSLATION**

EXORDIUM

1. *Bismillah* itu suatu asma - p4
suatu disebut mula pertama.
Zat dan sifat keduanya sama,
perhimpunan wujud sekalian nama.
2. *Alhamdulillah* puji yang sedia
bagi Allah Tuhan yang mulia.
Berkat Muhammad Sayid al-anbia
jangan bernama yang sia-sia.
3. Astagfirullah hambamu tobat -
mintak ampuni janganlah lambat.
Dipohonkan kepada Nabi dan Sahabat
pekerjaan maksiat jangan terjabat.
4. Dengan berkat Duli Mahkota
ibarat dahulu sudah nyata,
tidak dipandanglah dengan mata,
sekadar fakir mendengar cerita.

RAJA KECIL'S STORY

RAJA KECIL IS CALLED TO BENGKALIS

5. Tersebutlah kisah suatu peri,
madah dahulu orang bahari,
Buantan belum menjadi negeri -
kayunya banyak akar dan duri.
6. Tatkala zaman ketika itu
bandar Bengkalis yang tertentu,
indahnyanya bukan lagi suatu,
orang melihat berhati mutu.
7. Itulah negeri asal mulanya,
ramainya tidak lagi taranya.
Tidak beraja konon khabarnya
sekadar Orang Besar memerintahkannya.

1a asma: s-m-a
1d zat: d-t
2b bagi: b-h-k-y
3b mintak: m-n-t-q = minta (passim)
3b ampuni: a-m-l-w(a)-n-n-y
4b ibarat: 'y-b-a-r(a)-t
4d sekadar: s-q-d
5b madah: m-d
6b Bengkalis: b-ng-k-a-l-sy
7b tidak: t-y-d (passim)
7d Besar: b-sy
7d memerintahkannya: m-r(a)-n-t-h-k-n-ny

- 1 *Bismillah* is one name, / the one pronounced at the beginning.
Essence and attribute both are one; / here is the gathering place in His Being of
 all His names.
- 2 Alhamdulillah is our praise through the ages / for God our worthy Lord.
Bless Muhammad, Lord of the Prophets, / let Him not have names which lead to
 nought.
- 3 God forgive me, your servant repents - / I seek your pardon, be not slow to grant
 it.
I beseech the Prophet and His Companions / that in the duties I perform I do not
 transgress.
- 4 With the blessing of His Majesty / these allusive tales of bygone days have been
 explained to me;
the events were not viewed with my own eyes, / I merely heard them recited.
- 5 Here is told one form of a story, / told from bygone days of our forebears.
Buantan had not yet become a *negeri*, / its dense timbers were strung about with
 vines and thorns.
- 6 It was at that period / that the mart of Bengkalis was established.
Its beauty had no peer / and those who saw it were overwhelmed.
- 7 That was the earliest *negeri* there, / and its population was unmatched till then.
It had no king, so it is said, / but only chiefs to rule it.

-
- 1 The theology is expounded in *The Admonitions of Seh Bari*. Neither the names of the Essence nor all His distinct attributes are different from His Being. (DREWES 1969:59)
 - 1a Bismillah: In the Name of God *Bismillah* is the first word in the Exordium and each chapter of *The Koran*.
 - 2a Alhamdulillah: Praise be to God *Alhamdulillah* begins the second sentence of the Exordium of *The Koran*.
 - 2c Probably a contraction of the *Prayer on the Prophet*, a prayer based on *The Koran* (XXXIII,56) (SCHUON 1979:95-98).
 - 4a Duli Mahkota: The syair was composed for Raja Ismail during his exile in the Tujuh Puluh about 1764.
 - 5c Buantan: Buantan became the residence of Raja Kecil, and his posthumous title is Marhum Buantan.
 - 5c Negeri: A central settlement containing a ruler's compound. The term can include all dependent territory but its usage often makes a distinction between central settlement and outlying *desa*.
 - 7d Orang Besar: Outside the traditional homelands, restricted by agrarian adat and strict inheritance rights, *Orang Kaya* acted as chiefs and gained status and power through wealth from trade.
- In 1688 William Dampier (DAMPIER 1931:80-81) found a syahbandar in charge at Bengkalis.

8. Ramainya bukan alang kepalang,
selup dan kici berselang-selang,
sampam penjaja salang-menyalang,
sampam pematik tidak terbilang.
9. Ke Johor konon ketaklukannya
raja Bugis memerintahkannya.
Mufakat Minangkabau dengan sekaliannya
hendak mencarikan rajanya. p5
10. Duduk berkampung mencari mesyuarat -
ke Minangkabau menyuruh membawa surat.
Pergilah orang berjalan darat,
dipersembahkan ke bawah Duli Hadirat.
11. Berjalan itu tidaklah khali
pagi dan petang tidak peduli.
Ke Pagarrayung langsung sekali
masuk menghadap ke bawah Duli.
12. Baginda pun sudah hadir di penghadapan.
alat kebesaran dengan kelengkapan,
disembahkan surat dengan tetapan
hati Baginda giap-giapan.
13. Surat dibaca oleh Baginda
sesak belah di dalam dada,
lalu bertitah Duli yang syahda
memanggil panakawan mana yang ada.
14. Setelah berkampung sekaliannya
mencari mufakat mana dapatnya.
Sudahlah putus bicaranya,
menantikan saat dengan ketikanya.
15. Masa berangkat Raja Bestari,
ketika mesyuarat saat Musytari,
serta dengan wazir menteri
diiringkan sekalian isi negeri.

8b selup: s-w(a)-l-b

8b berselang-selang: b-r-s-a-l-ng-2

8c salang-menyalang: s-a-l-ng-m-ny-a-l-ng

9a ketaklukannya: k-t-'a-l-w(a)-q-k-n-ny

9b Bugis memerintahkannya: b-w(a)-k-sy-m-r(r)-y-n-t-h-k-n-ny

9c mufakat: m-w-f-k-t (passim) = mupakat. Also m-w-f-q-t, m-w-f-a-q-t etc.

10a mesyuarat: m-sy-w(a)-r-t = musyawarat

10b ke Minangkabau: k-gh-k-a-b-w(a)

11b peduli: f-r(a)-d-w-l-y(a)

11d menghadap: m-ng-a-d-f (passim). Also m-ng-d-f (passim), m-ng-d-b (passim) etc.

12b alat kebesaran: 'a-l-t-k-b-sy-a-r-n

12b kelengkapan: k-l-ng-f-n

13b sesak belah: sy-a-s-q-b-a-l-h

14d saat: s-(a)-t(a) (passim)

15a berangkat: b-r(a)-'k-t (passim)

15a Bestari: b-sy-t-a-r(a)-y (passim)

15d isi: a-sy. Also a-y-sy-y (passim), a-s-y (passim), a-sy-y (passim) etc.

- 8 It was certainly crowded, / European ships lined up side by side,
pedlars' sampans bartered their wares, / and fishing boats were there with-
out number.
- 9 They are said to have been subject to Johor, / where Bugis princes governed
them.
The Minangkabau conferred with other communities / to seek their own ruler.
- 10 They gathered to seek a consensus / and it was to the Minangkabau homeland
they commanded that a letter be borne.
Off it was taken, travelling overland, / and presented before His Majesty.
- 11 Their journeying was without respite, / whether morning or evening they cared
not.
For Pagarryung they headed straight, / entered, and presented themselves
before His Majesty.
- 12 The Ruler was already present in his audience hall / surrounded by the panoply of
kingship.
When offered up the letter upon a golden tray / the Ruler's spirits wavered.
- 13 The letter was read out by the Ruler - / emotion swelled within his breast.
Then His Majesty gave the command / to summon members of his court wher-
ever they might be.
- 14 When they had gathered, every one of them, / he sought agreement by whatever
means.
After their discussion was concluded, / he awaited the propitious moment.
- 15 It was time for the departure of the Royal Prince - / the time agreed upon was the
ascendancy of the planet Jupiter.
In company with his court officials / he was escorted out by the entire populace.

-
- 9b The decision of Sultan Sulaiman of Johor to take Daeng Merewah as Yamtuan Muda in 1721 was more a result of Raja Kecil's aggression than the cause.
- 10 The story of Raja Kecil's descent from Sultan Mahmud Syah of Johor, given so much prominence elsewhere (COD OR 7304 409-414; TENAS EFFENDY 1972:46-49; ANDAYA 1975:258-273; MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:22), is not mentioned here. In subsequent passages the poet continues to insist that Raja Kecil's right to rule is based solely on his descent from Minangkabau royalty.
- 11c Pagarryung: Pagarryung was the seat of Raja Alam, the titular head of the *Minangkabau Alam*. See Dobbin (1975:78) and Andaya (1975:52-53, 329-331).
- 15a Raja Bestari: There is nothing in the text to dispel the impression that it was the Ruler of the Alam Minangkabau who went down to become the first Sultan of Siak. That is, Raja Kecil was Raja Alam, ruler of the world.
- 15b saat Musytari: *Waktu asar* (late afternoon) on the first day of a seven day cycle (SKEAT 1967:548-549).

- 16 Tidak berapa lama antara
Baginda berangkat dengan segera -
melalui hutan rimba belantara,
gundahnya tidak terkira-kira.
- 17 Berapa melalui gunung dan padang
merasai panas bagai direndang.
Berlompatan rusa kijang seladang
lengah di sini Baginda memandang.
- 18 Sangatlah hairan Baginda Sultan
melihat perintah isi hutan -
sekalian binatang yang berlompatan
berbagai-bagai rupa penglihatan.
- 19 Di jalan pun tidak berapa hari
sampailah Baginda Raja bestari
ke Tanah Bengkalis negeri yang bahri -
ramai menyongsong isi negeri.

p6

THE INVASION OF JOHOR

- 20 Serta sampai Raja usali
isi negeri menjunjung duli -
berkat keramat segala wali
suatu pun jangan mengali-ngali.
- 21 Kerajaan Baginda sudahlah tentu.
tidaklah lagi berhati mutu;
laksana emas sudah semutu
mencari mufakat pulak suatu.
- 22 Mufakat dicari dalam dan tohor
Baginda hendak melanggar Johor -
dari pagi sampai ke zohor
putuslah mufakat sudah masyhur.
- 23 Bicara itu sudah syarikat,
laksana ikan di dalam pukat -
akal pendapat seperti sikat,
Negeri Johor hendak diangkat.

15c rimba belantara: r-m-b-a-t-n-t-a-r(a)
16d gundahnya: g-n-d-a-ny
17b merasai panas: m-r(a)-sy-a(a)-y-f-a-sy-n
17d lengah di sini: l-y-ng-d-sy-n
19c Bengkalis: m-ng-k-a-l-sy
19d menyongsong: m-ny-w(a)-s-ng
20d mengali-ngali: m-ng-a-l-y-2 = mengira-ngira or
berhitung-hitung (TENAS EFFENDY)
21d pulak: f-w(a)-l-q (passim) = pula
22d putuslah: f-w(a)-t-sy-la-h
23c seperti: sy-f-r(a)-t

- 16 It was not long before / the ruler left them quickly.
He passed through thick jungle forests / where his anxiety knew no bounds.
- 17 Many times he crossed mountain and plain / and suffered the heat as if he were
roasted.
At the leaping about of deer and seladang, / here paused His Majesty to gaze
awhile.
- 18 Truly amazed was His Majesty the Sultan / to see the manner of the forest
creatures.
All the animals which leapt about / had their various peculiar appearances.
- 19 He was on the road not many days/ before His Majesty reached
the lands of Bengkalis that fine old centre / and the inhabitants thronged to him.
- 20 With the arrival of the noble Prince / the inhabitants paid him homage.
By the grace of the sanctity of all the walis / no one could estimate their number.
- 21 The rule of the Sultan was now established / and there were no longer troubled
spirits.
Like gold fully refined / he sought consensus and gained unity.
- 22 Agreement was sought through thick and thin / for the Sultan wished to attack
Johor.
From morning till noon they continued / till they reached the consensus now
famous.
- 23 That discussion united them / like fish within a seine;
their wiles and schemes acted like a comb / in their desire to take Johor.

17c seladang: gaur, ox or bison. The term may also include *tapir*. See Maxwell (1963:68-83, 96-106).

21c Compare Stanza 105c.

21c semutu: Probably *sepuluh mutu* was intended.

22b Johor: The capital of Johor at the time was at Pancor upstream from Johor Lama. Since the assassination of Sultan Mahmud Syah in 1699, Johor had been ruled by Sultan Abd al-Jalil Riayat Syah III, the Old Bendahara, who had given himself to a meditative and religious life. The management of the kingdom was delegated to his younger brother, the Raja Muda. See Gibson Hill (1955:65), Hamilton (1930:52), Hoffman (1972:34-35), Hughes (1835:120-121) and Andaya (1975:200ff).

- 24 Lalu bertitah Duli Baginda:
"Kampunglah orang tua dan muda
serta pegawai anum berida
baiki perahu mana yang ada."
- 25 Sampan dan kakap sudah serta,
itulah yang ada dijadikan takhta,
lalu dinaikkan alat senjata -
itulah konon khabar berita.
- 26 Sudah mustaid sekaliannya
menantikan waktu dengan ketikanya;
mencari langkah dengan saatnya
satu pun jangan ada bahayanya.
- 27 Sekalian tunggu sudah terdiri
hebatnya tidak lagi terperi,
memohonkan tolong Khalikulbahri
mudah-mudahan rahmat diberi.
- 28 Baginda berangkat, menarik nafas,
turun ke kenaikan, kajang dipapas.
dibongkar sauh, dayung dikipas.
tidaklah sempat membakar kapas.
- 29 Kenaikan berdayung sangat lajunya
Perepat Seratus yang ditunjuya,
lalu selawat akan Nabinya
selamat sempurna sekaliannya.
- 30 Berlayar itu dengan gong dan gendang,
isi negeri ramai memandang.
Baginda duduk berjawat pedang
didayungkan oleh tentera mambang.
- 31 Di Perepat Seratus singgah berhenti
segala kawan bersukalah hati -
naik ke darat berganti-ganti
mencari yang berkenan kepada hati.

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25a kakap: k-a-k-b

25c alat: a-l-t

25d berita: b-a-r(a)-y-t

26a mustaid: m-sy-t-'y(a)-b

26c saatnya: s-a-ng-t-ny Compare Stanza 98b

27c bahri: Compare Stanza 19b and Woelders (1975:130 & 142) where the meaning is *old*.

27d mudah-mudahan: m-w(a)-d-m-w(a)-d-h-n

28a menarik nafas: m-a-n-r(a)-y-q-n-a-f-sy

28b dipapas: d-f-a-f-sy

28c dikipas: d-y-k-y-f-sy

28d kapas: k-a-f-sy

31d berkenan: f-r-k-a-n-n

- 24 Then spoke His Majesty: / "Gather the men, young and old,
and the skilled craftsmen, youthful and venerable, / repair the ships wherever
they might be."
- 25 Dinghies and riverboats were included; / one available craft was fitted with a
throne;
then was mounted armament - / thus it is recounted in the narrative we are given.
- 26 When every one of them was ready / he awaited the hour and propitious moment;
he sought the very second for departure / that nothing at all would be endan-
gered.
- 27 All standards were raised aloft, / their grandeur was indescribable.
He besought the aid of the Creator of the Seas / that they might be granted
mercy.
- 28 The Sultan set off, drew in his breath, / descended to his vessel, the awnings were
rolled back,
the anchors weighed, oars fanned the air - / there was no chance to burn cotton.
- 29 The ships were rowed at great speed / it was Perepat Seratus they headed for;
then they prayed to the Prophet / for the complete safety of all on board.
- 30 They sailed off to the sound of gong and drum, / the populace thronged to watch;
the Sultan sat holding the sword of office, / rowed away by an army of sea sprites.
- 31 At Perepat Seratus they stopped to visit / and all the comrades enjoyed them-
selves.
They went ashore by turns / each to seek his own pleasure.

28d This line occurs in Stanzas 131b and 480d. Each time the image is used to suggest urgency or haste. The reason for burning cotton (*membakar kapas*) or for considering it especially flammable, is not clear.

The final rhyme makes *kaper* (moth) a less likely reading though it would convey the image of a moth attracted to a flame as soon as it is lit.

29b Perepat Seratus: The function of stanzas 29-31 is not clear. Unless there is a local navigational reason for it, a course from Bengkalis to Johor should not pass Perepat Seratus, assuming its location was the one given by Andaya (1975:xvi) - adjacent to Bukit Batu on the Sumatran coast.

As Stanzas 29-31 have no apparent function other than the mention of Perepat Seratus, it is possible that Perepat Seratus was included to honour a faction which joined the fleet - perhaps the Orang Laut. It is also possible that Perepat Seratus is mentioned to dishonour Bukit Batu.

- 32 Pasang naik sudah menyenangkan
berlayar menuju Karimun Anak;
semboyan berbunyi bagai ditanak,
daripada yang liar banyak yang jinak.
- 33 Berlayar itu beralun-alun
haluan menuju Selat Sembulan,
datanglah gelombang pulak mengalun
laksana dibelit seekor milun.
- 34 Ke Tanah Merah sampai serta
kepada Allah doa dipinta,
berkat Muhammad penghulu kita,
jangan memberi nama yang leta.
- 35 Matahari masuk berayun petang,
doa dipinta tangan tertelentang,
berkat Datuk di Bukit Siguntang,
janganlah apa arai melintang.
- 36 Semalam itu berhenti di Tanah Merah,
sekalian kawan disuruh kerah,
kepada Allah Baginda berserah
sebarang cita dapatnya murah.
- 37 Hari pun malam sudahlah gelap
bintang pun timbul banyak mengerlap,
Baginda beradu tidaklah lelap,
banyaklah pikiran datang menyelap.
- 38 Malam tua tidak Baginda beradu
memikirkan lawan dengan jodo;
mengeluarkan titah tersendu-sendu
bagaikan pecah rasa mempedu.
- 39 Sampai kepada waktu dinihari
semboyan berbunyi tidak terperi,
Baginda tidak berbanyak peri
serta sekalian wazir menteri.

32a menyenangkan: m-ny-a-n-q-a

32b Karimun: k-y-r(a)-y-m-w-n

32c bagai: b-a-k-y(a)

33b menuju: m-n-w-j-a

34b dipinta: d-y-f-y-t-a(a) Compare Stanza 35b.

34d leta: la-t

35b dipinta: d-f-n-t-q Compare Stanza 34b.

37a gelap: k-a-l-b(a)

37b mengerlap: m-ng-r-l-b(a)

37c lelap: la-l-b

37d menyelap: m-ny-a-l-b(a)

38b jodo: j-w(a)-d-w = jodoh

38d pecah: f-c

38d mempedu: m-m-f-d-w Poerwadarminta (1976) lists only *empedu*. Iskandar (1970) prefers *empedu*.

- 32 The tide rose and was at the flood, / they set sail for Karimun Anak.
Signals sounded as if on the boil; / from those who were untutored, many became adept.
- 33 They sailed on in rolling seas, / bows heading for Selat Sembulan.
Waves came billowing / like the uncoiling of a sea serpent.
- 34 As he arrived at Tanah Merah / to God he made his petition
that, through His blessing of Muhammad, Our Lord, / the servant's name should
not now be dishonoured.
- 35 The sun sank to hang above the horizon, / he made his petition with upturned
hands.
that, by God's blessing of the ancestor on Bukit Siguntang, / no obstacle should
now obstruct him.
- 36 That night they stayed at Tanah Merah, / all the comrades he set to mobilise
troops.
To God, the Sultan submitted himself / that, what he designed, would fall to his
lot.
- 37 When night was upon them and it was dark / stars appeared to twinkle in
profusion.
The Sultan slept but fitfully / for many were the thoughts that came to torment.
- 38 As the night passed the Sultan did not sleep / but thought of his enemy and fated
foe.
He issued orders despondently / as if overcome with a bilious attack.
- 39 Right up to dawn / signals sounded without ceasing.
The Sultan himself had few words / amid all his ministers.

32b Karimun Anak: Crawford (1972:84) visited Karimun Kecil in 1824 and found it uninhabited. The neighbouring larger island of Karimun had a population of about 400 Malay fishermen.

33b Selat Sembulan: Sometimes called Selat Sembilan, it is between the west coast of Singapore and an inshore island of the same name.

34a Tanah Merah: A navigational feature at the eastern end of Singapore from where there is direct access to the Johor River.

35c Datuk di Bukit Siguntang: The *Sejarah Melayu* records that three descendants of Iskandar Zulkarnain came miraculously to earth on Bukit Siguntang near Palembang. The same expression occurs in Stanzas 227 and 513. It is used to reinforce the legitimacy of the sultan to whom it is applied (Mahmud in 227 and Ismail in 513).

The youngest of the three men, Nila Utama, became Sri Tri Buana and founded the Malacca-Johor line of kings, but the syair does not vary from associating Raja Kecil with Pagarruyung where the eldest prince, Nila Pahlawan, became king with the title *Sang Sapurba*. There is inconsistency in the detail of these stories in the Raffles and Shellabear versions. (WINSTEDT 1938:54-7. SHELLABEAR 1978:16-21)

36b kerah: Andaya (1975:44-52, 250-314) stresses the importance of the local Orang Laut in Johor's mercantile strength and the importance of their defection to Raja Kecil in the conquest of Johor.

38b See Stanza 22b note.

- 40 Berdayung Baginda sehari itu,
tidaklah guna berhati mutu,
Rajanya bercatur khabarnya tentu
orang Johor akalnya mutu.
- 41 Raja Tengah leka bercatur
tidak didengarnya orang bertutur;
bunyi meriam seperti guntur
tulang dan sendi sudahlah gentar.
- 42 Baginda pun masuk ke kuala,
bunyi meriam sangat menggila;
seperti bertih rentaka lela.
gong dan gendang serta pula.
- 43 Musuh datang bunyi soraknya,
catur tinggal dengan menterinya;
khabar orang tidak didengarnya,
"Syah" dan "emat" juga disebutnya.
- 44 "Syah" datang "emat" pun tiba,
Raja pun turun lari ke rimba
sana sini teraba-raba
seperti ikan dimabuk tuba.
- 45 Orang Minangkabau naik ke darat
orang Johor lari melarat,
tinggal harta segala yang berat
tidaklah sampai dengan isyarat.
- 46 Mana yang tinggal tidak bertentu,
bercerai dengan anak menantu,
remuk-redam hatinya mutu
laksana kaca jatuh ke batu.

THE FOUNDING OF BUANTAN

- 47 Habislah sudah kisah dan peri.
Baginda hendak membuat negeri -
mencari bicara sehari-hari
mufakat dengan wazir menteri.

41a leka: l-y-q-a
41b bertutur: b-r(a)-t-w-r
42b menggila. m-k-y-la ? = mengkal or magel
44a Syah: a-sy-h ? = Isya (evening)
44b rimba: r(a)-m-b-h
44c teraba-raba: t-r-a-b-t-r-a-b
44d tuba: t-w(a)-b(a)
45d segala yang berat: s-k-la-b-y-ng-b-a-r(a)-t

- 40 On rowed the Sultan that day, / there was no need to be despondent;
for their King was playing chess, it was reliably reported, / and men of Johor had
their moves stalemated.
- 41 The Raja Tengah was absorbed in chess, / he did not heed men's talk,
till sounds of cannon like thunder / shook his very bones and joints.
- 42 The Sultan entered up the estuary, / the sound of cannon inflamed passion.
Like rice frying the swivel guns crackled, / gong and drum accompanied it.
- 43 With his opponent's arrival and the sound of their shouts, / he left his chess and
his ministers.
Men's intelligence he did not heed, / "Check" and "Mate" were all he said.
- 44 "Check" had come, "Mate" was effected; / the King left his palace and fled to the
forest.
Here and there he groped / like a fish drugged with tuba.
- 45 The Minangkabau landed, / the men of Johor fled far and wide,
leaving their wealth, all that was heavy, / but that did not match the outward signs.
- 46 Where the fugitive went is not certain / but separated from his children,
shattered, his spirits low, / he was like glass fallen on stone.
- 47 So ends the account of those events. / The Sultan wished to establish a *negeri* and
sought discussion day by day / to find consensus among his ministers.

40-44 Chess was a popular pastime in the region and Anderson (1971:49-50) reports that in East Sumatra in 1823 "the people amuse themselves playing chess all day. The game is very common in all countries I visited and some very skilful players are to be met with."

The 'Tuhfat al-Nafis' (MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:49) records this incident. "The population within the capital panicked, saying, 'An enemy is attacking!' The Yang Dipertuan Muda was informed, but paid no attention, as he was engrossed in a chess game. Several times he was respectfully approached, but he still took no notice."

Andaya (1975:250-273) analyses in some detail the Johor court intrigues of the time leading up to and including the invasion.

Stanza 43 is a nice analogy to the game of chess. The meaning of the chess term *syah emat* (the king is dead) is more obvious than in the English equivalent - check mate. *Musuh* (opponent) and *menteri* (queen) are also chess terms.

44d dimabuk tuba: Maxwell (1960:184-197) gives a detailed account of *tuba* fishing where boatloads of the sap of the *tuba* plant are taken downstream by the river's current forcing the fish before it to prepared traps.

45d isyarat: *Isyarat* may also have a mystical sense alluding to the royal *sakti* which should attract wealth.

- 48 Isi negeri berdatang sembah:
"Ampun Tuanku, Duli bertambah,
patik nin hamba Duli Penembah.
Sebarang dititahkan tidak berubah."
- 49 Sembah sekalian isi negeri:
"Patik tidak berbanyak peri -
di mana dititahkan Duli yang bahari
patik sekalian menghampiri." p9
- 50 "Bandar Bengkalis Tuanku tinggalkan.
Janganlah banyaklah Tuanku pikirkan -
daripada yang mahu banyak yang segan
mana pemukat sahaja tinggalkan."
- 51 Mendengar titah Paduka Ratu
segala rakyat berhati mutu -
sebab meninggalkan dusunnya itu
gundahnya hati tidaklah tentu.
- 52 Di Buantan dititahkan memuat negeri -
orang menebas sehari-hari
kayunya banyak akar dan duri,
tidaklah guna berbanyaklah peri.
- 53 Hutan ditebas sudahlah terang
rumah diatur seberang-menyeberang
Negeri Buantan zaman sekarang
ramainya bukan seberang-barang.
- 54 Orang Bengkalis penat belaka
teluk dan rantau berisi belaka,
serta dengan dusun pusaka
diatur itu bagai dijangka.
- 55 Penghulu Buantan serta juga
dengan sekalian adik dan kaka
dengan hamba Raja beserta juga
tidak menaruh was dan sangka.

48c Penembah: = Penembahan

49d menghampiri: m-ng-m-f-r-y

50c mahu: m-a-'-w(a)

50a-b is inadvertently repeated after 50c-d.

51b rakyat: r(a)-ng-y-t

51c meninggalkan: m-n-ng-k-k-n

51d gundahnya: k-n-d-ny

52a di Buantan: d-b-w(a)-t-n

53b seberang-menyeberang: s-b-r-ny-m-ny-a-b-r(a)-ng

53d seberang-barang: s(a)-b-a-r-ng-s-b-a-r-ng

54a penat: f-n-h(a)

55b kaka: k-a-k

- 48 The people came in homage; / "Pardon us Sire, may Your Majesty increase.
We are Your Majesty's servants - / whatever we are commanded, from that we will
not deviate."
- 49 The submission of all the people continued: / "We do not have much to say.
Whither we are commanded by Your Majesty's wise rule, / there we will all
assemble."
- 50 "The mart of Bengkalis, my Lords, you must leave. / Do not dwell on the matter
overmuch.
More will hesitate than will desire it, / but wherever your fishing boats are
moored, just leave them."
- 51 Hearing the words of His Majesty, / all the common folk were despondent.
Because they would leave behind their estates, / their spirits were troubled and
uncertain.
- 52 At Buantan he commanded a *negeri* be built, / men cleared the land day by day.
Its timbers were dense, thick with vines and thorns, / there is no profit in
overmuch detail.
- 53 The forest hewn down, now was cleared, / houses were arranged along either
bank.
The *negeri* of Buantan to the present day / is populous beyond the ordinary.
- 54 The Bengkalis folk were quite worn out / now the territory was fully developed,
and inheritance rights to cultivated land / were arranged as if with precision
instruments.
- 55 The indigenous chiefs of Buantan in addition / and all of their dependants,
and the servants of the Sultan too / harboured within them no doubts or suspicions.

50a Tuanku: Probably refers to *suku* (clan) heads. Penghulu are often called *tuanku* in the Rantau and have the title of *raja* (MANSOER 1970:13). See Dobbin (1975:80-88).

- 56 Telah mustaid alat negeri
dengan kota pulak terdiri,
orang bekerja sehari-hari
meriam diatur kanan dan kiri.
- 57 Dagang pun datang tidak berhingga
pencalang dan kici belah semangka;
ramailah orang berniaga
sekalian jenis ada belaka.
- 58 Datangnya itu tidak berselang
ramainya bukan lagi kepalang -
lancang penjajap dengan pencalang.
kakap dan baluk tidak terbilang.
- 59 Selup dan kici ada belaka, p10
tiang salah-salah belah semangka
berapa sekoci dari Melaka
datangnya tidak lagi berhingga.
- 60 Masanya zaman Negeri Buntan
ramainya lagi bukan buatan
sebab adil Baginda Sultan,
sampai sekarang jadi sebutan.
- 61 Datanglah dagang dari sana-sini
serta utusan dari Kompeni
menghadap Baginda Sultan yang gani,
wartanya masyhur sampai ini.
- 62 Ramainya negeri tidak terkira
sesaklah lorong pekan pesara
tidaklah lagi yang huru-hara
serta adil dengan bicara.
- 63 Lorong sampai kanan dan kiri
tidaklah boleh meluluskan diri,
budak penjaja yang gahari
banyaknya tidak lagi terperi.

56a mustaid: m-sy-f-a-ng-y-b

56c bekerja: b-r(a)-k-r(a)-j-a

57c berniaga: b-r(a)-n-y-k

58b lagi: la-l-y(a)

58c penjajap: f-n-c-a-((a)-b

59a selup: s-l-w(a)-b

59b salah-salah: s-a-la-h-s-a-la-h The sense seems to be that used in the expression 'salah suatu', that is, 'individual', 'distinct'.

61b Kompeni: k-m-f-a-n-y

61c menghadap: m-ng-d-b

61c gani: gh-a-n-y

62b sesaklah: sy-q-la

62c huru-hara: h-w(a)-r-w-h-r(a)

63c gahari: k-h-a-r(a)-y =ugahari

- 56 When the accoutrements of a capital were made ready / and the fortress itself constructed,
men worked day by day / to set up cannon right and left.
- 57 Merchants came without limit, / local trading ships and full bodied European ships;
people thronged to trade, / all kinds of wares were available.
- 58 Their arrivals were without a break, / their numbers were unprecedented;
pleasure craft, warships and trading ships, / fishing boats and cargo vessels were there without number.
- 59 European one and two masted ships were there, / masts swaying, hulls full bellied,
many were the sailing craft from Malacca, / their arrivals limitless.
- 60 At the time when Buntan was capital, / its population was beyond compare
because of the justice of the ruling Sultan, / spoken of to the present day.
- 61 Merchants came from far and near / and emissaries came from the Company,
appearing before the illustrious Sultan, / word of whose fame reaches us now.
- 62 The population of the Negeri was incalculable, / crushing the lanes, the streets of
the market;
yet there were none in uproar / but business was conducted fairly.
- 63 Lanes joined from right and left / but one could not pass through
for servants of the middle merchants / whose numbers were incalculable.

57b *belah semangka*: This is standard metaphor (shaped like a half melon) for the fuller hull shape of European ships. It is associated with Dutch ships in Stanzas 59b, 235b, 240b.

61b *Kompeni*: The Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie or the Dutch East India Company, often synonymous in this context with *Malacca*.

- 64 Berapa kedai Keling dan Cina,
banyaknya tidak tepermana;
sekalian dagang ada di sana
berniaga sekalian mulia dan hina.
- 65 Kerajaan Baginda di Negeri Buntan
sangat majelis penglihatan;
perintahnya adil dengan perbuatan -
tidak sekali yang kejahatan.
- 66 Tanah Datar tiang kerajaan
mendirikan daulat yang kemuliaan,
dengan Lima Puluh bersamaan
serta Pesisir dengan kesukaan.
- 67 Gempar seorang yang tidak deda -
itulah tidak bersama ada;
sama sebaya muda-muda,
itulah wazir Duli Baginda.
- 68 lalah wazir yang bijaksana
serta arif dengan sempurna.
Orangnya banyak hina dina
tidak menaruh gundah gulana.
- 69 Orang menghadap tidak terperi -
tiada lumpang sehari-hari;
serta dengan wazir menteri
ramainya tidak terperi. p11

RAJA KECIL'S TWO SONS QUARREL

- 70 Itulah kisah usul mengindera.
Baginda pun sudah berputera -
dua orang sama setara
jayeng seteru tidak bertara.
- 71 Sudah berdaulat Paduka Anakanda
menaruh cemburu sama muda,
sangatlah suka Paduka Ayahanda
serta dengan anum berida.

64b tepermana: t-r(a)-f-r(a)-m-a-n

66d Pesisir: f-sy-y-r(a)

67a gempar: k-m-f-r(a)

67a deda: d-d The reading *dedai* (walk in line) has been replaced by *deda* on the advice of Tenas Effendy: "*deda* atau *dada*. Perkataan ini sekarang jarang dipergunakan orang, tetapi dahulu sering dipergunakan, mengandung arti: orang penakut, berjiwa kecil atau orang yang suka menyendiri."

69b lumpang: l-m-f-ng = vacant space, gap (WILKINSON 1959:711 sub *lumpang* IV)

70a mengindera: m-'-n-d-r

70b sudah: s-w-d (passim) Up till this instance *sudah* has been written *s-w-d-h*. This and stanza 71a are the first instances of the use of *s-w-d* and *s-d*.

71a sudah: s-d (passim)

- 64 Many shops were Tamil and Chinese, / how many one cannot say.
All traders were there / all doing business, both noble and commoner.
- 65 The abode of the Sultan in Negeri Buantan / was a very beautiful sight.
His rule was just as were his deeds - / no one was ever oppressed.
- 66 Tanah Datar the pillar of royal government / established sovereignty through
nobility,
in conjunction with Lima Puluh / and Pesisir, each in its own manner.
- 67 In the commotion was one, by no means faint-hearted, / that man had no peer;
though the same age as the young men.. / he was His Majesty's chief minister.
- 68 He was a courtier skilled in affairs / and knowledgeable to the highest degree.
His many followers from the common folk / had no cause for anxiety.
- 69 Men came before him with all manner of causes / there was no let up as day
followed day;
together with the other courtiers and ministers / the crowd was indescribable.
- 70 That was the story of our royal origins. / The Sultan had sons,
two boys of the same rank, / in martial contest they had no peer.
- 71 When the royal princes had gained their independence / they harboured the
jealousies of their youth,
though much loved by His Majesty, / and by all generations.

66 *Tanah Datar* is the *luhak* (territorial unit) where the royal authority was centred. Pagarruyung (Stanza 11c and note) was within Tanah Datar. The other two *luhak* were Lima Puluh Kota to the North and Agam to the West. As Agam was on the route to the seaports, such as Pariaman, on the West coast, known as *Pesisir*, it is probable that *Pesisir* is here used synonymously with Agam (DOBBIN 1975:77-78, 1983:60-61). The *luhak* names are used differently in Siak (Stanza 80a note). See Stanzas 269b, 271b, 468a, 469b, 541b.

67a This individual has not been identified. The manuscript has, as a marginal annotation in a different hand, the word *lambang* (covert sign).

70c Other sources suggest that the eldest son, Raja Alam, was an *anak gundik* while the younger was an *anak gahara* (WALL 1862:113).

The *syair* makes no mention of any distinction between the two. They were both royal princes of equal rank because they were the sons of Raja Kecil who derived his authority from his descent from the Minangkabau royal house. Their subsequent rivalry stemmed from their equal fitness to rule because of their heredity, their natural endowments of character and their physical prowess.

- 72 Sukanya bukan sebarang-barang
laksana bunga kembang dikarang,
melihatkan putera yang dua orang
cahaya yang kelam menjadi kurang.
- 73 Tambahan pulak beroleh cucu
laksana gunung dengan mercu,
serta pakaian kain dan baju
cahayanya seperti kandil dan tanju.
- 74 Tiada berapa lama antara
tiadalah mufatnya dengan saudara,
hampirlah negeri huru-hara
hendak menanggung duka sengsara.
- 75 Dengan saudara tidak mufakat
masing-masing dengan hakikat -
sebab kebesaran tidak serikat -
kurang pendapat laksana sikat.
- 76 Sudahlah takdir Khalikulbahri
alamat susah isi negeri,
segala hulubalang dengan menteri
gundahnya tidak lagi terperi.
- 77 Mendirikan kubu sebelah-menyebelah
orang negeri sudah berbelah,
sudahlah dengan takdir Allah
tidak mencari benar dan salah.
- 78 Banyaklah orang berhati pilu
seorang di hilir seorang di hulu,
banyaklah kena sudah terlalu
sebelah-menyebelah menjadi malu.
- 79 Berperang itu sama senegeri
gundahlah hati segala menteri,
heran memandang tidak terperi
karena berkelahi sama sendiri.

76a Khalikulbahri: kh-a-l-y-q-l-b-ḥ-r-y
76c hulubalang: h-w-l-w-b-ng
77a sebelah-menyebelah: s-b-la-m-ny-m-b-l-h
77b berbelah: b-r-b-la-h
78d sebelah-menyebelah: s-b-l-h-m-ny-m-b-l-h
78d menjadi: m-n-c-d-y

- 72 His pleasure was quite beyond the ordinary, / like flowers in bloom arranged;
to gaze upon his two sons both, / his dark looks lightened.
- 73 What is more they gave him grandchildren, / he, like a mountain with peaks,
they, dressed up in sarong and jacket, / were bright as chandeliers and lamps.
- 74 It was not long before / there was dissension between the brothers,
bringing the country to the verge of tumult / and the need to endure grief and
misery.
- 75 Between the brothers there was no agreement, / each one confident of his true
cause.
Their dignity prevented them acting as one, / wanting in wisdom like the teeth of
a rake.
- 76 Their fate was decreed by the Creator of the Seas, / with portents of trouble for
the people.
The captains and ministers / were anxious beyond description.
- 77 They constructed stockades on either side / so the people were split in two.
It was already decreed by the will of God, / they did not distinguish between right
and wrong.
- 78 Many were those who grieved, / one of them downstream another upstream,
Many were struck down, already too many / and either side knew such shame.
- 79 The fighting within their own *negeri* / deeply troubled all the ministers,
alarmed beyond description to observe it / because they quarrelled among them-
selves.

75c sebab kebesaran: The phrase recurs in Stanzas 95c and 96c. The poet blames their distinctive status as joint potential heirs to the throne for the differences between Raja Mahmud and Raja Alam.

75d laksana sikat: The analogy here seems to depend on the fact that the teeth of the rake follow parallel courses without ever coming closer together. In Stanza 23c the rake or comb is used to suggest unity of purpose. In its two metaphorical uses in the *syair sikat* has two opposite meanings: harmony and unity of purpose in 23c and disharmony and independent action in 75d.

77 Raja Mahmud's stockade was *Kota Besar* and Raja Alam's was *Kota Tuan Besar* (COD OR 7304:450,456).

- 80 Yang Keempat Suku tidak bersatu,
Baginda melihat berhati mutu,
remuk redam tidak bertentu,
laksana kaca jatuh ke batu.
- 81 Demikianlah konon khabarnya gerang -
mufakat tak dapat, lalu berperang,
Di dalam itu serang-menyering
ada yang lebih ada yang kurang.

RAJA KECIL'S RESPONSE

- 82 Baginda pun tahu lalu murka
merah padam warna muka:
"Haram sekira! Tidak kusangka
akan menjadi mala pestaka."
- 83 Datanglah titah Duli Baginda
menyuruh memanggil Paduka Anakanda.
Pergilah menteri anum berida:
"Tuanku dipersilakan Paduka Ayahanda."
- 84 Datang menghadap Paduka Anakanda
serta dengan adinda dan kakanda,
lalu bertitah Paduka Baginda:
"Apa diperkelahikan dengan saudara muda?"
- 85 "Di dalam negeri jangan berperang,
engkau tidak dapat dilarang.
Jangan menjangka lara wirang,
pergilah engkau salah seorang."
- 86 Anakanda pun tunduk tidak berkata
duduk berendam dengan air mata -
sudahlah nasib untungya kita
hendak menanggung dukacita.
- 87 Anakanda menyembah bermohon kembali.
Baginda memandang berhati sali:
"Berkat keramat segala wali
janganlah apa mengali-ngali."

80b melihat: m-l-y-h-ḡ-t

81a khabarnya: kh-b-r-ny = kabarnya

81c di dalam itu: d(a)-y-d-l-m-ng-a-y-t-w

81c serang-menyering: sy-r-ng-m-b-a-r-ng

82d mala pestaka: m-w-l-h-f-sy-t-a-k = mala petaka

86c untungya: a-w-t-ng-ny

87c segala: s-k-a-l-y

87d mengali-ngali: m-ng-a-l-y-ng-a-l-y

- 80 The four Suku were not united, / the Chiefs watched sorrowfully,
shattered beyond control, / like glass fallen on stone.
- 81 So goes the story as it is told, / unable to agree they took to arms.
In the midst of the fighting they made attacks against each other, / some were
effective, other less so.
- 82 When the Sultan knew of it he was furious, / his countenance reddened to a bright
hue:
"God forbid! Little did I suspect / that I had become so accursed."
- 83 Word came from His Majesty, commanding that the Prince be summoned.
Off went all of the ministers: / "My Lord, your presence is invited by your father,
the Sultan."
- 84 The Prince presented himself / in company with his womenfolk
and His Majesty the Sultan spoke: / "Over what do you quarrel with your younger
brother?"
- 85 "Within our Negeri let there be no warfare, / here you cannot be resisted.
Do not consider the trouble and disgrace, / one or other of you must go."
- 86 The Prince bowed his head, saying not a word, / but sat bathed in his tears.
Our Fate has determined our Fortune, / our lot is to bear our sorrows.
- 87 The Prince respectfully sought leave to depart. / The Sultan regarded him
steadfastly:
"By the grace of the sanctity of all the walis, / do not reckon the cost."

80a Suku: The *Suku* were the largest matrilineal units within which all Minangkabau were included. Originally, in theory, there were four but in practice there were many more. *Suku* were not territorially discrete but controlled all land. See Dobbin (1975:80-81). In this context *Keempat Suku* seems to refer to the Penghulu of the four *Suku* in Siak. *Baginda* is a possible title for a *Penghulu Suku*. See Stanza 50a note. *Baginda* could also, of course, refer to Raja Kecil.

Use of the *Suku* structure to mobilise Minangkabau forces in Siak was instituted by Raja Kecil (COD OR 7304:426).

82 The *Siak Chronicle* (COD OR 7304:450-451) shows Raja Kecil obsessively mourning his dead wife, aloof, and indifferent to his sons' dispute.

84d saudara muda: This is the only overt indication that *Paduka Anakanda* in Stanza 83b refers to Raja Alam rather than to both the princes. *Saudara muda* occurs again in Stanza 96d.

- 88 Tersebutlah kisah madah suatu - p13
adinda dan kakanda berhati mutu
mendengar titah Paduka Ratu
mencari pikiran supaya tentu.
- 89 Demikianlah konon disebutkan fakir
di dalam menyurat mencari pikir,
umpama perahu yang sudah bakir
tidak berguna kayu dan ukir.

RAJA ALAM'S STORY

RAJA ALAM'S DEPARTURE

- 90 Ada kepada suatu hari
lalu bertitah Raja bestari
memanggil segala hulubalang menteri
buruk dan baik boleh dicari.
- 91 Setelah datang sekalian itu
mencari mufakat supaya tentu:
"Barang siapa mau bersatu
kirakan benar kepada Ratu.
- 92 "Ayuhai sekalian sanak saudara,
kita hendak keluar segera;
janganlah lagi banyak bicara,
siapi perahu dengan segera."
- 93 Perahu pun siap sudah belaka
menantikan waktu dengan ketika:
"Sudahlah takdir Tuhan yang baka,
haram sekali tidak disangka.
- 94 "Tidak diangka di angan-angan,
Baginda berangkat berpanjangan;
habislah pikir dengan rundingan,
biarlah mati aib ni jangan."
- 95 Tatkala Baginda hendak berangkat
dengan menteri sekalian mufakat -
sebab kebesaran tidak serikat
dengan saudara jadi masyarakat.

88a madah: m-d

89c bakir: b-a-k-y-r "Perkataan *bakir* berarti: lapuk, usang, buruk, tak enak dimakan, rusak atau tak dapat dipergunakan lagi." (TENAS EFFENDY)

91d kirakan benar: kh-r-k-n-b-n-r

92a Ayuhai...sanak: a-y-q-h-y...s-n-q The *qaf* is formed by a *wau* with a mirror image of a *hamzah* above it. This grapheme occurs also in *banyak* in Stanza 92c and often elsewhere in *pulak* and is clearly intended as a *qaf*.

94a tidak disangka: !-y-d-q-d(or l)-(a)-ng-k

94b berpanjangan: b-r-f-n-j-ng-ng-n

94c rundingan: r-w-n-d-ng-ny

- 88 So goes the story in one account. / The women folk were distraught.
They listened to His Majesty's words; / they sought ways and means to settle the
 matter.
- 89 That is the way it was, so it is said, as I recount it; / in writing it out I seek
 solutions;
like a boat which has rotted / there is no value in its timbers and decorations.
- 90 The day came / when the Royal Prince gave orders
to summon all the captains and ministers / that a resolution might be sought for
 better or worse.
- 91 When they were all come / he sought agreement to reach a decision:
"Whoever wishes to join me / bring considered plans before your Prince.
- 92 "Oh my comrades one and all, / we shall set out forthwith.
Let there be no further talk, / prepare the boats quickly."
- 93 The boats all were made quite ready, / they awaited the propitious moment.
"It has been decreed by the eternal Lord / I swear it was not foreseen.
- 94 "I did not ever imagine / I would go off indefinitely;
have done with schemes and deliberations, / better I die to negate this shame."
- 95 By the time His Highness was ready to leave / he had reached agreement with all
 his ministers.
Because their dignity prevented them acting as one, / with his brother there were
 difficulties still.

88b *adinda dan kakanda*: This is a repetition of the phrase introduced in Stanza 84b. Perhaps the intention is simply *friends*, but the expression does seem to imply both membership of the royal family and a close familial relationship. The image of Raja Alam surrounded by his immediate family while being sent off into exile does enhance the pathos of the scene.

89c-d Compare Stanza figures: 114c-d.

- 96 Diputuskan hati oleh Baginda
meninggalkan Sri Paduka Ayahanda;
sebab kebesaran hati berbeda
bercerai dengan saudara muda.
- 97 Baiklah saat dengan ketika,
Baginda berangkat di dalam duka:
"Tinggallah sekalian adik dan kakak
kita nin janganlah kenang juga."
- 98 Yaum al-Isnin ketika sari, p14
pukul delapan saat Musytari,
berangkatlah Baginda Raja bestari
diiringkan setiaplah isi negeri.
- 99 Pasang surut air pun timpas,
Baginda berangkat menarik nafas,
turun ke perahu kajang dipapas,
dibongkar sauh dayung dikipas.
- 100 Kenaikan berdayung sangat lajunya,
lalu selawat akan Nabinya
memohonkan rahmat kepada Tuhannya
suatu jangan mara bahayanya.
- 101 Teluk dan rantau singgah belaka
menghiburkan hati sangatlah duka -
turun menghadap sekalian mereka
membawa persembahan tebu dan nangka.
- 102 Datanglah segala tua dan muda,
datang menghadap Duli Sri Pada -
persembahkan sekalian mana yang ada
semuanya disapa oleh Baginda.
- 103 Disapanya dengan manis muka:
"Tinggallah kamu segala mereka,
tinggallah sekalian adik dan kaka,
tinggallah dengan senda leka.

96c berbeda: b-r-b-y-d

98b saat: s-ng-l-t Compare *sangat* Stanza 100a.

99a timpas: t-m-f-sy

99d sauh: s-w

100a sangat: s-ng-l-t The spelling is identical with *saat* in Stanza 98b.

101b menghiburkan: m-ng-b-w-r-k-n

101d membawa: m-m-b-q

102a Datanglah: d(a)-b-(q or ng)-l-h

102d disapa: d-s-y-a-f

103a disapanya: d-s-y-a-f-ny

103a manis: m-sy

103b kamu: k-m

103c kaka: k-a-k

103d senda leka: s-n-d-y-l-y-k-a Compare Stanza 510b.

- 96 It broke His Highness's heart / to leave behind his Royal Father.
Because of his dignity their spirits were divided / and he had been separated from
his younger brother.
- 97 The moment was right, the time had come, / His Highness set off in sorrow:
"Fare you well my friends all, / keep me no more in your remembrance."
- 98 Monday was the chosen day, / the eighth hour the propitious moment;
off went His Highness the royal Prince, / escorted by every one of the people.
- 99 The tide was out, the water at low ebb / His Highness set off, drew in his breath,
descended to his vessel, the awnings were rolled back / the anchor weighed, oars
fanned the air.
- 100 The ships were rowed off at great speed, / then petitions were made to the
Prophet
entreating mercy from the Lord / that no danger should befall them.
- 101 At the territories downstream he paid a call / to comfort his flagging spirit.
Down they came to him one and all / bearing gifts of sugar cane and jackfruit.
- 102 Each one came, young and old, / came before His Highness;
each one offering up whatever he had, / and each one His Highness greeted.
- 103 He greeted them with a warm expression: / "Farewell each one of you,
farewell my friends, / stay on, seek pleasurable pastimes."

98b saat Musytari: See Stanza 15b and note.

99d air pun timpas: Low water is a distinctly inauspicious moment for leaving on a journey down river. The choice of *timpas* is more closely related to the condition of the traveller than the conditions for navigation. Raja Kecil left on his victorious conquest of Johor when the tide was at the flood (Stanza 32a). Like Raja Alam, Raja Ismail left Siak for his voyage into exile when the tide was at low ebb (Stanza 516a).

- 104 "Tinggallah anak, tinggallah nyawa,
tinggallah tidak lagi terbawa.
Baik-baik encik saudara
mudah-mudahan bertemu jua.
- 105 "Ayuhai sekalian adik dan kaka
kita ni jangan dikenang juga.
emaslah sudah jadi tembaga
dinilainya tidak ada berharga.
- 106 "Janganlah Adinda berhenti sali,
kita ni pergi lambat kembali,
berkat keramat sekalian wali
harapkan tolong Tuhan azali.
- 107 "Terkenangkan untung bukan suatu -
anak miskin lagi piatu
remuk redam hati pun mutu
laksana kaca jatuh ke batu.
- 108 "Terkenangkan Badan duduk seorang
sakitnya bukan sebarang-barang;
sampailah sudah ke negeri orang
sedikit yang ada banyak yang kurang."
- 109 Habislah madah yang direncana,
disuratkan fakir wali yang hina.
Sajaknya janggal banyak tak kena
karena hati bimbang gulana.

p15

RAJA MAHMUD'S STORY

RAJA MAHMUD SUCCEEDS RAJA KECIL

- 110 Tersebutlah kisah madah yang tinggal -
sajak diatur banyak yang janggal.
adalah laksana merak mengigal
barang pekerjaan dengan tawakal.
- 111 Duduk berpikir sehari-hari
dengan sekalian hulubalang menteri -
saudara pun sudah meninggalkan negeri
gundahnya hati tidak terperi.

104d mudah-mudahan: m-w-d-h-h-m-d-h-n

105d berharga: b-r-h-y-r-k-a

107a untung: a-w-t-n-ng

107d laksana: l-q-s-a

108d banyak: b-y-ng

119d madah: m-d

110a tersebutlah: t-r-s-y-b-t-la-h

110d pekerjaan: f-k-r-j-q-n

- 104 "Farewell my children, farewell my life, / stay you there, do not become vagrants.
May it go well with you, my noble comrades, / may we yet meet again.
- 105 "Oh my brothers and sisters all, / keep me no more in your remembrance.
The gold has become but brass / men value it not so highly.
- 106 "Do not, my dears, be unrelenting, / for I am going away and will not soon be
back.
By the grace we receive through the sanctity of all the saints, / may the eternal
God ever grant you His aid.
- 107 "Reflect on the many misfortunes that have befallen me - / at once impoverished
and orphaned,
shattered, dispirited, / like glass fallen on stone.
- 108 "Keep in your minds me living alone, / wretched beyond the ordinary;
newcomer in the lands of other folk / subsisting on little, lacking much."
- 109 So ends the story as it is told / now written down by me its humble guardian.
The rhymes are jarring, the metre does not match / because my spirits are
troubled and depressed.
- 110 The story is told, the tale of him who remained, / but when set out, many of the
rhymes are jarring.
It is like a peacock displaying / but what I do is in submission to God's will.
- 111 He sat in contemplation day by day / with all his captains and ministers.
His brother had quitted the country, / his spirits were troubled beyond description.

109-110 The poet marks the change of topic by intruding himself into the work and addressing himself directly to the audience on the nature and quality of his work. The use of a stanza (109) to end a section and a stanza (110) to introduce a section marks this as a major break.

An oral performance must provide aural cues for the hearer to give information about the structure of the work.

Although the *syair* was almost certainly written out in full from the outset, the poet consistently uses the conventions of the oral composer and clearly intended the work to be read aloud to an audience.

- 112 Di dalam hati gundah gulana
dicari mufakat yang sempurna -
saudara pun sudah pergi mengelana
sesal pun tidak lagi berguna.
- 113 Tidak berapa mencari mufakat -
Paduka Ayahanda sudahlah mangkat,
dengan saudara tidak serikat,
bicara yang panjang menjadi singkat.
- 114 Tidaklah dapat Baginda berpikir,
akal hayatnya sudahlah mangkir,
umpama perada yang sudah bakir
tidak berguna tulis dan ukir.
- 115 Berkampunglah orang isi negeri
dengan hulubalang wazir menteri;
orang bekerja sehari-hari
sudahlah kebesaran Raja yang bahari.
- 116 Telah selesai daripada itu.
hilanglah akal menjadi mutu;
gundahnya hati bukan suatu
beri cayakan Paduka Ratu.
- 117 Dari itu datang berbeda,
menanggung masygul di dalam dada -
daripada zaman Ayahanda dan Bunda
belum merasa demikian ada.
- 118 Tambahan fakir yang menyurat,
siang dan malam di dalam gelorat,
mudah-mudahan daripada kodrat
disampaikan Allah barang hasrat.
- 119 Lalu menobatkan Duli Baginda
ganti Marhum Paduka Ayahanda
Berkampunglah hulubalang menteri anum berida
serta hulubalang anak biduanda.

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112c mengelana: m-ng-k-a-n
112d sesal: sy-la
114b hayatnya: h-y-t-n
114b mangkir: m-n-k-y-r
116d beri cayakan: b-r-y-c-y-k-n = beri cahayakan
117a berbeda: b-r-b-y-d
117b masygul: m-sy-gh-la-h
118d hasrat: h-y-sy-r-t
119a menobatkan: m-n-b-t-k-n
119b Ayahanda: a-n-q-n-d
119c & d hulubalang: h-w-b-l-ng

- 112 Within his heart he was troubled / as he sought the ideal resolution.
His brother had already gone adventuring, / regret now would bear no fruit.
- 113 He had not long to find agreement / before his father the Sultan was dead;
with his brother there was no unity, / protracted discussions were cut short.
- 114 His Majesty could no longer think, / the wits of a lifetime had deserted him
like gold leaf which has spoiled, / valueless for inscribing and engraving.
- 115 There gathered the people of the country / accompanying the military, court and
civil officials;
they worked day by day, / completing their Sultan's ancient regalia.
- 116 When that was quite ready / he lost his wits and became sad,
the depression of his spirit was complete / though His Majesty's clothes gave off a
glow.
- 117 From that time is traced the change, / he bore sorrow within his breast.
Through the period his father and mother lived / he had not felt so discomforted.
- 118 Moreover your poet who composes, / day and night overcome by emotion,
may he, through God's infinite power, / be granted what he desires.
- 119 They proceeded to enthrone His Majesty the Sultan / in succession to his late
father.
There gathered captains and ministers, old and young / with the royal guard and
courtiers.

113b Like the *syair*, the *Siak Chronicle* treats the death of Raja Kecil parenthetically in the midst of the brothers' dispute and during Raja Alam's absence. But unlike the *syair*, the *Siak Chronicle* has Raja Alam immediately take over Siak and drive Mahmud out, and it goes on to describe the continuing hostilities (COD OR 7304:451 et seq).

115 The custom was that the successor was enthroned before his predecessor was buried. It was essential for the regalia to be intact at the time of the enthronement to validate the succession.

117c Ayahanda dan Bunda: Raja Kecil and Tengku Kamariah

119b Ayahanda: Although the spelling seems to be *anakanda*, the sense requires *ayahanda*.

119b Marhum Paduka Ayahanda: Raja Kecil's posthumous title was Marhum Buntan.

- 120 Setelah tabal Mahkota Duli
ganti Marhum yang telah mazi,
wazir menteri imam dan kadi
sekaliannya datang menjunjung Duli.
- 121 Segala yang datang memohonkan rahmat,
memintakan doa Baginda selamat,
dengan syafaat Nabi Muhammad
mudah-mudahan beroleh nikmat.
- 122 Telah selesai menobatkan Sultan,
kembaliilah sekalian kerapatan
duduk di dalam dengan jawatan,
masing-masing dengan perbuatan.

MAHMUD ESTABLISHES HIMSELF AT MEMPURA AND COMES INTO CONFLICT WITH THE DUTCH

- 123 Ada kepada suatu hari
lalu bertitah Raja bestari
mengampungkan orang isi negeri
serta hulubalang wazir menteri.
- 124 Datang menghadap sekaliannya rata
lalu bertitah Duli Mahkota,
"Apa bicara sekarang kita?
Cari mufakat pulak serta."
- 125 Mufakat dicari dengan bicara
sebab terkenang akan saudara,
lalu bertitah Sri Betara:
"Kita hendak menyusuk Mempura."
- 126 Tidak tersebut kisah dan peri
perkenan Baginda membuat negeri;
di Inderapura bandar yang kahari
zaman ini sukar dicari.
- 127 Kerajaan Baginda di Inderapura
jayeng seteru tidak bertara;
wartanya masyhur tidak terkira
Melaka hendak dikira-kira.

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120b mazi: m-a-z-y

120c kadi: q-d-y

121b memintakan: m-m-n-t-q-k-n

121c syafaat: s-f-a-ng-t

121d nikmat: n-(' or m)-m-t

125d menyusuk: m-ny-q-s-q

126b perkenan: f-r-k-n-a-(a)-n.

126c kahari: k-h-r-y = kahar See Klinkert (1947:741 sub q-h-a-r-y).

127c wartanya: q-r-t-ny Compare Stanza 92a note.

- 120 When His Majesty was enthroned / in succession to the late Sultan who had died,
courtiers, ministers, religious leaders and magistrates, / all of them came to pay
him homage.
- 121 All who came besought God's mercy upon him, / praying for the Sultan's safety
that through the intercession of the prophet Muhammad / he should be granted
the rewards of God's bounty.
- 122 When the enthronement of the Sultan was completed / the entire assemblage re-
tired
to take up the diverse duties within the palace, / each to his own task.
- 123 It happened one day / that the Royal Prince gave the command
to assemble the men of the negeri / with their captains and ministers.
- 124 They came before him every one, / then spoke His Majesty:
"What now do you advise me? / Seek a new agreement without delay."
- 125 A consensus was sought through discussion / because he remembered his brother,
then the Royal Prince declared: / "We shall found a settlement at Mempura."
- 126 We are not told the story in detail. / The sultan gave his approval to build his
negeri.
At Inderapura was a mighty town / to the present day its like is not easily found.
- 127 The Sultan's rule at Inderapura / overcame opposition and he was without peer.
At news of his surpassing fame, / Malacca wished to appraise his worth.

-
- 120b mazi: "Kata *mali* berasal dari *malis* yang berarti pudar, hilang cahaya, luntur. Kata *mazi* sebutan lain dari *mali*. *Khali* lebih bermakna hilang, sirna, habis. Di dalam adat dan tradisi Melayu, kata *mati* hampir tak pernah dipergunakan untuk menyatakan meninggalnya Orang Besar Kerajaan apalagi Raja atau Sultan. Perkataan yang lazim dipergunakan adalah: wafat, mangkat, berpulang kerahmatullah, khali, mali atau mazi. Perkataan yang paling rendah adalah meninggal dunia. Apabila dipergunakan kata *mati* untuk Orang Besar atau Raja dianggap sangat tidak sopan." (TENAS EFFENDY)
- 121d nikmat: Poerwadarminta (1978:677) gives as his first meaning "pemberian atau karunia (dr Allah)".
- 124d serta: Possibly *serta-merta* is intended.
- 125d Mempura: The River Mempura flows into the Siak from the south and provided entry to the overland route to Pulau Lawan (Pelalawan) on the Kampar River. Mempura is upstream from Buantan and was therefore a defensive location with a means of retreat. Anderson (1971:340-1) confirms this view of the choice of site. Raja Mahmud, Raja Ismail and Raja Yahya all had cause to use the escape route to Pelalawan. See also Stanza 514a and note.
- 126c Inderapura: The present day Siak Sri Inderapura is on the opposite northern bank of the Siak River.
- 127d Melaka: That is, the Dutch Government at Malacca (VOC).

- 128 Sudahlah takdir Tuhan ilahi,
tidaklah dapat kita salah,
hilanglah asyik dengan berahi
hendak menjadi bantah kelahi.
- 129 Jikalau dikenang-kenang belaka
memberi pilu hati yang duka.
Wallah, tidak diangka-angka
hendak menjadi mala pestaka!
- 130 Bicara banyak lebih dan kurang
tidak berhenti dengan berperang.
Zaman Duli Mahkota Orang
di Inderapura kerjaan garang.
- 131 Puji dikenang sudahlah timpas
tidaklah sempat membakar kapas,
kelasinya seorang tiada yang lepas
meriam dan harta habis dirampas.
- 132 Niat Duli Khalifatullah
mengerjakan perang sabilillah -
bilangan umat Nabi Allah
lebih kurang tidaklah salah.

RAJA MAHMUD'S ILLNESS AND DEATH

- 133 Dengan takdir Tuhan yang esa,
kodrat iradat amat kuasa,
tidaklah sampai bagai dipaksa
kerjaan Duli Mahkota Desa
- 134 Selama Baginda mengidap rayu
lemah lunglai mendayu-dayu,
laksana dendang di pucuk kayu
bagai di undangan Indera Bayu.
- 135 Babanglah penyakit Duli Baginda
bengkak leher batuk pun ada,
bagaikan belah rasanya dada
tidak keluar suara bersabda.

128a ilahi: (?) a-h-y-h
129d mala pestaka: m-w-l-h-f-s-t-a-k Compare Stanza 82d.

131a timpas: t-m-f-sy

131c seorang: s-w-r-ng

131d dirampas: d-r-m-a-f-sy

132a Khalifatullah: kh-l-y-f-t-a-l-h

132b sabilillah: sy-b-l-r-a-l-h

133d kerjaan: k-r-j-q(a)-n = ? kerajaan ? kerajukan

135a bebanglah: b-a-b-ng-q-l-h "Kata *bebang* bermakna: merebak, menyebarkan, semakin luas, bertambah-tambah atau menjadi-jadi. (TENAS EFFENDY)

- 128 It was already decreed by the Divine Lord, / such decree we cannot fault.
Gone were the vehemence and passion, / the desire to generate quarrel and dispute.
- 129 If he had pondered his past difficulties, / his sorrowing heart would have been moved.
My God, he did not anticipate / he would become so accursed!
- 130 Discussion was protracted through thick and thin, / it did not cease till war broke out.
In the time of His Majesty the Sultan, / in Inderapura work was vehement and intense.
- 131 Remembered praise had quite run out, / there was no chance to burn cotton.
Of the sailors, not one was spared, / cannon and valuables were appropriated.
- 132 The intention of the divinely appointed Sultan / was to prosecute a holy war -
the allotted days of the servants of God's Prophet, / to extend or curtail are not negotiable.
- 133 Through the decree of the one God / whose power and will control all,
it did not eventuate as if prevented / by what befell His Majesty.
- 134 While the Sultan nursed his grief / he slumped listlessly and moaned,
like a crow on the topmost bough / subject to the rule of the Lord of the Winds.
- 135 The illness spread through His Majesty, / his neck swelled, he suffered a cough,
he felt as though his breast would split open / but was quite unable to speak a word.

130b berperang: This appears in this context to be an allusion to Raja Mahmud's annihilation of the Dutch garrison at Pulau Guntung which led to the punitive expedition of 1761. Tenas Effendy (1972:61-65) adds about 40 stanzas to cover the events at Pulau Guntung. Anderson (1971:339-440) recounts the story as told to him 65 years later in Siak, and the *Siak Chronicle* (COD OR 7304:463-466) records the affair in detail.

131b See Stanza 28d note.

133d kerjaan: Rajuk, which is suggested by the spelling, is normally used in a pejorative sense denoting *sulking* or *grumbling* and so it is a puzzling choice of word to apply to Raja Mahmud when the subsequent 80 stanzas have no purpose other than to honour him.

- 136 Habislah hari berganti bulan,
isi istana sangat kesukaan.
Sungguhpun boleh Baginda berjalan
barang disantap tidak tertelan.
- 137 Demam batuk tidak terhingga,
berapa belian dengan jaka
jadi minuman air geliga,
wajaknya Baginda begitu juga.
- 138 Rebah bangun duduk berjalan
sehingga sampai sepuluh bulan,
janji sudah telah berbetulan
alamat negeri menaruh kesukaan.
- 139 Belas menentang para putera
di dalam kalbu tidak terkira,
ke sana sini tersera-sera,
wajah ditentang hilang cahaya.
- 140 Anakanda memandang sangat gelorot
usahakan kurang bertambah berat.
Segala pegawai bermusyawarat
menghimpunkan tabib laut dan darat.
- 141 Ke hulu ke hilir mereka berkirap
berhimpunlah tabib sekalian merakap.
Sekalian mulut nyilu terwangkap
sebilang orang tidak berchakap.
- 142 Keluh kesah Baginda berbaring
kiri kanan rebah mengerbang
Melihat Baginda sangatlah gering,
air mata tidak yang kering.
- 143 Isi istana sangat gelorot
melihat Duli bertambah berat.
laksana jung yang amat sarat
takut dipukul ribut barat.

-
- 136a bulan: b-w-k-n
136c & 138d kesukaan: k-s-y-w-k-a-(a)-n ? = kedukaan
136c tertelan: t-r-t-a-l-n 137a demam: d-m-m-a
137b jaka: j(a)-a-k = bujang, bujangga (pupil, acolyte)
137d wajaknya: w-c-q-ny 138c janji: j-n-c-y
139a menentang: m-n-n-ng 139d cahaya: c-h-h-r-h
140a Anakanda: a-n'-n-d 140c pegawai: f-k-w-h
140d menghimpunkan tabib: m-ng-y-f-w(a)-n-k-n-t-b-t-a
141a berkirap: b-r-k-y **Berkirap* atau *berkirap* berarti: pergi atau bepergian. Di dalam bahasa sehari-hari, perkataan ini termasuk - kata-kata yang kasar." (TENAS EFFENDY)
141b tabib: t-a-t-b-t-a
141b merakap: m-r-a-k-b *Kata *merakap* berarti: membaca atau berbicara dengan tersendat-sendat, tergapag-gagap, gugup dan kebingungan, berbicara tidak jelas atau terputus-putus." (TENAS EFFENDY)
141c nyilu terwangkap: ny-y-l-t-r(a)-w-ng-k-b **terwangkap* atau *terwakap*. Perkataan ini bermakna: tertutup, terkancing, terkunci, berat lidah atau sulit membuka mulut." (TENAS EFFENDY)
141d bercakap: b-r(a)-c-a-k-b
142b mengerbang: m-ng-y-r-b-ng *...berjalan mundur mandir tak tentu tujuan, panik, hilang akal dan kebingungan." (TENAS EFFENDY)

- 136 The passage of days turned to months, / the palace folk were very sorrowful.
Although the Sultan was able to walk, / whatever he tasted he was unable to
swallow.
- 137 Fever and coughing continued unabated, / many shaman with their pupils
concocted potions of curative waters - / His Majesty's condition remained the
same.
- 138 Collapsing, recovering, sitting down, moving about, /so it was for ten long months,
his hour was now come, all conditions were fulfilled, / a sign for the *negeri* to set
aside its pleasures.
- 139 Compassionately he gazed at his princes, / within his heart his feelings con-
cealed,
from one to the other, frantically, / his countenance was directed till its light
faded.
- 140 The Princes stared deeply moved; / far from lightening, their burden pressed
heavily.
All the officials took counsel together / and gathered doctors from land and sea.
- 141 Upstream and down they darted, / doctors assembled to stammer incoherently.
All jaws ground together, clammng shut, / not one of them uttered a clear word.
- 142 Sighing and restless the Sultan lay, / left and right he rolled, tossing aimlessly.
To see the Sultan so very ill, / from not one eye did the flow of tears dry.
- 143 The palace folk were deeply moved / to see His Majesty's condition worsen,
like a junk heavily laden, / fearing the impact of a westerly squall.

136b kesukaan: Probably *kedukaan*, which the Jakarta manuscript (v.d.W. 273) uses, was intended.

137h jaka: Tenas Effendy suggests *juaka*: "Kata *juaka* = *juak*, yang berarti: orang suruhan, pelayan, orang peliharaan. Statusnya lebih tinggi dari *belian* atau *budak belian*. *Juaka* ... yang mendapat tugas khusus di dalam upacara adat (memegang tombak, keris, pedang atau payung dll) disebut: *penjawat*."

137d wajaknya: "Kata *wajak* atau *wajuk* bermakna keadaan tubuh, sifat, watak, pembawaan atau wujud seseorang." (TENAS EFFENDY)

139a para putera: This would have included Raja Ismail, Tengku Abdullah, Tengku Musa and Tengku Abd al-Rahman, all of whom became leaders of the nation at home and in exile.

143d ribut bara: The westerly squall or *Sumatra* is a phenomenon of the Straits of Malacca often described in literature. See Yule and Burnell (1969:867 sub *Sumatra*) for examples.

- 144 Daripada hendak berpuas hati
kepada tabib disuruh obati,
para putera berusak hati
jamjam durja tidak berhati.
- 145 Tidak sekali beroleh santap
menentang Duli hati tak tetap,
para putera hadir menghadap:
"Tuanku, coba sedikit santap."
- 146 Santap sedikit tidak seperti,
itu pun dengan diikuti.
Demi putera melihat pekerti
bertambah rawan rasanya hati.
- 147 Berapa obat yang dikenakan - p19
ada yang disantap ada yang disupakan;
pilunya tidak terperikan
jamjam durja berhamburan.
- 148 Tidaklah dapat fakir berkata
kepada alamin Tuhan semata,
niatnya patik sekalian rata
barang selamat Duli Mahkota.
- 149 Duli yang masyri memberi titah:
"Panggakkan tabib daya sepatah."
Ia menghadap selaku berentah,
jadilah kabar entah berentah.
- 150 Habislah akal luput upaya,
putera dengan hamba dan sahaya
mengobati Hadirat Duli yang mulia
lepaslah tak batuk sia-sia.
- 151 Dengan perlihan Baginda bertitah,
"Janganlah kamu sekalian berbantah
mengobat ini seperti orang yang latah,
sakitku ini tidak akan betah."

144b tabib: j-a-t-b-t-a

144d jamjam: j-m-j-m = zamzam (passim)

145b menentang: m-n-t-ng

147a obat: a-w-b-t-a

149a masyri: m-h-g-l-y "Kata *masyri* - mengandung makna: agung, mulia, terpuji dan baik." (TENAS EFFENDY)

149b panggakkan tabib daya sepatah: f-ng-k-a-k-n-[(a)-b-t-d-y-s-l-y-t

149c menghadap: m-ng-d-f-a

149c berentah: (?)b(a)-r-t-h (ISKANDAR 1970 sub *entah*)

149d entah berentah: a-n-t-h-b-r-a-n-t-h

150d tak batuk sia-sia: t-(?)-b-t-q-a-ç-s-y-a-s-y-a

151c mongobat ini: m-ng-w-b-t-a-n-y

- 144 From a desire for peace of mind, / they instructed the doctors to administer their
cures.
The Princes were heartbroken / when his expression revealed no response.
- 145 Not once did His Majesty take food / as, gazing at him with uncertainty,
the Princes approached respectfully: / "My Lord, try to eat a little."
- 146 He ate a little, not as usual, / it was done in acquiescence to their request.
When the princes saw how he acted, / the anxiety within them grew.
- 147 Many potions were administered - / some he took, some he brushed aside;
affected beyond description / their tears flowed freely.
- 148 I cannot speak / of what belongs to the realm of God alone.
The intention of his servants every one / was to perform whatever would save His
Majesty.
- 149 His Majesty commanded: / "Watch over the doctors in their final ministrations",
but they stood before him in bewilderment, / producing news of who knows what.
- 150 His wits were going, his powers slipping from him, / the Princes and household
servants
dosed His Majesty, illustrious ruler, / to free him from his vain coughing.
- 151 Softly the Sultan spoke: / "Stop this quarrelling all of you,
dosing me so, as one subject to fits, / my malady has no remedy."

149b "Kata *panggakkan* berarti: jagakan, bangunkan. (Berpanggak = berjaga-jaga.) Sedangkan kata *daya sepatah* adalah ungkapan yang bermakna: usaha terakhir, atau yang dijadikan harapan terakhir. Misalnya: Kalau tak ada daya sepatah matilah kita dibunuh musuh. Hidup matinya orang itu, tergantung kepada daya sepatahnya." (TENAS EFFENDY)

150d tak: *Tak* has a space after it as though left for later completion. The Jakarta manuscript (v.d.W. 273) reads *taksir*, but that is a doubtful reading. The reading given is bound by the manuscript but Tenas Effendy's comment probably indicates the intention of the poet: "*Kata tak bertangga* adalah ungkapan yang menggambarkan pekerjaan yang sudah dilakukan berulang kali dengan sekuat tenaga, pekerjaan yang sudah sering dilakukan dengan sungguh-sungguh. Lawan ungkapan ini adalah: melepas batuk ditangga, maksudnya: hanya sekadar basa-basi saja, tidak sungguh-sungguh."

- 152 Tengoklah Baginda salah perasaan
Baginda berumanat serta berpesan;
isi istana bertangis-tangisan
pilunya tidak berputusan.
- 153 Kepada anakda Baginda berumanat:
"Kerjakan sembahyang fardu dan sunat,
di hamba dan sahaya hendaklah minat,
jauhi olehmu nama khianat.
- 154 "Berbuat khianat jangan sekali
Allah dan Rasul tidaklah redhoi;
kerjakan perang syahid sabili
mengikut wal-jum'ah Baginda Ali.
- 155 "Memohonkan rahmat kepada Allah,
janganlah kamu berbuat salah,
perintahkan rakyat dengan hukum Allah,
dirikan syariat Rasul Allah."
- 156 Baginda bertitah kepada Putera:
"Bawa baik budi bicara,
hendaklah mupakat bersaudara,
lebih kurang jangan berkira.
- 157 "Sudahlah kepada aku seorang p20
dengan saudara jadi berperang;
kepada kamu sahaja aku larang
jangan menaruh lara wirang."
- 158 Mendengar titah Sri Bupati,
hancur luluh rasanya hati:
"Sampun pekulun andika kesatria,
jangan tuanku merusak hati."
- 159 Mendengar Baginda sudah berpesan,
Putera mendengar rebah pingsan.
Isi istana bertangis-tangisan
rupanya tidak berkeputusan.

152b berumanat: b-r-w-m-a-n-t = beramanat

153b sunat: s-w-n-t (ISKANDAR 1970 sub *sunat* I)

153d jauhi: j-a-h-w-y

154b redhoi: r(a)-d-i-y "Redhoi = redho, artinya dengan izin (Allah), ikhlas." (TENAS EFFENDY)

154c syahid sabili: sy-h-d(a)-s-y-k-l-y

154d wal-jum'ah: (a)-w-c-m-h(a) "Lazimnya dibaca: *wal-jum'ah* atau *al-jum'ah* atau *aljemaa'h*." (TENAS EFFENDY)

155d syariat: sy-r-y-f-t

156b bawa: b-w-ç-k

156d lebih: a-l-b

158a Sri Bupati: s-r-y-b-w-f-t-y

158c sampun: s-m-t-n A Javanese word similar to *sudah* (KLINKERT 1947:598)

158c kesatri: k-sy-t-y = kesatria

- 152 The Sultan gazed at them discomforted / as he gave out his last guidance and injunctions.
The palace folk wept continuously / their grief knew no bounds.
- 153 To his children the Sultan instructed: / "Perform your prayers both obligatory and optional.
Take an interest in those who serve you. / Keep your name unsullied by treason.
- 154 "Do no act of treason, / God and His Messenger do not approve.
Wage holy wars as martyrs to the Faith, / follow the example of the people of the Caliph Ali.
- 155 "Pray to God for mercy. / Commit no wrongful act.
Rule the people according to God's law. / Establish the religious law of the Messenger of God."
- 156 The Sultan spoke to his Crown Prince: / "Bring benefits through sound common sense;
seek out agreements among your brothers, / for better or worse be not calculating.
- 157 "It has happened to me myself, / with my brother a war broke out;
I expressly forbid you, / do not take upon yourself the pain of such disgrace."
- 158 Listening to His Majesty's words, / they were quite crushed in spirit:
"The time has come my Lords and comrades in arms, / be not dispirited, my Lords."
- 159 Having heard the Sultan deliver his homily, / the Prince listening fell away in a faint.
The palace folk wept continually, / it seemed they would never cease.

154c *sabil*: The spelling bears little resemblance to *sabil* but there is no obvious alternative.

154d Baginda Ali: Ali bin Abu Talib was cousin to the Prophet Muhammad, he was his protegee, and he married the Prophet's daughter, Fatimah. Ali was Caliph AD 656-661. His name provided the rallying point for the mystical Alids or Shi-ite party which broke away from orthodox Islam at the murder of Ali's son, al-Husayn (AD 680). The Sufis of the Shi-ite school are credited with taking Islam to Sumatra (WATT 1974: 3-21; RAUF 1964:23-4; ARCHER 1937:2).

156a Putera: Stanzas 156 & 157 appear to be Raja Mahmud's injunction to his eldest son and heir, Raja Ismail, as distinct from the injunction to all his children (*anakda*) in Stanzas 153-5. Stanzas 156 & 157 echo Stanzas 84 and 85 where Raja Kecil places the onus of maintaining harmony on his eldest son Raja Alam.

120

160

Belas menentang Putera mengindera,
mencarikan obat Sri Betara
berapa Junjung Raja Udara
dengan Biduan Malimpara.

161

Setelah alamat sudah terkena,
segala bidu dendangan arakan
ada yang di atas peterakna,
segala biduan memukul rebana.

162

Segala mereka duduk beratur
memukul rebana seperti guntur,
Junjungan duduk tiada bertutur
duduk tafakur seperti catur.

163

Sepatah seorang menghambur bahana,
maraklah Sultan Raja yang gana.
Gobarlah segala isi istana
ada ke sini ada yang ke sana.

164

Belas menentang Putera bangsawan,
lali dan mabuk barang kelakuan,
melihatkan Duli Yang Dipertuan
langkah bertakhta igau-igauan.

165

Isi istana kesakitan,
berapa jenis makan-makanan
hadir mustaid kiri dan kanan
jikalau akan Baginda ada perkenan.

166

Tidak ada lagi terhemat
kepada Allah memohonkan rahmat,
berkat Duli yang keramat
jikalau ada boleh selamat.

167

Gering Baginda terlalu berat,
ditentang laku sangat gelorat
barang kehendak dengan isyarat,
lidah kelu mulut pun berat.

p21

160a menentang: m-n-t-ng

160a mengindera: m-ng-n-d-r-h = royal (WILKINSON 1959:761)

160d Biduan Malimpara. Also called *Pebayu* or *Kematan*. They recite mantras to particular rhythms to summon familiars in the spirit world, and provide cures while in a trance state. (TENAS EFFENDY)

161c peterakna: f(a)-a-t-r-q-a(a)-n = peterana

162c tiada: y-t-d

165a kesakitan: (a)-sy-a-k-sy-k-y-t-n

165c mustaid: m-sy-t-a-'y-b

165d ada perkenan: d-f-r-k-t-n-n

166a ada lagi: d-l-(a)-h-k-y-a-d

167a & c berat: b-a-r-t

167d lidah kelu: l-y-d-k-l-w-l-w

- 160 They looked compassionately upon the royal Prince, / they sought a cure for His Majesty from several Lords of the Firmament, / through the pawang Biduan Malimpara.
- 161 After the sign was given / the singers of the chorus came in procession, offerings were placed upon the dais, / the singers beat their timbrels.
- 162 All of them sat in order / beating their timbrels with the sound of thunder. His Majesty sat without speaking, / sat musing as if engrossed in chess.
- 163 The voice of each spread the din, / there flared the candle of the Sultan, illustrious prince. All the palace folk were restless, / some going hither, some thither.
- 164 They looked compassionately upon the noble Prince, / mindless and numbed in his every movement. They watched His Majesty the Sultan / move to regain his throne in delirium.
- 165 The palace folk, themselves ailing, / had several kinds of food at hand ready for him on either side / in case the Sultan might take a liking to them.
- 166 There was still no lack of solicitude / with prayers to God craving mercy for the blessed and holy ruler, / that, if it was His will, he might be saved.
- 167 The Sultan's sickness was very serious, / his movements were watched with great emotion; what he desired was conveyed with signs, / his tongue was stilled, his jaw heavy.

160-4 This account of a seance has a close parallel in the description given by Swettenham (1921:147-160) of a similar occasion he attended in Perak.

160c *Junjung Raja Udara*: In Perak there were four principal *jin aruah* (exalted spirits) also known as *Junjung Dunia Udara* (Supporters of the Firmament) (SWETTENHAM 1921:156).

160d *biduan*: The *jin* need to be summoned by a singer of the royal family, with at least four supporters, singing the *Jin*'s own special invocation set to its own peculiar music. In the Perak case the *pawang* and leading singer was Raja Ngah, and her daughter led the drum orchestra (SWETTENHAM 1921:156).

161a *alamat*: Raja Ngah's signal was to cover her head with a silk cloth (SWETTENHAM 1921:154).

161c *peterakna*: In the Perak case, the *peterakna* was a twelve sided (sic) dais in the form of a star made from two squares, and six inches high. On it were a yellow cloth, a large candle and delicacies for the *Jin* (SWETTENHAM 1921:157).

161d *rebana*: In Perak, six girls in a corner of the room beat drums with their fingers (SWETTENHAM 1921:154).

162 "... the sultan, supported by many attendants was brought in and sat upon it [the dais]. A veil was placed on his head, and various vessels were put in his hands, he spread rice round the taper, sprinkled the perfume, and received into his hands an enormous *chadak* of grass, calmly awaited the coming of the of the *jin ka-raja-an*, while the minstrels shouted for him with all their might." (SWETTENHAM 1921:158)

163 "At first the flame was steady but by and by as the singers screamed more loudly to attract the attention of the laggard Spirit, the wick began to quiver and flare up, and it was manifest to the initiated that the *Jin* was introducing himself into the candle. ...after a brief pause, the minstrels struck up a different air and singing the praises of another *Jin*, called upon him to come and relieve the King's distress. ...as one spirit after another notified his advent by the upstarting of the flame of the taper, it was impossible not to feel that one was getting into the very best company." (SWETTENHAM 1921:155-157)

- 168 Dengan isyarat Raja Bestari
memanggil anakanda sekalian mari,
bangkit dayang kesatri
duduk beratur kanan dan kiri.
- 169 Kiri dan kanan Baginda menoleh
jamjam durja sebagai meleleh,
di lahad badan hendak beralih
seperti lakuan tah semalih.
- 170 Melihat permana bagai di peta
Baginda menyapu air mata;
meninggalkan dunia sangat bercinta
melainkan ampun Tuhan semata.
- 171 Bilangan Raja Mahkota Negeri
sebelas bulan enam hari,
yaumul Isnin ketika seri
Baginda dipanggil Khalikulbahri.
- 172 Datanglah kodrat daripada Allah
pada Izrael di sana terjumlah,
bilangan umat nabi Allah,
akhirulkalam, "La ilaha illa 'lah."
- 173 Dengan selesai Baginda berangkat,
kalimatullah tiadalah lukat,
Putera mengindera berlari dekat:
"Bawalah patik Ayahanda berangkat."
- 174 Di dalam demikian didengar Baginda
diangkat tangan dari atas dada.
Tengku Busu melarang Anakanda:
"Biarlah selesai perjalanan Ayahanda."

RAJA MAHMUD IS MOURNED AND EULOGISED

- 175 Setelah mangkat Duli Mahkota,
gobarlah negeri gegak gempita,
saburnya tidak menderita,
medan menjadi laut senjata.

168c kesatri : k-sy-t-sy-t-a-r-y

169b meleleh: m-l-h

171c Isnin: a-sy-n-y-n = Senin

171c ser: sy-r(a)-y = auspicious (MARSDEN 1984: 169)

172b Izrael: 's-r(a)-ç-y-la

- 168 With a sign His Majesty / called all his children to approach.
Rising, the maidens and warriors/ came and sat in order to right and left.
- 169 Left and right the Sultan turned, / tears were like a constant stream.
In its burial niche a corpse desiring to shift / in such a manner might change its position.
- 170 Seeing their number as if in a picture / the Sultan wiped away his tears.
To depart the world saddened him greatly / but he made his peace with the one God.
- 171 The appointed hour of His Majesty the Sultan / was the eleventh month, the sixth day.
The day was Monday when his hour came / and the Sultan was summoned by the Creator.
- 172 The power came from God / for Azrael to take him and there include him,
numbered among the community of God's prophets - / his final words: "There is no God but Allah."
- 173 When all was done the Sultan began his journey, / from the word of God there is no release.
The royal prince ran forward: / "Father, take me whither you go."
- 174 Within, this was heard by the Sultan / who raised his hand from his breast.
Tengku Busu restrained his nephew: / "Let your father complete his journey."
- 175 Upon the death of His Majesty / the *negeri* erupted in uproar,
the confusion was unbearable / the field became a sea of weapons.

-
- 163b The *Jin Kerajaan* came to the Sultan's candle and needed the royal drums to summon it (SWETTENHAM 1921:156 & 158).
- 164 "...when this taper had duly flared up and all the rites had been performed, His Majesty was conducted back to the couch...and there lay the King, to all appearances in a swoon. The *Jin Ka-raja-an* had taken possession of the sick body, and the mind was no longer under its owner's control." (SWETTENHAM 1921:158-159)
- 169c-d Stanza 215 and note explain the movement of a corpse.
- 171 According to Netscher (1870:111) Raja Mahmud died on 23rd November, 1760.
- 171b sebelas bulan: The eleven month is Zulkaedah.
- 172b Izrael: the Angel of Death
- 174c Tengku...Anakanda: Tengku Busu was the youngest son of Raja Kecil.
- 175c tidak menderita: Perhaps *tiada terderita* was intended.

- 176 Bahananya azmat tidak terperi,
sesaklah lorong kanan dan kiri,
bertagarlah ratap isi negeri:
"Tuanku di manalah patik cari?"
- 177 "Wahai Junjungan Mahkota lara,
tinggallah negeri Inderapura
dengan hulubalang menteri wazira
dengan rakyat bala tentara. p22
- 178 "Ayuhai Junjungan Mahkota patik,
Tuanku kemala tengah diratik,
parasnya laksana kuntum dipetik,
sejuknya seperti embun yang titik.
- 179 "Tuanku Raja yang bersilah-silah,
turun temurun Khalifatullah,
sahid, dermawan, arif billah ,
Junjungan Sayidi dipelihara Allah.
- 180 "Tuanku telah jadi Mahkota,
silah-silah Marhum yang bertakhta,
tidaklah dapat hendak berkata,
hilang di ruang-ruang mata.
- 181 "Tuanku tidak lagi terperi
kemala mahkota di dalam negeri;
alamat luruh kuntum di jari
hilang tak dapat patik cari.
- 182 "Alamat Duli gaib dijulung
suramlah cahaya syamsu gemilang,
sekalian jamjam mawar di balang
sungguhpun ada baunya hilang.
- 183 "Sedang kuntum mengurai layu
kumbang melangsi mendayu-dayu,
padam kemala desa Melayu
hilang disambar Garuda Bayu.

176a azmat: a-d-m-t
176b sesaklah: s-a-sy-q-la-h
179a bersilah-silah: b-r-s-y-la-h-s-y-la-h bersililah
179b turun temurun: t-w-r-n-t-m-w-2
179c sahid, dermawan: s-a-h-y-d-r(a)-m-a(a)-w-n ? = Sayidirrahman
179d Sayidi dipelihara: s-y-d-y-f-l-y-h-r
182d sungguhpun ada: s-ng-k-h-a-d-f-w(a)-n-a-d
183d Garuda Bayu: k-r-a-d-a-b-a-y-w

- 176 Their din was awe-inspiring beyond description, / packing into alleys to right and left,
the wailing of the people reverberated: / "My Lord, where may we seek you?"
- 177 "O Majesty, troubled ruler, / stay yet in your *negeri*, Inderapura,
with your warriors and courtiers, / with your people and your troops.
- 178 "Ho Majesty, our ruler, / My Lord, light of the world, loved by all,
a visage like a picked bloom, / cool as a dewdrop.
- 179 "My Lord, Prince of a line of Princes / descended from the Successors to the
Prophet of God,
martyr to the Faith, charitable, wise in God's truth, / my Sovereign Lord is in
God's keeping.
- 180 "My Lord, born to be our ruler, / succeeding his departed ancestors upon the
throne;
no longer is able to instruct us, / is gone from before our eyes.
- 181 "My Lord beyond description, / a crown's lustrous gem in his *negeri*, presaged by
the falling of a bloom from the fingers, / he is gone whither we cannot seek
him.
- 182 "Signalling His Majesty's passing away, carried off, / the very glow of the radiant
sun is dimmed,
all the rosewater contained in vials, / although still secure, its fragrance is lost.
- 183 "While blooms unfurl and fade / and bees drone in distant sighs,
the light of this lustrous gem of Malay folk / is snuffed out, snatched away by the
Garuda Bayu.

178b diratik: "*Diratik* atau *diretik* bermakna: disayangi, dikasihi, dicintai, disanjung dan dimanjakan."
(TENAS EFFENDY)

179c billah: "Kata *billahi* lazim pula dibaca *billah* saja." (TENAS EFFENDY)

179d sayidi dipelihara: A more typical use of elision where a syllable is required to do double duty in successive words.

183d Garuda Bayu: A mythical giant bird, steed of the Gods.

- 184 "Guruh menggeram sayup bahasa,
pelangi membangun dari angkasa,
kelamalah cahaya Mahkota Desa,
remuk redam hati binasa.
- 185 "Tuanku Mahkota Raja Junjungan,
nasab Iskandar dewa kayangan -
tidak diangka di angan-angan
Mahkota gaib dari julangan.
- 186 "Karamalah bayu mangkin dikenang,
surainya ikal patah mengunang,
jamjam durja berlinang-linang
selaku riak air yang tenang.
- 187 "Cahaya di kening warna dadu
bermanik seperti kuntum berpudu,
majelis durjanya sangat meridu
laksana seroja di kolam madu.
- 188 "Cantiknya tidak terperikan
umpama peta digambarkan.
Patik ini banyak yang dihadapkan
putuslah harap Duli tinggalkan.
- 189 "Apalah daya duduk bercinta?
Gustinya tidak menderita;
sudahlah nasib untungnya kita,
mabuk berendam air mata.
- 190 "Tuanku tidak lagi bertara
nurmala sambar Batara Indera -
padamlah kemala bala tentara,
hilanglah cahaya Sri Mempura.
- 191 "Bukankah patik hamba Yang Baka?
Patik diumanat Duli Paduka -
haram sekali tidak diangka,
abdi yang hina menjunjung murka.

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-
- 184a guruh: c-w-r-h
185b Iskandar: s-y-k-n-d-r
185c di angan-angan: d-ng-n-a-ng-n
186d riak: r-y-k-q
187b berpudu: b-r-w-w-d-w "Kata *pudu*: kuntum yang belum mekar." (TENAS EFFENDY)
187c majelis: m-n-j-l-sy ? = menjelas ? = menyelas, menyelis
187c meridu: m-r(a)-d-w "Perkataan ini berarti: mencium, membaui, atau dapat pula diartikan aroma yang harum." (TENAS EFFENDY)
188b peta: f-l-h 188d harap: h-r(a)-b
189a bercinta: b-r-c-n-t-h
190b nurmala: n-w(a)-r-m-la-h = nirmala
190c hilanglah: h-y-l-l-ng-l-h

- 184 "Thunder rumbles fading softly, / a rainbow rises from the heavens.
Darkened is the light of His Majesty, / crushed and dispirited are we.
- 185 "My Lord, Ruler, Sovereign Prince, / was descended from Iskandar and the gods
of Heaven,
yet be not deluded into thinking / His Majesty vanished miraculously from his
bier.
- 186 "Foundering, we servants the more bring to mind / his curly hair, locks glistening,
tears trickling, / like ripples upon still water.
- 187 "The glow of his brow was rose coloured / with beads like blooms in bud.
His countenance beautiful, very fragrant, / like a lotus blossom upon a pool of
nectar.
- 188 "His beauty was indescribable, / such as artists depict.
We his many servants who sat before him / have lost all hope at His Majesty's
departing.
- 189 "What can one do but sit in longing? / Our Prince no longer suffers.
Already fate has cast our lot, / distracted, we bathe in tears.
- 190 "My Lord has no peer, / untarnished he is snatched away by Batara Indera.
Snuffed out is the lustrous jewel of the armed forces, / gone is the light of Sri
Mempura.
- 191 "Are we not servants of the Eternal God? / We are commissioned by His Majesty.
Heaven forbid, it was not suspected / that we, his humble servants, should bear
such wrath.

-
- 184b pelangi membangun: According to Skeat (1967:15) a part of a rainbow rising straight up from the earth (*tunggul-tunggul membangun*) is taken in Perak as an omen of the death of a king.
- 185 The purpose of this stanza seems to be to retain Raja Mahmud's Muslim orthodoxy without losing his descent from Iskandar or access to associations with the literary conventions of Hindu based accounts of royal lives.
- 185b *kayangan*: Poerwadarminta (1976) uses this form rather than *keyangan* although he prefers *kedewaan* and *kerajaan*.
- 186b Klinkert (1947:110, 834) quotes this line from other sources substituting *rambut* for *surai*. He gives *menunang* the tentative meaning of "glanzend, glisterend". *Ikal patah* seems to be a synonym for *patah mayang*.
- 190b Compare Stanza 183d.
- 191c Compare Stanzas 82c and 93d.

- 192 "Menjunjung murka semena-mena
heranlah patik abdi yang hina.
Menentang segala isi istana
tidaklah ke sini Duli yang gana.
- 193 "Tidaklah ke sini Sri Betara,
meninggalkan segala para putera
meratapkan Duli Sri Nara Indera
putuslah-putus bahana suara."
- 194 Bunyinya ratap menderu sabur
kalbu di dalam bagaikan lebur;
jamjam durja bagai ditabur,
laksana manik jatuh terhambur.
- 195 Merataplah mengindera dayang perwara:
"Murkalah Duli akan manira -
kepada siapa menaruhkan putera,
anakda nin belum samperi bicara.
- 196 "Kodrat Allah tidak disangkal,
putera ni belum sampai akil.
Dengan siapa anakda ni bertangkil,
tempat bertanya kata yang muskil?"
- 197 "Lihatlah Duli laku putera,
kalbunya gundah tidak terkira,
ditinggalkan oleh Sri Betara
laksana tasik di tengah segara.
- 198 "...
...
ditinggalkan oleh Sri Paduka
anakda duduk di dalam duka.
- 199 "Tidaklah belas Duli yang gana
menentang laku isi istana
berangkat dari negeri yang fana
ditinggalkan patik abdi yang hina.

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-
- 192a semena-mena: s-m-n(a)-m-a-n ? = tidak semena-mena
193d putuslah putus: f-w(a)-t-sy-la-h-f-w-t-sy(a)
194c manik: m-ny-y-h
195a mengindera dayang perwara: m-n-ng-n-d-r-w(a)-y-ng-f-r-w(a)-y-r = royal governesses (MARSDEN 1984:221)
195b murkalah: m-r-k-t-h
195c menaruhkan: m-n-h-r-h(a)-k-n
196a disangkal: d-s-k-la ? = ditangkil or disangkal
196c bertangkil: b-t-ng-k-la
197a lihatlah: d-l-y-h-t-la-h
197b gundah: k-n-d
197d tasik ditengah segara: t-a-sy-y-k-d-y-t-ng-s-w(a)-k-a-r

- 192 "Being burdened with such capricious wrath / bewildered us his humble servants.
To look upon the people of his court / no longer comes His illustrious Majesty to
this place.
- 193 "No longer to this place comes His Majesty / but he leaves behind all his Princes
to mourn for His Majesty / in an uproar of broken voices."
- 194 The sound of their mourning roared tumultuously, / their hearts within were as if
crushed,
tears sprinkling as if cast by a sower / as beads fall scattering about.
- 195 Lamenting were the royal governesses: / "Your Majesty is indeed angry at us.
To whom are we to entrust your princes? / These children are not yet approaching
independence.
- 196 "The power of God is not to be denied, / but these princes are not yet adult.
Before whom will these your children sit for instruction / where they may seek
solutions to their problems?
- 197 "See, Majesty, the manner of your princes - / their hearts troubled beyond
comprehension,
forsaken by Your Majesty / they are like lakes in the midst of an ocean.
- 198 "...
forsaken by Your Majesty, / your children sit in mourning.
- 199 "His illustrious Majesty has no pity, / to look upon the behaviour of his courtiers
and yet depart this transitory world, / forsaking us his humble servants.

195c bicara: ? = the age of autonomy when one can speak for oneself in debate.
196b akal: If *akibaliq* is intended, the poet wished to convey that the princes were less than 15 years
of age.

The *Siak Chronicle* (COD OR 7304:465-467,470) records that Raja Ismail accompanied Raja Mahmud on raiding forays and, upon their return, was present at his destruction of the Dutch fort at Pulau Guntung. His presence may have been a device to allay Dutch suspicions as to the nature of Raja Mahmud's visit to the garrison. The chronology of the *Siak Chronicle* shows that Raja Ismail was then married to Tengku Busu's daughter Tengku Sani before the death of Raja Mahmud.

The *Syair Perang Siak* itself records that Raja Kecil had grandchildren (that is, Raja Ismail and his siblings) before he died in 1746 (Stanza 73).

- 200 "Ditinggalkan patik hamba yang leta
siang dan malam duduk bercita,
ditinggalkan oleh Duli Mahkota
laksana cermin tidak bermata.
- 201 "Belasnya patik menentang peri
selaku-laku lupakan diri -
manikam sudah luruh di jari,
kemala di desa hilanglah seri.
- 202 "Hilanglah seri kemala di desa,
hilang memberi putus asa.
kalbu hancur rusak binasa
laksana dipagut ular yang bisa."
- 203 Akan ratap isi istana:
"Tuanku berangkat hendak ke mana
murkakan patik semena-mena
selaku tidak akan berguna."
- 204 Sudah dikafan Imam dan Kadi
memohonkan rahmat segala wali.
Anakda mengangkat berhati sali
ke dalam keranda dimasukkan sekali.

RAJA MAHMUD'S FUNERAL

- 205 Lalu menabalkan Mahkota Duli
ganti Ayahanda yang telah mali,
segala pegawai menjunjung Duli
serta bentara panglima sekali.
- 206 Setelah selesai pekerjaan Baginda,
mayat dimasukkan ke dalam keranda
diletakkan kepada usungan yang syahda -
raja diraja diperbuatkan anakda.
- 207 Menentang payung delapan terkembang
rupanya bagai syamsu mengambang;
belas melihat adik dan abang
hendak berjalan bagaikan tumbang.

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201a belasnya: b-l-sy-ny
201c manikam: m-h-n-y-k-m
201d di desa: d-y-d-n-y-sy
202b memberi putus asa: m-m-b-a-r-y-l-w(a)-sy-t-a-sy-y
203c semena-mena: s(a)-m-a-n(a)-m-a-n(a) Compare Stanza 192a.
204a sudah dikafan: s-w-d-d-k-f-a-n-n
204a Imam dan Kadi: m-a-m-d(a)-n-q-a-d-y
204c mengangkat: m-ng-k-t
205b mali: m-a-g-l-y See Stanza 120b and notes.

- 200 "Forsaken, we his wretched servants / day and night sit in longing -
forsaken by His Majesty are we, / like a mirror with no one to look upon it.
- 201 "In pity we watch these events / threatening to fall away in faint;
a jewel has fallen from our fingers, / the lustrous gem of our folk has lost its glow.
- 202 "Vanished is the light from the lustrous gem of our folk, / vanished he bequeaths
despair.
Our hearts are crushed, broken, destroyed, / as if struck by a poisonous snake."
- 203 This is the lament of the palace folk: / "My Lord has left for parts unknown
in needless anger at his servants / as though we have no further use."
- 204 When he was enshrouded by the Imam and Kadi, / they besought mercy through
the Walis.
His children steadfastly bore him up, / into the coffin he was placed at once.
- 205 Thereupon they enthroned His Majesty / to succeed his father, now dead.
All the functionaries paid homage to His Majesty, / and the courtiers and captains
every one.
- 206 When they had completed ceremonials for the Sultan, / the corpse, contained in
its coffin,
was positioned upon a splendid litter, / a bier constructed by his children.
- 207 Watching umbrellas, eight unfurled, / they appeared like suns hovering above the
horizon.
'Twas pitiable to see the brothers and sisters / trying to walk but like to tumble.

204-209 A number of brief extracts from descriptions of royal funerals are given below to clarify the allusions in these stanzas.

- 204a *dikapan*: "the corpse...is next shrouded from head to foot in fine new *sarongs*. ...when a rich man...dies, as many as seven may be used, each of the seven being made in one long piece, so as to cover the body from the head to the feet, the cloth being of fine texture, of no recognised colour, but richly interwoven with gold thread..." (SKEAT 1967:397-8).
- 204d *keranda*: "...a plain, oblong plank box... Varnish or paint is forbidden in Malay coffins, but the planks are washed to insure their cleanliness, and lined with white cloth...About three inches of earth is put into the *karanda* ordinarily..." (SKEAT 1967:399)
- 205 Wilkinson (1971:100) records the Perak succession formalities. "The Bendahara takes possession of the regalia of the deceased ruler and administers the government *ad interim*. At the expiration of seven days he sends or heads a deputation to the Raja Muda inviting him as heir-presumptive to attend the obsequies and be installed as Sultan. Incidentally it should be added that the presence and proclamation of the new sultan are essential features of the burial ceremony of the old." See also Winstedt (1961:27).
- 206c-d "A chief's bier is a huge platform, which may take a hundred men to lift. A bier may be of several storeys. The bier of the commoner chief of Jebeu, for example, is of five storeys; the bier of a raja is of seven... Children are made to pass under a parent's bier before it is carried to the grave, not only as a token of respect but to prevent them from pining for the deceased." (WINSTEDT 1961:126)
- 207a *payung delapan*: The eight umbrellas may symbolise the eight wazir in Stanza 209 who carried the regalia, or it may allude to the ablutions. "The body of an important person is escorted under umbrellas to the place of ablution... His insignia will be exhibited around the body." (WINSTEDT 1961: 126)

- 208 Pawai diatur oleh bentara -
enam belas pebasuhan sama setara,
enam belas dian dipasang segera,
hebatnya tidak lagi terkira.
- 209 Delapan tetampam yang disandangkan
kepada wazir diberikan,
usungan diangkat dijalkan
dipaukkan calang arak-arakan
- 210 Jenazah diangkat diarak lalu
serunai nafiri gendang dipalu -
orang bergendang lakunya pilu
memukul nobat menundukkan hulu.
- 211 Diarak langsung lalu ke makam -
humban-humban emas berekam.
ajaib memandang pudri manikam
ketika itu menjadi sekam.
- 212 Tuanku Indera digendang nafsu,
junjungan putera Marhum Bungsu;
sedang diarak lunglai lesu,
rahmatnya lebih disinar syamsu.
- 213 Menentang syamsu dikandung teja
bagai dituang jamjam durja
mengarak Duli Mahkota Raja
bertakhta di atas raja diraja.
- 214 Jenazah pun sampai diletakkan,
Imam dan Kadi membangkan;
ke dalam kubur dimasukkan,
tanah di atas disimburkan.
- 215 Talkin dibaca dicururkan,
tetampam disandang sediakan,
mayat sedia mendengarkan
Imam dan Kadi membacakan.

208b pebasuhan: f-b-s-h-n See Stanza 215 and note.

209a tetampam: t-n-a-f-n

209d dipaukkan: d(a)-f-w-k-n

210a jenazah: j-n-a-j-h-a

210d menundukkan hulu: m-n-d-f-k-n-a-w-l-w

211b humban-humban: h-m-b-n(a)-h-m-b-n **Humban-humban* adalah hiasan peti mati (keranda). Yang terbuat dari jalinan atau anyaman pucuk kelapa disebut "titi umban", sedangkan yang dari kain disebut *humban-humban* atau *umban-umban*. Hiasan ini, terutama bagi keranda Raja-raja, selalu ditatah dengan emas dan Permata." (TENAS EFFENDY)

214b membangkan: m-b-a-ng-k-n "... ketika mayat dibawa keluar rumah atau mulai diberangkatkan dari rumah selalu dibangkan (diazankan), kemudian dibangkan lagi ketika mayat itu dimasukkan ke liang kuburnya." (TENAS EFFENDY)

215b tetampam: t-t-a-f-n

- 208 Bearerers were marshalled by the royal attendants / with sixteen basins of equal quality.
Sixteen candles were lit at once / and their grandeur was immeasurable.
- 209 Eight sashes for wearing over the shoulder / were given to the ministers.
The litter was lifted and set on its way / drawn along in bare-headed procession.
- 210 The bier was lifted and passed in procession / with flutes and trumpets and drums being beaten.
Those who drummed revealed their sorrow / they beat their drums, bowing their heads.
- 211 It was escorted directly, straight to the grave. / Cloth embroidered in gold,
wondrous to behold with gems encrusted, / at that time became as chaff.
- 212 My Lord was drummed off passionately, / borne aloft by His late Majesty's princes.
As he was being escorted listlessly off / God's mercy increased as the radiance of the sun.
- 213 Facing the sun enshrouded in the clouds of bloody hues, / as if poured forth from his life's fluid,
they escorted His Majesty / enthroned on his royal bier.
- 214 The remains reached the place and were put in position, / the Imam and Kadi called the faithful to prayer.
lowered him into the grave / and the earth was sprinkled in.
- 215 The *talkin* was read, libations were sprinkled / sashes were worn over the shoulder as prepared.
The corpse made ready to listen, / the Imam and Kadi recited.

-
- 208b pebasuhan: Klinkert (1947:126) give the form pebasuhan rather than pebasuhan with the meanings *waschvat* and *waschplaats*. See Stanza 207a note.
- 209d calang: "...at a royal funeral it was expected that all a ruler's subjects should go without headdress and with dishevelled hair". (WINDSTEDT 1961:126-127)
- 210b "...at the obsequies of a Malay sultan the state drums are beaten and the state trumpets blown. Then for seven or even twenty or forty days they are hushed. ... originally silence was kept not to guide the ghost of the dead back to his temporal home". (WINDSTEDT 1961:125)
- 212b Marhum Bungsu: Raja Mahmud was younger than Raja Alam but not the youngest of Raja Kecil's sons.
- 213b teja: A portent of the death of a *Raja* (WILKINSON 1959:1183). Compare Stanza 184b and note. *Teja* suggests sunset but interment was usually about midday to allow those attending to be home before nightfall.
- 214b Skeat (1967:404) says that the corpse is deposited on its right side looking towards the west - that is, to Mecca.
- 214d "... it is *taboo (pantang)* to let the earth strike against the coffin in its fall, the grave diggers receive it as it falls upon a sort of small hurdle or screen made of branches..." (SKEAT 1967:405)

- 216 Telah selesai daripada itu
Baginda berangkat berhati mutu,
gundahnya bukan lagi suatu
remuk redam tidak bertentu.
- 217 Serta sampai ke dalam istana,
berkampunglah sekalian hina dina;
hati Baginda gundah gulana -
itulah perintah Tuhan yang gana.
- 218 Sudahlah iradat Tuhan yang azali.
Baginda duduk berhati sali
segala pegawai menjunjung Duli
memohonkan ampun lalu kembali.

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THE POET COMMENTS

- 219 Tamatlah kisah Marhum mangkat
di Inderapura bandarnya berkat;
akal pendapat sudah singkat
laksana ikan dalam pukat.
- 220 Tidaklah boleh fakir katakan,
kehendak Allah hendaklah sukarkan;
baik dan jahat kita pikirkan,
takdir Allah kita relakan.
- 221 Daripada badan tidak beruntung -
Allah dan Rasul tempat bergantung;
duduk laksana seperti patung,
mulut pun berat bagai disentung.
- 222 Habislah hari berganti bulan
duduk di dalam kesugulan;
pikiran pun tidak berbetulan
umpama dimabuk pinang yang malan.
- 223 Tambahan fakir yang menyurat
malam dan siang di dalam gelorat;
daripada teruk sampai dengan isyarat,
pekerjaan ringan menjadi berat.

220b kehendak: k-h-n-d-w

222b kesugulan: k-sy-w-k-a-l-n

223c teruk: t-w-ç or t-q ? or tuwuk "teruk = azah, sengsara, menderita. Tuwuk = teruk, tetapi dapat pula berarti: memikul beban berat, kena pukulan, atau kena lemparan." (TENAS EFFENDY)

- 216 When all of that was completed / the Sultan left, sick at heart.
His depression was beyond the ordinary, / he was shattered and uncertain.
- 217 Upon his arrival at the palace / there were gathered all the common folk.
The spirits of the Sultan were deeply troubled - / such was the decree of almighty
God.
- 218 It was by the will of the eternal God. / The Sultan sat with steadfast spirit
as each official paid him his homage, / took his leave and returned home.
- 219 So ends the story of the late Sultan's passing / in Inderapura, his blessed city.
My wits and understanding are constricted / like fish in a net.
- 220 I cannot go on, / it is God's will that impedes me.
For good or ill we deliberate, / before God's will we defer.
- 221 From our physical frames there is no profit, / upon God and His Messenger we
depend.
One sits like a puppet, / with slack jaw, as if wedged open.
- 222 Days pass and turn to months / as one sits in the midst of sorrow.
One's thinking lacks precision, / as if befuddled by overripe betel.
- 223 Moreover, I who write / am night and day in emotional turmoil.
From my torments I pulled through with inner knowledge, / a light task has
become a burden.

215 "Eagle-wood and sandal-wood water...is then brought to the Imam, who pours it out in three libations, each time sprinkling the grave from head to foot... Next is read the *talkin*, which is an exhortation addressed to the deceased. It is said that during the process of reading the *talkin* the corpse momentarily revives, and, still lying upon its side, raises itself to a listening position by reclining upon its right elbow...and resting its head upon its hand. This is the reason for removing the bands of the shroud...[the corpse] composes itself to listen quietly to whatever the Imam may say until at the close of the exhortation it falls back really lifeless!" (SKEAT 1967:406)

215b See Stanza 209a.

216b Baginda: Raja Ismail

- 224 Dari padanan tidak bertuah
umpama jintun tidak berbuah,
terkenanglah Marhum hilanglah arwah -
sungguhpun miskin biasa mewah.
- 225 Dengan demikian hubat apalah sudah
duduklah dengan berhati gundah
mengenangkan untung tidak faedah
disuratkan syair pantun dan madah?
- 226 Syair dikarangkan dengan rencana
suratkan setawarikh fakir yang hina -
banyak ditambah sajak tak kena,
bukan menunjukkan bijak laksana.
- 227 Duduk berpikir pagi dan petang
memohonkan rahmat tangan telentang,
berkat Datuk Bukit Siguntang
janganlah apa aral melintang.

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RAJA ISMAIL'S STORY

ISMAIL TAKES OFFICE AND IS THREATENED IMMEDIATELY

- 228 Tersebutlah kisah Duli Baginda
kerajaan ganti Paduka Ayahanda
diamati teruna bangsawan muda
menanggung masygul di dalam dada.
- 229 Belumlah patut memerintahkan kerja -
dari amat dermawan sedang remaja;
dipenting-penting kepada durja,
ditinjau maya tirai buruj.
- 230 Putera yang lain jangan dikata
sekaliannya dirembet semata-mata,
kepada pendapat di dalam cita
muskil menanggung perang sengketta.
- 231 Apatah daya dirundung malang?
Kelamlah cahaya yang cemerlang;
seperti umamat Marhum yang hilang,
mana perintah lakukan dialang.

224a Dari padanan: d-r(a)-y-f-d-n "Kata *padanan* di dalam kalimat ini bermaksud: nasib badan, untung badan atau suratan takdir." (TENAS EFFENDY)

224b jintun: j-n-t-w(a)-n

224d biasa: b-y-a-s-y

225a hubat apalah sudah: h-b-t-a-w-la-s-w(a)-d-h-a

225c faedah: f-a-ç-y-d

226b setawarikh: (?) s-t-w-r-kh = setarikh

228c diamati: d-a-m-t ?=diemat (restrained)

229a memerintahkan: m-r-n-t-y-h-k-n

229b dari amat dermawan: d-r(a)-m-t-d-r-m(a)-w-n

229c dipenting-penting: d-f-n-t-y-ng-f-n-t-y-ng

230b dirembet: d-r(a)-m-b-t

230d muskil: m-sy-k-la

- 224 From our earthly lot comes no good fortune, / it is like an olive tree that bears no fruit.
Remember the late Sultan, his soul departed, / although humble before God, yet he ever prospered.
- 225 And so, what remedy can there be for the past / that one sits engulfed in gloom,
recalling chance not benefits, / and writing it down in *syair*, *pantun* and story?
- 226 The *syair* is composed according to a plan / and set down as a chronicle by your humble servant.
Much is added but the rhymes do not fit, / none of it shows the expert's skill.
- 227 Sitting, musing, morning and evening, / I beg for mercy with upturned hands,
that, with the blessing of our ancestor on Bukit Siguntang, / nothing should obstruct the work.
- 228 The story is told of His Majesty, the Sultan / who succeeded his Father on the throne.
He was attended upon by highborn youths / as he bore his sorrows in his breast.
- 229 It was not yet fitting he should perform his duties, / from his very generous nature he was still a youth.
His expression became an object of interest, / to discern his inner character through the insubstantial veil.
- 230 Of the other Princes nothing need be said, / all of them were quite constrained.
They thought it best to consider / how difficult to bear the burden of civil war.
- 231 What could they do when dogged by misfortune? / Obscured was their radiant beacon.
Enjoined by the late Sultan departed, / they allowed his commands to constrain their actions.

224b *jintun*: Klinkert (1947:336,376) records the use of *jintun* or *jitun* as a fruit bearing tree. ?-
zaitun

225c *untung*.... *faedah*: The distinction between *untung* and *faedah* is not apparent unless the one is fortuitous gain and the other is earned or merited.

227 Compare Stanza 35.

228a Duli Baginda: Raja Ismail

228b Paduka Ayahanda: Raja Mahmud

229d *buruj*: "Lazimnya dibaca: *burja*." (TENAS EFFENDY)

229d *tirai*: Possibly an allusion to the curtain behind which the women sat, though the entire stanza is opaque and the reading is more than usually tentative.

231c-d See stanza 153-155.

- 232 Tiang kerajaan Duli Tuanku
Ayahanda dan Kakanda kedua memangku,
laksana jamjam di dalam sangku
sejuknya seperti embun yang beku.
- 233 Tidak berapa kerajaan Baginda
dipangku oleh Ayahanda dan Kakanda
serta pegawai anum berida,
didengarlah khabarlah Wilanda.
- 234 Datanglah khabar dari seberang
mengatakan Wilanda hendak menyerang,
dengan Ayahanda bersama sekarang
hendak membalas lara wirang.
- 235 Sudah berkemas segala belaka
kapal dan kici belah semangka -
akan Ayahanda begitu juga
membaikkkan kelengkapan sekalian rata.
- 236 Mendengar Ayahanda sudahlah mangkat,
dengan Baginda sudah mufakat;
khabar bicara sudah serikat
negeri Siak hendak diangkat.
- 237 Demi Baginda mendengar warta,
tersenyum manis bertitah serta:
"Khabar Melaka sudahlah nyata.
Sekarang apa bicara kita?"
- 238 Berdatang sembah Ayahanda dan Kakanda
serta pegawai anum berida:
"Barang yang mana kehendak Wilanda,
patik sekalian sedialah ada."
- 239 Datanglah khabar dari seberang
mengatakan Wilanda hendak menyerang,
dengan Ayahanda bersama sekarang
hendak membalas lara wirang.

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233-236 *Ayahanda* occurs in four successive stanzas referring to three different individuals - in Stanzas 234 and 235 to Raja Alam and in Stanza 236 to Raja Mahmud. The identity of Sultans and their kin and their roles in the stories is knowledge which the poet assumes his audience to have.

233c pegawai: f-k-a-w
233d khabar oleh Wilanda: kh-b-r-a-l-h(a)-w-b-l-n-d
236c serikat: sy-r(a)-y-k-t
236d diangkat: d-'k-t
238c barang: b-a-r-s-ng
239b mengatakan: m-ng-k-n
239d lara wirang: r(a)-w-y-r(a)-ng

- 232 The mainstays of His Majesty's government / were his Uncle and Cousin acting
together as regents,
like water in a finger bowl, / cool as dew turning to frost.
- 233 Not long into the Sultan's reign, / under the guardianship of his Uncle and
Cousin,
with the aid of the officials young and old, / news was heard of the Dutch.
- 234 There came news from across the Straits / reporting that the Dutch intended to
invade.
United now with his Uncle, / they sought to avenge their humiliation and shame.
- 235 When the vessels were drawn up, the entire fleet, / two and three masters shaped
like half melons,
to the Sultan's Uncle fell the task / of repairing those vessels, every one.
- 236 Hearing that the Sultan's father was dead, / and the Sultan was accepted by
common consent,
it is said they came to an agreement / to take the land of Siak.
- 237 When the Sultan heard the news / he smiled gently and said:
"The report from Malacca is clear. / Now what are we to do?"
- 238 His Uncle and Cousin approached respectfully / and also the officials young and
old:
"Wherever the Dutch make their move, / we will all be ready for them."
- 239

232b Ayahanda dan Kakanda: Most probably *Ayahanda* was Tengku Busu and *Kakanda* was Tengku Muhammad Ali.

234-5 When these stanzas are repeated inadvertently as 239 and 240, *sudah* becomes *sudahlah* for the rhythm and *sekalian rata* becomes *mana yang raka* for the rhyme. This provides an insight into the scribe's working method. He is not a copier of letters or words but a copier of chunks of text. Each copy is therefore potentially a new edition offering the scribe the opportunity to adapt the text to suit varied circumstances.

234a dari seberang: from Malacca, across the Straits.

234c Ayahanda: Raja Alam, Raja Kecil's eldest son See Stanzas 70c note, 84d note and 90-109. Raja Alam was invited to Malacca in February, 1760 from Batu Bahara and arrived in Malacca on 25th September with ten quite large and eight small vessels manned by 255 men. He was accompanied by Sayid Uthman, soon to become his son-in-law. So Raja Alam arrived in Malacca before the death of Raja Mahmud on 23rd November, 1760, but did not sign a contract with the Dutch (Stanza 236) until 16th January, 1761, after Raja Mahmud's death (NETSCHER 1870:110,113, Appendix XXIII). See also Anderson (1971:341) who claims that it was Raja Mahmud's wish that Raja Ismail should hand over the kingdom to Raja Alam on his return. The same view still obtains in Siak (TENAS EFFENDY & NAHAR EFFENDY 1972:33) which is not surprising since the Sultan of Siak at the time of Anderson's visit and all subsequent sultans have traced the legitimacy of their line from Raja Alam through his daughter Tengku Embung Badariah and Sayid Uthman. Compare the *Siak Chronicle* (COD OR 7304:470) for the opposite view and also Matheson and Andaya (1982:124).

- 240 Sudahlah berkemas sekalian belaka
kapal dan kici belah semangka,
akan Ayahanda begitu juga
membaikkan kelengkapan mana yang raka.
- 241 "Apatah guna patik ditimbang
menjunjung karunia kasih dan sayang?
Kepada niat malam dan siang
badan rebah jiwa melayang."
- 242 Sembah pegawai anum berida
mengangkat khidmat mengirai dada:
"Barang di mana kehendak Wilanda
tidak berpaling barang sabda."
- 243 Berdatang sembah isi negeri
mengangkat khidmat sepuluh jari:
"Jikalau Tuanku kedua berdiri
patik sekalian mengembari.
- 244 "Apatah gunanya Tuanku pinak?
Daripada liar Tuanku perjinak,
sekarang sudah menjadi ternak
umpama gandum boleh ditanak."

THE LEADERS OF RAJA ISMAIL'S HOST AND THEIR MACHINES OF WAR

- 245 Setelah sudah putus bicara,
menurunkan kelengkapan dengan segera,
mengerahkan rakyat bala tentara
ramainya tidak lagi terkira.
- 246 Setelah dinaikkan alat senjata
hebatnya jangan lagi dikata,
apilan terdinding seperti kota
adalah laksana di dalam peta.
- 247 Ditentang kenaikan telah terumbang
rupanya bagai syamsu mengambang,
naga gentala jikalau mengembang
laut yang tenang bergelombang.

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241a ditimbang: d-t-y-b-ng

241b kasih: k-a-sy-y

241c niat: n-y-y-t-h

241d jiwa: c-y-w

242b mengangkat khidmat mengirai dada: m-ng-k-t-q-y-d-m-h-m-ng-y-r-d-a-d

243b mengangkat khidmat sepuluh jari: m-ng-k-t-q-y-d-m-s-t-w-t-h-j-r(a)-y

243c berdiri: b-r(a)-y-r(a)-y

244a pinak: f-y-n-q =penak

246c terdinding: t-r(a)-d-y-d-y-ng

246d peta: f-a-t

- 240
- 241 "At what value are we to be judged, / who accept your bounty of love and affection?
We are resolved night and day / the body should fall before the spirit fly off."
- 242 In homage the officials, young and old, / offered up their service, displaying their
spirit:
"Wherever the Dutch make their move, / we will not flinch from what you
command."
- 243 The populace approached respectfully, / offering up their service with all ten
fingers:
"As long as our two commanders stand firm, / we shall all stand by them.
- 244 "What other use are your children to you? / From our wild state My Lord tamed
us,
till now we are become settled folk, / like wheat prepared for cooking."
- 245 When their discussions were concluded, / they launched the fleet at once
and mobilised the people for the army / till their number could not be calculated.
- 246 When the weapons of war had been mounted / their splendour was beyond
description.
Breastworks formed a wall like a fortress - / the effect was such as one might see
in a drawing.
- 247 To see these vessels rocking at their moorings / they appeared like the sun poised
above the horizon
or a giant serpent which, if it uncoiled, / would send waves rolling across a calm
sea.

234d membalas lara wirang: An allusion to the events at Pulau Guntung when Raja Mahmud killed the members of the Dutch garrison which was limiting his access to Siak. See Stanza 127-133 and 130b note.

235b belah semangka: The poet uses this expression to distinguish and describe European ships which apparently had fuller hulls than local ships.

236 See Stanza 234c note.

239-240 See Stanzas 234-235 note.

240d mana yang raka: where they were rotten

242b mengirai dada: "...adalah ungkapan yang menggambarkan keberanian, penuh semangat."
(TENAS EFFENDY)

- 248 Panglima kenaikan Duli yang mulia,
Panglima Usyu dititahkan dia -
pada pemandangan di mata sahaya
seperti gunung biram cahaya.
- 249 Kapit timbal Panglima Ahmad,
di dalam kenaikan *Merpati Rahmat*,
ditentang-tentang kepada hemat
Allah dan Rasul memberi rahmat.
- 250 Panglima Kulub kapit tertentu,
kepada Megat Sri Rama ia menantu,
bersama-sama di kenaikan itu
hatinya keras seperti batu.
- 251 Dengan Tuk Salik jadi berempat
sabas tunjuk hatinya mampat -
di dalam kenaikan raja bersifat,
pertikaman di dalam penuh dan tumpat.
- 252 Panglima Besarnya Tengku Muhammad Ali,
menantu Marhum yang telah mali,
saudara sepupu ke bawah Duli,
menghadapi lawan sedikit tak khali.
- 253 Kenaikan bergelar *Medan Sabar*
laksana garuda akan menyambar;
bangsawan berkapit berbimbar
ditentang selaku pulau ambar.
- 254 Bangsawan berkapit dua bersaudara
sekalian baharu remaja putera;
dipenting-penting di dalam bicara
andalan Marhum Inderapura.
- 255 *Harimau Buas* dua bertolan
dengan *Jembalang Guntung* bertimbangan -
di haluan *Medan Sabar* andalan
akan panglimanya Buyung Sembilan.

248a mulia: m-l-y-l-h

249b *Merpati Rahmat*: m-r(a)-f-t-r-b-m-t Tenas Effendy (1972:89) gives *Merfaturrahmat*. See also Stanza 308a.

250a Kulub: k-l-w-b

251b sabas tunjuk: sy-b-sy-t-w(a)-j(a)-q = sabas mempertunjukkan

251d pertikaman: f-r-t-y-k-m

252c mali: m-a-g-y See Stanza 120b notes.

252d khali: k-l-y

253a Medan Sabar: See Hamka (1979-1:53).

253b garuda: k-r(a)-d

253c berbimbar: b-r(a)-b-m-b-r = 'te zamen met' (KLINKERT 1947:183)

253d pulau ambar: f-w(a)-f-w-a-m-b-r(a)

- 248 As commander of His Majesty's own ship, / he appointed Panglima Usyu.
In aspect, in the view of his servants, / he was like a mountain glowing redly.
- 249 The lieutenant commander was Panglima Ahmad / aboard the ship, *Merpati Alrahmat*.
Keeping the ship head on to the foe was given to his care - / may God and His Prophet grant them mercy.
- 250 Panglima Kulub was a sure support, / a son-in-law to Megat Sri Rama.
With others in that ship, / his spirit was rock hard.
- 251 With Tuk Salik they made up a foursome - / how well they showed the spirit of champions!
Within the ship they had the character of princes, / the spear bearers within crushed to fill it.
- 252 The Commander in Chief was Tengku Muhammad Ali / son-in-law to the late Sultan departed,
and cousin to His Majesty - / he faced the foe with no sign of reluctance.
- 253 His vessel, named *Medan Sabar*, / was like the giant roc about to swoop.
The highborn youths, his comrades-in-arms, / in aspect resembled an island of ambergris.
- 254 The noble youths who supported him were two brothers - / both just coming to manhood.
Their value was appreciated in discussion / by the veterans of the late Sultan.
- 255 *Harimau Buas* in partnership / with *Jembalang Guntung* its equal,
in the bow of the trusty *Medan Sabar* / were under the command of Buyung Sembilan.

251b tunjuk: ? - mempertunjukkan

252a Tengku Muhammad Ali: The syair characteristically does not refer to sultans by name. Tengku Muhammad Ali's naming here therefore excludes him from those the poet acknowledges to have been sultans of Siak. He is recognised as sultan by Dutch sources and current Siak sources. For example Tenas Effendy and Nahar Effendy (1972:24,38) list Tengku Muhammad Ali as a sultan from 1780 till his death in 1782 (sic). See the *Siak Chronicle* (COD OR 7304:514-516).

253b pulau ambar: The simile may suggest lustrous colour (white, yellow, red - the colours of royalty and warriors), or fragrance (ambergris is used for its fragrance - a mark of spirituality).

255a Harimau Buas: Wild Tiger. There is some uncertainty about the location of these cannon. Here both *Harimau Buas* and *Jembalang Guntung* appear to be mounted in Tengku Muhammad Ali's *Medan Sabar*. Stanza 348 adds the possibility that *Harimau Buas* aboard Raja Ismail's *Merpati Alrahmat*.

255b Jembalang Guntung: *Jembalang* is an earth spirit manifesting as an ox or water buffalo.

255b timbalan: The unexpected *ya* appears to be in sympathy with the *ya* in *Sembilan* immediately below it in the manuscript. The scribe does practise visual rhyming and considerably modifies his usual spelling practice to do so. Which cases are deliberate and which accidental cannot be determined.

- 256 Kapit timbalan Buyung Sembilan
Panglima Tih orang andalan,
dengan Panglima Buyung bertimbalan
ditentang selaku kota berjalan.
- 257 Ada pun akan Tengku Perang
kenaikan *Awan* disebut orang;
jikalau kepada zaman sekarang
sukar dicari bandingan garang.
- 258 Tengku Abdullah saudara Sultan
sikapnya seperti harimau jantan,
cantik majelis penglihatan,
cunda Marhum Mangkat Buantan.
- 259 *Tandang Masyur* gelar kenaikan,
hatinya tidak terperikan,
di dalamnya hamba yang andalan
dengan kapal diperhadapkan.
- 260 Kapit timbal Tengku Musa,
saudara Duli Mahkota Desa,
usul bangsawan muda berbangsa,
dengan Wilanda hendak termasa.
- 261 Tengku Abd al-Rahman saudara Baginda
sabaslah ia ke hari muda;
jikalau senjata samalah ada,
Wilanda tak boleh mengada-ada.
- 262 Raja Lontar ketika itu ada,
datang menghadap Duli Baginda;
jikalau berperang dengan Wilanda,
tidak berpaling barang disabda.
- 263 Syekh Salim waris ulama,
pentingan Arab cahaya uagama;
kalam mustahak kata selama
melawan Wilanda jadi panglima.

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256b Tih: t-h Possibly a contraction of *Putih*.
256d kota berjalan: A heavily fortified raft based on a ship. See Stanza 373 et seq.
258d Buantan: b-w(a)-t-n
259a Tandang Masyur: A kind of curative plant (KLINKERT 1947:308).
259c andalan: '-n-d-la-l-n
259d diperhadapkan: d-f-r(a)-h-d-f-n
260a Musa: m-w(a)-s-ny
260d termasa: t-r-m-a-sy = tamasya
261d mengada-ada: m-ng-d-ng-a-d

- 256 Lieutenant to Buyung Sembilan / was the trusty Panglima Tih.
Side by side with Fanglima Buyung, / they had the aspect of a floating fortress.
- 257 Into the charge of Tengku Perang / was placed the ship known as *Awan*.
If one sought to the present day, / it would be hard to find his like in daring.
- 258 Tengku Abdullah, brother to the Sultan, / had the bearing of a tiger,
was fair and comely to behold, / and was grandson to the late Sultan whose tomb
lies at Buntan.
- 259 *Tandang Masyur* was the name of his ship, / its spirit was beyond description,
for aboard were trusty servants / who kept it headed for the ships of the foe.
- 260 The lieutenant commander was Tengku Musa, / brother to His Majesty;
of noble descent, a young man of breeding, / he was eager for a sight of the Dutch.
- 261 Tengku Abd al-Rahman, brother to the Sultan, / was acclaimed from his early
days.
If given weapons of equal quality, / then could the Dutch not flaunt themselves.
- 262 Raja Lontar was there at that time, / and presented before His Majesty.
If it came to battle with the Dutch, / he would not turn from his promises.
- 263 Syekh Salim, of a line of theologians, / a distinguished Arab and beacon of the
faith,
a fitting aphorism ever on his lips, / he became a captain to oppose the Dutch.

258a Tengku Abdullah: He was the second son of Raja Mahmud by a secondary wife (von de WALL 1862:113).

258d Marhum Mangkat Buntan: Raja Kecil The poet has already ensured (Stanza 73) that Raja Ismail's generation of worthies was identified with the founder of the Siak line. This further specific association with Tengku Abdullah stresses his importance to the poet.

260a Tengku Musa: Tengku Musa was a son of Raja Mahmud and a full brother to Tengku Ambang Besar (COD OR 7304:453).

261a Tengku Abd al-Rahman: Another son of Raja Mahmud. He had no descendants in the region of Sukadana and so does not feature largely in the family's pedigree compiled by von de Wall (1862:113).

- 264 Orang Kaya Megat Sri Rama
sikapnya tampan bagai Sang Bima;
sungguhpun umurnya sudahlah lama,
beraninya bagai Maharaja Berma.
- 265 Anaknya Raja Dewa Indra,
ke bawah Duli ia bentara -
kepada pendapat budi bicara,
orang yang tidak gentarkan mara.
- 266 Orang Kaya Sri Akar Raja,
zaman Marhum terlalu manja;
jikalau kepada bermain buruj,
Wallahi, tidak memalingkan durja.
- 267 Orang Kaya Paduka Sri Indra,
andalan Marhum Mangkat di Mempura,
teguh yakin tidak bertara
ke bawah Duli usul mengindera. p31
- 268 ...
...
ke bawah Duli Raja Kuasa,
pentingan Marhum Mahkota Desa.
- 269 Orang Kaya Raja Lela Muda,
Penghulu Tanah Datar dijadikan Baginda -
rupa sikapnya seperti garuda,
bercakap meludahi kafir Wilanda.
- 270 Orang Kaya Raja Lela Wangsa,
ialah hulubalang yang perkasa;
niatnya hendak berbuat jasa
ke bawah Duli Raja Kuasa.
- 271 Orang Kaya Raja Indra Pahlawan,
Penghulu Lima Puluh khabarnya Tuan -
harapan Duli Yang Dipertuan
tidak sekali gentarkan lawan.

264b tampan: t-a-m-f-m

266c bermain buruj: b-r(a)-m-a-y-n-b-w-r(a)-j *Buruj* means both *forts* and *signs of the zodiac* (WILKINSON 1959:170) so possibly *bermain buruj* may also mean *to test fate* or *to try his luck*. See also Stanzas 276c and 291c. "Lazimnya dibaca: burja." (TENAS EFFENDY)

266d Wallahi: w(a)-l-h

269d meludahi kafir: m-l-w(a)-d-k-f-r

271b Tuan: t-w-n

- 264 Orang Kaya Megat Sri Rama / had the dignity of Sang Bima in his bearing.
Although already old / he was bold as Maharaja Berma.
- 265 His son was Raja Dewa Indra, / a personal attendant to His Majesty.
It was the opinion of men of judgment / that he was not one to shake at danger.
- 266 Orang Kaya Sri Akar Raja / in the late Sultan's time was a favourite.
If it came to a defence of the ramparts, / my God, he would not turn aside from the
fray!
- 267 Orang Kaya Paduka Sri Indra / was a trusted aide to the late Sultan.
His sure reliability had no equal / in service to His Majesty, the royal prince.
- 268 ...
to His Majesty / as he was a valued aide to the late Sultan.
- 269 Orang Kaya Raja Lela Muda, / made by the Sultan Chief of the Tanah Datar
contingent,
had the bearing of a giant roc, / and undertook to spit on the infidel Dutch.
- 270 Orang Kaya Raja Lela Wangsa / was a warrior of courage.
He was committed to giving service / to His Majesty.
- 271 Orang Kaya Raja Indra Pahlawan, / Chief, so men say, of the Lima Puluh contin-
gent.
bore the hopes of His Majesty, / that he would never shake before the foe.

-
- 264a Orang Kaya: The title of a commoner chief. The title is derived from a merchant class.
- 264b Sang Bima: A character from the Wayang Purwa also known as Raden Bratasena and Raden Wrekodara. Second and coarsest of the five Pandawa (sons of Pandu) he was noted for his impetuosity and determination in pursuing just causes (ANDERSON 1965:12. HARDJOWIROGO 1965:132-133).
- 264d Maharaja Berma: Possibly Berma Raja the grandfather of Rawana in the *Hikayat Sri Rama*. See, for example, Zieseniess (1963:9).
- 268a-b In Stanza 342, the verse a-b is also omitted and clearly had named a battle leader. Probably coincidental and caused by a similarity of end rhymes with the preceding stanza, but it is possible that a name has been expunged. There is a *Panglima Perang Kiri* in Stanza 343 but no *Panglima Perang Kanan*. Kanan is a suitable rhyme in Stanza 342 though not here. However, see Stanza 394a-b note.
- 269b Penghulu Tanah Datar: See Stanzas 66 note and 80a note.
- 270b Lima Puluh: See Stanzas 66 note and 80a note.

- 272 Syahbandar Muin sebuah penjajap berapilan di haluan berinding jab; jikalau doakan dengan mustajab sabilillah barang sekejap.
- 273 Encik Mahil saudara Encik Kari bercakap di hadapan Raja Bestari: "Jikalau ada Allah memberi, si laknat Allah kita tampari."
- 274 Panglima Latif jadi mata-mata, dengan Raja Dewa Indra ia sekata - hebatnya seperti gajah yang menta, segala mereka menurut kata.
- 275 Panglima Dewa seorang bernama, kepada Panglima Besar ia panglima; sahaja masyhur sedia lama ke bawah Duli Raja Utama.
- 276 Penghulu Betun penghulu hamba Raja, orang yang sabas kepada kerja; jikalau kepada bermain buruj tidakkan tewas di medan Raja.
- 277 Penghulu Kubu hamba yang asli datang menghadap ke bawah Duli: "Mati perang syahid sabili mengikut warisnya Baginda Ali."
- 278 Terhentilah kisah cinda yang dikarang akan puji-pujian sekalian orang. Sajak diatur banyak yang kurang akal nin pendek hati tak terang.
- 279 Diaturlah sajak banyak tak kena, di dalam hati gundah gulana; disuratkan juga sebarang guna harapkan ampun dengan kurnia.

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272a Muin: m-w-h-y-n The three other instances, 388a 464c and 466c, give m-w'-y-n so *Mungin* is possible.

272a penjajap: f-n-j-b-b

272b jab: j-a-b " = hijab artinya dinding atau batas" (TENAS EFFENDY)

272d sekejap: sy-r-k-j-b

273b bercakap: b-r(a)-c-a-k-b

273c jikalau: c-y-k-t-w

273d si laknat: s-l'-n-h-t

274c menta: m-n-t = meta

275a seorang: s-w(a)-r-ng

278c diatur: d(a)-t-a-t-r

278d pendek: f-n-d-f

279a diaturlah: d-a-t-w(a)-r-t-h ? = dituturlah

- 272 Syahbandar Muin had a fighting ship / with gun shields at the bow and a wall
around.
If one prays efficaciously / the path to God takes but a moment.
- 273 Encik Mahil and his brother Encik Kari / promised before His Majesty:
"If God grants it, / we shall smite down these accursed of God."
- 274 Panglima Latif was made security officer, / he spoke with the authority of Raja
Dewa Indra.
He was awesome as a rutting elephant, / all men obeyed him.
- 275 Panglima Dewa, an honoured figure, / adjutant to the Commander-in-Chief,
was long renowned already / for service to His Majesty.
- 276 Penghulu Betun, master of the royal household, / performed his duties splendidly.
If it came to a defence of the ramparts / they would not be worsted within the royal
precinct.
- 277 Penghulu Kubu a servant of local stock / came respectfully before His Majesty:
"To die a martyr in a Holy War / is to follow the heirs of Baginda Ali."
- 278 There ends the story of the grandchildren of whom I tell, / in praise of all the
combatants.
The rhymes are set out but many are imperfect, / for my wits are lacking and my
spirits clouded.
- 279 The rhymes are set out but many are jarring / for within me my spirits are
depressed.
Written nonetheless to be of some benefit / I hope they merit your grace and
bounty.

274b Raja Dewa Indra: A *bentara* (court herald) to Raja Ismail. See Stanza 265.

275b Panglima Besar: Muhammad Ali. See Stanza 252a.

276c Compare Stanza 266c.

277d Baginda Ali: See Stanza 154d and note.

278a cinda: Strictly *great-grandchildren* but these are the grandchildren of Raja Kecil the founder of the Sultanate.

278-280 Here is a nice example of the poet preparing his audience for a break in the story with a rather long, three stanza, aside in which he addresses the listeners directly and personally.

- 280 Fakir menyurat belum biasa,
 tambahan badan tidak kuasa;
 sebab ditiadakan Mahkota Desa
 jangan menjadi putus rasa.

THE PREPARATION OF DEFENSIVE POSITIONS

- 281 Ada teringat kepada cita
 segala pekerjaan Duli Mahkota
 mengerahkan mereka sekalian rata
 membuat kubu seperti kota.
- 282 Sekalian kubu sudah terdiri,
 hadir menanti kanan dan kiri;
 nantinya sekalian isi negeri
 sabilillah berlebur diri.
- 283 Berapa buah kubu seberang-menyeberang,
 kukuhnya bukan sebarang-barang;
 dengan balai madat diperbuat orang,
 diaturnya meriam bagai dikarang.
- 284 Diaturnya meriam sekalian dibidik
 menghadap ke hilir menanti mudik;
 sekalian hamba yang dididik
 sungguhpun paham belum cerdik.
- 285 Diperbuatnya bangun-bangun terlalu tinggi,
 diaturnya meriam segenap segi,
 lela rentaka ditambahi lagi
 supaya jangan bercinta pergi.
- 286 Bercinta pergi jangan dikenang -
 bukannya wadon sekalian lanang;
 jikalau datang Wilanda meminang
 di laut darah niat berenang.
- 287 Tali batangan diperbuat pula
 seberang-menyeberang tali dihela;
 diaturnya batang sela-menyela
 dengan rantai diikat pula.

280c sebab: s-b-b-a
 282d sabilillah: s-b-y-r-a-l-h
 283a seberang-menyeberang: s-b-r-ng-m-ny-m-b-r-ng
 284c dididik: d-y-d(a)-y-q
 285b segi: l-sy-k-y
 285c&286a bercinta: b-r-c-n-t-a
 287d pula: f-w-l-h

- 280 Writing is not my customary task, / moreover I am not a person in authority,
but because I am under instruction from His Majesty / do not become indifferent.
- 281 Now is brought to mind / all His Majesty's works,
mobilising the entire populace / to build stockades like fortresses.
- 282 All the stockades have been constructed, / ready and waiting to right and left.
Waiting also were all the people / to immerse themselves in the pathway to God.
- 283 Several stockades were on each side of the river, / their strength was extraordinary,
for the people had constructed them with battlements / where they aligned
cannon as if to decorate.
- 284 They aligned the cannon and trained each one / to face downstream to await the
advance.
All the servants instructed in their use, / although they understood, were not yet
skilled.
- 285 The structures were built very tall, / cannon covered each approach.
Swivel guns were added too, / so no thought need be given to flight.
- 286 Let not the thought of flight be contemplated / for they were not women but all
were men.
If the Dutch came to press their suit / they meant to swim in a sea of blood.
- 287 A boom was also constructed / and drawn from side to side of the river.
They laid out the timbers end to end / and with chains they joined them.

280c Mahkota Desa: The identity of the ruler who commissioned the work is crucial. The view taken here is that Raja Ismail commissioned the syair on the advice of Tengku Busu and it was carried out by a Trengganu scribe under the guidance of Tengku Abdullah. The occasion was about 1764 when Raja Ismail was seeking a power base through an alliance with the Sultan of Trengganu. See Stanza 529 et seq.

285c&286a bercinta: = bercita

286b wadon...lanang: These are literary Javanese words for *women* and *men*.

287 The boom was immediately below Mempura and under the covering fire of the stockades. It is also referred to in the *Siak Chronicle* (COD OR 4307:473) and a description is quoted by Netscher (1870: 121, 124, 126).

- 288 Dengan daulat Mahkota Orang
batangan pun sudah habis terkarang,
indahny bukan sebarang-barang
boleh berjalan sebarang-menyebaran.
- 289 Kici diperbuat kota berjalan
diaturnya berkeliling pulak apilan,
dinaikkan meriam bertimbangan,
diatasnya panglima yang andalan.
- 290 Pertama panglimanya Emping Berantah,
orang yang tidak tahukan kata,
jikalau jalan berkelahi dan bantah:
membujur lalu melintang patah.
- 291 Berkapit Penghulu hamba Raja -
orangnya tidak memalingkan durja;
jikalau kepada bermain buruj
bolehlah dapat jadikan baja.
- 292 Berapa kapit yang andalan
duduk di dalam kota berjalan,
cakap segala handai dan taulan:
badan rebah jiwa berjalan.

WORD OF THE APPROACH OF THE DUTCH FLEET ARRIVES

- 293 Sekalian pekerjaan sudahlah usai
ditentang andalan terlalu bisai -
setengah mereka belumlah selesai.
membaiki lembing pedang perisai.
- 294 Sehari-hari tidaklah lempang,
menggosok setinggi pemuras senapang,
sementara ada sedikit lapang
menuang peluru timah bertampang
- 295 Selesaiilah pekerjaan Duli Paduka
dikerjakan oleh sekalian mereka,
duduk dalam huwas dan sangka
sebab mendengar khabar Melaka.

289a kota berjalan: See Stanza 373d note.

289b pulak: f-w-l-q = pula

290a Emping Berantah: Klinkert (1947:60) gives this type of rice biscuit the figurative usage of one "die door ijzer niet gewond word".

292a berapa: b-r(a)-l

293b andalan: a-n-d-la

293b bisai: b-sy-y "Kata *bisai* bermakna: gagah, atau keras." (TENAS EFFENDY) See also Wilkinson (1959:145).

295c huwas: h-w-sy "Perkataan *huwas* = cemas atau ragu-ragu, hampir sama dengan was-was." (TENAS EFFENDY)

- 288 Under the auspices of His Majesty, / the boom was assembled.
Its magnificence was so extraordinary, / it could be used to cross from side to side.
- 289 Upon a ship was constructed a floating fortress / and furnished around with defensive bulwarks.
They mounted cannon on either side / and provided a crew of trusty warriors.
- 290 First of these warriors was Emping Berantah, / an uncultivated man,
but if his way were disputed / then "lengthwise you get through, crosswise you are broken".
- 291 He was supported by the Master of the royal household, / that man would not turn aside from the fray.
If it came to a defence of the ramparts / he could turn to steel.
- 292 Many trusty supporters / took their place on the floating fortress,
with the pledge of each of the comrades in arms / that the body would fall ere the spirit depart.
- 293 All the great works had been completed, / watched over by trusted warriors, men of valour,
but some of the warriors not themselves ready, / now made repairs on spears, swords and shields.
- 294 Day by day there was no repose / as they cleaned matchlocks, blunderbusses, muskets.
Whenever there was a short break, / they cast shot from metal ingots.
- 295 His Majesty's works were completed, / carried out by everyone of them.
Then they sat in doubt and apprehension / for they heard news from Malacca.

290d This is a proverb used to state the intransigence of adat and the need to accept its demands and adjust to it.

291a Penghulu hamba Raja: ? - Penghulu Betun Stanza 276a

- 296 Suatu hari datanglah khabar
orang Bukit Batu sangatlah gobar;
seorang pun tidak tertahan sabar,
larinya bagai keluang yang bebar.
- 297 Melihat kapal kici pencalang
dengan penjajap berselang-selang,
banyaknya tidak lagi terbilang,
dipersembahkan kepada Raja terbilang.
- 298 Demi didengar Duli Baginda, p34
menyuruh menjemput Ayahanda Kakanda
serta pegawai anum berida
datang menghadap Duli Sri Pada.
- 299 Berhimpun menghadap sekalian rata,
Ayahanda dan Kakanda adalah serta:
"Akan pekerjaan Si Putih Mata,
sekarang apa bicara kita?"
- 300 Demikianlah titah Raja Bestari
kepada segala isi negeri:
"Musuh ini baik kita hiliri
supaya jangan hampir pegari."
- 301 Berdatang sembah Ayahanda dan Kakanda
serta pegawai anum berida:
"Apatah guna penjajap yang ada
adulah dengan kapal Wilanda?"
- 302 Akan sembah segala Kerapatan
ke bawah Duli Paduka Sultan:
"Jikalau sudah demikian perbuatan
baik dan jahat lekas kelihatan."
- 303 Jika tidak perintah begitu
baik dan jahat lambat bertentu;
jikalau sudah sampai ke batu,
umpama emas dilihatlah mutu.

297b penjajap: f-n-j-a-j-b(a)
299c si Putih: s-f-w-t-y-h
300c baik kita: b-a-ç-y-k-y-t
301d adulah: h-d-w-la-h

- 296 One day came news, / the people of Bukit Batu were full of alarms.
Not one of them could contain himself longer, / their flight was like the scattering
of bats.
- 297 Seeing ships, brigantines, cargo boats, / interspersed with local fighting ships,
numbering more than they could say, / they presented themselves before the
renowned Prince.
- 298 When His Majesty the Sultan heard this / he gave orders to invite his Uncle and
Cousin
and officials young and old / to come before His Majesty.
- 299 They gathered before him every one, / his Uncle and Cousin were there too.
"In the matter of the stratagems of little Mr Shame Face, / now what are we to
do?"
- 300 This was the command of the noble Prince / to all the people of the negeri:
"It is best we go down to this enemy / so that he will not come and show himself
here."
- 301 Then respectfully spoke his Uncle and Cousin / and the officials young and old:
"What use are the craft we have available / in conflict with the ships of the Dutch?"
- 302 His response to the submission of all the Council / before His Majesty the Sultan:
"When once we are committed to this action, / for weal or woe will soon be
apparent."
- 303 If he had not spoken thus / weal or woe would have been resolved but slowly.
When once he came to the touchstone, / like gold, his quality stood revealed.

-
- 297 The *kici* or brigantines were *Draak* commanded by Lieutenant Ls Buijs; *Zeepard*, Jacob Wiek; *Vrijheid*, Sjouke Jansz. Westerhout; *Buis*, Hendrik Stuurman. The *pencalang* was *Paart d'armour*. They arrived at Pulau Guntung on 25th January, 1761 with two of the commissioners, Jan Jansz. Visboom (Commandant of the Malacca garrison) and Arij Verbrugge (a merchant), and established a garrison.
The third commissioner, Joseph Driese, arrived at Pulau Guntung on 10th April, 1761 with his ship, *Pasgeld*, and brought instructions to proceed (NETSCHER 1870:115-118). The *penjajap* belonged to Raja Alam and his allies.
Anderson (1971:341-342) using information gained in Siak described the fleet as "...one ship, two brigs, three julong julong and twenty penjajaps..." The *Siak Chronicle* (COD OR 7304:472) describes it in this way: "...kapal satu dan kici tiga penjajap lima belas datang dari Melaka".
- 298b Ayahanda Kakanda: Tengku Busu and Tengku Muhammad Ali. These two were guardians of the young Sultan Ismail and conducted the campaign for the defence of Siak. They will not be further identified as they occur in the text unless there is doubt. See Stanza 232b note and 252a note.
- 303 Compare Stanzas 105, 546, 554.

- 304 Kelengkapan dipenting sekalian dendam,
kepada berperang sangatlah dendam;
kepada niat cita ni damdam
persembahkan jiwa sekali padam.
- 305 Setelah sudah putus musyawarat,
memalu gung memberi isyarat
menghimpunkan rakyat laut dan darat -
isi negeri sangat gelorat.
- 306 Isi negeri sekaliannya gobar
kelengkapan seperti keluang yang bebar;
laksana garuda akan menyambar
terdirilah tunggul di *Medan Sabar*.
- 307 Tunggulnya hitam tidak berwarna -
adat pakaian raja yang rana;
sekalian pegawai yang hina dina
mendirikan tunggul berbagai warna.
- 308 Kenaikan Baginda, *Merpati Alrahmat*,
mendirikan tunggul tanda alamat,
dengan syafaat Nabi Muhammad,
perang sabil sekalian umat. p35
- 309 Ditentang-tentang gegap gempita
mengatur alat sekalian senjata,
akan kenaikan Duli Mahkota
adalah bagai di dalam peta.
- 310 Sekalian alat sudah terkena
sikapnya terbang bagai walimana,
lalu bertitah Duli yang gana
kepada Kakanda menghambur bahana.
- 311 "Manakala bergerak kita,
kelengkapan siap sekalian rata.
Insya Allah jangan Tuanku bercita -
esok hari hilirlah kita."

304a dipenting: d-f-n-t-y-ng mementing = "twee harde woorwerpen wrijvend tegen elkandar slaan"
(KLINKERT 1947:708)

304b dendam: d(a)-n-d-m

304c niat: n-y-y-t-h

304c damdam: d-m(a)

305d gelorat: k-l-w-r-t

308a Merpati: m-r(a)-f-t

- 304 All struck their weapons in anticipation / and longed for the battle to begin.
Intending in their desire for vengeance / to offer their lives in final extinction.
- 305 When agreement had been reached / they struck a gong to give the signal
to assemble the people from sea and land - / turmoil seethed through the popu-
lace.
- 306 The people all were widely spread, / their weapons resembled a scattering of bats.
Like a giant roc about to swoop, / pennants were raised aboard *Medan Sabar*.
- 307 Their pennants were black, without colour - / the customary dress of princes on
the battlefield.
All the commoner officials / raised pennants of various hues.
- 308 The Sultan's vessel *Merpati Alrahmat* / raised pennants as a sign and symbol
that, through the mediation of the Prophet Muhammad, / this was a holy war for
all the faithful.
- 309 To view the commotion / as they set out supplies and all the weapons
for His Majesty's ship, / it was all as if in a painting.
- 310 When all the equipment had been stowed / and the ship, like a giant bird, gave
the impression of imminent flight,
then the mighty Sultan spoke / to his Cousin in a ringing profusion of words.
- 311 "When we move off, / let the ships every one be ready for action.
It is God's will, so be you not troubled - / tomorrow we head downstream."

305d gelorat: = gelora

306d Medan Sabar: Tengku Muhammad Ali's ship.

308a Merpati Alrahmat: Dove of Mercy

THE SIAK FLEET HEADS DOWNSTREAM TO MEET THE DUTCH

- 312 Setelah kepada esok hari,
sekalian tunggu sudah terdiri,
dipalu gendang ditlup nafiri,
berangkatlah Sultan Raja Bestari.
- 313 Ditentang-tentang rupa kelengkapan
bagai harimau lepas tangkapan -
tunggu terdiri gemerlapan,
dayung seperti jari lipan.
- 314 Lalu dipalu agung semboyan,
dibongkarlah sauh penjajap sekalian -
Khalifatullah di dalam kemuliaan,
ada yang dahulu ada yang kemudian.
- 315 Berangkatlah Sultan Raja yang ghala,
terdirilah tunggu berula-ula;
hilirlah kepada ketika kala,
dipandang bagai naga bercula.
- 316 Berangkatlah dengan serunai dan gendang,
isi negeri ramai memandang;
di bawah payung dua terkembang,
didayungkan oleh tentara mambang.
- 317 Hilirlah kenaikan Inderapersangi,
sikapnya tidak bercela lagi.
Ada yang rendah ada yang tinggi,
laksana mega berarak pagi.
- 318 Akan kenaikan Duli yang gana
didayungkan rakyat gempita bahana;
segala pegawai Duli mengerna
masing-masing laku dan bena.
- 319 Bunyinya tempek segala tentara,
kaum di tasik mambang segara,
bahananya lantass mengudara
sampai ke rimba belantara.

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314b sauh: s-w-ç or s-q

315a ghala: gh-la "Ghala = agung, besar, mulia" (TENAS EFFENDY)

316d mambang: m-m-b-ng

317a-b This verse, the last verse of the manuscript page, is repeated.

The last verses of pages 36-39 are also repeated. The added verses make up the number of verses on these pages from 19 to the customary 20. In the five verses which have been repeated there are twelve instances of the small alif '(a)' but none in the otherwise identical added verses.

317a Inderapersangi: a-n-d-r-l-r-s-ng-k-y

317c rendah: r(a)-n-d

318 dan bena: d-n(a)-b-y-n

319c mengudara: m-ng-q-d-r-h

- 312 On the following day / all the pennants had been hoisted,
drums were beaten, trumpets sounded / and the Sultan, noble Prince, set off.
- 313 To look upon the fleet it had the appearance / of tigers freed from traps -
pennants shimmered aloft, / oars like the feet of centipedes.
- 314 Then the signal gong was struck, / anchors were weighed aboard all the ships.
God's appointed ruler in his glory / had some preceding him and some astern.
- 315 Forth went the Sultan, mighty Prince, / with pennants aloft trailing behind,
downstream towards his hour of destiny / the effect was like a horned
dragon.
- 316 Forth with flute and drum - / the local inhabitants crowded to watch -
beneath two umbrellas outspread, / rowed on by an army of sea sprites.
- 317 Downstream went the royal barge *Inderapersanggi* / presenting itself without a
flaw.
Some hoats had little freeboard, some stood high, / like clouds of the morning in
stately procession.
- 318 The ships of His illustrious Majesty / were rowed by the men with clamorous
uproar.
All the officials of His beloved Majesty / performed various duties with effective-
ness and care.
- 319 The sound of the cries of all the troops, / a community upon the seas, spirits of the
ocean,
the din straightway rose to the sky / and reached to the depths of the forest.

317a *Inderapersanggi*: *Persanggi* is explained in Klinkert (1947: 683) as "a part of a balai, but which part?" He gives a quotation which indicates that the *persanggi* contains a throne. *Inderapersanggi* may therefore be taken to be the name of a royal vessel. However, the name of this particular royal vessel is given in stanza 308a and in Stanza 249b as Merpati Alrahmat.

- 320 Dipandang segala isi negeri,
pilu dan belas tidak terperi -
terkenangkan Marhum Mahkota Negeri,
jamjam terhambur kanan dan kiri.
- 321 Berdayung menuju ke kelakab,
ditentang hebat terlalu sikap -
pantasnya seperti paksi wakap,
laksana singa akan menangkap.
- 322 Hilir berdayung berdahulu-dahulu,
umpama singa mencari lawan;
bahananya sorak melangsi awan,
galiblah hulubalang yang pahlawan.
- 323 Tidaklah panjang kisah dan peri,
berangkatlah Sultan Mahkota Negeri
berdayung sampai ke hilir negeri
tidak memandang kanan dan kiri.
- 324 Semalam tuju ke hilir Baginda,
siang di Tanjung Lada-Lada;
lepaslah Tanjung Duli Sri Pada,
kelihatan kici kapal Wilanda.
- 325 Demi dilihat oleh mata-mata,
diatur kelengkapan sekalian rata -
di Sayur Bayam orang kita,
di kepala Guntung Si Putih Mata.
- 326 Dipandang rupa kelengkapan
bagai harimau lepas tangkapan.
Dengan kapal berhadapan,
lakunya tidak malu dan sopan.
- 327 Beratur berlabuh sekalian rata,
apilan terdinding seperti kota;
dengan Wilanda berpandang mata,
mengisi meriam pulak serta.

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321a ke kelakab: k-k-la-k-b(a) = ke kelakaban

321c paksi wakap: f-q-sy-y-w(a)-q-f

322d galiblah hulubalang: gh-a-l-b-la-h-m-l-b-l-ng Marsden (1984:205) distinguishes between *galib* (= victorious) and *ghelab* (= contending for victory).

324a semalam: s-m-l-m = semalam-malaman

324b Tanjung Lada-Lada: ? = Tanjung Pedada

325c di Sayur Bayam: d-s-y-w-r(a)-m-b-a-y-m ? = di Sabalenga

326b lepas: k-f-sy

326c-d This verse is repeated. See Stanza 317a-b notes

- 320 He was watched by all the people of the country / with indescribable pity and
longing,
for he brought to mind the late Sultan / and tears were sprinkled to right and left.
- 321 They rowed on for the late Sultan's resting place, / in bearing terrible to behold,
swift as a sea eagle, / like a lion bringing down its prey.
- 322 Downstream they rowed contending for the van, / like lions they sought out the
foe.
The din of their cries penetrating the clouds - / in quest of victory went the heroic
warriors.
- 323 Not to extend the story and detail, / forth went His Majesty, the Sultan,
rowing for the lower reaches of his domain, / not looking to right or left.
- 324 All night long the Sultan made for the lower reaches, / day brought him to
Tanjung Lada-Lada,
leaving that point His Majesty / came within sight of the brigs and ship of the
Dutch.
- 325 When they were seen by our scouts, / the entire fleet was drawn up-
at Sayur Bayam were our men, / at the head of Pulau Guntung, Mr Shame Face.
- 326 To look at, the fleet had the aspect / of tigers released from traps.
Face to face with the enemy ships / there was no shame or servility in its manner.
- 327 Drawn up, all vessels took their stations, / their gunshields presenting a wall like a
fort.
Eye to eye with the Dutch, / they loaded their cannon.

320c Marhum Mahkota Negeri: Raja Mahmud

321a *kelakab*: The *Late Sultan* is Raja Kecil who was buried at Buntan, just below the confluence of the Buntan River, a tributary from the North. and bore the posthumous title *Marhum Buntan*.

When the tide of battle had turned and the Siak forces had retreated to Mempura, Raja Alam delayed the Dutch advance at the deserted kampung of Buntan while he visited the grave of his father (NETSCHER 1870:121).

325c Sayur Bayam: Considering the different purposes of the two works, the facts presented in the *syair* are remarkably consistent with the detailed contemporary journal used by Netscher (1870). It would be more satisfactory if *Sayur Bayam* could be read *Sabalenga*, because it was at Pulau Sabalenga a short distance upstream from Pulau Guntung that the Siak fleet drew up its defensive positions and it was there that the first major battles of the campaign took place from 14th - 21st April, 1761.

THE DUTCH FLEET PREPARES TO ADVANCE

- 328 Demi Kapitan melihat peri
dengan Baginda Raja Bestari,
oranglah Siak menghiliri
lakunya tidak gentar dan ngeri.
- 329 Kapitan berkata dengan merdunya
kepada Baginda ia bertanya:
"Orang Siak nin keras sangat rupanya,
bukan kanak-kanak demikian lakunya."
- 330 Kapitan menyuruh memukul tambur,
dalam kapal terlalu sabur;
mengisi meriam dibunuh penabur,
niatnya sahaja hendak berlabur.
- 331 Demi didengar oleh orang kita
bunyiya tambur Wilanda yang dusta,
berbangkit geram di dalam cita,
dipalu gendang gegak gempita.
- 332 Tengku Sayid turun di kapal Wilanda
datang menghadap Duli Sri Pada -
berpelok bercium Adinda dan Kakanda,
jamjam durja luruh ke dada.
- 333 Seperti seorang sair merawan
Kakanda bermohon Adinda tawan;
berdayunglah kelengkapan berkawan,
khabarnya konon kepada lawan.
- 334 Kakanda segera memberi surat
kepada Maharaja berjalan darat;
segala pahlawan Duli Hadirat
mencoba meriam membuang karat.
- 335 Orang Wilanda sangatlah jaga,
kapalnya satu kicinnya tiga,
serta malam mulutnya goga;
orang Siak demikian juga.

328c menghiliri: m-ng-y-a-h-l-y-y-r(a)-y

332a di: d ? = dari

333a sair: s'-y-r(a) = syair

334b Maharaja: the ruler of Pelalawan

335c goga: k-w(a)-k-a "... goga bermakna kuat. Misalnya: *orang goga* = orang yang kuat tenaganya, *bunyi goga* = bunyi yang kuat, bising, ribut dll" (TENAS EFFENDY). Compare Wilkinson (1959), Iskandar (1970) and Klinkert (1947) sub gogah.

- 328 As the Commissioner watched these events, / in company with the Sultan, Royal Prince,
the men of Siak came downstream, / their manner showing no fear or trembling.
- 329 The Commissioner spoke pleasantly, / questioning the Sultan:
"These men of Siak are quite tough it seems, / not mere children to go by their manner."
- 330 The Commissioner ordered the drums be beaten, / aboard their ships there was frantic activity -
they loaded the cannon using grapeshot, / their aim was for a scattering effect.
- 331 When our men heard / the sound of the drums of the lying Dutch,
excitement arose, rousing their passions, / they beat the drums thunderously.
- 332 Tengku Sayid leaving the Dutch ships / came before His Majesty.
He embraced and kissed the Princes, / tears falling to his breast.
- 333 Like a romantic figure with passions raised, / his Cousin besought His Majesty to detain him
as he rowed his squadron by in a group / taking intelligence it is said to the foe.
- 334 His Cousin at once sent a letter / to the Maharaja by the overland route
while all His Majesty's warriors / tried out their cannon to clear out the rust.
- 335 The Dutchmen kept a careful watch / on their one ship and three brigantines,
at night, too, their voices were strident - / the men of Siak did the same.

328b Baginda Raja Bestari: Stanza 329 requires that this honorific be applied to Raja Alam who was aboard the Dutch flagship and whose presence legitimised the Dutch action. In the text Raja Alam is invariably accorded the status of a Sultan of Siak. He was Sultan in fact at the proposed time of the composition of the syair about 1764.

332a Tengku Sayid: ? - Sayid Uthman

332c Adinda dan Kakanda: In the light of Stanza 333b, Adinda is Sultan Ismail, and Kakanda is Tengku Muhammad Ali.

334b Maharaja: They would depend on the ruler of Pelalawan to keep open the escape route by way of the Kampar river.

335b See Stanza 297 note.

- 336 Jolong-jolong dengan pencalang
itupun jaga bukan kepalang;
sebuah bahtera seperti elang
kayuh-kayuhan Baginda Raja terbilang.
- 337 Lima belas hari khabarnya Tuan,
yang duduk kemalu-maluan,
tidak ketahuan kawan dan lawan
yang duduk bertunggu-tungguan.

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THE FIRST DAY OF ENGAGEMENT

- 338 Sampailah had genap bilanginya
kenalah bulan rasi bintangnya,
kapal dan kici dilayarkannya
dipalunya tambur gemuruh bunyinya.
- 339 Menuju kelengkapan ia belaka
lakunya tidak huwas dan sangka;
pintu meriam sekalian dibuka
menghadap untung malang celaka.
- 340 Demi dilihat oleh orang kita,
berdayung menyongsong sekalian rata,
bunyi sorak gegak gempita,
dengan Wilanda berpandang mata.
- 341 Kapal dan kici berhadapan
laksana singa lepas tangkapan,
langsung mara kehadapan
rupanya tunam gemerlapan.
- 342 ...
...
seperti ular melihat makanan
tidak menoleh kiri dan kanan.
- 343 Sri Akar Raja Panglima Perang Kiri
berdayung ia segera menghampiri,
melihat Wilanda demikian peri
disuruhnya dayung juga hampiri.

336a-b This verse is repeated. See Stanza 317a-b note.

336c bahtera: k-b-r

336c bahtera: k-b-r

336c elang: h-l-ng

336d kayuh-kayuhan: k-a-y-w-k-y-w(a)-h-n

338a had genap: h-d-k-n-b

338b rasi: r'-sy-y

339b huwas: h-w-sy See Stanza 295c note.

340b menyongsong: m-ny-w-s-ng

342a-b This verse is omitted. Compare Stanza 268a-b. See Stanza 394a-b note. The rhyme and the content of Stanza 343 indicate that the worthy omitted was the Panglima Perang Kanan. A probable 342a is *Sri Amar Wangsa Panglima Perang Kanan*. It is also likely that he was the *Tengku Perang* who commanded *Awan*.

343b menghampiri: m-ng-h-f-r(a)-y

- 336 Long snouted river boats and trading ships / kept up a watch of unusual vigilance,
one yacht, like an engle, / was the royal barge of the Sultan, renowned Prince.
- 337 For fifteen days, my authority relates, / there were those who waited in their
shame,
while, unable to distinguish friend from foe, / there were those who kept up their
vigilance.
- 338 The moment was reached in the fullness of time, / at the conjunction of the moon
and the astrological signs;
they set sail aboard the enemy ships, / they beat their drums with the sound of
thunder.
- 339 Towards our fleet they came on regardless, / betraying in their manner no doubts
or worries.
They opened all gun ports, / and faced fate's verdict, for good or ill.
- 340 When our men saw this, / they rowed down against the tide every one.
The sound of their cries was uproarious / as they came eye to eye with the Dutch.
- 341 The enemy ships were face on to us, / like lions freed from traps.
Without pause they advanced before us - / there were their priming torches
glittering.
- 342 ...
as a snake watches its prey / not turning to left or right.
- 343 Sri Akar Raja, Panglima Perang Kiri, / rowed at once to close with them,
and, seeing the actions of the Dutch, / he gave orders to row even closer.

336c bahtera: This reading is taken from the manuscript KL153 which gives b-h-t-r-a.

336d kayuh-kayuhan: "perahu, bahtera atau kapal yang dijadikan kendaraan resmi Raja. (lazimnya disebut: *kenaikan*)" (TENAS EFFENDY)

337a Lima belas hari: The chronology given by Netscher (1870:116-119) is that on 25th January, 1761, the Dutch fleet arrived at Pulau Guntung. On 10th April, it was joined by the third Commissioner, Joseph Driese, commanding *Pasgeld*. Aboard *Pasgeld* on 13th April was a council of war which decided to Press on immediately. At the head of Pulau Guntung at 4 p.m. the fleet met 15 Siak vessels and fire was exchanged for one and a half hours. By 14th April, 1761, the fleet had reached Pulau Sabalenga where the first of the major battles took place. Compare Stanza 373b and note.

- 344 Setelah dekat sampai berkata
dengan kici kapal perkata,
dipecahnya perang oleh orang kita,
maralah kelengkapan sekalian rata.
- 345 Dilihat Paduka Sri Indra
menempuh dengan tempik gembira;
bahana meriam mengudara
kelengkapan Siak berdayung mara.
- 346 Segala hulubalang tidak yang ingkar,
sekalian mara juga melanggar;
bunyi meriam seperti tagar,
kenalal kapal sangat bergegar.
- 347 Berperang dari kepala Guntung,
di laut rempak sekalian mengutung
Medan Sabar datang menunting,
dibedil dengan Jembalang Guntung.
- 348 Harimau Buas ditembakkan pula
oleh Duli Raja yang gana,
pelurunya datang beryala-nyala
kenalal kapal tembus segala.
- 349 Kapal dan kici membalas rata
bunyi meriam gegak gempita,
satu pun tidak kedengaran nyata,
asapnya meriam gelap gulita.
- 350 Rupa pelurunya berlompatan
laksana ayam di dalam hutan;
barang siapa terbilang jantan
ketika itu nyata kelihatan.
- 351 Tembak Wilanda tidak berhenti,
menembak sepuas-puas hati -
dilihat laku dengan pekerti
dari hidup sampai ke mati.

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344b perkata: f-r(a)-k-a-t

345d Siak: s-k-y(a)

346a-b This verse is repeated. See Stanza 317a-b note.

346a ingkar: l-y-ng-k-r

346d sangat bergegar: s-'t-b-r(a)-k-k-r

347b rempak: r(a)-m-f-q = rompak (TENAS EFFENDY)

347b mengutung: m-'t-w(a)-ng = mengerutung (TENAS EFFENDY)

347c menunting: m-n-n-t-w(a)-ng "menunting= mencurah, menumpahkan, menuangkan. *Datang menunting* = datang seperti dicurahkan ..." and so "datang langsung dengan berani, nekat dan tidak memperdulikan keadaan di sekitarnya." (TENAS EFFENDY)

349c kedengaran: k-d-ng-r

349d gelap gulita: k-l-n-k-l-y-t

- 344 When close enough to speak / with the enemy ships in conversation,
our men opened the engagement / as the fleet advanced in a body.
- 345 Paduka Sri Indra was seen / to charge in with spirited war whoops.
The din of cannon fire rose to the sky / as the Siak fleet rowed forward.
- 346 Of the warriors not one failed to honour his vows, / all pressed forward to join the
attack.
The sound of cannon was like thunder, / the enemy ships shuddered when
struck.
- 347 Battle was joined from the head of Pulau Guntung, / in a sea of destruction all
surged about.
Medan Sabar came thrusting right in, / firing with *Jembalang Guntung*.
- 348 *Harimau Buas* was fired also / by His Majesty, illustrious Prince,
its shot blazing forth / striking enemy ships and each one penetrating.
- 349 The enemy ships responded in equal measure / till the sound of cannon was
thunderous -
a single shot could not be distinguished, / and gun smoke hung in a dark pall.
- 350 The sight of shot skittering about / resembled wild fowl in the forest.
Whoever reckoned himself a man / at that time was clearly visible.
- 351 The gunfire of the Dutch did not cease, / they fired with all their might -
such a manner and nature could be seen / from life till death.

344b perkata: ? - perkataan

347a Guntung: See Stanza 337a note.

347c Medan sabar: Tengku Muhammad Ali's ship.

348a Harimau Buas: Contrary to the impression given in Stanzas 255 and 421, this cannon here seems to be aboard Raja Ismail's ship. *Duli* is not an appropriate honorific for Tengku Muhammad Ali. However, see Stanza 252a note.

- 352 Bunyi meriam gegak gempita
menderu seperti biram yang menta;
di atas jamjam terlata
serba salah rupanya bertahta.
- 353 Meriam seperti panah kelodan,
sekalian tentara gempitalah badan,
bangsawan ada sahaja di medan
tidaklah lagi memilih padan.
- 354 Patik ni abdi hamba yang haru
akal pendapat terlalu tohor.
Berperang pun sampai waktu Lohor
maralah kenaikan Tandang Masyhur.
- 355 Setelah dekat sampai berkata,
ditembakkan meriam Gajah Meta -
bunyi hebat sangat gempita
sekalian menendang duka cita.
- 356 Bangsawan berperang sama mengedan
meragai patut bagai dipadan; p40
pelurunya seperti panah kelodan
semburnya jamjam sampai ke badan.
- 357 Berperang rakyat terlalu besar
daripada Lohor sampai ke Asar;
kiri dan kanan kapal berkisar,
dibedikannya segala meriam yang besar.
- 358 Berperang pun tidak berketewasan,
bunyi meriam bertangis-tangisan,
umpama santan dengan manisan
puaslah dahaga pada perasaan.
- 359 Wilanda berperang tidak berhingga,
makin lama bertambah jaga;
bunyi meriam terlalu kecoh
dibubuhnya penabur beraga-raga.

352d bertahta: b-r(a)-t-ḥ-t = bertakhta
353c bangsawan: b'-sy-w(a)-n
355c-d This verse is repeated. See Stanza 317a-b note.
355c Lohor: l-h-r
355d menendang: m-n(a)-d-ng and m-t-d-ng when repeated.
356a mengedan: m-ng-y-d-n
356b meragai: m-r-a-k-y "atau menyeragai. Perkataan ini berarti perbuatan nekad untuk mencapai sesuatu, memanjat dinding atau memanjat sesuatu dengan kekerasan." (TENAS EFFENDY)
357a besar: b-sy
358a berketewasan: b-r-k-t-y-w-n
359c kecoh: k-w(a)-ḥ

- 352 The sound of the cannon was thunderous, / roaring like rutting elephants,
spreading across the waters / till pandemonium seemed to hold sway.
- 353 Cannon sounded like thunderbolts, / all the forces were in uproar together,
the chivalry were in the thick of the fray, / no longer choosing appropriate foes.
- 354 I, your servant, am harassed, / my wits and judgment are at low ebb.
The fighting lasted till midday / when *Tandang Masyhur* thrust forward.
- 355 When it had closed, near enough to converse, / he fired the cannon *Gajah Meta*,
the awesome noise was very loud, / each time its kick brought grief.
- 356 The chivalry fought with equal spirit, / striving for fitting marks as if paired off.
their shot, like thunder bolts, / sprayed water drenching the body.
- 357 The common folk fought mightily, / from Noon till the sun was low.
Left and right the enemy ships manoeuvred, / firing all their great cannon.
- 358 They fought on with neither side being worsted / the sound of the cannon
changed to ceaseless weeping,
as coconut milk with honey / sates the thirst, its taste is enough.
- 359 The Dutch fought on without letting up - / the longer they went the more alert;
the sound of their cannon made a great commotion, / they loaded grapeshot by
the basketful.

352b menta = meta

354d Tandang Masyhur: Tengku Abdullah's ship. See Stanzas 258 and 259 and 258a note.

355d The grammatical structure is not apparent.

- 360 Tembak Wilanda jangan dikata
tidaklah sempat memejamkan mata;
sungguhpun banyak datang senjata
seoranglah mati orang kita.
- 361 Berperang pun sampai malam hari,
undurilah kelengkapan kanan dan kiri,
berhimpun segala hulubalang menteri
datang menghadap Raja Bestari.
- 362 Datang menghadap Ayahanda dan Kakanda
serta dengan Paduka Adinda,
berdatanglah sembah kepada Baginda
memohonkan titah Duli Sri Pada.
- 363 Lalu bertitah Mahkota Orang:
"Kepada pendapat sahaya seorang,
jikalau Wilanda mudik menyerang
baharulah kita lawan berperang."
- 364 Berdatanglah sembah isi negeri
mengangkat tangan menyusun jari:
"Sebab Wilanda datang kemari,
bukankah hendak melanggar negeri?"
- 365 Telah putus sudah mupakatnya,
bermohonlah pulang sekaliannya -
oleh mata-mata diaturnya,
barang ahwal dipersembahkannya.

THE DUTCH ADVANCE IS HALTED AT PULAU SBALENGA

- 366 Setelah kepada esok hari,
Wilanda pun tidak mudik kemari,
oleh orang kita dipitari,
diperbuatnya bagi sehari. p41
- 367 Oleh Wilanda dibalasnya,
tidaklah senang bunyi meriamnya,
segenap hari demikian lakunya -
itulah konon khabar wartanya.
- 368 Seorang panglima terlalu garang,
cakapnya tidak mengambil kurang,
berlabuh di haluan sekalian orang,
Wilanda melihat adalah berang.

- 360 The gunfire of the Dutch cannot be described, / there was no chance to close an
eye.
Although we took the force of many weapons, / only one of our men died.
- 361 The fighting lasted till it was night / when our fleet withdrew along the line;
then gathered all captains and ministers / and respectfully approached His Maj-
esty.
- 362 Approaching respectfully were his Uncle and Cousin, / accompanied by his
younger brother,
they came in obeisance before the Sultan / to seek instructions of His Majesty.
- 363 Then spoke His Majesty: / "It is my own opinion
that, if the Dutch come up to attack, / we should once again resist them in battle."
- 364 The people came forward respectfully, / lifting their hands in humble obeisance:
"Because the Dutch have come this far, / will they not wish to invade your realm?"
- 365 When agreement had been reached, / they all sought leave to return to quarters.
The security officer made the arrangements / reporting on all matters to the
Sultan.
- 366 Upon the following day / the Dutch did not advance upstream,
for our men kept them pinned down, / and did so for the whole day long.
- 367 The Dutch responded in kind, / there was no respite from the sound of their
cannon.
Every day it continued the same -/that is the story as it is reported.
- 368 One captain, very impetuous, / vowed not to accept a lesser role,
and anchored ahead of all the others - / seeing it, the Dutch were furious.

362d Paduka Adinda: Probably Tengku Abdullah whose ship *Tandang Masyhur* has just been
singled out in Stanzas 354 and 355.

365c mata-mata: Panglima Latif. See Stanza 274.

- 369 Setelah malam sudahlah hari
dihanyutkan kici menghampiri,
matahari pun belum lagi berseri,
oleh Wilanda peluru diberi.
- 370 Encik Mangid terkejut seperti latah
melihat peluru seperti keletah
kalas dayung sekalian patah,
dibongkarnya sauh lari menatah.
- 371 Hendak dibantu sekalian orang,
Tengku Busu pulak melarang;
suka tertawa orang sebarang,
Panglima Besar sedikit berang.
- 372 "Itulah orang sangat sombongnya
membuat berani seorang dirinya,
tidak dipikirkan kemudian harinya."
Sekalian orang mencercainya.

THE FLOATING FORTRESS IS BROUGHT INTO ACTION

- 373 Berbedil-bedilan sehari
sampailah kepada lima belas hari,
lalu bertitah Raja Bestari
Kota Berjalan ilirkan kemari.
- 374 Di dalam demikian Baginda bertanya
pada Ayahanda dan Kakanda keduanya:
"Kalau Kota Berjalan suatu perinya.
siapa akan mau menyertainya?"
- 375 Berdatang sembah Ayahanda dan Kakanda
serta dengan Paduka Adinda:
"Jikalau Kota Berjalan porak-peranda
samalah kita mana yang ada."
- 376 Lalu bertitah Duli yang Maha Mulia: p42
"Pada pendapat bicara sahaya,
kalau Kota Berjalan satu bahaya,
leburilah kita serta daya."

369d diberi: d-b-a-r(a)-y

370a Mangid: m-ng-y-d

370a latah: la-t

370b keletah: k-a-t "di dalam kalimat seperti [ini],... *Keletah* dapat diartikan pandai mencari sasarannya, atau pandai mencari-cari." (TENAS EFFENDY)

370d lari menatah: la-r-y-m-n-a-t-h "lari menatah = lari tak tentu tujuan atau kebingungan." (TENAS EFFENDY)

371b pulak: f-w-t-q = pula

373d ilirkan: a-y-l-y-r-k-n = hilirkan

375c jikalau: c-k-l-w

375c samalah: s-m-la

- 369 When night had fallen, / brigantines drifted up close,
the sun was not yet up and shining / before the Dutch gave him a salvo.
- 370 Encik Mangid, startled, as if in *latah*, / to see shot coming as though homing in on
him,
and finding the rowlocks all broken, / upped anchor and fled in panic.
- 371 Everyone wished to go to his aid, / Tengku Busu, perhaps it was, forbid it.
While onlookers enjoyed the joke, / the Commander-in-Chief was rather annoyed.
- 372 "That is a very conceited man, / he does acts of daring for himself alone,
but gives no thought to the end result." / All men reviled him.
- 373 Continuous gunfire was exchanged all day, / for fifteen days it was the same.
Then His Majesty commanded / that the floating fortress be brought down-
stream.
- 374 In the midst of preparations the Sultan inquired / of both his Uncle and Cousin:
"If the floating fortress is once brought into action, / who will wish to support it?"
- 375 Approaching respectfully came his Uncle and Cousin / accompanied by his younger
brother:
"If the floating fortress is in disarray, / we will be with it wherever it is."
- 376 Then spoke His Illustrious Majesty: / "In my considered opinion,
even if the floating fortress is in peril, / we will yet crush them with our skill."

-
- 370a *latah*: A susceptibility to involuntary action of an outlandish nature stimulated by particular unexpected sounds.
- 371d Panglima Besar: Tengku Muhammad Ali. See Stanza 252a and note.
- 373b lima belas hari: The chronology given by Netscher (1870:119-120) on the basis of Visboom's journal was that "een groot drijvend kasteel" was sighted on 14th April at Pulau Sabalenga. On 20th April, *Pasgeld*, *Draak* and *Vrijheid* entered the Eastern channel and drifted near the *kota berjalan* at the North Eastern corner of the island. On 21st April, the *kota berjalan* opened fire on *Draak*. That afternoon *Pasgeld* engaged the *kota berjalan* and destroyed it within a quarter of an hour.
- 373d *kota berjalan*: The *kota berjalan* was a large floating fortress built over a Malay ship and heavily armed with sixteen (or six - both figures are given) 12 pounder cannon and more smaller cannon. To Visboom it resembled an illustration of "de arke van Noach in het Bijbelsch prentenboek" except for the addition of gunports (NETSCHER 1870:119). Clearly the *kota berjalan* was not manoeuvrable.
- 375b Paduka Adinda: Tengku Abdullah. See Stanza 362b note.

- 377 Berdatang sembah hulubalang menteri
mengangkat kidamat menyusun jari:
"Jikalau Kota Berjalan suatu peri,
tidaklah patik pulang ke negeri."
- 378 Panglima Besar dengan Panglima Perang
sembahnya bagaia mutia dikarang:
"Jikalau Kota Berjalan menjadi arang,
kapal pun sukar pulang ke seberang."
- 379 Demi didengar Duli Paduka
cakapnya sekalian adik dan kaka,
takar juadah disuruhnya buka
makan dan minum sekalian belaka.
- 380 Berdatang sembah Panglima Perang:
"Patik pohonkan titah sekarang,
esok hari kita berperang,
bagaimana pulak lakunya gerang?"
- 381 Akan titah Mahkota Duli
selaku tidak berkecuali:
"Jikalau berbunyi meriam sekali
langgarlah ia jangan perduli.
- 382 "Meriamnya jangan dipedulikan,
dayung juga sekalian rapatkan,
sebaik-baik setinggi makan,
maka baharulah diperhentikan."
- 383 Demi didengar adinda dan kakanda
akan titah Duli Sri Pada,
berbangkitlah geram di dalam dada
ditentang laku bagai garuda.
- 384 Bermohon pulang Ayahanda dan Kakanda
serta pegawai anom berida:
"Patik nin lagi pun beda -
sekadar digarang mana yang ada."

377b mengangkat kidamat: m-ng-k-t-q-d-m kidamat = khidmat
378b mutia: m-t-y-a = mutiara
379b cakapnya: c(a)-k-b-ny
380d gerang: k-r(a)-ng = gerangan
381d perduli: f-r-d-w(a)-l-y = peduli
382d baharulah diperhentikan: b-h-r(a)-w-d-l-h-f-r-h-n-t-y-a-k-n
383c geram: k-r(a)-w-r

- 377 The captains and ministers respectfully approached, / offering up their homage in
humble obeisance:
"If anything befall the Kota Berjalan, / we will not be returning to the *negeri*."
- 378 The Commander-in-Chief and battle commanders/made their obeisance like an
arrangement of pearls:
"If the Kota Berjalan should be reduced to ashes, / the enemy ships will find
difficulty getting back across the straits."
- 379 When His Majesty had listened / to the vows of all his comrades,
he ordered that jars of sweetmeats be opened / and all gave themselves to eating
and drinking.
- 380 The battle commanders spoke respectfully: / "We seek your instructions now,
on the morrow we join battle - / what then should our tactics be?
- 381 His Majesty gave the command / as if there were no alternative:
"When first you hear the sound of cannon, / attack them with abandon.
- 382 "Pay no heed to their cannon, / row on till all close with them
where our muskets have their best effect, / there take up positions."
- 383 When his comrades heard / His Majesty's words,
excitement rose within their breasts / till they gave the appearance of the garuda.
- 384 His Uncle and Cousin sought leave to depart, / and all the officials too:
"We have now changed, / emboldened in full measure for whatever may befall."

378a Panglima Perang: Sri Akar Raja is specifically named Panglima Perang Kiri (Stanza 343). For
Panglima Perang Kanan see Stanza 268a-b note and 342a-b note.

383a *adinda dan kakanda*: Read here as *adik dan kakak* as in Stanza 379b, though it could also be
read as if *Adinda* = Tengku Abdullah and *Kakanda* = Tengku Muhammad Ali as in Stanza
389b.

- 385 Setelah sampai Kota Berjalan,
diaturnya kelengkapan bertimbalan;
di kepala pulau Kota Berjalan
dikapit kelengkapan yang andalan.
- 386 adalah kapitnya yang terutama: p43
Tengku Busu mula pertama,
Raja Lontar serta bersama,
Syekh Salim warisnya ulama.
- 387 Kapit timbalan Sri Akar Raja
hulubalang andalan biasa bekerja,
Panglima Perang Mahkota Raja
laksana besi sudah berbaja.
- 388 Syahbandar Muin panglima payu
kapit timbalan mengikut payu,
lawan laksana Garuda Bayu,
jika menyambar sahajakan layu.
- 389 Di kiri hilir Duli Baginda
dengan saudara Adinda Kakanda.
di Pulau Sabak Paduka Ayahanda,
di Teluk Batil hulubalang anom berida.

BATTLE IS JOINED

- 390 Demi Kapitan melihat peri,
Kota Berjalan pulak mengiliri
di kepala Pulau Sabak ia berdiri,
dikapit kelengkapan kanan dan kiri.
- 391 Kapitan kapal hatinya pusang,
sekalian tanggal disuruhnya pasang;
mendengar tambur bangkit perangsang
dihanyutkan kapal ketika pasang.
- 392 Kapal dan kici dihanyutkannya
ke Teluk Batil sekalian perginya,
dengan Kota Berjalan dipertemukannya
dengan peluru ia datangnya.

385d dikapit: d-k-f-t-y
386d ulama: 'a-w-l-m-a
388a Muin: m-w(a)-'y-n
390b mengiliri: m-ng-l-y-r-y = mengiliri
392d datangnya: d(a)-(a)-ny

- 385 When the floating fortress had reached its position, / they arranged the fleet on either side -
at the head of the island was the floating fortress / supported by our trusty fleet.
- 386 Among its supporters there were in especial: / Tengku Busu first and foremost,
Raja Lontar of the same rank, / Syekh Salim of a line of theologians.
- 387 Of the next rank of supporters was Sri Akar Raja, / a loyal leader accustomed to
work,
Panglima Perang to His Majesty, / like iron tempered to steel.
- 388 Syahbandar Muin, a prized captain, / also of the second rank and equally valued,
in contest like the Garuda Bayu, / if he swoops the prey must fall.
- 389 On the left downstream was His Majesty / with his Brothers and Cousin. On the
Pulau Sabak shore was his Uncle, / on the Teluk Batil shore the rest of the
captains.
- 390 As the Commissioner studied the situation, / the floating fortress came down-
stream
and, at the head of Pulau Sabak, took up its position, / supported by the fleet to
right and left.
- 391 The spirits of the ship's captain were troubled, / with all stripped for action, he
ordered them upstream,
hearing the drums raised their excitement / as they drifted the ships up with the
flood.
- 392 The enemy ships were drifted upstream / to Teluk Batil they all headed,
going to meet the floating fortress / with guns ablaze they came.

-
- 385d kelengkapan: Netscher (1870:119) reports ten vessels supporting the *kota berjalan*.
- 386c Raja Lontar: See Stanza 262. The high status accorded him suggests that he was a prince of another state.
- 386d Syekh Salim: See Stanza 263.
- 387c Panglima Perang: See 378a note.
- 389 Netscher's account (1870:120) shows that *Paarl d'Armour*, *Zeepard* and *Buis* had a holding role in the western channel while *Pasgeld*, *Draak* and *Vrijheid* made the main attack in the eastern channel.
- 389b Adinda: Tengku Abdullah and Tengku Abd al-Rahman See Stanza 423a.
- 389c Pulau Sabak: Shown as *Sabalenga* on Netscher's map (1870: Plate XXIV).
- 389d Teluk Batil: The eastern shore of the Siak River at the upstream end of Pulau Sabalenga - an area of fruit trees.
- 392b ke Teluk Batil: The attack was made along the eastern shore, away from Tengku Busu and out of sight of Raja Ismail. In the perspective of the syair, the attack was made at the weakest point on the Siak line.

- 393 Serta bertemu lalu berperang:
ramainya bukan sebarang-barang,
gemuruhlah bunyi suara orang,
maralah kelengkapan sekalian yang garang.
- 394 Pertama mara Tengku Perang
Sri Amar Wangsa terbilang garang,
serta bertemu lalu berperang,
ramainya bukan sebarang-barang.
- 395 Ditimbali Megat Sri Rama
Raja Dewa Indra yang terutama -
orang yang tidak membuang nama,
berperanglah ia bersama-sama.
- 396 Raja Lela Muda panglima Tanah Datar
berdayunglah ia dengan sebentar,
kapal dan kici meriam dipitar
tidaklah ia ngeri dan gentar. p44
- 397 Raja Indra Pahlawan berdayung mara
berkembar dengan Paduka Sri Indra,
menembakkan meriam dengan dipejera
kenalal kapal banyak yang cedera.
- 398 Berperanglah itu sangat termasa
melanggar hendak berbuat jasa;
di dalam peluru angkasa,
tidak memberi hebat dan rasa.
- 399 Meriam seperti halilintar
tidak berhenti barang sebentar,
peluru bulang-baling datang melotar
kenalal penjajap sangat bergentar.
- 400 Oleh Wilanda dibedili
segala kelengkapan yang mengampiri,
pelurunya berdengung kanan dan kiri,
berdayung juga dihampiri.

393d maralah: m-a-r(a)-h-la
394a Perang: f-a-r(a)-ng
394c-d This verse is an unintentional repetition of Stanza 393 a-b.
395c membuang: m-m-w(a)-ng
397c dipejera: d-f-n-j-r
398a termasa: t-r-m-a-s = tamasya
399c melotar: m-l-w-t-r = melontar
399d penjajap: f-n-j-a-j-b
400b mengampiri: m-ng-m-l-y-r-y = menghampiri

- 393 As soon as they met battle was joined - / the crush was extraordinary;
with a roar came the sound of the cries of men, / thrusting their vessels forward
went all the bold ones.
- 394 First to advance was Tengku Perang, / Sri Amar Wangsa renowned for his daring,
when he closed, he engaged the enemy, / the crush was extraordinary.
- 395 Side by side with Megat Sri Rama / was the excellent Raja Dewa Indra -
men who did not cast aside their honour, / they joined the battle both together.
- 396 Raja Lela Muda, Chief of the Tanah Datar contingent, / rowed forward without
delay,
on the enemy ships he ranged his cannon - / he did not tremble or quake.
- 397 Raja Indra Pahlawan rowed forward / in company with Paduka Sri Indra;
they fired their cannon taking careful aim / striking the ships and causing much
damage.
- 398 The battle was a great spectacle / as they attacked to perform meritorious feats;
beneath a canopy of flying shot, / they were not awestruck or overcome.
- 399 Cannon fire like lightning / did not relent for a moment,
chainshot came hurtling across, / striking our ships and making them shudder.
- 400 The Dutch shot at / all our ships as they drew nearer-
their shot screeched all about us / as we kept on rowing, closing in.

394a-b This verse links *Tengku Perang* (Stanza 256) with the name *Sri Amar Wangsa* being mentioned for the first time. In Stanza 342 there appears to have been omitted *Panglima Perang Kanan*. *Sri Amar Wangsa* fits the rhyme in Stanza 268. It is therefore possible that *Sri Amar Wangsa* with the title here of *Tengku Perang* was also *Panglima Perang Kanan* and the two titles were alternatives. See also Stanza 438 where the titles *Tengku Perang* dan *Panglima Perang (Kiri)* occur in the same stanza. When *Panglima Perang* occurs in isolation it is assumed to be a generic term including the two offices.

395a-b Megat Sri Rama ... Raja Dewa Indra: These were father and son (Stanzas 264 and 265).

- 401 Tujuh buah hulubalang melanggar,
di haluan kapal seperti pagar,
bahana sorak seperti tagar,
menembakkan meriam dengan istinggar.
- 402 Kota Berjalan sudah tersesak
kapal dan kici datang mengasak;
ke Teluk Batil sekalian berasak
di situlah perang sangat bergasak.
- 403 Demi Tengku Busu melihat perinya
kapal dan kici dihanyutkannya,
maralah kelengkapan yang dijanjikannya,
kapal dan kici dihadapinya.
- 404 Setelah sampai seperti natsu,
menembakkan meriam Tengku Busu,
ke bawah beranda kelengkapan menusu,
kalam yang fasih menjadi bisu.
- 405 Berperang itu berarak-arak
penjajap dan kapal tidak berjarak,
peluru meriam sangat merusak
kenalalah kapal berdesak-desak.
- 406 Berperang itu sangat bergosok,
lima buah yang termasuk; p45
sebelah-menyebelah peluru merasuk
kapal penjajap banyak yang pesuk.
- 407 Dilihat Panglima Kota Berjalan
dia sebuah ketinggalan,
jauh daripada handai dan taulan,
dikeratnya sauh Kota Berjalan.
- 408 Hatilah ia pulak menimpa
kapal dan kici boleh bersapa,
bunyi meriam amat bergempa,
barang yang kena safan-safa.

401d menembakkan: m-n-m-b-ng-k-n Also Stanza 404b.

402c berasak: b-a-r-s-q

404c menusu: m-n-w-s-w(a) "Kata *menusu* = berpusu-pusu, berkerumun, berdesak-desakan tidak bera-
turan, berputar-putar." (TENAS EFFENDY)

406c sebelah-menyebelah: s-b-la-m-ny-m-b-la

406d pesuk: f-a-s-q

408a ia: y-y(a)-h

408c amat: h-m-t

408d safan-safa: g-f-n-g-a(a)-f(a) = melawas (stripped bare) (ISKANDAR 1970:994)

- 401 Seven of our captains' ships attacked / against the enemy ships' prows like a
palisade;
the din of the warcries was like thunder, / as they fired their cannon and their
muskets.
- 402 The floating fortress was hard pressed / when the enemy ships surrounded it,
all were crushed towards Teluk Batil / where the battle was fought with great
gusto.
- 403 When Tengku Busu saw how things stood / with the enemy ships being drifted
upstream,
he advanced the vessels under his command / to head for the enemy ships.
- 404 When he reached them, as if in lust / Tengku Busu fired his cannon,
beneath the stern poops his vessels crowded - / the fluent monologue was muted.
- 405 They fought as they followed in procession / our ships and theirs with no space
between.
The shot from our cannon was very destructive, / striking their ships jostling
about.
- 406 The fighting was very abrasive, / five vessels were breached,
from both sides gunshot went mad - / many of our ships and theirs were holed.
- 407 The commander of the floating fortress saw / that he was isolated,
far from his comrades-in-arms, / and he cut the floating fortress's anchor.
- 408 His spirits then sank - / the enemy ships could offer a greeting,
the sound of cannon convulsed the structure / and what they struck was laid bare.

403 Tengku Busu's station was against the Pulau Sabalenga shore while the Dutch advanced up the eastern shore. See Stanza 389 and note. The poet deals with only one thread of story at a time. He will then go back and picks up a second thread.

403c *dijanjikannya*: The choice of *janji* here suggests a voluntary confederation of independent ships' captains with leaders decided by consent. High status did not remove the necessity to reach a consensus in practical matters.

408 The *Kota Berjalan* was towed away at night (Stanza 446) after *Pasgeld* had made such a breach in it that one "met wagen en paarden daar wel door kon rijden" (NETSCHER 1870:120. Three weeks later the Dutch received intelligence that in the battle of 21st April four Siak leaders and all the people from the *Kota Berjalan*, except one, had been killed (NETSCHER 1870:122).

THE SULTAN ENTERS THE FRAY

- 409 Syekh Salim perahunya tersakat
dimakan olak perahunya lekat,
dengan kapal sangat berdekak
dimakan peluru habislah lukat.
- 410 Syekh Salim orang yang garang
kapal dan kici dilawannya berperang.
Dibedil kapal bersarang-sarang,
pelurunya tembus seberang-menyeberang.
- 411 Syekh Salim sangat pangling
dibedilnya dengan peluru bulang-baling;
jikalau seteru Jawa dan Keling,
lamalah sudah lari berpaling.
- 412 Tembak Wilanda bertimpa-timpa,
pelurunya datang berupa-rupa.
Di Huwa Allah berkat Mustafa
lepaslah besi tidak mengapa.
- 413 Lepaslah ia mengikutkan olak
berkeliling pulau pulak mengelak,
serta sampai berperang pulak,
bunyi meriamnya terlalu galak.
- 414 Demi dilihat Duli Baginda
akan hal Paduka Ayahanda,
berangkat diiringkan Adinda dan Kakanda
dipandang rupa bagai Garuda.
- 415 Serta sampai lalu bergasak,
melihatkan Ayahanda sudah tersesak;
penjajap dan kapal datang berasak,
ke hulu ke hilir berdesak-desak.
- 416 Kenaikan dengan Medan Sabar
kedua buahnya berbimbar-bimbar;
muda bangsawan bagai digambar
akan mati sedikit tak gobar.

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409a perahunya: f-r(a)-h-w(a)-ny
409b & 409d dimakan: d-m-a-k-n
409b perahunya: f-r(a)-h-w-ny
411b dibedilnya: d(a)-y-d-y-l-ny
412c di Huwa Allah: d-h-w(a)-a-l-h KLINKERT 1947:1036, MARSDEN 1984:363)
412c berkat Mustafa: b-r(a)-k-y-t-m-sy-[(a)-f = berkat Muhammad (MARRISON 1951:164)
416b berbimbar-bimbar: b-r-(a)-b-m-b-r(a)-b-m-b-r (KLINKERT 1947:182)

- 409 Syekh Salim's boat ran aground, / in the grip of an eddy his boat stuck fast -
hard by the enemy ships, / it was raked by shot till it won free.
- 410 Syekh Salim a man of daring, / engaged the enemy ships in battle.
The ships fired and peppered him with holes, / shot penetrated from either side.
- 411 Shekh Salim was quite oblivious, / he fired off chain shot;
whether his foe were Javanese or Tamil / it would be a long time ere he would
turn to flee.
- 412 Gunfire of the Dutch rained down, / their shot came in every form.
In the Name of God and the blessed Muhammad / he loosed off iron not troubling
to aim.
- 413 Breaking free he followed the eddy, / rounding the island to disengage
and arrived in a battle there too - / the sound of his cannon was still belligerent.
- 414 When His Majesty saw / the predicament of his Father in the Faith,
he set off followed by his Brothers and Cousin, / taking on the appearance of the
Garuda.
- 415 When he reached them he struck out hard, / seeing his Father so hard pressed.
Our ships and theirs crushed together, / upstream and down they jostled each
other.
- 416 His ship and *Medan Sabar*, / the two advanced in company.
The noble youths as if in a picture, / facing death, were not at all dismayed.

413 See Stanza 389 and note.

414 Duli Baginda: Raja Ismail's station was to the west of the island out of sight of the fighting so far described.

414b Paduka Ayahanda: In the context this is Syekh Salim rather than Tengku Busu.

416a Kenaikan: Not only is the Sultan not named, there is a reluctance to name his ship, *Merpati Alrahmat* or (?) *Inderapersanggi*.

416a Medan Sabar: The naming of Tengku Muhammad Ali's ship here confirms that the Kakanda of Stanzas 389c and 414c was indeed the Commander-in Chief.

- 417 Dipandang laku Adinda kedua
laksana Ranjuna dengan Pendawa
akan perang wayang Korawa,
selaku tidak sadarkan jiwa.
- 418 Akan kenaikan Duli Mahkota,
menembakkan meriam gajah yang menta,
pelurunya datang terlata-lata
kenalah kapal tembus semata.
- 419 Ditembakkan meriam sekalian belaka,
secorong dan lela dengan rentaka;
ditentang panglima Duli Paduka,
tidaklah khabar mati dan luka.
- 420 Demi dilihat Panglima Besar,
Medan Sabar disuruhnya kisar
menghadap kepada kapal yang besar,
disuruhnya dayung juga menyambar.
- 421 Jembalang Genting ditembakkannya
Harimau Buas menggeram bunyinya,
naik ke kapal tidak bertanya
barang yang berajal dimakannya.
- 422 Perang besar ketika itu pula,
menembakkan meriam rentaka lela;
pada pandangan di mata kula,
sebelah-menyebelah banyak yang cela.
- 423 Tengku Abd al-Rahman dengan Tengku Abdullah
pelurunya tidak ada yang salah,
kenalah kapal si laknat Allah
dari sebelah tembus ke sebelah.
- 424 Bunyi meriam seperti geruh,
roma di badan bagaikan luruh;
barang yang sampai ajal dan geruh
rupanya bagai buah yang luruh.

417a Adinda kedua: Probably Tengku Abd al-Rahman and Tengku Abdullah. See Stanza 423a.

418c terlata-lata: t-r-la-t-la-t

419b secorong: s-n-t-y-ng (WILKINSON 1959:1032)

420d menyambar: m-ny-a-m-sy

422a Perang: f-a-r-ng

422c di mata kula: d(a)-m-a-t(a)-k-w(a)-la

424b bagaikan: b-k-y(a)-k-n (KLINKERT 1947:131)

424c geruh: k-a-r(a)-h

- 417 To see the behaviour of the two younger brothers, / it was like Arjuna and the
Pendawa,
off to fight the Korawa of the wayang / as if they gave not a thought for their lives.
- 418 Aboard His Majesty's ships / they fired the cannon like a rutting elephant;
its shot came scattering, / striking enemy ships and passing clean through.
- 419 They fired the cannon everyone of them / and a variety of lighter ordnance -
to outward appearance His Majesty's captains / had not heard of death or injury.
- 420 When this was seen by the Commander-in-Chief / he ordered *Medan Sabar* be
turned;
facing towards the enemy's great ships, / he gave the command to row forward
and charge.
- 421 He fired off *Jembalang Guntung* / *Harimau Buas* gave off an impassioned sound.
Shot boarded the ships without first seeking leave, / whoever's time had come
was struck down.
- 422 A great battle indeed raged at that time, / they fired their cannon and swivel guns.
In the scene as I saw it, / many on both sides suffered injury.
- 423 Tengku Abd al-Rahman and Tengku Abdullah, / not one of their shots missed its
mark,
but striking the ships of the accursed of God, / penetrated from one side through
to the other.
- 424 The sound of the cannon was like thunder, / the hairs of the body were all but
shaken out,
whoever had reached his moment of destiny or misfortune, / took on the appear-
ance of fallen fruit.

-
- 417 The allusion is to the Mahabharata cycle of tales depicted in the *wayang purba* (shadow play). The Pendawa (sons of Pandu), especially Arjuna and Bima, fight their cousins the hundred Korawa, sons of Desterata. If the analogy is carried to its fullest extent, the *Adinda kedua* (Tengku Abdullah and Tengku Abd al-Rahman - Stanza 423) would be Nakula and Sadewa. Raja Ismail would be identified with Arjuna and Tengku Muhammad Ali with Bima. Yudistira, the eldest of the Pendawa was an ascetic and did not get angry or fight in battles.
- 418b *gajah yang menta*: The cannon named *Gaja Meta* was aboard Tengku Abdullah's ship *Tandang Masyhur* (Stanzas 354-5). It is possible that *Harimau Buas* as was Raja Ismail's cannon (See Stanzas 255a note and 348a note). The confusion in these matters may well be accounted for by the desire of the poet to give a prominent independent role to the princes who became important later but were, at this time, quite young.
- 420c *kapal yang besar*: The intention may have been *Pasgeld*, a ship (in the technical sense) as distinct from the *brigantines*.
- 421a-b Again the two cannon both appear to be aboard *Medan Sabar*. See Stanza 418b note.
- 422c The interpretation of this line is significant. As translated here it is the first explicit claim that the owner of the story was a witness to the events related. This interpretation suggest that the owner of the story was aboard one of the ships supporting Raja Ismail. That was the station of Raja Ismail's two brothers mentioned in the stanza. *di mata kula* could also be read *di mata kuala* - at the head of the estuary.

- 425 Bunyi meriam tidak berhenti,
kapal dan kici berganti-ganti
di atas jamjam bertiti-titi,
barang yang kena luka dan mati.
- 426 Melihat peluru pergi datang p47
kepada mata sangat merintang -
disambarnya jatuh lalu terlentang,
sebentar itu menjadi buntang.
- 427 Peluru bersabung sebelah-menyebelah,
ada yang betul ada yang salah;
kurang tawakal kepada Allah
menahani kuat berlepaslah.
- 428 Melihat peluru berterbangan,
ke atas udara berdengungan,
segala hulubalang yang pentingan
ketika itu bercengangan.
- 429 Bunyi meriam bagaikan belah,
tidak berhenti sebelah-menyebelah;
ganggu tawakal kepada Allah
memakai jimat tegah Allah.
- 430 Peluru kapal berdengungan,
sabuk di pinggang berterbangan;
banyaklah mereka bercengangan,
lalilah sudah di angan-angan.
- 431 Bunyi meriam sangat berparap,
pelurunya datang sangat mudarab;
banyaklah mereka yang meniarab
penuhlah dengan sampah dan sarap.
- 432 Mata-mata pun tidak lagi terkayuh,
mendengar peluru bunyinya riuh
tulang dan sendi selaku layuh,
duduk memupur seperti puyuh.

425c bertiti-titi: b-r-t-y-t-y-t-y
428a berterbangan: b-r(a)-t-r(a)-b-ng-n = beterbangan (passim)
429c ganggu: k-ng-k
429d jimat: a-j-h-m(a)-t or *azimat*
430b lalilah: la-ç-y-la-h
431a berparap: b-r(a)-f-a-r-b
431b mudarab: m-g(a)-a-r-b = mudarat
431c meniarap: m-n-y-a-r(a)-b
431d penuhlah: f-n-h-a-la
431d sarap: sy-r(a)-b

- 425 The sound of cannon did not cease, / the enemy ships fired one after the other,
sailing upon the water in line astern, / whoever they struck was wounded or died.
- 426 To see the shot come and go / was a very harrowing sight -
they swooped, fell and sent one sprawling, / in that moment becoming a corpse.
- 427 Shot darted out from either side / some were true, some were wide;
those less willing to rely upon God / resisted strongly to escape with their lives.
- 428 To see the shot flying about / and hear it whistling through the air,
the important leaders / at that time were dumbfounded.
- 429 The sound of cannon as though about to split one in two / did not let up from
either side.
Those disturbed by reliance upon god / used charms to thwart God's will.
- 430 Gunshot from the enemy ships whined about, / waistbands scattered through the
air -
many were those who stood dumbfounded, / mindlessly lost in their delirium.
- 431 The sound of the cannon smote hard, / its shot arrived bringing great losses.
Many were those who capsized, / full of ruins and remains.
- 432 The Security Officer himself no longer rowed about / but, hearing the gunshot
and its riot of sound,
he went weak at the joints, / and crouched down low in his nest like a cock whose
fighting is done.

423a See Stanza 258a note and 261a note.

424c ajal dan geruh: *Ajal* implies death *geruh* implies injury.

430b sabuk: "Zaman dahulu, umumnya setiap orang yang terlibat dalam peperangan memakai *sabuk* atau *bengkung*, yang dipergunakan untuk: menyisipkan senjata (keris, badik, sekin, pisau dll), juga untuk pelindung perut. Selain itu, sabuk diisi pula dengan "wafak" (ayat-ayat al Quran yang dijadikan azimat untuk menjaga tubuh dari serangan musuh) dan benda-benda lainnya yang dianggap mengandung "tuah" atau kekuatan gaib yang disebut tangkal. Dalam keadaan sangat terdesak, sabuk itu sendiri dapat pula dijadikan senjata." (TENAS EF-FENDY)

432a mata-mata: Panglima Latif See Stanzas 274 and 365.

- 433 Perang itu terlalu sabur,
bunyi peluru cebur-mencebur,
menderu bunyinya penabur,
barang yang kena sahajakan lebur.
- 434 Hulubalang Siak terlalu keras
menembakkan meriam rentaka pemuras.
Pasang pun tidak berapa deras,
tampaklah jalan terang laras.
- 435 Lima buah sangat termasuk,
ada yang tidak ada yang pesuk.
Setengah mereka dadanya pesuk
tidak tahan sampai esok.
- 436 Yang masuk banyak yang undur
dimakan peluru sebagai kundur;
setengah mereka lakunya bedur
seperti orang terkejut tidur. p48
- 437 Segala yang kecil banyak yang segan,
tinggal segala yang pagan-pagan,
penjajap dipenting panglima dayakan,
kapal berperang tidak segan.
- 438 Demi dilihat Tengku Perang
akan hal sekalian orang,
marahlah pulak memulihkan perang,
serta dengan Panglima Perang.
- 439 Tinggal segala yang pilihan
mengiringkan Duli Yang Dipertuan,
segala hulubalang yang pahlawan
laksana singa mencari lawan.
- 440 Bunyi sorak gegak gempita,
saburnya tidak menderita;
segala pegawai Duli Mahkota,
lakunya bagai gajah yang menta.

434d terang laras: t-r(a)-ng-a-la-h-r-s(a) (WILKINSON 1959:658 sub laras II)

435b&c pesuk: f-a-sy-q

436b kundur: k-n-d-r(a) "Orang Melayu sering mempergunakan ungkapan: 'seperti menikam buah kundur', artinya: menikam sesuatu dengan mudah, tidak ada yang menahannya karena kundur itu lembut. Buah kundur dibuat sayur." (TENAS EFFENDY)

436c bedur: b-a-d-w-r "Bedur adalah sebutan kelakuan seseorang yang igau-igauan, orang yang tak tentu apa yang dikerjakannya, panik, hilang akal, gugup dll" (TENAS EFFENDY)

- 433 The battle was tumultuous, / with the sound of shot splashing about,
and grapeshot with its roaring sound - / whoever they struck they straightway
crushed.
- 444 The Siak leaders were very determined, / they fired their cannon, swivel guns and
blunderbusses.
The tide had slowed its pace, / visibility was fading in the uncertain light of dusk.
- 435 Five vessels were seriously breached, / some escaped damage, some were riddled.
Half of those men shot through the breast / did not survive till morning.
- 436 Of those ships breached many withdrew, / gnawed by gunshot like ripened fruit.
Some men betrayed their confusion / as though startled from sleep.
- 437 Of the small boats, many shied off, / the sturdily built boats remained,
penjajap were useful, their captains kept up the struggle, / the enemy ships fought
on without hesitation.
- 438 When the Tengku Perang saw / how it was with all the men,
he raged about to restore the fighting spirit / and the Panglima Perang did the
same.
- 439 Standing their ground were all those chosen / to accompany His Majesty;
all the leaders, the heroes, / were like lions running down their foe.
- 440 The sound of warcries was uproarious, / the tumult was unbearable.
All His Majesty's officials / behaved like rutting elephants.

434c-d pasang...terang laras: If the Dutch advance did begin at the full moon (Stanza 338b), high tide would have been at midday or shortly after and the tide would have been ebbing during the afternoon. It was therefore the ebb tide which was slowing. Netscher confirms that at 7 p.m. the Dutch Fleet moved upstream with the Flood tide (NETSCHER 1870:120).

435a Compare Stanza 406a. As the battle in the Eastern and Western Channels were more or less simultaneous though described separately, the five vessels lost in Stanzas 406a and 435a were the same vessels.

437c penjajap: a boat of Bugis design built specifically for fighting

438 Tengku Perang...Panglima Perang: See Stanza 394a-b note.

- 441 Panglima Besar di Medan Sabar,
dengan Adinda kapit berbimbar,
di dalam peluru cebur-cebar,
ia berdiri tidaklah gobar.
- 442 Bangsawan sebagai menyuruh mara
merdu parau bahananya suara,
adalah hebat segala tentara,
pelurunya lebat tidak terkira.
- 443 Didengar sabur gempita bahana,
bunyi meriam amat gempita,
bahana peluru entah permana,
serba salah langkah bertahana.

THE SIAK FORCES WITHDRAW TO MEMPURA

- 444 Perang itu sampai petang hari
peluru berdengung kanan kiri,
bangsawan pun ada sahaja terdiri,
tidak memilih sebarang peri.
- 445 Matahari masuk bagai ditolak,
bunyi meriam bertambah galak,
seperti makanan sudahlah jelak
kedua belahnya jadi menolak.
- 446 Malam hari berhentilah perang,
kelengkapan undur seberang-menyeberang,
Kota Berjalan ditarik orang,
dimakan peluru bersarang-sarang.
- 447 Dengan daulat Duli Mahkota,
seorang mati orang kita;
orang Wilanda kena senjata
lima belas orang khabarnya nyata.
- 448 Wilanda kutuk sangatlah jaga
serta malam bunyinya goga,
hari siang demikian juga,
kapalnya satu kicinya tiga.

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- 441c cebur-cebar: c-a-b-w(a)-r-c-b-r(a)
443a gempita: k-m-f-y-t
443a bahana: b-h-a-t
443b gempita: k-m-f-a-t
443c entah permana: a-n-t-f-r(a)-m-a-t
443c bertahana: b-r(a)-t-h-a-t
445c jelak: j-a-l-q
446a berhenti: b-r(a)-h-a-n-t-y
448b goga: k-w(a)-k See Stanza 335c note.

- 441 The Commander-in-Chief in *Medan Sabar*, / with the Princes working together in support,
in the midst of gunshot splashing about, / stood firm and undismayed.
- 442 The chivalry, as they called for advances, / made their sweet voices hoarse with their clamour.
It was awesome for all the troops / as shot fell thickly beyond calculation.
- 443 Hearing uproar, noise, din, / the sound of cannon thunderous,
the crash of shot, who knows how many, / to take a step, to sit still - both were wrong.
- 444 The fighting lasted till late in the day / and shot screeched all about.
It was the nobility who alone stood firm, / not selecting particular tasks.
- 445 The sun sank as if resisted, / the sound of cannon increased in ferocity.
As if offered food when already replete, / the two sides pushed back.
- 446 Night brought a stop to the fighting, / our fleet pulled back in either side.
The floating fortress was towed away, / damaged by gunshot and riddled with holes.
- 447 Under the auspices of His Majesty, / but one of our men died.
Of the Dutch struck down by arms, / fifteen men, it is said, were confirmed.
- 448 The accursed Dutch maintained a full watch, / at night they made a din,
in the daylight it was just the same / aboard their one ship and three brigantines.

446c Kota Berjalan: See Stanza 408 note.

447 Netscher's account does not confirm these figures. For some Siak losses, see Stanza 408 note. As for the Dutch losses, there were 25 killed and 30 wounded over the entire campaign, 48 of the 55 were European. (NETSCHER 1870:127)

448-459 The Dutch fleet rose up with each tide from 21st April to 5th May except for a few days at Buantan where Raja Alam visited the grave of Raja Kecil. By 5th May they had reached Sungai Pinang just below Mempura. (NETSCHER 1870:120-1)

- 449 Serta pasang dihanyutkannya,
seberang-menyeberang keenam buahnya,
dilihat Mata-mata demikian lakunya,
diaturnya kelengkapan sekaliannya.
- 450 Panglima Besar hatinya gobar,
disuruhnya dayung Medan Sabar
dengan pasang berbimbar-bimbar,
sekalian kapit hadir berkembar.
- 451 Kedua pihaknya samalah garang
serta bertemu lalu berperang,
ramainya bukan sebarang-barang
selaku tidak dapat dilarang.
- 452 Wilanda itu kafir yang cerdik
serta pasang berhanyut mudik,
sekalian hamba yang delik
menembakkan meriam sekalian dibidik.
- 453 Orang Siak adalah duka
melihat kelakuan kafir celaka,
di dalam tembak bagai dijangka
berhanyut mudik juga belaka.
- 454 Membedil tidak lagi berhingga,
bunyi meriam sangat goga,
tidaklah dapat lagi dijangka,
kapal dan kici berhanyut juga.
- 455 Kapal dan kici jangan dikata,
bunyi meriam gegak gempita,
tidaklah sempat memejamkan mata
pelurunya datang melata-lata.
- 456 Meriam Wilanda berbunyi selalu,
pelurunya datang bertalu-talu;
kapalnya sebagai berhanyut ke hulu,
orang Siak adalah silu.

- 449 They drifted upstream with the tide, / from side to side all six vessels.
When the Security Officer saw how they acted, / he arrayed the whole of our fleet.
- 450 The Commander-in-Chief with heavy heart / ordered *Medan Sabar* be rowed out,
on the tide, in company, / and all his supporters were present beside him.
- 451 The two sides were equally aggressive, / when they met they joined in battle.
The crush was out of the ordinary / as if it could not be resisted.
- 452 The Dutch were wily infidels, / they drifted upstream with the tide,
all their servants who stared cut, / fired cannon, with every shot aimed.
- 453 The men of Siak grieved / to see the behaviour of the accursed infidel -
under cover of gunfire as if surveyed / they just kept on drifting upstream.
- 454 They fired without let up, / the sound of the cannon was tumultuous;
it was no longer possible to assess it, / the enemy ships kept on drifting up.
- 455 The enemy ships cannot be described, / the sound of their cannon was thunder-
ous,
there was no chance to shut an eye, / the gunshot came hurtling across.
- 456 The Dutch cannon sounded incessantly, / their shot arrived continuously.
As their ships drifted upstream / the men of Siak felt intimidated.

449b keenam buahnya: Compare Stanza 448d where the number of ships is four. The arithmetical discrepancy possibly allows for the inferred presence of Raja Alam who had been accompanying the Dutch.

452c delik ? - Delik: "Delik adalah nama suku Petalangan yang terdapat di daerah perbatasan Siak dan Pelalawan. Suku ini terdiri dari Orang Delik dan Orang Dayun." (TENAS EFFENDY)
Without some confirmation that the Delik acted as gunners for the Dutch this seems an unlikely reading.

- 457 Kapal dan kici hanyut berkapar,
barang ke hadapnya ia terdampar,
meriamnya tidak diberinya lapar
bunyi bahananya terlalu gempar.
- 458 Sambil berhenti ia berperang,
bunyi meriam tidaklah kurang,
sungainya sempit harusnya garang
takut terlanggar kapal seorang.
- 459 Pasang mudik surut berhenti,
tiga hari tiga malam demikian pekerti,
bunyi meriam tidak berhenti,
ke Sungai Pinang sampailah gusti.

DEFENSIVE PREPARATIONS AT MEMPURA

- 460 Masuk sekalian kelengkapan
ke dalam batangan sekalian disimpan,
menghadap ke hilir segala kelengkapan
tidaklah hati giap-giapan.
- 461 Telah beratur sekalian rata,
baharulah pula rasa anggota;
sekalian kubu bertunggu rata,
mustaid dengan alat senjata.
- 462 Berapa buah kubu ditambahi pula
diperbuat oleh mereka segala;
diatur meriam rentaka dan lela
seberang-menyeberang demikian pula.
- 463 Segala rakyat yang didarati
dengan kubu sekalian dinanti;
tanahnya tinggi bagai di hati,
diaturnya meriam dengan pedati.
- 464 Suatu rumah dibuatnya,
tiga pangkat diperbuatnya,
Syahbandar Muin panglimanya,
dengan pagar dikelilinginya.

458c harusnya: = arusnya

457a berkapar: b-r(a)-k-l-r

459d gusti: k-sy-t-y

460d giap-giapan: k-y-f(a)-l-n

(WILKINSON 1959:366)

461b anggota: a'-k-w(a)-l

464a dibuatnya: d-b-w(a)-l-h-y-ny

- 457 The enemy ships drifted like flotsam, / anything in their paths they ran over;
they did not let their cannon go hungry, / the sound of the din was thunderous.
- 458 While they stopped they fought on, / the sound of cannon did not slacken.
The river narrowed, the current strengthened / they feared a ship could be
rammed by one of their own.
- 459 Upstream with the flood tide, anchor on the ebb, / three days and three nights,
that is how they did it,
the sound of cannon did not cease, / and so to Sungai Pinang came the foreigners.
- 460 Our entire fleet entered, / behind the boom all gathered;
they faced downstream, every ship, / none of them were faint-hearted.
- 461 When all of our defences were in order, / then the spirit of the troops was
renewed.
all the stockades together kept watch / with weapons at the ready.
- 462 Several of the stockades were added to, / the construction was done by all.
They laid cannon and various swivel guns - on both sides of the river that was
done.
- 463 All the troops who had been disembarked / waited in the stockades,
the earthworks swelled up high as if resolute, / they laid the cannon, mounted on
their carriages.
- 464 They built a structure, / of three levels they built it.
Syahbandar Muin was its commander, / and he surrounded it with a palisade.

-
- 458d kapal seorang: " = kapal sendiri (kapal pihaknya sendiri, bukan kapal musuh)" (TENAS EFFENDY)
- 459b tiga hari tiga malam: According to Netscher (1870:120-1) the Dutch fleet ascended the river from 22nd April to 5th May. They remained below Sungai Pinang until the assault on the defences at Mempura on 16th and 17th June. During their time at Sungai Pinang reinforcements and instructions came from Malacca.
- 459d Sungai Pinang: A small tributary of the Siak River just below and out of sight of Mempura.
- 459d gusti: Possibly also a second covert reference to Raja Alam to remind the audience of his presence with the invaders. See Stanza 449b.
- 460b batangan: See Stanza 287 note.
- 461-465 On 3rd May Stuurman Jan de Vries reconnoitred and reported that there were four *kubu* (or batteries) built at ground level and fully manned and equipped with large bore artillery. Above these there was also a high stockade set back in the trees where the people were armed with light artillery and hand guns. He estimated that their artillery consisted of 50 or 60 pieces of 12, 8, 6 and 4 pound calibre. (NETSCHER 1870:121)

- 465 Berapa meriam dengan rentaka
pada tiga pangkat diatur belaka;
diatur meriam sekalian selika,
tinggi rendah sekalian dijangka.
- 466 Setelah lengkap sekalian ditentang, p51
menantikan Wilanda jikalau datang;
Syahbandar Muin tidak berpantang,
baik pagi baik pun petang.
- 467 Sebelah ke hilir sebelah kiri
Raja Lela Muda di sana berdiri,
orang pesukuan zaman yang bahari
dengan meriam sekalian diberi.
- 468 lalah Penghulu Tanah Datar,
obat peluru sekalian dihantar;
berkembar dengan Raja Lontar
dekatnya sampai orang melotar.
- 469 Di kanan hilir Raja Indra Pahlawan
Pengkulu Lima Puluh orang pesukuan,
harapan Duli Yang Dipertuan,
laksana burung mati sekawan.
- 470 Di Kubu Besar segala hulubalang
oleh fakir tidak terbilang-
akal pendapat berulang,
sekejap timbul sekejap hilang.
- 471 Berapa buah gunung api
oleh mereka dilengkapi
minyak dan damar kayu api
hadir mustaid disiap.

A SIAK RESPONSE TO DUTCH INACTION

- 472 Hampir dua bulan pulak berhenti,
orang Siak hadir menanti;
Kapitan gundah di dalam hati
kukuhnya tidak terhemati.

465c selika: s-l-y-k "Selika = kelengkapan, peralatan, tersusun rapi beraturan" (TENAS EFFENDY)
466a lengkap: l-ng-k-b
466d petang: t-n-t-ng
467c pesukuan: f-sy-w-k-sy-w-a-n
468b dihantar: d-h-n-t-r(a) = diantar
468d melotar: m-l-w-t-r(a) = melontar
469b orang: (a)-r-w-ng
470d sekejap: s-k-a-j-b(a)
470d hilang: a-y-l-ng
472d terhemati: t-r(a)-h-m-t-y (KLINKERT 1947:1032)

- 465 Many cannon and swivel guns / were made quite ready on the three levels;
cannon were laid and fully equipped, / elevations were all calculated.
- 466 When they had completely covered all approaches, / they awaited the Dutch if
they should come.
Syahbandar Muin let nothing constrain his preparedness / whether morning or
afternoon.
- 467 Downstream on the left, / Raja Lela Muda there took his post.
The men of his clan of time-honoured repute, / he supplied with cannon.
- 468 He was Chief of the Tanah Datar clan, / he distributed the necessities - gunpow-
der and ball;
working in harness with Raja Lontar, / they were within the range of a javelin
throw.
- 469 On the right downstream was Raja Indra Pahlawan, / Chief of the Lima Puluh
clansmen,
a reliable aide to His Majesty, / like a bird which has lost its mate.
- 470 In the Great Stockade were all the leaders, / your storyteller could not count
them -
his wits and reason come and go / one moment they surface, the next they desert
him.
- 471 Several *mountains of fire* / were equipped by them,
with oil and resin to fuel the blaze, / and prepared for action, ready and waiting.
- 472 For almost two months they stayed there, / the men of Siak waited at their posts.
The Commissioner was troubled in his heart, / their strength for the task he
questioned.

470a Kubu Besar: Compare Stanza 77 note referring to a different site.

470b Another indication that the owner of the story was witness to these later events. See Stanza 422c and note.

471a Gunung Api: A metaphorical description of a fireship. Like *Kota Berjalan* it is used as a name. Fireships are mentioned here for the first time but had been used on a number of previous occasions during the campaign.

472a dua bulan: In the Dutch accounts, 5th May - 1st June, 1761. The fireships were sent down on 2nd June. The Dutch attack on Mempura began on 15th June. (NETSCHER 1870:121-4)

472d kukuhnya: Local and Dutch reinforcements arrived on 9th-10th June. (NETSCHER 1870:123).

- 473 Jikalau sekadar batangan kubu,
tidaklah gundah kepada kalbu;
gunung api jikalau tersebu,
akhirnya kapal menjadi abu.
- 474 Segala pegawai dikumpulkan,
Tengku Busu yang mengeluarkan:
"Gunung api baik kita hilirkan
kepada kapalnya kita tempuhkan."
- 475 Sembah hulubalang menteri bentara:
"Itulah yang sebenar-benar bicara -
jikalau kapalnya sudahlah cedera,
lainlah sudahlah kira-kira."
- 476 Sembah pegawai sebilang suku: p52
"Sebenarnya titah Duli Tuanku -
kapal dan kici, jikalau beku,
ia pun hampir masuk terungku."
- 477 Setelah putus bicara sekata,
gunung api diatur sekalian rata,
lalu selawatkan Nabi kita,
dihanyutkan ilir sekalian rata.
- 478 Demi dilihat Wilanda kufar
gunung api hanyut berkapar,
kapal dan kici sekaliannya gempar,
dengan peluru sekalian dilempar.
- 479 Dengan meriam ditembakkannya,
kapal dan kici disiahkannya;
sungguhpun besar rupa apinya,
suatu pun tidak ada gunanya.
- 480 Kapal dan kici sekaliannya lepas,
gunung api habislah tumpas,
ditiup angin bagai dikipas,
tidaklah sempat membakar kapas.

476a sebilang: s-b-l-ng

476d terungku: t-r(a)-ng-k-w(a) "Terungku = tungku = tempat memasak. *Terungku* mengandung makna kepanasan, dalam bahaya besar, gawat dsb." (TENAS EFFENDY)

477d ilir: a-y-l-y-r = hilir

478a kufar: k-w(a)-f-r(a) *Kufur* "lazim juga dibaca: kufar." (TENAS EFFENDY)

478b berkapar: b-r(a)-k-a-f-r(a) Compare Stanza 457a.

480a lepas: k-l-sy

- 473 If it were just the boom and stockades / he would not have been troubled at heart.
If the river were choked with fireships, / finally the enemy ships would be
reduced to ashes.
- 474 The officials were gathered together, / it was Tengku Busu who set out the plan:
"We ought to send down fireships / and take the fight to their ships."
- 475 Military, civil and court officials spoke respectfully: / "What you say is quite true.
If their ships are damaged, / their appreciation of the position will change."
- 476 Officials of each of the clans spoke respectfully: / "It is as Your Majesty proposes.
The enemy ships, if we hold our position, / it will be they as they close who enter
the furnace."
- 477 When they had decided on a common plan / the fireships were all drawn up;
then they prayed to our Prophet / and sent them all adrift downstream.
- 478 When the Dutch infidels saw / the fireships floating adrift,
the enemy ships were all in turmoil / and all loosed gunshot at them.
- 479 They fired with cannon, / the enemy ships warded them off.
Although they seemed to make a great blaze / not one of them took effect.
- 480 The enemy ships all escaped, / the fireships were quite burnt out,
blown away by the wind as if fanned, / there was no chance to burn cotton.

-
- 476b Duli Tuanku: Tengku Busu (474b) or Raja Ismail (473 note)? Is the poet beginning to distance Raja Ismail from responsibility for the imminent defeat and flight?
- 477-80 Netscher (1870:123) quotes an eyewitness account of these events of 2nd June from the Dutch point of view. Eleven fireships connected by beams made a terrible fire right across the river. The report confirms that fire damage suffered was minor and no one was hurt.
- 480d This identical line occurs in Stanzas 28d and 131b where it is used metaphorically to indicate urgency. Here it appears to have a reference sense, if *kapas* (= cotton) was used as sail material.

- 481 Tidaklah habis fakir mereka,
cerita yang zaman baharu dibuka,
daripada fakir orang jenaka
harapkan ampun jangan murka.

RAJA ALAM TAKES THE INITIATIVE

- 482 Baginda Sultan berkira-kira
dengan Kapitan berbicara:
"Baiklah kita melanggar segera,
duduk pun hal sangat sengsara.
- 483 Kapitan kici mendengar bicara,
daripada duduk berbangkit segera:
"Itulah sebenar-benar bicara -
baiklah kita melanggar segera.
- 484 "Apalah sudahlah dengan begini,
sangatlah susah orang Kompeni;
jikalau tidak ada berani,
mengapa mengambil gaji Kompeni."
- 485 Sepatah seorang ia berkata,
bunyi mulutnya sangatlah menta;
lalu dijawab Duli Mahkota:
"Itulah kehendak di dalam cita.
- 486 "Janganlah susah Kapitan garang,
manakala kita menyerang p53
beta melanggar kubu seberang
supaya tentu lebih dan kurang."
- 487 Setelah putus bicaranya,
kapal dan kici disiapinya;
Kapitan kapal bangkit berangnya
menantikan baik ketikanya.
- 488 Tidaklah dapat dikenangnya
akan menunggu piutangnya,
kenalal bulan raksi bintangnya
sampai sudah ketikanya.

481d harapkan: h-r(a)-b-k-n
484a begini: b-r(a)-k-y-n-y
488c raksi: r-q-'-sy-y = rasli

- 481 Their storyteller is not finished, / a tale of recent times now opens.
The storyteller, a mere buffoon, / craves your pardon - be not angry.
- 482 His Majesty the Sultan made his assessment / and took it up with the Commissioner:
"We should attack at once, / remaining here is most tormenting."
- 483 The ships' Captains heard his proposal / and leapt to their feet at once:
"What you say is quite true. / We should attack at once.
- 484 "Waiting here like this / is very embarrassing to the men of the Company.
If there are none here to do and dare, / why do we take the Company's wages?"
- 485 One by one each man spoke, / the sounds of their words were very pugnacious.
Then His Majesty replied: / "Those are the ends I too look for.
- 486 "Be not troubled my bold Captains, / when we attack,
I myself will charge the stockade before us / to decide the issue for better or worse."
- 487 When their discussions were ended, / they made ready their ships.
The anger of the ships' Captains rose / as they awaited an auspicious moment.
- 488 The backward glance of regret was not for them. / they could only await their fate.
The moon and stars were in conjunction, / their moment had come.

481b This is the third clue that the account is being brought up to date. See Stanzas 422c and 470b and notes. It is significant that the first words of the next stanza refer to Raja Alam as Sultan. We may also infer that the new age (*zaman baharu*) is the age of Raja Alam. That is, at the time of composition, Raja Alam ruled Siak.

482a Baginda Sultan: Raja Alam See Stanzas 70c note and 90-109. It is as though Raja Alam is, for the poet, already installed as Sultan.

484b Kompeni: Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) = United Dutch East India Company

488d bulan: Full or new moons provide strong incoming tides during the morning. See Stanzas 434c-d and note.

- 489 Sampailah ketika yang di Puasa.
naik ke kapal Mahkota Desa,
maralah kapal waktu Isya,
pasang mengarus mualim berasa.

THE DUTCH INVADE MEMPURA

- 490 Melanggar tidak bertinggalan
kepada empat belas hari bulan;
kapal dan kici jadi sangkalan
ditembak kubu bertimbalan.
- 491 Mula-mula memecah perang
orang pesukuan seberang-menyeberang,
lakunya tidak dapat dilarang,
beraninya bukan sebarang-barang.
- 492 Sekalian kubu dibedilkannya,
tidaklah senang bunyi meriamnya;
barang yang mati sekalian orangnya,
ke dalam air dicampakkannya.
- 493 Kapitan kapal bangkit berangnya,
tidaklah sadar mati hilangnya.
kepada batangnya disakatkannya,
tali batangan disuruh potongnya.
- 494 Segala kubu yang menanti
meriamnya berbunyi tidak berhenti,
menjadi heran kepada hati
selaku tidak tanyakan mati.
- 495 Berani Wilanda jangan dikata,
kapal dan kici menembak semata,
bunyi sorak gegak gempita,
meriam dan pemuras berbunyi sekata.
- 496 Tidak diangka sampai ke batangan,
orang Siak bercengangan -
tidak disangka di angan-angan
dia akan sampai ke batangan.

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489c Isya: '-y-sy(a)
489d muallim: m-l-w(a)-m = malim
491a mula-mula memecah: m-w(a)-l-h-m-w(a)-l-h-m-m-c-r
491c dilarang: d-l-h-r-ng
495d pemuras: b-r(a)-sy
496a diangka: d(a)-'-k-a
496c disangka: d-s-y-ng-k

- 489 The auspicious moment came in the fasting month, / His Majesty went aboard the
flagship,
the ship set forth at the time of night prayer, / the tide flowed up, the pilot felt his
way.
- 490 They attacked leaving nothing in reserve / on the fourteenth day of the month.
The enemy ships had their way denied them, fired on by stockades from all
quarters.
- 491 First of all they joined battle / with the clansmen on either side,
their behaviour could not be resisted, / their daring was extraordinary.
- 492 They fired at all the stockades, / there was no relief from the sound of cannon.
Whoever died of all their men, / they tossed into the water.
- 493 The ship's captain was increasingly enraged, / unaware of death and the dead.
He ran up onto the boom / and ordered the bonds be cut through.
- 494 All the stockades that had awaited this, / their cannon sounded without ceasing,
they became lost in wonder, / as if quite unaware of death.
- 495 The daring of the Dutch is beyond description, / their ships just kept on firing,
the sound of cries was tumultuous, / cannon and small arms spoke with one voice.
- 496 Not reckoning on them reaching the boom / the men of Siak stared agape;
they did not suppose in their wildest fancies / the invaders would reach the boom.

489a Puasa: 15th June, 1761 coincides with 12 Syawal 1174 A.H. Syawal is the tenth month, the month following Ramadan, the fasting month. There is however a short voluntary fast during Syawal. The significance of the reference to *Puasa* here is to again stress the disadvantage under which the believers struggled and the ruthlessness of the invaders.

489c Isya: The first prayer of the daily cycle of five occurring at about 8 pm.

490b The 14th day of the month is generally a propitious day for events in Malay literature because a lunar calendar ensures that there is a full moon to light activities throughout the night. Here the full moon provides suitable tides as well. See Stanza 499d note.

493 The planning and execution are described in detail in Netscher (1870: 124-6).

- 497 Sampai ke batangan sekalian rata,
kapal dan kici dengan perkasa;
bunyi meriamnya gegak gempita,
tidak kedengaran orang berkata.
- 498 Demi dilihat orang kita
akan kelakuan kafir yang dusta,
maralah kelengkapan sekalian rata,
bunyi sorak gegak gempita.
- 499 Di dalam batangan sekalian beratur,
bunyi meriam seperti guntur,
tulang dan sendi sekalian getar,
dekat kedengaran orang bertutur.
- 500 Berperang itu berdekad-dekad,
tali batangan hanya menyekat
kiri kanan meriam memukat-
sungai Siak bagai terangkat.
- 501 Kapitan tidak berhati walang
sekalian tidak membilang-bilang;
daripada nasib dirundung malang,
niat tidak bercinta pulang.
- 502 Meriam yang besar berapa puluh
duduk di kubu sungai paluh,
apinya terang seperti suluh,
biarlah kapal hancur luluh.
- 503 Meriam penjajap sangat menggarang
bersambutan pulak seberang-menyeberang,
pelurunya kapal berseberang -
yang setengah memakan orang.
- 504 Segala kubu orang pesukuan
tidak dibilang orang melawan,
tidak tentu kawan dan lawan
seperti orang kemalu-maluan.

497b perkasa: f-r(a)-k-a-t *Perkata* is an unlikely reading. The requirement of a visual end rhyme may again explain the spelling.

499c getar: k-a-t-r(a)

500d terangkat: t-r(a)-k-t See Poerwadarminta (1976:46 sub terangkat 2).

501c nasib dirundung: n-s-y-f-d-w-r-n-d-ng

503a penjajap: f-n-j-a-j-b(a)

- 497 Reaching the boom came all their fleet, / the ship and brigantines came valiantly
on;
the sound of their cannon was thunderous / the human voice could not be heard.
- 498 When our men saw / the behaviour of the false infidels,
they pressed forward with the entire fleet, / the sound of their cries was uproarious.
- 499 Within the boom they were all arrayed, / the sound of cannon was like thunder,
bones and joints all were shaken, / they were near enough to hear men conversing.
- 500 They fought at close quarters, / the boom alone restrained them.
Left and right the cannon trawled, / the Siak River became like a mass bier.
- 501 Our supporters were not dismayed, / not one of them considered the cost;
although it was our fate to be dogged by misfortune, / no one considered retiring.
- 502 Great cannon, tens of them, / were located in stockades on small tributaries,
their fire was clear as torches, / let the enemy ships approach and they would be
crushed.
- 503 The cannon on our warships raged vigorously, / exchanging shot for shot from all
sides.
Shot from enemy ships came back in return, / and many of them cut men down.
- 504 In every stockade the clansmen / could not say how many opposed them.
Unable to distinguish friend and foe, / it was as if they were very embarrassed.

503d Compare Stanza 447d. It is not until six stanzas from the end that the poet acknowledges loss of life among the Siak forces.

504b orang melawan: See Stanza 486c. Raja Alam stormed the stockades. He was supported by the ruler of Asahan. (NETSCHER 1870:123)

- 505 Setelah kapal mudik ke hulu,
kapal dan kici berganti dahulu,
orang Siak adalah silu
bagai dihiris dengan sembilu.
- 506 Tidaklah boleh sahaya katakan, p55
kehendak Allah sahaya sukarkan.
Di mana boleh kita cintakan
janji dahulu ditepatkan?
- 507 Sudahlah takdir Tuhan Ilahi,
tidaklah dapat kita salah,
hilanglah asyik dengan berahi
laksana bau-bauan dalam serahi.
- 508 Tamatlah sudah Perang Siak disuratkan,
perkataan tidak dipanjangkan,
cerita itu sahaya katakan,
tidaklah lagi terperikan.

RAJA ISMAIL'S DEPARTURE

- 509 Perkataan banyak bukan suatu
gundahnya hati tidak bertentu,
remuk redam hati pun mutu
laksana kaca jatuh ke batu.
- 510 "Tinggallah adik, tinggallah kaka,
tinggallah dengan senda leka.
Kita ni jangan dikenang juga,
jikalau untung bertemu juga.
- 511 "Tinggallah kakak adik saudara,
tinggal tidak lagi terbawa;
jikalau ada hayat dan jiwa,
mudah-mudahan bertemu jua."
- 512 Daripada hati sangat gelorat
ada yang ringan ada yang berat,
laksana perahu yang amat sarat
datang memukul angin barat.

505d dihiris: d(a)-h-y-r-sy = diiris
505d sembilu: s-m-b-a-l-w
506d ditepatkan: d-y(a)-t-a-f-t-a-k-n
507d bau-bauan: b-a-h-w(a)-b-a-h-w-a-n
510b senda leka: s-n-d-a-y-l-y-k
512b berat: b-a-r(a)-t Identical with barat Stanza 512d.

- 505 When the enemy ships had advanced upstream, / the ship and brigantines in line
 astern,
 the men of Siak were intimidated / as if sliced with a bamboo knife.
- 506 I cannot relate more, / the will of God oppresses me.
 Where may we expect / the ancient contract to be fulfilled?
- 507 It was the will of the Lord our God, / we cannot contravene that.
 Gone were the vehemence and passion, / like fragrances sealed in phials.
- 508 So it ended - the Siak War has been written down, / the account is not continued.
 I have told that story, / there is no more to tell.
- 509 After very many words, / his troubled spirits were still uncertain.
 Quite crushed, he was sad at heart, / like glass fallen on stone.
- 510 " Farewell my brothers and sisters all, / stay here lighthearted always.
 Let us not reawaken the past, / if fortune smiles we shall meet again.
- 511 " Farewell my brothers and sisters all, / stay here, do not be carried off farther.
 As long as I live in this world or the next, / I hope we meet again."
- 512 His spirits were in turmoil, / sometimes light, sometimes grave,
 like a heavily laden boat, / head on for a westerly squall.

506d janji: A reference to the contract between Sri Tri Buana and Demang Lebar Daun regarding the relationship between a royal house and its subject people. (SHELLABEAR 1978:19-20; BROWN 1952:26-27) See also Stanza 35c note.

509-513 It is not until Stanza 514a that a grammatical subject is given and then the subject is *ia*. The subject understood is Raja Ismail who has not been mentioned overtly since Stanza 447a where his *daulat* was credited with minimising Siak losses. The poet has avoided associating Raja Ismail with the retreat to Mempura or the military defeat.

511a kakak adik saudara: When Raja Ismail left for Pelalawan he left behind his elder sister Tengku Ambang Besar and Tengku Musa. He was accompanied by Tengku Abdullah, Tengku Abdul Rahman, Tengku Kamat and Tengku Husain (*Siak Chronicle* COD OR 7304:453,474-475; MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:23,125).

- 513 Duduk berpikir pagi dan petang
memohonkan rahmat tangan telentang,
berkat Datuk di Bukit Siguntang,
janganlah apa aral melintang.
- 514 Sampailah ia ke Pulau Lawan,
bimbanglah hati tidak ketahuan,
terkenang kepada encik dan tuan
laksana dimabuk makan cendawan.
- 515 Di situ tidak berapa lama,
empat hari akan kelima,
jikalau tidak suatu kerama
memohonkan rahmat segala ulama.
- 516 Turun ke perahu air pun timpas p56
diambil kajang lalu dipapas,
dibongkar sauh, dayung dikipas,
Baginda berlayar menarik nafas.
- 517 Kakap berdayung sangat lajunya
Tanjung Mempusun ditujunya,
"Tinggallah sahabat sekaliannya
badan dibawa untung nasibnya."
- 518 Kakap berdayung ke Mempusun.
gempar mereka segala tentara;
turun bertiu angin utara,
"Tinggallah sekalian sanak saudara."
- 519 Selama duduk di tanah seberang
sakitnya bukan sebarang-barang,
laksana perahu di atas karang,
kawan yang rapat menjadi jarang.
- 520 Selama ditinggalkan Ayahanda dan Bonda
menaruh masygul di dalam dada,
sesak belah bagai di goda
bercerailah dengan adinda dan kakanda.

514a Pulau Lawan: f-w(a)-l-w(a)-la-h-w(a)-n = Pelalawan

515a lama: la-m(a)-h

515b kelima: k-l-y-m(a)-h

516c sauh: s-w(a)

517b Mempusun: m-a-r(a)-f-w-s-n

518a Mempusun: m-f-w-r-s(a)

520c sesak belah: s-sy-q-b-a-l-b-h(a)

- 513 Sitting, musing, morning and evening, / he begged for mercy with upturned hands,
that with the blessing of his ancestor on Bukit Siguntang / nothing should obstruct him.
- 514 He came to Pelalawan, / troubled at heart beyond understanding,
reminding the local gentry / of someone hallucinating from eating mushrooms.
- 515 There he did not stay long, / four days turning to five.
Lest there be any further calamity, / he besought mercy through all the divines.
- 516 He descended to his boat, the water at low ebb, / awnings were taken off and rolled up.
the anchor was raised, oars fanned the air, / the Sultan set sail drawing in his breath.
- 517 The boat was rowed off at great speed, / heading for Tanjung Mempusun.
"Farewell my comrades, one and all, / I go where fate takes me."
- 518 The boat was rowed to Mempusun, / all the troops were in uproar.
A north wind came down to blow, / "Farewell to you my whole family."
- 519 As long as he dwelt in foreign parts, / his ailing was extraordinary,
like a boat stranded on a reef - / his close companions became sparse.
- 520 Since forsaken by his Father and Mother / he had harboured sorrow in his breast -
bound close, split apart, as if to taunt, / now separated from his brothers and sisters.

- 513 Compare Stanza 227.
- 514a ia: On all previous occasions when Raja Ismail (or any other Siak ruler) has been mentioned, it has been with an elaborate honorific. Here his royal status is not linked with defeat and flight. See Stanzas 476b note, 481b note, 482a note.
- 514a Pulau Lawan: Now known as Pelalawan, it is on the Kampar River. The Mempura River flowing north into the Siak and the Pelalawan flowing south into the Kampar rise in the same area and provide an overland route from Siak to Kampar. The trip is described in the Siak Chronicle when Raja Akil had cause to use it thirty years later (COD OR 7304:548).
- 516 Netscher (1870:129) gives a different account of Raja Ismail's stay in Pelalawan. According to him, while Sayid Uthman guarded the mouth of the Kampar River, Tengku Muhammad Ali reinforced by 30 Bugis went overland to drive him out of Pelalawan. In the first days of August, Pelalawan was captured after an intensive battle. Raja Ismail and Tengku Busu escaped.
- 516a air pun timpas: Compare Stanza 99d and note.
- 516d Baginda: As master of his own vessel, Raja Ismail is given a fitting honorific for the first time since Stanza 447. See Stanza 514a note.
- 517a Kakap: A low narrow river boat. The Siak Chronicle (COD OR 7304:475) says that there were three *kakap* in Raja Ismail's party.
- 517b &
518a Tanjung Mempusun: "Mempusun: nama tanjung dan sungai disebelah hilir kota Pelalawan. Sampai sekarang masih dinamakan Mempusun." (TENAS EFFENDY) The Siak Chronicle (COD OR 7304:475) reports that Raja Ismail stayed briefly at Riau before continuing on to Tambelan where 15 boats were constructed - one for each of his party. See also van Hasselt and Schwartz (1898:113)

THE POET REFLECTS ON HIS LIFE AND WORK

- 521 *Perang Siak* tamatlah sudah,
hati di dalam sangatlah gundah,
hari Asar matahari rendah,
duduklah wazir tunduk tengadah.
- 522 Suratn tidak berketahuann,
hatiku gundah bercampur rawan,
siang dan malam igau-igauan
laksana budak di tempuh sawan.
- 523 Kepada badan tidak bertuahn
umpama jitun tidak berbuah,
terkenangkan untung hilang arwah,
sungguhpun miskin biasa mewah.
- 524 Duduk tafakur berdiam diri,
hatiku gundah tidak terperi,
diphonkan kepada Khalikulbahri
mudah-mudahan rahmat diberi.
- 525 Hari Sabtu sudahlah surat,
disambikan juga di dalam gelorat,
umpama perahu yang amat sarat
takut dipukul gelombang barat.
- 526 Hai segala arif bermata p57
janganlah apa wazir dikata -
kalam buruk kertasnya lata,
menyuratnya tidak ada pelita.
- 527 Sudahlah dengan takdir Allah,
tiadalah dapat lagi disalah,
di Luh Mahfuz suratn terjumlah -
barang yang datang disyurkurkanlah.
- 528 Allah Almalikulrahman
karunia ni apa hambamu iman?
Dunia ini sudah matikan zaman,
banyaklah makhluk tidak siuman.

521d tunduk tengadah: n-t-d-q-t-ng-d(a)

523b jitun: j-t-w(a)-n See Stanza 224b note.

524a tafakur: t-r-t-k-w-r

525b disambikan: d-s-m-b-y-k-n "Disambikan = disambalkan, didekatkan, disinggahkan dll" (TENAS EF-FENDY)

526c kalam: h-t-n

526c kertasnya: q-r-l-sy-ny

527b tidaklah: t-y-h-d-la-h

527c Luh Mahfuz: l-w(a)-h-m-h-f-w(a)-g-a (WILKINSON 1959:700)

528c matikan: m-a-n-y-k-n

528c zaman: z-m-n = jaman

528d siuman: s-y-w(a)-m-t

There follows a space sufficient for one verse before Stanza 529, indicating a significant break in the text. The same hand continues in this manuscript but there are indications within the text that a new poet is at work beginning in Stanza 529.

- 521 *The Siak War* has been completed, / I am very sad at heart.
It is afternoon, the sun is low, / I sit here looking up and down.
- 522 Our fate is not revealed to us, / my heart is both melancholic and full of emotion,
day and night my mind fills with wild fancies / like a child struck down by
convulsions.
- 523 My physical frame has brought me no luck / like an olive tree which bears no
fruit.
Reflecting on my lot as I lose my senses, / although poor yet I have had an
abundance.
- 524 I sit bemused, saying nothing, / my spirits are saddened beyond description.
I beseech the Creator of the Seas / that He should have mercy upon me.
- 525 Saturday, the writing was finished, / accompanied by emotional turmoil.
I wrote like a heavily laden boat, / fearing to be struck by westerly waves.
- 526 O all you who look with knowing eyes, / speak no ill of me.
My pen was poor quality, ink ran on the paper, / I wrote without benefit of a lamp.
- 527 It is done by the will of God, / we cannot contravene that.
On the Tablets of Fate our destinies are recorded, / for whatever lies in store,
thanks be to God.
- 528 God, Lord of Lords, All Compassionate, / by what Grace will your servant find
faith?
This world has brought us to our final days, / many of your creatures are not
resurrected.

525a Hari Sabtu: The editorial position adopted here, pending further information, is that it was a Saturday in 1764 at Tambelan when the poet presented the original text, in a form very similar to this manuscript, to Raja Ismail.

POSTSCRIPT

RAJA ISMAIL IN EXILE

- 529 *Bismillah* itu permulaan kalam,
dengan nama Allah Khalikulalam,
berkat Muhammad Sayid Alanam
memberi rahmat siang dan malam.
- 530 *Alhamdulillah* mula dipuji
kemudian selawat akan Nabi,
dipohonkan juga nama yang keji,
kepada Allah tempat kembali.
- 531 Dengarkan Tuan suatu rencana
dikarangkan oleh wazir yang hina -
aturnya janggal, banyak tak kena,
daripada hati bimbang gulana.
- 532 Tanggal pergi ke Pulau Lawan,
bimbangnya hati tidak ketahuan,
terkenangkan aib Yang Dipertuan
rasa dimabuk makan cendawan.
- 533 Bimbang gulana tidak terperi
selama wazir meninggalkan negeri,
duduk berbicara sehari-hari,
nasi dimakan serasa duri.
- 534 ...
...
ke sana ke sini tidak berjalan,
duduk sehari seperti sebulan.
- 535 Itulah tanggungan wazir yang pokta,
siang dan malam duduk bercinta;
sebab memikirkan Duli Mahkota
sedikit tidak diberi leta.
- 536 Ada kepada suatu hari
bertitahlah Duli Mahkota Negeri
memanggil segala hulubalang menteri
Baginda bertitah berperi-peri.
- p58

529a permulaan: f-r(a)-m-w(a)-la
530c juga: j-w-k ? = jangan
531c tak kena: t-k-n
533d nasi: n-a-ş-y(a) Possibly *nasib*.
534a-b The verse is missing.
535a tanggungan: t-ng-k-ng-ng-n
535a pokta: t-w(a)-t
535d diberi leta: d-y-d-b-a-r-y-la-t

- 529 *Bismillah* is the first word, / in the name of God, Creator of the World,
may the blessed Muhammad, Lord of Mankind, / grant us mercy day and night.
- 530 *Alhamdulillah* begins the praise, / then we pray for the Prophet,
and seek for ourselves but lowly names / and return to God's presence.
- 531 Listen, my Lords, to a story, / composed by your humble poet,
the ordering displeases, much does not fit, / it comes from a melancholic spirit.
- 532 From the day he went to Pelalawan / his anxiety knew no bounds.
Reflecting on His Majesty's shame, / he felt the intoxication of eating mushrooms.
- 533 Melancholic beyond description / was the vizier since he left his country.
He sat in discussion every day, / he ate rice as if it were thorns.
- 534 ...
he did not walk about / but sat for a day as for a month.
- 535 That was the burden of the excellent vizier / who day and night sat in concern.
Because he took thought for His Majesty, / the royal status was not in the
slightest debased.
- 536 It happened one day / His Majesty gave orders
to summon all the captains and ministers - / the Sultan addressed them in detail.

529 Although this section continues in the same hand, there are strong indications that it is a later addition to the *syair*, composed by a new poet.

The subject of the story remains Raja Ismail though a new figure has come to greater prominence - the *wazir yang pota* in Stanza 535a.

529a *Bismillah*: In the name of God

530a *Alhamdulillah*: Praise be to God

530c This line and 564d, which is almost identical, seem to require a negative sense such as "beseeching that our names remain unsullied". Tenas Effendy, to this end, suggests possible readings for j-w(a)-k (530c) and j-w-k (564d) might be *juwak* (= bosan, jera, muak, benci) or *jauh*. The reading adopted however must be constrained by what is clearly written in the manuscript. Perhaps the new poet is exaggerating his humility. Also, the usage in Stanzas 549d and 550a indicates that *leta* has the meaning "common" as opposed to "royal", in addition to Wilkinson's (1959:687) bad, despicable, foul, stinking.

531b *wazir*: The use of *wazir* is a feature of these 47 stanzas of text. It occurs fourteen times - more than in the first 528 stanzas. Before Stanza 528, *wazir* is used by the poet to indicate himself. In this section it is again used in that way (Stanza 531b), but it is also used as a specific term for the Sultan's chief minister (Stanza 535a). See also Stanza 537b note. The roles of storyteller and man of affairs have come closer together.

532-535 The grammatical subject of these stanzas is *wazir* and *wazir* can be identified as Tengku Busu.

- 537 Baginda bertitah merdu suara
kepada hulubalang menteri wazira:
"Baiklah segera buka bicara
sementara belum datang cedera."
- 538 Berdatang sembah segala menteri:
"Ampun Tuanku Duli bestari,
jikalau Tuanku suatu peri
patik tidak pulang ke negeri."
- 539 Berdatang sembah Maharaja Sri Asmara,
itulah tua kepala bicara;
jikalau sudah kedatangan cedera,
sembahnya tidak berantara.
- 540 Di dalam berempat patik yang tua,
berdatang sembahkan kecewa:
"Wazir bertuan tidaklah dua,
ke bawah Duli persembahkan nyawa."
- 541 Orang Kaya Sri Indera Muda
Penghulu Lima Puluh dijadikan Baginda,
bercakap sedikit menampar dada -
itu yang perkenan kepada Baginda.
- 542 Ia pun asal hulubalang,
cakapnya besar bukan kepalang:
"Jikalau Tuanku kedatangan malang,
tidaklah patik bercita pulang."
- 543 Orang Kaya Maharaja Tua Wangsa
bercakap besar tidak kuasa,
niatnya itu berbuat jasa
ke bawah Duli Raja Kuasa.
- 544 Orang Kaya Paduka Sri Dewa
berdatang sembah tidaklah dua:
"Jikalau Tuanku beroleh kecewa
patiklah dahulu persembahkan jiwa."

541c menampar: m-n(a)-f-r(a)

543c niatnya: n-y-t-y-h-ny

543c berbuat: b-r(a)-b-w(a)-h

544b dua: d-w(a)-h-a

- 537 The Sultan spoke pleasantly / to the captains, ministers and courtiers:
"It is well we begin to plan at once / while there is not yet dissension."
- 538 All the ministers spoke respectfully: / "Your pardon, My Lord, noble Ruler,
if My Lord but says the word, / we will not return to our *negeri*."
- 539 Maharaja Sri Asmara spoke respectfully, / he was a head man, leader in discussion.
If dissension should arise / his loyalty would continue on.
- 540 Within the royal household were four old retainers, / they approached bowing
awkwardly:
"We have our Lord, there is no other, / before Your Majesty we offer our lives."
- 541 Orang Kaya Sri Indera Muda, / made Chief of Lima Puluh by the Sultan,
spoke little but slapped his breast - / that was pleasing to the Sultan.
- 542 He was descended from warriors / he vowed great things indeed:
"If My Lord should be brought down by misfortune, / I will not consider returning
home."
- 543 Orang Kaya Maharaja Tua Wangsa / avowed great things but lacked the power,
his hope was to do his duty / before His Majesty.
- 544 Orang Kaya Paduka Sri Dewa / spoke respectfully by himself:
"If My Lord should be demeaned, / I offer him my life in advance."

537b wazira: Here *wazir* appears to be used as a generic term. See Stanza 531b note.

539a Maharaja Sri Asmara: This worthy has not been mentioned previously nor has Sri Indera Muda (Stanza 541a) nor Maharaja Tua Wangsa (Stanza 543a) nor Paduka Sri Dewa (Stanza 544a). It seems that the older generation has fallen away (Stanza 519d) and the leadership of Raja Ismail's party has been taken over by young men of his own generation. See Stanza 548c.

541b Lima Puluh: Compare Stanza 271b. The same offices are maintained by the same class of person whether at home or in exile. See also Stanza 546a note.

- 545 He was a young man / his address was very different:
"Though My Lord be driven from pillar to post / I shall stay by you wherever you go."
- 546 The Syahbandar of Bukit Batu spoke respectfully, / his loyalty steadfast, his family sure,
like twenty-four carat gold / already tested on the touchstone.
- 547 Listening to the submissions of all his counsellors / His Majesty the Sultan was very pleased,
the complexion of his countenance brightened, / he harboured no doubts or suspicions.
- 548 Then spoke His Majesty the Sultan / to his counsellors present assembled:
"We are all of us young men, / let us make no distinctions in our duties."
- 549 The excellent vizier spoke respectfully / before His Majesty:
"Let not My Lord give way to despair, / do not accept a common name."
- 550 A common name he did seek, / before God, the Eternal Lord.
"Through the Grace of the sanctity of the walis, / let no one place such a value on him."
- 551 The vizier at once sought leave to withdraw, / within his heart he was very troubled.
He sought solutions without respite, / his weariness of body was intense.
- 552 After seven days / he got the solution he sought:
"If that is the way things stand, / the Sultan had better be found a wife."

546a Syahbandar Bukit Batu: The people of Bukit Batu are not well treated in Siak texts (Stanza 296 and note). However, *Syahbandar Bukit Batu* here is a title of office within Raja Ismail's court reaffirming his right to make such an appointment and making explicit the court's connection with Siak. Compare the use of *Lima Puluh* and *Tanah Datar* (Stanza 80a note).

548-9 These two stanzas provide the clue to the motivation for the composition of the original *syair* (Stanzas 1-528). The question is whether Raja Ismail should forget his royal status and right to rule in Siak and lead a band of adventurers, as proposed by Raja Ismail himself (Stanza 548), or maintain his status and claim to the throne of Siak and the structure of the court in exile, as proposed by Tengku Busu (Stanza 549).

552d *isteri*: "Seeking a wife" meant making an alliance with a ruler who could provide secure and adequate resources to maintain a viable court in exile. The wife chosen was Raja Neh (or Tun Tipah - MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:352), the daughter of Sultan Mansur of Trengganu (NETSCHER 1870:132). Although Netscher records the marriage occurring in 1771, it was reported from Malacca to Batavia in March 1764 (MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:352). This was probably the marriage contract (COD OR 7304:476-501). Raja Ismail was, of course, already married to Tengku Sani, the daughter of Tengku Busu, and had a son, Raja Yahya, who would succeed him in Siak (COD OR 7304: 466-467). In promoting the cause of Raja Ismail, Tengku Busu was also promoting the cause of his own grandson, Raja Yahya.

- 553 Telah kepada esok hari
datang menghadap segala menteri,
berdatang sembah berperi-peri:
"Baiklah Tuanku duduk beristeri.
- 554 "Jikalau tidak perintah begitu,
baik dan jahat bilakan tentu;
umpama emas sepuluh mutu
boleh diuji kepada batu."
- 555 Mendengar sembah menteri penggawa
Baginda tersenyum lalu tertawa:
"Ada laksana hikayat Jawa
Panjinya seorang kalahnya tiga dewa.
- 556 "Itu pun tidak apa akan salah,
sudah takdir daripada Allah. p60
Sekira tempat menghentikan lelah,
kemudian kelak kita berilah.
- 557 "Jikalau kepada hati sendiri,
belumah mau kita beristeri.
Apatah akal bicara menteri
diturut juga sebarang peri."
- 558 Akan sembah wazir yang hina
ke bawah Duli Raja yang gana:
"Jikalau tidak sebab karena,
tidak terbuat demikian kena.
- 559 "Tidak terbuat demikian ada
karena terkenang kepada Adinda,
jikalau datang setan menggoda
pastilah susah Duli Baginda."
- 560 Disahut oleh Syahbandar Bukit Batu
yang sebenarnya katanya itu:
"Jikalau beristeri Paduka Ratu,
patik pun kena pulak satu.

556c sekira: s-k-r Here "*sekira* berarti: sekedar, hanya (yang sifatnya sementara)." (TENAS EFFENDY)
556c menghentikan: m-h-n-t-y-k-n
558b gana: gh-n-a(a)
558c sebab karena: s-b-b-a-k-r(a)-n
560d pulak: f-w-l-w = pula

- 553 Upon the following day / all the ministers came before him,
speaking respectfully in these words: / "It is well that My Lord take up residence
with a wife.
- 554 "If you do not so instruct us, / who knows for sure when good or ill will strike.
Like twenty-four carat gold, / we can be tested on the touchstone."
- 555 Listening to the submission of his warrior ministers, / the Sultan smiled then
laughed:
"It is like a Javanese tale / where Panji alone defeated three demons.
- 556 "Nothing will go amiss with that / if it is decreed by God.
Allow me but a space to shake off my weariness, / then soon I shall give the word.
- 557 "If it were dependent on my own feeling, / I would not yet wish to take a wife.
Whatever is the common wisdom of my ministers, / that shall be followed as it
stands."
- 558 This was the submission of the humble counsellor / before His Majesty, illustri-
ous Prince:
"If there were no reason for it / this would not be done with such care.
- 559 "We do not do this / because of recollection of your wife.
If the Devil come to torment, / it will surely be troublesome for Your Majesty."
- 560 A response was given by the Syahbandar of Bukit Batu, / and he spoke truly:
"If Your Majesty wishes to take a wife, / we too shall find a niche again.

554b bilakan: "Perkataan *bilakan* bermakna: entah pabila, entah kapan." (TENAS EFFENDY)
558a wazir yang hina: ? = Tengku Abdullah Is this the owner of the text now appearing as a
protagonist within the text?
559b Adinda: ? = Tengku Sani (Stanza 552d note). Raja Ismail was in Siantan, Tengku Sani in
Tambelan where she stayed until taken by Raja Ismail to Trengganu in 1771 (COD OR
7304:475-6,500-1; MATHESON & ANDAYA 1982:126,352).

- 561 "Patik abdi hamba yang leta
ke bawah Duli Sri Mahkota;
jikalau selamat Duli bertakhta
biarlah patik beroleh leta."
- 562 Lalu bertitah Sri Betara:
"Kita pulangkan segala bicara.
Janganlah panjang lagi kira-kira,
kita hendak dengan segera."
- 563 Disahut oleh wazir yang lara:
"Sebenarnya titah Sri Betara,
patik pun tidak banyak bicara,
harapkan Allah yang memelihara."
- 564 "Jikalau berdiri Duli Mahkota
masakan patik beroleh leta;
dengan berkat segala dewata,
dipohonkan juga nama yang leta."
- 565 Setelah sudah putus musyawarat
mengangkat tangan memberi isyarat,
dengan berkat Duli Hadirat,
dilepasi Allah daripada gelorat.
- 566 Wazir seorang dititahkan Baginda
membawa titah kepada Paduka Ayahanda;
datang pikiran di dalam dada:
"Baiklah satu saudara muda."
- 567 Hari pun malam bulan terang,
wazir berjalan dua orang;
gundahnya bukan sebarang-barang,
kawan yang rapat menjadi jarang.
- 568 Setelah sampai wazir yang bahari,
mengangkat kidamat sepuluh jari,
berdatang sembah berperi-peri:
"Anakda konon hendak beristeri."

565b mengangkat: m-ng-k-t

565c Hadirat: h-d-r-t

566d baiklah: b-a-ç-y-k-t-h

566d saudara: s-(?)n-d-r(a) ? = sandera (hostage)

567a terang: t-a-r-ng

568b mengangkat kidamat: m-ng-k-t-q-y-d-m kidamat = khidmat

- 561 "I am your slave, wretched servant / to Your Majesty.
If Your Majesty is safely enthroned, / let it be me who is demeaned."
- 562 Then His Majesty spoke: / "I give you back all your advice.
Do not prolong your assessments further, / I am in favour of acting at once."
- 563 The ailing vizier responded: / "It is truly as Your Majesty says.
I have little to add, / my hope is in God who cares for us."
- 564 "If we establish Your Majesty, / how can we be demeaned.
Through the blessing of all the gods / we seek but a common name."
- 565 When the discussion was concluded, / he raised his hand as a sign,
with the blessing of His Majesty, / God released him from his emotional turmoil.
- 566 One counsellor the Sultan commanded / to bear his wishes to his Royal Father.
An idea came to him: / "I should have a young companion with me."
- 567 It was night, the moon was clear / the two counsellors travelled away,
their anxiety knew no bounds, / their close companions fell behind.
- 568 When he arrived the splendid vizier / lifted up in obeisance all ten fingers,
and spoke respectfully in these words: / "My nephew, it is said, would take a wife.

561a *leta*: See Stanza 530c note. Before Stanza 528, the only instance of *leta* was in Stanza 34d so its frequency since Stanza 529 is yet another indication of a new poet at work.

563a *disahut*: Stanzas 560a, 563b and 574a are the only instances of *sahut* being used for addresses to the Sultan.

563a *wazir yang lara*: Tengku Busu.

564c *dewata*: This appeal to non-Islamic deities is not typical of the poet before Stanza 529.

564d See Stanza 530c note.

565c *Duli Hadirat*: Although the words suggest the Sultan, the usage suggests spirit beings. See Stanza 564c note.

566a *Wazir*: Tengku Busu

566b *Paduka Ayahanda*: Sultan Mansur of Trengganu

- 569 "Hendak beristeri terlalu nyata,
itulah titah Duli Mahkota
kepada patik mengeluarkan kata:
'Mintak ambillah kepada Sang Nata'.
- 570 "Jikalau mau Duli Baginda
ambillah coba Paduka Anakda,
karena dia orang yang muda,
hendak memining banyak berbeda."
- 571 Tengku Besar bertitah merdu suara:
"Sahaya ni tidak banyak bicara.
Jikalau Raja hendak memelihara,
tidaklah lagi berantara.
- 572 "Itulah titah di dalam cita-
hendak bekerja di bawah takhta.
Jikalau diperhamba Sri Mahkota,
tidaklah panjang pemandangan mata.
- 573 "Ada sedikit sahaya pikiri -
karena Baginda banyak isteri,
jikalau datang suatu peri,
ke manalah sahaya membawak diri?"
- 574 Disahut oleh fakir yang bahari:
"Janganlah Tengku berbanyak peri.
Jikalau datang suatu peri,
patik sekalian mengembari."
- 575 "Patik pun asal hamba yang tua,
rusak binasa pun mau jua.
Jikalau Tuanku beroleh kecewa,
biarlah patik membuang nyawa."

569c mengeluarkan: m-ng-l-w-r-w-r-k-n
569d mintak: m-n-y-t-k = minta
570a mau: m-a'-w
570d berbeda: t-r(a)-b-y-d
572b di bawah: d-b-a-w
572d pemandangan: f-r(a)-m-n-d-ng-ng-n
573a pikiri: f-y-k-r-r(a)-y
573c jikalau: j-y-k(a)
573d membawak: m-m-b-a-w-q = membawa
575a asal: 'a-g-la

- 569 "His desire to marry is very clear. / His Majesty himself says so.
He expressed it to me in these words: / 'Ask for a betrothal from His Majesty'.
- 570 "If it is the wish of Your Majesty / to just consider taking the Royal Prince as son-
in-law,
because he is a young man, / he would offer marriage though there be many
differences."
- 571 His Majesty spoke pleasantly: / "I have little to discuss.
If your Prince intends to care for her, / nothing further divides us.
- 572 "That is his expressed desire - / he wishes to act within my suzerainty.
If he is to become my subject, / do not enlarge on your views.
- 573 "There is one small matter I am contemplating - / because the Sultan has many
wives,
if certain eventualities should arise, / where should I take myself?"
- 574 The youthful storyteller spoke up: / "Do not go on, My Lord.
If the eventuality should arise, / we will all stay by you."
- 575 "I am well born, an aging servant, / my utter ruin I would willingly accept.
If My Lord suffers loss, / let me cast away my life."

571c memelihara: The marriage is a metaphor for political alliance. Implied in "caring for the bride" is defending Trengganu from any attack which may result from Raja Ismail's aggression elsewhere.

573 See Stanza 571c note. Having a wife denotes having a base to operate from. The Sultan of Trengganu is indicating that he is more vulnerable and has more to lose.

574a fakir yang bahari: *Fakir* is a common term for a storyteller to use of himself.

575a hamba yang tua: *Tua* indicates that the last stanza contains the words of Tengku Busu.

Stanzas 529-575 are in an intermediate stage of absorption into the text - the stage it was in when the text changed from being a propagandist text of political activism to a revered relic used by conservative forces to reinforce the status quo.

So, while the hand is the same throughout the manuscript, the style of Stanzas 529-575 reveals a different poet at work. It is possible that the poet left some unused pages which the owner of the text used to add 47 stanzas to include his own role in subsequent events. That is the stage at which the text fossilised and subsequently became available for our perusal.

APPENDICES

THE USE OF ANTONOMASIA TO REFER TO THE SULTANS OF SIAK

An essential and distinctive feature of the *Syair Perang Siak* is that nowhere are the Sultans, who are the subjects of the narrative, identified by name. Those who listened to the narrative being read or sung in its natural setting among the Minangkabau exiles in the Tujuh Pulau and on the shores of the South China Sea knew well their identities. The heirs and descendants of those about whom the stories were told were present among them as, indeed, was Raja Ismail himself for a time. And so, as is customary in the presence of a monarch, personal names are not used to address or refer to the Sultans, but deferential honorifics and descriptive epithets replace names.

The application of these honorifics and epithets to particular Sultans of Siak divides the *syair* precisely into four stories. There are the stories of Raja Kecil, Raja Alam (in a brief account of his departure leaving the Sultanate as the domain of Raja Mahmud alone), Raja Mahmud and Raja Ismail.

When reference is made to a past or future Sultan within the story of another, the style of honorific changes. The term used may then be a kinship term or it may include *Markum*.

It will be seen in the lists which follow that although there is a variety of terms which change to suit different situations and the atmosphere which the poet wishes to create, the same terms are common to all the Sultans. There are no terms which can be shown to be for the exclusive use of one Sultan. The variations from Sultan to Sultan can be explained by the role which each Sultan fulfils within the text. Raja Kecil's role is to establish the dynasty in Siak. Raja Alam is noticed for the affection and consideration shown by and to him at his departure. Raja Mahmud's illness, death and funeral rites are the central feature of his story. Raja Ismail's story is one of a young and inexperienced Sultan thrust into a war against overwhelming odds. Because the subject matter of each story is different, each Sultan is seen in a different light. It is that light which is reflected in the variety of honorifics from Sultan to Sultan rather than the status or esteem of the Sultan.

Much can be gleaned from the application of honorifics. For example, Raja Ismail's honorific is reduced to a minimal *ia* (Stanza 514a) at the time of his defeat and flight from Siak. Tengku Muhammad Ali, although treated with great respect, is identified by name. Other sources list Tengku Muhammad Ali among the Sultans of Siak during Raja Ismail's exile from 1761 and after Raja Alam's retirement and death, and he was acknowledged Sultan of Siak by the Dutch at Malacca. However the *Syair Perang Siak* does not accord him the style of Sultan. On the other hand, the Sultan of Trengganu, when he enters the story of Raja Ismail, is also not named but referred to by honorific. The *syair* was almost certainly heard recited within his domain.

All examples of antonomasia applied to each of the Sultans of Siak are collected here alphabetically under the name of the Sultan to whom each example refers. The references are to the stanza and line.

RAJA KECIL

Ayahanda 96b 117c
 Baginda 12a 39c 40a 42a 47b 65a 70b 80b 82a 87b
 Baginda Raja 19b
 Baginda Sultan 18a 60c
 Baginda Sultan yang gani 61c
 Duli 11d 48b
 Duli Baginda 24a 67d 83a
 Duli Hadirat 10d
 Duli Penembah 48c
 Duli yang bahari 49c
 Duli yang syahda 13c
 Marhum 120b
 Marhum Mangkat Buantan 258d
 Marhum Paduka Ayahanda 119b
 Marhum yang bertakhta 180b
 Paduka Ayahanda 71c 83d 113b
 Paduka Baginda 84c
 Paduka Ratu 51a 88c
 Raja 55c
 Raja Bestari 15a
 Raja usali 20a
 Sri Paduka Ayahanda 96b
 Tuanku 48b

RAJA ALAM

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 seberang-meny seberang 283a
 sebuk 430b
 sebut
 tersebutlah 110a
 segala 45d 87c
 segara 197d
 segi 285b
 selang
 berselang-selang 8d
 selap
 menyelap 37d
 selika 465c
 selup 8b 59a
 sembilu 505d
 senak
 menyenak 32a
 senda 103d 510b
 seperti 23c
 serang
 serang-meny erang 81c
 serikat 236c
 sesak
 sesak 520c
 sesak belah 13b
 sesaklah 62b 176b
 sesal 112d
 setia
 setianya 546b
 setinggar 382c
 si laknat 273d
 Siak 345d
 siapa 91c
 silah
 bersilah-silah 179a
 silsilah
 bersilsilah 179a
 sipat 149b
 siuman 528d
 songsong
 menyongsong 19d 340b
 Sri Bupati 158a
 sudah 70b 71a 89c 204a 225a
 sugul
 kesugulan 222b
 suku
 pesukuan 467c
 sunat 153b
 sungguh
 sungguhpun 182b 360c

- surat
 suratan 522a
 susuk
 menyusuk 125d
 Syafaat 121c
 Syah 44a
 syahid 154c
 syair 333a
 syariat 155d
- tabib 140d 141b 144b 149b
 tafakur 524a
 tahana
 bertahana 443c
 tahta
 bertahta 352d
 tak 150d 531c
 takhta 352d
 takluk
 ketaklukannya 9a
 tamasya 260d
 tampan 264b
 tampar
 menampar 541c
 Tandang 259a
 tanggung
 tanggungan 535a
 tangkil
 bertangkil 196c
 Tanjung Lada-Lada 324b
 Tanjung Pedada 324b
 tarik
 menarik 28a
 tarikh
 setarikh 226b
 taruh
 menaruhkan 195c
 tasik 197d
 tatah
 menatah 370d
 tawarikh
 setawarikh 226b
 telan
 tertelan 136c
 tembak
 menembakkan 401d
 tendang
 menendang 355d
 tengadah 521d
- tengah
 ditengah 197d
 tentang
 menentang 139a 145b 160a
 tepat
 ditepatkan 506d
 terang 567a
 terang laras 434d
 terbang
 berterbangan 428a
 termasa 260d
 teruk 223c
 terungku 476d
 tetapan 209a 215b
 tewas
 bertewasan 358a
 tiarap
 meniarap 431c
 tidak
 tidak 7b
 tidaklah 527b
 tiada 162c
 Tih 256b
 tikam
 pertikaman 251d
 timbalan
 bertimbangan 255b
 timbang
 ditimbang 241a
 timpas 99a 131a
 tinggal
 meninggalkan 51c
 titi
 bertiti-titi 425c
 Tuan 271b
 tuba 44d
 tuju
 menuju 33b
 tunduk
 tunduk 521d
 menundukkan 210d
 tungku 476d
 tunjuk
 tunjuk 251b
 mempertunjukkan 251b
 tuntung
 menuntung 347c
 turun
 turun temurun 179b

- tusu
 menuku 404c
- tutur
 bertutur 41b
- udara
 mengudara 345c
- ugahari 63c
- ulama 386d
- umanat
 berumanat 152b
 diumanat 191b
- undur 212a
- untung
 untung 107a
 untungnya 86c
- utung
 mengutung 347b
- wajak
 wajaknya 137d
- wakap 321c
- wal-jum'ah 154d
- Wallahi 266d
- wangkap
 terwangkap 141c
- warna
 warnanya 547c
- warta
 wartanya 127c
- Wilanda 233d
- wirang 239d
- zaman 528c
- zamzam 144d
- zat 1d

A Translation of extracts from a letter from H.C.Klinkert provided by G.L.Koster.

Letter from H.C.Klinkert to the Executive Committee of the Nederlands Bijbel Genootschap, dated Riouw, 2 September 1864

From Datoek Hadji Ibrahim, the Master, and his son Abdullah, the clerk of Mr von de Wall, I receive more visits than I care for, because they very cleverly make sure to profit more from me than I from them...(through this visit)... I finally obtained a clerk from there, a quiet and modest man Entjik Moemin, the son of the High Priest of the mosque. He writes a good hand, though somewhat slowly, but, what is more important: he has an excellent knowledge of Malay words and their meaning and is much travelled, e.g. to Siak, Malacca, Rongga, Singapore, etc. No sooner was he with me than Mr von de Wall's clerk and the viceroy tried to entice him away from me. ...fifty guilders per month, like Mr von de Wall, I am unable to guarantee him... And yet, f50 is nothing in comparison with what a Malay clerk from Singapore would cost me. Through the intermediary of my clerk I came into possession of a set of eight manuscripts, the names of which I will mention here briefly: 1. Hikajat Djohan Malikan , 2. Sjair Dagang, 3. Hikajat Shah Ferman dan Zifel (?G.K) Namar, 4. Sjair Zoebeidah, 5. Sjair Selindoeng Dalima, 6. Sjair Signor Kasta, 7. Sjair Haris, 8. Hikajat Langlang. This volume I acquired out of private means... From Mr Keasberry I received a handwritten copy of the Pantja Tandran by Abdoellah bin Abdel Kadis. ...Another manuscript entitled Hikajat Prang Siak was presented to me by Mr V. Angelbeek of this city. This is not the least important one as it contains a story in verse of the war between Siak and the Dutch. However, I believe that I do not have the complete text, as the ordinary Tamat is missing from it. My clerk is of a different opinion and explains that my copy contains more than what is available at the viceroy's on Penjingat. I do hope that, on reading the manuscript, this will prove to be true. My manuscript belonged to the Jem Toewan of Siak from whose selir I bought the other manuscripts.

ORAL COMPOSITION OF THE *SYAIR PERANG SIAK*

by Phillip L. Thomas

That the Malay *syair* should be treated as an example of oral literature is not at all obvious. With the single exception of Koster and Maier's seminal treatment of *syair* presentation (1982), no study has satisfactorily described the conditions of its performance, and until this is done all comments must be speculative in nature. In the following essay I shall detail some features of the *Syair Perang Siak* (SPS) that strongly suggest that the compositional techniques it displays are those typical of oral poetry.

Oral literature studies have grown out of Parry's and Lord's examinations of twentieth century Yugoslavian poetry (Parry 1971; Lord 1971). The immediate result of this work has been an understanding of how the archaic Greek poems of Homer were composed. More recently, the implications of their work have been applied by students of cultural anthropology, folklore, and linguistics to other regions of the world.¹ Through Parry and Lord's influence, certain features of the Yugoslavian tradition have come to shape the perception of what an oral text is assumed to be. Because the Yugoslavian works are long narrative poems similar to the Homeric texts, works of a lesser length have often failed to exhibit the full range of "oral" features.² Their central theory is directed primarily towards lengthy, narrative poems and consists of a number of observations, of which the following are important for our present concerns:

1. **Orality:** The orality of a literary work arises not from its being composed without written assistance, but in the simultaneity of its composition and performance (Lord 1971:5). Because students of Malay literature have only worked with written manuscripts without involving themselves with the recording of *syair* performances, orality has not been seen as an essential feature of *syair*. This is particularly aggravated by the practice of chanters, be they oral poets or readers of a text, of chanting with a written *syair* text before them.

2. **Themes:** The compositional units or "themes" that constitute the story's episodes are short segments which are recombined with other themes in many places within the same poem or in other poems of its tradition. A sample theme may be "opening a door," "praises of a great man," or "eating."

Printed editions of *syair* often have their text divided into chapters (*bab*) which are analogous to the chapters of prose literature; however, editors tend only to note smaller segments incidentally while giving chapter summaries. As these arbitrary sections are not discrete or repeatable and are given no boundary definitions, they vary between chapters and from one editor to the next and are not equivalent to themes in oral literature.

3. **Expansion:** While each theme may appear many times within a poem, the number of words and lines dedicated to each instance of a theme may vary from a few lines to many hundreds of lines. In retellings—and therefore recreations—this expansion of themes frequently accounts for the diversity between variant editions of a poem.³ As there is in a major sense no "original" version, neither can there be plagiarized versions.⁴ In *syair* studies two

kinds of variants have been foregrounded: variant lines and the addition or deletion of entire episodes and chapters.⁵

4. **Formulae:** A central problem to oral composition is the difficulty of finishing the immediate text unit, e.g., a line, at the very time when the poet must plan for subsequent lines and themes. In Greek and Yugoslavian works, the solution has been the use of *formulae*, words or word sequences used in the same metrical position, particularly at the end of the line, which have a weak or empty semantic contribution so that they can be plugged in with minimal semantic collision with adjacent words (Lord 1971:4). The choice of which formula to use is determined first by the number of syllables required to fill the line and secondly by its aptness. For *syair* the required final AAAA rhyme introduces a large number of rare words or ones borrowed from Arabic to satisfy rhyme requirements. *Syair* prosody allows any word to fill a metric unit provided it has 2-4 syllables (Thomas 1979, 1980). These "empty" words exhibit similarities with the Greek and Yugoslavian *formulae* and deserve further attention.

It must be emphasized that *formulae* are not the only solution to the problem of enabling on-going composition during performance. Among the Ibaluy of Northern Luzon and the Kejaman of Sarawak, chanters gain time for formulating the next segment during interpolative comments from a prompter in the audience. A similar system is used by the *pantun* singers in the Sarawak Malay Drum (*Gendang Melayu Sarawak*) tradition from the Kuching region.

5. **Anonymity:** A common feature of oral poetry is that it is anonymous. For the performer, the poem is a sequence of themes, not a body of memorized text with the result that the actual words of a performance may vary greatly without the poet believing that an essentially new work has been offered. Any or all performers of a poem may with equal validity be said to be its author, and as poems are transmitted through time their components can change and develop into substantially different poems. For this reason few oral poets take credit for originating a poem although many may refurbish the poem at hand to meet the immediate circumstances.⁶ The name recorded as the author of a *syair* is most often the name of the last scribe, and even the extensive space devoted by *syair* narrators in the exordium to claims of humility are phrased as spoken by the owner of the work rather than by its original creator.

6. **Audience and Poet:** The composition of audiences for oral works fluctuates. Often not sitting for the entire performance, they enter and leave at will. With very long works occupying many hours, selected episodes may be presented and even then the poem can be told over a number of days with few members of the audience present at all sessions.⁷

7. **Episodes:** To make a performance intelligible to such an audience, stories are shaped into episodes which do not require knowledge of earlier or later events. Each episode consists of a number of themes. It is likely from the audience's viewpoint that episodes are seen as the primary units for approaching the poem; for the poet, the important unit is the theme. Audiences are generally familiar with the story of the poem so that they are listening to the quality and embellishments of the performance as much as to the development of its story or to the suspense of the immediate event being told.

When oral poems are found in writing and their oral nature is not known, criticism is often directed at their verbosity, in particular the repetition of words which do not greatly contribute to the on-going meaning, the tendency of oral poets to forget what has been said before (e.g., characters who have died are later found alive), and a poem's episodic tendency to have little consequential connections from one part of the poem to another. *Syair* texts have much more continuing, non-episodic construction than poems from other traditions. In the subsequent pages we shall consider how the *SPS* is segmented and what markings of segmentation boundaries are evident.

Malay Oral Literature

The major work on Malay oral literature has been dedicated to shadow plays, folktales, and Dondang Sayang traditions (Sweeney 1972, 1973, 1974; Thomas 1982, 1986).⁸ These studies have looked at the training of the performer, the musical accompaniment, and the cultural significance of the literary works. What has been most obviously missing from Malay studies has been an examination of the *syair* genre. There is a vast literature on the origin of the *syair*, and recent years have seen many excellent editions of *syair*, most originating from the nineteenth century, but with the exception of Koster and Maier (1982), no one has discussed the actual performance of *syair*.

The reasons for the neglect of *syair* performance are many. Well into the 1950's the *syair* functioned in many areas of Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and Indonesia as the equivalent of the modern popular novel.⁹ As such, collectors of serious literature failed to give *syair* their due within Malay arts. For other areas notably Brunei, the *syair* still maintains its role in curing ceremonies.¹⁰ Thirdly, also from Brunei, the prestige of the author may actually curtail the spread of the work. The late Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin was a talented *syair* poet and privately published limited editions of his poems. To the best of my knowledge, most Brunei libraries do not hold copies of his literary publications and the standard history of Brunei literature makes no mention his contributions (Muhammad 1980).¹¹

A fourth reason for the neglect of performance studies has been the manner in which *syair* are performed. *Syair* are chanted by a performer sitting before a written text. Were it not for Siegel (1979:204-207) observing in the parallel Achehnese tradition that the words of the chant and the writing of the text show only a loose correspondence, it would not be reasonable to assume from past studies that Malay *syair* were in any way oral.

Units and signalling systems in the SPS.

The essential ingredients of a poetic composition that enable it to be orally composed are that it consist of compositional units that are thematic in the oral sense of being composed of frequently recurring events rather than of the argumentative or logical units of written compositions. Secondly, there must be one or more devices which enable the poet to round off metrical units such as lines and stanzas with ease while planning subsequent narrative directions. Oral thematic sections require further consideration in that they must be marked, which is to say that the boundaries separating themes must have formal or semantic flags consisting of discrete systems of elements which define these boundaries. This means that to make a claim for the existence of these sections, the method of identifying a demarcation should be independently verifiable by other poets and critics once the system is defined.

The SPS divides into three major and two supplementary composition sections analogous to chapters: the exordium (1-4) Raja Kecil's story (stanzas 5-109), Raja Mahmud's story (110-227), Raja Ismail's story (228-528) and the postscript (529-575). As Goudie points out earlier, all but the first section are marked by the phrases denoting the beginning of a tale: *tersebutlah kisah* (5a, 110a, 228a) and *bismillah* (529a). The three middle sections, any one of which could stand as an independent work, are notable for their concatenation into a single work.¹² Like other exordia, this begins with a praise to Allah and moves through Muhammad, the prophets, and the companions of Muhammad to end with the ruler and his humble poet.

While the exordium with its standardized ranking from Allah to poet may well qualify as an oral theme, it is the next section which sets the pattern for all subsequent themes. I will use the story of Raja Kecil for my examples and leave the reader to explore the remaining sections. Stanza 5 serves as an opening to the major section of Raja Kecil's story, the start of the episode treating the origins of Bengkalis, and the first stanza of the theme introducing this city. Not

incidentally does it provide a final *-i* rhyme. This *-i* rhyme is subsequently used as the rhyme of every first stanza of themes during the rest of the segment with only a few apparent exceptions. As a marker of initial stanzas the *-i* rhyme does not appear in a random distribution in the poem, but is placed at intervals of two to eight stanzas throughout the poem. It is able to function as a marker because of the high incidence of words in Malay ending with an /i/ sound. For example, in the *Syair Ken Tambuhan [SKT]* final *-i* words are third highest in frequency, making up 11.67% of all words but 19.24% of final words.¹³ This frequency is sufficiently high to supply a good stock of rhyming words without the necessity of drastic searching but does not force the poet to be overly concerned with avoiding too many common words.

Taking the Raja Kecil section as an example of final *-i* in its role as marker, the following episodes and themes can be identified:

- I. Bengkalis Origins:
 1. Introduction: Bengkalis (5-10)
 2. A letter arrives at the court (11-14)
 3. The Prince's journey in the forest and his arrival (15-19)

- II. The Battle of Johore
 4. The decision to attack Johore (20-26)
 5. The Fleet Sails to Perepat (27-30)
 6. The Fleet Sails to Tanah Merah (31-38)
 7. The battle of Johore (39-46)

- III. The Founding of Buantan
 8. The king desires a new state (47-48)
 9. The king orders a settlement at Buantan (49-51)
 10. The building of Buantan (52-55)
 11. Trade comes to Buantan (56-60)
 12. European traders arrive (61-62)
 13. The city expands; the good wazir (63-69)

- IV. Civil War
 14. Quarrel of the king's sons (70-75)
 15. Allah wills civil war (76-78)
 16. The king and court grieve over the war (79-86)
 17. The prince leaves (87-89)
 18. Narrator's comments (89)

- V. The Prince's Journey
 19. Raja Alam's address to his followers (90-97)
 20. Raja Alam's speech to his relatives (98-105)
 21. Raja Alam addresses his brothers and sisters (106-108)
 22. Narrator's comments (109)

The narrative section of Raja Kecil's story is composed in five major episodes. Within these episodes are three to six themes of which all but two begin with a stanza having final *-i* rhyme. These two exceptions are the two narrator's comments themes 18 and 22 which end segments IV and V. The use of the final *-i* rhymes as markers of concluding thematic stanzas

occurs in stanzas 19 and 69. In these instances, final *-i* rhymes mark the end of segments I and III. We may therefore state a general compositional unit marking rule for the *SPS*: stanzas having final *-i* rhyme mark the beginning of themes and the end of episodes.

The validity of using rhyme as a marker is further demonstrated by stanza 67, the one stanza where the rhyme does not follow the AAAA pattern. If the reading is correct, the first line of this stanza ends with a visual final *-i* (*ya*),¹⁴ but the remaining lines continue with final *-a*:

*Gempar seorang yang tidak dedai-
itulah tidak bersama ada;
sama sebaya muda-muda
itulah wazir Duli Baginda.*

This stanza introduces a new theme, the qualities of the chief minister (*wazir*). The evident hesitation over making this stanza the beginning of a new theme may be that the poet first thought of this stanza as merely one more detail in the theme of "praises to a great city" but then decided to set the minister in a separate theme with the format of "praises to a great man." This change in direction did not allow for the full introduction of the usual rhyme signal for the beginning of a new theme. If the minister's theme is set off as an independent theme, it then incorporates the final *-i* rhyme of stanza 69 which signals the end of the episode.

Final rhyme is not the only marker of themes. We have noted earlier the use of introductory words to indicate the start of each major section and to these can be added the repetition of the word *peri* (5, 45, and 70) which appears at the beginning of episodes I, III, and IV. Also noted was the change in narrator's strategy from description to commentary in themes 18 and 22. Another technique for marking beginnings of segments is anaphoric repetition of sounds in the first two opening stanzas of a theme: *Tersebutlah... /Tatkala...* (I.1.5a and 6a) or *Berjalan... / Baginda...* (I.2.11a and 12a). In the same manner, such repetitions may be used to signal the end of themes: *Surat... / Setelah...* (I.2.13a and 14a) or *Sampai... / Sudah...* (II.4.25a and 26a). Apart from making distinct a boundary, some repetitions serve to fudge the border so that there is a smooth flow between themes. These range from repetitions of the same or similar words across thematic boundaries, such as *dipersembahkan ke bawah* followed by *masuk menghadap ke bawah* (I.1.10d and II.2.11d) and *sampai / sampai* (I.3.19b and II.4.20a) to the extremely soft boundary between in the prince's farewell addresses (V.20.105 and V.21.106).

The internal evidence for the *SKT* as an oral composition resides not so much in the presence of sound repetitions or in an orderly progression of stanzas making up compositional units as to the size and nature of these units and the careful signalling of their boundaries through easily available rhyme patterns. A poet who composes through the medium of writing may use rhymes of a much rarer frequency; the oral poet must rely on a more accessible stock. In addition, the themes employed are based on types of speech events and actions (the king speaks, praises to a notable person, establishing a city) rather than on the logical development of ideas in the narrative as generally associated with themes in the sense employed in the study of written literature. Finally, most themes of the *SPS* range in length from two to eight stanzas. This is a comfortable size which allows the poet to concentrate on a sufficient amount of detail in the current theme while directing attention to the outlines of subsequent themes and episodes.

There is an urgent need for the intensive study of *syair* composition and performance. Chanters and writers of *syair* still exist and possibly so too do *syair* poets of the oral tradition. The sudden decrease in numbers from the 1950's of Malay-speaking areas where *syair* are performed places this genre high on the list of vanishing art forms which require attention. It is hoped that readers of the *Syair Perang Siak* will be stirred to undertake this task.

Tannen (1982) provides a survey of work in non literary studies of orality.

²Hymes (1981) offers examples of northwest American Indian oral works which verge between prose and poetry.

³Phillips (1981), p. 15, cites a Minangkabau example where a performance of seven nights was expanded to cover twenty-six nights.

⁴Lord (1971), p. 8. In contrast to Lord's dismissal of the problem of originality for oral poetry is Winstedt's view in *Pantun Melayu*, p. 203: "Malay singers are professed plagiarists. Variant quatrains in the text and appendix of this book show how they love to clothe the same trite sentiment and idea in slightly different garb."

⁵For example, see Teeuw's discussion of the variants in the *Syair Ken Tambuhan* (1966), p. xxi.

⁶Raja Ali Haji ibn Ahmad concludes his *Tuhfat al-Nafis* by urging his descendants to add to his work (Matheson and Andaya 1982:308). While not discounting his own role as author, this view would support the notion of a continuing line of writers, each building on the documents of the past and altering them to create a better reading of history.

⁷Lord (1971), pp. 14-17; Siegel (1979), pp. 210-211; Phillips (1981), p10.

⁸The earliest description of a Malay performance of oral poetry is Raffles (1822).

⁹Rosenah Haji Ahmad, personal communication, 1986.

¹⁰Linda Kimball, personal communication, 1975.

¹¹Syair composition in Brunei has an earlier royal precedent in the *Syair Rakis* with modern editions by P.O.K. Amar Diraja Dr. Awang Haji Mohd. Jamil Al-Sufri (1965) and Zaini Haji Ahmad Al-Haj (1978).

¹²The *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* exhibits an analogous division of its text.

¹³The ranking of words by final sound in the SKT is: -a (24.74%), -n (21.50%), -i (11.67%). As final words, the rank order changes to: -n (31.03%), -a (28.38%), and -i (19.24%).

¹⁴The letter ya represents both /i/ and /ai/; however the manuscript corruptly spells *dedai* as d-d.

SEDIKIT CATATAN TENTANG: "SYAIR PERANG SIAK"* by Tenas Effendy

Catatan tentang *Syair Perang Siak* ini saya tulis untuk memenuhi permintaan sahabat saya tuan D.J. Goudie, yang selama bertahun-tahun menekuni usahanya meneliti berbagai aspek dari syair ini. Bahan yang saya berikan ini tentulah belum seluruhnya dapat memenuhi keinginan beliau, sebab pengetahuan saya sangat terbatas, sehingga banyak hal hal penting mengenai SPS tak dapat saya ungkapkan.

Sumber utama dari tulisan ini adalah hasil dari berbagai wawancara dan diskusi yang saya lakukan dengan beberapa orang tokoh terkemuka di Pelalawan, Siak, Bengkalis, Tebing Tinggi dan sebagainya selama beberapa tahun yang silam.

Di antara tokoh-tokoh tempat saya bertanya dan berdiskusi itu adalah:

Tengku Said Umar Muhammad, beliau bekas Sekretaris pribadi Sultan Hasyim II Pelalawan, penulis silsilah keturunan Raja-raja Pelalawan dan Siak, pencatat sejarah dan adat istiadat kerajaan Pelalawan. Beliau pernah menyalin naskah SPS dalam tahun 1926 dan 1927. Beliau masih hidup, sekarang bermukim di Pekanbaru sudah berusia 80 tahun.

Tengku Tonel bin Tengku Ubaidillah, beliau bekas Jaksa Kerajaan Pelalawan, pernah menyimpan naskah SPS, pencatat sejarah kerajaan Pelalawan dan adat istiadat Melayu Pelalawan. Beliau meninggal dunia di Pekanbaru dalam usia 81 tahun.

Tengku Said Jaafar Muhammad, beliau pencatat sejarah kerajaan Pelalawan, pernah melakukan penelitian mengenai SPS, adat istiadat dan sastra lisan masyarakat Pelalawan. Beliau meninggal dunia di Pekanbaru dalam usia 67 tahun.

Tengku Nazir Alwy, penulis sejarah kerajaan Pelalawan, pernah mempelajari SPS, dan banyak menulis mengenai ungkapan tradisional Melayu Riau. Beliau pernah pula menulis buku tentang cerita rakyat Riau. Beliau meninggal di Pekanbaru dalam usia 62 tahun.

Tengku Said Harun, bekas Sultan kerajaan Pelalawan yang terakhir. Beliau meninggal di Pelalawan dalam usia 53 tahun.

Tengku Iohan Ibrahim, bekas guru Sekolah Rakyat, dalam tahun 1937 menyalin SPS di Pelalawan. Beliau sekarang bermukim di Pekanbaru dalam usia 67 tahun.

* This article was received after the work had gone to the publisher and so the wealth of precise detail it contains may not have had the influence it should on the direction and shape of the Introduction. It has, however, made one section of argumentation and conjecture superfluous, allowing it to be dropped. Spelling conventions for transcribing Jawi have not been adjusted. Some names will therefore be spelt differently in this section.

Said Muhammad Tengku Jang, beliau amat terkenal di Siak dan Pelalawan sebagai penulis silsilah keturunan Raja-raja Siak dan Pelalawan, ahli sejarah Siak dan Pelalawan dan pernah menyimpan naskah SPS serta banyak mengetahui tentang SPS itu. Beliau meninggal di Siak dalam usia sekitar 87 tahun.

Orang Kaya Muhammad Jamil, bekas Sekretaris Sultan Syarif Kasim II Siak, rajin mencatat sejarah Siak, pernah membaca dua buah naskah SPS dan mengetahui pula tentang sejarah SPS. Beliau meninggal dunia di Pekanbaru setelah pensiun dari jabatan terakhirnya sebagai Walikota Pekanbaru dalam usia 70 tahun.

Tengku Long Mahmud Omar, bekas ajudan Sultan Syarif Kasim II Siak, pernah membaca naskah SPS di istana Siak, ahli silsilah keturunan raja-raja Siak. Beliau meninggal di Pekanbaru dalam usia 82 tahun.

Tengku Mansyur Omar, seorang yang rajin membaca SPS, lama bermukim di Langkat (Tanjung Pura). Beliau meninggal di Aceh dalam usia 79 tahun.

Imam Suhail, bekas Imam Kerajaan Siak. Beliau pernah membaca SPS, mencatat sejarah Siak dan banyak mengetahui SPS. Beliau meninggal di Siak dalam usia 80 tahun.

Tengku Syarifah Masmî, isteri Tengku Tonel, penggemar SPS dan hampir hafal isi SPS. Beliau meninggal di Pekanbaru dalam usia 80 tahun.

Tengku Syarifah Zaharah, penggemar syair dan hampir hafal isi SPS. Beliau meninggal di Pekanbaru dalam usia 83 tahun.

Tengku Syarifah Fatimah, pernah menghafal SPS dan menyimpan SPS. Beliau terkenal sebagai salah seorang ahli membaca syair di Pelalawan. Beliau meninggal di Pelalawan dalam usia 85 tahun.

Tengku Syarifah Zulaika, pernah membaca SPS dan masih ingat sebagian isi SPS. Beliau masih hidup, sekarang bermukim di Pekanbaru dalam usia 81 tahun.

Tengku Syarifah Azamah, isteri Tengku Said Umar Muhammad. Beliau pernah menghafal SPS. Beliau meninggal dalam usia 74 tahun di Pekanbaru.

Selain dari nama-nama tokoh yang saya sebutkan di atas, masih banyak nama-nama lainnya di Pelalawan, Siak, Bengkalis, Tebing Tinggi, Langkat dan sebagainya yang pernah saya wawancarai atau berdiskusi, tetapi namanya tak dapat saya sebutkan satu persatu di dalam tulisan singkat ini.

Satu hal yang sangat saya puji dan kagumi, bahwa beliau-beliau itu semuanya sangat cermat dan hati-hati dalam memberikan keterangannya, karena mereka sangatlah menjaga marwah dan martabatnya. Mereka amat takut kalau-kalau keterangannya menyimpang dari kebenaran. (Mereka kuatir, keterangan yang keliru, menjadi dosa terhadap nenek moyang dan anak cucunya).

Kepada beliau-beliau itu sangatlah besar hutang budi saya, karena pengetahuan saya tentang SPS hampir seluruhnya saya peroleh dari mereka. Semoga Allah melimpahkan rahmatNya kepada mereka.

1. Tentang Naskah SPS di Pelalawan

Naskah *Syair Perang Siak* yang ada di Palawan berasal dari Siak. Maksudnya, naskah SPS itu dibawa ke Pelalawan dari Siak, oleh Sultan Hasyim I (Assyaidis Syarif Hasyim Fakhruddin Tengku Besar Pelalawan (1822-1828) ketika beliau pergi ke Siak tahun 1827 untuk menyelesaikan sengketa mencari dan menentukan pengganti Sultan Ibrahim (Siak) yang mendapat sakit gila.

Naskah itu selanjutnya di simpan di istana Pelalawan. Sejak itulah, pada setiap tanggal 1 bulan Muharam, naskah SPS dibacakan di istana Pelalawan di hadapan Sultan beserta Orang Besar Kerajaan, dihadiri pula oleh kaum kerabat Sultan dan Orang patut-patut, termasuk Kadi, Bilal, Khatib dan Imam Kerajaan. Kebiasaan itu terus berlanjut sampai ke masa pemerintahan Sultan Hasyim II (Assyaidis Syarif Hasyim Abdul Rahman Fakhruddin Tengku Besar Pelalawan 1892-1930).

Dalam masa pemerintahan Sultan Tengku Sontol Said Ali (Assyaidis Syarif Sontol Said Ali Fakhruddin Tengku Besar Pelalawan 1886-1892), naskah SPS yang dibawa Sultan Hasyim I dari Siak disalin oleh Jurutulis (sekretaris) Kerajaan Pelalawan yang bernama Encik So'omo atas perintah Sultan Tengku Sontol Said Ali. Salinan itulah yang kemudian dibacakan di istana Pelalawan pada setiap tanggal 1 Muharam, sedangkan yang dibawa dari Siak itu di simpan oleh Sultan.

Dalam tahun 1926, naskah SPS yang disalin Encik So'omo itu mulai rusak, karena selain dibacakan di istana dalam upacara resmi, rupanya sering pula dibaca oleh kerabat Sultan. Maka Sultan Hasyim II yang memerintah ketika itu menyuruh cicitnya yang juga menjadi Jurutulis pribadinya yang bernama Tengku Said Umar Muhammad untuk menyalin naskah SPS itu. Oleh Tengku Said Umar Muhammad, naskah SPS itu disalinnya sebanyak dua buah. Salinan pertama selesai tahun 1926, disimpan oleh Sultan Hasyim II dan salinan kedua diselesaikannya tahun 1927, disimpan oleh bundanya yang bernama Tengku Syarifah Fatimah. (Tengku Syarifah Fatimah adalah cucu Sultan Hasyim II, pada masa itu terkenal sebagai ahli membaca syair).

Dalam tahun 1926 dan 1927 itu juga, atas perkenan Sultan Hasyim II, naskah SPS (salinan Encik So'omo) di salin pula oleh Tengku Nomel Said Hasan bin Tengku Ubaidillah sebanyak dua naskah. Sebuah disimpan oleh Tengku Said Saleh (Jaksa Kerajaan Pelalawan) dan sebuah lagi disimpannya sendiri. (kemudian, setelah beliau meninggal, naskah itu disimpan oleh adiknya Tengku Tonel yang menjadi Jaksa Kerajaan Pelalawan menggantikan Tengku Said Saleh).

Dalam tahun 1929, naskah SPS yang disalin Tengku Said Umar Muhammad (yang disimpan bundanya Tengku Syarifah Fatimah) disalin pula oleh Tengku Said Tahar bin Tengku Buntal Said Alwi sebanyak satu buah. Naskah itu disimpannya sendiri. Setelah beliau meninggal tahun 1946, naskah itu tak pernah lagi ditemukan.

Tahun 1930 Sultan Hasyim II meninggal. Menjelang puteranya Tengku Said Harun dilantik menjadi Sultan, untuk sementara pemerintahan dipegang oleh Tengku Said Osman (Tengku Regent) bin Tengku Ubaidillah (1930-1940). Sesudah itu barulah Tengku Said Harun dinobatkan menjadi Sultan Pelalawan 1940-1946. (Setelah tahun 1946 beliau menjadi pegawai pemerintah Republik Indonesia yakni sebagai Wedana Pelalawan sampai beliau meninggal 1962).

Selama masa peralihan itu (sejak Sultan Hasyim II mangkat), kebiasaan membacakan SPS secara resmi di istana Pelalawan tidak lagi dilakukan. Hal ini terjadi, sebab Sultan yang lama (Hasyim II) sudah meninggal, sedangkan Sultan yang baru (Tengku Said Harun) belum dilantik, sehingga upacara itu tidak dapat dilakukan di istana. Sayangnya, setelah Tengku Said Harun dilantik menjadi Sultan, kebiasaan itupun tidak pula dihidupkan kembali, sehingga hilang sama sekali. Namun demikian, walaupun kebiasaan membaca SPS secara resmi tidak dilakukan (sejak Hasyim II meninggal),

kebiasaan kalangan bangsawan membaca SPS di rumah-rumah tetap berlangsung. (Sebab membaca syair sudah menjadi kegemaran penduduk, termasuk membaca SPS yang amat dihormati itu).

Naskah SPS yang sering dibacakan di rumah-rumah itu adalah: naskah yang disalin Tengku Said Umar Muhammad yang disimpan bundanya Tengku Syarifah Fatimah, naskah yang disalin Tengku Nomel dan naskah yang disalin Tengku Said Tahir. Dan dalam tahun 1937, naskah itu bertambah sa tu buah lagi, yang disalin oleh Tengku Johan Ibrahim, yang menyalinnya dari naskah salinan Tengku Said Umar Muhammad.

Tengku Said Umar Muhammad yang menjadi Jurutulis pribadi Sultan Hasyim II, setelah Sultan itu mangkat, berhenti dari jabatannya. Selama beberapa tahun beliau menekuni mempelajari arsip-arsip yang diada istana Pelalawan bersama adiknya Tengku Said Jaafar Muhammad. Beliau sempat menyalin beberapa naskah tentang sejarah, adat istiadat, silsilah Raja-raja Pelalawan dan lain sebagainya. Dalam tahun 1936 beliau pindah ke Kuala Panduk, sebuah desa kecil jauh di hilir Pelalawan. Di sana beliau melanjutkan menekuni penelitiannya sambil menulis beberapa catatan hasil penelitiannya. Sekitar tahun 1938 beliau meminjam naskah SPS yang disimpan bundanya dan membawanya ke Kuala Panduk. Malangnya, dalam tahun 1941 rumah beliau di Kuala Panduk musnah terbakar. Kebakaran itu menyebabkan seluruh arsip dan hasil penelitiannya punah, termasuk naskah SPS yang dipinjamnya.

Setelah Jepang berkuasa di Indonesia, banyaklah arsip-arsip di istana dan di rumah-rumah penduduk yang dimusnahkan orang, karena mereka kuatir dicurigai atau dituduh sebagai "kaki tangan" Belanda.

Selanjutnya, selama masa revolusi kemerdekaan Indonesia, (1945-1949) banyak pula arsip-arsip di istana dan milik pribadi yang musnah, hilang atau rusak. (Waktu itu, hampir seluruh penduduk meninggalkan rumahnya untuk pergi mengungsi ke daerah pedalaman selama berbulan-bulan, sehingga harta benda mereka tinggal begitu saja tanpa diperdulikan lagi).

Dalam tahun 1950, Tengku said Umar Muhammad kembali pindah ke Pelalawan. Beliau bersama adiknya Tengku Said Jaafar Muhammad dan adik sepupunya Tengku Nazir bin Tengku Tonel, berusaha mengumpulkan kembali sisa-sisa arsip di istana Pelalawan dan arsip lainnya, termasuk mencari naskah SPS. Ternyata arsip di istana sudah hilang, rusak dan sebagainya, sehingga apa yang diharapkan tidaklah ditemui lagi. Sedangkan naskah SPS, baik yang tersimpan di istana maupun yang lainnya, tak satupun di jumpai.

Selama beberapa tahun Tengku Said Umar Muhammad dan kedua adiknya mencari SPS, tetapi belum juga berhasil. Barulah kemudian, dalam tahun 1955 naskah SPS yang disalin Tengku Johan Ibrahim berhasil ditemui, tetapi sudah banyak halamannya yang hilang dan banyak pula tulisannya yang luntur dan kabur. Naskah itu kemudian disimpan oleh Tengku Said Umar Muhammad.

Ketika Tengku Said Umar Muhammad pindah ke Pekanbaru (1956), naskah itu beliau bawa ke sana. Dalam tahun tahun 1958-1960, naskah SPS itu beberapa kali saya bawa ke Siak. Tahun 1962, naskah itu dipinjam pula oleh Tengku Nazir Alwy dan baru dikembalikannya tahun 1964. Selanjutnya, dalam tahun 1966, naskah itu diserahkan oleh Tengku Said Umar Muhammad kepada saya agar dapat saya *susun kembali* dengan melengkapi bagian-bagian yang hilang dan rusak. (Pekerjaan itu saya lakukan selama kurang lebih dua tahun. Bagaimana saya menyusunnya kembali, akan saya uraikan dalam bagian khusus dari tulisan ini.)

Dalam tahun 1974, naskah SPS itu saya kembalikan kepada Tengku Said Umar Muhammad. Menurut beliau, naskah itu kemudian dipinjam lagi oleh Tengku Nazir Alwy sekitar tahun 1975. Sejak naskah SPS itu saya kembalikan (1974) naskah itu tak pernah lagi saya

lihat. Dan setelah Tengku Nazir Alwy meninggal di Pekanbaru tahun 1984 naskah itu tidaklah diketahui kemana perginya. Kepada keluarga almarhum sudah saya minta bantuannya untuk mencari naskah itu, tetapi sampai sekarang belum ada hasilnya. Menurut mereka, selama almarhum Tengku Nazir Alwy sakit sampai beliau meninggal, banyak pula arsip beliau yang hilang, karena rumah beliau di kota Bangkinang (tempat arsip-arsip itu disimpannya) selalu ditinggalkan mereka, sebab mereka pindah ke Pekanbaru untuk merawat Tengku Nazir di rumah sakit Pekanbaru. Dengan hilangnya naskah SPS, hilang pulalah satu-satunya sisa SPS yang pernah dikenal di Pelalawan.

Saya pernah pula mendapat informasi yang menyebutkan, bahwa naskah SPS yang berada di Pelalawan berasal dari Encik Abdullah yang membawanya dari Trengganu (Malaysia). Informasi ini (kalau saya tidak keliru) pernah saya sampaikan kepada tuan. Tetapi setelah saya melakukan penelitian lanjut, ternyata informasi itu belumlah dapat dipastikan kebenarannya. Menurut keterangan Tengku Said Umar Muhammad, Said Muhammad Tengku Jang, Tengku Syarifah Masmii, Tengku Syarifah Zahara, Tengku Syarifah Fatimah, Tengku Syarifah Azamah dan beberapa orang tua-tua lainnya, naskah SPS itu belum diyakini sepenuhnya berasal dari Trengganu. Mereka lebih cenderung berpendapat, bahwa naskah tersebut adalah salinan Encik Abdullah dari naskah SPS di Pelalawan, bukan dibawanya dari Trengganu. Tetapi tidak seorangpun yang mengetahui, kapan disalinnya dan dari naskah yang mana beliau menyalinnya. Mereka berpendapat demikian, karena isi SPS Encik Abdullah itu sama dengan isi SPS yang dikenal turun temurun di Pelalawan. Anehnya, orang tua-tua itu beranggapan pula, bahwa SPS Encik Abdullah itu lebih tua dari SPS yang disalin Tengku Said Umar Muhammad (1926-1927), bahkan ada yang mengatakan bahwa naskah itu semasa dengan SPS dalam masa pemerintahan Tengku Sontol Said Ali.

Orang Kaya Muhammad Jamil dan Tengku Long Mahmud dari Siak berpendapat, bahwa naskah Encik Abdullah itu, (kalau benar dibawanya dari Trengganu, sebab keduanya belum pernah melihatnya tetapi mempercayai adanya naskah itu), maka ada kemungkinan naskah itu *berasal* dari naskah "asli" yang mungkin dibawa oleh Sultan Yahya (putera Ismail) dari Siak ke Dungun, setelah beliau pindah ke sana ketika tahta Siak diambil oleh Syarif Ali.

Saya sudah mencoba meneliti naskah Encik Abdullah ini, tetapi sampai sekarang belumlah diperoleh informasi dan data yang jelas. Informasi yang ada, semuanya bersifat dugaan yang sulit untuk di jadikan pegangan. Tetapi kalaulah naskah SPS Encik Abdullah itu benar berasal dari naskah "aslinya", tentulah terdapat perbedaan isinya dengan naskah SPS yang ada di Palalawan, karena SPS di Pelalawan adalah berasal dari naskah yang sudah dirobah atau disuruh robah oleh Muhammad Ali.

Di dalam buku Sejarah Riau (Drs. Mukhtar Luthfi, dkk, ed. Universitas Riau 1977, halaman 350) ada disebutkan,:

"Dalam bidang sastra pun terlihat kemajuannya sebab pada masa pemerintahan Sultan ini (Tengku Sontol Said Ali, pen) digubah Syair Perang Siak"

Saya melihat, apa yang ditulis dalam buku tersebut sangatlah diragukan kebenarannya, sebab sepanjang informasi yang ada, beliau (Tengku Sontol Said Ali) tidaklah menyuruh Orang Besarnya menggubah SPS, tetapi hanya menyuruh salin saja dari

* See above pp 17-18

naskah SPS yang sudah ada waktu itu, tanpa menrobahnya. Kalau menggubah dapat berarti merombak karangan lama atau menyusun karangan baru, sedangkan menyalin, semata-mata menulis sesuai menurut apa yang disalinnya dengan tidak merubah, menambah atau menguranginya. Di samping itu, saya tidak pula melihat alasan Tengku Sontol untuk merubah SPS yang sudah ada itu.

2. Tentang Naskah SPS di Siak.

Dalam tahun 1958-1960, ketika saya menjadi guru pada salah satu Sekolah Menengah Pertama di Siak, saya mencoba menelusuri naskah SPS yang pernah ada di Siak. Penelitian itu saya lakukan, karena menurut Tengku Said Umar Muhammad, di sana tentulah ada naskah SPS, dan beliau ingin membandingkannya dengan naskah SPS yang beliau simpan waktu itu (salinan Tengku Johan Ibrahim 1937). Selain itu, beliau ingin pula untuk mencoba melengkapi SPS yang ada pada beliau yang tidak lengkap itu.

Selama hampir dua tahun di Siak, saya berusaha mencari informasi tentang SPS di sana. Saya menghubungi keluarga Sultan Siak yang ada di sana, menghubungi bekas Orang Besar Kerajaan dan Orangtua-tua yang saya anggap mengetahui SPS.

Walaupun saya tidak berhasil menjumpai naskah SPS di Siak, tetapi berbagai informasi yang saya peroleh dapat pula memberi petunjuk tentang SPS yang pernah dikenal di sana.

Usaha penelitian saya di Siak, mendapat bantuan sepenuhnya dari keluarga Sultan Siak, dari bekas Orang Besar Kerajaan Siak, di antaranya adalah: Said Muhammad Tengku Jang, Tengku Long Mahmud, Tengku Mansyur Omar, Orang Kaya Muhamad Jamil, Iman Suhail dan lain-lainnya.

Saya berkali-kali mendapat kesempatan untuk meneliti sebahagian besar sisa-sisa arsip yang masih terdapat di istana dan di Balai Kerapatan Tinggi Siak. Tetapi sangatlah disayangkan, karena tak satupun naskah SPS yang saya jumpai, dan tak ada pula dokumen yang dapat memberi petunjuk tentang syair ini.

Sebab itu, saya mencurahkan perhatian saya kepada tokoh-tokoh tua yang ada di Siak, terutama dari kalangan bangsawan dan bekas Orang Besar Kerajaan Siak, termasuk mereka yang saya sebutkan tadi. (Usaha ini selama beberapa tahun kemudian saya lanjutkan lagi, terutama dalam penelitian saya mempelajari sejarah dan silsilah Raja-raja kerajaan Siak dan Pelalawan).

Berdasarkan keterangan dan informasi dari tokoh-tokoh di atas, serta berbagai informasi lainnya yang saya peroleh di Bengkalis, Tebing Tinggi (Selatpanjang), Langkat (Tanjungpura) dan sebagainya, maka penjelasan tentang SPS di Siak adalah sebagai berikut:

Naskah *Syair Perang Siak pertama sekali sampai* di Siak dalam masa pemerintahan Sultan Muhammad Ali Abdul Jalil Muazzam Syah (1766 – 1779). Siapa yang menuliskannya dan siapa pula yang membawanya tidaklah diketahui.

Menurut ceritanya, naskah SPS itu sebelum dibacakan di istana Siak (waktu itu berkedudukan di Kampung Bukit Senapelan yang sekarang menjadi Pekanbaru) terlebih dahulu dirobah atau di suruh robah beberapa bagian isinya oleh Sultan Muhammad Ali. Bagian-bagian yang dirobah itu terutama yang dianggapnya dapat menimbulkan kesan buruk terhadap ayahnya Sultan Alamuddin (Raja Alam). Di dalam naskah "asli" nya, Raja Alam digambarkan sebagai seteru Siak dan sekutu Belanda (karena is merebut tahta Siak dari Ismail dengan bantuan Belanda), sedangkan di dalam naskah yang sudah dirobah itu, beliau digambarkan menduduki tahta Siak dan menggantikan Ismail secara wajar.

Mengapa Muhammad Ali dapat menerima SPS? Alasan pertama, karena namanya disanjung di dalam SPS sebagai salah seorang pahlawan Siak dalam peperangan melawan

Belanda, sehingga mengangkat martabatnya di mata rakyatnya. Kedua, beliau adalah ipar Sultan Ismail dan teman seperjuangannya dalam peperangan melawan Belanda di Guntung, sehingga hubungan pribadinya dengan Ismail tetap kuat. Ketiga, dengan merobah beberapa bahagian dari isi SPS, beliau dapat pula memulihkan nama baik ayahnya (baik untuk pengikutnya di masa itu, maupun untuk anak cucunya di kemudian hari), dan sekaligus memperkecil pertentangan antara pengikut ayahnya dengan pengikut Ismail. Keempat, besar pula kemungkinan, bahawa ia menerima SPS karena desakkan isterinya, sebab isterinya secara diam-diam berusaha pula membantu abangnya (Ismail) untuk dapat kembali menduduki tahta Siak.

Ketika Ismail kembali berkuasa di Siak (1779-1781), tidak pula diketahui apakah beliau merobah kembali naskah SPS yang sudah dirobah Muhammad Ali itu atau tidak. Menurut informasi yang saya peroleh, Ismail tidak merobahnya karena: pertama, beliau sudah merasa puas dapat kembali menduduki tahta Siak. Kedua, beliau menyadari pula bahwa di antara Orang Besar Kerajaan Siak masih banyak yang setia kepada Alamuddin (walaupun waktu itu Alamuddin sudah meninggal) dan Muhammad Ali. Sikap Ismail itu adalah wajar, karena waktu itu beliau menghadapi berbagai persoalan yang sulit. Dari dalam, beliau masih berhadapan dengan pengikut-pengikut dan keturunan Alamuddin, dan dari luar, ia berhadapan pula dengan Belanda. Sebab, bagaimanapun juga, hubungan Ismail dengan Belanda tidaklah baik benar. Sebagai bekas musuh, tentulah kedua belah pihak saling curiga mencurigai. Jadi, untuk mempertahankan kedudukannya serta mendapatkan dukungan dari rakyat dan para Orang Besar Kerajaan, beliau berusaha untuk tidak menimbulkan perpecahan baru dengan merobah kembali naskah SPS yang sudah dirobah Muhammad Ali itu.

Setelah Sultan Ismail meninggal, puteranya Yahya dilantik menggantikan ayahnya (1782-1784). Beliau memindahkan pusat kerajaan Siak dari Kampung Bukit Senapelan ke Mempura. Selama masa pemerintahannya, tidaklah diketahui, apakah ia ada merobah kembali isi SPS atau tidak.

Di zaman pemerintahan Sultan Syarif Ali (1784-1811), pusat pemerintahan dipindahkannya dari Mempura ke Kota Tinggi (Siak Sri Indrapura sekarang). Syarif Ali bersama ayahnya Said Othman Syahabuddin dan adiknya Said Abdul Rahman dan Said Ahmad Tengku Busu, mulai meluaskan wilayah kerajaan Siak dengan menyerang beberapa daerah di persisiran timur pantai Sumatera. Ketika itulah SPS mulai dibacakan kembali di istana Siak untuk membangkitkan semangat mereka dalam berperang. (Sepanjang informasi yang diperoleh, selain dari SPS dibacakan pula syair dan hikayat-hikayat lainnya, yang berisi semangat kepahlawanan. Dan konon, ketika Said Osman gugur dalam peperangan di Batu Bahara, kematian beliau tidak diberitahukan kepada prajurit-prajurit Siak. Waktu jenazahnya di bawa dari Batu Bahara ke kampung Bukit Senapelan, dalam pelayaran itu Tukang Syair Kerajaan tetap juga membacakan syairnya seakan-akan beliau masih hidup, sehingga prajurit Siak tidak mengetahui bahwa beliau sudah mangkat. Syair yang dibacakan di sepanjang pelayaran itu adalah SPS dan syair Cil Kodo Agam (Encik Nahkoda Agam). Barulah kemudian, setelah kapal berlabuh di Senapelan, prajurit Siak mengetahui bahwa pemimpinnya itu sudah meninggal).

Dalam masa pemerintahan Syarif Ali itu naskah SPS diperbanyak (disalin) sebanyak tiga buah. Sebuah disimpan di istana Siak oleh Syarif Ali, sebuah disimpan Said Abdul Rahman, dan sebuah lagi disimpan oleh Said Ahmad Tengku Busu. (Said Abdul Rahman kemudian menjadi Sultan (Tengku Besar) Pelalawan dan Said Ahmad Tengku Busu menjadi Tengku Panglima Besar Kerajaan Siak sekaligus penguasa Tebing Tinggi. Jadi, besar kemungkinan, bahwa naskah SPS yang diambil oleh Sultan Hasyim I (Pelalawan) tahun 1827 di istana Siak itu adalah milik ayahnya (Abdul Rahman) yang tertinggal di

istana Siak).

Setelah Syarif Ali meninggal (1811), penggantinya adalah puteranya Sultan Ibrahim (1811-1827). Sultan Ibrahim menderita sakit gila, sehingga untuk mencari penggantinya terjadilah perselisihan di kalangan pembesar Siak. Untuk menyelesaikannya, dijemputlah Sultan Hasyim I dari Pelalawan, sebab beliau oleh Syarif Ali diangkat pula menjadi Yang Dipertuan Muda Siak. Hasyim I kemudian mengangkat Ismail bin Said Muhammad (Assyaidis Syarif Ismail Abduljalil Syafuddin 1827-1864) menggantikan Ibrahim. Padahal, waktu Ismail di lantik, beliau masih kecil. Maka pemerintahan dilaksanakan oleh ayahnya. Pengangkatan Ismail semakin menimbulkan perpecahan di kalangan istana Siak, terutama karena putera-putera Ibrahim merasa, merekalah yang berhak atas tahta Siak dan menggantikan ayahnya. Akibatnya, terjadilah berbagai kemelut yang menyebabkan keluarga kerajaan semakin terpecah belah. Dalam masa kemelut itulah SPS mulai jarang dibacakan secara resmi di istana Siak.

Selanjutnya, setelah Ismail memerintah, pengaruh Belanda semakin tertanam di Siak. Ismail yang kemudian terikat pula kepada perjanjiannya dengan Belanda, tentulah kuatir untuk membacakan SPS di istananya, karena SPS berisikan kisah perlawanan Siak terhadap Belanda. (Kebiasaan membaca SPS, syair dan hikayat lainnya pada masa-masa sebelumnya, selalu bertujuan untuk membangkitkan semangat kepahlawanan bagi pendengarnya).

Sejak itulah, menurut Said Muhammad Tengku Jang, O.K.Moh. Jamil, Tengku Long Mahmud, Tengku Mansyur Omar, Imam Suhail dan sebahagian besar keturunan bangsawan Siak, naskah SPS tidak lagi dibacakan dalam upacara resmi di istana Siak. Namun demikian, SPS tetap juga dibaca di rumah-rumah, terutama di kalangan bangsawan Siak, sehingga cerita itu tetap hidup dan diingat orang turun temurun. Naskah SPS yang tersimpan di istana itu, kemudian disalin beberapa buah (jumlahnya tidak diketahui) dan menjadi milik pribadi atau keluarga mereka. Naskah salinan itulah yang selanjutnya beredar dari rumah ke rumah, sebahagian masih tinggal di Siak, sedangkan lagi dibawa keluarga Sultan yang pindah ke Bengkalis, Tebing Tinggi (Selatpanjang), bahkan pernah dibawa ke Langkat (Tanjungpura) dan Batu Pahat (Johor, Malaysia). Sepanjang penelitian saya beberapa tahun yang silam, keturunan Sultan Siak yang bermukim di Bengkalis, Tebing Tinggi dan Langkat memang pernah melihat naskah SPS atau mendengar orangtua-tua mereka menceritakan SPS di sana sampai sekitar tahun 1940-an. Sesudah itu tidaklah diketahui mereka).

Said Muhammad pernah memiliki satu buah naskah SPS, tetapi beliau tak tahu siapa nama penulisnya dan tahun berapa ditulis. Naskah itu tahun 1947 rusak (karena air hujan) dan tahun 1950-an hilang dari rumah beliau. Beliau pernah melihat satu naskah SPS di Selatpanjang, disimpan oleh Tengku Said Abubakar bin Tengku Bagus, pernah melihat naskah salinan Tengku Said Umar Muhammad, Tengku Nomel Said Hasan dan Tengku Johan Ibrahim di Pelalawan, pernah melihat sebuah naskah SPS anonim di Bengkalis, sebuah di Langkat dan sebuah di Batu Pahat. Menurut beliau, isinya sama tetapi tulisan mereka berbeda-beda.

(Ketika saya mencari naskah SPS di rumah Tengku Said Abubakar tahun 1959, beliau sudah meninggal di Mekah tahun 1954. Di rumah itu saya hanya menemukan beberapa buah catatan beliau tentang sejarah dan silsilah Raja-raja Siak, tetapi tidak menemukan naskah SPS. Menurut keluarga beliau, hampir seluruh arsipnya hilang, karena dibawa mengungsi dalam tahun-tahun 1946-1949).

Tengku Long Mahmud pernah pula melihat dan membaca naskah SPS di istana Siak ketika beliau menjadi Ajudan pribadi Sultan Syarif Kasim II antara tahun 1936-1945. Naskah itu sering dipinjam oleh keluarga terdekat Sultan. Beliau juga pernah melihat

naskah SPS yang disimpan Said Muhammad Tengku Jang.

Tengku Mansur Omar, pernah pula melihat naskah SPS yang di istana Siak itu, dan pernah pula melihatnya di Langkat (beliau kawin di Langkat). Tetapi beliau tak dapat memastikan, apakah naskah SPS yang di Langkat itu disimpan terus di sana atau kembali ke Siak. (Ketika saya ke Langkat tahun 1972, saya berusaha mencari naskah itu, tetapi tidak dapat saya temui lagi).

Imam Suhail, Imam Kerajaan Siak, menyebutkan, bahwa beliau pernah melihat naskah SPS di istana Siak, melihat pula naskah SPS yang disimpan Said Muhammad Tengku Jang.

Orang Kaya Muhammad Jamil, bekas Sekretaris Sultan Syarif Kasim II pernah juga melihat naskah SPS yang ada di istana Siak, bahkan pernah berkali-kali membacanya. Naskah itu memang sering di pinjam kerabat Sultan.

Keterangan beliau-beliau di atas, diperkuat pula oleh beberapa orang kerabat Sultan, di antaranya: Tengku Syarifah Fadhlun (Tengku Maharatu), bekas permaisuri Sultan Syarif Kasim II, Tengku Bot Said Mukhsin, Tengku Said Nasir (adik Tengku Maharatu), Tengku Syarifah Ayu, Tengku Said Abdullah, Wan Anom, Datuk Wan Abdul Rahman (bekas Orang Besar Kerajaan Siak, Datuk Johan Ariffin (bekas Orang Besar Kerajaan Siak), Datuk Ahmad (bekas Orang Besar Kerajaan Siak), Datuk Idham (bekas Orang Besar Kerajaan Siak), Tengku Mansyur Khalid (kerabat serta bekas Ajudan Syarif Kasim II) dan lain-lainnya lagi.

Selama beberapa tahun melakukan penelitian tentang SPS, sejarah, adat istiadat dan Silsilah Raja-raja Siak dan Pelalawan, saya sudah menghubungi hampir seluruh keturunan Sultan Siak dan Pelalawan termasuk para bekas Orang Besar Kerajaan yang masih hidup antara tahun 1958 sampai sekarang. (Dalam tahun-tahun sebelum itu, saya belum melakukan penelitian). Untuk menghubungi mereka, saya berkali-kali pergi ke Siak, Pelalawan, Bengkalis, Tebing Tinggi (Selatpanjang), Langkat (Tanjungpura), Jakarta dan beberapa daerah lainnya di Riau, termasuk Pekanbaru.

Ternyata, bahwa generasi tuanya sebahagian besar pernah membaca atau setidaknya tidaknya mendengarkan orang membacakan SPS dan masih ingat ceritanya. Sedangkan generasi mudanya, yang lahir sesudah tahun 1940, hampir tak ada yang mengetahui SPS. Kalaupun ada yang mengetahuinya tak pernah melihat naskahnya, tetapi hanya mendengar oragtua-tua bercerita tentang SPS itu.

Mengenai naskah SPS, orangtua-tua yang pernah membaca atau mendengarkan orang membacakan SPS, hampir seluruhnya menyebutkan, bahwa naskah itu hilang sejak Jepang berkuasa di Indonesia atau setidaknya tidaknya dalam masa revolusi kemerdekaan Indonesia. Sebab, sebelum itu, di antaranya ada yang masih melihat naskah tersebut, a.l. di Siak, Pelalawan, Bengkalis, Tebing-Tinggi dan Langkat. (Sedangkan naskah SPS yang di Batu Pahat (Johor), informasinya hanya dari satu orang saja, yakni Said Muhammad Tengku Jang. Dan saya sendiri belum pula melakukan penelitian ke sana. Sedangkan beberapa orang keluarga keturunan Sultan Siak di Batu Pahat dan Kuala Lumpur yang saya temui di Kuala Lumpur dan Pekanbaru (ketika mereka kembali ke Siak) tidak pula dapat memastikan apakah naskah itu memang ada di sana dahulunya atau tidak. Mereka mengenal SPS adalah ketika mereka masih di Siak, di Bengkalis dan Tebing Tinggi).

3. Bagaimana saya menyusun kembali SPS.

Sebagaimana sudah saya sebutkan dalam bagian terdahulu dari tulisan ini, bahwa dalam tahun 1966 naskah SPS salinan Tengku Johan Ibrahim (1937) diserahkan oleh Tengku Said Umar Muhammad kepada saya untuk saya susun kembali selengkapnyanya. Pada

mulanya saya menolak untuk mengerjakannya, karena naskah SPS yang ada itu dalam keadaan tidak lengkap, banyak halamannya yang hilang dan banyak pula tulisannya yang luntur dan kabur sehingga tak dapat dibaca, sedangkan pengetahuan saya sangat terbatas pula. Tetapi atas desakan orangtua-tua yang waktu itu masih hidup dan sebahagian masih ada yang hafal bagian-bagian SPS, maka pekerjaan itu pun saya kerjakan juga.

Pertama sekali saya mengunjungi orangtua-tua yang berasal dari Pelalawan yang masih hafal atau ingat isi SPS. Naskah SPS salinan Tengku Johan Ibrahim saya serahkan (setelah diperbanyak) kepada mereka, kemudian minta supaya mereka melengkapinya kepada saya. Apa yang mereka sampaikan itu saya catat, kemudian saya himpun. Ternyata, antara seorang dengan lainnya, ada persamaan dan ada pula perbedaannya. Supaya terdapat keseragaman, maka hasil catatan itu saya diskusikan berpuluh-puluh kali dengan mereka, baik secara bersama-sama, maupun sendiri-sendiri. Dari hasil diskusi itulah kemudian saya susun bait-bait SPS itu, sehingga merupakan satu kesatuan dengan bait-bait SPS dalam naskah Tengku Johan Ibrahim. Setelah "lengkap", maka hasil itu saya bacakan kembali di hadapan orangtua-tua itu, sampai mereka bersepakat, bahwa itulah hasil maksimal yang *menedekati keasliannya*. Naskah itulah yang diterbitkan oleh Badan Pembina Kesenian Daerah Riau.

Jadi, saya menyusun naskah SPS itu berdasarkan kepada naskah salinan Tengku Johan Ibrahim yang kemudian dilengkapi dengan hafalan orangtua-tua yang masih hidup waktu itu.

Untuk lengkapnya, bersama ini saya sebutkan satu persatu nama orangtua-tua dan bait-bait yang mereka hafalkan yang kemudian didiskusikan bersama-sama.

- | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|
| a. | Tengku Said Umar Muhammad | : | bait No. 1 sampai 30
bait No. 310 sampai 326 |
| b. | Tengku Syarifah Azamah | : | bait no. 31 sampai 98
bait no. 642 sampai 652 |
| c. | Tengku Syarifah Zaharah | : | bait no. 99 sampai 137
bait no. 635 sampai 661 |
| d. | Tengku Syarifah Mismi | : | bait no. 138 sampai 180
bait no. 532 sampai 540 |
| e. | Tengku Syarifah Zulaika | : | bait no. 541 sampai 560 |
| f. | Naskah SPS salinan Tengku
Johan Ibrahim. | : | bait no. 181 sampai 309
bait no. 561 sampai 601
bait no. 621 sampai 641 |
| g. | Tengku Syarifah Fatimah | : | bait no. 620 sampai 640 |

Perlu saya jelaskan, bahwa pencantuman jumlah bait di atas berdasarkan kepada hafalan mereka, yang kemudian disetujui oleh yang lain-lainnya. Sedangkan bait-bait yang diragukan (dalam diskusi bersama) tidaklah saya cantumkan di dalam naskah SPS yang saya susun itu.

Mengenai bahasa yang saya sederhanakan, maksudnya adalah sebagai berikut: Apabila di dalam bait syair itu terdapat perbedaan pada kalimat-kalimatnya, maka saya mengambil jalan tengah dengan memilih kalimat dengan bahasa yang dapat diterima oleh semua pihak yakni di sederhanakan dari bahasa yang mereka perselisihkan itu. Setelah disepakati, maka kalimat itulah yang dipakai.

Mengenai mengapa ke Langkat, apakah memang benar ke sana atau hanya sekadar untuk menyamakan bunyi (sajak) saja atau memang ada sumber lain?

Hal ini saya jelaskan sbb:

Mereka, orangtua-tua itu memang sepakat, bahwa Sultan Ismail pergi ke Langkat, selanjutnya dari Langkat ke Rokan dan barulah dari Rokan beliau mengembara ke daerah lainnya, tetapi tidak lagi disebutkan di dalam syair.

4. Tentang menghafal Syair:

Membaca syair sudah menjadi tradisi dalam masyarakat Melayu (Melayu Riau), tidak hanya di kalangan istana, tetapi juga di kalangan masyarakat umum. Dahulu, hampir di setiap rumah tangga terdapat buku-buku syair yang selalu mereka baca, baik sendiri-sendiri maupun bersama-sama. Membaca syair menjadi kebanggaan bukan saja bagi kaum ibu, tetapi juga kaum lelakinya. Pembaca syair yang fasih serta bersuara merdu, mendapat tempat terhormat di dalam masyarakat. Sebab itu, tidaklah aneh, bila banyak orang menekuni membaca syair, bahkan menghafalkannya.

Sekarang, kebiasaan membaca syair sudah hampir habis, karena:

- Sejak pemerintahan Jepang di Indonesia, banyak sekali buku-buku syair yang musnah, yang berlanjut ke masa revolusi kemerdekaan Republik Indonesia.
- Upacara-upacara adat dan tradisional sudah jarang di lakukan, sehingga pembacaan syair turut pula diabaikan.
- Buku-buku syair yang sekarang beredar (dalam jumlah terbatas) dicetak dengan huruf latin, sehingga orang tua-tua tak dapat membacanya (mereka hanya dapat membaca dalam huruf Arab Melayu atau huruf Jawi)
- Generasi muda, nampaknya tidak pula berminat melanjutkan tradisi membaca syair, karena mereka memiliki bacaan lain, atau disibukkan dengan hiburan lain, seperti radio, televisi dan sebagainya.

Mungkin ada orang yang meragukan daya ingat Orangtua-tua dalam menghafalkan syair dan sebagainya. Tetapi, bila mereka datang ke Riau, sampai sekarang masih ada orang tua-tua yang hafal cerita rakyat yang dibawakan dengan berirama, seperti: Nyanyi Panjang, Koba dan Kayat. Nyanyi Panjang misalnya, adalah sastra lisan masyarakat Petalangan yang di sampaikan secara lisan selama 1 sampai 7 malam berturut-turut. Cerita yang berisi ungkapan dan bahasa berirama itu, mereka hafal di luar kepala. Saya pernah merekam Nyanyi Panjang ini, kemudian saya tuliskan sebagaimana aslinya. Ternyata cerita itu ada yang panjangnya sampai 300 halaman lebih. Yang mengagumkan, tidak sedikit orang tua-tua yang dapat menghafal sampai puluhan cerita Nyanyi Panjang itu, dan menceritakannya dengan lancar seperti orang membaca saja. Dari situ, nampaklah betapa kuatnya daya ingat mereka, apalagi untuk menghafalkannya, mereka semata-mata dengan mendengar saja. (Cerita-cerita itu tidak tertulis dan disampaikan secara lisan dan turun temurun). Jadi, kalau dikaitkan dengan menghafal syair, jelaslah, bahwa pekerjaan menghafal syair bukanlah pekerjaan yang sulit, sebab syair dapat dibaca, sehingga lebih mudah menghafalnya.

5. Tentang membaca Syair:

Membaca Syair Perang Siak, sudah saya jelaskan, yakni dilakukan malam hari pada setiap tanggal 1 Muharam sampai 10 Muharam di istana, sebagai salah satu upacara resmi.

Membaca syair-syair lainnya, dilakukan di rumah-rumah penduduk, baik berkelompok maupun sendiri-sendiri atau untuk hiburan keluarga. Membaca syair secara keseluruhan dilakukan malam hari, tetapi tidak pula dipantangkan siang hari, tergantung kepada sipembacanya. Orangtua-tua selalu menghabiskan waktu senggangnya dengan membaca syair, dikelilingi anak cucunya.

Mengapa orang membaca syair?

Pertama untuk upacara tertentu, baik di istana maupun di luar istana. Kedua, untuk menanamkan nilai-nilai luhur yang terkandung di dalam syair itu, karena syair itu ada

yang berisi kepahlawanan, pendidikan hiburan dan sebagainya. Ketiga, seorang ahli membaca syair (fasih lidah dan merdu suaranya) mendapat kehormatan di dalam masyarakatnya. Gadis yang ahli syair, pastilah menjadi rebutan pemuda-pemuda kampungnya, demikian pula sebaliknya. Seorang ahli syair, selalu diundang untuk membaca syair dalam upacara atau memenuhi "hajat" anggota masyarakatnya, sehingga namanya terkenal, dan status sosialnya tinggi dalam masyarakatnya. Selain itu, seorang ahli (Tukang Syair) hidupnya akan terjamin, karena sering diundang dan dijemput orang untuk membaca syair. (Menurut tradisi, setiap selesai membaca syair, kepada mereka diberikan tanda mata atau tanda terima kasih berupa benda atau uang oleh yang orang yang mengundangkannya dan dari para pendengarnya, walaupun tidak ditentukan jumlahnya). Penyair-penyair istana, hidupnya sekeluarga sepenuhnya ditanggung oleh Sultan.

Penutup.

Kalau seandainya tuan berpendapat, bahwa naskah SPS itu di tulis oleh atau atas nama Sultan Ismail waktu beliau dalam pengembangannya, besar pula kemungkinannya. Pendapat tuan itu dapat didukung oleh berbagai informasi yang sudah saya sebutkan tadi, terutama: Kalaupun benar naskah SPS yang "asli" dirobah atau disuruh robah oleh Muhammad Ali, maka naskah SPS yang kemudian terdapat di Siak, Bengkalis, Pelalawan, Tebing Tinggi, Langkat dan Batu Pahat(?) itu tentulah bersumber dan berasal dari naskah yang sudah dirobah atau disuruh robah itu. Jadi naskah "asli"nya, tetaplh belum diketahui siapa yang membuatnya, dimana di tulis dan tahun berapa ditulis. Dengan demikian, besar kemungkinan, bahwa naskah SPS yang "asli" itu ditulis oleh Sultan Ismail atau orang lain yang di suruhnya atau setidak-tidaknya oleh orang yang mengagumi beliau.

Sedangkan naskah SPS yang kemudian dikenali dan dibaca turun temurun di Siak, Pelalawan dsb.nya itu, adalah naskah yang sudah dirobah atau disuruh robah itu, karena isinya tidak memburukkan Alamuddin. Hal ini dapat dimaklumi, karena yang memerintah di Siak, Pelalawan dan sebagainya itu adalah keturunan Alamuddin. Tentulah mereka tidak mau menyimpan apalagi membacakan SPS yang isinya memburuk-burukkan atau merendahkan martabat dan nama baik leluhurnya itu.

Tentang naskah SPS KL 154 (1849) saya belum dapat memberikan pendapat, karena sampai saat ini belum pernah melihat apalagi membacanya. Jadi, saya sama sekali tidak mengetahui isinya, dan tak dapat pula menyebutkan apakah naskah itu berasal dari Siak atau dari daerah lainnya. Kalaupun benar naskah SPS itu diperolehnya dari membelinya pada salah seorang selir Yang Dipertuan Siak, maka kemungkinan itu tetap saja ada. Sebab seperti saya sebutkan dalam uraian terdahulu, di masa pemerintahan Sultan Ismail ini, keadaan di Siak penuh dengan berbagai pertentangan dan kemelut, sehingga orang tidak lagi membacakan SPS dalam upacara resmi di istana Siak. Jadi, tidaklah mustahil, ada di antara naskah SPS itu yang dijual orang, karena dianggap tidak diperlukan lagi.

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